

# THE HITTITE INHERITED LEXICON

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# THE HITTITE INHERITED LEXICON

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## ABBREVIATIONS

abbr.	abbreviated	dupl.	duplicate
abl.	ablative	e.a.	<i>et alii</i>
acc.	accusative	Eg.	Egyptian
act.	active	e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
adj.	adjective	encl.	enclitic
adv.	adverb	erg.	ergative
Akk.	Akkadian / akkadogram	f.	feminine
Alb.	Albanian	fr.	fragment / fragmentarily
all.	allative		attested
aor.	aorist	Gaul.	Gaulish
Arab.	Arabic	GAv.	Gatha-Avestan
Arc.	Arcadian	gen.	genitive
Arm.	Armenian	gen.adj.	genitival adjective
Arn.I	Arnuṣanda I	Goth.	Gothic
Att.	Attic	Gr.	Greek
Av.	Avestan	Hatt.	Hattic
bl.	block	Hebr.	Hebrew
Bret.	Breton	Hes.	Hesych
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Hitt.	Hittite
Bulg.	Bulgarian	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
c.	commune	Hom.	Homeric
ca	<i>circa</i>	Hurr.	Hurrian
card.	cardinal	ibid.	<i>ibidem</i>
caus.	causative	id.	<i>idem</i>
Celt.	Celtic	i.e.	<i>id est</i>
cf.	<i>confer</i>	IE	Indo-European
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	Iir.	Indo-Iranian
coll.	collective	imp.	imperative
cond.	conditional	impf.	imperfective
conj.	conjunction	indecl.	indeclinable
Cret.	Cretan	indef.	indefinite
Cz.	Czech	inf.	infinitive
dat.	dative	inj.	injunctive
dem.pron.	demonstrative pronoun	instr.	instrumental
der.	derivative	interj.	interjection
dial.	dialectal	interrog.	interrogative
dist.	distributive	intr.	intransitive
Dor.	Doric	Ion.-Att.	Ionic-Attic

Iran.	Iranian	OP	Old Persian
It.	Italic	OPr.	Old Prussian
It.-Celt.	Italo-Celtic	ord.	ordinal
Khot.	Khotanese	ORuss.	Old Russian
l.	line	OS	Old script
l.c.	<i>loco citato</i>	OSax.	Old Saxon
l.col.	left column	Osc.	Oscan
Lat.	Latin	OSwed.	Old Swedish
Latv.	Latvian	OTurk.	Old Turkish
l.edge	left edge	OWe.	Old Welsh
Lith.	Lithuanian	Pal.	Palaic
loc.	locative	PAnat.	Proto-Anatolian
Luw.	Luwian	part.	participle
Lyc.	Lycian	p.c.	personal communication
Lyd.	Lydian	Pers.	Persian
m.	masculine	pers.pron.	personal pronoun
MCorn.	Middle Cornish	PGerm.	Proto-Germanic
MDu.	Middle Dutch	PGreek	Proto-Greek
MH	Middle Hittite	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
MHG	Middle High German	PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
midd.	middle	PItal.	Proto-Italic
Mil.	Milyan	pl.	plural
Mr.	Middle Irish	PLuw.	Proto-Luwian
MLG	Middle Low German	PN	personal name
ModDu.	Modern Dutch	poss.pron.	possessive pronoun
ModEng.	Modern English	postpos.	postposition
ModHG	Modern High German	pre-Hitt.	pre-Hittite
ModP	Modern Persian	pres.	present
MP	Middle Persian	pret.	preterite
MS	Middle script	prev.	preverb
MWe.	Middle Welsh	pron.	pronoun / pronominal
Myc.	Mycenaean	PToch.	Proto-Tocharian
n.	neuter	q.v.	<i>quod vide</i>
NH	Neo-Hittite	r.col.	right column
nom.	nominative	rel.	relative
NS	Neo-script	rev.	reverse
num.	numeral	Russ.	Russian
OAss.	Old Assyrian	RussCS	Russian Church Slavonic
obl.	oblique	s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i>
obv.	obverse	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
o.c.	<i>opere citato</i>	Sem.	Semitic
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	SerbCS	Serbian Church Slavonic
OE	Old English	sg.	singular
OFr.	Old Frisian	Skt.	Sanskrit
OH	Old Hittite	Slav.	Slavic
OHG	Old High German	Slov.	Slovene
OIc.	Old Icelandic	Sogd.	Sogdian
OIr.	Old Irish	subord.	subordinate
OLat.	Old Latin	Sum.	Sumerian / sumerogram
OLith.	Old Lithuanian	sup.	supine
ON	Old Norse	superl.	superlative

Swed.	Swedish	uninfl.	uninflected
TochA	Tocharian A	v.n.	verbal noun
TochAB	Tocharian A and B	vel sim.	<i>vel simile</i>
TochB	Tocharian B	Ven.	Venetic
trans.	transitive	verb.noun	verbal noun
transl.	translation	viz.	<i>videlicet</i>
Ugar.	Ugaritic	vs.	versus
Ukr.	Ukrainian	We.	Welsh
Umbr.	Umbrian	WSem.	West Semitic
uncl.	unclear	YAv.	Young Avestan
undat.	undatable		



# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## 0.1 AIM OF THIS WORK

Since Hittite is the oldest attested Indo-European language, it is of prime interest for anyone involved in comparative Indo-European linguistics. A thorough description of the historical phonology of Hittite is therefore of paramount importance. In my view, one cannot describe the historical phonology of a certain language without having etymologically treated the entire inherited vocabulary of that language and without having a coherent view on the morphological changes that have occurred in it. Moreover, in the case of Hittite, it is essential to distinguish between the three chronological stages it displays (Old, Middle and Neo-Hittite, cf. § 0.3) and the changes that took place between these stages. In all recent handbooks dealing with the etymology of Hittite, this crucial combination is lacking: Melchert's *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (1994a) and Kimball's *Hittite Historical Phonology* (1999) both focused on the historical phonology only, not always taking into account all relevant material, whereas Puhvel's *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (HED) and Tischler's *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (HEG) have no coherent view on the historical phonology in their treatment of the lexicon. Furthermore, most scholars do not seem to differentiate between orthography, phonetics and phonology, which in my view is a decisive part of the understanding of the Hittite language. I therefore felt it my task to write a historical phonology of Hittite on the basis of an extensive treatment of the Hittite inherited lexicon,<sup>1</sup> in which not only phonological change, but also morphological change and inner-Hittite chronology are taken into account.

Besides this introduction, in which I will give general information on the Hittites and their language, the Anatolian language branch and the place that this branch occupies within the Indo-European language family, this book consists of

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<sup>1</sup> With 'inherited lexicon' I mean those words that are build up of morphemes that can be reconstructed for the PIE mother language (i.e. have cognates in the other IE languages). It should be noted that I therefore do not claim that each reconstructed form that in this book has been glossed as 'PIE' did exist as such in the Proto-Indo-European mother language. These reconstructions should rather be seen as explications of the morphology of the Hittite words in the light of their PIE origin.

two parts. The first part is called *Towards a Hittite Historical Grammar* and contains two chapters: chapter 1, *Historical Phonology*, contains a detailed discussion of the phonetic and phonological interpretation of Hittite orthography, as well as an overview of the sound laws that took place between the reconstructed PIE mother language and Hittite as it is attested; chapter 2, *Aspects of Historical Morphology*, contains a treatment of the prehistory of the Hittite personal pronouns as well as an elaborate morphological interpretation of the Hittite verbal system. The second part is called *An Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* and contains etymological treatments of all the relevant Hittite words.

These two parts cannot exist without each other. The sound laws and morphological interpretations described in Part One are illustrated by the material from Part Two, whereas the treatment of the words in Part Two rests heavily on the findings of Part One. The reader should be aware of this when consulting one of them.

## 0.2 THE STUDY OF HITTITE

The rediscovery of the Hittite language actually started in 1887 when in the Egyptian village Amarna 382 clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform script were discovered containing letters from and to the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten (ca. 1352-1336 BC). Although most of these letters were written in Akkadian, a language that at that time was already well understood, two letters, addressed to the king of Arzawa, turned out to contain a hitherto unknown language. In 1902, the Dane J.A. Knudtzon elaborately treated these two letters and even claims that their language belongs to the Indo-European language family. In absence of any positive reactions to this claim, he retracted his views in 1915 (Knudtzon 1915: 1074).

When in 1905 the imposing ruins of an ancient city near the little Turkish village Boğazköy (presently called Boğazkale) started to be excavated, soon tens of thousands of (fragments of) clay tablets were unearthed. Many of these were written in Akkadian, which made clear that the tablets constituted the royal archive of the land Ḫatti<sup>2</sup> and that the site in fact was its capital Ḫattuša. The bulk

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<sup>2</sup> The existence of the land Ḫatti had already been known from documents from Mesopotamia as well as from the Amarna-letters, some of which were written (in Akkadian) by Šuppiliuma, king of the land Ḫatti.



of the tablets were written in a language identical to the language of the two Arzawa-letters, however, which now was coined ‘Hittite’. Just ten years later, the Czech assyriologist Bedřich Hrozný published a preliminary “Lösung des hethitischen Problems” (Hrozný 1915), followed by a full description of “die Sprache der Hethither” (Hrozný 1917), probably the most complete decipherment of a language ever written. The results were baffling: Hrozný showed beyond any doubt that Hittite belongs to the Indo-European language family. Therewith Hittite immediately became the oldest attested language within that family. Not only did Hrozný’s decipherment open up a new academic field, Hittitology, it also brought a fully new aspect to comparative Indo-European linguistics.

As is now known, the oldest evidence for the Hittite language can be found in Old Assyrian texts (ca. 1920-1850 BC) that stem from the Assyrian trade colony or *kārum* established in the town Neša / Kaniš (= modern-day Kültepe). In these texts we find many Hittite names and some loanwords that clearly show that Neša / Kaniš was a Hittite town during that period. It may well have been the most important Hittite city at that time. Not only does the oldest Hittite text, the so-called Anitta-text (Neu 1974a = StBoT 18), which must be regarded as an account of the foundation of the Hittite royal dynasty, tell how Anitta, son of Piṭḫana, the king of Kuššara, conquers Neša and from then onwards uses this city as its residence, the Hittites themselves also refer to their language as <sup>URU</sup>*ni-ši-li* (IBoT 1.36 iii 64), *na-a-ši-li* (KBo 5.11 i 3), *ne-eš-[u]m<sup>1</sup>-ni-[li]* (VBoT 2, 24) and *ka-ni-šu-um-ni-[li]* (KUB 41.14, 8), i.e. ‘in Nešite, in the language of the people of Neša / Kaniš’. Nevertheless, two centuries later, around 1650 BC, the Nešites apparently chose the city Ḫattuša as their new capital (possibly because of its more strategic position) and the surrounding land Ḫatti (<sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti*, the region enclosed by the Kızıl Irmak) as their heartland. From that moment onwards their rulers call themselves LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti* ‘king of the land Ḫatti’, which is the source of our term ‘Hittite’. The Hittite kingdom grew rapidly and in the 14th century it reached its peak, ruling over vast parts of Anatolia and northern Syria (then also called ‘Hittite Empire’). From ca 1250 BC onwards rivalry between two branches of the royal family both claiming to be the legitimate heirs to the throne caused it to descend into civil war and around ca 1175 BC the Hittite kingdom ceased to exist.

Throughout its existence, the Hittite kingdom used Hittite as its administrative language (although Akkadian was used as well, especially for international affairs). The bulk of the Hittite texts (some 30.000 pieces) therefore were found in the royal archive at Ḫattuša, but important finds have been made in Ugarit / Ras Shamra (some 200 pieces), Maşat Höyük (116 pieces), Kuşaklı (48 pieces)

and Ortaköy (allegedly some 3500 pieces, of which only a handful have been published up to now) as well. Although most of the Hittite texts deal with religious affairs (ritual texts, hymns, prayers, festival descriptions, omens, oracles, mythological texts), we also find historical texts (annals), political texts (treaties with vassal kings, letters), administrative texts (instructions for functionaries) and legal texts.

### 0.3 DATING OF TEXTS

The Hittite texts span the whole period of the Hittite kingdom (ca. 1650-1175 BC). Already in the 1930's it had become clear that texts that had to be attributed to kings from the beginning of this period showed linguistic features that were different from texts that had to be attributed to kings from the end of this period: the language was changing throughout the Hittite period (like any living language is changing through time). It therefore nowadays has become generally accepted to divide the Hittite language into three successive linguistic stages: Old Hittite (OH, ca 1650-1450), Middle Hittite (MH, ca 1450-1380) and Neo-Hittite (NH, ca 1380-1175). From the 1960's onwards it has become clear that also the cuneiform script in which the Hittite tablets were written underwent changes: the shape of some signs has been altered drastically within the Hittite period. We therefore nowadays also distinguish between three palaeographic stages: Old Script (OS), Middle Script (MS) and Neo-Script (NS).<sup>3</sup> Since it is well known that within the Hittite archival system older texts were often copied in younger periods and that the scribes who carried out the copying did not always refrain from modernizing the language of the older original according to their own standards, any scholar who wants to be seriously involved in Hittite linguistics must date a given text according to these two criteria: composition and script. For the dating of compositions I have mainly used the lists of Melchert (1977: 45-131), Oettinger (1979a: 573-580) and Weitenberg (1984: 13-21) as well as the datings used in CHD. In this book I have adopted the practice of e.g. CHD to use the following abbreviations: OH/NS = a Neo-Hittite copy of an Old Hittite composition;

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<sup>3</sup> Some scholars further divide the last period into two stages, namely Early Neo-Script (ENS) and Late Neo-Script (LNS = German spätjunghethitisch, sjh.). Since this is not yet common practice and since as a historical linguist I am mainly interested in the oldest stage of the language, I have decided to only use the term Neo-Script (NS) in this book (although I must admit that in hindsight the many morphological processes in the Hittite verbal system that take place in the NH period perhaps could for instance have been described more precisely if I had used this more precise system of dating).

OH/MS = a Middle Hittite copy of an Old Hittite composition; etc.<sup>4</sup> It has to be borne in mind that a given form from an OH/NS text cannot be immediately identified as a linguistically old form: it is quite possible that the text has been ‘polluted’ by the NH scribe and that the form in question in fact is a modernization.

#### 0.4 METHODS OF TRANSCRIPTION

In this book, I use four different layers of representing Hittite words: (a) a one-to-one transliteration of the cuneiform signs,<sup>5</sup> e.g. *ne-e-pí-iš*; (b) a bound transcription,<sup>6</sup> e.g. *nēpiš*; (c) a phonological transcription, e.g. /nébis/; and (d) a phonetic transcription, e.g. [népis].

#### 0.5 ANATOLIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Linguistically, Hittite belongs to the Anatolian language family, which further consists of the following languages:

Palaic was the language of the land Palā (<sup>URU</sup>*Pa-la-a*),<sup>7</sup> probably situated in north-west Anatolia between the rivers Sakarya Nehri / Sangarios and the Kızıl Irmak / Halys (possibly identical to classical Paphlagonia or one of its regions, Blaene). Reference to this land is found in the OH version of the Hittite Laws only, which indicates that in MH times it had ceased to exist as such. The language, which the Hittites call <sup>URU</sup>*pa-la-um-ni-li*, i.e. “in the language of the

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<sup>4</sup> Since any text in Old Script by definition must contain an Old Hittite composition, I only use the abbreviation OS in these cases (and not OH/OS). Similarly in the case of Neo-Hittite compositions which by definition can only be written in Neo-Script: I use the abbreviation NH (and not NH/NS).

<sup>5</sup> In this book I have transliterated the cuneiform signs according to Rüster & Neu’s *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (= HZL). Note however that the signs GIR, GAD, NIR, UD and ŠIR, for which HZL cites the phonetic value *kir*, *kid/t<sub>9</sub>*, *nir*, *pir* and *šir* respectively, sometimes have to be read *ker*, *ket<sub>9</sub>*, *ner*, *per* and *šer* as well.

<sup>6</sup> Because of the ambiguity of this way of transcribing (e.g. the transcription *u<sub>9</sub>alahzi* does not tell us whether the underlying form was *u<sub>9</sub>-al-ah-zi* or *u<sub>9</sub>-la-ah-zi*), I have used this transcription only when the transliteration of a certain form has been already given.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly pronounced /pla?a/, which is visible in the difference between *palaumnili* ‘in the language of the Palaic people’ and *nešumnili* ‘in the language of the Nešite people’: just as *neš-umnili* is derived from *Neš-a*, with morphological replacement of the final *-a*, *pala-umnili* must be derived from a form *Pala-a* = /pla?a/.

Palaic people”, is known from a few Boğazköy-tablets only that deal with the cult of the god Zapaṛa. These texts were composed in the OH period, and therefore it is generally thought that the Palaic language had died out by MH times. Its corpus is very small, and therefore many basic matters regarding grammar and lexicon are unclear. For texts, grammar, vocabulary and historical phonology, see e.g. Carruba 1970, Carruba 1972, Kammenhuber 1969, Melchert 1994a: 190-228.

Cuneiform Luwian is only known from passages of incantation and cult songs cited in Hittite texts dealing with rituals and festivals with a Luwian background. In these texts, which date from the 16th-15th century BC, the language is referred to as *lu-ú-i-li*, i.e. “in Luwian”. The language is closely connected with Hieroglyphic Luwian (see below). In Hittite texts from the NH period we find many words, often preceded by the gloss wedges  $\text{𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶}$ , which have to be regarded as Luwian borrowings (although it is not always clear whether these words derive from CLuwian or HLUwian). Although in the OH versions of the Hittite Laws the land Luṣija or Lūija is attested (<sup>URU</sup>*Lu-ú-i-ia*), which has to be equated with the land Arzaṛa as attested in younger texts and therefore must have been situated in west Anatolia between the rivers Gediz Nehri / Hermus and Büyük Menderes Nehri / Maeander, it is not necessarily the case that the CLuwian texts derive from that area. According to Melchert (2003: 174) “[i]n the few cases where a determination can be made, the Luwian rituals found in Hattusa are imported from the southern region of Kizzuwatna”. For texts, grammar, vocabulary and historical phonology, see e.g. Starke 1985, Starke 1990, Melchert 2003c, Laroche 1959, Melchert 1993a, Melchert 1994a: 229-281.

Hieroglyphic Luwian is a language closely related to (but nevertheless clearly distinct from) Cuneiform Luwian (see above). It is written in an indigenous hieroglyphic script that seems to have been especially designed for this language. Although seals containing names written in these hieroglyphs can be dated back to the OH period (ca. 1600 BC), the oldest real HLUwian text (the Ankara Silver Bowl, cf. Hawkins 1997) may be dated around 1400 BC. By far most of the ca 260 known HLUwian texts are rock inscriptions. Some thirty of these were set up during the Hittite Empire period (13th century BC), but the bulk (some 230) date from the post-Empire period (1100-700 BC). The Empire-period inscriptions are found all over the area of the Hittite Empire, whereas the post-Empire-period inscriptions are found in south-east Anatolia only, the region of the so-called Neo-Hittite city states. For texts, grammar, vocabulary, script and historical phonology, see e.g. Hawkins 2000, Melchert 2003c, Plöchl 2003, Payne 2004, Meriggi 1962, Marazzi (ed.) 1998, Melchert 1994a: 229-281.

Lycian is the language of the Lycian region, situated on the south-west Anatolian coast between the modern-day cities Fethiye and Antalya. The Lycians called themselves *Trēmili*, which must be identical to the name *Termilai* used by Herodote. The Lycian language is known from some 150 coin legends and 170 inscriptions on stone, dating from the 5th and 4th century BC, using a native alphabet related to Greek. Most inscriptions are funereal and show little variation, but a few are edicts, the most important one of which is the trilingual of Letoon (with Greek and Aramaic translations). On two inscriptions, including another important edict, the stele from Xanthos, (part of) the text is written in a dialect distinct from ‘normal’ Lycian and that is either called Lycian B (with “Lycian A” referring to normal Lycian) or Milyan. Linguistically, Lycian is closely related to CLuwian and HLuwian, and it is in my view probable that they formed a subgroup within the Anatolian family. Nevertheless, the old view that Lycian is a younger variant of Luwian cannot be upheld: for instance, the Lycian vowel system (*a, e, i, u*) cannot be derived from the simpler vowel system of Luwian (*a, i, u*). For texts, grammar, vocabulary and historical phonology, see e.g. Kalinka 1901, Neumann 1979a, Houwink ten Cate 1961, Neumann 1969, Hajnal 1995, Melchert 2004a, Melchert 1994a: 282-328.

Lydian is the language of classical Lydia, situated in central western Anatolia, in the modern-day provinces of İzmir and Manisa. It is attested on some one hundred stone inscriptions in a native alphabet related to Greek, dating from the 8th-3rd century BC, with a peak around the 5th and 4th century. Most inscriptions stem from Sardis, the capital of Lydia. Although some inscriptions are fairly lengthy, the absence of a large bilingual text (the four bilingual texts, two Lydian-Greek and two Lydian-Aramaic are too short to be of much help) makes Lydian difficult to understand. The little knowledge we do have shows that it stands quite apart from the other Anatolian languages. For texts, grammar, vocabulary and historical phonology, see e.g. Gusmani 1964, Gérard 2005, Melchert 1994a: 329-383.

Carian, Sidetic and Pisidian are so poorly attested or badly understood that I will disregard them in this work. Carian is the language from classical Caria (south-western Anatolia, between Lydia and Lycia), but most Carian texts (some 150) have been found in Egypt where Carian mercenaries were working. They date from the 6th-5th century BC. The twenty texts from Caria itself seem to date from the 4th century BC. Although the language is written in a script seemingly related to Greek, it still has not been fully deciphered yet. Only recently (in the 1990’s) reliable sound values have been established for some signs on the basis of (short) Carian-Egyptian bilinguals. In 1996 a rather large Carian-Greek bilingual

inscription was found in Kaunos, which hopefully will elucidate our knowledge of the Carian language in the future. Sidetic is known from 8 inscriptions from the city Side in the region Pamphylia, written in a native alphabet related to Greek. They date from the 3rd century BC. Three of them have a Greek version, which enables us to identify a few words that show that the language must be Anatolian. Nevertheless, with such a small corpus not much is known about Sidetic. Pisidian is the language known from some thirty tomb inscriptions from Pisidia, located between the lakes Eğridir Gölü and Beyşehir Gölü. They are written in the regular Greek alphabet and can be dated to the 1st-2nd century AD. Until now only names have been attested, but the fact that a genitive-ending *-s* is used (= Luw. *-ašša/i-*) in combination with the establishment that some names clearly are Anatolian (e.g. Μουσητα = Luw. *Muuziti*), points to an Anatolian language. For an introduction to these languages, see e.g. Van den Hout 1998.

Within the Anatolian branch, Hittite is by far the best attested and best-known language. Therefore, Indo-Europeanists understandably often only use data from this language when working on the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. Nevertheless, I agree with Melchert (1994a: foreword) who states that “only [an Anatolian] perspective can fully illuminate the history of Hittite”. Although within the research project that enabled me to write this work there was no time to fully describe the prehistory of the other Anatolian languages, I have taken them into account whenever necessary and sometimes digressed on certain aspects of their historical phonology.

## 0.6 THE PLACE OF THE ANATOLIAN BRANCH WITHIN PIE

A mere six years after the decipherment of Hittite, Forrer (1921: 26) writes: “Man wird [...] nicht umhin können, das Kanische [= Hittite, AK] als Schwestersprache des aus den indogermanischen Sprachen erschlossenen Urindogermanischen zu bezeichnen”. This idea was soon taken over by Sturtevant (e.g. 1926, 1929) who even introduces the name ‘Indo-Hittite’ for the proto-language that would underly Anatolian on the one hand and Indo-European on the other. The ‘Indo-Hittite hypothesis’ has been much discussed over the years, even resulting in a monograph (Zeilfelder 2001). Although at first scholars were sceptical, in the last decade it seems as if a consensus is being reached that the Anatolian branch indeed was the first one to split off of the Proto-Indo-

European language community. Nevertheless, these opinions are often based on the archaicity of some phenomena in Hittite (compare e.g. Zeilfelder's book that is entirely devoted to the archaic features of Hittite), whereas already Pedersen (1938: 12) rightly remarks that “[d]as unmittelbar abweichende Aussehen des Hittitischen hat natürlich keine Bedeutung; Neuerungen des Hittitischen oder Verlust des Alten entweder im Hittitischen oder in den zehn Sprachzweigen haben keine Beweiskraft”. He states “dass nur gemeinsame Neuerungen der zehn lebendigen Sprachzweige sie dem Hittitischen gegenüber als eine Einheit charakterisieren können”.<sup>8</sup> So, no matter how archaic some features of Hittite or the other Anatolian languages are and no matter how many of them have been preserved, the only evidence for a special position of Anatolian within the IE family would be if we could show that the other IE languages share a common innovation that is not present in Anatolian. It is my intention to present a few of these cases here (for full etymological treatment cf. their respective lemmas).

(1) The Hitt. verb *mer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *mar-* ‘to disappear’ is generally considered cognate with the PIE root *\*mer-* that denotes ‘to die’ in the other IE languages (Skt. *mar-* ‘to die’, Av. *mar-* ‘to die’, Gr. ἄμβροτος ‘immortal’, (Hes.) ἔμορπεν ‘has died’, Lat. *morior* ‘to die’, OCS *mrěti* ‘to die’, Lith. *miřti* ‘to die’, Goth. *maurþr* ‘murder’, Arm. *meřanim* ‘to die’). Because typologically it is improbable that an original meaning ‘to die’ would develop into ‘to disappear’, whereas a development of ‘to disappear’ to ‘to die’ is very common,<sup>9</sup> we must assume that the original meaning of the root *\*mer-* is ‘to disappear’, as is still attested in Anatolian, and that the semantic development to ‘to die’ as visible in the other IE languages must be regarded as a common innovation of them.

(2) The words for ‘you (sg.)’ in the Anatolian languages (e.g. Hitt. *zřk* / *tu-*) must go back to the PANat. pair *\*tiH*, obl. *tu-* (cf. § 2.1.3). All other IE languages point to a pair nom. *\*tuH*, obl. *\*tu-*, however. If we assume that the pair *\*tiH*, *\*tu-* is original, it is in my view impossible to explain how the Anatolian pair *\*tiH*, *tu-* has come into being. If, however, we assume that the pair *\*tiH*, *\*tu-* is original, we only need to assume a trivial analogical altering of *\*tiH* to *\*tuH* on the basis

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<sup>8</sup> Note that Pedersen concludes (1938: 190-1): “Wir haben weder in der Grammatik noch in der Lautlehre einen Anhalt dafür gefunden, dass das Hittitische in einem Gegensatze zu den anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen stünde. Es stellt sich als elfter Sprachzweig neben die zehn altbekannten Sprachzweige”.

<sup>9</sup> Consider euphemisms like ModEng. *to pass away*, *to be gone* and, even more clearly, French *disparaître*.

of the oblique stem *\*tu-*,<sup>10</sup> in order to explain the pair *\*tuH*, *tu-*. I therefore conclude that the Anatolian pair *\*tiH*, *\*tu-* is original and that the pair *\*tuH*, *\*tu-* as reflected in the other IE languages is the result of a common innovation, namely introduction of the oblique stem *\*tu-* into the nominative.

(3) The Hittite verb *šāh-*<sup>i</sup> means ‘to fill up, to plug, to stuff’ and in my view is cognate to the PIE root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* that is usually translated ‘to satiate’ (Gr. ἕμεναι ‘to satiate oneself’, Skt. *ásinvant-* ‘unsatiable’, TochB *soy-* ‘to be satisfied’). Because it is understandable how a meaning ‘to fill up, to stuff’ would develop into ‘to satiate’, but not how ‘to satiate’ would be able to turn into ‘to fill up, to stuff’, it is likely that the original meaning of the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* was ‘to fill up, to stuff’ as attested in Hittite, and that the meaning ‘to satiate’ as visible in the other IE languages is a common innovation.

(4) As I will argue under the lemma <sup>MUNUS</sup>*duttarijata/i-*, the HLuwian word *tuwatra/i-* ‘daughter’ and Lyc. *kbatra-* ‘daughter’ point to a PLuw. form *\*duegtr-*, whereas <sup>MUNUS</sup>*duttarijata/i-* can only be explained from PLuw. *\*dugtr-*. So the Anatolian material points to an original inflection *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós* ‘daughter’. In all other IE languages, we find forms that point to an inflection *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós*, however (e.g. Skt. *duhitā*, *duhitāram*, *duhitúh*; Gr. θυγάτηρ, θυγατέρα, θυγατρός; Lith. *duktė*, *dūktėrė*, *duktėrės*; OCS *dbŕti*; Osc. *futír*; Arm. *dowstr*; ModHG *Tochter*; Gaul. *duxtir*). Because I do not see how an original inflection *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós* could ever be replaced by *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós*, whereas the other way around it is a trivial development (introduction of the acc.-form in the nominative combined with analogy to *\*ph<sub>2</sub>tér* ‘father’), I assume that the situation as reflected in Anatolian, *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós*, represents the original state of affairs and that the morphological change to the system *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós* as reflected in the other IE languages is a common innovation.

(5) The PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-*, which denotes ‘to plough’ in all non-Anatolian IE languages (Gr. ἀρόω ‘to plough’, Lat. *arō* ‘to plough’, OIr. *-air* ‘to plough’, OHG *erien* ‘to plough’, Lith. *árti* ‘to plough’, OCS *orati* ‘to plough’), is reflected in

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<sup>10</sup> In personal pronouns it is a common phenomenon that nominatives are altered on the basis of oblique forms, cf. for instance the NH use of nom.sg. *ammuk* ‘I’ instead of original *īk* on the basis of the oblique forms *ammuk* ‘me’.



Hittite in the verbs *ḫarra-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫarr-* ‘to grind, to crush’ and *ḫārš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to harrow, to till the soil’ (with an *s*-extension). Although the latter term indeed has agricultural connotations (but note that its usage in the pair *ḫārš-<sup>i</sup>* ... *terepp-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to harrow and plough’ clearly shows that it itself did not mean ‘plough’, but rather originally ‘to crush (the ground)’), the basic meaning of *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* seems to have been ‘to crush’, which could be used having the ground as an object as well. The semantic development of ‘to crush; to harrow (the ground)’ to the specific technical term ‘to plough (with a plough)’ as visible in the non-Anatolian languages must be regarded as a common innovation of them and shows that the Anatolian branch split off before the introduction of the plough.

(6) The verbal root *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to refuse, to reject’ is attested as a fully living verb in Hittite, *mimma-<sup>i</sup>* / *mimm-* < *\*mi-moh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*mi-mh<sub>1</sub>-*, whereas in the other IE languages it only survives in the 2sg.imp.act.-form *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* ‘don’t!’ that has been grammaticalized as a prohibitive particle (Skt. *mā́*, Arm. *mi*, Gr. *μή*, TochAB *mā*). This grammaticalization must be a common innovation of these languages.

(7) As I will show under the lemma *\*ekku-*, the Anatolian words for ‘horse’ (Hitt. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*u-*, CLuw. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*u-*, HLuw. <sup>EQUUS</sup> *á-sù-*, Lyc. *esb-*) all reflect an *u*-stem noun and therefore point to a preform *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekú-*, whereas the words for ‘horse’ in the other IE languages (Skt. *ásva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Gr. ἵππος, Myc. *i-go*, Lat. *equus*, Ven. *ekvo-*, OIr. *ech*, OE *eoh*, TochB *yakwe*, TochA *yuk* ‘horse’, Arm. *ēš* ‘donkey’, Lith. *ašvà* ‘mare’, OPr. *aswinan* ‘mare’s milk’) all point to an *o*-stem noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-*. There is no known phonological development through which PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* could yield PANat. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekú-* and in view of the productivity of the *o*-stem inflection in Anatolian it is unlikely that PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* would have yielded PANat. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekú-* through secondary developments. We therefore must conclude that the PANat. *u*-stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekú-* reflects the original state of affairs and that the thematicization as visible in the non-Anatolian IE languages (which is a trivial development) must be regarded as a common innovation of them.

Although I realize that not everyone may find every example that I have given here as convincing as another, we must realize that each example on its own already shows that the non-Anatolian IE languages have commonly undergone an innovation where Anatolian has preserved the original situation. This can only lead to one conclusion, namely that the non-Anatolian IE languages still formed

one language community (at least close enough for innovations to reach all speakers) at the moment that the Anatolian branch split off. In other words, each of these examples is conclusive evidence that the Anatolian branch was the first one to split off from the mother language. Whether one then calls this mother language Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Indo-Hittite or something else is only a matter of terminology. I think that the term Proto-Indo-European is still adequate as long as we keep in mind that the Anatolian branch may have preserved an original situation that has undergone innovations or losses in the other IE languages (but likewise the Anatolian branch may have innovated or lost an original situation that is still present in the other IE languages, of course). So, the times of a solely Graeco-Indic reconstruction of PIE are definitely over: we should always take the Anatolian material into account and keep in mind the possibility that the non-Anatolian IE languages have commonly undergone an innovation where Anatolian preserves the original, PIE situation.

## PART ONE

# TOWARDS A HITTITE HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

## INTRODUCTION

This part consists of two chapters. In the first chapter, called *Historical Phonology*, I will first give an overview of the phonological systems that I reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian. Then I will treat in detail the arguments on the basis of which a thorough phonetic and phonological analysis of the cuneiform script in which Hittite is written can be made, which results in the establishment of the Hittite phoneme inventory. The last step is that the phonological changes that took place between Proto-Indo-European and Hittite as attested are described in detail.

The second chapter, *Aspects of Historical Morphology*, mainly deals with two issues: the prehistory of the Hittite pronominal system and the morphological and historical interpretation of the Hittite verbal system. I am well aware that a discussion of the nominal system is lacking, but this can be explained by the fact that not only recently an extensive treatment of the Hittite nominal system has appeared (Rieken's *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen* (1999a)), but also because within Part Two each noun has received an extensive etymological treatment, including a detailed analysis of its morphological prehistory (cf. e.g. *ḫāššā-* 'hearth', *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather', *keššar-* / *kiššer-* / *kišr-* 'hand', *šūatt-* 'day', *tēkan* / *takn-* 'earth', etc.). Moreover, each nominal ending is etymologically treated under its own lemma. See at the treatment of nom.pl.c.-ending *-eš* for an account of the prehistory of *i-* and *u-*stem adjectives.



CHAPTER 1

HITTITE HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

1.1 PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN PHONEME INVENTORY

In the present book I have worked with the following reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European phonological system (based on Beekes 1995: 124):

stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k̥</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kʷ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǵ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gʷ</i>
	<i>bʰ</i>	<i>dʰ</i>	<i>ǵʰ</i>	<i>gʰ</i>	<i>gʷʰ</i>
fricative	<i>s</i>				
laryngeals	<i>h<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>h<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>h<sub>3</sub></i>		
liquids	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>			
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
semivowels	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>			
vowels	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>			
	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i> <sup>11</sup>			

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<sup>11</sup> Note that I do not reconstruct a PIE phoneme “*a*” or “*ā*”: all PIE forms for which some scholars reconstruct \**a* or \**ā* should be interpreted otherwise. For an extensive treatment of most of these words, cf. Lubotsky 1989. Eichner 1988: 132-3 adduces a few more forms that in his view must contain PIE \**a* or \**ā*, but these are incorrect as well. (1) “\**nās-*” ‘nose’ must reflect \**neh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, \**nh<sub>2</sub>-es-*, \**nh<sub>2</sub>-s-* (cf. Kortlandt 1985: 119). (2) “\**kārh-*” ‘to proclaim’ is based on Skt. *kārú-* ‘singer’ and *kīrti-* ‘fame’. The former may reflect \**keh<sub>2</sub>rú-*, the latter \**krh<sub>2</sub>-tí-* with metathesis from \**kh<sub>2</sub>r-tí-* (Schrijver 1991: 4). (3) “\**hiǵ-*” ‘to praise’ is based on Gr. ἅγιος, ἅγιος ‘holy’ besides Skt. *yajñá-* ‘sacrifice’. The former two words reflect \**ih<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* (cf. Beekes 1988c: 24-5) and the latter \**ieh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-nó-* (with loss of laryngeal before media + consonant, cf. Lubotsky 1981: 135). (4) “\**h<sub>2</sub>uap-*” ‘to harm’ is

It should be noted that despite the fact that I have used the traditional symbols for the reconstructed stops, I follow Kortlandt (2003: 259) who argues that the traditional ‘voiceless’ series (*\*p, \*t, \*k, \*k<sup>w</sup>* and *\*k<sup>w</sup>*) in fact were plain fortis stops [p:, t:, k<sup>l</sup>:, k:, k<sup>w</sup>:], the traditional ‘voiced’ series (*\*b, \*d, \*g, \*g, \*g<sup>w</sup>*) were lenis (pre-)glottalized stops [ḅ, ḏ, k<sup>l</sup>, k, k<sup>w</sup>] and the traditional ‘aspirated voiced’ stops (*\*b<sup>h</sup>, \*d<sup>h</sup>, \*g<sup>h</sup>, \*g<sup>h</sup>, \*g<sup>w</sup><sup>h</sup>*) were plain lenis stops [p, t, k<sup>l</sup>, k, k<sup>w</sup>]. Note that the stops therefore have “neither voicedness nor aspiration as distinctive features” and that “[t]he phonetic distinction between fortis *\*T*: and lenes *\*T* was probably a matter of consonantal length” (ibid.).

## 1.2 PROTO-ANATOLIAN PHONEME INVENTORY

Although in this book it was not my aim to provide a historical treatment of the Anatolian family as a whole, it is in some cases convenient to use Proto-Anatolian reconstructions, especially when a word can be reconstructed for the Proto-Anatolian stage, but not for Proto-Indo-European. I work with the following phoneme inventory.<sup>12</sup>

stops	fortis	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>
	lenis	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup></i>
fricative <sup>13</sup>		<i>s</i>				

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based on “heth. *huapzi* ‘schädigt’ (mit grundstufigem *ā*)” besides PGerm. *\*ubilaz* ‘evil’. The cited form, *huuapzi*, is the NH secondary replacement of an original *hi*-conjugated form *huuappi*. Because all *hi*-verbs reflect *\*o/Ø*-ablaut, the Hitt. stem *huuapp-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>uoph<sub>1</sub>-* with *o*-grade (cf. the lemmas *huuapp<sup>l</sup> / huapp-*). (5) “*kuas-*” ‘to kiss’ is based on “heth. *kuuāšzi* ‘küßt’ mit grundstufigem *ā*”. As I show under its lemma, the Hittite verb in fact is *kuuāšš<sup>z</sup>-* with geminate *-šš-*, which cannot be explained by a reconstruction *\*kuaš-*, I therefore reconstruct *\*kuens-*, which would explain the vowel *-a-* as well as the geminate *-šš-* by regular sound laws. Note that the nasal is visible in Gr. κυνέω ‘to kiss’ as well.

<sup>12</sup> For the possibility of the existence of a PAnat. phoneme *\*tʰ/* as well (thus Melchert 1994a: 53, 63), cf. footnote 196.

<sup>13</sup> Melchert (1994a: 53, 63) works with PIE *\*[z]* > PAnat. *\*[z]* as well, a “voiced allophone of *\*/sʰ/*”, giving e.g. “Hitt. *ḥašduēr* ‘twigs, brush’ < (virtual) *\*h<sub>2</sub>o-zd-wér*” as an example. Since I do not see any indication of voicedness as a distinctive feature in Proto-Indo-European, PAnatolian or Hittite (see especially § 1.3.2 below), I will not follow him in this regard.

‘laryngeals’	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>H<sup>w</sup></i>
liquids	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	
vowels	<i>i, ī</i>		<i>u, ū</i>
	<i>e, ē</i>		<i>o, ō</i>
			<i>a, ā</i>

The reconstruction of only two rows of stops is based on the fact that in none of the Anatolian languages evidence can be found for a distinction between the PIE ‘voiced’ and ‘aspirated’ series, which makes it likely that these merged in the pre-PAnatolian period already. The PIE palatovelars and normal velars have different outcomes in Luwian and Lycian (e.g. *\*k̥* > Luw. *z*, Lyc. *s* vs. *\*k* > Luw. *k*, Lyc. *k*), and therefore must have been distinct in PAnatolian as well.

In Kloekhorst fthc.c I have elaborately treated the outcome of the PIE laryngeals in initial position in the Anatolian languages. There I have shown that for PAnatolian there is only evidence for two ‘laryngeals’ word-initially, namely *\*ʔ/* and *\*/H/*, which is valid for word-internal position as well. Moreover I have shown that because the Hittite phoneme */H<sup>w</sup>/* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>u* corresponds to the Lycian phoneme *q* = [k<sup>w</sup>] < *\*h<sub>2</sub>u* it is likely that this phoneme, */H<sup>w</sup>/*, was PAnatolian already.

Because the old PIE laryngeal system collapses (*\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* merge in *\*#He-* and *\*CRHV* to PAnat. *\*/H/*; *\*h<sub>3</sub>* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>* merge in all other position as PAnat. *\*ʔ/*), the allophonic colouring of pre-PAnat. *\*e* due to adjacent *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* becomes phonemicized, yielding the PAnat. phonemes *\*/a/* and *\*/o/* (the latter ultimately merging with the reflex of PIE *\*o*). Note that Lycian shows different reflexes of *\*a* (namely *a*) and *\*o* (namely *e*), which proves that at the PAnatolian level the vowels */o/* and */a/* were distinct.

## 1.3 HITTITE PHONEME INVENTORY

### 1.3.1 *Cuneiform script*

The history of the cuneiform scripts starts with the Sumerians' desire to keep track of business transactions: around 3200 BC the first economic records and inventories were made on lumps of clay by drawing pictures of specific objects together with strokes and cones to represent numbers. Although these pictographs were initially used only as a one-to-one representation of the objects they depicted, in the course of time they not only received a broader semantic notion (e.g. the sign 'mouth' could be used for 'to speak' and 'word' as well), but also could be used more or less phonetically (e.g. the sign 'mouth' was pronounced *ka*, and could be used for writing words with a similar phonetic shape). Together with the fact that the pictographs became more and more stylized and in the end were not well recognizable as the original object anymore, a breeding ground was laid for this system's development into a phonetic script. Around 2350 BC the Sumerian script was adopted by the Akkadians, who reshaped it into a writing system in which the phonetic representation of the language served as the basis, although logograms, i.e. signs that represent a certain notion without referring to it phonetically (the abstracted descendants of the Sumerian pictographs), were still used on a large scale.<sup>14</sup>

The cuneiform script that is used by the Hittite scribes is derived from an Old-Babylonian cursive type that is known from Northern Syria (e.g. Alalah). How exactly the practice of writing found its way from there to Hattuša is not fully clear.<sup>15</sup> Just as in Akkadian, the writing system is basically phonetic.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, a word can be written logographically with so-called sumerograms (i.e. the logograms that are derived from the Sumerian script,<sup>17</sup> e.g. DINGIR

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Coulmas 2003: 41-9; Fischer 2001: 47-57.

<sup>15</sup> It has often been claimed that "diese Form der Keilschrift [= the Old-Babylonian cursive] im Zusammenhang mit Kriegszügen des hethitischen Großkönigs Hattušili I. nach Nordsyrien (um 1550 v. Chr. gemäß der Kurzchronologie) von dort nach Hattuša [...] gelangt sei" (HZL: 15). The discovery of a text (Kt k/k 4) at Kültepe (Kaniš) that palaeographically occupies "eine Position zwischen dem "Normal-aA [= altassyrischen]" Duktus einerseits und dem altsyrischen und dem althethitischen andererseits" (Hecker 1990: 57) shows that the transfer of the Syro-Babylonian scribal tradition into Asia Minor may have been a more gradual process that predates the Hittites' occupation of Hattuša.

<sup>16</sup> In transliteration, phonetic signs are given in small italics.

<sup>17</sup> Sumerograms are transliterated in Roman capitals.



‘god’) or with akkadograms (i.e. as if in Akkadian,<sup>18</sup> e.g. *Ú-UL* ‘not’). It is likely that in both cases the Hittites read these logographically written words with their Hittite counterparts, as can be seen by the use of phonetic complements (i.e. the addition of phonetic signs to spell part of the word underlying the logographic writing, usually to indicate the proper ending, e.g. DINGIR-*uš* = nom.sg. *šūš* ‘god’). To complicate matters, sumerograms sometimes could be extended by an Akkadian phonetic complement, e.g. DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>,<sup>19</sup> which functions as a sort of sumerographic writing of Akk. *ilum* ‘god’, which itself must be regarded as an akkadographic writing of the Hittite word *šūš* ‘god’. Moreover, the cuneiform writing system makes use of so-called determinatives, i.e. logograms that indicate a certain semantic sphere of the word next to which they are placed.<sup>20</sup> For instance, GIŠ ‘wood’ can be used with words that denote objects that are made of wood (e.g. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ninijal-* ‘cradle’), É ‘building’ can be used with words that denote buildings (e.g. <sup>É</sup>*hištā* ‘mausoleum(?)’). Although usually placed in front of a word, some determinatives can be placed at the end of a word (e.g. MUŠEN ‘bird’ as in *hāran*<sup>MUŠEN</sup> ‘eagle’).

For the linguist interested in the Hittite language this complicated system has some disadvantages: certain words are only attested with a sumerographical spelling and never with phonetic signs, which means that we do not know the Hittite rendering of these words. This is not only the case with some rare words, but also with certain words that belong to the basic vocabulary. For instance, ‘son’ is attested with the sumerogram DUMU only; ‘daughter’ is only spelled DUMU.MUNUS<sup>21</sup>; the Hittite reading of the sumerogram MUNUS ‘woman’ is disputed<sup>22</sup>; we do not know the Hittite words for HUR.SAG ‘mountain’, GUŠKIN ‘gold’, KÙ.BABBAR ‘silver’ or numerals like ‘five’, ‘six’, ‘eight’, etc. Nevertheless, we must not forget that exactly the usage of these sumerograms has played a key-role in deciphering the Hittite language and that even nowadays the best evidence for the meaning of a rarely attested word is when a parallel text or copy is found with this word duplicated by a sumerogram.

Despite the wide use of logograms, the Hittite writing system is basically a phonetic one. The phonetic signs are all syllabic, which means that they possess a value *V*, *CV*, *VC* and *CVC* only (in which *V* = vowel and *C* = consonant).

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<sup>18</sup> Akkadograms are transliterated in italic capitals.

<sup>19</sup> Note that the Akkadian phonetic complement is transliterated in superscript.

<sup>20</sup> Determinatives are transliterated in superscript as well.

<sup>21</sup> But cf. <sup>MUNUS</sup>*duttarijata/i-*.

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion under the lemma *\*kuḡan-*.

Herewith, the script was not very well equipped for writing Hittite. As an Indo-European language, Hittite uses words that often contain large consonant clusters, which are difficult to render with a syllabic script: if one wants to write word-initial or word-final consonant clusters or internal clusters of three or more consonants with syllabic signs, one cannot avoid to write vowels that are neither phonetically nor phonologically real. For instance, the word /parHt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘he chases’ is spelled *pár-ah-zi* as well as *pár-ḥa-zi*. In this case, the alternation between *pár-ah-zi* and *pár-ḥa-zi* proves that these *a*’s are “empty”. In other cases, determining whether a vowel grapheme is phonetically and/or phonologically real can be quite difficult, however.

In the following sections I will discuss in detail the peculiarities of the cuneiform script as used by the Hittites in order to determine the Hittite phonological system. I will first look at consonants and then move on to the vowels.

### 1.3.2 Stops

The Old-Babylonian cuneiform syllabary that functioned as the source of the syllabary used in Boğazköy originally had distinct signs for voiced and voiceless stops, e.g. BA vs. PA, DA vs. TA, GI vs. KI, etc.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the Akkadian texts from Boğazköy do not use these contrasting pairs to express a distinction between voiced and voiceless stops. For instance, the sign PA is used as *pa* as well as *bá*, whereas BA is used as *ba* as well as *pá*. Similarly, TA is used as *ta* as well as *dá*; DA as *da* as well as *tá*; TI as *ti* as well as *dî*; DI as *di* as well as *tî*, etc.

In the Hittite texts, the contrasting pairs are not used for voice distinctions either. They are largely interchangeable instead: e.g. *ba-i-iš* = *pa-iš* = /páis/ ‘he gave’; *da-it-ti* = *ta-it-ti* = /táiti/ ‘you place’; *gi-nu-uz-zi* = *ki-nu-uz-zi* = /kinú<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘he opens up’.<sup>24</sup> It must be admitted that certain words show an almost consistent spelling with e.g. DA whereas others are spelled exclusively with TA (e.g. *dāi* ‘he puts’ is consistently spelled with the sign DA; the sentence initial conjunction *ta* is consistently spelled with TA), but all attempts to interpret these cases as

<sup>23</sup> Durham 1976: 364.

<sup>24</sup> Some signs are hardly used in the Hittite texts: e.g. BA predominantly occurs in names; GU is attested only once in a phonetic value ([p]a-an-gu-uš (StBoT 25.13 ii 9 (OS))); BE is used with the values *pát*, *pít* or *pét* only.

pointing to a phonemic opposition in voice,<sup>25</sup> have failed.<sup>26</sup> We rather have to interpret these cases as spelling conventions.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Hittite scribes did distinguish between two series of stops which were expressed by single ( $V-C_1V$ ) vs. geminate spelling ( $VC_1-C_1V$ ). Sturtevant (1932a) was the first to describe this phenomenon and showed that from an etymological point of view the single spelled stops correspond to the PIE ‘voiced’ and ‘voiced aspirated’ series  $*D$  and  $*D^h$ , whereas the geminate spelled stops etymologically correspond to the PIE ‘voiceless’ series  $*T$  (‘Sturtevant’s Law’). The exact phonetic interpretation of the single spelling (which is often termed ‘lenis’) vs. the geminate spelling (often termed ‘fortis’) is difficult, however.

In Hurrian, we find a similar system, namely a distinction between stops that are spelled  $V-C_1V$  and stops that are spelled  $VC_1-C_1V$ . On the basis of Hurrian texts from Ugarit that are written in an alphabetic script, we are much better able to interpret these spellings phonetically, however. According to Wegner (2000: 40), Hurrian shows a phonemic distinction between short (= single spelled) and long (= geminate spelled) stops, which are both voiceless. The short stops became phonetically voiced in some environments (namely intervocalically and after resonant), but these should be regarded as mere allophones.

Kimball (1999: 54) assumes that the Hittites took over the cuneiform script from the Hurrians and states that “[s]cribes adapting the syllabary for Hittite, if they were native speakers of Akkadian, which had phonemic voicing, or native speakers of Hittite, which probably had phonemic voicing, would have tended to hear and spell Hurrian single intervocalic stops as voiced and to hear and spell double stops as voiceless, and, unless they themselves were acquainted with the Old Babylonian values, they would have spelled Hittite voiceless stops with double stops and voiced stops with single stops”. Apart from the fact that this reasoning is rather circular (using the assumption that Hittite probably had phonemic voicing in an argumentation to show that the Hittite spelling reflects phonemic voicing), it would predict that Boğazköy Akkadian would use the same spelling convention to distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops. This is not the case, however: “[t]here seems to be no trace of this orthography [i.e. a system of distinction between stops spelled  $VC-CV$  (voiceless(?)) and those spelled  $V-CV$

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<sup>25</sup> E.g. Oettinger 1979a: 551f.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 13-4: “While a great number of words are spelled consistently with either the voiceless or voiced sign, this usage does not correspond in any meaningful way with the voicing quality of the sounds being indicated, based on their expected inherited value”.

(voiced(?)) in Bo[ğazköy] Akk[adian]” (Durham 1976: 371). Moreover, there are spelling conventions in Hurrian that are not used in Hittite, e.g. the use of the sign GE/I as having the *e*-vowel only (/ke/) vs. the use of the sign KE/I as having the *i*-vowel only (/ki/) (Wegner 2000: 37-8). This shows that the Hittites cannot have adopted the cuneiform script directly from the Hurrians.

Melchert (1994a: 20) interprets the Hittite ‘fortis’ stops as long and voiceless (-*TT*-), whereas the ‘lenis’ stops are short and voiced (-*D*-). Furthermore, Melchert assumes that secondarily a third series arose, namely stops that are long as well as voiced (-*DD*-) (the result of e.g. \**Dh*<sub>2</sub>-). The existence of this last series must be abandoned, however: there is not a shred of evidence for a distinction in spelling between “-*TT*-” and “-*DD*-”, and therefore a phonetic and phonological distinction between the two cannot be proven. Moreover, Melchert does not give any evidence for the view that the long stops were voiceless and the the short ones voiced.

In my view, voice cannot have been a distinctive feature between the geminate spelled and the single spelled stops. If voice really was a phonological feature of one of these series, why did the Hittite scribes not use the voice-distinction available in the Akkadian syllabary? Even in writing Akkadian, of which we know that it had phonemic voicing, a distinction in voice is not expressed in spelling, which suggests that the Hittite scribes just were not able to distinguish voiced from voiceless stops. Moreover, as we saw above, the fact that in Boğazköy Akkadian the system of single vs. geminate spelling is not used, shows that the ‘fortis/lenis’-distinction cannot be compared phonetically to the distinction in voice known from Akkadian.

The fact that the Hittite scribes used the orthographically awkward distinction between geminate vs. single spelling in writing Hittite can only mean that the phonetic distinction between the two series of stops was length. This is supported by the following observations.

First, in certain phonetic developments where it is significant whether a syllable is closed or open, a geminate spelled stop counts as a closing factor. For instance, the form *kitta* ‘he lies’ < \**kī̇ta* < \**kēito* shows the ‘shortening’ of \**i̇* in a closed syllable,<sup>27</sup> which shows that *-tt-* closes the syllable and therefore must be regarded as phonetically long [t:].

Second, if voice was a distinctive feature, we would expect to find voice-assimilation. So, if a word like *e-ku-ud-du* ‘he must drink’ would really contain a

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<sup>27</sup> Compare *ki-iš-ḥa* ‘I become’ /kísHa/ < \**kī̇sHa* < \**gēis-h<sub>2</sub>o* vs. *ki-i-ša* ‘he becomes’ /kīsa/ < \**kī̇sa* < \**gēis-o*.

cluster [-g<sup>w</sup>t-] with a voiced stop [g<sup>w</sup>] before a voiceless stop [t], I do not see why neither the [g<sup>w</sup>] was devoiced because of the following [t] to \*\*[-k<sup>w</sup>t-] (spelled \*\**e-ek-ku-ud-du*), nor the [t] was voiced because of the preceding [g<sup>w</sup>] to \*\*[g<sup>w</sup>d] (spelled \*\**e-ku-du*). Since neither of these assimilations took place, we are bound to conclude that voicedness is neither a phonemic nor a phonetic feature of the Hittite stops.

I therefore conclude that the ‘fortis’ consonants (spelled with a geminate) were phonetically long and the ‘lenis’ consonants (spelled single) were short and that there is no evidence for a distinction in voice. So *VppV* = [p:] vs. *VpV* = [p]; *VttV* and *VddV* = [t:] vs. *VtV* and *VdV* = [t]; etc. Nevertheless, I have chosen to adopt the following phonemic spelling throughout the book:

Fortis	/p/	/t/	/k/	/k <sup>w</sup> /
Lenis	/b/	/d/	/g/	/g <sup>w</sup> /

The choice of these symbols for the phonological representation of the stops is a matter of convenience. It does **not** indicate that I consider voicedness a phonemic feature at any point in the history of Hittite.

It should be noted that the phonetic change of a fortis stop into a lenis stop or vice versa (which can happen in certain phonetic environments) should consequently not be called ‘voicing’ or ‘devoicing’, but rather ‘lenition’ and ‘fortition’.<sup>28</sup> For instance, the fact that impf. *ak-ku-uš-ke/a-* ‘to drink’ shows a fortis /k<sup>w</sup>/ whereas the basic verb has /g<sup>w</sup>/ (*eku-<sup>zi</sup> / aku-*) is due to fortition of /g<sup>w</sup>/ to /k<sup>w</sup>/ in front of /-ske/a-/, and not due to devoicing.<sup>29</sup>

Since in word-initial position no orthographic distinction between geminate and single stop could be made, it is unclear whether the two series are distinct in this position or have merged. Since there is not a single spelling practice in Hittite (nor in Palaic and CLuwian, for that matter) that even attempts to indicate a distinction between initial \**T* and \**D* / \**D<sup>h</sup>*, I cannot but assume that in initial position this distinction has been lost. Nevertheless, the distinction must have been present in Proto-Anatolian, as is indicated by the fact that initial \**ti-* yielded Hitt. *z-* and \**di-* > Hitt. *š-*, whereas they merged in Luwian as *ti-*. So, if the two series have merged in Hittite in initial position, this must be a post-Proto-

<sup>28</sup> Similarly, I use the term *fortited* for describing an original lenis stop that has become a fortis one (in analogy to *lenited*).

<sup>29</sup> Contra e.g. Melchert 1994a: 92, who calls this phenomenon a “regressive voicing assimilation”.

Anatolian development.<sup>30</sup> On the basis of reduplicated forms like *kikkīš-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, the imperfective of *kīš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *kīš-* ‘to happen, to become’ < \**ǵeīs-*, it has been assumed that in Hittite the initial stops merged in the fortis series /p, t, k and k<sup>w</sup>/.<sup>31</sup> Since the moment of the creation of this reduplicated form is unknown, it does not shed too much light on the situation in Hittite, however.<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, the stem *hatug-* ‘terrible’, which probably reflects \**h<sub>2</sub>tug-*, shows lenition of PIE \**t* to Hitt. /d/ in the initial cluster \**h<sub>2</sub>t-*<sup>33</sup> and therefore could be used as an argument for the opposite view, namely that all initial stops merged into the lenis series. Again this example is non-probative, however, because the fact that /d/ is a lenis stop does not prove anything regarding the status of initial *h-*. All in all, the matter cannot be decided. Since merger equals absence of a phonemic distinction, the matter may not be very interesting from a phonological point of view. In this book I will cite initial stops with their fortis variant in phonological interpretations, so /p-/ , /t-/ , /k-/ and /k<sup>w</sup>-/.

We could assume that in word-final position a similar merger has taken place, and Melchert (1994a: 85) states that “[v]oiced stops ha[ve] been generalized in word-final position”, giving “*pa-i-ta-aš* = /páy-d-as/ ‘went he’” as an example. This example is non-probative, however, since the enclitic personal pronoun =*a-* may have had a leniting effect on the preceding consonant (just as the enclitic particle =(m)*a* ‘but’ had, in contrast with the fortiting enclitic particle =(i)*a* ‘and’). It is moreover contradicted by the words *takku* /tak<sup>w</sup>/ and *nekku* /nek<sup>w</sup>/ that show a fortis /k<sup>w</sup>/ in word-final position. When compared with 2sg.imp.act. *e-ku* /ʔég<sup>w</sup>/ ‘drink!’, which unmistakably has a lenis stop in word-final position, we must conclude that the fortis and lenis stops remained distinct word-finally.

For the phonemicity of the labiovelars, compare the spellings *e-ku-zi*, *e-uk-zi* ‘he drinks’ and *tar-ku-zi*, *tar-uk-zi* ‘he dances’ that point to a monophonemic /g<sup>w</sup>/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/ and not to /gu/ and /ku/. Moreover, *a-ku-e-ni* ‘we drink’ contrasts with *ar-nu-me-ni* ‘we transport’ which shows that the former is /ʔg<sup>w</sup>uéni/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-*

<sup>30</sup> Melchert (1994a: 20) is aware of this and therefore calls the “devoicing of word-initial stops”, which he assumes for Hittite as well as for Palaic and CLuwian, “an areal feature across Anatolia”.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 19.

<sup>32</sup> It is for instance possible that *kikkīš-* was created at a (post-Proto-Anatolian) period when the initial stops had merged into the fortis series, but that later on all initial stops became lenis again, so that attested *kikkīš-* in fact represents /gikis-/.

<sup>33</sup> Which implies that we must assume that in forms like *happešsar* ‘limb’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>p-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r*, *hattant-* ‘clever’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>t-ént-*, or *appanzi* ‘they seize’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>pénti*, where the fortis stop at first sight seems to have been retained in a similar initial cluster, these consonants were in fact restored on the basis of the full-grade stems \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>et-* and \**h<sub>1</sub>ep-*.

*uéni*, whereas the latter is /ʔnuméni/ < \**h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-uéni*, where *-uu-* yielded *-um-*. A third argument is that *e-ku-ut-ta* ‘he drank’ shows the postconsonantal allomorph *-tta* of the 3sg.pret.act.-ending (cf. e.g. *e-ep-ta* ‘he took’), whereas e.g. *ar-nu-ut* shows the postvocalic variant *-t*. Compare also the fact that 1sg.pret.act. *e-ku-un* ‘I drank’ shows the postconsonantal ending *-un* which contrasts with the postvocalic variant *-nun* as visible in e.g. *ar-nu-nu-un* ‘I settled’.

All in all, with regard to the stops, the Hittite phonological system nicely matches the Proto-Indo-European phonological system. If we compare the two systems, we see that between PIE and Hittite only three major developments took place. First, the loss of glottalization in the glottalized lenis series (the traditional ‘voiced’ series) caused this series to merge with the plain lenis series (the traditional ‘voiced aspirated’ series). Note that there is no indication that anywhere in the development between PIE and Hittite voice or aspiration has been a phonological or even phonetic feature. Secondly, the PIE palatovelars and the plain velars (which were still separate phonemes at the Proto-Anatolian stage) merged into Hitt. /k/ and /g/. Thirdly, word-initially the lenis and fortis series seem to have merged.

### 1.3.3 Glottal stop

In Kloekhorst fthc.c, I have argued that in word-initial position Hittite possesses a phonemic glottal stop /ʔ/. This is apparent e.g. in the spelling difference between *ú-ya-a-tar* ‘inspection’ and *ya-a-tar* ‘water’, where the former reflects \**Hu-ótr* and the latter \**uódr*. This means that *ú-ya-a-tar* represents /ʔuádr/<sup>34</sup> and *ya-a-tar* stands for /uádr/. A word-initial glottal stop also clarifies the symmetry between *ša-ša-an-zi* ‘they sleep’ /ssánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**ssénti* and *a-ša-an-zi* ‘they are’ /ʔsánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>sénti*.<sup>35</sup>

OS spellings like *ne-e-a* ‘turns’ < \**néih<sub>1/3</sub>-o* and *hé-e-a-u-e-eš* ‘rains’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-eu-* show that in the oldest period the glottal stop was still present in intervocalic position: /néʔa/ and /Héʔaues/. Younger spellings like *ne-e-ia* (MH/MS) and *hé-e-ia-u-e-š=a* (OS), which must represent /néa/ and /Héaues/ respectively, show that intervocalic glottal stop was lost in the late OH period.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Durham 1976: 109 for the observation that in the Akkadian texts written in Boğazköy the sign Ú could be used as ‘u’, i.e. with initial ‘aleph = [ʔ].

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.: 117 for the sign A as ‘a’.

In the position  $*CRh_1V$ , the glottal stop was retained as such throughout Hittite as can be seen by spellings like *pa-ri-pa-ra-a-i* ‘he blows’ which must represent  $/pripr\acute{a}i/ < *pri-prh_1-ói-ei$ .<sup>36</sup> Note that if  $*h_1$  would have been lost in this position, we would expect a spelling  $**pa-ri-ip-ra-a-i = **/pripráí/$ .

### 1.3.4 Affricate

It is generally assumed that the consonant  $-z$ <sup>37</sup> must be phonetically interpreted as an affricate  $[tʃ]$ ,<sup>38</sup> which for instance follows from the fact that the outcome of nom.sg.c.  $*-ent-s$  is spelled *-an-za*. To which extent this affricate  $[tʃ]$  must be regarded as a single phoneme instead of a sequence of the phonemes  $/t/$  and  $/s/$  is less clear. A major source for  $-z-$  is the assibilation of  $*-t-$  in front of  $*-i-$ . Nevertheless, the outcome of  $*-ti-$  is not identical to the outcome of  $*-Tsi-$ , as we can tell from the fact that 2sg.pres.act.  $*h_1édsi$  ‘you eat’ yields a form spelled in Hittite as *e-ez-ši*, whereas the 3sg.pres.act.-ending of  $-i\acute{e}/a-$  and  $-ške/a-$  verbs,  $*-e-ti$ , yields a form spelled in Hittite as *-ez-zi* or *-Ce-zi*, but never as  $**e-ez-ši$ . In my view, this shows that the former form, *e-ez-ši*, represents  $/ʔédSi/$ ,<sup>39</sup> whereas the latter forms represent  $/-et^s i/$ , with a monophonemic sound that I have rendered with the symbol  $/t^s/$  throughout this book. It must be noted, however, that I do not interpret every spelling of  $-z-$  without a following  $-š-$  as a spelling of the phoneme  $/t^s/$ . In cases where synchronically an analysis of  $t + s$  or  $d + s$  is obvious, I just write  $/ts/$  or  $/ds/$ .<sup>40</sup> Note that I also interpret the outcome of  $*-tt-$  or  $*-dt-$  as  $/-tst-/$  and  $/-dst-/$ . This is indicated by spellings like *az-za-aš-te-ni*  $/ʔdsténi/$  ‘you eat’ <

<sup>36</sup> See under the lemma *parai*<sup>1</sup> / *pari-* ‘to blow’ for further treatment.

<sup>37</sup> Spelled with the signs ZA, ZE/I, ZÉ, ZU, AZ, E/IZ, UZ, GAZ, ZUL and ZUM, which in Akkadian are used for the emphatic  $\text{š}$ : *ša, šé/i, še/i, šú, aš, e/iš, uš, gaš, šul* and *šum* respectively.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Kouwenberg (2003: 83) who states that Akk. “emphatic”  $\text{š}$  in fact was glottalized  $/ṣ̌/$ , which was realized as an affricate  $/ʃ̣/$ . Kimball’s suggestion (1999: 107) that “it is possible that  $^{\circ}Z^{\circ}$  represents a voiced pre- or postconsonantal  $/z/$  resulting from voicing assimilation (e.g. *za-ma-an-kur* “beard” =  $[zmā(n)kur]$  (?) < IE  $*smókwr$  “beard” [...])” is entirely *ad hoc*: cf. cases where Hitt. *ša-mV* reflects etymological  $*smV$ .

<sup>39</sup> With  $/S/$  as visible in  $[e-ez-za-a]š-ši$ , cf. § 1.4.4.2.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. *hur-za-ke/a-* =  $/Hortske/a-/$ , which is the imperfective in  $-ške/a-$  of *huṣart*<sup>1</sup> / *hurt-* (cf. the one spelling *hur-za-aš-ke/a-*), or *-an-za* =  $/-ants/$ , which is a nom.sg.c. in  $-s$  of the suffix *-ant-* (cf. the spelling *-an-za-aš-ša*  $/-antSa/ = -anz + =(j)a$ ).



\**h<sub>1</sub>d-th<sub>1</sub>é* and *e-ez-za-aš-ta* /ʔédsta/ ‘he ate’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>éd-t(o)*. This also makes it unnecessary to assume a variant /d<sup>s</sup>/ besides /t<sup>s</sup>/.

Yoshida’s attempt (2001) to show that in the oldest texts there was an opposition between geminate spelled -zz- and single spelled -z- that reflects PAnat. \*-ti- vs. \*-di- and therefore must be interpreted as an opposition between fortis /t<sup>s</sup>/ and lenis /d<sup>s</sup>/ fails to convince me.<sup>41</sup>

### 1.3.5 Fricatives

I assume the following phonemic fricatives:

Fortis	/H/	/H <sup>w</sup> /	/S/
Lenis	/h/	/h <sup>w</sup> /	/s/

The difference between fortis and lenis is expressed by geminate vs. single spelling. In initial position, we cannot decide whether we are dealing with the fortis or the lenis variant, and I therefore write /H-/ , /H<sup>w</sup>-/ and /s-/ initially. For the phonemicity of the labialized laryngeals /H<sup>w</sup>/ and /h<sup>w</sup>/, see Kloekhorst fthc.c, where I argued that a spelling variation like *tar-hu-zi*, *ta-ru-uh-zi* and *tar-uh-zi* ‘he conquers’ points to a phonological form /tárH<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/.<sup>42</sup>

### 1.3.6 Resonants

The following resonants are in my view phonemic:

Fortis	/R/	/L/	/N/	/M/
Lenis	/r/	/l/	/n/	/m/

<sup>41</sup> The only secure examples of assibilation of \*di- in Hittite show an outcome ši-, namely <sup>d</sup>šūš ‘god’ < \*diéus and šīyatt- ‘day’ < \*diéyot.

<sup>42</sup> /H<sup>w</sup>/ is the regular outcome of PIE \*-h<sub>2</sub>u-. On the basis of the fact that \*-h<sub>2</sub>u- yielded the Lycian monophoneme q = [k<sup>w</sup>], I conclude that /H<sup>w</sup>/ was already phonemic at the Proto-Anatolian stage.

Again, the difference between fortis and lenis is expressed by geminate vs. single spelling. Since this difference is not visible in word-initial position, I arbitrarily write /l-/ , /n-/ and /m-/ here. Note that /r/ does not occur word-initially, which is a direct result of the PIE constraint that no word could start in *\*r-*.<sup>43</sup>

### 1.3.7 Syllabic resonants

Although the fact that a PIE sequence *\*CRC* yields the Hittite spelling *CaRC* is well-established, the exact phonetic and phonological interpretation of this spelling is not fully clear. Usually, the spelling *CaRC* is phonologically interpreted as /CaRC/, having a real vowel /a/.<sup>44</sup> That this cannot be correct, is deducible from the verb *ārš-*<sup>zi</sup> / *arš-* ‘to flow’. Here we find a distribution between the strong stem that is spelled *a-ar-aš-* and the weak stem that is spelled *ar-aš-* or *ar-š<sup>o</sup>*. As I have argued under its lemma, we expect that the strong stem reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>ers-*, which suggests that the spelling *a-ar-aš<sup>o</sup>* phonologically must be interpreted as /ʔarS-/ , containing the vowel /a/.<sup>45</sup> This means, however, that the weak stem *arš-*, which must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>rs-*, cannot contain the vowel /a/, since we then would have expected the same spelling for strong and weak stem. This forces us to look for another solution. There are two options: on the one hand we can assume that in *\*CRC* an anaptyctic vowel emerged that, although it did resemble /a/, was not identical to it. We could think of [ə] or [ɐ] or similar, which by default was spelled with *-a-*. This would mean that we would have to assume a phonemic vowel that I will write as /ə/: so *\*CrC* > Hitt. /CəRC/, spelled *CarC*.

On the other hand, we could also envisage that these ‘vocalic’ resonants in fact were underlyingly still identical to their consonantal counterparts, /r/, /l/, /m/ and /n/, and that their syllabicity was a pure phonetic feature that is predictable on the basis of the phonetic environment. This would mean that PIE *\*CrC* yields Hitt. /CrC/, phonetically realized as [CəRC] or [CɛrC], spelled *CarC*.

Problematic, however, is that the Hittite texts offer arguments for both options. For instance, the verb *appat(a)rije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to confiscate’, which is a derivative in *-je/a-* of the noun *appātar* ‘seizing’, is spelled *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* (OS), *ap-pa-ta-ri-*

<sup>43</sup> So all PIE roots that seemingly had an initial *\*r-*, must in fact have had either *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-*, the regular outcomes of which in Hittite were /ʔr-/ , /Hr-/ and /ʔr-/ , spelled *ar-*, *har-* and *ar-*, respectively.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Melchert 1994a: 125.

<sup>45</sup> Note that the ‘plene’ spelling in this case does not indicate vowel length, but rather must be read as *'a-ar-aš-* with the sign A = ‘a<sub>v</sub>’.

*ez-zi* (OH/MS?), as well as *ap-pát-ri-ja-az-zi* (MH/NS). The first and last attestation seem to point to phonetic [ʔp:atrié/á-], whereas the second points to phonetic [ʔp:atrjé/á-] or [ʔp:atərjé/á-]. Phonemically, this verb must be interpreted as /ʔpadrié/á-/, which subsequently shows that the noun *appātar* must represent /ʔpādr/, without a phonemic vowel /ə/.

In § 2.2.2.2.f, I argue that the *hi*-verbs that show a synchronic *āi*-ablaut, e.g. *ga-ra-a-pí / ka-ri-pa-an-zi* = /krābi / kriḅánt<sup>s</sup>i/, must ultimately go back to the normal *\*o/Ø*-ablaut, in this case *\*ḡ<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-ei / \*ḡ<sup>h</sup>rbh<sub>1</sub>-énti*. Because the phonetically regular outcome of these verbs, Hitt. *CRāCi / \*\*CaRCanzi* < *\*CróC-ei / \*CRC-énti*, shows a synchronic Schwebelablaut *CRāC- / CaRC-*, the weak stem form was altered by inserting the epenthetic vowel /i/ on the place of the strong stem vowel: *CRiC-* in analogy to *\*CRāC-*. This scenario implies, however, that the vowel of *\*\*CaRC-* < *\*CRC-* was at least phonetically real. Moreover, we would be inclined to think that this vowel must have been phonemically real as well in order to trigger a replacement by the secondary stem *CRiC-*.

In word-initial position we encounter forms like *\*nsós* > *an-za-a-aš* ‘us’ vs. *\*lḡ<sup>h</sup>ént-* > *la-ga-an-t-* ‘felled’. Here it is quite clear that the outcome *la-ga-an-t-* cannot be regular: we should expect *\*\*al-ga-an-t-*, just as *\*nsós* yielded *an-za-a-aš*. Quite obviously, the form *la-ga-an-t-* has been influenced by full-grade forms like *\*lóḡ<sup>h</sup>ei* > *la-a-ki*. This indicates that here we really should assume a phonemic vowel /ə/, and subsequently interpret *la-ga-an-t-* as /ləḡánt-/. A similar concept explains *ḡa-al-ḡa-an-zi, ḡa-al-aḡ-ḡa-an-zi* ‘they hit’ < *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-énti*. In analogy to the strong stem *\*uélh<sub>3</sub>-ti* > Hitt. /uálHt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ḡa-al-aḡ-zi* ‘he hits’, the weak stem, which should have regularly yielded /ulHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, was changed to /uəlHánt<sup>s</sup>i/.

The vowel /ə/ is also necessary for the interpretation of *ku-ḡa-aš-ke/a-*, the imperfective of *kuen<sup>-zi</sup> / kun-* ‘to kill, to slay’. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.e, a sequence *\*CuRCC* or *\*K<sup>w</sup>RCC* yields Hitt. *CuḡaRCC* (whereas *\*CuRCV* or *\*K<sup>w</sup>RCV* yields *CuRCV*). This means that *ku-ḡa-aš-ke/a-* reflects /k<sup>w</sup>əske/a-/ < *\*/k<sup>w</sup>ḡske/a-/*, the regular outcome of *\*ḡ<sup>wh</sup>n-ské/ó-*.

All in all, I will in principle treat the ‘syllabic’ resonants phonemically as their consonantal counterparts and assume that any phonetic realization with an epenthetic vowel is automatically determined by the environment. So the pair *āršzi / aršanzi* in my view represents phonological /ʔarS- / ʔrS-/. Nevertheless, some words where the vocalization of a resonant is analogically altered or where the buccal part of the vocalized resonant has been lost, can only be analysed as containing a phonemic vowel /ə/ (e.g. *la-ga-an-t-* /ləḡánt-/ << *\*lḡ<sup>h</sup>ént-*, *ma-ak-nu-*

/məgnu-/ << \*mǵ-nu-, ȳa-al-ḫa-an-zi /uəlHánt<sup>s</sup>i/ << \*ulh<sub>3</sub>énti and ku-ȳa-aš-ke/a- /k<sup>w</sup>əske/a-/ < \*ǵ<sup>w<sup>h</sup></sup>nské/ó-). The vowel /ə/ is rather marginal, however.

### 1.3.8 Semi-vowels

It is usually assumed that Hittite possessed two semi-vowels or glides, namely /y/ and /w/. This implies that these are phonologically different from the vowels /i/ and /u/. Let us look at several phonetic environments to see if this is really the case.

In the case of \*TiT and \*TuT (in which T = any stop), it is quite clear that in Hittite there is no phonological difference between /TiT/ and /TuT/ on the one hand and /TyT/ and /TwT/ of the other. In the case of \*ViV and \*VuV, it is also clear that in Hittite there is no phonological distinction between /ViV/ and /VuV/ on the one hand and /VyV/ and /VwV/. So in these environments it is not useful to distinguish between /i/ and /y/ and between /u/ and /w/. The question becomes more interesting when dealing with cases like \*CuV / \*CiV and \*CuRC and \*CiRC.

Let us first look at \*CuV and \*CiV. We may ask ourselves if a form like *la-ak-nu-an-zi*, *la-ak-nu-ȳa-an-zi* ‘they fell’ < \*lǵ<sup>h</sup>-nu-énti is phonologically to be interpreted as /ləḡnuánt<sup>s</sup>i/, as /ləḡnwánt<sup>s</sup>i/ or even as /ləḡnuwánt<sup>s</sup>i/. The last option is impossible, since Hittite has a synchronic sound law that -u<sub>1</sub>V- yields -umV-,<sup>46</sup> so we must choose from either /ləḡnuánt<sup>s</sup>i/ or /ləḡnwánt<sup>s</sup>i/. It is clear that this latter option is impossible as well, since we then would have expected a phonetic realization [ləḡnwánt<sup>s</sup>i] or [ləḡn<sup>w</sup>wánt<sup>s</sup>i], spelled \*\**la-ga-nu-ȳa-an-zi* (vocalization of -n- in between consonants). So we must conclude that /ləḡnuánt<sup>s</sup>i/ is the only correct phonological interpretation. It is likely, however, that the sequence /CuaC/ was phonetically realized with a glide [u], so [Cu<sup>u</sup>aC], but we must keep in mind that this glide did not have a phonemic status.

The case of *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* is similar: should we analyze this as /ʔpadriét<sup>s</sup>i/, /ʔpadryét<sup>s</sup>i/ or /ʔpadriyét<sup>s</sup>i/? Although in principle the last option cannot be disproven (there are no indications that a sequence -i<sub>1</sub>V- would undergo a

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<sup>46</sup> One could argue that this rule has ceased to operate at the time that /ləḡnuwánt<sup>s</sup>i/ has become the phonemic form, but this is incorrect: the development “/uw/” > /um/ is synchronically still operative as can be seen from e.g. *aumeni* ‘we see’. This form is a MH creation that replaced OH *umēni*: if at that time the development /uw/ > /um/ had ceased to operate, the secondary form *au-* + *-uēni* should have yielded \*\**auuēni*.

phonetic change), it is inevitable that here as well we should choose for the analysis /ʔpadriét<sup>s</sup>i/. We therefore can conclude that in the case of \*CuV and \*CiV, the outcomes must be phonologically interpreted as /CuV/ and /CiV/ and not as \*\*/CwV/ and \*\*/CyV/.

The case of \*CuRC, including \*#urC and \*Cur#, is very interesting, however. For instance, the suffix -uar, which forms verbal nouns, always has the form -uar, no matter if a consonant or a vowel precedes. Under its lemma, we will see that -uar reflects \*-ur, however. The idea is that on the basis of postvocalic positions, e.g. \*-ié-ur or \*-ské-ur, the variant \*-ur was generalized, also when following a consonant, e.g. hínkuuar. The question now is, does this form synchronically represent /Hínkwr/, or should we analyse it as /Hínkuər/? This latter form would show the position /CuV/ of which we have seen that here no distinction between /CuV/ and /CwV/ is visible.

A similar question can be asked with regard to ualḥ<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to hit’. As we will see under its lemma, this verb must have undergone some levelling. The PIE paradigm \*uelh<sub>3</sub>-ti, \*ulh<sub>3</sub>-énti should regularly have yielded \*\*ualzi, \*ullanzi, which is quite different from the attested forms: ua-al-aḥ-zi, ua-al-ḥa-an-zi. In order to explain these forms, we should assume the following scenario: (1) prevocalic \*u is phonemicized as /w/: \*uelh<sub>3</sub>ti > \*uélh<sub>3</sub>ti; (2) \*u spreads over the paradigm, replacing \*ulh<sub>3</sub>énti by \*uḥ<sub>3</sub>énti; (3) at the moment that interconsonantal laryngeals drop, \*h<sub>3</sub> is restored in \*uelh<sub>3</sub>ti in analogy of \*uḥ<sub>3</sub>énti, where it was retained; (4) \*uélh<sub>3</sub>ti, \*uḥ<sub>3</sub>énti yields Hitt. ua-al-aḥ-zi, ua-al-ḥa-an-zi. As we see, in the prehistory of Hittite it is of crucial importance to assume a phonological difference between /w/ and /u/. The question is whether this in synchronic Hittite is the case as well. If 3pl. ua-al-ḥa-an-zi < \*uḥ<sub>3</sub>énti is to be phonologically interpreted as /wHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, we should certainly assume a separate phoneme /w/, because /uHánt<sup>s</sup>i/ would have been spelled \*\*ul-ḥa-an-zi.<sup>47</sup> If however, ua-al-ḥa-an-zi is to be phonologically interpreted as /uəHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, as was suggested above (§ 1.3.7), we are dealing with a sequence \*#uV, of which it is likely that it does not show a distinction between /#uV/ and /#wV/ (in analogy to \*CuV).

Compare also the example of ú-ra-a-ni ‘burns’. As we will see under its lemma, this form reflects \*urh<sub>1</sub>-óri, and I therefore phonologically interpret ú-ra-a-ni as /urʔáni/. From MH times onwards, this form is spelled ua-ra-a-ni,

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<sup>47</sup> At least in OS texts, cf. the regular development of OH ú-ra-a-ni /urʔáni/ > MH/NH ua-ra-a-ni = /uərʔáni/ ‘burns’.

however. Does this form represent /wrʔáni/, with a real /w/, or should we assume /uərʔáni/, with initial /uV/?

As we see, in cases where \*u is adjacent to a syllabic resonant, the phonological interpretation is a matter of taste. If one wants, one could assume a phoneme /w/ in these positions, but I would rather analyse these cases as /uəR/, in which no distinction between /u/ and /w/ has to be made.

All in all, I do not think that it is necessary to assume a phonological distinction between the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ on the one hand and the real vowels /i/ and /u/ on the other.<sup>48</sup> I will therefore only use the vowels /i/ and /u/ in my phonological system (and consequently write /ViV/ and /VuV/ as well).

Note that with the elimination of phonemic /w/, the rule \*/uw/ > /um/ and \*/wu/ > /mu/ should be reformulated as \*/uuV/ > /umV/ and \*/VuuC/ > /VmuC/. For instance: /ʔau-/ + /-ueni/ > \*/ʔáuueni/ > /ʔáumeni/.<sup>49</sup>

### 1.3.9 Vowels

Because of the deficiency of the cuneiform script, the reconstruction of the Hittite vowel system is not easy.

As I stated above (§ 1.3.1), the fact that the script only contains signs with the value *V*, *CV*, *VC* and *CVC* makes it impossible to write word-initial or word-final consonant clusters or internal clusters of three or more consonants without writing vowels that are neither phonetically nor phonologically real,<sup>50</sup> e.g. /parHt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘he chases’ which is spelled *pár-ah-zi* as well as *pár-ḥa-zi* in which the underlined *a*’s must be ‘empty’. Unfortunately, it is not always clear when a written vowel is real or empty or if we have to reckon with a difference between a phonetically real and a phonologically real vowel (cf. for instance the status of the spelling of *-a-* in reflexes of \**CRC* as discussed in § 1.3.7 above). It therefore can

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<sup>48</sup> A special case is the verb *tar(k)u-zi* ‘to dance’. As I will show under its lemma, this verb reflects \**terk<sup>w</sup>*-, of which the buccal part of \**k<sup>w</sup>* is lost in the cluster \**rk<sup>w</sup>C* (compare e.g. *ḥarzi* ‘he has’ < \**h<sup>z</sup>érkti*). So \**térk<sup>w</sup>ti* > Hitt. *tar-ú-zi* and, more importantly, impf. \**trk<sup>w</sup>ské/ó-* > OH *ta-ru-uš-ke/a-* > NH *tar-ú-iš-ke/a-*. Does the NH form *tar-ú-iš-ke/a-* have to be interpreted as /trwiské/á-/ and therefore OH *ta-ru-uš-ke/a-* as /trwiské/á-/ and *tar-ú-zi* as /tárwt<sup>s</sup>i/? Or can we assume that in NH *tar-ú-iš-ke/a-* the NH suffix-variant /-iské/á-/ has been secondarily introduced and that OH *ta-ru-uš-ke/a-* can be interpreted as /truské/á-/ and *tar-ú-zi* as /tárwt<sup>s</sup>i/?

<sup>49</sup> Which incidentally shows that \*/VuuV/ yields /VumV/, and not \*/VmuV/).

<sup>50</sup> Except clusters that include labiovelars or the phoneme /H<sup>w</sup>/: e.g. *ku-ra-an-zi* ‘they cut’ = /k<sup>w</sup>ránt<sup>s</sup>i/, *tar-ḥu-uz-zi* ‘he conquers’ = /tárH<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/.

be informative to look at spellings of Hittite words in other languages. For instance, in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe (Neša / Kaniš),<sup>51</sup> we find the Hittite word *išparuzzi-* ‘rafter, roof batten’ attested as *išpuruzzinnum*, which points to a pronunciation [isprut<sup>s</sup>i-], just as we would expect on the basis of its etymology, \**spr-uti-*; the (hypothetical) Hittite word \**lahuzzi-* ‘vessel for pouring’ is attested as *luhuzzinnum*, a vessel, pointing to [lhut<sup>s</sup>i] < \**lh<sub>2</sub>u-uti-*; the Hittite word *haluka-* ‘message’ is attested as *hulugannum* / *hilugannum*, pointing to [hluga-] < \**h<sub>2</sub>l(e/o)ug<sup>h</sup>o-*. Although the OAss. words are attested in texts predating the Hittite texts with a few centuries, I do not see why these forms would not have been pronounced with initial clusters in synchronic Hittite as well. I would therefore interpret *išparuzzi-* as /isprut<sup>s</sup>i-/ and *haluka-* as /Hluga-/.

### 1.3.9.1 Plene spelling

A second problem we encounter is the practice of ‘plene spelling’, i.e. the extra writing of the vowel of a *CV* or *VC*-sign by its own separate sign, e.g. *la-a-ḫu-i*, *a-aš-šu*, *ma-a-ar-ka-aḫ-ḫi*. The function of plene spelling has been and still is a hotly debated topic in Hittitology. For an excellent overview of the views on plene spelling throughout the history of Hittitology, I refer to Kimball 1999: 54-68. It is very important to bear in mind that “[p]lene writing was never used with absolute consistency in texts of any period” and that “[a]s a general rule, plene writing is more frequent in early texts (texts in OH ductus and many MH texts) than it is in original compositions of the NH period” (Kimball 1999: 55).

In my view, plene spelling can have several functions. The most common function is that it denotes phonetic length of a vowel, e.g. *ne-e-pi-iš* in which the plene *-e-* denotes a long  $\bar{e}$ , which is the phonetically regular outcome of an underlying accentuated /e/ in open syllable. So *ne-e-pi-iš* denotes phonetic [né:pis] = phonological /nébis/.<sup>52</sup>

Although a long vowel is usually the result of accentuation, a plene spelled vowel cannot automatically be regarded as accentuated.<sup>53</sup> For instance, a word like *la-a-ḫu-ua-a-i* cannot have had two accents. In my view, it represents /lāh<sup>w</sup>ái/, a secondary adaptation of original *la-a-ḫu-i* = /lāh<sup>w</sup>i/ into the productive *tarn(a)*-class.

<sup>51</sup> All examples are taken from Dercksen *ftc*.

<sup>52</sup> Note that this word often is spelled *ne-pi-iš* as well, without a plene *-e-*.

<sup>53</sup> Moreover, not every accentuated vowel gets lengthened, as we will see in the treatment of the historical phonological developments below.

In word-initial position, a plene vowel can denote an initial glottal stop, and does not necessarily indicate vowel length: e.g. *a-ar-aš-zi* = 'a-ar-aš-zi = /ʔárSt<sup>s</sup>i/; *e-eš-zi* = 'e-eš-zi = /ʔést<sup>s</sup>i/; *a-a-an-ši* = 'a-a-an-ši = /ʔánsi/, etc. In the case of *-e-* and *-i-*, a plene vowel can also be used to disambiguate an ambiguous sign (see below).

It should be noted that the sequence ḤU-U- occurs so often in MS and NS texts in contexts where a long vowel would be unexpected that this plene spelling must be interpreted otherwise. Kimball (1983: 566-7) remarks that the signs ḤU and U in these texts are written close together as a ligature (𐎶𐎺), which would support Rosenkranz' idea (1959: 420, 426<sup>10</sup>) that the writing of U is used to more clearly distinguish the sign ḤU (𐎶𐎺) from the closely resembling sign RI (𐎶𐎺). Since such a disambiguation could have been achieved by writing ḤU-Ú- (𐎶𐎺𐎺) as well, which is virtually never attested, there must have been additional reasons to write ḤU-U-. Below it will be argued that this sequence denotes /Ho/, and that the sign U indicates the phoneme /o/ here.

It is important to realize, however, that no theory about plene spelling will be able to explain every single instance of plene spelling as attested in the Hittite texts. For instance, in my text files, the word *ta-ga-a-an* 'on the earth' occurs spelled thus 30 times (of which 5 times in OS texts), as *ta-ga-an* 3 times (once in an OS text), as *ta-ka-a-an* once, as *da-ga-a-an* 21 times, and as *da-ga-an* 7 times. These spellings can safely be phonologically interpreted as /tǵân/, the phonetically regular outcome of an endless loc.sg. \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-óm. Nevertheless, in NH texts, we find three aberrant spellings, namely *da-a-ga-an* (KUB 43.17, 6 (NH)), *ta-a-ga-an* (KUB 34.120, 7 (NH)) and *da-a-ga-a-an* (KUB 40.46, 9 (NH)), all with a plene vowel *-a-* where we would not expect it. Especially the third spelling, *da-a-ga-a-an*, is remarkable because of its two plene spellings. One could offer several *ad hoc* solutions in order to explain these spellings,<sup>54</sup> but the fact is that aberrant spellings exist and one must accept that they are not always explicable in an orthographic or phonetic sense.

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<sup>54</sup> One could assume that these spellings are scribal errors (*da-a-ga-an* for *da-ga<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-an* and *ta-a-ga-an* for *ta-ga<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-an*), but this does not explain *da-a-ga-a-an*. One could alternatively assume that these spellings reflect phonetically real forms, e.g. with anaptyxis in the initial cluster and accent retraction (so /tágan/), but this is hardly credible and still does not explain *da-a-ga-a-an*.



### 1.3.9.2 E/I-Ambiguity

A third problem is the fact that many signs are ambiguous regarding their vocalic value: they can be read with either *-e-* or *-i-*.<sup>55</sup> The only unambiguous signs are E, I, TE, TI, 𐎠 (but 𐎠 can be read 𐎠E as well), ME, MI (which in principle can be read MÉ as well), NE, NI (which in principle can be read NÉ as well), ŠE, ŠI, ZÉ (but ZI can be read ZE as well), EL, IL, EN, IN, EŠ, IŠ, MEŠ and MIŠ.

When an ambiguous sign is used together with an unambiguous sign, we can safely read the vowel of the unambiguous sign (e.g. KE/I-*eš-sar* = *ke-eš-sar* = /kéSr/ ‘hand’), but this is not always the case (e.g. *ḫar-KE/I-E/IR* can in principle be read *ḫar-ki-ir*, *ḫar-ke-er*, *ḫar-ki-er* and *ḫar-ke-ir*). Fortunately, sometimes we are offered a helping hand by plene spellings that indicate the appropriate vowel (in this case, the spelling *ḫar-KE/I-e-E/IR*, which must be read as *ḫar-ke-e-er*, shows that *ḫar-KI/E-E/IR* must be read *ḫar-ke-er* /Hárger/ ‘they perished’).

Because of the complicated situation regarding the spelling of the vowels *e* and *i*, it is not always easy to distinguish between these vowels on a phonological level either. This has led some scholars to the idea that within the Hittite period the vowels *e* and *i* are merging. For instance, CHD L: xvi states that “[i]t is well-known that the vowels *e* and *i* often interchange in the spelling of Hittite words. It is quite likely that the two vowels, still kept distinct in Typical Old Script, began to merge in later Old Hittite, and certainly had completed their merger by the Empire period”.<sup>56</sup> Melchert (1984a: 78-156) has carefully examined the spelling and phonemic status of *e* and *i* throughout the Hittite period and arrives at a different conclusion, however, namely that “[t]he vowels /e/ and /i/ are phonemically distinct at all stages of Hittite. Any mergers or free variation between the two are conditioned”.

Nevertheless, Kimball (1999: 78-9) states that despite Melchert’s statements “[t]he evidence is consistent with a phonemic distinction between /ē/ and /ī/ in the earliest language that was lost through merger by the NH period”. She even goes

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<sup>55</sup> This goes for the signs PÉ/Í, DE/I, GE/I, KE/I, 𐎠E/I, RE/I, LE/I, 𐎠E/I, ZE/I, E/IP, E/IT, E/IK, E/Iḫ (which can be read Aḫ and Uḫ as well), E/IR, E/IM, E/IZ, KE/IP/, KE/IR, KE/IŠ, KE/IT<sub>9</sub>, LE/IK, LE/IŠ, NE/IR, PE/IR, PE/IŠ, ŠE/IR, TÉ/ÍN, DE/IR, TE/IR and TE/IŠ, whereas the sign NI can be read NÉ as well and MI likewise MÉ (in spite of the separate signs NE and ME).

<sup>56</sup> Which has led the editors of CHD to the unfortunate choice to consider the two vowels equivalent for the purpose of alphabetization and to list them in the *i* position. Note that in the revised preface of CHD L-N: xii the tone is milder: “It is well-known that the vowels *e* and *i* often interchange in the spelling of Hittite words. In the earliest texts scribes clearly sought to maintain a distinction. What consistency underlies later usage and whether the post-OH spelling conventions also reflect a continuing phonological distinction between *e* and *i* are matters of controversy”.

as far as claiming that “[e]ven the limited variation in OH texts may indicate the beginning of merger; or it may point to the existence of a scribal tradition predating the OH texts of Boğazköy, suggesting that Hittite was first committed to writing at a time somewhat before the date of the earliest texts that have been recovered when the language did distinguish high and mid front vowels, but that even by the time the Boğazköy texts in typical old ductus were written that distinction was on its way to oblivion”. She bases her view on spellings like *i-eš-zi* ‘he is’ (KUB 34.115 iii 5 (OS)) instead of normal *e-eš-zi*, which she calls “[c]ompelling evidence for merger”. In my view, however, taking this attestation<sup>57</sup> as more significant than the more than 1400 examples in my text files (ranging from OS to NH texts) of attestations where the verb ‘to be’ is consistently spelled with an initial *e-*, is undesirable.<sup>58</sup>

In this book I therefore have made a phonological distinction between /e/ and /i/ for all periods of Hittite. It should be noted, however, that several environments can be identified in which OH /i/ is regularly lowered to /e/ from the MH period onwards, cf. 1.4.8.1.d. Moreover, there are several instances where indeed a spelling *-e-* alternates with *-i-*, but these cases are to be regarded as showing the epenthetic vowel /i/ for which see § 1.3.9.6.

### 1.3.9.3 Plene spelling of E and I

Since the vowel signs E and I can be used to disambiguate an ambiguous sign, it is not always clear whether their use can be interpreted as indicating length. For instance, the spelling *ḫar-ke-e-er*, as we saw above, hardly reflects /Hárgēr/, but rather /Hárgēr/ < \**h<sub>3</sub>érg-ēr*, which means that its plene E is used to disambiguate the signs KE/I and E/IR; *pí-i-ú-e-ni* ‘we give’ cannot denote /pīuēni/, but must stand for /piuēni/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-úēni*, which shows that the plene I is used to disambiguate the sign PÉ/Í.

Nevertheless, there remain some forms in which the plene E or I can hardly have been used for disambiguation. For instance, in *še-e-er* ‘above’, the unambiguous sign ŠE would have been enough to disambiguate the ambiguous sign ER/IR (and the spelling *še-er* therefore does occur as well), so the plene E in

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<sup>57</sup> Note that the line reads (5) *ku-iš-ki i-eš-zi*, in which the preceding *-i-* of *kuiški* may have triggered this scribal error.

<sup>58</sup> Note that Kimball is not always careful in citing her examples. For instance, on p. 68-9 she cites the OS forms “*a-ne-e-mi* StBoT 25, 3 II 2, *a-ne-e-[nu-un]* KBo III 22 Rs, 48” as examples of words where the sign NE is used instead of NI. This is incorrect: the words are in fact *a-ni-e-mi* and *a-ni-e-[nu-un]*, and therewith are spelled just as all the other forms in the paradigm of *anije/a<sup>2</sup>*, namely with the sign NI.

that sense is superfluous. Similar, and more clear, are the cases of *te-e-eš* ‘you said’, where both TE and EŠ are unambiguous signs, *še-e-eš* ‘sleep!’, where ŠE and EŠ are unambiguous signs and *ne-e-pí-iš* ‘heaven’, where NE is unambiguous. As we will see below under the treatment of the outcome of PIE \*e, \*ē, \*ei and \*eh<sub>1</sub> (§ 1.4.9.1, § 1.4.9.2), in accentuated position these vowels all yield Hitt. /é/ which is spelled plene in open syllables and in monosyllabic words and therefore probably was phonetically long in these positions.

Plene spellings of the type *Ci-i-iC* are quite rare, but do occur: *hu-ur-ki-i-il* ‘perversity’, *li-i-ik* ‘swear!’, *na-ak-ki-i-iš* ‘important’, *ni-i-ik* ‘quench!’, *zi-i-ik* ‘you’. Although some of these cases seem to show an underlying short \*i that is accentuated and therefore lengthened,<sup>59</sup> some seem to show a real accentuated long  $\bar{i}$ .<sup>60</sup>

### 1.3.9.4 The signs U and Ú

Hittite uses two phonetic signs that are traditionally transliterated with the vowel *u*, namely  $\text{𐎎} = U$  and  $\text{𐎎} = \acute{U}$ .<sup>61</sup> From the beginning of Hittitology, it has been noticed that in many words these two signs are kept distinct. For instance, *lūli-* ‘pond’, when spelled with a plene vowel, is consistently spelled *lu-ú-li-* and never *\*lu-u-li-*; *kūša-* ‘daughter-in-law’ and its derivative *kūšāta-* ‘bride-price’ are always spelled *ku-ú-š<sup>o</sup>* and never *\*ku-u-š<sup>o</sup>*; *hūmant-* ‘all, every’ is consistently spelled *hu-u-ma-an-t-* and never *\*hu-ú-ma-an-t-*, etc. It therefore has been proposed that these two signs represent phonologically distinct sounds. Already Weidner (1917: 2-13) suggested that the sign U indicates the sound [o] and the sign Ú the sound [u]. Such a distinction is not unparalleled in cuneiform traditions: it is known from Hurrian (cf. Wegner 2000: 37), but also from e.g. some Old Babylonian lexical lists from Nippur (Westenholz 1991). Despite some claims in favour of this interpretation,<sup>62</sup> it has never gained a broad acceptance.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Certainly in *li-i-ik* < \**h<sub>1</sub>léngh*.

<sup>60</sup> Thus *zi-i-ik*, which reflects \**tíH-ge* (cf. chapter 2.1).

<sup>61</sup> The sign  $\text{𐎎}$  (𐎎) only occurs akkadographically as the conjunction  $\text{𐎎}$  ‘and’ and sumerographically as  $\text{𐎎}$  ‘dream’ and in LIBIR.RA (=  $\text{𐎎}$ .RA) ‘old’; the sign U<sub>4</sub> (𐎎) only occurs as such in the sumerogram U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR ‘crescent of the moon’ (its normal value in Hittite is *ut*, UD or UTU); U<sub>5</sub> (𐎎) is only used in <sup>GIS</sup>LE-U<sub>5</sub> ‘wooden tablet’; U<sub>8</sub> (𐎎) is only used as part of the sumerogram USDUḪA (= U<sub>8</sub>.LU.ḪI.A) ‘sheep and goats’; U<sub>19</sub> (𐎎) is only used as such in the sumerograms DUMU.(NAM.)LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ‘human being’, IM.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ‘southwind, south’, LÚ.(NAM.)U<sub>19</sub>.LU ‘human being’ and NAM.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ‘humanity’ (its normal value in Hittite is URU).

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Hart 1983: 124-132; Eichner 1980: 156f.

Most recently, Rieken (2005) has attempted to revive this theory, however. According to her, the sign U denotes a vowel /o/ that is the result of lowering of an older *u* in certain phonetic environments.<sup>64</sup> She assumes that the vowels /u/ and /o/ originally were allophones, but were marginally phonemicized in Hittite. Although the bulk of Rieken's observations seem correct to me, I do not agree with all details.<sup>65</sup>

An important clue regarding the idea that U and Ú could reflect different sounds is the fact that the preverb *u-* 'hither' (the antonym of *pe-* 'thither') is spelled with both U and Ú, but that the choice for one of these signs is always consistent within the attestations of each verb. We come across the following spellings: *u-uC-C°* (in *ūnna-<sup>i</sup> / ūnni-* 'to drive (here)'), *uC-C°* (in *uppa-<sup>i</sup> / uppi-* 'to send (here)'), *ú-uC-C°* (in *ūššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to draw open (curtains)') and *ú-CV°* (in *uda-<sup>i</sup> / ud-* 'to bring (here)'). At first sight, we seem to be dealing with three different spellings, namely *u-uC-C°*, *uC-C°* and *ú-uC-C°* (assuming that *ú-C°* is equivalent to *ú-uC-C°*). It must be noted, however, that the only verb that is spelled *ú-uC-C°*, namely *ūššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, occurs as *uš-ši-* as well. Moreover, the spelling *ú-uš-ši-* occurs in OS texts only, whereas the spelling *uš-ši-* is attested in MS and NS texts. Since the only verb that is consistently spelled *uC-C°*, *uppa-<sup>i</sup> / uppi-*, is not attested in OS texts, but only in MS and NS texts, it is in my view quite likely that this verb must be compared to *ūššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, and that we are allowed to assume that in OS texts this verb would have been spelled *\*\*ú-up-p°*.<sup>66</sup>

So in fact we are dealing with two different spellings, namely *ú-uC-C°* (OS) = *uC-C°* (MS and NS) = *ú-C°* versus *u-uC-C°*. Since these spellings eventually must go back to the same etymon, namely *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-*, I agree with Rieken that some phonetically conditioned split must have taken place. Apparently, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-* developed into two different forms, one spelled with the sign U and the other with Ú.

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<sup>63</sup> E.g. Melchert 1994a: 26 states that "[c]ontrary to a number of claims, there is no good evidence that the Hittites use the signs *u* and *ú* to indicate phonemically distinct vowels".

<sup>64</sup> As a comparable phenomenon, Rieken refers to the 'breaking' of *\*u* to *ɔ* in front of *r*, *h* and *lv* in Gothic.

<sup>65</sup> For instance, Rieken assumes that in front of *-s-* an old /u/ remains /u/ and therefore is always spelled with Ú (*a-šu-ú-ša-*, *a-ú-li-ú-š°*, *ḫa-pu-ú-š°*, etc.). This is contradicted by *ku-u-uš* and *a-pu-u-uš*, however, which are both attested thus hundreds of times. She acknowledges that these forms form "eine wirkliche Ausnahme" and states that "[e]ine überzeugende Erklärung hierfür sich nicht erkennen läßt".

<sup>66</sup> Note that all alleged instances of a spelling *u-up-p°* of this verb and its derivatives are false: cf. at the lemma *uppa-<sup>i</sup> / upp-*.

For a phonetic interpretation of the difference between U and Ú, we should look at the paradigm of *au<sup>-i</sup> / u-* ‘to see’ in comparison to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class verbs, in this case *pai<sup>-i</sup> / pi-* ‘to give’:

1sg.	<i>u-uh-ḥi</i>	< * <i>Hóu-h<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	<i>pé-e-eḥ-ḥi</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pói-h<sub>2</sub>ei</i>
2sg.	<i>a-ut-ti</i>	< * <i>Hóu-th<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	<i>pa-it-ti</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pói-th<sub>2</sub>ei</i>
3sg.	<i>(a-uš-zi)</i>		<i>pa-a-i</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pói-ei</i>
1pl.	<i>ú-me-e-ni</i>	< * <i>Hu-uéni</i>	<i>pí-ú-e-ni</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pi-uéni</i>
2pl.	<i>uš-t[e-e]-ni<sup>67</sup></i>	< * <i>Hu-sténi</i>	<i>pí-iš-te-ni</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pi-sténi</i>
3pl.	<i>ú-ṽa-an-zi</i>	< * <i>Hu-énti</i>	<i>pí-ṽa-an-zi</i>	< * <i>h<sub>1</sub>pi-énti</i>

We clearly see that the spelling with U corresponds to *-e-* in the paradigm of *pai<sup>-i</sup> / pi-*, whereas Ú corresponds to *-i-*. On the basis of this comparison alone, it is attractive to assume that U stands for /o/, whereas Ú stands for /u/. The fact that this outcome perfectly matches the Hurrian practice to spell /o/ with U and /u/ with Ú makes this interpretation very likely to be correct. I therefore phonologically interpret the above forms as follows:

<i>u-uh-ḥi</i>	= /ʔóHi/,	cf.	<i>pé-e-eḥ-ḥi</i>	= /péHi/
<i>a-ut-ti</i>	= /ʔáuti/		<i>pa-it-ti</i>	= /páiti/
<i>(a-uš-zi)</i>			<i>pa-a-i</i>	
<i>ú-me-e-ni</i>	= /ʔuméni/ < * /ʔuuéni/		<i>pí-ú-e-ni</i>	= /piuéni/
<i>uš-t[e-e]-ni</i>	= /ʔusténi/		<i>pí-iš-te-ni</i>	= /pisténi/
<i>ú-ṽa-an-zi</i>	= /ʔuánt <sup>s</sup> i/		<i>pí-ṽa-an-zi</i>	= /piánt <sup>s</sup> i/

This means that the *u*-preverbed verbs as mentioned above must be phonologically interpreted as follows: *ūnna<sup>-i</sup> / ūnni-* ‘to drive (here)’, spelled *u-un-n<sup>o</sup>*, = /ʔoNa/i-/ , *ūšijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to draw open (curtains)’, spelled *ú-uš-ši-* and *uš-ši-*, = /ʔuSié/á-/ , *uppa<sup>-i</sup> / uppi-* ‘to send (here)’, spelled *up-p<sup>o</sup>*, = /ʔupa/i-/ , and *uda<sup>-i</sup> / ud-* ‘to bring (here)’, spelled *ú-d<sup>o</sup>*, = /ʔud(a)-/.

In the following section I will carefully study the use of the signs U and Ú in specific phonetic environments, in order to determine (1) if a complementary distribution between U and Ú can be established for this environment, and if so, (2) how we can should interpret this distribution phonetically and historically.

<sup>67</sup> In accordance with the view expressed above, we may expect that the oldest spelling of this form must have been *\*\*ú-uš-te-e-ni*, cf. impf. *ú-uš-ke/a-* (OS).

1.3.9.4.a *Word-initially before vowels*

**\_aC** : Here we basically find only the spellings *ya-* and *ú-ya-*. The spellings *ú-a°* and *u-a°* are extremely rare,<sup>68</sup> whereas the spelling *u-ya-* occurs in the middle paradigm of *au-<sup>i</sup> / u-* ‘to see’ only.<sup>69</sup> As I stated under § 1.3.3 as well, I believe that the spelling *ya-* reflects phonological /ua-/ (e.g. *ya-a-tar* /uádr/ ‘water’ < \*uódr);<sup>70</sup> the spelling *ú-ya-* = /ʔua-/ (e.g. *ú-ya-a-tar* /ʔuádr/ ‘inspection’ < \*Huótr;<sup>71</sup> the spelling *u-ya-* represents /ʔoa-/ (e.g. *u-ya-ah-ya-at* /ʔoaHat/ ‘I have become visible’, cf. *au-<sup>i</sup> / u-* for treatment).

**\_eC** : Here we only find the spelling *ú-e-*, which denotes /ue-/ (e.g. *ú-e-ek-zi* /uékʰi/ ‘wishes’ < \*uékʰti).

**\_iC** : Here we find the spellings *ú-e°*, *ú-i°* and *ú-i<sub>5</sub>*, which can stand for both /ui-/ as well as /ʔui-/. For instance, *ú-i-te-e-ni*, *ú-e-te-ni* ‘to the water’ = /uidéni/ < \*u<sub>5</sub>déni << \*udéni and *ú-i<sub>5</sub>-te-na-aš* ‘of the water’ = /uidénas/ < \*u<sub>5</sub>dénos <<

<sup>68</sup> To my knowledge, the spelling *ú-a°* only occurs in *ú-ar-aš-ya-an-zi* (KUB 10.66 vi 4), which duplicates *y[a-ar-aš-ya-an-zi]* (KBo 7.48, 12), and in *ú-a-ja-at-ten* ‘you must send’ (KUB 14.14 ii 36), which clearly is an error for normal *u-i-ja-at-ten* (see at the lemma of *u<sub>5</sub>e-<sup>zi</sup> / u<sub>5</sub>-* ‘to send’). The spelling *u-a°* is only attested in KBo 24.11 rev.<sup>7</sup> (10) [...]x-še-eš *u-an-za an-na-n[e-k°]*, in which the interpretation of *u-an-za* (or *10-an-za*?) is unclear.

<sup>69</sup> The attestation “*u-ya-al-lu-uš*” (KUB 29.1 iv 9) in my view is better read as 10 *ya-al-lu-uš* (see at <sup>uz<sub>u</sub></sup> *ya<sub>5</sub>lla-*, *ya<sub>5</sub>lli-*). The spellings *u-ya-al-h*<sup>o</sup> and *u-ya-al-ah-*<sup>o</sup> are found in one text only, KBo 16.50 obv. 10, 15, 20, and are so exceptional when compared to the other spellings of *ya<sub>5</sub>h-* (±300 times with *ya-* in my files) that we can safely disregard them.

<sup>70</sup> Or /uə-/ , e.g. *ya-ra-a-ni* = /uəʔáni/ ‘burns’ or *ya-al-ya-an-zi* = /uəʔHántʰi/ ‘they hit’.

<sup>71</sup> Of words that are normally spelled with *ya-*, we find only a few forms that show *ú-ya-*: *ú-ya-an-ti-ya-an-ta-az* ‘lightning(?)’ (KUB 17.10 ii 3) instead of normal *ya-an-<sup>o</sup>* (see at *yant-*, *yantae-*, *yanti<sub>5</sub>e/a-*); *ú-ya-ar-ra* ‘help’ (KUB 31.4 obv. 3) instead of normal *ya-ar-<sup>o</sup>* (see at *yarri-* / *yarrai-*); *ú-ya-ar-ka-an-ta-an* ‘fat’ (KBo 3.60 ii 3) instead of normal *ya-ar-<sup>o</sup>* (see at *yarkant-*); *ú-ya-ar-ša-ma-an* ‘firewood’ (KUB 32.129 iv 3) instead of normal *ya-ar-<sup>o</sup>* (as attested in ibid. 4, see at <sup>GIS</sup> *ya<sub>5</sub>šma-*); and *ú-ya-aš-ta-i* ‘offends’ (KBo 3.28 ii 10) instead of normal *ya-aš-<sup>o</sup>* (see at *yašta-<sup>i</sup> / yašt-*). Since these are all unique forms that cannot compete with the manifold attestations with *ya-* of the words to which they belong, I disregard them. The spelling *ú-ya-ah-nu-ya-ar* (KBo 3.2 i 66 *passim*), instead of correct *ya-ah-nu-mar* is clearly due to the fact that the author of this horse-training text is non-native. The only word that shows genuine alteration is (*u*)*yāi-* ‘woe’: *ya-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.3 iv 14, 40, StBoT 25.7 iv 9); *ú-ya-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.4 iv 27, 35, StBoT 25.7 iv 5); *ú-ya-a-i* (KBo 3.6 i 29, StBoT 24 i 34, iii 56, KUB 21.12+ iii 39, Bronzetafel iv 9, 16, 27, KUB 26.32 i 14, KUB 22.70 obv. 16); and *ú-ya-i* (VSNF 12.125 obv. 5, 10, 11, KUB 16.10, 7, KUB 23.1+ ii 32). Because this word is clearly onomatopoeic, it is irrelevant here.

\**udéns*, whereas the spellings *ú-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-iš-ke/a-* and *ú-e-iš-ke/a-*, imperfectives of *ue<sup>-zi</sup> / uȳa<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to come’, must stand for *ʔuiské/á-/* (a synchronic derivation of the stem *ʔuék/á-/*).

***\_iC*** : Here I only know of the spellings *ú-i<sup>o</sup>* and *ui<sub>5</sub>-* that always stand for */uiC-/*: *ú-i-it-t<sup>o</sup>* and *ú-it-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘year’ stand for */uit-/* < \**uet-*; *ú-i-t<sup>o</sup>* and *ui<sub>5</sub>-t<sup>o</sup>* stand for */uid-/* ‘water’ < \**uedo-*.

All in all, in absolute word-initial position before vowels (note that *ú-ȳa-* = *ʔȳa-/* and *u-ȳa-* = *ʔoa-/* in fact belong to word-internal position), there is no distinction to be found between */u/* and */o/*.

#### 1.3.9.4.b *Word-initially before consonants*

There are only a few examples here.<sup>72</sup> The verb *ur<sup>-āri</sup>*, which reflects \**urh<sub>1</sub>óri*, is in OS texts consistently spelled *ú-ra-a-ni*, pointing to */urʔāni/*.<sup>73</sup> The verb *uš(ša)niȳe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* is always spelled *uš-(ša-)ni-*. I see no reason not to interpret this verb as */uSnie/a-/* < \**usn-ȳe/o-*.

As we see, there is no trace of a distinction between */u/* and */o/* in absolute word-initial position before consonants.

#### 1.3.9.4.c *Word-internally between consonant and vowel*

***C\_a*** : The spelling *Cu-a<sup>o</sup>* is quite common, especially in older texts (e.g. *ar-nu-an-da-an* = *ʔrnuántan/*). The spelling *Cu-ȳa<sup>o</sup>* is the most common spelling, especially in younger texts (e.g. *ar-nu-ȳa-an-zi* = *ʔrnuánt<sup>5</sup>i/*). The spelling *Cu-u-a<sup>o</sup>* is quite rare, but does not seem to differentiate from *Cu-a<sup>o</sup>* and *Cu-ȳa-* (e.g. *ar-ku-u-ar* = *ar-ku-ar* = *ar-ku-ȳa-ar* = *ʔrk<sup>w</sup>uər/*). This spelling occurs quite often when the sign *ĤU* precedes, the reason for which we will see below,<sup>74</sup> e.g. *ĥu-u-ap-* = *ĥu-ȳa-ap-*. The spelling *Cu-ú-a<sup>o</sup>* only occurs in *ka-ru-ú-a-ri-ȳa-ar*, which is a secondary form (see at the lemma *kareȳariȳar*). The spelling *Cu-u-ȳa-* is rather uncommon and is also predominantly found with a preceding sign *ĤU* (e.g. *ĥu-u-ȳa-ap-*, *ĥu-u-ȳa-an-za*, *iš-ĥu-u-ȳa-i*, etc.). Other examples are: *kap-pu-u-ȳa-an-zi* (= *kap-pu-ȳa-an-zi*), *kar-š-u-u-ȳa-aš* (= *kar-š-u-ȳa-aš*), *ka-ru-uš-š-i-ȳa-*

<sup>72</sup> All other seeming examples like *uje<sup>-zi</sup> / uj-* ‘to send’, *ūk* ‘Y’, *ūnna<sup>-i</sup> / ūnni-* ‘to send (here)’, *uni* ‘that’, *unu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to decorate’, *ūpp<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to come up (of the sun)’, *uppa<sup>-i</sup> / uppi-* ‘to send (here)’, *ūrki-* ‘trace’, *ūššȳe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to open (curtains)’ and *uda<sup>-i</sup> / ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ reflect \**H(V)uC<sup>o</sup>*, and therefore are treated under the paragraph ‘Word-internally between consonants’ (§ 1.3.4.9.f).

<sup>73</sup> From MH times onwards, this verb is spelled *ȳa-ra-a-ni* = */uərʔāni/*, but that is irrelevant here.

<sup>74</sup> Namely that every */u/* following */H/* or */h/* automatically turns into */o/*.

*nu-u-ua-an-zi* (= *ka-ru-uš-ši-ua-nu-ua-an-zi*), etc. The spelling *Cu-ú-ua-* is rare: it is attested in *a-ru-ú-ua-iz-zi* (= *a-ru-ua-iz-zi* and *a-ru-u-ua-iz-zi*), *ka-ru-ú-ua-ri-ua-ar* (which is a secondary form, see at *kare<sub>u</sub>ari<sub>u</sub>ar*), *ša-ak-ru-ú-ua-an-zi* (= *ša-ak-ru-ua-* and *ša-ak-ru-u-ua-*), *šu-ú-ua-i°* ‘to spy’ (= *šu-ua-i°*), *šu-ú-ua-ru-* ‘heavy’ (= *šu-ua-ru* and *šu-u-ua-ru*) and *šu-ú-ua-* ‘to push’ (= *šu-ua-* and *šu-u-ua-*).

I conclude that the spellings *Cu-a°*, *Cu-ua-*, *Cu-u-a°* and *Cu-u-ua-* are equivalent and denote phonological /Cua/. The spelling *Cu-ú-a°* as found in *ka-ru-ú-a-ri-ua-ar* is unique and is probably orthographically influenced by *ka-ru-ú*. The interpretation of the spelling *Cu-ú-ua-* is less clear since it is quite rare and the etymological interpretation of the words in which it occurs is controversial. Nevertheless, on the basis of the fact that *a-ru-ú-ua-iz-zi* is also spelled *a-ru-ua-iz-zi* and *a-ru-u-ua-iz-zi*, I conclude that in the sequence *C\_a* the difference between the sign *U* and *Ú* does not denote a distinction between /o/ and /u/.

Note however, that as we see in § 1.3.9.4.a above, there is a distinction in the sequence #*ʔ\_a*, namely *ú-ua-* = /ʔua-/ , e.g. *ú-ua-a-tar* /ʔuádr/ ‘inspection’ < \**Huótr*, and *u-ua-* = /ʔoa-/ , only attested in the middle paradigm of *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’, e.g. *u-ua-aḥ-ḥa-at* /ʔoaHat/ ‘I have become visible’. Since these middle forms are recently created (see at *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-*), the phonemic difference between /ʔua-/ and /ʔoa-/ must be a recent innovation as well.

**C\_e** : The spellings *Cu-e°*, *Cu-u-e°* and *Cu-ú-e°* are all used in equal environments, which shows that they should be regarded phonologically equal as well: e.g. *ak-ku-e-ni* = *ak-ku-u-e-ni* = /ʔkuéni/ ‘we die’, *[a]p-pu-ú-e-ni* = *e-ep-pu-e-ni* = *e-ep-pu-u-e-ni* = /ʔpuéni/, /épueni/ ‘we grab’, *ḥa-aš-šu-ú-e-ni* = *ḥa-aš-šu-e-ni* = /HSuéni/ or /HəSuéni/ ‘we open’, *še-ek-ku-e-ni* = *še-ek-ku-u-e-ni* = *še-ek-ku-ú-e-ni* = /sékueni/ ‘we know’, etc. Again, there is no indication that the signs *U* and *Ú* denote a difference between /o/ and /u/ in this environment.

**C\_i** : The spellings *Cu-i°*, *Cu-u-i°*, *Cu-ú-i°*, *Cu-ui<sub>3</sub>-* and *Cu-u-ui<sub>3</sub>-* are used in equal surroundings, e.g. *ḥa-ap-pu-i* = *ḥa-ap-pu-u-i* = *ḥa-ap-pu-ú-i* /Hapui/, *pár-ku-iš* = *pár-ku-u-iš* = *pár-ku-ú-iš<sup>1</sup>* = /prk<sup>w</sup>is/; *pa-aš-šu-i* = *pa-aš-šu-u-i* = *pa-aš-šu-ú-i* = *pa-aš-šu-ui<sub>3</sub>* = /paSui/; *ḥu-i-ša-u°* = *ḥu-u-i-ša-u°* = *ḥu-u-ui<sub>3</sub>-ša-u°* = /H<sup>w</sup>isau-/ , which shows that in this position the signs *U* and *Ú* do not represent distinct phonemes. The spelling *Cu-u-i°* occurs especially often when the sign *ḤU* precedes (see below). The form *ka-ru-ú-i-li-* ‘former’ is a synchronic derivative in *-ili-* of the adverb *ka-ru-ú* ‘early, formerly’ and therefore probably



represents /krūili/. The words *šūil* ‘thread’ and *mūil* ‘spade(?)’ are treated under *C\_?*.

**C\_u** : The only word that seems to belong here, viz. *šūu-* / *šūuay-* ‘full’, in fact reflects \**souH-u-* and therefore will be treated under *C\_?*.

#### 1.3.9.4.d Word-internally between vowels

**a\_a** : We find the spellings  $^{\circ}a-u-a^{\circ}$ ,  $^{\circ}a-ua-$ ,  $^{\circ}a-ú-ua-$  and  $^{\circ}a-u-ua-$  in equal positions: e.g. *a-ra-u-aš* = *a-ra-u-ua-aš* = *a-ra-ua-aš* = /ʔarauas/; *har-na-a-u-aš* = *har-na-a-ua-aš* = *har-na-ú-ua-aš* = *har-na-a-u-ua-aš* = /Hrnáuas/. It must be admitted, however, that the spelling  $^{\circ}a-ú-ua-$  is quite rare, and seems to have a special function in the paradigm of *auri-* ‘look-out’. Here we find gen.sg. *a-ú-ri-ia-aš* besides *a-ú-ua-ri-ia-aš* for phonological /ʔaurias/ < \**Hou-ri-os*, which could either be phonetically realized as [ʔauri<sup>h</sup>as] spelled *a-ú-ri-ia-aš*, or as [ʔawɾjas] spelled *a-ú-ua-ri-ia-aš*. Note that the sequence  $^{\circ}a-ú-a^{\circ}$  is only attested in KBo 30.51 iv<sup>?</sup> (1) [...(-)g]a<sup>?</sup>-ú-a[n(-)...], if this is the correct reading.

**a\_e** : In this position we predominantly find the spelling  $^{\circ}a-u-e^{\circ}$ . The spelling  $^{\circ}a-ú-e^{\circ}$  is rare, but when attested, it is identical to  $^{\circ}a-u-e^{\circ}$ : *a-aš-ša-ú-e-et* = *a-aš-ša-u-e-et*; *hal-zi-ia-ú-en* = *hal-zi-ia-u-en*; compare [z]i-in-na-ú-e-ni to e.g. *a-ri-ia-u-e-ni*.<sup>75</sup>

**a\_i** : Although the spellings  $^{\circ}a-ú-i^{\circ}$  and  $^{\circ}a-u-i^{\circ}$  are occasionally interchangeable (e.g. *har-na-(a)-ú-i* (often) = *har-na-u[-i]* (1x); *i-ta-a-la-ú-i* (1x) = *i-da-a-la-u-i* (often)), some words are consistently spelled  $^{\circ}a-ú-i^{\circ}$ : e.g. *nāui* ‘not yet’ is spelled *na-a-ú-i* (OS), *na-ú-i* (OH/NS), *na-a-ūi<sub>5</sub>* (OH?/NS, MH/NS), *na-ūi<sub>5</sub>* (NH) and *na-u-ūi<sub>5</sub>* (OH?/NS), but never \*\**na-a-u-i*; *šāūidišt-* ‘yearling’ is spelled *ša-a-ú-i^{\circ}* and *ša-ú-i^{\circ}*, but never \*\**ša-a-u-i^{\circ}* or \*\**ša-u-i^{\circ}*; <sup>S1</sup>*šāūitra-* ‘horn’ is spelled *ša-a-ú-i^{\circ}* and *ša-ú-i^{\circ}* but never \*\**ša-a-u-i^{\circ}* or \*\**ša-u-i^{\circ}*. It is remarkable that Ú almost consistently occurs when a long /ā/ is preceding, whereas U is used after a short /a/. So *Ca-a-ú-i^{\circ}* = *Ca-ú-i^{\circ}* = /Cāui<sup>o</sup>/, whereas *Ca-u-i^{\circ}* = /Cauil/ (or /Caoil/?). The exact reason for this distribution is unclear to me.

<sup>75</sup> In *a-ú-e-er* and *a-ú-er* (never \*\**a-u-e-er*) ‘they saw’ and *ma-ú-er* (never \*\**ma-u-er*) ‘they fell’, the spelling with -ú- is influenced by the spelling of the diphthong /au/, which in these verbs is always spelled  $^{\circ}a-ú-CV^{\circ}$ . The word *la-la-ú-e-ša-* ‘ant’ (never \*\**la-la-u-e-ša-*) is the Luwian variant of Hitt. *la-la-ku-e-ša-*.

**e\_a** : Here we predominantly find the spellings  $^{\circ}e\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$ ,  $^{\circ}e\text{-}u\text{-}a^{\circ}$  and  $^{\circ}e\text{-}u\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$ , which are interchangeable: *me-mi-iš-ke-ua-an* = *me-mi-iš-ke-u-an* = *me-mi-iš-ke-u-ua-an* = /memiskéuən/; *e-ua-an* = *e-u-ua-an* = /ʔéuan/; *ne-e-ua-an* = *ne-e-u-ua-an* = /néuan/. The spelling  $^{\circ}e\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$  only occurs in *ka-re-u-ua-ri-ua-ar*, which is spelled *ka-re-ua-ri-ua-ar* as well, and in [*k*]*u-re-u-ua-nu-uš*, which is spelled *ku-re-e-ua-n^{\circ}* and *ku-re-ua-n^{\circ}* as well. The spelling  $^{\circ}e\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}a^{\circ}$  is not attested at all.

**e\_e** : In this position we only find the spelling  $^{\circ}e\text{-}u\text{-}e^{\circ}$ : *ku-e-u-e-en* ‘we killed’, *da-aš-ke-e-u-e-ni* ‘we are taking’, *h<sup>é</sup>e-e-u-e-eš* ‘rains’. The spelling  $^{\circ}e\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}e^{\circ}$  to my knowledge does not occur.

**e\_i** : The only cases known to me are *ne-e-u-it* (instr.) ‘new’ and *ú-e-u-iš-ke-u-an* (KBo 24.5 ii 10) ‘crying’. The spelling  $^{\circ}e\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}i^{\circ}$  does not occur.

**i\_a** : The normal spelling is  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$ , e.g. *i-ua-ar*, *a-š<sup>i</sup>-ua-an-t*, *mi-iš-ri-ua-an-t*, *ka-ru-u-ua-ri-ua-ar*, etc. Very rarely, we find the spellings  $^{\circ}i\text{-}u\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$  (*h<sup>a</sup>-a<sup>h</sup>-li-u-ua-an-za*, *na-an-ni-u-ua-an-zi*, *ti-u-ua-an-zi*, *ka-ru-u-ua-a-ri-u-ua-ar*),  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}\underline{u}a\text{-}$  (*me-mi-u-ua-an-zi*, *š<sup>i</sup>-u-ua-at-ti* = *š<sup>i</sup>-ua-at-ti*, *ar-ki-u-ua-az* = *ar-ki-i-u-az*),  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}a^{\circ}$  (*ar-ki-i-u-az* = *ar-ki-u-ua-az*) and  $^{\circ}i\text{-}u\text{-}a^{\circ}$  (*zi-in-ni-u-an-zi*, *ka-ru-u-ua-ri-u-ar*). There is no indication against the assumption that all these spellings denote phonological /Ciua/.

**i\_e** : We find both the spelling  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}e^{\circ}$  and  $^{\circ}i\text{-}u\text{-}e^{\circ}$  in the same environments, although  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}e^{\circ}$  seems to occur more often than  $^{\circ}i\text{-}u\text{-}e^{\circ}$ : *me-mi-u-e-ni*, *mi-iš-ri-u-e-eš-zi* vs. *h<sup>a</sup>l-zi-u-en*, [*h<sup>u</sup>-et-*]*ti-ya-an-ni-u-e-ni*, *mi-im-mi-u-en*, *p<sup>i</sup>-i-u-e-ni*, *p<sup>i</sup>-u-e-ni*, *p<sup>e</sup>-en-ni-u-e-ni*, etc. Once we even find  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}u\text{-}e^{\circ}$ , in *pa-i-u-u-en* (KBo 3.60 iii 1). It is clear that all spellings denote /Ciue/.

**i\_i** : This position is not well attested in native Hittite words. We find a spelling  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}i^{\circ}$  in *ú-i-u-i-iš-ke/a-*, the imperfective of *u<sup>i</sup>u<sup>i</sup>ai<sup>i</sup>* / *u<sup>i</sup>u<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to scream’ and in *u<sup>i</sup>-u-i-da-a-i* (KBo 5.4 rev. 29) = *ú-i-u<sup>i</sup>-ta-[a-i]* (KBo 5.4 rev. 36). Other cases are the city name <sup>URU</sup>*Ku-li-u-iš-na* (also spelled <sup>URU</sup>*Ku-li-u<sup>i</sup>-iš-na*), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>É</sup>*ar-ki-u-i* ‘vestibule(?)’ and *h<sup>a</sup>-az-zi-u-i* ‘ritual’ (also spelled *h<sup>a</sup>-az-zi-u<sup>i</sup>*). A spelling  $^{\circ}i\text{-}u\text{-}i^{\circ}$  is found in [<sup>É</sup>*h*]*a-le-ti-u-i* and [<sup>É</sup>]*h<sup>a</sup>-le-en-ti-u-i*, dat.-loc.sg. of <sup>É</sup>*halent(i)u-* ‘palace’ only.<sup>76</sup> It is quite possible that in these words the spelling  $^{\circ}i\text{-}\underline{u}\text{-}i^{\circ}$  and  $^{\circ}i\text{-}$

<sup>76</sup> The spelling *ni-u-i-i[t]* (KUB 31.91, 5), instr. of *n<sup>é</sup>u<sup>a</sup>-*, must represent the same form as the spelling *ne-e-u-it*, and therefore should be read *n<sup>é</sup>-u-i-i[t]*.

*u-i*<sup>o</sup> represent phonetically different forms. Since the stem of <sup>É</sup>*halent(i)u-* is consistently spelled *ha-le-en-ti-u*, it probably was /Halentio/. This makes it likely that the spelling *ha-le-en-ti-u-i* stands for /Halentioi/. It must be noted that <sup>É</sup>*halentiu-* is not a native Hittite word, and that we have no evidence for other instances of a sequence /ioi/.

1.3.9.4.e *Word-internally between vowel and consonant*

**a\_C** : First, we should distinguish between *a\_CV* and *a\_C# / a\_CCV*: the former must be spelled <sup>o</sup>*a-U-CV* or <sup>o</sup>*a-Ú-CV*, whereas the latter can be spelled <sup>o</sup>*a-uC(-CV)*.

In the case of *a\_CV*, we find many words that show a consistent spelling <sup>o</sup>*a-ú-CV*, e.g. *a-ú-me-ni* ‘we see’, *a-ú-me-en* ‘we saw’ (never <sup>o</sup>*a-u-me-*), *a-ú-ri-* ‘lookout’ (never <sup>o</sup>*a-u-ri-*), *a-ú-li-*, a certain organ (never <sup>o</sup>*a-u-li-*), *an-na-ú-li-* ‘of equal rank’ (never <sup>o</sup>*an-na-u-li-*), *ša-ú-di-iš-t*<sup>o</sup>, *ša-a-ú-ti-iš-t*<sup>o</sup> ‘weanling’ (never <sup>o</sup>*ša(-a)-u-Ti-*). In some other words, we do find both U and Ú, however, e.g. *pár-ta-ú-na-aš* = *pár-ta-u-na-aš*, *a-ša-ú-ni* = *a-ša-u-ni*, e.a. It is remarkable that this situation occurs in front of *-n-* only, and that there seems to be a chronological distribution between the forms: in OS texts we only find <sup>o</sup>*a-ú-n*<sup>o</sup>,<sup>77</sup> in MS texts predominantly <sup>o</sup>*a-ú-n*<sup>o</sup> and occasionally <sup>o</sup>*a-u-n*<sup>o</sup>,<sup>78</sup> in NS texts predominantly <sup>o</sup>*a-u-n*<sup>o</sup>.<sup>79</sup> This seems to point to a change of OH <sup>o</sup>*a-ú-n*<sup>o</sup> to NH <sup>o</sup>*a-u-n*<sup>o</sup>, which then must be phonologically interpreted as OH /Caun/ > NH /Caon/.

In the case of *a\_C# / a\_CCV*, the situation is less clear, mainly because the number of plene *u*-spellings is so low. It is perhaps best to look at the cases one by one. The spelling <sup>o</sup>*a-u-uC(-CV)* is found in the following forms:

<sup>77</sup> *a-ša-ú-ni* (KBo 6.2+ iii 49 (OS)), *pár-ta-ú-ni-t-u-uš* (KBo 17.1 i 6 (OS)), [*pá*]r-ta-ú-na-aš (KUB 36.49 i 8 (OS?)).

<sup>78</sup> *a-ša-ú-ni* (KBo 6.3 iii 53 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-ú-na-az* (KUB 30.10 obv. 15 (OH/MS)), *pár-ta-ú-ni-it* (KUB 32.122, 6, 7 (MS?)) vs. *a-aš-ši-ja-u-ni-it* (KUB 33.62 ii 20 (OH/MS)) and *ḫu-et-ti-ja-u-ni* (KUB 15.34 iv 61 (MH/MS)).

<sup>79</sup> *a-ša-u-ni* (KUB 13.5 ii 22 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-u-na-az* (KUB 13.4 iv 59 (OH/NS)), KUB 24.3 ii 12 (MH/NS), *pár-ta-u-na-az* (KBo 8.155 ii 9 (NS)), *pár-da-u-na-az* (KBo 27.163, 7 (MH/NS)), *pár-da-a-u-na-za* (KBo 33.188 iii<sup>?</sup> 14 (MH/NS)), *pár-ta-a-u-ni-it* (KBo 4.2 i 4 (OH/NS)), KUB 15.31 i 35, ii 40 (MH/NS), *pár-ta-u-ni-it* (KUB 15.32 i 37 (MH/NS)), KBo 15.48 ii 6, 27 (MH/NS), *pár-ta-u-na-aš* (VBoT 125, 3 (NS)), *ša-ra-u-na-an-za* (KUB 18.11 rev. 5 (NH)) vs. *ḫar-ša-ú-n[i]* (175/w obv. 8 (NS)), *ḫar-ša-ú-na[-aš]* (KBo 6.34 ii 39 (MH/NS)) and *pár-ta-ú-ni-it* (KUB 33.8 ii 16 (fr.), 17 (fr.) (OH/NS)).

*pa-a-u-un* ‘I went’: this spelling is found multiple times, but only in NS texts, and contrasts with the spelling *pa-a-ú-un* that is found in MS texts. The neutral spelling *pa-a-un*, without a plene *u*-vowel, is attested in OS, MS and NS texts. In my view, the spelling change of *pa-a-ú-un* > *pa-a-u-un* again points to the change of OH and MH /páun/ to NH /páon/ (cf. above).

*i-ja-u-un* ‘I did’ (KBo 4.10 obv. 50) can hardly be correct and must probably be emended to *i-ja-nu<sup>1</sup>-un*.

acc.pl.c. [*hal-*] *lu-ú-ua-u-uš* (KBo 3.8 iii 4 (OH/NS)), *hal-lu-ua-u-uš* (KBo 26.135, 2 (OH/NS)) and *pár-ga-u-uš* (KBo 3.8 iii 22 (OH/NS)) are to be regarded as grammatically incorrect forms showing *-auuš* instead of correct *-amuš* as attested in e.g. *hal-lu-ua-mu-uš* (KBo 12.86 obv. 19, KUB 17.10 i 26, etc.) and *pár-ga-mu-uš* (KUB 17.10 i 24, KUB 12.63 i 30, etc.). Since the sign U is used ‘intervocally’ here, the forms are irrelevant for our discussion.

*ta-ḥa-a-ta-u-uš-ša-aš* (KBo 25.112 ii 7 (OS)) is a hapax of non-IE origin (cf. the single *-ḥ-*) and therefore irrelevant here.

*da-ra-a-u-ur* (KBo 22.186 v 2 (OH/NS)) ‘handful(?)’ stands in development between *ta-ra-a-ur* (KBo 17.74+ i 53 (OH/MS)) and *ta-ra-a-u-ua-ar* (KUB 44.64 i 5, 10 (NS)).<sup>80</sup> The first two spellings point to a phonological interpretation /tráor/, whereas *ta-ra-a-u-ua-ar* = /tráuər/. In my view, the word /tráor/, for which I know no convincing etymology, and which may be of a foreign origin, has been reinterpreted as an abstract noun in *-uar*, and secondarily changed to /tráuər/ in younger times.

*ti-e-ra-u-ur-ta-an* (KBo 3.2 lower edge 2, KBo 3.5+ ii 37) and *ti-e-ru-u-ur-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.5+ iii 17) ‘for three rounds’ is also spelled *ti-e-ra-ua-ar-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.2 obv. 65) and *ti-e<ra>-ua-ar-ta-an-na* (KUB 1.11+ iv 35). Because it is of foreign origin (< Indo-Aryan \**tri-vartana-* vel sim.) it is irrelevant here.

The spelling <sup>o</sup>*a-ú-uC(-CV)* is found in the following forms:

*a-ú-um-me-ni* ‘we see’ and *a-ú-um-me-en* ‘we saw’ are clearly NH adaptations of older *a-ú-me-ni* and *a-ú-me-en*.

*a-ú-uš-ta* (KBo 3.60 i 8 (undat.)) ‘he saw’ is a combination of the normal spelling *a-uš-ta* and other forms of the verb *au-<sup>i</sup> / u-* that are spelled *a-ú-* (like *a-ú-me-ni* and *a-ú-me-en* above).

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. Rieken 1999: 352.

*ḫar-na-a-ú-uš* (KUB 9.22 ii 40) is a mistake for *ḫar-na-iš* ‘sap’, and therefore irrelevant.<sup>81</sup>

*ḫar-na-ú-un* (ABoT 17 ii 9 (MH/NS)) seems to denote /Hrnáun/. Although this is not impossible in a NS text (especially since it is a copy of a MH text), we would rather have expected /Hrnáon/, spelled *\*\*ḫar-na-u-un*.

acc.pl. <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫar-ša-ú-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (fr.) (OS), KUB 7.8+ ii 11 (NS)) ‘thick-bread’ is equivalent to <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫar-ša-uš* and <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫar-ša-a-uš* and must represent /HárSāus/ < \*/HárSaius/.

*iš-ḫu-na-ú-uš* (KBo 32.14 ii 49 (MH/MS)) ‘upper arm’ is equivalent to *iš-ḫu-na-a-uš* (KBo 32.14 rev. 44, l. edge 1 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḫu-na-uš*<sup>1</sup> (text: -aš, KUB 9.34 ii 25 (MH/NS)) and must represent /išHunáus/ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-nóus*.

*la-a-ú-un* (KUB 7.1 iii 20 passim) is a mistake for 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ú*<sup>82</sup> and therefore irrelevant here.

*pa-a-ú-un* (KBo 16.59 rev. 5 (MS), KBo 16.42 obv. 24 (MS), KUB 34.45 + KBo 16.63 obv. 13 (MS)) represents /páun/, which in younger times phonetically changed to /páon/, spelled *pa-a-u-un* (cf. above).

*ta-lu-ga-ú-uš* (KBo 17.22 iii 6 (OS)) is equivalent to the spellings *da-lu-ga-uš* and *ta-lu-ga-uš* and represents /talugāus/ < *\*talugaius/*.

So we can conclude that the diphthong /au/ is lowered to /ao/ before /n/ from MH times onwards, but is preserved as such in other positions.<sup>83</sup>

## *i\_C*

First I will treat the words that show a spelling <sup>o</sup>*i-ú-CV* or <sup>o</sup>*i-ú-uC*:

*a-ni-ú-úr* and *a-ni-ú-ri* are occasional spellings for normal *a-ni-u-ur* and *a-ni-u-ri*.

See at *aniūr* below.

*aš-ḫa-i-ú-ul* (KUB 24.10 iii 18, KUB 24.11 iii 17) // *aš-ḫa-i-ú-úr* (KBo 21.8 iii 6) // *a-aš-ḫa-ú[-...]* (KBo 12.126 rev. 14) is of unclear meaning. Since this word can hardly be of native origin,<sup>84</sup> it is irrelevant here.

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<sup>81</sup> The text is quite corrupt: KUB 9.22 ii (39) <sup>DUG</sup>*kap-pi=ma-a=š-ša-an ku-iš* (40) *ḫar-na-a-ú-uš la-ḫu-an-zi* should actually have been ... *ku-iš ḫar-na-iš la-ḫu-an-za* ‘what sap has been poured into the vessel’.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. CHD L-N: 1.

<sup>83</sup> Prof. Kortlandt informs me that from a typological point of view the lowering of /au/ to /ao/ before /n/ should be interpreted as the rise of nasal vowels: /aun/ > /aŋ/.

<sup>84</sup> A sequence <sup>o</sup>*aiu*<sup>o</sup> does not originally occur in Hittite words: *pa-a-i-ú* ‘he must give’ is a secondary formation instead of more original *pa-a-ú* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>póu-u*, in which the stem *pāi-* was restored. All other cases where we find <sup>o</sup>*aiu*<sup>o</sup>, we are dealing with either names or words of foreign origin.

*hē-i-ú-un* (KBo 3.7 ii 25 (OH/NS)) is a hapax spelling for normal *hēun* ‘rain’ and therefore will be treated below under *e\_C*.

*imiūl* (n.) ‘grain mix, horse feed’ is consistently spelled with *Ú*: nom.-acc.sg. *i-mi-ú-l=a-a=š-ma-aš* (KUB 29.41, 8 (MH/MS)), *i-mi-ú-ul* (KBo 12.126 i 29 (OH/NS)), *im-mi-ú-ul* (KBo 4.2 ii 33 (OH/NS), KUB 7.54 ii 17 (fr.) (NS)), *im-mi-i-ú-ul* (KBo 10.37 ii 15 (OH/NS)). These spellings point to /imiūl/ < \**im-ié-ul*.

*išhiūl* (n.) ‘binding, treaty’ and its derivative *išhiulahh-* ‘to bind by treaty’ are consistently spelled with *Ú*: nom.-acc.sg./pl. *iš-ḥi-ú-ul*, gen.sg. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-aš*, nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ḥi-ú-li*, 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi*, part. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-aḥ-ḥa-an-t*. These spellings point to /išHiūl/ < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ié-ul*.

*iuk*, *iuka-* (n.) ‘yoke, pair’ and its derivatives *iuga-* ‘yearling’, *iugašša-* ‘yearling’ and *tāiuga-* ‘two-year-old’ are always spelled with *Ú*: nom.-acc.sg. *i-ú-uk* (KBo 25.72 r.col. 11 (OS)), *i-ú-kán* (KBo 12.22 i 11 (OH/NS), KBo 12.131 r.col. 5 (OH/NS), KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 7 (OH/NS)), *i-ú-ga-an* (KBo 13.78 obv. 2 (OH/NS), KUB 7.8 ii 8 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *i-ú-ki* (KUB 13.5 ii 21 (OH/NS)); nom.sg.c. *i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), acc.sg. *i-ú-ga-an* (text: *ú-i-ga-an*, KBo 17.65 rev. 53 (MS)), gen.sg. *i-ú-ga-aš*, acc.pl.c. *i-ú-ga-aš*; gen. pl. *i-ú-g[a-aš]-ša-a[n]* (OS), *i-ú-ga-aš-ša-aš* (OH/NS)); nom.sg.c. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), *ta-a-ú-ga-aš* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), acc.pl.c. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš*. All these spellings point to /iug-/ < \**iug-*.

acc.pl.c. *kap-pi-ú-uš* (KBo 34.47 ii 8 (MH/MS)) of *kappi-* / *kappai-* ‘small’ is a younger adaptation of original *kap-pa-uš* (KUB 12.63 obv. 31 (OH/MS)) < \**kappaiuš*. So *kap-pi-ú-uš* must stand for /kapius/.

<sup>TÜG</sup>*ka-ri-ú-ul-li* ‘hood’, also spelled *ka-ri-ul-li* is a derivative in *-ulli-* of *karije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cover’, so represents /kriūLi/ < \**kr-ié-ul+*.

acc.pl.c. *ku-i-ú-uš* (HKM 23 obv. 9 (MH/MS), KBo 18.57a + 57 obv. 2, rev. 42 (MH/MS)) of the interrog. / indef. pronoun *kui-* / *kue-* / *ku<sub>2</sub>a-* is usually spelled *ku-i-uš* and stands for /k<sup>w</sup>ius/.

acc.pl. *ma-ši-ú-u[š]*<sup>7</sup> (KBo 9.109 rev. 4) of *maši-* ‘how many’ represents /masius/.

*mīu-* / *mī<sub>2</sub>au-* (adj.) ‘soft, mild’ and its derivatives *mīumar* ‘gentleness’ and <sup>NINDA</sup>*mīumū(t)-* ‘soft bread’ are always spelled with *Ú*:<sup>85</sup> nom.sg.c. *mi-i-uš* = *mi-i-ú-uš* = *mi-ú-uš* = /mīus/ < \**mih<sub>1</sub>-u-s*, acc.sg.c. *mi-i-ú-un* = /mīun/ < \**mih<sub>1</sub>-u-m*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *mi-i-ú* = *mi-ú* = /mīu/ < \**mih<sub>1</sub>-u*; nom.-acc.sg. *mi-i-ú-mar* = *mi-ú-mar* = *mi-ú-um-mar* = /mīumr/ < \**mīuur/*, instr. *mi-ú-um-ni-it* =

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<sup>85</sup> Note that CHD L-N: 307 incorrectly cites nom.sg.c. “*mi-u-uš*” (KUB 39.41 obv. 17 (NS), KUB 33.38 iv 10 (OH/MS)); these forms actually are *mi-ú-uš*.

/míumnit/ < \*/míuunit/; nom.-acc.sg. *mi-ú-mi-ú* (MH/NS), *mi-i-ú-mi-u=š-ša-an*, *mi-i-ú-mi-i-ú* = /mīumīu/, etc.

*pár-ši-ú-ul-li* ‘crumb’ is derived from *paršijē/a-<sup>ari</sup>* ‘to break’ and represents /prSiúLi/ < \*b<sup>h</sup>rs-ié-ul+.

acc.pl. *pu-u-ri-ú-uš* of *pīri-* ‘lip, ridge’ equals *pu-u-ri-uš* and *pu-ri-uš* and represents /pórius/.

*štu-* (c.) ‘god’ and its derivatives *štuna-* ‘god’, *šiunala-* ‘divine one(?)’ and *šiunijahh-<sup>(ii)a</sup>* ‘to be hit by a disease’ are always spelled with Ú: nom.sg. *ši-i-ú-uš* (OS), *ši-ú-uš*, *ši-uš=mi-iš* (OS) = /síus/, acc.sg. *ši-ú(n)=šum-m[i-in]* (OS), *ši-ú-n=a-an* = /síun/, gen.sg. *ši-ú-na-aš* (OS) = /síunas/, dat.-loc.sg. *ši-ú-ni* (OS), *ši-i-ú-ni* (OH/MS) = /síuni/, abl. *ši-ú-na-az* (OH/NS), instr. *ši-ú-ni-it* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *ši-ú-na-an*, dat.-loc.pl. *ši-ú-na-aš* (OS), *ši-i-ú-na-aš* (OH/NS); nom.pl. *ši-ú-na-li-eš*; 3sg.pres.midd. [š]i-ú-ni-ah-ta, *ši-ú-ni-ja-ah-ta*, *ši-e-ú-ni-ah-ta*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ši-ú-ni-ja-ah-ħa-ti*.

<sup>NINDA</sup>*zu-ri-ú-un* is hapax (KBo 22.186 v 7) and probably of foreign origin (cf. *zu-*) and therefore of little value here.

The following words show the spelling °i-u-CV or °i-u-uC(-CV):

*aniūr* (n.) ‘ritual’ is predominantly spelled with U: nom.-acc.sg. *a-ni-u-ur* (KBo 15.19 i 18 (NS), KBo 15.29 obv. 6 (NS), KBo 19.144 i 25 (NS), KBo 20.87 i 7 (NS), KUB 9.15 iii 20 (NS), KUB 12.58 ii 31 (NS), KUB 22.40 iii 29 (NS), KUB 29.4 i 7, 15 (NH), KUB 32.123 ii 33, 47, iii 11 (NS)), *a-ni-ur* (KUB 46.38 ii 6 (NS), KUB 46.42 ii 12 (NS)), gen.sg. *a-ni-u-ra-aš* (KUB 35.18 i 9 (MS), KBo 21.1 iv 3 (MH/NS)), *a-ni-ur-aš* (KBo 12.126+ ii 19 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *a-ni-u-ri* (KUB 35.54 iii 45 (MS)), erg.sg. *a-ni-u-ra-an-za* (KUB 41.9 iv 38 (OH/MS)). Nevertheless, I know of four instances where we find a spelling with Ú, namely *a-ni-ú-úr* (KBo 19.92, 4 (OH/NS), KUB 5.6 ii 52, 59 (NS)) and *a-ni-ú-ri* (KUB 5.6 iii 30 (NS)). Since three of these occur on the same tablet (KUB 5.6), we are actually talking of two instances. Since I am not able to explain these spellings with Ú in comparison with those with U in phonological or chronological terms, I assume that the spellings with Ú are mere mistakes and that the spellings with U are the correct ones. This would mean that *a-ni-u-ur* represents /ʔniór/ < \*h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur.

instr. *a-aš-ši-u-ni-it* (KUB 33.62 ii 20) from *āššijauuar* ‘love’ is probably a scribal error for *a-aš-ši-⟨ja⟩u-ni-it* as is attested on the same tablet: *a-aš-ši-⟨ja⟩u-ni-it* (ibid. 20). This form therefore is irrelevant here.

nom.pl. *mi-u-ri-šē[-eš?]* (KBo 17.17 iv 4 (OS)) and dat.-loc.pl. *mi-u-ra-aš* (KUB 43.53 i 14 (OH/NS)) denote a certain body part, but details are unclear.

*ši-iš-ši-u-ri-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.84 iii 54, 55) ‘to irrigate’ apparently represents /siSióriské/á-/ , derived from a noun \*/siSiór/ < \*h<sub>1</sub>si-h<sub>1</sub>s-ié-ur.

It is remarkable that the sign U only occurs in words where the consonant -r- follows, whereas in all other cases we find the sign Ú. This points to a lowering of \*/iur/ to /ior/, which has happened in pre-Hittite already (cf. OS. *mi-u-ri-*). Note that /iun/ remains unchanged and does not show a lowering comparable to \*/aun/ > /aon/.

### *e\_C*

Apart from the one spelling *e-ú-uk-zi* ‘he drinks’, which is equivalent to *e-uk-zi* and *e-ku-zi* and therefore must represent /?ég<sup>w</sup>ṭi/, a spelling °*e-U/Ú-uC*° only occurs in *hēu-* / *hēiaṽ-* ‘rain’ and *me(i)u-* / *meiaṽ-* ‘four’.

The nom.sg. of *hēu-* is spelled *hé-e-ú-uš*, *hé-e-uš* as well as *hé-uš*, which points to Hitt. /Héus/ < /Hé?us/ < \*h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-u-s. The acc.sg. is usually spelled *hé-e-un* (attested in OS texts already), but occurs as *hé-ú-un* and *hé-i-ú-un* in some OH/NS texts and as *hé-e-u-un* in an MH/NS text. This seems to point to a phonetic change within Hittite, namely OH /Hé?un/,<sup>86</sup> spelled *hé-ú-un*, develops through /Héun/ into younger /Héon/, spelled *hé-e-u-un*.<sup>87</sup> For this lowering, compare the lowering of /au/ to /ao/ in front of /n/ in § 1.3.9.4.e. The nom.pl.-forms *hé-e-u-uš* (KUB 7.5 i 17 (MH/NS)) and *hé-e-u[-u]š* (KUB 19.50 iv 27 (NH)), the acc.pl.-form *hé-u-uš* (KBo 3.7 ii 22 (OH/NS)) and *hé-e-ú-uš* (KUB 16.37 iv 6 (NH), KUB 28.4 obv. 19 (NS)) as well as dat.-loc.pl.(?) *hé-e-u-uš* (KBo 13.245 rev. 7 (NS)) in my view all are formally acc.pl.-forms that should be interpreted as *hēmuš*, an incorrect secondary formation instead of correct *hēmuš* as attested in e.g. *hé-e-mu-uš* (KUB 24.1 iv 15), *hé-mu-uš* (KUB 51.50 obv. 14) and *he-e-mu-ú-uš* (KBo 43.137 l.col. 7) = /Hémus/ < \*/Héuus/ < \*/Hé?uus/.

In the paradigm of *meju-* / *meiaṽ-*, the only relevant form is acc.pl.c. *mi-e-ú-uš* (KUB 31.127 i 52), which must be read as *meuš*, an incorrect formation instead of expected \*\**memuš*, or even better \*\**meiamuš* < \**meiaṽuš*.

#### 1.3.9.4.f *Word-internally between consonants*

If there is a phonological distinction between /o/ and /u/ in interconsonantal position, we would expect that each word that shows a plene spelling with one of the *u*-signs is consistent in its spelling: either it is spelled with U or it is spelled

<sup>86</sup> For /-?/, cf. § 1.4.5.b.

<sup>87</sup> Or /Héun/ > /Héo/, cf. note 83.



with  $\acute{U}$ . This is not always the case, however: we do find words of which some forms are spelled with U and others with  $\acute{U}$ . Let us look at these cases:

*apūn* ‘that (one)’ (acc.sg.c.) is consistently spelled *a-pu-u-un* (more than 150x in my text files),<sup>88</sup> but once we find the spelling *a-pu-ú-un* (KBo 6.2 ii 32 (OS)). In my view, this last spelling must be a mistake, which is strengthened by the fact that on the same tablet we find the aberrant form *ḫu-ú-ni-ik-zi*, which is usually spelled *ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi* (see below).

*apūš* ‘those (ones)’ (acc.pl.c.) is almost always spelled *a-pu-u-uš* (more than 210x in my files),<sup>89</sup> but once we find a spelling *a-pu-ú-uš* (KUB 14.14 obv. 21 (NH)). In my view, this spelling must be a mistake, just as the form *ku-u-ú-uš* (ibid. rev. 31) instead of normal *ku-u-uš* (see below).

*arša(r)šur-* (n.) ‘flowing, stream’ is attested multiple times with the sign U: nom.-acc.sg. *ar-ša-aš-šu-u-ur* (KBo 23.9 i 12 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ar-šar-šu-u-ra* (KUB 33.13 ii 14 (OH/NS)), *ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri-i=š-ši-it* (KUB 36.55 ii 26 (OH/MS)), acc.pl.c. *ar-šar-šu-u-ru-uš* (KUB 33.10, 10 (OH/MS)), case? [*a*]r-ša-ar-šu-u-ra-aš (KBo 26.135, 6 (OH/NS)). Once we find a spelling with  $\acute{U}$ , however: nom.-acc.pl. *ar-ša-a-aš-šu-ú-ri-i=š-ši-it* (KUB 36.55 ii 20 (OH/MS)). It is remarkable, however, that only 6 lines below this form we find *ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri-i=š-ši-it* with a plene U. In my view, this indicates that *ar-ša-a-aš-šu-ú-ri-i=š-ši-it* must be erroneous.

*ḫuni(n)k-zi* ‘to batter, to crash’ is often spelled with plene U: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi* (often), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-u-ni-ik-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫu-u-ni-ik-ta-at*, part. *ḫu-u-ni(-in)-kán-t-* (often). Once, we find the spelling *ḫu-ú-ni-ik-zi*, however, namely in KBo 6.2 i 16 (OS). Since this is the same tablet where we also find the aberrant *a-pu-ú-un* (instead of normal *a-pu-u-un*, see above) and since correct *ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi* is attested only three lines above (ibid. i 13), we must assume that this is an erroneous form. Moreover, it would be the only form where we find the sequence *ḫu-ú-* in all of Hittite.<sup>90</sup>

*kinūpi*, a portable container, is usually spelled without plene *-u-*, but once we find the spelling *ki-nu-ú-pi* (KUB 29.2 ii 7) and twice *ki-nu-u-pi* (KUB 29.1 ii 41, KBo 21.22, 10).<sup>91</sup> Since this word likely is of a foreign origin, these forms are non-probative.

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<sup>88</sup> Besides a few times *a-pu-un*, but these are irrelevant here.

<sup>89</sup> Besides a few times *a-pu-uš*, but these are irrelevant here.

<sup>90</sup> Except <sup>URU</sup>*La-aḫ-ḫu-ú-i-ja-aš-ši-iš* (Bronzetafel i 69).

<sup>91</sup> Puhvel HED 4: 153 incorrectly cites the form of KBo 21.22, 10 as “*ki-nu-ú-pi*”.

*kūn* ‘this (one)’ (acc.sg.c.) is consistently spelled *ku-u-un* (more than 110x in my files). Once we find *ku-ú-un*, however, namely in KUB 48.125 ii’ 4. Although this small fragment does not contain any other aberrancies, I regard this form as an error.

*kūš* ‘these (ones)’ (acc.pl.c.) is consistently spelled *ku-u-uš* (more than 120x in my files).<sup>92</sup> Once we find *ku-u-ú-uš*, however, in KUB 14.14 rev. 31. Since this form is found on the same tablet as where the aberrant *a-pu-ú-uš* is attested (instead of normal *a-pu-u-uš*, see above), I regard it as an error.

<sup>NINDA</sup>*lalla(m)puri(ia)-*, <sup>NINDA</sup>*lal(l)am(m)uri(ia)-*, a dish made of cereals, shows the following spellings: nom.sg.c. *la-al-la-pu-u-ri-ia-aš*, *la-al-la-am-pu-u-ri-ia-aš*, *la-al-la-am-pu-ri-iš*, *la-al-la-am-mu-ri-iš*, *la-al-la-mu-ú-ri-iš*, *la-la-mu-ri-ia-aš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *la-la-mu-ri*, *[la-l]a-am-mu-ri*.<sup>93</sup> The spelling variancy (including the alteration between *Cu-u-* and *Cu-ú-*) and the fact that this word is attested in Kizzuwatnaean rituals only, makes it likely that it is of foreign (Hattic?) origin. This makes this word non-probative for our purposes here.

*lūri-* (c.) ‘disgrace’ and its derivatives *lūrijatar* ‘disgrace’ and *lūrijaḥḥ-*<sup>i</sup> ‘to disgrace’ are predominantly spelled with plene U: nom.sg.c. *lu-u-ri-iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *lu-u-ri-in* (OS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *lu-u-ri* (MS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-u-ri* (NH), nom.pl.c. *lu-u-ri-e-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *lu-u-ri-uš* (OS); nom.-acc.sg. *[l]u-u-ri-ia-tar* (NH); 2sg.imp.act. *lu-u-ri-ia-aḥ* (NH), impf. *lu-u-ri-ia-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (NH).<sup>94</sup> Twice we find a spelling with Ú, however: nom.sg.c. *lu-ú-ri-eš* (KUB 13.4 iii 34 (OH/NS)), *lu-ú-ri-iš* (KUB 13.18 iii 6 (OH/NS)). Since these tablets do not show other remarkable aberrancies, it is not easy to explain away these examples as errors. Perhaps we are dealing with traces of an original ablaut. See below for an elaboration on this.

*mūgae-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to invoke’ and its derivative *mūkēššar* / *mūkēšn-* ‘invocation’, when spelled with a plene *-u-*, are predominantly spelled with the sign U: 1sg.pres.act. *mu-u-ga-a-mi* (MH/NS), *mu-u-ga-mi* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *mu-u-ga-a-an[-zī]*, *mu-u-ga-an-zi*; gen.sg. *mu-u-ki-iš-na-aš* (Bo 6575 obv. 13), nom.-acc.pl. *mu-u-keš-šar*<sup>HLA</sup>.<sup>95</sup> Once, we find the spelling *mu-ú-ga-it* (KBo 3.7 i 13). Since this text contains a number of aberrancies,<sup>96</sup> I regard this spelling as an error as well.

<sup>92</sup> Besides a few times *ku-uš*.

<sup>93</sup> See CHD L-N: 26 for attestations.

<sup>94</sup> See CHD L-N: 86f. for attestations.

<sup>95</sup> See CHD L-N: 319f. for attestations.

<sup>96</sup> E.g. *e-ša-a-ri* (iv 13) instead of normal *e-ša-ri*, *ḥu-ma-an* (i 15) instead of *ḥu-u-ma-an*, *ḥé-u-uš* (ii 22) instead of normal *ḥé-mu-uš*.

*mūri(ian)-* ‘cluster of fruit’ and its possible derivative <sup>NINDA</sup>*mūrijala-*, a bread, are predominantly spelled with plene U: instr. *mu-u-ri-ni-it* (MH?/NS), acc.pl. *mu-u-ri-uš* (OS), *mu-u-ri-ia-nu-uš* (MH?/NS); nom.sg. *mu-u-ri-ia-la-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *mu-u-ri-ia-la-an* (NS), acc.pl. *mu-u-ri-ia-lu-š=a* (OS).<sup>97</sup> There are two exceptions, however, namely nom.sg. *mu-ú-ri-iš* (KUB 57.110 ii 8 (NS)), and acc.pl. *mu-ú-ri-ia-lu-uš* (Bo 2689 ii 11 (NS)). On the one hand, since the etymology of *mūri(ian)-* and <sup>NINDA</sup>*mūrijala-* is unclear, and since *mūri(ian)-* shows a remarkable alternation between an *i*-stem *mūri-* and an *n*-stem *mūrijan-*, we could claim that these words are possibly of foreign origin and therefore non-probativ here. On the other hand, we could compare the situation to *lūri-*, where nom.sg. also was aberrantly spelled *lu-ú-ri-iš* vs. *lu-u-ri-* elsewhere, and assume that in *mūri(ian)-*, too, we are dealing with traces of ablaut.

*pūl-* (n.) ‘lot’ is attested as follows: nom.-acc.sg. *pu-u-ul* (4x, OH/NS), *pu-ú-ul* (1x, NH), gen.sg. *pu-u-la-aš* (OH/NS), *pu-la-aš* (NH), *pu-la-a-aš* (NH), abl. *pu-la-a[z]* (NH), instr. *pu-u-li-it* (OH/NS), so predominantly with U, but once with Ú.<sup>98</sup> It has been suggested that it is a borrowing, through Hurrian (compare Hurr. *pulaḫli* ‘lot caster’) from Akk. *pūru* ‘lot’ (cf. e.g. Rieken 1999: 78). As a foreign word, it is irrelevant here.

*pūdaḫaš(ša)*, *puḫaš(ša)*, designation of a festival, is spelled *pu-te-ḫa-a-aš-ša*, *pu-ú-da-ḫa-aš* (NH), *pu-u-du-ḫa-aš* (NH), *pu-da-ḫa-aš* and *pu-da-ḫa-aš-ša*, so both with plene U and Ú.<sup>99</sup> This word occurs almost exclusively as the designation of a festival that is performed in honour of Teššub and Ḫepat, which makes it likely that the word is Hurrian. It is therefore irrelevant here.

*puḫš-zi* ‘to ask’ is predominantly spelled without a plene vowel (*pu-nu-uš-*), but sometimes we do find forms in which the first *-u-* is spelled plene: 3pl.pres.act. *pu-ú-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 20.5 iii<sup>1</sup> 7 (OS)), 3sg.pret.act. *pu-u-nu-uš-ta* (KUB 36.35 i 8 (MH?/NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *pu-u-nu-uš-šu-u-en* (AT 454 ii 17, 21, iv 14 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *[pu-]ú<sup>2</sup>-nu-uš-ten* (KUB 59.10 vi 2 (OH/NS)). Here we seem to be dealing with a chronological distribution: Ú in OH texts, U in younger texts. This fits the distribution that we established for /aun/ > /aon/ as well (see above).

*pūrija-*, *uurija-*, Hurrian offering term, is spelled as follows: gen. *pu-u-ri-ia-aš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pu-u-ri-ia* (often, MH/NS), *pu-ú-ri-ia* (KBo 27.191 iii 3),

<sup>97</sup> See CHD L-N: 333 for attestations.

<sup>98</sup> See CHD P: 373f. for attestations.

<sup>99</sup> See CHD P: 400 for attestations.

*pu-ri-ja* (MH/MS).<sup>100</sup> Since this word clearly is of foreign origin, it is non-probative.

<sup>(MUN)</sup>*pūti-* (c.) ‘lump of salt’ is spelled *pu-u-ti-iš* (multiple times) as well as *pu-ú-ti-iš* (KUB 32.123 ii 18 (NS)).<sup>101</sup> Since this word likely is not native Hittite, it is irrelevant here.

*tapūš-* (n.) ‘side’ is usually spelled with plene *Ú*: all.sg. *ta-pu-ú-ša* (KBo 4.2 iii 47, KBo 39.164 r.col. 6, KUB 20.99 ii 18, KUB 31.105, 19, KUB 55.45 ii 12, KUB 55.58 obv. 16, IBoT 2.112 obv. 9, etc.). Twice we find a spelling with U, however: all.sg. *ta-pu-u-ša* (KUB 1.8 iv 19 (NH)) and abl. *ta-pu-u-uš-za* (KBo 30.58 iii 11 (OH/NS)). I must admit that I cannot explain these two forms otherwise than as scribal errors, although the texts in which they occur do not show other aberrancies.

*tulija-* ‘gathering’ is usually spelled without plene vowel: acc.sg. *tu-li-ja-an* (KBo 3.1 ii 34, 51), gen.sg. *tu-li-ja-aš* (KUB 9.34 i 33, iv 12, KUB 6.45 iii 11, KUB 6.46 iii 50, KUB 21.19 iv 10), *tu-li-ja[-aš]* (KUB 21.19 iv 25), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-li-ja* (KBo 6.3 iii 21, KBo 4.10 obv. 50, KUB 6.45 iii 12, KUB 23.77a obv. 11, KBo 8.35 ii 9, KBo 5.4 rev. 55, KUB 21.1 iv 39, KUB 21.4 iv 9, Bronzetafel iii 79, KUB 21.19 iv 18, 19, KUB 4.1 ii 2, KUB 17.30 iii<sup>?</sup> 4), dat.-loc.pl. *tu-li-ja-aš* (KBo 22.1, 16 (OS)). Occasionally we find a plene spelling, however, namely twice with U (*tu-u-li-ja* (KUB 6.46 iii 51), *tu-u-li-ja-aš* (KUB 33.110, 5)) and twice with *Ú* (*tu-ú-li-ja* (KUB 21.1 iv 39), *tu-ú-li-ja[a]* (KUB 21.5 iv 45)). This word occurs in CLuwian as well, and is there predominantly spelled *tu-ú-li-ja-* (besides *tu-li-ja-* once).<sup>102</sup> This could mean that the two Hittite spellings *tu-ú-li-ja-* should be regarded as Luwianisms, and the spellings *tu-u-li-ja-* as the ‘normal’ spelling.

*zarzur* (n.) ‘concoction’ is attested thus: nom.-acc.sg. *za-ar-zu-úr* (KUB 42.107 iii 13 (OH/NS)), *za-ar-zu-u-ur* (KUB 31.57 iv 18 (OH/NS)), *za-ar-zu-ú-úr* (KUB 34.89 obv. 6 (OH?/MS)), [*za-a*]r-zu-úr (KUB 34.89 obv. 1 (OH?/MS)). Since this word can hardly be native Hittite, it is irrelevant here.

So, for the words of which we find forms with U as well as with *Ú*, we have seen that either (1) one of these spellings is a scribal error, (2) the two spellings represent different chronological stages, (3) the different spellings may reflect an original ablaut, or (4) that the word is of foreign origin and therefore irrelevant

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<sup>100</sup> See CHD P: 387 for attestations.

<sup>101</sup> See CHD P: 402 for attestations.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Melchert 1993a: 232.

for our investigation. In all other words, we find a complementary distribution between U and Ú and I therefore conclude that we can assume that in interconsonantal position we must assume the occurrence of two different phonemes, namely /u/ and /o/.

In the following section I will look more closely at the prehistory of the words under discussion in order to elucidate the origin of the difference between /o/ and /u/. In order to do so, I will treat the words according to the consonants that are adjacent to /o/ and /u/.

### *h\_C*

Whenever the consonant *h* precedes a plene spelled vowel *-u-*, this vowel is always spelled with the sign U.<sup>103</sup> This seems to indicate that all instances of \*/HuC/ have yielded Hitt. /HoC/. As we saw above (§ 1.3.9.1), however, the combination ḤU-U- occurs so often in MS and NS texts that it has been suggested that we should interpret this combination as a sort of ligature (𐎶𐎶𐎵) in order to distinguish the sign ḤU (𐎶𐎶) from the closely resembling sign RI (𐎶𐎵). It therefore is not always clear how to interpret the combination ḤU-U-. To make the problem more transparent, I have taken the liberty to cite the ‘ligature’ ḤU+U (in which the sign U only seems to have had an orthographic value and perhaps not so much a phonetic value) as ḤÚ in the following example.<sup>104</sup> For instance, *pa-ah-hur* ‘fire’ must in my view be analysed phonologically as /páH<sup>w</sup>r/, because of the occasional spelling *pa-ah-hu-ua-ar*. Once, we find a spelling *pa-ah-hu-u-ur*, however. Is this spelling suddenly to be interpreted as /páHor/, or do we have to read the form as *pa-ah-hú-ur* = /páH<sup>w</sup>r/?

Another problem is that in ablauting verbs, we find e.g. *hu-e-ek-zi* ‘he conjures’ vs. *hu-u-kán-zi* ‘they conjure’. Since I do not reckon with a phonemic distinction between /o/ and /u/ in the sequence *C\_e* (see above), the former should be interpreted /Huég<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ué<sup>(z)h</sup>-ti* whereas the latter is /Hogánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u<sup>(z)h</sup>é<sup>ti</sup>*. This means that we seem to be dealing with an ablaut /Hueg- / Hog-/, which may not be very convenient. Similarly in *hu-ua-ap-p°* / *hu-u-up-p°* ‘to harass’, which seems to stand for /Huap- / Hop-/. Perhaps we should conclude that in the full-grade forms we are dealing with /o/ as well: /Hoeg-/ and /Hoap-/, the latter then

<sup>103</sup> The only exception in the whole Hittite corpus, *hu-ú-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 6.2 i 16), must be a mistake, as we have seen above.

<sup>104</sup> Just as the ‘ligature’ I+A (𐎶𐎶) is cited IA, the ligature ME+EŠ (𐎶𐎶) is cited MEŠ, and SISKUR.SISKUR (𐎶𐎶𐎶) is cited SÍSKUR.

perhaps expressed in the spelling *ḫu-u-ua-ap-p*<sup>o</sup>. If so, then we should also interpret e.g. *ḫu-u-an-t* ‘wind’ as /Hoánt-/ , which then perhaps is expressed in the spelling *ḫu-u-ua-an-t*. Since, however, there is no phonemic distinction between /o/ and /u/ after *ḫ*, one could also choose to write /Hu/ everywhere. Yet on the basis of the fact that the Hittites themselves never wrote *ḫu-ú-* and apparently did not perceive these sequences as [Hu] but as [Ho], I will write /Ho/ in my phonemic analysis, also in the sequences /Hoa/, /Hoe/ and /Hoi/.

Some examples of *ḫūC*: *ḫu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* ‘to conjure (impf.)’ /Hokiské/á-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u<sup>(g)</sup>-ské/ó-*; *ḫu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* ‘to butcher (impf.)’ /Hokiské/á-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u<sup>(h)</sup>-ské/ó-*; *ḫu-u-uk-ma-a-uš* ‘conjurations (acc.pl.)’ /Hogmáus/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u<sup>(g)</sup>-mói-*; *ḫu-u-ul-l<sup>o</sup>* ‘to smash’ /HoL-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ul-n-*; *ḫu-u-ma-an-t* ‘all’ /Hómant-/; *ḫu-u-up-[pa-an-du]* ‘they must harass’ /Hopántu/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>up<sub>h1</sub>-éntu*; <sup>DUG</sup>*ḫu-u-up-pár* ‘bowl’ /Hópr/; *ḫu-u-ur-ta-a-in* ‘curse (acc.sg.)’ /Hortáin/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>urt-ói-m*; *ḫu-u-ur-za-ke/a-* ‘to curse (impf.)’ /Hortské/á-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>urt-ské/ó-*; *ḫu-u-uš-ke/a-* ‘to wait’ /Hoské/á-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u-ské/ó-*; *ḫu-u-da-* ‘readiness’ /Hóda-/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>do-*; *iš-ḫu-u-na-u-* ‘upper arm’ /išHonau-/ < *sh<sub>2</sub>u-nóu-*.

### C\_ḫ

When a *ḫ* follows, we always find U as well. In some cases we are dealing with \**Ceuh<sub>2</sub>*: *šu-u-uḫ-za* ‘roof (abl.)’ /sóHt<sup>s</sup>/ < \**séuh<sub>2</sub>-ti*; in some with \**Cóuh<sub>2</sub>*: *u-uḫ-ḫi* ‘I saw’ /ʀóHi/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>óu-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *mu-u-uḫ-ḫi* ‘I fell’ /móHi/ < \**móu-h<sub>2</sub>ei*; in others with \**Cuh<sub>2</sub>*: *an-tu-u-uḫ-ša-an* ‘human being (acc.sg.)’ /ʀndoHsan/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-s-om*.

Other cases of /CoH/ are: *lu-u-ḫa-* ‘?’ /loha-/; *mu-u-uḫ-ra-i-*, a body part of animals /moHrai-/; *šu-u-uḫ-mi-li-* ‘firm(?)’ /soHmili-/; <sup>(UZU)</sup>*pa-an-tu-u-ḫa-* ‘bladder’ /p(a)ntoha-/; *pár-aš-tu-u-uḫ-ḫa-*, an earthenware cup(?) /prstoHa-/; *pu-u-ḫu-ga-ri-* ‘substitute’ /póhogari-/; *tu-u-ḫu-ši-ia-e-* ‘to await’ /toh<sup>w</sup>siae-/?; <sup>MUNUS</sup>*zi-in-tu-u-ḫi-* ‘girl’ /t<sup>s</sup>intohi-/.

### C\_i

I only know of one case, namely *uiē-zi* / *ui-* ‘to send’, which is consistently spelled *u-i-e-* / *u-i-ia-* = /ʀoié- / ʀoi-/. This verb is a univerbation of the preverb \**h<sub>2</sub>ou* and the verbal root \**h<sub>1</sub>ieh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to send’ (cf. *peje-zi* / *peĭ-* ‘to send (away)’), and shows that \**h<sub>2</sub>ou* > \*/ʀu/ has been lowered to /ʀo-/ in front of *-i-*.

Note that the case of *uiē/a-zi* ‘to scream’ is quite different. This verb, which is consistently spelled *ú-i-ia-*, is a secondarily thematicized form of the verb *uai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to scream’. The spelling of 3sg.pres.act. *ua-a-i* ‘he screams’ shows that there was no initial glottal stop (otherwise we would have expected a spelling \*\**ú-ua-*

*a-i*), so I would phonologically interpret the spelling *ú-i-ia-* as /uiá-/ , phonetically realized as [wi'á-].

### **C\_k**

Here we must distinguish between different ablaut grades: \**CuK* > /CuK/, cf. \**h<sub>1</sub>égH* >> \**h<sub>1</sub>úg* > Hitt. *ú-uk* 'I' /*úg*/, \**iugom* > *i-ú-kán* /*iugan*/ 'yoke' and \**dolug<sup>h</sup>*- > *ta-lu-ú-ga* 'long'; \**CeuK* > /CūK/, cf. \**méug-r* > *mu-ú-kar* 'rattle' /*múgr*/, \**iéug* > *i-ú-uk* /*iúg*/ 'yoke' and \**h<sub>2</sub>téug-om* > *ha-tu-ú-ga-an* /*Hdūgan*/ 'terrible'; but \**CouK* > /CoK/, cf. \**mougó-je/o-* > *mu-u-ga-e-* /*mogae*/ 'to invoke' /*mogáe-*/.

### **C\_l**

The situation around *C\_l* is quite complicated, especially because the etymology of many words containing *-Cul-* is unclear. A sequence \**Ceul* is clear in the words *i-mi-ú-ul* 'horse feed' < \**im-ié-ul* and *iš-ḫi-ú-ul* 'binding' < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ié-ul*, which show that \**Ceul* > /Cul/. The words *aš-šu-ú-ul* 'favour', *tak-šu-ú-ul* 'agreement' and *uštūl-* / *uaštūl-* 'sin' (cf. *ua-aš-du-ú-li*) are usually regarded as showing the accentuated suffix \**-úl-*, and would show that \**Cul* yields /Cul/ as well. This would also fit the word *ga-az-zar-nu-ú-ul*, a certain cloth, although its etymology is less clear. It has been claimed that *pittūla-* 'loop, knot' is a thematization of the suffix \**-ul-*, but this word is consistently spelled *pit-tu-u-la-*. We could assume that we are dealing with a lowering to /o/ here due to the back-vowel that follows *-l-*. This would also fit the words *ka-lu-u-lu-pa-* 'finger', *mu-u-la-tar*, an evil quality, <sup>NINDA</sup> *mu-u-la-ti-*, a bread, and *pár-šu-u-la-a-an-t-* 'crumbling'.<sup>105</sup> This would imply that before a front vowel, we would expect /u/. This is certainly the case for *lu-ú-li-* 'pond', *lu-ú-li-ia-aš-ḫa-* 'marshland', *mi-i-lu-ú-li* 'skin(?)' and *mu-ú-li-li*, a plant. Note that *tu-u-li-ia-* 'gathering' does not fit this picture: it shows /o/ in spite of the following front vowel. Since the etymology of this word is not fully clear, it is difficult to judge this form. Perhaps we are dealing with \**tuHl-i-o-*, in which \**CuHl* yields /Col/. Also *šu-u-ul-le-e-et* 'he became arrogant' shows /o/ while a front vowel follows. Perhaps we must conclude that here the geminate *-ll-* < \**-lH-* was the crucial factor and that it caused lowering as well. This does not work for *šu-ú-ul-lu-uš*, acc.pl. of *šulla-* 'hostage', however, but here we might be dealing with \**seul*<sup>o</sup>. The outcome of \**Coul* may be /Caul/ if *a-ú-li-*, a tube-shaped organ in the neck, indeed reflects \**h<sub>2</sub>oul-i-* (see its lemma).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Rieken 2005 for a similar view of these words.

Note that the /o/ in <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫu-u-la-li*, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-na-* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*šar-ḫu-u-li-* is determined by the preceding *ḫ*.

### C\_m

On the basis of *ḡa-aḫ-nu-ú-mi* ‘I make turn’ /uəhnūmi/ < \*-néu-mi, we must conclude that \**Ceum* > Hitt. /Cūm/. It must be noted that *ú-me-e-ni* ‘we see’ and *a-ú-me-en* ‘we saw’ are non-probative since the -m- in these forms is recent: the forms go back to \**Hu-úéni* and \**Hóu-úen*. Inf.I *pát-tu-u-ma-an-zi* ‘to dig’ (KUB 55.45 ii 4) < \**b<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-uén-ti* shows that \**CHuV* > Hitt. /ComV/,<sup>106</sup> which means that e.g. *tu-me-e-ni* ‘we take’ < \**dh<sub>3</sub>uéni* stands for /toméni/, *tar-nu-me-ni* ‘we let go’ < \**trk-n-h<sub>1/3</sub>-uéni* stands for /trnoméni/, etc. This probably also goes for the appurtenance-suffix -*umen-* / -*umn-*, which is spelled with U in nom.sg. *ḫi-iš-tu-u-ma-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫé-eš-tu-u-um-ni* ‘person pertaining to the *ḫištā*’, <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-a-ta-pu-u-me-né-eš* ‘persons from Kātapa’, <sup>URU</sup>*Lu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš* ‘person from Lūja’, <sup>URU</sup>*Ša-lam-pu-u-me-né-eš* ‘persons from Šalampa’, <sup>URU</sup>*Za-al-pu-u-ma-aš* ‘person from Zalpa’, <sup>mš</sup>*ú-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma* ‘man from the pure well’ and *ta-me-u-ma-* ‘being from somewhere else’. The etymology of *nu-u-ma-an* (negation of *man*) is not fully clear. The words <sup>É</sup>*ka-ru-ú-um-mi* ‘sanctuary’, <sup>É</sup>*tu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-at-*, a building, <sup>NINDA</sup>*tu-u-ma-ti-*, a bread, and *ḫal-ḫal-tu-u-ma-ri* ‘corner’ are likely of foreign origin. The U in *ḫu-u-ma-an-t-* is determined by the preceding *ḫ*.

### C\_n

As we saw above, \**Coun* yields OH /Caun/, which develops into /Caon/ from the MH period onwards. A similar chronological distribution may underly the difference between OS *pu-ú-nu-uš-š<sup>o</sup>* and younger *pu-u-nu-uš-š<sup>o</sup>* ‘to ask’ (although the etymology of this verb is not clear yet). This would also explain the spelling *ki-nu-u-n=a* (KUB 14.17 ii 14 (NH)) /kinon/ < \**kī-num*. Also the NH attestation *e-ep-pu-u-un* ‘I grabbed’ (KBo 3.6 ii 7) shows that in NH times the 1sg.pret.-act. ending -*un* in fact was /-on/ < older /-un/, cf. OH *pa-a-ú-un* /páun/ > NH *pa-a-u-un* /páon/ (§ 1.3.9.4.e). It does not apply to all positions, however: the fact that *unu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to decorate’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>u-neu-* is spelled *ú-nu-* = /ʔunu-/ throughout Hittite shows that in initial position this lowering did not take place. In the case of *ku-ú-na-aš* (gen.sg.) ‘dog’ (KBo 7.48, 12 (MS?)) we are in my view dealing with a restored /kunas/ that replaced expected \*\*/konas/ < \**kunos* on the basis of the

<sup>106</sup> Also in *šar-lu-u-ma-aš* /srlomás/, gen.sg. of the verbal noun of *šar<sup>zi</sup>lae-* ‘to exalt’, although in this case we are dealing with a secondary *tarn(a)*-class ending instead of expected *šarlāuar*.



full grade stem /kuan-/ (nom.sg. *ku-ua-aš* /kuás/ < \*kuóns, acc.sg. *ku-ua-na-an* /kuánan/ < \*kuón-om).

The lowering of /u/ to /o/ seems to have taken place in front of geminate *-nn-* as well, as is apparent in *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-* ‘to send (here)’ that is consistently spelled *u-un-n<sup>o</sup>* = /ʔoN<sup>o</sup>/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ou* + \**n(o)iH-*.<sup>107</sup> Since this word is attested in MS and NS texts only, we do not know whether the lowering has taken place in OH times as well. The plene spellings *ku-u-un-na-* ‘right’ = /koNa-/ are attested in NS texts only and do not give information about the OH pronunciation of this word. Although emended, 2pl.imp.act. *šu-u-(un-)ni-iš-ten* ‘you must fill’ (KUB 13.3 ii 27 (OH/NS)) also points to /soN<sup>o</sup>/ < \**su-n-H-*. The hapax spelling *mu-ú-un-na-a-it* ‘he hid’ (KUB 17.5 i 4 (OH/NS))<sup>108</sup> may show a reflex of an OH form that still shows /muNáit/ (< \**mu-n-H-?*), instead of younger /moNáit/ (although we do not have any spelling \*\**mu-u-un-n<sup>o</sup>* of this verb).

The verb *šūnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pour in’ is consistently spelled *šu-ú-ni-* throughout Hittite. Because its etymology is rather unclear, we cannot determine its preform. Since \**Coun* > OH /Caun/ > NH /Caon/ and \**Cun* > NH /Con/, the only reasonable possibility is \**Ceun*. This may go for *a-ru-ú-ni* ‘sea’ (dat.-loc.sg.) (KUB 36.41 i 13 (MS)) as well, which therefore perhaps should be reconstructed as \**h<sub>3</sub>reuni*.<sup>109</sup>

The forms *ku-u-un* ‘this (one)’ (acc.sg.) = /kón/, *a-pu-u-un* ‘that (one)’ (acc.sg.) = /ʔabón/ and *u-ni* ‘him (there)’ (acc.sg.) = /ʔóni/ are special cases. They are spelled with U from the oldest texts onwards, and therefore cannot be derived from older \*\*/kún/, \*\*/ʔabún/ and \*\*/ʔúni/ through a MH lowering in front of *n*. In my view, these forms show that the outcome of \**Cóm* was /Cón/ in the oldest stages of Hittite already.<sup>110</sup>

Acc.pl. <sup>(MUŠEN)</sup> *pár-tu-u-ni-uš* (StBoT 25.3 iv 37 (OS), StBoT 25.4 iv 33 (OS), StBoT 25.7 iv 2 (OS)), a certain bird, shows a remarkable U in front of *-n-* in OS texts. The similarity to <sup>(UZU)</sup> *partāyar* / *partāun-* ‘wing, feather’ is striking, but since the prehistory of this latter word is not fully known, the interpretation of *partūniuš* remains unclear.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Note that normally \**ou* yields *au* in front of \**n*, but in this case we are dealing with a pre-Hittite univerbation of the preverb \**h<sub>2</sub>ou*, which in isolation yielded /ʔu/, and the verb *nai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ni-* ‘to turn’.

<sup>108</sup> Incorrectly cited in CHD L-N: 330 as “*mu-u-un-na-a-it*”.

<sup>109</sup> Or this form, which is attested in a MS texts, represents /ʔ(a)runi/ < \**h<sub>3</sub>(o)ru-n-i*, in which the lowering of /Cun/ to /Con/, which starts within the MH period, has not taken place yet.

<sup>110</sup> This means that in effect we are dealing with a preservation of PIE \**o* as Hitt. /o/ in the position \**Cóm*.

<sup>111</sup> One could think of e.g. \**prtuHn-* < \**prtH-u-n-* vs. \**prtH-o-un-* > *partāun-*.

The interpretation of  $\bar{u}(n)h^{-zi}$  ‘?’ is not entirely clear. It is spelled  $u-un-h^{\circ}$ , which is attested in an OS text already:  $u-un-ha-an-zi$  (KUB 32.94 i 3 (OS)), as well as  $u-uh^{\circ}$ . The /o/, which might be unexpected in front of -n- in OH times, is in my view due to the following -h- in the allophonic stem  $\bar{u}h-$ .<sup>112</sup>

The /o/ in  $[a]r-hu-u-un$  ‘I arrived’ /ʔarHon/,  $da-ah-hu-u-un$  ‘I took’ /tāHon/,  $hal-ze-eh-hu-u-un$  ‘I screamed’ /Hlt<sup>s</sup>éHon/,  $tar-na-ah-hu-u-un$  ‘I let go’ /trnáHon/ and  $iš-hu-u-na-u-$  ‘upper arm’ /išHonau-/ is automatic due to the preceding h.

### C\_p

On the basis of  $u-up-zi$  /ʔópt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘(the sun) comes up’ <  $*h_1eup-ti$ , we can conclude that  $*Ceup-$  > Hitt. /Cop/. The adjective  $\check{s}uppi-$  /  $\check{s}uppa-$ , which is spelled with U in the name  $\check{S}u-u-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma$  (KUB 19.10 iv 2) hardly can reflect  $*séup-i-$  or  $*sóup-i-$ , since in these forms we would have expected lenition to  $**sūpi-$ . This means that  $\check{s}u-u-up-pi-$  /sopi-/ reflects  $*sup-i-$ , which shows that  $*Cup$  yields /Cop/ as well. The verb  $uppa-$  /  $uppi-$  ‘to send (here)’, which represents /ʔup/ (see § 1.3.9.4), reflects  $*h_2ou + *h_1p-oi-$ . Since this verb is a quite recent univerbation of the preverb  $*h_2ou$ , which in isolation yielded /ʔu/, and the verb  $pai-$  /  $pi-$ , this example is non-probative for the outcome of  $*Coup$ .

The words  $kinūpi$ , a container, which is spelled  $ki-nu-ú-pi$  as well as  $ki-nu-u-pi$ ,  $lu-u-pa-an-ni$  ‘royal cap’ (also  $luuanni-$ ),  $dam-pu-u-pi-$  ‘barbaric’ and  $ša-ru-ú-pa$  ‘?’ are all probably of a foreign origin, and do not shed any light on this matter.

### C\_r

First we should keep in mind that  $*Cour$  yields Hitt. /Caur/, e.g.  $a-ú-ri-$  ‘lookout’ <  $*Hou-ri-$ . The sequence  $*Cur$  seems to yield Hitt. /Cor/, as is visible in e.g.  $antu-u-ri-ia-$  ‘interior’ /ʔntoria-/ <  $*h_1n-d^h ur-jo-(?)$ ,  $ar-ša-ar-šu-u-r^{\circ}$  ‘stream’ /ʔrsʔarsor-/ <  $*h_1ers-ur-$ ,  $pár-šu-u-ur$  ‘cooked dish’ /p(a)rSor/ <  $*b^h(e)rs-ur$ ,  $pu-u-ru-ut$  ‘mud’ /porut/ <  $*b^h ur-u-t(?)$ ,  $tu-u-ri-ia-$  ‘to harness’ /torie/a-/ <  $*d^h uh_1r-ie/o-$ ,  $u-ur-ki-$  ‘trace’ /ʔorgi-/ <  $*h_{1/3}urg-i-$ ,  $ua-ak-šu-u-ur$ , a vessel /uaksor/ <  $*ueKs-ur(?)$ , and  $ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-$  ‘to press together’ /uisorie/a-/ <  $*uis-ur-ie/o-(?)$ . This implies, however, that the one attestation  $ši-iš-šu-ú-ra-aš$  ‘irrigation (gen.sg.)’ (KBo 6.26 iii 5 (OH/NS)) <  $*h_1si-h_1s-ur-$  is a mistake, cf. correct  $ši-iš-šu-u-r^{\circ}$  (KUB 31.100 rev.<sup>?</sup> 17 (MH/MS)).<sup>113</sup> With  $*Cour$  yielding /Caur/ and  $*Cur$  > /Cor/, the only way to explain  $lu-ú-ri-$  ‘disgrace’ /lūri-/ is by

<sup>112</sup> The original distribution must have been  $\bar{u}hC^{\circ}$  vs.  $\bar{u}nhV^{\circ}$ , so  $**\bar{u}hzi$  /  $\bar{u}nhanzi$ .

<sup>113</sup> Thus also Rieken 2005.

reconstructing *\*leh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-*.<sup>114</sup> The forms within the paradigm of this word that are spelled *lu-u-ri-* may then reflect *\*lh<sub>1</sub>u-ri- > luh<sub>1</sub>ri- > /lori-/*. Note that *\*eur* yielded /or/ in *a-ni-u-ur* ‘ritual’ /ʔniór/ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur* and *ši-iš-ši-u-r<sup>o</sup>* ‘irrigation’ /siSior/ < *h<sub>1</sub>si-h<sub>1</sub>s-ié-ur* (see above), but here the preceding *-i-* may have been crucial.

### C\_s

First we should keep in mind that *\*Cous > Hitt. /Caus/*, e.g. *a-uš-te-en* ‘you must see’ < *\*Hou-sten*.<sup>115</sup> A sequence *\*Ceus* yields Hitt. /Cūs/, as is visible from e.g. *ku-ú-ša-* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’ /kúsa-/ < *\*géus-o-* and *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ja-* ‘to be silent’ /krūSic/a-/ < *\*greus-je/o-*. On the basis of the spelling *pa-an-ku-ú-š=a* (KUB 35.136 iv 9 (NS)) for nom.sg. of *panku-* ‘multitude’, which represents /pngus/ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-s*, we can conclude that *\*Cus* in principle yields Hitt. /Cus/.

Our findings that *\*Cous > /Caus/*, *\*Ceus > /Cūs/* and *\*Cus > /Cus/*, seem to imply that in Hittite the spelling *Cu-u-š<sup>o</sup>* or *<sup>o</sup>Cu-u-uš<sup>o</sup>* cannot exist. This is not entirely the case: *pu-u-uš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be eclipsed’ /pós-/ may reflect *\*ph<sub>2</sub>u-s-*, in which the *\*h<sub>2</sub>* may have caused lowering; *a-aḫ-ru-u-uš-ḫi* ‘incense vessel’ is likely of a foreign origin; *šu-u-uš* ‘full (nom.sg.c.)’ /sós/ is a contraction of /sósus/ < /sóʔus/ < *\*sóuH-u-s*, see at C\_ʔ.

The acc.pl.c.-ending *-uš* is a special case. It is predominantly spelled *<sup>o</sup>Cu-uš*, but occasionally we find forms with plene spelling. It is spelled with plene Ú in: *al-pu-ú-uš* (KUB 28.5 rev. 7 (NS)), *a-ú-li-ú-uš* (KBo 25.178 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *a-ú-li-ú-š=a* (KUB 17.21 ii 18 (MH/MS)), <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫar-ša-ú-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (fr.) (OS), KUB 7.8+ ii 11 (NS)), *ḫe-e-mu-ú-uš* (KBo 43.137, 7 (NS)), *kap-pí-ú-uš* (KBo 34.47 ii 8 (MH/MS)), *ku-i-ú-uš* (HKM 23 obv. 9 (MH/MS), KBo 18.57a + 57 obv. 2, rev. 42 (MH/MS)), *ma-ši-ú-u[š]<sup>?</sup>* (KBo 9.109 rev. 4 (OH/NS)), *pu-u-ri-ú-uš* (KBo 19.163 i 23, iv 4 (OH/NS)), *ta-lu-ga-ú-uš* (KBo 17.22 iii 6 (OS)). It is spelled with U in [*ḫal-*] *lu-ú-ṽa-u-uš* (KBo 3.8 iii 4 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-lu-ṽa-u-uš* (KBo 26.135, 2 (OH/NS)), [*i-da-a-*] *la-mu-u-š=a* (KBo 15.10 iii 54 (OH?/MS)), [*i<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>-*] *a-la-mu-u-uš<sup>!</sup>* (KUB 8.67 iv 14 (MH/NS)), *pár-ga-u-uš* (KBo 3.8 iii 22 (OH/NS)). Although the MS attestation [*i-da-a-*] *la-mu-u-š=a* is awkward, it seems that we are dealing with a development of OH /-us/ to

<sup>114</sup> Unless we assume that the two forms that are spelled *lu-ú-ri-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f as well as its lemma) are mistakes. Then, on the basis of *a-ni-u-ur* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur*, we should assume that /Ceur/ > /Cor/.

<sup>115</sup> Note that *īššije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw open (of curtains)’, spelled *ú-uš-ši-* and *uš-ši-* = /ʔuSic/a-/, reflects an univerbation of the preverb *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* and the verb *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ié/ó-*, which took place at a stage when *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* had already become /ʔu/ in isolation.

NH /-os/. It is not fully clear to me if we must assume that every OH /us/ (also when reflecting \*Cus) develops into NH /os/, or that here we are dealing with a special development of \*°Coms and \*°Cms, yielding first OH /°Cϰs/, which subsequently develops into NH /°Cϰs/.<sup>116</sup>

The acc.pl.c.-forms *ku-u-uš* ‘these (ones)’ (acc.pl.c.) and *a-pu-u-uš* ‘those (ones)’ (acc.pl.c.) must be treated separately as they show plene spelling with U throughout Hittite, which indicates /kós/ and /ʔabós/. I regard these as the regular outcomes of \*Cóm̄s (just as /Cón/ is the regular outcome of \*Cóm̄, see above).

### C\_t

We must bear in mind that \*Cout > Hitt. /Caut/, e.g. *a-ut-ta* ‘you (sg.) saw’ < \*Hóu-th<sub>2</sub>e.<sup>117</sup> On the basis of *ḫu-e-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28 ii 19) ‘he made run’ (or *ḫu-e(-eš)-nu-ú-ut* ‘he rescued’ ?) = /Hoinūt/ < \*-néu-t, we must conclude that \*Ceut > Hitt. /Cūt/.<sup>118</sup> This is confirmed by nom.sg. *ku-ú-uz-za* ‘wall’ /kûts/ < \*ḡ<sup>h</sup>éu-t-s. For \*Cut I have found no conclusive evidence. The forms *ḫu-u-da-* ‘readiness’ /Hóda-/ and *ḫu-u-da-a-ak* ‘immediately’ /Hodák/ probably reflect \*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-do- in which the initial *h* is the determining factor for the outcome /o/.

The hapax spelling *ku-u-ut-ru-ya-a-iz-zi* ‘he provides testimony’ < \*k<sup>w</sup>tru- may show that the labial element of the labiovelar /k<sup>w</sup>/ was perceived more as /o/ than as /u/. Nevertheless, I will write the labiovelars as /k<sup>w</sup>/ and /g<sup>w</sup>/ in phonemic transcription (so /k<sup>w</sup>tru-/ here).

### C\_z

The only case is *ku-ú-uz-za* ‘wall’, for which see under C\_t.

### C\_?

The stem of the adjective *šūu-* / *šūuay-* ‘full’ is consistently spelled with U (nom.sg.c. *šu-u-uš*, acc.sg.c. *šu-u-un*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u-ú*, *šu-u*, acc.pl.c. *šu-u-ya-mu-uš*) which points to /so-/. The remarkable spelling of nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u-ú* in my view represents /sóu/, which must reflect /sóʔu/ < \*sé/óuh<sub>1/3</sub>-u. In younger

<sup>116</sup> Cf. note 83.

<sup>117</sup> Note that *uda*<sup>i</sup> / *ud-* ‘to bring (here)’, which is spelled *ú-d*<sup>o</sup> = /ʔud<sup>o</sup>/, reflects a univerbation of the preverb \*h<sub>2</sub>ou and the verb \*deh<sub>3</sub>- which took place at a stage in which \*h<sub>2</sub>ou had already become /ʔu/ in isolation.

<sup>118</sup> Note that the handcopy of KUB 23.8 seems to show a form *ya-aḫ-nu-u-u[t]* in line 7. The photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk), in my view rather shows *ya-aḫ-nu-u[t]*, however. Compare also line 8 where the photograph clearly shows *i-da-a-lu*, which turns up in the handcopy as *i-da-za-lu*.

times, this form is spelled *š-u-u* = /sól/, the result of the contraction of *š-u-u-ú* = /sóu/. This probably goes for nom.sg.c. *š-u-u-uš* = /sós/ < /sóus/ < /sólus/ < \*sé/óuH-u-s and acc.sg.c. *š-u-u-un* = /són/ < /sóun/ < /sólun/ < \*sé/óuH-u-m as well, whereas acc.pl.c. *š-u-u-ua-mu-uš* represents /sóamos/ < /sólamus/ < /sólauus/ < virtual \*sé/óuh<sub>1,3</sub>-eu-ms.

The spellings with *Ú* in *š-u-ú-il*, *š-u-ú-i-il* ‘thread’ and *mu-ú-i-il* ‘spade(?)’ seems to represent /súil/ and /múil/ respectively. Since these words are derived from the roots \*seuh<sub>1</sub>- ‘to sow’ and \*meuh<sub>1</sub>- ‘to move’ (although the latter is not fully certain), they originally must have contained /ʔ/: \*súʔil/ and /múʔil/. These then must reflect \*sé/óuh<sub>1</sub>-el and \*mé/óuh<sub>1</sub>-el here.

Because we are dealing with two outcomes, /o/ and /u/, and two possible reconstructions, \*eu and \*ou, it is not possible to decide which one reflects which. For the sake of parallelity with *C\_k*, where \*Ceuk > /Cūk/ and \*Couk > /Cok/, I assume that *šūu-* /sóu-/ reflects \*sóuh<sub>1</sub>-u- and that *šūil-* /súil-/ and *mūil-* /múil-/ reflect \*séuh<sub>1</sub>-el- and \*méuh<sub>1</sub>-el- respectively.

#### Overview of interconsonantal outcomes

Note that when *-h-* is the preceding consonant, the outcome is always /o/.

		*ou	*eu	*u	other	
<i>C_h</i>		/o/	/o/	/o/		
<i>C_i</i>		/o/	--	--		
<i>C_k</i>		/o/	/ū/	/u/		
<i>C_l</i>		/au/	/ū/	/u/ <sup>119</sup>		
<i>C_m</i>		--	/ū/	--		
<i>C_n</i>	OH	/au/	/ū/	/u/	/o/ < *CuHn ?	/o/ < *Cóm
	NH	↓ /ao/ <sup>120</sup>	↓ /ū/	↓ /o/ <sup>121</sup>	↓ /o/ <sup>121</sup>	↓ /o/

<sup>119</sup> Possibly /o/ when in \*C<sub>W</sub><sup>back</sup> and in \*CuH.

<sup>120</sup> Or /aɔ/, cf. note 83.

<sup>121</sup> Or /ɔ/, cf. note 87.

<i>C_p</i>		/o/	/o/	/o/		
<i>C_r</i>		/au/	/o/ <sup>122</sup>	/o/		
<i>C_s</i>	OH	/au/	/ū/	/u/	/u/ <sup>123</sup> < * <sup>o</sup> C(o)ms	/o/ < *Cóms
	NH				↓	↓
					/o/ <sup>124</sup>	/o/
<i>C_t</i>		/au/	/ū/	--		
<i>C_?</i>		/o/	/ū/	--		

#### 1.3.9.4.g *Word-finally after consonants*

There are only a few relevant forms here, namely nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-aš-šu-u* ‘goods’, nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u* ‘full’ (from older *šu-u-ú*, see above) and the adverb *ka-ru-ú* ‘early, formerly’. Since these forms are consistent in their spelling,<sup>125</sup> they point to a phonological difference between <sup>o</sup>*Cu-u* and <sup>o</sup>*Cu-ú*. We must keep in mind that a third spelling of course is <sup>o</sup>*Cu* without a plene vowel (e.g. nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-šu* ‘good’). I therefore assume that <sup>o</sup>*Cu-u* stands for /<sup>o</sup>Col/, <sup>o</sup>*Cu-ú* stands for /<sup>o</sup>Cū/ and <sup>o</sup>*Cu* stands for /<sup>o</sup>Cu/. So, *a-aš-šu* = /ʔáSu/ < \**Cu*, *a-aš-šu-u* = /ʔáSo/ < \**Cuh*<sub>2</sub>, *šu-u* = /só/ (a contraction of /sóu/) and *ka-ru-ú* = /krú/ < \**Céu*.<sup>126</sup>

#### 1.3.9.4.h *Word-finally after vowels*

**a\_#** : The sequence <sup>o</sup>*a-u* only occurs in the words <sup>(Gíš)</sup>*za-a-u* ‘?’, *ši-i-iš-ḥa-u* (KBo 3.2 obv. 26) ‘sweat’, <sup>Gíš</sup>*ma-ra-a-u* (KBo 20.86, 9), a wooden object used as seat, and *ga-ra-a-u* (KBo 40.176 obv. 11) ‘?’. Although the last three words occur in

<sup>122</sup> On the basis of *a-ni-u-ur* < \**h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur*. If *lu-ú-ri-* indeed reflects \**leh<sub>1</sub>uri-*, then \**Ceur* > Hitt. /Cūr/ with the exception that \**ieur* > Hitt. /ior/.

<sup>123</sup> Or /u/, cf. note 83.

<sup>124</sup> Or /o/, cf. note 87.

<sup>125</sup> This consistency is also found in the spellings of names: e.g. <sup>m</sup>*Ga-aš-šu-ú* or <sup>m</sup>*Ka-aš-šu-ú* is never spelled \*\*<sup>m</sup>*Ka/Ga-aš-šu-u*; <sup>m</sup>*Uz-zu-u* is never spelled \*\*<sup>m</sup>*Uz-zu-ú*.

<sup>126</sup> The two remarkable spellings *ge-en-zu-ú* (KUB 31.127 i 4) instead of normal *ge-en-zu* and *šu-ú-ya-ru-ú* (KUB 12.29, 3) instead of normal *šu-(ú-)ya-ru* do not contradict this: they are just occasional spellings that stress the *u*-ness of the word-final vowel.

this form only once,<sup>127</sup> the word <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>za-a-u is attested thus multiple times, and never spelled *\*\*za-a-ú*.

The sequence *°a-ú* occurs often. It is found in the nom.-acc.sg.n. of diphthong-stems (e.g. *ḫar-na-a-ú*, *ḫar-ga-na-ú*, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ta-na-a-ú*), in 2sg.imp.act. *a-ú* ‘look!’ and in 3sg.imp.act. of *dāi/tiānzi-*, *mēma-/mēmi-* and *tarn(a)*-class verbs and of *dā-<sup>i</sup> / d-* (*ḫal-za-a-ú*, *ḫa-an-na-ú*, *ḫa-at-ra-a-ú*, *ḫu-u-ḫa-a-ú*, [*ḫu*]-*et-ti-ḫa-an-na-ú*, *e-eš-ša-ú*, *iš-ḫu-ḫa-a-ú*, *iš-kal-la-ú*, *la-a-ú*, *ma-a-ú*, *me-e-ma-ú*, *me-em-ma-ú*, *na-a-ú*, *na-an-na-ú*, *pa-a-ú*, *pé-e-da-ú*, *da-a-ú* (of *dā-<sup>i</sup> / d-* ‘to take’), *da-a-ú* (of *dai-<sup>i</sup> / ti-* ‘to place’), *da-la-a-ú*, *tar-na-ú*, *du-ḫa-ar-na-a-ú*, *u-un-na-ú*, *up-pa-ú*, *ú-da-ú*, *ú-i-ta-ú*, *zi-in-na-a-ú*). All these forms, too, are consistent in their spelling; they never show *\*\*°a-u*.

It is clear that the spellings *°a-u* and *°a-ú* are used complementarily, and therefore it is likely that they denote different sounds. I consequently propose to interpret *°a-u* as /*°ao*/ and *°a-ú* as /*°au*/. Note that the words that are spelled *°a-u* do not have a good IE etymology,<sup>128</sup> which shows that the diphthong /*ao*/ in word-final position is not inherited, but probably of a foreign origin.

*e\_#* : Neither the spelling *°e-u* nor *°e-ú* is attested in the Hittite texts.

*i\_#* : The spelling *°i-u* occurs only in <sup>É</sup>*ḫa-le-en-ti-u* ‘palace’, which is not coincidental if we compare the fact that the spelling *°i-u-i°* only occurs in this word as well. Apparently, it is pronounced /*Halentio*/. The contrasting spelling *°i-ú* is found in nom.-acc.sg.n. *mi-ú* and *mi-i-ú* ‘soft’ < *\*mih<sub>1</sub>-u*, which must represent /*míu*/.

### 1.3.9.5 Conclusions regarding U and Ú

From the treatment above it is clear that the signs U and Ú, which are traditionally interpreted as *-u-* only, in fact can be used to represent three different phonemes, namely /*u*/, /*ū*/ and /*o*/. Note that I do not distinguish a fourth phoneme, /*ō*/, for several reasons. First, the fact that the spelling of /*o*/ automatically requires the use of a plene vowel, namely the sign U, makes it graphically impossible to distinguish between a short /*o*/ and a theoretical long /*ō*/. Secondly, it is likely that /*o*/ behaves symmetrically to /*e*/, which does not show a phonemic distinction in length: when accentuated, /*e*/ is phonetically long

<sup>127</sup> The words *ššḫau* and *garāu* are real hapaxes, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*marāu* occurs in dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ra-a-u-i* (1256/v obv. 3) as well.

<sup>128</sup> The reconstruction of *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* as *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>ou* is far from certain, q.v.

in open syllables and monosyllabic words, but this lengthening is automatic and therefore subphonemic. I assume a similar behaviour of /o/.

### 1.3.9.6 Epenthetic vowels

In Hittite we can distinguish three epenthetic vowels that emerge in specific consonant clusters.

(1) In clusters of the shape \*CRC, i.e. containing syllabic resonants, an epenthetic vowel spelled -a- can emerge that cannot be identical to /a/ and phonetically may have been [ɐ] or [ə] (cf. § 1.3.7).

(2) In some clusters involving -s- and stops or laryngeals an epenthetic vowel spelled -e- or -i- emerges: \*-TsK- > Hitt. -ze/ik(k)-; \*-PsK- > Hitt. -p(p)e/išk(k)-; \*-KsC- > Hitt. -k(k)e/išC-; \*-Vh<sub>2</sub>s > Hitt. -Vh<sub>2</sub>he/iš; \*-VKs > Hitt. -Vk(k)e/iš; \*CIHsV > Hitt. Cale/iššV; \*CmHsV > Hitt. Cane/iššV; \*CnHsV > Hitt. Cane/iššV; \*CrHsC > Hitt. Care/išC; \*CIHsC > Hitt. Cale/išC; \*CmHsC > Hitt. Came/išC; \*CnHsC > Hitt. Cašše/iC; \*VrHsC > Hitt. Vre/išC; \*VIHsC > Hitt. Vlle/išC; \*VmHsC > Hitt. Vmme/išC (cf. § 1.4.4.3 and § 1.4.4.4). We also find this vowel in secondary initial clusters \*uT- (in which T = any stop), e.g. ue/itēn- (obl.-stem of uātar ‘water’) < \*ud-én- << \*ud-én- or ue/ikk- (weak stem of uekk-<sup>zi</sup> ‘to wish’) < \*uk- << \*uk- (see their respective lemmas). This vowel cannot be identical with /i/ or /e/ because these are consistently spelled -i- and -e- respectively. The vowel e/i therefore may phonetically have been [i] or [ə].

(3) Before initial clusters of the shape \*sT- (in which T = any stop and /H/) a prothetic vowel spelled -i- emerges: e.g. \*stu- > Hitt. ištu-, \*sh<sub>2</sub>oi- > Hitt. išhai-, etc. This -i- cannot be identical to /i/ because it does not partake in the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before /s, n, m/ and clusters containing /H/ (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). It can neither be identical to the epenthetic vowel e/i, because it is never spelled e-. Phonetically we may think of e.g. [i].

Because these three vowels occur in specific environments that are complementarily distributed, we could in principle regard them all as allophones of a single phonemical epenthetic vowel, which we could write as /ə/.

Note that there potentially is one environment in which -a- = [ə] and -e/i- = [i] have to be phonologically distinguished, however, namely in /K\_sC/. The cluster \*KsC regularly yields Hitt. [kɪsC], spelled -ke/išC- (e.g. h<sub>3</sub>rg-ské/ó- > Hitt. ḫar-ki-iš-ke/a-, ḫar-ke-eš-ke/a-, \*téks-ti > ták-ki-iš-zi, ták-ke-eš-zi, etc.), whereas a cluster \*KnsC would yield pre-Hitt. \*[kənsC], which with the regular loss of \*n before \*s would further develop in Hitt. [kəsC], spelled -kašC-. If we would interpret -a- = [ə] and -e/i- = [i] as allophones of a single phoneme /ə/, it would in this environment become impossible to explain on the basis of synchronic



reasoning only why the phonological form /kəsC/ is spelled in one form as *-ke/išC-* and in the other as *-kašC-*. It should be noted, however, that thus far the development *\*KnsC > -kašC-* is only attested in the verb *\*g<sup>wh</sup>nské/ó-* > Hitt. [k<sup>w</sup>əsk:e/a-], spelled *ku-ṽa-as-ke/a-* ‘to kill (impf.)’, which has an initial labiovelar. Because in the cluster *\*KsC* labiovelars behave differently, yielding not *\*\*kue/išC-* but *-kušC-* (cf. *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>ske/ó-* > Hitt. *ak-ku-uš-ke/a-*), there is thus far no minimal pair attested where *-a-* = [ə] and *-e/i-* = [i] have to be distinguished. Nevertheless, I do not think it improbable that such a minimal pair may have existed and one day will surface in the texts.<sup>129</sup>

In this book I therefore have rendered the vowel *-a-* = [ə] as /ə/ and the vowel *-e/i-* = [i] as /i/, without specifically claiming that they must be regarded as separate phonemes: the reader should bear in mind that on the basis of the Hittite material that is known so far it is fully justified to regard these vowels as allophones of a single phoneme /ə/. For sake of convenience, I have rendered prothetic *i-* = [i] as /i/ as well.

So, the phonological vowel chart can be given as follows:

/ī/ /i/		/u/ /ū/
	/ə/	
/e/		/o/
	/ā/ /a/	

It should be noted, however, that in the case a form would surface in which a cluster *-kašC-* = [kəsC] < *\*KnsC* is attested, which then forms a minimal pair with *-ke/išC-* = [kɪsC] < *\*KsC*, this chart should be adapted to:

/ī/ /i/	/i/	/u/ /ū/
/e/		/o/
	/ə/	
	/ā/ /a/	

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<sup>129</sup> A concrete case could e.g. be the nom.-acc.sg.-form *sākan* ‘oil’ followed by the enclitic possessive pronoun =*šmi-*, =*šma-*, =*šme-* ‘your (pl.), their’, which should have been spelled *\*\*šākašmet* ‘your / their oil’, representing [sāgəsməd] < \*[sāgənsmed] < \*só<sup>(h)</sup>n=sməd.

### 1.3.10 Overview of the Hittite phoneme inventory

After having treated all evidence available from the Hittite orthography, elaborately discussing spelling conventions and complementary distributions, I conclude that the Hittite phoneme inventory was as follows:

stops	/p/	/t/	/k/	/k <sup>w</sup> /	(fortis)
	/b/	/d/	/g/	/g <sup>w</sup> /	(lenis)
affricate		/t <sup>s</sup> /			
glottal stop		/ʔ/			
fricatives	/H/	/H <sup>w</sup> /	/S/		(fortis)
	/h/	/h <sup>w</sup> /	/s/		(lenis)
resonants	/R/	/L/	/N/	/M/	(fortis)
	/r/	/l/	/n/	/m/	(lenis)
vowels	/ī/ /i/			/u/ /ū/	
		/e/	/ə/	/o/	
			/ā/ /a/		

## 1.4 CHANGES FROM PIE TO HITTITE

In this chapter I will treat the phonological developments that took place from Proto-Indo-European to Hittite. First I will treat some basic phonological phenomena that are important for Hittite historical phonology. Then I will systematically treat the PIE phonemes and discuss their outcomes in Hittite in different phonological surroundings. Note that I will only refer to the intermediate Proto-Anatolian stage when I feel that it is necessary. Sometimes I will use more vague terms like pre-Hittite (i.e. any stage between PIE and attested Hittite), post-PAnat. (i.e. the stage between PAnat. and attested Hittite) or pre-PAnat. (i.e. the stage between PIE and PAnat.).

### 1.4.1 Lenition

Lenition is the phenomenon that an original fortis consonant becomes lenis. We can distinguish two situations in which lenition regularly takes place.<sup>130</sup>

(1) Intervocalic fortis consonants are lenited after an accentuated long vowel.<sup>131</sup> Note that this includes the outcomes of the monophthongizations of *\*ei*, *\*oi*, *\*eu* and *\*ou*<sup>132</sup> as well as the outcome of *\*ó*, which yields Hitt. /ǎ/ through PAnat. /ól.<sup>133</sup> Examples: *\*h<sub>1</sub>éih<sub>2</sub>ou* > Hitt. /ǎéhu/, *e-hu* ‘come!’; *\*méih<sub>2</sub>ur* > Hitt. /méhur/, *me-e-hur* ‘period, time’; *\*sók<sup>w</sup>o-* > Hitt. /sǎg<sup>w</sup>a-/ , *ša-a-ku-ua-* ‘eye’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsei* >

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<sup>130</sup> Lenition is visible in the other Anatolian languages as well, under the same conditions (cf. Melchert 1994a: 60 for examples), which implies that this was a PAnatolian phenomenon. See Adiego 2001 for the argumentation that viewed in moraic terms the two lenition rules can be regarded as one.

<sup>131</sup> First formulated by Eichner 1973: 79.

<sup>132</sup> This shows that at the moment that lenition took place, the result of the monophthongization of *\*ei* and *\*oi* was *\*ē*, which was still different from original short *\*e*, which did not cause lenition. Only later on, probably as a result of the loss of a distinction in length between *\*ē* and *\*e* in unaccentuated syllables (due to the weakening of unaccentuated *\*e* to /i/ and /a/), accentuated *\*ē* and *\*e* merged into Hitt. /e/.

<sup>133</sup> This is the only reasonable way in which we can explain the frequent alternation in *hi*-verbs between a lenis stem-final consonant in 3sg.pres.act. and a fortis one in 3pl.pres.act., e.g. *istāpi* / *istappanzi*, which reflects *\*stópei* / *\*stpénti*, where *\*ó* > PAnat. /ól > Hitt. /ǎ/ caused lenition of the following *\*p* to /b/.

Hitt. /Hási/, *ḫa-a-ši* ‘she gives birth to’;<sup>134</sup> \**nóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /náhi/, *na-a-ḫi* ‘he fears’.<sup>135</sup>

It should be noted that in many occasions the fortis consonant was restored, especially when we are dealing with verbal endings (e.g. *te-e-eḫ-ḫi* /téhí/ ‘I take’ < \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>óih<sub>2</sub>ei* should regularly have been \*\*/téhí/, \*\**te-e-ḫi*, etc.).

(2) Intervocalic fortis consonants are lenited between two unaccentuated vowels.<sup>136</sup> There are only a few examples from Hittite because in many occasions the fortis consonant has been analogically restored. Real examples include: \**C<sup>v</sup>C-h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>e* > Hitt. /C<sup>v</sup>CHaha/, °*C-ḫa-ḫa* (1sg.pres.midd.-ending),<sup>137</sup> \**sépitos* > OH /sépidas/, *še-ep-pí-da-aš*, a kind of grain (gen.sg.) >> OH /sépitas/, *še-ep-pí-it-ta-aš*, with restored /t/.

It should be borne in mind that lenition only affects intervocalic consonants, i.e. *not* consonants that are part of a cluster (compare e.g. the treatment of *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>*).

#### 1.4.2 Fortition

Fortition is the phenomenon that an original lenis consonant becomes fortis. Usually, this is due to contact with an adjacent other consonant. For instance, it seems to be a general rule that lenis consonants are fortited before the cluster *-sk-*: *ak-ku-uš-ke/a<sup>-zi</sup>* = /ʔk<sup>w</sup>ské/á-/ , the *-ške/a-*imperfective of *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-* = /ʔg<sup>w</sup>- / ʔg<sup>w</sup>-/ ‘to drink’; *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* = /ləkiské/á-/ , the *-ške/a-*imperfective of *lāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *lak-* = /lāg- / ləg-/ ‘to knock down’;<sup>138</sup> etc. Sometimes, fortition can be interpreted as assimilation, e.g. \**Vgh<sub>2</sub>V* > Hitt. /Vkv/. See below at the treatment of the separate phonemes for more examples.

<sup>134</sup> This example shows that the assimilation of \**VmsV* to /VSV/ antedates the process of lenition.

<sup>135</sup> Examples like *ārrī* ‘he washes’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>órh<sub>2</sub>ei* and *šākki* ‘he knows’ < \**sókh<sub>2</sub>ei* show that at the moment of lenition \**-rh<sub>1</sub>-* and \**-kh<sub>1</sub>-* phonologically still counted as clusters (lenition only affects intervocalic consonants!). So the assimilation of \**Vrh<sub>1</sub>V* to /VRV/ and the disappearance of \**h<sub>1</sub>* in \**Ch<sub>1</sub>V* only took place after the moment of lenition.

<sup>136</sup> First suggested by Eichner 1973: 100<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> Compare the Lycian ending *-ḫaga* < PAnat. \*/-Haha/.

<sup>138</sup> This example shows that the rise of the epenthetic vowel /i/ in a cluster \**VKsC* postdates the fortition of \*/g/ to /k/ before *-sk-*.

### 1.4.3 Stops

#### **\*p**

1.4.3.1 The normal outcome of PIE *\*p* is Hitt. /p/: *\*pédom* > Hitt. /pédan/, *pé-e-da-an* ‘place’; *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei* > Hitt. /prʔáil/, *pa-ra-a-i* ‘he blows’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-ēr* > Hitt. /ʔéper/, *e-ep-pé-er* ‘they seized’; *\*sup-óri* > Hitt. /supáril/, *šu-up-pa-ri* ‘he sleeps’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>épti* > Hitt. /ʔépt<sup>s</sup>i/, *e-ep-zi* ‘he seizes’, etc.. Like all other consonants, *\*p* could fall victim to lenition and then yields /b/: *\*stóp-ei* > Hitt. /ístábil/, *iš-ta-a-pí* ‘he plugs up’, cf. *\*stpénti* > /ístpánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *iš-tap-pa-an-zi* ‘they plug up’.

#### **\*b**

1.4.3.2 Since already in PIE *\*b* was a rare phoneme, I know of only one example in Hittite, namely *\*g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-ei* > Hitt. /krábil/, *ka-ra-a-pí* ‘he devours’, which shows that PIE *\*b* yields Hitt. /b/.

#### **\*b<sup>h</sup>**

1.4.3.3 The normal outcome of *\*b<sup>h</sup>* is Hitt. /b/: *\*néb<sup>h</sup>es* > Hitt. /nébis/, *ne-e-pí-iš* ‘heaven’; *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-u* > Hitt. /tébul/, *te-e-pu* ‘little’, *\*h<sub>3</sub>érb<sup>h</sup>-to* > Hitt. /Hárbtal/, *ḫar-ap-ta* ‘he changes alliance’. In initial position, all labial stops have merged in /p/: *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2/3</sub>-ti* > Hitt. /párHt<sup>s</sup>i/, *pár-aḫ-zi*, *pár-ḫa-zi* ‘he chases’. Fortition of *\*b<sup>h</sup>* to /p/ seems to have taken place in *\*h<sub>3</sub>rb<sup>h</sup>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /Hrpiské/á-l/, *ḫar-ap-pí[-iš-ke/a-]*, impf. of *ḫarp-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to change alliance’ and in *\*kmb<sup>h</sup>-i-* > Hitt. /kapi-l/, *kap-pí-* ‘small’.

#### **\*t**

1.4.3.4 The normal outcome of *\*t* is Hitt. /t/: *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-u-* > Hitt. /tarH<sup>w</sup>-l/, *tar-ḫu-*, *ta-ru-uh-* ‘to conquer’; *\*tuék-om* > Hitt. /tuékan/, *tu-ek-ka-an* ‘body’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>ét-o* > Hitt. /Hátal/, *ḫa-at-ta* ‘he pierces’; *\*melit-* > Hitt. /milit-l/, *mi-li-it-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘honey’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-ént-om* > Hitt. /ʔpántan/, *ap-pa-an-ta-an* ‘seizing’. In front of *\*i*, *\*t* is assimilated to /t<sup>s</sup>/<sup>139</sup>: *\*tíH-ge* > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>íg/, *zi-i-ik* ‘you’; *\*ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti* > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>iNánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *zi-in-na-an-zi* ‘they finish’; *h<sub>2</sub>t-ié/ó-* > Hitt. /Ht<sup>s</sup>ié/á-l/, *ḫa-az-zi-e<sup>o</sup>*, *ḫa-az-zi-ja-* ‘to pierce’;<sup>140</sup> *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-ti* > OHitt. /ʔést<sup>s</sup>l/, *e-eš-za* >> Hitt. /ʔést<sup>s</sup>i/, *e-eš-zi*;<sup>141</sup> see at § 1.4.8.1.c for a

<sup>139</sup> The assimilation of *\*t* > /t<sup>s</sup>/ in front of *\*i* must be post-PAnatolian, since it does not occur in the other Anatolian languages (e.g. Luw. *-tti*, Pal. *-tti* < *\*-ti*).

<sup>140</sup> Possibly through a stage *\*Ht<sup>s</sup>ié/á-l* in which the suffix *-je/a-* was secondarily restored.

<sup>141</sup> With secondary addition of *-i* in analogy to the other present verbal endings in *-i* (*-mi*, *-ši*, *-yeni*, *-tteni*).

more detailed treatment. Assibilation also takes place in word-initial position in front of *\*l*: *\*tlh<sub>2</sub>-ói* > Hitt. *l<sup>s</sup>lHáil*, *za-al-ḫa-a-i*, a vessel, lit. ‘carrier’. Lenition of *\*t* may be visible in some forms of the paradigm of *šepitt-*, a grain, e.g. gen.sg. *še-ep-pí-da-aš* /*sépidas*/, if this reflects *\*sépitós*. Also in *\*h<sub>2</sub>tug-* > Hitt. /*Hdug-l*, *ḫa-tu-ug-*, we seem to be dealing with a lenition of *\*t* in the initial cluster *\*h<sub>2</sub>tV*.

#### *\*d*

- 1.4.3.5 The normal outcome of *\*d* is Hitt. /*d*/: *\*uódr* > /*uádr*/, *ṽa-a-tar* ‘water’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>dént-* > Hitt. /*Hdánt-l*, *ḫa-ta-an-t-* ‘dried up’. In front of *\*i*, *\*d* gets assibilated to /*s*/<sup>142</sup>: *\*diéus* > Hitt. /*síus*/, *ši-i-ú-uš* ‘god’; *\*diéuot-* > Hitt. /*síuat-l*, *ši-i-ṽa-at-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘day’; see at § 1.4.8.1.c for a more detailed treatment. Note that there is no evidence to determine whether this development took place word-internally as well: in all examples *\*d* is in initial position. Word-initially, in front of *\*l*, *\*d* gets assibilated to /*t<sup>s</sup>*/: *\*dlug<sup>h</sup>-nu-* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>lugnu-l*, *za-lu-uk-nu-* ‘to postpone’, *\*dlug<sup>h</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>lugéS-l*, *za-lu-keš-* ‘to take long’. After the assibilation has taken place, all word-initial dental stops have merged in /*t*/: *\*dóru* > Hitt. /*táru*/, *ta-a-ru* ‘wood’; *\*dóh<sub>3</sub>-ei* > Hitt. /*tái*/, *da-a-i* ‘he takes’.

#### *\*d<sup>h</sup>*

- 1.4.3.6 The regular outcome of *\*d<sup>h</sup>* is Hitt. /*d*/: *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ei* > Hitt. /*máldi*/, *ma-a-al-ti* ‘he recites’. In initial position, the dental consonants merge in /*t*/: *\*d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-ti* > Hitt. /*tét<sup>s</sup>i*/, *te-e-ez-zi* ‘he speaks’; *\*d<sup>h</sup>ég<sup>h</sup>om* > Hitt. /*tégan*/, *te-e-kán* ‘earth’; etc. If *panku-* / *pankau-* ‘entire’ reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-(e)u-* (see its lemma), it shows loss of word-initial *\*d<sup>h</sup>* before another stop. This may indicate that its preservation in e.g. *ták-na-a-aš* /*tgnás*/ ‘earth (gen.sg.)’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-m-ós* is analogical after the full-grade *\*d<sup>h</sup>ég<sup>h</sup>-m* > *te-e-kán*. Fortition of *\*d<sup>h</sup>* to /*t*/ is visible in *\*b<sup>h</sup>ód<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ei* >> Hitt. /*patái*/, *pád-da-i* ‘he digs’, where it is due to the following *\*h<sub>2</sub>*.

The behaviour of *\*d<sup>h</sup>* in front of *\*i* is important for our understanding of PAnatolian: if in PAnatolian the PIE ‘voiced’ and ‘voiced aspirated’ series indeed merged into a lenis series, we would a priori expect that *\*d<sup>h</sup>*, just as *\*d*, gets assibilated to /*s*/ in front of *\*i*. Unfortunately, all examples where we seem to be dealing with *\*d<sup>h</sup>i* are non-probative: *titta-*<sup>i</sup> / *titti-* ‘to install’ goes back to virtual *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-* but could very well be a recent formation that was created after the assibilation ceased to operate; *išpartijē/a-z<sup>i</sup>* ‘to escape’ seems to reflect *\*sprd<sup>h</sup>-ié/ó-*, but is a NH formation; the 2sg.imp.act.-ending *-t* (e.g. *ū*

<sup>142</sup> The assibilation of *\*d* > /*s*/ in front of *\*i* must be post-PAnatolian, since it does not occur in the other Anatolian languages (e.g. Luw. *tiyad-* ‘Sun-god’ < *\*diéuot-*, Pal. *tiuna-* ‘god’ < *dieu-*).

‘go!’, *arnut* ‘deport!’, *ašnut* ‘take care!’, *huesnut* ‘rescue!’, etc.) reflects *\*-d<sup>h</sup>i*, but may have lost its word-final *\*-i* before the assibilation took place. This means that there is no solid evidence to prove or disprove that *\*d<sup>h</sup>*, too, would have been assibilated before *\*i*.<sup>143</sup>

**\*k**

1.4.3.7 The normal outcome of *\*k* is Hitt. /k/: *\*kós* > Hitt. /kás/, *ka-a-aš* ‘this (one)’, *\*kéito* >> Hitt. /kítal/, *ki-it-ta* ‘he lies’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>rtko-* > Hitt. /Hrtka-l/, *har-tág-ga* ‘bear’; *\*sók-r* > Hitt. /sákr/, *ša-ak-kar* ‘dung’.<sup>144</sup> Lenition of *\*k* to /g/ may be visible in *za-ma-kur* ‘beard’ if this reflects /t<sup>s</sup>mágu/ < *\*smókur* (but perhaps this form is a defective spelling for *za-ma-(an-)kur*).

In the cluster *\*RkC*, *\*k* is regularly dropped, as is visible in *har-zi* /Hárt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘he holds’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ér<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ti* and *iš-tar-zi* /ištárt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘it ails’ < *\*stérk<sup>h</sup>ti*.

**\*g**

1.4.3.8 The normal outcome of *\*g* is Hitt. /g/: *\*h<sub>2</sub>rg-i-* > Hitt. /Hrgi-l/, *har-ki-* ‘white’, *\*sléi<sup>g</sup>-o* > Hitt. /slígal/, *ša-li-i-ga* ‘he touches’. In initial positions the palatovelars merged into /k-/: *\*gnh<sub>3</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /kniSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ka-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* ‘they recognize’; *\*genu-* > Hitt. /kénu-l/, *ge-e-nu* ‘knee’. Fortition of *\*g* is visible in *\*mégh<sub>2</sub>om* > Hitt. /mékan/, *me-e-ek-kán* ‘great (acc.sg.c.)’, where it is due to the following *\*h<sub>2</sub>*.

**\*g<sup>h</sup>**

1.4.3.9 The normal outcome of *\*g<sup>h</sup>* is Hitt. /g/: *\*d<sup>h</sup>ég<sup>h</sup>om* > Hitt. /tégan/, *te-e-kán* ‘earth’; *\*stél<sup>g<sup>h</sup></sup>ti* > Hitt. /ištálg<sup>s</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/, *iš-tal-ak-zi* ‘he flattens’. In initial position the palatovelars merge into /k-/: *\*g<sup>h</sup>ésr* > Hitt. /kéSt/, *ke-eš-šar* ‘hand’; *\*g<sup>h</sup>imro-* > Hitt. /kiMra-l/, *gi-im-ra-* ‘field’.

**\*k**

1.4.3.10 The normal outcome of *\*k* is Hitt. /k/: *\*kérsti* > Hitt. /kárSt<sup>s</sup>i/, *kar-aš-zi* ‘he cuts’; *\*skór-ei* > Hitt. /iskári/, *iš-ka-a-ri* ‘he cuts’; *\*tuéko-* > Hitt. /tuéka-l/, *tu-e-ek-ka-* ‘body’; *\*tuk-ó-r(i)* > Hitt. /tukári/, *du-ug-ga-a-ri* ‘he is visible’; *\*mrk-ié/ó-* > Hitt. /mrkié/á-l/, *mar-ki-ia-* ‘to disapprove of’. Lenition of *\*k* to /g/ is possibly visible in *a-ki* /ʔāgi/ ‘he dies’ < *\*Hó<sup>k</sup>-ei* if this form reflects *\*k*. In the cluster *\*RkC*, *\*k*

<sup>143</sup> Contra Kimball 1999: 292 who explicitly states that “*\*dh* was not assibilated before *\*y*”.

<sup>144</sup> We would expect lenition of *\*k* to /g/ here (*\*sókr* > *\*ságr* like *\*-ótr* > Hitt. /-ádr/, *°a-a-tar*), but apparently /k/ was restored in analogy to the oblique cases /skn-/ < *\*sk-n-*.

is probably regularly dropped, as may be visible in *ḫar-zi* /Hárt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘he holds’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ér<sup>(k)</sup>ti*, if this form reflects \**k*.

**\*g**

- 1.4.3.11 The normal outcome of \**g* is Hitt. /g/: \**h<sub>2</sub>tugo-* > Hitt. /Hduga-l/, *ḫa-tu-ga* ‘terrible’; \**iugom* > Hitt. /iugan/, *i-ú-kán* ‘yoke’; \**h<sub>3</sub>érg-ti* > Hitt. /Hárgt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ḫar-ak-zi* ‘he gets lost’.

**\*g<sup>h</sup>**

- 1.4.3.12 The normal outcome of \**g<sup>h</sup>* is Hitt. /g/: *lóg<sup>h</sup>-ei* > Hitt. /lági/, *la-a-ki* ‘he knocks down’; \**lg<sup>h</sup>-ó-ri* > Hitt. /ləgáril/, *la-ga-a-ri* ‘he is felled’. In initial position all normal velars merge into /k-/: \**g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-ei* > Hitt. /krábil/, *ka-ra-a-pí* ‘he devours’. Fortition of \**g<sup>h</sup>* to /k/ is visible in *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* /ləkiské/á-l/, impf. of *lāk<sup>i</sup>* /lak- ‘to knock down’ < \**lg<sup>h</sup>-ské/ó-*.

**\*k<sup>w</sup>**

- 1.4.3.13 The normal outcome of \**k<sup>w</sup>* is Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>/<sup>145</sup>: \**k<sup>w</sup>is* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>isl/, *ku-iš* ‘who’; \**k<sup>w</sup>ér-ti* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>ért<sup>s</sup>i/, *ku-e-er-zi* ‘he cuts’; \**k<sup>w</sup>t-ru-en-* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>tru-en-l/, *ku-ut-ru-e-n<sup>o</sup>* ‘witness’; \**nek<sup>w</sup>e* > Hitt. /nek<sup>w</sup>l/, *ne-ek-ku* ‘not?’; \**prk<sup>w</sup>-i-* > Hitt. /prk<sup>w</sup>i-l/, *par-ku-i-* ‘clean’; \**dek<sup>w</sup>s-ié/ó-* > Hitt. /tek<sup>w</sup>Sié/á-l/, *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-ia-* ‘to show’. If *išpant-* ‘night’ indeed reflects \**k<sup>w</sup>spént-* (cf. its lemma), it would show loss of initial \**k<sup>w</sup>* before obstruents.<sup>146</sup> Lenition of \**k<sup>w</sup>* to /g<sup>w</sup>/ is visible in *ša-a-ku-ua-* /sá<sup>w</sup>a-l/ ‘eye’ < \**sók<sup>w</sup>-o-*. In the cluster \**Rk<sup>w</sup>C* the buccal part of \**k<sup>w</sup>* is regularly lost: \**térk<sup>w</sup>ti* > \**tár<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i* > Hitt. /tárut<sup>s</sup>i/, *tar-ú-zi* ‘he dances’; \**trk<sup>w</sup>ské/ó-* > \**tr<sup>w</sup>ské/ó-l* > Hitt. /truské/á-l/, *ta-ru-uš-ke/a-* ‘to dance (impf.)’ (similarly in \**RkC* and \**RkC*, see above).

**\*g<sup>w</sup>**

- 1.4.3.14 The normal outcome of \**g<sup>w</sup>* is Hitt. /g<sup>w</sup>/: \**neg<sup>w</sup>-m-ent-* > Hitt. /neg<sup>w</sup>mant-l/, *ne-ku-ma-an-t-* ‘naked’; \**d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>-i-* > Hitt. /tng<sup>w</sup>i-l/, *da-an-ku-i-* ‘dark’; \**trg<sup>w</sup>-ent-* > Hitt. /trg<sup>w</sup>ant-l/, *tar-ku-ua-an-t-* ‘looking angrily’. In initial position the labiovelars merge into /k<sup>w</sup>-/: \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-uon-* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>eluan-l/, *ku-e-lu-ua-n<sup>o</sup>* ‘washbasin’.

<sup>145</sup> Contra Melchert 1994a: 61, who claims that “[t]he PIE voiceless labiovelar \*/k<sup>w</sup>/ is [...] weakened to PA[nat.] \*/g<sup>w</sup>/ in medial position”.

<sup>146</sup> The preservation of \**k<sup>w</sup>* in *ku-truen-* < \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-en-* ‘witness’ then must be due to restoration in analogy to the expected full-grade form \**k<sup>w</sup>etur-*, which is not attested in Hittite anymore, however.



**\*g<sup>wh</sup>**

- 1.4.3.15 The normal outcome of \*g<sup>wh</sup> is Hitt. /g<sup>w</sup>/: \*h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>wh</sup>ti > Hitt. /lég<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/, e-ku-zi, e-uk-zi ‘he drinks’; \*nég<sup>wh</sup>ti > Hitt. /nég<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/, ne-ku-zi ‘it becomes evening’; \*h<sub>2</sub>lg<sup>wh</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r > Hitt. /Hlg<sup>w</sup>éSr/, ḫal-ku-e-eš-šar ‘supplies’. In initial position, the labiovelars merge into /k<sup>w</sup>-/: \*g<sup>wh</sup>énti > Hitt. /g<sup>w</sup>ént<sup>s</sup>i/, ku-en-zi ‘he kills’. Fortition of \*g<sup>wh</sup> to /k<sup>w</sup>/ is visible in ak-ku-uš-ke/a- /l<sup>w</sup>ské/á-, impf. of eku-<sup>zi</sup> / aku- ‘to drink’ < \*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-ské/ó-.

1.4.4 Fricative

**\*s**

- 1.4.4.1 Word-initially before vowel, \*s is retained as such: \*sV- > Hitt. /#sV-/: \*sésti > Hitt. /sést<sup>s</sup>i/, še-eš-zi ‘he sleeps’; \*sókh<sub>1</sub>-ei > Hitt. /sáki/, ša-a-ak-ki ‘he knows’; \*sup-ó-ri > Hitt. /supári/, šu-up-pa-ri ‘he sleeps’; \*sih<sub>2</sub>- > Hitt. /sī-/, ši-i- ‘one’.

Word-initially before consonants, the outcome depends on the nature of the consonant. Before stops and \*h<sub>2</sub>, we find that \*sC- > Hitt. /sC-/, spelled iš-C<sup>o</sup>: \*sh<sub>2</sub>-ói-ei > Hitt. /išHái/, iš-ḫa-a-i ‘he binds’; \*skórei > Hitt. /iskári/, iš-ka-a-ri ‘he cuts’; \*sph<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei > Hitt. /ispái/, iš-pa-a-i ‘he gets full’; \*stél<sup>h</sup>ti > Hitt. /istálg<sup>s</sup>i/, iš-tal-ak-zi ‘he flattens’.<sup>147</sup> Before the other consonants (i.e. resonants, \*h<sub>1</sub>, \*h<sub>3</sub> and \*s), we find that \*sC- > Hitt. /sC-/: \*sró > Hitt. /srá/, ša-ra-a ‘upwards’; \*sléi<sup>g</sup>-o > Hitt. /slígal/, ša-li-i-ga ‘he touches’; \*sménti > Hitt. /smént<sup>s</sup>i/, ša-me-en-zi ‘to pass by’; \*snh<sub>2</sub>énti > Hitt. /snHént<sup>s</sup>i/, ša-an-ḫa-an-zi; \*sh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei > Hitt. /sái/, ša-a-i ‘he impresses’; \*sh<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-oi- > Hitt. /snguai-, ša-an-ku-ua-i- ‘nail’; \*ssénti > Hitt. /ssánt<sup>s</sup>i/, ša-ša-an-zi ‘they sleep’.

The outcome /ts-/ as visible in za-ma(-an)-kur /tsmá(n)gur/ ‘beard’ < \*smókur and za-ak-kar, za-aš-ga-r<sup>o</sup> /tskar/ ‘excrement’ < \*skór is not phonetical. See the lemmas zama(n)kur and šakkar, zakkar /šakn- for an explanation.

- 1.4.4.2 In word-internal position, it is best to treat the specific environments separately.  
\*VsV > Hitt. /VsV/: \*néb<sup>h</sup>esos > Hitt. /nébisas/, ne-e-pí-ša-aš ‘heaven (gen.sg.)’, \*h<sub>1</sub>és-ēr > Hitt. /léeser/, e-še-er ‘they were’.  
\*VsPV (in which P = any labial consonant): the only example, \*uos-b<sup>h</sup>o- > Hitt. /uaSba-, ua-aš-pa-, ua-aš-ša-pa- ‘clothing’, seems to show that the outcome

<sup>147</sup> See at § 1.4.8.1.d below for the fact that this *i*- does not partake in the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before /s/, which indicates that this vowel was phonologically different from /i/ < \*i.

is /VSPV/, but here the geminate could easily have been secondarily taken over from the verb  $uešš^{-1a}$ ,  $uašše/a^{-2i}$  ‘to wear’.

- \* $V_sKV$  > Hitt. /VsKV/ (in which  $K$  = any velar stop): \* $h_3rnuské/ó-$  > Hitt. /ʔrnuské/á-/;  $ar-nu-uš-ke/a-$  ‘to transport (impf.)’; \* $Hu-ské/ó-$  > Hitt. /ʔuské/á-/;  $ú-uš-ke/a-$  ‘to see (impf.)’; \* $k^w is-ki$  > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>iski/,  $ku-iš-ki$  ‘anyone’.
- \* $V_sTV$  > Hitt. /VsTV/ (in which  $T$  = any dental stop): \* $h_1ésti$  > Hitt. /ʔést<sup>s</sup>i/,  $e-eš-zi$  ‘he is’; \* $uósth_2ei$  > OH \*/uásti/ > NH /uásti/,  $ua-aš-ti$  ‘you buy’; \* $sostos$  > Hitt. /sastas/,  $ša-aš-ta-aš$  ‘bed (gen.sg.)’.
- \* $V_{ss}V$  > Hitt. /VssV/: \* $h_1és-si$  > Hitt. /ʔéssi/,  $e-eš-ši$  ‘you are’.
- \* $V_{sh_1}V$  > Hitt. /VSV/: \* $h_2ltish_1énti$  > Hitt. /Hlt<sup>s</sup>iSánt<sup>s</sup>i/,  $ħal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi$  ‘they call (impf.)’;  $si-sh_1-i-ént-$  > Hitt. /siSiánt-/;  $ši-iš-ši-ia-an-t-$  ‘sealed’.
- \* $V_{sh_2}V$  > Hitt. /VsHV/: \* $h_1esh_2enós$  > Hitt. /ʔisHanás/,  $iš-ħa-na-a-aš$  ‘blood (gen.sg.)’; \* $h_1esh_2ó-$  > Hitt. /ʔisHā-/;  $iš-ħa-a-$  ‘master’.
- \* $V_{sh_3}V$ : no examples.
- \* $V_{sr}V$  > Hitt. /VsRV/: \* $h_1és-ri-$  > Hitt. /ʔéSri-/;  $e-eš-ri-$ ,  $e-eš-ša-ri-$  ‘shape, image’. Similarly in \* $V_{sr}C$  > Hitt. /VsRC/ (\* $g^h ésr-t$  > Hitt. /kéSrt/,  $ke-eš-šar-ta$  ‘with the hand’) and \* $V_{sr}\#$  > Hitt. /VsR\#/ (\* $g^h ésr$  > Hitt. /kéSrt/,  $ke-eš-šar$  ‘hand’).<sup>148</sup>
- \* $V_{sl}V$  > Hitt. /VslV/: \* $h_1és-l+$  > Hitt.  $e-eš-li-it$ ,  $e-eš-lu-ut$  ‘I must be’.
- \* $V_{sm}V$  > Hitt. /VsmV/: \* $h_1ésmi$  > Hitt. /ʔésmi/,  $e-eš-mi$  ‘I am’ (never spelled \*\* $e-eš-ša-mi$ , so not \*\*/ʔéSmi/); \* $sésmi$  > Hitt. /sésmi/,  $še-eš-mi$  ‘I sleep’ (and not \*\* $še-eš-ša-mi$  = \*\*/séSmi/). Similarly in \* $V_{sm}\#$  > OH /Vsun\#/: \* $sésm$  > OH /sésun/,  $še-e-šu-un$  ‘I slept’.
- \* $V_{sn}V$  > Hitt. /VsnV/: e.g. \* $usnié/ó-$  > Hitt. /uSnié/á-/;  $uš-ni-ja-$ ,  $uš-ša-ni-ja-$  ‘to put up for sale’.
- \* $V_{si}V$  > Hitt. /VSV/: \* $h_2msósio-$  > Hitt. /Hnt<sup>s</sup>áSa-/;  $ħa-an-za-a-aš-ša-$  ‘descendant’; \* $iugosio-$  > Hitt. /iugaSa-/;  $i-ú-ga-aš-ša-$  ‘yearling’.<sup>149</sup>
- \* $V_{Ps}V$  > Hitt. /VPSV/ (in which  $P$  = any labial stop): \* $h_1épsi$  > Hitt. /ʔépSi/,  $e-ep-ši$  ‘you seize’; \* $d^h eb^h su-$  > Hitt. /tebSu-/;  $te-ep-šu-$  ‘?’.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> The geminate -šš- in the CLuwian cognate  $\bar{s}(ša)ra/i-$  ‘hand’ may show that fortition of \*s to /S/ before \*r is PANatolian already.

<sup>149</sup> Note that all instances of  $V_{šij}V$  in Hittite must be of secondary origin, e.g.  $\bar{a}ššije/a^{-1a(n)}$  is a secondary -je/a-extension of  $\bar{a}šš^{-opt}$ ;  $peššije/a^{-2i}$  and  $\bar{u}ššije/a^{-2i}$  are secondary formations of  $pe+šije/a^{-2i}$  and  $u+šije/a^{-2i}$ ;  $uašije/a^{-2i}$  ‘to buy’ is a secondary stem on the basis of original  $uāš^{-1} / uaš-$ ;  $uešije/a^{-2i}$  is based on the noun  $ueši-$  /  $uešai-$ ; etc.

- \*VKsV > Hitt. /VKSV/ (in which *K* = any velar stop): \**h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>wh</sup>si* > Hitt. /*ṛég<sup>w</sup>si*/, *e-uk-ši*, *e-ku-uš-ši* ‘you drink’; \**dek<sup>w</sup>s-ie/o-* > Hitt. /*tek<sup>w</sup>Sie/a-l*/, *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-e<sup>o</sup>*, *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-ia-* ‘to show, to present (oneself)’; \**no-nog<sup>wh</sup>s-ie/o-* > Hitt. /*nanag<sup>w</sup>Sie/a-l*/, *na-na-ku-uš-ši-ia-* ‘to become dark’.
- \*VTsV > Hitt. /VTsV/ (in which *T* = any dental stop): \**h<sub>1</sub>édsi* > Hitt. /*ṛédSi*/, *e-ez-ši*, [*e-ez-za-a*]*š-ši* ‘you eat’.
- \*Vh<sub>1</sub>sV. Here we must take the accentuation into account, namely \**Ṽh<sub>1</sub>sV* yields Hitt. /*ṼsV*/ whereas \**Vh<sub>1</sub>sṼ* > Hitt. /*VSṼ*/: \**h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>so* > Hitt. /*ṛésal*/, *e-ša* ‘he sits down’ vs. \**h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>séh<sub>2-</sub>* > Hitt. /*HaSā-l*/, *ḫa-a-aš-ša-a-* ‘hearth’ (see at *ḫāššā-* for an extensive treatment of this word); \**h<sub>2</sub>ih<sub>1/3</sub>s-éh<sub>2-</sub>* > Hitt. /*HiSa-l*/, *ḫi-iš-ša-* ‘carriage pole’.
- \*Vh<sub>2</sub>sV > Hitt. /VHsV/:<sup>151</sup> \**péh<sub>2</sub>s-o* > Hitt. /*páHsal*/, *pa-aḫ-ša* ‘he protects’; \**pleh<sub>2</sub>so-* > Hitt. /*plaHsa-l*/, *pa-la-aḫ-ša-*, a garment.
- \*Vh<sub>3</sub>sV. Here we must take the accentuation into account as well, namely \**Ṽh<sub>3</sub>sV* yields Hitt. /*ṼsV*/ whereas \**Vh<sub>3</sub>sṼ* > Hitt. /*VSṼ*/: \**póh<sub>3</sub>sei* > Hitt. /*pāsi*/, *pa-a-ši* ‘he sips’ vs. \**poh<sub>3</sub>s-uén-ti* > Hitt. /*pāSuánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi* ‘to sip’ (with analogical *ā*); \**h<sub>2</sub>ih<sub>1/3</sub>s-éh<sub>2-</sub>* > Hitt. /*HiSa-l*/, *ḫi-iš-ša-* ‘carriage pole’.

1.4.4.3 The outcomes of clusters involving \**Rs* and \**RHs* need special attention, especially the difference between clusters with and without laryngeals.

- \*VrsV > Hitt. /VRV/: \**h<sub>1</sub>orso-* > Hitt. /*ṛaRa-l*/, *a-ar-ra-* ‘arse’.
- \*VlsV > Hitt. /VlsV/<sup>?</sup>: \**polso-* (or \**plso-?*) > Hitt. /*palsa-l* (or /*plsa-l?*)/, *pal-ša-* ‘road’.
- \*VmsV > Hitt. /VSV/: \**h<sub>2</sub>ems-u-* > Hitt. /*HaSu-l*/, *ḫa-aš-šu-* ‘king’. When lenited, the outcome is /*VsV*/, however: \**h<sub>2</sub>ómsei* > Hitt. /*Hási*/, *ḫa-a-ši* ‘he procreates, she gives birth’.<sup>152</sup>
- \*VnsV > Hitt. /VSV/<sup>?</sup>: \**de/ons-u-* (or \**de/oms-u-*) > Hitt. /*taSu-l*/, *da-aš-šu-* ‘powerful’.

<sup>150</sup> Although the spelling *-Vp-šV-* does not reveal anything about whether the *-s-* is single or geminate and although no spellings can be found that expressly indicate singleness (never \*\**pa-šV-*) or geminateness (never \*\**pa-aš-šV*), the fact that the \**s* fortites to /*S*/ in \**VKsV* and \**VTsV* in my view makes it highly plausible that this happened in \**VPsV* as well.

<sup>151</sup> Melchert 1994a: 77 states that \**Vh<sub>2</sub>sV* > Hitt. /*VššV*/ on the basis of his reconstruction of the genitival suffix *-ašša-* as \**-eh<sub>2</sub>so-*. See at *-ašša-* for the falseness of this etymology, however.

<sup>152</sup> Because lenition is a PANat. feature, the assimilation of \**VmsV* to /*VSV*/ must be PANatolian as well.

\**VrHsV* > Hitt. /*VrsV*/ if the reconstruction of \**hārši* (as inferred from 3sg.pret.act. *ha-a-ar-aš-ta* ‘he tills (the soil)’ as \**h<sub>2</sub>órh<sub>3</sub>-s-ei* is correct.  
 \**VlHsV*: no examples.  
 \**VmHsV* > Hitt. /*VnsV*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei* > Hitt. /*ḥānsil*, *a-a-an-ši* ‘he wipes’.  
 \**VnHsV* > Hitt. /*Vnt<sup>s</sup>V*/: \**génh<sub>1</sub>-su-* > Hitt. /*ként<sup>s</sup>u-l*, *ge-en-zu-* ‘lap’.

\**VrHsC* > Hitt. /*VrisC*/: \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*ueriské/á-l*, *ú-e-ri-iš-ke/a-* ‘to call (impf.)’.<sup>153</sup>  
 \**VlHsC* > Hitt. /*VLisC*/: \**kélh<sub>1</sub>st* > Hitt. /*káListal*, *kal-li-iš-ta* ‘he called’.  
 \**VmHsC* > Hitt. /*VMisC*/: \**demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>ó-* > Hitt. /*taMīsHā-l*, *dam-me-iš-ḥa-a-* ‘damage’.<sup>154</sup>  
 \**VnHsC*: no examples.

\**CrsV* > Hitt. /*CrSV*/: \**krs-éntu* > Hitt. /*krSántu*, *kar-ša-an-du*, *kar-aš-ša-an-du* ‘they must cut’.  
 \**ClsV* > Hitt. /*ClSV*/: \**k<sup>w</sup>lsénti* > Hitt. /*k<sup>w</sup>lSánt<sup>s</sup>il*, *gul-ša-an-zi*, *gul-aš-ša-an-zi* ‘they carve’.  
 \**CmsV* > Hitt. /*Cnt<sup>s</sup>V*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>msósio-* > Hitt. /*Hnt<sup>s</sup>āSa-l*, *ḥa-an-za-a-aš-ša-* ‘descendant’.  
 \**CnsV* > Hitt. /*Cnt<sup>s</sup>V*/: \**nsós* > Hitt. /*nt<sup>s</sup>ās*, *an-za-a-aš* ‘us’.

\**CrHsV*: no examples.  
 \**ClHsV* > Hitt. /*Cl<sup>s</sup>SV*/: \**klh<sub>1</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /*kliSánt<sup>s</sup>il*, *ka-li-iš-ša-an-zi* ‘they call’.  
 \**CmHsV* > Hitt. /*Cn<sup>s</sup>SV*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>s-énti* > Hitt. /*HniSánt<sup>s</sup>il*, *ḥa-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* ‘they wipe’.  
 \**CnHsV* > Hitt. /*Cn<sup>s</sup>SV*/: \**gñh<sub>3</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /*kniSánt<sup>s</sup>il*, *ka-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* ‘they recognize’.

\**CrHsC* > Hitt. /*CrisC*/: \**pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*pripriské/á-l*, *pa-ri-ip-ri-iš-ke/a-* ‘to blow (impf.)’, \**h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*ḥriské/á-l*, *a-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *a-re-eš-ke/a-* ‘to consult an oracle (impf.)’.

<sup>153</sup> Perhaps we must assume on the basis of \**VlHsC* > /*VLisC*/ and \**VmHsC* > /*VMisC*/ that the regular outcome of \**VrHsC* was /*VRisC*/ and that in *ú-e-ri-iš-ke/a-* the single *-r-* was introduced from the indicative *uer(ije/a)-*.

<sup>154</sup> If *ḥa-a-ni-iš*, *ḥa-a-ni-eš* /*Hānis*/ ‘wipe!’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s* and *ḥa-a-ni-iš-šu-ya-ar*, *ḥa-a-ni-eš-š[u-ya-ar]* /*HāniSuər*/ ‘wiping’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s-ur* are really phonetically regular, the different outcome may be due to the preceding leniting \**ó*. Note that these forms may also show that the *-m-* in *damme/išhā-* at one point has been restored in analogy to the verb *tamāšš-<sup>21</sup>* / *tame/išš-*.

\**ClHsC* > Hitt. /*ClisC*<sup>2</sup>: \**mlh<sub>2</sub>sk-u-(?)* > Hitt. /*mliskū-l*, *ma-li-iš-ku-* ‘weak, light’.

\**CmHsC* > Hitt. /*CmisC*/: \**dmh<sub>2</sub>ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*tmiské/á-l*, *da-me-eš-ke/a-* ‘to oppress (impf.)’.<sup>155</sup>

\**CnHsC* > Hitt. /*CəSiC*/: \**h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*HəSiké/á-l*, *ḥa-aš-ši-ke/a-* ‘to sue (impf.)’.

1.4.4.4 In clusters containing \**s* and stops we often see the rise of the anaptyctic vowel /i/<sup>156</sup> (sometimes only within the Hittite period): \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ské/ó-* > OH /*tské/á-l*, *za-aš-ke/a-* > OH /*tsiké/á-l*, *zi-ik-ke/a-* ‘to place (impf.)’; \**h<sub>1</sub>d-ské/ó-* > MH /*ʔdské/á-l*, *az-za-ke/a-* (MH/MS) > MH/NH /*ʔdsiké/á-l*, *az-zi-ke/a-* (MH/MS) ‘to eat (impf.)’; \**h<sub>2</sub>t-ské/ó-* > OH /*Htsiké/á-l*, *ḥa-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* ‘to pierce, to prick (impf.)’; \**h<sub>1</sub>p-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*ʔpiské/á-l*, *ap-pí-iš-ke/a-* ‘to seize (impf.)’; \**téks-ti* > Hitt. /*tákist<sup>si</sup>/*, *ták-ki-iš-zi* ‘he devises’; \**l<sup>g</sup>h-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*ləkiské/á-l*, *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* ‘to fell (impf.)’;<sup>157</sup> \**g<sup>(h)</sup>sd-uént-* > Hitt. /*kisduánt-l*, *ki-iš-du-ṽa-an-t-* ‘hungry’; \**g<sup>h</sup>sréi* > Hitt. /*kisrīl*, *ki-iš-ša-ri-i*, *ki-iš-ri* ‘hand (dat.-loc.sg.)’; and compare the outcomes of \**CRHsC* (above), \**-Vh<sub>2</sub>s* and \**-Vks* (below).

1.4.4.5 The outcome of word-final \**s* is /s/.

\**-Vs* > Hitt. /*-Vs*/: \**-os* > Hitt. /*-as*/, *-aš*, gen.sg.-ending; \**sés* > Hitt. /*sés*/, *še-e-eš* ‘sleep!’; \**kós* > Hitt. /*kās*/, *ka-a-aš* ‘this (one)’.

\**-VKs* > Hitt. /*VKis*/: \**h<sub>1</sub>ó<sup>ʔ</sup>s* > Hitt. /*ʔákis*/, *a-ak-ki-iš* ‘he died’.

\**-VPs* > Hitt. /*VPs*/: \**stóp-s* > Hitt. /*istáps*/, *iš-tap-pa-aš* ‘he plugged up’; \**g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-s* > Hitt. /*krábs*/, *ga-ra-pa-aš* ‘he devoured’.

\**-VTs* > Hitt. /*-VTs*/: \**g<sup>h</sup>éu-t-s* > Hitt. /*kúts*/, *ku-ú-uz-za*, ‘wall’, \**diéuot-s* > Hitt. /*síuats*/, *ši-i-ṽa-az* ‘day’; \**g<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>ód-s* > Hitt. /*krʔáds*/, *ka-ra-a-az* ‘entrails’.

\**-Vh<sub>1</sub>s* > Hitt. /*-Vs*/: \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>s* > Hitt. /*tés*/, *te-e-eš* ‘you spoke’.

<sup>155</sup> Although on the basis of \**CmHsV* > Hitt. /*CniSV*/ we may rather have to assume that regularly \**CmHsC* yields /*CnisC*/ and that in *dameške/a-* the *-m-* has been restored in analogy to the verb *tamāšš-zi* / *tame/išš-*.

<sup>156</sup> See also Kavitskaya 2001: 278f. for a treatment of the anaptyctic vowel /i/ and the factors that determine its place within a cluster.

<sup>157</sup> Note that there is no anaptyctic vowel in *ḥur-za(-aš)-ke/a-* /*Hortské/á-l* ‘to curse (impf.)’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>urt-ské/ó-*, *iš-pa-an-za-aš-ke/a-* /*lispndské/á-l* ‘to libate (impf.)’ < \**spnd-ské/ó-* and *ma-al-za(-aš)-ke/a-* /*lmədské/á-l* ‘to recite (impf.)’ < \**mld<sup>h</sup>-ské/ó-*. This must be due to the fact that a resonant is preceding the dental consonant.

<sup>158</sup> Note that OH *ḥi-in-ga-aš-ke/a-* /*Hinkské/á-l* yields MH *ḥi-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* /*Hinkiské/á-l*.

- \*-Vh<sub>2</sub>s > OH /-VHs/ > NH /VH<sub>is</sub>/: \*-éh<sub>2</sub>-s > OH /-aHs/, °Ca-ah-ḫa-aš (OH/NS) > NH /-aH<sub>is</sub>/, °Ca-ah-ḫi-iš (NS), 3sg.pret.act.-forms of verbs in -ahḫ<sup>i</sup>.
- \*-Vh<sub>3</sub>s > Hitt. /Vs/: \*dóh<sub>3</sub>-s > Hitt. /tās/, da-a-aš ‘he took’.
- \*-Vrs > Hitt. /-Vrs/: h<sub>1</sub>órs > Hitt. /ḫārs/, a-ar-aš ‘he arrived’; \*kers > Hitt. /kárs/, kar-aš ‘cut!’.<sup>159</sup>
- \*-Vls: no examples.
- \*-Vms > Hitt. /-Vs/: \*-oms > OH /-us/, -(ú-)uš, > NH /-os/, -(u-)uš, acc.pl.c. of o-stems.
- \*-Vns > Hitt. /-Vs/: \*-uen-s > Hitt. /-uas/, -ua-aš, gen.sg. of the verbal noun in -uar.

### 1.4.5 Laryngeals

Because the PIE laryngeals, \*h<sub>1</sub>, \*h<sub>2</sub> and \*h<sub>3</sub>, show some mergers in the pre-PAnatolian period already, it is in my view best to first treat their PAnatolian outcomes and then see what these yield in Hittite.

1.4.5.a The outcomes of word-initial laryngeals in PAnatolian have been treated in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.c., where the following overview has been given (note that the order of the laryngeals is not numerical in order to make the mergers more transparent: R = r, l, m, n, i, u; T = any stop and s):

PIE	>	PAnat.		PIE		PAnat.
*h <sub>2</sub> e-	>	*Ha-		*h <sub>2</sub> o-	}	*ḫo-
*h <sub>3</sub> e-	>	*Ho-		*h <sub>3</sub> o-		
*h <sub>1</sub> e-	>	*ḫe-		*h <sub>1</sub> o-		

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<sup>159</sup> The -z in ḫa-aš-te-er-za /Hstérts/ ‘star’ < \*h<sub>2</sub>stér + s must be due to the secondary attachment of the commune nom.sg.-ending -s to the stem /Hstér/.

$*h_2R-$	>	$*HR-$		$*h_2T-$	>	$*HT-$
$*h_3R-$	}	$*\text{?}R-$		$*h_3T-$	}	$*T-$
$*h_1R-$	}	$*\text{?}R-$		$*h_1T-$	}	$*T-$

The outcome of the PAnatolian sequences in Hittite is as follows:

PAnat.  $*/Ha-/$  > Hitt.  $/Ha-/$ :  $*h_2ent-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hant-/$  > Hitt.  $/Hant-/$ ,  $ha-an-t$  ‘forehead’;  $*h_2er\acute{g}i-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hargi-/$  > Hitt.  $/Hargi-/$ ,  $har-ki-$  ‘white’;  $*h_2ensu-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hansu-/$  > Hitt.  $/HaSu-/$ ,  $ha-aš-šu-$  ‘king’.

PAnat.  $*/Ho-/$  > Hitt.  $/Ha-/$ :  $*h_3ér\acute{o}n+s$  > PAnat.  $*/Hór\acute{o}ns/$  > Hitt.  $/Háras/$ ,  $ha-a-ra-aš$  ‘eagle’;  $*h_3épr$  > PAnat.  $*/Hópr/$  > Hitt.  $/Hápr/$ ,  $ha-a-ap-pár$  ‘business’.

PAnat.  $*/\text{?}e-/$  > Hitt.  $/?e-/$ :  $*h_1ésmi$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}ésmi/$  > Hitt.  $/?ésmi/$ ,  $e-eš-mi$  ‘I am’;  $*h_1érmn$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}érmn/$  > Hitt.  $/?érmn/$ ,  $e-er-ma-an$  ‘illness’;  $*h_1ésh_2r$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}ésHr/$  > Hitt.  $/?ésHr/$ ,  $e-eš-har$  ‘blood’.

PAnat.  $*/\text{?}o-/$  > Hitt.  $/?a-/$ :  $*h_2ómh_1sei$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}ómsei/$  > Hitt.  $/?ánsi/$ ,  $a-an-ši$  ‘he wipes’;  $*h_2óuth_2ei$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}óutai/$  > Hitt.  $/?áuti/$ ,  $a-ut-ti$  ‘you saw’;  $*h_2óro$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}óro/$  > Hitt.  $/?áral$ ,  $a-a-ra$  ‘right, properly’;  $*h_3ór\acute{g}^hi$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}órgei/$  > Hitt.  $/?árgi/$ ,  $a-ar-ki$  ‘he mounts’;  $*h_1órei$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}órei/$  > Hitt.  $/?ári/$ ,  $a-a-ri$  ‘he arrives’.

PAnat.  $*/HR-/$  > Hitt.  $/HR-/$ :  $*h_2rt\acute{k}o-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hrt\acute{k}o-/$  > Hitt.  $/Hrtka-/$ ,  $har-ták-ka-$  ‘bear’;  $*h_2lt-i-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hlti-/$  > Hitt.  $/Hlt^si-/$ ,  $hal-zi-$  ‘to call’;  $*h_2méh_1sh_2o-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hmé\text{?}sHo-/$  > Hitt.  $/HmésHa-/$ ,  $ha-me-eš-ha-$  ‘spring’;  $*h_2nénti$  > PAnat.  $*/Hnánti/$  > Hitt.  $/Hnánt^si/$ ,  $ha-na-an-zi$  ‘they draw water’;  $*h_2imno-$  > PAnat.  $*/Himno-/$  > Hitt.  $/HiMa-/$ ,  $hi-im-ma-$  ‘imitation’;  $*h_2uh_1ént-$  > PAnat.  $*/Hu\text{?}ánt-/$  > Hitt.  $/Hoánt-/$ ,  $hu-ya-an-t-$  ‘wind’.

PAnat.  $*/\text{?}RC-/$  > Hitt.  $/?RC-/$ :  $*h_1mn-$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}mn-/$  > Hitt.  $/?M-/$ ,  $am-m^o$  ‘me’;  $*h_1\acute{n}dom$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}ndom/$  > Hitt.  $/?ndan/$ ,  $an-da-an$  ‘inside’;  $*h_1id^hi$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}idil/$  > Hitt.  $/?id/$ ,  $i-it$  ‘go!’;  $*h_1rsénti$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}rsánti/$  > Hitt.  $/?rSánt^si/$ ,  $ar-ša-an-zi$  ‘they flow’;  $*h_2u-ské\acute{o}-$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}uské\acute{o}-/$  > Hitt.  $/?uské\acute{a}/$ ,  $ú-uš-ke/a-$  ‘to see (impf.)’;  $*h_3rtóri$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}rtóri/$  > Hitt.  $/?rtári/$ ,  $ar-ta-ri$  ‘he stands’;  $*h_3r\acute{g}^hi-i-$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}rgi-/$  > Hitt.  $/?rgi-/$ ,  $ar-ki-$  ‘testicle’;  $*h_3niéti$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}niéti/$  > Hitt.  $/?niétsi/$ ,  $a-ni-e-ez-zi$  ‘he works’.

PAnat.  $*/\text{?}RV-/$  > Hitt.  $/RV-/$  (except PAnat.  $*/\text{?}rV-/$ , see below):  $*h_1leng^hti$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}lengti/$  > Hitt.  $/?lkt^si/$ ,  $li-ik-zi$  ‘he swears’;  $*h_3néh_3mn$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}ló\text{?}mn/$  > Hitt.  $/?ámni/$ ,  $la-a-ma-an$  ‘name’;  $*h_1uor\acute{g}-$  > PAnat.  $*/\text{?}uarg-/$  > Hitt.

/uarg-/ in *ua-ua-ar-ki-ma-*, object in which the door-ax is fixed and turns; \**h<sub>1</sub>uorso-* > PAnat. \*/*uorso-*/ > Hitt. /*uarsa-*/, *ua-ar-ša-* ‘fog, mist’.<sup>160</sup>

PAnat. \*/*ʔrV-*/ > Hitt. /*ʔrV-*/: \**h<sub>1</sub>rénti* > PAnat. \*/*ʔránti*/ > Hitt. /*ʔránt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *a-ra-an-zi* ‘they arrive’; \**h<sub>3</sub>rénto* > PAnat. \*/*ʔránto*/ > Hitt. /*ʔránta*/, *a-ra-an-ta* ‘they stand’; \**h<sub>3</sub>róiei* > PAnat. \*/*ʔróiē*/ > Hitt. /*ʔrái*/, *a-ra-a-i* ‘he rises’.

PAnat. \*/*HT-*/ > Hitt. /*HT-*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>stér* > PAnat. \*/*Hstér*/ > Hitt. /*Hstér*/, *ha-aš-te-er-* ‘star’; \**h<sub>2</sub>dént-* > PAnat. \*/*Hdánt-*/ > Hitt. /*Hdánt-*/, *ha-da-an-t-* ‘parched’; \**h<sub>2</sub>tié/ó-* > PAnat. \*/*Htié/ó-*/ > Hitt. /*Ht<sup>s</sup>ié/á-*/, *ha-az-zi-e<sup>o</sup>*, *ha-az-zi-ja-* ‘to pierce, to prick’; \**h<sub>2</sub>téugti* > PAnat. \*/*Hdúgti*/ > Hitt. /*Hdúgt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ha-tu-uk-zi* ‘he is terrible’.

PIE \**h<sub>1/3</sub>T-* > PAnat. /*T-*/ > Hitt. /*T-*/: \**h<sub>1</sub>p-ói-ei* > PAnat. \*/*póie*/ > Hitt. /*pái*/, *pa-a-i* ‘he gives’; \**h<sub>1</sub>siéti* > PAnat. \*/*siéti*/ > Hitt. /*sié<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ši-i-e-ez-zi* ‘he shoots’; \**h<sub>1</sub>t-i-sténi* > PAnat. \*/*tisténi*/ > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>isténi*/, *zi-iš-te-e-ni* ‘you (pl.) cross over’.

1.4.5.b The outcome of word-internal laryngeals is as follows (note that the three laryngeals always colour a neighbouring \**e*; a PAnat. \*/*H*/ followed by /*u*/ gets phonemicized as /*H<sup>w</sup>*/, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c; the order of laryngeals is again not numerical):

PIE	PAnat.	early OH	late OH
* <i>Vh<sub>2</sub>V</i>	> */ <i>VHV</i> /	> / <i>VHV</i> /	> / <i>VHV</i> /
* <i>Vh<sub>3</sub>V</i>	} */ <i>VʔV</i> /	> / <i>VʔV</i> /	> / <i>VV</i> /
* <i>Vh<sub>1</sub>V</i>			

Examples:

\**Vh<sub>2</sub>V*: \**péh<sub>2</sub>ur* > PAnat. \*/*páH<sup>w</sup>r*/ > Hitt. /*páH<sup>w</sup>r*/, *pa-aḫ-ḫur* ‘fire’; \**tieh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* > PAnat. \*/*tiaHoi-*/ > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>aHai-*/, *za-aḫ-ḫa-i-* ‘battle’; \**h<sub>1</sub>nd<sup>h</sup>uéh<sub>2</sub>ōs* > PAnat. \*/*nduáHōs*/ > Hitt. /*nduáHas*/, *an-tu-ua-aḫ-ḫa-aš* ‘human being’; \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>o-* > PAnat. \*/*HuHo-*/ > Hitt. /*HuHa-*/, *ḫu-uh-ḫa-* ‘grandfather’; \**méh<sub>2</sub>ur* > PAnat.

<sup>160</sup> Note that in *ú-ua-an-zi* /*ʔuánt<sup>s</sup>i*/ ‘they see’ < \**Hu-énti* and *ú-ua-a-tar* /*ʔuádr*/ ‘inspection’ < \**Hu-ótr* the /*r*/ must be restored on the basis of e.g. *ú-me-e-ni* /*ʔuméni*/ ‘we see’ and *uš-te-e-ni* /*ʔusténi*/ ‘you see’. The form *ú-ua-an-ši-ke/a-* ‘to copulate (impf.)’ = /*ʔuənsike/a-*/ goes back to \**h<sub>1/3</sub>unské/ó-* in which the initial laryngeal is regularly retained before vocalic -*u-*.



\*/méh<sup>w</sup>r/ > Hitt. /méh<sup>w</sup>r/, *me-e-ḫur* ‘period, time’ (with lenition); \**nóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > PAnat. \*/nóhē/ > Hitt. /náhi/, *na-a-ḫi* ‘he fears’ (with lenition); etc.

\**Vh<sub>1/3</sub>V*: \**h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-eu-eies* > PAnat. \*/Hé?euēs/ > early OH /Hé?aues/, *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš* (OS) > late OH /Héaues/, *ḫé-e-ja-u-e-š=a* (OS) ‘rains (nom.pl.)’;<sup>161</sup> \**néih<sub>1/3</sub>-o* > PAnat. \*/né?o/ > early OH /né?a/, *ne-e-a* > younger Hitt. /néa/, *ne-e-ja* ‘he turns, leads’; \**dóh<sub>3</sub>ei* > PAnat. \*/dó?ē/ > early OH /tá?i/, *da-a-i* > younger Hitt. /tái/, *da-a-i* ‘he takes’.

1.4.5.c	PIE	PAnat.	Hitt.
	* <i>Vh<sub>2</sub>T</i>		
	* <i>Vh<sub>3</sub>T</i>	* <i>/V?T/</i>	>
	* <i>Vh<sub>1</sub>T</i>		/ <i>VT</i> /

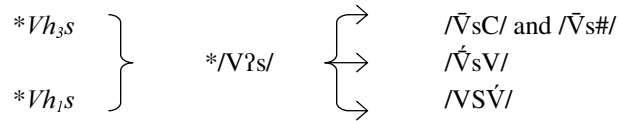
(*T* = any stop, but not \**s*)

Note that PAnat. \*/*V?DV*/ (in which *D* = any lenis stop) yields Hitt. /*VDV*/, whereas \*/*V?D’V*/ yields Hitt. /*VT’V*/, showing fortition of \*/*D*/ due to assimilation with /*ʔ*/.

Examples: \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>t* > PAnat. \*/dé?t/ > Hitt. /tét/, *te-e-et* ‘he said’; \**léh<sub>2</sub>pt(o)* > PAnat. \*/lá?pto/ > Hitt. /láp̄ta/, *la-a-ap-ta* ‘it glowed’; \**séh<sub>2</sub>goi-* > PAnat. \*/sá?gai-/ > Hitt. /sáḡai-/ , *ša-a-ga-i* ‘sign, omen’; \**uóh<sub>2</sub>gei* > pre-Hitt. \*/uó?gē/ > Hitt. /uáḡi/, *ua-a-ki* ‘he bites’; \**uh<sub>2</sub>génti* >> \*/u?gánti/ > pre-Hitt. /uə?gánti/ > Hitt. /uəkánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ua-ak-kán-zi* ‘they bite’; \**dóh<sub>3</sub>th<sub>2</sub>e* > PAnat. \*/dó?ta/ > Hitt. /táta/, *da-a-at-ta* ‘you took’.

1.4.5.d	PIE	PAnat.	Hitt.
	* <i>Vh<sub>2</sub>s</i>	* <i>/VHs/</i>	>
			/ <i>VHs</i> /

<sup>161</sup> This form shows that the lost of intervocalic /*ʔ*/ is a late OH phenomenon.

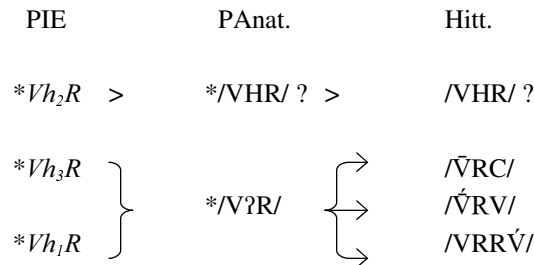


Examples:

\* $Vh_2s$ : \* $péh_2so$  > PAnat. \*/páHsol/ > Hitt. /páHsa/, *pa-aḫ-ša* ‘he protects’;  
 \* $h_1nd^huh_2sos$  > PAnat. \*/ṽnduHsos/ > Hitt. /ṽnduHsas/, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* ‘human  
 being (gen.sg.)’; \* $pleh_2so-$  > PAnat. \*/plaHso-/ > Hitt. /plaHsa-/, *pa-la-aḫ-ša-*, a  
 garment.

\* $Vh_{1/3}s$ : \* $d^héh_1s$  > PAnat. \*/déṽs/ > Hitt. /tés/, *te-e-eš* ‘you said’; \* $d^héh_1si$  >  
 PAnat. \*/déṽsi/ > Hitt. /tési/, *te-e-ši* ‘you say’; \* $h_1éh_1so$  > PAnat. \*/ṽéṽso/ > Hitt.  
 /ṽésa/, *e-ša* ‘he sits down’; \* $póh_3sei$  > PAnat. \*/póṽsē/ > Hitt. /pási/, *pa-a-ši* ‘he  
 sips’; \* $poh_3suénti$  > PAnat. \*/poṽsuánti/ > Hitt. /pāSuánti/, *pa-a-aš-šu-ua-an-zi*  
 ‘to sip’ (with analogical -ā-); \* $h_2eh_1seh_2-$  > PAnat. \*/Haṽsá-/ > Hitt. /HaSā-/, *ḫa-*  
*aš-ša-a-* ‘hearth’.

1.4.5.e



Examples:

\* $Vh_2R$ :<sup>162</sup> \* $meh_2roi-(?)$  > PAnat. \*/maHroi-/ > Hitt. /maHrai-/, *ma-aḫ-ra-i-*, a  
 body part of animals; \* $tieh_2roi-$  > PAnat. \*/tiaHroi-/ > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>aHrai-/, *za-aḫ-ra-i-*  
 ‘knocker(?)’; \* $móh_2lo-(?)$  > PAnat. \*/móHlo-/ > Hitt. /máHla-/, *ma-a-aḫ-la-*  
 ‘branch of a grapevine’.

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<sup>162</sup> Because all examples are not fully ascertained, this sound law must be regarded as provisional. Note however that Kimball’s example (1999: 400) in favour of a development \* $Vh_2nV$  > Hitt.  $VnnV$  is incorrect, see at *uammum(m)iiā-*. In word-final position, note the difference between \* $séh_2n$  > Hitt. /sáHn/, *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an* ‘feudal service’ and \* $duéh_2m$  > Hitt. /tuán/, *tu-ua-a-an* ‘to this side’. The latter development may be PIE already, which is commonly referred to as ‘Stang’s Law’.

\**Vh<sub>1/3</sub>R*: \**h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>mn* > PANat. \*/lólóm̥n/ > Hitt. /lám̥n/, *la-a-ma-an* ‘name’;  
 \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>no-* > PANat. \*/tiéʔno-/ > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>éna-/ *zé-e-na-* ‘autumn’; \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>mi* >  
 PANat. \*/déʔmi/ > Hitt. /témi/, *te-e-mi* ‘I say’; \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>ri-* > PANat. \*/tiéʔri-/ > Hitt.  
 /t<sup>s</sup>éri-/ *ze-e-ri-* ‘cup’; \**h<sub>3</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>nóh<sub>3</sub>-* > PANat. \*/Hoʔnáʔ-/ Hitt. /HaNá-/ *ha-an-na-*  
 ‘to sue’.

1.4.5.f

PIE	PAnat.	Hitt.	
* <i>Th<sub>2</sub>V</i>	* <i>/TʔV/</i>	>	/TV/
* <i>Th<sub>3</sub>V</i>			
* <i>Th<sub>1</sub>V</i>			

(*T* = any stop, but not \**s*)

Note that \**VDh<sub>2</sub>V* (in which *D* = any lenis stop) yields Hitt. /VTV/, i.e. the \**D* is fortited to /T/ due to assimilation to the following \**h<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>163</sup>

Examples: \**-th<sub>2</sub>e* > PANat. \*/-tʔa/ > Hitt. /-ta/, <sup>o</sup>*t-ta*, 2sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation; \**dh<sub>3</sub>énti* > PANat. \*/dʔánti/ > Hitt. /tánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *da-an-zi* ‘they take’;  
 \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei* > PANat. \*/tʔóiẽ/ > Hitt. /tái/, *da-a-i* ‘he places’; \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>iénti* > PANat.  
 \*/dʔiánti/ > Hitt. /tiánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ti-an-zi* ‘they place’;<sup>164</sup> \**még<sub>h</sub>h<sub>2</sub>-i* > PANat. \*/mékʔi-/ >  
 Hitt. /mék<sup>s</sup>i-/ *me-ek-ki-* ‘much, many’; \**b<sup>h</sup>od<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>ei* > PANat. \*/batʔai/ > Hitt.  
 /patai/, *pád-da-i* ‘he digs’; \**g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-ei* > PANat. \*/gróbʔẽ/ > Hitt. /krábi/, *ga-ra-a-*  
*pí* ‘he devours’.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> This fortition may have been PANatolian already, if indeed CLuw. *-dduyar(i)* (2pl.midd.-ending) reflects \**-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>u-*, see at *-ttuma(ri)*, *-ttumat(i)*, and cf. Melchert 1994a: 77.

<sup>164</sup> This latter example shows that the laryngeal must have been present up to the times of assibilation of dentals by a following *-i-*. Because this assibilation is pre-Hittite only, and not Proto-Anatolian, the laryngeal was still present at the PANatolian stage, hence the PANat. reconstruction \*/TʔV/.

<sup>165</sup> This latter example shows that \**h<sub>1</sub>* does not fortite a preceding \**D*.

1.4.5.g	PIE	PAnat.	Hitt.
	*sh <sub>2</sub> V	> */sHV/	> /sHV/
	*sh <sub>3</sub> V	} */sʔV/	> /SV/
	*sh <sub>1</sub> V		

Examples:

\*sh<sub>2</sub>V: \*sh<sub>2</sub>óiei > PAnat. \*/sHóiē/ > Hitt. /isHái/, iš-*ḫa-a-i* ‘he binds’; \*h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r > PAnat. \*/ʔésHr/ > Hitt. /ʔésHr/, e-eš-*ḫar* ‘blood’; \*h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>ó- > PAnat. \*/ʔesHó-/ > Hitt. /ʔisHái-, iš-*ḫa-a-* ‘master’.

\*sh<sub>1/3</sub>V: \*h<sub>2</sub>ltish<sub>1</sub>énti > PAnat. \*/Hltisʔánti/ > Hitt. /Hlt<sup>s</sup>iSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi* ‘they call (impf.)’; si-sh<sub>1</sub>-i-ént- > PAnat. \*/sisʔiánt-/ > Hitt. /siSiánt-, ši-iš-ši-ia-an-t- ‘sealed’.

1.4.5.h	PIE	Hitt.
	*#Rh <sub>2</sub> V	} /#RV/
	*#Rh <sub>3</sub> V	
	*#Rh <sub>1</sub> V	

Examples: \*h<sub>1</sub>énti > Hitt. /lánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *la-an-zi* ‘they loosen’; \*h<sub>1</sub>uti- > Hitt. /lu<sup>s</sup>i-/, *lu-uz-zi-* ‘public duty’; \*mh<sub>2</sub>óiei > Hitt. /mái/, *ma-a-i* ‘he grows’.

1.4.5.i	PIE	PAnat.	Hitt.
	*CR <sub>2</sub> V	} */CRHV/	> /CRHV/
	*CR <sub>3</sub> V		
	*CR <sub>1</sub> V	> */CRʔV/	> /CRʔV/

Examples:

PAnat. \*/CRHV/: \*plh<sub>2</sub>-i- > PAnat. \*/plHi-/ > Hitt. /plHi-/ *pal-ḫi-* ‘broad’; \*b<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2,3</sub>énti > PAnat. \*/brHánti/ > Hitt. /prHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *pár-(aḫ-)ḫa-an-zi* ‘they pursue’; \*trh<sub>2</sub>uénti > PAnat. \*/trH<sup>w</sup>ánti/ > Hitt. /trH<sup>w</sup>ánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *tar-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi* ‘they conquer’; \*ulh<sub>3</sub>énti > PAnat. \*/ulHánti/ > Hitt. /uəlHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ua-al-(aḫ-)ḫa-an-zi* ‘they hit’.

PAnat. \*/CR?V/: \*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei > PAnat. \*/pripr?áiē/ > Hitt. /pripr?ái/, *pa-ri-pa-ra-a-i* ‘he blows’;<sup>166</sup> \*ǵrh<sub>1</sub>ód- > PAnat. \*/gr?ód-/ > Hitt. /kr?ád-/ *ka-ra-a-t°* ‘entrails’; \*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>iéti > PAnat. \*/r?iéti/ > Hitt. /r?iét<sup>s</sup>i/, *a-ri-e-ez-zi* ‘he consults an oracle’.

1.4.5.j	PIE	Hitt.
	*VRh <sub>2</sub> V	} /VRRV/
	*VRh <sub>3</sub> V	
	*VRh <sub>1</sub> V	

Examples: \*h<sub>1</sub>órh<sub>1</sub>ei > Hitt. /r?áRi/, *a-ar-ri* ‘he washes himself’; \*tinh<sub>1</sub>énti > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>iNánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *zi-in-na-an-zi* ‘they finish’; \*molh<sub>2</sub>ei > Hitt. /maLai/, *ma-al-la-i* ‘he mills’; \*h<sub>2</sub>orh<sub>3</sub>ei > Hitt. /HaRai/, *ḫar-ra-i* ‘he grinds’.

1.4.5.j Interconsonantly, all three laryngeals are lost,<sup>167</sup> but there are only a few good examples: \*plth<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>o- > Hitt. /pltsHa-/ *pal-za-aḫ-ḫa-*, *pal-za-aš-ḫa-* ‘pedestal’; \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ské/ó- > early OH /tské/á-/ *za-aš-ke/a-* > late OH /tsiké/á-/ *zi-ik-ke/a-*, ‘to place (impf.)’; \*h<sub>1,3</sub>uenh<sub>1</sub>-ti > Hitt. /uent<sup>s</sup>i/, *ú-en-zi* ‘he copulates’; \*uorh<sub>1</sub>ǵent- > Hitt. /uargant-/ *ua-ar-kán-t-* ‘fat’; \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>-oi- > Hitt. /tsHai-/ *za-aš-ḫa-i-* ‘dream’; \*ǵénh<sub>1</sub>-su- > Hitt. /ként<sup>s</sup>u-/ *ge-en-zu-* ‘lap’.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> This example is crucial. If \*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei would have yielded Hitt. \*\*/priprái/, without retention of \*h<sub>1</sub> as /l/, it would have been spelled \*\**pa-ri-ip-ra-a-i*.

<sup>167</sup> I regard the seeming retention of interconsonantal laryngeals in e.g. *pár-aḫ-zi* = /párHt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2,3</sub>ti and *ua-al-aḫ-zi* = /uálHt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \*uélh<sub>3</sub>ti as secondary: the laryngeal must have been restored on the basis of 3pl.pres. \*b<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2,3</sub>énti and \*ulh<sub>3</sub>énti where it was regularly retained.

<sup>168</sup> This latter example shows that the loss of \*h<sub>1</sub> predates the development \*eRCC > Hitt. /aRCC/.

In clusters containing resonants and *-s-*, there is often a different outcome when a laryngeal is part of it, e.g. *\*VmsV* > Hitt. /VSV/, but *\*VmHsV* > Hitt. /VnsV/. See for details at the treatment of *\*s*, §1.4.4.3.

1.4.5.k Word-finally, the laryngeals are all lost. Note that in *\*Cuh<sub>2</sub>#* the *\*u* is lowered to /o/ and in *\*Cih<sub>2</sub>#* the *\*i* to /e/.

Examples: *\*léh<sub>1</sub>* > Hitt. /lé/, *le-e* ‘not’ (prohib.); *\*lôh<sub>1</sub>* > Hitt. /lâl/, *la-a* ‘let go!’; *\*duoiom* *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>ih<sub>1</sub>* > Hitt. /tānHasti/, *da-a-an-ḫa-aš-ti* ‘double-bone’; *\*mih<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>* > Hitt. /miés/, *mi-i-e-eš* ‘be gentle!’; *\*sókh<sub>1</sub>* > Hitt. /sák/, *ša-a-ak* ‘know!’; *\*mégh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. /mék/, *me-e-ek* ‘many, numerous (nom.-acc.sg.n.)’; *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. *-a*, nom.-acc.pl.n.-ending; *\*sókh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. /sáḡ<sup>w</sup>al/, *ša-a-ku-ua* ‘eyes (nom.-acc.pl.)’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>suh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. /ṽáSo/, *a-aš-šu-u* ‘goods (nom.-acc.pl.)’; *\*kih<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. /kel/, *ke-e* ‘these (nom.-acc.pl.)’; *\*dôh<sub>3</sub>* > Hitt. /tâl/, *da-a* ‘take!’.<sup>169</sup>

### 1.4.6 Liquids

#### *\*l*

1.4.6.1 PIE *\*l* in principle is retained in Hittite as /l/, except in the environments *\*VIHV* > Hitt. /VLV/ and *\*VIHsC* > Hitt. /VLsC/ where assimilation of the laryngeal to the preceding *\*l* results in a fortis /L/.

Examples: *\*lôh<sub>1</sub>ei* > Hitt. /lâi/, *la-a-i* ‘he releases’; *\*lôḡ<sup>h</sup>ei* > Hitt. /lâgi/, *la-a-ki* ‘he makes fall down’; *\*léuk-to* > Hitt. /lúktal/, *lu-uk-ta* ‘it dawn’s’; *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-i* > Hitt. /plHi-/ , *pal-ḫi-* ‘wide, broad’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>l(e/o)ug<sup>h</sup>o-* > Hitt. /Hluga-/ or /Hlūga-/ , *ḫa-lu-ka-* ‘message’; *\*séuh<sub>1</sub>-el* > Hitt. /sûil/, *šu-ú-il* ‘thread’; *\*molh<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /maLai/, *ma-al-la-i* ‘he mills’; *\*kélh<sub>1</sub>st(o)* > Hitt. /káListal/, *kal-li-iš-ta* ‘he called’.

#### Fortition

1.4.6.1.a From MH times onwards, we occasionally find fortition of intervocalic /l/ to /L/, e.g. *uš-tu-la-aš* (OS) > *ṽa-aš-túl-la-aš* (MH/MS) ‘sin (gen.sg.)’ ; *ṽa-aš-du-ú-li* (MH/MS) > *ṽa-aš-túl-li* (NS) ‘sin (dat.-loc.sg.)’; *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aḫ-ḫ<sup>o</sup>* (NS) > *iš-ḫi-ul-la-aḫ-ḫ<sup>o</sup>* (NH) ‘to bind by treaty’. Whether we are dealing with a phonetically regular process is unclear, cf. Melchert 1994a: 165.

<sup>169</sup> Seeming retention of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* as /H/ in word-final position in words like *ma-ni-ṽa-aḫ* ‘distribute!’ < virtual *\*mniéh<sub>2</sub>* and *ṽa-al-aḫ* ‘strike!’ < virtual *\*uélh<sub>3</sub>* is of course due to restoration in analogy to the rest of the paradigm.

### \*r

1.4.6.2 PIE \*r is in principle retained in Hittite as /r/, except in \*VrHV > /VRV/ and \*VrsV > Hitt. /VRV/ where assimilation of the laryngeal and of \*s to the preceding \*r results in a fortis /R/.

Examples: \*h<sub>1</sub>rénti > Hitt. /ránt<sup>s</sup>i/, a-ra-an-zi ‘they arrive’; \*sro > Hitt. /srā/, ša-ra-a ‘upwards’; \*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-i- > Hitt. /Hrgi-/ , ḫar-ki- ‘white’, \*sr-li- > Hitt. /srli-/ , šar-li- ‘superior’; \*spórei > Hitt. /ispári/, iš-pa-a-ri ‘he spreads out’; \*kérsti > Hitt. /kárst<sup>s</sup>i/, kar-aš-zi ‘he cuts’; \*h<sub>1</sub>ésri- > Hitt. /rÉSri-/ , e-eš(-ša)-ri- ‘shape, image’; \*supr-ié/ó- > Hitt. /suprié/á-/ , šu-up-pa-ri-ia- ‘to sleep’; \*h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r > Hitt. /rÉS<sup>h</sup>r/, e-eš-ḫar ‘blood’; \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ésr > Hitt. /kéSt/, ke-eš-šar ‘hand’; \*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-ér > Hitt. /piér/, pí-i-e-er ‘they gave’; \*kér > Hitt. /kérl/, ke-er ‘heart’; etc.

Assimilation: \*h<sub>1</sub>ór<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>ei > Hitt. /râRi/, a-ar-ri ‘he washes himself’; \*h<sub>2</sub>or<sup>h</sup><sub>3</sub>ei > Hitt. /HaRai/, ḫar-ra-i ‘he grinds’; \*h<sub>1</sub>orso- > Hitt. /RaRa-/ , a-ar-ra- ‘arse’.

### Loss

1.4.6.2.a Word-final \*r is lost after unaccentuated \*o or \*ō.<sup>170</sup> This is only visible in the endings of the middle (for which see especially Yoshida 1990: 112f.) and in the nom.-acc.pl.-forms of neuters in -r/n-.

Examples: \*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-or > Hitt. /rÉsal/, e-ša ‘he sits down’ vs. \*tuk-ór +i > Hitt. /tukáril/, du-ug-ga-a-ri ‘is visible’; \*uoh<sub>2</sub>ǵéh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-ōr > Hitt. /uagÉSal/, ūa-ag-ge-eš-ša, a kind of bread (nom.-acc.pl.), and \*h<sub>2</sub>t-ótōr > Hitt. /Htádal/, ḫa-at-ta-a-da ‘wisdom (nom.-acc.pl.)’ vs. \*udór > Hitt. /uádr/, ú-i-da-a-ar ‘waters (nom.-acc.pl.)’.

### Fortition

1.4.6.2.b From MH times onwards we occasionally find fortition of intervocalic /r/ to /R/: an-tu-u-ri-ia-, an-tu-ri-ia- vs. an-dur-ri-ia- (NS) ‘interior’; a-ku-ut-ta-rV-, a-ku-ut-tar-a<sup>o</sup> vs. a-ku-ut-tar-ra- (NS) ‘drinker’; ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az (OS) vs. ḫa-ap-pár-ra-az (NS) ‘business (abl.)’; ḫa-a-ra-na-aš (OS) vs. ḫar-ra-n[a-aš] (NS) ‘eagle (gen.sg.)’; iš-pa-ra-an-zi (OS) vs. iš-pár-ra-an-zi (MS, NS) ‘they strew’; iš-pa-ru-uz-zi (OH/NS) vs. iš-pár-ru-uz-zi (MH/MS) ‘rafter’; kat-te-ra- (MS), kat-te-e-

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Eichner 1973: 98<sup>78</sup>, Melchert 1994a: 87 and Kimball 1999: 354-5. Eichner formulates the rule too broad (“[a]uslautendes -r schwindet generell nach unbetontem Vokal”): compare Kimball who points out that loss is only found after the vowel -a- (retention of \*r after unaccentuated \*u is visible in e.g. \*péh<sub>2</sub>ur > Hitt. pa-aḫ-ḫur ‘fire’; Eichner’s example \*pérur > Hitt. pé-e-ru rather shows dissimilation due to the first -r-). Note that Eichner explains the final -r in ūātar ‘water’ as analogical after nom.-acc.pl. ūidār, but this is unnecessary: Hitt. ūātar represents /uádr/ < \*uódr in which \*r never stood after a vowel.

*ra-* (MS) vs. *kat-te-er-ra-* (NS) ‘lower, inferior’; *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-ia-an-t-* vs. *ge-nu-šar-ri-ia-an-t-* (NS) ‘kneeling’; *me-re-er* (OS) vs. *me-er-ra-a-an-ta-ru* (NS), *me-er-ra-an-t-* (NS) ‘to disappear’; *na-aḥ-ša-ra-az* (MH/MS) vs. *na-aḥ-šar-ra-az* (NS) ‘fear (abl.)’; *pa-ra-a-an-ta* (OS) vs. *pár-ra-an-ta* (MH/MS) ‘across (to)’; *ta-pa-ri-ia-* vs. *ta-pár-ri-ia-* (NH) ‘to rule’; etc.

If we compare words like *pé-e-ra-an*, which remains thus throughout Hittite, it is difficult to interpret this phenomenon as a phonetically regular development. Perhaps we are dealing with mere variation in spelling (note that most examples show a sign *CVC*: *dur*, *tar*, *pár*, *ḥar*, *šar*; but this does not go for *me-er-ra-* and *kat-te-er-ra-*). Cf. Melchert (1994a: 165-6) for another interpretation.

#### *Dissimilation*

- 1.4.6.2.c In OH *ú-ra-a-ni* /urʔáni/, MH/NH *ya-ra-a-ni* /uərʔáni/ ‘burns’ < \**urh<sub>1</sub>-ór+i* we encounter dissimilation of the second \**r* to Hitt. /n/ due to the first one.

### 1.4.7 Nasals

#### **\*m**

- 1.4.7.1 Word-initially before vowels, \**m* is retained as /m/: \**mégh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. /mék/, *me-e-ek* ‘many’ (nom.-acc.sg.n.); \**mérti* > Hitt. /mért<sup>s</sup>i/, *me-er-zi* ‘he disappears’; \**móld<sup>h</sup>ei* > Hitt. /máldi/, *ma-a-al-di* ‘he recites’; etc.

Word-initially before stops, we would expect that \**mC-* yields Hitt. /mC-/, phonetically realized as [ə̃mC-]. The only example is \**md<sup>h</sup>ró-* > Hitt. /ndrá-/, *anta-ra-a-* ‘blue’, where \**m* is assimilated to /n/ due to the following /d/, however. In all other cases where we are dealing with \**mT-* (in which *T* = any stop), this sequence is the zero-grade of a root \**meT-*, on the basis of which the regular outcome /mT-/ = [ə̃mT-] has been altered to /mə̃T-/: \**mgh<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-* > Hitt. /məkés-/, *ma-ak-ke-e-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* ‘to become abundant’ (belonging to *mekk(i)-* ‘many, much’). Note that if *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’ indeed reflects \**mh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / \**mh<sub>2</sub>-i-*, it would show that \**mh<sub>2</sub>V* > Hitt. /mV-/.

Word-initially before resonant, \**mR-* yields Hitt. /mR-/: \**mlit-* > Hitt. /mlit-/, *ma-li-it-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘honey’; \**mnieh<sub>2</sub>-* > Hitt. /mniaH-/, *ma-ni-ia-aḥ-ḥ<sup>o</sup>* ‘to distribute’; \**mréntu* > Hitt. /mrántu/, *ma-ra-an-du* ‘they must disappear’; \**mr-nu-* > Hitt. /mrnu-/, *mar-nu-* ‘to cause to disappear’.



1.4.7.1.a For the word-internal position, it is best to treat the different phonetic surroundings separately.

\**CmV* > Hitt. /CmV/: \**h<sub>2</sub>méh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>o-* > Hitt. /HmésHa-/ *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-* ‘spring’;  
\**smén-ti* > Hitt. /smént<sup>s</sup>i/, *ša-me-en-zi* ‘he passes by’<sup>171</sup>; \**tménkti* > Hitt.  
/tmékt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ta-me-ek-zi* ‘he attaches’.

\**CmT* (in which *T* = any stop) > Hitt. /CaT/ with fortition of the stop: \**kmt-o* >  
Hitt. /kata/, *kat-ta* ‘downwards’; \**kmb<sup>(h)</sup>-i* > Hitt. /kapi-/ *kap-pí-* ‘small,  
little’.

\**CmsV* > Hitt. /Cnt<sup>s</sup>V/: \**h<sub>2</sub>msósio-* > Hitt. /Hnt<sup>s</sup>áSa-/ *ḫa-an-za-a-aš-ša-*  
‘offspring’.

\**Cms#* > OH /<sup>o</sup>Cus/, <sup>o</sup>Cu(-ú)-uš > NH /<sup>o</sup>Cos/, <sup>o</sup>Cu(-u)-uš (acc.pl.c.-ending).

\**CmHsV* > Hitt. /CniSV/: \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /HniSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ḫa-ne-iš-ša-an-zi* ‘they  
wipe’; \**tmh<sub>2</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /tmīSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *da-me-iš-ša-an-zi* ‘they press’ (with  
restored /m/ on the basis of strong stem /tmāS-/).

\**CmnC* > Hitt. /CminC/: \**h<sub>2</sub>mnġ<sup>h</sup>énti* > Hitt. /Hmīngánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ḫa-me-in-kán-zi* ‘they  
betroth’; \**tmnkénti* > Hitt. /tmīnkánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ta-me-en-kán-zi* ‘they attach’.

\**CmnV* > Hitt. /CMnV/: *smnoġé-* > Hitt. /sMnāé-/ *ša-am(-ma)-na-a-e<sup>o</sup>* ‘to  
create’; \**smnénti* > Hitt. /sMnánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ša-am-na-an-zi* ‘they pass by’;<sup>172</sup>  
\**h<sub>1</sub>rmnié/ó-* > Hitt. /rMnió-/ *ar-ma-ni-ja-* ‘to become ill’; \**h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>mnié/ó-* >  
Hitt. /ləMnié/á-/ *lam(-ma)-ni-ja-* ‘to name’.

\**CmiV* > Hitt. /CmiV/, \**septmió-* > Hitt. /siptmiá-/ *ši-ip-ta-mi-ja-* ‘seven-drink’.

\**VmV* > OH /VmV/: \**imié/ó-* > OH /imié/á-/ *i-mi-e<sup>o</sup>*, *i-mi-ja-* (see § 1.4.7.1.c  
below for the conditioned fortition of OH /VmV/ > NH /VMV/).

\**VmT* (in which *T* = any stop) > Hitt. /VmT/: \**tomp-u-* > Hitt. /tampu-/ *dam-pu*  
‘blunt’.

\**VmsV* > Hitt. /VSV/: \**h<sub>2</sub>éms-u-* > Hitt. /HáSu-/ *ḫa-aš-šu-* ‘king’. That this  
assimilation took place very early is visible from the fact that the outcome /S/  
is affected by the lenition rules: \**h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei* > \*/HóSē/ > Hitt. /Hási/, *ḫa-a-ši*  
‘she gives birth’.

\**Vms#* > Hitt. /Vs#/: \*<sup>o</sup>Coms > OH /<sup>o</sup>Cus/, <sup>o</sup>Cu(-ú)-uš > NH /<sup>o</sup>Cos/, <sup>o</sup>Cu(-u)-uš  
(acc.pl.c.-ending).

\**VmHsV* > Hitt. /VnsV/: \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>sei* > Hitt. /ʔánsi/, *a-a-an-ši* ‘he wipes’.

<sup>171</sup> Also attested as *še-me-en-zi* and *ši-me-en-zi* = /simént<sup>s</sup>i/.

<sup>172</sup> Note that this form is not attested with the spelling \*\**ša-am-ma-na-an-zi*. This could either be ascribed to chance, or it could indicate that in this form the lenis /m/ of the singular, \**smén-* > /smén-/ *-,* has been introduced. The form is also attested as *še-em-na-an-zi* = /simnánt<sup>s</sup>i/, cf. note 171.

- \**VmHsC* > Hitt. /*VMisCl*: \**demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>ó-* > Hitt. /*taMisHá-l*, *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a* ‘damaging’.
- \**VmHs#* > Hitt. /*Vnis*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s* > Hitt. /*Hánis*/, *ḫa-a-ni-iš*, *ḫa-a-ni-eš* ‘wipe!’ (with restored *ḫ-*).
- \**VmnV* > Hitt. /*VMV*/, unless when part of a paradigm<sup>173</sup>: \**h<sub>2</sub>imno-* > Hitt. /*HiMa-l*, *ḫi-im-ma-* ‘imitation’; \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>imnént-* > Hitt. /*kiMánt-l*, *gi-im-ma-an-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘winter’.
- \**Vmn#* > Hitt. /*Vmn*/: \**h<sub>1</sub>érmn* > Hitt. /*érmn*/, *e-er-ma-an* ‘illness’; \**h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>mn* > Hitt. /*lám*/, *la-a-ma-an* ‘name’.
- \**VmrV* > Hitt. /*VMrV*/: \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>imro-* > Hitt. /*kiMra-l*, *gi-im(-ma)-ra-* ‘field’.
- \**Vmr#* > Hitt. /*VMr*/: \**nómr* > NH /*láMr*/, *lam-mar* ‘moment’.<sup>174</sup>

1.4.7.1.b Word-finally after vowel: \**Vm#* > Hitt. /*Vn#*/: \**pérom* > Hitt. /*péran*/, *pé-e-ra-an*; \**h<sub>2</sub>érg-i-m* > Hitt. /*Hárgin*/, *ḫar-ki-in* ‘white’ (acc.sg.c.); \**kóm* > Hitt. /*kón*/, *ku-u-un* ‘this (one)’ (acc.sg.c.); etc.

Wordfinally after consonant: \**°Cm* > OH /*°Cun*/<sup>175</sup> > NH /*°Con*/<sup>176</sup>: \**h<sub>1</sub>épm* > OH /*épun*/, *e-ep-pu-un* > NH /*épon*/, *e-ep-pu-u-un* ‘I seized’.

#### Fortition

1.4.7.1.c From MH times onwards, we encounter fortition of intervocalic /*m*/ to /*M*/: *a-mi-ia-an-t-* (MS) > *am-mi-ia-an-t-* (NS) ‘small’; *i-mi-ia-* (OH/MS) > *im-mi-ia-* (MH/MS, NS) ‘to mingle’; *i-mi-ú-l=a-aš* (MS) > *im-mi-ú-ul* (NS) ‘grain mix’; *kar-di-mi-ia-* (OS) > *kar-tim-mi-ia-* (MS, NS) ‘to be angry’; *la-a-ma-an* (MS) > *la-a-am-ma-a(n)=m-mi-it* (NS) ‘name’; *mu-mi-ia-* (MS) > *mu-um-mi-ia-* (NS) ‘to fall’; *-nu-me-e-ni* (OS, MS) > *-nu-um-me-ni* (NS) 1pl.pres.act.-ending of causatives in *-nu-*; *pé-e-tu-me-e-ni* (OS) > *pé-e-du-um-me-e-ni* (NS), *pé-e-tum-me-e-ni* (NS) ‘we transport’; *šu-me-eš* (OS) > *šu-um-me-eš* (NH) ‘you’; *šu-ma-an-za-n<sup>o</sup>* (OS, MS) > *šum-ma-an-za-n<sup>o</sup>* (NS) ‘bulrush’; etc.

Because in none of these words the gemination has been carried out consistently, it is not fully clear whether we are dealing with a phonetic development or not. Prof. Melchert informs me that due to the loss of mimation in Akkadian (i.e. signs of the shape *CVm* could now also be used in words where no

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 81.

<sup>174</sup> This form shows that fortition of \**m* in front of *-r-* postdates the lenition of intervocalic fortis consonants due to a preceding \**ó* (including \**-óCr#*, cf. \**-óir* > Hitt. *-ātar*).

<sup>175</sup> Or /*°Cū*/, cf. note 83.

<sup>176</sup> Or /*°Cū*/, cf. note 83.

-m- is present), these cases of gemination of -m- can be accounted for as a graphical phenomenon. Although this indeed would work for e.g. *kar-tim-mi-ia-*, *pé-e-tum-me-e-ni* and *šum-ma-an-za-n°*, I do not see how this practice can explain *im-mi-ú-ul*, *mu-um-mi-ia-* or *šu-um-me-eš*, where an extra sign with the value *Vm* is used. In view of the virtual absence of gemination in cases like *mēma/i-* ‘to speak’ (although some occasional spellings with *me-em-m°* do occur in NS texts), we could perhaps assume that at the end of the NH period the beginning of a phonetic development through which an intervocalic -m- following an unaccentuated vowel is being geminated can be observed (compare also the occasional NH fortition of intervocalic -n- in § 1.4.7.2.e).

### \*n

1.4.7.2 Word-initially before vowels, \*n is retained as /n/: *\*néb<sup>h</sup>es* > Hitt. /*nébis*/, *ne-e-pí-iš* ‘heaven’; *néuo-* > Hitt. /*néua-l*, *ne-e-ua-* ‘new’; *\*nóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /*náhi*/, *na-a-ḫi* ‘he fears’; *\*nuk<sup>w</sup>e* > Hitt. /*nuk<sup>w</sup>*/, *nu-uk-ku* ‘and now’; etc.

Word-initially before consonants, \*nC- regularly yields Hitt. /nC-/ , phonetically realized as [ənC-]: *\*nsós* > Hitt. /*nt<sup>s</sup>ás*/, *an-za-a-aš* ‘us’. If *amiánt-* ‘small’ really reflects \*n- + *mijant-*, it would show /*əmiánt-* < *\*/ənmíánt-* (cf. e.g. *ku-e-mi* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>énmi*/ for loss of -n- in *\*VnmV*).

In cases where \*nC- is the zero-grade of a root \*neC-, the regular outcome /nC-/ = [ənC-] has been secondarily altered to /nəC-/ in analogy to the full-grade: *\*nh<sub>2</sub>ént-* > Hitt. /*nəHánt-*/, *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-t°* ‘fearing’ (on the basis of *\*nóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > *na-a-ḫi*).

1.4.7.2.a For word-internal position, it is best to treat the different environments separately.

*\*CnV* > Hitt. /CnV/: *\*h<sub>2</sub>nénti* > Hitt. /*Hnánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ḫa-na-an-zi* ‘they draw water’; *smnoié-* > Hitt. /*sMnāé-*/, *ša-am(-ma)-na-a-e°* ‘to create’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵnou-* > Hitt. /*Hrgnau-*/, *ḫar-ga-na-u-* ‘palm, sole’; etc.

*\*CnT* (in which *T* = any stop) > Hitt. /CnT/: *\*h<sub>1</sub>ndo* > Hitt. /*ʔnda*/, *an-da* ‘inwards’; *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-* > Hitt. /*pngu-*/, *pa-an-ku-* ‘entire, complete’ (if not from *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ong<sup>h</sup>-u-*).

*\*CnsV* > Hitt. /Cn<sup>s</sup>V/: *\*nsós* > Hitt. /*nt<sup>s</sup>ás*/, *an-za-a-aš* ‘us’.

*\*CnHsV* > Hitt. /Cn<sup>i</sup>SV/: *\*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /*kniSánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ka-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* ‘they recognize’.

*\*CnHsC* > Hitt. /CəSiC/: *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>ské/ó-* > Hitt. /*HəSiké/á-*/, *ḫa-aš-ši-ke/a-* ‘to sue (impf.)’.

*\*CnmV*: this sequence may be visible in *ša-aḫ-ḫa-[m]e-et* (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 ii 24) // *ša-aḫ-ḫa-mi-it* (KBo 6.3 ii 38) ‘my *šahḫan*’ < *\*séh<sub>2</sub>n=met*. If correct,

these forms must be phonologically interpreted as /saHəmet/ parallel to *a-mi-ja-an-t- = /əmiant-/ < \*/ənmiant-/ < \*n-mi̯ant-.*

\*CnnC > Hitt. /Cn̄n̄C/: \**h<sub>3</sub>rnn̄génti* > Hitt. /Hr̄n̄ngánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *har-ni-in-kán-zi* ‘they make disappear’.

\*CniV > Hitt. /CniV/: \**h<sub>3</sub>nié/ó-* > Hitt. /ʔnié/á-l, *a-ni-e<sup>o</sup>, a-ni-ja-* ‘to work’.

\*ClnC > Hitt. /Cl̄n̄C/: \**h<sub>1</sub>ln̄g<sup>h</sup>énti* > Hitt. /l̄ngánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *li-in-kán-zi* ‘they swear’ (if this preform is correct).

\*CmnC > Hitt. /Cm̄n̄C/: \**h<sub>2</sub>mng<sup>h</sup>énti* > Hitt. /Hm̄ngánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ha-me-in-kán-zi* ‘they betroth’; \**tmnkénti* > Hitt. /tm̄nkánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ta-me-en-kán-zi* ‘they attach’.

1.4.7.2.b \*VnV > Hitt. /VnV/: \**h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-os* > Hitt. /Háras/, *ha-a-ra-na-aš* ‘eagle (gen.sg)’; \**h<sub>2</sub>ónei* > Hitt. /Háni/, *ha-a-ni* ‘he draws water’; \**génu-* > Hitt. /kénu-l, *ge-e-nu-* ‘knee’; \**h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>enós* > Hitt. /ʔisHanás/, *iš-ha-na-a-aš* ‘blood (gen.sg)’.

\*VnP (in which *P* = any labial stop): no examples.

\*VnT (in which *T* = any dental stop) > Hitt. /VnT/: \**h<sub>1</sub>sénti* > Hitt. /ʔsánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *a-ša-an-zi* ‘they are’; \**g<sup>w</sup>ént(o)* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>éntal, *ku-e-en-ta* ‘he killed’; \**spóndei* > Hitt. /ispándi/, *iš-pa-a-an-ti* ‘he libates’; \**spóndh<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /ispándHel/, *iš-pa-an-tah-hé* ‘I libate’.

\*VnKV (in which *K* = any velar stop) > Hitt. /VnKV/: \**kónkei* > Hitt. /kánkil/, *ka-a-an-ki* ‘he hangs’; \**h<sub>1</sub>lén<sup>g</sup><sub>h</sub>-ēr* > Hitt. /línger/, *li-in-ke-er* ‘they swore’

\*VnKC (in which *K* = any velar): If the preceding vowel is /ā/, then \*/ānKC/ > Hitt. /ānKC/: \**kónkh<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /kánkHel/, *ga-a-an-ga-ah-hé* ‘I hang’. If the preceding vowel is not /ā/, then \*/VnKC/ > Hitt. /VKC/: \**h<sub>1</sub>lén<sup>g</sup><sub>h</sub>ti* > Hitt. /lígt<sup>s</sup>i/, *li-ik-zi* ‘he swears’; \**srnénkmi* > Hitt. /srn̄kmi/, *šar-ni-ik-mi* ‘I compensate’.

\*VnHV > Hitt. /VNV/: \**tinh<sub>1</sub>énti* > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>iNánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *zi-in-na-an-zi* ‘they finish’; \**munh<sub>2</sub>énti* > Hitt. /muNánt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘they hide’; \**sunh<sub>1,3</sub>énti* > Hitt. /suNánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *šu-un-na-an-zi* ‘they fill’.

\*Vns > Hitt. /VS/<sup>177</sup>: *de/ons-u-* (or \**de/oms-u-*) > Hitt. /taSu-l, *da-aš-šu-* ‘powerful’; \**kuéns-ti* > Hitt. /kuáSt<sup>s</sup>i/, *ku-ya-aš-zi* ‘he kisses’; \**h<sub>3</sub>érōns* > Hitt. /Háras/, *ha-a-ra-aš* ‘eagle’; \**kuóns* > Hitt. /kuás/, *ku-ya-aš* ‘dog’;

<sup>177</sup> In word-final position there is (at least graphically) no difference between /S/ and /s/, and I will therefore write /Vs#/ here.

\**k<sup>w</sup>truéns* > hitt. /*k<sup>w</sup>truás/*, *ku-ut-ru-ya-aš* ‘witness’; \*-*uén-s* > Hitt. /-*uás/*,  
-*ya-aš*, gen.sg. of the verbal noun in *-yar*.<sup>178</sup>

\**VnHsV* > Hitt. /*Vnt<sup>s</sup>V/*: \**géh<sub>1</sub>-su-* > Hitt. /*ként<sup>s</sup>u-/*, *ge-en-zu-* ‘lap’.

\**VnnV* > Hitt. /*VNV/*: \**kun-no-* > Hitt. /*koNa-/*, *ku-u-un-na-* ‘right,  
favourable’.<sup>179</sup> \**VnmV* > Hitt. /*VMV/*: see Kimball (1999: 324) for examples  
like *ma-a-am-ma-an* < \**mān-man*, *ad-da-am-ma-an* < \**attan=man* ‘my  
father’, *tu-ek-kam-ma-an* < \**tuekkān=man* ‘my body’, etc.<sup>180</sup>

\**VnuV* > Hitt. /*VuV/*: \**g<sup>wh</sup>én-uen* > Hitt. /*k<sup>w</sup>éuen/*, *ku-e-u-en* ‘we killed’; \**mān* +  
=*ya* > Hitt. *ma-a-ya*, *ma-a-u-ya*.<sup>181</sup>

1.4.7.2.c \**VPnV* (in which *P* = any labial stop) > Hitt. /*VPnV/*: \**h<sub>3</sub>epnos* > Hitt. /*Hapnas/*,  
*ḫa-ap-pa-na-aš* ‘baking kiln (gen.sg.)’; \**d<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-n(e)u-* > Hitt. /*tebnu-/*, *te-ep-*  
*nu-* ‘to diminish’.

\**VtnV* > Hitt. /*VNV/*: \**ótno* > Hitt. /-*áNa/*, °*Ca-a-an-na* (inf.II-ending); \*-*otnos* >  
Hitt. /-*áNas/*, °*Ca-a-an-na-aš* (gen.sg. of abstracts in *-ātar* / *-ānn-*).

\**Vd<sup>h</sup>nV* > Hitt. /*VdnV/*: \**h<sub>2</sub>uidnos* > Hitt. /*Huidnas/*, *ḫu-it-na-aš* ‘game, wild  
animals’ (gen.sg.); \*(*h<sub>3</sub>*)*ud-nei-* > Hitt. /(?*)udné-/*, *ut-ne-e-* ‘land’.

\**VKnV* (in which *K* = any velar stop) > Hitt. /*VKnV/*: \**ség-nu-* > Hitt. /*ségnu-/*,  
*še-ek-nu-* ‘cloak’; \**dlug<sup>h</sup>néuti* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>lugnú<sup>s</sup>/*, *za-lu-uk-nu-za* ‘he delays’.

\**VHnV* > Hitt. /*V<sup>h</sup>nV/*: \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>no-* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>éna-/*, *ze-e-na-* ‘autumn’.

\**VHnV* > Hitt. /*VN<sup>v</sup>V/*: \**h<sub>3</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>nóh<sub>3</sub>-* > Hitt. /*HaNá-/*, *ḫa-an-na-* ‘to sue’.

<sup>178</sup> The 2sg.pres.act.-form *ku-e-ši* ‘you kill’ reflects pre-Hitt. \*/*kuénsi/*, which must show restoration of the stem *kuen-* in expected \*\*/*kuási/* < \**g<sup>wh</sup>énsi*. So the fact that \*/*nsV* here yields /*VsV* with single *-š-* is due to the fact that the disappearance of \**n* in this restored form postdates the development \*/*ensV-* > Hitt. /-*aSV-/*.

<sup>179</sup> The verb *šamenu-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to make (something/one) pass by’ reflects pre-Hitt. \*/*smen-n(e)u-*, which must be a secondary formation replacing expected \*/*smn-n(e)u-*. So the fact that \*/*VnnV* here yields /*VnV/* with single *-n-* is due to the fact that the disappearance of \**n* in this form postdates the development \*/*VnmV* > /*VNV/*.

<sup>180</sup> Technically, most of these examples reflect \*/*VmmV*, however. The 1sg.pres.act.-form *ku-e-mi* ‘I kill’ < pre-Hitt. \*/*kuénmi/* seems to show a development \*/*VnmV* > Hitt. /*VmV/* with single *-m-*. I assume that this \*/*kuénmi/* was a restored form that replaced expected \*/*kuéMi/* < \**g<sup>wh</sup>énmi*, and that the development pre-Hitt. \*/*VnmV* > Hitt. /*VmV/* is due to the fact that the disappearance of the \**n* in this form took place after the development \*/*VnmV* > /*VMV/* has come to an end. This also explains forms like *tu-uz-zi-ma-an* < \**uzzin=man* ‘my army’ and *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-ma-an* < \**ḫuḫḫan=man* ‘my grandfather’.

<sup>181</sup> See CDH L-N: 144 for attestations of these forms. Occasionally, the *-n-* is restored, yielding *ma-a-an-ya*. The preservation of *-n-* in \**h<sub>3</sub>umuénti* > Hitt. /*ḫunuánt<sup>s</sup>/*, *ú-nu-ya-an-zi* ‘they adorn’ is due to restoration of the causative suffix *-nu-*.

\**VsnV* > Hitt. /*VSnV*/: e.g. \**usnié/ó-* > Hitt. /*uSnié/á-/*, *uš-ni-ja-*, *uš-ša-ni-ja-* ‘to put up for sale’.

\**VmnV* > Hitt. /*VMV*/: \**h<sub>2</sub>imno-* > Hitt. /*HiMa-/*, *hi-im-ma-* ‘imitation’.

\**VrnV* > Hitt. /*VrnV*/: \**h<sub>3</sub>ernou-* > Hitt. /*Harnau-/*, *har-na-u-* ‘birthing seat’.

\**VlnV* > Hitt. /*VLV*/: \**uélmu-* > Hitt. /*uéLu-/*, *ú-e-el-lu-* ‘pasure’ (if this etymology is correct).

1.4.7.2.d Word-finally, \**n* is retained as such, so \**-Vn* > Hitt. /*-Vn/* and \**-Cn* > Hitt. /*-Cn/*. Examples: \**h<sub>2</sub>ón* > Hitt. /*Hán/*, *ha-a-an* ‘draw water!’; \**h<sub>1</sub>érmn* > Hitt. /*ʔérmn/*, *e-er-ma-an* ‘illness’; \**h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>mn* > Hitt. /*lámnn/*, *la-a-ma-an* ‘name’; \**séh<sub>2</sub>n* > Hitt. /*sáHn/*, *ša-ah-ja-an* ‘feudal service’.

#### Fortition

1.4.7.2.e Fortition of OH intervocalic /*n*/ to NH /*N*/ seems to have taken place in the following examples: *a-ap-pa-na-an-da* (OS) > *a-ap-pa-an-na-an-da* (NS) ‘backwards’; *a-ra-ya-ni-* (OS) > *a-ra-ya-an-ni-* (NS) ‘free’; *i-na-ra-* (OS) > *in-na-ra-* (MS, NS) ‘vigour’. If we compare cases like *ini* ‘this (nom.-acc.sg.n.)’, *genu-* ‘knee’, *šiu-na-* ‘god’ and *zēna-* ‘autumn’, in which intervocalic /*n*/ remains throughout the Hittite period, it seems that fortition only took place when /*n*/ did not follow the accentuated vowel.

#### Dissimilation

1.4.7.2.f In the words *lāman* /*lámnn/* ‘name’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>mn*, *lammar* /*láMr/* ‘moment’ < \**nómr* and *armaliie/a-*<sup>182</sup> /*ʔrmlíé/á-/* ‘to be ill’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>rmn-ié/ó-* (besides *armaniie/a-*<sup>183</sup>) we seem to be dealing with dissimilation of \**n* to /*l*/ due to the nasal consonant \**m* in the same word.

### 1.4.8 Semi-vowels

#### \**i*

1.4.8.1 Word-initially before vowels \**i* is retained, except before \**e*: \**iugom* > Hitt. /*iugan/*, *i-ú-ga-an* ‘yoke’ vs. \**ieg-o-* > Hitt. /*éga-/*,<sup>182</sup> *e-ga-* ‘ice’; \**iéu-on-*<sup>183</sup> > Hitt. /*éuan-/*,<sup>184</sup> *e-ya-n<sup>o</sup>*, a kind of grain.<sup>185</sup> If Hitt. *i-ú-uk* ‘yoke’ represents /*iúg/* <

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<sup>182</sup> Or /*ʔéga-/*?

<sup>183</sup> Note that this etymology may be incorrect.

<sup>184</sup> Or /*ʔéuan-/*?

\**iéug*, it would show that loss of \**i* in front of \**e* must postdate the monophthongization of \**eu* to /*ū*/ here.

Word-initially before consonant \**i* is retained as such: \**imié/ó-* > Hitt. /*imié/á-/*, *i-mi-e*<sup>o</sup>, *i-mi-ia-* ‘to mingle’.

1.4.8.1.a Interconsonantly, \**i* is in principle retained (but see below at ‘assibilation’): \**h<sub>1</sub>ité+n* > Hitt. /*itén/*, *i-it-te-en* ‘go!’; \**h<sub>2</sub>imno-* > Hitt. /*HiMa-/*, *hi-im-ma-* ‘imitation’; \**h<sub>2</sub>érgis* > Hitt. /*Hárgis/*, *har-ki-iš* ‘white’; \**g<sup>h</sup>im-n-ént-* > Hitt. /*kiMánt-/*, *gi-im-ma-an-t-* ‘winter’; \**k<sup>w</sup>is* > Hitt. /*k<sup>w</sup>is/*, *ku-iš* ‘who’.

In the sequence \**CiV*, \**i* in principle is retained as well (but see below at ‘assibilation’): \**h<sub>3</sub>nié/ó-* > Hitt. /*nié/á-/*, *a-ni-e*<sup>o</sup>, *a-ni-ia-* ‘to work’, \**h<sub>3</sub>rgié/ó-* > Hitt. /*Hrgié/á-/*, *har-ki-e*<sup>o</sup>, *har-ki-ia-* ‘to get lost’, \**krsié/ó-* > Hitt. /*krSié/á-/*, *kar-aš-ši-i-e*<sup>o</sup> ‘to cut’; etc.

Note that \**VsiV* yields Hitt. /*VSV/*, however, as is visible in e.g. \**iugosio-* > Hitt. /*iugaSa-/*, *i-ú-ga-aš-ša-* ‘yearling’; \**h<sub>2</sub>msósio-* > Hitt. /*Hnt<sup>s</sup>áSa-/*,<sup>186</sup> *ha-an-za-a-aš-ša-* ‘offspring’; \**usié/ó-* >> \*/*usié/á-/*<sup>187</sup> > \*/*uəsié/á-/* > OH /*uəSé/á-/*, *ua-aš-še/a-*<sup>188</sup> ‘to put on clothes’.

For the sequence \**ViC*, cf. the treatments of the diphthongs \**ei*, \**ēi*, \**oi* and \**ōi* below.

Intervocally, \**i* is dropped without a trace, e.g. \**CéC-ei-os* > pre-Hitt. \*/*CéCaias/* > Hitt. /*CéCas/* (gen.sg.-ending of *i*-stem adjectives).<sup>189</sup> When the \**i* is surrounded by un-identical vowels (e.g. \**-aie-*, \**-aii-*, \**-aiu-*), the loss of \**i* causes compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:<sup>190</sup> \**CVC-ei-i* > pre-Hitt. /*CVCaii/* > Hitt. /*CVCāi/*, *Ca-a-i* (dat.-loc.sg.-ending of *i*-stem adjectives); \**CVC-ei-ēs* > pre-Hitt. \*/*CVCaiēs/* > Hitt. /*CVCāēs/*, *Ca-a-eš* (nom.pl.c.-ending of *i*-stem adjectives); \**CVC-ei-ms* > pre-Hitt. \*/*CVCaius/* > Hitt. /*CVCāus/*, *Ca-*

<sup>185</sup> Note that e.g. *ia-an-zi* ‘they go’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>iénti* and *i-ia-an-t-* ‘sheep’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>iént-* (?) show that \**i* is not lost in the word-initial sequence \**h<sub>1</sub>ie-*.

<sup>186</sup> This form shows that the assimilation of \**VsiV* > /*VSV/* postdates the lenition of intervocalic fortis consonants due to a preceding long accentuated vowel.

<sup>187</sup> With \**u-* in analogy to the full-grade stem \**ues-*, cf. the lemma *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>*, *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

<sup>188</sup> Attested from MH times onwards as *uaššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, with restored suffix *-je/a-*.

<sup>189</sup> See at the lemma of nom.pl.c.-ending *-eš* for my view that contraction of \**-eie-* to \**-ē-* must have happened earlier than the loss \**i* between other vowels as described here.

<sup>190</sup> This explains the fact that in the oblique cases of *i*-stem adjectives the *-a-* of the suffix, which must go back to posttonic \**e* in open syllable (\**CVC-ei-V*), is often spelled plene (e.g. *har-ša-a-i*, *har-ša-a-eš*, *har-ša-a-uš*), whereas such a plene spelling is virtually absent in the oblique cases of *u*-stem adjectives (e.g. *a-aš-ša-u-i*, *a-aš-ša-ua-az*, *a-aš-ša-u-e-eš*, *a-aš-ša-mu-uš* < \**CVC-eu-V*).

*a-uš* (acc.pl.-ending of the *i*-stem adjectives); \*<sup>o</sup>*Co-ié-mi* > pre-Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>*Caiémi*/ > Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>*Cāémi*/, <sup>o</sup>*Ca-a-e-mi* (1sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫatrae*-class).<sup>191</sup>

An intervocalic cluster \**VHiV* yields OH /*ViV*/ with lengthening of the preceding vowel (if possible).<sup>192</sup> The newly created intervocalic /*li*/ is again lost in NH times: \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>iénti* > OH /*Hoíánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ḫu-ja-an-zi* > NH /*Hoánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ḫu-ua-an-zi* ‘they run’; \**teh<sub>2</sub>iéti* > OH /*tāiét<sup>s</sup>i*/, *ta-a-i-ez-zi*, *da-i-e-ez-zi* ‘he steals’.<sup>193</sup>

In words with the sequence \**ViHV*, we first find monphthongization of the diphthong to /*e*/ (see also below at the treatment of the diphthongs \**ei* and \**oi*): \**méih<sub>2</sub>ur* > OH /*méhur*/, *me-e-ḫur* ‘period, time’; \**néih<sub>1/3</sub>-o* > OH /*né<sup>?</sup>a*/, *ne-e-a* ‘he turns’; \**h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>um* > OH /*Hé<sup>?</sup>un*/, *ḫé-e-un* ‘rain (acc.sg.)’; \**h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-eu-ēs* > OH /*Hé<sup>?</sup>aus*/, *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš* ‘rains (nom.pl.)’. Note that in the latter three examples intervocalic /*ʔ*/ is lost only in the late OH period, as we can see from spellings like OS *ḫé-e-ja-u-e-š=a* = /*Héaus*/, phonetically realized as [Hé<sup>i</sup>aus] and MH/MS *ne-e-ja-ri* = /*néari*/, phonetically realized as [né<sup>i</sup>ari]

1.4.8.1.b Forms like *i-it* ‘go!’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>id<sup>h</sup>i* and *te-e-et* ‘speak’ < \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>i* seem to show regular loss of word-final \**i*. This means that the synchronic word-final *-i* as visible in the dat.-loc.sg.-ending and the verbal present-endings (*-mi*, *-ši*, *-zi*, etc.) must be the result of a wide-scale restoration.<sup>194</sup>

If nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke-e* ‘these’ indeed reflects \**kih<sub>2</sub>*, as will be suggested under the lemma *kā-* / *kī-* / *kū-*, then it shows that in word-final \**Cih<sub>2</sub>#* \**i* is lowered to /*e*/ due to the following \**h<sub>2</sub>* (just as \*<sup>o</sup>*Cuh<sub>2</sub>* yields Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>*Co*/, cf. nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-aš-šu-u* /*ʔáSol* < \*<sup>o</sup>*s-u-h<sub>2</sub>*). This implies that *zi-i-ik* ‘you’ < \**tíH+<sup>g</sup>* reflects \**tíh<sub>1</sub>*.

#### Assibilation

1.4.8.1.c As is well-known, \**i* causes preceding dental consonants to assibilate. In principle, \**i* is lost in this development: \**tiéh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>áHai-*/ ‘battle’; \**tióh<sub>2</sub>-ei* > Hitt. /*t<sup>s</sup>áhi*/ ‘he hits’; \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>-o* > OH /*t<sup>s</sup>é<sup>?</sup>a*/, *ze-e-a* ‘cooks’; \**h<sub>2</sub>énti* > Hitt.

<sup>191</sup> Also intervocalic *-i-* from secondary sources is lost with lengthening of the preceding vowel: e.g. OH /*páit<sup>s</sup>i*/, *pa-i-iz-zi* ‘he goes’ > MH /*páit<sup>s</sup>i*/, *pa-a-iz-zi* (see at *paj<sup>i</sup>-zi* / *pai-* for an extensive treatment).

<sup>192</sup> Note that in the case of Hitt. /*e*/ and /*o*/ I do not reckon with phonemic length, and that therefore these vowels do not get lengthened.

<sup>193</sup> In this latter verb intervocalic /*li*/ is nevertheless often found in NH forms because of restoration of the suffix *-je/a-*: NH *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* = /*tāiét<sup>s</sup>i*/ and NH *ta-a-i-ja-zi* = /*tāiát<sup>s</sup>i*/). Compare, however, phonetically regular 2pl.pres.act. *ta-a-et-te-ni* (NH) = /*tāéteni*/.

<sup>194</sup> This implies that the loss of word-final \**i* took places in several stages, probably determined by the preceding consonant.



/Hánt<sup>s</sup>/, *ḥa-an-za* ‘in front’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésti* > OH /Ṛést<sup>s</sup>/, *e-eš-za* ‘he is’<sup>195</sup>; *\*diéus* > Hitt. /šius/, *ši-i-ú-uš* ‘god’; *\*diéu-ot-* > Hitt. /šiuat-/, *ši-i-ua-at-t-* ‘day’.<sup>196</sup> This means that we must reckon with a development *\*ti/ = \*[t:i] > \*[t:ɰ] > \*[t̪] > [t̪s]* = /t<sup>s</sup>/ and *\*di/ = \*[ti] > \*[t̪] > \*[ç] > \*[ʃ] > [s] = /s/*. We therefore have to assume that in forms like *e-ep-zi* ‘he seizes’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>épti*, *ap-pa-an-zi* ‘they seize’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>pénti*, *ḥa-az-zi-e<sup>o</sup>*, *ḥa-az-zi-ia-* ‘to pierce’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>tié/ó-* the *-i-* has been restored. In the first two cases in analogy to the other present-endings in *-i* (*-mi*, *-ši*, etc.), in the latter in analogy to other verbs with the *-je/a-* suffix.<sup>197</sup>

Note that the verbs *zinu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make cross’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>t-i-neu-* and *zinni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *zinn-* ‘to finish’ < *\*ti-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-* may show that despite the fact that in *\*TiC* *\*i* caused assibilation of the dental consonant, it was retained as a vocalic element.<sup>198</sup>

On the basis of the equation between Hitt. *dalugašti-* ‘length’ and Pol. *dlugość* ‘length’ < *\*d(o)lug<sup>h</sup>-osti-*, Joseph (1984: 3-4) argues that in a cluster *\*-sti-* assibilation did not take place, which has a nice parallel in Greek, cf. εἶσι ‘he goes’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éiti* vs. ἐστὶ ‘he is’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésti*.<sup>199</sup>

### Lowering

1.4.8.1.d In some words we encounter lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/:

*apiniššan* ‘thus’ > *apeneššan*: *a-pí-ni-iš-š<sup>o</sup>* (OS) > *a-pé-e-ni-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* (NS).

*ḥalzišša-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥalzišš-* ‘to call (impf.)’ > *ḥalzešš-*: *ḥal-zi-iš-š<sup>o</sup>* (OS, MS) > *ḥal-ze-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* (NS).

*ḥišša-* ‘carriage pole’ > *ḥešša-*: *ḥi-iš-š<sup>o</sup>* (OH/NS) > *ḥe-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* (NS, 1x).

<sup>195</sup> Replaced by *e-eš-zi* with restored *-i* in OS texts already.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 62 for the observation that if the etymological connection between the Hitt. suffixes *-zzi(i)a-* (as in *šarāzzi(i)a-* ‘upper’) and Lyc. *-zze/i-* (as in *hrzze/i-* ‘upper’) is correct, it would show that assibilation of *\*t* in the sequence *\*tiV* is already a Proto-Anatolian development (which implies that we should assume a PAnat. phoneme /t<sup>s</sup>/ as well). Contra Melchert, I do not assume that in this sequence *\*i* was retained: the supposed equation between HLuw. *ha-zi-mi-na* and Hitt. *ḥazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* cannot be substantiated (cf. s.v. *ḥatt-<sup>ar(i)</sup>*, *ḥazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*) and the retention of *-i-* in the Hitt. suffix *-zzi(i)a-* (note the absence of a reflex of *\*i* in Lyc. *-zze/i-*!) may be due to analogical developments (I intend to present an account of these developments elsewhere).

<sup>197</sup> Similarly in *tāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to steal’ (cf. note 193) and in *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* >> *uaššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to put on clothes’ (cf. note 188).

<sup>198</sup> The verb *zamu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to coo (trans.)’ < *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-* shows that *\*h<sub>1</sub>* at one point had enough vocalic quality to prevent *\*i* from becoming vocalic too.

<sup>199</sup> This would mean that the forms *e-eš-zi* ‘he is’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésti* (instead of expected *\*\*e-eš-ti*), *še-eš-zi* ‘he sleeps’ < *\*sésti* (instead of expected *\*\*še-eš-ti*), etc. all show (a trivial) generalization of the assibilated ending *-zi*.

*hištā*, *hištī* ‘mausoleum(?)’ > *heštā*, *heštī*: *hi-iš-t*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *he-eš-t*<sup>o</sup> (MS, NS).  
*ini* ‘this’ > *eni*: *i-ni* (MS) > *e-ni* (MS, NS)  
*iniššan* ‘thus’ > *eniššan*: *i-ni-* (MS) > *e-ni-* (NS).  
*išša-* / *išš-* ‘to do, to make (impf.)’ > *ešša*<sup>i</sup> / *ešš-*: *i-iš-š*<sup>o</sup> (OS) > *iš-š*<sup>o</sup> (MS) >  
*(e-)eš-š*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*išhā* ‘master’ > *ešh-*: *iš-h*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS, NS) > *(e-)eš-h*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*išhan-* ‘blood (obl.)’ > *ešhan-*: *iš-ha-n*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *e-eš-ha-n*<sup>o</sup> (MS, NS).<sup>200</sup>  
*iš(ša)nā* ‘dough’ > *eššana-*: *iš-(ša)-n*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS, NS) > *(e-)eš-ša-n*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*kīnu*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to open (up)’ > *kenu-*: *ki-i-nu-* (MS) > *ke-e-nu-* (NS).  
*lilhuūa*<sup>i</sup> / *lilhui-* ‘to pour’ > *lelhuūa-*: *li-il-h*<sup>o</sup> (MS) > *le-el-h*<sup>o</sup> (MS, NS).  
*li(n)k*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to swear’ > *lenk-*: *li-in-k*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *le-en-k*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*mimma*<sup>i</sup> / *mimm-* ‘to refuse’ > *memm-*: *mi-im-m*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *mi-im-m*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*mišriūant-* ‘perfect’ > *mešriūant-*: *mi-iš-ri-* (MS) > *me-eš-ri-* (NS), *me-iš-ri-* (NS).  
*šīna-* ‘figurine, doll’ > *šena-*: *ši-i-n*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *še-(e-)na-* (NS).  
*šiš*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to proliferate’ > *šeš-*: *ši-iš-* (OS, MS) > *še-iš-*, *ši-eš-*, *še-eš-* (NS).  
*šišša*<sup>i</sup> / *šišš-* ‘to impress’ > *šešš-*: *ši-iš-š*<sup>o</sup> (MS, NS) > *še-eš-š*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*šišha*<sup>i</sup> / *šišh-* ‘to decide’ > *šešh-*: *ši-iš-h*<sup>o</sup> (MS) > *še-eš-h*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*šiššur-* ‘irrigation’ > *šeššur-*: *ši-iš-š*<sup>o</sup> (MS) > *še-eš-š*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*tith*<sup>a</sup> ‘to thunder’ > *teth-*: *ti-it-h*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *te-e-et-h*<sup>o</sup> (OH/MS) > *te-et-h*<sup>o</sup> (NS).  
*uarrišša*<sup>i</sup> / *uarrišš-* ‘to help’ > *uarrešš-*: *ua-ar-ri-iš-š*<sup>o</sup> (NS) > *ua-ar-re-eš-š*<sup>o</sup>  
(NS).  
*zinni*<sup>zi</sup> / *zinn-* ‘to finish’ > *zenn-*: *zi-in-n*<sup>o</sup> (OS, MS) > *ze-en-n*<sup>o</sup> (NS).

Melchert (1984a: 154) explains these forms as showing “a simple assimilation: *i* is lowered to *e* before a low vowel *a* in the next syllable”. As he notices himself, there are a number of words that contradict this formulation, however, e.g. *idālu-* and *iuar*. Moreover, this rule cannot account for the lowering visible in e.g. *ini*, *hištī*, *kīnu*<sup>zi</sup> and *šiš*<sup>zi</sup>.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Although here we might be dealing with the secondary introduction of the full-grade stem *ešh-* from the nom.-acc.sg. *ešhar*.

<sup>201</sup> Melchert’s reformulation (1994a: 133) of this rule as */-iCCa-/ > /-eCCa-/*, i.e. “a kind of “aumlaut” in closed syllables” (apparently to explain *idālu-* and *iuar*) still does not account for these forms. Rieken’s treatment (1996: 294-7) of the lowering cannot fully convince either (her formulation of the conditioning environments, namely *-iCCa-* > *-eCCa-* and *i > e* “zwischen zwei Dentalen (*t, n, s*) oder zwischen *l* und einem der genannten Laute”, does not account for all examples, like *hištā*). Moreover, many of the examples of *e~i* that she cites in fact are cases where I assume the epenthetic vowel */i/*.

In my view, the lowering in these words is determined by the consonants that follow the vowel: /i/ > /e/ in front of *s*, *n*, *m* and clusters involving /H/ (-/h- and -/h-).<sup>202</sup> It cannot be coincidental that exactly these consonants<sup>203</sup> also cause a preceding /u/ to get lowered to /o/ (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). Note that lowering of /i/ to /e/ in front of *s* and *n* also explains the high number of NS spellings of the nom.sg.c.- and acc.sg.c.-forms of *i*-stem nouns and adjectives with the vowel -e-.

#### \*u

1.4.8.2 Word-initially before vowels \*u is retained as such: \*uódr > Hitt. /uádr/, *ya-a-tar* ‘water’; \*uék̄ti > Hitt. /uék̄t̄s̄i/, *ú-e-ek-zi* ‘he wishes’; \*uei(e)s > Hitt. /ués/, *ú-e-eš* ‘we’; etc.

Word-initially before consonants \*u is retained as well: \*urh<sub>1</sub>ór(i) > OH /urʔáni/, *ú-ra-a-ni* > MH/NH /uərʔáni/, *ya-ra-a-ni* ‘it burns’;<sup>204</sup> \*usnié/ó- > Hitt. /uSnié/á-/ , *uš-(ša-)ni-e<sup>o</sup>*, *uš-(ša-)ni-ja-* ‘to put up for sale’.

1.4.8.2.a Interconsonantly, \*u yields either /u/ or /o/: see § 1.3.9.4ff. for an elaborate treatment of this.

In the sequence \*CuV \*u in principle yields /u/ (see § 1.3.9.4.c for the fact that in Hittite there is no reason to assume that there is a phonemic difference between /CuV/ and /CoV/). Note that in \*Tuo (in which *T* = any dental stop or \*n) \*u is lost: \*duoiom > Hitt. /tán/, *ta-a-an* ‘for the second time’; \*h<sub>1</sub>eduól-u- > Hitt. /ʔidálu-/ , *i-da-a-lu-* ‘evil’; \*nu-os > Hitt. /nas/, *na-aš* ‘and he’.<sup>205</sup> Remarkable is

<sup>202</sup> The absence of lowering in *kisšan* ‘thus’ (but compare the one spelling *ke-eš-ša-an* (KBo .4 iii 17)) and *kinun* ‘now’ in my view is caused by the connection with *kī* ‘this (nom.-acc.sg.n.)’ (although *ki-nu-un* in principle can be read *ke-nu-un* as well). Note that words like *gimmant-* and *gimra-* are spelled with GI-IM- that can in principle be read *gi-im-* as well as *ge-em-*. Cases like *innara<sup>o</sup>* and *inan-* are real counter-examples, however: they never show lowering.

<sup>203</sup> Although there are no examples of /um/. Note that the *i-* that emerges in initial clusters of the shape \*sT- did not partake in this lowering and therefore must have been phonologically different from /i/ < \*i and pretonic \*e.

<sup>204</sup> This example shows that the ‘vocalization’ of the initial sequence \*uRC- is an inner-Hittite phenomenon: PIE \*uRC- > OH /uRC-/ > MH/NH /uəRC-/. This also fits the words *ulkiššara-* (OH/NS) > *ualkiššara-* (NS) ‘skilled’ and *ualkuya-* ‘bad omen(?)’ (earliest attested in a MS texts) if this indeeds reflects \*ulk<sup>o</sup>o-. This would mean that *u-ur-ki-* ‘track, trail’ cannot go back to \*urK-, but must represent /ʔorKi-/ < \*h<sub>1</sub>urKi-

<sup>205</sup> E.g. *tuūān* /tuān/ ‘to this side’ < \*duéh<sub>2</sub>m shows that this development only occurs with a preceding \*o, and not with “\*ā”. The loss of \*u in \*Tuo therefore must be dated to the period before the merger of \*o and PAnat. \*a/ā.

the outcome of \*CHuV, which yields Hitt. /ComV/<sup>206</sup>: \*dh<sub>3</sub>uēni > Hitt. /tomēni/, tu-me-e-ni ‘we take’; \*b<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-uēn-ti > Hitt. /ptománt<sup>s</sup>il/, pát-tu-u-ma-an-zi ‘to dig’; \*su-n-H-ur > Hitt. /suNomər/, šu-un-nu-mar ‘filling’.

For the development of \*CVuC, see at the treatment of the diphthongs \*eu, \*ēu, \*ou and \*ōu below.

Intervocally, \*u is retained as /u/ (see at § 1.3.9.4.d for the establishment that intervocally there is no phonologic difference between /u/ and /o/): \*néuo- > Hitt. /néua-l, ne-e-ua- ‘new’; \*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-eu-ēs > Hitt. /tébaues/, te-e-pa-u-e-eš ‘little (nom.pl.c.)’; \*HH-ió-ueni > Hitt. /iáuanil/, i-ia-u-ua-ni ‘we do’; \*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nóu-i > Hitt. /Hrgnáuil/, ħar-ga-na-ú-i ‘palm (dat.loc.sg.)’.

A special development is the fact that \*u adjacent to /u/ yields Hitt. /m/:<sup>207</sup> \*CV̇C-eu-ms > \*CV̇C-au-us > Hitt. /CV̇Camuš/, °Ca-mu-uš (acc.pl.c.-ending of u-stems); \*CC-nu-uēni > Hitt. /CCnumēni/, °nu-me-e-ni (1sg.pres.act.-ending of causatives in -nu-); \*CC-nu-uēnti > Hitt. /CCnumánt<sup>s</sup>il/, °nu-ma-an-zi (inf.I.-ending of causatives in -nu-); \*h<sub>2</sub>óu-ueni > Hitt. /iáumanil/, a-ú-ma-ni<sup>208</sup> ‘we see’.

1.4.8.2.b In word-final position, \*u is retained as such: \*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>u > Hitt. /tébul/, te-e-pu ‘little (nom.-acc.sg.n.)’; etc. Note that nom.-acc.pl.n. a-aš-šu-u /iáSol/, which contrasts with nom.-acc.sg.n. a-aš-šu /iáSu/, shows that wordfinal \*-Cuh<sub>2</sub> yields Hitt. /-Co/

#### 1.4.9 Vowels

<sup>206</sup> Through \*/CouV/? See below for \*CuuV > Hitt. /CumV/.

<sup>207</sup> Prof. Kortlandt (p.c.) points out to me that a development of \*u to /m/ is phonetically incomprehensible: nasalization does not occur spontaneously. He therefore suggests that /m/ in these cases must be interpreted as /ʍ/ (i.e. a consonantal /ʍ/) and that the nasalization must be due to contact with other nasal vowels or nasal consonants. E.g. °Camuš (acc.pl.c.-ending of u-stems) is interpreted by Kortlandt as /°Cawʍs/ < \*/°Cawʍs/ (see also § 1.3.9.4.f under C\_š for Kortlandt’s view that acc.pl.c.-ending -uš represents /-ʍs/ < \*-ms); °numēni as /°nuʍéni/ in which \*e has become nasalized due to \*n, and therefore causes \*u to yield the nasal-vowel /ʍ/; etc. Similarly in \*CHuV > /ComV/ as treated above: nu-me-e-ni is interpreted by Kortlandt as /tʍéni/; etc. Although the assumption of nasal vowels would indeed fit other developments as well (especially the development of OH /un/ to /on/, cf. note 83) and explain the rise of a nasal consonant here, it remains problematic why we do not find a nasal consonant in e.g. aniāyanzi ‘to work’ = /iānauánt<sup>s</sup>il/ (instead of \*\*aniāmanzi = “/iāniawánt<sup>s</sup>il/”) and why šumariške/a-zi ‘to be pregnant’, which reflects \*(e/o)uH-ur+, shows -m- whereas no nasal consonant is present in its preform. Moreover, nasalization as the result of dissimilation has also occurred in ú-ra-a-ni ‘burns’ < \*urāri < \*urh<sub>1</sub>óri, where there is no other nasal element that could have caused it.

<sup>208</sup> The form a-ú-ma-ni is MH and replaces OH ú-me-e-ni < \*Hu-uēni.

\*e

1.4.9.1 There are a number of positions in which PIE \*e gets coloured.

When adjacent to \*h<sub>2</sub>, \*e gets coloured to PANat. /a/, which yields Hitt. /a/ in both accentuated and unaccentuated position: \*h<sub>2</sub>énti > Hitt. /Hánt<sup>s</sup>/, *ha-an-za* ‘in front’; \*h<sub>2</sub>épti > Hitt. /Hápt<sup>s</sup>/, *ha-ap-zi* ‘he attaches’; \*péh<sub>2</sub>ur > Hitt. /páH<sup>w</sup>r/, *pa-aḫ-hur*, *pa-aḫ-hu-ua-ar* ‘fire’; \*péh<sub>2</sub>so > Hitt. /páHsa/, *pa-aḫ-ša* ‘he protects’; \*léh<sub>2</sub>pt(o) > Hitt. /lāpta/, *la-a-ap-ta* ‘he glowed’; \*h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>enós > Hitt. /ʔisHanás/, *iš-ha-na-a-aš* ‘blood (gen.sg.)’; \*peh<sub>2</sub>uénos > Hitt. /paH<sup>w</sup>énas/, *pa-aḫ-hu-e-na-aš* ‘fire (gen.sg.)’;

When adjacent to \*h<sub>3</sub>, \*e gets coloured to PANat. /o/<sup>209</sup> and ultimately merges with the outcome of PIE \*o, yielding /á/ when accentuated and /a/ when unaccentuated: \*h<sub>3</sub>érōn+s > Hitt. /Háras/, *ha-a-ra-as* ‘eagle’; \*h<sub>3</sub>épr > Hitt. /Hápr/, *ha-a-ap-pár* ‘business’; \*h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>mn > Hitt. /lāmn/, *la-a-ma-an* ‘name’.

In the position \*énT (in which T = any dental consonant), \*e yields Hitt. /a/: \*h<sub>1</sub>énti > Hitt. /ʔsánt<sup>s</sup>/, *a-ša-an-zi* ‘they are’; \*g<sup>wh</sup>nénts > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>nánts/, *ku-na-an-za* ‘killed’; \*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>énts > Hitt. /Hoánts/, *hu-ua-an-za* ‘wind’; \*srb<sup>h</sup>uéns > Hitt. /sribuás/, *ša-ri-pu-ua-aš* ‘of drinking’.

In the position \*eRCC (in which R = any resonant and C = any consonant), \*e becomes Hitt. /a/: \*b<sup>h</sup>érsti > Hitt. /párst<sup>s</sup>/, *pár-aš-zi* ‘he flees’; \*kérsti > Hitt. /kárst<sup>s</sup>/, *kar-aš-zi* ‘he cuts’; \*stélg<sup>h</sup>ti > Hitt. /istálg<sup>s</sup>/, *iš-tal-ak-zi* ‘he levels’; \*h<sub>1</sub>érsti > Hitt. /ʔárst<sup>s</sup>/, *a-ar-aš-zi* ‘he flows’; \*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2</sub>ti > Hitt. /párHt<sup>s</sup>/, *pár-aḫ-zi*, *pár-ha-zi* ‘he pursues’; \*térh<sub>2</sub>-u-ti > pre-Hitt. \*/térH<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>/ > Hitt. /tárH<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>/, *tar-hu-zi*, *tar-uh-zi* ‘he conquers’. Note however that \*géh<sub>1</sub>su- yields Hitt. /ként<sup>s</sup>u-/, *ge-en-zu-* ‘lap, abdomen’, which shows that a sequence \*éRh<sub>1</sub>CV develops into \*eRCV before \*eRCC > /aRCC/.<sup>210</sup>

In the position \*éKsC, \*e yields Hitt. /a/: \*téksti > \*/tákt<sup>s</sup>/ > Hitt. /tákist<sup>s</sup>/, *ták-ki-iš-zi*, *ták-ke-eš-zi* ‘he unifies’; \*nég<sup>wh</sup>-s-ti > Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>nág<sup>w</sup>st<sup>s</sup>/, *na-na-ku-uš-zi* ‘it becomes dark’.

In the position \*enK (in which K = any velar), \*e yields Hitt. /i/: \*h<sub>1</sub>léngh<sup>h</sup>ti > \*/língt<sup>s</sup>/ > Hitt. /lígt<sup>s</sup>/, *li-ik-zi* ‘he swears’.

<sup>209</sup> Note that when accentuated this vowel does not lenite a following consonant, whereas PIE \*ó > PANat. /ō/ does. This explains the difference between \*-ótr > PANat. /-ōdr/ > Hitt. /-ādr/, <sup>o</sup>a-a-tar (abstract-suffix) and \*h<sub>3</sub>épr > PANat. /Hópr/ > Hitt. /Hápr/, *ha-a-ap-pár* ‘business’.

<sup>210</sup> Note that in \*kélh<sub>1</sub>st the colouring of \*e > /a/ did take place, however: \*kélh<sub>1</sub>st(o) > Hitt. /káLista/, *kal-li-iš-ta* ‘he called’. This implies a scenario \*kélh<sub>1</sub>st(o) > \*/kéLsta/ > \*/káLsta/ > /káLista/.

In the position *\*ueT* (in which *T* = any dental consonant), *\*e* yields Hitt. /i/: *\*uet-* > Hitt. /uit-/ , *ú-i-it-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘year’; *\*uedo-* > Hitt. /uida-/ , *ú-i-da-* ‘wet’; *\*sóuetest-* > *šāūitišt-* ‘weanling’.<sup>211</sup>

In some positions we seem to be dealing with *i*-umlaut, causing *\*e* to become Hitt. /i/: *\*mélit-* > Hitt. /mílit-/ , *mi-li-it-t<sup>o</sup>* ‘honey’; *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti* > Hitt. /t<sup>s</sup>inít<sup>s</sup>i/, *zi-in-ni-iz-zi* ‘he finishes’; *\*d<sup>h</sup>urnéh<sub>1</sub>ti* > Hitt. /tuərnít<sup>s</sup>i/, *du-ya-ar-ni-iz-zi* ‘he breaks’. The exact condition is not fully clear to me.

In wordfinal position when accentuated, *\*é* yields Hitt. /i/: *\*Hu-ské* > Hitt. /ʔuskí/, *uš-ki-i* ‘look!’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>ské* > Hitt. /ʔk<sup>w</sup>skí/, *ak-ku-uš-ki-i* ‘drink!’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>dské* > Hitt. /ʔdsíkí/, *az-zi-ik-ki-i* ‘eat!’. Note that e.g. *ḫu-it-ti* ‘draw!’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueTH-ié* shows that *\*<sup>o</sup>Cié#* yields Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>Cí/, probably through *\*/<sup>o</sup>Cií/*.

1.4.9.1.a Note that it has been claimed that a sequence *\*eRH* yields Hitt. /aRH/,<sup>212</sup> but I do not agree with this assumption. Alleged examples in favour of this development like *\*uélh<sub>3</sub>ti* > Hitt. /uálHt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘hits’ and *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2/3</sub>ti* > Hitt. /párHt<sup>s</sup>i/ ‘pursues’ rather show the development *\*eRCC* > /aRCC/, whereas *šalli-* / *šallai-* ‘big’ (usually reconstructed *\*selh<sub>2</sub>-i-*) and *tarra-<sup>ta(r)</sup>* ‘to be able’ (usually reconstructed *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-o-*) may be interpreted otherwise (see their respective lemmas). On the basis of *erḫ-* / *araḫ-* / *arḫ-* ‘boundary’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-eh<sub>2</sub>-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>-* and *šerḫa-* (an object to rinse feet with) < *\*sérh<sub>2/3</sub>-o-* (?), I assume that *\*e* in a sequence *\*eRHV* does not get coloured in Hittite.

1.4.9.1.b If *\*e* does not get coloured due to one of the positions mentioned above, it shows the following developments.

When accentuated, *\*é* merges with *\*é̇*, *\*éh<sub>1</sub>* and *\*éi* and develops into Hitt. /é/. Note that this vowel is often spelled with a plene vowel in open syllable and in monosyllabic words, which indicates that in these positions it was phonetically rather long. Phonologically, there is no use to indicate length, however, since the reflexes of *\*é*, *\*é̇*, *\*éh<sub>1</sub>* and *\*éi* have merged under the accent, and the original distinction in length has been given up. It should be noted that *\*é* does not lenite a following consonant, whereas *\*é̇*, *\*éh<sub>1</sub>* and *\*éi* do. This means that the merger of *\*é* with the outcomes of *\*é̇*, *\*éh<sub>1</sub>* and *\*éi* is a rather recent phenomenon, which postdates the lenition of intervocalic consonants due to a preceding long accentuated vowel.

<sup>211</sup> This latter form clearly shows that the raising of *\*e* to /i/ between *\*u* and *\*T* predates the weakening of posttonic *\*e* to /a/ in open syllables.

<sup>212</sup> Melchert 1994a: 83.

Examples: \**sésiti* > Hitt. /sést<sup>s</sup>i/, *še-eš-zi*, *še-e-eš-zi* ‘he sleeps’; \**néb<sup>h</sup>es* > Hitt. /nébis/ *ne-e-pí-iš*, *ne-pí-iš* ‘sky’; \**pédom* > Hitt. /pédan/, *pé-e-da-an*, *pé-da-an* ‘place’; \**k<sup>w</sup>erti* > Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>ért<sup>s</sup>i/, *ku-e-er-zi*, *ku-er-zi* ‘he cuts’; \**g<sup>h</sup>ésr* > Hitt. /kéSr/, *ke-eš-šar* ‘hand’; \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>mi* > Hitt. /témil/, *te-e-mi*, *te-mi* ‘I say’.

When unaccentuated, \**e* weakens to /a/ in posttonic open syllables<sup>213</sup> and to /i/<sup>214</sup> elsewhere (in pretonic open and closed syllables and in posttonic closed syllables).<sup>215</sup> In word-final position, unaccentuated \**e* is dropped.<sup>216</sup>

Examples: \**h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>enós* > Hitt. /ʔishanás/, *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš* ‘blood (gen.sg.)’; \**néb<sup>h</sup>es* > /nébis/ *ne-e-pí-iš*, *ne-pí-iš* ‘sky’;<sup>217</sup> \**pesénm̄s* > Hitt. /pisénus/, *pí-še-e-nu-uš* ‘men (acc.pl.)’; \**CéC-ueni* > Hitt. *CeCuṽani* (1pl.pres.act.-forms); \**CéC-teni* > Hitt. *CeCtani* (2pl.pres.act.-forms); \*=*k<sup>w</sup>e* > Hitt. /=*k<sup>w</sup>*/, *V=k-ku* ‘and’; \**tok<sup>w</sup>e* > Hitt. /tak<sup>w</sup>/ ‘if, when’.<sup>218</sup>

### \**ē*

1.4.9.2 When accentuated, the development of \**ē* does not differ from the development of \**é*: I have not been able to find a spelling difference between the outcomes of \**ē* and \**é* that would indicate a phonetic and/or phonological difference.

Examples: \**h<sub>2</sub>stér+s* > Hitt. /Hstért<sup>s</sup>/, *ḫa-aš-te-er-za* ‘star’; \**kér* > Hitt. /kér/, *ke-er* ‘heart’; \**sér* > Hitt. /sér/, *še-e-er*, *še-er* ‘above, on top’; \**Cér* > Hitt. /<sup>o</sup>Cér/, <sup>o</sup>*Ce-e-er* (3pl.pret.act.-ending), \**ud-néi* > Hitt. /udnél/, *ut-ne-e* ‘land’.

There is one case in which \**ē* yields something different, however: PIE \**diéus* yields Hitt. /síus/, *ši-i-ú-uš* ‘god’. It is not fully clear to me exactly what caused the raising of \**ē* > /i/ here. The fact that the sequences \**di-* > Hitt. /s-/ precedes \**ē* hardly can be decisive, cf. \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>-no-* > /t<sup>s</sup>éna-/ , *zé-e-na-* ‘autumn’. Perhaps the raising is comparable to the one visible in \**ueT-* > Hitt. /uiT-/.

On the basis of the thought that Hitt. “*šumanza* ‘cord, binding’” reflect \**sh<sub>1</sub>u-mēn+s* (~ Gr. ὑμῖν ‘sinew’), it was generally assumed that \**-ēn+s* yielded Hitt. /-ants/, -anza, whereas *-ōn+s* > /-as/, -aš (as in \**h<sub>3</sub>érōn+s* > Hitt. *ḫāraš*). Since

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 138.

<sup>214</sup> This /i/ can itself in younger Hittite become subject to the lowering to /e/ as described in § 1.4.8.1.d, cf. \**néb<sup>h</sup>es* > OH /nébis/, *ne-e-pí-iš* (OS) > NH /nébes/, *ne-pé-eš* (NS).

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Melchert 1994a: 139. See at the lemma of *nepiš-* ‘sky’ for the establishment that these weakenings of unaccentuated \**e* can be dated to the 18<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>216</sup> This is a powerful explanation for the replacement of the original 3sg.pret.act.-ending \**-e* of *hi-* inflected verbs by the corresponding ending of the sigmatic aorist, \**-s-t* > Hitt. -š.

<sup>217</sup> See at the lemma of *nepiš* for explanation of the oblique cases *nepišV*.

<sup>218</sup> Note that in the last two examples I do not follow Garrett (*apud* Melchert 1994a: 184) who suggest that we are dealing with a development \*=*k<sup>w</sup>e* > \*=*k<sup>w</sup>ə* > Hitt. /=*k<sup>w</sup>u*/, spelled *V=k-ku*.

“*šumanza*” now must be interpreted as belonging to  $\acute{U}$  *šumanzan-* ‘bulrush’, which cannot have anything to do with Gr.  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ , the development  $*\bar{e}n+s > -anza$  cannot be upheld anymore. Instead, on the basis of  $*k^w\acute{t}ru\acute{e}n+s > \text{Hitt. } /k^w\acute{t}ru\acute{a}š/, ku-ut-ru-ya-aš$  ‘witness’, we should rather conclude that  $*\bar{e}n+s$  fell together with  $*\bar{o}n+s$  and yielded Hitt.  $/-as/$ .

1.4.9.2.a When unaccentuated,  $*\bar{e}$  yielded Hitt.  $/e/$ , and therewith differs from the outcome of unaccentuated short  $*e$ :  $*h_1\acute{e}s\bar{e}r > \text{Hitt. } /l\acute{e}ser/, e-še-er$  ‘they were’.

This indicates that the distinction between  $*\bar{e}$  and  $*\check{e}$  was present up to a quite recent stage: only after the weakening of unaccentuated  $*\check{e}$  to  $/a/$  and  $/i/$ ,<sup>219</sup> unaccentuated  $*\bar{e}$  developed into  $/e/$ .

1.4.9.2.b Note that in my view none of the alleged instances where the sequences  $*h_2\bar{e}$ ,  $*h_3\bar{e}$ ,  $*\bar{e}h_2$  or  $*\bar{e}h_3$  are thought to have yielded Hitt.  $-he-$  or  $-eh-$  (Eichner’s Non-Colouration Law) can withstand scrutiny (see at  $h_1ai(n)k^{ta(ri)}$ ,  $^{NA}h_1ekur$ ,  $h_1enkan$ ,  $^{L\acute{U}}h_1ippara-$ ,  $^E h_1išt\bar{a}$ ,  $^E h_1išt\bar{i}$ ,  $kane/išš^{-zi}$ ,  $m\bar{e}h_1ur / m\bar{e}h_1un-$ ,  $pih_1a-$ ,  $š\bar{e}h_1ur / š\bar{e}h_1un-$  and  $ueh_1^{-zi} / uah_1-$  for alternative interpretations).<sup>220</sup>

#### **\*o**

1.4.9.3 In the case of  $*o$  it is important to note that when part of a diphthong ( $*oiC$  and  $*ouC$ ) it shows different outcomes. The diphthongs will be treated below.

When accented,  $*ó$  yields OH  $/\acute{a}/$  in initial and word-final syllables (but not in internal syllables, see below). Note that because  $*ó$  causes lenition, the development to a long vowel must antedate the period of lenition of intervocalic consonants due to a preceding accented long vowel.

In OS texts, the outcome  $/\acute{a}/$  is almost consistently spelled with plene  $-a-$ , in open as well as closed syllables. In MH and NH originals, we hardly find plene spellings in closed, non-final syllables anymore, which indicates that  $/\acute{a}/$  has been phonetically shortened in these syllables in the post-OH period, and fell together

<sup>219</sup> Which must be dated to the 18<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century BC, cf. the lemma of *nepiš-* ‘sky’.

<sup>220</sup> With the disappearance of the Hittite examples in favour of ‘Eichner’s Law’, it has in my view become highly unlikely that this law can be upheld for the whole of Indo-European, especially with regard to words like  $*g^w\acute{e}h_3us > \text{Skt. } g\acute{a}us$  (not  $**j\acute{a}us$ ), Gr.  $\beta\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $*g^w\acute{e}h_3um > \text{Skt. } g\acute{á}m$  (not  $**j\acute{á}m$ ), Gr.  $\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$  ‘cow’,  $*n\acute{e}h_3us > \text{Skt. } n\acute{á}us$ , Gr.  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $*n\acute{e}h_3um > \text{Gr. } \nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$  ‘ship’,  $*s\acute{e}h_2ls > \text{Lat. } s\acute{á}l$ , Gr.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\varsigma$ , Latv.  $s\acute{á}ls$  ‘salt’ (cf. Kortlandt 1985: 118-9) and possibly  $*n\acute{e}h_2u- > \text{Lat. } n\acute{á}vis$  ‘ship’,  $*h_2\bar{e}k- > \text{Lat. } \acute{a}cer$  ‘sharp’ (cf. Schrijver 1991: 130-4).



with /ál/.<sup>221</sup> So \*óCCV > OH /ǎCCV/ > NH /áCCV/ and \*óCV and \*óC# yield OH/NH /ǎCV/ and /ǎC#/.

Examples for initial syllable: \*stóph<sub>2</sub>ei > OH /istápHe/, *iš-ta-a-ap-ḥé* > NH /istápHi/, *iš-ta-ap-aḥ-ḥi* ‘I plug up’; \*stópei > OH/NH /istábi/, *iš-ta-a-pí* ‘he plugs up’; \*kónkh<sub>2</sub>ei > OH /kánkHe/, *ga-a-an-ga-aḥ-ḥé* > NH /kánkHi/, *ga-an-ga-aḥ-ḥi*, *kán-ga-aḥ-ḥi* ‘I hang’; \*dóh<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei > OH /táHe/, *da-a-aḥ-ḥé* > NH /táHi/, *da-aḥ-ḥi* ‘I take’; \*kós > OH/NH /kás/, *ka-a-aš* ‘this’; \*dóru > OH/NH /táru/, *ta-a-ru* ‘wood’.

Examples for word-final syllables: \*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>mós > Hitt. /tgnás/, *ták-na-a-aš* ‘earth (gen.sg.)’; \*h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>enós > Hitt. /ʔisHanás/, *iš-ḥa-na-a-aš* ‘blood (gen.sg.)’.

1.4.9.3.a In internal syllables (non-initial and non-final), \*ó yielded Hitt. /ál/, however: \*tr<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>-nó-h<sub>1</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei > OHitt. /trnáHe/, *tar-na-aḥ-ḥé* ‘I release’; \*mi-móh<sub>1</sub>-ei > Hitt. /miMái/, *mi-im-ma-i* ‘he refuses’.<sup>222</sup> This explains the difference between \*dóh<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei > OH /táHe/, *da-a-aḥ-ḥé* ‘I take’ and \*h<sub>1</sub>poi-dóh<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei > OH /petáHe/, *pé-e-ta-aḥ-ḥé* ‘I bring’, etc.

1.4.9.3.b A special development of \*ó is visible in the following positions: \*Cóm# > Hitt. /Cón/, *Cu-u-un* and \*Cóms# > Hitt. /Cós/, *Cu-u-uš*.

Examples: \*kóm > Hitt. /kón/, *ku-u-un* ‘this one’ (acc.sg.c.); \*h<sub>1</sub>o-b<sup>h</sup>óm > Hitt. /ʔabón/, *a-pu-u-un* ‘that one’ (acc.sg.c.); \*kóms > Hitt. /kós/, *ku-u-uš* ‘these ones’ (acc.pl.c.); \*h<sub>1</sub>o-b<sup>h</sup>óms > Hitt. /ʔabós/, *a-pu-u-uš* ‘those ones’ (acc.pl.c.).

1.4.9.3.c When unaccentuated, \*o usually yields Hitt. /a/: \*pédom > Hitt. /pédan/, *pé-e-da-an*, *pé-da-an* ‘place’, \*pérom > Hitt. /péran/, *pé-e-ra-an*, *pé-ra-an* ‘before’, \*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o > Hitt. /ʔésa/, *e-ša* ‘he sits down’.

A special development of \*o is visible in the acc.pl.c.-ending \*°Coms > OH /°Cus/ > NH /°Cos/, cf. § 1.3.9.4.f.

#### \*ō

1.4.9.4 The outcome of \*ō seems to have merged with the outcome of \*ō. When accented, \*ō yields Hitt. /ǎ/: \*udōr > Hitt. /uidár/, *ú-i-da-a-ar*, *ú-e-da-a-ar*

<sup>221</sup> It must be remarked that the practice of plene spelling is less consistent in younger texts anyway, so that it is possible that in these texts also sequences like /ǎCV/ and /ǎC#/ are spelled without plene -a-.

<sup>222</sup> Apparent counter-examples like *tukkāri*, *kištāri*, etc. must reflect \*CC-ór, to which the ‘presentic’ -i was attached only after the development of \*ó > /ǎ/ in final syllables. So \*tuk-ór, \*g<sup>h</sup>sd-ór > pre-Hitt. \*tukkār, \*kištār >> Hitt. *tukkāri*, *kištāri*.

‘water’. Note that *\*ón+s* yields Hitt. /-ás/, *\*kuón+s* > Hitt. /kuás/, *ku-ya-aš* ‘dog(man)’.<sup>223</sup> When unaccentuated, *\*ō* yields Hitt. /a/: *\*h<sub>3</sub>érōn+s* > Hitt. /Hāras/, *ha-a-ra-aš* ‘eagle’; *\*h<sub>1</sub>nd<sup>h</sup>uéh<sub>2</sub>ōs* > Hitt. /ʔnduáHas/, *an-tu-ya-ah-ḫa-aš* ‘human being’.

#### 1.4.10 Diphthongs

##### *\*ei*

- 1.4.10.1 When accentuated, *\*éi* merges with the outcome of *\*é*, *\*éh<sub>1</sub>* and *\*é̇* and yields Hitt. /é/ (but note that *\*éi* lenites a following intervocalic consonant, whereas *\*é* does not): *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-h<sub>2</sub>ou* > Hitt. /ʔéhu/, *e-ḫu* ‘come!’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-u-s* > Hitt. /Héus/, *ḫé-e-ú-uš* ‘rain’; *\*néih<sub>1/3</sub>-o* > OH /néʔa/, *ne-e-a* > MH /néal/, *ne-e-ja* ‘he turns’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>éiti* > Hitt. /ʔuétʔil/, *ú-e-ez-zi* ‘he comes’; *\*méih<sub>2</sub>ur* > Hitt. /méhur/, *me-e-ḫur* ‘period’.

When unaccentuated, *\*ei* yields Hitt. /e/: *\*uórs-ei* > OH /uárSe/, *ya-ar-aš-še* ‘he harvests’; *\*dóh<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>ei* > OH /táHe/, *da-a-ah-ḫé*. Note that as we can see from the examples, the outcome of *\*Cei* is identical to the outcome of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ei* (through pre-Hitt. *\*/Hai/*).

In the sequence *\*Kei-* (in which *K* = any velar) the diphthong *\*ei* was first raised to *\*-ii-*, which yielded Hitt. /i/ in closed syllable and /ī/ in open syllable: *\*kéito* > Hitt. /kítal/, *ki-it-ta* ‘he lies’ (note that /t/ = [t:] counts as a geminate that closes the syllable); *\*géis-h<sub>2</sub>o* > Hitt. /kísHal/, *ki-iš-ḫa* ‘I become’; *\*géis-o* > Hitt. /kísal/, *ki-i-ša* ‘he becomes’ (see at *ki<sup>-ta(n)</sup>* and *kīš<sup>-a(n)</sup>* / *kīš-* for an elaborate treatment of this development). A similar raising may be visible in *ša-li-i-ga* ‘he touches’ if this represents /slíga/ < *\*sléiḡ-o*.

##### *\*ēi*

- 1.4.10.2 The only secure example of *\*ēi* that I know of is *\*ud-nēi* > Hitt. /udné/, *ut-ne-e* ‘land’.

##### *\*oi*

- 1.4.10.3 The diphthong *\*oi* shows two outcomes. When preceding a dental consonant, *\*oi* yields /ai/. It should be noted that when accentuated, *\*ói* does not yield /ái/ in this environment, as one could expect on the basis of *\*ó* > /á/, but rather /ái/, with a

<sup>223</sup> Or /-ās/ if we assume that the expected spelling *\*ku-ya-a-aš* = /kuás/ is by chance unattested.

short *-a-*. Before all other consonants and in absolute auslaut,<sup>224</sup> *\*oi* monophthongizes to /e/. Note that in the sequence *\*óiV*, we find the normal outcome of *\*ó*, namely pre-Hitt. *\*/áiV/* > Hitt. */áV/*.

These developments explain the following paradigm:

PIE	OH
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-h<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	> /téHe/ <i>te-e-eh-hé</i> >> /téHi/ <i>te-e-eh-ḫi</i>
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-th<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	> <i>*/táite/</i> >> /táiti/ <i>da-it-ti</i>
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei</i>	> <i>*/táie/</i> > <i>*/tác/</i> >> /tái/ <i>da-a-i</i>

Other examples: *\*gróits* > Hitt. /kráits/, *ka-ra-i-iz* ‘flood’; *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-s* > Hitt. /táis/, *da-iš* ‘he placed’; *\*kóinos* > Hitt. /káinas/, *ka-i-na-aš*, *ga-e-na-aš* ‘in-law’; *\*kói* > Hitt. /ké/, *ke-e* ‘these’ (nom.pl.c.).

### *\*ōi*

- 1.4.10.4 This diphthong to my knowledge only occurs in the diphthong-stems and yields /āi/: *\*tlh<sub>2</sub>ói* > Hitt. /<sup>s</sup>lHái/, *za-al-ḫa-a-i*, a vessel; *\*h<sub>2</sub>urtóis* > Hitt. /Hurtáis/, *ḫur-da-a-iš*, *ḫur-ta-iš* ‘curse’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>urtóim* > Hitt. /Hurtáin/, *ḫur-da-a-in*, *ḫu-ur-ta-in* ‘curse (acc.sg.)’.

### *\*eu*

- 1.4.10.5 The diphthong *\*eu* (i.e. *\*CeuC*) monophthongizes to /u/ or /o/, depending on the surrounding sounds. For an elaborate treatment, cf. § 1.3.9.4.f. Note that in *\*euV*, we find the normal developments of *\*e*, e.g. *\*néuo-* > Hitt. /néua-/ , *ne-e-ua-* ‘new’, *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-eu-os* > Hitt. /tébauas/, *te-pa-u-ua-aš* ‘little, few’ (gen.sg.).

### *\*ēu*

- 1.4.10.6 The only possible instance of *\*ēu* that I know of is *\*g<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-éu* > Hitt. /kr<sup>h</sup>ú/, *ka-ru-ú* ‘early’ if this reconstruction is correct.<sup>225</sup>

### *\*ou*

- 1.4.10.7 The diphthong *\*ou* yields Hitt. /au/ (with short *a*) before dental consonants (including *\*r*): *\*h<sub>2</sub>óuth<sub>2</sub>ei* > Hitt. /<sup>h</sup>áuti/, *a-ut-ti* ‘you (sg.) see’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>óusten* > Hitt. /<sup>h</sup>áusten/, *a-uš-te-en* ‘you (pl.) must see’; *\*h<sub>2</sub>óri-* > Hitt. /<sup>h</sup>áuri-/ , *a-ú-ri-*

<sup>224</sup> Except in 2sg.imp.act. of the *dāi/tijanzi*-class (e.g. *da-i* ‘take!’ instead of expected *\*\*te* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói*), where *-ai* was restored on the basis of the stem *°Cai-* as found in the rest of the paradigm.

<sup>225</sup> See its lemma for the possibility that this word reflects *\*g<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-u*.

‘lookout’. In other positions \**ou* monophthongizes to /u/ or /o/, depending on the surrounding sounds. See § 1.3.9.4.f for an elaborate treatment.

**\**ōu***

1.4.10.8 To my knowledge, the diphthong \**ōu* only occurs in diphthong-stems like \**h<sub>3</sub>ér-nōu* > Hitt. /Hárnāu/, *har-na-a-ú* ‘birthing chair’, \**h<sub>2</sub>érg-nōu* > Hitt. /Hárgnāu/, *har-ga-na-ú* ‘palm, sole’, etc., where it yields /āu/.

## CHAPTER 2

# ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY

### 2.0 THE HITTITE NOMINAL SYSTEM

Since recently a detailed monograph dealing with the Hittite nominal system has appeared (Rieken's *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen* (1999a)), and since almost each noun is in Part Two extensively treated regarding its morphological prehistory, it is not necessary to treat the Hittite nominal system as thoroughly as the verbal system. Nevertheless, I want to make explicit which system of nominal inflection I reconstruct for PIE and in which way this system is still traceable in the Hittite material.

For PIE, I largely follow the system of nominal inflection as described by Beekes (1985 and 1995: 168f.). We must distinguish three basic types: root nouns (i.e. nouns in which the ending is directly added to the root), consonant stems (i.e. nouns in which a suffix of the structure  $*(C)eC(C)-$  is placed between the root and the ending) and thematic stems (i.e. nouns of which the stem ends in  $*-o-$ ).

Beekes (1985) has shown that for early PIE we must reconstruct three accent types of inflection of consonant stems, from which all attested types can be derived. These three are:

	hysterodynamic	proterodynamic	static
nom.sg.	$*CéC-C(-s)$	$*CéC-C(-s)$	$*CéC-C(-s)$
acc.sg.	$*CC-éC-m$	$*CéC-C(-m)$	$*CéC-C(-m)$
gen.sg.	$*CC-C-ós$	$*CC-éC-s$	$*CéC-C-s$

The root nouns could show either static or mobile accentuation:<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Different words show different root-vowels, so at this point it is unclear if there originally was one type only, and how it must have looked like.

	static root nouns	mobile root nouns
nom.sg.	*Cé/óC(-s)	*Cé/óC(-s)
acc.sg.	*Cé/óC(-m)	*Cé/óC(-m)
gen.sg.	*Cé/óC-s	*CC-ós

The thematic type was a recent innovation, based on the hysterodynamic gen.sg. form, which originally had the function of ergative. Thematic nouns therefore do not show ablaut or accentual mobility.

In Hittite, the three PIE basic types are attested as well:

thematic stems: *a*-stem (also adjectives)

consonant stems: *i*-stem (also adjectives), *u*-stem (also adjectives), *au*-stem, *ai*-stem, *t*-stem, *s*-stem, *h*-stem, *\*m*-stem, *n*-stem, *r*-stem, *r/n*-stem, *nt*-stem (also adjectives), *it*-stem

root-nouns

### 2.0.1 Thematic stems

The Hittite *a*-stem inflection goes back to the PIE *o*-stem inflection and is known from commune as well as neuter words. *A*-stem nouns originally do not show ablaut or mobile accentuation. Whenever they do, they must be regarded as recent thematicizations of original root nouns or consonant-stems (thematicization is a productive process within Hittite). The Hittite endings are as follows (see *s.v.* for a detailed account of their origin):

sg.			pl.		
nom.c.	-aš	<	*-o-s	nom.c.	-eš < *-ei-es <sup>227</sup>
acc.c.	-an	<	*-o-m	acc.c.	-uš < *-o-ms
nom.acc.n.	-an	<	*-o-m	nom.-acc.n.	-a < *-eh <sub>2</sub>
gen.	-aš	<	*-o-s	gen.	-an < *-o-om
dat.-loc.	-ai, -i	<	*-o-ei, *-i <sup>228</sup>	dat.-loc.	-aš < *-os(?) <sup>228</sup>
all.	-a	<	*-o <sup>228</sup>		
			abl.	-az	< *-oti
			instr.	-it	< *-i <sup>228</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Taken over from *i*-stem nouns.

<sup>228</sup> Taken over from consonant stems.

## 2.0.2 Consonant stems

The Hittite consonant stems show the following endings (see also *s.v.*):

sg.			pl.		
nom.c.	-š, <sup>229</sup> -Ø	<	*-s, <sup>230</sup> *-Ø	nom.c.	-eš < *-ei-es <sup>231</sup>
acc.c.	°V-n, °C-an	<	*-m, *-o-m <sup>232</sup>	acc.c.	-uš < *-ms
nom.acc.n.	-Ø	<	*-Ø	nom.-acc.n.	-a, -Ø < *-eh <sub>2</sub> , *-Ø
gen.	-š, <sup>233</sup> -aš	<	*-(o)s	gen.	-an < *-om
dat.-loc.	-i	<	*-i	dat.-loc.	-aš < *-os(?)
all.	-a	<	*-o		
			abl.	-z, -āz	< *-(o)ti
			instr.	°V-t, °C-it	< *-t

*i*-stems and *u*-stems

2.0.2.1 The Hittite *i*-stem and *u*-stem nouns reflect the PIE proterodynamic *i*-stem and *u*-stem inflection. In substantives the ablaut has generally been given up, generalizing the zero grade of the suffix, *CVC-i-* and *CVC-u-* (only a few traces remain, e.g. in *ueši-* / *uešai-* ‘pasture’ and *hēiu-* / *hē(i)au-* ‘rain’). In adjectives the original ablaut has been retained, however, albeit that in these nouns root accentuation has been generalized. Due to loss of intervocalic *-i-* in pre-Hittite times as described in § 1.4.8.1.a, the paradigm of the *i*-stem adjectives has sometimes become muddled. Examples: *harki-* / *hargai-* ‘white’, *tēpu-* / *tēpau-* ‘little, few’.

	Hitt.			PIE
nom.sg.c.	<i>harkiš</i>	<		* <i>h<sub>2</sub>érǵ-i-s</i>
acc.sg.c.	<i>harkin</i>	<		* <i>h<sub>2</sub>érǵ-i-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>hargaš</i>	<	* <i>hargaiāš</i>	< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>érǵ-ei-os</i> << * <i>h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-éi-s</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>hargai</i>	<	* <i>hargaii</i>	< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>érǵ-ei-i</i> << * <i>h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-éi-i</i>

<sup>229</sup> In stems in *-t-*, this ending is written *-z = /-ts/*.

<sup>230</sup> See Weitenberg 1995 for a detailed account of the sigmatization of original asigmatic commune nom.sg.-forms.

<sup>231</sup> Taken over from *i*-stem nouns.

<sup>232</sup> Taken over from the thematic nouns.

<sup>233</sup> The proterodynamic ending *-š* is very rare: it has virtually everywhere been supplanted by hysterodynamic *-aš* < \**-os*.

nom.sg.c.	<i>tēpuš</i>	<			<i>*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>b<sup>h</sup></sup>-u-s</i>
acc.sg.c.	<i>tēpun</i>	<			<i>*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>b<sup>h</sup></sup>-u-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>tēpa<sup>u</sup>aš</i>	<	<i>*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>b<sup>h</sup></sup>-eu-os</i>	<<	<i>*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>-éu-s</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>tēpa<sup>u</sup>i</i>	<	<i>*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>b<sup>h</sup></sup>-eu-i</i>	<<	<i>*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>-éu-i</i>

Note that it often is assumed that the word for ‘knee’ reflects a PIE static paradigm *\*gón-u*, *\*gén-u-s* (cf. Beekes 1995: 188), whereas the Hittite stems *gēnu-* and *ganu-* rather point to an original proterodynamic inflection: *\*gén-u*, *\*gn-éu-s*.

#### *au*-stems and *ai*-stems

2.0.2.2 These so-called ‘diphthong-stems’ (cf. Weitenberg 1979) reflect the PIE hysterodynamic *i*-stem and *u*-stem inflection. The few substantives that inflect thus clearly show that originally ablaut was still present, although in the course of Hittite the full grade stems in *-au-* and *-ai-* have been generalized. In nom.sg. forms with and without *-š* are attested (the latter often showing neuter concord). This situation is due to the fact that originally PIE commune nouns did not have a nom.sg. ending at all and that *\*-s* was introduced as the new marker of nom.sg.c. only after the creation of the *o*-stem inflection. This process of sigmatization can still be observed in the oldest layers of Hittite (cf. Weitenberg 1995) and the ending *-š* eventually has become obligatory for nom.sg. forms of commune words. All forms that did not show this ending automatically were regarded as neuter. Examples: *zahḫai-* / *zahḫi-* ‘battle’, *ḫarnau-* / *ḫarnu-* ‘birthing chair’.

	Hitt.				PIE
nom.sg.	<i>zahḫaiš</i>	<			<i>*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-ōi(-s)</i> (<< <i>*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-i(-s)</i> )
acc.sg.	<i>zahḫain</i>	<	<i>*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-oi-m</i>	<<	<i>*ti<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub>-ói-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>zahḫijaš</i>	<	<i>*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-i-os</i>	<<	<i>*ti<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub>-i-ós</i>
nom.sg.	<i>ḫarnauš</i>	<			<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nōu(-s)</i> (<< <i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nu(-s)</i> )
acc.sg.	<i>ḫarnaun</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nou-m</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>r-nóu-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>ḫarnu<sup>u</sup>aš</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nu-os</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-ós</i>

#### *t*-stem nouns

2.0.2.3 In Hittite, only a few *t*-stems are attested, which do not show synchronic ablaut anymore. Nevertheless, the comparison of Hitt. *šūatt-* ‘day’ < *\*diéuot-* with CLuw. *tiyat-* ‘Sun-god’ < *\*diuot-* shows that ablaut must have existed at the



Proto-Anatolian level and that this word ultimately reflects a hysterodynamic paradigm. I therefore reconstruct as follows:

	Hitt.		PAnat.		PIE
nom.sg.	<i>šīuaz</i>	<			* <i>diéu-ot-s</i> (<< * <i>diéu-t(-s)</i> )
acc.sg.	UD- <i>an</i>	< * <i>diéu-ot-om</i>	<<	* <i>diu-ót-om</i>	<< * <i>diu-ót-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>šīuattaš</i>	< * <i>diéu-ot-os</i>	<<	* <i>diu-ot-ós</i>	<< * <i>diu-t-ós</i>

#### *s*-stems

2.0.2.4 For Hittite, only two neuter *s*-stems are attested, *nēpiš* ‘heaven’ and *aiš* / *išš-* ‘mouth’. The former synchronically does not show ablaut anymore. Nevertheless, the attestation of the deity *Nepaš* ‘Storm-god’ in OAss. texts, which likely is originally identical to ‘heaven’, shows that at a pre-Hittite stage ablaut was still present: nom.-acc.sg. *nepaš* vs. obl. *nepiš-*. Furthermore, the existence of CLuw. *tappaš-* < \**nébe/os-* besides HLuw. *tipas-* < \**nebés-* shows that in Proto-Anatolian accentual mobility still existed in this word, going back to a proterodynamic inflection. Thus the following scenario emerges:

	Hitt.		“pre-Hitt.”		“PAnat.”/PIE
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>nēpiš</i>	< * <i>néb<sup>h</sup>-es</i>	<<		* <i>néb<sup>h</sup>-os</i> (<< * <i>néb<sup>h</sup>-s</i> )
gen.sg.	<i>nēpišaš</i>	<	* <i>néb<sup>h</sup>-es-os</i>	<<	* <i>neb<sup>h</sup>-és-os</i> (<< * <i>nb<sup>h</sup>-és-s</i> )

Note that *aiš* / *išš-*, ultimately reflecting PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>-es-*, is far less clear regarding its prehistory.

#### *h*-stem

2.0.2.5 In Hittite, only one *h*-stem reflecting a PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>*-stem has been fully preserved, *erḫ-* / *araḫ-* / *arḫ-* ‘line boundary’, albeit that its paradigm shows much reshuffling of the original ablaut grades. The three stems show that we must assume that this word originally had a hysterodynamic inflection.

	Hitt.				PIE
nom.sg.	<i>erḫaš</i>	<	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>ér-h<sub>2</sub>-o-s</i>	<<	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>ér-h<sub>2</sub>(-s)</i>
acc.sg.	<i>arḫan</i>	<	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>-o-m</i>	<<	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>r-éh<sub>2</sub>-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>arḫaš</i>	<			* <i>h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>-ós</i>
abl.	<i>araḫza</i>	<			* <i>h<sub>1</sub>r-éh<sub>2</sub>-ti</i>

The paradigms of other  $*h_2$ -stems have been levelled out, due to which the direct reflex of  $*h_2$  was lost. This caused the eventual merging of these stems with the  $a$ -stem nouns, cf. e.g. *ḫāššā-* ‘hearth’.

The outcome of the only known PIE proterodynamic  $*h_2$ -stem noun,  $*g^w en-h_2$ - ‘woman’, is not fully clear because the reflex of this word in Hittite is written with a sumerogram only. See the discussion s.v. *\*kuḫan-*.

$*m$ -stem

2.0.2.6 The only  $*m$ -stem attested in Hittite, *tēkan / takn-* ‘earth’, does not show an  $-m$ -anymore. Yet its Anatolian cognates, CLuw. *tijamm(i)-* ‘earth’ and HLuw. *ta-ka-mi-i* ‘on the earth’, shows that in PAnatolian the  $-m$ - must still have been present. Furthermore, CLuw. *tijamm-* <  $*d^h g^h-ém-$  points to a hysterodynamic inflection. See s.v. for a detailed account of the prehistory of *tēkan / takn-*, which can be schematized thus:

Hitt.					“PAnat.”/PIE	
nom.sg.	<i>tēkan</i>	<		<i>*dégom</i>	<< $\begin{cases} *d^h é g^h-m \\ *d^h g^h-ém-m \end{cases}$	
acc.sg.	<i>tēkan</i>	<		<i>*dégom</i>	<< $\begin{cases} *d^h é g^h-m \\ *d^h g^h-ém-m \end{cases}$	
gen.sg.	<i>taknāš</i>	<<	<i>*takmāš</i>	<	<i>*dgmós</i>	<< $*d^h g^h-m-ós$

$n$ -stems

2.0.2.7 Until quite recently the noun *šumanzan-* ‘bulrush’ was regarded as denoting ‘cord, binding’ and therefore cognate to Gr. ὑμήν ‘sinew’, on the basis of which “nom.sg. *šum(m)anza*” was reconstructed as  $*suh_1 mēn+s$ . When this form was compared to nom.sg. *ḫāraš* ‘eagle’ <  $*h_3ér-ōn+s$ , it was assumed that PIE forms in  $*-ōn$  lost their  $*-n$  in PIE already, whereas in  $*-ēn$  it was retained. Since “*šum(m)anza*” now has to be interpreted as the nom.-acc.pl. of a neuter noun *šumanzan-* ‘bulrush’ that has nothing to do with Gr. ὑμήν, the awkward split between  $*-ēn$  and  $*-ōn$  must be given up.

For commune  $n$ -stems, we can now distinguish two types, namely hysterodynamic  $n$ -stems with an original suffix vowel  $*-e-$  and hysterodynamic  $n$ -stems with an original suffix vowel  $*-o-$ , both yielding  $-aš$  in nom.sg. Examples: *išḫimen-* ‘string, cord’, *ḫāran-* ‘eagle’.

	Hitt.			PIE
nom.sg.	<i>išḫimāš</i>	<		$*sh_2i-mēn-s$ (<< $*sh_2éi-mn$ )
acc.sg.	[ <i>i</i> ] <i>šḫimenan</i>	<	$*sh_2i-mén-om$	<< $*sh_2i-mén-m$
gen.sg.	unatt.			$*sh_2i-mn-ós$

nom.sg.	<i>ḫāraš</i>	<		<<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-ōn-s</i>	(<< <i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-n</i> )
acc.sg.	<i>ḫāranan</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-om</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>r-ón-m</i>	(<< <i>*h<sub>3</sub>r-én-m</i> )
gen.sg.	<i>ḫāranaš</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-os</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>r-n-ós</i>	

The neuter *n*-stem nouns that are attested in Hittite usually seem to show a hysterodynamic inflection. This must be a rebuilding of an original proterodynamic inflection, however. Example: *lāman* / *lamn*- ‘name’.

	Hitt.			PIE
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>lāman</i>	<		<i>*h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>-mn</i>
gen.sg.	<i>lamnaš</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>3</sub>n(e)h<sub>3</sub>-mn-os</i>	<< <i>*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-mén-s</i>

#### *r*-stems

2.0.2.8 In Hittite, only two real *r*-stem noun are attested. The oldest attestations of the first, *keššar* / *kiššer*- / *kišr*- ‘hand’, directly reflect a hysterodynamic paradigm:

	Hitt.			PIE	
nom.sg.	<i>keššar</i>	/kéŠr/	<	<i>*g<sup>h</sup>és-r</i>	
acc.sg.	<i>kiššeran</i>	/kiŠéran/	<	<i>*g<sup>h</sup>s-ér-om</i>	<< <i>*g<sup>h</sup>s-ér-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>kišraš</i>	/kiŠrás/	<	<i>*g<sup>h</sup>s-r-ós</i>	

The second one, *ḫašter(a)*- ‘star’, probably goes back to a hysterodynamic paradigm as well, but *s.v.* for the problems regarding the establishment of its paradigm. Furthermore, it is not clear whether we should analyse the PIE stem as *\*h<sub>2</sub>s-ter-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>st-er-*.

	Hitt.			PIE		
nom.sg.	<i>ḫašterza</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>stér+s</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>stér</i>	(<< <i>*h<sub>2</sub>éstr?</i> )
acc.sg.	<i>ḫašteran</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>stérom</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>stér-m</i>	
gen.sg.	<i>ḫaštiraš</i>	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>stéros(?)</i>	<<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>str-ós</i>	

#### *r/n*-stems

2.0.2.9 Although in the other IE languages *r/n*-stems (including stems in *-ur/-uen-* and *-mr/-men-*) are rarely attested, they are fully alive in Hittite. We can distinguish two types of inflection, namely a static and a proterodynamic one. Examples: *mēḫur* / *mēḫun-* ‘period, time’, *paḫḫur* / *paḫḫuen-* ‘fire’.

static:	Hitt.			PIE
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>mēḫur</i>	<		* <i>méh<sub>2</sub>-ur</i> <sup>234</sup>
gen.sg.	<i>mēḫunaš</i>	<	* <i>méh<sub>2</sub>-un-os</i>	<< * <i>méh<sub>2</sub>-un-s</i>
proterodynamic:				
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>paḫhur</i>	<		* <i>péh<sub>2</sub>-ur</i>
gen.sg.	<i>paḫhuenaš</i>	<	* <i>peh<sub>2</sub>-uén-os</i>	<< * <i>ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s</i>

It is often stated that *uātar* / *uitēn*- ‘water’ reflects a static paradigm \**uód-r*, \**uéd-n-s*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.b, this is incorrect: *uātar*, *uitenaš* must be regarded as an inner-Hittite remodelling of an originally proterodynamic paradigm \**uód-r*, \**ud-én-s* (s.v. for details).

#### *nt*-stems

2.0.2.10 In Hittite, many *nt*-stem nouns are found, especially participles in *-ant-* and adjectives in *-uant-* ‘having x’. In these words, no traces of ablaut can be found anymore: we find a stem reflecting \**CC-ént-* throughout the paradigm. Nevertheless, the fact that in CLuwian the word for ‘Stormgod’ shows a stem *Tarḫuuant-* besides *Tarḫunt-* < \**trh<sub>2</sub>uent-* / \**trh<sub>2</sub>unt-*, indicates that at least in Proto-Anatolian ablaut was still present. Thus, we get the following picture:

	Hitt.		“PAnat.”	PIE
nom.sg.	<i>ḫuuanza</i>	<	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-s</i>	<< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt(-s)</i>
acc.sg.	* <i>ḫuuantan</i>	<	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-om</i>	<< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>ḫuandaš</i>	<	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-os</i>	<< * <i>h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-nt-ós</i>

#### *it*-stems

2.0.2.11 Only two nouns in Hittite show a stem in *-it-*, namely *militt-* / *malitt-* ‘honey’ and *šepitt-* ‘a kind of grain’. The latter shows the stem *šepitt-* < \**sép-it-* throughout, but the former shows ablaut in the root: *militt-* < \**mél-it-* vs. *malitt-* < \**ml-it-*. It is remarkable that the suffix syllable does not show a full grade form anywhere in the IE languages, which would point to a hysterodynamic inflection: gen.sg. \**ml-it-ós*. Nevertheless, we would *a priori* expect a proterodynamic paradigm \**mél-it*, \**ml-iét-s* (or \**ml-ét-s* ?).

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<sup>234</sup> Note that contra Eichner 1973 I do not see any reason to reconstruct \**ē-* in the nom.-acc.sg.-form.

	Hitt.		PIE
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>milit</i>	<	* <i>mél-it</i>
gen.sg.	<i>milittaš</i>	< * <i>mél-it-os</i> <<	* <i>ml-it-ós</i> (<< * <i>ml-iét-s</i> ?)
dat.loc.sg.	<i>malitti</i>	<	* <i>ml-it-éi</i> (<< * <i>ml-iét-i</i> ?)

### 2.0.3 Root nouns

In Hittite only a few root nouns are attested. Often, original root nouns are thematized (compare e.g. *pāt-* / *pat-* ‘foot’ < \**pód-* / *pd-*, which eventually is altered to *pata-*), sometimes in pre-Hittite times already (compare e.g. *ḫuḫḫa-* ‘grandfather’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>o-* that in combination with CLuw. *ḫūḫa-* and Lyc. *χuge-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>o-* points to a PAnat. ablauting root noun \**h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-s*, \**h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-m*, \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-ós*). We can distinguish static and mobile root nouns. Examples: *ūitt-* (MU<sup>KAM</sup>) ‘year’, *kuḫan-* / *kun-* ‘dog’, *ker* / *kard(i)-* ‘heart’.

static:	Hitt.		PIE
nom.sg.	MU <sup>KAM</sup> - <i>za</i>	<	* <i>uót-s</i> (?)
acc.sg.	MU <sup>KAM</sup> - <i>an</i>	<	* <i>ué/ót-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>ūizza</i>	<	* <i>uét-s</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>ūitti</i>	<	* <i>uét-i</i>
mobile:			
nom.sg.	<i>kuḫaš</i>	< * <i>kuón-s</i> <<	* <i>kuón</i>
acc.sg.	<i>kuḫanan</i>	< * <i>kuón-om</i> <<	* <i>kuón-m</i>
gen.sg.	<i>kūnaš</i>	<	* <i>kun-ós</i>
nom.-acc.sg.	<i>ker</i>	<	* <i>kér</i>
gen.sg.	<i>kardiḫaš</i>	<	* <i>krd-i-ós</i>



## 2.1 THE HITTITE SYSTEM OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In order to etymologically describe the Hittite personal pronouns ‘I’, ‘you (sg.)’, ‘we’ and ‘you (pl.)’, it is important that we first look at the systems of personal pronouns as attested in the other IE languages.

### 2.1.1 Personal pronouns in other IE languages

When we compare the Sanskrit forms with those of Avestan (Gatha-Avestan; Young Avestan marked with Y.), we arrive at the following Proto-Indo-Iranian reconstruction:

	Skt.	(encl.)	Av.	(encl.)	PIIr.	(encl.)
‘I’						
Nom.	<i>ahám</i>		<i>as-cī̄, azēm</i>		<i>*HaǵH(ám)</i>	
Acc.	<i>mám</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mqm (Y.)</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>*maH(am)</i>	<i>*mā</i>
Gen.	<i>máma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mē.nā</i>	<i>mōi</i>	<i>*mána</i>	<i>*mai</i>
Dat.	<i>máhya(m)</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>maibiā, maibiiō</i>	<i>mōi</i>	<i>*máǵ<sup>h</sup>ya</i>	<i>*mai</i>
Abl.	<i>mád</i>		<i>maṭ</i>		<i>*mad</i>	
Loc.	<i>máyi</i>		-		<i>*mai+i</i>	
Instr.	<i>máyā</i>		-		<i>*mai+oH</i>	
‘you (sg.)’						
Nom.	<i>tvám</i>		<i>tū, tuuēm</i>		<i>*tuH(ám)</i>	
Acc.	<i>tvám,</i>	<i>tvā</i>	<i>θβqm</i>	<i>θβā</i>	<i>*tuH(am)</i>	<i>*tuā</i>
Gen.	<i>tána,</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tauuā</i>	<i>tōi</i>	<i>*táya</i>	<i>*tai</i>
Dat.	<i>túbhya(m),</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>taibiā, taibiiō</i>	<i>tōi</i>	<i>*táb<sup>h</sup>ya</i>	<i>*tai</i>
Abl.	<i>tvád</i>		<i>θβαṭ</i>		<i>*tuad</i>	
Loc.	<i>tvé, tváyi</i>		-		<i>*tuai(+i)</i>	
Instr.	<i>tvá, tváyā</i>		<i>θβā</i>		<i>*tuH</i>	
‘we’						
Nom.	<i>vayám</i>		<i>vaēm</i>		<i>*uaǵám</i>	
Acc.	<i>asmán</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>ǰhmā</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>*ns-má+</i>	<i>*nās</i>
Gen.	<i>asmákam</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>ahmākəm</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>*ns-má+</i>	<i>*nas</i>
Dat.	<i>asmé</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>ahmaibiā</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>*ns-má+</i>	<i>*nas</i>
Abl.	<i>asmád</i>		<i>ahmaṭ</i>		<i>*ns-mád</i>	
Loc.	<i>asmé</i>		-		<i>*ns-mai</i>	
Instr.	<i>asmābhis</i>		<i>ǰhmā</i>		<i>*ns-maH</i>	

'you (pl.)'						
Nom.	<i>yūyám</i>		<i>yūš, yūžəm</i>		<i>*iuHs</i>	
Acc.	<i>yušmān</i>	<i>vas</i>	-	<i>vā</i>	<i>*us-ma+</i>	<i>*uās</i>
Gen.	<i>yušmākam</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>xšmākəm</i>	<i>və</i>	<i>*us-má+</i>	<i>*uas</i>
Dat.	<i>yušmé</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>xšmaibiā</i>	<i>və</i>	<i>*us-má+</i>	<i>*uas</i>
Abl.	<i>yušmád</i>		<i>xšmaṭ</i>		<i>*us-mád</i>	
Loc.	<i>yušmé</i>				<i>*us-mai</i>	
Instr.	-		<i>xšmā</i>		<i>*us-maH</i>	

The Greek forms are as follows:

1sg.	Hom.		Ion.-Att.		Dor.		PGreek
Nom.	ἐγώ		ἐγώ		ἐγώ(ν)		<i>*h<sub>1</sub>eǵóH</i>
Acc.	ἐμέ, με		ἐμέ με		ἐμέ με		<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mé</i> <i>*me</i>
Gen.	ἐμέο μευ		ἐμοῦ μου		ἐμέος μου		<i>*h<sub>1</sub>méso</i> <i>*meso</i>
Dat.	ἐμοί μοι		ἐμοί μοι		ἐμίν μοι		<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mói</i> <i>*moi</i>
2sg.	Hom.		Ion.-Att.		Dor.		
Nom.	σύ(γε), τύνη		σύ(γε)		τύ		<i>*t(υ)uH</i>
Acc.	σέ σε		σέ σε		τέ τε		<i>*t(υ)é</i> <i>*t(υ)e</i>
Gen.	σέο σεο		σοῦ σου		τέος		<i>*t(υ)éso</i> <i>*t(υ)eso</i>
Dat.	σοί τοι		σοί σοι		τίν τοι		<i>*t(υ)ói</i> <i>*toi</i>
1pl.	Hom.		Ion.-Att.		Dor.		
Nom.	ἄμμες		ἡμεῖς		ἄμές		<i>*ns-me-(e)s</i>
Acc.	ἄμμε		ἡμέας ἡμας		ἄμέ		<i>*ns-mé</i>
Gen.	ἡμέων		ἡμέων ἡμων		ἄμέων		<i>*ns-mé-ōn</i>
Dat.	ἄμμι(ν)		ἡμῖν ἡμιν		ἄμίν, ἄμῖν		<i>*ns-m-in</i>
2pl.	Hom.		Ion.-Att.		Dor.		
Nom.	ὑμμες		ὑμεῖς		ὑμές		<i>*us-me-(e)s</i>
Acc.	ὑμμε, ὑμέας		ὑμᾶς ὑμας		ὑμέ		<i>*us-mé</i>
Gen.	ὑμέων		ὑμῶν ὑμων		ὑμέων		<i>*us-mé-ōn</i>
Dat.	ὑμμι(ν)		ὑμῖν ὑμιν		ὑμίν		<i>*us-m-in</i>

Note that within Greek there are two systems for 'you (sg.)': in Ion.-Att., we find an anlaut  $\sigma$ - only, whereas in Doric, we find  $\tau$ - in all forms. The  $\sigma$ - must come from *\*t̥u-*, which is still visible in Cret. acc.  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}$ . This means that in Proto-Greek there must have been a distribution between *\*t-* vs. *\*t̥u-*, which cannot be determined on the basis of the Greek material alone.



It is important to note that the Armenian words for ‘I’ and ‘you (sg.)’ match the Greek forms regarding the initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* in the oblique cases of ‘I’

Sg.	‘I’		‘you (sg.)’	
Nom.	<i>es</i>	< <i>*eǵ(?)</i>	<i>du</i>	< <i>*tuH</i>
Acc.	<i>is</i>	< <i>*h<sub>1</sub>m+ge</i>	<i>k’ez</i>	= dat.
Gen.	<i>im</i>	< <i>*h<sub>1</sub>mo-</i>	<i>k’o</i>	< <i>*tuo-</i>
Dat.	<i>inj</i>	< <i>*h<sub>1</sub>m-g<sup>h</sup>e</i>	<i>k’ez</i>	< <i>*tue-g<sup>h</sup>e</i>

Another important language is Old Church Slavonic, especially because of gen.sg. *\*mene* ‘of me’ that corresponds to PIIr. *\*mána* and dat.sg. *\*teb<sup>h</sup>oi* ‘to you’ that corresponds to PIIr. *\*táb<sup>h</sup>ya*. The plural forms clearly have undergone secondary changes.

Sg.	‘I’		‘you (sg.)’	
Nom.	<i>azъ</i>	< <i>*eǵ-om</i>	<i>ty</i>	< <i>*tuH</i>
Acc.	<i>mene, mę</i>	= gen., < <i>*mem</i>	<i>tebe, tę</i>	= gen. < <i>*tem</i>
Gen.	<i>mene</i>	< <i>*mene</i>	<i>tebe</i>	< <i>*teb<sup>h</sup>e</i>
Dat.	<i>мѣнѣ, mi</i>	< <i>*min-oi</i>	<i>tebě</i>	< <i>*teb<sup>h</sup>oi</i>
Pl.	‘we’		‘you (pl.)’	
Nom.	<i>my</i>	< <i>*muH</i>	<i>vy</i>	< <i>*vuH</i>
Acc.	<i>ny, nasъ</i>		<i>vy, vasъ</i>	
Gen.	<i>nasъ</i>	< <i>*nos-om</i>	<i>vasъ</i>	< <i>*vos-om</i>
Dat.	<i>namъ, ny</i>		<i>vamъ, vy</i>	

Of the Germanic languages, only nom. and acc. are important. I refer to Kroonen fthc., who shows that the Proto-Germanic system must have been as follows:

Sg.				
Nom.	<i>*ik</i>	< <i>*h<sub>1</sub>eǵ-V</i>	<i>*tu</i>	< <i>*tuH</i>
Acc.	<i>*mik</i>	< <i>*h<sub>1</sub>me-ge</i>	<i>*tuk</i>	< <i>*tue-ge</i>
Pl.				
Nom.	<i>*weis</i>	< <i>*uei-s</i>	<i>*jūs</i>	< <i>*iuH-s</i>
Acc.	<i>*uns</i>	< <i>*ns</i>	<i>*iw</i>	< <i>*iu</i>

Of the Latin system, only nominative and dative provide additional information:

Sg.				
Nom.	<i>ego</i>	< * <i>egoH</i>	<i>tū</i>	< * <i>tuH</i>
Dat.	<i>mihī</i>	< * <i>meġ<sup>h</sup>ei</i>	<i>tibī</i>	< * <i>teb<sup>h</sup>ei</i>
Pl.				
Nom.	<i>nōs</i>	< * <i>nōs</i>	<i>vōs</i>	< * <i>uōs</i>
Dat.	<i>nōbīs</i>		<i>vōbīs</i>	

### 2.1.2 The PIE system on the basis of non-Anatolian languages

On the basis of these languages mentioned, we can reconstruct the following system:

Sg.				
nom.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>eġH</i>		* <i>tuH</i>	
acc.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>me(ge)</i>	* <i>mē</i> (?)	* <i>tue(ge)</i>	* <i>tuē</i> (?)
gen.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>mene</i>	* <i>moi</i>	* <i>teue</i>	* <i>toi</i>
dat.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>meġ<sup>h</sup>i</i>	* <i>moi</i>	* <i>teb<sup>h</sup>i</i>	* <i>toi</i>
“obl.”	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>me-</i>		* <i>tue-</i>	
Pl.				
nom.	* <i>uei</i>		* <i>iuH</i>	
acc.	* <i>ns</i>	* <i>nōs</i> (?)	* <i>us</i>	* <i>uōs</i> (?)
“obl.”	* <i>ns-</i>	* <i>nos</i>	* <i>us-</i>	* <i>uos</i>

If we compare acc.-obl. \**tue* to gen. \**teue*, we seem to be dealing with an ablaut between zero-grade \**tu-e* vs. full grade \**teu-e*. When applied to gen. \**h<sub>1</sub>men-e*, we would expect an acc.-obl. \**h<sub>1</sub>mn-e*, with an *-n*.<sup>235</sup> I believe that this *-n* can explain the words for ‘I, me’ in Tocharian that have an otherwise unexplicable anlaut \**ñ-* < \**n*<sup>front</sup>:

<sup>235</sup> The fact that the cluster \**-mn-* does not seem to have left traces in the IE languages cited above points to a late-PIE assimilation of \**-mn-* to \**-m-* as is visible in the Ved. instr.sg. of *-man*-stems: e.g. *raśmán-* has instr.sg. *raśmá* and *drāghmán-* has instr.sg. *drāghmá*, both from \**-mn-oh<sub>1</sub>*. When the preceding root contained a labial consonant, the cluster *-mn-* was assimilated to *-n-*: Ved. instr.sg. *prathiná* from *prathimán-*, *preṇá* from *premán-*, *bhūná* from *bhūmán-*, *mahiná* from *mahimán-* and *variṇá* from *varmán-*; but also Skt. *budhná-* ‘bottom’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>ud<sup>h</sup>-mno-* as visible in Gr. *πυθμῆν* ‘bottom’; Av. *raoṇa-* ‘butter’ < \**Hre/ouġ<sup>h</sup>-mno-* as visible in Icel. *rjómi* ‘cream’ < \**reugman-* and MHG *rōme* < \**raugman-*; PGerm. *bragna-* ‘brain’ < \**mrog<sup>h</sup>-mno-* as visible in Gr. *βρέχμα* ‘skull’ (last examples taken from Kroonen 2006).

Sg.	TochB	TochA	TochB	TochA
nom.	<i>ñäs'</i>	m. <i>näs</i> , f. <i>ñuk</i>	<i>tuwe</i>	<i>tu</i>
obl.	id.	id.	<i>ci</i>	<i>cu</i>
gen.	<i>ñi</i>	<i>ñi</i>	<i>tañ</i>	<i>tñi</i>
Pl.				
Nom.	<i>wes</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yas</i>
Obl.	id.	id.	id.	id.
Gen.	<i>wesi, wesäñ</i>	<i>wasäm</i>	<i>yesi, yesäñ</i>	<i>yasäm</i>

All in all, the outer-Anatolian IE languages point to the following basic system (disregarding the dat.sg. forms):

nom.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>eǵH</i>	<i>*tuH</i>
obl.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>men- / *h<sub>1</sub>mn-</i>	<i>*teu- / tu-</i>
encl.	<i>*moi</i>	<i>*toi</i>
nom.	<i>*uei</i>	<i>*iuH</i>
obl.	<i>*ns-</i>	<i>*us-</i>
encl.	<i>*nos</i>	<i>*uos</i>

### 2.1.3 The Anatolian system: the singular forms

With the above system in mind, let us first look at the words for 'I, me' and 'you (sg.)'. Of the Anatolian languages, the Hittite forms are best attested and probably reflect the most archaic system:

Hitt.	'I'		'you (sg.)'	
nom.	<i>ú-uk</i>		<i>zi-i-ik</i>	
acc.	<i>am-mu-uk</i>	= <i>mu</i>	<i>tu-uk</i>	= <i>t-ta / =d-du</i>
gen.	<i>am-me-el</i>		<i>tu-e-el</i>	
dat.	<i>am-mu-uk</i>	= <i>mu</i>	<i>tu-uk</i>	= <i>t-ta / =d-du</i>
abl.	<i>am-me-e-da-az</i>		<i>tu-e-da-az</i>	

The gen.sg.-ending *-el* and the abl.-ending *-ēdaz* are clearly of secondary origin, being taken over from the other pronouns. So the basic Hittite system is as follows:

nom.	<i>āk</i>		<i>zīk</i>
acc.-dat.	<i>ammuk</i>		<i>tuk</i>
“obl.”	<i>amm-</i>		<i>tu-</i>
encl.	<i>=mu</i>		<i>=tta / =ttu</i>

The other Anatolian languages show the following forms:

Palaic				
nom.	--		<i>ti-i</i>	
acc.-dat.	--	<i>=mu</i>	<i>tu-ú</i>	
CLuwian				
nom.	--		<i>ti-i</i>	
acc.-dat.	--	<i>=mu, =mi(?)</i>	--	
gen.adj.	--		<i>tuṽa/i-</i>	
HLuwian				
nom.	<i>á-mu</i>		<i>ti</i>	
acc.-dat.	<i>á-mu</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>=tu</i>
gen.adj.	<i>á-ma/i-</i>		<i>tu-wa/i-</i>	
Lydian				
nom.	<i>amu</i>		--	
dat.	<i>amu</i>		--	
gen.adj.	<i>ēmi-</i>		--	
Lycian				
nom.	<i>ēmu, emu, amu</i>		--	
dat.	<i>emu</i>		--	
gen.adj.	<i>ēmi-</i>		--	

Since in none of these languages word-final velars are attested, it is likely that these regularly were lost. As I have shown in Kloekhorst 2004: 39, HLuw. *á-mu* must be interpreted as */ʔmu/*. Since the hieroglyphic script did not distinguish between single and geminate consonants, *á-mu* can safely be equated with Hitt. *ammuk* < PANat. *\*/ʔMug/*, which in my view is the preform of Lyd. *amu*<sup>236</sup> and Lyc. *emu*<sup>237</sup> as well. It is clear that in these languages the acc.-dat. ‘me’ has spread at the cost of the original nom. ‘I’.

<sup>236</sup> The *ē-* of Lyd. gen.adj. *ēmi-* is the regular outcome of raising of *\*a-* due to the following *-i-*.

<sup>237</sup> Which has a variant *amu* due to *u*-umlaut.

I therefore arrive at the following Proto-Anatolian reconstruction:

nom.	*ʔúǵ	*tǵ
acc.-dat.	*ʔMúǵ	*túǵ
“obl.”	*ʔM-	*tu-
encl.	*=mu	*=to(?) / *=tu

Note that I interpret Hitt. *ú-uk* as /ʔúǵ/<sup>238</sup> in analogy to e.g. *e-eš* ‘be!’ = /ʔés/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>és*, *e-ep* ‘take!’ = /ʔép/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ép*, *e-et* ‘eat!’ /ʔéd/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>éd*, *i-it* ‘go!’ /ʔíd/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>íd<sup>h</sup>i*, etc. There is in my view no indication to assume that *ú-uk* would have a long *ū* (contra Melchert 1994a: 84).

If we compare PAnat. \*ʔúǵ ‘I’ to the form \**h<sub>1</sub>eǵH*, which is reconstructed on the basis of the other IE languages, we see that it contains an unexpected *-u-*. It is generally assumed that this *-u-* in one way or another derives from the paradigm of ‘you’.

Nevertheless, within the PAnat. paradigm of ‘you’, nom. \**tǵ* is remarkable in the sense that, when compared with \**tuH* as reconstructed on the basis of the other IE languages, it does not contain an *-u-*.

In order to explain this situation, several rather *ad hoc* attempts have been made. For instance, Georgiev (1978) assumes that Hitt. *zīk* (which he falsely reads as *zek*) reflects \**tue-ge*, showing a development \**tu-* > Hitt. *z-*. Apart from the fact that this does not take into account Pal. *tī*, CLuw. *tī* and HLuw. *tī* ‘you’, a development \**tu-* > Hitt. *z-* is falsified by e.g. *tuekk-* ‘body’ < \**tuek-*. Melchert (1994a: 84) assumes a development \**tū* > \**tyū* > \**tyī* > \**tī* but such a development is unparalleled in Anatolian. It is important to note that his argument that “the preform \**tū* is independently required in PA[nat.] as the source of the long *ū* of the first singular nominative \**tǵ* seen in Hitt. *tǵ*” is incorrect since the spelling *ú-uk* does not necessarily point to a long *ū*, but just stands for /ʔúǵ/.

In my view, the form \**tǵ*, of which the *-g* can easily be of a secondary origin and the *-ī* must reflect \**-ih<sub>1</sub>-*,<sup>239</sup> cannot be explained from a pre-form \**tuH* in any phonetically regular way. Moreover, I do not see how this form could have been a secondary innovation on the basis of analogy: there is no *-i-* available in the personal pronouns on the basis of which an original \**tuH* could be altered to PAnat. \**tih<sub>1</sub>*. We therefore cannot conclude otherwise than that the Anatolian system \**tih<sub>1</sub>*, \**tu-* is more archaic than the system \**tuH*, *tu-* as reflected in the

<sup>238</sup> With /ǵ/ on the basis of *ú-ke-el*, *ú-ki-la* ‘I (emph.)’.

<sup>239</sup> Note that \*\**-ih<sub>2</sub>* would have yielded \*\**-e* (cf. nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke-e* ‘these’ < \**kīh<sub>2</sub>*).

other IE languages<sup>240</sup> and that this latter system therefore must have been an innovation, namely taking over the obl.-stem *tu-* into the nominative<sup>241</sup> and altering *\*tīh<sub>1</sub>* to *\*tuH* (which therefore must be identified as *\*tuh<sub>1</sub>*).<sup>242</sup>

This means that *\*ʔúǵ* ‘I’ cannot have gotten its *-u-* from ‘you’ (which was never *\*tuH*, but always *\*tīh<sub>1</sub>*), and therefore must have been influenced by *\*ʔMúǵ* (again nominative influenced by obl.)

All in all I arrive at the following scenario:

PIE		
nom.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>éǵH</i>	<i>*tīh<sub>1</sub></i>
acc.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mn-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>
obl.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mn-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>

stage (1): the *-u-* of acc. *\*tu-* is taken over to *\*h<sub>1</sub>mn-*

nom.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>éǵH</i>	<i>*tīh<sub>1</sub></i>
acc.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mnu-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>
obl.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>mn-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>

stage (2): spread of *-u-* of acc. *\*h<sub>1</sub>mnu-* to nom. *\*h<sub>1</sub>eǵH*; assimilation of *-mn-* to *-M-*; loss of word-final laryngeal

nom.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>úǵ</i>	<i>*tí</i>
acc.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>Mu-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>
obl.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>M-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>

stage (3): either addition of the element *\*-ge* in nom. and acc., or spread of word-final *\*-ǵ* of *\*h<sub>1</sub>uǵ*

nom.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>úǵ</i>	<i>*tí-ǵ<sup>(e)</sup></i>
acc.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>Mú-ǵ<sup>(e)</sup></i>	<i>*tú-ǵ<sup>(e)</sup></i>
obl.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>M-</i>	<i>*tu-</i>

<sup>240</sup> Including Tocharian where Tocharian *tu*, Tocharian *tu*, *tuwe* reflect *\*tuH(om)*.

<sup>241</sup> Which is a very common development, compare e.g. the Luvian languages where PANat. nom. *\*ʔúǵ* ‘I’ was replaced by acc.-dat. *\*ʔMúǵ* ‘me’.

<sup>242</sup> Thus already Cowgill 1965: 169<sup>36</sup>. The fact that the Anatolian branch retained the older situation, *\*tīH*, *\*tu-*, whereas all the other IE languages (including Tocharian) show the innovated system *\*tuH*, *tu-*, is an argument in favour of the view that the Anatolian branch was the first one to split off from PIE, cf. § 0.6.

stage (4): loss of word-final *-e*

PAnat.		
nom.	*ʔúǵ	*túǵ <sup>(ʔ)</sup>
acc.-dat.	*ʔMúǵ <sup>(ʔ)</sup>	*túǵ <sup>(ʔ)</sup>
obl.	*ʔM-	*tu-

For a treatment of the enclitic forms, I refer to their own lemmas.

#### 2.1.4 The Anatolian system: the plural forms

In Hitite, the plural forms are as follows:

nom.	<i>ú-e-eš</i>		<i>šu-me-eš</i>	
acc.	<i>an-za-a-aš</i>	= <i>(n)na-aš</i>	<i>šu-ma-a-aš</i>	= <i>š-ma-aš</i>
gen.	<i>an-ze-el</i>		<i>šu-me-en-za-an</i>	
dat.	<i>an-za-a-aš</i>	= <i>(n)na-aš</i>	<i>šu-ma-a-aš</i>	= <i>š-ma-aš</i>
abl.	<i>an-ze-da-az</i>		<i>šu-me-e-da-az</i>	

Again, the endings *-ēl*, *-edaz* and *-enzan* are likely taken over from the other personal pronouns and are irrelevant. So the basic system is

nom.	<i>uēš</i>	<i>šumeš</i>
acc.-dat.	<i>anzāš</i>	<i>šumāš</i>
obl.	<i>anz-</i>	<i>šum-</i>
encl.	= <i>(n)naš</i>	= <i>šmaš</i>

In the other Anatolian languages, these pronouns are only scarcely attested:

CLuwian		
nom.	--	--
acc.-dat.	<i>an-za, a-an-za, an-za-aš</i>	<i>u-za-aš</i>
HLuwian		
nom.	<i>a-zu<sup>2</sup>-za</i>	<i>u-zu<sup>2</sup>-sa, u-zu<sup>2</sup>-za</i>
acc.-dat.	-- =nz	--
abl.-instr.	--	<i>u-za-ri+i</i>
gen.adj.	<i>a-za/i-</i>	--

The plural forms of the first person ('we') are directly comparable to the PIE system, which had nom. *\*uei* (with Hitt.  $\bar{u}\bar{e}\bar{s}$  < *\*uei-s* or *\*uei-es*, compare Goth. *weis* < *\*uei-s*), obl. *\*ns-* and encl. *\*nos*. The Hitt. acc.-dat. *anzāš* shows the ending *-āš*, which is the accentuated variant of the normal dat.-loc.pl.-ending *-aš*. In HLuwian, where *a-zu<sup>2</sup>-za* and *a-za/i-* likely stand for /ant<sup>s</sup>-, the oblique stem *\*ns-* was taken over into the nominative as well (compare 'I' above).

The interpretation of the plural forms of the second person ('you') is far less clear. The Hitt. stem *šum-* and the Luwian stem *uz-* do not seem to fit into one PANational pre-form easily. Often, *šumeš* has been interpreted as the metathesized outcome of *\*usme* as visible in PIr. *\*usmá* and Gr. ὄμμε. The element *\*-me* seems to be a Graeco-Indo-Iranian innovation, however, and does not occur in the Hittite paradigm of 'we, us' (where we would have expected *\*asme-* or similar). Moreover, this assumption does not explain the enclitic =*šmaš*.



## 2.2 THE HITTITE VERBAL SYSTEM

The Hittite verbal system knows many different inflection types, all with its characteristic forms. Each of this inflection type has its own prehistory. When we look at the Hittite texts diachronically, we see that this verbal system is in decline, however. Some inflection types are disappearing in the course of Hittite, whereas others are expanding rapidly. This causes the situation that a single verb sometimes can show forms that belong to a great number of different inflection classes. Since the historical linguist is mainly interested in the oldest linguistic situation as this provides the best information on the prehistory of a language, it is very important that in the case of the verbal system, the oldest inflection type of each verb is established, and that of each verb a detailed description is made of the development it shows during the attested period. In this way we can establish which inflection types were productive, which inflection type usually was taken over into a specific other inflection type, etc. With this knowledge, we should be able to gain a better insight in the possible origins of verbs that are not very well attested.

In order to do so, it is important that we classify the different inflection types that are available in Hittite. Such a task was taken up by Oettinger in his 1979 masterpiece *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*. Although this book is still of very much value today, I believe that it is outdated in certain respects and that the views presented in it cannot all be upheld anymore. I therefore have chosen to set up my own classification that, although for the largest part based on Oettinger's work, is in some respects different. In the following chapter I will present the classification of the Hittite verbal system that I have used throughout this book. Of each inflection type, which are all provided with their own code, the following information will be given: original paradigm; prehistory; development during the attested Hittite texts; list of verbs that belong to this type originally.

### *2.2.1 Basic division and sub-grouping*

The first division that can be made within the Hittite verbal system is between verbs that show an original active and verbs that show an original middle

inflection. This presents us with the first problem: some verbs show active as well as middle forms in the oldest texts already. Usually these verbs show a semantic difference between the active and the middle forms (e.g. *eš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to seat oneself’ vs. *eš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to sit’), but sometimes such a difference is not graspable (e.g. *paḥš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* besides *paḥš-<sup>i</sup>*, both ‘to protect, to be loyal to’). Formally, these verbs sometimes use one stem (e.g. *eš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *aš-* besides *eš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aš-*), but sometimes the stems are different (e.g. *ḫuett-<sup>u(a(ri))</sup>* besides *ḫuttiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw, to pull’, or *nē-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* besides *nai-<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-* ‘to turn’). It must be noted that in the case of originally different stems for the active and the middle, in the course of time these stems heavily influenced each other (see under their respective lemmas for the development in the latter two verbs). The active verbs are codified here with the roman numbers I and II (see below for the difference between I and II), whereas the middle verbs are codified with the roman number III.

### 2.2.2 The active verbs

Within the group of verbs that show an active inflection, the number of different inflection types is the largest. Nevertheless, we first can make another basic division within the active verbs, namely in verbs that show the *mi*-inflection and verbs that show the *ḫi*-inflection. The difference between these two is determined by their verbal endings. In the present tense, for instance, *mi*-inflected verbs have the endings *-mi*, *-ši*, *-zi* for the singular and *-uēni*, *-tteni*, *-anzi* for the plural, whereas *ḫi*-inflected verbs show *-ḫḫi* (*-ḫḫe*), *-tti*, *-i* (*-e*), *-uēni*, *-šteni*, *-anzi*. It must be noted that sometimes an ending of the one type spreads at the cost of the ending of the other type (e.g. the *mi*-ending 2sg.pres.act. *-ši* is gradually being replaced by the *ḫi*-ending *-tti* throughout Hittite, whereas the *ḫi*-ending 2pl.pres.act. *-šteni* is being replaced by the *mi*-ending *-tteni*; see at their respective lemmas for a full treatment of the verbal endings and their rise or fall within the Hittite period), but nevertheless, the basic division between *mi*-inflection types and *ḫi*-inflection types is present up to the last Hittite texts. It is important to notice that a particular verbal suffix in principle always takes the same set of endings: e.g. *-iē/a-* (= the *-iē/a-*-class) always uses *mi*-endings, but *-ai-/i-* (= the *dāi/tiḫanzi*-class) always *ḫi*-endings. It therefore is not useful to say that, for instance, the verb *nai-* / *\*ni-* ‘to turn’, which was originally *ḫi*-conjugated, is becoming *mi*-conjugated in younger Hittite. We should rather say that the stem *nai-<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-* (inflecting according to the *dāi/tiḫanzi*-class, which happens to be *ḫi*-conjugating) from MH times onwards is being replaced by the

stem *niĵe/a<sup>zi</sup>* (according to the *-ĵe/a*-class, which happens to be *mi*-conjugating). The inflection types that use *mi*-endings are codified with roman I, whereas the *hi*-conjugating inflection types are codified with II.

### I = *mi*-conjugation

2.2.2.1 Within the *mi*-conjugated verbs three types must be distinguished: (a) unextended *mi*-verbs that show ablaut; (b) *mi*-verbs that do not show ablaut; (c) *mi*-verbs that show a thematic suffix.

#### Ia = unextended ablauting *mi*-verbs

2.2.2.1.a The ablauting *mi*-verbs go back to two PIE verbal categories, namely the root-present and the root-aorist.

For the root-present we can compare the verb ‘to be’.

	PIE	Gr.	Skt.	Hitt.
1sg.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>és-mi</i>	εἰμί	<i>ásmi</i>	<i>ēšmi</i>
2sg.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>és-si</i>	εἶ	<i>ási</i>	<i>ēšši</i>
3sg.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>és-ti</i>	ἐστί	<i>ásti</i>	<i>ēšzi</i>
1pl.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>s-mé(s)</i>	ἐσμέν	<i>smás</i>	* <i>ašūēni</i>
2pl.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>s-th<sub>1</sub>é</i>	ἐστέ	<i>sthá</i>	* <i>aštēni</i>
3pl.	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>s-énti</i>	εἰσὶ	<i>sánti</i>	<i>ašanzi</i>

For the root-aorist we can compare the verb ‘to put’. Because there is no trace of an augment in Hittite, I have cited here the injunctive forms as attested in Greek (with additional forms out of the paradigm of ἵστημι ‘to stand’) and in Sanskrit (with an additional example of *var-* ‘to cover’). The Hittite verb *tē<sup>zi</sup>* in fact denotes ‘to speak’ (the plural forms are taken from compound verbs like *pehute<sup>zi</sup>* / *pehut-* ‘to bring (away)’ and *uuate<sup>zi</sup>* / *uuat-* ‘to bring (here)’).

	PIE	Gr.	Skt.	Hitt.
1sg.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-m</i>	[σπῆν]	* <i>dhám</i>	<i>tēnun</i>
2sg.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-s</i>	[σπῆς]	<i>dhás</i>	<i>tēš</i>
3sg.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-t</i>	[σπῆ]	<i>dhát</i>	<i>tēt</i>
1pl.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-mé</i>	θέμεν	* <i>dháma</i>	° <i>tumen</i>
2pl.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-té</i>	θέτε	* <i>dháta</i>	° <i>tatten</i>
3pl.	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ént</i>	θέσαν	<i>dhúr</i> , [vran]	° <i>tēr</i> , ° <i>danzi</i>

On the basis of the fact that the formation of the PIE imperfect (ablaut  $*e/\emptyset$ , secondary endings) was identical to the formation of the root-aorist (also  $*e/\emptyset$ -ablaut and secondary endings), the two categories easily fell together in Hittite. On the basis of the root-aorist a new inflection with primary endings (= addition of  $-i$ ) was created which had presentic meaning and was formally identical to the root-present.

As we see, the PIE ablaut was  $*e$  (in the singular) vs.  $*\emptyset$  (in the plural). This PIE ablaut-type yielded six different ablaut-types in synchronic Hittite:  $e/\emptyset$ ,  $a/\emptyset$ ,  $e/a$ ,  $a/a$ ,  $e/i$ ,  $a/i$ . The verb *paḫi-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pai-* ‘to go’ has its own class.

**Ia1** *mi*-verbs with  $e/\emptyset$ -ablaut.

2.2.2.1.b This class consists of verbs of the structure *CueC-*, *Cmen-* and of the structure  $*Ceh_1-$ , to which the nasal-infix verbs of the structure  $*CR-ne-h_1-$  belong as well. Note that in *zinni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *zinn-* and *duḫarni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *duḫarn-* original  $*-ē-$  <  $*-eh_1-$  has been raised to  $-i-$ . The verbs of this type most clearly reflect the PIE  $*e/\emptyset$ -ablaut.

*aršane-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aršan-* ‘to be envious’ <  $*h_{1,3}rs-ne-h_1-$  /  $*h_{1,3}rs-n-h_1-$ ; *ḫuek-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫuk-* ‘to slaughter’ <  $*h_2ueg^{(h)}-$  /  $*h_2ug^{(h)}-$ ; *ḫuek-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫuk-* ‘to conjure’ <  $*h_2ueg^{(h)}-$  /  $*h_2ug^{(h)}-$ ; *ḫuiš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫuš-* ‘to live’  $*h_2ues-$  /  $*h_2us-$ ; *ḫulle-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫull-* ‘to smash’ <  $*h_2ul-ne-h_1-$  /  $*h_2ul-n-h_1-$ ; *kuen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kun-* ‘to kill’ <  $*g^{wh}en-$  /  $*g^{wh}n-$ ; *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* ‘to cut’ <  $*k^wer-$  /  $*k^wr-$ ; *peḫute-<sup>zi</sup>* / *peḫut-* ‘to bring (there)’ <  $*h_1poi + *h_2ou + *d^h eh_1-$  /  $*d^h h_1-$ ; *peḫe-<sup>zi</sup>* / *peḫ-* ‘to send’ <  $*h_1poi + *h_1ieh_1-$  /  $*h_1ih_1-$ ; *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-* ‘to pass by’ <  $*smen-$  /  $*smn-$ ; *tē-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to state, to say’ <  $*d^h eh_1-$ ; *duḫarni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *duḫarn-* ‘to break’ <  $*d^h ur-ne-h_1-$  /  $*d^h ur-n-h_1-$ ; *uḫe-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uḫ-* ‘to send (here)’ <  $*h_2ou + *h_1ieh_1-$  /  $*h_1ih_1-$ ; *uḫate-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uḫat-* ‘to bring (here)’ <  $*h_2ou + x + *d^h (e)h_1-$  /  $*d^h h_1-$ ; *uērite-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uērit-* ‘to fear’ <  $x + *d^h eh_1-$  /  $*d^h h_1-$ ; *uete-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uēt-* ‘to build’ <  $x + *d^h eh_1$  /  $*d^h h_1-$ ; *zinni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *zinn-* ‘to finish’ <  $*ti-ne-h_1-$  /  $*ti-n-h_1-$ .

**Ia2** *mi*-verbs with  $a/\emptyset$ -ablaut.

2.2.2.1.c This class consists of verbs in which the  $*e$  of the singular forms regularly is coloured to  $a$  by a neighbouring laryngeal or due to the development  $*eRCC > aRCC$ .

*ḫā-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫ-* ‘to believe’ <  $*h_3eH-$  /  $*h_3H-$  or  $*h_2eh_3-$  /  $*h_2h_3-$ ; *ḫarna-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḫarn-* ‘to sprinkle’ <  $*h_2r-ne-h_{2/3}-$  /  $*h_2r-n-h_{2/3}-$ ; *kallišš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kališš-* /kaLiS- / kliS- ‘to call’ <  $*kelh_1s-$  /  $*klh_1s-$ , *ma-<sup>zi</sup>* / *m-* ‘to disappear(?)’ <  $*meh_{2/3}-$  /  $*mh_{2/3}-??$

**Ia3** *mi*-verbs with *e/a*-ablaut: the *e/a*-class.

2.2.2.1.d This class consists of *mi*-verbs that show a synchronic ablaut *e/a*. It contains important verbs like *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’ and *ed<sup>-zi</sup> / ad-* ‘to eat’. Although it is clear that *-e-* of the strong stem directly reflects PIE *\*-e-*<sup>243</sup>, the origin of *-a-* of the weak stem has caused some debate.

In some of the verbs of this class, it is quite clear that the *-a-* as written in the weak stem is not phonologically real: *ta-ra-an-zi* ‘they speak’ reflects *\*tr-énti* and therefore must represent phonological /tránt<sup>s</sup>i/; *ma-ra-an-du* ‘they must disappear’ < *\*mr-éntu* must be phonologically interpreted as /mrántu/. So in verbs of the structure *\*CeR-* the PIE zero-grade stem *\*CR-* yielded Hitt. *CR-* that is spelled *CaR-*, with an empty *-a-*.

Regarding the interpretation of the *a-* as found in the weak stems of the verbs *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’, *ed<sup>-zi</sup> / ad-* ‘to eat’, *eku<sup>-zi</sup> / aku-* ‘to drink’ and *epp<sup>-zi</sup> / app-* ‘to seize’, matters are less clear. These verbs all show the structure *\*h<sub>1</sub>eC-*, and it therefore seems obvious to assume that the weak stems *aC-* reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>C-*. Nevertheless, in view of the loss of initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* before consonants in isolated forms (*\*h<sub>1</sub>C- > C-*, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), the retention of *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* in these verbs cannot be phonetically regular.<sup>244</sup> I therefore assume that at the time that *\*h<sub>1</sub>* was regularly lost in word-initial position before consonant, the ablaut of stems of the structure /ʔeC- / ʔC-/ still corresponded to the other ablauting *mi*-verbs, which showed an ablaut *\*Ce(R)C- / \*C(R)C-*. In order to avoid an alternation *\*\*ʔeC- / C-*, which would have been fully aberrant in comparison to all other verbs that showed *\*Ce(R)C- / \*C(R)C-*, the initial /ʔ-/ of the full grade was restored.

The question now is: what is the relationship between *\*ʔC-/* and the spelling *aC-*? It has been claimed that *aC-* shows a vocalization of the initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* to *a-*. There is, however, no proof anywhere in Hittite that *\*h<sub>1</sub>* would vocalize to *-a-* in any environment. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, we should rather assume

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<sup>243</sup> In the literature, we still often find the view that the plene spelling of *e* in the singular forms (e.g. *e-eš-mi* ‘I am’, *e-et-mi* ‘I eat’ or *še-e-eš-mi* ‘I sleep’) of some of these verbs indicates original length and points to acrostatic (i.e. ‘Narten’) inflection (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 87, but also still LIV<sup>2</sup>, where e.g. *e-et-mi* is given as *ēdmi*, reflecting *\*\*h<sub>1</sub>ēd-mi*). This view must be abandoned. The plene spelling only indicates the fact that *\*e* is accentuated. For each verb, cf. their respective lemma for my view that all *e/a*-ablauting verbs go back to normal root-presents with *\*e/Ø*-ablaut.

<sup>244</sup> A common other view is that these verbs introduced the *a-* in the weak stem in analogy to *šeš<sup>-zi</sup> / šaš-* ‘to sleep’ (e.g. Melchert 1994a: 66-7, Kimball 1999: 390). This, however, is highly improbable: it is hard to believe that in Hittite a wide-scale leveling within the paradigm of verbs like ‘to be’, ‘to eat’ and ‘to drink’ took place in analogy to one less frequent verb only. Moreover, the *-a-* of *šaš-* probably is an empty vowel as well.

that a spelling like *a-ša-an-zi* must be read as *'a-ša-an-zi*<sup>245</sup> and therefore is comparable to e.g. *ta-ra-an-zi* = /tránt<sup>s</sup>i/ in the sense that it stands for /ʔsánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>sénti*, where *-a-* is nothing more than an empty vowel. The same goes for *ša-ša-an-zi* = /ssánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**ss-énti* ‘they sleep’.

All in all, the synchronic ablaut *e/a* of class Ia3 is equivalent to the ablaut *e/∅* of class Ia1 in the sense that the vowel *-a-* of the weak stem in the former type is just a graphic device to spell the initial consonant cluster /CC-/ and therefore is identical to phonological /∅/.

*eku*<sup>-zi</sup> / *aku*- ‘to drink’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-*; *epp*<sup>-zi</sup> / *app*- ‘to seize’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ep-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>p-*; *ed*<sup>-zi</sup> / *ad*- ‘to eat’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>d-*; *eš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *aš*- ‘to be’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>s-*; *eš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *aš*- ‘to sit’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>s-*; *mer*<sup>-zi</sup> / *mar*- ‘to disappear’ < \**mer-* / \**mr-*; *peš*<sup>-zi</sup> / \**paš*- ‘to rub’ < \**pes-* / \**ps-*; *šeš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *šaš*- ‘to sleep’ < \**ses-* / \**ss-*; *ter*<sup>-zi</sup> / *tar*- ‘to speak’ < \**ter-* / \**tr-*; *ueh*<sup>-zi</sup> / *uah*- ‘to turn’ of secondary origin; *uen*<sup>-zi</sup> / *uuan*- ‘to copulate’ < \**h<sub>1,3</sub>uenh<sub>1</sub>-* / \**h<sub>1,3</sub>unh<sub>1</sub>-*.

#### Ia4 *mi*-verbs with *a/a*-“ablaut”.

2.2.2.1.e This class consists of verbs of the structure \**CeRC-*. In the full-grade forms, \**-e-* yielded Hitt. *-a-* because of the sound law \**eRCC* > Hitt. *aRCC* (note that all endings of the singular start in a consonant). In the zero-grade forms, however, \**CRC-* yielded Hitt. /*CRC-*/, which is phonetically realized as [CəRC-]. In spelling, the full grade stem /*CaRC-*/ fell together with the zero grade stem /*CRC-*/: both are spelled *CaRC-*. This is the reason why these verbs are usually regarded as synchronically non-ablauting. Although I must admit that for the bulk of these verbs it in principle cannot be proven that synchronically in Hittite ablaut still existed, I do believe that in one case this is clear. The verb *ārš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *arš*- ‘to flow’ shows a synchronic ablaut between the strong stem *ārš-* (*a-ar-aš-*, *a-ar-š<sup>o</sup>*) and the weak stem *arš-* (*ar-aš-*, *ar-š<sup>o</sup>*). As I have argued under its lemma, this difference in spelling can only be explained by assuming that *ārš-* represents /ʔars-/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-*, whereas *arš-* represents /ʔrs-/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>rs-*. This means that *ārš-* / *arš-* retained its ablaut throughout Hittite. I therefore think that it is likely that at least a part of the verbs that I have gathered under this class show ablaut in Hittite as well. This ablaut unfortunately cannot be seen in spelling, however.

<sup>245</sup> Taking the sign A as having the value *'a<sub>x</sub>* as is known from Boğazköy Akkadian (cf. Durham 1976: 117).

*ārš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *arš-* ‘to flow’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>ers-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>rs-*; *ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ḫar(k)-* ‘to hold, to keep’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>erk-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>rk-*; *ḫark<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ḫark-* ‘to perish’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>erg-* / \**h<sub>3</sub>rg-*; *ḫarp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ḫarp-* ‘to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-* / \**h<sub>3</sub>rb<sup>h</sup>-*; *išpart<sup>-zi</sup>* / *išpart-* ‘to escape’ \**sperd<sup>h</sup>-* / \**sprd<sup>h</sup>-*; *ištalk<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ištalk-* ‘to make level, to flatten’ \**stelg<sup>h</sup>-* / \**stlg<sup>h</sup>-*; *ištar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ištar(k)-* ‘to ail, afflict’ < \**sterk-* / \**strk-*; *karp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *karp-* ‘to take away, to pick, to pluck’ < \**kerp-* / \**krp-*; *karš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *karš-* ‘to cut off’ < \**kers-* / \**krs-*; *lapp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *lapp-* ‘to catch fire’ < \**leh<sub>2</sub>p-* / \**lh<sub>2</sub>p-*; *papparš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *papparš-* ‘to sprinkle’ < \**-pers-* / \**-prs-*; *parḫ<sup>-zi</sup>* / *parḫ-* ‘to chase’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**b<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>-*; *parš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *parš-* ‘to flee’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>ers-* / \**b<sup>h</sup>rs-*; *šalk<sup>-zi</sup>* / *šalk-* ‘to knead’ < \**selK-* / \**slK-*; *ša(n)ḫ<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ša(n)ḫ-* ‘to seek’ < \**senh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**snh<sub>2</sub>-*; *ša(n)ḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ša(n)ḫu-* ‘to roast’ < \**senh<sub>2</sub>u-* / \**senh<sub>2</sub>u-*; *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tarḫu-* ‘to siege’ < \**terh<sub>2</sub>u-* / \**trh<sub>2</sub>u-*; *tar(k)u<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar(k)u-* ‘to dance’ < \**terk<sup>w</sup>-* / \**trk<sup>w</sup>-*; *uālḫ<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uālḫ-* ‘to hit’ < \**uēlh<sub>3</sub>-* / \**ūlh<sub>3</sub>-*; *ualk<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ualk-* ‘to damage(?)’ < \**uēlg-* / \**ūlg-*; *uarp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uarp-* ‘to wash’ < \**uērp-* / \**urp-*.

### Ia5 *mi*-verbs with *e/i*-ablaut.

2.2.2.1.f This class consists of two verbs only, namely of *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to wish’ and *terepp<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to plough’. This class cannot be treated without referring to the other verbs in Hittite that show a vowel *-e/i-* in their weak stem, namely the verbs of class Ia6 (*tamāšš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* ‘to (op)press’) and of class IIa3 (*karāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *gare/ip-* ‘to devour’, *šarāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *šarip-* ‘to sip’, *ašāš<sup>-i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* ‘to seat’ and *ḫamank<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḫame/ink-* ‘to tie’). As I have shown in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.f, the *-e/i-* in the weak stem *tame/išš-* must be regarded as an anaptyctic vowel /*i*/ that emerged in the cluster \**dmh<sub>2</sub>s-*. In my opinion, this vowel /*i*/ is the one found in the weak stem forms of these verbs as well.

The case of *terepp<sup>-zi</sup>* must be taken together with *karāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *kare/ip-* and *šarāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *šarip-*. In my view it is significant that these verbs are the only ones in Hittite that show a structure \**CRéC-*. In principle, we would expect that the zero-grade form of these verbs, \**CRC-*, would regularly yield Hitt. [CəRC-] (compare at class Ia4 and IIa2), spelled *CaRC-*. We therefore would expect that the ablauting pairs would be \**CRéC-* / \**CRC-* > Hitt. *CRéC-* / *CaRC-* when *mi*-conjugated, and \**CRóC-* / \**CRC-* > Hitt. *CRāC-* : *CaRC-* when *ḫi*-conjugated. Note that in synchronic Hittite it looks as if the vowel is shifting place: strong stem *CRVC-* vs. weak stem *CVRC-*. Since such a Schwebe-ablaut is further absent in Hittite verbs, I believe that it was eliminated here. The zero-grade stem *CRC-* secondarily received the anaptyctic vowel /*i*/ on the place of the full grade vowel. In this way, *mi*-conjugating verbs of the structure \**CRéC-* / \**CRC-* were altered to synchronic *CRéC-* / *CRiC-*, whereas *ḫi*-conjugating verbs of the structure

\*CRóC- / \*CRC- were altered to synchronic CRāC- / CRiC-. In both cases, the weak stem is spelled CRE/iC-.

With this scenario in mind, we can explain *terepp*<sup>-zi</sup> as an ablauting verb *terepp*<sup>-zi</sup> / *tere/ipp*- ‘to plough’, which stands for phonological /trep- / trip-/, the ‘regular’ adaptation of PIE \*trep- / \*trp-.

The case of *uekk*<sup>-zi</sup> is slightly different. As I have shown under its lemma, here we are dealing with the principle that a PIE ablaut \**ue/oC-* / \**uC-* is eliminated in Hittite. In analogy to the \**u-* of the full grade, the zero-grade \**uC-* is altered to \**uC-*. This initial cluster then received an anaptyctic vowel, which is /i/ when the following consonant is a stop. So I interpret *uekzi* / *uekkanzi* as /uéktsi / uikántsi / < \**uek-ti* / \**uk-énti*.

**Ia6** *tamāšš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *tame/išš*- ‘to (op)press’.

2.2.2.1.g This verb constitutes a class of its own, since it shows a unique synchronic ā/i- ablaut. As I have shown under its lemma, I regard *tame/išš*- as the regular outcome of the zero-grade stem \**dmh<sub>2</sub>s-*, whereas *tamāšš*- replaced \**tamaḥš-*, which would have been the regular outcome of the full grade stem \**dmeḥ<sub>2</sub>s-*.

**Ia7** *paii*<sup>-zi</sup> / *pai*- ‘to go’.

2.2.2.1.h This verb, too, has its own class, as it shows a unique inflection. Although in the bulk of the attestations both the strong and the weak stem seems to be *pai*-, the oldest texts show a strong stem *paii*-. See its lemma for the discussion of the prehistory of this verb.

#### Ablautpattern of the Ia-verbs

2.2.2.1.i In all *mi*-verbs that show ablaut, this ablaut can be traced back to the PIE ablaut \**e/Ø* that is inherited from the PIE root present and root aorist. I have recorded the distribution of these ablaut-vowels over the verbal paradigms in the following schemes, first giving the attested Hittite forms (the verb *kue(n)*<sup>-zi</sup> / *kun*- ‘to kill’ with additional forms from *epp*<sup>-zi</sup> / *app*- ‘to seize’, *tē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to state’, *eš*<sup>-zi</sup> / *aš*- ‘to be’ and *i*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go’), then an abstraction of these Hittite data, followed by the reconstructed PIE forms, exemplified by Sanskrit forms (the verbs *han-/ghn*- ‘to kill’ and *as-/s*- ‘to be’), using the present injunctive as the counterpart of the Hittite preterite. Forms between square brackets show the historically unexpected ablaut grade. Forms marked with † are in fact unattested.



pres.					
1sg.	<i>ku-e-mi</i>	<i>CéC-mi</i>	* <i>CéC-mi</i>	<i>hánmi</i>	<i>ásmi</i>
2sg.	<i>ku-e-ši</i>	<i>CéC-si</i>	* <i>CéC-si</i>	<i>hámsi</i>	<i>ási</i>
3sg.	<i>ku-e-en-zi</i>	<i>CéC-zi</i>	* <i>CéC-ti</i>	<i>hánti</i>	<i>ásti</i>
1pl.	<i>ap-pu-e-ni</i>	<i>CC-úeni</i>	* <i>CC-més(i)</i>	[ <i>hanmah</i> ]	<i>smási</i>
2pl.	<i>ap-te-ni</i>	<i>CC-téni</i>	* <i>CC-th<sub>1</sub>é</i>	<i>hathá</i>	<i>sthá</i>
3pl.	<i>ku-na-an-zi</i>	<i>CC-ánzi</i>	* <i>CC-énti</i>	<i>ghnánti</i>	<i>sánti</i>
pret.					
1sg.	<i>ku-e-nu-un</i>	<i>CéC-un</i>	* <i>CéC-m</i>	† <i>hánam</i>	† <i>ásam</i>
2sg.	<i>te-e-eš</i>	<i>CéC-s</i>	* <i>CéC-s</i>	<i>hán</i>	† <i>áh</i>
3sg.	<i>ku-en-ta, te-e-et</i>	<i>CéC-t</i>	* <i>CéC-t</i>	<i>hán</i>	† <i>áh</i>
1pl.	[ <i>ku-e-u-en</i> ]	<i>CC-úén</i> <sup>246</sup>	* <i>CC-mé</i>	† <i>hamáh</i>	† <i>smáh</i>
2pl.	[ <i>ku-en-ten</i> ]	* <i>CC-tén</i> <sup>247</sup>	* <i>CC-té</i>	† <i>hatá</i>	† <i>stá</i>
3pl.	[ <i>ku-e-ner</i> ]	* <i>CC-ér</i> <sup>248</sup>	* <i>CC-ént</i>	† <i>hán</i>	<i>sán</i>
imp.					
1sg.	<i>e-eš-li-it</i>	<i>CéC-lit</i> <sup>249</sup>			
2sg.	<i>ku-e-ni</i>	<i>CéCi</i>			
	<i>e-ep</i>	<i>CéC</i>			
	<i>i-it</i>	<i>CC-t</i>	* <i>CC-d<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>jahi</i>	[ <i>edhi</i> ]
3sg.	<i>ku-en-du</i>	<i>CéC-tu</i>	* <i>CéC-tu</i>	<i>hántu</i>	<i>ástu</i>

<sup>246</sup> Synchronically in Hittite, the normal form of 1pl.pret.act. is *CeC-úen*: *e-ep-pu-en*, *e-šu-en*, *e-du-en*, *e-ku-en*, *še-eš-u-en* etc. Nevertheless, the original form probably was *CC-úen*, as still visible in *ap-pu-en* ‘we seized’ (KUB 34.77 obv. 2 (OH or MH/NS)), *ú-e-tu<sub>1</sub>-me-en* ‘we built’ (KBo 4.1 i 28 (NH)), *hu-ul-lu-mé-en* (KUB 23.21 obv. 29 (MH/NS)), *hu-ul-lu-um-me-[en]* (KBo 3.15, 6 (NS)) ‘we smashed’, and possibly *hu-u-ga-u-en* ‘we conjured’ (KUB 18.12 obv. 13 (NH)). This *CC-úen* corresponds to the zero-grade form that we find in the *hi*-conjugated verbs.

<sup>247</sup> Synchronically in Hittite the normal form of 2pl.pret.act. is *CeC-ten*, cf. *e-ep-te-en*, *e-eš-te-en*, *ku-en-ten*, etc. Nevertheless, on the basis of the original zero-grade in 1pl.pret.act. and on the zero-grade forms in the preterite plural of *hi*-conjugated verbs I assume that originally this form was *CC-ten*.

<sup>248</sup> Synchronically in Hittite, the normal form of 3pl.pret.act. is *CéC-er*, however: *e-ep-pér*, *e-ku-er*, *e-še-er*, *e-te-er*, *ku-e-re-er*, *še-e-š[e-er]*. Nevertheless, on the basis of the original zero-grade in 1pl.pret.act. and on the zero-grade forms in the preterite plural of *hi*-conjugated verbs I assume that originally this form was \**CC-ér* as well. This \**CC-ér* is possibly visible *ú-ya-te-er*, *ú-e-te-er* and *pé-e-hu-te-er* although these verbs in principle could reflect both \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ér* as well as \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-ér*.

<sup>249</sup> See at the lemma *-llu*, *-lit* for a detailed treatment of the formation of the 1sg.imp.-form.

2pl.	[ <i>ku-en-te-en</i> ], <i>i-it-te-en</i>	<i>CC-tén</i> <sup>250</sup>	* <i>CC-té</i>	<i>hatá</i>	† <i>stá</i>
3pl.	<i>ku-na-an-du</i>	<i>CC-ánu</i>	* <i>CC-éntu</i>	<i>ghnantu</i>	<i>sántu</i>
part.	<i>ku-na-an-t-</i>	<i>CC-ánt-</i>	* <i>CC-ént-</i>	<i>ghnánt-</i>	<i>sánt-</i>
v.n.	<i>e-šu-ua-ar</i>	<i>CéC-uar</i>	* <i>CéC-ur</i>	--	
v.n.	<i>ap-pa-a-tar</i>	<i>CC-átar</i>			
inf.I	<i>e-ep-pu-ua-an-zi</i>	<i>CéC-uanzi</i>			
inf.II	<i>ap-pa-an-na</i>	<i>CC-ánna</i>			
impf.	<i>ap-pi-iš-ke/a-</i>	<i>CC-ské/á-</i>	* <i>CC-ské/ó-</i>	e.g. <i>uchá-</i>	< * <i>us-ské/ó-</i>

### Ib = non-ablauting *mi*-verbs

2.2.2.1.j Within this class we need to distinguish three types, which I have called Ib1, Ib2 and Ib3.

#### Ib1 unextended non-ablauting *mi*-verbs.

2.2.2.1.k This class consists of *mi*-verbs that do not show a suffix (at least from a synchronic point of view) and that do not show ablaut. This does not mean that they never showed ablaut however: in a few of these verbs it is clear that of an original ablauting pair only one stem was generalized throughout the paradigm: e.g. *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wipe’ originally belonged to an ablauting verb *ānš-<sup>i</sup>* / *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* < \**h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>s-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>s-*, of which eventually both stems formed their own paradigm (cf. *ānš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to wipe’); *kane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to recognize’ originally belonged to an ablauting verb \**kanāš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* < \**ǵneh<sub>3</sub>s-* / \**ǵnh<sub>3</sub>s-*, of which the weak stem *kane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* has been generalized; *gulš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to carve’ originally belonged to an ablauting verb \**kuels-* / *kuls-* < \**k<sup>w</sup>els-* / \**k<sup>w</sup>ls-* in which the weak stem *gulš-* has been generalized.

In other verbs, the original full-grade and zero-grade (graphically) merged, e.g.: *takš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to devise, to unify’ may stand for /*taks-* / *tkš-* / < \**teks-* / \**tkš-*, of which both the stem /*taks-* / and /*tkš-* / are spelled *takš-*; *ūpp-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to come up (of the sun)’ probably reflects \**h<sub>1</sub>eup-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>up-*, both of which yield Hitt. *upp-*; *lukk-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to set fire to’ probably reflects \**leuk-* / \**luk-*, both of which yield Hitt. *lukk-*. Of again other verbs only a few forms are known, which means that it is possible that the

<sup>250</sup> The archaic *i-it-te-en* ‘you must go’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>i-té* (Gr. ἴτε, Skt. *itá*) clearly shows that the original form was *CC-tén*. Synchronically in Hittite, the normal form of 2pl.imp.act. is *CeC-ten*, however: *ku-en-te-en*, *e-ep-te-en*, etc.

second stem is unattested by chance: *neku*<sup>-zi</sup> < \**neg*<sup>wh</sup>- ‘to become evening’ is attested in singular forms only, which is the reason that its weak stem counterpart is not attested (we would expect \**ng*<sup>wh</sup>- > Hitt. \*\**naku*-?).

Some of these verbs probably never showed ablaut, however, e.g. *ištamašš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to hear’, which clearly is of denominative origin (*ištaman*- ‘ear’ + -s-).

*āšš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to remain’; *hane/išš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to wipe’; *haššikk*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to satiate oneself’; *i*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go’; *ištamašš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to hear’; *kammarš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to defecate’; *kanen*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bow down’; *kane/išš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to recognize’; *kiš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to comb’; *kukkurš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to mutilate’; *kukuš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to taste’; *gulš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to carve’; *kuḡašš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to kiss’; *le/išš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pick, to gather’; *lip(p)*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to lick up’; *lukk*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to set fire to’; *neku*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become evening’; *pakkušš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pound’; *punušš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to ask’; *pūš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be eclipsed’; *šāi*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become sullen’; *takš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to devise, to unify’; *tarupp*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to collect’; *ūpp*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to come up (of the sun)’; *uatu*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to jump’.

## Ib2 *mi*-verbs in -*ē*-, -*ēšš*- and -*nu*-.

2.2.2.1.1 This class consists of verbs that show non-ablauting athematic suffixes, namely the ‘stative / fientive’ suffix -*ē*- < \**éh*<sub>1</sub>-,<sup>251</sup> the ‘fientive’ suffix -*ēšš*- < \**éh*<sub>1</sub>-*sh*<sub>1</sub>- and the ‘causative’ suffix -*nu*- < \**n(e)u*-.<sup>252</sup> For a treatment of the suffix -*ē*-, cf. Watkins 1973. For a treatment of -*ēšš*- and -*nu*-, see their own lemmas.

Verbs with -*ē*<sup>-zi</sup>:

*haššūē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become king’; *lalukkē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be or become luminous’; *maršē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become corrupt’; *miḡahuntē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become old’; *nakkē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be honoured’; *paprē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be proven guilty’; *parkuē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be pure’; *šullē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become arrogant’.

<sup>251</sup> The reconstruction \**eh*<sub>1</sub>- goes back to Watkins 1973a. Recently, Jasanoff (2002-03: 147) has stated that a reconstruction \**eh*<sub>1</sub>-*je/o*- is possible as well, assuming that \**eh*<sub>1</sub>-*ti* and \**eh*<sub>1</sub>-*je-ti* both would yield Hitt. -*ezi*. In view of the development \**VHiV* > OH /*ViV*/ > NH /*VV*/ as described in § 1.4.8.1.a, this is incorrect, however. A paradigm \**CC-eh*<sub>1</sub>-*ie-ti* / \**CC-eh*<sub>1</sub>-*io-nti* would regularly have yielded OH \*\*/*CCeiet*<sup>s</sup>*i* / *CCeiant*<sup>s</sup>*i*/, spelled °*Ce(e)-i(e)-ez-zi* / °*Ce(e)-ja-an-zi*, which further developed into NH \*\*/*CCet*<sup>s</sup>*i* / *CCeant*<sup>s</sup>*i*/, spelled °*Ce(e)-ez-zi* / °*Ce(e)-ja-an-zi*. Since a spelling with -*i*- does not occur in any of these verbs (only in 3pl.pres.act. *na-ak-ke-ja-a[n-zi]*, which must represent /*nakeant*<sup>s</sup>*i*/ < virtual *nakke*- + -*anzi*), we must stick to Watkins’ reconstruction with -*eh*<sub>1</sub>-.

<sup>252</sup> As we have seen under its lemma, the suffix -*nu*- does show some traces of original ablaut, however: the forms *ḡa-aḡ-nu-ú-mi* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 18 (OS)) and *ḡu-e<ešš>-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28 ii 19 (OH/NS)) show that originally the strong stems showed /-*nū*-/ vs. /-*nu*-/ of the weak stem, reflecting \**CC-néu-ti* / \**CC-nu-énti*.

Verbs with *-ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*:

*ajēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become hot(?)’; *alpuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be sharp’; *arauēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become free’; *ašiyantēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become poor’; *ikunēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become cold’; *išhanallēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become a blood-shedder’; *hannitalyanēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become legal adversaries’; *happinēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become rich’; *harkijēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become white’; *haštālēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become brave’; *hatēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become dry’; *hatkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become tight’; *hatukēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become terrible’; *innarauēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become strong’; *išhaššarūēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become a lord(?)’; *idalauēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become evil’; *karpēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become angry’; *kartimmiešš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become angry’; *kunnēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to turn out right’; *\*lazziēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become well’; *majantēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become a young man’; *makkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become numerous’; *maleškuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become weak’; *maninkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be short’; *marlēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become foolish’; *maršēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become desecrated’; <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*mijaḥuntēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become an old man’; *miešš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to grow; to be born’; *mīēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be mild’; *milit(ō)ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be sweet’; *mišriyēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become bright (of the moon)’; *nakkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become important’; *nakkuššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be(come) a scape-goat’; *palhēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become wide or broad’; *pankuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become plentiful(?)’; *paprēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be found guilty’; *parkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become tall’; *parkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become tall’; *parkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be(come) pure’; *šaknēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be(come) impure’; *šallēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become large’; *šannapilēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be emptied’; *šanezziēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become pleasant’; *šarazziēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to prevail’; *šarkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become mighty’; *šullēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become arrogant’; *šuppiēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become purified’; *talliēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be pleasant(?)’; *dalukēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become long’; *tameummēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become different’; *tampuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become blunt’; *dankuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become black’; *tarḥuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become powerful’; *tarḥuilēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become powerful’; *daššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become heavy’; *tekkuššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become visible’; *tepaūēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become little’; *tepšayēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become *tepšu-*’; *tukkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become important’; *ulēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to hide’; *uantēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become glowing’; *uarḥuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘?’; *uarkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to grow fat’; *ueritēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be frightened’; *zalukēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to take long’.

Verbs with *-nu-<sup>zi</sup>*:

*annanu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to train’; *arnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make go, to transport’; *aršanu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make flow’; *aše/išanu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to seat, to settle’; *āššijānu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make beloved (?)’; *ašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to take care of’; *enu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘?’; *ēššarnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make bloody’; *edrijanu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to feed(?)’; *halinu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make kneel’; *harrānu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to grind’; *harknu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to ruin’; *hargnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make white’; *harnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to spray’; *haššik(ka)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to satiate’; *hašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to bring to birth’; *hatnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cause to dry up’; *hatganu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make tight’; *hatkešnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make tight’; *hatuganu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to terrify’; *hingānu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make bow’; *huinu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make run’; *huišnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make recover, to rescue’; *huntarnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to grunt’; *hunu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to

make run'; *ħušnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make recover, to rescue'; *inu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make hot'; *išħarnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make bloody'; *išparnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to spread'; *išpijanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to saturate'; *ištatanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to delay'; *ištappinu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to shut'; *kanganu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to have (something) weighed'; *kari(ia)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to silence'; *karpanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to pick up'; *karšnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cut off; to cancel'; *kardimi(ia)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make angry'; *karūššijanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to silence'; *genušrinu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make kneel'; *kṯnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to open up'; *kiš(ša)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> '?'; *kištanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to extinguish'; *kuḡašnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make kiss'; *laknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to fell, to knock over'; *lalukke/išnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to illuminate'; *lap(pa)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to kindle'; *linganu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make swear'; *lukkanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make it light(?)'; *maknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to increase'; *mališkunu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make weak'; *maninkuḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to bring near(?)'; *marnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cause to disappear'; *maršanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to desecrate'; *mem(i)anu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make (someone) talk'; *mernu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cause to disappear'; *miḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make (branches) fruit-bearing'; *mienu*<sup>-zi</sup> '?'; *mīnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make mild'; *naḡšarnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make afraid'; *ninganu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to drench'; *nu(n)tarnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to hurry'; *paḡšnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to protect'; *paknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to defame'; *palḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to broaden'; *parḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make gallop'; *parknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make high'; *parkiḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to raise'; *parkunu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cleanse'; *paršnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make flee'; *paršnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to break up'; *pattinu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to run off with'; *pirnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to embezzle(?)'; *pukkanu*<sup>-zi</sup>, *pukkunu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cause (someone) to be hated'; *šaku(ḡa)ntarijanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to neglect'; *šallanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to melt down'; *šallanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to raise, to bring up'; *šamenu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to bypass'; *šaminu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to burn (something)'; *šamešanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to burn (something) into smoke'; *šašnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make sleep (with someone)'; *daluknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to lengthen'; *tamenganu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make attach(?)'; *dammešḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make punish'; *taninu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to install'; *dankuḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make black'; *danku(ḡa)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make black'; *darijanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make tired'; *taruppiḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to bring together'; *daš(ša)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make strong'; *tekkuš(ša)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to reveal'; *tepnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to diminish'; *tepšanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make *tepšu*-'; *tit(ta)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to install'; *dušḡanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make happy'; *unu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to adorn, to decorate'; *ḡaḡnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make turn'; *ḡaggašnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to leave out'; *ḡakšijanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to deny a person of something'; *ḡallanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to erase(?)'; *ḡalganu*<sup>-zi</sup> '?'; *ḡarḡu(ḡa)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to plant densely'; *ḡargnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make fat'; *ḡarnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to set fire to'; *ḡarš(iḡa)nu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to appease (trans.)'; *ḡaštanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to regard as an offense'; *ḡatkunu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make jump'; *ḡeritanu*<sup>-zi</sup>, *ḡeritenu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to scare'; *zanu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to cook (trans.)'; *zaluknu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to postpone'; *zapnu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to sprinkle'; *zinu*<sup>-zi</sup>, *zainu*<sup>-zi</sup> 'to make cross'.

**Ib3** non-ablating *mi*-verbs with *n/∅*-alteration.

2.2.2.1.m This class consists of *mi*-verbs of which the stems end in  ${}^{\circ}V(n)C$ . In the oldest texts, these verbs show a clear distribution between  ${}^{\circ}VnCV$  and  ${}^{\circ}VCC$ , i.e. the nasal is lost before two or more consonants. This distribution is nicely visible in

the following paradigm (examples from *ḫarni(n)k-*, supplemented by forms from *šarni(n)k-* and *ištarni(n)k-*):

	pres.	pret.	imp.		
1sg.	<i>ḫarnikmi</i>	<i>ḫarninkun</i>			
2sg.	<i>ḫarnikši</i>	<i>ḫarnikta</i>	<i>ḫarnik</i>	part.	<i>ḫarninkant-</i>
3sg.	<i>ḫarnikzi</i>	<i>ḫarnikta</i>	<i>ḫarnikdu</i>	v.n.	<i>ḫarninkuṽar</i>
1pl.	<i>ḫarninkueni</i>	<i>ištarninkuen</i>		inf.I	<i>ḫarninkuṽanzi</i>
2pl.	<i>ḫarnikteni</i>	--	<i>ḫarnikten</i>	impf.	<i>ḫarninkiške/a-</i>
3pl.	<i>šarninkanzi</i>	<i>ḫarninker</i>	<i>ḫarninkandu</i>		

I regard the loss of nasal here as a phonetic development<sup>253</sup> that probably took place in recent pre-Hittite times. In young Hittite we come accross forms in which the original distribution between  $^{\circ}VnC-V$  and  $^{\circ}VC-C$  has been given up, probably due to inner-paradigmatical analogy (e.g. *lingazi* instead of original *likzi*, *linkatta* instead of original *likta*, etc.). For the origin of the nasal-infixed verbs (the verbs in *-ni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* and *tame(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*), cf. § 2.2.4 below.

*ḫarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make disappear’, *ḫi(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to offer; to bow’, *ḫuni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to bash’, *išta(n)ḫ-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to taste’, *ištarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to afflict’, *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to swear’, *nini(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to mobilize’, *ni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to quench one’s thirst’, *ša(n)ḫ-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to seek’, *ša(n)ḫu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to roast’, *šarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to compensate’, *tame(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to attach’, *ū(n)ḫ-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to suck(?)’.

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<sup>253</sup> Note that loss of nasal does not occur in verbs like *kānk-<sup>l</sup>* or *ḫamank-<sup>l</sup>* / *ḫame/ink-* (e.g. *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi* / *kānkHi* / *ḫa-ma-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi* / *HmāngHi*), but this is in my view due to the fact that we are here dealing with a preceding /*ā*/. The fact that in /*ānCC*/ the nasal is retained whereas in e.g. \*/*inCC*/ it is lost in my view is comparable to the fact that in Lycian the vowel *a* has a nasalized variant *ã*, but the vowel *i* does not: low vowels apparently were better in retaining a following nasal element than high vowels.

### Ic = *mi*-verbs with a thematic suffix<sup>254</sup>

2.2.2.1.n The third group of *mi*-verbs consists of verbs that show a thematic suffix. I distinguish six types, namely Ic1: *mi*-verbs in *-je/a-*; Ic2: *mi*-verbs in *-ae/-ā-*; Ic3: *mi*-verbs in *-āje/a-*; Ic4: *mi*-verbs in *-ue/a-*; Ic5: *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*; Ic6: *mi*-verbs in *-ške/a-*. The first five groups belong together in the sense that they all ultimately reflect the PIE verbal suffix *\*-je/o-*.

#### Ic1 *mi*-verbs in *-je/a-*: the *-je/a-*-class.

2.2.2.1.o This class is one of the most productive verbal classes in Hittite. In NS texts, almost all verbs show at least a few forms that are inflected according to the *-je/a-*-class. The suffix *-je/a-* clearly goes back to the PIE verbal suffix *\*-je/o-*, which is attested in the IE languages on a wide scale. On the one hand it was a productive suffix to mark imperfectivity, e.g. pres. *\*g<sup>w</sup>m-je-ti* ‘he is going’ (Gr. βαίνω, Lat. *veniō*), besides aor. *\*g<sup>w</sup>m-je-t* ‘he went’ (within Hittite, this distribution is still visible in e.g. *karp(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*, *karš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*, etc.). On the other, it is used to form denominative verbs, e.g. *\*h<sub>3</sub>n(e)h<sub>3</sub>-mn-je/o-* ‘to name’ (Gr. ὀνομάζω, Goth. *namjan*, ModDu. *noemen*, Hitt. *lamnije/a-*).

The Hittite verbs that belong to the *-je/a-*-class are divided in three groups: (A) original *-je/a-*-inflecting verbs (i.e. attested in OS and MS texts already); (B) denominative *je/a-*-inflecting verbs; and (C) secondarily *je/a-*-inflecting verbs (between brackets their original stem).

A: *anije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to work, to carry out’; *arije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to consult an oracle’; *arrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be awake’; *harkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to get lost’; *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pierce, to prick’; *huttije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw, to pull’; *je/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to do, to make’; *imije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to mingle’; *iškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to smear’; *karije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cover, to hide’; *karpije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to take away, to pick, to pluck’; *karšije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cut (off)’; *lalukkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be or become illuminous’; *lukkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to set fire to’; *markije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to disapprove of’; *mumije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to crumble(?)’; *parkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to raise, to lift’; *paršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to break’; *peššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to throw away’; *šije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to shoot’; *šapašije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to scout’; *šarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to embroider’; *šarhije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to attack’; *šūnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to dip’; *tallije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pray’; *tekkuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to show’; *tije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to step’; *tije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to bind’; *tūrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to harness’; *tuškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be

<sup>254</sup> Oettinger 1979a: 259f. also distinguishes an “einfach thematische Klasse”, but all the verbs that he regards as belonging here should be interpreted otherwise: “*hulle-*” = *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>* / *hull-* (Ia1), “*išparre-*” = on the one hand *išpār-<sup>i</sup>* / *išpar-* ‘to spread out’ (IIa2) and on the other *išparra-<sup>i</sup>* / *išparr-* ‘to trample’ (IIa1γ), “*lukke-*” = *lukk(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1 / Ic1), “*malle-*” = *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* (IIa1γ), “*papre-*” = *papre-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2), “*šarre-*” = *šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-* (IIa2), “*šulle-*” = *šulle-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2), “*šuyē-*” = *šuyē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic4), “*uašše-*” = *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic5).

happy'; *ūššije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to draw open (of curtains)'; *uemiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to find'; *ueriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to call, to name'.

B: *appat(a)riye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to take in pledge'; *armizzije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to bridge over'; *armaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to become ill'; *aršije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to plant'; *ermaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to become ill'; *edriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to feed'; *ħahriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to rake'; *ħaliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to watch over'; *ħališšije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to encase'; *ħantiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to face'; *ħap(pa)riye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to trade'; *ħarnamniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to churn'; \**ħaššuyezziye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to become king'; *ħē(ia)uaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to rain'; *ħulāliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to enwrap'; *ħulħuliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to embrace'; *ħuntariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to fart'; *išħezziye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to dominate'; *išħuzzije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to gird'; *ištappulliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to use as a stopper'; *kaleliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to tie up'; *kalutiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to treat as a group'; *kanuššariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to kneel'; *kartimiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be angry'; *kištanziye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to suffer famine'; *genuššariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to kneel'; *gimaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to spend the winter'; *gimmantariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to spend the winter'; *kurkuriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to scare'; *kūruriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be hostile'; *kuššaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to employ'; *kuttaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to exert force'; *lahħiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to go on an expedition'; *lamniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to name'; *lazziye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to set straight'; *naħšariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be afraid'; *nekumandariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to undress'; *nuntariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to hasten'; *palahšije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to cover'; *parkuuantariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to become pure(?)'; *patalliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to tie feet, to fetter'; *pittulliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be anxious'; *puntariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be obstinate'; *putal(l)iye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to tie together'; *šākije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to give a sign'; *šakniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to anoint'; *šakuniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to well up'; *šakkuriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to overpower'; *šakuuantariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to stay, to remain'; *šamešije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to burn for fumigation'; *šəhuriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to urinate'; *šəšariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to sieve'; *šimišije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to burn for fumigation'; *šišš(i)uriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to irrigate'; *šittariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to seal'; *šiuniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* '?'; *šuppariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to sleep'; *tijantiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to set up'; *takšatniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to level'; *tarkuūalliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to look angrily'; *terippiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to plough'; *tešħaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to appear in a dream'; *tuzziye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to encamp'; *ušniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to put up for sale'; *uddanalliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to speak about'; *uddaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to speak about'; *uakkariye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to rebel against'; *uešije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to pasture'; *uešuriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to press'; *zahħiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to battle'; *zahzahħiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to battle fiercely'.

C: *alalamniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to cry aloud'; *allaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to sweat'; *ānšije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to wipe' (*ānš<sup>-i</sup>*); *appiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be finished' (*āppa<sup>-i</sup>* / *āppi-*); *ārriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to wash' (*ār<sup>-i</sup>* / *arr-*); *aršaniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to be envious' (*aršane<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aršan-*); *ar(aš)šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to flow' (*ārš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *arš-*); *ħalzije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to cry out' (*ħalzai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ħalzi-*); *ħāniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to draw (water)' (*ħān<sup>-i</sup>* / *ħan-*); *ħarniye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to sprinkle' (*ħarna<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ħarn-*); *ħarpiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to change allegiance' (*ħarp<sup>-zi</sup>*); *ħaršije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to till (the soil)' (*ħārš<sup>-i</sup>*); *ħulliye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to smash' (*ħulle<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ħull-*); *išħamiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to sing' (*išħamai<sup>-zi</sup>* / *išħami-*); *išħiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to bind' (*išħai<sup>-i</sup>* / *išħi-*); *išparriye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to spread out' (*išpār<sup>-i</sup>* / *išpar-*); *išpartiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>*



‘to escape’ (*išpart-*<sup>zi</sup>); **išpije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to be satiated’ (*išpai-*<sup>zi</sup> / *išpi-*); **ištalkije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to level’ (*ištalk-*<sup>zi</sup>); **ištarkije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to ail’ (*ištar(k)-*<sup>zi</sup>); **kanenije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to bow down’ (*kanen-*<sup>zi</sup>); **mallije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to mill, to grind’ (*malla-*<sup>i</sup> / *mall-*); **memije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to speak’ (*mēma-*<sup>i</sup> / *mēmi-*); **nana(n)kuššije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to be(come) dark’ (*nana(n)kušš-*<sup>zi</sup>); **paškije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to plant’ (*pāšk-*<sup>i</sup> / *pašk-*); **peje/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to send’ (*peje-*<sup>i</sup> / *pej-*); **pennije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to drive (there)’ (*penna-*<sup>i</sup> / *penni-*); **pije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to give’ (*pai-*<sup>i</sup> / *pi-*); **šije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to impress’ (*šai-*<sup>i</sup> / *ši-*); **šalikije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to have contact with’ (*šalīk-*<sup>a(n)</sup>); **šalkije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to knead’ (*šalk-*<sup>zi</sup>); **šamnije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to create’ (*šamnae-*<sup>zi</sup>); **šartije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to rub’ (*šarta-*<sup>i</sup> / *šart-*); **šullije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to be arrogant’ (*šullē-*<sup>zi</sup>); **šunnije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to fill’ (*šunna-*<sup>i</sup> / *šunn-*); **šuppije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to sleep’ (*šupp-*<sup>(tt)a(r)i</sup>); **tije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to put, to place’ (*dai-*<sup>i</sup> / *ti-*); **taištije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to load’ (*tāišta-*<sup>i</sup> / *tāišti-*); **dālije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to leave’ (*dāla-*<sup>i</sup> / *dāli-*); **taparije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to rule’ (CLuw. *tapar-*); **tarije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to exert oneself’ (*tarai-*<sup>i</sup> / *tari-*); **taruppije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to collect’ (*tarupp-*<sup>zi</sup>); **tethije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to thunder’ (*tith-*<sup>a</sup>); **tuhtuḫḫije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to brandish(?)’; **duḫarnije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to break’ (*duḫarni-*<sup>zi</sup> / *duḫarn-*); **uje/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to send here’ (*uje-*<sup>zi</sup> / *uj-*); **uije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to cry out’ (*uai-*<sup>i</sup> / *ui-*); **uakšije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to be lacking’; **ualkije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘?’; **uappije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to bark’; **uarpije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to bathe’ (*uarp-*<sup>zi</sup>); **uāššije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> and **ueššije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> ‘to wear’ (*uāšše/a-*<sup>zi</sup>).

The distribution of the ablaut vowels \*e/o in the suffix \*-je/o- changes throughout the Hittite period:

	PIE	OS	MH/MS	NH
pres.				
1sg.	*-j <sup>o</sup>	-ja-mi, -i-e-mi	-ja-mi	-ja-mi
2sg.	*-j <sup>e</sup> -	-i-e-ši	-ja-ši	-ja-ši
3sg.	*-j <sup>e</sup> -	-i-e-ez-zi	-i-e-ez-zi / -ja-az-zi	-ja-az-zi
1pl.	*-j <sup>o</sup>	-ja-u-e-ni <sup>255</sup>	-ja-u-e-ni	-ja-u-e-ni
2pl.	*-j <sup>e</sup> -	--	-i-et-ta-ni, -ja-at-te-ni	-ja-at-te-ni
3pl.	*-j <sup>o</sup> -	-ja-an-zi	-ja-an-zi	-ja-an-zi

<sup>255</sup> Thus in *pé-eš-ši-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 35.164 obv. 6 (OS)), although we would expect *-ja<sub>u</sub>ami* as attested in *i-ja-u-<sub>u</sub>a-ni* (KBo 3.8 ii 24 (OH/NS)).

pret.				
1sg.	*-jō-	-i-e-nu-un <sup>256</sup>	-ja-nu-un	-ja-nu-un
2sg.	*-jé-	-- <sup>257</sup>	-ja-aš	-ja-aš / -ja-at
3sg.	*-jé-	-i-e-et	-i-e-et / -ja-at	-ja-at
1pl.	*-jō-	-ja-u-en	-ja-u-en	-ja-u-en
2pl.	*-jé-	-- <sup>258</sup>	-ja-at-ten	-ja-at-ten
3pl.		-i-er	-i-e-er, -ja-er	-i-er, -ja-er
imp.				
2sg.		--	-i <sup>259</sup> , -ja	-ja
3sg.		--	-i-e-ed-du / -ja-ad-du	-ja-ad-du
2pl.		--	-ja-at-ten	-ja-at-ten
3pl.		--	-ja-an-du	-ja-an-du
part.		--	-ja-an-t-	
v.n.		--	-ja-u-ua-ar	-ja-u-ua-ar
inf.I		--	-ja-u-ua-an-zi	-ja-u-ua-an-zi
inf.II		--	--	-ja-an-na

## Ic2 *mi*-verbs in *-ae/-ā-*: the *hatrae*-class

2.2.2.1.p This class is very large and very productive: in NS texts virtually every verb shows forms that are inflected according to the *hatrae*-class. The verbs that belong to this class originally are usually derivatives in \*-jē/o- of *o*-stem nouns, e.g. *hatrae*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to write’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>etro-* + -jē/o-.

These verbs show the following inflection:

<sup>256</sup> Thus in *ha-ap-pa-ri-e-nu-un* (OS), *a-ni-e[-nu-un]* (OS), but compare *pé-eš-ši-ja-nu-un* (OH/MS).

<sup>257</sup> Unattested in OS texts, but compare 2sg.pret.act. *i-e-eš* (OH/NS).

<sup>258</sup> We would expect \*-j<sup>etten</sup>, but this ending is not attested. The 2pl.pret.act.-ending is attested in NS texts only as *-ja-at-~~te~~-en* and *-ja-at-ten* (both OH/NS).

<sup>259</sup> Compare *hu-it-ti* (OH/MS). This ending is replaced by *-ja* in MH times already (e.g. *i-ja* ‘do!’ (MH/MS), *ti-ja* ‘step!’ (MH/MS)).

	PIE	OS	MH/MS	NH
pres.				
1sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰó</i> -	°Ca(-a)-e-mi	°Ca(-a)-mi	°Ca(-a)-mi
2sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	--	°Ca(-a)-š <i>i</i>	°Ca(-a)-š <i>i</i>
3sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	°Ca(-a)-ez-zi	°Ca(-a)-ez-zi	°Ca(-a)-ez-zi
1pl.	*-Co- <i>ǰó</i> -	--	--	°Ca(-a)-u-e-ni
2pl.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	--	°Ca(-a)-at-te-ni	°Ca-at-te-ni
3pl.	*-Co- <i>ǰó</i> -	°Ca-an-zi	°Ca(-a)-an-zi	°Ca(-a)-an-zi
pret.				
1sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰó</i> -	--	°Ca(-a)-nu-un	°Ca(-a)-nu-un
2sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	--	°Ca-a-eš	°Ca-a-eš, °Ca(-a)-iš
3sg.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	°Ca(-a)-et	°Ca-a-et	°Ca(-a)-et
1pl.	*-Co- <i>ǰó</i> -	--	°Ca(-a)-u-en	°Ca(-a)-u-en
2pl.	*-Co- <i>ǰé</i> -	--	°Ca(-a)-at-ten	°Ca-at-ten
3pl.		--	°Ca(-a)-er	°Ca(-a)-er

It is not fully clear how these forms were accentuated: \*-ó-*ǰe/o*- or \*-o-*ǰé/ó*-. The forms with \*-o-*ǰó*- do not give information because both \*-ó-*ǰó*- and \*-o-*ǰó*- would yield Hitt. -*ā*-. So we should look at the forms that show \*-o-*ǰé*-. On the one hand, the frequent plene spelling of -a- in e.g. 3sg.pres.act. °Ca-a-IZ-zi and 2sg.pret.act. °Ca-a-eš seems to point to \*-ó-*ǰé*-. On the other hand, the fact that the thematic vowel \*-e- remains -e- up to the NH period (cf. spellings like 1sg.pres.act. °Ca-e-mi, 2sg.pret.act. °Ca-a-eš, which indicate that °Ca(-a)-IZ-zi and °Ca(-a)-IT have to be read as °Ca(-a)-ez-zi and °Ca(-a)-et, at least in the OH and MH period), seems to point to \*-o-*ǰé*-. Because the long -*ā*- can also be explained as the result of compensatory lengthening after loss of intervocalic \*i (cf. 1.4.8.1.a), we have to assume that the accentuation in fact was \*-o-*ǰé/ó*-. So \*Coj*ó*Ci > \*/Cai*á*Ci/<sup>260</sup> > \*/Ca*á*Ci/ > Hitt. /C*á*Ci/ and \*Coj*é*Ci > \*/Cai*é*Ci/ > OH/MH \*/C*ā*éC/. The NH forms that are spelled °Ca-a-iš may show that OH/MH /C*ā*éC/ eventually yielded a diphthong /C*ái*C/ in NH times. Throughout this book, forms with the spelling °Ca(-a)-IZ-zi and °Ca(-a)-IT therefore have been transliterated as °Ca(-a)-ez-zi and °Ca(-a)-et in OS and MS texts, but as °Ca(-a)-iz-zi and °Ca(-a)-it in NS texts.

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<sup>260</sup> Note that \*ó > Hitt. short /á/ when in internal syllables.

Verbs that originally belong to this class:

*āppalae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to entrap’; *arae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to rein in’; *arkuṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pray’; *arḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go down the line’; *armae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be pregnant’; *armuṃṃalae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to shine (of the moon)’; *aruṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bow’; *aṣandulae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be on garrison duty’; *egae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cool down’; *ēṣḥarnumae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to make bloody’; *ḥaluganae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bring news’; *ḥantiae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to arrange (together)’; *ḥandandae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘(+ *parā*) to show providence’; *ḥantiḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to support’; *ḥappeṣṣnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘(+ *arḥa*) to dismember’; *ḥapae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to wet’; *ḥap(pa)rae*<sup>-zi</sup>; *ḥappirae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to trade’; *ḥarnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stir, to churn’; *ḥarpae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to heap up’; *ḥaru(ṃ)nae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to dawn’; \**ḥaṣṣueznāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be king’; *ḥattaluṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bolt’; *ḥattarae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to prick’; *ḥatrae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to write’; *ḥilae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to have a halo’; *ḥuṃṃantalaē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to spare’; *ḥultalae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to spare’; *ikae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cool down’; *irḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go down the line’; *iṣḥarnumae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to make bloody’; *iṣṭantae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stay put’; *galaktarae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to make drowsy’; *kappae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to diminish’; *kappilae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pick a fight’; *kartae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cut off’; *kattuṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be aggrieved’; *genzuṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to treat gently’; *kinae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to (as)sort’; <sup>TÜG</sup>*kureṣṣnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to provide with head-dress’; *kururāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be hostile’; *kuṣruṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bear witness’; *lappinae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to insert a wick(?)’; *lelae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to conciliate’; *leḥhuntae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to use a pitcher’; *lipae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to lick up’; *liṣae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘?’; *māḥlae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to approve of’; *manniḥḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be in charge of’; *markiṣṭae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to take someone by surprise’; *marlae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become mad’; *marzāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to crumble(?)’; *mīḥlae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to tie with red wool(?)’; *mūḡae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to invoke’; *munnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to hide’; *mūṭae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to root’; *nekumandae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to undress oneself’; *palahṣae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cover’; *paluṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cry out’; *palzahae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stretch out’; *parṣae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to crumble’; *parṣnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to squat(?), to crouch(?)’; *parṣul(l)ae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to crumble’; *paṣiḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to rub’; *patalḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to fetter’; *peḥjanae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to reward (someone)’; *pittae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bring; to carry’; *pittalae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to abandon’; *pūṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pound’; *puruttāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cover with mud’; *ṣaḥeṣṣnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to fortify(?)’; *ṣallakartae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to offend someone through arrogance’; *ṣamnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to create’; *ṣarḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to exult; to praise’; *ṣaruṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to loot’; *ṣaṃiṣṭae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to wean’; *ṣēḥurae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to urinate’; *ṣiptamae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to seven(?)’; *takṣulāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to agree’; *damme/iṣḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to damage’; *tarmae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to nail’; *taruṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to fix (magically)’; *tattarae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘?’; *tuhḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to produce smoke’; *tuhṣiḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to await’; *ulae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to hide’; *uranae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bring a fire-offering’; *urkiḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to track down’; *uṣḥḥulae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to offend’; *uṣṣarḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to come to help’; *uṣṣarpae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to suppress’; *uṣṣarpa/ilae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to surround(?)’; *uṣṣuṃṃae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘?’; *uṣḥḥae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bring (here)’; *zahḥurae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to break, to crush’; *zammurae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to insult’.

Stems that secondarily inflect according to the *ḥatrae*-class (in brackets their original stem):

*appae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be finished’ (*āppa*<sup>-i</sup> / *āppi*-); *arae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to (a)rise’ (*arai*<sup>-i</sup> / *ari*-); *halae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to set in motion’ (*halai*<sup>-i</sup> / *hali*-); *harrae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to grind’; (*harra*<sup>-i</sup> / *harr*-); *harkijae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to get lost’ (*hark*<sup>-zi</sup>); *huuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to run’ (*huuāi*<sup>-i</sup> / *hui*-); *išhuuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to scatter’ (*išhuuāi*<sup>-i</sup> / *išhui*-); *išgae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to smear’ (*iškijē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *išgarae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stab’ (*iškār*<sup>-i</sup> / *iškar*-); *išpae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to be satiated’ (*išpai*<sup>-i</sup> / *išpi*-); *išparzae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to escape’ (*išpart*<sup>-zi</sup>); *ištalgae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to level’ (*ištalk*<sup>-zi</sup>); *ištantae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stay put, to linger’ (*ištantāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *kappuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to count’ (*kappuūe/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *karšae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cut (off)’ (*karš(i)ē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *kišae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to comb’ (*kiš*<sup>-zi</sup>); *lae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to loosen’ (*lā*<sup>-i</sup> / *l*-); *lahuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pour’ (*lāhu*<sup>-i</sup> / *lahu*-); *lukkāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to set fire to’ (*lukk(i)ē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *pae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go’ (*paii*<sup>-zi</sup> / *pai*-); *paškae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stick in’ (*pāšk*<sup>-i</sup> / *pašk*-); *paškuuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to reject’ (*pašku*<sup>-zi</sup>); *pattae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to run’ (*pattai*<sup>-i</sup> / *patti*-); *peššijae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to throw away’ (*peššijē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become sullen’ (*šāi*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šākuuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to see, to look’ (*šākuuāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šarae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to embroider’ (*šar*<sup>-(u)a(r)i</sup> / *šarijē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šartae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to wipe’ (*šarta*<sup>-i</sup> / *šart*-); *šešhāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to decide’ (*šišha*<sup>-i</sup> / *šišh*-); *šullae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become arrogant’ (*šulle*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šuūāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to push away’ (*šuūe/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *šuuāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to spy’ (*šuuāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *tāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to steal’ (*tāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *daištijae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to load’ (*tāišta*<sup>-i</sup> / *tāišti*-); *dālae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to leave in peace’ (*dāla*<sup>-i</sup> / *dāli*-); *taparijāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to lead, to decide’ (*taparijē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *tarnae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to allow’ (*tarna*<sup>-i</sup> / *tarn*-); *taruppaē*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to collect’ (*tarupp*<sup>-zi</sup>); *tekkuššijae*<sup>-zi</sup> and *tekkuššae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to show’ (*tekkuššijē/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *duuarnae*<sup>-zi</sup> and *duuarnijae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to break’ (*duuarni*<sup>-zi</sup> / *duuarn*-); *unuūāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to decorate’ (*unu*<sup>-zi</sup>); *uijāe*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cry out’ (*uai*<sup>-i</sup> / *ui*-); *uāššae*<sup>-zi</sup> and *uāššijae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to wear’ (*uāšše/a*<sup>-zi</sup>); *uāštae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to sin’ (*uāšta*<sup>-i</sup> / *uāšt*-); *zae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to cross’ (*zai*<sup>-i</sup> / *zi*-); *zankilae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to fine’ (*zankila*<sup>-i</sup> / *zankil*-).

**Ic3** *mi*-verbs in *-āiē/a-*: the *tāiē/a*-class.

2.2.2.1.q This class consists of four verbs only that go back to *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-iē/ó-*. Because of the fact that an OH intervocalic *-i-* is lost within the Hittite period (cf. 1.4.8.1.a), these verbs in principle regularly develop into *hatrae*-class verbs in NH times (e.g. *ištantāiē/a-* > *ištantae-*, OS *šu-ua-i-ez-zi* > NS *šu-ua-a-iz-zi*), although we often find NH forms in which *-i-* has been restored (NH *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*). See at their respective lemmas for these verb’s inflections.

*ištantāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to stay put, to linger’; *šākuuāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to see, to look’; *šuuāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to spy’; *tāiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to steal’.

**Ic4** *mi*-verbs in *-uūe/a-*.

2.2.2.1.r The sequence *-uūe/a-* as found in the verbs of this class clearly goes back to *\*-u-iē/ó-*. On the one hand they are denominative verbs that are derived from *u*-stem

nouns and on the other verbs of the structure \**Cu-ǰé/ó-*. For the prehistory of *ǰe-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uǰa-* ‘to come’, see its own lemma.

*ǰušue/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ǰuišue/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to stay alive’; *kappuǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to count, to calculate’; *genzuǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to treat gently’; *šakuruǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to water (animals)’; *šarkuǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to put on footwear’; *šaruǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to loot’; *šuuǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to fill’; *šuuǰe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to push (away)’; *ǰe-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uǰa-* ‘to come’.

**Ic5** *ǰašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to dress’.

2.2.2.1.s This verb constitutes a class of its own, because it is the only verb that shows the sound law \**VsǰV* > Hitt. *VššV*. See at its lemma for an elaborate treatment, in which I show that *ǰašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ultimately goes back to \**us-ǰé/ó-*.

**Ic6** imperfectives in *-ške/a-*.

2.2.2.1.t See at its own lemma for an elaborate treatment of the suffix *-ške/a-* < \**-ské/ó-*. The distribution between the thematic vowels *-e-* and *-a-* are changing throughout the Hittite periode, compare the following overview:

	PIE	OS	MH/MS	NH
pres.				
1sg.	*-skó-	°š-ke-e-mi	°š-ke-mi	°š-ke-mi
2sg.	*-ské-	°š-ke-e-ši	°š-ke-ši	°š-ke-ši
3sg.	*-ské-	°š-ke-ez-zi	°š-ke-ez-zi	°š-ke-ez-zi
1pl.	*-skó-	°š-ke-e-ǰa-ni	°š-ke-u-e-ni, °š-ga-u-e-ni	°š-ke-u-e-ni
2pl.	*-ské-	°š-ket <sub>ǰ</sub> -te-ni	°š-ke-et-ta-ni, °š-ke-et-te-ni	°š-ke-et-te-ni
3pl.	*-skó-	°š-kán-zi	°š-kán-zi	°š-kán-zi
pret.				
1sg.	*-skó- <sup>261</sup>	--	°š-ke-nu-un	°š-ke-nu-un
2sg.	*-ské-	--	°š-ke-eš	°š-ke-eš
3sg.	*-ské-	°š-ke-e-et	°š-ke-et	°š-ke-et
1pl.	*-skó-	--	°š-ga-u-en	°š-ke-u-en
2pl.	*-ské-	--	°š-ke-et-ten	°š-ke-et-ten
3pl.	--	°š-ke-e-er	--	°š-ke-er

<sup>261</sup> Perhaps reflected in the one attestation *da-aš-ga-nu-un* (KUB 13.35+ i 40, 44 (NS)).

imp.				
2sg.	*-ské	°š-ki-i	°š-ki	°š-ki
3sg.	*-ské-	--	°š-ke-ed-du	°š-ke-ed-du
2pl.	*-ské-	--	°š-ke-et-tén	°š-ke-et-tén
3pl.	*-sko-	--	°š-kán-du	°š-kán-du
part.	*-skó-	°š-kán-t-	--	--
sup.	--	°š-ke-ua-an	°š-ke-u-ua-an	°š-ke-u-ua-an

Often, this suffix is transliterated with the vowel *-i*: °š-ki-mi, °š-ki-ši, °š-ki-iz-zi, etc. This is incorrect, however, as is clearly shown by cases like 2sg.pret.act. °š-ke-eš (never \*\*°š-ki-iš) and plene spellings like °š-ke-e-mi, °š-ke-e-et. It must be admitted that plene spellings predominantly occur in OS texts, but occasional NH cases like *a-ri-iš-ke-e-nu-un* (KUB 14.13 i 53 (NH)) and *me-mi-eš-ke-e-zi* (KUB 23.93 rev. 21 (NH)) indicate that in NH times, too, the suffix contained the vowel *-e-*. The case of 2sg.imp.act. is different, however. Here we find several plene spellings °š-ki-i,<sup>262</sup> including an OS one, which indicate that we are dealing with /-skí/. Apparently, absolute word final \*-é# > Hitt. /-í/.

Because the number of imperfectives in *-ške/a-* is very large, I did not find it useful to list them all here.

## II = *hi*-conjugation

2.2.2.2 Within the *hi*-conjugated verbs only two classes can be distinguished: (a) *hi*-verbs that show ablaut; (b) *hi*-verbs that do not show ablaut. It should be noted that, unlike under the *mi*-verbs, there are no *hi*-verbs that show a thematic suffix. The only suffixes that can be found within the *hi*-conjugation are the ablauting \*-oi-/i-suffix (see IIa4 and IIa5), the imperfective suffixes -šša-/šš- (see under IIa1β) and -ānna- / -ānni- (see under IIa5), and the nasal-infix (mainly under IIa1γ, but cf. also § 2.2.4).

### IIa = ablauting *hi*-verbs

2.2.2.2.a The origin of the Hittite *hi*-conjugation is fiercely debated. Nevertheless, I think that it is clear that formally the *hi*-conjugation can be compared to the PIE

<sup>262</sup> E.g. *ak-ku-uš-ki-i* 'drink!' (KBo 7.28 obv. 23 (OH/MS)), *az-zi-ik-ki-i* 'eat!' (KBo 7.28 obv. 23 (OH/MS)), *uš-ki-i* 'see!' (KBo 25.123, 10 (OS)).

perfect, with the only difference that in Hittite there are no traces of a reduplication syllable. So structurally, the Hittite *hi*-verbs are best compared to the isolated PIE verb *\*uoid-* ‘to know’, which was unreduplicated but inflected as a perfect. For the matter of comparison, I have given here the paradigm of the perfect of the Skt. verb *dā-* ‘to give’, the preterite paradigm of Hitt. *dā<sup>i</sup>- / d-* ‘to take’ (with the plural forms taken from the compound verbs *peda<sup>i</sup>- / ped-* and *uda<sup>i</sup>- / ud-*) as well as the Greek paradigm of οἶδα ‘to know’:

PIE	Skt.	Hitt.	cf. Gr.
1sg. <i>*de-dóh<sub>3</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>e</i>	<i>dadáu</i>	<i>dāh<sub>3</sub>hun</i>	(F)οἶδα < <i>*uoid-h<sub>2</sub>e</i>
2sg. <i>*de-dóh<sub>3</sub>-th<sub>2</sub>e</i>	<i>dadātha</i>	<i>dātta</i>	(F)οἶσθα < <i>*uoid-th<sub>2</sub>e</i>
3sg. <i>*de-dóh<sub>3</sub>-e</i>	<i>dadáu</i>	<i>dāš</i> (cf. pres. <i>dāi</i> )	(F)οἶδε < <i>*uoid-e</i>
1pl. <i>*de-dh<sub>3</sub>-mé</i>	<i>dadimá</i>	<i>°tumen</i>	(F)ἰδμεν < <i>*uid-mé</i>
2pl. <i>*de-dh<sub>3</sub>-+V̄</i>	<i>dadá</i>	<i>°išten</i>	(F)ἴστε << <i>*uid-+V̄</i>
3pl. <i>*de-dh<sub>3</sub>-ér</i>	<i>dadúr</i>	<i>°ter</i>	(F)ἴσασι << <i>*uid-ér</i>

As I will explain below, I believe that the PIE ablaut *\*o/Ø* underlies all the ablauting *hi*-verbs as attested in Hittite. Within the ablauting *hi*-verbs I distinguish five types, namely verbs that show an ablaut *ā/Ø* (with subtypes), *ā/a*, *ā/i*, *-ai/-i-* and *-a/-i-*.

### IIa1 *hi*-verbs with *ā/Ø*-ablaut

2.2.2.2.b For the sake of convenience, I have subdivided this class into three groups.

The first group (IIa1α) consists of verbs that show a structure *\*CueC-* and *\*Ceu(C)-*. Note that the two verbs that show the structure *\*Ceu(C)-*, *au<sup>i</sup>- / u-* ‘to see’ and *mau<sup>i</sup>- / mu-* ‘to fall’, use a secondary, *mi*-inflecting stem in their 3sg.-forms: *ausš-* and *maušš-*. This is probably because expected *\*āyi* and *\*māyi* were too intransparent and therefore were changed to *auszi* and *maušzi* on the basis of 3sg.pret.act. *\*ausš* and *\*maušš*, which afterwards received *mi*-endings themselves as well: *ausšta* and *maušta*.

*au<sup>i</sup>- / u-* ‘to see’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-*; *huuapp<sup>i</sup>- / hupp-* ‘to hurl; to do evil’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uoph<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>uph<sub>1</sub>-*; *huuurt<sup>i</sup>- / hurt-* ‘to curse’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uort-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>urt-*; *mau<sup>i</sup>- / mu-* ‘to fall’ < *\*mouh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*muh<sub>1</sub>-*.



It should be noted that in none of these verbs the plene vowel  $\bar{a} < *ó$  is attested as such. In the verbs *au-/u-* and *mau-/mu-* this is regular since  $*-óu-$  yields Hitt. /áu/ and not  $**/áu/$  (cf.  $*-ói-$  > /ái/ and not  $**/ái/$  in class IIa4 below), but in *huuapp-/hupp-* and *huuurt-/hurt-* we would have expected  $*hu-ua-a-ap-p^{\circ}$  and  $*hu-ua-a-ar-t^{\circ}$  in the oldest texts. The absence of these spellings must be ascribed to the fact that both verbs are unattested in OS texts in combination with the fact that an OH sequence /áCCV/ develops into NH /áCCV/ (so shortening of OH /á/ in non-final closed syllable within the Hittite periode, cf. § 1.4.9.3).

2.2.2.2.c The second group (IIa1β) consists of two monosyllabic verbs that end in  $*-eh_{1/3-}$ , namely  $d\bar{a}^{-i} / d-$  ‘to take’ <  $*doh_3-$  /  $*dh_3-$  and  $l\bar{a}^{-i} / l-$  ‘to loosen, to release’ <  $*loh_1-$  /  $*lh_1-$ . The original inflection of these verbs is as follows:

	pres.	pret.	imp.		
1sg.	<i>Ca-a-aḫ-hé</i>	<i>Ca-a-aḫ-hu-un</i>			
2sg.	<i>Ca-a-at-ti</i>	<i>Ca-a-at-ta</i>	<i>Ca-a</i>	part.	<i>Ca-an-t-</i>
3sg.	<i>Ca-a-i</i>	<i>Ca-a-aš</i>	<i>Ca-a-ú</i>	v.n.	<i>Ca-a-u-ua-ar</i>
1pl.	<i>Cu-me-e-ni</i>	<i>Ca-a-u-en</i>		inf.I	<i>Ca(-a)-u-ua-an-zi</i>
2pl.	<i>Ca-at-te-e-ni</i>	<i>Ca-a-at-te-en</i>	<i>Ca-a-at-te-en</i>	inf.II	<i>Ca-a-an-na</i>
3pl.	<i>Ca-an-zi</i>	<i>Ca-a-er</i>	<i>Ca-an-du</i>	impf.	<i>Ca-aš-ke/a-</i>

Note that  $l\bar{a}^{-i} / l-$  from MH times onwards is being replaced by  $lae^{-zi}$ , according to the productive *hatrae*-class inflection. In the verb  $d\bar{a}^{-i} / d-$  the development OH /áCCV/ > NH /áCCV/ gives rise to a slightly different NH paradigm:

	pres.	pret.	imp.		
1sg.	<i>da-aḫ-ḫi</i>	<i>da-aḫ-hu-un</i>			
2sg.	--	<i>da-at-ta</i>	<i>da-a</i>	part.	<i>da-an-t-</i>
3sg.	<i>da-a-i</i>	<i>da-a-aš</i>	<i>da-a-ú</i>	v.n.	--
1pl.	<i>tu,-me-e-ni</i>	--		inf.I	<i>da-a-u-ua-an-zi</i>
2pl.	<i>da-at-te-e-ni</i>	<i>da-at-te-en</i>	<i>da-at-te-en</i>	inf.II	<i>da-an-na</i>
3pl.	<i>da-an-zi</i>	<i>da-a-er</i>	<i>da-an-du</i>	impf.	<i>da-aš-ke/a-</i>

2.2.2.2.d The third group (IIa1γ), which is called the *tarn(a)*-class, consists of verbs that show a stem *CVCa-* besides *CVC-*, e.g.  $tarna^{-i} / tarn-$ . Some of these verbs also go back to roots that end in  $*-eh_{1/3-}$ , but the difference with group IIa1β ( $d\bar{a}^{-i} / d-$

and  $l\bar{a}^i / l-$ ) is that these latter are monosyllabic whereas the *tarn(a)*-class verbs are polysyllabic (e.g. *peda<sup>i</sup> / ped-*). This makes the inflection of the *tarn(a)*-class quite different:

pres.		
1sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}h\acute{e}$	<i>tar-na-aḥ-hé</i> (OS), <i>pé-e-ta-aḥ-hé</i> (OS)
2sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}at\text{-}ti$	<i>pé-e-da-at-ti</i> (OS)
3sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}i$	<i>tar-na-i</i> (OS), <i>ḥal-zi-iš-ša-i</i> (OS), <i>pé-e-ta-i</i> (OS)
1pl.	$^{\circ}Cu\text{-}me\text{-}e\text{-}ni$	<i>pé-e-tu-me-e-ni</i> (OS), <i>ú-du-me-e-ni</i> (OS)
2pl.	$^{\circ}C\text{-}\check{s}t\acute{e}ni > ^{\circ}Ca\text{-}at\text{-}te\text{-}ni$	<i>i-iš-te-e-ni</i> (OS); <i>tar-na-at-te-ni</i> (MS)
3pl.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}an\text{-}zi$	<i>tar-na-an-zi</i> (OS), <i>ḥal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi</i> (OS)
pret.		
1sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}u\text{-}un$	<i>tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-un</i> (OS), <i>ú-daḥ-ḥu-un</i> (OS)
2sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}at\text{-}ta > ^{\circ}Ca\text{-}aš, ^{\circ}Ci\text{-}iš\text{-}ta$	<i>ua-aš-ta-at-ta</i> (OH/NS); <i>pé-e-da-aš</i> (MS); <i>ḥal-zi-iš-ši-iš-ta</i> (NH)
3sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}aš > ^{\circ}Ci\text{-}iš\text{-}ta$	<i>tar-na-aš</i> (OS), <i>pé-e-da-aš</i> (OS); <i>tar-ni-iš-ta</i> (NH)
1pl.	$^{\circ}Cu\text{-}me\text{-}en$	<i>pé-e-tu-mé-en</i> (OS)
2pl.	$^{\circ}C\text{-}\check{s}ten > ^{\circ}Ca\text{-}at\text{-}te\text{-}en$	<i>ua-aš-ta-at-ten</i> (MS), <i>tar-na-at-ten</i> (NS)
3pl.	$^{\circ}Ce\text{-}er$	<i>i-iš-še-er</i> (OS), <i>pé-e-te-er</i> (OS), <i>ú-ter</i> (OS)
imp.		
2sg.	$^{\circ}Ca$	<i>tar-na</i> (OS), <i>ḥal-zi-iš-ša</i> (OS), <i>pé-e-da</i> (MS)
3sg.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}ú$	<i>tar-na-ú</i> (OS)
2pl.	$^{\circ}Ci\text{-}iš\text{-}te\text{-}en > ^{\circ}Ca\text{-}at\text{-}te\text{-}en$	<i>i-iš-te-en</i> (OS), <i>pé-ti-iš-te-en</i> (OS), <i>tar-na-at-ten</i> (MS)
3pl.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}an\text{-}du$	<i>pé-e-ta-an-tu</i> (OS)
part.	$^{\circ}Ca\text{-}an\text{-}t-$	<i>tar-na-an-t-</i> (OS)
v.n.	$^{\circ}Cu\text{-}mar$	<i>tar-nu-mar</i> (NS)
inf.I	$^{\circ}Cu\text{-}ma\text{-}an\text{-}zi$	<i>pé-e-tu, ma-an-zi</i> (MS)

Note that the vowel of the strong stem is long in the monosyllabic verbs, whereas it is short in the polysyllabic verbs (*da-a-i* vs. *pé-e-da-i*), and that we find full grade forms in the preterite plural of the monosyllabic verbs, but zero-grade in these forms of the polysyllabic verbs (*da-a-u-en* vs. *pé-e-tu-mé-en* and *da-a-er* vs. *pé-e-te-er*).

In the older literature, the *tarn(a)*-class is often called ‘thematic’ but this is incorrect. Although the strong stem *CVCa-* at first sight resembles the structure of some thematic *mi*-verbs, and although this stem spreads into the 2pl.-forms (where the original form *\*CVC-stēni* often yielded awkward clusters), the fact that we find forms like 1pl. *CVC-umēni*, *CVC-umen*, verb.noun *CVC-umar* and inf.I *CVC-umanzi* throughout Hittite shows that the basic ablaut-distinction between the strong stem *CVCa-* and the weak stem *CVC-* remains intact.

The *tarn(a)*-class verbs go back to two groups. On the one hand, we find verbs with the structure *\*CR-no-h<sub>1/3</sub>-* (nasal-infixes verbs, see § 2.2.4), *\*Ce-C(R)oh<sub>1/3</sub>-* (reduplicated verbs) and verbs in *-šša<sup>i</sup>- / -šš-* (imperfective-suffix) < *\*-soh<sub>1</sub>- / \*-sh<sub>1</sub>-*:

*ḫalzišša<sup>i</sup>- / ḫalzišš-* ‘to cry out, to call’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-soh<sub>1</sub>- / \*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-sh<sub>1</sub>-*; *ḫanna<sup>i</sup>- / ḫann-* ‘to sue, to judge’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>noh<sub>3</sub>- / \*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-*; *išša<sup>i</sup>- / išš-* ‘to do, to make’ < *\*HH-i-soh<sub>1</sub>- / \*HH-i-sh<sub>1</sub>-*; *mimma<sup>i</sup>- / mimm-* ‘to refuse’ < *\*mi-moh<sub>1</sub>- / \*mimh<sub>1</sub>-*; *peda<sup>i</sup>- / ped-* ‘to take (away)’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-doh<sub>3</sub>- / \*h<sub>1</sub>poi-dh<sub>3</sub>-*; *pippa<sup>i</sup>- / pipp-* ‘to tear down’ < *\*pi-poh<sub>1/3</sub>- / \*pi-ph<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *šanna<sup>i</sup>- / šann-* ‘to hide’ < *sn-no-h<sub>1</sub>- / \*sn-n-h<sub>1</sub>-*; *šišša<sup>i</sup>- / šišš-* ‘to impress’ < *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-soh<sub>1</sub>- / \*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-sh<sub>1</sub>-*; *šunna<sup>i</sup>- / šunn-* ‘to fill’ < *\*su-no-h<sub>1/3</sub>- / \*su-n-h<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *tarna<sup>i</sup>- / tarn-* ‘to let (go)’ < *\*tr<sup>(l)</sup>no-h<sub>1/3</sub>- / \*tr<sup>(l)</sup>n-h<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *uda<sup>i</sup>- / ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-doh<sub>3</sub>- / \*h<sub>2</sub>ou-dh<sub>3</sub>-*; *uarišša<sup>i</sup>- / uarišš-* ‘to help’.

On the other hand, we find verbs with the structure *\*CoCh<sub>2/3</sub>-*. We would have expected that these verbs, which showed an original ablaut *\*CoCh<sub>2/3</sub>- / \*CCh<sub>2/3</sub>-* ended up in the class IIa1α or IIa2. That this is not the case is in my view caused by the 3sg.pres.act.-form. In verbs of the structure *\*CoCh<sub>2/3</sub>-*, the 3sg.pres.act. *\*CoCh<sub>2/3</sub>-e-i* yielded Pre-Hittite *\*CoCai*, whereas in verbs of class IIa1α and IIa2, 3sg.pres.act. *\*CC-oh<sub>1</sub>-e-i* and *\*CoC-e-i* yielded Pre-Hittite *\*CC-ae* and *\*CoCe*, respectively. At the time when the ending *\*-e* was replaced by *-i* (in analogy to the *mi*-endings that all ended in *-i*), the ending *-ai* of *CoCai* fell together with the ending of *CCai* of the *tarn(a)*-class, and not with *CoCi* of class IIa1α and IIa2. On the basis of this 3sg.-form, the whole paradigm was taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class.<sup>263</sup> This scenario explains the inflection of the following verbs:

<sup>263</sup> Note that this did not happen in verbs of the structure *\*Ceh<sub>2</sub>-*, which ended up in class IIa2 (*nāh<sup>i</sup>- / nahh<sup>i</sup>-*, *zāh<sup>i</sup>- / zahh<sup>i</sup>-*). The different outcome of *\*CóCh<sub>2</sub>ei* > *CaCai* on the one hand and *\*Cóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > *Cāhi* on the other is due to the fact that in the former verb the regular loss of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* after consonant

*ħarra<sup>-i</sup> / ħarr-* ‘to grind’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>orh<sub>3</sub>-ei* / \**h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-enti*; *iškalla<sup>-i</sup> / iškall-* ‘to split’ < \**skolh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei* / \**sklh<sub>2/3</sub>-enti*; *išparra<sup>-i</sup> / išparr-* ‘to trample’ < \**sporh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei* / \**sprh<sub>2/3</sub>-enti*; *malla<sup>-i</sup> / mall-* ‘to mill’ < \**molh<sub>2</sub>-ei* / \**mlh<sub>2</sub>-enti*; *padda<sup>-i</sup> / padd-* ‘to dig’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>od<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ei* / \**b<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-enti*; *šarta<sup>-i</sup> / šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’ < \**sord<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2/3</sub>-ei* / \**srd<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2/3</sub>-enti*.

From MH times onwards, the *tarn(a)*-class inflection is becoming productive, and we therefore find several verbs that sometimes show forms that secondarily inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (in brackets their original stem):

*ārra<sup>-i</sup> / ārr-* ‘to wash’ (*ārr<sup>-i</sup> / arr-*), *ezza<sup>-i</sup> / ezz-* ‘to eat’ (*ed<sup>-zi</sup> / ad-*), *ħaliħla<sup>-i</sup> / ħaliħl-* ‘to genuflect’ (*ħaliħla<sup>-i</sup> / ħaliħli-*), *ħatta<sup>-i</sup> / ħatt-* ‘to pierce’ (*ħatt<sup>-a(m)</sup>*), *ħu(ħa)rtā<sup>-i</sup> / ħu(ħa)rt-* ‘to curse’ (*ħuħart<sup>-i</sup> / ħurt-*), *išħuħa<sup>-i</sup> / išħu-* (*išħuħai<sup>-i</sup> / išħu(i)-*), *išgara<sup>-i</sup> / išgar-* ‘to stab’ (*iškār<sup>-i</sup> / iškār-*), *išparra<sup>-i</sup> / išparr-* ‘to spread out’ (*išpār<sup>-i</sup> / išpar-*), *išparza<sup>-i</sup> / išparz-* ‘to escape’ (*išpart<sup>-zi</sup>*), *ganga<sup>-i</sup> / gang-* ‘to hang’ (*kānk<sup>-i</sup> / kank-*), *karša<sup>-i</sup> / karš-* ‘to cut’ (*karš(i)je/a<sup>-zi</sup>*), *kuenna<sup>-i</sup> / kuenn-* ‘to kill’ (*kuen<sup>-zi</sup> / kun-*), *laħuħa<sup>-i</sup> / laħu-* ‘to pour’ (*lāħu<sup>-i</sup> / laħu-*), *lilħuħa<sup>-i</sup> / lilħu-* ‘to pour’ (*lilħuħa<sup>-i</sup> / lilħui-*), *malda<sup>-i</sup> / mald-* ‘to recite’ (*māld<sup>-i</sup> / mald-*), *mēma<sup>-i</sup> / mēm-* ‘to speak’ (*mēma<sup>-i</sup> / mēmi-*), *nanna<sup>-i</sup> / nann-* ‘to drive’ (*nanna<sup>-i</sup> / nanni-*), *parħa<sup>-i</sup> / parħ-* ‘to chase’ (*parħ<sup>-zi</sup>*), *parippara<sup>-i</sup> / parippar-* ‘to blow (a horn)’ (*parippara<sup>-i</sup> / parippari-*), *penna<sup>-i</sup> / penn-* ‘to drive (there)’ (*penna<sup>-i</sup> / penni-*), *šalika<sup>-i</sup> / šalik-* ‘to touch’ (*šalīk<sup>-a(m)</sup>*), *šarra<sup>-i</sup> / šarr-* ‘to divide up’ (*šārr<sup>-i</sup> / šarr-*), *šišħa<sup>-i</sup> / šišħ-* ‘to decide, to appoint’ (*šišħa<sup>-i</sup> / \*šišħi-*), *taišta<sup>-i</sup> / taišt-* ‘to load’ (*taišta<sup>-i</sup> / taišti-*), *dāla<sup>-i</sup> / dāl-* ‘to let, to leave’ (*dāla<sup>-i</sup> / dāli-*), *tetħa<sup>-i</sup> / tetħ-* ‘to thunder’ (*tith<sup>-a</sup>*), *titta<sup>-i</sup> / titt-* ‘to install, to assign’ (*titta<sup>-i</sup> / titti-*), *duħarna<sup>-i</sup> / duħarn-* ‘to break’ (*duħarni<sup>-zi</sup> / duħarn-*), *ūnna<sup>-i</sup> / ūnn-* ‘to send (here)’ (*ūnna<sup>-i</sup> / ūnni-*), *uppa<sup>-i</sup> / upp-* ‘to send (here)’ (*uppa<sup>-i</sup> / uppi-*), *zinna<sup>-i</sup> / zinn-* ‘to finish’ (*zinni<sup>-zi</sup> / zinn-*).

This phenomenon is often called ‘thematization’, but as we saw above, this term should be avoided since the *tarn(a)*-class has nothing to do with being ‘thematic’.

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caused phonologization of the ending /-ai/, whereas in \**Cóh<sub>2</sub>ei*, which despite its phonetic pronunciation [Cáhai] phonologically remained /Cáhei/ due to the presence of -ħ-, we are dealing with the ending /-ei/. This ending then regularly developed into /-e/ and later on was replaced by -i, so \**Cóh<sub>2</sub>ei* > \*/Cáhe/ >> Cāħi.

## **IIa2** *hi*-verbs with *ā/a*-ablaut

2.2.2.2.e This class consists of verbs with a root structure \**HeC-*, \**Ceh<sub>2</sub>(C)-*, \**CeR(C)-*, \**TeT-*, \**seT-* and \**Ces-*. In these verbs, the full grade vowel \**ó* yielded Hitt. *-ā-*, whereas in the initial cluster of the zero-grade stem an empty vowel *-a-* is used in spelling (e.g. *akkanzi* = /ʔkánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *hananzi* = /Hnánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *išparanzi* = /išpránt<sup>s</sup>i/, *maldanzi* = /mldánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *paḥšanzi* = /pḥsánt<sup>s</sup>i/, *dakkanzi* = /tkánt<sup>s</sup>i/, etc.). The often found distribution of single stop in the full grade stem vs. geminate stop in the zero grade stem (e.g. *āki* : *akkanzi*) is due to lenition of consonants after \**ó*. Note that not of all verbs a plene spelling *-ā-* is indeed attested, but this is due to the inner-Hittite shortening of OH /*ā*/ to NH /*á*/ in non-final closed syllables (OH /*á*CCV/ > NH /*á*CCV/, cf. § 1.4.9.3): so if a certain verb of the structure *CaCC-* is attested in NH texts only, it will not show a long *-ā-* anymore. Nevertheless, I assume that in all these verbs we have to reckon with original *-ā-* in the full grade stem.

*āk<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-* ‘to die’ < \**h<sub>1/3</sub>ok-* / \**h<sub>1/3</sub>k-*; *ār<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to come’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>or-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>r-*; *ārr<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* ‘to wash’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>orh<sub>1</sub>-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>r<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>-*; *ārk<sup>i</sup>* / *ark-* ‘to cut off’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>or<sup>(l)</sup>-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>r<sup>(l)</sup>-*; *ārk<sup>i</sup>* / *ark-* ‘to cover, to copulate’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>or<sup>g<sup>h</sup></sup>-* / \**h<sub>3</sub>r<sup>g<sup>h</sup></sup>-*; *hān<sup>i</sup>* / *han-* ‘to draw (water)’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>on-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>n-*; *hāš<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-* ‘to give birth’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>oms-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>ms-*; *hāt<sup>i</sup>* / *hat-* ‘to dry up’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>od-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>d-*; *hāt<sup>i</sup>* / *hatk-* ‘to shut, to close’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>od<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-*; *iškār<sup>i</sup>* / *iškar-* ‘to stab’ < \**skor-* / \**skr-*; *išpānt<sup>i</sup>* / *išpant-* ‘to libate’ < \**spond-* / \**spnd-*; *išpār<sup>i</sup>* / *išpar-* ‘to spread’ < \**spor-* / \**spr-*; *ištāp<sup>i</sup>* / *ištapp-* ‘to shut’ < \**stop-* / \**stp-*; *kānk<sup>i</sup>* / *kank-* ‘to hang’ < \**konk-* / \**knk-*; *kalank<sup>i</sup>* / *kalank-* ‘to soothe’ < \**glong<sup>h</sup>-* / \**gln<sup>g<sup>h</sup></sup>-*; *lāḥu<sup>i</sup>* / *lahu-* ‘to pour’ < \**loh<sub>2</sub>u-* / \**lh<sub>2</sub>u-*; *lāk<sup>i</sup>* / *lag-* ‘to make lie down’ < \**log<sup>h</sup>-* / \**lg<sup>h</sup>-*; *mālk<sup>i</sup>* / *malk-* ‘to spin’ < \**molK-* / \**mlK-*; *māld<sup>i</sup>* / *mald-* ‘to recite’ \**mold<sup>h</sup>-* / \**mld<sup>h</sup>-*; *mārk<sup>i</sup>* / *mark-* ‘to divide, to separate’ < \**mork-* / \**mrk-*; *nāḥ<sup>i</sup>* / *nahḥ-* ‘to fear’ < \**noh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**nh<sub>2</sub>-*; *paḥš<sup>i</sup>* / *paḥš-* ‘to protect’ < \**poh<sub>2</sub>s-* / \**ph<sub>2</sub>s-*; *palāḥ<sup>i</sup>* / *palahḥ-* ‘to call(?)’ < \**Ploh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**Plh<sub>2</sub>-?*; *papparš<sup>i</sup>* / *papparš-* ‘to sprinkle’ < \**pors-* / \**prs-*; *pāš<sup>i</sup>* / *paš-* ‘to swallow, to gulp down’ < \**poh<sub>3</sub>s-* / \**ph<sub>3</sub>s-*; *šākk<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-* ‘to know’ < \**sokh<sub>1</sub>-* / \**skh<sub>1</sub>-*; *dākk<sup>i</sup>* / *dakk-* ‘to resemble’ \**do<sup>(l)</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-* / \**d<sup>(l)</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-*; *uāk<sup>i</sup>* : *uakk-* ‘to bite’ < \**uoh<sub>2</sub>g-* / \**uh<sub>2</sub>g-*; *uārš<sup>i</sup>* / *uārš-* ‘to harvest, to wipe’ < \**uors-* / \**urs-*; *uāš<sup>i</sup>* / \**uāš-* ‘to sell’ < \**uos-* / \**us-*; *zāḥ<sup>i</sup>* / *zahḥ-* ‘to beat’ < \**tioh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**tih<sub>2</sub>-*.

## **IIa3** *hi*-verbs with *ā/i*-ablaut

2.2.2.2.f This class consists of the verbs *ašāš<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* ‘to sit’, *hamank<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* ‘to tie’, *karāp<sup>i</sup>* / *kare/ip-* ‘to devour’ and *šarāp<sup>i</sup>* / *šarip-* ‘to sip’. These verbs show

the vowel  $\bar{a}$ - in the strong stem forms and the vowel  $-e$ - or  $-i$ - in the weak stem forms. It should be noted that the verb that is usually cited as key example of this class, “šākk-/šekk-” ‘to know’, in fact does not belong here. As I have shown under its lemma, its oldest forms show that this verb in fact is šākk-<sup>i</sup> / šakk- and belongs with class IIa2 ( $\bar{a}/a$ -ablaut).

The origin of the ablaut  $\bar{a}/-e/i$ - has always been problematic. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 114) assumes that the source of the  $\bar{a}/-e/i$ - ablaut is the verb “šākk- / šekk-”: in his opinion, the vowel  $-e$ - is the regular outcome of a reduplication syllable  $*se$ -sg-. Apart from the fact that this etymological interpretation of this verb has proven to be incorrect, the verb in fact is šākk-<sup>i</sup> / šakk- and does not originally belong to the  $\bar{a}/-e/i$ -ablauting type at all (see at its lemma for a detailed description of its prehistory).

A view that has gained much support was initiated by Jasanoff (1979: 86) who assumes that the Hittite ablaut “ $\bar{a}/e$ ” can only be explained by assuming that it reflects a PIE ablaut  $*o/e$ . The simplicity of this solution has appealed to many scholars (e.g. Melchert (1994: 81), who reconstructs šākk-/šekk- <  $*sók$ -/ $*sé$ k- and  $karāp$ -/ $garip$ - <  $*grób$ -/ $gréb$ -). Nevertheless, it is in my view quite problematic that no instances of verbal  $*o/e$ -ablaut from any other IE language are known. Either this means that the Hittite  $\bar{a}/-e/i$ -ablaut is very archaic, or it means that Jasanoff’s idea is incorrect.

As I have explained under class Ia5 (cf. § 2.2.2.1.f), I believe that the weak stem vowel  $e/i$  that we find in the  $mi$ -inflecting verbs of classes Ia5 and Ia6 must be compared to the vowel  $e/i$  as attested in the  $hi$ -verbs of the present class, and that this vowel must be identified as the anaptyctic vowel  $/i/$ . This vowel was used in the zero-grade forms of these verbs for different reasons.

The verbs  $karāp$ -<sup>i</sup> /  $kare$ / $ip$ - and  $šarāp$ -<sup>i</sup> /  $šar$ / $ip$ - must be taken together with  $terepp$ -<sup>zi</sup> /  $tere$ / $ipp$ - ‘to plough’ (from class Ia5). As I have stated in § 2.2.2.1.f more elaborately, it is in my view significant that these are the only three verbs in Hittite that show a structure  $*CRéC$ -. I therefore assume that the phonetically expected outcomes of the ablauting pair  $*CRéC$ - /  $*CRC$ - > Hitt.  $CRéC$ - /  $CaRC$ - (when  $mi$ -conjugated) and  $*CRóC$ - /  $*CRC$ - > Hitt.  $CRāC$ - /  $CaRC$ - (when  $hi$ -conjugated) was too aberrant (it looks as if the stem vowel is shifting place) and therefore has been eliminated: in the zero-grade form the anaptyctic vowel  $/i/$  was secondarily placed on the place of the vowel of the full grade form. In this way, a  $mi$ -conjugating verb  $*CRéC$ - /  $*CRC$ - was altered to synchronic  $CRéC$ - /  $CRiC$ -, whereas the  $hi$ -conjugating  $*CRóC$ - /  $*CRC$ - was altered to synchronic  $CRāC$ - /  $CRiC$ -. In both cases, the weak stem is spelled  $CRé/iC$ -.

With this scenario in mind, we can explain *karāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *kare/īp-* ‘to devour’ as phonological /krāb- / krīb-/, the ‘regular’ secondary outcome of \**g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-* / \**g<sup>h</sup>rbh<sub>1</sub>-*, and *šarāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarip-* ‘to sip’ as phonological /srāb- / srīb-/, the ultimate outcome of \**srob<sup>h</sup>-* / \**srb<sup>h</sup>-*.

The interpretation of *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* ‘to seat’ and *hamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* ‘to tie’ is less clear. Nevertheless, in the case of *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-*, which reflects either \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>os-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>s-* or \**h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-* (thus LIV<sup>2</sup>, in analogy to Oettinger 1979a: 431), the assumption of an anaptyctic vowel to release the cluster \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>s-* or \**h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-* seems unproblematic to me (cf. the phonetically regular development of \**CRHsV* > Hitt. *CRiššV* (Kloekhorst fthc.f and § 1.4.4.3)). This means that *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* ‘to seat’ must be phonologically interpreted as /ʔsās- / ʔsis- / < \**h<sub>1</sub>(h<sub>1</sub>)sh<sub>1</sub>ó(h<sub>1</sub>)s-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>(h<sub>1</sub>)sh<sub>1</sub>(h<sub>1</sub>)s-*.

In the case of *hamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* we are dealing with a zero-grade stem \**h<sub>2</sub>mnǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. As we will see in § 2.2.4, a pre-Hittite cluster \**CNNC* regularly develops into /CNiNC/. So here, \**h<sub>2</sub>mnǵ<sup>h</sup>-* yields Hitt. /Hmǵng-/, spelled *hame/ink-*. All in all, *hamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* ‘to tie’ must be phonologically interpreted as /Hmāng- / Hmǵng- / < \**h<sub>2</sub>mong<sup>h</sup>-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>mnǵ<sup>h</sup>-*.

#### IIa4 *hi*-verbs in *-ai-/-i-*: the *dāi/tijanzi*-class.

2.2.2.2.g The formal interpretation of this class has been elaborately treated in Kloekhorst fthc.a. As I have explained there, these verbs almost all go back to a structure \**CC-oi-* / \**CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of a verbal root followed by an ablauting suffix \**-oi-/-i-*:

*arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to (a)rise’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>r-oi-* / \**h<sub>3</sub>r-i-*; *halai-<sup>i</sup>* / *hali-<sup>2</sup>* ‘to set in motion’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>l-oi-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>l-i-*; *halzai-<sup>i</sup>* / *halzi-* ‘to call out’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-oi-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-*; *huyai-<sup>i</sup>* / *hui-* ‘to run’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *išhai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išhi-* ‘to bind’ < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / \**sh<sub>2</sub>-i-*; *išhamai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išhami-* ‘to sing’ < \**sh<sub>2</sub>m-oi-* / \**sh<sub>2</sub>m-i-*; *išhuuai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išhui-* ‘to throw, to scatter’ < \**sh<sub>2</sub>u-oi-* / \**sh<sub>2</sub>u-i-*; *išpai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išpi-* ‘to be satiated’ < \**sph<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**sph<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’ < \**mh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / \**mh<sub>2</sub>-i-*; *nai-<sup>i</sup>* / \**ni-* ‘to turn’ < \**noih<sub>1/3</sub>-* / \**nih<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>p-oi-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-*; *parai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pari-* ‘to blow’ < \**prh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**prh<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *paddai-<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-* ‘to run, to flee’ < \**pth<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**pth<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *šai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-* ‘to press’ < \**sh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**sh<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *šalai-<sup>i</sup>* / *šali-* ‘?’ < \**sl-oi-* / \**sl-i-?*; *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* ‘to put, to place’ < \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *tarai-<sup>i</sup>* / *tari-* ‘to exert oneself’ < \**Tr-oi-* / \**Tr-i-*; *uai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to cry’ < \**uoi-* / \**ui-*; *zai-<sup>i</sup>* / *zi-* ‘to cross’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>t-oi-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>t-i-*.

The original inflection of these verbs was as follows:

pres.		imp.	
1sg.	*CC- <i>ói-h<sub>2</sub>e-i</i> °Ce-e-eh- <i>h<sub>2</sub>é</i>		
2sg.	*CC- <i>ói-th<sub>2</sub>e-i</i> °Ca-it-ti	2sg.	*CC- <i>ói</i> °Ca-i
3sg.	*CC- <i>ói-e-i</i> °Ca-a-i	3sg.	*CC- <i>ói-u</i> °Ca-a-ú
1pl.	*CC- <i>i-<u>u</u>éní</i> <sup>264</sup> °Ci-u-e-ni		
2pl.	*CC- <i>i-sténi</i> <sup>265</sup> °Ci-iš-te-e-ni	2pl.	*CC- <i>i-stén</i> <sup>266</sup> °Ci-iš-te-en
3pl.	*CC- <i>i-énti</i> °Ci-an-zi	3pl.	*CC- <i>i-éntu</i> <sup>267</sup> °Ci-an-du
pret.		part.	*CC- <i>i-ént</i> <sup>268</sup> °Ci-an-t-
1sg.	*CC- <i>ói-h<sub>2</sub>e</i> °Ce-e-eh- <i>hu-un</i>	v.n.	*CC- <i>ói-<u>ur</u></i> °Ca-u- <i>ua-ar</i>
2sg.	*CC- <i>ói-th<sub>2</sub>e</i> °Ca-it-ta	v.n.	*CC- <i>i-átar</i> °Ci- <i>ja-a-tar</i>
3sg.	*CC- <i>ói-s</i> °Ca-iš	inf.I	*CC- <i>i-<u>u</u>anzi</i> <sup>270</sup> °Ci-u- <i>ua-an-zi</i>
1pl.	*CC- <i>i-<u>u</u>én</i> <sup>269</sup> °Ci-u-en	inf.II	*CC- <i>i-anna</i> <sup>271</sup> °Ci-an-na
2pl.	*CC- <i>i-stén</i> <sup>271</sup>	impf.	*CC- <i>ske/a-</i> <sup>273</sup>
3pl.	*CC- <i>i-ér</i> <sup>272</sup> °Ci-e-er		

This is the paradigm as found in OH texts. From the MH period onwards, we find generalization of the long *-ā-* as found in 3sg.pres.act. °Ca-a-i, yielding forms

<sup>264</sup> Thus in *pi-u-e-ni*. All other verbs show *CC-ja-ueni* according to class Ic1.

<sup>265</sup> Thus in *pi-iš-te-ni* and *zi-iš-te-e-ni*. Secondary *CC-oi-teni* (with the *mi*-ending *-tteni*) in *ta-a-it-te-ni*.

<sup>266</sup> Thus in *iš-pi-iš-te-en*, *hal-zi-iš-te-en* and *pi-iš-te-en*. Secondary *CC-oi-sten* in *da-iš-ten*, and *pa-iš-ten*.

<sup>267</sup> But compare 3pl.imp.act. *a-ra-an-du* from *arai-<sup>l</sup> / ari-* ‘to (a)rise’. Does this form and the ones mentioned in notes 268 and 273 point to a situation in which non-finite forms of this paradigm were *-i-less*?

<sup>268</sup> But compare part. *a-ra-an-t-* from *arai-<sup>l</sup> / ari-* ‘to (a)rise’, cf. note 267.

<sup>269</sup> Thus *hal-zi-u-en* and *pi-u-en*. Secondary *CC-oi-uen* in *da-i-u-en*.

<sup>270</sup> Thus *ti-u-ua-an-zi*. All other verbs have *CC-ja-uanzi* according to class Ic1.

<sup>271</sup> This form on the basis of 2pl.imp.act. \*CC-*i-stén*. Secondary \*CC-*oi-sten* in *iš-ha-iš-te-en*.

<sup>272</sup> Thus in *hal-zi-i-e-er*, *hu-i-e-er*, *iš-hi-i-e-er*, *iš-pi-i-e-er* and *pi-i-e-er*. Secondary *CC-oi-ēr* in *da-i-e-er* and *hu-ua-a-er*.

<sup>273</sup> \*CC-*ské/ó-* is the only possible reconstruction for *zaške/a- /tske/a-l*, *zikke/a- /tsike/a-l* < \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-*, but also *halziške/a-* besides *halzeške/a-* and *piške/a-* besides *peške/a-* point more to an interpretation \**Cəske/a-*, reflecting \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-ské/ó-* and \**h<sub>1</sub>p-ské/ó-*, than to \**C-i-ske/a-* from \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-ské/ó-* and \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-ské/ó-*. Cf. note 267.



like 2sg.pres.act. °*Ca-a-it-ti*, 2sg.pret.act. °*Ca-a-it-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. °*Ca-a-iš*, 2sg.imp.act. °*Ca-a-i*, and 2pl.imp.act. °*Ca-a-iš-tén* (with introduction of strong stem). Moreover, from MH times onwards, the *dāi/tiianzi*-class inflection is gradually being replaced by the *-je/a*-class (Ic1) and, to a lesser extent, by the *hatrae*-class (Ic2). The taking over into the *-je/a*-class is triggered by forms like 3pl.pres.act. °*Cianzi*, 3pl.pret.act. °*Cier*, 3pl.imp.act. °*Ciandu*, part. °*Ciant-*, etc., whereas the taking over into the *hatrae*-class is based on the trivial replacement of 3sg.pres.act. °*Cāi* by °*Cāizzi* and on the basis of the fact that e.g. 2sg.imp.act. °*Cai* and verb.noun °*Caṽar* are identical in both classes.

**Ila5** *hi*-verbs in *-a/-i-*: the *mēma/i*-class.

2.2.2.2.h In the oldest texts, the verbs of this class show two stems: we find a strong stem ending in *-a-* besides a weak stem ending in *-i-*. The original inflection can be schematized thus:

	pres.	pret.	imp.		
1sg.	° <i>Caḥḥe</i>	° <i>Caḥḥun</i>			
2sg.	° <i>Catti</i>	--	° <i>Ci</i>		
3sg.	° <i>Cai</i>	° <i>Ciš</i> <sup>2</sup>	° <i>Cau</i>		
1pl.	° <i>Ciṽeni</i>	° <i>Ciṽen</i>		part.	° <i>Ciant-</i>
2pl.	° <i>Cišteni</i>	° <i>Cišten</i>	° <i>Cišten</i>	inf.I	° <i>Ciṽanzi</i>
3pl.	° <i>Cianzi</i>	° <i>Cier</i>	° <i>Ciandu</i>	impf.	° <i>Ciške/a-</i>

The ablaut *-a/-i-* cannot reflect a PIE situation however, and therefore it is likely that the *mēma/i*-class is of a secondary origin. There are a few clues that shed some light on the prehistory of this class.

First, some of the verbs that belong to this class are derived from *dāi/tiianzi*-inflected verbs: *penna*<sup>i</sup> / *penni-*, *ūnna*<sup>i</sup> / *ūnni-* and *nanna*<sup>i</sup> / *nanni-* derive from *nai*<sup>i</sup> / \**ni-* ‘to lead’ (the first two showing the preverbs *pe-* and *u-*, the third one showing reduplication) and *uppa*<sup>i</sup> / *uppi-* derives from *pai*<sup>i</sup> / *pi-* ‘to give’ (with the preverb *u-*).

Secondly, the *mēma/i*-class is not a very stable inflection type. If we look at a diachronic overview of attestations, we see that from MH times onwards on the one hand *tarn(a)*-class inflected forms (printed in bolt) are spreading throughout the paradigm, and, to a lesser extent, *-je/a*-class inflected forms (printed with underlining).

	OS	MH	NH
pres.			
1sg.	°Ca-aḫ-ḫé	°Ca-aḫ-ḫi	°Ca-aḫ-ḫi
2sg.	--	°Ca-at-ti	°Ca-at-ti
3sg.	°Ca-i	°Ca-i, °Ca-a-i	°Ca-a-i
1pl.	°Ci-u-e-ni	°Ci-u-e-ni, °Ca-u-e-ni	°Ci-ia-u-e-ni
2pl.	--	°Ci-iš-te-ni	°Ca-at-te-ni
3pl.	°Ci-an-zi	°Ci-ia-an-zi, °Ca-an-zi	°Ci-ia-an-zi, °Ca-an-zi
pret.			
1sg.	°Ca-aḫ-ḫu-un	°Ca-aḫ-ḫu-un	°Ca-aḫ-ḫu-un
2sg.	--	--	°Ci-iš-ta, Ci-eš-ta, Ci-eš
3sg.	--	°Ci-iš, °Ci-iš-ta	°Ci-iš, °Ci-iš-ta, °Ca-aš, °Ci-it, °Ci-ia-at
1pl.	--	°Ci-u-en, °Cu-me-en, °Ca-u-en	°Ca-u-en, °Ci-ia-u-en
2pl.	--	--	°Ci-iš-ten, °Ci-ia-at-ten
3pl.	°Ci-er	°Ci-e-er	°Ci-er, °Ce-er
imp.			
1sg.	--	--	°Ca-al-lu
2sg.	--	°Ci, °Ca	°Ci, °Ca
3sg.	--	°Ca-a-ú	°Ca-a-ú, °Ca-at-tu, °Ci-iš-du
2pl.	--	°Ci-iš-te-en, °Ci-eš-te-en	°Ci-iš-ten, °Ci-eš-ten, °Ca-at-ten
3pl.	--	°Ci-an-du	°Ci-an-du, °Ca-an-du
part.	--	°Ci-an-t-	°Ci-ia-an-t-, °Ca-an-t-
v.n.	--	--	°Ci-ia-ua-ar, °Cu-mar
inf.I	--	°Ci-ua-an-zi, °Ci-ia-ua-an-zi	°Ci-ia-ua-an-zi, °Ca-ua-an-zi, °Cu-ma-an-zi
impf.	°Ci-iš-ke/a-	°Ci-iš-ke/a-	°Ci-iš-ke/a-, °Ci-eš-ke/a-

In my view, these two facts clearly indicate that the *mēma/i*-class consists of verbs that belonged to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class originally, but that were gradually being taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class from pre-Hittite times onwards. This replacement first took place in the singular forms, which yielded the OH situation as attested: stems in *-a-* in the present en preterite singular, stems in *-i-* elsewhere.

From MH times onwards, the replacement is taking place in the plural and infinite forms as well. The occasional *-je/a*-inflected forms can be explained by the fact that *dāi/tiānzi*-class verbs in NH times as a rule are being taken over into the *-je/a*-class.

The question then is, of course, why have not all *dāi/tiānzi*-class verbs been taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class? Why do e.g. *penna/i-*, *ūnna/i-*, *nanna/i-* and *uppa/i-* belong to the *mēma/i-* class, and their basic verbs *nai-* / *\*ni-* and *pai-/pi-* not? In my view, the answer lies in the fact that *penna/i-*, *ūnna/i-*, *nanna/i-* and *uppa/i-* are polysyllabic whereas *nai-/ni-* and *pai-/pi-* are not. This has consequences for the ending of the 3sg.pres.act.-form. If we take the original (reconstructed) paradigms of *pai-/pi-*, *uppa/i-* and *tarn(a)-* we get the following:

1sg.	<i>peḥḥi</i>	<i>*uppeḥḥi</i>	<i>tarnaḥḥi</i>
2sg.	<i>paitti</i>	<i>*uppaitti</i>	<i>tarnatti</i>
<b>3sg.</b>	<b><i>pāi</i></b>	<b><i>uppai</i></b>	<b><i>tarnai</i></b>
1pl.	<i>piḥeni</i>	<i>uppiḥeni</i>	<i>tarnumeni</i>
2pl.	<i>pišteni</i>	<i>uppišteni</i>	<i>tarništeni</i>
3pl.	<i>pianzi</i>	<i>uppianzi</i>	<i>tarnanzi</i>

Although the paradigms of *pai-/pi-* and *\*uppai-/uppi-* are almost identical, they differed in the 3sg.-form, where *pai-/pi-* has a long vowel, *pāi*, and *\*uppai-/uppi-* a short vowel: *uppai*. The 3sg.-ending of *\*uppai-/uppi-* was identical, however, to the ending of the *tarn(a)*-class, which had a short vowel as well: *tarnai*. In my view, this form therefore triggered a secondary rebuilding of the polysyllabic *dāi/tiānzi*-verbs in analogy to the *tarn(a)*-verbs. First, the singular forms were changed (*\*uppeḥḥi* > *uppaḥḥi*, *\*uppaitti* > *uppatti*), and then the other forms (*uppiḥeni* > *uppaḥeni*, *uppišteni* > *uppatteni*, *uppianzi* > *uppanzi*, etc.).

The verbs that inflect according to the *mēma/i-* class are: *āppa<sup>i</sup>* / *āppi-* ‘to be finished’; *ḥalihla<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥalihli-* ‘to genuflect’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>li-h<sub>2</sub>loi-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>li-h<sub>2</sub>li-*; *lilḥuua<sup>i</sup>* / *lilḥui-* ‘to pour’ < *\*li-lh<sub>2</sub>u-oi-* / *\*li-lh<sub>2</sub>u-i-*; *mēma<sup>i</sup>* / *mēmi-* ‘to speak’ < *\*me-h<sub>1</sub>m-oi-* / *\*me-h<sub>1</sub>m-i-?*; *nanna<sup>i</sup>* / *nanni-* ‘to drive’ < *\*no-noiH-* / *\*no-niH-*; *parippara<sup>i</sup>* / *parippari-* ‘to blow (a horn)’ < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *penna<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* ‘to drive (there)’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi+noiH-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi+niH-*; *šišḥa<sup>i</sup>* / *\*šišḥi-* ‘to decide, to appoint’ < *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-i-*; *taišta<sup>i</sup>* / *taišti-* ‘to load’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es+d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es+d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *dāla<sup>i</sup>* / *dāli-* ‘to let, to leave’ < *\*dā+lh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*dā+lh<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *titta<sup>i</sup>* / *titti-* ‘to install, to assign’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*; *ūnna<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-* ‘to send

(here)' < \**h<sub>2</sub>ou+noiH-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>ou+niH-*; *uppa<sup>i</sup>* / *uppi-* 'to send (here)' < \**h<sub>2</sub>ou+h<sub>1</sub>p-oi-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>ou+h<sub>1</sub>p-i-*.

The verbs showing the imperfective-suffix *-anna-/-anni-* also belong to this class: *hallanna<sup>i</sup>* / *hallanni-* 'to trample down'; *haluganna<sup>i</sup>* / *haluganni-* 'to make an announcement'; *hattanna<sup>i</sup>* / *hattanni-* 'to pierce'; *huganna<sup>i</sup>* / *huganni-* 'to conjure'; *huttianna<sup>i</sup>* / *huttianni-*; *huittianna<sup>i</sup>* / *huittianni-* 'to draw'; *ianna<sup>i</sup>* / *ianni-* 'to march'; *išhuanna<sup>i</sup>* / *išhuanni-* 'to throw'; *iškaranna<sup>i</sup>* / *iškaranni-* 'to sting'; *šippandanna<sup>i</sup>* / *šipandanni-* 'to libate'; *išparanna<sup>i</sup>* / *išparanni-* 'to spread'; *lahhijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *lahhijanni-* 'to go on an expedition'; *pijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *pijanni-* 'to give'; *parhanna<sup>i</sup>* / *parhanni-* 'to chase'; *paršijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *paršijanni-* 'to break'; *peššijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *peššijanni-* 'to throw away'; *piddanna<sup>i</sup>* / *piddanni-* 'to bring away'; *šallanna<sup>i</sup>* / *šallanni-* 'to pull'; *takšanna<sup>i</sup>* / *takšanni-* 'to level'; *tijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *tijanni-* 'to lay down'; *tuhšanna<sup>i</sup>* / *tuhšanni-* 'to cut off'; *uhalhanna<sup>i</sup>* / *uhalhanni-* 'to hit'; *uərianna<sup>i</sup>* / *uərianni-* 'to call'.

### Ablautpattern of the IIa-verbs

2.2.2.2.i In all *hi-*verbs that show ablaut, this ablaut can be traced back to the PIE ablaut \**o/Ø*. Therewith it is likely that the *hi-*conjugation etymologically is connected with the PIE perfect, albeit that in Hittite no reduplication is found. The best comparandum therefore is the PIE root \**uoid-* 'to know'.

In the following scheme I have recorded the distribution of the ablaut-vowels over the verbal paradigms, first giving the attested Hittite forms (the verb *au<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* 'to see', augmented by forms from *ištāp<sup>i</sup>* / *ištapp-* 'to plug up', *āk<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-* 'to die', *pai<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* 'to give', *ārr<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* 'to bathe' and *mēma<sup>i</sup>* / *mēmi-* 'to speak'), then an abstraction of these Hittite data, followed by the reconstructed PIE forms, exemplified by the Sanskrit paradigm of *ved-* 'to know'.

pres.		
1sg.	<i>u-uh-ḫi</i>	<i>CóC-ḫi</i>
2sg.	<i>a-ut-ti</i>	<i>CóC-ti</i>
3sg.	<i>iš-ta-a-pi</i>	<i>CóC-i</i>
1pl.	<i>ú-me-(e-)ni</i>	<i>CC-úéni</i>
2pl.	<i>uš-te-ni</i>	<i>CC-sténi</i> <sup>274</sup>
3pl.	<i>ú-ua-an-zi</i>	<i>CC-ánzi</i>

<sup>274</sup> See its own lemma for a treatment of the 2pl.-ending *-šten(ij)*.

pret.				
1sg.	<i>u-uh-ḫu-un</i>	<i>CóC-ḫun</i>	<i>*CóC-h<sub>2</sub>e</i>	<i>véda</i>
2sg.	<i>a-uš-ta</i>	<i>CóC-ta</i>	<i>*CóC-th<sub>2</sub>e</i>	<i>véttha</i>
3sg.	<i>a-ak-ki-iš</i>	<i>CóC-s</i>	<i>*CóC-e<sup>275</sup></i>	<i>véda</i>
1pl.	<i>pí-u-en</i>	<i>CC-ṽén</i>	<i>*CC-mé</i>	<i>vidmá</i>
2pl.	--	<i>*CC-stén</i>	<i>*CC-sV<sup>?</sup>276</i>	<i>vidá</i>
3pl.	<i>pí-i-e-er</i>	<i>CC-ér</i>	<i>*CC-ér</i>	<i>vidúh</i>
imp.				
1sg.	<i>ú-ya-al-lu, ú-ye<sub>5</sub>-el-lu-ut</i>	<i>CC-(e)llu(t)</i>		
2sg.	<i>a-ú, iš-ta-a-pí</i>	<i>CóC(-i)</i>		
3sg.	<i>iš-ta-a-pu</i>	<i>CóC-u</i>		
2pl.	<i>pí-iš-te-en</i>	<i>CC-stén</i>		
3pl.	<i>ú-ya-an-du</i>	<i>CC-ánda</i>		
part.	<i>ú-ya-an-t-</i>	<i>CC-ant-</i>		
v.n.	<i>ú-ya-tar<sup>277</sup></i>	<i>CC-átar</i>		
v.n.	gen.sg. <i>a-ar-ru-ya-aš</i>	<i>CóC-yar</i>		
inf.I	<i>me-mi-ya-an-zi</i>	<i>CC-ṽánzi</i>		
inf.II	<i>ú-ya-an-na</i>	<i>CC-ánna</i>		
impf.	<i>ú-uš-ke/a-</i>	<i>CC-ské/á-</i>		

### **I**b** = non-ablauting *ḫi*-verbs**

2.2.2.2.j The only verbs that belong to this class are on the one hand verbs of which it is clear that originally they showed ablaut but that one of the stems has spread throughout the paradigm:

<sup>275</sup> The form *\*CóC-e* is still visible in 3sg.pres.act. *CóC-i* < *\*CóC-e-i*. For a treatment of the 3sg.pret.act.-ending *-š* (*\*CóC-s*), see its own lemma.

<sup>276</sup> Usually, this ending is reconstructed as *\*-é* on the basis of Skt. *-á*. See the lemma *-šten(i)* as well as Kloekhorst fthc.d, however, for the possibility that Hitt. *-šten(i)* together with the PToch. 2pl.pret.-ending *\*-sə* points to a PIE ending with an element *-s-*.

<sup>277</sup> Note that the spelling *ú-ya-tar* phonologically stands for */ʷuádr/* < *\*Hu-ó-tr*, which contrasts with the spelling *ya(-a)-tar* 'water' that denotes */uádr/* < *\*uódr* without initial glottal stop.

*ānš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to wipe’ originally belonged to an ablauting verb *ānš<sup>-i</sup> / hane/išš<sup>-</sup>* < \**h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>s-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>s-*. Both stems formed their own paradigm: *ānš<sup>-i</sup>* and *hane/išš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

*hārš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to till the soil’ originally belonged to an ablauting verb *hārš<sup>-i</sup> / \*\*hāre/išš<sup>-</sup>* < \**h<sub>2</sub>órh<sub>3</sub>s-* / \**h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>s-*. After the initial *h-* of the weak stem spread to the strong stem (which regularly should have yielded \*\**ārš<sup>-i</sup>*), the stem *hārš<sup>-</sup>* was generalized.

*šāh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to stuff up’ reflects \**soh<sub>2</sub>-* / \**sh<sub>2</sub>-*. Here the strong stem \**soh<sub>2</sub>-* > *šāh<sup>-</sup>* was generalized because the weak stem \**sh<sub>2</sub>-* phonetically yielded \*\**išh<sup>-</sup>*, which was too aberrant.

*uāš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to buy’ is only attested with strong stem forms, so its weak stem cannot be determined. It reflects \**uos-* / \**us-*, the weak stem of which should regularly have yielded \*\**uš<sup>-</sup>* as attested in *ušnije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to put up for sale’. Within the paradigm *uāš<sup>-</sup>* / \*\**uš<sup>-</sup>* it is likely that the latter stem was eliminated and replaced by *uāš<sup>-</sup>*, or that it received an anaptyctic vowel, resulting in *uaš<sup>-</sup>* (cf. *uašše/a<sup>-zi</sup>* for a similar scenario).

*ueyakk<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to demand’ goes back to \**ue-uok-* / \**ue-uk-*. Here, too, the strong stem was generalized because the weak stem \**ue-uk-* phonetically yielded \*\**uūk-*, which was too aberrant.

On the other hand, this class consists of the factitives in *-ahh<sup>-i</sup>* (see at its own lemma for a treatment of this suffix):

*alyanzahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to bewitch’; *arayahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make free’; *armahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make pregnant’; *ēšharayahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make blood-red’; *hahlahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make yellow(green)’; *hantezzijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make foremost’; *happinahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to enrich’; *hattahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to instruct’; *ikunahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make cold’; *in(n)arahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make strong’; *innarauyahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make strong’; *išhaššarayahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make lordly’; *išhiulahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to bind by treaty’; *idālahyahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to treat badly’; *kallarahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make inauspicious’; *kappilahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to get in a fight’; *kardimijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make angry’; *katterahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to lower’; *kunnahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to set aright’; *kūrurijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to wage war on’; *kutruyahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to summon as witness’; \**lazzijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make right’; *lelijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make haste’; *lūrijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to humiliate’; *majantahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to rejuvenate’; *manijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to distribute’; *man(n)i(n)kuayahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to approach’; *manikuandahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make short’; *markištahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to take someone by surprise(?)’; *marlahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make foolish(?)’; *maršahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to desecrate’; *mehuyandahh<sup>-i</sup>*; *mijahuyantahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make old’; *mišriyahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to make *mišriyant-*’; *nakkijahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to become a concern to someone’; \**neknahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to regard someone as a brother’; *nēyahh<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to renew’; \**palšijahh<sup>-i</sup>*

‘to set on the road’; *paprah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to defile’; *pararah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to chase’; *pedaśśah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to install’; *śakijah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to give a sign’; *śallakartah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to offend someone through arrogance’; *śannapilah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to empty’; *śanezziyah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make pleasant’; *śarāzzijah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make win’; *śumumah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to braid together(?)’; *śuppijah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to purify’; *dankuūyah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make black’; *tarupyah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘?’; *taruppijah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘?’; *daśūyah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make blind’; *tatrah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to incite’; *tepayah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make little’; *ṽ(a)lkiśśarah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make perfectly’; *ṽaśtah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to sin’; *ṽātarnah̥h<sup>i</sup>* ‘to order; to instruct’.

### 2.2.3 The middle verbs

It is commonly known that two separate endings can be used to express the 3sg.pres.midd.-form, namely *-tta(ri)* and *-a(ri)*. Although synchronically they do not express any difference in meaning, a given verb in principle always uses the same ending. It must be noted that in many verbs that originally use the ending *-a(ri)*, in younger texts the ending *-tta(ri)* is also used. Of the few verbs that are attested with both *-a(ri)* and *-tta(ri)* and of which too little forms are found to set up a chronological overview of attestations, we may therefore assume that *-a(ri)* is the original ending.

In the literature we sometimes come across the habit to interpret the ending *-tta(ri)* as “*mi*-conjugated” and *-a(ri)* as “*hi*-conjugated”. This should be abandoned, however: the choice of a verb to use either *-tta(ri)* or *-a(ri)* has nothing to do with the inflection that it uses in active forms (cf. also their respective lemmas).

Although synchronically no difference in meaning between *-tta(ri)* and *-a(ri)* can be determined, it is remarkable that the impersonal verbs of the type *tukkāri* ‘is visible, is important’ (III<sub>f</sub>) all use the ending *-āri*. This fits in well with the fact that Kortlandt (1981: 126-7) on the basis of the distribution of the Sanskrit endings *-e* and *-te* assumes a semantic difference between these endings, namely *\*-o* = ‘deponent’ and *\*-to* = ‘transitive’.<sup>278</sup> It is therefore important to distinguish between the use of the ending *-a(ri)* and *-tta(ri)* when classifying the middle verbs. Another criterion is whether or not the verbal root originally showed full grade or zero grade. Furthermore, the impersonally used middles show some

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<sup>278</sup> See also Oettinger 1976b, who states that the ending *\*-o* originally belonged to ‘statives’ and the ending *\*-to* to ‘middles’. Falsely e.g. Jasanoff (2003: 51), who merely sees “*\*-to(r)* as a modernized form of *\*-o(r)*”.

remarkable formal features, on the basis of which they must have had a special position.

Taking into account all these criteria, I arrive at the following six basic categories: (a) middle verbs of the structure \*CéC-o; (b) middle verbs of the structure \*CéC-to; (c) middle verbs of the structure \*CC-ó; (d) middle verbs of the structure CC-tó; (e) impersonally used middle verbs of the structure \*CéC-o; (f) impersonally used middle verbs of the structure \*CC-ó. To these must be added (g) middle verbs in -ĭe/a-<sup>11a(ri)</sup> and (h) middle verbs of other structures, which are probably from secondary origins.

In order to explain the formal peculiarities of the first six categories, their prehistory may be envisaged thus:

- (1) Original situation.
- (2) Addition of \*-r (e.g. out of 3pl.-ending).
- (3) Phonetic loss of word-final \*-r after an unaccented vowel.
- (4) Addition of the presential -i as an optional marker for present tense, in analogy to the active verbs. Because the impersonals are not used as a fully inflected verb, here the -i was not added.
- (5) The element -ri is reinterpreted as the new middle marker, replacing -i
- (6) Phonetic developments: unaccented \*o > a (§ 1.4.9.3.c); accented \*ó > /á/ in internal syllables (§ 1.4.9.3.a), but > /ã/ in initial and final syllables (§ 1.4.9.3).
- (7) Spread of the ending -a(ri) and -tta(ri). The presential marker -i is transferred to the impersonals ending in -ār as well. Result: situation as attested.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(a)	*CéC-o	*CéC-or	*CéC-o	*CéC-o(i)	*CéCo(ri)	*CeCa(ri)	CeCa(ri)
(b)	*CéC-to	*CéC-tor	*CéC-to	*CéC-to(i)	*CéCto(ri)	*CeCta(ri)	CeCta(ri)
(c)	*CC-ó	*CC-ór	*CC-ór	*CC-ór(i)	*CCóri	*CCari	CCa(ri)
(d)	*CC-tó	*CC-tór	*CC-tór	*CC-tór(i)	*CCtóri	*CCtari	CCta(ri)
(e)	*CéC-o	*CéC-or	*CéC-o	*CéC-o	*CéCo	*CeCa	CeCa
(f)	*CC-ó	*CC-ór	*CC-ór	*CC-ór	*CCór	*CCār	CCāri

### IIIa middle verbs of the structure \*CéC-o

2.2.3.1 **ā(i)-<sup>a(ri)</sup>** ‘to be hot’ < \*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>3</sub>i-o? (>> aĭ-<sup>11a(ri)</sup> (NH)); **eš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>** ‘to sit down’ < \*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o (>> eš-<sup>11a(ri)</sup> (NH)); **happ-<sup>a(ri)</sup>** ‘to work out’ < \*h<sub>2</sub>ép-o (>> h<sub>2</sub>app-<sup>11a(ri)</sup> (MH)); **hatt-**



<sup>a(ri)</sup> ‘to pierce, to prick’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>ét-o* (>> *hazzije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)); *hueti-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to draw, to pull’ (>> *huetiije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*); *kīš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *kīš-* ‘to happen, to occur’ < \**géis-o*; \**kikkīš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to happen, to occur’ < \**géis-o* (>> *kikkīš-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)); *nē-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to turn’ < \**néh<sub>1/3</sub>-o*; *paḥš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to protect’ < \**péh<sub>2</sub>s-o* (>> *paḥš-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)); *park-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to rise’ (>> *parkiije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*); *šalk-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to touch’ if from \**sléig<sup>o</sup>*; *ueḥ-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to turn oneself’ < \**uéih<sub>2</sub>-o* (>> *ueḥ-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* and *ueḥa-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (MH)); *zē-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to cook (intr.)’ < \**tiéh<sub>1</sub>-o*.

### IIIb middle verbs of the structure \**CéC-to*

- 2.2.3.2 *harp-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to change allegiance’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>érb<sup>h</sup>-to*; *hueti-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to draw, to pull’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>uéTH-(t)o* (>> *huetiije/a-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* (OH)); *ki-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to lie’ < \**kéi-to*; *lukk-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to get light’ < \**léuk-to* (>> *lukka-<sup>ta</sup>* ?(OH)); *uarš-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to lift oneself’; *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to be dressed’ < \**ués-to* (>> *uaššije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)).

### IIIc middle verbs of the structure \**CC-ó*

- 2.2.3.3 *ark-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to mount, to copulate’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>rġ<sup>h</sup>-ó* (>> *ark-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (MH)); *halzi-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to cry out’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-ó* (>> *halziije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)); *parši-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *parš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to break’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>rs(-i)-ó* (>> *paršiije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (NH)); *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to (be) cut off’.

### III d middle verbs of the structure \**CC-tó*

- 2.2.3.4 *ar-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to stand’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>r-tó*; *karp-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be angry’ < \**karp-tó* (?) (>> *karpije/a-* (NH)); *tarupp-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to collect oneself’ < \**trup-tó*.

### IIIc/d middle verbs whose original structure (\**CC-ó* or \**CC-tó*) cannot be determined

- 2.2.3.5 *pukk-<sup>(ta)a(ri)</sup>* ‘to be hateful’; *šar-<sup>(ta)a(ri)</sup>* ‘to embroider’ < \**sr-(t)ó*; *šupp-<sup>(ta)a(ri)</sup>* ‘to sleep’ < \**sup-(t)ó*.

### IIIe impersonally used middle verbs of the structure \**CéC-o*

- 2.2.3.6 *tīth-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to thunder’ (preform unclear).

### III f impersonally used middle verbs of the structure \**CC-ó*

- 2.2.3.7 *ištu-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be exposed’ < \**stu-ór-i*; *kīšt-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to perish’ < \**(g<sup>h</sup>)sd-ór-i*; *lag-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to fall’ < \**lg<sup>h</sup>-ór-i*; *mi-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be born’ < \**mh<sub>2</sub>i-ór-i* (?); *tukk-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be visible’ < \**tuk-ór-i*; *ur-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to burn’ < \**urh<sub>1</sub>-ór-i*; *uakk-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be lacking’ < \**uh<sub>2</sub>g-ór-i*.

**IIIg** middle verbs in *-je/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*

2.2.3.8 *āššije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be loved’; *armanije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to become ill’; *armalije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to become ill’; *hallije/a-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to kneel down’; *handae-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* < \**handaje/a-* ‘to get fixed’; \**haššuezzije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to become king’; *je/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to go’; *imije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to mingle’; *išhahruje/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* < \**išhahruje/a-* ‘to weep’; *karije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be gracious towards’; *karpije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be angry’; *kardimije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be angry’; *kištanziye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to suffer famine’; *lāzziye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be good’; *lalaniye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to infuriate’; *marrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to melt down’; *nahšariye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to show respect’; *pangariye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to become widespread’; *šallije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to melt down’; *šarrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be divided’; *uešije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to pasture’; *uišuriye/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to suffocate’.

**IIIh** other middle verbs

2.2.3.9 This group consists of the middle verbs that cannot be classified as belonging to one of the classes described above (sometimes because the etymology is unknown). Note that these also include verbs like *hanna-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *marra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* and *tarra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, which are sometimes called ‘thematic’. In my view, it is possible that in these verbs the *-a* of the 3sg.pres.midd.-ending has spread throughout the paradigm (cf. e.g. at *tarra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* for an elaboration of this idea).

*āšš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to be loved’; *hai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *hīnk-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to bow’; *hanna-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to sue’; *hīnik-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to pour(?)’; *marra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to melt down’; *šalla-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to melt down’; *šarra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be divided’; *šuppīyahh-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to purify’; *damiummahh-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to change’; *tarra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be able’.

#### 2.2.4 Excursus: The Prehistory of the Nasal-infixed verbs

In Hittite, we find a number of verbs that can be regarded as containing a nasal infix. Although most of these verbs inflect according to the *mi*-conjugation, there are a few *hi*-inflected nasal infixed verbs: *hamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* ‘to tie’, *šanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šann-* ‘to hide’, *šunna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-* ‘to fill’ and *tarna-<sup>i</sup>* / *tarn-* ‘to let (go)’. Because I do not see how these *hi*-verbs could have been created secondarily (there is no model in analogy to which they could have been formed), we must assume that they are archaic.

Within the group of Hittite nasal infix verbs we must distinguish three types:

- (1) Verbs with an infix *-ni(n)-*: *ḫarnikzi / ḫarninkanzi* ‘to make disappear’ from *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-*; *ḫunikzi / ḫuninkanzi* ‘to bash’ from *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>-*; *ištarnikzi / ištarninkanzi* ‘to afflict’ from *\*sterk-*; *ninikzi / nininkanzi* ‘to mobilize’ from *\*neik-*; and *šarnikzi / šarninkanzi* ‘to compensate’ from *\*serk-*.
- (2) Verbs with an infix *-Vn-*: *ḫamanki / ḫame/inkanzi* ‘to tie’ from *\*h<sub>2</sub>emg<sup>h</sup>-* and *tamekzi / tame/inkanzi* ‘to attach’ from *\*temk-*.
- (3) Verbs with an infix *-nV-*:<sup>279</sup> *aršanezzi / aršananzi* ‘to be envious’ from *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ersh<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>resh<sub>1</sub>-*; *ḫarnazi / ḫarnanzi* ‘to sprinkle’ from *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>2/3</sub>-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>reh<sub>2/3</sub>-*; *ḫullezi / ḫullanzi* ‘to smash’ from *\*h<sub>2</sub>uelh<sub>1</sub>-*; *kinae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to (as)sort’ from *\*kieh<sub>2</sub>-*, *munnae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to hide’ from *\*meuh<sub>2/3</sub>-*, *šannai / šannanzi* ‘to hide’ from *\*senh<sub>1</sub>-*; *šunnai / šunnanzi* ‘to fill’ from *seuh<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *tarnai / tarnanzi* ‘to let (go)’ from *\*ter<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1/3</sub>-*; *duḫarnizzi / duḫarnanzi* ‘to break’ from *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerh<sub>1</sub>-*; and *zinnizzi / zinnanzi* ‘to finish’ from *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>-*.

It should be noted that the verbs of type (1) and (2) show the development *\*e/inCC > Hitt. e/iCC* (whereas the *-n-* is preserved in *e/inCV*), which is also known from e.g. *likzi / linkanzi < \*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>h</sup>-* (see also § 1.4.7.2.b). This means that e.g. *ḫarnikzi* goes back to *\*ḫarninkzi*, *ḫunikzi < \*ḫuninkzi*, and, in type (2), *tamekzi < \*tamenkzi*.

On the basis of the nasal infix verbs as attested in the other IE languages, the classical view is that the PIE nasal presents inflected according to the structure *\*CR-né-C-ti / \*CR-n-C-énti* (e.g. Skt. *bhinátti / bhindánti < \*b<sup>h</sup>i-né-d-ti / \*b<sup>h</sup>i-n-d-énti* from the root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eid-*). Indeed, this structure seems to underly the Hittite type (3), e.g. *duḫarnizzi / duḫarnanzi < \*d<sup>h</sup>ur-né-h<sub>1</sub>-ti / \*d<sup>h</sup>ur-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti* and *šannai / šannanzi < \*sn-nó-h<sub>1</sub>-ei / \*sn-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti*.

The other two types, are less clear regarding their interpretation, however. Type (1) seems to reflect a structure *\*CR-nVn-C-ti / \*CR-nVn-C-énti*. Despite attempts by several scholars to derive this type out of the classical model, I know of no convincing solution for this type. Type (2) seems to reflect the structures *\*CR-én-C-ti / \*CR-n-C-énti* and *\*CR-ón-C-ei / \*CR-n-C-énti*, respectively. To my knowledge, no attempts have been made to explain this type.

In my view, the three types cannot be treated without reference to each other. Moreover, it is significant that each type of nasal infix corresponds to a specific

<sup>279</sup> The verbs *kinae-<sup>zi</sup>* < *\*ki-né-h<sub>2</sub>-ti / \*ki-n-h<sub>2</sub>-énti* and *munnae-<sup>zi</sup>* < *\*mu-né-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti / \*mu-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-énti* form their own sub-category. See at their lemmas for further treatment.

type of verbal root: type (1), *-nin-*, is formed of roots of the structure *\*CeRK-* and *\*CReK-* in which *R* ≠ *-m-* and *K* = any velar; type (2), *-Vn-*, is formed of roots of the structure *\*CemK-*; and type (3), *-nV-*, is formed of roots that end in a laryngeal. This is an important establishment when treating the prehistory of the Hittite nasal infix verbs.

Typologically speaking, infixation is a very rare phenomenon and always the result of epenthesis. It is therefore attractive to assume that the nasal infix as attested in the IE languages derives from an earlier *n*-suffix.<sup>280</sup> In view of the athematic *i*-presents *\*tk-éi-ti* / *\*tk-i-énti* and *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-e* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-ér* or the original form of the *s*-presents, *\*CC-és-ti* / *\*CC-s-énti*,<sup>281</sup> it is likely that in (pre-)PIE, the structure of the *n*-suffixed verbs was *\*CRC-én-ti* / *\*CRC-n-énti* and *\*CRC-ón-e* / *\*CRC-n-ér*, respectively. In order to derive from these structures the structures as attested in Hittite and the other IE languages, we can envisage the following scenario (exemplified by the roots *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-*, *\*temk-* and *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerh<sub>1</sub>-*).

(1) Original situation:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rg-én-ti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rg-n-énti*      *\*tmk-én-ti*, *\*tmk-n-énti*      *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-én-ti*, *tih<sub>1</sub>-n-énti*

(2) In the forms with *\*CRC-n-* *n*-epenthesis occurs: the stops preceding *-n-* become prenasalized<sup>282</sup>:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rgénti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub><sup>n</sup>gnénti*      *\*tmkénti*, *\*tm<sup>n</sup>knénti*      *\*tih<sub>1</sub>énti*, *\*t<sup>n</sup>h<sub>1</sub>nénti*

(3) The prenasalized stop of the plural spreads throughout the paradigm:

*\*h<sub>3</sub><sup>n</sup>génti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub><sup>n</sup>gnénti*      *\*tm<sup>n</sup>kénti*, *\*tm<sup>n</sup>knénti*      *\*t<sup>n</sup>h<sub>1</sub>énti*, *\*t<sup>n</sup>h<sub>1</sub>nénti*

(4) The cluster *\*-<sup>n</sup>Cn-* is simplified to *-nC-*:

*\*h<sub>3</sub><sup>n</sup>génti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tm<sup>n</sup>kénti*, *\*tmnkénti*      *\*t<sup>n</sup>h<sub>1</sub>énti*, *\*tinh<sub>1</sub>énti*

(5) Under pressure of the plural forms, which seem to contain a root *\*CRnC-*, the singular stem *\*CR<sup>n</sup>Cen-* metathesizes to *\*CRne<sup>n</sup>C-*:

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Thurneysen 1883: 301-2.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Pedersen 1921: 26.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. Thurneysen 1883 for the Latin phenomena that can be explained by prenasalization (the mediae found in Lat. *pandō* < *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-*, *pingō* < *\*peik-*, *ē-mungō* < *\*meuk-*, *mandō* < *\*meth<sub>2</sub>-*, etc.), and cf. Kortlandt 1979: 61 for prenasalization in e.g. the BSl. stem *\*undn-* ‘water’ < *\*ud-n-*.

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rné<sup>n</sup>gti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tmné<sup>n</sup>kti, \*tmnkénti*      *\*tiné<sup>n</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>énti*

At this stage, the Anatolian branch splits off from Proto-Indo-European. In the latter group only one further development takes place:

(6a) The nasalized consonants lose their nasalization, which leads to the classical model *\*CR-né-C-ti / \*CR-n-C-énti*:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rnéngti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tmnékti, \*tmnkénti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

In Anatolian, the following developments take place:

(6b) The laryngeals lose their nasalization, and the cluster *\*Cmne-* is assimilated to *\*Cme-*:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rné<sup>n</sup>gti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tmé<sup>n</sup>kti, \*tmnkénti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

(7) The nasalization of the velars develops into a real nasal consonant:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rnéngti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tménkti, \*tmnkénti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

(8) On the basis of the full grade stem *\*CRnenK-* in type (1), the zero grade stem *\*CRnK-* is altered to *\*CRnnK-*

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rnéngti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rngénti*      *\*tménkti, \*tmnkénti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

(9) In the sequence *\*Cnnc* an anaptyctic /i/ develops:

*\*h<sub>3</sub>rnéngti, \*h<sub>3</sub>rníngénti*      *\*tménkti, \*tmínkenti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

(10) *\*-nenK-* > *-ninK-*

*\*h<sub>2</sub>rníngti, \*h<sub>2</sub>rníngénti*      *\*tménkti, \*tmínkenti*      *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti, \*tin<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>énti*

(11) *\*e/inCC* > *\*e/iCC*

*harnikzi, harninkanzi*      *tamekzi, tame/inkanzi*      *zinizzi, zinnanzi*  
*/Hrníkt̪<sup>s</sup>i, Hrnínkánt̪<sup>s</sup>i/*      */tmékt̪<sup>s</sup>i, tmínkánt̪<sup>s</sup>i/*      */t̪<sup>s</sup>iNít̪<sup>s</sup>i, t̪<sup>s</sup>iNánt̪<sup>s</sup>i/*



PART TWO

AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY  
OF THE  
HITTITE INHERITED LEXICON

INTRODUCTION

In this part I will treat the following Hittite words: (a) words that in my view have a good IE etymology; (b) words that formally look as if they could well be of IE origin but for which no IE cognates are known; (c) words for which an IE etymology has been proposed that in my view cannot be correct;<sup>283</sup> and (d) words of which I found it important to show that they must be of a foreign origin.<sup>284</sup>

Of each word I have cited all spellings of the forms as attested, giving attestation place if necessary and a dating. If a certain form is attested in multiple texts, I have only indicated the oldest dating. Whenever needed, I have ordered the forms and spellings chronologically, in order to describe the most original state of affairs. On the basis of this material, I have treated the etymology of each word. Apart from words, I have also included in this dictionary the nominal and verbal endings, as well as most of the verbal and some nominal suffixes. Of these I have especially concentrated on morphological changes, as well as on their etymology.

An etymological dictionary can only be written on the basis of good philological descriptions of the words in question. In the case of Hittite, such descriptions are not available for the whole lexicon. The only dictionary that comprises the whole Hittite vocabulary<sup>285</sup> is Friedrich's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (HW) that dates from 1952-1954, to which three *Ergänzungshefte* (1957, 1961, 1966) were added. Although this dictionary must be regarded as a milestone in

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<sup>283</sup> Although I certainly do not claim exhaustiveness for this category.

<sup>284</sup> I am aware that this latter category is quite arbitrary.

<sup>285</sup> Sturtevant's *A Hittite Glossary* (1931, second edition 1936), Tischler's *Hethitisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis* (1982) and Tischler's *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* (2001) are all mere glossaries: they only cite the stem of a Hittite word with its translation without giving (much) linguistic information.

Hittitology, it is nowadays outdated in some respects: it does not give examples of contexts to illustrate a word's meaning, it cites forms in bound transcription, often disregarding plene spellings, and it does not give attestation places to all forms cited. Moreover, many more Hittite texts have been published since it appeared, which means that the dictionary is not exhaustive. Fortunately, other dictionary-projects have been started in more recent times that do meet up to the expectations of modern-day Hittitologists. Yet, these are all unfinished. Friedrich – Kammenhuber's *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte* (HW<sup>2</sup>), which was initiated in 1975, so far comprises *a-* till *ḥaššu-* and gives a complete overview of attestations and an extensive semantic treatment (but note that its dating of texts does not follow the *communis opinio*). In preparation to this work Kammenhuber has published *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus* (1973 - 1989) that treats the lemmas *āk-<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-* 'to die', *šu* (conjunction), *ta* (conjunction), *-a-* (encl. pers. pron.), *eku-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aku-* 'to drink', *dā-<sup>i</sup>* / *d-* 'to take', *šākk-<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-* 'to know' and *ḥandae-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to arrange'. It contains many attestation places and a detailed semantic description. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD), edited by Güterbock, Hoffner and Van den Hout, first appeared in 1989 and thus far treats *lā-<sup>i</sup>* / *l-* till =*šše*. It gives many attestation places and a full semantic treatment, too. Two other works, which are not primarily meant as synchronic dictionaries, do provide philological information as well. Puhvel's *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (HED) first appeared in 1984, and up to now has been finished for the letters *A - M*. It gives many (often all) attestation places and examples of contexts to illustrate the semantics of a word. Tischler's *Hethitisches etymologisch Glossar* (HEG) falls into two parts. The first part (1977-1983), dealing with the letters *A - K*, is a mere bibliographical work giving references to etymological treatments of the words cited. The second part (1990-), for which Tischler has received the help of Neumann and Neu, thus far treats the letters *L, M, N, P, Ša* and *T*, and gives more philological information (although still not extensively), including forms that are attested on unpublished tablets. A small contribution was Otten's *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon* (1971b = StBoT 15), in which he extensively treats the words beginning with *zu-*.

All in all, good up-to-date philological treatments exist of the following part of the Hittite lexicon: *A, E, Ḫ, I, K, L, M, N, P, Ša, T* (but not as extensive as desired) and *Zu*. This means that the words beginning with *Še - Šu, U, Ṹ* and *Za - Zi* often still lack an extensive synchronic description. In my etymological treatment of the Hittite inherited lexicon, this means that for the words of the first category I often only refer to the works cited above for the synchronic treatment



(unless I disagree, of course), whereas for words of the second category I will give much more synchronic philological information, including attestation places, contexts and semantics. Because I do not have a card-tray system at my disposal that covers all published Hittite texts, I cannot claim exhaustiveness for these treatments. Nevertheless, on the basis of many treatments of texts and words in the secondary literature and using a collection of computerized transliterations of some 3300 Hittite texts (containing ca 280.000 words)<sup>286</sup>, which has greatly enhanced the search for forms, attestation places and contexts, I have tried to be as inclusive as possible.

Each lemma is accompanied by grammatical information (the classification of the verbal system is elaborately treated in chapter 2.2), a translation, its corresponding sumerogram and/or akkadogram (if applicable), all attested spellings known to me (which are dated when relevant: note that if a certain form is attested in texts from different periods, usually only the oldest dating is mentioned), inner-Hittite derivatives and cognates, cognates in the other Anatolian languages, a Proto-Anatolian reconstruction (if possible), cognates in the non-Anatolian Indo-European languages, a Proto-Indo-European reconstruction (if possible), and, finally, an elaborate philological and etymological discussion.

In the treatment of cognates from the other Anatolian languages, I have tried to include all attested forms, for which I have used the following sources: for Palaic, the vocabulary in Carruba 1970; for CLuwian Melchert's *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (1993a); for HLuwian I have cited words as transliterated in Hawkins' *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luvian Inscriptions* (2000); for Lycian I have used Melchert's *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language* (2004a); and for Lydian Gusmani's *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (1964).

Note that in alphabetization the sequence *-uṽa-* is regarded as *-u- + -ṽ- + -a-*, so e.g. *duṽarni-<sup>zi</sup> / duṽarn-* follows <sup>MUNUS</sup> *duttarijata/i-* and precedes *tuzzi-*.

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<sup>286</sup> Kindly provided to me by prof. Tischler, for which I am very grateful.



## A

*a-*: see *aši / uni / ini*

*-a, -ā* (all.sg.-ending)

PIE \*-o

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The allative answers the question ‘to where’ and is a living case in the OH and MH period only. Its ending is either *-a* or *-ā*. The difference between the two is clearly a matter of accentuation, compare *a-aš-ka /ʔāskal* ‘gate’, *ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-anda /HméšHanta/*, *lu-li-ja /lúlija/* ‘pond’, *ne-e-pí-ša /nébisal* ‘heaven’, *šu-uḥ-ḥa /sóHa/* ‘roof’ vs. *iš-ša-a /iššá/* ‘mouth’, *ki-iš-ra-a /kišrá/* ‘hand’, *ta-ak-na-a /tgnál/* ‘earth’ (all OS attestations). On the basis of the fact that *pa-ra-a /prá/*, an original allative of the paradigm to which *peran* and *parza* belong as well, can be compared directly to Gr. *πρό*, Skt. *prá-*, Lat. *prō-* and Goth. *fra-*, which all point to *\*pró*, I assume that the allative-ending has to be reconstructed as *\*-o*.

*-a* (nom.-acc.pl.n.-ending)

PIE \*-eh<sub>2</sub>

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The nom.-acc.pl.-form of neuter nouns and adjectives can be formed in several ways (cf. Gertz 1982: 270ff.). First, we encounter the ending *-a*, which seems to originally belong in *a*-stem nouns (e.g. *ša-a-ku-ya* (OS) from *šākuya-* ‘eye’), stems in *-tt-* (*a-ni-ja-at-ta* (OS) from *anijatt-* ‘work, task’), stems in *-nt-* (e.g. *a-mi-ja-an-ta* (OH/MS) from *amijant-* ‘small’, *ḥu-u-ma-an-ta* (OS) from *ḥūmant-* ‘all’) and *i-* and *u-*stem adjectives (e.g. *a-aš-ša-u-ya* from *āššu-* / *āššau-* ‘good’, *ḥar-ga* < *\*ḥarkaja* from *ḥarki-* / *ḥarkai-* ‘white’, *šu-up-pa* (OS) < *\*šuppaja* from

*šuppi-* / *šuppai-* ‘clean’). In stems in resonants, we see introduction of the lengthened grade (e.g. *ḥar-ša-a-ar* (OS) from *ḥaršar* / *ḥaršn-* ‘head’, *ḥu-i-ta-a-ar* (OS) from *ḥuitar* / *ḥuitn-* ‘game, wild animals’, *ḥa-aš-ta-a-i* from *ḥaštai-* / *ḥašti-* ‘bone’, *ú-i-ta-a-ar* (OS) from *uātār* / *uitēn-* ‘water’). In stems in *-r* and *-l* we occasionally find an ending *-i*, for which see its own lemma. In the *u*-stem noun *āššu-* ‘goods, possessions’, we find a nom.-acc.pl. *a-aš-šu-u* which must stand for *!ʔáSo!*, showing *!-Co!* < *\*-Cuh<sub>2</sub>* (cf. § 1.4.8.2.b). Note that in other neuter *u*-stem nouns, we find the ending *-a*, e.g. *ge-en-zu-u-ua* (OH/NS) from *genzu-* ‘lap’, which clearly must be an innovation. If my interpretation of the pronominal nom.-acc.pl.n.-forms *=e*, *a-pé-e*, *ke-e* and *ku-e* as reflecting *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>*, showing a lowering of *\*-Cih<sub>2</sub>* to *!-Ce!* comparable to the lowering visible in *\*-Cuh<sub>2</sub>* > *!-Co!*, is correct, we would expect that in neuter *i*-stem nouns the nom.-acc.pl.n.-ending is *-e* as well. Unfortunately, no nom.-acc.pl.-forms of neuter *i*-stem nouns are to my knowledge attested in OS or MS texts. We do find a nom.-acc.pl.n.-form *par-ku-e* (MH/MS), however, from the *i*-stem adjective *parkui-* / *parkuūai-* ‘clean’ (instead of expected *parkuūa* < *parkuūaja*, which is attested as well), which may show the reality of the ending *-e* < *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>*.

As we already saw, I reconstruct the ending *°Cu-u* in neuter *u*-stem nouns as *\*-Cu-h<sub>2</sub>* and the ending *°Ce-e* in pronominal stems and possibly in *parkue* as *\*-Ci-h<sub>2</sub>*, both showing the neuter nom.-acc.pl.-ending *\*-h<sub>2</sub>* as attested in the other IE languages as well (e.g. Skt. *-i*, Gr. *-α*, Lat. *-ā*). The Hittite ending *-a* must go back to *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*, however, because in word-final position after consonant *\*-h<sub>2</sub>* would regularly drop, cf. *\*mégh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. *mēk* ‘much, many’. This *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* is also visible in Lyc. *-a*, Skt. *-ā*, OCS *-a* and Goth. *-a*. See Prins (1997: 221f.) for a treatment of this *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*.

**-a** (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-a(ri)*

**=a** ‘and, too’: see *=(i)a*

**=a** ‘but’: see *=(m)a*


**=a-** (enclitic pronoun) ‘he, she, it’: nom.sg.c. *=aš* (e.g. *n=a-aš* (OS), *t=a-aš* (OS), *š=a-aš* (OS), *na-aš-m=a-aš* (OS), *ku-it-ma-a-n=a-aš* (OS), *a-ki=aš* (OS)), acc.sg.c. *=an* (e.g. *n=a-an* (OS), *t=a-an* (OS), *š=a-an* (OS), *na-at-t=a-an* (OS), *tar-na-a-i=m=a-an* (OS), *ḥar-ga-nu-mi=an* (NH)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *=at* (e.g. *n=a-at* (OS), *t=a-at* (OS), *ku-i-š=a-at* (OS), SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an-ta-ri=at* (OS)), dat.sg. *=šše*, *=šši* (e.g. *nu-u=š-še* (OS), *ta-a=š-še* (OS), *an-da=ma-a=š-še* (OS), *nu-u=š=ši*

(MH/MS)), nom.pl.c. =e (e.g. *n=e* (OS), *t=e* (OS), *š=e* (OS), *t=e-e=t-ta* (OS)), =at (*n=a-at* (OH/MS)), acc.pl.c. =uš (*n=u-uš* (OS), *t=u-uš* (OS), *š=u-uš* (OS), *par-ta-ú-ni-t=u-uš* (OS), *na-aḥ-mi=uš* (MH/NS)), =aš (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. =e (*n=e* (OS)), =at (young), dat.pl. =šmaš (*nu-u=š-ma-aš* (OS), *ta-a=š-ma-aš* (OS), GU<sub>4</sub>-*n=a-a=š-ma-aš* (OS), *ma-a-an=š-ma-aš* (OS), *nam-ma=ma-a=š-ša-ma-aš* (OS), *na-at-ta=š-ma-aš* (OS), *ḥal-ki-iš=(š)ma-aš* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. =**a-** ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. =aš, acc.sg.c. =an, nom.-acc.sg.n. =at, dat.sg. =šī, nom.pl.c. =aš, nom.-acc.pl.n. =e); CLuw. =**a-** ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. =aš, acc.sg.c. =an, nom.-acc.sg.n. =ata, dat.sg. =du, =tu, nom.pl.c. =ata, acc.pl.c. =aš, nom.-acc.pl.n. =ata, dat.pl. =(m)maš); HLuw. =**a-** ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. /=aš/, acc.sg.c. /=an/, nom.-acc.n. /=ada/, dat.sg. /=dul/, nom.pl.c. /=ada/, acc.pl.c. /=ada/, nom.-acc.pl.n. /=ada/, dat.pl. /=mant<sup>s</sup>); Lyd. =**a-** ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. =aš, =ś, acc.sg.c. =av, =v, nom.-acc.sg.n. =ad, =at, dat.sg. =aλ<sup>?</sup>, =λ); Lyc. =**e-** ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. =e? (see Garret 1992: 204), acc.sg.c. =ē, =e, =ēn, =ēne, =en, =ene, nom.-acc.sg.n. =ed, =ede, dat.sg. =i, =ije, nom.-acc.pl.n. =e, =ed, =ede, dat.pl. =ñn-, =ñne (see Melchert 1992a: 197-9)).

This enclitic pronoun is part of the sentence initial particle chain and occupies the penultimate slot therein, just before the locative enclitic particles (=a)n, =(a)p(a), =(a)šta, =kkan and =ššan). It is only attested in the cases nominative, accusative and dative. It is clear that nom.sg.c. =aš, acc.sg.c. =an and nom.-acc.sg.n. =at must reflect \*-os, \*om and \*-od respectively, whereas nom.pl.c. =e, acc.pl.c. =uš and nom.-acc.pl.n. =e must reflect \*-oi, \*-oms and \*-ih<sub>2</sub> (for which see at *kā- / kū- / ki-*). Therewith it clearly reflects the pronominal endings as also found in *apā- / apū-*. The dative-forms stand somewhat apart since they do not seem to go back to pronominal endings. Dat.sg. =šše probably reflects \*-soi which must be compared to the enclitic pers.pronouns \*moi ‘to me’ and \*toi ‘to thee’. Already within the OH period it is replaced by =šši in analogy to the nominal dat.-loc.sg.-ending -i. The analysis of dat.pl. =šmaš is less clear. It seems to show the dat.-loc.pl.-ending -aš attached to an element -šm- that is also visible in the enclitic possessive =šmi- / =šma- / =šme-.

Note that alleged nom.pl.c. =i in *ma-a-n=i=za* (KBo 6.2 iii 7 (OS)) is not necessarily linguistically real. This particle chain may have to be read *ma-a-n=é=za* (so reading the sign NI as *né*), with the normal nom.pl.c.-form =e.

According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 6), there are some OH contexts in which we find acc.sg.c. =un instead of normal =an. As examples he cites *ú-ku-un* (KBo 8.42 obv. 7) ‘I ... him’ and *nu-un-na-pa[* (KBo 12.63 ii 5). These forms are problematic, however. The first form is damaged and actually reads  =

*ú-ku-x-za*, where of the damaged sign only one head of a wedge is visible. Apparently, Puhvel reads *ú-ku-[u]n = uk=un*, but a reading *ú-ku-[uš<sup>2</sup>]-za = uk=uš=za* is equally possible.

The context of the second form is quite broken:

KBo 12.63 ii (with additions from KBo 12.18 i 5-9)

- (1) *k[(u<sup>2</sup>)-ua-a-pí-it UD-at]*
  - (2) LUGAL-*ez-[zi<sup>2</sup>-iá<sup>2</sup>- x - x - x]*
  - (3) *š=a-an=z=a-p[(a a-aš-šu)]*
  - (4) *šu-u-ua-a[t-te-en<sup>2</sup>]*
  - (5) *nu-u[n-n]a-p[a<sup>2</sup> (a-aš-šu)]*
  - (6) *šu-u-ua-at-t[(e)-en<sup>2</sup>]*
- 
- (7) *hu-uh-ha-aš=m[(i-iš a-iš)]*
  - (8) <sup>URU</sup>*Za-[(a)]t-[pa?(-) x - x - x - x]*
  - (9) *n=a-[(an ke-er=te-et tu-uš-ga-)x - x -x]*

'On the day that [he] be[comes] king, you (pl.) must fill him up with goods. You (pl.) must fill *nunnap[a]* up with goods. My grandfather [...] the mouth [...] the city Z[a]l[pa..]. Your (sg.) heart [will] please him'.

If *ša-an-za-pa* in line 3 is to be analysed as a sentence initial chain *š=a-n=z=apa*, then it is possible that we should interpret *nu-un-na-p[a<sup>2</sup>]* as containing *=apa* as well. Whether *nunn=* then is to be analysed as *n=unn* remains unclear to me. Note that geminate *-nn-* would then be unexpected. All in all, I would at this point not dare to postulate a variant *=un* besides acc.sg.c. *=an*.

*ā<sup>-a(r)</sup>* 'to be hot': see *ā(i)<sup>-a(r)</sup> / i-*

***-ahh<sup>-i</sup>*** ('factitive'-suffix)

Verbs that display the suffix *-ahh-* are often called 'factitive' since they denote 'to make x' in which x = the noun from which they are derived. For instance, *šuppi-* 'pure' and *šuppi<sup>i</sup>ahh<sup>-i</sup>* 'to make pure', *neua-* 'new' and *neuahh<sup>-i</sup>* 'to make new', *dašuant-* 'blind' and *dašuahh<sup>-i</sup>* 'to make blind', etc. It should be noted that *-ahh-* is a denominal suffix only: we never find verbs in *-ahh-* that are derived from a verbal stem. In the oldest texts, verbs in *-ahh-* inflect according to the *hi*-conjugation (3sg.pres.act. *-ah<sup>-i</sup>hi* (OS)), but in NH times, we find *mi*-inflected forms like 1sg.pres.act. *-ah<sup>-i</sup>mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *-ah<sup>-i</sup>zi*, etc. In 1sg.pres.act.,

the combination of the suffix *-ahh-* with the ending *-hhi* is predominantly spelled *-ahhi*. A spelling *-ahhahhi* occurs twice only, namely [...]x-*ah-ha-ah-hi* (KBo 17.25 rev. 5 (OS)) and *ha-ap-pi-na-ah-ha-ah-hi* (KUB 41.32 rev. 10 (OH/NS)). The 1sg.pret.act.-form to my knowledge is always spelled *-ah-hu-un*: I do not know of any spellings *\*\*ah-ha-ah-hu-un*.

On the basis of the word equation *nēuahh-*<sup>i</sup> ‘to renew’ with Lat. *novāre* ‘to renew’ and Gr. *veáω* ‘to plough up’, it is generally thought that the suffix *-ahh-* must be of PIE origin and reflects *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*. So, *neuhh-* < *\*néueh<sub>2</sub>-*. Why the factitives in *-ahh-* ended up in the *hi*-conjugation is unclear to me. Note that they differ from normal *hi*-conjugating verbs in *-ahh-* in the sense that these show an alternation *-h-* / *-hh-* (*nāh<sup>i</sup>-* / *nahh-*, *zāh<sup>i</sup>-* / *zahh-*), whereas factitives in *-ahh-* have geminate *-hh-* throughout, also in 3sg.pres.act. *-ahhi*. This is due to the fact that normal *hi*-verbs have *\*ó* in the singular, which lenites the following *\*h<sub>2</sub>*, whereas the factitives have *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*.

**-ai** (dat.-loc.sg.-ending): see *-i*

***ā(i)-<sup>ari</sup>* / *i-*** (IIIa > IIIb) ‘to be hot’: 3sg.pres.midd. *a-a-ri* (KUB 20.88 rev. 21 (OH/MS)), *a-ri* (KBo 5.1 iii 52 (MH/NS), KBo 13.167 ii 8, iii 7 (NS), KUB 17.28 iv 39 (MH/NS), ABoT 7+ iii 42 (MH/NS), HT 1 i 49 (MH/NS), KBo 29.70 obv. 13 (MS), KBo 24.95 rev.<sup>?</sup> 7 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *a-a-an-ta* (VBoT 58 i 24 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *a-i-it-ta-at* (KBo 42.6 obv.<sup>?</sup> 6 (NS)); part. *a-a-an-t-* (OS), *a-an-t-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***inu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make hot, to fry’ (3sg.pres.act. *i-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *i-nu-an-zi*, *i-nu-ua-an-zi*, 2pl.imp.act. *i-nu-ut-te-en* (OS); impf. *i-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***aišš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become hot (?)’ (3pl.pres.act. *a-i-iš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 29.55 ii 2, KUB 29.44 ii 6, iii 5)).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>i-o-ri*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>3</sub>i-neu-??*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 44f. for attestations. For a good interpretation of this verb, we should first look at its causative, *inu-<sup>zi</sup>*. This causative often is cited as *enu-<sup>zi</sup>* as well (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 11; HW<sup>2</sup> E: 42f.), which is done only on the basis of two attestations showing a spelling *e-nu-*. As I show at the lemma *enu-<sup>zi</sup>*, these forms are unclear regarding their interpretation and cannot be used as an argument in favour of the view that originally the causative of this verb was *enu-*, with *inu-* being a reduced spelling of it. All secure forms of the causative show a spelling with *i-* only, including the OS attestation *i-nu-ut-te-en*. Similarly, the alleged

connection with and meaning ‘to become hot’ of the once attested verb *enuma-* (q.v.) should be abandoned.

The verb shows interesting spellings with hyper-plene from OS texts onwards (3sg.pres.midd. *a-a-ri*, 3pl.pres.midd. *a-a-an-ta* and part. *a-a-an-t-*), which in the course of time are replaced by ‘normal’ plene spellings (3sg. *a-ri* and part. *a-an-t-*). This could indicate that the original forms used to contain a hiatus, OH /ʔáari/, /ʔáanta/, /ʔáant-/ , which was lost in the younger period, yielding /ári/, /ʔánta/ and /ʔánt-/. The fact that the causative of this verb shows a stem *i-* (which must be zero-grade) highly indicates that *a-a-ri* reflects *\*āi-o-ri* vel sim., in which form the loss of intervocalic *\*i* yielded hiatus. The assumption of a stem *\*āi-* makes way to a connection with the scarcely attested verb *aišš-* that then could be interpreted as a fientive *ai-ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become hot’. Another form that shows a stem *ai-* may be 3sg.pret.midd. *a-i-it-ta-at* in KBo 42.6 obv.<sup>7</sup> (6) [...]x=mu A-tar=me-et *a-i-it-ta-at*, if this means ‘my water was warm’. Because of this *ai-ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* and *aiittat* (= /ʔáitat/?), I have decided to cite the basic verb as *ā(i)-<sup>ari</sup>* / *i-* here.

The stem *ā(i)-/i-* often is connected with Gr. αἴθω, αἴθουμαι and Skt. *inddhé* ‘entzündet’. These forms clearly derive from *\*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>-*, however, which cannot be cognate to the Hittite forms.

In principle, Hittite middle verbs either show zero-grade in the root (e.g. *tukkāri* < *\*tuk-ó*) or *e*-grade (e.g. *ešari* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o*). In this case, *āi-* must reflect full-grade because *inu-* shows the zero-grade stem. The stem *āi-* can only go back to a form with *e*-grade if it contained either *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. As *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have remained in initial as well as intervocalic position (or, when in *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>iV* would have given *V<sub>i</sub>V*, like *tājezzi* < *\*teh<sub>2</sub>iet<sub>i</sub>*), the root must contain *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. As *\*h<sub>3</sub>* yields Hitt. *h-* in initial position when preceding *\*e*, the only possible root structure is *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>i-*. This would mean that *a-a-ri* = /ʔáari/ reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>3</sub>i-o-ri*, and *inu-* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>3</sub>i-neu-*. Note that the first form shows that *\*Vh<sub>3</sub>iV* > OH /VʔV/, and not *\*\*/ViV/* and that the second form shows that *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>3</sub>i-* > Hitt. *i-* and not *\*\*hi-*. Unfortunately, this reconstruction is based on internal evidence only. To my knowledge there are no other IE languages that show reflexes of a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>i-*.

***aikaqartanna*** (adv.) ‘for one turn’: *a-i-ka-ua-ar-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.5 i 17, 22).

This word is a loan through Hurrian from Pre-Indic *\*aika-* ‘one’ and *\*qartana-* ‘turn’, compare Skt. *éka-* and *vártana-*.

***aiš* / *išš-*** (n.) ‘mouth’ (Sum. KAxU, Akk. *PÚ*): nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-i-iš* (OS), *a-iš*, acc.sg.c.(?) KAxU-an (KBo 5.1 iv 4 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ša-aš* (KUB 24.13 ii 5,



25 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ši-i*, *iš-ši-i=š-ši*, *a-i-iš-ši* (KBo 8.75, 6 (MH/NS)), all.sg. *iš-ša-a-a=š-ma* (OS), *iš-ša* (KBo 3.38 obv. 4 (OH/NS), KBo 13.100, 7 (NS)), instr. *iš-ši-it* (KUB 31.135 obv. 11 (OH/MS), KBo 9.106 iii 3 (MH/NS)), abl. *iš-ša-az* (OS), *iš-ša-a-az*, acc.pl.c. KAxU<sup>H1A</sup>-*uš* (KUB 14.4 ii 10 (NH)), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ša-aš* (KUB 43.68 rev. 9 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***iššalli-*** (n.) ‘spittle’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ša-al-li*, erg.sg.? *iš-ša-al-la-an-za* (KBo 13.1 iv 3)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***āaš-*** (n.) ‘mouth’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-a-aš-ša*, -ant-der. nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-a-aš-ša-an-ta* (cf. Starke 1990: 100)), ***āšša-*** ‘to speak (?)’ (3sg.pret.act. *a-aš-ša-at-ta*); HLuw. ***ásaza-*** ‘to speak’ (3sg.pres.act. *á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §42, §48) *á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za-i* (MARAŞ 14 §11, SULTANHAN §34), 3sg.pret.act. *á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §11, KAYSERİ §20), 2sg.imp.act. *á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za* (ASSUR letter *a* §1, *b* §1, *c* §1, *d* §1, *e* §1, *f+g* §1); part.nom.sg.c. *á-sa<sub>5</sub>-za-mi-i-sá* (KARKAMIŞ A7a §14)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ás-*, Av. *āh-*, Lat. *ōs*, OIr. *á* ‘mouth’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>-es-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 48f. for attestations. Although already since the beginning of Hittitology (e.g. Pedersen 1938: 47) this word is connected with Skt. *ás-*, Av. *āh-*, Lat. *ōs*, etc. ‘mouth’, its exact formal interpretation is unclear. It is generally assumed that *aiš* / *išš-* originally was an *s*-stem and therewith would be, together with *nēpiš* ‘heaven’, one of the two neuter *s*-stems that are attested in Hittite. It is generally thought that in early PIE, neuter *s*-stems inflected proterodynamically and show the inflection nom.-acc.sg. *\*CéC-s*, gen.sg. *\*CC-és-s*, which possibly already in PIE was modified to *\*CéC-os*, *\*C(e)C-és-os* (cf. Schindler 1975b: 264-7). Such a paradigm would indeed fit the Hittite word for ‘heaven’: nom.-acc.sg. *nēpiš*, gen.sg. *nēpišaš* then would show generalization of the suffix-syllable *\*-es* of the oblique cases into the nominative (replacing *\*-os*) and generalization of the accentuation of the nominative into the oblique cases (for a detailed treatment, see at the lemma *nēpiš*). For ‘mouth’, it is much more difficult to trace the attested forms back to the reconstructed paradigms.

It is commonly assumed that the word for ‘mouth’ must be reconstructed as *\*HeH-es-*. Because of the *o* in Lat. *ōs*, it is likely that at least one of the laryngeals is *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. Since initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* in front of *\*e* would yield Hitt. *h-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>-es-*. From a PIE point of view, we would expect this word to show an inflection *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>3</sub>-s*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>3</sub>-és-s*, later replaced by *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>3</sub>-os*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>(e)h<sub>3</sub>-és-os*.

The regular outcome of nom.-acc.sg.  $*h_1éh_3-os$  would be Hitt.  $**āš$ . The fact that instead we find Hitt.  $aiš$  could easily be explained by assuming a secondary generalization of the suffix-syllable  $*-es-$  out of the oblique stems, just as has happened in  $*néb^h-os >> *néb^h-es >$  Hitt.  $nēpiš$  ‘heaven’. It should be noted that this generalization must have taken place after the colouration of  $*e$  to  $*o$  due to an adjacent  $*h_3$ . This scenario would only work if the oblique cases show the form  $*h_1h_3-és-$ , but although this is the situation as expected from PIE, it is not what we find in Hittite. Forms like dat.-loc.sg.  $iššī$ , all.sg.  $iššā$ , abl.  $iššāz$  all seem to show a hysterodynamic inflection with accentuation of the ending. Some scholars, e.g. Rieken (1999a: 186), just simply assume that the preform  $*HH-és-V$  regularly yields pre-Hitt.  $*és-V$  which then with a secondary shift of accentuation becomes  $*es-Ŷ$ , in which unaccentuated  $*e$  becomes Hitt.  $i$ , but this does not explain the presence of geminate  $-šš-$  in  $išš-$ . This geminate can only be explained as the product of assimilation, and in this case only  $*-Hs-$  is thinkable (cf. Melchert 1994a: 116). So the oblique cases  $išš-$  can only be explained by a reconstruction  $*h_1h_3-s-$ , which points to a hysterodynamic paradigm.

So the situation is as follows. Of the paradigm  $aiš / išš-$  the nom.-acc.sg. can only be explained if we reconstruct a proterodynamic paradigm  $*h_1éh_3-(o)s$ ,  $*h_1h_3-és-(o)s$ , whereas the oblique cases  $išš-$  can only be explained from a hysterodynamic paradigm  $*h_1éh_3-s$ ,  $*h_1h_3-s-ós$ . It therefore may be best to quote Melchert (1994a: 115), who states that “no historical account [of  $aiš / išš-$ ] satisfying to everyone yet seems possible”.

**$āk-$**  /  **$akk-$**  (IIa2) ‘to die, to be killed; to be eclipsed (of sun and moon: Sum. UG<sub>6</sub>)’: 1sg.pres.act.  $a-ak-mi$  (KUB 40.33 obv. 23 (NS)),  $ak-mi$  (KUB 24.5 + 9.13 obv. 16 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act.  $a-ak-ti$  (KBo 7.14+ ii 6 (OS)),  $ak-ti$  (KUB 8.63 i 3 (NS), KUB 23.1 ii 36 (NH), KUB 36.57 iii 8 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act.  $a-ki$  (OS, often), 1pl.pres.act.  $ak-ku-e-ni$  (KUB 17.1 ii 18 (NS)),  $ak-ku-u-e-ni$  (KUB 17.1 ii 24 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act.  $a-ak-te-ni$  KBo 3.23 rev. 4 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act.  $ak-kán-zi$  (OS), 3sg.pret.act.  $a-ak-ki-iš$  (KBo 6.2 iv 3 (OS)),  $a-ak-ki[-iš]$  (KBo 3.46 obv. 34 (OH/NS)),  $ak-ki-iš$  (KBo 3.46 obv. 48 (OH/NS)),  $a-ki-iš$  (KBo 3.34 ii 12 (OH/NS), KBo 3.36 obv. 18 (OH/NS)),  $ak-ta$  (KUB 5.9 obv. 26 (NS), KUB 13.3 iii 35 (OH/NS), KUB 31.121a ii 11 (NH)),  $ag-ga-aš$  (VBoT 1, 24 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pret.act.  $a-ak-te-en$  (KUB 14.14 obv. 36 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act.  $a-ker$  (OS),  $a-ke-er$  (KBo 3.38 rev. 22 (OH/NS)),  $e-ker$  (NH),  $e-ke-er$  (NH), 1sg.imp.act.  $ak-kal-lu$  (KUB 14.1 rev. 94 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act.  $a-ak$ , 3sg.imp.act.  $a-ku$ ,  $ak-du$ , 2pl.imp.act.  $a-ak-te-en$  (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 obv. 40 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act.

*ak-kán-du*; part. *ak-kán-t-*, *ag-ga-an-t-*, *ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-an-t-*, *a-ag-ga-an-t-*; impf. *ak-ki-  
iš-ke/a-*, *ak-kiš-ke/a-*, *ak-ke-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **akkātar** / **akkann-** (n.) ‘death’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ag-ga-tar*, *ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-  
tar*, gen.sg. *ag-ga-an-na-aš*, *ak-kán-[na-]aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ak-kán-ni*, abl. *ag-ga-an-  
na-az*, *ak-kán-na-za*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **akta-** ‘of the dead’?? (Melchert 1994a: 332).

PIE *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ók-ei*, *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>k-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 51f. for attestations. The original paradigm must have been *\*ākh<sub>i</sub>*, *ākti*, *aki*, *akkueni*, *\*akteni*, *akkanzi*, standing for /ʔākHi, ʔākti, ʔāgi, ʔkuéni, ʔkténi, ʔkántʰi/. A stem *ek-* is only found in 3pl.pret.act. *eker*, which is attested in NH texts only. This form is secondarily created besides 3pl.pres. *akkanzi* on the basis of analogy to 3pl.pres. *ašanzi* : 3pl.pret. *ešer*.

The alternation *-k-* vs. *-kk-* in 3sg. *aki* : 3pl. *akkanzi* must be due to lenition of an original intervocalic voiceless velar due to *\*ó* in the singular form. This points to a reconstruction *\*Hó<sup>ʔ</sup>k-ei*, *\*H<sup>ʔ</sup>k-énti*. Although all three laryngeals would be neutralized to /ʔ/ in front of *\*o*, a reconstruction with *\*h<sub>2-</sub>* is not likely as this phoneme would have been preserved in the weak stem (> *\*\*h<sub>2</sub>akkanzi*), on the basis of which the *h-* probably would have been reintroduced in the strong stem (but compare *au<sup>i</sup> / u-*). As both *\*h<sub>1</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would be neutralized in front of *\*o* and would get lost before consonant (see Kloekhorst fthc.c), after which the neutralized laryngeal would be reintroduced in the weak stem yielding /ʔk-/, we can set up a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>e<sup>ʔ</sup>k-* for this root. The only possible cognate I have been able to find is Skt. *áka-* ‘pain’, Av. *aka-* (adj.) ‘bad, evil’, (m.) ‘suffering’. If this is correct, we are dealing with a root *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ek-*. Eichner (1973: 83) unconvincingly suggests a connection with Skt. *āśú-*, Gr. *ώκός* ‘fast, quickly’ through an intermediate meaning ‘dahingeschwunden sein’.

<sup>(NA)</sup>**aku-** (c.) ‘sea-shell’: nom.sg. *a-ku-uš* (KUB 21.19+ iii 14), acc.sg. *a-ku-un* (KUB 21.19 ii 16, KUB 36.12 ii 6), acc.pl. *a-ku-u[s<sup>3</sup>]* (VBoT 134,2).

Derivatives: <sup>NA</sup>**akuuant-** (adj.) ‘covered with sea-shells’ (acc.pl.c. *a-ku-ua-an-  
du-uš* (KUB 35.84 ii 4)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 53 for attestations. Since Laroche (1957a: 25-6) this word is usually translated ‘stone’ (HW<sup>2</sup>: “Stein”; Puhvel (HED 1/2: 24): “stone”), but Hoffner (1978: 245) convincingly argues for a meaning ‘sea-shell’. On the basis of the translation ‘stone’, Laroche had suggested an etymological connection with the

PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* ‘sharp’, but, apart from the formal difficulties, this proposal has now become semantically implausible.

The OS attestation *a-ku-u-uš-š[a(-)..]* (KBo 19.156 obv. 17) sometimes is interpreted as acc.pl. *akūšš=[a(-)..]* (e.g. Puhvel l.c.), but since the context in which it occurs is quite broken, its meaning or function cannot be independently determined.

**akutalla-** (gender unclear) ‘container of water’: instr. *a-ku-ta-al-li-it* (KUB 9.20, 5), *a-ku-ga-al-li-it* (with GA for TA, KUB 2.13 i 8).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>lo-*

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This word is attested only twice in duplicate texts:

KUB 2.13 i

(8) <sup>LÚ</sup>Ú.ĤÚB *a-ku-ga-al-li-it* KÙ.BABBAR *ua-a-tar*

(9) *pé-e-da-i* LUGAL-*uš=za QA-TI=ŠU a-ar-ri*

‘The deaf man brings water in a silver *a*. The king washes his hands’,

whereas KUB 9.20, 5 has *a-ku-ta-al-li-it*. It is likely that the form with GA is incorrect since the sign GA (𒀗) can easily be explained as an error for the sign TA (𒀗) through omission of the vertical wedge. If *akutalla-* is the correct form, it could reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-d<sup>h</sup>lo-*, containing the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘to drink’ (see *eku-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aku-*) and the PIE instrument-suffix *\*-tlo- / \*-d<sup>h</sup>lo-*.

GIŠ **allantaru-** (n.) ‘oak’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*allan-GIŠ-ru-*): nom.-acc.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*al-la-an-da-ru* (KUB 39.290 iii 13), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*al-la-an-GIŠ-ru-i* (KUB 39.7 ii 35), nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*al-la-an-ta-ru* (KUB 39.8 i 48), [<sup>GIŠ</sup>*al-la-an-GIŠ-r[u]* (KUB 39.24 obv. 2)).

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According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 29) the word is a compound of Sem. *allan-* (Akk. *allānu*, Hebr. *’allōn* ‘oak’) and Hitt. *tāru-* ‘wood’ (q.v.).

**alpa-** (c.) ‘cloud’ (Akk. *URPU*): nom.sg. *al-pa-aš*, *al-pa-a-aš* (KUB 59.54 obv. 7), acc.sg. *al-pa-an*, instr. *al-pí-it* (Bo 69/753, 3 (Puhvel HED 1/2: 37)), nom.pl.c. *al-pa-aš* (KUB 40.42 rev. 9 (NH)), *al-pu-uš*, acc.pl.c. *al-pu-uš*, *al-pu-ú-uš* (KUB 28.5 rev. 7), coll. *al-pa*<sup>H.L.A</sup> (KUB 36.14, 5), gen.pl. *al-pa-aš*.

Derivatives: **alparama-** ‘cloudiness, clouddeck’ (instr. *al-pa-ra-mi-it* (KBo 3.21 ii 20)).

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See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 60 for attestations. All attestations of this word are in NS texts. Often, this word is connected with Lat. *albus* ‘white’ and Gr. ἀλφός ‘dull white leprosy’ as first proposed by Mudge (1931: 252). Not only formally this connection is difficult (*\*h<sub>2</sub>elb<sup>h</sup>o-* should have given Hitt. *\*\*h<sub>2</sub>alpa-*), semantically it is as well, as was pointed out by Puhvel (HED 1/2: 38): *alpa-* is predominantly associated with rain and thunder, and therefore an original meaning ‘whiteness’ is unlikely. The formal difficulty is resolved by some scholars through the assumption of a PIE phoneme *\*h<sub>4</sub>*, which would be *a*-colouring, but not giving *h* in Hittite: *\*h<sub>4</sub>elb<sup>h</sup>o-*. Yet, to my mind, the connection is semantically too weak to base a new PIE phoneme on. Unfortunately, I have no better IE etymology for this word. The form *alpa*<sup>Hl.A</sup> is regarded by some as a ‘collective’ in *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* besides the normal plural in *\*-es*, which is unattested for this word.

***alpant-*** (adj.) ‘?’: nom.sg.c. *al-pa-an-za* (KUB 7.1 i 1, 39), *a-al-pa-a-an-za* (KUB 30.48, 3), nom.-acc.sg.n. *al-pa-a-an* (KBo 24.40 obv. 8, KBo 25.163 v 11).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 60f. for attestations. This adjective is used to describe a ‘child’ in KUB 7.1 i (1) *ma-a-an DUMU-la-aš* (2) *al-pa-an-za na-aš-ma-a=š-ši=kán ga-ra-a-ti-eš a-da-an-te-eš* ‘if a child is *a*. or his innards are eaten’; *ibid.* (39) *nu ku-iš DUMU-aš al-pa-an-za na-aš-ma-a=š-ši=kán ga-ra-a-te-eš a-da-an-te-eš* (40) *n=a-an tu-i-ik-ku-uš iš-ga-aḫ-ḫi* ‘Whatever child is *a*. or his innards are eaten, I will salve his limbs’. Twice it is used describing ‘cheese’: KBo 25.163 v (11) ... 10 GA.KIN.AG *al-pa-a-a[n]* (11) 10 GA.KIN.AG TUR ‘ten *a*. cheeses and ten small cheeses’; KBo 24.40 obv.<sup>?</sup> (7) ... I GA[KIN.AG] (8) *al-pa-a-an*<sup>Giš</sup> PÈŠ *ta-an-ḫa-ri-iš-š[=a]* ‘... one *a*. cheese, a fig and *t.*’. On the basis of these contexts it is not possible to determine what *alpant-* denotes exactly. In the case of the child, it seems to refer to the illness of the child, but such a connotation would not fit the cases where the word refers to cheese. We may have consider the possibility that we are dealing with two separate words.

If we disregard the use with ‘cheese’, Götze’s (1928: 112) assumption that *alpant-* is a mere variant of *alyant-* ‘bewitched’ seems to make sense semantically (followed in e.g. HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.): “behext”). Formally, this is difficult, however, as the stem for ‘bewitched’ is not *alyant-*, but *alyanz-* (q.v.).

Puhvel (HED 1/2: 39) proposes a meaning ‘swooned; weak, mild’, which he predominantly seems to have chosen on the basis of a presumed etymological tie-in with Lith. *alpti* ‘to swoon’, *alpiùs* ‘weak’ etc. Although a meaning ‘swooned’ would fit the first contexts, a development to a meaning ‘mild’ (of cheese) seems far-fetched to me.

All in all, I would rather wait for more attestations of this word before speculating what its meaning could be.

**alpu-** (adj.) ‘pointed’: nom.-acc.sg. *al-pu*.

Derivatives: **alpuemar** (n.) ‘point, tip’ (nom.-acc.sg. *al-pu-e-mar*, *al-pu-i-mar*), **alpužš-**<sup>ž</sup> (Ib2) ‘to be sharp, to be acute’ (3sg.pres.act. [*a*]l-pu-e-eš-zi).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 61 for attestations. The semantics of this word are in debate. It occurs together with *dampu-* and it is clear that as a pair the words must denote ‘blunt’ and ‘pointed’, but it is not generally accepted which one is which. Güterbock (1988: 170), claims, after a long discussion in which the derivatives *alpuemar* and *alpužš-* are treated as well, that *alpu-* must mean ‘pointed’ (and *dampu-* therefore ‘blunt’, q.v.). This view is followed by Hamp (1989), as well, who states that *u*-adjectives always show zero-grade and that *alpu-* therefore must be reconstructed as *\*lpu*, which he connects with Welsh *llym*, Breton *lemm* ‘sharp’ < *\*lp-s-mo-*. Although Hamp’s claim that *u*-stem adjectives have zero-grade would fit for e.g. *parku-* ‘high’ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>rg<sup>h</sup>-u-*, it does not for e.g. *tēpu-* ‘little’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>h</sup>-u-*, and therefore a reconstruction *\*lp-u-* is, though possible, not obligatory.

Puhvel’s proposal to connect *alpu-* with Lith. *alpius* ‘weak’ (1975: 61) is based on a translation ‘blunt’ (following Riemschneider 1961: 25-6), and therefore cannot be maintained anymore (despite its recent revival by Rieken 1999a: 373).

The exact formation of *alpuemar* is unclear to me.

**-allu** (1sg.imp.act.-ending): see *-llu*

**alyanz-** (stem) ‘being bewitched, affected by sorcery’ (Sum. Uḫ<sub>7</sub>).

Derivatives: **alyanzātar** / **alyanzann-** (n.) ‘witchcraft, sorcery, spell’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-lu*[(*-ya*)-*an-za-tar*] (OS), *al-ya-an-za-tar*, *al-ya-a-za-tar*, *al-ya-za-a-tar*, *al-ya-an-za-ta*, dat.-loc.sg. *al-ya-an-za-an-ni*), **\*alyanzeššar** / **alyanzešn-** (n.) ‘witchcraft’ (dat.-loc.sg. *al-ya-an-zé-iš-ni*, abl. *al-ya-an-zé-eš-na-za*, *al-ya-an-ze-eš-na-za*), **alyanzena-** (adj. / c.) ‘practising sorcery, sorcerous; sorcerer’ (nom.sg.c. *al-ya-an-zé-na-aš*, *al-ya-zé-na-aš*, acc.sg. Uḫ<sub>7</sub>-*an*, gen.sg. *al-ya-an-zé-na-aš*, *al-ya-an-ze-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *al-ya-an-zé-ni*, *al-ya-zé-ni*, *al-ya-an-ze-ni*, *al-ya-ze-ni*, abl. *al-ya-zé-na-az*, nom.pl.c. *al-ya-an-zé-ni-eš*, *al-ya-an-ze-ni-eš*, *al-ya-an-zi-in-ni-eš*, acc.pl. *al-ya-zé-nu-uš*, *al-ya-an-zi-in-nu-uš*), **alyanzahh-**<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to bewitch’ (3sg.pres.act. *al-ya-an-za-ah[-hi]*, 3sg.pret.act. *al-ya-an-za-ah-hi-i-it*; part. *al-ya-an-za-ah-ha-an-t*; impf. *al-ya-an-za-ah-hi-iš-ke/a-*, *al-ya-an-*

*za-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-*), **alūanzahḥa-** (gender unclear) ‘sorcery’ (abl. *al-ūa-an-za-aḥ-ḥa-az*, instr. *al-ūa-an-za-aḥ-ḥi[-it]*).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 63f. for attestations. The stem of all these words seems to be *alūanz-*, which is problematic because of its *-z-*. All etymologies that try to explain *alūanz-* as a word of IE origin, treat it as if it were a participle *alūant-*, but such a stem is never found (then we would expect e.g. *\*\*alūantahḥ-* (like *majandahḥ-*, *mijahuuantahḥ-*) or *\*\*alūantātar* (like *majandatar*, *mijahuuantatar*). The *-z-* really is inherent to the stem. It therefore is unlikely that the stem is of IE origin.

**amijant-** (adj.) ‘small’: nom.sg.c. *a-mi-ja-an-za* (KUB 17.10 i 38 (OH/MS)), *am-mi-ja-an-za* (KUB 30.16(+) i 3 (OH/NS), KUB 45.20 ii 15 (NS)), *am-mi-an-za* (KUB 28.6 obv. 16b (NS)), acc.sg.c. *am-me-ja-an-ta<sup>1</sup>-an* (KUB 45.20 ii 10 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *am-mi-ja-an* (KUB 43.59 i 9 (MH/NS)), *am-mi-an* (KBo 14.109, 5 (NH)), gen.sg.c. *a-mi-an-ta-aš* (Bo 2689 iii 27 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *a-mi-ja-an-te-eš* (KUB 33.66 iii 13 (OH?/MS)), *am-mi-ja-an-te-eš* (KBo 20.82 iii 15 (MH?/NS)), acc.pl.c. *a-mi-ja-an-du-uš* (KBo 12.89 iii 12 (MS)), *a-am-mi-ja-an-tu-uš* (KBo 3.34 ii 28 (OH/NS)), *am-me-ja-an-du-uš* (KBo 12.112 obv. 16 (NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-mi-ja-an-ta* (KUB 17.10 i 38 (OH/MS)), *am-me-ja-an[-ta]* (KUB 33.23 ii 6 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *a-mi-ja-an-ta-aš* (KUB 32.123 iii 24 (NS)), *a-am-mi-ja-an-da-aš* (KBo 8.107, 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>NINDA</sup>**amijanteššar** (n.) ‘miniature bread’ (*a-mi-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 45.106 rev. 9 (MS)), *a-mi-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 47.100a obv. 5 (MS)), *a-mi-ja-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 22.193 iv 7 (NS)), *am-mi-ja-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 22.186 v 8 (NS)), *am-me-ja-an-t[e-eš-šar]* (KUB 30.32 iv 3 (NS?)).

PIE *\*ḡ-mh<sub>2</sub>i-ent-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 66f. for attestations. The word is spelled with single *-m-* as well as geminate *-mm-*. As all attestations with geminate *-mm-* are from NS texts only, whereas all MS texts have single *-m-* it is clear that *amijant-* is the original form of this word. Apparently, *-m-* fortified to *-mm-* after the MH period (cf. § 1.4.7.1.c). The occasional spelling with *a-am-mi-* probably is a mixture of the two and does not necessarily imply length of the first *a-*. The spelling *am-me-ja-an-* is NS only as well and therefore does not have to be phonologically archaic.

The word is generally seen as the negated form of the participle of the verb *mai<sup>1</sup> / mi-* ‘to grow’ (q.v.) (first suggested by Laroche 1967: 174 and Čop 1966-68: 60), which I have explained as reflecting *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-i-*, so *amijant-* goes back to virtual *\*ḡ-mHi-ent-*. It is remarkable, however, that this is the only known

case of the *alpha privans* in Hittite. Note that the NH spelling *ammejant-* cannot be used to reconstruct an *e*-grade formation *\*-meHi-ent-*, on the basis of which it has been claimed that the root underlying *mai-* / *mi-* should be *\*meh<sub>i</sub>-*.

**ammuk**: see *ūk* / *amm-*

**-an** (acc.sg.c.-ending): see *-n*

**-an** (nom.-acc.sg.n.-ending of *a*-stems)

PIE *\*-om*

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The ending of the nom.-acc.sg. of neuter *a*-stems is *-an*, which is generally seen as the regular outcome of *\*-om*. Compare for instance Hitt. *jugan* ‘joke’ that directly corresponds to Skt. *yugám*, Gr. ζυγόν, Lat. *iugum*, OCS *igo*, Goth. *juk*, etc. < *\*iugom*.

**-an** (gen.pl.-ending)

PIE *\*-om*

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The Hittite gen.pl.-ending *-an* occurs predominantly in OH texts. From MH times onwards, it is replaced by *-aš*, and subsequently fell together with the dat.-loc.pl.-ending *-aš*. The ending *-an* clearly must be compared to gen.pl.-endings like Skt. *-ām*, Gr. *-ων*, Lat. *-um*, Lith. *-ū*, OCS *-ъ*, Goth. *-e*. Especially on the basis of Skt. *-ām* and Gr. *-ων*, this ending often is reconstructed as *\*-ōm*. Kortlandt (1978) convincingly shows that OCS *-ъ*, Lith. *-ū* as well as OIr. gen.pl. *fer<sup>N</sup>* all must reflect *\*-om*, and cannot go back to *\*-ōm*. He therefore concludes that the PIE gen.pl.-ending was *\*-om* and that Skt. *-ām* and Gr. *-ων* must reflect the generalized *o*-stem-variant *\*-o-om*. This *\*-om* is the direct predecessor of Hitt. *-an*.

**=(a)n** (encl. locative sentence particle)

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The locative sentence particle *=an* is found in OH and MH texts only and is quite rare. Because of its rareness, it is not totally clear whether *=an* behaves like *=(a)šta* and *=(a)p(a)* in the sense that its *-a-* drops after a preceding *e* or *i*. The forms *[n]=e-e=n* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 20 (OS)) and *[n=e-e=]n* (StBoT 25.4 i 15 (OS)) seem to show that *-a-* indeed drops after *e*, but the form *nu-u=š-še=an* (KBo 6.2 iv 10 (OS), with duplicate *nu-u=š-ši=kán* (KBo 6.3 iv 3 (OH/NS))) shows an *-a-* that is preserved after *e*. If however, the particle *=an* behaves



parallel to  $=(a)šta$  and  $=(a)p(a)$ , then it is in complementary distribution with the enclitic pronoun  $=an$  ‘him’, the  $-a-$  of which remains after  $e/i$  (cf. e.g. *ḥar-ga-nu-mi=an* ‘I destroy him’ (KUB 5.1 iii 56)). Despite the uncertainty I will here cite the particle as  $=(a)n$ . When the reflexive particle  $=z=$  precedes we cannot see the difference between  $=(a)n$  and  $=ššan$ . HW<sup>2</sup> A: 70 even states that all cases of MH  $-za-an$  have to be interpreted as  $=z=šan$  and not as  $=z=an$ .

Besides the unclearness of the formal side, the semantic side of the particle is not very clear either. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 69f. suggests that  $=(a)n$  has a connotation ‘inwards’ (“von außen nach innen”).

If the semantical range of  $=(a)n$  indeed is ‘inwards’, a connection with PIE  $*h_1en$  ‘in, to’ is likely. We may also have to compare the  $-n$  in Skt. loc.sg. *tásmīn* (p.c. prof. Kortlandt).

**anna-** (stem) ‘former, old’

Derivatives: **anni-** (dem.pron.) ‘that, the already mentioned one’ (nom.sg.c. *an-ni-iš* (KBo 1.42 iii 33 (NH))), **annaz** (adv.) ‘formerly, once upon a time’ (*an-na-az* (NH), *an-na-za* (MS)), **annal(l)a/i-** (adj.) ‘former, earlier, old’ (nom.sg.c. *an-na-al-li-iš*, *an-na-al-liš*, *an-na-li<sub>x</sub>-iš*, *an-na-al-la-aš*, acc.sg.c. *an-na-al-li-in* (MH/MS), *an-na-li-en*, *an-na-al-la-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *an-na-al-li*, *an-na-al-la-an*, *an-na-la-an*, gen.sg. *an-na-al-la-aš*, *an-na-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-na-al-li*, *an-na-li*, abl. *an-na-ak-la-az*, *an-na-la-az*, *an-na-la-za*, nom.pl.c. *an-na-al-li-eš* or *an-na-al-le-eš*, *an-na-al-li-iš*, acc.pl.c. *an-na-al-li-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.c. *an-na-al-la*, gen.pl. *an-na-al-la-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *an-na-al-la-aš*), **annišan** (adv.) ‘formerly, before; once; at the time’ (*an-ni-ša-an* (NH)).

In the vocabulary KBo 1.42 iii 33, we find a form *an-ni-iš* that glosses Akk. [IŠ-TU AN-NI-I]Š and Sum. GÚ.R[I.TA] ‘that one, the already mentioned one’. Since this form is only attested here, its *Sprachwirklichkeit* is in debate. For instance, HW<sup>2</sup> A: 81 suggests that *anniš* is a “[g]host word, durch akkad. *anniš* und heth. *annišan* ausgelöst”. The words *annaz*, *annal(l)a/i-* and *annišan* are real words, however. Apart from an occasional MS attestation, these words occur in NH texts only. According to HW<sup>2</sup> A: 74 and 81, *annaz* and *annišan* replace older *karū* ‘formerly’, and *annal(l)a/i-* has taken over the function of *karuili-* ‘former, older’. It is rightly remarked that “die unregelmäßige Flexion von *a[nnal(l)a/i-]* spricht am ehesten für ein L[ehn]w[ort]” (l.c.).

Melchert (1994a: 74) incorrectly connects the stem *anna-* with *anišiyat* ‘today’ (see under *šiyatt-*), and states that *anna-* must reflect  $*éno-$  (with “Čop’s Law”) whereas *ani-* goes back to  $*óno-$ . Since *anna-* clearly denotes ‘formerly’ and

*anišiyat* means ‘today’, it is in my view impossible that *anna-* and *ani-* are etymologically connected (they have an almost opposite meaning!). See at *šiyatt-* for a treatment of *anišiyat*.

**anna-** (c.) ‘mother’ (Sum. AMA, Akk. *UMMU*): nom.sg. *an-na-aš* (OS), acc.sg. *an-na-an* (OS), gen.sg. *an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-ni*, all.sg. *an-na*, abl. *an-na-az*, *an-na-za*, nom.pl. *an-ni-iš*, acc.pl. *an-nu-uš* (OS), *an-ni-uš* (KBo 22.5 obv. 8 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **anniyatar / anniyann-** (n.) ‘motherhood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *an-ni-ia-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. AMA-*an-ni*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **anna-** (c.) ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *an-na-aš*, *a-an-na-az*=*ku-ua-ar*); CLuw. **ānna/i-** (c.) ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *a-an-ni-iš*, *an-ni-iš*, *a-an-ni-eš*, acc.sg. *a-an-ni-in*, dat.-loc.sg. [*a-a*]n-ni, <sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA-ni), **annalla/i-** (adj.) ‘maternal’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *an-na-al-la*), **ānnaṣann(i)-** (c.) ‘stepmother’ (nom.sg. *a-an-na-ua-an-n[i-iš]*), (<sup>LÚ/MUNUS</sup>)**āninnijami-** (c.) ‘cousin’ (nom.sg. *a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš*, *an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-in*, *a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-in*), **ānni(ia)-** (adj.) ‘maternal’ (nom.sg.c. AMA-*i-iš*, AMA-*iš*, acc.sg.c. AMA-*i-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. [*a-*]n-ni-ia-an, AMA-*ia-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-an-ni*, abl.-instr. *an-ni-ia-ti*, nom.pl.c. AMA-*in-zi*); HLuw. **MATER-nata/i-** (c.) ‘mother’ (acc.sg. *MATER-na-ti-na* (KARATEPE 1 §3, see discussion below)); Lyd. **ēna-** ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *ēna-k taada-k* ‘mother and father’, *ēnaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ēnaλ*); Lyc. **ēne/i-** (c.) ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *ēni* ‘mother’); Mil. **ēne/i-** (c.) ‘mother’ (gen. adj. *ēnesi-*).

PAnat. \**Honno-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 70f. for attestations. Sporadically, we find a stem *anni-* in Hittite: acc.pl. *anniuš* (KBo 22.5 obv. 8) and the derivative *anniyatar* (KUB 15.35 + KBo 2.9 i 31). Perhaps these are Luwianized forms.

The interpretation of the HLuwian form is in dispute. It is hapax in the following context: KARATEPE 1 §3 *wa-mu-u* <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa Á-TANA-wa/i-ia* <sup>URBS</sup> *MATER-na-ti-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tà* [*wa=mū Tarhunzas Adanaṣaja MATER-natin tatin=ha izīta*] ‘Tarhunt made me mother and father over Adanaṣa’. We see that, although the translation ‘mother’ is assured, the phonetic interpretation is uncertain. Do we have to assume that the word was *anata/i-*, an analogic reshaping of older *\*ana/i-* on the basis of *tata/i-* ‘father’?

Nevertheless, the other Anatolian languages clearly point to a PAnat. \**Honno-*. It is quite likely that this word is of onomatopoeic origin.

**-ānna** (inf.II-suffix)

PIE \*-ótn-o

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Despite the fact that this suffix is often spelled without plene *-a-*, there are enough forms with plene spelling (including MS *a-da-a-an-na* ‘to eat’, *a-ša-a-an-na* ‘to sit’, *ya-ga-a-an-na* ‘to bite’) to suggest that its form was *-ānna* originally. The suffix *-ānna* forms an infinitive that is usually called infinitive II in order to distinguish it from infinitive I, which is formed with the suffix *-uanzi*. Nevertheless, to my knowledge there is no semantic difference between inf.I and inf.II. Just as the suffix *-uanzi* is a petrified case out of the paradigm of the verbal noun in *-uar / -uan-*, the suffix *-ānna* clearly originally must have belonged to the paradigm of the verbal noun in *-ātar / -ānn-* (q.v.). Formally, it can hardly be anything else than an original allative. This means that *-ānna* must reflect \*-ótn-o (see at *-ātar / -ānn-* and *-a* for further etymology).

**-anna<sup>i</sup> / -anni-** (imperfective-suffix)

PIE \*CC-otn-ói-ei / \*CC-otn-i-énti

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In the older literature, this suffix is usually called “durative”, but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-anna/i<sup>i</sup>* are used to express progressive, iterative, durative, distributive and ingressive meaning, “all of which share the feature imperfectivity” (o.c.: 414), and therefore I label this suffix as an “imperfective-suffix”. Melchert has also shown that the stems in *-anna/i-* are functionally equivalent to stems in *-ške/a<sup>zi</sup>* and *-šš(a)<sup>i</sup>*, and even that “synchronically they function effectively as suppletive allomorphs of a single morphem” (1998b: 414). About the distribution between the three suffixes, Melchert writes that “[a] survey shows that of stems in *anni/a-* seven are complementary to *-ške/a-*, while another ten occur only sporadically (once or twice each) beside regular, productive *-ške/a-*. There are only two cases of genuine competing stems, in both of which the *-anni/a-* stem has become lexicalized: *nanni/a-* ‘to drive’ beside *naiške/a-*, the imperfective to *nai-* ‘turn, guide; send’ and *walḥanni/a-* ‘beat’ (frequentative) beside *walḥiške/a-* imperfective to *walḥ-* ‘strike’” (o.c.: 416). The latter statement is not true: *nanna<sup>i</sup> / nanni-* must be regarded as a reduplicated formation of *nai<sup>i</sup> / \*ni-* (see at *nē<sup>a(rj)</sup>*) and not as a stem in *-anna/i-*, because then we should expect *\*\*niḥanna/i-*; the imperfective *walḥiške/a<sup>zi</sup>* to my knowledge only occurs in NS texts and therewith likely is a secondary creation, which means that *walḥanna/i-* is the original imperfective to *walḥ<sup>zi</sup>*. This means that we indeed must reckon with an original

complementary distribution between the suffixes *-anna/i-*, *-ške/a-* and *-šš(a)-*. For the scope of this book it would go too far to elaborate on the question why a certain verb chose a particular one of these three suffixes to express an imperfective meaning, but I can imagine that the answer to it would give us much more insight into the prehistory of the Hittite aspectual system.

The suffix *-anna/i-* originally inflects according to the *mēma/i-* class, which means that it shows a strong stem in *-anna-* besides a weak stem in *-anni-*, e.g. *ijannahhe*, *ijannai* vs. *ijanniianzi*. Like all other *mēma/i-* verbs, the verbs in *-anna/i-* are in younger times on the one hand taken over into the *tarn(a)-* class (*ijannai*, *ijannanzi*), and on the other into the *-ie/a-* class (*ijanniiazzi*). Because *mēma/i-* verbs are polysyllabic verbs that in pre-Hittite times belonged to the *dāi/tijanzi-* class, we must assume that verbs in *-anna/i-* originally belonged to that class as well and that the suffix therefore in fact was *\*-annai-<sup>i</sup>* / *-anni-*. This is an important establishment for the etymology of this suffix.

Jasanoff (1983: 74f. and 2003: 122f.) claims that the Hittite suffix *-anna/i-* should be compared to the Skt. *grbhāyāti*-type and verbs in *-anyá-*, the Tocharian present suffix *-ññ-* and the Greek verbs in *-αυω*, for which he reconstructs a special PIE type with a stem *\*CC-nh<sub>2</sub>-i-*. He nevertheless needs many analogical changes to account for the attested forms, which makes his theoretical juggling incredible. Oettinger (1992b) also connected Hitt. *-anna/i-* with Skt. *-anyá-*, reconstructing a suffix *-enjë-*. This is problematic because to my knowledge *-enjë-* would not yield Hitt. *-anniia-* (with geminate!), let alone end up in the *mēma/i-* inflection.

As I have stated, the suffix *-anna/i-* must go back to a pre-Hittite suffix *\*-annai-<sup>i</sup>* / *-anni-* that inflects according to the *dāi/tijanzi-* class. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, this class reflects a structure *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-*. In the case of *\*-annai-<sup>i</sup>* / *-anni-*, this means that we must analyse it as *-ann-ai-* / *-ann-i-*. In my view it is very likely that the element *-ann-* must be compared to the oblique form of the nominal suffix *-ātar* / *-ānn-*, which forms deverbal abstract nouns and from which the inf.II-suffix *-ānna* has been derived as well. Note that the plene spelling of e.g. *píd-da-a-an-ni-ya-an* (KUB 14.1 obv. 74 (MH/MS)) supports this (and is inexplicable in both Jasanoff's and Oettinger's views). Although opinions on the preform of the suffix *-ātar* / *-ānn-* differ (q.v. for discussion), I reconstruct *\*-ótr* / *\*-ótn-*, which means that the suffix *\*-annai-<sup>i</sup>* / *-anni-* goes back to *\*-otn-oi-* / *\*-otn-i-*.

Note that semantically, a verbal derivation from a deverbal abstract noun fits the imperfective meaning of *-anna/i-* perfectly. Consider the following line of derivation: the verb *iškār-<sup>i</sup>* / *iškar-* 'to stab' (*\*skor-* / *\*skr-*) is the source of the

abstract noun *iškarātar* / *iškarānn-* ‘(the act of) stabbing’ (\**skr-ótr* / \**skr-ótn-*), from which *iškaranna-<sup>i</sup>* / *iškaranni-* ‘to be (in the act of) stabbing’ (\**skr-otn-oi-* / \**skr-otn-i-*) has been derived. Similarly: the verb *lahhije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to go on an expedition’ (itself a denominal derivative of *lāhh-* ‘expedition’) is the basis for an abstract noun *lahhiātār* / *lahhiānn-* ‘campaign’ on the basis of which the derivative *lahhianna-<sup>i</sup>* / *lahhianni-* ‘to be on a campaign’ is made. Effectively, *lahhianna/i-* serves as the imperfective of *lahhije/a-*. Not of all verbs that use the imperfective-suffix *-anna/i-* a corresponding abstract noun in *-ātār* / *-ānn-* is attested, but this does not invalidate the reconstruction given here.

(MUNUS) **annaneka-** (c.) ‘sister by the same mother’: acc.pl. *an-na-ne-ku-uš* (OS), *an-na-ni-ku-uš*.

Clearly a compound of *anna-* ‘mother’ (q.v.) and *neka-* ‘sister’ (q.v.).

**annanu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to train, to educate’: 3pl.pres.act. *an-na-nu-ūa-an-zi* (KUB 30.42 i 2), 3sg.pret.act. *an-na-nu-ut* (KBo 3.34 ii 29, 30 (OH/NS), KUB 23.108 rev. 8); part. *an-na-nu-ūa-an-t-* (KBo 1.30 obv. 20, KBo 6.26 ii 27); verb.noun gen.sg. *an-na-nu-ma-aš* (KUB 31.53+ obv. 9), *an-na-nu-um-ma-aš* (KUB 26.64 i 4, KUB 13.16, 3 (fr.) (OH/NS)); inf.I *an-na-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 13.16, 1 (OH/NS)); impf. *an-na-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KUB 40.80 obv. 4).

Derivatives: **annanuḫḫa-** (adj.) ‘trained(?)’ (acc.sg.c. *an-na-nu-uh-ḫa-an* (OS)), <sup>(KUŠ)</sup> **annanuzzi-** (c.) ‘halter(?)’ (acc.sg. *an-na-nu-uz[-zi-in]* (KBo 6.10+ ii 26), acc.pl. *an-na-nu-uz-zi-uš* (KBo 17.15 rev. 7)), **annanuzziānt-** (adj.) ‘halted’ (nom.sg.c. *an-na-nu-[uz-zi-ia]-an-za* (KBo 17.40 iv 5 (OH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *an-na-nu-uz-zi-ia-an-te-e[š]* (KBo 17.15 rev. 9 (OS))).

PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>n-neu-* ?

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 77f. for attestations. The verb and its derivatives are all spelled *an-na-nu-* and are found from OS texts onwards already.

The adjective *annanuḫḫa-*, if it really means ‘trained’, shows a suffix *-ḫḫa-* which is quite unique in Hittite (the only other possible instance that I know of is *parštuḫḫa-*, an earthenware cup(?) (q.v.), if this word really is derived from <sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *parštu-* ‘leaf, foliage’). The noun <sup>(KUŠ)</sup> *annanuzzi-* ‘halter(?)’ probably is a normal instrumental noun in *-uzzi-* derived from *annanu-*.

It is quite likely that *annanu-* originally was a causative in *-nu-*. At first sight it seems to be derived from a verb *anna-*, but such a verb is unknown in Hittite. Semantically, a connection with the verb *anije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to work, to perform’ (q.v.) is

possible (\*'to make work' > 'to train, to educate'), but the formal side of this connection is difficult: how do we have to interpret the geminate *-nn-* and the vowel *-a-* in *annanu-*?

Although the verb *anije/a-* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-je/o-* is consistently spelled with a single *-n-*, its imperfective *anniške/a-* always shows geminate *-nn-*. In my view, this is due to the fact that an original *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-ske/o-* gave Hitt *\*\*aške/a-*, after which the *-n-* was reintroduced with a geminate to prevent it from dropping (a single *-n-* would synchronically drop in front of any consonant cluster). The causative *annanu-* in my view is phonologically to be interpreted as /ʔNnu-/ and therewith comparable to e.g. *aš-ša-nu-/ʔSnu-/* 'to take care of' and *ša-aš-ša-nu-/ʔSnu-/* 'to make sleep' in the sense that it shows fortition of the root-final consonant due to the following *-n-*. The reason that *annanu-* consistently is spelled with an at first sight superfluous *-a-* (whereas *aššanu-* and *šaššanu-* are respectively spelled *aš-nu-* and *ša-aš-nu-* as well) lies in the fact that a spelling *\*\*an-nu-* would be too intransparent (it would point to /ʔaNu-/).

If Tocharic *en-* 'to instruct' would indeed go back to a causative formation from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>en-*, it would show a similar semantic development as *annanu-*.

(♣) *ānnari-*: see at *inarā-*

***anašš(a)-*** (gender unclear), lower part of the back: gen.sg. *a-na-aš-ša-aš=ša-aš* (KUB 35.148 iii 24).

This word occurs only once:

KUB 35.148 iii

(20) *n=a-an=ši EGIR-pa iš-ki-ša-az hu-i-nu-mi [ ]*

(21) *nu UR.TUR SAG.DU-i=š-ši an-da e-ep-mi U[R.TUR SAG.DU-aš]*

(22) *i-na-an li-ip-du me-li-ia-[aš=ša-aš]*

(23) *i-na-an KI.MIN<sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.UDU-aš iš-ki-ša-a[š<sup>?</sup>=ša-aš (?)]*

(24) *i-na-an KI.MIN a-na-aš-ša-aš=ša-aš i-n[a-an KI.MIN]*

(25) *ar-ra-aš=ša-aš i-na-an KI.MIN<sup>UZU</sup>x[... i-na-an KI.MIN]*

(26) *ge-e-nu-ya-aš=ša-aš i-na-an KI.MIN<sup>U</sup>[<sup>ZU?</sup>x i-na-an KI.MIN]*

(27) *pár-aš-na-aš=ša-aš i-na-an li-ī[p-du]*

'I make it run from his back. I take in a puppy for his head and the puppy must lick away the disease of the head, the disease [of his] *meli-* likewise, the disease of the shoulders (and) [his] back likewise, the dis[ease] of his *anašša-* [likewise], the disease of his arse likewise, [the disease of his] x[. likewise], the disease of

his knees likewise, [the disease of his] x[. likewise] and let it li[ck away] the disease of his *paršna-*’.

We see that *anaššaš=šaš* is mentioned between <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.UDU-*aš iškiša[š=šaš]* ‘shoulders (and) his back’ and *arraš=šaš* ‘his arse’, which would indicate that it denotes the lower part of the back.

Formally, the word *anaššaš=šaš* must be regarded as a gen. of either a stem *anašš-* or a stem *anašša-*. Note that the spelling *a-na-aš-ša-* (and not e.g. *\*\*an-aš-ša-*) indicates that the second *-a-* is a real vowel, so /ʔanaSa-/ or /ʔnaSa-/.

Puhvel (HED 1/2: 63f.) states that “the likely etymon is IE *\*omso-* ‘shoulder’”, but this is problematic for a few reasons. First, *anašša-* does not mean ‘shoulder’ but clearly refers to the lower part of the back. Secondly, the formal aspects of the etymology are quite problematic. The word for ‘shoulder’ probably was an *s*-stem originally (compare Skt. *ámśa-* to Lat. *umerus*), so *\*h<sub>2</sub>em-es-* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>-* because of TochA *es*, TochB *āntse*). If Hittite would display a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>om-s-* (thus Puhvel (HED 1/2: 63): “Hitt. *anassa-* showing anaptyctic resolution of the *-ms-* cluster”), we would expect Hitt. *\*\*ašš-* (compare Hitt. *ḫaššu-* ‘king’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-u-*). If Hittite would reflect a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>om-os-*, then we cannot explain why Hittite shows an *-n-* where the other languages display *\*m*. As the Hittite spelling with *a-na-aš-ša-* points to a real vowel *-a-* in /ʔanaSa-/ or /ʔnaSa-/, an etymology involving the word *\*h<sub>2</sub>em-es-* is impossible.

***annaššar / annašn-*** (n.) ‘pillar?’: nom.-acc.sg. *an-na-aš-šar* (KUB 43.75 i 12, 20 (OH/NS)), erg.sg. *an-na-aš-na-an-za* (KUB 17.10 iv 9 (OH/MS)).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 64 for attestations and discussion. He proposes to interpret this word as a derivative of *anije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to work, to carry out’ (lit. ‘creation’ > ‘establishment’), but the geminate *-nn-* in *annaššar / annašn-* vs. the single *-n-* in *anije/a-* is not favourable to this etymology.

(MUNUS) ***annayanna-*** (c.) ‘stepmother’: gen.sg. *an-na-ya-an-na-aš* (KUB 29.34+ iv 12); broken <sup>MUNUS</sup>*an-na-ya-[a-...]* (621/f, 10).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ānnayann(i)-*** (c.) ‘stepmother’ (nom.sg. *a-an-na-ya-an-n[i-iš]*, acc.sg. *an-na-ya-an-ni-in*, *an-na-u-ya-an-ni-in*).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 65 for attestations. Note that *an-na-ya-an-na-aš=ša-aš* (KUB 29.34+ iv 12 = Hitt. Laws §196) is duplicated by <sup>MUNUS</sup>*an-na-ya-at<sup>2</sup>-tal<sup>2</sup>-aš-ša* in KBo 6.26 iii 30. The connection with CLuw. *ānnayann(i)-* suggests, however, that *annayanna-* is the correct Hittite reading of this word.

The word clearly is a derivative in *-yanna-* of *anna-* ‘mother’ (q.v.), which view is supported by CLuw. *tātaḡann(i)-* ‘stepfather’ besides *tāta/i-* ‘father’. The origin and meaning of this suffix is unclear. Compare perhaps <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*mariḡayanna-*, a part of the house (q.v.).

**anni-** ‘that, the already mentioned one’: see *anna-* ‘former, old’

**-anni-** (imperfective-suffix): see *-anna-*<sup>1</sup> / *-anni-*

**anije/a-<sup>2</sup>** (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to work; to carry out, to produce, to treat’ (Sum. KIN): 1sg.pres.act. *a-ni-e-mi* (OS), *a-ni-ja-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *a-ni-ja-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *a-ni-e-ez-zi* (OS), *a-ni-ez-zi* (OS), *a-ni-ja-az-zi*, *a-ni-ja-zi*, *a-ni-ja-e-ez-zi* (KUB 41.15 obv. 13), *an-ni-ja-az-zi* (KUB 44.61 iv 6), 1pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ja-u-e-ni* (KBo 14.111, 16), 2pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ja-at-te-(e)ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ja-an-zi* (MH/MS), *a-ni-an-zi*, *an-ni-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 i 70 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *a-ni-e-[nu-un]* (OS), *a-ni-ja-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ni-i-e-et* (KUB 7.41 i 16 (MH/NS)), *a-ni-ja-at*, *a-ni-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *a-ni-ja-u-(e)en*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ni-i-e-e[r]* (KUB 23.54 rev. 6 (NS)), *a-ni-i-er* (HKM 54, 17 (MH/MS), KUB 5.6 iii 17), *a-ni-er* (KUB 33.34 obv. 8), *a-ni-ja-er* (KBo 12.3 iii 10 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ja*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ja-ad-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *a-ni-ja-at-te-en*; 3sg.pret.mid. *a-ni-ja-at-ta-at*; part. *a-ni-ja-an-t-* (MH/MS), *a-ni-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ni-ja-u-ya-ar*; inf.I *a-ni-ja-u-ya-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *an-ni-eš-ke/a-*, *a-an-ni-eš-ke/a-* (HKM 55 rev. 26 (MH/MS)), *a-ni-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **anijatt-** (c.) ‘work, task; ritual gear or garments; message’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ni-ja-az* (KUB 13.20 i 20, KUB 13.8 obv. 18), acc.sg.c. *a-ni-ja-at-ta-an* (KBo 30.39 iii 14 (OH/MS), KUB 7.41 iv 13 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *a-ni-ja-at-ta-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. KIN-*ti*, abl. *a-ni-ja-at-ta-az*, coll.pl. *a-ni-ja-at-ta* (OS), *a-ni-ja-at-te* (KBo 30.80 rev. 5 (MH/MS)), *a-ni-ja-at-ti* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. *a-ni-ja-ad-du-uš* (KUB 10.45 iv 45 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *a-ni-ja-at-ta-aš*); **aniūr** (n.) ‘prestation, ritual’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-ni-u-ur* (KBo 15.19 i 18 (NS), KBo 15.29 obv. 6 (NS), KBo 19.144 i 25 (NS), KBo 20.87 i 7 (NS), KUB 9.15 iii 20 (NS), KUB 12.58 ii 31 (NS), KUB 22.40 iii 29 (NS), KUB 29.4 i 7, 15 (NH), KUB 32.123 ii 33, 47, iii 11 (NS)), *a-ni-ur* (KUB 46.38 ii 6 (NS), KUB 46.42 ii 12 (NS)), *a-ni-ú-úr* (KBo 19.92, 4 (OH/NS), KUB 5.6 ii 52, 59 (NS)), gen.sg. *a-ni-u-ra-aš* (KUB 35.18 i 9 (MS), KBo 21.1 iv 3 (MH/NS)), *a-ni-ur-aš* (KBo 12.126+ ii 19 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *a-ni-u-ri* (KUB 35.54 iii 45 (MS)), *a-ni-ú-ri* (KUB 5.6 iii 30 (NS)), erg.sg. *a-ni-u-ra-an-za* (KUB 41.9 iv 38 (OH/MS)), **aniḡauyar** (n.) ‘id.’ (nom.-



acc.sg. *a-ni-ja-u-ya-ar* (KBo 15.21+ i 15), erg.sg. *a-ni-ja-ya-ra-an-za* (KBo 10.45 iv 40 (MH/NS)), see *annanu-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *anije/a-* ‘to do, to work’ (2sg.pres.act. *a-ni-i-ja-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ni-et-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ni-e-eḫ-ḫa*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ja*); CLuw. *ānni-* ‘to carry out, to treat’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-an-ni-i-ti*, *a-a-an-ni-i-[ti]*, *an-ni-i-ti*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ja* (? in broken context)).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-je/o-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 81f. for attestations. The verb itself is consistently spelled *a-ni-*, whereas in its imperfective we almost consistently find *an-ni-*, with a geminate *-nn-*. The discrepancy between these two stems (with and without geminate *-nn-*) has led to much debate about the historical interpretation of this verb. Besides this, the IE cognates (Lat. *onus* ‘load, burden’ and Skt. *ānas-* ‘cart’) are in dispute regarding their interpretation as well.

Both Lat. *onus* and Skt. *ānas-* are neuter *s*-stems, so it is likely that they both go back to one pre-form. As neuter *s*-stems as a rule show *e*-grade in their stem, it is attractive to reconstruct an initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. The difficulty lies in the fact that Lat. *o* corresponds to short *a* in Skt, which apparently has not been subject to Brugmann’s Law. Often, this has been explained by assuming that the root involved was *\*h<sub>3</sub>enH-*, the second laryngeal of which would block Brugmann’s Law in Sanskrit as it closed the syllable in which *\*o* was found: *\*HonH-es-*. Lubotsky (1990), however, convincingly argued that *\*h<sub>3</sub>e* is not subject to Brugmann’s Law in Sanskrit, and that a development *\*h<sub>3</sub>en-es- > Skt. ānas-* is regular.

For Hittite, the reconstructed root *\*h<sub>3</sub>enH-* is used by e.g. Melchert to explain the outcomes *anije/a-* besides *anniške/a-*. In 1994a: 85 he states that a present *\*enH-je/o-* would lose its laryngeal regularly before *\*i*, giving *anije/a-*, whereas in *\*enH-je-ské/ó-* we would first find pretonic syncope, yielding *\*enHi-ské/ó-*, after which *\*VnHV > VnnV*, and therefore *anniške/a-*. There are a few problems with Melchert’s scenario, however. Firstly, I know of no other examples of pretonic syncope, which must have been very old according to Melchert’s theory, as it must have occurred before the loss of laryngeals before *\*i*. Secondly, I think that his proposed preforms are morphologically unlikely. Verbs in *\*-je/o-* usually show zero-grade in the root. The same goes for imperfectives in *\*-ske/o-*. Moreover, *\*-ske/o-* imperfectives originally were derived from the bare root and not from the present stem, as we can see in impf. *zikke/a-* (*\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ske/o-*) from the present stem *dai- / ti-* ‘to place, to put’ (*\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-*).

We had better search for another solution. If we assume that the other IE languages point to a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>en-* (with no second laryngeal), then the usual way of deriving a *\*-ie/o-* present of this root is by making a formation *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-*ie*/ó-*. As I have tried to show in my article on the outcome of initial laryngeals in Anatolian (Kloekhorst fthc.c), a preconsonantal initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would in this position merge with *\*h<sub>1</sub>* in PAnat., yielding Hitt. *anije/a-* = /ʔnié/á-/ by regular sound laws.

In the case of the imperfective, we would on formal grounds expect that it was formed as *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-ské/ó-*. Such a form would regularly have given Hitt. *\*\*aške/a-*, compare *\*g<sup>wh</sup>nské/ó-* > *\*k<sup>w</sup>nske/a-* > *ku<sup>w</sup>aške/a-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.e). Just as *ku<sup>w</sup>aške/a-* was too intransparent and is replaced by *kuenniške/a-* with geminate *-nn-* to prevent the nasal from dropping again in front of the consonant cluster, this *\*\*aške/a-*, too, was too intransparent and was replaced by *anniške/a-* = /ʔNiské/á-/ with geminate *-nn-*. A similar process could be visible in *annanu-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to educate, to train’ (q.v.) if this verb is really an old causative of *anije/a-*.

The details of CLuw. *ānnī-* are unclear. Melchert (1993a: 17) states that the “geminate *-nn-* in the *ānni-* form is due to “Čop’s Law”: *\*énye-* > *\*ényi-* > *\*éni-* > *ānni-*”. Again, a reconstruction *\*éñje-* to my mind does not fit our understanding of PIE morphology. In my view, we know too little about the practice of plene writing and gemination of resonants in CLuwian to give too much value to it.

See Rieken 1999a: 107f. for an extensive treatment of the derived noun *ani<sup>i</sup>att-*, where she argues that the word originally was *commune* and that the OS form *a-ni-at=še-et* (KUB 36.100 obv. 13), seemingly a nom.-acc.sg.n., must be emended to *a-ni-at<ta>=še-et*, a coll.pl., which is quite commonly found of this word.

The noun *aniūr* must be the regular outcome of *\*h<sub>3</sub>niéur* > /ʔniór/ (see § 1.3.9.4.f for a treatment of the spelling *a-ni-ú-úr*). Since this form was not recognized as a derivative in *-uar* anymore, the heteroclitic inflection was given up. Later on, a secondary *ani<sup>i</sup>au<sup>w</sup>ar* was created, a synchronic derivation in *-uar* of the stem *ani<sup>i</sup>a-*.

**ānki** (adv.) ‘once’ (Akk. 1=ŠU): *a-an-ki* (KUB 4.2 iv 36, 38).

PIE *\*Hoionki*

The word occurs written phonetically only twice. The bulk of the attestations show 1-*an-ki* or akkadographically 1=ŠU. The ending *-anki* is also found in 2-*an-ki* ‘twice’ and 3-*an-ki* ‘thrice’ and is connected by Rosenkranz (1936: 249) with Gr. *-άκις* < *\*-ḡkis* (e.g. *τετράκις* ‘four times’, *πεντάκις* ‘five times’ etc.), although the latter only occurs with the numerals 4+, whereas Hitt. *-anki* is only found in

1-3. Nevertheless, of *a-an-ki* only the *a-* can be regarded as the stem denoting ‘one’. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 73) proposes to interpret *a-an-ki* as reflecting *\*Hoionki*, connecting it with the root *\*Hoi-* seen in e.g. Skt. *éka-* ‘one’, Gr. *οἶος* ‘alone, lonely’, etc. This seems formally as well as semantically attractive to me. The question remains whether we should interpret this form as *\*Hoi-onki* or *\*Hoionki*.

***anku*** (adv.) ‘fully’: *an-ku* (OS).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 95 for attestations. The adverb denotes ‘fully, totally’ or similar (HW<sup>2</sup>: “ganz und gar, unbedingt”) and occurs from OS texts onwards. The historical interpretation is difficult. It possibly contains the enclitic element =*kku* ‘and’ (q.v.), but the element *an-* remains unclear to me.

***ānš-***<sup>i</sup> (Iib > Ic1) ‘to wipe’: 3sg.pres.act. *a-an-ši* (KBo 30.158, 9 (MS), KBo 21.80+20.44+30.158 obv. 35 (MS), KUB 30.41 i 7 (OH/NS), KBo 30.164 iv 21 (OH/NS), KBo 11.22 iv 12 (NS), KBo 44.175, 5 (NS), IBoT 4.139 obv. 8 (NS), etc.), *a-a-an-ši* (KUB 30.41 i 14 (OH/NS)), *a-an[-aš]-zi* (KBo 19.129 obv. 29 (NS)), *a-an-aš-zi* (KUB 8.38 iii 21 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-an-ša-an-zi* (KBo 11.73 rev. 18 (OH/NS), KUB 10.18 ii 31 (OH/NS), KUB 11.16 iv 10 (OH/NS), KUB 11.35 i 27 (OH/NS), KUB 25.3 iii 44 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 ii 19, vi 23 (NS), KBo 22.189 v 13 (NS), KUB 25.16 i 29 (NS), KUB 41.52 iv<sup>1</sup> 6 (NS), etc.), *an-ša-an-zi* (KBo 20.116 rev.<sup>2</sup> 6 (MH/NS), KBo 46.130 rev. 15 (NS), KUB 49.79 i 4 (NS)), *a-an-ši-an-zi* (VSNF 12.2 vi 8 (NS)), *a-a[n]-ši-ja-an-zi* (KUB 29.40 ii 14 (MH/MS)), *a-an-ši-ī[a-an-z]i* (KBo 8.49, 5 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *a-an-šu-un* (KUB 41.19 rev. 10, 11, 12, 14 (MH/NS)), *an-šu-un* (KUB 24.13 iii 19 (MH/NS), KBo 35.95, 6 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *a-an-aš* (KBo 21.8 ii 4 (OH/MS), KUB 33.5 ii 7 (OH/MS), IBoT 3.141 i 14 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *a-an-aš-du* (KUB 7.1 ii 68 (OH/NS)); part. *a-an-ša-an-t-* (6x), *an-ša-an-t-* (26x); impf. *a-an-aš-ke/a-* (KBo 21.8 ii 3 (OH/MS), KBo 19.163 i 23, iv 4 (OH/NS)), *a-an-ši-ke/a-* (KBo 23.23, 77 (MH/MS)), *a-an-ši-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 24.13 iii 16 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: see *ḫane/išš-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***am(ma)šša-*** / ***am(ma)šši(ia)-*** ‘to wipe’ (3pres.sg.act. *am-ma-aš-ši-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. [*am-*]*ma-aš-ši-ja-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *am-ma-⟨aš-⟩ša-t[a]*, 3pl.pret.act. *am-ma-aš-ša-an-da*).

IE cognates: Gr. *ἀμᾶω* ‘to mow, to reap’, OE *māwan*, OHG *māwen*, *māen* ‘to mow’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei*

Originally, this verb is inflected according to the *hi*-inflection. The *mi*-form *a-an-aš-zi* is found in NS texts only. From the MH period onwards we find a few forms that show a stem *ānšije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, which is secondarily created on the basis of 3sg. *ānši*. The bulk of the attestations show initial plene *a*. All forms that show initial *an-š-* only are from NS texts and cannot be used for the determination of original ablaut.

In 1988b, Melchert (211f.) argued that *ānš-* is cognate with CLuw. *am(ma)šš(a/i)-* ‘to wipe’ and further connected these verbs with Gr. ἀμάω ‘to mow, to reap’, OE *māwan* and OHG *māwen, māen* ‘to mow’, reconstructing *\*am-h<sub>1</sub>- / \*m-eh<sub>1</sub>-*. For a parallel semantical development, he refers to Hitt. *uarš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to reap, to harvest, to wipe’ (q.v.) which reflects PIE *\*uers-* ‘to wipe’. Later on, he seems to have abandoned the IE etymology, and states that Hitt. *ānš-* and CLuw. *am(ma)šš(a/i)-* reflect PAnat. *\*óms-*, without reference to the other IE words (1994a: 164). This reconstruction is problematic, however, as a sequence *\*VmsV* > Hitt. *VššV* (cf. *haššu-* ‘king’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>emsu-*; *hāši* ‘gives birth to’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei*).

In Kloekhorst fthc.f I have argued that the original etymological connection as given by Melchert may make sense. Gr. ἀμάω ‘to mow, to reap’ and OE *māwan*, OHG *māwen, māen* ‘to mow’ point to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-* (note that Gr. ἀμάω must be denominative of a noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, cf. Schrijver 1990: 20). If this root is cognate with the Anatolian forms, then these must show an *s*-extension and go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei* (showing a similar Schwebe-ablaut as we see in e.g. *tamāšš- << \*dmeh<sub>2</sub>-s-* from the root *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to tame’, cf. at *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup> / tame/išš-*). In my opinion, this *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei* yielded Hitt. *ānši* by regular sound change: the initial laryngeal was dropped on front of *\*o* as I described in Kloekhorst fthc.c. The development *\*Vmh<sub>1</sub>sV* > Hitt. *VnšV* does not contradict the forms *haššu-* and *hāši* that show *\*VmsV* > *VššV*.

As all *hi*-verbs, *\*h<sub>2</sub>emh<sub>1</sub>s-* must originally have shown ablaut as well. This means that beside the singular *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>s-ei* we expect a plural form *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>s-enti*. In Kloekhorst fthc.f I have argued that this weak-stem form regularly would yield Hitt. /HniSánt<sup>˚</sup>i/ (cf. *\*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>sent<sup>˚</sup>i* > /kniSánt<sup>˚</sup>i/, spelled *ganiššanzi* ‘they recognize’), a form that is indeed attested as part of the paradigm *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wipe’ (q.v.). I therefore assume that the original ablauting paradigm *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei* : *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-s-énti* regularly yielded *ānši* : *hane/iššanzi*, of which both stems formed their own paradigm. On the one hand, it yielded *ānši, ānšanzi* (with generalization of the stem *ānš-* which explains the lack of ablaut in this verb) and on the other hand we find *hane/išzi, hane/iššanzi* (generalization of the stem *hane/išš-*).

**-ant-** (part.-suffix)

PIE \*-ent-

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The Hitt. participle is formed with the suffix *-ant-*. In ablauting verbs it is attached to the zero-grade root: *kunant-* ‘killed’ (from *kuen<sup>-zi</sup>* / *kun-* ‘to kill’), *appant-* ‘seized’ (from *epp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *app-* ‘to seize’), *pijant-* ‘given’ (from *pai<sup>-i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’), etc. Although in almost all cases the participle has a passive meaning (‘killed’, ‘seized’, ‘given’), we come across a few cases where the participle can have an active meaning: *ašant-* ‘being’ (from *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to be’), *akuuant-* ‘drinking’ (from *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-* ‘to drink’), *adant-* ‘eating’ and ‘eaten’ (from *ed<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ad-* ‘to eat’). The participles do not show ablaut and show the normal consonant-inflection:

nom.sg.c.	<i>kunanza</i>	/k <sup>w</sup> nánts/
acc.sg.c.	<i>kunantan</i>	/k <sup>w</sup> nántan/
nom.-acc.sg.n.	<i>kunan</i>	/k <sup>w</sup> nán/
gen.sg.	<i>kunantaš</i>	/k <sup>w</sup> nántas/
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>kunanti</i>	/k <sup>w</sup> nánti/
etc.		

Note that nom.-acc.sg.n. *kunan* /k<sup>w</sup>nán/ must reflect older \*/k<sup>w</sup>nánt/ in which word-final *-t* has regularly been dropped.

It is obvious that Hitt. *-ant-* must be etymologically cognate to the participle-suffix \*-ent- as visible in many IE languages: Skt. *adant-* = Lat. *edent-* ‘eating’, Gr. *τιθείς* < \*-ent-s ‘placing’, etc. It is remarkable, however, that in all IE languages (including Tocharian) this participle has an active meaning. This could indicate that in PIE the participle in \*-ent- in principle could have both meanings (just as Hitt. *adant-* can denote both ‘eating’ and ‘eaten’), depending on the valencies, and that in Anatolian the passive meaning was generalized (except in the archaic cases *ašant-*, *akuuant-* and *adant-*), whereas in post-Anatolian PIE the active meaning was generalized.

It is remarkable that in the Luwian languages participles are formed with the etymologically unrelated suffix *-mma/i-*. Here we only find a remnant of the suffix \*-ent-, namely in the name of the Storm-god, CLuw. <sup>d</sup>*Tarhuuant-* / <sup>d</sup>*Tarhunt-*, HLuw. /trhunt-/, Lyc. *Trqqñt-*, which is the lexicalized (active!) participle of the verb *tarhu-* ‘to conquer’ (etymologically identical to Skt. *tūrvant-* ‘conquering’, see at *tarhu<sup>-zi</sup>*). On the basis of the ablaut visible in this word (CLuw. nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Tarhuanza* vs. oblique <sup>d</sup>*Tarhunt-*) it is clear that originally the

participle in *\*-ent-* must have shown ablaut. The Anatolian evidence points to a paradigm nom.sg. *\*CC-ént-s*, acc.sg. *\*CC-ént-m*, gen.sg. *\*CC-nt-ós*, which fits for instance the Vedic system as well, compare the paradigm of ‘being’: nom.sg. *sán* (< *\*sánt-s* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ént-s*), acc.sg. *sántam* (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ént-m*), gen.sg. *satás* (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-nt-ós*). Nevertheless, this paradigm must have been a quite recent rebuilding within PIE from an older system *\*CéC-nt-s*, *\*CC-ént-m*, *\*CC-nt-ós*, traces of which still survive in the reconstructed paradigm for ‘wind’: *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-nt-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-nt-ós* (see at *huuant-*), originally a participle of the verb *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to blow’ (cf. Beekes 1985: 64-77; Kortlandt 2000).

**-ant-** (erg.-suffix)

PIE *\*-ent-*

It is a well known fact that in Hittite neuter nouns cannot function as the subject of a transitive verb. If, however, a situation needed to be expressed in which a neuter noun had to function as the subject within a transitive sentence, this noun could be “animatized” with a suffix *-anza*. I have called this form an “ergative” throughout this book. Compare e.g. KUB 19.2 + KUB 14.14 rev. (22) *nu* KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ḫa-at-ti=ia a-pa-a-aš iš-ḫa-na-an-za ar-ḫa nam-ma zi-in-ni-[it]* ‘Furthermore, that bloodshed has finished off the land of Ḫatti’, in which *išḫananza* is the animatized form of *ēšḫar* / *išḫan-* ‘blood(shed)’. Although the suffix *-anza* in some literature is regarded as a real case-ending, it clearly is not as can be seen by the fact that forms displaying an “erg.pl.” in *-anteš* occur as well (compare KUB 17.27 iii (9) *n=a-at=za am-me-el ud-da-na-an-te-eš tar-[ḫu]-e-er* ‘My words will conquer them’, in which *uddananteš* is an “erg.pl.” of the neuter noun *uddar* / *uddan-*). This means that *-anza* and *-anteš* have to be analysed as nom.sg.c. and nom.pl.c. respectively of a suffix *-ant-*. Without a doubt this suffix *-ant-* must be equated with the suffix *-ant-* as found in the participle, which reflects *\*-ent-* (q.v.).

**anda** postpos., prev. ‘in(to), inwards; (with)in; in addition’: *an-da* (OS).

Derivatives: **andan** (adv.) ‘(with)in, inside; in(to)’ (*an-da-an* (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ānta** (prev.) ‘in(to)’ (*a-an-ta*, *a-a-an-ta*, *an-ta*, *a-an-da*, *an-da*), **andan** (adv.) ‘inside(?)’ (*an-da-an*); HLuw. **anta** (prev., adv., postpos.) ‘(with)in, in(to)’ (*a-ta*, *a-tâ*), **antan** ‘into’ (*a-ta-na* (KARKAMIŠ A31 §8), **antatila/i-** (adj.) ‘internal’ (nom.sg.c. *a-tâ-ti-li-i-sa* (BABYLON 1 §11)); Lyd. **ēt-** (prev.); Lyc. **ñte** (prev., adv.) ‘inside’.

IE cognates: OLat. *endo* ‘into’, OIr. *and* ‘in it’, Gr. *ἐνδον* (adv.) ‘inside’

In OH texts the two adverbs *anda* and *andan* are distinct in use: *anda* has a directional function, denoting ‘into, inwards’ whereas *andan* functions as a locative, denoting ‘inside, within’. This indicates that originally *anda* and *andan* are all. and acc. respectively (compare *parā* < *\*pro* besides *peran* < *\*perom*) of a noun that further is unattested in Hittite. The absence of forms with an enclitic possessive pronoun (like e.g. *peran=tet* ‘in front of you’ or *šer=šet* ‘on top of it’) shows that the lexicalization as adverbs occurred earlier with *anda(n)* than with the other adverbs. The distinction between directional *anda* and locative *andan* becomes blurred within the Hittite period, and in the younger texts there is no semantic difference anymore between *anda* and *andan*.

From the beginning of Hittite studies onwards, *anda(n)* has been connected with Gr. ἔνδον ‘inside’ and OLat. *endo* ‘into’ and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>endo(m)*. Nevertheless, the OIr. cognate *and* ‘in it’ must reflect a zero-grade *\*h<sub>1</sub>ndo(m)* (McCone 1992: 26), which reconstruction formally is possible for Gr. ἔνδον and OLat. *endo* as well (cf. Schrijver 1991: 58-9). Within the Anatolian languages, Lyc. *ñte* ‘inside’, too, points to *\*h<sub>1</sub>ndo(m)* since a preform *\*h<sub>1</sub>éndo(m)* would have yielded Lyc. *\*\*žte*. On the basis of the OIr. and Lyc. words I conclude that all IE forms reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>ndo(m)*. The absence of accentuation in Hittite (no plene vowels) is explained by the establishment that in poetic verse local adverbs and postpositions are unstressed (cf. Melchert 1998a: 485).

See Kloekhorst 2004: 42f. for an explanation of the HLuwian form.

**-anta:** see *-anta(ri)*

**antaka-** (gender unclear) ‘?’: dat.-loc.sg. *an-ta-ki-i=š-ši* (KUB 11.20 i 13, KUB 45.3 iv 17), *an-ta-ki-it-ti* (KUB 11.25 iii 9), *an-ta-ki-it-ti-i=š-ši* (KUB 7.5 i 7), *a[n-ta<sup>2</sup>]-ki* (KUB 43.62 i 2), all.sg. *an-ta-ga-a=š-ša* (KUB 36.44 iv 12).

Traditionally, this word is translated as ‘chamber’, but Melchert (2003e), suggests that *antaka-* should rather be interpreted as ‘loins’. I must say that I do not find his line of reasoning very convincing, and would rather regard the meaning of *antaka-* as unclear. Both the meaning ‘chamber’ as well as ‘loins’ (through ‘intestines’) are thought to have derived from *anda* ‘inside’ (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 77 for ‘chamber’ and Melchert (l.c.) for ‘loins’). Melchert even goes so far in interpreting *antaka-* as *anda* + *ki-* ‘that which lies inside’. In my view, the fact that besides the normal cases all.sg. *antaga* and dat.-loc.sg. *antaki*, we also find a

Hurrian dat.-loc.-ending in the form *antakitti*, strongly points to a Hurrian origin of this word. I therefore remain very sceptical about the the supposed connection between *antaka-* and *anda*.

**antara-** (adj.) ‘blue’ (Sum. ZA.GÌN): acc.sg. *an-ta-ra-an* (KBo 27.131 iii 7 (MH/NS)), [*an-t*]a-ra-an (KUB 41.1 i 5 (OH/NS)), *an-da-ra-an* (KUB 41.1 i 3 (OH/NS), VBoT 24 i 4 (MH/NS)), *a-an-da-ra-an* (VBoT 24 i 14 (MH/NS), KBo 5.2 iii 19 (MH/NS)), *a-an-ta-ra-an* (VBoT 24 i 23 (MH/NS)), *an-da-ra-a-an* (KUB 46.43, 9 (NS)).

Derivatives: **antarant-** (adj.) ‘blue’ (*an-ta-ra-an-ta-an* (KUB 24.9 i 43 (OH/NS)), [*an-d*]a-ra-an-da-an (KUB 24.9 i 45 (OH/NS))), **antare/iške/a-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic6) ‘to make blue’ (*an-ta-ri-iš-ke-et* (KUB 24.9 i 44 (OH/NS)), *an-da-ri-eš-ke-et* (KUB 41.1 i 4 (OH/NS))).

IE cognates: Slav. \**modrъ* (Cz. *modrý*, SCr. *mòdar*) ‘blue’.

PIE \**md<sup>h</sup>ró-*

This word is attested with the spellings *an-ta-ra-an*, *a-an-ta-ra-an* and *an-ta-ra-a-an*. Because all attestations are from NS texts, it is not possible to chronologically order these spellings and determine which one is more original.

Machek (1949: 131-2) connects this word with Slav. \**modrъ* ‘blue’ < \**md<sup>h</sup>ro-* (the absence of Winter’s Law points to \**d<sup>h</sup>*). If this connection is justified, the Hittite word likely reflects a zero-grade \**md<sup>h</sup>-ro-*. With this reconstruction in mind, it is more likely that the spelling *an-ta-ra-a-an* is the correct one (for unetymological plene initial *a-* compare e.g. *a-an-ni-eš-ke-ši* (HKM 55 rev. 26) instead of normal *an-ni-iš-ke/a-* ‘to work (impf.)’). It would then reflect phonological /ndrân/, the regular outcome of \**md<sup>h</sup>-ró-m*.

**-anta(ri), -antat(i)** (3pl.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-antari** (3pl.pres.midd.-ending): *ua-aš-ša-an-ta-ri*, *la-aḫ-ḫi-i[n]-ta-ri* < \**lahḫiantari*; HLuw. **-antasi** (3pl.pres.midd.-ending): <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*HWI-HWI-sà-tá-si*.

PIE \**CC-énto(ri)*, \**CéC-nto(ri)*

In the present, we find the endings *-anta* as well as *-antari*. Both endings occur in the OH period already, and there does not seem to be a distribution between the two (e.g. *a-ra-an-ta* (OS) besides *a-ra-an-ta-ri* (OS)). In the preterite we find *-antati* besides *-antat*, but here it seems that *-antati* is the original ending, which is being replaced by *-antat* from MH times onwards (compare *ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti*



(OS) vs. *ki-i-ša-an-ta-at* (MH/MS) or *na-aḥ-ši-an-ta-ti* (OS) vs. *na-aḥ-ši-ia-an-ta-at* (NH)), possibly because *-i* had become the main marker of the present tense.

The reconstruction of the PIE middle endings is a debated topic, and I will not go into details here. It is clear that *-anta(ri)* and *-antat(i)* must reflect *\*-ento* when the verbal root is in zero-grade (e.g. *aranta(ri)* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-énto(ri)*) and *\*-nto* when the verbal root is in full grade (e.g. *ešanta(ri)* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-nto(ri)*).

Kimball (1999: 245) cites a few examples of plene spellings in this ending (e.g. *a-ra-a-an-ta*, *ne-e-a-an-ta-ri*, etc.), which are all attested in NS texts. In my view, these are the result of the NH merger of OH /ā/ with /a/ in closed non-final syllables (cf. § 1.4.9.3): since in NH times there was no opposition between /ā/ and /a/ in these syllables anymore, the pronunciation and therefore spelling was subject to free variation.

**-antaru** (3pl.imp.midd.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-andaru** (3pl.imp.midd.-ending): [*la*]-*a-la-aš-ḥa-an-da-ru*.

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This ending clearly is built up of the 3pl.pres.midd.-ending *-antari* in which the *-i* is replaced by the imperativial *-u*. See at both *-anta(ri)*, *-antat(i)* and *-u* for further treatment.

**-antat(i)** (3pl.pret.midd.-ending): see *-anta(ri)*

**-anteš** (erg.pl.-ending): see *-ant-*

<sup>LÚ</sup>**antijant-** (c.) ‘son-in-law’: acc.sg. *an-ti-ia-an-ta-an* (KBo 3.1 ii 39), *an-ti-ia-an-da-an* (KBo 12.4 ii 8).

Derivatives: **andaijandatar** / **andaijandann-** (n.) ‘son-in-lawship’ (dat.-loc.sg. *an-da-i-ia-an-da-an-ni* (KUB 13.8 obv. 14)).

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Puhvel (HED 1/2: 78f.) also cites a nom.pl. [<sup>LÚ</sup>]āntijanteš (KUB 26.1a, 10), of which HW<sup>2</sup> states that it had better be read [*pé-r*]a-an-ti-ia-an-ti-eš.

Since Balkan (1948) this word is generally interpreted as showing syncope from *\*anda ijant-* ‘who has gone inside’. As he shows, a semantic development from ‘who has gone inside’ to ‘son-in-law’ has parallels in other languages. According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 79) this analysis is strengthened by the derivative *andaijandatar* ‘son-in-lawship’, which would show the un-syncopated form. In my view, however, the latter word could easily be a folk-etymological adaptation

to an original *antijandatar*, and does not necessarily prove that *antijant-* stems from *\*anda ijant-*. Nevertheless, semantically the etymology seems possible.

**-antu** (3pl.imp.act.-ending): e.g. *ap-pa-an-tu* (OS), *a-ša-an-tu* (OS), *pé-e-ta-an-tu* (OS), *ap-pa-an-du* (MS), *a-ša-an-du* (MS), *pé-da-an-du* (MS)

Anat. cognates: Pal. **-andu**, **-endu**; CLuw. **-andu**; HLuw. **/-antu/**; Lyc. **-V̄tu**.

PAnat. **\*-Vntu**

PIE **\*CC-éntu**

The 3pl.imp.act.-ending *-antu* is spelled *-an-tu* in OS texts, and *-an-du* in MS and NS texts. In ablauting verbs, the ending *-antu* goes with the weak stem. The ending must be compared with Skt. 3pl.impt.-ending *-antu* and reflects *\*-entu*. Especially etymologically related pairs like Hitt. *a-ša-an-tu* ~ Pal. *a-ša-an-du*, *a-še-en-du* ~ CLuw. *a-ša-an-du* ~ HLuw. *(á-)sa-tu* ~ Skt. *sántu* ‘they must be’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-éntu* and Hitt. *ku-na-an-du* ~ Skt. *ghnantu* ‘they must kill’ < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>n-éntu* are striking.

Kimball (1999: 245) cites a few examples of plene spellings in this ending (e.g. *ap-pa-a-an-du*), which are all attested in NS texts. In my view, these are the result of the NH merger of OH /ā/ with /a/ in closed non-final syllables (cf. § 1.4.9.3): since in NH times there was no opposition between /ā/ and /a/ in these syllables anymore, the pronunciation and therefore spelling was subject to free variation.

**andurza** (adv.) ‘inside, indoors’: *an-dur-za*.

Derivatives: **andurzija** (adv.) ‘inside, indoors’ (*an-dur-zi-ja*), **anturija-** (adj.) ‘interior, native’ (nom.sg.c. *an-dur-ja-aš*, *an-tu-ri-ja-aš*, *an-tu-u-ri-ja-aš*, *an-du-u-ri-ja-aš*, nom.pl.c. *an-tu-u-ri-e-eš*, *an-dur-ri-ja-aš*, *an-dur-ja-aš*).

PIE **\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>ur-**

Semantically there seems to be no difference between *andurza* and *andurzija*. Formally, the latter could be interpreted as *andurza* + *=(i)a* ‘and’ (pace HW<sup>2</sup> A: 123), which indicates that *andurza* is an adverbially used ablative of a stem *andur-*, which is visible in the derivative *anturija-* as well.

An etymological connection with e.g. Lat. *inter* ‘between’, Skt. *antár* ‘within’ (Couvreur 1937: 92-3), though semantically and seemingly formally attractive, does not work as Hitt. *-u-* would remain unexplained. A better explanation seems to be Sturtevant’s suggestion (1933: 128) to interpret this form as *\*h<sub>1</sub>(e)n-d<sup>h</sup>ur-* ‘indoors’. The root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uer-* does not occur further in Anatolian, however.

**antu $\underline{u}$ ah $\underline{h}$ aš-** / **antu $\underline{h}$ š-** (c.) ‘man, human being, person’ (Sum. UKÙ, LÚ.ULÙ.LU): nom.sg. *an-tu- $\underline{u}$ a-ah- $\underline{h}$ a-aš* (OS), *an-tu-u- $\underline{u}$ a-ah- $\underline{h}$ a-aš*, *an-tu-uh- $\underline{h}$ a-aš*, *an-tu-uh-ša-aš*, *an-tu-u- $\underline{u}$ a-ah-za* (KUB 12.44 iii 7 (NS)), acc.sg. *an-tu-uh-ša-an* (MH/MS), *an-du-uh-ša-an* (MH/MS), *an-tu-u-uh-ša-an*, *an-tu- $\underline{u}$ a-ah- $\underline{h}$ a-an*, gen.sg. *an-du-uh-ša-aš* (OS), *an-tu-uh-ša-aš* (MH/MS), *an-tu- $\underline{u}$ a-ah- $\underline{h}$ a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-tu-uh-ši*, *an-tu-u-uh-ši*, *an-tu-uh-še* (MH/NS), abl. *an-tu-uh-ša-az*, nom.pl. *an-tu-uh-še-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl. *an-tu-uh-šu-uš* (MH/MS), gen.pl. *an-tu-uh-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *an-tu-uh-ša-aš* (OH/MS), *an-tu-u- $\underline{u}$ a-ah- $\underline{h}$ a-aš*.

Derivatives: **antu $\underline{h}$ šātar** / **antu $\underline{h}$ šann-** (n.) ‘mankind; population’ (nom.sg. *an-tu-uh-ša-tar*, *an-tu-uh-ša-a-tar*, gen.sg. *an-tu-uh-ša-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-tu-uh-ša-an-ni*, *an-tu-uh-ša-ni*, erg.sg. *an-tu-uh-ša-an-na-an-za*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ?**antola**, **anlola** ‘statue’.

PIE nom. *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-ōs*, gen.sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-s-ós*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A : 109f. for attestations. In the oldest texts, the paradigm of this word is nom.sg. *antu $\underline{u}$ ah $\underline{h}$ aš*, acc.sg. *antu $\underline{h}$ šan*, gen.sg. *antu $\underline{h}$ šaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *antu $\underline{h}$ ši*, nom.pl. *antu $\underline{h}$ šeš*, acc.pl. *antu $\underline{h}$ šuš*, dat.-loc.pl. *antu $\underline{h}$ šaš*. In later texts, nom.sg. *antu $\underline{u}$ ah $\underline{h}$ aš* was the source for some forms that show a stem *antu $\underline{u}$ ah $\underline{h}$ a-*. Besides, we find some forms that inflect according to a thematic stem *antu $\underline{h}$ ša-*, which is based on the oblique forms with the stem *antu $\underline{h}$ š-*.

According to Eichner (1979b: 77) this word shows a similar formation as e.g. Gr. ἔνθεος ‘having god inside’, and is to be connected with the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uH-* (Skt. *dhūmá-* ‘smoke’, Gr. ἔνθυμος ‘spirited’), so literally ‘having breath inside’. He states that the word originally must have been a hysterodynamic *s*-stem *\*-d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-ōs*, *\*-d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-s-os*. Rieken (1999a: 190f.) repeats this view and reconstructs *\*en-d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-ōš*, with *\*e > a* in front of *\*nT*. Formally, a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-ōs* is perhaps more likely (cf. *anda(n) < \*h<sub>1</sub>ndo(m)*).

For other attestations of the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘smoke, breath’ in Hittite, see *tuh $\underline{h}$ u $\underline{u}$ ai-* / *tuh $\underline{h}$ ui-* and *tuh $\underline{h}$ ae-<sup>zi</sup>*.

The root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘smoke, breath’ is attested in zero-grade in all outer-Anatolian IE languages. On the basis of Hitt. *antu $\underline{u}$ ah $\underline{h}$ aš-* / *antu $\underline{h}$ š-*, we can establish that the full-grade form in fact is *\*d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-*.

**anz-**: see *uēš* / *anz-*

**-anza** (3pl.pres.act.-ending): see *-anzi*

**-anza** (erg.sg.-ending): see *-ant-*

**-anzi** (3pl.pres.act.-ending)

Anat. cognates: Pal. **-ānti**; CLuw. **-anti**; HLuw. **/-anti/**; Lyd. **-d** ?; Lyc. **-Vnti**, **-ñti**.

PAnat. **\*-Vnti**

PIE **\*CC-énti**, **\*-iǵó-nti**, **\*-skó-nti**

Although the bulk of the 3pl.pres.act.-forms show the ending *-an-zi*, there are some rare cases where an ending *-an-za* is attested: *iš-ḫi-an-za* (KBo 6.26 i 7 (OH/NS)), *ša-ku-ya-an-za* (KUB 13.2 iii 16 (MH/NS)). Although e.g. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 398) regards these as “misspelled”, in my view they represent the original form, just as the normal 3sg.pres.act.-ending *-zi* has a more original form *-za* (see at *-zi*).

It is generally accepted that *-anzi* corresponds on the one hand to the athematic primary 3pl.pres.-endings like Skt. *-anti*, Gr. (Dor.) *-εντι*, OCS *-ętb*, Goth. *-ind*, etc. < PIE *\*-enti*, and on the other to the thematic 3pl.pres.-endings like Skt. *-anti*, OCS *-ętb*, Gr. *-ουσι*, Lat. *-unt*, OIr. *-ait*, Goth. *-and* < *\*-o-nti*. The regular outcome of *\*-énti* and *\*-ónti* is Hitt. */-ánt<sup>s</sup>/* (with *\*ó* yielding */ál/* and not */ǎ/* in internal syllables, cf. § 1.4.9.3.a) as attested in *-anza* cited above. Already in Pre-Hitt. times this */-ánt<sup>s</sup>/* was secondarily changed to */-ant<sup>s</sup>i/*, spelled *-anzi*, taking over the *-i* from the other present-endings. In athematic ablauting verbs, *-anzi* goes with the weak stem, which is an archaicity, as is visible from Hitt. *a-ša-an-zi* ~ Skt. *sánti* ~ Gr. εἰσί, Dor. ἐντί ~ Goth. *sind* ‘they are’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*, Hitt. *ja-an-zi* ~ Skt. *yánti* ~ Gr. ἴασι ‘they go’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-énti* and Hitt. *ku-na-an-zi* ~ Skt. *ghnanti* ‘they kill’ < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>n-énti*.

Kimball (1999: 245) cites a few examples of plene spellings in this ending (e.g. *ap-pa-a-an-zi*, *a-ta-a-an-zi*, etc.), which are almost all attested in NS texts. In my view, these are the result of the NH merger of OH */ā/* with */a/* in closed non-final syllables (cf. § 1.4.9.3): since in NH times there was no opposition between */ā/* and */a/* in these syllables anymore, the pronunciation and therefore spelling was subject to free variation.

=**(a)p(a)** (encl. locative sentence particle): *C=apa* (*n=a-pa* (OS (besides *nu=pa* (KUB 35.148 iii 29 (OH/NS))), *n=a-š=a-pa* (OS), *ma-a-n=a-pa* (OS), DUMU-*š=a-pa* (OS), *n=u-š=a-pa* (OS), *n=a-t=a-pa*, *nu=z=a-pa*, *t=a-pa*, *an-da=m=a-pa*, *a-ra-i-š=a-pa* *n=a-at=ša-ma-š=a-pa*), *-e/i=pa* (*nu-u=š-še=pa*, *a-ki=pa*, *n=a-an=ši=pa*, *n=a-aš=ši=pa*, *n=a-at=še=pa*, *nu-u=š-ši=pa*, *š=e=pa*, *š=e-e=pa*),

Anat. cognates: Pal. **C=pa**, **V=ppa** (encl. sentence particle); CLuw. **pā=** (sentence initial particle), **=pa=** (encl. sentence particle); HLuw. **=pa=** (encl. sentence particle); Lyd. **fa=** (sentence particle); Lyc. **=be**, **=pe** (particle).

PAnat. **\*(o)bo** ?

The usual form of this enclitic particle is **=apa** (*n=apa*, *mān=apa* etc.), the first *a* of which drops when the preceding word ends in *e* or *i*: *nu=šši=pa*, *nu=šše=pa*. Rarely we find only **=ap** (e.g. *š=a-n=a-ap* (KBo 3.60 ii 3, 5, 18, iii 9), *š=u-š=ap* (KBo 3.60 iii 3), *ú-li-ḫi-eš=m=a-ap* (KUB 15.31 i 6): its usage seems to be limited to two texts only (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 125f. also cites *an-d=a-ap* (KBo 17.1 i 26) and *š=a-a[p]* (KUB 36.99 rev. 3) but these are better read *an-da=kān* and *š=a-a[n]* or *š=a-a[t]* respectively; *n=a-ap* (KUB 8.3 obv. 12) might better be read <sup>NA</sup>KIŠIB, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 408).

According to HW<sup>2</sup> A: 125 the particle denotes “Richtung von außen nach innen, an etwas heran”.

In the other Anatolian languages we find particles that, at least from a formal point of view, resemble Hitt. **=(a)p(a)**. If these are cognate, then the Lycian particle **=be** points to PAnat. **\*(o)bo**. Further no clear IE etymology. Within Hittite, connections with **=pat** (stressing particle), **apā-** (demonstrative pronoun) and **āppa(n)** (preverb) have been suggested, but these all are based on formal similarity only, not on semantic grounds.

**apā-** / **apū-** (demonstrative pronoun) ‘that (one); he, she, it’ (Sum. BI): nom.sg.c. *a-pa-a-aš* (OS, very often), *a-pa-aš* (OS), acc.sg.c. *a-pu-u-un* (OS, very often), *a-pu-un* (a few times), *a-pu-ú-un* (1x: KBo 6.2 ii 32 (OS)), *a-pa-a-an* (KUB 26.12 ii 27 (NH)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-pa-a-at* (OS, very often), *a-pa-at-t=a* (OS), gen.sg. *a-pé-e-el* (OS), *a-pé-el* (OS), *a-pí-il* (KBo 2.13 obv. 12 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *a-pé-da-ni* (OS), *a-pé-e-da-ni* (MH/MS), *a-pé-e-ta-ni*, *a-pé-ta-ni*, *a-pé-e-da* (KUB 6.48 ii 3 (NH)), abl. *a-pé-e-ez* (MH/MS), *a-pé-ez-za* (OS), *a-pé-ez*, instr. *a-pé-et*, *a-pé-e-da-an-da* (OS), nom.pl.c. *a-pé-e* (OS), *a-pé*, *a-pu-u-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *a-pu-u-uš* (OS, often), *a-pu-uš* (a few times), *a-pu-ú-uš=ma-a=š-ši*<sup>1</sup> (KUB 14.14 obv. 21 (NH)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-pé-e* (OS), gen.pl. *a-pé-en-za-an* (MH/MS), *a-pé-e-en-za-an*, *a-pé-el*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-pé-e-da-aš* (MH/MS), *a-pé-da-aš*.

Derivatives: **apāšila** ‘himself, herself, of one’s own’ (*a-pa-a-ši-la* (MH/MS)), **apatta(n)** (adv.) ‘there’ (*a-pád-da* (MH/MS), *a-pád-da-an*, *a-pát-ta*, *a-pát-tan*), **apija** (adv.) ‘there, then’ (*a-pí-ia*), **apiniššan** (adv.) ‘thus’ (*a-pí-ni-iš-ša-an* (OS), *a-pí-ni-eš-ša-an*, *a-pé-e-ni-eš-ša-an*), **apiniššuuant-** (adj.) ‘of such kind’ (*a-pí-ni-iš-šu-ua-an-t* (MH/MS), *a-pé-e-ni-eš-šu-ua-an-t*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **apa-** (dem.pron.) ‘that one’ (acc.sg.c. =*a-pa-an*, *a-pa-n=i=du* nom.pl.c. =*a-ap-iš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-pa-an-ša*, =*a-pa*); CLuw. **apā-** (dem.pron.) ‘that; he, she, it, they’ (nom.sg.c. *a-pa-a-aš*, *a-pa-aš*, acc.sg.c. *a-pa<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-an* (text: *a-a-pa-an*), *a-pa-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-pa-a-at-ti*, *a-pát-ti*, acc.pl.c. *a-pí-in-za*, *a-pí-en-za*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl. *a-pa-a-aš-ša-a-an-za*, *a-pa-a-aš-ša-an-za*, *a-pa-a-aš-ša-an-za-an-za*), **apati(n)** (adv.) ‘thus’ (*a-pa-ti-i*, *a-pa-ti-i[n]*, *a-pa-ti-i-i[n]*); HLuw. **ápa-** ‘he, she, it’ (nom.sg.c. /ʔbas/ *á-pa-sa*, *á-pa-sá*, *pa-sa*, *pa-sa-’*, acc.sg.c. /ʔban/ *á-pa-na*, *pa-na-’*, nom.-acc.sg.n. /ʔbal/ *á-pa*, dat.sg. /ʔbad/ *á-pa-ti*, *á-pa-ti-i*, *á-pa-ri+i*, *pa-ti*, *pa-ti-’*, *pa-ti-i*, *pa-ti-i-’*, nom.pl.c. /ʔbant<sup>s</sup>/ *á-pa-zi-i*, acc.pl.c. /ʔbant<sup>s</sup>/ *á-pa-zi-i*, nom.-acc.pl.n. /ʔbajal/ *á-pa-i-ia* dat.pl. /ʔbatant<sup>s</sup>/ *á-pa-ta-za*, gen.adj. /ʔbasafi-/ *á-pa-sa/i-*), **ápati** (adv.) ‘there’ (*á-pa-ti*, *á-pa-ri+i*); Lyd. **bi-** (dem.pron.) ‘he’ (nom.sg.c. *bis*, dat.-loc.sg. *bl*, *bul*), **bili-** (adj.) ‘his’ (nom.sg.c. *bilis*, *bil* (endingless), dat.-loc.sg. *bilλ*); **ebad** (adv.) ‘here, there’; Lyc. **ebe-** (dem.) ‘this’ (nom.sg.c. *ebe*, acc.sg.c. *ebē*, *ebēñmē*, *ebēñni*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ebē*, dat.-loc.sg. *ebehi*, acc.pl.c. *ebeis*, *ebeijes*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ebeija*, *abaija*, gen.pl. *ebēhē(?)*, *ebehē(?)*, *ebāhā(?)*), dat.-loc.pl. *ebette*), **eb(e)-** (dem.pron.) ‘he, she, it’ (acc.sg.c. *ebñmē*, gen.sg. *ehbi*, dat.-loc.pl. *ebtte*), **ebei** (adv.) ‘here’, **ebeila** (adv.) ‘here’, **ebeli** (adv.) ‘here’, **ehbi-** (adj.) ‘his’ (metathesized from *eb(e)hi-*), **epttehe/i-**, **eb(e)ttehe/i-** (adj.) ‘their’.

PAnat. \**Hobó-*

Within the tree-way demonstrative system in Hittite, *apā-* / *apū-* functions as the medial demonstrative and can be translated ‘that (near you)’ (cf. Goedegebuure 2003). Within Anatolian, it must be compared with Pal. *apa-*, CLuw. *apā-*, HLuw. *ápa-*, Lyd. *bi-* and Lyc. *ebe-*, which point to a PAnat. form \**Hobó-*. As far as I am aware, there are no direct cognates in the other IE languages. Nevertheless, it is in my view quite logical that \**Hobó-* should be analysed as \**Ho-* + *-bo-*, of which I would like to connect \**Ho-* with the pronominal stem \**h<sub>1</sub>e-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>o-* as visible in Hitt. *aši* / *uni* / *ini*, and \**-bo-* with the Hitt. deictic element =*pat*, which may be cognate with IE forms that reflect \**b<sup>h</sup>o-*. If this analysis is correct, we are probably dealing with a PAntolian formation that was taken over into the pronominal inflection.

Some forms of this pronoun need comments. Nom.sg.c. *a-pa-a-aš* ~ CLuw. *a-pa-a-aš* point to \**Hobós* and must be formally compared to *ka-a-aš* < \**kós*. Acc.sg.c. *a-pu-u-un* (the one spelling *a-pu-ú-un* must be erratic, cf. 1.3.9.4.f) represents /ʔabón/ and must in my view reflect \**Hobóm* (cf. CLuw. *a-pa<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-an*, HLuw. *á-pa-na*, Lyc. *ebē*). It is comparable to *ku-u-un* /*kón*/ < \**kóm* (see § 1.4.9.3.b for the development \**-óm* > Hitt. /*-ón*/). Nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-pa-a-at* is

remarkable as it differs from nom.-acc.sg.n. *ki-i* and *i-ni*: while the latter forms reflect *\*kí* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>í*, *apāt* must go back to *\*Hobód*. Nevertheless, both endings must have been extant in PANat. for all stems: Pal. *kāt*, CLuw. *zā* and HLuw. *zā* reflect PANat. *\*kód*, whereas Hitt. *apiniššan* can only be explained from a form *\*apí* that must reflect PANat. *\*Hobí*. The oblique cases show a stem *ape-*, sometimes extended with an element *-da(n)-*. Nom.pl.c. *ape* must reflect *\*Hobói* (cf. *ke-e* < *\*kói*), whereas acc.pl.c. *a-pu-u-uš* = *ʔabós/* reflects *\*Hobóms* (see § 1.4.9.3.b). Nom.-acc.pl.n. *ape* at first sight seems to reflect *\*Hobói* or *\*Hobéi* (supported by HLuw. *á-pa-i-ia* ?), but this is difficult to connect to neuter plural forms in other IE languages. I would therefore want to propose that *ape* reflects *\*Hobih<sub>2</sub>*, in which *\*-i-* is lowered to Hitt. *-e-* due to the following *\*h<sub>2</sub>* (similarly in *a-aš-šu-u* *ʔáSol* ‘goods’ < *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>*). Gen.pl. *apenzan* shows *-nzan* as in gen.pl. *kinzan*, *kuenzan* and *šumenzan* and must be directly compared to Lyc. *ebēhē*. I would mechanically reconstruct *\*HobénHsom*, in which *\*-som* can be compared to Skt. *téṣām* ‘of those’, Lat. *eōrum* ‘of these’, and OCS *těxb* ‘of those’.

For further etymology see *aši* / *uni* / *ini* and *=pat*.

***āppa*** (adv., postpos.) ‘behind, afterwards; back, again, further’ (Sum. EGIR): *a-ap-pa* (OS).

Derivatives: ***āppan*** (adv.) ‘behind; after(wards)’ (*a-ap-pa-an* (OS)), ***āppanda*** (adv.) ‘backwards’ (*a-ap-pa-an-da* (KBo 17.43 i 5 (OS)), *ap-pa-an-da* (KBo 16.68 i 27 (OH/MS))), ***āppananda*** (adv.) ‘id.’ (*a-ap-pa-an-an-da* (KBo 17.1 + ABoT 4 i 33, iii 4 (OS), KBo 6.2 ii 10 (OS)), *a-ap-pa-an-na-an-da* (KBo 19.150 i 4 (OH/NS)), *ap-pa-an-an-da* (KBo 12.3 iii 12 (OH/NS))), ***appezzi(ia)***- (adj.) ‘backmost, hindmost, rear’ (nom.sg.c. *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-š=a=š-ša-an* (KBo 22.2 obv. 18 (OH/MS)), *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-aš* (KUB 23.68 obv. 22 (MH/NS)), *ap-pé-ez-zi-iš* (KUB 13.20 i 3 (MH/NS)), EGIR-*ez-zi-iš* (KUB 14.2 ii 60 (NS)), *ap-pa-ez-z[i-i]š* (Bo 7777 r.col. 6 (see StBoT 18: 41) (NS)), acc.sg.c. *ap-pé-ez-zi-an* (HKM 43 rev. 20 (MH/MS), IBoT 1.36 iii 51 (MH/MS)), *ap-pé-ez-zi-in* (NH), [*ap-p*]a-*ez-zi-an* (KUB 12.66 iv 2 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-an* (KUB 43.55 ii 3 (OH/NS)), *ap-pé-ez-zi* (IBoT 1.36 ii 67 (MH/MS)), *a-ap-pé-ez-zi* (KUB 33.67 i 30 (OH/NS)), *a-ap-pa-az-zi* (KUB 42.98 i 22 (NS)), gen.sg. *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ap-pé-ez-zi*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia*, abl. *ap-pé-ez-zi-az*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-az*, nom.pl.c. *ap-pé-ez-zi-e-eš* (KBo 25.62, 9 (OS), KBo 13.119 ii 13 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *ap-pé-ez-zi-uš*, [*ap-p*]a-*ez-zi-uš* (KUB 12.66 iv 3 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-aš*; broken *ap-pé-e-ez-zi-x[...]* (KBo 16.45 rev. 3 (OS)), ***āppa***<sup>1</sup> / ***āppi***- (IIa5 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to be finished, to be done’ (Akk. *QATŪ*; 3sg.prs.act. *a-ap-pa-i* (e.g. StBoT 25.34 obv. 22 (OS)), *ap-pa-a-i*, *ap-pa-i*, *a-ap-pa-a-i* (VSNF 12.11 iii 10

(OH/NS)), *ap-pí-ia-zi* (KUB 13.9 + 40.62 iii 7 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ap-pí-an-zi* (e.g. KBo 25.31 ii 12 (OS)), *ap-pí-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ap-pí-ia-an-zi* (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ap-pa-a-ru* (KBo 17.90 ii 15 (NS)), ***appašiyatt-*** (c.) ‘future’ (Sum. EGIR.UD<sup>(M)</sup>); nom.sg. EGIR.UD-az, gen.sg./pl. *ap-pa-ši-ua-at-ta-aš* (KUB 31.81 rev. 8 (OS)), dat.-loc.sg. EGIR-pa-UD-ti, all.sg. *ap-pa-ši-ua-at-ta* (KBo 7.28, 43 (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***āppa*** (prev.) ‘back, again’ (*a-ap-pa*), ***āppan*** (prev., postpos.) ‘behind, after’ (*a-ap-pa-an*, *ap-pa-an*), ***\*āppanda*** ‘behind’ (EGIR-*an-da*), ***āpparant(i)-*** (adj.) ‘future’ (acc.sg.c. *ap-pa-ra-an-ti-en*, *ap-pa-ra-an-ti-in*, abl.-instr. EGIR-*pa-ra-an-ta-ti*, *a-ap-pa-ra-an-t[a-ti]*, [*a-a*]p-*ra-an-da-ti*); HLuw. ***ápan*** (postpos., prev.) ‘after, behind, again’ (*á-pa-na*, *á-pa=pa*, POST-*na*), ***\*ápani*** (adv.) ‘after, in the future’ (POST-*ni*), ***\*ápara/i-*** (adj.) ‘after-; later, younger’ (nom.sg.c. POST+*ra/i-i-sa*, nom.pl.c. POST+*ra/i-i-zi*), ***ápi*** (adv.) ‘back, again’ (*á-pi*, *á-pi-i*); Lyc. ***epñ*** (adv.) ‘afterwards’, ***epñte*** (adv.) ‘thereafter’, ***eprē/i-*** (adj.) ‘back-, rear-’ (acc.pl.c. *epris*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>op-o*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>op-om*

The plene spelling in *a-ap-pa* and *a-ap-pa-an* is often interpreted as denoting a long /ā/. This is not necessarily the case, however: on the basis of forms like *a-ar-aš-zi* = /ʔárSt<sup>s</sup>i/, with short /a/, we could in principle interpret *a-ap-pa* and *a-ap-pa-an* as /ʔapa/ and /ʔapan/ respectively. Within Anatolian, *a-ap-pa(-an)* has clear cognates in CLuw. *āppa(n)*, HLuw. *ápan* and Lyc. *epñ*, which reflect PANat. *\*ʔop-/* (with *-o-* because of Lyc. *e-*). Usually, on the basis of the assumption that *a-ap-pa(-an)* represents /āpa(n)/ with long /ā/, it is assumed that we must reconstruct the preforms *\*(H)óp-o* and *\*(H)óp-om*, with accentuated *\*ó*. This does not fit the establishment that local adverbs and postpositions are inherently unstressed (cf. Melchert 1998a: 485 and the consistent absence of plene spelling in *anda(n)* and *katta(n)*). Moreover, an accentuated *\*ó* lenites a following consonant (cf. § 1.4.1), which means that *\*Hóp-o* and *\*Hóp-om* would have yielded Hitt. ***\*\*āpa*** and ***\*\*āpan***, with sinlge *-p-*. I therefore interpret *a-ap-pa* and *a-ap-pa-an* as /ʔapa/ and /ʔapan/ respectively, which must reflect PANat. *\*ʔopo/* and */ʔopom/*.

From the beginning of Hittitology onwards, two views on the origin of this adverb have existed: one group of scholars connected *āppa(n)* with Gr. ἀπό < *\*h<sub>2</sub>epo*, another with Gr. ἔπι < *\*h<sub>1</sub>epi* (see the references in Tischler HEG A-K: 41-3). On the basis of the fact that Hitt. *āppa(n)* does not show an initial *h-*, nowadays the former option is often rejected. Nevertheless, as I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, an initial *\*h<sub>2-</sub>* regularly merges with *\*h<sub>1-</sub>* in front of *\*-o-*,



which means that the preform \*/ʔop-/ formally can reflect \**h<sub>1</sub>op-* as well as \**h<sub>2</sub>op-*. So the matter can only be decided on the basis of semantics. Gr. ἀπό, ἄπο ‘from, away from’ belongs with Skt. *ápa* ‘away, off’, Lat. *ab* ‘from, away’ and Goth. *af* ‘from, away, since’ and reflects \**h<sub>2</sub>epo* ‘(away) from’. Semantically, a connection with *āppa(n)* would be possible, but is not immediately evident. Gr. ἔπι (ἐπί) ‘upon, over, on to’ belongs with Skt. *ápi* ‘also, further, even’ and Arm. *ew* ‘and’, reflecting \**h<sub>1</sub>epi* ‘upon, over’. Semantically, a connection with Hitt. *āppa(n)* ‘behind, back again’ is not very convincing either. There are some Greek adverbs that do fit the meaning of *āppa(n)* perfectly, however: ὀπίσθεν ‘behind, at the back’ and ὀπίσσω ‘backwards, back again, behind’. Usually, these are regarded as showing an ablaut-variant of ἔπι, but I do not see why: semantically they stand far apart from ἔπι, and formally any laryngeal in front of \*-o- would yield Gr. ὀ-. The -t- in my view is non-probative because it must be regarded as an old case-ending.

A possible connection between Hitt. *appezzi(ia)-* ‘backmost, hindmost’ and Skt. *ápatya-* ‘offspring’ (cf. also Lith. *apačią* ‘bottom’) and a possible connection between HLuw. *ápara/i-* ‘later, younger’, Lyc. *epre/i-* ‘back-, rear-’ and Skt. *ápara-* ‘later, following’, which within Sanskrit clearly belong with *ápa* ‘away, off’, may indicate that ultimately Hitt. *āppa(n)* belongs with ἀπό. All in all, I would connect Hitt. *āppa(n)* with Gr. ὀπίσθεν and ὀπίσσω; if Hitt. *appezzi(ia)-* indeed ~ Skt. *ápatya-* and HLuw. *ápara/i-* / Lyc. *epre/i-* ~ Skt. *ápara-*, then we should reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>op-*.

The adjective *appezzi(ia)-* is predominantly spelled *ap-BI-IZ-zi-* and therefore often cited as *appizzi(ia)-*. This is incorrect in view of the one OS spelling with plene -e-, *ap-pé-e-ez-zi-*, which determines all other spellings as *ap-pé-ez-zi-*. In the oldest texts, this adjective is thematic, *appezziā-*, whereas from MH times onwards we increasingly find *i*-stem forms, *appezzi-*. This is typical for the suffix *-ezzi(ia)-* that is also found in e.g. *ḫantezzi(ia)-* (where it by the way is consistently spelled with -e-). In NS texts we occasionally find a secondary stem *appaezzi-*, with introduction of the full preverb *āppa*, once even *appazzi-*. Note that the almost consistent spelling without plene initial *a-* points to a zero-grade formation /ʔpét<sup>s</sup>i(a)-/. The verb *āppai<sup>1</sup>* / *āppi-* shows the *dāi/tijanzi*-class inflection in the oldest texts. The NS form *apijazi* is inflected according to the *-ie/a*-class, which is a normal development for *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs. If the 3sg.imp.midd.-form *appāru* indeed belongs here, it would show a stem *appae<sup>zi</sup>*, according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class inflection. The noun *appašiuatt-* ‘future’ is a compound of *āppa* and *šiuatt-* ‘day’ (q.v.). Note that the absence of plene initial *a-* also points to a zero-grade formation /ʔpasiuat-/.

**āppala-** (gender unclear) ‘trap, deceit’: dat.-loc.sg. *a-ap-pa-li* (KUB 36.106 obv. 8 (OS)), *ap-pa-a-li* (KBo 6.34 i 16, 35, ii 1, 12 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: **āppalae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to entrap’ (3sg.pres.act. *ap-pa-la-a-ez-zi* (IBoT 1.36 i 55 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pres.act. *a-ap-pa-la-a-u-e-ni* (KBo 16.50 obv. 14 (MH/MS))); impf. *ap-pa-li-eš-ke/a-*, *ap-pa-li-iš-ke/a-*), **appaliġalla-** (c.) ‘?’ (gen.sg. *ap-pa-li-ġa-al-la-š=a* (KUB 36.110 rev. 17 (OS))).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 95 for attestations. The noun only occurs in the expression *āppali dā-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to mislead (someone)’ and is the source of the verb *āppalae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to mislead, to deceive’. The meaning of the noun *appaliġalla-* cannot be determined on the basis of the context that it occurs in. Its alleged appurtenance to *āppala-* is based on its formal similarity only.

The expression *āppali dā-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to mislead’ is interpreted by e.g. Starke (1990: 317ff.) as having the literal meaning ‘to take (someone) into a trap’ and he therefore assumes that *āppala-* ‘trap’ is cognate with the verb *epp-<sup>zi</sup>* / *app-* ‘to take, to seize’. On the basis of the long *ā-*, which does not fit the weak stem of *epp-<sup>zi</sup>* / *app-* that is consistently spelled with a short *a-*, he assumes that we are dealing with a borrowing from a Luwian word *\*āppal-*, showing the regular outcome of *\*h<sub>1</sub>épp-*. Although Luwian loanwords do occasionally occur in OH texts already, the fact that a verb *\*āpp-* is not attested in Luwian makes this etymology not immediately appealing.

**<sup>uzū</sup>appuzzi-** (n.) ‘animal fat, tallow’ (Sum. <sup>uzū</sup>ĪÀ.UDU): nom.-acc.sg. *ap-pu-uz-zi*, *ap-pu-zi*, *a-pu-zi*, gen.sg. *ap-pu-uz-zi-ġa-aš*, erg.sg. [*ap-*] *pu-uz-zi-an-za* (OS), *ap-[p]u-uz-zi-ġa-an-za*.

See Puhvel HED A: 103-4 for attestations. Usually, words in *-uzzi-* are derived from the zero-grade form of a verbal stem (e.g. *luzzi-* from *lā-<sup>i</sup>* / *l-*, *kuruzzi-* from *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-*, *išhuzzi-* from *išhai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išhi-*, *tuzzi-* from *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-*, etc.). In this case, we therefore should assume that we are dealing with a weak stem *app-*. Formally, this can only belong to the verb *epp-<sup>zi</sup>* / *app-* ‘to take, to seize’, but it is unclear how this connection would work semantically. Further unclear.

**ar-<sup>aa(ri)</sup>** (III<sub>d</sub>) ‘to stand (by), to be stationed, to remain standing; to be present, to occur’ (Sum. GUB): 1sg.pres.midd. *ar-ġa-ri* (OS), *ar-ġa-ġa-ri*, 2sg.pres.midd. *ar-ta-ti*, *ar-ta-ri*, 3sg.pres.midd. *ar-ta* (OS, often), *a-ar-ta* (KBo 3.35 i 13 (OH/NS), KBo 3.46 obv. 45 (OH/NS), KBo 13.45, 4, KBo 30.164 iii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 8.30

rev. 11 (OH/NS)), *ar-ta-ri* (OS, often), *a-ar-ta-ri* (KUB 30.43 iv 5 (NS)), 1pl.pres.midd. *ar-ya-aš-ta*, 3pl.pres.midd. *a-ra-an-da* (OS), *a-ra-an-da-ri* (OS), *a-ra-an-ta*, *a-ra-an-ta-ri*, *a-ra-a-an-ta* (1x), *a-ra-an-ta-a-ri* (1x), *a-ra-an-da-a-ri* (1x), 1sg.pret.midd. *ar-ḫa-ti* (OH/NS), *ar-ḫa-ḫa-at* (NH), *a-ar-ḫa-ḫa-at* (NH), 2sg.pret.midd. *ar-ta-ti* (NH), *ar-ta-at* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ar-ta-at* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.midd. *ar-ya-aš-ta-at* (MS), 3pl.pret.midd. *a-ra-an-da-ti* (OH/NS), *a-ra-an-ta-at* (OH/NS), 1sg.imp.midd. *ar-ḫa-ḫa-ru* (MH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *ar-ḫu-ut* (MH/NS), *a-ar-ḫu-ut* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ar-ta-ru* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.midd. *ar-du-ma-at* (MH/MS), *ar-tum-ma-at* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *a-ra-an-ta-ru* (OH/NS), *a-ra-an-da-ru* (NS); part. *a-ra-an-t-*.

Derivatives: see *arnu*-<sup>zi</sup>.

IE cognates: Skt. 3sg.aor.midd. *ārta* ‘erhebte sich, hat sich bewegt’ (see Kümmel 2000), Gr. ὄτρο ‘erhebte sich’, Lat. *orior* ‘to arise, to come into existence’, Arm. *y-aṙne-* ‘to rise’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-to*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 194f. for attestations. This verb occurs in the middle only and is therewith clearly distinct from the verb *ār<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to arrive’ that occurs in the active only. The oldest spellings all show initial *ar-* or *a-r<sup>o</sup>*. Spellings with initial plene *a-ar-* are rare and occur in NS texts only and are therefore etymologically without value.

For PIE we have to distinguish two roots with the structure *\*Her-*. The root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* means ‘to come to, to reach (to move horizontally)’ (Gr. ἔρχομαι ‘to go, to come’) whereas *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* means ‘to rise (to move vertically)’. Because of semantic considerations Oettinger (1979a: 523f.) assumes that Hitt. *ar<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* must derive from *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-*. In LIV<sup>2</sup>, *ar<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* is regarded as reflecting the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-*, however, on the basis of the presumption that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* should have yielded Hitt. *ḫ-*. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, the outcome of initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* is dependent on the phonetic environment: a sequence *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-* indeed develops into Hitt. *ḫa-* but *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-* regularly yields Hitt. */ʔr-/* (through PANat. *\*ʔr-*). In Hittite, middles either show *e*-grade or zero-grade in the root. Because the oldest attestations of *ar<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* are consistently written with short *a-*, it is likely that it reflects a zero-grade formation *\*Hr-to*. All in all, I reconstruct *arta* / *aranda* as *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-to* / *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-ento*.

*ār<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* (IIa2 (> Ic2)) ‘to come (to), to arrive (at)’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ḫi* (OH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ti* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *a-a-ri* (OS), *a-ri* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *e-ru-e-ni* (NS), *e-ru-u-e-ni* (NS), *er-u-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ar-te-ni* (KUB 31.101, 31 (MS)), *a-ar-te-ni* (KUB 23.68 obv. 25 (MH/NS)), *ar-te-e-ni*

(KUB 6.16+18.64 iv 3, 6 (NS)), *e-er-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ra-an-zi* (MH/MS), *a-ra-a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *a-ar-ḫu-un* (MH/MS), *a-ar-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *ar-ḫu-un*, *ar-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ar-ša* (OS), *a-ar-aš* (OH/MS), *ar-aš*, *a-ra-aš*, 1pl.pret.act. *ar-ú-en* (KBo 16.61 obv. 4 (MS?)), *e-ru-en* (KUB 57.9, 12 (NS)), *e-ru-u-en* (KUB 21.10, 24 (NH)), *e-er-u-en* (KUB 31.68 obv. 3 (NS)), *e-er-u-e[-en]* (KUB 23.101 ii 24 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *a-re-er* (OS), *e-re-er* (HKM 47, 55 (MH/MS)), *e-re-e-er* (KUB 16.74, 8 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *a-ru* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *a-ar-tén* (MH/MS), *ar-tén* (OH/NS); part. *a-ra-an-t-*; impf. *ar-aš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *a-ar-ša-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *a-ar-aš-ke/a-* (NH).

IE cognates: Gr. ἔρχομαι ‘to come, to go’, Skt. *ṛcchāti* ‘to go to, to go at, to attain’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ór-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 208f. for attestations. On the basis of the oldest attested forms, we can assume that the original paradigm of this verb was *ārḫi*, *ārti*, *āri*, *\*arūeni*, *arteni*, *aranzi*. The forms that show a stem *er-* are all secondary. The oldest of these forms is 3pl.pret.act. *erer* (MH/MS), instead of OS *arer*, which probably was created on the basis of an analogy to *ašanzi* : *ešer*, yielding *aranzi* : *erer*. From the pl.pret.-forms it spread also to the pl.pres.-forms, yielding forms like 1pl.pres. *erūeni* and *erteni*. The OS spelling *a-a-ri* is quite remarkable (hyperplene), but in my view denotes ‘*a-a-ri* /ʔāri/. The etymological connection with Gr. ἔρχομαι ‘to come, to go’ and Skt. *ṛcchāti* ‘to go to, to go at, to attain’, both from *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-ské/ó-*, was first suggested by Sturtevant (1927b: 165-7). This means that Hitt. reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>ór-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-énti*. Note that the imperfective of this verb is spelled *ar-aš-ke/a-* (with younger adaptations to *a-ar-aš-ke/a-* and once *a-ar-ša-ke/a-*, with introduction of the strong stem *ār-*), but never *a-ri-iš-ke/a-*, which spelling is exclusively used for the imperfective of *arije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.). This means that the imperfective of *ār-* / *ar-* was /ʔriské/á-/ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-ské/ó-*, whereas *a-ri-iš-ke/a-* must represent /ʔriské/á-/ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-*.

*ārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic1) ‘to wash’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 57.63 i 6 (NS)), *ar-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 7.1 i 29 (OH/NS), KUB 23.93 iii 6 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ri* (OS, often), *ar-ri* (a few times), *ar-ra-i* (KUB 1.13 iv 44 (MH/NS)), *a-ar-ra-i* (KBo 3.5 iv 48 (MH/NS)), *ar-ri-ia-az-zi* (KUB 44.63 ii 10 (NS)), *a-ar-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 17.94 iii 24 (NS)), *ar-ri-ez-zi* (KUB 45.47 i 30, 33 (MS)), *ar-ru-ez-zi* (KBo 3.5 iii 33 (MH/NS)), *[ar-]ra-at-te-ni* (KBo 20.108 rev. 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ra-an-zi* (often), *a-ar-ra-an-zi* (less often), *ar-ru-ua-an-zi* (KBo 3.5 iv 33 (MH/NS)), *ar-ru-ma-an-zi* (KBo 3.5 i 23ff. (MH/NS)),

1sg.pret.act. *a-ar-ra-aḥ-ḥu-un* (VBoT 120 iii 7 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ar-aš-ta* (KUB 33.99, 9 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ar-re-er* (KBo 10.24 ii 1 (OH/NS), KUB 9.1 iii 24 (MH/NS), KUB 12.26 ii 7 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *a-ar-ru* (KUB 43.58 i 55 (MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *a-ar-at-te-en* (KUB 41.23 iii 10 (MH/NS)); 1sg.pres.midd. *ar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-ri* (Bo 5439, 9), 3sg.pret.midd. *ar-ra-at-ta-at*, *ar-ra-ta-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *a-ar-ra-aḥ-ḥu-ut*, *ar-ra-aḥ-ḥu-ut*, 3sg.imp.midd. *ar-ra-at-ta-ru*; part. *ar-ra-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun. *ar-ru-ma-ar* (KBo 42.6 obv.<sup>?</sup> 8), gen.sg. *a-ar-ru-ṽa-aš*, *a-ar-ru-ma-aš*, *ar-ru-ma-aš*, *ar-ru-um-ma-aš*; inf.I *ar-ra-u-ṽa-an-zi*, *ar-ra-ṽa-an-zi*, *ar-ru-ma-an-zi*; impf. *ar-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *ar-ri-eš-ke/a-*, *a-ar-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *a-ar-ri-eš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: TochA *yār-* ‘to bathe’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>órh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 224f. and Puhvel HED 1/2: 111f. for attestations. The oldest forms of this verb clearly show an ablauting stem *ārr-/arr-*. In NS texts, we find some forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*arrai*, *ārrai*) and the *-iē/a*-class (*arriāzzi*, *ārrīezzi*). In KBo 3.5 we find a few forms that belong to a stem *arruē/a-* (*\*arruē/a-*), the origin of which is unclear.

Since Couvreur (1937: 97), Hitt. *ārr-<sup>i</sup> / arr-* has generally been connected with TochA *yār-* ‘to bathe’ (pres.-stem *yārnās-*), from a root *\*HerH-* (second laryngeal is visible in Hitt. *-rr-* < *\*rH-* and TochA *yārnās-* < *\*Hr-n-ḥ-*). The colour of the first laryngeal is determined by TochA *y-* which can only reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>-*. The Tocharian word does not give information on the colour of the second laryngeal, but in my view, the Hittite word does. The fact that the original 3sg.pres.act.-form is *ārrai* and not *ārrai* (only found in NS texts) to my mind shows that the second laryngeal must have been *\*h<sub>1</sub>* as well: root-final *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would have yielded the ending *-ai* (as in 3sg.pres.act. *mallai* ‘mills’ < *\*molh<sub>2</sub>-ei*, 3sg.pres.act. *paddai* ‘digs’ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>od<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ei*, *išparrai* ‘tramples’ < *\*sporh<sub>2,3</sub>-ei*, etc., cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). I therefore reconstruct the root as *\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-*. Note that *\*rh<sub>1</sub>-* does not get lenited by a preceding *\*ó*.

*āra* (adv.) ‘right, proper(ly)’: *a-a-ra* (OS, often), *a-ra* (quite rarely).

Derivatives: (LÚ/MUNUS) *arā-* (c.) ‘friend’ (nom.sg. *a-ra-aš*, *a-ra-a-aš* (KUB 29.1 i 13), acc.sg. *a-ra-a-an* (MH/MS), *a-ra-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ri* (OS), *a-re-e=š-ši* (KUB 13.20 i 33), nom.pl. *a-re-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *a-ru-uš*, *a-ra-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ra-aš*, *arāya-* (adj.) ‘free (from)’ (Akk. *ELLUM*; nom.sg.c. *a-ra-u-aš* (OS), *a-ra-u-ṽa-aš* (OS), *a-ra-ṽa-aš*, nom.-acc.sg. *a-ra-u-ṽa-an*, *a-ra-a-u-ṽa-an* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *a-ra-u-e-eš*, *a-ra-a-u-e-eš*), *arāyah<sup>i</sup>-* (IIb) ‘to make free, to release’

(3sg.pres.act. *a-ra-ua-aḫ-ḫi*, *a-ra-u-ua-aḫ-ḫi*, 3pl.pres.act. *a-ra-u-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ra-ua-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *a-ra-u-ua-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-ua-aḫ-ḫe-er*; part. *a-ra-ua-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*), *arauēšš-<sup>z</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become free’ (3sg.pret.act. *a-ra-u-e-eš-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-a-u-e-eš-šer*), *arayan(n)i-* ‘free (not being a slave)’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-ua-ni-iš*, *a-ra-ua-ni-eš*, *a-ra-ua-an-ni-eš*, acc.sg.c. *a-ra-u-ua-an-ni-in*, gen.sg. [*a-ra-u*] *a-ni-ia-aš* (OS), *a-ra-ua-an-ni-ia-aš*, acc.pl.c. *a-ra-u-ua-an-ni-uš*).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. *ara-* ‘rite’ (acc.sg. *arã*), *arawa-* ‘freedom’ (acc.sg. *arawã*, loc.sg. *arawa*, abl.-instr. *arawadi*), *erawazije-*, *arawazije-* ‘monument’ (nom.-acc.pl. *erawazija*, *arawazija*, dat.-loc.pl. *arawazije*, abl.-instr. *arawazijedi*, gen.adj.abl.-instr. [*er*] *ewezijehedi*).

PAnat. \**ʔor-*

IE cognates: Skt. *áram* ‘fittingly’, *ṛtá-* ‘truth, order’, Gr. ἀραρίσκω ‘to join’.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>or-o-*

The interpretation of the Anatolian forms is for a large part determined by the interpretation of the Lycian forms. There we find two stems, namely *ara-* and *era-* (in *erawazije-* ‘monument’). Melchert (1992b: 50) argues that of these two stems, *ara-* must be original, whereas *erawazije-* shows *e/i*-umlaut due to the syllable *-zi-*. This is very unlikely, however, as we then would have to assume that in *erawazije-* the umlaut skipped two syllables, which is unparalleled in Lycian. A genuine example of *e/i*-umlaut in this word is visible in the gen.adj.abl.-instr. [*er*] *ewezijehedi*, which shows that *erawazije-* cannot be an umlauted form. Therefore, *erawazije-* must be the original form and *arawazije-* must be the *a*-umlauted variant of it. This also shows that *ara-* and *arawa-* must be *a*-umlauted forms from original \**era-* and \**erawa-*.

Connecting Lyc. *er-* to Hitt. *ar-*, we have to reconstruct a PAnat. stem \**ʔor-*, and not \**ar-* (as e.g. in Melchert 1994a: 105, 148).

Since Hrozný (1915: 28), these words have been connected with Skt. *áram* ‘fittingly’, *ṛtá-* ‘truth, order’, etc., which themselves are connected with Gr. ἀραρίσκω ‘to join’, from a root \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*. If these connections are justified (and semantically they are appealing), then the Anatolian forms ultimately reflect \**h<sub>2</sub>or-*, which is an important argument in favour of the view that \**h<sub>2</sub>* neutralizes before \**o* (cf. Kortlandt 2004; Kloekhorst fthc.c).

<sup>(UZU)</sup> *arra-* (c.) ‘arse, anus’ (Sum. <sup>UZU</sup>GU.DU): nom.sg. *ar-ri-iš*, *ar-ru-uš*, acc.sg. *ar-ra-an*, gen.sg. *ar-ra-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ar-ri*, abl. *ar-ra-az*, *a-ar-ra-az*, acc.pl. *ar-ru-uš*.

IE cognates: OHG *ars*, Gr. ὄρρος ‘arse’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>orso-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 234 for attestations. Within Hittite, we find forms from an *a*-stem *arra-*, but also a nom.sg. *arriš* (*i*-stem) and nom.sg. *arruš* (*u*-stem). Perhaps we are dealing with tabooistic alterations.

Since Friedrich (1923: 374-6), this word is generally connected with OHG *ars*, Gr. ὄρρος ‘arse’ from *\*Horso-*. It proves that *\*VrsV* > Hitt. *VrrV*. If OIr. *err* ‘tail, end’ < *\*ers-ā* belongs to this word as well, then we are dealing with a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ers-*.

***arae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to stop, to rein in; to overpower’: 2sg.pres.act. *a-ra-a-ši* (here?, KBo 23.110 rev. 6, KUB 50.111, 7), *a-ra-ši* (here?, KUB 49.94 ii 14, iii 10), 3sg.pres.act. *a-ra-i-iz-zi* (KUB 8.81 iii 16), *a-ra-iz-zi*, *a-ra-a-iz-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *a-ra-at-te-ni* (here?, KUB 6.15 ii 2), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ra-a-an-zi* (KUB 29.50 i 22, 25, iv 11 (MH/MS), KBo 5.6 ii 20 (NH)), *a-ra-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ra-nu-un* (KUB 23.87, 27), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ra-a-it*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-er*, *a-ra-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ra-a-i*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-ra-an-du*; part. *a-ra-an-t*, *a-ra-a-an-t*.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>or-o-je/o-*

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The verb *arae-* is *mi*-conjugated and belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class. It has to be separated from *arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to rise, to raise’ (q.v.), despite homophonic forms like 3pl.pret.act. *arāer* and 2sg.imp.act. *arāi*. See HW<sup>2</sup> for a correct separation between *arai-<sup>2</sup>* (= *arae-<sup>zi</sup>*) (A: 246f.) and *arai-<sup>1</sup>* (= *arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-*) (A: 244f.).

Like all *ḫatrae*-class verbs, *arae-<sup>zi</sup>* probably is denominative as well. Oettinger (1979a: 369) derives *arae-<sup>zi</sup>* from a noun *\*h<sub>3</sub>or-eh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘Stand, aufgestanden Sein’, a derivative of the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to rise’. This is in contradiction, however, with his view that *ḫatrae*-class verbs are derived from *o*-stems and *tāje/a*-class verbs from *eh<sub>2</sub>*-stems. I therefore would assume that *arae-* is derived from a noun *\*h<sub>3</sub>or-o-*.

***arah-***: see *erḫ-* / *arḫ-* / *arḫ-*

***arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-*** (IIa4 > Ic2) ‘to (a)rise, to lift; to raise’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-re-eh-ḫi* (KBo 12.103 obv. 9 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *a-ra-a-i* (OS), *a-ra-i*, *a-ra-a-ez-zi* (e.g. KUB 31.101 obv. 14 (MS)), *a-ra-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ri-ja-an-zi* (KUB 2.3 i 44, ii 29), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ra-iš* (OS), *a-ra-a-iš*, *a-ra-i-iš*, *a-ra-a-eš* (KBo 5.4 rev. 27), 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-e-er* (KBo 2.2 i 49), *a-ra-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ra-a-i*,

3sg.imp.act. *a-ra-id-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *a-ri-et-ta* (KUB 17.28 ii 2); part. *a-ra-an-t-*, *a-ra-a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ra-u-ua-ar*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ari(ia)-** ‘to raise’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-ri-it-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ri-it-ta*, *a-a-ri-it-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ri-in-ta*, *a-a-ri-in-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-a-ri-ia*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ri-ia-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-ri-in-du*, part. *a-ri-im-mi*), <sup>GIS</sup>**arijal-** (n.) ‘carrying basket’ (nom.-acc.pl. *a-ri-ia-la*); Lyc. **erije-** ‘to raise, to levy’ (3sg.pres.act. *erije*, 3sg.pret.*erite*, inf. *erijeine*, *erijeina*).

IE cognates: Lat. *orior* ‘to arise, to come into existence’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-oi-* / *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-i-*

The verb *arai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to rise, to raise’ is originally *hi*-conjugated and belongs to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class. From MS texts onwards we find *mi*-inflected forms as well, as if the verb inflects according to the *ḥatrae*-class. This verb has to be separated from the verb *arae<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to stop, to rein in; to overpower’ (q.v.) (a *mi*-inflected verb belonging to the *ḥatrae*-class) despite of the many identical forms they share (e.g. 3pl.pret.act. *arāer*, 2sg.imp.act. *arāi*, etc). See for attestations and forms the lemmas *arai<sup>-1</sup>* (= *arai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ari-*) and *arai<sup>-2</sup>* (= *arae<sup>-zi</sup>*) in HW<sup>2</sup> A: 244f.. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 123f.) wrongly regards *arai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ari-* and *arae<sup>-zi</sup>* as one verb and must assume a wild mix of inflected forms within one paradigm.

Oettinger (1979a: 479) connected *arai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ari-* with Lat. *orior* ‘to arise’, from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to rise, to move vertically’. See Kloekhorst fthc.a for my view that the *dāi/tijanzi*-class consists of *hi*-inflected *i*-presents, showing a zero-grade root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/-i-*. In the case of *arai-/ari-* I therefore reconstruct *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-oi-* / *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-i-*.

It is interesting to note that the participle of this verb shows no *i*-suffix: *arant-* instead of expected *\*\*ariiant-*. This may point to a situation where originally only finite forms of the verb carried an *i*-suffix whereas infinite forms did not (similar in *dai-/ti-* ‘to place, to put’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-* besides impf. *zikke/a-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ske/o-*). The verb.noun *arauuar* probably shows loss of intervocalic *-i-*: *\*araiuar* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-oi-ur*.

**araššije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** : see *ārš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *arš-*

**arḥ(a)-**: see *erḥ-* / *arḥ-* / *arḥ-*

**-a(ri), -at(i)** (3sg.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-ar(i)** (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): *a-a-ia-ri*, *zi-ia-ar*, *zi-i-ia-ri*.



In the 3sg.midd., we find two sets of endings: pres. *-a(ri)*, pret. *-at(i)* vs. pres. *-tta(ri)*, pret. *-ttat(i)*. Sometimes it is stated that the distribution between these endings corresponds to the distribution between *mi-* and *hi-* endings in the active, but this is incorrect. On the basis of the active inflection of a given verb, it cannot be predicted whether it will use *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* or *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)* as 3sg.midd.-ending. For instance, *ḫalziā(ri)*, *laḫuuāri*, *lagāri* and *paḫša(ri)* correspond to the *hi-*inflecting actives *ḫalzai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḫalzi-*, *lāḫu<sup>-i</sup>* / *laḫu-*, *lāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *lak-* and *paḫš<sup>-i</sup>*, whereas e.g. *eša(ri)* and *karša* correspond to the *mi-*inflecting actives *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* and *karš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

Usually, a verb is consistent in its ‘choice’ for either the ending *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* or *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)*, but sometimes we encounter both (e.g. *karša* besides *karštari* or *šuppari* besides *šuptari*) and occasionally even a combination of the two (e.g. *šuppattari*). These are rare cases, however. For instance, the verb *eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* ‘to seat oneself’ shows the ending *-a(ri)* throughout the Hittite period, whereas e.g. *ki<sup>-tta(ri)</sup>* consistently shows *-tta(ri)*. That this does not necessarily reflect the PIE state of affairs is visible in the fact that *eša(ri)* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o* corresponds to Skt. *áste* and Gr. *ἦστα* from *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-to*. On the other hand, Hitt. *kitta(ri)* reflects *\*kéi-to* just as Skt. *śéte* and Gr. *κεῖται*, whereas its CLuwian cognate *zīari* reflects *\*kéi-o* just as Skt. *śáye*.

The endings *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* occur in all the middle classes. Note that in class III<sub>f</sub> (*tukkāri*-class), the ending is always spelled with a plene vowel (cf. § 2.2.3.2). This is due to accentuation, compare *eša(ri)*, *ešat(i)* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o* and *kīša(ri)*, *kīšat(i)* < *\*géis-o* to *tukkāri*, *tukkāt(i)* < *\*tuk-ó* and *lagāri* < *\*lǵ<sup>h</sup>-ó*. In the present ending *-a(ri)*, the distribution between forms with and without *-ri* seems connected with this: *tukkāri*-class middles always show *-ri*, whereas in fullgrade middles the *-ri* is optional. In the preterite, the distribution between *-ati* and *-at* seems chronological: compare *e-ša-ti* (OH/MS) besides *e-ša-at* (MH/NS), or *du-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ti* (MS?) besides *tu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-at* (NH).

As we saw above, the endings *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* have a well-established IE cognate in Skt. *-e* (3sg.pres.midd.-ending), which is a variant of *-te* (compare *śáye* < *\*kéi-o-i* besides *śéte* < *\*kéi-to-i*). In all other IE languages that show a reflex of the middle category, we find the ending *\*-to* only (for which see at *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*). It would go too far to go into the details here of the PIE distribution between *\*-o* and *\*-to*.

***ar(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to consult an oracle; to determine by oracle’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-ri-ja-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *a-ri-ja-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ri-e-ez-zi*, *a-ri-ja-zi*,

1pl.pres.act. *a-ri-ja-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ri-an-zi*, *a-ri-ja-an-zi*, *a-ri-en-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ri-ja-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ri-ja-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *a-ri-ja-u-en*, *a-ri-ja-u-e-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *a-ri-ja-at-ti-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ri-i-e-er*, *a-ri-er*, *a-ri-ja-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ri-ja*; part. *a-ra-an-t-*, *a-ra-a-an-t-*, *a-ri-ja-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ri-ja-u-ya-ar*; impf. *a-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *a-re-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *arijašeššar* / *arijašešn-* (n.) ‘oracle’ (Sum. MÁŠ, Akk. BĒRU; nom.-acc.sg. *a-ri-ja-še-eš-šar*, gen.sg. *a-ri-ja-še-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ri-ja-še-eš-ni*, *a-ri-še-eš-ni*, abl. *a-ri-ja-še-eš-na-az*, *a-ri-ja-še-eš-na-za*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἐπέω ‘to ask’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*

Puhvel (HED 1/2: 136f.) cites the verb as *ariya-*, *arai-*, arguing that possibly forms like 2pl.pres.act. *aratteni* (KUB 6.15 ii 2, broken context) belong here as well. This is improbable, however. All forms of which it can be ascertained that they mean ‘to consult an oracle; to determine by oracle’ inflect according to the *-je/a-*-class, *arije/a<sup>zi</sup>*, or show a stem *ar-* (in the participle *arant-*). There is no reason to assume an extra stem *arai-*: forms in broken contexts that show such a stem could just as well belong with *arae<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.) or *arai<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* (q.v.).

The participle shows two different forms, viz. *arant-* and *arijant-*. According to HW<sup>2</sup> (A: 295), the original participle is *arant-*, showing a situation where all finite forms bear the *\*-ie/o-*-suffix, whereas the infinite forms do not (cf. the situation in e.g. *karp(ije/a)<sup>zi</sup>*). The participle *arijant-* is a younger formation.

Houwink ten Cate (1973: 209-10) argues that *arije/a<sup>zi</sup>* is to be seen as a variant of *arai<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to rise; to raise’, so literally denoting ‘to arouse the gods’. Although verbs that belong to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class indeed often show younger thematizations inflecting according to the *-je/a-*-class (e.g. *halzāi* beside younger *halziezzi*), I do not think that semantically an equation between *arai<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to rise, to raise’ and *arije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to consult an oracle’ is likely.

Since Götze & Pedersen (1934: 47f.), this verb is often connected with Lat. *orāre* ‘to pray’. The latter word, however, belongs with Gr. ἀρή ‘prayer’, which shows that the root must have been *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-*. For Hittite, reconstructing a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-* is difficult, as we would expect an outcome *\*\*har-* (unless we assume *o*-grade, but that is not likely in a *\*-je/o-*-verb).

LIV<sup>2</sup> connects *arije/a-* with Gr. ἐπέω ‘to ask’ from a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-*, which seems semantically plausible. This means that *arije/a<sup>zi</sup>* must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>ié/ó-*, for which compare e.g. *parijanzi* ‘they blow’ < *\*prh<sub>1</sub>iénti* or *karijant-* ‘grass’ if from *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-iént-*.

The imperfective *ariške/a-* / *areške/a-* at first sight seems to reflect *\*ar̥je+ske/a-* vel sim., but in fact must be phonologically interpreted /ʔriské/á-/ , the regular outcome of *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* (compare *paripriške/a-* ‘to blow (impf.)’ /*pripriské/á-* < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-*). This explains the fact that the imperfective of *arije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> is consistently spelled differently from the imperfective of *ār-<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to arrive’, which is spelled *ar-aš-ke/a-* in the oldest texts, representing /ʔrské/á-/ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-ské/ó-*.

For *arijašeššar* ‘oracle’ compare *tuzzijašeššar* ‘army’, which is seen as a compound of *tuzzi-* and *ašeššar* ‘gathering’. This would mean that *arijašeššar* literally means ‘gathering for consulting an oracle’.

***arrije/a-*** (Ic1) ‘to be awake’: verb.noun *ar-ri-ja-a-u-ua-ar* (KBo 13.1 i 41).

The word is attested in a vocabulary only: KBo 13.1 i 41: (Sum.) IGL.LIB.A = (Akk.) *DÁ-LA-PU* = (Hitt.) *ar-ri-ja-a-u-ua-ar*. Akk. *dalāpu* means ‘to be/stay/keep awake’. Unfortunately, the Hittite word is not found in a real text, so its meaning cannot be ascertained by context.

Szemerényi (1979: 613-6) connects *arrije/a-* with Arm. *art* ‘own’ ‘watchful’ and OIr. *ar-* ‘(night)watch’ (in *aire* ‘watch’, *ro-airius* ‘I have watched’) and states that if these connections are justified, “Hitt. *arriya-* is closely related to the widely attested verbs *arāi*, *arai* ‘rises’, *ar-ḫi* ‘I arrive, get (somewhere)’, *ar-ḫaḫari* ‘I step, stand’, and, formally, may be identical with Lat. *orior*” (followed by e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 138f.). It is problematic, however, to equate the geminate *-rr-* of *arrijaūuar* with the consistently single spelled *-r-* of the verbs *arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* and *ar-<sup>ta</sup>*.

***ark-<sup>a(r)</sup>***, ***ār-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***ark-*** (IIIc > IIIId; IIa2) ‘to mount, to cover, to copulate’: 3sg.pres.midd. *a[r-g]a* (KUB 41.8 iv 29 (MH/NS)), *ar-kat-ta* (KBo 22.2 obv. 9, 10 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ar-ga-ru* (KBo 10.45 iv 32 (MH/NS), KUB 41.8 iv 31 (MH/NS)); 3sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ki* (KBo 10.45 iv 30 (MH/NS)); part. *ar-kán-t-* (OS); impf. 3sg.pres.midd. *ar-ki-iš-ke-et-ta* (KUB 29.1 i 30 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***arki-*** (c.) ‘testicle’ (nom.pl. *ar-ki-i-e-eš* (KBo 17.61 rev. 15 (MH/MS)), acc.pl. [*a*]r-ki-uš (KUB 10.62 v 7 (OH/NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄρχις ‘testicle’, ἔνορχος, ἐνόρχης ‘testicled’, Arm. *orji-k* ‘testicle’, *orj* ‘male’, Alb. *herdhë*, Mlr. *uirge*, Av. *arəzi-* ‘testicle(s)’, ON *argr* ‘passive homosexual’, Lith. *aržūs* ‘lustful’, *ežžilas*, dial. *ažžilas* ‘stallion’, Russ. *erzat* ‘to fidget’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-o*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>órǵ<sup>h</sup>-ei*.

It seems that originally the verb was middle only. Only once we find an active form, 3sg.pres.act. *ārki* (KBo 10.45 iv 30), which is a duplicate of 3sg.pres.midd. *a[rǵ]a* (KUB 41.8 iv 29). Nevertheless, it is remarkable that this *ārki* seems to reflect *o*-grade, whereas all other forms reflect zero grade. If the active form was back-formed from the middle paradigm, we would have expected a short *a* here as well.

Puhvel (HED 1/2: 142f.) connects this verb with e.g. Gr. ὄρχις ‘testicle’, Av. *arəzi-* ‘testicle(s)’, Arm. *orj* ‘male’, Lith. *aržùs* ‘lustful’, *eřžilas* ‘stallion’ from a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. A reconstruction with *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* (thus also in LIV<sup>2</sup>) is based on the Lithuanian form *eřžilas* ‘stallion’ only: all other IE languages reflect a vowel *\*o*. In dialectal Lithuanian, we find a form *ařžilas* ‘stallion’ as well, which makes it likely that *eřžilas* / *ařžilas* is subject to Rozwadowski’s change (i.e. mixing up of initial *e-* and *a-*, cf. Andersen 1996: 141; Derksen 2002; Kortlandt 2002-03). This makes Lith. *eřžilas* valueless for the reconstructing of the initial laryngeal. As all other IE languages seem to reflect non-apophonic *\*orǵ<sup>h</sup>-*, we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>3</sub>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. This is especially prompted by the equation of Av. *arəzi-* and Arm. *orji-k* ‘ (both zero-grade formations, but note that Alb. *herdhë* shows *\*e*-grade, however) with Gr. ὄρχις, which therefore is likely to be a zero-grade formation as well and must reflect *\*h<sub>3</sub>-*: *\*h<sub>3</sub>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-i-*. It is likely that this is the preform that is reflected in Hitt. *arki-* as well, which shows that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* disappears before *\*r* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

In Hittite, middles can either reflect zero grade (e.g. *tukkāri*) or *e*-grade (e.g. *ešari*). Because the middle forms of the verb *ark-<sup>a</sup>* are consistently written with a short vowel, we have to assume a zero-grade formation *\*h<sub>3</sub>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-o*, again with loss of initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* in front of *\*r*.

If the one active form *ārki* is not a secondary backformation, but original (which could be indicated by the fact that it shows full-grade versus the zero-grade forms that are found in the middle paradigm), it reflects *\*h<sub>3</sub>órǵ<sup>h</sup>-ei* (*o*-grade as in all *hi*-verbs), and could show that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* was lost in Hittite in front of *\*o* as well (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

***ārki-<sup>i</sup> / ark-*** (IIa2) ‘to cut off, to divide’: 3sg.pres.act. *a-ar-ki* (OS), *ar-ki* (1467/u ii 4 (NS)), *a-ar-gi* (KBo 6.11 i 16), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-kán-zi* (OS), *a-ar-kán-zi* (1x, KUB 8.16+24 + 43.2 iii 14 (NS)), *ar-ga-an-zi* (KUB 55.39 i 5 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ar-ke-er* (KUB 43.60 iii 20, 23); part. *ar-kán-t-*; inf.I *ar-ku-ya-an-zi* (KBo 19.142 ii 20); impf. *ar-ki-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *(h)erciscō* ‘to divide (an estate)’, *(h)erctum* ‘division (of inheritance)’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>or<sup>k̑</sup>-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>r<sup>k̑</sup>-enti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 300f. for attestations. The oldest forms of this verb show an ablaut between *ār̄k-* in the singular and *ark-* in the plural, reflecting *\*HorK-* / *\*HrK-*.

According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 141), the verb basically means ‘to mark off’ as can be seen in the following context:

KBo 11.17 ii

(12) *nu=kán ma-aḥ-ḥa-an SILA<sub>4</sub> BAL-an-ti*

(13) *nam-m=a-an=kán ya-ap-pu-i kat-ta*

(14) *ḥa-at-ta-i nu e-eš-ḥar tak-ni-i*

(15) *kat-ta tar-na-i SILA<sub>4</sub>=ma=kán*

(16) *ar-kán-zi nam-ma=kán SILA<sub>4</sub>*

(17) *ḥu-u-ma-an-da-an pít-tal-ya-an-da-an*

(18) *mar-kán-zi*

‘While he sacrifices a lamb and then perforates it along the bank, he lets the blood flow on the ground. They *a.* the lamb and butcher the entire lamb ‘plain’.’

In this context, *arkanzi* stands between *ḥattai* ‘perforates’ and *markanzi* ‘butcher’, and therefore must mean something like ‘mark off’. On the basis of this meaning, Puhvel connects the verb with Gr. ἔρχατος· φραγμός (Hes.) ‘fence’. The latter word is found besides ἔρκατος· φραγμός (Hes.) ‘fence’, ἐρκάτη· φυλακή (Hes.) ‘guard’ and ὄρχος ‘row of vines’, which, because of its alternation χ:κ shows that these words probably are of substratum origin.

Another proposal (Eichner 1981: 63; 1982: 21-6), viz. a connection with Lat. *(h)erciscō* ‘to divide (an estate)’, *(h)erctum* ‘division (of inheritance)’, may make more sense if the awkward sporadic presence of *h-* in Latin does not point to un-IE origin. If accepted, Hitt. *ār̄k<sup>i</sup>* / *ark-* and Lat. *(h)erc-* would point to a PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er<sup>k̑</sup>-*.

*arku<sup>ya</sup>e<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to pray; to plead’: 1sg.pres.act. *ar-ku-ya[-mi]* (KUB 14.14+ i 6), 3sg.pres.act. *ar-ku-[ya-]iz-zi* (KUB 43.57 iv 7), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ku-an-zi*, *ar-ku-ya-an-zi*, *a-ar-ku-ya-a-an-zi* (KBo 23.97 iv 15), 1sg.pret.act. *ar-ku-ya-nu-un* (KBo 4.8 iii 22, KUB 6.46 iv 3, KUB 6.45 iii 35), 3sg.pret.act. *ar-ku-ya-it* (KBo 11.1 obv. 32, rev. 4), *ar-ku-ya-a-it* (KUB 50.53, 12), *ar-ku-ut-ta* (KUB 22.70

obv. 80); verb.noun *ar-ku-ṽa-ar*, *ar-ku-u-ṽa-ar*, *ar-ku-u-ar*, *ar-ku-ar*, *a-ar-ku-u-ṽa-ar* (KUB 14.10 i 23) ‘prayer; plea; excuse’; impf. *ar-ku-iš-ke/a-*, *ar-ku-ú-i-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 6.46 iii 59), *ar-ku-ú-e-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 6.45 iii 33, KUB 21.19 ii 4).

Derivatives: *arkuēššar* / *arkuēšn-* (n.) ‘prayer’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ar-ku-u-e-eš-ni* (KUB 6.45 iii 22), *ar-ku-e-eš-ni* (KUB 6.46 iii 61)).

IE cognates: Skt. *arc-* ‘to sing, to praise’, TochA *yārk* ‘worship’, TochB *yarke* ‘worship’, Arm. *erg* ‘song’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ork<sup>w</sup>o-je/o-??*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 309f. for attestations. There is some debate about the exact semantics of this verb. E.g. HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.) translates “beten (bitten)”; selten “sich entschuldigen (rechtfertigen)” and argues that ‘to pray’ is the original meaning. E.g. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 148f.) translates “plead, argue, rejoin, riposte, respond, explain oneself, make excuses, offer defense” and states that all instances where usually ‘to pray’ is translated, ‘to plead’ would work as well.

This debate also has consequences regarding the etymology. The verb belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which consists of denominatives in *\*-je/o-* of nouns in *-o-*. In this case we have to postulate a noun *\*arkua-* < *\*H(o)rK<sup>w</sup>o-* which should be the source of *arkuṽae-<sup>zi</sup>*. The scholars that translate *arkuṽae-<sup>zi</sup>* as ‘to pray’ connect it with Skt. *arc-* ‘to shine, to sing, to praise’, TochA *yārk-* ‘to worship’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>erk<sup>w</sup>-*, implying a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>(o)rk<sup>w</sup>o-je/o-*. Yet, the scholars that translate ‘to plead’ make a connection with Lat. *arguō* ‘to argue’. The interpretation of this latter word is unclear, however. Usually, Lat. *arguō* is seen as a denominative verb of a noun *\*argus*, which is connected with the root for ‘white’, *\*h<sub>2</sub>erg-* (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 67-8). A connection with Hitt. *arkuṽae-*, however, would imply a reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>org<sup>w</sup>o-je/o-* for Hittite and *\*h<sub>2</sub>erg<sup>w</sup>-* for Latin. On a formal level, this etymology would only be acceptable if we assume that in Hittite an initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is dropped in front of *\*o* (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c), and secondly that *\*-rg<sup>w</sup>-* would yield *-rgu-* in Latin (possibly parallel to the development of *\*-ng<sup>w</sup>-* as in Lat. *unguen* ‘nail’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>w</sup>-en-*).

So from a formal point of view, both etymologies are possible, provided that *\*-rg<sup>w</sup>-* > Lat. *-rgu-*. Semantically, however, I personally would favour the translation ‘to pray’ and therefore the reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>(o)rk<sup>w</sup>o-je/o-*.

The few spellings with initial plene *a-ar-ku-ṽa-* may indicate that the *a-* was a real vowel /ʔark<sup>w</sup>ae-/ and point to a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>ork<sup>w</sup>o-je/o-*, whereas *\*h<sub>1</sub>rk<sup>w</sup>oje/o-* would have yielded /ʔrk<sup>w</sup>ae-/ which should have been spelled with *ar-ku-ṽa-* only.

\**arma-* (c.) ‘moon(god); month’ (Sum.<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU, ITU<sup>(KAM)</sup>, Akk. <sup>d</sup>SĪN): nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>SĪN-aš, <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-aš, ITU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-aš, acc.sg. ITU-an, gen.sg. <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-aš, ITU-aš, dat.-loc.sg. <sup>d</sup>SĪN-mi, ITU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-mi, abl. ITU-az, instr. ITU-mi-it, nom.pl. ITU<sup>HIA</sup>-eš, dat.-loc.pl. ITU<sup>KAM.HIA</sup>-aš.

Derivatives: \**armatar* (n.) ‘monthspan(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. ITU<sup>KAM</sup>-tar), <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*armanni-* (c.) ‘lunula, crescent; “croissant” bread’ (UD.SAR) (nom.sg. *ar-ma-an-ni-iš*, nom.pl. *ar-ma-an-ni-iš*, *ar-ma-an-ni-eš*, acc.pl. *ar-ma-an-ni-uš*), <sup>NINDA</sup>*arma(n)tal(l)anni-* (c.) type of bread, *armuṣalae-zi* (Ic2) ‘to shine (of the moon)’ (2sg.imp.act. *ar-mu-u-ṣa-la-i* (KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 iii 69)), *armuṣalašḥa(i)-* (c.) ‘waxing of the moon’ (nom.sg. *ar-mu-ṣa-la-aš-ḥa-aš*, *ar-mu-ṣa-la-aš-ḥa-iš*, gen.sg. *ar-mu-ṣa-la-aš-ḥa-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. \*<sup>d</sup>*arma-* (c.) ‘Moon-god’ (nom.sg. [<sup>d</sup>E]N.ZU-aš), *armannaima/i-* (adj.) ‘decorated with lunulae’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ar-ma-an-na-i-ma-an*), \**armašša/i-* ‘month’ (nom.pl. <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*in-zi*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl.(pl.poss.) <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*an-za-an-za* (= *armaššaššananza*)); HLuw. \**arma-* (c.) ‘moon(god)’ (nom.sg. <sup>DEUS</sup>LUNA+*MI-sa* (e.g. CEKKE §24, TELL AHMAR 2 §3, ALEPPO 2 §2, etc.), LUNA+*MI-ma-sa* (KAYSERİ §16), “LUNA”-*ma-sá* (SULTANHAN §31), gen.sg. <sup>DEUS</sup>LUNA+*MI-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §75), dat.-loc.pl.(?) LUNA+*MI-zi/a* (TOPADA §22)); Lyd. *armta-* (adj.) ‘belonging to Arma(?)’; Lyc. *arṁma-* ‘moon’ (nom.sg. *arṁma*), *ṁmazata-* ‘monthly offering(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ṁmazata*), *Erṁmenēni*, PN, lit. ‘brother of the moon’.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>(o)r-mo-* (?)

A reading *arma-* of the logograms <sup>d</sup>SĪN, <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU and ITU<sup>(KAM)</sup> is suggested by the derivative *armanni-* ‘lunula’ and names like <sup>m</sup>*Ar-ma-zi-ti-* = <sup>m,d</sup>*SĪN-ma-LÚ-i-* (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 313). According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 152), the form *a-ar-me-eš* (KBo 23.52 ii 10, 12, 15, 17) belongs to this word as well, and he translates ‘lunulae’ (nom.pl.). HW<sup>2</sup> (A: 327) just states that the word denotes “Teil am Ochsengepann”, however, without giving an exact interpretation. If the form belonged to the word for ‘moon’, it would be the only attestation with plene *a-*. It therefore is perhaps best to leave this form aside.

The stem *arma-* is found in Luwian, Lycian and possibly Lydian as well. The Lycian form *Arṁma-* at first sight seems to point to PANat. *arma-*. If the first *a* of *Arṁma-*, which is an *a*-stem, is due to *a*-umlaut, however, and the form *Erṁmenēni* shows the original stem, we can reconstruct PANat. \**?(o)rm-o-* (or even \**?(o)rm-eh<sub>2</sub>-* if we take the Lycian *a*-stem into account).

It is not totally clear to what extent the word-group consisting of *erman* / *arman-* ‘sickness’, *armae-zi* ‘to be pregnant’, etc. is related to the word for

‘moon’. If a semantic connection is perceivable (perhaps through seeing the moon as the ‘weaker’ celestial body), the word *erman* ‘sickness’ would show that we have to reconstruct an initial  $*h_1-$ :  $*h_1(o)rmo-$ . Alternatively, we could with Van Windekens (1979) assume a connection with TochB *yarm* ‘measure’ <  $*h_1ermn$ , assuming that ‘moon’ derives from ‘measurer’ (cf. PIE  $*meh_1ns$  ‘moon’ from  $*meh_1-$  ‘to measure’). This would point to a reconstruction  $*h_1ormo-$  as well. Another possibility is assuming that *arma-* reflects  $*h_1(o)r-mo-$  derived from  $*h_1er-$  ‘to move’ (the moon as ‘traveller’).

***armae<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to be pregnant’: 3sg.pres.act. *ar-ma-iz-zi*, *ar-ma-a-iz-zi*, part. *ar-ma-an-t-*; verb.noun.gen.sg. *ar-ma-u-ua-aš* (KUB 35.103 iii 10).

Derivatives: ***armauant-*** (adj.) ‘pregnant’ (nom.sg.c. *ar-ma-u-ua-an-za*, acc.sg. *ar-ma-u-an-da-an*, nom.pl.c. *ar-ma-u-ua-an-te-š=a*), ***armahh<sup>-i</sup>*** (Ib) ‘to make pregnant; (with =z) to become pregnant’ (3sg.pres.act. *ar-ma-ah-ḫi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ma-ah-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ar-ma-ah-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *ar-ma-ah-ḫe-er*; 3sg.imp.act. *ar-ma-ah-du*, *ar-ma-ah-ḫu*, *ar-ma-ah-ḫu-u[d-du]* (KUB 41.8 iv 32); part. *ar-ma-ah-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ar-ma-ah-ḫu-(ua)-aš*, abl. *ar-ma-ah-ḫu-ua-az-za*; verb.noun. dat.-loc.sg. *ar-ma-ah-ḫa-an-ni*).

PIE  $*h_1(o)r-mo-je/o-(?)$

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 323-4 and Puhvel HED 1/2: 155f. for attestations. The verb *armae<sup>-zi</sup>* inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class. This class predominantly consists of denominative verbs that are derived from *a*-stem nouns. In this case, it is likely that *armae-* is derived from a noun  $*arma-$ , which also functioned as the basis for *armahh<sup>-i</sup>*. It is not fully clear whether this noun  $*arma-$  must be equated with  $*arma-$  ‘moon’ (q.v.). In addition, the connection with *erman* / *arman-* ‘sickness’ (q.v.) is unclear. If all these words belong together, we would have to reconstruct the basic noun as  $*h_1(o)rmo-$  (with  $*h_1-$  on the basis of *erman* <  $*h_1ermn$ ) and *armae<sup>-zi</sup>* as  $*h_1(o)rmo-je/o-$ .

***arnu<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make go; to transport, to deport’: 1sg.pres.act. *ar-nu-mi* (MH/MS, often), *a-ar-nu-mi* (KUB 31.127 iii 29), *ar-nu-um-mi* (KBo 18.127, 6), 2sg.pres.act. *ar-nu-ši* (MH/MS), [*ar*]-*nu-ut-ti* (KBo 4.3 iii 11), 3sg.pres.act. *ar-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *ar-nu-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ar-nu-me-ni* (MH/MS), *ar-nu-um-me-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *ar-nu-ut-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-nu-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ar-nu-ua-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ar-nu-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ar-nu-ut* (MH/MS), *a-ar-nu-ut* (1x), 1pl.pret.act. *ar-nu-um-me-en*, *ar-nu-um-mé-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ar-nu-er* (MH/MS), *ar-nu-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ar-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *ar-nu-ud-du*



(MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ar-nu-ut-te-en* (MH/MS), *ar-nu-ut-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ar-nu-an-du*, *ar-nu-ua-an-du*; part. *ar-nu-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun *ar-nu-mar* (gen.sg. *ar-nu-ma-aš*); inf.I *ar-nu-ma-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *ar-nu-uš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*arnu $\bar{u}$ ala-* (c.) ‘deportee’ (Sum. NAM.RA) (nom.sg. *ar-nu-uala-aš*, acc.sg. *ar-nu-ua-la-an*, nom.pl. *ar-nu-ua-la-aš* (KUB 55.1 iii 2), dat.-loc.pl. *ar-nu-ua-la-aš*).

IE cognates: Gr. ὀρνῦμι ‘to make (someone) move’, Skt. ṛṇóti ‘to put in motion’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-n(e)u-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-n(e)u-*

From a synchronic point of view, *arnu-* looks like the causative of either *ār-<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to arrive’ (from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* ‘to move horizontally’) or *ar-<sup>ta(r)</sup>* ‘to stand’ (from PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to move vertically’). Semantically speaking, one would favour a connection with *ār-/ar-* ‘to arrive, to come’, which would mean that *arnu-* would go back to (virtual) *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-neu-*. From a historical point of view, however, the semantic as well as formal similarity with Gr. ὀρνῦμι ‘to make (someone) move’ and Skt. ṛṇóti ‘to make move’ makes one wonder whether *arnu-* is not an inherited formation that reflects *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-neu-*. Formally, a development from *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-neu-* to Hitt. *arnu-* is regular (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). In my view, both scenarios are possible, and I would not be surprised if Hitt. *arnu-* were a conflation of two originally separate formations, viz. *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-neu-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-neu-*.

*ārš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *arš-* (Ia4 > Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to flow’: 1sg.pres.act. *ar-aš-mi* (KUB 36.75+ iii 19 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ar-aš-zi* (KBo 13.31 i 8 (OH/MS), KBo 21.22 rev. 39 (OH/MS), KUB 9.3 i 10 (MS), KUB 15.34 iii 24 (MH/MS), KUB 9.6 i 19, 21, 22, 37 (MH/NS)), *a-ar-aš-zi* (KUB 43.58 ii 15 (MS), KBo 10.45 ii 40 (MH/NS), KUB 41.8 ii 4, iv 37 (MH/NS), KUB 8.36 ii 11 (NS), KUB 17.9 i 22 (NS), KUB 18.41 ii 10 (NS), VBoT 16 rev. 6 (NS)), *a-ar-zi* (KBo 10.45 iv 39 (MH/NS), KUB 15.42 ii 3 (NS)), *ar-ši-e-ez-zi* (KUB 17.10 iii 26 (OH/MS), KBo 21.41+KUB 29.7 rev. 60 (MH/MS), KUB 33.28 iii 14 (OH/NS)), *ar-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (KUB 33.54 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ar-ši-ez-zi* (KUB 29.10 i 7 (OH/NS)), *a-ar-aš-ši-ez-zi* (KUB 29.10 i 11 (OH/NS)), *ar-ši-ja-az-zi* (KUB 29.9 i 11 (OH/NS)), *[a]r-ši-ja-zi* (KUB 33.49 ii 3 (OH?/NS)), *a-ar-ši-ja-iz-zi* (KUB 30.19 + 20 + 21 + 22 + 39.7 i 28, 29 (OH/NS)), *a-ar-aš-ši-ja-zi* (KUB 29.10 i 15 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ša-an-zi* (KUB 24.8 iv 11 (OH/NS), KUB 10.72 v 3 (OH/NS), KUB 33.87 + 113 + 36.12 + 14 i 30 (NS), KUB 36.25 iv 5 (NS)), *ar-ši-ja-an-zi* (KUB 33.4 + IBoT 3.141 iv 5 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ar-aš-t[a<sup>?</sup>]* (KUB 17.9 i 22 (NS)), *a-ar-ša-aš*

(KUB 36.89 rev. 12 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ar-še-er* (KUB 36.2b ii 19 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ar-aš-du* (KBo 17.105 ii 34 (MH/NS)); 3sg.prs.midd. *ar-ša-ri* (KUB 34.78, 6 (MS), broken context, so meaning not assured), 3sg.imp.midd. *ar-ša-ru* (KBo 47.142 obv. 9 (NS), broken context, so meaning not assured); part. *ar-ša-an-t-* (KUB 33.41 ii 9 (OH/NS), KUB 41.4 iii 12 (MH/NS), KBo 10.47g iii 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: *aršanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to let flow’ (3pl.prs.act. *ar-aš-ša-nu-ya-an-zi* (KUB 30.32 i 15), 3sg.pret.act. *ar-ša-nu-ut* (KUB 36.89 rev. 13, 14)), *āršanu-* (n.) ‘flow, course’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-ar-ša-nu* (KUB 36.89 rev. 19), nom.-acc.pl. *ar-ša-nu-ya* (KUB 36.89 rev. 41)), *arša(r)šur-* (n.) ‘flowing, stream’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ar-ša-aš-šu-u-ur*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ar-šar-šu-ri*, acc.pl.c. *ar-šar-šu-u-ru-uš* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ar-šar-šu-u-ra*, *ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri* (OH/MS), *ar-ša-a-aš-šu-ú-ri* (OH/MS); case? [*a*]r-ša-ar-šu-u-ra-aš, *ar-ša-šu-ra-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *āršija-* ‘to flow’ (3pl.imp.act. *a-ar-ši-ia-an-du*).

IE cognates: Skt. *arṣ-* ‘to stream, to flow’ (3sg.prs.act. *árṣati*).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ers-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rs-enti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 341f. for attestations. Originally, the verb *ārš-/arš-* is a root-inflected present. From MS texts onwards, we find *\*-je/o-*-inflected forms (*aršijezzi* etc.) as well as occasional forms that inflect according to the *hatrae*-class (*aršijaizzi*) and the *tarn(a)*-class (*āršaš*). The few attestations with geminate *-šš-* (*a-ar-aš-ši-ez-zi*, *a-ar-aš-ši-ia-zi*, *ar-aš-ša-nu-ya-an-zi*) point to a phonemic /S/. The two middle forms are unclear regarding their interpretation: they are both found in broken contexts without clues for their meaning.

We find forms spelled both with and without initial plene *a-*. It is significant that all weak-stem forms (pres.pl. and part.) are written without *a-*. The strong-stem forms show both spellings. When we order the spellings chronologically, we see that the spelling *ar-aš-* is found mainly in OH/MS and MH/MS texts whereas the spelling *a-ar-aš-* is found mainly in NS texts and only once in a MS text. Although this seems to point to a situation where the spelling *ar-aš-* is more archaic, I think that we nevertheless have to assume that the spelling *a-ar-aš-* is the original one: it is unlikely that a regular paradigm showing *aršzi*, *aršanzi* would innovate into an ablauting paradigm *āršzi*, *aršanzi*.

The etymology of this verb has been clear since Sturtevant (1932b: 120). It is connected to Skt. *árṣati* ‘to flow’ and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>ers-* (Rieken 1999a: 327 states that *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-* is possible as well, but this is not true: *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-* would have given *\*\*h<sub>3</sub>arš-*, cf. Hitt. *hark-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to get lost’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-*).

Within Hittite, *ārš-/arš-* belongs to the group of verbs that show a root-structure \*CeRC-. Due to the sound law \*eRCC > aRCC, in combination with the fact that all the endings of the singular began with a consonant, the \*e of the strong stem yielded a (Hitt. CaRC-). The weak stem, having a zero grade \*CRC-, was spelled in Hittite with a as well (CaRC-), which caused, at least on the level of spelling, coinciding of the two stems. It is therefore significant that *ārš-/arš-* is the only verb belonging to this group that shows an ablaut  $\bar{a} : a$ . This problem was seen before, and different scholars have proposed different explanations. Kimball (1983: 181) seems to assume that *ārš-* reflects \*h<sub>1</sub>érs- and *arš-* < \*h<sub>1</sub>rs-, but does not explain why e.g. \*k<sub>1</sub>érs- did not yield \*\*k<sub>1</sub>ārš-. Melchert (1994a: 125) therefore dismisses her reconstruction and assumes that *āršzi* reflects a zero grade stem \*f<sub>s</sub>-ti that was generalized from the plural, which, through Pre-Hitt. \*órs-ti, yielded *āršzi*. Yet, this solution does not explain either why we do not find  $\bar{a}$  in other verbs of this type, e.g. \*\*k<sub>1</sub>f<sub>s</sub>-ti > \*\*k<sub>1</sub>órs-ti > \*\*k<sub>1</sub>āršzi.

In my view, the spelling *a-ar-aš-zi* is best regarded not to denote a long  $\bar{a}$ , but should be read 'a-ar-aš-zi = /ʔárSt̪i/, in contradistinction to *ar-ša-an-zi*, which was /ʔrSánt̪i/. So the initial plene *a-* was used to indicate the fact that the word contained a “real” *a* (which was short) that contrasted with the schwa which automatically preceded the pronunciation of the interconsonantal /t/.

The preservation of the cluster *-rs-* contrasts with e.g. *arra-* < \*Horso-. If one assumes that the assimilation of \**-rs-* to *-rr-* only occurs intervocalically, the preservation in *ārš-/arš-* would be regular (note that this supports the view that the first *a* of *aršanzi* was not a phonological real vowel, so /ʔrSánt̪i/ instead of /arSánt̪i/).

See Rieken (1999a: 326f.) for a treatment of *arša(r)šur*, which she explains as a derivative in *-ur-* with full reduplication, showing occasional loss of *-r-* due to dissimilation. As I have explained in § 1.3.9.4.f, the one spelling with the sign Ú, *ar-ša-a-aš-šu-ú-ri-i=š-ši-it* (KUB 36.55 ii 20), must be a mistake instead of correct *ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri-i=š-ši-it* (ibid. 26).

***aršanē-<sup>zi</sup> / aršan-*** (Ia1 > Ic1) ‘to be envious, to be angry’: 2sg.pres.act. *ar-ša-ne-e-ši* (KBo 25.122 iii 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 (OS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ar-ša-ni-e[-nu-un]* (ABoT 65 rev. 4 (MH/MS)), 2sg.pret.act.(?) *ar-ša-ni-e-še* (ABoT 65 rev. 6 (MH/MS), error for *ar-ša-ni-e-eš?*), 3sg.pret.act. *ar-ša-ni-ja-at* (KUB 19.65, 14 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ar-ša-ni-i-e-er* (KUB 1.1+ i 31 (NH) (with gloss wedges), KBo 3.6+ i 28 (NH), KUB 1.5+ i 7 (NH)); part. nom.-acc.pl. *ar-ša-na-an-d[a]* (KUB 33.9 iii 7 (OH/NS)), *ar-ša-na-an-ta* (HKM 116, 32 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: **aršanatal(l)a-** (c.) ‘envier’ (acc.pl. *ar-ša-na-tal-lu-uš*, *ar-ša-na-at-ta-lu-uš*, *ar-ša-na-at-tal-lu-uš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ar-ša-na-at-tal-la-aš*, *ar-ša-na-tal-la-aš*).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>rs-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>rs-n-h<sub>1</sub>-enti*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 344 for attestations. Usually, it is stated that all the forms are derived from a nominal stem *\*aršan(a)-*: we find *aršanē-*, which Watkins (1985: 244) regarded as a denominative stative in *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*, *aršanije/a-* (*-je/o-*-derivative) and *aršanant-*. This stem *\*aršan(a)-* is generally connected with Skt. *írṣyant-* ‘angry’, *irasyāti* ‘to be angry’, Av. *arəšiiant-* ‘envious’, *araska-* ‘envy’, which must reflect *\*HrH(e)s-*. Watkins (l.c.) therefore reconstructs *\*aršan(a)-* as *\*ṛh<sub>1</sub>s-no-*, whereas Oettinger (1979a: 355) gives *\*rh<sub>1</sub>son-je-*. Although the connection with the Iir. words would be possible from a semantic point of view, the formal side of this etymology is difficult. A preform *\*HrHs-no-* should have given Hitt. *\*\*/ṛisna-/*, spelled *are/išna-* (cf. *paripriške/a-* /*pripriské/á-/* < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>ské/ó-*), and *\*HrHs-on-* > Hitt. *\*\*/ṛišan-/*, spelled *are/iššan-* (cf. *gane/iššanzi* /*knišánti* / < *\*ḡnh<sub>3</sub>sénti*). I therefore see no merit in this connection.

In my view, we have to look at the verb differently. It shows three stems: *aršanē-<sup>zi</sup>* (OS), *aršanije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (from MH times onwards) and *aršan-* (OH/NS and MH/MS). As *-je/a-*-stems are often secondary, we are left with an original ablauting stem *aršanē-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aršan-*. If we compare this ablauting pair to e.g. *zinni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *zinn-* ‘to finish’ or *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>* / *hull-* ‘to smash’, it is quite obvious that *aršanē- / aršan-*, too, must reflect a nasal-infixed verb with root-final *\*h<sub>1</sub>*: *\*Hrs-ne-h<sub>1</sub>- / \*Hrs-n-h<sub>1</sub>-*. The root of this verb is either *\*Hersh<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*Hresh<sub>1</sub>-* (structurally like *meusH-* ‘aufheben, wegnemen’ (cf. Skt. *muṣṇāti*) or *\*h<sub>1</sub>eish<sub>2</sub>-* ‘kräftigen, antreiben’ (cf. Skt. *iṣṇāti*); for both roots, see LIV<sup>2</sup>). The initial laryngeal can only be *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have yielded Hitt. *ḫa-* in this position. Unfortunately, I know no cognate in any other IE language.

**aršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *ārš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *arš-*

**ardu-** ‘to saw’: 1pl.pres.act. *ar-du-me-e-ni* (KUB 36.74 iii 2); verb.noun. *ar-du-mar* (KBo 26.19, 10); broken *ar-du[-...]* (KUB 33.106 iii 54; Puhvel HED 1/2: 175; 3pl.imp.act. *ardu[yandu]*; HW<sup>2</sup> A: 347: 1pl.pres.act. *ar-du[-me-(e-)ni]*).

Derivatives: <sup>URUDU</sup>**ardāl(a)-** (n.) ‘saw’ (nom.-acc.pl. *ar-da-a-la* (KUB 33.106 iii 54)).

Although all attested forms point to a stem *ardu-* (*ardumēni* < *\*ardu-ūeni*, *ardumar* < *\*ardu-uar*), this verb is usually cited as *ard-* (so in Puhvel HED 1/2: 175; *ard(a)-* in HW<sup>2</sup> A: 347), on the basis of the assumption that the *-u-* in the verb is added after false interpretation of 1pl. *\*ard-uūeni* and that the plain stem *ard-* is still visible in the derivative *ardāl(a)-*. In my view the stem *ardu-* is primary, however, and the derivative *ardāl(a)-* reflects *\*arduol(o)-*, showing the development *\*-duo-* > Hitt. *-da-* as can be seen in e.g. *idālu* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>eduólu-*.

If this verb is from IE origin, it should reflect an *u*-present because a root-structure *\*HerTu-*, *\*HreTu-* or *\*HrTeu-* is impossible in PIE. Puhvel (l.c.) connects this verb to Skt. *rādati* ‘to dig, to scave’ and Lat. *rōdere* ‘to gnaw’, which must reflect *\*Hreh<sub>3</sub>d-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 309-10). Although from a formal point of view a reconstruction *\*Hrh<sub>3</sub>d-u-* could be possible for Hitt. *ardu-*, it is not very appealing.

***aru-* / *arau-*** (adj.) ‘high(?)’: acc.pl. *a-ra-m[u-uš<sup>2</sup>]* (KUB 33.5 ii 17).

Derivatives: ***aru(-)šuuaru-*** (adj.) ‘high-and-full(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ru-uš šu-ua-ru-u[š]* (KBo 19.155, 5), nom.-acc.sg.n. (adv.) *a-ru-šu-ua-ru* (KUB 33.106 iii 33)), ***aruma*** (adv.) ‘highly, very much’ (*a-ru-ma*, *a-ru-um-ma*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***aru-*** ‘high’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ru-uš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. [*a*]-*ru*, nom.-acc.pl.n. (adv.) *a-ru-u-ua*), ***aru(ua)ruua-*** ‘to lift(?)’ (1pl.pres.act. *a-ru-ua-ru-un-ni*, part.nom.sg.c. *a-ru-u-ru-u-ua-am-mi-iš*).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>(o)r-u-* ?

Although the interpretation of most of the cited forms is not totally clear, most handbooks assume the existence of an adjective *aru-* / *arau-* that is translated as ‘high’. If this is correct, then a connection with the verb *ar-<sup>ua(ri)</sup>* ‘to stand’ is likely, which means that *aru-* / *arau-* is derived from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to rise’. Because *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* yields Hitt. /ʔ/ before *\*o* and before consonant, but is retained as *h-* before *\*e* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), we can reconstruct both *\*h<sub>3</sub>or-u-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-u-*.

***-aru*** (3sg.imp.midd.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-aru*** (3sg.imp.midd.-ending): *a-a-ia-ru*, *ku-ua-la-ru*.

This ending is clearly derived from the 3sg.pres.midd.-ending *-ari* in which the ‘presentic’ *-i* is replaced by the imperatival *-u*. See for further treatment at both *-a(ri)* and *-u*.

**aruna-** (c.) ‘sea’ (Sum. A.AB.BA): nom.sg. *a-ru-na-aš* (OS), *a-a-ru-na-aš* (KBo 5.3 i 59 (NH)), *a-ru-na-a-aš* (KUB 36.25 iv 6 (NS)), acc.sg. *a-ru-na-an*, gen.sg. *a-ru-na-aš* (OS), dat.sg. *a-ru-ni* (OS), *a-ru-ú-ni* (KUB 36.41 i 13 (MS)), all.sg. *a-ru-na* (OS), abl. *a-ru-na-az* (OS), *a-ru-na-za*, acc.pl. *a-ru-nu-uš* (KBo 3.41 rev. 11), gen.pl. *a-ru-na-aš*.

Derivatives: **arunuman-** (c.) ‘maritime’ (nom.pl. *a-ru-nu-ma-né-e-eš* (KUB 8.14 obv. 14)).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-éu-no-* ?

The word is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. Despite the fact that the word does not look foreign at all, there is no generally accepted etymology for it. Within Hittite, a connection with *aru-* / *aray-* ‘high’ is possible, especially if we take into account that we find some denominatives in *-una-* that are derived from *-u-* stem words (cf. Weitenberg 1984: 281-3). If the one plene spelling *a-ru-ú-ni* indeed indicates that the stem was */rún-/*, then *aruna-* must reflect *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-éu-no-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). A semantic parallel can be found in Skt. *árṇa-* ‘wave, flood, stream’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-no-* (\*‘rising water’).

The adjective *arunuman-* is a derivative showing the suffix of appurtenance *-umen-* / *-umn-* (q.v.).

**aru $\dot{u}$ ae-<sup>z</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to prostrate oneself, to bow’ (Akk. *ŠUKĒNU*, 3sg.pres.act. *UŠKEN*): 3sg.pres.act. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-ez-zi* (OS, often), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-ez-zi* (OS, often), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-i-ez-zi* (KBo 25.127 ii 4 (OS)), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-e-ez-zi* (VSNF 12.10 i 2, 18, 25), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-iz-zi* (KUB 2.6 i 9), *a-ru-u- $\dot{u}$ a-iz-zi* (KBo 39.62 ii 9), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-zi* (KBo 13.214 iv 10), *ar- $\dot{u}$ a-iz-zi* (KUB 59.32 iii 10 3), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-an-zi* (OS?, often), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-an-zi* (OS?, often), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-en-zi* (KBo 17.28 l.col. 6 (OS)), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-en-zi* (KBo 12.131, 6 (OH/NS)), *a-ru-u- $\dot{u}$ a-an-zi* (KBo 8.117 ii 9), *ar- $\dot{u}$ a-an-zi* (KBo 4.9 ii 39), 1sg.pret.act. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-nu-un* (KUB 36.75+ ii 7), *ar- $\dot{u}$ a-a-nu-un* (KUB 14.13+ i 18), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-it* (KUB 23.36 ii 23, KUB 36.101 ii 6, 8, KUB 36.102, 7, KUB 48.106, 18), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-a-[i]t* (KUB 31.127 i 13), 3pl.pret.act. *ar- $\dot{u}$ a-er* (KBo 12.132 rev. 1), 3sg.imp.act. *[(a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-)]a-id-[du]* (KUB 13.10 obv. 3 with dupl. 919/v); part. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ru-u- $\dot{u}$ a-u-ar* (KBo 3.21 ii 10), inf.I *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-an-zi* (KBo 22.2 rev. 13 (OH/MS), KBo 10.11 i 2), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-u- $\dot{u}$ a-an-zi* (KBo 3.38 rev. 30 (OH/NS)); impf. *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ a-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ -iš-ke/a-*, *a-ru- $\dot{u}$ -e-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>or $\dot{u}$ o-je/o-*

The verb is attested from OS texts onwards and inflects according to the *hatrae*-class. This class consists of denominative verbs derived from *\*o*-stem nouns, which means that in this case, *aru $\ddot{u}$ ae-* is derived from a noun *\*aru $\ddot{u}$ a-*. Oettinger (1979a: 345<sup>171</sup> and 365) states that *aru $\ddot{u}$ ae-* must be derived from a noun *\*aru $\ddot{u}$ ā-* which is identical to Gr. ἀρῆ́ ‘prayer’. This reconstruction cannot be correct, however, as denominative verbs from nouns in *-eh<sub>2</sub>-* should inflect according to the *tā $\ddot{i}$ e/a*-class (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 393f.). Moreover, Gr. ἀρῆ́ reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r $\ddot{u}$ eh<sub>2</sub>-*, which should have given Hitt. *\*\*haru $\ddot{u}$ a-*.

Nevertheless, the connection does not have to be given up. If the noun *\*aru $\ddot{u}$ a-* was an *\*o*-stem (as is indicated by the fact that the verb inflects according to the *hatrae*-class), it is quite possible that it reflects *\*Hor $\ddot{u}$ o-*, since *o*-stem words often have *o*-grade in the root. If we then take into account that in front of *\*o* all three laryngeals were neutralized into *\*h<sub>1</sub>* (cf. Kortlandt 2004; Kloekhorst fthc.c), we are able to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>or $\ddot{u}$ o-*, an ablaut-variant of *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r $\ddot{u}$ eh<sub>2</sub>-* as seen in Gr. ἀρῆ́.

**-aš** (gen.sg.-ending)

PIE *\*-os*, *\*-s*

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The usual ending of gen.sg. is *-aš* or, when accentuated, *-āš* (compare *nēpišāš* vs. *taknāš*). This ending is found in consonant-stems as well as diphthong-, *a*-, *i*- and *u*-stems. It clearly reflects PIE *\*-os*, which was the normal gen.sg.-ending in *o*-stem nouns and in hysterodynamically inflected consonant-stems. In Hittite, only traces are left of the proterodynamic gen.sg.-ending *\*-s*, namely in the verbal noun suffix *-uar*, gen.sg. *-uāš* < *\*-ur* / *\*-u $\ddot{e}$ n-s* and in an occasional *u*-stem form like <sup>m</sup>*Nu-un-nu-uš* (KBo 3.34 i 16), the gen.sg. of the PN *Nunnu-* (cf. Friedrich 1960: 27 and Kimball 1999: 221 who gives more examples of gen.sg. in *-uš*; against this Melchert 1984a: 53, who rather sees these cases as syncope of *-ua-* to *-u-* in final syllables).

**-aš** (dat.-loc.pl.-ending)

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Although this ending is almost always spelled *-aš*, we find a few forms with plene spelling, namely *pa-ta-a-aš* (OS) ‘feet’ and *ud-da-na-a-aš* (MH/MS) ‘words’, which clearly shows that at least originally there was a difference between unaccentuated *-aš* and accentuated *-āš*. From the OH period onwards, *-aš* can also be used for the gen.pl., and in the NH period it is on its way to becoming the default plural marker, taking over the function of acc.pl.c. and nom.pl.c. as well.

Etymologically, the ending cannot be interpreted easily. Within the Anatolian languages, the Lycian dat.-loc.pl.-ending *-e* seems to be cognate and would point to PANat. *\*-os*. Note that the Luwian dat.-loc.pl.-endings, CLuw. *-anza* (which must be */-ant<sup>s</sup>/* on the basis of *i-pa-ma-an-za-aš=ta* (KBo 13.260 ii 28)) and HLuw. *-a-za = /-ant<sup>s</sup>/*, seem to be an inner-Luwian innovation, built on the acc.pl.-ending *\*(o)ms*.

In the other IE languages, the reconstruction of the dat.pl.-ending is difficult (note that loc.pl. *\*-su* is quite clear and cannot be cognate with Hitt. *-aš*): Skt. *-bhyas* seems to point to *\*-b<sup>h</sup>ios*, Lat. *-bus* can reflect *\*-b<sup>h</sup>os*, OLith. *-mus* and OCS *-mъ* point to *\*-mus*, which would also fit Goth. *-m*. It has been suggested that the forms with *\*-b<sup>h</sup>-* are due to conflation with the instr.pl.-ending *\*-b<sup>h</sup>i*, which would mean that *\*-mus* is more original. If Hitt. *-aš* and Lyc. *-e* indeed point to PANat. *\*-os*, I do not know how this form would fit into the picture. Perhaps we must analyse it as all.sg. *\*-o* + plural *\*-s*?

*āšš<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to remain, to stay, to be left’: 3sg.pres.act. *a-aš-zi* (OS, often), *aš-zi* (KBo 4.14 iii 43, 49 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-aš-ša-an-zi* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *a-aš-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-aš-še-er*, *a-aš-šer*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-aš-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *a-aš-ta-at* (KUB 22.70 obv. 18); part. *a-aš-ša-an-t-* (often), *aš-ša-an-t-* (rare); inf.I *a-aš-šu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 22.70 obv. 51); impf. *a-aš-ke/a-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eNs-* ??

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 366f. for attestations. The verb is almost consistently spelled with initial plene *a-* and a geminate *-šš-*. It does not show ablaut (the few forms without plene *a-* are to be seen as shorter spellings). It is predominantly found in the active, in which it contrasts with *āšš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>*, *āššīje/a<sup>-ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be loved, to be good’ which is only found in the middle.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is difficult. Especially the fact that we find a vowel *-a-* in a *mi*-inflected verb is awkward, as *mi*-verbs in principle show *\*e*-grade. Moreover, the geminate *-šš-* should be the result of some assimilation proces.

Older connections with *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’ and *eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* ‘to sit’ have been discarded (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 189; HW<sup>2</sup> A: 369), although it is generally stated that *āšš-* as a root present hardly can be but of IE origin (Puhvel (l.c.): “Indo-European origin of such a root-verb is likely”; HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.): “muß als primäres Vb. Ew. sein”).

The only other Hitt. *mi*-verb ending in *-ašš-* is *ku<sup>u</sup>ašš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to kiss’ (q.v.), which I reconstruct as *\*kuens-*. This could mean that *āšš-* reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>eNs-*. For the strong



stem forms this would work fine (*\*h<sub>1</sub>éNs-ti* > /ʔaSt<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *a-aš-zi*), but for the weak stem forms we have to reckon with analogical change (*\*h<sub>1</sub>Ns-énti* should regularly give *\*\*/ʔnt<sup>s</sup>ánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, spelled *\*\*an-za-an-zi*), for which we could compare 3sg. *ḫāši* ‘to give birth’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>oms-ei* besides 3pl. *ḫaššanzi* << *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-enti* that regularly should have given *\*\*hanzanzi*. Unfortunately, I know no words in other IE languages that reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>eNs-* and show similar semantics.

*āšš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>*, *āššije/a<sup>-ta(ri)</sup>* (IIIh/IIIg) ‘to be loved, to be good’ (Sum. SIG<sub>5</sub>): 3sg.pres.midd. *a-aš-ša-a-ri* (KUB 59.50 rev. 4 (NS)), *a-aš-ši-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 24.7 iv 37 (NS)), [*a-aš-ši-]ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 24.7 i 15 (NS)), [*a-aš-]ši-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 24.7 i 44 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *a-aš-ša-an-ta-ri* (KBo 22.126 obv. 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *a-aš-ši-ia-at-ta-at* (KUB 33.121 ii 9 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *a-aš-ši-ia-at-ta-ru* (KBo 35.254 obv.<sup>?</sup> 5, 7 (fr.) (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *a-aš-ši-ia-an-du* (KUB 41.19 i 6 (MH/NS)); part. *a-aš-ši-ia-an-t-* (often), *aš-ši-ia-an-t-* (rare); verb.noun. *a-aš-ši-ia-u-ua-ar* ‘favour, love’, instr. *a-aš-ši-ia-u-ni-it*, *a-aš-ši-ia-u-ua-an-ni-it*; impf. *a-aš-ši-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *āššijanu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make beloved(?)’ (impf. *a-aš-ši-ia-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 13.55 rev. 4, KUB 31.42 ii 23)), *āššijatar* / *āššijann-* (n.) ‘love’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ši-ia-tar*, gen.sg. *a-aš-ši-ia-an-na-aš*, *a-ši-ia-na-aš* (KUB 24.7 iv 19), dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-ši-ia-an-ni*, instr. [*a-aš-š*]i-ia-an-ni-it (KUB 33.64+KBo 21.60, 8)), *āššijauyant-* (c.) ‘lover’ (nom.sg. *a-aš-ši-ia-u-ua-an-za-aš=m=a-aš* (RS 25.421 rev. 62)), see also *āššu-*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. <sup>LITUUS</sup>*áza-* ‘to love’ (3sg.pres.act. *á-za-ti* (KARATEPE 2 §2), 3sg.pret.act. <sup>LITUUS</sup>*á-za-ta* (often), part. <sup>LITUUS</sup>*ázama/i-* (often)), <sup>LITUUS/OCULUS</sup>*ázatiwada-*, PN (lit. ‘beloved by the Sun(god)’), <sup>LITUUS</sup>**TONITRUS-huna-** <sup>LITUUS</sup>*áza-*, PN (lit. ‘beloved by the Storm-god’) <sup>OCULUS</sup>**DEUS-na-** <sup>OCULUS</sup>*ázama/i-*, PN (lit. ‘beloved by the gods’).

The verb is attested with middle forms only, which makes it distinguishable from *āšš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to remain, to be left’ that is predominantly found with active forms. In ‘to be loved’, we find a bare stem *āšš-* twice only, whereas the rest of the forms and all derivatives show a stem *āššije/a-*.

Within Hittite, it is quite clear that *āšš(ije/a)-* must in some way be cognate with *āššu-* / *āššau-* ‘good, dear, favourable’, but the exact connection is unclear. According to Weitenberg (1984: 96, following Laroche *apud* Bader 1969: 9<sup>3</sup>), it is not possible that *āšš(ije/a)-* is a derivative from *āššu-*, partly because the verbal stem ‘to love’ is common Anatolian (HLuw. *áza-* ‘to love’). This does not seem a valid argumentation to me, however: despite the fact that Luwian does not

possess a direct cognate of Hitt. *āššu-*, this adjective must have existed in PAnatolian (the *u*-stem seems PIE), and it is therefore perfectly possible that we find verbal derivations of it in Hittite (with the suffix *\*-īe/o-*) as well as in HLuwian (with the suffix *\*-skē/o-*, cf. Rieken 1999a: 459). Moreover, a strong argument in favour of a denominal derivation is that middles in Hittite reflect either *e*-grade (*ešari* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o*) or zero grade (*tukkāri* < *\*tuk-ó*), whereas *āšš-* hardly can be explained without assuming an *o*-grade. In my view, this *o*-grade can only be explained from a nominal origin. I therefore assume that *āšš(iē/a)-* is derived from the nominal stem *āššu-* / *āššau-*, for the etymology of which see there.

**-ašša-** (genitival adjective-suffix)

PIE *\*-osio-*

Although the use of a genitival adjective-suffix is especially known from the Luwian languages (CLuw. *-ašša/i-*, which even has fully supplanted the genitive case, HLuw. *-asa/i-* and Lyc. *-ahe/i-*), this suffix is found in Hittite as well, namely in *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>msósio-*, *iugašša-* ‘yearling’, derived from the noun *iuga-* ‘yearling’ (q.v.), which because of its OS attestation cannot be regarded as a Luwianism, and in *pedaššah<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to implace’, derived from *pedašša-*, itself a derivative from *peda-* ‘place’, which because of the *-e-* cannot be regarded as a Luwianism. On the basis of the fact that the *-a-* as found in Lyc. *-ahe/i-* in principle cannot reflect *\*o* or *\*e*, Melchert (1994a: 77) reconstructs this suffix as *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>so-*. On the basis of this reconstruction, he assumes that *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>so-* > Hitt. *-ašša-* shows that *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>sV* > Hitt. *VššV*. This is incorrect, however, as we can see from Hitt. *paḥšari* ‘protects’ < *\*peh<sub>2</sub>s-o*, Hitt. *paḥši* ‘protects’ < *\*poh<sub>2</sub>s-ei* and especially from *palahša-* /*plaHsa-* ‘a garment’ < *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>so-* (note that this last example cannot be explained as showing a secondary retention of *-h-*). In my view, we should rather assume that Lyc. *-ahe/i-* has received its *-a-* in analogy to the many *a*-stem nouns that reflect *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*.

We should rather follow Georgiev (1967: 164; 1972: 90) in assuming that the genitival adjective suffixes Hitt. *-ašša-*, Luw. *-ašša/i-* and Lyc. *-ahe/i-* are derived from a pre-form *\*-osio-* (with Lyc. *-ahe/i-* then from virtual *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>sio-*), in which the intervocalic cluster *\*-s<sub>i</sub>-* yielded *-šš-*, just as in Hitt. *uāšše/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to clothe’ < *\*us-īe/o-* (see at *uešš<sup>ta</sup>*; *uāšše/a<sup>zi</sup>* for a detailed treatment of this form and the development *\*Vs<sub>i</sub>V* > Hitt. *VššV*). Etymologically, this *\*-osio-* may be compared with the gen.-endings Skt. *-asya*, Hom. *-oto* < *\*-osio*, and, *mutatis mutandis*, with the Lat. suffix *-ārius* < *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>sio-*.

*aššanu-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *ašnu-<sup>zi</sup>*

*ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* (IIa3) ‘to seat, to make sit; to settle; to install’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-ša-aš-hé* (KBo 3.28 ii 24 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-aš-ḫi*, 2sg.pres.act. *a-ša-aš-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ša-a-ši* (OS, often), *a-ša-ši* (NS, often), *a-ša-še* (KBo 8.121, 6 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-še-ša-an-zi* (OH/NS, often), *a-še-e-ša-an-zi* (NS, 2x), *a-ši-ša-an-zi* (NS, 2x), 1sg.pret.act. *a-ša-aš-ḫu-un*, *aš-ša-aš-ḫu-un* (KUB 23.55 iv 7), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ša-aš-ta*, *a-ša-a[-aš-ta]* (KUB 14.13 i 38), *a-še-eš-ta* (KBo 3.4 ii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *a-še-še-er* (often, OH+), *a-še-šer*, *a-še-e-še-er* (KBo 3.63 i 11 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-še-er* (KBo 19.52, 4 (NS)), *a-ša-šer* (KUB 23.94, 11 (NS)), *e-še-šer* (KUB 41.1 iv 9 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *a-še-eš-te-e[n]* (KUB 1.16 ii 38 (OH/NS)), *a-še-eš-té[n]* (KBo 22.6 iv 3 (OH/NS)); 2sg.imp.med. *a-še-eš-ḫu-ut* (KBo 22.6 iv 24 (OH/NS)), *a-še-iš-ḫu-ut* (KBo 12. 1 iv 6 (OH/NS)); part. *a-še-ša-an-t-* (MH/MS), *a-še-e-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-še-šu-u-ua-ar* (HT 42 rev. 7, 11); inf.I *a-še-šu-ua-an-zi*; impf. *a-ša-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *a-še-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *ašeššar* / *ašešn-* (n.) ‘settlement; assembly’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-še-eš-šar*, gen.sg. *a-še-eš-na-aš*, *a-še-eš-ša-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-še-eš-ni* (OS), abl. *a-še-eš-na-za*, *a-še-eš-ša-an-na-az*), *aše/išanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to seat; to settle’ (1sg.pres.act. *a-ši-ša-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-še-ša-nu-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *a-še-ša-nu-(ua)an-zi*, *a-ši-ša-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-še-ša-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-še-ša-nu-ut*, *a-ši-ša-nu-ut*; inf.I *a-še-ša-nu-ma-an-zi*; impf. *a-še-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *a-ši-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>ós-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 385f. for attestations. The verb clearly shows an ablaut between *ašāš-* in the strong stem and *aše/iš-* in the weak stem and is therefore one of the few verbs that belongs to class IIa3, i.e. *ḫi*-verbs with an ablaut *ā/i* (also *ḫamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫame/ink-*, *garāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *gare/ip-* and *šarap-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarip-*). These verbs are generally explained as reflecting *\*o/e*-ablaut, but I think that this is improbable. As I have explained in § 2.2.2.2.f, the spelling of the weak stem with both *e* and *i* in my view indicate that this vowel is in fact was the phoneme /i/, which in these verbs emerged in the zero grade formations.

In this case, *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* clearly must be cognate with *eš-<sup>a(rj)</sup>* ‘to sit (down)’ (q.v.) and shows a full-reduplication. If *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* is derived from the middle stem *ēš-*, which probably goes back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-*, then it is possible that *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* goes back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>s-ei*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*. If, however, *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-* is derived from the active stem, which possibly reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-*, then we can reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>ós-ei*, *h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*. Either way, we have to assume for

both formations that in the zero grade stem  $*(h_1)h_1s(h_1)h_1s-$  the vowel /*h*/ emerged to solve the heavy cluster, yielding /ʔsis-*l*.

The fact that the initial  $*h_1-$  yields Hitt. /ʔ-/ (spelled *a-*), indicates that this verb was formed after the loss of initial prevocalic  $*h_1$ . If it were formed before that period, I do not understand how this verb could have analogically retained its laryngeal, because there was no model within the paradigm to restore it. See at *eš-a<sup>(ri)</sup>* for further etymology.

The causative is spelled *a-še-ša-nu-* and *a-ši-ša-nu-*, with an enigmatic extra *-a-* between the stem *aše/iš-* and the suffix *-nu-*. I can think of no other explanation than that this spelling is used to explicitly express the lenis character of *-š-*: /ʔsisnu-*l* and not  $**/ʔsiSnu-*l*$ .

**ašāuar / ašaun-** (n.) ‘sheepfold, pen’ (Sum. MA.AZ.ZA, Akk. MA-AZ-ZU-U): nom.-acc.sg. *a-ša-a-u-ar* (KUB 3.94 ii 15 (NS)), *a-ša-a-u-ur[a-ar]* (KUB 30.13 obv. 17 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *a-ša-ú-ni* (OS), *a-ša-u-ni* (KUB 13.5 ii 22 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-u-na-i* (Bo 6002 obv. 7 (undat.)), abl. *a-ša-ú-na-az* (KUB 30.10 obv. 15 (OH/MS)), *a-ša-u-na-az* (KUB 13.4 iv 59 (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 ii 12 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl. *a-ša-u-ua* (KBo 17.92 obv. 6 (MS)), *a-ša-u-ua-ar* (KBo 10.2 i 7 (OH/NS)).

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See Puhvel HED 1/2: 296f. and HW<sup>2</sup> A: 393f. for attestations and semantics. The word denotes a sheepfold and is attested from OH texts onwards. This noun belongs to the small class of nouns in *-āuar / -aun-*, to which also *haršāuar / haršaun-* ‘tilled land’, *karāuar / karaun-* ‘horns, antlers’, *partauar / partaun-* ‘wing’ and *šarāuar / šaraun-* ‘storm-clouds’ belong. Although e.g. *haršāuar* ‘tilled land’ clearly seems to belong with *hārš-i* ‘to till (the soil)’, the exact interpretation of the suffix *-āuar* is unclear. In isolated forms like *išhāuar* ‘yoke-plough-set (?)’ and *mugāuar* ‘materials for an invocation ritual’, the origin is more clear (verbal nouns from *išhai-i / išhi-* (so *išhāuar* <  $*išhai-uar$ ) and *mugae-zi* (so *mugāuar* from  $*mugaia-uar$ )), but that does not solve the problem of the other nouns. As I have argued under the lemma *karāuar / karaun-*, we may have to compare *-āuar / -aun-* to *-ātar / -ānn-* <  $*-ó-tr / -ó-tn-$  and assume that we are dealing with  $*-ó-ur / -ó-un-$ . Puhvel (l.c.) assumes an etymological connection with *eš-zi / aš-* ‘to sit’, which would point to a reconstruction  $*h_1s-ó-ur$ .

**aši / uni / ini** (demonstr. pron.) ‘that (one)’: nom.sg.c. *a-ši* (OH/MS), *a-ši-iš* (NH), *u-ni-iš* (NH), *e-ni-iš* (NH), acc.sg.c. *u-ni* (OH/MS), *a-ši* (OH+), *u-ni-in* (NH), nom.-acc.sg. *i-ni* (OH/MS), *e-ni* (OH/MS), *i-e-ni* (KUB 1.16+ iii 40

(OH/NS)), gen.sg. *e-el* (KUB 49.70 rev. 20 (NH)), *u-ni-ja-aš* (NH), dat.sg. *e-di* (OS), *e-da-ni* (MH/MS), abl. *e-di-iz* (MH/MS), *e-te-ez* (NH), *e-da-za* (NH), nom.pl.c. *e* (OS), *u-ni-uš* (NH), *e-ni-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *u-ni-uš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *e-da-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***iniššan*** (adv.) ‘thus, as stated’ (*i-ni-iš-ša-an* (MH/MS), *e-ni-iš-ša-an* (NH), *e-ni-eš-ša-an* (NH)).

See Goedegebuure (2003: 106ff.) for a detailed treatment of this pronoun. She argues that *aši* refers to things associated with a 3rd person (‘that (in the presence of him)’), whereas *kā-* is associated with the 1st person (‘this (here)’) and *apā-* with the 2nd person (‘that (near you)’).

The oldest forms of this pronoun are *aši*, *uni*, *ini* and *edi*. These probably go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós + -i*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>óm + -i* and *\*i + -m + -i* (compare *kāš*, *kūn*, *kī* < *\*kós*, *\*kóm*, *\*kī*). It seems as if dat.-loc.sg. *edi* shows a stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*. Note that the form *uni* and its derivatives (*uniāš* e.a.) are consistently spelled with initial *u-* and never with *ú-*. This points to */ʔóni/*, < *\*/ʔón/ + /-i/*, in which */ʔón/* is the regular outcome of *\*h<sub>1</sub>óm*, just as *ku-u-un* /*kón*/ goes back to *\*kóm* (see at *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-*).

According to Goedegebuure, the nom.pl. pronoun *e* does not belong to this paradigm but formally it could show the same formation, viz. *\*h<sub>1</sub>oi (+ -i)*. In MH times the form *ini* is changed to *eni*, which I regard as an example of the MH lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-*, cf. § 1.4.8.1.d. In MH and NH times we encounter forms that are remodelled on the basis of the stems *aši-*, *uni-* and *eni-*, yielding forms like nom.sg. *ašiš* and gen.sg. *uniāš*.

It is quite likely that this pronoun belongs with the pronoun *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*, *\*i-* as reflected in e.g. Skt. *ayám* (m.), *idám* (n.), *iyám* (f.), Lat. *is* (m.), *id* (n.), *ea* (f.) and Goth. *is* (m.), *ita* (n.). Note, however, that in the other IE languages no stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-* can be found (e.g. Beekes 1995: 205 reconstructs nom.sg.m. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e*, acc.sg.m. *\*im*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*id*, nom.sg.f. *\*ih<sub>2</sub>*, acc.sg.f. *\*ih<sub>2</sub>m*, obl. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*). Perhaps the stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-* was created within Anatolian in analogy to the pronouns *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki* and *apā-* / *apū-*. So the virtual pre-forms nom.sg.c. *\*h<sub>1</sub>os*, acc.sg.c. *\*h<sub>1</sub>om*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*h<sub>1</sub>i*, obl. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-* show an adaptation of the PIE system nom.sg.c. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e*, acc.sg.c. *\*h<sub>1</sub>im*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*h<sub>1</sub>i*, obl. *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-* under influence of the pronouns that inflect nom.sg.c. *\*-os*, acc.sg.c. *\*-om*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*-od*. Note that nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*h<sub>1</sub>i* (and not *\*\*h<sub>1</sub>id!*) spread to the paradigm of *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-*.

The adverb *iniššan* corresponds to *kiššan* (once also *kiniššan!*) and the rare *apiniššan*.

***āššije/a-***<sup>ta(ri)</sup>: see *āšš-*<sup>a(ri)</sup>, *āššije/a-*<sup>ta(ri)</sup>

(LÚ) *ašiyant-* (adj.; c.) ‘poor (man)’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>MÁŠDA): nom.sg.c. *a-ši-ya-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *a-ši-ya-an-ta-an*, *a-ši-ya-an-da-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-ya-an* (KUB 41.32 rev. 9), gen.sg. *a-ši-ya-an-da-aš*, nom.pl.c. *a-ši-ya-an-te-eš*.

Derivatives: *ašiyantatar* (n.) ‘poverty’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-š[i-y]a-an-ta-tar* (KUB 21.18 iv 10)), *ašiyantēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become poor’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-ši-ya-an-te-eš-zi*; impf. *a-ši-ya-an-te-eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *āššiyant(i)-* (adj.) ‘poor’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-ya-an*), *āššiyantattar / āššiyantattn-* (n.) ‘poverty’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-at-tar*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-a-ši-iš*, *a-aš-ši-ú-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-iš*, acc.sg.c. *a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in*, *a-aš-ši-ú-ya-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in*).

This noun and its derivatives are in Hittite consistently spelled *a-ši-ya-an-*, except for nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-ya-an* (KUB 41.32 rev. 9), which therefore is interpreted by Melchert (1993b: 36) as a CLuwian form. See Starke (1990: 448f.) for an extensive treatment of the CLuwian word *āššiyantattar* ‘poverty’.

The old etymology of *ašiyant-* (going back to Jucqois 1964: 87-9), interpreting it as *\*ṇ-djeu-ont-* ‘having no god’ > ‘poor’ is based on the semantic parallel OCS *ne-bogъ* ‘poor’. In this latter word, however, the element *bogъ* does not refer to ‘god’ but to ‘wealth’ as in *bogatъ* ‘rich’. The semantic parallel therefore is weak. Formally the etymology has become improbable too, as we now cannot separate Hitt. *ašiyant-* from CLuw. *āššiyant-*, which word cannot reflect *\*ṇ-djeu-* because of the fact that CLuwian does not show assibilation of dentals in front of *\*i*. In which way the words are connected remains unclear, however. A discrepancy between single *-š-* in Hitt. and geminate *-šš-* in CLuw. could be explained through Čop’s Law, but this implies a reconstruction *\*éši-*, which does not account for Hitt. *a-*.

*āška-* (gender unclear) ‘gate(way)’ (Sum. KÁ(.GAL)): acc.sg. *a-aš-kán* (KUB 44.57, 12, KBo 24.56 ii 8), *a-aš-ka-n=a=kán* (KUB 15.24 i 6), dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-ki* (OS, often), *aš-ki*, *aš-ki-i* (KUB 33.4 rev. 16), all.sg. *a-aš-ka* (OS), *aš-ka* (KUB 33.61 i 3), *a-aš-ga*, abl. *a-aš-ka-az* (OS, often), *a-aš-ka-za*, *a-aš-ga-az*, *a-aš-ga-za*, *a-aš-ka<sub>r</sub>-za*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-aš-ka-aš* (KUB 33.121 iii 13), *a-aš-ga-aš* (KUB 30.27 rev. 8, 15).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>os-ko- ??*

The word is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. The gender cannot be determined as all relevant forms (nom.sg., nom.pl. and acc.pl.) are unattested.

According to Puhvel (HED 1/2: 215), *āška-* probably is a native Anatolian term, like so many other terms used for (parts of) buildings. Formally, however, *āška-* does not show any clear signs of foreign origin, but a good IE etymology fails nonetheless. Oettinger (p.c.), however, suggests to me that if we assume that initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* drops before *\*o* (as I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c), that *āška-* may be connected with the verb *ḫaš-*, *ḫeš-* ‘to open’, if the latter indeed reflects a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-*. In that case, we would have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>os-ko-*.

***āšma*** (interject.) ‘lo, behold’: *a-aš-ma* (OH/MS).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós +*

This word is consistently spelled *a-aš-ma*. It cannot be treated without taking *kāšma* ‘lo, behold’ into account. The latter has a variant *kāša*, which in my view proves that it consists of *kāš + =(m)a* ‘but’. Just as *kāš(m)a* belongs with *kā-* ‘this’, *āšma* must belong with *a-* ‘that’ (see *aši / uni / ini*), and go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós + =(m)a*.

***ašnu-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to take care of; to be done with; to deliver’: 1sg.pres.act. *aš-nu-mi*, *aš-ša-nu-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *aš-nu-ši*, *aš-ša-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *aš-nu-zi*, *aš-nu-uz-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-uz-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *aš-nu-me-ni*, *[aš-š]a-nu-um-me-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *aš-nu-ut-te-ni*, *aš-ša-nu-ut-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *aš-nu-an-zi*, *aš-nu-ua-an-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-an-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *aš-ša-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *aš-nu-ut*, *aš-ša-nu-ut*, 1pl.pret.act. *aš-ša-nu-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *aš-ša-nu-e-er*, *aš-ša-nu-er*, 1sg.imp.act. *aš-nu-ul-lu*, *a-aš-ša-[nu-]ul-lu*, 2sg.imp.act. *aš-nu-ut*, *aš-ša-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *aš-ša-nu-ud-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *aš-ša-nu-ut-te-en*; 3sg.pres.midd *aš-nu-ut-ta*, *aš-nu-ut-ta-ri*, *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta*, *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ri*, *aš-ša-nu-ud-da-ri*, *a-aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri*, 3pl.pres.midd. *aš-nu-ua-an-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *aš-nu-ut-ta-at*, *aš-nu-ut-ta-ti*, 3sg.imp.midd. *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ru*; part. *aš-nu-ua-an-t-*, *aš-ša-nu-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun *aš-nu-mar*, *aš-ša-nu-mar*, *aš-nu-ua-ua-ar*, *aš-ša-nu-ua-ua-ar*; impf. *aš-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-neu-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 372f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations of *ašnu-*<sup>zi</sup> are spelled *aš-nu-* or *aš-ša-nu-*. Only sporadically we find forms with initial plene *a-* (e.g. once *a-aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 32.103 ii 15) besides 70x *aš-nu-an-zi*, 20x

*aš-nu-ua-an-zi*, 7x *aš-ša-nu-an-zi*, 20x *aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi* and 1x *aš-ša-nu-u-ua-an-zi* (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 373)).

The verb has quite a wide range of semantic usages. Most attestations seem to mean ‘to take care of (persons, gods)’. In the hippological texts *ašnu-zi* can have ‘horses’ as object and then probably means ‘to massage’ (\*‘to take care of (horses)’). When *ašnu-* is used with an infinitive, it means ‘to be done with’, which could have developed out of ‘to have taken care of’. In rituals, it often has an object ‘cup(s)’ or ‘food’ and seems to mean ‘to deliver’, e.g.

KBo 2.4 i

(19) *nu GIM-an SISKUR pí-ia-an-zi GAL<sup>HLA</sup>=kán*

(20) *aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi*

‘When they give an offering, they deliver the cups’;

VSNF 12.29 i

(8) *GAL DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL=za e-ša ta ḫal-zi-ī[a]*

(9) *GAL<sup>H[LA]</sup>-uš<sup>?</sup> aš-ša-nu-ua-an-zi*

(10) *ḫa-an-[e]-ez-zi pal-ši GUB-aš<sup>dU</sup> pí-ḫa-ša-ši-i[n]*

(11) *e-ku-zi*

‘The head of the palace servants sits down and screams. They deliver the cups.

First he drinks to the *p*. Storm-god standing’.

I think that it is possible that this meaning has developed out of an original ‘to take care of / to have taken care of’ as well. All in all, it is likely that the original meaning of *ašnu-zi* is ‘to take care of, to have taken care of’. A similar interpretation can be found in HW<sup>2</sup> A: 372, where we find the translation “(Lebewesen) versorgen; (Dinge/Sachen) besorgen”. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 192), cites the verb as “*as(sa)nu-*, *assiyanu-*”, however, and translates “favour, keep happy, propitiate (deities or superiors), set aright (afflicted parties), treat gently, massage (racehorses); make good, carry out (well), bring off (cf. ‘he made good his escape’), dispose (properly), get done, be done with”. These meanings seem to be especially based on the fact that Puhvel assumes an etymological connection with *āšš-a<sup>(ri)</sup>*, *āššīe/a<sup>(ri)</sup>* ‘to be loved’ and *āššu-* / *āššay-* ‘good’. Not only is this connection unlikely on semantical grounds (the basic meaning of *ašnu-* is ‘to take care of’ and not ‘to make happy or beloved’), formally the connection does not work either (*ašnu-* is hardly ever spelled with initial plene *a-*, whereas *āšš-*, *āššu-* and their derivatives always are). The two forms of the verb *āššījanu-* that Puhvel



stealthily equates with *ašnu-* do not belong here but indeed are derived from  $\bar{a}\check{s}\check{s}\text{-}^{a(ri)}$ ,  $\bar{a}\check{s}\check{s}i\check{j}e/a\text{-}^{ta(ri)}$ , for which see there.

There is no consensus regarding the etymological interpretation of this verb. An interpretation as a causative of  $\bar{e}\check{s}\text{-}$  ‘to sit (down)’ has been suggested (Götze 1928: 102ff.), but does not make sense semantically. A connection to  $\bar{a}\check{s}\check{s}u\text{-}$  ‘good’ (so Puhvel HED 1/2: 205, who compares *tepmu-* ‘to diminish’ from *tēpu-* ‘small’) is difficult formally (consistent plene writing of *a-aš-šu* vs. the almost consistent absence of plene in *aš-(ša-)nu-*). HW<sup>2</sup> A: 383 therefore states “*aš(ša)nu-* gehört seiner Bed. nach weder zu *eš-* “sitzen, sich setzen” noch zu *aššu-* “gut”. [...] Etymol. steht aus”.

If we look at *ašnu-* objectively, it hardly cannot be but a causative of a verb *aš(ša)-*. As causatives in principle are derived of the weak stem, not only the verb  $\bar{e}\check{s}\text{-}^{a(ri)}$  ‘to sit down’ (with active forms  $e\check{s}\text{-}^{zi}$  / *aš-*), but also the verb  $e\check{s}\text{-}^{zi}$  / *aš-* ‘to be’ is, on formal grounds, a possible candidate for being the source of *ašnu-*, especially if we compare the causative  $\check{s}a\check{s}nu\text{-}^{zi}$  of  $\check{s}e\check{s}\text{-}^{zi}$  / *šaš-* ‘to sleep’ (also spelled *šaššamu-*). This connection would work semantically as well: ‘to make be’ is semantically equal to ‘to take care of’ and ‘to have taken care of’. I therefore assume that *ašnu-* is the causative of  $\bar{e}\check{s}\text{-}^{zi}$  / *aš-* ‘to be’ and that it reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-neu-*. See at  $e\check{s}\text{-}^{zi}$  / *aš-* for further etymology. The numerous spellings with *aš-ša-nu-* show that this verb phonologically is to be interpreted as /ʔSnu-/.

**=(a)šta** (encl. locative sentence particle): *C=ašta* (*t=a-aš-ta* (OS), *pa-ra=m=a-aš-ta* (OS), *ḥa-a-ra-na-an=aš-ta* (OS), *n=a-aš-ta* (OS), *ma-a-n=a-aš-ta* (OS), *ka-lu-lu-pí-i=š-mi-t=a-aš-ta* (OS)), *-e/i=šta* (*t=e-e=š-ta* (OS), *nu-u=š-še-e=š-ta* (OS), *nu-u=š-ši-i=š-ta* (MH/MS), *n=e-e=š-ta* (KBo 21.90 obv. 21 (OH/MS))).

This particle occurs in OH, MH and NH texts, but its use decreases through the time. In my corpus of OS texts (consisting of 23.000 words), **=(a)šta** occurs 74 times (= 3.2 promille), in my corpus of MH/MS texts (consisting of 18.000 words), it occurs 50+ times (2.8 promille), whereas in my NH corpus (consisting of 95.000 words), it occurs 19 times only (0.2 promille). It is clear that after the MH period, the use of this particle falls into disfavour.

In the OS and MH/MS texts, we see that the particle behaves just like **=(a)pa** and **=(a)n**, i.e. it shows the form **=ašta** when following a consonant or a word ending in *u* or *a* (which are dropped in favour of the *a* of **=ašta**): *mān=ašta*, *t=ašta* and *n=ašta*; but drops its first *-a-* when following a word ending in *e* or *i*: *t=e=šta*, *nu=šši=šta*. In NH, the latter rule is lost (e.g. *le-e=aš-ta* (Bronzetafel iii 31 (NH))).

The exact meaning of  $=(a)šta$  is not fully clear. According to HW<sup>2</sup> (A: 426f.) the basic meaning is ‘out of’, contrasting with  $=(a)n$  and *anda* ‘in(to)’.

Since a similar particle is not found in the other Anatolian languages, and since there is no locative adverb that matches  $=(a)šta$  in form and meaning, an etymology is lacking.

***āššu-*** / ***āššau-*** (adj.) ‘good; dear; favourable’ (Sum. SIG<sub>5</sub>): nom.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-uš* (OS), acc.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-un*, nom.acc.sg.n. *a-aš-šu* (OS), gen.sg.c. *a-aš-ša-u-(u)a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-ša-u-i*, *a-aš-ša-u-e*, abl. *a-aš-ša-u-a-az*, *a-aš-šu-u-a-az*, *a-aš-šu-u-a-za*, instr. *a-aš-ša-u-it*, *a-aš-ša-u-i-it*, *a-aš-ša-u-e-et*, *a-aš-ša-ú-e-et*, nom.pl.c. *a-aš-ša-u-e-eš* (MH/MS), *a-aš-ša-a-u-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *a-aš-ša-mu-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-aš-ša-(u)u-a*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-aš-ša-u-aš*.

Derivatives: ***āššu-*** (n.) ‘good(ness), good things; goods, possessions’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-šu* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-šu-ú-i*, *a-aš-šu-i*, *a-aš-ša-u-i*, erg.sg. *a-aš-šu-u-a-an-za*, *a-aš-ša-u-u-a-za*, *a-aš-ša-u-u-a-an<sup>1</sup>-za* (KUB 22.64 iii 7), abl. *a-aš-šu-u-a-az*, *a-aš-ša-u-u-a-az*, instr. *a-aš-šu-it*, *a-aš-šu-i-it*, *a-aš-ša-u-it*, *a-aš-ša-u-i-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *a-aš-šu-u* (OS), dat.-loc.pl. *a-aš-šu-u-aš*), ***āššuuant-*** (adj.) ‘good; favourable’ (nom.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-u-a-an-za*, *a-aš-šu-u-u-a-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-u-a-an-da-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-šu-u-a-an-ti*, instr. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an-te-et*), ***āššuuatar*** / ***āššuuann-*** (n.) ‘favourableness, friendly fashion’ (nom.-acc.sg. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*u-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-šu-an-ni*, *a-aš-šu-u-a-an-ni*), ***aššul*** (n.), ***aššula-*** (c.) ‘favour; greeting; well-being’ (Sum. SILIM-*ul*; nom.-acc.sg.n. *aš-šu-ul*, (MH/MS, often), *aš-šu-ú-ul* (MH/MS, 2x), *a-aš-šu-ul* (1x), nom.sg.c. *aš-šu-la-aš*, acc.sg.c. *aš-šu-la-an*, *a-aš-šu-la-an*, gen.sg. *aš-šu-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *aš-šu-li* (MH/MS, often), *aš-šu-ú-li* (1x), *a-aš-šu-li* (1x)), ***āššulatar*** / ***āššulann-*** (n.) ‘well-being’ (dat.-loc.sg. *aš-šu-la-an-ni*, *a-aš-šu-la-ni*), see also *āšš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>*, *āššije/a<sup>-ua(ri)</sup>*.

IE cognates: Gr. *έύς* ‘good’, Skt. *sú* ‘good’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s-u-* ?

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 492f. for attestations. The adjective is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. It is almost consistently spelled *a-aš-šu-* or *a-aš-ša-u-*. When substantivized, it denotes ‘the good > goods’, which is found from OS texts onwards as well. Note that the adjective *āššu-* shows ablaut (*āššu-*, *āššau-*) whereas the noun *āššu-* in principle does not show ablaut (like all *u-* and *i-* stem nouns), although some traces of it are still found, revealing the fact that *āššu-* in origin was a substantivized adjective.

An etymological connection with Gr. *έύς* ‘good’ and Skt. *sú*, *su-* ‘good’ is generally accepted, although opinions regarding the exact reconstruction differ.

Important is the question whether the noun is derived from the adjective or the other way around. Watkins (1982a: 261) argued that the noun reflects a PIE stative *u*-stem noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós-u*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-u*, whereas the adjective goes back to a derived proterokinetic *u*-stem adjective *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-u-*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-eu-*. Melchert (1994c: 300f.) takes over this view and argues that the noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós-u* yielded Hitt. *\*āšu*, whereas the oblique *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-u-* yielded Hitt. *\*aššu-* via ‘limited’ Čop’s Law, by which an accentuated initial *\*e* yields *a* with gemination of the following consonant. These forms, *\*āšu* and *\*aššu-* get mixed, yielding the form *āššu-*, which stem then was generalized in the adjective as well.

Problematic to this account, however, is the fact that in the other IE languages no *u*-stem nouns of this stem are found, whereas *u*-stem adjectives are. I therefore assume that the adjective *āššu-* is primary, and that the noun *āššu-* is a mere neuter substantivation of it. Moreover, the sound law that Melchert introduces in his 1994b-paper (*\*#éC- > aCC-*) to explain the geminate *-šš-* of *āššu-*, is designed for three words only (*āššu-*, *ammuk* and *anni-*), and in my view has no merit.

The biggest problem of the Hittite word is the geminate *-šš-*. It cannot be but the product of assimilation of some consonant to *\*s*. If we want to save the etymological connection with Skt. *sú*, *su-* and Gr. *έύς*, which excludes reconstructions like *\*ans-* as e.g. in Puhvel (HED 1/2: 206), the only possibility is that *-šš-* reflects *\*-Hs-*. This would mean that *āššu-* reflects *\*HoHs-u-*. Because of the Gr. *ε-*, the laryngeals cannot be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, so the form must have been *\*h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s-(é)u-* (note that a preform *\*h<sub>1</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>s-u-* would have yielded *\*\*/?ásu-*, spelled as *\*\*a-a-šu-*). This means that *a-aš-šu-* represents */?áSu-* (cf. *a-ar-aš-zi = /?árSt<sup>s</sup>i/*). All in all, we must reckon with a original paradigm *\*h<sub>1</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>s-u-s*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-éu-s*, which after generalization of the full-grade stem was altered to *\*h<sub>1</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>s-u-s*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s-éu-s*. This paradigm regularly should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*/?ásu*/, *\*\*/?aSús*/, which was levelled out to */?áSu-*, spelled *a-aš-šu-*. The question is, of course, what kind of formation this is. On the one hand, one could compare Gr. *ώκός* ‘quick’, Skt. *āsú-* ‘fast’, which, if they are to be connected with *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekuos* ‘horse’ and Lat. *acupediús* ‘quick-footed’ < *\*HHk-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 77), must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-h<sub>1</sub>k-*, an *o*-reduplicated *u*-stem adjective. In that way, Hitt. *āššu-* would reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-h<sub>1</sub>s-* besides Gr. *έύς* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-u-* and Skt. *sú*, *su-* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>su(-)*. On the other hand, one could wonder to what extent the Gr. epic form *ήύς* ‘good’ is linguistically real. It has generally been dismissed as an epic metrically lengthened form, but I do not see why (*έύς* is not problematic for the hexametre). If *ήύς* and *έύς* are ablaut-variants, it would point to a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* besides *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-*. Then we could interpret Hitt. *āššu-* as the *o*-grade

variant *\*h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s-u-* of which the *e*-grade is visible in Gr. ῥύς and the zero grade in Gr. ἔύς and Skt. *sú*.

The derivative *aššul-* is predominantly spelled without initial plene *a-* which is plausibly explained by Rieken (1999a: 459f.) as due to the fact that this word was accentuated on the suffix (as visible in the few spellings *aš-šū-ú-ul*), leaving the initial *a-* unstressed and therefore short (or are we dealing with a zero-grade formation *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-éul* here?).

In my view, it is likely that the verb *āšš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *āššije/a-<sup>!a(ri)</sup>* ‘to be loved’ is derived from *āššū-* and not the other way around (pace Puhvel HED 1/2: 205 and Weitenberg 1984: 96). If we would assume that the verb is basic, we would have a very hard time explaining both the vowel *ā* and the geminate *-šš-*.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*āššušanni* (uninfl.) ‘horse-trainer’: stem *a-aš[-š]u-uš-ša-an-ni* (KUB 1.13 i 1), *a-aš-šū-uš-ša-an-n[i]* (KUB 29.44+ iii 46).

The word is used as the title of Kikkuli, the Hurrian horse-trainer: KUB 1.13 i (1) *UM-MA<sup>1</sup>Ki-ik-ku-li<sup>LÚ</sup>a-aš[-š]u-uš-ša-an-ni* (2) *ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup>Mi-it-ta-an-ni* ‘Thus speaks Kikkuli, the horse-trainer from Mittanni-land’. Like many horse-training terms from the Kikkuli-text, this word, too, is generally regarded to be (at least partly) of Indic origin, reflecting Ind. *aśva-* ‘horse’.

*āššuzēri-* (n.) ‘good-cup’ (Sum. ZA.ĤUM, Akk. *BIBRU*): nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-šū-zé-ri* (KUB 27.13 i 13 (NS)), *a-aš-šū zé-e-ri* (KUB 1.17 i 5 (OH/NS)), instr. *a-aš-šū-zé-ri-it* (KBo 20.67 i 18 (OH/MS)), [*a-aš-šū-z*]*é-rī-it* (KBo 17.75 ii 58 (OH/MS?)), *a-aš-šū z[é-r]i[-it]* (IBoT 2.67, 11 (NS)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 541 for attestations. The word is written with and without a word space between *āššū* and *zēri-*, so we are clearly dealing with a univerbation of the two words, forming ‘good-cup’. See both at *āššū-* ‘good’ and at *zēri-* ‘cup’ for further etymology.

**-at** (3sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-a(ri)*, *-at(i)*

**atta-** (c.) ‘father’ (Sum. A.A.MU, Akk. *ABU*): nom.sg. *at-ta-aš* (OS), *ad-da-aš*, acc.sg. *at-ta-an* (MH/MS), *ad-da-an*, gen.sg. *at-ta-aš*, *ad-da-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *at-ti*, nom.pl. *at-ti-e-eš* (KUB 17.29 ii 7), acc.pl. *at-tu-uš* (OS), *ad-du-uš*, gen.pl. *ad-da-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ad-da-aš*.

Derivatives: **attalla-** ‘fatherly, paternal’ (nom.-acc.pl. *at-ta-al-la* (KUB 33.106 iii 50).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **tāta/i-** (c.) ‘father’ (nom.sg. *ta-a-ti-iš*, acc.sg. *ta-a-ti-in*, dat.-loc.sg. *da-a-ti-i*, *da-a-ti*, nom.pl. *ta-ti-in-zi*), **tāti(ia)-** (adj.) ‘paternal’ (nom.sg.c. *ta-a-ti-i-iš*, *ta-ti-i-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-ti-i-ia-an*, *ta-a-ti-ia-an*, abl.-instr. *ta-ti-ia-ti*, nom.pl.c. *da-a-ti-i-in-zi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ta-a-ti-e-ia*), **tatalla/i-** (adj.) ‘paternal’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *da-da-al-la*); HLuw. **tati-** (c.) ‘father’ (nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa*, *tá-ti-i-sa*, *tá-ti-sa<sub>s</sub>*, acc.sg. *tá-ti-na*, dat.-loc.sg. *tá-ti(-i)*, *tà-ti-i*, nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi*, *tá-ti-i-zi*, acc.pl. *tá-ti-zi*, dat.-loc.pl. *tá-ti-ia-za*), **tatiia-** (adj.) ‘paternal’ (dat.-loc.sg.? *tá-ti-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A23 §11), nom.-acc.pl.n. *tá-ti-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §8)), **tatala/i-** (adj.) ‘fatherly’ (nom.sg.c. *tá-tà-li-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §11)); Lyd. **taada-** (c.) ‘father’ (nom.sg. *taadas*); Lyc. **tede/i-** (c.) ‘father(?)’ (nom.sg. *tedi*, dat.-loc.sg. *teθθi*).

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 541f. for attestations. It is remarkable that Hittite shows a stem *atta-*, whereas the other Anatolian languages show *\*todo-*. Both stems clearly are onomatopoeic: Hitt. *atta-* can be compared to e.g. Lat. *atta*, Gr. ἄτρα, Goth. *atta*, OCS *otbcb* etc. ‘father’, whereas *\*todo-* is comparable with e.g. ModEng. *daddy* etc.

HLuw. *tati-* often is cited as an *i*-motion stem *tata/i-* (especially on the basis of the stem *tata-* in *tatala/i-* ‘paternal), but dat.-loc.pl. *tá-ti-ia-za* shows that at least synchronically the word functions as an *i*-stem.

**-ātar / -ānn-** (abstract-suffix).

PIE *\*-ótr / \*-ótn-*

The abstract-suffix *-ātar / -ānn-* can be denominal as well as deverbal. Cf. e.g. *anniātar* ‘mothership’, *antuḥšātar* ‘mankind’, *ḥantezzijātar* ‘first position’ for the former category and e.g. *akkātar* ‘death’, *ḥukātar* ‘conjuration’, *uyātar* ‘inspection’ etc. for the latter category. If the abstract in *-ātar* is derived from an ablauting noun or verb, this noun or verb shows the weak stem. The suffix is *-r/n-* inflected: it shows nom.-acc.sg. *-ātar* vs. oblique *-ānn-* which must reflect *\*-ātn-*. It must be noted that despite the fact that both *-ātar* and *-ānn-* are often attested without plene spelling of *-a-*, there are enough cases in which the plene spelling is found to suggest that in all cases we should in fact assume that we are dealing with *-ātar* and *-ānn-*.

In CLuwian, we find the abstract-suffix *-attar / at(ta)n-*, e.g. in *kuršattar / kuršat(ta)n-* ‘parcel of land < \*cutting’ or *gulzattar / gulzat(ta)n-* ‘sketch <

\*carving'. It is clear that these suffixes must be etymologically connected. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that we find a lenis *-t-* = /d/ in Hittite vs. a fortis *-tt-* = /t/ in CLuwian. In my view, this points to the following scenario. The pre-PAnatolian form of this suffix, *\*-ótr* / *\*-ótn-* yielded PAnat. *\*-/ódr/*, *\*-/ótn-* (lenition of *\*-t-* in 'intervocalic' position, but not as part of a cluster). In CLuwian, the nom.-acc.sg.-form *\*-/ódr/* regularly yielded *\*\*-/ádr/*, which was at some point altered to *\*-/átr/* in analogy to */-t-/* as found in the oblique stem */-átn-*. In Hittite the oblique stem *\*-/ótn-* assimilated to */-áN-*, however, which means that there was no model anymore on the basis of which the nom.-acc.sg.-form */-ádr/* could be altered. This means that e.g. *appātar* / *appānn-* 'seizing' reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-ótr* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-ótn-*. Note that Melchert 1994a: 86 reconstructs this suffix as *\*-éh<sub>2</sub>tr* / *\*-éh<sub>2</sub>tn-*, probably on the basis of the fact that he does not reckon with lenition due to *\*ó*, as well as on the basis of a presupposed connection with the factitive-suffix *-ahh<sup>i</sup>-* (q.v.). This latter assumption cannot be correct: not only is there no semantic connection between the factitives in *-ahh-* and the abstract nouns in *-ātar* / *-ānn-*, the suffix *-ahh-* is denominal only and would not be able to account for the many deverbal formations in *-ātar* / *-ānn-*. Moreover, if Lyc. *tukedri* 'statue' indeed would show a suffix *-edri* that must be compared to Hitt. *-ātar* (Eichner 1973: 80), it would show beyond doubt that we have to reconstruct *\*-otr*, since *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-* would have yielded Lyc. *-a-*.

See at *-ānna* for the fact that this inf.I-suffix is the original allative within the paradigm of *-ātar* / *-ānn-*, and at *-anna/i-* for the verbal derivative of this suffix.

**-ati** (3sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-a(ri)*, *-at(i)*

**au<sup>i</sup> / u-** (IIa1α) 'to see, to look' (Akk. *AMARU*): 1sg.pres.act. *u-uh<sup>i</sup>-hi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *a-ut-ti* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *a-uš-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-me-e-ni* (OS), *ú-me-ni* (OS), *a-ú-ma-ni* (VBoT 1, 12 (MH/MS)), *a-ú-me-n[i]* (KUB 21.38 obv. 35 (NH)), *a-ú-um-me-ni* (KUB 21.27+ ii 4 (NH)), *a-ú-um-mé-e-ni* (KUB 33.88, 16 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *uš-t[e-e-]ni* (KBo 7.14+KUB 36.100 obv. 23 (OS)), *uš-te-ni* (KBo 3.28 ii 9 (OH/NS)), *a-uš-te-ni* (KUB 23.77, 15 (MH/MS)), *a-ut-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u-uh<sup>i</sup>-hu-un* (MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *a-uš[-ta]* (KBo 5.3 iii 56 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *a-uš-ta* (OS), *a-ú-uš-ta* (KBo 3.60 i 8 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *a-ú-me-en* (OS), *a-ú-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ú-e-er* (MH/MS), *a-ú-er*, 1sg.imp.act. *ú-ua-al-lu* (KUB 14.8 rev. 42 (NH)), *ú-ú<sub>5</sub>-el-lu-ut* (KUB 3.110, 15 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *a-ú* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *a-uš-du* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *a-uš-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-ua-an-du* (MH/MS); 1pl.pres.midd. *u-ua-u-ua-aš-ta-ri* (KBo 16.59 obv. 7 (NS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *a-uš-*

*ħa-ħa-at* (KUB 31.121a ii 20 (NH)), *u-ȳa-aħ-ħa-at* (KUB 24.7 iv 34 (NS), KUB 17.31 i 18 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *a-uš-ta-at* (KBo 14.40, 9 (NH)), *a-uš-ta-t=a-an* (KUB 17.10 ii 35 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-ȳa-an-ta-a[t]* (HT 21 + KUB 8.80, 10 (NH)), 1sg.imp.midd. *u-ȳa-aħ-ħa-ru* (KUB 14.14 rev. 15 (NH)), *ú-ȳa-aħ-ħa-ru* (KUB 14.14 rev. 30 (NH)), 3sg.imp.midd. *u-ȳa-ru* (KUB 36.44 iv 4 (OH/MS)), 3pl.imp.midd. *u-ȳa-an-da-ru* (KUB 21.19 iv 28 (NH)); part. *ú-ȳa-an-t-*; verb.noun. *ú-ȳa-a-tar*, *ú-ȳa-tar*, gen.sg. *ú-ȳa-an-na-aš* (KBo 35.246 obv. 20 (MH/MS)); inf.II *ú-ȳa-an-na* (MH/MS); impf. *ú-uš-ke/a-* (OS), *uš-ke/a-* (OS), *u-uš-ke/a-* (KUB 6.7 + KUB 18.58 iii 18 (NS)), *uš-ki-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 6.29 i 10 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***uȳatalla-*** (c.) ‘seer’ (acc.pl. *ú-ȳa-tal-lu-uš* (KBo 4.14 iii 18 (NH)), <sup>(LÚ)</sup>***uškiškat(t)alla-*** (c.) ‘guard, watchman’ (nom.sg. *uš-ki-iš-[g]a-tal-la-aš* (KUB 14.1 Rs. 45 (MH/MS)), *uš-ki-iš-ga-tal-la-aš* (KUB 14.16 iv 20 (NH)), acc.sg. [*u*]š-ki-iš-kat-tal-la-an (VSNF 12.57 iv 13 (MH/NS)), nom.pl. *uš-ki-iš-kat-ta-li-iš* (KUB 41.8 iv 15 (MH/NS)), *uš-ki[š-kat]-tal-li-us* (KBo 10.45 iv 16 (MH/NS)), *uš-kiš-kat-tal-lu-uš* (KBo 4.14 iii 10 (NH)), ***uškiške/at(t)allatar*** (n.) ‘guard duty’ (dat.-loc.sg. *uš-ki-iš-ke-tal-la-ni* (KUB 14.16 iv 18 (NH)), *uš-ki-iš-ga-at-tal[la-an-ni]* (KUB 14.15 iv 46 (NH))), see also *parāuȳant-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***aȳa*** (interjection) ‘behold, look here’ (*a-a-ȳa*, *a-ȳa*).

IE cognates: Skt. *āviṣ* (adv.) ‘evidently, before the eyes’, Av. *āuiš* ‘id’, Gr. *αῖω* ‘to perceive’, *αἰσθάνομαι* ‘to perceive’, Lat. *audiō* ‘to hear’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>óu-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 572f. for attestations. The oldest attested paradigm (OS and MS) of this verb is as follows:

<i>u-uħ-ħi</i>	<i>u-uħ-ħu-un</i>
<i>a-ut-ti</i>	* <i>autta</i>
<i>a-uš-zi</i>	<i>a-uš-ta</i>
<i>ú-me-e-ni</i>	<i>a-ú-me-en</i>
<i>uš-te-e-ni</i>	( <i>a-uš-tén</i> )
<i>ú-ȳa-an-zi</i>	<i>a-ú-e-er</i>

It is clear that originally this verb must have been *ħi*-conjugated, showing a stem *au-* / *u-* (with regular monophthongization of *au-* to /o/ before *ħ*). Only the 3sg.-forms are aberrant, showing *mi*-inflected forms and a stem *aušš-* (similar in the verb *mau-*<sup>i</sup> / *mu-*, *maušš-*: note that a stem *aušš-* with geminate *-šš-* is not actually attested thus (never intervocalically), but I assume that this stem had the same shape as *maušš-*, which is attested with geminate *-šš-* in e.g. *mauššer*, *mauššant-*).

This is probably due to the fact that the expected 3sg.-forms would have been \**Hóu-ei* > Hitt. \*\*/ʔáue/ for the present and \**Hóu-s-t* > Hitt. \*\*/ʔáuS/ for the preterite. Apparently, \*\*/ʔáue/ was too aberrant to be retained and analogically remade into /ʔáuSt<sup>s</sup>i/ = *a-uš-zi* on the basis of 3sg.pret. \*\*/ʔáuS/. This latter form, in its turn, was analogically altered to /ʔáuSta/ = *a-uš-ta* on the basis of 3sg.pres. *aušzi*, and likewise 3sg.imp.act. *aušdu* was created. On the basis of these 3sg.-forms, the stem *aušš-* is used for the 3sg.pret.midd. *auštat* (OH/MS) as well, which then became the basis for 1sg.pret.midd. *aušḥaḥat* (NH). Note that 2pl.pres.act. *aušteni* (MH/MS) and 2pl.imp.act. *aušten* (MH/MS) do not show a stem *aušš-*, however, but are just archaic forms that have to be analysed as *au-šteni* and *au-šten*, showing the archaic 2pl.-ending *-šten(i)* that is characteristic for the *ḥi*-conjugation (cf. the lemma *-šten(i)* and Kloekhorst fthc.d).

It has been noticed since long that 1sg.pres. and pret. are consistently spelled *u-uh-*, with the sign U, whereas 3pl.pres. is spelled *ú-ua-an-zi*, consistently with Ú. As I have argued in § 1.3.9.4, the spelling *u-uh-ḥi* represents /ʔóHi/, the regular outcome of \**Hóu-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, showing monophthongization of \*-ou- before \**h<sub>2</sub>*, whereas *ú-ua-an-zi* represents /ʔuánt<sup>s</sup>i/, the regular outcome of \**Hu-énti* (compare ‘to give’: *pé-e-eḥ-ḥi* /péHi/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>pói-h<sub>2</sub>ei* vs. *pí-ia-an-zi* /piánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>pi-énti*). The imperfective is spelled *ú-uš-ke/a-* and *uš-ke/a-* in OS texts, both representing /ʔuské/á-/. In NS texts we come across the spelling *u-uš-ke/a-*, which in my view represents /ʔoské/á-/, the NH monophthongized outcome of the (unattested) intermediate stage \*\**auške/a-* (compare the imperfective of ‘to give’: in OH times the form is *pí-iš-ke/a-* /piské/á-/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>pi-ské/ó-* in which in MH times the full-grade stem was introduced, yielding *pa-iš-ke/a-* /paiské/á-/, which then monophthongizes to *pé-eš-ke/a-* /peské/á-/).

In the middle paradigm we find, apart from forms that show the stem *auš<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, the spellings *ú-ua-* besides *u-ua-*. In my view, the former spelling represents /ʔua-/, the expected outcome of \**Hu-o-*, whereas the latter spelling represents /ʔoa-/, in which the stem /ʔo-/ was analogically introduced in analogy to 1sg. *u-uh-ḥi* and *u-uh-ḥu-un* (quite understandably in 1sg.pret.midd. *u-ua-aḥ-ḥa-at* and 1sg.imp.midd. *u-ua-aḥ-ḥa-ru*).

The verb *au<sup>i</sup> / u-* is generally etymologically connected with the Vedic hapax form *uvé* that occurs in RV 10.86.7a *uvé amba sulābhike*. Schmid (1958) argued that this form should be interpreted as 1sg.pres.midd. ‘I see’, which would then point to a root \**Heu-*. LIV<sup>2</sup> codified this view by reconstructing a root \**h<sub>1</sub>eu-* ‘sehen, erblicken’. It is problematic, however, that the meaning of *uvé* cannot be independently established: the translation ‘to see’ seems to be prompted especially by etymological considerations. Furthermore, if we compare parallel



phrases like AVP 5.1.3a *hā amba suhūtale*, AVP 10.1.1a *hā amba tejane*, AVP 20.46.8a *hā amba panecari*, it is quite possible that *uvé* more likely is an interjection comparable to *hā*, just as Geldner (1951: 275) has interpreted it: “O weh, Mütterchen, du leicht zu kriegendes Weibchen”. I therefore will leave *uvé* out of consideration here.

Schmid also compared Skt. *uvé* and Hittite *au-* / *u-* with Skt. *āvis* (adv.) ‘evidently, before the eyes’ and Av. *āuuš* ‘id.’. These forms, which point to *\*Houis*, clearly belong with Gr. *αἶω* ‘to perceive’ < *\*ἄψω* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>euis-* and Gr. *αἰσθάνομαι* ‘to perceive’ < *\*ἄψισθάνομαι* and Lat. *audiō* ‘to hear’ that both go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>euis-d<sup>h</sup>*- (note that Slav. *\*javě* ‘manifestly, clearly’ must be a borrowing from Iranian). These forms all reflect a PIE adverb *\*h<sub>2</sub>euis* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>ouis* ‘before the eyes, clearly perceivingly’. If this adverb is to be analysed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>e/ou-is* (showing the suffix *\*-is* as in e.g. Skt. *bahis* ‘outside’), we seem to be dealing with a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* for which ‘to see’ would certainly be a fitting translation. Schmid’s connection between these words and Hitt. *au-* / *u-* to my knowledge have not been repeated by anyone else, probably because *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* does not match Hitt. *Ø-*. Although in Hittite an initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would indeed usually yield *h-*, in front of *\*o* it regularly merges with *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* into */ʔ-/* (see Kloekhorst fthc.c). This means that a paradigm *\*h<sub>2</sub>óu-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-th<sub>2</sub>e-i*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>óu-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-uéni*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-sténi*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-énti* would by regular sound laws yield pre-Hitt. *\*/ʔóHe/*, *\*/ʔáute/*, *\*/ʔáue/*, *\*/Huméni/*, *\*/Husténi/*, *\*/Huánt<sup>s</sup>i/*. Because an alteration between */ʔ-/* and */H-/* was not tolerated in Hittite, one of the consonants had to be generalized. In this case, initial */ʔ-/* apparently was levelled out (compare e.g. *ānš<sup>i</sup>* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s-*, where */ʔ-/* spread over the paradigm as well). I believe that there is still a trace left of the outcome *\*/Hu-/*, however, namely in the verb *huške/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wait for, to linger’, which in my view could go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-ské/ó-*, and therewith be a lexicalized imperfective of *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* ‘to see’.

**auli-** (c.) ‘tube-shaped organ in the neck: throat(?), windpipe(?), carotid artery(?)’: nom.sg. *a-ú-li-iš* (MS), acc.sg. *a-ú-li-in* (OH/NS), *a-ú-li-en* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *a-ú-li-ja* (OH/MS), *a-ú-li-i* (NS), *a-ú-li* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *a-ú-li-uš* (MS), *a-ú-li-ú-š=a* (KUB 17.21 ii 18 (MH/MS)), *a-ú-li-ú-uš* (KBo 25.178 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *a-ú-li-eš* (NS), *a-ú-li-iš* (NS), *a-ú-liš* (NS).

IE cognates: Gr. *αὐλός* ‘reed, flute’, etc.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>oul-i-*

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See Puhvel HED 1/2: 229f. for attestations. Puhvel translates this word as “milt, spleen”, but Kühne (1986) after an elaborate treatment of this word states “daß

das Wort primär ‘Kehle’ bzw. ein (blutführendes) röhrenförmiges Hohlorgan des Voderhalses bezeichnet, das im Fall des Tieropfers zum unmittelbaren Ziel des schlachtenden Eingriffs wird” (o.c.: 114). In his view, *auli-* can be compared with Gr. αὐλός ‘reed, flute’ and several other words referring to hollow tube-like objects (e.g. Gr. αὐλὼν ‘canal’, Lith. *aĩlas*, Latv. *aĩle* ‘leg of a boot, pipe in a mill’, OPr. *aulis* ‘shinbone’, Lith. *aulỹs*, Russ. *úlej* ‘beehive < \*hollow in a tree’, etc.) and he therefore reconstructs *\*aul-i-*. Kimball (1994b: 13-4) follows this etymological connection and states that “[t]hese words cannot be derived from [...] *\*h<sub>2</sub>eul-*, since the laryngeal is not preserved in Hittite”. Although indeed *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-* would have yielded Hitt. *ħa-*, a word-initial sequence *\*h<sub>2</sub>o-* would have yielded Hitt. *ʔa-/* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), and I therefore think it is perfectly in order to reconstruct Hitt. *auli-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>oul-i-*.

***auri-*** (n. > c.) ‘lookout, watchtower, guardpost, border post’ (Akk. *MADGALTI*): nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-ú-ri-i=š-me-et* (KUB 31.110, 8 (OH/NS)), nom.sg.c. *a-ú-ri-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *a-ú-ri-in* (KBo 12.69, 5 (NS)), gen.sg. *a-ú-ri-aš*, *a-ú-ri-ja-aš* (MH/MS), *a-ú-ua-ri-(ja)-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ú-ri-ja*, *a-ú-ri*, abl. *a-ú-ri-ja-za* (KUB 33.106 ii 11), nom.pl.c. *a-ú-ri-e-eš* (MH/NS), *a-ú-ua-ri-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *a-ú-ri-uš* (KUB 26.12 ii 13 (NH), KUB 13.20 i 28 (MH/NS), Bronzetafel iii 44 (NH)), gen.pl. *a-ú-ri-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ú-ri-ja-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>(L<sup>ú</sup>)</sup> ***auriĵala-*** (c.) ‘guard’ (nom.sg. *a-ú-ri-ja-la-aš*, acc.pl. *a-ú-ri-ja-lu-uš*), ***auriĵatalla-*** (c.) ‘id.’ (acc.pl. *a-ú-ri-ja-tal-lu-uš*), see also *au-<sup>i</sup>/u-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-ri-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> A: 631f. for attestations. This word is consistently spelled *a-ú-ri-* or *a-ú-ua-ri-*, never with *-u-*. It is generally seen as a derivative in *-ri-* (cf. e.g. *ešri-* ‘shape’ from *eš-<sup>zi</sup>/aš-* ‘to be’ and *edri-* ‘food’ from *ed-<sup>zi</sup>/ad-* ‘to eat’) of the verbal root *au-<sup>i</sup>/u-* ‘to see’ (q.v.). These derivatives in *-ri-* usually take the full-grade form of the root and are of neuter gender. In the case of *auri-*, however, many commune forms are found vs. only one attestation that must be neuter: KUB 31.110 (8) *a-ú-ri-i=š-me-et*. Since this attestation is found on a NH copy of an OH text, whereas all commune forms are from MH and NH texts, and because of the fact that the other nouns in *-ri-* are neuter as well, I conclude that this noun originally was neuter, too, and that from the MH period onwards it was brought into the commune gender.

Besides the stem *auri-*, we also find a stem *auuari-*. Rieken (2001: 375-6) states that the stem *auuari-* must be primary since it occurs thus 2x in OS and is more common than *a-ú-ri-* in MH originals. She therefore suggests that we have to

analyse the word as *au-ari-*, showing a suffix *-ari-* instead of *-ri-*. This is unlikely: the OS attestations she adduces (*a-ua-ri-ia-aš* (KUB 39.49 i 9 (OS)), *a-ua-ri-i[a-aš<sup>2</sup>]* (ibid. iv 1 (OS)), both in rather broken context) are “fraglich ob zu *auri-*” (HW<sup>2</sup> A: 632), and are spelled *a-ua-ri-*, instead of regular *a-ú-ua-ri-*. Moreover, in my corpus of MH originals, I was not able to find an attestation *a-(ú)ua-ri-* at all, but did find the spelling *a-ú-ri-* 6 times. In my view, this indicates that the spelling *a-ú-ri-* is more original than *a-ú-ua-ri-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2005b: 94). It is remarkable that the spelling *a-ú-ua-ri-* is only found in cases where the *-i-* is followed by a vowel: gen.sg. *a-ú-ua-ri-ia-aš*, nom.pl.c. *a-ú-ua-ri-e-eš*. In my view this indicates that the phonological form /ʔáurias/ in earlier times phonetically was realized as [ʔáuri<sup>i</sup>as], spelled *a-ú-ri(-ia)-aš*, but later on as [ʔáwɾjas], spelled *a-ú-ua-ri-ia-aš*.

See at *au<sup>i</sup> / u-* for further etymology.

***aušš-***: see *au<sup>i</sup> / u-*

***auan*** (indecl. particle): *a-ua-an* (MH/MS), *a-u-ua-an*.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ouom* ?

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See HW A: 635 for attestations and semantics: this particle strengthens the meaning of other adverbs like *arḥa*, *katta*, *šarā*. See Puhvel HED 1/2: 245 for several etymological proposals. Formally, the best one is Hrozný’s (1915: 28), who connected *auan* with Lat. *au-* ‘off’, Lith. *au-* ‘away’, etc. (cf. also *u-*). If correct, *auan* would reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>ouom*. See at *u-* for further etymology.

***auuari-***: see *auri-*

***-(ā)z*** (abl.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-ati*** (abl.-instr.-ending); HLuw. ***-adi*** (abl.-instr.-ending); Lyc. ***-edi*** (abl.-instr.-ending).

PAnat. *\*(o)ti*

IE cognates: Gr. πρότι ‘to’ < *\*pr-óti*, Cret. πορτί ‘to’ < *\*pr-ti* and Skt. *práti* ‘in the direction of’ < *\*pr-éti*.

PIE *\*-óti*, *\*-ti*

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The ending of the ablative is attested in two different forms, namely *-z* and *-az*. The first one is primarily attested in the oldest texts and is used in certain consonant-stem nouns like *nēpiš-* ‘heaven’ (*ne-e-pí-iš-za* (OS)), *šūḫḫ-* ‘roof’ (*šu-*

*u-uḫ-za* (OS)), *per / parn-* ‘house’ (É-*er-za* (OS)). In younger times, these forms are replaced by forms that show the ending *-az*: *ne-e-pí-ša-az* (OH/MS), *šu-uḫ-ḫa-az* (MH/NS) and *pár-na-az* (OH/NS). The only cases in which *-z* can be found in the youngest texts are petrified forms like *ta-pu-uš-za*, *ke-ez*, *a-pé-e-ez*. In other consonant-stems, we find the ending *-az* from the oldest texts onwards. In *iš-ša-a-az* (OS) of *aiš / išš-* ‘mouth’ and *tu-ug-ga-az* (OS) of *tuekk- / tukk-* ‘body’ we seem to be dealing with a accentuated *-āz* that matches the fact that the stem is found in the zero-grade. In other cases, this distribution is less obvious, e.g. *ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az* (OS) from *ḫāppar- / ḫappir-* ‘city’, *ku-uš-ša-na-az* (OS) from *kuššan- / kušn-* ‘salary, fee’. In *a-*, *i-* and *u-*stems, the ending is always *-az*.

All in all, I think that we have to reckon with an original situation in which there were two variants: when unaccentuated, the ending was *-z*, when accentuated it was *-āz*. In *a*-stem nouns the ending was *-a- + -z > -az*. Already in pre-Hittite times, this *a*-stem ending *-az* was spreading, first to *i-* and *u-*stem nouns and later to consonant-stems as well. At the beginning of the OH period, all *i-* and *u-*stem nouns bear the ending *-az*, whereas this is the case for only part of the consonant-stems. From the MH period, virtual all consonant-stems bear the ending *-az* as well.

An important clue for the etymological interpretation of the ending *-(ā)z* is the fact that when the conjunction particle *=(i)a* is attached to it, it does not become  $^{\circ}z=a$  as one would expect (compare e.g. *ir-ma-la-an-za-š=a = irmalanz + =(i)a*, *ar-pu-ūa-an-za-aš-š=a = arpuūanz + =(i)a*, *ku-un-na-an-za-aš-š=a = kunnanz + =(i)a*, [<sup>LU</sup>*pát-te-ī*]a-an-za-aš-š=a (MH/MS) = *pattejanz + =(i)a*), but rather  $^{\circ}z=iia$  (e.g. *a-pé-e-ez-z=i-īa* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az-z=i-īa*, *ku-na-an-na-z=i-īa*, e.a.). This means that the ending *-(a)z* cannot be formally equated with *-anz < \*-ent-s*.

In the other Anatolian languages, we find the abl.-instr.-ending CLuw. *-āti*, HLuw. *-adi* and Lyc. *-edi*, which clearly go back to PLuw. *\*-ódi*. Since an accentuated *\*ó* causes lenition, this PLuw. *\*-ódi* can be equated with Hitt. *-(ā)z < PAnat. \*-(ó)ti*. Strictly speaking, we would expect in Hittite lenition in the accentuated variant *\*-óti*, but in my view it is unproblematic that in analogy to the unaccentuated and therefore unlenited *\*-ti* the *\*-t-* was restored in *\*-óti*.

Within the other IE languages, there are not many clear cognates. As I have argued under *parza* ‘...-wards’, however, it is in my view quite possible that this word is a petrified abl. *\*pr-ti* out of the paradigm of *peran*, *parā*, and that it directly corresponds to Gr. *πρότι* ‘to’ < *\*pr-óti*, Cret. *πορτί* ‘to’ < *\*pr-ti* and Skt. *prāti* ‘in the direction of’ < *\*pr-éti*. These then would show the IE cognates to the Hitt. ending *-(ā)z*.

## E

*e* ‘they’: see *aši / uni / ini*

*-e* (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-flexion): see *-i*

*-e* (voc.sg.-ending): see *-i*

*=e* : see *=a-*

<sup>GIS</sup>*ea-*: see <sup>GIS</sup>*eian-*

*eĥu* (2sg.imp.act.) ‘come!’: *e-ĥu* (OS).

IE cognates: for *e-* see at *i-*; for *-ĥu*: Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’, Gr. *αὔ* ‘again, towards’, Lat. *au-fugiō* ‘to flee (away)’, Lith. *au-* ‘away from, down from’, OCS *u-* ‘from, away’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-h<sub>2</sub>ou*

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Synchronically, this word functions as the imperative for the verb *ue<sup>-zi</sup> / uya-* ‘to come’ (q.v.). It is generally seen as consisting of the element *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei* ‘go!’ (see for this verbal root at *i<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to go’) enlarged by an element *-ĥu* which is to be compared with Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’, Gr. *αὔ* ‘again, towards’ etc. < *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e/o)u*. The latter element is quite interesting as it hardly can be separated from the prefix *u-* visible in *ue-/uya-* ‘to come’ (< *u-* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-*). In my view, it proves that the element *u-* must go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-*, in which the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* was lost in front of *\*o* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). So, whereas e.g. *ú-ez-zi* ‘he comes’ must be reconstructed as

\**h<sub>2</sub>ou* \**h<sub>1</sub>eiti*, the imperative must have been \**h<sub>1</sub>ei* \**h<sub>2</sub>ou*, unverbated in Hitt. *eḫu* ‘come!’.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ejan-* (n.) a tree (evergreen), perhaps ‘yew’: nom.-acc.sg. *e-ja-an* (OS), *e-a-an* (MH/NS), *e-ja* (KUB 17.10 iv 27 (OH/MS)), *e-ja-na-an* (KBo 37.157, 4 (NS)), gen.sg. *e-ja-na-aš* (MS), *e-ja-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *e-ja-ni* (OH/NS), *e-a-ni* (MH/NS), *e-ja* (OH/NS), abl. *e-ja-az* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl. *e-ja-an* (OS), *e-i-e* = *e-i-ja<sub>x</sub>* (Bo 2689 ii 30 (NS)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 22f. and Puhvel HED 1/2: 253f. for attestations. We find forms that point to an *a*-stem *eja-* as well as forms that point to an *n*-stem *ejan-*. Although *a*-stem forms occur in an OH/MS text already, I think that the *n*-stem must be more original.

The word denotes an evergreen tree with leaves as can be seen from the following context:

KUB 29.1 iv

(17)

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*e-ja-an*

(18) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an uk-tu-u-ri i-ja-at-ni-ja-an nu ḫur-pa-aš-ta-nu-uš*

(19) *ar-ḫa Ú-UL iš-ḫu-ya-i LUGAL-š=a MUNUS.LUGAL-š=a*

*QA-TAM-MA*

(20) *i-ja-at-ni-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du ud-da-a-ar-r=a-a=š-ma-aš*

(21) *QA-TAM-MA uk-tu-u-ri e-eš-du*

‘Just like the *e*. is forever (and) verdant and does not shed (its) leaves, may likewise the king and queen be healthy and may likewise their words exist forever’.

It has been suggested that *ejan-* denotes a yew and therefore should be cognate with Russ. *íva* ‘willow’, Lith. *ievà* ‘bird-cherry’, Latv. *iēva* ‘bird-cherry’, Gr. *οῦλη*, *ῥα*, *ῥη* ‘service-tree’. The Balto-Slavic words reflect \**h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>i-ueh<sub>2</sub>-* or \**h<sub>1</sub>eiH-ueh<sub>2</sub>-* (second laryngeal because of the acute intonation). The Greek forms perhaps reflect \**h<sub>1</sub>oiH-ueh<sub>2</sub>-* or \**h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>i-ueh<sub>2</sub>-*. Although a preform \**h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>i-on-* indeed would yield Hitt. *ejan-*, this etymology is far from assured.

**ek-**: see *āk<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-*

**eka-** (n. > c.) ‘cold, frost, ice’: nom.sg.n. *e-kán* (KUB 13.2 iv 25 (MH/NS)), acc.sg. *e-ka-an* (KBo 3.41+KUB 31.4 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), *e-kán* (KBo 13.78 obv. 8

(OH/NS)), *e[-kán* or *-ga-an]* (KBo 12.22, 12 (OH/NS)), nom.sg.c. *e-ga-aš* (KUB 21.18 rev. 19 (NH)), gen.sg. *e-ka-aš* (Bo 6980, 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *e-ki* (KBo 22.62 iii 24 (OS)).

Derivatives: *egae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *igae-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to cool down’ (3sg.pret.act. *i-ga-it* (VBoT 1, 27); 3sg.pres.midd. *i-ga-e-et-ta* (KUB 7.58 i 5), *i-ga-it-ta* (KUB 35.79 i 7), 3sg.imp.midd. *i-ga-at-ta-ru* (KUB 7.58 i 12), *e-ga-at-ta-ru* (KUB 7.58 i 8), *e-ga-ad-da-ru* (KUB 45.20 i 23)), *ekuna-*, *ikuna-* (adj.) ‘cold’ (nom.sg.c. *e-ku-na-aš* (KUB 1.16 ii 7, KUB 34.73, 5), acc.sg.c. *i-ku-na-an* (KBo 4.9 v 47), dat.-loc.sg. *e-ku-ni*, *i-ku-ni*, abl. *e-ku-na-az*, instr. *i-ku-ni-it*), *ekunima-* (c.) ‘cold(ness)’ (nom.sg. *e-ku-ni-ma-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *e-ku-ni-mi*), *ikunēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become cold’ (3sg.pres.act. *i-ku-ni-ešš-zi* (1214/z, 6)), *ikunahh-<sup>i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to make cold’ (form? *i-ku-na-ah-hu-x*[...] (KUB 39.41 i 6)), see also *iknijant-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *aig*, gen. *ega* ‘ice’ (\**jeg-i-*), MCorn. *yeyn* ‘cold’ (\**jeg-n-*), ON *jaki* ‘ice-floe’ (\**jeg-(e)n-*), *jökull* ‘glacier’.

PIE \**iég-o-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 27f. for attestations (but note their false citing of nom.sg.c. *e-ka-aš* (KUB 21.18 rev. 19), which in fact is *e-ga-aš*). It is not totally clear what the original gender of this word was. Once we find a neuter nom.sg. *e-kán*, and once a commune nom.sg. *e-ga-aš*, whereas the acc.sg.-form *ekan* is dubious. As the neuter form occurs in a MH composition and the commune form only in a NH composition, I tentatively assume that the neuter form is the more original one.

The derived verb *egae-*, *igae-* shows a plain *hatrae*-class stem. It is remarkable that the noun *eka-* consistently is spelled with initial *e-*, whereas the verb is predominantly found spelled with *i-*. This could be due to a shift in accent: *égo-* vs. \**ego-íé/ó-*.

See Puhvel (HED 1-2: 258) for the generally accepted view that *eka-* must be connected with e.g. OIr. *aig*, ‘ice’ and ON *jaki* ‘ice-floe’ from \**ieg-*. For Hittite, this equation would mean that word-initial \**i-* is lost before \**e-*.

The stem *ekuna-*, *ikuna-* may be comparable to *aruna-* ‘sea’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>r-éu-no-* and could go back to \**ig-éuno-* in which the full grade stem *ek-* was introduced later on.

*ekt-* (c.) ‘(hunting) net(?)’: nom.sg. *e-ek-za* (KBo 13.101 rev. 10 (MH/NS), KBo 17.61 obv. 17 (MH/NS), KUB 39.61 i 11 (NS), 1067/u, 5 (NS)), *ek-za* (KBo 3.21 ii 16 (MH?/NS)), acc.sg. *e-ek-ta-an* (KUB 48.76 i 2 (NS), 473/t obv. 13 (NS), KUB 31.68 obv. 27 (NS, with gloss wedges)), *e-ek-za-an* (KBo 13.101 rev. 6

(MH/NS), KUB 45.26 ii 2 (NS), KUB 44.54 + IBoT ii 46 ii 8/2 (NS)), gen.sg. *ek-ta-aš* (KBo 3.21 ii 17 (MH/NS)), instr. *e-ek-te-et* (473/t obv. 14 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **aggati-** (c.) ‘hunting net’ (Hitt. acc.pl. *ag-ga-ti-uš*).

IE cognates: OHG *jagōn* ‘to hunt’, *jagōd* ‘pursuit’.

PIE *\*iek-t-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 28-9 for attestations. We are clearly dealing with an original consonant stem *ekt-* with nom.sg. *ekza* = /ʔéktsl/, acc.sg. *ektan*, gen.sg. *ektaš* and instr. *ektet*. The accusative-form *ekzan* is found in NS texts only and quite obviously is a secondary formation on the basis of nom.sg. *ekza*. According to Hoffner (1977a: 105-7), the semi-hapax *ag-ga-ti-uš* (KUB 8.56 i 12 // KBo 10.47c i 24 (fr.)) denotes ‘hunting net’ as well and because of its gloss wedges should be regarded as the Luwian cognate of Hitt. *ekt-*. This then would mean that *aggati-* reflects /ʔakti-/ < *\*ékt-*, showing Čop’s Law and *i*-Motion. Hoffner suggests a connection with Lat. *iaciō*, *iēcī* ‘to throw’ (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>i(e)h<sub>1</sub>-k-*), but in this form the *\*-k-* is of unknown origin and does not belong to the root. Hamp (1978) more plausibly assumes a connection with MHG *jaget* ‘hunt’, which is taken over by Rieken (1999a: 143f.). She assumes that we are dealing with a verbal root *\*iek-* ‘to hunt, to catch’ (OHG *jagōn* ‘to hunt’), of which *ekt-* reflects a *t*-stem. She reconstructs a ‘holodynamic’ paradigm *\*iek-ōt-s*, *\*iek-ot-m*, *\*ik-t-es*. The Hittite forms, however, speak more in favour of a hysterodynamic *\*iék-t-s*, *\*ik-ét-m*, *\*ik-t-ós*, in which the replacement of acc.sg. *\*ik-ét-m* by *\*iék-t-m* is trivial. The fact that OHG *jagōd* and MHG *jaget* reflect *\*iok-ōt-o-* could show that nom.sg. *\*iek-t-s* was replaced by *\*iek-ōt-s* in pre-Germanic. Rieken implies that the Hitt. gen.sg. *IK-ta-aš* should be interpreted as /iktas/, the direct descendent of *\*ik-t-ós*. This seems unlikely to me: the sign IK can be read *ik* as well as *ek*, and I therefore rather interpret the spelling *IK-ta-aš* as *ektaš*, showing the generalized fullgrade stem *\*iek-t-*.

**eku-<sup>z</sup>** / **aku-** (Ia3) ‘to drink, to drink to (+dat.), to toast (+acc)’ (Sum. NAG): 1sg.pres.act. *e-ku-mi* (IBoT 2.73, 5 (OH/MS), ABoT 32 ii 14 (MH/MS?), KUB 33.67 iv 17 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *e-uk-ši* (KBo 22.1 rev. 28 (OS)), *e-ku-uš-ši* (KUB 1.16 iii 29 (OH/NS)), *e-ku-ut-ti* (KBo 19.112, 9 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *e-ku-zi* (OS), *e-uk-zi* (OS), *e-ku-uz-zi*, *e-ú-uk-zi* (Bo 2692 v 23 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *a-ku-e-ni* (OS), *e-ku-ya-ni* (KBo 15.26, 7 (MH/MS)), *a-ku-ya-ni* (Bo 5709 obv. 10 (NS)), *e-ku-e-ni* (KBo 37.1 ii 37 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *e-ku-ut-te-ni* (KUB 1.16 iii 34, 48 (OH/NS), KUB 13.4 ii 70, iv 53 (OH/NS)), *e-ku-te-ni* (KBo 14.41 iv 17 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ku-an-zi* (OS, often), *a-ku-ya-an-zi* (OS), *a-ku-u-ya-an-*



zi (KUB 30.15 obv. 19 (OH/NS), KUB 20.48 vi 8, 10 (NS)), *e-ku-an-zi* (KBo 15.34 ii 3 (OH/NS)), *e-ku-ya-an-zi* (KUB 20.1 ii 20 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *e-ku-un* (KUB 30.10 obv. 17 (OH/MS)), 2sg.pret.act. *e-ku-ut-ta* (KUB 33.96 iv 21 (NS), ?KBo 19.104, 12 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-uk-ta* (OS), *e-ku-ut-ta* (OH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *e-ku-e-en* (HT 1 i 45 (MH/NS)), *e-ku-en* (KBo 23.106 rev. 1 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *e-ku-er*, *e-ku-i-e-er* (KUB 17.10 i 20 (OH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *e-ku*, 3sg.imp.act. *e-ku-ud-du* (KUB 43.23 obv. 3 (OH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-ku-ut-te-en* (KBo 7.28 obv. 26 (OH/MS), KUB 4.1 ii 4 (MH/NS), KUB 43.23 rev. 11, 15 (OH/MS)), *e-ku-te-en* (KUB 33.62 iii 11 (OH/MS)), *e-ku-ut-tén* (KUB 13.4 ii 76 (OH/NS), KUB 13.5 ii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 17.30 iii 3 (NS), KBo 10.45 iv 12 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *a-ku-ya-an-du* (KUB 15.34 i 49 (MH/MS), KUB 43.75 obv. 16 (OH/NS), VSNF 12.98 r.col. 6 (NS)); part.gen.sg. *a-ku-ya-an-da-aš*; verb.noun. *a-ku-ya-a-tar*, *a-ku-ya-tar*, gen.sg. *a-ku-ya-an-na-aš*; inf.II *a-ku-an-na* (OS), *a-ku-ya-an-na*; impf. *ak-ku-uš-ke/a-* (OS), *a-ak-ku-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 21.63 ii 10).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*akuttara-* (c.) ‘drinker, toaster’ (nom.sg. *a-ku-ut-tar-ra[-aš]* (KBo 5.11 i 14), *a-ku-ut-tar-aš* (HT 40 obv. 3, 7, KBo 37.1 rev. 22(NS), *a-ku-tar-aš* (KBo 37.1 rev. 29 (NS)), acc.pl. *a-ku-ut-ta-ru-uš* (KUB 55.56, 12)), *a-ku-ud-da-ru-uš* (KUB 55.56, 11)), see *akutalla-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *aḫu-* ‘drink’ (3pl.pres.act. *a-ḫu-ya-an-ti*, *a-ḫu-ya-a-an-ti*, inf. *a-ḫu-u-na*); CLuw. *u-* ‘to drink(?)’ (2sg.pres.act. *ú-ut-ti-iš*); HLuw. **BIBERE** ‘to drink’ (inf. “BIBERE”-*na* (ÇİFTLİK §16), inf. gen. *BIBERE-u-na-sa* (ASSUR letter *f+g* §36)).

IE cognates: TochAB *yok-* ‘to drink’, Lat. *ēbrius* ‘drunk’, ?Gr. *νήφω* ‘to be sober’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-énti*

See Kammenhuber (1977) for an extensive treatment of the inflected forms and meaning of this verb. The verb shows a strong stem *eku-* vs. a weak stem *aku-*. In OS texts we occasionally find that the strong stem is spelled *e-uk-*, which indicates that we are dealing with a phoneme /g<sup>w</sup>/ here. Also the observations that the 3sg.pret.act.-form is spelled *e-ku-ut-ta* (besides *e-uk-ta*) and not *\*\*e-ku-ut* (as e.g. in *ar-nu-ut*), and 1sg.pret.act. as *e-ku-un*, and not *\*\*e-ku-nu-un* (as e.g. in *ar-nu-nu-un*) show that the *-u-* cannot be vocalic but must be part of the consonant. This is furthermore strengthened by 1pl.pres.act. *a-ku-e-ni* and 1pl.pret.act. *e-ku-en* instead of *\*\*a-ku-me-ni* or *\*\*e-ku-me-en* (as in e.g. *ar-nu-me-ni* and *ya-ar-nu-me-en*), which shows that the labialization of the phoneme /K<sup>w</sup>/ did not participate in the sound law *\*yu > mu*. It is remarkable that the imperfective is consistently spelled with geminate *-kk-* (*ak-ku-uš-ke/a-*), whereas the normal verb shows

single *-k-* throughout. Apparently, the */g<sup>w</sup>/* was fortified to */k<sup>w</sup>/* by the following *-ške/a-* (note that this is not a matter of ‘devoicing’ as can be seen by *e-ku-ut-ta /ʔég<sup>w</sup>ta/* and *a-ku-ut-ta-ra- /ʔg<sup>w</sup>tra-/*). I therefore phonologically interpret the stems as */ʔeg<sup>w</sup>-/*, */ʔg<sup>w</sup>-/* and */ʔk<sup>w</sup>ske/a-/*.

These stems hardly can go back to anything else than a PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>w(h)</sup>-*. This means that the old connection with Lat. *aqua* ‘water’ cannot be correct as the latter, if from IE origin, shows *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>v</sup>-eh<sub>2</sub>*. Better comparanda are TochAB *yok-* ‘to drink’ (Pedersen 1925: 40), Lat. *ēbrius* ‘drunk’ (Juret 1934) and possibly Gr. *νήφω* ‘to be sober’ (Juret 1937: 79).

The Tocharian forms seem to point to *\*ēK<sup>w</sup>-*, which possibly goes back to a reduplicated stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>K<sup>w</sup>-*. Lat. *ēbrius*, too, must reflect a reduplicated form, and shows that the labiovelar was *\*g<sup>wh</sup>*: *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-*. The appurtenance of Gr. *νήφω* ‘to be sober’ is difficult in view of the one Doric attestation *vāφε*, which implies an original *\*ā* that is contradictive with *\*h<sub>1</sub>*. According to Winter (1955: 173-5), Dor. *vā-* could be of secondary origin, however, which would make way to interpreting Gr. *νήφω* as *\*nēg<sup>wh</sup>ō* from *\*h<sub>1</sub>-h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-e/o-* ‘to not-drink’.

All in all, Hitt. *eku-/aku-* must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>- / \*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>-*. The Palaic cognate shows a lenition of *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* to */h<sup>w</sup>/* (note that *ahuyanti-* must stand for */ʔh<sup>w</sup>anti/*, so *\*g<sup>wh</sup>* was not intervocalic), whereas in CLuwian the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>wh</sup>-* first yielded *\*ʔeu-* which developed into */ʔū-/*.

Kimball (1999: 187) cites a form 2pl.pres.act. *e-ku-ya-te-ni* (KUB 1.16 iii 34), but this is incorrect: the form in fact is *e-ku-ut-te-ni*, cf. also *e-ku-ut-te-ni* in ibid. 48.

*\*ekku-* (c.) ‘horse’ (Sum. ANŠE.KUR.RA): nom.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš* (KBo 17.15 rev. 9 (OS), KBo 3.34 ii 36 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HLA</sup>-*un* (KBo 8.36 i 4 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*aš* (KBo 6.2+ iv 8 (OS)), acc.pl. ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MES</sup>-*uš* (HT 10, 12 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *\*āššu-* or *\*azzu-* (c.) ‘horse’ (nom.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš* (KUB 35.107+108 iv 7 (MS))); HLuw. *ásu-* (c.) ‘horse’ (nom.sg.(?) */ʔasus/* ANIMAL EQUUS-*sa* (TOPADA §16), ANIMAL EQUUS-*sa<sub>i</sub>* (TOPADA §19), ANIMAL EQUUS-*sa<sub>s</sub>* (TOPADA §26), acc.sg. */ʔasun/* EQUUS.ANIMAL-*sù=ha=wa/i=ta* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Hu.), EQUUS.ANIMAL *á-(sù-)=pa=wá/i=ta* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Ho.), dat.-loc.sg. */ʔasui/* EQUUS.ANIMAL *á-sù-wa/i* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Hu.), EQUUS.ANIMAL *á-sù-wá/i* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Ho.), abl.-instr. */ʔasuadi/* ANIMAL EQUUS-*wa/i-ti* (TOPADA §5, §8, §10), ANIMAL EQUUS-*ti* (TOPADA §23), nom.pl.(?) */ʔasunt<sup>s</sup>i/* ANIMAL EQUUS-*zi/a* (TOPADA §21), dat.-loc.pl. */ʔasant<sup>s</sup>/* EQUUS *á-sù-wa/i-za* (ANDAVAL §4), *ásusatala-* ‘to ride on horse’ (inf.

“ANIMAL.EQUUS”-sù-sà-ta-la-u-na (BOHÇA §10)); Lyc. *esb-* ‘horse’ (abl.-instr. *esbedi*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *esbehi*).

IE cognates: Skt. *áśva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Gr. ἵππος, Myc. *i-ḡo*, Lat. *equus*, Ven. *ekvon*, OIr. *ech*, OE *eoh*, TochB *yakwe*, TochA *yuk* ‘horse’, Arm. *ēš* ‘donkey’, Lith. *ašvà* ‘mare’, OPr. *aswinan* ‘mare’s milk’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekw-*

See also Starke 1995: 119f. for an overview of attestations of these words. In Hittite, the word for ‘horse’ is only attested written with the sumerogram ANŠE.KUR.RA. The few instances of a phonetic complement (including in OS texts) point to a *u*-stem: nom.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš*, acc.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup>-*un* (collectively used).

The fact that we find a *u*-stem in Hittite corresponds to the HLUwian *u*-stem noun *á-sù-* ‘horse’. The second sign of this word,  $\text{𐎗}$ , is rendered in Hawkins 2000 (see especially p. 35-6) as *sù*, although it is read by Melchert (1987a: 201-2) as *zú* (so *á-zú-*). As long as we keep in mind that this sign is the regular outcome of PIE *\*ku* (also  $\text{𐎗-wa/i-ni-}$  = *sù-wa/i-ni-* or *zú-wa/i-ni-* ‘dog’ < *\*kuon-*), the exact reading of this sign is not important for the interpretation of the HLUwian material. I have followed Hawkins in this matter. Often this noun is cited as “*ásu(wa)-*”, but this is incorrect: the acc.sg.-form */ʔasun/* clearly points to a *u*-stem, whereas the *-a-* that is visible in abl.-instr. <sup>ANIMAL</sup>EQUUS-*wa/i-ti* = */ʔasuadi/* and dat.-loc.pl. <sup>EQUUS</sup>*á-sù-wa/i-za* = */ʔasuant<sup>s</sup>/* is an inherent part of the endings *-adi* and *-anza*.

In CLUwian, we also find a *u*-stem noun underlying the sumerogram ANŠE.KUR.RA: nom.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš*. Several phonetically spelled words have been pinpointed as denoting ‘horse’, but the meaning of none of them can be independently determined. E.g. Melchert (1993b: 44), who reads HLUw. *á-𐎗-* as *á-zú-*, cites dat.-loc.pl. *az-zu-ya-an-za* (KBo 13.260 ii 24) as ‘horse’, but the context is too unclear to either prove or disprove this interpretation. E.g. Starke (1995: 118<sup>236</sup>), who reads HLUw. *á-𐎗-* as *á-sù-*, cites *a-aš-š[u-...]* (KUB 35.107+108 iv 22), *a-aš-š[u-...]* (KUB 35.102 i 7) and *a-aš-šu-u-ut-t[i-...]* (KUB 35.100 rev. 3) as possible broken phonetical spellings of ‘horse’, pointing to the fact that the first form is found on the same tablet as the nom.sg.-form ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš*, and that all forms are found on tablets that belong to the same text group. Again the evidence is not decisive to either prove or disprove Starke’s views.

The Lycian word for ‘horse’ is usually cited as *esbe-*, but this is not necessarily correct as the *-e-* visible in abl.-instr. *esbedi* and gen.adj. *esbehe/i-* in both cases is

inherent to the ending (-*edi* ~ CLuw. -*āti*, -*ehe/i* ~ CLuw. -*ašša/i*). I therefore cite this noun as *esb-*. Starke (1995: 119) further adduces a Pisidian placename Εσοῦακῶμη, which he translates as “Pferde-Dorf”, assuming that it contains an element \**esu-* ‘horse’.

It has often been claimed that the Luwian and Lycian words are loans from Indo-Iranian (Indic *ásva-* or Iran. *aspa-*), but as Starke (1995: 119<sup>238</sup>) convincingly shows, this cannot be correct for at least the Lycian form: the Iranian name *Vištāspa* is borrowed into Lycian as *Wizttasppa-*, showing that *esb-* with its *e-* and *-b-* cannot be from an Iir. source. Moreover, Indic names like \**prītāśva-* and \**priyāśva-* are rendered in Mitanni-Indic as *Pi-ri-da-aš-šu-ua* and *Pi-ri-aš-ua* respectively, clearly showing the thematic vowel *-a-*. I therefore regard all Anatolian words as inherited (but see at <sup>LÚ</sup>*āššušanni* for a genuine borrowing from Indic).

On the basis of HLuw. *á-sù-* ~ Lyc. *esb-* we can reconstruct a PANat. form \**ʔeku-*. Taking the Hittite historical phonology into account, we would expect that the Hittite outcome of PANat. \**ʔeku-* would have been \*\**ekku-*, which is the reason for me to treat these words under the lemma \**ekku-*.

It is of course clear that PANat. \**ʔeku-*, which must reflect a preform \**h<sub>1</sub>eku-*, cannot be separated from the words for ‘horse’ in the other IE languages that point to a reconstruction \**h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* (Skt. *ásva-*, Gr. ἵππος, Lat. *equus*, TochB *yakwe*, etc.). It is remarkable, however, that despite the fact that all non-Anatolian IE languages point to an *o*-stem \**h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-*, the Anatolian evidence clearly points to a *u*-stem noun. Starke (1995: 120) therefore states that we are dealing with an “Umbildung des Stammausgangs \**uo-* -> *u-*”, but this seems very unlikely to me: there is no known phonological development in the prehistory of Anatolian that would predict that an PIE sequence \**uo-* would regularly yield Anat. *-u-*; moreover, in view of the productivity of the *o*-stem inflection in Anatolian, an analogical development of PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* to Anat. \**h<sub>1</sub>eku-* is hard to defend. We must conclude that it is impossible to assume that a PIE *o*-stem \**h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* would have yielded an Anat. *u*-stem \**h<sub>1</sub>eku-* and that the inverse therefore must be true. I consequently assume that the original PIE word for ‘horse’ was a *u*-stem \**h<sub>1</sub>eku-* and that only after the splitting off of Anatolian this word was thematicized to \**h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-* (a trivial development) as it is attested in all the other IE languages. We may think of an original paradigm \**h<sub>1</sub>ék-u-s*, \**h<sub>1</sub>k-éu-m*, \**h<sub>1</sub>k-u-ós*, from a stem \**h<sub>1</sub>ék-u-* ‘quick, swift’ as also seen in Skt. *āśú-* ~ Gr. ὠκύς ‘quick, swift’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>o-h<sub>1</sub>k-u-*.

**-ēl** (pronominal gen.sg.-ending): *am-me-el* (OS), *a-pé-e[-el]* (OS), *a-pé-el* (MH/MS), *ke-e-el* (OS), *ku-e-el* (OS), *tu-e-el* (OS), *tu-el* (MH/MS).

The gen.sg.-ending of pronominal stems is *-ēl*. Within Anatolian, the only comparable form may be Lyd. *bili-* ‘his’, which is derived from *bi-* ‘he, she, it’ (see under *apā-* / *apū-*). According to Kronasser (1956: 142), this ending is comparable to a Hattian suffix *-el* or *-il* that expresses apurtenance. The fact that *-ēl* is consistently found in pronouns only makes a borrowing less likely, however. Further unclear.

<sup>MUŠ</sup>*ellijanku-*: see <sup>MUŠ</sup>*illujanka-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*elzi-* (n.) ‘(pair of) scale(s)’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>RÍN, <sup>GIŠ</sup>NUNUZ ZI.BA.NA, Akk. *ZIBĀNĪTU*): nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *e-el-zi* (KUB 30.10 rev. 13 (2x) (OH/MS)), *e-el[(-zi)]* (KBo 6.26 i 52 (OH/NS)), *el-zi* (KBo 6.13 i 8 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *il-zi-ia-aš* (KUB 32.129 i 14 (NS)).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>élt-ih<sub>1</sub> ??*

Although formally one cannot decide whether nom.-acc. *ēlzi* is singular or plural, HW<sup>2</sup> (E: 36) suggests that this word is plurale tantum. Semantically, this could make sense because of the fact that the word denotes a pair of scales, which is supported by the only occurrence of an oblique case of this word, dat.-loc.pl. *ilziāš*.

Because of the inherent duality of this word, Puhvel (1981b: 352-3; HED 1/2: 270) assumes that the *-i* in fact goes back to the PIE dual ending *\*-ih<sub>1</sub>*. If so, then we might have to do with a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>elt-* + *-ih<sub>1</sub>*. He connects the word with OIr. *leth*, We. *lled* ‘halve’, Lat. *latus* ‘side’, assuming that these words reflect a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>let-* besides the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>elt-* found in Hittite. Hamp (1988) followed this suggestion, but tried to show that the indeed awkward assumption of Schwebelablaut is unnecessary. He derives the Celtic forms through *\*letes-* < *\*lit-* from a zero-grade form *\*!t-*, which, according to Hamp, is the preform for Lat. *latus* as well (like *magnus* < *\*mg-no-*). Problematic to this view is the fact that in Latin, a pre-form *\*h<sub>1</sub>lt-* would not give *lat-*, but probably should have given *\*\*alt-* (cf. Schrijver 1990: 71). Moreover, Schrijver (1990: 486) takes the Celtic words as belonging with OIr. *lethan* ‘wide’ < *\*plth<sub>2</sub>no-* and leaves Lat. *latus* unconnected.

All in all, I conclude that the etymology proposed by Puhvel and extended by Hamp is unsatisfactory. I agree that if this word shows the old dual ending *\*-ih<sub>1</sub>* (which is at least possible from a semantic point of view), we mechanically have

to reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>elt-ih<sub>1</sub>*, but I have not been able to find any convincing IE cognates that reflect this root as well.

*eni(-)* : see *aši / uni / ini*

*enu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *e-nu-z[i]* (KUB 44.61 iv 20 (NS)); part. *e-nu-ua-an-da[(-)...]* (KUB 10.21 v 5 (OH/NS)).

The verb occurs only twice. The first text it occurs in is a medical text:

KUB 44.61 iv

- (19) [*ma-a-a*]n=*kán an-tu-uh-še IŠ-TU<sup>UZU</sup>I-ŠA-RI=ŠU z[a<sup>2</sup>-ap-pí-ja-at-ta-ri (?)*  
 (20) [NUMU]N=*ma-a=š-ši=kán Ú-UL e-eš-zi nu tap-pí-in e-nu-z[i x x x x x]*  
 (21) [*nu=ká*]n<sup>?</sup> *UZU I-ŠA-RI=ŠU an-da zi-ik-ke-ez-zi an-da=ma [x x x x x x]*  
 (22) [x x M]I=*an hu-u-ma-an-da-an ki-it-ta-ri ku-it-ma-n=aš[ x x x x x]*

‘When for a man from his penis [it drips?], and he has no seed, he (the doctor) *enu-s a tappi-*, [xx-s, and] places his penis inside. [...] a whole night it will lay until he [is cured]’.

As the noun *tappi-* is a hapax legomenon of which the meaning is unknown, it is not possible to determine what the verb *enu-* means either. The second text describes a ritual:

KUB 10.21 v

- (3) *n=a-at x[ x x x x x x]*  
 (4) *pé-ra-an kat-ta=ma<sup>2</sup> x[ x x]*  
 (5) ŠÀ.BA 1<sup>EN</sup> *e-nu-ua-an-d[a(-)...]*  


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 (6) *n=a-aš-ta GAL DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL*  
 (7) *GADA-an še-er ar-ḥa [SUD-zi?]*  
 (8) *LUGAL-uš UŠ-KI-[EN]*  


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 (9) *n=a-aš-ta GAL DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL x[ x x]*  
 (10) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*BANŠUR-az ar-ḥa da-a-[i n=a-at]*  
 (11) *LUGAL-i pa-a-i LUGAL-uš<sup>d</sup>U[-i]*  
 (12) *pár-ši-ja*

‘It [...]. And down for (it) [...] one of which (is?) *enuyant-* [...]. The head of the palace servants [draws?] a cloth up high and the king bow[s]. The head of the

palae servants takes a [...] of the table and gives [it] to the king. The king breaks it [for] the Storm-god’.

This context, too, is too unclear to determine what *enu*and[*a(-)*...] denotes.

Nevertheless, it has often been suggested that *enu-* means ‘to make warm’ (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 11; HW<sup>2</sup> E: 42f.) and therefore should be equated with *inu*<sup>-zi</sup>, the causative of *ā(i)*<sup>-*a*(ri)</sup> / *i-* ‘to be hot’ (q.v.). Although a meaning ‘to make warm’ in both cases would not be impossible, it is hardly evident either. In view of the fact that within the Hittite period a OH /i/ is lowered to NH /e/ before *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d) and taking into account that both forms with *e-nu-* are attested in NS texts, the equation between *enu*<sup>-zi</sup> and *inu*<sup>-zi</sup> formally could be defended, however.

All in all, I conclude that on the basis of these contexts a meaning of the verb *enu-* cannot be determined and that therefore the supposed equation with *inu-* cannot be proven either. A connection with *enuma-* (q.v.) (thus Puhvel l.c.) does not make much sense.

*enuma-* ‘to be refreshed(?)’: 3pl.pres.midd. *e-nu-ma-an-da-ri* (KUB 1.13 ii 37).

The verb occurs only once, in the Kikkuli-text:

KUB 1.13 ii

(33) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=m=a-aš* ÍD-az

(34) [EGI]R-pa *ú-ya-da-an-zi n=a-aš* I-NA É LÚIŠ

(35) [*an-d*]a *pé-e-ḥu-da-an-zi nu-u=š-ma-aš* nam-ma

(36) [1<sup>DUG</sup>G]AL ME-E MUN 1<sup>DUG</sup>GAL ME-E DIM<sub>4</sub> *a-ku-ya-an-na*

(37) [*pí-a*]n-zi *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma e-nu-ma-an-da-ri*

(38) [*nam-m*]a ÍD-i *pé-e-ḥu-da-an-zi*

‘When they bring them back from the river, they take them to the stable. Then, they give them one cup of salt water and one cup of malt water to drink. When they are e., they take them back to the river’.

Kammenhuber (1961a: 61) translates “sich erholen”, which indeed seems to fit the context.

This verb is of importance as it is falsely translated ‘to become hot’ by Puhvel (HED 1/2: 11), who, on the basis of this translation, connects *enuma-* with *inu*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to make hot’, the caus. of *ā(i)*<sup>-*a*(ri)</sup> / *i-* ‘to be hot’ (q.v.).

A stem *enuma-* does not look particularly IE to me. The comparison to *ešharnumae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to smear with blood’ (see *ešhar*) as given by Puhvel (l.c.) does not help much either.

**epp-<sup>zi</sup> / app-** (Ia3) ‘to take, to seize, to grab, to pick, to capture’ (Sum. DIB, Akk. *ŠABATU*): 1sg.pres.act. *e-ep-mi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *e-ep-ši* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *e-ep-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *e-ep-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. [*a*]p-pu-ú-e-ni (KUB 35.18 i 7 (MS)), *ep-pu-u-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 10 (MH/NS)), *e-ep-pu-u-e-ni* (KUB 22.57 obv. 13 (NS)), *e-ep-pu-u-e[-ni]* (KBo 9.77, 11 (NS)), *e-ep-pu-u-e[-ni]* (KUB 50.111, 3 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ap-te-ni* (KUB 12.63 obv. 15 (OH/MS), KBo 22.118, 14 (OH/NS), KUB 46.48 obv. 8 (NS)), *e-ep-t[e-ni]* (KBo 19.58, 7 (MH?/MS)), *e-ep-te-ni* (KUB 13.5 ii 18 (OH/NS)), *e-ep-te-e-ni* (KBo 5.13 i 7 (NH), KUB 6.41 i 50 (NH)), *e-ep-te[-ni]* (KBo 16.98 i 5 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ap-pa-an-zi* (OS, often), *ap-pa-a-an-zi* (rare), *a-ap-pa-an-zi* (KBo 30.109 rev. 3 (MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *e-ep-pu-un* (OS), *e-ep-pu-u-un* (KBo 3.6 ii 7 (NH)), 2sg.pret.act. *e-ep-ta* (KUB 14.1 rev. 23 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-ep-ta* (OH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *e-ep-pu-en* (HHCTO 2 rev. 19, 24 (MH/MS), KBo 3.60 iii 6 (OH/NS)), *ap-pu-en* (KUB 34.77 obv. 2 (NS)), 2pl.pret.act. *e-ep-tén* (KUB 12.63 + KUB 36.70 obv. 10, 19 (OH/MS)), *e-ep-te-en* (KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 iii 9 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *e-ep-per* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *e-ep* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *e-ep-du* (MH/MS), *e-ep-tu* (KUB 8.81 ii 12 (MH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-ep-tén* (MH/MS), *e-ep-te-en* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ap-pa-an-tu* (OS), *ap-pa-an-du* (MH/MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ap-pa-at-ta-at* (KBo 2.2 ii 42 (NS)), *e-ep-ta-at* (KUB 52.83 i 5 (NS)), 3pl.pret.med. *ap-pa-an-ta-ti* (KBo 10.47g, 10 (NS)), *ap-pa-an-da-at* (KUB 36.12 + KUB 33.113 i 16, 22 (NS), KUB 33.92 iv 4 (fr.) (NS)), *ap-pa-an-ta-at* (KBo 2.2 i 22 (NS), KUB 33.106 ii 29 (NS), KUB 33.115 iii 13 (fr.) (NS)); part. *ap-pa-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun. *ap-pa-a-tar*, *ap-pa-tar*, gen.sg. *ap-pa-an-na-aš*; verb.noun gen.sg. *e-ep-pu-u-ua-aš* (Gurney 6, 4 (NS)); inf.I *e-ep-pu-u-ua-an-zi* (KBo 3.3 iii 30 (NH), KUB 13.6+ ii 14 (OH/NS)); inf.II *ap-pa-an-na* (KBo 3.21 ii 5 (MH/NS), KUB 17.18 iii 19 (NS), KUB 12.62 rev. 3 (NS)), *ap-pa-a-an-na* (KUB 12.62 rev. 5 (NS), KUB 35.43 ii 19 (NS)); impf. *ap-pí-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *ap-pí-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **appat(a)rije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to take in pledge; to confiscate’ (3sg.pres.act. *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* (KBo 6.2 iv 4 (OS)), *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi* (KBo 6.3 iii 76 (OH/NS)), *ap-pát-ri-ja-zi* (KUB 13.9 i 10 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ap-pa-at-ri-ja-at* (KBo 14.21 i 32 (NS)); inf.I *a-ap-pa-at-ri-ua-an-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 28 (NS)), *a[p-pa-at-ri-ua-an-zi]* (KBo 6.18 iv 7 (NS))).



IE cognates: Skt. *āpnóti* ‘to reach, to gain, to take possession of’, Lat. *apīscor* ‘to reach, to receive, to grab, to get’, *co-ēpī* ‘I have started, I have undertaken’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-énti*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 44f. for attestations. This verb is abundantly attested from the OH period onwards. Its original inflection was *epmi*, *epši*, *epzi*, *appueni*, *apteni*, *appanzi*. In the MH period the full grade stem is analogically introduced in the 1st and 2nd plural as well, giving *eppuēni* and *epteni*. The one attestation 1pl.pret.act. *appuen* is remarkable, as it is, to my knowledge, the only plural preterite form of a *mi*-verb to show a zero grade instead of regular full grade. Unfortunately, it is found on a NS fragment of which the period of composition is unknown, so it is impossible to decide whether we are dealing with an archaism or with a secondary form on the basis of *appueni*.

Already since Hrozný (1917: 170), this verb is connected with Skt. *āpnóti* ‘to reach, to gain, to take possession of’ (a secondary present created on the basis of the perfect *ápa* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>(o)p-*), Lat. *apīscor* ‘to reach, to receive, to grab, to get’, *co-ēpī* ‘I have started, I have undertaken’ (*co-ēpī* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>p-* and *ap-* from *\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>p-*, cf. Schrijver 1990: 28f.), reflecting a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ep-* ‘to take, to seize’. According to Oettinger (1979a: 88), *epp-/app-* must reflect a Narten-inflection *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-nti*, but this is improbable for a number of reasons. Firstly, 1sg.pret. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-ṃ* should have given Hitt. *\*\*epun* /ʔéḫun/ and not *eppun* /ʔéḫun/. Secondly, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-nti* should have given Hitt. *\*\*eppanzi* /ʔéḫnt<sup>s</sup>i/ and not *appanzi* /ʔpánt<sup>s</sup>i/. I therefore reconstruct a normal root present *\*h<sub>1</sub>ép-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-énti*.

The verb *appat(a)riiē/a-* is derived from the verb.noun *appātar* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>pót<sub>r</sub>*, and shows that synchronically the final *-ar* here phonologically still was *l-t/*, so *appātar* = /ʔpádr/.

See at *pai-/pi-* ‘to give’ for my view that that verb reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-(o)i-*, derived from the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ep-*.

**er-**: see *ār<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-*

**-er** (3pl.pret.act.-ending)

PIE *\*-ēr*

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The ending of 3pl.pret.act. is often cited as *-er* as well as *-ir* (compare e.g. Friedrich (1940: 36): “-ir”, vs. Friedrich (1960: 77): “-er (-ir)”. This confusion is due to the fact that the ending is usually spelled with the sign IR that can be read *ir* as well as *er*. Also signs like GIR = 𐎡𐎢𐎣 (*kir* and *ker*), NIR (*nir* and *ner*) and

ŠIR (*šir* and *šer*) are ambiguous. So in the cases where the ending is spelled °Ce/i-IR, we cannot tell whether we should read °Cir, °Cer or even °Cier. This unclear situation has now been solved by Melchert (1984a: 117f., 137f. and 152f.), who convincingly has shown that in almost all cases the 3pl.pret.act.-ending should be read *-er* throughout the Hittite periode. He mentions (o.c.: 138) only one exception, namely the spelling *-hi-ir*, which in his view must be interpreted as */-Hir/*. Since the sign HI nowadays can be read *hi* as well as *he* (compare HZL 335), we are here as well allowed to read *-he-er*, however, which means that the 3pl.pret.act.-ending is always *-er* and never *-ir*.

The 3pl.pret.act.-ending *-er* likely belongs with the Lat. 3pl.perf.-ending *-ēre* (< \**-ēr-i*), Skt. 3pl.perf. *-ur* (< \**-r-s*) and YAv. 3pl.perf. *-arə* (< \**-r*). The difference between \**-ēr* and \**-r* can be explained if we assume that reduplicated perfects had \**-r* (\**Cé-CC-r*), whereas unreduplicated perfects had \**-ēr* (\**CC-ér*). Since in my view the Hittite *hi*-verbs are the reflex of PIE unreduplicated perfects, I think that \**-ēr* > Hitt. *-er* originally was found in the *hi*-conjugation only. Already in pre-Hittite times it spread from here to the *mi*-conjugation which undoubtedly must have had the 3pl.pret.-ending \**-ent* originally (cf. Luw. 3pl.pret.act.-ending *-anta*), which should regularly have yielded Hitt. \*\**-an*.

It has been claimed that besides the ending *-er*, we also find an ending *-ar* or *-r*. For instance, Neu (1989) cites the 3pl.pret.act.-forms *ha-a-ni-ia-r=a-at* (Bo 6472, 12 (undat.)), *ú-e-mi-ia-ar* (KUB 17.10 i 37 (MS)), *ša-pa-ši-ia-ar* (HKM 6 rev. 7 (MH/MS), although Neu still cites the incorrect *ša-ú-ši-ia-ar* of the edition (Alp 1991: 128)), *da<sub>x</sub>-m[i-i]š-šar* (KBo 3.38 rev. 29) and *pí-iš-kar* (KUB 38.3 i 7). He admits that the latter two forms can be read *da<sub>x</sub>-m[i-i]š-šer*, and *pí-iš-ker*, as well and therefore cannot be used as an argument, but he is right in claiming that *hāni<sub>ar</sub>*, *uemi<sub>ar</sub>* and *šapaš<sub>ar</sub>* are real forms. According to Neu, these forms show an ending *-ar* which reflects a PIE ending \**-or*. Since this \**-or* is not attested anywhere else, it must in Neu's view be very archaic. In my view, *hāni<sub>ar</sub>*, *uemi<sub>ar</sub>* and *šapaš<sub>ar</sub>* are just the result of the MH replacement of the suffix *-ie-* by *-ia-* in *-ie/a*-verbs. Just as OH *-ieši*, *-iezi*, *-iettani*, etc. are replaced by MH *-iaši*, *-iazi*, *-iattani* (cf. my treatment of the *-ie/a*-class in § 2.2.2.1.o), the OH 3pl.pret.act.-form °*-ier* is in these forms replaced by *-iar*. Of course, the ending *-er* was restored immediately, and the normal MH and NH 3pl.pret.-form in *-ie/a*-verbs is therefore *-ier*, although *-iaer* is occasionally attested as well (e.g. *a-ni-ia-er*, *a-ri-ia-er*, *ti-ia-er*). With reference to Neu's views, CHD P: 158 argues that the forms *da-lu-ug-nu-la* (KUB 12.63 obv. 30) and *pár-ga-nu-la* (ibid. 31) should rather be read *da-lu-ug-nu-úr<sup>1</sup>* and *pár-ga-nu-úr<sup>1</sup>*, and interpreted as "3pl. preterites w. a zero grade". See Rieken 1999a: 465f., however, for a convincing

treatment of these forms in which she shows that we should not emend the forms to *dalugnur* and *parganur*, but rather interpret *dalugnula* and *parganula* as all.sg. of *dalugnul-* and *parganul-*. This means that there is no evidence in Hittite for any other original 3pl.pret.act.-ending than *-er*.

**erḫ-** / **arah-** / **arḫ-**, **erḫa-**, **arḫa-** (c.) ‘line, boundary’ (Sum. ZAG): nom.sg. *er-ḫa-aš* (KUB 17.29 ii 7 (NS), KUB 19.37 ii 45 (NH)), *er-ḫa-a-aš* (KUB 19.37 ii 33 (NH)), acc.sg. *ar-ḫa-an* (OS), *ar-ḫa-a-an* (KBo 22.1 obv. 31 (OS)), *er-ḫa-an* (KUB 11.23 vi 9 (NS)), gen.sg.? *ar-ḫa-aš* (KBo 8.124 rev. 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ar-ḫi* (OS), *er-ḫi* (VBoT 133 obv. 9 (NS), KUB 15.34 iii 32 (MH/MS), KUB 41.17 ii 6 (NS), IBoT 4.182 obv. 6 (OH/NS), KBo 26.136 obv. 8, 14 (MS), KBo 40.170 ii 2 (NS), KUB 10.75 i 9 (OH/NS)), *er-ḫe-e=š-še* (KUB 44.56 rev. 7 (OH/NS)), all.sg. *ar-ḫa* (OS), abl. *a-ra-aḫ-za* (OS), *er-ḫa-az* (KBo 3.21 ii 17 (OH/NS)), acc.pl. *er-ḫu-uš* (KBo 3.1 i 7, 16, 26 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ar-ḫa-aš* (KUB 36.49 iv 10 (OS)), *er-ḫa-aš* (IBoT 1.30, 7 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **irḫatt-** (c.) ‘row, series, circuit’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ir-ḫa-at-ti* (KBo 39.152, 2, 3, 4 (NS), *ir-ḫa-a-at-ti* (KUB 25.32 + 27.70 ii 16 (NS)), *ir-ḫa-ti* (KUB 25.32 + 27.70 ii 49, iii 12 (NS))); **irḫae-<sup>zi</sup>**, **arḫae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to go down the line, to circulate, to make the rounds, to treat in succession, to list, to enumerate, to conclude’ (*ir-ḫa-a-mi* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ir-ḫa-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ir-ḫa-iz-zi* (MH/NS), *ir-ḫa-a-i-ez-zi* (MS), *ir-ḫa-a-zi* (MH/MS), *ir-ḫa-a-e-ez-zi* (NS), *ar-ḫa-a-ez-zi* (KBo 17.74 ii 22 (OH/MS?)), 3pl.pres.act. *ir-ḫa-an-zi* (OS), *ir-ḫa-a-a[n-zi]* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *ir-ḫa-a-et* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. [*ir-ḫa-at-te-en* (OH/MS)]; 3sg.pres.midd. *ir-ḫa-et-ta* (MS?), *ir-ḫa-a-it-ta* (OH/NS), *ir-ḫa-it-ta-ri* (NS), *ir-ḫa-a-it-ta-ri* (NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ir-ḫa-an-ta-ri*, *ir-ḫa-an-da-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ir-ḫa-a-it-ta-at* (MH/NS); part. *ir-ḫa-a-an-t-* (OH/MS), *ir-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun *ir-ḫa-a-ua-ar* (OH/MS), *ir-ḫa-u-ua-ar* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *ir-ḫa-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ir-ḫa-a-ua-an-zi*, *ir-ḫa-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *ir-ḫa-i-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *ir-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *ir-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*), **arḫa** (adv. postpos.) ‘off, away (from), out of, on account of’ (*ar-ḫa* (OS)), **arḫaja(n)** (adv.) ‘separately, apart, especially, additionally’ (*ar-ḫa-ja*, *ar-ḫa-ja-an*), **arḫza** (adv.) ‘around; on the outside, away, absent, abroad’ (*a-ra-aḫ-za* (OS)), **arḫzanda** (adv.) ‘(all) around’ (*a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da* (OS), *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-ta*), **arḫza-** (adj.) ‘alien’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-za-aš* (NH)); **arḫziia-** (adj.) ‘alien’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-zi-ia-aš* (NS)), **arḫzena-** (adj.) ‘bordering, adjoining, surrounding; outer, external, foreign, alien’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-ze-na-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-an*, *a-ra-aḫ-ze-na-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-ni*, *a-ra-aḫ-ze-ni*, *a-ra-a-aḫ-zé-e-ni* (KUB 13.3 iii 16 (OH/NS)), all.sg. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na*, abl. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-za*, nom.pl.c. *a-ra-aḫ-*

*zé-ni-eš*, [*a-ra-aḥ-*]*zé-ni-e-eš*, *a-ra-aḥ-zé-nu-uš* (NH), *a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-aš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-aš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-ra-aḥ-zé-na*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-aš*), **arāḥzenant-** (adj.) ‘id.’ (nom.pl.c. *a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-an-te-eš* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **irha-** (c.) ‘border’ (acc.pl. FINES+*ha-zi* (IZGIN 1 §4, §15, IZGIN 2 §3, §4, §5), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>“FINES”</sup>*i+ra/i-há-za* (KARATEPE 1 §19 Ho., §30 Hu.), <sup>“FINES”</sup>*i+ra/i-ha-za* (KARATEPE 1 §30 Ho.), FINES+*ha-za* (IZGIN 1 §4)).

IE cognates: Lat. *ōra* ‘brim, edge, boundary, coast, region’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>2/3</sub>-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>2/3</sub>-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 129f. for attestations. Because the sign IR in principle can be read *ir* as well as *er*, the forms that are spelled IR-*ḥ*<sup>o</sup> can be interpreted as *ir-ḥ*<sup>o</sup> as well as as *er-ḥ*<sup>o</sup>. The absence of plene spelling (never *\*\*e-er-ḥ*<sup>o</sup> or *i-ir-ḥ*<sup>o</sup>) makes the matter difficult to decide.

The spelling of abl. *a-ra-aḥ-za* is remarkable. The fact that this word and its derivatives are never spelled *\*\*ar-aḥ-za* or *\*ar-ḥa-za* precludes an analysis “*arḥza*” (cf. e.g. /*ualHt<sup>s</sup>i*/ ‘he hits’ that is spelled *ṽa-al-aḥ-zi* as well as *ṽa-la-aḥ-zi*). Instead, it is inevitable that the second *-a-* is linguistically real. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 29, 84) is aware of this as well, but states that “/araHts/” must through anaptyxis have developed out of an original *\*arHts*. This is improbable, since such an anaptyxis is fully absent in words with comparable clusters like *pár-ḥa-zi*, *pár-aḥ-zi* = /*párHt<sup>s</sup>i*/ ‘he chases’ or *ṽa-al-aḥ-zi*, *ṽa-la-aḥ-zi* = /*ualHt<sup>s</sup>i*/. I therefore assume that the stem *arāḥ-* is to be taken seriously.

If these words are of IE origin, the alternation *e/irḥ-* : *arāḥ-* : *arḥ-* must reflect ablaut. It is remarkable that all OS attestations of the noun show *arḥ-* or *arāḥ-*, whereas the forms with *e/irḥ-* are found in MS and NS texts only. Nevertheless, the fact that the OS attestations of the derived verb *irḥae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *arḥae-<sup>zi</sup>* all show *e/irḥ-* indicates that the variant *e/irḥ-* must have been present in the noun as well. In my view, such an ablaut can only be interpreted in a meaningful way if we assume that we are dealing with *erḥ-* : *arāḥ-* : *arḥ-*. I therefore have read the sign IR as *er-* in the forms of the noun as cited above.

An ablauting pair *erḥ-* : *arāḥ-* : *arḥ-* is not unproblematic, however, especially in view of the sound law “*\*ēRh<sub>x</sub>V > aRRV*” as formulated by Melchert (1994a: 83) for PAnatolian. If this sound law is correct it is impossible that a Hitt. sequence *erḥ-* is from IE origin. When we look at Melchert’s examples (1994a: 79-80) in favour of this development, however, we see that they all are weak or must be explained otherwise: *anniške/a-* < *\*enh<sub>x</sub>iské/ó-* (compare my analysis of this imperfective at *anije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*); *malla-* < *\*melh<sub>2</sub>-* (this verb is *ḥi*-inflected and

therefore must reflect *\*molh<sub>2</sub>-*; *tarra-* < *\*terh<sub>2</sub>o-* (see at *tarra*<sup>ta(vi)</sup> for an alternative account); *-anna/i-* < *\*enh<sub>2</sub>i-* (I reconstruct this suffix as *\*-otn-(o)i-*); *harr-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>o-* (here the *-a-* is due to the preceding *\*h<sub>2</sub>*); *tarhu-* < *\*terh<sub>2</sub>u-* (I rather assume that *tarhuzzi* /tárH<sup>w</sup>t<sup>s</sup>i/ < *\*térH<sup>w</sup>ti/* in which *-a-* is due to the development *\*eRCC > aRCC*); *išparranzi* < *\*spérh<sub>1</sub>ñti* (see at *išpār*<sup>i</sup> / *išpar-* and *išparra*<sup>i</sup> / *išparr-* for an elaborate account of these verbs). As we see, none of the examples in favour of *\*eRHV > aRHV* can withstand scrutiny.

Another problem regarding the stem *erha-* is that *\*VRHV > VRRV*, as is visible from e.g. *mallai* < *\*molh<sub>2</sub>ei*, *išparrai* < *\*sporh<sub>2</sub>ei*, etc. This can be solved by assuming that *arh-* reflects a zero-grade form, *\*CRHV*, where the laryngeal regularly was retained, and on the basis of which *-h-* was restored in *erha-*.

All in all, if this noun is of IE origin, the ablaut-variants *erh<sub>2</sub>-* : *arah<sub>2</sub>-* : *arh<sub>2</sub>-* can only go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>2</sub>-* : *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>2</sub>-* : *h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>2</sub>-*. From an Indo-European point of view, this ablaut is only comprehensible when it is interpreted as a hysterodynamically inflecting *h<sub>2</sub>-stem* *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>-*: nom.sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ér-h<sub>2</sub>*, acc.sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-éh<sub>2</sub>-m*, gen.sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>-ós*. Because of the regular retention of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* in the gen.sg.-form *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>2</sub>ós*, it was restored in the rest of the paradigm. This means that the synchronic *a-stem* noun *arha-*, *erha-* as attested in Hittite is a recent thematicization going back to virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>2</sub>o-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>2</sub>o-*. This is supported by the archaic abl. *a-ra-ah<sub>2</sub>-za* that shows the ending *\*-z* attached directly to the stem and reflects virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-éh<sub>2</sub>-ti*.

The derived verb *irhae*<sup>zi</sup> must go back to virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>o-ié/ó-*. Because pretonic *\*-e-* yields Hitt. *-i-*, I have transliterated all forms of this verb with initial *ir-* in the overview above. The variant *arhae*<sup>zi</sup> reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>o-ié/ó-*.

The HLuwian cognate *irha-* must show *i-* from pretonic *\*-e-* (cf. Hajnal 1995: 63) and therefore go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>ó-*.

The reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>-* : *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-eh<sub>2</sub>-* : *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-h<sub>2</sub>-* is based on inner-Anatolian reasoning only. Perhaps the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* is to be identified as the verbal root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* ‘to move horizontally’, which is also found in Hitt. *ār*<sup>i</sup> / *ar-* ‘to arrive’ and *arnu*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to transport’. As an outer-Anatolian cognate, often Lat. *ōra* ‘brim, edge, boundary’ has been mentioned (Sturtevant 1942: 48, who also, less convincingly, adduces Skt. *ārāt* ‘from afar, *āré* ‘far’), which then could reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>ōr-eh<sub>2</sub>-* or *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-h<sub>1</sub>r-eh<sub>2</sub>-*. Kimball (1999: 166) adduces Lith. *irti* ‘to separate’ as well. Although semantically at first sight this seems attractive, the verb rather means ‘to desintegrate’, however, which is a bit further from ‘border’ than ‘to separate’ would have been. Moreover, the acute accent points to a pre-form *\*HrH-*, which implies that the second laryngeal is inherent part of the root, whereas in the Hittite noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>* must be the suffix.

**erman / armn-** (n.) ‘sickness, illness’ (Sum. GIG): nom.sg.c. GIG-aš (KBo 1.42 iv 5 (NS), KUB 14.15 ii 6 (NH)), acc.sg.n. *e-er-ma-an* (KBo 17.1 iv 2 (OS)), *e-er-ma-a(n)=š-me-et* (KBo 17.1 iii 11 (OS), KBo 17.3+4+KBo 20.15+KUB 43.32+39 (StBoT 25.4) iii 11 (OS)), *er-ma-an* (KBo 3.4 i 7 (NH), KBo 4.6 rev. 16 (NH), KUB 29.1 ii 18 (OH/NS), KUB 29.2 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *er-ma-a(n)=š-ma-aš=kán* (KBo 17.3 i 7 (OS)), *er-ma-a-an* (KUB 26.87, 8 (NH)), acc.sg.c. GIG-na-an (KUB 19.29 i 7 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *er-ma-ni* (KUB 8.62 i 19 (NS)), erg.sg. *er-ma-na-an-za* (KUB 37.190 rev. 6 (undat.)), GIG-an-za (KUB 37.190 rev. 4 (undat.)), abl. GIG-az, GIG-za.

Derivatives: **armanije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>**, **ermanije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>** (IIIg) ‘to be(come) ill’ (3sg.pres.midd. *ar-ma-ni-ja-at-ta* (KUB 4.72 rev. 3 (OS)); verb.noun *er-ma-ni-ja-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.42 iv 6 (NH))), **armala-**, **ermala-** (adj.) ‘sick, ill’ (nom.sg.c. *ar-ma-la-aš* (KUB 30.10 rev. 15 (OH/MS), KUB 30.11 rev. 12 (OH/MS), ~~er-ma-la-aš~~ (KUB 1.1 i 44 (NH)), *er-ma-la-aš* (KBo 3.6 i 37 (NH), KBo 18.79 obv. 7 (NS)), **ermalant-** (adj.) ‘sick, ill’ (nom.sg.c. *er-ma-la-an-za* (KBo 5.9 i 16 (NH), KUB 5.6 i 47 (NS))), **armalije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>**, **ermal(l)ije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>** (IIIg) ‘to be(come) ill; to afflict (with illness)’ (1sg.pres.midd.(?) *ar-m[a-li-ja-aḥ-ḥa-at?]* (KUB 1.16 ii 2 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *er-ma-li-ja-at-ta-at* (KBo 3.4 ii 20 (NH), KBo 3.4 i 6 (NH), KBo 16.1 i 20 (NH)), *er-ma-li-at-ta-at* (KBo 3.4 i 13 (NH)), *er-ma-al-li-ja-at-ta-at* (KBo 5.9 i 15 (NH)), part. *er-ma-li-an-za* (KBo 4.12 obv. 22 (NH))).

IE cognates: ?ON *armr* ‘poor, miserable’, ?OE *earm* ‘wretched’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>érmn*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rméns*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 157f. for attestations. The noun shows neuter (*erma(n)=šmet*) and commune (GIG-aš) forms. The oldest attestations (OS) clearly show that originally this noun was neuter, however, whereas the commune forms are found in NS texts only. The noun itself is consistently spelled *e-IR-ma-an* (OS) or *IR-ma-an* (OS+), to be read as *e-er-ma-an* and *er-ma-an* respectively. In its derivatives, we sometimes find a stem *arman-* (e.g. *armanijatta* ‘he became ill’). Apparently on the basis of these derivatives showing a stem *arman-*, Puhvel (l.c.) cites this word as *arma(n)-*, *erma(n)-*, *irma(n)-* and states (159) that “*a* [is] most frequent in Old Hittite”. Although indeed in the derivatives the stem *arma(n)-* seems to be older than *erma(n)-* (*armanijatta* (OS) vs. *ermanijauuar* (NH); *armalaš* (OH/MS) vs. *ermalaš* (NH); *arm[alijaḥḥat]* (OH/NS) vs. *ermalijattat* (NH)), the noun itself only shows a stem *erman-*, which is attested multiple times in OS texts. HW<sup>2</sup> does not treat this word nor its derivatives under *arma(n)-* or *erma(n)-*, but refers to a future lemma *irma(n)-* (E: 93). Both

practises seem incorrect to me. The OS spellings *e-IR-ma-an* clearly show that the younger spellings *IR-ma-an* have to be read as *erman*. Nevertheless, the derivatives originally probably all showed a stem *arma(n)-*, which was altered to *erma(n)-* on the basis of the noun.

The fact that in the older texts we find a stem *arma(n)-* used for the derivatives, suggests that originally the noun itself showed ablaut as well, although such an ablaut is not attested anymore. From an IE point of view, we would expect a proterodynamic inflection *\*h<sub>1</sub>érmn*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>rméns*.

Note that the forms that show a stem *ermal-* and *armal-* may have to be regarded as dissimilations from original *erman-* and *arman-* (cf. § 1.4.7.2.f).

Within Hittite, *erman* is connected with *arma-* ‘moon’ and *armae<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to be pregnant’ by e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 159-60, who assumes a basic meaning ‘weak’, which he further connects with OE *earm* ‘weak’ and ON *armr* ‘wretched’. This is a possibility. Melchert (1984a: 88<sup>15</sup>) suggests a relationship with Alb. *jerm* ‘daze, stupor, sickness, etc.’ and states that “the root is that of *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)er-* ‘move’ in the sense of ‘be agitated’”. Another etymology was proposed by Hajnal (1999), who connects *erman* with Skt. *anarmán-* ‘without wounds’ (AV hapax, variant of *anarván-* ‘id.’). These latter two etymologies imply that *erman* is a *-men-* stem, which from an IE point of view is necessary anyway (cf. the absence of roots ending in *\*-eRR-*, which precludes reconstructing a root *\*\*h<sub>1</sub>erm-*).

*eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* (Ia3) ‘to be (copula); to be present’: 1sg.pres.act. *e-eš-mi* (KBo 3.46 + KUB 26.75 obv. 3 (OH/NS), KBo 3.55 rev. 11 (OH/NS), VBoT 58 iv 3 (OH/NS), KUB 36.35 i 13 (NS), KBo 16.23 i 19 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *e-eš-ši* ((OS) but see commentary), *e-eš-ti* (KUB 36.98c rev. 5 (OH/NS), but see commentary), 3sg.pres.act. *ē-eš-za* (KBo 6.2 iv 54 (OS) // *e-eš-zi* (KBo 6.3+ iv 53 (OH/NS))), *e-eš-zi* (OS, often), *i-eš-zi* (KUB 34.114 rev. 5 (OS)), 1pl.pres.act. *e-šu-ua-ni* (KUB 26.83 iii 18 (OH/NS), KUB 44.60 ii 1, 2 (fr.) (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ša-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *e-šu-un* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *e-eš-ta* (KBo 5.13 i 19 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-eš-ta* (OS), 1pl.pret.act. *e-šu-u-en* (KUB 14.3 iv 9 (NH), KUB 31.47 obv. 9 (NS)), *e-šu-en* (KUB 23.1 i 32 (NH)), *e-eš-šu-u-en* (KUB 18.24 iii 6 (NS)), 2pl.pret.act. *e-eš-te-en* (KUB 15.34 iv 12 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *e-še-er* (OS), *e-šer* (OS), 1sg.imp.act. *e-eš-li-it* (KUB 26.35, 6 (OH/MS?), KUB 23.82 rev. 16 (MH/MS), KBo 5.3 iv 33 (NH)), *e-eš-lu-ut* (KUB 7.2 ii 23 (NS), KUB 8.35 iv 23 (NS)), *a-ša-al-lu* (KBo 4.14 i 43 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *e-eš* (OH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *e-eš-tu* (OS), *e-eš-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *e-eš-te-en* (MH/MS), *e-eš-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *a-ša-an-tu* (OS), *a-ša-an-du* (OS); part. *a-ša-an-t-*

(OS), *a-ša-a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *e-šu-ua-ar* (KUB 24.7 i 55 (NS)), *e-šu-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.42 i 7, 8 (NS)), gen.sg. *e-šu-ua-aš* (KUB 26.43 obv. 11 (NH)).

Derivatives: see *ašnu<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ešri-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *āš-* / *aš-* ‘to be’ (2sg.imp.act. *a-aš*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-aš-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-ša-an-du*, *a-še-en-du*); CLuw. *āš-* / *aš-* ‘to be’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-aš-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-aš-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-aš-du*, *a-a-aš-t[u]*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-ša-an-du*); HLuw. *ús-* / *s-* ‘to be’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-sa-ti* (KARAHÖYÜK §20, §21), ASSUR letter *f+g* §14, §20, §22, §33, §48), 2pl.pres.act. *a-sa-ta-ni* (ASSUR letter *e* §6), 3pl.pres.act. *á-sa-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A5a §9), *a-sa-ti* (ASSUR letter *b* §8), 1sg.pret.act. *á-sa-ha* (KÖRKÜN §2, KARAHÖYÜK §10, PORSUK §5), *á-sá-ha* (KULULU 4 §1, §8), *á-sa-ha-*’ (BOR §2), *á-sa<sub>s</sub>-ha* (KULULU 4 §11), 3sg.pret.act. *á-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §5, CEKKE §14, ÇALAPVERDİ 1 §3), *á-sa-tá* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §18, ANCOZ 4 §1, AKSARAY §10), *á-sa-ta-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A6 §12), *sa-ta* (MARAŞ 4 §8), *a-sa-tá* (YALBURT bl. 3 §1), *sa-tá-*’ (TELL AHMAR 1 §8), *sa-ta* (MARAŞ 4 §8), 3pl.pret.act. *á-sa-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §33, ANCOZ 8 §6), *a-sá-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §6 Hu., §12 Hu., §27, PALANGA §2, KULULU 1 §2), *á-sa-ta-*’ (KARATEPE 1 §12 Ho.), *sá-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §36, §40), *sa-tá-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A11a §17), *sa-ta<sub>x</sub>* (TOPADA §3, §21), *sa-ta* (BOHÇA §6), *sa-tá-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A11b §2), 3sg.imp.act. *a-sa-tu* (KARAHÖYÜK §24), *á-sa-tu-u-*’ (SULTANHAN §42), *sa-tu* (MARAŞ 14 §7), *sa-tu-*’ (SHEIZAR §7), *sá-tú-*’ (MEHARDE §6), 3pl.imp.act. *á-sa-tu* (KULULU 6 §4), *á-sa-tu-u* (ANCOZ 7 §14)); Lyd. 1sg.pres. *-im* ‘I am (?)’ (Gusmani 1971), 3sg.pres. *el* ‘he is (?)’; Lyc. *es-* / *ah-* ‘to be’ (3sg.pres.act. *esi*, 3sg.imp.act. *esu*), *ahāma(n)-* ‘existence’, *ahñta-* ‘property, possessions’ (old part. of ‘to be’).

PAnat. *\*ʔes-* / *\*ʔs-*

IE cognates: Skt. *ásmi* ‘to be’, Gr. *ἐστί* ‘he is’, Lat. *est* ‘he is’, Goth. *ist* ‘he is’, etc.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 93f. for attestations. The Hittite language does not express the present tense copula ‘to be’ but uses a nominal sentence instead and therefore the number of attestations of present tense forms of this verb is lower than we would have liked. Especially the situation regarding 2sg.pres.act. is poor. In OS texts, the form *e-eš-ši* occurs a number of times, predominantly in the formula *nu-u=š-ša-an 8-in-zu ne-pí-ši e-eš-ši* (in ritual texts collected in StBoT 25). For instance, Puhvel (HED 1/2: 285) translates this sentence as ‘thou art in heaven’, taking *e-eš-ši* as 2sg.pres.act. of *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to be’. Neu (1983: 39), however, states that in



this case the use of the locative enclitic particle =ššan indicates that *e-eš-ši* belongs to the active paradigm of *eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* ‘to sit’ and must be translated ‘you sit in heaven’ (thus also HW<sup>2</sup> E: 93). Nevertheless, one OS attestation of *e-eš-ši* remains that does not occur in this formula, viz. KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 iii (8) [... ]x-aš-ša *e-eš-ši* [(n=a-an an-da-an mi-iš-ri-ua-an-da-aš)] (cf. StBoT 25: 189). Unfortunately, the meaning of this sentence is unclear. If, however, the broken word [... ]x-aš-ša is to be interpreted as [... ]x-ašš=a (it could hardly be anything else), and if =(i)a functions as a sentence initial particle here, it would mean that in this case we are dealing with a form *e-eš-ši* that occurs without the particle =ššan and that therefore possibly could stand for ‘you are’.

A possibly more secure example of a 2sg.pres.act.-form is *e-eš-ti*, found in the OH?<sup>?</sup>/NS text KUB 36.98c rev. (5) [... ]x EGIR-pa LUGAL-uš *e-eš-ti*. Because of the fact that the main story is told in the first person and deals with the military campaign of a king (cf. *ibid.* (2) [... ]un nu=mu DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>[...] ‘I [... ](1sg.pret.) and the gods [...] me’, (3)[...] ]e-ep-pu-un ‘I took’, (7) KASKAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>=šU ūa-ar-n[u-nu-un] ‘I burnt down his roads’ and (10) [... ]x nu LUGAL.GAL pa-a-un ‘I, the Greatking, went’), it is in my view likely that this sentence was spoken to the author by someone else (presumably by the inhabitants of a conquered city or land), and therefore has to be translated ‘(for us?) afterwards you will be king’. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 285), claiming that the form is “OHitt.”, implausibly interprets *e-eš-ti* as 3sg.pres.act. here, however, and also HW<sup>2</sup> (E: 93) translates “... danach(?) ist er (oder evtl. bist du?) König”. Taking this form as 3sg.pres.act. would be very problematic, however, as it would show a very archaic non-assibilation of \*t in front of i, which to my knowledge is unparalleled in Hittite.

A form that indeed is very archaic, however, is 3sg.pres.act. *e-eš-za* found in the OS version of the Hittite Laws, of which the meaning ‘he is’ is ascertained by its younger copy that shows *e-eš-zi*. This form, together with a few other forms that show an OS 3sg.pres.-ending -za, shows that the ending \*-ti regularly gave Hitt. /-t<sup>s</sup>/, spelled -za, which was restored into the familiar -zi on the basis of -mi, -ši, etc.

The one attestation 3sg.pres.act. *i-eš-zi* (KUB 34.115 rev. 5, see StBoT 26: 372) is, despite the fact that it is found in an OS text, too aberrant not to be a mistake. Note that the fact that the preceding word, *ku-iš-ki*, ends in -i may have been the cause of this error.

The etymology of the verb *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* is fully clear, of course: PIE \*h<sub>1</sub>es- ‘to be’ (already Knudtzon 1902: 45 identifies *e-eš-tu* (VBoT 1, 7) as ‘it must be’, equating it with Gr. ἔστω and Lat. *esto*). In my view, *e-eš-zi*, *a-ša-an-zi* is phonologically to be interpreted as /ʔéšt<sup>s</sup>i/, /ʔsánt<sup>s</sup>i/ from \*h<sub>1</sub>és-ti, \*h<sub>1</sub>s-énti. See at

*eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to seat; to sit’ for the view that the meaning ‘to be (present)’ is a quite recent lexicalization of an original meaning ‘to sit’, still visible in the Hitt. verb *eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* ‘to seat’ and *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to sit’.

See Kloekhorst (2004: 41f.) for a detailed treatment of the HLuw. verb *ás-* ‘to be’ and its aphaeresis.

*eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* / *aš-* (IIIa; Ia3) ‘(midd.) to sit down, to seat oneself; (+ =ššan) to sit; (act.) to sit, to reside; (trans.) to settle’ (Sum. TUS): 1sg.pres.midd. *e-eš-ḫa-ḫa-ri* (KBo 16.98 ii 12 (NS), KBo 46.3 ii 6 (NS), KUB 8.48+ i 21 (NS)), 2sg.pres.midd. *e-eš-ta-ri* (KUB 14.1 obv. 20 (fr.), 44 (MH/MS), KUB 57.24, 5 (NS)), 3sg.pres.midd. *e-ša* (OS), *e-ša-ri* (OS, often), *e-ša-a-ri* (KBo 3.7 iv 13 (OH/NS)), *i-ša-ri* (KBo 15.25 obv. 30 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pres.midd. *e-šu-ṽa-aš-ta* (OS), *e-šu-aš-ta* (KBo 16.24+25 i 82/71 (MH/MS)), *e-šu-ṽa-aš-ta-ti* (KBo 3.7 iv 7 (OH/NS), KUB 24.8 iv 6 (OH/NS), KUB 33.106 ii 13, 14 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *e-ša-an-ta* (OS), *e-ša-an-da* (OS), *e-ša-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *e-ša-an-da-ri* (OH/NS), *e-ša-an-da-a-ri* (KUB 34.128 rev. 9 (MS)), *e-eš-ša-an-ta-ri* (KBo 2.14 iv 12 (NS)), *a-ša-an-da* (KUB 10.17 ii 9 (OH/NS)), *a-ša-an-ta* (KBo 4.9 iii 26 (NS), KBo 12.38 ii 13 (NH)), 1sg.pret.midd. *e-eš-ḫa-at* (KBo 17.23 rev. 5 (OS?), KBo 3.1 ii 16 (OH/NS), KUB 31.8, 8 (NS), KBo 3.4 i 3, 19, 28, iv 44 (NH), KBo 4.4 iv 66 (NH), KBo 5.8 ii 40 (NH), KUB 14.16 i 12 (NH)), *e-eš-ḫa-ti* (KBo 3.55 iii 6 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-ḫa-ti* (KUB 36.98b rev. 8 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-ḫa-at* (KBo 19.78, 7 (NS), KBo 16.1 i 30 (NH), KBo 16.8 ii 14 (NH)), *iš-ḫa-ḫa-at* (KBo 16.8 ii 10 (NH), KUB 31.71 iii 3 (NH)), 2sg.pret.midd. [*e-eš-*]ta-at (KUB 14.1 rev. 34 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *e-ša-ti* (KUB 17.10 i 34 (OH/MS), KBo 12.3 iii 4 (OH/NS), KUB 31.64 iii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 33.8 ii 19 (OH/NS), KBo 13.99 rev. 4 (NS), KBo 15.34 iii 15 (OH/NS)), *e-ša-di* (KUB 33.59 iii 13 (OH/NS)), *e-ša-at* (MH/NS), *e-eš-ta-at* (KUB 30.34 iv 3, 4 (MH/NS), KBo 5.8 ii 15 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-at* (KBo 37.1 ii 27 (NS)), *eš-ta-at* (1490/u, 11 (NS)), 1pl.pret.midd. *e-eš-šu-ṽa-aš-ta-ti* (1490/u, 14 (NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *e-ša-an-ta-ti* (KUB 33.45+53+FHG 2 iii 21 (OH/NS), KUB 51.56, 6 (NS)), *e-ša-an-ta-at* (KUB 48.124 obv. 8 (NS), KBo 18.179 rev.<sup>?</sup> v 8 (NS), KBo 5.8 ii 13, 18, 25 (NH), KUB 26.43 rev. 10 (NH)), *e-ša-an-da-at* (KUB 19.29 iv 15 (NH), KUB 19.37 iii 5 (NH)), 2sg.imp.midd. *e-eš-ḫu-ut* (KUB 14.1 obv. 17 (MH/MS), KBo 3.21 iii 15, 21, 25 (MH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *e-ša-ru* (KUB 30.10 rev. 6 (OH/MS), KUB 31.131 + ABOT 44a iii 4/2 (OH/NS), Bo 3211 rev. 6 (NS), KUB 14.3 ii 28, 71, 75 (NH)), 2pl.imp.midd. [*e-*]eš-tu-ma-ti (KUB 31.64 ii 3 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-du-ma-at* (KUB 14.1 rev. 40 (MH/MS)); 2sg.pres.act. *e-eš-ši* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *e-eš-zi* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ša-an-zi* (OS), *e-ša-an-zi* (KUB 20.76 iii 14 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *e-eš* (KUB

14.1 obv. 16, 44 (MH/MS), KUB 14.3 iv 3 (NS)), *e-ši* (KUB 14.1 obv. 19 (MH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-eš-te-en* (KUB 15.34 ii 16 (MH/MS), KUB 14.16 i 17 (NH)); part. *a-ša-an-t-* (OS), *e-ša-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun. *a-ša-tar*, *a-ša-a-tar* (gen.sg. *a-ša-an-na-aš*); inf.II *a-ša-a-an-na* (MH/MS), *a-ša-an-na* (MH/MS); impf. *e-eš-ke/a-* (midd.) (OS).

Derivatives: **ašandul-** (n.) ‘occupation force, garrison’ (gen.sg. *a-ša-an-du-la-aš*), **ašandula/i-** (adj. used with ERIN<sup>MES</sup>) ‘occupation force’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ša-an-du-liš*, acc.sg.c. *a-ša-an-du-la-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ša-an-du-li*, *a-ša-an-du-la*, abl. *a-ša-an-du-la-az*, *a-ša-an-du-la-za*), **ašandulae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to be on garrison duty’ (3pl.pres.act. *a-ša-an-du-la-an-zi*), **ašandulatar / ašandulann-** (n.) ‘garrisoning’ (dat.-loc.sg. *a-ša-an-du-la-an-ni*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ištardalli-** (adj.) ‘throne-like’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *iš-tar-da-al-la* (KBo 20.75 rev. 14), see Starke 1990: 416)); HLuw. **ús-** ‘to be seated, to dwell’ (3sg.pres.med. SOLIUM+MI-*sá-i* (KARATEPE 1 §54 Hu.), SOLIUM+MI-*i* (KARATEPE 1 §24, ÇİFTLİK §10, ÇALAPVERDİ 2 §2), 3pl.pres.act. SOLIUM+MI-*ti* (KARKAMIŞ A2+3 §17e), 1sg.pret.act. SOLIUM-*ha* (IZGIN §2), 3sg.pret.act. SOLIUM-*tá* (KARAHÖYÜK §4), SOLIUM+MI-*ta* (KARATEPE 1 §37 Hu.), 3pl.pret.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*á-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŞ A11b §10); verb.noun nom.sg. SOLIUM+MI-*ia-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §36 Hu.)), **isnu(wa)-** ‘to seat, to settle’ (1sg.pret.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nu-há* (KARATEPE 1 §31 Ho.), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-s[à]-nú-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §47 Hu.), <sup>SOLIUM+MI</sup>*i-sà-nu-ha* (KÖRKÜN §5), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha* (MARAŞ 1 §4), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §20, BOYBEYPINARI 2 §1), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §31 Hu., KARKAMIŞ A11b+c §17, KARABURÇLU line 3, GÜRÜN §3b, TELL AHMAR 2 §10), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nu-wà/i-há-* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Ho.), <sup>SOLIUM+MI</sup>*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŞ A1a §16), 3pl.pres.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §54 Ho.), 3sg.pret.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §3), 3pl.pret.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ta* (MARAŞ 1 §3)), **úsa-** (c.) ‘seat’ (nom.sg. <sup>MENSA.SOLIUM</sup>*á-sa-sa* (KARKAMIŞ A6 §25), acc.sg. <sup>MENSA.SOLIUM</sup>*á-sa-na* (KARKAMIŞ A6 §24), <sup>MENSA.SOLIUM</sup>*á-sa-na-* (KARKAMIŞ A6 §8), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*sa-na* (HAMA 4 §5, §6), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>SOLIUM.MI</sup>*á-sa* (KARAHÖYÜK §4), SOLIUM-*sa-* (HAMA 4 §8), <sup>SOLIUM</sup>[ ]*sa* (HAMA 5 §5)), **istarta-** (n.) ‘throne’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>THRONUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-tá-za* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §1), *i-sà-tara/i-ta-za* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §5, BOYBEYPINARI 2 §5, §15), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>THRONUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-ti-i* (MARAŞ 1 §3, MARAŞ 4 §17), <sup>THRONUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-ti-i* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Ho.), <sup>THRONUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Hu.), <sup>THRONUS</sup>*tara/i-ti* (IZGIN 1 §2)).

IE cognates: Skt. *áste* ‘to sit, to live, to settle, to abide, to continue’, *āsa-* (n.) ‘seat’, YAv. *āh-* ‘to sit’, Gr. ἵσται ‘to sit’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-nto*; *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 97f. for attestations. Already Hrozný (1919: XIII, 14) connected this verb with Gr. ἵσται ‘to sit’ and Skt. *áste* ‘to sit’. These latter forms seem to reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-to*, displaying a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-*. Because this structure is quite remarkable, it is generally assumed that *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* must reflect an old reduplication *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-* of a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to sit’ (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>). This root *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* is identical to *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to be (present)’, indicating that ‘to sit’ is a development out of the meaning ‘to be present’.

The formal interpretation of the Hittite material is quite straightforward. We find a middle stem *eš<sup>-a(nj)</sup>* besides an active stem *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-*. Usually, the middle paradigm *ešari / ešantari* is interpreted as reflecting *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-nto*. The active stem *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* is formally identical to *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’ (and, as we saw above, historically as well), and therefore is best regarded as reflecting *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-énti*.

In HLUwian, the verb ‘to be seated’ is predominantly written with the logogram SOLIUM. Only once we find a full phonetic form, namely 3pl.pret.act. <sup>SOLIUM</sup>*á-sa-ta*. When we compare this to Hitt. *a-ša-an-zi* ‘they sit’, it is quite possible that HLUw. *á-sa-ta* represents */ʔsanta/ < \*h<sub>1</sub>sénto* (see Kloekhorst 2004 for my view that the HLUwian sign *á* can represent */ʔ-/*). In the derivatives *i-sà-nu-wa/i-* ‘to seat, to settle’ and *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* ‘throne’ we find a stem *is-*. The interpretation of this stem is not fully clear. At first sight it is tempting to interpret the stem *is-* as the strong stem variant of *ás-*. E.g. Hawkins & Morpurgo-Davies (1978: 107-11) therefore assume that the stem *is-* is the one hidden behind the logogram SOLIUM+*MI*, and Starke (1990: 418) subsequently interprets SOLIUM+*MI-sa-i* ‘he sits’ as */isai/*, which he regards as the direct cognate of Hitt. *eša*. On the basis of his assumption that HLUw. *-i-* can reflect *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*, Starke reconstructs */isai/* as *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>so*. Melchert (1994a: 265) claims that *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* yields Luw. *-ā-*, however, which would mean that Starke’s reconstruction is impossible. Because Luw. *-i-* can also reflect a pretonic *\*e* (cf. e.g. HLUw. *tipas-* < *\*neb<sup>h</sup>és-*), the stem *is-* could also be regarded as the outcome of the unreduplicated stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* in pretonic position. In the verb *isnu(wa)-* this is certainly possible (< virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-néu-*) and in *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* probably as well (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-tró-+ ?*). This could mean that the relationship between the stems *is-* and *ás-* is not one of strong vs. weak, but rather one of unaccentuated vs. accentuated.

All in all, the phonetic form of SOLIUM+*MI-sa-i* cannot be deduced from the available evidence. The 3pl.pret.act.-form *á-sa-ta* probably reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-énto* and the noun *á-sa-* ‘seat’ in my view must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-o-* (in which the initial preconsonantal /ʀ-/ occasionally is dropped within the HLuwian period (the so-called aphaeresis), cf. Kloekhorst 2004: 46-7). The interpretation of the other forms depends on one’s view on the outcome of *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* in Luwian. If one follows Starke in assuming that *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* > Luw. *-i-*, *isnu(wa)-* and *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* can reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-n(e)u-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-tro-*. If one follows Melchert in assuming that *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* > Luw. *-ā-*, one must reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-néu-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-tró+* (or similar) respectively.

**-eš** (nom.pl.c.-ending)

PIE *\*-ei-es*

This ending is usually cited as *-ēš*, but this is incorrect. If we look at OS texts, we see that it is predominantly spelled <sup>o</sup>*Ce-eš* (e.g. *la-a-le-eš*, *li-in-ki-ia-an-te-eš*, *a-re-eš*, *ku-ú-še-eš*, *pal-ua-at-ta-al-le-eš*, *pí-še-né-eš*, etc.). The only cases in which a plene *-e-* is found, is when the ending is attached to a stem in vowel (e.g. *ha-a-pí-e-eš*, *ma-a-ri-e-eš*, *pal-ḥa-a-e-eš*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-e-eš*, *ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-e-eš*, *ku-i-e-eš*, *ḥar-ša-e-eš*). In my view, the plene *-e-* in these cases much more likely denotes the hiatus than a long vowel. So *pal-ḥa-a-e-eš* = /píHāes/, *ha-a-pí-e-eš* = /hābies/, *ḥar-ša-e-eš* = /Hrsāes/, etc. In cases like *iš-ḥe-e-eš* (MS) and perhaps also *šu-me-e-eš* (MS) (but compare the OS spelling *šu-me-eš!*), we are probably dealing with real accentuated endings /ʀisHés/ and /sumés/. In younger times, we do find some spellings <sup>o</sup>*Ce-e-eš* (e.g. *pal-ua-at-ta-al-le-e-eš*, *ḥu-uh-ḥe-e-eš*), but these are much less common than <sup>o</sup>*Ce-eš*. All in all, we must conclude that the ending is to be interpreted as /-es/, with short *-e-*. Nevertheless, since this ending is usually unaccentuated (except in already mentioned *išḥēš* and *šumēš*), and since unaccentuated /e/ reflects *\*-ē-*, we must assume that the ending *-eš* reflects a preform *\*-ēs*.

In younger times, we sometimes find spellings like <sup>o</sup>*Ci-eš*, <sup>o</sup>*Ce-iš* and <sup>o</sup>*Ci-iš*, which could show that the ending is deteriorating to /-is/. From MH times onwards, we see that the nom.pl.c. can also be expressed by the original acc.pl.c.-ending *-uš* and even by the original dat.-loc.pl.-ending *-aš*.

For a detailed treatment of the prehistory of this ending, cf. Melchert 1984a: 121-2, who argues that *\*-ēs* goes back to *\*-ei-es*, the original nom.pl.c.-ending of *-i-*stems. This implies that the contraction of *\*-eie-* to *\*-ē-* must have been much earlier than the loss of intervocalic *\*i* as described in § 1.4.8.1.a, namely before

the weakening of unaccentuated \*e to a in open syllables. So for the nom.pl.c. of *i*- and *u*-stem adjectives, we must envisage the following scenario:

(1) expected PIE preform:

\*CC-éi-es and \*CC-éu-es

(2) generalization of word-initial stress:

\*CṼC-ei-es and \*CṼC-eu-es

(3) contraction of \*-eie- to -ē-:

\*CṼC-ēs and \*CṼC-eu-es

(4) restoration of suffix-syllable -ei- in the *i*-stem adjective on the basis of e.g. acc.pl.c. \*CṼC-ei-us:

\*CṼC-ei-ēs and \*CṼC-eu-es

(5) spread of the marked nom.pl.c.-ending -ēs throughout the other nominal stems:

\*CṼC-ei-ēs and \*CṼC-eu-ēs

(6) weakening of posttonic \*e in open syllable to -a- and subsequent shortening of unaccentuated \*ē to e:

\*CṼC*a*ies and CṼC*a*ues

(7) loss of intervocalic \*i with lengthening of the preceding vowel:

CṼC*a*ēs and CṼC*a*uēs

**-ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (“fientive”-suffix)

PIE \*-éh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>1</sub>-

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The verbs in -ēšš- are traditionally called ‘fientives’ since they denote ‘to be ...’ or ‘to become ...’. They are often derived from adjectives, but can be derived from nouns and verbs as well. For adjectives, compare: *arauēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become free’ from *arauant-* (adj.) ‘free’; *harkijēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become white’ from *harki-* / *hargai-* (adj.) ‘white’; *idalauēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become bad’ from *idālu-* / *idālau-* (adj.) ‘evil’; *makkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become numerous’ from *mek*, *mekki-* / *mekkai-* (adj.) ‘numerous’ (note the zero-grade formation); *mīēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be(come) mild’ from *mīu-* / *mīau-* ‘soft, mild’; *parkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become tall’ from *parku-* / *pargau-* (adj.)

‘high’; *parkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become tall’ from *parku-* / *pargau-* (adj.) ‘high’; *tepaūēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become little’ from *tēpu-* / *tēpau-* (adj.) ‘little’. For verbs, compare: *ḫatēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become dry’ from *ḫāt-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫat-* ‘to dry up’; *miēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to grow’ from *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’; *tukkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be important’ from *tukk-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be important’. For nouns, compare: *šaknēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be(come) impure’ from *šakkar, zakkar* / *šakn-* ‘excrement’.

The verbs that bear this suffix inflect according to the *mi*-conjugation and do not show ablaut (*°ēšmi*, *°ēšti* (for *\*°ēšši*), *°ēšzi*, *\*°ēššuēni*, *°ēšteni*, *°ēššanzi*). Note the difference between *tepaūēšš-*, *parkuēšš-* and *mīēšš-*, all derived from *u*-stem adjectives.

According to Watkins (1973a: 71f.), the suffix *-ēšš-* must be an ‘inchoative’ in *-s-* of the stative suffix *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*, just as in Latin we find the inchoative suffix *-ēscere* (e.g. *rubēscere* ‘to become red’), which in his view reflects *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-skē/o-* (the stative suffix *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* itself is also sporadically attested in Hittite: *nakke-<sup>zi</sup>*, *papre-<sup>zi</sup>*, *parkue-<sup>zi</sup>* and *šulle-<sup>zi</sup>*, cf. the treatment of this class in § 2.2.2.1.1). Nevertheless, as we can see from *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o* > Hitt. *eša* ‘to seat’, a reconstruction *\*-éh<sub>1</sub>-s-* cannot explain the geminate *-šš-* found in *-ēšš-*. In my view, this means that we must reconstruct *\*-éh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>1</sub>-* in which the element *\*-sh<sub>1</sub>-* must be compared with the imperfective-suffix *-šš(a)-* that reflects *\*-s(o)h<sub>1</sub>-*. Just as the Hittite imperfective suffixes *-šš(a)-* < *\*-s(o)h<sub>1</sub>-* and *-ške/a-* < *\*-skē/o-* are functionally equal, we can now even better understand that the Hittite fientive suffix *-ēšš-* < *\*-éh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>1</sub>-* is functionally equal to the Latin suffix *-ēscere* < *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-skē/o-*.

*ēšša-<sup>i</sup>* / *ēšš-* : see *īšša-<sup>i</sup>* / *īšš-*

*-ešš(a)-* (“imperfective”-suffix): see *-šš(a)-*

*ēššari-*: see *ēšri-*

<sup>síG</sup>*ēššari-*: see <sup>síG</sup>*ēšri-*

*ēšša-*: see *išhā-*

*ēššaḫru-*: see *išhāḫru-*

*ešhar* / *išhan-* (n.) ‘blood; bloodshed’ (Sum. *ÚŠ*, Akk. *TAMMU*): nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḫar* (OS, often), *iš-ḫar* (KBo 3.67 ii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 31.115, 12 (OH/NS), KBo 14.41 iv<sup>?</sup> 3 (OH/NS), HFAC 40 obv.<sup>?</sup> 8 (OH/NS), KBo 3.16 + KUB 31.1 ii

17 (OH/NS), KBo 12.8 iv 32 (OH/NS), KBo 12.91 iv 6 (MH/NS), KBo 13.131 obv. 7 (MH/NS), KUB 30.33 i 11, 18 (fr.) (MH/NS), KUB 9.34 ii 34 (NS), KBo 1.51 rev. 17 (NS), HT 1 i 37 (NS), KUB 44.63 ii 7, 8 (NS), VBoT 74, 7 (NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš* (KBo 17.1 iv 8 (OS), KBo 15.10 i 1, 20, 32, ii 39 (OH?/MS)), *iš-ḫa-na-a-š=a* (KUB 13.7 i 14 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫa-a-na-aš* (KUB 17.18 ii 29 (NS)), *iš-ḫa-na-aš* (KBo 15.10 i 22, ii 17, 32 (OH?/MS), KUB 11.1 iv 19 (OH/NS), KBo 3.1+ iv 27 (OH/NS), KUB 17.34 i 2 (fr.) (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 iii 19 (MH/NS), KUB 19.67+ 1513/u i 18 (NH), KUB 30.50 + 1963/c 12f. (NS), KUB 22.38, 5f. (NS), KUB 19.2 rev. 9 (NH), KUB 14.14 + 19.1 + 19.2 rev. 9f. (NH)), *e-eš-ḫa-na-aš* (KUB 41.8 iii 10 (MH/NS), KUB 13.9 ii 3f. (MH/NS), KUB 17.28 ii 1 (MH/NS), KUB 9.4 i 38 (MH/NS), KUB 30.35 i 1f. (MH/NS), KUB 39.102 i 1f. (MH/NS), KUB 7.41 obv. 1ff. (MH/NS), KBo 10.45 iii 1 (MH/NS), KUB 41.8 iii 10 (MH/NS), KBo 24.52, 4 (NS), KUB 30.50+, 11 (NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-na-aš* (KUB 41.8 ii 36 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-i* (KBo 15.33 iii 31 (OH/MS), KBo 11.49 vi 18 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 iv 26 (MH/NS), KBo 30.153 ii 6 (OH/NS), KUB 11.26 ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 44.12 ii 13 (NS)), *iš-ḫa-ni* (KUB 40.28 ii 6 (MH/MS?)), KUB 55.28 ii 6 (MH/NS), KUB 9.34 ii 34 (fr.) (NS), KBo 22.52 ii 3 (NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-ni-i* (KBo 11.45 iii 22 (OH/NS), KUB 10.62 v 1 (OH/NS), KUB 9.4 i 17 (fr.) (MH/NS), KBo 11.1 obv. 45 (NH)), *e-eš-ḫa-ni* (KUB 45.47 iii 18 (MH/MS), KUB 10.11 vi 5 (OH/NS), KUB 43.56 iii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 41.8 iv 25 (MH/NS), KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 2 (NS)), erg.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-an-za* (KUB 39.103 rev. 4 (MH/NS), KUB 54.1 iv 19 (NS), KUB 14.14 + 19.2 rev. 23 (NH)), *e-eš-ḫa-na-an-za* (KUB 30.34 iv 7 (MH/NS), KUB 4.1 ii 22 (MH/NS), KUB 9.4 i 38 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫa-na-an-za* (KUB 9.34 ii 46 (NS)), abl. *e-eš-ḫa-na-az* (KUB 43.58 i 47, ii 41 (MS?)), KUB 16.77 iii 19 (NH)), *iš-ḫa-na-za* (KUB 30.33 i 10 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫa-na-az* (KUB 15.42 ii 30 (NS), KUB 30.31 i 42 (NS), KUB 41.22 iii 3f. (NS), KUB 14.14+ obv. 34 (fr.) (NH)), *e-eš-ḫa-na-za* (IBoT 1.33, 52 (NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-na-za* (KUB 19.20 rev. 9 (NH)), *iš-ḫa-na-an-za* (KUB 39.102 i 1 (MH/NS)), instr. *iš-ḫa-an-da* (KBo 17.4 iii 15 (OS), *e-eš-ḫa-an-ta* (HT 1 i 38 (NS)), *e-eš-ḫa-ni-it* (Bo 3696 i 7, 10 (NS))).

Derivatives: *išḫanuḡant-*, *ēšḫanuḡant-* (adj.) ‘bloody’ (nom.sg.c. *iš-ḫa-nu-ḡa-an-za* (KBo 13.131 iii 14 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *e-eš-ḫa-nu-ḡa-an-ta* (HT 1 i 30 (NS), KUB 9.31 i 37 (fr.) (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-nu-ḡa-an-ti* (KUB 36.89 obv. 14, rev. 1 (NS))), *ēšḫaškant-*, *išḫaškant-* (adj.) ‘bloodied’ (nom.sg.c. *e-eš-ḫa-aš-kán-za* (KUB 7.41 obv. 15 (MH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *e-eš-ḫa-aš-ga-an-ta-an* (KBo 25.127 + 147 iii 8 (OS)), acc.pl.c. *iš-ḫa-aš-kán-tu-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 7 (OS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *eš-ḫa-aš-kán-ta* (KBo 3.34 i 20 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḫa-aš-kán-ta* (KBo 17.1 i 24 (OS))), *išḫarnu-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ēšḫarnu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make bloody; to dye blood-red’



(1sg.pres.act. *e[-eš-ħar-nu-]mi* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 27 (MH/MS)), *e-eš-ħar-nu[-mi]* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 47 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *e-eš-ħar-nu-zi* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 30 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ħar-nu-ya-an-zi* (KBo 6.34+ iii 47 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *e-eš-ħar-nu-ut* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 18 (MH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-eš-ħar-nu-ut-tén* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 29, 65 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-ħar-nu-ya-an-t-* (OH/NS); impf. *iš-ħar-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 12.126 + KUB 24.9 i 38 (OH/NS), KUB 30.36 iii 1 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-ħar-nu-uš-ke/a-* (Bo 2709 ii 8 (NS)), *ēšħarnumae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *išħarnumae-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to make bloody, to smear with blood’ (3sg.pres.act. *iš-ħar-nu-ma-iz-zi* (KBo 5.1 i 26 (MH/NS), KUB 15.31 ii 23 (MH/NS)), *iš-ħar-nu-ma-a-iz-zi* (KUB 15.32 ii 18 (MH/NS), KBo 13.114 iii 3 (MH/NS)) 3pl.pres.act. *e-eš-ħar-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 iv 39 (NS)), *iš-ħar-nu-ma-an-zi* (KBo 5.1 iii 41 (MH/NS), KBo 29.3 i 7 (MS?), KUB 46.40 obv. 16 (NS), KUB 50.31 i 7 (NS)), *iš-ħar-nu-ma-a-an-zi* (KBo 14.127 iv 3 (fr.), 7 (fr.), 9 (fr.) (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-eš-ħar-nu-ma-it* (KBo 35.198 rev. 7), 1pl.pret.act. *iš-ħar-⟨nu-⟩ma-u-en* (KBo 13.101 i 5 (MH/NS)); inf.I *e-eš-ħar-nu-ma-a-u-ya-an-zi* (KBo 24.45 rev. 11 (MS?), KBo 27.202, 9 (fr.) (NS)), *ēšħaruahh-<sup>i</sup>* (Iib) ‘to make blood-red’ (impf.3sg.pres.midd. *e-eš-ħar-ya-ah[-hi-eš-ke-et-ta]* (KBo 15.1 i 27 (NS))), *išħaruant-* (adj.) ‘bloody’ (acc.sg.c. *iš-ħar-ya-an-da-an* (KUB 9.34 i 26 (NS), KUB 17.15 iii 2 (fr.) (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ħar-ya-an-ti* (KUB 36.89 obv. 13 (fr.), rev. 1 (NS)), all.sg. *iš-ħar-ya-an-da* (KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 14 (OH/NS), KUB 34.76 i 3 (OH/NS)), instr. [*iš-*]ħar-ya-an-te-e[*t*] (KBo 17.25 rev. 14 (OS)), nom.pl.c. [*iš-*]ħar-ya-an-te-eš (KBo 8.74 + 19.156 + KUB 32.117 + 35.93 iii 3 (OS)), acc.pl.c. *iš-ħar-ya-an-tu-uš* (KBo 17.1 + 25 3 i 25 (OS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *iš-ħar-ya-an-ta* (KBo 30.39 + 25 139 + KUB 35.164 rev. 17 (OS))), *išħarūieške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic6) ‘to be blood-red’ (3sg.pres.act. *iš-ħar-ú-i-eš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 28.6 obv. 11b (NS))), *išħaruīl*, *ēšħaruīl* (n. or adj.) ‘blood-red (object)’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-ħar-ú-i-il* (KBo 24.42 rev. 11 (NS), Bo 5969 i 3 (undat.), KUB 7.13 obv. 25 (fr.) (NS), KBo 21.47 iii 4 (fr.) (MS), KBo 23.16, 4 (fr.) (NS)), *iš-ħar-ú-uis-ī[ī]* (KBo 27.32, 4 (NS)), *e-eš-ħar-ú-i-il* (KUB 9.4 ii 5 (NS), KUB 7.13 obv. 14 (NS))), *išhanallēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become a blood-shedder (?)’ (3sg.pres.midd. *iš-ħa-na-al-le<sub>e</sub>-eš-ta-at* (1490/u, 11 (NS)), *iš-ħa-na-al-li-iš-t[a-at]* (1490/u, 6 (NS))), *išhanattalla-* (c.) ‘blood-shedder, murderer (?)’ (nom.sg. *iš-ħa-na-at-tal-la-aš* (Bo 4222 (see KUB 21.19) rev. 8 (NH))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *āšħar* (n.) ‘blood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ħar-ša*, [*a-*]āš-ħa-ar), *āšħarnu-* ‘to bloody’ (part. *a-aš-ħar-nu-um-m[i-]*), *āšħarnummai-* (adj.) ‘covered with blood’ (nom.pl.c. *a-aš-ħar-nu-um-ma-in-zi*), *āšħanuuant(i)-* (adj.) ‘bloody’ (nom.sg.c. *a-aš-ħa-nu-ya-an-ti-iš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *aš-ħa-nu-ya-an-ta*); HLuw. *ášharmi-* (c.) ‘offering(?)’ (nom.sg. /ʔasharmis/ <sup>“\*350”</sup> *á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà*),

*áshanantisa-* (n.) ‘blood-offering’ (nom.-acc.sg. /ʔshanantisant<sup>s</sup>a/ *á-sa-ha-na-ti-sa-za* (lit. a substantivized gen.adj. of a noun \*ʔshanant(i)- ~ Hitt. *išhanant-*, ‘that of blood’).

PAnat. \*ʔésHr, \*ʔsHanós

IE cognates: Skt. *ásrk*, *asnás* ‘blood’, TochA *ysār* ‘blood’, TochB *yasar* ‘blood’, Gr. *ἔαρ* ‘blood’, Latv. *asins* ‘blood’, Lat. *sanguen/sanguis*, *sanguinis* ‘blood’.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>-r*, \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>-én-s*

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 115f. for attestations. The oldest attestations show that the paradigm originally was nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḥar*, gen.sg. *iš-ḥa-na-a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḥa-ni-i*. The spelling nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḥar* is found in NS texts only. In the case of the oblique cases, the spelling *e-eš-ḥa-n-* is predominantly NS, too, except for one possible MS spelling *e-eš-ḥa-na-az*. This is either due to introduction of the vowel *e-* of the nom.-acc.sg.-form into the oblique cases, or due to the the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-š-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). In the literature we often find reference to forms that are spelled *(i-)e-eš-šar* and *(i-)e-eš-na-aš*, on the basis of which occasional loss of *-ḥ-* in interconsonantal position is assumed. As I will show under its own lemma, the forms *i-eš-šar* and *i-eš-n-* cannot mean ‘blood’ and therefore should be separated. All other instances where *-ḥ-* is not written must be regarded as spelling errors. The form *e-eš-šar* (KUB 41.8 iii 9) duplicates *e-eš-ḥar* (KBo 10.45 iii 18) and therefore must mean ‘blood’. It contrasts with the spelling *e-eš-ḥar* as found on the same tablet (KUB 41.8 i 29, ii 15, 17, iii 4, iv 2, 12) and in my view therefore must be regarded as a spelling error due to the form DI-*eš-šar* in the preceding line. The form *e-eš-na-aš* (KUB 41.8 ii 36) duplicates *e-eš-ḥa-na-aš* (KBo 10.45 iii 1), and therefore must mean ‘of blood’. It contrasts with the manifold spellings *e-eš-ḥa-n<sup>o</sup>* as found on the same tablet (KUB 41.8 ii 43, iii 5, 10, iv 25, 34) and in my view therefore must be a spelling error *e-eš-ḥa-na-aš* (cf. *tar-ša(-an)-zi-pí* in the same line). All in all, I only reckon with the forms *ēšhar* (*išhar*) and *išhan-* (*ēšhan-*).

Since Ribezzo (1920: 128), *ēšhar* / *išhan-* has generally been connected with Skt. *ásrk*, *asnás* ‘blood’, Gr. *ἔαρ* ‘blood’, etc. Opinions on the exact reconstruction differs, however. If we compare nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḥar* to Skt. *ásrk* and Gr. *ἔαρ*, we can hardly reconstruct anything else than \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*. Nevertheless, for instance Melchert (1984a: 92) reconstructs \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, apparently on the basis of the plene spelling *e-eš-*. This argument can be refuted if we compare e.g. *e-eš-mi* < \**h<sub>1</sub>ésmi*. Moreover, CLuw. nom.-acc.sg. *āšhar(ša)* points to \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, as \*\**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r* would have yielded CLuw. \*\**tšhar* (cf. Starke 1990: 559).

The reconstruction of the oblique cases is more difficult. Let us first look at the root syllable. From a PIE point of view, we expect an ablauting paradigm  $*h_1esh_2-r$ ,  $*h_1sh_2-$ . In the oblique cases, the initial  $*h_1$  would drop regularly in front of consonants in pre-Hittite times (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), giving an alternating paradigm  $*?esH-$ ,  $*sH-$ . There are now three scenarios. The first one is that this situation was retained and that the initial cluster of the oblique case receives the automatic prothetic vowel  $i-$ , giving  $/isH-/$ , spelled  $iš-ḫa-$ . I know of no other example, however, where a pre-Hittite ablaut  $*?e-$ ,  $Ø-$  was retained (in verbs with initial  $*h_1-$ , for example, the initial laryngeal was restored, e.g.  $ašanzi < *h_1senti$ ), so this scenario may not be very likely. If the  $*h_1-$  was restored, we would expect that pre-Hitt.  $*?sH-$  would yield Hitt.  $/ʔsH-/$ , spelled  $**aš-ḫa-$ . This apparently was not the case. The last possibility is that not only the initial laryngeal was restored, but also the vowel of the nominative (cf. gen.sg.  $pahḫuenaš$  ‘fire’  $< *peh_2u-en-os << *ph_2u-en-s$ ), giving pre-Hitt.  $*?esH-$ . This form would yield  $/ʔisH-/$  in unaccentuated position, spelled  $iš-ḫa-$ . On the basis of these considerations, I assume that the spelling  $iš-ḫa-$  of the oblique cases reflects unaccentuated  $*h_1esh_2-$ . Note that the Luwian forms cannot be used as an argument in this respect:  $*h_1eC-$  would yield Luw.  $/ʔaC-/$  and  $*h_1C-$  would yield Luw.  $/ʔC-/$ , but both outcomes are spelled the same:  $aC-$  in CLuwian and  $á-C-$  in HLuwian.

The interpretation of the suffix syllable is not easy either. The equation of Skt.  $asnás$  with Hitt.  $išḫanāš$  seems to show that we have to reconstruct  $*h_1esh_2nós$ , showing zero grade in the suffix syllable and accentuated full grade in the ending. One could argue that an extra argument in favour of this view can be seen in the one attestation  $e-eš-na-aš$  (KUB 41.8 ii 36), which would be the phonetically regular outcome of  $**h_1esh_2nos$ , showing loss of  $*h_2$  between consonants (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 313). This form, however, must be regarded as a scribal error and emended to  $e-eš-ḫa-na-aš$  (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> E: 117). Moreover, Skt.  $asnás$  cannot reflect  $*h_1esh_2nós$  as the latter form should regularly yield  $**asinás$ . It therefore is likely that Skt.  $asnás$  is a quite recent formation, taking over the word into the productive hysterodynamic inflection. The strongest argument against the view that Hitt.  $išḫanāš$  reflects  $*h_1esh_2nós$ , however, is the following. If  $išḫanāš$  indeed would reflect  $*h_1esh_2nós$ , it would synchronically have to be phonologically interpreted as  $/ʔisHnás/$ , showing a cluster  $/-sHn-/$ . If so, then I cannot understand why this word is consistently spelled  $iš-ḫa-na-$  and never  $**iš-aḫ-na-$  as e.g.  $pár-ḫa-zi$  besides  $pár-aḫ-zi$   $/párHtʰi/$ . Moreover, the one spelling  $iš-ḫa-a-na-aš$  in my view shows that the  $-a-$  of the suffix syllable was real. I therefore interpret  $iš-ḫa-na-a-aš$  phonologically as  $/ʔisHanás/$ , which must reflect  $*h_1esh_2enós$ . This

interpretation coincides with our view that neuter *r/n*-stems in principle were proterodynamic in the proto-language, showing a structure \**CéC-r*, \**CC-én-s*.

All in all, I conclude that *e-eš-ḥar*, *iš-ḥa-na-a-aš* must reflect (virtual) \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, \**h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>enós*, from PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>éns*. Note that the full grade suffix syllable is still visible in Lat. *sanguen* < \**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>en-*. The phenomenon that in synchronic Hittite we find a hysterodynamic accentuation of an original proterodynamic word is also found in *uttar* / *uddan-* ‘word’ and <sup>(GI, GIŠ)</sup>*pattar* / *pattan-* ‘basket’. Note that this is not the case in e.g. *uātar*, *uītenaš* ‘water’ and *paḥḥur*, *paḥḥuenaš* ‘fire’ that both are original proterodynamic *r/n*-stems, too, but still show show accentuation on the suffix syllable in the oblique cases (/uīdénas/ and /paH<sup>w</sup>énas/). It cannot be coincidental that in all three words of the first group, *išḥan-*, *uddan-* and *pattan-*, the original \**e* of the suffix syllable has been coloured to *-a-* due to a preceding \**h<sub>2</sub>* (\**h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>-en-*, \**uth<sub>2</sub>-en-*, \**pth<sub>2</sub>-en-*), whereas in *uīten-* and *paḥḥuen-* the \**e* remained: apparently the colouration to *-a-* caused an accentual shift from the suffix to the ending.

The bulk of the derivatives show spelling with *išḥ-* in the older texts, which is being replaced by *ēšḥ-* in the younger texts (possibly the result of the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-š-*, cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). Only the formally rather obscure *ēšḥaškant-*, *išḥaškant-* shows a spelling *e-eš-ḥa-aš-k-* in OS already (besides *iš-ḥa-aš-k-* as well in OS, however). Note that besides the old adjective *išḥarūant-* (attested in OS texts a few times), we find a younger *išḥanuūant-* in NS texts, which seems to have to be equated with CLuw. *ašḥanuūant(i)-* (note that Kimball (1999: 356) incorrectly cites *išḥanuūant-* as a form in which *-r-* has been sporadically lost: the adjective is not a participle of the verb *išḥarnu-<sup>zi</sup>*, but rather reflects \**h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>en-ūent-* ‘having blood’). On the basis of *išḥarūant-*, however, the stem *išḥarū-* received some productivity, resulting in forms like *ēšḥarūaḥḥ-*, *išḥarūieške/a-* (as if from a verb *išḥarūiie/a-* or *išḥarūae-*), and *išḥarūīl*.

***ešḥarrieškeddu*** : read *še<sup>1</sup>-ḥur-ri-eš-ke-ed-du*, see under *šeḥur*

***ēšri-*** (n.) ‘shape, image, statue’ (Sum. ALAM, Akk. *ṢALMU*): nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ri*, *e-eš-ša-ri*, dat.-loc.sg. *e-eš-ša-ri* (OS), *e-eš-re-e=š-ši* (KBo 3.7 iii 20), *e-eš-ri-i=t-ti* (KUB 33.34 obv. 12), *e-eš-ri-ia* (KUB 9.28 iv 5), instr. *e-eš-ša-ri-t=a-at=kán* (KUB 24.13 ii 7).

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>es-ri-*

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This word must be separated from <sup>síG</sup>*ēšri-* ‘fleece’ (q.v.), which shows commune forms as well (pace Puhvel HED 1/2: 313f.).

Just like *edri-* ‘food’, *auri-* ‘look-out’ etc., which are derivatives in *-ri-* from *ed<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ad-* ‘to eat’ and *au<sup>-i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’ respectively, *ēšri-* must be a derivative of the verb *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to be’ (q.v.) and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-ri-*. The spelling *e-eš-ša-ri-* points to *ʔéSri-*, in which the single *-s-* of *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* has been fortified to */S/* due to the adjacent *-r-*.

The suffix *-ri-* is of PIE date as we can see in Skt. *ásri-* ‘sharp edge, angle’ ~ Gr. *ἄκρῆς* ‘mountain top’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék<sup>-</sup>ri-* (cf. Brugmann 1906: 381-4).

<sup>síG</sup>*ēšri-* (n. > c.) ‘fleece’: nom.-acc.n. *e-eš-ri* (KBo 21.8 ii 6 (OH/MS), KUB 17.10 iv 2 (OH/MS), KBo 41.1b obv. 21 (MS), KUB 33.54+47 ii 17 (OH/NS), KBo 21.23 i 20 (NS)), *e-eš-šar-[ri]* (KUB 34.76 i 5 (OH/NS)), nom.sg.c. *e-eš-ri-iš* (KUB 32.133 i 12 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *e-eš-ri-in* (KUB 41.1 i 16 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *e-eš-ri* (KBo 41.1b rev. 26 (MS)).

The word shows neuter as well as commune forms. As the neuter forms are more numerous and found in older texts than the commune forms, I assume that <sup>síG</sup>*ēšri-* was neuter originally. Formally, it is homophonic with *ēšri-* ‘image, statue’ (q.v.) (although the latter word is neuter only), but semantically, the two words are too different to be equated just like that (pace Puhvel HED 1/2: 313f.). I know of no convincing etymology.

*ed<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ad-* (Ia3 > IIa1y) ‘to eat’ (Sum. KÚ): 1sg.pres.act. *e-et-mi* (OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *e-ez-ši* (KBo 22.1 obv. 28 (OS)), [*e-ez-za-a*]š-ši (KUB 1.16 iii 19 (OH/NS)), *e-ez-za-a[t-ti]* (KUB 36.13 i 3 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *e-za-az-zi* (OH/NS), *e-ez-za-zi* (MS), *e-ez-za-az-zi* (OH/NS), *i-iz-za-az-zi* (KBo 27.130 rev. 6 (NS)), *e-ez-za-i* (MH/NS), *e-ez-za-a-i* (MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *a-tu-e-ni* (OS), *a-du-e-ni* (OS), *a-du-ua-ni* (Bo 5709 obv. 10 (NS)), *e-du-ua-a-ni* (KUB 29.1 i 15 (OH/NS)), *e-du-e[-ni]* (Bo 5621 i 6 (undat.)), 2pl.pres.act. [*a*]z-za-aš-te-e[-ni] (KBo 25.112 ii 2 (OS)), *az-za-aš-te-ni* (KUB 1.16 iii 34, 48 (OH/NS)), *e-ez-za-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), *ez-za-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), *e-ez-za-te-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *a-da-an-zi* (OS, often), *a-ta-an-zi* (OS), *a-ta-a-an-zi* (KBo 3.60 ii 5 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *e-du-un* (OH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *e-za-at-ta* (KUB 33.96 iv 20 (NS)), [*e-e*]z-za-at-ta (KUB 33.112 + 114 ii 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-ez-za-aš-ta* (HKM 19 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), *e-ez-ta* (KBo 32.47c iii 1 (MH/MS), KBo 3.60 ii 18 (OH/NS)), *e-ez-za-aš* (IBoT 1.33, 14 (NS)), *ez-za-a-aš* (KBo 13.131 iii 13 (MH/NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *e-du-u-en* (477/u, 13 (undat.)), 3pl.pret.act. *e-te-er*

(OH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *e-et* (OH/NS), *e-ez-za* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *e-ez-du* (KUB 43.23 obv. 3 (OH/MS), KUB 31.104 i 8 (MH/MS)), *e-ez-za-aš-du* (KBo 8.35 ii 20 (MH/MS)), *e-ez-za-ad-du* (KUB 36.25 i 5 (NS)), *e-ez-za-du* (KUB 57.79 iv 23 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-ez-te-en* (OH/NS), *e-ez-za-at-te-en*, *e-ez-za(-at)-tén*, *e-ez-za-aš-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-da-an-du* (MH/MS), *e-ez-za-an-du* (KUB 9.31 iii 2 (NS)), *ez-za-an-du* (KUB 54.34 ii 3 (NS)); part. *a-da-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-da(-a-)tar*, gen.sg. *a-da-an-na-aš*; inf.II *a-da-an-na*, *a-da-a-an-na*; impf. *az-za-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *az-zi-ke/a-* (MH/MS, often).

Derivatives: see <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*edri-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. **ad-** ‘to eat’ (3pl.pres.act. *a-ta-a-an-ti*, *a-da-a-an[-ti<sup>2</sup>]*, impf. 2sg.imp.act. *az-zi-ki-i*); CLuw. **ād-** / **ad-** (2sg.pres.act.(?) *az-za-aš-ti-iš*, 2/3sg.pret.act. *az-za-aš-da*, 2pl.imp.act. *a-az-za-aš-ta-an*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-da-an-du*, 2pl.pres.midd. *az-tu-u-ya-ri*, inf. *a-du-na*, part. *a-da-am-mi-in-zi*); HLuw. **ád-** ‘to eat’ (3sg.imp.act. EDERE-*t[u]* (BULGARMADEN §16), 3pl.imp.act. *ʔadantul á-tà-tu-u* (SULTANHAN §33, KAYSERİ §12), *a+ra/i-tu* (KULULU 5 §11), EDERE-*tú* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §32), inf. *ʔadunal* <sup>EDERE</sup> *á-ru-na* (ÇİFTLIK §16), *á-ru<sup>2</sup>-na* (? TOPADA §31), part. “EDERE”-*tà-mi-i-sa* ‘eating’ (KULULU 2 §3); broken *á-ta-[-...]* (KARKAMIŠ A13a-c §5)), **ádaha-** (adj.) epithet of gods who have to eat something (*á-ta-ha-* (SULTANHAN §33, KAYSERİ §12, KULULU 5 §11)).

PAnat. *\*ʔed-* / *\*ʔd-*

IE cognates: Skt. *ad-* ‘to eat’, Gr. ἔδμεναι ‘to eat’, Lat. *edō* ‘to eat’, Lith. *ėsti* ‘to eat’, OCS *jasti* ‘to eat’, Goth. *itan* ‘to eat’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>éd-ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>d-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 128f. for attestations. The original paradigm of this verb was *ʔédmi*, *ʔédSi*, *ʔédst<sup>s</sup>i*, *ʔduéni*, *ʔdsténi*, *ʔdánt<sup>s</sup>i*/. In NS texts, we find a few forms that seem to show a stem *ezza<sup>i</sup>* that inflects according to the productive *tarn(a)*-class: 3sg.pres.act. *ezzāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ezzāš*, 2sg.imp.act. *ezza* and 3pl.imp.act. *ezzandu*. Apparently, the stem *ezz(a)-* was reanalysed out of the forms where the original stem *ed-* shows assibilation due to endings beginning in *t-*. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 320) also mentions forms like *ezzašši* and *azzašteni* (OS!) as showing this stem, but these forms rather use intricate spellings to denote the cluster /ds(t)/: *ezzašši* (besides *e-ez-šši*) = *ʔédSi* / > *\*h<sub>1</sub>éd-si*, *azzašteni* = *ʔdsténi* / < *\*h<sub>1</sub>d-th<sub>1</sub>éni*. It has been claimed that the HLuwian form <sup>“\*471”</sup> *á-za-i* (BABYLON 1 §10) shows a similar formation as *ezz(a)-<sup>i</sup>*, but the meaning of this form is not assured.

The etymological connection with e.g. Skt. *ad-*, Gr. ἔδ-, Lat. *ed-*, etc. ‘to eat’ was one of the keys to deciphering the Hittite language. On the basis of the long

vowels in Lith. *ėsti*, OCS *jasti* (< \**ěsti*) and Lat. 3sg.pres.act. *ēst*, it has been assumed that the PIE root \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-* originally was ‘Narten-inflected’: \**h<sub>1</sub>ēd-/h<sub>1</sub>ed-* (e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>). Oettinger (1979a: 89) therefore assumes that the Hittite paradigm is a remodelling of \**h<sub>1</sub>éd-ti* / \**h<sub>1</sub>éd-nti*, replacing \*\**e-* with *a-* in the plural, yielding *ezzazzi* / *adanzi*. This view is followed by e.g. Melchert who states (1994a: 138) that 1pl.pres.act. *e-du-ua-a-ni* (OH/NS), which seems to reflect a full grade stem, must be a more archaic form in spite of the numerous OS attestations *a-du-e-ni* and *a-tu-e-ni*, which show a zero grade stem. This is in contradiction to the facts. All OS attestations of this verb show that the pres.plur.-forms had zero grade in the root: *adueni*, *azzaštēni* and *adanzi*. Only in NS texts, we find that the full grade is introduced in 1pl. and 2pl., giving *eduuāni/edueni* and *ezzatteni*. This is perfectly regular if we compare the other *e/a*-ablauting *mi*-verbs: their OS pres.pl.-forms all show zero grade roots, whereas forms with a full grade root are found from MH times onwards only, which clearly indicates that these full grade forms are secondary. There can therefore be no doubt that the original paradigm of ‘to eat’ was *ezzazzi* / *adanzi*, reflecting a normal root present \**h<sub>1</sub>éd-ti*, \**h<sub>1</sub>d-énti*. Moreover, the entire concept of Narten-inflection should be abandoned (cf. De Vaan 2004). The long vowel and acute intonation found in Balto-Slavic (Lith. *ėsti* and OCS *jasti* < \**ěsti*) are due to Winter’s Law, whereas the long vowel in Lat. *ēst* ‘eats’ (but short in *ēdō* ‘I eat’!) is due to Lachmann’s Law. We therefore are dealing with a perfect example of a PIE root-present with \**e/Ø*-ablaut: \**h<sub>1</sub>éd-ti* / \**h<sub>1</sub>d-énti*.

Note that in HLuwian the ablaut seems to have been given up: 3pl.imp.act. *á-tà-tu-u* and *a+ra/i-tu* show rhotazation of intervocalic /d/ and therefore must be interpreted as /ʔadantu/, which contrasts with Hitt. *adandu* = /ʔdántu/.

<sup>(NINDA)</sup> **edri-** (n.) ‘food’ (Sum. ŠÀ.GAL): nom.-acc.sg. *e-et-ri*, nom.-acc.pl. *e-et-ri*<sup>H1A</sup>, *et-ri*<sup>H1A</sup>.

Derivatives: **edrije/a**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to feed’ (impf.3sg.pres.act. *e-et-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi*), **edrijanu**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to feed(?)’ (impf.3sg.pret.act. *e-et-ri-ja-nu-uš-ke-e[ʔ]* (KUB 39.41 rev. 15)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **ádri(a)**- ‘to feed(?)’ (3pl.imp.act. EDERE-tà-ri+i-tu (MALPINAR §7)).

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-ri-*

Just like *auri-* ‘lookout’ and *ēšri-* ‘image’ are derived from *au*<sup>i</sup> / *u-* and *eš*<sup>zi</sup> / *aš*<sup>-</sup>, *edri-* ‘food’ is a derivative in *-ri-* from the verb *ed*<sup>zi</sup> / *ad-* ‘to eat’ (q.v.). See at *ēšri-* for more information on the suffix *-ri-*.

*euk<sup>-zi</sup>* : see *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-*

(UDÚL) *euan-* (n.) a kind of grain; (with det. UDÚL) soup of a kind of grain: nom.-acc.sg. *e-ua-an* (KBo 4.2 i 10, KBo 11.14 i 6, IBoT 3.96 i 12, FHL 4, 12), *e-u-ua-an* (KBo 10.34 1 23, KBo 25.161 obv. 12, KUB 24.14 i 7, KUB 29.1 iii 9, KUB 29.4 ii 51, 63, iv 17, KUB 42.97, 5, KUB 44.52, 8), gen.sg. *e-u-ua-na-aš* (KBo 10.34 i 13, 21 (MH/NS)), *e-u-ua-aš* (KBo 13.227 i 13 (OH/NS), KUB 29.6+ ii 9 (NS), KUB 7.55 obv. 6 (NS)), instr. *e-u-ua-ni-i[t]* (KUB 51.48, 14 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *yáva-* ‘grain, corn, crop, barley’, Lith. *jãvas* ‘grainplant’, Lith. *javaĩ* ‘grain’, Gr. ζεαĩ ‘spelt’.

PIE *\*iẽu-on-* ?

See HW<sup>2</sup> E: 141 for attestations. In the oblique cases, we find forms that point to a stem *eua-* (gen.sg. *euaš*) and forms that point to a stem *euan-* (gen.sg. *euaanaš* and instr. *euanit*). Because all forms are attested in NS texts, we cannot determine on the basis of diachronical orderings which stem is the original one. Nevertheless, since it is not a normal practice that *a*-stem neuters secondarily take over the *n*-stem inflection, it seems likely to me that the *n*-stem inflection is more original.

The word is predominantly found in lists of edible items, which does not reveal too much about its exact meaning. In KUB 29.1 iii (9) *nu še-ep-pĩ-it e-u-ua-an-n=a šu-uh-ħa-er nu pa-ak-ku-uš-kán-zi* ‘they have strewn *šepit* and *eua-* and crush it’ it is likely, however, that *euan-*, just as *šepitt-* (q.v.), denotes some kind of grain. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 320) interprets the word as ‘barley’ (which cannot be ascertained, however, cf. HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.)) and plausibly connects it with Skt. *yáva-* ‘grain’, Gr. ζεαĩ ‘spelt’ and Lith. *javaĩ* ‘grain’, reconstructing *\*iẽuo-*. Since I regard the *n*-stem as more original, I would adapt this reconstruction to *\*iẽu-on-*. Because in Hittite only initial *\*i-* drops in front of *e* (cf. *eka-* ‘ice’ < *\*iego-*) whereas *\*Hie-* yields *i-* (cf. *ĩanzi* ‘they go’ < *\*hĩenti*), we cannot reconstruct *\*Hieuo-*, which is sometimes done by scholars who assume that *\*Hĩ-* > Gr. ζ-. Nevertheless, since the exact meaning of *euan-* has not been established, we must regard this etymology with caution.

*ezza<sup>-i</sup>* : see *ed<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ad-*



## H

*hā-*<sup>zi</sup> / *h-* (Ia2 > Ic2) ‘to believe, to trust, to be convinced’: 1sg.pres.act. *ha-a-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ha-a-ši*, 1sg.pres.act. *ha-a-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ha-a-iš*, 2pl.pret.act. *ha-at-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ha-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ha-a*, part. *ha-a-an-t*.

IE cognates: ?Lat. *ōmen* ‘omen’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>eH-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> (H: 1) for semantics and attestations. This verb often is cited as *hai-* (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 9) or *hae-* (Oettinger 1979a: 360f.), but the bulk of the attestations point to a stem *hā-*. We only once find a form that seems to show a stem *hai-* (2sg.pres.act. *ha-a-iš* (KUB 26.89, 14 (NH))), but in my view this form can easily be secondary. It is often stated that this verb inflects like *la(i)-* (Puhvel l.c., HW<sup>2</sup> l.c.), but this is not necessarily so. The verb *lā-<sup>l</sup> / l-* (q.v.) must have been *hi-*inflected originally, whereas in the case of *hā-* there is no indication for this (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 361<sup>211</sup>). In my opinion, the fact that *hā-* has an initial *h-* points to original *mi-*inflection as both *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-* yields Hitt. *ha-*, but *\*h<sub>2</sub>o-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>o-* > Hitt. *a-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). If 2pl.pres.act. *ha-at-tén* belongs to this paradigm (so Oettinger, but HW<sup>2</sup> states that this form hardly can mean ‘to trust, to believe’), then we see an ablaut *hā-/h-*.

Formally, *hā-*<sup>zi</sup> / *h-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2,3</sub>eH-*. From the few etymological proposals (cf. Puhvel l.c.), only Benveniste’s comparison (1962: 10-11) with Lat. *ōmen* would make sense formally, if we assume that one of the laryngeals of *\*h<sub>2,3</sub>eH-* was *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. Semantically, however, the connection is not without problems.

**-hha** (1sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-hha(ri)*

(GIŠ) **ḫāḫhall-** (n.) ‘greenery, verdure, (wild) vegetation’: nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-a-aḫ-ḫa-al* (OS), *ḫa-aḫ-ḫal*, gen.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫal-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫal-li*, *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-li*, erg.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-al-la-an-za* (KBo 13.248 i 12), instr. *ḫa-a-aḫ-ḫa-al-li-it* (OS), *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-al-li-it*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫal-la-aš*, erg.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫal-la-an-te-eš*.

Derivatives: <sup>MUNUS</sup> **ḫaḫhallalla-** (c.) a female functionary (nom.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-(al-)la-al-le-eš*), **ḫaḫhalieške/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic6) ‘to become yellow(green)’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-li-eš-ke-et*), **ḫaḫhaluuant-** ‘?’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-lu-ua-an-ti*), **ḫaḫlahḫ-<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to make yellow(green)’ (impf.3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-iš-k[e-et]*), **ḫaḫlanieške/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic6) ‘to make yellow(green)’ (3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-la-n[i-eš-k]er*), **ḫaḫluuant-** (n.) ‘the yellow’ (nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-la-u-ua-an-da*), **ḫaḫlimma-** (c.) ‘jaundice(?)’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-li-im-ma-aš*), **ḫaḫliuant-** (SIG7-*uant-*) (adj.) ‘yellow(green)’ (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-aḫ-li-u-ua-an-za*).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 3 for semantics and attestations. In OS texts, the stem of this word is *ḫāḫhall-*, whereas in younger texts we find *ḫaḫhall-*. Most derivatives show a syncopated stem *ḫahl-*. The only gloss wedged form, *ḫaḫhaluuant-i*, of which the meaning is not clear, is regarded by HW<sup>2</sup> H: 7f. as not belonging to this group of words.

Although the word seems genuinely Hittite (OS attestations already, no aberrant case-forms or spelling variancies, multiple derivatives) I know of no good IE etymology.

**-ḫḫahari** (1sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫa(ri)*

**-ḫḫaharu** (1sg.imp.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫaru*

**-ḫḫahati** (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫat(i)*

**ḫai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>**, **ḫink-<sup>a(ri)</sup>**; **ḫi(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>** (IIIh; Ib3) ‘(act. trans.) to bestow, to offer; (act. intr.) to bow; (midd.) to bow’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-ik-t[a-ri]* (OS) // [*ḫa-i*]k-ta-ri (OH/NS), *ḫa-ik-ta* (OH/MS), *ḫé-ek-ta* (OS), *ḫi-ik-ta* (MS), *ḫi-in-ga* (OS), *ḫi-in-ga-ri* (MH/MS), *ḫi-in-kat-ta* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-in-kán-ta* (OS or OH/MS), *ḫa-en-kán-t[a]* (NS), *ḫi-in-kán-ta* (OH/MS), *ḫi-i-in-kán-ta* (NS), 3pl.pret.midd. *ḫi-in-kán-ta-ti* (MH/NS), *ḫi-in-kán-ta-at* (OH/MS); 1sg.pres.act. *ḫi-ik-mi* (OH/MS), *ḫi-in-ik-m[i]* (NS), [*ḫi-i*]n-ga-mi (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫi-ik-zi* (MH/MS), *ḫi-in-ik-zi* (OH/NS), *ḫi-in-ga-zi* (MH/NS), *ḫi-ni-ik-zi* (1x, NS), *ḫi-in-ki-ez-z[i]* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫi-in-ku-ua-ni* (MH/NS), *ḫi-in-ku-e-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫi-in-kán-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫi-in-ku-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫi-*

*in-kat-ta* (OH/NS), [*hi*]-*in-ik-ta* (NS), *he-en-ik-ta* (MH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *hi-in-ku-u-e-en* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *hi-in-ker* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *hi-in-ga* (NH), *hi-in-i[k]* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *hi-in-kán-du* (MH/NS); verb.noun *hi-in-ku-ua-ar* (OH/MS), *hi-in-ku-u-ua-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *hé-en-ku-ua-aš* (OS), *he-en-ku-ua-aš* (NS), *hi-in-ku-ua-aš* (OH/NS); inf.I *hi-in-ku-ua-an-zi* (OH/NS); impf. *hi-in-ga-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *hi-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *hi-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **hengur** / **hengun-** (n.) ‘gift, offering’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hé-en-gur* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *hé-en-ku-ni* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *hi-in-ku-ua-ri* (NS)), \***hinkatar** / **hinkann-** (n.) ‘gift’ (dat.-loc.sg. IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-*an-ni* (NS)), **hinganu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make bow’ (3sg.pres.act. *hi-in-ga-nu-zi* (NS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>**hinkula-** (c.) ‘offerant’ (nom.sg. *hi-in-ku-la-aš* (OH/NS)), see *henkan-*.

See Puhvel HED 3: 289f. and 292f. for attestations. The verbal forms that I have treated here under one lemma, are sometimes regarded as belonging to two separate verbs. For instance, Puhvel (l.c.) distinguishes “*henk-*, *hi(n)k-* ‘bestow, consign, commit, secure, assign, allot, provide, present, offer’” from “*he(n)k-*, *hi(n)k-*, *hai(n)k-* ‘bow (reverentially), curtsy’”. Although indeed at first sight the two meanings ‘to bestow’ and ‘to bow’ seem to differ substantially, I regard them as belonging to the same verb for the following reasons. Oettinger (1979a: 171-7) has shown that in OH texts, all active forms denote ‘to bestow’ and all middle forms ‘to bow’. Only in younger texts, we find active forms that, when intransitive, denote ‘to bow’ as well. Since in my view the meaning ‘to bow’ can be derived from ‘to bestow oneself, to offer oneself’, we can easily regard all forms as belonging to one verb. In the active, this verb was transitive and meant ‘to bestow something, to offer something’; in the middle it was intransitive / reflexive and meant ‘\*to bestow oneself, to offer oneself’ > ‘to bow’.

If we look at the formal side of this verb, we see that in the active paradigm we find the stems *hik-* and *hink-* (assuming that the spellings *hi-in-ik-zi* and *hi-in-ga-zi* and the hapax *hi-ni-ik-zi* stand for /Hinkt<sup>s</sup>i/). In the older texts (MS) these show a clear distribution between *hik-C* and *hink-V* (compare e.g. *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *harni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ištarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, etc.). In the younger texts (NS) this distribution is given up, and we here find /Hinkmi/ and /Hinkt<sup>s</sup>i/ here as well. Only once, in a NS text, we find a form, *hi-in-ki-ez-zi*, which seems to show a stem *hinkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, according to the very productive *-je/a-* class. In the middle paradigm, the stems *hik-* and *hink-* are found as well, again showing *hik-C* vs. *hink-V*. The stem *henk-* that occasionally is found in NS texts must be regarded as the result of the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-n-* (cf. OH *lingai-* > NH *lengai-* and § 1.4.8.1.d).

Besides the stems *hik-C*, *hink-V* and *henk-*, we occasionally find the stems *haink-* and *haik-* as well, which show the same distribution regarding the presence or absence of *-n-*: *haik-C* vs. *haink-V*. Yet, the status of these forms is in dispute. E.g. Puhvel (o.c.: 295) regards them as “reverse spellings, a kind of spurious diphthong notation for *e*”. Melchert (1994a: 144) gives an overview of the other claimed instances where an etymological *-e-* is spelled hypercorrectly as *-ai-*. The form *appaizzi-* instead of normal *appezzi-* (cited as an example of *-ai-* for *-e-* by Puhvel) is regarded by Melchert as “a morphologically renewed form based on the adverb *āppa* + *-izzi-*”. The hapax *a-ip-ta* ‘he seized’ (KBo 5.6 i 11 (NH)) instead of normal *e-ep-ta* clearly is a scribal mistake of the sing A (𐎠) for the sign E (𐎡) (only two vertical strokes missing). These two examples are therefore not cogent. The third example, *ma-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* ‘many’ (KUB 26.1 iii 58 (NH)) instead of expected *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš*, is regarded by Melchert as a convincing parallel of a ‘reverse spelling’ of *-ai-* for *-e-*, however, and on the basis of this sole example he as well concludes that the ‘reverse spelling’ of *-e-* as *-ai-* is a real phenomenon and that therefore the spellings *haik-* and *haink-* do not have to be taken seriously and should be interpreted as standing for *hek-* and *henk-* respectively. Apart from the fact that I in principle disagree with dismissing 6 well-attested spellings, most of which occur in OS and MS texts, on the basis of one form in a NH text, I doubt the status of the form “*ma-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš*”. If we look closely at this form in the handcopy of KUB 26.1, ~~𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢~~, we see that it in fact does not read *ma-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš*, but rather *ku-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* (for the clear distinction between the signs MA and KU in the handwriting of this scribe compare e.g. the form of these signs in ibid. iii (61) ~~𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢~~ = *šu-um-ma-aš* = *ma ku-i-e-eš*, on the basis of which it is fully clear that the sign in line 58 should be read KU instead of MA). This means that this form does not show a ‘reverse spelling’ of *-e-* as *-ai-* at all: the spelling *ku-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* can only be regarded as a (rather big) scribal mistake for correct *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš*, and not as the result of the scribe’s desire to archaize the text by ‘reversing’ an *-e-* to *-ai-* on the basis of his awareness that in older times an original *\*-ai-* contracted to *-e-*. All in all, I conclude that the spellings *haik-* and *haink-* must be taken seriously phonetically. They show that the original stem was *hai(n)k-*. Already in OS times this *hai(n)k-* was contracted to *he(n)k-* and slightly later on it became *hi(n)k-* on the basis of the raising of *-e-* in front of *-nk-*. In NH times, the stem *hink-* developed into *henk-* again due to the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-n-*.

The original stem *hai(n)k-* should also be taken as the basis for etymological considerations. Nevertheless, most proposed etymologies are based on the idea that the basic form of this verb is *henk-*. In order to explain the *-e-* that is adjacent

to *h-*, the magic wand of Eichner's Law is used and *henk-* is subsequently reconstructed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēnK-*. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 175f., referring to Pedersen 1938: 183f.) connects "*henk-*" with Gr. ἀνάγκη 'fate' and OIr. *écht* 'killing' and reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēnk-*. The semantic connection between Hitt. "*henk-*" 'to bestow' and Gr. 'fate' and Ir. 'killing' is explained through the "semantische Bindeglied" *henkan-* 'fate, death' (q.v.). Others have proposed a connection with Gr. ἐνεγκεῖν 'to bring', OCS *nositi* 'to carry, to bear' (e.g. Götze & Pedersen 1934: 50), which is semantically more attractive, but formally impossible as these reflect PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>nek-*.

In my view, the original stem *hai(n)k-* can only reflect *\*h<sub>2,3</sub>einK-*. As such, this root violates the PIE root constraints (there are no parallels of roots in *-eRRC-*). If this verb is of IE origin, we can only assume that it reflects a nasal-infix stem of a root *\*h<sub>2,3</sub>eiK-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that the only other secure example of a nasal-infix stem of a root *\*CeiK-* shows the structure *Ci-nin-K-*: *nini(n)k-*<sup>21</sup> 'to mobilize' from the root *\*neik-* (cf. § 2.2.4). Moreover, we would not expect a nasal-infix in a middle paradigm. All in all, at this moment I do not see any way to convincingly connect this verb with words from other IE languages, neither to give a logical analysis of its form.

Melchert (1984a: 24<sup>46</sup>, but retracted in 1994a: 144) proposed to interpret *hai(n)k-* as a compound *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>enk-*, the second part of which should be the root underlying Gr. ἐνεγκεῖν 'to bring'. As we saw above already, on the basis of OCS *nositi* 'to carry' e.a., this root must be reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>nek-*, which makes Melchert's reconstruction impossible.

***halai-*<sup>i</sup> / *hali-*<sup>2</sup>** (IIa4 > Ic2) 'to set in motion': 1sg.pres.act. *ha-la-a-mi* (KBo 47.292, 3 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ha-la-a-ši* (KBo 5.9 iii 9 (NH), KUB 36.46, 6 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-la-a-i* (KUB 9.1 ii 32 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-la-a-an-zi* (KUB 15.27 ii 3 (NS)), *ha-li-en-zi* (here? KBo 6.26 iv 14 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-la-iš* (KUB 24.8+ iii 11 (OH/NS)), *ha-a-la-eš* (here? KUB 36.55 ii 38 (MH/MS?)), 2pl.pret.act. *ha-la-it-[t]én* (KBo 26.100 i 7 (MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-la-a-er* (KUB 26.65 iii 5 (NS), KUB 5.25 iv 35 (NS)), *ha-a-la-er* (KUB 50.37, 14 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἰάλλω 'to send off, to stretch forth'.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-oi-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-i-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 16f. for a semantic treatment of this verb. Formally, it is attested both with forms that belong to the *mi*-inflection (*hatrae*-class) and with forms that belong to the *hi*-inflection. Because of the fact that almost all forms are found in

NS texts (except 2pl.pret. *ḫalaitten*), it is not easy to determine to which inflection the verb belonged originally. Nevertheless, the fact that 3sg.pres. *ḫalāi* and 3sg.pret. *ḫalāiš* are found in MH and OH compositions respectively, it is in my view likely that the *ḫi*-inflection was the original one. If this is correct, then the verb must have belonged to the *dāi/tiānzi*-type (if it belonged to the *d(ā)*-type, it would have had a 3sg.pret. *\*\*ḫalāš* (like *dāš* ‘he took’) or *\*\*ḫalāit* (like *lāit* ‘he released’, which is a *mi*-form on the basis of the secondary stem *lāi-*). We then expect to find, next to *ḫalai-*, a stem *ḫali-*, which is possibly seen in 3pl.pres.act. *ḫalienzi* (thus also Puhvel HED 3: 12, but against this HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 16).

Puhvel (l.c.) connects this verb with Gr. *ἀλλω* ‘to send off’, which must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>i-h<sub>2</sub>l-je/o-*, from a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-*. For Hittite, this means that *ḫalai<sup>i</sup> / ḫali<sup>2</sup>* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-oi- / \*h<sub>2</sub>l-i-* (see Kloekhorst fthc.a on the formation of the *dāi/tiānzi*-class verbs). Note that in this formation, the *o*-grade did not cause the initial laryngeal to disappear (contra Oettinger’s account (2004) of *arāi* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>rói-ei* due to the ‘de Saussure Effect’).

For an original homophonic verb, see at *ḫaliḫe/a<sup>zi</sup>*.

*ḫallanna<sup>i</sup> / ḫallanni-* (IIa5) ‘to trample down, to flatten (fields and plants)’: 3pl.pres.act. *ḫal-la-an-ni-an-zi* (Bo 3267 obv. 6 (MS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-la-an-ni-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 4.3 ii 9 (NS)); impf. *ḫal-la-an-ni-eš-k[e-...]* (KBo 19.112, 17 (MH/NS)).

IE cognates: ?Gr. *ᾄλλωμι* ‘to destroy’, ?Lat. *dēleō* ‘to destroy’, *ab-oleō* ‘to destroy’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* ?

The verb occurs a few times only, namely in the following text:

KUB 4.3 ii

- (6) A.ŠÀ-ni=ma=za=kán an-da TÚL-tar le-e DÛ-ši
- (7) ma-a-an=ma=za=kán A.ŠÀ-ni=ma an-da [T]ÚL DÛ-ši
- (8) nu=za=kán <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-aš GÌR=[Š]U an-da tar-na-at-ti
- (9) nu A.ŠÀ-aš=ti-iš ḫal-la-an-ni-ia-at-ta-ri
- (10) iš-tal-ki-ia-at-ta-ri

‘You must not make a well in the field. If you do make a well in the field, however, you will let in the foot of the enemy and your field will be *ḫ*-ed (and) levelled’;

as well as in Bo 3267 obv. (see Puhvel HED 3: 13) (6) *uelku haršani=šši hallanianzi* ‘They *h*. the grass on his head’ and KBo 19.112 (17) [...-z]i ar-*ha hal-la-an-ni-eš-k[e-...]*. The last context is too broken to give a meaningful interpretation, but the first two contexts seem to indicate that, just as *ištalkije/a-* in KUB 4.3 ii 10, *hallanna/i-*<sup>i</sup> denotes the flattening or trampling down of plants and fields. Therefore, HW<sup>2</sup> H: 18 translates “zertreten(?), niedertreten(?) o. ä.” and Oettinger (1979a: 81) “niederstrecken”. Puhvel (l.c.), however, translates “lay waste, ruin, savage, ravage”, but apparently does so largely because of an etymological connection with Gr. ὄλλῦμι ‘to destroy’.

Formally, the verb looks like a imperfective in *-anna/i-* of a further unattested root *\*hall-*. If from IE origin, this *\*hall-* could reflect *\*h<sub>2/3</sub>elH-* or *\*h<sub>2/3</sub>eln-*.

As we saw, Puhvel connects this verb with Gr. ὄλλῦμι ‘to destroy’, etc., implying a reconstruction *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1-</sub>*, which was followed by e.g. Melchert (1994a: 82). Because it is less likely to assume that an original meaning ‘to destroy’ would develop into ‘to flatten (fields and plants)’, we must assume that if this etymology is correct, the Hittite verb preserves the original meaning of *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1-</sub>* and that the meaning ‘to destroy’ as found in Greek and Latin has developed out of this.

***hāli-*** (n.) ‘pen, corral (for cows and horses)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ha-a-li* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ha-li-ia-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-a-li* (OH/NS), *ha-a-li-ia* (NS), *ha-li-ia* (NS), abl. *ha-a-li-az* (OH/MS), *ha-a-li-ia-az* (MH/NS), *ha-li-ia-az* (OH/NS), instr. *ha-a-li-it* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ha-a-li-ia* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ha-a-li-ia<sub>x</sub>-aš* (OS) // [*ha-a-li-ī*]a-aš (OH/?) // *ha-a-li-aš* (OH/NS).

See Puhvel HED 3: 26f. and HW<sup>2</sup> H: 30 for attestations. The word denotes a pen or corral for cows and horses, which contrasts with *ašāuar / ašāun-* ‘pen (for sheep and goats)’ (q.v.). Puhvel translates this word as “lunar halo (in omina)” as well, but only refers to KUB 8.3 rev. (5) [... *h*]a-a-li aš-pu-uz-za LUGAL-an *ua-ak-ri-ia-zi ku-iš-ki* ‘[If ... *h*]āli ašpuzza, someone will become rebellious to the king’ for this meaning, of which HW<sup>2</sup> (H: 30) states that it must be regarded as belonging with *hāli-* ‘night watch (as a time measurement)’. Puhvel’s etymological connection with Gr. ἅλως ‘halo’ therefore becomes impossible.

Rieken (1999a: 226) connects *hāli-* with *hīla-* ‘courtyard’ and reconstructs a root “*\*h<sub>2</sub>el-* ‘einfassen’ o. ä., die zwar außerhalb des Hethitischen nur mit Gutturalerweiterung als *\*h<sub>2</sub>elk-/\*h<sub>2</sub>lek-* (gr. ἀλέξω ‘wehre ab, beschirme’, ai. *rākṣati* ‘hütet, schirmt, bewahrt’, aengl. *ealgian* ‘schützen’, etc.) erscheint, die sich aber in heth. *hi-(i-)la-* ‘Hof’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēl-éh<sub>2-</sub>* und in *ha-a-li-* ‘Viehherde’ <

\**h<sub>2</sub>óli-* fortsetzt” (l.c.), and which, according to Rieken, also is visible in the noun *hālīša-* ‘casting, overlay’. Because the noun *hīla-* (q.v.) cannot reflect \**h<sub>2</sub>ēl-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, this etymological connection in my view falls apart.

*haliĵe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to kneel down’: 3sg.pres.act. *ha-li-ĵa-zi* (KUB 8.62 i 4 (NS), KUB 16.72, 7, 23 (NS)), *ha-li-e[-ez-zi]* (KBo 13.106 i 6 (OH/NS)), *ha-li-ez-zi* (KBo 53.15, 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-[l]i-en-zi* (here? KBo 6.26 iv 14 (OH/NS)), *ha-li-ĵa-an-zi* (KUB 9.34 i 2 (NS) // IBoT 3.99, 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-li-ĵa-at* (KBo 3.3 i 13 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-a-li-er* (KBo 3.34 iii 12 (OH/NS)), *ha-a-li-i-e-er* (KBo 3.4 iii 16 (NH), KBo 4.4 iv 20 (NH), KUB 19.13 i 51 (NH)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ha-a-li-ĵa* (KUB 10.11 ii 17 (OH/NS)), *ha-li-ĵa-ri* (KUB 12.11 iv 33 (MS?)), *ha-a-li-ĵa-ri* (KUB 20.99 ii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 28.82 i 6 (OH/NS), KBo 17.75 i 27 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ha-li-ĵa-at-ta-at* (KUB 14.15 iv 29, 32 (NH), KUB 19.30 i 18 (NH), KBo 5.5 ii 1 (NS), KBo 10.12 i 25 (NH), KBo 10.13 i 25 (NH), KUB 33.106 iv 5 (NS)), *ha-li-at-ta-at* (KUB 19.49 i 39 (NH)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ha-a-li-ĵa-an-da-at* (KBo 4.4 iii 47 (NH), KUB 14.15 iii 47 (NH)); part. *ha-a-li-an-t-* (KUB 29.1 iii 3 (OH/NS)); verb.noun. *ha-li-ĵa-tar* (HKM 13 obv. 4 (MH/MS), KUB 3.95, 6 (NS)); impf. *ha-a-li-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 5.6 ii 51 (NS)).

Derivatives: *halinu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make kneel’ (3pl.pres.act. *ha-li-nu-an-zi* (KUB 29.40 iii 47 (MH/MS), KUB 29.45 i 14 (MH/MS), KUB 29.50 i 13, 28 (MH/MS)), *ha-li-nu-ĵa-an-zi* (KBo 8.49, 7 (MH/MS))), *haliĥla-<sup>i</sup>* / *haliĥli-* (IIa5) ‘to genuflect, (trans.) to make obeisance to’ (2sg.pres.act. *ha-li-iĥ-la-at-ti* (KBo 3.34 ii 21 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-li-iĥ-la-i* (KUB 14.1 rev. 10 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pres.act. *[ha-l]i-iĥ-la-at-te-ni* (KBo 3.23 rev. 13 (OH/NS)); 2sg.pres.midd. *ha-li-iĥ-li-iš-ta-ri* (KBo 7.28, 5 + KBo 8.92, 4 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ha-li-iĥ-li-ĵa-an-da-a-ri* (KUB 29.1 iv 1 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.midd. *[ha-l]i-iĥ-li-ĵa-an-da-ru* (Bo 3417 rev. 9 (NS)); impf. *ha-li-iĥ-li-iš-ke/a-* (MS)).

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>l-ó-i-ei* / \**h<sub>2</sub>l-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 28f. for attestations. The bulk of the forms are attested in NS texts. They all show the *-ĵe/a-* class. Since this class is quite productive in NH times, it is not necessarily the case that this verb was *-ĵe/a-* inflected originally, however. Although the spelling *ha-li-* is the most common one, we also find a fair number of examples of plene spelling *ha-a-li-*.

In my view, the exact interpretation of this verb for a large part depends on the analysis of its derivative *haliĥla-<sup>i</sup>* / *haliĥli-* ‘to genuflect’. This verb, which is inflected according to the *mēma/i-* class, clearly shows a reduplication /Hli-Hla/i-/.



As I have argued under the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class (see § 2.2.2.2.h) the verbs that belong to this class used to belong to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class. In this case, *halihla/i-* therefore must go back to *\*halihlai-<sup>i</sup> / halihli-*. In my view, we must draw two conclusions from this analysis. First, the basic verb was *dāi/tiānzi*-inflected as well. Second, the plene spelling *ha-a-li-* cannot reflect an old situation, since there is no vowel visible in *halihlai-/halihli-* = /Hli-Hlai- / Hli-Hli-/. So, the verb that is attested as *halije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* only must go back to an original *\*halai-<sup>i</sup> / \*hali-*.

This outcome means that originally, this verb was homophonic to the verb *halai-<sup>i</sup> / hali-* ‘to set in motion’ (q.v.). This may explain the fact that in ‘to kneel down’ no specific forms of the *dāi/tiānzi*-class have survived into the NH period: to avoid the homophony, *halai-<sup>i</sup> / hali-* ‘to kneel down’ was fully taken over into the *-je/a*-class, whereas *halai-<sup>i</sup> / hali-* ‘to set in motion’ was partly taken over into the *hatrae*-class.

Etymologically, also *\*halai-<sup>i</sup> / hali-* ‘to kneel down’ can hardly reflect anything else than *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-oi-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-i-*. Nevertheless, I know no good comparandum. Puhvel’s attempt (l.c.) to connect it to the ‘elbow’-words like Gr. ὀλένη, Lat. *ulna* etc. is abortive. Not only the semantics are wrong (the meaning ‘elbow’ is very consistent throughout the IE languages), the formal side is difficult as well: the elbow-words seem to reflect *\*Heh<sub>3</sub>l-en-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>eHl-en-*, which does not fit *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-oi-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-i-*.

**halīna-** (gender unclear) ‘clay(?)’: gen.sg. *ha-li-i-na-aš* (OS).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀλίειν ‘to anoint, to smear’, Lat. *linō*, *lēvi* ‘to rub, to smear’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>liH-no-??*

The word occurs in the genitive only, describing *teššummi-* ‘cup(?)’ and *zēri-* ‘cup’. A translation ‘clay(?)’ (thus HW<sup>2</sup> H: 43, Puhvel HED 3: 32) is a possibility but is not ascertained. On the basis of this meaning, Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a connection with Gr. ἀλίειν ‘to smear’ and Lat. *linō* ‘to smear’ that reflect a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>leiH-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>; note that the *-n-* in these forms are from the nasal present). If this connection is justified, Hitt. *halīna-* would reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>liH-no-*.

**halki-** (c.) ‘barley; grain’ (Sum. ŠE): nom.sg. *hal-ki-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *hal-ki-in* (OS), gen.sg. *hal-ki-aš* (OS), *hal-ki-ja-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *hal-ki-i* (MH/MS), abl. *hal-ki-ja-za*, *hal-ki-ja-az*, instr. *hal-ki-it* (OS), nom.pl. *hal-ki-e-eš* (MH/MS), *hal-ki<sup>H1A</sup>-aš* (MH/MS), *hal-ki<sup>(H1A)</sup>-uš* (NS), acc.pl. *hal-ki-uš* (MH/MS), *hal-ki<sup>H1A</sup>-uš* (MH/MS), *hal-ki<sup>H1A</sup>-aš* (MH/MS), *hal-ki-ja-aš* (NS).

Derivatives: <sup>d</sup>**Halki-** (c.) ‘barley-god’ (Sum. <sup>d</sup>NISABA; nom.sg. *ḫal-ki-iš* (OS), *ḫal-kiš*, acc.sg. *ḫal-ki-in* (OS), *ḫal-ki-en*, gen.sg. *ḫal-ki-aš*, *ḫal-ki-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫal-ki-ia* (OS), *ḫal-ki*).

The word is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. Within Anatolian, the Lycian form *qelehi* is often regarded as a cognate (e.g. Melchert 1993a: 60; 2004a: 55). This word is the nom.sg.c. of a genitival adj. of a divine name *qele/i-* which was first equated with Hitt. <sup>d</sup>*Halki-* by Neumann (1979b: 270). Neumann himself admits himself, however, that this equation is based on a slight formal similarity between the two words only, and not on semantic evidence. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, Lyc. *q* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>u*, however, and therefore the connection with Hitt. *ḫalki-* is untenable.

Although the word is attested in the oldest texts and does not show any specific non-IE characteristics, IE cognates are unknown.

**ḫalkuēššar / ḫalkuēšn-** (n.) ‘supplies (for festivals)’ (Akk. *MELQĒTUM*): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫal-ku-eš-šar*, *ḫal-ku-e-eš-šar*, *ḫal-ku-i-eš-šar* (KUB 12.66 iv 5), gen.sg.(or dat.-loc.pl.) *ḫal-ku-e-eš-na-aš* (KUB 13.1 iv 3), *ḫal-ku-iš-ša-na-š=a* (KUB 13.2 iv 12), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫal-ku-eš-ni*, nom.-acc.pl. *ḫal-ku-eš-šar*<sup>HLA</sup>.

IE cognates: Skt. *ārhati* ‘to earn, to be worth’, YAv. *arəjaiti* ‘to be equal’, Gr. ἀλφάνειν ‘to bring in as profit’, ἀλφεῖν (aor.) ‘to earn, to obtain’, Lith. *algà* ‘salary, pay’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>lg<sup>wh</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r / \*h<sub>2</sub>lg<sup>wh</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-n-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 62f. for semantics and attestations of this word. Puhvel (HED 3: 40f.) plausibly connects *ḫalkuēššar* with the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>elg<sup>wh</sup>-* ‘to yield, to supply’.

**ḫaluka-** (c.) ‘message, announcement, tidings, news’: nom.sg. *ḫa-lu-ga-aš* (OS), *ḫa-lu-ka-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-lu-kán* (OS), *ḫa-lu-ga-an*, *ḫa-lu-ka-an*, *ḫa-lu-ka-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-lu-ki* (MH/MS), abl. *ḫa-lu-ga-az* (MH/MS), instr. *ḫa-lu-ki-it* (MH/MS), acc.pl. *ḫa-lu-ku-uš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **ḫaluki-** / **ḫalugaḫ-** (adj.) ‘message-..’ (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-lu-ki-i[š]* (HKM 75 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *ḫa-lu-ga-e-eš* (KBo 14.4 i 1)), <sup>LÚ</sup>**ḫalukat(t)alla-** (c.) ‘messenger, envoy’ (Akk. <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE<sub>4</sub>-MU*; nom.sg. *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-lu-kat-tal-la-an*, *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-an*, acc.pl. *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-lu-uš* (MH/MS)), **ḫaluganna-<sup>i</sup>** / **ḫaluganni-** (IIa5) ‘to make an announcement, to bring news’ (impf. *ḫa-lu-ga-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 27.29 iii 17)), **ḫaluganae-<sup>z</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to

bring news' (3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-lu-ga-na-iz-zi* (KUB 28.4 iii 14)), *ḥaluganili* (adv.) 'in messenger-fashion' (*ḥa-lu-ga-ni-li* (KUB 17.16 iv 4)).

IE cognates: Goth. *liugan* 'to lie', OCS *lbgati* 'to lie', OIr. *lu(i)ge*, *lugae* 'oath'.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>l(e/o)ug<sup>h</sup>-o-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 44f. for attestations. This word is attested in OS texts already. The basic stem is *ḥaluk-*, with a thematic noun *ḥaluka-* and an *i*-stem adjective *ḥaluki-* / *ḥalugai-*. Two forms go back to a stem *ḥalugan(a)-*, namely *ḥaluganili* and *ḥaluganaizzi*.

Despite its OS attestation and perfectly normal derivations, it is difficult to etymologize *ḥaluka-*. Sturtevant (1932a: 8) connected *ḥaluka-* to Goth. *liugan* 'to lie', which further belongs with OCS *lbgati* 'to lie' and OIr. *lu(i)ge*, *lugae* 'oath'. Although formally possible (we should then reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>leug<sup>h</sup>-*), the semantic side of this connection is at first sight not self-evident. Nevertheless, if one compares for instance ModEng. *to tell stories* = 'to lie', then we could imagine how 'to bring news' and 'to lie' are cognate. See at *ḥulukanni-* 'carriage' for the claim that this word is a derivative.

Dercksen (fthc.) suggests that the word *ḥulugannum* that occurs in the OAssyrian text AKT 1.14 from Kültepe (acc. pl. *ḥu-lu-kà-ni* in line 7 and gen.sg. *ḥi-lu-kà-ni-im* (with scribal error) in line 30) may be a loanword on the basis of Hitt. acc.sg. *ḥalugan*.

*ḥalzai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥalzi-* (IIa4 > Ic1; IIIc > IIIg) 'to cry out, to shout, to call (trans.), to invoke, to recite': 1sg.pres.act. *ḥal-ze-eḥ-ḥi* (OS, often), *ḥal-zi-ja-mi* (KUB 15.23, 19 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḥal-za-i-it-t[i]* (KBo 17.23 obv. 2 (OS)), *ḥal-za-it-ti* (KUB 13.3 iv 28 (OH/NS)), *ḥal-ze-eš-ti* (KUB 26.88 obv. 8 (NS), KUB 31.136 ii 3 (NS)), [*ḥal-zi-ja-ši* (KUB 26.12 iii 23 (NH)), [*ḥal-z*]i-ja-š[i] (KUB 15.1 iii 11 (NH)), *ḥal-zi-ja-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 26 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḥal-za-a-i* (OS, often), *ḥal-za-i* (OS, less often), 1pl.pres.act. *ḥal-zi-ya-ni* (KUB 17.21 iv 11 (MH/MS)), *ḥal-zi-ja-u-e[-ni]* (KUB 12.50, 6 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḥal-zi-ja-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 iv 17 (2x) (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḥal-zi-an-zi* (OS, often), *ḥal-zi-ja-an-zi* (often), 1sg.pret.act. *ḥal-ze-eḥ-ḥu-un* (OS, often), 2sg.pret.act. *ḥal-za-ū[-ta]* (KUB 30.10 obv. 9 (OH/MS)), *ḥal-za-it-ta* (KUB 1.16 ii 60 (OH/NS)), *ḥal-za-a[-it-ta]* (KBo 18.28 i 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḥal-za-iš* (OS, often), *ḥal-za-i-iš* (MH/MS), *ḥal-za-a-iš* (often), *ḥal-za-a-i-iš* (1x), *ḥal-zi-ja-at* (KUB 21.16 i 18 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḥal-zi-e-u[-en]* (KUB 23.77a obv. 11 (MH/MS)), *ḥal-zi-ú-en* (KBo 5.3 i 40 (NH)), *ḥal-zi-ja-u-en* (KBo 11.1 obv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 (NH)), *ḥal-zi-ja-ú-en* (KUB 4.1 ii 2 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḥal-zi-i-e-er* (KUB 29.1 i 25

(OH/NS), KUB 31.68 ii 49 (fr.) (NS)), *ḫal-zi-e-er* (KUB 18.56 iii 35 (NS), KUB 18.24 iii 22 (NS)), *ḫal-zi-er* (KBo 14.12 iv 33 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫal-za-i* (HKM 21 rev. 21 (MH/MS), HKM 81 rev. 30 (MH/MS)), *ḫal-za-a-i* (KUB 31.115, 7 (OH/NS), KUB 13.2 iii 30 (MH/NS), KBo 18.24 i 14 (NH), KUB 6.45 iii 24 (NH), KUB 21.16 i 20 (fr.) (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫal-za-a-ú* (KUB 36.90 obv. 5 (NS)), *ḫal-zi-ia-ad-du* (KUB 56.48 i 20 (NS)), *ḫal-zi-iš-d[u]* (KBo 9.107 rev. 4, 9 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-tén* (KBo 3.1 ii 51 (OH/NS), KUB 28.82 i 18 (OH/NS), VBoT 58 i 27, 29, 32 (OH/NS), KUB 9.11 + 28.82 + IBoT 3.98 i 18 (OH/NS), KBo 13.98 rev. 7 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ḫal-zi-iš-te-en* (IBoT 3.89 obv. 6 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-zi-eš-tén* (KBo 13.106 i 18 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫal-zi-an-du*, *ḫal-zi-ia-an-du*; 2sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-zi-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 26.12 iii 18 (NH)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-zi-ia* (OS, often), *ḫal-zi-ia-ri*, *ḫal-zi-ri*, *ḫal-zi-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 25.41 v 11 (NS), IBoT 1.29 obv. 54 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-zi-ia-ta-ri* (KUB 25.32 + 27.70 ii 43 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd.(?) *ḫal-zi-ia-ti* (KBo 3.34 iii 13 (OH/NS)); part. *ḫal-zi-ia-an-t* (MH/MS); verb.noun. *ḫal-zi-ia-u-ua-ar* (KBo 9.96 i 12 (NS), KUB 30.55 rev. 10 (fr.) (NS), KUB 48.119 obv. 19 (fr.) (NS), KUB 52.79 i 4 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫal-zi-ia-u-ua-aš*, *ḫal-zi-ia-ua-aš*; inf.I *ḫal-zi-ia-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 36.89 obv. 24 (fr.), rev. 6, 53 (NS), KUB 21.16 i 12 (fr.) (NH)), *ḫal-zi-ia-u-an-zi* (KBo 23.7 i 5 (fr.) (NS), KBo 17.65 lk. Rd. 6 (fr.) (MS), KBo 27.69, 6 (fg.) (NS)); impf. *ḫal-zi-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫal-zi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: see *ḫalzišša<sup>1</sup>* / *ḫalzišš-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *ḫalta/i-* ‘call, appeal (?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫal-ti*, *ḫal-[t]e?*), *ḫalta/i-* ‘to call, to appeal (?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫal-ta-at-ti* (in Hitt. context), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-ti-it-ta-ri*).

IE cognates: Goth. *laþon*, ON *laða*, OE *laðian*, OHG *ladōn*, ‘to call, to summon, to invite’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-oi-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 92f. for an extensive treatment of semantics and attestation places. This verb is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. It clearly belongs to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class. The secondary *mi*-inflected stem *ḫalzije/a-*, created on the basis of a wrong analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *ḫalzijanzi*, is sporadically found in NH and NS texts. The Luwian forms that are regarded as cognate, are not ascertained regarding their meaning and therefore should be used with caution.

Puhvel (HED 3: 63f.) plausibly connects *ḫalzai<sup>1</sup>* / *ḫalzi-* with Goth. *laþon* etc. ‘to call, to summon’ (derived of a noun *\*lotā-*), which points to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>let-*. Puhvel (l.c.) assumes a Schwebel-ablaut *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-t-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>l-et-*, but this is unnecessary. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/tijanzi*-class consists of verbs that

show an ablauting \*-oi-/i-suffix attached to the zero grade of the verbal root. In the case of *halzai-/halzi-* this means that it goes back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-oi-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-*. The assibilation of the root-final *-t-* in front of *\*-i-* in the weak stem spread throughout the paradigm (cf. the same principle in *zai<sup>i</sup>/zi-* ‘to cross’).

For the impf. *halzišša<sup>i</sup>/halzišš-* see at its own lemma.

**halzišša<sup>i</sup>/halzišš-** (IIa1γ: impf. of *halzai<sup>i</sup>/halzi-* ‘to cry out, to call’): 1sg.pres.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša-aḥ-ḥi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša-at-ti* (MH/MS), *hal-ze-eš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 18.24 i 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša-i* (OS, often), *hal-zi-iš-ša-a-i* (OS), *hal-ze-eš-ša-i* (KUB 17.7 iii 15 (NS), KUB 36.89 obv. 24 (NS)), *hal-zi-ša-i* (KUB 10.72 ii 20 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *hal-ze-e-e[š-...]*, 2pl.pres.act. *hal-ze-eš-ša-at-te-ni* (KBo 12.110, 8 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi* (OS, often), *hal-ze-eš-ša-an-zi* (NS), *hal-zi-ša-an-zi* (KUB 17.35 iii 10 (NS), KUB 30.56 iii 8 (NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *hal-zi-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KBo 16.1 iii 11 (NH)), *hal-ze-eš-še-eš-ta* (KBo 3.4+ ii 12 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. [*hal-*]zi-iš-ši-er (KBo 18.66 obv. 9 (MS)), *hal-ze-eš-šer* (KBo 3.4 i 24 (NH), KBo 16.1 i 37 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša* (KBo 20.31 obv. 6 (OS)), 3pl.imp.act. *hal-zi-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 33.120 ii 59, 62 (MH/NS)), *hal-ze-eš-ša-an-du* (KUB 1.16 iii 57 (OH/NS), KUB 24.8 iii 14 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-sóh<sub>1</sub>-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-sh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

This verb is an imperfective in *-šš(a)-* of the verb *halzai<sup>i</sup>/halzi-* ‘to cry out, to call’ and belongs to the small group of imperfectives in *-šš(a)-* (next to *tšš(a)-*, *šišš(a)-* and *uarrišš(a)-*). The oldest forms (OS and MS) are all spelled *hal-zi-iš-*, whereas a spelling *hal-zi-eš-* occurs in NS texts only. This is due to the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-š-*, cf. § 1.4.8.1.d (similarly in *tšš(a)-* > *ēšš(a)-*, *šišš(a)-* > *šešš(a)-* and *uarrišš(a)-* > *uarrešš(a)-*). See at *halzai-/halzi-* and *-šš(a)-* for further etymological treatment.

**hamank<sup>i</sup>/hame/ink-** (IIa3) ‘to tie, to betroth’: 1sg.pres.act. [*h*]a-ma-an-ga-aḥ-ḥi (KBo 12.96 i 20 (MH/NS)), *ha-ma-an-ga-mi* (KUB 41.18 ii 12 (MS?), KUB 9.31 iii 24 (NS)), *ha-ma-an-kám-mi* (KBo 13.72 obv. 6 (NS)), *ha-ma-an-ak-mi* (KBo 23.113 iii 20 (NS)), [*ha-me-*]en-ki-mi (IBoT 3.99, 12 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-ma-an-ki* (KBo 35.94, 7, 10 (NS), KBo 40.133, 6 (NS), KUB 47.35 i 13 (NS), KBo 12.112 obv. 6, 7, 9 (NS), KBo 4.2 i 28, 31, 34, 36 (OH/NS), KBo 5.1 iv 7 (MH/NS), KUB 11.20 i 6 (OH/NS), etc.), *ha-ma-ak-zi* (KUB 24.9+JCS 24 ii 47 (OH/NS)), *ha-ma-an-ga-[zi]* (KUB 4.47 obv. 19), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-mi-in-kán-zi* (KUB 2.3 ii 24 (OH/NS)), *ha-me-in-kán-zi* (KBo 39.14 i 2, 3 (OH/NS)), *ha-ma-*

*an-kán-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 4 (OH/NS)), KUB 39.24 rev. 5 (OH/NS), KBo 44.222, 12 (NS), KBo 21.34 iii 43, iv 13, 15 (MH/NS), KUB 60.161 ii 38 (MH/NS), HT 1 iii 15 (NS), KUB 43.49, 13, 15 (NS), KUB 41.31 ii 13 (MS?), KUB 17.18 iii 16 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-ma-an-ga-an-zi* (KUB 41.18 ii 13 (MS?), KUB 9.32 obv. 11 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḥa-ma-an-ku-un* (KUB 58.108 iv 12 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḥa-mi-ik-ta* (KBo 3.8+ iii 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 (OH/NS), KUB 7.1+ iii 35, 36, 37, 38, 42 (OH/NS), KBo 22.128+145 iii 3, 5, 6 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ma-ak-ta* (KUB 51.33 i 13 (NS), KUB 26.91 obv. 9 (NS)), *ḥa-ma-na-ak-ta* (KUB 14.4 ii 10 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḥa-me-in-kad-du* (KBo 10.45 iv 27 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḥa-mi-in-kán-du* (KUB 7.41 iv 26 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-ma-an-kán-du* (KUB 21.38 obv. 64 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *ḥa-mi-ik-ta-at* (KBo 22.128+145 iii 4 (OH/NS), KUB 7.1+ iii 34, 40, 41 (OH/NS), KBo 3.8+ iii 33 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ḥa-me-in-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 4, 10 (NS)), *ḥa-me-en-ga-an-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 6, 7 (NS)), *ḥa-me-en-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 9 (NS)), *ḥa-mi-en-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 19, 20 (NS)); part. *ḥa-mi-in-kán-t-* (KBo 17.15 obv.<sup>?</sup> 12 (OS), KBo 23.74 ii 13 (OH/MS)), KBo 17.105 iii 11 (MH/NS), KUB 27.67 ii 13 (MH/NS), KUB 9.28 iv 3 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-me-in-kán-t-* (KBo 6.3 ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 27.67 iii 18 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-am-me-en-kán-t-* (KBo 6.5 iii 6 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-am-mi-in-kán-t-* (HKM 116, 39 (MH/MS)), *ḥa-ma-an-kán-t-* (KUB 59.43 i 14 (NS), KUB 12.51+ i 8 (NS), KUB 15.31 ii 21 (MH/NS), KUB 22.20, 2 (NS), KUB 58.107 iv 10 (MH/NS), etc.); verb.noun *ḥa-me-en-ku-ua-a[r]* (KBo 1.38 rev. 6 (NS)), *ḥa-me-in[-ku-ua-ar]* (KBo 1.38 rev. 4 (NS)), gen. *ḥa-ma-an-ku-ua-aš* (KUB 20.66 iii 4 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-me-en-ku-ua-aš* (KUB 30.48, 14 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-mi-ī[n-ku-ua-aš]* (KUB 7.1+ iii 62 (OH/NS)); impf. *ḥa-me-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 11.11 i 5 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄγγω ‘to tie up, to strangle’, Lat. *angō* ‘to throttle, to choke, to strangle’, Skt. *ámhas-* ‘distress, trouble’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>m-ón-ǵ<sup>h</sup>-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>m-n-ǵ<sup>h</sup>-énti*

This verb shows two stems, *ḥamank-* and *ḥame/ink-*. Although in the younger texts the two stems seem to be found randomly within forms (e.g. 3pl.imp.act. *ḥaminkandu* vs. *ḥamankandu*), in the older texts it is clear that *ḥamank-* is found in the strong-stem forms, and *ḥame/ink-* in the weak-stem forms (cf. OS part. *ḥaminkant-*).

The etymological connection with Gr. ἄγγω ‘to tie up’ and Skt. *ámhas-* ‘distress’ etc. is generally accepted (cf. Puhvel HED 3: 67; Oettinger 1979a: 148) and points to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>emǵ<sup>h</sup>-*.

The synchronic ablaut *a/e* is explained by many scholars as reflecting an original ablaut *\*o/e* (cf. especially Jasanoff 2003). In my opinion, this view is

problematic as no other IE language shows such a verbal ablaut pattern. I therefore assume that, although *hamank-* indeed reflects an \**o*-grade form \**h<sub>2</sub>mónǵ<sup>h</sup>-ei*, the stem *hame/ink-* must be the outcome of a zero grade form \**h<sub>2</sub>mǵ<sup>h</sup>-énti*, showing the development \**CN̄NC* > *CN̄NC*. For this latter development and a treatment of the prehistory of this nasal present, see § 2.2.4.

***hammaša-*** (gender unclear) ‘?’: gen.sg. *ha-am-ma-ša-aš* (KBo 10.10 iv 9).

The word occurs only once, in KBo 10.10 iv (9) ŠA É.GAL *ha-am-ma-ša-aš* ‘of the palace of *hammaša-*’. Laroche (1962: 29) compares this term with É.GAL *hu-uh-ha-aš* ‘the palace of the grandfather’ (attested several times) and therefore equates *hammaša-* with Luw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’ (see at *hāšša-* ‘descendant’ for full citation of the Luwian words). This interpretation is widely followed (e.g. HW Erg. 3: 13: “kleines Kind”; Puhvel HED 3: 68: “grandchild”), but HW<sup>2</sup> (H: 120) casts doubt: it is rightly argued that although the term ‘palace of the grandfather’ refers to a specific building (namely the palace of the grandfather of the present king), a term ‘palace of the grandson’ does not make much sense. HW<sup>2</sup> suggests to rather interpret *hammaša-* as a personal name.

All in all, a connection between *hammaša-* and the words for ‘grandson’ in the other Anatolian languages is far from assured and phonetically impossible if we compare *hāši* ‘gives birth’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei*, *haššu-* ‘king’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>éms-u-* and *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>msósjo-* (see under *hāš<sup>i</sup>- / hašš-* ‘to give birth’).

***hamenk-***: see *hamank<sup>i</sup>- / hame/ink-*

***hamešha-*** (gender unclear) ‘spring’ (Sum. Ú.BAR<sub>8</sub>, Akk. *DĪŠĪ*): acc.sg. *ha-meš-ha-an* (KUB 50.90, 20 (NS)), gen.sg. *ha-me-eš-ha-aš* (KUB 12.2 ii 10 (NS)), *ha-me-iš-ha-aš* (KUB 38.32 rev. 21 (NS)), *ha-mi-eš-ha-aš* (KBo 13.231 obv. 2 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-me-eš-ḫi* (often), *ha-am-me-iš-ḫi* (KUB 59.1 iv 16 (NS)), *ha-mi-eš-ḫi* (IBoT 2.1 vi 10 (NS), KUB 33.54 13 (OH/NS), KUB 42.100 iv 23 (NS)), *ha-mi-iš-ḫi* (KUB 13.32 obv. 7 (NH), KUB 25.23 i 8, 38, iv 8 (NH), KUB 25.18 i 2 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***hamešhant-*** (c.) ‘spring’ (nom.sg. *ha-me-eš-ha-an-za* (often), *ha-me-iš-ha-an-za* (KBo 2.7 rev. 4 (NS), KUB 7.24 obv. 11 (NS), KUB 8.6 obv. 6, 8 (OH/NS)), *ha-mi-eš-ha-an-za* (KBo 2.5 iii 38 (NH), KUB 60.27 rev. 12 (NS)), *ha-meš-ha-an-za* (KBo 2.7 rev. 16 (NS)), *ha-mi-iš-kán-za* (KUB 38.26 rev. 1 (NS)), *ha-mi-eš-kán-zi* (KUB 38.26 rev. 19 (NS)), acc.sg. *ha-mi-eš-ha-an-tan<sub>x</sub>* (KUB 4.4 obv. 5 (NH)), gen.sg. *ha-me-eš-ha-an-da-aš* (often), *ha-me-iš-ha-an-*

*da-aš* (KUB 25.2 vi 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-ta-aš* (KUB 15.21, 14 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš* (KUB 24.1 ii 4 (NS)), *ḫa-am-me-eš-ḫa-an-ta-aš* (KBo 19.128 vi 33 (NS)), *ḫa-am-mi-iš-ḫa-an-ta-aš* (KBo 24.118 vi 7 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-ti* (KBo 24.119 iii 12 (NS)), [*ḫ*]a-mi-iš-ḫa-an-ti (KBo 19.5, 5 (OH/NS)), all.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da* (KBo 6.2 iv 60 (OS), KBo 6.3 iv 60 (OH/NS)), abl. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da-za* (KUB 56.14 iv 5 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀμάω ‘to cut, to mow’, OHG *māen*, OE *māwan* ‘to mow’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 121f. for semantics and attestations. Despite the fact that I here have cited *ḫamešḫant-* as a derivative of *ḫamešḫa-*, the two stems function as one word, just as *zena-* and *zenant-* ‘autumn’ and *gim(m)-* and *gimmant-* ‘winter’. The gender of the stem *ḫamešḫa-* cannot be determined due to the lack of gender-specific forms. It seems as if the two stems show a distribution per case: the stem *ḫamešḫa-* is not found in the nom.sg., whereas nom.sg. *ḫamešḫanza* is found numerous times. The acc.sg. is sporadic for both stems (both attested only once). The gen.sg. is found 4 times only with the stem *ḫamešḫa-*, whereas numerous times with *ḫamešḫant-*. The dat.sg., however, is attested only twice for *ḫamešḫant-* whereas *ḫamešḫi* is attested multiple times.

The oldest (OS *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da*) and most common spelling is *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-*, whereas the alternative spellings (*ḫa-me-iš-ḫa-*, *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫa-*, *ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-* and *ḫa-am-mi-* or *ḫa-am-me-*) are all found in NS texts only. In one NS text we find a spelling *ḫameškant-*, but this is not to be taken seriously phonologically.

The word denotes ‘spring’, which contrasted with the two other seasons *gimm(ant)-* ‘winter’ and *zena(nt)-* ‘autumn’. The fact that *ḫamešḫa(nt)-* is written with the sumerogram Ú.BAR<sub>8</sub> ‘harvest’ as well, shows that this season also was the time of harvesting.

The word has received many etymological proposals, for which see Puhvel HED 3: 73f. Most of these proposals are phonetically impossible, however. For instance, Goetze’s reconstruction *\*Hant-uesHa-* ‘front-spring’ (1951: 471), which builds on a connection with Skt. *vasantá-*, Gr. ἔαρ, Russ. *vesná* ‘spring’, would not yield Hitt. *ḫamešḫa-* according to our understanding of Hittite historical phonology. Moreover, the word for ‘spring’ found in the other IE languages must be reconstructed as *\*ues-r-*, *\*ues-n-*, and not as *\*uesh<sub>2</sub>-*. Similarly, Hoffner’s interpretation *\*ḫant-miḫašḫa-* (of *mai-/mi-* ‘to grow’) (1974: 15) is phonetically impossible.

In my opinion, we should rather return to Sturtevant’s proposal (1928c: 163-4) to connect *ḫamešḫa-* with Gr. ἀμάω, OE *māwan* ‘to mow’. These latter verbs



point to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-* (note that Gr. ἀμάω probably is derived from the noun ἄμη < *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, cf. Schrijver 1990: 20), which would mean that *hamešha-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* (see *tešha-* ‘dream’ and *damme/išhā-* ‘oppression’ for the suffix *-šha-* < *\*-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*). Semantically, this etymology fits the fact that *hamešha-* is the season in which harvest took place, as we see by the use of the sumerogram Ú.BAR<sub>8</sub>. Puhvel (HED 3: 74) is sceptical about this etymology because in his view deriving *hamešha-* “from a nonattested verb remains dubious”. This scepticism can be nullified by my claim that the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-* is visible in the Hittite verbs *ānš<sup>i</sup>* and *hane/išš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wipe’. It is remarkable that these latter verbs show an *s*-extension of *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-* besides the nominal suffix *-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* in *hamešha-*, which reminds of the situation of *tamāšš<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-*, which shows a verbal *s*-extension besides the nominal suffix *-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* visible in *damme/išhā-*.

*hamink-*: see *hamank<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-*

*hamišha-*: see *hamešha-*

*hān<sup>i</sup>* / *han-* (IIa2 > Ic1) ‘to draw (liquids)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ha-a-ni-ja-mi* (KUB 30.26 i 18 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-a-ni* (OH/MS, often), 1pl.pres.act. *ha-a-nu-mé-e-ni* (KBo 23.27 ii 27 (MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-a-na-an-zi* (KUB 32.72 obv. 10 (MS), KBo 23.27 ii 30 (MS), KUB 31.57 i 25 (OH/NS)), *ha-na-an-zi* (KBo 10.31 ii 14 (OH/NS), KBo 13.178, 3 (fr.) (NS)), *ha-a-ni-ja-an-zi* (KBo 23.27 iii 12 (MS)), *ha-ni-ja-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 i 60 (NS)), *ha-a-ni-a[n-zi]* (KUB 55.63 ii 17 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-ni-er-r=a-at* (KUB 44.56 rev. 1 (OH?/NS)), *ha-a-ner* (KUB 54.31 obv. 8 (NS)), *ha-ni-e-er* (KUB 33.106 i 10 (NS)), *he-e-ni-r=a-at* (KUB 33.34 i 6 (OH/NS)), *he-e-ni-er* (KUB 33.34 i 8 (OH/NS)), *he-ni-er* (KUB 33.34 i 7 (OH/NS)), *ha-a-ni-ja-r=a-at* (Bo 6472, 12 (undat.)), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-a-an*, *ha-a-ni*, 2pl.imp.act. *ha-an-tén* (KBo 22.127 i 1 (NS)); inf.I *ha-nu-ya-an-zi* (KUB 39.71 i 24 (NS)), *ha-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 i 59 (NS)); inf.II *ha-na-an-na* (KUB 32.72 i 5 (MS)); impf. *ha-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 15.37 v 9 (MH/NS)), *ha-a-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 47.62, 10 (NS)), *ha-a-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 25.172 iv 6 (NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>DUG</sup>*haneššar* / *hanešn-* (n.), a vessel (nom.-acc.sg. [*ha-n*]e-eš-šar (KBo 11.41 iv 10 (NS)), *ha-ne-eš-ša(-)x[...]* (IBoT 2.93, 16 (NS)), gen.sg. [*ha-n*]e-iš-na-aš (KBo 11.41 iv 11 (NS)), *ha-ne-eš-n[a-aš]* (IBoT 2.93, 17 (NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀντλοῦς ‘bilge-water’, ?Arm. *hanem* ‘to draw out’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ón-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>n-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 133f. for semantics and attestations of this verb (cited as *han-/hen-*). It shows a variety of stems, namely *hān-*, *han-*, *hānije/a-* and *hen-*. The form 3sg.pres.act. *hāni* is the oldest and most often attested form. The forms with a stem *hānije/a-* are all NS and clearly built on 3sg.pres. *hāni*. As 3pl.pres.act. we find both *hānanzi* and *hananzi*. Despite the fact that *hānanzi* is attested in MS texts, and *hananzi* in NS texts only, I think that *hananzi* must be considered the original form, with *hānanzi* showing secondary introduction of the long *ā* from the singular. The stem *hen-* is found in one NS text only, in the form 3pl.pres.act. *henier* (note that Oettinger (1979a: 52) cites *he-e-ni-er* and *he-ni-er* as MH, but KUB 33.34 must be NS, as can be seen by e.g. young form of the sign IG in obv. 16 (compare now also Košak 2005b: 230, who dates this tablet as “jh.”). The forms with *hen-* must be secondarily formed in analogy to *ašanzi* : *ešer* = *hananzi* : *x* (similarly *erer* in the paradigm of *ār-<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to arrive’ and *eker* in the paradigm of *āk-<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-*). All in all, I reckon with an original ablauting verb *hān-<sup>i</sup>* / *han-*.

Puhvel (HED 3: 77) connects this verb with Gr. ἄντρος ‘bilge-water’ (\**h<sub>2</sub>n-tlo-*) and Arm. *hanem* ‘to draw out’. If this connection is justified, then we must reconstruct *hāni*, *hananzi* as \**h<sub>2</sub>ón-ei*, \**h<sub>2</sub>n-énti*. Note that \**h<sub>2</sub>* regularly would have dropped in front of \**o* in the strong stem \**h<sub>2</sub>on-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), but was restored on the basis of the weak stem \**h<sub>2</sub>n-*.

A connection with the vessel <sup>DUG</sup>*hane/išša-* (q.v.) is difficult, despite Rieken’s attempt (1999a: 227) to invent an IE scenario to explain *hane/išša-*. Nevertheless, the sporadic NH secondary remodellings into an *r/n*-stem *haneššar* / *hanešn-*, as if it were a verb.noun of *hān-/han-*, shows that at that time the Hittite speakers folk-etymologically associated <sup>DUG</sup>*hane/išša-* with this verb.

***hanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *hann-*** (IIa1γ; IIIh) ‘to sue; to judge’; ***hanneššar hann(a)-<sup>i</sup>*** ‘to render judgement’: 1sg.pres.act. *ha-an-na-aḥ-ḥi* (KBo 19.70 iii 3 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-an-na-i* (KUB 21.17 iii 39 (NH)), *ha-an-na-a-i* (KBo 3.3 ii 3 (NH), KUB 43.35, 8 (fr.) (MS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ha-a[n]-n[at-te-ni(?)]* (HKM 57 rev. 30 (MH/MS)), *ha-an-na-[at-te-ni(?)]* (HKM 57 rev. 31 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-an-na-an-zi* (KUB 19.20 rev. 15 (NH), StBoT 24 iii 72 (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *ha-an-na-nu-un* (KUB 14.4 ii 9 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-an-ni-iš[ta]* (KUB 36.19, 6 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-an-ni* (HKM 52 rev. 29 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 iii 31, 32 (MH/NS)), *ha-an-ne* (KUB 19.14 iv 6 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ha-an-na-ú* (KUB 13.2 iii 23 (MH/NS)), *ha-an-na-a-ú* (KBo 3.4 ii 14 (NH), KBo 16.1 iii 14 (NH), ABoT 48, 9 (fr.) (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ha-an-ni-iš-tén* (HKM 60 obv. 9 (MH/MS)), *ha-an-ni-eš-tén* (KUB 54.1 ii 43 (NS)), [*h*]*a-an-n[a]-at-tén* (HKM 57. rev. 23 (MH/MS)), *ha-an-na-at-te-en* (KUB 4.1 i 22, 33, 34 (MH/NS)),

3pl.imp.act. *ḥa-an-na-an-du* (KUB 14.17 iii 19 (NH), KUB 19.26 iv 3 (NH), KUB 50.67 l.col. 5 (NS)); 2sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-an-na-at-ta* (KUB 30.11+ obv. 3, 6 (OH/MS)), *ḥa-an-na-at-ta-ri* (KUB 31.135+ obv. 12 (OH/MS), KUB 31.127+ i 43, 44, 46 (OH/NS), KUB 26.27 iii 12 (fr.) (undat.)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-an-na-ri* (KBo 30.19 i 35 (OH/NS), KUB 30.24 ii 2 (OH/NS), KUB 39.14 iv 2 (OH/NS), KUB 39.17 ii 3 (OH/NS), KBo 4.10 rev. 23 (NH), KBo 26.24 ii 23? (undat.)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-na-ta-at* (78/e rev. 4 (undat.)), *ḥa-an-na-⟨ta⟩at* (KUB 12.63 obv. 33 (OH/MS)), *ḥa-an-na-ad-da-a[t<sup>2</sup>]* (KUB 34.51, 5 (NS)), 2pl.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-na-d[u-ma-a]t* (KBo 10.45 iii 36 (MH/NS)) // [*ḥa-an-na-⟩tum-ma-at* (KUB 41.8 iii 27 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-na-⟨an⟩ta-ti* (KUB 12.26 ii 2 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḥa-an-na-r[u]* (KBo 3.46 iii 3 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.midd. *ḥa-an-na-ad-du-ma-ti* (KBo 10.45 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-an-na-du-ma-ti* (KUB 41.8 iii 8 (MH/NS)); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḥa-an-na-an* (KUB 13.9 + 40.62 iii 19 (MH/NS)); inf.I [*ḥa-an-nu-ṽa-an-zi* (KUB 13.9+ i 9 (MH/NS)); sup. *ḥa-an-nu-an* (KUB 29.39 rev. 8 (NS)); impf. *ḥa-aš-ši-ke/a-* (KUB 34.84+ i 33, ii 18 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 iii 10 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 16.42 rev. 5 (MS), KUB 13.20 i 32 (MH/NS), KBo 13.74, 4 (fr.), 5 (fr.) (NS), KUB 6.46 iii 56 (NH)), *ḥa-an-ne-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 13.20 i 32 (MH/NS), KUB 6.45 ii 17 (NH), KUB 31.66 iii 10 (NH)), *ḥa-an-na-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 36.83 i 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: **ḥanneššar** / **ḥannešn-** (n.) ‘law-suit, case, trial’ (Sum. DI-*eššar*, Akk. *DINAM*; nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-an-ne-eš-šar* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *ḥa-an-ne-eš-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-an-ne-iš-ni* (OS), *ḥa-an-ne-eš-ni*, all.sg. *ḥa-an-ni-eš-na*, erg.sg. *ḥa-an-ni-iš-na-an-za*, abl. *ḥa-an-ne-eš-na-az*, instr. *ḥa-an-ne-eš-ni-it*), **ḥannešnatar** / **ḥannešnann-** (n.) ‘jurisdiction’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-an-ni* (KUB 13.9 + 40.62 i 7 (MH/NS)), **ḥanne/italuana-** (c.) ‘legal advisory, litigator’ (nom.sg. *ḥa-an-ni-tal-ṽa-na-aš* (KUB 7.60 iii 31), nom.pl.c. *ḥa-an-ne-tal-ṽa-ni-e-eš* (KUB 31.66 iii 6)), **ḥannitaluanēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become legal adversaries’ (3pl.pret.act. *ḥa-an-ni-tal-ṽa-⟨ne-⟩-eš-šer* (KUB 21.17 i 3)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὀνομαί ‘to blame, to treat scornfully’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nóh<sub>3</sub>-ei*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḥ: 135f. for attestations and semantics of *ḥann(a)-* and Ḥ: 149 for *ḥanneššar*. The verb is found both in active and in middle forms, without difference in meaning. It is usually assumed that the middle forms are original and that the active forms are secondarily derived (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 82). This assumption cannot be supported by a chronological ordering of the material: we find both middle and active forms in MS texts already. Moreover, from a formal point of view it is impossible to derive the active from the middle. In the middle

we find only one stem, namely *hanna-*. If the active indeed was derived from the middle, we would expect that it would show the stem *hanna-* throughout the paradigm. The case is, however, that besides the stem *hanna-*, we also find a stem *hann-*, namely in 2pl.imp.act. *hanništen* (MH/MS). This form cannot be a recent creation as we can see by the fact that it shows the archaic *hi*-ending *-šten*. This ending was the unproductive one, being replaced by the *mi*-ending *-tten* from OH times onwards already (visible in secondary *hannatten*, with introduction of the strong stem *hanna-*, which is attested in a MH/MS text as well). So, the fact that we find an ablauting stem *hanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *hann-* in the active (of which *hann-* cannot be secondary as it is found in an archaic form) besides a non-ablauting stem *hanna-* in the middle proves that the active cannot be derived from the middle and therefore must be the primary formation. This is an important establishment for the etymology.

The active paradigm of *hanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *hann-* inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class. Some of the verbs belonging to this class were explained by Oettinger (1979a: 496) as reflecting reduplicated roots ending in laryngeal: \**Ce-CóH-ei* : \**Ce-CH-énti*. For *hanna-/hann-*, this means that we have to reconstruct \**He-HnóH-ei* : \**He-HnH-énti*.

As an Anatolian cognate, Puhvel (HED 3: 82) adduces Lyc. *qã-*, which he translates as ‘to call to account, to judge (guilty), to punish’. Beside the fact that Melchert (1993a: 59; 2004a: 54) translates *qã-* as ‘destroy’, which would not fit the semantics of *hanna-/hann-*, a formal connection between the two verb is impossible as well, since Lyc. *q* reflects PAnat. \*/H<sup>w</sup>/ < \**h<sub>2</sub>u* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

Other Anatolian cognates are seen by some scholars in the HLuwian words *hanijatastar-* ‘evilness’ (abl.-instr. <sup>MALUS<sub>2</sub></sup>*ha-ní-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §72)), *haniia-* (adj.) ‘malicious’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>MALUS<sub>2</sub></sup>*há-ní-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §12)), *hanhaniwa-* (n.) ‘wickedness’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. <sup>MALUS<sub>2</sub></sup>*ha-ha-ní-wa/i-za* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20)) and the CLuwian forms *haniia-* ‘malicious’ (abl.-instr. *haniiatī*) and *hanhaniia-* ‘to be malicious’ (3sg.pres.act.(Hittitized) *hanhaniiai*) (e.g. Starke 1990: 387-8; Melchert 1993b: 51). This connection must be false as on the one hand the semantics do not fit and on the other hand the Luwian forms show single *-n-* vs. the geminate *-nn-* in Hittite.

On the IE level, Puhvel (83) proposes to connect Gr. ὀνομαί ‘to blame, to treat scornfully’, which has more merit. The Greek verb shows a stem ὀνα- once (in the aorist ὄνατο), on the basis of which Puhvel reconstructs a root \**h<sub>3</sub>enh<sub>2</sub>-*. This connection is taken over by e.g. Melchert (1994a: 51) who, on the basis of his supposition that the middle inflection of *hanna-* is the primary one, reconstructs

\**h<sub>3</sub>enh<sub>2</sub>-o*. This is incorrect in two respects. Firstly, Van de Laar (2000: 232) states that the Gr. stem *ὄνα-* must be secondary and that the stem *ὄνο-* points to a root \**h<sub>3</sub>enh<sub>3</sub>-*. In my view, a root \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-* is possible as well, as in Greek we only find middle forms that go back to a zero grade stem \**h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-*. Secondly, we have determined that in Hittite the active inflection must be primary, which reflects \**He-HnoH-*, \**He-HnH-*. If we apply this structure to the root \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-* we arrive at the reconstruction \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nóh<sub>3</sub>-ei*, \**h<sub>3</sub>e-h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-énti*, which by regular sound laws yielded Hitt. *ḫannāi*, *ḫannanzi*.

In my view, the root \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-* is visible in PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-mn* ‘name’ as well (see *lāman*) and must have originally meant ‘to call (by name)’, which on the one hand developed into Gr. ‘to call names > to treat scornfully’ and, on the other, into Hitt. ‘to call to court > to sue’.

The original form of the imperfective must have been *ḫaššike/a-* as it is, next to *ḫanniške/a-*, the oldest attested form and, more importantly, within the paradigm of *ḫanna*<sup>1</sup> / *ḫann-* shows such an aberrant form that it cannot have been secondarily created. In my opinion, it points to a development \**h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-ské/ó-* > /HəSiké/á-/.

The derivative *ḫannetaluana-* clearly is derived from the verb *ḫann(a)-*, but its exact formation is unclear. Rieken (1999a: 274) implausibly reconstructs \**h<sub>2</sub>onh<sub>1</sub>-e-tlo-uon-*. It recalls *annitaluatar* ‘motherhood’ that is derived from *anna-* ‘mother’ (q.v.).

***ḫanna-*** (c.) ‘grandmother’: dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ni* (NH), nom.pl. *ḫa-an-ni-iš* (NS), acc.pl. *ḫa-an-ni-iš* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *ḫa-an-na-aš* (undat.), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-an-na-aš* (OH/NS), *ḫa-a-an-n[a-aš]* (HFAC 14 obv. 4 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. ***ḫīna-*** ‘grandmother’ (gen.adj.dat.sg. *ḫīnahi*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫīnaha*).

IE cognates: Lat. *ānus* ‘old woman’, OHG *ana* ‘grandmother’, *ano* ‘grandfather’ OPr. *ane* ‘grandmother’, Lith. *anýta* ‘husband’s mother’, Arm. *han* ‘grandmother’.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>enHo-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 84f. and HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 141f. for attestations. Although the word at first sight seems to belong to the other family words that have their origin in baby-talk (*anna-* ‘mother’, *atta-* ‘father’), this word has a good IE etymology (just as Hitt. *ḫūḫḫ-*, *ḫuhḫa-* ‘grandfather’ (q.v.)). Especially Arm. *han* and Lat. *anus* point to an initial \**h<sub>2</sub>-*. The fact that in Hittite we find a geminate *-nn-* can only be explained from \**-nH-*.

*ḥane/išš-<sup>2</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to wipe’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-ni-iš-zi* (KUB 41.4 ii 21 (MH/NS), KBo 19.142 iii 31 (NS)), *ḥa-ni-eš-zi* (KBo 29.65 i 5 (NS), KUB 10.99 vi 10 (fr.), KUB 41.83 obv. 4 (fr.)), *ḥa-ne-eš[-zi]* (KUB 10.99 vi 7, 12) *ḥa-ni-še-ēz-zi* (KBo 21.74 iii 11 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḥa-ni-iš-te-ni* (KUB 29.1 iii 32 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ni-eš-te-ni* (KUB 29.1 iii 31, 32, 33 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḥa-ni-iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 43.61 i 3 (NS), KUB 11.3 i 5 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 15 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḥa-ni-eš-še-er* (KUB 40.83 obv. 15 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḥa-a-ni-iš* (KUB 29.1 i 8, 9 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-a-ni-eš* (KUB 40.122 rev. 4), 2pl.imp.act. *ḥa-ni-eš-te-en* (KUB 29.1 iii 34 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ni(-eš)-te-en* (KUB 29.1 iii 34 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḥa-ni-eš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.91 ii 6 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-ni-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.86+ ii 42, KUB 31.87+88 ii 16 (fr.) (MH/NS), KUB 13.2 ii 15 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-a[-n]i-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.86 ii 43 (MH/NS)); part. *ḥa-ni-iš-ša-an* (KBo 23.74 iii 19 (OH/MS)), *ḥa-ni-iš-ša-a-an* (KBo 21.22 rev. 42 (OH/MS)), [*ḥ*]*a-ni-iš-ša-an-[t]a* (ABoT 21 + KBo 17.65 rev. 10 (MS)); inf.I *ḥa-ni-eš-šu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 29.1 iii 29 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ni-iš-šu-ua-an-zi* (KBo 18.33 obv. 6); verb.noun *ḥa-a-ni-iš-šu-ua-qr* (KUB 31.86 iii 1 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-a-ni-eš-š[u<sup>2</sup>-ua-ar(?)]* (VSNF 12.57 iv 2), *ḥa-ni-iš-šu-ua-ar* (KUB 31.87+88 ii 18 (MH/NS), KUB 13.2 ii 16 (MH/NS)), [*ḥa-n*]*i-iš-šu-ua-ar* (KBo 1.36, 2 (NS)), *ḥa-ni-iš-šu-u-ua-ar* (KUB 7.13 i 11 (NS)), abl. *ḥa-ni-eš-šu-ua-az* (KUB 26.43 rev. 11 (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *am(ma)šša-* / *am(ma)šši(ia)-* ‘to wipe’ (3pres.sg. *am-ma-aš-ši-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. [*am-*]*ma-aš-ši-ia-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *am-ma-⟨aš-⟩ša-l[a]*, 3pl.pret.act. *am-ma-aš-ša-an-da*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀμάω ‘to cut, to mow’, OHG *māen*, OE *māwan* ‘to mow’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-s-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 143f. for semantics and attestations. Puhvel (HED 3: 86) cites this verb as *ḥan(n)eš(š)-*, assuming that a geminate *-nm-* can be seen in 2pl.imp.act. *ḥa-an-ni-eš-tén* (KUB 54.1 ii 43). HW<sup>2</sup> (H: 153) takes this form as belonging to *ḥanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥann-* ‘to sue, to judge’, however: KUB 54.1 ii (42) *nu=ua am-me-el=pát iš-ḥa[-aḥ-ru]* (43) *ḥa-an-ni-eš-tén* ‘Judge my tears!’ (instead of Puhvel’s translation ‘wipe my tears!’).

Besides the hapax *ḥanišezzi*, which shows a NH *-je/a-* derivative, this verb shows two stems, viz. *ḥane/išš-* /HniS-/ and *ḥānišš-* /HāniS-/. Diachronically, a third stem /?āns-/ can be found in the paradigm of *ānš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to wipe’ (q.v.). As I have argued at *ānš-<sup>i</sup>*, both verbs ultimately reflect an *s*-extension of the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-* and go back to an ablauting paradigm *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>-s-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>-s-*. The

regular outcome of this paradigm was quite different per form: 1sg.pres.act. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>2</sub>ei* and 2sg.pres.act. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s-th<sub>2</sub>ei* should regularly have given *\*\*/?āniSHi/* and *\*\*/?āniSti/*, 3sg.pres.act. *h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>s-ei* yielded *?ānsi/* whereas 3pl.pres.act. *\*h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>sénti* regularly gave */HniSánt<sup>s</sup>i/* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.f for details). So, from one paradigm three different stems emerged, namely *?āniS-/*, *?āns-/* and */HniS-/*.

The stem *?āns-/* became the source of the verb *ānši*, *ānšanzi* (q.v.), the stem */HniS-/* became the source of the verb *hane/išzi*, *hane/iššanzi* whereas the stem *?āniS-/* restored the initial */H-/* on the basis of */HniS-/* and yielded the forms 2sg.imp.act. *hāniš* and verb.noun *hāniššuuar* that usually are taken as belonging to the verb *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>*.

<sup>DUG</sup>*hane/iššā-* (c./n.) a vessel: nom.sg.c. *ha-ni-iš-ša-a-aš* (OS), *ha-a-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*, *ha-a-ni-iš-ša-aš*, *ha-ni-eš-ša-aš*, *ha-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*, *ha-ni-iš-ša-aš*, *ha-ni-ša-aš*, *ha-ni-ša-a-aš*, acc.sg.c. *ha-ni-iš-ša-an* (OS), *h]a-[a]-ne-eš-ša-an* (KBo 25.58 ii 3 (OS)), *ha-ni-eš-ša-an*, *ha-ni-iš-ša-an*, *ha-a-ni-iš-ša-a-an*, *ha-ni-ša-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ha-ne-eš-ša* (Bo 3123 iv 8 (OS)) // *h[a]-ne-eš-ša[(-)* (KBo 25.79 iv 8 (OS)), *ha-ne-e-eš-ša* (KUB 42.107 iii 12 (NS)), *ha-ni-iš-ša*, *ha-ni-ša*, gen.sg. *ha-ni-ša-aš*, abl. *ha-a-ni-eš-ša-az*, *ha-a-ni-eš-ša-a-za*, *ha-ni-iš-ša-za*, dat.-loc.pl. *ha-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>DUG</sup>*hanniššānni* (n.) a vessel (nom.-acc.sg. *ha-ni-iš-ša-a-an-ni* (KBo 20.3 ii 15), *ha-ni-ša-an-ni* (KBo 11.11 iii 6)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 145f. for attestations. HW<sup>2</sup> cites two lemmas, <sup>DUG</sup>*hanešša-* and <sup>DUG</sup>*haneššar* (both denoting a vessel) that I would regard as identical words, since they are used in identical contexts. In my view, the forms that show a stem *haneššar / hanešn-* (that I have cited as a derivative of *hān<sup>i</sup> / han-*) are NH remodellings due to a folk-etymological connection with *hān<sup>i</sup> / han-* ‘to draw (water)’ (formally, *haneššar / hanešn-* would be a verb.noun of *hān<sup>i</sup> / han-*).

The original word shows different stems in OS texts already, viz. commune stems *haniššā-*, *hanišša-* and *hānešša-* besides a neuter stem *hanešša*. In my opinion, these alternations point to a foreign origin. Rieken’s attempt (1999a: 227) to explain *hane/išša-* as an IE formation on the basis of a stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* ‘to draw (water)’, is unconvincing.

*hāni(ia)-* (gender unknown) ‘?’: gen.sg. *ha-a-ni-ia-aš*, *ha-ni-ia-aš*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> (H: 156) for attestation places. The word only occurs in the combination *hānijaš* KÁ.(GAL) ‘gate of *h*’. Puhvel (HED 3: 76) argues that this gate must be a wellgate by which water flows are regulated and connects *hāni(ia)-* with *hān-<sup>i</sup> / han-* ‘to draw (water)’. HW<sup>2</sup> argues, however, that the *hānijaš* KÁ.(GAL) is an ordinary gate of which an etymological connection with *hān-<sup>i</sup> / han-* cannot be proven.

*hānije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* : see *hān-<sup>i</sup> / han-*

*hāniš-* : see *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>*

*hanišš-<sup>zi</sup>* : see *hane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>*

**hant-** (gender unclear) ‘forehead, front(age)’ (Sum. SAG.KI, Akk. *PŪTUM*): nom.sg. *ha-an-za* (KUB 3.95, 13 (NS)), *ha-an-za=ti-it* (KUB 10.96 iv 11 (NS)), *ha-an-za-a=t-ti-it* (KUB 10.96 iv 14 (NS)), acc.sg. *ha-an-z[a(-)...]* (KBo 8.73 ii 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-an-ti-i=š-ši* (KUB 33.66 ii 19 (OH/MS)), *ha-an-di-i=š-ši* (KBo 13.31 ii 6 (OH/MS), KBo 10.23 iv 5 (OH/NS)), *ha-an-te-e=š-ši* (KUB 32.123 + KBo 29.206 i 15 (NS)), abl. *ha-an-ta-a-az* (KBo 17.22 iii 19 (OS)), *ha-an-ta-az*, *ha-an-da-az*, nom.pl. *ha-an-ti-iš* (KUB 42.78 ii 18 (NS)).

Derivatives: **hanza** (adv.) ‘in front’ (*ha-an-za* (NS), *ha-a-an-za* (KUB 9.28 ii 12 (MH/NS), KUB 48.118 i 17 (NH))), **hanzan** (adv.) ‘id.’ (KUB 17.21 iv 13 (MH/MS), ABoT 60 rev. 10 (MH/MS))), **handa** (adv.) ‘for the sake of, in view of’ (*ha-an-da* (MH/MS), *ha-an-ta*, *ha-a-an-da* (NH)), **handaš** (adv.) ‘for the sake of, regarding’ (*ha-an-da-aš* (NH)), <sup>d</sup>**Hantašša-** (c.) deity of the forehead (nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-aš-ša-aš*), <sup>d</sup>**Hantašepa-** (c.) deity of the forehead (acc.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-šepa-an* (OS), <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-šepé-eš* (OS), acc.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-šepu-uš* (OS)), **hanti** (adv.) ‘opposite, against; instead; apart’ (*ha-an-ti* (OS), *ha-an-di* (OS), *ha-an-ti-i* (MH/MS), *ha-an-di-i*), **hantiġae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to support(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ha-an-ti-ġa-i[z-z]i*, 3pl.pres.act. *ha-an-ti-ġa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ha-an-ti-ġa-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ha-an-ti-ġa-it*), see also *hantezzija-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **handauat(i)-** (c.) ‘supreme authority, king’ (nom.sg. *ha-an-da-ua-te-eš*, acc.sg. *ha-an-da-ua-te-en*), **handauadahit-** (n.) ‘kingship’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ha-an-ta-ua-da-ġi-ša*), **hanġil(i)-** (adj.) ‘first’ (nom.sg.c. *ha-an-te-li-eš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ha-an-ti-il-za*), **hanti(ġa)-** ‘headband’ (nom.sg. *ha-an-ti-iš*); HLuw. **hant-** (n.) ‘face, forehead’ (dat.-loc.sg. FRONS-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20), abl.-instr. <sup>“FRONS”</sup>*ha-ta-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §6), nom.-acc.pl. <sup>“FRONS”</sup>*ha-tá* (KARKAMIŠ A3 §23), <sup>“FRONS”</sup>*ha-ta* (KIRÇOĞLU §3), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>“FRONS”</sup>*ha-ta-*



za (TELL AHMAR 1 §17)), *hanti-* (adj.) ‘first’ (nom.sg.c. FRONS-*ti-sa*<sub>7</sub> (TOPADA §19), abl.-instr. FRONS-*ti-ia+ra/i* (TOPADA §21) gen.adj.nom.sg.c. FRONS-*ti-ia-si*<sup>2</sup>-*sa* (TOPADA §19), gen.adj.abl.-instr. FRONS-*ti-ia-sa*<sub>5</sub>+*ra/i* (TOPADA §21)), *hantil(i)-* (adj.) ‘first, former; first, preeminent’ (nom.sg.c. FRONS-*li-i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §50 Ho.), FRONS-*la/i/u-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §50 Hu.), FRONS-*la/i/u-sa* (CEKKE §6a), nom.pl.c. FRONS-*li-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Hu.), FRONS-*la/i/u-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Ho.), FRONS-*la/i/u-zí* (PALANGA §2), FRONS-*la/i/u-za/i* (TOPADA §2)), *hantili* (adv.) ‘foremost’ (FRONS-*la/i/u* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §17)), *hanti* (adv.) ‘against’ (FRONS-*ti* (KARKAMIŠ A4b §3)), **FRONS-*hit-*** (n.) ‘preeminence’ (dat.-loc.sg. “FRONS”-*hi-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §2, KARKAMIŠ A15b §14)), \**hantawad(i)-* ‘king’ (nom.sg. REX-*ti-i-sa*, REX-*ti-sa*, REX-*ti-sá*, dat.-loc.sg. REX-*ti-i*, nom.pl. REX-*ti-zi*, dat.-loc.pl. REX-*ta-za*, REX-*tá-za*), \**hantawadi-* (adj.) ‘royal’ (nom.sg.c. REX+*ra/i-sa*<sub>7</sub> (TOPADA §19), abl.-instr. REX-*ti-ia-ri+i* (SULTANHAN §41), REX+*ra/i-ti* (TOPADA §5, §10)), \**hantawatahit-* (n.) ‘kingdom’ (nom.-acc.sg. REX-*ta-hi-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §73 Ho.), dat.-loc.sg.? REX-*ta*<sup>2</sup>-*hi-tà* (ALEPPO 2 §4)), \**hantawata-* ‘to be(come) king(?)’ (1sg.pret. REX-*wa/i-ta-ha* (BOR §8), 3sg.pret.act. REX-*ta* (KARABURUN §2)); Lyc. *χῆτῶνα-* ‘to rule’ (3sg.pret.act. *χῆτῶνατε*, *χῆτῶνετε*), *χῆτῶνα-* ‘rule, kingship’ (acc.sg. *χῆτῶνατᾶ*, loc.sg. *χῆτῶνατα*, *χῆτῶνατα*), *χῆτῶνατ(i)-* ‘ruler, king’ (nom.sg. *χῆτῶνατι*, dat.sg. *χῆτῶνατι*, abl.-instr. *χῆτῶνατεδι*, gen.adj. *χῆτῶνατε/i-*), *χῆτῶνατι(je)-* ‘of the ruler, royal’ (dat.-loc.pl. *χῆτῶνατιje*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀντί (prep., prev.) ‘opposed, facing’, Arm. *ənd* ‘for, instead of’, Lat. *ante* ‘in front of’, Gr. ἄντα ‘over against, face to face’, Skt. *ánti* ‘before, near, facing’.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 89f. for attestations. Within Hittite it is clear on the basis of e.g. dat.-loc.sg. *hanti* (OH/MS) and abl. *hantāz* (OS) that we are dealing with a stem *hant-*. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the nominative- and accusative-forms are unclear. At first sight, nom.sg. *hanza* seems to show that we are dealing with a commune nom.sg. *hant-s*. This commune form then would correspond to the commune nom.pl. *hantiš*. Nevertheless, the forms *hanza=tit* and *hanza=ttit* ‘your forehead’ bear a neuter enclitic possessive pronoun =*ttit*. Moreover, if the accusative-form *ha-an-z[a(-)...]* should be read as *hanza*, we rather seem to be dealing with a neuter nom.-acc.sg. *hanza*. Starke (1990: 125f.) therefore states that the nominative-accusative-forms *hanza* are rather to be interpreted as Luwian forms that show the neuter secondary ending *-sa*, so *hant-sa* (note that Starke still

interpreted this *-sa* as the neuter plural-ending, whereas nowadays it is generally assumed that *-sa* denotes the nom.-acc.sg.). In his view, the form SAG.KI-*an* (KUB 5.9 obv. 8) shows the unextended Luwian nom.-acc.sg. *\*hān*. Rieken (1999a: 31f.) argues that this latter form could be interpreted as *hanzan* as well, the regular adverbial form. Nevertheless, she agrees that the Hittite evidence is too inconclusive to decide which gender this word had originally. Since all instances of nom.-acc.sg. *hanza* are found in NS texts, they could in principle indeed be Luwianisms in *-sa*. Note that in HLuwian, we find nom.-acc.pl. <sup>“FRONS”</sup> *ha-ta* = /hanta/, which seems to indicate that here the word is neuter.

Already since Hrozný (1917: 21) it has been generally assumed that *hant-*, which in the Anatolian languages still has its full nominal meaning ‘forehead’, is etymologically connected with adverbs and preverbs like Gr. ἀντί ‘opposed, facing’, Lat. *ante* ‘in front of’, Skt. *ánti* ‘before, facing’, etc. In Hittite, we see that the stem *hant-* has given rise to some adverbially used forms as well. E.g. *hanza* ‘in front’ probably reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-i* (and therewith is directly cognate with Gr. ἀντί and Skt. *ánti*) and shows that already at an early time it was not regarded as part of the paradigm of *hant-* ‘forehead’ anymore, since neither the *\*-t-* nor the *\*-i* was restored (as opposed to the synchronic dat.-loc.sg. *hanti* and its adverbialized variant *hanti*). The adverbial forms *hanti* (derived from the dat.-loc.sg.), *handa* (< all.sg.) and *handaš* (< dat.-loc.pl.) are slight later lexicalizations of inflected forms of *hant-* ‘forehead’. The adverb *hanzan* probably is a secondary formation, adding the *-an* from *andan*, *āppan*, *kattan*, etc. to *hanza*. Note that the Gr. adverb ἀντίον ‘against’ has a remarkable parallel formation (both from virtual *\*h<sub>2</sub>enti-om*).

Because it is not fully clear whether *hant-* was commune or neuter originally, we cannot properly reconstruct a paradigm. Note that therefore Gr. ἀντα can either reflect acc.sg. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-m* (if originally a commune word) or nom.-acc.pl. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-h<sub>2</sub>* (if originally a neuter word).

***hantae*<sup>-d</sup>** (Ic2) ‘(trans.) to arrange (together), to prepare, to fix; to determine; (intr.) to get married; (midd.) to get fixed, to fit’ (Sum. (NÍG.)SIxSÁ): 1sg.pres.act. *ha-an-ta-a-mi*, *ha-an-da-a-mi*, *ha-an-da-mi*, *ha-a-an-da-mi* (KUB 7.54 i 10 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ha-an-da-a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-an-ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *ha-an-da-a-iz-zi*, *ha-an-ta-iz-zi*, *ha-an-da-iz-zi*, *ha-an-da-zi*, *ha-an-te-ez-zi* (HT 1 iii 7), *ha-an-da-a-i* (KBo 5.2 iv 16), 1pl.pres.act. *ha-an-da-a-u-ni* (1691/u ii 15 (MS), cf. Puhvel HED 3: 98), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-an-ta-a-an-zi*, *ha-an-da-a-an-zi*, *ha-an-ta-an-zi*, *ha-an-da-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ha-an-ta-a-nu-un*, *ha-an-da-a-nu-un*, *ha-an-ta-nu-un*, *ha-an-da-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ha-an-da-a-it*, *ha-an-*

*da-it*, 1pl.pret.act. *ḥa-an-da-a-u-en*, *ḥa-an-da-u-e-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḥa-an-da-a-er* (MH/MS), *ḥa-an-ta-a-er*, *ḥa-an-ta-er*, *ḥa-an-da-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḥa-an-da-a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḥa-an-da-a-ed-du* (MH/MS), *ḥa-an-da-ed-du* (MH/MS), *ḥa-an-ta-id-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḥa-an-da-a-an-du*, *ḥa-an-ta-an-du*, *ḥa-an-da-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-an-da-a-et-ta* (OS), *ḥa-an-da-a-e-et-ta* (OS), *ḥa-an-da-a-it-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-ta-a-it-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-ta-it-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-it-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-it-ta-a-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-a-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-a-at-ta-ri*, 3pl.pres.midd. *ḥa-an-da-a-an-ta-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-an-da-a-ri*, *ḥa-an-da-an-ta-ri*, 2sg.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-da-a-it-ta-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-da-a-et-ta-at* (MH/MS), *ḥa-an-ta-it-ta-at*, *ḥa-an-da-it-ta-at*, *ḥa-an-da-a-ta-at*, *ḥa-an-da-a-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *ḥa-an-da-an-ta-ti* (OH/MS), *ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *ḥa-an-ta-an-da-ti* (OH/NS), *ḥa-an-da-an-da-ti* (OH/NS), *ḥa-an-da-a-an-ta-at* (MS), *ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-at* (OH/NS), *ḥa-an-da-an-da-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *ḥa-an-da-aḥ-ḥu-ut*, *ḥa-an-da-ḥu-ut*, 3sg.imp.midd. *ḥa-an-da-it-ta-ru*; part. *ḥa-an-da-a-an-t-* (OS), *ḥa-an-da-an-t-* (often), *ḥa-a-an-da-a-an-t-* (KUB 20.29 vi 4 (OH/NS)); verb.noun. *ḥa-an-da-a-u-ḡa-ar*, *ḥa-an-da-u-ḡa-ar*, *ḥa-an-da-u-ar*, gen.sg. *ḥa-an-da-a-u-ḡa-aš*; inf.I *ḥa-an-da-a(u)ḡa-an-zi*, *ḥa-an-da-u-ḡa-an-zi*; impf. *ḥa-an-da-a-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḥa-an-ta-iš-ke/a-*, *ḥa-an-te-eš-ke/a-*, *ḥa-an-te-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***parā ḥandandātar*** (n.) ‘providence (of a deity)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-an-da-an-ta-a-tar*, *ḥa-an-da-an-da-a-tar*, *ḥa-an-da-a-an-ta-tar*, *ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-tar*, *ḥa-an-da-an-ta-tar*, *ḥa-an-da-an-da-tar*, *ḥa-an-ta-an-da-tar*, *ḥa-a-an-da-an-da-tar* (NH), *ḥa-an-ta-tar*, *ḥa-an-da-a-tar*, gen.sg. *ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-an-na-aš*, *ḥa-an-da-an-ta-an-na-aš*, *ḥa-an-da-an-da-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-an-da-an-da-an-ni*, *ḥa-an-da-a-an-ni*, *ḥa-an-da-an-ni*), ***parā ḥandandae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to show providence’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-an-da-an-da-i[z-zi]* (KUB 40.1 obv. 39 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḥa-an-da-an-da-a-a[n-zi]* (KBo 15.34 iii 20 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḥa-an-da-an-te-eš-ta* (StBoT 24 i 21 (NH))), ***ḥandatt-*** (c.) ‘trust, determination(?)’ (gen.sg. *ḥa-an-da-at-ta-aš*), <sup>L1</sup>***ḥantantiḡala-*** (c.) ‘repairman (?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-an-ta-an-ti-ḡa-li*).

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḥ: 163f. and Puhvel HED 3: 96f. for semantics and attestation of this verb and its derivatives. The verb inflects according to the *ḥatrae*-class, which mainly consists of denominal verbs ending in *\*-o-ḡe/o-*. For *ḥantae-*, this seems to indicate that this verb is derived from a noun *\*ḥanta-*. The question is whether a noun *ḥant-*, too, would yield a derived verb *ḥantae-<sup>zi</sup>*. There are only a few other verbs that end in *-antae-*. The NH verb *ištantae-* ‘to stay put’ derives from OH *ištantāḡe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.) and reflects *\*sth<sub>2</sub>ent-eh<sub>2</sub>-ḡé/ó-*. The verb *ḥandandae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to show providence’ (cited here) and the verb *nekumandae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to undress oneself’ clearly

are derived from *handant-* and from *nekumant-* ‘naked’ (q.v.) respectively. Both verbs are sporadically attested (*handandae-* thrice and *nekumandae-* once), however, in NS texts only, which indicates that both verbs are likely to be recent formations, created in a period in which the *hatrae*-class was a very productive category. So it is questionable whether on formal grounds we are allowed to derive *hantae-* (which is attested in OS texts already) from a noun *hant-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 367) states that *hantae-* is derived from *hant-* ‘forehead, front’, but this is, apart from the formal difficulties as raised above, semantically unattractive: I do not see how ‘to arrange together’ can be derived from ‘forehead’. Puhvel (l.c.) derives *handae-* from *hānt-*, the participle of the verb *hā-zi* ‘to believe, to trust’, arguing that occasional plene spellings *ha-a-an-* point in that direction. In my corpus, I have found 430+ examples of *handae-<sup>zi</sup>* and derivatives that show a spelling *ha-an-* (of which 23 are found in OS texts) vs. only 3 plene spellings *ha-a-an-*. As these latter are attested in NS texts only, they hardly can be phonologically valuable. Moreover, a semantic connection with *hā-zi* / *h-* ‘to trust, to believe’ is unattractive.

All in all, we have to conclude that *hantae-<sup>zi</sup>* must have been derived from a further unattested noun *\*hanta-*, of which no cognates are known.

**handa(i)š-** (c.) ‘heat’: nom.sg. *ha-an-da-iš* (KBo 3.23 obv. 6, rev. 9 (OH/MS)), *ha-an-da-a-[iš]* (KUB 31.115, 9 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-an-ta-i-ši* (KBo 3.22 obv. 17, 19 (OS)), [*ha-a*]n-da-iš-ši (1554/u, 8 (NS)), *ha-an-da-š[i]* (KBo 3.23 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), [*ha-an-d*]a-ši (KUB 31.115, 11 (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: ?OIr. *and-* ‘to kindle’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>end<sup>(h)</sup>-* ?

This word is often regarded as neuter (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 107; HW<sup>2</sup> H: 167), but this cannot be correct as it functions as the subject of a transitive verb in the following text:

KBo 3.23 obv. (with duplicate KUB 31.115, 9f.)

(5) *ma-a-n[(=a-an)]*

(6) *ha-an-da-iš ūa-la-aḥ-zi zi-g=a-an e-ku-ni-mi da-i*

(7) *ták-ku-ū=a-an e-ku-ni-ma-aš ūa-la-aḥ-zi n=a-an ha-an-da-š[(i)]*

(8) *da-i*

‘When heat strikes him, you must place him in the cold. If cold strikes him, place him in the heat’.

Nevertheless, the word cannot be interpreted as a diphthongstem *hantai-*, as the dat.-loc.sg. shows the stems *hantaiš-* and *hantaš-*. The form *hantaiši* occurs in the formula *hantaiši mēhuni* ‘in the heat of noon’ only (*ha-an-ta-i-ši me-e-ḥ[u-ni]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 17), *ha-an-ta-i-ši me-e-ḥu-n[i]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 19) and [*ha-a*]n-da-iš-ši=kán me[-ḥu-ni] (1554/u, 8 (cf. StBoT 18: 98)), whereas *handaši* is only attested in the above cited context. Neumann (1960: 141) assumes that *hantaiši mēhuni* is a wrong inflection of an originally nominal sentence *\*hantaiš mēhur* ‘heat is the time = daytime’. Rieken (1999a: 220) convincingly argues that it is better to assume that just as *nekuz mēhur*, *\*hantaiš mēhur* shows an original gen.sg. *\*hantaiš* ‘the time of heat’. Problematic, however, is the question how to interpret this gen.sg. *\*hantaiš* formally. Moreover, if the form *handaši* represents the real dat.-loc.sg., I would not be able to explain how the stem *handaš-* is to be seen in comparison to a nom.sg. *handaiš* and a gen.sg. *\*hantaiš*. According to Rieken (l.c.), the forms are all explicable if we assume an originally ablauting *i*-stem *\*hand-i-*, *\*hand-ai-*, but her line of reasoning seems unattractive to me.

Regarding the root, it has been generally accepted since Pedersen (1938: 48) that the word is to be compared with OIr. *and-* ‘to kindle’ and Gr. ἄνθραξ ‘coal’, although the latter word probably is of substratum origin. If the connection with OIr. *and-* is justified, however, then we must reconstruct a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>end<sup>(h)</sup>-*.

***handaš-***: see *handa(i)š-*

***hantezzi(ja)-*** (adj.) ‘first, foremost’ (Sum. IGI-zi(*ja*)-, Akk. MAḤRŪ): nom.sg.c. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-aš* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi-aš* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi-i-aš* (OH/NS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-an* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi-in* (MH/MS), *ha-an-ti-iz-zi-an* (KBo 25.123, 8), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-an* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ha-an-te-e-ez-zi* (KUB 36.55 ii 21), gen.sg. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi*, nom.pl.c. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-e-eš* (OS), *ha-an-te-ez-zi-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-uš*, *ha-an-te-ez-zi-iš*, gen.pl. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-(ja-)aš*.

Derivatives: ***hantezzi*** (adv.) ‘firstly; in front’ (*ha-an-te-ez-zi*), ***hantezzijaz*** (adv.) ‘before; in front’ (*ha-an-te-ez-zi-az*, *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-az*, *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-za*), ***hantezzili*** (adv.) ‘in earlier times’ (*ha-an-te-ez-zi-li*), ***hantezzijah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>*** (Ib) ‘to make foremost’ (3sg.pret.act. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-ah-ha-aš*), ***hantezzijatar*** / ***hantezzijann-*** (n.) ‘first position’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ja-an-ni*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-etiHo-*

The word shows two stems, namely *hantezziā-* and *hantezzi-*. It is remarkable that all OS attestations belong to the stem *hantezziā-* (nom.sg.c. *hantezziāš*, acc.sg. *hantezzian*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *hantezzian*), whereas from MH onwards we find the stem *hantezzi-* (nom.sg.c. *hantezziš*, acc.sg.c. *hantezzin*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *hantezzi*). The stem *hantezzi-* does not show an ablauting suffix (no *\*hantezzaġ-*). The hapax spelling with *-i-* (*ha-an-ti-iz-zi-an*) is found in a text that also contains the aberrant *ú-i-it* ‘he came’ (cf. Melchert 1984a: 93).

The adjective clearly is derived from *hant-* ‘forehead; front’ (q.v.) with the *-ezziā-* suffix that we find in *appezzi(ā)-* (from *āppa* (q.v)) as well. The suffix seems to go back to *\*-etiHo-* (note that *\*-etio-* probably would have given *\*\*-ezza-*, cf. *zāh<sup>i</sup> / zahh<sup>i</sup> < \*tioh<sub>2</sub>-*).

***hanzana-*** (adj. / c.) ‘black’; ‘web’: nom.sg. *ha-an-za-na-aš*.

This word occurs several times but its meaning is not always clear. In some contexts it seems to denote a colour: KUB 29.4 i (31) *SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG ha-an-za-na-aš SÍG SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub> SÍG BABBAR da-an-zi* ‘They take red wool, blue wool, *h.* wool, yellow wool and white wool’ and Laroche (1953: 41) has argued that it means ‘black’ then. In the vocabulary KBo 1.44 + KBo 13.1 i 50 the Akkadian phrase *QÚ-U ET-T[Û-TT]* ‘spider web’ is glossed by Hitt. *a-u-ua-ua-aš ha-an-za-na-aš ‘h.* of a spider’, which would mean that *hanzana-* means ‘web’ here. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 195 cites a context in which <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hanzana-* should denote “ein Gerät”. So it is possible that we are in fact dealing with three homophonous words *hanzana-*.

The first *hanzana-*, which should mean ‘black’, has been connected with Gr. ἄσις ‘mud’ and Skt. *ásita-* ‘dark, black’ by Čop (1970: 95-6), on the basis of which e.g. Melchert (1994a: 121) reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms(o)no-*, although in my view a reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>ns-(o)no-* is equally possible. It should be noted that the etymology is far from certain, however.

***hanzāšša-*** (c.) ‘offspring’: dat.-loc.sg. *ha-an-za-aš-ši*, all.sg. *ha-an-za-a-aš-ša* (MH/MS), *ha-an-za-aš-ša* (MH/MS), instr. *ha-an-za-aš-ši-it*, nom.pl. *ha-an-za-a[-aš-še]-eš* (OS), *ha-an-za-aš-še-eš*, *ha-a-an-za-aš-še-eš* (1x, MH/NS), acc.pl. *ha-an-za-aš-šu-uš*, *ha-an-za-šu-uš* (1x, NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ha-an-za-aš-ša-aš* (OS).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>msósio-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 224f. and HW<sup>2</sup> H: 397f. for attestations. This word only occurs as the second part of the expression *hāšša- hanzāšša-* that denotes ‘further

offspring’, compare e.g. KUB 29.1 iv (2) *nu* DUMU.NITA<sup>MES</sup> DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MES</sup> *ḥa-aš-še-eš ḥa-an-za-aš-še-eš ma-ak-ke-eš-ša-an-du* ‘May the sons, daughters and further offspring become numerous!’. When used in the all.sg., the expression has an adverbial feeling to it and must be translated ‘down all generations’, compare e.g. KUB 21.1 i (70) *kat-ta=ma am-me-el* DUMU=IA DUMU.DUMU=IA *ḥa-aš-ša ḥa-an-za-aš-ša pa-aḥ-ši* ‘You must protect my son (acc.) and grandson (acc.) down all generations’. Although the plene spelling *ḥa-an-za-a-aš-* occurs a few times only, it must be taken seriously because it is attested in an OS and in a MS text.

In my view, it is quite obvious that *ḥanzāšša-* and *ḥāšša-* are etymologically cognate. For the nasal in *ḥanzāšša-*, compare Luw. *ḥamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’ as cited under the lemma of *ḥāšša-*. Within Hittite, *ḥanzāšša-* and *ḥāšša-* clearly belong with the verb *ḥāš-* / *ḥašš-* ‘to procreate’, and therefore also with *ḥaššu-* ‘king’. See at the lemma of *ḥāš-* / *ḥašš-* for a detailed treatment of these words. There I argue that *ḥanzāšša-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>msó-*, the full-grade of which yielded *ḥāšša-*. The second part, *-ašša-*, in my view must be equated with the genitival suffix *-ašša-* (q.v.), which means that *ḥāšša- ḥanzāšša-* literally means ‘offspring (and) the offspring thereof’. All in all, I reconstruct *ḥanzāšša-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>msósio-*.

***ḥapp-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ia4; IIIa > IIIb) ‘(act.) to join, to attach; (impers., midd.) to arrange itself, to work out’: 2sg.pres.act. *ḥa-ap-ti* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-ap-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḥa-ap-pu-un* (MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-ap-da-ri* (MS?), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḥa-ap-da-at* (MS?), *ḥa-ap-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḥa-ap-pa-ru* (OS).

Derivatives: <sup>(UZU)</sup>***ḥappeššar*** / ***ḥappešn-*** (n.) ‘joint, limb, member, body part’ (Sum. <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR; nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-šar*, *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-ša*, *ḥa-ap-pé-e-eš-šar*), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-ni*, abl. *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-na-za*, [*h*]a-ap-pé-eš-na-za, [*h*]a-ap-pí-iš-na-az, instr. <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR-it, nom.-acc.pl. <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR<sup>HLA</sup>-ša, gen.pl. *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-na-aš*, *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-na-aš*), ***ḥappešnant-*** (c.) ‘id.’ (nom.sg. <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR-za, acc.sg. <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR-da-an, nom.pl. *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-na-an-te-eš*), ***ḥappešnae-***<sup>zi</sup> ‘(+ *arḥa*) to dismember’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-na-mi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-na-a-an-zi*, *ḥa-ap-pé-eš-na-an-zi*, *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-na-an-zi*, *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-ša-na[-an-zi]*, [*h*a-ap-]pé-eš-ša[-na-an-zi]), see *ḥappu-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>(UZU)</sup>***ḥappiš-*** ‘limb, member’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-ap-pí-iš-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḥa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti*, *ḥa-ap-pí-ša-ti*, *ḥa-ap-pí-i-ša-a-ti*).

IE cognates: Lat. *aptus* ‘connected, fitting’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ep-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 196f. for attestations and semantics. The oldest form is 3sg.pres.midd. *ħapparu* (OS), which may indicate that the middle inflection was original. Puhvel (HED 3: 113-4) convincingly connects *ħapp-* with Lat. *aptus* ‘connected, fitting’ and reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>ep-*.

**ħapa-** (c.) ‘river’ (Sum. ÍD): nom.sg. ÍD-*aš*, acc.sg. ÍD-*an* (OS), gen.sg. *ħa-pa-aš*, dat.sg. [Í]D-*pí* (KUB 36.49 i 11 (OS)), all.sg. ÍD-*pa*, *ħa-pa-a*, abl. ÍD-*az*, ÍD-*za*, nom.pl. ÍD<sup>HLA</sup>-*eš*, acc.pl. ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an*, ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš*, abl.pl. ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*az*, ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*za*.

Derivatives: **ħapae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to wet, to moisten’ (3sg.pres.act. *ħa-pa-a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ħa-pa-a-an-zi*; impf. *ħa-pí-iš-ke/a-*), **ħapāti-** (c.) ‘river land(?)’ (acc.sg. *ħa-pa-a-ti-in* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **ħāpna-** (c.) ‘river’ (nom.sg. *ħa-a-ap-na-aš*); CLuw. **ħāpa/i-** (c.) ‘river’ (nom./voc.sg. *ħa-a-pí-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. ÍD-*i*, abl.-instr. ÍD-*ti*, nom.pl.(? in Hitt. context) *ħa-pa-an-zi*, acc.pl. ÍD<sup>HLA</sup>-*in-za*, dat.-loc.pl. ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an-za*), **ħāpinna/i-** (c.) ‘little river, stream’ (acc.pl. *ħa-a-pí-in-ni-in-za*, *ħa-pí-in-ni-in-za*); HLuw. **ħapa/i-** (c.) ‘river’ (acc.sg. /hapin/ FLUMEN-*pi-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §7, §8), FLUMEN-*pi-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §9), FLUMEN(-)\*311<sup>3</sup>(-)*pi-na* (TELL AHMAR fr. 6, but interpretation uncertain), FLUMEN-*na* (IZGIN 1 §8), dat.-loc.sg. /hapī/ FLUMEN-*pi-i* (TELL AHMAR 5 §9), FLUMEN-*pi* (MARAŞ 8 §8)), **ħapad(a)i-** (c.) ‘riverland’ (nom.sg. /hapadis/ <sup>“FLUMEN”</sup>*há-pa+ra/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu.), FLUMEN-*pari-i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), /hapadais/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*tà-i-sa* (HAMA 1 §3), FLUMEN.REGIO-*tà-i-sà* (HAMA 2 §3, HAMA 7 §3), FLUMEN.REGIO-*sà* (HAMA 3 §3), acc.sg. /hapadin/ FLUMEN-*pa-ti-na* (KARKAMIŠ A12 §6), FLUMEN.REGIO-*ti-na* (MARAŞ 8 §3), abl.-instr. /hapadiadi/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*ia-ti-i* (MARAŞ 8 §2), acc.pl. /hapadint<sup>s</sup>i/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*zi* (IZGIN 1 §5), dat.-loc.pl. /hapadiant<sup>s</sup>/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*za* (IZGIN 1 §5)); Lyc. **ħba(i)-** ‘to irrigate’ (3pl.pret.act. *ħbaitē*).

PAnat. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ebo-*

IE cognates: OIr. *aub*, gen. *abae*, MWe. *afon* ‘river’, Lat. *amnis* ‘stream, river’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eb<sup>h</sup>-o-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>eb<sup>h</sup>-n-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 197f. for attestations. There, an all.sg.-form *ħa-ap-pa* with geminate *-pp-* is cited as well (KUB 31.74 ii (9) *ħa-ap-pa an-da še-eš-te-en*[ ...] ‘You must sleep inside the *ħ*.’), but in my view there is no indication from the context that this word should mean ‘river’. Besides the stem *ħapa-*, a few *n*-stem forms are mentioned as well, namely dat.-loc.sg. ÍD-*ni* (KUB 17.8 iv 23), all.sg. ÍD-*an-na*



(KUB 53.14 iii 14), and the phonetically spelled forms *ḫa-a-ap-pa-na* (KUB 58.50 iii 2), *ḫa-pa-na* (Bo 6980, 7, cf. Hoffner 1971: 31f.). Although the forms that are spelled with the sumerogram ÍD cannot be interpreted otherwise than as ‘river’, I am not sure whether this goes for the phonetically spelled words as well. I therefore leave them out of consideration. The real *n*-stem forms may have to be seen as a more close cognate to Pal. *ḫāpnā-*.

The consistent spelling with single *-p-* in Hittite and Luwian points to IE *\*b<sup>(h)</sup>*, which is confirmed by Lyc. *χba(i)-*. We therefore have to reconstruct PANat. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ebo-*, which cannot be connected with *\*h<sub>2</sub>ep-* ‘water’ as seen in Skt. *áp-* and OPr. *ape* ‘brook, small river’. We must rather connect the Anatolian form to the It.-Celt. forms (OIr. *aub*, gen. *abae*, Lat. *amnis* ‘stream, river’), which go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>eb<sup>h</sup>-n-*. These *n*-stem forms remind of Pal. *ḫāpnā-* and Hitt. *ÍD-n-*.

***ḫāppar-* / *ḫāppir-*** (n.) ‘business, trade; compensation, payment, price’ (Sum. ŠÁM): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-a-ap-pár* (OS), *ḫa-ap-pár* (OS), *ḫa-ap-pí-ir* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pa-ri* (OH/NS), abl. *ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az* (OS), *ḫa-ap-pár-ra-az* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: *ḫap(pa)rae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḫappirae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḫap(pari)ie/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic2 / Ic1) ‘to trade, to sell, to deliver, to dispense’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pa-ri-ia-mi* (MH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a[-šī]* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pa-ra-ez-zi* (OS), *ḫa-ap-ra-ez-zi* (OH/MS), *ḫa-ap-ri-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pár-ra-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a-an-zi* (NH), *ḫa-ap-ra-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-ap-pa-ri-e-nu-un* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-ap-pa-ra-a-et* (OS); part. [*ḫa-a*]p-pí-ra-a-an-t- (MH/MS), *ḫa-ap-pí-ra-an-t-* (MH/NS); impf. *ḫa-ap-pí-ri-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)), see *ḫappina-*, *ḫāppir(i)ā-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *ápas-* ‘work’, Lat. *opus* ‘work’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-r-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 215f. for attestations. The oldest attestations (OS) of the noun *ḫāppar* show plene spelling *ḫa-a-ap-pár*. A nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-ir* is attested twice in one NS text only. Nevertheless, this stem is attested in the derived verb *ḫappirae-<sup>zi</sup>* (oldest attestation MH/MS) and *ḫāppir(i)ā-* ‘town’ (q.v.) as well, which proves that it is linguistically real (note that in ‘town’ it is attested with plene spelling of *-a-*: *ḫa-a-ap-pí-ri*). The alternation between *ḫapparae-* and *ḫaprae-* and *ḫappariie/a-* and *ḫapriie/a-*, shows that the stem *ḫāppar* is to be analysed as /Hápr/. This means that we are dealing with two stems, /Hāpr-/ and /Hāpir-/ / Hāper-/. It is likely that these reflect ablaut, but the original ablaut

pattern cannot easily be established anymore. We probably should think of an *r*-stem *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-r*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>p-ér-s* yielding the secondary stems *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-ēr* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-r-os*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-r-i*, etc. through analogy (cf. also Kimball 1987a: 186f.).

Since Sapir (1936: 179) this word is generally compared with Skt. *ápas-* ‘work’, Lat. *opus-* ‘work’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-*. Reconstructing an original *-r/n*-stem on the basis of *hāppar* besides *happina-* ‘rich’ is unnecessary (pace Rieken 1999: 315). We find *n*-stem derivatives meaning ‘wealth’ in other IE languages as well (e.g. Skt. *ápnas-* ‘wealth’), showing that we can easily assume an independent *n*-stem. Moreover, *-r/n*-stems are that common in Hittite that it is unattractive to assume that an original *-r/n*-stem developed into a Hittite *r*-stem (which are much rarer).

The Lyc. form *epirijeti* is since Laroche (1958: 171-2) translated as ‘sells’ and connected with *hāppar-* (and especially *happiriē/a-*). This has led to the generally accepted view that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* dropped in Lycian (Kimball 1987a). Rasmussen (1992: 56-9) convincingly shows that Laroche’s translation ‘sells’ of *epirijeti* was not based on any contextual considerations, however, but on the formal similarity with Hitt. *happiriē/a-* only. He shows that several other interpretations in principle are possible as well and that any conclusions based on this form alone are therefore unreliable. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, I believe that *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-* yielded Lyc. *χe-*, and that therefore the connection between Hitt. *hāppar-* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-r-* and Lyc. *epirijeti* cannot be upheld anymore.

The connection with Lyd. *afariś* (allegedly ‘sale deed’) as given by Puhvel HED 3: 126 is far from assured.

**happena-**: see *hāpn-* / *hāppen-*

**happina-** (adj.) ‘rich’ (Sum. NÍG.TUKU): dat.-loc.sg. *hā-ap-pí-ni* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>(L<sup>U</sup>)</sup> **happinant-** (adj.) ‘rich (person)’ (nom.sg.c. *hā-ap-pí-na-an-za*, gen.sg. *hā-ap-pí-na-an-da-aš*, [*h*] *hā-ap-pí-n[a-an-t]a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hā-ap-pí-na-an-ti*, nom.pl.c. *hā-ap-pí-na-an-te-eš*), **happinah<sup>i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to enrich’ (1sg.pres.act. *hā-ap-pí-na-ah-hā-ah-hi*, 3sg.pres.act. *hā-ap-pí-na-ah-[hi]*, 1sg.pret.act. *hā-ap-pí-na-ah-hu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *hā-ap-pí-na[-ah-he-er]*, 2sg.imp.act. *hā-ap-pí-na-ah-hā-ap-pí-na-ah-hi*), **happinēšš<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become rich’ (2sg.pres.act. NÍG.TUKU-*ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *hā-ap-pí-ni-eš-zi*, [*h*] *hā-ap-pí-ni-iš-ši-e[z-zi]*), **happinatt-** (c.) ‘wealth’ (nom.sg. *hā-ap-pí-na-az*, acc.sg. *hā-ap-pí-na-at-ta-an*).

IE cognates: Lat. *ops* ‘wealth’, *opulentus* ‘rich’, Skt. *ápnas* ‘possessions’, YAv. *afnaṅ<sup>h</sup>ant-* ‘rich in property’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-en-o-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 230f. for attestations. It is generally accepted that *ḥappina-* and its derivatives are derived from the noun *ḥāppar-* / *ḥāppir-* ‘business, trade’ (see there for etymology). According to Szemerényi (1954: 275-82), Hitt. *ḥappinant-* is to be equated with Lat. *opulentus* ‘rich’ from *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-en-ont-* (the latter showing dissimilation of *\*-n-n-* to *-n-l-*). Other *n*-derivations of the stem *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-* are found in e.g. Skt. *ápnas* ‘possessions’.

*ḥappina-* ‘baking kiln, fire-pit’: see *ḥapn-* / *ḥappen-*

*ḥappir-*: see *ḥāppar-* / *ḥāppir-*

***ḥāppiriya-*, *ḥāppira-*** (c.) ‘town’ (Sum. URU): nom.sg. URU-*ri-aš* (KBo 10.2 i 26 (OH/NS)), URU-*pí-ra-aš* (MS), acc.sg. URU-*ri-an* (KBo 34.110 obv. 7 (OH/NS)), URU-*ia-an* (KUB 35.135 rev. 19 (NS)), [URU-*ī*]a-an (KBo 6.10 iii 17 (OH/NS)), [U]RU-*pí-ra-an* (ABoT 32 i 4 (MH/MS?)), gen.sg. *ḥa-ap-pí-ri-ia-aš* (KUB 51.27 obv. 11 (NS)), URU-*ri-ia-aš* (KUB 13.2 iii 4 (MH/NS)), URU-*ia-aš* (KUB 23.72+ rev. 52 (MH/MS)), [U]RU-*pí-ra-aš* (KUB 3.62, 8 (NH?)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-a-ap-pí-ri* (KBo 5.6 i 16 (NH)), all.sg. URU-*ri-ia* (VSNF 12.30 iv 4 (OH/NS), KBo 16.54 + ABoT 53, 16 (undat.), VBoT 24 ii 23 (MH/NS)), abl. URU-*ri-az* (NS), URU-*ia-za*, URU-*ra-az* (KUB 60.60 l.col. 12 (NS)), nom.pl. URU<sup>(DIDL)HLA</sup> (OS), acc.pl. URU<sup>DIDLHLA</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. URU-*ri-ia[-an]*, URU-*ia-an*, dat.-loc.pl. URU-*ri-aš*.

Derivatives: ***\*ḥāppiriyašešsar* / *ḥāppiriyašešn-*** (n.) ‘town-settlement’ (nom.-acc.sg. URU-*ri-a-še-eš-sar* (KBo 4.4 iv 6), URU-*ia-še-eš-sar* (KBo 6.34+ iii 29), URU-*ri-ia-še-eš-š[ar]* (KUB 23.116 i 6), dat.-loc.sg. URU-*ri-a-še-eš-ni* (VSNF 12.57 i 21)), ***\*ḥāppirijant-*** (c.) ‘town (personified)’ (nom.sg. URU-*az* (KUB 41.8 iv 30)).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-er-jo-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 233f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *ḥāppiriya-* and *\*ḥāppira-* (URU-*pira-*). According to HW<sup>2</sup>, *ḥāppiriya-* is the older form, although *\*ḥāppira-* is attested in MH times already. Puhvel (HED 3: 128) assumes that *ḥāppira-* is a backformation on the basis of oblique forms like dat.-loc.sg. *ḥāppiri*.

It is generally accepted that *ḥāppiriya-* is derived from *ḥāppar-* / *ḥāppir-* ‘business, trade’ and therefore originally probably meant ‘place of trade’. See at *ḥāppar-* / *ḥāppir-* for further etymology.

**hapn- / happen-** (gender undet.) ‘baking kiln, fire-pit, broiler (oven)’: gen.sg. *hap-ap<pe>-e-na-aš* (KUB 46.73 iii 4 (NS)), *hap-ap-pe-na-aš*, *hap-ap-pa-na-aš* (KBo 25.171 v 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *hap-ap-pe-e-ni* (OH/MS), *hap-ap-pe-ni*, all.sg. *hap-ap-pe-na*, instr. *hap-ap-pe-ni-it*.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-en-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 229-30 for attestations. There the word is classified as commune, but I have not been able to find any form that specifically shows to what gender this word belongs. The two attestations with plene *-e-* show that in all other attestations the sign BI should be read as *-pe-*, which means that the stem in fact is *happen-* (note that HW<sup>2</sup> treats this word under the lemma *happina-*). HW<sup>2</sup> cites one form “mit der singulären Schreibung” *hap-ap-pa-na-aš*, which they interpret as gen.sg. of “Herdfeuer”. If this interpretation is correct (and it does not seem improbable to me), it would show that we are dealing with an (originally) ablauting *n*-stem *happen-*, *hapn-* (in which I interpret *hap-ap-pa-na-aš* as /Hapnas/), and not with a thematic noun *happena-* (as usually cited). Herewith it becomes very probable that the word is of IE origin.

Puhvel (HED 3: 121-2) connects this word with Gr. ὀπτᾶω ‘to bake’, itself probably derived from Gr. ὀπτός ‘baked’. This would point to a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>ep-*, which means that we have to reconstruct an original paradigm *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-n*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>p-én-s* (if the word originally was neuter) or *\*h<sub>3</sub>ép-ōn*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>p-én-m*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>p-n-ós* (if it was commune, cf. *\*pešan-* / *pešn-* / *pišen-* for a similar paradigm).

**happu-** (adj.) ‘secret(?)’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *hap<sup>2</sup>-pu*.

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Hapax in vocabulary KBo 1.42 ii 22, where Sum. GÚ.ZAL and Akk. *PÍ-RI-ÌŠ-TÙ* ‘secret’ are glossed with Hitt. *hap<sup>2</sup>-pu ut-tar* ‘h. matter’, on the basis of which we must assume that *happu-* means something like ‘secret’ (cf. Weitenberg 1984: 26). To what extent this *happu-* is cognate with *happu-* ‘cage(?)’ is unclear. One could assume that an original *\*‘caged’* develops into ‘secret’. See then at *happu-* ‘cage’ for further etymology.

**happu-** (gender unclear) ‘fence, railings, cage (within a pen)’: dat.-loc.sg. *hap-ap-pu-i*, *hap-ap-pu-u-i*, *hap-ap-pu-ú-i*.

Derivatives: <sup>(KÜŠ)</sup>**happutri-** (n.) ‘leather part of harness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hap-ap-pu-ut-ri*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ep-u-*

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See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 255 for attestations. The word probably means something like ‘fence, railing(s)’ or more general ‘cage’ within a pen in which cows are gathered (cf. also Puhvel HED 3: 129f.). This makes it likely that <sup>KUŠ</sup>*happutri-*, which denotes a leather part of the harness of oxen, is derived from *happu-*. Tischler HEG 1: 167 proposes to connect *happu-* with *happ-* ‘to join, to attach’ (q.v.), which is widely followed. This would mean that *happu-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ep-u-*. Puhvel (l.c.) compares this *u*-stem with Lat. *cōpula-* ‘binding’ < *\*co-apula-*). For the possibility that *happu-* ‘secret’ is derived from this *happu-*, see there.

***hapuri-*** (c.) ‘foreskin’: acc.sg. *ha-pu-ri-in*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 256 for attestation and context. This word is generally connected with “*hapuš-* ‘penis’” (cf. e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 131; Rieken 1999: 206), but this has now become impossible since “*hapuš-*”, which in fact is *hāpūša(šš)-*, does not denote ‘penis’, but ‘shin-bone’ (cf. Kloekhorst 2005a). This leaves *hapuri-* without any reliable IE etymology.

***hapuš-***: see *hāpūša(šš)-*

***hāpūša(šš)-*** (n.) ‘shaft (of an arrow or of reed); shin-bone’: nom.-acc.sg. [*ha-*]a-pu-ú-ša=*kán* (KUB 9.4 i 13), gen.sg. *ha-a-pu-ú-ša-aš* (KUB 9.4 i 31), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-a-pu-ú-ša-aš-ši* (KUB 9.4 i 13), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-pu-ša-ši* (KUB 9.34 ii 34), erg.sg. *ha-pu-ša-aš-ša-an-za* (KUB 7.1 ii 35), erg.sg. [*ha-a-p*]u-ša-an-za (KUB 9.4 i 30), nom.-acc.pl. *ha-pu-ša-aš-ša* (KUB 7.1 ii 35), nom.-acc.pl. *ha-a-pu-ša-aš-ša* (KUB 17.8 iv 5), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ha-pu-ú-še-eš-šar* (KUB 7.1 ii 16).

Derivatives: ***hapušeššar*** (n.) ‘(arrow)shaft’ (nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *ha-pu-ú-še-eš-šar* (KUB 7.1 ii 16)).

This word, which usually is cited as *hapuš-*, on the one hand denotes ‘shaft (of an arrow and of reed)’, and on the other hand refers to a body part that occurs in a list of body parts in the Ritual of the Old Woman. According to Alp (1957: 25), in this latter context the word means ‘penis’, a view that is generally accepted. On the basis of the meaning ‘penis’, Watkins (1982b) proposes to connect it with Gr. ὀπιώ ‘to wed, to have sexual intercourse’, reconstructing *\*h<sub>3</sub>pus-*. As I have argued in detail in Kloekhorst 2005a, the word in fact shows a stem *hāpūša(šš)-* and can hardly mean ‘penis’ because the list already contains a term for ‘penis’, namely <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR. Since *hāpūša(šš)-* is mentioned between *hupparattijati-* ‘pelvis’ and *tašku(i)-* ‘thigh-bone(?)’ on the one hand and GÍR ‘foot’ on the other, it is in

my view much more likely that it denotes ‘shin-bone’ (cf. the translation ‘Bein’ in HW<sup>2</sup> H: 259f.). The connection between ‘shin-bone’ and ‘shaft (of arrow or reed)’ lies in the notion ‘hollow pipe’. This new interpretation nullifies Watkins’ etymology. In my opinion, *hāpūša(šš)*- hardly can be of IE origin.

***hapuš(š)-zi*** (Ib1) ‘to make up for, to make up, to bring after’: Luw.1sg.pres.act. *ha-pu-uš-ūi*<sub>5</sub>, 3sg.pres.act. *ha-pu-uš-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. (𐎶) *ha-pu-ša-an-zi*, *ha-pu-uš-ša-an-zi*, 2sg.imp.act. *ha-pu-uš*, 3sg.imp.act. *ha-pu-uš-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ha-p[u-ša-a-r]i*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ha-pu-uš-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *ha-pu-ša-an-ta-at*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *ha-pu-uš-šu-u-ū[a-aš]*; impf. *ha-pu-uš-ke/a-*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 258-9 for attestations and semantics. The verb denotes ‘to make up for, to bring after’ and is used in contexts where neglected festivals or rituals/offerings have to be made up and in contexts where objects (mostly food products used in rituals) have to be brought after. The one Luwian inflected form and the occasional use of gloss wedges show that it probably was Luwian, too. It should be noted that although most of the forms show a single spelled *-p-*, HW<sup>2</sup> cites some forms with geminate *-pp-* as well. The appurtenance of these forms is uncertain however. E.g. 3pl.pres.act. [*h*]a-*ap-pu-uš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 16.2 iv 11) is attested in such a broken context, that its meaning cannot be determined independently. The form *ha-ap-pu-ša-an-da-aš* (KBo 6.26 iii 48), which is duplicated by *ha-pu-ša-an-da-aš* (KUB 13.14 i 7), modifies TÚG ‘clothe’ in an enumeration of clothes. Although a meaning ‘brought after’ is possible, it is not self-evident. The verb.noun *ha-ap-pu-uš-šu-ūa-ar* is attested in the vocabulary KBo 8.10 + 29.9 i 5, where Hitt. MU<sup>2</sup>-*aš ha-ap-pu-uš-šu-ūa-ar* (cf. MSL 15: 91) glosses Akk. *uz-zu-bu* ‘vernachlässigt, verkommen’ (thus in AHW, note that this meaning fits the fact that MU<sup>2</sup>-*aš ha-ap-pu-uš-šu-ūa-ar* is found in a paragraph together with (4) *ar-ha da-lu<sup>1</sup>-mar* ‘forsaking’, (6) [*u*]a-*aš-túl* ‘sin’ and (7) [*h*]a-*ra-tar* ‘crime’). All in all, I conclude that all the forms that can be ascertained as belonging to this lemma on semantic grounds, show a single spelling *-p-*. Phonologically, we therefore have to interpret this verb as /Hbus-/.

Puhvel (HED 3: 133f.) translates this verb as ‘reclaim, resume, reschedule, make up for’, stating that “the base-meaning may be ‘reclaim’”. This assumption seems predominantly inspired by Puhvel’s proposal to etymologically connect *hapuš-* with Gr. ἠπύω ‘to call out to, to invoke, to summon’. In my view, the basic meaning is rather ‘to take care of something in arrears’, which does not easily fit the Greek semantics. Unfortunately, I have no convincing alternative etymology to offer.

*hāra-* ‘eagle’: see *hāran-*<sup>(MUŠEN)</sup>

*harra-<sup>i</sup>* / *harr-* (IIa1γ) ‘to grind, to splinter up (wood), to crush (bread), (+ *arha*) to destroy; (midd.) to go to waste, to go bad’: 3sg.pres.act. *har-ra-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *har-ru-ua-ni* (KUB 23.77, 50 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *har-ra-an-zi*, *har-ra-q-an-zi* (KUB 46.22 i 6 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *har-ra-at-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *har-ra-at-ta*; part. *har-ra-an-t-*, *har-ra-a-an-t-* (KUB 9.31 i 2 (MH/NS)); inf.I *har-ru-ua-an-zi*.

Derivatives: *harranu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘id.’ (3sg.pret.act. *har-ra-nu-ut*; impf. *har-ra-nu-uš-ke/a-*), see *hārš-<sup>i</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *harra-* ‘to crush(?)’ (3pl.pret.act. *har-ra-an-ta* (KBo 29.34 i 6)), <sup>NA</sup>*harra-* ‘grindstone’ (abl.-instr. *har-ra-a-ti*); HLuw. *ARHA hara-* ‘to destroy’ (3sg.pres.act. /haradi/ *ha+ra/i-ri+i* (TOPADA §34, BULGARMADEN §13), 3pl.imp.act. /harantu/ *ha+ra/i-t[ú-u]* (TOPADA §38), *ha+ra/i-tu* (BULGARMADEN §15)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, OIr. *-air*, OHG *erien*, Lith. *ariù*, *árti*, OCS *orjō*, *orati* ‘to plough’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>órh<sub>3</sub>-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-énti* ?

See HW<sup>2</sup>: H 263f. for attestations. There, a 3sg.pres.act.-form *ha-ra-ra-zi* is mentioned as belonging to this verb, which in my view is rather to be interpreted as a noun (see <sup>NA</sup>*hararazi-* for its own lemma). The verb shows a stem *harra-* besides *harr-* (in inf.I *harruūanzi* and 1pl.pres.act. *harruūani* (although this latter form is mentioned under the lemma *har(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* in HW<sup>2</sup> H: 280)) which determines it as belonging to the *tarn(a)*-class. In NS texts we occasionally find forms that inflect according to the *hatrae*-class (*harrānzi*, *harrānt-*). The *tarn(a)*-class consists of verbs with the structure *\*(Ce)CeH-*, and of verbs with the structure *\*CeCh<sub>2/3</sub>-* (cf. § 2.2.2.2.d, where I have argued that the colouring of the 3sg.pres.act.-ending *\*-ei* to *\*-ai* due to the preceding *\*h<sub>2/3</sub>* was responsible for these verbs’ transition into the *tarn(a)*-class: cf. also *iškalla-<sup>i</sup>* / *iškall-* ‘to split’, *išparra-<sup>i</sup>* / *išparr-* ‘to trample’, *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* ‘to mill’, *padda-<sup>i</sup>* / *padd-* ‘to dig’ and *šarta-<sup>i</sup>* / *šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’). Because the first structure is unlikely for *harra-<sup>i</sup>* / *harr-*, we rather have to assume the second: *\*HerH-* (note that this structure explains geminate *-rr-* as well). Since in *\*HórH-ei*, *\*HrH-énti* the initial laryngeal stands in front of either *\*o* or *\*r*, and since in both these positions *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would drop, the only possible reconstruction is with *\*h<sub>2</sub>-*. Because *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* was dropped in front of *\*o* as well, but not in front of *\*r*, we have to assume that *h-* is

restored throughout the paradigm on the basis of the weak stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>rH-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c for the outcome of the initial laryngeals). The root-final laryngeal must be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. So formally, *ḥarra-/ḥarr-* can only reflect a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>2,3</sub>-*.

A connection with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to plough’ (Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, Lith. *ár̃ti*, etc. ‘to plough’) has been proposed by Goetze & Sturtevant (1938: 70), which would formally indeed work perfectly. The semantic side of this etymology is debatable, however. If one accepts this etymology, it has to be assumed that PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* originally meant ‘to crush’, which developed into ‘to plough’ (from ‘to crush the soil’, cf. also at *ḥārš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to till the soil’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>orh<sub>3</sub>-s-*) only after the splitting off of the Anatolian branch.

Puhvel (HED 3: 136) alternatively suggests a borrowing from Akk. *ḥarāru* ‘to grind’, but in my opinion, the inflection of *ḥarra-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥarr-* cannot easily be explained by this assumption.

**ḥāran-**<sup>(MUŠEN)</sup> (c.) ‘eagle’ (Sum. *Á<sup>MUŠEN</sup>*, Akk. *ERŪ, ARŪ*): nom.sg. *ḥa-a-ra-aš* (OS, often), *ḥa-ra-aš* (rare), *ḥa-ra-a-aš* (1x, KBo 12.86, 7 (NS)), acc.sg. *ḥa-a-ra-na-an* (OS, often), *ḥa-ra-na-an* (OS, less often), *ḥa-ra-na-a-an* (KBo 13.86 obv. 16 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-a-ra-an* (KUB 30.34 iv 12 (MH/NS)), *ḥa-ra-an* (KUB 30.35 iv 4 (MH/NS), KUB 58.99, 6 (NS)), *ḥa-ra-a-an* (KBo 39.239, 3 (MS?)), gen.sg. *ḥa-a-ra-na-aš* (often), *ḥa-ra-na-aš*, *ḥar-ra-n[a-aš]* (KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev. 8 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-a-ra-ni* (KBo 12.77, 12 (MS)), nom.pl. *ḥa-a-ra-ni-iš* (KUB 33.62 ii 2 (OH/MS)), *ḥa-a-ra-⟨ne-⟩e-eš* (KUB 50.1 ii 12 (MS)), *ḥa-ra-a-ni-iš* (Bo 6472, 13 (undat.)), acc.pl. *ḥa-a-ra-ni-e-e[š]* (KUB 41.33 obv. 12 (OH/NS)) // *ḥa-ra-ni-ja-aš* (KUB 41.32 obv. 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **ḥāranili** (adv.) ‘in eagle-fashion’ (*ḥa-a-ra-ni-li* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **ḥaran-** ‘eagle?’ (nom.sg. *ḥa-ra-a-aš*, gen.sg. [*ḥa<sup>?</sup>*]-*a-ra-na-aš*); CLuw. **ḥarran(i)-** (c.), a bird (acc.pl. *ḥar-ra-ni-en-za*); Lyc. **Xerēi**, name of a dynasty.

IE cognates: Gr. ὄρνις ‘bird’, Goth. *ara* ‘eagle’, OIc. *orn* ‘eagle’, OIr. *irar* ‘eagle’, OCS *orьlv* ‘eagle’, Lith. *erēlis* ‘eagle’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 265f. for attestations. This word is attested with and without the determinative MUŠEN. Usually this determinative follows the word (*ḥāran-*<sup>MUŠEN</sup>) but it does occur preceding the word as well (<sup>MUŠEN</sup>*ḥāran-*, especially often in OS texts). The original paradigm must have been nom.sg. *ḥāraš*, acc.sg. *ḥāranan*, gen.sg. *ḥāranaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḥārani*, nom.pl. *ḥāraneš*. These show that



the stem was *hāran-* (the *-n-* of which was regularly dropped in front of the nom.sg.-ending *-s*, yielding *hāraš*). Only sporadically, we find spellings with a different plene vowel (*harāš* once, *haranān* once). In the younger texts we find a few times an acc.sg. *hāran* (also *haran*, *harān*), which show a secondary thematic stem *hāra-* on the basis of a false analysis of nom.sg. *hāraš*.

Already since Mudge (1931), this word is generally connected with Goth. *ara* ‘eagle’, Gr. ὄρνις ‘bird’, etc. Although there has been some discussion on the exact reconstruction of these words (initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>-*), the non-apophonic *o-* in my view points to a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* (cf. also Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that Lith. *erėlis* ‘eagle’ must show Rozwadowski’s change from *\*arėlis* (cf. Andersen 1996: 141; Derksen 2002). The Hittite forms go back to an *n*-stem *\*h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-* (in Hittite, we see no traces of ablaut anymore), which must be compared to other *n*-stem forms like Gr. ὄρνις ‘bird’ and Goth. nom.pl. *arans*.

The possible CLuw. cognate, *harran(i)-* (cf. Starke 1990: 76) is treated under the lemma Hitt. *harrani-*, q.v.

See Starke (1987: 265<sup>80</sup>) for the convincing identification of the Lycian dynastic name *Xerēi* as the word for ‘eagle’ on the basis of the fact that this dynasty on its coins depicts the goddess Athena together with an eagle instead of with an owl.

***harrani-*** (c.) an oracle-bird: nom.sg. *har-ra-ni-iš* (NS), *har-ra-ni-i-iš* (NS), *har-ra-ni-eš* (NS), acc.sg. *har-ra-ni-in* (NS), *har-ra-ni-i-in* (NS), acc.pl. [*har-r*]a-ni-uš<sup>1</sup> (NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***harran(i)-*** (c.) a bird (acc.pl. *har-ra-ni-en-za*).

PIE *?\*h<sub>3</sub>ér-on-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 271-2 for attestations. All attestations are written with the sign HJAR, which can be read *har* as well as *hur*, which makes a reading *hurrani-* equally possible. The word denotes an oracle-bird, but it cannot be determined which bird is meant exactly. Because this word is found in NS texts only, and because it is found in CLuwian as well, it is possible that the word is Luwian originally. Starke (1990: 76) suggests to interpret CLuw. *harrani-* as the Luwian cognate to Hitt. *hāran-* ‘eagle’ (q.v.), explaining *-rr-* by Čop’s Law. The connection would fit even better if we assume that, since *harrani-* is a commune word, the *-i-* is due to the *i*-Motion and that the stem actually was *harran-*. If this etymology is correct (and formally I see no hindrances, pace Melchert (1994a: 235) who believes that *\*h<sub>3</sub>éC-* did not participate in Čop’s Law because of the intermediate stage *\*h<sub>3</sub>óC-*, without offering evidence for this assumption), then we must assume that the Luwian word was not used for the eagle itself, as we can see from contexts like

KUB 18.5 + 49.13 i (28) *nu EGIR ÍD Á<sup>MUŠEN</sup> ḫar-ra-ni-i-in-n=a GUN-an a-ú-me-en* ‘Behind the river we saw the eagle and the *ḫarrani*-bird GUN-an’. Such contexts do indicate, however, that the *ḫarrani*- was an eagle-like bird, which in my view could support the etymology. See for further etymology at *ḫāran-* (MUŠEN).

<sup>(NA)</sup>*ḫararazi-* (n.) ‘(upper) millstone(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ra-ra-zi*.

See Puhvel HED 3: 140 for a treatment of this word. It is attested twice only, in a similar context. Puhvel interprets the forms as a noun denoting ‘millstone’. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 263 interprets the words as verbal forms, however, regarding them as variants of *ḫarra-<sup>i</sup> / ḫarr-* ‘to grind’ (q.v.). This latter interpretation seems improbable to me, and I therefore follow Puhvel. He proposes to etymologically connect *ḫararazi* with *ḫarra-/ḫarr-*, but this is difficult because of the single *-r-* of *ḫararazi* vs. geminate *-rr-* in *ḫarra-/ḫarr-*. Moreover, the formation of *ḫararazi* is quite intransparent. No further etymology.

*-ḫḫa(ri), -ḫḫat(i)* (1sg.midd.-endings).

In the present, the ending of 1sg.midd. has three forms, namely *-ḫḫa*, *-ḫḫari* and *-ḫḫaḫari* (a hypothetical *\*-ḫḫaḫa* is unattested as far as I know). The latter variant, which seems to be a staple form, is attested a few times only, exclusively in NS texts. Nevertheless, it must be rather old: on the one hand it shows a lenited *-ḫ-* in between two unaccentuated vowels (*-ḫḫaḫari* = /-Hahari/) whereas this lenition has become unproductive in the course of Hittite (so we would have expected *-ḫḫaḫari* = /-HaHari/ if the ending were very recent); on the other hand it corresponds exactly to the Lycian 1sg.pret.midd.-ending *-ḫagã* as attested in *aḫagã* ‘I became’ (note that here we find a lenited consonant as well: *-ḫagã* < PAnat. *\*-/Haha+l*). Perhaps *-ḫḫaḫa(ri)* was a marked byform of *-ḫḫa(ri)*, which was tolerated in the official language only after the Luwian language, where it must have existed as well (but where it is unattested, unfortunately), exercised more influence on Hittite.

The original distribution between *-ḫḫa* and *-ḫḫari* must probably have been one similar to the distribution between 3sg.pres.midd. *-a* vs. *-āri*, namely *\*CéC-ḫa* vs. *\*CC-ḫāri*. In OS texts we already find *pár-aš-ḫa* besides *pár-aš-ḫa-ri*, however.

In the preterite, we find four endings: *-ḫḫati*, *-ḫḫat*, *-ḫḫaḫati* and *-ḫḫaḫat*. The latter two forms occur also in NS texts only, but must, just as *-ḫḫaḫari*, have been older as well. The fact that we find forms with and without final *-i* in my view is

best explained by assuming that the original endings were *-hḫati* and *-hḫahati*, the *-i*'s of which were eliminated because *-i* had become the main marker of the present tense. It must be noted that such a chronological distribution cannot be supported by the attestations of this ending, however (we find *e-eš-ḫa-at* and *pa-iš-ga-ḫa-at* in OS texts already, but cf. *-a(ri)*, *-at(i)* and *-anta(ri)*, *-antat(i)*).

It is quite clear that all endings have the element *-hḫa* in common. According to Kortlandt (1981), who elaborately treats the endings of 1sg.midd. in several IE languages, the Skt. secondary ending *-i* shows that the PIE ending was *\*-h<sub>2</sub>*. Because in Anatolian this ending would have been regularly lost in post-consonantal position (cf. *mek* 'much' < *\*megh<sub>2</sub>*), I assume that it was restored with an additional vowel that yielded Hitt. *-a* and Lyc. *-a*.

**ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ia4) 'to hold, to have, to keep': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-mi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ši* (OS), *ḫar-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-za* (KBo 9.73 obv. 12 (OS)), *ḫar-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ṽa-ni* (OS), *ḫar-ú-e-ni* (MH/MS), *ḫar-u-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫar-te-ni-i* (OS), *ḫar-te-ni* (often), *ḫar-te-e-ni* (KUB 14.12 rev. 10 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-kán-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ku-un* (OS), 2sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ta*, *ḫar-da* (KBo 18.54 obv. 9), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫar-u-en* (KUB 21.14, 9), 2pl.pret.act. *ḫar-te-en*, *ḫar-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫar-ke-er* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ker*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫar-ak* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫar-du* (OS), *ḫar-tu* (KUB 31.81 obv. 3 (OS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫar-te-en*, *ḫar-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫar-kán-du* (MH/MS); 2pl.imp.midd. *ḫar-tum-ma-ti* (KBo 18.27 obv. 5 (NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ/MUNUS</sup>**ḫarṽant-** (c.) 'keeper, caretaker, nurse' (Sum. <sup>LÚ/MUNUS</sup>UMMEDA; nom.sg. *ḫar-ṽa-an-za*, acc.sg. *ḫa-ru-ṽa-an-da-an*, *ḫar-ṽa-an-da-(n)=ša-an*, gen.sg. *ḫar-ṽa-an-da[-aš]*, *ḫar-ṽa-an-ta-aš*, nom.pl. *ḫar-ṽa-an-te-eš*), see *pe ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: Lat. *arcēre* 'to shut off, to enclose, to hold off', Gr. ἀρκέω 'to ward off, to protect'.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>er<sup>(p)</sup>-ti*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>r<sup>(k)</sup>-enti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 280f. for attestations: note that no infinite forms of this verb are attested. HW<sup>2</sup> cites a 1pl.pres.act.-form *ḫar-ru-ṽa-ni*, which in my view does not necessarily mean 'to hold': KUB 23.77 (50) *ú-e-š=a šu-ma-a-aš=pát ḫar-ru-ṽa-ni*, which I would rather translate 'We will crush you' (see under *ḫarra<sup>-i</sup> / ḫarr-*).

When used independently, the verb denotes 'to hold, to have, to keep'. When used together with a neuter participle it functions as an auxiliary verb, and the whole construction denotes 'to have ...-ed'. This construction probably developed out of sentences where *ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* was used together with the participle of transitive

verbs in order to denote ‘to hold something ...-ed’ (e.g. *n=a-at kar-pa-an ḫar-zi* ‘he holds it raised’ (KBo 12.126 i 5)). That this formation evolved into something comparable to periphrastic perfects known from many European languages, is visible in the use of *ḫar(k)-zi* with the participle of intransitive verbs, which is attested in OS texts already (e.g. *pár-ša-na-a-an ḫar-zi* ‘he has crouched’ (KBo 17.15 rev. 16 (OS))).

Already since Sturtevant (1930c: 215) this verb is generally connected with Lat. *arceō* ‘to hold in, to hold off’ and Gr. ἀρκέω ‘to ward off’ and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>er<sup>h</sup>k-*.

In Hittite, the verb shows two stems, namely *ḫar-* when followed by an ending starting in a consonant (including *-u-*) and *ḫark-* when followed by an ending starting in a vowel or when no ending at all is following (2sg.imp.act. *ḫar-ak* = /Hark/). This distribution reminds us of the distribution of e.g. *li(n)k-zi* ‘to swear’ (*linkV<sup>o</sup>* vs. *likC<sup>o</sup>*) or *kīš-<sup>a(r)</sup>* / *kīš-* ‘to become’ (*kīšV<sup>o</sup>* vs. *kīšC<sup>o</sup>*). It is remarkable that the semi-homophonous verb *ḫark-zi* ‘to get lost’ never loses its *-k-*, however. Different explanations for this situation have been given. Cowgill *apud* Eichner (1975a: 89-90), followed by Oettinger (1979a: 190) claims that the loss of *-k-* is due to ‘weariness’ in an auxiliary verb. This seems unlikely to me as *ḫar(k)-* is used independently often enough to preclude any ‘weariness’. Puhvel (HED 3: 156) states that the distribution is “due to paradigmatic preconsonantal generalization of the loss of *k* in the normal assimilation of *\*kt* to *t*”. The alleged sound law *\*kt > t* has proven to be false, however (cf. Melchert 1994a: 156).

In my view, the difference between *ḫar(k)-zi* ‘to hold’ and *ḫark-zi* ‘to get lost’ can only be explained by either assuming that in pre-Hittite times both verbs underwent a sound law by which *\*-K-* was lost in consonant clusters *\*-RKC-*, after which *ḫark-zi* ‘to get lost’ analogically restored the *\*-K-* by levelling, whereas *ḫar(k)-zi* ‘to hold’ did not, or by assuming that the (fortis) *\*k* reflected in *ḫar(k)-zi* ‘to hold’ (*\*h<sub>2</sub>er<sup>h</sup>k-*) behaved differently from the (lenis) *\*g* reflected in *ḫark-zi* ‘to get lost’ (*\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-*). When we would advocate the first possibility, we would expect that no consonant clusters *-RKC-* are found in Hittite, unless in cases where a scenario can be envisaged according to which the *-k-* is restored. In my view, *ḫargnau-* ‘palm, sole’, which I reconstruct as *\*h<sub>2</sub>er<sup>g</sup>-nou-*, precludes this: all forms within its paradigm have the cluster *l-rgn-l*, which shows that *\*-r<sup>g</sup>n-* did not regularly lose its *\*-<sup>g</sup>-*. This would mean that only the second possibility remains, namely assuming that *\*RkC* behaved differently from *\*Rg<sup>(h)</sup>C*, in the sense that *\*k* disappeared, but *\*g<sup>(h)</sup>* did not. This could have a parallel in the difference in outcome between (lenis) *\*-d<sup>(h)</sup>n-* > Hitt. *-tn-* and (fortis) *\*-tn-* > Hitt. *-nm-* (cf. Puhvel 1972: 112).

All in all, I conclude that *ḫar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* shows that in a cluster *\*RkC* the fortis *\*k* regularly was dropped, whereas this was not the case with lenis *\*g<sup>(h)</sup>*. See *tarna<sup>i</sup> / tarn-* ‘to let (go), to allow’, *ištar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* and *tar(k)u-<sup>zi</sup>* for similar scenarios. The latter verb may show that the development of *\*-RkC-* to Hitt. *-RC-* went through an intermediate stage *\*-R?C-*.

The noun <sup>LÚ/MUNUS</sup>*ḫaruant-* ‘keeper, caretaker’, which is quite obviously derived from *ḫar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 164), is regarded by Puhvel (HED 3: 204-5) as cognate with Lith. *šerti* ‘to feed’, Gr. *κοπέω* ‘to clean’ < *\*kerh<sub>1-</sub>*, of which he supposes that *\*k* yielded *ḫ* through assimilation similar to the one in *ḫaršar / ḫaršn-* ‘head’ which he derives from *\*kerh<sub>2</sub>sr*. See for the incorrectness of the latter etymology at its own lemma.

***ḫark-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ia4 > Ic1) ‘to get lost, to lose oneself, to disappear, to perish’ (Sum. ZÁḪ, Akk. *ḪALĀQU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ak-mi* (KUB 54.1 ii 48 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ak-ši* (HKM 35 obv. 9 (MH/MS)), *ḫar-ak-ti* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ak-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ku-e-ni* (OH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ak-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-kán-zi* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ki-ia-an-zi* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ak-ta* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫar-ke-er*, *ḫar-ker*, *ḫar-ke-e-er* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫar-ak-tu* (OS), *ḫar-ak-du*, [*ḫar-*] *ki-e-ed-du* (MH/NS); 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫar-ki-et-ta-ru* (KUB 57.60 obv. 4 (NH)), *ḫar-ki-ia-it-ta-ru* (KUB 57.63 ii 8 (NH)); part. *ḫar-kán-t*, *ḫar-ga-an-t*, *ḫar-ki-ia-an-t* (KUB 57.32 ii 2 (NS)); verb.noun. [*ḫar-ga-*] *tar* ‘destruction’, gen.sg. *ḫar-kán-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ga-an-ni*, abl. *ḫar-kán-na-za*; inf.II *ḫar-kán-na*, *ḫar-ga-an-na*, *ḫar-ka<sub>4</sub>-an-na*; impf. *ḫar-ki-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***ḫarka-*** (c.) ‘loss, perdition, destruction, ruin’ (Sum. ZÁḪ-TI, Akk. *ŠAḪLUQTI*; nom.sg. *ḫar-ga-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫar-ka-an* (OH/MS), *ḫar-ga-an*, *ḫar-kán*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ki*), ***ḫarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib3) ‘to make disappear, to ruin, to wipe out, to destroy’ (Sum. ZÁḪ, Akk. *ḪULLUQU*; 1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-mi*, *ḫar-ni-ik-ki-mi* (1x), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-ši*, *ḫar-ni-ik-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-in-ku-[e-ni]* (KUB 33.120 iii 3 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-te-ni* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ni-in-ku-un* (often), *ḫar-ni-en-ku-un* (1x), *ḫar-ni-ku-un* (1x, see commentary), 2g.pret.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-ta* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫar-ni-in-ke-er*, *ḫar-ni-in-ker*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫar-ni-ik*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-du*, *ḫar-ni-ik-tu<sub>4</sub>*, 2pl.imp.act. *ḫar-ni-ik-te-en*, *ḫar-ni-ik-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫar-ni-in-kán-du* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ni-en-kán-du* (KUB 26.25, 11 (NH)); part. *ḫar-ni-in-kán-t* (MH/MS); verb.noun. *ḫar-ni-in-ku-u-ar*; inf.I *ḫar-ni-in-ku-ua-an-zi*; impf. *ḫar-ni-in-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫar-ni-in-ki-eš-ke/a-*), ***ḫarknu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to ruin, to destroy’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act.

*ḫar-ga-nu-zi*, *ḫar-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-me-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-er*, *ḫar-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-er*, *ḫar-ga-nu-e-[e]r*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-ua-an-du*, *ḫar-ga-nu-a[n-du]*, *ḫar-kán-nu[-an-du]*, part. *ḫar-ga-nu-ua-an-t*).

IE cognates: OIr. *orgaid* ‘to kill, to ravage, to devastate’, *con·oirg* ‘to smite’, ?Arm. *harkanem* ‘to smite, to smash’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-ti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rg-enti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 297f. for attestations. We find two stems, namely *ḫark<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ḫarkijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. Although the latter stem is only sporadically attested, its oldest form is found in a MS text already. Only once, in a NH text, we find the stem *ḫarkijae<sup>-zi</sup>* according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class. The derivatives *ḫarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ḫarknu<sup>-zi</sup>* are semantically identical, both having the causative meaning ‘to destroy, to ruin’. The stem *ḫarni(n)k-* is found in OS texts already, whereas *ḫarknu-* is only found from the times of Ḫattušili III onward (cf. Puhvel HED 3: 167).

Already since Cuny (1934: 205) this verb is connected with OIr. *orgaid* ‘to smite, to slay’ and Arm. *harkanem* ‘to smite, to smash’, which go back to *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-*. For *ḫark<sup>-zi</sup>*, this means that we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>3</sub>érg-ti*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rg-énti*. In the zero grade forms, *\*h<sub>3</sub>* should regularly disappear before resonant, but was restored on the basis of the full grade *\*h<sub>3</sub>erg-* where *\*h<sub>3</sub>* is retained as Hitt. *ḫ-* in front of *\*e* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

See at *ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to hold, to have’ for an account for the difference between the paradigms of *ḫark<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ḫar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>*.

Note that the form *ḫar-ni-ku-un* (KBo 2.5a ii 6) may not be linguistically real. On the same tablet we find the form *ḫar-ni-in-ku-un* multiple times (KBo 2.5 ii 6, 7, 8, 9 (KBo 2.5 and 2.5a are indirect joins)), all written at the beginning of a line, whereas *ḫar-ni-ku-un* is found on the end of its line, having the signs *ku* and *un* written over the edge. In my view, this indicates that in *ḫar-ni-ku-un* the sign *in* was omitted due to lack of space.

***ḫarganau-***: see *ḫargnau-*

***ḫarki-* / *ḫargai-*** (adj.) ‘white, bright’ (Sum. BABBAR): nom.sg.c. *ḫar-ki-iš*, *ḫar-kiš*, acc.sg.c. *ḫar-ki-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫar-ki*, gen.sg. *ḫar-ki-ia-aš*, *ḫar-ki-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ki-ia*, *ḫar-ga-ia*, *ḫar-ga-i-i=š-ta* (KBo 34.23, 11), *ḫar-ga-a-i*, nom.pl.c. *ḫar-ga-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *ḫar-ga-uš*, *ḫar-ga-e-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫar-ga*, *ḫar-ki*, *ḫar-ki-ia*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ki-[a]š* (KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 ii 18).

Derivatives: *hargnu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make white’ (3sg.pret.act. *har-ga-nu-ut*; impf. *har-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-*), *harkijēšš*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become white’ (3sg.pres.act. *har-ki-i-e-eš-zi*, *har-ki-e-eš-zi*, *har-ki-eš-zi*, *har-ki-iš-zi*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀργι-όδων ‘white-toothed’, ἀργός ‘white’, Skt. *ṛjrá-* ‘shining reddishly, brightcoloured; quick, hurrying’, *ṛjśvan-* ‘with fast dogs’, TochA *ārki*, TochB *ārkwī* ‘white’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)rǵ-(e)i-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 307f. for attestations. The word shows the normal adjectival *i*-stem inflection with ablaut (*harki-/hargai-*). The nom.-acc.pl.n. *harga* is contracted from *\*hargaja*. Since Kuryłowicz (1927: 101) this word is connected with Gr. ἀργός, Skt. *ṛjrá-* ‘white’, which points to a reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-i-*. This *i*-stem is a Caland-variant of the *-ro*-stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ro-* seen in Greek (ἀργός < *\*ἀργρός* with dissimilation) and Sanskrit, and is still visible in the compounds ἀργι-όδων ‘white-toothed’ and *ṛjśvan-* ‘with fast dogs’. Note that an *i*-less form is visible in the causative *hargnu*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to make white’.

Puhvel (HED 3: 171) suggests that the logographic spelling of ‘silver’, KÙ.BABBAR-*ant-* could stand for *\*harkant-* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ent-*) and in that way could be cognate with Skt. *rajatám*, Lat. *argentum*, YAv. *ərəzata-* and Arm. *arcat* ‘silver’ that reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nt-ó-*.

See at *hargnau-* for the possibility that this word is derived from *harki-*.

*harkije/a*<sup>-zi</sup>: see *hark*<sup>-zi</sup>

*hargnau-* (n.) ‘palm (of hand), sole (of foot)’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *har-ga-na-ú* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *har-ga-na-u-ua-aš* (MH/NS), [*har-ga-*]na-ua-aš, dat.-loc.sg. *har-ga-na-ú-i* (MH/NS), erg.sg. *har-ga-na-u-ua-an-za* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *har-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at* (OH/MS).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>érǵ-nōu(-s)*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nóu-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nu-ós*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 303f. for attestations. Note that Puhvel (HED 3: 168) cites a nom.sg.c. *har-ga-na-uš*, which is based on KUB 9.34 ii (32) [...]x=kán *har-ga-n[a-ú-i ...]*, where Puhvel reads [*harganau*]š=kan. The only trace of the sign before kán is the lower part of a vertical wedge. As this text’s duplicate, KUB 9.34 i 15, has *har-ga-na-ú=kán har-ga-na-ú-i*, and since the trace could fit *ú* as well, I would rather read [*har-ga-na-*]ú=kán. The only assured commune form is nom.pl.c. *har-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at*, which contrasts with nom.-acc.sg.n. *har-ga-na-ú*

and erg.sg. *ḫar-ga-na-u-ṽa-an-za* that points to neuterness. See at *ḫarnau-* / *ḫarnu-* for a treatment of the original gender of diphthong-stems.

Weitenberg (1984: 223-4) provided *ḫarganau-* with a generally accepted etymology by connecting it with Gr. ὀρέγω ‘to stretch’ and reconstructing *\*h<sub>3</sub>rǵ-nou-*. Many scholars regarded this etymology as key evidence for the view that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* was retained in Hittite as *ḫ-*. As I have argued in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.c, it can be established that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* is lost before resonants, and that therefore this etymology cannot be upheld anymore. As an alternative I offered a connection with *ḫarki-* / *ḫargai-* ‘white’ and subsequently reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>erǵ-nōu-*. See at *ḫarki-* / *ḫargai-* ‘white’ for further etymology.

***ḫarna-*<sup>zi</sup> / *ḫarn-*** (Ia2 > Ic1) ‘to sprinkle, to drip (trans.), to pour’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ni-e-ez-zi* (VBoT 58 iv 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫar-ni-ṽa-zi* (KBo 10.45 ii 15 (MH/NS)), *ḫar-ni-ṽa-i-ṽ-zi* (KBo 22.125 ii 4 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-na-u-e-ni* (StBoT 25.137 ii 17 (OS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-na-an-zi* (KBo 24.46 i 6 (NS), KUB 38.32 obv. 10 (NS)), *ḫar-ni-ṽa-an-zi* (KBo 31.121 obv. 2 (NS), KUB 9.15 iii 7, 15 (NS), KUB 15.12 iv 4 (NS)), KUB 25.24 ii 8 (NS), KUB 41.30 iii 9 (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-ar-ni-ṽa-ad-du* (KUB 56.48 i 18 (NS)); verb.noun *ḫar-ni-e-eš-šar* (IBoT 3.1, 29 (NS)), *ḫar-ni-eš-šar* (IBoT 3.1, 31, 31 (NS)), *ḫar-na-i-šar* (KUB 58.50 iii 8, 14 (OH/NS)), *ḫar-na-a-i-šar* (KUB 58.50 iii 11 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫarnu-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2 > Ic1) ‘to spray’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-nu-zi* (KUB 47.39 obv. 12 (MH/NS)), *ḫar-nu-ṽ-i-ez-zi* (KUB 17.24 ii 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-nu-an-zi* (KUB 29.7 i 36, 46, 56 (MH/MS)), *ḫar-nu-ṽa-an-zi* (KBo 24.45 obv. 22 (MS?), KBo 13.179 ii 10 (MH?/NS)); part. *ḫar-nu-ṽa-an-t-* (OH/NS), ***ḫarnāi-*** (c.) ‘tree-sap, resin (?)’ (nom.sg. *ḫar-na-iš*, *ḫar-na-a-iš*, *ḫar-na-a-i-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫar-na-in*, *ḫar-na-a-in*, *ḫar-na-a-i-in*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-ne-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-enti* ??

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 315 for attestations. Because the verb is almost consistently spelled with the sign ḪAR, which can be read *ḫar* as well as *ḫur*, there has been some discussion on the question whether we should read *ḫarn*<sup>o</sup> or *ḫurn*<sup>o</sup>. The one attestation *ḫa-ar-ni-ṽa-ad-du* solves this question in favour of the reading *ḫarn*<sup>o</sup> (cf. Neu 1983: 55<sup>261</sup>). Despite this unambiguous form, many scholars still cite this verb as *ḫurn*<sup>o</sup> (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 402f.; Oettinger 1979a: 307f., etc.), also on the basis of the form *ḫu-u-ur-nu-u-ṽa-aš* (KUB 39.6 obv. 14), which then is interpreted as gen.sg. of a verbal noun *\*ḫurnnuṽar* of this verb. As Neu (l.c.) rightly points out, there is not a shred of evidence that this form refers to ‘sprinkling’: [*I-NA* UD.1]1.KAM *ḫu-u-ur-nu-u-ṽa-aš* ‘on the eleventh day of ḫ.’.



I therefore follow Neu to read this verb as *harn*<sup>o</sup> (see also HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.) for this interpretation).

The verb is difficult to interpret formally. The oldest attestation, 1pl.pres.act. *harnaŷeni* (StBoT 25.137 ii 17 (OS)), shows a stem *harna-* (note however that I have doubts regarding the reliability of this text: cf. the fully aberrant 1pl.pres.act.-form *iš-ħu-ŷa-ŷa-a-ni* (ibid. 18)). In NS texts, we find the stem *harniŷe/a-*, but also 3pl.pres.act. *harnanzi* that seems to point to a stem *harn-*. This makes it likely that we are dealing with an original verb *harna*<sup>zi</sup> / *harn-*, which in the course of time was altered to *harniŷe/a*<sup>zi</sup> (cf. *hulle*<sup>zi</sup> / *hull-* for a similar development). Note that Oettinger (1979a: 151) cites this verb as *ħurne-*, apparently interpreting the attestation *ħar-ni-e-ez-zi* as /<sup>o</sup>net<sup>s</sup>i/, but this is incorrect: it must be /Hrniét<sup>s</sup>i/, as *-nezzi* would have been spelled *ħar-ne-(e-)ez-zi*.

A *mi*-inflecting stem *harna*<sup>zi</sup> / *harn-* hardly can reflect anything else than a nasal infix stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-ne-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-enti*. Unfortunately, I know of no convincing cognate.

The verb *ħarnu*<sup>zi</sup> is cited by e.g. Puhvel (l.c.) as *ħurnuŷai-*, but this is unnecessary: almost all forms point to a plain stem *ħarnu-*. The one attestation *ħar-nu-ŷ-i-ez-zi* is probably secondary (cf. e.g. *unu*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to decorate’ that in NS times occasionally is altered to *unuŷae*<sup>zi</sup>). The fact that *harna*<sup>zi</sup> / *harn-* and *ħarnu*<sup>zi</sup> do not seem to differentiate in meaning can be explained by assuming that both suffices (the *n*-infix and the *nu*-suffix) had a transitivizing function (in this case making the intransitive root *\*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>2/3</sub>-* ‘to drip (intr.), to flow’ into transitive ‘to sprinkle, to drip (trans.), to make flow > to pour’).

*ħarna*<sup>zi</sup>, *ħarniŷe/a*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2 / Ic1) ‘to stir, to churn, to ferment, to agitate, to foment’: 1sg.pres.act. *ħar-na-mi* (KBo 40.272, 6 (MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ħar-ni-et* (KBo 40.272, 9 (MS)), part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ħa-ar-na-a-an* (KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 i 27 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: *ħarnammar* (n.) ‘yeast, ferment’ (*ħa-ar-na-am-mar* (OH/NS), *ħar-nam-mar* (MH/NS), *ħa-ar-na-am-ma* (MH/NS)), *ħarnamniŷe/a*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to stir (up), to churn, to cause to ferment, to incite’ (2sg.pres.act. *ħar-nam-ni-ja-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *ħar-nam-ni-ja-zi*, *ħar-nam-ni-ja-az-zi*, *ħar-nam-ni-ez-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *ħar-nam-ni-ja-at[-te-ni]*, 3sg.pret.act. [*ħar-na*]m-ni-e-et, *ħar-nam-ni-et*, *ħar-nam-ni-ja-at*; part. *ħar-nam-ni-ja-an-t*; impf. [*ħar-n*]am-ni-iš-ke/a-, *ħar-nam-ma-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ħar-nam-ni-eš-ke/a-*), *ħarnamnijašħa-* (c.) ‘stir, commotion’ (nom.sg. *ħar-nam-ni-ja-aš-ħa-aš*, acc.sg. [*ħar-nam-*]ni-ja-aš-ħa-an (MH/MS)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 315f. for attestations and semantics. The only two finite forms, *ḫarnami* and *ḫarniet*, which are from the same context, show two different inflections: *ḫarnami* points to a stem *ḫarnae<sup>-zi</sup>*, whereas *ḫarniet* shows *ḫarniie/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. Nevertheless, the derivatives *ḫarnammar* and *ḫarnamniie/a<sup>-zi</sup>* seem to point to a stem *\*ḫarna-*, which would fit *ḫarnae<sup>-zi</sup>* better. To my knowledge, there is no convincing etymology.

***ḫarnāu-* / *ḫarnu-*** (n. > c.) ‘birthing seat’: nom.sg.c. *ḫar-na-a-uš* (KBo 5.1 i 44 (MH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *ḫar-na-ú-un* (ABoT 17 ii 9 (NS)), *ḫar-na-a-in* (ABoT 17 ii 15 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫar-na-a-ú* (KBo 5.1 i 7, 12, 26, 31 (MH/NS)), *ḫar-na-a-ú-ṽ=a* (KBo 5.1 i 39 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫar-nu-ṽa-aš* (ABoT 21 obv. 15 (MS)), *ḫar-na-ṽa-aš* (KUB 26.66 iii 11 (NS)), *ḫar-na-a-ṽa-aš* (KUB 21.27 ii 17 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-u-aš* (KUB 21.27 iv 36 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-u-ṽa-aš* (Bo 7953 iii 11, iii 16, KBo 8.63 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 21.27 ii 16 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-ú-ṽa-aš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-na-a-ú-i* (KUB 9.22 ii 33, iii 2, 40 (MS), KBo 5.1 i 25 (MH/NS), KBo 27.67 rev. 1 (NS), KBo 21.45 i 5 (NS)), *ḫar-nu-u-i* (KBo 17.65 rev. 1 (MS)), [*ḫar-n*]u-u-i=aš=za (KBo 17.65 obv. 2 (MS)), *ḫar-na-ú-i* (NS), *ḫar-na-u[-i]* (NS).

Derivatives: ***ḫarnuṽašši-*** (adj.) ‘of the birthing seat’ (dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-nu-ṽa-aš-šši-aš* (KBo 17.65 obv. 49 (MS))).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nōu(-s)*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nóu-m*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-ós*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 321f. for attestations. In the oblique cases we find the stem *ḫarnau-* as well as *ḫarnu-*, which both are attested in MS texts already. On the basis of the derivative *ḫarnuṽašši-* and because *ḫarnau-* is much easier explained through analogy than *ḫarnu-*, I assume that *ḫarnu-* is the original form of the oblique stem. This seems to point to an original hysterodynamic paradigm *ḫarnau-* / *ḫarnu-*.

It is not fully clear what the original gender of this word was: we find both commune (nom.sg.c. *ḫarnāuš* and acc.sg.c. *ḫarnaun*) and neuter (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫarnāu*) forms. On the basis of the fact that this word seems to have been hysterodynamically inflected originally, I assume that it must have been commune, having an inflection *\*CéC-nōu*, *\*CC-nóu-m*, *\*CC-nu-ós*. The fact that the nom.sg.-form was asigmatic originally (*\*ḫarnāu*) was at a certain point in Hittite not tolerated anymore: either the form was sigmatized to *ḫarnāuš* in order to specifically mark its communeness, or the form was reinterpreted as neuter (see Weitenberg 1995 for this phenomenon).

Weitenberg (1984: 266) compares the element *har-* with Hitt. *hardu-* ‘descendant’ (q.v.) and <sup>MUNUS</sup>*haruant-* ‘nurse’ (q.v.). Although the latter must be regarded as a derivative of *har(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.), the connection between *harnāu-* and *hardu-* is convincing. The word *hardu-* is compared by Weitenberg with Lat. *ortus* ‘rise, origin, birth’. These connections were elaborated by Ofitsch (1995: 22ff.), who connects the element *har-* with PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to start to move (forth)’ and reconstructs *harnau-* as *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nōu-*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, a reconstruction *\*h<sub>3</sub>ér-nōu* would be better in view of the fact that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-* yielded Hitt. *ar-*, whereas *\*h<sub>3</sub>e-* > *ha-*.

*harniḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *harna-<sup>zi</sup>* / *harn-*

***harp-<sup>ta(tri)</sup>***; ***harp-<sup>zi</sup>*** (IIIb; Ia4 > Ic1) ‘(intr.) to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere, to change allegiance; to join with, to take the side of; (trans.) to associate (someone) with; (+ *anda*) to combine, to join together’: 3sg.pres.midd. *har-ap-ta* (OS), 3pl.pres.midd. *har-pa-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *har-pa-an-da-ri* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *har-ap-ta-ti* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *har-ap-ḫu-ut* (OH/NS), *har-pí-ḫa-ḫu-ut* (NH), 2pl.imp.midd. *har-ap-du-ma-ti* (NS), *har-ap-tum-ma-ti* (NS); 1sg.pres.act. *har-pí-ḫa-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *har-ap-ši* (NS), *ha-ar-ap-ši* (NS), *har-pí-ḫa-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *har-ap-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *har-pu-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), *har-ap-pu-u-e-ni* (NS), *har-pí-ḫa[-u-e-ni]*, 1sg.pret.act. *har-pí-ḫa-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *har-ap-ta* (MS), 3sg.pret.act. *har-ap-ta*, *har-pí-ḫa-a[t]* (NS), 2pl.imp.act. *har-ap-te-en*, *har-ap-tén*, *har-pí-ḫa-at-tén*; part. *har-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *har-pu-u-ḫa-aš*; impf. *har-pí-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *har-ap-pí[-iš-ke/a-]*.

Derivatives: <sup>(GİŠ)</sup>***harpa/i-*** (c.) ‘(wood)pile, heap, mound’ (nom.sg. *har-pa-aš*, *har-pa-a-aš*, acc.sg. *har-pa-an*, *har-pí-in*, gen.sg. *har-pa-aš*, *har-pa-a-aš*, *har-pí-ḫa-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *har-pí*, *har-pí-ḫa*, nom.pl. *har-pí-i[š]*, acc.pl. *har-pu-uš*, *har-pí-uš*, *ha-ar-pí-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *har-pa*, dat.-loc.pl. [*ha*]r-pa-aš), ***harpae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to heap up’ (1sg.pres.act. *har-pa-a-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *har-pa-a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *har-pa-a-an-zi*, *har-pa-an-zi*, *har-ap-pa-an-zi* (KBo 11.52 v 8 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 17.28 iii 40 (MH/NS)), ***harpal(li)-*** (n.) ‘heap, stack, pile’ (dat.-loc.sg. *har-pa-li*, nom.-acc.pl. *har-pa-li*, dat.-loc.pl. *har-pa-al-li-ḫa-aš*), ***harpanalla/i-*** (c.) ‘rebel, turncoat’ (nom.sg. *har-pa-na-al-li-i[š]*, acc.sg. *har-pa-na-al-li-ḫa-an*, *har-pa-na-al-li-in*, gen.sg. *har-pa-na-al-la-aš*, *har-pa-na-al-li-i[a-aš]*, dat.-loc.sg. *har-pa-n[a-al-]li*, nom.pl. *har-pa-na-li-e-eš*, acc.pl. *har-pa-na-al-li-uš*, dat.-loc.pl. *har-pa-na-al-li-ḫa-aš*), ***harpanalla*** (adv.) ‘disloyally’ (≠ *har-pa-na-al-la*), ***harpu*** in the expression *har-pu ša-ru-pa le-e i-ḫa-ši* ‘do not act helter-skelter’.

IE cognates: Gr. ὀρφανός, Arm. *orb* ‘orphan’, Lat. *orbis* ‘bereft of’, OIr. *orb(b)* ‘heir, inheritance’, Goth. *arbi* ‘inheritance’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-to*.

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 329f. and Puhvel HED 3: 176f. for collections of forms, but see Melchert fthc.a for a semantic treatment. Melchert convincingly argues that the original meaning of this verb is ‘to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere’ (i.e. ‘to change allegiance’ when used of persons). Often, the first element of this meaning is lost, resulting in ‘to join with, to take the side of’. The oldest attestations are middle, but from the MH period onwards, the active inflection is taking over. If the verb is used transitively, it means ‘to associate (someone) with’ or (+ *anda*) ‘to combine, to join together’. Out of this last meaning, the derivative *harpai-* ‘heap, pile’ is formed, which itself is the origin of the denominative verb *harpae<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to heap up’. In the oldest texts, we only find the stem *harp-*, whereas *harpīe/a-* is found in NH texts only (with active as well as middle endings). These latter two stems are occasionally (both once attested) used in the sense ‘to heap up’, which must be due to confusion of the stems *harp-*, *harpīe/a-* and *harpae-* in younger times.

Melchert convincingly argues that we should follow the etymology of Polomé (1954: 159-60), who connected *harp-* with PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-* as found in Gr. ὀρφανός ‘orphan’, OIr. *orb(b)* ‘heir; inheritance’ etc. Melchert explains that the original meaning of *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-* must have been ‘to change membership from one group/social class to another’. This meaning was also applicable when someone’s parents died, which resulted into a shift of meaning to, on the one hand, ‘orphan’ (Gr. ὀρφανός, Arm. *orb* ‘orphan’: in Latin, this meaning evolved further into *orbis* ‘bereft of’) and, on the other, ‘heir, inheritance’ (OIr. *orb(b)*, Goth. *arbi* ‘inheritance’).

For Hittite, this means that we have to reconstruct an original middle *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-to*, after which the stem *harp-* was brought into the active as well. Note that the bulk of the attestations are spelled with single *-p-*, but a few times we find *-pp-*. In the following context,

KUB 30.36 ii

(7) *nu=mu-u=š-ša-an šu-mu-eš-š=a* HUR.SAG<sup>MEŠ</sup> *har-ap-te-en*

(8) *UM-MA* HUR.SAG<sup>MEŠ</sup> *le-e=ta na-a-ḫi ú<<i>>-e-eš=ta*

(9) *har-ap-pu-u-e-ni*

‘May you, mountains, too, ally yourselves with me. The mountains speak: “Do not fear. We will ally ourselves with you”’,

we find *ḥar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* with geminate *-pp-*. In my view, this spelling is caused by the preceding *ḥar-ap-te-en*, on the basis of which the scribe wrote *ḥar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* instead of expected *ḥar-pu-u-e-ni*. The geminate in impf. *ḥar-ap-pī[-iš-kán-du]* (KUB 31.86 iii 6) must be compared to the geminate spelling of etymological lenis stops in e.g. *akkuške/a-* (impf. of *eku<sup>-zi</sup> / aku-* ‘to drink’), *lakkiške/a-* (impf. of *lag<sup>-āri</sup>* ‘to make lay down’), etc. This leaves us with only two instances of *ḥar-ap-pa-an-zi*, both in NS texts, which in my view cannot be regarded as phonologically relevant (pace Melchert (1994a: 153) who argues for a development *\*-rD- > Hitt. -rt-* (i.e. geminate spelling), but see at both *ištar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* and *parkiie/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, the two other alleged examples of this development, for alternative solutions).

**ḥārš<sup>-i</sup>** (I1b > I1c) ‘to till (the soil)’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḥar-aš-zi* (OH/NS), *ḥar-ši-i[-e]ez-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḥar-ši-ja-a[n-z]i* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-a-ar-aš-ta* (MS); inf.I *ḥar-šu-ua-an-z[i]* (NH); impf. *ḥar-aš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ḥar-ši-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ḥar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: <sup>(A.ŠA)</sup> **ḥaršāuar / ḥaršaun-** (n.) ‘tilled land’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥar-ša-u-ua-ar*, *ḥar-ša-a-u-ar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḥar-ša-ú-n[i]* (175/w obv. 8), dat.-loc.pl. *ḥar-ša-ú-na-a[š]* (KBo 6.34 ii 39 (MH/NS)), see *ḥarra<sup>-i</sup> / ḥarr-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, OIr. *-air*, OHG *erien*, Lith. *ariù*, *árti*, OCS *orjǫ*, *orati* ‘to plough’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>órh<sub>3</sub>-s-ei / \*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-s-énti*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 340 for attestations. Because the forms that show a stem *ḥaršiye/a<sup>-zi</sup>* are found in NS texts only, it is likely that these are of a secondary origin. This verb therefore is usually cited as *ḥarš<sup>-zi</sup>*. The oldest attestation, 3sg.pret.act. *ḥa-a-ar-aš-ta* (MS) shows a peculiar plene spelling, however. Because none of the *mi*-conjugated verbs of the structure *CaRC<sup>-zi</sup>* (class I4a) ever shows plene spelling (except in the verb *ārš<sup>-zi</sup> / arš-* ‘to flow’, but here the spelling *a-ar-aš-* is used to indicate the full-grade stem *lʔarS-l*, cf. its lemma), it is difficult to assume that this verb belongs to this class originally. I therefore assume that it in fact was *ḥi*-conjugated originally: *ḥārš<sup>-i</sup>* (note that in verbal stems in *-š-* the *ḥi*-ending 3sg.pret.act. *-š* already in OH times has been replaced by the corresponding *mi*-ending *-tta*, e.g. *ḥa-a-aš-ta* ‘she bore’ (OS)). The absence of plene spelling in the NH forms is then due to the development OH */áCCV/ > NH /áCCV/* as described in § 1.4.9.3.

The verb denotes ‘to till (the soil)’ and is often connected with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to plough’ (since Goetze & Sturtevant 1938: 70), assuming that we are dealing with an *s*-extension. When *hārš-* was still regarded as a *mi*-conjugated verb *harš-<sup>zi</sup>*, this was formally impossible as a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-s-ti* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*h<sub>2</sub>arre/išzi* (due to the sound law *\*VRHsC > /VRRisC/*, cf. *damme/išhā- < \*demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*, *kallišta < \*kelh<sub>1</sub>st(o)*: § 1.4.4.3). With the establishment that *hārš-* must have been *hi*-conjugated originally, the formal side is better explicable. Although it is true that if we compare the expected preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>ór<sub>h</sub><sub>3</sub>-s-ei* to the development of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>-s-ei* to Hitt. *ānši* ‘he wipes’ (cf. *ānš-<sup>i</sup>*) we must assume that *\*h<sub>2</sub>ór<sub>h</sub><sub>3</sub>-s-ei* would yield Hitt. *\*\*ārši*, it is in my view trivial that initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* was restored on the basis of the zero-grade stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-s-* where it was regularly retained as *h-* (cf. *hān-<sup>i</sup> / han-* ‘to draw (water)’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ón-* / *h<sub>2</sub>n-* for a similar restoration). Note that the expected outcome of the zero-grade stem, e.g. 3pl. *\*\*h<sub>2</sub>are/iššanzi < \*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>3</sub>-s-énti*, is thus far unattested and seems to have been fully supplanted by the strong stem *hārš-*. The occurrence of the NS *mi*-conjugated form *har-aš-zi* and the stem *haršije/a-* is completely parallel to the NS forms *a-an-aš-zi* and *ānšije/a-* in the paradigm of *ānš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to wipe’.

From the fact that *hārš-<sup>i</sup>* sometimes occurs together with *terepp-<sup>zi</sup> / teripp-* ‘to plough’ (q.v.) in the pair *hārš- ... terepp-* ‘to till and plough’ it is clear that *hārš-* itself does not mean ‘to plough’, but rather ‘to till the soil, to crush the land’. With this meaning it nicely corresponds to the verb *h<sub>2</sub>arra-<sup>i</sup> / h<sub>2</sub>arr-* ‘to crush’ that also goes back to the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-*. On the basis of these verbs, we must conclude that the original meaning of *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* must not have been ‘to plough’, as is usually assumed on the basis of the non-Anatolian IE languages (Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, Lith. *ariù, árti*, etc. ‘to plough’), but rather ‘to crush’. Yet, the Hittite expression *hārš- ... terepp-* ‘to till and plough’ shows that also in Anatolian there are traces of the first steps of a semantical development from ‘to crush (the land)’ to ‘to plough’.

Puhvel (HED 3: 185) assumes that *hārš-<sup>i</sup>* must be a loanword, stating that “the probable source of *h<sub>2</sub>ars-* is Akk. *harāš<sub>u</sub>* ‘plant’, or *harāš<sub>u</sub>* ‘dig a furrow’, or WSem. *h<sub>2</sub>araš-* ‘plough’”, but e.g. HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.) correctly rejects this view.

For the morphological interpretation of *haršāuar / haršaun-*, see at *karāuar / karaun-*.

**haršar / haršn-** (n.) ‘head; person; front; beginning’ (Sum. SAG[.DU]): nom.-acc.sg. *ha-ar-ša-ar* (KUB 57.83, 7), gen.sg. *har-aš-ša-na-aš*, *har-ša-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *har-ša-ni* (OS), *ha-ar-aš-ni*, *har-ša-ni-i*, *har-ša-an-ni* (1x), all.sg. *har-aš-*

*ša-na-a*, abl. *ḫar-ša-na-za*, *ḫar-ša-an-n[a-az]*, instr. *ḫ[ar-š]a-an-da*, *ḫar-ša-an-ta*, nom.-acc.pl. *ḫar-ša-a-ar* (OS), *ḫar-ša-ar* (OS).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄρος (n.) ‘mountain’, Skt. *ṛṣvá-* ‘high’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-r*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rs-n-os*

See HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 344f. for attestations. The paradigm has to be phonologically interpreted as /HárSr/, /HrSnás/ (the zero grade in the first syllable of the oblique cases can be deduced from spellings like *ḫar-ša-ni-i* /HrSní/ and *ḫar-aš-ša-na-a* /HrSná/).

Already since the beginning of Hittitological studies, *ḫaršar* / *ḫaršn-* has been compared with Skt. *śiras*, *śīrṣnás* ‘head’ < *\*kérh<sub>2</sub>-s-r*, *\*krh<sub>2</sub>-s-n-ós*. Although the semantic side of this etymology is attractive, the formal side is far from. Not only does *\*k* not regularly give Hitt. *ḫ*, a sequence *\*VRHsC* should yield Hitt. /VRRisC/ (cf. *demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>ó-* > *damme/išḫā-*). Peters’ scenario (1980: 230<sup>176a</sup>) in which *\*k...h<sub>2</sub>* > *\*h<sub>2</sub>...h<sub>2</sub>* by assimilation, after which the second laryngeal was lost by dissimilation, is too complex to be believable. The argument that the paradigms of *ḫaršar* / *ḫaršn-* and *\*kerh<sub>2</sub>sr* / *krh<sub>2</sub>sn-* are too similar to be unrelated is useless since *-r/n-* stems are rather common in Hittite.

Already Goetze (1937: 492<sup>3</sup>) suggested another, attractive comparison, namely with Gr. ὄρος ‘mountain’, which reflects an *s*-stem of the root ‘high’, *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-es-*, of which also Skt. *ṛṣvá-* ‘high’ is derived. Criticism on this etymology (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 190) was always directed to the fact that ‘high’ was derived from the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-*, which cannot explain Hitt. *ḫ-*. In my view, it nowadays has become much clearer that we have to distinguish a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* ‘to come, to arrive < \*to move horizontally’ and *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘to raise, to rise < \*to move vertically’ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c on the outcomes of different formations with *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* in Hittite: *ar-<sup>na(r)</sup>* ‘to stand’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>rto*, *arai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ari-* ‘to raise’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-(o)i-* vs. *ḫarnau-* ‘birthchair’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-nou-* and *ḫardu-* ‘descendant’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-tu-*). In this case, we therefore can safely reconstruct *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-s-r*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-s-n-ós*, which should regularly yield Hitt. /HárSr/ and /HrSnás/ (with restoration of initial *ḫ-*). See at <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫarši-* / *ḫaršai-* ‘thickbread’ for another derivative of the stem *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-s-*.

Note that Puhvel (HED 3: 1987) interprets the syntagm <sup>d</sup>U *ḫar-ša-an-na-aš* as ‘Storm-god of the head’, on the basis of the sumerographical writing <sup>d</sup>U SAG.DU. HW<sup>2</sup> (Ḫ: 357) translates ‘Wettergod des Gewitterregens’, however, and assume that *ḫaršannaš* is the gen.sg. of a further unattested noun *\*ḫaršātar*, which they etymologically connect with *ḫaršiharši* ‘thunderstorm’. The almost consistent spelling with geminate *-nn-* in *ḫaršannaš* (although <sup>d</sup>U *ḫar-ša-na-aš* is attested once), indeed is quite aberrant from the oblique stem of *ḫaršar* / *ḫaršn-*

(although spellings with geminate *-nn-* do occur a few times), but the sumerographic writing <sup>d</sup>U SAG.DU seems to speak in favour of Puhvel's reading (HW<sup>2</sup> seems to regard this attestation as a scribal mistake where a scribe had to write <sup>d</sup>U *ħaršannaš*, but thought of *ħaršanaš* and subsequently wrote <sup>d</sup>U SAG.DU).

<sup>NINDA</sup>*ħarši-* / *ħaršai-* (c.) 'thick-bread' (Sum. NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA): nom.sg. *ħar-ši-iš* (OS), acc.sg. *ħar-ši-in* (OS), gen.sg. *ħar-ša-aš* (MH/MS), *ħar-ši-ia-aš*, *ħar-ši-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ħar-ša-i* (OS), *ħar-ša-a-i* (KBo 30.158, 10 (MS)), *ħar-ši* (OH/NS), *ħar-ša-ia* (MH/NS), abl. *ħar-ša-ia-az* (NS), *ħar-ši-ia-az* (NS), instr. *ħar-ši-it* (SBo 4 (2064/g) rev. 3 (MS)), nom.pl. *ħar-ša-eš* (OS), *ħar-ša-e-eš* (OS), *ħar-ša-a-eš* (MS?), *ħar-ša-a-e-eš* (NS), acc.pl. <sup>NINDA</sup>*ħar-ša-ú-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (fr.) (OS), KUB 7.8+ ii 11 (NS)), *ħar-ša-uš* (OH/MS), *ħar-ša-a-uš* (MS), *ħar-ši-uš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *ħar-ša-aš* (OH/MS), *ħar-ša-ia-aš*, *ħar-ši-ia-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*ħaršijala-*, <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*ħaršijalli-* (c.) 'bread-server' (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA; nom.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-la-aš*, gen.pl. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-ia-aš*), <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ħaršijall-* (n.) 'breadbox, storage jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li*, gen.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-aš*, *ħar-ši-al-li-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-ia*, abl. *ħar-ši-ia-al-la-az*), <sup>DUG</sup>*ħarši-* (c.) 'jar' (nom.sg. *ħar-ši-iš* (OS), acc.sg. *ħar-ši-in*, gen.sg. *ħar-ši-aš*, *ħar-ši-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia*, abl. *ħar-ša-az* (KUB 53.13 iv 9 (NS)), *ħar-ši-ia-za*, nom.pl. *ħar-ši-iš*, *ħar-š[a-eš<sup>2</sup>]* (KBo 13.247 obv. 8 (NS)), gen.pl. *ħar-ši-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ħar-ši-aš*), <sup>DUG</sup>*ħaršijallanni-* (n.) 'small jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-la-an-ni*), <sup>DUG</sup>*ħaršijalli-* (n.) 'jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li*, *ħar-ši-al-li*, gen.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-ia-aš*, *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-aš*, *ħar-ši-ia-al-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-ia*, *ħar-ši-ia-al-li*, abl. *ħar-ši-al-li-az*, *ħar-ši-ia-al-la-az*, nom.-acc.pl. *ħar-ši-al-li*, *ħar-ši-ia-al-li*, dat.-loc.pl. *ħar-ši-ia-al-li-ia-aš*, *ħar-ši-al-li-aš*).

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-i-*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rs-ei-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 358ff. for attestations. This word shows an ablauting stem *ħarši-* / *ħaršai-* which is rare for proper nouns (but cf. *ħeu-* / *ħe(i)au-* and *uēši-* / *uēšai-* for similar cases). It probably indicates that we are dealing here with a substantivized adjective. The word is clearly the phonetic rendering of the sumerogram NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA that is usually translated 'thick-bread'. The original meaning of this word in my view likely was not 'thick', however, but rather 'high' in the sense 'risen'. I therefore would like to propose *ħarši-* / *ħaršai-* to the element *ħarš-* as visible in *ħaršar* / *ħaršn-* 'head' that must be connected with Gr. ὄρος 'mountain', Skt. *ṛṣvā-* 'high' < *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-*. This means that *ħarši-* / *ħaršai-* reflects an originally ablauting *i*-stem *\*h<sub>3</sub>ers-i-*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>rs-ei-*.



The homophonous noun <sup>DUG</sup>*harši-* ‘jar’ probably was named after its highness as well.

*haršiie/a-*<sup>zi</sup> : see *hārš-*<sup>i</sup>

***haršiharši-*** (n.) ‘thunderstorm; jar, pithos’ (Sum. 𒄩.𒄩): nom.sg. *har-ši-har-ši* (OS), gen.sg. *har-ši-har-ši-ia-aš*.

This noun denotes ‘thunderstorm’ as well as ‘jar, pithos’. On the basis of this latter meaning, *haršiharši-* clearly has to be regarded as a full-reduplication of the noun <sup>DUG</sup>*harši-* ‘jar’ (see at <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*harši-* / *haršai-*), although it must be remarked that <sup>DUG</sup>*harši-* is a commune word whereas *haršiharši-* is neuter. The connection between ‘thunderstorm’ and ‘jar, pithos’ may lie in the perception of the sound of thunder as resembling the sound of clashing jars.

***hartakka-*** (c.) ‘bear’ (Sum. UR.MAḪ): nom.sg. *har-tág-ga-aš*, acc.sg. *har-ták-kán* (OS), *har-tág-ga-an*, gen.sg. *har-tág-ga-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>LÜ</sup>***hartak(k)a-*** (c.) a cult official, ‘bear-man’ (nom.sg. *har-tág-ga-aš*, *har-ta-ga-aš*, *har-ta-ka-aš* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *har-tág-ga-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *har-ta-ak-ki*, *har-ták-ki*, [*har-t*]a-ki).

IE cognates: Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, YAv. *arəša-*, Gr. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, Mlr. *art*, Arm. *arj* ‘bear’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>rtko-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> 𒄩: 378f. for attestations. Although a meaning ‘bear’ for this word cannot be proven in the strictest sense of the word, the fact that it denotes a large predator and that its outer appearance resembles the other IE words for ‘bear’ so strikingly, can leave no doubt about this interpretation, which was first given in HW: 61.

Before the appurtenance of Hittite, the word for ‘bear’ was reconstructed *\*h<sub>2</sub>rkpo-*, with the PIE ‘thorn’. This has now become unnecessary as Hitt. *hartakka-* /Hrtka-/ clearly shows that we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>rtko-*. With the disappearance of other cases of PIE ‘thorn’ (e.g. *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>dem-* ‘earth’ that now has to be reconstructed as *\*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>h</sup>-m*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-m* on the basis of Hitt. *tēkan* (q.v.)), I do not understand why some scholars still regard the ‘thorn’ as a basic PIE phoneme (cf. the superfluous discussion in Melchert 1994a: 64).

**hardu-** (n.) ‘brood, descendance’: nom.-acc.pl. *ha-ar-du-ua*, *har-du-ua*, gen.pl. *ha-ar-du-ua-aš*, *har-du-ua-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **hardu-** ‘descendance’ (abl.-instr. *har-tu-u-ua-har-tu-ua-ti*), **harduḡatt(i)-** ‘descendant’ (nom.pl. *har-du-ua-at-ti-in-zi*); HLuw. **hartu-** (c.) ‘descendant’ (nom.sg. <sup>INFANS</sup>*ha+ra/i-tu-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1g)).

PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>er-tu-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 379f. for attestations. This word has been connected by Weitenberg (1984: 235) with Lat. *ortus* ‘birth’, which would point to a reconstruction \**h<sub>3</sub>er-tu-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Another Hittite word in which the root \**h<sub>3</sub>er-* is connected with ‘giving birth’ is *harnāu* / *harnu-* ‘birthing seat’ (q.v.).

**-hharu** (1sg.imp.midd.-ending)

The 1sg.imp.midd.-ending *-hharu* is clearly based on the 1sg.pres.midd.-ending *-hhari* in which *-i* was replaced by the imperativ ‘suffix’ *-u*. See at *-hha(ri)* and *-u* for further etymology.

**haruua-** (c.) ‘road, path’: abl.pl. *ha-ru-ua-az* (KBo 24.45 rev. 23 (MS?)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **harua-** (c.) ‘path’ (Sum. KASKAL; nom.sg. *ha-ru-ua-aš*, acc.sg. KASKAL-*an*, nom.pl. KASKAL<sup>HIA</sup>-*an-zi*, acc.pl. KASKAL<sup>HIA</sup>-*ua-an-za*), **harua-** ‘to send(?)’ (3pl.imp.act. *har-ua-an-du*), **haruanna/i-** (c.) ‘little path’ (acc.pl. *ha-r[u-ua-an-ni-in-za]*), **haruanni(ia)-** ‘to send’ (3sg.imp.act. *har-ua-an-ni-it-ta*); HLuw. **harwa(n)-** (c.) ‘road’ (acc.sg.(?) VIA-*wa/i-na* /harwan/ (KARATEPE 1 §34, İVRİZ fr. 3 line 2), VIA-*na* /harwan/ or /harwantan/ (KÖTÜKALE §3); **harwant-** (c.) ‘road’ (acc.pl. VIA-*wa/i-ta-z[i<sup>2</sup>]* /harwantan<sup>s</sup>/ (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr. 6), dat.-loc.pl. VIA-*wa/i-ta-za* /harwantan<sup>s</sup>/ (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.7)), **harwantahit-** (n.) ‘wayfaring’ (abl.-instr. <sup>VIA</sup>*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-ta<sub>3</sub>-ti-i* /harwantahitadil/ (KARKAMIŞ A15b §21)), **harwani-** ‘to send’ (2sg.pres.act. /harwanisi/ VIA-*wa/i-ni-si* (ASSUR letter *d* §10, *f* §26) 2(3?)sg.pret.act. /harwanita/ VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta* (ASSUR letter *a* §7), 3sg.pret.act. /harwanita/ VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta* (ASSUR letter *a* §7), 3pl.pret.act. /harwaninta/ VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta* (ASSUR letter *f* §27), 2sg.imp.act. /harwani/ <sup>VIA</sup>*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ni* (ASSUR letter *d* §6, §7, §9, *e* §25), VIA-*wa/i-ni* (ASSUR letter *a* §11, §12, *b* §7, §10, *c* §8, §10, §11, *d* §8, *e* §23, §27, *f* §19, §23, *g* §40), VIA-*wa/i-ni<sup>i</sup>* (ASSUR letter *a* §10, *e* §18, §28, *g* §31, §35, §36, §44, §47)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 203 for the attestation. The word is hapax in a Kizzuwatnean ritual, and therefore it is likely of Luwian origin, where indeed the word *harua-* is

the normal word for ‘road, path’ (whereas in Hittite the word for ‘road, path’ is *palša-* (q.v.)). Etymologically we could think of the roots *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘to join’ (roads as joining elements) or the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* ‘high’.

***haru(ua)nae-***<sup>2j</sup> (Ic2) ‘to get light, to dawn’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ru-ua-na-a-iz-zi*, *ḫa-a-ru-ua-na-a-iz-zi*, *ḫa-ru-na-iz[-zi]*, [*ḫa*]r-ua-na-iz-zi.

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 382 for attestations. The verb is always used without a subject and probably means ‘it gets light’ (just as *lukkatta* ‘it dawns’ is used impersonally). Formally, it inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class, which means that it would be derived from a noun *haru(ua)na-*. Such a noun might be attested in KUB 8.9 (OH/NS) i (5) *ták-ku ḫar-ua-n[a-a]z ITU-aš t[a-...]* ‘When the moon ...s from *ḫaruana-*’. It is certainly not impossible that this *ḫaruana-* is the source of *haru(ua)nae-*, but since the meaning of *ḫaruana-* itself cannot be determined, further etymologizing is difficult.

HW<sup>2</sup> (l.c.) assumes a connection with *ḫaru-* ‘road, path’, assuming that *ḫaruana-* literally means ‘Sich-auf-den-Weg-machen’. Puhvel (HED 3: 204) proposes a connection with Skt. *ravi-* and Arm. *arew* ‘sun’ that must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>reu-i-*, assuming that *haru(ua)nae-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ru(o)no-*.

***ḫāšš-*** (c.) ‘ash(es); dust; soap’ (Sum. SAHAR): nom.sg. *ḫa-a-aš* (OH/NS), *ḫa-aš-š=a* (NS), *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša-an* (MS), *ḫa-aš-ša-an* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ši-i* (MS?), instr. *ḫa-aš-ši-it* (NS), nom.pl. *ḫa-a-aš-še-š=a* (MS), acc.pl. *ḫa-a-aš-šu-uš* (NS), *ḫa-aš-šu-uš* (MS), *ḫa-aš-uš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: see *ḫāššā-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *āsa-* ‘ash’, OHG *essa* ‘ash’, OIc. *aRina* ‘ash’, Lat. *ārēre* ‘to dry’, OLat. *āsa* ‘altar’, TochAB *ās-* ‘to dry out’, Hitt. *ḫāššā-* ‘hearth’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-ós*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 388f. for attestations and semantics. The basic meaning of the word is ‘ash(es), dust’, but since a mixture of ashes and oil could be used as soap as well, the word is also attested in the meaning ‘soap’ (*pars pro toto*). On the basis of nom.sg. *ḫāš*, we must assume that this word originally was a root noun, which was thematicized to *ḫāšša-* in MH times already.

The etymological interpretation of this word has been debated. In Hittite, the plene *-a-* is attested often enough to secure the reading *ḫāšš-*, the long *-a-* of which corresponds to Skt. *āsa-* ‘ash’. In Germanic, however, we encounter a short *a-*, namely in OHG *essa* ‘ash’ < *\*āsiōn* and OIc. (Runic) *aRina* ‘ash’. Schrijver

(1991: 53-4) therefore proposes to reconstruct a root  $*h_2es-$ , the reduplication  $*h_2e-h_2s-$  of which would explain the long  $\bar{a}$ . Since Hitt.  $h\bar{a}šš-$  cannot reflect  $*h_2eh_2s-$ , however, which should have yielded  $**hahš-$  (cf.  $pahš-$  <  $*peh_2s-$ ), this view cannot be correct. A preform  $*h_2eh_3s-$  is impossible as well, because this would have yielded  $**\bar{o}$ - in Latin. All in all, we should reconstruct a root noun  $*h_2eh_1s-$ . This noun probably inflected  $*h_2éh_1s-s$ ,  $*h_2éh_1s-m$ ,  $*h_2h_1s-ós$ . In Hittite, the full-grade stem was generalized and later on thematicized, in Sanskrit the full-grade stem was thematicized, whereas in Germanic derivations were formed on the basis of the oblique stem  $*h_2h_1s- > \bar{a}s-$ . In Hittite and Latin a derivative  $*h_2eh_1s-eh_2-$  ‘that of the ashes’ yielded Hitt.  $h\bar{a}šš\bar{a}$  ‘heart’ and Lat.  $\bar{a}ra$  ‘altar’ (see at  $h\bar{a}šš\bar{a}$ ).

A verbal stem  $*h_2eh_1s-$  ‘to dry’ is visible in Lat.  $\bar{a}r\bar{e}re$  ‘to dry’ and TochAB  $\bar{a}s-$  ‘to dry out’. Often it is claimed that Gr.  $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  ‘to dry’ belongs here as well and reflects  $*\bar{a}s-d-\bar{o}$ , but as is stated under  $h\bar{a}t^i / hat-$ , it is rather to be regarded as reflecting  $*h_2d-je/o-$ .

A further analysis of  $*h_2eh_1s-$  as  $*h_2eh_1s-$  on the basis of Pal.  $h\bar{a}$ - ‘to be warm’, which then is thought to reflect  $*h_2eh_1-$  (thus in LIV<sup>2</sup>), is in my view far from assured.

$h\bar{a}š^i / h\bar{a}šš-$  (IIa2) ‘to give birth (to), to beget, to procreate’: 3sg.pres.act.  $h\bar{a}-a-š\bar{i}$  (OS, often),  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{i}$  (1x, MS), 3pl.pres.act.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-zi$  (OH/MS), 1sg.pret.act.  $h\bar{a}-a-aš-hu-un$  (OH/MS),  $h\bar{a}-a-šu-un$  (1x, NS), 3sg.pret.act.  $h\bar{a}-a-aš-ta$  (OS),  $h\bar{a}-aš-ta$ , 3pl.pret.act.  $h\bar{a}-a-še-er$  (NS),  $h\bar{a}-a-š\bar{i}-er$  (NH), 3sg.imp.act.  $h\bar{a}-a-šu$  (MH/NS),  $h\bar{a}-aš-du$  (OH/NS); part.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-t$ ,  $h\bar{a}-a-š\bar{a}-an-t$ ; impf.  $h\bar{a}-aš-ke/a-$  (OH/MS).

Derivatives:  $h\bar{a}šš\bar{a}tar / h\bar{a}ššann-$  (n.) ‘begetting, birth, offspring, family’ (Sum. MÁŠ-*tar*; nom.-acc.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-tar$ ,  $h\bar{a}-š\bar{a}-a-tar$  (1x, OH/NS), gen.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš$ ,  $h\bar{a}-an-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš$  (HT 6 i 17 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-i$  (OH/NS), abl.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-az$ ,  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-za$ ,  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-an-za$ , instr.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-ni-it$ , gen.pl.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-an$ , MÁŠ<sup>HLA</sup>-*aš*),  $h\bar{a}ššumar$  (n.) ‘begetting, genitals’ (nom.-acc.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-šu-mar$ , gen.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-šu-ma-aš$ ),  $h\bar{a}ššannaš\bar{a}i-$  (c.) ‘family member’ (nom.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš-š\bar{i}-iš$ , acc.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš-š\bar{a}-an$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš-š\bar{i}$ , nom.pl.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-an-na-aš-š\bar{i}-š=a$ ),  $h\bar{a}šnu-zi$  (Ib2) ‘to bring to birth’ (3pl.pret.act.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-nu-er$ ,  $h\bar{a}-aš-nu[-er]^?$ ); impf.  $h\bar{a}-aš-š\bar{a}-nu-uš[-ke/a-]$ ], see  $h\bar{a}nz\bar{a}š\bar{a}$ -,  $h\bar{a}šš\bar{a}$ - and  $h\bar{a}ššu-$ .

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **has-** ‘to beget’ (3pl.imp.act. /hasantul/ *ha-sá-tu-*’ (KARATEPE 1 §56 Hu.), *ha-sa-tù* (KARATEPE 1 §56 Ho.)), **hasu-** ‘family’ (dat.-loc.sg.(?) *ha-su-*’ (KARATEPE 1 §15)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 391f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *hāš-* in the strong stem forms and *hašš-* in the weak stem forms. The etymology of this verb cannot be described without referring to its Hittite cognates *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’, *hāšša-* ‘descendant’ and *haššu-* ‘king’ (for the semantic relation between ‘to procreate’ and ‘king’ see at *haššu-*). The word *haššu-* has a direct counterpart in ON *áss* ‘god’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eNsu-* and Skt. *ásura-* ‘godlike, powerful’, Av. *ahu-*, *ahura-* ‘god, lord’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>Nsu-(ro-)*. The words *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ and *hāšša-* ‘descendant’ are related to, among others, CLuw. *hamša/i-* and HLuw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’. These latter forms, together with ON *áss* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eNsu-*, point to a stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-*, which must be used as the basis of all these words. Nevertheless, it is not easy to determine the exact preforms of all the related forms.

As a *hi*-verb, we would expect that *hāši* / *haššanzi* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-énti*, with the *o/Ø*-grade as described in § 2.2.2.2.e. The long *-ā-* of *hāšša-* ‘descendant’ seems to reflect an *\*ó*, especially if we compare the consistently non-plene spelled adjective *daššu-* / *daššau-* ‘heavy, important’ that reflects *\*dens-(e)u-*. Because *\*-m-* assimilates to *\*-s-* in *\*VmsV*, the form *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ hardly can reflect anything else than *\*h<sub>2</sub>mso-* (likewise Rieken 1999: 233). To sum up, we would at first sight reconstruct these words as follows:

<i>haššu-</i> ‘king’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>emsu-</i>
<i>hāšša-</i> ‘descendant’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>ómsó-</i>
<i>hāši</i> ‘(s)he procreates’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei</i>
<i>hāšhun</i> ‘I procreated’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>óms-h<sub>2</sub>e+</i>
<i>hanzāšša-</i> ‘offspring’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>msó-</i>
<i>haššanzi</i> ‘they procreate’	<	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>ms-énti</i>

Although the outcomes of *\*h<sub>2</sub>emsV* > *haššV* and *h<sub>2</sub>ómsC* > *hāšC* seem certain, the other forms cannot all be phonetically regular: *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsV* cannot yield both *hāššV* and *hāšV*; *\*h<sub>2</sub>msV* cannot yield both *hanzV* and *haššV*.

In the case of *\*h<sub>2</sub>msV*, it is in my view quite probable that the phonetically regular outcome is *hanzV*. Because *haššanzi* ‘they procreate’ is part of a verbal paradigm, it is easily understandable how the phonetic outcome of *\*h<sub>2</sub>msénti* > *\*hanzanzi* has been secondarily altered to *haššanzi* under the influence of the full grade stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsC* > /HáSC-/. Moreover, we could even assume that already in pre-Hittite times the full grade stem of the singular was taken over into the plural and that *haššanzi* directly reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>oms-énti*.

The case of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsV* is less clear. On the one hand, one could state that the lenition visible in *hāšī* ‘(s)he procreated’ is analogical to the type *aki* / *akkanzi*, *ištāpi* / *ištappanzi*, where *\*ó* regularly lenited the following stop. This then would mean that *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsV* regularly yielded *hāššV* showing that *\*-ms-* > *-šš-* was not lenited by a preceding *\*ó*. On the other hand, there is a possibility that *hāšša-* ‘descendant’ was not a thematic noun originally. The close cognate *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>msósio-* shows a zero-grade stem, which is probably also visible in Luw. *hamsa/i-* (cf. below). This could point to an ablauting root noun. Normally, however, such a root noun would inflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>éms-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>éms-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-ós*, which does not make it easy to explain the *o*-grade visible in *hāšša-*. A possibility remains in assuming that this *-ó-* was taken over from the verb, and then we could perhaps assume that *hāšī* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómsei* does show the regular development, and that *\*-ms-* > *-šš-* did get lenited by a preceding *\*ó*.

Note that an initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* would regularly drop in front of *\*o* (so *\*h<sub>2</sub>o-* > Hitt. *a-*, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), but in these cases we can easily assume secondary restoration of *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* on the basis of forms with *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-*, where initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* regularly yielded Hitt. *h-*.

A similar problem exists in the Luwian material. Here we find *hams-* (CLuw. *hamša/i-*, HLuw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’, CLuw. *hamšukkala/i-*, HLuw. /hamsk<sup>w</sup>ala/i-/ ‘great-grandchild’) vs. *has-* (HLuw. /hasantu/ ‘they must beget’ and *hasu-* ‘family’). On the basis of the Hittite development *\*h<sub>2</sub>msV* > *hanzV*, it seems likely to me that Luw. *hams-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-*, whereas *has-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>e/oms-*. That is why I would reconstruct *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’ as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-o-* and *has-* ‘to beget’ and *hasu-* ‘family’ as *h<sub>2</sub>e/oms-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-u-* respectively. Note that CLuw. *ammašša/i-* ‘to wipe’ reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>s-* in which *\*-h<sub>1</sub>-* prevented assimilation of *-mš-* to *-šš-*.

All in all, I assume that *hāšī* / *hāššanzi* in one way or another goes back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-énti*. It is unclear whether the form gen.sg. *ha-an-ša-an-na-aš* (HT 6 i 17 (NS)) is just a scribal error for *ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš*, or really reflects a trace of the original nasalization from *\*h<sub>2</sub>oms-*. Because of its very late attestation the latter possibility hardly seems viable (cf. also Kimball 1999: 332).

***hāš-* / *hāšš-*, *hēš-* / *hēšš-*** ‘to open’ (Akk. *PETŪ*): 3sg.pres.act. *ha-a-ši* (KBo 13/35 iii 6 (OH/NS), KUB 7.41 obv. 4 (MH/NS)), *ha-aš-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 13 (MH/NS)), *hé-e-eš-zi* (KBo 17.94 iii 23 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ha-aš-šu-e-ni* (KBo 19.156 obv. 9 (OS)), *ha-aš-šu-ú-e-ni* (KBo 25.139 + KUB 35.164 rev. 1 (OS)), *hé-e-šu-u-e-ni* (KUB 50.6 + 16.41+ iii 44 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-aš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 20.10 i 1, KBo 20.23 obv. 5 (OS), KUB 2.6 iii 21 (OH/NS), KUB 2.13 i 2

(OH/NS), KUB 7.25 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 11.22 i 14, KUB 11.35 i 8 (OH/NS), KUB 20.8 i 2, KUB 20.18, 13 (OH/NS), IBoT 1.36 i 20, 68 (OH or MH/MS), KBo 5.1 i 6 (MH/NS), KUB 25.16 i 2 (NS)), *hē-ša-an-zi* (KBo 21.34 ii 3 (MH/NS), KBo 25.183 r.col. 5 (NS)), *hē-e-ša-an-zi* (KUB 12.2 iv 3 (NS), KUB 15.11 ii 11 (NH), KUB 21.17 iii 13 (NH)), *hē-ša-an[-zi]* (KUB 27.15 iv 8 (NS)), *hē-eš-ša-an[-zi]* (KUB 51.69 obv. 4 (NS)), *hī-iš-ša-an-zi* (Bo 6871 rev. 33 (undat.)), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-a-aš-ta* (KUB 17.10 iv 14 (OH/MS)), *ha-aš-ta* (KUB 33.52 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ha-aš-ši-it* (KUB 9.39 i 6 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *hē-e-šu-u-en* (KBo 22.116 obv. 14 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *hē-e-še-er* (KUB 29.3 i 5 (OS), KUB 16.48 obv.16 (NS)), *hē-še-er* (KBo 10.2 ii 7 (OH/NS)), *he-e-še-er* (KUB 29.1 i 24 (OH/NS)), *hē-eš-šer* (KBo 10.2 i 32 (OH/NS)), *hē-eš-še-er* (KUB 55.37 iii 10 (NS)), *ha-a-šer* (KUB 35.148+ iii 2 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-a-aš* (KBo 21.22 obv. 22 (OH/MS), KBo 11.14 iii 27 (MH/NS)), *he-e-eš* (KBo 18.48 obv. 17 (NS)), *hē-e-eš* (KUB 55.2 obv. 5 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ha-a-šu* (KBo 10.45 i 39 (MH/NS), KUB 29.1 iii 2 (OH/NS)), *he-eš-du* (KUB 36.89 obv. 19 (NS)), *hē-e-eš-du* (KUB 36.89 obv. 39 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *hē-e-eš-tén* (KUB 33.106 iii 50 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *hē-e-ša-an-du* (KBo 13.58 ii 26 (MH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ha-a-ša-an-ta* (KBo 10.7 ii 25 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *hē-eš-ta-at* (KUB 13.34 iv 3 (NS)); part. *ha-aš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 2.6 iii 35 (OH/NS), KUB 11.20 ii 20 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 i 29 (NS)), *hē-e-ša(-an)-t-* (KUB 31.136 iii 5 (NS)); verb.noun. *hē-e-šu-u-ar* (KUB 3.94 i 25 (NS)), gen. *hē-e-šu-ua-aš* (KUB 17.35 ii 3, 13, iv 19 (NS)), *hē-šu-ua-aš* (KUB 27.15 iv 23 (NS)); impf. *ha-aš-ke/a-* (KBo 11.14 iii 26 (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 i 53 (MH/NS), KUB 30.32 i 17 (NS?)), *hē-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 13.109 iii 8 (MH/NS)).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 394f. for attestations. There, a form impf.1sg.pres.act. *hē-ši-ke-e-mi* (KBo 17.3, 10) is cited, but this form does not exist. The editors probably have misread the form ~~𐎶𐎠𐎧𐎥𐎢𐎡~~ = *da-aš-ke-e-mi* (KBo 17.3 iv 10).

This verb shows a wild variety of forms and stems. In OS texts, we find the forms *haššu(u)eni*, *haššanzi* and *hēšer*. On the basis of these forms, one would conclude that we are dealing with a verb that shows a strong stem *hēš-* and a weak stem *hašš-*. In MS texts, we find the forms *haššanzi*, *hāšta* and *hāš*, which seem to point to an ablauting paradigm *hāš-* / *hašš-*. In NS texts, we find, besides the stems *hāš-*, *hašš-* and *hēš-* also forms with a stem *hešš-*. At this moment, it is impossible to determine what the original inflection was. In my view, it looks like we are dealing with a *hi*-inflecting verb *hāš<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-* (which is homophonic to *hāš<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-* ‘to give birth (to)’), which was crossed with a (*mi*-inflecting?) stem *hēš-*. In NH times, almost only forms with the stem *hēš-* are found, on the basis of

which an analogical stem *hēšš-* was made. Whereas *hāšš-* / *hašš-* in principle could be of IE origin, the stem *hēšš-* shows an *e* besides *h*, which is difficult to explain from an IE perspective (unless we assume an *i*-diphthong, but in front of *\*s*, such a diphthong would not have monophthongized to *-ē-*). Unfortunately, we have no convincing cognates for *hāšš-* / *hašš-* either. Formally, it should reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>eNs-*.

Within Hittite, one could think of a connection with *āška-* ‘gate’ (Oettinger, p.c.) if we assume that in *āška-* an initial laryngeal (*\*h<sub>2</sub>*) was lost in front of *\*o* (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c), which was retained in *hāšš-* / *hašš-*.

**hāššā-** (c.) ‘fireplace, hearth’ (Sum. GUNNI): nom.sg. *ha-aš-ša-a-aš*, *ha-a-aš-ša-a-aš*, acc.sg. *ha-a-aš-ša-an* (OS), *ha-aš-ša-a-an* (OS), *ha-aš-ša-an* (OS), voc.sg. *ha-aš-ša-a-aš*, gen.sg. *ha-aš-ša-a-aš* (OS), *ha-a-aš-ša-aš* (OH/NS), *ha-aš-ša-aš*, *ha-aš-ša-aš* (OS), *ha-a-aš-ša-an* (OS), *ha-aš-ša-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-aš-ši-i* (OS, often), *ha-a-aš-ši-i* (OS, 1x), *ha-aš-ši* (OS), *ha-a-aš-ši* (OH/NS), [*ha-*]aš-ša-a-i (KBo 25.36 iii 8 (OS)), all.sg. *ha-aš-ša-a* (OS), *ha-aš-ša* (OS), abl. *ha-aš-ša-a-az* (OS), *ha-aš-ša-az* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **haššanitt(i)-** ‘hearth’ (nom.sg. *ha-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-iš*, acc.sg. *ha-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-in*).

IE cognates: OLat. *āsa*, Lat. *āra*, Osc. *AASAÍ* ‘altar’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 221f. for attestations. Already since Pedersen (1938: 27, 164) this word has been connected with OLat. *āsa*, Lat. *āra* ‘altar’, Osc. *AASAÍ* ‘altar’. The long *ā-* in Latin points to *\*h<sub>2</sub>eH-*. The second laryngeal hardly can be *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, because we then would expect *\*ō-*. In Hittite, a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>s-* would have yielded *\*\*hahš-* (cf. *pahš-* < *\*peh<sub>2</sub>s-*). So Hitt. *hāššā-* ~ OLat. *āsa* can only reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>seh<sub>2</sub>-*. It is likely that *hāššā-* is a derivative of *hāšš-* ‘ashes’ (q.v.), which would mean that *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>seh<sub>2</sub>-* is to be analysed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-*.

In PIE, *\*-h<sub>2</sub>*-stems originally showed ablaut:

nom.sg.	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>2</sub></i>	cf.	<i>*g<sup>w</sup>én-h<sub>2</sub></i>	‘woman’
acc.sg.	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>2</sub>-m</i>		<i>*g<sup>w</sup>én-h<sub>2</sub>-m</i>	
gen.sg.	<i>*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-éh<sub>2</sub>-s</i>		<i>*g<sup>w</sup>n-éh<sub>2</sub>-s</i>	

It is quite likely that the paradigm of ‘hearth’ was secondarily altered to *\*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>(-s)*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-éh<sub>2</sub>(-o)s*. On the basis of Hitt. *eša* ‘seats himself’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o*, we can conclude that a sequence *\*-éh<sub>1</sub>sV-* yields Hitt. *-ešV-*. We therefore must conclude that the geminate *-šš-* in *hāššā-* is the regular outcome of



\*-eh<sub>1</sub>sV̄- and that the originally alternating paradigm of ‘hearth’, \*hášas, \*hášām, \*hassás, has been normalized to hāššā-.

**hāšša-** (c.) ‘descendant’: nom.sg. *ha-aš-ša-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *ha-a-aš-ši* (1x, NH), *ha-aš-ši-i* (1x, NH), all.sg. *ha-a-aš-ša* (OH/MS), *ha-aš-ša* (NS), instr. *ha-aš-še-et* (1x, NS), nom.pl. *ha-a-aš-še-eš* (OS), *ha-aš-še-eš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ha-a-aš-šu-uš* (OH/MS), *ha-aš-šu-uš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ha-aš-ša-aš* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **hamša/i-** (c.) ‘grandchild’ (abl.-instr. *ha-am-ša-a-ti*, *ha-am-ša-ti*), **hamšukkalla/i-** (c.) ‘great-grandchild’ (abl.-instr. *ha-am-šu-uk-ka<sub>1</sub>-la-a-ti*, *ha-am-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti*, *ha-am-šu-kal-la-a-ti*); HLuw. **hamsa/i-** (c.) ‘grandchild’ (nom.sg. /hamsis/ <sup>“INFANS.NEPOS”</sup>*ha-ma-si-sa* (MARAŞ 14 §5), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-si-sa* (PORSUK §1), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-si-sá-*’ (MARAŞ 1 §1c), <sup>INFANS</sup>*ha-ma-si-sa*<sub>5</sub> (ISPEKÇÜR side B §1), <sup>INFANS</sup>*ha-ma-si-sa* (ISPEKÇÜR side C fr. c+d), <sup>NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-si-sá* (KÖRKÜN §6), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*si-i-sa* (KARKAMIŞ A11b §1), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*si-sa* (SHEIZAR §5), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*sa* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §1), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*MI-sa* (DARENDE §1)), dat.-loc.sg. /hamsi/ <sup>NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-si* (KÖRKÜN §11), *ha-ma-si* (KARABURUN §7, §9), nom.pl. /hamsant<sup>s</sup>i/ <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*zi* (SHEIZAR §4), dat.-loc.pl. /hamsant<sup>s</sup>/ <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*sa-za* (KARKAMIŞ A11b+c §4, §30)), **hamsukala-**, **hamskwala-** (c.) ‘great-grandson’ (nom.sg. /hamsk<sup>w</sup>alas/ <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1d), <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*ka-la-[sa]* (SHEIZAR §5), <sup>NEPOS</sup>*ka-la-sa* (KÖRKÜN §6), “<sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>”-REL-*la-sá* (MARAŞ 4 §10), dat.-loc.sg. /hamsk<sup>w</sup>ala/ <sup>NEPOS</sup>*ha-ma-su-ka-la* (KÖRKÜN §11), abl.-instr. /hamsk<sup>w</sup>ala/ <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>.REL-*la* (KARKAMIŞ A4a §12), nom.pl. /hamsk<sup>w</sup>alant<sup>s</sup>i/ <sup>INFANS.NEPOS</sup>*ka-la-zi* (SHEIZAR §4)); Lyd. **eša-** ‘offspring’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ešav*); Lyc. **χahba-** ‘grandchild’ (nom.sg. *χahba*, acc.sg. *χahbu*, acc.pl. *χahbas*, dat.pl. *χahba*, *χahbe*).

PIE \*h<sub>2</sub>éms-o-

See Puhvel HED 3: 224f. for attestations. The word predominantly occurs in the syntagm *hāšša- hanzāšša-* that denotes ‘further offspring’ as e.g. in KUB 29.1 iv (2) *nu DUMU.NITA<sup>MEŠ</sup> DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup> ha-aš-še-eš ha-an-za-aš-še-eš ma-ak-ke-eš-ša-an-du* ‘May the sons, daughters and further offspring become numerous!’. When used in the all.sg., this expression has an adverbial feeling to it and must be translated ‘down all generations’, compare e.g. KUB 21.1 i (70) *katta=ma am-me-el DUMU=IA DUMU.DUMU=IA ha-aš-ša ha-an-za-aš-ša pa-aḫ-ši* ‘You must protect my son (acc.) and grandson (acc.) down all generations’. The word *hāšša-* is used separately only once, in KUB 21.27 iii (43) <sup>d</sup>*Zi-in-tu-ḫi-*

*i-iš* GAŠAN=*IA ŠA* <sup>d</sup>IM (44) <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na=*ia a-aš-ši-ia-an-za* *ha-aš-ša-aš*  
 ‘My Lady Zintuhī, beloved descendant of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, ...’.

Almost all the oldest attestations of this word (MS and OS) show plene spelling *ha-a-aš-š°*, whereas the spelling *ha-aš-š°* is predominantly found in NS texts. The plene spelling therefore must reflect the original situation.

The fact that *hāšša-* and *hanzāšša-* are used as a pair is not coincidental in my view: they are etymologically related as well. The nasal in *hanzāšša-* must be compared to the nasal found in Luw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’. Within Hittite, *hāšša-* and *hanzāšša-* obviously belong with the verb *hāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-* ‘to procreate’ and therefore also with *haššu-* ‘king’. As I have shown in detail under the lemma of *hāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-* all these words go back to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-*. In the case of *hāšša-*, we would at first sight think that it reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-o-*. If, however, *hāši* ‘(s)he procreates’ regularly reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-ei*, it would show that the expected outcome of *\*h<sub>2</sub>óms-o-* would have been *\*\*hāša-*. Moreover, since *hanzāšša-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>msó-sjo-* and Luw. *hamsa/i-* probably goes back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-o-*, it is in my view more likely that this word originally was a root noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>éms-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-ós*, which was later on thematicized: in Hittite, the full grade stem was used, whereas in *hanzāšša-* and Luw. *hamsa/i-* we find the zero-grade stem. This scenario implies that the *\*ó* as visible in *hāšša-* has been secondarily taken over from the verb *hāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *hašš-*, however.

***haššikk-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib1) ‘to satiate oneself, to be satiated’: 3sg.pres.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-zi* (KBo 13.94, 3 (OH/NS), KBo 41.17, 5 (NS)), *ha-(aš<sup>2</sup>-)še-ek-zi* (Bo 4491, 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. [*h*]*a-aš-ši-kat-ta* (KBo 12.3 i 11 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-ke-er* (KUB 17.10 i 20 (OH/MS)), 1sg.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-lu* (KUB 24.5 + 9.13 rev. 1 (NS)), *ha-aš-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KUB 36.93 rev. 6 (NS)), *ha-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KBo 15.14, 4 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik* (KUB 33.87+ i 7 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-du* (KBo 15.10+ i 37 (OH/MS), KBo 4.1+ obv. 13, 18 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-tén* (KUB 9.26 rev. 7 (NS)), *ha-aš-ši-ik-t[e-en]* (KBo 22.142 i 6 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-kán-du* (KBo 15.10+ iii 38 (OH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***haššik(ka)nu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to satiate, to saturate with, to steep (in)’ (3pl.pres.act. *ha-aš-ši-i[g-g]a-nu-an-z[i]* (KBo 14.63 iv 35), *ha-aš-ši-ig-ga-nu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 29.44+ iii 38), *ha-aš-ši-ik-nu-an-zi* (KBo 8.52 + 14.63 i 46), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-aš-ši-ik-ka<sub>r</sub>-nu-ut* (KUB 25.23 iv 59)), <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***haššikk(a)-*** (c./n.) a tree and its fruit (nom.sg.c. *ha-aš-ši-ka<sub>r</sub>-aš*, *ha-ši-ik-ka<sub>r</sub>-aš*, acc.sg. *ha-aš-ši-ik-ka-*

*an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḥa-ši-ik*, *ḥa-aš-ši-ik-ka-an*, gen.sg. *ḥa-aš-ši-ig-ga-aš*, *ḥa-ši-ik-ka-aš*, instr. *ḥa-aš-ši-ik-ki-it*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḥa-ši-ig-ga*).

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 421f. for attestations and semantic treatment. All spellings seem to point to a phonological interpretation /hašik-/. Such a verbal root is formally quite aberrant and can hardly reflect anything Indo-European. On the basis of the Palaic verb *ḥaš-* ‘to be satiated of drinking’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḥašanti*, *ḥašānti*), one could assume that *ḥaššikk-<sup>zi</sup>* shows some verbal extension, but this is formally difficult as well. Puhvel (l.c.) proposes a connection with Gr. ἄω ‘to satiate (oneself)’, aor.inf. ἄσαι, Lat. *satis*, Lith. *sótiš*, which he reconstructs as *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-*. These words rather reflect *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* and etymologically belong with Hitt. *šāh-*<sup>i</sup> (q.v.). All in all, *ḥaššikk-<sup>zi</sup>* remains without a credible etymology. To what extent the homophonous fruit (tree)<sup>(GİS)</sup> *ḥaššikk(a)-* is cognate, is unclear.

***ḥaštāi* / *ḥašti-*** (n.) ‘bone(s); (metaphorically) strength; a length measure (GİR.PAD.DU)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-aš-ta-a-i*, *ḥa-aš-ta-i*, *ḥa-aš-da-i*, [*ḥ*] *a-aš-da-a-i*, gen.sg. *ḥa-aš-ti-i-aš* (OS), *ḥa-aš-ti-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-aš-ta-i*, erg.sg. *ḥa-aš-ti-an-za*, abl. [*ḥa-aš-ti-i*] *a-az*, instr. *ḥa-aš-ti-it*, *ḥa-aš-ti-i-it* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.pl. *ḥa-aš-ta-i* (OS), *ḥa-aš-ta-a-i*, *ḥa-aš-ta-a-e*, *ḥa-aš-ta-e*, *ḥa-aš-da-i*, *ḥa-aš-da-a-i*, gen.pl. *ḥa-aš-ti-ja-aš*, *ḥa-aš-ti-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḥa-aš-ti-ja-aš*.

Derivatives: ***ḥaštili(ja)-*** (adj.) ‘stout, brave, heroic’ (noun) ‘hero’ (Sum. UR.SAG: nom.sg.c. UR.SAG-*li-iš*, UR.SAG-*liš*, acc.sg. *ḥa-aš-te-li-ja-an* (NS), nom.(voc.)pl.c. UR.SAG-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. UR.SAG-*li-ja-aš*; broken *ḥa-aš-ti-li-ja-...* (NS)), ***ḥašteliqant-*** (adj.) ‘brave’ (nom.sg.c. *ḥa-aš-te-li-an-za* (NS)), ***ḥaštiliqatar*, *ḥaštaliqatar*** (n.) ‘heroic bearing, heroism, bravery’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-aš-ti-li-ja-tar*] (OH/MS), *ḥa-aš-ta-li-ja-tar* (OH/NS), *ḥa-aš-ta-ri-ja-tar* (NS), abl. UR.SAG-*an-na-az* (NS)), ***ḥaštalešš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become brave, to turn warlike’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-aš-ta-le-eš-zi*, *ḥa-aš-ta-li-iš-zi*), see <sup>UZU</sup> *dānḥašti*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḥāš-*** ‘bone’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-a-aš-ša*, *ḥa-aš-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḥa-a-ša-ti*, *ḥa-ša-a-ti*); HLuw. ***has-*** ‘force(?)’ (abl.-instr. <sup>“\*314”</sup> *ha-sá-ti-i* ‘by force’ (KARKAMIŠ A11c §30)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ásthi*, *asthnás* ‘bone’, Gr. ὀστέον ‘bone’, Lat. *os*, *ossis* ‘bone, leg’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>ésth<sub>1</sub>-ōi*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-i-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 425f. for attestations. This word shows a diphthong-stem inflection, on which see Weitenberg 1979. Within IE, we find the clear cognates Skt. *ásthi*, Gr. ὀστέον and Lat. *os* ‘bone’. Especially the neuter root noun Lat. *os*, in which

we would expect *e*-grade, shows that we are dealing with an initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>-*. On the basis of the aspirated stop in Skt. *asth-*, we seem to be dealing with a root *\*h<sub>3</sub>estH-*. The colour of the second laryngeal is determined as *\*h<sub>1</sub>* on the basis of Gr. ὄστρεον < *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-ei-*. Note that this latter form closely resembles Hitt. *ḫaštāi* that reflects *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-ōi*.

The derivative *ḫaštili(ia)-* and *ḫaštiliqatar* are derived from the weak stem *ḫašti-*. Note that the two forms that are spelled *ḫa-aš-te-* probably show the NH mixing up of the signs TE and TI (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137). The derivative *ḫaštaliqatar* and *ḫaštālēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* probably reflect *\*ḫaštaja-*. For a treatment of <sup>UZU</sup>*dānḫašti* ‘double-bone’ < *\*duojom h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>*, see there.

In CLuwian, we find the stem *ḫāš-*, without *-t-*. We therefore must assume that here the original root noun *\*h<sub>3</sub>ésth<sub>1</sub>* yielded *ḫāš* (with regular loss of word-final *-th<sub>1</sub>*, compare also Lat. *os* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>*, cf. Schrijver 1991: 50). This *ḫāš* then was generalized throughout the paradigm, yielding e.g. abl.-instr. *ḫāšati*).

***ḫašter(a)-*** (c.) ‘star’ (Sum. MUL, Akk. *KAKKABU*): nom.sg. *ḫa-aš-te-er-za* (NS), MUL-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. MUL-*i*, nom.pl. MUL<sup>HIA</sup>-*eš* (OS), acc.pl. MUL<sup>HIA</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. MUL<sup>HIA</sup>-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. MUL<sup>HIA</sup>-*aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>URU</sup>***Ḫašter(a)-*** (c.), place-name (Sum. <sup>URU</sup>MUL; acc.sg. <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-aš-te-ra-an*, <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-aš-ti-ra-an*, gen.sg. <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-aš-ti-ra-aš*, all.sg. <sup>URU</sup>MUL-*ra*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄστυρ, Arm. *astl*, Skt. *stár-*, Lat. *stēlla* ‘star’, Goth. *stairno* ‘star’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ster-*

The sumerogram MUL ‘star’ shows phonetic complements that point to an *a*-stem (nom.sg. MUL-*aš*). The only attested phonetic rendering of the word for ‘star’, which is found in a vocabulary (KBo 26.34 iv 9) where Akk. *kà-aq-qa-bu* ‘star’ is glossed by Hitt. *ḫa-aš-te-er-za*, seems to point to a consonant stem *ḫašter-*, however. This phonetic writing is supported by the place-name <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫašter(a)-* (but its attestations do not enable us to decide whether this is a consonant- or an *a*-stem), which is to be equated with <sup>URU</sup>MUL (cf. Puhvel HED 3: 238). Although the nom.sg.-form *ḫašterza* is found in a NS text, it is likely that it is a more original form, whereas the *a*-stem forms are secondarily created on the basis of acc.sg. *\*ḫašteran*, gen.sg. *\*ḫašteraš*, dat.-loc.sg. *\*ḫašteri* etc.

The etymological connection to Gr. ἄστυρ etc. ‘star’ was first suggested by Forrer *apud* Feist (1939: 448) and is generally accepted. The exact interpretation of the word has been subject of some debate. For instance, Puhvel (l.c.) argues in favour of an interpretation *\*h<sub>2</sub>estēr-*, whereas Watkins (1974: 13-4) reconstructs

\**h<sub>2</sub>ostēr*. In my view, the fact that we find Gr. ἀστῆρ and Arm. *astl* besides Skt. *stár-* cannot be interpreted otherwise than that they reflect PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ster-*, which therefore must be the reconstruction of the Hittite word as well. Further analysis of \**h<sub>2</sub>ster-* as an agent noun in *-ter-* of a root \**h<sub>2</sub>es-* is not supported by any evidence: a root \**h<sub>2</sub>es-* is further unattested. The likeliness that *hašterza* reflects \**h<sub>2</sub>stēr-s* implies that it has to be phonologically interpreted as /Hstért<sup>s</sup>/.

(Glš) *hašduer-* (n.) ‘twig(s), brushwood’: nom.-acc.sg. *ha-aš-du-e-er*, *ha-aš-du-er*, abl. *ha-aš-du-er-ra-za*.

PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-g<sup>w</sup>er-* ?

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 438 for attestations. Usually, this word is translated ‘twigs, brush(wood)’ (cf. e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 239), but on the basis of VSNF 12.57 i (4) [(A-NA SI U)]Z<sub>6</sub>.KUR.RA=*kán ha-aš-du-er te-pu ha-aš-ha-aš-ša-an* ‘A little *h*. scraped off of the horn of a mountain goat’, HW<sup>2</sup> states that *hašduer* more likely had “eine Grundbedeutung des Zerkleinerten, Abgerissenen”. On the basis of this meaning, HW<sup>2</sup> suggests an etymological connection with Hitt. *hašhašš-* ‘to scrape, to shave’. This is unconvincing, however: in the above context one could just as well translate ‘A little twig, scraped off of the horn of a mountain goat’. Moreover, if *hašduer-* derives from *hašhašš-*, what kind of suffix would *-duer-* be?

Usually, *hašduer-* is connected with Gr. ὄζος ‘twig, branch’, Arm. *ost* ‘twig, branch’ and Goth. *asts* ‘branch’, which seem to reflect \**Hosd-o-*. Although semantically this connection is convincing, formally we are still dealing with an unparalleled suffix *-uer-*.

Prof. Lubotsky (p.c.) draws my attention to the following groups of words: Skt. *ádga-* ‘knot, sprout (of bamboo)’, MP *’zg* ‘twig’, ModP *azg* ‘twig’ that seem to reflect \**Hodsg<sup>w</sup>o-* and OIr. *odb* ‘knot’, MWe. *oddf* ‘knot’ that go back to \**osbo-* < \**Hosg<sup>w</sup>o-*. Taken together with Gr. ὄζος, Arm. *ost* and Goth. *asts* ‘branch’ < \**Hosdo-*, we seem to be dealing with a preform \**Hosdg<sup>w</sup>o-* (that has undergone metathesis to \**Hodsg<sup>w</sup>o-* in Indo-Iranian). According to Lubotsky, it is attractive to assume that this word ultimately reflects a compound, of which it is likely that the first element goes back to \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-* ‘bone’ (see at *haštai* / *hašti-* ‘bone’ for this reconstruction). If Hittite *hašduer-* belongs here as well, we should reconstruct the word as \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>g<sup>w</sup>er-*. If the second element \**g<sup>w</sup>er-* is to be identified with \**g<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘summit, peak’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 477-8), the compound \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-g<sup>w</sup>er-* may have meant something like ‘boney bulge’ > ‘knot’, ‘sprout’ >

‘twig, branch’. The original association with bone may still be visible in the context cited above.

Although it must be admitted that the above account is quite speculative, it is certainly not less convincing than the old interpretation of *ḥašduer-*, which saw it as a derivation in *-uer-* (of which no other examples in Hittite exist) of a stem *\*Hosd-* which was further analysed as *\*Ho-sd-* ‘(place where birds) sit down’ > ‘twig’.

**ḥaššu-** (c.) ‘king’ (Sum. LUGAL, Akk. *ŠARRU*): nom.sg. LUGAL-*uš* (OS), *ḥa-aš-šu-uš* (KUB 31.100 rev. 9, 10 (MS)), voc.sg. LUGAL-*u-e*, LUGAL-*u-i*, acc.sg. LUGAL-*un* (OS), gen.sg. *ḥa-aš-šu-u[a-aš]* (KBo 13.165 ii 6), LUGAL-*ya-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. LUGAL-*i* (OS), LUGAL-*u-i* (OS), LUGAL-*u-e*, *ḥa-aš-šu-u-ú-i* (KUB 7.7, 8; interpretation uncertain), abl. LUGAL-*ya-az*, LUGAL-*ya-za*, instr. LUGAL-*it*, nom.pl. LUGAL-*u-e-eš*, acc.pl. LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. LUGAL-*ua-an* (OS), LUGAL-*an*, dat.-loc.pl. LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš*.

Derivatives: **\*ḥaššuššara-** (c.) ‘queen’ (Sum. MUNUS.LUGAL-*ra-*; nom.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*, gen.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri*), **ḥaššuē-**<sup>zj</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become king’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḥa-aš-šu-u-e-et*, LUGAL-*u-e-et*), **\*ḥaššuezzi-** (n.) ‘royal status’ (nom.-acc.sg. LUGAL-*u-e-ez-zi*, LUGAL-*u-ez-zi*, LUGAL-*ez-zi*, LUGAL-*u-e-zi=še-et*), **\*ḥaššuezzije/a-**<sup>tu(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to become king’ (1sg.pres.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-aḥ-ḥa-ri*, 1sg.pret.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-aḥ-ḥa-at*, LUGAL-*ez-zi-ja-aḥ-ḥa-ḥa-at*, 3sg.pres.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-ja-at-ta-[at]*, LUGAL-*u-ez-zi-et-ta-at*; 3sg.pret.act. LUGAL-*ez-zi-at*), **\*ḥaššuezna-** ‘royalty’ (gen.sg. LUGAL-*u-e-ez-na-aš*, LUGAL-*u-ez-na-aš*, LUGAL-*ez-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. LUGAL-*u-ez-ni*, abl. [LUGAL-] *u-ez-na-az*), **\*ḥaššueznae-**<sup>zj</sup> (Ic2) ‘to be king’ (1sg.pret.act. LUGAL-*u-ez-na-nu-un*), **\*ḥaššueznatar / ḥaššueznann-** (n.) ‘kingship’ (nom.-acc.sg. LUGAL-*u-ez-na-tar*, LUGAL-*ez-na-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. LUGAL-*u-e-ez-na-an-ni*, LUGAL-*u-ez-na-an-ni*, LUGAL-*u-ez-za-na-an-ni*, LUGAL-*ez-na-an-ni*, LUGAL-*ez-na-ni*, LUGAL-*an-ni*).

IE cognates: Skt. *ásura-* ‘godlike, powerful’, Av. *ahu-*, *ahura-* ‘god, lord’, ON *áss* ‘god’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-u-*

See HW<sup>2</sup> H: 439f. for attestations. See Weitenberg 1984: 436<sup>375</sup> for the phonetic forms. The interpretation of MUNUS.LUGAL-*ra-* as *\*ḥaššuššara-* (see at *išḥā-* ‘master, lord’ for a similar feminine derivative *išḥaššara-* ‘lady, mistress’) is especially based on the personal names <sup>f</sup>*Ḥa-šu-šar* and <sup>f</sup>*Ḥa-šu-uš-ra* that are

attested in the Kültepe-texts. Especially pairs like <sup>m</sup>Ni-*ua-ah-šu* besides <sup>f</sup>Ni-*ua-ah-šu-šar* and <sup>m</sup>Hi-*iš-ta-ah-šu* and <sup>f</sup>Hi-*iš-ta-ah-šu-šar* point to the opposition between male *haššu-* and female *\*haššuššara-*. To what extent the garden vegetable *haššuššarā-* (*ha-šu-uš-ša-ra-a-an* (KUB 7.1 i 21, KUB 24.47 iv 19), *ha-šu-uš-ša-ra-an* (KBo 13.248 i 5)) is identical to the word for ‘queen’ is unclear. The consistent single spelling of the first *-š-* of *haššuššarā-* is not particularly positive for its equation with *\*haššuššara-*.

Sommer (1920: 9-10) convincingly assumed that *haššu-* is derived from *hāšš-<sup>i</sup> / hašš-* ‘to give birth (to), to beget, to procreate’, which has a semantical parallel in the Germanic word for ‘king’, *\*kuninga-* that is derived from the PIE root *\*ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to give birth to’. In outer-Anatolian languages, *haššu-* must be compared with Skt. *ásura-* ‘godlike, powerful’, Av. *ahu-*, *ahura-* ‘god, lord’ and ON *áss* ‘god’. This latter word must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>eNs-u-*, which determines the preform of Skt. *ásura-* and Av. *ahu-* and *ahura-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>Ns-u-(ro-)*. As I will show under the lemma of *hāšš-<sup>i</sup> / hašš-*, there is additional evidence that the root was *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-*, which makes it likely that *haššu-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-u-*.

*hāt-<sup>i</sup> / hat-* (IIa2) ‘to dry up, to become parched’: 3sg.pres.act.? *ha-a-ti* (KUB 8.3 obv. 12 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-a-az-ta* (KUB 17.10 i 16, 17 (OH/MS)), *ha-a-az-za-aš-ta* (KUB 29.40 iv 20 (MH/MS)), *ha-za-aš-ta* (KUB 12.62 obv. 8, 9, rev. 2 (NS)), *ha-az-za-aš-ta* (KUB 12.62 obv. 17, rev. 1 (2x), 2 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-a-te-er* (KUB 17.10 i 16, 17 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ha-a-du* (KUB 17.28 ii 44 (MH/NS)), *ha-az-za-du* (KUB 60.144, 6 (NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ha-a-da-an-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iv 8 (OH/NS)); part. *ha-ta-an-t-* (KUB 17.28 ii 43 (MH/NS)), *ha-da-an-t-* (KUB 30.32 iv 7 (MS)), *ha-da-a-an-t-* (KBo 23.44 i 11 (MH?/NS)), *ha-a-ta-an-t-* (KBo 17.78 i 8 (MS), KUB 42.107 iii 8, 9 (NS), IBoT 2.93 obv. 12 (NS), KUB 29.46 i 14 (MH/MS)), *ha-a-da-an-t-* (KBo 21.33 i 12 (MH/MS), KUB 29.50 i 31 (MH/MS), KUB 27.16 iv 6 (NS), KUB 44.63 ii 12 (NS), IBoT 2.93 obv. 11 (NS)).

Derivatives: *hatēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become dry’ (3sg.pres.act. *ha-te-eš-zi* (KUB 45.58 iii 13 (MH/NS))), *hatnu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to cause to dry up’ (3sg.pret.act. *ha-at-nu-ut* (VBoT 58 i 8 (OH/NS)), *ha-da-nu-ut* (KUB 33.89 + 36.21 iii 21 (NS))), see *hatantiija-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἄζω ‘to dry up’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ód-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>d-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 247f. and Oettinger 1979a: 408 for attestations and semantics. This verb shows forms of both the *mi-* and the *hi-* conjugation. The first *hi-*

inflected form, 3sg.pres.act. *ḥa-a-ti* (KUB 8.3 obv. 12), is in dispute regarding its reading, however: KUB 8.3 obv. (12) [... *k]a-a-aš-za ki-ša n=a<sup>1</sup>-ap ḥa-a-ti* ‘hunger will arise and it will become parched’ could be read as [... *k]a-a-aš-za ki-ša<sup>NA</sup> KIŠIB ZÁḤ<sup>TI</sup>* ‘hunger will arise (and) destruction of the seal’ as well (cf. Oettinger l.c.). In principle, <sup>NA</sup>KIŠIB *ḥa-a-ti* ‘the seal will get dry’ is possible as well, of course. The other *ḥi*-form, 3sg.imp.act. *ḥa-a-du* (KUB 17.28 ii 44), which in principle could alternatively be read *ZÁḤ-du* ‘it must be destroyed’, hardly can be anything else than ‘to become parched’:

KUB 17.29 ii

(43) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ḥa-ta-an-za a-pé-el-l=a e-eš-ša-ri*

(44) *É=ZU QA-TAM-MA ḥa-a-du*

‘Just as the image of him as well has become parched (c. instead of n.), likewise his house must become parched’.

The form *ḥa-a-ti* is found in an OH/NS text, *ḥa-a-du* in an MH/NS text. Some of the *mi*-forms occur in MS texts already (e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *ḥāzta* (OH/MS), *ḥāzzašta* (MH/MS)). At first sight this seems to point to a situation in which *mi*-inflection was original. Nevertheless, because of the fact that all *mi*-forms are 3sg.pret.act. (beside one 3sg.imp.act. *ḥazzadu* that is found in an NS text), and because it is known that *ḥi*-verbs ending in *-VT-* replace the 3sg.pret.-ending *-š* with the *mi*-ending *-ta* quite early (cf. Oettinger l.c.), these forms cannot be used as a solid argument in favour of original *mi*-inflection.

Of more importance is the fact that we find a stem *ḥāt-* (*ḥāti*, *ḥādu*, *ḥāzta*) besides *ḥat-* (*ḥatant-*), which points to an original ablauting pair *ḥāt-/ḥat-*. Such an ablaut is typical for the *ḥi*-inflection. I therefore assume that this verb originally was *ḥi*-inflected and showed a paradigm *ḥāti*, *\*ḥatanzi*. These forms can only reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>ód<sup>(h)</sup>-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>d<sup>(h)</sup>-énti* (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 409).

Puhvel (l.c.) convincingly connects this verb with Gr. ἄζω ‘to dry up (trans.)’, which he reconstructs as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed-je/o-* (although *\*h<sub>2</sub>d-je/o-* is possible as well).

*ḥatt<sup>a(r)</sup>*, *ḥazzije/a<sup>zi</sup>* (IIIa > IIIg; Ic1 > Ib1 > IIa1γ) ‘to pierce, to prick, to stab, to hit (a target), to engrave (a tablet)’: 1sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-ad-da-aḥ-ḥa-ri* (KUB 17.28 i 6 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-at<ta>-ri* (KBo 25.29 ii 4 (OS)), *ḥa-at-ta* (KUB 1.14 ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 28.96, 14 (OH/NS), KUB 41.15 + 53.15 i 20, 22, 23 (NS)), *ḥa-at-ta-ri* (KBo 29.205, 11 (MS), KBo 11.14 iii 9 (OH/NS), 352/v, 4 (NS), KBo 25.30, 11 (NS)), *ḥa-ad-da-ri* (109/u, 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḥa-at-*



*ta-an-ta* (KBo 25.29 ii 6 (OS), KUB 58.14, 4, 6 (OH/NS), HT 1 i 36 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-at-ta-at* (KBo 32.14 ii 20 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-az-zi-ja-at-ta-at* (KBo 13.111, 7 (NS)), [*ḫa-a*]z-zi-at-ta-at (KBo 13.111, 14 (NS)), 3pl.imp.midd. *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta-ru* (KBo 3.27, 9 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-az-zi-ez-zi* (KBo 3.34 ii 33, 34 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-zi* (KBo 3.60 ii 14 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-az-zi* (KUB 58.14 rev.<sup>2</sup> 27 (NS)), *ḫa-at-ta-i* (KBo 11.17 ii 14 (NS), KUB 27.67 ii 48 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-at-ta-a-i* (KUB 5.12 rev. 2 (fr.), 4, 5 (fr.), 7 (fr.) (NS)), *ḫa-ad-da-i* (KBo 2.9 iv 17 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-ad-da-a-i* (KUB 10.63 i 20 (NS)), *ḫa-at-zi* (KUB 53.12 iii 24 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ta-an-zi* (ABoT 25 obv. 18 (MS), KBo 39.8 ii 32, 39 (MS), KUB 20.88 vi 7 (MS), KUB 2.13 ii 56, iii 6 (OH/NS), KUB 41.8 iii 4 (MH/NS), KUB 41.48 iv 19 (NS), KUB 9.31 iii 61 (NS), KUB 9.32 obv. 37 (NS)), *ḫa-ad-da-an-zi* (KUB 39.4 obv. 13 (OH/NS), KBo 2.3 i 43, 52 (MH/NS), KUB 55.45 ii 9 (MH/NS), KUB 9.2 i 9 (NS), KUB 29.4 iv 36 (NS), KUB 34.66 + 39.7 iii 5 (fr.) (NS)), *ḫa-at-ta-a-an-zi* (KBo 15.34 ii 28 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-at-tan<sub>x</sub>-zi* (KBo 4.11, 9 (NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-an-zi* (KBo 20.14 + 25.33 obv. 8 (fr.), 19 (OS), KBo 11.34 i 4 (OH/NS), KBo 20.32 iii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 43.60 iv 15 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-ja-an-zi* (KBo 20.40 v 10 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-az-zi-ja-nu-un* (KBo 4.10 rev. 22 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-az-zi-e-et* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 obv. 31 (OS), KUB 31.64 iii 4 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-et* (KUB 31.64 i 18 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-zi-et* (KBo 3.36 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-at-te-eš* (KBo 32.13 ii 16, 17 (MH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-az-zi-e-e[t-tu]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 51 (OS)); part. *ḫa-az-zi-an-t-* (KBo 22.1, 23 (OS)), *ḫa-at-ta-an-t-*; inf.I *ḫa-az-zi-ja-u-ḫa-an-zi* (KUB 35.145 ii 6 (NS)); impf. *ḫa-az-zi-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 25.35 ii 5 (OS), KBo 15.33 ii 11, iii 6 (OH/MS), KBo 23.74 iii 10 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 iv 44 (MH/MS), KBo 10.23+ iii 15 (OH/NS), KBo 40.173 iv 7 (NS), KUB 55.6 ii 10 (NS)), *ḫa-zi-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 55.31 rev. 4 (MS)), *ḫa-az-zi-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 20.85 iv 12 (NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-i-e-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 20.16 i 11 (MS)), *ḫa-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* (KBo 11.51 iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 2.5 i 4 (OH/NS), KUB 10.12 iii 10 (OH/NS), KUB 20.99 ii 29 (OH/NS), KBo 24.13 iv 15 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-az-zi-ke/a-* (KBo 39.127 r.col. 7 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 i 41, 44, vi 31 (OH/NS), KUB 25.1 vi 29 (OH/NS), KBo 4.13 v 24 (OH/NS), KBo 10.25 vi 13 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: *ḫattanna<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫattanni-* (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ta-an-na-i* (KBo 13.13 obv. 4 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ta-an-n[i-an-zi]* (KBo 20.20 obv. 6 (OS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ta-an-ni-er* (KBo 3.34 i 4 (OH/NS)), impf. *ḫa-ad-da-an-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 18.54 rev. 16 (MS?))), *ḫatteššar* / *ḫattešn-* (n.) ‘perforation, hole’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-te-eš-šar*, *ḫa-at-te-eš-ša*, *ḫa-at-ti-eš-šar*, gen.sg. *ḫa-at-te-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-at-te-eš-ni*, all.sg. *ḫa-at-te-eš-na*, abl.

*ḫa-at-te-eš-na-az*), *ḫazzijaššar* (n.) ‘perforation’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-az-zi-ia-aš-šar*, *ḫa-az-zi-i-šar*).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. *χtta(i)-* ‘to harm, to do violence to’ (3sg.pres.act. *χttadi*, 3pl.pres.act. *χttaiti*, 3sg.pret.act. *χttade*).

PAnat. \**Hat-*

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ét-o*; \**h<sub>2</sub>t-íe-ti*

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See Puhvel HED 3: 248f. for attestations. We find active as well as middle forms that often do not differ in meaning (both transitively ‘to pierce (something/someone), to hit (someone, something)’). Occasionally, middle forms are reflexive (‘to prick oneself’). The forms that we find in OS texts are 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-az-zi-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-az-zi-e-et*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-az-zi-e-e[t-tu]*, 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-at<ta>-ri* and 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta*. This seems to point to an original system in which the active paradigm shows a stem *ḫazzije/a-* (\**ḫatt-je/a-*) whereas the middle paradigm shows a stem *ḫatt-*. Within the middle paradigm, the stem *ḫatt-* was altered to *ḫatta-* in MH times (yielding 1sg.pres.midd. *ḫaddahhari*), which stem was taken over into the active paradigm as well, yielding forms like 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫattai* (MH/NS) and *ḫattanzi* (MS) (according to the *tarn(a)*-class). In NH times, the stem *ḫazzije/a-* is found in the middle paradigm as well (3sg.pret.midd. *ḫazzijattat* (NS)). Despite the formal difference between the active and the middle stem, there does not seem to be a semantic difference between the active and middle forms.

Within Anatolian, this verb has been compared with the HLuwian hapax *hazi-* (gerund. *ha-zi-mi-na* (CEKKE §15)), but the meaning of this latter verb is not ascertained (Oettinger 1979a: 346<sup>176</sup>, who first suggested this connection, translates “wir haben besiegt(?)”, whereas Hawkins 2000: 150 translates “we engrave”, which is seemingly influenced by etymological considerations). Any phonological conclusions based on this form only cannot be substantiated (cf. footnote 196). A better comparandum is HLuw. *hat-* ‘to write’, which I treat under the lemma of *hatrae-* ‘to write’. Together with Lyc. *χtta(i)-* ‘to harm’, these forms all point to a PAnat. root \**Hat-*.

From an IE point of view, PAnat. \**Hat-* can hardly reflect anything else than PIE \**h<sub>2,3</sub>et-*. If Hitt. *ḫazzije/a-* goes back to \**Ht-je/o-* (in principle \**-je/o-* derivatives show zero grade of the root), the initial laryngeal must be \**h<sub>2</sub>* as \**h<sub>3</sub>* would disappear initially before stop (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). We therefore should mechanically reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>et-*, but such a root is further unknown in other IE languages. A comparison with Arm. *hatanem* ‘to pierce, to cut, to slice’ is difficult as \**t* should have given Arm. *t’* (cf. Puhvel l.c.). Note that \**h<sub>2</sub>t-je/o-* in

principle would yield Hitt. *\*hazze/a-*, but that we must reckon with restoration of the suffix *-je/a-* here (similarly in *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, which later on is restored as *uaššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*). Possibly the remarkable spelling 3sg.pres.act. *ha-az-ZE/l-zi* (OH/NS), cited above as *ha-az-zi-zi* is to be read as *ha-az-ze-zi* = /Ht<sup>s</sup>ét<sup>s</sup>i/, the regular outcome of *\*h<sub>2</sub>t-iě-ti*.

The *-ške/a-*imperfective shows different spellings. The spellings *ha-az-zi-iš-ke/a-* and *ha-zi-iš-ke/a-* are found in OS and MS texts, and therefore at first sight seem to be the original ones. They probably represent phonological /Ht<sup>s</sup>iské/á-/. Nevertheless, I think that the forms that show the spellings *ha-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* and *ha-az-zi-ke/a-*, which are predominantly attested in OH/NS texts and represent /Htsiké/á-/, must be more original, particularly if we compare the imperfectives *zi-ik-ke/a-* = /tsiké/á-/ ‘to put’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* and *az-zi-ke/a-* = /ʔdsiké/á-/ ‘to eat’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>d-ské/ó-*. Especially the latter one shows that *ha-az-zi(-ik)-ke/a-* = /Htsiké/á-/ must be the regular reflex of the morphologically expected preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>t-ské/ó-*. I therefore assume that already in OH times the phonetically regular form *ha-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* = /Htsiké/á-/ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>t-ské/ó-* was altered to *ha-az-zi-iš-ke/a-* = /Ht<sup>s</sup>iské/á-/ in analogy to the present-stem *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* = /Ht<sup>s</sup>ié/á-/. The influence of this stem is especially apparent in the MS form *ha-az-zi-i-e-eš-ke/a-* = /Ht<sup>s</sup>ieské/á-/.

**-hhat** (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-hha(ri)*, *-hhat(i)*

**hatta-**: see *hatt-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

(GIŠ/NA)**hattalla-** (n.) ‘club, mace’: nom.-acc.sg. *ha-at-tal-la-an* (KUB 1.17 ii 28), *hat-tal-la-an* (KUB 38.2 ii 9), instr. *ha-at-tal-li-it* (KUB 26.25, 12), nom.-acc.pl. *ha-at-tal-la* (KUB 42.35 obv. 5).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. <sup>\*274</sup>**hatal(a)i-** ‘to smite’ (1sg.pret.act. <sup>\*274</sup>*ha-ta-li-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A25a §1), <sup>\*274</sup>*ha-ta-li-i-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §28 Hu.), <sup>\*274</sup>*ha-ta-li-há* (KARATEPE 1 §28 Ho.), <sup>\*274</sup>*há-ta-li-há* (KARATEPE 1 §25 Ho.), <sup>\*274</sup>*ta-li-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §25 Hu.), 3pl.pret.act. <sup>\*274</sup>*ha-ta-la-i-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Hu.), *há-ta-la-i-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Ho.)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 255 for attestations. This word is likely a derivative in *-alla-* of the verb *hatt-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pierce, to hit’ (q.v.).

(GIŠ)**hattalu-** (n.) ‘bolt, lock’ (Sum. SAG.KUL): nom.-acc.sg. *ha-at-ta-lu*, *ha-ad-da-lu*, gen.sg. *ha-at-ta-lu-aš* (OS), *ha-at-ta-lu-ua-aš* (OS), *ha-at-tal-ua-aš*, *ha-tal-ua-aš*, *ha-at-ta-al-ua-aš*, instr. *ha-at-ta-lu-ut*.

Derivatives: *ḫattaluḫae*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to bolt, to lock’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-tal-ḫa-an-zi*, 3pl.pret.act. [*ḫa-a*]t-tal-ḫa-er, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-at-tal-ḫa-i*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-tal-ḫa-an-du*; part. *ḫa-at-tal-ḫa-an-t*), <sup>LÜ</sup>*ḫattaluḫala*- (c.) ‘lockman, doorguard’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-al-ḫa-la-aš*, *ḫa-tal-ḫa-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-tal-ḫa-li*, nom.pl. *ḫa-at-tal-ḫa-al-li-iš*, *ḫa-at-tal-ḫa-la-aš*, *ḫa-tal-ḫa-le-e-eš*).

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>t-ol-u-??*

See Weitenberg 1984: 28f. and Puhvel HED 3: 257f. for attestations and semantics. The morphological analysis of this word is difficult. The only other word ending in *-alu-* is *idālu-* ‘bad’, which seems to be an *u*-stem derivative of a stem \**idāl-* (~ CLuw. *adduḫal-*). If we are allowed to compare *idālu-* to *ḫattalu-* (but note that *idālu-* is an adjective whereas *ḫattalu-* is a noun), it would mean that we have to reckon with a stem \**ḫattal-*. Puhvel (l.c.) compares this \**ḫattal-* with e.g. *išḫiḫal-* ‘bond, belt’ that is derived from *išḫai*<sup>-i</sup> / *išḫi-* ‘to bind’ (q.v.), and assumes a derivation from *ḫatt*<sup>-a(ri)</sup> ‘to pierce, to hit’. Although this indeed is possible, the semantic connection is not self-evident. For an etymological treatment of *ḫatt-* see at *ḫatt*<sup>-a(ri)</sup>, *ḫazzije/a*<sup>-zi</sup>.

*ḫattant-* (adj.) ‘intelligent, clever, wise’: nom.sg.c. *ḫa-at-ta-an-za*, *ḫa-ad-da-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta-an*, *ḫa-ad-da-an-da-an*, nom.pl.c. *ḫa-ad-da-an-te-eš*, acc.pl.c. *ḫa-at-ta-an-du-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta*.

Derivatives: *ḫattahḫ*<sup>-i</sup> (IIb) ‘to make clever, to instruct’ (impf.2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ta-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-te-en*), *ḫattātār* / *ḫattann-* (n.) ‘intelligence, counsel, wisdom’ (Sum. GALGA-*tar*; nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-tar*, *ḫa-at-ta-a-tar*, *ḫa-ad-da-tar*, *ḫa-at-ta-ta*, *ḫa-at-ta-a-da*, *ḫa-ad-da-da*, gen.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫa-ad-da-an-na-aš*, abl. *ḫa-ad-da-na-za*).

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>t-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 260f. for attestations. Synchronically, all words of this lemma seem to belong with *ḫatt*<sup>-a(ri)</sup>, *ḫazzije/a*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to pierce, to hit’. Already Sommer & Falkenstein (1938: 97-100) argued that this connection can be supported by assuming a semantic development \*‘penetration, sharpness’ > ‘intelligence, wit’ (compare Lat. *scīre* ‘to know’ and Hitt. *šākk*<sup>-i</sup> / *šakk-* ‘to know’ from PIE \**sekH-* ‘to cut’). See at the lemma of *ḫatt*<sup>-a</sup>, *ḫazzije/a*<sup>-zi</sup> for further etymology.

*ḫatantiḫa-* (gender unclear) ‘dry land’: gen.sg.(?) *ḫa-ta-an-ti-ḫa-aš* (KBo 5.7 rev. 16 (MH/MS), KUB 42.1 iii 4, 18 (NS), KUB 42.4a, 3 (NS)), *ḫa-ta-an-ti-aš* (KUB 42.1 iii 7, 11 (NS), KUB 42.4a, 6 (NS), KUB 42.5 obv. 3 (NS)), *ḫa-ta-(an)-ti-ḫa-*

*aš* (KUB 42.1 iii 14 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-ta-an-ti-ja* (KUB 36.75 iii 22 (OH/MS), KUB 31.130 rev. 6 (OH/MS)), *ḥa-da-an-te-ja* (KBo 12.38 iii 10 (NH)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 263 for attestations and semantics. According to Puhvel, it is likely that *ḥatantiia-* is a nominal derivative of the part. *ḥatant-* of *ḥāt-<sup>i</sup> / ḥat-* ‘to dry up’ (q.v.). If this is correct, we must assume that the derivation took place within Hittite (at least after the assibilation of \**ti* to *zi*) as a pre-Hitt. \**h<sub>2</sub>d-ent-jo-* regularly should have given \*\**ḥatanziia-*. See at *ḥāt-<sup>i</sup> / ḥat-* for further etymology.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥattara-* (n.) ‘prick, awl (vel sim.):’ nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-at-ta-ra-a[n]* (KUB 33.8 ii 14 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: *ḥattarae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḥattarije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (Ic2 / IIIg) ‘to prick, to incise’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḥa-at-ta-ra-a-mi* (KUB 36.35 i 3 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḥa-ad-da-ri-i-e-et-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iii 14 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-ad-da-ri-i-et-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iii 18, 22, 26 (OH/NS)); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḥa-at-ta-ra-an* (OS)), *ḥattareššar / ḥattarešn-* (n.) ‘intersection, crossroad’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḥa-ad-da-re-eš-šar*) (KUB 7.54 ii 13 (NS)), gen.sg. [*ḥa-at-t*] *a-ri-iš-na-aš* (KUB 20.2 iv 19 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḥa-ad-da-ri-iš-ni* (KUB 35.145 ii 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ḥa-at-ta-re-eš-na-aš* (KUB 10.72 ii 8 (OH/NS), ABoT 17 iii 14 (NS), KUB 24.9 ii 37 + KBo 12.127 ii 4 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-at-ta-ri-iš-na-aš* (KUB 24.11 ii 16 (OH/NS)), *ḥa-at-re-eš-na-aš* (KUB 9.22 iii 20, 44 (fr.) (MS)), [*ḥa-at-ta-r*] *i-ša-na-aš* (KBo 17.64, 8 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥattara-* ‘hoe (vel sim.)’ (acc.sg. *ḥa-at-ta-ra-am=ša-an*, *ḥa-at-ta-ra-an*, abl.-instr. *ḥa-at-ta-ra-a-ti*, *ḥa-⟨at-⟩ta-ra-ti*), *ḥattari(ia)-* ‘to hoe’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḥa-at-ta-ri-it-ta*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 263 for attestations and semantics. It is tempting to see *ḥattara-* and especially its derivative *ḥattarae-<sup>zi</sup>* as mere variants to *ḥatrae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to write’ and its postulated nominal origin \**ḥatra-*, but the slight difference in semantics (*ḥattarae-<sup>zi</sup>* denotes ‘to prick, to incise’, whereas *ḥatrae-<sup>zi</sup>* means ‘to write’ only) and the consistent difference in spelling (*ḥa-at-ta-r<sup>o</sup>* vs. *ḥa-at-r<sup>o</sup>*) speaks against this. Puhvel (l.c.) assumes a suffix *-ara-* that is attached to the verbal stem *ḥatt-* (see *ḥatt-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *ḥazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pierce, to hit’), which then must be different from the suffix *-ra-* as seen in *ḥatrae-*. Rieken (1999a: 390) assumes a Luwian origin of these words (cf. CLuw. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥattara-*), but the OS attestations of the part. *ḥattaran* ‘incised’ is not favourable to this view. Whatever the case,

*hattara-* and its derivatives ultimately derive from the verbal stem *hatt-<sup>a(rj)</sup>*, *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, q.v. for an etymological treatment.

**-*hhat(i)*** (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-hha(ri)*, *-hhat(i)*

***hatk-<sup>i</sup>*** (IIa2) ‘to shut, to close’: 3sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ki* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ha-at-ku-e-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ha-at-kán-zi* (OS); part. *ha-at-ga-an-t-* (undat.); impf. *ha-at-ga-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *ha-at-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***hatganu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make tight, to put pressure on’ (3sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ga-nu-uz-zi* (NH), *ha-at-ga-nu-zi* (NH)), ***hatkešnu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘id.’ (1sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ke-eš-nu-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ki-iš-nu-ši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ki-iš-nu-uz-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ha-at-ke-eš-nu-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ha-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-at-ke(eš)nu-e-er* (NH), [*ha-at-k*]i-iš-nu-er (NH), *ha-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ha-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* (NH), part. *ha-at-ke-eš-nu-ua-an-t-*, *ha-at-keš-ša-nu-an-t-*; impf. *ha-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ha-at-keš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***hatku-* / *hatgau-*** (adj.) ‘tight, pressed, stressful’ (nom.sg.c. *ha-at-ku-uš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *ha-at-ku-un* (NH), abl. *ha-at-ga-u-ua-az* (OS), nom.pl.c. [*h*]a-at-ga-u-e-eš (OH/NS)), ***hatkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become tight’ (3sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ku-e-eš-zi* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄχθομαι ‘to be burdened, to be depressed’, ἄχος ‘pressure, burden’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ód<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 266f. for attestations. The verb is attested from OS texts already, and shows the *hi*-inflection (cf. 3sg.pres.act. *hatki*). Despite its awkward looking form, it functions as any normal Hittite verb: it forms a causative in *-nu-*, *hatganu-<sup>zi</sup>*, it forms a fientive in *-ēšš-*, *\*hatkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* as visible in *hatkešnu-<sup>zi</sup>*, and it forms an *u*-stem adjective *hatku-* / *hatgau-*. The verb itself denotes ‘to shut, to close’, but its derivatives all have the connotation ‘tight, pressing’. This indicates that the verb originally meant something like ‘to press together, to squeeze’. Risch (1964: 78) etymologically connected *hatk-* with Gr. ἄχθομαι ‘to be burdened, to be depressed’ (cf. ἄχος ‘pressure, burden’), which would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-*. Note that the fact that neither the *-t-* nor the *-k-* in Hittite is ever spelled with a geminate (unlike e.g. *har-ták-ka-* ‘bear’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>rtk-*o-) supports this etymology.

Puhvel HED 3: 417 cites a stem *hutk-* which he equates with *hatk-*. The words that he regards as showing this stem, *hu-ut-ki-iš-na-aš* (KUB 36.49 i 3), *hu-te-ek-ki-iš-kán-du* (KUB 31.100 obv. 9), *hu-u-te-ek-ki-iš-kán-du* (ibid. 11), are

(semi-)hapaxes the meaning of which cannot be independently determined. The form *hutkišnaš* occurs in a list of evil things, whereas *hutekkiškandu* is attested twice in a broken context. There is not a shred of evidence that they belong with *hatk-*.

***hatrae-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to write, to report, to declare, to order’ (Akk. *ŠAPĀRU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ra-a-mi* (MH/MS, often), *ha-at-ra-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ra-a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ha-at-ra-a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ha-at-ra-iz-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. [*ha-*]at-ra-a-u-ni (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. [*ha-at-*]ra-at-te-ni, *ha-at-ra-a-at-te[-ni]* 3pl.pres.act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ha-at-ra-a-nu-un* (MH/MS), *ha-at-ra-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ha-at-ra-a-eš*, *ha-at-ra-a-iš*, *ha-at-ra-iš*, 3sg.pret.act. *ha-at-ra-et* (OS), *ha-at-ra-a-et* (MH/MS), 2pl.pret.act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-te-en* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ha-at-ra-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ha-at-ra-a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *ha-at-ra-a-ú*, 2pl.imp.act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-du*; impf. *ha-at-re-eš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***hatriješšar*** (n.) ‘written message, decree’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ha-at-ri-eš-šar*, *ha-at-ri-i-e-eš-ša*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***hatura-*** ‘letter’ (nom.sg. /haturas/ *ha-tu+ra-a-sa* (ASSUR letters *f+g* §9), *ha-tu+ra+sa* (ASSUR letter *e* §11), acc.sg. /haturan/ *ha-tu+ra/i-na* (ASSUR letter *a* §5, *d* §5, *e* §5, §7, §9) dat.-loc.sg? *ha-tu+ra/i-* (ASSUR letter *e* §3)), ***hat-*** ‘to write’ (inf. dat. *ha-tu-ra+a* (ASSUR letters often)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>et-ro-*ǵé/ó-**

See Oettinger (1979a: 30f.) and Puhvel (HED 3: 269f.) for attestations (but note that Puhvel cites some wrong forms, e.g. 3sg.pres.act. “*ha-at-ra-a-*r*”* (KUB 8.24 iii 3), which in fact is *ha-at-ra-a-iz[-zi]*). This verb is prototypical for the so-called *hatrae*-class, which means that it shows a stem *hatrāe-* or *hatrāi-* besides *hatrā-*. As Oettinger (1979a: 357f.) convincingly argues, the verbs of the *hatrae*-class are denominative derivations in *\*-ǵe/o-* of *o*-stem nouns that show *\*-o-ǵé- > -ae-* and *\*-o-ǵó- > -ā-* (see § 2.2.2.1.p for a treatment of this class).

In the case of *hatrae-*<sup>zi</sup> itself, this means that we have to assume a basic noun *\*hatra-* ‘writing’. It is likely that this *\*hatra-* is derived from the verbal stem *hatt-<sup>a(n)</sup>*, *hazzi<sup>ie</sup>/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pierce, to hit, to engrave’ (q.v. for further etymology). Compare the lemma of <sup>GIS</sup>*hattara-*, where we find a derivative *hattarae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to prick, to incise’, for the semantic and orthographic difference from *hatrae-*.

Note that in HLuwian the unextended verb *hat-* means ‘to write’ and that *hatura-* ‘letter’ is a more direct derivative of it.

**ḫatuk-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib1) ‘to be terrible’ (Sum. KAL): 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-tu-uk-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. KAL-*ga-an-zi*.

Derivatives: **ḫatūka-**, **ḫatuki-** (adj./n.) ‘terrible (deed), fearsome’ (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-tu-ga-aš* (KUB 33.69 iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 59.66 iv 5 (NS)), *ḫa-du-ga-aš* (KBo 26.96, 8 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *ḫa-du-ga-an* (KBo 22.107 i 7 (MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-tu-ga-an* (KUB 33.68 ii 19 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-tu-ú-ga-an* (KBo 17.6 iii 1 (OS), KBo 17.1 iii 19 (fr.), iv 2 (fr.) (OS)), *ḫa-du-kán* (KBo 20.88 iv 9 (NS)), *ḫa-tu-ka-a(n)=š-me-et* (KBo 17.1 iii 12 (OS)), *ḫa-tu-ga-a(n)[=š-me-et]* (KBo 17.3 iii 12 (OS)), *ḫa-tu-ga* (KBo 13.34 iv 12 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-tu-ga-i* (KBo 22.6 i 27 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-du-ga-ia* (KBo 15.3, 7 (NS)), abl. *ḫa-tu-ga-ia-az* (KBo 5.6 iii 30 (NH)), KAL-*ga-za* (KUB 7.54 i 3, iv 11 (NS)), KAL-*ga-az* (KUB 17.16 i 4 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *ḫa-tu-ga-e-eš* (KBo 4.2 ii 32 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-du-ga-e-eš* (KBo 17.105 iii 31 (MS)), acc.pl.c. *ḫa-tu-ka-uš* (KBo 17.5 ii 11 (OS)), *ḫa-tu-ga-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 6 (OS), KBo 4.2 i 16 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫa-tu-ga* (KBo 3.21 ii 24 (MH/NS), KBo 17.78 i 1 (MS), KBo 4.2 iii 41, iv 36 (NH), KUB 12.27, 5 (NH)), *ḫa-du-ga* (KBo 17.105 iii 6 (MS)), *ḫa-tu-ga-ia* (KUB 19.14, 11 (NH))), **ḫatugūtār / ḫatugann-** (n.) ‘terror, awesomeness’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-tu-ga-a-tar*, *ḫa-tu-ga-tar*, *ḫa-du-ga-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-tu-ga-an-ni*), **ḫatukēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2 > Ic2) ‘to become terrible’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-tu-ki-iš-zi*, *ḫa-du-ki-iš-zi*, *ḫa-tu-ki-iš-ša-iz-zi*, impf. [*ḫa-*]tu-ki-iš-ke/a-), **ḫatuganu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to terrify’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-tu-ga-nu-ua-an[-zi]*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ḫa-tu-ga-nu-ua-ua-aš*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀτύχομαι ‘to be distraught from fear, to be terrified’, ?Skt. *tuj-* ‘to thrust’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>tég-ti / \*h<sub>2</sub>tug-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 274f. for attestations. The adjective (which sometimes seems to be used as a noun ‘terrible deed’) shows *a*-stem as well as *i*-stem forms, both from OS texts onwards (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫatūgan* (OS) besides acc.pl.c. *ḫatukauš* (OS)). I have not been able to find a semantic distribution between the two (like, for instance, in *šuppištuuara-* (adj.) besides *šuppišduuari-* (c.)).

The most generally accepted etymology is the one first suggested by Benveniste (1937: 497), who connected *ḫatuka/i-* with Gr. ἀτύχομαι ‘to be distraught from fear, to be terrified’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>tug-*, which semantically indeed is convincing. The formal aspect of this etymology is more complicated however. If Hitt. *ḫatuk-* indeed reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>tug-*, it would mean that the initial cluster *\*h<sub>2</sub>t-* comes out as Hitt. *ḫa-tV-* and not *\*\*ḫa-at-tV-*, as one could have expected. To my knowledge, there are no other examples of such an outcome in Hittite (the often-cited parallel *ḫapuš-* ‘penis’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>pus-* is wrong as the stem actually is *ḫāpūša(šš)-* (q.v.), which



denotes ‘shin-bone’ and not ‘penis’). On the contrary, forms like *ḥappeššar* ‘limb’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>p-ésr*, *ḥattant-* ‘clever’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>t-ent-* or *appanzi* ‘they seize’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>penti* seem to show that initial clusters /Hp-/, /Ht-/ and /ʔp-/ are spelled with geminate stop. Nevertheless, all these forms belong to ablauting verbs which could have caused restitution of the voiceless stop.

So, I would like to propose that in \**h<sub>2</sub>tug-* the initial cluster \**h<sub>2</sub>t-* regularly lenited to Hitt. /Hd-/, spelled *ḥa-tV-*, whereas in forms that show \**HT-* as a zero-grade of \**HeT-* the fortis stop \**T* was restored, which yielded initial clusters /HT-/ and /ʔT-/, spelled *ḥa-aT-TV-* or *aT-TV-*.

Couvreur (1937: 147) further connected *ḥatuk<sup>-zi</sup>* and Gr. ἀτύχομαι with Skt. *tuj-* ‘to thrust’. Although at first sight this connection is semantically problematic, forms like *tujyáte* ‘he is put to panic’ may show that this connection is possible.

Puhvel (l.c.) dismisses the etymological connection with Gr. ἀτύχομαι (without argumentation) and connects *ḥatuk<sup>-zi</sup>* with Gr. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι ‘to be wroth against, to hate’. As this word is connected with Lat. *odium* ‘to hate’ (from PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-*), it must in his view be analysed as a suffixed form \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-u-* or \**h<sub>3</sub>d-u-*. This does not fit the fact that Hitt. *ḥatuk-* clearly functions as a monosyllabic root. Moreover, if the preform were \**h<sub>3</sub>d-u-*, the initial \**h<sub>3</sub>* would regularly in Hittite, namely before stop (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

**ḥāwi-** (c.) ‘sheep’ (Sum. UDU): nom.sg. UDU-*iš*, nom.pl.(??) *ḥa-a-u-e-eš*.

Derivatives: **ḥawīiašši-** (adj.) ‘sheep-like’ (acc.sg.c. *ḥa-ú-i-aš-ši-in* (KUB 32.1 iii 2), *ḥa-ú-i-ia-aš-ši-in* (KUB 32.1 iii 10), undecl. *ḥa-ú<sub>3</sub>-ia-aš-ši* (KBo 21.42 i 11)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ḥāwi-** (c.) ‘sheep’ (nom.sg. *ḥa-a-ú-i-iš*, acc.pl. UDU-*in-za*); HLuw. **hawī-** (c.) ‘sheep’ (nom.sg. <sup>OVIS.ANIMAL</sup>*há-wá/i-i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), <sup>OVIS.ANIMAL</sup>*há-wa/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu.), <sup>“OVIS.ANIMAL”</sup>*há-wa/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu., KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18c, §18e), OVIS-*wa/i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18e), OVIS-*sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18b), acc.sg. <sup>OVIS</sup>*ha-wa/i-na* (KULULU lead strips fr. 1), OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-na* (MARAŞ 11 §8), OVIS.ANIMAL-*na* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §31), gen.sg. OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-si* (KARATEPE 1 §55), OVIS.ANIMAL-*si* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §30), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>OVIS.ANIMAL</sup>*ha-wa/i-i* (AKSARAY §4a), abl.-instr. <sup>“OVIS.ANIMAL”</sup>*ha-wa/i-ti* (KULULU 1 §6)), nom.pl. OVIS.ANIMAL-*zi* (SULTANHAN §29)); Lyc. **ḫawa-** (c.) ‘sheep’ (acc.sg. *ḫawã*).

IE cognates: Skt. *ávi-* ‘sheep’, Gr. ὄϊς, ὄφις ‘sheep’, Lat. *ovis* ‘sheep’, TochB *ā(w)w*, *awi* (nom.pl.) ‘ewe’.

PIE \**h<sub>3</sub>eui-*

The word for ‘sheep’ in Hittite is predominantly written with the sumerogram UDU, which had several phonetic readings. We find the phonetically spelled <sup>UDU</sup>*iġant-* (q.v.), but also an *u*-stem UDU-*u-* (nom.sg. UDU-*uš* (MH/MS), acc.sg. UDU-*un* (OS)), and some *i*-stem forms (nom.sg. UDU-*iš* (KUB 6.9, 5, 6)). These *i*-stem forms are likely to be read as *ħayī-* as is attested in CLuw. *ħāyī-* and HLuw. *hawī-* ‘sheep’. A possible phonetic spelling is found in the following context, although its interpretation is far from assured:

KBo 24.26 iii

(3) [... (-)ħ]a-a-u-e-eš la-az-za-an-da-ti-in ħa-aš-ta

(4) [... la-az-]za-an-da-ti-iš<sup>d</sup> A-i-in-du-pí-in-zu ħa-aš-t[a]

‘[...](-)ħ]āyēš bore lazzandati-. [...]laz]zandati- bore<sup>d</sup> Āġindupinzu’.

Both *lazzandati-* and <sup>d</sup>*Āġindupinzu* are hapax. More securely attested is the adjective *ħayīāšši-* ‘sheep-like’, but this is clearly a Luwianism as we can see from the gen.adj.-suffix *-ašši-*.

Melchert (1993b: 66) states that in view of the *a*-stem as found in Lyc. *ħawa-* ‘sheep’, the Luwian forms probably are not inherited *i*-stems, too, (as one would expect on the basis of the *i*-stem forms in the other IE languages) and that the forms with *-i-* are all *i*-motion forms. The only attested form in Lycian (acc.sg. *ħawā* (149, 10)) is directly preceded by acc.sg. *wawā* ‘cow’ and it is likely that this word has had an influence on ‘sheep’. In my view, the Luwian gen.adj. *ħayīāšši-* as attested in the Hittite texts, proves that the Luwian forms were really *i*-stem forms.

The PIE reconstruction of the word for ‘sheep’ has caused much discussion. The basic question is whether we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>oyi-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>eui-*. Scholars in favour of *\*h<sub>2</sub>oyi-* point to the fact that the Tocharian forms seem to show *ā-* from *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-* and that *χ-* in Lycian is supposed to reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>* only, and not *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. Scholars in favour of *\*h<sub>3</sub>eui-* point to the fact that we would rather expect *e*-grade in such an *i*-stem word and to the absence of Brugmann’s Law in Sanskrit (cf. Lubotsky 1990).

As I have tried to show in Kloekhorst fthc.c, the argument depending on Lyc. *χ-* must be rejected: the assumption that *\*h<sub>3</sub>-* > Lyc. *Ø-* is based on one example only (*epirijeti*) that is falsely interpreted (see also at *ħāppar-* / *ħāppir-*). I do not have the competence to judge the Tocharian material in detail but I am convinced that the *\*o-* seen in Skt., Gr. and Lat. must reflect *\*h<sub>3</sub>eui-*.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, \**h<sub>3</sub>e-* probably yielded Lyc. *χe-* (cf. *Xerēi* < \**h<sub>3</sub>er-on-*, see under *hāran-* ‘eagle’), which means that *χawa-* shows *a*-umlaut from original \**χewa-* (which replaces original \**χewi-* on the basis of *wawa-* ‘cow’).

*hazziē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *hatt-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *hazziē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

*-hhe* (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-flexion): see *-hhi*

*hēiau-*: see *hēu-* / *hē(i)au-*

*hēiu-*: see *hēu-* / *hē(i)au-*

<sup>NA</sup>*hekur* (c.) ‘rock-sanctuary’: *hē-kur*, *hē-gur*.

See Puhvel HED 3: 287 for a collection of attestations. The word does not show inflected forms, cf. Weitenberg (1984: 154) who states that “[m]an hat den Eindruck, daß das Wort sich wie ein Sumerogram verhält”. Puhvel (l.c.) convincingly argued that the word probably is a loanword, ultimately from Sum. É.KUR ‘mountain house’, possibly through Hurrian mediation. Herewith, the alleged IE origin of this word (often reconstructed as ‘acrostatic’ \**h<sub>2</sub>ēk-ur* with non-colouration of \**ē* by \**h<sub>2</sub>* because of Eichner’s Law) must be rejected.

*hen-*: see *hān-<sup>i</sup>* / *han-*

*he(n)k-<sup>na(ri)</sup>*, *he(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *hai(n)k-<sup>na(ri)</sup>*

*henkan-* (n.) ‘death, doom, deadly disease, plague’ (Sum. UG<sub>6</sub>): nom.-acc.sg. *he-en-ka-an* (KBo 18.151 obv. 12 (OH/MS)), *hi-in-kán* (MH/MS, often), *hi-in-ga-an* (KUB 15.34 ii 47 (MH/MS), KUB 14.8 obv. 29, rev. 9 (NH)), *he-en-kán* (HT 1 ii 29 (NS)), *hē-en-kán* (KBo 3.28 ii 15 (OH/NS), KBo 3.46 obv. 33 (OH/NS), KBo 3.34 iii 14 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *hi-in-ga-na-aš* (KUB 34.58 i 2 (MH/MS), KBo 3.21 ii 25 (MH/NS), KUB 14.12 obv. 8 (NH)), *hi-in-ka-na-aš* (KBo 13.8 obv. 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *hi-in-ga-ni* (KUB 4.72 rev. 7 (OS), KUB 30.10 obv. 20 (OH/MS), KBo 3.38 rev. 21 (OH/NS), KBo 3.1 ii 28 (OH/NS), KBo 16.52 obv. 9 (NS), etc.), *hē-en-ga-ni* (KBo 22.2 rev. 5 (OH/MS)), all.sg. *hi-in-ga-na* (KUB 30.10 obv. 20 (OH/MS)), erg.sg. *hi-in-ga-na-an-za* (KUB 24.3 ii 25 (MH/NS)), abl. *hi-in-ga-na-az* (MH/MS), *hi-in-ga-na-za* (MH/MS).

See Puhvel HED 3: 296f. for attestations. Already in the oldest texts (OS and OH/MS) we find the spellings *hi-in-k<sup>o</sup>*, *he-en-k<sup>o</sup>* and *hé-en-k<sup>o</sup>* besides each other. Since we know that *\*-enK-* develops into *-inK-*, I assume that *henkan-* is the original form.

Although this word is attested in the oldest texts already and has an impeccable *n*-stem inflection, its etymological interpretation is difficult. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a connection with Skt. *naś-* ‘to perish’, but this is abortive: its cognate Gr. *νεκρός* ‘corpse’ shows that the root was *\*nek-*, and not *\*h<sub>2</sub>nek-* as Puhvel must assume. I would rather connect *henkan-* with Hitt. *hai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *hi(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to bestow (act.); to bestow oneself > to bow (midd.)’. Semantically, we should regard *henkan-* then as an euphemistic ‘that what has been allotted to someone’ > ‘fate, death, doom’ (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 175 and Melchert 1984a: 94 for similar interpretations). This means that the original form must have been *\*hainkan-*, which in OH times contracted to *henkan-* and almost immediately fell victim to the development *\*-enK-* > *-inK-* and subsequently became *hinkan-*. See at the lemma of *hai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* for further etymology.

*hēš-* / *hešš-*: see *hāš-* / *hašš-*, *hēš-* / *hešš-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*hešša-*: see <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hišša-*

<sup>É</sup>*heštā*, <sup>É</sup>*heštī*: see <sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī*

*hēu-* / *hē(i)au-* (c.) ‘rain’ (Akk. *ZUNNU*): nom.sg. *hé-e-ú-uš* (KUB 19.14, 9 (NH)), *hé-e-uš* (KUB 16.81 rev. 4 (NS), KUB 5.1 iv 77 (NH), KUB 19.50 iv 27 (NH)), *hé-uš* (RS 25.421 obv. 32 (undat.)), acc.sg. *hé-e-un* (ABoT 5 ii 12 (OS), KUB 34.94, 2, 8 (OS?, OH/MS?)), KUB 16.29 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 51.84 r.col. 15 (NS), KUB 28.5 obv. 12 (NH)), *hé-ú-un* (KBo 10.25 ii 3 (OH/NS), KBo 25.176 obv. 12, 14, rev. 20 (OH/NS)), *hé-i-ú-un* (KBo 3.7 ii 25 (OH/NS)), *hé-e-u-un* (KBo 3.21 ii 25 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *hé-e-ia-u-ua-aš* (KUB 25.23 iv 52 (NS)), *hé-e-u-ua-aš*, *hé-e-ua-aš*, *hé-e-u-aš*, instr. *hé-e-a-u-it*, nom.pl. *hé-e-a-u-e-eš* (OS), *hé-e-ia-u-e-š=a* (OS), *hé-e-ia-u-e-eš*, *hé-e-u-e-eš*, *hé-e-mu-uš*, *hé-e-u-uš* (KUB 7.5 i 17 (MH/NS)), *hé-e-u[-u]š* (KUB 19.50 iv 27 (NH)), acc.pl. *he-e-a-mu-uš*, *hé-ia-mu-uš*, *he-e-mu-ú-uš*, *hé-u-uš* (KBo 3.7 ii 22 (OH/NS)), *hé-e-ú-uš* (KUB 16.37 iv 6 (NH), KUB 28.4 obv. 19 (NS)), *hé-e-ú-š=a=š-ši* (KUB 28.5 obv. 13 (NS)), *hé-e-uš* (KUB 28.4 obv. 19 (NS), KUB 36.12 iii 10 (NS), KUB 36.77, 2, 5

(NS), KUB 36.89 rev. 54, 60 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl.(?) *hē-e-u-uš* (KBo 13.245 rev. 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: *hē(ia)uanije/a-<sup>di</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to rain’ (3sg.pret.act. [*hē-*]e-*ua-ni-ia-at*; impf. *hē-ia-u-ua-ni-eš-ke/a-*, [*hē-*]ia-u-*ua-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *hē-e-u-ua-ni-eš-ke/a-*), *heja<sup>u</sup>alla/i-* ‘rain-drain, gutter’ (Sum. PISÀN: dat.-loc.sg. <sup>GIS</sup>PISÀN-*li*, instr. <sup>URUDU</sup>*hē-ia-ua-al-li-it*).

IE cognates: ?Gr. αἰοβάω ‘to moisten’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eih<sub>3</sub>-(e)u-* ?

See Weitenberg 1984: 30f. and Puhvel HED 3: 301f. for attestations. The word shows many different spellings, but nevertheless it is possible to combine them all into one phonological interpretation. The oldest (OS) attestations, acc.sg. *hē-e-un*, nom.pl. *hē-e-a-u-e-eš*, *hē-e-ia-u-e-š=a* clearly show that in the oldest texts we are dealing with a stem *hē(i)-* followed by an ablauting suffix *-u-/au-*. The fact that we find the spelling *hē-e-a-u-* besides *hē-e-ia-u-* reminds of OS *ne-e-a* ‘he turns’ besides younger *ne-e-ia*. These latter forms reflect the situation that OH /*né?a*/ develops into younger /*néa*/, which then is phonetically realized as [n<sup>éi</sup>a], spelled *ne-e-ia*. This means that in the paradigm of ‘rain’ we have to reckon with an original OH stem /*Hé?au-*/ that develops into /*Héau-*/, realized [H<sup>éi</sup>au-], spelled *hē-e-ia-u-*. This means that acc.sg. *hē-e-un* probably represents /*Hé?un*/ or, already with contraction, /*Héun*/. From MH times onwards, the stem /*Héu-*/ is spreading over the paradigm, yielding nom.pl. *hēuēš* and acc.pl. *hēmuš*.

It is remarkable that this noun originally shows an ablauting suffix, which is normally only found in *i-* and *u-*stem adjectives. Either this means that *hēu-* / *hē(i)au-* originally was an adjective that was gradually being substantivized, or it means that *u-*stem nouns (and subsequently *i-*stem nouns, compare *uēši-* / *uēšai-* ‘pasture’) originally showed ablaut as well, and that *hēu-* / *hē(i)au-* is one of the last remnants of this system.

Melchert (1994a: 102) tentatively connects this word with Gr. αἰοβάω ‘to moisten’, which points to *\*h<sub>2</sub>eih<sub>3</sub>-* (although it is problematic whether in *\*h<sub>2</sub>eih<sub>3</sub>-* the yod would remain, yielding Gr. αἰο-). If the etymon is correct, however, we have to reconstruct nom.sg. *\*h<sub>2</sub>éih<sub>3</sub>-u-s*, nom.pl. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ih<sub>3</sub>-éu-ēs*, which with generalization of the full grade stem would yield PAnat. *\*/Hái?us/*, *\*/Hái?ouēs/* that regularly developed into OH /*Hé?us/*, /*Hé?auēs/*.

Note that Puhvel’s unattractive scenario (i.e.: a basic stem *\*hēu-* that became an *u-*stem *\*hēu-u-*, *\*hēu-au-*, after which *\*hēuau-* was dissimilated to attested *heia<sup>u</sup>-*) seems to be especially based on the etymological presumption that *hēu-* /

*hē(i)au-* is cognate with Gr. ὕει ‘to rain’ and TochAB *su-* ‘to rain’, which he reconstructs as *\*s-E<sub>2</sub>ew-*.

**-hhi** (1sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-flexion)

This ending denotes the 1sg.pres.act. of verbs that inflect according to the *hi*-conjugation (which is named after this ending). Actually, the original shape of this ending was *-hhe* as is still attested in OS texts (e.g. *tar-na-ah-hé*, *da-a-ah-hé*, *ga-a-an-ga-ah-hé*, *me-e-ma-ah-hé*, etc.). Nevertheless, already in OS texts we find that this ending is altered to *-hhi* (e.g. *tar-na-ah-hi*, *da-a-ah-hi*, *ga-a-an-ga-ah-hi*, *me-e-ma-ah-hi*, etc. (all OS)), which probably is due to the fact that the element *-i* had developed as a specific present-marker (cf. pres. *-uēni* vs. pret. *-uēn*, *-tteni* vs. *-tten*, etc.). In the same vein original 3sg.pres.act. *-e* (of the *hi*-conjugation) was altered to *-i* and 3sg.pres.act. *-za* = */-tʰ/* (of the *mi*-conjugation) was altered to *-zi*.

From the late MH period onwards, we see that *-hhi* is gradually being replaced by its *mi*-conjugation counterpart *-mi*. This happened predominantly in stems ending in a consonant (e.g. *ha-ma-an-ga-mi* (MS?) instead of *hamangahhi*, *ú-e-ya-ak-mi* (MS?) instead of *\*\*ueyakhi*, *a-ak-mi* (NS) instead of *\*\*ākhi*, etc.). A nice line of development is visible in ‘I plug up’: *iš-ta-a-ap-hé* (OS) > *iš-ta-a-ap-hi* (OH/MS) > *iš-ta-ap-pa-ah-hi* (OH/NS) > *iš-tap-mi* (NS). I know of only one example of this replacement in a verb ending in a vowel, namely *še-eš-ha-mi* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NS)) instead of *še-eš-ha-ah-hi* ‘I decide’ (see at *šišha<sup>i</sup> / šišh-*). It must be noted that *mi*-inflecting verbs never use the ending *-hhi*. So in the competition between *-hhi* and *-mi* it is clear that *-mi* was the winning party.

For the etymological interpretation of *-hhe*, we must first look at the other Anatolian languages. In Luwian we find 1sg.pres.act. *-ui* that corresponds with Lyc. *-u*, but that cannot be cognate with Hitt. *-hhe*. In the preterite, we find in Luwian 1sg.pret.act. *-(h)ha*, however, which corresponds to Lyc. 1sg.pret.act. *-χα*. These forms point to PANat. *\*/-Ha/* (with an *-a* as visible in Lyc. *-a*), which indicates that Hitt. *-hhe* must go back to PANat. *\*/-Hai/* (note that the Hittite 1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation is *-hhun* which is a conflation of PANat. *\*/-Ha/* with Hitt. *-un*, the corresponding *mi*-ending). This PANat. *\*/-Hai/* can only reflect QIE *\*-h<sub>2</sub>e-i*.



The further etymology of *-hhe* depends on ones interpretation of the *hi*-conjugation as a whole. In my view, it is quite clear that formally the *hi*-conjugation must be cognate with the category that yielded the perfect in the other IE languages. I therefore directly compare Hitt. *-hhe* that must reflect *\*-h<sub>2</sub>e-*

*i* with the 1sg.-ending of the PIE perfect that is usually reconstructed as *\*-h<sub>2</sub>e* (Skt. *-a*, Gk. *-α*, Goth. *-Ø*, etc.).

<sup>É</sup>*hīla-* (c.) ‘courtyard; halo’ (Sum. TÛR): nom.sg. *hī-i-la-aš* (KUB 2.6 iii 34 (OH/NS), KUB 8.30 rev. 19 (OH/NS), KUB 7.41 i 21 (MH/NS), KBo 4.9 i 28 (NS)), *hī-la-aš* (KUB 17.10 iv 10 (OH/MS), KBo 10.45 i 12 (MH/NS)), [*hī-*]la-a-aš (KUB 34.13 obv. 8 (NS)), acc.sg. *hī-i-la-an* (IBoT 1.36 i 6 (MH/MS)), *hī-la-an* (KBo 23.23 obv. 63 (MH/MS), KUB 27.29 i 21 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *hī-i-la-aš* (IBoT 1.36 i 4 (MH/MS), KUB 20.10 iv 8 (OH/NS), KUB 9.31 i 25 (MH/NS), KUB 29.4 i 35 (NS)), *hī-e-la-aš* (HT 1 i 18 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *hī-i-li* (KBo 25.56 iv 17 (OS), IBoT 1.36 i 9, iv 29, 32 (MH/MS), KBo 22.189 ii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 11.35 i 24 (OH/NS), KUB 33.24 ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 7.41 obv. 22 (MH/NS), KBo 4.9 v 18, 32 (NS), KUB 20.35 iii 15 (NS), KUB 36.17 + 33.107 i 5 (NS), etc.), *hī-li* (KUB 33.19 iii 6 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 i 13 (MH/NS), IBoT 3.69 i 15 (NS)), all.sg. *hī-i-la* (KBo 25.48 iii 10 (OH/MS), KBo 21.90 obv. 14, 21 (OH/MS)), abl. *hī-i-la-az* (IBoT 1.36 i 74 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: *hīlae*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to be haloed, to have a halo’ (3sg.pres.act. *hī-la-iz-zi*, *hī-la-a-iz-zi*), *hīlatar* / *hīlann-* (n.) ‘yard’ (gen.sg. *hī-l[a-a]n-na-aš* (KBo 6.3 iv 13 (OH/NS)), <sup>É</sup>*hīlammar* / *hīlamn-* (n.) ‘gate building, gatehouse, portal’ (Sum. KILAM; nom.-acc.sg. *hī-lam-mar* (KBo 5.2 iv 5 (MH/NS), KUB 45.12 iii 11 (MH/NS), KBo 10.45 ii 34 (MH/NS), IBoT 1.36 iv 15 (fr.) (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *hī-lam-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hī-lam-ni* (OS), all.sg. *hī-lam-na* (OS), erg.sg. *hī-lam-na-an-za* (KUB 17.10 iv 11 (OH/MS)), abl. *hī-lam-na-az* (OS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>*hīlammi-* (c.) ‘courtier’ (nom.sg. *hī-lam-mi-iš*, nom.pl. *hī-lam-mi-e-eš*), <sup>LÚ</sup>*hīlammatta-* (c.) a functionary (nom.pl. *hī-lam-ma-ti-eš*, *hī-lam-ma-at-ti-eš*, *hī-lam-ma-at-ti-iš*, *hī-lam-ma-di-iš*, *hī-lam-ma-at-ta-aš*), *hīlammili* (adv.) ‘in a *h*. fashion’ (*hī-lam-mi-li*), *hīlam(min)ni-* (c.) ‘courtier(?)’ (nom.sg. *hī-lam-mi-in-ni-iš*, acc.sg. *hī-lam-ni-in*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **PORTA-lana-** (n.) ‘gate-house’ (abl.-instr. PORTA-lana-ri+i (KARATEPE 1 §63 Hu.), nom.-acc.pl. “PORTA”-la-na (KARATEPE 1 §66, §69, §72b), “PORTA”-la/i/u-na (KARKAMIŠ A11a §13), “PORTA”-na (KARKAMIŠ A11a §16), dat.-loc.pl. PORTA-na-za (KARKAMIŠ A11a §20), gen.adj.acc.pl.c. PORTA-la/i/u-ni-si-i-zi (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §34)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 305f. for attestations. Note that there a form *hī-i-e[l-l]i* (KBo 19.145 iii 44) is cited, which is wrongly read: the form in fact is  =  = *hī-i-l[i]*. The most common and oldest spelling is *hī-i-l<sup>o</sup>*, although *hī-l<sup>o</sup>* is attested multiple times as well. A spelling *hī-e-l<sup>o</sup>* is attested only once in a

NS text (HT 1 i 18), which therefore may not have much phonetic value. The original form therefore is *hīla-*.

The word denotes ‘courtyard’, but in the expressions ‘*hīla-* of the moon’ and ‘*hīla-* of the sun’ it probably denotes ‘halo’. The word <sup>É</sup>*hīlammar* / *hīlamn-* ‘gatehouse’ is generally seen as a derivative of <sup>É</sup>*hīla-* (because it denotes a portal leading to a courtyard), and Melchert (1983: 12-13) states that it shows a suffix *\*-mr* / *\*-mn-* (with *-mn-* assimilating to *-mm-* in *hīlammi-*, *hīlammatta-* and *hīlammili*, on the basis of which expected *\*hīlamar* was altered to *hīlammar*). Note however that the phonetic resemblance to its Sumerian counterpart KILAM is remarkable and that we therefore must not rule out the possibility that it is a loanword.

Within Anatolian, Hitt. *hīla-* often is compared to Lyc. *qla-* ‘precinct’, but this is formally impossible. The Lycian sign *q* denotes a labialized consonant (possibly [k<sup>w</sup>]) that reflects PANat. *\*/H<sup>w</sup>/* (see Kloekhorst fthc.c). I would therefore rather reconstruct Lyc. *qla-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-leh<sub>2</sub>-*, comparable to Gr. ἀλή ‘courtyard, precinct’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-leh<sub>2</sub>-*.

As an inner-Hittite comparandum, the noun *hāli-* ‘pen, corral’ often is mentioned, and Rieken (1999a: 226, 246) therefore reconstructs *hāli-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ól-i-* and *hīla-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēl-éh<sub>2</sub>-* from a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-* ‘to surround’ that further only is attested in the root-extension *\*h<sub>2</sub>elk-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>lek-s-* ‘to protect’ (OE *ealgian*, Gr. ἀλέξω, Skt. *rakṣ-* ‘to protect’). She states that in the case of *hīla-* “der *i*-Vokalismus der Wurzel von *hīla-* als Vorstufe langes *\*ē* voraus[setzt], das in Nachbarschaft des Laryngals zunächst bewahrt und später in unbetonter Stellung zu *i* geschwächt wurde” (1999a: 248-9). This scenario is based on Melchert (1984a: 111f., 135f.) who describes a development *\*h<sub>2</sub>ē* > Hitt. *hi*. In 1994a: 143, Melchert explicitly withdraws this development, however, and therewith the formal basis under the reconstruction of *hīla-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēl-* has vanished. Moreover, as I have stated in § 1.4.9.2.b, I do not believe in Eichner’s Law (i.e. the non-colouration of *\*ē* by an adjacent *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*). Furthermore, reconstructing a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-* ‘to surround’ on the basis of these two Hittite words only seems unwarranted to me. All in all, I reject Rieken’s etymology.

Already early in Hittitology (e.g. Friedrich 1927: 180), it has been assumed that *hīla-* should be connected with Akk. *bū hīlāni*, pointing to an areal Wanderwort.

***hīmma-*** (c.) ‘imitation, substitute, replica’: nom.sg. *hi-im-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *hi-im-ma-an*, gen.sg. *hi-im-ma-aš*, nom.pl. *hi-im-mi-e[-eš]*, acc.pl. *hi-im-mu-uš*, *hi-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>***hīmmalli-*** (c.) ‘imitator, vel sim.’ (nom.sg. *hi-im-ma-al-li-iš*).



IE cognates: Lat. *imitor* ‘to copy, to imitate’, *imāgō* ‘copy’, *aemulus* ‘rival’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>im-no*

See Puhvel HED 3: 314f. for attestations. Since Neumann *apud* Oettinger (1976a: 64) this word is generally connected with Lat. *imitor* ‘to imitate’, *imāgō* ‘copy’, *aemulus* ‘rival’ from *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)im-*. The geminate *-mm-* in Hittite must be the product of an assimilation, possibly *\*h<sub>2</sub>im-no-*.

**h<sub>2</sub>in-**: see *h<sub>2</sub>ān-<sup>i</sup>* / *han-*

**h<sub>2</sub>inik-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>** (IIIh) ‘to pour?’: 3sg.pres.midd. *hi-ni-ik-ta*.

In 1976, Hart was the first to separate the forms that were spelled *hi-ni-ik-ta* from the verb ‘*h<sub>2</sub>ink-*’ (see at the lemma *hai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *h<sub>2</sub>ink-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *hi(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*) because of their aberrant spelling: *hi-ni-ik-C* vs. *hi-in-ik-C*. On the basis of the two contexts in which *hi-ni-ik-ta* occurs, namely

KBo 3.7 ii

- (21) <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> *Za-li-ja-nu-ú hu-u-ma-an-da-aš ha-an-[te-ez-zi-ja-aš?]*  
(22) *ma-a-an I-NA* <sup>URU</sup> *Ne-ri-ik hé-u-uš*  
(23) *hi-ni-ik-ta nu* <sup>URU</sup> *Ne-ri-ik-ka<sub>1</sub>-az*  
(24) [L]Ú <sup>GIŠ</sup> *GIDRU* <sup>NINDA</sup> *har-ši-ḫn pé-e-da-a-i*

‘The mountain Zaliḫanū was fi[rst?] of all. When in Nerik rain *h<sub>2</sub>-s* / is *h<sub>2</sub>-ed*, the staff-bearer brings away thick-bread from Nerik’

and

KUB 34.16 iii

- (3) [ ... ]x *ya-an-nu-pa<sup>1</sup>-aš-ta-li-eš ha-la-li-ez-zi*  
(4) [(*ut-ne-ja*)- ..] *hé-e-a-u-it hi-ni-ik-ta*

// KBo 14.61

- (6) [... (*ya-an-na-p*)]*a-aš-ta-lu-uš*[ ]  
(7) [(*ha-la-li-ez-z*)]*i ut-ne-ja*[(-) ]  
(8) [(*hé-e-a-u-it hi-*)]*ni-ik-[(ta)]*

‘... the morningstar<sup>2</sup> cleans ... on<sup>2</sup> the earth (it?) *h<sub>2</sub>-s* / is *h<sub>2</sub>-ed* with rain’

Hart assumes that *hīnik-* may mean “wet, pour, deluge” and therefore proposes an etymological connection with Skt. *siñcati* ‘to pour’, interpreting *hīnik-* as a nasal-infixed form of a root *\*(s)Heik-* which can directly be compared to Skt. *si-ñ-c-*. This idea has been taken over by e.g. Puhvel (HED 3: 315, reconstructing “*\*(s)H<sub>1</sub>ey-k<sup>(w)</sup>-*”) and Kimball (1999: 382, who for reasons unclear to me insists on a reconstruction with *\*h<sub>3</sub>*). The preform of Skt. *siñcati*, which belongs with OHG *sīhan* ‘to filter’, *seihhen* ‘to urinate’, SerbCS *šćcati* ‘to urinate’ and Gaul. *Sēquana* ‘Seine’, must contain a *\*-k<sup>w</sup>-*, however, *\*seik<sup>w</sup>-*, which does not fit Hitt. *hīnik-*. Moreover, there is no indication for a laryngeal in any of the other languages. All in all, I reject the connection between *hīnik-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* and Skt. *siñcati*.

*hīnk-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *hī(n)k-<sup>z</sup>*: see *hīai(n)k-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*

*hīnkan-*: see *hēnkan-*

<sup>LÚ</sup>*hīppara-* (c.) ‘serf’ (Akk. <sup>LÚ</sup>*ASIRUM*): nom.sg. *hī-ip-pár-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *hī-ip-pa-ri* (OS).

For the semantics of this word we must compare the following context:

KBo 6.2 ii

(49) <sup>LÚ</sup>*hī-ip-pár-aš lu-uz-zi kar-pí-i-ez-zi nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>*hī-ip-pa-ri ha-a-ap-pár le-e*

(50) [*k*]u-iš-ki i-ez-zi DUMU=ŠU A.ŠĀ=ŠU <sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN=ŠU le-e ku-iš-ki  
u-a-a-ši

(51) [*ku-i*]š=za <sup>LÚ</sup>*hī-ip-pa-ri ha-a-ap-pár i-ez-zi n=a-aš=kán ha-a-ap-pa-ra-az*

(52) [*ša-me-e*]n-zi <sup>LÚ</sup>*hī-ip-pár-aš ku-it ha-ap-pa-ra-a-et ta-a=z a-ap-pa da-a-[i]*

(53) [*ták-ku* <sup>LÚ</sup>*hī*]-ip-pár-aš ta-a-i-ez-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL

(54) ... nu tu-ek-kán-za=ši-iš=pát šar-ni-ik-zi

‘A *h*. shall perform corvée. No-one shall do business with a *h*.. No-one shall buy his child, his field (or) his vineyard. Whoever does do business with a *h*. forfeits his right to the trade. Whatever the *h*. traded, he shall give it back. When a *h*. steals, there is no restitution. (...) His body alone shall retribute (it)’.

From this text, it is clear that *hīppara-* is some sort of outcast that is not allowed to do any trade. Even when a *hīppara-* has stolen, he is not supposed to perform any trading, i.e. restituting what was stolen: only his body can be used for the restitution. In a duplicate of this text, KBo 6.4 iv 36-41, <sup>LÚ</sup>*hīppara-* is

akkadographically written <sup>LÚ</sup>*A-SI-RUM*, which literally means ‘locked up’. Friedrich (1959: 98) states: “Es muss sich um eine sehr unzuverlässige Gattung von Menschen handeln, die eingesperrt gehalten wurde und mit der man auch keinen Handel treiben durfte”.

Despite the difficulty regarding the semantic interpretation of this word, Güterbock (1972: 96) suggested an etymological tie-in with *hāppar-* / *hāppir-* ‘trade, business’, which was codified by Eichner (1973a: 72) who reconstructed \**h<sub>2</sub>ēp(o)ró-* ‘Käufing’ (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 76, who assumes a basic meaning ‘bought’). There is not a shred of evidence, however, that a <sup>LÚ</sup>*hippara-* was subject to being sold and bought. On the contrary, the fact that a <sup>LÚ</sup>*hippara-* could own fields or vineyards (which he is not allowed to sell) in my view indicates that he cannot be some sort of slave, but must be a free man, albeit of a very low status. This, together with the fact that it is forbidden to do business (*hāppar-* / *hāppir-*) with a <sup>LÚ</sup>*hippara-*, in my opinion shows that an etymological connection between *hāppar-* / *hāppir-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*hippara-* is very unlikely.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*hišša-* (c.) ‘carriage pole’: acc.sg. *hi-iš-ša-an* (KBo 13.119 iii 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *hi-iš-ši* (KUB 30.32 i 3 (MS), KUB 34.16 ii 7 (OH/NS), Bo 4929 v 17-20 (NS)), *he-eš-ši* (KBo 12.123, 15 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *īṣā* ‘pole, shaft’, Slov. *ojê* ‘carriage pole’, dial.Russ. *vojë* ‘carriage pole’, Gr. οἰήϊον ‘handle of rudder’, Gr. οἶαξ ‘handle of rudder, tiller’.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ih<sub>1,3</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 318f. for attestations. Almost all attestations (including the oldest (MS) one) are spelled *hi-iš-š°*. Only once, we find a spelling *he-eš-š°*, in an NS text, which must be due to the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before -š- (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). The word denotes the pole of a cart.

Since Sommer (1949: 161) this word is generally connected with Skt. *īṣā* ‘pole, shaft’. Combined with the Hittite evidence, we must reconstruct \**h<sub>2</sub>iHs-éh<sub>2</sub>-*. In other IE languages, we find e.g. Slov. *ojê*, gen. *ojêsa* ‘carriage pole’, which seems to point to an *s*-stem \**h<sub>2</sub>eih<sub>1,3</sub>-es-* or \**h<sub>2</sub>oih<sub>1,3</sub>-es-*, dial.Russ. *vojë* ‘carriage pole’, Gr. οἰήϊον ‘handle of rudder’ and Gr. οἶαξ ‘handle of rudder, tiller’, the preforms of which are less clear. On the basis of Gr. ὀ-, Kimball (1999: 386) reconstructs \**h<sub>3</sub>-*, but this does not seem obligatory to me.

According to Dercksen (fthc.), the noun *hišša-* is attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as well, namely as *hiššannum*.

<sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī* (n.) ‘mausoleum(?)’ (Sum. É.NA<sub>4</sub>): nom.-acc.sg. *hé-eš-ta-a* (MS), gen.sg. *hi-iš-ta-a-aš* (OS), *hi-iš-ta-aš* (MS), *hé-eš-ta-a-aš* (MS), *hé-eš-ta-aš* (NS), *hi-iš-ta-a* (OS), *hi-iš-da-a* (OH/MS), *hé-eš-ta-a* (OH/MS), *hé-eš-da-a* (NS), *hé-eš-ti-i* (OH/NS), *he-eš-ti-i* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *hi-iš-ti-i* (OS), *hé-eš-ti-i* (OH/NS), *hé-iš-ti-i* (NS), *hi-iš-ta-a* (OS), *hi-iš-da-a* (OH/NS), *hé-eš-ta-a* (OH/MS), abl. *hé-eš-ti-i* (NS).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*hištum(n)a-* (c.) ‘person pertaining to the *hištā*’ (nom.sg. *hi-iš-tu-um-ma-aš*, *hi-iš-tu-u-ma-aš*, *hé-eš-tu-um-na-aš*, *hé-eš-tu-u-ma-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hé-eš-tu-u-um-ni*, nom.pl. *hé-eš-tu-u-um-ni-eš*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 319f. for attestations. The oldest attestations (OS) are all spelled *hi-iš-t°*, whereas spellings with *-e-* (*hé-eš-t°*, *hé-iš-t°* and *hi-eš-t°*) occur from MH times onwards only. This must be due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d. The word denotes a cultic building that is connected with death-rituals and ancestor cult, but its exact function is unclear. The sumerographic writing of this word seems to be É.NA<sub>4</sub> ‘house of stones’.

Since Götze (1925: 104), <sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī* has been connected with *ha-aš-ti-ia-aš* É-er ‘house of bones’ that is mentioned by Hattušili III (KUB 1.1 iv 75), on the basis of which an etymological connection between <sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī* and *haštai-* ‘bone’ (q.v.) has been assumed. For instance, Eichner (1973a: 72) reconstructs \**h<sub>2</sub>ēstojó-* (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 76), whereas Puhvel (l.c.) reconstructs \**h<sub>3</sub>stojó-* (with anaptyctic *e/i*).

If we look at the paradigm of <sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī*, however, we see that it hardly shows any inflected forms. Only in the genitive we occasionally find an ending *-š*, but everywhere else the word remains uninflected and shows only *hištā* or *hištī*. In my view, this strongly indicates that this word is not genuinely Hittite, but must be a foreignism (cf. <sup>NA</sup>*hekur* for a similar uninflectedness). This would fit the fact that cultic buildings often have non-IE names (e.g. <sup>É</sup>*halent(i)u-*, <sup>É</sup>*māk(kiz)zi(ia)-*, <sup>É</sup>*karimmi-*, etc.). This view was also advocated by Kammenhuber (1972: 300), who explained *haštijaš* É-er ‘house of bones’ as a folk etymology.

*huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* (Ia1) ‘to conjure, to treat by incantation’: 1sg.pres.act. *hu-e-ek-mi* (KBo 22.107 i 14 (MS)), *hu-ek-mi* (KBo 22.107 i 11 (MS), KBo 17.61 rev. 7 (MH/NS), KUB 17.28 i 28 (MH/NS)), *hu-uk-mi* (KUB 17.28 ii 3, 8 (fr.) (MH/NS), KBo 27.134 i 20 (MS)), *hu-u-uk-mi* (KBo 11.19 obv. 1 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *hu-ik-ik>ši* (KUB 45.21, 1 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-e-ek-zi* (OS, often), *hu-ek-zi* (OS, often), *hu-uk-zi* (KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 18 (NS), KUB 24.13 iii 17 (NS), KUB 7.52 + 12.58 i 57, 62, 64, ii 54 (NS), VBoT 58 iv 38

(OH/NS)), *hu-u-uk-zi* (KBo 12.112 obv. 13 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *hu-e-ku-ua-ni* (KBo 15.28 obv. 7 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-kán-zi* (KBo 2.12 ii 34 (NS)), *hu-u-kán-zi* (MH/MS, often), 1pl.pret.act. *hu-u-ga-u-en* (KUB 18.12 obv. 13 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *hu-ek-du* (KUB 7.1 iii 12ff. (OH/NS)); part. *hu-u-kán-t-*, *hu-u-ga-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *hu-u-kán-na-aš* (KUB 16.47, 12 (NS)), *hu-u-ga-an-na-aš* (KUB 18.12 obv. 7 (NS)); inf.II *hu-u-kán-na* (KUB 17.24 ii 14 (NS)); impf. *hu-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (often), *hu-uk-ki-eš-ke/a-*, *hu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *hu-u-ki-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 15.33 iii 28 (OH/MS)), KUB 20.48 i 5 (NS), VSNF 12.20 i 12 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***hukmai-*** / ***hukmi-*** (c.) ‘conjunction’ (Akk. *ŠIPTU*; acc.sg.c. *hu-uk-ma-in* (KUB 7.52 + 12.58 i 57, 62, 64 (NS), KBo 15.1 iv 40 (NS), Gurney 6, 6 (NS)), *hu-u-uk-ma-in* (KBo 27.134 i 19 (MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *hu-uk-ma-i* (KUB 9.34 iii 6 (NS)), gen.sg. *hu-uk-mi-ia-aš* (KBo 17. 62+63 i 13 (MS?)), acc.pl.c. *hu-uk-ma-uš* (KUB 27.29 i 7 (MH/NS)), *hu-uk-ma-a-uš* (VBoT 58 iv 37 (OH/NS), KUB 36.44 i 6 (OH/MS)), *hu-u-uk-ma-a-uš* (KUB 14.4 iii 8 (NH))), <sup>LÚ</sup>***hukmatalla-*** (c.) ‘conjurer’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>KAxLI; nom.pl. *hu-uk-ma-tal-li[-e-eš]* (KUB 12.61 ii 7 (NS))), ***huganna-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***huganni-*** (IIa5) ‘to conjure (impf.)’ (inf.I *hu-u-ga-an-ni-ia-u-ua-an-zi* (313/z rev. 6)).

IE cognates: ?Gr. ἀυχέω ‘to boast, to brag’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>h</sup>-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>h</sup>-* ?

See Puhvel HED 3: 323f. for attestations. As the sign IG can be read *ik* as well as *ek*, all cases where we find *hu-IG-* are, just as *hu-e-IG-*, to be interpreted as /Hoeg-/ (cf. § 1.3.9.4 for the phoneme /o/). The verb clearly shows an original ablaut *hukzi* / *hukanzi* and therewith is homophonic to the verb *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* ‘to slaughter, to butcher’. In MH times we see that the strong stem *huk-* is used in 1pl.pres.act. *hukku<sup>u</sup>ani* as well (replacing original *\*huku<sup>u</sup>eni*), which is normal in *e/Ø*-ablauting *mi*-verbs. Remarkable is the fact that the weak stem *huk-* seems to have become productive in NH times. This can be explained in view of the fact that the bulk of the cases of *hukmi* and *hukzi* are found in the syntagm *hukmain huk-* ‘to conjure a conjunction’. It is likely that here the use of the weak stem *huk-* in the verbal form is due to analogy to the noun *hukmai-*.

The single writing of *-k-* (*hukku<sup>u</sup>ani*, *hukanzi*, *hukant-*, *huganna*, etc.) points to etymological *\*g* or *\*g<sup>h</sup>* (or *\*g<sup>h</sup>*). Note that the imperfective is predominantly spelled with geminate *-kk-*, which is due to fortition of original lenis stops before the *\*-s<sup>k</sup>e/o-* suffix (similarly *eku-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aku-* ‘to drink’ with *akkuške/a-*, *lāk-<sup>i</sup>* / *lak-* ‘to make lie down’ with *lakkiške/a-*, etc.). Mechanically, *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* must go back to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>-* (the initial laryngeal must be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* because *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would regularly drop in this position). Nevertheless, the etymological

interpretation is difficult. Puhvel (l.c.) argues in favour of a connection with Gr. εὔχομαι ‘to pray: to declare solemnly’. Although semantically this would be attractive, it cannot be correct on formal grounds. Gr. εὔχομαι belongs with Lat. *voveō* ‘to vow’, which means that we have to reconstruct a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>wh</sup>-*, with εὔχ- reflecting *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>ug<sup>wh</sup>-*: this has the wrong velar as well as the wrong laryngeal.

Oettinger (1979a: 103) connects *h<sub>1</sub>uek<sup>zi</sup> / h<sub>1</sub>uk-* with Gr. ἀχέω ‘to boast, to brag’, which could point to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>h</sup>-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>h</sup>-*. Apart from the fact that the semantic connection is not self-evident, the formation of the Gr. verb is not unproblematic: it is probably derived from the last parts of compounds in -αυχής and may therefore not represent an original verbal stem.

***h<sub>1</sub>uek<sup>zi</sup> / h<sub>1</sub>uk-*** (Ia1) ‘to slaughter, to butcher’: 1sg.pres.act. *h<sub>1</sub>u-e-ek[-mi]* (KBo 17.3 iii 14 (OS)), *h<sub>1</sub>u-ek-mi* (KBo 17.1 i 41 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *h<sub>1</sub>u-ek-zi* (KBo 20.39 l.col. 12, 14, 15 (OH/MS), KUB 51.1 + 53.14 ii 11 (MS), KBo 11.45 + IBoT 3.87 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-e-ek-zi* (KUB 17.24 iii 3 (NS)), *h<sub>1</sub>u-uk-zi* (KUB 41.8 i 18 (MH/NS)), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-uk-zi* (KBo 10.45 i 35 (MH/NS), KUB 53.12 iii 21 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *h<sub>1</sub>u-kán-zi* (OS, often), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-kán-zi* (OS, often), 3sg.pret.act. *h<sub>1</sub>u-e-ek-ta* (OS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-e-ek-ta* (KBo 22.6 i 18 (OH/NS)), *h<sub>1</sub>u-ek-ta* (KBo 11.45 + IBoT 3.87 ii 17 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-kán-ta* (KUB 55.28 ii 12 (MH/NS)); part. *h<sub>1</sub>u-ga-an-t-* (OS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-ga-a-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun. *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ga-tar*; inf.II *h<sub>1</sub>u-ga-an-na*, *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ga-an-na*, *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-kán-na*; impf. *h<sub>1</sub>u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***h<sub>1</sub>ukeššar / h<sub>1</sub>ukešn-*** (n) ‘slaughtering’ (nom.-acc.sg. *h<sub>1</sub>u-ke-eš-šar*, *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ke-eš-šar*, *h<sub>1</sub>u-ge-eš-šar*, dat.-loc.sg. *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-ke-eš-ni*), see *h<sub>1</sub>uni(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: OP *vaj-* ‘to stab’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 327f. for attestations. Note that Puhvel cites “1pl.pres.act. (?) ]*h<sub>1</sub>u-e-ik-ku-[e-ni*” (KBo 17.4 iii 19) (with reference to Otten & Souček 1969: 34), but I do not think that this interpretation is likely: *h<sub>1</sub>uek<sup>zi</sup> / h<sub>1</sub>uk-* is in all other instances consistently spelled with single *-k-*, which would make this form totally aberrant. Because the form is found in such a broken context that its reading or meaning cannot be ascertained, I leave it out of consideration here.

The sign IG can be read *ik* as well as *ek* and therefore all cases where we find *h<sub>1</sub>u-IG-* are, just as *h<sub>1</sub>u-e-IG-* and *h<sub>1</sub>u-u-e-IG-*, to be interpreted as /Hoeg-/ (cf. § 1.3.9.4 for the phoneme /o/). The verb clearly shows an original ablaut *h<sub>1</sub>uekzi /*

*hukanzi* and therewith is homophonic to the verb *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* ‘to conjure’. The consistent spelling with single *-k-* points to an etymological \**g* or \**g<sup>h</sup>* (or \**g<sup>(h)</sup>*). Note that the imperfective is spelled with geminate *-kk-* (although spellings with single *-k-* occur as well: these are probable secondary) which is due to fortition of the lenis velar before the suffix \**-ske/o-* (compare *eku-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aku-* ‘to drink’ and *akkuške/a-*, *lāk-<sup>i</sup>* / *lak-* ‘to make lie down’ and *lakkiške/a-*, etc.). Mechanically, *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* must go back to a root \**h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>*- or \**h<sub>2</sub>ueg<sup>(h)</sup>*- (the initial laryngeal must be \**h<sub>2</sub>* because \**h<sub>3</sub>* would regularly drop in this position).

Strunk (1979: 254) connects *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* with OP *vaṣ-* ‘to stab’ (1sg.pret.act. *avaṣam*), which is widely followed. Puhvel (lc.) proposes to further adduce Gr. (Ϝ)όφνίς, OHG *waganso* ‘ploughshare’, but these forms must reflect \**ueg<sup>vh</sup>*-, which is the wrong velar from a Hittite point of view. Eichner’s suggestion (1982: 18) to connect *huk-* with Skt. *vec-* ‘to sieve’ is, apart from the semantic problems, formally impossible: Skt. *vec-* reflects \**ueik-* with an *-i-* that is not found in Hittite as well as with a \**-k-* that does not fit Hitt. single *-k-* < \**-g<sup>(h)</sup>*-.

***hueš-***: see *huiš-* / *huš-*

***huett-<sup>ua(ri)</sup>* / *huetti-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*; *huttiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (IIIa/b > IIIg; Ic1) ‘to draw, to pull, to pluck’ (Sum. SUD. Akk. *ŠADĀDU*): 1sg.pres.midd. *hu-it-ta-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (KBo 11.11 i 4 (NS)), 2sg.pres.midd. *hu-e-ez-ta* (KUB 17.10 iv 1, 2 (OH/MS), KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 15 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *hu-iz[-ta]* (IBoT 4.8 obv. 2 (OH/NS)), *hu-it-ti-at[-ta]* (KUB 21.19 + 1303/u ii 18 (NH)), 3sg.pres.midd. *hu-et-ti-ḫa-ri* (KBo 17.92, 15 (MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *hu-e-et-ti-an-ta* (KUB 29.30 iii 6 (OS)), *hu-et-ti-ḫa-an-ta* (KUB 29.35 iv 15 (OS), KBo 19.152 i 6 (MS), KUB 29.37, 8 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *hu-it-ti-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 i 41 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-it-ti-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 i 42 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-it-ti-ḫa-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 iv 5, 21 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *hu-it-ta-aḫ-ḫa-at* (KBo 11.11 i 9 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *hu-et-ti-ḫa-ti* (KBo 3.22, 54 (OS), KUB 26.71 i 3 (OH/NS), KUB 43.75 obv. 19 (NS)), *hu-it-ti-et-ti* (KUB 26.71 i 3 (OH/NS)), *hu-it-ti-ḫa-at-ta-at* (KUB 19.67 i 2 (NH)), *hu-u-it-ti-ḫa-at-ta-at* (KUB 1.7 ii 10 (NH)), *hu-iz-za-aš-ta-ti* (KUB 43.74 obv. 11 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *hu-et-ti-ḫa-ru* (Bo 6472, 10 (undat.)); 1sg.pres.act. *hu-u-it-ti-ḫa-mi* (VBoT 24 iii 13, iv 10 (MH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *hu-it-ti-ḫa-ši* (KUB 7.53 iii 2, 4 (NS), KBo 5.3 ii 29 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-et-ti-ḫa-zi* (KUB 15.34 iii 56 (MH/MS), KBo 3.2 rev. 59 (MH/NS), KBo 3.5 iv 26 (MH/NS), KBo 21.10, 4 (MH/NS), KUB 1.13 i 45 (MH/NS), KUB 44.61 rev. 26 (fr.) (NS)), *hu-it-ti-ḫa-az-zi* (KBo 22.102 rev. 10 (NS), KUB 29.4 ii 21 (NS)), *hu-u-it-ti-ḫa-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 28 (MH/NS), KBo 8.90 ii 9 (NS)), *hu-u-it-ti-ḫa-az-zi* (KBo 23.1 i 18 (NS)), *hu-it-ti-e-iz-zi* (KUB 1.13 i 12

(MH/NS)), *ħu-it-ja-az-zi* (KUB 33.43 ii 57 (NS)), *ħu-it-ti-ja-i* (KUB 27.67 ii 17, 18, iii 21, 22 (MH/NS), KBo 5.2 iii 20 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ħu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.5 ii 26 (OH/NS)), *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.6 ii 9 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ħu-et-ti-an-zi* (KBo 15.33 ii 14 (OH/MS), KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 rev. 6 (MH/MS), KUB 9.3 i 17 (MS), KBo 3.2 obv. 8, 16 (MH/NS), KBo 3.5 iii 6, 13 (MH/NS), KUB 1.13 iii 59 (MH/NS), etc.), *ħu-it-ti-ja-an-zi* (often), *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-an-zi* (less often), *ħu-u-i-it-ti-ja-an-zi* (KUB 2.5 i 8 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ħu-et-ti-ja-nu-un* (HKM 71 rev. 28 (MH/MS)), KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 obv. 65 (MH/MS), KBo 2.5 iii 50 (NS), KBo 4.4 iii 32 (NH)), *ħu-u-i-it-ti-ja-nu-un* (KBo 2.5 ii 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ħu-et-ti-ja-at* (KUB 17.10 iv 14 (OH/MS), KBo 3.64 i 10 (OH/NS), KBo 3.66, 6 (OH/NS), KBo 19.90 + 3.53 obv. 6 (OH/NS), KBo 4.12 obv. 17 (NH)), *ħu-it-ti-et* (KUB 33.120 i 24 (MH/NS)), *ħu-it-ti-at* (KBo 32.14 iii 10, 28 (MH/MS), Bronzetafel i 23 (NH)), *ħu-u-it-ti-ia-at* (KUB 14.4 iv 15 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-u-en* (KUB 13.4 iv 72 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ħu-et-ti-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 15 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ħu-et-ti* (KUB 17.10 iv 3 (OH/MS), KUB 36.75 + 1226/u iii 13 (OH/MS), KUB 29.1 ii 11 (OH/NS)), *ħu-it-ti-ja* (KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 19 (OH/NS), KUB 7.53 iii 8 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ħu-et-ti-ja-at-tén* (HKM 25 obv. 14 (MH/MS)), *ħu-u-e-za-at-tén* (KUB 58.77 obv. 27, 28 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-ad-du* (KBo 10.45 iv 27 (MH/NS)); part. *ħu-et-ti-an-t-* (OS), *ħu-et-ti-ja-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun. *ħu-it-te-eš-šar* (KUB 27.67 i 19, iii 25 (MH/NS)), *ħu-it-ti[-ja]-aš-šar* (KUB 27.67 ii 20 (MH/NS)); verb.noun. *ħu-et-ti-ja-u-ar* (KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 obv. 60, rev. 4, 16 (MH/MS)), *ħu-it-ti-ja-u-ua-ar* (KUB 10.92 i 18 (NS)), gen.sg. *ħu-it-ti-ja-u-aš* (KUB 29.4 ii 18 (NS)), *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-u-ua-aš* (KUB 29.4 i 73 (NS), KUB 42.106 rev. 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ħu-et-ti-ja-u-ni* (KUB 15.34 iv 61 (MH/MS)); inf.I *ħu-it-ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 21.19+ ii 20 (NS), KUB 29.4 iii 38, 49 (NS)), *ħu-it-ti-ja-u-an-zi* (KUB 12.23, 20 (NS)), [*ħu-*]*u-it-ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi* (KBo 15.29 iii 8 (NS)), *ħu-u-it-ti-ja-u-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 33, ii 41, 48 (MH/NS)); impf. *ħu-it-ti-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 13.64 obv. 12 (NS)).

Derivatives: *ħuttijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *ħuttijanni-*, *ħuittijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *ħuittijanni-* (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (1sg.pres.act. *ħu-it-ti-ja-an-na-aħ-ħi* (KBo 2.9 iv 21 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ħu-ut-ti-an-na-i* (KBo 17.18 ii 12 (OS)), *ħu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i* (KBo 17.43 i 3 (fr.), 11 (OS)), *ħu-et-ti-ja-an-na-i* (KBo 22.42 obv. 10 (MH/MS)), *ħu-u-i-it-ti-ja-an-na-i* (KUB 32.18 iii 8 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. [*ħu-et-*]*ti-ja-an-ni-ú-e-ni* (KBo 15.10 iii 15 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. [*ħu-*]*et-ti-ja-an-na-ú* (KUB 36.55 ii 18 (MH/MS?)); impf. *ħu-it-ti-ja-an-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ħu-it-ti-ja-an-ni-eš-ke/a-*, <sup>siG</sup>*ħuttulli-* (n.) ‘strand (of wool)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ħu-ut-tu-ul-li*, *ħu-ut-tu-li*, *ħu-ud-du-ul-li*, abl. *ħu-ud-du-ul-li-ja-az*, instr. *ħu-ut-tu-ul-li-it*, *ħu-ud-du-ul-li-it*).



See Puhvel HED 3: 343f. for attestations. First it should be noted that the sign IT can be read *it* as well as *et*. So the many forms that are spelled *hu-IT-t°* can stand for both *huitt-* as well as *huett-*. There are a few forms that show plene spellings: *hu-u-i-IT-ti-ja-an-zi* (NS) and *hu-u-i-IT-ti-ja-nu-un* (NS) show unambiguously /Hoit-/, whereas *hu-e-IT-ti-an-ta* (OS), *hu-e-IZ-ta* (OH/MS) and *hu-u-e-za-at-tén* (NS) show unambiguously /Hoet-/ (note that the phoneme /o/ is the automatic outcome of \*u when adjacent to /H/, cf. § 1.3.4.9.f). To explain the occurrence of /Hoit-/ besides /Hoet-/, we can use the sound law as cited by Melchert (1994a: 101): *\*ue > Hitt. ui* before dental consonants. This means that *huett-* is the original form, and that the stem *huitt-* is a later development. In the above overview of forms, I have chosen to cite all MS and OS attestations as *hu-et-* and the NS attestations as *hu-it-*, without claiming that these readings can be proven.

We encounter active as well as middle forms, which do not seem to differ semantically: both are used transitively ‘to draw (someone / something), to draw (someone / something)’. Occasionally, a middle form is reflexive and denotes ‘to recede < \*to pull oneself (away)’. Formally, we encounter three stems: *huettije/a-*, *huett-* and *huttije/a-*. The stem *huettije/a-* is found in both active and middle forms, in early times already (3pl.pres.act. *huettianzi* (OH/MS) and 3pl.pres.midd. *huettianta* (OS)). The stem *huett-* is found much less often, also in both active and middle forms (2pl.imp.act. *hūezatten* (NS) besides 2sg.pres.midd. *huezta* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.midd. *huezzaštati* (NS)). It should be noted that in the active, it occurs only once (in a NS text), whereas we find several middle forms, most of which are attested in OH compositions. The stem *huttije/a-* is found in the impf. *huttijanna/i-* only, but is attested in OS texts. Although the evidence is scanty, I think that we have to assume that, originally, the middle paradigm used the stem *huett-*, whereas in the active the stem *huttije/a-* was used (cf. *hatt-<sup>a(rj)</sup>*, *hazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* for a similar distribution). Already in pre-Hittite times, the full grade of the middle was taken over into the active, yielding the stem *huettije/a-* (with *huttije/a-* surviving in the imperfective only), which stem was subsequently taken over into the middle paradigm as well. If the noun *huttulli-* indeed is derived from this verb (which semantically is likely: a ‘strand’ is something that has been pulled out of the wool, cf. the figura etymologica in VBoT 24 iii (13) *nu-u=š-ši=kán* <sup>SIG</sup> *hu-ut-tu-ul-li hu-it-ti-ja-mi* ‘I pluck a strand from it (viz. sheep)’), it would show another instance of the zero grade stem *hutt-*.

The consistent spelling with geminate *-tt-* seems to point to an etymological *\*-t-*. Nevertheless, the fact that we do not find assibilation of the dental consonant

before  $*-i-$  in the stems  $huttj\bar{i}e/a-$  and  $huettj\bar{i}e/a-$  show that  $-tt-$  cannot reflect  $*-t-$  just like that. It is likely that some laryngeal stood between the dental consonant and  $*-i-$ . As Melchert (1984a: 88<sup>16</sup>) rightly points out, a sequence  $*-d^{(h)}H-$  would yield Hitt.  $-tt-$  as well (cf. *mekki-* <  $*me\acute{g}h_2-$ ), which means that we can mechanically reconstruct  $huett-$  /  $hutt-$  as  $*h_2ueTH-$  (initial  $*h_2$  because  $*h_3$  would be lost in this position, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

The etymological interpretation of this verb is in debate. Melchert (1984a: 88<sup>16</sup>) connects  $huett-$  with the root that traditionally is reconstructed  $*ued^h-$  ‘to lead’ (OIr. *fedid* ‘leads’, Goth. *ga-widan* ‘to bind’, Lith. *vedù* ‘to lead, to marry’, OCS *vedq* ‘to lead’, YAv. *vāδaiieiti* ‘to lead’, Skt. *vadhū-* ‘bride’) which he now reconstructs as  $*h_2uedh_2-$ . According to him, the initial laryngeal is visible in Hom. ἀν-άεδνος ‘having no wedding-present’, which in his view also shows that the dental consonant was  $*d$  and that the  $-dh-$  in Skt. *vadhū-* therefore reflects  $*-dh_2-$ , which then is proof for the second laryngeal as well. There are some flaws in this reasoning. First, the circumflex stems Lith. *vėd-* ‘to lead, to marry’ and Slav.  $*ved-$  ‘to lead’ clearly point to  $*ued^h-$  (absence of Winter’s Law points to  $*D^h$ ). Semantically, these must belong with OIr. *fedid* ‘leads’, Goth. *ga-widan* ‘to bind’, YAv. *vāδaiieiti* ‘leads’ and Skt. *vadhū-* ‘bride’, which therefore all must go back to  $*ued^h-$  as well. This means that Hom. ἀνάεδνος, which unambiguously points to a  $*-d-$ , cannot be cognate (but rather belongs with OE *weotuma* ‘bride-price’ and PSI.  $*vėno$  ‘bride-price’ that does show Winter’s Law and therefore must reflect  $*-d-$ ; the simplex form nom.-acc.pl.n. ἔεδνα (Hom.) ‘bridal gifts’ rather points to a root with an initial  $*h_1-$ ,  $*h_1ued-$ , which indicates that ἀνάεδνος must be a secondary remodelling of original  $*v\acute{h}εδνος$  <  $*\eta-h_1ued-no-$ , p.c. prof. Kortlandt). Note that in the reflexes of  $*ued^h-$  ‘to lead’, there are no indications whatsoever for an initial or root-final laryngeal.

An alternative etymology could be a connection with Skt. *vadh-* ‘to slay’, Gr. ὠθέω ‘to push’ that up to now are reconstructed  $*ued^h h_1-$ . If, however, Gr. ὠθέω could reflect  $*\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}$  <  $*h_2uod^h h_1-\acute{e}j\acute{e}-$ , then we may be allowed to connect this with  $huett-$  (which then would show that a sequence  $*-d^h h_1-$  yields  $-tt-$ , but compare *ka-ra-a-pí* <  $*g^h r\acute{o}bh_1-ei$ ). Semantically, we should especially compare Gr. ὠθέω ‘to push’ with Hitt.  $huett-$  ‘to pull, to draw’.

LIV<sup>2</sup> assumes that  $huett-$  stands isolated in IE and mechanically reconstructs  $*h_2uet-$ . Note however, that this is incorrect:  $*h_2ut-j\bar{e}/o-$  should have yielded  $**huzzj\bar{i}e/a-$ .

All in all, I do not dare to take a final decision.

**$huettj\bar{i}e/a-$** : see  $huett-$ <sup>(t)α</sup>;  $huttj\bar{i}e/a-$ <sup>zi</sup>

**ḫuḫḫa-** (c.) ‘grandfather’ (Akk. *ABBA ABBA*, *ABI ABI*): nom.sg. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-an*, gen.sg. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-uḫ-ḫa-aš*, *ḫu-ḫa-aš* (KUB 19.5 obv. 12 (NS)), *ḫu-u-ḫ[a-aš]* (KUB 11.10, 7 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫi*, abl. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-az*, nom.pl. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫe-e-eš*, *ḫu-uḫ-ḫi-iš*, acc.pl. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫi-iš*, *ḫu-uḫ-ḫe-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš*.

Derivatives: **ḫuḫḫant-** (c.) ‘(great)grandfather’ (nom.pl. *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš*, *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-te-iš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ḫūḫa-** ‘grandfather’ (abl.-instr. *ḫu-u-ḫa-ti*), **ḫuḫatalla/i-** ‘ancestral’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-ḫa-da-al-la*, *ḫu-u-ḫa-da-al-la*); HLuw. **huhā-** (c.) ‘grandfather’ (nom.sg. /huhās/ AVUS-*ha-sá* (MARAŞ 4 §9), acc.sg. /huhan/ AVUS-*ha-na* (MARAŞ 4 §11), dat.sg. /huha/ AVUS-*ha* (MARAŞ 4 §8, KARKAMIŞ A2 §4), nom.pl. /huhant<sup>s</sup>i/ AVUS-*ha-zi* (KARABURUN §1, KARKAMIŞ A14a §5, BOHÇA §6, §10, ÇİFTLİK §3), <sup>AVUS</sup>*hu-ha-zi* (KARKAMIŞ A26a §d)), **huhant(i)-** (c.) ‘(great)grandfather(?)’ (acc.sg. /huhantin/ AVUS-*ha-ti-na* (MARAŞ 4 §11), dat.-loc.sg. /huhanti/ AVUS-*ha-ti* (KARKAMIŞ A1a §14), nom.pl. /huhantint<sup>s</sup>i/ AVUS-*ha-ti-zi* (KARKAMIŞ A11b §8), dat.-loc.pl. /huhatant<sup>s</sup>/ AVUS-*ha-ta-za* (HAMA 4 §10)), **\*huhantia-** (adj.) ‘of the grandfather’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. AVUS-*ti-ia* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §8, 13)), **huhantul(i)-** (c.) ‘greatgreatgrandfather(?)’ (acc.sg. /huhantulin/ AVUS-*ha-tu-li(ha)* (MARAŞ 4 §11)); Lyc. **ḫuge-** ‘grandfather’ (gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫugaha*).

IE cognates: Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw* ‘grandfather’, OIc. *ǿ* ‘greatgrandfather’, Goth. *awo* ‘grandmother’, SCr. *ùjāk* ‘uncle on mother’s side’, Lith. *avýnas* ‘uncle on mother’s side’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-ós*

See Puhvel HED 3: 355f. for attestations. In Hittite, this word is almost consistently spelled *ḫu-uḫ-ḫV<sup>o</sup>*, with geminate *-ḫḫ-*, whereas in CLuwian, we find *ḫu-u-ḫV<sup>o</sup>* and *ḫu-ḫV<sup>o</sup>* with single *-ḫ-*, which corresponds to Lyc. *ḫuge-*, the *-g-* of which reflects a lenited *\*/-h-/*.

Since Sturtevant (1928c: 163), these words are generally connected with Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw*, etc. ‘grandfather’. It is clear that Lat. *a-* and Arm. *ha-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>e-*, which corresponds to Hitt. *ḫ-*. The second *-ḫḫ-* in Hittite corresponds to the acute intonation in SCr. *ùjāk* which points to a laryngeal. Because *\*h<sub>3</sub>* was lost intervocalically (cf. Melchert 1987b: 23f.), it is likely that we must reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>* here as well. All in all, we arrive at a stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>euh<sub>2</sub>-*. The question remains why Hittite shows geminate *-ḫḫ-* where the Luwian languages

show single *-h-*. In my view, this problem can only be solved by assuming that this word originally was a root noun. If we reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-ós*, we can explain that on the one hand we find the thematized stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>éuh<sub>2</sub>-o-* in CLuw. *hūh<sub>2</sub>a-*, Lyc. *χuge-*, but also Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw*, Goth. *awo*, etc., but on the other a thematized stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-ó-* which regularly yields Hitt. *huh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>a-* without lenition of *\*-h<sub>2</sub>-*. Compare *šūh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>-*, *šuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>a-* for a similar thematization.

**hujē/a<sup>-zi</sup>**: see *hujai<sup>-i</sup>* / *hui-*

**huiš<sup>-zi</sup>** / **huš-** (Ia1) ‘to live; to survive’ (Sum. TI): 3sg.pres.act. *hu-iš-zi* (KBo 12.81 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *hu-i-iš-zi* (KUB 6.46 iv 10 (NH)), TI-*eš-zi* (KUB 15.30 iii 5 (NS), KUB 57.116 obv. 18 (NS), KUB 17.12 ii 26 (NS), KUB 15.1 iii 50 (NH), KBo 23.117 rev. 14 (NS)), TI-*iš-zi* (KUB 6.45 iii 41 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. *hu-i-iš-te-ni* (KUB 1.16 iii 37 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *hu-e-eš* (ABoT 44 i 56 (OH/NS)); part. TI-*eš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 31.77 i 9 (NH)); impf. *hu-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 49.1 iv 17 (NS)).

Derivatives: **hušnu<sup>-zi</sup>**, **huišnu<sup>-zi</sup>**, **huesnu<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make recover; to rescue; to spare’ (1sg.pres.act. *hu-iš-nu[-mi]* (KBo 39.223 rev. 3), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-iš-nu-zi* (OH/NS), *hu-iš-nu-uz-zi* (OH/MS), *hu-u-iš-nu-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *hu-iš-nu-mé-ni* (KBo 32.15 ii 18 (MH/MS)), *hu-iš-nu-e-ni* (KUB 36.32, 15), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-iš-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *hu-iš-nu-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *hu-e-⟨eš⟩-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28 ii 19), *hu-iš-nu-ut* (MH/MS), *hu-uš-nu-ut* (KBo 3.36 obv. 9 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *hu-iš-nu-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *hu-iš-nu-ut*, *hu-u-iš-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *hu-iš-nu-ud-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *hu-uš-nu-ut-tén* (KUB 32.64 ii 14 (MH/NS)); part. TI-*nu-an-t-*; impf. *hu-iš-nu-uš-ke/a-*), **huišu-** / **huišau-**, **huesu-** / **huesau-**, **hušu-** ‘fresh, raw’ (nom.-acc.sg. and pl. *hu-e-šu*, *hu-e-šú*, *hu-u-e-šu*, *hu-i-šu*, *hu-u-i-šu*, *hu-šu* (1x), abl. *hu-e-ša-ua-az*, *hu-e-ša-ua-za*, *hu-e-ša-u-ua-az*, *hu-e-ša-u-ua-za*, *hu-u-e-ša-ua-az*, *hu-u-e-ša-ua-za*, *hu-u-e-ša-u-ua-az*, *hu-u-e-ša-u-ua-za*, *hu-u-i-e-ša-u-ua-az*, *hu-i-ša-ua-az*, *hu-u-i-ša-u-az*, *hu-u-i-ša-ua-az*, *hu-u-i-ša-ua-za*, *hu-u-i-ša-u-ua-za*, *hu-u-i-ša-u-ua-az*, *hu-e-šu-ua-za*, *hu-šu-ua-za*, nom.pl.c. *hu-u-e-ša-u-e-eš*, *hu-u-ui<sub>3</sub>-ša-u-e-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *hu-i-šu-ua-aš*, *hu-i-ša-⟨-ua⟩-aš*), **huišue/a<sup>-zi</sup>**, **huišue/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic4 > Ic2) ‘to stay alive, to be alive, to survive’ (3sg.pres.act. *hu-iš-ú-e-ez-zi*, *hu-iš-ú-ez-zi*, *hu-iš-šu-ez-zi*, *hu-u-iš-šu-u-ez-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. [*h*] *u-šu-e-ua-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *hu-iš-ua-it*, *hu-iš-ua-a-iš*, 2pl.pret.act. *hu-iš-ú-e-te-en* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *hu-iš-šu-er* (HKM 50 obv. 5 (MH/MS)), *hu-u-i-šu-er*, *hu-šu-e-er*; part. *hu-šu-ua-an-t-* (OS), *hu-uš-ua-an-t-*, *hu-iš-ua-an-t-* (OS), *hu-i-šu-ua-an-t-* (OS), *hu-iš-šu-ua-an-t-* (OS), *hu-u-iš-ua-an-t-*, *hu-u-i-iš-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun *hu-*

*iš-ua-a-tar*, *hu-iš-ua-tar*, *hu-u-iš-ua-tar*, gen.sg. *hu-e-eš-ua-an-na-aš*, *hu-iš-ua-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hu-iš-ua-an-ni*, instr. *TI-an-ni-it*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **hwisar** (n.) ‘game, wild beasts’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>BESTIA</sup>*HWI-sà+ra/i-sa* (ALEPPO 2 §5), <sup>“ANIMAL.BESTIA”</sup>*HWI-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i* (BOHÇA §5), *HWI-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-*’ (BULGARMADEN §7)), **hwisnamaja** (n.?) ‘?’ (nom.-acc.pl.(?) <sup>BESTIA</sup>*HWI-sá-na-ma-ia* (ASSUR letter *a* §10)).

IE cognates: Gr. *ἰάω*, aor. *ἄεσα* ‘to spend the night’, Skt. *vásati* ‘to dwell’, TochB *wäs-* ‘to rest, to reside’, Goth. *wisan* ‘to be’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 332f. for attestations. Within the verb, we find the stems *huiš-* and *hueš-*. Weitenberg (1984: 108f.) shows that spellings with *-e-* occur in young texts only, which fits our establishment that OH /i/ is lowered to NH /e/ before *-š-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). In the derivatives of this verb, we find a third stem, namely *huš-*, especially in several OS attestations of *hušuant-* (besides *huišuant-*). I therefore cite this lemma as *huiš-<sup>zi</sup> / huš-*.

Already since Kuryłowicz (1927: 102) this verb is generally derived from the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-* as reflected in e.g. Gr. *ἄεσα* ‘to spend the night’, Skt. *vásati* ‘to dwell’, Goth. *wisan* ‘to be’. Formally, the development of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ues-* > OH *huiš-* can be understood if we apply the sound law as formulated by Melchert (e.g. 1994a: 101), namely *\*e* between *\*u* and dental consonant > *i* (also in *uitt-* besides *uett-*).

Opponents against this etymology (e.g. Weitenberg 1984: 108f., Tischler HEG A: 265) point to the Luwian stem *huit-* ‘to live’ (see under the lemma *huitar / huitn-*), and raise the possibility that Hitt. *-š-* reflects *\*-d̥i-*. Apart from the fact that the sound law *\*d̥i* > Hitt. *š* is only ascertained for word-initial position, the connection with Luw. *huit-* is difficult morphologically. We would have to assume a basic stem *\*hued-*, of which a derivative *\*hued-iu-* (but what kind of suffix is this *\*-iu-*?) yielded Hitt. *\*huešu-*, out of which a verbal stem *hueš-* was back-formed. This does not seem appealing to me. Moreover, the root *huiš-* is attested in HLuwian as well, which cannot be explained by an assibilation of *\*hued-*.

**huitar / huitn-** (n.) ‘game, wild animals’: nom.-acc.sg. [*hu*]-*i-ta-ar* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 15 (OS)), [*hu-i*]-*ta-ar* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 14 (OS)), *hu-i-ta-ar* (KBo 4.2 i 59 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-i-tar* (KUB 3.94 ii 18 (NS), KUB 8.62 i 2 (NS), etc.), *hu-u-e-da-ar* (KUB 36.67 ii 9 (NS)), gen.sg. *hu-it-na-aš* (KUB 6.45 iii 16 (NH)) // *hu-it-ta-aš* (KUB 6.46 iii 56 (NH)), [*h*]*u-it-na-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 16 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-it-na-aš* (KBo 11.40 ii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 33.57 ii 11 (OH/NS), KBo 25.180 rev. 10

(OH/NS)), erg.sg. *ḫu-it-na-an-za* (KBo 9.114, 7 (OH/MS)), instr. *ḫu-u-it-ni-it* (KUB 24.2 ii 15 (NS)), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫu-i-ta-a-ar* (ABoT 5+ ii 17 (OS)), *ḫu-i-da-a[-ar]* (KBo 22.224 obv. 3 (OH/MS)), [*ḫu-*]i-da-a-ar (KUB 8.1 iii 10 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-i-ta-a-ar* (KBo 10.23 iii 9 (OH/NS), KBo 10.24 i 11 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **ḫuitnaima-** ‘?’ (gen.sg. *ḫu-i-it-na-i-ma-aš* (KUB 44.61 rev. 17 (NS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ḫuitar** / **ḫuitn-** (n.) ‘game, wild animals’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u-i-tar-ša*), **ḫuitumar** / **ḫuitumn-** (n.) ‘life’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-i-tu-mar-ša*, *ḫu-i-du-mar-ša*), **ḫuitumnāḫit-** (n.) ‘vitality: liveliness’ (abl.-instr. *ḫu-i-tum-na-a-ḫi-ta-ti*, *ḫu-i-tum-ma-na-ḫi-ta-ti*, *ḫu-u-tu<sub>1</sub>-um-na-ḫi-ta-ti*), **ḫuitu<sub>2</sub>al(i)-** (adj.) ‘alive, living’ (nom.sg.c. *ḫu-i-du-ua-li-iš*, *ḫu-i-it-ua-li-iš*, *ḫu-it-ua-a-li-iš*), **ḫuitu<sub>2</sub>alāḫit-** (n.) ‘life’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u-it-ua-la-a-ḫi-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḫu-u-i-du-ua-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti*, *ḫu-i-it-ua-la-ḫi-ta-ti*, *ḫu-it-ua-la-ḫi-ta-ti*), **ḫuitu<sub>2</sub>ali<sub>2</sub>ja-** (adj.) ‘of a living person’ (nom.sg.c. [*ḫu-*]i-it-ua-a-li-iš, *ḫu-it-ua-li-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫu-u-i-it-ua-li-ja-an*, *ḫu-u-i-it-ua-a-li-ja-an*, *ḫu-it-ua-li-ja-an*, [*ḫu-i-*]du-ua<<la>>li-ja-an, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-i-it-ua[li-ja]*), **ḫuitu<sub>2</sub>alu<sub>2</sub>ar** (n.) ‘being alive’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-i-du-u-ua-lu-ua-ra*); HLuw. **ḫwitar** (n.) ‘game, wild animals’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>BESTIA</sup>*HWI-tara/i* (MARAS 1 §11)), **ḫwitnia-** (adj.) ‘of the wild animals(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *HWI-tà-ni-ja-za* (§IRZI §4)).

IE cognates: ON *vitnir* ‘creature’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>éid-r* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>id-n-ós*.

See Puhvel HED 3: 352f. for attestations. Puhvel cites the word as “*ḫuedar*, *ḫuitar*”, but in the overview above we can see that almost all words are spelled with *-i-* (note that the sign IT can be read *it* as well as *et* and therefore is non-probative), including OS ones. The only form with *-e-*, *ḫu-u-e-da-ar* (KUB 36.67 ii 9) is found in a NS text and therefore may not be phonetically relevant. Puhvel cites another form with *-e-*, namely gen.sg. “*ḫu-ú-e-id-na-as*” (KUB 1.16 ii 46 (OH/NS)), but it should be noted that this form is crucially broken ([...]ú-e-et-na-aš ...), and that its context is not fully clear. Moreover, it would be one of the very few examples where we would find the sign 𐎶 followed by 𐎶 in Hittite (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f), and I therefore do not follow Puhvel’s restoration.

This word is remarkable because it inflects *ḫuitar* / *ḫuitn-*, showing a cluster *-tn-* whereas in e.g. abstract nouns in *-ātar* / *-ānn-* the cluster *\*-tn-* assimilated to *-nn-*. It therefore has been claimed that the word in fact is a Luwianism. Because of the OS attestations, this seems unlikely to me. Puhvel (l.c.) ingenuously remarks that in *ḫuitar* / *ḫuitn-* the cluster *-tn-* must reflect *\*-dn-* (with *\*-d-* as

visible in nom.-acc.sg. *huitar*, CLuw. *huitumar*, *huituāli-*, etc.) and that \*-dn- did not assimilate (unlike \*-tn- > -nn-), as is clear from *utnē / utni-* ‘land’ (q.v.).

In Hittite, the word *huitar* / *huitn-* does not have cognates (apart perhaps from the unclear hapax *hu-i-it-na-i-ma-aš*), whereas in CLuwian the root *huid-* is wider spread, and seems to denote ‘life, to live’ (cf. e.g. *huitumar* ‘life’, *huituāli(i)-* ‘alive, living’). This meaning resembles the meaning of Hitt. *hūiš-* ‘to live’ a lot, and it therefore has been assumed that *huid-* and *hūiš-* in fact are cognate. See at *hūiš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huš-* for the problems regarding this assumption. It cannot be denied, however, that at least in HLuwian the roots *hwit-* and *hwis-* were synchronically connected, as is apparent from the fact that we find *hwisar* / *hwisn-* besides *hwitar* / *hwitn-*, both meaning ‘game, wild animals’.

Puhvel (HED 3: 355) etymologically connects *huitar* / *huitn-* with ON *vitnir* ‘creature’, which would point to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueid-*. For Hittite, this means that we can reconstruct a formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueid-r* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>uid-n-ós*.

**huitt(ije/a)-**: see *huett(ije/a)-*, *huttije/a-*

**hulla-**: see *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>* / *hull-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**hulāli-** (n.) ‘distaff’: nom.-acc.sg. *hu-la-a-li*, *hu-u-la-li*, *hu-la-li*.

Derivatives: **hulālije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to entwine, to encircle’ (1sg.pres.act. *hu-la-a-li-e-mi* (OS), *hu-la-a-li-ja-mi* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-la-a-li-e-z[i]* (OS), *hu-la-a-li-ez-zi* (OS), *hu-la-a-li-az-zi*, *hu-la-li-ja-az-zi*, *hu-u-la-li-e-ez-zi*, *hu-u-la-li-ez-zi*, *hu-u-la-a-li-ez-zi*, [*hu-*]ul-la-li-ja-az-zi (1x), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-la-li-an-zi*, *hu-u-la-a-li-ja-an-zi*, *hu-u-la-li-an-zi*, *hu-u-la-li-ja-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *hu-u-la-li-ja-nu-un*; 3sg.pres.midd. *hu-la-li-ja-at-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *hu-u-la-li-et-ta-at* (MH/MS); part. *hu-la-li-an-t-* (OS), *hu-u-la-li-an-t-*; verb.noun *hu-u-la-li-ja-u-ua-ar* (MH/MS); impf. *hu-u-la-a-li-eš-ke/a-*, *hu-u-la-li-iš-ke/a-*, **hulalieššar** / **hulaliešn-** (n.) ‘encirclement’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hu-la-li-eš-šar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *hu-u-la-li-eš-ni*), **hulhulije/a-** (Ic1) ‘to embrace, to wrestle’ (3sg.pres.act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ja-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ja-at*, 3pl.imp.act. *hu-ul-hu-li-an-du*; part. *hu-ul-hu-li-ja-an-t-*; verb.noun *hu-ul-hu-li-ja-u-ua-ar*), **hulhul(i)ja-** ‘wrestling’ (dat.-loc.sg. *hu-ul-hu-li-ja*, *hu-ul-hu-li<sub>12</sub>-ja*, *hu-ul-hu-la*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 361f. for attestations. The interpretation of <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hulāli-* as ‘distaff’ is especially based on the fact that it is used in combination with <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hueša-* ‘spindle’, e.g. in KBo 6.34 ii (42) *nu TÚG ŠÁ MUNUS* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hu-la-a-li* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hu-e-ša-an-n=a* (43) *ú-da-an-zi* ‘They bring a woman’s clothe, a distaff and a

spindle’. For formal reasons, it is obvious that the verb *hulālije/a-zi* ‘to entwine, to enwrap’ is derived from it, which is supported by the figura etymologica KUB 59.2 ii (8) *nu=za=kán<sup>GIŠ</sup> hu-la-li hu-la-li-ja-az-zi* ‘He enwraps the distaff’. Since the distaff is the staff around which the wool was wound from which a thread was spun that then was wound around the spindle, it is likely that *hulāli* is cognate with the root \**hul-* ‘wool’ as visible in *hulana-* ‘wool’ and *hulija-* ‘wool’. See under *hulana-* for further etymology.

***hulana-*** (c.) ‘wool’ (Sum. SÍG): acc.sg. SÍG-*an*, dat.-loc.sg. *hu-u-la-[n(i)]* (KBo 3.8 iii 8), [*hu-u-la-*)]*n*] (KBo 3.8 iii 26), instr. SÍG-*ni-it*.

Derivatives: ***hulija-*** (c.) ‘wool’ (nom.sg. *hu-li-ja-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. \****hulana/i-*** (c.) ‘wool’ (nom.sg. SÍG-*la-ni-iš*, abl.-instr. SÍG-*ti*).

The word for ‘wool’ is almost always spelled sumerographically with the sign SÍG. On the basis of parallel texts, two phonetic spellings have been discovered. On the one hand, the parallel texts KBo 11.10 ii (29) UDU<sup>HIA</sup>-*aš hu-li-ja-aš* // KBo 11.72 ii (33) UDU<sup>HIA</sup>-*aš SÍG-aš* ‘wool of the sheep’, show a spelling *hulija-*. On the other, the parallel texts KUB 26.50 i (25) KUR URU<sup>?</sup> <sup>ID</sup>SÍG-*na* URU<sup>URU</sup>*Ir-ja-an-ta*[-*aš* URU<sup>URU</sup>*Ki-*)]*ig-gi-ip-ra-aš* // KUB 26.43 i (31) KUR URU<sup>I<sup>D</sup></sup>*Hu-la-na* URU<sup>URU</sup>*Ir-ja-an-da-aš* URU<sup>URU</sup>*Ki-ik-ki-ip-ra-aš*, show a phonetic spelling *hulana-*. This latter reading also fits the occasional phonetic complements to SÍG: instr. SÍG-*ni-it* (KUB 24.10 iii 13, KUB 24.11 iii 11). A full phonetic spelling *hulana-* may be visible in the following difficult passage, if a translation ‘wool’ would be justified here.

KBo 3.8 iii

(6) *pár-ti-an-za ha-a-ra-aš*<sup>[MUŠEN<sup>?</sup>]</sup>

(7) *ha-mi-ik-ta [ša-m]a-an-ku-úr-ya-du-uš=kán MUŠ<sup>HIA</sup>-uš*

(8) *an-da hu-u-la-[n(i)] ha-mi-ik-ta*

...

(24) *pár-ti-an-zi*

(25) [*ha-a-ra-aš*<sup>M<sup>1</sup></sup>]<sup>UŠEN</sup> *la-a-at-ta-at ša-ma-an-ku-úr-ya-an-te-eš MUŠ<sup>HIA</sup>*

(26) [*hu-u-la-*)]*n*] *la-a-at-ta-at*

‘He bound the *p.* eagle, he bound the bearded snakes in *h.* ... He released the *p.* eagle, he released the bearded snakes in *h.*’



In CLuwian, we find a nom.sg. *SÍG-la-ni-iš* (KUB 25.39 iv 6) that seems to belong with Hitt. *hulana-* and then must be read as *hulaniš*.

All in all, we must assume two words for wool, namely *huliia-* and *hulana-*. Because of their formal similarity, it is likely that both are derived from a root *hul-* ‘wool’, which then possibly also underlies *hulāli-* ‘distaff’ (q.v.) and its derivatives *hulaliie/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to entwine’.

Since Friedrich (1961), *hulana-* has been compared with the words for ‘wool’ in the other IE languages: Skt. *úrṇā-*, Gr. *λῆνος*, Lat. *lāna-*, Goth. *wulla*, Lith. *vilna*, etc. If we leave the Anatolian forms out of consideration, these forms point to *\*ulh<sub>1</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-*. On the basis of Hitt. *hulana-* this reconstruction is now widely adapted to *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-*. There are some problems, however. First, the development of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>n-* to Gr. *λῆνος* is not easy to explain. If the form vocalized as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>n-*, we would in principle expect *\*ἄλῆν-*. Secondly, if Hitt. *hulana-* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>n-*, the *-a-* is unexpected. It has been claimed that *hulana-* stands for /Holna-/ (cf. Melchert 1994a: 65), but then we should rather expect a spelling *\*\*hu-ul-na-*. Thirdly, if *hulana-* and *huliia-* together with *hulali-* point to a root *hul-*, this *hul-* does not fit *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>-*, which should have yielded *\*\*hull-*. So, all in all, if the PIE word for ‘wool’ was *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-*, I would have rather expected Hitt. /huLna-/, which should have been spelled either *\*\*hu-ul-na-* or *\*\*hu-ul-la-na-* but not *hu-la-na-* as attested.

Kronasser (1967: 45) rather connects *hul-* with a Hurrian noun *\*hul(a)-* ‘wool’ which is only attested as a loanword in Akk. *hul(l)anu*, a piece of clothing made of wool, which is used in texts from Nuzi and Alalah.

**hulle-<sup>zi</sup> / hull-** (Ia1 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to smash, to defeat’: 2sg.pres.act. *hu-ul-la-ši* (KUB 37.223 rev. 5 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-ul-le-ez-z[i]* (KUB 29.32, 4 (OS)), *hu-ul-le-ez[-zi]* (KUB 29.32, 5 (OS)), *hu-ul-le[-ez-zi]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 35 (OS)), *hu-ul-le-ez-zi* (KUB 34.53 rev. 9 (MS), KUB 40.54 rev. 2 (NS), (IBoT 3.131, 5 (NS)), *hu-ul-le-zi* (KBo 20.82 ii 27 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-la-az-zi* (KUB 37.223 obv. 4 (OS)), *hu-u-ul-la-az-zi* (KBo 6.26 ii 11 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-[(le-e-ez-zi)]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 34 (OS) // *hu-ul-le-e-ez-zi* KUB 36.98a obv. 5 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ul-li-ja-az-zi* (KBo 6.26 ii 12 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-li-ja-az-zi* (KBo 4.10 obv. 46 (NH)), *hu-ul-la-i* (KBo 6.28 rev. 29 (NH), KUB 31.59 iii 26 (NS)), *hu-ul-la-a-i* (KBo 6.29 iii 42 (NH), KUB 26.50 rev. 9 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. [*hu<sup>2</sup>*]-*ul-la-at-te-ni* (KUB 26.34 rev. 5 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-ul-la-an-zi* (KUB 17.21 iv 19 (MH/MS), KBo 6.3 ii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 35.148 iv 7 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ul-la-an-zi* (KBo 6.5 iii 8 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *hu-ul-la-nu-un* (KBo 3.22 obv. 11, 15 (OS), KUB 31.64 iii 10 (OH/NS), KBo 2.5 ii 11 (NH), KBo 5.8 iii 29 (NH), KUB 33.106 iv 13 (NH)),

*hu-ul-la-a-nu[-un]* (KUB 23.21 iii 28 (MH/NS)), *hu-ul-li-ja-nu-un* (KBo 10.2 i 35, ii 16 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 23.33, 5 (OH/NS), KBo 3.6 ii 9 (NH), KUB 1.1 ii 25 (NH), KUB 14.3 i 25 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *hu-ul-le-et* (KUB 36.99 rev. 4 (OS), KBo 3.38 obv. 15 (fr.), 31 (OH/NS), KBo 22.2 rev. 8 (OH/MS), KBo 3.1 i 29 (OH/NS), KBo 3.46 obv. 25 (OH/NS), KUB 12.26 ii 23 (NS), KUB 19.11 iv 39 (NH)), *hu-ul-li-i-e-et* (KUB 14.15 i 29 (NH)), *hu-ul-li-ja-at* (KBo 2.5 + 16.17 iii 40 (NH), KBo 14.3 iv 33 (NH), KUB 14.22 i 6 (NH), KUB 19.18 i 28 (NH)), *hu-u-ul-li-ja-at* (KUB 19.8 iii 30 (NH)), *hu-ul-li-iš* (KBo 3.38 rev. 24 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-la-aš* (Bronzetafel i 98 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *hu-ul-lu-mé-en* (KUB 23.21 obv. 29 (MH/NS)), *hu-ul-lu-um-me-[en]* (KBo 3.15, 6 (NS)), *hu-u-ul-li-ja-u-en* (KUB 23.16 iii 9 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *hu-ul-le-er* (KUB 31.124 ii 12 (MH/MS), KBo 3.18 rev. 8 (OH/NS), KBo 3.38 obv. 32 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-li-e-er* (KBo 3.16 rev. 2, 3, 4 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *hu-ul-la-ad-du* (KUB 35.148 iv 8 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *hu-ul-la-an-ta-ri* (KUB 17.28 iv 45 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. [*hu-ul-]la-at-ta-ti* (KBo 3.29, 14 (OH/NS)) // *hu[-ul-la-at-ta-ti]* (KBo 8.41, 4 (OH/NS)), *hu-ul-la-ta-at* (KUB 14.17 ii 29 (NH)), 3sg.imp.midd. *hu-la-da-ru* (KBo 3.29, 15 (OH/NS), KBo 8.41, 5 (OH/NS)); part. *hu-ul-la-an-t-* (KUB 24.8 ii 18 (OH/NS)); impf. *hu-ul-li-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **hullātar** (n.) ‘infliction’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hu-ul-la-a-tar*, *hu-ul-la-tar*), **hullumar** (n.) ‘defeat’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hu-u-ul-lu-mar* (KBo 14.4 i 28 (NH))), **hullanza-** (c.) ‘defeat’ (acc.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an* (OS)), **hullanzai-** (c.) ‘infliction, defeat’ (nom.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-iš*, *hul-la-an-za-iš*, acc.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-in*), **hullanzatar / hullanzann-** (n.) ‘infliction, defeat’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-tar*, *hu-u-ul-la-an-za-tar*, *hu-ul-la-a-an-za-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an-ni*), **hullanzeššar / hullanzešn-** (n.) ‘infliction’ (dat.-loc.sg. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-eš-ni*, abl. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-eš-na-az*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uelh<sub>1</sub>-*: *\*h<sub>2</sub>ul-né-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ul-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 363f. for attestations. In the oldest texts (OS), we often find the spelling *hu-ul-LI-IZ-zi* and *hu-ul-LI-IT*, which are ambiguous regarding their interpretation. Because the sign LI can be read *li* as well as *le*, the sign IZ can be read *iz* as well as *ez* and the sign IT can be read *it* as well as *et*, the spelling *hu-ul-LI-IZ-zi* could in principle be read *hullizzi*, *hulliezzi* or *hullezzi*, and similarly *hu-ul-LI-IT* as *hullit*, *hulliet* or *hullet*. A reading *hullie-* (i.e. /HoLie-/) in my view is not likely, as there are no other examples of the stem *hullīe/a-* in OS or MS texts (but note that in NS texts we do find *hullīe/a-* and the corresponding unambiguous spellings *hu-ul-li-i-e-et* /HoLiét/). The choice between *hulli-* and *hulle-* is difficult, however. On the basis of the fact that *hulle/i-* seems to alternate

with *hulla-*, I assume that we have to read *hulle-* since an alternation *e : a* is better understandable than an alternation *i : a*.

As already mentioned, this verb shows quite a wide variety of stems. Already in OS texts, we find different stems: 3sg.pres.act. *hullezzi* and 3sg.pret.act. *hullet* show a stem *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>*, whereas 2sg.pres.act. *hullaši*, 3sg.pres.act. *hullazi* and 1sg.pret.act. *hullanun* show a stem *hulla-<sup>zi</sup>*. A stem *hullije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* is found in NS texts only, and clearly must be secondary. The same goes for the occasional *hi*-inflected forms 3sg.pres.act. *hullāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *hullaš* and *hulliš* (all based on the stems *hulla-* and *hulli-*). A stem *hull-* is found in 1pl.pret.act. *hullumen* (MH/NS), *hullumme[n]* (NS) and derivative *hullumar* (NH), which are all from NS texts and therefore at first sight do not seem to be of much value. The interpretation of 3pl.pres.act. *hullanzi* (OH/MS) is less certain. It could in principle show a stem *hulla-*, but in my view, a stem *hull-* is much more likely, which would give more value to the forms *hullumen* and *hullumar* as well. So all in all, I regard the stems *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>*, *hulla-<sup>zi</sup>* and *hull-* as original, but it should be noted that in OS texts the stem *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>* is more numerous than *hulla-<sup>zi</sup>*. This situation reminds of the verb *zinni-<sup>zi</sup> / zinn-* ‘to finish’ that also occasionally shows a stem *zinna-* in OS texts already. I therefore think that it is possible that *hulle-/hulla-/hull-* should be judged similar to *zinni-<sup>zi</sup> / zinn-*, which would mean that the original ablaut is *hulle-<sup>zi</sup> / hull-* (which is the reason for me to cite this verb thus in this lemma). The stem *hulla-* probably arose in analogy to stems in *-je/a-* or *-ške/a-* where *-e-* alternates with *-a-*.

As I have argued in detail under its own lemma, *zinni-<sup>zi</sup> / zinn-* reflects an *n*-infixing stem of the root *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>- : \*ti-ne-h<sub>1</sub>- / \*ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-*. Applying this structure to *hulle-<sup>zi</sup> / hull-*, we have to reconstruct *\*hul-ne-h<sub>1</sub>- / \*hul-n-h<sub>1</sub>-*. Because the cluster *\*-ln-* assimilates to Hitt. *\*-ll-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 81f.), the regular outcomes are Hitt. *hullē- / hull-* (note however, that in the case of *zinni-* that unambiguously must have *-i-*, the vowel *\*-ē-* < *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* apparently was raised to *-i-*).

All these considerations lead to reconstructing the root as *\*h<sub>2</sub>uelh<sub>1</sub>-* (the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is obligatory because *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would not have been retained as *h-* in this position, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that this reconstruction precludes a connection with *ualh-* ‘to hit, to strike’ (q.v.), which must reflect *\*uelh<sub>3</sub>-*.

As cognates, one could think of OIr. *follnadar* ‘to rule’ (*\*(H)ul-ne-H-*), Lat. *ualeō* ‘to be powerful’ (*\*(H)ulH-je/o-*) and, with a *\*-d<sup>h</sup>*-extension, Lith. *vėldu* ‘to own’, Goth. *waldan* ‘to rule’ and OCS *vladq* ‘to rule’.

**hulli-**: see *hulle-<sup>zi</sup> / hull-*

*hulija-* ‘wool’: see at *hulana-*

*hullije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *hulle-<sup>zi</sup>* / *hull-*

*huldalae-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *huyantalae-<sup>zi</sup>*

<sup>GIS</sup>*hulukanni-* (c.) ‘coach, carriage’: nom.sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *hu-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (MS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-en* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *hu-lu-ka-an-ni-ia* (OS), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ia* (OS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-ia* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ka-an-ni* (MS), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni* (OH/NS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni* (NS), abl. *hu-lu-ga-a[n-ni-a]z* (OS), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ia-az* (MS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (NS), *hu-lu-ka-a-an-na-az* (MH/MS), *hu-lu-ga-a-an-na-za* (MH/MS), *hu-lu-ga-an-na-az* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ga-na-az* (MH/MS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ga-an-na-za* (OH/NS), *hu-lu-ga-an-na-az-za* (OH/NS), instr. *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (NS), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (OH/NS).

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See Puhvel HED 3: 370f. for attestations. All attestations are spelled with either *hu-lu-* or *hu-u-lu-*, but on the tablet KBo 22.181 we come across a spelling *ha-lu-* twice, namely rev. 2 and 4. In my view, both forms must be regarded as copy mistakes (possible reading a squeezed  $\text{HU}+\text{U}$  ( $\text{𐎶𐎺}$ ) as  $\text{HA}$  ( $\text{𐎶𐎺}$ ), cf. the incorrect  $\text{PÍ}$  ( $\text{𐎶𐎺}$ ) instead of  $\text{GA}$  ( $\text{𐎶𐎺}$ ) in rev. (2) [...] <sup>GIS</sup>*ha-lu-pi-an*[-...], which clearly must be <sup>GIS</sup>*ha-lu-ga<sup>1</sup>-an*[-...]).

The oldest forms of this word show an *i*-stem *hulukanni-*, but we encounter *a*-stem forms as well, from the MH period onwards already. In an OAss. text from Kültepe, AKT 1.14, we come across the forms acc. pl. *hu-lu-kà-ni* and gen.sg. *hi-lu-kà-ni-im*, which would seem to point to a pronunciation [hlu-]. According to Puhvel (l.c.), this speaks in favour of Laroche’s derivation (1960: 125) from *haluga-* ‘message’, of which an interpretation /Hluga-/ seems certain. Note that on the basis of this derivation, Laroche translates *hulukanni-* as “voiture de poste”. First it should be noted that there is no contextual evidence that *hulukanni-* has anything to do with postal services. Secondly, the OAssyrian forms cannot be equated with *hulukanni-* on semantic grounds (cf. Dercksen (fthc.), who assumes that these words are the OAssyrian adaptations of Hitt. *haluga-* (q.v.)). Moreover, it is in my view hard to explain why *haluka-* is consistently spelled with *ha-* whereas *hulukanni-* is always spelled with *hu-* if both words would have the same phonetic shape, namely /Hlu<sup>o</sup>/. I therefore do

not accept this etymology. In my view, it is likely that *hulukanni-* is of a non-IE origin.

***hūmant-*** (adj.) ‘every, each, all; whole entire’: nom.sg.c. *hu-u-ma-an-za* (OS), acc.sg.c. *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg. *hu-u-ma-an* (OS), *hu-ma-an* (KBo 3.7 i 15, KBo 10.45 iii 54, KBo 18.72 l.edge 5), *hu-ma-a(n)=š-ša-an* (KBo 5.1 iii 16), gen.sg. *hu-u-ma-an-da-aš* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-aš*, [*h*] *hu-u-ma-an-da-aš* (KUB 24.4 rev. 5), dat.-loc.sg. *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-i* (KBo 4.4 iv 13, VBoT 120 ii 22), *hu-u-ma-an-te* (KUB 24.9 ii 31, KUB 13.2 iv 10, KUB 13.1 iv 14), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-ja*, abl. *hu-u-ma-an-da-az*, *hu-u-ma-an-da-za*, *hu-u-ma-an-ta-az*, *hu-u-ma-an-ta-za*, instr. *hu-u-ma-an-te-et* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-it* (OS), nom.pl.c. *hu-u-ma-an-te-eš* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub>*, *hu-u-ma-an-ti-iš*, acc.pl.c. *hu-u-ma-an-du-uš* (OS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *hu-u-ma-an-da* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ta* (OS), *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (KUB 32.123 ii 41), gen.pl. *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (KUB 10.15 iv 29 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ma-an-da-aš*, *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *hu-u-ma-an-da-aš*, *hu-u-ma-an-ta-aš*, *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš*; broken *hu-ma[-an-...]* (KBo 39.58, 4 (MS)).

IE cognates: ?Skt. *ubhá-* ‘both’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-*uent-** ?

See Puhvel HED 3: 373f. for attestations. The adjective is almost consistently spelled with plene *-u-*. In my files, I have found only 5 instances of a spelling *hu-ma-* (of which the forms of KBo 10.45 iii 54 and KBo 18.72 l.edge 5 are written on the edge of the tablet, which makes it possible that they are reduced spellings due to lack of space) vs. 846 instances of the spellings *hu-u-ma-*. This seems to point to a phonological form /Hómant-/. The word denotes ‘every, each’ but also ‘whole, entire’.

An etymological interpretation of this adjective is difficult. If we analyse the word as containing the suffix *-ant-* (like e.g. *dapiant-* besides *dapi-* ‘all, every, each’), we are left with a stem *hūm-*. This *hūm-* has been etymologically connected with Lat. *omnis* (first by Holma 1916: 54-5), but formally this connection does not work. If we analyse *hūmant-* as having a suffix *\*-uant-*, however, we could assume that it goes back to *\*hu-uant-* ‘having *hu-*’. Puhvel (l.c.) proposes to connect this *hu-* with Skt. *ubhá-* ‘both’ and reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-uent-* ‘\*having both > having all’. Semantically as well as formally, this etymology is certainly possible. It remains awkward, however, that no other cognates of the element *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-* are known.

-*h<sub>2</sub>hun* (1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection)

This ending is normally spelled °*C-hu-un* and °*Vh-hu-un*, but we encounter a spelling *-hu-u-un* several times ([*a*]r-*hu-u-un* (KBo 19.76 i 15), *hal-zi-ih-hu-u-un* (KUB 6.46 iii 62), *šu-up-pí-ja-ah-hu-u-un* (KBo 12.85+ i 26), *da-ah-hu-u-un* (ibid. i 34), *tar-na-ah-hu-u-un* (KUB 31.52 obv. 13)), which indicates that phonologically this ending was /-Hon/. This ending belongs to the *hi*-conjugation and therewith stands in contrast to the *mi*-ending *-(n)un*. In the younger texts we find a few original *hi*-verbs in which ending *-h<sub>2</sub>hun* has been replaced by the *mi*-ending *-(n)un*: *a-an-šu-un* (MH/NS) instead of *\*\*ānš<sub>2</sub>hun*, *ha-ma-an-ku-un* (MH/NS) instead of *\*\*hamank<sub>2</sub>hun*, *ha-a-šu-un* (NS) instead of *ha-a-aš-hu-un*. If *la-a-hu-un* (MS) ‘I poured’ is to be regarded as such a case as well (so instead of expected *\*\*lāhuh<sub>2</sub>hun*, although we cannot rule out the possibility that this latter form regularly yielded *lāhun* anyway), then we must conclude that this development started in MH times already. It must be noted that no *mi*-inflecting verb ever shows the ending *-h<sub>2</sub>hun*.

If we compare the 1sg.pret.act.-endings in the other Anatolian languages, where we find Pal. *-h<sub>2</sub>ha*, Luw. *-(h<sub>2</sub>)ha* and Lyc. *-χα*, it is clear that we must reconstruct a PANat. ending *\*/-Ha/* (with *-a* because of Lyc. *-a*). In Hittite, we are apparently dealing with a conflation between this PANat. *\*/-Ha/* and the *mi*-ending *-un* < *\*°C-m*.

It should be noted that the ending *-h<sub>2</sub>hun* always shows geminate *-h<sub>2</sub>h-*, whereas the corresponding Luwian ending shows *-h<sub>2</sub>ha* as well as *-ha*, depending on whether or not the *-h<sub>2</sub>h-* stood in leniting position. In Hittite, the unlenited variant was generalized.

***h<sub>2</sub>uni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib3) ‘to batter, to bash, to crack’: 3sg.pres.act. *hu-u-ni-ik-zi* (OS, often), *hu-ú-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 6.2 i 16 (OS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *hu-ni-ik-ta-ri*, *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-at*, *hu-ni-ik-ta-at*; part. *hu-u-ni-in-kán-t* (OS), *hu-u-ni-kán-t* (KBo 6.2 i 15 (OS) // KBo 6.5 i 3 (OH/NS)); verb.noun *hu-[u-]ni-ki-iš-ša-[ar]* (KBo 1.51 rev. 15 (NS)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-ne-g<sup>(h)</sup>-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 381 for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the nasal infix verbs that show the element *-nin-*. As with all these verbs, the original distribution is that the second *-n-* drops in front of *-kC-*. It is odd, however, that the OS attestation *hu-u-ni-kán-za* (KBo 6.2 i 15) does not follow this rule: the regular form *hu-u-ni-in-kán-za* is found in the same paragraph (KBo 6.2 i 14).

Possibly, the spelling *ḫu-u-ni-kán-za* was caused by lack of space (in the handcopy we can see that the last words of the sentence that it occurs in are squeezed onto the tablet to fit the line). The NS attestation *ḫūnikiššar* does not fit the rule either, but this is probably due to the fact that the original distribution (-*inkV-* vs. -*ikC-*) was lost in NH times (cf. the paradigm of *li(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*).

The word is occasionally spelled with plene -*u-*, which points to a phonological interpretation /Honink-/ (with the phoneme /o/ that is the regular outcome of \**u* adjacent to /H/). Once, it is spelled with plene -*ú-*, namely *ḫu-ú-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 6.2 i 16 (OS)). Apart from the fact that on the same tablet the verb occurs spelled *ḫu-u-ni-* as well (*ḫu-u-ni-kán-za* and *ḫu-u-ni-in-kán-za* as cited above), this form is the only instance known to me in all the Hittite texts where we find a sequence *ḫu-ú-* (vs. 2127 cases of *ḫu-u-* in my text files). It is remarkable that on this same tablet we find a spelling *a-pu-ú-un* ‘him’ (KBo 6.2 ii 32), which is the only spelling with plene -*ú-* known to me instead of normal *a-pu-u-un* (154x in my files). Apparently, the scribe of KBo 6.2 occasionally mixed up the signs U and Ú. These spellings with plene -*ú-* therefore do not have any value.

The verb denotes ‘to bash (trans.)’ when active, and ‘to crack (intr.)’ when middle, and therefore seems to be derived from *ḫuek<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ḫuk-* ‘to slaughter, to slay’. It is remarkable, however, that *ḫuni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* does not have a causative meaning, as the other nasal infix verb with -*nin-* seem to have. See § 2.2.4 for the prehistory of this type of nasal-infixed verbs. See at the lemma of *ḫuek<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ḫuk-* for further etymology.

***ḫuntarija(i)-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*** (IIIg > IIIh) ‘to break wind, to fart’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-un-ta-ri-ja-it-ta* (KUB 17.28 ii 8 (NS)); verb.noun *ḫu-un-tar-ri-ja-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.44 + 13.1 iv 29 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫuntarnu<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib1) ‘to grunt (of pigs)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-un-tar-nu-uz-zi*), ***ḫuntarriamma-*** (adj.) ‘grunting (of pigs)’ (abl. *ḫu-un-t[ar-r]i-am-ma-za*).

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-nt-r-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 382f. for attestations and semantic discussion. He convincingly connects these words to *ḫuuant-* ‘wind’ (q.v.), which means that we are dealing with a denominative in -*arije/a-* (cf. *gimmantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to spend the winter’, *nikumandarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to denude’ (Eichner 1979a: 56)). See at *ḫuuant-* for further etymology.

***ḫupp-***: see *ḫuapp<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḫupp-*

**hurrani-**: see *harrani-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**hurki-** (c.) ‘wheel’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>UMBIN): acc.sg. *hur-ki-in*, *hu-ur-ki-in*, *hu-u-ur-ki-in*, gen.sg. *hur-ki-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hur-ki*, acc.pl. *hur-ki-uš*.

IE cognates: Skt. *varj-* ‘to turn (around)’, Lat. *vergere* ‘to incline’, OE *wrencan* ‘to turn, to wring’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>urg-i-*

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See Puhvel HED 3: 399f. for attestations. Since Kronasser (1957: 121) this word is connected with Skt. *varj-* ‘to turn (around)’, which then must go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerg-* (with initial *\*h<sub>2-</sub>* since *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would not have been retained as *h-* in this position, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that the initial laryngeal of this root is also visible in Skt. 3sg.perf.midd. *vāvyje* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>ue-h<sub>2</sub>urg-oi*) and int. *vārīvyj-* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>uer-h<sub>2</sub>urg-*). This means that Hitt. *hurki-* must reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>urg-i-*.

**hurkil-** (n.) ‘perversity’: nom.-acc.sg. *hu-ur-ki-il* (OS), *hu-ur-ki-i-i[l]* (KBo 46.17 obv.<sup>?</sup> 5 (MS)), *hu-u-ur-ki-il* (OH/NS), *hur-ki-il* (MH/NS), *hur-ki-el* (KUB 30.67, 9 (NS)), gen.sg. *hu-ur-ki-la-aš* (OH/MS), *hur-ki-la-a-aš* (KBo 31.121 obv.<sup>?</sup> 15 (NS)), abl. *hur-ki-la-za*, *hu-ur-ki-la-za*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **hurkil-** ‘perversion’ (gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *hur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>urg-il-* ? or *\*h<sub>2</sub>urg<sup>h</sup>-il-* ?

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See Rieken 1999a: 477f. for attestations and discussion. The word refers to sexual offences like incest and bestiality, and may therefore be translated ‘perversity’. The etymological interpretation of this word has been in debate. On the one hand, scholars have connected *hurkil-* with *hurki-* ‘wheel’, through ‘(wrong) twist’ (see the literature in Tischler HEG 1: 302f.), but this does not seem very attractive to me semantically. On the other hand, Puhvel (l.c.) connects *hurkil-* with the root *\*(H)uerg<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to strangle’ (OE *wyrgan* ‘to strangle’, Lith. *veržiù* ‘to tie in’, OCS *-vrъzq* ‘to bind’). This root seems to be restricted to the north-western European languages, however (unless Alb. *zvjerdh* ‘to disaccustom’ is connected), which does not make it an evident etymology either. Both solutions would imply that the Luwian word is borrowed from Hittite, as PAnat. lenis velars are lost in Luwian.

**hurn-** ‘to hunt’: see *huuarn-* / *hurn-*

**hurna-**, **hurne-**, **hurnije/a-** ‘to sprinkle’: see *harna<sup>zi</sup>* / *harn-*



**hurt(a)-**: see *huuart-<sup>i</sup>* / *hurt-*

**huš-**: see *huiš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huš-*

**huške/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic6) ‘to wait for, to linger’: 2sg.pres.act. *hu-u-uš-ke-ši*, 3sg.pr.s.act. *hu-uš-ke-ez-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *hu-uš-kán-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *hu-uš-ke-et*, 2pl.pres.act. *hu-u-uš-ke-et-tén*, 2sg.imp.act. *hu-u-uš-ke*; verb.noun *hu-uš-ke-u-ua-ar*.

Derivatives: **huškeuant-** (c.) ‘dawdler’ (nom.pl. *hu-uš-ke-ua-an-te-eš*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-ské/ó-* (or *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-ské/ó-*)

See Puhvel HED 3: 410 for attestations. See *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* for my suggestion that this verb reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-ské/ó-* and therewith is a petrified imperfective of the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* ‘to see’ that is the predecessor of *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’. Alternatively, one could assume that it is a petrified imperfective of *huiš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huš-* ‘to live’ and reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>us-ské/ó-* (for the semantics compare Skt. *vāśáyati* ‘to make wait’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uos-éje-*).

**-h<sup>h</sup>ut** (2sg.imp.midd.-ending)

The exact origin of this ending is unclear. It does not match its functional correspondants like Skt. *-sva*, Gr. *-(σ)ο*, Lat. *-re*, etc.

**hūda-** (c./n.) ‘readiness, ability to act swiftly’: nom.sg. c. *hu-u-da-aš* (MH/MS), *hu-u-ta-aš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *hu-u-da* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **hudāk** (adv.) ‘straightaway, immediately, suddenly’ (*hu-da-a-ak* (OS), *hu-u-da-a-ak* (MH/MS, often), *hu-u-da-ak* (often), *hu-u-ta-ak*, *hu-u-ta-a-ak*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **hutarl(ij)a-** (c.) ‘servant’ (acc.sg. *hu-tar-li-i-ja[-an]*, *hu-u-tar-la-a-an*).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>d-o-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 414f. for attestations. Although the adverb *hudāk* is attested far more often than the noun *hūda-*, it is likely that *hudāk* is derived from *hūda-*. The exact formation is unclear however (no other known adverbs in *-k* are known: the one attestation *ap-pí-ja-ak* (IBoT 1.19, 8) is to be emended to *ap-pí-ja-ak(-ku)*, cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 185)).

Puhvel (l.c.) suggests to connect these words with Gr. *εὐθύς* ‘immediately’, but this is formally impossible (Hitt. *h-* vs. Gr. *ε-*). Starke (1990: 359-65)

convincingly argues for a connection with *huu<sub>2</sub>ai<sup>i</sup>* / *hui-* ‘to run, to hurry’ (q.v.), which is derived from *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>d-* ‘to blow (of the wind)’. In his view, *hūda-* and *hudāk* reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>d-*, a formation with *-d-* that he compares with Lith. *vedinti* ‘to air, to cool’ and OHG *wāzan* ‘to blow (of the wind)’. Nevertheless, I do not know whether Starke is correct in his assumption that the CLuw. word *hūtarl(ii)a-* ‘servant’ is cognate as well.

*huttiġe/a-*: see *huett<sup>-(t)ā(n)</sup>*, *huttiġe/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

*huu<sub>2</sub>ai<sup>i</sup>* / *hui-* (IIa4 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to run, to hurry; to spread (of vegetation); (+ =*kan*) to escape; (+ *āppan*) to run behind, to back up’: 1sg.pres.act. *hu-i-iġ-ġi* (KBo 11.19 obv. 14 (NS)), *hu-u-i-ġa-mi* (KUB 1.1 iv 10 (NH), Bo 69/256, 5 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *hu-u-i-ġa-ši* (KUB 5.1 iii 55 (NH)), *hu-u-e-ġa-ši* (KUB 15.23, 9 (NH)), [*h*]u-u-ġa-ši (KUB 48.126 i 21 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-ua-a-i* (OS, often), *hu-u-ua-a-i* (often), *hu-ua-i* (KBo 27.42 i 24 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ua-i* (KBo 27.42 ii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 2.3 i 43 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 iv 14, 33 (NS)), *hu-u-ua-iz-zi* (KBo 5.9 ii 40 (NH)), *hu-u[a-]iz-zi* (KBo 10.12+13 iii 41 (NH)), *hu-u-uġa-zi* (KUB 14.3 iii 51 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *hu-u-i-ġa-u-e-ni* (KUB 23.83 obv. 5 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-uġa-an-zi* (OS, often), *hu-u-uġa-an-zi*, *hu-u-i-uġa-an-zi*, *hu-u-i-an-zi* (KBo 11.32 obv. 15 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ua-an-zi*, *hu-u-ua-uġa-an-zi* (KUB 57.84 iii 16 (NS), Bo 6570 ii 4 (undat.)), 1sg.pret.act. *hu-e-eġ-hu-un* (KUB 33.57 ii 3 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-i-ġa-nu-un* (KUB 14.15 iii 44 (NH)), *hu-uġa-nu-un* (KUB 19.39 ii 4 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *hu-ua-iš* (MH/MS, often), *hu-u-ua-iš*, *hu-u-ua-a-iš*, *hu-ua-i-iš* (KUB 17.10 i 13 (OH/MS)), *hu-ua-aš* (KBo 2.6 iii 56 (NH)), *hu-ua-i[t]* (KUB 23.72 i 17 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pret.act. [*hu-*]u-i-ġa-at-tén (KUB 36.6 i 9 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *hu-ua-a-er* (MH/MS), *hu-ua-e-er* (MH/MS), *hu-u-ua-er*, *hu-i-e-er*, *hu-u-e-er*, *hu-u-i-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *hu-u-i-ġa* (KBo 10.24 iii 16 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *hu-u-ua-a-ú* (KUB 43.38 rev. 22 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *hu-u-i-ġ-at-ta[(?)]* (KUB 21.1 iii 65 (NH)), 2pl.pres.midd. *hu-uġa-ad-du-ma* (KUB 23.72 rev. 20 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *hu-ua-ġa-an-da-ri* (KUB 33.88, 11 (MH/NS), IBoT 2.135, 10 (fr.) (MH/NS)), *hu-uġa-an-da* (KBo 8.102, 11 (NS)); part. *hu-uġa-an-t-* (OS), *hu-u-uġa-an-t-*, *hu-u-i-uġa-an-t-*, *hu-u-ua-uġa-an-t-*, *hu-u-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *hu-u-i-ġa-u-ua-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 25 (OH/NS)); impf. *hu-ua-iš-ke/a-*, *hu-u-e-eš-ke/a-*, *hu-eš-ke/a-*, *hu-ua-a-i-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *huinu<sup>-zi</sup>*, *hunu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to make run’ (1sg.pres.act. *hu-i-nu-mi* (KBo 7.14 obv. 18 (OS), KUB 35.148 iii 20 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-i-nu-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 19 (NH)), *hu-u-i-nu-zi* (KUB 9.4 ii 12 (MH/NS)), *hu-u-i-nu-uz-zi* (KUB 29.1 i 41 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-e-nu-uz-zi* (KUB 4.47 obv. 34 (undat.)),

1pl.pres.act. *ħu-i-nu-me-ni* (VBoT 24 i 31 (MH/NS)), *ħu-i-nu-um-me-ni* (KUB 17.28 i 15 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ħu-i-nu-an-zi* (KUB 53.14 iii 8 (MS)), *ħu-i-nu-ȳa-an-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 7 (OH/NS)), *ħu-u-i-nu-ȳa-an-zi* (KUB 53.6 ii 12 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *ħu-u-i-nu-nu-un* (HKM 89 obv. 10 (MH/MS), KUB 9.4 ii 18, 20 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ħu-i-nu-ut* (HKM 13 obv. 10 (MH/MS), HKM 89 obv. 13 (MH/MS), KUB 14.1 obv. 63 (MH/MS)), *ħu-u-i-nu-ut* (KBo 3.6 ii 32 (NH), KUB 1.1 ii 51 (NH), KBo 3.4 ii 69 (NH)), *ħu-e-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28, 19 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ħu-u-i-nu-ut* (KBo 5.4 obv. 19, 20, 22 (NH)), *ħu-u-e-nu-ut* (KBo 4.3 iii 7 (NH)), *ħu-u-nu-ut* (KUB 21.1 ii 66 (NH)), *ħu-nu-ut* (KUB 21.1 ii 72 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ħu-i-nu-ut-tén* (HKM 41 obv. 14 (MH/MS), KUB 7.41 iv 20 (MH/MS?)), 3sg.imp.act. *ħu-i-nu-ud-du* (KBo 32.14 iii 46 (MS)) 3pl.imp.act. *ħu-u-e-nu-ȳa-an-du* (KUB 40.57 i 6 (MH/NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ħu-u-e-nu-ma-aš* (KBo 24.14 v 7 (MH/NS)); inf.I *ħu-i-nu<sup>?</sup>-ma-an-zi* (KUB 15.33 iii 13 (MH/NS)); impf. *ħu-i-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ħu-u-i-nu-uš-ke/a-*, **peran ħūījatalla-** (c.) ‘head marcher, helper’ (nom.sg. *ħu-u-i-ja-tal-la-aš*, acc.pl. *ħu-u-i-ja-tal-lu[-uš]*, *ħu-u-i-ja-at-tal-lu-uš*), see *ħuūantala-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ħui(ia)-** ‘to run’ (1pl.pres.act. *ħu-u-i-un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *ħu-u-i-ia-ad-da*), **ħu(i)ħuiia-** ‘to run’ (3pl.pret.act. *ħu-u-ħu-i-ia-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *ħu-i-ħu-i-ia*, *ħu-u-e-ħu-u-i-ia*; broken *ħu-i-ħu-ia-a[n(-)...]*); HLuw. **ħuia-** ‘to run, to march’ (3sg.pret.act. /huiata/ <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*HWI-ia-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §23), 3pl.pret.act. /huianta/ <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*HWI-ia-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §11)), **ħuiħuia-** ‘to run, to march’ (3sg.pret.act. /huihuita/ <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*HWI-HWI-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §9), impf.3pl.pret.midd. /huihuisantasi/ <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*HWI-HWI-sà-tá-si* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §8)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vāti*, Gr. *ἀήσ*, Slav. \**vějati* ‘to blow (of wind)’.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 419f. for attestations. The oldest attestations clearly show a *dāi/tīanzi*-class inflection: 3sg.pres.act. *ħuūāi* (OS) besides 3pl.pres.act. *ħuianzi* (OS). That the weak stem is *ħui-* and not *ħuiā-* as is often cited (e.g. Puhvel l.c.), is visible in the causative *ħuinu-* (and not \*\**ħuiānu-*). In younger times (from MS texts onwards) we find some forms that inflect according to the *ħatrae*-class: *ħuūaizzi* (NH) and *ħuūait* (MH/MS). In NH texts we find many forms that show the *mi*-inflected stem *ħuiā-* (usually spelled *ħu-u-i-ia-*), which is common in *dāi/tīanzi*-class verbs. The point of departure for this secondary stem is 3pl.pres.act. *ħuianzi* that was reanalysed as *ħuiā-nzi*.

The spelling with plene *-u-*, which is found often from MH times onwards is due to the fact that an old *\*u* generally is lowered to /o/ when adjacent to /H/. So, phonologically, this verb is to be interpreted as /Hoai- / Hoi-/ (cf. § 1.4.9.3.f).

Couvreur (1937: 119-120) connected *ḫuḫai-<sup>i</sup> / ḫui-* with the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to blow (of wind)’ (see also at *ḫuḫant-*), which is semantically plausible (cf. ModEng. *blow* that can be used as ‘to move as if carried or impelled by the wind’ or ‘to go away, to leave hurriedly’ (both meanings in the Oxford English Dictionary)). As I have explained in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the verbs of the *dāi/tiānzi*-class have to be analysed as formations in which the zero grade of the root is followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/-i-*. In this case, we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*, which by regular sound law indeed would yield Hitt. *ḫuḫāi*, *ḫiānzi*.

Puhvel (l.c.) objects to this etymology, stating that we do not find the syntagm *\*\*ḫuḫanza ḫuḫāi* ‘the wind blows’, but this hardly can be seen as a serious objection. He rather connects *ḫuḫai-<sup>i</sup> / ḫui-* with Skt. *vay<sup>j</sup>-* ‘to pursue, to seek, to strive after, to fall upon, to take hold of’. This latter verb probably reflects *\*ueih<sub>2</sub>-*, however (see at *ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah<sup>-</sup>*), which cannot explain Hitt. *ḫuḫai-<sup>i</sup> / ḫui-*.

The causative *ḫuinu-* occurs in NS texts as *huenu-* as well, which is due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). The two NH attestations *ḫu-u-nu-ut* and *ḫu-nu-ut* hardly can be regarded as showing a linguistically real stem *ḫunu-*. Possibly both forms are scribal errors for *ḫu-u-⟨e-⟩nu-ut* and *ḫu-⟨e-⟩nu-ut*.

***ḫuḫant-*** (c.) ‘wind’ (Sum. IM): nom.sg. *ḫu-ḫa-an-za* (KBo 17.62+63 iv 8 (MS?)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-za* (KUB 8.65, 4 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-ḫa-an-da-aš* (KUB 17.28 ii 7 (NS)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-da-aš* (KBo 10.37 ii 31 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-ḫa-an-ti* (VBoT 58 i 9 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-ti* (KBo 22.6 i 27 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-te-eš* (KUB 6.46 iii 49 (NH)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub>* (KUB 7.5 i 17 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-du-uš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 17 (NS)), acc.pl. *ḫu-ḫa-an-du-uš* (KUB 24.3 iii 38 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-ḫa-ta-aš* (KUB 28.4 obv. 20b (NS)).

Derivatives: see *ḫuḫantalae<sup>-zi</sup>*.

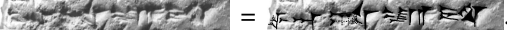

IE cognates: Skt. *vānt-* ‘blowing’, *vāta-* ‘wind’, Gr. ἀέντ- ‘blowing’, Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, TochA *want-*, TochB *yente*.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 428 for attestations. The etymological interpretation of this word is generally accepted. It derives from the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to blow (of wind)’ and belongs with the many other words for ‘wind’ in IE languages. Hitt.

*huuant-* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ent-*, which matches Gr. δέυτ-, which synchronically functions as the participle of the verb ‘to blow’. The other IE languages have words that go back to the ablaut-variant *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-nt-(o-)*: Skt. *vánt-*, *váta-*, Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, TochA *wánt-*, TochB *yente*. This seems to point to an original paradigm *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-nt-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ént-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-nt-ós*, which must have been to original inflection of participles in *\*-ent-*, cf. at *-ant-*.

( $\sphericalangle$ ) *huuantalae<sup>-zi</sup>*, *hultalae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to spare’: 1sg.pret.act. *hu-ul-da-la-a-nu-un* (KUB 19.37 iii (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. [*hu-u-ū*]a-an-ta-la-a-it (KUB 21.8 ii 10 (NH)),  $\sphericalangle$  *hu-u-ūa-an-ta-la-[a-it]* (KUB 21.8 ii 4 (NH)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 429 for attestations. Note that Puhvel cites [*hu-u-ū*]a-an-ta-la-a-it (KUB 21.8 ii 10) as if there is a space between *ta* and *la*, but on the photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk) we can clearly see that that is not the case:  = . Nevertheless, it has been assumed that *huuantalae<sup>-zi</sup>* is to be regarded as a compound of *huuanta* + *lae<sup>-zi</sup>* (see *lā<sup>-i</sup> / l-* ‘to let go’). Eichner (1979c: 205) analysed *huuanta* as nom.-acc.pl.n. of the participle of *huuai<sup>-i</sup> / hui-* ‘to run’, so therefore ‘to let escape’. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests to interpret *huuanta* as the all.sg. of *huuant-* ‘wind’, however, so ‘to set loose to the wind’. According to Puhvel, *huldalānun* is an assimilated form of *hu(ū)ndalae<sup>-zi</sup>*. See at *lā<sup>-i</sup> / l-*, *huuai<sup>-i</sup> / hui-* and *huuant-* for further etymologies.

*huuapp<sup>-i</sup> / hupp-* (IIa1α > IIa1γ) ‘to hurl, to throw (+ acc.)’: 1sg.pres.act. *hu-ūa-ap-pa-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 7.57 i 7 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-ūa-ap-pí* (KBo 17.88++ ii 8, 9, 30, 52 (fr.), 61 (OH/MS), KBo 20.67 ii 61 (OH/MS), KBo 11.33 obv.<sup>1</sup> 4 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 10.63 ii 8 (fr.) (NS)), [*hu-ūa-ap-p*]a-a-i (KBo 6.34 iii 25 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *hu-ūp-pa-an[-zi]* (KBo 8.68 i 20 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *hu-u-ūa-ap-tén* (KUB 9.1 iii 28 (MH/NS), meaning unascertained), 3pl.imp.act. *hu-u-ūp[-pa-an-du]* (IBoT 3.114 rev. 3 (NS)), *hu-u-ūa-ap-pa-an-du* (KUB 7.46 rev. 12 (NS)); part. *hu-u-ūp-pa-an-t-* (KBo 3.21 ii 16 (MH/NS)); broken: *hu-u-ūa-ap[-...]* (KUB 28.100 obv. 12 (NS), meaning unascertained).

Derivatives: *hūppa-* (gender unclear) ‘heap’ (dat.-loc.sg. *hu-u-ūp-pi-i=š-ši* (KUB 43.30 iii 17 (OS)), *hu-u-ūp-pé-e=š-ši* (KUB 27.29 iii 7 (MH/NS))), *huppae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to heap, to pile up’ (1sg.pres.act.(?) *hu-u-ūp-am-mi* (KUB 33.67 iv 18 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-ūp-pa-ez-zi* (KBo 24.115 i 20 (MS), *hu-ūp-pa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 59.22 iii 26, 28 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ūp-pa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 27.29 iii 8 (MH/NS), 819/u, 4 (NS)); part. *hu-u-ūp-pa-an-t-* (VBoT 24 ii 20 (MH/NS), KBo

10.27 iv 32 (OH/NS)),  $\lambda$  **hūpala-** ‘fish-net’ (abl.  $\lambda$  *hu-u-pa-la-za* (KBo 6.29 ii 34 (NH))).

IE cognates: Skt. *vap-* ‘to strew (out), to scatter (seed)’, GAv. *vīuuāpaṭ* ‘strews apart, plunders, destroys’, Goth. *ubils* ‘evil’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uóph<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uph<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See Melchert fthc.c for the establishment of the semantics of this verb and the view that the noun *hūppa-* ‘heap’ (which is the source of *hūppae-zi* ‘to heap, to pile up’) has been derived from it through a meaning ‘what has been thrown (on the ground)’. Melchert also shows that synchronically we can distinguish between two homophonous verbs *hūuapp-* / *hūpp-*, namely one that denotes ‘to hurl, to throw (down) (+ acc.)’ and another that means ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against (+ dat.-loc.)’. His claim that the latter verb is originally *mi*-conjugated and therefore formally distinct from the former which is *hi*-conjugated cannot be substantiated: both forms show *hi*-conjugated forms in the oldest texts and must be regarded formally identical. Moreover, as I have shown under its lemma, the meaning of *hūuapp-<sup>i</sup>* / *hūpp-* ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against’ can be derived from an original meaning ‘to hurl, to throw (down)’. I therefore regard these two verbs as originally identical. For a treatment of its etymology, see under *hūuapp-<sup>i</sup>* / *hūpp-* ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against’.

**hūuapp-<sup>i</sup>** / **hūpp-** (IIa1α) ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against (+ dat.-loc.)’: 2sg.pres.act. *hu-ṽa-ap-ti* (KUB 26.1 iii 43 (NH), KUB 26.8 iii 5 (fr.) (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *hu-ṽa-ap-zi* (KUB 26.43 obv. 62 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pí-iš* (KUB 43.75 obv. 19 (OH/NS)), *hu-ṽa-ap-ta* (KUB 13.34 + 40.84 i 14 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *hu-u-up-pé-er* (KBo 3.34 i 3 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pé-er* (KUB 1.5 i 9 (NH), KBo 3.6 i 30 (NH)); impf. *hu-ṽa-ap-pí-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 21.17 i 9 (NH)).

Derivatives: **hūuappa-** (adj.) ‘evil, ill, bad’ (Sum. HUL; nom.sg.c. *hu-ṽa-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 15.32 i 48 (MH/NS)), HUL-*pa-aš* (KBo 19.101, 2 (OH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *hu-ṽa-ap-pa-an* (KBo 3.21 ii 9 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *hu-u-ṽa-ap-p[a-an]* (KUB 1.5 i 21 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *hu-ṽa-ap-pí* (KBo 15.25 obv. 34 (MH/MS), KUB 1.1 iv 12 (NH)), *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pí* (KUB 1.1 i 40 (NH), KUB 1.10 iii 31 (NH), etc.), nom.pl.c. *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pa-e-eš* (KUB 46.54 obv. 11 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pu-š=a* (KUB 24.8 i 4 (OH/NS)), *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pa-š=a* (KUB 24.8 i 3 (OH/NS)), gen.pl. *hu-ṽa-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 30.11 obv. 5 (OH/MS)), *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 31.127 + 36.79 i 45 (OH/NS)), **hūuappanatar** / **hūuappanann-** (n.) ‘evilness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *hu-ṽa-ap-pa-na-tar* (KBo 8.70, 10 (MH/MS)), dat.-loc.sg. *hu-u-ṽa-ap-pa-na-an-ni* (KUB 36.86 obv. 4 (NS))).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. *hwapasanu-* ‘to cause harm’ (2sg.imp.act. “SIGILLUM” *HWT-pa-sa-nu* (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §13)).

IE cognates: Goth. *ubils* ‘evil’, Skt. *vap-* ‘to strew (out), to scatter (seed)’, GAv. *vīuuāpaṭ* ‘strews apart, plunders, destroys’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uóph<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uph<sub>1</sub>-énti*

Although Puhvel (HED 3: 430f.) cites only one verb “*huwapp-*” that he translates as “ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil”, Melchert (fthc.c) clearly shows that in fact we are dealing with two verbs. When transitive with an accusative-object, *huuapp-* denotes ‘to hurl, to throw (down)’; when construed with the dat.-loc., it means ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against’. Melchert even claims that the verbs should be formally distinguished as well: “[t]he verb *huwapp-* ‘to do evil’ is an athematic *mi*-verb [...] while the other verb [...] is an originally athematic *hi*-verb”. I do not agree with him on this: the two specific *mi*-conjugated forms of *huuapp-* ‘to do evil’, 3sg.pres. *huuapzi* and 3sg.pret. *huuapta* (note that the meaning of 1sg.pres.act. *hu-u-ap-mi* (KUB 35.148 iii 42 (OH/NS)) cannot be determined), are attested in NH texts and both are forms in which the *mi*-ending has become productive (3sg.pres. *-zi* is spreading at the cost of its corresponding *hi*-ending *-i*; 3sg.pret. *-tta* is spreading at the cost of its corresponding *hi*-ending *-š*, cf. their respective lemmas). Moreover, the 3sg.pret.-form *hu-u-ua-ap-pi-iš* (KUB 43.75 obv. 19 (OH/NS)), which Melchert takes as belonging with ‘to hurl down’, makes more sense when translated as ‘did evil against’ (as Melchert himself admits as well; cf. also Hoffner 1977a: 106):

KUB 43.75 obv.

- (18) ... <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-aš=(š)ta <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA <sup>III.A</sup>iš-pár-ri-iš  
 (19) [K]UR-e hu-u-ua-ap-pi-iš GÍR=ŠU hu-u-ēt-ti-ja-ti <sup>GIŠ</sup>ua-ar-ša-mu-uš=šu-uš  
 (20) [u]a-al-hi-iš-ke-et

‘The tutelary deity trampled the wagons and did evil against the country. He drew his knife and started to chop its firewood’.

Since this form is the only form that occurs in an OH composition, it must be regarded as significant, and I therefore assume that also ‘to do evil’ originally was *hi*-conjugated: *huuapp<sup>i</sup>* / *hupp-*.

Herewith, the verbs *huuapp<sup>i</sup>* / *hupp-* ‘to do evil against’ and *huuapp<sup>i</sup>* / *hupp-* ‘to hurl, to throw (down)’ are formally identical. I think that they semantically they can be united as well. The two meanings of *huuapp<sup>i</sup>* / *hupp-* are clearly distributed: when transitive the verb means ‘to throw (down), to hurl’ and when

intransitive it denotes ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against’, the patient of which is in dative-locative. This situation is completely compatible with e.g. the English verb *to throw*, for which the Oxford English Dictionary cites the following meanings: ‘(trans.) to project (anything) with a force of the nature of a jerk, from the hand or arm, so that it passes through the air or free space, to cast, hurl, fling; (intr.) to go counter, to act in opposition, to quarrel or contend with’ (compare also *to throw oneself upon* ‘to attack with violence or vigour’). Similarly for English *to fling*: ‘(trans.) to throw, cast, toss, hurl; (intr.) to make an onset or attack, to aim a stroke or blow (at)’.

We must conclude that the homophonous verbs *ḫuḫapp-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫupp-* ‘(trans.) to hurl, to throw (down); (intr. + dat.-loc.) to be hostile towards, to do evil against’ in fact are identical and that the latter meaning has developed out of the former. Note that this development must have taken place in pre-Hittite times already, as can be seen by the derivative *ḫuḫappa-* ‘evil’ that is attested in OH compositions already. If HLuw. *ḫwapasanu-* ‘to cause harm’ is cognate, it would show that the semantical development had taken place at least in PAnatolian already.

Mechanically, *ḫuḫappi* / *ḫuppanzi* must go back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>uóph<sub>1</sub>-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>uph<sub>1</sub>-énti*. The initial laryngeal must be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* because *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would drop in this position. A root-final laryngeal is needed to explain the *-pp-* in *ḫuḫappi*, because a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>uóph<sub>1</sub>-ei* should have given *\*\*ḫuḫāpi* with lenition of *\*p* due to *\*ó*. The choice for root-final *\*h<sub>1</sub>* is based on the fact that *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would have caused the verb to inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). Juret (1942: 71) connected *ḫuḫapp-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫupp-* with Goth. *ubils* ‘evil’, which, if correct, would show that the semantical development as described above had taken place in PIE already. Melchert (1988b: 233) further adduces Skt. *vap-* ‘to strew (out), to scatter (seed)’, which would be a witness of the original meaning ‘to throw’. Note that its Avestan cognate *vīuuāpaṭ* ‘strews apart, plunders, destroys’, *vīuuāpa-* ‘plundering, destroying’ shows that also in Indo-Iranian the two meanings that can be found in Hittite are attested. Note that the argumentation that *ḫuḫapp-* must reflect a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>uap-* with *\*-a-* because it is *mi*-conjugated (thus Eichner 1988: 133; Melchert fthc.c, note 4) has now been eliminated since the *-a-* in *ḫuḫapp-* is perfectly explicable as the reflex of the *\*o*-grade that is morphologically expected in a *ḫi*-conjugated verb (cf. also note 11).

***ḫuḫarn-* / *ḫurn-*** ‘to hunt’: inf.I *ḫu-ur-nu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 33.121 ii 8); impf. 3sg.pres.act. [*ḫ*]*u-u-ua-ar-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 12.59 i 7), *ḫu-ur[-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi]* (KBo 12.59 i 2).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerH-* ??



See Puhvel HED 3: 433 for attestations. Because of the rarity of forms of this verb, it is difficult to decide its inflection class. On the one hand, we seem to deal with an ablauting stem *huyarn-* besides *hurn-*. From an IE point of view, a stem *\*Huern-* would be strange, however, in view of the rootfinal cluster *-rn-* which is impossible according to PIE root constraints. It therefore might be better to assume that this verb goes back to a nasal infix stem. This means that it could either belong to the *tarn(a)*-class (when *hi*-conjugated) or inflect similarly to *tuarni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tuarn-* ‘to break’ and *zinni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *zinn-* ‘to finish’ (when *mi*-conjugated). The alternation *huyarn<sup>o</sup>* besides *hurn<sup>o</sup>* then cannot be ablaut, but must be the result of different vocalizations of *\*Hurn-*: *\*HurnV* would regularly yield *hurnV*, whereas *\*HurnC* would give *huyarnC* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.e for this distribution).

So, all in all, if this verb is of IE origin, it can only go back to a nasal infix stem of a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>urH-* (the initial laryngeal must be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* because *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would not be retained as *h-* in this position (cf. Kloekhors fthc.Lar.)). If it were *hi*-conjugated, we would expect a paradigm *\*\*hurnāi*, *\*\*huyarnanzi* (with rootfinal *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*: rootfinal *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would yield *\*\*hurnah<sub>1</sub>i*). If it were *mi*-conjugated, we would expect *\*\*hurnizzi*, *\*\*huyarnanzi* (with rootfinal *\*h<sub>1</sub>*) or *\*\*hurnāzzi*, *\*\*huyarnanzi* (with rootfinal *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*).

Čop (1954b: 230-3, 237) suggested an etymological connection with Lith. *varýti* ‘to drive, to chase’ and Latv. *vert* ‘to run’, but these verbs go back to *\*(H)uer-*, and do not show a trace of a rootfinal laryngeal (absence of acute intonation).

***huyart-<sup>i</sup>* / *hurt-*** (IIa1α > IIa1γ) ‘to curse’: 1sg.pres.act. *hu-u-ya-ar-ta-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 33.117 iv 8 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *hur-da-a-i* (KUB 9.15 ii 15 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *hu-u-ya-ar[-ta-aḥ-ḥu-un]* (KUB 26.71 i 7 (OH/NS)), *hur-ta-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KUB 23.45, 15 (NS)), *hur-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KUB 36.47, 5 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *hu-ya-ar-za-aš-ta* (KBo 32.14 ii 11 (MS)), ~~*hu-ya-ar-ta-aš*~~ (KUB 22.70 obv. 86 (NH)), *hur-ta-aš* (KUB 22.70 obv. 8 (NH)), *hur-za-aš-ta* (KBo 10.45 i 4 (MH/NS)), *hur-za-ta* (KUB 5.6 iv 22 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *hur-za-aš-du* (KUB 17.27 iii 20 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *hur-ta-an-du* (KBo 6.34 iv 12 (MH/NS)); part. *hu-ya-ar-ta-an-t* (KBo 32.14 ii 21, iii 5 (MS)), *hur-ta-an-t* (KUB 30.45 iii 17 (NS), KUB 30.44, 13 (NS), KUB 22.70 rev. 14 (NH), KUB 14.17 ii 12 (NH)); impf. *hu-u-ur-za-ke/a-* (KBo 39.8 ii 2 (MH/MS), KBo 32.14 ii 54, iii 43, 45, l.edge 2 (MS)), *hu-ur-za-ke/a-* (KBo 32.14 ii 5, 13, 46 (MS), KUB 32.113 ii 16 (fr.) (MH/MS)), *hur-za-ke/a-* (ABoT 48, 6 (OH/NS), KUB 33.120 iii 69, 70, 71 (MH/NS), KUB 36.1, 7, 9 (MH/NS), KUB 12.34 i 17 (MH/NS), KBo 1.45 ii 6

(NS), KUB 14.4 iii 19 (NH), KBo 4.8 iii 16 (NH), KBo 18.28 obv. 6 (NH), *hur-za-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 17.27 iii 18 (MH/NS)), *hu-u-ua-ar-za-ke/a-* (KBo 1.45 ii 2 (NH)); broken *hu-u-ua-ar-za-a[š(-)...]* (KUB 35.92 iv 23 (MS)).

Derivatives: *hurtāi-* / *hurti-* (c.) ‘curse’ (nom.sg. *hur-ta-iš*, *hu-u-ur-ta-iš*, *hur-da-a-iš*, acc.sg. *hu-ur-ta-in*, *hur-ta-in*, *hur-da-a-in*, gen.sg. *hur-ti-ja-aš*, *hu-ur-di-ja-aš*, *hu-u-ur-di-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *hur-ta-a-i*, *hur-da-i*, *hur-ti-ja*, abl. *hu-ur-ti-ja-az*, *hu-ur-di-ja-az*, nom.pl. *hur-da-a-e-eš*, acc.pl. *hur-ta-uš*, *hur-ta-a-uš*, *hu-u-ur-ta-a-uš*, *hur-da-a-uš*, *hu-u-ur-ta-uš*, *hur-ti-ja-aš*).

IE cognates: ?OPr. *wertemmai* ‘we swear’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uórt-ei* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>urt-énti* ?

See Puhvel HED 3: 433f. for attestations. The oldest attestations, 1sg.pret.act. *hūuar[taḥhun]* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *hūuarzašta* (MS) and impf. *hurzake/a-* (MS), clearly show that originally this verb was *hi*-conjugated and showed an ablauting pair *hūuar*-/*hurt*-. The original ablaut-pattern got blurred in younger times, however, yielding forms like 3sg.pret.act. *hurzašta*, part. *hūuar*tant- and impf. *hūuarzake/a-*. In NH texts, we find a few forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class: 3sg.pres.act. *hurđāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *hurtaš*, *hūuartaš* (note that Friedrich HW: 76 wrongly cites this latter stem, “*hurta-* (*hūuarta-*)”, as the primary one).

Sturtevant (1930d: 128) connected this verb with Lat. *verbum* ‘word’, Lith. *vařdas* ‘name’, OPr. *wirds* ‘word’, Goth. *waurd* ‘word’. Puhvel (l.c.) rejects this etymology because he assumes that these latter words are derived from the root visible in Gr. εἶπω ‘to speak’ and Hitt. *ueriē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to call, to name’: because Hitt. *ueriē/a-* does not show an initial laryngeal whereas Hitt. *hūuar*<sup>i</sup>- / *hurt*- does, he claims that the connection cannot be correct. This reasoning is questionable, however, in view of the fact that Hitt. *ueriē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* must reflect *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-* (because of Gr. ἐπέω (fut.)), which is impossible for Lith. *vařdas* that must reflect *\*uord<sup>h</sup>o-* (a preform *\*\*uorh<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>o-* would have yielded Lith. *\*\*várdas*). So, formally, Sturtevant’s connection between *hūuar*<sup>i</sup>- / *hurt*- and Lat. *verbum* etc. is still possible: it would mean that we have to reconstruct a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerd<sup>h</sup>-*. The semantic connection between ‘to curse’ and ‘name, word’ is not very compelling, however.

Puhvel (l.c.) proposed a different etymology, namely a connection with OPr. *wertemmai* ‘we swear’. This connection is semantically more likely and would point to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>uert-*. The absence of any other IE cognates is unpleasant, however.

# I

*i*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib1) ‘to go’: 3pl.pres.act. *ja-an-zi* (KBo 22.2 obv. 7 (OH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *i-it* (OS), 2pl.imp.act. *i-it-te-en* (OS), *i-it-tén* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: *ijanna*<sup>-i</sup> / *ijanni*- (IIa5 > Ic1) ‘to march’ (1sg.pres.act. *i-ja-an-na-aḥ-ḥ[é]*, 3sg.pres.act. *i-ja-an-na-i* (OS, often), *ja-an-na-i* (KBo 20.48 rev. 9), *i-ja-an-ni-ja-az-zi* (KUB 18.68 i 7), *i-ja-an-ni-az-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 24), *i-ja-an-ni-ez-zi* (VBoT 111 iii 4), 3pl.pres.act. *i-ja-an-ni-[an]-z[i]* (OS), *i-ja-an-ni-ja-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *i-ja-an-ni-ja-nu-un* (KBo 3.4 ii 9, KUB 14.15 i 8, KBo 4.4 iv 17, KBo 5.8 i 15, iii 24, KUB 23.13, 6, etc.), 3sg.pret.act. *ja-an-ni-iš* (KBo 22.2 rev. 7 (OH/MS)), *i-ja-an-ni-iš* (MH/MS), *i-ja-an-ni-eš*, *i-ja-an-ni-ja-a[t]* (KUB 33.102 ii 20), *i-ja-an-ni-a[t]* (KBo 12.26 iv 10), 3pl.pret.act. *i-ja-an-ni-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ja-[a]n-ni* (KUB 43.23 rev. 14), *i-ja-an-ni*, 2pl.imp.act. *i-ja-an-ni-ja-at-tén* (KUB 8.51 ii 16), *i-ja-an-ni-ja-tén* (KUB 7.60 ii 29); part. *i-ja-an-ni-ja-an-t-*; inf.I *i[-i]a-an-ni-ja-u-ua-a[n-zi]* (KUB 8.53 ii 18); sup. *i-ja-an-ni-ua-an* (MH/MS)), see *antijant-*, *ijant-*, *je/a*<sup>-ta(n)</sup>, *itar*, *iḡar*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *i-* ‘to go’ (3sg.pres.act. *i-ti*, 1pl.pres.act. [*i-ú*]-*un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-i-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *i-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *i-ja-an-du*), *iunāḫit-* (n.) ‘mobile wealth’ (nom.-acc.sg. *i-ú-na-a-ḫi-ša*, *i-ú-na-ḫi-ša*); HLuw. *i-* ‘to go’ (Hawkins 2000: 62: 1sg.pres.act. */iwi/ i-wa/i* (KULULU 1 §15), 1sg.pret.act. */iha/*<sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup> *i-ha* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §9), 3sg.pret.act. */ida/*<sup>“PES<sub>2</sub>”</sup> *i-tà* (KAYSERİ §19), <sup>“PES<sub>2</sub>”</sup> *i+ra/i* (CEKKE §20, TOPADA §13), 3sg./pl.imp.act. */i(n)tu/ i-tu-u* (TELL AHMAR fr. 5, line 4), inf. */iuna/*<sup>“PES<sub>2</sub>”</sup> *i-u-na* (KARATEPE 1 §34)).

IE cognates: Skt. *éti* ‘to go’, Gr. εἶμι ‘to go’, Lat. *īre* ‘to go’, Lith. *eīti* ‘to go’, OCS *iti* ‘to go’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 325f. for attestations. In the Hittite texts, we find a few traces of an active verb *i*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to go’, which on the one hand is supplanted by its unverbated forms *paii*<sup>-zi</sup> / *pai*- ‘to go’ (\**h<sub>1</sub>poi* + \**h<sub>1</sub>ei*-) and *ue*<sup>-zi</sup> / *uua*- ‘to come’ (\**h<sub>2</sub>ou* + \**h<sub>1</sub>ei*-), and on the other hand by its middle counterpart *ie/a*<sup>-ta(r)</sup> ‘to go’. In the OH text about Zalpa we find 3pl.pres.act. *ianzi* which must be translated ‘they go’ (and not ‘they make’ as Otten 1973: 7 translates in the edition of this text: “[sie] machen (sich auf den Weg)”). The imperative-forms 2sg. *it* and 2pl. *itten* are used throughout the Hittite periode, but synchronically function as imperatives to *paii*<sup>-zi</sup> / *pai*-. In the Luwian languages, however, the active stem *i*- ‘to go’ has not died out: it is still used, although here we find unverbated forms as well (CLuw. *awi*-, HLuw. *awi*- (see under *ue*<sup>-zi</sup> / *uua*-) and HLuw. *pa*- (see under *paii*<sup>-zi</sup> / *pai*-)).

The etymon has since Hrozný (1917: 173) been clear: PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ei*- ‘to go’. Hitt. 3pl.pres.act. *ianzi* is therewith a direct counterpart to e.g. Skt. *yánti*, Gr. ἴασι, etc. from \**h<sub>1</sub>i-énti*, whereas 2sg.imp.act. *it* / *ítid*/ generally is reconstructed \**h<sub>1</sub>i-d<sup>h</sup>i* (Gr. ἴθι, Skt. *ihí*) and 2pl.imp.act. *itten* / *ítén*/ as \**h<sub>1</sub>i-té* (Gr. ἴτε, Skt. *itá*).

For the formation of the “imperfective” *ijanna*<sup>-i</sup> / *ijanni*- see at the treatment of the suffix *-anna/-anni*-.

#### -i (dat.-loc.sg.-ending)

The usual ending of dat.-loc.sg. is *-i*, which is found in all types of nominal stems (consonant-, *i*-, *u*- and thematic stems). Occasionally, we come across an ending *-ai* (*la-bar-na-i* (KUB 2.2 iii 9 (OH/NS)), *la-bar-na-ī=a* (KUB 36.89 rev. 61 (OH?/NS)), *ta-bar-na-i* (KUB 44.60 iii 15 (NS)), *a-ša-u-na-i* (Bo 6002 obv. 7 (undat.)), *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-i* (KBo 3.1 ii 49 (OH/NS)), [*ḫa*-] *aš-ša-a-i* (OS), *píd-du-li-ia-i* (OH or MH/MS), *ták-na-i* (KUB 24.9+ ii 22 (OH/NS)), *ua-ap-pu-ua-i* (KBo 9.106 ii 15 (MH/NS)), which CHD (L-N: 41) calls “old dat.” (note that in *i*-stem adjectives the dat.-loc.sg.-forms in *-ai*, like *šuppai*, rather reflect \*/-aii/ < \**-ei-i*).

From an IE point of view, we have to reckon with a dat.sg. in \**-i* (in static root nouns and proterodynamic consonant-, *i*- and *u*-stem nouns), \**-ei* (in mobile root nouns and hysterodynamic consonant-, *i*- and *u*-stems) and \**-ōi* (in *o*-stem nouns). It must be noted that although word-final \**-i* would regularly have been lost in Hittite (cf. *i-it* ‘go!’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>i-d<sup>h</sup>i*), the ending \**-i* was restored (which implies that the moment of loss of word-final \**-i* depended on the preceding consonant). The regular outcomes of these three PIE endings must have been *-i*, \*\**-e* and *-ai*. As we see, the former and the latter are attested as such. The second ending, \**-ei*,

has been replaced by *-i* in pre-Hittite times already (cf. e.g. *ták-ni-i* /tgní/ << \**d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>méi* or *kar-ti-i* /krdí/ << \**krd-éi*). The ending *-ai* is found in OH texts only, but is rare at that point already. In younger times it is fully taken over by *-i* as well.

***-i*** (voc.sg.-ending): LUGAL-*u-i* (KBo 25.122 ii 9 (OS)), LUGAL-*u-e* (KUB 31.127 i 2 (OH/NS) // KUB 31.128 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 31.127 i 15 (OH/NS) // KUB 31.129 obv. 4 (OH/NS), KUB 31.127 i 18, 22, 58 (OH/NS)) ‘O king!’; <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ú-i* (KUB 41.23 ii 18 (OH/NS)), <sup>d</sup>UTU-*i* (KUB 30.10 rev. 10 (OH/MS), KUB 7.1 i 6, 8, 15 (OH/NS)), <sup>d</sup>UTU-*e* (KUB 31.127 i 1 (OH/NS)) ‘O Sun-god!’; *pé-e-ta-an-ti* (KUB 31.137 ii 2 (MH/NS)) ‘O place!’; *šar-ku-i* (KUB 31.127 i 15 (OH/NS)) ‘O eminent ...!’.

The vocative of the singular can be expressed in different ways. Either the nom.sg.-form is used: *ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš* ‘O hearth!’, <sup>d</sup>UTU-*uš* ‘O Sun-god!’; or the stem-form is used: *iš-ḫa-a* ‘O lord!’, *ne-ek-na* ‘O brother!’, *šar-ku* ‘O eminent ...!’, *ṽa-ap-pu* ‘O riverbank!’; or we find an ending *-i* or *-e*. As we can see from the attestations cited above, the ending *-e* is found in one text (and its duplicates) only, whereas *-i* is found in several texts, including an OS and OH/MS one. This clearly indicates that *-i* is the regular form, and *-e* must be regarded as a specific feature of the language of the scribe of KUB 31.127.

Etymologically, it is clear that *-i* must be compared with the voc.sg.-‘ending’ *\*-e* as found in the other Indo-European languages, like Gr. *-ε*, Skt. *-a*, Lat. *-e*, OCS *-e* and Lith. *-e*. Because unaccentuated word-final *\*-e* in principle would be dropped (cf. § 1.4.9.1.b), we must assume that in pre-Hittite the ending *\*-e* was accentuated. Moreover, as we see from e.g. *uš-ki-i* ‘see’ < \**Hu-ské*, the raising of word-final accentuated *\*-é* to *-i* has several parallels in Hittite (cf. § 1.4.9.1.a). For an account of the prehistory of the PIE vocative-‘ending’ *\*-e*, cf. Beekes (1985: 99f.).

#### ***-i*** (nom.-acc.pl.n.-ending)

Some neuter nouns in *-r* and *-l* as well as the noun *anijatt-* show a nom.-acc.pl.-form in *-i*: *a-ni-ja-at-ti* (from *anijatt-* ‘work, task’), *ḫi-in-ku-ṽa-ri* (from *ḫinkur* / *ḫingun-* ‘gift’), *iš-ḫi-ú-li* (from *išḫiul* ‘binding’), *ku-uš-ša-ni* (from *kuššan* / *kušn-* ‘salary, fee’), *me-ḫur-ri* (from *mēḫur* / *mēḫun-* ‘time, period’), *pár-šu-ul-li* (from *paršul* ‘crumb’), etc. Most of these forms are from NH texts, but Prins (1997: 215) adduces OH *ḫu-ḫu-pa-al-li* to show that this ending existed in OH times as

well. Gertz (1982: 312f.) mentions the forms *ku-u-ru-re-e* (KBo 44.10, 11 (NS)) and *a-ni-ja-at-te* (KBo 30.80 rev. 5 (MH/MS)), which seem to show an ending *-e*, and points to the fact that in many of the words that are usually thought to show the ending *-i*, a reading with *-e* is possible as well because they are spelled with signs that are ambiguous regarding their vowel (e.g. *hu-hu-pa-al-le*, *hi-in-ku-ua-re*, *iš-hi-ú-le*, *me-hur-re*, *pár-šu-ul-le*). Nevertheless, on the basis of forms like *a-ni-ja-at-ti*, which unambiguously shows *-i*, she concludes that the ending must have been *-i*. She does not seem to have noticed, however, that *a-ni-ja-at-te* is attested in a MS text, whereas all examples of *a-ni-ja-at-ti* are from NS texts. So perhaps we must assume a chronological distribution: *anijatte* (MS) > *anijatti* (NS). The change of *-e* to *-i* likely is analogical (cf. the replacement of OH nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke-e* ‘these’ by its corresponding singular-form *ki-i* in NH times).

The prehistory of this ending is in debate. E.g. Milewski (1936: 32f.) argues that *-i* must reflect the PIE dual-ending *\*-ih<sub>1</sub>*, but Gertz (1982: 320f.) rejects this because words where a dual-ending is to be expected do not show traces of this *-i*. If we are really allowed to conclude that the ending *-i* is the NH replacement of original *-e* in analogy to the fact that the function of OH *ke-e* ‘these’ is in NH times taken over by the singular form *ki-i*, then this ending *-e* may be compared with the ending *-e* as visible in *ke-e* ‘these’, but also in *a-pé-e* ‘those’, =*e* ‘these’ and *ku-e* ‘which ones’, of which I have suggested that they might show the phonetical outcome of *\*-Cih<sub>2</sub>* (comparable to the fact that *\*-Cuh<sub>2</sub>* is lowered to Hitt. /-Cof/).

#### *-i* (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection)

In the *hi*-conjugation the ending of 3sg.pres.act. usually is *-i*, which contrasts with *-zi* of the *mi*-conjugation. Nevertheless, there are two forms from OS texts where we find an ending *-e*, namely in *ma-az-zé* ‘he resists’ and *ua-ar-aš-še* ‘he wipes’, which are normally spelled *ma-az-zi* and *ua-ar-ši* respectively. We must therefore conclude that the original ending was *-e*, which is being replaced by *-i* from pre-Hittite times onwards, probably on the basis of the fact that *-i* has become the specific marker of present forms in Hittite.

In younger texts we see that sometimes *-i* is being replaced by its *mi*-conjugation counterpart *-zi*. This happens predominantly in stems ending in *-š-* and *-h-* (*pa-ap-pár-ši* (MH/MS) > *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi* (MH/MS), *a-an-ši* > *a-an-aš-zi* (NS), *ua-ar-ši* > *ua-ar-aš-zi* (NS); *ma-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫi* > *ma-ni-ja-aḫ-zi* (NH), *la-a-ḫu-i* > *la-ḫu-uz-zi* (NH), *za-a-ḫi* > *za-aḫ-zi* (NS)), but occasionally occurs in stems in stops as well (*ḫa-ma-an-ki* > *ḫa-ma-ak-zi* (NS), *ḫu-ua-ap-pí* > *ḫu-ua-ap-zi* (NH)).

It should be noted that no *mi*-conjugation verb ever takes over the *hi*-ending *-i* (alleged *ku-er-ri* ‘he cuts’ instead of normal *ku-er-zi* in my view is a scribal error (see at *ku-er-zi* / *ku-er-*); 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-i* (KBo 5.2 iv 16) must be a mistake, compare correct [*ḫa-a*]n-da-a-iz-zi in *ibid.* 10; 3sg.pres.act. “*ḫa-at-ra-a-ī*” (KUB 8.24 iii 3), cited thus by Puhvel (HED 3: 269f.), is in fact *ḫa-at-ra-a-iz[-zi]*).

The ending *-e* can only reflect *\*-e-i* or *\*-o-i*. Because the other *hi*-conjugation endings *-ḫe* < *\*-h<sub>2</sub>e-i* and *\*-tte* < *\*th<sub>2</sub>e-i* clearly correspond to the PIE perfect endings, I compare Hitt. *-e* with the PIE 3sg.perf.-ending *\*-e* as attested in e.g. Skt. *-a*, Gk. *-ε*, Goth. *-Ø*, etc.

=**(i)a** (enclitic conjunctive particle) ‘and, also’: *CC=a*, *V=i<sub>a</sub>*, *V=e-a* (OS).

Derivatives: see *kui-* + **(i)a** under *kui-* / *ku<sub>u</sub>a-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. =**(i)a** ‘and’ (non-geminating), *kuiš=a* ‘everybody’; CLuw. =**ḫa** ‘and, also’, *kuiš=ḫa* ‘some/any(one)’; HLuw. =**ha** ‘and’, **REL(-i)-sa-ha** /*kuisha/* ‘someone’; Lyd. *qid=a* ‘whatever’; Lyc. =**ke** ‘and’, *ti=ke* ‘someone’; Mil. =**ke** ‘and’.

PAnat. *\*=Ho*

PIE *\*=h<sub>3</sub>e*

This enclitic particle can be used as a clause conjunctive, but can be used on word level as well. It is always attached to the second element: *A ... B=i<sub>a</sub>* ‘A and B’. When used on both elements, *A=i<sub>a</sub> ... B=i<sub>a</sub>*, it denotes ‘both A and B’. Formally, it shows the following distribution: if the word to which it is attached ends in a consonant, the particle turns up as *=a* and causes gemination of the preceding consonant (“geminating *=a*”, which contrasts with “non-geminating *=a*” ‘but’ (see *=(m)a*)). If the preceding word ends in a vowel or is written with a logogram, the particle turns up as *=i<sub>a</sub>* (rarely spelled *=e-a*). The particle loses its vowel when a particle follows that ends in a vowel. Since almost all these particles start in *-a-*, this loss is only visible in cases like *šu-me-eš-š=u-uš* (StBoT 25.4 ii 7 (OS)) = *šumeš* + **(i)a** + *=uš* (otherwise we would expect *šu-me-š=u-uš*, cf. e.g. *šu-me-š=a-aš* (KUB 23.77 obv. 15), *šu-me-š=a-an* (KUB 23.77 obv. 34)). A particular use is its attachment to the relative pronoun *kuiš*, which makes it a generalizing pronoun: *kuišš=a* ‘everyone’.

The particle has cognates in all Anatolian languages, which clearly show that we have to reconstruct a form with an initial *\*H* (CLuw. =**ḫa**, HLuw. =**ha**). This means that in Hittite an original laryngeal was lost and that **(i)a** cannot be derived from a particle *\*=i<sub>o</sub>* vel sim. (pace Puhvel HED 1/2: 8). The Lycian form

=*ke* is significant as this form points to PANat. \*=*Ho* (and not \*=*Ha*). A PANat. form \*=*Ho* can either reflect \*=*h<sub>2</sub>o* or \*=*h<sub>3</sub>e*. In my view, the first option is unlikely as a sequence \*=*V=h<sub>2</sub>o* should have yielded Hitt. \*\**V=h<sub>2</sub>ha*, and not *V=iā* (which seems to derive from a hiatus \*=*V?a*). I would therefore rather reconstruct the particle as \*=*h<sub>3</sub>e*: we know that intervocalic \**h<sub>3</sub>* is lost through hiatus in Hittite. This means, however, that in Luwian and Lycian \*=*h<sub>3</sub>e* shows the development as if it was a separate word, with preservation of initial \**h<sub>3</sub>* in front of \**e*. In function and use the particle \*=*h<sub>3</sub>e* acts identical to PIE \*=*k<sup>w</sup>e* ‘and, also’. If \**h<sub>3</sub>* was a labialized consonant, then the formal similarity between \*=*h<sub>3</sub>e* ([=ŀ<sup>w</sup>e]?) and \*=*k<sup>w</sup>e* is striking.

***iā-ta<sup>(ri)</sup>*** : see *iē/a-ta<sup>(ri)</sup>*

***iā-zi*** : see *iē/a-zi*

<sup>UDU</sup>***ijant-*** (c.) ‘sheep’ (Sum. UDU): nom.sg. *i-ia-an-za*, acc.sg. *i-ia-an-ta-an*, gen.sg. *i-ia-an-ta-aš*.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>i-ent-*

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See Puhvel HED 1/2: 347f. for attestations and discussion. Since Pedersen (1938: 148), this word is generally regarded as derived from the participle of *i-zi* ‘to go’ or *iē/a-ta<sup>(ri)</sup>* ‘to go, to march’ and semantically comparable to Gr. πρόβατον ‘sheep’, which is derived from βαίνω ‘to go’. So originally it meant ‘walking (cattle)’. See at *i-zi* and *iē/a-ta<sup>(ri)</sup>* for further etymology.

***ijāta, iġatar / iġatn-*** (n.) ‘growth, fertility, prosperity’: nom.-acc.sg. *i-ia-a-ta* (KUB 12.63 rev. 29 (OH/MS)), *i-ia-a-da* (KBo 3.7 i 18 (OH/NS)), *i-ia-ta* (KUB 2.2 iii 28 (OH/NS), KBo 12.42 rev. 4 (MH/NS), KUB 8.22 iii 3 (fr.) (NS), KUB 53.1 i 4 (NS)), *i-ia-da* (KUB 12.63 rev. 16 (OH/MS), KUB 4.4 obv. 13 (NH)), *i-ia-tar* (KUB 23.40 obv. 3 (MS), KUB 43.60 i 11 (OH/NS), KBo 11.1 obv. 15 (NH)), gen.sg. *i-ia-at-na-aš* (KUB 39.7 i 11, ii 10 (OH/NS), KUB 13.33 ii 5 (NS)), *i-ia-at-na-aš* (KUB 39.7 ii 20 (OH/NS)), *i-ia-ta-aš* (KBo 18.133 obv. 8 (NS)), abl. *i-ia-at-na-za* (KUB 31.71 iv 30 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***iġatnuyant-*** (adj.) ‘growing, luxuriant’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-ia-at-nu-ya-an* (KUB 29.7 rev. 18 (MH/MS))), ***iġatnijant-*** (adj.) ‘growing’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-ia-at-ni-ia-an* (KUB 29.1 iv 18 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *i-ia-at-ni-ia-an-da-aš* (KBo 6.11 i 8 (OH/NS))).

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See Puhvel HED 1/2: 350f. for attestations. This word has two stems, namely *ijāta* besides *ijatar* / *ijatn-*. That the first variant is not a mere *r*-less variant of the second is apparent from the gen.sg. *ijataš* as visible in the expression *i-ja-ta-aš me-ḫu-ni* (KBo 18.133 obv. 8) ‘in the time of fertility’. Moreover, *ijāta* is attested in an OH/MS text already, which may indicate that we rather should assume that the stem *ijatar* / *ijatn-* is a secondary rebuilding of an original stem *ijata*. This could possibly explain the remarkable retention of the cluster *-tn-* that contrasts with the normal oblique stem of abstract nouns in *-ātar*, which is *-ānn-*. Rieken (1999a: 255-6) therefore reconstructs *ijāta* as *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-eh<sub>2</sub>-teh<sub>2</sub>*, ultimately from the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* ‘to go’, through ‘moveable wealth’, cf. Watkins (1979: 282-3).

*ie/a-<sup>na(ri)</sup>* (IIIg) ‘to go, to come, to walk, to proceed, to stride, to march’ (Sum. DU): 1sg.pres.midd. *i-ja-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *i-ja-at-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *i-ja-at-ta-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ja-at-ta* (KUB 36.106 obv. 2 (OS)), *i-ja-at-ta*, *i-ja-ad-da*, *i-ja-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS, often), *i-at-ta-ri* (KUB 43.38 rev. 24 (MH/MS)), *i-ja-ad-da-ri*, *i-ja-at-ta-a-ri* (KUB 2.5 v 5 (NS)), *i-ja-ad-da-a-ri*, 1pl.pres.midd. *i-ja-u-ua-aš-ta*, 2pl.pres.midd. *i-ja-ad-du-ma*, 3pl.pres.midd. *i-e-en-ta* (KBo 22.1 obv. 14 (OS)), *i-en-ta* (IBoT 2.12 i 6 (NS)), *i-en-ta-ri* (KBo 14.129 rev. 11 (MS)), *i-ja-an-ta-ri* (MH/MS, often), *i-ja-an-da-ri* (MH/MS), *i-ja-an-ta* (often), 1sg.pret.midd. *i-ja-aḫ-ḫa-at*, *i-ja-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at*, 2sg.pret.midd. *i-ja-at-ta-ti*, 3sg.pret.midd. *i-ja-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *i-ja-an-ta-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *i-ja-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (OS), *i-e-ḫu-ut* (KBo 8.66 obv. 8 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *i-ja-at-ta-ru* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.midd. *i-ja-ad-du-ma-at*, 3pl.imp.midd. *i-ja-an-ta-ru*; part. *i-ja-an-t-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 330f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations show a stem *ija-* (rarely spelled *ja-*), but we find a stem *je-* a few times, of which the OS attestation *i-e-en-ta* is significant. We therefore are clearly dealing with an original thematic inflection *je/a-*. This verb is middle, but compare the occasional active forms that are gathered under the lemma *i-<sup>zi</sup>*. The connection with the PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* was made from the beginning of Hittitology onwards, but the exact formation of this verb is in debate. In my opinion, assuming a formation *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-je/o-* would explain the attested paradigm best (i.e. belonging to class IIIg, cf. § 2.2.3.4). See at *paj<sup>zi</sup>* / *pai-* ‘to go’ and *ue-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’ for other verbs that go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-*.

*je/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to do, to make’ (Sum. DÙ): 1sg.pres.act. *i-ja-mi* (OS, often), *i-e-mi* (OS, 1x), *i-ja-am-mi* (KUB 1.16 iii 24 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *i-e-ši* (OS), *i-ja-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *i-e-ez-zi* (OS, often), *i-e-zi* (OS), *i-ez-zi* (OS), *ja-az-zi* (KUB 36.108 obv. 12 (OS)), *i-ja-az-zi*, *i-ja-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *i-ja-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), *i-ja-u-ya-ni* (KBo 3.8 ii 24 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *i-ja-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ja-an-zi* (OS), *i-ja-an-zi* (OS, often), *i-an-zi* (KUB 32.130, 24 (MH/MS)), *i-en-zi* (MH/MS, often), *i-e-en-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *i-ja-nu-un* (MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *i-e-eš* (KUB 23.117, 2 (OH/NS), KUB 31.110, 12 (OH/NS), KUB 36.103, 6 (OH/NS)), *i-ja-aš* (MH/MS), *i-ja-at*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-e-et* (OS, often), *e-et* (KUB 36.41 i 5 (MS)), *i-ja-at* (MH/MS, often), 1pl.pret.act. *i-ja-u-en* (MH/MS), *i-ja-u-e-en* (MH/MS), 2pl.pret.act. *i-ja-at-te-en* (OH/NS), *i-ja-at-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *i-e-er* (OS, often), *i-ja-er* (KUB 34.90, 7 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *i-ja* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *i-e-ed-du* (MH/MS), *i-ja-ad-du* (MH/MS), *i-ad-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *i-ja-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *i-ja-an-du* (often), *i-en-du* (KBo 6.34 ii 48, 49 (MH/NS)); part. *i-ja-an-t*; verb.noun *i-ja-u-ya-ar*; inf.I *i-ja-u-ya-an-zi*; inf.II *i-ja-u-ya-an-na*; impf. *e-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 12.63 obv. 5 (OH/MS), KBo 5.3 iii 64 (NH)), *iš-ke/a-* (KUB 4.1 i 15 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: see *išša<sup>-i</sup>* / *išš-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *ā(ja)-* ‘to do, to make’ (1sg.pres.act. *a-ūi*, 2sg.pres.act. *a-a-ja-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ḥa*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ja-ta*, *a-a-ta*, *a-a-da*, *a-ta*, *a-da*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-a-ja-an-ta*, *a-i-ja-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-a-ja*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-a-du*, 3sg.pres.midd. *a-a-ja-ri*, 3sg.imp.midd. *a-a-ja-ru*, part. *a-i-ja-am-mi-in-zi*); HLuw. *ú(ia)-* ‘to do, to make’ (1sg.pres.act. *ʔawil á-wa/i-* (HÍSARCIK 1 §5), 3sg.pres.act. *ʔaiadi/ á-ia-ti-i* (SULTANHAN §25), 1sg.pret.act. *ʔahal á-ha* (HÍSARCIK 1 §2), 3sg.pret.act. *ʔada/ á-tà-* (SULTANHAN §13), *á-tà* (SULTANHAN §45), *á-ra+a* (MARAŞ 2 §3), *á+ra/i* (?)) (EĞREK §3); Lyd. *i-* ‘to make?’ (3pl.pret. *il*); Lyc. *a-* ‘(act.) to do, to make; (midd.) to become’ (3sg.pres.act. *adi*, *edi*, 3pl.pres.act. *aiti*, 1sg.pret.act. *aḫa*, *aḫā*, *agā*, 3sg.pret.act. *ade*, *adē*, *ede*, 3pl.pret.act. *aitē*; 1sg.pret.midd. *aḫagā*; inf. *ēñne*, *ēñne(i)*).

PIE \**HH-je/o-* ?

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 335 for attestations. Note that 3pl.pres.act. *e-en-zi* (Bo 2599 i 23) cited in HW (Erg. 2: 13) is incorrect: we should read *ú-en-zi* (KUB 56.46 i 23). The OS attestation *i-IZ-zi* is to be read as *i-ez-zi* /*íét<sup>s</sup>i*/ and does not show a stem *i-* (pace Puhvel l.c.).

This verb inflects according to the *-je/a-* class. The oldest attestations closely reflect the PIE situation:

present	preterite
<i>ijami</i>	<i>ijanun</i>
<i>ješī</i>	<i>ješ</i>
<i>iezzi</i>	<i>iet</i>
<i>ijaṽeni</i> (OH/NS)	<i>ijaṽen</i>
[* <i>jettani</i> ]	[* <i>jetten</i> ]
<i>ijanzi</i>	<i>ier</i>

In the OH/MH-period, we see that the stem *je-* receives some productivity (yielding *jemi* (1x in an OS text vs. *ijami* 7x in an OS text), *jenzi* and *jendu*), but from the MH period onwards it is clear that the stem *ija-* is winning the competition, yielding *ijaši*, *ijazzi*, *ijaš*, *ijat* and *ijaddu*. In the Luwian languages, we find a stem *aia-* that occasionally contracts to *a-*. This *a-* is the predecessor of Lyc. *a-*.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is quite difficult. Kronasser (1966: 74) connected *ije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* with Lat. *iēcī* ‘I threw’ and Gr. ἦκα ‘I sent, I threw’ < \**jē-* (i.e. \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>*), which is followed by e.g. Watkins (1969a: 71) and Melchert (1994a: 75, 129). This etymology is problematic, however. First, the semantics do not fit: I do not see how ‘to do, to make’ matches ‘to send, to throw’. Secondly, the formal side is wrong. If the etymon really were \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>*, we would expect Hitt. \*\**jē-* throughout the single forms. In the 1sg. of ‘to make, to do’, the original forms are *ijami* and *ijanun* and not *jemi* and \*\**jenun*. The form *jemi* ‘I make’ is indeed attested, but occurs only thrice in one text (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 9 (fr.), iii 21, 23 (fr.) (OS)), which makes it far less attested than *ijami*, which is attested 7x in OS texts and 90x in total in my files. A form \*\**jenun* is not attested at all, which is remarkable, especially if we compare the verbs *peje-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pej-* ‘to send away’ and *uie-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to send (here)’, which indeed are derived from the root \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>* ‘to send’): they show 1sg.pret.act. *pejenun* (MH/MS) and *ujenun* (MH/MS). Together with the fact that \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>* in my view would not yield Luw. *aia-*, I therefore reject the reconstruction that involves the root \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>* (but see at *peje-/pej-* and *uie-/ui-* for real descendants of this root).

Oettinger (1979a: 349), too, rejected the connection with \**Hieh<sub>1-</sub>* and reconstructed, primarily on the basis of Luw. *aia-*, a thematic verb \**h<sub>1</sub>éj<sub>1</sub>-e/o-*. For Hittite, he assumes that \**ē-* yields *i-* and that \**h<sub>1</sub>éj<sub>1</sub>-e/o-* yields Hitt. */ije/a-/*. Apart from the fact that the supposed development \**ē-* > *i-* is incorrect (e.g. *ēšzi* < \**h<sub>1</sub>és-ti*, *ēšhar* < \**h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, etc.), Melchert (1984a: 14f.) rightly points out that

Hitt. *i-e-ez-zi* probably denotes /iet<sup>s</sup>i/, which is supported by the OS spelling *ja-an-zi* /iant<sup>s</sup>i/, and that we have to reckon with a stem /ie/a-/.

In my view, the only way to connect Hitt. /ie/a-/ with Luw. *aia-*, is to assume a preform \**HH-je/o-* (note that there is no further evidence for active verbs that show a thematic vowel in Hittite). In Hittite, \**HH-je/o-* yielded *je/a-* (cf. *imu-zi* < \**h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>3</sub>i-neu-* (see under *ā(i)-<sup>ani</sup>* / *i-*), whereas in Luwian, it yielded /ʔəia-/ (through \**HH-je/o-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2004 for the interpretation of the HLuwian sign *á* as /ʔ(a)/). Unfortunately, I know of no IE cognates. See at *īšša-<sup>i</sup>* / *īšš-* for a treatment of the imperfective of this verb.

*īēššar* / *īēšn-* (n.) something evil: nom.-acc.sg. *i-e-eš-šar* (KUB 24.13 ii 24, KUB 41.21 iv 4, KBo 19.145 iii 7, KUB 9.39 ii 2, KUB 8.39, 2, 4, 5, KUB 59.11 vi 4, 6), gen.sg. *i-e-eš-na-aš* (KUB 17.18 ii 31).

This word only occurs in lists of evils, e.g. in the following contexts:

KUB 24.13 ii

(23) *an-šu-n=a=tá=k-kán NÍ.TE-za*

(24) *ḪUL-lu ud-da-a-ar al-ya-an-za-tar i-e-eš-šar-r=a*

‘I have wiped from your body evil words, witchcraft and *īēššar*’;

KBo 19.145 iii

(7) [... *al-ū*] *a-an-za-tar i-e-eš-šar pa-ap-ra-a-tar ...*

‘..., witchcraft, *īēššar*, defilement, ...’.

Often, this word is regarded as a spelling variant of ‘*ēššar* / *ēšn-*’, which is supposed to be the *h*-less variant of *ēšhar* / *išhan-* ‘blood’ (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 305f.). Although it is true that *ēšhar* / *išhan-* can occur in lists of evils as well, then denoting ‘bloodshed’, there is one context in which it is clear that *īēššar* / *īēšn-* and *ēšhar* / *išhan-* cannot be identical:

KUB 17.18 ii

(29) [(*a-pé-e*-) *da-aš i-da-la-u-ya-aš ud-da-a-na-aš iš-ḫa-a-na-aš*

(30) [(*iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-ya-aš li-in-k*)] *i-ia-aš ḫu-u-ur-ti-ia-aš*

(31) [*a(l-ya-an-zé-)*] *na-aš pa-ap-)*] *ra-an-na-aš i-e-eš-na-aš*

‘.. to these evil words of bloodshed, of tears, of curses, of conjurations, of sorcerers, of defilement (and) of *īēššar*’.

Since both *iēššar* and *ēšhar* are mentioned here, they cannot be the same word.

Because the exact meaning of *iēššar* / *iēšn-* cannot be determined, it is hard to etymologize it. Formally it looks like an abstract noun in *-ēššar* / *-ēšn-* of a root *i-* or *ie/a-*. The only verbs that formally would fit are *i-zi* ‘to go’ / *ie/a-<sup>ta(r)</sup>zi* ‘to go’ and *ie/a-zi* ‘to do’. The semantic connection between one of these verbs and ‘something evil’ is not clear, however.

**iknijant-** (adj.) ‘lame’: nom.sg.c. *ik-ni-ja-an-za* (NS).

PIE *\*ig-n-jent-* ?

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This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 12.62 rev.

(7) Ú.SAL-*i*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *ši-ši-ja-am-ma ar-ta kat-ta-an=ma ta-aš-ya-an-za du-du-mi-ja-an-za*

(8) *a-ša-an-zi ta-aš-ya-an-za a-uš-zi le-e du-ud-du-mi-ja-an-za iš-ta-ma-aš-zi*

(9) *le-e ik-ni-ja-an-za pád-da-i le-e*

‘A *šišiamma* stands in the meadow. Underneath it a blind and a deaf man sit. The blind man cannot see, the deaf man cannot hear and the *iknijant-* man cannot run’.

From this context, it is clear that *iknijant-* must mean something like ‘lame’ or ‘paralysed’. Puhvel (HED 1-2: 354) connects the word with Hitt. *eka-* ‘ice’, so originally meaning ‘frozen, paralysed’. If correct, we might have to compare *n-* stem forms like MiCorn. *yeyn* ‘cold’ (*\*jeg-n-*) and ON *jaki* ‘ice-floe’ (*\*jeg-(e)n-*). See at *eka-* for further etymology.

**ikt-**: see *ekt-*

<sup>MUŠ</sup>**illujanka-**, <sup>MUŠ</sup>**ellijanku-** (c.) ‘snake, serpent’: nom.sg. *il-lu-ja-an-ka-aš* (KBo 3.7 i 9, 11, KUB 17.5 i 9), *il-lu-i-ja-an-ka-aš* (KUB 36.5 ii 28, KUB 17.6 i 4 (fr.)), *[il-l]i-un-k[i-iš]* (KBo 12.83 i 7 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. *il-lu-ja-an-ka-an* (KUB 17.5 i 5 (fr.)), 15, 17 (fr.), KBo 3.7 iii 24), *il-li-ja-a[n-ka-an]* (KBo 3.7 iii 31), *[e]l-li-ja-an-ku-un* (KBo 26.79, 17), gen.sg. *il-lu-ja-an-ka-aš* (KBo 3.7 iii 7, 26), acc.pl. *el-li-ja-an-ku-uš* (KUB 24.7 iii 70).

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See Puhvel HED 1/2: 358-9 for attestations. This word shows several different stems, namely *illujanka-*, *illijanka-*, *ellijanku-* and (possibly) *illiunki-*. To my mind, these alterations clearly point to a non-IE origin of this word. I therefore reject Katz’ attempt (1998) to explain this word as reflecting “\*eel-snake”, i.e. a

compound of the elements *illu<sub>i</sub>-* and *anka/u-* of which the former is supposed to be cognate to PGerm. \**ǣla-* ‘eel’ and the latter to Lat. *anguis*, Gr. ὄφις, etc. ‘snake’.

GIŠ*ilzi-*: see GIŠ*elzi-*

**imma** (adv.) ‘truly, really, indeed’: *im-ma* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **imma** (adv.) ‘indeed’ (*im-ma*); HLuw. **ima** (adv.) ‘indeed’ (*i-ma*).

IE cognates: Lat. *immō* (particle) ‘indeed’.

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 359f. for attestations and Melchert 1985 for semantics, who states that the basic function of *imma* is indicating asseveration and emphasis. Goetze & Pedersen (1934: 77-9) connected *imma* with Lat. *immō* ‘indeed’. Although semantically and formally this comparison is convincing, it is not fully clear how to reconstruct these forms. Melchert (o.c.) reconstructs \**id-moh*<sub>2</sub> (with nom.-acc.sg.n. \**id* of the demonstrative pronoun \**h<sub>1</sub>e-*, \*(*h<sub>1</sub>)i-*) but Kimball (1999: 299), pointing to the fact that \**VdmV* would probably have been preserved in Luwian (cf. Luw. *katmarši-* ~ Hitt. *kammaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*), rather reconstructs \**im-moh*<sub>2</sub>, with acc.sg.c. \**im*. According to her, \**moh*<sub>2</sub> may be compared with Gr. μᾶ < \**mh*<sub>2</sub>. Within Hittite, one could consider a connection with *namma* ‘then, in addition’ (q.v.).

**imije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to mingle, to mix’: 1sg.pres.act. *i-mi-ja-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 4 (NS)), *i-im-mi-ja-mi* (KUB 24.15 obv. 10 (NS)), *im-mi-ja-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 10 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *im-me-ja-ši* (KBo 21.20 rev. 17 (NS)), *im-me-at-ti* (KUB 21.5 iii 15 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *im-mi-ja-zi* (KUB 11.20 i 10 (OH/NS)), *im-mi-ja-az-zi* (KUB 7.1 i 27 (OH/NS), VBoT 120 ii 3 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *i-mi-ja-an-zi* (KBo 14.63 iv 14 (fr.) (MH/MS), KBo 6.34 ii 22 (MH/NS), KUB 29.4 iv 26 (NS)), *i-im-mi-an-zi* (KUB 29.48 rev. 16 (MH/MS)), *im-mi-ja-an-zi* (KUB 1.11 iv 12 (MH/MS), KBo 6.34 i 32 (MH/NS)), *im-mi-an-zi* (KBo 3.5 + IBoT 2.136 iv 65 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *i-mi-e-nu-un* (KBo 3.46 obv. 13 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *i-mi-ja-u-en* (KUB 43.74 obv. 13 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *im-mi-ja-an-du* (KUB 36.12 iii 3 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *i-mi-ja-at-ta-ri* (KUB 32.135 i 9 (fr.), iv 8 (OH/MS)), *im-mi-ja-ad-da-ri* (KUB 29.8 ii 21 (MH/MS)), *im-me-ja-ta-r[i]* (KBo 18.62 rev. 10 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *i[-im-mi-i]a-an-ta-ri* (KBo 20.63 i 7 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *im-mi-ja-an-da-at* (KBo 14.50 obv. 6 (MS?)), 3pl.imp.midd. *im-me-at-ta-ru* (KUB 43.38 rev. 20 (NS?)); part. *i-mi-ja-an-t-* (KBo 21.34 ii 19, 54,

56, iii 34, 51 (MH/NS), KUB 15.31 iii 53 (MH/NS), KBo 11.19 obv. 12 (NS)), *i-im-mi-ja-an-t-* (KUB 15.34 i 15, i 25, iii 30 (MH/MS)), *im-mi-ja-an-t-* (KUB 15.34 ii 42 (MH/MS), KUB 1.11 i 35, ii 30, iii 37 (MH/MS), KUB 1.13 iv 39, ii 58 (MH/NS), KUB 15.32 iv 11 (MH/NS), KUB 33.120 i 40 (MH/NS), KUB 24.14 i 15 (NS)), *im-mi-an-t-* (KBo 47.37, 8 (MH/NS), KUB 1.13 i 10 (MH/NS)), *im-me-ja-an-t-* (KUB 28.102 iv 12 (OH/NS), KUB 24.15 obv. 15 (NS)); impf. *im-m[i-i]š-ke/a-* (KBo 23.27 ii 29 (MS)).

Derivatives: **imiul-** (n.) ‘grain mix, horse feed’ (nom.-acc.sg. *i-mi-ú-l=a-a=š-ma-aš* (KUB 29.41, 8 (MH/MS)), *i-mi-ú-ul* (KBo 12.126 i 29 (OH/NS)), *im-mi-ú-ul* (KBo 4.2 ii 33 (OH/NS), KUB 7.54 ii 17 (fr.) (NS)), *im-mi-i-ú-ul* (KBo 10.37 ii 15 (OH/NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *yamá-* ‘twin’, Latv. *jumis* ‘two joined into a unite, things grown together, dubblefruit(?)’, Mir. *emon* ‘twins’.

PIE *\*im-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 361f. for attestations. The verb and its derivative are spelled *i-mi-*, *i-im-mi-*, *im-mi-* and *im-me-*. Of these four possibilities, the spelling *im-me-* is found in NS texts only, whereas *i-mi-*, *i-im-mi-* and *im-mi-* are all attested in MS texts already. Of these spellings, *i-mi-ja-at-ta-ri* (OH/MS) is the oldest one and determines that the original spelling of this verb was *i-mi-*, which was altered to *im-mi-* through an intermediate stage *i-im-mi-* (compare the spelling chronology of *amijant-*: original *a-mi-* changed to *am-mi-* through a stage *a-am-mi-*). This means that we are dealing with an original verb *imije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Usually, this word is etymologically interpreted as *\*en-mei-* ‘to mix in’ (~ Skt. *máyate* ‘to exchange’) as first suggested by Sturtevant (1933: 133, 224), cf. e.g. Puhvel (l.c.), Melchert (1994a: 101) and Rieken (1999: 463). The fact that the original spelling of this verb is with single *-m-* is not very favourable to this etymology, however. We would expect that *\*en-mei-* (or even better *\*en-h<sub>2</sub>mei-*, cf. Gr. ἀμείβω ‘to exchange’) would surely yield geminate *-mm-* (note that this was noticed by Rieken (o.c.: 464) as well, but she nevertheless sticks to the etymology under the totally *ad hoc* assumption that the OH and MH scribes did not care about writing geminates as much as their NH colleagues did). I therefore reject the etymology, also because a verbal univerbation with the element *\*h<sub>1</sub>en-* ‘in’ is unparalleled in Hittite.

In my view, *imije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*(H)im-je/o-*, derived of a root *\*(H)iem-*. Although I know no verbal examples of such a root (Skt. *yam-* ‘to hold, to stretch out’ remains semantically far), a nominal cognate may be found in Skt. *yamá-* ‘twin’ (cf. Eichner *apud* Oettinger 1979a: 345), Latv. *jumis*

‘two joined into a unite, things grown together, dubblefruit(?)’, Mlr. *emon* ‘twins’ < \**iem-*. The original meaning of this root then must have been ‘to mingle, to unite’.

***inan-*** (n.) ‘illness, ailment’ (Sum. GIG): nom.-acc.sg. *i-na-an*, gen.sg. *i-na-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *i-na-ni*, dat.-loc.pl. *i-na-na-aš*.

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 365f. for attestations. The word shows an *n*-stem inflection and is semantically comparable to *erman* / *armn-* (q.v.). Mechanically, *inan-* can hardly reflect anything else than \*(*H*)*in-on-*, but it is difficult to find IE cognates. Usually, *inan-* is connected with Skt. *énaś-* ‘mischief, crime, misfortune’, GAv. *aēnah-* ‘crime, wrong, mischief’ (cf. Puhvel (l.c.) for references). Apart from the semantic problems (‘mischief, crime’ is quite different from ‘illness, ailment’), this is formally unattractive, however, because we then would have to reconstruct a root \**Hein-*, which is impossible according to the PIE root constraints. Moreover, no other cognates for *énaś-* are found outside of Indo-Iranian. I would rather derive *inan-* from a root \*(*H*)*ien-*, but such a root is further unknown to me.

***inarā-*** (stem) ‘vigor’.

Derivatives: ***innarā*** (adv.) ‘explicitly, willfully, purposely’ (*in-na-ra-a* (IBoT 1.36 i 48 (fr.) (MH/MS), KBo 10.45 i 46 (MH/NS), KUB 13.7 i 18 (MH/NS), KUB 31.68 rev. 44 (NS), KUB 54.1 ii 48 (NS), KUB 21.33 iv 20 (NH), KUB 26.1 iii 43 (NH), KUB 26.32 i 14 (NH)), *in-na-ra=ma* (IBoT 1.36 i 49 (MH/MS)), *in-na-ra=ua=kán* (KUB 31.68 rev. 32 (NS)), *in-na-ra=u-ua=mu=kán* (KUB 54.1 i 36 (NS), *in-na-ra=u-ua-a=š-ma-aš* (KUB 1.8 iv 8 (NH))), ***in(n)arah-***<sup>i</sup> (Iib) ‘to make strong, to strengthen’ (3sg.pres.act. *i-na-ra-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 36.110 rev. 12 (OS)); 1sg.pret.midd. *in-na-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at* (KUB 30.10 obv. 18, 19 (OH/MS)); verb.noun *in-na-ra-aḥ-ḥu-ar* (KBo 17.60 rev. 10 (MH/MS))), ***innarayuar*** (n.) ‘strength’ (nom.-acc.sg. *in-na-ra-ū[a-u-]a-ar* (KUB 30.10 rev. 19 (OH/MS))), <sup>(d)</sup>***in(n)arayuant-*** (adj.) ‘strong, vigorous (deity)’ (nom.sg.c. *i-na-ra-u-an-za* (KUB 36.110 rev. 11 (OS)), *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-za* (KUB 17.20 ii 3 (NS), Bo 6044, 4 (undat.), KUB 55.39 iii 30 (NS), VBoT 24 i 29 (MH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-da-an* (VBoT 24 ii 30 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *in-na-ra-ua-an-ti* (FHG 1, 19 (OH/NS), VBoT 24 ii 34 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-a-u-ua-an-ti* (KUB 30.10 obv. 8 (OH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-te-eš* (KBo 17.88 iii 22 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 i 48 (MH/MS), HT 1 i 43, 46 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-ua-an-ta-aš* (HT 1 i 29 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-ta-aš* (KUB 9.31 i



36 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-da-aš* (HT 1 i 59 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-ú-ua-an-da-aš* (KUB 9.31 ii 6 (MH/NS)), *innarauātār* / *innarauann-* (n.) ‘strength, force, vigor’ (Sum. KAL-*tar*; nom.-acc.sg. *in-na-ra-u-ua-tar* (MH/MS), *in-na-ra-u-ua-a-tar*, *in-na-ra-ua-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-ni*, instr. *in-na-ra-u-ua-an-ni-it*), *innarauahh-*<sup>i</sup> (Ib) ‘to make strong, to strengthen’ (verb.noun gen.sg. [*in-n*]a-ra-u-ua-ah-hu-u-ua-aš (KUB 2.1 ii 17 (OH/NS))), *innarauēšš-*<sup>z</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become strong’ (3sg.pres.act. *in-na-ra-u-e-ešš-zi* (KUB 8.35 obv. 9 (NS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *ānnara/i-* (adj.) ‘forceful, virile’ (acc.sg.c. *an-na-ri-in*), *annarā(i)-* ‘to be forceful’ (Hitt. verb.noun gen.sg. *an-na-ra-u-ua-[aš]*), *ānnari-* (c.) ‘forcefulness, virility’ (nom.sg. *a-an-na-ri-iš*, *an-na-ri-iš*, acc.sg. *an-na-ri-in*, *an-na-ri-en*; case? *an-na-ri*), *annarumm(i)-* (adj.) ‘forceful, virile’ (nom.pl.c. *an-na-ru-um-mi-in-zi*, *an-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi*, *an-na-ru-um-me-en-zi*, acc.pl.c. *an-na-ru-um-mi[-in-z]a*), *ānnarumāhīt-* (n.) ‘forcefulness, virility’ (nom.-acc.sg. *an-na-ru-ma-a-ḫi*, abl.-instr. *a-an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫik-ta-ti*, *an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫi-ta-ti*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. [*an-na-r*]u-ma-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-iš), *annarumāi-* ‘to display forcefulness’ (2sg.imp.act. *an-na-ru-ma-a-i*).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 366f. for attestations. In Hittite, we find several words that are derived from a stem *inarā-* or *innarā-* that have a basic meaning ‘vital strength, vigor’ (cf. Puhvel o.c.: 372). Although the bulk of the attestations are spelled with geminate *-nn-* (in OH/MS-texts already), the two OS attestations *inarahḫi* and *inarauanza* show that the original spelling must have been with single *-n-* (cf. *amiyant-* and *imije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> for similar distributions), which is the reason for me to cite this lemma as *inarā-*. The CLuwian counterpart of this stem is *annar-*, sometimes spelled *ānnar-*. The situation that Hitt. *inara-* corresponds to CLuw. *ānnar-* reminds us of Hitt. *idālu-* ~ CLuw. *adduual-* ‘evil’, which is explained by assuming that the Hitt. word reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>edyól-u-*, whereas the CLuw. word goes back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>éduol-* (showing Čop’s Law). This means that for *inarā-* ~ *ānnar-*, we have to assume a difference in accentuation as well. Mechanically, we should reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>enoró-* for Hittite, and *\*h<sub>1</sub>énor-* for CLuwian.

Since Hrozný (1917: 74), this word is generally connected with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-* ‘man’ and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>en-h<sub>2</sub>nor-o-* ‘having virility inside’ (compare for this formation *antuuaḫḫaš-* / *anduhš-* ‘man, person’ < \*‘having breath inside’). Apart from the fact that it is awkward that the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-* is not found anywhere else in the Anatolian language group, I think that the OS spellings with single *-n-* strongly speak against this reconstruction, which I therefore reject. Unfortunately, I have no better alternative, however.

*ini* : see *aši / uni / ini*

*inu*-<sup>zi</sup> caus. of *ā(i)*-<sup>a(r)i</sup> / *i*- ‘to be hot’ (q.v.)

*irḥ(a)*-: see *erḥ-* / *araḥ-* / *arḥ-*

*īšša*-<sup>i</sup> / *īšš-* (IIa1γ: impf. of *īe/a*-<sup>zi</sup> ‘to do, to make’) ‘to do, to make’ (Sum. DÙ-*ešša*-): 1sg.pres.act. [*i-i*]š-*ša-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 1.16 ii 43 (OH/NS)), *iš-ša-aḥ-ḥi* (HKM 21 rev. 21 (MH/MS), HKM 52 obv. 9 (MH/MS), KBo 16.97 obv. 15 (MS), KUB 27.38 i 19 (MS), KUB 7.5 ii 5, 20 (MH/NS), KBo 5.3 iv 30 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 48.123 iv 21 (NS), KBo 4.8 iii 7 (NH), KBo 11.1 obv. 18, 22, 24, 27, 43 (NH), KUB 14.8 rev. 20 (NH), KUB 14.14 obv. 7 (NH), KUB 21.27 iv 45 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *iš-ša-at-ti* (KUB 30.10 ii 23 (OH/MS), KUB 14.1 obv. 86 (MH/MS)), KUB 26.22 ii 5 (MH/MS), KBo 5.3 i 35 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 5.13 iv 2 (NS), KBo 18.79 obv. 5, 8 (NS), KUB 2.11 rev. 6 (NH), KUB 6.41 iv 10 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *i-iš-ša-i* (KBo 6.2 ii 25 (OS), KBo 22.1 rev. 32 (OS)), *iš-ša-i* (KUB 1.11 i 42, iii 31 (MH/MS), HKM 52 obv. 14 (MH/MS), KBo 40.140, 2 (MS?), KBo 5.2 iv 45, 46 (MH/NS), KBo 19.44 rev. 1, 8 (NH), KBo 6.3 ii 46 (OH/NS)), *iš-ša-a-i* (KUB 19.43a iii 19 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-i* (KBo 6.5 iv 4 (OH/NS), KUB 55.5 iv 23 (OH/NS), KUB 8.69 iii 12 (NS), KUB 24.1 iv 21 (NS), KUB 42.100 iv 23 (NS), KUB 42.87 v 8, 13, 18, 23 (NS), ABoT 14 + KBo 24.118 iv 25 (NS), KuSa I/1.5, obv. 5 (NS), KBo 5.13 iii 24 (NH), KUB 6.41 iii 43 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-a-i* (KBo 6.4 iv 13 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-še-eš-z[i]* (KUB 9.16 iv 9 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *iš-šu-ú-e-ni* (KUB 23.115, 5 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-u-e-ni* (KUB 30.27 rev. 1 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *i-iš-te-e-ni* (KBo 22.1 rev. 27 (OS)), *i-iš-te-ni-i* (KBo 22.1 rev. 33 (OS)), *iš-ša-at-te-ni* (KBo 5.3 iv 29 (NH)), *e-eš-ša-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 i 47, ii 55 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 21.89 + KBo 8.97 iv 8 (OH/MS), KUB 31.101 obv. 11 (MS), KUB 29.1 ii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 17.28 iv 56 (NS)), *e-eš-ša-an-zi* (OH/NS), *eš-ša-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 i 69 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ša-aḥ[-ḥu-un]* (KUB 30.10 ii 24 (OH/MS)), *iš-ša-aḥ-ḥu-un* (HKM 52 rev. 39 (MH/MS)), *e-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KUB 14.10 obv. 19, 24 (fr.) (NH), KUB 14.11, 13 (NH), KUB 23.105, 12 (NH), KUB 31.66 iii 18 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ši-iš-ta* (KBo 15.10 i 14, 31, ii 14, iii 56 (OH/MS), KUB 15.13 i 35 (fr.) (NS)), *e-eš-še-eš-ta* (KUB 24.13 ii 9 (MH/NS), KUB 15.19 obv. 12 (NS), KBo 5.8 ii 28 (NH), KUB 15.1 ii 47 (NH), KUB 21.40 iii 11 (NH)), *e-še-eš-ta* (KUB 5.6 ii 14 (NS), KUB 22.7 obv. 3 (NS)), *e-eš-še-iš-ta* (KUB 17.27 ii 29 (MH/NS), KUB 41.19 rev. 3 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-ši-eš-ta* (KUB 21.33 iv 18 (NH), KUB 22.70 obv. 13, 15,

22 (NH)), *e-eš-ši-iš-ta* (KUB 24.13 ii 28 (MH/NS), KBo 2.6 i 8 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *iš-šu-u-en* (KBo 12.126 i 23 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-u-en* (KUB 19.71, 10 (NH)), 2pl.pret.act. *e-eš-ša-at-te-in* (KUB 21.42 ii 5 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *i-iš-še-er* (KBo 6.2 iii 15 (OS)), *i-e-eš-šer* (KBo 17.105 ii 18 (MH/MS)), *e-eš-še-er* (KBo 6.6 i 23 (OH/NS), KUB 31.66 ii 24 (NH)), *e-eš-ši-er* (KUB 24.11 iii 3 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šer* (KBo 6.26 i 40 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *i-iš-ša* (KUB 13.2 iii 28 (MH/NS)), *iš-ša* (KUB 26.22 ii 6 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-ša* (KBo 5.4 obv. 26 (NH), KBo 5.13 iv 5 (NH)), *e-iš-ši* (KUB 1.16 iii 63 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *e-eš-ša-ú* (KUB 1.1 iv 80 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *i-iš-te-e[n]* (KBo 22.62 + 6.2 iii 20 (OS)), *iš-ša-at-tén* (KUB 13.20 i 19 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-te-en* (KBo 6.3 iii 22 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 4.1 i 41 (MH/NS), KUB 13.2 ii 43 (MH/NS), KUB 55.56 rev.<sup>2</sup> 6 (NS)), *e-eš-ša-an-du* (KUB 13.2 ii 44, iii 5 (MH/NS), KBo 4.4 ii 11 (NS), KUB 26.43 obv. 58 (NS)); part. *e-eš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 18.20, 9 (NS), KUB 31.66 ii 29 (NH)); verb.noun. *e-eš-šu-mar* (KBo 1.35, 14 (NS)); sup. *i-iš-šu-ua-an* (KBo 8.42 rev. 2 (OS), KUB 1.16 ii 25 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-ua-an* (KBo 3.1 i 22 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-u-ua-an* (KUB 29.24, 2 (OH/NS), KUB 15.3 i 12 (NH)); impf. *e-še-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 5.22, 21 (NS)), *e-eš-ši-ke/a-* (KBo 3.34 ii 7 (OH/NS)).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 300f. for attestations. This verb functions as the imperfective of *iē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to do, to make’, and is one of the few imperfectives that do not show the suffix *-ške/a-*, but *-šš(a)-* (the other ones are *ḫalzišša<sup>i</sup> / ḫalzišš-*, *šišša<sup>i</sup> / šišš-* and *uarrišša<sup>i</sup> / uarrišš-*). Of these imperfectives in *-šš(a)-*, *ṯšša-/ṯšš-* is important as it is the best and oldest attested one.

The verb shows a wild variety of forms, for instance in the spelling of the initial vowel. We find *i-iš-š<sup>o</sup>*, *iš-š<sup>o</sup>*, *e-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* and *eš-š<sup>o</sup>*. In OS texts we only find the spelling *i-iš-š<sup>o</sup>*. In MS texts, this spelling is altered to *iš-š<sup>o</sup>*, whereas the spellings *e-eš-š<sup>o</sup>* and *eš-š<sup>o</sup>* are found in NS texts only. The unique spelling *i-e-eš-šer* (KBo 17.105 ii 18 (MH/MS)) may be seen as a mixed spelling between MH *išš-* and NH *ēšš-*. The development of *ṯšš-* > *išš-* > *ēšš-* is due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d (also in e.g. *ḫalzišš(a)-* > *ḫalzešš(a)-*, *šišš(a)-* > *šešš(a)-*, <sup>É</sup>*ḫištā* > <sup>É</sup>*ḫeštā*, etc.).

The original paradigm of this verb must have been (note that the initial plene *i-* is not attested for every form): *ṯššaḫḫi*, *ṯššatti*, *ṯššai*, *ṯššūeni*, *ṯšteni*, *ṯššanzi* for the present and *ṯššaḫḫun*, *\*ṯššatta*, *ṯššišta*, *ṯššuen*, *ṯšten*, *ṯššer* for the preterite. This means that this verb inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class. The prehistory of this verb is in debate. In my view, this verb cannot be treated separately from the other imperfectives in *-šš(a)-*, and therefore etymologies that treat *ṯšša-/ṯšš-* as if

it were an isolated verb do not have any merit (e.g. Jasanoff 1988: 235, who reconstructs  $\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}a/\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}$ - as  $*(H)\bar{i}i-(H)ih_1-s-$ , a reduplication of the root  $*(H)ieh_1-$  (but note that  $*\bar{i}e/a^{-zi}$  (q.v.) cannot reflect  $*Hieh_1-$ ) followed by an “iterative”-suffix”  $*-s-$ , without explaining  $h\bar{a}lzi\bar{s}\bar{s}(a)-$  and  $u\bar{a}rri\bar{s}\bar{s}(a)-$ ). See at  $\bar{i}e/a^{-zi}$  ‘to do, to make’ and  $-\bar{s}\bar{s}(a)-$  for further etymological treatments.

**$-\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}(a)-$**  (“imperfective”-suffix): see  $-\bar{s}\bar{s}(a)-$

**$\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{s}ana-$** : see  $\bar{i}\bar{s}n\bar{a}-$

**$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}-$**  (c.) ‘master, lord, owner; lady, mistress’ (Sum. EN, Akk. *BELU*, *BELTU*): nom.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-a\bar{s}$  (OS, often),  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}$  (OS, less often),  $e-e\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}=\bar{s}i-\bar{i}\bar{s}$  (KUB 41.8 iii 21 (MH/NS)), acc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-an$ , voc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a$  (OH/MS),  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}$  (1x: OH/NS), gen.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-a\bar{s}$  (OS), dat.-loc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{i}-i=\bar{s}-\bar{s}i$  (OS),  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{i}-e=\bar{s}-\bar{s}i$  (KUB 41.1 i 6, 10, 14 (OH/NS)),  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{i}-i$  (KUB 33.62 ii 18 (OH/MS), KUB 26.17 ii 5 (MH/MS)),  $e\bar{s}-h\bar{e}$  (KBo 3.34 i 25 (OH/NS)), nom.pl.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{e}-e-e\bar{s}$  (KUB 30.68 obv. 6 (MS)),  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{e}-e\bar{s}$  (KBo 3.46 obv. 38 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}$  (OH/NS).

Derivatives:  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ara-$**  (c.) ‘lady, mistress’ (Sum. GAŠAN, Akk. *BELTU*; dat.-loc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}a-ri$  (KUB 33.62 ii 18 (OH/MS))),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ar\bar{u}ant-$**  (adj.) ‘practising lordliness’ (nom.sg.c.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-an-za$ , acc.sg.c.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-an-ta[n_x]$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-an-ti$ ),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ar\bar{u}\bar{a}tar$  /  $\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ar\bar{u}ann-$**  (n.) ‘lordliness’ (nom.-acc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-a-tar$ ,  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-tar$ , gen.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-an-na-a\bar{s}$ , instr.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-an-ni-t=a-at=k\bar{a}n$ ),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ar\bar{u}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{s}$** <sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become a lord(?)’ (broken:  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-u-e-e[\bar{s}-...]$ ),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}ar\bar{u}ah\bar{h}$** <sup>i</sup> (Iib) ‘to make lordly’ (impf.3sg.imp.act.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a\bar{s}-\bar{s}ar-\bar{u}a-ah\bar{h}-e\bar{s}-ki$ ),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{e}z\bar{z}i\bar{e}/a$** <sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to dominate’ (3sg.pres.act.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{e}-ez-zi-\bar{i}a-zi$ ; 3sg.pret.midd.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{e}-ez-zi-ta$ ),  **$\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{e}znatar$  /  $\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{e}znann-$**  (n.) ‘lordship’ (dat.-loc.sg. EN- $ez-na-an-ni$ ).

IE cognates: Lat. *erus* ‘master’.

PIE  $*h_1esh_2-\acute{o}-$

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 385f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations are spelled with a plene vowel in the second syllable: nom.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-a\bar{s}$ , acc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-an$ , voc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a$ , gen.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}-a-a\bar{s}$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $\bar{i}\bar{s}-h\bar{i}-i$ . The rare spellings with initial  $e-e\bar{s}-h^\circ$  or  $e\bar{s}-h^\circ$  are all NS and are due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before  $-\bar{s}$ - as described in § 1.4.8.1.d.

The etymological interpretation of this word has been in debate. Nevertheless, Ribezzo’s suggestion (1920: 128) to connect  $\bar{i}\bar{s}h\bar{a}-$  with Lat. *erus* ‘master’ remains the most attractive. This would imply a reconstruction  $*h_1esh_2-\acute{o}-$ .

Puhvel (l.c.) rejects this etymology (for unclear reasons) and rather connects *išhā-* to Luw. *ušha-*, which he translates as ‘master’. As Melchert (1993b: 263) states, CLuw. *ušha-* rather denotes ‘sacralized object’, whereas the interpretation of HLuw. *washa-* remains unclear (nom.sg. <sup>“\*419”</sup> *wa/i-sa-ha-sa* (TÜNP 1 §6), acc.pl. <sup>“\*419”</sup> *wa/i-sa-ha-i-za* (BABYLON §2); case unclear <sup>\*420</sup> *wa/i-sa-ha-sa* (ASSUR letter *f* §27)). As an alternative to the connection with Lat. *erus*, Oettinger (1979a: 499) suggests an inner-Hittite connection with *šišha-<sup>i</sup>* / *šišh-* ‘to ordain’, which he cites as *šēšh(a)-* and reconstructs as *\*se-sh<sub>2</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>-ei*. For *išhā-*, this would mean a reconstruction *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>-s*. Although semantically not unattractive, the formal side of this alternative etymology is difficult. As I show in the lemma of *šišha-<sup>i</sup>* / *šišh-*, this verb rather reflects *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-oi-ei*, *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-i-enti*, a reduplicated form of *išhai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išhi-* ‘to bind, to impose upon’, which makes the reconstruction with a root *\*sh<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>-* impossible. Moreover, the prothetic *i-* that arises in the initial cluster *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-* does not participate in the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as we see happening in *išhā- > ešha-*.

***išhahru-*** (n.) ‘tear(s)’: nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru* (often), *e-eš-ḥa-aḥ-ru* (KUB 7.41 obv. 19 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-aš* (KUB 31.77 i 7), *e-eš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-aš* (KBo 31.121, 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ú-i* (KBo 11.1 obv. 45), erg.sg. [*iš-ḥa-a*]ḥ-ru-ua-an-za (KBo 53.29, 9), abl. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-az*, *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-za*, instr. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-it* (KUB 43.60 i 21), nom.pl. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru*.

Derivatives: ***išhahruue/a-***<sup>ta(tri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to weep’ (3sg.pret.midd. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-at-ta-at*; part. *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-ua-an-t-*).

IE cognates: Skt. *ásru-*, TochA *ākār*, *ākrun* (nom.pl.), TochB *akrūna\** (nom.pl.), Lith. *āšara*, *ašarà* ‘tear’.

PIE *\*s+h<sub>2</sub>ék-ru-??*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 390f. for attestations. The word is almost consistently spelled *iš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-*. The spelling *e-eš-ḥa-aḥ-ru-* occurs twice only, and these instances are clearly due to the vicinity of the word *ešhar* ‘blood’.

Semantically as well as formally, the word cannot be separated from the words for ‘tear’ that are found in the other IE languages, Skt. *ásru-*, TochA *ākār*, n.pl. *ākrun*, TochB *akrūna\**, Lith. *āšara*, *ašarà* ‘tear’, and, more distantly, Gr. *δάκρυ*, OHG *zahar*, Arm. *artawsr*, OHG *trahin*, Lat. *lacrima* ‘tear’. The exact interpretation of the words that show an initial *\*d* is severely in debate (solutions vary widely, see the list in Puhvel (l.c.)), but the interpretation of the unextended forms as reflexes of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék-ru-*, a derivative of the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék-* ‘sharp, bitter’, seems generally accepted. For Hittite, this would mean that we have to assume a

prothetic *\*s-* (an *s*-mobile?, cf. *šankuūai-* ‘nail’ < *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-*) and assimilation of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* to *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>-*. Unfortunately, such an assimilation is further unknown in Hittite (for my rejection of alleged *\*kerh<sub>2</sub>sr* > *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>2</sub>sr* > *haršar* ‘head’, see there). Moreover, there is evidence that the word for ‘tear’ originally was a *\*-ur/-uen-* stem in PIE (*n*-stem-forms in Germanic, absence of Weise’s Law in Sanskrit), of which it is difficult to explain why it did not turn up as a *-ur/-uen-* stem in Hittite (like e.g. *pahhur* / *pahhuen-* ‘fire’, *zama(n)kur* ‘beard’), but showed the metathesis to *-ru-* that we know from the other IE languages. All in all, the derivation of *išhahru-* out of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ékru-* remains quite intricate.

***išhai-*<sup>i</sup> / *išhi-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to bind, to wrap; to obligate with, to impose upon’ (Akk. *RAKĀSU*): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḥe-eh-ḥi* (KUB 55.3 obv. 3, 4 (fr.) (OH/MS?), KBo 18.74, 2 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḥa-a-i* (KUB 29.30 ii 16 (OS), KUB 13.15 rev. 4 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 ii 12 (MH/NS), KBo 40.338 rev. 5 (NS), KUB 12.58 iii 26 (NS), KUB 17.27 ii 5, 12 (NS)), *iš-ḥi-i-e-ez-zi* (KUB 33.67 i 5 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-zi* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 i 58 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-az-zi* (KBo 14.3 iv 41 (NH), KUB 34.26, 16 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. *iš-ḥi-ia-at-te-e-ni* (KUB 14.8 ii 35 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḥi-an-zi* (KBo 6.2 iv 42, 43, 46 (OS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-an-zi* (KUB 9.22 ii 21 (fr.) (MS), KBo 25.138 i 3 (OH?/NS), KUB 17.12 iii 18 (NS), KUB 36.83 i 4 (NS)), *iš-ḥi-an-za* (KBo 6.26 i 7 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḥe-eh-ḥu-un* (KBo 3.4 iii 26, 31 (NH), KBo 5.8 ii 3 (NH)), *iš-ḥe-ḥu-un* (KUB 21.48 rev. 7 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-nu-un* (KUB 9.32 i 14 (NS), KBo 3.3 i 18 (NH), KBo 12.38 i 9 (NH), KUB 21.29 i 10 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ḥi-ia-at* (KBo 6.29 ii 35 (NH), KBo 14.12 iv 31 (NH)), 2pl.pret.act. *iš-ḥa-iš-te[-en]* (KBo 12.22, 11 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ḥi-i-e-er* (KBo 6.34 i 26 (MH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-ḥi-ia-at-tén* (KBo 10.45 ii 8 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ḥi-an-du* (KBo 6.34 i 24 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-an-du* (KBo 6.34 i 28 (MH/NS)); part. *iš-ḥi-ia-an-t-* (OS), *iš-ḥi-an-t-*; verb.noun. *iš-ḥi-ia-u-ua-a[r]* (KBo 1.38 rev. 5, 7 (NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-[ua-a]r* (KBo 1.42 ii 3 (NS)); impf. *iš-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: <sup>(KUS)</sup>***išhiman-* / *išhimen-*** (c.) ‘string, line, cord, rope, strap’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḥi-ma-a-aš* (KBo 17.15 rev. 11 (OS)), acc.sg. *iš-ḥi-ma-na-an* (KBo 20.40 v 9 (OH/NS)), [*i*]š-ḥi-me-na-an (988/u, 7 (NS)), abl. *iš-ḥi-ma-na-az* (KUB 36.55 ii 16 (MH/MS)), instr. *iš-ḥi-ma-an-ta* (KUB 17.5, 15 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ma-an-da* (KUB 17.28 i 31 (NS)), *iš-ḥi-ma-ni-it* (KBo 17.60 obv. 3 (MH/MS)), nom.pl. *iš-ḥi-ma-a-ne-eš* (KBo 17.15 obv. 10 (OS))), ***išhamin-*** (c.) ‘cord’ (acc.sg. *iš-ḥa-mi-na-an* (KUB 17.27 ii 31, 34 (MH/NS))), ***išhije/ani-*** (c.) ‘(body)hair’ (nom.pl. *iš-ḥi-e-ni-uš* (KUB 13.4 iii 62 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḥi-ia-ni-uš* (KUB 13.19, 5 (OH/NS))), <sup>(TUG)</sup>***išhijal-*** (n.) ‘bond, band, belt’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḥi-al*, abl. *iš-ḥi-ia-*

*la-az*), **išhiul-** (n.) ‘binding; obligation, injunction; statute, treaty’ (nom.-acc.sg./pl. *iš-ḥi-ú-ul*, gen.sg. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-aš*, nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ḥi-ú-li*), **išhiulahh-**<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to bind by treaty’ (3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-ah-ḥa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḥi-ul-la-ah-ḥu-un*; part. *iš-ḥi-ú-la-ah-ḥa-an-t*), **išhuzzi-** (c.) ‘band, belt, girdle’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḥu-zi-iš*, acc.sg. *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-in*, gen.sg. *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-aš*, *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-ia-aš*), **išhuzziē/a-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to gird’ (3sg.pres.at. *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-ia-iz-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ḥu-zi-ed-du*, part. *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-ia-an-t*), **išhieššar / išhiešn-** (n.) ‘binding’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḥi-eš-ša=mi-it-t=a* (KUB 30.10 obv. 7 (OH/MS)), *iš-ḥi-eš-ša-a=š-ši-it* (KBo 21.22 rev. 45 (OH/MS)), instr. *iš-ḥi-eš-ni-it* (473/t obv. 14 (NS)), erg.pl. *iš-ḥi-iš-na-an-te-eš* (473/t obv. 11 (NS))), <sup>GI</sup>**išḥāyar** (n.) ‘yoke-plough-set(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḥa-a-u-ua-ar*, *iš-ḥa-u-ua-ar*, *iš-ḥa-a-ur-r=a*), see *išhamai-*<sup>i</sup> / *išhami-* and *šišha-*<sup>i</sup> / *šišh-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ḥišḥija-** ‘to bind’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḥi-iš-ḥi-ia-an-ti*), **ḥišḥiša/i-** ‘spell’ (< \*‘binding?’) (gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *ḥi-iš-ḥi-ša-aš-ši-in*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *ḥi-iš-ḥi-ša-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. **hishi-** ‘to bind’ (gerund PUGNUS.PUGNUS<sup>1</sup> *hi-sà-hi-mi-na* ‘is to be bound’ (CEKKE §13, cf. Melchert 2004b: 360<sup>7</sup>)).

IE cognates: Skt. *sā-*, *si-* ‘to bind’, Lith. *siėti* ‘to bind’.

PIE *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 398f. for attestations. The oldest attestations of this verb clearly show that it inflects according to the *dāi/tiianzi*-class (*išḥāi*, *išḥianzi*, both OS). Like all other *dāi/tiianzi*-class verbs, *išḥai-*<sup>i</sup> / *išḥi-*, too, is taken over into the *mi*-conjugating *-je/a*-class in NH times, on the basis of the false analysis of *išḥianzi* as *išḥija-nzi*.

Since Kuryłowicz (1927: 101) this verb is generally connected with e.g. Skt. *sā-* ‘to bind’ and Lith. *siėti* ‘to bind’. The exact reconstruction of the root is difficult, however: e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 461) reconstructs a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-*, LIV a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>(i)-* and LIV<sup>2</sup> a root *\*sh<sub>2</sub>ei-*. Apparently there is no consensus whether or not the *-i* is integral part of the root.

In Hittite, *išḥāi* / *išḥianzi* must go back to *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óiei*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>iénti*. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fth.a, most of the the *dāi/tiianzi*-class verbs go back to a structure *\*CC-oi-*, *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of the root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/i-*. For *išḥai-/išḥi-*, this means that we either are dealing with a root *\*sh<sub>2</sub>ei-* or with a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* which shows a stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>(o)i-*. In my view, this question is settled by looking at the derivatives in Hittite. On the one hand we find derivatives that show *išḥi-* < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-* (e.g. *išḥiman-* / *išḥimen-*, *išḥijal-*, *išḥiul-*), but we also find derivatives that show a stem *išḥ-* < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-* (e.g. *išḥamin-*, *išḥuzzi-*).

These latter show that we must analyse *išhai-/išhi-* as an *\*-oi-*-suffixed verb that shows a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-*.

This also fits the Sanskrit evidence. There we find the verbal forms (all in Vedic): pres. *°syāti, sināti*; perf. *siṣāya*; aor. *sāt*. On the basis of aor. *sāt* it is clear that the root must have been *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* (note that LIV<sup>2</sup> states that *sāt* actually belongs with another root, namely *\*seh<sub>1</sub>(i)-* ‘to release’: this has now become unnecessary because of the Hittite material that unambiguously shows that we can reconstruct a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-*). It is remarkable that the Skt. “perf.” *siṣāya* (although usually called “perfect” is shows quite an aberrant form; reduplication with *-i-* and an extra *-i-* suffix: the normal perfect would have been *\*se-sóh<sub>2</sub>-e* > *sasāu* as attested in Classical Sanskrit) can be directly equated with Hitt. *išhāi* < *\*(si-)sh<sub>2</sub>-ói-e*. Just as in Hittite *išhiiezzi* is a secondary form on the basis of the zero-grade *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-énti*, it is likely that Skt. *°syāti* is secondary as well (both reflecting virtual *\*sh<sub>2</sub>iéti*). The Skt. nasal-present *sināti* reflects virtual *\*si-né-h<sub>2</sub>-ti* and must be a backformation to the zero-grade stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-* that yielded *\*sih<sub>2</sub>-* through metathesis.

The stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* is also visible in Lith. *siėti* ‘to bind’, Skt. *setár-* ‘binder’, etc.

The Luwian forms, with the stem *hishi-*, must reflect reduplicated forms: *\*(s)h<sub>2</sub>i-sh<sub>2</sub>i-* and could possibly be directly equated with Skt. *siṣāya*. Note that HLuw. *hishimin* shows that the stem must have been *hishi-* and not *hishija-* as often stated.

Note that the derivative <sup>GIS</sup>*išhāuar* does not reflect *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óur* (thus Puvhel HED 1/2: 397-8), but just reflects *\*išhāiur* < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-ói-ur*, the verbal noun of *išhai-/išhi-*. For the development of *\*-aiuar* > *-āuar* cf. e.g. *šāuar* ‘sullenness’ from *šāi-zi* ‘to become sullen’.

***išhamai-<sup>i</sup> / išhami-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to sing’ (Sum. SÌR, Akk. ZAMARU): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḥa-mi-iḥ-ḥi* (KUB 33.96 i 4 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḥa-ma-i* (KUB 58.30 ii 6 (MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḥa-mi-an-zi* (OS, often), *iš-ḥa-mi-ja-an-zi* (often), *iš-ḥa-mi-en-zi* (KUB 59.19 ii 3 (OH/NS)); inf.I *iš-ḥa-mi-ja-u-an-zi* (KUB 25.37 i 40 (NS)), *iš-ḥa-mi-ja-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 27.1 iv 12 (MH/NS)); impf. *iš-ḥa-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OS, often), *iš-ḥa-mi-eš-ke/a-*, *iš-ḥa-ma-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***išhamai-*** (c.) ‘song, melody’ (Sum. SÌR; acc.sg. *iš-ḥa-ma-in* (KUB 12.11 iii 31 (MS?)), *iš-ḥa-ma-a-in* (VSNF 12.118, 2 (NS)), acc.pl. *iš-ḥa-ma[-uš]* (KUB 10.7, 14 (NS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>***išhamatalla-*** (c.) ‘singer’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>SÌR; nom.pl. *iš-ḥa-ma-tal-le-eš* (KUB 17.21 ii 11, iii 19 (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *iš-ḥa-ma-a-tal-lu-uš* (KUB 31.124 ii 17 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḥa-ma-tal-<<li->>lu-uš* (KUB 17.21 iii 5 (MH/MS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *sáman-* ‘song, hymn’.



See Puhvel HED 1/2: 394f. for attestations. The verb inflects according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class (the forms that show a stem *išhamiē/a<sup>zi</sup>* occur in NS texts only). As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, this class consists of verbs that show a formation *\*CC-oi- / \*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of a root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/-i-*. In § 2.2.2.2.h, I have shown that polysyllabic *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs (reduplicated verbs and univerbations with *pe-* and *u-*) are secondarily taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class through the intermediate *mēma/i*-class. This development started in pre-Hittite already. In the case of *išhamai-/išhami-*, this means that we have to assume that its stem was monosyllabic, so the phonological interpretation of this verb should be */sHmai- / sHmi-/* (and not */isHamai-/*).

Etymologically, this verb is ultimately derived from the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bind’ (attested in Hitt. *išhai<sup>i</sup> / išhi-* (q.v.)), and shows a root-extension with *-m-*. The formation *\*sh<sub>2</sub>em-* (not *\*\*seh<sub>2</sub>m-*, see below for argumentation) and the meaning ‘to sing’ must have been of PIE date already, as can be seen by Skt. *sāman-* ‘song, hymn’ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óm-en-*.

In Hittite, the preform *\*sh<sub>2</sub>m-oi- / \*sh<sub>2</sub>m-i-* should regularly have yielded *\*\*smai-/smi-* (loss of interconsonantal laryngeal), which means that a full-grade form *\*sh<sub>2</sub>em-* must have been available in Hittite to make restoration of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* possible. In my view, this full-grade form is visible in *išhamai-* ‘song’ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>ém-ōi-* (which determines the root as *\*sh<sub>2</sub>em-*: a formation *\*\*séh<sub>2</sub>m-oi-* should have given Hitt. *\*\*šāmai-* or *\*\*šahmai-* (if word-internal *\*h<sub>2</sub>* was indeed retained in front of resonant, cf. the discussion at <sup>GIŠ</sup>*māhla-*, <sup>UZU</sup>*muḫrai-/maḫrai-* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*zahrai-*)).

The alleged Greek cognate, οἶμός ‘song’ (thus Benveniste 1954: 39f.) cannot reflect *\*sh<sub>2</sub>om-jo-* (because *\*-Vm̄jV-* should have given Gr. *-VtvV-*, cf. Beekes 1972: 127) and therefore this connection must be given up.

***išhanittar*** (c.) ‘relative by marriage’: nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-tar*, gen.sg.(?) *iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ri*.

Derivatives: ***išhanittarātar*** (n.) ‘?’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar*), ***išhanattalla-*** (c.) ‘?’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-an*), ***išhanalla-*** (c.) ‘?’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-al-liš*).

PIE *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-en-* ?

See Rieken 1999a: 283f. for attestations and semantic treatment. According to her all these forms are found in contexts referring to marriage, which would indicate that they are all related. On the basis of the supposed meaning ‘relative by marriage’ for *išhanittar*, Rieken argues that ultimately these words must be connected with the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bind’. In her view, we are dealing with a stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-en-*, which she further connects with *šahhan-* ‘feudal service’ < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-en-* (q.v.). See it *išhai<sup>i</sup>* / *išhi-* for the basic root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-*.

*išhije/a<sup>zi</sup>*: see *išhai<sup>i</sup>* / *išhi-*

*išhunau-* (c. > n.) ‘arm, upper arm’: nom.sg.c. *iš-ḥu-na-ú-uš* (KBo 32.14 ii 49 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḥu-na-ḡ-uš* (KBo 32.14 rev. 44, l.edge 1 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḥu-na-uš<sup>i</sup>* (text: -aš, KUB 9.34 ii 25 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-ḥu-na-a-u=š-mi-it* (KUB 7.58 i 11 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-aš<sup>i</sup>* (KBo 10.37 ii 32 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-aš* (KUB 9.4 i 25 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-aš* (571/u, 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḥu-na-u-i* (KUB 25.37 ii 8 (NS)), [*iš-*]ḥu-na-ú-i (KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 i 6), erg.sg. *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-an-za* (KUB 9.4 i 25), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-aš* (KBo 46.62 ii 7 (NS)); case? *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-aš<sup>2</sup>* (KUB 56.60 iv 5 (NS)).

PIE *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-nou-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 403f. for attestations. The interpretation of this word has always largely depended on the form *iš-ḥu-na-u-ua-ar* (KBo 10.37 ii 32). Since Laroche (1962: 31), this *išhunauuar* is generally regarded cognate with Skt. *snāvan-*, Gr. *νεῦπά*, Lat. *nervus* ‘sinew’ and therefore translated as ‘sinew’ as well. An exact reconstruction of these forms was quite difficult, however (for instance, the *-h-* in Hittite does not match Gr. *-ε-*). Weitenberg (1984: 224-5) convincingly argues that besides the form *išhunauuar*, all other forms of the paradigm rather point to a stem *išhunau-* and that these forms are better translated ‘upper arm’ and hardly can have anything to do with the ‘sinew’-words. He therefore proposes to separate the stem *išhunau-* ‘upper arm’ from the hapax *išhunauuar* ‘sinew’. The fact that we indeed are dealing with a stem *išhunau-* is supported by the quite recent publication of the ‘Song of Release’ (KBo 32.14 (MH/MS), see Neu 1996 = StBoT 32), in which nom.sg.c. *išhunāuš* is attested several times. Although Neu (1996: 152, 191) still adheres to the old translation ‘(Arm-)Sehne’, it is in my view clear that here *išhunau-* denotes ‘upper arm’ as well. Moreover, the forms show that originally *išhunau-* was a commune noun and that the NS attestation nom.-acc.sg.n. *išhunau=šmit* must be a secondary form (see also the discussion on the gender of these kind of nouns at *ḥarnau-*).

Rieken (1999a: 360-1) follows Weitenberg in translating *išḫunau-* as ‘upper arm’, but also connects the form *išḫunauṽar* with it. She translates the context that it occurs in as follows:

KBo 10.37 ii

(32) ... *nu-u=š-ši iš-ḫu-na-u-ṽa-ar ši-ṽa-u-ṽa-ar*

(33) *pé-eš-tén*

‘Gebt ihm das Schießen des Oberarmes!’.

According to Rieken, *išḫunauṽar* is a falsely back-formed nom.-acc.sg.n. on the basis of gen.sg. *išḫunauāš*. In my view, this is not necessary: I think it is quite possible that *iš-ḫu-na-u-ṽa-ar* must be regarded as a mere scribal error for *iš-ḫu-na-u-ṽa-aš*, with AŠ mistakenly written as AR due to anticipation to the following *ši-ṽa-u-ṽa-ar* ‘shooting’. So I would suggest to read *iš-ḫu-na-u-ṽa-aš<sup>1</sup> ši-ṽa-u-ṽa-ar*, which indeed must mean ‘shooting of the upper arm’. Whatever interpretation one chooses to follow, it is clear that in any way the Hittite word *išḫunauṽar* ‘sinew’ does not exist anymore. Therewith the words for ‘sinew’ in the other IE languages (Skt. *snávan-*, Gr. *νευρά*, Lat. *nervus*, Arm. *neard*, TochB *šñaura* (pl.)) can now safely be reconstructed as *\*snéh<sub>1</sub>-ur* / *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-uén-*.

For the etymological interpretation of *išḫunau-* I follow a suggestion of Weitenberg (l.c.) who hesitatingly connects it with Hitt. *išḫuṽai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* ‘to throw’ (q.v.). This would mean that *išḫunau-* reflects *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-neu-* and originally denotes ‘throwing-arm’. See at *išḫuṽai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* for further etymology.

Note that KUB 9.34 ii 25 actually has a form *iš-ḫu-na-aš=ma=kán*, but because of the many corrupt forms in this texts, I have taken the liberty to read this form as nom.sg.c. *iš-ḫu-na-uš<sup>1</sup>=ma-kán*, which is supported by the commune forms from KBo 32.14. The assumption that this form shows a secondary stem *išḫuna-* (thus Weitenberg 1984: 457<sup>603</sup>) is improbable; note that Puhvel (l.c.) interprets this form as gen.sg. or pl. (implying a reading *iš-ḫu-na(-ṽa)-aš*) despite the fact that it clearly must be nom.sg. here.

***išḫunauṽar***: see *išḫunau-*

***išḫuṽai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-*** (IIa4 > IIa1γ, Ic2) ‘to throw, to scatter, to pour’: 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-uh-ḫi* (KUB 31.84 iii 63 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫu-ṽa-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 9.25 + 27.67 i 3 (2x) (MH/NS), KUB 15.11 ii 9 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-ṽa-a-i* (e.g. KUB 32.138 ii 12 (OH/MS), IBoT 2.39 rev. 26, 27 (MH/MS), KBo 23.10 iv 22 (MS), etc.), *iš-*

*hu-ua-i* (e.g. KBo 15.31 i 11, iv 11 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 iii 45 (MH/MS), etc.), *i[š-hu]-ú-a-i* (KBo 23.23 obv. 59 (MH/MS)), *iš-hu-u-ua-i* (OH/NS), *iš-hu-u-ua-a-i* (OH/NS), *iš-hu-a-i* (KBo 39.189 i 7 (NS), KUB 41.17 i 28 (NS)) *iš-hu-i* (KBo 2.3 ii 32 (MH/NS)), *iš-hu-u-i* (KUB 6.46 iv 54 (NH)), *iš-hu-u-ua-a-iz-zi* (HT 5, 6 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *iš-[h]u-ua-ua-a-n[i]* (StBoT 25.137 ii 18 (OS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-hu-ua-an-zi* (e.g. KBo 15.32+ ii 5 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 iv 45 (MH/MS), etc.), *iš-hu-u-ua-an-zi* (OH/NS), *iš-hu-ua-a-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-hu-u-eh-hu-un* (KUB 17.10 iii 7 (OH/MS)), *[(iš-h)]u-eh-hu-un* (KUB 15.34+ ii 44 (MH/MS)), 2sg.pret.act. *iš-hu-ua-a-it-ta* (HKM 5 obv. 6 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-hu-ua-iš* (KUB 49.60 ii 11 (NS), KBo 14.3 iv 35, 36 (NH)), *iš-hu-ua-aš* (KBo 37.1 ii 4 (NS)), *iš-hu-u-ua-aš* (KUB 33.53, 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-hu-ua-a-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 5, 11 (MH/MS), KUB 26.84 ii 9 (NH)), *[i]š-hu-u-ua-[a-er]* (KBo 14.1 ii 14 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-hu-ua-a-ú* (KUB 33.93 iii 35 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-hu-u-it-tén* (HKM 18 l. edge 5 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-hu-u-an-du* (HKM 24, 52 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pret.midd. *[iš-hu]-ua-it-ta-a[t]* (KBo 8.96 obv. 1 (MS)), *[i]š-hu-ua-it-t[a-at]* (KBo 8.96 obv. 2 (MS)); part. *iš-hu-ua-an-t-* (OH/MS), *iš-hu-u-ua-an-t-* (MH/NS), *iš-hu-ua-a-an-t-* (MH/NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *iš-hu-ua-ua-aš* (KUB 55.60 iv 12 (NS)), *iš-hu-ua-u-ua-aš* (KUB 12.2 ii 6 (NS)), *iš-hu-u-ua-u-ua-aš* (KUB 10.92 vi 13 (NS)); sup. *iš-hu-u-ua-u-ú[a-an]* (KBo 14.1 ii 13 (NH)); impf. *iš-hu-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-hu-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-hu-u-ua-a-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***išhuēšsar*** / ***išhuēšn-*** (n.) ‘heap’ (nom.-acc.sg. *[iš-h]u-u-e-eš-šar* (119/w rev. 6), *i[š-h]u-e-eš-šar* (KUB 31.84 iii 63), *iš-hu-eš-šar* (KBo 32.15 ii 15), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-hu-eš-ni* (KBo 16.60 rev. 5, KUB 14.1 obv. 7, 8), instr. *iš-hu-e-eš-ni-it* (KUB 13.2 iii 37)), ***išhuuanna-***<sup>i</sup> / ***išhuuanni-*** (IIa5) ‘to throw (impf.)’ (1sg.pres.act. *iš-hu-u-ua-an-na-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 7.5 ii 30), *iš-hu-ua-an-na-aḥ-[ḥi]* (KUB 12.44 iii 17), 3sg.pres.act. *[iš-hu-ua-an-]na-an-zi* (KUB 12.58 iii 16)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄω ‘to rain’, TochAB *su-/swās-* ‘to rain’.

PIE *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-ó-i-ei* / *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 404f. for attestations. In StBoT 25.137 ii 18, a text that is usually dated as OS, we find a form *iš-[h]u-ua-ua-a-n[i]* that must be regarded as a 1pl.pres.act.-form because of the 1pl.-forms *la-hu-e-ni* (ibid. 15), *da-a-[u-]e-ni* (ibid. 16) and *ḥar-na-u-e-ni* (ibid. 17) in the preceding lines. In my view, this form is so aberrant (cf. the totally unexpected plene spelling *-ua-a-ni*), that I severely doubt the reliability of this form or even the text in which it is found (compare also *dā[ū]eni* instead of expected *tumēni*). I will therefore disregard this form in this discussion.

It is not easy to determine the original inflection of this verb. The oldest forms (OS and MS) are: 3sg.pres.act. *išhuuāi*, *išhuuāi*, 3pl.pres.act. *išhuuānzi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḥu-u-Vḥ-ḥu-un*, *iš-ḥu-Vḥ-ḥu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *išhuuāitta*, 3pl.pret.act. *išhuuāer*, 2pl.imp.act. *išhuuittēn*, 3pl.imp.act. *išhuuandu*. The forms *išhuuittēn* and *išhuuāitta* can only belong to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class inflection (*išhuuāi<sup>-i</sup>* / *išhui-*). The forms *išhuuāi*, *išhuuānzi*, *išhuuāēr* and *išhuuandu* can either belong to the *tarn(a)*-inflection, or to the *dāi/tiānzi*-inflection (if we assume that *\*išhuuānzi* > *išhuuānzi*). In principle, the forms *išhuuānzi* and *išhuuandu* could belong to an inflection similar to that of *au<sup>-i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’ as well (cf. *uānzi* ‘they see’), but because of the total absence of forms with a stem *\*išḥau-*, this option is very unlikely. The forms 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḥu-u-Vḥ-ḥu-un* and *iš-ḥu-Vḥ-ḥu-un* are multi-interpretable. The sign AH can be read *aḥ*, *eḥ*, *iḥ* as well as *uḥ*, which means that we could be dealing with *iš-ḥu(-u)-aḥ-ḥu-un*, *iš-ḥu(-u)-iḥ-ḥu-un*, *iš-ḥu(-u)-eḥ-ḥu-un* or *iš-ḥu(-u)-uḥ-ḥu-un*. If we should read *išḥuahḥun*, the word would belong to the *tarn(a)*-class (cf. the NS attestation *iš-ḥu-ḡa-aḥ-ḥi*); if the forms represent *išḥuiḥḥun* or *išḥueḥḥun*, they would belong to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class. I must admit, however, that in these cases we would rather have found plene spelling of the specific vowel (cf. e.g. *ḥu-i-iḥ-ḥi* ‘I run’, *ḥu-e-eḥ-ḥu-un* ‘I ran’, *iš-ḥu-ḡa-aḥ-ḥi*). Nevertheless, an analysis *išḥuhḥun* is quite improbable, because this form could only belong to an inflection similar to *au-/u-* ‘to see’ (cf. *ūḥḥun* ‘I saw’), of which we already have determined that it is a very unlikely option. So, all in all, the oldest forms seem to point to either a *dāi/tiānzi*-class or a *tarn(a)*-class inflection.

Since the *dāi/tiānzi*-class is a closed, unproductive class within Hittite, whereas the *tarn(a)*-class is very productive, I assume that the *dāi/tiānzi*-class inflection is more archaic and consequently the original one. I therefore cite this verb as *išhuuāi<sup>-i</sup>* / *išhui-*, and the attestations *iš-ḥu-u-Vḥ-ḥu-un* and *iš-ḥu-Vḥ-ḥu-un* as *iš-ḥu-u-eḥ-ḥu-un* and *iš-ḥu-eḥ-ḥu-un* (the NS attestations *iš-ḥu-uḥ-ḥi* may be viewed as belonging with 3sg.pres.act. *išhui* (see below)). The fact that the 3pl.-forms are *išhuuānzi* and *išhuuandu*, whereas e.g. *ḥuūai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḥui-* ‘to run’ has *ḥuiānzi* (OS) ‘they run’, in my view is explained by the difference in preforms: *išhuuānzi* reflects *\*sh<sub>2</sub>uiénti* (see below for etymology), whereas *ḥuiānzi* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>iénti*. Intervocalic *-i-* in *\*sh<sub>2</sub>uiénti* was lost in pre-Hittite already, yielding a hiatus: OH /isHoánt<sup>s</sup>i/, realized as [isHo<sup>u</sup>ánt<sup>s</sup>i], spelled *iš-ḥu-ḡa-an-zi*. In the case of *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>iénti* ‘they run’, we are dealing with intervocalic *\*-h<sub>1</sub>i-*, which yielded *-i-* in that same period (OH /Hoiánt<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *ḥu-ḡa-an-zi*), which was lost in the NH period only (NH /Hoánt<sup>s</sup>i/, realized as [Ho<sup>u</sup>ánt<sup>s</sup>i], spelled *ḥu-ḡa-an-zi*).

This means that the OH paradigm of *išḫuṽai<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* must have been \**išḫueḫhi*, \**išḫuṽaitti*, *išḫuṽāi*, \**išḫuiṽeni*, \**išḫuišteni*, *išḫuṽanzi*. On the basis of 3sg. *išḫuṽāi* and 3pl. *išḫuṽanzi*, in younger times forms were created that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (1sg.pres.act. *išḫuṽaḫḫi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *išḫuṽaš* (OH/NS) and verb.noun gen.sg. *išḫuṽaṽaš* (NS)). In NH times, we find some forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*išḫuṽāizzi* (NS), *išḫuṽānt-* (NS)), and some forms in which the stem *išḫu-* has been generalized (3sg.pres.act. *išḫui* (NS)). For the cognate verb *šuhḫa<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-*, see at its own lemma.

As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the Hittite *dāi/tiānzi*-class consists of verbs that reflect a formation \**CC-oi-*, \**CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of the root followed by an ablauting suffix \*-oi/-i-. In this case, the root must have been *išḫu-*. In the course of Hittitology, different etymological proposals have been suggested (see Puhvel (l.c.) for a summary), but the best one in my view is given by Jasanoff (1978: 90<sup>11</sup>), who connects *išḫuṽai-/išḫui-* with Gr. ὕω ‘to rain’, Tocharian *su-/swās-* ‘to rain’ < \**suH-*, which is now codified in LIV<sup>2</sup>. Formally, this connection is justified by assuming that a full-grade root \**sh<sub>2</sub>eu-* had a zero-grade form \**sh<sub>2</sub>u-* (still visible in Hitt. *išḫuṽai-/išḫui-*) that metathesized already in PIE to \**suh<sub>2</sub>-* (Gr. ὕ-, Tocharian *su-* and Hitt. *šuhḫa<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* ‘to scatter, to pour’ (q.v.)). Semantically, we have to assume that the PIE root denotes ‘to pour’, which in Hittite (where *išḫuṽai-/išḫui-* still means ‘to pour’ as well) developed into ‘to throw’ (cf. ModDu. *gooien* ‘to throw’ < \**g<sup>h</sup>eu-* ‘to pour’), whereas in Greek and Tocharian the meaning shifted to ‘to rain’. The full-grade \**sh<sub>2</sub>eu-* may still be visible in Hitt. *šišḫau-* ‘sweat’ (although its spelling with °*a-u* is highly aberrant, q.v.).

As said above, within Hittite, a close cognate is the verb *šuhḫa<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* ‘to scatter, to pour’. In some cases, *išḫuṽai<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* and *šuhḫa<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* are used interchangeably in duplicates (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 408), and their connection is supported by a hybrid form like *šu-uh-ḫu-ṽa-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.<sup>?</sup> 5). Nevertheless, the exact formal interpretation of *šuhḫa<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* is not fully clear. See at its own lemma for a full discussion.

***iškalla<sup>i</sup>* / *iškall-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to slit, to split, to tear’: 3sg.pres.act. *iš-kal-la-i* (KBo 6.4 i 39 (OH/NS)), *iš-gal-la-i* (KBo 6.4 i 37 (OH/NS)), *iš-kal-la-a-i* (KUB 58.81 ii<sup>?</sup> 6 (NS)), *iš-kal-la-i-iz-zi* (KUB 12.58 ii 17 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-kal-la-an-zi* (KUB 30.22, 8 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-kal-la-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 13.35 iv 24, 31 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *iš-kal-li* (HKM 24, 51 (MH/MS), KBo 37.1 ii 16 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-kal-la-ú* (KUB 30.36 ii 10 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-kal-la-an-du* (156/v, 7 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-kal-la-ri* (KBo 6.3 i 39 (OH/NS)), *iš-kal-la-a-ri* (KBo

6.5 i 16, 18 (OH/NS), KBo 6.3 i 37 (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-kal-la-at-ta* (KBo 8.37 obv. 9 (MH/NS), KUB 23.7 ii 12 (MH/NS)); part. *iš-kal-la-an-t-*; inf.I *iš-kal-li-ia-u-an-zi* (KBo 43.61 i 13 (NS)); impf. *iš-kal-li-iš-ke/a-*, *iš-gal-li-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: <sup>TÚG</sup>*iškalleššar* (n.) ‘slit dress’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-kal-le-eš-šar*, *iš-kal-li-iš-šar*, [i]š-gal-le<sub>12</sub>-eš-šar).

IE cognates: Gr. σκάλλω ‘to hoe’, Lith. *skėlti* ‘to split’.

PIE *\*skólh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei*, *\*sklh<sub>2/3</sub>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 413f. for attestations. The verb inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class, i.e. *iškallai*, *iškallanzi*. Usually, *tarn(a)*-class verbs go back to roots that end in a laryngeal (*\*(Ce)CoH-*, *\*(Ce)CH-enti* or *\*CRnoH-*, *\*CRnH-enti*), but there are a few *tarn(a)*-class verbs that reflect the structure *\*CeCh<sub>2/3</sub>-*. As I have shown under § 2.2.2.2.d, the 3sg.pres.-form of roots of this structure, *\*CóCh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei*, regularly yielded *\*CaCai* (and not *\*\*CaCi*), on the basis of which these verbs were taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (see *ħarra-<sup>i</sup>* / *ħarr-* ‘to grind’, *išparra-<sup>i</sup>* / *išparr-* ‘to trample’, *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* ‘to mill’, *padda-<sup>i</sup>* / *padd-* ‘to dig’ and *šarta-<sup>i</sup>* / *šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’ for the same phenomenon). In the case of *iškall(a)-*, this means that we have to reconstruct *\*sKelh<sub>2/3</sub>-*. Already since Hrozný (1917: 71), this verb is connected with Gr. σκάλλω ‘to hoe’ and Lith. *skėlti* ‘to split’. Especially the latter form supports the reconstruction of the root-final laryngeal, which yielded acute accentuation in Balto-Slavic. I therefore reconstruct the root as *\*skelh<sub>2/3</sub>-* and the Hittite formation as *\*skólh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei*, *\*sklh<sub>2/3</sub>-énti* (note that this latter form regularly should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*iškallhanzi*, but the geminate *-ll-* of the singular was generalized throughout the verb).

*išgāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *išgap-* (IIa2) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ga-a-pi* (KUB 10.63 i 26).

Derivatives: *išgapuzzi-* (n.) a cult object (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ga-pu-uz-zi* (KUB 12.8 i 16)).

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 10.63 i

(17) *n=a-aš-ta* MUNUS.LUGAL *pa-ra-a ú-ez-zi nu=kán* <sup>LÚ</sup>HAL

(18) *A-NA PA-NI* <sup>d</sup>*U-ma-ra-ap-ši* <sup>d</sup>*A-a-pi-in ki-nu-zi*

(19) *n=a-aš-ta* <sup>LÚ</sup>AZU 1 UDU *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*U-ma-ra-ap-ši ši-pa-an-ti*

(20) *n=a-an=kán* <sup>LÚ</sup>AZU *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*A-a-pi kat-ta-an-da ħa-ad-da-a-i*

(21) *nu=kán e-eš-ħar* *A-NA* GAL *kat-ta tar-na-i n=a-at ták-ni-i*

- (22) *A-NA PA-NI<sup>d</sup>U-ma-ra-ap-ši da-a-i nu=kán<sup>LÚ</sup>AZU*  
 (23) *A-NA<sup>UZU</sup>NÍG.GIG<sup>UZU</sup>ŠÀ hu-u-i-šu nu te-pu ku-er-zi*  
 (24) *e-eš-ḥar-r=a te-pu da-a-i n=a-at=kán<sup>d</sup>A-a-pí*  
 (25) *kat-ta-an-da da-a-i*
- 
- (26) *n=a-aš-ta<sup>d</sup>A-a-pí-in še-er IŠ-TU NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA iš-ga-a-pí*  
 (27) *UDU=ma=kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an-zi*  
 (28) *n=a-an=kán LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> EN DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> mar-kán-zi*

‘The queen comes forth and the priest opens up a pit for the god Umarapši. The magician sacrifices one sheep to Umarapši. The magician stabs it (= the sheep) alongside the pit and let its blood flow in a cup and places it on the ground for Umarapši. The magician cuts of a little of raw entrails and heart and takes a little blood and places it down into the pit. Then he *i*.-s (on top of?) the pit with thick-bread. They bring the sheep forth and the men butcher it for the lord of the gods’.

Because in this context a meaning ‘fills up’ is quite possible, it has been suggested that we should not read *iš-ga-a-pí*, but rather *iš-ta<sup>i</sup>-a-pí*, belonging to the verb *ištāp<sup>i</sup>- / ištapp-* ‘to plug up, to block’ (q.v.). Nevertheless, the attestation of *išgapuzzi-* in KUB 12.8 i 16 in a list of implements, between *ta-pu-ul-li ZABAR* ‘bronze cutter’ and *ṽa-ar-pu-zi ZABAR* ‘bronze bathing-utensil’, seems to show the reality of a verbal stem *išgap-*. Since nouns in *-uzzi-* are usually derived from the zero-grade of a verbal root (e.g. *išḥuzzi-* from *išḥai<sup>i</sup> / išḥi-*, *kuruzzi-* from *kuer<sup>zi</sup> / kur-*, *luzzi-* from *lā<sup>i</sup> / l-*, etc.), it is likely that *išgap-* reflects a zero-grade verbal root as well. If *išgāpi* and *išgapuzzi-* are related, we are dealing with an ablauting pair *išgāp<sup>i</sup>- / išgap-*. Formally, this could reflect hardly anything else than a root *\*s<sup>g</sup>kēb<sup>(h)</sup>-*. If however, the single *-p-* = */b-* from *išgapuzzi-* has been taken over from the full-grade stem *išgāp-*, we could in principle assume an ablauting pair *išgāp<sup>i</sup>- / išgapp-* (cf. *ištāp<sup>i</sup>- / ištapp-*), which then could reflect *\*s<sup>g</sup>kēp-*. Since the meaning of *išgapuzzi-* cannot be determined, and the meaning of *išgāpi* is not fully clear (although ‘to fill up’ is possible), any etymology would be too insecure. Nevertheless, a root *\*skēp-* ‘to cover’ is available in Gr. σκέπω ‘to cover’.

***iškār<sup>i</sup> / iškar-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic2) ‘to sting, to stab, to pierce; to stick (to)’: 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ka-a-a[r-ḥi]* (KBo 17.25 rev. 6 (OS)), *iš-ka-a-ar-ḥi* (KBo 17.96 i 14 (MS)), *iš-kar-ḥi* (KUB 31.1 + KBo 3.16 ii 7 (OH/NS)), *iš-ga-ra-a-mi* (KUB 48.123 iv 9 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ka-a-ri* (KBo 17.13 + 25.68 rev. 11 (OS)), *iš-ga-a-ri* (KBo 15.10 + 20.42 iii 28 (fr.) (OH/MS), KBo 3.8, 6 (OH/NS), KBo



11.12 i 9 (OH/NS), KUB 41.2 i 4 (fr.) (OH/NS), IBoT 2.123 i 9 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 12.58 ii 30 (NS)), *iš-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ri* (KBo 15.10 + 20.42 i 38 (OH/MS), VBoT 24 i 46 (MH/NS)), *iš-ka-ri* (KBo 12.126 i 8 (OH/NS)), *iš-ga-ri* (KBo 9.126, 5 (OH/NS)), *iš-ga-ra-a-i* (KUB 58.83 iii 18 (NS)), [*i*]*š-ga-ra-iz-zi* (KUB 49.94 iii 14 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ga-ra-an-zi* (OS), *iš-ka-ra-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ar-ri-et* (KUB 31.1 + KBo 3.16 ii 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ga-re-er* (KBo 21.22 obv. 6 (OH/MS)), *iš-ka<sub>4</sub>-re-er* (KBo 15.10 ii 2 (OH/MS)); part. *iš-ga-ra-an-t* (OS, often), *iš-ka-ra-an-t* (OS), *iš-ga-ra-a-an-t*, *iš-ka-ra-a-an-t*; impf. *iš-ga-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *iš-kar-iš-ke/a-*, *iš-ga-ri-eš-ke/a-*, *iš-kar-ri-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *iškaranna<sup>i</sup>* / *iškaranni-* (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (3pl.imp.act. *iš-kar-ra-an-ni-an[-du]* (KBo 8.35 ii 21 (MH/MS))), *išgaratar* / *išgarann-* (n.) ‘sting(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ga-ra-tar*, gen.sg. *iš-ga-ra-na-aš*, abl. *iš-ga-ra-na-za*).

IE cognates: Gr. κείρω ‘to cut (off)’, OHG *sceran* ‘to cut’, OIr. *scaraim* ‘to sever’, Lith. *skirti* ‘to separate’.

PIE *\*skór-ei*, *\*skr-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 416f. for attestations. This verb is a textbook example of an *ā/a*-ablauting *hi*-verb: *iškārhi*, *iškāri* vs. *iškaranzi*. In NS texts, we find forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*išgarāi*) and to the *hatrae*-class (*išgarāmi*, *išgaraizzi*, *iškarānt-*).

Already Hrozný (1919: 82) connected this verb with the root *\*(s)ker-* as seen in OHG *sceran* ‘to cut’, OIr. *scaraim* ‘to sever’, Lith. *skirti* ‘to separate’ etc. For Hittite, this means that we have to reconstruct *\*skór-ei*, *skr-énti*. The same root (*\*k<sup>(w)</sup>er-*) is visible in *karš<sup>-zi</sup>* and *kuer<sup>-zi</sup>* / *kur-* / *kuuar-* (q.v.).

*iške/a<sup>-zi</sup>* : see *iškije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

*iškije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1 > Ic6, Ic2, IIa1γ) ‘to smear, to daub, to salve, to oil, to anoint’ (Sum. IĀ): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ke-mi* (KUB 29.55 i 14 (MH/MS)), *iš-ga-a-mi* (KBo 3.8 ii 20 (OH/NS)), *iš-ga-aḫ-hi* (KUB 7.1 i 40 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ki-ez-zi* (KUB 30.19 iv 5 (OH/NS), KBo 5.1 iii 6 (MH/NS), KBo 16.24+25 i 66 (MH/NS), KBo 19.139 ii 9, iii 8 (MH/NS), HT 1 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *iš-ki-ja-zi* (KUB 39.8 iv 3 (OH/NS), VBoT 120 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *iš-ki-ja-iz-zi* (KUB 9.31 ii 36 (MH/NS), HT 1 i 38 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ki-ja-an-zi* (KUB 29.45 i 2 (MH/MS), KBo 21.42 i 8 (NS), KUB 24.5 + 9.13 obv. 19 (NS)), *iš-ki-an-zi* (KBo 12.98 rev. 5 (NS)), *iš-kán-zi* (KUB 29.40 ii 7 (MH/MS), KUB 29.51 i 3 (MH/MS), KBo 21.34 i 22 (MH/NS), KUB 1.13 iii 9 (MH/NS), KBo 23.1 i 44, iii 34 (NS), KUB 5.14 i 16 (NS), KUB 36.90 obv. 18 (NS), KUB 42.98 i 8 (NS)),

3sg.pres.act. *iš-ki-et* (KUB 9.34 iii 34 (MH/NS), KUB 33.88 rev. 10 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ki-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 18 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *iš-ki* (KBo 3.23 obv. 4 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ki-ed-du* (KUB 17.10 ii 23 (OH/MS), KBo 3.8 ii 33 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ki-ja-an-du* (KUB 36.12 iii 4 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-kat-ta-ri* (IBoT 3.148 i 67, 68 (MH/NS)); part. *iš-ki-ja-an-t-* (KBo 21.22 rev. 43 (OH/MS)), *iš-kán-t-* (KBo 21.41+ rev. 59 (MH/MS)); impf. *iš-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *iš-ki-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE \*s<sup>(gʰ)</sup>-ié/ó-

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 420f. for attestations. We find forms of different stems: *iškijazi*, *iškijanzi*, *iškijandu* and *iškijant-* point to a stem *iškije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*; *iškemi*, *iškanzi*, *iški* and *iškant-* point to a stem *iške/a<sup>-zi</sup>*; *išgāmi* points to a stem *išgae<sup>-zi</sup>*; *išgahḫi* points to a stem *išg(a)<sup>-i</sup>*; *iškijaizzi* points to a stem *iškijae<sup>-zi</sup>*. The forms *iš-KI-IZ-zi*, *iš-KI-IT*, *iš-KI-IR* and *iš-KI-IT-du* are dubious regarding their interpretation: either they should be read *iš-ke-e<sup>o</sup>* and belong to a stem *iške/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, or they should be read *iš-ki-e<sup>o</sup>* and belong to a stem *iškije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. Although the stems *išgae-*, *išg(a)-* and *iškijae-* are clearly secondary (they all occur in NS texts only), it is difficult to decide which one of the remaining two stems (*iške/a-* and *iškije/a-*) is the more original one, since they both occur in MS texts already. On the basis of the fact that the only form that is attested in a OH/MS text is part. *iškijant-*, I assume that *iškije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* is more original. This has consequences for the etymological interpretation as well, of course.

Melchert (1984a: 110) connects this verb with *pešš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to rub’ (q.v.) and assumes that the imperfective \**ps-ske/o-* would regularly yield Hitt. *iške/a-*, with loss of initial *p-*. This etymology has now become impossible as it cannot explain the stem-form *iškije/a-*. Rieken (1999a: 293-4) proposes to connect *iškije/a-* with *šākan / šakn-* ‘oil, fat’ (q.v.) and assumes a preform \**s<sup>(gʰ)</sup>-ie/o-*. This preform indeed would yield Hitt. *iškije/a-* as it is attested. Semantically, this connection is superior as well, in view of contexts like KUB 4.3 obv. (17) *ku-uš-ša-ni-an=ma-za ḫ-an iš-ki-ja[-zi]* ‘She anoints herself with rented oil’ and KUB 27.1 iv (39) *EGIR=ŠU=ma ḫ-an iš-kán-zi* ‘Afterwards, they use oil for anointing’, which can now be regarded as *figurae etymologicae*. See at *šākan / šakn-* for further etymology.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> **iškiš-** (n.) ‘back, backside, rear’: nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ki-iš* (OS), gen.sg. *iš-ki-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ki-ši*, all.sg. *iš-ki-ša* (MH/MS), erg.sg. *iš-ki-ša-a-an-za*, abl. *iš-ki-ša-az*, *iš-ḫi-ša-za* (NS), instr. *iš-ki-ši-it=ti[-x<sup>3</sup>]*, nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ki-ša*, *iš-ki-i-ša*.

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 424f. for attestations. The stem of this neuter word, *iškiš-*, at first sight seems to be comparable to *nēpiš-* and then would reflect an *s*-stem. Problematic, however, is the fact that good IE comparanda lack, let alone words that reflect an *s*-stem as well. The only proposed cognate is Gr. ἰσχίον ‘hip(s)’, Hes. ἰσχι· ὀσφύς ‘loins’ (first by Ribezzo 1920: 130), but the semantic connection is in my view not very convincing. Moreover, the inner-Greek alteration ἰσχι : ὀσφύς clearly points to a substratum origin. If these forms are to be regarded as cognate, however, I would rather regard them as loans from a common source than as inherited.

***išnū-*** (c.) ‘dough’: nom.sg. *iš-na-aš* (MH/MS), *iš-ša-na-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *iš-na-an* (MH/MS), *iš-ša-na-an* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *iš-na-a-aš* (OS), *iš-na-aš* (MH/MS), *iš-ša-na-aš* (MH/NS), *eš-ša-na-aš* (KUB 9.34 iii 26), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ni* (NS), instr. *iš-ni-it* (MH/MS), acc.pl. *iš-ša<sup>1</sup>-na-aš* (KUB 24.9 iii 6 (OH/NS)) // *e-eš-ša-na-aš* (KUB 41.1 iii 21 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***iššanauyant-*** (adj.) ‘doughy’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *iš-ša-na-u-ya-an-ta* (OH/MS)), <sup>DUG</sup>***išnura-***, <sup>DUG</sup>***išnuri-*** (c.) ‘dough-bowl’ (nom.sg. *iš-nu-u-ri-iš* (MH/MS) // *iš-nu-ra-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *iš-nu-u-ri-in* (MH/MS) // *iš-nu-ra-an* (MH/NS), *iš-nu-u-ra-an* (MH/MS), *iš-nu-ra-a-an* (1x, MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-nu-u-ri* (MH/NS), nom.pl. *iš-nu-u-ri-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *iš-nu-u-ru-uš* (OH/MS), *iš-nu-ru-uš* (OH/MS), *iš-nu-ra-š=a=kán* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-nu-u-ra-aš* (OH/MS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *yas-* ‘to boil’, Gr. ζέω ‘to bubble, to boil, to cook’, Gr. ζεστός ‘cooked, boiling, hot’, OHG *jesan* ‘to ferment, to foam’, TochA *yās-*, TochB *yās-* ‘to boil, to be turned on’.

PIE *\*ies-nó-* or *\*is-nó-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 381f. for attestations. This word is predominantly spelled *iš-n<sup>o</sup>* as well as *iš-ša-n<sup>o</sup>*. The occasional NS attestations with initial *e-* are due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d. The plene spelling in gen.sg. *iš-na-a-aš* indicates oxytone accentuation. All in all, this word must be phonologically interpreted as /(?i)Sná-/ . Puhvel reconstructs this word as *\*iesnó-*, derived from the root *\*ies-* ‘to ferment, to boil’ as especially visible in OHG *jesan* ‘to ferment’. Semantically, this certainly makes sense and formally it is possible as well: in *\*iesnó-* the initial *\*i-* before *\*e* would be lost, the *\*s* before *\*n* would be fortited and the pretonic *\*e* would be weakened to /i/, yielding /(?i)Sná-/. Another possibility is to reconstruct *\*is-nó-*, with the zero-grade root.

**išpai<sup>i</sup> / išpi-** (Ia5 > Ic2) ‘to get full, to be filled, to be satiated’: 2sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-a-i-ši* (Bo 6180, 5 (undat.)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-a-i* (Bo 4491, 5 (OH?/NS)), *iš-pa-a<sup>2</sup>[-i]* (KBo 13.94, 2 (OH/NS)) 3pl.pres.act. *iš-pí-ia-an-zi* (KBo 3.5 i 28 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-pí-i-e-er* (KUB 17.10 i 20 (OH/MS), KUB 33.19 iii 8 (OH/NS), KUB 33.24 ii 13 (OH/NS)), *iš-pí-er* (KUB 33.32 iii 5 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *iš-pa-a-i* (VSNF 12.16 obv. 9 (OH/NS), 516/z rev. 4 (NS), KBo 4.6 obv. 9 (NH)), *iš-pí-ia* (KUB 20.92 vi 9 (OH/NS), KUB 36.12 i 7 (fr.)), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-pí-iš-te-en* (KUB 12.17, 6 (NS)), *iš-pí-it-tén* (KUB 33.62 iii 11 (OH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-pí-ia-an-du* (KUB 15.34 i 49 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-pí-ia-an-t-*; verb.noun *iš-pí-ia-tar* ‘satiety’ (KUB 17.10 i 11 (OH/MS), KUB 33.24 ii 16 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **išpijanu<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to saturate’ (verb.noun *iš-pí-ia-nu-mar* (KBo 11.1 rev. 21 (NH))), **išpān** (n.) ‘satiation(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-pa-a-an* (KBo 8.42 obv. 6), gen.sg. *iš-pa-a-na-aš* (KUB 36.44 i 12)), **išpiningatar** (n.) ‘satiation of hunger and thirst’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-pí-ni-in-ga-tar* (KBo 39.66, 9 (OH/MS), KBo 30.96 iv 4 (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *sphā-* ‘to become fat, to increase’, Lat. *spēs* ‘hope, expectation’, OE *spōwan* ‘to prosper’, OCS *spěti* ‘to succeed’, Lith. *spėti* ‘to have plenty of time’.

PIE *\*sph<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*sph<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 429f. for attestations. The oldest attested forms inflect according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class: *išpāi*, *išpijanzi*. In younger times we find forms that inflect according to the *hatrae*-class (*išpāiši*) and the *-je/a*-class (2sg.imp.act. *išpija*, also visible in *išpijanu-*).

Since Sturtevant (1928a: 4), this verb is generally connected with Skt. *spháyate* ‘to become fat’, OE *spōwan* ‘to prosper’, OCS *spěti* ‘to succeed’, Lith. *spėti* ‘to be in time, to have plenty of time’ and Lat. *spēs* ‘hope’. In the BSl. forms as well as in Lat. *spēs*, we find a root *\*speh<sub>1</sub>-*, which has received a *\*-je/o-* suffix in OE *spōwan* < *\*speh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*. This latter preform cannot account for Skt. *spháyate*, however, as it would not yield *-ph-* (note that LIV<sup>2</sup> unconvincingly reconstructs the root as *\*sp<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*). As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the Hitt. *dāi/tijanzi*-class reflects a structure *\*CC-oi-*, *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of the root followed by an ablauting *\*-oi/-i-* suffix. For *išpāi*, *išpijanzi*, this means that we have to reconstruct *\*sph<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*sph<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*. Note that the preform *\*sph<sub>1</sub>-ói-e* would regularly yield Skt. *spháya-* as well.

See Rieken 1999a: 313 for an analysis of *išpiningatar* as a compound of *išpi-* and *nink-* ‘to quench one’s thirst’ + the abstract suffix *-atar*. For the analysis of *išpān-* as ‘satiation’, see Oettinger 1979a: 467-8.

***išpant-*** (c.) ‘night’ (Sum. GE<sub>6</sub><sup>(KAM)</sup>, Akk. MUŠU): nom.sg. *iš-pa-an-za*, acc.sg. *iš-pa-an-ta-an*, *iš-pa-an-da-an*, gen.sg. GE<sub>6</sub>-*an-da-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-pa-an-ti*, abl. *iš-pa-an-ta-az*, *iš-pa-an-ta-za*, *iš-pa-an-da-az*, *iš-pa-an-da-za*, acc.pl. *iš-pa-an-ti-uš* (NH).

IE cognates: Skt. *kṣáp-* ‘night’, Av. *xšapan-* / *xšafn-* ‘night’.

PIE \**k<sup>(w)</sup>sp-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 431f. for attestations. Since Götze & Pedersen (1934: 60), this word is generally connected with Skt. *kṣap-* ‘night’. It then would show the suffix *\*-ent-*, which is well known from terms like *ḥamešḥant-* (beside *ḥamešḥa-*) ‘spring’, *zēnant-* (besides *zēna-*) ‘autumn’, *gimmant-* (besides *gim(m)-*) ‘winter’, etc. We therefore have to reconstruct \**k<sup>(w)</sup>sp-ent-*.

***išpānt-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***išpant-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ) ‘to libate, to pour, to sacrifice’ (Sum. BAL): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-an-taḥ-ḥé* (1x OS), *iš-pa-an-taḥ-ḥi* (3x OS), *ši-pa-an-da-aḥ-ḥi*, *ši-pa-an-ta-aḥ-ḥi*, *ši-pa-an-taḥ-ḥi*, *ši-ip-pa-an-taḥ-ḥi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ši-pa-a-an-ti* (16x OS), *iš-pa-a-an-ti* (2x OS), *ši-pa-an-ti* (19x OS, 750+x), *iš-pa-an-ti* (2x OS), *iš-pa-an-di* (3x OS), *ši-ip-pa-an-ti* (50x), *ši-ip-pa-an-da-i* (1x), *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-i* (1x), [*ši-*] *pa-an-da-a-i* (1x), 1pl.pres.act. *ši-pa-an-du-ua-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi* (OS, 12x), *ši-pa-an-da-an-zi* (OS, 59x), *iš-pa-an-ta-an-zi* (OS, 2x), *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-an[-zi]* (1x), *ši-ip-pa-an-da-an-zi* (2x), *ši-ip-pa-an-tan<sub>x</sub>-zi* (1x), *ši-pa-a-an-da-a[n-zi]* (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *ši-ip-pa-an-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (1x), *ši-pa-an-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (1x), *ši-pa-an-taḥ-ḥu-un* (1x), 3sg.pret.act. *ši-pa-an-ta-aš* (KBo 15.10 iii 59, 66 (OH/MS)), *ši-pa-an-da-aš* (KBo 15.10 iii 54, 58 (OH/MS)), ?*ši-pa-an-za-[a]š-ta* (VSNF 12.59 v 6 (MH/NS)), *ši-pa-an-da-za* (KUB 19.37 ii 24 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ši-ip-pa-an-te-er* (1x), *ši-pa-an-te-er* (7x), *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-er*; part. *ši-pa-an-ta-an-t-* (MH/MS, 2x), *ši-pa-an-da-an-t-* (6x), *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-an-t-* (1x); verb.noun *ši-ip-pa-an-du-ua-ar*, *ši-ip-pa-an-du-u-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *ši-ip-pa-an-tu-ua[-aš]*, *ši-pa-an-du-ua-aš*; inf.I *ši-pa-an-tu-u-ua-an-zi*, *ši-pa-an-du-ua-an-zi*, *ši-ip-pa-an-du-ua-an-zi*; impf. *iš-pa-an-za-aš-ke/a-* (1x OS), *ši-ip-pa-an-za-ke/a-* (13x), *ši-pa-an-za-ke/a-* (25x), *iš-pa-an-za-ke/a-* (1x).

Derivatives: ***šippandanna-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***šippandanni-*** (IIa5) ‘to libate (impf.)’ (3sg.pret.act. *ši-ip-pa-an-da-an-na-aš*), <sup>DUG</sup>***išpantuua-*** (c.) ‘libation-vessel’ (nom.sg. *ši-pa-an-du-ua-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-pa-an-tu-ua-an*, *iš-pa-an-du-ua-an*, *ši-ip-*

*pu-ȳa-an-da-an*, abl. *iš-pa-an-du-ȳa-az*, *iš-pa-an-du-az*, instr. *iš-pa-an-du-it*, nom.pl. *iš-pa-an-du-ȳa-aš*), <sup>(DUG)</sup>*išpantuzzi-* (n.) ‘libation-vessel, libation, libate’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi* (OS, often), *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi*, *iš-pa-an-tu-zi*, *iš-pa-an-du-zi*, acc.sg.c. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-i[n]*, gen.sg. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-aš* (OS, often), *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-aš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-zi-aš*, *iš-pa-an-du-zi-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja*, abl. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-az*, instr. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-it*, gen.pl. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja-aš*), <sup>LÚ</sup>*išpantuzzijala-* (c.) ‘libation-bearer’ (nom.pl. [*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ĵ*] *a-le-e-eš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-a-li-uš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja-li-uš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja-la-aš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-la-aš*), <sup>(DUG)</sup>*išpantuzzijaš-šar(a)-* (n., c.) ‘libation-vessel’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-aš-šar* (OS), *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja-aš-šar* (OS), *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-aš-šar* (OS), acc.sg.c. [*iš-pa-a*] *n-tu-zi-aš-ša-ra-an* (OS), [*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-z*] *i-ja-aš-šar-an* (OS), instr. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ja-aš-ša-ri-it*, acc.pl. *iš-pa-an-tu-zi-aš-ša-ru-uš* (OS)).

IE cognates: Gr. σπένδω ‘to libate’, Lat. *spondeō* ‘to pledge, to promise’, TochB *spānt-* ‘to trust’.

PIE *\*spónd-ei*, *\*spnd-énti*

This verb shows initial spellings with *iš-pa-*, *ši-pa-* and *ši-ip-pa-*. Although the spelling *ši-ip-pa-* occurs in younger texts only, the spellings *iš-pa-* and *ši-pa-* are both attested in OS texts already. The occurrence of a spelling *iš-pa-* besides *ši-pa-* (and *ši-ip-pa-*) is remarkable since other words with \*sC- are only spelled *iš-C°* and never *ši-C°*. Nevertheless, there seems to be no distribution between the spellings with *iš-pa-* and *ši-pa-*: I have not found a difference in meaning between *išpant-* and *šipant-*, nor have I been able to find a meaningful distribution of the spellings *iš-pa-* and *ši-pa-* within the paradigm. Assuming a phonetic distribution between *iš-pa-* and *ši-pa-* (e.g. /ispV-/ vs. /sipC-/) does not solve anything, in view of *šipānti* (OS) besides *išpānti* (OS) < *\*spónd-ei* vs. *šipantanzi* (OS) besides *išpantanzi* (OS) < *\*spndénti*. According to Forssman (1994: 103), the form *šipant-* reflects *\*spe-spond-* (cf. OLat. *spepond-*), whereas *išpant-* reflects the unreduplicated *\*spond-*. Although in Hittite we have to reckon with occasional loss of reduplication (compare possibly Hitt. *išḫai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫi-* ‘to bind’ next to CLuw. *ḫišḫija-* ‘id.’ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-sh<sub>2</sub>(o)i-*), this hypothesis cannot be proven. Moreover, we would perhaps expect a (slight) difference in meaning between the two, which to my knowledge is not extant.

The oldest forms of this verb show a clear ablaut between *išpānt-* and *išpant-*. Already Hrozný himself (1915: 29) equated this verb with Gr. σπένδω, Lat. *spondeō*, etc., which has been generally accepted since. I therefore reconstruct *\*spóndei* / *\*spndénti*.

According to Carruba (1966: 23<sup>35</sup>) the noun <sup>DUG</sup>*išpantuua-* is based in a false analysis of the gen.sg. *išpantuuaš* of verb.noun *išpantuuar*: DUG *išpantuuaš* ‘vessel of libation’ > <sup>DUG</sup>*išpantuuaš* ‘libation-vessel’, which was interpreted as nom.sg. of a stem <sup>DUG</sup>*išpantuua-*.

***išpār-<sup>i</sup> / išpar-*** (IIa2 > Ic1, IIa1γ(?)) ‘to spread (out), to strew’: 1sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-ar-ḥi* (KUB 12.44 ii 30 (NS)), *iš-pār-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 7.57 i 8 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-a-ri* (KUB 20.46 iii 8 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 ii 20 (MH/NS)), *iš-pa-ri* (KBo 4.2 ii 53 (NH)), *iš-pār-ri-ez-zi* (KUB 14.1 rev. 91 (MH/MS)), *iš-pār-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (Oettinger 1979a: 266), *iš-pār-ri-ja-az-zi* (KUB 7.60 ii 10 (NS)), [*iš-*]pār-ra-a-i (Oettinger 1979a: 266), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-pa-ra-an-zi* (KBo 20.27 rev. 3 (fr.) (OS), KBo 25.31 iii 10 (OS), KUB 30.29 obv. 5 (MH/MS?), VBoT 24 ii 32 (MH/NS), HT 1 iv 22 (NS)), *iš-pār-ra-an-zi* (KUB 29.45 i 14 (MH/MS), often NS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pār-ḥu-un* (KUB 15.34 i 41, 42 (MH/MS)), *iš-pār-ra-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KUB 7.60 ii 2 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-pār-re-er* (KBo 39.290 iii 11 (NS), KUB 33.114 iv 12 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-pa-a-ru* (Oettinger 1979a: 266), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-pi-ir-te-en* (KBo 21.14 obv. 8 (MS?)); 2sg.imp.midd. *iš-pār-ḥu-ut* (KUB 23.77 i 4 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-pār-ra-an-t-*; verb.noun. *iš-pār-ri-ja-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.42 v 4 (NS)); sup. *iš-pār-ru-ua-an* (KBo 14.45, 4 (NH)); inf.I *iš-pār-ru-um-ma-an-zi* (IBoT 2.131 i 23 (NS)); impf. *iš-pa-ri-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 7.5 ii 19 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***išparanna-<sup>i</sup> / išparanni-*** (IIa5) ‘to spread (impf.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-ra-an-na-i* (KUB 57.83 iv 5 (NS))), ***išparnu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to spread, to spray, to scatter’ (1sg.pres.act. *iš-pār-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pār-nu-zi* (OS), *iš-pār-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. [*iš-pār-n*]u-ua-an-zi, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pār-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *iš-pār-nu-ut*; impf. [*iš-*]pār-nu-uš-ke/a-), <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***išparuzzi-*** (n.) ‘rafter’ (nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *iš-pa-ru-uz-zi* (KUB 29.1 iii 18 (OH/NS)), *iš-pār-ru-uz-zi* (KUB 40.55 + 1236/u, 16 (MH/MS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parri(ja)-*** ‘to apply (medicine), to smear(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ar-ri-it-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ar-ri-en-ti*, 3sg.pret.act.(?) *pār-ri-ja-i[t]* (KUB 35.111 ii 2), verb.adj.nom.sg. *pa-ri-ja-u-ua-an-za* (KUB 12.61 i 14).

IE cognates: Gr. σπέρω ‘to spread (out)’.

PIE *\*spór-ei*, *\*spr-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 441f. and Oettinger 1979a: 266 for attestations. There is much debate on the semantics and formal interpretation of this verb. Oettinger (o.c.: 267f.) states that this verb originally means ‘treten, festtreten’ and connects it with the root *\*sperH-* ‘to kick (with the foot)’ (Skt. *sphuráti* etc.). He interprets *iš-pār-RI-IZ-zi* as the most original form /isparret<sup>s</sup>i/ and reconstructs it as *\*sprh<sub>1</sub>-*

*é-ti*. All the forms that show *išpāri* are in his view secondary formations in analogy to the semantically comparable verb *iškār-<sup>i</sup> / iškār-* ‘to prick, to stab’. The OS attestations *iš-pa-ra-an-zi* are, in his opinion, a “Fehler”. He states that the causative *išparnu-* means ‘versprengen, zerstreuen’, however, and therefore should be cognate with Gr. *σπείρω* ‘to spread’ < \**sper-* and etymologically does not belong with *išparre-*. His views are followed by e.g. Melchert (1984a: 17 and, with adaptations, 1994a: 80).

In my opinion, there are some flaws in Oettinger’s theory. The assumption that the OS attestations *iš-pa-ra-an-zi* are spelling mistakes is totally *ad hoc*. They are supported by several MS and NS attestations. Moreover, the semantic interpretation of the verb is incorrect. As Puhvel (l.c.) shows, the bulk of the contexts in which this verb occurs, demand a translation ‘to spread (out)’ (said of e.g. beds, cloths, leaves). Only a few forms indeed have to be translated ‘to trample’ and these I have treated under a separate lemma, *išparra-<sup>i</sup> / išparr-* (q.v.).

Taking this criticism in mind, I would like to propose the following new interpretation. Although we find spellings with single *-r-* as well as with geminate *-rr-*, it is clear that the spelling with single *-r-* is more original (OS *iš-pa-ra-an-zi*). The fact that we find geminate *-rr-* from MH times onwards must be compared to the situation of *amiñant- > ammiñant-*, *imiñe/a- > immiñe/a-*, *inara- > innara-*, etc. The original inflection clearly is *išpāri / išparanzi*. The verb denotes ‘to spread (out)’ only: the forms that must be translated ‘to trample’ belong to a different verb, *išparra-<sup>i</sup> / išparr-*. Already in MH texts, we find a few forms that show the secondary stem *išparriñe/a-* (*iš-pār-RI-IZ-zi* (which is to be interpreted as *iš-pār-ri-iz-zi = /iʃpaRiet<sup>s</sup>il/* and not as *iš-pār-re-iz-zi = /iʃpaRet<sup>s</sup>il/*), *išparriñezzi*, *išparriñazzi*, *išparriñauuar*). Occasionally, the verb is taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (*[iʃ]parrāi*, *išparrah<sup>h</sup>un*) and therewith becomes fully homophonous with *išparr(a)-* ‘to trample (with the feet)’.

The obvious cognate is Gr. *σπείρω* ‘to spread’, which must reflect \**sper-je/o-*. For the Hittite forms, this means that we have to reconstruct \**spór-ei*, \**spr-énti*. Note that we now do not have to reconstruct a root-final laryngeal, which has always been obligatory in the case of a connection with Skt. *sphuráti* ‘to kick (with the feet)’, Lith. *spirti* ‘to kick out (of horses)’, etc., and which was identified as \**h<sub>1</sub>* by e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 270) on the basis of the interpretation of *iš-pār-RI-IZ-zi* as */sparret<sup>s</sup>il/* < \**sprh<sub>1</sub>-é-ti*. This solves the vexing problem of the difference between *išpāri* and *ārrī* ‘he washes’: when *išpāri* was still reconstructed as \**spórh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, it was impossible to explain why it shows single *-r-*,



whereas *ārrī* < \**h<sub>1</sub>órh<sub>1</sub>-ei* (see at *ārr<sup>-i</sup>* / *arr-*) shows geminate *-rr-*. Now we see that the only outcome of \**Vrh<sub>1</sub>V* is *VrrV* (which is not lenited by a preceding \**ó*).

If 2pl.imp.act *iš-pí-ir-te-en* or *iš-pé-er-te-en* is a genuine form and must be interpreted /šperten/, it is fully aberrant within the paradigm of *išpār<sup>-i</sup>* / *išpar-*. Perhaps its *e*-grade is secondarily taken over from the *mi*-verbs that have (secondary) *e*-grade in this form as well. The causative *išparnu-* (attested in OS texts already) regularly reflects \**spr-neu-*.

According to Dercksen (fthc.) the noun *išparuzzi-* ‘rafter’ is attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as *išpuruzzinum*, which shows that the pronunciation must have been [isprut<sup>s</sup>i-] at that time.

***išparra<sup>-i</sup>* / *išparr-*** (H1γ) ‘to trample’: 2sg.pres.act. *iš-pár-ra-at-ti* (KUB 21.27 iii 30 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-pár-ra-an-zi* (KBo 6.34 iii 25 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 17.27 iii 12 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-pár-ra-an-du* (KBo 6.34 iii 28 (MH/NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *sphuráti* ‘to kick (with the foot)’, Lat. *spernere* ‘to push away, to dispise, to reject’, ON *sperna* ‘to kick out with the feet’, Lith. *spirti* ‘to kick out (of horses), to defy, to sting’, Arm. *spārna-* ‘to threaten’.

PIE \**spórh<sub>2,3</sub>-ei*, \**sprh<sub>2,3</sub>-énti*

The forms that I treat in this lemma are usually regarded as belonging to *išpār<sup>-i</sup>* / *išpar-* ‘to spread (out)’. This is primarily based on the fact that both verbs are formally quite similar: especially because *išpār<sup>-i</sup>/išpar-* is often spelled with geminate *-rr-* from MH times onwards, it shares many homophonic forms with *išparr(a)-*. Moreover, on a semantic level, the verbs are often equated by assuming a semantic range ‘to trample > to shatter > to scatter > to spread’. This is the reason for e.g. Oettinger (1971: 266f.) and Melchert (1994a: 80-1) to assume that the meaning ‘to spread out’ developed out of ‘to trample’ and they therefore connect the verb with PIE \**sperH-* ‘to kick (with the feet)’. As I have argued under the lemma of *išpār<sup>-i</sup>/išpar-*, most of the forms of this verb clearly denote ‘to spread (out)’, however (cf. the context gathered in Puhvel HED 1/2: 441f.) and must be connected with Gr. *σπείρω* ‘to spread (out)’ < \**sper-*. Nevertheless, some forms remain that unambiguously denote ‘to trample’. The contexts in which they occur are the following:

KUB 21.27 iii

(29) ... *nu ke-e ḪUL-u[-ua A-ḪA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> GÌ]R<sup>MEŠ</sup>-i[t]*

(30) *iš-pár-ra-at-ti*

‘You will trample these evi[1 words] with (your) [fe]et’;

KBo 6.34 iii

- (24) *n[u ... ]x pa-ra-a e-ep-zi n=a-an IGI<sup>III.A</sup>-ya*  
(25) *kat-t[a hu-ya-ap-p]a-a-i n=a-an GÌR-it iš-pár-ra-an-zi*  
(26) *nu-u=š-ma-[aš ki]š-an te-ez-zi ku-iš=ya=kán ku-u-uš*  
(27) *NI-IŠ [DINGIR<sup>LM</sup>] šar-ri-ez-zi nu ú-ya-an-du a-pé-el*  
(28) *URU-a[n DINGIR<sup>M</sup>]EŠ<sup>URU</sup> Ĥat-ti QA-TAM-MA GÌR-it iš-pár-ra-an-du*  
(29) *n=a-[at da]n-na-at-ta URU-ja-še-eš-šar i-ja-an-du*

‘He takes [the figurine] and [fling]s it face down and they trample it with (their) feet. And he speaks to them thus: “Who-ever breaks these oaths [of the gods], let the [god]s of Ĥatti come and likewise trample with the feet his city and let them make [it] into a [de]vastated townsite!”’;

KUB 17.27 iii

- (10) ... 2-e=pát UĤ<sub>7</sub>-na-aš UĤ<sub>7</sub>-tar pé-eš-ši-ja-nu-un  
(11) [ ]x-aš=kán še-er al-la-pa-aĥ-hu-un n=a-at an-da  
(12) [GÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>]-it iš-pár-ra-aĥ-hu-un n=a-at=kán ANŠE-aš še<sup>1</sup>-hur-ri-eš-ke-ed-du  
(13) [n=a-at]=kán GU<sub>4</sub>-uš kam-mar-ši-eš-ke-ed-du DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-uš-š=a=an  
(14) [ku-iš] še-er ar-ĥa i-ja-at-ta-ri nu-u=š-ša-an še-er  
(15) [al-l]a-ap-pa-aĥ-ĥi-iš-ke-ed-du

‘Twice I have thrown away the sorcery of the sorcerer. I have spat on [...] and trampled it with (my) [feet]. Let the donkey piss on it, let the cow shit [on it]! And [whatever] human walks over it, let him [s]pit on it!’.

I do not exclude, however, that more of the forms cited under the lemma *išpār-<sup>i</sup>* / *išpar-* in fact belong here.

The forms that belong with this verb, *išparratti*, *išparranzi* (homophonous with *išparranzi* ‘they spread (out)’), *išparrahhun* and *išparrandu* clearly show a *tarn(a)*-class inflection: *išparra-<sup>i</sup>* / *išparr-*. As stated above, the obvious cognates to this verb are Skt. *sphuráti* ‘to kick (with the feet)’, Lith. *spirti* ‘to kick out (of horses)’, etc. that reflect *\*sperH-* (note that reconstructions with root-final *\*-h<sub>1</sub>* are based on false interpretation of the Hittite material, e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 270) who reconstructs *iš-pár-RI-IZ-zi* as *\*sprh<sub>1</sub>-é-ti* (actually, the form means ‘to spread out’ and shows the secondary stem *išparrije(a)-*, or Melchert (1994a: 80-1)

who reconstructs *išpirten* as *\*sperh<sub>1</sub>-ten* with the argument that *\*sperh<sub>2/3</sub>ten* would have yielded *\*\*išparten* (actually, the form means ‘to spread out’ and must reflect *\*sper-ten*)).

In Hittite, the *tarn(a)*-class consists of different types of verbs. On the one hand, it goes back to verbs that either reflect a structure *\*(Ce)CoH-*, *\*(Ce)CH-* or *\*CC-no-H-*, *\*CC-n-H-*, and, on the other, verbs that go back to roots of the structure *\*CeCh<sub>2/3-</sub>* (see also at *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* ‘to mill, to grind’, *padda-<sup>i</sup>* / *padd-* ‘to dig’ and *iškalla-<sup>i</sup>* / *iškall-* ‘to slit, to split’): 3sg.pres.act. *\*CóCh<sub>2/3-ei</sub>* regularly yielded Hitt. *CaCai*, on the basis of which the verb was taken into the *tarn(a)*-class (also having 3sg.pres.act. *CaCai*), and not into the normal class that shows 3sg.pres.act. *CaCi*. For *išparra-/išparr-*, this means that it must go back to *\*sperh<sub>2/3-</sub>* whereas *\*sperh<sub>1-</sub>* is impossible. This is supported by PGerm. *\*spurnō-* (ON *sperna*, *sporna*, OE *spornan*) that must reflect *\*spr-ne-h<sub>2/3-</sub>* and cannot go back to *\*spr-ne-h<sub>1-</sub>* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> under lemma *\*sp<sup>h</sup>erH-*). I therefore reconstruct *\*spórh<sub>2/3-ei-</sub>*, *\*sprh<sub>2/3-énti</sub>*. Note that the plural-form regularly should have given *\*\*išparhanzi*, but was replaced by *išparranzi* with generalization of the *-rr-* of the singular.

*išparrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* : see *išpār-<sup>i</sup>* / *išpar-*

*išpart-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia4 > Ic1, IIa1γ > Ic2) ‘to escape, to get away’: 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pár-zi-zi* (KUB 4.72 rev. 5 (OS)), *iš-pár-za-zi* (MH/MS, often), *iš-pár-za-az-zi* (KBo 5.4 obv. 10 (NH), KBo 4.3 iii 4 (NH), KBo 4.7 iii 30 (NH)), *iš-pár-ti-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 11.14 ii 20 (OH/NS)), *iš-pár-za-i* (KUB 6.7 iv 4 (NS), KUB 40.33 obv. 20 (NS)), *iš-pár-za-a-i* (KBo 12.38 ii 2 (NH)), *iš-pár-za-iz-zi* (112/u, 6 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-za-aḫ-ḫu-u[n]* (KUB 25.21 iii 14 (NH)), 2sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-za-aš-ta* (KUB 19.49 i 6 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-za-aš-ta* (OS, often), *iš-pár-za-aš* (KUB 23.93 iii 15 (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-pár-te-er* (MH/MS), *iš-pár-ze-er* (KUB 1.16 ii 8 (OH/NS), KUB 1.1+ ii 14 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-pár-za-aš-du* (KBo 12.126 i 21 (OH/NS)), *iš-pár-ti-ed-du* (KBo 11.14 ii 21 (OH/NS)); part. *iš-pár-za-an-t-* (KBo 6.28 obv. 15 (NH)).

IE cognates: Arm. *sprdem* ‘to escape’, Goth. *spaurds*, OE *spyrd* ‘race, running-match’, Skt. *spardh-* ‘to contend, to fight for’.

PIE *\*sperd<sup>h</sup>-ti*, *\*sprd<sup>h</sup>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 447f. for attestations. The oldest (OS and MS) attestations show a *mi*-inflecting stem *išpart-* that shows assibilation when the ending starts in a dental (*išparzizi*, *išparzazi* (both /išpartst<sup>s</sup>i/), *išparzašta* (/išpartst<sup>s</sup>ta/), *išparter*). In NS texts, we find a few forms with a stem *išpartije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (*išpartijezzi*,

*išpartieddu*). The NS forms that show a stem *išparza<sup>i</sup>* / *išparz-* (according to the *tarn(a)*-class: *išparzai*, *išparzahhun*, *išparzaš*, *išparzer*, *išparzant-*) are comparable to the stem *ezza<sup>i</sup>* / *ezz-* that is derived from the verb *ed<sup>zi</sup>* / *ad-* ‘to eat’. The exact point of departure for these *tarn(a)*-class stems is unclear to me. Only once, we find a form that shows a stem *išparzae-*, according to the productive *hatrae*-class.

This verb is clearly cognate with Arm. *sprdem* ‘to escape’ and Goth. *spaurds*, OE *spyrd* ‘race, running-match’ and Skt. *spardh-* ‘to contend, to fight for’ < \**sperd<sup>h</sup>*-, which must have had a basic meaning ‘to run (away) fast’.

*išpartije/a<sup>zi</sup>* : see *išpart<sup>zi</sup>*

*išparza<sup>i</sup>* / *išparz-* : see *išpart<sup>zi</sup>*

(URUDU) *išpātar* / *išpann-* (n.) ‘spit, skewer, dagger’ (Sum. GÍR?, cf. Rieken 1999a: 380<sup>1913</sup>): nom.-acc.sg. *iš-pa-a-tar*, *iš-pa-a-ta*, *iš-pa-tar*, gen.sg. *iš-pa-an-na-aš*, abl. *iš-pa-an-na-za*, instr. *iš-pa-an-ni-it*.

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 450 for attestations. He suggests a connection with Gr. *σπάθη* ‘blade’, OE *spada* ‘spade’ e.a., but Frisk (1960-1972: s. *σπάθη*) states that the Hitt. word should be separated from these. Formally, *išpātar* / *išpann-* looks like a abstract noun in *-ātar* / *-ann-* of a verbal root \**speH-* or \**seP-*, which are further unattested in Hittite. Rieken (1999a: 380<sup>1913</sup>) suggests a connection with the PIE root \**speh<sub>1</sub>i-* ‘sharp’ (Pokorny 1959: 981-2), but this root is not verbal. Unfortunately, I know of no verbs in the other IE languages that reflect \**speH-* or \**seP-* and that would fit semantically.

*išpije/a<sup>zi</sup>* : see *išpai<sup>i</sup>* / *išpi-*

*ištaḥḥ<sup>zi</sup>* : see *išta(n)ḥ<sup>zi</sup>*

*ištalk<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia4 > Ic2) ‘to level, to flatten’: 3sg.pres.act. *iš-tal-ak-zi* (KUB 24.9 ii 20 (OH/NS)), *iš-tal-ga-iz-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 40 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-tal-ki-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 4.3 obv. 10 (NS)); part. *iš-tal-ga-an-t-* (KUB 31.86 ii 17 (MH/NS), KUB 31.89, 6 (MH/NS)); impf. *iš-tal-ki-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.100 rev. 13 (MS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *(s)tarh-* ‘to crush, to shatter’.

PIE \**stelg<sup>h</sup>-ti*, \**stlg<sup>h</sup>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 451f. for attestations. We are dealing with an original stem *ištalk<sup>-zi</sup>*, on the basis of which the secondary stems *ištalkije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ištalgae<sup>-zi</sup>* are made. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a tie-in with OCS *postlati* ‘to spread’, that belongs with Gr. στῆλλω ‘to fix, to prepare’, OHG *stellen* ‘to arrange, to establish’ < \**stel-*. Semantically, this connection is not very convincing. I would rather suggest a connection with Skt. (*s*)*tarh-* ‘to crush’. Usually, this latter verb is reconstructed as \**sterg<sup>h</sup>*- and connected with Hitt. *ištark-*, but see there for my reasons to reject this etymology. I therefore rather take Skt. (*s*)*tarh-* with Hitt. *ištalk-* and reconstruct \**stelg<sup>h</sup>*- ‘to flatten, to crush’. Note that the preservation of /g/ in the cluster -lgC- is in line with the distribution as unravelled in the lemmas *ħar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ħark<sup>-zi</sup>*, namely loss of lenis /k/ in \*-RkC- > -RC-, but preservation of lenis /g/ in \*-Rg<sup>(h)</sup>C- > Hitt. -RkC-.

(UZU) *ištāman-* / *ištamin-* (c. > n.) ‘ear’ (Sum. GEŠTUG, Akk. UZNU): nom.sg.c. *iš-ta-mi-na-aš* (KBo 1.51 obv. 16, 17 (NS)), acc.sg. *iš-ta-ma-na-an* (KUB 24.1 i 16 (NH), KUB 24.2 obv. 14 (NH)), *iš-ta-ma-na-a(n)=š-ša-an* (KBo 6.3 i 37 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-ma-n[a-a(n)=š-ma-an]* (KUB 14.13 i 19 (NH)), nom.-acc.sg.n. GEŠTUG-*an* (KUB 8.83, 4 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *iš-ta-ma-na-aš* (KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 i 4 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ta-ma-⟨⟨aš-⟩⟩ni* (KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 i 5 (MH/NS)), *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-ni-e=š-ši* (KBo 10.45 ii 26 (MH/NS)), instr. *iš-ta-ma-an-ta* (KBo 20.93, 4 (MS?), KUB 12.21, 11 (NS)), *iš-ta-mi-ni-it* (KUB 33.120 ii 33 (MH/NS)), nom.pl.c. *iš-ta-ma-ni-eš* (KBo 13.31 ii 11 (OH/MS)), acc.pl.c. *iš-ta-ma-nu-uš* (KBo 6.3 iv 43 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-ma-nu-uš* (Bo 3640 iii 8 (NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>d</sup>*Ištamanašša-* (c.) deity of hearing (nom.sg. *iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-aš*), *ištamašš<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to hear, to listen to, to obey; to perceive’ (Sum, GEŠTUG, Akk. ŠEMŪ; 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-mi* (MH/MS), *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ši* (OH/MS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-zi*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-ya-ni* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni* (MH/MS), *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* (OS), *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ša-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ta*, 2pl.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-tén*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-še-er* (MH/MS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-šer*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ši-er*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-šer*, 2sg.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš*, 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-tu* (OS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-te-en*, *iš-ta-ma-aš-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ta-ri*; part. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-t*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ša-an-t*; verb.noun *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-ya-ar*, *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-šu-ya-ar*; inf.I *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-ya-an-zi*; impf. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tummant-* (n.) ‘ear’ (nom.-acc.pl. *tum-ma-a-an*, gen.adj. nom.-acc.sg.n. <sup>UZU</sup>GEŠTUG-*za*), *tūmmāntaima/i-* (adj.) ‘renowned’ (nom.sg.c. *tu-u-um-ma-a(-an)-ta-im-mi-iš*), *tūmmanti(ia)-* ‘to hear’ (3sg.pret.act. *tu-um-ma-an-te-it-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *t[u]-u-ma-an-ti-in-ta*), *tūmmantiija-* (c.) ‘obedience’ (nom.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-aš*, *du-um-ma-an-te-ja-aš*, acc.sg. *tu-um-ma-an-ti-ja-an*, *tu-u-um-ma-an-ti-ja-an*, *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *tu-um-ma-an-ti-ja*), *dumantijala-* ‘ear canal (vel sim.)’ (Hitt. dat.-loc.pl. *du-ma-an-ti-ja-la-aš*), <sup>E</sup>*tūmantijata/i-* ‘audience room’ (dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-at-ti*); HLuw. *\*tūmanti(ia)-* ‘to hear’ (3pl.pret.act. AUDIRE+*MI-ti-i-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §4, §6), part.nom.sg.c. AUDIRE+*MI-ma-ti-mi-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §1)), *\*tūmantari(ia)-* ‘to hear’ (3pl.imp.midd. AUDIRE+*MI-ta+ra/i-ru* (KARKAMIŠ A11c §32)).

IE cognates: Gr. στόμα (n.) ‘mouth’, Av. *staman-* (m.) ‘snout, maw’.

PIE *\*stéh<sub>3</sub>-mn*, *\*sth<sub>3</sub>-mén-s*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 452f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations show a stem *ištāman-* (although the plene *-a-* is attested only once, I think it is significant), but twice we find a stem *ištamin(a)-* (nom.sg. *ištaminaš*, instr. *ištaminīt*). This indicates that originally this noun was an ablauting *n*-stem *ištāman-* / *ištamin-*. It is not fully clear what the original gender of this word was: the oldest attested forms (in MS texts) show nom.acc.sg.n. GEŠTUG-*an* (MH/MS) vs. nom.pl.c. *iš-ta-ma-ni-eš* (OH/MS). It should be noted that the CLuwian cognate, *tummant-*, is neuter.

Already Sturtevant (1928b: 123) suggested to etymologically connect Hitt. *ištāman-* with Gr. στόμα ‘mouth’, Av. *staman-* ‘maw’, which has been generally accepted since then, despite the difficult semantics. Although on the basis of these three words, one could reconstruct *\*stom-en-*, Oettinger (1982a: 235) states that CLuw. *tummant-* ‘ear’ can only be explained by reconstructing *\*stHm-en-*. On the basis of the *-o-* in Greek, the laryngeal must be determined as *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. The Greek form στόμα in my view indicates that we have to reconstruct a neuter word (although Av. *staman-* is masculine). All in all, I would reconstruct a paradigm *\*stéh<sub>3</sub>mn*, *\*sth<sub>3</sub>mén-s*. It is likely that, just as *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-men-* ‘name’ (which is derived from the verbal root *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>-* visible in Hitt. *hanna-<sup>l</sup>* / *hann-*), *steh<sub>3</sub>men-* has to be analysed as *\*steh<sub>3</sub>-men-*, although I know of no IE words that show a verbal root *\*steh<sub>3</sub>-*.

The verb *ištamašš-* shows many NS attestations with the sign DAM, of which Melchert (1991b: 126) states that in NS texts it can be read *da<sub>x</sub>* as well (besides normal *dam*). This would mean that we do not have to read *iš-dam-ma-aš-* with

geminate *-mm-*, but *iš-da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-* with single *-m-*. The verb is a clear *-s-* extension of the nominal stem *ištaman-*, with *\*-ans-* > *-ašš-* (from virtual *\*sth<sub>3</sub>men-s-*).

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ištanāna-* (c.) ‘altar’ (Sum. ZAG.GAR.RA): nom.sg. *iš-ta-na-na-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-ta-na-na-an*, gen.sg. *iš-ta-na-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ta-na-a-ni* (OH/MS, often), *iš-ta-na-ni* (often), abl. *iš-ta-na-a-na-az* (OH/MS), *iš-ta-na-na-az*, *iš-ta-na-na-za*, *iš-da-na-na-az*, nom.pl. *iš-ta-na-ni-iš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ta-na-na-aš* (OS, often).

See Puhvel HED 1-2: 461f. for attestations. This word is fairly often attested with a plene spelling *iš-ta-na-a-n<sup>o</sup>*, although such a spelling is not attested in OS texts. Puhvel (o.c.: 463) states that an etymological connection with PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand’ is probable. Although semantically this indeed is a possibility, I would not know how to interpret the suffix *-nāna-* then, which would be unparalleled.

*išta(n)h<sup>zi</sup>-* (Ib3) ‘to taste, to try (food or drinks)’: 2pl.pres.act. *iš-tah-te-e-ni* (KUB 41.8 iii 31 (MH/NS)), *iš-tah-te-ni* (KBo 10.45 iii 40 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-tah-ḥa-an-zi* (KUB 33.89 + 36.21, 14 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-tah-ta* (KUB 33.84, 6 (MH/NS), KBo 3.38 obv. 5 (OH/NS)); impf. *iš-ta-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (701/z, 8 (NS)), *iš-ta-an-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 8.41, 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>MUNUS</sup>*ištaḥatal(l)i-* (c.) ‘taster’ (nom.sg. *iš-ta-ḥa-ta-al-li-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ta-ḥa-ta-li*).

PIE *\*sTeNh<sub>2/3-</sub>* ?

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 463 for attestations. Most forms show a stem *ištaḥh-*, but impf. *ištaḥišket* shows a stem *ištaḥ-* (note however that it is found in a broken context and that therefore its meaning is not ascertained). It therefore is likely that we are dealing with a stem *išta(n)h-*. The original distribution between *ištaḥ-* and *ištaḥh-* must have been *ištaḥV-* vs. *ištaḥC-* (cf. *li(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*, *ni(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*, etc. for the alternation between *-n-* and *-Ø-*). As we can see in other verbs of this type, this distribution gets lost in the NH period. Therefore the aberrancy of the NS form *ištaḥhanzi* (instead of expected *\*ištaḥhanzi*) is not unexpected.

Mechanically, *išta(n)h-* must go back to PIE *\*sTeNh<sub>2/3-</sub>*, but I know of no convincing IE cognate. LIV<sup>2</sup> states that *išta(n)h-* is a nasal-infixed form of PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand’ through an original meaning *\*‘(den Geschmack) feststellen’*. This does not seem very convincing to me semantically.

*ištantāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic3 > Ic2) ‘to stay put, to linger, to be late’: 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-a-i-ez-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-it* (NH), *iš-ta-an-da-a-it* (NH); part. *iš-ta-an-ta-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *iš-ta-an-ta-ya-ar* (NS).

Derivatives: *ištantanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to put off, to delay’ (2sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-ši* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-nu-un* (NH), impf. *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Goth. *standan* ‘to stand’.

PIE *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ent-eh<sub>2</sub>-ié/ó-*.

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 464f. for attestations. It is remarkable that almost all forms are from NH texts except 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-an-ta-a-i-ez-zi*, which is attested in an OS text. Moreover, it is remarkable that this latter form in principle seems to inflect according to the *tāje/a-* class (Ic3), whereas the NH forms inflect according to the *ḫatrae-* class. Because this is exactly the situation we would expect from a phonetical point of view (cf. § 1.4.8.1.a and especially note 193), I assume that an original verb *ištantāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* developed into NH *ištantae-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Already since Marstrand (1919: 132) this verb has been generally connected with PGerm. *\*standan* ‘to stand’. This means that *ištantae-<sup>zi</sup>* must be derived from *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ent-*, the participle of *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand’ (visible in Hitt. *tije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.)), and goes back to virtual *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ent-eh<sub>2</sub>-ié/ó-*.

*ištanzan-* (c.) ‘soul, spirit, mind’, pl. also ‘living things, persons’ (Sum. ZI): nom.sg. *iš-ta-an-za-aš=mi-iš* (KUB 30.10 rev. 15 (OH/MS)), *iš-ta-an-za-(š)=ši-iš* (KUB 33.5 iii 6 (OH/MS)), *iš-ta-an-za-na-a(š)=š-mi-iš* (KUB 41.23 ii 19, 23 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-an-za-a(š)=š-me-et* (KUB 41.23 ii 24 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-za-na-a(š)=š-mi-it* (KUB 41.23 ii 21 (OH/NS)), ZI-*an-za* (KUB 13.3 iii 26 (OH/NS), KUB 33.98 + 36.8 i 17 (NS)), acc.sg. *iš-ta-an-za-na-an* (KUB 41.23 ii 15 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-an-za-na-(n)=ma-an* (KUB 1.16 iii 26 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ta-an-za-na-aš=ta-aš* (KUB 30.10 obv. 9 (OH/MS)), *iš-ta-an-za-na-aš=ša-aš* (KBo 21.22 obv. 14 (OH/MS)), dat.-loc.sg. ZI-*ni*, abl. *iš-ta-an-za-na-az* (KUB 33.120 ii 2 (MH/NS)), instr. *iš-ta-an-za-ni-it* (KUB 17.10 ii 21 (OH/MS), KUB 33.5 iii 9 (fr.) (OH/MS), KUB 17.21 i 6 (fr.) (MH/MS)), acc.pl. [*iš-ta-za-na-aš=me-eš* (KBo 18.151 rev. 13 (MH/MS)), *iš-ta-an-za-na-aš* (KBo 3.21 ii 4 (MH/NS))].

Derivatives: <sup>d</sup>*Ištanzašša/i-* (c.) deity of the soul (nom.sg. *iš-ta-an-za-aš-ša-aš* (KUB 20.24 iv 17), *iš-ta-an-za-aš-ši-i[š]* (KUB 55.39 iii 27)).

PIE *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ent-i-on-*



See Puhvel HED 1/2: 468f. for attestations. The noun is clearly commune: the forms *ištanzaš*=*šmet* and *ištanzaš*=*šmit* that show neuter =*šme/it*, occur in one text only, where we find correct *ištanzanaš*=*šmiš* as well. The oldest forms of this noun (MS) are nom.sg. *ištanzaš*, gen.sg. *ištanzanaš*, instr. *ištanzanit*, acc.pl. *ištanzanaš*. This points to an *n*-stem inflection (cf. *hāraš*, *hāranan*, *hāranaš* ‘eagle’), with nom.sg. *ištanzaš* < *\*ištanzanš*. In NS texts, we see two developments. On the one hand, the nom.sg. *ištanzaš* is enlarged to *ištanzanaš*, probably on the basis of a reanalysis of the oblique forms as showing a thematic stem *ištanzana-*. On the other hand, the nom.sg. *ištanzaš* is (hypercorrectly?) shortened to *ištanza* (ZI-*anza*), but note that no other forms with a stem *ištant-* are found.

Melchert (2003d) shows that the suffix *-anzan-* probably derived from *-ent-i-on-*. This also has consequences for the etymology of *ištanzan-*. Eichner (1973a: 98) proposed a connection with PIE *\*pstēn* ‘breast’ (cf. Skt. *stāna-*, YAv. *fštāna-*, Arm. *stin* ‘breast of a woman’, Gr. *στήνιον*·*στήθος* ‘breast, heart’), which has received support by e.g. Oettinger (1980: 59) and Melchert (1984a: 110). This etymology is largely based on the idea that words in *\*-ēn+s* end up in the Hitt. *-anzan-* class, which has its origin in the assumption that Hitt. “*šumanza-* ‘cord’”, which belongs to this class as well, is to be equated with Gr. *ὄμην* ‘sinew’ < *\*sh<sub>1</sub>u-mén*. As we can see under its own lemma, this latter word, which in fact is <sup>(ú)</sup>*šumanzan-*, means ‘(bul)rush’ and has nothing to do with Gr. *ὄμην*. This means that the connection between *ištanzan-* and *\*pstēn* has to be given up as well.

A better etymology may therefore be Oettinger’s suggestion (1979a: 548) that *ištanzan-* reflects *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ént-*, the participle of *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand’ (although Oettinger himself later on has given up this idea in favour of Eichner’s proposal), which is hesitatingly repeated by Melchert (2003d: 137). For a semantic parallel, compare ModDu. *verstand* ‘mind, intellect, intelligence’, lit. ‘understanding’. All in all, we can reconstruct *ištanzan-* as *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-ent-i-on-*.

***ištāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *ištapp-*** (IIa2) ‘to plug up, to block, to dam, to enclose, to shut; to besiege’: 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-a-ap-hé* (KBo 17.3 iv 33 (OS), KBo 17.1 iv 37 (OS)), *iš-ta-a-ap-ḫi* (KUB 55.3 obv. 8 (OH/MS?)), *iš-ta-ap-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 33.70 iii 12 (OH/NS)), *iš-tap-mi* (AAA3.2, 12 (NS), KUB 15.30 ii 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-a-pí* (KUB 29.30 ii 17 (OS), KUB 32.137 ii 27 (MH/NS), KBo 5.11 iv 14, 16 (MH/NS), KBo 30.1, 6 (fr.) (NS)), *iš-da-a-pí* (KUB 9.22 ii 43 (MS)), *iš-da-pí* (KUB 9.22 ii 33 (MS)), *iš-tap-pí* (KBo 6.26 i 8 (OH/NS), KUB 13.15 rev. 5 (OH/NS), KUB 40.102 vi 14 (MH/NS), Bo 4876, 4 (MH/?), KBo 19.129 obv. 31 (NS), KUB 12.16 ii 14 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-tap-pa-an-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 8 (OH/NS)),

KBo 21.34 i 61 (MH/NS)), *iš-tab-ba-an-zi* (IBoT 2.23, 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-tap-pa-aš* (KUB 33.106 iii 38 (NS), KBo 3.6 iii 57 (NH), KUB 1.8 iv 12 (NH)), *iš-tap-ta* (KBo 6.29 ii 34 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-tap-pé-er* (KBo 21.6 obv. 5 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *iš-ta-a-pí* (KUB 33.62 iii 6 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ta-a-pu* (KUB 28.82 i 23 (OH/NS)), *iš-tap-du* (KUB 9.31 ii 38 (MH/NS), HT 1 ii 12 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-tap-pa-an-du* (KUB 13.2 i 7 (MH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *iš-tap-pa-an-da-ri* (ABoT 60 obv. 18 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-tap-pa-an-t-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***ištappinu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to shut, to close’ (3pl.pret.act. *iš-tap-pí-nu-e[r]*) (KUB 8.52, 6 (NS)), ***ištappulli-*** (n.) ‘cover, lid, plug, stopper’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-tap-pu-ul-li*, instr. *iš-tap-pu-ul-li-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *iš-tap-pu-ul-li* (OS)), ***ištappullije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to use as a stopper’ (part. *iš-tap-pu-ul-li-ja-an-t-*), ***ištappēšsar* / *ištappēšn-*** (n.) ‘dam, enclosure’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-tap-pé-eš-šar*, gen.sg. *iš-tap-pé-eš-na-aš*, abl. *iš-tap-pé-eš-na-az*).

IE cognates: ?ModEng. *to stuff*, OHG *stopfōn*, ModDu. *stoppen* ‘to plug up, to stuff’.

PIE *\*stóp-ei* / *\*stp-énti* ?

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 471f. for attestations. This word clearly shows an ablaut *ištāp-*<sup>i</sup> / *ištapp-*. The introduction of the weak stem *ištapp-* in the singular takes place in NH times only. Mechanically, *ištāpi*, *ištappanzi* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*stóp-ei*, *\*stp-énti*.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is difficult. Semantically as well as formally, it resembles ModEng. *stuff*, OHG *stopfōn*, ModDu. *stoppen* ‘to plug up, to stuff’. Problematic, however, is the fact that these verbs reflect PGerm. *\*stup-*, with an *-u-* that does not fit Hitt. *ištāp-* / *ištapp-* from *\*stop-* / *\*stp-*. The only possibility to uphold this etymology, is assuming that PGerm. *\*stup-* is a secondarily created zero-grade besides unattested *\*stip-* and *\*stap-* from PIE *\*ste/op-*. This is admittedly rather *ad hoc*, however, if no other cognates can be found.

***ištar(ak)kije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> : see *ištar(k)-*<sup>zi</sup>

***ištar(k)-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ia4 > Ic1) ‘to ail, to afflict’ (Sum. GIG): 3sg.pres.act. *iš-tar-ak-zi* (KBo 18.106 rev. 6 (NS), KBo 21.20 i 12 (NS), KBo 21.74 iii 3 (NS), KUB 5.6 i 46 (NS), KUB 8.36 ii 12 (fr.), 13, iii 16 (NS), KUB 1.1 i 44 (NH)), *iš-tar-zi* (KUB 8.38 + 44.63 iii 9 (MH/NS)), [*i*]*š-tar-ki-ja-az-zi* (KBo 5.4 rev. 38 (NH)), *iš-tar-ak-ki-ja-zi* (KBo 21.21 iii 4 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-tar-ak-ta* (KUB 13.35 iii 5 (NS), KUB 14.15 ii 6 (NH)), *iš-tar-ki-et* (KUB 19.23 rev. 12 (NS)), *iš-tar-ak-ki-et*

(KBo 22.100, 6 (OH/NS), KBo 5.9 i 15 (NH)), *iš-tar-ki-at* (KBo 4.6 obv. 24 (NH)), *iš-tar-ak-ki-at* (KBo 32.14 ii 10, 51 (MH/MS)), *iš-tar-ak-ki-ia-at* (KUB 14.16 iii 41 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-tar-ak-ki-ia-at-ta-at* (KUB 14.15 ii 13 (NH)); impf. *iš-tar-ki-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 8.36 iii 20 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ištarni(n)k-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib3) ‘to ail, to afflict’ (2sg.pres.act. *iš-tar-ni-ik-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *iš-tar-ni-ik-zi* (OS), *iš-tar-ni-ik-za* (KBo 40.272, 5), 1pl.pret.act. *iš-tar-ni-in-ku-en*, 2sg.imp.act. *iš-tar-ni-ik*; 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-tar-ni-ik-ta-at*), ***ištarningai-*** (c.) ‘ailment, affliction’ (nom.sg. *iš-tar-ni-in-ga-iš*, acc.sg. *iš-tar-ni-in-ga-in*, *iš-tar-ni-ka-i-in*).

IE cognates: Lith. *teršiù* ‘to befoul’, Lat. *stercus* (n.) ‘excrement’.

PIE *\*sterk-ti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 475f. for attestations. Of this verb we find the stems *ištark-*<sup>zi</sup> and *ištarkije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>. The several spellings with geminate *-kk-* (*iš-tar-ak-ki-*) are significant. The verb is mostly used impersonally, e.g. KUB 13.35 iii 5 *iš-tar-ak-ta=ya=mu* ‘it ailed me = I am sick’, but sometimes the subject of the verb is explicitly mentioned:

KUB 14.15 ii

(6) *n=a-an i-da-lu-uš GIG-aš iš-tar-ak-ta*

‘A bad disease ailed him’;

KUB 5.6 i

(45) *ma-a-an=ya DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> UN-ši me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da TUKU.TUKU-an-za*

(46) *iš-tar-ak-zi=ya-r=a-an*

‘If a god is angry at a man and ails him’.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is in debate. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a connection with Lith. *sergù* ‘to be ill’, TochA *särk* ‘illness’, etc. and implausibly assumes that the root *\*serg-* received some kind of *t*-insertion to *\*sterg-* > Hitt. *ištark-*. Eichner (1982: 16-21) suggests a connection with Skt. *(s)tarh-* ‘to crush’ < *\*sterǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. Although semantically possible, the formal side is difficult: PIE *\*-ǵ<sup>h</sup>-* does not match Hitt. geminate *-kk-* that points to an etymological fortis velar. Melchert (1994a: 153) argues that lenis stops get geminated after *-r-*, and that therefore *ištarakk-* could well be from *\*sterǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. The other examples of this gemination of lenis stops are quite dubious, however: the only example of *parkije/a-* ‘to rise, to raise’ (q.v.) < *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-* that shows gemination is dubious

regarding its interpretation, whereas in the paradigm of *ħarp*<sup>-ta(ri)</sup> / *ħarp*(iġe/a)<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to change sides’ (q.v.) < \**h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>*- and its derivatives, we only find two examples of *ħar-ap-pa-*, both in a NS text, which therefore may not be very probative. In the case of *ištark*(iġe/a)<sup>-zi</sup>, the examples of geminate spelling are quite numerous: in fact, we find the spelling *iš-tar-ak-ki-* more often than *iš-tar-ki-*. This situation is so different from e.g. *ħark*(iġe/a)<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to get lost’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>erg-*, which never shows a spelling \*\**ħar-ak-ki-*, that I cannot conclude otherwise than that the geminate spelling of *iš-tar-ak-ki-* must be taken seriously and reflect \**k*.

An extra argument in favour of reconstructing a \**k* could be the form *iš-tar-zi* (KUB 8.38 + 44.63 iii 9). In the edition of this text (Burde 1974: 30), this form is emended to *iš-tar(-ak)-zi* (also Kimball 1999: 305 calls it “probably a mistake”), but that may not be necessary. If we assume that *iš-tar-zi* is linguistically real, it is comparable to 3sg.pres.act. *ħar-zi* from the paradigm of *ħar*(*k*)<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to have, to hold’. As I have argued there, the loss of \**-k-* in this form is due to the sound law \**-rkC* > \**-rC-*, which does not apply for \**g<sup>(h)</sup>*: e.g. \**h<sub>3</sub>erg-ti* > *ħar-ak-zi* ‘he gets lost’. In this case, the form *iš-tar-zi* would show that we have to deal with a preform \**sterk-ti* and not \**sterg<sup>(h)</sup>-ti*. This interpretation implies a massive analogical restoration of *-k-* in the forms that do show *iš-tar-ak-zi* and *iš-tar-ak-ta* (e.g. on the basis of *ištark*iġe/a-), however. See at *tar*(*k*)*u*<sup>-zi</sup> for the possibility that \**-RkC-* > Hitt. *-RC-* through an intermediate stage \**-R?C-*.

All in all, I would like to propose an etymological connection with Lith. *teršiù* ‘to befoul’, Lat. (n.) *stercus* ‘excrement’ < \**sterk-* ‘to befoul, to pollute’. Semantically, a development ‘it befoils me’ > ‘it ails me’ > ‘I am sick’ seems probable, and formally, this connection would perfectly explain the forms with geminate *-kk-* as well as the one form *iš-tar-zi*. Moreover, this root shows different *n*-infixed forms (e.g. Bret. *stroñk* ‘excrements’, We. *trwnc* ‘urine’) which can be compared to the derivative *ištarni*(*n*)*k*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to afflict, to ail’. See at *ištalk*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to flatten’ for my view that Skt. (*s*)*tarh-* ‘to crush’ rather belongs with that verb and reflects \**stelg<sup>h</sup>-*.

***ištarna*, *ištarni*** (adv.) ‘in the midst, between, among, within’ (Sum. ŠÀ): *iš-tar-na* (OS), *iš-tar-ni* (KBU 23.101 ii 18), *iš-tar-ni-i=š-mi*, *iš-tar-ni=šum-mi* (OS).

Derivatives: ***ištarnija-*** (adj.) ‘middle, central’ (nom.sg.c. *iš-tar-ni-ja-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-tar-ni-ja-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-tar-ni-ja*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-tar-ni*, *iš-tar-ni-ja*, dat.-loc.pl. *iš-tar-ni-ja-aš*).

IE cognates: Gr. στέρνον ‘breast, heart’.

PIE \**st(o)rn-o*, \**st(o)rn-i*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 478f. for attestations and contexts. The basic meaning of this adverb seems to be ‘in the midst, in between, among’. The bulk of the attestations show *ištarna*, but *ištarni* does occur as well. When the adverb carries enclitic personal pronouns, it always shows the form *ištarni*: *ištarni=šmi* ‘among them; mutually’, *ištarni=šummi* ‘between us; mutually’.

Puhvel (l.c.) compares *ištarna* to Lat. *inter*, which semantically indeed seems probable. This comparison is followed by Melchert (e.g. 1994a: 137, 168) who reconstructs *\*ens-ter-nē* (*ens-ter-* besides *en-ter-*, like Gr. εἰς besides ἐν ‘in’). Formally, this reconstruction is problematic, however, since *\*ens* > Hitt. *aš* (e.g. gen.sg. *-uēn-s* > *-uāš* (of verb.nouns in *-uar*)). One could argue that word-initial *\*ens-* develops differently and yields Hitt. *iš-*, but that does not seem likely to me (see at *āšš-zi* ‘to remain’ for my suggestion that it reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>eNs-*). Furthermore, we do not find a formation *\*h<sub>1</sub>ens-ter-* anywhere in the other IE languages, whereas *\*h<sub>1</sub>en-ter-* is widely attested. Moreover, Gr. εἰς does not show an inherited *s*-extension of *\*h<sub>1</sub>en* (which is visible in Gr. ἐν as well), but is likely a secondary form in analogy to the pair ἐξ besides ἐκ (cf. Frisk 1960-1972 sub εἰς). I therefore reject the connection with Lat. *inter* and the subsequent reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>enstern-*.

Like in other Hitt. adverbs, the two forms *ištarna* and *ištarni* seem to be a petrified allative and dative-locative, respectively, from a further unattested noun *\*ištarna-*. Already Sturtevant (1928a: 5) compared this to Gr. στέρνον ‘breast, heart’, assuming a semantic development ‘in the heart’ > ‘in the middle’. This explanation seems much more plausible to me and is supported by the fact that *ištarna* is sumerographically written with the sign ŠÀ, which literally means ‘heart’. Since Hitt. *ištarn-* cannot go back *\*stern-* (which would yield *\*\*ištern-*), we should either reconstruct *\*strn-* or *\*storn-* here.

***išdušduške/a-zi*** (Ic6) ‘to be announced(?)’: broken: *iš-du-uš-du-uš-k[e-...]* (KUB 59.44 obv. 13) // *iš-du-uš-du-uš[-ke-...]* (KBo 23.90 i 7) // *[iš-d]u-uš-du-uš-k[e-...]* (KUB 40.23, 12), *iš-du-uš-du[-uš-ke/a-...]* (KBo 22.126 obv. 2).

PIE *\*stu-stu-ske/o-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 483 for attestations. The verb only occurs in broken contexts, of which it is not easy to determine the meaning:

KUB 59.44 obv.

(12) [*n=*]a-aš-ta ke-e-ez URU-az ar-ḥa [...]

(13) du-uš-ga-ra-za iš-du-uš-du-uš-k[e-...]

‘Out of this town [...]. Joy will<sup>?</sup>/must<sup>?</sup> *išdušduške/a-*’.

Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a figura etymologica with *dušgaratt-* ‘joy’, but this does not account for *išdušduške/a-*. Kühne (1972: 251-2) rather interprets the verb as a reduplication of *ištu-* ‘to be announced’. This might make sense semantically as well: *dušgaraza išdušdušk[ijatta(ru) ?]* ‘Joy will (or must) be announced!’. In this way it can be directly compared to CLuw. *dušduma/i-* ‘manifest, voucher’ < \**stu-stu-mo-* (see under *ištu-<sup>āri</sup>*). If this analysis is correct, it would show that in words that are spelled *išC-*, the initial *i-* was not phonemic up to the (quite recent) stage in which reduplicated formations like *išdušduške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* were created. See at *ištu-<sup>āri</sup>* for further etymology.

*ištu-<sup>āri</sup>* (III<sup>f</sup>) ‘to be exposed, to get out (in the open); to be announced’: 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-du-ya-a-ri* (often), *iš-tu-ya-a-ri*, *iš-du-ya-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-du-ya-a-ti*, *iš-du-ya-ti*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *dušduma/i-* (c.) ‘manifest, voucher’ (nom.sg. *du-uš-du-mi-iš*, coll.pl. *du-uš-du-ma*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *du-uš-du-ma-aš-ša*), \**dušdušša-* ‘to make known (?)’ (form? *du-uš-du-uš[-...]*).

IE cognates: Skt. *stav-* ‘to honour, to praise, to invoke, to sing’, GAv. *stāumī* ‘I praise’, Gr. *στεῦραι* ‘announces solemnly, promises, asserts’.

PIE \**stu-ó-ri*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 483f. for attestations. The verb primarily denotes that secrets, plots and plans are being exposed and get out in the open, but also e.g. that favour is casted over someone (KUB 30.10 rev. (19) *nu=mu-u=š-ša-an še-e-er aš-šu-ul na-at-ta iš-du-ya-ri* ‘Over me, favour has not been cast’). This makes it likely that the original meaning of this verb is ‘to be announced publicly’.

Formally, the verb inflects similarly to *tukkāri*, which reflects \**tuk-ó-ri* (i.e. middle with root in the zero-grade). Already Sturtevant (1928a: 4-5) convincingly connected *ištu-* with Gr. *στεῦραι* ‘announces solemnly, promises, asserts’, that reflects \**steu-*. For Hittite, this means that we have to reconstruct \**stu-ó-ri*. Although regularly \**u* would disappear in this position (\**T<sub>u</sub>o* > Hitt. *Ta*), it could easily have been restored from other forms of the paradigm (although these are unattested in Hittite). See at *išdušduške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* for the possibility that this verb is the reduplicated impf. of *ištu-<sup>āri</sup>*.

**-it** (instr.-ending): see *-t*

**idālu-** / **idālay-** (adj.; n.) ‘bad, evil; evilness’ (Sum. HUL, Akk. MAŠKU): nom.sg.c. *i-da-a-lu-uš*, *i-da-lu-uš*, acc.sg. *i-da-a-lu-un* (MH/MS), *i-da-lu-un*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-da-a-lu* (OS), *i-da-lu*, dat.-loc.sg. *i-ta-a-la-ú-i* (OS), *i-da-a-la-u-i*, *i-da-a-la-a-u-i*, *i-da-la-u-i*, *i-da-a-la-u-e*, *i-ta-lu-i* (KBo 18.151 rev. 6 (OH/MS)), all.sg. *i-ta-lu-ua* (KBo 18.151 rev. 19 (OH/MS)), abl. *i-da-a-la-u-ua-az*, *i-da-a-la(u)-az*, erg.sg. *i-da-a-la-u-ua-an-za*, nom.pl.c. *ida-a-la-u-e-eš*, *i-da-la-u-e-eš*, Luwoid *i-da-a-la-u-ua-an-zi*, acc.pl. *i-da-a-la-mu-uš*, *i-da-la-mu-uš*, *i-da-lu-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *i-da-a-la-ua*, *i-da-la-u-ua*, *i-da-a-lu*, dat.-loc.pl. *i-da-a-la-u-ua-aš*.

Derivatives: **idālayatar** / **idālayann-**, **idaluyatar** (n.) ‘badness, evil disposition’ (nom.-acc.sg. *i-da-lu-ua-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *i-da-a-la-u-an-ni*, *i-da-a-la-u-ua-an-ni*, *i-da-la-u-an-ni*), **idālayahh-**<sup>i</sup> (I1b) ‘to treat badly, to maltreat’ (1sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-u-ua-ah-mi*, sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-ua-ah-ti*, *i-da-a-la-a-u-ua-ah-ti*, *i-da-la-a-u-ua-ah-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-ua-ah-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *i-da-a-la-ua-ah-ha-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *i-da-la-ua-ah-hu-un*, *i-da-a-la-ua-ah-hu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-da-la-ua-ah-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. *i-da-la-u-ua-ah-hu-u-en*), **idalayēšš-**<sup>ii</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become bad, to go bad, to become evile’ (2sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-u-e-eš-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-u-e-eš-zi*, *i-da-la-a-u-e-eš-zi*, *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *i-da-la-a-u-e-eš-te-ni*, *i-da-a-la-a-u-e-eš-te-e-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *i-ta[-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi]* (OS), *i-da-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi*, *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi*, *i-da-la-u-e-ša-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-da-la-u-e-eš-ta*, impf. HUL-*eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ādduua-** (adj.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ad-du-ua-an-za*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ad-du-ua-an-za*), **ādduual-** (n.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-ad-du-ua-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl. *a-ad-du-ua-la*), **ādduual(i)-** (adj.) ‘evil’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ad-du-ua-li-iš*, *a-ad-du-ua-li-iš*, *ad-du-ua-li-iš*, acc.sg.c. *a-ad-du-ua-li-in*, *ad-du-ua-li-in*, *at-tu-ua-li-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-ad-du-ua-al-za*, [*a-a*]d-du-ua-a-al-za, *ad-du-ua-al-za*, *at-tu-[ua]-al-za*, abl.-instr. *a-ad-du-ua-la-ti*, *ad-du-ua-la-ti*, nom.pl.c. [*a*]d-du-ua-ll[*i-i*]n-zi, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-ad-du-ua-la*), **adduualahit-** (n.) ‘evil’ (dat.-loc.sg. *at-tu-ua-la-hi-ti*), **adduuali(ja)-** (adj.) ‘of evil’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ad-du-ua-li-ja-an*); HLuw. **ātuwa-** (n.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg. /?atuwan=t<sup>a</sup>a/ MALUS-wa/i-za-’ (TELL AHMAR 1 §19, TELL AHMAR 2 §13), MALUS-za (KARABURUN §7, §9, SULTANHAN §34)), **ātuwal(i)-** (adj./n.) ‘evil’ (nom.pl.c. MALUS-ta<sub>r</sub>-zi (KARATEPE 1 §20 Hu.), <sup>MALUS</sup>á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi (KARATEPE 1 §20 Ho.), abl.-instr. MALUS-ta<sub>r</sub>-a-ti (ALEPPO 2 §24), MALUS-ta<sub>r</sub>-ti-i-’ (KARKAMIŠ A11c §19, §20), MALUS-ta<sub>r</sub>-ti (KARKAMIŠ A31 §10, ADIYAMAN §1)), **ātuwalada-** ‘evil’ (abl.-instr. [“]MALUS”-ta<sub>r</sub>-tara/i-ti (ANCOZ 7 §9)), **ātuwalahit-** ‘evilness’ (abl.-instr. MALUS-hi-tà-ri+i (CEKKE §20)), **ātuwalastar-** (n.) ‘evilness’ (abl.-instr. MALUS-ta<sub>3</sub>-sa-tara/i-ti (BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §5, §15, §19), MALUS-ta<sub>r</sub>-

*sa-tara/i-ri+i* (KARATEPE 1 §72 Hu.), MALUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-sá-tara/i-ri+i* (KARATEPE 1 §72 Ho.), MALUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-sa-tara/i-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §10), MALUS-*tà-ti-i* (SULTANHAN §21)).

PAnat. \*ʔeduo-(l-)

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 487f. for attestations. In Hittite, we only find the stem *idālu-* / *idālay-* (when it is adjectival: as a noun ‘evilness’ it shows the non-ablauting stem *idālu-* like we would expect in *u*-stem nouns). In Luwian, we also find the un-extended stem *āddu<sub>u</sub>a-* ‘evil’, besides the stem *āddu<sub>u</sub>al-*. Note that in HLuwian, the assumption of a stem *atuwal-* (with *-l-*) largely depends on the phonetic interpretation of the signs *ta<sub>4</sub>* and *ta<sub>5</sub>* as /la/ (cf. Hawkins 1995: 114<sup>9</sup>), e.g. MALUS-*ta<sub>4</sub>-a-ti* = /ʔatualādi/. For the one attestation <sup>MALUS</sup>*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §20 Ho.), which shows *-r-* instead of *-l-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2004: 39<sup>26</sup>.

Because Hitt. *idālu-* / *idālay-* clearly is a *u*-stem, we can compare Hitt. *idāl-* directly with Luw. *āddu<sub>u</sub>al-*. The difference between Hitt. *i-* and Luw. *ā-* points to an initial PANat. \*ʔe-. The difference between Hitt. single *-t-* and Luw. geminate *-tt-* can only be explained by reconstructing PANat. \**d* and assuming Čop’s Law in Luwian, which automatically means that in Luwian the initial *e* was accentuated: \*ʔéd-. In Hittite, we must assume that *i-* is the regular result of unaccentuated \*ʔe-, which coincides with the fact that *-āl-* is often spelled plene, which indicates stress. The fact that in Luwian we find *-u-* which is absent in Hittite, is easily explained by the sound law \**T<sub>u</sub>o* > Hitt. *Ta*. So, all in all, Hitt. *idāl-* must reflect PANat. \*ʔedyól-, whereas Luw. *āddu<sub>u</sub>al-* < PANat. \*ʔéduol-. Taken the Luwian stems CLuw. *addu<sub>u</sub>a-* and HLuw. *átuwa-* into account, we must reconstruct a PANat. adjective \*ʔeduo- ‘evil’, which served as the basis for a noun \*ʔeduol- ‘evilness’ that had mobile accent. This \*ʔeduol- then was the source of the *u*-stem adjective *idālu-* / *idālay-* as attested in Hittite.

If these words are of IE origin, PANat. \*ʔeduo- can only go back to PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ed<sup>(h)</sup>uo-*, which means that a connection with the root \**h<sub>3</sub>ed-* ‘to hate’ (thus e.g. Hrozný 1917: 5) is impossible. Watkins (1982a: 261) states that *idālu* may be a derivative from \**h<sub>1</sub>edyōl*, in his view “[t]he Indo-European prototype of the substantive ‘Evil’ [...], comparable in shape to \**seh<sub>2</sub>uōl* ‘sun’ and ultimately a derivative of the root \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-* ‘bite (> eat)’ like the similarly formed IE \**h<sub>1</sub>edyō(n)* ‘pain, mal’” (referring to Schindler 1975c, who reconstructs this noun on the basis of Arm. *erkn* ‘labour pains’, Gr. *ὀδύνη* ‘pain’ and OIr. *idu* ‘pain’). This suggestion has been taken over by e.g. Melchert 1984a: 106.



**itar** (n.) ‘way’: nom.-acc.sg. *i-tar* (KUB 41.8 i 20).

IE cognates: Lat. *iter, itineris* ‘way, road’, TochA *ytār*, TochB *ytārye* ‘road, way’, Av. *pairi-iθna-* ‘(end of) lifetime’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-tr, \*h<sub>1</sub>i-tén-s*

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Unfortunately, this word is attested only once. We would like to have known inflected forms of it to better judge its prehistory. Nevertheless, since Benveniste (1935: 10, 104), this word is generally connected with Lat. *iter, itineris* ‘way, road’ and TochA *ytār* ‘road, way’. These words point to *\*t*, however, whereas *i-tar* seems to represent phonological /ʔidr/. Rieken (1999a: 374-7) proposes to assume that the original paradigm of this word was *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-tr, \*h<sub>1</sub>i-tén-s*, and that in the nom.-acc.sg., *\*t* got lenited due to the preceding accentuated diphthong yielding *\*\*/ʔédr/, \*\*/ʔiténas/*, after which *i-* was generalized throughout the paradigm, with *i-tar* /ʔidr/ as result.

See at <sup>LÚ</sup>*ittaranni* for a discussion of this alleged cognate.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*ittaranni* (uninfl.) ‘runner, messenger’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>KAŠ<sub>4</sub>.E): acc.sg. *it-ta-ra-an-ni* (KUB 23.77 rev. 68 (MH/MS)); broken <sup>LÚ</sup>.MES<sup>š</sup>*it-t[a-...]* (KUB 31.102 iv 2).

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This noun is interpreted by Puhvel (HED 1/2: 494) as a Hurrian formation in *-anni-* on the basis of the Hurr. verb *idd-* ‘to go’. Starke (1990: 500-1) opposes this interpretation, however, and states that *ittaranni-* is a Luwian formation on the basis of a Luwian noun *\*ittar-* ‘way’, which further is unattested, but which must be cognate to Hitt. *itar* ‘way’ (q.v.) (which *en passant* shows that the single *-t-* in *itar* must go back to *\*t* as still reflected in the Luw. geminate *-tt-*). In my view, the fact that *ittaranni* is not inflected (acc.sg. *ittaranni*) clearly shows that it must be a foreignism. Since Luwian words are always taken over either in their original inflection (in this case with acc.sg.-ending *-in*) or as a Hittitized form (also with *-in*), we must assume that the word is of another origin, and Hurrian provenance becomes very likely then.

**iuar** (postpos. + gen.) ‘in the manner of, after the fashion of, like, as’: *i-ua-ar* (OH/MS).

IE cognates: Skt. *iva* ‘in the manner of, like, as’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-ur << \*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ur*

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This postposition goes with the genitive and denotes ‘in the manner of...’. Already Hrozný (1917: 183) suggested that this word is to be regarded as a petrified verbal noun of *i-zi* ‘to go’, which is semantically quite plausible. This

would mean that *iuar* reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-ur*, which must go back to original *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ur* with introduction of the zero-grade root from the oblique cases (*\*h<sub>1</sub>i-úén-s*). The semantically and formally very similar Skt. *iva* ‘in the manner of’ may reflect the old loc.sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-ur* (also from original *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-un* with introduction of zero-grade), the latter part of which is identical to the Hitt. supine-”ending” *-uan* (q.v.).

***iūk-***, <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***iuka-*** (n.) ‘yoke, pair’ (Sum. ŠUDUN): nom.-acc.sg. *i-ú-uk* (KBo 25.72 r.col. 11 (OS)), *i-ú-kán* (KBo 12.22 i 11 (OH/NS), KBo 12.131 r.col. 5 (OH/NS), KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 7 (OH/NS)), *i-ú-ga-an* (KBo 13.78 obv. 2 (OH/NS), KUB 7.8 ii 8 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *i-ú-ki* (KUB 13.5 ii 21 (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *yugám*, Gr. ζυγόν, Lat. *iugum*, Goth. *juk*, OCS *igo* ‘yoke’.

PIE *\*iug-o-m*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 495f. for attestations. See Rieken (1999a: 61f.) for a discussion of the OS form *i-ú-uk*, which shows that this word originally was a root noun and was only thematized to *iuka-* within the Hittite period. This means that the other IE words that reflect *\*iugom*, with which this word is generally equated, must show an independent thematization. The form *i-ú-uk* represents /iúg/ and therefore must reflect *\*ieug* (a preform *\*ioug* would have yielded Hitt. *\*\*iúg*, spelled *\*\*i-u-uk*, cf. § 1.3.9.4.f).

The “adjective” *iuga-* ‘yearling’ (q.v.) probably still was a real gen.sg. of *iūk*, *iuka-* ‘yoke, pair’ in the oldest texts.

***iuga-*** (“adj.”) ‘yearling’: nom.sg.c. *i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), acc.sg. *i-ú-ga-an* (text: *ú-i-ga-an*, KBo 17.65 rev. 53 (MS)), gen.sg. *i-ú-ga-aš*, acc.pl.c. *i-ú-ga-aš*.

Derivatives: ***iugašša-*** (adj.) ‘yearling’ (gen. pl. *i-ú-g[a-aš]-ša-a[n]* (OS), *i-ú-ga-aš-ša-aš* (OH/NS)), ***tāiuga-*** (“adj.”) ‘two-year-old’ (nom.sg.c. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), *da-a-i-ga-aš* (OH/NS), *ta-a-ú-ga-aš* (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš* (OS), acc.pl.c. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš*).

IE cognates: see *iuga-* ‘yoke’

PIE *\*iug-o-s*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 496f. for attestations. In the oldest texts, we only find *iugaš* and *tāiugaš*, irregardless of the grammatical function of the noun with which they belong. This clearly indicates that originally these forms were gen.sg.-forms. The MS attestation acc.sg. *i-ú-ga-an* shows that from that time onwards, *iuga-* was regarded as a real congruating adjective (there are no attestations of *tāiuga-* outside the Laws). It is clear that these words belong with the noun *iūk*, *iuga-*

‘yoke, pair’ (q.v.) in the sense that ‘calf of a yoke’ denotes a yearling, whereas ‘calf of a double yoke’ denotes a two-year-old. The adj. *iugašša-* shows the suffix *-ašša-* which is comparable to the Luvian gen.adj.-suffix *-ašša/i-* (note that because of the OS attestation of this adjective, a Luvian origin of it is unlikely). The element *tā-* in *tāiuga-* is cognate with *tān* ‘for a second time’ (q.v.) and must reflect *\*duoio-* (Melchert (1994a: 168) reconstructs *\*dān-iugo-*, but this is improbable: *dān* is an adverb that denotes ‘(a) second (time)’, and its adverbial ending *-om* is not to be expected in a compound). Since in *\*duoio-iugo-* the *i* of *iugo-* should regularly have been lost (in intervocalic position), it must have been restored on the basis of the simplex noun *iuga-* (note that *\*iugo-* cannot have had an initial laryngeal (which one could suppose because of its retention in *tāiuga-*, so then < *\*duoio-Hiugo-*) because of Gr. ζυγόν: cf. at <sup>(UDÚL)</sup>*euan-* for the fact that *\*#i-* > Gr. ζ-).



## K

**kā-** / **kū-** / **ki-** (demonstrative pronoun) ‘this (one)’; **kāš ... kāš** ‘the one ... the other’; **kāš ... kūn** ‘each other’: nom.sg.c. *ka-a-aš* (OS), acc.sg.c. *ku-u-un* (OS), *ka-a-an* (1x, KUB 33.92 iii 5 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ki-i* (OS), *ki-i-ni* (KBo 34.142 i 7 + KBo 8.55, 16 (MS?)), gen.sg. *ke-e-el* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ke-e-ti* (OH/MS), *ke-e-da-ni* (MH/MS), abl. *ke-e-et* (OS), *ke-e-ez* (OH/MS), *ke-e-ez-za* (MH/MS), *ke-e-za*, *ke-ez*, *ki-i-iz* (KUB 17.28 iv 4 (NS)), instr. *ke-e-da-an-ta* (OS), *ki-i-da-an-da* (OH/NS), *ke-e-da* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ke-e* (OS), *ki-i* (NS), *ku-u-uš* (NS), acc.pl.c. *ku-u-uš* (OS), *ku-u-ú-uš* (KUB 14.14 rev. 13 (NH)), *ke-e* (NS), *ki-i* (NS), *ke-e-uš* (KUB 14.8 rev. 18 (NH)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke-e* (OS), *ki-i* (NH), gen.pl. *ki-in-z[a<sup>2</sup>]-a[n<sup>2</sup>]* (KBo 6.2 iii 46 (OS)), *ki-in-za-an* (KUB 31.64 ii 42 (OH/NS)), *ke-e-en-za-an* (KUB 35.148 iv 15 (OH/NS)), *ke-e-el* (MS), dat.-loc.pl. *ke-e-da-aš* (MH/MS), *ki-i-ta-aš* (KUB 43.55 v 4 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **kett=a kett=a** (adv.) ‘on one hand, on the other’ (*ke-e-et-t=a ke-e-et-t=a* (OS)), **kā** (adv.) ‘here’ (*ka-a* (MH/MS)), **kān(i)** (adv.) ‘here’ (*ka-a-ni* (KBo 22.1 obv. 6 (OS), KBo 22.2 obv. 9 (OH/MS)), *ka-a-n=a-at* (KUB 41.23 ii 20 (OH/NS))), **kiššan** (adv.) ‘thus, as follows’ (*ki-iš-ša-an* (OS), *kiš-an* (NS)), **kīniššan** (adv.) ‘thus, as follows’ (*ki-i-ni-iš-ša-an* (KUB 28.4 obv. 16b (NS))), **kiššuyant-** (adj.) ‘of this kind’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ki-iš-šu-ya-an*, *ki-iš-šu-an*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **kā-** (dem.pron.) ‘this’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *kāt(-)*), **kijāt** (adv.) ‘here’; CLuw. **zā-** / **zī-** (dem.pron.) ‘this’ (nom.sg.c. *za-a-aš*, *za-aš*, acc.sg.c. *za-am=pa*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *za-a*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-a-ti-i*, *za-ti-i*, nom.pl.c. *zi-i-in-zi*, *zi-in-zi*, acc.pl.c. *zi-i-in-za*, *zi-in-za*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *za-a*, gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *za-aš-ši-in*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n. *za-aš-ša-an[-za]*), **zāšta/i-** (dem.pron.) ‘this (very)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *za-a-aš-ta-a-a=t-ta*, *za-aš-ta-a-a=t-ta*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-a-aš-ti*, *za-*

*aš-ti*, dat.-loc.pl. *za-aš-ta-an-za*), *zāuī(n)* (interj.) ‘here, voici’ (*za-a-ú-i*, *za-ú-i*, *za-a-ú-i-in*, *za-ú-i-in*); HLuw. *zā-* (dem.pron.) ‘this’ (nom.sg.c. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ās/ za-a-sa*, *za-sa*, acc.sg.c. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ān/ za-a-na*, *za-na*, *za-a=C*, *za-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §25), nom.-acc.sg.n. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ā/ za-a*, *za*, gen.sg. *l̥<sup>s</sup>asi/ za-si* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Hu.), *za-i-si-i* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Ho.), dat.sg. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ādi/ za-a-ti*, *za-a-ti-i*, *za-ti*, *za-ti-i*, *za-ri+i*, abl.-instr. *l̥<sup>s</sup>in/ zi-i-na*, *zi-na*, nom.pl.c. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ānt̥<sup>s</sup>i/ za-a-zi*, *za-zi*, acc.pl.c. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ānt̥<sup>s</sup>i/ za-a-zi*, *za-zi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *l̥<sup>s</sup>āia/ za-a-ia*, *za-ia*, dat.pl. *l̥<sup>s</sup>ādiant̥<sup>s</sup>/ za-a-ti-ia-za*, *za-ti-ia-za*, *za-ti-za* (KULULU 5 §4)), *zīn ... zīn* (adv.) ‘on one hand, on the other’.

IE cognates: PGerm. *\*hi* ‘this’ (Goth. *himma daga* ‘today’, *und hina dag* ‘untill today’, *und hita* ‘untill now’, OSax. *hiudiga* ‘today’, OHG *hiuru* ‘this year’), Lith. *šis* ‘this’, *šiañ-dien* ‘today’, *šī-met* ‘this year’, *šè* ‘here’, OCS *sb* ‘this’, *dbnb-sb* ‘today’, Arm. *sa* ‘this’, OIr. *cē* ‘here’, Lat. *-c(e)* in *ecce* and *hi-c*, Gr. *σήμερον* ‘today’ < *\*κi-άμερον*, *σῆρες* ‘this year’ < *\*κi-(F)ερες* (= Alb. *si-vjet* ‘this year’), Alb. *sot* < *\*kīā-diti* ‘today’, *si-vjet* ‘this year’.

PIE *\*ko-*, *\*ki-*

Within the three-way demonstrative system in Hittite, *kā-* / *kū-* / *kī* functions as the proximate demonstrative and can be translated ‘this’ (cf. Goedegebuure 2003). It is cognate to CLuw. *zā-*, HLuw. *za-* and Pal. *kā-* ‘this’. The fact that Hitt. *k-* corresponds to Luw. *z-* already proves that we are dealing with PIE *\*k-*, which is supported by the cognates in the other IE languages as well (PGerm. *\*hi-*, Lith. *ši-*, Gr. *\*κi-*).

The flecion of this demonstrative shows some peculiarities. Nom.sg.c. *kāš* ~ Luw. *zās* < *\*kós*. Acc.sg.c. *kūn* is less clear, however. Benveniste (1962: 71f.) assumed that this form is a remnant of an *u*-stem inflection, but this is unconvincing (nowhere in IE a stem *\*ku-* is found), also in view of HLuw. *zān* and CLuw. *zam=pa*, that seem to reflect *\*kóm*. As I have shown in § 1.3.9.4, the spelling *ku-u-un* must represent */kón/*, and I therefore assume a special development of *\*-óm* > */-ón/* (also in *apūn l̥<sup>s</sup>bón/*, *uni l̥<sup>s</sup>óni/*), that contrasts with *\*<sup>o</sup>C-m* > */<sup>o</sup>C-on/* and *\*-<sup>o</sup>m* > */-an/* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 186). Nom.-acc.sg.n. *kī* seems to reflect *\*kī* (this stem also in Lith. *ši-*, PGerm. *\*hi-*, Gr. *\*κi-*), and must be more archaic than CLuw. *zā*, HLuw. *zā* and Pal. *kāt* that reflect *\*kód* (this ending also in Hitt. *apāt*). The *i*-stem is comparable to nom.-acc.sg.n. *ini* in the paradigm of *aši / uni / ini*. Note that the hapax *kīni* (also once attested in *kīniššan* instead of *kiššan*) must have the same origin as *ini*, namely *\*kī* + *-m* + *-i*. Gen.sg. *kēl* is comparable to *apēl* and *ēl*. The exact origin of the pronominal ending *-ēl* is still unclear. Dat.-loc.sg. *keti*, abl. *ket*, *kez*, instr. *keda* and dat.-loc.pl. *kedaš* show a stem *ked-* that is comparable to *aped-* and *ed-*. Sometimes it is enlarged to

*kedan-*: dat.-loc.sg. *kedani*, instr. *kedanta* (also *apedan-*, *edan-*). The origin of this element *-ed(an)-* is unclear (although *-an-* could reflect *\*C-ŋh<sub>1</sub>-* as visible in gen.pl. *kinzan* (see below)?). Nom.pl.c. *ke* must reflect *\*kói*, whereas acc.pl.c. *kūš* < *\*kóms* (compare *apūš*). The interpretation of nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke* is less clear. One could think of an *i*-diphthong (*\*koi* or *\*kei*, seemingly supported by HLuw. nom.-acc.pl.n. *zāia* < *\*ke/o<sub>i</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>?*), but it is difficult to connect these forms to neuter plural forms in other IE languages. Alternatively, one could assume that *ke* is the result of *\*kih<sub>2</sub>* in which *\*h<sub>2</sub>* had a lowering effect on *\*i* (similarly in *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSo/ ‘goods’ < *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>*). Note that CLuw. *za-a* reflects *\*keh<sub>2</sub>*. Gen.pl. *kinzan* (with *-i-* instead of *-e-* (cf. *apenzan*, *kuenzan*, *šumenzan*) due to raising as in *ki<sup>-ta(r)</sup>* and *kīš<sup>-a(r)</sup>* / *kīš-* ?) shows the ending *-nzan* that is also visible in the already mentioned forms. Because of Lyc. gen.pl. *ebēhē*, we must conclude that this ending is of PANat. origin. Since *-VnzV-* can only reflect *\*-nHs-* (whereas PANat. *\*VnsV* > Hitt. *VššV*), I reconstruct *\*-nHsom*. The element *-som* may have to be compared to Skt. *téṣām* ‘of those’, Lat. *eōrum* ‘of these’, and OCS *těxb* ‘of those’.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*kaina-* (c.) ‘in-law, kinsman’ (Akk. *ḪAT(A)NU*): nom.sg. *ga-i-na-aš* (OH/MS), *ka-i-na-aš* (OH/NS), *ka-e-na-aš* (OH/NS), *ga-a-i-na-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ga-i-na-a(n)=š-ša-an* (OS), *ka-i-na-a(n)=š-ša-an*, *ka-e-na-an* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ka-i-ni* (KUB 31.38 rev. 11 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *ga-i-na-aš=ši-iš* (OH/MS), *ga-e-na-aš=še-eš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ga-e-ni-eš* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*kainant-* (c.) ‘id.’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-e-na-an-ti* (MH/NS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>*kainatar* / *kainann-* (n.) ‘in-lawship’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-i-na-an-ni* (NH), *ga-i-na-an-ni* (NH)).

IE cognates: Lat. *cīvis* ‘(fellow) citizen’, Skt. *śiva-* ‘friendly, prosperous’.

PIE *\*koi(H)-no-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 12f. for attestations. On the basis of attestations like KUB 13.4 i (30) DAM=*ŠU* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*ŠU* (31) ŠEŠ=*ŠU* NIN=*ŠU* <sup>LÚ</sup>*ka-i-na-aš* MÁŠ=*ŠU* ‘His wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his *k.* (and) his family’ and KBo 3.1+ i (24) DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*ŠU* (25) ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*ŠU* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*ga-e-na-aš=ši-iš* <sup>LÚ</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup>*ḫa-a[š-š]a-an-na-aš=ša-aš* ‘His children, his brothers, his *k.*-s, the people of his family’, it has been generally assumed that *kaina-* must mean something like ‘in-law’.

For long it has been thought that PIE diphthongs unconditionally monophthongized in Hittite, which would mean that *-ai-* in *kaina-* must be of another origin. Puhvel (l.c.) therefore assumes that here *-ai-* must be due to the disappearance of an original laryngeal between two vowels and therefore

reconstructs *\*ǵm̥h₂-ino-*, connecting it with Skt. *jāmātar-*, Gr. γαμβρός ‘son-in-law’. This reconstruction is formally impossible, however: we would expect an outcome *\*\*kamhina-*. Kimball (1994b) closely examined the outcome of the PIE diphthongs in Hittite and concludes that a diphthong *\*oi* is retained as Hitt. *-ai-* in front of dental consonants (including *-n-*). She therefore is able to revive (o.c.: 17-22) an old suggestion by Hrozný (1919: 100-1), who connected *kaina-* with the root *\*kei-* ‘cognate, connected (vel sim.)’. This root is also reflected in Lat. *cīvis* ‘(fellow) citizen’ (OLat. *ceiueis* < *\*kei-ui-*), Skt. *śívá-* ‘friendly, prosperous, beneficent’, and with root extension *\*keiH-* in OHG *hūrāt* ‘wedding’, Latv. *siēva* ‘wife, spouse’ (*\*keiH-uo-*), Skt. *śéva-* ‘friendly’ etc.

**kaka-** (c.) ‘tooth’ (Sum. KAxUD): nom.sg. *ga-ga-aš* (OH/MS), *ga-ga-a-aš* (OH/MS), acc.pl. *ga-ku-uš* (OH/MS).

See Puhvel HED 4: 14-5 for attestations. He connects this word with OE *hōc* ‘hook’. Apart from the fact that a semantic connection between ‘hook’ and ‘tooth’ is not very convincing, it is likely that the whole complex of Germanic words for ‘hook, corner’ (*\*ang-* in OHG *ange*, ModEng. *angle*; *\*kank-* in ON *kengr* ‘hook’; *\*xank-* in ON *hanki* ‘handle’ MDu. *honc* ‘corner’; *\*xaug-* in ON *hokinn* ‘hooked’; *\*xōk-* in Swed. *hake* ‘hook’, OHG *haggo* ‘hook’, ModEng. *hook*) cannot be of IE origin (cf. Beekes 1999: 17<sup>31</sup>). Therefore a connection between Hitt. *kaka-* and these Germanic words does not make much sense.

**kalank-<sup>i</sup>** (IIa2) ‘to soothe, to satiate, to satisfy’: 3sg.imp.act. *ka-la-an-kad-du* (OH/NS); part. *ka-la-an-kán-t-*, *ga-la-an-kán-t-*,

Derivatives: **galaktar** (n.) ‘soothing substance, (opium) poppy(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ga-la-ak-tar* (often), *kal-la-ak-tar* (KUB 9.27 obv. 8)), **galaktarae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to make drowsy’ (2sg.pres.act. *ga-la-ak-ta-ra-ši*).

IE cognates: ON *kløkk* ‘weak’, Lith. *glėžnas* ‘weak, soft’, Bulg. *glėzja* ‘to pamper’.

PIE *\*glo-n-<sup>h</sup>-ei*

See Puhvel HED 4: 18f. for attestations. The only finite form of this verb, 3sg.imp.act. *kalankaddu* in principle points to an original *mi*-conjugation. Nevertheless, since this form is attested in a NS text, it may not be reliable. Because *mi*-verbs that end in *-nk-* always show *i*-vocalism (e.g. *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *huni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *harni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *nini(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, etc.) it is in my view unlikely that this verb was *mi*-conjugated originally. The stem *kalank-* much better fits *hi*-inflected



verbs like *kānk<sup>-i</sup>* / *kank-* ‘to hang’ or *ḥamank<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḥame/ink-* ‘to tie’. This is the reason that I cite this verb as *kalank<sup>-i</sup>* (a similar reasoning in Oettinger 1979a: 149).

The verb denotes ‘to soothe’, which makes it likely that the noun *galaktar*, which denotes a soothing substance, possibly the poppy of opium (cf. Güterbock 1983: 162), is cognate to it.

According to Oettinger (l.c.) we should connect these words with the PIE root “\**glég-*” ‘weak, soft’, which in Pokorny (1959: 401) is reconstructed on the basis of ON *kløkk* ‘weak’, Lith. *glėžnas* ‘weak, soft’ and Bulg. *glėzja* ‘to pamper’. Although ON *kløkk* indeed seems to point to a root \**glég-*, Lith. *glėžnas* can only reflect \**glég<sup>h</sup>-* because of the absence of Winter’s Law (we would expect \**glég-* to have yielded Lith. \*\**glėž-*). If both forms are indeed cognate, we have to assume that the geminate *-kk-* in ON is due to Kluge’s Law (any stop followed by an \**n* (\*-*Tn-*) yields a voiceless geminate (-*tt-*)). In this case, this *-n-* is still visible in Lith. *glėžnas*. This means that we would have to reconstruct a root \**glég<sup>h</sup>-* (note that the reconstruction \**glég-* is against the root-constraints of PIE as well: two mediae in one root is impossible).

The Hittite verb *kalank-* shows a nasal infix, which fits the semantics as well: nasal infixes denote causativity, in this case ‘weak’ > ‘to make weak’ = ‘to soothe’. All in all, I reconstruct \**glo-n-g<sup>h</sup>-*. Note that the noun *galaktar* must reflect \**glóg<sup>h</sup>-tr*, because in \**glóng<sup>h</sup>-tr* the nasal would not disappear (cf. § 1.4.7.2.b).

***kallar-*** (adj.) ‘inauspicious, unpropitious, baleful, enormous’ (Sum. NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>): acc.sg.c. *kal-la-ra-an* (KUB 24.7 iv 33), nom.-acc.sg.n. *kal-la-ar* (often), *gal-la-ar*, *kal-la-ra-an* (KUB 31.141 obv. 8), dat.-loc.sg. *kal-la-ri*, instr. *kal-la-ri-it*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *kal-la-a-ar*, *kal-la-a-ra*.

Derivatives: ***kallaratar*** / ***kallarann-*** (n.) ‘inauspiciousness, unfavourable response of an oracle, enormity, excess’ (dat.-loc.sg. *kal-la-ra-an-ni*, *gal-la-ra-an-ni*), ***kallarah<sup>h</sup>-i*** (IIb) ‘to make inauspicious’ (3sg.pret.act. *kal-la-ra-aḥ-ḥa-aš*, 3sg.imp.act. NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḥ-du*), ***kallarešš<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become inauspicious’ (3sg.pre.act. *kal-la-re-eš-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *kal-la-re-eš-du*, *kal-la-ri-iš-du*; impf. *kal-la-re-eš-ke/a-*, *gal-la-re-eš-ke/a-*), ***kallaratta/i-*** (c.) ‘exaggerator’ (nom.sg. *kal-la-ra-at-te-eš* (NS)).

IE cognates: OIr. *galar* ‘disease’.

PIE \**g<sup>(h)</sup>olH-ro-* ?

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See Puhvel HED 4: 20f. for attestations. We find forms that point to a stem *kallar-* as well as forms that point to a stem *kallara-*. According to Starke (1990: 355-9) and Rieken (1999a: 275) the stem *kallar-* is to be regarded as an original noun ‘badness’, that was gradually being adjectivized and therefore thematicized to *kallara-*. It is quite likely that the word is of Luwian origin: *kallar-* appears a few times written with gloss wedges and most of the attested forms of *kallar-* are found in a text interlarded with Luwisms. According to Rieken (1999a: 367) the nom.-acc.pl.n.-form *kal-la-a-ra(-)*, which seems to show a mixture of the ending *-ār* of the Hitt. *r/n-*stems with the Luwian ending *-a*, can be used as evidence for a Luwian origin because such a phenomenon occurs in Luwisms only. Another clue may be the form *kallaratteš* which Starke (1990: 358) convincingly interprets as Luwian.

Pedersen (1938: 26, 46) compared *kallar* with OIr. *galār* ‘disease’, which then reflects *\*ǵ<sup>(h)</sup>e/olH-ro-*. Starke rejects this etymology on the basis of his assumption that IE *\*ǵ<sup>(h)</sup>* either was lost in Luwian or yielded *-z-*. Melchert (1994a: 255) argues that because PANat. *\*ǵ<sup>(r)</sup>* is preserved in Luwian before a backvowel, we may have to reconstruct PANat. *\*ǵ<sup>(r)</sup>allr-* already, in which the *\*ǵ<sup>(r)</sup>* regularly was preserved.

***kalelije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to tie up, to truss’: 3sg.pret.act. *ka-le-li-e-et* (OS), *ka-le-e-li-e-et* (OH/NS); part. *ka-le-li-an-t-* (OH/NS), *ka-le-li-ja-an-t-* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Gr. κάλωρ, κάλος ‘rope, line, reef’.

PIE *\*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-el-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 22 for attestations. Since the sign LI can be read *li* as well as *le*, all spellings have to be interpreted as *kalelije/a-*. According to Oettinger (1979a: 354) this verb is a derivative in *-je/a-* of a stem *\*kalel-*, which he compares to *šuel-* ‘thread’ (see under <sup>(SÍG)</sup>*šūil-*). Rieken (1999a: 475) takes over this analysis and argues that *\*kalel-* shows that all *il-*stems go back to a PIE suffix *\*-el*. For the etymology of *\*kalel-* she suggests, as does Puhvel (l.c.), a connection with Gr. κάλωρ, κάλος ‘rope, line, reef’ (o.c. 481), which points to *\*k<sub>l</sub>H-o-*. If this connection is correct, *\*kalel-* should reflect *\*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-el-* (*\*h<sub>1</sub>* because *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* would have yielded *\*kal<sub>h</sub>al-* in that position).

***kallišš-*<sup>zi</sup> / *kališš-*** (Ia2) ‘to call, to evoke, to summon’: 3pl.pres.act. *ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi* (IBoT 2.80 vi 4 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *kal-li-iš-ta* (KUB 17.5, 6 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *kal-li-iš-du* (KUB 24.1 i 12 (NS), KUB 24.2 obv. 11 (NS)); inf.I *kal-*

*li-iš-šu-u-ua-an-z[i]* (KUB 20.88 vi 22 (MS)), *kal-le-eš-šu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 41.8 i 22 (MH/NS), KBo 10.45 i 38 (fr.) (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***kallištaryana-*** (c.) ‘feast, party’ (Sum. EZEN; gen.sg. *kal-li-iš-tar-ua-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. [*kal-l*] *i-iš-tar-ua-ni*, *kal-le-eš-tar-ū[a-ni]*), ***gallištaryanili*** (adv.) ‘in a feastly manner’ (*gal-liš-tar-ua-ni-li*).

IE cognates: Gr. *καλέω* ‘to call’, Lat. *calāre* ‘to call’.

PIE *\*kélh<sub>1</sub>-s-ti*, *\*klh<sub>1</sub>-s-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 22f. for attestations. Since Laroche (1961: 29), this verb is connected with Gr. *καλέω*, Lat. *calāre* ‘to call’ e.a., from PIE *\*kelh<sub>1</sub>-*. Although Oettinger (1979a: 197) states about *kallišš-* that “die Flexion ist völlig regelmäÙig”, the attestations do show traces of a paradigmatical alternation, which can be characterized by the opposition of 3sg.pret. *kal-li-iš-ta* vs. 3pl.pres. *ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi*: the geminate vs. single writing of *-l-* must reflect a real phonological opposition.

The details of the prehistory of this verb are in debate. Oettinger (l.c.) improbably interprets the verb as a back-formation from Hitt. *kalleštar* ‘invitation’ < *\*kalh<sub>1</sub>-es-tr*. Kimball (1999: 412) takes *kallišš-* as a derivation of a formation *\*kalh<sub>1</sub>-éh<sub>1</sub>-*, which she compares to Umbr. *kařitu*, *kařetu*, *carsito* which must reflect PItal. *\*kalēōd*. Since the Umbrian forms with *\*kalē-* probably are an inner-Italic innovation (cf. Schrijver 1990: 400), the postulation of a PIE formation *\*kalh<sub>1</sub>-éh<sub>1</sub>-* is incorrect.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.f, 3pl.pres.act. *ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi* must be phonologically interpreted as /klīSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, which in my view is the phonetic outcome of *\*klh<sub>1</sub>sénti* (compare *tame/iššanzi* < *\*dmh<sub>2</sub>sénti* and *kane/iššanzi* < *\*ġnh<sub>3</sub>sénti*). The form 3sg.pret.act. *kal-li-iš-ta* in my view reflects /kálLista/ (note the spelling with *-e-* in inf.I. *kal-le-eš-šu-ua-an-zi*), which I reconstruct as *\*kélh<sub>1</sub>st* (for the development of *\*CeRHsC* > *CaRRísC* compare *damme/išhā-* < *\*demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>o-*). Note that the colouring of *\*e* in *\*kelh<sub>1</sub>st* > *kallišta* besides the non-colouring of *\*e* in *genzu-* ‘lap’ < *\*ġenh<sub>1</sub>-su-* shows that *\*eRh<sub>1</sub>CC* > Hitt. *aR<sup>o</sup>*, whereas *\*eRh<sub>1</sub>CV* > Hitt. *eR<sup>o</sup>*.

With the reconstruction of *kallišš-* as *\*kelh<sub>1</sub>s-* and *gališš-* as *\*klh<sub>1</sub>s-*, we see that *kallišš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kališš-* goes back to a normal *e/Ø*-ablauting *s*-extended verb like *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* ‘to (op)press’ < *\*dmeh<sub>2</sub>s-* / *\*dmh<sub>2</sub>s-*, etc.

The derivative *kallištaryana-* ‘feast, party’ probably is derived from a noun *\*kallištar-* < *\*kelh<sub>1</sub>s-tr-* ‘invitation’ or ‘summoning’.

***kalmara-*** (c. / n.) ‘ray’: abl. *kal-ma-ra-az*, acc.pl.c. *kal-ma-ru-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *kal-ma-ra*, *gal-ma-ra*.

Derivatives: <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***kalmi-*** (c.) ‘piece of firewood’ (acc.sg. *kal-mi-in*, nom.pl. *kal-mi-i-e-eš<sub>17</sub>*), <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***kalmiš(a)na/i-*** (c.) ‘brand, piece of firewood, (fire)bolt’ (nom.sg. *kal-mi-ša-na-aš*, *kal-mi-eš-na-aš*, *kal-mi-iš-na-aš*, acc.sg. *kal-mi-ša-na-an*, *kal-mi-iš-na-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *kal-mi-iš-ša-ni*, instr. *kal-mi-ša-ni-it*, *kal-mi-iš-ni-it*, nom.pl. *kal-mi-eš-ša-n[i-eš]*, *kal-mi-i-še-ni-iš*, acc.pl. *kal-mi-iš-ni-uš*, [*kal-mi-i*]š-*ša-ni-uš*), \****kalmātar / kalmann-*** (n.) ‘brand’ (gen.sg. *kal-ma-an-na-aš*, abl. [*ka*]*l-ma-an-na-az*).

See Puhvel HED 4: 26f. for attestations. The noun *kalmara-* denotes ‘ray (of the sun)’; <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*kalmi-* occurs in a clear context once, where it seems to denote a piece of firewood; <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*kalmiš(a)na/i-* (also *kalmešna-* and *kalmiššana/i-*) on the one hand denotes pieces of firewood or brands, and on the other a sort of firebolt, fired by the Storm-god with which he strikes cities. All in all, it seems that we are dealing with a stem \**kalm-* that denotes ‘glowing / burning long object’. Note that in my view the ‘glowing’ or ‘burning’ is a crucial part of the semantics.

The standard etymological interpretation of these words was first suggested by Laroche (1983: 309<sup>5</sup>), who connects them with Gr. κάλαμος ‘reed’, Lat. *culmus*, OHG *hal(a)m*, Latv. *salms* ‘straw’, etc., from PIE \**kolh<sub>2</sub>-mo-*. Although this etymology is generally accepted, I do not see how its semantic side would work: in no other IE language we find a semantic feature of ‘glowing’ or ‘burning’, which is the clear basis of the Hittite words. I therefore reject this etymology.

In my view, the stem of these words was \**kalm-*, which shows the suffices *-ra-* and *-i-* (both of IE origin) and the unclear suffix *-iš(a)na/i-*. Since a root structure \**Kelm-* is against PIE root constraints, I believe that we are dealing with a non-IE element.

Rieken (1999a: 211-213) argues that <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*kalmuš-* ‘crook, lituus’ (q.v.) is cognate to these words. This assumption is based, however, on the false translations “Holzscheit” for *kalmi-*, *kalmatar / kalmann-* and *kalmiš(a)na/i-*, with which she ignores the ‘burning/glowing’-aspect of these words.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***kalmuš-*** (n.) ‘crook, crozier, lituus’: nom.-acc.sg. *kal-mu-uš*, gen.sg. *kal-mu-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *kal-mu-ši*, abl. *kal-mu-ša-az*.

See Puhvel HED 4: 28f. for attestations. The word denotes the crook with which the Hittite kings often are depicted. The origin of this word is unclear. According to Rieken (1999a: 212f.) this word is cognate with *kalmara-* ‘ray’, *kalmi-* ‘piece

of firewood’, e.a. (see at *kalmara-*). As I have stated under the lemma *kalmara-*, this connection seems semantically unlikely to me. Puhvel (l.c.) points to the striking resemblance with Akk. *gamlu(m)* ‘crook, curved staff’ and plausibly suggests that Hittite borrowed this word from Akkadian or from an intermediate source.

***kammarš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib1) ‘to shit, to defecate, to shit on, to befoul’: 3sg.pres.act. *ka-mar-aš-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ga-mar-aš-ša-an-z[i]* (NS); verb.noun gen.sg. [*k*]a-mar-šu-*ua-aš* (MH/MS), erg.sg. *ga-ma-ar-šu-ua-an-za* (MH/MS); impf. *ka-mar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *kam-mar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***kammarāšnije/a-***<sup>tu(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to befoul(?)’ (3sg.pret.midd. *kam-ma-ra-aš-ni-ja-at-ta-at* (MS?), 3pl.pret.midd. [*ka(m)-m*]a-ra-aš-ni-ja-an-ta-at (MS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***katmarši(ja)-*** ‘to defecate’ (3sg.pres.act. *kat-mar-ši-it-ti*).

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See Puhvel HED 4: 37f. for attestations. The verb and its derivatives are spelled with single as well as with geminate *m*, and both spellings are attested in MS texts already. Once, we find a Luwian form, namely *katmaršitti* (although in a Hittite context: the ending *-tti* shows its Luwian origin, however). It therefore has generally been assumed that Hitt. *kam(m)arš-* reflects *\*katmars-*, with an assimilation of *\*-tm-* comparable to *\*-tn-* > Hitt. *-nn-*. Since *\*-tn-* yields a geminate, *-nn-*, it might be best to assume that the spelling *kammarš-*, with geminate *-mm-*, is the original form and that the forms with single *-m-* show simplified spellings.

Schmidt (1980: 409) compared *kammarš-* < *\*katmars-* with TochB *kenmer* ‘excrement’, which then would be a PIE *-mer-* derivation of the root *\*g<sup>h</sup>ed-* ‘to defecate’ (Gr. *χέζω*, Skt. *hadati*, Alb. *dhjes* ‘to shit, to defecate’, Av. *zaḍah-* ‘arse, anus’, etc.). This view has found wide acceptance. Problematic to this etymology, however, is the fact that the existence of TochB *kenmer* ‘excrement’ seems to be a mirage (cf. Adams 1999: s.v.). With the disappearance of *kenmer*, the *-mer-* derivation in Anatolian would stand on its own. Another problem is the fact that, although *\*VtnV* indeed assimilates to Hitt. *VnnV*, the sequence *\*Vd<sup>(h)</sup>nV* seems to have had a different outcome, namely *VtnV*. If we apply this information to the clusters with *-m-* as well, we would expect that *\*VtmV* should yield Hitt. *VmmV*, but *\*Vd<sup>(h)</sup>mV* > Hitt. *-VtmV*. Although I must admit that I do not know any other examples of both of these developments, it would make the reconstruction of *kammarš-* < *\*katmars-* < *\*g<sup>h</sup>od-mr-* less likely. All in all, I remain cautious in etymologizing this verb.

=**kkan** (encl. locative sentence particle) “?”: *nu-u=k-kán* (OS), *tá=k-kán* (OS), *n=e=kán* (OS), *ta=kán* (OS), *ta-ma-i-š=a=kán* (OS), etc.

IE cognates: Lat. *cum* ‘with’, *com-*, OIr. *con-* ‘with’, Goth. *ga-*.

PIE *\*kóm* ?

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This particle is spelled both with and without geminate *-kk-* (in OS texts already, compare *tá=k-kán* (OS) besides *ta=kán* (OS)). Spellings with geminate *-kk-* appear in OS, MS and NS texts, however, and I therefore am convinced that we have to analyse the particle as */=kan/* (and not as */=gan/*) throughout the Hittite period. The regular absence of geminate spelling in my view is due to simplified spelling, which is apparent from the fact that, apart from seven OS attestations of *nu-u=k-kán*, the */k/* of *=kkan* is never spelled with the signs AK, IK or UK. The only sign that is used is TÁK, in the cases where the particle *=tta* preceded *=kkan*. The use of only TÁK can be explained by the fact that with this single sign (which is moreover more simple than AK, IK or UK) both the particle *=tta* as well as the geminateness of *=kkan*’s */k/* could be expressed, whereas in the case of AK, IK or UK the scribe would need an ‘extra’ sign for the sole purpose of indicating the geminateness of */k/*. For the sake of simplification, these signs therefore were omitted when spelling */=kan/*.

In my corpus of OS texts (consisting of 23.000 words), *=kkan* occurs 55 times (2.4 promille), in my corpus of MH/MS texts (consisting of 18.000 words) 279 times (15.5 promille) and in my corpus of NH texts (consisting of 95.000 words) 2000+ times (22 promille). This shows that the use of *=kkan* has increased enormously from the MH period onwards. In NH times, it is virtually the only used locative sentence particle (22 promille vs. *=ššan* (0.75 promille) and *=(a)šta* (0.2 promille)). This means that the semantic function of *=kkan* has broadened throughout Hittite times, in disfavour of the other enclitic locative sentence particles that Hittite originally used (*=(a)n*, *=(a)p(a)*, *=(a)šta* and *=ššan*). The original meaning of *=kkan* therefore should only be determined on the basis of OH texts. Despite several studies in this field (Carruba 1964, Josephson 1972, Boley 1989), the exact function of *=kkan* is still unclear (Boley, o.c.: 87: “The primary sense of *-kan* is a genuine enigma”).

Despite the difficulty in determining the original meaning of *=kkan*, many scholars have given an opinion on the origin of *=kkan*. The most promising in my view is Sturtevant’s (1927d: 254-7), who connected *=kkan* with Lat. *cum*, *com-* ‘with’, Goth. *ga-* ‘with’, etc. < *\*kóm*.

*kanen(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1 > Ic1) ‘to bow down, to crouch, to squat’: 3pl.pret.act. [ka<sup>2</sup>-]ni-ni-e-er (KUB 36.19, 11 (MH/NS)); verb.noun *ka-ni-ni-ia-u-ua-ar* (NS), *ka-ni-ni-ia-ua-ar* (NS); part. nom.sg.c. *ka-ni-na-an-za* (VBoT 120 ii 17 (MH/NS), KBo 12.131, 20 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *ga-ne-na-an-da-aš* (KBo 17.18 ii 10 (OS)), *ga-ne-na-an-ta-aš* (KBo 17.43 i 9 (OS)), nom.pl.c. *ka-ni-na-an-te-eš* (VBoT 120 ii 19 (MH/NS), ABoT 44 + KUB 36.79 i 33 (OH/NS)), *ka-ne-na-an-te-eš* (KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 obv. 10 (OH/MS), KUB 31.134, 6 (OH/MS))).

See Puhvel HED 4: 41f. for attestations. The oldest attestations are forms of the participle *gananant-* ‘bowed, in a bowing position’. Note that all OS and MS attestations are spelled with *-e-*, whereas the forms that are spelled *-i-* are from NS texts only. Verbal forms are rare. We only find verb.noun *kaniniḫauuar* in the vocabulary KBo 1.42 ii 43 *passim*, where it glosses Akk. *ganāšu* ‘to bow, to bend’, and a possible 3pl.pret.act. [ka-]ni-ni-e-er (KUB 36.19, 11), although this latter form must be regarded with caution as part of it has been added. These forms, which show a stem *kaniniḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, are found in NS texts and therefore may be regarded as secondary forms.

The etymological interpretation of *gananant-* ‘bowing, in a bowing position’ is quite difficult. Hrozný (1917: 78-9) interpreted it as a borrowing from Akkadian *kanānu* ‘to bend down, to stoop’. Neu (1972: 291-2) assumes a connection with PIE *\*ḡen-u-* ‘knee’. Such a connection is followed by others: Eichner (1979a: 59<sup>58</sup>) unconvincingly states that *kanen(ije/a)-* shows ‘Binnenreduplikation’ from a preform *\*ḡḫje-* (referring to the verb *kalelije/a-*, which has to be explained otherwise, however). Rieken (1999a: 151-152) puts *gananant-* ‘bowing’ on a par with *gananant-* ‘thirsty’ (see at *kanint-*) and assumes an original meaning ‘to bow down to water thirstily’, of which she judges the tie-in with *\*ḡenu-* ‘knee’ as “unproblematisch”. Puhvel (l.c.) connects *kanen(ije/a)-* with the PIE root *\*knei-* of which we find root extensions *\*knei-g<sup>wh</sup>-* (in Lat. *cō-nīveō* ‘to close (the eyes)’), Goth. *hneiwan*, OE *hnīgan* ‘to bend down, to bow’) and *\*knei-b-* (in ON *hnípa* ‘to be downcast’ and Lith. *knibtī* ‘to collapse’). Hitt. *kanen-* would then go back to a preform *\*kn(e)ḫi-n-*. All alleged cognates mentioned above rather belong to the European substrate-complex, however, so a connection to the Hittite verb is rather improbable.

In my view, only Neu’s suggestion to connect *gananant-* with *\*ḡenu-* ‘knee’ may have some merit. We then should assume that PIE possessed a verbal root *\*ḡen-* ‘to bend’, of which on the one hand the noun *\*ḡen-u-* ‘knee’ was derived, and on the other a nasal-infixed verb *\*ḡ-né-n-ti* ‘to bow’ was formed. This verb, which has not been preserved in the other IE language, was almost completely

lost in Hittite as well, apart from the participle *ganenant-* ‘bowing’. In NH times, when a verbal noun was necessary to gloss Akk. *ganāšu* ‘to bend’, an *ad hoc* formation *kaniniḡauuar* was secondarily created.

***kane/išš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib1) ‘to recognize, to acknowledge’: 1sg.pres.act. *ga-ni-eš-mi*, *ka-ni-iš-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ga-ne-eš-zi* (OS), *ga-ni-eš-zi* (OS), *ka-ni-eš-zi*, *ka-ni-iš-zi*, *ka-ni-e-eš-zi*, *ka-ni-eš-iz-zi* (KUB 33.70 ii 15), 3pl.pres.act. *ka-ni-eš-ša-an-zi*, *ga-ni-eš-ša-an[-zi]*, *ka-ni-e-eš-ša-an-zi*, *ka-ni-iš-ša-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ka-ni-iš-šu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ka-ni-iš-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. *ga-ni-eš-ta*, *ga-ni-iš-ta*, *ka-ni-eš-ta*, *ka-ni-iš-ta*, 3pl.pres.act. *ga-ni-eš-šer* (OS); part. *ka-ni-eš-ša-an-t-*, *ka-ni-iš-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun. *ka-ni-iš-šu-u-ua-ar*, *ka-ni-eš-šu-u-ua-ar*; inf.I *ka-ni-iš-šu-ua-an-zi*; sup. *ka-ni-eš-šu-u-ua-an*.

IE cognates: Skt. *jānāti*, Goth. *kunnan*, Lith. *žinóti*, Gr. *γινώσκω*, Lat. *(g)nōscō* ‘to know’.

PIE *\*ǵneh<sub>3</sub>-s-ti*, *\*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-s-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 42f. for attestations. Often, this verb is translated ‘to know’ (on the basis of etymological considerations), but this is incorrect. In Hittite, the original meaning of *kane/išš-* seems to be ‘to recognize’, out of which a meaning ‘to acknowledge’ develops. This latter meaning also can be used in the sense ‘to admit, to confess’ but also ‘to reward (someone)’ (i.e. ‘to acknowledge his deeds’).

The verb is spelled *-ne-eš-*, *-ni-eš-* and *-ni-iš-*. A spelling with plene *-e-*, *-ni-e-eš-*, is attested in one text only (KBo 22.178 + KUB 48.109), where we find *ka-ni-e-eš-zi* as well as *ka-ni-e-eš-ša-an-zi*.

Since Laroche (1961: 27) this verb is generally connected with the PIE root *\*ǵneh<sub>3</sub>-*, which has yielded verbs that denote ‘to know’ in the other IE languages (e.g. Skt. *jānāti*, Gr. *γινώσκω*, etc.). The *-s-* apparently is some extension that can be compared to e.g. the *-s-* in *tamāšš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* ‘to (op)press’ (*\*demh<sub>2</sub>-* + *-s-*), *paḡš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to protect’ (*peh<sub>2</sub>-* + *-s-*), *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* / *paš-* ‘to swallow’ (*\*peh<sub>3</sub>-* + *-s-*), etc. Although widely accepted, this etymology presents a problem: we would not expect that a sequence *\*-eh<sub>3</sub>-* would yield Hitt. *-e-*. Different solutions to this problem have been given (e.g. the reconstruction of an ablauting root *\*ǵnoh<sub>1</sub>-* besides *\*ǵneh<sub>1</sub>-*, cf. Melchert 1984a: 115), but the solution as presented by Jasanoff in his 1988-article has gained the most approval. There he compares Hitt. *kane/išš-* with TochA *kñasäst* ‘du kennst dich aus’ and states that both forms must reflect *\*ǵnēh<sub>3</sub>-s-*, in his view a ‘Narten’-inflected *s*-present. The fact that this formation is found in two branches to his mind means that it must be archaic.



Moreover, this etymology is seen by Jasanoff as a “major piece of evidence for the correctness of Eichner’s non-coloration rule” (1988: 236).

The Tocharian side of this theory has become problematic, however, since Hackstein (1993: 151f.) has shown that TochA *kñasäšt* is to be taken as a preterite III of the present stem *knāna-* and that it shows a completely regular morphological palatalization and *s*-suffix. The form therefore likely is of inner-Tocharian origin and does not have to be archaic.

In my view, the same can be said of the Hittite verb, as I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.f. The verb is spelled *-ne-eš-*, *-ni-eš-* and *-ni-iš-*, which in my view prototypically points to the phoneme /i/. Since there is no difference in spelling between the singular and the plural, we are dealing with a synchronic non-ablauting paradigm /knīSt<sup>s</sup>i / knīSant<sup>s</sup>i/. Because *mi*-verbs in principle show ablaut, it is likely that in this verb one of the ablaut-stems has been generalized throughout the paradigm (note that this is silently assumed by Jasanoff as well: his reconstructed paradigm *\*ǵnéh<sub>3</sub>-s-ti*, *\*ǵnéh<sub>3</sub>-s-nti* should regularly have given *\*knēšzi*, *\*knāšanzi* (if one believes in Eichner’s non-colouration rule), which means that he must assume generalization of the stem of the singular). As I have elaborately argued in l.c., the 3pl.pres.act.-form *gane/iššanzi* /knīSant<sup>s</sup>i/ is the regular outcome of *\*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>-s-énti* (just as *tame/iššanzi* /tmīSant<sup>s</sup>i/ < *\*dmh<sub>3</sub>sénti* and *gališšanzi* /klīSant<sup>s</sup>i/ < *\*klh<sub>1</sub>sénti*). Since in *mi*-verbs the zero grade in the 3pl.-form corresponds to *e*-grade in the 3sg.-form, I assume that the original 3sg.pres.act.-form was *\*ǵnéh<sub>3</sub>-s-ti*, which regularly should have yielded *\*\*knāšzi*. Just as the original paradigm /tmāst<sup>s</sup>i / tmīSant<sup>s</sup>i/ is altered in NH times to /tmīSt<sup>s</sup>i / tmīSant<sup>s</sup>i/, I believe that the original paradigm */\*knāSt<sup>s</sup>i / knīSant<sup>s</sup>i/* is altered to attested /knīSt<sup>s</sup>i / knīSant<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *kane/išzi*, *kane/iššanzi*.

***kānint-*** (gender unclear) ‘thirst’: nom.sg. *ka-ni-ī[-...]* (KUB 3.103 obv. 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ka-a-ni-in-ti* (KUB 14.16 iii 15 (NH), KUB 19.37 iii 54 (NH)), *ka-ni-in-ti* (KUB 14.15 iii 45, 46 (NH), KUB 33.121 ii 16 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***kaniruuant-***, ***kaniriuant-***, ***ganinant-*** (adj.) ‘thirsty’ (nom.sg.c. *ka-ni-ru-ua-an-za* (KBo 10.45 iv 11 (MH/NS)) // *ka-ni-eš-šu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 41.8 iv 10 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ka-ni-ri-ua-an* (KUB 31.19 rev. 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. [k]a-ni-ri-ua-an-t[i] (KUB 35.157, 3 (NS)), *kaniriuanti* (616/p r.col. 10 (NS) (Puhvel HED 4: 47)), nom.pl.c. *ga-ni-na-an-te-eš* (KUB 1.13 iii 25, iv 25 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ka-ni-ri-ua-an-da-aš* (VSNF 12.100 iii 8 (NS)), [ka-]ni-ri-<sup>1</sup>-ua-an-da-aš (ibid. 3 (NS)); broken *ka-ne-ri-ua-a[n-...]* (KBo 44.65, 13 (NS))).

See Puhvel HED 4: 47f. for attestations. It is difficult to judge the formal connection between *kanint-* ‘thirst’ and the adjective ‘thirsty’ that appears as *kanirūant-*, *kaniriūant-* and *ganinant-* (note that the one attestation *ka-ni-eš-šu-ya-an-t-* hardly can be anything else than a scribal error, cf. Rieken 1999a: 151<sup>709</sup>). Puhvel (l.c.) assumes that *kanint-* is a *t*-stem and that the root *kanen-* is the basis of *ganinant-* and *kanirūant-*, which in his opinion displays an *-r-* that is the result of dissimilation. Rieken (1999a: 151-152) commends on this interpretation that an original *t*-stem formation *\*kanen-t-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*kanant-*. She therefore rather assumes that the *-t-* of *kanint-* is of a secondary origin: according to Rieken the *-t-* is added to an original noun *\*kanen-* due to influence of *kāšt-* ‘hunger’, which would certainly fit the fact that *kāšt-* and *kanint-* ‘hunger and thirst’ often occur as a pair. Rieken further states that the adjectives *ganenant-* and *kanirūant-* must be compared to *ešhanant-* besides *išharūant-* (see Weitenberg 1971-72: 172) and that these reflect an *-r/n-*stem *\*kaner-* / *\*ganan-*. She further compares *ganinant-* to *gananant-* ‘bowing’ (see at *kanen(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*) and states that the meanings ‘thirsty’ and ‘to bow’ “sich durch eine Bedeutungsspezialisierung von ‘sich beugen’ zu ‘sich durstig zum Trinken niederbeugen’ semantisch plausible miteinander vereinbaren [lassen]” and that the words for ‘thirst’ and ‘thirsty’ therefore etymologically belong to the same root as *\*ġen-u-* ‘knee’ (see at *kanen(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* for the etymological connection with *\*ġen-u-*). I must admit that I do not find this connection very plausible, however.

Puhvel analyses *\*kanen-* as /knen-/ on the basis of the incorrect observation that the spelling *ka-a-ni-in-t-* is hapax. He implausibly reconstructs this /knen-/ as “*\*knē-n-*”, belonging to the root “*\*ken(-E<sub>1</sub>)-*” from which he also derives *\*kenk-* as attested in Goth. *huhrus* ‘hunger’, Lith. *keñkras* ‘lean’ and Gr. κάγκανος ‘parched’.

Although both Rieken’s and Puhvel’s etymological treatment are unconvincing, I am not able to provide an alternative.

***kānk-<sup>i</sup> / kank-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic1) ‘to hang (trans.); to weigh’: 1sg.pres.act. *ga-a-an-ga-aḥ-ḥé* (OS), *ga-a-an-ga-aḥ-ḥi* (OS), *ga-an-ga-aḥ-ḥi*, *kán-ga-aḥ-ḥi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ka-a-an-ki* (OS), *ka-an-ki*, *ga-an-ki* (often), *ga-an-ga-i* (KUB 7.60 ii 6 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ka-an-kán-zi* (OS), *ga-an-kán-zi*, *kán-kán-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ga-an-ki-ja-nu-un* (KBo 14.103 iv 23 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ga-an-ke-er*, 2pl.imp.act. *ga-an-ga-at-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *kán-kán-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *kán-ga-at-ta<sup>1</sup>-ri*, 2sg.imp.midd. *kán-ga-aḥ-ḥu-ut*; part. *ga-an-ga-an-t-* (OS), *ga-an-kán-t-*, *kán-ga-an-t-*, *kán-kán-t-*; verb.noun *kán-ku-ya-ar*, *ga-an-ku-u-ya-ar*; impf. *kán-ki-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *kanganu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to have (something) weighed’ (1sg.pres.act. *kán-ga-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *kán-ga-nu-uz[-zi]*; impf. [*ká*]n-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-), *gangala-* (c.) ‘hanger, curtain (vel sim.)’ (nom.pl. *ga-an-ga-liš*), *gangala-* (c.) ‘scale (??)’ (nom.sg. *ga-an-ga-la-aš*), *kangali-* (n.) ‘hanging, suspension’ (gen.sg. *kán-ga-li-ja-aš*), <sup>(DUG)</sup>*kangur* (n.) ‘(hanging?) vessel’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ka-an-gur*, *ga-an-gur*, abl. *ka-an-gur-az*).

IE cognates: Goth. *hahan* ‘to hang’, Skt. *śáṅkate* ‘to waver, to hesitate’, Lat. *cunctor*.

PIE *\*kónk-ei* / *\*knk-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 48f. for attestations. The oldest forms clearly show an ablaut *kānk-* vs. *kank-*. In NH texts we occasionally find inflections according to the productive *tarn(a)*-class (3gs.pres.act. *gangai*) and *-je/a*-class (*gankijanun*). The form *ga-a-an-ga-aḥ-hi* must be phonologically interpreted as /kánkHi/ and shows retention of *-n-* in front of two consonants. This seems to contradict the distribution in e.g. *li(n)k-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to swear’, where we find *lik-C* vs. *link-V*. Perhaps the difference in treatment of *-n-* depends on the fact that in *gāngahhi* we are dealing with a preceding *\*o*, whereas in *li(n)k-* we have *\*e* (compare e.g. Lycian where the absence of a sign *\*\*ī* besides *i* (vs. *ē* and *ā* besides *e* and *a*) shows that the nasalization of the high vowel *i* was lost whereas it was retained on the low vowels *e* and *a*).

This verb is always used transitively, ‘to hang (something/one)’, and can also denote ‘to weigh’. The causative in *-nu-* therefore means ‘to have something weighed’. Already since Sturtevant (1931b: 172), *kānk-*<sup>i</sup> / *kank-* has been connected with Goth. *hahan* ‘to hang (trans.)’, which has been generally accepted since. A further connection with Skt. *śáṅkate* ‘to hesitate’ shows that we have to reconstruct a root *\*kenk-*. Nevertheless, the morphological interpretation of this verbs is in debate.

Hittite *kānk-* / *kank-* points to *\*konk-* / *\*knk-* and is transitive. In Germanic, the basic formation is reflected by Goth. *hahan* ‘to hang (trans.)’ and OHG *hāhan* ‘to hang (trans.)’ that go back to *\*kónk-*. From this verb a secondary stative *\*konk-éh<sub>1</sub>-* is visible in OHG *hangēn* ‘to hang (intr.)’, whereas a secondary ‘causative’ that virtually goes back *\*konk-je-* is visible in OHG *hengen* ‘to hang (trans.)’ (note that the meaning is identical to *hāhan*). In Sanskrit, we are dealing with a thematic middle *śáṅkate* < *\*ké/ónk-e-to* ‘to hesitate’ < *\*to hang (intr.)*’, which might be equated with Lat. *cunctor* < *\*konk-to* ‘to hesitate’ < *\*to hang (intr.)*’. Although I do not know how to explain the Germanic *o*-grade, this system appears to reflect a situation in which an intransitive middle formation *\*kenk-to*

‘to hang (intr.)’ is primary, whereas the transitive Hittite *hi*-inflected verb reflects the causative *\*konk-eie-* (compare *lāki* ‘to make lie down’ < *\*log<sup>h</sup>-eie-*, the causative to *\*leḡ<sup>h</sup>-to* ‘to lie down’).

Note that Jasanoff (1979: 87) adduces this verb to the group of verbs that in his view reflect *o/e*-ablaut, assuming *\*kónk-* vs. *\*kénk-*, but Melchert (1994a: 139) points out that *\*kénk-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*kink-*.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> *ganu-*: see <sup>(UZU)</sup> *genu-* / *ganu-*

<sup>(PIŠ)</sup> *kapart-* / *kapirt-* (c.) a rodent (Sum. PÍŠ): nom.sg. *ka-pár-za*, acc.sg. *ga-pár-ta-an*, *ga-pí-ir-ta-an*, gen.sg. *ga-pí-ir-ta-aš*, *ka-pí-ir-ta-aš*.

See Puhvel HED 4: 58f. for attestations. The alteration between *-par-* and *-pir-* is difficult to explain and has even led scholars to propose that the sign BAR = *pár* perhaps should be read *pir*<sub>3</sub> as well (Laroche 1968a: 782). Other have attempted to explain the alteration linguistically. For instance, Neumann (1985) analysed the word as a compound of *kappi-* ‘small’ and *\*art-* ‘to gnaw’ < *\*reh<sub>1</sub>d-*, *roh<sub>1</sub>d-*, *\*ṛh<sub>1</sub>d-*. The idea is then that *kapart-* reflects *kappi-* + *ard-* whereas *kapirt-* goes back to *kappi-* + *\*ṛd-*. The consistent single spelling of *-p-* in *kapart-* / *kapirt-* is not favourable to this etymology, however.

Kimball (1994a: 85) proposes to interpret *-pirt-* / *-part-* as an alternance between *\*b<sup>h</sup>ēr-t-* and *b<sup>h</sup>ṛ-t-*. Oettinger (1995: 44-6) elaborates this idea and derives *kapart-* / *kapirt-* from *\*kom-b<sup>h</sup>ēr-t-* / *\*kom-b<sup>h</sup>ṛ-t-* ‘one who carries together, hoarder, packrat’. He explains the development of *\*kom-* to *ka-* as “Proklise < *\*kom-*”, comparing it to Germanic *\*ga-* < *\*kom-*. This proclisis should then explain the difference in outcome between *kapart-* / *kapirt-* < *\*kom-b<sup>h</sup>ēr-t-* and *kappi-* / *kappai-* ‘small’ < *\*kmb<sup>(h)</sup>-(e)i-* (q.v.).

This etymology has found wide acceptance. E.g. Rieken (1999a: 88) states that because verbal compounds derived in *-t-* in the other IE languages always show a zero-grade stem (e.g. Skt. *deva-stú-t-* ‘praising the gods’, Gr. ἀγνός ‘not knowing’ < *\*ṇ-ḡnh<sub>3</sub>-t-*), the type displayed in *kapirt-* / *kapart-* < *\*kom-b<sup>h</sup>ēr-t-* / *\*kom-b<sup>h</sup>ṛ-t-* must show a very archaic ablaut pattern. Melchert *apud* Oettinger (1995: 45) even adduces a Lydian cognate, namely *kabrdokid* ‘steals’ < *\*kabrd-ya-ka-*, which then would show that ‘mouse’ developed into ‘thief’, a development comparable to Gr. φῶρ ‘thief’ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>ōr*.

We know that many Hittite animal names are from a non-IE origin. It is in my view therefore too dangerous to assume that only the word for a rodent would display a flecion type that is so archaic that it is unattested elsewhere, or a

phonetic development (“proclisis” of *\*kom-* > *ka-*) that is not assuredly attested in other words. All in all, I am very sceptical regarding this etymology.

**kappi-** / **kappai-** (adj.) ‘small, little’ (Sum. TUR): nom.sg.c. *kap-pí-iš*, acc.sg.c. *kap-pí-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *kap-pí* (OS), acc.pl.c. *kap-pa-uš* (KUB 12.63 obv. 31 (OH/MS)), *kap-pí-ú-uš* (KBo 34.47 ii 8 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: **kappae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to diminish, to reduce’ (part. *kap-pa-a-an-t-*, *kap-pa-an-t-*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **καμβειν** (gloss) ‘grandchild’.

IE cognates: Av. *kamna-* ‘small’, *kambišta-* ‘least’, OP *kamna-* ‘small’.

PIE *\*kmb<sup>(h)</sup>-(e)i-*

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See Puhvel HED 4: 61f. for attestations. Szemerényi (1966: 207) proposed to connect **kappi-** / **kappai-** with Av. *kamna-* ‘small’, which in view of its superlative *kambišta-* ‘least’ must reflect *\*kmb-na-*. This would then mean that Hitt. **kappi-** / **kappai-** reflects *\*kmb<sup>(h)</sup>-(e)i-* (with *\*kmb<sup>(h)</sup>-* > *kapp-* comparable to *\*kmt-* > *katt-*). Note that a reconstruction *\*komb<sup>(h)</sup>-(e)i-* is impossible in view of *dampu-* ‘blunt’ < *\*tomp-u-*. Puhvel (l.c.) states that Hitt. *-pp-* points to *\*p* and that therefore Szemerényi’s proposal cannot be correct. A fortition of *\*-mb-* to Hitt. *-pp-* is well understandable, however, and fits e.g. *\*-ms-* > Hitt. *-šš-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 162). According to Neumann (1961: 61), words like **καμβειν**, **κομβος**, **κόμβιον**, **κανψη** (gen.), **κανψιου** (gen.) ‘grandchild’, which are attested in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia, are derived from PAnat. *\*komb-(e)i-*.

**kappilae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to pick a fight (vel sim.)’: 3pl.pret.act. *kap-pí-la-a-er* (NS).

Derivatives: **kappilah<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to get in a fight’ (3pl.pret.act. *kap-pí-la-ah-ḫe-er* (NH)), **kappilalli-** (adj.) ‘prone to fight, aggressive’ (nom.sg. *kap-pí-la-al-li-iš*, *kap-pí-la-al-liš* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **kappilazza-** ‘to become hostile’ (3sg.pret.act. *kap-pí-la-az-za-at-ta*); HLuw. **kapilala/i-** (c.) ‘enemy(?)’ (acc.sg. <sup>“#314”</sup>*ka-pi-la-li-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §24), <sup>“#314”</sup>*k[a]-pi-la-li-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §26)).

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See Puhvel HED 4: 63f. for attestations. The etymological interpretation of this word is difficult. For instance, Puhvel (l.c.) connects it with Gr. **κάμπω** ‘to bend’, Lat. *campus* ‘field’ (from *\*‘bending (valley) between mountains’*), arguing that the Hittite semantics must be compared to the development of Lat. *campus* ‘field’ to ModHG *Kampf* ‘war, battle’. This is rather improbable, however, since the semantic development of *\*‘bending’* > ‘field’ > ‘war’ is very specific and only

accounts for the word *campus*: I would not dare to state that in general words that mean ‘to bend’ and ‘to pick a fight’ should be connected. Eichner (1979a: 61) rather connects Skt. *śap-* ‘to scold, to curse’ < \**kēp-*, but this should have yielded Luw. \*\**zapp-*. All in all, none of the proposed etymologies are convincing.

***kappuē/a-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic4 > Ic2) ‘to count, to calculate; (+ *āppa(n)*) to take into account, to value’: 2sg.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-ūa-ši* (OH/NS), *ka-pu-u-e-ši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *kap-pu-u-e-ez-zi* (MH/NS), [*ka*]p-pu-u-i-ez-z[i] (KBo 54.42 r.col. 9 (NS)), *kap-pu-u-ūa-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-ūa-at-te-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-en-zi* (OS), *kap-pu-u-an-zi* (OH/?), *kap-pu-u-ūa-an-zi*, *kap-pu-ūa-an-zi*, *kap-pu-u-ūa-a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-ūa-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-et*, 3sg.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-e-et* (OH/MS), *kap-pu-u-et* (OH/MS), *kap-pu-u-ūa-it* (NH), *kap-pu-ūa-it* (OH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-ūa-u-en*, *kap-pu-ūa-u-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *kap-pu-ūa-at-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-e-er* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-u-ūa-a-er* (undat.), 2sg.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-i* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-ūa-i* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-u-ūa-i* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-ed-du* (MH/NS), *kap-pu-u-ūa-id-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *kap-pu-ūa-at-te-en* (MH/NS), *kap-pu-u-ūa-at-ti-en* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-ūa-an-du* (MH/MS); part. *kap-pu-ūa-an-t-*, *kap-pu-u-an-t-*, *kap-pu-u-ūa-an-t-*; verb.noun. *kap-pu-ūa-u-ūa-ar*, *kap-pu-u-ūa-u-ūa-ar*, *kap-pu-u-ūa-u-ar*; impf. *kap-pu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *kap-pu-u-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *kap-pu-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *kap-pu-u-e-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***kappueššar* / *kappuešn-*** (n.) ‘counting, calculation’ (Sum. ŠID-ešn-; dat.-loc.sg. *kap-pu-eš-ni* (NS), abl. *kap-pu-u-e-eš-na-az* (MH/NS)).

See Puhvel HED 4: 66f. for attestations. The oldest attestations of this verb clearly show that the *-uē/a-* inflection is original. In NS texts, we also find forms that show a stem *kappuāe<sup>zi</sup>*, according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class. Verbs in *-uē/a-* reflect \**-u-īe/o-* and usually are denominative (*ḫueš<sup>u</sup>uē/a<sup>zi</sup>* from *ḫueš<sup>u</sup>*-, *šaru<sup>u</sup>ē/a<sup>zi</sup>* from *šaru-* etc.). We would therefore at first sight assume that *kappuē/a-* is derived from a further unattested noun \**kappu-*. Pisani (1953: 307-8) analysed *kappuē/a-* as \**katt(a)* + *puē/a-*, which he connected with Lat. *putāre* ‘to cut, to carve’. Čop (1965: 104; 1966-8: 61) adapted this view and assumed \**kom+puē/a-*, which then would be comparable to Lat. *computāre* ‘to count’. Although seemingly attractive, the absence of other examples in Hittite of such preverbs (see at <sup>(Piš)</sup>*kapart-* / *kapirt-* for the unlikelihood of its usual interpretation \**kom-b<sup>h</sup>ēr-t-*), makes me quite sceptical towards this interpretation.

**karaitt- / karet-** (c.) ‘flood, inundation’: nom.sg. *ka-ra-i-iz* (OS), *gi-re-e-ez-za* (OH/NS), *ka-re-ez* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ka-ra-it-ti* (OS), nom.pl. *ga-re-et-te-eš* (OH/NS), *ka-re-et-ti-iš* (OH/NS), *ga-re-et-ti-iš* (NS), *ka-re-et-ti-ia-aš* (NS), acc.pl. *ka-re-ed-du-uš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ka-re-et-ta-aš* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Skt. *jráyas-* ‘expanse, space, flat surface’, YAv. *zraiiāh-* ‘sea’.

PIE *\*gró-i-t-s*, *\*gró-i-t-m*, *\*gré-i-t-s*.

See Puhvel HED 4: 85f. for attestations. The interpretation of this word is difficult, also because of its different spellings. The oldest attestations, nom.sg. *ka-ra-i-iz* (OS) and dat.-loc.sg. *ka-ra-it-ti* (OS) point to a stem /krait-/. In NS texts, we mostly encounter the spellings *k/ga-RI-IT-* and *k/ga-RI-IZ*, which could in principle be read *ka-ri-it-* and *ka-ri-iz* as well as *ka-re-et-* and *ka-re-ez*. On the basis of the hapax spelling *gi-RI-e-IZ-za*, which unambiguously points to *gi-re-e-ez-za*, one could argue that all other forms must be read with the vowel *-e-* as well: *ka-re-et-* and *ka-re-ez*. On the other hand, it occurs more often that in NS texts occasionally an *e*-spelling turns up of an otherwise consistent *-i-* (although most of these cases can be explained by the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-h-*, *-š-*, *-m-* and *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d), but this does not occur before *-t-*), on the basis of which one could argue that the spelling *gi-re-e-ez-za* has to be disregarded for etymological reasoning. All in all, we are dealing with a noun that shows an ablaut /krait-/ besides /kret-/ or /krit-/.

Puhvel (l.c.) argues that the spellings with *-ai-* are “hypercorrect on the basis of *\*ai > e*” and assumes that the stem is /kret-/, which he compares to Skt. *hradá-* ‘lake, pool’, *hrādin-* ‘watery’. Apart from the fact that Skt. *-d-* does not regularly correspond to Hitt. *-tt-*, the spellings with *-ai-* cannot be ignored: as I have shown in detail under the lemma *hai(n)k<sup>ta(n)</sup>*, there are no examples in Hittite of an ‘hypercorrect’ or ‘reverse’ spelling of etymological *\*-e-* as *-ai-*.

Čop (1954a: 162) and Schindler (1972: 35) connect *karaitt-* to Skt. *jráyas-* ‘expanse, space, flat surface’, YAv. *zraiiāh-* ‘sea’ and reconstruct *\*gró-i-t-*. Rieken (1999a: 134-5) follows this connection and states that “[die] Lautungen [*grāit-*, *gret-*, *grit-*] ... lassen sich unter der Annahme eines paradigmatischen Ablauts *\*-ōi-* / *\*-oi-* / *\*-i-* auf eine *t*-Ableitung ... *\*grōi-t-* / *\*groi-t-* / *\*gri-t-* zurückführen”. This is not fully correct: the diphthong *\*-oi-* does not monophthongize to *-e-* in front of *\*t* (compare e.g. *daitti* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-th<sub>2</sub>e-i*), and *\*groi-t-* therefore would not yield Hitt. /kret-/. If the stem /kret-/ is linguistically real, it can only reflect *\*gréi-t-*.

All in all, we are dealing with the following situation. If the one spelling with plene *-e-* must be taken as a proof that the spellings *ka-RI-IT-* and *ka-RI-IZ* have

to be interpreted as *ka-re-et-* and *ka-re-ez*, then we are dealing with an ablauting stem /krait-/ /kret-/ that must reflect a static paradigm \**grói-t-s*, \**grói-t-m*, \**gréi-t-s* (cf. at *nekuz* for a similar static *t*-stem \**nóg<sup>wh</sup>-t-s*, \**nóg<sup>wh</sup>-t-m*, \**nég<sup>wh</sup>-t-s* ‘night’). If we disregard the spelling with plene *-e-* and read *ka-RI-IT-* and *ka-RI-IZ* as *ka-ri-it-* and *ka-ri-iz*, we are dealing with an ablauting stem /krait-/ /krit-/ that must reflect a hysterodynamic paradigm \**grói-t-s*, \**grói-t-m* (or \**gri-ót-m?*), \**gri-t-ós*. Since I would be inclined to think that the first situation is more likely, I have cited all forms in the overview above with the vowel *-e-*. See at e.g. *šiuatt-* for the outcome of a hysterodynamic *t*-stem.

The root \**gréi-* is verbally attested in Skt. *jray-* ‘to expand’, which means that *karaitt-* as well as Skt. *jrayas-* and Av. *zraiiāh-* originally meant ‘fast surface, large body (of water)’.

***karāp-<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-*** (IIa3) ‘to devour, to consume’: 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ra-a-pí* (OS), *ga-ra-pí*, *ka-a-ra-pí* (KBo 36.48 + KUB 29.11 ii 10 (OH/NS) // KUB 8.6 obv. 10 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *gi-ri-pa-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ka-ri-pa-an-zi* (NS), *ka-ri-ip-pa-an-zi* (ABoT 44 i 55 (OH/NS)), *ka-ra-pa-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ga<<ri>>-ra-pa-aš* (KBo 9.114, 13 (OH/MS)), *ka-ri-pa-aš* (NS), *ka-ri-ip-ta* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ka-re-e-pé-er* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ka-ri-ip-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ka-ri-pa-an-du* (MH/NS), *ka-ri-ip-pa-an-du* (ABoT 44 i 54 (OH/NS)); part. *ka-ri-pa-an-t-*; inf.I *ka-ri-pu-ua-an-zi*, *ka-ri-pa-u-ua-an-zi* (NS); sup. *ka-ri-pu-u-ua-an*; impf. *ka-ri-pa-aš-ke/a-*, *ga-ri-pí-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *grabh<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to seize’, OCS *grabiti* ‘to rob’, SCr. *gràbiti* ‘to seize’, Lith. *gróbtī* ‘to rob’, Latv. *grebt* ‘to seize’, ON *grápa* ‘to seize’.

PIE \**g<sup>h</sup>róbh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, \**g<sup>h</sup>rbh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 72f. for attestations. The verb denotes ‘to devour, to consume’: Puhvel (o.c.: 73) rightly remarks that it differs from *ed<sup>zi</sup> / ad-* ‘to eat’ in the sense that the latter verb is used for the normal eating of humans, whereas *karāp-<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-* “has as natural subjects wolf, dog, horse, ruinous insect(s) or demonic deity, with the extended figurative meaning ‘consume recklessly’”. Almost all forms of this verb are spelled with single *-p-*. The only two attestations that show a geminate spelling *-pp-* are found in one context, namely ABoT 44 i 54-55, and therefore do not have much weight. Puhvel’s statement (l.c.) that the occasional spelling *-pp-* points to etymological \**p* consequently is incorrect. The form *ka-ri-ip-pí-an-zi* (KBo 15.10 ii 57) cited in Oettinger (1979a: 53) is unreliable: the hand copy of the text only reveals a form [ ... ]*x-ri-ip-pí-an-zi*, of which no clear indication exists that it should mean ‘to devour’. The oldest forms,



*ka-ra-a-pí* (OS) and *ka-re-e-pé-er* (MH/MS) point to an ablaut *karāp-* / *karep-*. It must be noted, however, that the plene spelling of *-e-* is absent in all other forms, so that I have chosen to cite the verb as *karāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *kare/ip-* in this lemma. Occasionally we find plene spelling of the first *a*, e.g. in *ka-a-ra-pí*. It has been claimed that this shows that this vowel was phonetically real, but in my view this form could be regarded as a corrupt spelling for *ka-ra<sup>i</sup>-a<sup>i</sup>-pí*. Nevertheless, such a solution is more difficult in *ga-a-ri-pí-iš[-...]* (KUB 4.47 obv. 6), if this form really should be regarded as a broken spelling of the imperfective of this verb. The one attestation *gi-ri-pa-an-zi* (KUB 43.75, 17) by contrast indicates that the first written vowel must be empty: in this form the empty vowel was copied after the following real vowel *-i-*, implying a phonological /krV-*i*.

In Sturtevant & Hahn (1951: 31), *karāp-* / *kare/ip-* is connected with Skt. *grabh-* ‘to seize’, etc., but this has caused some debate. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 421<sup>57</sup>) states that “man [wird] aus semant. Gründen die heth. Entsprechung von \**g<sup>h</sup>reb<sup>h</sup>*- ‘ergreifen’ eher in *karpīe<sup>-mi</sup>* (\**g<sup>h</sup>rb<sup>h</sup>-īe-*) ‘heben’ als in *garāp-/garēp-* ‘verschlingen’ suchen”. Nevertheless, the verb *karpī(iē/a-)<sup>zi</sup>* formally can hardly derive from \**g<sup>h</sup>reb<sup>(h)</sup>*-, which still leaves Sturtevant’s suggestion open as a possibility. Moreover, Oettinger’s own etymology, namely connecting *karāp-* / *kare/ip-* with Skt. *jrambh-* ‘to yawn’ is semantically rather weak. Puhvel (l.c.) also objects against Sturtevant’s etymology on semantic grounds and suggests himself the rather impossible reconstruction \**g<sup>w</sup>r-ēp/b<sup>h</sup>*-, connecting Gr. βράττειν ‘to eat’ and Skt. *girāti* ‘to devour’.

In my view, the connection between *karāp-* / *kare/ip-* ‘to devour’ and Skt. *grabh<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to seize’, Lith. *grėbti* ‘to rob’, OCS *grabiti* ‘to rob’, ON *grápa* ‘to seize’ is semantically possible if we assume that the original meaning of this root was ‘to seize’ (note that the Lith. and OCS meaning ‘to rob’ is an innovation as can be seen by Latv. *grebt* ‘to seize’). The exact reconstruction of this root has caused some debate. On the basis of Skt. *grbhñāti* it is clear that the structure of the root must be \**g<sup>(h)</sup>reb<sup>(h)</sup>H-*. Because of Winter’s Law in Balto-Slavic (cf. Kortlandt 1988: 393), the labial consonant must have been \**-b-*. This means that in Sanskrit, the laryngeal has caused aspiration of the preceding \**b*. According to LIV<sup>2</sup>, this indicates that we are dealing with \**h<sub>2</sub>*, since it apparently is assumed that only \**h<sub>2</sub>* caused aspiration in Sanskrit. Nevertheless, the comparison between the Sanskrit primary 2pl.-ending *-thá* and the corresponding Greek ending *-τε < \*-th<sub>1</sub>e* shows that \**h<sub>1</sub>* caused aspiration in Sanskrit as well. The root-final laryngeal therefore could be \**h<sub>1</sub>* as well as \**h<sub>2</sub>*. According to PIE root constraints it is impossible to have two glottalized stops in one root, which means that the initial consonant must have been \**g<sup>h</sup>*-. This \**g<sup>h</sup>* lost its aspiration in Sanskrit due to Grassmann’s

Law. All in all, we have to reconstruct the root ‘to grab’ on outer-Anatolian grounds as  $*g^h rebh_{1/2}$ -. The fact that Hitt. *karāp-/kare/ip-* does not inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class, in my view rules out the possibility of a root-final  $*h_2$ , however. As I have shown under the lemma of *malla<sup>i</sup> / mall-* ‘to mill’, verbs of the structure  $*CeCh_{2/3}$ - end up in the *tarn(a)*-class because of 3sg.pres.act.  $*CoCh_{2/3-ei} > CaCai$ . This means that *karāpi* can only be reconstructed as  $*g^h róbh_{1-ei}$ .

The verb *karāp<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-* is one of the few *hi*-verbs that show a synchronic ablaut  $-\bar{a}/-e/i-$  (also *ašāš<sup>i</sup> / aše/iš-*, *ḥamank<sup>i</sup> / ḥame/ink-* and *šarāp- / šarip-*: note that *šākk<sup>i</sup> / šakk-* (often cited as *šākk- / šekk-*) does not belong to this group originally). This type is difficult to explain. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 114) assumes that the  $-\bar{a}/-e/i-$  ablaut is analogical to the verb “*šākk- / šekk-*”, in which, according to him, the ablaut vowel *-e-* is the regular outcome of a reduplication syllable  $*se$ -*sg-*. As I have shown under the lemma *šākk<sup>i</sup> / šakk-*, Oettinger’s interpretation of this verb cannot be upheld anymore, and therewith the idea that the  $-\bar{a}/-e/i-$  ablaut type analogically spread out of this verb must be abandoned as well.

In 1978, Jasanoff suggested a new approach, namely assuming that the synchronic Hittite  $-\bar{a}/-e/i-$  ablaut is the phonetic outcome of a PIE  $*ó/é$ -ablaut. In the course of time, this theory has gained many supporters and nowadays is enthusiastically applied to PIE verbal theory (most strikingly in Jasanoff 2003). The fact that a verbal ablaut  $*o/e$  is unattested in any other Indo-European language is not very favourable to Jasanoff’s theory, however. Moreover, I believe that the  $-\bar{a}/-e/i-$ ablaut has an inner-Hittite explanation.

As I have shown under the discussion of the verbal class IIa3 (§ 2.2.2.2.f), to which *karāp-/kare/ip-* belongs, I think that the *e/i* as found in the weak stem must be compared to *šarāp<sup>i</sup> / šarip-* ‘to sip’ and to *terepp<sup>zi</sup> / tere/ipp-* ‘to plough’ (from class Ia5). It is in my view significant that these are the only three verbs in Hittite that show a structure  $*CReC-$ . I therefore assume that the phonetically expected outcomes of the ablauting pair  $*CReC- / *CRC-$   $>$  Hitt. *CReC- / CaRC-* (when *mi*-conjugated) and  $*CRóC- / *CRC-$   $>$  Hitt. *CRāC- / CaRC-* (when *hi*-conjugated) were too aberrant (synchronically, it looks like Schwebe-ablaut) and therefore eliminated, secondarily placing the anaptyctic vowel /i/ in the zero-grade form on the place of the vowel in the full grade form. In this way, a *mi*-conjugating verb  $*CRéC- / *CRC-$  was altered to synchronic *CReC- / CRiC-*, whereas the *hi*-conjugating  $*CRóC- / *CRC-$  was altered to synchronic *CRāC- / CRiC-*. In both cases, the weak stem is spelled *CRe/iC-*. With this scenario in mind, we can explain *karāp<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-* as phonological /krāb- / krīb-/ , the

‘regular’ secondary outcome of  $*g^h róbh_1-$  /  $*g^h rbh_1-$ . Note that in  $*g^h róbh_1-ei$ , the  $*h_1$  did not geminate the preceding  $*b$ .

**karaš** (n.) ‘wheat, emmer-wheat’: nom.-acc.sg. *kar-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *kar-ša-an* (1x, MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *kar-aš-šu-uš* (OH/MS).

IE cognates: Lat. *hordeum*, OHG *gersta*, Alb. *drith* ‘barley’.

PIE  $*g^h ersd^h$

See Puhvel HED 4: 74-5 for attestations and semantics. The nom.-acc.sg.n.-form *kar-aš* occurs many times, whereas the commune forms acc.sg.c. *kar-ša-an* and acc.pl.c. *kar-aš-šu-uš* both are (semi-)hapax and therefore must be secondary. Nevertheless, these forms show that the spelling *kar-aš* is to be phonologically interpreted as /karS/. Hutter (1988: 60) first connected *karaš* with the PIE root  $*g^h ersd^h$ - ‘barley’, which was elaborated by Rieken (1999a: 63-65). According to her,  $*g^h ersd^h$ - ‘barley’ is a dental extension of the verbal root  $*g^h ers-$  as found in Skt. *hárṣate*, *hṛṣyati* ‘to be excited’, Lat. *horreō* ‘to stand up straight, to shiver’, which in her view is a derivative of a root  $*g^h er-$  as visible in Gr. (Hes.) *χίρ* ‘hedge-hog’, *χοῖρος* <  $*g^h or̥ios$  ‘porcupine’ and Alb. *derr* <  $*g^h or-n-$  ‘pig, swine’. According to Rieken (o.c.: 64) the connection to these latter forms ( $*g^h er-$  ‘pig, pork’) is supported by a passage in which Hitt. *karaš* seems to mean ‘pig’s bristle’:

KUB 17.28 i

(4) [*nu=kán*] *ḫa-at-te-eš-ni an-da ŠAḫ-aš kar-aš*

(5) [*ar-r*] *a-aš ša-ak-kar da-aḫ-ḫi*

(6) [*kat-ta-a*] *n-da ŠAḫ.TUR ḫa-ad-da-aḫ-ḫa-ri*

“In der Opfergrube nehme ich das *k.* eines Schwein und den Kot des [Gesä]ßes. Ich schlachte das Ferkel hinab”.

I do not think that this is the only possible interpretation of this text (note that Puhvel (l.c.) translates “pig’s emmer[-feed?]” here), and I therefore would leave the alleged cognates that show a root  $*g^h er-$  ‘pig’ out of consideration here. Rieken reconstructs  $*g^h rs$  or  $*g^h ers$  “weil sowohl  $*-er-$  als auch  $*-r-$  vor Konsonant heth.  $-ar-$  ergeben”. I do not fully agree with her:  $*g^h ers$  in my view would have yielded  $**kerš$ . I would much rather reconstruct  $*g^h ersd^h$ : this form would regularly yield Hitt. /karS/, with loss of wordfinal dental consonant after the lowering of  $*-e-$  to  $-a-$  in front of  $*RCC$ . Moreover, semantically this reconstruction is more appealing than Rieken’s.

**karāt-** (c.) ‘entrails, innards; inner being, character’ (Sum. ŠÀ): nom.sg. *ka-ra-a-a[z]* (OH/MS), *ga-ra-az* (OH/MS), *ka-ra-az* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ka-ra-a-ta-an* (OH/MS), instr. ŠÀ-*it*, nom.pl. *ka-ra-a-te-eš* (OH/MS), *ka-ra-a-ti-iš* (OH/NS), *ga-ra-a-te-eš* (OH/NS), *ga-ra-a-ti-eš* (OH/NS), *ga-ra-a-ti-iš* (OH/NS), *ka-ra-te-eš* (OH/NS), *ga-a-ra-a-ti-iš* (NS) acc.pl. *ka-ra-a-du-uš* (OH/NS), *ka-ra-du-uš* (OH/NS), *ga-ra-a-ti-uš* (1x: OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ka-ra-a-ta* (MH/MS), *ka-ra-ta* (NS), *ga-ra-ta* (NH).

IE cognates: Gr. χορδή ‘gut’, Lith. *žárnos* ‘bowels’, Lat. *haruspex* ‘entrails-examiner’, Skt. *hirá-* ‘vein’.

PIE \**grh<sub>1</sub>-ód-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 75f. for attestations. For a long time it was thought that the stem *karāt-* was part of the paradigm *ker / kard(i)-* ‘heart’ (q.v.), not only because of the formal similarity, but also because both stems can be sumerographically written with the logogram ŠÀ ‘heart, inside’. Laroche (1968b: 244f.) showed that we should distinguish two words, however, namely *ker / kard(i)-* ‘heart’ and *karāt-* ‘entrails’. Despite some occasional confusion (compare Puhvel, for instance, who cites under the paradigm of *karāt-* an abl. *kartaz* on the basis of the syntagm *an-na-az kar-ta-az* (KUB 30.11 rev. 19, KUB 30.10 rev. 20), which he translates as ‘from mother’s womb, i.e. since birth’: it is more logical to interpret this form as belonging with *ker / kart-*), this division still holds.

Within the paradigm of *karāt-*, plene spelling of *-a-* is common (especially in the oldest texts), and the dental consonant is consistently spelled single, which points to a phonological interpretation /krād-/. Semantically, *karāt-* can stand for the entrails themselves, but also, more metaphorically, for the inner spirit (especially in the pair *karāt- ištanzan-* ‘entrails (and) soul’). On the basis of the following context,

KBo 22.2 obv.

(16) *nu-u=š-ma-aš DINGIR<sup>DIDL</sup>-eš ta-ma-i-in ka-ra-a-ta-an da-i-er nu*

AMA=ŠU-NU

(17) [ x x x -u]š<sup>2</sup> *na-at-ta ga-ni-eš-zi*

‘The gods placed a different *karāt-* in/on them and (therefore) their mother does not recognize (them)’,

it has been claimed that *karāt-* should mean ‘Äußeres, Hülle’ (thus Rieken 1999a: 139), but this seems unnecessary to me: compare Puhvel’s translation “the gods

installed another character in them, and their mother does not recognize [them]” (o.c.: 76).

Already Laroche (l.c.) connected *karāt-* with Gr. χορδή ‘gut’, Lat. *haruspex* ‘person who examines the entrails of sacrificed animals’, Lith. *žárnos* ‘bowels’ and Skt. *hirá* ‘vein’, which were reconstructed by Schrijver (1991: 208) as a root  $*g^h(e)rH-$ . If Hitt. *karāt-* then would show a *-d*-stem (compare the *d*-extension in Gr. χορδή), we must reconstruct  $*g^hrh_1-ód-$  (note that both  $*g^hrh_2-ód-$  and  $*g^hrh_3-ód-$  would have yielded Hitt.  $**karhāt-$ ). Since in synchronic Hittite we only find the stem *karāt-* <  $*g^hrh_1-ód-$ , the original paradigm cannot be determined (possibly  $*g^hérh_1-ód-s$ ,  $*g^hrh_1-ód-m$ ,  $*g^hrh_1-d-ós?$ ). Note that this reconstruction implies that the synchronic analysis of *karāt-* should be /kr?ād-/.

<sup>(S1)</sup> **karāyar / karaun-** (n.) ‘horn(s), antler(s)’ (Sum. SI): nom.-acc.sg. *ka-ra-a-ū-ar* (KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 15, 16, 19 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ga-ra-ū-ni* (KUB 43.32 iii 1 (OS), KBo 17.4 iii 9 (OS)), *ka-ra-ū-ni* (Bo 2689 ii 11 (OH/NS)), instr. SI<sup>H1.A</sup>-*an-da* (KUB 43.60 i 19 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl. *ga-ra-a-ū[a-ar]* (KBo 20.110, 8 (NS)), case? *ka-ra-u-na-aš* (KBo 30.129 iii 4 (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **SI-na-** ‘horn’ (abl.-instr. *SI-na-ti*), **zaryani(ia)-** (adj.) ‘of a horn’ (abl.-instr. *za-ar-ūa-ni-ia-ti*); HLuw. **suran-** ‘horn; plentifulness(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>CORNU+RAI</sup>*su+ra/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §6), <sup>CORNU+RAI</sup>*su+ra/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §36), nom.-acc.pl. <sup>CORNU</sup>*sū+ra/i-ni* (ASSUR letters *f+g* §34)).

PIE  $*kr-ó-ur$  /  $*kr-ó-un-$

See Puhvel HED 4: 77-9 for attestations. This word belongs to the small group of words that end in *-āyar* / *-aun-*: *ašāyar* / *ašaun-* ‘sheepfold’, *ḥaršāyar* / *ḥaršaun-* ‘tilled land’, *partāyar* / *partaun-* ‘wing, feather’ and *šarāyar* / *šaraun-* ‘storm-clouds(?)’. The exact formation of these forms is not fully clear, but the nouns *ḥaršāyar*, a derivative from the verb *ḥārš-* ‘to till (the soil)’, and *ašāyar*, possibly a derivative of the verb *eš-<sup>(n)</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to seat’, clearly have to be analysed as  $*C(V)C-āyar$ , i.e. a suffix *-āyar* attached to (the zero-grade of) a root. This situation reminds of the abstract nouns in *-ātar* / *-ānn-* that have the structure  $*CC-ātar$ . For *karāyar* this would mean that we are dealing with a root *kar-*.

Hilmarsson (1985) argued that *karāyar* must be regarded as cognate with Arm. *eļjewr* ‘horn’ and TochA *kror*, TochB *krorīya* ‘horn, crescent (of moon)’ that seem to reflect  $*g^hreh_1ur$ . This latter preform should have yielded Hitt.  $**krēyar$ , however, and I therefore reject this etymology. Sommer (1941: 60<sup>1</sup>) connected *karāyar* with PIE  $*ker(h_2)-$  ‘head, horn’ (on which see especially Nussbaum 1986), which makes much more sense. Nevertheless, there has been no consensus

on the morphology of *karāu*-ar. Some scholars analyse *karau*-+ar (in which *karau*- ~ Gr. κερ(α)ός ‘horned’, Lat. *cervus* ‘stag’), others *kara*-+uar (with *kara*- ~ Gr. κέρας ‘horn’). Eichner (1973a: 92<sup>35</sup>) states that *karāu*-ar may reflect “ein Nomen \*karā (mit vorheth. Schwund von auslautendem -H<sub>2</sub> < \*kreh<sub>2</sub> oder \*kreh<sub>2</sub> = (formal) gr.ion. κάρη)” to which a suffix “-uor/-un- mit kollektiver Bedeutung” has been attached. This view has been taken over by e.g. Melchert (1984a: 63), Nussbaum (1986: 31-6) and Rieken (1999a: 349-50). It is problematic, however, that this reconstruction presupposes a suffixation of -uar after the loss of word-final laryngeal (normally, \*-eh<sub>2</sub>-ur would yield Hitt. -aḫhur, cf. \*péh<sub>2</sub>ur > pahhur ‘fire’) and that this reconstruction cannot account for CLuw. *zaruani(ia)*- ‘of a horn’, in which no trace of \*h<sub>2</sub> can be found.

In my view, there is no need to reconstruct a basis \*kerh<sub>2</sub>-: as Nussbaum (1986: 1-18) has shown, we must assume for PIE a basic stem \*ker- ‘horn’, from which a ‘collective’ \*ker-h<sub>2</sub>- ‘horn’ has been derived that serves as a basis for many derivations that denote ‘horn’ and ‘head’. So, if we assume that the suffix -āuar / -aun- can be compared to -ātar / -ānn- and reflects \*-ó-ur / -ó-un-, we can safely assume that *karāu*-ar has been derived from the unextended stem \*ker-: \*kr-ó-ur.

The exact interpretation of HLuw. *suran*- ‘horn; plentifulness(?)’ is unclear to me. Perhaps we are dealing with a metathesis of \*kruan- ~ CLuw. *zaru*-.

**karett-**: see *karaitt-* / *karett-*

**kareuariuar** (adv.) ‘at daybreak, early in the morning’

Derivatives: *ka-re-ua-ri-ua-ar* (NS), *ka-a-re-ua-ri-ua-ar* (1x, NS), *ka-re-ua-a-ri-ua-ar* (NS), *ka-re-ú-ua-ri-ua-ar* (OH/NS), [*ka-r*]e-ua-ri-u-ur[*a-ar*] (NS), *ka-ru-ua-ri-ua-ar* (MH/MS), *ka-ru-ú-a-ri-ua-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-ua-ri-ua-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-ua-ri-u-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-ua-a-ri-u-ua-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-ua-ar-ua-ar* (1x, OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú a-ri-ua-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú a-ar-ri-ua-ar* (MH/NS).

PIE \*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-ur or \*g<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-eu-ri-ur

See Puhvel HED 4: 86f. for attestations. We basically find three forms of this adverb, namely *ka-RI-ua-ri-ua-ar* (which could be read *ka-ri-ua-* as well as *ka-re-ua-*: I will therefore further cite it as *karIuariuar*), *karūuariuar* and *karūariuar*. It denotes ‘at daybreak, early in the morning’ and therefore probably is related to the adverb *karū* ‘early’ (q.v.). The bulk of the attestations are attested in NS texts only. Only once, we find a MS attestation, namely *karuuariuar*. At first sight this seems to indicate that *karuuariuar* is the original form. Nevertheless,

Puhvel (l.c.) rightly points out that it is likely that the variant *karuṽariṽar* is a reshaping on the basis of the simplex *karū* and that *karluṽariṽar* therefore must be the original form. So we are dealing with an original *karluṽariṽar* ‘at daybreak, early in the morning’ that under the influence of *karū* ‘early’ is reshaped to *karūariṽar*. Later on, this form even is reanalysed as *karūariṽar* ‘at an early rising’, with *ariṽar*, as if from *arai<sup>i</sup> / ari-* ‘to rise’ (the regular verbal noun of which is *araṽar* < \**araiṽar*, however).

The adverb *karluṽariṽar* probably has to be analysed as a verbal noun in *-ṽar* of a further unattested verb \**karluṽariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* (cf. *genušriṽar*, the verbal noun of *genuš(ša)riṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* (see at *genu-* / *ganu-*)). This \**karluṽariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* then probably is a derivation in *-ariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* of the stem \**karlu-* (cf. *gimmantariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* of *gimmant-*, *nekumandariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* of *nekumant-*). It is quite tempting to equate this \**karlu-* with *karū* ‘early’. This means that \**karlu-* must be read as \**kareu-*, and that the diphthong \**eu* is preserved as such in word-internal position, but got monophthongized to *karū* in word-final position.

All in all, I would read *ka-RI-ṽa-ri-ṽa-ar* as *ka-re-ṽa-ri-ṽa-ar* /*kreuəriuər/*, derived from \**kareuṽariṽe/a<sup>zi</sup>* /*kreuəri/a-/*, which itself is derived from \**kareu-* /*kreu-/*. See at *karū* for further etymology.

***kariant-*** (c.) ‘grass’: nom.sg. *ka-ri-an-za* (KUB 17.28 ii 42).

Derivatives: ***kariantašḫa-*** (c.) ‘grassland, lawn’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-ri-⟨an-⟩ta-aš-ḫi* (KUB 17.28 ii 36).

PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>iēnt-* ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 17.28 ii

(33) [*m*]a-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ši<sup>LÚ</sup>TAP-PU=ŠU la-a-la-an kar-ap-zi

(34) na-aš-ma-a=š-ši-i=š-ša-an DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš ú-e-ri-ia-az-zi

(35) nu ki-i SÍSKUR=ŠU 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1<sup>DUG</sup>ḪAB.ḪAB GEŠTIN

(36) a-ra-aḫ-za ka-ri-ta-aš-ḫi pé-e-da-an-zi

(37) nu NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA GÛB-la-az pá-r-ši-ia n=a-an da-ga-a-an

(38) da-a-i KAŠ GEŠTIN GÛB-la-az BAL-an-ti

(39) nu ki-iš-ša-an me-em-ma-i

(40) ku-iš DUMU.LÚ[U<sub>19</sub>.L]U-za la-a-la-an DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-na-aš

(41) pé-ra-an [*k*]ar-ap-ta ku-iš=mu-u=š-ša-an DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš

(42) EGIR-an ú-e-ri-et nu ka-a-aš ka-ri-an-za

(43) ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫa-ta-an-za a-pé-el-l=a e-eš-ša-ri

(44) É=SÚ QA-TAM-MA ḥa-a-du

‘When against a man his company ‘lifts the tongue’ or invokes the gods for him, this is the ritual. They bring one thick-bread and one jug of wine outside on the *karitašḥa*-. He breaks the thick-bread to the left and places it on the ground. He libates beer and the wine to the left. He speaks thus: “Whatever person has ‘lifted the tongue’ before the gods, whoever evoked the gods for me: just like this *kariant*- is dried may of him his outer appearance and his dwelling likewise wither!’.’

Puhvel HED 4: 80 interprets *karianza* as ‘grass’, referring to contexts where we find *uelku ḥādan* ‘dried grass’. On the basis of this interpretation of *karianza*, he translates *karitašḥi* as ‘lawn’. Although these semantic interpretation seems probable to me, I think that the connection between *kariant*- and *karitašḥa*- would be much more understandable if the latter form is emended to *ka-ri-⟨an⟩-ta-aš-ḥi*.

Puhvel connects these words to ON *gróa* ‘grow’, Goth. *gras* ‘grass’, Lat. *grāmen* ‘grass’, etc., which all reflect a root *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-* (ON *gróa* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*, Goth. *gras* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-s-*, Lat. *grāmen* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-s-men-*, cf. Schrijver 1991: 487). This would mean that *kariant*- reflects *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>ient-*. For the development of *\*Crh<sub>1</sub>je/o-* > Hitt. *Carije/a-*, cf. e.g. *pariianzi* ‘they blow’ < *\*prh<sub>1</sub>ienti*.

***karije/a-***<sup>(t)ar(i)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to be gracious towards’: 1sg.pret.midd. *ka-ri-ja-aḥ-ḥa-ḥa-at* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *ka-ri-ja-u-ua-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***karijašḥa-*** (c.) ‘graciousness, mercy’ (nom.sg. *ka-ri-ja-aš-ḥa-aš* (NH)), ***kāri tije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to be gracious towards, to be merciful to’ (*ka-a-ri + tije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *hāryati* ‘to desire, to covet’, Gr. χαίρω ‘to rejoice at, to take pleasure in’.

PIE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>r-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 80-1 for attestations. The verb and its derivatives are predominantly attested in NH texts. Puhvel (l.c.) connects the words to the IE root *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>er-* as reflected in Skt. *hāryati* ‘to desire, to covet’, Av. *zara-* ‘aim, goal(?)’, Gr. χαίρω ‘to rejoice at, to take pleasure in’ (< *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>r-je/o-*), χαρίς ‘grace, favour’, but also in Lat. *horior* ‘to incite, to urge on’ (< *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>r-je/o-*). The word *kāri* would then be similar to Gr. χαρίς ‘grace, favour’ and reflect a petrified dative-locative.

***karije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to cover (someone/thing (acc.) with something (instr.)’: 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ri-ez-zi* (NS), *ka-ri-ja-az-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ri-ja-zi* (NS),



3pl.pres.act. *ka-ri-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ga-ri-e-et* (OH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ka-a-ri-e-er* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ka-ri-ja-an-du* (NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *ka-ri-ja-an-da* (OH/NS); part. *ka-ri-ja-an-t*, *ga-ri-ja-an-t*; impf. *ka-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ka-a-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>TÜG</sup>*kariulli-* (n.) ‘hood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ka-ri-ul-li*, *ga-ri-ul-li*, *ka-ri-ú-ul-li*).

IE cognates: Skt. *cárman-*, Av. *čarəman-* ‘skin, hide’, Lat. *corium* ‘leather’, *scortum* ‘hide’, *cortex* ‘rind, bark’, OHG *skirm* ‘cover, shelter’.

PIE *\*(s)kr-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 81f. for attestations. He convincingly connects this verb etymologically to Skt. *cárman-*, ‘skin, hide’, Lat. *corium* ‘leather’, OHG *skirm* ‘cover, shelter’, e.a., and states that the identification of these words with the root *\*(s)ker-* ‘to cut’ must be rejected.

Rieken (1999a: 74) alternatively suggests that *karije/a-* is derived from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘greifen, fassen, umfassen, einfassen’ as reflected in Skt. *hárati* ‘to take, to carry (off), to bear’, Gr. *χότρος* ‘enclosure’. Formally, this is indeed possible, but the supposed semantic development from ‘\*to grasp, to seize’ > ‘\*to enclose’ > ‘to cover’ is less attractive.

*karije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to pause(?), to rest(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ri-ja-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ri-i-e-et*.

Derivatives: *karinu-*<sup>zi</sup>, *karijanu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to silence’ (3pl.pres.act. *ka-ri-nu-an-zi* (OS), *ga-ri-nu-an-zi* (OS), *ka-ri-nu-ya-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ri-ja-nu-ut* (NH)).

See Puhvel HED 4: 82-3 for attestations. The interpretation of these forms is difficult. In KUB 22.25, we find the following contexts:

obv.

(25) <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-an-ḫa-na-az=kán ar-ḫa <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-te-na an-da-an nu I-NA  
URU.DU<sub>6</sub><sup>HI.A</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ka-at-ru-ma

(26) *ka-ri-ja-zi nu I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>Pí-it-tág-ga-la-aš-ša an-da-an <sup>URU</sup>Pí-it-tág-ga-la-aš-ša-an=ma

(27) *ma-a-an GUL-aḫ-zi*

‘Out of the city Ḫanḫana, towards the city Ḫattena. In the ruins of Katruma he k.-s. Towards Pittaggalašša. When he strikes Pittaggalašša, ...’;

rev.

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(20) <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-an-ḫa-na-za=kán ar[-ḫa <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-te-na an-da-an nu I-N]A  
URU.DU<sub>6</sub><sup>HLA</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ka-at-ru-ma ka-ri-ja-zi

(21) *lu-uk-kat-ti=ma ...*

‘Out of Ḫanḫana, towards Ḫattena. In the ruins of Katruma he *k*.-s. The next morning ...’

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(30) <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-an-ḫa[-na-za=kán ar-ḫa nu I-N]A URU.DU<sub>6</sub><sup>HLA</sup> [<sup>URU</sup>Ka-at-r]u-  
ma ka-ri-ja-zi lu-u[k-kat-ti=ma]

‘Out of Ḫanḫana. In the ruins of Katruma he *k*.-s. The next morning ...’.

Von Schuler (1965: 178, 182) translates *karijazi* as ‘rests’, which seems to be especially based on the latter two contexts where the following sentence starts with *lukkatti=ma* ‘the next morning’. Another example as mentioned by Puhvel is KUB 17.10 i (34) *nu=za=kán an-da ka-ri<sup>i</sup>-i-e-et š=a-aš e-ša-ti*, which he translates as ‘he paused and sat down’, but this translation does not do justice to both =z and *anda*. In my view, it cannot be excluded that in all cases we are dealing with the verb *karije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cover, to hide’. The first three contexts then should be translated ‘he hides in the ruins of Katruma’, and the latter ‘he covered himself up inside and sat down’.

More linguistically real is the causative *karinu<sup>zi</sup>*, however, which is securely attested. It usually has musical instruments or people as its object and denotes ‘to silence’. Puhvel paraphrases this as ‘to cause to stop’ and assumes a derivation from *karije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pause’, but this now has become shaky in view of the unclarity regarding *karije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pause’. Moreover, the oldest attestations show the stem *karinu-*, whereas the stem *karijanu-* is attested once in a NH text only. In my view, this rather points to derivation of a further unattested verb *\*karai<sup>i</sup>* / *kari-* (for causatives in *-inu-* from *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs compare e.g. *ḫuinu<sup>zi</sup>* from *ḫuūai<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫui-*, *pattinu<sup>zi</sup>* from *pattai<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-* and *zinu<sup>zi</sup>* from *zai<sup>i</sup>* / *zi-*). Further unclear.

<sup>É</sup>*karimmi*, <sup>É</sup>*karimn-* (n. / c.) ‘shrine, chapel, sanctuary’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ka-ri-im-mi*, *ka-ru-ú-um-mi*, *ka-ri-im-me*, gen.sg. *ka-ri-im-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ka-ri-im-ni*, *ka-ri-im-ma*, *ka-ri-im-mi*, abl. *ka-ri-im-na-az*, acc.pl.c. *ka-ri-im-nu-uš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ka-ri-im-na-aš*, *ka-ri-im-ma-na-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ(É)</sup>**karimnāla-** (c.) functionary belonging with the *karimn-* (nom.sg. *ka-ri-im-na-a-la-aš*, nom.pl. *ka-ri-im-na-a-li-iš*, *ka-ri-im-na-li-iš*).

See Puhvel HED 4: 83f. for attestations. The word denotes a cultic building, and can be translated as ‘shrine’ or sim. The word shows a number of stems, namely un-inflecting *karimmi* and *karimma* besides an inflecting stem *karimna-*. The occurrence of the attestation *karūmmi* is remarkable.

Some scholars have tried desparately to etymologize this word. For instance, Puhvel (l.c.) states that the ‘declension pattern’ *karimmi* / *karimn-* must be compared to Skt. *ásthi-* / *asthn-* ‘bone’ and proposes to reconstruct *\*ghremi* : *ghremn-* (~ Skt. *harmyám* ‘stronghold’ and Lat. *gremium* ‘lap, recess’). Melchert (1983: 11f.) treats *karimmi* as a *\*men*-extension of a stem *\*kari-*, which he connects to *karije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to cover’ (q.v.) from IE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>er-*, thus reconstructing *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>er-i-men*. He explains the nom.sg. *karimmi* as *\*kari-mn-i*, “a neuter nom.-acc.pl. like *halḥaltumari* ‘corners’”. He does not explain, however, why *\*-mn-* assimilated in this form only and not in e.g. gen.sg. *karimnaš*. Moreover, he does not explain the form *karūmmi*.

In my view, the different stems with un-Indo-European alterations (*-mn-* : *-mm-*; *-i-* : *-ū-*) clearly point to a foreign origin, just as we would expect in a word that denotes a cultic building (compare <sup>É</sup>*hištā*, <sup>É</sup>*hištī*, <sup>É</sup>*halent(i)u-*, <sup>É</sup>*māk(kiz)zi(ia)-* e.a.).

**karinu-**<sup>zi</sup>: see at *karije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to pause(?)’, to rest(?)’

**karitt-**: see *karaitt-* / *karett-*

**kariūariuar**: see *kareūariuar*

**karp-**<sup>ta(ri)</sup>: see *karp(ije/a)-*<sup>ta(ri)</sup>

**karp-**<sup>zi</sup>: see *karp(ije/a)-*<sup>zi</sup>

**karp(ije/a)-**<sup>ta(ri)</sup> (III d / III g) ‘to be angry’: 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-ap-ta-ri* (NH), *kar-pí-ja-at-ta* (NS); part. *kar-pí-ja-an-t-*; Luw.part. *kar-pí-mi-*.

Derivatives: **karpēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become angry’ (part. *kar-pí-iš-ša-an-t-*), **karpí-** (c.) ‘wrath, anger, fury’ (nom.sg. *kar-pí-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *kar-pí-in* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *kar-pí* (NS), nom.pl. *kar-pí-uš* (NS)), **karpīūāla-** (adj.) ‘furious’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *kar-pí-ua-a-la* (OH/MS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *incred̄are* ‘to shout out, to upbraid’, Skt. *kṛpate* ‘to lament’, Russ. *kropotá* ‘conflict, fight’.

PIE *\*kṛp-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 98f. for attestations. Although the verb is attested a few times only, the noun *karpī-* is well-established. Tischler (HEG A-K: 515) connects *karpī-* with CLuw. *zarpa/i-* that, according to Tischler, denotes “jedenfalls ein Übel, das den Menschen befällt”. If this semantic field of *zarpa/i-* indeed is accurate, a connection with Hitt. *karpī-*, which particularly denotes ‘divine wrath’, is indeed possible. On the basis of Hitt. *karp-* and Luw. *zarp-* we should reconstruct PANat. *\*kṛp-*.

Eichner (1979a: 61) suggests to connect *karp(ije/a)-* to Lat. *incred̄are* ‘to shout out, to upbraid’ and Russ. *kropotá* ‘conflict, fight’. Puhvel judges this suggestion as “mildly probable” and suggests himself as possible cognates Skt. *kṛpate* ‘to lament’ and Gr. καρπάλμιος ‘swift, impetuous’. In my view, all forms (except Gr. καρπάλμιος, which semantically remains far) could point to an IE root *\*kṛep-* ‘to express one’s discontent’. We should then assume, however, that the *\*k* of *\*kṛep-* depalatalized before *\*r* in Russian and Sanskrit (Weise’s Law) and yielded plain velars there. In Hittite, the zero grade of this root, *\*kṛp-*, would then have been generalized. Although this etymology is not impossible, it is not instantly convincing either.

***karp(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ia4 / Ic1) ‘to take (away), to take up, to lift, to pluck; (midd.) to have finished’: 1sg.pres.act. *kar-pí-i-e-mi* (OH/MS), *kar-ap-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *kar-ap-ši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *kar-pí-i-ez-zi* (OS), *kar-pí-ez-zi* (OS), *kar-pí-i-e-ez-zi* (OH/?), *kar-pí-e-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *kar-ap-pí-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *kar-ap-zi* (OS), *kar-pa-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *kar-ap-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *kar-pí-an-zi* (OS), *kar-pí-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), *kar-ap-pí-an-zi* (OS), *kar-ap-pí-ja-an[-zi]* (NS), *kar-pa-an-zi* (OS), *kar-pa-a-an-zi* (NS), *kar-pa-an-ti* (NS), *kar-ap-pa-an-zi*, *kar-ap-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *kar-pu-un* (NS), *kar-ap-pu-un* (NH), 3s.pret.act. *kar-ap-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *kar-pí-i-e-er* (OH/NS), *kar-pí-er* or *kar-pé-er* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *kar-ap* (MS), *kar-ap-pí-ja* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *kar-ap-du* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *kar-ap-tén* (MH/MS), *kar-ap-pí-ja-at-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *kar-pa-an-du* (NS), *kar-ap-pa-an-du* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-ap-ta-ri* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *kar-pa-an-ta-ri* (MH/MS), *kar-ap-pa-an-da-a-ri* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *kar-ap-ta-at* (NS); part. *kar-pa-an-t-* (OS), *kar-ap-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun *kar-pu-u-ya-ar* (NS), *kar-pé-eš-šar* (NS); inf.I *kar-pu-u-ya-an-zi* (NS); impf. *kar-pí-iš-ke/a-*, *kar-pí-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *karpanu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to pick up’ (3sg.pres.act. *kar-pa-nu-zi*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. *fa-korfid* ‘to undertake (vel sim.)’.

IE cognates: Lat. *carpō* ‘to pick, to pluck’, Gr. καρπός ‘fruit’ (< \**krp-o-*), Lith. *kiĩpti* ‘to shear off’, OE *sceorfan* ‘to bite’, Latv. *šķirpta* ‘notch, sherd’.

PIE \**krp-ǵé/ó-*; \**kérp-t* / \**krp-ént*

See Puhvel HED 4: 91f. for attestations. Already in the oldest texts, we find two stems, namely *karp*<sup>-zi</sup> besides *karpǵe/a*<sup>-zi</sup>. Oettinger (1979a: 345) states that of these two, *karpǵe/a-* is older than *karp-*: “*karp*<sup>-mi</sup> ist jüngere Umbildung!”. Melchert (1997b: 84ff.) states that it is significant that in OS texts the stem *karpǵe/a-* is attested in the present indicative only. In his view, this is a remnant of a system in which the stem *karpǵe/a-* is used in the present indicative only, and the stem *karp-* everywhere else (but note that already in OS texts this system is blurred as we can see by the attestation of 3sg.pres.act. *kar-ap-zi*). According to Melchert, this division reflects an opposition between a root aorist \**KerP-* and a derived present \**KrP-ǵe/o-*.

The labial consonant is spelled with a geminate *-pp-* that often, that we can only conclude that we are dealing with phonological /*karp-/* and /*krpǵe/a-/*. This is of importance for the etymological interpretation. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 345) derives *karpǵe/a-* from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>rb<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ǵe/o-*, connecting it with Skt. *grabh<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to grab’, Lith. *grėbiu* ‘to rob’, etc. Although semantically appealing, the formal obstacles are too large to uphold this etymology. Not only does the geminate spelling *-pp-* not fit etymological \**b<sup>(h)</sup>*, the full grade \**g<sup>h</sup>rebh<sub>1</sub>-* does not correspond to the Hittite stem /*karp-/* < \**KerP-*. Moreover, it is more likely that the PIE root \**g<sup>h</sup>rebh<sub>1</sub>-* is reflected in Hitt. *karāp<sup>i</sup>-* / *kare/ip-* ‘to devour’ (q.v.).

Already Sturtevant (1930b: 155-6; 1930c: 217) compared *karp(ǵe/a)-* with Lat. *carpō* ‘to pick, to pluck’ and Lith. *kiĩpti* ‘to cut off’ from PIE \**kerp-*. Although semantically these words seem to be quite far from Hittite ‘to take (away), to take up, to lift’, there is some indication for a meaning ‘to pluck’ in Hittite as well: KUB 27.16 i (9) *nam-ma*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *IN-BI*<sup>HLA</sup> *kar-ap-pi-ja-an[-zi]* ‘Further they pluck fruits’; KBo 4.9 v (36) *ta*<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> *NAR GIŠ*<sup>d</sup> *INANNA*<sup>HLA</sup> *kar-pa-an-zi* ‘The musicians pluck the harps’ (both examples Puhvel o.c.: 94). Either we have to assume that a PIE meaning ‘to pluck’ was extended in Hittite to ‘to take (away), to take up, to lift, to pluck’, or that a PIE meaning ‘to take (away), to take up, to lift, to pluck’ remained thus in Hittite and was narrowed to ‘to pluck’ in the other Indo-European languages.

The appurtenance of Lyd. *fa-korfid* is semantically as well as formally possible, but does not shed any additional light to the Hittite state of affairs.

*karš-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *karš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*

**karši- / karšai-** (adj.) ‘harsh, astringent’: nom.sg.c. *kar-ši-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *kar-ši-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *kar-ši* (MH/MS), *kar-aš-ši* (NH), acc.pl.c. *kar-ša-uš* (OH/NS), *kar-ši-ja-aš* (NS), *kar-še-ja-aš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *kar-ša* (NS), *kar-ša-ja* (NH), *kar-aš-ša-ja* (NH), *kar-aš-ši-ja* (NH).

Derivatives: **karšikarši-** (n.) ‘astringent’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kar-ši-kar-ši*, abl. *kar-ši-kar-ši-ja-za*).

IE cognates: ModHG *harsch*, ModEng. *harsh*.

PIE *\*krs-(e)i-*

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See Puhvel HED 4: 107f. for attestations. An etymological tie-in with *karš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* is likely from a formal as well as semantic point of view, which is supported by the Germanic cognates like ModHG *harsch* ‘harsh, rough’, ModEng. *harsh* < *\*kor-sk-*. In an ablauting *-i*-stem adjective, we would expect ablaut in the root as well, so *\*kérš-i-*, *\*krs-éi-*. Since *\*VrsV* > Hitt. *VrrV* (compare *arra-* ‘arse’ < *\*Horso-*), the cluster *-rš-* must have been generalized out of the oblique cases, *\*krs-éi-* where it regularly was retained.

**karš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ia4 / Ic1 > Ic2, IIa1γ) ‘to cut (off), to separate; to stop’ (Sum. TAR): 1sg.pres.act. *kar-aš-mi* (OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *kar-aš-ti* (NH), *kar-ša-at-ti* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *kar-aš-zi* (OS), *kar-aš-ši-i-ez-zi* (OS), *kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (OH/?), *kar-aš-še-ez-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *kar-šu-u-e-ni* (NS), *kar-aš-šu-u-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *kar-aš-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *kar-ša-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *kar-šu-un* (OH/MS), *kar-aš-šu-un* (NS), *kar-ša-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-aš-ta* (OH/MS), *kar-ša-da* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *kar-še-er* (NS), *kar-šer* (NS), *kar-aš-še-er* (OH/NS), 1sg.imp.act. *kar-ša-al-lu* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *kar-aš* (OH/NS), *kar-ši* (NS), *kar-še* (1x, MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *kar-aš-du* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *kar-aš-te-en* (OH/MS), *kar-aš-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *kar-aš-ša-an-du* (MH/MS), *kar-ša-an-du* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-ša* (NS), *kar-aš-ta-ri* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *kar-ša-an-ta-ri* (NS), *kar-ša-an-da* (NS), *kar-aš-ša-an-da* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. *kar-ša-an-ta-at* (NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *kar-aš-ta-ru* (OH/NS), *kar-ša-a-ru* (NS), *kar-aš-ša-ru* (NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *kar-ša-an-ta-ru* (OH/NS); part. *kar-ša-an-t-*, *kar-aš-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun *kar-ša-u-ua-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *kar-šu-ua-aš* (NS), *kar-šu-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *kar-šu-an-zi*, *kar-šu-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *kar-aš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *kar-ši-ke/a-*, *kar-ši-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **karšatar** (n.) ‘chunk’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kar-ša-tar*), **karšeššar** / **karšešn-** (n.) ‘cutting, parcel’ (gen.sg. *kar-še-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *kar-še-eš-ni*), **karšatt-** (c.) ‘cutting, removal’ (dat.-loc.sg. *kar-ša-at-ti*), **karšantalli-** (c.) ‘?’ (acc.pl. [*k*]ar-ša-an-ta-al-li-uš), **karšnu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to cut off, to cancel’ (2sg.pres.act. *kar-ša-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *kar-ša-nu-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *kar-ša-nu-nu-un*, *kar-aš-nu-nu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *kar-aš-nu-er*, *kar-ša-nu-er*; impf. *kar-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *kar-aš-nu-uš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **karš-** ‘to cut’ (1sg.pres.act. *kar-šu-i*, inf. *kar-šu-na*, part. nom.sg.c. *kar-ša-am-mi-iš*), **karšattar** / **karšattn-** (n.) ‘parcel (of land), selection (of animals); block (of metal)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kar-ša-at-tar*, *kar-ša-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *kar-ša-ad-da-ni*); Lyd. **fa-karsed** ‘to cut (out)’.

IE cognates: TochAB *kärs-* ‘to know’, Gr. κείρω ‘to cut’, Lith. *skirti* ‘to divide’, etc.

PIE *\*krs-je/ó-*; *\*kérs-t* / *\*krs-ént*

See Puhvel HED 4: 100f. for attestations. The most common stem of this verb is *karš-<sup>zi</sup>*. A stem *karšije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* only occurs in 3sg.pres.act. in the Hittite Laws. This reminds of the distribution between *karp-<sup>zi</sup>* and *karpije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to take (away)’, which reflects an old distinction between root-aorist *\*kerp-* vs. derived present *\*krp-je/o-* (cf. Melchert 1997b: 86). In NH texts, we occasionally find forms that display a stem *karšae-<sup>zi</sup>* (*karšanun* and possibly *karšauuar*) and a stem *karš(a)-<sup>i</sup>* (*karšatti* and possibly *karšauuar*), according to the highly productive *ḫatrae-* and *tarn(a)-* class respectively.

Already since Hrozný (1919: 205) this verb is commonly connected with PIE *\*ker-* ‘to cut’. In Hittite, we apparently are dealing with an *s*-extension, which is also visible in TochAB *kärs-* ‘to know’.

The common geminate spelling of *-šš-* shows that we have to phonologically interpret this verb as /karS- / krS-/. The fortition of *\*s* to /S/ is due to the adjacent *-r-* (compare *keššar* /keSr/ ‘hand’ < *\*g<sup>h</sup>ésr*).

According to Melchert (1994a: 332), Lyd. *fa-karse-* reflects *\*-kors-éje-*.

**kard-**: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ker* / *kard(i)-*

**kartae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to cut off’ (Sum. TAR): 1sg.pret.act. *kar-ta-a-nu-un* (OH/NS); part. *kar-ta-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *kar-ta-u-aš* (NS).

IE cognates: Skt. *kart-* ‘to cut (off)’, Lith. *kertù* ‘to fell, to cut down’, OCS *o-črěsti* ‘to cut’.

PIE *\*kert-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 109f. for attestations. The verb is attested a few times in NS texts only. It inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class.

Already Sommer *apud* Friedrich HW: 103 makes a connection with Skt. *kart-* ‘to cut’. In order to explain the Hittite inflection, one has to assume that an original Hittite stem *kart-* was secondarily taken over into the *ḫatrae*-class. This assumption is valid in view of the fact that the verb occurs in NS texts only, which coincides with the fact that the *ḫatrae*-class was highly productive in that period. Oettinger (1979a: 375) is against this assumption however, because of his conviction that stems in dentals avoid secondarily rebuilding into the *ḫatrae*-class. He therefore suggests that *kartae-* is a derivation of a noun *\*kr-tó-* or *\*kórt-o-*, which, through *\*k(o)rto-īe/o-*, gave *kartae-*. In my view, verbs like *ḫantae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *lelḫuntae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *mitae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *partae-<sup>zi</sup>*, *pittae-<sup>zi</sup>*, etc. clearly show that there was no problem with taking stems that end in a dental consonant over into the *ḫatrae*-class. I therefore assume that *kartae-* is a secondary creation based on an original stem *kart-*, which is cognate with Skt. *kart-* etc. and reflects PIE *\*kert-*.

**kard(i)-**: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ker* / *kard(i)-*

**kardimije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>** (IIIg / Ic1) ‘to be angry’ (Sum. TUKU[TUKU]): 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-di-mi-ia-at-ta-ri* (MS?), *ka[r-di-mi-]ia-et-ta* (MH/MS), *kar-tim-mi-ia-at-ta[ri]* (OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-ia-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-ia-at-t[a]* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri* (OH/?), 3sg.pret.midd. *kar-di-mi-ia-et-ta-at* (MS, OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-at-ta-at* (NS); 3sg.pres.act. *kar-di-mi-ia-az-zi* (MS), *kar-tim-mi-ia-ez-zi* (MS), 1sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-nu-un* (OH/NS); verb.noun abl. *kar-di-mi-ia-u-ua-a[z]* (OH/NS); impf. *kar-tim-mi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **kardimijauuant-** (adj.) ‘angry’ (nom.sg.c. *kar-tim-mi-ia-u-ua-an-za* (MH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-ia-u-ua-an-za* (MS), *kar-di-mi-ia-u-ua-an-za* (OH/MS), *kar-dim-mi-ia-u-ua-an-za* (NS), acc.sg. *kar-di-mi-ia-u-ua-an-da-an* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. *kar-tim-mi-ia-u-ua-an-te-eš* (NS)), **kartimmiēš<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become angry’ (3sg.pres.act. *[ka]r-tim-mi-eš-zi* (NS), 2sg.pret.act. TUKU.TUKU-*e-eš-ta* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-tim-mi-e-eš-ta* (NS); part. *kar-tim-mi-e-eš-ša-an-t* (NS)), **kardimi(ia)nu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make angry’ (3sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-nu-zi* (NS), *kar-tim-nu-uz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-nu-ua[-an-zi]* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-nu-ut* (NS), part. *kar-di-mi-nu-ua-an-t* (MH/MS)), **kardimijah<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to make angry’ (3sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-ah-ḫi* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. *[ka]r-di-mi-ia-ah-ḫa-an-zi* (MS), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-tim-mi-ia-ah-ta* (NS)), **kardimijatt-** (c.) ‘(cause of) anger’ (nom.sg. *kar-di-mi-ia-az* (OH/MS),



*kar-tim-mi-ja-az* (NH), *kar-tim-mi-ja-za* (NS), acc.sg. *kar-di-mi-ja-at-ta-an* (OH/MS), *kar-tim-mi-ja-at-ta-an* (MH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-at-ta-an* (NS), gen.sg. *kar-di-mi-ja-at-ta-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *kar-di-mi-at-ti* (MS), acc.pl. *kar-di-mi-ja-at-tu-uš* (OS), *kar-tim-mi-ja-ad-du-uš* (NS)).

PIE *\*krd-im-je/o-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 110f. for attestations. The forms that belong to this lemma are spelled in two ways: either *kar-di-mi-* or *kar-tim-mi-* (the attestations with *kar-DAM-mi-* in KBo 2.2 are probably to be read *kar-dim<sub>x</sub>-mi-*, cf. HZL: 239). The chronological distribution between these spellings is as follows: in OS texts, we only find *kar-di-mi-*; in MS texts we mostly find *kar-di-mi-* and sometimes *kar-tim-mi-*; in NS texts we mostly find *kar-tim-mi-* and sometimes *kar-di-mi-*. In my view, this indicates that *kar-di-mi-* is the original spelling, which is gradually being taken over by *kar-tim-mi-* from MH times onwards. This is important, since we now have to interpret the single spelling of *-m-* as original. For the replacement of single *-m-* by geminate *-mm-*, compare e.g. *imi<sub>j</sub>e/a-* > *imm<sub>j</sub>e/a-*, *ami<sub>j</sub>ant-* > *amm<sub>j</sub>ant-*, etc.

The verb shows the middle as well as active inflection, both with the same meaning. Because the middle forms are more numerous, I assume that this verb was middle originally. Note that already in MS texts we find forms that show the secondary stem *kardim<sub>j</sub>ae<sup>-2</sup>*.

Since Pedersen (1938: 40) it is generally accepted that *kardim<sub>j</sub>e/a-* is cognate with *ker / kard(i)-* ‘heart’ (compare OCS *sr̥diti se* ‘to be angry’ ~ *sr̥dbce* ‘heart’, Lith. *šīr̃sti* ‘to be angry’ ~ *širdis* ‘heart’ and Arm. *sr̥tnim* ‘to become angry’ ~ *sirt* ‘heart’). Nevertheless, the morphological analysis of *kardim<sub>j</sub>e/a-* has been in debate. For instance, Pedersen (l.c.) thought that *kardim<sub>j</sub>e/a-* was based on a participle *\*kartimma-*. This is unlikely because this type of participle is attested in Luwian only and not in Hittite. Oettinger (1979a: 255) suggests that *kardim<sub>j</sub>e/a-* is derived from a base *kardima-*, an “(i)ma-Nomen” (like *lahlah<sub>j</sub>hima-* ‘agitation’, *teth<sub>j</sub>ima-* ‘thunder’, *tuh<sub>j</sub>hima-* ‘smoke’). Apart from the fact that I know of no other verbal derivatives of these nouns in *-ima-*, we would expect that such a derivative would end up in the *hatrae*-class (so *\*\*kardimae-*). Rieken (1999a: 110-1) therefore gives a different analysis. According to her, the root *\*kerd-* ‘heart’ served as the basis for a verb *\*kerd-je/o-* ‘to be angry’. Of this *\*kerd-je/o-* a *-men-* derivation *\*kerd-i-men-* ‘anger’ is formed, of which another verb in *\*je/o-* is derived: *\*kerd-i-mn-je/o-*, which regularly yielded Hitt. *kartim<sub>j</sub>e-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that the original form of this verb is *kardim<sub>j</sub>e/a-*, with single *-m-*, which cannot be explained out of *\*-mn-*.

I would like to propose a different analysis. In my view, *kardimije/a-* is a compound of *kard-* + *imije/a-* ‘to mix’. As we saw, the original inflection of this verb is middle, and I assume that the literal meaning of this compound therefore was ‘to be mixed regarding his heart’ (cf. English ‘to have mixed feelings’). This became to denote ‘to be angry’ and because of this active meaning was taken over into the active inflection as well. For a further etymological treatment, see at *ker / kard(i)-* ‘heart’ and *imije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to mix’.

The causative shows three spellings. Of these, the spelling *kar-tim-nu-* is found in a NH text and therefore probably is secondary (compare Melchert 1997b: 90<sup>17</sup>). The spelling *kar-di-mi-nu-* is attested in a MH/MS text however, and in my opinion therefore significant. It may show that originally verbs in *-je/a-* formed causatives in *\*-i-nu-* (compare the causatives in *-inu-* that are derived from the *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs), which were later on replaced by *-ja-nu-* (like *kar-tim-mi-ja-nu-* in this case).

**karū** (adv.) ‘early; formerly, earlier, already; up to now’: *ka-ru-ú* (OS).

Derivatives: **karuūli-**, **karūli-** (adj.) ‘former, early, ancient’ (Sum. LIBIR.RA; nom.sg.c. [*k*]a-ru-il-i-š=a (OS), acc.sg.c. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-in* (OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-li-in* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ka-ru-ú-i-li* (NH), gen.sg. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-aš* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-aš* (NH), *ka-ru-i-li-aš* (NS), abl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-az* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-za* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-li-ja-az* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-e-eš* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-e-li-e-eš* (1x, OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-li-e-eš* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-uš* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-uš<sup>1</sup>* (KBo 16.86 i 9 (OH/NS)), voc.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-aš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ka-ru-ú-i-la* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-i-li* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja* (NS), gen.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-aš* (NS)), **karuūlijatt-** (c.) ‘former state’ (all.sg. as adverb *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-at-ta* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **ruwan** (adv.) ‘formerly’ (*ru-wa/i-na* (KARATEPE 1 §33)).

IE cognates: ON *grýandi* ‘dawn’, Swed. *dagen gryr* ‘the day dawns’, OIc. *grár*, OHG *grāo* ‘grey’.

PIE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-ēu* or *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-u*

See Puhvel HED 4: 112f. for attestations. The adverb *karū* is consistently spelled *ka-ru-ú*, from OS texts onwards. This points to a phonological interpretation /krū/, which contrasts with the form *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSo/ ‘goods’ < *\*-uh<sub>2</sub>*. Within Anatolian, we find a cognate in HLuw. *ruwan* ‘formerly’ (with *-an* probably in analogy to adverbs like *anan* ‘below’, *antan* ‘inside’, *apan* ‘behind’ *paran* ‘before’, e.a.), that shows that we must reconstruct PANat. *\*ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>r-*. As I have shown

under its own lemma, the adverb *kareuariyar*, which originally is a verbal noun to a verb *\*kareuarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, itself a derivative in *-arije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* from a stem *\*kareu-*, shows that *karū* must show the word-final development of *\*kareu*. All in all, we must reconstruct PANat. *\*g<sup>h</sup>reū*. Puhvel (l.c. with reference to Čop 1961-62: 187-197, 206-9) cites as outer-Anatolain cognates ON *grýandi* ‘dawn’ and Swed. *dagen gryr* ‘the day dawns’, which together with OIc. *grár* and OHG *grāo* ‘grey’ point to a *u*-stem *\*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-u-*. This means that *karū* could go back to *\*g<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>1</sub>-ēu* or *\*g<sup>h</sup>reh<sub>1</sub>-u*.

***karūšš(ije/a)<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib1 / Ic1) ‘to be silent, to fall silent’: 1sg.pres.act. [*ka-r*]u-uš-ši-ja-mi (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-ši* (NH), *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ja-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-uš<sup>1</sup>-ši-ez-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ga-ru-uš-ši-ja-at-te-ni* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-at* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ja-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ed-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *ka-ru-uš-tén* (NS); 2sg.pres.midd. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-at-ta-at* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ja-at-ta-at* (MH/NS); part. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-an-t-*; verb.noun *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-u-ya-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-ya[-ar]* (NS).

Derivatives: ***karūššijanū<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to silence’ (3pl.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-nu-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-nu-u-ya-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ja-nu-ya-an-zi* (OH/NS), ***karūššijantili*** (adv.) ‘silently, quietly’ (*ka-ru-uš-ši-ja-an-ti-li* (NH)).

IE cognates: OHG *chrosōn*, MHG *krosen*, Goth. *kriustan*, OSwed. *krýsta* ‘to gnash’.

PIE *\*gréus-t / \*grus-ént, \*grus-je/ó-*

See Puhvel 116f. for attestations. Almost all forms show a stem *karūššije/a-*. Only once, we find the unextended stem *karuš-*, in 2pl.imp.act.. This seems to correspond to the distribution as described in Melchert 1997b: the forms in *-je/a-*, which reflect the *-je/o-*present, are originally found in the present only, whereas the unextended forms, which reflect the root-aorist, are originally found in non-present forms (cf. *karp(ije/a)<sup>-zi</sup>*).

Eichner (1975b: 164<sup>16</sup>) connects this verb with OSwed. *krýsta* ‘to gnash’ and Goth. *kriustan* ‘to gnash’, which reflect a root *\*greus-* (also attested without a dental extension in OHG *chrosōn*, MHG *krosen* ‘to gnash’), assuming that the original meaning ‘die Zähne knirschen; sich das Wort verbeißen’ developed into Hitt. ‘zu/über etwas schweigen’. Eichner himself assumed a preform *\*grous-éje/o-*, but e.g. Rieken (1999a: 211<sup>994</sup>) adapts this to *\*grous-je/o-*. Both

interpretations must be incorrect because the diphthong \*-ou- would not monophthongize in front of -s- (cf. *aušten* < \**h<sub>2</sub>óu-sten*). Moreover, as we saw above, this verb likely goes back to a root-aorist and its -*je/o*-derived present. So structurally, we would expect an aorist \**gréus-t* / \**grus-ént* besides a present \**grus-je/ó-*. The full grade stem \**gréus-* would yield Hitt. *krūš-*, whereas \**grus-* > Hitt. *kruš-*. We can see that the full grade stem has been generalized because the occasional plene spelling *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-je/a-* points to \**greus-je/o-*. The geminate -šš- in my view must be explained by the fact that \**grusje/o-* regularly yielded Hitt. /*kruSe/a-l*, showing the development \**Vs̥iV* > *VššV* (cf. also -*ašša-* < \**os̥jo-* and *uāšše/a-* < \**us̥je/o-*). When the -*je/a*-suffix was restored, this yielded /*kruSie/a-l*, spelled *karuššije/a-* (see at *uešš-<sup>10a</sup>*, *uāšše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* for a similar scenario).

***karūyariyār***: see *kareyariyār*

***karza* / *karzan-*** (n.) ‘spool, bobbin (vel sim.)’: nom.-acc.sg./pl. *kar-za* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *kar-za-na-aš* (OH/NS), abl. *kar-za-na-az* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Skt. *kart-* ‘to spin’, *kṛtsná-* ‘whole’, SCr. *krétati* ‘to move’.

PIE \**kért-s-ōr* / \**krt-s-n-ós* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 117 for attestations. This word denotes an instrument of a weaver, probably ‘spool’ or ‘bobbin’ or similar. According to Eichner (1974: 98), this word is a fossilized concretized verbal noun \**kért-s(o)r*, gen. \**k(e)rt-snós* ‘spin’ that should be connected with Skt. *kart-* ‘to spin’ and perhaps *kṛtsná-* ‘whole, entire’. The loss of -*r* in nom.-acc. *karza* is explained by him as due to “prophylaktische Dissimilation”. Neu (1982: 206<sup>6</sup>), however, assumes that *karza* is a “durch die neutrische Endung gekennzeichneten Kollektivbegrip”. This is followed by Rieken (1999a: 391) who analyses *karza* as /*kart-s-a-l*. This would, according to her, indicate that the word was an *s*-stem, that must go back to \**kért-s*, \**k(e)rt-s-n-*. In my view, it is also possible to assume that *karza* = /*kártsa-l* goes back to a preform \**kért-sōr* (in which word-final \*-*r* regularly was dropped after an unaccentuated \*-*ō-*, cf. § 1.4.6.2.a), the morphologically expected nom.-acc.pl.-form of an -*r/n*-stem \**kért-sr*, \**krt-sn-ós*.

***kāša*, *kāšma*** (interj.) ‘look here, behold’: *ka-a-ša* (OS), *ka-a-aš-ma* (MS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***zāyī(n)*** (interj.) ‘here, voici’ (*za-a-ú-i*, *za-ú-i*, *za-a-ú-i-in*, *za-ú-i-in*).

PIE \**kós* + =(m)*a*

The interjections *kāša* and *kāšma* are identical in usage and often translated as ‘look here, lo, behold’, etc.. The exact formal relationship between the two forms is unclear, however. Often it has been thought that *kāšma* must derive from *kāša* and in fact is a syncopated variant of *kāša=ma* (thus Puhvel HED 4: 118, followed by Melchert 1994a: 158). In my opinion, such instances of unmotivated syncopes must be regarded as unconvincing *ad hoc* solutions.

In this case it is of major importance to look at the chronological distribution of the forms *kāša* and *kāšma*. In OS texts, we only find *ka-a-ša* (100%) and never *ka-a-aš-ma* (0%). In MH/MS texts, we find *ka-a-ša* 89 times (86%), and *ka-a-aš-ma* 14 times (14%). In NH texts, we find *ka-a-aš-ma* 14 times (87,5%), and *ka-a-ša* 2 times (12,5%). This means that *kāša* is the original form and that *kāšma* is only starting to appear in MH times, taking over the position of *kāša* in NH times. This replacement of *-a* by *-ma* from the MH period onwards, of course immediately reminds us of the distribution between the functionally equal adversative enclitic clause conjunctives *=a* and *=ma* ‘but’: in OS texts we find *C=a* vs. *V=ma*, but this distribution has been given up from the MH period onwards: we then find *C=ma* as well; in NH texts, *=ma* has totally taken over the position of *=a* (see at *=(m)a*). Comparing these chronological distributions, I cannot conclude otherwise than that *kāša* should be analysed as *kāš + =(m)a*. The OS texts show the particle *=(m)a* as expected: after consonant we find the allomorph *=a*. In MH/MS texts, we see that the postconsonantal position is being taken over by *=ma*, and in NH texts the form *kāš=ma* is the most common one. The fact that the MH distribution *kāš=a* : *kāš=ma*, which is 86% : 14%, does not match the overall MH distribution between *C=a* : *C=ma*, which is 40% : 60%, may be caused by the fact that *kāš=a* is by that time becoming a petrified formation that for some speakers is not longer analyzable as *kāš=a*. This petrification is clear from its occasional NH occurrence, which would be unexplainable in view of the total absence of the adversative particle *=a* in these texts. In my view, the first part, *kāš*, should be equated with the nom.sg.c. *kāš* of the demonstrative pronoun *kā- / kū- / ki-* ‘this’.

All in all, the interjection *kāša* and *kāšma* must be regarded as two chronologically different realizations of the formation *kāš + =(m)a*. Originally, this formation must have meant ‘this then!’, which later on developed into ‘look!, behold!’. For further etymology, see at *kā- / ki- / kū-* and *=(m)a*.

The semantically similar interjection *āšma* (q.v.) similarly must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>ós + =(m)a*. The interpretation of CLuw. *zāyi* is not fully clear. Nevertheless, the part *zā-* undoubtedly must be equated with the demonstrative *zā-* ‘this’ (see also under *kā- / kū- / ki-*).

*kāšma*: see *kāša*

*kāšt-* / *kišt-* (c.) ‘hunger, starvation, famine’: nom.sg. *ga-a-aš-z[a]* (OS), *ka-a-aš-za* (OH/MS), *ka-aš-za* (MH/MS), *ga-aš-za* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *ka-a-aš-ta-an* (OH/MS), *ga-aš-ta-an* (OH/NS), *ka-aš-ta-an* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ka-a-aš-ti* (MH/MS), *ka-aš-ti* (MH/MS), abl. *ka-aš-ta-za* (NH), instr. *ka-a-aš-ti-t=a=ma-an* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *ga-aš-ta-aš* (OH/MS).

Derivatives: *kištuuant-* (adj.) ‘hungry’ (nom.sg.c. *ki-iš-du-an-za* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ki-iš-du-ua-an-ti* (OH/NS), all.sg. *ki-iš-du-ua-an-da* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ki-iš-du-ua-an-te-eš* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *ki-iš-du-ua-a-an-du-uš* (MH/MS)), *kištant-*, *kaštant-* (c.) ‘hunger’ (nom.sg. *ka-aš-ta-an-za* (NS), instr. *ki-iš-ta-an-ti-it* (OH/MS)), *kištanzije/a-*<sup>ta(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to suffer famine’ (3sg.pret.mid. *ki-iš-ta-an-zi-at-ta-at* (OS)), see *kišt-āri* ‘to perish, to be extinguished’.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. <sup>“\*460”</sup>*đst-* ‘hunger(?)’ (abl.-instr. <sup>“\*460”</sup>*á-sa-ta-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *e* §10), nom./acc.pl. <sup>\*460-</sup>*t[i]-zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.3 §ii)).

PAnat. <sup>\*g</sup>*ósT-* ?

IE cognates: TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest* ‘hunger, famine’.

PIE <sup>\*g<sup>h</sup></sup>*ós-d-*; <sup>\*g<sup>h</sup></sup>*d-uent-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 121f. for attestations. The oldest texts (OS and MS) show predominantly spellings with plene *-a-*, which shows that the stem was *kāšt-*. The derivatives of this noun show a stem *kišt-*, however. Usually, this *kišt-* is interpreted as reflecting *\*KesT-*, an ablaut-variant with *\*e* besides *\*Kost-* as reflected in *kāšt-*. On the basis of this assumption, e.g. Rieken (1999a: 132-3) concludes that the original paradigm of *kāšt-* must have show *\*o/e*-ablaut: *\*Kós-t-s* / *\*Kós-t-ṃ* / *\*Kés-t-s*. Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out that *kišt-* reflects a zero-grade formation. In my opinion, it is likely that an initial sequence *\*KsT-* would yield Hitt. /*KisT-*/, spelled *kišt-* (cf. § 1.4.4.4 for clusters with *-k-* and *-s-* that receive the anaptyctic vowel /*i*/). This analysis would morphologically fit *kištuuant-* < *\*KsT-uent-* and *kištant-* < *\*KsT-ent-* better.

Because of the formal similarity, it is generally assumed that the verb *kišt-āri* ‘to be extinguished, to perish’ (q.v.) is cognate with *kāšt-*. This would mean that *kišt-* originally meant ‘to be starved’ or similar. Since this verb belongs to class IIIg (*tukkāri*-class), which goes back to zero-grade middles, it is likely that it reflects a zero-grade formation as well: *\*KsT-ó(ri)*. This is an additional argument for assuming that the stem *kišt-* of *kištuuant-* and *kištant-* reflects *\*KsT-*.

The etymological interpretation of these words is difficult. Already since Friedrich (1924-25: 122), *kāšt-* is generally connected with TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest* ‘hunger’ that reflect *\*KosT-*. The combination of the Hittite and the Tocharian facts do not shed any light on the precise nature of the velar and the dental consonant. Melchert (1987a: 185) adduces HLuw. <sup>“460”</sup> *á-sa-ta-*, which is found in ASSUR letter *e* §10 <sup>COR</sup> *na-hu-ti-zi=wa/i=mu* |*za-zi* |INFANS-*ni-zi* |REL-*i* | <sup>“460”</sup> *á-sa-ta-ri+i* | <sup>COR</sup> *ta-wa/i-sa-ta-ti=ha* |*su-ti-ri+i-ti* |*ha+ra/i-ta-ti=ha* |PRAE-*na* |ARHA-’ |<sup>MORI</sup> *wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-ti* ‘These beloved<sup>?</sup> children of mine are nearly<sup>?</sup> dying of <sup>“460”</sup> *ást-* and of <sup>COR</sup> *tawa/isa(n)t-* and of *sutiri- hara/ita-’*. His interpretation of *á-sa-ta-* as ‘hunger’ is partly based on the interpretation of sign 460 as a combination of EDERE+MINUS, which indeed seems to fit ‘hunger’ (unfortunately, the only other attestation of this sign, nom./acc.pl. 460-*t[i]-zi*, is found in a broken context). If this is correct, then *á-sa-ta-* would show that we are dealing with PAnat. *\*ḡosT-*, since only lenis velars disappear in Luwian. Note however that Starke (1990: 186<sup>613</sup>) rather compares HLuw. *á-sa-ta-* to CLuw. *ašta-* ‘spell, curse’, which seems to be followed by Melchert himself in 1993b: 37.

On the basis of the Tocharian verb *käs-* ‘to be extinguished’ (middle), which semantically is identical to Hitt. *kišt-<sup>ā(ri)</sup>* ‘to be extinguished’, it has been thought that *kāšt-* and *kišt-<sup>āri</sup>* must show dental extensions of a root *\*Kes-* as found in TochAB *käs-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that TochAS *käs-* goes well with Skt. *jásate* ‘to be exhausted,’ Gr. *σβέννυμι* ‘to extinguish’, Lith. *gèsti* ‘to cease to burn, to go out’, OCS *ugasiti* ‘to extinguish’ and Goth. *qist* ‘destruction’, which all point to a root *\*(s)ḡ<sup>w</sup>es-*, whereas an initial *\*ḡ<sup>w</sup>-* is not possible for the Hittite words. In order to solve this problem, e.g. Oettinger (1976b: 129) separates the Greek and the Gothic forms, and states that the other forms could reflect *\*ges-*. Melchert (1994a: 120) goes even further and states that “TochA *käs-* also requires a plain velar /*gʷ*”. This last statement is not valid however: the effect of labiovelars on surrounding vowels in Tocharian is far from clear. With this *\*ges-* as root, it is thought that Hitt. *kāšt-* and TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest* reflect a *t*-stem-noun *\*ḡos-t-* ‘hunger’.

In my view, this interpretation cannot be upheld. I do not see how it is possible that this nominal *t*-suffix ends up in the Hittite verb *kišt-<sup>āri</sup>*. We would expect that a verbal derivative of the noun *kāšt-* would retain the vocalism of the noun, would show a derivational suffix (e.g. *\*-ie/o-*) and would be semantically more close to the noun (e.g. ‘to hunger out’). In my opinion, if *kāšt-* and *kišt-<sup>āri</sup>* are cognate (which is formally likely), they can only be regarded as showing the same **root**, which then must be *\*KesT-* ‘to starve’. Note that the whole idea of deriving *kāšt-*

from “\*ges-” ‘to extinguish’ is based on the assumption that TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest* ‘hunger’ and TochAB *käs-* ‘to be extinguished’ are cognate, while within Tocharian there is no indication (semantically nor formally) that these words belong together.

All in all, I assume that Hitt. *kāšt-* ‘hunger’ (with derivatives *kištuyant-* ‘hungry’ and *kištant-* ‘hunger’) is related to *kišt-āri* ‘to be extinguished’ and that they reflect \**KosT-* and *KsT-óri* respectively, derived from a root \**KesT-* ‘to starve’. If HLuw. <sup>460</sup>*á-sa-ta-* indeed denotes ‘hunger’, it would imply a PANat. reconstruction \**ḡosT-*. The only known outer-Anatolian cognate is TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest* ‘hunger’, which reflect \**KosT-*. For the PIE reconstruction, it is of importance that PANat. \**ḡ* can reflect PIE \**ḡ* as well as \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>*. Although the attested forms do not shed any light on the nature of the PIE dental (fortis, lenis or glottalized), I think that reconstructing \**d* is best in view of the absence of PIE verbal roots that end in \*-*st-* and \*-*sd<sup>h</sup>-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>; for \*-*sd-* compare \**pesd-* ‘to fart’, \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>eisd-* ‘to startle’, \**h<sub>2</sub>eisd-* ‘to honour’). If this is correct, then the initial consonant should have been \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>* (PIE roots never contain two glottalic stops). I therefore (tentatively) reconstruct a verbal root \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>esd-* ‘to starve’, which was the basis for a root noun \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>osd-* ‘starvation, hunger’ (> Hitt. *kāšt-*, TochA *kašt*, TochB *kest*), an adjective \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>sd-uént-* ‘starving’ (> Hitt. *kištuyant-*) and the middle verb \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>sd-ó* ‘to be starved > to be extinguished’ (> Hitt. *kišt-āri*).

(DUG) **kattakuranta-** (c.) a libation vessel: nom.sg. *kat-ta-ku-ra-an-ta-aš*, acc.sg. *kat-ta-ku-ra-an-ta-an*, instr. *kat-ta-ku-ra-an-te-et*, nom.pl. *kat-ta-ku-ra-an-du-uš*.

PIE \**kmtō* + \**k<sup>w</sup>r-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 123-4 for attestations and etymology: this word undoubtedly is a compound of *katta-* and *kurant-*, thus originally meaning something like ‘under-cut’. See at *katta* and *kuer<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* for further etymologies.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**kattaluzzi-** (n.) ‘threshold’; **kattera-** **kattaluzzi-** ‘doorstep’; **šarāzzi(ia)-kattaluzzi-** ‘lintel’: nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*, gen.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>GIŠ</sup>**kattaluzzi-** (n.) ‘threshold’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-[zi]-ša*).

PIE \**kmtō* + \**lut-i-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 124-5 for attestations. This word has received many etymologies (see the overview in Puhvel), none of which can be judged as



evident. In my view, we should interpret this word as *katta* ‘alongside’ + *luzzi-*, the assibilated variant of the oblique stem *lutti-* as found in the paradigm of *luttāi-* / *lutti-* ‘window’. Whereas in *luttāi-* / *lutti-*, which reflects *\*lut-(o)i-*, the *-tt-* was generalized throughout the paradigm on the basis of *luttāi*, in *\*katta-lutti-* the *\*t* did assibilate in front of *\*i* (which shows that at time the word was not analyzed as *katta* ‘alongside’ + *lutti-* ‘window’ anymore). See at *katta* and *luttāi* / *lutti-* for further etymology.

Starke (1990: 214) regards the CLuwian word, which he cites as *kattaluzzit-*, as a loanword from Hittite, which indeed is necessary to explain the *-z-*.

***katta*** (adv., prev.) ‘downwards’, (postpos. + gen.) ‘(along) with, alongside’. (Sum. GAM(-*ta*): *kat-ta* (OS), *ka-at-ta* (KUB 20.4 vi 4 (OH/NS), KUB 20.43, 9 (OH/NS))).

Derivatives: ***kattan*** (adv.) ‘below, underneath’ (Sum. GAM-*an*; *kat-ta-an* (OS)), ***katti=*** (adv. with encl. poss. pron.) ‘(along) with’ (+ 1sg.: *kat-ti=mi* (OS, often), *kat-ti=m-mi* (KBo 3.22 rev. 77 (OS)), *kat-te=mi* (KBo 3.38 rev. 21 (OH/NS))); + 2sg.: *kat-ti=ti* (MH/MS, often), *kat-ti-i=t-ti* (KUB 20.7, 13 (OH/NS), KUB 7.5 i 25 (MH/NS)); + 3sg.: *kat-ti-i=š-ši* (OS, often), *kat-ti=ši* (KUB 30.10 i 4 (OH/MS), KUB 7.5 iv 4 (MH/NS)), *kat-ti-e=š-ši* (KUB 7.41+ ii 24 (MH/NS), KUB 20.52 i 27 (MH/NS), KUB 20.83 iii 9 (NS)), *kat-te-e=š-ši* (KBo 3.38 rev. 32 (OH/NS)); + 1pl.: *kat-ti=šu-mi* (HKM 57 rev. 21 (MH/MS)), *kat-te-e=š-šum*[-...] (KBo 13.110 rev. 2 (NS)); +2/3pl.: *kat-ti-i=š-mi* (OS, often), *ka-at-ti-i=š-mi* (KBo 30.36 rev. 4 (OS), *kat-ti-e=š-mi* (KBo 10.25 vi 14 (OH/NS), KBo 11.16 iv 10 (OH/NS))), ***kattanda*** (adv.) ‘downwards, along’ (*kat-ta-an-da* (MH/MS), *kat-ta-an-ta* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***kata*** (adv.) ‘down, under’ (INFRA-*ta*, INFRA-*tá*), ***katanta*** (adv.) ‘below’ (INFRA-*tá-ta* (AKSARAY §6)); Lyd. ***kat-*** (prev.) ‘?’, ***kaτ-*** (prev.) ‘?’.

IE cognates: Gr. *κατά* ‘down, along, according to, against’, OIr. *cēt*, OWe. *cant* ‘with’, Lat. *cum* ‘with’, etc.

PIE *\*k<sup>h</sup>mt-*

The semantics as given above describe the OH situation as established by Starke (1977: 131-5, 181-7), namely that we must distinguish between a “locative adverb” *kattan* ‘below, underneath’, a “terminative adverb” *katta* ‘downwards’, a “locative postposition (+ genitive)” *katta* ‘(along) with’ and a “locative adverb (+ enclitic personal pronouns)” *katti=* ‘(along) with’. From the MH period onwards the distinction between *katta* and *kattan* is being given up.

Since Neu (1974a: 67) it is generally assumed that *katta*, *kattan* and *katti* are petrified all.sg., acc.sg. and dat.-loc.sg. respectively of an original nominal stem *katt-*. Already Bugge *apud* Knudtzon (1902: 59) saw *katta* as cognate of Gr. κατά ‘downwards’, which, together with OIr. *cét* ‘with’, OWe. *cant* ‘with’ clearly must belong with Lat. *cum* ‘with’, etc. and reflect *\*k̑mt-*. Nevertheless, there has been some discussion on whether or not this etymology is correct, especially because of the absence of a reflex of the *\*-m-* in *\*k̑mt-* > *katt-*. As Melchert states (1994a: 126): “the idea the syllabic *\*m̥* regularly loses its nasalization before another consonant is contradicted by *āntara-*” ‘blue’, which is derived from *\*md̥<sup>h</sup>ro-*. Other examples Melchert (1994a: 125) gives for the assumption that *\*N̥* keeps its nasalization are *\*sm̥n-* ‘to disappear, to withdraw’ > *šamn-* (see *šamen<sup>-zi</sup>* / *šamn-*) and *\*ns-* ‘us’ > *anz-*. However, it is not imperative that a preform *\*k̑mt-* would behave similar as a sequence *\*#NC-* (like in *antara-* and *anzāš*) or *\*CNNV* (like in *šamn-*). On the contrary, if *kappi-* / *kappai-* ‘little’ indeed reflects *\*kmb<sup>h</sup>-i-*, it would show that a sequence *\*TNT-* > Hitt. *TaT* (in which *T* = any stop), and that a development *\*k̑mt-* > Hitt. *katt-* is in perfect order.

All in all, I reconstruct *katta* as *\*k̑mt-o*, *kattan* as *\*k̑mt-om* and *katti=* as *\*k̑mt-(e)i*. The absence of accentuation (no plene vowels) is explained by the establishment that in poetic verse local adverbs and postpositions are unstressed (cf. Melchert 1998a: 485).

***kattera-*** (adj.) ‘lower, inferior; infernal; farther along’ (Sum. GAM-*ra-*): nom.sg.c. *kat-te-er-ra-aš* (KUB 17.14 iv 17 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *kat-te-ra-an* (KBo 39.280 iii 11 (NH)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *kat-te-ra* (Bo 3078 ii 9 (NS)), *kat-te-er-ra* (KBo 13.104 + Bo 6464 ii 7 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *kat-te-ri* (KBo 4.2 i 30, 35, 43 (OH/NS)), *kat-te-er-ri* (KBo 10.24 iv 31 (OH/NS)), *kat-ti-ir-ri* (KUB 26.9 i 6 (MH/NS)), *kat-ti-ir-r[i<sup>2</sup>]* (KUB 33.115 ii 6 (MH/NS)), all.sg. *kat-te-ra* (IBoT 1.36 iv 15 (MH/MS)), *kat-te-er-ra* (KUB 10.3 ii 23 (NS), KBo 6.29 ii 12 (NH), KUB 36.18 ii 18 (MH/NS)), loc.sg. *kat-te-e-er* (KUB 30.32 i 11 (MS) // KBo 18.190 obv. 6 (fr.) (NS)), abl. *kat-te-ra-az* (Bo 3617 i 7 (NS), KBo 15.24 ii 32 (MH/NS)), *kat-te-er-ra-az* (KBo 4.9 iv 34 (NS), KUB 2.10d, 2 (fr.) (NS)), *kat-te-er-ra-za* (KBo 13.104 + Bo 6464 ii 3 (NS)), *kat-ti-ir-ra-az* (KBo 10.24 iv 20 (OH/NS)), nom.pl.c. *kat-te-re-e-eš* (KUB 34.90, 3 (NS)), *kat-te-re-eš* (Bo 3617 ii 9 (NS)), *kat-te-er-ri-iš* (KBo 13.104 + Bo 6464 ii 6 (NS)), *kat-te-ri-uš* (Bo 3078 ii 9 (NS)), *kat-te-er-ru-uš* (KUB 17.14 rev. 21 (NS)), *kat-ti-ir-ru-uš* (KBo 15.9 i 19 (NS)), *kat-te-ra-aš* (KUB 6.31 iv 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *kat-te-e-ra-aš* (KBo 32.19 ii 38 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: **kattera** (adv.) ‘below’ (*kat-te-ra* (KUB 7.1 ii 23 (OH/NS))), **katterah<sup>h</sup>-i** (IIb) ‘to lower, to make inferior, to dismiss’ (3sg.pres.act. *kat-te-ra-ah<sup>h</sup>-hi* (KUB 13.2 iii 27 (MH/NS)), 2pl.prs.act. *kat-te-er-ra-ah<sup>h</sup>-te-e-ni* (KUB 13.20 i 35 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *kat-te-er-ra-ah<sup>h</sup>-ta* (KUB 1.1 iii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *kat-te-er-ra-ah<sup>h</sup>-he-er* (KUB 1.4 + 674/v iii 43 (NH), KUB 1.10 iii 15 (NH)); impf. *kat-te-er-ra-ah<sup>h</sup>-hi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.66 iii 16 (NH))), **katterezi-** (adj.) ‘lower, inferior’ (dat.-loc.sg. *kat-te-re[-ez-z]i* (KBo 24.71, 11 (NS))).

PIE \**k<sup>h</sup>mt-éro-*

See e.g. Puhvel HED 4: 131f. for attestations. The two MS attestations *kat-te-ra* and *kat-te-e-ra-aš* clearly show that the single spelling of *-r-* is original. The fact that in NS texts we often come across the spelling *kat-te-er-r<sup>o</sup>*, with geminate *-rr-*, must be due to the occasional NH gemination of intervocalic resonants as described by Melchert 1994a: 165. The few forms that are spelled with the sign TI (*kat-ti-ir-r<sup>o</sup>*) probably are due to the NH mixing up of the signs TE and TI (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137). Moreover, the MS attestation *kat-te-e-ra-* with plene *-e-* clearly points to a phonological interpretation /katéra-*l*.

It is in my view evident that this word reflects \**k<sup>h</sup>mt-éro-*, a derivative of the stem *katt-*, for which see *katta*.

**katti=**: see at *katta*

**kattu-** (n.) ‘enmity, strife’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *kad-du-u=š-mi-it* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **kattu<sup>u</sup>ae-<sup>z</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to be aggrieved(?)’ (3sg.pret.act. *kad-du-u-<sup>u</sup>a-i-[t]* (OH/NS), *kad-du-<sup>u</sup>a-i-i-[t]* (OH/NS)), **kattu<sup>u</sup>atar** / **kattu<sup>u</sup>ann-** (n.) ‘aggrievedness, enmity’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-a-tar* (OH/NS), *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-tar* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-an-na-aš* (OH/NS)), **kattu<sup>u</sup>annalli-** (adj.) ‘vengeful’ (nom.sg.c. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-(an-na-al-li-iš* (MH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **kattu<sup>u</sup>atnalli-** (adj.; c.) ‘vengeful; plaintiff’ (nom.sg.c. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-at-na-al-li-iš*, acc.sg.c. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-at-na-al-li-in*, *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-at-na-al-li-en*, nom.pl.c. [(*kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-at-na-a*)]*l-li-in-zi*, acc.pl.c. *kat-ta-<sup>u</sup>a-at-na-al-li-in-za*).

PIE \**k<sup>h</sup>₂et-(e)u-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 138f. for attestations. Although the basic noun *kattu-* is only attested once, on the basis of the derivatives *kattu<sup>u</sup>ae-* and *kattu<sup>u</sup>atar* we can set up an adjective \**kattu-* / *kattu<sup>u</sup>-* ‘aggrieved, inimical’. Laroche (1965: 51) compared these words to Gr. κότος ‘spite, anger’, which is usually connected with OIr. *cath* ‘strife, battle’ (which reflects \**katu-* as in the personal names Gaul.

*Catu-riges*, OHG *Hadu-brand*), MHG *hader* ‘fight, struggle’ and Skt. *śátru-* ‘enemy’. These words point to a root *\*kh<sub>2</sub>et-* (laryngeal needed to explain OIr. *-a-*), which would mean that Hitt. *kattu-* / *kattau-* reflects *\*kh<sub>2</sub>et-eu-*. Note that this implies that CLuw. *kattauatnalli-* cannot be genuinely Luwian, since *\*k* > Luw. *z-*, and therefore must be an adaptation of the Hittite word.

<sup>GADA</sup> **kazzarnul-** (n.) a certain cloth: nom.-acc.sg. *gaz-za-ar-nu-ú-ul* (MH/MS), *ka-az-za-ar-nu-ul* (MH/MS), *gaz-za-ar-nu-ul* (MH/NS), *ka-za-ar-nu-ul*, gen.sg.(?) [g]az-za-ar-nu-ul-la-aš=x[...] (KBo 47.28 obv. 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ka-az-za-ar-nu-ul-l[i]* (MH/MS), *gaz-za-ar-nu-li* (NS), instr. *gaz-za-ar-nu-ú-li-it* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. *gaz-za-ar-nu-ul-la* (NS), *ka-az-za-ar-nu-ul-li* (MH/NS).

See Puhvel HED 4: 141 and Rieken 1999a: 467 for attestation. The word usually occurs with the determinative GADA and therefore must denote some cloth. Puhvel just states that this word does not have an etymology, but Rieken treats this word rather extensively. She translates the word as “Tuch zum Abtrocknen<sup>3</sup>”, although she also states that “[e]ine inhaltliche Spezifizierung der Tuchbezeichnung anhand der Belege ist kaum möglich”. According to her, the word must be a derivative in *-ul-* (< PIE *\*-ul-*) from a verb *\*kazzarnu-* (for the formation she compares the hapaxes *dalugnul-* and *parganul-* (see at *daluki-* / *dalugai-* and *parkiie/a-<sup>zi</sup>* respectively)). She states that the root *kazzar-* could be connected with *\*ksěro-* (Gr. ξερών ‘fast, dry land’, Lat. *serēscunt* ‘they dry’, OHG *serawēn* ‘to become dry’). As a parallel for the development *\*#ks-* > *#k’s-* she gives *zakkar-* / *skar-* < *\*skōr-*. As I have argued at *šakkar*, *zakkar* / *šakn-*, the initial cluster *zk-* from *zakkar* is not phonetically regular. Moreover, under the lemma *kāšt-* / *kišt-* we see that *\*Kst-* yields Hitt. *kišt-* / *kist-l-*. All in all, I find Rieken’s assumption that *kazzarnul-* reflects *\*kser-nu-l-* phonetically improbable. Moreover, since the exact meaning of this noun cannot be established, this etymology lacks any semantic background as well.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> **genu-** / **ganu-** (n. > c.) ‘knee’: nom.-acc.sg. *ge-e-nu* (OH/MS), *ge-nu* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *ge-nu-un* (KBo 20.73 i 2 (MS), KUB 9.34 iii 37 (NS)), *ke-nu-un* (KUB 9.34 iii 34 (NS)), *ge-e-nu-ua-an* (Bo 4463, 13 (NS)), gen.sg. *ge-nu-ua-aš* (OS), *ge-e-nu-ua-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ge-nu-u=š-ši* (MH/NS), *ge-nu-ua* (NS), abl. *ge-e-nu-ua-za* (NH), *ge-nu-ua-az* (OH/NS), instr. [g]e-nu-t=a-at=kán (OS), *ge-nu-ut* (OH/NS), *ga-nu-ut* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ge-e-nu-ua* (NH), *ge-nu-ua* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *ge-e-nu-uš=šu-uš* (NS), *ge-nu-uš=šu-uš* (NH), dat.-

loc.pl. *ge-nu-aš* (MS), *ge-e-nu-ua-aš* (OH/NS), *ge-nu-ua-aš* (OH/NS), *ka-nu-ua-aš* (NS).

Derivatives: *genuššarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, *kanuššarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to kneel’ (3sg.pres.act. *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-az-zi* (NS), *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-ez-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ge-e-nu-uš-ra-a-an-zi* (MS); part. *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-ia-an-t-*, *ke-nu-uš-ša-ri-ia-an-t-*, *ge-nu-šar-ri-an-t-*, *ka-nu-uš-ša-ri-ia-an-t-* (NS), *ka-nu-ša-ri-ia-an-t-* (MS); verb.noun *ge-nu-uš-ri-ua-ar* (NS); impf. *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-eš-ke/a-*), *genušrinu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make kneel’ (3sg.pres.act. *ge-nu-uš-ri-nu-zi* (MS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *jānu-*, Gr. γόνυ, TochA *kanw-*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* ‘knee’.

PIE *\*genu-* / *\*gn-eu-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 146f. for attestations. Already since Hrozný (1919: 184), this word is connected with the words for ‘knee’ in the other IE languages. These words show a few ablaut variants: Skt. *jānu-*, Gr. γόνυ, TochA *kanw-*, TochB *keni* reflect *\*gón-u-*; Lat. *genū* reflects *\*gén-u-*; and Goth. *kniu*, ON *kné*, OE *cnēow* < *\*gn-eu-*. Because in Hittite the signs GI and KI can be read *gi* and *ge* and *ki* and *ke* respectively, the spellings *GI-e-nu-*, *GI-nu-* and *KI-nu-* can all be interpreted as */kénu-/* < *\*genu-*. The spellings *ka-nu-* and *ga-nu-* are sometimes interpreted as reflecting *\*gónu-*, but in my view this is not very likely. We would expect that *\*ó* > Hitt. *ā*, spelled *\*\*ka-a-nu-*. I therefore assume that *ga-nu-* and *ka-nu-* represent */knu-/* < *\*gn-(e)u-*. Such a zero-grade formation is not only visible in the Germanic forms, but also in e.g. Skt. *jñu-* (in compounds), Av. dat.-abl.pl. *žnubiiō* and Gr. dat.pl. γνυσί, γνύξ ‘on knees’.

With these three ablaut grades attested in the IE languages, it is difficult to reconstruct a PIE paradigm. Beekes (1995: 188) states that on the basis of the *e*- and *o*-grade, we should reconstruct a static paradigm nom.-acc. *\*gónu*, gen. *\*genu-s* and that the forms that show *\*gn-eu-* are secondary. Nevertheless, the Hittite forms seem to point to a paradigm *\*gén-u*, *\*gn-éu-s*.

The verb *kanuššarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* must be compared to e.g. *nahšarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to be afraid’ (*\*neh<sub>2</sub>-sr-je/o-*) and possibly *šešarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to sieve’ (*\*seh<sub>1</sub>-sr-je/o-?*), and reflects *\*gn-eu-sr-je/o-* or *\*gn-u-sr-je/o-* (compare Rieken 1999a: 276). The *e*-grade form *genuššarije/a-* must be secondary to the noun.

*kenu<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *kīnu<sup>-zi</sup>*

<sup>(U)ZU</sup>*genzu-* (n.) ‘abdomen, lap’: nom.-acc.sg. *ge-en-zu* (OH/MS), *ke-e-en-zu* (OH/NS), *ge-en-zu-ú* (OH/NS), *ge-e-e[n-z]u* (NS), *gi-in-zu* (1x, NH), *gi-im-zu* (1x, NH), abl. *ge-en-zu-[(ua-)az]*, instr. [*ge-*]en-zu-i-t=a-at=kán (KBo 30.30 rev.

7 (OS)), nom.-acc.pl. *ge-en-zu-u-ua* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ge-en-zu-ua-aš* (MH/MS, OH/NS).

Derivatives: *genzuuē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, *genzuuāe<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1 / Ic2) ‘to treat gently, to be compassionate (towards), to be kind (to)’ (2sg.pres.act. *ge-en-zu-ua-i-ši* (OH/NS), *ge-en-zu-ua-ši* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ge-en-zu-ua-it* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ge-en-zu-ua-i* (NH)), *genzuuāla-* (adj.) ‘kindhearted’ (nom.sg.c. *ge-en-zu-ua-la-aš* (NH), *gi-in-zu-ua-la-aš* (MH/NS)).

PIE \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-su-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 154f. for attestations. The word denotes a body part, which can be identified with the lower abdomen on the basis of its place in lists of body parts. Besides its literal meaning, it also occurs metaphorically in expressions like *genzu dā<sup>-i</sup> / d-* ‘to take pity on’, *genzu ḥar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to have fondness for’, *genzu pai<sup>-i</sup> / pi-* ‘to extend kindness’, but also in its derivatives *genzuuāe<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to be gentle with’ and *genzuuāla-* ‘kindhearted’. The literal meaning ‘lower abdomen’ (\*‘area of the loins’?) and the metaphoric meaning ‘kindness’ seem to fit the PIE root \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to beget, to procreate’ (Skt. *jan<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to procreate, Gr. γίγνομαι ‘to come into being’, Lat. *nātus* ‘born’, etc.; for the meaning ‘kindness’, cf. Lat. *gentilis* ‘gentle’, ModEng. *kind*). It therefore is quite generally assumed that *genzu-* reflects \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-su-* (cf. Skt. *rāmsu-* ‘enjoyable’, *dhákṣu-* ‘burning’, but also Hitt. *tepšu-* < \**d<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-su-*), but details are unclear. The biggest question is how the cluster *-nz-* came about, especially in comparison to the fact that \**VnsV* > Hitt. *VššV*. For instance, Eichner (1973a: 55, 86) therefore assumes that in \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-su-* the laryngeal was vocalized to \**genasu-* and that this vocalized laryngeal only got syncopated after the assimilation of \**-ns-* to *-šš-*. The secondary cluster \**-ns-* then yielded *-nz-*. Problematic however is that neither vocalization of laryngeals (cf. Melchert 1994a: 65) nor syncope of vowels is a regular phonetic development in Hittite. Rieken (1999a: 220-1) remarks that Skt. *dhákṣu-* is remodelled after an *o*-stem, while *rāmsu-* goes back to an IE *s*-stem \**rém-e/os-* (although opinions differ on this, cf. Mayrhofer 1986-2002: 2.428). In the same way *genzu-* then could be derived from the *s*-stem \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-e/os-* (Gr. γένος, Lat. *genus*). According to Rieken, “[d]ie Bewahrung des Nasals vor dem Sibilanten und die Epenthese van *t* in *genzu-*, die der normalen Entwicklung widersprechen, erklären sich aus dem Bedürfnis, die Morphemgrenzen deutlich zu bewahren”. This is rather *ad hoc*, however. In my view, the solution is quite simple: just as \**-ms-* and \**-mh<sub>1</sub>s-* behaved differently when in intervocalic position (\**VmsV* > *VššV* (\**h<sub>2</sub>emsu-* > *ḥaššu-*) whereas \**Vmh<sub>1</sub>sV* > *VnšV* (\**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>sei* > *ānšī*)), so did *-ns-* and *-nh<sub>1</sub>s-*

behave differently as well. The first one assimilated to -šš-, whereas *\*Vnh<sub>1</sub>sV* yielded *VnzV* (for this outcome compare *\*CnsV > CanzV* and *\*CmsV > CanzV*).

The preservation of *-e-* is quite remarkable. Apparently, *genzu-* < *\*ġenh<sub>1</sub>su-* did not participate in the sound law *\*eRCC > aRCC*, nor in the sound law *\*enT > anT*. This means that we have to set up the following relative chronology: (1) *\*enT > anT*; (2) *\*Vnh<sub>1</sub>sV > VnzV*; (3) *\*eRCC > aRCC*.

<sup>(UZU)</sup>*ker / kard(i)-* (n.) ‘heart; center, core’ (Sum. ŠÀ, Akk. *LIBBU*): nom.-acc.sg. *ke-er* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ge-er* (MS), gen.sg. *kar-ti-ja-aš* (MH/MS), *kar-di-ja-aš* (OH/NS), *kar-di-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *kar-di* (OS), *kar-ti* (OS), *kar-ti-i* (NH), *kar-di-ja-a=t-ta=m=a-at=kán* (KUB 33.68 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ke-er-ti* (MH/NS), all.sg. *kar-ta* (MS), *kar-da* (OH/NS), erg.sg. *kar-di-an-za* (OS or MS), abl. *kar-ta-az* (OS), instr. *kar-di-it* (OH/MS).

Derivatives: see *šallakarta-* and *kardimije/a<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *kārt-* ‘heart’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-a-ar-ti*); CLuw. <sup>UZU</sup>*zārt-* ‘heart’ (nom.-acc.sg. *za-a-ar-za*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-ar-ti*, abl.-instr. <sup>UZU</sup>ŠÀ-*ti*, case? *za-ar-ta*); HLuw. <sup>COR</sup>*zart(i)-* (n.) ‘heart’ (nom.-acc.sg. *l<sup>s</sup>art=sal za+ra/i-za* (KULULU 5 §11), gen.sg. *l<sup>s</sup>artias/ <sup>COR</sup>za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá* (ALEPPO 3 §1), dat.-loc.sg. *l<sup>s</sup>artil/ za+ra/i-ti* (KARABURUN §12), gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *l<sup>s</sup>artasin/ za+ra/i-ta-si-na* (KÖRKÜN §11)), *zartiija-* ‘to wish’ (3sg.pres.act. *l<sup>s</sup>artitil/ za+ra/i-ti-ti-i(-i)* (KARABURUN §7, §9, TELL AHMAR 2 §13, SULTANHAN §46), 3sg.pret.act. *l<sup>s</sup>artita/ <sup>COR</sup>za+ra/i-ti-i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20)).

PAnt. *\*kēr, \*krdios, \*krd-’*

IE cognates: Gr. κῆρ, Arm. *sirt*, OCS *srъdbce*, Lith. *širdis*, OPr. *seyr*, Lat. *cor*, OIr. *críde*, Skt. *hārdi / hṛd-, hṛdaya-* ‘heart’

PIE *\*kēr, \*krd-i-ós, \*krd-’*

See Puhvel HED 4: 189f. and Rieken 1999a: 52f. for attestations. Some forms need comments. The nom.-acc.sg.-form is spelled with the signs KI, GI and IR that can stand for *ki* and *ke*, *gi* and *ge* and *ir* and *er* respectively. This means that both a phonological interpretation /kir/ and /ker/ is possible. Since this form alternates with *kard(i)-*, I have chosen to read it as /ker/ because the vowel *-e-* is expected in such an alternation. Besides the well-attested gen.sg. /krdias/, Rieken (l.c.) also cites a gen.sg. *kartaš* on the basis of *kar<sup>1</sup>-ta-aš-ma* in the following context:

VBoT 58 i

(12) *nu ū<sup>H1A</sup>-an KUR<sup>1</sup>.KUR<sup>MES</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>H1A</sup> UDU<sup>H1A</sup> UR.GI<sub>7</sub><sup>H1A</sup> ŠA[H]<sup>H1A</sup> ti-in-n[u-zi/ut]*

(13) DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> *kar<sup>1</sup>-ta-aš-ma ḫal-ki-uš [..]x ti-in-nu-zi.*

In the break in line 13 she reads [*Ú-U*]L and concludes that we then need an adversative =*ma* (so *kar<sup>1</sup>-ta-aš=ma*) in order to translate “Gräser, Länder, Rinder, Schafe, Hunde (und) Schweine lähmte er, aber die Söhne des Herzens und das Getreide lähmt er nicht”. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 54 reads [<sup>G1</sup>][GEŠ]TIN in the break, however, and interprets *kar<sup>1</sup>-ta-aš-ma* as *karta=šma*, translating “Die Gräser/Kräuter der Länder/Landstriche, die Rinder, Schafe, Hunde (und) Schwei[ne] läh[mt sie]; die Kinder in ihrem “Herzen”, die Getreide (und) den [We]in(stock)? ... lähmt sie”. All in all, I judge this passage as too unclear to base an otherwise unattested gen.sg. *kartaš* on.

In Luwian, we find *zart(i)-* ‘heart’ (note that nom.-acc.sg. CLuw. *zārza* and HLuw. *za+ra/i-za* have to be analysed as /zārt-sa/, showing the secondary neuter suffix *-sa* attached to a stem *zart-* (and not as *zar + -sa*, cf. *uār-ša* ‘water’)). Apparently, the form that corresponds to Hitt. nom.-acc.sg. *ker* (we would expect Luw. *\*\*zir*) was replaced by the oblique stem. The similarity between Hitt. gen.sg. *kardijaš* and HLuw. gen.sg. *za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá* is remarkable and points to PANat. *\*krdios*. All in all, we can reconstruct a PANat. paradigm *\*k(ē)r*, *\*krdios*, *\*krd-*.

Already since Hrozný (1922b: 69<sup>1</sup>), Hitt. *ker / kard(i)-* has been connected to other IE words for ‘heart’ like Gr. κῆρ, Lat. *cor*, etc. The nominative-accusative must be reconstructed as *\*kēr* on the basis of Gr. κῆρ, Skt. *hārdi*, Arm. *sirt*, OPr. *seyr*. The PANat. gen.sg. *\*krdios* can be compared to *i*-extensions as visible in Gr. καρδίη ‘heart’ and Skt. *hṛdaya-*, Av. *zərδəaiia-*.

The interpretation of the word *ke-er-ti-it-ta* in KBo 3.21 iii (11) <sup>d</sup>IM-aš *ke-er-ti-it-ta mi-nu-an-du li-iš-ši=ma-a=t-ta u-a-ar-aš-nu-an-du* has been matter of debate. Puhvel (o.c.: 190) analyses *kirti=tta* and interprets *kirti* as a nom.-acc.sg.-variant besides *ker*, which, he assumes, may be “a variant reinforced by the Hittite proliferation of *i*-stems in terms for body parts (e.g. *arki-*, *ḫahri-*, *lišši-...*)”. He translates the sentence in question as ‘may they soothe thy heart [partitive apposition], and may they calm thy liver’. This interpretation is rather *ad hoc* and unsatisfactory. Eichner (1979a: 45<sup>9</sup>) analyses the form as *kir=ti=tta*, showing a suffixless loc.sg. *kir* followed by the enclitic possessive pronoun =*tti*. He therefore translates ‘In deinem Herzen sollen sie dich milde stimmen, in deiner Leber (d.h. Sinn, Gemüt) aber besänftigen!’. However, the assumption that the second person is expressed by using two enclitic particles (the possessive pronominal enclitic =*tti-* and the enclitic pronoun =*tta*) is not very appealing. Neu (1980a: 31-33) analyses the form as *kerti=tta* and commends that *kerti*



should be taken as a loc.sg. that reflects \**kérd-i*. This analysis, *kerti=tta*, certainly fits the parallel word-chain *lišši=ma=tta* best. Rieken (1999a: 53) rejects Neu's interpretation, however, because she does not believe that \**kérd-i* would yield Hitt. *kerti*: according to her \**éRC* > *aRC*, and thus \**kérd-i* > *karti*. The fact that \**eRCV* remains *eRCV* is clearly visible in e.g. \**k<sup>w</sup>érmi* > *kuermi*, however, and therefore Neu's interpretation is phonetically regular as well. This means that *kerti* would be the regular outcome of the PIE loc.sg. \**kérd-i*, whereas Hitt. dat.-loc.sg. *kartī* goes back to the PIE dat.sg. \**krd-éi*. Note that Puhvel also cites a dat.-loc.sg. *girdi* on the basis of KUB 53.50 i (3) URU-*aš gir-di* 'in the heart of the city', but this is problematic in view of the fact that this would be the only instance known to me where the sign GÌR has to be read phonetically.

**keš<sup>-zi</sup>**: see *kiš<sup>-zi</sup>*

**keššar / kiššer- / kišr-** (c.) 'hand' (Sum. ŠU, Akk. *QATU*): nom.sg. *ke-eš-šar=ši-iš* (OH/?), *ki-iš-šar-aš* (MS), *ke-eš-ši-ra-aš* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ši-ra-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. [*ki-i*]š-še-ra-an (OS), *ki-iš-ši-ra-an* (MH/NS), *ke-eš-ši-ra-an* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *ki-iš-ra-aš* (MH/MS), *ki-iš-ša-r[(a-aš)]* (MH/MS), *ki-iš-še-ra-aš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ki-iš-ša-ri-i* (OS), *ki-iš-ri* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ri* (OH/NS), [(*ki-i*)]š-ši-ri-i=t-ta (OH/NS), all.sg. *ki-iš-ra-a* (OS), *ki-šar-ra* (NS), abl. *ki-iš-ra-az* (MH/MS), *ki-iš-ša-ra-az* (MH/MS), *ki-iš-šar-ra-az* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-šar-az* (MH/NS), *ke-eš-ša-ra-az* (NS), instr. *ki-iš-šar-at* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-šar-ta* (MH/MS), *ke-eš-šar-ta* (MH/NS), *ki-iš-ri-i-it* (MS?), *ki-iš-ri-it* (NS), *ki-iš-ša-ri-it* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *ki-iš-še-ru-uš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ki-iš-ra-aš* (NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **īš(ša)ra/i-** (c.) 'hand' (nom.sg. *i-iš-ša-ri-iš*, *iš-ša-ri-iš*, *iš-ša-ri-i-iš*, *i-iš-ri-iš*, *iš-ri-iš*, acc.sg. *iš-ša-ri-in*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ša-ri-i*, abl.-instr. *i-iš-ša-ra-ti*, *iš-ša-ra-a-ti*, coll.pl. *i-iš-ša-ra*, *iš-ša-ra*, dist.pl. ŠU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an-ta*, dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ša-ra<-an>-z[a]*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.nt. *iš-ša-ra<-aš-ša>-an-za*), **īššarallattar-** (n.) 'bracelet' (nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ša-ra-la-ad-da-ra*), **išaruaja-** (adj.) 'favourable (vel sim.)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-šar-ú-ya-ja-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *i-šar-ya-ja*), **išaruila/i-** 'right hand' (nom.sg.c. *i-šar-ú-i-li-iš*, *i-šar-ū<sub>5</sub>-li-iš*, abl.-instr. *i-šar-ú-i-la-ti*), **išaruili(ia)-** (adj.) 'of the right hand (> favourable)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-šar-ú-i-li-ia-an*, abl.-instr.? [*i-šar-]ú-i-ri-ia-a-ti*); HLuw. **istra/i-** (c.) 'hand' (acc.sg. /istrin/ <sup>MANUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §3), "MANUS"-*tara/i-na* (JISR EL HADID fr.2 line 2), dat.-loc.sg. /istri/ <sup>MANUS</sup>*i-sà-tara/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §15, §17, §22), MANUS-*tara/i* (KARKAMIŠ A21 §3), abl. /istradi/ ["MA]NUS"-*tara/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §2b)); Lyc. **izre/i-** 'hand' (abl.-instr. *izredi*).

PAnat. \**gésr-*

IE cognates: Gr. χεῖρ ‘hand’, Arm. *jeṙn* ‘hand’, TochA *tsar*, TochB *šar* ‘hand’, Alb. *dorë* ‘hand’, Skt. *hásta-* ‘hand’ (\**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-to-*).

PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-r* / \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-ér-m* / \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-ós*

See Puhvel HED 4: 160f. and Rieken 1999a: 278f. for attestations. Already since Sturtevant (1927a: 121) this word is generally connected with Gr. χεῖρ ‘hand’, which in view of Arm. *jeṙn* and Skt. *hásta-* ‘hand’ must reflect \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r*. In Hittite, we find a variety of forms, of which it is not always clear how to interpret them, despite the obvious etymon. The oldest forms (OS and MS) are the following: nom.sg. *keššar*, acc.sg. *kiššeran*, gen.sg. *kiš(ša)raš*, dat.-loc.sg. *kiš(ša)rī*, all.sg. *kišrā*, abl. *kiš(ša)raz*, instr. *kiššarat* / *kiššarta*, acc.pl. *kiššeruš*, dat.-loc.pl. *kišraš*. In younger times, we see that some forms occur that reflect a thematic stem *kiššera-* (nom.sg. *kišširaš* (NS), gen.sg. *kiššeraš* (NS)) and *kiš(ša)ra-* (nom.sg. *kiššaraš* (MS), instr. *kiššarit* (NS)) (see Weitenberg 1995 on the thematicization and sigmatization of original asigmatic commune nominatives). According to Rieken (l.c., following Schindler) the original paradigm of \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-* must have been ‘holodynamic’, \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-ōr* / \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-or-ṃ* / \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-és* / \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-ér(-i)*, of which she states that “[d]as Hethitische setzt dieses mit den Stämmen *keššar* und *kiš(ša)r-* fast lautgesetzlich fort” (o.c.: 280). This view, with which I do not agree at all, is supported by her incorrect idea that the vowel *e/i* in *kiššer-* / *kiššir-* is “lediglich graphischen Ursprungs”.

If nom.sg. *keššar* would reflect \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-ōr*, I do not know how to explain the geminate *-šš-*: I would expect an outcome \*\**kešar* or even \*\**keša* (cf. § 1.4.6.2.a for the loss of wordfinal *-r* after unaccentuated *\*-ō-*). In my view, the geminate of *keššar* can only be explained by a pre-form \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-r*, in which *\*s* has been fortited due to contact with *-r-*. With this pre-form it is an exact match with Gr. χεῖρ. The reconstructed acc.sg. \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>és-or-ṃ* should have regularly yielded Hitt. \*\**keššaran*, which is not attested at all. Already in OS texts, we find *kiššeran*, which can either be interpreted as /*kiSéran*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-ér-m* (for the possible development of \**#KsV-* > Hitt. /*KiSV-*/ compare *kāšt-* / *kišt-* and the total absence of Hittite words that start in \*\**kašV-* < \**KsV-*; the geminate *-šš-* must be compared to \**VksV* > Hitt. /*VkSV*/, cf. § 1.4.4.2) or as /*kiSéran*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-ér-m* (with /*i*/ going back to pre-tonic \**e*; note that we then should assume generalization of geminate *-šš-* out of the other cases). The oldest attestations of gen.sg. *kišraš* and *kiššaraš* stand for /*kiSrás*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-ós* or for /*kiSrás*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-ós* (compare Gr. χεῖρος < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>esr-os*). Dat.-loc.sg. *kiš(ša)rī*, all.sg. *kišrā* and abl. *kiš(ša)raz* stand for /*kiSr-*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>s-r-* or /*kiSr-*/ < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r-*. Instr. *kiššarta* /

*kiššarat* stands for /kīSrt/ < \*g<sup>h</sup>s-r-t. Acc.pl. *kiššeruš* stands for /kīSérus/ < \*g<sup>h</sup>s-ér-ms, compare acc.sg.

All in all, in my opinion it is clear that the Hittite material points to an original hysterodynamic paradigm \*g<sup>h</sup>és-r, \*g<sup>h</sup>s-ér-m, \*g<sup>h</sup>s-r-ós, etc. (according to the ‘fourth subtype’ as described in Beekes 1995: 175).

The Luwian forms, CLuw. *iš(ša)ra/i-*, HLuw. *istra/i-* and Lyc. *izre/i-*, reflect PLuw. \*/iSra/i-/ < (virtual) \*gés-r-o-, a thematicized form of PANat. \*gés-r. The fact that \*e yields Luw. -i- may show that it was pretonic (cf. Hajnal 1995: 63). It should be noted that the appurtenance of CLuw. *išaruaija-*, *išaruila/i-* and *išaruili(i)a-* is uncertain because of the deviant semantics (the basic meaning seems to be ‘favourable’) and the occurrence of single -š- vs. the geminate -šš- found in *iš(ša)ra/i-*.

*kešt-āri*: see *kišt-āri*

**ketkar** (adv.) ‘at the head (of), on top’: *ke-et-kar=ša-me-et* (OS), *ke-et-kar* (OH/MS), *ke-et-kar-za* (OH/NS), *ke-et-kar-az* (MH/MS), *ke-et-kar-aš* (MH/MS), *ke-ek-kar* (NS),

IE cognates: Gr. ἐπί κάρ ‘head down’, ἀνά κάρ ‘upwards’.

PIE \*ked + \*kr(h<sub>2</sub>)

See Puhvel HED 4: 201-2 for attestations. Since Josephson (1966: 135) this adverb is generally seen as a univerbation of *ket*, the old abl./instr. case of *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-* ‘this’, followed by *kar*, which must be compared to Gr. ἐπί κάρ ‘head down’, ἀνά κάρ ‘upwards’, which must somehow reflect PIE \*kreh<sub>2</sub> ‘head, horn’. The interpretation of *ket* as an old abl./instr. is supported by the fact that in younger times -*kar* is replaced by the ablatival -*karz*.

The interpretation of -*kar* ~ κάρ is difficult. Puhvel (l.c.) explains it as a suffixless locative, but safely gives no reconstruction. Rieken (1999a: 250, with reference to Nussbaum) assumes that these forms reflect \*-kř-h<sub>2</sub>, which would be the reduced form of \*křéh<sub>2</sub> in univerbation. It is difficult to judge whether a development \*křh<sub>2</sub> > Hitt. *kar*, Gr. κάρ is regular. In Greek, I know of no comparable instances of \*-Cřh<sub>2</sub>#. Rix (1992: 75) only cites examples for the outcome of \*-Cnh<sub>2</sub>#: \*křh<sub>2</sub>sn-h<sub>2</sub> > Gr. (Hom.) κάρηνα and \*g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-mn-h<sub>2</sub> > Gr. (Hom.) βέλεμνα ‘projectile’. These forms show that we would expect that \*-křh<sub>2</sub> yielded Gr. \*\*κρά. In Hittite, if *kar* reflects \*kř-h<sub>2</sub>, we would have to assume loss of word-final laryngeal (as does Melchert 1994a: 87).

Prins (1997: 202-3), after summing up the discussion in detail, assumes that the preforms of *ketkar* and Gr. ἐπι κάρ may never have had a laryngeal at all. She argues that the univerbation *\*-kr* stems from the time that there still was a root *\*ker-* ‘bone substance’ (of which later the extensions *\*ker-h<sub>2</sub>-* ‘head’, *\*ker-no-* ‘horn’ e.a. were formed). According to her, this *\*-kr* did not receive a laryngeal at all, because “already in PIE the form *\*-kr* in unverbated forms was fossilized”.

This assumption (although rather radical) indeed solves the formal problems of *ketkar*. A parallel formation of *ket* + abl. we find in *ket(-)pantalaz* (q.v.).

***ketpantalaz*** (adv.) ‘from this time on’: *ke-et pa-an-ta-la-za* (MH/MS), *ke-et pa-an-da-la-az* (MH/MS), *ke-et-pa-an-da-la-az* (MH/MS), *ke-et-pa-an-ta-la-az* (OH/NS).

See Puhvel HED 4: 202-3 for attestations. The form *ketpantalaz*, which is attested thus several times, is clearly a univerbation of *ket* and *pantalaz*. This is not only clear from the fact that this expression is written with a word space between the two elements in MS texts, but also because of the parallel expression *a-pé-et pa-an-ta-la-az* ‘from that time on’. For a treatment of *ket*, see *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-* ‘this’; for a treatment of *pantalaz* see at *pantala-*.

***ki-<sup>ua(ri)</sup>*** (IIIb) ‘to lie, to be laid, to be in place, to be set’ (Sum. GAR): 3sg.pres.midd. *ki-it-ta* (OS), *ki-it-ta-ri* (MH/MS), *ki-id-da-ri* (NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ki-an-ta* (OS), *ki-an-da* (OS), *ki-ja-an-ta* (OS), *ki-ja-an-da* (NS), *ki-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ki-ja-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ki-it-ta-ti* (MH/NS), *ki-it-ta-at* (OH/MS), 3pl.pret.midd. *ki-i-ja-an-ta-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *ki-it-ta-ru* (OS, often), *ki-it-ta-a-ru* (1x, MH/NS), *ki-id-da-ru* (NH), 2pl.imp.midd. *ki-id-du-ma-ti* (NH).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***ki-*** ‘to lie’ (3sg.pres.midd. *ki-i-ta-ar*); CLuw. ***zi-*** ‘to lie’ (3sg.pres.midd. *zi-ja-ar*, *zi-i-ja-ri*); Lyc. ***si-*** ‘to lie’ (1sg.pres.midd. *siḫani*, 3sg.pres.midd. *sijēni*, *sijeni*, 3pl.pres.midd. *sitēni*).

PAnat. *\*kij-*

IE cognates: Skt. *śáye*, *śéte* ‘to lie’, Av. *saēte* ‘to lie’, Gr. κείμαι ‘to lie’.

PIE *\*kēi-to* / *\*kēi-nto*

See Puhvel HED 4: 169f. for attestations. Already since Hrozný (1917: 35) this verb is generally regarded as the cognate of Skt. *śay-* and Gr. κείμαι ‘to lie’, which reflect *\*kēi-*. Because the Sanskrit and the Greek verb show the static inflection (Skt. 3sg. *śáye*, 3pl. *śére*; Gr. 3sg. κείται, 3pl. κέατο < *\*kēi-nto*), we

would expect that in Hittite we would find a static inflection as well. Because normally *\*-ei-* would monophthongize to Hitt. *-ē-*, Eichner (1973a: 78) assumed that *\*-ei-* is raised to *-ī-* after a velar consonant (also in *kīš<sup>a(n)</sup>* / *kīš-* (q.v.)). Although such a raising is generally accepted now, it still is problematic why *kitta(ri)* shows a short *-i-* throughout its paradigm, especially since shortening of long vowels in closed syllable is not usual (cf. *kānkḫi* < *kónk-h<sub>2</sub>ei*). For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 525) noticed that the Palaic form *kītar*, in contrast to Hitt. *kitta(ri)*, shows a long vowel *-ī-* and a lenited stop /d/, due to the preceding accentuated long vowel. This means that Hittite must have reintroduced the unlenited ending *-tta(ri)*, which, according to Oettinger, caused the shortening of the vowel. Melchert (1994a: 145) hesitates in believing this theory: he remarks that the form *ūitt-* ‘year’ < *\*uét-* shows a long *-ī-* in a closed syllable and therefore seems to contradict this. In my view, this is not necessarily true: the plene spelling *ú-i-it-t<sup>o</sup>* does not have to indicate vowel length: it can be used just to disambiguate the ambiguous sign IT that can be read *it* as well as *et*. Nevertheless, I would like to reexamine the chronology of the development *\*Kei-* > *kī-*.

As we can see, the raising of *\*Kei-* > *Kī-* occurred in all Anatolian languages: *\*Kei-* > Pal. *kī-*, CLuw. *zī-* and Lyc. *si(j)-*. This is therefore probably a Proto-Anatolian development. Eichner (l.c.) assumes that *\*Kei-* > *\*kē-* (regular monophthongization of *\*-ei-*) and that then the velar gets palatalized to *\*k’ē-*, due to which *\*ē* is raised, yielding *\*k’ī-*. In my view, we should rather assume that *\*Kei-* was raised to *\*ki-* before the monophthongization of *\*-ei-* to *-ē-*. In the case of *ki<sup>ta(n)</sup>*, this means that PIE *\*kéi-tor* yielded PANat. *\*kīitor*. This *\*kīitor* fell victim to lenition due to the accentuated diphthong, yielding *\*kīidor*. This *\*kīidor* is the immediate preform of Pal. *kītar* (with monophthongization of *\*-ij-* > *-ī-*). In Pre-Hittite, the synchronically aberrant ending *\*-dor* is replaced by the normal ending *\*-tor* (with fortis /t/), yielding *\*kīitor*. It should be noted that /t/ was phonetically a long (geminate) consonant: [kíi:or] or [kíittor]. In this form, the triconsonantal cluster *\*-itt-* is simplified to *-tt-* through loss of the consonantal part of the diphthong *\*-ij-*, a development comparable to *\*kīsC* > *kisC*, but also *\*linkC* > *likC* and *ḫarkC* > *ḫarC*. This simplification then yielded Hitt. *kitta(ri)*.

Within Sanskrit, we find two separate 3sg.pres.-forms, namely *śáye* < *\*kéi-o-i* and *śéte* < *\*kéi-to-i*. The idea is that the ending *\*-o* is the old stative ending, whereas *-to* originally belonged with the real middle. On the basis of Hitt. *kitta* and Pal. *kītar* < *\*kéi-to* besides CLuw. *zīari* and Lyc. *sijēni* < *\*kéi-o*, we must assume that Proto-Anatolian possessed both forms as well (which shows that already in PIE there were two forms: archaic *\*kéi-o* and renewed *\*kéi-to*). From

the two forms, \**kéi-o* ‘won’ in the Luwian branch, whereas \**kéi-to* ‘won’ in the Palao-Lydo-Hittite branch. Note that I interpret Lyc. *sitēni*, which is usually cited as 3sg., as a 3pl.-form, reflecting \**kéinto-* > \**kīinto* > Lyc. /sīte-/ , spelled *site-* (cf. Melchert 1992a: 195 for the fact that *sitēni* has a plural subject).

=*kki*, =*kka* : see at *kui-*

*gim-*: see *gimm-*

***gimm-*** (c.) ‘winter’ (Sum. ŠE<sub>12</sub>, Akk. *KUŠŠU*): dat.-loc.sg. *gi-im-mi* (KBo 15.32 i 4 (OH/MS), KUB 13.2 iv 23 (MH/NS), KUB 22.39 iii 14 (fr.) (NS), KBo 13.169 l.col. 1 (NS)), *gi-e-mi* (KUB 30.37 i 9, 11 (fr.) (NS)), *gi-mi* (IBoT 2.66 rev. 10 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***gimanije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to spend the winter’ (3sg.pret.act. *gi-ma-ni-e-et* (OH/NS), *gi-ma-ni-et* (OH/NS)), ***gimmant-*** (c.) ‘winter’ (nom.sg. *gi-im-ma-an-za* (MS), acc.sg. *ki-im-ma-an-tan<sub>x</sub>* (undat.), gen.sg. *gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš* (OH/NS), *gi-im-ma-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *gi-im-ma-an-ti* (MH/MS)), ***gimmantarije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to spend the winter’ (3pl.pres.act. ŠE<sub>12</sub>-*ja-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *gi-im-ma-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-un* (NH), *gi-im-ma-an-da-ri-ja-nu-un* (NH)), see *gimra-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *hēman-*, Av. *ziiå*, Lat. *hiems*, Gr. χεῖμών ‘winter’ etc.

PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-n(-ent)-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 143f. for attestations. There he also cites acc.sg. [*g*]i-ma-an (KBo 26.132, 6), emended thus by Oettinger (1982a: 237), but as Rieken (1999a: 77) shows, this emendation is incorrect. Semantically, there is no reason to assume ‘winter’ in this context while the traces rather point to [...-a]m-ma-an.

Although the basic etymon of these words has been clear since Sommer (1920: 23), namely PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-(n-)* ‘winter’, the exact interpretation of all the forms is difficult. It may be worth while to first look at the formations in the other IE languages. There we find a root noun \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>iem-* (Lat *hiems* ‘winter’, Av. *ziiå* < \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>iōm*), but also an *n*-stem \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>eim-n-* (Skt. *hēman-*, Gr. χεῖμων, χεῖμα).

In Hittite, an *n*-stem is assuredly attested in the verb *gimanije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to spend the winter’, which reflects \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-n-je/o-*. This makes it likely that the geminate *-mm-* as attested in dat.-loc.sg. *gi-im-mi* ‘in the winter’ and *gi-im-ma-an-t-* ‘winter’ is the result of the assimilation of the cluster *-mn-*, so \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-n-* and \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>im-n-ent-*. Puhvel (o.c.: 145) objects to reconstructing *gimm-* as *gim-n-* with the consideration that in *lamni* ‘name (dat.-loc.sg.)’ the cluster *-mn-* is preserved, but

Melchert (1994a: 81) states that in principle *\*-mn-* assimilates to *-mm-* unless it is part of an ablauting paradigm (like in the case of *lāman / lamn-*). This means that the original paradigm to which *gimmi* must have belonged (*\*g<sup>h</sup>ím-n*, *\*g<sup>h</sup>ím-n-ós* > Hitt. *\*\*kēman*, *\*\*kinnāš*) has been taken over by *gimmant-* (*\*g<sup>h</sup>ím-n-ent-*) at an early stage already. This is supported by the fact that OH *gimanije/a<sup>zi</sup>* is replaced by NH *gimmantarije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to spend the winter’ (cf. Rieken l.c.). The *-ant-* derivation *gimmant-* must be compared to *ḫamešḫant-* beside *ḫamešḫa-* ‘spring’, *zēnant-* besides *zēna-* ‘fall’ and *\*uittant-* besides *uitt-* ‘year’. The fact that only dat.-loc.sg. *gimmi* has survived of the original *n*-stem paradigm resembles the situation of *ḫamešḫa-* besides *ḫamešḫant-* where dat.-loc.sg. *ḫamešḫi* occurs far more often than *ḫamešḫanti*.

The hapax *gi-e-mi*, which is attested in a NS text only, could be considered as a scribal error for *gimmi*. Nevertheless, Melchert (1984a: 127<sup>90</sup>) discusses the possibility that *gi-e-mi* is an archaic form that has to be equated with Lat. *hiemi* ‘in the winter’ and reflects *\*g<sup>h</sup>ím-i*.

**gimmant-**: see *gimm-*

**gimmara-**: see *gimra-*

**gimra-** (c.) ‘the outdoors, countryside, field, military campaign’ (Sum. LÍL, Akk. *ŠERU*): nom.sg. *gi-im-ra-aš* (MS), acc.sg. *gi-im-ra-an* (MS), *gi-im-ra-a-an* (NH), gen.sg. *gi-im-ra-aš* (OS), *ki-im-ra-aš* (NS), *gi-im-ma-ra-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *gi-im-ri* (OH/NS), all.sg. *gi-im-ra* (OH/MS), abl. *gi-im-ra-az* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *gi-im-ru-uš* (MS), *gi-im-ri-uš* (1x, MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *gi-im-ra-aš* (MH/NS), *gi-im-ma-ra-aš* (MH/NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **im(ma)ra/i-** ‘open country’ (gen.adj.-stem *im-ma-ra-aš-ša*, gen.adj.dat.sg. *im-ma-ra-aš-šan*, *im-ra-aš-ša(-an)*).

PAnat. *\*g<sup>(2)</sup>imro-*

PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>im-ro-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 175f. for attestations. The occasional spellings *gi-im-ma-ra-* show that we should phonologically interpret this word as /kiMra-/. Taking this together with CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-*, we can reconstruct a PAnat. *\*g<sup>(2)</sup>imro-*.

Sturtevant (1930c: 216) suggested a connection with PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>h</sup>m-* ‘earth’. In view of Hitt. *tēkan / takn-* ‘earth’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>h</sup>-m / \*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-m-* and CLuw. *tijamma/i-* ‘earth’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>ém-*, it is impossible to derive PAnat. *\*g<sup>(2)</sup>imro-* from a preform *\*\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>em-ro-*. Tie-ins with IE *\*kei-* ‘to lie’ (Jucqois 1967: 177) or *\*kem-* ‘to

border' (Van Windekens 1981) are contradicted by CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* that requires PIE \*g<sup>(h)</sup>/g<sup>(h)</sup>.

Benveniste *apud* Puhvel (l.c.) rather connects *gimra-* to PIE \*g<sup>h</sup>*iem-* 'winter', "thus in origin a term for the wintry steppe, the inhospitable outdoors (cf. 'out in the cold', *sub Iove frigido*, etc.)". Although a preform \*g<sup>h</sup>*im-ro-* indeed would yield Hitt. /kiMra-/ and CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-*, and although *r*-extensions of \*g<sup>h</sup>*iem-* are found in e.g. Arm. *jmeṙn* 'winter' < \*g<sup>h</sup>*im-r-inos*, Gr. χειμερινός 'happening in the winter' < \*g<sup>h</sup>*eim-er-ino-*, Lat. *hibernus* 'winterly' < \*g<sup>h</sup>*eim-r-ino-* as well, the assumed semantic development may not be self-evident. For a further treatment of \*g<sup>h</sup>*iem-*, see *gimm-* 'winter'.

***kinae-***<sup>zi</sup> (\*Ia2 > Ic2) 'to (as)sort': 3sg.pres.act. *ki-na-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ki-i-na-iz-zi* (NS), *ki-na-a-iz-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ki-na-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ki-n[a-u-en]* (MH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *ki-na-at-tén* (NS); part. *ki-na-an-t-*, *ki-na-a-an-t-*, *ki-i-na-a-an-t-* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Gr. δια-ττάω 'to sift', 3pl.pres. σῶσι 'they sift', σήθω 'to sift'.

PIE \*ki-né-h<sub>2</sub>-ti / \*ki-n-h<sub>2</sub>-énti ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 179f. for attestations. This verb is attested in NS texts only and inflects according to the *hatrae*-class. Because the *hatrae*-class inflection was very productive in NH times, it is quite possible that in this verb this inflection is of a secondary origin. Such an assumption is necessary if one follows the etymology as offered by Puhvel (l.c.), who analyses Gr. δια-ττάω 'to sift' as \*k<sup>h</sup>*ieh<sub>2</sub>-iō*, 3pl.pres. σῶσι 'they sift' as \*k<sup>h</sup>*ieh<sub>2</sub>-ionti* and σήθω 'to sift' < \*k<sup>h</sup>*ieh<sub>2</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>-*, thus identifying a root \*k<sup>h</sup>*ieh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to sift'. According to Puhvel, this root also had a nasal infix stem \*ki-ne-h<sub>2</sub>- which ended up in Hittite as *kinae-*<sup>zi</sup>. Although this sounds appealing semantically, and is formally possible as well, I have one point of criticism. I would expect that a paradigm \*ki-né-h<sub>2</sub>-ti / \*ki-n-h<sub>2</sub>-énti would regularly yield Hitt. \*\**kināzi* / \*\**kinnanzi*, showing an alternation -n- vs. -nn-. Such an alternation is not tolerated, and in all cases that I know of, geminate -nn- has spread throughout the paradigm (e.g. *zinnizi* / *zinnanzi* 'to finish' << \*zinēzi / *zinnanzi* < \*t<sup>h</sup>*ine<sub>h</sub>ti* / \*t<sup>h</sup>*inh<sub>2</sub>enti*; *šunnai* / *šunnanzi* 'to fill' << \*š<sup>h</sup>*unai* / *šunnanzi* < \*su-no-H-ei / \*su-n-H-enti). A priori, I would therefore expect to have found Hitt. \*\**kinnae-*<sup>zi</sup> instead of *kinae-*<sup>zi</sup>. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that in this case the single -n- spread throughout the paradigm at the cost of -nn-.

An alternative interpretation could be that *kinae-*<sup>zi</sup> is, like all original *hatrae*-class verbs, a verbal derivative of an *o*-stem noun, \*k<sup>h</sup>*ina-je/a-*. This hypothetical



noun *kina-* then could reflect *\*kih<sub>2</sub>-no-* (note that in this way the few plene spellings *ki-i-na-* could be better explained as well).

***kīnu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to open (up), to break open’: 3sg.pres.act. *ki-i-nu-z[i]* (MS), *ki-nu-uz-zi* (MS), *ki-nu-zi* (OH/NS), *gi-nu-uz-zi* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *gi-nu-ya-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ki-nu-an-zi* (MS?), *ki-nu-ya-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ke-e-nu-ya-an-zi* (NS), *ge-e-nu-an-zi* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *gi-nu-ut* (MH/NS), *ki-nu-ut* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *gi-nu-ut* (OH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *ki-i-nu-ud-du* (OH/MS), *ki-nu-ud-du* (OH/MS); 3sg.pret.midd. *ki-nu-ut-ta-ti* (NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *ki-nu-ut-ta-ru* (MH/NS); part. *ki-i-nu-an-t-* (MS), *ki-nu-ya-an-t-* (MH/NS), *gi-nu-ya-an-t-*; inf.I *ki-nu-ma-an-zi* (MS?), *ki-nu-ya-an-zi* (1x, MH/NS); verb.noun gen. *gi-nu-ma-aš* (NS), *ge-e-nu-ya-aš* (here?, NS).

PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>iH-neu-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 151f. for attestations. The verb is spelled in a few different ways: *ki-nu-*, *gi-nu-*, *ki-i-nu-*, *ki-e-nu-* and *gi-e-nu-*. Since the signs KI and GI in principle can be read *ki* and *ke* and *gi* and *ge* respectively, it is difficult to decide how to interpret this verb phonologically. In my view it is crucial that the forms that show *ki-i-nu-* are among the oldest attestations of this verb (OH/MS and MS?), whereas the spellings *ke-e-nu-* and *ge-e-nu-* are attested in NS texts only. This verb therefore must originally have been /kinu-/ or /kīnu-/ , which developed to NH /kenu-/ due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d.

The verb denotes ‘to open up (trans.), to break open’. Formally, it looks like an old causative in *-nu-*, which fits the transitive meaning. This could indicate that *kīnu-* is a derivative of a verb that denotes ‘to open up (intr.)’. Although there are several IE languages in which we find words for ‘to yawn, to open up (one’s mouth)’ that are formally similar (cf. Laroche 1963: 59), an exact reconstruction is difficult to give. Lith. *žióti* ‘to open (one’s mouth)’ points to *\*g<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>2/3-</sub>*, whereas Gr. *χῆμη* ‘yawn’ and *χάνος* ‘gaping mouth’ reflect *\*g<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>2-</sub>*. On the other hand, OCS *zějǫ* ‘to yawn’ reflects *\*g<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1(i)-</sub>*, whereas Lat. *hīscō* ‘to open up, to yawn’ goes back to *\*g<sup>h</sup>iH-ske/o-*, and OHD *ginēn* ‘to yawn’ < *\*g<sup>h</sup>i-ne-h<sub>1-</sub>*.

All in all, a reconstruction *\*g<sup>h</sup>iH-neu-* for Hitt. *kīnu-* is possible, but far from assured.

***kinun*** (adv.) ‘now’: *ki-nu-un* (OS).

Derivatives: *kinuna* ‘(but) now’ (*ki-nu-na* (NH)), *kinuntarijal* (adv.) ‘in the present’ (*ki-nu-un-tar-ri-ja-al*), *kinuntarijalla-* (adj.) ‘as of now, present’ (abl. *ki-nu-un-ta-ri-ja-la-za*, *ki-nu-un-tar-ja-la-za*, *ki-nu-un-tar-ri-ja-la-az*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *nānun* ‘now’ (*na-a-nu-un*, *na-nu-un*, *na-a-nu-um=pa*, *na-a-nu-ú-un=pa*, *na-nu=pa*), *nanuntarrit-* (n.) ‘the present’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*n*]*na-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a]*), *nanuntarri(ia)-* (adj.) ‘of the present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*n*]*na-nu-un-tar-ri-ja-an-za*), *nānuntarrija(i)-* (adj.) ‘present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*n*]*na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-ja-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-ja-la*, *na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-ja-la*, *na-a-nu-um-ta-ri-ja-la*).

PIE \**kī-num*

The adverb *kinun* ‘now’ is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. Already in OS texts, it is often attested with the enclitic conjunction *=(m)a* attached to it: *ki-nu-n=a* ‘(but) now’, showing the post-consonantal form of *=(m)a*. The distribution between *C=a* and *V=ma* is disappearing from the MH period, which is visible in the fact that from then onwards we find *ki-nu-un=ma*. Nevertheless, the form *kinuna* is still attested in MH as well as NH texts, showing that OH *kinun=a* was not analysed as such anymore. I therefore interpret the NH form *kinuna* synchronically as a single form denoting ‘(but) now’ (cf. attestations like *ki-nu-na=ma=mu* (KBo 18.29 rev. 20 (NH)), *ki-nu-na=ma=ua* (KBo 18.19 rev. 28 (NH))).

If we compare Hitt. *kinun* to CLuw. *nānun*, it is clear that the former must be analysed as *ki + nun*. The element *ki-* must be identified with nom.-acc.sg. *kī* ‘this’ < \**kī* (see *kā-* / *kū-* / *kī*). The element *nun* probably reflects \**num* as still is visible in the one CLuwian attestation with *-m-*, *nānumtarijala*. This \**num* must be compared to Gr. *vŷv* ‘now’ and Lat. *nunc* ‘now’. This latter form is especially interesting as it derives from \**nun-ce* < \**num + \*ki*. The element \**num* must belong with PIE \**nu* ‘now’ as visible in Skt. *nú*, Lith. *nù*, Goth. *nu*, etc., but also in the Hittite clause conjunctive *nu*. The CLuw. form *nānun* probable shows a reduplication \**no-num*.

The derivative *kinuntarijalla-* must be compared with Hitt. *nuntarija-* (adj.) ‘swift, quick’ and CLuw. *nanuntarija-*, reflecting \**num-tr-je/o-*.

*ginzu-*: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*genzu-*

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*gipeššar / gipešn-* (n.) ‘cubit, ell’, also area measure (as area measure: Sum. KÙŠ, Akk. *AMMATU*): nom.-acc.sg. *gi-pé-eš-šar* (OS), *ki-pé-eš-šar*, *gi-pé-šar* (1x), gen.sg. *gi-pé-eš-na-aš*.

See Puhvel HED 4: 186-7 for attestations. The fact that this word contains the suffix *-eššar / -ešn-* as well as that it is attested in OS texts already could point to an IE origin. Puhvel (l.c.) connects it with Ved. *gábhasti-* ‘arm, hand’, Khot. *ggoštā* ‘hand(ful)’ and reconstructs *\*g<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>esr*, but this does not seem immediately appealing to me. I would rather expect derivation of a root *\*Keib<sup>(h)</sup>-* or *\*Kieb<sup>(h)</sup>-*, but have not been able to find a convincing cognate.

**kir** : see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ker / kard(i)-*

**kiš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>** / **kiš-** (IIIa) ‘to happen, to occur, to turn out to be; (+ =z) to become’:  
 1sg.pres.midd. *ki-iš-ḥa* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḥa-ḥa-ri* (MH/NS), *kiš-ḥa-ḥa-ri* (NH),  
 2sg.pres.midd. *ki-iš-ta* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ta-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ki-i-ša* (OS), *ki-i-ša-ri* (OS), *ki-ša*, *ki-ša-ri* (MH/MS), *ki-ša-a-ri* (2x, OH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ki-i-ša-an-ta* (NH), *ki-ša-an-da* (NS), *ki-i-ša-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ki-ša-an-ta-ri* (OH/MS), *ki-ša-an-da-ri* (NS), 1sg.pret.midd. *ki-iš-ḥa-ti* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḥa-at* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḥa-ḥa-at* (NH), 2sg.pret.midd. *ki-iš-ta-at* (OS), *ki-ša-at* (1x, OH/?), 3sg.pret.midd. *ki-i-ša-ti* (OH/MS), *ki-i-ša-at* (MS), *ki-ša-ti* (OH/NS), *ki-ša-at* (OH/MS), 2pl.pret.midd. *kiš-du-um-ma-at* (NH), 3pl.pret.midd. *ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti* (OS), *ki-ša-an-ta-ti* (NS), *ki-i-ša-an-ta-at* (MH/MS), *ki-ša-an-ta-at* (NH), *ki-ša-an-da-at* (NH), 2sg.imp.midd. *ki-iš-ḥu-ut* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ḥu-u-ut* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *ki-i-ša-ru* (OH/MS), *ki-ša-ru* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ki-ša-a-ru* (1x, MH/NS), 2pl.imp.midd. *ki-iš-du-ma-at* (NH); part. *ki-ša-an-t-* (NS).

Derivatives: **kiš-<sup>ma(ri)</sup>** (\*IIIa > IIIb) ‘to turn out to be, to happen (impf.)’  
 (3sg.pres.midd. *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-a-ri* (NH), *ki-ik-kiš-ta-ri* (NS), *ki-kiš-ta-a-ri* (1x, NS), *ki-ik-ki-eš-ta-ri* (1x, NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ki-ik-ki-ša-an-ta* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-at* (NS), *ki-ik-kiš-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-ru* (OH/NS); sup. *ki-ik-ki-iš-šu-u-ṽa-an* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: OHG *kēran*, ModHG *kehren* ‘to turn’.

PIE *\*ǵéis-o / \*ǵéis-nto*

See Puhvel HED 4: 191f. for attestations. The verb is spelled both with and without plene *-i-*. If we look at the occurrence of this plene *-i-* closely, we immediately see a distribution: plene *-i-* is only attested in forms in which the ending starts in a vowel, and never in forms in which the ending starts in a consonant. In OS texts this distribution is absolute: we find *ki-i-šV<sup>o</sup>* vs. *ki-iš-C<sup>o</sup>*. From MH times onwards the spelling *ki-šV* starts to appear as well, which becomes standard in NH texts (126 x *ki-šV<sup>o</sup>* vs. 2x *ki-i-šV<sup>o</sup>*). This does not effect

the establishment of the original distribution, however. Since the alteration *kīš-V* vs. *kīš-C* is comparable to *link-V* vs. *lik-C* (cf. *li(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*) and *hark-V* vs. *har-C* (cf. *har(k)<sup>-zi</sup>*), it is evident that in *kīšV / kīšC* a phonological process has taken place. Oettinger (1976b: 128-9) states that the distribution is due to “das Quantitätengesetz  $\overset{\sim}{\sim} > \overset{\sim}{\sim}$  bei offener erster Silbe”, on the basis of which he states that “dieses sekundären Lautgesetzes erlaubt der Stammvokalismus keine Entscheidung zwischen idg. *e<sub>i</sub>*, *i* und *e*”. Since I do not believe that this “Quantitätengesetz” is linguistically real (see Oettinger 1979a: 447-8 where he only adduces examples that are incorrect: e.g. his “[t]ypische althethitische Beispiel” *iš-ta-ap-hé* : *iš-ta-a-pí* : *iš-tap-pa-an-zi* is in fact *iš-ta-a-ap-hé* (with long vowel), *iš-ta-a-pí*, *iš-tap-pa-an-zi*, where we find an ablaut between *\*stóp-* in the singular and *\*stp-* in the plural), I would rather assume that *kīšC* is the result of a ‘shortening’ of original *\*kīšC*, just as we see a ‘shortening’ in *\*linkC* > *likC* and *\*harkC* > *harC*. With this in mind, we can now look at the proposed etymologies.

Puhvel (l.c., with reference to Laroche 1952a: 102) favours the connection with Lat. *gerō* ‘to carry’, for which he presumes a basic meaning ‘to bring about, to make occur’. Schrijver (1991: 18, with references to Osthoff) states that *gerō* possibly is connected to IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eg-* ‘to drive’, and thus reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>g-es-*. This makes the connection between *kīš-* and Lat. *gerō* improbable, for IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>g-es-* would have given Hitt. *\*hakeš-*.

Melchert (1984a: 103) derives *kīš-* from “*\*keis-* ‘stir, be in motion’ seen in Skt. *ceṣṭati* ‘stirs, moves, acts’”. He does not explain, however, why the Skt. verb is *ceṣṭ-*, with an extra *-t-*. So the root *\*keis-* does not independently exist, and I therefore find this etymology unconvincing.

Eichner (1973a: 78) compares *kīš-* to OHG *kēran*, ModHG *kehren* ‘to turn’ that reflect *\*g<sup>h</sup>eis-*. Semantically, this etymology is supported by e.g. Gr. *πέλωμαι* ‘to turn; to become’ < *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* ‘to turn’, Goth. *wairþan* ‘to become, to happen’ < *\*uert-* ‘to turn’, but also ModEng. *to turn out to be*. Because normally *\*-ei-* would monophthongize to *-ē-*, Eichner assumes that *\*-ei-* is raised to *-ī-* after velars (cf. also *kitta* < *\*kéi-to*). The question then is why do we find the distribution *\*kīšC* vs. *kīšV*. It is easy to say that *\*ī* was shortened in a closed syllable, but other long vowels do not shorten in closed syllables (at least, not in the OH period: e.g. *ištāp̄hi* < *\*stóp-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *kānk̄hi* < *\*kónk-h<sub>2</sub>ei*). In order to solve this, we have to look closely at the development of *\*Kei-* > *kī-*. Eichner (l.c.) assumes that *\*Kei-* > *\*kē-* (regular monophthongization of *\*-ei-*) and that then the velar gets palatalized to *\*k<sup>h</sup>ē-*, due to which *\*ē* is raised, yielding *\*k<sup>h</sup>ī-*. In my view, we must assume that *\*Kei-* was raised to *\*ki-* before the

monophthongization of *\*-ej-* to *-ē-*. In this way, we can explain the development of *\*kijCC > kiCC* in the same lines as *\*linkC > likC* and *\*harkC > harC*, namely as loss of a consonantal element in a triconsonantal cluster. The sequence *\*kijCV* regularly developed into *kīCV*.

All in all, I believe that *kīš-* reflects the root *\*g<sup>(e)</sup>eis-* ‘to turn’. The preform *\*g<sup>(e)</sup>ēis-h<sub>2</sub>e* yielded *\*kīšha > kišha*, whereas the preform *\*g<sup>(e)</sup>ēis-o* yielded *\*kīša > kīša*.

Note that Puhvel states that the reduplicated imperfective *kikkīš-* should be phonologically interpreted as */kiks-/*, but this is incorrect: spellings like 3pl.pret.midd. *ki-ik-ki-ša-an-ta* and the lack of spellings like *\*\*ki-ik-ša-* or *\*\*ki-ik-ka-ša-* show that we have to phonologically interpret the verb as */kikis-/*. The fact that we find a geminate *-kk-* here does not have any bearing on the etymological interpretation of *kīš-*, since the reduplication can be formed quite recently.

**kīš<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib1 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to comb, to card’: 3sg.pres.act. *ki-iš-zi* (Bo 7568, 4 (undat.)), *ki-ša-a-iz-zi* (KUB 12.58 ii 42 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ki-ša-an-zi* (KUB 39.14 i 12 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ki-iš-ši-er* (KUB 12.26 ii 6 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ki-i-ša-a-id-du* (KBo 21.8 iii 14 (OH/MS)); part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *ki-ša-a-an* (KUB 12.58 iii 3 (NS)); impf. 3pl.pres.act. *ki-iš-kán-zi* (KUB 12.26 ii 1 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ke-eš-ke-nu-un* (KBo 18.53, 8 (NS)).

Derivatives: **kīš(ša)nu<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘?’ (3sg.pres.act. *ki-iš-nu-uz-zi* (KBo 20.73 + KUB 32.131 iv 23); impf. *ki-iš-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 24.51 rev. 1), *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 24.51 rev. 3ff.)), <sup>SIG</sup>**kīš(ša)ri-** (c.) ‘skein of carded wool(?)’ (nom.sg. *ki-iš-ri-iš* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ša-ri-iš* (NS), *ki-iš-ri-eš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *ki-iš-ri-in* (MH/NS), *kiš-ri-in* (MH/NS), nom.pl. *ki-iš-ša-ri-e-š=a* (KUB 12.63 rev. 26 (OH/MS)), *ki-iš-ri-iš* (MH/NS)), **kīšama/i-** (adj.) ‘(garment of) carded (yarn)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ki-ša-ma*, *ki-ša-me* (NS), nom.pl.c. *ki-ša-me-eš*, *ki-ša-me-iš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **kīš-** ‘to comb’ (3pl.pret.act. *ki-ša-an-da*; part. *ki-ša-am-ma/i-*, *ki-i-ša-am-ma/i-*).

IE cognates: OCS *česati* ‘to comb’, *kosa*, *kosmъ* ‘hair’, Lith. *kasà* ‘braid’, OIr. *cír* ‘comb’, ON *haddr* (< *\*hazdaz* < *\*kostó-*) ‘long hair’, Gr. *κόμοος* ‘hairdo’.

PIE *\*kés-ti* / *\*ks-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 157f. for attestations. There is evidence for different stems: *ki-iš-zi*, *ki-ša-an-zi* and *ki-ša-a-an* point to a stem *kīš<sup>-zi</sup>*; *ki-ša-a-iz-zi* and *ki-i-ša-a-id-du* point to a stem *kišae<sup>-zi</sup>*; *ki-iš-ši-er* points to a stem *kīššijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. Since both the *hatrae*-class and the *-je/o*-class are very productive in younger Hittite, we can

safely assume that *kišae<sup>-zi</sup>* and *kiššije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (with gemination due to the following *-i<sup>-?</sup>*) are secondary creations and that the stem *kiš<sup>-zi</sup>* is the most original one. Already since Götze & Sturtevant (1938: 88f.) this verb is generally connected with the PIE root *\*kes-* ‘to comb’ that is visible in e.g. OCS *česati* ‘to comb’, Gr. *κόσμος* ‘hairdo’, etc. Nevertheless, details are unclear, especially why Hittite shows an *-i-* (note that although the sign KI in principle can be read *ki* as well as *ke*, the forms *ki-iš-zi*, *ki-iš-ši-er* (both with unambiguous *-iš-*) and *ki-i-ša-a-id-du* clearly point to *kiš-*). Normally, an *\*e* does not raise to *-i-* after velars (e.g. *genu* < *\*ġenu-*, *genzu* < *\*ġenh<sub>1</sub>-su-*), and we would therefore expect *\*kes-* to develop to Hitt. *\*keš-*. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 152) therefore reconstructs *\*kēs-éh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*, in which unaccentuated *\*-ē-* should have yielded Hitt. *-i-*. This preform is based on the stem *kišae<sup>-zi</sup>* only, which must be secondary, and cannot account for *kiš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

I would like to propose the following solution. In PIE, the verb *\*kes-* inflected *\*kēs-ti* / *\*ks-énti*. Although it is clear that the former form should have yielded Hitt. *\*kešzi*, the outcome of the latter form is not fully clear. When we compare e.g. *kišt-āri* < *\*ġ<sup>h</sup>sd-óri*, we could expect that *\*KsV-* would regularly yield Hitt. */kisV-/*, spelled *kišV-* (cf. the absence of any Hitt. words starting in *kašV-* < *\*KsV-*). In this way, *\*ks-énti* should regularly yield Hitt. *ki-ša-an-zi* */kisánt<sup>s</sup>i/* as attested. In my view, it is quite possible that the weak stem */kis-/* has spread throughout the paradigm (compare e.g. the situation in *gulš<sup>-zi</sup>*). If this scenario is correct, we may assume that the zero-grade stem *\*ks-* is the origin of CLuw. *kiš-* as well.

**kiššar(a)-**: see *keššar* / *kiššer-* / *kišr-*

**kiššer(a)-**: see *keššar* / *kiššer-* / *kišr-*

**kišr(a)-**: see *keššar* / *kiššer-* / *kišr-*

**kišt-āri** (III<sup>f</sup>) ‘to perish, to be extinguished’: 3sg.pres.midd. *gi-iš-ta-ri* (OS), *ki-iš-ta-a-ri* (MS), *ki-iš-ta-ri* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ki-iš-ta-a-ti* (KBo 34.25, 1ff. (NS)), *ki-iš-ta-ti* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ki-iš-ta-ru* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ki-iš-ta-a-ru* (OH/NS); part. *ki-iš-ta-an-t-* (NS); verb.noun *ki-iš-du-mar* (NS).

Derivatives: **kištanu<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to put out, to extinguish’ (1sg.pres.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-an-zi*, *ki-iš-ta-nu-ya-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut*, 2pl.imp.act. *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-te-en*, *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-tén*, *ki-eš-ta-nu-ut-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act.

*ki-iš-ta-nu-an-du*; part. *ki-iš-ta-nu-ya-an-t-*; inf.I *ki-iš-ta-nu-um-ma-an-zi*; impf. *ki-iš-ta-nu-uš-ke/a-*, see *kāšt-*.

PAnat. \**ǵ*<sup>ʷ</sup>*sd-ó*

PIE \**ǵ*<sup>h</sup>*sd-ó*

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See Puhvel HED 4: 167f. for attestations. This verb often has ‘fire’ as its subject, but also ‘life’ and ‘evil adversary’. Its basic meaning therefore seems to be ‘to cease to exist, to perish’. Within Hittite, it is likely for formal reasons that this verb is cognate with *kāšt-* ‘hunger, *kištuuant-* ‘hungry’. This could indicate that *kišt-<sup>āri</sup>* originally meant ‘to be starved’. As I have argued extensively under the lemma *kāšt-*, the original root of these words probably was \**ǵ*<sup>h</sup>*esd-* ‘to starve’. Since *kišt-<sup>āri</sup>* belongs to the *tukkāri*-class, which goes back to zero-grade middles, I reconstruct *kištāri* as \**ǵ*<sup>h</sup>*sd-ór(i)*.

**kitkar**: see *ketkar*

**kitpantalaz**: see *ketpantalaz*

=**kku** (encl.) ‘now, even, and’; =*kku* ... =*kku* ‘both ... and; if ... if; whether ... or’

Anat. cognates: Pal. =**ku** ‘and?’; CLuw. =**ku** (sentence initial enclitic particle) ‘and(?)’, furthermore(?)’.

IE cognates: Skt. *ca* ‘and’, Lat. *-que* ‘and’, Gr. *τε* ‘and’ etc.

PIE \**-k<sup>w</sup>e*

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See Puhvel HED 4: 203f. for an overview of attestations, e.g.

KBo 12.128

(6) *nu-u=k-ku ka-ru-uš-tén nu GEŠTU-tén*

‘Now be silent and listen!’;

KUB 33.24 i (with additions from KUB 33.27 obv. 7-8)

(43) *le-e=ya-a=t-ta na-a-ḫi tu-ē[-(el=ku ya-a)š-ta-iš]*

(44) *úg=a-at SIG<sub>5</sub>-zi-ja-mi Ú-UL-a=k-ku tu[-(el u)a-aš-ta-iš]*

(45) *ú-g=a-at SIG<sub>5</sub>-zi-ja-mi*

‘Don’t you worry. If it is your fault, I will make it right. If it is not your fault, I will make it right (as well)’;

KUB 42.107 iii<sup>2</sup>

(10) 6 PA ŠE ZI-KU-Ú-KI ĥa-at-tar=*ku*

(11) zi-na-a-il=*ku* šu-me-eš=*ku*

‘6 *parīsu* of either *zikāki*-meal, *ĥattar*, *zināil* or *šumeš* grain’.

The particle =*kku* also occurs in the forms *nekku* ‘not?’ (q.v.), *imma=kku* ‘and even, on top of it’ (see *imma*), *apiia=kku* ‘there and then’ (see *apā-* / *apū-*) and possibly *anku* ‘fully’ (q.v.).

The etymon of =*kku* as reflecting the enclitic particle *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* has been widely accepted since Pisani (1952: 322). Pisani convincingly assumed that =*kku* reflects /=*k<sup>w</sup>*/ with apocope from *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* (contra Garrett *apud* Melchert (1994a: 184) who interprets *takku* as /tak<sup>w</sup>u/ < \*/tak<sup>w</sup>ə/ < \*tok<sup>w</sup>e).

In the Laws, we find an enclitic particle =*aku*, of which it is not fully clear whether we should divide it further in =(i)a=*ku* (with an awkward single spelling -*k-*) or not:

KBo 6.2+ (OS) i (with variant and additions from KBo 6.3 i 45-46 (OH/NS))

(36) [(*ták-ku* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>).LU-an LÚ-n=*a-ku* (variant: LÚ-an-n=*a-ku*) [(MUNUS-n=*a-ku*  
<sup>URU</sup>*Ĥa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš*)-*ki*( LÚ <sup>URU</sup>*Lu-ú-i-ja-aš*)]

(37) [(*ta-a*)-*i-ez-zi*

‘If some man from Lūija steals a person from Ĥattuša, either a male or a female, ...’.

Tischler HEG 1: 601 states that “LÚ-na-ku” stands for “LÚ-n-ku = Akk.sg. *antuĥšan-ku*”, but this seems hardly credible to me. Perhaps we have to assume =(i)a=*kku* with lenition of -*kk-* in post-posttonic position.

The interpretation of the sentence initial particles =*ku* in Palaic and CLuwian is unclear, but a translation ‘and’ is of course quite possible. In CLuwian, =*ku* is often followed by =*ua*, by which one could be tempted to analyse it as =*kuua* < *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* without apocope. The fact that this is not possible is visible in sentences like

KUB 35.102 ii

(15) [*a*]n-ni-iš=*ku*=*ua*=*ti* pá-r-na-an-za ma-ad-du-ú[-*ua-ti*]

(16) [*p*]a-ap-pár-ku-*ua*-at-ti ta-a-ti-iš=*pa*=*ua*=*ti*=a[-*ta*]

(17) [.]x-ti-*ja*-ti pu-šu-ri-*ja*[-*ti*]

(18) [*pa*-]ap-*pa-ša*-at-ti



‘Mother cleans the house with wine, and father *p*-s it with [.]*x-i-* (and *pušuri-*’,

where the parallel particle chains *anniš=ku=ua=ti* ~ *tātiš=pa=ua=ti(=ata)* show that we have to analyse a separate particle *=ua* in both chains.

***kueluḡana-*** (c.) ‘washbasin (vel sim.)’: dat.-loc.sg. [*k*]u-e-lu-ḡa-ni (KBo 22.203 obv.<sup>?</sup> 6 (MS?)), nom.pl. ku-e-lu-ḡa-ni-iš (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. ku-e-lu-ḡa-na-aš, ku-lu-ḡa-na-aš (MH/NS).

PIE \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-uon-o-*

Apart from dat.-loc.sg. [*k*]ueluḡani, which is attested in a quite broken context, the other three attestations occur in one text, namely KUB 9.1 iii 14-22. It therefore is perhaps more likely to interpret the difference in spelling between *ku-e-lu-ḡa-na-aš* and *ku-lu-ḡa-na-aš* as a scribal error (so the latter form rather *ku-⟨e-⟩lu-ḡa-na-aš*) than as an ablaut alternation *kuel-* vs. *kul-*. The meaning ‘washbasin (or similar)’ is fairly certain. Neumann’s connection (*apud* Tischler, 604) of this word with the PIE root “\**g<sup>w</sup>el-*” ‘to drip, to overflow’ (Skt. *gālati* ‘to drip’, OHG *quellan* ‘to well’, Gr. βαλανεῖον ‘bath’) seems convincing. Nevertheless, Gr. (Hom.) βάλων (aor.) ‘he fell’ (cf. Rix 1992: 74) as well as Skt. *galita-* ‘dripped’ seem to point to a root \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-*. This would mean that *kueluḡana-* reflects \**g<sup>w</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-uon-o-* (with loss of \**h<sub>1</sub>* between consonants).

***kue(n)-<sup>zi</sup> / kun- / kuḡa(n)-*** (Ia3 > IIa1γ) ‘to kill, to slay, to ruin’ (Akk. *DĀKU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ku-e-mi* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *ku-e-ši* (NH), *ku-en-ti* (1x, OH/NS), *ku-e-ti* (1x, OH/NS), *ku-en-na-at-ti* (1x, NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ku-e-en-zi* (OS), *ku-en-zi* (MH/MS), *ku-in-zi* (1x, MH/NS), *ku-i-en-zi* (1x, OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ku-ḡa-an-ú-e-ni* (here?, KBo 39.248 obv. 4 (NS)), *ku-en-nu-um-me-e-ni* (1x, MH/NS), *ku-en-nu-um-mé-e-ni* (1x, NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ku-en-na-at-te-ni* (2x, OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ku-na-an-zi* (OS), *ku-en-na-an-zi* (1x, NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ku-e-nu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ku-in-ni-eš-ta* (1x, NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ku-e-en-ta* (OS), *ku-en-ta* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *ku-e-u-e-en* (MH/MS), *ku-e-u-en* (MH/NS), *ku-in-nu-um-mé-en* (1x, NS), 2pl.pret.act. *ku-en-tén* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ku-e-ner* (MH/MS), *ku-e-ni-er* (OH/NS), *ku-en-ni-er* (NH), *ku-en-ner* (OH/NS), *ku-in-ni-er* (1x, MH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ku-e-ni* (MH/MS), *ku-en-ni* (1x, NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ku-en-du* (NH), *ku-in-du* (NH), 2pl. imp. *ku-en-te-en* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ku-na-an-du* (NH); part. *ku-na-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ku-na-a-tar* (NH), gen.sg. *ku-na-an-na-aš* (NS), abl. *ku-na-an-na-z=i-ja* (NH); verb.noun

gen.sg. *ku-en-nu-ma-aš* (NH), *ku-e-nu-ma-aš* (NH); inf.I *ku-en-nu-um-ma-an-zi* (NS); inf.II *ku-na-an-na* (MH/MS), *ku-na-a-an-na* (OH/NS); impf. *ku-aš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *ku-ya-aš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *ku-en-ni-eš-ke/a-* (1x, NS).

IE cognates: Skt. *han-* / *ghn-* ‘to strike, to kill, to slay’, OCS *ženq* ‘to pursue, to hunt down’, Lith. *genù* ‘id.’, Gr. *θείνω* ‘to smite’, Lat. *de-fendō* ‘to keep off, to defend’.

PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>én-ti* / *\*g<sup>wh</sup>n-énti*, *\*g<sup>wh</sup>n-ské/ó-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 206f. for attestations. The oldest texts show an *e/Ø*-ablauting *mi*-verb *kuenzi* / *kunanzi*. The original paradigm was *kuemi*, *kueši*, *kuenzi*, --, --, *kunanzi*; *kuenun*, --, *kuenta*, *kueyen*, *kuenten*, *kuener*. We see that the *-n-* is lost in front of *m*, *s* and *y*. Moreover, we see that in the forms *kueši*, *kuenzi*, *kuenta* and *kuenten*, where we would expect that *\*e > a* because of the following nasal + dental consonant, the *\*e* has been restored on the basis of the other forms of the paradigm. In NH times, we occasionally find forms that show a stem *kuenna<sup>i</sup>* / *kuenn-*, inflecting according to the productive *tarn(a)*-class. The gemination of *-nn-* in these forms is due to the NH gemination of intervocalic resonants as described by Melchert 1994a: 165. The imperfective *kuyaške/a-* is remarkable as it is the only form within the paradigm that shows a stem *kuya(n)-* (unless the hapax form *ku-ya-an-ú-e-ni* as attested on the very broken tablet KBo 39.248 obv. 4 is really to be interpreted as 1pl.pres.act. */k<sup>w</sup>ənuéni/*). Because of the idea that *\*K<sup>w</sup>RC* regularly yields Hitt. *KuRC* and never *\*KuyāRC*, it is generally thought that this *kuyaške/a-* cannot reflect *\*K<sup>w</sup>n-ské/o-*, but must be the outcome of *\*kuen-* + *-ske/a-*. As I have shown in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.e, the imperfective *kuyaške/a-* can be better explained if we assume that the development *\*K<sup>w</sup>RC > Hitt. KuRC* is valid only when one consonant follows the resonant (so *\*K<sup>w</sup>RVC*), whereas in the case that two consonants follow the resonant (*\*K<sup>w</sup>RCCV*), we find a development to Hitt. *KuyāRCCV*. In this way, *kuyaške/a-* = */k<sup>w</sup>əské/á-* shows the regular outcome of the preform *\*g<sup>wh</sup>n-ské/ó-*, the morphologically expected imperfective.

Already since Hrozný (1919: 73) the etymon has been clear: PIE *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-* ‘to smite; to slay, to pursue’. Especially the similarity to Skt. *han-* ‘to strike, to kill’ is striking: Hitt. *kuenzi* / *kunanzi* ~ Skt. *hánti* / *ghnánti* < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>énti* / *\*g<sup>wh</sup>nénti*.

***kuenzumna-*** (adj.) ‘coming from where, of what origin’: nom.sg.c. *ku-en-zu-um-na-aš*.

This words, which occurs only twice (KBo 1.35, 7 and KUB 23.95, 9) is explained by Friedrich (1930: 152) as a derivation in *-um(n)a-* of the gen.pl. *\*kuenzan* from the paradigm *kui-* / *kuṽa-* ‘who’ (which is unattested as such, but compare *kenzan* from *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-* ‘this’ and *apenzan* from *apā-* / *apū-*). The element *-um(n)a-* then must be equated with the appurtenance suffix *-umen-/umn-* (q.v.) as visible in *Ḫattušumen-*, *Nešumen-*, etc. The form *\*kuenzan* probably reflects *\*k<sup>w</sup>oṽ-nHsom*: see at *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-* for a treatment of the element *-nzan*. See at *-umen-* / *-umn-* for a treatment of this suffix.

**kuer-<sup>zi</sup>** / **kur-** / **kuṽar-** (Ia1) ‘to cut, to cut up, to cut out off, to amputate, to mutilate’: 1sg.pres.act. *ku-er-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ku-e-er-zi* (MH/MS), *ku-er-zi* (OH/NS), *ku-er-ri* (1x, KUB 24.12 iii 19), 1pl.pres.act. *ku-e-ru-ḡ-n[i<sup>2</sup>]* (MS?), 3pl.pres.act. *ku-ra-an-zi* (OH/MS?), 1sg.pret.act. *ku-e-ru-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ku-e-er-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. [*k*]u-e-re-er (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ku-e-er-du* (NS), *ku-er-du* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ku-ra-an-du* (NH); part. *ku-ra-an-t-*; inf.II *ku-ra-a-an-na* (MS), *ku-ra-an-na* (NS); impf. *ku-ṽa-ar-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *kur-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *ku-ri-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *ku-ra-aš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: <sup>A.ŠA</sup>**kuera-** (c.) ‘field parcel, territory, area’ (nom.sg. *ku-e-ra-aš* (OH/NS), *ku-ra-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ku-e-ra-an* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-e-ri* (MH/MS), abl. *ku-e-ra-az*), <sup>URUDU</sup>**kuruzzi-** ‘cutter’ (instr. *ku-ru-uz-zi-it* (NS)), **kuerš-<sup>zi</sup>** / **kurš-** (Ia1 > IIc2) ‘to cut off’ (1sg.pret.act. *ku-e-er-šu-un* (KBo 10.2 ii 48 (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *kur-ša-a-i* (KBo 11.1 obv. 26 (NH)), see <sup>(TUG)</sup>*kurēššar* / *kurešn-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **kuṽar-** / **kur-** ‘to cut’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-ṽa-ar-ti*, *ku-ṽa-al-ti*, inf. *ku-ú-ru-na*), **kuramma-** ‘cutting’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ú-ra-am-mi*, abl.-instr. *ku-ra<am>-ma-ti*), **kuranna/i-** ‘cutter (vel sim.)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ra-a[n]-ni*), **kurattar** / **kuratn-** (n.) ‘cutting’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ra-at-ni*, nom.-acc.pl. *ku-ra-at-na*), **kuraštra/i-** (c.) ‘schism’ (gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *ku-ra-aš-tar-ra-aš-ši-iš*), **kuri-** / **kurai-** ‘to cut into slices’ (2sg.imp.act. *ku-ú-ri*, part. *ku-ra-a-im-mi-i-iš*), **kuršauṽar** / **kuršauṽ(a)n-** (n.) ‘island’ (nom.-acc.pl. *gur-ša-ṽa-ra*, dat.-loc.pl. *gur-ša-u-ṽa-na-an-za*, erg.pl. *kur-ša-ú-na-an-ti-in-zi*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *gur-ša-ṽa-na-aš-ši-iš*); HLuw. **kwar-** ‘to cut (off)’ (1sg.pret.act. <sup>“MANUS+CULTER”</sup>REL+ra/i-ha-’ = /k<sup>w</sup>arha/ (MARAŞ 4 §13)).

PAnat. *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-* / *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-*

IE cognates: Skt. *kr-* ‘to make’, OIr. *cruth* ‘shape, form’ (< *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-tu-*), Lat. *curtus* ‘short’ (< *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-to-*).

PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ér-t* / *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-ént*

See Puhvel HED 4: 212f. for attestations. The verb is a perfectly regular *e/Ø*-ablauting *mi*-verb. The only aberrant form is the hapax 3sg.pres.act. *ku-er-ri* (KUB 24.12 iii 19), which in my view is so strange that I would rather emend it to *ku-er-zi*<sup>1</sup> (note that the signs RI and ZI are quite alike). The oldest form of the imperfective is *kuṽaraške/a-*, which in my view is the regular outcome of *\*k<sup>v</sup>r-ské/ó-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.e). The younger forms *kuraške/a-* and *kureške/a-* are secondary rebuildings, having taken over the synchronic weak stem *kur-*.

Since Pedersen (1938: 128) the etymon has been clear: PIE *\*k<sup>v</sup>er-* ‘to carve, to crop, to shape by cutting’. The Sanskrit reflex of this verb, *kṛ-* ‘to make’, displays a root-aorist *ákar / ákran* besides a derived present *kṛṇóti / kṛṇvánti*. This means that the Hittite paradigm is built on the PIE root aorist *\*k<sup>v</sup>ér-t / \*k<sup>v</sup>r-ént* (cf. the Skt. injunctive forms *kár / †krán*).

The interpretation of the two verbal forms that show an extra *-s-* is difficult. According to Oettinger (1979a: 119), *kuersun* is “ererbte aus einem sigmatischen Aorist”. This is strange of course, in view of the fact that the un-extended stem *kuer-* / *kur-* reflects an aorist already. Puhvel (l.c.) therefore assumes that *kuers-* is just a root-variant of *kuer-* as e.g. *karš-zi* is of *iškār-<sup>i</sup> / iškar- < \*(s)ker-*. If this were the case, we would expect that *\*k<sup>v</sup>er-s-* would yield Hitt. *\*\*kuṽarš-* because of the sound law *\*eRCC > aRCC* (note that all endings of the *mi*-inflection start in a consonant originally), just as *karš-zi < \*ker-s-*. I therefore assume that the form *kuersun* is an *ad hoc*-formation without any historicity. The form *kuršāi* is unclear regarding its interpretation. It is attested in KBo 11.1 obv. (26) *ku-it-ma-an=ma KUR-e a-še-ša-nu-uš-ke-mi ku-it-ma-n=a-at kur-ša-a-i*, which is translated by Puhvel (l.c.) as “but while I am [re]settling the land, during that time one keeps subdividing it”, taking *kuršāi* as 3sg.pres.act. of a stem *kurša-<sup>i</sup> / kurš-*. Starke (1990: 536<sup>1978</sup>), however, translates “Solange ich das Land besiedlen werde, solange trenne es ab!”, taking *kuršāi* as 2sg.imp.act. of a stem *kuršae-<sup>zi</sup>*. He assumes that this *kuršae-* is a Hittite borrowing from a Luwian verb *\*kurša-* which is visible in CLuw. *kuršayar* ‘island’.

**kueryana-**: see *kureṽana-* / *kueryana-*

**kui-** / **ku-** / **kuṽa-** (interrog. pron.) ‘who?, what?’; (rel. pron.) ‘who, what’; (indef. pron.) ‘some(one), any(one)’; **kuiš ... kuiš** ‘some ... other’; **kuiš kuiš, kuiš ... kuiš, kuišš=a imma, kuiš ... imma, kuiš kuiš imma, kuiš imma kuiš, kuiš ... imma kuiš, imma kuiš** (generalizing rel. pron.) ‘who(so)ever, what(so)ever’: nom.sg.c. *ku-iš* (OS), acc.sg.c. *ku-in* (OS), nom.-acc.sg.nt. *ku-it* (OS), *ku-i-it* (rare, OS), gen.sg. *ku-e-el* (OS), *ku-el* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-e-da-ni* (OS), *ku-e-da-a-ni*

(1x), *ku-i-e-da-ni* (1x, NH), *ku-i-da-ni* (1x, OH/NS), abl. *ku-e-ez* (MH/MS), *ku-e-ez-za*, *ku-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ku-e-za* (1x), *ku-i-e-ez-za* (1x), *ku-e-da-za* (1x), nom.pl.c. *ku-i-e-eš* (OS), *ku-i-eš* (OS), *ku-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *ku-i-uš* (OS), *ku-i-ú-uš* (1x, MH/MS), *ku-e-uš* (rare), *ku-i-e-uš* (1x), nom.-acc.pl.nt. *ku-e* (OS), *ku-i-e* (rare), dat.-loc.pl. *ku-e-da-aš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **kui-** + **=(m)a** (generalizing rel. pron.) ‘who(so)ever, what(so)ever’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-i-ša* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-i-ta* (OS), gen.sg. *ku-e-la* (OS)), **kui-** + **=kki/=kka** (indef. pron.) ‘some(one), any(one)’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš-ki* (OS), *ku-iš-ka* (KBo 6.5 i 4 (OH/NS))), acc.sg.c. *ku-in-ki* (MH/MS), *ku-i-en-ki* (HKM 95, 5 (MH/MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-it-ki* (OS), *ku-it-ka* (KUB 33.59 iii 14 (OH/NS)), *ku-it-ga* (KUB 7.1 ii 49 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *ku-e-el-ka* (OS), *ku-e-el-ka<sub>4</sub>*, *ku-el-ka<sub>4</sub>*, *ku-e-el-ki* (1x), *ku-el-ki* (rare), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki* (OS), *ku-e-da-ni-ki* (rare, MH/MS), *ku-i-ta-ni-ik-ki* (1x), *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ka* (1x, OH/NS), abl. *ku-e-ez-ka<sub>4</sub>* (NH), *ku-e-ez-ga* (NS), nom.pl.c. *ku-i-e-eš-ka<sub>4</sub>* (MH/MS), acc.pl.c. *ku-i-uš-ga* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ku-e-ek-ki* (MH/MS), *ku-e-ek-ka<sub>4</sub>* (NH), *ku-e-ka<sub>4</sub>* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ku-e-da-aš-ka<sub>4</sub>* (NH)), **kui-** + **=(j)a** (generalizing pron.) ‘every(one), each’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš-ša* (OS), acc.sg. *ku-in-na* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-it-ta* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *ku-el-la* (OS), *ku-e-el-la* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-e-da-ni-ja* (MH/MS), *ku-e-ta-ni-ja* (OH/NS), abl. *ku-e-ez-zi-ja* (NS), *ku-e-ez-zi* (MS)), **kuitmān** (rel. conj.) ‘until; while’, (indef. adv.) ‘for some time, in the interim, meanwhile’ (*ku-it-ma-a-n=a-aš* (OS), *ku-it-ma-an* (MH/MS)), **kuūāt** (interrog. adv.) ‘why?; (+ ‘if’) for some reason; (*kuūat imma kuūat*) for whatever reason’ (*ku-ūa-a-at* (OS), *ku-ūa-at* (MH/MS), *ku-u-ūa-at* (1x)), **kuūātka** (marked indef.) ‘in some way, somehow, perhaps’ (*ku-ūa-a-at-k[a]* (OS), *ku-ūa-at-ka<sub>4</sub>* (MH/MS), *ku-at-ka<sub>4</sub>* (1x)), **kuūatta(n)** (interrog. adv.) ‘where?, whither?’; (rel. conj.) ‘where, whither’; (indef. adv.) ‘somewhere’, **kuūatta kuūatta** (adv.) ‘in every way’, **kuūatta imma kuūatta** ‘wherever’, **kuūatta (imma kuūatta) šer** ‘wherefore, whatever for’ (*ku-ūa-at-ta*, *ku-ūa-at-ta-an*, *ku-ūa-at-tan<sub>x</sub>* (1x), *ku-ūa-ta-an* (1x), *ku-ūa-tan<sub>x</sub>* (1x)), **kuūāpi(t)** (interrog. adv.) ‘where?, whither?; when?’; (rel. conj.) ‘where, whither; when’ (*ku-ūa-a-pi-it*, *ku-ūa-pi-it* (OS), *ku-ūa-a-pi* (MH/MS), *ku-ūa-pi* (MH/MS)), **kuūāpikki** (indef. adv.) ‘somewhere, sometime, ever’ (*ku-ūa-a-pi-ik-ki* (OS), *ku-ūa-a-pi-ki* (OS), *ku-ūa-pi-ik-ki* (MH/MS, often), *ku-ūa-pi-ki* (rare), *ku-u-ūa-pi-ik-ki* (1x), *ku-ūa-pi-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>* (rare)), **kuūāpitta**, **kuūapija** (generalizing adv.) ‘everywhere, always’ (*ku-ūa-a-pi-it-ta* (OS), *ku-ūa-pi-it-ta*, *ku-ūa-pi-ja*), **kuššan** (interrog. adv.) ‘when?’; (rel. conj.) ‘when’; (indef. adv.) ‘sometime(?)’; **kuššan imma** ‘whenever’ (*ku-uš-ša-an* (OS)), **kuššanka** (indef. adv.) ‘anytime, ever’ (*ku-uš-ša-an-ka*, *ku-uš-ša-an-ka<sub>4</sub>*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **kui-** (rel. and interrog. pron.) ‘who, what’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš*, nom.-acc.n. *ku-it*, acc.sg.c. *ku-in*, dat.sg.? *ku-i*), **kui-** + **=a** (generalizing pron.) ‘every’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-i-ša*), **kuiš kuiš** (generalizing rel.) ‘whoever’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš ku-iš*); CLuw. **kui-** (rel. and interrog. pron.) ‘who, what’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš*, *ku-i-iš*, acc.sg.c. *ku-in*, *ku-i-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-i*, nom.pl.c. *ku-in-zi*, *ku-i-in-zi*), **kui-** + **=ha** (indef. pron.) ‘some/any(one)’ (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš-ha*, acc.sg.c. *ku-i-en-ha*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-i-ha*); HLuw. **kwi-** (rel. and interrog. pron.) ‘who, what’ (nom.sg.c. /k<sup>w</sup>is/ REL-*i-sa*, REL-*sa*, acc.sg.c. /k<sup>w</sup>in/ REL-*i-na*, REL-*na*, nom.-acc.sg.n. /k<sup>w</sup>at=sa/ REL-*a-za*, REL-*za*, dat.-loc.sg. /k<sup>w</sup>adi/ REL-*a-ti*, REL-*a-ti-i*, REL-*ti*, REL+*ra/i*, REL+*ra/i-i*, nom.pl.c. /k<sup>w</sup>int<sup>s</sup>i/ REL-*i-zi*, REL-*zi*, acc.pl.c. /k<sup>w</sup>int<sup>s</sup>i/ REL-*i-zi*, REL-*zi*, nom.-acc.pl.nt. /k<sup>w</sup>ia/ REL-*ia*), **kwi-** + **=ha** (indef. pron.) ‘someone’ (nom.sg.c. /k<sup>w</sup>isha/ REL-*i-sa-ha*, REL-*sa-ha*, acc.sg.c. /k<sup>w</sup>inha/ REL-*i-ha*, dat.-loc.sg. /k<sup>w</sup>adiha/ REL-*ti-i-ha*, REL-*ti-ha*), **kwis kwis**, **kwis ima kwis**, **kwis kwisha**, **kwisha ... kwis** (generalizing pron.) ‘whoever, whatever’, **REL+ra/i** (adv.) ‘because’ (/k<sup>w</sup>adi/?), **REL-za** (adv.) ‘because’, **kuman** (adv.) ‘because’ (*ku-ma-na*); Lyd. **qi-** (rel. and interrog. pron.) ‘who, what’ (nom.sg.c. *qis*, *qys*, acc.sg.c. *-qv*, nom.-acc.sg.nt. *qid*, *qyd*, *qed*, dat.-loc.sg. *qλ*), **qi-** + **=a** (indef. rel. pron.) ‘whoever, whatever’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *qida*), **qi-** + **=k** (indef. pron.) ‘someone’ (nom.sg.c. *qisk*, *qysk*, acc.sg.c. *qi(v)k*, nom.-acc.sg.nt. *qi(d)k*, *qi(d)g*, dat.-loc.sg. *qλk*), **kud** (rel. adv.) ‘where’, **kot** (rel. adv.) ‘as’, **=ko(d)k** (indef. encl.) ‘somehow’; Lyc. **ti-** (rel. pron.) ‘who, which’ (nom.sg.c. *ti*, acc.sg.c. *ti*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ti*, dat.-loc.sg. *tdi*, nom.pl.c. *ti*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *tija*), **ti-** + **=ke** (indef. pron.) ‘some/anyone’ (nom.sg.c. *tike*, acc.sg.c. *tike*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *tike*, dat.-loc.sg. *tdike*), **ti-** + **=se** (indef. pron.) ‘any(one)’ (nom.sg.c. *tise*, acc.sg.c. *tise*, *tisñ*, *tisñke*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *tise*), **kñme/i-** ‘how(ever) many’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *kñmē*, acc.pl.c. *kñmis*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *kñma*), **kñmēt(i)-** ‘how(ever) many’ (nom.pl.c. *kñmētis*, acc.pl.c. *kñmētis*).

PAnat. \*k<sup>w</sup>i-, \*k<sup>w</sup>o-

IE cognates: e.g. Skt. *kás*, *kā́*, *kát/kím*, OCS *кѣто*, *чѣто*, Gr. τίς, τί, Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Goth. *has*, *hvo*, *hva*

PIE \*k<sup>w</sup>i- / \*k<sup>w</sup>e- / \*k<sup>w</sup>o-

See Puhvel HED 4: 218f. for attestations. All Anatolian languages show reflexes of the relative and indefinite pronoun \*k<sup>w</sup>e- / \*k<sup>w</sup>i- / \*k<sup>w</sup>o-, which is abundantly attested in the IE languages. Since it is not easy to reconstruct the PIE paradigms for these pronouns, and since therefore the exact relation between the stems \*k<sup>w</sup>e-, \*k<sup>w</sup>i- and \*k<sup>w</sup>o- is unclear, I will focus on the Anatolian material only.

Within the Hittite paradigm, we find the stem *kui-* <  $*k^w i-$  (nom.sg.c. *kuiš*, acc.sg.c. *kuin*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *kuit*, nom.pl.c. *kuieš*, acc.pl.c. *kuiuš*) and *kue-* <  $*k^w e-$  (gen.sg. *kuēl*, dat.-log.sg. *kuedani*, abl. *kuez*, dat.-loc.pl. *kuedaš*). The nom.-acc.pl.n.-form *kue* can either reflect  $*k^w oi$  or  $*k^w ei$  (although this is morphologically an awkward form from a PIE point of view), or  $*k^w ih_2$  if one assumes lowering of  $*i$  to  $/e/$  due to the following  $*h_2$  (compare *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSol ‘goods’ <  $*-uh_2$  in which  $*h_2$  caused lowering of  $*u$  to  $/o/$ ). A stem *kuya-* <  $*k^w o-$  is found in *kuūāt* ‘why’ and *kuūāpi(t)* ‘where, whither’, both showing  $-\bar{a}-$  <  $*-ó-$  in the oldest texts (*kuūāt* <  $*k^w ód$  (cf. Lat. *quod*) and *kuūāpi(t)* <  $*k^w ó-b^h i$ ). The exact interpretation of *kuššan* ‘when’ is unclear to me. It seems to reflect  $*k^w som$ , and would therefore reflect a ‘zero-grade’ stem  $*k^w-$ .

In Palaic, we only find evidence for a stem *kui-* <  $*k^w i-$ . This also goes for CLuwian, where we only find *kui-* <  $*k^w i-$ . In HLUwian, however, we find besides REL-*i-* =  $/k^w i-/$  <  $*k^w i-$  also forms that seem to point to a stem  $/k^w a-/$ , namely nom.-acc.sg.n. REL-*a-za* =  $/k^w at=sa/$ <sup>2</sup> (which contrasts with CLuw. nom.-acc.sg.n. *kui*) and dat.-loc.sg. REL-*a-ti* =  $/k^w adi/$ <sup>2</sup>. If *ku-ma-na* ‘because’ stands for  $/k^w man/$ , we would here see a ‘zero-grade’ stem  $*k^w-$  as well. The Lydian stem *qi-* clearly reflects  $*k^w i-$ . The exact interpretation of *kud* ‘where’ and *kot* ‘as’ is not fully clear to me. One of these probably reflects  $*k^w o-$ . In Lycian, we find the stem *ti-*, which with palatalization due to  $*-i-$  reflects  $*k^w i-$ . The adjectives *kñme/i-* and *kñmēt(i)-* do not show palatalization and therefore must reflect  $*k^w o-$  or, perhaps less likely,  $*k^w-C$ .

Some of the syntactic formations are found in several Anatolian languages, and sometimes even outside Anatolia. For instance, the Hittite generalizing pronoun *kui-* +  $=(i)a$  ‘everyone’ must be etymologically cognate with CLuw. *kui-* +  $=ha$  ‘someone’, HLUw. *kui-* +  $=ha$  ‘someone’ and Lyc. *ti-* +  $=ke$  ‘someone’ < PANat.  $*k^w i-$  +  $*=h_3e$  (see at  $=(i)a$  for this reconstruction and the fact that Hitt.  $=(i)a$  ~ Luw.  $=ha$  and Lyc.  $=ke$ ), although this formation has received an indefinite meaning in the Luwian branch. The generalizing relative use of Hitt. *kuiš* *kuiš* ‘whoever’ is also attested in CLuwian *kuiš* *kuiš* and HLUwian REL-*sa* REL-*sa* ‘whoever’ and has an outer-Anatolian cognate in Lat. *quisquis* ‘whoever’, which points to a PIE usage ( $*k^w is$   $k^w is$ ).

The Hitt. formation *kui-* +  $=kki$  /  $=kka$  ‘someone’ is quite interesting. The distribution between  $=kki$  and  $=kka$  is not fully clear, but one gets the impression that originally  $=kki$  is used in the nominative and accusative, whereas  $=kka$  is used in the oblique cases. If this is correct, then this distribution is blurred in Pre-Hittite times already, however (cf. OS *kuedani=kki*). Within Anatolian, this formation is cognate with Lyd. *qi-* +  $=k$  ‘someone’ and Lyc. *ti-* +  $=se$  ‘someone’.

Especially this last form is important as it shows that we have to reconstruct the elements =*kki* and =*kka* as \*=*ki* and \*=*kō* respectively (\**k* because of Lyc. *s*). Scholars have always been tempted to equate *kui*- + =*kki* / =*kka* with Lat. *quisque* ‘whoever’, which generally is derived from \**k<sup>w</sup>is-k<sup>w</sup>e*. Attempts to derive Hitt. *kuiški* through dissimilation from \**k<sup>w</sup>is-k<sup>w</sup>e* (e.g. Oettinger 1983: 182, 185<sup>17</sup>, who also adduces Av. *ci-ca*) have no merit: if \**k<sup>w</sup>is-k<sup>w</sup>e* would have been altered through dissimilation, we would expect \**k<sup>w</sup>is-ke* (with a plain velar), which is contradicted by the palatovelar that is reflected in Lyc. *tise* (< \**k<sup>w</sup>i(s)-kō*). If one insists on upholding the connection between Hitt. *kuiš-ki* and Lat. *quisque* and Av. *ci-ca*, one should rather assume that \**k<sup>w</sup>is-k<sup>w</sup>e* as reflected in Latin and Avestan is a reshaped form itself, which arose out of \**k<sup>w</sup>is-ke* through assimilation. One could then assume that this assimilation is triggered by the formation \**k<sup>w</sup>is k<sup>w</sup>is*. Note that the enclitic \*-*ke* is also visible in Lat. *nunc* ‘now’ < \**num-ke* (cf. Hitt. *kinun* < \**ki-num*), *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* (OLat. *hoce* < \**hod-ke*) < \**g<sup>h</sup>e/o-* + \*-*ke*.

***kukkurš-* / *kuuakuuuarš-*** (Ib1) ‘to cut up, to mutilate’: part. *ku-kur-ša-an-t-* (NS), *ku-gur-ša-an-t-* (NS); impf. *ku-ua-ku-ua-ar-(aš-)ke/a-* (NS), *ku-ug-gur-aš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ku-uk-ku-ra-aš-ke/a-* (NS), *ku-uk-ku-ri-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS); broken *ku-uk-ku-ú[r-...]* (OS).

PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>rs-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 235 for attestations. This verb seems to display a reduplication of the verb *kuerš-<sup>zi</sup>*, for which see under *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* / *kuuar-*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.e, the form *kuuakuuuaraske/a-* is the regular outcome of \**-k<sup>w</sup>rs-ske/o-*, whereas *kukkuraske/a-* and *kukkureske/a-* are younger formations in which the synchronic weak stem has been introduced. See at *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* for further etymology.

***kukuš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib1) ‘to taste’: 3sg.pres.act. *ku-ku-uš[-zi<sup>2</sup>]* (OS), *ku-ku-uš-zi* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Skt. *joṣ-* ‘to enjoy’, Gr. *γεύομαι* ‘to taste’, Lat. *gustō* ‘to taste’, Goth. *ga-kiusan* ‘to test’, ModHG *kiesen* ‘to choose’, ModHG *kosten* ‘to taste’.

PIE \**ǵeus-*

The verb occurs twice only. The first context,

KBo 20.39 r.col.

(6) LUGAL-uš[ ... ]

(7) ku-ku-uš[-zi<sup>2</sup> ... ]



is too broken to base any conclusion on. The second context is better preserved: it describes a ritual:

KUB 10.99 i

- (24) <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> A-NA NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1=ŠU  
 (25) *me-ma-i ta-ya-li=ma* 2=ŠU *me-ma-a-[(i)]*  
 (26) LUGAL *ú-e-il-la-la-i ú-e-el-la[-(i)]*  
 (27) *nu ú-e-il-la-i lu-ú-i[-(li)]*  
 (28) [(*ki-iš-š*)]*a-qa* A-NA LUGAL GEŠTIN <sup>NINDA</sup>*har-za-zu-un-n[a<sup>2</sup>]*  
 (29) [x - x - x - x -z]i *n=a-an ku-ku-uš-zi*

//

KBo 47.247 vi<sup>?</sup>

- (10) [(<sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> NI)]NDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA 1=ŠU  
 (11) [(*me-ma-i ta-ya-li=m*)]*a* 2=ŠU *me-ma-i*  
 (12) [(LUGAL *ú-e-il-la-l*)]*a-i ú-e-il-la-i*  
 (13) [(*nu ú-e-il-la-i lu-*)]*ú-i-li ki-iš-ša-an*  
 (14) [ANA LUGAL GEŠTIN <sup>NINDA</sup>*har-za-zu-u*]*n-n=a<sup>2</sup> pa-ra-a*  
 (15) [x - x - x - x -z(*i n=a-an ku-ku-uš-z*)]*i*

‘The clown speaks once to the thick-bread and speaks twice to the *ta<sub>u</sub>al-*. The king *u<sub>e</sub>lala-s* (and) *u<sub>e</sub>lla-s*. He *u<sub>e</sub>lla-s* thus in Luwian. [They bring<sup>3</sup>] forth wine and *harzazu*-bread to the king, and he *kukuš-s* him/it’.

Watkins (2003) quite convincingly argues that a translation ‘tastes’ would fit the expected course of events in such rituals. He therefore compares *kukušzi* with the PIE root \**ǵeus-* ‘to taste’, and especially with the Indo-Iranian formations Skt. *jujuṣ-* and Av. *zūzuš-*.

***gulašš-<sup>zi</sup>***: see *gulš-<sup>zi</sup>*

***gulš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib1) ‘to carve, to engrave, to inscribe, to write, to decree’: 1sg.pres.act. *gul-aš-mi* (MS), 3sg.pres.act. *gul-aš-zi* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *gul-ša-an-zi* (OH/NS), *gul-aš-ša-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *gul-šu-un* (NH), *gul-aš-šu-un* (NS), 2sg.pret.act. *gul-aš-ta* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *gul-aš-ta* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *gul-aš-še-er* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *gul-aš-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *gul-aš-tén* (MS); part. *gul-ša-an-t-*, *gul-aš-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun *gul-šu-u-ya-ar* (NS), *gul-aš-šu-ya-ar* (NS); impf. *gul-aš-ke/a-* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: <sup>d</sup>**Gulša-** (c.) ‘fate-goddess’ (nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Gul-ša-aš*, <sup>d</sup>*Gul-aš-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Gul-ši*, nom.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Gul-še-eš*, acc.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Gul-šu-uš*), **gulzi-** (c.) ‘engraving, tracing’ (acc.sg. *gul-zi-in* (NS), nom.pl. *gul-zi-eš* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *gul-zi-uš* (undat.)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. <sup>d</sup>**Gulzannikeš** ‘fate-goddesses’ (nom.pl. *gul-za-an-ni-ke-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *gul-za-an-ni-ga-aš*); CLuw. **gulzā(i)-** ‘to draw’ (part. *gul-za-a-i-ma*, inf. *gul-za-a-ú-na*), <sup>d</sup>**Gulza-** (c.) ‘fate, fate-goddess’ (acc.sg. <sup>d</sup>*Gul-za-an*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *gul-za-aš-ša*), <sup>GIŠ(ḪUR)</sup>**gulzattar** (n.) ‘sketch, rough draft, wooden tablet’ (nom.-acc.sg. *gul-za-at-tar*, *gul-za-tar*, nom.-acc.pl. *gul-za-at-ta-ra*, Hitt.abl. *gul-za-at-ta-na-az*, *gul-za-da-na-za*).

IE cognates: Skt. *karṣati* ‘to plough’, Av. *karšaiti* ‘to draw furrows’, Gr. τέλσον ‘furrow’.

PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ls-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 239f. for attestations. All forms are spelled *gul-aš-C<sup>o</sup>*, *gul-šV<sup>o</sup>* or *gul-aš-šV<sup>o</sup>*. The spellings with geminate *-šš-* point to a phonological /k<sup>w</sup>IS-/. The verb denotes ‘to carve, to inscribe’. From it the noun *gulša-* ‘\*what has been inscribed > fate’ has been derived, which is deified as <sup>d</sup>*Gulša-* ‘fate-goddess’. The noun *gulzi-* ‘engraving’ probably is a Luwianism, showing the specific Luwian development *\*-ls- > -lz-*. This Luwian noun *\*gulza/i-* (which is borrowed as an *i-* stem in Hittite) underlies the CLuwian verb *gulzai-* ‘to draw’ and *gulzattar* ‘draft, wooden tablet’.

On the IE etymon of this verb there are mainly two visions. Puhvel (l.c) supports Carruba (1966: 36) in assuming that *gulš-* derives from *\*g<sup>w</sup>l̥-s-* ‘to sting’ (from a root *\*g<sup>w</sup>el-* as visible in Lith. *gėlti* ‘to sting’, Gr. βάλωνη ‘needle’ (which in fact must reflect *\*g<sup>w</sup>elH-* because of the acute in Lithuanian)). The main objection against this etymology is the fact that *\*g<sup>w</sup>* should have yielded Luw. *u*. Oettinger (1979a: 204), Starke (1990: 464) and Melchert (1994a: 150) all connect *gulš-* with PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>els-* ‘to draw furrows’ (probably an *s*-extension from *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* ‘to turn’), as seen in Skt. *karṣati* ‘to plough’, Av. *karšaiti* ‘to draw furrows’, Gr. τέλσον ‘furrow’. This is semantically (‘to draw furrows’ > ‘to engrave’) as well as formally much more convincing.

We would expect that *\*k<sup>w</sup>éls-ti* / *\*k<sup>w</sup>ls-énti* should regularly yield Hitt. *\*\*kuḷalšzi* / *kuḷšanzi*, but apparently the weak stem was generalized.

**kuḷuḷana-**: see *kueluḷana-*

**kunna-** (adj.) ‘right (hand or side); right, favourable, successful’ (Sum. ZAG): nom.sg.c. ZAG-*aš* (OS), *ku-un-na-aš* (MS), acc.sg. ZAG-*an* (OS), *ku-un-na-an* (NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-un-na-an* (OH/MS), *ku-u-un-na-an* (KBo 19.136 i 9 (MH/NS)) dat.-loc.sg. *ku-un-ni* (OS), all.sg. *ku-un-na* (MS), abl. *ku-un-na-az* (OS), *ku-u-un-na-az* (KBo 19.136 i 14 (MH/NS)), instr. *ku-un-ni-t=a* (OS), ZAG-*ni-it*, nom.pl.c. ZAG-*ni-iš* (NS), acc.pl.c. ZAG-*nu-uš* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. ZAG-*na*.

Derivatives: \***kunnatar** (n.) ‘rightness, success’ (nom.-acc.sg. ZAG-*tar*), **kunnahh-**<sup>i</sup> (Iib) ‘to set aright, to get it right, to succeed’ (1sg.pres.act. ZAG-*ah-mi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. ZAG-*na-ah-ḥa-a-an-zi* (MH/NS), part. ZAG-*an-t*; verb.noun *ku-un-na-ah-ḥu-u-ua-aš* (NS); impf. ZAG-*na-ah-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)), **kunnēšš-**<sup>z</sup> (Ib2) ‘to turn out right’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-un-ni-eš-zi* (MH/MS)).

PIE \**kun-no-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 245f. for attestations. The etymological interpretation of these words is difficult. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 89-90) connected *kunna-* with Av. *spənta-*, Lith. *šveñtas*, OCS *svętb* ‘holy, sacred’, Skt. *śunām* ‘success(fully)’ that reflect a root \**kuen-*. A direct equation with Skt. *śunām* is impossible, however, since \**kun-o-* should have yielded Hitt. *kuna-* and not *kunna-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 162). One could solve this by assuming an *-no-* stem \**kun-no-*. Melchert (l.c.) rather derives *kunna-* from \**kuh<sub>2</sub>-no-* ‘the strong one’, connecting it with Skt. *śávas-* ‘might’ (\**keuḥ<sub>2</sub>-o-*) and *śúra-* ‘hero’ (\**kuh<sub>2</sub>-ro-*). If this is correct, then this would show that \**Vh<sub>2</sub>nV* > Hitt. *VnnV* (cf. the discussion about \**Vh<sub>2</sub>RV* at <sup>GIŠ</sup>*māḥla-*, <sup>UZU</sup>*muḥrai-/maḥrai-* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*zahrai-*). Both etymologies are semantically possible, but I would be inclined to follow the first one.

Note that both etymologies preclude a connection with CLuw. *kummaja/i-*, Lyc. *kume/i-* ‘holy’ since \**k-* would have yielded Luw. *z-* and Lyc. *s-*.

<sup>NA</sup>**kunkunuzzi-** (c.) ‘rock’ (Sum. <sup>NA</sup>ŠU.U): nom.sg. *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-iš*, *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-iš*, acc.sg. *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-in*, *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-in*, gen.sg. *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-ia-aš*, *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi*, instr. *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-it*.

PIE \**g<sup>wh</sup>n-g<sup>wh</sup>n-u-ti-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 251f. for attestations and semantic treatment. The word <sup>NA</sup>*kunkunuzzi-* denotes ‘rock’ and is predominantly attested in the Song of Ullikummi, which tells about <sup>NA</sup>*kunkunuzzi-<sup>d</sup>Ullikummi-* ‘the Rock Ullikummi’. Because of contexts like KUB 41.ii 39 <sup>NA</sup>*ku-un-ku-nu-uz-it* *ua-al-ah-ḥa-na-i* ‘he

strikes with a *kunkunuzzi-*’ and KUB 22.70 rev. (55) *nam-ma=at*<sup>NA</sup> *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-it* (56) *GUL-an-zi* ‘they strike them with a *kunkunuzzi-*’, already Carruthers (1933: 154-5) convincingly analysed *kunkunuzzi-* as a word showing the suffix *-uzzi-*, which is used to form implements and tools, derived from the stem *kunkun-*, a reduplication of the verb *kue(n)-zi* / *kun-* / *kuṽan-* ‘to strike, to kill’. For the reconstruction of *-uzzi-* as *\*-u-ti-*, cf. Rieken (1999a: 476). For a treatment of *kue(n)-zi* / *kun-* / *kuṽan-*, see there.

**kur-**: see *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* / *kuṽar-*

(<sup>TÚG</sup>)**kurēššar** / **kurešn-** (n.) ‘piece of cloth; (+ SAG.DU-*aš*) (woman’s) head-dress’: nom.-acc.sg. *ku-re-eš-šar* (often), *ku-re-e-eš-šar*, *ku-e-eš-šar* (2x), *ku-še-eš-šar* (1x), gen.sg. *ku-re-eš-na-aš*, *ku-ri-iš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ku-re-eš-ni*, instr. *ku-re-eš-ni-it*, *ku-ri-iš-ni-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *ku-re-eš-šar*<sup>HLA</sup>.

Derivatives: <sup>TÚG</sup>**kurešnae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to provide with head-dress’ (part. *ku-re-eš-na-an-t*, *ku-ri-iš-na-an-t* ‘coiffed’).

PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r / -n-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 262f. for attestations. Just as *ḥukeššar* / *ḥukešn-* ‘slaughter’ is derived from *ḥuek-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḥuk-* ‘to slaughter’ and *ašeššar* / *ašešn-* ‘meeting’ from *eš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to sit’, so does *kureššar* / *kurešn-* belong to *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* / *kuṽar-* ‘to cut’ and reflects *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r*. The original meaning therefore must have been ‘\*cut piece (of cloth) > piece of cloth’. See at *kuer-* / *kur-* / *kuṽar-* for further etymology.

**kureṽana-** / **kueryana-** (adj.) describing a foreign person or country in relation to a superior potentate: nom.pl.c. *ku-re-e-ṽa-ni-eš* (MH/MS), *ku-re-ṽa-ni-eš* (NH), [*ku-*]re-ṽa-*nu-uš* (NS), *ku-re-ṽa-na[-aš]* (MH/NS), [*k*]u-e-ru-ṽa-*nu-uš* (NH), *ku-er-ṽa-na-aš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ku-re-ṽa-na* (NH).

See Puhvel HED 4: 265 for attestations. According to Puhvel, this adjective describes “a foreign person, people or country in relation to a superior potentate or power” and “expresses a status of dependency without actual formal subjection or incorporation (distinct from vassaldom ...)”. The word shows forms with a stem *kureṽana-* and a stem *kueryana-*, which is quite remarkable. If the word is of IE origin, it apparently shows an ablaut *kuer-u-* vs. *kur-eṽ-*. Neumann (1961a: 93) analyses the word as showing a Luwian suffix *-ṽana-* ‘pertaining to’ attached to the stem *kuera-* ‘field’ (q.v.). He states that “[d]ie beiden Wechselformen

könnten etwa verschiedene Dissimilationsprodukte eines *\*kuriyana-* sein”, which seems quite unattractive to me.

(É)**gurta-** (c.) ‘town, citadel, acropolis’: acc.sg. *gur-ta-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *gur-ti* (NH), abl. *gur-da-az* (NS).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>**gurtayanni-** (adj.) ‘man of the citadel’ (nom.sg. *gur-ta-ya-an-ni-iš* (MH/NS)), **kurtalli-** ‘citadel-dweller(?)’ (acc.sg. *kur-ta-al-li-in*).

See Puhvel HED 4: 275f. for attestations. Already since Benveniste (1932: 139), *gurta-* has been compared with PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ór-to-* (Gr. *χότρος* ‘yard’, Lat. *hortus* ‘garden’) and *\*g<sup>h</sup>r-d<sup>h</sup>ó-* (Skt. *grhá-* ‘house’, OCS *gradb* ‘city’ etc.). Although the formal and semantical similarity is indeed attractive, there are no known sound developments by which Hitt. *-ur-* can derive from either *\*-or-* or *-r-*. Because of its late attestation (NH only) and the derivative *gurtayanni-* that shows a Luwian suffix *-yanna/i-*, it is quite possible that this word is a loan from Luwian. Melchert (1994a: 260) therefore assumes that *gurta-* is the Luwian outcome of *\*g<sup>h</sup>rd<sup>h</sup>o-*. Nevertheless, because in Luwian the normal outcome of *\*CrC* is also *CarC*, this etymology remains problematic. Kimball (1999: 250) suggests a reconstruction *\*g<sup>w</sup>rto-*, derived from a root *\*g<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘mountain, height’ as visible in Skt. *giri-* ‘mountain’, Av. *gairi-* ‘mountain’, OCS *gora* ‘mountain’. These forms rather point to *\*g<sup>w</sup>erH-*, however.

<sup>GIŠ.(HUR)</sup>**kurta-** (gender unclear) ‘wooden tablet’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ.HUR</sup>, Akk. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*LE-U<sub>5</sub>*): dat.-loc.sg. *gur-ta* (NS), abl. *kur-ta-za* (NS), *gur-ta-za* (NS), *gur-da-za* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *kur-ta-aš* (MS), *gur-da-aš* (NS).

PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-to-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 276-7 for attestations. Usually, this word is translated as ‘wooden tablet’, but this is rejected by Puhvel (l.c.), who assumes that *kurta* “most probably denoted the wooden crates in which the tablets were stored, and hence be identical with the *\*kurta-* postulated as underlying *kurtal(l)i-* ‘crate’”. This opinion is based especially upon the following context:

KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 rev.

(4) *ka-ru-ú[-i]-li-ia-z=a-at=kán* <sup>GIŠ.HUR</sup>*gur-da-[za]*

(5) *ar-ḫa gul-aš-ša-an-za x[ ... ]*

which Puhvel (who reads <sup>GIŠ.HUR</sup> *gur-da-[za]*) translates as “from an old wooden tablet from the g. it [is] recopied”: according to him in this sentence the

meaning ‘wooden tablet’ is already expressed by GIŠ.ĤUR which means that *gurda[za]* cannot denote ‘wooden tablet’ either. Starke (1990: 458) translates this sentence as “Auf einer alten Holztafel (sind) sie ausgewiesen als ...”, however, taking GIŠ.ĤUR as a determinative of *gurda[za]*. As a parallel he cites KUB 42.103 iii (13) *an-na-la-z=a-at=kán* (14) <sup>GIŠ.ĤUR</sup>*gul-za-da-na-za ar-ḫa gul-ša-an[-da]* “Auf einer alten Holztafel (sind) sie ausgewiesen ...”. Starke further remarks that *kurta-* should be derived from *kuer<sup>-zi</sup> / kur-* ‘to cut’ (q.v.), originally meaning “das Abgeschnittene” (although Starke assumes a Luwian origin, and subsequently derivation from CLuw. *kuuar-* ‘to cut’). This latter translation and etymological account seems attractive to me, and I therefore reconstruct \**k<sup>w</sup>r-to-*. See at *kuer<sup>-zi</sup> / kur- / kuuar-* for further etymology.

***kūrur-*** (n.) ‘enmity, hostility, war(fare)’, ***kūrura-*** (c.) ‘enemy’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-ru-ur* (OS), *ku-u-ru-ur* (MH/MS), nom.sg.c. *ku-u-ru-ra-aš* (MH/MS), *ku-ru-ra-aš*, gen.sg. *ku-u-ru-ra-aš* (MH/MS), *ku-ru-ra-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ku-u-ru-ri* (OS), *ku-ru-r*, *ku-ru-ri-i* (OH/?), erg.sg. *ku-u-ru-ra-an-za* (OH/MS), *ku-ru-ra-an-za* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ku-ru-ur<sup>HLA</sup>*, *ku-ru-ri<sup>HLA</sup>*, *ku-u-ru-ri<sup>HLA</sup>*, dat.-loc.pl. *ku-u-ru-ra[-aš]*.

Derivatives: ***kūrurije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to be hostile’ (3.sg.pret.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-e-et* (MS?), 3pl.pret.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-e-er* (OS)), ***kururae<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to be hostile’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ra-iz-zi* (NS)), ***kūrurijaḫ<sup>-i</sup>*** (IIb) ‘to wage war (on), to act hostile (towards) (+ dat.), to become enemies’ (2sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ti* (NH), *ku-ru-u-ri-ja-aḫ-ti* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ta*, *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ta*, *ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. *ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*, 3pl.pres.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-u-ru-ri-i-ja-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-u-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫe-er*, 3sg.imp.act. *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-du*; part. *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫa-an-t*, *ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫa-an-t*, *ku-u-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫa-an-t*; inf.I *ku-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫu-an-zi*; impf. *ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*, *ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*), ***\*kururatar / kururann-*** (n.) ‘enmity, hostility’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ru-ra-an-ni* (NH)), <sup>LÚ</sup>***KÚR-na-*** (c.) ‘enemy’ (nom.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-aš* (OS), acc.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-an*, dat.-loc.sg.c. <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-ni* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*KÚR*, acc.pl.c. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*KÚR-uš*, <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš*, dat.-loc.pl.c. <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-na-š=a-at* (OS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>***KÚR-nili*** (adv.) ‘in enemy fashion’ (<sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-ni-li* (NH), <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR-li* (MH/NS)).

See Puhvel HED 4: 280f. for attestations. The word *kūrur-* and its derivatives are often spelled *ku-u-ru-*, with a plene *-u-*. This points to a phonological form /kóror/. The neuter stem *kūrur-* ‘enmity, hostility’ is clearly original, from which the occasionally attested commune stem *kūrura-* ‘enemy’ is derived, probably

through hypostasis of the genitive *kūruraš* ‘(man) of enmity’ > ‘enemy’. Usually, this commune stem *kūrura-* is equated with the sumerogram <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR ‘enemy’ (thus e.g. Puhvel l.c.), but all occurrences of <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR with an unambiguous phonetic complement point to a stem in *-na-* (dat.-loc.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*ni*, dat.-loc.pl. <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*naš*, adv. <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*nili*): we never find <sup>LÚ</sup>\*<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*ra-*, which would have pointed to an equation with *kūrura-*. I therefore have chosen to gather all occurrences of <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR and separate them from *kūrura-*. One may even ask oneself whether the stem *kūrur-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*na-* could etymologically be connected at all.

There is only a small group of words in Hittite that end in *-ur-* and do not show the heteroclitic inflection *-ur-* / *-u(e)n-* (like e.g. *paḫhur* / *paḫhuen-* or *mēhur* / *mēhun-*). Nevertheless, these are usually regarded as old <sup>LÚ</sup>\**-ur-*/*-u(e)n-* stems that have lost their heteroclitic inflection (see Rieken 1999a: 319f. for a treatment of these words). In this way, it would be possible to assume that <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*na-* goes back to the old oblique stem <sup>LÚ</sup>\**kūrur-* or <sup>LÚ</sup>\**kūruen-*.

The etymological interpretation of *kūrur-* is difficult. The first proposal, comparing it with Skt. *krūrā-* ‘bloody’, etc. (Holma 1916: 66), implies an unattractive dissimilation from <sup>LÚ</sup>\**krūrur-*. Sturtevant (1933: 119, 148, followed by e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 102 and Rieken 1999a: 320-1) rather saw *kūrur-* as a derivative from *kuer-*<sup>zi</sup> / *kur-* ‘to cut’. Although semantically certainly possible (cf. Rieken l.c.), Eichner (1980: 139) points out that the reflexes of <sup>LÚ</sup>\**K<sup>w</sup>R-* are never spelled *ku-u-R* in Hittite (cf. the total absence of e.g. a spelling <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ku-u-ra-an-zi* ‘they cut’ or <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ku-u-na-an-zi* ‘they kill’; the only counter-example I know of is *ku-u-ut-ru-ua-a-iz-zi* (KBo 6.4 iv 7 (OH/NS) if this really reflects <sup>LÚ</sup>\**k<sup>w</sup>t-ru-*, but this is strictly speaking no example of <sup>LÚ</sup>\**K<sup>w</sup>R-*). Therewith a reconstruction <sup>LÚ</sup>\**k<sup>w</sup>r-ur-* has become unattractive. Eichner (1973a: 75, 99) rather connects *kūrur-* with Skt. *hvarate* ‘to deviate’, Av. *zūrah-* ‘iniquity’ from <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>uer-* ‘to walk crookedly’, but these Indo-Iranian forms might better be compared with Lith. *pa-žulnūs* ‘crooked, oblique’, Gr. φηλός ‘deceitful’ and OCS *zъlvъ* ‘bad, evil’ and then must reflect <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>uel-*. Puhvel (o.c.: 286) suggests to compare *kūrur-* to Gr. θήρ, OCS *zvěrbъ*, Lith. *žvėrìs*, Lat. *ferus* ‘wild beast’, for which he reconstructs a PIE root <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>uer-* ‘to be savage, to rage’. However, all forms point to a root <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>1</sub>r-* (cf. the broken tone in Latv. *zvėrs*; Lat. *ferus* then must show Dybo-shortening, cf. Schrijver 1991: 337), which would mean that we have to reconstruct <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>r-ur-*. Such a form would indeed account for the plene spelling *-u-*, but the semantic probability remains a point of discussion.

All in all, none of the proposed etymologies surpasses the others in all respects. Nevertheless, a preform <sup>LÚ</sup>\**ḡ<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>r-ur-* would explain the formal facts best.

(L<sup>U</sup>) **kūša-** (c.) ‘daughter-in-law, bride; son-in-law’: acc.sg. *ku-ú-ša-an* (OS), nom.pl.c. *ku-ú-še-eš* (OS).

Derivatives: **kūšāta-** (n.) ‘bride-price’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ku-ú-ša-a-ta* (OH/?), *ku-ú-ša-ta* (OH/?), *ku-ša-a-ta* (OH/NS), *ku-ša-ta* (MH/MS), gen.sg./pl. *ku-ú-ša-da-aš* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ku-ú-ša-ta* (2011/f, 6)).

IE cognates: Skt. *joṣ-* ‘to enjoy’, Gr. *γεύομαι* ‘to taste’, Lat. *gustō* ‘to taste’, Goth. *gakiusan* ‘to test’, ModHG *kiesen* ‘to choose’.

PIE \**ǵéus-o-* ?

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See Puhvel HED 4: 288f. for attestations. Note that the words are consistently spelled with plene *ú* and never with *u*. This points to a phonological interpretation /kúsa-/. The semantic interpretation of these words are difficult. Nevertheless, Weitenberg (1975) convincingly showed that *kūša-* must mean ‘son-in-law’ or ‘daughter-in-law; bride’, whereas *kūšāta-* should mean ‘bride-price’. His etymological connection with Gr. *κόσθος* ‘female sex-organ’ was not very convincing, however. Rieken (1999a: 258) rather reconstructs \**ǵéus-o-* ‘the chosen one’. In her view, *kūšāta-* would be a derivation in \*-*teh*<sub>2</sub>-. Although more appealing, it is a slight problem that PIE \**ǵéus-* did not mean ‘to choose’, but rather ‘to taste’ (Hitt. *kukuš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to taste’, Skt. *joṣ-* ‘to enjoy’, Gr. *γεύομαι* ‘to taste’, Lat. *gustō* ‘to taste’). Nevertheless, a semantic development to ‘to choose’ is also visible in some Germanic languages (ON *kjósa* ‘to choose’, ModHG *kiesen* ‘to choose’). See at *kukuš-<sup>zi</sup>* for another reflex of PIE \**ǵéus-*.

**kuššan- / kušn-** (n.) ‘pay, salary, fee, hire’ (Akk. *IDU*): nom.-acc.sg. *ku-uš-ša-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-uš-ša-ni* (OS), *ku-uš-ša-ni-i* (OS), *ku-uš-ni* (OH/NS), abl. *ku-uš-ša-na-az* (OS), *ku-uš-na-az* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ku-uš-ša-ni* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **kuššanije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to hire, to employ’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi* (OS), *ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-ez-zi* (OH/?), *ku-uš-ša-ni-ia-zi* (OH/NS), *ku-uš-ne-ez-zi* (OH/NS)), <sup>L<sup>U</sup></sup> **kuššan(i)atalla-** (c.) ‘hireling, mercenary’ (nom.sg. *ku-uš-ša-ni-ia-tal-la-aš* (MH/MS), *ku-uš-ša-na-at-tal-la-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *ku-uš-ša-na-at-tal-la-an* (MH/NS)).

IE cognates: OE *hȳr*, OSax. *hūria*, MLG *hure*, ModDu. *huur* ‘hire’.

PIE \**kuh*<sub>1,3s-n</sub>

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See Puhvel HED 4: 290f. for attestations. The word and its derivatives predominantly occur in the Hittite Laws. It is consistently spelled *ku-uš-ša-an* and *ku-uš-ša-n<sup>o</sup>*, except in KBo 6.10 (a NS copy of the Hittite Laws), in which we



find the spelling *ku-uš-ni*, *ku-uš-na-az* and *ku-uš-ne-ez-zi*. Despite their restricted occurrence, these spellings show that we are dealing with a phonological /kuSn-/ (or /koSn-/ although in that case we may have expected a spelling *ku-u-uš-ša°*). Many etymological proposals have been given (see an overview in Puhvel l.c.), the best one of which is Goetze's suggestion (1954: 403) to connect *kuššan-* with OE *hȳr* 'hire' from *\*kuHs-*. Not only formally, semantically as well this etymology seems impeccable. The laryngeal (which is needed to explain long *ū* in Germanic) can only be *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have yielded Hitt. *-h-* in front of *-s-*. The original paradigm probably was *\*keuh<sub>1/3</sub>s-n* or *\*kueh<sub>1/3</sub>s-n* (depending on where the full-grade vowel was located, which cannot be determined from the available evidence), *\*kuh<sub>1/3</sub>s-én-s*, which was secondarily changed to *\*kuh<sub>1/3</sub>s-n*, *\*kuh<sub>1/3</sub>s-n-ós*, yielding attested *kuššan*, *kuššan-*.

**kūitt-** / **kutt-** (c.) 'wall': nom.sg. *ku-ú-uz-za* (NS), *ku-uz-za* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *ku-ut-ta-an* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *ku-ut-ta-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ti* (OS), all.sg. *ku-ut-ta* (MH/NS), abl. *ku-ut-ta-az* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ku-ud-da-az* (MH/NS), *ku-ut-ta-za* (NS), nom.pl. *ku-ut-te-eš* (MH/NS), *ku-ut-ti-e-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl. *ku-ud-du-uš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ku-ut-ta-aš* (MH/NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>NA</sup>**kuttaššara/i-** 'orthostat' (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ta-aš-ša-ri*); HLuw. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>**kutasara/i-** (c.) 'orthostat' (dat.-loc.sg. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ A13d §5, KARKAMIŠ A16b), nom.pl. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §15), acc.pl. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §23, KARKAMIŠ A27e §4), <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-tá-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A18e §5), [<sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-zi-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §23), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*ku-ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §24, KARKAMIŠ A20a1 §3)), **kutasara-** 'to "orthostat"' (1sg.pret.act. SCALPRUM-*sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §16)).

IE cognates: Gr. χέ(Ϝ)ω 'to pour', Skt. *juhóti* 'to pour, to sacrifice'.

PIE *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>éu-t-s*, [*\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-ét-m*], *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-t-ós*

See Puhvel HED 4: 296f. for attestations. Occasionally, the sumerographically spelled word BÀD-*eššar* 'fortification, stronghold' is interpreted as *\*kutteššar* (primarily on the basis of Luw. *kuttaššara/i-* 'orthostat'), but we should rather read it as *šaheššar* (see at *šaheššar* / *šahešn-*).

Since Kronasser (1956: 228), this word is usually regarded as an abstract noun in *-t-* of the PIE root *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eu-* 'to pour' (Gr. χέ(Ϝ)ω 'to pour', Skt. *juhóti* 'to pour, to sacrifice' etc.). The semantic development must have been '\*out-pouring' > '\*earthen wall' > '(stone) wall' (compare Gr. χόμα 'embankment'). A priori, we

would expect that a commune *-t*-stem would show a hysterodynamic ablaut pattern, namely \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>éu-t-s*, \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-ét-m*, \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-t-ós*. In my view, (part of) this ablaut is still visible in the Hittite opposition nom.sg. *ku-ú-uz-za* : gen.sg. *ku-ut-ta-aš* = /*kúts*/ : /*kutás*/. The acc.sg.-form \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-ét-m*, which should have yielded Hitt. \*\**kuettan*, apparently was levelled out to attested *kuttan*.

It is not fully clear whether Luw. *kuttaššara/i-* belongs here as well. If so, it would reflect \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-t-esr* and show that PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>* remains as *k-* in Luwian in front of the back vowel *-u-* (cf. Kimball 1994c: 82).

***kuṛuṣan-* / *kuṛuṣen-*** (c.) ‘witness’: nom.sg. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aš* (KBo 15.25 obv. 35 (MH/MS), KUB 58.108 iv 14 (NS)), *ku-ut-ru-aš* (KUB 17.20 iii 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ru-i* (KUB 6.45 iv 56 (NH)), nom.pl. *ku-ut-ru-e-ni-eš* (KUB 23.77a obv. 10 (MH/MS), HT 1 i 57 (MH/NS)), [*ku-*] *ut-ru-e-ni-iš* (KBo 16.25 iii 67 (MH/MS)), *ku-tar-ú-e-ni-eš* (KUB 23.78, 9 (MH/MS)), *ku-ut-ru-ú-e-ni-eš* (KBo 12.18 iv 2 (OH/NS), KUB 8.35 ii 13 (NS)), *ku-ut-ru-ú-e-ni-iš* (KUB 26.41 obv. 5 (MH/NS)), [*k*] *u-ut-ru-e-ni-eš* (KUB 17.18 iii 6 (NS)), *ku-ut-ru-e-eš* (KUB 9.31 ii 4 (MH/NS), KBo 4.10 obv. 49, 51 (NS), KUB 60.161 ii 9 (NS), Broze Tablet iii 81 (NH)), *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aš* (KUB 13.6 ii 27 (OH/NS)), *ku-ut-ru-u-uš* (KUB 13.4 ii 36 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***kuṛuṣae-zi*** (Ic2) ‘to bear witness, to provide testimony’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-u-ut-ru-ṣa-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-a-iz-zi*), ***kuṛuṣatar*** / ***kuṛuṣann-*** (n.) ‘witnessing’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-an-ni*), ***kuṛuṣšar*** / ***kuṛuṣšn-*** (n.) ‘witnessing’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ru-e-eš-ni*), ***kuṛuṣahḫ-i*** (IIb) ‘to summon as witness’ (1pl.pres.act. [*ku-u*] *t-ru-ṣa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 1pl.pret.act. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*, 2sg.imp.act. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aḫ*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ku-ut-ru-ṣa-aḫ-ḫu-u-ṣa-aš*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***trwan(i)-*** (c.) ‘judge’ (nom.sg. <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-i-sa* (EĞRİKÖY §3), <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §1), <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* (TELL AHMAR 1 §1), <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1e), <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sà* (MARAŞ 1 §1a), <sup>“IUDEX”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* (BABYLON 1 §1, MARAŞ 4 §1), etc. acc.sg. IUDEX-*ni-i-na* (IZGIN 1-2 §14), dat.-loc.sg. IUDEX-*ni-i* (MALPINAR §2), nom.pl. IUDEX-*wa/i-ni-zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2 line 1)), ***trwana/i-*** ‘justice’ (abl.-instr. <sup>IUSTITIA</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* (SHEIZAR §2, AKSARAY §5), <sup>“IUSTITIA”</sup> *tara/i-wa/i-na+ra/i* (MARAŞ 1 §7), <“>IUSTITIA”-*wa/i-ni-ti* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §4), “IUSTITIA”-*ni-ti-i* (KARKAMIŞ A12 §10)).

IE cognates: Skt. *catvar-*, TochA *štwar*, TochB *štwer*, Gr. τέτρος, Arm. č’ork’, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *cetheoir*, Goth. *fidwor*, Lith. *keturi*, OCS *četyre* ‘four’.

PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-en-*

The oldest (MS) attestations of this noun are nom.sg. *kuṛuṛaš*, nom.pl. *kuṛuṛeneš*, which point to an original *n*-stem inflection *kuṛuṛan-* / *kuṛuṛen-*. On the basis of nom.sg. *kuṛuṛaš* (< \**kuṛuṛan-s*), an *a*-stem inflection *kuṛuṛa-* is analogically created in NH times. Note that the form in KUB 17.18 iii 6 is often cited as *ku-ut-ru-ṛa-ni-eš* (thus e.g. Puhvel HED K: 299), but according to Oettinger (1982: 165<sup>12</sup>) the photograph of the tablet also allows a reading [*k*]u-ut-ru-ṛ-ṇ-eš, which I have taken over. The derivatives *kuṛuṛae-*, *kuṛuṛātar*, *kuṛuṛēššar* and *kuṛuṛaḥḥ-* seem to be derived from a stem \**kuṛu-*.

Since Carruthers (1933: 152) this noun is generally seen as a derivative of the PIE numeral \**k<sup>w</sup>etuor-* ‘four’, reflecting the zero-grade formation \**k<sup>w</sup>tur* that has metathesized \*-*ur-* to -*ru-* (cf. Av. *čaθru-dasa-* ‘fourteenth’, Lat. *quadrupes* ‘animal walking on four feet’, Gr. τρυφάλεια ‘having four φάλοι’). For the semantics, we can compare Lat. *testis* ‘witness’ < \**tristis* ‘third party’, but in Hittite we are apparently dealing with a ‘fourth party’.

The formal details are not fully clear. Oettinger (1982b: 164f.) treats this word extensively and argues that we are dealing with an *n*-stem. Because of the remarkable *e*-grade in the suffix in nom.pl. *kuṛuṛeneš* < \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-én-es*, he assumes that nom.sg. *kuṛuṛaš* must have had *e*-grade as well and reflects \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-én-s*. For a long time it was thought that this was impossible in view of the idea that \**-ēn+s* yielded Hitt. -*anza* (on the basis of *šumanza* ‘binding’ < \**sh<sub>1</sub>u-mén+s*) (cf. Hardarson 1987: 118-121 for an extensive treatment) in contradistinction to \**-ōn+s* that yielded Hitt. -*aš* (*hāraš* ‘eagle’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>ér-ōn+s*). Since *šumanza* now has been identified as ‘(bul)rush’ rather than ‘binding’, its reconstruction \**sh<sub>1</sub>u-mén+s* cannot be upheld anymore. Therewith disappears the need to assume that \**-ēn+s* would yield Hitt. -*anza*. As long as counter-evidence is lacking, I assume that *kuṛuṛaš* reflects \**k<sup>w</sup>tru-én+s* (compare the development of gen.sg. \**-uén-s* > Hitt. -*uāš*).

As a parallel formation Oettinger (1982: 174<sup>46</sup>) mentions “hier.-luw. *tri-w-an-i-*” ‘judge’, which he interprets as ‘third party’ > ‘judge’ (with reference to Eichner). This HLUwian word is consistently spelled *tara/i-wa/i-n<sup>o</sup>*. Although an interpretation /*triwan-*/ in principle is possible, it is not imperative. We could also read /*trawan-*/ or even /*trwan-*/. I wonder to what extent it is possible to assume that this last interpretation, /*trwan-*/, is the correct one, and that this word reflects \**k<sup>w</sup>truen-* with loss of initial \**k<sup>w</sup>* in front of \*-*tr-*, and therewith is directly congate with Hitt. *kuṛuṛan-* / *kuṛuṛen-*. This interpretation has the advantage over an analysis \**tri-yan-i-* (as if derived from \**tri-* ‘three’) that we now do not have to assume a suffix -*yan-* which is further unknown.

Puhvel (HED K: 299f.) rejects the etymological connection with PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>etuor-* because the Hitt. word for ‘four’ is *me(i)u-* / *meiāu-* (q.v.). He rather assumes a connection with Lith. *gudrùs* ‘wise’, proposing a proto-meaning ‘expert (witness)’ for *kuṽan-*. Although formally and semantically possible, the fact that Lith. *gudrùs* has a variant *gùdras* and can easily be an inner-Lithuanian derivative of *gùdinti* ‘to train’ is not favourable to this etymology.

\**kuṽan-* (c.) ‘woman’ (Sum. MUNUS): nom.sg. MUNUS-*an-za* (KUB 30.29 obv. 1 (MS?)), MUNUS-*za* (OS), MUNUS-*na-aš* (KUB 33.86 + 8.66 iii 3, 10 (MH/NS), MUNUS-*aš* (KBo 4.6 obv. 15 (NH)), acc.sg. MUNUS-*na-an* (OS), MUNUS-*an*, gen.sg. MUNUS-*na-aš*, MUNUS-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS-*ni*, MUNUS-*ni-i*, nom.pl. MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*iš*, acc.pl. MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš*.

Derivatives: **MUNUS-*nili*** (adv.) ‘in woman’s way, in female fashion’ (MUNUS-*ni-li*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***uānā-*** (c.) ‘woman’ (dat.-loc.sg. *u-a-ni*, dat.-loc.pl. *u-na-an-za*, *u-na-a-an-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.nt. [*u-a-*] *na-aš-ša-an*, [*u-n*] *a-aš-ša-an*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *u-na-aš-ši-in-zi*), ***u(a)natt(i)-*** (c.) ‘woman’ (nom.sg. *u-na-at-ti-iš*, *u-na-at-ti-iš*, MUNUS-*iš*, acc.sg. MUNUS-*in*, acc.pl. MUNUS-*at-ti-in-za*); HLuw. **FEMINA-*natt(i)-*** (c.) ‘woman’ (nom.sg. “FEMINA”-*na-ti-i-sa* (SULTANHAN §47), FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §1, BOYBEYPINARI 2 §1), FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* (SHEIZAR §1), acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 2 §16), dat.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §19, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §34), nom.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §35, HAMA 4 §3, SULTANHAN §33b), acc.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (TİLSEVET §2)); Lyd. ***kāna-*** ‘wife’ (nom.sg. *kāna(š)=k=av*, dat.-loc.sg. *kānaλ*, nom.-acc.pl. *kāns<sup>3</sup>*).

The Hittite word for ‘woman’ only occurs sumerographically written with the sign MUNUS ‘woman’. Attempts have been made to identify phonetically spelled words as ‘woman’, but none of these have been convincing. E.g. Neu (1990) interprets *ku-in-na[-aš]-ša-an* (KUB 12.60 i 24) as *kuinnan=šan* ‘his wife’, but this interpretation is not supported by the context (cf. Güterbock 1992). Carruba (1994) draws the attention to a form <sup>d</sup>*Kuṽanšeš* as found in the following lists of deities, which are parallels of each other:

KUB 43.30 iii

(5) [(*ne-pí<š>-aš*<sup>d</sup>U-*aš kat-ti-i=š-š*)]*i=ma an-na-aš ta-ga-a-an-zi-pa-aš*

(6) [(<sup>d</sup>UTU-*uš kat-ti-i=š*)]-*ši=ma*<sup>d</sup>*Me-ez-zu-la-aš*

(7) [(<sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA-*aš kat-ti-i*)]=*š-ši=ma*<sup>d</sup>*Hal-ki-iš*

- (8) [(<sup>d</sup>SĪN-aš kat-t)]i-i=š-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Iš-pa-an-za-še-pa-aš  
 (9) [(<sup>d</sup>Ha-a-aš-ša k)]at-ti-iš-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Hi-la-aš-ši-iš  
 (10) [(<sup>d</sup>Pi-še-ni-iš)] kat-ti-iš-mi=ma <sup>d</sup>Ma-li-ja-aš  
 (11) [<sup>d</sup>Ma-li-ja]a-aš kat-ti-iš-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Pi-še-ni-eš  
 (12) [<sup>d</sup>Ua-aš-ku-ya]a-at-ta-aš-ši-iš <kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma> <sup>d</sup>Ku-ya-an-še-eš

KBo 11.32 obv.

- (31) ne-pi(-ša)-aš <sup>d</sup>U-aš GAM-ši=ma=ši an-na-aš KI-aš  
 (32) <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>Me-zul-la-aš  
 (33) <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA-aš KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>Hal-ki-iš  
 (34) <sup>d</sup>SĪN<sup>2</sup>-aš KI.MIN GE<sub>6</sub>-az <sup>d</sup>Še-pa  
 (35) GUNNI KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>Hi-la-ši-iš  
 (36) <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>Ma-li-aš  
 (37) <sup>d</sup>Ma-li-aš KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>  
 (38) <sup>d</sup>Ua-aš-ku-at-ta-ši-iš KI.MIN <sup>d</sup>Ku-ya-an-š[e-eš]  
 (40') <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš <sup>d</sup>Ma-li-aš GUNNI-aš <sup>d</sup>Hi-la-ši-i[š]

KBo 43.75

- (1) [(ne-pi(-ša)-aš)] <sup>d</sup>U-a[(š kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma an-na-aš ta-ga-a-an-zi-pa-aš)]  
 (2) [(<sup>d</sup>UTU-u)]š kat-ti-i=š-š[i=ma <sup>d</sup>Me-ez-zu-la-aš]  
 (3) <sup>d</sup>Šu-ya-li-az kat-t[(i-i=š-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Hal-ki-iš)]  
 (4) <sup>d</sup>SĪN-aš kat-ti-i=š-ši[(=ma <sup>d</sup>Iš-pa-an-za-še-pa-aš)]  
 (5) <sup>d</sup>Ha-a-aš-ša kat-ti[(-i=š-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Hi-la-aš-ši-iš)]  
 (6) <sup>d</sup>Pi-še-ni-iš kat[(-ti-i=š-mi=ma <sup>d</sup>Ma-a-li-ja-aš)]  
 (7) <sup>d</sup>Ma-a-li-ja-aš[( kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Pi-še-ni-iš)]  
 (8) [(<sup>d</sup>U)]a-aš-ku-ya-at[(-ta-aš-ši-iš kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma <sup>d</sup>Ku-ya-an-še-eš)]  
 (9) [ ... ]x-x-x[ ... ]

‘The Storm-god of Heaven with Mother Earth beside him; the Sun-goddess with Mezzula beside her; the Fertility Deity NIN.URTA / Šuqaliaz with the Deity of the Grain beside her; the Moongod with the Deity of the Night beside her; the Deity of the Hearth with the Deity of the Courtyard beside her; the Male Deities with the Deity Mālija beside them; the Deity Mālija with the Male Deities beside her; the Deity Uaškuqattašiš with the Deity (or Deities) Kuṣanšeš beside him’.

According to Carruba, the ending -eš implies that <sup>d</sup>Kuṣanšeš is a plural form, and since the only other plural deity in this list are the <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> = <sup>d</sup>Pišeneš ‘Male Deities’, it is in his view likely that <sup>d</sup>Kuṣanšeš should be interpreted as the

counterpart of <sup>d</sup>*Pišeneš* and therefore denotes the ‘Female Deities’. Although at first sight this interpretation seems attractive, there are some problems with it. First, in KBo 11.32 most of the divine names for which a sumerographic spelling is possible, are spelled sumerographically, including <sup>d</sup>*Pišeneš*, which is written as <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> here. If <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšeš* indeed would denote ‘female deities’, we would rather have expected the spelling <sup>d</sup>MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>. Secondly, there is no contextual argument to be given on the basis of which one can state with certainty that <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšeš* correspond to <sup>d</sup>*Pišeneš*. If we look at contexts like

KUB 55.39 iii

- (26) <sup>d</sup>IM-aš <sup>d</sup>In-na-ra-aš-mi[-i]š <sup>d</sup>Da-ši-mi-iz<sup>1</sup>  
(27) <sup>d</sup>Iš-ta-an-za-aš-ši-iš <sup>d</sup>Ša-ku-ṽa-aš-ša-aš  
(28) <sup>d</sup>Ha-an-ta-aš-ša-aš <sup>d</sup>Iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-aš  
(29) <sup>d</sup>Ki-iš-ša-ra-aš-ša-aš <sup>d</sup>Ge-nu-ṽa-aš-ša-aš  
(30) <sup>d</sup>Iš-pa-an-za <sup>d</sup>In-na-ra-u-ṽa-an-za  
(31) <sup>d</sup>Uš-ku-ṽa-at-ta-aš-ši-iš <sup>d</sup>Ku-ṽa-an-ši-iš  
(32) <sup>d</sup>IM-aš <sup>d</sup>I-na-ra-aš-mi-iš LUGAL-uš UŠ-KÉ-EN

‘The Storm-god, the Deity Innarašmiš, the Deity Dašimiz, the Deity of the Soul, the Deity of the Eye, the Deity of the Fore-head, the Deity of the Ear, the Deity of the Hand, the Deity of the Knee, the Deity of the Night, the Vigorous Deity, the Deity Uškuṽattaššiš, the Deity Kuṽanšiš, the Storm-god (and) the Deity Inarašmiš. The king bows (for them)’.

or

KUB 20.24 iii

- (36) [<sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR ḫal-za-a-i] <sup>d</sup>ṽa-aš-ku-ṽa-at<sup>1</sup>-ta-aš-ši-iš  
(37) [<sup>d</sup>Ku-ṽa-an-ši-iš DUMU É.]GAL LUGAL-i I NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA  
(38) [pa-a-i LUGAL-uš pá-r-ši-ja] <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR ḫal-za-a-i  
(39) [<sup>d</sup>ṽa-aš-ku-ṽa-at-ta-aš-ši-i]š <sup>d</sup>Ku-ṽa-an-ši[-iš]  
(40) [DUMU É.GAL=*kán* LUGAL-i NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA e]-ep-zi

‘The writer screams <sup>d</sup>ṽaškuṽattaššiš, <sup>d</sup>Kuṽanšiš!’ The palace servant gives one thick-bread to the king. The king breaks it. The writer screams <sup>d</sup>ṽaškuṽattaššiš, <sup>d</sup>Kuṽanšiš’. The palace servant takes the thick-bread from the king’

it is more likely that the presence of <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšeš* in the first three texts is determined by the presence of <sup>d</sup>*Uaškuṣattaššiš*, and does not have anything to do with the mentioning of <sup>d</sup>*Pišeneš*.

An extra argument in favour of interpreting <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšeš* as ‘female deities’ was put forth by Carruba in claiming that the context

KUB 2.13 ii

(51) LUGAL-uš É.ŠÀ-na pa-iz-zi šu-up-pt-ia-aš

(52) <sup>GIŠ</sup>kiš-ḫi-aš nu <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR pé-ra-an ti-an-zi

(53) n=a-aš-ta LUGAL-uš 1 UDU <sup>d</sup>Ši-ua-at-ti

(54) <sup>d</sup>Ku-ua-an-ša-ia ši-pa-an-ti

‘The king goes to the inner-chamber of the clean throne. They bring forth a table and the king sacrifices one sheep to the Deity of the Day (and) to <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšaja*’

must be regarded as a parallel to

KUB 56.45 ii

(4) n=a-aš-ta 1 MÁŠ.GAL A-NA <sup>d</sup>Pi-ir-ua <sup>d</sup>MUNUS.LU[GAL]

(5) <sup>d</sup>Aš-ka-še-pa <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI <sup>d</sup>Šu-ua-li-ia-at[-ti]

(6) <sup>d</sup>MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia <sup>d</sup>Ši-ua-at-ti <sup>d</sup>Ḫa-ša-am-me-l[i]

(7) DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU Ka-ni-iš <sup>d</sup>Ḫi-la-aš-ši <sup>d</sup>U.GUR

(8) <sup>d</sup>Zu-li-ia-a ši-pa-an-ti

‘He sacrifices one billy-goat to Pirua, to <sup>d</sup>MUNUS.LUGAL, to Aškašepa, to the Pleiads, to Šuṣalijat, to the Female Deities, to Šiṣat, to Ḫašammeli, to the gods of Kaniš, to the Deity of the Courtyard, to Nergal (and) to Zulijā’.

Although the latter context indeed shows the <sup>d</sup>MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia ‘female deities’, it can in my view not be used as proof that this word has to be equated with <sup>d</sup>*Kuṣanšaja* as found in the former context.

All in all, I do not take any of the alleged phonetic spellings into account and will focus on the phonetic complements in Hittite and the evidence from the other Anatolian and Indo-European languages only.

The Hittite forms that show phonetic complements to the sumerogram MUNUS are the following: nom.sg. MUNUS-anza (OH and MH), MUNUS-naš (NS), acc.sg. MUNUS-nan, gen.sg. MUNUS-naš, dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS-ni. These

clearly show that originally we are dealing with a consonant stem in  $^{\circ}an-$ , which was thematicized in NH times. In CLuwian, we find a stem  $\underline{u}\bar{a}n\bar{a}-$  (dat.-loc.sg.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}ni$ , dat.-loc.pl.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}n\bar{a}nza$ ,  $\underline{u}\bar{a}nanza$ , gen.adj.  $[\underline{u}\bar{a}]našša/i-$ ,  $[\underline{u}\bar{a}n]\bar{a}šša/i-$ ) as well as a derived stem  $\underline{u}\bar{a}natti-$ ,  $unatti-$ . In HLuwian, we find the logographically spelled FEMINA-*nati-*, which undoubtedly must be equated with CLuw.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}natti-$ ,  $unatti-$ . In Lydian, we find a stem  $k\bar{a}na-$ , which possibly means ‘wife’.

It is quite obvious that CLuw.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}n\bar{a}-$  and Lyd.  $k\bar{a}na-$  in one way or another must be cognate to words like Gr. γυνή, Skt. *jānis*, gen.sg. *gnās*, OIr. *ben*, gen.sg. *mná*, OCS *žena*, etc. ‘woman’ that reflect  $*g^w\acute{e}n-h_2$ ,  $*g^wn-éh_2-s$ . Gusmani (1985) argues that Lyd. *k-* <  $*g^w$  can only be explained if we assume that it precedes an  $*o$ , because normally,  $*g^w >$  Lyd. *q*. This means that  $k\bar{a}na-$  reflects  $*g^w\acute{o}neh_2-$ . This reconstruction is supported by CLuw.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}n\bar{a}-$ , which seems to point to  $*g^w\acute{o}neh_2-$  as well, since a preform  $*g^w\acute{e}neh_2-$  would have undergone Čop’s Law and subsequently yielded  $**\underline{u}\bar{a}nn\bar{a}-$ . These considerations still do not shed much light to the Hittite forms, however, since they show that the original paradigm was athematic and that therefore a reconstruction  $*g^w\acute{o}neh_2-$  is not possible.

The interpretation of the Hittite material for a large part has been based on the assumption that nom.sg. MUNUS-*anza* points to the “*šumanza*-inflection”. For instance, Oettinger (1980: 59-60) interprets MUNUS-*anza* as  $*g^w\acute{e}nanza < *g^w\acute{e}n\bar{o}n+s$ , with acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* as  $*g^w\acute{e}nanzanan$  and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* as  $*g^w\acute{e}nanzanaš$  (thus also Starke (1980: 74-86): MUNUS-*anza* =  $*g^w\acute{e}nanz$ ).

Hardarson (1987: 118-122) has a slightly different view. He introduces the idea that *šumanza* ‘cord, band’ must reflect  $*sh_1u-m\acute{e}n+s$  (cf. Gr. ὑμήν), whereas e.g. *hāraš* reflects  $*h_3\acute{e}r-\bar{o}n+s$  (cf. OHG *aro*). He therefore interprets MUNUS-*anza* as  $/k^w\acute{a}nt^s/ < *g^w\acute{e}n+s$ , with acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* =  $/k^w\acute{a}nt^s\acute{a}nan/$  and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* =  $/k^w\acute{a}nt^s\acute{a}naš/$ . According to Hardarson,  $*g^w\acute{e}n$  as reflected in  $/g^w\acute{a}nz/$  must be identical to OIr. *bé* <  $*g^w\acute{e}n$ .

Problematic, however, for these theories is the fact that the interpretation of *šumanza* has proven to be incorrect. This word in fact means ‘(bull)rush’ and therefore cannot be etymologically connected with Gr. ὑμήν. Moreover, the basic stem probably was *šumanzan-*, which means that the “*šumanza*-inflection” nom.sg.  $^{\circ}anza$ , acc.sg.  $^{\circ}anzanan$ , gen.sg.  $^{\circ}anzanaš$  does not exist as such.

I therefore want to propose a new look at the word for ‘woman’. If we take etymological consideration into account, and especially compare CLuw.  $\underline{u}\bar{a}n\bar{a}-$  and Lyd.  $k\bar{a}na-$ , it is in my view very likely that the Hittite sumerographic spelling MUNUS-*anza* stands for  $/k^w\acute{a}nt^s/$ . The difference with *hāraš* ‘eagle’ <  $*h_3\acute{e}r-\bar{o}n+s$  in my view can be explained by assuming that  $/k^w\acute{a}nt^s/$  does not reflect  $*g^w\acute{e}n+s$ , but rather  $*g^w\acute{e}nh_2+s$ . Just as in medial position  $*VnsV > V\acute{s}\acute{s}V$  behaves



differently from  $*VnHsV > VnzV$  (compare *genzu* <  $*g^w enh_1-su-$ ), I think that in word-final position these clusters behaved differently as well:  $*Vns > V\check{s}$  whereas  $*VnHs > Vnz$  (the difference in the vowel between  $*g^w enh_1-su- > genzu$  vs.  $*g^w enh_2-s > /k^w ant^s/$  is due to the difference between  $*h_1$  and  $*h_2$ ). This means that acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* stands for  $/k^w aNan/$  or  $/k^w eNan/ < *g^w enh_2-om$  and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* for  $/k^w aNas/$  or  $/k^w eNas/ < *g^w enh_2-os$ .

<sup>LÚ</sup>*kuṽan-* / *kun-* (c.) ‘hound-man’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>): nom.sg. *ku-ṽa-aš*, acc.sg. *ku-ṽa-na-an*, gen.sg. *ku-ú-na-aš*.

Anat. cognates: HLUw. *swan(i)-* (c.) ‘dog’ (nom.sg. *sù-wa/i-ni-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A4a §10), *sù-wa/i-ni-i-sá* (KULULU 1 §11)).

IE cognates: Gr. κύων, Skt. *śvā*, Arm. *šun*, Lith. *šuõ*, etc. ‘dog’.

PIE  $*kuōn$ ,  $*kuón-m$ ,  $*kun-ós$

See Melchert 1989 for his excellent treatment of these words and their context. He convincingly suggests that <sup>LÚ</sup>*kuṽan-* must denote something like ‘hound-man’ and that nom.sg. *kuṽaš*, acc.sg. *kuṽanan*, gen.sg. *kūnaš* reflect PIE  $*kuōn+s$ ,  $*kuón-m$ ,  $*ku-nós$  ‘dog’ as attested also in e.g. Skt. *śvā*, *śvānam*, *śúnas*. The exact interpretation of gen.sg. *ku-ú-na-aš* has been debated, especially with regard to the plene *-ú-*. Melchert assumes that it reflects  $/kúnas/$  with a retraction of the accent (just as in Skt. *śúnas*), but also leaves open the possibility that we are dealing here with a contracted  $*-uṽa-$ , so *kūnaš* <  $*kuṽanaš$  <  $*kuón-os$ . This latter scenario seems unlikely to me. In my view, the spelling with plene *-ú-* is used to stress the fact that it contains the phoneme  $/u/$ , which would have been unexpected because normally the phoneme  $/u/$  was lowered to  $/o/$  in front of  $/n/$  from MH times onwards (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). In  $/kunás/$ , which regularly should have yielded  $**/konás/$ , the  $/u/$  was restored in analogy to the full grade stem  $/kuán-/$ .

In HLUwian, the stem *suṽan(i)-* reflects the generalized full grade  $*kuon-$ .

*kuṽar-*: see *kuer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kur-* / *kuṽar-*

*kuṽašš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to kiss’: 3sg.pres.act. *ku-ṽa-aš[-zi<sup>2</sup>]* (KBo 20.37 i 1 (OS)), *ku-ṽa-aš-zi*, *ku-ṽa-a-aš-zi* (KBo 30.101 iii 12 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ku-ṽa-aš-ša-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ku-ṽa-aš-ta*; impf. *ku-ṽa-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *kuṽašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make kiss’ (3pl.pres.act. *ku-ṽa-aš-nu-an-zi*).

IE cognates: Gr. κυνέω ‘to kiss’, Skt. *śvāsiti* ‘to puff, to snort’.

PIE  $*ku-en-s-??$

See Puhvel HED K: 311f. for attestations. The formal as well as semantic similarity to Gr. κυνέω ‘to kiss’ (\**ku-ne-s-*) and OHG *kussan* ‘to kiss’ is striking. Nevertheless, it is impossible that the Hittite verb is cognate to both, since Gr. κ- does not regularly correspond to OHG *k-*. Puhvel therefore rightly remarks that it is quite possible that we are dealing with words of onomatopoeic origin instead of inherited forms (he also compares Skt. *śvāsiti* ‘to puff, to snort’, *cūṣati* ‘to suck, to smack’, *cūmbati* ‘to kiss’).

If Hitt. *kuṽašš-* nevertheless is of inherited origin, the vowel *-a-* would be quite awkward since *mi-*verbs in principle show \**e*-grade. This is e.g. for LIV<sup>2</sup> the reason to reconstruct *kuṽašš-* as PIE \**kʷuas-*, reflecting a PIE phoneme \**a*. Since the existence of such a phoneme is highly dubious (cf. Lubotsky 1989), we rather search for another solution.

It is often disregarded that this verb shows a consistent spelling of geminate *-šš-* (so *kuṽašš-* instead of *kuṽaš-* as often cited). This geminate must be the product of assimilation: one of the possible sources is \**-ns-*. If we combine this knowledge with the fact that a sequence \**-ens* yields Hitt. *-aš* (compare gen.sg.-ending *-uaš* of the verbal nouns in *-uar*, which reflects \**-uen-s*), we arrive at a reconstruction \**Kuens-*. If this *-n-* is an infix, it would be comparable to the *n-* infix that is also present in Gr. κυνέω < \**ku-ne-s-*. For the formation *-en-* (\**Kuen-s-*) instead of *-ne-* compare *ḥamanki* ‘ties’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>m-ón-g<sup>h</sup>-ei*.

If we take Hitt. *kuṽašš-* together with Gr. κυνέω and Skt. *śvas-*, we arrive at a root \**kues-*, which shows a formation \**ku-ne-s-* in Greek and \**ku-en-s-* in Hittite.

\**kuṽāu-* (c.) ‘cow’ (Sum. GU<sub>4</sub>): nom.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*uš* (KBo 25.122 iii 14 (OS), KBo 34.70 r.col. 1 (MS), KUB 31.105, 4 (MS), KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 iv 27 (OH/NS), KUB 17.27 iii 13 (MH/NS), KBo 23.9 i<sup>2</sup> 8 (NS), KUB 12.58 iv 8 (NS)), GU<sub>4</sub>-*aš* (KBo 6.3 iii 68 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*un* (KUB 36.106 obv. 1 (OS), KBo 6.2 iii 58, iv 10 (OS), KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 5, 41 (OS), KBo 5.2 iii 35 (MH/NS), etc.), GU<sub>4</sub>-*a[n]* (KBo 40.337 obv.<sup>2</sup> 6 (NS)), gen.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*aš* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 rev. 10 (OS), KBo 6.2 ii 31, iv 8 (OS), etc.), dat.-loc.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*i*, instr. GU<sub>4</sub><sup>HIA</sup>-*it* (KBo 23.90 i 5 (NS)), acc.pl. GU<sub>4</sub><sup>HIA</sup>-*uš* (StBoT 25.13 i 10 (OS), etc.), gen.pl. GU<sub>4</sub><sup>HIA</sup>-*aš*.

Derivatives: GU<sub>4</sub>-*li* (adv.) ‘like a cow’ (KBo 3.34 i 16 (OH/NS), KBo 22.253 rev. 2 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *uaya/i-* (c.) ‘cow’ (nom.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*iš*, acc.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*in*, acc.pl. GU<sub>4</sub>-*in-za*; broken *ya-a-u-i*[...]) (although appurtenance to ‘cow’ is far from assured); HLuw. *wawa/i-* ‘cow’ (nom.sg. <sup>BOS.ANIMAL</sup>*wa/i-wa/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), acc.sg. <sup>BOS.ANIMAL</sup>*wa/i-wa/i=pa=wa/i=tu*<sup>1</sup> (MARAŞ 3

§5), abl.-instr. <sup>BOS.ANIMAL</sup> *wa/i-wa/i-ti-i* (KULULU 1 §6), <sup>BOS</sup> *wa/i-wa/i-ti-i* (ARSLANTAŞ §6), BOS<sup>ANIMAL</sup>-*ri+i-i* (SULTANHAN §3)); Lyc. *wawa-*, *uwa-* (c.) ‘cow’ (acc.sg. *wawã*, *wawu*, abl.-instr. *uwadi*, coll.pl. *uwa*, *wawa*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *uwehi*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl. [*u*]*wahe*).

IE cognates: Skt. *gav-*, Gr. βούς, Lat. *bōs*, Latv. *gūovs*, TochA *ko*, TochB *ke<sub>u</sub>*, OHG *chuo* ‘cow’.

PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>éh<sub>3</sub>-u-s*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-éu-m*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-u-ós*

In Hittite, the word for ‘cow’ is consistently written with the sumerogram GU<sub>4</sub>, on the basis of which its full phonetic shape cannot be determined. Nevertheless, it is of importance that the bulk of the phonetic complements (which are attested in OS texts already) point to a stem in *-u-*: nom.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*uš*, acc.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*un*. The rare NS attestations nom.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*aš* and acc.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*a[n]* may show that this stem in younger times occasionally was thematicized. The alleged attestation nom.sg. GU<sub>4</sub>-*iš* (KUB 12.58 iv 8), cited thus in HW: 275, in fact is GU<sub>4</sub>-*uš* (cf. Götze & Sturtevant 1938: 20).

In the Luvian languages, we do find phonetic spellings of the word for ‘cow’, however. In HLUwian, we come across <sup>BOS.ANIMAL</sup> *wa/i-wa/i-* ‘cow’ and in Lycian we find *wawa-* ‘cow’. This latter word clearly is an *a*-stem (cf. acc.sg. *wawã*). The exact interpretation of HLUw. *wa/i-wa/i-* is less clear because of the ambiguity of the sign *wa/i* that can stand for *wa* as well as *wi*. On the basis of the fact that in CLUwian we are clearly dealing with an *i*-Motion stem GU<sub>4</sub>(-*i*)-, it is likely that the HLUwian word should be interpreted as *waw(i)-* as well. The fact that in Lycian this word was taken over into the *a*-stem class is clearly due to the fact that ‘cow’ refers to a female animal.

At first sight it seems obvious that the Luvian languages point to a PLuwian form *\*uau(i)-*, with an *\*-a-* on the basis of Lyc. *-a-*, but this is not necessarily correct. Lyc. *wawa-* can easily show *a*-umlaut from older *\*wewa-*, which means that it cannot be decided whether the PLuwian form was *\*uau(i)-*, *\*ueu(i)-* or *\*uou(i)-*.

It is quite clear that the Luvian forms must be cognate to words for ‘cow’ in other IE languages like Skt. *gav-*, Gr. βούς, Lat. *bōs*, Latv. *gūovs*, TochA *ko*, TochB *ke<sub>u</sub>*, OHG *chuo*. Although the exact reconstruction of the word for ‘cow’ in PIE is still a debated issue, I reconstruct a hysterodynamically inflecting *u*-stem *\*g<sup>w</sup>éh<sub>3</sub>-u-s*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-éu-m*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-u-ós* as the most original paradigm (for the stem *\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u-* compare e.g. Kortlandt 1985: 118). Whether the oblique stem *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-u-* already in PIE times was altered to *\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u-* or *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>-eu-* is of little concern here. In Anatolian, we would expect that *\*g<sup>w</sup>éh<sub>3</sub>us*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>éum* yields

PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>óʔus*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>óum*. In Hittite, these forms would regularly yield *\*\*/k<sup>w</sup>áus/* and *\*\*/k<sup>w</sup>áun/* respectively, which would have been spelled as *\*\*ku-ua-a-uš* and *\*\*ku-ua-a-un*. This is the reason for me to treat this lemma in this book under the reconstructed stem *\*kuuāu-*. In the Luwian languages, PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* regularly yields *u*, which means that, with the rise of the *i*-mutation, PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>óʔus* and *\*g<sup>w</sup>óum* yielded the P<sup>L</sup>uwian stem *\*uóu(i)-*. In Luwian, this regularly develops into attested */uāu(i)-/*, whereas in Lycian the expected outcome *\*\*wew(i)-* apparently was changed to an *a*-stem noun *\*wewa-*, which with *a*-umlaut regularly yields attested *wawa-*.

## L

*lā-*<sup>i</sup> / *l-* (IIa1α > Ic2) ‘to loosen, to release, to untie, to relieve, to remove (ailments)’ (Sum. DU<sub>3</sub>): 1sg.pres.act. *la-a-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *la-a-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *la-a-i* (OH or MH/MS), *la-a-iz-zi* (MH/MS), *la-a-i-iz-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *la-a-u-e-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *la-an-zi* (OS), *la-a-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *la-a-nu-un* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *la-i-iš* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-it* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *la-a-u-en* (MH/NS), *la-a-u-e-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *la-a-er* (OH/NS), *la-a-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *la-a* (OH/MS), *la-a-a* (MH/MS), *la-a-i* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ú* (OH or MH/MS), *la-a-ad-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *la-a-at-te-en* (MH/MS), *la-a-at-tén* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *la-a-an-du* (Bo 6405 obv. 6 (undat.)); 3sg.pres.midd. *la-a-it-ta-ri* (NH), *la-it-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *la-a-at-ta-at*, *la-at-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *la-a-at-ta-ru* (NH); part. *la-a-an-t* (MH/MS); verb.noun *la-a-u-ya-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *la-a-u-ya-aš*; inf.I *la-u-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *la-a-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS)

Derivatives: *lātar* / *lānn-* (n.) ‘release’ (nom.-acc.sg. *la-a-tar* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *la-a-an-ni*).

IE cognates: Goth. *letan* ‘to let’, Alb. *la* ‘he let’, Latv. *ļaiju* ‘to let, to allow’.

PIE *\*lōh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*lh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See CHD L-N: 1f. and Puhvel HED 5: 28f. for semantics and attestations. The verb shows forms of both the *mi-* and the *hi-* conjugation. The oldest attestations (3sg.pres.act. *la-a-i* and 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ú*) clearly show that the *hi-* flexion must be original. On the basis of 3sg. *lāi* a *mi-* inflected *lāizzi* was created in MH times, on the basis of which a NH paradigm according to the *hatrae*-class inflection was created. The oldest plural form, 3pl.pres.act. *lanzi* shows a weak stem *l-*, which

means that  $l\bar{a}^{-i} / l-$  originally inflected as  $d\bar{a}^{-i} / d-$  (thus also Oettinger 1979a: 63-7, against this Puhvel HED 5: 31).

An ablauting verb  $l\bar{a}^{-i} / l-$  can only go back to a root  $*leH-$ . This root is generally compared with PIE  $*leh_1-$  ‘to let go’ as visible in Alb. *la* ‘he let’, Goth. *letan* ‘to let go’ (with  $*d$ -Erweiterung) and Latv. *ļaiju* ‘to let, to allow’ (*u*-present), which means that *lāi*, *lanzi* reflects  $*loh_1-ei$ ,  $*lh_1-enti$ .

**lae<sup>-zi</sup>**: see  $l\bar{a}^{-i} / l-$

**lāh-**: see  $l\bar{a}hu^{-i} / lahu-$

**lāhh-** (c.) ‘military campaign; journey, trip, voyage’: dat.-loc.sg. *la-a-ah-ḥi* (OH or MH/MS), *la-ah-ḥi* (OH/NS, MH/MS), all.sg. *la-a-ah-ḥa* (OS), *la-ah-ḥa* (OS), abl. *la-a-ah-ḥa-az* (OH/MS), *la-ah-ḥa-az* (OH/NS), *la-ah-ḥa-za* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *la-a-ah-ḥu-u-uš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **lahhije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘(intr.) to travel, to go on an expedition, to roam; (trans.) to attack’ (1sg.pres.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-mi* (NH), *la-ḥi-ia-am-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. [*la-ah-ḥi-ia-ši*] (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-ez<sup>2</sup>-zi* (KUB 26.17 i 4 (MH/MS)), *la-ḥi-ia-iz-zi* (NH), *la-ah-ḥi-ia-az-zi* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-it* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-ia* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-at-tén* (MH/MS); part. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-u-ua-aš* (MH/MS); inf.I *la-ah-ḥi-ia-(u-)ua-an-zi* (MH/NS), *la-ah-ḥi-u-ua-an-zi* (NH), *la-ḥi-ia-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *la-ah-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *la-ah-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *la-ah-ḥi-ia-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), **lahhijanna<sup>-i</sup>** / **lahhijanni-** (IIa5) ‘id.’ (impf. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), **lahhijatar** / **lahhijann-** (n.) ‘campaign’ (dat.-loc.sg. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-an-ni*), <sup>(L<sup>U</sup>)</sup>**lahhijala-** (c.) ‘campaigner, (field-)fighter, warrior, infantry’ (nom.sg. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-la-aš* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-la-an* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-l[i]* (MS?), nom.pl. *la-ah-ḥi-ia-le-eš* (OS)), **lahhema-** (c.) ‘military field action, raid, maneuver’ (acc.pl. *la-ah-ḥé-mu-uš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **lahhi(ja)-** ‘to travel, to campaign’ (3pl.pres.midd. *la-ah-ḥi-i[n]-ta-ri*), **lahhija-** (c.) ‘journey, campaign’ (acc.sg. *la-al-ḥi-ia-an*); Lyd. **λαῦλας** ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν; Mil. **laχ-** ‘to strike(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *laχadi*).

IE cognates: Gr.  $\lambda\bar{\alpha}(\text{F})\acute{o}\varsigma$  ‘men, troops, army, folk’, Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* ‘army-leader’, OIr. *láech* ‘warrior’.

PIE  $*leh_2-$

See CHD L-N: 4f. and Puhvel HED 5: 1f. for semantics and attestations. From the attestations of the noun itself it is not fully clear whether the noun originally is an *a*-stem *lāḫḫa*- or a root noun *lāḫḫ*-. The abl.-form *la-a-aḫ-ḫa-az* (OH/MS) in principle seems to point to a thematic stem *lāḫḫa*- (otherwise we would expect *\*lāḫza*, cf. *šūḫza* ‘roof’), but because the OH abl.-ending *-z* is replaced by *-az* from MH times onwards (cf. *-(ā)z* and the replacement of OS *šu-u-uh-za* by younger *šu-uh-ḫa-az*), this form is non-probative. The fact however, that verbal derivative of this root is *lahḫiē/a*- and not *\*lahḫae*- (from *\*lahḫa-īe/a*-), in my view strongly indicates that the noun was *lāḫḫ*- originally. The derivative *lahḫiē/a*- (occasionally secondarily changed into *lahḫiāe*-) is predominantly spelled with *-ḫḫ*-, showing spellings with single *-ḫ*- in texts from the time of Ḫattušili III only.

An etymological connection with Gr. *λαῖ(φ)ός* ‘men, troops, army, folk’ and OIr. *láech* ‘warrior’ was suggested already by Sturtevant (1931a: 120) and is generally accepted. It points to a root *\*leh<sub>2</sub>*- and consequently a reconstruction *\*lólh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*lólh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*léh<sub>2</sub>-s* (or otherwise *\*léh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*léh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*lh<sub>2</sub>-ós* ?).

***lahḫanzan***<sup>MUŠEN</sup> (c.) a water-bird, a duck: nom.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za-aš* (OH/NS), [l]a<sup>?</sup>-ḫa-an-za-na-aš (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *la-ḫa-an-za-ni* (OH/NS), *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za* (OH/NS), *la-ḫa-an-za* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za-nu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-ḫa-an-za-nu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-zu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-ḫa-an-zu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-ḫa-an-zi-uš* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za-na-aš* (OH/NS), *la-ḫa-an-za-na-aš* (OH/NS).

PIE *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-ent-i-on-* (?)

See CHD L-N: 7 for attestations. Since almost all forms are attested in one text, KUB 39.7 // KUB 39.8, it is not possible to chronologically order the forms. Nevertheless, if we compare the situation of e.g. *ištanzan-* (q.v.), we can assume that the original inflection was an *n*-stem *lahḫanzan-*, and that the forms that show a thematic stem *lahḫanzana-* (nom.sg. *lahḫanzanaš*) and the forms that show a stem *lahḫanz-* (nom.sg. *lahḫanza*, acc.pl. *lahḫanzuš* and even *lahanziuš*) are of secondary origin.

As Melchert 2003d has argued, the suffix *-anzan-* (also in *ištanzan-*, *šumanzan-*) can hardly reflect anything else than *\*-ent-i-on-* (verbal adjective in *-ent-* is the basis for an action noun *-ent-i-*, of which an “individualizing” noun *-ent-i-on-* is derived). The identification of the root *lahḫ*- is less clear, however. Melchert (o.c.: 136) starts from a participle *\*lahḫant-* ‘travelling, migrating’ implying an etymological connection with *lahḫiē/a*-<sup>zi</sup> ‘to travel, to go on an

expedition’ (see sub *lāḥh-* ‘military campaign’). Because this latter word probably had an original meaning ‘to go on a military campaign’ (cf. Gr. λα(φ)ός ‘men, troops, army, folk’, OIr. *láech* ‘warrior’), I would be rather hesitant in accepting this etymology. Katz (2001: 210) interprets *lahḥanzan-* as derived from *\*(s)néh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to swim’. Problematic here is that the development of *\*n-* > Hitt. *l-* only occurs when there is a clear reason for nasal dissimilation (e.g. *lāman* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>mn*, *lammar* < *\*nomr*). In my view, a development *\*neh<sub>2</sub>-ention-* > *lahḥanzan-* would be unexpected. Another possibility could be a connection with the root *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to cry out loud’ (Skt. *rāyati* ‘to bark’, YAv. *gāθrō.raiiant-* ‘crying out songs’, Lat. *lāmentum* ‘lament’, Arm. *lam* ‘to lament’, Lith. *lóti* ‘to bark’, OCS *lajō* ‘to bark’. The preform *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-ent-i-on-* could then mean ‘the quacking one’ which yielded Hitt. *lahḥanzan-* ‘duck’.

***lāḥu-*<sup>i</sup> / *lahu-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic2) ‘to pour, to cast (objects from metal); (intr.) to (over)flow’: 1sg.pres.act. *la-ḥu-uḥ-ḥi* (NS), 2sg.pres.act. *la-aḥ-ḥu-ut-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *la-a-ḥu-i* (OS), *la-a-ḥu-u-i* (OH/MS), *la-ḥu-i* (MH/NS), *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-i* (OH/NS), *la-ḥu-ṽa-i*, *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-i*, *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-a-i*, *la-ḥu-ṽa-a-i*, *la-ḥu-u-ṽa-a-i*, *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-a-i*, *la-aḥ-ḥu-u-ṽa-i*, *la-ḥu-uz-zi* (NH), *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-a-iz-zi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *la-ḥu-e-ni* (OS), *la-a-ḥ[u]-e-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *la-ḥu-an-zi* (OS), *la-a-ḥu-an-zi* (NH), *la-ḥu-u-an-zi*, *la-a-ḥu-u-an-zi*, *la-ḥu-ṽa-an-zi*, *la-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-zi*, *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *la-a-ḥu-un* (MS), *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-ḥu-š* (KBo 32.14 i 42, 43 (MS)), *la-a-aḥ-ḥu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-aš* (OH/NS), *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-iš*, 3pl.pret.act. *la-ḥu-ṽa-a-er* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *la-a-aḥ* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *la-aḥ-ḥu-tén* (NS), *la-a-aḥ-ḥu-ṽa-tén* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *la-ḥu-ṽa-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-an-du* (NS), *la-ḥu-ṽa-a-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-a-an-du* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *la-ḥu-ṽa-a-ri* (OH/MS), *la-ḥu-u-ṽa-a-ri* (OH/NS), *la-ḥu-ut-ta-ri* (MH/NS), *la-a-ḥu-ut-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *la-ḥu-ut-ta-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-da-at*, 3sg.imp.midd. *la-ḥu-u-ṽa-ru* (MH/NS); part. *la-ḥu-a-an-t* (OS), *la-a-ḥu-an-t* (OH/MS?), *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-a-an-t*; verb.noun *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-ar*, *la-a-ḥu-u-ṽa-ar*, gen.sg. *la-ḥu-aš*, *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-aš*; inf.I *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-an-zi*; inf.II *la-a-ḥu-ṽa-an-na*; impf. *la-ḥu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *la-ḥu-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *la-ḥu-ṽa-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***lahḥu-*** (c.) ‘container’ (Sum. DAG.KISIM<sub>5</sub>xLA, Akk. *LAḤTANU*) (nom.sg. *la-aḥ-ḥu-uš*), ***lahḥuēššar* / *lahḥuēšn-*** (n.) ‘pouring cup’ (instr. *la-aḥ-ḥu-e-eš-ni-it*), ***lahḥuṽant-*** ‘poured(?)’ (instr. *la-al-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-ti-it* (KUB 36.2b ii 20)), ***lilahu-*<sup>i</sup>** (IIa2) ‘to pour’ (3sg.pres.act. *li-la-ḥu-i*), see *lahḥura-* and *lilḥuṽa-*<sup>i</sup> / *lilḥui-*.



Anat. cognates: CLuw. *lā(h)un(a)i-* ‘to wash’ (1sg.pret.act. *la-ḫu-ni-i-ḫa*, part. *la-a-ú-na-i-mi-š=*, *la-ú-na-i[-mi-š=]*), *lū-* ‘to pour’ (3pl.pret.act. *lu-u-ṽa-an-da*, *lu-ú-un-ta*).

PIE *\*lóh<sub>2</sub>u-ei*, *\*lh<sub>2</sub>u-énti*

In CHD, two verbs are cited, namely “*lāḫ-* ‘to pour’” and “*lah(h)uwai-*, *lah(h)u-* ‘to pour’” (L-N: 4 and 13f. respectively). Of the verb *lāḫ-* only a few forms are cited: 1sg.pret.act. *lāḫun*, 2sg.imp.act. *lāḫ* and 1pl.pres.act. *lahuēni*, *lāḫuēni*, although of these latter forms it is stated that they could belong to *lāḫu-* as well (cf. *akuēni* of *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-*). This would mean that we have to phonologically analyse this form as */lah<sup>w</sup>uēni/*, showing the phoneme */h<sup>w</sup>/*, for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c. In my view, the same is true for *lāḫun* which can be compared to *ekun* ‘I drank’ of *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-* (and not *\*\*ekunun*) and therefore must represent */lāh<sup>w</sup>on/*. We only have to assume that it secondarily has taken the *mi*-ending instead of expected *\*\*lāḫuhḫun*. This would only leave 2sg.imp.act. *lāḫ* as evidence for a verbal root *lāḫ-*. In my opinion, it is more attractive to assume that *lāḫ* belongs to *lāḫu-*. We could envisage that a form */lāh<sup>w</sup>/* would lose its labialization and give */lāh/* (but cf. 2sg.imp.act. *eku* / *reg<sup>w</sup>/* where the labialization was retained), or even read the form as *la-a-uh* */lāh<sup>w</sup>/* (compare spellings like *tar-uh-* = */tarh<sup>w</sup>-/*).

The oldest forms of this verb clearly shows that the original paradigm was 3sg. *lāḫui*, 3pl. *lahuanzi*. In NH times we find forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*lahuūai*, *lahuūaš*) and the *hatrae*-class (*lahuūāizzi*, *lahuūanun*), but also occasionally a *mi*-inflected form (*lahuzzi*, *lāḫun*).

The singular stem *lāḫu-* (which phonologically was */lāh<sup>w</sup>-/*), can only reflect a preform *\*lóh<sub>2</sub>u-*. We would expect that the corresponding plural stem was *\*lh<sub>2</sub>u-*. The latter form regularly probably should have given *\*\*lu-* (compare *māi* ‘grows’ < *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ó-i-ei*), in which the *-h-* of the singular was reintroduced. This explains why we find a lenited *-h-* in the plural as well and not a stem *\*lahḫu-* as we might expect when comparing verbs like *āki* / *akkanzi* etc.

Hitt. *lāḫu-* is often compared to Gr. *λοέω*, *λούω*, Lat. *lavō* ‘to wash’ (first suggested by Sturtevant 1927a: 122). These latter verbs reflect PIE *\*leuh<sub>3</sub>-*, however, which is an impossible reconstruction for Hittite, where we would expect it to yield *\*\*lū-* (likewise if we assume laryngeal-metathesis *\*leh<sub>3</sub>u-*).

With the disappearance of a verb *lāḫ-* ‘to pour’, there is no reason to assume that *lāḫu-* reflects an *u*-extension of a root *\*leh<sub>3</sub>-* (as argued e.g. by Puhvel HED 5: 23f.).

Note that the derivatives *lahhu-* and *lahhuēššar* show a geminate *-hh-* which indicates that these words reflect *e*-grade: *\*leh<sub>2</sub>u-* and *\*leh<sub>2</sub>u-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r*. These forms must be the source of the few NH forms within the paradigm of *lāhu-* that show a stem *lahhu-* (clearly in e.g. KUB 9.31 ii 9 where we find *la-ah-hu-u-ua-i* because of *la-ah-hu-ri* in the preceding line, see *lahhura-*).

A hypothetical *\*lahuzzi-* is possibly attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as *luhuzzinum*, a vessel, cf. Dercksen (fthc.).

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**lahhura-** (c.) ‘offering table(?) or stand (for pots and offerings)’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>GAN.KAL): nom.sg. *la-ah-hu-ra-aš*, *la-hu-u-ra-aš*, acc.sg. *la-ah-hu-ra-an*, *la-ah-hu-u-ra-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *la-ah-hu-ri*, *la-ah-hu-u-ri*, *la-a-hu-ri*, all.sg. *la-ah-hu-u-ra*, nom.pl. *la-ah-hu-u-ri-iš*, *la-ah-hu-u-ri-e-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *la-ah-hu-u-ra-aš*.

PIE *\*leh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-*

See CHD L-N: 15 and Puhvel HED 5: 13f. for attestations and semantics. The word denotes a stand, made (partly) of wood, that is placed in the vicinity of the altar. It is used to place objects upon (mostly cups and pots). Puhvel (l.c.) translates *lahhura-* as ‘bench’ on the basis of a supposed connection with Russ. *lávka* ‘bench’ and Lith. *lóna* ‘bed’. This seems incorrect to me as there is no indication that the *lahhura-* was used to lie upon.

Some contexts of *lahhura-* show a connection with *lāhu-*<sup>i</sup> / *lahu-* ‘to pour’, which might point to an etymological connection between the two, e.g.

KUB 9.31 ii

(8) *n=a-at=ša-an* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*la-ah-hu-ri šu-uh-ha-i nu me-na-ah-ha-an-da*

(9) GEŠTIN *la-ah-hu-u-ua-i*

‘He scatters them (broken pieces of thick-bread) on the *lahhura-* and pours wine over (them)’.

This connection with *lāhu-/lahu-* (either real or folk-etymologically) might explain the occasional spellings *lāhura-*.

If the connection with *lāhu-/lahu-* ‘to pour’ is real, the word probably goes back to *\*leh<sub>2</sub>u-ro-* (*e*-grade because of the fortis *-hh-*). See at *lāhu-*<sup>i</sup> / *lahu-* for further etymology.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**lahhurnuzzi-** (n./c.) ‘leafage, leavy branches, foliage, greenery’: nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. *la-ah-hu-ur-nu-(uz-)zi*, *la-ah-hur-nu-uz-zi*, *la-hur-nu-zi*, dat.-loc.sg. *la-ah-hur-nu-uz-zi*, nom.pl.c. *[l]a-[h]ur-nu-uz-zi-e-eš* (NH), *la-ah-hur-nu-(uz-)zi-*

*uš* (NH), *la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-zi-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *la-(aḥ-)ḥur-nu-uz-zi-(ia-)aš*, erg.pl. *la-aḥ-ḥu-ur-nu-uz-zi-ia-an-t[e-eš]* (OS); broken *la-aḥ-ḥu-ua-ar-nu-u[z-zi(-)...]* (KBo 22.216, 4).

Originally this word was neuter, as can be seen by the OS erg.pl. *lahḥurnuzziant[eš]* and the many neuter singular forms. Only in NH times, we find commune forms being used for the plural. The one attestation *lahḥuuaruzzi-* is caused by the fact that phonologically this word was /laH<sup>w</sup>rnut<sup>s</sup>i-/ (for the phonemic status of /H<sup>w</sup>/ see Kloekhorst fthc.c), in which the *-r-* occasionally was realized vocally: [laH<sup>w</sup>ɾnut<sup>s</sup>i-].

Formally, the word looks like a derivative in *-uzzi-* of a stem *lahḥurn-*, but semantically this is unlikely as *-uzzi-* is used for instruments and tools. Moreover, a stem *lahḥurn-* is further unknown.

Puhvel's connection (HED 5: 27f.) with *lahḥura-* and *lāḥu<sup>i</sup> / laḥu-* 'to pour' does not make sense semantically. His comparison to the Germanic words for 'foliage', ModDu. *loof*, ModEng. *leaf* from PGerm. *\*laub-* (*\*leh<sub>2</sub>u-b<sup>h</sup>-?*) may have more merit, but still leaves us with the problem of the Hittite formation. Puhvel's claim that *lahḥurnuzzi-* originally was a compound does not convince.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*lahḥuuaruzzi-*: see (<sup>GIŠ</sup>)*lahḥurnuzzi-*

***lāk<sup>i</sup> / lak-*** (IIa2; IIIf) '(act.) to knock out (a tooth), to turn (one's ears or eyes towards), to train (a vine); (midd.) to fall, to be felled, to be toppled': 3sg.pres.act. *la-a-ki* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *la-a-ak* (OH/MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *la-ga-a-ri* (MH/NS), *la-ga-a-it-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *la-ga-a-ru* (MH/NS), *la-a-ga-a-ru* (MH/NS); part. *la-ga-an-t-* (OS), *la-ga-a-an-t-* (OH/MS); impf. *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***laknu<sup>z</sup>*** (Ib2) 'to fell, to knock over, to train (a vine)' (2sg.pres.act. *la-ak-nu-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *la-ak-nu-uz-zi* (NH), *la-ak-nu-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *la-ak-nu-an-zi* (NH), *la-ak-nu-ua-an-zi* (NH), *la-ak-nu-u-ua-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *la-ak-nu-ut* (MH/MS); 2sg.imp.act. *la-ak-nu-ut* (NH); impf. *la-ak-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OH/MS)), ***lilak(k)<sup>i</sup>*** (IIa2) 'to fell' (3sg.pres.act. *li-la-ak-ki*), ***lagan-*** (n.) 'inclination, disposition' (nom.-acc.sg. *la-ga-a(n)=š-mi-it*, gen.sg. *la-ga-na-aš*).

IE cognates: OCS *ložiti* 'to lay down', Goth. *lagjan* 'to lay down'.

PIE *\*lóg<sup>h</sup>-eie-*.

See CHD (L-N: 17f.) and Puhvel (HED 5: 33f.) for attestations and contexts. The active forms of this verb occur in OH texts only, its function being taken over by *laknu-<sup>zi</sup>* from MH times onwards. It is used in specific contexts only. When used with ‘tooth’ as object, it means ‘to knock out’. Its use with ‘eyes’ and ‘ears’ probably is an expression that is difficult to literally translate and denotes the attentively listening to and looking at someone. The use with ‘vine’ as object probably is an expression too and denotes the training of it. Note that Puhvel’s translation of the active, ‘to lie, to recline’ is based on a false interpretation of the last case (+ ‘vine’) and probably is based on etymological considerations only.

The middle forms denote the falling down of people (out of a chariot, out of bed), the being toppled of stelas and the falling of countries to the enemy.

The etymon of this verb has been clear since Sturtevant (1930c: 216-7) and generally accented: PIE *\*leg<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to lie down’. The exact morphology is not very clear, however. If we want to describe the meaning of the Hitt. verb in terms of ‘to lie down’, then the active forms go back to ‘\*to make lie down’, and the middle forms to ‘\*to be made lie down’. Semantically as well as formally, *lāki* ‘to make lie down’ resembles OCS *ložiti* ‘to lay down’ and Goth. *lagjan* ‘to lay down’ that reflect a causative formation *\*log<sup>h</sup>-eie-*. This seems to indicate that here the causative *\*CoC-eie-* ended up in the Hittite *hi*-conjugation (but see *lukke-*). The middle forms formally reflect *\*lg<sup>h</sup>-ó-*, but probably are a specific Hittite formation.

Note that the impf. *lakkiške/a-* shows a geminate *-kk-*, which reminds us of other cases of fortition in front of *-ške/a-* as e.g. *akkuške/a-* from *eku-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aku-* ‘to drink’ or *hukkiške/a-* from *huk-<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* ‘to butcher’.

(<sup>TÚG/GAD</sup>) ***lakkušanžani-*** (c.) ‘sheet, bedcover’: nom.sg. *la-ku-ša-an-za-ni-iš*, nom.pl. *la-ak-ku-ša-an-za-ni-eš*, Luw.nom.pl. *la-ak-ku-ša-an-za-ni-en-zi*, acc.pl. *la-ak-ku-ša-an-za-ni-uš*; broken. *la-ak-ku-uš-ša-an[...]*.

See CHD L-N: 20 and Puhvel HED 5: 39 for attestations and semantics. Puhvel suggests a connection with OHG *lahhan*, ModHG *Laken* ‘sheet’ etc., but this is formally impossible as these reflect *\*-g-*, vs. Hitt. *\*-k<sup>(w)</sup>-*. The formation of *lakkušanžani-* is unclear to me. The one Luwian inflected form may point to a Luwian origin.

***lāla-*** (c.) ‘tongue, blade, speech, talk’ (Sum. (<sup>UZU</sup>)EME): nom.sg. *la-a-la-aš* (MH/MS), *la-la-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *la-a-la-an* (OS, often), *la-la-a-an* (1x), gen.sg. *la-la-aš* (MH/NS), *la-la-a-aš* (1x, NH), dat.-loc.sg. *la-a-li* (OH or

MH/MS), abl. EME-*az*, EME-*za*, instr. *la-a-li-it* (OH/NS), nom.pl. *la-a-le-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *la-a-lu-uš* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *lāla/i-* (c.) ‘tongue, gossip’ (nom.sg. *la-li-iš*, acc.sg. *la-a-li-in*, EME-*an* (1x), nom.pl. EME-*in-zi*, abl.-instr. EME-*ti*, gen.adj. <sup>d</sup>*La-la-aš-ši-*); HLuw. *\*lalant(i)-* (c.) ‘language’ (acc.sg. “LINGUA”-*la-ti-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §20), dat.-loc.sg. “LINGUA”-*la-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §21)).

PAnat. *\*lōlo-* or *\*lālo-*

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See CHD L-N: 23f. and Puhvel HED 5: 40f. for attestations and semantics. Both dictionaries state that the word occasionally is attested as neuter, but this is valid for the Sumerogram EME only. It is not impossible that EME is used for another, neuter Hittite word that denotes ‘tongue’. The word is attested in Luwian as well and therefore must be of PAnatolian date. I know of no IE cognates, however. It is likely that the word is of onomatopoeic origin.

*lala(k)ue/iša-* (c.) ‘ant’: nom.sg. *la-la-ú-e-ša-aš*, acc.sg. *la-la-ku-e-ša-an*, *la-la-ú-e-ša-an*, gen.pl. *la-la-ú-i-iš-ša-aš*.

Derivatives: *lala(k)ueššar* / *lala(k)uešn-* (n.) ‘ant-colony, ant swarm’ (nom.-acc.sg. *la-la-ku-e-eš-šar*, gen.sg.(?) *la-la-ú-e-eš-na-aš*, *la-la-ú-i-iš-na-aš*, *la-la-ūi<sub>5</sub>-iš-n[a-aš]*, [*l*]*a-la-ūi<sub>5</sub>-ša-na-a[š]*).

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See CHD L-N: 27 and Puhvel HED 5: 44f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *lalakueša-* besides *lalaueša-*. This can be explained if we assume that the stem *lalakueša-* is Hittite, the /g<sup>w</sup>/ of which corresponds to Luwian /u/ in *lalaueša-*.

Puhvel suggests a connection with PIE *\*leg<sup>wh</sup>* - ‘light’ as cited in Pokorny 660-1. This root nowadays is reconstructed as *\*h<sub>1</sub>leng<sup>wh</sup>* - ‘to move lightly’ (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>), which, apart from the semantic unattractiveness, makes a connection with *lala(k)ueša-* unlikely. In my view, the word probably is of local origin.

According to Melchert (1994a: 171), *lala(k)ueššar* must show haplogy from original *\*lala(k)uešeššar*.

*lalami-* (c./n.) ‘receipt’: nom.sg.c. *la-la-mi-iš*, ~~*la-la-mi-eš*~~, *la-la-me-eš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. ~~*la-la-a-ma*~~.

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See CHD L-N: 26 for attestations. The multiple uses of gloss wedges indicate a foreign (Luwian) origin. Semantically as well as formally a connection with

CLuw. *lāla-* ‘to take’ (see at *dā<sup>i</sup> / d-*) is attractive, which means that *lalami-* is to be seen as a Hittitized adaptation of the Luwian part. *lalama/i-*.

*lalauē/iša-*: see *lala(k)ue/iša-*

*lālu-* (n.) ‘penis’ (Akk. <sup>UZU</sup>*IŠARU*): nom.-acc.sg. *la-a-lu*.

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **λάλου** ‘juvenile penis’.

See CHD L-N: 28 for attestations. Puhvel (HED 5: 47) adduces a Greek hapax **λάλου** used by Straton of Sardes, who possibly was Lydian. The word probably originates in child language.

*lalukke<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to be or become luminous’: 3sg.pret.act. *la-lu-uk-ke-et*.

Derivatives: *lalukkeuant-* (adj.) ‘luminous’ (nom.sg.c. *la-lu-uk-ke-u-ua-an-za*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *la-lu-(uk-)ke-u-ua-an*, *la-lu-ke-ua-an*, nom.pl.c. *la-lu-uk-ke-u-(ua-)an-te-eš*), *lalukkima-* (c.) ‘light source’ (Sum. ZĀLAG.ZA, nom.sg. *la-lu-uk-ki-ma-aš*, *la-a-lu-ki-ma-aš* (1x), acc.sg. *la-lu-uk-ki-ma-an*, *la-a-lu-ki-ma-an* (1x), dat.-loc.sg. *la-lu-uk-ki-mi*, nom.pl. *la-lu-uk-ki-mi-iš*).

See CHD L-N: 28f. and Puhvel HED 5: 48f. for attestations. Although the only verbal form *la-lu-uk-KI-IT* in principle could be read as *la-lu-uk-ki-et*, as if showing a stem *lalukkije/a<sup>zi</sup>*, the derivative *la-lu-uk-KI-ua-an-t-* clearly shows that this interpretation is improbable, as verbs in *-je/a-* usually have a derivative in *-ijauant-* (cf. *āššijauant-*, *kardimijauant-*, *naḥšariijauant-*, *piddulijauant-*). This means that the verbal form must be interpreted as *la-lu-uk-ke-et* and its derivative as *la-lu-uk-ke-ua-an-t-*, both belonging to the stem *lalukke<sup>zi</sup>*, a ‘stative’ in *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-* (cf. Watkins 1973a: 76). See at *lukk<sup>ta</sup>* for further etymology.

*laluk(k)e/išš<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to light up, to become luminous’: 3sg.pres.act. *la-lu-uk-kiš-zi* (OH/NS), *la-lu-uk-ki-iš-zi* (OH/NS), *la-lu-ki-iš-zi* (NH), *la-lu-ki-eš-zi* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *la-lu-uk-ki-eš-du* (MH/MS), *la-lu-uk-ki-iš-du* (NH), *la-lu-kiš-du* (NH); part. [*la-l*]u-uk-ki-iš-ša-an-t- (MH/MS).

Derivatives: *laluk(k)e/išnu<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to give light to, to illuminate’ (3sg.pret.act. *la-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *la-lu-uk-k[i-iš-nu-ud-du]*; part. *la-lu-ki-iš-nu-ua-an-t-*; impf. *la-lu-uk-ki-eš-nu-uš-ke/a-*).

PIE *\*lo-louk-s-* or *\*lo-leuk-s-*

See CHD L-N: 29f. and Puhvel HED 5: 48f. for attestations. The verb clearly is derived from *lukk<sup>ta</sup>* (q.v.). Puhvel interprets this verb as a fientive in *-ēšš-*, but

this is incorrect, as shown by Watkins (1985: 252), who argues that fientives in *-ēšš-* never show a derived causative in *-nu-*. He rather analyses this verb in the same way as *nanakušš(ije/a)-* ‘to be(come) dark’ (q.v.), which must reflect *\*no-nog<sup>wh</sup>-s-* or *\*no-neg<sup>wh</sup>-s-*, derived from *neku<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.). This means that *laluk(k)e/išš-* must reflect *\*lo-louk-s-* or *\*lo-leuk-s-* and that *-e/i-* is an anaptyctic vowel to solve the cluster */-ksC-/* comparable to the one in *takš-* ‘to undertake, to unify’ (q.v.) that is spelled *takke/išC-*. Note that the part. *[lal]ukkiššant-* (instead of expected *\*lalukšant-*) corresponds to the younger spellings *takke/iššanzi* besides OS *takšanzi*.

**lāman / lamn-** (n.) ‘name; reputation’ (Akk. *ŠUMMU*): nom.-acc.sg. *la-a-ma-an* (OH/MS), *la-a-am-ma-a(n)=mi-it* (OH/NS), *la-ma-an* (OH/NS), *lam-an* (NS), *lam-ma-an* (NS), gen.sg. *la-am-na-aš*, *lam-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *la-am-ni*, *lam-ni*, loc.sg. *lam-ma-an*, abl. *ŠUM-za*, *ŠUM-az*, instr. *lam-ni-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *ŠUM<sup>MES<sup>Š</sup>/HL<sup>A</sup></sup>*, dat.-loc.pl. *lam-na-aš*.

Derivatives: **lam(ma)nije/a<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to name, to call, to summon, to assign’ (2sg.pres.act. *lam-ni-ja-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *lam-ni-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *lam-ni-e-ez-zi* (NH), *lam-ni-az-zi*, *lam-ni-ja-zi*, *lam-ni-ja-az-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *lam-ma-ni-i-e-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *lam-ni-ja-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *lam-ni-ja-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *lam-ni-ja-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *ŠUM-(u)en*, 3pl.pret.act. *lam-ni-er*, *lam-ma-ni-er*, *lam-ni-e-er*; part. *lam-ni-(ja)an-t-*; impf. *lam-ni-iš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **álaman-** (n.) ‘name’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ʔlaman=t<sup>s</sup>a/ á-ta<sub>4,5</sub>-ma-za*, nom.-acc.pl.(?) *ʔlamni/ á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-ni* (BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §19), *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-ni-i* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.11)), **lamni-** ‘to proclaim’ (impf.3pl.pres.act. *ʔlamnisanti/ <sup>LOQUI</sup>la-ma-ni-sà-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A31+ §9)); Lyc. **alāman-** ‘name’ (nom.-acc.pl. *alāma*).

PAnat. *\*ʔlāmn*, *\*ʔlāmn-*

IE cognates: Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāman-*, Goth. *namo*, Gr. *ὄνομα*, OIr. *ainm*, etc. ‘name’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>mn*

See CHD L-N: 31f. and Puhvel HED 5: 51f. for attestations and contexts. It has been clear since long that this word is to be connected with Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāman-*, Gr. *ὄνομα* etc. ‘name’, but the exact reconstruction of these words is in debate. The difference in length between *ō* in Lat. *nōmen* and *ō̃* in Gr. *ὄνομα* points to an ablauting complex *\*-eh<sub>3</sub>-* vs. *\*-h<sub>3</sub>-*. The initial *o-* of Gr. *ὄνομα* must be due to an initial laryngeal, but the question is which one, *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>-*. Many scholars argue that we have to reconstruct an initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* on the basis of one Doric

and two Laconian inscriptions that show an element ενυμα- as the first part of names (assuming that ὄνομα shows a vowel-assimilation from \*ἐνομα) and because of the absence of a reflex *h*- in Anatolian. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, the absence of *h*- in Anatolian is non-probative as initial \**h*<sub>3</sub> merged with the reflex of \**h*<sub>1</sub> in preconsonantal position in PAnat. and is consequently lost in Hittite, but preserved as *á*- in HLuwian and *a*- in Lycian. For the non-Anatolian languages, see Beekes 1987 who convincingly argues that on the basis of Gr. ὄνομα, ὠνόμοις ‘anonymous’ and Phr. *onoman*, we have to assume an initial \**h*<sub>3</sub>-.

The word for ‘name’ therefore has to be reconstructed as \**h*<sub>3</sub>*néh*<sub>3</sub>*mn*. In my view, this word further can be analysed as \**h*<sub>3</sub>*néh*<sub>3</sub>*mn*, which is a derivative of the verbal stem \**h*<sub>3</sub>*neh*<sub>3</sub>- that is visible in Hitt. *hanna*<sup>-i</sup> / *hann*- ‘to sue’ (q.v.) and Gr. ὄνομα ‘to call names’.

Already in PAnat., the preform \**h*<sub>3</sub>*nāmn* was subject to nasal dissimilation, yielding \**h*<sub>3</sub>*lāmn* (for my interpretation of HLuw. *á-ta*<sub>4/5</sub>*-ma*- as *h*<sub>3</sub>*lāman*-/ and for the reading of Lyc. *alāma* instead of *aḏāma*, see Kloekhorst 2004: 39-40), which development can be compared to *lammar* ‘moment’ (q.v.) < \**nomr*.

The derived verb *lam(ma)nije/a-* (~ HLuw. *lamni-sa-*, showing aphaeresis from original \**h*<sub>3</sub>*lamni-sa-*) must be equated with Gr. ὀνομαίνω, Goth. *namnjan* ‘to call’ < \**h*<sub>3</sub>*n(e)h*<sub>3</sub>*mn-je/o-*. Phonologically it is to be interpreted as *laMnie/a-*, spelled *lamnije/a-*, which occasionally was phonetically rendered [lam:ɲje/a-], which is expressed in the spelling *lammanije/a-*.

Puhvel rightly remarks that the Hitt. expression *lāman dai*<sup>-i</sup> / *ti-* ‘to name (someone)’ is to be equated with e.g. Skt. *nāma dhā-*, Av. *nāmaq dadāt*, Gr. τίθεσθ’ ὄνομα, OLat. *nōmen facere*, all reflecting the PIE syntagm \**h*<sub>3</sub>*neh*<sub>3</sub>*mn d*<sup>h</sup>*eh*<sub>1</sub>- ‘to name’.

***lammar* / *lamn-*** (n.) ‘moment, instant’, (adv.) ‘instantly, immediately’: nom.-acc.sg. *lam-mar*, gen.sg. *lam-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *lam-ni-i*, *la-am-ni-i*, *la-am-ni*, loc.sg. *lam-mar*.

Derivatives: ***lamarḥandatti-*** (adj.) ‘hour-fixing’ (nom.sg.c. *la-mar-ḥa-an-da-at-ti-eš*, Luw.gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *la-mar-ḥa-an-da-at-ta-aš-ši-iš*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***lam(i)ni*** (adv.) ‘at the time’ (*la-mi-ni-*’ (KARAHÖYÜK §1)).

IE cognates: Lat. *numeros* ‘number, measure’.

PIE \**nóm-r*, *n(o)m-n-ós*

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See CHD L-N: 36 and Puhvel HED 5: 57f. for attestations and semantics. The etymological connection with Lat. *numeros* ‘number, measure’ (first suggested by Duchesne-Guillemin 1947: 85) is generally accepted. This means that *lammar* reflects an *r/n*-stem *\*nom-r*, *\*nom-n*- besides the *s*-stem visible in Lat. *numeros* < *\*nom-es-*, both derived from the verbal root *\*nem-* ‘to allot’ (Gr. νέμω ‘to allot’, Goth. *nīman* ‘to take’, Skt. *namas-* ‘worship’).

In *lammar* the same nasal dissimilation occurs as in *lāman* ‘name’ (q.v.). The geminate *-mm-* is caused by the adjacent *r*, cf. *keššar* ‘hand’ < *\*ġ<sup>h</sup>és-r*.

***lāpp-*<sup>zi</sup> / *lapp-*** (Ia4) ‘to glow, to flash’: 3sg.pres.act. *la-ap-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-ap-ta* (OS), *la-ap-ta* (NH).

Derivatives: ***lap(pa)nu-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib1) ‘to kindle, to cause to flash’ (part. *la-ap-pa-nu-(ūa-)an-t-*; impf. *la-ap-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***lappiā-*** (c.) ‘fever’ (nom.sg. *la-ap-pí-(īa-)aš*, acc.sg. *la-ap-pí-īa-an*, gen.sg. *la-ap-pí-īa-aš*), <sup>GIŠ</sup>***lappiā-*** (c.) ‘burner-wood, wood-ember’ (nom.sg. *la-ap-pí-īa-aš*), ***lappina-***<sup>(SAR)</sup> ‘wick(-like plant)?’ (acc.sg. *la-ap-pí-na-an*, *la-pí-na-a-an*, instr. *la-ap-pí-ni-it*; case? *la-ap-pí-na-aš*), ***lappinae-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to insert a wick(?)’ (3pl.pres.act. *la-ap-pí-na-an-zi*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***lappiā-*** ‘heat?’ (acc.sg. *la-ap-pí-an*, *la-ap-pí-īa-an*).

IE cognates: Gr. λάμπω ‘to shine’ (*\*lh<sub>2</sub>-n-p-*), Lith. *lópė* ‘light’, Latv. *lāpa* ‘torch’.

PIE *\*leh<sub>2</sub>p-* / *\*lh<sub>2</sub>p-*

See CHD L-N: 39-40, 44f. for attestations and contexts. Oettinger (1979a: 443) states that this verb originally belonged to the *hi*-conjugation, but there is no indication for this. On the contrary, all forms point to the *mi*-conjugation. Oettinger’s assumption probably is based on the *ā*-vocalism in the root, which is normal in *hi*-inflected verbs. In this verb *-ā-* reflects *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, however, and not an *o*-grade. The geminate *-pp-* is visible in the derivatives *lap(pa)nu-* and *lappiā-*. Although the weak stem of this verb is not attested itself, the causative *lap(pa)nu-* shows that it must have been *lapp-*, which contrasts with the strong stem *lāpp-* visible in 3sg.pret.act. *lāpta*.

Since Mudge (1931: 252) this verb is connected with Gr. λάμπω ‘to shine’ and Lith. *lópė* ‘light’. These forms point to a root *\*leh<sub>2</sub>p-* (with Gr. λάμπω < *\*lh<sub>2</sub>-n-p-*), which means that the Hitt. ablauting pair *lāpp-* / *lapp-* reflects *\*leh<sub>2</sub>p-* / *\*lh<sub>2</sub>p-*.

The appurtenance of *lappina-* and its derived verb *lappinae-*<sup>zi</sup> is not ascertained, but possible if the words indeed denote ‘wick’ and ‘to insert a wick’ respectively (see CHD L-N: 45 for these meanings).

The interpretation of CLuw. *lappija-* is not clear, but cf. Starke's claim (1990: 63) that it must mean 'heat' and therefore be connected to these Hittite words.

(URUDU)*lāppa-* (n.) a metal implement, 'scoop(?)': nom.-acc.sg. *la-a-ap-pa*, ?abl. *la-ap-pa-za*, instr. *la-a-ap-pi-it*.

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See CHD L-N: 40 and Puhvel HED 5: 60 for attestations and contexts. Puhvel (l.c.) mentions Lith. *lopetà* and Russ. *lopáta* 'spade, shovel' as possible cognates, but these forms are rather BSl. derivations of a stem visible in Lith. *lāpas* 'leaf'.

**labarna-, tabarna-** (c.) PN which became title of Hittite kings: nom.sg. *la-ba-ar-na-aš* (OS), *ta-ba-ar-na-aš* (OS), *ta-ba-ar-na-aš* (OH/NS), *la-pa-ar-na-aš* (OH/NS), *la-bar-na-aš* (OH/NS), *ta-bar-na-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *ta-ba-ar-na-an* (OS), *la-ba-ar-na-an* (OH/NS), *la-bar-na-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *la-ba-ar-na-aš* (OH/NS), *la-bar-na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-ba-ar-ni* (OH/MS), *la-ba-ar-ni* (OH/MS?), *la-bar-ni*, [l]a-pa-ar-ni, *la-bar-na-i* (OH/NS), *ta-ba-ar-na-i*, acc.pl. [l]a-bar-nu-uš.

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See CHD L-N: 41ff. for attestations. Much has been said about this word, for which see the list of references in Tischler HEG T: 34f. It is clear that *l/tabarna-* is used as a title for Hittite kings. It is also clear that *l/tabarna-* is a personal name of one of the early kings (and some princes) of Ḫattuša (note that Starke's argumentation (1980-83) that all attestations of *l/tabarna-* must be interpreted as a title and not as a personal name is unconvincing). The question now is whether an original personal name has been taken over as a title (in the same way as Lat. *caesar*), or whether we are dealing with an original noun 'ruler (vel sim.)' that was also used as a personal name. According to CHD (L-N: 43), "[t]he distribution seems to confirm the theory that *labarna* or *tabarna* was first a PN".

It may be instructive to look at the spelling of this word. CHD states that it "was predominantly spelled with *la-* in Hittite rituals; Ḫattic and Palaic ritual texts use only the form with *ta-*, which was taken over in a few of the Hittite rituals". Moreover, the Hittite-Akkadian bilingual of Ḫattušili I "follows the pattern in that it spells the name of the king with *la-* in the Hittite version but with *ta-* in Akkadian". So we seem to be dealing with a situation in which Hitt. *la-* corresponds to non-Hitt. *ta-*. The labial consonant is almost consistently spelled with the signs BA and BAR, which both are extremely rare in Hittite. Moreover, in Ḫattic texts, we come across the spelling *ta-ya<sub>a</sub>-ar-na* (cf. Schuster 1974: 88). Already on the basis of these spelling peculiarities alone, I would conclude that

*l/tabarna-* must be of non-IE origin (seemingly an adaptation of something like [ṫafarna-]). And if we are indeed dealing with an original personal name that only secondarily came to be used as the title of the Hittite kings, the original meaning cannot be determined. All in all, I see no possible way to etymologize this word.

Recently, Melchert (2003b: 19) has tried to etymologize *l/tabarna-* by connecting it with the verb *taparije/a-*, but see there for my rejection of it.

***laplappa-*, *laplippa-*** (c.), ***laplapi-*, *laplipi-*** (n.) ‘eyelash(es)’: acc.sg.c. *la-ap-la-ap-⟨-pí⟩-pa-an*, *la-ap-li-pa-an*, *la-a-ap-li-ip-pa-an*, *la-ap-li-e[-pa-an]*, nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *la-ap-la-pí*, *la-ap-li-pí*, abl. *la-ap-la-pa-za*, *la-ap-li-pa-az-za*, *la-ap-li-pa-az*, instr. *la-ap-li-pí-it*, acc.pl.c. *la-ap-li-ip-pu-uš*, *la-ap-li-pu-uš*, *la-ap-li-pa-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *la-ap-li-pa-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***lalpi-*** (c.) ‘eyelash’ (acc.sg. *la-al-pí-in*, *la-al-pí-i-in*).

See CHD L-N: 45f. and Puhvel HED 5: 62f. for attestations. The word shows different stems and both neuter and commune forms, which clearly point to a non-IE origin.

***laṽarr(ija)-*** (CLuw. verb) ‘to despoil, to strip’: 3sg.pret.act. *la-ṽa-ar-ri-it-ta*; part. nom.acc.pl.n. *la-ṽa-ar-ri-ma*; inf. *la-u-ṽa-ar-ru-na*.

Although this verb is attested in Hittite contexts (for which see CHD L-N: 49), it shows Luwian inflected forms only. It is translated ‘to despoil, to strip’ in CHD. Puhvel (HED 5: 67) and Melchert (1993b: 126) translate ‘to break, to destroy’, however. These latter translations seem especially prompted by the idea that *laṽarr(ija)-* is the Luwian counterpart of Hitt. *duṽarni-<sup>zi</sup> / duṽarn-* ‘to break’ (q.v.) (cf. Carruba 1966: 17-8), which view is generally accepted. In my opinion, this connection is impossible, however. Hitt. *duṽarni-/duṽarn-* must reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>urn-(e)h<sub>1</sub>-*, the nasal-present of a root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerh<sub>1</sub>-*, of which I do not see how it could have yielded Luw. *laṽarr-*, especially with regard to the first *-a-*. Note that Carruba’s comparison to the *au- : u-* correspondence in CLuw. *au<sub>i</sub>-* ~ Hitt. *uṽa-* ‘to come’ is invalid, of course. If the *\*d<sup>h</sup>-* of *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerh<sub>1</sub>-* indeed would have yielded CLuw. *l-* (which is possible, cf. *la-* ‘to take’ < *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-*), we would expect an outcome *\*\*luṽarr-*, and not *laṽarr-*. Melchert (1994a: 238) seems to be aware of this problem and stealthily cites the verb as *l(a)ṽarri-*, but this is incorrect: the verb is always spelled *la-ṽa-ar-* and never *\*\*lu-ṽa-ar-*. I therefore reject this etymology and the supposed connection between Luw. *laṽarr(ija)-* and Hitt.

*duṣarni-/duṣarn-*. Unfortunately, I have no alternative etymology to offer for *laṣarr(ija)-*.

***lāṣatt-*** (c.?) ‘?’: gen.sg. *la-a-ṣa-at-ta-aš* (OS).

The word is hapax in KBo 20.21 rev. (1) [*ḥa-m*]e-eš-*ḥi la-a-ṣa-at-ta-aš me-ḥ[u-ni]* ‘in the spring, in the time of *l.*’. On the basis of this context alone, a meaning cannot be determined. Puhvel (HED 5: 67) nevertheless translates ‘mire, slush, muddiness’, but does so on the basis of a presupposed etymological connection with Lat. *lutun* ‘mud, mire’ etc. only. This is methodologically unacceptable. Melchert (1993b: 126) states that the word probably is a Luwian neuter noun in *-atta-*, but this seems unlikely to me because of the fact that the word is attested in an OS texts. The word would make perfectly sense as the gen.sg. of a Hitt. *t-* stem, cf. *šiyatt-*, *tarnatt-* etc., which would mean that we should rather look for a root *\*lāṣ-* (e.g. *\*leh<sub>3</sub>u-* ‘to wash’, cf. spring cleaning?).

(Glš) ***lazzai-*** / ***lazzi-*** (c.) ‘sweet flag, calamus’ (Sum. GI.DÜG.GA): nom.sg. *la-az-za-iš*; broken *la-z[i-...]*.

See CHD L-N: 49f. and Puhvel HED 5: 68 for attestations. It is generally accepted that *lazzai-* can be equated with Sum. GI.DÜG.GA and Akk. *qanū ṭābu* (lit. ‘good reed’) ‘sweet flag’ (cf. Puhvel l.c. and Tischler HEG L/M: 48, but doubted in CHD l.c.). If this equation is justified, it is likely that, just as the Sumerian and Akkadian words literally mean ‘good reed’, Hitt. *lazzai-* as well is derived from the adj. *lazzi-* ‘good’ (q.v.).

***lazzi-*** (adj.) ‘good, right’ (Sum. SIG<sub>5</sub>, DÜG.GA): nom.sg.c. *la-az-zi-iš* (OS), acc.sg.c. [*la<sup>2</sup>-az<sup>2</sup>-z*]*i<sup>2</sup>-ja-an-n=a* (KUB 29.38 i 2 (OS)).

Derivatives: ***lāzzije/a<sup>zi</sup>*** ‘(act.) to set straight, to prosper; (midd.) to be good, to be right, to be favourable, to get well’ (1sg.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*zi-ja-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ez-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*at-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an-zi*; 3sg.pres.midd. *la-a-az-zi-at-ta* (OS), *la-az-zi-at-ta*, SIG<sub>5</sub>-*at-ta(-ri)*, 3pl.pres.midd. SIG<sub>5</sub>-(*ja*)-*an-ta(-ri)*, 1sg.pret.midd. *la-az-zi-aḥ-ḥa-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ta-ti*, SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ja-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ja-an-ta-at*, 3sg.imp.midd. *la-az-zi-ja-at-ta-ru*; part. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ant-* (= *āššuuant-*?); verb.noun *la-az-zi-ja-u-ṣa-ar* ‘wellness’; impf. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*iš-ke/a-*), ***\*lazziēšš<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become good, to get well’ (3sg.pret.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*eš-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*eš-šu-u-en*), ***\*lazzijah<sup>i</sup>*** (IIb) ‘to make right, to repair, to cure; to give a favourable sign’ (1sg.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḥ-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḥ-ti*,

3sg.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫi*, SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫu-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1pl.pret.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫu-en*, 3pl.pret.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*(i-a)-aḫ-ḫe-er*, 3pl.imp.act. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫa-an-du*; part. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*i-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t*; impf. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, SIG<sub>5</sub>-*aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **arha lada-** ‘to prosper, to flourish’ (3sg.pret.act. /ladanta/ *la-tà-ta* (AKSARAY §1), 3pl.pret.act. /ladanta/ *la+ra/i-ta* (BULGARMADEN §4, SULTANHAN §6)), **arha ladanu-** ‘to cause to prosper’ (1sg.pret.act. *la+ra/i-a-nú-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §4)).

See CHD L: 50f. for attestations. The adjective ‘good’ is usually written with the sumerogram SIG<sub>5</sub>, which is the reason that only a few attestations of *lazzi-* are known. Within Anatolian, it has been suggested that HLuw. *lada-* ‘to prosper’ may be cognate (cf. Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 1978: 105 for identification of *lada-* and etymology). If this is correct, then Hitt. *-z-* must be the result of assibilation (*\*lāt-i-*), and HLuw. *-d-* must be the result of lenition (*\*lót-V-* ?). For outer-Anatolian, Sturtevant (1934: 270) compared *lazzi-* with Gr. *λῶϊον* ‘better’. This latter form has an inner-Greek comparandum in *λῆϊν* ‘to wish’ (so *λῶϊον* originally ‘wanted more’), however, which probably reflects *\*ulh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*, from the root *\*uelh<sub>1</sub>-* as visible in Skt. *var<sup>(i)</sup>-* ‘to choose’, Lat. *volō* ‘to want’, Goth. *wiljan* ‘to want’, etc.

**le** (prohibitive particle) ‘not’: *le-e* (OS).

PIE *\*leh<sub>1</sub>*

See CHD L: 55f. for a semantic treatment. There has been some debate on the origin of this particle. E.g. Hrozný (1917: 92) regarded *le* as a borrowing from the Semitic negation *lā*; Puhvel (HED 5: 77) suggested an Indo-Uralic connection with e.g. Finnish *älä*; Friedrich (1936-37: 77) regarded *le* as the outcome of PIE *\*nē* with dissimilation comparable to *lāman* ‘name’ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>mn*. All these are less attractive in my view.

In the other Indo-European languages, this prohibitive function is expressed by the particle *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* (Skt. *mā́*, Gr. *μή*, Arm. *mi*, TochAB *mā*), which is likely a petrified 2sg.imp. of a verb *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to refuse’, which is still attested as such in Hitt. *mimma-<sup>i</sup>* / *mimm-* ‘to refuse’ (q.v.). That this is possible for Hitt. *le* as well was already seen by Pedersen (1938: 163-4) and Sommer (1947: 65), who compared *le* with OHG *lā* ‘don’t!’. This latter verb ultimately must be cognate with the Hittite verb *lā-<sup>i</sup>* / *l-* ‘to let, to loosen’ (q.v.), which means that *le* must reflect *\*leh<sub>1</sub>*. Prof. Melchert rightly points out to me that a convincing scenario is

still lacking that can explain how the attested syntax of the prohibitive particle, which goes together with an inflected indicative finite verb, developed out of the use of a 2sg.imp.-form.

**lela-** (c.) ‘conciliation, pacification’: acc.sg. *le-la-an*, gen.sg. *le-e-la-aš*, *le-la-aš*, all.sg. *li-i-la*, Luw. abl.-instr. [*l*]e-la-ti.

Derivatives: **lelae<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to conciliate, to pacify’ (3pl.pres.act. *le-la-an-zi*, *le-la-a-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *le-la-a-it*, 3sg.imp.act. *le-e-la-ad-du*; verb.noun *le-la-u-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *le-la-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *le-la-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *le-li-iš-ke/a-*, *le-li-eš-ke/a-*), **lilaššalla-** (adj.?) ‘propitiatory, conciliatory?’ (nom.-acc.sg.n.? *li-la-aš-ša-al-la*), **lilāre/iške/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic6) ‘to conciliate, to pacify’ (1pl.pres.act. *li-la-a-ri-iš-ke-ua-n[i]* (MH/MS), [*l*]i-la-ri-iš-ke-ua<sup>1</sup>-ni (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *li-la-ri-eš[ke-ed-du]* (OH/MS), [*li-la-*]a<sup>1</sup>-ri-eš-ke-ed-du (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **līla(i)-** ‘to pacify, to conciliate, to soothe’ (3pl.pres.act. *li-la-an-ti*, *li-i-la-an-ti*, 1sg.imp.act. *li-la-i-lu*, 2sg.imp.act. *li-i-la*, 3pl.imp.act. *li-la-an-du*, *li-i-la-an-du*).

See CHD L-N: 57f. and Puhvel HED 5: 77 for attestations. In Hittite, we find two spellings, namely LI-la- and LI-e-la-. Because the sign LI can be read *li* as well as *le*, both spellings can be read as *lela-*. The Luwian forms, however, consistently are spelled *li-la-* or *li-i-la-*, which points to a stem *līla-*. Note that in Hittite we find a spelling *li-i-la* once, namely in KUB 46.38 ii 24 (NH). Because on the same line we find the Luwian inflected form *li-i-la-an-ti* (cf. the ending *-anti*), it is clear that *li-i-la* must be a Luwianism as well. All in all, we are dealing with a Hitt. stem *lela-* that corresponds to Luw. *līla-*. If these words are cognate in the sense that they derive from a single PAnat. form, this form must have been *\*lēlo-*.

According to Puhvel (l.c.) and Tischler (HED L/M: 56f.), these words are to be interpreted as reduplicated forms of the verb *lā<sup>-i</sup> / l-* ‘to loosen, to release’ (q.v.). If this is correct (semantically it is possible), then we should assume that Hitt. *lela-* and Luw. *līla-* are parallel but separate formations (Pre-Hitt. *\*le-la-* vs. Pre-Luw. *\*li-la-*). Alternatively, we could assume a preform *\*leh<sub>1</sub>-lo-*, which by regular sound laws would on the one hand yield Hitt. *lela-* and, on the other, Luw. *līla-*. It may be slightly problematic, however, that the verb *lā<sup>-i</sup> / l-* is not attested in Luwian. For further etymology see at the lemma *lā<sup>-i</sup> / l-*.

The formation of the verb *lilāri/eške/a-*, which seems to be similar in meaning to *lelae<sup>-zi</sup>*, is unclear.

**lelanije/a-**<sup>ta(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to infuriate’: 3sg.pres.midd. *le-e-la-ni-at-ta* (OS), 3sg.pret.midd. [*le-e-la*]-*ni-e-et-ta-at* (OH/MS), [*le-e-l*]*a-ni-et-ta-a[t]* (OH/MS); part. *le-e-la-ni-ja-an-t-* (OH/MS), *le-la-ni-ja-an-t-* (OH/NS).

The word is attested in OH texts only, see CHD L-N: 58f. It is likely that it is derived from a further unattested noun *\*lelan-*. Further unclear.

**lelhuua-<sup>i</sup> / lelhui-**: see *lilhuua-<sup>i</sup> / lilhui-*

**leliuant-** (adj.) ‘travelling swiftly, winged(?); urgent’: nom.sg.c. *le-li-ua-an-za* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *le-e-li-ua-an-da-an* (OH/MS), *le-li-ua-an-da-an* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *le-li-ua-an* (MH?/NS), acc.pl.c. *le-li-ua-an-du-uš* (NH).

Derivatives: **leliuahh-<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to make haste, to hurry’ (3sg.pret.act. *le-li-ua-ah-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *le-li-ua-ah-he-er*, 2pl.imp.act. *le-li-ua-ah-tén*; inf.I *le-li-ua-ah-hu-u-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *le-li-ua-ah-hi-eš-ke/a-*).

See CHD L-N: 61f. for attestations and semantics. Although the bulk of the attestations is spelled *LI-li-ua-*, I take the OH/MS spelling *LI-e-li-ua-* as an indication that all spellings (including *LI-li-ua-ah-*) are to be read *le-li-ua-*, and I therefore cite *leliuant-* and *leliuahh-*.

On the one hand, one could assume that *leliuant-* and *leliuahh-* are derived from an unattested stem *leliu(a)-*, which itself looks like the reduplication of a stem *\*liu(a)-*. Such a stem does not look particularly IE to me. On the other hand, one could analyse the words as *leli-uant-* and *leli-uahh-* (cf. *araua-* and *arauahh-* from *arā-* (see at *āra*)), which would mean that we are dealing with a stem *\*leli-*, itself probably a reduplication of a root *\*li-*. I know of no convincing IE cognates, however.

**le(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*

**lešš-<sup>zi</sup> / lišš-** (Ib1) ‘to pick, to gather’: 3pl.pres.act. *li-iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 2.8 iii 1 (NH)); 3sg.pres.midd. *li-iš-ša-ta-ri* (KBo 13.24, 6 (NS)); inf.I *le-eš-šu-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 30.15 obv. 1, 7, 17 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: **leššalla-** (c.) ‘gathering(?), collection(?)’ (nom.sg. *le-eš-šal-la-aš*).

IE cognates: Goth. *lisan* ‘to pick, to gather’, Lith. *lèsti* ‘to pick up’.

PIE *\*lésH-ti* ?

See CHD L-N: 72 and Puhvel HED 5: 97 for attestations and contexts. Usually, this verb is equated with *līšae-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.), but I do not see why: first there is a clear

formal difference (single -š- vs. geminate -šš-) and secondly there is a semantic distinction (*lešš-* / *lišš-* is transitive, whereas *lišae-* is intransitive). I have therefore chosen to separate these verbs and treat *lišae-*<sup>zi</sup> under its own lemma.

The verb *lešš-*<sup>zi</sup> / *lišš-* clearly denotes ‘to pick up, to gather’ (see the contexts in CHD) and therefore hardly can be separated from Goth. *lisan* ‘to pick, to gather’ and Lith. *lèsti* ‘to pick up’, which reflect PIE \**les-*. It is unclear, however, why we find a geminate -šš- in Hittite (cf. *šeš-* ‘to sleep’ < \**ses-*, which is consistently spelled with single -š-). Perhaps it could show that the root in fact was \**lesH-*. The difference between *lešš-* and *lišš-* may be explained due to accentuation: \**léss-* vs. \**less-*’.

**leš(š)i-, lišši-** (n.) ‘liver’ (Sum. <sup>UZU</sup>NÍG.GIG, Akk. *KABITTU*): nom.-acc.sg. *le-e-ši*, dat.-loc.sg. *li-iš-ši*; case? *le-eš-ši*.

Derivatives: **liššija-** (adj.) ‘liver-related, located in the liver(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *li-iš-ši-ia-la*).

See CHD L-N: 72 for attestations. See Tischler HEG L-M: 54-5 for the several (unconvincing) IE comparisons that have been made. In my view it is likely that this word is of foreign origin, just as the practice of hepatoscopy is.

**lik-**<sup>zi</sup>: see *li(n)k-*<sup>zi</sup>

**lila-**: see *lela-*

**liḫuṽa-**<sup>i</sup> / **liḫui-** (IIa5 > IIa1γ) ‘to pour’: 3sg.pres.act. *li-il-ḫu-ṽa-i* (MH/MS), *le-el-ḫu-u-ṽa-i* (MH/MS?), *le-el-ḫu-ṽa-i* (MH/NS), [*le-*]el-ḫu-ṽa-a-i (MH/MS?), 3pl.pres.act. *le-e-el-ḫu-an-zi* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *le-el-ḫu-ṽa-an-du* (OH/NS); sup. *li-il-ḫu-ṽa-an* (MH/MS); impf. *li-il-ḫu-uš-ke/a-* (MS).

Derivatives: <sup>DUG</sup>**leḫuntai-** (c.) ‘vessel for pouring’ (acc.sg. *le-el-ḫu-u-un-da-in* (MH?/NS)), <sup>DUG</sup>**leḫuntalli-** (c.) ‘vessel for pouring’ (acc.sg. *le-el-ḫu-un-ta-al-li-in* (MH?/NS)), **leḫuntae-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to use a pitcher, to pour from a pitcher’ (3pl.pres.act. *le-el-ḫu-u-un-da-an-zi*, *le-el-ḫu-u-un-ta-an-zi*; inf.I *le-el-ḫu-u-un-da-u-ṽa-an-zi*, *le-el-ḫu-u-un-ta-u-ṽa-an-zi*), **leḫu(ṽa)rtima-** (c.) ‘outpourings(?), inundations(?)’ (nom.pl. *le-el-ḫu-ur-ti-ma-aš* (NH), *le-el-ḫu-ṽa-ar-ti[-ma-aš(?)]* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **lilūṽa-** ‘to pour’ (2sg.imp.act. *li-lu-u-ṽa*, *li-lu-u-ṽa-a*).

PIE \**li-lh<sub>2</sub>u-oi-ei*, \**li-lh<sub>2</sub>u-i-enti*



See CHD L-N: 59f. and Puhvel HED 5: 81f. for attestations. The verb is spelled both with LI-*il-* and LI-*el-* (once even LI-*e-el-*), but the spellings with LI-*il-* seem to be older (all MS texts, cf. also CHD). That is why I cite this verb as *lilḫuua/i-* here. The development of original *lilḫuua/i-* to younger *lelḫuua/i-* is probably due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before clusters containing *-ḫ-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d).

On the basis of the available evidence we cannot decide whether this verb belongs to the *dāi/tiianzi*-class or to the *mēma/i-*class. As I have argued under the treatment of this latter class (see § 2.2.2.2.h), the *mēma/i-*class consists of original *dāi/tiianzi*-verbs that were secondarily changed because of the fact that they are polysyllabic. In this case, I therefore assume that this verb is *mēma/i-*inflected as well (*lilḫuua<sup>i</sup> / lilḫui-*), although this inflection goes back to pre-Hitt. *\*lilḫuui<sup>i</sup> / lilḫui-*. Note that 3pl.pres.act. *\*lilḫuianzi* (which we would expect in a *mēma/i-*class verb) would regularly yield *lilḫuuzanzi* (cf. *išḫuuzanzi* < *\*išḫuianzi* in the paradigm of *išḫuui<sup>i</sup> / išḫui-* ‘to throw, to scatter’).

The verb clearly shows a reduplication of *lāḫu<sup>i</sup> / laḫu-* ‘to pour’ (q.v.). It must be quite recent as we can see by the retention of the cluster *-lḫ-*. It reflects virtual *\*li-lḫ<sub>2</sub>u-oi-ei / \*li-lḫ<sub>2</sub>u-i-enti*. See for the forms *lilaḫui* and *lallḫuuzant-* at the lemma of *lāḫu<sup>i</sup> / laḫu-* itself.

***liliuzant-***: see *leliuzant-*

***li(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib3) ‘to swear, to take an oath, to state under oath’: 3sg.pres.act. *li-ik-zi* (OS), *li-in-ga-zi* (NS), *li-in-ik<sup>2</sup>-zi* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *li-in-ku-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *li-in-kán-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *li-in-ku-un* (OS), *le-en-ku-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *li-ik-ta* (OS), *li-in-kat-ta* (NH), *le-en-kat-ta* (NH), *li-ni-ik-ta* (NH), *li-in-ki-eš-ta* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *li-in-ku-(u-)en* (NH), *li-in-ga-u-en* (MH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *li-in-ker* (MH/MS), *li-in-ke-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *li-ik* (NH), *li-in-ki* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *li-ik-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *le-e-ek-te-en* (OH/NS), *li-ik-te-en* (MH/MS), *le-en-ik-tén* (NH), *li-in-ik-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *li-in-kán-du* (NH); part. *li-in-ga-an-t* (MH/MS), *li-in-kán-t* (NH), *le-en-ka<sub>4</sub>-an-t* (NH); impf. *li-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *li-in-kiš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***lingai-***, ***lengai-*** (c.) ‘oath; perjury’ (Sum. NAM.ERÍM, Akk. *MĀMĪTU*, *NĪŠ*; nom.sg. *li-in-ga-iš* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *li-in-ga-i-iš* (NS), acc.sg. *li-in-ga-en* (OS), *li-in-ga-in* (MH/MS), *li-in-ka<sub>4</sub>-en* (NH), *li-in-ka<sub>4</sub>-in* (NS), gen.sg. *li-in-ki(-ja)-aš* (MH/MS), *le-en-ki-aš* (MH/NS), *le-en-ki-ja-aš* (NH), *li-in-ga-ja-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *li-in-ki-ja* (MH/MS), *le-en-ki-ja* (MH/NS), *li-in-ki-i-ja* (NH), loc.sg. *li-in-ga-e* (MH/MS), *li-in-ga-i* (MH/NS), *le-en-ga-i* (MH/NS), *le-en-ka<sub>4</sub>(-a)-i* (NH), erg.sg. *li-in-ki-ja-an-za* (MH/MS), abl. *li-in-ki(-ja)-az*

(MH/MS), *le-en-ki-ja-az* (NH), *li-in-ki-ja-za* (NH), *le-en-ki-ja-za* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *li-in-ga-a-uš* (MH/MS), *li-in-ga-uš* (MH/NS), *le-en-ga-uš* (NH), erg.pl. *li-in-ki-ja-an-te-eš* (OS), *li-in-ki-an-te-eš* (MH/NS)), ***linganu-<sup>zi</sup>***, ***lenganu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make swear’ (1sg.pres.act. *li-in-ga-nu-mi* (MH/MS), *li-in-ga-nu-zi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *li-in-ga-nu-ma-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *li-in-ka-<sub>r</sub>-nu-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *li-in-ga-nu-nu-un* (MH/MS), *le-en-ga-nu-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *li-in-ga-nu-ut* (MH/MS), *le-en-ga-nu-ut* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *li-in-ga-nu-me-en* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *li-in-ka-<sub>r</sub>-nu-e-er* (NH); part. *li-in-ga-nu-(ua)an-t-* (NH), *li-in-ka-<sub>r</sub>-nu-ua-an-t-* (NH), *le-en-ka-<sub>r</sub>-nu-ua-an-t-* (NH); impf. *li-in-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἐλέγχω ‘to disgrace, to question’, OHG *ant-lingen* ‘to answer’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>lénġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>lnġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-énti*

See CHD L/N: 62f. and Puhvel HED 5: 85f. for attestations. The verb seems to have three stems, namely *link-*, *lik-* and *lenk-*, besides which CHD cites a stem *linga-* as well.

The stem *lenk-* is spelled *le-en-* and only found in NS and NH texts. It is the regular outcome of OH *link-* through the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d).

The stem *linga-* cited by CHD apparently is based on the one attestation 1pl.pres.act. *le-en-ga-u-en* (HT 1 i 43 (MH/NS)), which in my view has little value (note that all other attestations of *li-in-ga-* (e.g. *li-in-ga-zi* and *li-in-ga-nu-*) are found in front of consonants and denote /linkC-/).

The original distribution between *link-* and *lik-* is that *link-* is found when the stem is followed by a vowel (e.g. *linkun* (OS)), whereas *lik-* is found when a consonant follows (e.g. *likzi* (OS), *likta* (OS)). Compare for this distribution the nasal-infix verbs (e.g. *ḫarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *šarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*), but also *ḫar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* and *kāš-<sup>a(r)</sup>* / *kiš-*.

It has been suggested that *li(n)k-* is the nasal-present of the root visible in Lat. *ligāre* ‘to bind’ (Hrozný 1917: 16), but this is unlikely because all Hittite nasal-infixed verbs with a root-final velar show an infix *-ni(n)-*.

Formally, a better alternative is a connection with Gr. ἐλέγχω ‘to disgrace, to question’ (suggested by Sturtevant 1930c: 218), which is followed by many scholars (see the references in Tischler HEG L-M: 61, who further adduces OHG *ant-lingen* ‘to answer’). If this connection is justified, we must reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>lénġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-*. Just as all *mi-*inflected verbs, this verb must have shown ablaut as well: *\*h<sub>1</sub>lénġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>lnġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-enti*. The development *\*h<sub>1</sub>lnġ<sup>(s)h</sup>-enti* > *linkanzi*

/lɪŋant<sup>s</sup>i/ is paralleled by *h<sub>2</sub>mng<sup>h</sup>-enti* > *haminkanzi* (cf. *hamank<sup>i</sup> / hame/ink-*). Note that initial preconsonantal \**h<sub>i</sub>* is dropped without a trace.

***lip(p)-<sup>z</sup>*, *lipae-<sup>z</sup>*** (Ib1 > Ic2) ‘to lick (up)’: 3sg.pres.act. *li-ip-zi* (OH/NS), *li-pa-iz-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *li-ip-pa-an-zi* (MH/NS), *li-pa-a-an-zi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *li-ip-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *li-i-pé-er* (OH/MS?), 3sg.imp.act. *li-ip-tu* (OS).

Derivatives: ***lel(l)ipa-<sup>i</sup>*** (IIa5?) ‘to lick (up)’ (3sg.pres.act. *le-li-pa-a-i* (NS), *le-el-li-pa-a-i* (MH/NS), Luw.3pl.pres.act. *le-li-pa-an-ti*; impf. *le-li-pa-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *le-li-pa-aš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)).

See CHD L/N: 71 for attestations, where it is stated that “the only unambiguous exx. of *lipai-* are in a broken context and may prove to be of a different verb”. Nevertheless, the form 3pl.pres.act. *lipānzi* clearly means ‘to lick’ and shows a stem *lipae-* as well. The verb shows an alteration between single *-p-* vs. geminate *-pp-*. This, together with the fact that verbs for ‘to lick’ often show a structure *IVP-* (e.g. Lat. *lambere*, OE *lapan*, OHG *laffan*, Gr. λάπτω ‘to lick’, Arm. *lap* ‘em ‘to slurp’) indicates that the verb is onomatopoeic in origin. The derivative *lel(l)ipa-* may belong to class IIa5 (and should then be cited *lel(l)ipa-<sup>i</sup> / lel(l)ipi-*), just as other reduplicated verbs like *mēma-<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-*, *paripara-<sup>i</sup> / paripari-*, etc.

***lišš-***: see *lešš-*

***lišae-<sup>z</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘? (to clear out?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *li-i-ša-iz-zi* (KUB 15.31 ii 15 (MH/NS)), *li-ša-iz-zi* (KUB 15.32 ii 9 (MH/NS)).

Usually, these verbal forms are regarded as belonging with *lešš-<sup>z</sup> / lišš-* ‘to pick up, to gather’ (q.v.), but this is improbable. Firstly, because of the formal differences (*lišae-* vs. *lešš- / lišš-*), and secondly because of the fact that *lišae-* is an intransitive verb whereas *lešš- / lišš-* is transitive. I therefore propose to separate them.

The verb *lišae-* occurs in one context only:

KUB 15.31 ii

- (11) *nu 9 a-a-pí ki-nu-an-zi*  
 (12) *hu-u-da-a-ak=ma=za* <sup>GIS</sup>AL *da-a-i nu pád-da-a-i EGIR=ŠU=ma=za*  
 (13) *TU-DI-IT-TUM da-a-i nu a-pé-e-ez pád-da-a-i EGIR=ŠU=ma=za*  
 (14) <sup>GIS</sup>ša-at-ta <sup>GIS</sup>MAR <sup>GIS</sup>hu-u-up-pa-ra-an-n=a da-a-i nu=kán ša-ra-a  
 (15) *li-i-ša-iz-zi nam-ma=kán GEŠTIN Ì an-da ši-pa-an-ti NINDA.SIG<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ma*  
 (16) *pár-ši-ja n=a-at a-ra-aḥ-za-an-da ke-e-ez ke-e-ez-z=i-ja da-a-i*

‘They open up nine pits. Quickly he takes a pick-axe and digs. Then he takes a brooch and digs on that side. Thereupon he takes a *šatta*, a spade and a *huppara*-vessel and *šarā līšae*-s. Then he libates wine and oil in (it). He breaks thin-breads and places them around on all sides’.

CHD (L/N: 72, under the lemma *leššai-*, *liššai-*, *lišai-*) translates “and he clears out (the loose soil, stones, etc. from the holes)”. Although this interpretation is possible (but notice that the absence of an object is not favourable to it), the fact that it seems to be specifically chosen on the basis of a presupposed connection with *lešš-*, *lišš-* ‘to gather’ must make us cautious: other interpretations are possible as well. A definite decision is only possible if other attestations of this verb are found.

Formally, *līšae-* seems to be a denominative derivative of a further unattested noun *\*līša-*.

**lišši-**: see *leš(š)i-*

**-līt** (1sg.imp.act.-ending): see *-llu*

**-llu**, **-līt** (1sg.imp.act.-ending): *ak-kal-lu* (KUB 14.1 rev. 94 (MH/MS)), *a-aš-ša[(-nu)]-ul-lu* (KUB 14.11 iii 20 (NH)) // *aš-nu-ul-lu* (KUB 14.8 rev. 7 (NH)), *e-eš-li-it* (KUB 26.35, 6 (OH/MS?), KUB 23.82 rev. 16 (MH/MS), KBo 5.3 iv 33 (NH)), *e-eš-lu-ut* (KUB 7.2 ii 23 (NS), KUB 8.35 iv 23 (NS)), *a-ša-al-lu* (KBo 4.14 i 43 (NH)), *ḥa-aš-ši-ik-lu* (KUB 24.5 + 9.13 rev. 1 (NS)), *ḥa-aš-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KUB 36.93 rev. 6 (NS)), *ḥa-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KBo 15.14, 4 (NS)), *kar-ša-al-lu* (KUB 32.138 rev. 7, 8, 9 (OH/NS), KBo 34.37 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), *me-ma-al-lu* (KUB 30.14 iii 74 (NH), KUB 6.46 iv 42 (NH)), *nu-un-tar-nu-ya-a[l-lu]* (KUB 21.38 obv. 37 (NH)), *še-eg-ga-al-lu* (KBo 13.88 i 3, 5 (NS), KUB 23.88 obv. 6 (NH)), *ši-ig-ga-al-lu* (KBo 18.2 rev. 12 (NH)), *ta-li-it* (KBo 3.38 rev. 16 (OH/NS)), *tar-uh-ḥa-al-lu* (KBo 12.58+ obv. 5 (NS)), *te-pa-u-e-eš-ša-al-lu* (Tischler HEG T: 317); *ú-da-al-lu* (KBo 17.62+63 iv 15, 18 (MS?)), *ú-ya-al-lu* (KUB 14.8 rev. 42 (NH)), *ú-ue<sub>3</sub>-el-lu-ut* (KUB 3.110, 15 (NS)), *za-am-mu-ra-al-lu* (KUB 36.85, 7 (MS?))

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-llu** (1sg.imp.act.-ending): *ku-ya-ja-ta-al-lu*.

The ending of 1sg.imp.act. (also called voluntative) has the form *-llu* in *akkallu* (MH/MS), *ašallu* (NH), *āšša[nu]llu* // *ašnullu* (NH), *ḥaššiklu* // *ḥaššiggallu* // *ḥašigallu* (NS), *karšallu* (OH/NS), *memallu* (NH), *nuntarnu<sub>3</sub>ya[llu]* (NH),

*šeggallu* (NH), *taruḥḥallu* (NS), *tepaṽēššallu*, *udallu* (MS?), *uṽallu* (NH), *zammurallu* (MS?) (note that in most cases the *-a-* can be interpreted as part of the stem or as a graphic vowel to write /°CLu/: it is phonetically real in a few NH forms only where it can be regarded as analogical to the verbs in which *-a-* belongs to the stem), it has the form *-lit* in *ēšlit* (OH/MS?), *talit* (OH/NS), and the form *-llut* in *ēšlut* (NS) and *uṽellut* (NS) (the origin of *-e-* in the latter form is unclear to me: perhaps it represents anaptyctic /i/). It seems to me that *-llut* must be regarded as a conflation of *-llu* on the one hand and *-lit* on the other.

Just as in English one could say ‘let me do this’ in the function of a voluntative, I regard *-llu* and *-lit* as cognates with the verb *lā-<sup>i</sup> / l-* ‘to let’. The *-u* may be equated with the imperatival *-u* as visible in the endings *-ttu*, *-u*, *-antu*, *-ttaru*, *-aru* and *-antaru* (see especially at *-u*), whereas *-t* may be regarded as the imperatival 2sg.act.-ending *-t < \*-d<sup>h</sup>i*. So we arrive at the virtual reconstructions *\*l(e/o)h<sub>1</sub>-u* (lit. ‘he must let me ...’) and *\*leh<sub>1</sub>-d<sup>h</sup>i* (lit. ‘you must let me ...’).

<sup>(GİŞ)</sup> *lūēššar / lūēšn-* (n.) ‘shaving of incense-wood’: nom.-acc.sg. *lu-u-e-eš-šar* (MH/MS), *lu-u-eš-šar* (MH/NS), *lu-e-eš-šar* (NH), *lu-u-eš-ša* (NH), *lu-i-eš-šar* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-u-e-eš-ni* (NH), erg.sg. *lu-u-e-eš-na-an-za* (NS), gen.pl. *lu-u-iš-na-an* (NS), [*l*] *lu-u-e-eš-na-aš* (NS).

PIE *\*luh<sub>1/3</sub>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r*

See CHD L/N: 73-4 for attestations. The word denotes pieces of wood or shrub that are used as incense. According to Melchert (1988a: 229), these pieces probably were shavings (of cedar) and he assumes that this word shows an abstract noun in *-ēššar* of the PIE root *\*leuH-* ‘to cut (off)’ (cf. Skt. *lunāti* ‘to cut (off)’).

This etymology was rejected by Puhvel (HED 5: 128f.) who implausibly assumes that *lūēššar* is the Luwian variant of *tuhḥuēššar*, which he translates as ‘incense’, Apart from the fact that the meaning of *tuhḥuēššar* (q.v.) is not clear, there is no single indication that *lūēššar* would be of Luwian origin.

*lūḥa-* (c.) ‘?’: nom.sg. *lu-u-ḥa-aš*, acc.sg. *lu-u-ḥa-an*, dat.-loc.sg.? *lu-u-ḥa*.

The word only occurs in Luwoid lists of good things and is in most attestations preceded by gloss wedges. This clearly indicates that the word is Luwian. Laroche (1959: 63) translates it as ‘light’, which is followed by e.g. Puhvel (HED 5: 102) and CHD (L/N: 73), but rejected by e.g. Melchert (1993b: 128) and Tischler (HEG L-N: 64f.). It indeed seems as if Laroche based his translation

primarily on a formal similarity with Hitt. *lukk-*, assuming that Hitt. *-kk-* corresponds to Luw. *-h-*. Unfortunately, there are no other examples of medial *\*k* in Luwian, so this equation can neither be proven nor disproven. Semantically, however, a translation ‘light’ does not seem very appropriate to me.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*luḫššar* : see <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*lūēššar* / *lūēšn-*

*lukk-<sup>ma</sup>* (IIIb > Ib1) ‘to get light, to light up, to dawn’: 3sg.pres.midd. *lu-uk-ta* (OS), *lu-uk-kat-ta* (OS), *lu-ug-ga-at-ta* (OS), *lu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-ta* (MH/NS), *lu-kat-ta* (NH), *lu-uk-ka-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *lu-uk-ta-at* (OS), *lu-uk-kat-ta-ti* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.act. *lu-uk-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ta* (NH).

Derivatives: *lukk(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1 / Ic1) ‘to set fire to’ (sg.pres.act. *lu-uk-ki-ez-zi* (OS), *lu-uk-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *lu-uk-kán-zi* (OH/MS), *lu-kán-zi* (NH, 1x), 1sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ku-un* (NH), [*lu-u*]k-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-un (KBo 3.46 rev. 27 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ki-et* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *lu-uk-ki-e-er* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *lu-uk-tén* (NH); part. *lu-uk-kán-t-* (OH/MS); impf. *lu-uk-ke-eš-ke/a-* (NH)), *lukke/iš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to become light’ (3sg.pres.act. *lu-ki-iš-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ke-eš-ta*), *lukkanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make it light(?)’ (3pl.pres.act. *lu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-ya-an-zi* (NH)), see *lalukkijē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, *laluk(k)e/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* and *lukkatt-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *rócate* ‘to shine’, ToChA *lyokät* ‘it dawns’, Arm. *lowc* ‘anem’ ‘to lighten’.

PIE *\*leuk-to*; *\*léuk-t* / *\*luk-ént*; *\*luk-íé/ó-*

See CHD L/N: 74f. for attestations and semantics. It has been clear since long and generally accepted that these words reflect the PIE root *\*leuk-*. The exact formations of the different verbs is not without discussion, however.

The verb *lukk-* ‘to dawn’ originally was middle only (all OH and MH examples are middle), showing active forms in NH texts only. It denotes ‘to get light, to dawn’ and is, according to CHD (L/N: 75-6) “confined to describing the faint but growing sunlight in the atmosphere at dawn just before the sun rises”. The form *lukta* (OS) must reflect *\*léuk-to* (or, less likely, *\*luk-tó?*), but the interpretation of *lukkatta* (OS) is less clear. Is this form to be phonologically interpreted as /lukta/ or as /lukata/? In the first case, it is to be equated with *lukta* < *\*l(e)uk-to*, but in the second case it must reflect *\*l(e)uk-o-to*, which implies the existence of an older *\*lukka* < *\*l(e)uk-o* (cf. *argatta* beside *arga*, *ḫalziḫatta* beside *ḫalziḫa*).

The verb that I cite as *lukk(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* is active only and transitive, denoting ‘to set fire to’. It is difficult to judge this verb formally, especially because the signs KI, IT and IZ are ambiguous regarding their readings (they can be read *ki* or *ke*, *it* or

*et* and *iz* or *ez*, respectively). So a form like *lu-uk-KI-IZ-zi* (attested from OS to NH texts) can in principle be read as *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* /lukit<sup>s</sup>i/, *lu-uk-ki-ez-zi* /lukiet<sup>s</sup>i/ or *lu-uk-ke-ez-zi* /luket<sup>s</sup>i/, pointing to a stem *lukki-*, *lukke-* or *lukkije-*. This goes for 3sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-KI-IT* (from OH/NS to NH texts) and 3pl.pret.act. *lu-uk-KI-e-er* (once in a MH/MS text) as well. Note that Alp (1993: 366) cites a verb.noun gen.sg. *lu-uk-ki-u[-ua-aš ?]* (Bo 69/1260, 7), which would point to a stem *lukki-* or *lukke-*. Because the tablet on which this form occurs has not been published yet, this reading cannot be verified. Moreover, the form is broken at a crucial point, and I therefore wonder whether Alp's reading is as certain as he seems to claim: I would not be surprised if the form turned out to actually be *lu-uk-ki-ī[a-u-ua-aš]*. All in all, I will leave this form out of consideration here. The other forms of this verb seem to show a stem *lukk-*: 3sg.pres.act. *lu-uk-zi* (once in a NS text), 3pl.pres.act. *lu-uk-kán-zi* (OH/MS to NH), 1sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ku-un* (once in a NH text), 2pl.imp.act. *lu-uk-tén* (once in a NS text), and part. *lu-uk-kán-t-* (from OS to NH texts). Note that 3pl.pret.act. *lu-uk-KI-e-er*, when read as *lu-uk-ke-e-er* could show a stem *lukk-* as well. The one NS attestation 1sg.pres.act. *[lu-u]k-ka<sub>1</sub>-nu-un* (OH/NS) seems to show a stem *lukk<sub>ae</sub>-<sup>zi</sup>* according to the *ḫatrae*-class inflection. Because this inflection was highly productive in the NH period, I regard this form as a secondary creation.

Oettinger (1979a: 273-7, referring to Hoffmann 1968) interprets these active forms as belonging to an “einfach thematischer Stamm” *lukkezzi* < \**léuk-e-ti*. Apart from the fact that this preform would not yield “*lukkezzi*” by regular sound laws (we would rather expect *lūkizzi* with lenition of \**k* due to the preceding accentuated diphthong), the direct comparison to Skt. *rocate* ‘shines’ < \**leuk-e-to* is false, because this latter form is middle. Moreover, this verb would be the only verb known to me in whole of Anatolian that shows a thematically inflected stem.

Watkins (1973a: 68-69) compares the verb “*lukkezzi, lukkanzi*” with Lat. *lūcēre* ‘to kindle’ and reconstructs both as a causative formation \**loukéjeti*, \**loukéjonti* (followed by e.g. Melchert 1984a: 34). Although semantically this comparison and reconstruction seems attractive, there are formal problems. First it is suspect that the stem-form *lukka-*, which would be the regular outcome of \**loukéio-*, is attested in 3pl.pres.act. *lukkanzi* and part. *lukkant-* only, where *-a-* would have been inherent to the ending anyway (note that I regard the one NS form *[lu]kkamun* as non-probative, cf. above). Secondly, a development \**loukéjonti* > *lukkanzi* is improbable in view of <sup>LÚ</sup>*pattejant-* ‘fugitive’ < \**pth<sub>1</sub>ei-ent-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* ‘adult man’ < \**mh<sub>2</sub>ei-ent-* (see the lemmas *pattai<sup>1</sup>* / *patti-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* respectively). Thirdly, there are several examples where a PIE causative verb of the structure \**CoC-eie-* ends up in the Hitt. *ḫi-*inflection (e.g.

*lāk<sup>i</sup>* ‘to fell’ < \**log<sup>h</sup>-eie-* ‘\*to make lie down’). Note that the alleged example *uašše/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to dress’ < \**uos-eie-* must be explained otherwise, cf. *uešš<sup>-ta</sup>*, *uašše/a<sup>zi</sup>*. All in all, I reject this interpretation too.

In my view, we must interpret the forms like *lu-uk-KI-IZ-zi* as showing a stem *lukkije-*. In that way we would be dealing with a situation in which we find a *-je/a-* derived stem *lukkije/a-* besides an underived stem *lukk-*. This resembles the situation as discussed by Melchert (1997b: 84f.) who states that some verbs (e.g. *karpp(ije/a)-* (q.v.)) reflect an old opposition between a root-aorist and a *-je/o-* derived present. In this case, we would be dealing with the reflexes of a root-aorist \**léuk-t* / \**luk-ént* (for which compare the Skt. root-aorist form *rucāná-*) besides a present \**luk-je/o-* (for which compare Arm. *lowc‘anem* ‘to lighten’). So all in all, we are dealing with a situation in which we are dealing with an intransitive middle \**léuk-to* that contrasts with the transitive active inflection that shows two stems, namely a root-aorist \**léuk-t* besides a *-je/o-* present \**luk-je-ti*.

The verb *lukke/iš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become light’ is attested a few times only, and it is difficult whether it is to be regarded as a fientive in *-ēšš-* (*lukkēšš<sup>zi</sup>*), or as an *s-* extension comparable to *lalukke/iš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become light’ (q.v.). The form *lu-ki-e-eš-zi* (KBo 6.25 + KBo 13.35 iv 2), cited by Puhvel (HED 5: 105), seems to point to *lukkēšš-* but is attested in such a broken context that neither its meaning can be determined, nor whether it is the latter part of a longer word: [...]*x(-)lu-ki-e-eš-zi* (note that Puhvel cites this very same form as *la]-lu-ki-e-eš-zi* on p. 48, as if belonging to *lalukke/iš-*).

**lukkatt-** (c.) ‘dawn, next morning’: gen.sg. *lu-uk-kat-ta-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-uk-kat-ti* (OH/NS, often), *lu-uk-ka<sub>1</sub>-ti* (NS), *lu-uk-kat-te* (MH/NS), *lu-kat-te* (NH), *lu-kat-ti* (NH), *lu-kat* (NH), *lu-uk-kat* (NH), all.sg. *lu-uk-kat-ta* (OS).

PIE \**l(e)uk-ot-*

See CHD L/N: 76f. and Puhvel HED 5: 108f. for attestations. Because of the homography of *lukkatta* ‘it dawns’ and *lukkatta* ‘at dawn’, it has often been suggested (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 275-6) that they actually are to be equated and that the adverbially used *lukkatta* ‘at dawn’ is in fact a petrified form of verbal *lukkatta* ‘it dawns’. This is not very likely, however. On the one hand, different cases of a nominal stem *lukkatt-* are attested (which are difficult to explain if a verbal *lukkatta* were the source), but also because we then would have to assume that an adverbially used petrified 3sg.pres.midd. *lukkatta* ‘it dawns > at dawn’ coexists with the very lively *lukkatta* ‘it dawns’. I therefore assume that all forms belong to a nominal stem *lukkatt-* (note that Rieken 1999a, who devotes a whole



chapter to *t*-stems (100-69), does not even mention the possibility that these forms are nominal).

This *lukkatt-* is a *t*-stem of *lukk-* ‘to dawn’ (q.v.) comparable to *šiyatt-* ‘day’ (q.v.). It must reflect *\*(e)uk-ot-*, which can be compared with Goth. *liuhap* ‘light’ < *\*leuk-ot-*.

Note that gen.sg. *lu-uk-kat-ta-aš* (KUB 36.90 obv. 15) is not noticed by CHD, although they cite the specific context: *lu-uk-kat-ta-aš=kán* UD.KAM-ti ‘on the day of the (next) dawn (i.e. tomorrow)’ (cf. Puhvel HED 5: 109).

***lūli-*** (c.) ‘pond, lake, spring, well, basin’ (Sum. TÚL): nom.sg. *lu-li-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *lu-li-in* (OH/MS), *lu-ú-li-in* (NH), *lu-li-ja-an* (NH), gen.sg. *lu-li-ja-aš* (OH/MS), *lu-ú-li-aš* (OH/MS?), *lu-ú-li-ja-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-ú-li* (OH/NS), *lu-ú-li-ja* (OH/NS), all.sg. *lu-li-ja* (OS), abl. *lu-ú-li-az* (OH/MS), *lu-ú-li-ja-az* (OH/NS), *lu-li-ja-za* (MH/NS), gen.pl. *lu-ú-li-ja-aš* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: see *lūlijašha-*.

See CHD L/N: 80 and Puhvel HED 5: 111f. for attestations. Both dictionaries cite two stems, namely *luli-* and *lulija-*. See Tischler HEG L-M: 72f., however, who convincingly argues that the forms that seemingly show a stem *lulija-* (e.g. acc.sg. *lulijan* and the PN *Šuppiluliamā-*) are secondary formations. Note that whenever the *-u-* is written plene, it is done with the sign Ú, and never with U. This points to a phonological interpretation /lūli-/.

There are no known cognates (apart from *lulijašha-* q.v.), and Tischler (l.c.) argues that we are dealing with an “einheimisches” word on the basis of the fact that a place name *Šu-pi-lu-li-a* is attested in the Old Assyrian texts already. This seems like false reasoning to me as some names are known from these texts built up from words that have a good PIE etymology (e.g. *Šu-pi-aḫ-šu* = *Šuppiaḫšu-*, see *ḫaššu-*). Nevertheless, I agree that *lūli-* hardly can be of IE origin.

***lūlijašha-*** (c.) ‘marsh, marshland’: gen.sg. *lu-li-ja-aš-ḫa-aš*; broken *lu-ú-li[-ja-aš-ḫa(-)]*.

See CHD L/N: 82 for attestations. It is likely that *lūlijašha-* in some way is derived from *lūli-* ‘pond, lake’ (q.v.) but the exact formation is unclear. The suffix *-šha-* normally is deverbal, which could indicate that we have to assume the existence of a verb *\*lūlije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. See at *lūli-* for further treatment.

**lūri-** (c. > n.) ‘loss of honour, disgrace, humiliation; financial loss; shortage(?)’ (Sum. I.BÍ.ZA): nom.sg.c. *lu-ú-ri-iš* (OH/NS), *lu-ú-ri-eš* (OH/NS), *lu-u-ri-iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *lu-u-ri-in* (OS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *lu-u-ri* (MS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-u-ri* (NH), abl. *lu-ri-ja-az* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *lu-u-ri-e-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *lu-u-ri-uš* (OS).

Derivatives: **lūrijatar** (n.) ‘disgrace, humiliation’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*l*] *u-u-ri-ja-tar* (NH)), **lūriiaḫḫ-<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to humiliate, to disgrace’ (3sg.pret.act. *lu-ri-ja-aḫ-ta* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *lu-u-ri-ja-aḫ* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *lu-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (OH/NS), impf. *lu-u-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (NH)).

PIE *\*léh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-s*, *\*léh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-m*, *\*lh<sub>1</sub>u-réi-s* ?

See CHD L-M: 86f. for attestations. About the semantics it states: “the unifying idea seems to be ‘loss’, whether of possessions, honour or station”. The word shows many plene spellings of the *-u-*, for which predominantly the sign U is used. Twice, we find the sign Ú, however. Either these two instances are scribal errors, or we are dealing with traces of an original ablaut between *lu-u-ri-* = /lóri-/ and *lu-ú-ri-* = /lúri-/ (see § 1.3.9.4.f and below). The oldest attestations show commune gender, whereas the one neuter form is attested in a NH text only.

According to Puhvel (HED 5: 123), *lūri-* is to be analysed as a deverbal noun in *-ri-*, just as *edri-* ‘food’, *ešri-* ‘shape’ etc. that are derived from *ed-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ad-* ‘to eat’ and *eš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to be’ respectively. If this is correct, we may think of a connection with the verbal root *\*leh<sub>1</sub>-*, which shows a *u*-present in e.g. Goth. *lewjan* ‘to betray’, Lith. *liáutis* ‘to stop’, Ukr. *livýty* ‘to omit, to neglect’. Perhaps *lu-ú-ri-* = /lúri-/ reflects *\*leh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-*, whereas *lu-u-ri-* = /lóri-/ reflects *\*lh<sub>1</sub>u-ri-*.

**-llut** (1sg.imp.act.-ending): see *-llu*

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**luttāi / luttī-** (n. > c.) ‘window’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB, Akk. *APTU*): nom.-acc.sg.n. *lu-ut-ta-i* (KUB 30.29 obv. 17 (MH/MS?)), *lu-ud-da-a-i* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *lu-ut-ti-ja-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-ut-ti-ja* (OH/MS), abl. *lu-ut-ti-ja-az* (OH/MS), *lu-ut-ti-ja-za* (NH), *lu-ti-ja-az* (NH), *lu-ut-ti-an-za* (OH/NS), *lu-ut-ta-an-za* (OH/NS), erg.sg. *lu-ut-ta-an-za* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *lu-ut-ta-i* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *lu-ut-ta-a-uš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *lu-ut-ti-ja-aš* (OH/MS), *lu-ut-ti-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: see *kattaluzzi-*.

IE cognates: Gr. Arc. *λευτοντ-* ‘seeing’, Gr. *λεύσω* ‘to see’.

PIE *\*lut-ōi*, *\*lut-i-*

See CHD L/N: 88f. for attestations. It states that this word is neuter in its singular forms, but commune in its plural forms, but this is strange a distribution, of course. In the singular, I indeed know of neuter forms only, which coincides with the use of the erg.sg. *luttanza* (\**luttai-ant-*) when the word functions as the subject of a transitive verb. In the plural we indeed find a few commune forms, of which especially acc.pl. *luttāuš* is remarkable: KUB 17.10 i (5) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*lu-ut-ta-a-uš kam-ma-ra-a-aš IŠ-BAT* ‘Mist seized the windows’ (OH/MS). A parallel sentence is found on the same tablet, namely *ibid.* iv (21) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*lu-ut-ta-i kam-ma-ra-aš tar-na-i*, which CHD translates as ‘Mist let go of the window’. In my view, it would be better to assume a plural form here as well, so nom.-acc.pl.n. *luttai*. This could indicate that in the original, OH version of this text, the form *luttāi* ‘window(s)’ was used in the first context as well, which was replaced by a less ambiguous commune form *luttāuš* in the MH copy. So, instead of a distribution neuter singular vs. commune plural, I would rather assume that *luttāi* originally was neuter, and that commune forms (which are coincidentally found in plural forms only, cf. the absence of nom. or acc. singular forms in NH texts) make their way into the paradigm from MH times onwards.

This word has throughout the years received several etymological explanations. Sturtevant (1933: 84, 157) reconstructed \**luk-to-* (repeated by Puhvel HED 5: 127) from \**luk-* ‘to shine’ (cf. *lukk-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to dawn’), but a cluster \**-kt-* does not yield Hitt. *-tt-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 156). Eichner (1973a: 80) reconstructs \**luH-tó-* from \**leuH-* ‘to cut’ (Skt. *luṅáti*), which seems widely followed. I do not see, however, how a preform \**luH-to-* would yield a Hitt. diphthong-stem (Melchert’s assumption of a ‘collective’ \**luH-t-ōi* (1984a: 59f.) does not make sense to me).

If we compare *luttāi* to e.g. *ḥaštāi* ‘bone’ < \**h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-oi-*, *ḥurtāi* ‘curse’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>urt-oi-*, *leḥuntāi* ‘vessel for pouring’ < \**le-lh<sub>2</sub>u-nt-oi-*, *šakuttāi* ‘a body part, thigh?’ < \**sok<sup>w</sup>t(H)-oi-(?)*, we would expect that *luttāi* is derived from a root \**lutt-*. Such a root is cited in LIV<sup>2</sup>, namely \**leut-* ‘to see’ (Arc. Gr. *λεπτοντ-* ‘seeing’, Gr. *λέωσσω* ‘to see’ < \**leut-je/o-*). Formally as well as semantically a connection with this root would make perfect sense. I therefore reconstruct \**lut-ōi*, \**lut-i-*. In the oblique cases, the *-t-* regularly should have been assibilated due to the following *-i-*, but the un-assibilated variant from the nom.-acc. was generalized. See at *kattaluzzi-* ‘threshold’ for my idea that here we do find the assibilated variant of *luttai-* / *lutti-*.

Note that the CLuw. form <sup>GIŠ</sup>*lu-u-da-an-za*, which often is regarded as denoting ‘window’ (e.g. Melchert 1993b: 130), is found in such a broken context that its meaning cannot be determined. The designation ‘window’ is given to it because

of a formal similarity with the Hittite word only, which is methodologically false, of course.

**lu $\bar{u}$ arešša-** (n.?) a topographic feature: dat.-loc.sg. *lu- $\bar{u}$ a-re-eš-ši*, Luw.gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *lu-u- $\bar{u}$ a-re-eš-ša-aš-ši-iš*, *lu- $\bar{u}$ a-ri-iš-ša-aš-ši-iš*; unclear *lu-u- $\bar{u}$ a-re-eš-ši-ia-an*.

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See CHD L/N: 73 and Puhvel HED 5: 127f. for attestations. The word denotes a topographical feature, the exact meaning of which is unclear. Puhvel assumes that it means ‘level ground, flatland’, but does so on the basis of etymological considerations only (an unprovable connection with Gr. *λευρός* ‘even, level, smooth’). Because of the use of the Luwian gen.adj., it is likely that this word is Luwian.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**lu $\bar{u}$ ēššar** : see <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*lūēššar* / *lūēšn-*

**luzzi-** (n.) ‘forced service, public duty, corvée’: nom.-acc.sg. *lu-uz-zi* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-uz-zi-ia* (NH), *lu-uz-zi* (NH), abl. *lu-zi-ia-za* (MH/NS), *lu-uz-zi-ia-za* (NH), *lu-uz-zi-ia-az* (NH), instr. *lu-uz-zi-it* (OH/NS, MH/MS).

PIE \**lh<sub>1</sub>-uti-*

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See CHD L/N: 90-1 for attestations and semantics. Although a connection with Gr. *λύσις* ‘release; and Lat. *so-lūti-ōn* ‘looseness, payment’ (suggested by R. Kellogg 1925: 46), which implies \**luH-ti-*, is generally accepted (e.g. Puhvel HED 5: 131, Tischler HEG L-M: 83-4), a suffix *-ti-* is further unknown in Hittite. I therefore rather follow Neu (1974b: 261) in analysing this word as *luzzi-*, a derivative in *-uzzi-* (cf. e.g. *išpanduzzi-*, *tuzzi-* etc.) from *lā<sup>i</sup> / l-* ‘to release’. This would mean that the word originally meant ‘(work) which releases one from one’s obligation’ (cf. Melchert 1984a: 166) and reflects \**lh<sub>1</sub>-uti-*. See at *lā<sup>i</sup> / l-* for further etymology.

## M

**=(m)a** (enclitic clause conjunctive particle) ‘and, but’.

Anat. cognates: Pal. **=ma** ‘but(?)’; Lyd. **=m(-)** (encl. part.) ‘?’; Lyc. **me** (sentence initial part.)

PIE **\*=h<sub>1</sub>o** and **\*=mo**

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This enclitic conjunction, which has a slight adversative meaning, displays two allomorphs in the oldest texts: when the particle is attached to a word ending in a consonant, it turns up as **=a** that does not geminate the preceding consonant (unlike **=a** ‘and’ that is an allomorph of **=(i)a** (q.v.)); when the particle is attached to a word ending in a vowel or to a logogram, it turns up as **=ma**. This distribution, **C=a** vs. **V=ma**, is absolute in OS texts: e.g. *a-ap-pa=ma* vs. *a-ap-pa-n=a* (note that the latter is different from *a-ap-pa-an-n=a = āppan + =(i)a*). In MS texts, this distribution is getting blurred: the allomorph **=ma** is spreading in disfavour of **=a** and is now found after words ending in consonants as well. In my corpus of MH/MS texts, the new combination **C=ma** is attested 71 times (41%), whereas the original combination **C=a** is attested 103 times (59%). It must be remarked, however, that the high number of **C=a** is especially due to the (already then) petrified combinations *kinun=a* (23x), *zig=a* (21x) and others (*ug=a*, *ammug=a*). Without these, the distribution would have been somewhat like 60% **C=ma** vs. 40% **C=a**. In NH texts, **C=a** is only found in the petrified combination *kinun=a* (which in these texts therefore is better read as one word: *kinuna*, cf. attestations like *ki-nu-na=ma=mu* (KBo 18.29 rev. 20 (NH)) and *ki-nu-na=ma=ua* (KBo 18.19 rev. 28 (NH))) and an occasional *zig=a* or *ug=a*, whereas **=ma** by that time is the only allomorph that is still alive.

In the case of  $=ma$ , it is clear that it loses its  $-a$  before a following vowel, e.g.  $ta-i=m=u-uš=za = tai + =(m)a + =uš + =z$  (KBo 20.32 ii 9). This is the reason for me to cite e.g.  $an-da-ma-an$  as  $an-da=m=a-an = anda + =(m)a + =an$ , or  $ke-e-ma-aš-ta$  as  $ke-e=m=a-aš-ta = kē + =(m)a + =ašta$ . In the case of the allomorph  $=a$ , this loss of  $-a$  must have taken place as well. This means that there is no formal way of telling whether e.g.  $ta-ma-i-ša-an$  is to be analysed as  $tamaiš + =an$  or as  $tamaiš + =(m)a + =an$ , or, even worse, whether  $pár-ta-ú-ni-tu-uš$  is to be analysed as  $partaunit + =uš$  or as  $partaunit + =(m)a + =uš$ . This ‘invisibility’ of  $=a$  when followed by another particle that starts in a vowel probably was the major cause for the its replacement by the allomorph  $=ma$  from MH times onwards.

In the case of  $=(i)a$ , I have argued that the two allomorphs ( $C=a$  vs.  $V=iā$ ) probable are different outcomes of a particle  $+h_3e$  in different phonetic surroundings. In the case of  $=(m)a$ , however, this is unlikely to be the case: I would not know how to explain an allomorphy  $C=a$  vs.  $V=ma$  through phonological processes. It therefore might be better to assume that both allomorphs have its own etymological origin. The allomorph  $=a$  (which is non-geminating) can hardly reflect anything else than  $*=h_1o$ . We can imagine that when this particle was attached to a word ending in a vowel, it was lost at a very early stage. This may have been the reason that  $*=h_1o$  was replaced by another particle,  $=ma$  (which must reflect  $*=mo$ ), in these postvocalic positions first. This is the situation we encounter in OS texts. When  $*=h_1o$  was lost in post-consonantal position as well (during the OH period), it was replaced by  $=ma$  in this position as well.

It is quite likely that  $=a < *=h_1o$  belongs with the demonstrative  $aši / uni / ini$  (q.v.), just as e.g.  $=kki / =kka$  belongs with  $kā- / kū- / ki-$  and  $=kku$  ultimately belongs with  $kui- / kuūa-$ . The particle  $=ma$  seems to have cognates in other Anatolian languages as well (especially Lyc.  $me$  (sentence initial particle) shows that we have to reconstruct  $* (=)mo$ ), and likely belongs with the pronominal stem  $*mo-$  that is visible in e.g.  $mašiyant-$  (q.v.). Note that the connection between  $=a$  and  $=ma$  resembles e.g. the connection between Hitt.  $māḥḥan$  and CLuw.  $āḥḥa$ .

**$=ma-$** : see  $=mi-$  /  $=ma-$  /  $=me-$

**$ma^{-zi}$**  (Ia2?) ‘to disappear’ (?): 3sg.imp.act.  $ma-du$  (OH/MS); impf.  $ma-aš-ke/a-$  (MS).

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See CHD L/N: 99 for attestations. Unfortunately, the verb is attested twice only, which makes it hard to determine what it means exactly. Nevertheless, CHD's proposal 'to disappear' is attractive. On the basis of 3sg.imp.act. *madu* we must conclude that the verb must have been *mi*-inflected. It then would belong to class Ia2 (*a/∅*-ablauting *mi*-verbs). This means that if this verb is from IE origin, it must reflect *\*meh<sub>2</sub>*- or *\*meh<sub>3</sub>*-. I know of no cognates, however.

***māḥḥan*** (postpos., conj.) 'like (postpos.); as, just as (conj.); how (in indirect statement or question); when, as soon as' (Sum. GIM-*an*): *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an* (OS), *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* (MS).

PIE *\*món h<sub>2</sub>ent* ?

This word is spelled both with and without plene *-a-*. The spelling *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an* is very common, and found from OS onwards, whereas the spelling *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* is first attested in OH/MS texts. Semantically, *māḥḥan* is in virtually all respects synonymous to *mān* (q.v.). It therefore has been claimed that *mān* must be the contracted form of *māḥḥan*. Since both words are found from OS texts already and are used next to each other, this is quite unlikely.

Within Hittite, we must compare *māḥḥan* with *māḥḥanda* (subord. conj.) 'just as' (q.v.), which is also spelled *mānḥanta* (OS), and even once *mān ḥanda* (MS) (with word space). These forms make it likely that we are dealing with petrified compounds of the element *mān* and the noun *ḥant*- 'face' (q.v.). It is then possible that *māḥḥan* is an old endingless locative or an adverbially used nom.-acc.sg., in which the original *\*ḥant* lost its final *-t* (cf. e.g. part.nom.-acc.sg. *kunan* < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>nent*) whereas *māḥḥanda* is a variant with an original nom.-acc.pl. *\*ḥanda* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>enteh<sub>2</sub>*. As I have argued under its own lemma, *mān* is derived from the pronominal stem *\*mo-* that is also visible in OIr. *ma*, *mā* 'when' and TochA *mānt* 'how?', TochB *mant* (conj.) 'so'.

Sometimes it is claimed that CLuw. *āḥḥa* 'when, as (temporal and comparative)' and Lyc. *ēke* are cognate, but these more likely reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>om* + *\*=h<sub>3</sub>e* (for the latter element compare at *=(i)a*).

***māḥḥanda*** (subord. conj.) 'just as': *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* (OS), *ma-a-an-ḥa-an-da* (OS), *ma-a-an ḥa-an-da* (MS), [*m*]*a-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta* (OH/MS).

See at *māḥḥan* for a treatment.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> **māhla-** (c.) ‘branch of a grapevine’: nom.sg. *ma-a-aḥ-la-aš* (OS), *ma-aḥ-la-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *ma-aḥ-la-an* (OH/NS), dat.-loc. *ma-a-aḥ-li* (OH/MS), *ma-aḥ-li* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ma-aḥ-lu-uš* (OH/NS).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **μῶλαξ**· εἶδος οἴνου: ἀπο τοῦ μῶλου ὡς τινέξ, Λυδοὶ τὸν οἶνον (Hes.).

PIE *\*mé/óh<sub>2</sub>lo-* ?

See CHD L/N: 112f. for attestations and semantics. Often, this word is connected with Gr. μᾶλον, Lat. *mālum* ‘apple(tree)’ (cf. references in Tischler HEG L-M: 89f.) but this is semantically unconvincing.

Within *māhla-*, the cluster *-hl-* is remarkable and of importance for the etymological interpretation, because it is not fully clear whether this can reflect PIE *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>lV* or not. Normally, we see that *\*h<sub>2</sub>* disappears word-internally in front of another consonant (e.g. *lāpp<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to glow’ < *\*leh<sub>2</sub>p-*, *šāgāi-* ‘sign’ < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-ōi-*, *šāklāi-* ‘custom’ < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>k-lōi-*, *uāk<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to bite’ < *\*uoh<sub>2</sub>ġ-*), except for *\*s* (e.g. *paḥš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to protect’ < *\*poh<sub>2</sub>s-*, *antuḥš-* ‘human being’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>s-*). It is possible, however, that *\*h<sub>2</sub>* does not disappear in front of resonants either, compare *zahrai-* ‘knocker(?)’ < *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>roi-* (?) and *māhrai-* / *muḥrai-* (a body part) < *\*m(e)h<sub>2</sub>roi-* (?) (note that Kimball’s only example (1999: 400) of a development *\*-h<sub>2</sub>R- > -RR-* is false: see at *uannum(m)īa-*). If this is correct, then this would mean that, at least formally, *māhla-* could be of IE origin and reflect *\*meh<sub>2</sub>lo-* or *\*moh<sub>2</sub>lo-*. Nevertheless, since no convincing IE cognates are known and since no other convincing examples of the development *\*-h<sub>2</sub>l- > Hitt. -hl-* can be found, this reconstruction and this supposed phonetic development remain speculative.

<sup>UZU</sup> **māhrai-** / **muḥrai-** (c.) a body parts of animals: nom.sg. or pl. *mu-uḥ-ra-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ma-aḥ-ra-en* (OS), *mu-uḥ-ra-in* (MH/NS), *mu-u-uḥ-ra[-in]*, [*mu-u*]ḥ-ra-a-in (NS), *mu-uḥ-ḥa-ra-in* (NH), *mu-uḥ-ra-an*, gen.sg. or pl. *mu-uḥ-ri-aš* (OH/MS), loc.sg.(?) *mu-uḥ-ra-i* (MS?), acc.pl. *mu-uḥ-ra-a-uš* (OS), *mu-uḥ-ra-uš* (NS), *mu-uḥ-ḥa-ra-uš* (NS).

IE cognates: ?Gr. μηρός ‘thigh(bone)’.

PIE *\*méh<sub>2</sub>r-oi-*, *\*mh<sub>2</sub>r-i-* (?)

See CHD L-N: 317 for attestations. This word is predominantly attested in lists of meaty body parts of sacrificed animals (cattle, sheep, lambs and mice), but it is unclear which body part this word denotes exactly. It is mostly spelled *mu-uḥ-ra-i<sup>o</sup>* or *mu-uḥ-ḥa-ra-i<sup>o</sup>* = /moHrai-/. In one text, KBo 17.30 ii 2 (OS), we find the form <sup>UZU</sup> *ma-aḥ-ra-en* that denotes an object made of flesh that is eaten. Because



of the close formal and semantic similarity it is usually regarded as identical to *muh(ha)rai-*. Puhvel HED 6: 174f. also adduces the form *ma-hu-ra-i[n]* (ABoT 35 ii 9) to this lemma, but because on the one hand it is not accompanied with the determinative UZU, and because, on the other, the context in which it occurs does not indicate that it must denote a body part, I follow CHD (L-N: 318) in separating this form from *māhrai-* / *muhrai-*.

The word clearly is a diphthong-stem, on which see Weitenberg (1979). If the form *māhraen* really belongs with *muhrai-*, the alternation *māhrai-* / *muhrai-* is difficult to explain from an Indo-European point of view. Nevertheless, Weitenberg (1979: 303) proposes to assume that the alternation is due to ablaut: full grade *\*me/oHr-* yielded *māhr-*, whereas zero grade *\*mHr-* developed an anaptyctic vowel which was *u*-coloured because of the preceding *m* (for colouring of anaptyctic vowels compare e.g. *takke/išzi* = /tákist<sup>s</sup>il < \*téks-ti besides *pahḥašzi* = /páhst<sup>s</sup>il < \*péh<sub>2</sub>s-ti). Furthermore, he hesitatingly connects it with Gr. μηρός ‘thigh(bone)’. If Weitenberg’s interpretation is justified, we have to reconstruct a paradigm *\*méh<sub>2</sub>r-ōi-s*, *\*mh<sub>2</sub>r-i-os*. If this etymology is correct, it would show retention of internal *\*h<sub>2</sub>* in front of resonant, which is possibly also visible in <sup>(GİS)</sup>*māhla-* ‘apple’ and <sup>GİS</sup>*zāhrai-* ‘knocker(?)’ (for the falseness of Kimball’s only example (1999: 400) of a development *\*-h<sub>2</sub>R-* > *-RR-*, see at *uannum(m)ija-*).

*mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* (IIa4 > Ic1; IIIf) ‘to grow (up); to thrive, to prosper; (midd.) to be born’: 3sg.pres.act. *ma-a-i* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-a-i-an-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *mi-ia-hu-un* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ma-a-ú* (OS), 2pl.imp.act. *ma-iš-ten* (MH/MS); 3sg pres.midd. *mi-ia-ri* (OH or MH/NS), *mi-i-ia-a-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *mi-ia-ti* (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. *mi-i-ia-ru* (OH/NS); part. *mi-ia-a-an-t* (MH/MS), *mi-ia-an-t* (OH/NS), *mi-i-ia-an-t*; impf. *ma-iš-ke/a-* (OH or MH/MS), *mi-ia-aš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: *miēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to grow; to be born’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-i-e-eš-zi* (MH/MS?), *mi-eš-ša[-an-zi]* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *mi-e-eš-ta* (NH), [*mi-?*]-*e-eš-ta* (MS), 3sg.imp.act. *mi-e-eš-du* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *mi-e-eš-ša-(an-)du* (NH); 1sg.pret.midd. *mi-eš-ḥa-ti* (MH/MS); impf. *mi-i-e-eš-ke/a-* (NH)), *mijātar* / *mijann-* (n.) ‘growth, increase, proliferation, abundance’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-ia-tar* (OS), *mi-ia-a-tar* (MH/MS), *mi-ia-ta* (OH/NS), *mi-i-ia-ta* (NH), gen.sg. *mi-ia-an-na-aš* (NH), *me-ia-an-na-aš* (NS)), *mijantila-* (adj.) ‘fruitful’ (loc.sg. *mi-ia-an-ti-li*), *mijanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make (branches) fruit-bearing’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-ia-nu-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *mi-ia[-nu-an-zi]* (NH)), see <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*majant-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*majannani-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *mašhāhit-* (n.) ‘growth, prosperity’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-aš-ḥa-a-ḥi-ša*, *ma-aš-ḥa-ḥi-ša*); HLuw. *mashani-* ‘to make grow’ (3sg.pres.act. *ma-sa-ha-ni-i-ti* (SULTANHAN §23)); Lyc. *?miñt(i)-* ‘assembly (of adult men)’ (nom.sg. *miñti*, dat.sg. *miñti*, *mñti*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *miñtehi*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *miñtaha*, *miñta*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl. *miñte*).

IE cognates: OIr. *már*, *mór*, MWe. *mawr* ‘big’, Goth. *mais*, OHG *mēro* ‘more’.

PIE *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ói-ei* / *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-i-énti*

See CHD L-N: 113f. for attestations and semantics. In its oldest forms, the verb clearly inflects according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-type (3sg.pres.act. *māi*, 3sg.imp.act. *māu*, 2pl.imp.act. *maišten*, part. *mijant-*). In NH times, we find a few forms showing a stem *miie/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, which is trivial for *dāi/tijanzi*-inflecting verbs. Despite the fact that all other *dāi/tijanzi*-verbs have good IE etymologies, the etymological interpretation of *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* has always been unclear.

Oettinger (1979a: 471) connected *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* with *mū-* ‘soft’ and reconstructs a verbal root *\*meih<sub>1/3-</sub>* ‘to ripen’. Semantically, this is unattractive because neither Hitt. *mū-* ‘soft, gentle’ nor its cognate Lat. *mūtis* ‘soft’ has any connotation ‘ripened’. Melchert (1984a: 46) adduces a formal argument: if we would apply Oettinger’s reconstruction to the derivative <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* ‘adult’ (q.v.), we would have to assume a pre-form *\*moih<sub>1/3-ent-</sub>*, but this would probably have yielded Hitt. *\*\*mēant-*.

As I have argued extensively in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the bulk of the *dāi/tijanzi*-verbs reflect a structure *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-* (i.e. the zero-grade of a verbal root extended by an ablauting suffix *-oi-/-i-*). In the case of *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-*, this means that we should analyse it as reflecting either *\*Hm-oi-* or *\*mH-oi-*, derived from a root *\*Hem-* or *\*meH-*, respectively. Only one of the several formal possibilities is semantically likely as well, namely a comparison with OIr. *már*, *mór* ‘big’ ~ MWe. *mawr* ‘big’ < PCl. *māros* (cf. Schrijver 1995: 196), which belongs with Goth. *mais*, OHG *mēro* ‘more’ < PGerm. *\*mō-isa-*, both reflecting a root *\*meh<sub>2-</sub>* ‘big, much’. If we apply this root-structure to *mai- / mi-*, we arrive at a reconstruction *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-i-énti*, which would regularly yield Hitt. *māi*, *mijanzi*.

For a detailed account of <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* ‘adult’ < *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ei-ent-*, see its own lemma. The Luwian forms *mašhāhit-* and *mashani-* derive from a basic noun *\*masha-* (cf. Starke 1990: 167f.), which may reflect *\*meh<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* or even *\*mh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>o-*.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* (c.) ‘young, adult man, (adj.) adult, powerful’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>GURUŠ): nom.sg. *ma-ja-an-za* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *ma-ja-an-ta-an* (OH or MH/NS), gen.sg.?

*ma-ja-an-ta-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ja-an-ti*, acc.pl. *ma-ja-an-du-uš*, gen./dat.-loc.pl. <sup>LÚ</sup>GURUŠ-*aš*.

Derivatives: *majantahh<sup>i</sup>* (Ib) ‘to rejuvenate, to install youthful vigor’ (3pl.pres.act. <sup>LÚ</sup>GURUŠ-*ah-ḥa-an-zi* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ja-an-da-ah-ḥe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-ja-an-ta-ah* (OH/NS); impf. *ma-ja-an-ta-ah-ḥi-eš-ke/a-*), (<sup>LÚ</sup>)*majantatar* / *majandann-* (n.) ‘young adulthood, youth, youthful vigor’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ja-an-da-tar* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ma-ja-an-ta-tar*, *ma-ja-ta-tar* (1x, OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. [*ma<sup>?</sup>-i*]a-an-da-an-ni (OS)), *majantili* (adv.) ‘?’ (*ma-ja-an-ti-li*), *majantēšš<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become a young man, to become young again’ (3sg.pres.act. <sup>LÚ</sup>GURUŠ-*an-te-eš-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ja-te-eš-še-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-ja-an-te-eš* (OH/MS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>*majananna-* (c.) ‘young man(?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ja-na-an-ni*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* (c.) ‘grown-up man’ (nom.sg. *ma-ja-an-za*).

PIE *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ei-ent-*

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See CHD L-N: 116f. for attestations. This word and its derivatives clearly belong with the verb *mai<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’. Because a sequence *-aja-* cannot reflect *\*-oio-*, which should regularly contract to *-ā-* (cf. e.g. *ḥatrāmi* < *h<sub>2</sub>etro-jo-mi*), it has often been claimed that (<sup>LÚ</sup>)*majant-* can only be explained by either assuming a root *\*meiH-* (thus Oettinger 1979a: 471: *\*moh<sub>1/3</sub>-ént-*) or a root *\*meHi-* (thus Melchert 1984a: 46: *moh<sub>1</sub>i-ent-*) in which the laryngeal prevented the *\*-i-* from dropping. I do not agree with this, however. In my view, the relationship between (<sup>LÚ</sup>)*majant-* and *mai<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* must be compared to the relationship between <sup>LÚ</sup>*patteiant-* ‘fugitive’ and the verb *pattai<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-* ‘to flee’ (q.v.), which reflect *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-ei-ent-* and *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-i-* respectively. With the reconstruction of *mai<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* (q.v.) as *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-i-*, we should consequently reconstruct *majant-* as *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ei-ént-*. Although in *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-ei-ent-* > PAnat. *\*/pteiant-/* > Hitt. */pteant-/*, realized as [pte<sup>i</sup>ant-], spelled *pát-te-(ia-)an-t-*, the sequence *-e(i)a-* is phonetically regular, I believe that *\*mh<sub>2</sub>ei-ent-* should first have given PAnat. *\*/maiant-/*, which regularly developed into Hitt. *\*\*/mānt-/*, spelled *\*\*ma-a-an-t-*. In my view, it is trivial, however, that *-i-* was analogically restored on the basis of the verb (thus also Kimball 1999: 367).

*maišt-* (c.) ‘glow’: nom.sg. *ma-iš-za-aš=ti-iš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ma-iš-ti* (MH/MS).

PIE *\*mois-t-* ?

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See Kimball (1994b: 14-17) for a treatment of this word. It only occurs in the following contexts:

KUB 57.60 ii

(11) *nu tu-ya-ad-du ne-pí-ša-aš<sup>d</sup>UTU-u-i*

(12) *ma-iš-za-aš=ti-iš ku-e-el mi-iš-ri-ya-an-za*

(13) *ha-ap-pár-nu-ya-aš-ḫi-iš ku-e-el la-lu-uk-ki-u-an-te-eš*

‘Have mercy, o Sun-god, whose *m.* is *mišriyant-*, whose beams are radiant’

KBo 32.14 ii

(43) *n=a-an šu-up-pí-iš-du-ya-ri-it*

(44) *da-iš n=a-an gul-aš-ta nu-u=š-ši-e=š-ta ma-iš-ti*

(45) *an-da la-a-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut*

‘He provides it with ornaments, ciseled it and made it beam in *m.*’.

Kimball assumes that the word denotes ‘sun-disc’, but Rieken (1999a: 137f.) more convincingly translates ‘Glanz, Leuchten’. Both Kimball and Rieken connect *maišt-* with Hitt. *mišriyant-* ‘shining(?)’, which is usually connected with Skt. *miṣ-* ‘to blink, to open the eyes’. This does not seem very convincing semantically (‘to blink’ does not have anything to do with ‘glowing’: see also at *mišriyant-* for doubts). Nevertheless, if *maišt-* is of IE origin, it can only reflect *\*mois-t-*.

<sup>(sĪG)</sup>*maišta-* (c.) ‘fiber, flock or strand of wool’(?): acc.sg. *ma-iš-ta-an*.

IE cognates: Skt. *meṣá-* ‘ram, male sheep’, Lith. *maišas* ‘bag, sack’, Latv. *màiss* ‘bag’, Russ. *mex* ‘skin, fur’, ON *meiss* ‘wicker carrying basket’.

PIE *\*mois-to- ??*

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See Kimball (1994b: 14-17) for separating this word from the noun *maišt-* ‘glow’ (q.v.). The noun <sup>(sĪG)</sup>*maišta-* only occurs in the expression <sup>sĪG</sup>*ma-iš-ta-an ma-ši-ya-an-ta-an*, lit. ‘as much as a (woolen) *maišta-*’. On the basis of the contexts where this expression is used, we can conclude that it must be metaphorical for ‘something useless’ (cf. CHD L-N: 119). CHD therefore translates *maišta-* as ‘fiber, flock or strand of wool’. Kimball (l.c.) suggests a connection with PIE *\*moiso-* ‘sheep, skin of sheep’ (Skt. *meṣá-* ‘ram, male sheep’, Lith. *maišas* ‘bag, sack’, etc.), and therefore proposes that *maišta-* may mean something like a bale of wool, or a fleece.

So although the precise meaning of *maišta-* is not totally clear, we know that it must refer to something of wool (because of the SÍG-determinative), and therefore Kimball's etymology may be attractive.

***makkēšš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) 'to become numerous': 3sg.pres.act. *ma-ak-ke-eš-zi* (MH/MS), *ma-ak-ke-e-eš-zi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ak-ke-e-eš-ta* (OH/MS), *ma-ak-ke-eš-ta* (OH/MS), *ma-ak-ki-iš-ta* (OH/NS), *ma-ak-keš-ta* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ak-ki-iš-še-er* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ma-ak-ke-eš-ša-an-du* (post-OH/NS); part. *ma-ak-keš-ša-an-t* (NH), *ma-ak-ki-iš-ša-an-t* (NH); impf. *ma-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: see *mekk-*, *mekki-* / *mek kai-*.

PIE \**mǵh<sub>2</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-*

See CHD L-N: 120 for attestations and semantics. The verb clearly is a fientive in *-ēšš-* derived from *mekk-*, *mekki-* / *mek kai-* 'much, many' (q.v.). Whilst *mekk-* reflects the *e*-grade root \**mǵh<sub>2</sub>-*, *makkēšš-*<sup>zi</sup> must reflect zero grade \**mǵh<sub>2</sub>-*. Although the sequence \**mǵh<sub>2</sub>-* regularly would have yielded Hitt. /mk-/ , phonetically realized as [əmk-], this was analogically changed to /mæk-/ on the basis of the full grade *mekk-*. See at *mekk-*, *mekki-* / *mek kai-* for further etymology of the root and at *-ēšš-* for the history of the fientive suffix.

***makita-*** (gender unknown) '?:' dat.-loc.pl. *ma-ki-ta-aš* (OS).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 31.143 ii

(15) [*nu-u=š-ša-an*]8-*in-zu ne-pí-ši e-eš-[ši]* *nu=za=kán 2-iš 8-ta-aš ki-iš-[tu-na-aš]*

(16) [*ak-ku-uš-ke-š*]i *nu-u=k-kán 2-iš 8-ta-aš ma-ki-ta-aš ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ši*

(ibid. 8-9 shows the same text)

'As an octad you remain seated in the sky. You will [drink] twice on the 8 *kištuna-* and you will drink twice on the 8 *makita-*' (cf. CHD L-N: 121).

The exact meaning of *makita-* cannot be determined. Tischler (HEG L/M: 97-8) suggests "ein Trinkgefäß", but CHD (l.c.) argues that drinking from a cup is always expressed by an acc. or instr. and never by a dat.-loc, so that an interpretation 'drinking cup' does not really fit.

<sup>É</sup>**māk(kiz)zi(ia)-** (gender unknown) a building in which the king and queen wash and dress themselves: gen.sg. *ma-a-ak-ki-iz-zi-ia-aš* (OS), *ma-ak-zi-aš* (OH?/NS), all.sg. *ma-ak-zi-ia* (OS), abl. *ma-a-ak-zi-ia-az* (OS), *ma-az-ki-ia-az*.

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See CHD L-N: 123 for attestations and semantics. Because of the different spellings (*mākkizzi-*, *mākzi-* and *mazki-*), the word is likely of foreign origin, just as many other words for buildings (e.g. <sup>É</sup>*hištā* / <sup>É</sup>*hištī*, <sup>É</sup>*kāškkāštipa-*, <sup>É</sup>*halent(i)u-* etc.). Appurtenance of the word *ma-aš-gaz-zi* (KUB 51.33 i 14) that denotes a building, too, is uncertain (pace Popko 1986: 475). The IE etymology suggested by Puhvel HED 6: 19 (*\*makti-* ~ Lat. *mactus* ‘magnified, glorified’) makes no sense.

**maklant-** (adj.) ‘thin, slim (of animals)’: acc.sg.c. *ma-ak-la-an-ta-an* (OH or MH/NS), *ma-ak-la-an-da-an*, nom.pl.c. *ma-ak-la-an-te-eš* (OH/NS, MS).

Derivatives: **maklātar** / **maklann-** (n.) ‘emaciation’ (abl. *ma-ak-la-an-na-az*).

IE cognates: PGerm. *\*magrá-* ‘meagre, slim’ (ON *magr*, OHG *magar*), Gr. μακρός ‘long, tall’, Lat. *macer* ‘meager, lean’, Gr. μήκος, Dor. μάκος ‘length’ (< *\*meh<sub>2</sub>k-os*).

PIE *\*m(e)h<sub>2</sub>k-lo-nt-*

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See CHD L-N: 121-2 for attestations. Since Benveniste (1932: 140), this word is generally connected with PGerm. *\*magrá-* ‘meagre, slim’, Gr. μακρός ‘long, tall’ and Lat. *macer* ‘meager, lean’ < *\*mh<sub>2</sub>k-ró-* (full-grade visible in Gr. μήκος, Dor. μάκος ‘length’ < *\*meh<sub>2</sub>k-os*). This means that Hitt. *maklant-* must reflect a formation *\*mh<sub>2</sub>k-lo-nt-* or *\*meh<sub>2</sub>k-lo-nt-*.

**maknu-<sup>z</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make abundant, to increase, to multiply’: 1sg.pret.act. *ma-ak-nu-nu-un* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ak-nu-ut* (KBo 32.14 iii 15, 31 (NS)); impf. *ma-ak-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ma-a-ak-nu-uš-ke/a-* (NH?).

PIE *\*mǵh<sub>2</sub>-neu-*

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See CHD L-N: 122 and Puhvel HED 6: 123 for attestations. The verb is predominantly spelled *ma-ak-nu-*, but we find a spelling *ma-a-ak-nu-* once (KUB 41.20 obv. 6). As this latter spelling is found in a very late NH text only, it may not have much value.

The verb clearly is derived from *mekk-*, *mekki-* / *mekkai-* ‘many, much’ (q.v.), showing a zero-grade *makk-* vs. the *e*-grade of *mekki-* (cf. also *makkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*). This means that we have to reconstruct *\*mǵh<sub>2</sub>-neu-*. Although the sequence *\*mǵh<sub>2</sub>-* regularly would have yielded Hitt. /mk-/, phonetically realized as [əmk-], this was

analogically changed to /mæk-/ on the basis of the full grade *mekk-*. See at *mekk-*, *mekki-* / *mek kai-* for further etymology.

***makkuja-*** (gender unknown) ‘churn’: acc.sg. *ma-ak-ku-ja-an*, dat.-loc.pl. *ma-ak-ku-ja-aš*.

PIE \**m(o)k<sup>w</sup>-jo-* ??

See CHD L-N: 122-3 for attestations and semantics. Note that the form that I interpret as dat.-loc.pl. (KUB 39.35 iv (4) *nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGL.[A ... ] (5) *ši-pa-an-ti ma-ak-ku-ja-aš=ša-an ku-iš an-da* [ ... ] ‘The cup-bearer libates [ ... ], who [ ... ] in the churns’), is marked ‘unclear’ by CHD.

Puhvel (HED 6: 20) states that *makkuja-* phonetically has to be interpreted as [mak<sup>w</sup>ja-], which he connects with Skt. *mac-* ‘to pound, to grind’. If this connection is correct, we might have to reconstruct \**mok<sup>w</sup>-jo-*.

<sup>É</sup>***mākzi(ja)-***: see <sup>É</sup>*māk(kiz)zi(ja)-*

***māl*** (n.) ‘mental power(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ma-a-al* (MH/NS), *ma-al* (NS).

Derivatives: ***mālant-*** (adj.) ‘having *māl-*’ (acc.sg.c. *ma-a-la-an-ta-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ma-a-la-an*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***māl-*** ‘thought, idea’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-a-li-i*), ***mal(a)i-*** ‘to think, to suppose’ (1sg.pres.act. *ma<sup>1</sup>-li-ūi<sub>3</sub>*, 2sg.pres.act. *ma-li-ši*, part. *ma-la-a-i<-im>-mi-in*).

IE cognates: Gr. μέλω ‘to be an object of care and thought, to care for’.

PIE \**mól-*

See CHD L-N: 124 and 128 for attestations and context. It is not easy to determine the exact meaning of this word. CHD describes *māl* as “a quality desirable for men in combat, such as boldness, ferocity, skill”. According to Rieken (1999a: 49-51), the word denotes “Verstand, Geist, Geistesstärke”, which she deduces on the basis of the context

KUB 33.87+ i

(35)

*ma-al=ua=za te-pu=ja*

(36) *Ú-UL [ša-a]k-ki UR.SAG-tar=ma-a=š-ši 10-pa pí-ja-an*

‘He knows not for himself even a little *mal*, but courage has been given to him tenfold’ (transl. CHD).

According to Rieken, *mal* is used here as an opposite to UR.SAG-*tar* ‘(physical) courage’, and therefore must denote ‘mental power’. She then connects this word with CLuw. *māl-* ‘thought, idea’ and *mal(a)i-* ‘to think, to suppose’. As an IE cognate, she adduces Gr. μέλλω ‘to be destined, to be about to’, but this is semantically unattractive. A better cognate would be Gr. μέλω ‘to be an object of care and thought, to care for’ (cf. also Puhvel (HED 6: 21)), which would point to a PIE root *\*mel-*.

***mall-***: see *malla<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-*

***māla<sup>i</sup>* / *māl-*** (IIa1γ), ***mālae<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to approve, to approve of’: 2sg.pres.act. *ma-la-a-ši* (NH), *ma-a-la-a-ši* (NH), *ma-la-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-l[a]-a-i* (NH), *ma-a-la-i* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-a-la-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-la-a-iš* (NS), *ma-la-a-it* (NS), 3pl.imp.act.? [*m*]a-a-la-an-*d*[*u*]; part. *ma-la-a-an-t-* (often, NH), *ma-a-la-an-t-* (2x, NH), *ma-la-an-t-*; inf.I *ma-ḡ-la-ṽa-an-zi* (NH); impf. *ma-li-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: (𐎠) ***malijašḫa-*** (c.) ‘approval’ (nom.sg.? [*ma-l*]i-ḡa-aš-ḫa-aš, abl. (𐎠)*ma-li-ḡa-aš-ḫa-az*).

See CHD L-N: 126-7 for attestations. This verb is attested in NS and NH texts only and shows forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (3sg.pret.act. *mālai*, *mālāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *malāiš*) as well as forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*malāši*, *mālāši*, *malāit*). Since both inflections are highly productive in NH times, it cannot be decided if one of them is more original, or if they both replaced another inflection, of which no specific forms are found anymore. This unclear situation, together with the lack of a convincing IE cognate, makes etymologizing difficult.

***malla<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-*** (IIa1γ > Ic1, ) ‘to mill, to grind’: 3sg.pres.act. *m[a-al-l]a-a-i* (OH/MS), *ma-al-la-i* (NH), *ma-al-li-ez-zi* (MH/NS), *ma-al-li-ḡa-az-zi* (NH), *ma-al-li* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-al-la-an-zi* (OH/MS or NS), *ma-la-an-zi* (NH), *ma-al-la-⟨an-⟩zi* (VSNF 12.111 obv. 12, KUB 17.35 i 4), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-al-li-e-et* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *ma-al-la-an-du* (MH/NS); part. *ma-al-la-an-t-*; inf.I? *ma-al-lu-ṽa-an-zi*; verb.subst. *ma-al-lu-ṽa-ar*; impf. *ma-al-li-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *mēmāl(l)-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mal(h)u-*** ‘to break’ (3sg.pret.act. *ma-a-la-ḫu-u-ta*, part. *ma-al-ṽa-am-mi-iš*, *ma-al-ṽa-a-am-mi-iš*), ***mammal(h)u-*** ‘to crush, to break’



(3sg.pres.act. *ma-am-ma-lu-ṽa-i*, [*ma-am*]-*ma-al-ṽa-i*=*a*, 1pl.pres.act. *ma-am-ma-al-ḫu-un-ni*).

IE cognates: Skt. *mṛṇāti* ‘to crush’, Lat. *molō* ‘to mill’, Goth. *malan* ‘to mill’, Lith. *malti* ‘to mill’, etc.

PIE *\*mólh<sub>2</sub>-ei*, *\*mlh<sub>2</sub>énti*

See CHD L-N: 125-6 for attestations. Note that “3sg.pres.act.” *ma-al-la-zi* (VAT 7502 = VSNF 12.111 obv. 12) probably is to be read as 3pl.pres.act. *ma-al-la-⟨an-⟩zi* and that 1sg.pret.act. *ma-al-la<sup>1</sup>-nu-un* (HT 35 obv. 7) actually is written *ma-al-ku-nu-un*, of which an emendation to *ma-al-la<sup>1</sup>-nu-un* is not obligatory (cf. Puhvel HED 6: 30 for another interpretation). This means that there are no forms left that show a stem *malla-<sup>zi</sup>*. The oldest texts (MS) show forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*malla<sup>i</sup>*, *malla<sup>zi</sup>*). In younger texts, we find a few forms that inflect according to the productive *-je/a*-class (*mallezzi*, *mallezzi*, *mallezi*). Note that in CHD, a stem *mali-* is cited as well, probably on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *ma-al-LI-IZ-zi*. This form has to be read as *ma-al-li-iz-zi* /maLiet<sup>s</sup>i/, however, and belongs with the stem *mallezi/a-*. Only the form *mallezi*, which is attested only once in a NS text, shows a stem *mali-*. Although in my view it is quite obvious that the original inflection must have been *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mali-*, there has been some debate about the interpretation of the form *mallezi*. According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 102, following e.g. Melchert 1984a: 16f.) the form *mallezi* must be more original as it is a general fact that ‘athematic’ *hi*-verbs are being replaced by ‘thematic’ ones, like OS *māldi* vs. NH *malta* ‘recites’ and OS *lāḫui* vs. NH *lāḫuuāi* ‘pours’. Although in principle this is true (the *tarn(a)*-class becomes highly productive), these secondary ‘thematic’ forms are found in NS texts only. This scenario then does not fit the attestation *m[all]āi* which is found in a OH/MS text already, whereas *mallezi* is attested only once in a NS text. I therefore conclude that the original paradigm of this verb was *mallezi* / *mallezzi*, a perfect example of the *tarn(a)*-class.

Since Friedrich (1922: 159), the etymological connection between Hitt. *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mali-* and the other IE verbs for ‘to mill’ (Lat. *molō* ‘to mill’, Goth. *malan* ‘to mill’, Lith. *malù* ‘to mill’, etc.) has been generally accepted. These verbs are generally reconstructed *\*melh<sub>2</sub>-* (a laryngeal is necessary for Skt. *mṛṇāti* < *\*ml-né-H-ti* and Lith. *malti* where the acute points to *\*molH-*; on the basis of CLuw. *mal(h)u-*, the laryngeal can be determined as *\*h<sub>2</sub>*). This means that for Hittite we must reconstruct a paradigm *\*molh<sub>2</sub>-ei* / *\*mlh<sub>2</sub>-enti*, which regularly yielded pre-Hitt. *\*mollai*, *\*mlHanzi*. At this stage, the stem *\*moll-* is introduced into the plural, in order to avoid the alternation *-ll-* vs. *-lh-*: *\*mollai*, *mollanzi*. At this

point, the 3sg.pres.-ending *\*-ai* does not match the ‘normal’ 3sg.pres.-ending of the *hi*-class, which is *\*-ē < \*-ei*. In my view, this is the reason why the ending *-ai* in this verb is not replaced by *-i* as in the other *hi*-verbs, but was retained as such and ultimately merged with the ending *-ai* of the *tarn(a)*-class inflection (*\*°CoH-ei > \*°Ca?ē >> \*°Ca?i > °Cai*), yielding attested *mallāi*, on the basis of which the whole verb was taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (see at *harrā-i / harr-* ‘to grind’, *iškalla-i / iškall-* ‘to split’, *išparrā-i / išparr-* ‘to trample’, *padda-i / padd-* ‘to dig’ and *šarta-i / šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’ for similar scenarios).

The CLuw. forms show a stem *mal(h)u-*, *mammal(h)u-* (the *-h-* is retained when *-u-* is vocalic, but lost when *-u-* is consonantal, cf. Melchert 1988b: 215-6). It probably reflects a *u*-present and goes back to *\*m(e)lh<sub>2</sub>-u-*.

*malae-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *māla-<sup>i</sup> / māl-*

*malekk(u)-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia5?) verb expressing a negative consequence of illness: 1sg.pret.act. *ma-le-ek-ku-un* (OH/MS).

IE cognates: ?Gr. βλάπτω ‘to disable, to mislead, to damage’.

PIE *\*mlek<sup>w</sup>-* ?

The verb is hapax, and its only attested form is spelled *ma-LI-IG-ku-un*. Since the signs LI and IG can be read *li* and *le* and *ik* and *ek* respectively, this form can in principle be read *ma-li-ik-ku-un* as well as *ma-le-ek-ku-un* (and even *ma-li-ek-ku-un*, but this is unlikely). Since we are dealing with a *mi*-inflecting verb and since *mi*-inflecting verbs in principle show *\*e*-grade in this form, I read the form as *ma-le-ek-ku-un*. It is attested in the following context:

KUB 30.10 rev.

- (3) ... *nu=mu ku-iš* DINGIR=*I*A *i-na-an pa-iš nu=mu ge-en-zu*  
 (4) [*da-a-ú ... i-n*] *a-ni pé-ra-an ta-re-eh-ḫu-un ma-le-ek-ku-un nu=za nam-ma Ú-UL tar-uḫ-mi*

‘May my god, who has given me the illness, [have] pity on me. [ ... ]because of the [ill]ness I have become tired and *m*-ed. I cannot succeed any longer’.

It is likely that, just as *tareḫhun* ‘have become tired’, *malekkun*, too, denotes some negative consequence of the illness.

If *malekkun* is of IE origin, there are two possible reconstructions: *\*mle<sup>k</sup>-* and *\*mlek<sup>w</sup>-* (cf. *ekun* *lʹég<sup>w</sup>onl* ‘I drank’ from *eku-<sup>zi</sup> / aku-*). I only know of one other IE word that reflects one of these roots, namely Gr. βλάπτω ‘to disable, to

mislead, to damage’, which could reflect *\*młk<sup>w</sup>-je/o-*. Usually, this word is connected with Skt. *marc-* ‘to damage, to hurt, to destroy’ and reconstructed as *\*melk<sup>w</sup>-*, but if for some reason Skt. *marc-* cannot reflect *\*melk<sup>w</sup>-* (e.g. because of a possible tie-in with Hitt. *markije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to disapprove of’ (q.v.)), it is possible that the Greek verb goes back to a root *\*mlek<sup>w</sup>-*, since all its attested forms reflect the zero-grade root *\*młk<sup>w</sup>-*. Semantically, we then would have to assume that in Hittite, *malekku-* has a passive meaning ‘to have become damaged’ when used intransitively, vs. the transitive meaning ‘to damage’ of Gr. βλάπτω. But this is all highly speculative of course.

*mallije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *malla<sup>-i</sup>* / *mall-*

*malikk(u)<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *malekk(u)<sup>-zi</sup>*

*mališku-*, *milišku-* (adj.) ‘weak; light, unimportant’: nom.sg.c. *mi-li-iš-ku-uš* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ma-li-iš-ku* (OH/MS), abl. *ma-li-iš-ku-ua-az* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-li-iš-ku-e-eš* (NS).

Derivatives: *maleškuēš<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become weak’ (3sg.pres.act. *ma-le-eš-ku-eš-zi* (NH)), *malīškunu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make weak’ (2pl.pres.act. *ma-li-iš-ku-nu-ut-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *ma-li-iš-ku-nu-ut-tén* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. μαλακός ‘weak, soft’, Gr. βλάξ ‘weak, soft’, Skt. *mlāta-* ‘weak, soft’, ModHG *mulsch* ‘weak’.

PIE *\*mlh<sub>2</sub>-sk-u-?*

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See CHD L-N: 130 for attestations and semantics. The alternation between *mališku-* and *milišku-* points to an initial cluster /ml-/ . Furthermore, the spelling *maleškuešzi* may point to an interpretation /mlīsku-/ , containing the phoneme /i/ that is spelled *e/i*. An etymological connection to Gr. μαλακός ‘weak, soft’ has been suggested by Pisani (1953: 309), but details are unclear. Because of Gr. βλάξ ‘weak, soft’, Skt. *mlāta-* ‘weak, soft’ etc., the root must be *\*mleh<sub>2</sub>-*. This root can only be connected to Hitt. /mlīsku-/ if we reconstruct *\*mlh<sub>2</sub>-sK-*. The development of *\*CIHsC* > Hitt. *ClisC* is then comparable to *\*CrHsC* > Hitt. *CrisC* (e.g. *paripriške/a-* < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ske/o-*). It is unclear to me what kind of suffix *-šku-* is: within Hittite it is unparalleled. In the Germanic languages, we find some traces of a *-sko-* suffix (Goth. *un-tila-malsks* ‘rash, impetuous’ and ModHG *mulsch* ‘weak’), but this leaves Hitt. *-u-* unexplained.

*malitt-*: see *militt-* / *mallit-*

**mālk-<sup>i</sup> / malk-** (IIa2 > Ic1) ‘to spin’; **āppa parza** ~ ‘to unravel’: 3sg.pres.act. *ma-la-ak-zi* (OH/NS), *ma-al-ki-i-ez-zi* (KUB 58.82 ii 7 (NS)), *ma-al-ki-ez-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-al-ki-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ma-al-ki<sup>17</sup>-nu-un* (HT 35 rev. 7 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-al-ki-ja-at* (MH?/NS); verb.subst. *ma-a-al-ku-u-ua[-ar]* (NH), *ma-al-ki-ja-ua-ar* (NH).

Derivatives: **malkeššar** (n.) ‘spun wool (?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*m*]a-al-ke-eš-šar (OH?/NS)).

IE cognates: TochAB *mālk-* ‘to put together’.

PIE *\*mólK-ei / \*mlK-énti*

See CHD L-N: 131-2 for attestations and semantics. Usually this verb is interpreted as showing a stem *malk-<sup>zi</sup>* besides *malkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Yet the one attestation with plene *-a-*, *ma-a-al-ku-u-ua[-ar]*, is remarkable: none of the *mi*-conjugated verbs of the structure *CaRC-<sup>zi</sup>* (class I4a) ever shows plene spelling (except in the verb *ārš-<sup>zi</sup> / arš-* ‘to flow’, but here the spelling *a-ar-aš-* is used to indicate the full-grade stem /ʔarS-/ , cf. its lemma) and it is therefore difficult to link the spelling *ma-a-al-k<sup>o</sup>* to this class. We therefore may have to assume that this verb was *\*hi*-conjugated originally and showed a stem *mālk-<sup>i</sup> / malk-*. The taking over into the *mi*-conjugation (*ma-la-ak-zi*) as well as the *-je/a*-class (*malkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*) can then be regarded as trivial NH developments.

Of the several etymological proposals (for which see Tischler HED M: 108-9), the best one is by Kronasser (1957: 121), who connects *mālk- / malk-* with TochAB *mālk-* ‘to put together’. Because both languages do not give any insight to the nature of the velar consonant, we can only reconstruct *\*molK- / \*mlK-*.

**māld-<sup>i</sup> / mald-** (IIa2 > IIa1y) ‘to recite, to make a vow’ (Akk. *KARĀBU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ma-al-da-aḥ-ḥi* (NH), *ma-al-ta-aḥ-ḥi* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-a-al-di* (OS: 5x), *ma-a-al-ti* (OS: 1x), *ma-al-di* (OS: 3x), *ma-al-ti* (OS: 2x), *ma-al-te* (OH/NS, 1x) *ma-al-ta-i* (NH), *ma-al-da-i* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ma-a-al-taḥ-ḥu-un* (OS), *ma-al-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-al-ta-aš* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-al-di* (NH); part. *ma-al-ta-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ma-al-du-ua-ar* (MS?); inf.I *ma-al-tu-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *ma-al-za-ke/a-* (NS), *ma-al-za-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **mammalt-** (IIa2?) ‘to recite’ (impf.part. *ma-am-ma-al-zi-ka-an-t-* (OH/NS)), **malteššar / maltešn-** (n.) ‘recitation, vow, votive offer, ritual’ (Akk. *IKRIBU*; nom.-acc.sg. *ma-al-te-eš-šar* (NH), *ma-al-de-eš-ar* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *ma-al-te-eš-na-aš* (NH), abl. *ma-al-te-eš-na-az* (NH)), nom.-acc.pl. *ma-ql-[te-eš]-šar* (NS), gen.pl. *ma-al-te-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ma-al-te-eš-na-aš* (OS)),

**malteš(ša)nala-** (c.) ‘recipient of *malteššar*’ (acc.sg. *ma-al-te-eš-na-la-an*, *ma-al-te-eš-ša-na-la-an*), **melteššar / meltešn-** (n.) ‘votive offering’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-el-te-eš-šar* (NH), abl. *mi-el-te-eš-na-az* (NH)), **maltalli-** (adj.) ‘obliged to make a *malteššar*(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-al-ta-al-liš* (NH), acc.sg.c. *ma-al-ta-al-li-in* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *ma-al-ta-al-li* (NH)).

IE cognates: Arm. *malt'em* ‘to pray’, OSax. *meldon* ‘to tell’, Lith. *maldà* ‘prayer’, *meldžiù* ‘to pray’, OCS *moliti* ‘to ask, to pray’.

PIE *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ei / \*mld<sup>h</sup>-énti*

See CHD L-N: 132ff. for attestations. The verb shows a stem *māld-* in the strong forms and *mald-* in the weak forms, going back to *o*-grade vs. zero-grade. The verb clearly inflects according to class Iia2 (*māldi*). Only in NH texts we find sporadically forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*maltaï*, *maldai* and possibly 3sg.pret. *maldas*). It is hard to determine whether the one attestation 3sg.pres.act. *ma-al-te* (IBoT 2.44, 5 (OH/NS)) shows a mixing up of the signs TE and TI (a phenomenon not unknown from NS texts, cf. Melchert 1984a: 137), or really shows the archaic 3sg.pres.act.-ending *-e*, which is attested only sporadically (see e.g. *uarš-<sup>i</sup>*: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-aš-še* (OS)).

The etymology of this verb has been known since Hrozný (1919: 44<sup>1</sup>), i.e. *\*meld<sup>h</sup>-* (e.g. Arm. *malt'em* ‘to pray’, OSax. *meldon* ‘to tell’, Lith. *meldžiù* ‘to pray’).

Note that if the noun *melteššar* is a real form (it is attested only twice in NH texts), it shows an *e*-grade stem *\*meld<sup>h</sup>-*, which contrasts with the *o*-grade in the strong-stem forms (*māldi* < *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ei*) and the zero-grade in the weak-stem forms (*maltant-* < *\*mld<sup>h</sup>-ent-*).

⚡ **mamanna-** ‘to look at’: 2pl.imp.act. ⚡ *ma-ma-an-na-tén*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **mammanna-** ‘to look at > to regard with favour’ (3sg.pret.act. *ma-am-ma[-an-na-at-ta]*, 2sg.imp.act. *ma-am-ma-an-na*, 3sg.imp.act. *ma-am-ma-an-na-ad-du*, *ma-a-am-ma-an-na-ad-du*, Hitt.2pl.imp.act. *ma-am-ma-an-na-tén*).

See CHD L-N: 138 for discussion. This verb, used in a Hittite context and with a Hittite verbal ending, is likely to be regarded as Luwian, as can be seen by the use of the gloss wedges. The CLuw. counterpart is *mammanna-*, which is derived from CLuw. *manā-* ‘to see’ (see at *manā-*). Cf. Melchert (1988b: 218f.) for a detailed treatment.

**man**, =**man** (particle of optative, irrealis and potentialis)

Derivatives: see *manka*.

PIE \*-*mn* ?

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This particle is usually written with a short *a*: *ma-an* or *ma-n=*. From MS texts onwards, we occasionally find spellings with plene spelling: *ma-a-an* and *ma-a-n=*. Note that the one OS form with plene spelling cited in CHD (L-N: 139), *ma-a-n[e]* (KBo 6.2 ii 54), should be read *ma-a-am[-ma-an]* = *mān*=*man*.

The particle stands in sentence-initial position, either as a loose word that can bear sentence initial-particles (e.g. *ma-an*, *ma-an=ya-a=n-na-aš*, *ma-n=a-an=kán*) or as an enclitic that is attached to the first word of the sentence, occupying the slot between =(i)a / =(m)a on the one side and =ya(r) on the other (e.g. *a-ši=ma-an=ya*, *an-za-a-aš=ma-an=ya*, *a-pí-ia=ia=ma-an=ya=mu*, *ka-a-aš-ti-t=a=ma-an*). When used attached to the conjunction *mān* ‘if’, it can show an assimilated form (e.g. *ma-a-am-ma-an*, *ma-am-ma-an*, but also *ma-a-an=ma-an*).

The particle denotes the optative (wish of the speaker), irrealis (‘would (have)’) and potentialis (‘could (have)’). According to CHD L-N: 143, the negative of *man* in the function of ‘wish of the speaker’ is expressed by *le=man*, whereas the negative in the function of ‘wish of the subject (which is not the speaker)’ is expressed by *nūman*, *nūyan* (q.v.).

The etymology of this particle is unclear. Formally, it seems to go back to \**mṇ*. Within Hittite, it might have some connection with *mān* ‘if’ (q.v.). As an outer-Anatolian comparandum, one occasionally mentions the Greek modal particle *ἄν*, but this is usually connected with the question particles Lat. *an* and Goth. *an*.

**mān** (conj. and postpos.) ‘(postpos.) like; (conj.) just as, as; how; if, whether; when, whenever, while’ (Sum. GIM-*an*, BE-*an*): *ma-a-an* (OS, often), *ma-a-n=* (OS, often), *ma-an*, *ma-n=*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. **mān** (conjunction) ‘when’ (*ma-a-an=ti*, *ma-a-n=a-aš*); CLuw. **mān** ‘if, whenever; whether ... or’ (*ma-a-an*, *ma-a-n=*, *ma-an*, *ma-a-am=pa*); HLuw. **man ... man** ‘whether .. or’; Lyc. **mē** ‘as; so, likewise’.

PAnat. \**món* ?

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See CHD L-N: 143 for semantics. The word is usually spelled with plene -*a-* (*ma-a-an*, *ma-a-n=*), and can as such be distinguished from the modal particle *man* (q.v.). Occasionally, however, one finds spellings without plene -*a-* (*ma-an*, *ma-n=*).

Semantically, the word is virtually identical to *māhhan* (q.v.), but the exact connection between the two is unclear. Both occur from OS texts onwards, so it is difficult to regard *mān* as a contraction of *māhhan*. Moreover, the Anatolian cognates (especially Lyc. *mē*) seem to point to a preform *\*món*. Outer-Anatolian cognates may be OIr. *ma*, *mā* ‘when’, Tocharian *mānt* ‘how?’, Tocharian *mant* (conj.) ‘so’. These forms seem to point to a pronominal stem *\*mo-* that is visible in Hitt. *=(m)a*, *māhhan* and *maši-* as well.

**manā-** ‘to see’: broken: *ma-na-a[-...]* (KUB 31.76 rev. 21).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **manā-** ‘to see’ (3sg.pres.act. *ma-na-a-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *ma-na-a-ḫa*, 3sg.pret.act. *ma-na-a-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *ma-na-a-du*).

PIE *\*mn-eh<sub>2</sub>-*

In Hittite texts, this verb is attested only once (with gloss wedges), in a broken context. Nevertheless, it is likely to be equated with CLuw. *manā-* ‘to see’. According to Melchert (1988b), this verb reflects *\*mn-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, a derivative of the root *\*men-* ‘to stay’, but the semantic connection is not evident to me. See at *mamanna-* for the reduplicated form of this verb.

**mānhanda:** see *māhhandā*

**manijaḫḫ<sup>i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to distribute; to entrust (with dat.); to hand over; to show; to govern’: 1sg.pres.act. *ma-a-ni-ia-aḫ-mi* (MH/NS), *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *ma-a-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/MS?), *ma-ni-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (OH?/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/MS?), 2sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ta* (OH or MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-aḫ-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫe-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-aḫ-tén* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-tén* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.midd. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫ[a-ti<sup>2</sup>]*; part. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-t* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*, *ma-a-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (1x, MH/NS).

Derivatives: **manijaḫḫa-** (c.) ‘confidant’? (nom.sg. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-aš*), **manijaḫḫai-** (c.) ‘administrative district; government’ (nom.sg. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-iš* (MH/NS), [*ma-n*] *i-ia-aḫ-ḫa-a-iš* (NS), acc.sg. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-en* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-i-ī[n]*, *ma-ni-aḫ-ḫa-in*, gen.sg. *ma-ni-ī[a-aḫ-]ḫa-ia-aš* (OH/NS), *ma-*

*ni-ja-ah-ḥi-ja-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥi-ja* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥa-uš* (NH), ***manijaḥḥae-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to be in charge of, to administer, to govern’ (2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥa-it-tén* (OH/NS)), <sup>LU</sup>***manijaḥḥatalla-*** (c.) ‘administrator, deputy, governor’ (acc.sg. *ma-ni-(ja-)ah-ḥa-tal-la-an* (OH/NS)), ***manijaḥḥatar / manijaḥḥann-*** (n.) ‘administration’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥa-an-ni*), ***manijaḥḥijatt-*** (c.) ‘allotment(?), consignment(>)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-a-ni-ja-ah-ḥi-ja-at-ti* (NS)), ***manijaḥḥeššar*** (n.) ‘allotment(?), consignment(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥe-eš-šar*), ***manijaḥḥiškattalla-*** ‘administrator, deputy’ (= *manijaḥḥatalla-*) (acc.sg. *ma-ni-ja-ah-ḥi-iš-kat-tal-la-an*).

IE cognates: Lat. *manus* ‘hand’, OIc. *mund*, OE *mund*, OHG *mund* ‘hand’, OIr. *muin* ‘patronage, protection’.

PIE *\*mn-ieh<sub>2</sub>-*

See CHD L-N 163ff. for attestations. Although the bulk of the attestations is spelled *ma-ni-(ja)-ah-*, we occasionally find spellings with plene *-a-*: *ma-a-ni-ja-ah-*. Since these spellings are found in three texts only (KUB 13.3 (MH/NS), KUB 13.20 (MH/NS) and KBo 17.74 (OH/MS?: note however that Košak (2005b: 207) dates this text as “ah.?”), but this can hardly be correct, cf. for instance the slanted DA’s and IT’s)), and since the spelling *ma-ni-ja-ah-* is found in an OS text, I assume that *ma-ni-ja-ah-* is the original spelling (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 458<sup>143</sup>: “[d]ie Pleneschreibung *ma-a-* ist jh. Neuerung”).

The verb *manijaḥḥ-* looks like a fientive in *-ahḥ-* of a further unattested stem *\*man(ija)-*. According to Oettinger (l.c.), we should compare *manijaḥḥ-* with e.g. Lat. *manus* ‘hand’. He reconstructs *\*mən-īé-*, but assuming “-ə-” (i.e. *-h<sub>2</sub>-*) is unnecessary: Schrijver (1991: 458) reconstructs Lat. *manus* as *mon-u-*. I therefore reconstruct *manijaḥḥ-* as *\*mn-ī-eh<sub>2</sub>-*.

***maninku(ua)-*** (adj.) ‘near’: nom.pl. *ma-ni<sup>i</sup>-in-ku-e-eš*.

Derivatives: ***man(n)i(n)kuuāḥḥ-***<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to draw near, to come/go near, to approach; to shorten’ (1sg.pres.act. *ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-ah-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-ah-ḥi* (OH?/NS, MH/MS), *ma-an-ni-ku-ua-ah-ḥi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-ni-in-ku-ua-ah-ḥa-an-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *ma-ni-in-ku-ua-ah-tén* (NH); verb.noun *ma-a-ni-en-ku-ua-ah-ḥu-ua-ar*), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-ah-ḥi* (adv. MH/NS) ‘nearby, in the vicinity’, ***man(n)i(n)kuuāñ*** (adv.) ‘near (of place), nearby; near (of time)’ (Akk. *QERUB*; *ma-an-ni-in-ku-an* (OS), *ma-an-ni-ku-ua-an* (OH?/NS), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-an* (MH/NS), *ma-ni-en-ku-ua-an*, *ma-a-ni-in-ku-ua-an*, *ma-ni-in-ku-u-ua-a-an*), ***man(n)i(n)kuuānt-*** (adj.) ‘short, low; close’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-ua-an-za* (NS), *ma-ni-in-ku-ua-a-an-za* (NH),



acc.sg.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-da-an* (NH), [*ma-ni-i*]n-ku-ṽa-an-ta-az (MH?/NS),  
 nom.pl.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-te-eš* (NH), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-te-eš* (NH), *ma-a-*  
*an-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-te-eš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *ma-ni-ku-an-du-uš* (OH/MS), *ma-an-ni-*  
*in-ku-ṽa-an-du-uš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*m*]a-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-da, *ma-an-ni-in-ku-*  
*ṽa-an-da* (MH/NS), gen.pl. *ma-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-ta-aš* (NH), ***manikuṽandaḥh<sup>i</sup>***  
 (Ib) ‘to make short’ (2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-ku-an-da-aḥ-tén* (OH/MS)),  
***maninkuṽantatar*** (n.) ‘shortness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ni-in-ku-ṽa-an-ta-tar* (NH)),  
***maninkuṽanu<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to bring near (?)’ (forms? *ma-ni-in-ku-ṽa-nu-ut*),  
***maninkuṽešš<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to be short’ (3pl.pres.act. *ma-ni-in-ku-e-eš-ša-an-zi*  
 (OH?/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mannakuna/i-*** (adj.) ‘short’ (abl.-instr. *ma-an-na-ku-na-*  
*a-ti*, *ma-an-na-ku-na-ti*).

See CHD L-N: 170ff. for attestations. The words show quite a few different spellings: *maninkuṽa-*, *manninkuṽa-*, *manikuṽa-*, *māninkuṽa-*, *mānninkuṽa-*, *manenkuṽa-*, *mānenkuṽa-*, which makes it difficult to etymologize. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 82f.) assumed that the element *-e/inkuṽa-* must be compared to Lat. *prop-inquus*, Skt. *praty-āñc-* < \**enk<sup>w</sup>o-*. One could then propose to connect the element *mān(n)-* with *mēni-* ‘face’ (q.v.), but it still remains difficult to explain all the different spellings.

***manka*** (adv.) ‘in some way, in any way’: *ma-an-ga*, *ma-an-ka<sub>4</sub>*

PIE \**mn-ko* ?

See CHD L-N: 175f. for the view that *manka* means ‘in some way, in any way’, and when negated ‘in no way’. It is remarkable that often the word occurs together with *man*, the particle of optative, potentialis and irrealis (q.v.), which is strengthened by the fact that *manka* is negated by *nūman*. CHD states: “if there is more than mere coincidence in the frequent association of *manka* with the particle *man* and the negative *numan*, there might be a hint of the optative, potential or unreal ideas in its contexts”. This then goes for the etymology as well: *manka* is likely to consist of the particle *man* followed by =*kka* as visible in e.g. *kuiški* / *kuiška*. See at *man* and =*kki* / =*kka* for further etymology.

***mant-*** (c.) something harming: nom.sg. *ma-an-za*.

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ***mētili-***, something negative; Lyc. ***mēte-*** ‘harm (or sim.)’ (acc.sg. *mētē*).

IE cognates: Lat. *mendum* ‘fault, error’, OIr. *mind* ‘mark’.

The word *manza* is a hapax in a lexical list (KBo 1.45 obv.<sup>1</sup> 10), of which the Sumerian and Akkadian translations are broken off. The word follows *alyanzatar* ‘witch-craft’ and *iššalli* ‘spittle’. The interpretation of *manza* as a nom.sg.c. of a stem *mant-* is indicated by the adj. *mantalli-* (adj.), which describes evil tongues (q.v.) and by <sup>SISKUR</sup>*mantalli-*, <sup>SISKUR</sup>*maltalli-*, a ritual against evil (words?). In Lycian and Lydian we also find forms that seem to go back to a form \**mVnT-* and denote something negative. Rieken (1999a: 42-3) connects these words to Lat. *mendum* ‘fault, error’ and OIr. *mind* ‘mark’ and reconstructs \**mond-s*. Note however, that we have to be careful as the exact meaning of all the Anatolian words are unknown.

***mantalli-*** (adj.) ‘venomous(?), poisonous(?), rancorous(?)’: acc.pl. *ma-an-ta-al-li-i-e-eš* (MH/MS), *ma-an-da-al-li-[i-e-eš]* (NS).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ***mētti-***, something negative.

See CHD L-N: 176 for attestations. This adjective is only used to describe ‘tongues’ and probably denotes a negative quality of these. The suffix *-alli-* seems to point to Luwian origin, which would be supported by the possibility that this adjective is to be equated with  $\lambda$  <sup>SISKUR</sup>*mantalli-*,  $\lambda$  <sup>SISKUR</sup>*maltalli-*, a ritual pertaining to rancor(ous words) (q.v.), which is of Luwian origin (cf. the gloss wedges). It is possible that these words are derivatives of a noun *mant-* that is attested as a hapax and probably denotes something harmful. See there for further etymological proposals.

$\lambda$  <sup>SISKUR</sup>*mantalli-*,  $\lambda$  <sup>SISKUR</sup>*maltalli-* (c./n.) a ritual pertaining to rancor(ous words): nom.sg.c.  $\lambda$  *ma-an-tal-li-iš* (NH), *ma-an-ta-al-li-iš* (NH), Luw.acc.pl. *ma-an-tal-li-ja-an-za* (NH), acc.pl.n. *ma-an-ta-al-li-ja* (NH), *ma-an-tal-li-ja* (NH), *ma-al-tal-li-ja* (NH), *ma-an-tal-li* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>(SISKUR)</sup>***mantallaššammi-*** (adj.) ‘designated for *mantalli*-rituals’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-an-tal-la-aš-ša-am-mi-iš* (NH)).

See CHD L-N: 176 for attestations. The word is usually found as *mantalli-*, but once an attestation <sup>SISKUR</sup>*maltalli* is found. This form may have been the result of a crossing with *maltalli-* ‘obliged to make a *malteššar*’ and *malteššar* / *maltešn-* ‘ritual, voting offering’ (for both, see *māld*<sup>1</sup> / *mald-*).

The *mantalli*-ritual is used against evil curses, and therefore it is possible that <sup>SISKUR</sup>*mantalli-* is identical to the adj. *mantalli-* (q.v.) which describes evil

tongues in a similar ritual. The word probably is of Luwian origin because of the gloss wedges, the Luwian suffix *-alli-*, and the Luwian inflected form *mantalliianza*. Moreover, its derivative *mantallaššammi-* is clearly a Luwian formation.

If the equation with the adj. *mantalli-* is correct, <sup>SISKUR</sup>*mantalli-*, too, is possibly derived from the noun *mant-* (q.v.) that denotes something evil. See there for further etymology.

**mar-**: see *mer*<sup>-zi</sup> / *mar-*

**marra-** or **marri-** (gender unknown) ‘(sun)light’ (Akk. *ŠETU*): dat.-loc.sg. *mar-ri*.

IE cognates: Gr. *μαρμαίρω* ‘to glitter’, *Μαίρα* ‘Sirius’, Skt. *mārīci-* ‘particle of light’.

PIE ?\**merH-*

See CHD L-N: 185. This word is a hapax in KBo 15.2 iv (7) [*n=a-aš=kán*] *mar-ri* IGI-*an-da* *Ú-UL* *t[i-ja-zi?]*, which is duplicated by KUB 17.31, (8) *n=a-aš=kán A-NA ŠE-TI me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* *Ú-U[L ...]* ‘he does not s[tep] towards the daylight’. As no other forms are attested, we cannot determine whether the stem of the word is *marra-* or *marri-*.

According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 135f.), this word must be connected with Gr. *μαρμαίρω* ‘to glitter’, *Μαίρα* ‘Sirius’ and Skt. *mārīci-* ‘particle of light’, which point to a root \**merH-*. If *marri* is derived from an *i*-stem *marri-*, the formal similarity between Skt. *mārī-* < \**me/orH-ih<sub>2</sub>-* and Gr. *Μαίρα* < \**mṛH-ih<sub>2</sub>-* is even closer.

How this word must be regarded in view of the Hittite adv. *marrī* ‘rashly’ (q.v.) is not fully clear.

<sup>(TU<sub>7</sub>)</sup>**marḫā-** a kind of stew: acc.sg. *mar-ḫa-an*, *mar-ḫa-a-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *mar-ḫi* (MH?/MS), abl. *mar-ḫa-za* (Bo 4414, 10).

PIE \**mrh<sub>23</sub>-ó-??*

See CHD L-N: 182 for attestations. The precise meaning of the word is unclear, but the use of the determinative TU<sub>7</sub> indicates that it is some stew or cooked food. Note that Puhvel (HED 6: 65) reads TU<sub>7</sub> as UTÚL ‘jar’ and therefore interprets *marḫā-* as a “dish, bowl”.

Starke (1986: 161-2) connects *marḫā-* with *marrīje/a*<sup>-ta(ri)</sup> ‘to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them’. Semantically, this is possible

if *marḥā-* indeed denotes a stew. Formally, we then would have to assume that *marrije/a-* shows a development \**VRHV* > *VRRV*, whereas *marḥā-* must reflect \**mrH-ó-*. At this moment, this is quite speculative, though.

***marḥanuamma-*** (adj.) ‘brewed?’: nom.-acc.sg.n.? [*ma*]r-ḥa-nu-*ua-am-ma-an*.

See CHD L-N: 182f.: this word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 1.13 ii

(26) ḥa-aš-ši-i=ma=kán MUN mar[-ra/i-]at-ta-ri

(27) A-NA <sup>DUG</sup>NAM-ZI-TI=ja BULÛG AL.GAZ

(28) [*ma*]r-ḥa-nu-*ua-am-ma-an*

‘Salt is being dissolved on the hearth. Crushed malt is *m*. in the fermenting pot’.

CHD translates [*ma*]rḥanuamma as ‘brewed(?)’, which would mean that it in some way could belong with <sup>(TU)</sup>*marḥā-*, a kind of stew (q.v.), and *marrije/a-*<sup>ta(ri)</sup> ‘to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them’ (q.v.). Formally, *marḥanuamma-* looks like a Luw. part. in *-mma/i-* of a verb *marḥanu-*.

Note that in the older literature this form sometimes incorrectly is cited as [*u*]a-ḥa-nu-*ua-am-ma-an*.

<sup>(GİŞ)</sup>***māri(t)-*** (c.) ‘spear(?)’: acc.sg. *ma-a-ri-in* (OS), *ma-ri-in* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ma-a-ri-ja-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ma-a-ri* (NS), abl. *ma-a-ri-ta-a[z]* (MH?/NS), instr.(?) *ma-a-ra-i-it* (OS), nom.pl. *ma-ri-uš* (NH), acc.pl. *ma-a-ri-uš* (OS).

Derivatives: <sup>NINDA</sup>***māri-*** ‘bread in the form of a stick’ (nom.pl. *ma-a-ri-e-eš* (OS), *ma-ri-e-eš*, (MS?), *ma-ri-i-e-eš*, *ma-ri-i-iš* (MS?), *ma-ri-iš*, *ma-ri-uš*).

See CHD L-N: 183f. for attestations. Puhvel (HED 6: 67) and Tischler (HEG L/M: 133) adduce the form *ma-ra-a-i-it* to this paradigm, which, if correct, would show that originally *māri-* had an ablauting paradigm. CHD takes *marājit* as a separate entry, however (L-N: 181). It is unclear why abl. *mārita[z]* suddenly shows a *-t-*, but Puhvel (l.c.) calls this *-t-* “pronominal”, whereas Starke (1986: 162) states that it must go back to a Luwian stem *mārit-*. No further etymology.

***marri*** (adv.) ‘within a glimpse(?)’: *mar-ri* (NH), *mar-ri-i* (1x: NH).

Derivatives: ***mekki marri*** (adv.) ‘exceedingly, very much’ (*me-ek-ki mar-ri*).

PIE \**morH-i* ?

See CHD L/N: 185 for attestations. There, the adverb is translated ‘in the heat of emotion or passion(?), rashly(?), impetuously(?)’, seemingly based partly on the assumption that *marr-* has a notion of heat in it (because of a connection with *marri-* ‘sunlight’ (q.v.) and *marrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them’). Tischler (HEG L-M: 135), too, assumes a connection with *marri-* ‘sunlight’, but proposes as original meaning of *marri* ‘(schon) bei Tagesanbruch, (ganz) früh’. It is remarkable that all attestations of *marri* cited in CHD occur in negated sentences ‘I did not do this *marri* ...’. The connection with *marri* ‘in the sunlight’ (q.v.) seems plausible to me. Because the root of this word, *\*merH-*, probably meant ‘to glitter, to glimpse’, I would translate *ÜL marri* as ‘not within a glimpse’.

***marri-***: see *marra-*

<sup>(GİŞ)</sup> ***mariyaanna-*** (n.) ‘railing?’: nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ri-ja-ua-an-na* (MH/NS), *ma-ar-ja-ua-an-na*, instr. *ma-ri-ja-ua-an-ni-it* (MH/NS).

See CHD L-N: 186 for attestations. Puhvel HED 6: 71f. interprets this word as ‘railing, fence’, which does not seem improbable. The formation is further unclear. Cf. *annaanna-* for the suffix *-uanna-*. Further unclear.

***marrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *marra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*** (IIIg / IIIh) ‘to melt (down), to dissolve, to stew or cook until tender; to heat up(?), to bring to a boil(?)’: 3sg.pres.midd. *mar-ri-et-ta* (OS), *mar-ri-ja-at-ta-ri* (NH), *mar[-ra/i-]at-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *mar-ra-at-ta-at* (OH?/NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *mar-ri-e-et-ta<ru>* (MH/NS), *mar-ri-et-ta-ru* (MH/NS); 2sg.pres.act. [*m*]*ar-ri-et-ti* (OH?/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *mar-ri-ja-az-zi* (MH/NS); part. *mar-ra-an-t-* (MH).

See CHD L-N: 180-1 for attestations and semantics. Most forms show a stem *marrije/a-*, but we also find forms that show a stem *marra-* (*marrattat* and *marrant-*, cf. at *šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-* for a similar middle paradigm). In CHD, it is stated that the verb denotes “that heat has been applied to the object, so that it undergoes a physical change [...] from a solid state to a liquid one”. Oettinger (1979a: 279-81) translates ‘zerkleinert werden, zergehen’, however, and bases his etymological interpretation on this: *\*merh<sub>2</sub>-* ~ Skt. *mṛṇāti* ‘to crush’ (followed by e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>). The root *\*merh<sub>2</sub>-* rather seems to denote ‘to crush, to quench’ (cf. Gr. *μαράνω* ‘to quench’), however, whereas the Hittite verb denotes ‘to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them’. In my view, this etymology

therefore is not very probable, yet I do not have an alternative. See at <sup>TU</sup>*marḫā* for a possible inner-Hittite cognate.

*mārk-<sup>i</sup> / mark-* (IIa2) ‘to divide, to separate, to unravel; to distribute; to cut up, to butcher (animals)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ma-a-ar-ka-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *mar-ak-zi* (MH/NS?), 2pl.pres.act. *mar-ak-te-ni* (MH?/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *mar-kán-zi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ra-ak-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *mar-ke-er* (NH), *mar-ke-e[-er]*; part. *mar-kán-t-*; inf.I *mar-ku-ṽa-an-zi* (KUB 53.4 iv 16 (NS)), *mar-ku-an-zi* (NS); impf. *mar-ki-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *margō* ‘side-line, border’, ModP *marz* ‘region’, Goth. *marka* ‘border, area’ (\**morg-*), OIr. *mruig* ‘territory, area’, We. *bro* ‘country’ (\**mrogi-*).

PIE \**morg-ei*, \**mrǵ-énti*

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See CHD L-N: 187f. for attestations. Although *mi*-inflected forms are attested (*marakzi* and *marakta*), the two OS attestations of 1sg.pres.act. *mārkahḫi* unambiguously point to an original *ḫi*-inflection. Moreover, the stem *mārk-* must reflect full-grade vs. the zero-grade found in 3pl.pres.act. *markanzi*. The original meaning of *mārk-<sup>i</sup> / mark-* seems to have been ‘to divide into parts’ (cf. CHD l.c. and Puhvel HED 6: 74).

Several etymological connections have been proposed. Sturtevant (1933: 117) was the first to connect *mārk-/mark-* with Skt. *marc-* ‘to damage, to hurt, to destroy’, which implies a reconstruction \**merk-*. Oettinger (1979a: 425) follows this suggestion and equates Skt. *marcáyati* with \**mārki* < \**morkeie-*. This equation is based on formal similarity more than on semantical grounds, as Skt. *marcáyati* is a causative denoting ‘to make damage’, which does not fit *mārk-/mark-* ‘to divide into pieces’.

Braun (1936: 397) connects *mārk-/mark-* with e.g. Goth. *marka* ‘boundary, area’, OIr. *mruig* ‘id.’, from a root \**merǵ-* (with a palatovelar on the basis of Pers. *marz* ‘region’, cf. Schrijver 1991: 459). These words indeed semantically fit the Hittite meaning ‘to divide into parts’ nicely. The absence of verbal forms of the root \**merǵ-* in languages other than Hittite is a bit awkward, though.

Most recently, Puhvel (l.c.) suggested a connection with Lat. *merc-* ‘trades’ and *mercārī* ‘to trade’, which he assumes to derive from ‘distribution of wares’. This does not seem very appealing to me.

I would stick with the etymology proposed by Braun, and reconstruct \**mórg-ei*, \**mrǵ-énti*. For Skt. *marc-*, see at *markiḣe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

**markije/a-<sup>zj</sup>** (Ic1) ‘(act. with =z) to disapprove of, to object to, to reject, to refuse; to forbid; (midd.) to be rejected, to be unacceptable’: 1sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-ja-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-ja-ši* (NH), *mar-ki-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-ja-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-ja-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-ja-at*; 3pl.pres.midd. [*mar*]-*ki-ja-an-ta-ri*, 3pl.pret.midd. *mar-ki-ja-an-da-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. [*m*]-*ar-ki-ja-ru* (OH/NS); part. *mar-ki-ja-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *mar-ki-ja-u-ya-ar* (NH); impf. *mar-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

IE cognates: Skt. *marc-* ‘to hurt, to damage’, Lat. *murcus* ‘mutilated’.

PIE *\*mrk-je/o-*

See CHD L-N: 189 for attestations and semantics. Often, this verb is seen as a derivative of *mārk-<sup>i</sup>* / *mark-* ‘to divide, to separate’ (q.v.), but semantically this is not very appealing: *markije/a-<sup>zj</sup>* must rather be regarded as a separate verb.

According to Knobloch (1959: 39), followed by Oettinger (1979a: 346)), this verb belongs with Skt. *marc-* ‘to hurt, to damage’ and Lat. *murcus* ‘mutilated’. Puhvel (HED 6: 76) agrees with him and provides convincing parallels for a semantic shift of ‘to hurt, to damage’ to ‘to disapprove of’. Formally, we see a nice similarity between Skt. pres. *mṛcyati* and Hitt. *markijazi* < *\*mrk-je-ti*.

**markištae-<sup>zj</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to take someone by surprise (?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-iš-ta-iz-zi* (NH), *ma-ar-ki-iš-da-a-iz-zi*; verb.noun.gen.sg. *mar-ki-iš-ta-u-ya-aš* (NH), *mar-kiš-da-u-ya-aš*, [*ma*]-*r-ki-eš-ta-u-ya-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: **markištaḥ-<sup>i</sup>** (IIb) ‘to take someone by surprise(?)’ (1sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-iš-ta-aḥ-ḥu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *mar-ki-iš-ta-aḥ-ḥe-er*; broken *mar-kiš-ta-aḥ[-...]*).

See CHD L-N: 190 for attestations. The semantics of this verb are difficult. The verb *markištae-* is poorly attested, except for the verb.noun.gen.sg. *markištauyaš*, which occurs often as a designation of a disease or plague. CHD translates ‘death (plague?) which catches unawares(?)’ and ‘sudden death’. Tischler (HEG L/M: 138f.), however, translates ‘Krankheit des Dahinschwindens’, but this does not make much sense to me.

Formally, all forms seem to be derive from an unattested noun *\*markišta-*, which Rieken (1999a: 224) analyses as *\*m(e/o)rḱ-es-to-* from a root *\*merḱ-* ‘to grab to seize’ (Pokorny 1959: 739). This root probably does not exist, however, as Skt. *marś-* ‘to touch, to handle’ must be connected with Lat. *mulceō* ‘to brush, to stroke’ and reconstructed as *\*melḱ-*, and all other forms cited by Pokorny as

reflecting *\*merk-* are unconvincing without the Sanskrit support. I have no alternative etymology, however.

<sup>d</sup>**Markuaja-** ‘(plur.) deities in the depth of the earth’: dat.-loc.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Mar-ku-ua-ia-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>d</sup>**Maruai-** (c.) ‘dark deities’ (dat.-loc.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Mar-ua-ia-an-za*).

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This word is the genuinely Hittite counterpart of CLuw. <sup>d</sup>*Maruaja-*, derived from the basic Luwian word *marua-* ‘black’ that has been borrowed into Hittite (see at *maruāi-*). This means that we have to reconstruct a PAnat. form *\*marg<sup>w</sup>aja-*. See at *maruāi-* for further etymology.

**marlant-** (adj.) ‘dumb, foolish, idiot’ (Sum. <sup>(LÚ)</sup>LIL): nom.sg.c. *mar-la-a-an-za* (KBo 32.14 ii 46, rev. 42 (fr.) (MS)), *mar-la-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *mar-la-an-da-an*, gen.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>LIL-*aš*.

Derivatives: **marlah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>** (Iib) ‘to make foolish(?)’ (form? *mar-la-aḫ-ḫa-an*[...] (MS?)), **marlae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to become crazed, mad’ (impf.3sg.pres.midd. [*m*]ar-la-iš-ke-et-ta (OS), [*m*]ar-li-iš-ke-et-ta (OS)), **marlātar** (n.) ‘foolishness, idiocy, stupidity’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mar-la-tar* (MS)), **marlēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become foolish (?)’ (part. *mar-le-ešš-a-an-t-* (NH)).

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See CHD L-N: 191 for attestations. All words are derived from a stem *\*marla-*. Eichner (1975a: 81) connected this word with Gr. μωρός ‘dumb, idiot’ under the assumption that a preform *\*mōro-lo-* could give Hitt. *marla-* through syncope. To my knowledge, such cases of syncope are unknown in Hittite, however. Nevertheless, a connection with Gr. μωρός looks attractive. If we take Skt. *mūrā-* ‘foolish’ into account, the picture becomes more difficult, however. A connection between the Greek and the Sanskrit word would point to *\*mu(e)h<sub>3</sub>-ró-* (if *\*mūōro-* indeed would yield Gr. μωρός?), but in such a scenario, Hitt. *\*marla-* cannot be cognate. Further unclear.

**marnuua-**: see *marnuuant-*

**marnuuant-** (n. > c.) a kind of beer: nom.-acc.sg.n. *mar-nu-an* (OS), *mar-nu-ua-an* (OH or MH/MS), *mar-nu-u-ua-an* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *mar-nu-ua-an-da-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *mar-nu-ua-aš* (OS), *mar-nu-an-da-aš* (OS), *mar-nu-ua-an-da-aš* (OH/NS), instr. *mar-nu-an-te-it* (OH/NS), *mar-nu-it* (KUB 55.38 ii 9 (NS)).



See CHD L-N: 193 for attestations. The bulk of the attestations shows neuter gender, whereas a commune acc.sg. is attested only twice in NS texts. I therefore assume that the word was neuter originally. The word shows two stems, namely *marnuṽa-* besides *marnuṽant-*, which are both attested in OS texts already (gen.sg. *marnuṽaš* vs. *marnuandaš*). The most likely source of this dichotomy lies in the fact that the nom.-acc.sg.-form of a stem *marnuṽant-* is *marnuṽan*, which is easily interpreted as belonging to a stem *marnuṽa-*. On the basis of OAss. *marnu'atum*, a kind of beer, which is only attested in the Kültepe-texts and therefore likely a borrowing from Hittite (cf. Von Schuler 1969 and Dercksen fthc.), it is probable that the stem *marnuṽant-* is more original.

Formally, *marnuṽant-* is identical to the participle of the verb *marnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make disappear’ (caus. of *mer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *mar-* (q.v.)). The fact that this beer is sometimes referred to as being able to make evil disappear (cf. CHD l.c.), is more likely to be a folk-etymological interpretation of the name *marnuṽant-* than an indication of a real historical connection between the two words. Further etymology is unknown.

**maršant-** (adj.) ‘deceitful, dishonest; unholy, unfit for sacred use’: nom.sg.c. *mar-ša-an-za* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *mar-ša-an-ta-an* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *mar-ša-an* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *mar-ša-an-te-eš* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *mar-ša-an-da* (OH or MH/NS).

Derivatives: **maršah<sup>i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to desecrate; to make treacherous’ (part. *mar-ša-a-ah-ḥa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *mar-ša-ah-ḥa-an-t-* (NH)), **maršanu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to desecrate, to profane; to falsify’ (3sg.pres.act. *mar-ša-nu-zi*, *mar-ša-nu-uz-zi* (MH/MS), part. *mar-ša-nu-(ṽa-)an-t-* (NH)), **maršātar** (n.) ‘fraud, treachery, deception’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mar-ša-a-tar* (OH/NS), *mar-ša-tar* (OH or MH/NS)), **maršē-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be/become corrupt’ (3pl.pret.act. *mar-še-e-er* (OS)), **maršēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become desecrated, to become profane, to become unholy; to become corrupt, to become deceitful’ (3sg.pres.act. *mar-še-eš-zi* (MH/NS), *mar-ši-eš-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *mar-še-eš-še-er* (OH/NS), *mar-še-eš-šer* (NH); broken *mar-še-iš-ša-an[-.]*), **maršaštarra/i-**, **marzaštarra-** (c.) ‘desecration, profanement’ (nom.sg. *mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-iš* (MH/MS), *mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-eš* (NH), *mar-za-aš-tar-ri-iš* (NH), acc.sg. *mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-in* (NH), gen.sg. *mar-ša-aš-tar-ra-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *mar-ša-aš-tar-ri* (NH), *mar-za-aš-tar-ri* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *mar-ša-aš-tar-ra-aš* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **marša-** ‘treachery’ (gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n.  $\ll$  *mar-ša-aš-ša(-an)*), **maršaza-** ‘?’ (case? *mar-ša-za-an*); Mil. **mrssx-** ‘?’.

PAnat. \**mṛsa-*

IE cognates: Skt. *mṛṣā* (adv.) ‘invain, falsely’; Skt. *marṣ-* ‘to forget’, Lith. *užmiršti* ‘to forget’, TochAB *mārs-* ‘to forget’.

PIE *\*mṛs-o-*

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See CHD L-N: 195f. for attestations. Note that CHD cites a Hittite adjective *marša-* on the basis of two forms. “Com.sg.acc.” *mar-ša-an* (KBo 5.2 i 4, 5) in my view is rather to be interpreted as a neuter nom.-acc.sg. from the stem *maršant-*. “Neut.sg.(acc.)” *mar-ša* (KBo 5.2 iv 64) is as such understandable and therefore must be emended to *mar-ša(-an)*, in my view again a nom.-acc.sg.n. of the stem *maršant-*. This means that in Hittite, no stem *marša-* can be found. In Luwian, on the contrary, a stem *marša-* is visible in the form *mar-ša-aš-ša*, found in a Hittite context with gloss wedges. In CHD it is cited as “Luw. neut. sg. nom.-acc. in -ša”, but we then would rather expect *\*maršan=za*. I therefore would emend it to *mar-ša-aš-ša(-an)*, a nom.-acc.sg.n. of a gen.adj. of a stem *marša-*.

Despite the fact that a stem *marša-* is not attested as such in Hittite, all words cited here must be derived from a stem *\*marš-* or *\*marša-*. As we saw, this *marša-* is found in other Anatolian languages as well: CLuw. *marša-* (as we saw above); Hitt. *maršaštarra/i-* which, according to Starke (1990: 393ff.) must be a Hittite adaptation of a Luw. noun *\*maršaštar-*, a derivation in *-štar-* of *marša-*; Mil. *mrssχ-* ‘?’ which, at least formally, can be equated with Hitt. *maršahh<sup>i</sup>*.

The stem *\*marša-* must reflect *\*mrso-* since a preform *\*mVrso-* would have given Hittite *\*\*marra-* (eg. *arra-* ‘arse’ < *\*Horso-*). An etymological connection with Skt. *mṛṣā* (adv.) ‘invain, falsely’ (first suggested by Burrow 1964: 76) is therefore appealing. Ultimately, these words must be derived from the verbal root *\*mers-* ‘to forget’.

The verb *maršē<sup>zi</sup>*, which is only attested twice as 3pl.pret.act. *mar-še-e-er*, is found in an OS and a OH/NS copy. In another NS copy of the latter text, *maršēr* is duplicated by *maršēššer*, which indicates that the form *maršēr* is not derived from a mere verb *marš-*. According to Watkins (1973: 74), the verbal stem therefore must have been *maršē<sup>zi</sup>*, showing the stative-suffix *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*.

**maruāi-** (Luw. verb) ‘to blacken(?)’: 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ru-ua-a-īt*.

Derivatives: <sup>(NA)</sup>*mar(r)uuašha-*, a mineral imported from Cyprus, (acc.sg. *mar-ru-ua-aš-ħa-an*, case? *ma-ru-ua-aš-ħa-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **marruua-** ‘to blacken’ (part. *mar-ru-ua-am-mi-in*), **maruui-** (adj.) ‘black, dark-coloured(?)’ (nom.pl.c. *mar-ua-a-in-zi*, dat.-loc.pl. <sup>d</sup>*Mar-ua-ia-an-za*), **marušam(m)a/i-** (part.) ‘black, dark blue(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-ru-ša-me-eš*, *ma-ru-ša-mi-iš*, nom.pl.n. *ma-ru-ša-am-ma*, [*m*]a-ru-ša-ma),

*maruatar(?)* ‘blackness(?)’ (dat.-loc.sg.(?) *mar-ua-ta-ni* (interpretation unsure)); HLuw. <sup>DEUS</sup>*marwawana/i-* (adj.) ‘?’ (nom.sg. <sup>“DEUS”</sup>*ma-ru-wá/i-wá/i-ni-sa* (KAYSERĪ §8)).

IE cognates: OIc. *myrkr* ‘dark’, *mjorkvi* ‘darkness’, OSax. *mirki*, OE *mierce* ‘dark’.

PIE *\*merg<sup>w</sup>-*

See CHD L-N: 201f. for attestations. This is a difficult set of words, especially because their meanings are not fully clear. We have to start with the Luwian adjective *marušam(m)a/i-* (which is used in Hittite contexts). It was known for a long time that this word denotes a certain colour, and Güterbock (1956a: 122) remarks that in certain contexts *marušamma/i-* is used as the opposite of BABBAR ‘white’ and therefore may mean ‘black’. He then connects this adjective with the hapax verb *maruūāi-* (gloss wedged, so probably of Luwian origin), which he translates as ‘to blacken’. This means that we would be dealing with a Luwian stem *maru(a)-* ‘black’, which would mean that e.g. the <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Maruāinzi* denote ‘black deities’. Of this last term, a Hittite counterpart has been found in <sup>d</sup>*Markuūaja-*, which then might mean ‘black deity’ as well (q.v.).

If Luw. <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Maruāinzi* and Hitt. <sup>d</sup>*Markuūaja-* are really cognate, we have to reconstruct a PAnat. form *\*marg<sup>w</sup>ai-*. Neumann (1973: 298) connects this with PIE *\*merg<sup>w</sup>-* (misprinted as “*\*merq<sup>w</sup>-*”), referring to Pokorny (1959: 734). Indeed, words like OIc. *myrkr* ‘dark’, *mjorkvi* ‘darkness’, OSax. *mirki*, OE *mierce* ‘dark’ point to a root *\*merg<sup>w</sup>-* ‘dark’. Formally, Lith. *mirgėti*, *mirgu* ‘to twinkle’ could belong here as well, but semantically this remains far.

*marzae-<sup>z</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to crumble(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *mar-za-a-ez-zi* (MS?), *mar-za-iz-zi* (MH/NS).

See CHD L-N: 203 for attestations. The verb always has as its object bread that has been broken. Formally, the verb looks like a derivative of a further unattested noun *\*marza-*. Tischler HEG L/M: 153 (referring to Neumann) suggests a connection with Skt. *mṛdnāti* ‘to make weak, to make soft’ and Lat. *mordeō* ‘to bite’, but semantically this connection is not probable. No further etymology.

*māša-* (c.) ‘locust, swarm of locusts’ (Sum. BURU<sub>5</sub>): nom.sg. [*m*]a-ša-aš, acc.sg. *ma-a-ša-an* (NH), gen. ŠA BUR[U<sub>5</sub>], acc.pl. BURU<sub>5</sub><sup>H1.A</sup>, gen.pl. ŠA BURU<sub>5</sub><sup>H1.A</sup>.

See CHD L-N: 203f. for attestations. The word has no clear etymology. A connection with Skt. *math-* ‘to rob’, as proposed by Tischler (HEG L/M: 153f.), is formally impossible: Skt. *math-* < \**menth*<sub>2</sub>-, which cannot yield Hitt. *māša-*. On the basis of the incorrect reading of acc.sg. *ma-a-ša-an* (KUB 24.1 iii 17) as *kar<sup>1</sup>-ša-an* (reading 𒀭𒀪 = MA-A as 𒀭𒀪 = KAR), Eichner (1974: 63) wrongly reconstructs “*karša-*” as \**grs*ó-, derived from the root \**gres-* (Skt. *grásate* ‘to devour’).

**\**mašhul(a)-*** ‘mouse’ (Sum. PÍŠ.TUR).

See Tischler (HEG L/M: 157f). On the basis of the phonetic spelling <sup>m</sup>*Maš-ḫu-i-lu-ya-* of the PN <sup>m</sup>PÍŠ(.TUR)-*ya-*, we must conclude that behind the sumerogram PÍŠ(.TUR) ‘mouse’, the Hittite word *mašhul(a)-* has to be read. Although the name is almost always spelled with the sign MAŠ, which in principle can be read *pár* as well, the attestation *Ma-aš-ḫu-u-i-lu-ya-aš* (KBo 4.3 i 35) proves that we have to read *Mašhuluya-*. Despite some creative attempts (for which see Tischler l.c.), the word has no credible etymology.

***maši-*** (interrog. and indef. rel. pronoun) ‘how many, however many, however much’: acc.sg.c. *ma-ši-in* (NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-ši-e-eš* (OH/NS), *ma-ši-i-e-eš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *ma-ši-e-eš* (NH), *ma-ši-ú-u[š<sup>2</sup>]*, *ma-še-e* (NS) (with pron. inflection), dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ma-ši-ia-aš*.

Derivatives: ***mašijan*** (adv.) ‘as much as’ (*ma-ši-ia-an* (OH/NS)), ***mašijanki*** (adv.) ‘however many times’ (*ma-ši-ia-an-ki* (MH/NS)), ***mašijant-*** (adj.) ‘however many times’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ši-ia-an-ti*, *ma-ši-ia-an-te* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-ši-ia-an-te-eš*), ***mašiyant-*** (adj.) ‘equal in size or amount, as much/little as, as big/small as’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-ši-ya-an-za* (NH), *ma-a-ši-ya-an-za* (1x, NH), acc.sg.c. *ma-ši-ya-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ma-ši-ya-an*, acc.pl.c. *ma-ši-ya-an-du(-uš<sup>2</sup>)*), ***mašiyān*** (adv.) ‘as much as, as many as, how many (times)’ (*ma-ši-ya-an* (OH/MS?), *ma-a-ši-ya-an* (1x, undat.)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***maš*** (adv.) ‘as much as’ (*ma-aš*).

PIE \**mo-s + -i*

See CHD L-N: 205f. for attestations. For the interpretation of Hitt. *maši-* and its derivatives, the Palaic form *maš* (adv.) ‘as much as’ is important, which was treated by Melchert (1984b: 34-6). He states that this forms shows that the Hittite stem *maši-* must be built on a petrified \**maši*, which must be analysed as \**maš + -i*, in analogy to *aši* ‘that’, which reflects \**aš + the deictic particle -i* (see at *aši* /

*uni / ini*). Just as *aši* reflects a pronominal stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>o-*, Melchert states that *\*maš* reflects *\*mo-*, a pronominal stem also visible in *mān*, *māhhan* etc. (q.v.).

<sup>TUG</sup>*maššija-* (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *ma-aš-ši-(ia-)aš* (NH), gen.sg. *ma-aš-ši-ia-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: *maššajjašši-* (adj. describing garments) (nom.pl. *maš-ša-ia-aš-ši-iš*).

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See CHD L-N: 205f. for attestations. It is not quite clear what kind of clothing is meant, although one time a hem (<sup>TUG</sup>*SISIKTUM*) of a *maššija-* is mentioned. According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 159f.), the word could be of IE origin, and he connects it with a root *\*mes-* ‘to tie, to knot’. The cognates that he gives, e.g. OHG *masc* ‘net’, Lith. *mezgù* ‘to knot, to tie a net’, point to a root *\*mesg-*, however, which does not match Hitt. *maššija-*. Rabin (1963: 129) suggested that *maššija-* is a cultural Wanderwort (cf. Hebr. *maēši* ‘silk’ and Eg. *mšj* (a garment)).

*mau<sup>i</sup> / mu-*, *maušš<sup>zi</sup>* (IIa1α) ‘to fall’: 1sg.pres.act. *mu-uḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), [*mu*]-*uḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-uš-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ma-a-uš-zi* (1x, NH), 1sg.pret.act. *mu-uḫ-ḫu-un* (Bo 5441, 5 (MS?)), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-uš-ta* (MH/NS), *ma-a-uš-ta* (1x, NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ú-er* (OH/MS), *ma-uš-še-er* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. [*m*]*a-uš-du* (NS); 2sg.pres.midd. *ma-uš-ta* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.midd. *ma-uš-ta-ri* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *ma-uš-ḫa-ḫa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *ma-uš-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. [*m*]*a<sup>2</sup>-uš-ta-ru* (NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *mu-ua-a-an-ta-ru* (KBo 32.14 ii 60, l.Rd. 4 (MH/MS)); part. *ma-uš-ša-an-t-* (NS); inf.I *ma-uš-šu-u-ua-an-zi* (NH); impf. *ma-uš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: *mum(m)ije/a<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to keep falling, to crumble(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *mu-mi-e-ez-zi* (OH/MS?), *mu-um-mi-i-e-e[z-zi]* (OH or MH/NS), *mu-um-mi-ia-az-zi* (KBo 44.158 rev. 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. [*m*]*u-mi-an-zi* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *mu-um-mi-i-e-et-ta* (MH/NS); verb.noun *mu-mi-ia-tar* (NS) ‘collapse, fall’).

IE cognates: Lat. *moveō* ‘to move’, Skt. *mīv-*, *mū-* ‘to move, to push’.

PIE *\*móuh<sub>1</sub>-ei / \*muh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

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See CHD L-N: 211f. and Puhvel HED 6: 101f. for attestations of *mau-/mu-*, and CHD L-N: 328 for attestations of *mum(m)ije/a<sup>zi</sup>*. The verb *mau-/mu-* shows three stems: *mau-* (3pl.pret.act. *mauer*, 1sg.pres.act. *muḫḫi*, 1sg.pret.act. *muḫḫun*), *mu-* (3pl.imp.midd. *muḫāntaru*) and *maušš-* (e.g. *maušzi*, *maušta*, *mauššer*). This

immediately reminds of the situation in *au-*<sup>i</sup> / *u-* ‘to see’. Note that in the case of *au-/u-*, the stem *aušš-* in OH and MH texts is only visible in 3sg.-forms, and in NH texts sporadically in other forms as well. In the case of *mau-/mu-*, however, the stem *maušš-* is more widespread, but all the instances of *maušš-* outside the 3sg. (3pl.pret.act. *mauššer*, part. *mauššant-*, inf.I *mauššuyanzi*, the middle paradigm) are found in NH texts. So basically, the verbs *au-/u-* and *mau-/mu-* show the same distribution (i.e. the stem (*m*)*aušš-* originally in 3sg.-forms only, with a generalization of the stem (*m*)*aušš-* in other parts of the paradigm in NH texts), but the spread of the stem (*m*)*aušš-* went faster in *mau-/mu-* than in *au-/u-*. All in all, we can conclude that, in analogy to *au-/u-*, the verb *mau-/mu-* originally inflected *mūhhi*, *\*mautti*, *maušzi*, *\*mumeni*, *\*mušteni*, *\*muyanzi*, in which 3sg.pres.act. *maušzi* replaced an older *\*māui*.

This verb is generally connected with PIE *\*m(i)eu<sub>h</sub>1-*, which means that we have to reconstruct *\*móu<sub>h</sub>1-ei*, *\*mu<sub>h</sub>1-énti*.

The interpretation of the verb *mum(m)ije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> is quite difficult. The first thing that has to be noted is that all attestations with geminate *-mm-* are NH, and that spellings with single *-m-* are older. The original form therefore must have been *mumije/a-*. The verb cannot reflect a mere reduplication of *mau-*<sup>i</sup> / *mu-* as we then cannot explain the *-u-* of the reduplication syllable and the lack of *-u-* in the stem (we would expect *\*\*mamu-*). It therefore is more probable that the second *-m-* reflects an older *\*u* that has turned to *-m-* next to *-u-*. Yet, reconstructing a correct preform remains difficult. A formation *\*mu<sub>h</sub>1je/o-* should have given *\*\*muje/a-* (cf. *hujanzi* ‘they run’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-enti*); a formation *\*mh<sub>1</sub>u-je/o-* should have given *\*\*mu<sub>u</sub>e/a-* (cf. *\*sh<sub>1</sub>u-je/o-* ‘to push’ > *šuyē/a-*); a formation *\*mou<sub>h</sub>1-eje/o-* (thus Eichner 1973a: 90) should have given *\*\*mu<sub>u</sub>e/a-* (cf. *u<sub>z</sub>zi* ‘he comes’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-h<sub>1</sub>ei-ti*); and a formation *\*mou<sub>h</sub>1-je/o-* should probably have given *\*\*muje/a-* (cf. *u<sub>z</sub>zizi* ‘he sends’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-h<sub>1</sub>ieh<sub>1</sub>-ti*). In my view, the only possible solution is assuming that *mumije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> is a rebuilding of an original verb *\*mumai-*<sup>i</sup> / *mumi-* that inflected according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class (note that all verbs of this class are eventually taken over in the *-je/a-*-class). In this verb then the development *\*CHuV* > Hitt. *CumV* (e.g. *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-ueni* > Hitt. *tumēni*) must have taken place, which means that we must reconstruct *\*mh<sub>1</sub>u-ōi-ei*.

***maušš-***<sup>zi</sup>: see *mau-*<sup>i</sup> / *mu-*

***maz-***<sup>i</sup> (IIa2) ‘to withstand, to resist, to offer resistance; to dare to (with inf.)’: 2sg.pres.act. *ma-za-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-az-zé* (OS), *ma-az-zi* (OH/NS), *ma-az-za-az-zi* (OH/NS), *ma-(az-)za-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ma-an-za-az-zi* (1x,

NH), 1pl.pres.act. *ma-az-zu-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ma-az-za-aš-te-ni* (HKM 88, 17 (MH/MS)), 2sg.pret.act. *ma-az-za-aš-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-az-za-aš-ta* (NH); verb.noun.gen. *ma-az-zu-ua-aš* (NH).

IE cognates: OE *mōd* ‘courage, Goth. *modags* ‘angry’.

PIE *\*moh<sub>3</sub>d-s-ei* (?)

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See CHD L-N: 213f. for attestations. There is debate on two points: what was the actual stem of this verb, and which inflection (*hi* or *mi*) did it have. These two questions are interrelated. On the basis of an attestation 3pl.pres.act. *ma-t[e-er]* in KBo 3.13 rev. 18, for which a meaning ‘to withstand’ would fit, it has been suggested that the stem actually was *mat-* and that the stem *maz-*, which is abundantly attested, is the result of assibilation of the root-final *-t-* in front of endings that start in *-t-*. This implies that this verb was *mi*-conjugated, and that 3sg. *\*mat-ti* > /matst<sup>s</sup>i/ was the basis of a generalization of the stem *maz-*. This is problematic in a few regards. First, CHD (l.c.) states that a reading *ma-t[e-er]* as cited above is highly questionable in view of the traces after the sign *ma*. If this form would have to be read differently, the whole basis for postulating a stem *mat-* has vanished. Secondly, the oldest attested form of this verb is 3sg.pres.act. *ma-az-zé* (OS). Proponents in favour of a stem *mat-* and subsequently a *mi*-conjugation state that this form shows the ending *-ze* for *-zi* (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 208). To my knowledge, this is unparalleled, however: the ending is always *-zi* (apart from a few very archaic instances of *-za*, the phonetic outcome of *\*-ti*). Moreover, we would expect that /matst<sup>s</sup>i/ is spelled *mazzazzi* (like it is in some NS texts, and compare the MS spelling *e-ez-za-zi* ‘he eats’ (see at *ed<sup>zi</sup> / ad-*)). In my view, *mazze* is to be seen as a *hi*-conjugated 3sg.pres.act., showing the ending *-e*, which is the archaic variant of the ending *-i* (compare the OS attestation *uarašše* (see at *uaraš<sup>-i</sup>*) and the existence of *-hhe* besides less archaic *-hhi*). With the view that *maz-* originally was *hi*-conjugated, the idea that the stem actually was *mat-* has to be abandoned, too (note, however, that Tischler HEG L/M: 163 states that the stem originally must have been *mat-*, which was *hi*-conjugated, in which on the basis of 2(!)sg.pres. *\*mat-ti* an assibilated stem *maz-* spread throughout the paradigm: this is highly unlikely because 2sg.-forms are far too weak to instigate such a generalization).

All in all, I conclude that the stem was just *maz-*, which was a *hi*-inflected verb as is visible in the oldest forms (3sg.pres.act. *mazze*, *mazzi* and 2sg.pres.act. *mazatti*). In NH times, the verb was taken into the *mi*-inflection, yielding 3sg.pres.act. *mazzazzi*. The nasal in the one attestation 3sg.pres.act. *manzazzi* (KUB 33.120 i 21) is unexpected and hardly can be taken seriously.

The root-final *-z- /ts/* is not explicable through assibilation of original *\*t*, so we have to assume a preform *\*moT(-)s-ei*. Semantically, the verb has two notions: 1. ‘to withstand’, 2. ‘to dare to’. These notions can be combined by the notion ‘to have the courage’. Etymologically, a nice connection (cf. already Laroche 1965: 51f.) seems to be the one with PGerm. *\*mōda-* ‘zeal, anger, courage’ (OE *mōd* ‘courage, Goth. *modags* ‘angry’), which, according to Oettinger (1979a: 209) reflects *\*me/oh<sub>3</sub>do-*. This would imply that Hitt. *maz-* is an *s*-extension as also visible in e.g. *ānš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to wipe’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>omh<sub>1</sub>-s-*, *paḥš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to protect’ < *\*poh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to drink’ < *\*poh<sub>3</sub>-s-*, etc. All in all, I would reconstruct *\*móh<sub>3</sub>d-s-ei*.

<sup>É</sup>*mazki(ja)-*: see <sup>É</sup>*māk(kiz)zi(ja)-*

=*me-*: see =*mi-* / =*ma-* / =*me-*

***mēhur* / *mēhun-*** (n.) ‘period, time’: nom.-acc.sg. *me-e-ḥur* (OH/NS), *me-ḥu-ur* (NH), *me-ḥur* (NH) gen.sg. *me-e-ḥu-na-aš* (NH), *me-ḥu-na-aš* (MH/NS), loc.sg. *me-e-ḥu-ni* (OS), *me-e-ḥu-u-ni* (OH or MH/NS), *me-ḥu-u-ni* (NH), *me-ḥu-ni* (MH/NS), *me-e-ḥu-e-ni* (1x, NS), *me-eḥ-ni* (1x, NS), *me-e-ḥu-un-ni* (1x, MS), nom.-acc.pl. *me-ḥur-ri*<sup>H1.A</sup> (NH), gen.pl. *me-e-ḥu-u-na-aš* (OH or MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *me-e-ḥu-na-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***mēhur*** (adv.) ‘at/in the time’ (*me-e-ḥu-ur* (OS), *me-ḥu-ur* (OS), *me-e-ḥur* (OH/MS?), *me-ḥur* (MS)).

PIE *\*méih<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*méih<sub>2</sub>-un-(o)s*

See CHD L-N: 239 for attestations. There, a distinction is made between nom.-acc.sg. *mēhur* and adverbial *mēhur*. Yet it is likely that, at least historically, these forms are identical. Usually, *mēhur* / *mēhun-* is translated ‘time’.

This word is one of the most discussed words in Hittite, especially due to the fact that we find the vowel *-e-* adjacent to *-ḥ-*. The oldest etymology was put forward by Kretschmer *apud* Hrozný (1917: 70<sup>3</sup>), who connected the word with PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to measure’. Although semantically attractive, formally this connection is improbable as *\*h<sub>1</sub>* does not yield Hitt. *-ḥ-* (Puhvel’s recent attempt (HED 6: 111) to revive the theory that *-ḥ-* can reflect an *e*-colouring laryngeal must be strongly rejected), and because a suffix *-ḥur-* is further unknown. The theory that *\*mē-ur* would give *mēhur*, in which *-ḥ-* is a hiatus-filler, has now generally been denied.

Another etymological account was given by Eichner (1973a). First, he rightly notes that *mēhur*, *mēḥunaš* inflects differently from e.g. *paḥhur*, *paḥhunaš* ‘fire’:



the latter word shows a proterodynamic paradigm (*\*péh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s*), whereas the accent in *mēhur*, *mēhunaš* is found on the root-syllable only and therefore is static. He then assumes that the ablaut *e : Ø* as found in the root-syllable of *\*péh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s*, must have been *\*ē : ě* in static inflected paradigms: *\*CéC-ur*, *\*CéC-un-s*. As an etymological cognate for *mēhur*, he proposes to interpret Lat. *mātūrus* ‘mature’, *mānus* ‘good’ as reflecting a root *\*meh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to be the right time’. When applied to the structure cited above, he comes to the reconstruction *\*mēh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*mēh<sub>2</sub>-un-(o)s*. One of the consequences of this reconstruction is that a long *\*ē* apparently is not coloured by the adjacent *\*h<sub>2</sub>*. This rule (non-colouring of long vowels by laryngeals) is since then called ‘Eichner’s Law’. Note that this etymology must assume a levelling of the *ē*-grade throughout the paradigm, as the phonetic outcome of *\*mēh<sub>2</sub>-un-* would have been *\*\*mah<sub>2</sub>hun-*. Eichner’s etymology and his law has found wide acceptance.

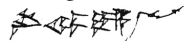


Although Eichner’s etymology formally seems well-crafted, the semantic side is rather weak: connecting a word for ‘time’ with words for ‘good; mature’ is quite far-fetched. Moreover, the presumption that *\*ē* is not coloured by a laryngeal in Hittite is further unfounded (see at *hai(n)k-<sup>aa(ri)</sup>*, *ēhīla-*, <sup>NA<sub>1</sub></sup>*hekur*, *henkan-*, <sup>LÚ</sup>*hippara-*, *ēhištā*, *šehur* / *šehun-* and *kane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* for other alleged instances of Eichner’s Law in Hittite). I therefore do not find this etymology probable.

All other cases in Hittite where we find a sequence *-eh-*, we are dealing with original *i*-diphthongs: *tēhhi* ‘I take’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *pēhhi* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-oi-h<sub>2</sub>ei*. It therefore is formally quite likely that *mēhur* reflects *\*mo/eih<sub>2</sub>-ur*, derived from a root *\*meih<sub>2</sub>-*. Semantically, the translation ‘time’ is a bit misleading. When looking at the contexts cited in CHD, we notice that all translations of *mēhur* have in common that they denote a (fixed, regularly recurring) period. So *mēhur* does not denote ‘time’ in its everlasting meaning, but ‘time’ as a period that is ticking away. I would therefore like to propose a connection with the IE root *\*meiH-* ‘to disappear’ (Skt. *mināti* ‘to diminish’, Lat. *minuō* ‘to diminish’), which would point to a reconstruction *\*mēih<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*mēih<sub>2</sub>-un-(o)s* > Hitt. *mēhur*, *mēhunaš* (note that no analogic levelling within the paradigm is needed). For the semantics, compare ‘minute’ from Lat. *minuō* ‘to diminish’.

***mehuyant-*** (adj.) ‘old, elderly’, (n.) ‘old man or woman, elderly person’, (pl.) ‘elders (a body with political-military, judicial and religious functions)’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI): nom.sg.c. <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI-*an-za* (OS), nom.pl.c. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.GI-*eš* (OS), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.GI-*aš* (OS).

Derivatives: *mehuyandahh<sup>i</sup>-*, *mijahuyantahh<sup>i</sup>-* (Ib) ‘to make old, to age; (midd.) to become old, to grow old’ (2sg.pret.act. <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI-*ah-ta* (NH);

3sg.pret.act. <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI[-ah-ta-a(t)] (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *mi-ḫu-un-ta-ah-ḫu-ut* (NH), *me-ḫu-un-ta-ah-ḫu-ut* (NH), *mi-e-ḫu-ua-an-da-ḫu-ut* (NH), *mi-ia[-ḫu-ua-an-t]a-ḫu-ut* (NH)), *mīḫuntatar* / *mījahuandann-* (n.) ‘old age’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-ḫu-un-ta-tar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *mi-ia-ḫu-an-da-na-aš* (OH/MS)), *mījahunte-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become old’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-ia-ḫu-un-te-zi* (OH/NS)), (<sup>LÚ</sup>)*mījahuntešš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become an old man’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-ia-ḫu-un-te-eš-z[i]* (NH)).

See CHD L-N: 223f. for attestations. The basic word is only attested spelled sumerographically: <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI-*ant-*. Its derivatives are found in phonetic spellings, however, but display a variety of forms: *mi-ḫu-un-t°*, *me-ḫu-un-t°*, *mi-e-ḫu-ua-an-t°*, *mi-ia-ḫu-un-t°* and *mi-ia-ḫu-an-t°*. Since the oldest attestations (OS) are all spelled sumerographically, it is not possible to determine which of these spellings displays an older situation. This makes the formal analysis of these words quite difficult. Eichner (1973a: 56f.) assumes that the original form was *\*mījahūant-*, which he connects with *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’ and reconstructs as *\*mih<sub>1,3</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-uent-* (followed by Oettinger 1979a: 471). Problematic for this view, however, is the fact that the proposed pre-form in fact should have yielded *\*\*mījahūant-*, with a geminate *-ḫḫ-*. Puhvel (HED 6: 153) tries to by-pass this problem by citing the stem as “*miyahhuwant-*”, on the basis of KUB 14.12 obv. (9) “<sup>LÚ</sup>*miyah[hunteszi]*”, copying the reading as given in CHD L-N: 228: “<sup>LÚ</sup>*mi-ia-<sup>ah</sup>[-ḫu-un-te-eš-zi]*”. While looking closely at the hand-copy of this text as well as its photograph (available through Hetkonk), I have not been able to find a trace of a sign AH, however:  =  = . In fact I am sure that we can only read this form as <sup>LÚ</sup>*mi-ia-ḫ[u-un-te-eš-zi]*. So the fact that *-ḫ-* is spelled single is real and contradicts the reconstruction given by Eichner.

In my view, the only way to explain the single *-ḫ-* is by assuming that the words are etymologically related to *mēḫur* / *mēḫun-* ‘period, time’. This then would mean that the original form was *mēḫūant-*. At an early stage already this *mēḫūant-* was reinterpreted as belonging to the verb *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’ on the basis of its 1sg.-forms *\*me-ḫḫi* and *\*me-ḫḫun*. When the verb *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* was secondarily changed to *mīje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (like all *dāi/tīanzi*-verbs end up in the *-je/a-* class), the 1sg.-forms were changed to *\*mīja-mi* and *\*mīja-nun* as well. With this change from the stem *\*me-* into *mīja-*, the etymologically unrelated stem *mēḫūant-* was secondarily changed to *mījahūant-* as well. For further etymology, see at *mēḫur* / *mēḫun-*.

**me(i)an-** (c.) ‘range (of a year), extent’: gen.sg. *mi-e-ni-ia-aš* (OH/MS), *me-e-ia-ni-(ia)-aš* (MH/MS), *me-e-ia-an-ni-ia-aš* (NS), *me-e-ni-aš* (OH or MH/MS), *me-*

*e-ne-ja-aš* (MS), *me-e-ja-na-aš* (NH), *me-ja-na-aš* (NH), *me-ja-an-na-aš* (NH), *me-e-a-na-aš* (NH), *me-e-na-aš* (NH), *me-i-ja-na-aš* (NH), *mi-i-ja-na-aš* (NH), *mi-ja-na-aš* (NH), loc.sg. *me-ja-ni* (OS), *me-e-ja-ni* (MH/MS), *me-e-a-ni* (MS), *me-i-ja-ni* (MH/MS), *me-e-ni* (MS), *me-i-e-ni* (NS), *me-e-e-ni* (NH), *mi-ja-ni* (OH/NS), *me-an-ni*, *me-e-ja-an-ni*, gen.sg. or loc.pl. *me-e-a-na-aš* (MS), *me-e-ja-ni-ja-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-on-*, *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-en-*

See CHD L-N: 229f. for attestations and semantics. This word mostly occurs in a fixed combination with *uitti-* ‘year’: *uitti mējan(i)aš*, *uitti mējani* and *uittas mējanaš*. The exact meaning of this construction is not totally clear but CHD translates them ‘in the course of the year’ as well as ‘annually’. An important hint for the meaning is KBo 25.5, (3) [(*ku-it-ma-an*)] (4) [(MU<sup>KAM</sup>-za)] *me-e-a-ni a-ri* ‘Until the year reaches *m.*’, which is duplicated by KBo 6.26 i (32) *ku-it-ma-an MU<sup>KAM</sup>-z[a] me-e-ḥu-ni a-ri* ‘Until the year reaches the time’. Here we see that *mējani* semantically must correspond to *mēḥuni* ‘period, time’. It therefore is likely that *mē(i)an-* denotes something like ‘course, duration’.

One instant without ‘year’ is found in the following context:

KUB 19.37 ii

(42) ... *nu=za LUGAL-uš I-NA É=IA*

(43) [x ]x *LI-ÌM 5 ME 30<sup>3</sup> NAM.RA<sup>HL.A</sup> ú-[ua]-te-nu-un*

(44) [<sup>URU</sup>*Ḥa-at-t*] *u-ša-aš=ma=za ÉRIN<sup>MES</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>M[ES]</sup> ku-i]n NAM.RA [GU<sub>4</sub>] UDU*

(45) [*ú-ua-te-er* (?)] *nu-u=š-ša-an ir-ḥa-aš mi-ja-na-aš NU.GÁL e-[eš-ta]*

‘I, the king, brought home X530 captives. But regarding the captives and livestock which the infantry and charioteers of Ḥattuša [brought in], there w[as] no boundary of (its) *m.*’.

Here, *mijanaš* must mean something like ‘size, extent’. So, all in all, we have to conclude that *mē(i)an-* denotes something like ‘extent, range (of a year)’.

According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 175), another case of *mejan-* without ‘year’ can be found in KUB 43.74 rev. (10) *nu nam-ma mi-ja-ni-i=š-ši pa-x[ ... ]* (11) [ ... <sup>NA</sup>G]UG *an-da-an ḥu-iz-za-aš-ta-ti*, which he translates as ‘Darauf an seinem *m.* ...., drinnen [aber?] hat sich r[otes Gl]as gebildet’ with the suggestion that *miyani* here might mean ‘on the surface’. CHD (L-N: 234), however, cites this form as a separate noun *miyanišši* of which the meaning cannot be determined.

Formally, the word seems to show *a*-stem as well as *i*-stem forms (gen.sg. *mē(i)anaš* vs. *mē(i)anijaš*). The *i*-stem forms are only found in the expression *uitti*

*meḫanijaš*, which is likely a secondary formation on the basis of the petrified expression *uitti mē(i)ani*, the loc.sg. of the stem *me(i)an-*.

Because of the alternation between *mē(i)an-* and *mē(i)en-* (in *me-i-e-ni*, *me-e-e-ni*), it is likely that we are dealing with an original *n*-stem (cf. also Oettinger 1982b: 173).

Etymologically, a connection with IE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to measure’ seems likely. This would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-on-*, *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-en-*. For the development of *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-on-* to Hitt. *mē(i)an-*, compare *zē(i)ari* ‘is cooking’ < *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>-o* (see *zē<sup>a(r)</sup>* / *z-*).

The connection with *mēni-* ‘face’ (first suggested by Götze 1950 and repeated by e.g. Puhvel HED 6: 112f.) does not seem attractive to me, because *mēni* (q.v.) does not behave as an *n*-stem noun.

CHD (l.c.) cites under this lemma also the instances of MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup> *meḫannašašši*, for which no translation is offered. Tischler (l.c.) rightly remarks: “hier läßt die Doppelschreibung des Nasals (die sich bei den temporalen Belegen nicht findet) vermuten, daß es sich um ein anderes Wort handelt, wobei *miyatar* ‘Wohlergehen’ auch semantisch -- im Omen! -- passend erscheint”. I therefore treat this word separately, q.v.

***meḫannašašši*** ‘?’: *me-ḫa-an-na-ša-aš-ši*.

See CHD L-N: 232 for attestations. The word occurs in the expression MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup> *meḫannašašši* only, e.g. KUB 5.4 ii (9) MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup> *me-ḫa-an-na-ša-aš-ši* (10) *I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫat-ti ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-ru* ‘the *m.*-birds gather in Ḫattuša’. CHD interprets *meḫannašašši* as belonging to the paradigm of *mē(i)an-* ‘range, extent’ (q.v.), apparently analysing the form as *meḫannaš=a=šši*. This interpretation is unlikely, however, as this word occurs in NH texts only, and the occurrence of non-geminating =*a* ‘but’ is unlikely in NH. Moreover, the frequent geminate spelling of *-nn-* contrasts with the predominantly single spelling *-n-* in the oblique cases of *mē(i)an-* (*meḫanaš*, *meḫani*). The one attestation MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup> *mi-ḫa-na-aš-ši* (KUB 18.12 obv. 3), which is conveniently cited first in CHD, seems to be more apt to an interpretation *mijanaš=ši*, i.e. the gen.sg. of *meḫan-* followed by the particle =*šši* ‘for him’, but the many other spellings *meḫannašašši* in my view preclude this. Tischler (HEG L/M: 175), especially on the basis of the geminate spelling *-nn-*, rather suggests a connection with *miyatar* ‘prosperity’, but this is denied by CHD on the basis of the spellings with *me-*. Moreover, the problem of the non-geminating =*a* remains. Further unknown.

**me(i)u-** / **meiu**- (adj.) ‘four’: nom.pl.c. *mi-e-ua-aš* (OH/NS), *mi-e-ia-ua-aš* (OH or MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *mi-e-u-uš* (OH or MH/NS), 4-*uš* (OS), 4-*aš*, gen.pl. *mi-i-u-ua<-aš>* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-u-ua-aš* (MH/MS?), 4-*ta-aš* (OH/NS), inst. 4-*it*, uncl. *me-u-ua-aš*.

Derivatives: **miuaniant**-, **muaniant**- (adj.) ‘running in teams of fours(?)’ (nom.pl. *mi-u-ua-ni-ia-an-ti-š(-)* (MS?), *mu-u-ua-ni[-ia-an-te-eš]*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **muuu**- ‘four’ (abl.-inst. *ma-a-u-ua-a-ti*, *ma-a-u-ua-ti*), **maualla/i-** (adj.?) ‘four-span(?)’ (acc.sg. *ma-u-al-li-in*), **muuuallašša/i-** (adj.) ‘of a four-span’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ma-a-u’-[u]a-al-la-aš-ša*), **muuuani(ia)-** ‘to hitch as a four-span’ (3pl.pret.act. *ma-a-u-ua-ni-in-ta*); HLuw. **\*miwa-<sup>2</sup>** (adj.) ‘four’ (nom.-acc.pl.c. “4”-*wa/i-zi* (ARSLANTAŞ §6), 4-*zi* (ASSUR letter *a* §10, *c* §9, *f+g* §28)); Lyc. **mupñm**- ‘fourfold?’ (dat.-loc.pl. *mupñme*).

PIE **\*meh<sub>1</sub>-u-**, **\*meh<sub>1</sub>-eu-** ?

See CDH L-N: 308f. for attestations. Because of nom.pl.c. *meiuaš*, we seem to be dealing with an *u*-stem adjective **\*meiu**- / **meiu**-. In CLuwian, we do not find evidence for a *-i-*, but perhaps *muuu*- reflects **\*méiuo-**. In HLuwian, the word is not attested in a phonetic spelling. Because of the fact that the HLuwian sign MI (𐎎, 𐎎𐎎) is made up of four strokes, we may have to assume that the word for ‘four’ actually was **\*miu**-. On the basis of these forms, we must reconstruct a PAnat. **\*mei-(e)u-** or **\*meʔ-(e)u-** (if the *-i-* in Hitt. *meiuaš* can be regarded as a hiatus-filler for /méʔauas/, cf. *me(i)an-* < *meh<sub>1</sub>-on-*).

Further etymologizing has proven to be difficult. It has been argued that **\*meiu**- must belong to a root **\*mei-** ‘to diminish’ (because ‘four’ is five minus one), but this root possibly is **\*meih<sub>2</sub>-** (cf. at *mehur* / *mehun-*). If PAnat. **\*meʔ-(e)u-** is a correct reconstruction, we could also assume connection with the root **\*meh<sub>1</sub>-** ‘to measure’ (cf. Kimball’s reconstruction (1999: 233) **\*meh<sub>1</sub>i-u-**). At this point, too much is unclear to make any firm conclusions, however.

**mekk-**, **mekki-** / **mekkai-** (adj.) ‘much, many, numerous’: nom.sg.c. *me-ek-ki-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *me-e-ek-kán* (OS), nom.-acc.sg.n. [*m*]e-e-ek (OS), *me-ek-ki* (OS), abl. *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-ia-az* (NH), nom.pl.c. *me-e-ek<-ke>-e-eš* (OS), *me-ek-ke-eš* (OH/NS), *me-ek-ke-e-eš*, *me-ek-<ke>-eš* (KUB 42.29 ii 5 (NS)), *me-eg-ga-eš* (OH/NS), *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-e-eš* (NH), *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* (NH), *ma-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *me-ek-ku-uš* (OS), *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-a-uš* (MH/NS), *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-uš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *me-eg-ga-ia* (NH); case? *me-ek-ka<sub>1</sub>-ia-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: **mekkaĵaz** (adv.) ‘on many occasions, often’ (*me-ek-ka-ĵa-az* (NH)), **mekki** (adv.) ‘greatly, much. in large numbers, very’ (*me-ek-ki-i* (1x, OS), *me-ek-ki*), see *makkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*, *maknu-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **maja-** (adj.) ‘much, many (??)’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-ĵa-aš* (?), gen.adj. *ma-ĵa-aš-ša/i-* (?)).

IE cognates: Gr. μέγα-, Skt. *máhi*, Arm. *mec’*, Lat. *magnus*, Goth. *mikils* ‘big’.

PIE *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-*, *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-(e)i-*

See CHD L-N: 245 for attestations. We are dealing with two stems, *mekk-* (in acc.sg.c. *mēkkan*, nom.-acc.sg. *mēk*, nom.pl.c. *mēkkēš* and acc.pl.c. *mekkuš*) and *mekki-* / *mekkai-* (nom.sg.c. *mekkiš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *mekki*, abl. *mekkaĵaz*, nom.pl.c. *mekkaeš*, acc.pl.c. *mekkauš* and nom.-acc.pl.n. *meggaĵa*). The forms that display the stem *mekk-* are only found in OH texts, whereas the bulk of the attestations of *mekki-* / *mekkai-* occur in NH texts (but note nom.-acc.sg.n. *mekki* (OS) and nom.pl.c. *mekkaēš* (OH/NS)). The two attestations with single *-k-* are spelled with the unusual ‘broken’ spelling (*me-e-ek-e-eš* and *me-ek-eš*), and therefore are likely to be emended to *me-e-ek(-ke)-e-eš* and *me-ek(-ke)-eš*.

The connection with PIE *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-* is generally accepted. This means that nom.-acc.sg.n. *mēk* is to be equated with Gr. μέγα and Skt. *máhi* < *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>* (so *\*-Ch<sub>2</sub># > -C*). In the inflected forms, e.g. acc.pl.c. *mekkuš* < *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-ms*, the sequence *\*-ǵh<sub>2</sub>-* yields /k/.

The derivatives *makkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become numerous’ and *maknu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to multiply’ (see at their respective lemma) reflect the zero-grade of the root, *\*mǵh<sub>2</sub>-*.

The interpretation of the stem *maja-* is strongly debated. E.g. Starke (1990: 506, followed by Puhvel HED 6: 123)) assumes that this stem is Luwian (because of gen.adj. *majašša/i-*), translates it as ‘much, many’ or substantivized ‘multitude’ and subsequently proposes that it is the CLuwian reflex of *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-ei-*. Melchert (1993b: 145), on the other hand, states that this stem must be interpreted as a Hittite stem that belongs with *mai-<sup>i</sup>* / *mi-* ‘to grow’ and <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*majant-* ‘adult’ and therefore means ‘young adult’.

Note that the one form “*ma-ik-ka-ĵ-uš*” in KUB 26.1 iii 58, which is often seen as showing a ‘reverse’ or ‘hypercorrect’ spelling of *-e-* as *-ai-*, in fact should be read *ku-ik-ka-ĵ-uš* and therewith can only be regarded as a (rather big) scribal error for expected *me-ek-ka-ĵ-uš* and not as a hypercorrect form (see at *ĥai(n)k-<sup>ta(n)</sup>* for the consequences of this improved reading).

**meltešsar:** derivative of *māld-<sup>i</sup>* / *mald-* (q.v.)

*memma*<sup>-i</sup> / *memm*-: see *mimma*<sup>-i</sup> / *mimm*-

*mēma*<sup>-i</sup> / *mēmi*- (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to speak, to recite, to tell’ (Sum. DU<sub>11</sub>):  
1sg.pres.act. *me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫé* (OS), *me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *me-ma-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS),  
2sg.pres.act. *me-e-ma-at-ti* (NH), *me-ma-at-ti* (NH), *me-ma-ti* (NH), *me-em-ma-at-ti* (1x, NH),  
3sg.pres.act. *me-e-ma-i* (OS), *me-e-ma-a-i* (1x, OS), *me-ma-i* (OS), *me-ma-a-i* (OH?/NS),  
*me-em<sup>1</sup>-ma-i* (1x, NS), 1pl.pres.act. *me-mi-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), *me-ma-u-e-ni* (NH),  
*me-mi-ja-u-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *me-mi-iš-te-ni* (MH/MS), *me-ma-at-te-ni* (MH/MS or NS),  
*me-ma-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *me-mi-an-zi* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ja-an-zi* (MH/NS), *me-ma-an-zi* (MH/NS),  
1sg.pret.act. *me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/NS, MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *me-mi-iš-ta* (NH),  
3sg.pret.act. *me-e-mi-iš-ta* (MH/MS), *me-mi-iš-ta* (OH/MS), *me-mi-eš-ta* (OH/NS),  
*me-ma-aš* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *me-ma-u-in* (NH), *me-mi-ja-u-en*, 2pl.pret.act.  
*me-mi-iš-tén* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *me-e-mi-er* (OS), *me-mi-er* (OH/NS),  
*me-mi-e-er* (NH), *me-em-mi-er* (1x, OH/NS), 1sg.imp.act. *me-ma-al-lu* (NH),  
2g.imp.act. *me-e-m[i]* (OH/MS), *me-mi* (OH/NS), *me-ma* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *me-e-ma-a-ú*  
(MH/MS), *me-e-ma-ú* (OH/MS), *me-ma-a-ú* (OH or MH/NS), *me-ma-ú* (MH/NS),  
*me-ma-at-tu<sub>1</sub>*, 2pl.imp.act. *me-mi-iš-tén* (MH/MS), *me-mi-iš-te[-en]* (MH/MS),  
*me-mi-eš-tén* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *me-ma-an-du* (KUB 14.3 i 67);  
1sg.pret.midd. *me-mi-ja-aḫ-ḫa-at* (NH); part. *me-mi-an-t* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ja-an-t*  
(NH), *me-ma-an-t* (NS); inf.I *me-mi-ú-ya-an-zi* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ja-u-an-zi*  
(MH/MS), *me-mi-ja-u-ya-an-zi* (MH/NS), *me-em-ma-u-ya-an[-zi]* (NH);  
verb.noun *me-mi-ja-u-ya-ar*, *me-em-mu-u-ya-ar*; iter, *me-e-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OS),  
*me-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *me-mi-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: *mem(ij)anu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to have (someone) say, to recite, to make (someone) talk’  
(3sg.pres.act. *me-mi-ja-nu-uz-zi* (NS), 2pl.pret.act. *me-ma-nu-ut-te-en* (OH/MS),  
impf.2sg.pret.act. *mi-e-ma-nu-uš-ga<sup>1</sup>-ši* (OH/NS)).

PIE \**mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-oi-ei* / \**mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-i-enti* ?? or \**mé-moi-ei* / \**mé-mi-enti* ??

See CHD L-N: 254 for attestations. The oldest forms show a paradigm *mēmahḫe*,  
*mēmatti*, *mēmai*, *memiḫeni*, *memišteni*, *memianzi*. Although these forms seem to  
display a distribution between *mē-* in the singular and *mē-* in the plural, this is a  
coincidental and due to the late attestation of the plural forms. For *mē-* in non-  
singular forms, compare 3pl.pret.act. *me-e-mi-er* (OS) and impf. *me-e-mi-iš-ke/a-*  
(OS). An alternation between a stem in *-a-* in the singular and *-i-* in the plural is  
prototypical of the *mēma/i*-class. In younger Hittite (from the late MH period  
onwards) we see that the stem *mema-* is spreading throughout the paradigm,  
yielding *tarn(a)*-class inflected forms like *memaiḫeni*, *mematteni* and part.

*memant-*. On the other hand, we also see the occasional spreading of the stem *memiē/a-* (*memiāuēni*, *memiāhḥat*, *memiāuānzi*), probably on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *memiānzi*.

As I have argued in the treatment of the *mēma/i-* class in § 2.2.2.2.h., this class contains original polysyllabic *dāi/tiānzi-* class verbs, which are being influenced by the *tarn(a)-* class from pre-Hittite times onwards. In the case of *mēma/i-*, this means that the original paradigm must have been *\*mēmehḥi*, *\*mēmaitti*, *mēmai*, *\*mēmīuēni*, *\*mēmīšteni*, *\*mēmianzi*. This clearly has to be analysed as a reduplicated formation *mē-m(a)i-*.

As I have explained in Kloekhorst fthc.a, most *dāi/tiānzi-* class verbs reflect a structure *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero grade of a verbal root extended by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/i-*. If we apply this structure to *mēma/i-*, it would mean that we have to analyse it as *mē-m-(a)i-*: *mē-* is the reduplication syllable, *-(a)i-* is the reflex of the suffix *\*-(o)i-* and *-m-* is the only remnant of the basic verbal root. At first sight, this situation seems comparable to *mai<sup>i</sup> / mi-* ‘to grow’ in which *m-* is the only remnant of the zero grade of a root *\*meh<sub>2</sub>-*. Nevertheless, if we would assume that in *mē-m-(a)i-*, *-m-* is the zero grade of a root *\*meH-*, we would expect that in a formation *\*mé-mH-oi-*, the result of *\*-mH-* would have been geminate *-mm-* (cf. *mimmanzi* ‘they deny’ < *\*mi-mh<sub>1</sub>-énti*, *zinnanzi* ‘they finish’ < *\*tin<sub>h</sub><sub>1</sub>-énti*, etc.). If we compare the situation of *zai<sup>i</sup> / zi-* ‘to cross’, however, in which *z-* from assibilated *\*t-* is the only remnant of the zero grade of the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>et-*, we could also assume a root *\*Hem-* and a reconstruction *\*mé-Hm-(o)i-*. Since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>* both would have coloured the *-e-* to *-a-*, the only possibility is *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-* here. In my view, a cluster *\*-h<sub>1</sub>m-* would after an accentuated vowel not yield a geminate *-mm-* (compare *dānit-* ‘stele’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>óh<sub>1</sub>-ni-d-*, *zēna-* ‘autumn’ < *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-no-* and *zēri-* ‘cup’ < *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-ri-*). So, if *mēma/i-* reflects a structure *\*mē-m-(a)i-*, the only possible reconstruction is *mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-(o)i-*, from a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-*. The only PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-* that I am aware of, is ‘to take’ (Lat. *emō*, Lith. *imù*, ‘to take’). Although this semantically is a possibility (‘to take (the word)’ > ‘to speak’), it is not self-evident.

Another possibility is to assume that *mēma/i-* is not an *\*-oi-/i-* suffixed verb, but just reflects a root *\*mei-* or *\*meiH-* (as *nai<sup>i</sup> / ni-* ‘to turn’ < *\*nóiH-ei* / *\*niH-énti*). In that case, we can either reconstruct *\*mé-moi-ei* or *\*mé-moiH-ei*. Formally, we could then think of *\*mei-* ‘to establish’ (Skt. *minóti* ‘to establish’). Semantically, this may be possible (‘to establish’ > ‘to state’ > ‘to speak’) but is not evident either.

All in all, on formal grounds the verb *mēma<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-*, which must go back to an older *\*mēmai<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-* can only reflect *\*mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-oi-ei* / *\*mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-i-enti* from a



root *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-*, or *\*mé-moi-ei* / *\*mé-mi-enti* from a root *\*mei-*. Semantically, neither possibilities are self-evident, however.

Etymologies that have been proposed in the past are all formally impossible. E.g. Sturtevant (1930a: 32f.) suggested a tie-in with PIE *\*men-*, but a preform *\*me-mn-* should have yielded Hitt. *-mm-* and does not explain the original *dāi/tiianzi*-inflection. Hrozný (1915: 37<sup>2</sup>) connected *mēma/i-* with Skt. *mā-/mī-* ‘to bellow’ and OCS *mъmati* ‘to stammer’. This latter verb likely is onomatopoeic, but the Sanskrit verb reflects a root *\*meH(i)-*. As we saw above, a reconstruction *\*me-mH-oi-* / *\*me-mH-i-* would also yield a geminate *-mm-* in Hittite, which makes this reconstruction formally impossible.

**mēmall-** (n.) ‘coarsely ground meal’: nom.-acc.sg. *me-e-ma-al* (OS), *me-ma-al* (OS), *me-em-ma-al* (NH), gen.sg. *me-ma-al-la-aš* (MH?/NS), *me-ma-la-aš* (OH/NS), *me-em-ma-la-aš*, instr. *me-ma-al-li-it* (OH?/NS), *me-ma-li-it*.

PIE *\*mé-molh<sub>2</sub>-*

See CHD L-N: 265 for attestations. This word has already since Hrozný (1920: 47<sup>1</sup>) been connected with *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* ‘to mill, to grind’ (q.v. for further etymology). We therefore have to reconstruct *\*mé-molh<sub>2</sub>*, in which the *-h<sub>2</sub>* was lost after consonant (cf. *mēk* < *még<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>*). The oblique cases show forms with single and with geminate *-ll-*. It is difficult to decide which spelling is more original, but we have to reckon with the possibility that geminate *-ll-* reflects *\*-lh<sub>2</sub>-* in e.g. gen.sg. *\*me-molh<sub>2</sub>-os*.

**memiian-** (c.) ‘word(s), speech, talk, message; deed; matter, subject’ (Sum. INIM, Akk. *AUĀTU*): nom.sg. *me-mi-aš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia-aš* (NH), *me-mi-i-ia-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *me-mi-an* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *me-mi-ia-an* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *me-mi-ia-na-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *me-mi-e-ni* (OH/NS), *me-mi-ni* (NH), *me-mi-ia-ni* (NH), *me-mi-ia-an-ni* (NH), abl. *me-mi-ia-na-az* (NH), *me-mi-ia-an-na-az* (NH), *me-mi-na-za* (NH), *me-mi-az* (NH), instr. *me-mi-ni-it* (NS), *me-mi-ia-ni-it* (NH), nom.pl. *A[UAT]E<sup>MES</sup>*, acc.pl. *me-mi-ia-nu-š=a* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia-nu-uš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia-ni-eš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia-aš* (NH), gen.pl. *me-mi-ia-na-aš* (NH), *me-mi-ia-an-na-aš* (OH/NS).

PIE *\*mé-mi-on-* or *\*mé-h<sub>1</sub>m-i-on-*

See CHD L-N: 268 for attestations. The acc.sg. *memi(i)an* occurs both with neuter and with commune concord, but CHD (l.c.) and Tischler (HEG L/M: 192f.) convincingly argue that this form must have been commune originally, and

that the cases with neuter concord are erratic. This coincides with the MH/MS attestations of commune nom.sg. *memiaš* and acc.pl. *memiānuš*. Tischler further argues that nom.sg.c. *memiaš* and acc.sg.c. *memi(i)an* point to an *a*-stem *memiā-*, but this is contradicted by the oblique cases that in the older texts all show *n*-stem forms: *memiān-*. Nevertheless, we would expect that the acc.sg. of an *n*-stem would have been *\*\*memiānan*. Puhvel (HED 6: 145) therefore argues that we are dealing with a heteroclitic paradigm: a stem *memiā-* in nom. and acc. besides a stem *memiān-* in the oblique cases. This is not very convincing, however. It is best to assume that this word originally was an *n*-stem, but that on the basis of nom.sg. *memiāš* < *\*mé-mi-ōn-s*, a secondarily created acc.sg. *memiān* supplanted unattested *\*memiānan* in MH times already.

The word is clearly derived from the verb *mēma<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-* ‘to speak’ and is an important argument for the view that *mēma/i-* is a rebuilding of an original *\*mēmai<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-*. This means that the *-i-* is inherent to the stem, and not part of the suffix (as e.g. Tischler argues: he analyses the word as a stem *mem-* plus a *-ien/-ion-* suffix). We therefore have to reconstruct *\*mé-mi-on-*. The fact that the first *-e-* is never spelled plene (unlike in *mēma<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-*) is due to the fact that it is not attested in OS text: plene spellings are diminishing from MH times onwards. See at *mēma<sup>i</sup> / mēmi-* for further etymology.

***mēna-***: see *mēni-*

***mēnaḥḥanda*** (adv. or postpos.) ‘against, before, facing, opposite, in regard to’: *me-e-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta* (OS), *me-e-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* (OS), *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* (OS), *me-na-ḥa-an-da* (1x, OS), *IGI-an-da* (NS).

See CHD L-N: 274f. for attestations and semantics. Despite the fact that at first sight we are tempted to assume an etymological connection with *māḥḥan* and *māḥḥanda* (q.v.), which reflect *\*món* + *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-*, it is difficult to interpret the element *mēna-* as belonging to a pronominal stem *\*mo-*. It is therefore better to assume that *mēnaḥḥanda* is an old compound of *mēna-* ‘face’ + *ḥant-* ‘face, forehead’. See there for further etymology.

***mēni-*** (n.), ***mēna-*** (n. > c.) ‘face, cheek’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *me-e-ni-i=m-mi-it* (OS), *me-e-ni-e=š-mi-it* (OH/NS), *me-ne-i=š-ši-it* (OH/NS), *me-e-na-a=š-še-et* (OH/NS), loc.sg. *mi-e-ni* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. *me-nu-uš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: *mēnaḥḥanda* (q.v.)

PIE *\*mén-ih<sub>1</sub>*, *\*mén-eh<sub>2</sub>*

See CHD L-N: 289 for attestations. There, an acc.pl. *miniūs* (KUB 52.52 rev. 7) is cited as well, but according to Rieken (1999a: 56) this word is to be read as ]x-*mi-ni-u-uš*, and therefore does not belong to *mēni/a-*. Rieken (1999a: 56f.) argues that nom.-acc.sg. *mēni* reflects the old dual-ending *\*-ih<sub>1</sub>* (cf. *elzi-*), whereas nom.-acc.sg. *mēna* reflects the collective-ending *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*. Etymologically, she connects the word with CLuw. *manā-* ‘to see’ (q.v.), ultimately from the root *\*men-* ‘to think’. Melchert (1984a: 88<sup>17</sup>) rather suggests a connection with Lat. *mentum* ‘chin’, reconstructing a root *\*men-* ‘to stick out, to protrude’.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*meneja-* (c.) a cult functionary using a bow and arrows: nom.sg. *me-ne-ja-aš* (OS), *me-e-ni-aš* (OS), *me-e-ni-ī[a-aš]* (MS), *mi-ni-ja-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *me-ne-an* (OS), *mi-ni-ja-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg.(?) *me-ne-ja-š=a* (OS).

See CHD L-N: 290 for attestation and the suggestion that <sup>LÚ</sup>*meneja-* possibly denotes a hunter. Often, the word is cited *menija-*, but the oldest attestations show that originally it must have been *meneja-*. The formal interpretation of the word is difficult. It has often been proposed that this word is connected with *mēni-*, *mēna-* ‘face’ (q.v.). For instance, Watkins (1986: 56) translates “‘face’-man”, CHD suggests “he of the face”, whereas Tischler (HEG L/M: 198) proposes an original meaning ‘masked’, which perhaps could fit a meaning ‘hunter’. If this were correct, I would not understand, however, how the second *e* of *meneja-* has come about (note that the most OS spellings clearly show that the word is *meneja-*, which later on became *menija-*). I am therefore sceptical about the etymological connections with *mēni-*, *mēna-* ‘face’. As long as the precise function of <sup>LÚ</sup>*meneja-* is unclear, it is nothing more than a possibility.

*mer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *mar-* (Ia3) ‘to disappear, to vanish’: 3sg.pres.act. *me-er-zi* (MH/MS), *mi-ir-zi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *me-er-ta* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *me-er-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *me-re-er* (OS), 3sg.imp.act. *me-er-du* (OH/NS, MH/MS), [*me-*]<sup>e<sup>3</sup></sup>-*er-du* (OH/NS), *me-e-er-tu<sub>4</sub>* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ma-ra-an-du* (424/z, 5, 7 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *mar-ta-ri* (NH), *mar-ta* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *me-er-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *me-er-t[a-ru]* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *me-er-ra-a-an-ta-ru* (OH/NS), *me-er-ra-an-t[a-ru]* (OH/NS); part. *me-er-ra-an-t-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: *marnu<sup>ala</sup>*- (adj.) ‘invisible(?)’ (acc.sg.c. *mar-nu-ya-la-an* (OH/NS)), *marnu-<sup>zi</sup>*, *mernu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to cause to disappear, to dissolve’ (2sg.pres.act. [*m*]ar-nu-*ši* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *me-er-nu<-nu>-un*, 3sg.imp.act.(?) *me-er-n[u-ud-du?]*; part. *mi-ir-nu-ya-an-t-*).

Anat. cognates: HLUw. ?*marnuwa-* ‘to make disappear’ (see discussion).

IE cognates: Skt. *ámṛta* ‘he died’, *mriyate* ‘he dies’, Gr. *ἔμωρτεν ἀπέθανεν* ‘he died’ (Hes.), Arm. *meṙaw* ‘he died’, OCS *mrěti* ‘to die’, Lat. *morior* ‘to die’.

PIE *\*mér-t / \*mr-ént*

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See CHD L-N: 295 and Puhvel HED 6: 148f. for attestations. In the oldest texts we find only active forms that show an ablauting *mi*-inflecting stem *mer-<sup>zi</sup> / mar-* (e.g. *merer* vs. *marandu*), which denotes ‘to disappear, to vanish’. Middle forms are found in NS texts only and have the same meaning. Also in NS texts we find some forms that display a geminate *-rr-* (cf. § 1.4.6.2.b).

Since Sturtevant (1933: 135), *mer-<sup>zi</sup> / mar-* is generally connected with PIE *\*mer-* which is usually glossed ‘to die’. In my view, however, the Hittite meaning ‘to disappear’ must have been the original meaning, whereas the meaning ‘to die’ as found in the other IE languages only developed after the splitting off of Anatolian. It is likely that *\*mer-* ‘to disappear’ was an euphemistic term for dying at first (cf. ModEng. euphemistic *to pass away, to be gone* vs. realistic *to die*), which later on took over the place of the original PIE word for ‘to die’, which is possibly reflected in Hitt. *āk-<sup>i</sup> / akk-* ‘to die’ (which is unfortunately unattested in the other IE languages). Because of the fact that in Sanskrit *mar-* is a root-aorist, I reconstruct an aorist *\*mér-t / \*mr-ént*.

In HLUwian, the exact reading of the verb DELERE-*nuwa-* ‘to cause to disappear, to destroy’ is not known. In the fragment KARKAMIŠ A28g l. 2, we find [ ... ]<sup>DELERE</sup>*p[á?]+ra/i-nu-w[a/i- ... ]* (cf. Hawkins 2000: 216), which might be a full phonetic spelling. The exact reading of the sign *pá* is debated, however, and Melchert (1988c: 34ff.) argues that the sign should be read *ma<sub>x</sub>*. If so, then we would have to read [ ... ]<sup>DELERE</sup>*m[a<sub>x</sub>]+ra/i-nu-w[a/i- ... ]*, which would make it possible to assume that the HLUwian verb DELERE-*nuwa-* actually was *marnuwa-* and has to be identified with Hitt. *marnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make disappear’ (cf. the discussion in Hawkins 2000: 154).

**-mi** (1sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

IE cognates: Skt. *-mi*, Gr. *-μi*, Lith. *-mi*, OCS *-mb*, Goth. *-m*, Lat. *-m*.

PIE *\*-mi*

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This ending is used as the 1sg.pres.act.-ending of *mi*-verbs (which are named after it), and therewith semantically equal to its corresponding *hi*-conjugation ending *-hhi*. In the course of the Hittite period, the ending *-mi* is gradually replacing *-hhi* (see there for examples). I know of only one alleged form in which

an original *mi*-conjugating verb would show the *hi*-ending *-h̄hi*, namely “*pár-ku-nu-uh-h̄r*” (708/z obv. 12) as cited by Neu (1967: 165). As long as this tablet is unpublished, I would remain quite sceptical regarding this reading and interpretation (Neu calls the context “bruchstückhaft” so perhaps we are in fact dealing with 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ku-nu-uh-h̄e[-er]*).

Etymologically, *-mi* goes back to two endings. On the one hand, it directly reflects the PIE athematic primary 1sg.-ending *\*-mi* used in PIE root-presents (~ Skt. *-mi*, Gr. *-μi*, Lith. *-mi*). On the other hand, it reflects the PIE athematic secondary ending *\*-m* used in PIE root-aorists (~ Skt. *-(a)m*, Gr. *-α, -v*) extended with the ‘presentic’ *-i*.

**=mi-** / **=ma-** / **=me-** (encl.poss.pron. 1sg.) ‘my’: nom.sg.c. =*mi-iš* (often), =*mi-eš* (1x, NS), =*me-iš* (1x, NS), voc.sg. =*mi* (OH/NS), =*me* (NS), =*me-et* (OH/NS), =*mi-it* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. =*ma-an* (OS), =*mi-in* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. =*me-et* (OS), =*mi-it* (OH/MS), gen.sg. =*ma-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. =*mi* (OS), *kat-ti=m-mi* (OS), =*mi-it* (OH/NS), all.sg. =*ma*, *pár-na=m-ma* (OH/NS), abl./instr. =*mi-it* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. =*mi-iš* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. =*mu-uš* (OH/NS, MH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. =*me-et* (OH/NS), =*mi-it* (OH/NS), gen.pl. =*ma-an* (OH/NS).

PIE *\*=mi-*, *\*=mo-*, *\*=me-*

See CHD L-N: 215f. for attestations. The original paradigm of this enclitic is nom.sg.c. =*miš*, acc.sg.c. =*man*, nom.-acc.sg.n. =*met*, gen.sg. =*maš*, dat.-loc.sg. =*mi*, all.sg. =*ma*, abl./instr. =*mit*, nom.pl.c. *\*=meš*, acc.pl.c. =*muš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. =*met*, gen.pl. =*man*. For the original distinction between nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. =*met* vs. abl./instr. =*mit* see Melchert (1984a: 122-6). This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem =*mi-* / =*ma-* / =*me-*. This vocalization can hardly reflect anything else than PIE *\*-i-*, *\*-o-* and *\*-e-*, but an exact explanation for the distribution of these vowels is still lacking (cf. also =*tī-* / =*tta-* / =*tte-* ‘your (sg.)’, =*šši-* / =*šša-* / =*šše-* ‘his, her, its’, =*šummi-* / =*šumma-* / =*šumme-* ‘our’ and =*šmi-* / =*šma-* / =*šme-* ‘your (pl.); their’). The *-m-* is clearly identical to the *-m-* found in =*mu* ‘(to) me’ (q.v.).

***miḫaḫu(ua)nt-***: see *meḫuuant-*

***mienu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘?’: 3pl.pret.act. *mi-e-nu-er* (KBo 14.42 obv. 11 (NH)), *mi-e-nu-u-e-er* (KUB 19.22, 3 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *mi-e-nu-ud-du* (KUB 17.12 ii 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: **mienu-** (adj.) (nom.sg.c. *mi-e-nu-uš* (KUB 17.12 ii 12 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *mi-e-nu* (KUB 17.12 ii 13 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *mi-e-nu-uš* (KBo 3.28, 16 (OH/NS), KUB 31.136 ii 1 (NS))).

Often, these words are regarded as identical to *mīnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to soften’ (see at *mīu-*) (cf. CHD L-N: 242, Puhvel HED 6: 171). This is a bit awkward, as all attestations of which a meaning ‘to soften’ is clear are spelled *mi-i-nu-* and *mi-nu-*, but not *\*mi-e-nu-*, whereas for all forms that are spelled *mi-e-nu-* a translation ‘to soften’ or ‘soft’ is not obligatory. For the forms *mienuer* and *mienuyer* cf. CHD L-N: 291, for *mienuddu*, *mienuš* and *mienu* cf. CHD L-N: 242. A nominal *mienu-* is found in gen.sg. *mi-e-nu-ua-aš* (KUB 33.103 iii 7), but the connection with the verb *mienu-<sup>zi</sup>* and the adj. *mienu-* is unclear. See Weitenberg (1984: 42f.) for an extensive treatment of the stem *mienu-* and his rejection of the identification with *mīnu-*. Note however that according to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d, the attestations *mi-e-nu-* formally could be regarded as the NH outcomes of original *mīnu-<sup>zi</sup>*.

**miḫu(ya)nt-**: see *meḫuyant-*

**milišku-**: see *mališku-*

**militt- / malitt-** (n.) ‘honey’ (Sum. LĀL): nom.-acc.sg. *mi-li-it* (MH/NS), LĀL-*it* (OS), gen.sg. *mi-li-it-ta-aš* (617/p ii 14 (NS)), *mi-l[i-]t-ta-aš* ((KUB 25.32 iii 37 + KUB 27.70 iii 3 (NS)), LĀL-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ma-li-it-ti* (here?, Bo 3757 ii 5)), LĀL-*ti* (MH/MS), erg.sg.? LĀL-*an-za*, instr. LĀL-*it* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **militt(t)ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be sweet, to become sweet’ (3sg.pret.act. *me-li-te-iš-ta* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *mi-li-it-e-eš*, 3sg.imp.act. *mi-li-te-e-eš-t[u]* (OH/MS), *m[i-]i-ti-eš-du*, *mi-li-ti-iš-du* (OH/MS), *mi-li-it-ti-iš-du* (OH/MS)), **miliddu- / maliddu-** (adj. / n.) ‘sweet, pleasant; sweetness’ (nom.sg.c. [*mi-l*]i-*id-du-uš* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *mi-li-id-du* (OH/MS), *ma-li-id-du* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **malitanna-** (adj.) ‘having honey’ (nom.sg.c.<sup>?</sup> *ma-li-ta-anna-aš*); CLuw. **mallit-** (n.) ‘honey’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-al-li*, dat.-loc.sg. LĀL-*i*, abl.-instr. *ma-al-li-i-ta-a-ti*, *ma-al-li-ta-a-ti*), **mallitalla/i-** ‘honey-jar(?)’ (nom.pl. *ma-al-li-ta-al-li-en-zi*), **mallitiḡalla/i-** ‘honey-coated (or sim.)’ (Hitt. nom.sg.c. *ma-al-li-ti-ua-al-la-aš*), **malliti(ḡa)-** (adj.) ‘honeyed’ (nom.pl.c. *ma-al-li-ti-in-zi*); HLuw. **malidima/i-** (adj.) ‘honey-sweet’ (nom.sg.c. <sup>“PANIS”</sup> *ma-li-rī+ḡ-mi-i-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1i)).

IE cognates: Gr. μέλι, μέλιτος ‘honey’, Goth. *miliþ* ‘honey’, Alb. *mjalhtë* ‘honey’, Lat. *mel*, *mellis* ‘honey’.

PIE *\*mél-it* / *\*ml-it-ós*

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See CHD L-N: 250f. and Starke 1990: 192<sup>627a</sup> for attestations. In Hittite, we find a neuter stem *militt-*, which possibly shows an ablaut variant *malitt-* if the form *ma-li-it-ti* (Bo 3757 ii 5) is indeed to be interpreted as dat.-loc.sg. of *militt-*. Such an ablaut is also visible in the derivative *milittu-* / *malittu-* ‘sweet(ness)’. The derivative *milit(t)ēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* is predominantly spelled with single *-t-*, but once with *-tt-* as well. In CLuwian, we find a stem *mallit-*, with geminate *-ll-* and single *-t-*, which corresponds to the rhotacized /d/ that is attested in HLuwian *malirima/i-* (for *\*malidima/i-*) (cf. Starke 1990: 190-3 for a treatment of the Luwian material).

Already since Sturtevant (1933, 89) it has been clear that Hitt. *militt-* and Luw. *mallit-* must be cognate with Gr. μέλι, μέλιτος, Goth. *miliþ*, etc. ‘honey, which reflect *\*mélit-*. In Luwian, this form underwent Čop’s Law, which caused the geminate *-ll-*. The fact that *\*-t- > Luw. /-d-/* can be explained by the fact that in *\*mélitV*, the *\*t* stood between two unaccentuated vowels. In Hittite, the fact that we find forms with lenited *-t-* as well as unlenited *-tt-* implies that (in pre-Hittite times) an accentual movement was still present in this word, which is supported by the traces of ablaut. If we interpret the forms that are spelled *ma-li-it-t-* as /mlit-/ (for such a zero-grade compare Gr. βλίττω ‘to gather honey’ < \*μλιτ-ίω), we have to reconstruct a paradigm *\*mélit*, *\*mlitós*, *\*mlit-éi*. In Luwian, the fullgrade-form and its accentuation have spread throughout the paradigm, yielding gen.sg. *\*mélitos* (cf. Gr. μέλιτος), in which the *-t-* was lenited. Although in Hittite the fullgrade form eventually spread through the paradigm as well (but note that *malitti* could still reflect *\*mlit-éi* directly), the unlenited *-t-* was in many cases restored.

The development of *\*mélit > milit* is remarkable regarding the outcome *\*i < \*é* (especially in view of *melteššar < \*meld<sup>h</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r*). In my view, it must be the result of some kind of *i*-umlaut (cf. *zinnizzi* ‘finishes’ < *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti*) (e.g. Melchert’s account (1994a: 140) to explain the *-i-* through analogical levelling (*\*mélit- > melít-* in analogy to the adj. *\*mlítu-*) is unconvincing).

A further analysis of *\*mélit* / *\*mlitós* is difficult. If we compare this word to *šepitt-*, a kind of grain, it may be likely that we should analyse both as *\*mél-it* / *\*ml-it-ós* and *\*sép-it* / *\*sp-it-ós* respectively.

***mimma-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***mimm-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to refuse, to reject’: 2sg.pres.act. *mi-⟨im-⟩ma-at-ti* (HKM 55 rev. 28 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *mi-im-ma-i* (OS), *me-em-ma-i* (OH or

MH/NS), *me-(em-)ma-i* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *mi-im-ma-an-zi* (OS), *me-em-ma-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *me-em-ma-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *mi-im-ma-aš* (OH/MS), *me-em-ma-aš* (OH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *mi-im-mi-ú-en* (MS), 3pl.pret.act. *me-em-mi-er* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *me-em-ma-ú* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *mi-im-ma-an-du* (NS); part. ?nom.-acc.sg.n. *me-em-ma-an* (NS); verb.noun *mi-im-ma-a-u-ar* (NS).

IE cognates: Gr. μη, Skt. *mā́*, Arm. *mi*, TochAB *mā* ‘do not!’.

PIE *\*mi-móh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*mi-mh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See CHD L-N: 263 and Puhvel HED 6: 158f. for attestations. Of this verb, we find two different spellings: in older texts we find *mi-im-ma-*, whereas in younger texts (NH and NS) we find *me-em-ma-*. This is due to the NH lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-m-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d. The verb clearly belongs to the *tarn(a)*-class (*mimmai* / *mimmanzi*) and I therefore cite the verb as *mimma<sup>i</sup>* / *mimm-*. The hapax *mi-im-mi-ú-en* is the only form that shows a stem *mimmi-* and is probably corrupt.

Etymologically, this verb is since Sturtevant (1933: 133) generally seen as a cognate of PIE *\*men-* ‘to stay’ (e.g. Jasanoff (2003: 128ff.) regards *mimma-/mimm-* as a perfect equation with Gr. μῦνω ‘to stand fast’). In my view, however, a semantic connection between ‘to refuse’ and ‘to stay’ is far from evident. Moreover, an equation with μῦνω would mean that Hitt. *mimma-/mimm-* reflects a thematicized verb *\*mi-mn-e/o-*, which is in contradiction with the fact that no other examples of thematic verbs in Anatolian can be found. I therefore reject this etymology.

Verbs that belong to the *tarn(a)*-class reflect, among other structures, reduplicated formations of roots that end in laryngeal: *\*Ce-CoH-ei*, *\*Ce-CH-enti* (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 496ff.). In the case of *mimma-* / *mimm-*, Oettinger (l.c.) plausibly suggests an etymological tie-in with the prohibitive particle *\*meh<sub>1</sub>* as found in Gr. μη, Skt. *mā́*, Arm. *mi*, etc. This means that *mimma-* / *mimm-* would reflect *\*mi-móh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*mi-mh<sub>1</sub>-énti*. In the singular, the phonetic outcome would have been *\*\*mimai*, but the geminate of the plural (*mi-mh<sub>1</sub>-enti* > *mimmanzi*) was generalized throughout the paradigm (cf. e.g. *zinnizzi* / *zinnanzi* << *\*zinizzi* / *zinnanzi* < *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>ti* / *\*tinh<sub>1</sub>énti*). Prof. Melchert rightly points out to me that in order for this etymology to be acceptable a convincing scenario should be designed that can explain how the attested syntax of the prohibitive particle, which goes together with an inflected indicative finite verb, developed out of the use of a 2sg.imp.-form.

***mirmirra-*** (c.) ‘mud-water, mire’: acc.pl. *mi-ir-mi-ir-ru-uš* (OH or MH/NS).



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See CHD L-N: 295: hapax in KBo 22.178 iii (7) *šal-ú-i-nu-uš az[-zi-kán-]zi mi-ir-mi-ir-ru-uš [ak-ku-uš-ká]n-zi* ‘they eat mud and drink *m.*’. It is clear that a detestable liquid is meant, probably ‘mud-water’ or ‘mire’. CHD proposes a connection with *mer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *mar-* ‘to vanish’, and suggests ‘filthy drainage water, water which drains away’, but this does not seem very convincing to me. Further unclear.

***mišriyant-*** (adj.) ‘perfect, complete, full’ or ‘bright, splendid’: nom.sg.c. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-za* (NH), *me-eš-ri-ya-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), *me-iš-ri-ya-an-da-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-ti* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-te-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl.c. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-du-uš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-iš-ri-ya-an-ta-aš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***mišriyah<sup>i</sup>*** (IIb) ‘to make *mišriyant-*’ (3pl.pret.act. *mi-iš-ri-ya-aḥ-ḥe[-er]*), ***mišriyanda*** (adv.) ‘splendidly(?)’ (*mi-iš-ri-ya-an-da*), ***mišriyatar*** (n.) ‘wholeness, brightness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-iš-ri-ya-a-tar*), ***mišriyēšš<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become full, to become bright (said of the moon)’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-iš-ri-u-e-eš-zi*).

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See CHD L-N: 297f. for attestations and a semantical discussion. All forms are derived from a stem *mišriya-*. Although it is clear that these words denote something good, perfect or beautiful, it is not exactly clear what the original meaning is. Generally, these words are translated ‘splendid, bright’, but an important argument against this translation may be seen in the use of the verb *mišriyēšš<sup>zi</sup>* (having the moon as subject), which functions as the opposite of *tepauešš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become small (of the moon)’. This may indicate that *mišriyēšš-* must be translated ‘to become big, to wax’, which would imply that all words from *\*mišriya-* have an original meaning ‘big, complete, full, perfect’.

The generally accepted etymology of *\*mišriya-* is based on a translation ‘splendid, bright’: Neumann (1958: 88) connected *\*mišriya-* with the PIE root *\*meis-*, which he translated as ‘to shimmer’. This etymology has found wide acceptance. LIV<sup>2</sup>, however, translates the root *\*meis-* as ‘die Augen aufschlagen’ (Skt. *miṣāti* ‘opens the eyes’), which semantically would not fit ‘bright’ very well. Moreover, if *\*mišriya-* indeed did not mean ‘bright, splendid’, but ‘perfect’, a connection with *\*meis-* becomes impossible anyway.

**mit(t)a-**, **miti-** (adj.) ‘red; (noun) red wool’ (Sum. SA<sub>5</sub>): nom.sg.c. *mi-i-ti-iš* (NH), *mi-ti-e-eš* (OH or MH/NS), *mi-di-iš*, acc.sg.c. *mi-ti-in* (OH/NS), *mi-i-ta-an*, *mi-it-ta-an* (MH/MS), *mi-ta-an*, *mi-ta-a-an* (MH/NS), instr. *mi-it-ti-it* (MS), *mi-ti-it*.

Derivatives: <sup>(sÍG)</sup>**mītae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to tie with red wool(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-ta-iz-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *mi-ta-a-nu-un*; part. *mi-i-da-an-t-*; impf. *mi-ti-eš-ke/a-*), **mīdanima-** ‘?’ (abl. *mi-i-da-ni-ma-az*).

See CHD L-N: 301f. for attestations. In the oldest texts, only the sumerogram SA<sub>5</sub> is used. From MH times onwards, we find phonetic spellings of this word, which show *a*-stem as well as *i*-stem forms. Besides, there are forms with geminate *-tt-* and with single *-t-*. It is difficult to put these forms in a chronological order.

The variety of forms could point to a foreign origin of this word. Nevertheless, Čop (1958: 28-32) connects it with Slav. \**mědb* ‘copper’ (\**moid-o-*). Yet the absence of other IE cognates do not speak in favour of this etymology.

The verb *mītae-<sup>zi</sup>* was translated by Catsanicos (1986: 156) as “fixer, attacher” and reconstructed as \**h<sub>2</sub>mói-to-je/o-* (followed by Kimball 1999: 274), i.e. derived from the root \**h<sub>2</sub>mei-* that he reconstructs on the basis of an equation between Skt. *sūmáya-* ‘well-prepared’ (from the verb *may-* ‘to fix’) and Hitt. *suḥmili-*, allegedly “bien fixé” (q.v.). It is problematic, however, that a preform \**h<sub>2</sub>mói-to-* would regularly yield Hitt. \*\**ḥamaita-* (cf. \**h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>o-* > Hitt. *ḥamešḥa-* and \**d<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>óith<sub>2</sub>e* > Hitt. *daitta*). Moreover, according to CHD (L-N: 304) this verb rather means ‘to tie with red wool’, which would make it a straightforward derivative of *mīta-*, reflecting \**mīta-je/a-*. For a possible connection with *mīdanima-* see CHD L-N: 305.

**miti-**: see *mit(t)a-*, *miti-*

**mīu-** / **mīāu-** (adj.) ‘soft, smooth, mild, gentle, pleasant, agreeable’: nom.sg.c. *mi-i-uš* (OH/MS), *mi-i-ú-uš* (OH?/NS), *mi-ú-uš* (OH/MS), acc.sg.c. *mi-i-ú-un* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *mi-i-ú* (OH/MS), *mi-ú* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. *mi-ja-u-e-eš* (OH/MS), *mi-i-ja-u-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *mi-e-uš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *mi-i-ja-u-ua* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-ú-ua-aš*.

Derivatives: **mīēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be mild, to be gentle, to be pleasant; to become gentle, to become kind’ (3sg.pres.act. *mi-i-e-eš-zi*, 2sg.imp.act. *mi-i-e-eš*, *mi-e-eš* (OH?/MS?), *mi-eš*, 3sg.imp.act. *mi-i-e-eš-du* (OH/NS), *mi-i-e-eš-tu* (OH/MS)), **mīēššar** / **mīēšn-** (n.) ‘gentleness(?), prosperity(?)’ (gen.sg. *mi-i-e-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *mi-eš-ni*), **mīumar** (n.) ‘gentleness, mildness, kindness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-*

*i-ú-mar* (MH/MS), *mi-ú-mar* (MH/MS), *mi-ú-um-mar* (MH/MS), instr. *mi-ú-um-ni-it* (MH/MS)), *mīnu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make mild, to make pleasant, to heal’ (2sg.pres.act. *mi-nu-ši* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *mi-i-nu-nu-un* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *mi-nu-ut* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *mi-nu-ua-an-du* (OH/NS), *mi-nu-an-du*; impf. *mi-i-nu-uš-ke/a-*), *mīnumar* (n.) ‘flattery, gentleness, kindness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-i-nu-mar* (MH/MS), *mi-nu-mar* (OH/NS), *me-nu-mar*, gen.sg. *mi-nu-um-ma-aš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl. *mi-nu-mar*<sup>H1.A</sup>, *mi-nu-mar-ri*<sup>H1.A</sup>).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *mīu-* / *mīiau-* (adj.) ‘smooth’ (nom.pl.c. *mi-i-ia-ūi<sub>5</sub>-en-zī*).

IE cognates: Lat. *mītis* ‘soft’, Lith. *mīelas* ‘tender, lovely’, Russ. *mīlyj* ‘sweet’, etc.

PIE *\*mīh<sub>1</sub>-(e)u-*

See CHD L-N: 306f. for attestations of *mīu-*, 243f. for *mīēšš<sup>-zi</sup>*, 309 for *mīumar*, and 291 for *mīnu<sup>-zi</sup>*. Note that CHD regards the forms spelled as *mi-e-nu-* as belonging to the group of *mīu-* as well, but this is not obligatory (see at *mienu<sup>-zi</sup>*). I will therefore disregard these forms here. Note that CHD incorrectly cites nom.sg.c. “*mi-u-uš*” (KUB 39.41 obv. 17 (NS), KUB 33.38 iv 10 (OH/MS)), which in fact must be *mi-ú-uš*. It is clear that we are dealing with an ablauting *u*-stem adjective *mīu-* / *mīiau-*, with derivatives *mīnu<sup>-zi</sup>* (like *tepnu<sup>-zi</sup>* of *tēpu-* / *tēpau-* ‘few, little’), *mīēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* (fientive in *-ēšš-* of the root *mī-*, which contrasts with e.g. *tepaūēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* of *tēpu-* and *idālaūēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* of *idālu-* / *idālaū-* ‘bad, evil’, but matches *parkēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* beside *parkuēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* of *parku-* / *parkau-* ‘high’) and *mīumar* (a derivative in *-uar* / *-un-* of the stem *mīu-*, showing the development *\*-uū- > -um-*).

Etymologically, *mīu-* has to be compared with Lat. *mītis* ‘soft’, Lith. *mīelas* ‘tender, lovely’, etc. (thus first Knobloch 1959: 38) that point to a root *\*meih<sub>1</sub>-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 240). We therefore have to reconstruct *\*méih<sub>1</sub>-u-* / *\*mīh<sub>1</sub>-éu-*, which was levelled out to *\*mīh<sub>1</sub>-u-* / *\*mīh<sub>1</sub>-eu-* and regularly yielded OH /mīu-/ , /mīiau-/ > NH /mīu-/ , /mīau-/ , spelled *mi-i-u<sup>o</sup>*, *mi-i-ia-u<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>NINDA</sup> *mīumīu(t)-* (n.) a kind of bread, “soft bread”: nom.-acc.sg. *mi-i-ú-mi-i-ú*, *mi-i-ú-mi-u=šša-an*, *mi-ú-mi-ú* (MH/NS), loc.sg. *mi-ú-mi-ú-i*, nom.-acc.pl. *mi-ú-mi-ú-ta*, *mi-ú-mi-ú-da*, [*mi-i-ú-m*] *i-i-ú-ta*.

See CHD L-N: 310 for attestations. The nom.-acc.pl.-form *mīumīuta* shows that this word originally had a stem *mīumīut-*. The fact that in nom.-acc.sg. the word-final *-t* was dropped points to a Luwian provenance of this word. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that this word represents a reduplication of the adj. *mīu-* / *mīiau-*

‘mild, soft’ (q.v.), which is attested in CLuwian as well. See there for further etymology.

**mu-**: see *mau<sup>i</sup>* / *mu-*

**=mu** (encl.pers.pron. acc.-dat. 1sg.) ‘(to) me’

Anat. cognates: Pal. **=mu** ‘for / to me’; CLuw. **=mu** ‘for / to me’, **=mi** ‘for/to me(?)’; HLUw. **=mu** ‘for / to me’.

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The enclitic particle **=mu** denotes the acc. ‘me’ as well as dat. ‘to me’ of the first singular personal pronoun *ūk* / *amm-* ‘I, me’ (q.v.). It is predominantly spelled with single *-m-*. The few cases with geminate *-mm-* are from NS texts only (cf. CHD L-N: 311) and may be due to the fortition of OH intervocalic /m/ to NH /M/ as described in § 1.4.7.1.c. Its *-u-* is elided before enclitics starting with a vowel (e.g. *an-da=m=a-pa*). In the other Anatolian languages, we find a particle **=mu** as well. Note that in HLUwian, too, the *-u-* is elided before other particles starting in a vowel (cf. Plöchl 2003: 64). The function of the CLuwian particle **=mi** is not fully clear, but Melchert (1993b: 147) states that a translation ‘for / to me’ is “[f]ar from certain, but strongly supported by context of some examples”.

Etymologically, **=mu** clearly must be compared to the PIE enclitic dat. *\*moi* ‘to me’ (Gr. *μοι*, Skt. *me*, Av. *mōi*) and acc. *\*mē* ‘me’ (Skt. *mā*, Av. *mā*, Gr. *με*). The aberrant vowel *-u-* probably was taken over from the enclitic **=ttu** ‘(to) you’ (see at **=tta** / **=ttu**). See chapter 2.1 for a general background.

<sup>UZU</sup>**muḥ(ḥa)rai-**: see <sup>UZU</sup>*mahrai-* / *muḥrai-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**mūil(a)-** (n. > c.) an agricultural implement, ‘spade’? (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR(?)): nom.sg.n. *mu-ú-i-il* (NS), nom.sg.c. *mu-ú-i-la-aš* (MS), *mu-i-la-aš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *mu-ú-i-la-an* (MS).

PIE *\*méuh<sub>1</sub>-el-* ?

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See CHD L-N: 319 for attestations. The word occurs in lists of agricultural implements. Tischler (HEG L/M: 226) proposes to equate this word with the sumerogram <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR ‘spade’, which, if correct, could determine this meaning for **mūil(a)-** as well.

Once we find an athematic nom.sg. *mu-ú-i-il*, which I would interpret as neuter. The other forms show a commune thematicized stem *mūila-*. Although two of the thematicized forms are found in a MS text, and the one athematic form in a NS

text only, I assume that the neuter forms are more original, partly on the basis of the similar formation as found in *šūil* ‘thread’ (q.v.). This latter word is a derivative in *\*-il-* from the root *\*s(i)eu<sub>h</sub>1-* ‘to sow’, which would make it formally possible to derive *mūil(a)-* from the root *\*m(i)eu<sub>h</sub>1-* ‘to move’. As this root turned up in Hitt. *mau<sup>i</sup>* / *mu-* ‘to fall’ (q.v.) we could semantically think of an implement with which trees are felled (‘axe’ vel sim.?). The spellings with plene *ú* point to a phonological interpretation /mūil-/, which points to *\*méu<sub>h</sub>1-el-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f).

***mūgae<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to invoke, to evoke, to entreat’: 1sg.pres.act. *mu-u-ga-a-mi* (MH/NS), *mu-u-ga-mi* (MH/NS), *mu-ga-a-mi* (NH), *mu-ga-mi* (OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *mu-ga-a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *mu-ga-a-ez-zi* (OH/MS), *mu-ga-iz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *mu-u-ga-a-an[-zi]*, *mu-u-ga-an-zi*, *mu-ga-a-anzi* (MH?/NS), *mu-ga-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *mu-ú-ga-it* (OH/NS), *mu-ga-i[t]* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *mu-ga-a-i* (OH?/NS), *mu-ga-i* (OH?/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *mu-ka-e-it-te-en* (OH/NS); part. *mu-ga-a-an-t-* (MH/NS); inf.I *mu-ga-a-u-an-zi* (MH/NS), *mu-ga-u-ua-an-zi*, *mu-ga-u-an-zi*; verb.noun. *mu-ga-a-u-ua-ar* (OH/NS), *mu-ga-a-u-ar* (MH?/NS), *mu-ga-u-ua-ar*, *mu-ka<sub>r</sub>-a-u-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *mu-ga-a-u-ua-aš* (OH/NS); impf. *mu-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *mu-ki-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *mu-ga-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***mugāuar*** (n.) ‘materials of an invocation / evocation ritual’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ga-a-u-ar* (MH?/NS)), ***mukēšsar*** / ***mukēšn-*** (n.) ‘invocation, evocation; materials used in an invocation / evocation ritual; (object in a lot oracle)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ke-eš-šar* (MH/NS), *mu-keš-šar* (NH), *mu-ki-iš-š[ar]* (NH), gen.sg. *mu-keš-na-aš* (MH?/NS), *mu-ki-iš-na-aš*, [*mu-k*]i-iš-ša-na-aš, *mu-ge-eš-na-aš*, *mu-u-ki-iš-na-aš* (Bo 6575 obv. 13), dat.-loc.sg. [*m*]u-ki-iš-ni, *mu-keš-ni*, *mu-ke-eš-ni* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. [*m*]u-keš-šar<sup>HLA</sup>, *mu-u-keš-šar<sup>HLA</sup>*).

IE cognates: Lat. *mūgīre* ‘to roar’, Gr. *μυγμός* ‘sigh’.

PIE *\*moug-o-je/o-*

See CHD L-N: 319f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class, and it therefore is likely derived from a noun *\*mūga-*. The plene vowel is consistently spelled with the sign U (the one spelling with *Ú*, *mu-ú-ga-it* (KBo 3.7 i 13), must be regarded as an error, cf. § 1.3.9.4.f).

This verb is generally connected with Lat. *mūgīre* ‘to roar’, Gr. *μυγμός* ‘sigh’, for which a semantic link is provided by <sup>GIS</sup>*mūkar*, an implement that makes noise to invoke the gods, ‘rattle’ (q.v.). All in all, this would mean that we have to reconstruct a root *\*meug-* ‘to make noise (in order to invoke the gods)’ (of which

the nouns *mukēššar* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mūkar* could be derived directly), which formed a noun *\*moug-o-* ‘invocation of the gods through noise’, of which a verbal derivative *\*moug-o-īe/o-* yielded Hitt. *mūgae-zi* ‘to invoke’.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*mūkar* / *mukn-* (n.) implement used as a noise maker, ‘rattle’?: nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ú-kar* (OH/NS), *mu-kar* (OH/NS, MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg.? *mu-un-ka-ri* (OH/NS), abl. *mu-uk-na-za* (NH), gen.pl. *mu-uk-na-aš* (OS), *mu-ka-ri-na-aš* (KBo 41.129 obv. 1).

See CHD L-N: 323 for attestations. The *mūkar* is a thing that makes noise which is used to scare of evil spirits as well as to invoke gods. According to Rieken (1999a: 308) a translation ‘rattle’ may suit the meaning. The *r/n*-stem seems archaic and points to an IE origin. A connection with Lat. *mūgīre* ‘to roar’ and Gr. *μυγμός* ‘sigh’ is generally accepted (cf. Rieken 1999a: 309; Puhvel HED 6: 185) and therefore the word belongs with *mūgae-zi* ‘to invoke’ (q.v.). For *mūkar* / *mukn-* this means that we have to reconstruct *\*méug-r*, *\*mug-n-ós*.


***mum(m)uūai-*** ‘?’: *mu-mu-ua-i* (OH/NS), *μ mu-mu-ua-a-i*; broken *mu-um-mu-ua-a-x[.]*.

CHD (L-N: 329) cites the forms mentioned above under two separate lemmas, namely a verb *mummuūai-* ‘to fall (repeatedly)?’ and a word (*μ*) *mumuūai-* (function and meaning unknown). The former is attested only once in the following context:

KUB 33.68 ii

(3) *nu-u=t-ta ki-i mu-ga-a-u-ua-aš ud-da-a-ar mu-um-mu-ua-a-x[.]*

(4) *e-eš-tu*

We see that the form in question is broken: . CHD reads *mu-um-mu-ua-a-a[n?!]* and interprets this form as a participle of a verb *mummuūai-*, which is analysed as a reduplication of *mau-<sup>i</sup>* / *mu-* ‘to fall’: “May these words of invocation be falling(?) upon you”. The traces of the broken sign do not favour a reading AN, however. Puhvel (HED 6: 188) reads this word as *mu-um-mu-ua-a-i[š?]* and translates “to thee may these words of invitation be an inducement”. The translation ‘inducement’ apparently is based in this context only, which in my view is nothing more than just one of the many possibilities.

The other cases of *mumuūai-* are very unclear: it cannot be decided whether these are nominal or verbal forms. Puhvel translates these forms as ‘inducement’

as well, but such a translation does not seem to make much sense. All in all, we certainly need more attestations of this word to give a meaningful interpretation.

***munnae***<sup>-zi</sup> (\*Ia2 > Ic2) ‘to hide, to conceal’: 1sg.pres.act. *mu-un-na-a-mi* (OH/MS), *mu-na-a-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *mu-un-na-a-š* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *mu-un-na-a-iz-zi* (MH/NS), *mu-un-na-iz-zi* (MH/NS), *mu-un-na-a-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *mu-un-na-at-te-ni* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *mu-u[n-n]a-it-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *mu-un-na-a-an-zi*, *mu-un-na-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *mu-u-un-na-a-it* (OH/NS), *mu-un-na-a-et* (MH/MS), *mu-un-na-it*, 3pl.pret.act. *mu-un-na-a-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *mu-un-na-a-i* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *mu-un-na-a-id-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *mu-un-na-at-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *mu-un-na-an-du* (OH?/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *mu-un-na-at-ta-ri* (MH/NS), *mu-un-na-it-ta-ri* (OH or MH/NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *mu-un-na-it-ta-at* (NH), 3pl.pret.midd. *mu-un-na-an-da-at*; part. *mu-un-na-an-t* (NH), *mu-un-na-a-an-t*; impf. *mu-un-na-eš-ke/a*.

Derivatives: ***munnanda*** (adv.) ‘hidden, concealed’ (*mu-un-na-an-da* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. μύω ‘to close the eyes’.

PIE *\*mu-né-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti* / *\*mu-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-énti* ??

See CHD L-N: 329f. for attestations. The verb shows the *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class inflection from the oldest texts (OH/MS) onwards. Normally, *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class verbs are denominal derivatives of *o*-stem nouns. In this case, this would mean that *munnae-* is derived from a further unattested noun *\*munna-*. Oettinger (1979a: 161ff.) assumes that *munnae-* originally was a nasal infix verb that was taken over into the *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class at a very early stage, however. According to him, Gr. μύω ‘to close the eyes’ should be taken as a cognate. Although this verb is usually regarded as reflecting *\*meus-* on the basis of derivatives like μύσσης ‘adept, insider’, LIV<sup>2</sup> states that the *-s-* could be of a secondary origin and that the verb in fact reflects *\*meuH-* (s.v.). If we would follow this analysis and Oettinger’s interpretation of *munnae-*, we would have to reconstruct *\*mu-né-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti*, *\*mu-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-énti*, which should regularly yield Hitt. *\*\*munāzi* / *munnanzi*, after which the geminate of the plural spread throughout the paradigm, yielding *munnāzi* / *munnanzi*. This verb then already in OH/MH times was reinterpreted as *munnāizzi* / *munnānzi*. A slight problem to this scenario is that the only other verb of which we are sure that it displays such a structure, *h<sub>1</sub>arna*<sup>-zi</sup> / *h<sub>1</sub>arn-* ‘to drip, to sprinkle’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-né-h<sub>2/3</sub>-ti* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-n-h<sub>2/3</sub>-énti*, does not end up in the *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class, but in the *-je/a*-class (*h<sub>1</sub>arni<sub>j</sub>e/a*<sup>-zi</sup>).

Other etymological proposals have no merit. Gr. ἀμύω ‘to ward off’ (cf. Petersen 1937: 208) reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>meu-*, the *\*h<sub>2</sub>* of which would not disappear in

Hittite. Skt. *muṣṇāti* ‘to steal’ (cf. Gusmani 1968: 59-60) reflects \**meusH-*, the *-s-* of which should have shown up in Hittite.

***mušgalla-*** (c.) ‘catterpillar?’ (Akk. *NAPPILU*): nom.sg. *mu-uš-gal-la-aš*.

See CHD L-N: 334: hapax found in a vocabulary only, glossing Akk. *NAP-PÍ-LU*<sup>1</sup> ‘caterpillar’. Since the Akk. form has been emended (from *NAP-PÍ-DU*), the meaning is not certain. CHD tentatively proposes a connection with the impf. of *mau-*<sup>i</sup> / *mu-* ‘to fall’ (cf. e.g. *taruešgala-* (although with single *-l-*) from *tarueške/a-*)).

Puhvel (HED 6: 194) proposes a connection with Lat. *musca*, OCS *muxa*, Lith. *musė* ‘fly’.

***mūtae-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘(without =z) to root, to dig in (the ground); (without =z) to remove (evils); (with =z) to neglect’: 3sg.pres.act. *m[u-t]a-a-iz-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *mu-ta-iz-zi* (NH), *mu-ú-ta-iz-zi*, 2sg.imp.act. *mu-ta-a-i* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *mu-ú-da-id-du* (NS), *mu-da-id-du*; part. *mu-ta-a-an-t-* (MH/NS).

See CHD L-N: 335f. for attestations and semantics. It is difficult to find a basic meaning out of which the different meanings of this verb could have developed. The meanings ‘to remove (evils)’ and ‘to neglect’ (with =z) both go back to ‘to keep away from’. The meaning ‘to root, to dig’ is hard to connect with these two, however, and may show that two originally separate verbs have formally fallen together.

The verb belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which implies denominative derivation of a noun \**mūta-*. Such a noun might be visible in the words *mūtamuti-* ‘pig?’ and *mūdan-* ‘that what pigs eat’. Oettinger (1979a: 377) reconstructs this \**mūta-* as \**muh<sub>1</sub>to-* from \**meuh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to move’, but this is semantically as well as formally not totally satisfactory (cf. the lenited *-t-* = /d/ in Hittite). Other etymologies (see Tischler HEG L/M: 235f.) are not very convincing either.

***mūtamuti-*** (c.?) an animal, ‘pig?’: acc.sg.? *mu-ú-ta-mu-[i-in?]*; broken *mu-da-mu-da[-...]* (KBo 35.187 iii 4).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mutamuti-*** ‘?’ (case? *mu-ta-mu-ti-za*), ***mūdamūdalit-*** ‘?’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ú-da-mu-ú-da-li-ša*, dat.-loc.sg. *mu-ú-da-mu-ú-da-li-ti*).

See CHD L-N: 336f. for discussion. The word is hapax in a list of animals (KUB 7.33 obv. 6). The context of *mudamuda[-...]* is that broken that a meaning cannot be determined. The Luwian words *mutamuti-* and *mūdamūdalit-* resemble the



Hittite forms a lot, but their meaning is unknown, so a connection is unproven. Starke (1990: 222f., on the Luwian words) argues that the place name <sup>URU</sup>ŠAH.TUR-*mu-da-i-mi-iš* perhaps could be read as *mutamutaimi-*, which would imply that *mūtamuti-* means ‘pig’. In that case, a connection with *mūtae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to root, to dig in the ground’ (q.v.) is quite plausible. At the moment, this is all very speculative. See also *mūdan-*.

***mūdan-*** (n.) ‘pig-food’: nom.pl. *mu-ú-da-na*.

This word is hapax in the following context:

KBo 10.37 ii

(16) *A-NA UR.GI<sub>7</sub><sup>HIA</sup> ŠAH<sup>HIA</sup>=ma mu-ú-da-na*

(17) *e-et-ri-e=š-mi-it*

‘but for dogs and pigs *m.* is their food’.

CHD L-N: 337 translates ‘garbage, scraps’, but this meaning does not seem to be totally correct. As the word denotes pigs-food, it probably is related with *mūtae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to root’ (said of pigs), and then denotes ‘that which pigs root’. Again we see a stem *mu-ú-da-* (here with an *n*-suffix) that refers to pigs and how or what they eat (cf. *mūtae-<sup>zi</sup>* and *mūtamuti-*). Further unclear.

***mūya-*** (c.) an awe-inspiring quality (Sum. A.A): acc.sg. *mu-u-ya-an*, A.A-*an*, dat.-loc.pl.(?) *mu-u-ya-aš*.

Derivatives: ***mūyanu-*** (adj.), epithet of Storm-god (acc.sg. *mu-u-ya-nu-un*, dat.-loc.sg. *mu-u-ya-nu*), ***mūyat(t)alla/i-*** (adj.) ‘awe-inspiring(?)’ (Sum. NIR.GÁL; acc.sg.n.? [*m*]u-ya-ta-li, nom.pl.c.? *mu-u-ya-at-ta-a[l-l]i-iš*, acc.pl.c.? *mu-ya-at-ta-lu-uš*; broken *mu-ya-tal[-...]*), ***muyat(t)allahit-*** (n.) ‘the king’s or Storm-god’s ability to inspire awe(?)’ (gen.sg. *mu-ya-ad-da(-al)-la-ḫi-da-aš*, *mu-ya-tal-la-[ḫi-ta-aš]*), ***muyatallatar*** (n.) ‘ability to inspire awe(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ya-tal-la-tar*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mūya-*** ‘to overpower (vel sim.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *mu-u-ya-i*, 3pl.pres.act. *mu-u-ya-an-ti*), ***mūyattalla/i-*** (adj.) ‘overpowering, mighty’ (abl.-instr. *mu-u-ya-at-ta-al-la-ti*), ***muyattallahit-*** (n.) ‘ability to inspire’ (see above), ***mu(ya)tti(ia)-*** (adj.) ‘having overpowering might (?)’ (nom.sg.c. [*m*]u-ut-ti-i-iš, acc.sg.c. *mu-u-ya-at-ti-in*); HLuw. ***muwa-*** ‘to dominate(?), to attack(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *mu-wa/i-i* (SULTANHAN §32), *mu-wa/i-ti* (?), interpretation unclear: KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA line 2), 3sg.pret.act. *mu-wa/i-ta*

(SULTANHAN §44), *mu-wa/i-ta<sub>x</sub>* (TOPADA §29), <sup>\*462</sup>*muwita-* (c.) ‘seed’(?) (acc.sg. <sup>\*462</sup>*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* (KARKAMIŠ A11c §28)), *nimuwinsa-* (c.) ‘child’ (nom.sg. <sup>INFANS</sup>*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, <sup>INFANS</sup>*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, <sup>INFANS</sup>*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá*, dat.-loc.sg. *ni-mu-wa/i-zi* (KARABURUN §7, §9)); Lyc. *muwēte-* ‘descendance?’.

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See CHD L-N: 314f. for attestations. The stem *mūya-* is quite wide-spread in the Anatolian languages, especially in names (Hitt. <sup>m</sup>*Muṣatalli-*, Lyc. *Mutli*). The precise meaning of *mūya-* is not fully clear but CHD’s translation ‘awe-inspiring’ is probably not far from it. The connotation ‘male seed’ is perhaps found in HLuw. *muwita-* ‘seed(?)’, and perhaps Lyc. *muwēte-*, if this really means ‘descendance’ < ‘male seed’ (thus Tischler HEG L/M: 240). Within Hittite, all derived forms show Luwian suffixes, which makes it likely that the term originally was Luwian. No clear etymology.

## N

### -n (acc.sg.c.-ending)

The ending of the acc.sg.c. of stems in vowel is *-n*, whereas consonant-stems show *-an*. It is generally agreed that this ending reflects PIE *\*-m*. Note however, that the expected ending of consonant stems should have been *\*\*-un* < *\*-m̃* (cf. the verbal ending *-un* of the *mi*-conjugated 1sg.pret.act. < *\*-m̃*). This means that the consonant stems have taken over the ending of the *o*-stem nouns, which was *\*-o-m* > Hitt. *-an*.

***nāḥ<sup>i</sup> / naḥḥ-*** (IIa2) ‘to fear, to be(come) afraid, to be respectful, to be careful’ (Sum. ḪUŠ): 1sg.pres.act. *na-aḥ-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *na-aḥ-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-ḥi* (MH/NS), ḪUŠ-*ḥi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *na-a-ḥu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *na-aḥ-te-e-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *na-a-ḥu-un* (NH), *na-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *na-aḥ-ta* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *na-a-ḥi* (OH/NS), *na-ḥi* (OH/NS), *na-a-ḥi-i* (OH/MS); 3pl.pret.midd. *na-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta-at*; part. *na-aḥ-ḥa-an-t-*, *na-aḥ-ḥa-a-an-t-* (OH/NS, MH/MS); verb.noun gen.sg. *na-aḥ-ḥu-u-ua-aš* (NH), *na-a-ḥu-u-ua-aš*; impf. [*n*] *a-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *na-a-ḥi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***naḥšaratt-*** (c.) ‘fear, fright; respect, reverence, awe; frightfulness’ (nom.sg. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-az* (MH/MS), *na-aḥ-šar-az* (MH/NS), *na-aḥ-šar-ra-az* (MH/NS), *na-aḥ-ša-ra-za* (MH/NS) acc.sg. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-ad-da-an* (OH/NS), *na-aḥ-ša-ra-at-ta-an* (MH/MS), *na-aḥ-šar-ra-ta-an* (NH), *na-aḥ-šar-at-ta-an*), *na-aḥ-šar-an-ta-an* (1x, NH), dat.-loc.sg. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-at-ti* (OH/NS), *na-aḥ-šar-ra-at-ti* (NH), abl. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-ta-za*, nom.pl. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-at-te-eš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *na-aḥ-ša-ra-ad-du-uš*, *na-aḥ-šar-ad-du-uš*, gen./dat.-loc.pl. *na-aḥ-šar-at-ta-aš* (MS)), ***naḥšarije/a<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to be(come) afraid; to show respect (for a deity)’

(3sg.pres.act. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-az-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *na-aḥ-šar-ja-an-zi* (MS), *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-an-zi* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *na-aḥ-šar-ri-ja-at-tén*; 3sg.pres.midd. *na-aḥ-šar-ri-ja-an-da-ri* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *na-aḥ-šar-i-ja-aḥ-ḥa-at* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-at-ta-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. [*n*]*a-aḥ-ša-ri-an-ta-ti* (OS), *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-an-da-ti* (NH), *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-an-ta-at* (NH); impf. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *na-aḥ-šar-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***naḥšarijauant-*** (adj.) ‘afraid’ (nom.sg.c. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-ua-an-za* (OH?/NS)), ***naḥšarnu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make (someone) afraid, to cause (someone) to show respect’ (2sg.pres.act. [*n*]*a-aḥ-šar-nu-ši*, 2sg.pret.act.? *na-aḥ-šar-nu-ut*, 3sg.pret.act. *na-aḥ-šar-nu-ut* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***naḥḥuua-*** ‘there is a concern (to someone (dat.) about something/someone (dat.-loc. + *šer*))’ (3sg.pret.act. *na-aḥ-ḥu-u-ua-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *na-aḥ-ḥu-u-ua-ja-ad-du*, *na-aḥ-ḥu-ua-ja-du*, *na-aḥ-ḥu-u-ua-ad-du*), ***naḥḥuuašša/i-*** ‘fearful’ or ‘fearsome’ (nom.pl.c. *na-aḥ-ḥu-ua-aš-ši-en(-zi)*).

IE cognates: OIr. *nár* ‘modest, noble’, *náire* ‘modesty’.

PIE *\*nóh<sub>2</sub>-ei*, *nh<sub>2</sub>énti*, *\*neh<sub>2</sub>-sr*

See CHD L-N: 338f. for attestations. There, a 3sg.pres.act. *na-aḥ-zi* is cited twice, but both attestations should be interpreted otherwise. KBo 23.27 iii 13 (MS) should be read [ ... GEŠ]TIN *na-aḥ-zi-i[š]* *te-pu me-ma-al* ‘a *naḥzi* of wine and a bit of meal’ (see at *naḥši-*, *naḥzi-* for the noun *naḥzi-* that denotes a measurement: this reading also in Tischler HEG N: 246). The line KBo 23.65, 9 (NS) reads as follows:



[ ... *n*]*a-aš-m=a-aš=kán*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *kat-ta-lu-zi x-na-aḥ-zi* (over erasure) *nu* [...]

Apparently, CHD regards the traces in front of the sign NA as the last remnants of the erased form, and interprets the sentence as ‘... or he fears the threshold’. Although collation is needed, I am wondering to what extent it is possible to read [*š*]*a-na-aḥ-zi* and translate ‘... or he sweeps the threshold’. At least semantically, my interpretation would fit better. In this way both acclaimed instances of *naḥzi* are eliminated, which means that we are left with 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-ḥi* and 𐎶UŠ-*ḥi* only, which show that the verb must have been *ḥi*-conjugated originally (contra Tischler HEG N: 246). The few NH instances of 1sg.pres.act. *na-aḥ-mi* show the trivial NH replacement of the ending *-ḥi* by *-mi*.

The view that this verb was *ḥi*-conjugated originally, fits the fact that this verb displays a root-final *-ḥ-*, which would be hard to explain for a *mi*-conjugated verb

since  $*h_2$  is lost preconsonantly ( $*neh_2ti$  should have given Hitt.  $**nāzi$ ). Moreover, the alternation  $nāh-$  /  $nahh-$  is prototypical for  $hi$ -verbs (e.g.  $āk^{-i}$  /  $akk-$ ,  $hāš^{-i}$  /  $hašš-$ ,  $uāk^{-i}$  /  $uakk-$ , etc.). The verb itself hardly can reflect anything else than a root  $*neh_2-$ : 3sg.pres.act.  $nāhi$  <  $*nóh_2ei$ , 3pl.pres.act.  $*nahhhanzi$  <  $*nh_2-énti$ .

Most of the derivatives show a stem  $nahšar-$ , which must reflect  $*neh_2sr$ . This stem has been plausibly connected with OIr. *nár* ‘noble, modest’ (which can be traced back to  $*neh_2sr-o$ ) by Götze & Pedersen (1934: 61) already. This latter word shows a semantic development ‘to fear > to be respectful > to be modest / noble’.

**nahhhaši-**: see *nahši-*, *nahzi-*

**nahši-**, **nahzi-** (c.) a measurement of capacity or weight, = 2 *tarna-*: nom.sg. *na-ah-ḥa-ši-iš*, *na-ah-ši-iš*, *na-ah-zi-iš* (MS).

See CHD L-N: 341f. for attestations. Note that KBo 23.27 iii 31 *na-ah-zi-i[š]* should be added to it, which in CHD is read as *na-ah-zi*, a 3sg.pres.act.-form of  $nāh^{-i}$  /  $nahh-$  (q.v.). The alternation between *š* and *z* indicates that the word is of foreign origin.

**nahzi-**: see *nahši-*, *nahzi-*

**nai<sup>-i</sup>**: see  $nē^{-a(r)}$ ,  $nai^{-i}$  /  $*ni-$

**nakkī-** (adj.) ‘important, valuable; difficult, inaccessible; powerful’ (Sum. DUGUD): nom.sg.c. *na-ak-ki-iš* (OS), *na-ak-ki-i-iš* (MH/NS), *na-ak-ki-eš* (NH), acc.sg.c. *na-ak-ki-in* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *na-ak-ki-i* (MH/MS), *na-ak-ki* (MH/MS), dat.sg. *na-ak-ki-ja* (MH/MS), *na-ak-ki-i*, abl. *na-ak-ki-ja-az* (MH/MS), instr. *na-ak-ki-it*, nom.pl.c. *na-ak-ki-i-e-eš* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *na-ak-ki-uš*, *na-ak-[ki-]ja-aš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-ak-ki-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *na-ak-ki-i-ja-aš*.

Derivatives: **nakkī-** (n.) ‘honour(?), importance(?), power(?), force(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *na-ak-ki* (MS), instr. *na-ak-ki-it* (OS)), **nakkijahh<sup>-i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to be(come) a concern to someone, to be difficult for someone; (part.) honoured, revered’ (3sg.pret.mid. *na-ak-ki-ja-ah-ta-at* (NH); part. *na-ak-ki-ja-ah-ḥa-an-t*), **nakkijatar** / **nakkijann-** (n.) ‘dignity, importance; esteem; power; difficulty’ (Sum. DUGUD-atar: nom.-acc.sg. *na-ak-ki-ja-tar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *na-ak-ki-ja-an-ni* (OH/NS)), **nakkē<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be honoured, to be important; to be

difficult, to be an obstacle' (3sg.pres.act. *na-ak-ke-ez-zi*, *na-ak-ke-e-zi* (MH?/MS?), 3pl.pres.act. *na-ak-ke-ja-a[n-zi]*, 3sg.pret.act. *na-ak-ke-e-et* (OH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *na-ak-ke-e[-et-tén]*; part.(?) *na-ak-ke-ja-an-t*), ***nakkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) 'to become important; to become troublesome to' (3sg.pres.act. *na-ak-ke-eš-zi* (OH?/NS), *na-ak-ke-e-eš-zi* (NH), *na-ak-ki-ja-aš-zi* (1x, NH), 3sg.pret.act. *na-ak-ke-e-eš-ta* (NH), *na-ak-ke-eš-ta* (NH), *na-ak-ki-iš-ta* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *na-ak-ke-eš[-tén]*; 3sg.pret.midd. *na-ak-ke-e-eš-ta-at* (NH); part. *na-ak-ke-e-eš-ša-an-t* (NH); impf. *na-ak-ke-e-eš-ke/a-*, *na-ak-ke-eš-ke/a-*, *na-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-*).

See CHD L-N: 364f. for attestations and semantics. It is remarkable that *nakk̄-* is the only *i*-stem adjective that does not show ablaut in the suffix. Moreover, the *-i* is written plene quite often, which is not the case in other *i*-stem adjectives. These phenomena probably are connected, but the details are unclear. CHD gives a detailed description of the semantic range of this word and its derivatives and must conclude that it denotes (1) 'honoured, important, valuable', (2) 'difficult' and (3) 'powerful'. According to CHD, a meaning 'heavy' cannot be established, which is important for the etymology.

Sturtevant (1930c: 215) connected *nakk̄-* with Hitt. *nini(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to set in motion' (q.v.), which is regarded by him as a cognate to Gr. ἐνεγκεῖν 'to carry' etc. from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>nek-*. This view is widely followed, but semantically this etymology is difficult. The root *\*h<sub>1</sub>nek-* denotes 'to seize, to carry'. If this were the ancestor of Hitt. *nakk̄-*, we would expect that this latter word received the meaning 'important' through a meaning 'heavy', which is connectible with 'to carry'. As CHD states, a meaning 'heavy' cannot be established for *nakk̄-*, which makes this etymology semantically difficult.

The verb *nakkē-<sup>zi</sup>* is regarded by Watkins (1973a: 72) as a stative in *-ē-* < *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*.

***nakku-*** (c.) a remover of evils, a substitute: gen.pl. *na-ak-ku-ua-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *na-ak-ku-ua-aš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives:  $\text{𐎠}^{\text{UDU}}$  ***nakkušša/i-*** (c.) 'scapegoat, carrier (to remove evils)' (nom.sg. *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-iš* (MH/MS), *na-ku-uš-ši-iš* (NH), acc.sg. *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-in* (MH/MS), *na-ak-ku-uš-ša-an*, nom.pl. *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-e-eš* (MH/MS), *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-iš*, acc.pl. *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-uš*, *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-i-uš*), ***nakkuššaḫit-*** (n.) 'status of a carrier or scapegoat' (dat.-loc.sg. *na-ak-ku-uš-ša-ḫi-ti* (NS); broken *na-ak-ku-uš(-ša)-a-ḫi-x[...]* (MS)), ***nakkušatar* / *nakkušann-*** (n.) 'status of a scapegoat or carrier' (dat.-loc.sg. *na-ak-ku-ša-an-ni* (NS)), ***nakkuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) 'to be a scapegoat' (3sg.pres.act. *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-e-zi* (MH?/NS?), *na-ak-ku-uš-[-ši-]e-ez-zi* (MS?), 1sg.pret.act. [*na-*]ak-ku-uš-ši-ja-nu-un), ***nakkuššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2)

‘to be(come) a scapegoat’ (3sg.pres.midd. *na-ak-ku-uš-še-eš-dā*<sup>3</sup> (OH?<sup>3</sup>/NS), *na-ak-ku-uš-še-e-eš-dā*<sup>3</sup> (OH?<sup>3</sup>/NS)).

See CHD L-N: 374f. for attestations and semantics. On the basis of the derivatives *nakkušša/i-*, which is occasionally preceded by a gloss wedge and which shows the Luwian genitival adjective-suffix *-šša/i-*, and *nakkuššahit-*, which shows the Luwian suffix *-ahit-*, we must conclude that this whole set of words probably is of Luwian origin.

Sometimes, the OH word *nakkuš-* (q.v.) is connected with these words as well, but because its meaning is not fully clear and because it occurs in OS texts already, this seems neither obligatory nor likely to me. Nevertheless, on the basis of the fact that *nakkuš-* occasionally is interpreted as ‘damage’ and has been connected by e.g. Catsanicos (1986: 167, followed by Rieken 1999a: 202f.) with Lat. *noceō* ‘to damage’, *noxia* ‘damage’, this connection is made for the group of words treated under the present lemma as well. This seems unlikely to me: I do not see how a meaning ‘substitute, remover of evils, scapegoat’ can be cognate to a meaning ‘damage’. I therefore reject this etymology.

***nakkuš*** (n.) ‘loss(?), damage(?), fault(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *na-ak-ku-uš* (OS).

This word occurs a few times only, of which Hittite Law §98 is the only complete context:

KBo 6.2 iv (with additions from KBo 6.3 iv 52-54)

(53) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM É-er lu-uk-ki-ez-z[(i É-er EGIR-pa ú-e-t)]e-ez-zi*

(54) *an-da-n=a É-ri ku-it har-ak-zi LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>[(.LU=ku GU<sub>4</sub>=ku) UD(U=ku) ]e-eš-za  
na-ak-ku-uš*

(55) *n=a-at [šar-ni-ik]-za*

‘If a free man sets fire to a house, he will rebuild the house. But what perishes inside the house -- whether there is a person or a cow or a sheep -- (is) *nakkuš*. He shall replace it’.

On the basis of this context, *nakkuš* could be translated ‘damage’ or ‘(his) fault’ (cf. CHD L-N: 374-5). Catsanicos (1986: 167) compares *nakkuš* with Lat. *noxia* ‘damage’, especially because of the Lat. syntagm *noxiam sarcire* ‘to repara the damage’, which then would correspond to Hitt. *nakkuš šarni(n)k<sup>zi</sup>* (see at *šarni(n)k<sup>zi</sup>* for the etymological connection with Lat. *sarciō*). Nevertheless, as

long as the exact meaning of *nakkuš* is unclear, this etymology can only be provisional.

***namma*** (adv.) ‘then, next, after that, henceforth; once more, again; in addition, furthermore’: *nam-ma* (OS).

See CHD L-N: 378 for an extensive semantic treatment of this adverb. The word is always spelled *nam-ma*, although when sentence-initial particles follow, the final *a* can be elided: *nam-m=u-uš=za=kán* (KUB 7.1 ii 11) (but compare criticism on this reading in CHD L-N: 391). It can stand in sentence-initial position, but can also be used sentence-internally. In the latter case, the normal clause conjunctives (*nu*, *ta*, *šu*, *=(i)a* or *=(m)a*) are used. This is important for the etymology.

Often, it has been suggested that *namma* reflects the conjunctive *nu* to which an unknown particle is attached (e.g. Tischler HEG N: 268). Because *namma* is just an adverb that occasionally can occupy the initial position in a sentence, this is unlikely. Others have argued that *namma* should contain the connector *=(m)a*, but this is unlikely in view of OS attestations *nam-ma=ma*.

A better inner-Hittite comparandum is the adverb *imma* (q.v.). This word is generally equated with Lat. *immō*, but that does not shed much light on the etymology of *namma*.

***nana(n)kušš(ije/a)-zi*** (Ib1 / Ic1) ‘to be(come) dark, obscure, gloomy’: 3sg.pres.act. [*n*]a-na-an-ku-uš-zi (OH/NS), *na-na-ku-uš-zi* (OH/NS); part. *na-na-ku-uš-ši-ia-an-t*.

Derivatives: ***nanankuššija-*** (adj.) ‘dark, obscure’ (abl. [*na*]-na-an-ku-uš-ši-ia-az).

PIE *\*no-nog<sup>wh</sup>-s-* or *\*no-neg<sup>wh</sup>-s-*

See CHD L-N: 394f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs with *neku-zi* ‘to become evening’ (q.v.) < *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-*, which means that we formally have to reconstruct *\*no-nog<sup>wh</sup>-s-(je/o)-* or, with Melchert (*apud* Oettinger 1994: 328), *\*no-nég<sup>wh</sup>-s-*, assuming *\*-e- > -a-* as in *\*téksti > takkišzi*. See at *laluke/išš-zi* for a parallel formation.

***=nnaš*** (encl.pers.pron. 1pl.) ‘(to) us, our’: *-C=na-aš*, *-V=n-na-aš* (OS), *-V=na-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: see *uēš / anz-*.



Anat. cognates: HLuw. =*nz* ‘us’ (e.g. *ma-wa/i-za ha-sá-tu-’* /man=wa=nt<sup>s</sup> hasantu/ ‘much let them beget for us’ (KARATEPE 1 §56), *wa/i-za<sup>i</sup> | ni-i | ARHA* | “\*69” *sa-tu<sup>i</sup> /wa=nt<sup>s</sup> nī arha santu/* ‘and do not let them miss us’ (ASSUR letter e §13)).

IE cognates: Skt. *nas* (encl.), GAv. *nā*, Lat. *nōs* ‘us’.

PIE \*-*nos*

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See CHD L-N: 396f. for attestations and contexts. This enclitic clearly must reflect \*-*nos* (cf. Skt. encl.pron. *nas* ‘us’). It is unclear to me why the enclitic is usually spelled with geminate *-nn-*. See chapter 2.1 for a more elaborate treatment.

***našma*** (conj.) ‘either, or’: *na-aš-ma* (OS)

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See CHD L-N: 401f. for attestations and contexts. Besides *našma*, we also find the conj. *naššu* ‘either, or’. The distribution between *naššu* and *našma* is strict: in enumerations, *naššu* is used for the first term and *našma* for the second: (*naššu*) *A našma B* ‘(either) *A* or *B*’. This makes it likely that *našma* is to be seen as *naššu* followed by the adversative conjunction =(*m*)*a*. This is corroborated by the fact that *našma* itself is never attested with a following =(*m*)*a*. In ‘normal’ Hittite historical phonology, a development \**naššu=ma* > *našma* is impossible, but it is known that conjunction and particles often obide to other rules. For the etymology of *naššu* see there.

***naššu*** (conj.) ‘or’: *na-aš-šu* (OS).

PIE \*-*no-sue*

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See CHD L-N: 405f. for attestations and semantics. The word is consistently spelled *na-aš-šu*. The hapax spelling *nu-ua-aš-šu* (KBo 27.16 iii 6 (MH/NS)), which is cited by CHD as a full alternative form, has been explained by Otten (1979a: 275) as a wrong copying of *na-aš-šu* (the sign NA (𐎠𐎡) resembles *nu-ua* (𐎠𐎡𐎢)), and therefore is etymologically worthless (cf. Tischler HEG N: 281). The distribution between *naššu* and *našma* ‘either, or’ (q.v.) is that in enumeration *naššu* accompanies the first term with *našma* following (*naššu* *A našma B* ‘either *A* or *B*’). This indicates that *našma* could be derived from *naššu* through \**naššu=ma* (note that *na-aš-šu=ma* itself is attested in Hittite as well, but this does not preclude our interpretation of *našma* as \**naššu=ma*).

For *naššu*, many etymologies have been given (cf. the references in Tischler HEG N: 281f.), none of which was able to totally convince. In my view, we are

likely to be dealing with *na-* ‘not’ (cf. *natta* ‘not’) followed by *-ššu* ‘so’, which then must be compared to ModEng. *so*, ModHG. *so* < \**suō*. For the semantics, compare Dutch *dit, zo niet dat* ‘this, if not (lit. not so) that > this or that’. I therefore tentatively reconstruct \**no-sue* (for loss of word-final \**-e* compare e.g. =*kku* < \**-k<sup>w</sup>e*).

<sup>(GI)</sup>*nāta/i-* (c.) ‘reed, arrow, drinking straw’ (Sum. <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>GI): nom.sg. GI-*aš*, acc.sg. *na-a-ta-an* (NS), *na-ta-an*, *na-ti-in* (1x, OH/NS), gen.sg. GI-*aš*, instr. *na-ti-i-da* (OH/NS), GI-*it* (OH/NS), nom.pl. GI<sup>H1.A</sup>, acc.pl. GI<sup>H1.A</sup>.

Derivatives: *natānt-* (adj.) ‘provided with a drinking straw’ (nom.pl.c. *na-ta-a-an-te-eš* (NH)), *naduuant-* (adj.) ‘having reeds, reedy’ (nom.sg.c. *na-du-ua-an-za*, acc.pl.c. *na-du-ū[a-an-du-uš]*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *nātatta-* ‘reed’ (coll.pl. *na-a-ta-at-ta*).

IE cognates: Skt. *nadā-* ‘reed’, *naḍā-* ‘reed’, Arm. *net* ‘arrow’.

PIE \**nód-o-*

See CHD L-N: 406 for attestations. The bulk of the attestations show an *a*-stem *nāta-*, but once we find an *i*-stem *nati-*, in acc.sg. *natin* (OH/NS). Perhaps we have to assume that this form was influenced by Luw. \**nāta/i-*, which we have to postulate on the basis of CLuw. *nātatta-* ‘reed’.

Since Otten (1955: 392), this word is generally connected with Skt. *nadā-* ‘reed’ and Arm. *net, -i* ‘arrow’. The Skt. form reflects \**nedó-*, whereas the Armenian form goes back to \**nedi-*. The Hittite form, however, must reflect \**nódo-*.

*natta* (negation) ‘not’ (Sum. NU, Akk. *Ú-UL, UL*): *na-at-ta* (OS).

Derivatives: see *nāui*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *nī* ‘not’ (*ni-i*), *nīt* ‘not’ (*ni-it*=); CLuw. *nāya* ‘not’ (*na-a-ú-ya, na-a-ūwa, na-ú-ya, na-u-ya, na-ya*), *nīš* (prohibitive) ‘not’ (*ni-i-iš, ni-iš, ne-iš, ni-i-š*=); HLuw. *na* ‘not’ (*na* (AKSARAY §8, ?TÜNP 1 §7), NEG<sub>2</sub> (often)), *nīs* (prohibitive) ‘not’ (*ni-sa* (ISKENDERUN §6), *ni-i-sá* (MARAŞ 14 §8), NEG<sub>3-sa</sub>); Lyd. *ni-* (prefix) ‘not’, *nīd* ‘not’, *nīk* ‘and not’, *nikumēk* ‘never’; Lyc. *ne* ‘not’, *nepe* ‘not’, *nipe* ‘not’, *ni* (prohibitive) ‘not’.

See CHD L-N: 409f. for attestations and treatment. The word is clearly derived from PIE \**ne* ‘not’, but it is not quite clear in what way. The words found in the other Anatolian languages all could reflect \**ne+*, whereas Hitt. *natta* seemingly reflects an *o*-grade \**no* followed by a particle \**to* (= \**to* as seen in the sentencen initial conjunction *ta* ?). It is problematic, however, that no other example of an

*o*-grade variant besides \**ne* ‘not’ is found in the other IE languages (Skt. *ná*, Lat. *ně*-, OIr. *ne*-, Goth. *ni*, Lith. *ne*, OCS *ne*).

***nāuarta***/*nā* (adv.) ‘for nine laps’: *na-a-ua-ar-ta-an-na*, *na-ua-ar-ta-an-ni*.

See CHD L-N: 421 for attestations. The word occurs in the Kikkuli-text and belongs with the other words in *-uarta* (see *aikaarta*, *panzaarta*, *šattaarta*, *tieraarta*) that are clearly derived from Indic. In this case, *nāuarta* must show haplology from \**nauarta* < Indic \**nava-vartana* ‘nine rounds’.

***nāui*** (adv.) ‘not yet’: *na-a-ú-i* (OS), *na-ú-i* (OH/NS), *na-a-úi<sub>5</sub>* (OH?/NS, MH/NS), *na-úi<sub>5</sub>* (NH), *na-u-úi<sub>5</sub>* (OH?/NS).

PIE \**no-iou-i* ?

See CHD L-N: 421f. for attestations. It is clear that, just as *natta* ‘not’, this word must be derived from PIE \**ne* ‘not’. Eichner (1971: 40<sup>33</sup>) compares OCS *ne ju* ‘not yet’ and reconstructs \**neieu̯i*. According to regular sound changes, such a preform would not yield Hitt. *nāui*, however. Moreover, OCS *ju* corresponds to Lith. *jaũ* and must reflect \**iou*, with *o*-grade. If we that assume that the negation had *o*-grade as well (compare at *natta* < \**no-to*?), we arrive at a preform \**no-iou-i*, which indeed would regularly yield Hitt. *nāui*. See at *natta* for the problems regarding reconstructing an *o*-grade \**no*, however.

***nē***<sup>a(ri)</sup>, ***nai***<sup>i</sup> / \****ni***- (IIIa > IIIg; IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to turn, to turn someone, to turn oneself, to send’: 1sg.pres.midd. *ne-ja-aḥ-ḥa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *ne-ja-at-ta-ti* (NH), *na-iš-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ne-a* (OS), *ne-e-a* (OS), *ne-e-ja* (MH/MS), *ne-i-ja* (OH?/NS), *ne-ja* (OH/NS), *ne-e-a-ri* (MH/MS), *ne-ja-a-ri* (MH/NS), *ne-ja-ri* (NH), *ni-ja* (late NH), *ni-ja-ri* (late NH), 3pl.pres.midd. *ne-e-an-da* (OS), *ne-ja-an-ta* (OH/NS), *ne-e-an-ta-ri*, *ne-an-ta-ri* (NH), *ne-ja-an-da-ri*, *ni-ja-an-ta-ri* (late NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *ne-ja-aḥ-ḥa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *ne-e-a-at* (MH/MS), *ne-ja-at*, *ne-i-ja-at*, *ne-at* (NH), *ni-a-ti* (OH/NS), *ne-at-ta-at* (NH), *ne-ja-at-ta-at* (NH), *ne-ja-ta-at* (NH), *ni-ja-at-ta-at* (NH), 3pl.pret.midd. *ne-e-an-ta-ti* (MH?/NS), *ne-ja-an-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *ne-an-ta-at* (NH), *ne-ja-an-ta-at* (NH), 2sg.imp.midd. *na-a-i-iš-ḥu-ut*, *na-a-iš-ḥu-ut* (OH/NS), *ni-iš-ḥu-ut* (MH/MS), [*n*]a-eš-ḥu-ut, *na-i-eš-ḥu-ut* (MH/NS), *na-iš-ḥu-ut* (NS), *ne-eš-ḥu-ut* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ne-ja-a-ru* (NH), *ne-ja-ru* (NH), *ni-ja-ru* (late NH), 2pl.imp.midd. *na-iš-du-ma-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.midd. *ne-ja-an-da-ru*;

1sg.pres.act. *ne-eh-ĥi* (MH/MS), *ne-ĭa-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *na-it-ti* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *na-i-it-ti* (NH), *na-a-it-ti* (NH), *ne-ĭa-ši* (NH), *ni-ĭa-ši* (late NH), *ne-ĭa-at-ti* (NH), *ne-ĭa-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-i* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ne-ĭa-az-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *na-i-ĭa-ni* (MH?/MS), [*n*]e-ĭa-u-e-ni (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *na-iš-te-ni* (MH/MS), *na-iš-ta-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ne-e-an-zi* (OH/MS), *ne-e-a-anzi* (MH/MS), *ne-e-ĭa-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ne-ĭa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ne-an-zi* (NH), *ni-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ne-e-eh-[ĥu-un]* (OS), *ne-eh-ĥu-un* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ne-ĥu-un* (NH), *ne-ĭa-aĥ-ĥu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *na-a-it-ta* (MH/NS), *na-it-ta* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *na-iš* (MH/MS), *na-a-i-eš* (OH/NS), *na-a-i-iš* (NH), *na-a-iš* (MH/NS), *na-a-it* (MH/MS), *na-it-ta* (OH/MS), *na-a-iš-ta* (NH), *na-eš-ta* (NH), *na-iš-ta* (NH), *ne-ĭa-at* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *ne-ĭa-u-e-en*, *ne-ĭa-u-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *na-i-er* (OH/NS), *na-a-i-er* (MH?/NS), *na-i-e-er*, *na-a-er*, *ne-i-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *na-i* (MH/MS), *na-a-i* (NH), *ne-i-ĭa* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *na-a-ú* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *na-iš-tén* (MH/MS), *na-a-iš-tén* (OH or MH/NS), *na-a-eš-tén* (OH or MH/NS), *ne-ĭa-at-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ne-[ĭ]a-an-du*; part. *ne-e-an-t-* (OS), *ne-e-a-ant-* (MH?/MS?), *ne-an-t-* (MH/NS), *ne-ĭa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ne-e-ĭa-an-t-* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ni-ĭa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *ne-ĭa-u-ua-ar* (NH), *na-i-ua-ar* (OH?/early NS), gen. *ne-e-u-ua-aš* (MH/MS); impf. *na-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *na-i-iš-ke/a-*, *na-a-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *na-a-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: **nanna-<sup>i</sup>** / **nanni-** (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to drive, to ride in an animal-drawn vehicle; to draw/drive back’ (1sg.pres.act. *na-an-na-aĥ-ĥi*, 2sg.pres.act. *na-an-na-at-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *na-an-na-i* (OS), *na-an-na-a-i* (MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *na-an-ni-ĭa-u-e-ni* (early NS), 3pl.pres.act. *na-an-ni-an-zi* (OS), *na-an-ni-ĭa-an-zi* (OH/NS), *na-a-an-ni-ĭa-an-zi*, *na-an-na-an-zi* (NH), *na-na-an-zi* 1sg.pret.act. *na-an-na-aĥ-ĥu-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *na-an-ni-iš-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *na-an-ni-e-er* (MS), *na-an-ni-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *na-an-ni* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *na-an-na-ú* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *na-an-ni-iš-tén* (MS); 3pl.pres.midd. *na-an-ni-an-ta*[(-)], *na-an-ni-an-da*[(-)]; impf. *na-an-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *na-an-ni-eš-ke/a-*, **nenna-<sup>i</sup>** / **nenni-** (IIa5) ‘to drive (animals)’ (3pl.pres.act. *ne-in-ni-ĭa-an-zi*), see <sup>GIS</sup>*niniĭal*(la)-, *penna-<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* and *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **nana-** ‘to lead(?)’ (2sg.pres.act. *na-na-a-at-ti*, 3pl.pret.act. *na-na-an-ta*, part. *na-na-am-ma-an*); HLuw. **?niasha-** ‘procession’ (acc.sg. CRUS.CRUS(-)*ní-ia-sa-ha-na* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §16)).

IE cognates: Skt. *nay<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to lead’.

PIE *\*néih<sub>1/3</sub>-o*, *\*nóih<sub>1/3</sub>-ei* / *\*nih<sub>1/3</sub>-énti*

See CHD L-N: 347f. for attestations and an elaborate treatment of the meaning of this verb. In OS texts, we mostly find middle forms, which indicates that

originally the middle paradigm was dominant. The oldest attested forms are 3sg.pres. *nēa* (OS) and 3pl.pres. *nēanda* (OS), which probably have to be interpreted as /néʔa/ and /néʔanta/ (or /néʔanta/?). These forms regularly developed into MH /néa/ and /néanta/, which were phonetically realized as [né<sup>i</sup>a] and [né<sup>i</sup>anta], spelled *ne-e-ja* and *ne-ja-an-da*. In NH times, these forms were reinterpreted as belonging to a thematic stem *nēja-*, which gave rise to the NH forms *nejahhari*, *nejattari* etc.

In the active paradigm, the singular forms are inflected according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class inflection and show the stem *nai-* (*nehhi*, *naitti*, *nāi*). In the pl.pres.-forms we therefore would have expected to find the stem *ni-*, but this is unattested. In 1 and 2pl.pres.act. we find the trivial MH analogical introduction of the full-grade stem (1pl.pres.act. *naijani* (MH/MS) instead of expected *\*niūēni*; 2pl.pres.act. *naištani* (MH/MS) and *naišteni* (MH/MS) instead of expected *\*ništēni*). In 3pl.pres.act., however, we suddenly find *nēanzi* (OH/MS) instead of expected *\*\*nijanzi* (but note that *\*nijanzi* is indeed attested in the derivatives *nanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *nanni-* (*nannianzi* (OS)), *penna-<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* (*pennijanzi* (OH/MS)) and *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-* (*ūnnianzi* (OH/MS))). In my view, this *nēanzi* must be an analogical rebuilding on the basis of 3pl.pres.midd. *nēanda*. In younger times, *nēanzi* develops into *nejanzi* as well. On the basis of this latter form as well as on the basis of the NH middle stem *neja-*, a *mi*-inflected active stem *neja-<sup>zi</sup>* is spreading in NH times.

Within the middle paradigm, 2sg.imp.midd. *naišhut* and 2pl.imp.midd. *naišdumat* are fully aberrant. Not only do they show an unexpected vocalism (*nai-* instead of *nē-*), they also contain an unclear *-š-*. In my view, these facts can only be explained if we assume that *naišhut* and *naišdumat* are secondary formations in analogy to 2pl.imp.act. *naišten*. This latter form, which shows the regular active stem *nai-* followed by the regular 2pl.imp.-act.-ending of the *hi*-flexion *-šten*, was incorrectly reanalysed as *naiš-ten* as a result of the MH replacement of the *hi*-ending *-šten* by the *mi*-ending *-tten* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.d). This newly analysed ‘stem’ *naiš-* then was reinterpreted as the specific imperative-stem and therefore transferred to the imperatives of the middle paradigm as well, replacing the original forms *\*nēhhut* and *\*nēdumat* by *naišhut* and *naišdumat*.

The etymological connection with Skt. *nay<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to lead’ was made already by Hrozný (1917: 29<sup>3</sup>) and has been generally accepted since. This means that we have to reconstruct a root *\*neiH-*. In Hittite, middles reflect either zero or *e*-grade. This means that *nēa*, *nēanda* must reflect *\*néiH-o*, *\*néiH-nto* (old stative, compare e.g. Skt. inj.midd. *nayanta*). On the basis of 3sg.pres.midd. *\*néiH-o* >

Hitt. *nē(i)a* we can conclude that the root-final laryngeal cannot have been  $*h_2$ , because this consonant should have been retained as *-h-* intervocalically. The active stem *nai-* must, like all *hi-*inflected verbs, reflect *o*-grade, which means that *neh̄hi*, *naitti*, *nāi* go back to  $*nóiH-h_2ei$ ,  $*nóiH-th_2ei$ ,  $*nóiH-ei$ . Note that 3sg.  $*nóiH-ei$  regularly should have yielded Pre-Hitt.  $**/né?el/$ , cf.  $*h_2eih_3us >$  Hitt. *hēuš* ‘rain’. I therefore assume that 3sg.  $*nóiH-ei$  was replaced by  $*nói-ei$  in analogy to the 1sg.- and 2sg.-forms where  $*-H-$  was interconsonantal and therefore lost at an early moment, yielding  $*nói-h_2ei$  and  $*nói-th_2ei$ . This new form,  $*nóiei$ , regularly yielded  $*/nāie/ >> */nāii/ > /nāi/, na-a-i$ .

The derivative *nanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *nanni-* inflects according to the *mēma/i*-class. Melchert (1998b: 416) interprets this verb as an *-anna/i*-imperfective of *nai-<sup>i</sup>* /  $*ni-$ , but this is unlikely, as we would expect such a formation to have been  $**nianna/i-$ . I therefore rather interpret *nanna/i-* as a reduplication of *nai-*. The fact that *nanna/i-* does not inflect according to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class is paralleled in the derivatives *penna-<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* and *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-* (q.v.), and is due to the pre-Hittite influence of the *tarn(a)*-class on polysyllabic *dāi/tijanzi*-class-verbs (cf. the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h). The origin of the geminate *-nn-* in *nanna/i-* (as well as in *penna/i-* and *unna/i-*) is unclear to me.

**nēi(a)-**: see  $nē-^{a(ri)}$ , *nai-<sup>i</sup>* /  $*ni-$

**neka-** (c.) ‘sister’ (Sum. NIN, Akk. *AḫĀTU*): acc.sg. *ne-ga-an* (OH/NS), dat.sg. NIN-*i=š-ši* (OS), nom.pl. NIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ni-ku-uš* (OH/MS), *ni-e-ku-uš* (OH/MS), *ni-ku-uš(?)* (NS), dat.pl. *ne-ga-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **NIN-tar** ‘sisterhood’ (nom.-acc.sg. NIN-*tar*, dat.-loc.sg. NIN-*ni*), see *annaneka-* and *nekna-*.

PAnat.  $*ne^{(g)}o-$

See CHD L-N: 425f. for attestations. The forms spelled with the sign NI are transliterated in CHD with *né*: *né-ku-uš*, *né-e-ku-uš*.

To my knowledge, there are no cognates in the other Anatolian languages of this word itself. Of its derivative *nekna-* ‘brother’ (q.v.), we do find cognates however. Mechanically, *neka-* must reflect PAnat.  $*ne^{(g)}o-$ , but I know of no IE cognates.

**nekna-** (c.) ‘brother’ (Sum. ŠEŠ, Akk. *AḫU*): voc. *ne-ek-na*, ŠEŠ-*ni*, nom.sg. ŠEŠ-*aš*, acc.sg. ŠEŠ-*an*, gen.sg. ŠEŠ-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. ŠEŠ-*ni*, abl. ŠEŠ-*az*, nom.pl. ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*iš*, ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš*.

Derivatives: \**neknatar* / *neknann-* ‘brotherhood’ (nom.-acc.sg. ŠEŠ-*tar*, dat.-loc.sg. ŠEŠ-*an-ni*), \**neknahh-*<sup>i</sup> (Ib) ‘to make someone a brother, to regard someone as a brother’ (1sg.pret.act. ŠEŠ-*aḥ-h[u-un]*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *nāni(ia)-* (adj.) ‘of a brother’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *na-a-ni-ia-an*, ŠEŠ-*ia-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-ne-ia*, abl.-instr. *na-a-ni-ia-ti*), *nānahit-* ‘brotherhood’ (form? *na-a-na-ḥi(-)...*), *nānašrija-* (adj.) ‘of a sister’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. NIN-*ja-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-na-aš-ri[-ja]*); HLuw. *nanasri-* (c.) ‘sister’ (dat.pl. <sup>FEMINA</sup>*na-na-sa;+ra/i-za* /*nanasrint<sup>s</sup>*/ (MARAŞ 6 line 1)); Lyc. *nēne/i-* ‘brother’ (nom.sg. *nēni*, dat.-loc.pl. *nēne, nene*).

PAnat. \**neḡno-*

See CHD L-N: 428 for attestations. In Hittite, the word is written phonetically only once, in voc.sg. *nekna*. On the basis of its Anatolian cognates CLuw. \**nāna/i-* and Lyc. *nēne/i-*, we can reconstruct PAnat. \**neḡno-*. This seems to be a derivative of the word for ‘sister’ as found in Hitt. *neka-* < PAnat. \**neḡo-*. In the Luwian languages, the word for ‘sister’ is derived from ‘brother’, however: *nānašri-* < \**neḡno-* + *ašri-*. No outer-Anatolian cognates are known.

Note that Luw. *nāna-* ~ Hitt. *nekna-* proves that in Luwian, internal \**ḡ* disappears before nasal.

*nekku* (negative adv.) ‘not?’: *ne-ku* (OH/MS), *ni-ku* (OH/MS), [*ne-*]*ek-ku* (OH/MS), *ne-ek-ku*, *ni-ik-ku* (OH or MH/NS),

IE cognates: Lat. *nec, neque*.

PIE \**ne-k<sup>w</sup>e*

See CHD L-N: 432 for attestations. This adverb is used in rhetorical questions: ‘did I not ...?’. Already Hahn (1936: 110<sup>14</sup>) analysed it as \**ne-k<sup>w</sup>e* (cf. Lat. *nec, neque*), which is generally accepted. Eichner’s suggestion (1971: 31-34) to connect *nekku* with the question particle \**-ne* in Lat. *-ne*, Av. *-nā* is superfluous as these particles are identical to the negation \**ne*. Note that the geminate spelling *-kk-* shows that in this case \**k<sup>w</sup>* remained fortis (contra Melchert 1994a: 61f., who claims that intervocalic \**k<sup>w</sup>* unconditionally became “voiced” in PAnat.).

*neku-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to become evening’: 3sg.pres.act. *ne-ku-uz-zi* (OH/NS), *ne-ku-zi* (MH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ne-ku-ut-ta* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ne-ku-ut-ta-at* (NH).

Derivatives: *nekuz meḥur* (adv.) ‘at night, in the evening’ (*ne-ku-uz* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ne-ku-za* (NH), *ne-ku-uz-za* (NH)), see *nana(n)kušš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: Gr. νύξ, νυκτ- ‘night’, ἔννυχος ‘nightly’, Lat. *nox* ‘night’, Goth. *nahts* ‘night’, Lith. *naktis* ‘night’, OCS *noštъ* ‘night’.

PIE *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-*; *\*nog<sup>wh</sup>-t-s*, *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-t-s*

See CHD L-N: 432 for attestations. The verb *neku<sup>-zi</sup>* originally was active only. In NH times, middle forms were created in analogy to its opposite *lukk<sup>-tia</sup>* ‘to become light’.

The verb *neku<sup>-zi</sup>* and the expression *nekuz mēhur* ‘at night, in the evening’ are generally regarded as cognate to the PIE word for ‘night’ that is usually reconstructed as *\*nok<sup>w</sup>ts* (Lat. *nox*, Goth. *nahts*, etc.). According to Schindler (1967), the expression *nekuz mēhur* literally meant ‘time of night’ and shows the original gen.sg. *\*nek<sup>w</sup>ts*. This then means that the word for ‘night’ had a static inflection: nom.sg. *\*nók<sup>w</sup>ts*, gen.sg. *\*nék<sup>w</sup>ts*. The fact that in Hittite the verbal root *neku<sup>-zi</sup>* is attested, indicates that *\*nok<sup>w</sup>ts* actually was a *t*-stem *\*nok<sup>w</sup>-t-s*.

The consistent single spelling of *-k-* in Hittite is problematic, however: it seems to point to PANat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* < PIE *\*g<sup>w(h)</sup>*. According to Melchert (1994a: 61), intervocalic *\*k<sup>w</sup>* yielded PANat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* unconditionally, but this cannot be correct in view of forms like *nekku* < *\*ne-k<sup>w</sup>e*, *takku* < *\*to-k<sup>w</sup>e*, *takkušš-* < *\*dek<sup>w</sup>s-*, *šakkuṽani-* ‘mud-plaster’ < *\*sok<sup>w</sup>-on-i-*. This means that the PANat. preform *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-* has to be taken seriously.

In Greek, we find two stems for ‘night’, namely νυκτ- in νύξ, νυκτός ‘night’, and νυχ- in ἔννυχος ‘nightly’, νύχιος ‘nightly’ and νυχεύω ‘to spend the night’. Although νυκτ- seems to reflect *\*nok<sup>w</sup>t-*, νυχ- must reflect *\*nog<sup>wh</sup>-*. I therefore conclude that the Greek stem νυχ- together with Hitt. *neku-* shows that the root itself must have been *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-*. The PIE *t*-stem originally must have been *\*nog<sup>wh</sup>-t-s*, *\*neg<sup>wh</sup>-t-s*, of which the latter form yielded Hitt. *nekuz*. Only in the separate IE languages, where the old fortis : lenis opposition was rephonemicized as a distinction in voice, an assimilation of *\*nog<sup>wh</sup>ts* to *\*nok<sup>w</sup>ts* took place.

**nekumant-** (adj.) ‘naked’: nom.sg.c. *ne-ku-ma-an-za* (MH/MS), *ni-ku-ma-an-za* (OH/NS), *ne-kum-ma-an-za* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ne-ku-ma-an-ti* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ne-ku-ma-an-te-eš* (MH?), *ni-ku-um-ma-an-te-eš*, [*n*]e-kum-ma-an-te-eš, *ne-ku-ma-an-ti-š=a-at*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ne-ku-ma-an-ta*.

Derivatives: **nekumantae<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to undress oneself’ (3sg.pres.act. [*n*]e-ku-ma-an-ta-iz-zi), **nekumandarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to undress, to strip (someone)’ (3pl.presact. *ni-ku-ma-an-da-ri-an-zi* (OH/MS?), *ne-k[u-u]m-ma-an-ta-ri[-ia-an-*



zi], 3pl.pres.midd. *ne-ku-ma-an-ta-r[i-an-ta-ri]*), *nekmuntatar* (n.) ‘destitution’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ne-ek-mu-un-ta-ta[r]* (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *nagná-*, Av. *mayna-* ‘naked’.

PIE *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-no-nt-*

See CHD L-N: 433f. for attestations. The word clearly belongs with the other IE words for ‘naked’, as already noticed by Götze (1928: 120). Nevertheless, a reconstruction is difficult as the different languages point to different suffixes: *\*nóg<sup>w</sup>-o-(d<sup>h</sup>)o-* in Lith. *núogas*, Lat. *nūdus*, Goth. *naqaps*, OIr. *nocht*; *\*ne/og<sup>w</sup>-no-* in Skt. *nagná-*, Av. *mayna-* (with dissimilation); *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-ro-* in Arm. *merk* (also with (tabuistic?) dissimilation). Hitt. *nekumant-* seems to derive from *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-mo-nt-*, but it is possible that it shows a dissimilation from *\*nekunant-* < *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-no-nt-*. In that case, it would be equatable to Skt. *nagná-* and Av. *mayna-*.

Note that a reconstruction *\*neg<sup>w</sup>-uent-* is impossible as a sequence *\*K<sup>w</sup>u-* does not participate in the rules *\*-uu- > -mu-* and *\*-uū- > -um-* (cf. *akueni* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>uénī*).

The derivative *nekmuntatar* ‘destitution < \*nakedness’ shows a quite aberrant form. We would expect *nekumantatar*.

*nēpiš-* (n. (> c.)) ‘sky, heaven’ (Sum. AN, Akk. *ŠAMŪ*): nom.-acc.sg.n. *ne-e-pí-iš* (OS), *ne-pí-iš* (OS), *ne-pé-eš* (OH?/NS), nom.sg.c. [*ne-p*]í-ša-aš (NH), AN-aš (NH), acc.sg.c. *ne-pí-ša-an* (OH or MH/MS), gen.sg. *ne-e-pí-ša-aš* (OS), *ne-pí-ša-aš* (OS), *ni-pí-ša-aš* (OH/MS), all.sg. *ne-e-pí-ša* (OS), *ne-pí-ša* (OH/NS), loc.sg. *ne-e-pí-ši* (MS), *ne-pí-ši* (OS), *ne-pí-iš*, erg.sg. *ne-pí-ša-an-za* (MH/MS), abl. *ne-e-pí-iš-za* (OS), *ne-pí-iš-za* (OS), *ne-e-pí-ša-az* (OH/MS), *ne-pí-ša-az* (MH/MS), *ne-pí-ša-za* (OH or MH/NS), gen.pl. *ne-pí-ša-an* (MH/MS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tappaš-* (n.) ‘heaven’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-ap-pa-aš-ša*, *tap-pa-aš-ša*, *tap-paš-ša*, dat.-loc.sg. *tap-pa-ši-i*, *tap-pa-ši=*, abl.-instr. *ta-ap-pa-ša-t[í]*, erg.sg. *tap-pa-ša-an-ti-iš*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *tap-pa-ša-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. *tīpas-* (n.) ‘heaven’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-sá* (TÜNP 1 §4, KÖRKÜN §9), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-si* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §2, MARAŞ 14 §6), <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-si-i* (TELL AHMAR 3 §1), erg.sg. <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-sa-ti-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §21), abl.-instr. <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-sa+ra/i-i* (SULTANHAN §14), gen.adj.nom.pl.c. <sup>“CAELUM”</sup>*tī-pa-sa-si-zi* (SULTANHAN §33b)).

PAnat. *\*nébos*, *\*nebésos*

IE cognates: Skt. *nábhas-* ‘cloud, mist’, Gr. *νέφος* ‘cloud’, OCS *nebo* ‘heaven’, Lith. *debesis* ‘cloud’.

PIE *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os*, *\*neb<sup>h</sup>-és-os*.

See CHD L-N: 448f. for attestations. The word is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. Despite the fact that some commune forms are attested (nom.sg.c. *nepišaš* and acc.sg.c. *nepišan*), the manifold attestation of nom.-acc.sg.n. *nēpiš* in OS texts clearly shows that the word is neuter originally.

Already Hrozný (1919: 72<sup>5</sup>) identified this word as the cognate of Skt. *nābhas-* ‘cloud’, Gr. *véφος* ‘cloud’, etc. This neuter *s*-stem must originally have inflected proterodynamically: *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-s*, *\*nb<sup>h</sup>-és-s*, which possibly already in PIE was normalized to *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os*, *\*neb<sup>h</sup>-és-os* (cf. Schindler 1975b). In Hittite, we find the stem *nēpiš-*, which must reflect *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-es-*, throughout the paradigm, including in nom.-acc.sg. This implies that first the stem accentuation of nom.-acc.sg. *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os* spread throughout the paradigm, changing *\*neb<sup>h</sup>-és-os* to pre-Hitt. *\*néb<sup>h</sup>esos*. Afterwards, the suffix-syllable *-es-* was taken over into the nom.-acc.sg. as well, changing *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os* to pre-Hitt. *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-es* > *nēpiš* as attested. Nevertheless, there are some possible traces of the original nom.-acc.sg.-form *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os* to be found in Anatolia. As Kryszat (2006: 113) convincingly shows, the deity *Ni-ba-aš* as attested in the Old-Assyrian Kültepe-texts was the major deity besides *Annā* (= Hitt. *anna-* ‘mother’ and therefore ‘mothergod’?), and is therefore likely to be equated with <sup>d</sup>IM, the Storm-god. This makes it very attractive to interpret *Ni-ba-aš* as a spelling for /nébas/ (cf. Kryszat 2006: 113<sup>70</sup> for the possibility of a reading “*Nepaš*”), the expected outcome of PIE *\*néb<sup>h</sup>-os*. This implies that in pre-Hittite times the paradigm still was /nébas/, /nébasas/. Note that Melchert (1994a: 138) assumes that post-tonic *\*e* in open syllable yields /a/, whereas post-tonic *\*e* in closed syllable yields /i/. For gen.sg. *nēpišaš*, which seems to reflect *\*néb<sup>h</sup>esos* directly, he therefore must assume that the regular outcome *\*/nébasas/* was replaced by /nébisas/ on the basis of nom.-acc.sg. /nébis/ and abl. /nebis<sup>s</sup>/ where /i/ is regular (*\*néb<sup>h</sup>es*, *\*néb<sup>h</sup>es-ti*). If this scenario is correct, and if OAss. *Ni-ba-aš* indeed represents Hitt. /nébas/, we must assume that between the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century BC (the period of the OAss. tablets) and the 16<sup>th</sup> century (the period of OH texts), the following developments must have taken place: (1) replacement of nom.-acc.sg. /nébas/ by *\*/nébes/* in analogy to oblique cases like *\*/nébasas/*; (2) the weakening of posttonic *\*e* to /i/ in closed syllables and to /a/ in open syllables, yielding /nébis/ and *\*/nébasas/*; and (3) the spread of nom.-acc.sg. /nébis/ throughout the paradigm, replacing *\*/nébasas/* by /nébisas/. This would show that the weakening of posttonic *\*e* is a very recent phenomenon.

The exact interpretation of the Luwian forms is less clear, however. Although CLuw. *tappaš-* shows a geminate *-pp-* that can only be explained through Čop’s Law and therefore must reflect *\*néb<sup>h</sup>e/os-*, the interpretation of HLuw. *tipas-* is

difficult. It is generally thought that HLuw. *-i-* can only reflect *\*-i-* or *\*-ē-*. In this case it would then mean that *tipas-* reflects *\*nēb<sup>h</sup>e/os-*, but such a lengthened grade is not attested anywhere else in the IE languages. Hajnal (1995: 63) therefore states that here *-i-* must be the outcome of pretonic short *\*e*. This would mean that HLuw. *tipas-* reflects *\*neb<sup>h</sup>és-*. If this is correct, the pre-Luwian paradigm should have been *\*nēb<sup>h</sup>os*, *\*neb<sup>h</sup>ésos*, which would indeed fit the other material.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*nešumen-* / *nešumn-* (c.) ‘man from the town of Nēša (Kaniš), Nešite’: nom.pl. *ne-šu-me-né-eš* (OS).

Derivatives: *nešumnili* (adv.) ‘in the language of the Nešites (= Hittites)’ (*ne-eš-[u]m<sup>1</sup>-ni-[li]*), *kanišumnili* (adv.) ‘in the languages of the Kanišites (= Hittites)’, <sup>URU</sup>*nišili* (adv.) ‘in Nešite’ (*ni-ši-li*), *nāšili* (adv.) ‘in Nešite’ (*na-a-ši-li*).

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See CHD L-N: 454. All forms are derived from the placename Nēša, Kaniš (modern-day Kültepe). As this place was the original capital of the Hittites, the Hittites refer to themselves as *nešumena-* ‘Nešite’ and to their language as *nišili* ‘in Nešite’ or *kanišumnili* ‘in the language of the Kanišites’. The name of the town is probably proto-Hattic, showing the prefix *ka-* ‘in’ (so *\*/ká-nes/* besides *\*/nés-a/*). For the appurtenance-suffix *-umen-* / *-umn-* see its own lemma.

*nēya-* (adj.) ‘new, fresh’ (Sum. GIBIL): nom.sg.c. GIBIL-*aš*, acc.sg.c. GIBIL-*an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ne-e-ya-an* (OH/MS), *ne-e-u-ya-an* (OH?/NS), instr. *ne-e-u-[it]* (MH/NS), *ni-u-i-i[ti]*, acc.pl.c. *ne-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: *nēyah<sup>1</sup>-i* (IIb) ‘to renew, to restore, to make new again’ (1sg.pres.act. GIBIL-*aḥ-mi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ne-e-u-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ne-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (MH?/MS?), 1sg.pret.act. *ne-ya-aḥ-ḥu-un* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ne-ya-aḥ-ḥa-aš* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ne-ya-aḥ-ḥe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ne-ya-a-aḥ* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ne-e-u-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-du* (MH/MS), *ne-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-du* (MH/NS); part. *ne-u-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-t-* (MH/MS)); inf.I [GI]BIL-*an-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *nāya/i-* (adj.) ‘new’ (abl.-instr. *na-a-ú-ya-ti*, *na-ú-ya-ti*, *na-a-ú-ya-te*).

IE cognates: Skt. *náva-*, Gr. *véoc*, Lat. *novus*, OCS *novъ* ‘new’.

PIE *\*néuo-*

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See CHD L-N: 455f. for attestations. Since long, the etymology has been clear: the word belongs with Skt. *náva-*, Gr. *véoc*, etc. ‘new’ and reflects *\*néuo-*. The derivative *neuahh-*<sup>i</sup> is cognate to Lat. *novāre* ‘to renew’, Gr. *veáo* ‘to plough up’ and reflects *\*neueh<sub>2</sub>-*.

PIE *\*néuo-* probably is a derivative of *\*nu* ‘now’ (see at *nu*).

**ni(ja)-**: see *nē<sup>a(n)</sup>*, *nai<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-*

**nik<sup>zi</sup>**: see *ni(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**ninijal-** (n.) ‘cradle’: nom.-acc.sg. *ni-ni-ja-al*, dat.-loc.sg. *ni-ni-ja-al-li*, loc.pl. *ni-ni-ja-la-aš*.

See CHD L-N: 438 for attestations. Neumann (1961a: 85) interpreted the word as a derivative of *nē<sup>a(n)</sup>*, *nai<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-* ‘to turn, to send’ (q.v.), which could be possible if that verb could be used for ‘rocking’ as well. If so, then we are dealing with *\*ni-nih<sub>1/3</sub>-ol-*.

<sup>NINDA</sup>**ninijami-** (c.) a bread or pastry: nom.sg. *ni-ni-ja-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *ni-ni-ja-mi-in*.

See CHD L-N: 438 for attestations. Formally, the word looks like a Luwian participle of a verb *ninija-*, which formally resembles Hitt. *nē<sup>a(n)</sup>*, *nai<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-* ‘to turn’ (cf. CHD). Nevertheless, as long as the exact meaning of this word cannot be determined, this remains speculation.

**nini(n)k<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib3) ‘to mobilize, to set (people) in motion; to move, to transfer; to set in motion; (midd. and intr. act.) to behave in a disorderly manner; to disturb, to agitate’: 1sg.pres.act. *ni-ni-ik-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ni-ni-ik-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *ni-i-ni-i[k-z]i* (OS), *ni-ni-ik-zi* (MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ni-ni-in<sup>1</sup>-ku-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ni-ni-ik-te-ni* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ni-ni-in-kán-zi* (MH/MS), *ni-ni-kán-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ni-ni-in-ku-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ni-ni-ik-ta* (MH/MS), *ni-ni-in-ga-aš* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ni-ni-in-ke-er* (MH/MS), *ni-ni-in-ker*, 2sg.imp.act. *ni-ni-ik* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *ni-ni-ik-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *ni-ni-in-kán-du* (MH/MS); 2sg.pres.midd. [*n*]e-ni-ik-ta-ti (NH), *ne-ni-ik-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ni-ni-ik-ta-ri* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ni-ni-in-kán-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ni-ni-ik-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *ni-ni-ik-ta-at* (NH), 3pl.pret.midd. [*ni*]-ni-in-kán-ta-ti, 3sg.imp.midd. *ni-ni-ik-ta-ru* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.midd. [*n*]i-ni-ik-du-ma-at

(MH/MS), *ni-ni-ik-tum-ma-at* (MH/NS); part. *ni-ni-in-kán-t-* (MH?/MS?); inf.I [nī]-*ni-in-ku-u-an-zi*; verb.noun *ni-ni-in-ku-ṽa-aš*; impf. *ni-ni-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *ni-ni-in-kiš-ke/a-*, *ni-ni-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***nininkeššar*** (n.) ‘mobilization(?), movement(?), uprising(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ni-ni-in-ke-eš-šar*).

IE cognates: OCS *vъz-nikŏ* ‘they raised themselves’, Lith. *į-nikti*, *į-ninkù* ‘to occupy oneself with’, *ap-nikti* ‘to attack’, Gr. *veĩkoç* ‘fight, war’.

PIE *\*ni-nin-k-*

See CHD L-N: 438f. for attestations and semantics. The attested forms show a precise distribution between the stem *ninink-* and *ninik-*: the former is found when the ending starts in a vowel (*ninink-V*) whereas the latter is found when the ending starts in a consonant (*ninik-C*) or when no ending is found at all (*ninik#*). This distribution matches the one found in the other *-nin-*infixing verbs (*ḥarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḥuni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ištarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* and *šarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*), but also in e.g. *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḥar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* etc.

The other *-nin-*infixing verbs always show the structure *CR-nin-C-* and are derived from verbal roots with the structure *\*CeRC-* or *\*CRc-* (e.g. *ḥarni(n)k-* from *ḥark-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ištarni(n)k-* from *ištar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>*, besides *ḥuni(n)k-* from *ḥuek-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ḥuk-*). A priori, we would therefore interpret *nini(n)k-* as *ni-nin-K-* from either *\*neik-* or *\*nieK-*.

Despite the fact that in 1979 Oettinger still desperately states: “[*ninin(k)-<sup>zi</sup>*] bleibt trotz zahlreicher Deutungsversuche morphologisch unklar” (1979a: 143), he offers a very appealing comparison in 1992a: 219, where he connects *nini(n)k-* with OCS *vъz-nikŏ* ‘they raised themselves’, Lith. *į-nikti*, *į-ninkù* ‘to occupy oneself with’, *ap-nikti* ‘to attack’ and Gr. *veĩkoç* ‘fight, war’, which point to a root *\*neik-* ‘to raise’. In Hittite, the nasal infix had causative function, and therefore *nini(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>* denotes ‘to set in motion, to mobilize’.

***ni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib3) ‘to quench one’s thirst, to drink one’s fill; to get drunk’: 3sg.pres.act. *ni-ik-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ni-in-zi* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ni-in-kán-zi*, 3pl.pret.act. *ni-in-ke-e-er*, *ni-in-ke-er* (OH/MS), [nī-ī]n-ker (MH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ni-i-ik* (OS), *ni-ik* (OH/NS), *ni-in-ga* (OH/MS), *ni-in-ki* (OH), 2pl.imp.act. *ni-ik-te-en*, [n]i-in-kat-tén, 3pl.imp.act. *ni-in-kán-du* (MH/NS); 2sg.imp.midd. *ni-in-ki-iḥ-ḥ[u-ut]* (OH/NS); part. *ni-in-kán-t-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: <sup>(d)</sup>***ninga-*** (c.) ‘drenching, cloudburst’ (Sum. <sup>d</sup>ŠUR; nom.sg. *ni-in-ga-aš*, abl. <sup>d</sup>ŠUR-za), ***ninganu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make (the ground etc.) drink to satisfaction, to drench; to make someone drunk’ (3pl.pres.act. *ni-in-ga-nu-ṽa-an-zi* (OH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. [n]i-in-ga-nu-nu-u[n] (MH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ni-in-ga-*

*n[u-me-en?]* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ni-in-ga-n[u-e-er?]* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ni-in-ga-nu-ut* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ni-in-ga-nu-ud-du* (OH/MS); impf. *ni-in-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-*.

See CHD L-N: 443f. for attestations. This verb seems to inflect just as *li(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to swear’, with *-n-* getting lost in a cluster *\*-nkC-*. Nevertheless, the MS attestation *ni-in-zi* rather resembles verbs like *har(k)<sup>-zi</sup>*, with loss of *-k-* in a cluster *\*-RkC-*.

Formally, the verb can hardly reflect anything else than *\*nenK-*, but a good etymology is lacking. Oettinger (1979a: 143) assumes that *ni(n)k-* is a nasal-infixed form of the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>nek-* ‘to hold, to take’, but this is difficult formally as well as semantically. Melchert (1994a: 165) rather analyses *ni(n)k-* as *\*nem-K-* ‘\*take one’s share of drink’ (Goth. *niman* ‘to take’, Latv. *ņemu* ‘to take’). Apart from the fact that assuming an extension *\*-K-* is rather *ad hoc*, the semantic connection is difficult as well, since *\*nem-* rather meant ‘to allot’ (cf. Gr. *véμω* ‘to allot’).

All in all, none of the proposed etymological connections stands out as evident.

**nu** (clause conjunctive particle) ‘and, but’

Derivatives: see *kinun*, *nēya-* and *nuya*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. **nu** (clause conjunctive particle, e.g. *n=a-an*, *n=e*), **nū** ‘now’ (*nu-ú*); CLuw. **nānun** ‘now’ (*na-a-nu-un*, *na-nu-un*, *na-a-nu-um=pa*, *na-a-nu-ú-un=pa*, *na-nu=pa*); HLuw. **awa-** (clause conjunctive particle < *\*n<sub>u</sub>-o-??*), **unu(n)** ‘now?’ (clause conjunctive particle, ASSUR letters).

IE cognates: Skt. *nú*, *nū* ‘now’, Gr. *νν*, *ννν* (encl. particle), *νῦν* ‘now’ Lat. *num* ‘but now’, *nunc* ‘now’, Goth. *nu*, Lith. *nù*, *nū*, OCS *нѡ* ‘but’, TochA *nu*, TochB *no* ‘then, namely’.

PIE *\*nu*

In NH texts, this conjunctive particle is the semantically neutral one (as opposed to *=(i)a* ‘and, also’ and *=(m)a* ‘but, and’). In OH texts, we also come across the conjunctive particles *ta* and *šu*, but it has proven difficult to establish a difference in use between *nu*, *ta* and *šu*. The particles *ta* and *šu* are being replaced by *nu* from the late OH period onwards, and already in MH texts *nu* is the only conjunctive that is properly used (all MH and NH instances of *ta* are in formulae). When *nu* is followed by enclitic particles that start in a vowel, the *-u-* of *nu* drops: *n=aš* < *\*nu + aš*, *n=an* < *\*nu + an*, etc. This is due to the same development underlying Hitt. *\*Ta* < *\*T<sub>u</sub>o* (compare e.g. *tān* < *\*d<sub>u</sub>o<sub>j</sub>om*), so *\*nu-os* > *\*n<sub>u</sub>os* > *naš*, *\*nu-om* > *n<sub>u</sub>om* > *nan*, etc. This implies that 3pl.nom. *n=e* goes back to *\*nai*

< \**n̄uoi* < *nu-oi* (note that this shows that the development \**C<sup>dental</sup>uo* > *Ca* predates the monophthongization of \*-oi- to -e-).

Watkins (1963) convincingly shows that Hitt. *nu*, *ta* and *šu* can functionally and formally be equated with the Old Irish preverbs *no*, *to* and *se* and that Hitt. *nu* ~ OIr. *no* must reflect \**nu*, which is further cognate with the word for ‘now’ in other IE languages (as already suggested by Knudtzon 1902: 50).

**-nu-** (causative-suffix)

PIE \**CC-néu-ti*, \**CC-nu-énti*

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This suffix has causative/transitivizing function. It is always *mi*-inflected. Originally, it is attached to the zero-grade of the verbal root, e.g. *šašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make sleep’ from *šaš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šaš-* ‘to sleep’. Later on, it was possible to use the full-grade stem as well, e.g. *mernu-* (beside older *marnu-*) from *mer-<sup>zi</sup>* / *mar-* ‘to disappear’. The suffix clearly is derived from PIE \**-neu-/nu-* (cf. the Skt. 5th present class in *-no-/nu-*, Gr. verbs like *δείκνυμι*). In Hittite, it must have shown ablaut originally as well, which possibly is still visible in spellings like *ua-aḥ-nu-ú-mi* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 18 (OS)) and *ḥu-e(-eš)-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28 ii 19 (OH/NS)) < \**-néu-mi* and \**-néu-t* respectively, besides 1pl. *-nu-me-e-ni* < \**nu-ú-éni*, 2pl. *-nu-ut-te-e-ni* < \**nu-téni* and 3pl. *-nu-ua-an-zi* < \**nu-énti*.

**nū-**: see *nū(t)-*

**nukku** (adv.) ‘and now’: *nu-uk-ku* (NH).

PIE \**nu-k<sup>w</sup>e*

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The word is attested only once, in KBo 12.128, 6. It consists of the conjunction *nu* (q.v.) followed by =*kku* (q.v.).

**nūman**, **nūuan** (negative particle of optative, irrealis or potentialis) ‘not want to’: *nu-u-ma-an* (often, OH/NS), *nu-u-ma-a-an* (1x, OH/NS), *nu-u-ua-an* (1x, NH), *nu-u-ua-a-an* (1x, NH).

PIE \**ne-u-mon* ??

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See CHD L-N: 471 for attestations. This word functions as the negation of the particle of optative, irrealis or potentialis *man*. The plene spelling with the sign U points to a phonological interpretation /*nóman*/. Semantically, we would expect that *nūman* reflects a univerbation of the negation \**ne* and the optative particle *man* (q.v.), but it is unclear why we find *-u-* (/o/) in it. Perhaps the *-u-* is to be

compared with the *u* in e.g. Lat. *nunquam* ‘never’ (thus Hahn 1942: 106), although it should be noted that \**Ceum* should have yielded Hitt. /Cum/ (cf. *u-aḥ-nu-ú-mi* < \**néu-mi*). The sporadic forms with *-u-* hardly can be anything else than hypercorrectisms, having the development \**-uy-* > *-um-* in mind.

**-(n)un** (1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

PIE \**-m*

This ending denotes the 1sg.pret.act. for *mi*-verbs. When the verb stem ends in consonant, the ending is *-un*, when it ends in a vowel, it is *-nun*. Because of occasional spellings with plene U (*e-ep-pu-u-un* (KBo 18.31 rev. 12, KUB 1.7 iii 77, KUB 1.2+ ii 15)), we must conclude that the ending in fact was /-(n)on/. It is obvious that this ending reflects the PIE secondary 1sg.-ending \**-m*. In Hittite, the variant *-un* must be the regular outcome of vocalic *-m*: \*<sup>o</sup>C-*m̄* > Hitt. <sup>o</sup>Cun = /<sup>o</sup>Con/. The variant *-nun* shows the regular outcome of \**V-m* > Hitt. *Vn*, to which the postconsonantal variant *-un* is attached.

**nuntar-** ‘haste, swiftness’: gen.sg. *nu-un-tar-aš* (NH), *nu-un-ta-ra-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: **nuntaraš** (adv.) ‘promptly, soon’ (*nu-un-tar-aš* (often, NH), *nu-tar-aš* (1x, NS)), **nuntarija-**, **nut(t)arija-** (adj.) ‘swift’ (nom.sg.c. [*nu-u*]n-tar-*ja-aš*, *nu-un-tar-ja-aš*=a, *nu-ut-ta-ri-ja-aš* (OH/NS), *nu-tar-ri-ja-aš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *nu-ut-ta-ri-ja-an* (NS)), **nuntarrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to hasten, to be quick’ (2pl.pres.act. *nu-un-tar-ri-it-ta-ni* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-ri-ja*, 3sg.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-i-e-ed-d[u]* (MH/MS), *nu-un-tar-ri-e-e[d-du]* (MH/MS), *nu-un-tar-ri-ed-du* (MH/MS)), **nu(n)tarijašḫa-** ‘haste, speed’ (gen.sg. EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-ja-aš-ḫa-aš*, EZEN *nu-un-tar-ja-aš-ḫa-aš*, EZEN *nu-ut-tar-ja-aš-ḫa-aš*), **nu(n)tarnu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to hurry, to hasten; to rush into something’ (2sg.pres.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ši*, *nu-tar-nu-ši* (1x), 3sg.pres.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-te-e-ni*, *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-te-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ut*, *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-ta* (Luw.), 1sg.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ya-a[l-lu]*, 2pl.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-ten*, 3pl.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ya-an-du*; verb.noun *nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **nanuntarrit-** (n.) ‘the present’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*n*]a-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a]), **nanuntarri(ia)-** (adj.) ‘of the present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-nu-un-tar-ri-ī*]a-an-za), **nānuntarrijal(i)-** (adj.) ‘present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-ja-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-ja-la*, *na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-ja-la*, *na-a-nu-um-ta-ri-ja-la*).

IE cognates: Lat. *num*, Gr. *vōv* ‘now’.



PIE *\*num-tr-*

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See CHD L-N: 472f. for attestations. The basic stem was *nuntr-* as we can tell from the derivative *nuntarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* = /nuntrie/a-/ (in case of a stem *\*\*nuntra-*, we would have expected *\*\*nuntarae<sup>-zi</sup>*). Occasionally, the second *-n-* drops, yielding *nuttar<sup>o</sup>*. There does not seem to be a distribution between *nuntar<sup>o</sup>* vs. *nuttar<sup>o</sup>*, but one could envisage that originally there was one comparable to the distribution found in e.g. *li(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*, *ħarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*, etc., i.e. *VnCV* vs. *VCCV*. In this case, we would perhaps expect a distribution *VntrC* vs. *VtrV*, but this cannot be supported by the material.

The fact that in CLuwian we once find a spelling with *-m-* (*nānumtarijala*) points to original *\*numtar-*. Etymologically, it is quite obvious that we are dealing with *\*num* (as found in *kinun* ‘now’ < *\*ki + num* (q.v.)), followed by a suffix *\*-tr-*. This *\*num* clearly belongs with Lat. *num*, Gr. *vōv* ‘now’, etc. See at *kinun* for further etymology.

**nū(t)-** (c.) ‘contentment(?), satisfaction(?)’: nom.sg. [*nu*]-*ú-uš* (OS or OH/MS), *nu-ú-uš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *nu-ú-un* (MH/NS), dat.-sg. *nu-ú-ti*; bare stem (as interjection) *nu-ú* (MH?/NS), *∫ nu-ú* (MH/NS).

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See CHD L-N: 476 for attestations. The word either occurs in lists of good things, always followed by *ištamaššuyar* or *tummantiija-*, or it occurs as an interjection (then *nu-ú*) in *nu-ú ħalzai<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to call “nū”’. Since *tummantiija-* is the Luwian correspondent to Hitt. *ištamaššuyar*, and because of the one attestation with a gloss wedge, some scholars regard *nū-* as a Luwian word, which would explain the dat.sg.-form *nūti*: in Luwian, word-final *-t-* is dropped. This would mean, however, that a Luwian *nū(t)-* already in OH times was reshaped to Hitt. nom.sg. *nūš* and acc.sg. *nūn*. Whether or not this is probable, the exact meaning of the word cannot be determined, which makes etymologizing impossible.

**nūya** (adv.) ‘still, yet’: *nu-u-ya* (OS), *nu-u-a* (MH/MS?), *nu-u-ya-a* (NH).

PIE *\*nu-h<sub>3</sub>e*

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See CHD L-N: 468f. for attestations and semantics. Already since Sturtevant (1933: 49) this word is seen as a derivative of the conjunction *nu* (q.v.). The particle that is attached to *nu* is less clear, but probably it is identical to *=(i)a* ‘and’ (q.v.). For semantics compare Goth. *nauh*, OHG *noch* ‘still, yet’ < *\*nu-k<sup>v</sup>e*.

**nūyan**: see at *nūman*

*nuḡaššu*: see at *naššu*

## P

=*pa*: see =*apa*

*paḥḥaš-*: see *paḥš<sup>a(ri)</sup>*

*paḥḥi-* (c.) something harmful?: acc.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥi-in* (MH/MS).

Hapax in KBo 16.31, 3; see CHD P: 1 for context and the conclusion that it may denote something harmful. Therefore a connection with *paḥḥieškeuṽar*, a hostile action (q.v.), could be possible. No further etymology.

*paḥḥieškeuṽar* (n.) a hostile action: nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke-u-ṽa-ar*.

See CHD P: 1: this word is hapax and occurs in a vocabulary only, preceded by *ḥuṽarzakeuṽar* ‘cursing’ and followed by *kurur appatar* ‘initiating hostilities’, which seems to indicate that it refers to some hostile action itself as well. Formally, it probably is a verb.noun in *-ṽar* of an impf. *paḥḥieške/a-* of a further unattested verb. A tie-in with *paḥḥi-*, something harmful (q.v.), is likely. No further etymology.

*paḥš<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *paḥš<sup>i</sup>* (IIIa; IIa2) ‘to protect, to guard, to defend; to observe (agreements), to keep (oaths), to obey (commands), to keep (a secret); (midd. with dat.) to seek protection with’ (Sum. PAP): 1sg.pres.midd. *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa* (OH/NS, MH/MS or NS), 2sg.pres.midd. *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.midd. *pa-aḥ-ša* (MH/MS or NS), *pa-aḥ-ša-ri* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.midd. *pa-aḥ-šu-ṽa-aš-ta* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.midd. *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma* (OH/NS,

MH/MS), 3pl.prs.midd. *pa-a-ah-ša-an-ta* (OH/MS), [*pa-ah-]**ḥa-āš-ša-an-ta-ri* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa-at* (NH), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *pa-ah-ša-ru* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.midd. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-du-ma-at* (OH/NS, MH/MS), 3pl.imp.midd. *pa-ah-ša-an-ta-ru* (MH/MS), [*pa-ah-š-]**a-an-da-a-r[u]*; 1sg.pres.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥi* (MH/NS, often), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-mi* (1x, OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ti* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *pa-ah-šu-e-ni* (MH/NS), *pa-ah-šu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ah-ša-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-[aš-ḥu-u]n* (OH or MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ah-šer* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pa-ah-ši* (OH/NS, MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-te-en* (MH/MS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-tén* (MH/MS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ti-en* (MH/NS), *pa-ah-aš-té[n]* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *pa-ah-ša-an-du* (NH), [*pa-ah-ḥa-ša-[an-du]*] (MH/NS); impf. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *paḥšnu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to protect, to defend, to take care of, to be watchful’ (1sg.pres.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-mi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni* (OH/NS), [*p*]*a-ah-ša-nu-ut-te-ni* (MH/NS), *pa-ah-ša-nu-te-n[i]*, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-[aš-]ša-nu-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-ah-ṣ̌a-nu-[n]u-[un]* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-uš* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ut* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-[er]* (OH/NS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-[nu-er]* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-ut*, *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ut* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-ud-du* (MH/NS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ud-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *pa-ah-ša-nu-ut-te-en* (OS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ut-te-en* (OH/NS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-[ut-te-en]*, 3pl.imp.act. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-an-du* (OH/MS); part. *pa-ah-ša-nu-ua-an-t* (OH/NS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ua-an-t* (OH/MS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ua-an-t* (MH/NS); verb.noun *pa-ah-ša-nu-mar*, gen.sg. *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-ma-aš* (MH/MS)); inf.I *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-nu-um-[m]a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ma-an-zi* (NS); impf. PAP-*nu-uš-ke/a-* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *pa-* ‘to protect?’ (3sg.imp.act. *pa-ad-du*, *pád-du*).

IE cognates: Lat. *pāscō* (*pāvī*, *pāstum*) ‘to graze’, *pāstor* ‘herd’, OCS *pasti* ‘to pasture’, SCr. *pāsti* ‘to pasture, to look after’.

PIE *\*péh<sub>2</sub>s-o*, *\*póh<sub>2</sub>s-ei*, *\*ph<sub>2</sub>s-neu-*

See CHD P: 2f. for attestations. The verb occurs in the middle as well as in the active, without a traceable difference in meaning. In the oldest texts, the middle forms are dominant. The active forms are treated by Oettinger (1979a: 210) as *mi*-conjugated, citing 1sg.pres.act. *paḥḥašmi*. This is misleading, as this form occurs only once, whereas *paḥḥašhi* is attested many times. I therefore assume that the active verb originally is *hi*-conjugated. The verb shows a quite consistent

alternation between *paḥš-V* and *paḥḥaš-C*, which reminds of e.g. *takš-V* besides *takkeš-C* (see *takš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to undertake, to unify’). Apparently, in *\*paḥšC*, the cluster received an epenthetic vowel: /paHəSC<sup>o</sup>/. It is remarkable, however, that the causative *paḥšnu<sup>-zi</sup>* does not show this distribution (we would then expect *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-* throughout the paradigm): the oldest (OS) forms are spelled *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-*. In my view, this points to a zero-grade formation /pHSnu-/ vs. the full grade stem /paHSV<sup>o</sup>, paHəSC<sup>o</sup>/ as found in the basic verb.

Since Kuryłowicz (1927: 102), this verb is generally connected with Lat. *pāscō* ‘to herd’ and OCS *pasti* ‘to pasture’ and reconstructed as *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, an *s*-extension of the root *\*peh<sub>2</sub>(i)-* ‘to protect’. This means that the middle paradigm goes back to *\*péh<sub>2</sub>s-o* and the active paradigm to *\*póh<sub>2</sub>s-ei*.

Melchert (1993b: 162) hesitatingly suggests that CLuw. *pa-* might mean ‘to protect’ (although he states that this “meaning is a mere guess”), and that it consequently could show the unextended root *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-*.

***paḥḥur / paḥḥuen-*** (n.) ‘fire, campfire, embers; fever’ (Sum. IZI, Akk. *IŠĀTI*): nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥur* (often, OS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-ur* (OH/NS), *pa-a-aḥ-ḥur* (2x, OH/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-ur* (1x, MS?), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-ḡa-ar* (1x, NS), gen.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-na-aš* (often, MH?/NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-na-aš* (MH/NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-aš* (1x, NH), loc.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-ni* (often, OH/NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-ni*, *pa-aḥ-ḥu-ni* (2x, MH/NS), all.sg. [*pa-a*]ḥ-ḥu-e-na (NH/early NS), erg.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-na-an-za* (MH/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-na-za*, abl. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-na-az* (MH/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-na-az*, *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-az*, *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-za*, *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-na-za*, instr. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-ni-it* (MH/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-ni-it* (MH/NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-ni-it* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: <sup>DUG/NA</sup>***paḥḥunal(i)a/i-***, <sup>DUG</sup>***paḥḥuinali-*** (n.) a container for fire, embers and other things (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-al-li* (OH or MH/MS), loc.sg. [*pa-aḥ-ḥu-n*]a-al-li-*ja* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-li* (OH?/NS), abl. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-li-ja-za* (NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-li-az* (OH?/MS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-i-na-li-az* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-al-li* (OH/NS), *pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-li* (NH)), <sup>LÚ</sup>***paḥḥurula-*** (c.) ‘(fire-)tender’ (nom.sg. *p[a]-aḥ-ḥu-ru-la-aš* (NH)), <sup>GIŠ</sup>***paḥḥurul(a)-*** (c.) an implement for tending or banking a fire (nom.sg. [*pa-a*]ḥ-ḥu-ru-la-aš (NH), abl. *pa-aḥ-ḥu-ru-la-az* (MH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pāḥūr*** (n.) ‘fire(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-a-ḥu-u-ur*), ***paḡari(ja)-*** ‘to light a fire’ (3sg.pret.act. *pa-ḡa-ar-it-ta*).

IE cognates: Gr. πῦρ, OHG *fuir*, Arm. *hur*, Goth. *fon*, OPr. *panno* ‘fire’.

PIE *\*péh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-uen-s*

See CHD P: 12f. for attestations. In my view, *paḥhur* / *paḥḥuenaš* has to be phonologically interpreted /páH<sup>w</sup>r / paH<sup>w</sup>énas/, showing the phoneme /H<sup>w</sup>/ (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c). This also explains the one NH attestation *paḥḥuuar*, which denotes phonetic [páH<sup>w</sup>ɾ].

Since Hrozný (1917 (SH): 69), this word is etymologically connected with Gr. πῦρ, OHG *fuir*, Arm. *hur* ‘fire’ etc., which means that we have to reconstruct a proterodynamic paradigm \**péh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, \**ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s*. The *-n-* of the oblique stem is still visible in e.g. Goth. *fon*, OPr. *panno* ‘fire’. In Hittite, the *e*-grade of the nom.-acc. has spread throughout the paradigm: \**peh<sub>2</sub>uén-* > *paḥḥuen-*.

In CLuwian, a noun *pa-a-ḥu-u-ur* is attested that is generally regarded as cognate to Hitt. *paḥhur* (cf. Starke 1990: 570f.). The word is attested in a broken context, however, so its meaning cannot be independently determined. Formally, it is difficult to explain why *pāḥūr* shows a lenited *-ḥ-*. The meaning of the Luwian verb *paḥariia-* ‘to light a fire’ (which is attested in Hittite context) is ascertained, however. It shows loss of *-ḥ-* in front of *-u-*, which we also observe in e.g. *mal(h)u-* ‘to break’ (see at *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *malla-* ‘to mill’) and *la(h)un(a)i-* ‘to wash’ (see at *lāḥu-<sup>i</sup>* / *laḥu-* ‘to pour’).

***pai-*** ‘to go’: see *paḫi-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pai-*

***pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to give, to pay, to grant, to hand over’ (Sum. SUM, Akk. *NADĀNU*): 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-eḥ-ḥé* (OS), *pé-e-eḥ-ḥi* (OS), *pé-eḥ-ḥi* (OH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *pa-it-ti* (MH/MS), *pa-iš-ti* (NH), *pé-eš-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-a-i* (OS), *pa-i* (OH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *pí-i-ú-e-ni* (OH or MH/MS), *pí-ú-e-ni* (OH?/NS, MH/MS), *pí-ia-u-e-ni* (OH/NS), *pí-i-ia-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pí-iš-te-ni* (OH/MS), *pé-eš-te-ni* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pí-an-zi* (OS), *pí-ia-an-zi* (OS), *pí-en-zi* (2x), *pí-i-ia-an-zi* (NH), *pí-e-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *pé-eḥ-ḥu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-e-eḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *pa-it-ta* (OH/MS), *pé-eš-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-iš* (OS), *ba-i-iš* (1x, OS), *pa-i-iš* (OH/NS?), *pa-a-iš* (OH/NS), *pa-a-i-iš* (NH), *pa-iš-ta* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-ta* (NH), *pé-e-eš-ta* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *pí-ú-en* (MH/MS), *pí-ú-e-en* (HHCTO 2 obv. 4 (MH/MS)), *pí-i-ú-en* (NH?), *pí-ia-u-e-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pí-i-e-er* (OS), *pí-i-er* (OS), *pí-e-er* (MH/MS), *pí-ia-er* (NH), *pí-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *pa-i* (OS), *pa-a-i* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-a-ú* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *pé-eš-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. [*p*]*i-i-iš-te-en* (OS), *pí-iš-te-en* (MH/MS), *pa-iš-te-en* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pí-an-du* (OH?/NS, MH/MS) *pí-ia-an-du* (OH?/NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *pí-an-da-ri*; part. *pí-ia-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun *pí-ia-u-ua-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pí-ia-u-ua-aš* (NH)); inf.I *pí-i-ia-u-ua-an-zi*, *pí-ia-u-ua-*

*an-zi*, *pí-ja-ua-an-zi*; inf.II *pí-ja-an-na* (MH/NS), *pí-an-na*; sup. *pí-i-ja-u-ū[a-an]*; impf. *pí-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *pa-iš-ke/a-*, *pé-e-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: *pijanna*<sup>i</sup> / *pijanni*- (IIa5) ‘to give (impf.)’ (sup. *pí-ja-an-ni-ua-an*), \**pijatar* / *pijann*- (n.) ‘giving’ (nom.-acc.sg. SUM-*tar*, gen.sg. SUM-*an-na-aš*), <sup>NINDA</sup>*pijantalla/i-* ‘donated bread’ (nom.sg. *pí-ja-an-ta-al-li-iš* (OS), *pí-ja-an-tal-li-i[š]* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *pí-ja-an-ta-al-la-an* (NS), nom.pl.? *pí-ja-an-ta-al-li-iš* (OS), acc.pl.? *pí-ja-an-tal-la-aš* (OH/NS)), see *peppieššar* and *uppa*<sup>i</sup> / *uppi*-.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *pai-* / *pi(ja)-* ‘to give’ (1pl.pres.act. *pí-u-un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *pí-ja-at-ta*, *pí-i-ja-at-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *pí-un-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *pí-i-ja*, 3sg.imp.act. *pa-a-i-ú*, *pa-i-ú*, 3pl.imp.act. *pí-ja-an-du*), *pipišša-* ‘to give’ (2sg.imp.act. *pí-pí-iš-ša*); HLuw. *pia-* ‘to give’ (3sg.pres.act. *pí-ia-i* (BABYLON 1 §15, AKSARAY §7, KULULU lead strips), 1pl.pres.act. DARE-*mi-na* (KULULU lead strips, CEKKE §8, §9), 3pl.pres.act. *pí-ia-ti* (KULULU lead strip 2.18), 1sg.pret.act. *pí-ia-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §8, §9, ANCOZ 7 §6, BABYLON 1 §3, §9), 3sg.pret.act. *pí-ia-ta* (often), 3pl.pret.act. DARE-*ta<sub>x</sub>* (TOPADA §30), 3sg.imp.act. *pí-ia-tu* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Hu., §52 Hu., KÖRKÜN §7), *pí-ia-tu-u* (ÇİFTLİK §16), *pí-ià-tù* (KARATEPE 1 §52 Ho., *pí-ià-tù* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Ho.)), *piaza* ‘gifts(?)’ (*pí-ia-za* (KULULU lead strips), *pipasa-* ‘to present’ (1sg.pres.act. *pí-pa-sa-wa/i-i* (ALEPPO 2 §17), 3sg.pres.act. *pí-pa-sa-i* (BOHÇA §3), *pí-pa-sa-ia* (BOHÇA §5, 9), 3sg.pret.act. *pí-pa-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A23 §4, MARAŞ 1 §11), 3sg.imp.act. *pí-pa-sa-tu* (BOR §11)); Lyc. *pije-* ‘to give’ (3sg.pres.act. *pije*, 3pl.pres.act. *pijeti*, 1sg.pret.act. *pijaça*, *pijačã*, 3sg.pret.act. *pijete*, *pijetě*, 3pl.pret.act. *pijēte*, *pijētē*), *pibi(je)-* ‘to give’ (3sg.pres.act. *pibiti*, 3pl.pres.act. *pibijeti*).

PAnat. \**poi-* / *pi-*

IE cognates: Hitt. *epp*<sup>zi</sup> / *app-* ‘to take, seize’ (q.v.), Skt. *āpnóti* ‘to reach, to gain, to take possession of’, Lat. *apīscor* ‘to reach, to receive, to grab, to get’, *co-ēpī* ‘I have started, I have undertaken’.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>p-ó-i-ei* / \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-énti*

See CHD P: 40f. for attestations. The oldest paradigm is *peḫḫe*, *paitti*, *pāi*, *pīḫeni*, *pīštenī*, *pianzi*. This clearly shows an ablaut *pai-* / *pi-*, and herewith this verb belongs to the *dāi/tīanzi*-class. In one point it differs from the other *dāi/tīanzi*-class verbs, however, namely in the fact that it shows zero-grade in the plural of the preterite as well (*peḫḫun*, *paitta*, *paiš*, *piḫen*, \**pīšten*, *pijer*, vs. e.g. *daiḫen*, *daišten*, *dajer* ‘to put’). In my view, *pai*<sup>i</sup> / *pi-* reflects the older situation, whereas in all other verbs the full-grade stem was analogically introduced in the pret.pl. in the pre-Hittite period. In NH times, a thematic stem *pije/a*<sup>zi</sup> occasionally is

found, which was created in the basis of a false analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *pijanzi* (compare e.g. secondary *halzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* in the paradigm of *halzai-<sup>i</sup> / halzi-* ‘to shout’ (q.v.)). The stem *pe-* as found in *peḥḥi* and *peḥḥun* is due to monophthongization of *pai-* in front of *-h-*. In NH times such a monophthongization occasionally also took place in front of *-šC-* (cf. Kimball 1999: 234), which yielded NH forms like *pešta*, *pešten* and *peške/a-* from older *paišta*, *paišten* and *paiške/a-*.

Regarding its etymology, consensus seems to have been reached. The verb is generally explained as a univerbation of the preverb *pe-* (q.v.) followed by a root *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)ai-* or *\*(H)ei-*, which is connected with ToChB *ai-*, ToChA *e-* ‘to give’ and Gr. αἴρωμι ‘to take’. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 470) reconstructs *\*pói + h<sub>1,3</sub>oi-*, and Melchert (1989: 44) gives *\*pe + ai-*. Yet, as I explain in Kloekhorst fthc.a, this etymology has to be rejected because it is impossible to explain how the weak stem *pi-* phonetically can be traced back to a preverb reflecting *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-* that is prefixed to a verbal root. As we see in the paradigm of *pai-* ‘to go’, a preform *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi + \*h<sub>1</sub>ienti* yields *\*paijanzi > pānzi*, and not *\*\*pijanzi*. Moreover, the absence of a counterpart with the preverb *u-* and the abundant attestation of this verb in the other Anatolian languages as well (whereas the preverb *pe-* is further scarcely attested outside Hittite), confirm my view that *pai-/pi-* cannot be a univerbated verb. As I explain in the cited article, *pai-/pi-* has to be regarded as all *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs in the sense that they reflect a structure *\*CC-oi- / \*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of a verbal root followed by an ablauting *-oi-/i-* suffix. For *pai-<sup>i</sup> / pi-* this means that the root must be either *\*PeH-* or *\*HeP-*. The only root that semantically fits is *\*h<sub>1</sub>ep-* ‘to seize, to grab’ (for which see also at *epp-<sup>zi</sup> / app-*), as can be seen by e.g. Alb. *ap-* ‘to give’ (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>op-eje-*, cf. Klingenschmitt 1981: 127) and Germ. *\*geb-* ‘to give’ (< *\*ga- + \*h<sub>1</sub>ep-*, cf. Kortlandt 1992: 104). I therefore reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-oi- / \*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-*.

Note that in Luwian and in Lycian the thematicized stem *\*pijo-* has been generalized, with the exception of a few CLuw. forms found in the Iṣtanuwian hymns, viz. 3sg.imp.act. *pāiu* < *\*pói-*.

***pai-<sup>zi</sup> / pai-*** (Ia7 > Ic2) ‘to go, to pass, to go past, to go by (of time), to flow’:  
 1sg.pres.act. *pa-i-mi* (OS), *pa-a-i-mi* (OH/MS), *pa-a-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *pa-i-ši* (OS), *pa-a-i-ši* (OH/NS), *pa-a-ši* (MH/NS), *pa-it-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-iz-zi* (OS), *pa-i-iz-zi* (OS), *pa-a-iz-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *pa-i-ya-ni* (OS), *pa-a-i-ya-a-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-a-i-ya-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-i-ú-ya-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-i-u-e-ni* (MH/NS?), *pa-a-u-e-ni* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-it-te-ni* (OS), *pa-it-te-e-ni* (MH/NS), *pa-it-ta-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-it-ta-a-ni* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-a-an-zi* (OS), *pa-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-a-un* (OS), *pa-a-u-*



*un* (MH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pa-it-ta* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-it* (OS), *ba-i-it* (OH/MS), *pa-i-it* (OH/MS), *pa-a-it* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *pa-i-ú-u-en* (OH/NS), *pa-a-i-ú-en* (OH/NS), *pa-a-u-en* (MH/NS), *pa-i-u-en* (NH), *pa-a-u-e-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-a-er* (OS), *pa-i-er* (OH/NS), *pa-er* (NH), *pa-a-e-er* (NH), *pa-e-er* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-it-tu* (OS), *pa-id-du* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *pa-it-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pa-a-an-du* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-a-an-tu* (OH/NS), *pa-an-du* (NS); part. *pa-a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *pa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *pa-a-ua-ar* (NH), *pa-a-u-ar* (NH), *pa-a-u-ua-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pa-a-u-ua-aš* (NH); inf.I *pa-ú-ua-a-an-zi* (OS), *pa-ú-ua-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pa-a-u-ua-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pa-a-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pa-iš-ke/a-* (OS).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **pa-** ‘to go’ (3sg.imp.act. <sup>“PES<sub>2</sub>”</sup>*pa-tu* (ASSUR letter *e* §24), impf.3sg.pres.act. <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*pa-za-ti* (MARAŞ 14 §13), impf.1sg.pret.act. <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*pa-za-ha* (KARKAMIŞ A12 §11, §12, KARKAMIŞ A5b §1), <sup>PES<sub>2</sub></sup>*pa-za-ha<sub>x</sub>* (SHEIZAR §2), impf.3sg.pret.act. <sup>“PES<sub>2</sub>”</sup>*pa-za/i-ta<sub>x</sub>* (TOPADA §23)).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>pói + \*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ti / \*h<sub>1</sub>i-énti*.

See CHD P: 19f. for attestations. The verb shows a number of different spellings, which have to be chronologically ordered in order to understand the inner-Hittite developments. In OS texts, we find the spellings *pa-i-mi*, *pa-i-ši*, *pa-i-iz-zi* / *pa-iz-zi*, *pa-i-ua-ni*, *pa-it-te-ni* (but note that *pa-it-ta-ni* (OH/NS) must be more archaic), *pa-a-an-zi*; *pa-a-un*, --, *pa-i-it* / *pa-it*, --, --, *pa-a-er*. With the knowledge that *pānzi*, *pāun* and *pāer* go back to *\*paianzi*, *\*paiun* and *\*pai<sub>r</sub>er*, it is clear that all forms point to a stem *pai-* (with **short** vowel) and *pai<sub>r</sub>i-*. In MS texts, the following spellings occur for the first time: *pa-a-i-mi*, *pa-a-iz-zi*, *pa-a-it*, showing a stem *pāi-* with **long** vowel. In my view, this long *ā* can only be explained as the result of a contraction of *pai<sub>r</sub>i-* (compare e.g. dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ga-a-i* /Hárgāi/ ‘white’ < *\*Hárgaii* / < virtual *\*h<sub>2</sub>érg<sub>2</sub>-ei-i*). This shows that the OS stem *pai<sub>r</sub>i-* is linguistically real. Forms that first occur in NS texts are *pa-a-mi*, *pa-a-i-ši* / *pa-a-ši*, *pa-a-i-ua-ni* / *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* / *pa-a-u-e-ni*, *pa-a-i-ú-en* / *pa-a-u-en*. These show additional examples of the stem *pāi-* as well as some forms that show a stem *pae<sup>zi</sup>-* (according to the *ḫatrae*-class).

All in all, I assume the following situation: in OH times, the paradigm was /páimi, páisi, páiit<sup>s</sup>i, páiuani, páitani, pánt<sup>s</sup>i < *\*páiant<sup>s</sup>i*/. In MH times, this changed to /páimi, páisi, páit<sup>s</sup>i, páiuani, páitani, pánt<sup>s</sup>i/. In NH times forms according to the *ḫatrae*-class are created.

It is generally accepted that this verb must be compared with *ue<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’ and that these verbs form a pair showing univerbations of the PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* (for which see also *i<sup>zi</sup>* and *ie/a<sup>ua(ri)</sup>*) with the preverbs *pe* ‘away’ and *u*

‘hither’, respectively. The exact interpretation of *paīi<sup>-zi</sup>* / *pai-* has been debated, however, mainly because opinions differ on the reconstruction of the preverb *pe*. For instance, Melchert (1994a: 133) claims that *pe* reflects *\*pě*, assuming that in the preform *\*pe-h<sub>1</sub>iénti* a development *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>i- > -ai-* is responsible for the stem *pai-*, which then spread throughout the paradigm. All alleged examples of the development *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>i- > -ai-* (Melchert 1994a: 177) are false, however: e.g. *dāi* ‘he takes’ is reconstructed as *\*daīe < \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-ei*, whereas we should reconstruct *\*dā̄ie < \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ó-i-ei* (see at *dai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ti-*). I therefore reject Melchert’s reconstruction *\*pě*. A better proposal is Eichner’s (1973: 68), who assumes that *pe* goes back to *\*poi* and that the variant *pai-* as seen in *paīi- / pai-* therefore must reflect the non-monophthongized variant. Although I do not agree with the details of Eichner’s reconstruction of *paīi- / pai-*, I do think that his interpretation of the preverb *pe-* is basically correct. I therefore will work with a reconstruction *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi* for the preverb *pe* (see its own lemma for a more detailed treatment).

Univerbation is the phenomenon that two originally separate words at one point merge to become one word. It must be borne in mind that the exact moment of univerbation may differ per case. In the case of *pe(-)har(k)<sup>-zi</sup>* (q.v.), we see univerbation happening before our eyes in OH texts. In the case of *paīi<sup>-zi</sup>* / *pai-*, however, it must have happened earlier, namely before the moment of monophthongization of *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi* to *pe*. Nevertheless, it is not likely that univerbation took place at the PIE level. A preform *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>1</sub>iénti* as assumed by e.g. Eichner (1973: 68), should in view of *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>iénti > OH h<sub>1</sub>uianzi* ‘they run’ have given OH *\*paīanzi*, with preserved intervocalic *-i-*, instead of attested *pānzi*. In the case of *ue<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’ (q.v.), we see that we must assume that univerbation has taken place at the time that *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* has monophthongized to *\*ŕu/* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>iéiti / \*h<sub>1</sub>iénti* have become *\*ŕét<sup>s</sup>i/* and *\*iánt<sup>s</sup>i/*. The case of *paīi<sup>-zi</sup>* / *pai-* is slightly different, however. First, we must assume that *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi* had not yet monophthongized to *pe*, but must have had its intermediate shape *\*pai/*. Secondly, whereas in *uezzi / uuanzi* it is clear that the verbal forms remained accentuated (*\*ŕu+ŕét<sup>s</sup>i/* and *ŕu+iánt<sup>s</sup>i/*), the forms *paīyani* and *paittani* show that in the case of *paīi-/pai-* the preverb attracted the accent. If we assume univerbation at the time that we are dealing with *\*pái/* on the one hand and *\*ŕémi, ŕési, ŕét<sup>s</sup>i, ŕiuéni, ŕiténi, iánt<sup>s</sup>i/* on the other, we arrive at the following scenario. At the moment of univerbation, the accent is fixed on the preverb *\*pái/*: 3sg.pres. *\*pái-ŕét<sup>s</sup>i/*, 2pl.pres. */pái-ŕiteni/*, 3pl.pres. */pái-iánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, 3sg.pret. */pái-ŕet/*. In 3pl.pres. *\*páiiant<sup>s</sup>i/*, the sequence */aiia/* is simplified to */aia/* because a “geminate” */ii-/* does not exist in the phonemic system of that period. The next step is weakening of post-tonic *\*e* to */i/* when in closed syllable and */a/* in open



become firm’ and *\*peh<sub>2</sub>k-* ‘to make firm’, but this is unlikely, not only for formal reasons (where does *-ušš-* come from?) but also for semantic reasons: Oettinger translates the PIE root *\*peh<sub>2</sub>k-* as ‘feststampfen’, but the notion ‘stampfen’ is not attested in its descendants that all denote ‘to make firm’. Oettinger apparently translates the root thus only on the basis of his connection with Hitt. *pakkušš-*. Janda (2000: 49-51) connects *pakkušš-* with *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to cook’ and assumes on the basis of this connection that *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-* originally meant ‘genießbar machen’. This does not seem semantically attractive to me either. Further unclear.

***palāh<sup>i</sup> / palahh-*** (IIa2) ‘to call(?), to summon(?)’: 3sg.pret.act. *pa-la-a-ah-t[a]* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-la-ah-ḫe-er* (OH/NS).

See CHD P: 60 for attestations and contexts. Both forms occur in broken context, but on the basis of KUB 32.56 obv. 6 *nu ūa-ar-ri pa-la-ah-ḫe-er* ‘They p.-ed for help’, it is suggested in CHD that the verb might denote ‘to call, to summon’ (likewise Tischler HEG P: 388: ‘rufen, anrufen’).

Phonologically, the verb probably has to be interpreted as /plaH-/. Because of the rootfinal *-hh-*, the verb is likely to have been *hi*-conjugated (*mi*-conjugated roots of the structure *\*Ceh<sub>2</sub>-* would have lost their *\*h<sub>2</sub>* because it always stood in preconsonantal position). On the analogy of *nāh<sup>i</sup> / nahh-* ‘to fear’ and *zāh<sup>i</sup> / zahh-* ‘to beat’, I assume that this verb was *plāh<sup>i</sup> / plahh-* (note that the long vowel is attested in 3sg.pret.act. *palāht[a]*). Mechanically, we have to reconstruct a root *\*Pleh<sub>2</sub>-*, of which I know no other examples.

(<sup>TUG</sup>) ***palahša-*** (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *pa-la-ah-ša-aš*, acc.sg. (𐎠) *pa-la-ah-ša-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *pa-la-ah-ši*, nom.pl.(?) *pa-la-ah-ši-iš*.

Derivatives: ***palahš(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>***, ***palahšae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1 / Ic2) ‘to cover’ (3pl.pres.act. *pa-la-ah-ši-ja-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pa-la-ah-ša-an-zi* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-la-ah-še-et* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-a-la-ah-ša-e-er*).

PIE *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-so-* or *\*ploh<sub>2</sub>-so-*

See CHD P: 60f. for attestations. The noun and its derivatives are always spelled *pa-la-ah-š<sup>o</sup>*, indicating a phonological analysis /plaHsa-/. Kronasser (1966: 167) connects this word with Hitt. *palhi-* ‘wide, broad’ < *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-i-*. This means that /plaHsa-/ would reflect *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>so-* or *\*ploh<sub>2</sub>so-* (for the retention of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* in front of *-s-*, cf. *paḫš-* ‘to protect’ < *\*poh<sub>2</sub>s-*). See at *palhi-* for further etymology.

I do not understand how Tischler (HEG P: 389) can follow Neumann (1988: 259<sup>13</sup>) in assuming that *palahša-* shows thematicization of a verbal noun

\**palhiššar* (of a further unattested verb \**palh-* ‘to protect’, which is supposed to be cognate to Gr. *πέλας* ‘skin’, ON *fela* ‘to hide’ < \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-*) that first shows syncope of the second syllable and then anaptyxis in the cluster *-lhš-*: the supposed developments are irregular and unlikely.

***palh-***<sup>2</sup> ‘?’: 3pl.pret.act. *pa-a[l<sup>2</sup>-]he-er* (OH/NS).

Hapax in KBo 3.1. i 34. The context is broken and there has been dispute regarding its reading. After collation, CHD P: 63 now reads [ÉR]IN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an pa-a[l<sup>2</sup>-]he-er*, however. On the basis of this context alone, the meaning of the verbal form cannot be determined. Tischler (HEG P: 392) nevertheless translates ‘schützen ?’, but does so especially on the basis of the old reading [DIN]GIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*an pa[-ah-š]e-er* ‘the gods protected him’, of which he states that, although the reading now has been improved, “die Bedeutung kann indes stimmen”. He does not seem to notice, however, that the former reading of [DIN]GIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> has been improved as well, namely to [ÉR]IN<sup>MEŠ</sup>. Nevertheless, on the basis of the translation ‘to protect’, he suggests to connect *palh-* with <sup>(TUG)</sup>*palahša-*, a garment (q.v.), and, on an IE level, with Gr. *πέλας* ‘skin’, ON *fela* ‘to hide’ < \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-* (see at his treatment of <sup>(TUG)</sup>*palahša-*, HEG P: 389). As I have argued at the lemma <sup>(TUG)</sup>*palahša-*, this latter word cannot derive from a root \**pelh<sub>2</sub>-*, but reflects \**pleh<sub>2</sub>-*. Moreover, a translation ‘to protect’ of *palh-* is based on nothing, so Tischler’s etymologization has no merit.

***palhi-* / *palhai-*** (adj.) ‘wide, broad’: nom.sg.c. *pal-ḫi-iš* (NH), nom.pl.c. *pal-ḫa-a-e-eš* (OS), *pal-ḫa-a-eš* (MH), *pal-ḫa-e-eš* (OH?/NS), *pal-ḫi-e-eš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḫi* (NH).

Derivatives: ***palhanu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to broaden(?)’ (3sg.pret.act. *pal-ḫa-nu-ut*), ***palhašti-*** (c.) ‘width’ (Sum. DAGAL; nom.sg. *pal-ḫa-aš-ti-iš* (NH), loc.sg. *pal-ḫa-a-aš-ti* (NH), *pal-ḫa-aš-ti* (NH)), ***palhatar* / *palhann-*** (n.) ‘width’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pal-ḫa-tar*, loc.sg. *pal-ḫa-an-ni*), <sup>(DUG)</sup>***palha/i-*** (c./n.), a broad vessel (nom.sg.c. *pal-ḫi-i[š]* (OH?-MH?/NS), acc.sg.c. *pal-ḫa-an* (MS), *pal-ḫi-in* (OH?-MH?/NS), gen.sg. *pal-ḫa-aš* (OS), loc.sg. *pal-ḫi* (MS?), nom.pl.c. *pal-ḫi-iš* (OH/NS), [*pal-ḫ*]i-e-eš (OH/NS), *pal-ḫa-eš* (OH/MS?), acc.pl.c. *pal-ḫi-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḫa-e-a*<sup>H1A</sup> (OS), *pal-ḫi* (OH/MS), *pal-ḫa* (OH/NS), *pal-ḫi-aš* (MS?), loc.pl. *pal-ḫa-aš* (OH/NS)), ***palhēšš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become wide or broad, to expand’ (impf.3sg.imp.act. *pal-ḫi-iš-ke-et-ta-ru* (OH?/NS)), ***palhēššar* / *palhēšn-*** ‘width’ (instr. *pal-ḫe-eš-ni-t=á=k-kán* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *palḥaja-* (?) (adj.) ‘wide, broad’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḥa-an[-za]*, interpretation uncertain, thus Starke 1990: 257), *palḥā-* ‘to make flat, to spread out’ (inf.  $\lambda$  *pal-ḥu-na* (NH), part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pal-ḥa-a(-am)-ma-an-za*), *palḥamman-* (adj.) ‘lying flat, spreading out’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḥa-am-ma*), *palḥašḥa-* ‘breadth(?)’ (nom.sg. *pal-ḥa-aš-ḥa-aš*).

IE cognates: Lat. *plānus* ‘flat, smooth’, Lith. *plónas*, Latv. *plāns* ‘thin, flat’, Lith. *plóti*, Latv. *plāt* ‘to flatten’.

PIE *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-(e)i-*

See CHD P: 64f. for attestations. Since Benveniste (1935: 151), these words are generally connected with Lat. *plānus* ‘flat, smooth’, etc. that reflect *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-*. For Hittite, a reconstruction *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-i-* is generally accepted. Melchert (1984a: 45) states that a reconstruction *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>i-* would have yielded *\*\*palli-*, and that therefore *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-i-* is needed. A preform *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>-i-* is impossible anyway, however, as the regular full grade is *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-* (Lat. *plānus*, Lith. *plóti*) and not *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>-* (Gr. *πέλανος* ‘porridge’ is semantically far): all the forms with *palḥ-* must therefore reflect *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-*. A genuine full-grade is found in *palahša-*, a garment (q.v.) which is to be analysed as /plaHsa-/ < *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-so-* or *\*ploh<sub>2</sub>-so-*. Note that the derivatives *palḥašti-*, *palḥatar*, *palḥešš-*, *palḥanu-* all are derived from the bare root *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-*, not from the *i*-stem.

Originally, the adjective probably inflected *\*pléh<sub>2</sub>-i-s*, *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-éi-s*, of which the oblique stem was generalized.

Note that the CLuwian words are all quite disputable regarding their interpretation.

*palkuije/a-*<sup>(t)<sup>a</sup>(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘?’: 3pl.pres.midd. *pal-ku-i-ja-an-ta* (OH/NS).

Hapax in KUB 29.1 iii 5. CHD P: 68 translates ‘to acclaim(?)’, but admits that its ‘tentative translation is derived solely from the supposition that the verb is connected with *palwai-* ‘to cry out’’. Tischler (HEG P: 397-8), who cites the verb as *palkuwai-* (which is odd for a middle), follows CHD and suggests that 3sg.pret. *pa-al-ku-uš-ta* (KBo 25.123, 6 (OS)) belongs here as well. This form is hapax, too, and stands in such a broken context that its meaning cannot be determined. In my view, these suppositions are based on too little to base any conclusions on.

*palkuš-* ‘?’: 3sg.pret.act. *pa-al-ku-uš-ta* (OS).

Hapax in KBo 25.123, 6, which text is that broken that a meaning of this verb cannot be determined. See at *palkuiia-* for unconvincing suggestions of a connection between these two verbs.

*palša-* (c.) ‘road, path; campaign; journey; caravan; time (occassion)’ (Sum. KASKAL): nom.sg. KASKAL-*ša-aš* (OH or MH/NS), KASKAL-*aš* (OH/NS, MH/MS), KASKAL-*iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. KASKAL-*ša-an* (OH/MS), KASKAL-*an* (OS), gen.sg. KASKAL-*ša-aš* (NH), KASKAL-*aš* (OH or MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pal-še* (MH/MS), *pal-ši* (MH/MS), KASKAL-*ši* (OS), all.sg. KASKAL-*ša* (OS), abl. KASKAL-*ša-az* (MH/MS), KASKAL-*za* (OS), nom.pl. KASKAL-*ši-iš* (OH?/NS), acc.pl. KASKAL<sup>HL.A</sup>-*uš* (OS), gen.pl. KASKAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. KASKAL-*ša-aš*, KASKAL<sup>HL.A</sup>-*aš* (NH).

Derivatives: \**palšiaḫḫ-*<sup>i</sup> (IIB) ‘to dispatch, to set on the road, to satisfy’ (1sg.pres.act. KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. KASKAL-*aḫ-ḫi* (NH), KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-ḫ[u-un]* (NH), 2 or 3sg.pret.act. KASKAL-*aḫ-ta* (NH); part. KASKAL-*aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-ar* (NH); inf.I KASKAL-*ḫu-an-zi* (NH); impf. KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), \**palšijala-* (c.) ‘guide(?)’ (nom.sg. <sup>LU</sup>KASKAL-*la-aš* (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. *tbiplē* ‘two times(?)’, *trpplē* ‘three times(?)’.

IE cognates: Gr. δι-πλόζ, Lat. *du-plus*, OHG *zwi-falt* ‘twice’.

PIE \**polso-* or \**pl-so-*

See CHD P: 69f. for attestations. This word is usually written with the sumerogram KASKAL. Its phonetic reading is only indicated by a few dat.-loc.sg. spellings *pal-ši* that are used in the same function as KASKAL-*ši*. The word can be used for either ‘road’ or ‘time’ (in the sense of ‘the first time’). On the basis if the latter meaning, the Lycian words *tbiplē* and *trpplē* could be cognate if they indeed mean ‘two times’ and ‘three times’.

It has been assumed that *palša-* has cognates in HLUwian as well, but in my opinion these are dubious. KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §22 *wa/i-sa-’ | ku-ma-na sa-ti-’ | pa-la-sa-ti-i* is translated by Hawkins (2000: 112) as “when he shall be out of the way”, assuming that *pa-la-sa-ti-i* is abl.-instr. to a noun *palsa-* ‘way’ which is cognate to Hitt. *palša-*. In my view, this interpretation is less likely because in HLUwian the general rule is that the verb is the last word of the sentence. This would mean that here, *pa-la-sa-ti-i* is to be interpreted as a verbal form. KARKAMIŠ A6 §19 *wa/i-ná ara/i-la-’ “3” tara/i-su-u “4”-su-u | “MANUS” pa+ra/i-si “CRUS” ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i* is translated by Hawkins (2000: 125) as ‘I shall cause him

to stand ... three times, four times ...’, assuming that *pa+ra/i-si* is the dat.-loc.sg. of a noun *parsa-* ‘time, turn’, which is cognate with Hitt. *palša-*. In my view, *pa+ra/i-si* cannot mean ‘time’: the *-su-* suffix in “3” *tara/i-su-u* and “4” *-su-u* indicates ‘x times’ already, and the “MANUS”-determinative used for *pa+ra/i-si* is not helpful in an interpretation as ‘x times’. Moreover, HLuw. *-r-* does not regularly correspond to Hitt. *-l-*. This means that within Anatolian only the Lycian forms may be cognate.

Already Hrozný (1917: 95) connected *palša-* with Gr. *δι-πλός* and Lat. *du-plus*, OHG *zwi-falt*. If this connection is justified, we deal with a root *\*pel-*. Hitt. *palša-* then reflects *\*pol-s-o-* or *\*pl-s-o-*.

Kimball’s suggestion (1999: 450) to connect *palša-* with Arm. *pelem* ‘hole’ and OIr. *belach* ‘cleft, passage, way’ < *\*bel-* ‘to split, cut, excavate’ is semantically weak.

<sup>(UZU)</sup>*paltana-* (c.) ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’ (Sum. <sup>(UZU)</sup>ZAG(.LU)): nom.sg. *pal-ta-na-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *pal-ta-na-an*, gen.sg. *pal-ta-na-aš*, loc.sg. *pal-ta-ni* (MS), *pal-da-ni* (MS), *pal-ta-ni-i* (OH/NS), abl. ZAG.LU-*az*, nom.pl. *pal-ta-nu-uš* (NH), acc.pl. *pal-ta-na-[aš]*, loc.pl. *pal-ta-a-na-aš* (NH).

IE cognates: Skt. *pṛthú-* ‘flat of the hand’, Gr. *πλατεῖα* ‘flat of the hand’, Gr. *ῶμο-πλάτη* ‘shoulder blade’, Mlr. *leithe* ‘shoulder blade’.

PIE *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-eno-*.

See CHD P: 79f. for attestations. This word is generally connected with Skt. *pṛthú-* ‘flat of the hand’, etc., which means that it must reflect *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-eno-*.

It is unclear to me, however, what the connection is with the root *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘wide, broad’ (for which see *palhi-* and <sup>(TUG)</sup>*palahša-*). In principle, Hitt. *paltana-* could also reflect a preform *\*plh<sub>2</sub>th<sub>2</sub>eno-*, but the other IE languages do not show traces of *\*plh<sub>2</sub>t-*.

*paluae-<sup>z</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to cry out, to shout for joy, to cheer’: 3sg.pres.act. *pal-ua-a-ez-zi* (OS), *pal-ua-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *pal-u-ua-a-iz-zi*, *pal-u-ua-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pal-ua-an-zi* (OS), *pal-ua-a-an-zi* (NH), *pal-u-ua-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *pal-ua-it*; part. *pal-ua-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *pal-ú-e-eš-ke/a-* (OS), *pal-ú-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *pal-ú-i-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *pal-úi<sub>3</sub>-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *pal-úi<sub>3</sub>-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: <sup>(LÚ/MUNUS)</sup>*paluāt(t)alla-* (c.) ‘crier, a participant in festivals who cries out’ (nom.sg. *pal-ua-at-tal-la-aš* (OS), *pal-ua-tal-la-aš* (NS), *pal-ua-tal-aš*, *pal-ua-a-at-tal-l[a-aš]* (OH/NS), *pal-ua-a-tal-la[-aš]* (NH), *pal-u-ua-tal-la-aš* (OH/NS), *pal-lu-ua-tal-la-aš* (1x), dat.sg. *pal-ua-a[t-ta-al-l]i* (OS), *pal-ua-tal-li*



(MS or early NS), *pal-ua-at-ta-li*, nom.pl. *pal-ua-at-ta-al-le-eš* (OS), *pal-ua-at-tal-le-eš*, *pal-ua-at-tal-le-e-eš*, *pal-ua-tal-le-e-eš* (OH/NS), *[pa]l-ua-tal-la-aš*, acc.pl. *pal-ua-tal-la-aš* (OH?/NS), *pal-ua-tal-lu-uš*; case? *pal-ua-a-tal-la*, *pal-ua-tal-la* (NH)).

PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-uo-ǵé/ó-* ?

See CHD P: 80f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *hatrae*-class, which means that it is a *-ǵe/a*-derivative of a noun *\*palua-*, which is visible in *paluattalla-* as well. CHD suggests a connection with the verb *palkuiǵe/a-*<sup>(t) a(ri)</sup> whose meaning cannot be determined, referring to other alterations like *tarku-* / *taru-* ‘to dance’ and *lalakueša-* / *lalaǵeša-*. These alternations are often seen as showing a distribution between Hitt. *-ku-* and Luw. *-u-* from PIE *\*-g<sup>w</sup>*- (but see at *tar(k)u-*<sup>zi</sup> for a different interpretation of its alteration). Because *paluae-* is so well attested in OS texts already, I think it is unlikely that the *-u-* is of Luwian origin. I therefore rather separate *palkuiǵe/a-*.

The etymological interpretation is difficult. The noun *\*palua-* can phonologically represent /palua-/ as well as /pl(?)ua-/. In the first case we must assume a preform *\*Poluo-*, in the second *\*Pluo-* or *\*PlHuo-*. Tischler (HEG P: 403f.) favours a connection with the PIE root *\*(s)pel(H)-* visible in Goth. *spill* ‘story’, TochAB *pāl-* ‘to praise’, Lat. *ap-pellare* ‘to talk to’, implying a reconstruction *\*pol-uo-*. Schrijver 1991: 406f. derives these IE forms from a root *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>-*, which would have yielded Hitt. *\*\*palluua-* < *\*polh<sub>2</sub>-uo-* or *\*\*palhuua-* < *\*plh<sub>2</sub>-uo-*, however. In my view, a better possibility would be the root *\*b<sup>h</sup>leh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to cry, to roar’ as visible in Lat. *fleō* ‘to cry’, OHG *blāen* ‘to blow’, Latv. *blēju* ‘to bellow’, RussCS *blěju* ‘to bellow’. We then should reconstruct a noun *\*b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-uo-* ‘crying, roaring’ of which the *-ǵe/o*-derivative *\*b<sup>h</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>-uo-ǵé/ó-* ‘to be crying’ yielded Hitt. /pl?uāé-/, spelled *paluae-*<sup>zi</sup>.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *palzah(h)a-*, <sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *palzašha-* (c.) ‘pedestal, a flat base for statues’: nom.sg. *pal-za-ha-aš* (OH/MS), *pal-za-aḥ-ha-aš* (OH?/NS), *pal-za-ha-a-aš*, *pal-za-aš-ha-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pal-za-ha-an*, gen.sg. *pal-za-aḥ-ha-aš* (OH?/NS), loc.sg. *pal-za-ḥi* (OH/MS), *pal-za-aḥ-ḥi* (NH), *pal-za-aš-ḥi* (NH), acc.pl. *pal-za-ḥu-uš* (OS); stem *pal-za-ha* (OH?/NS), *pal-za-aš-ha*.

Derivatives: *palzahae-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to stretch (a sheep, lamb, kid) out (on a flat surface)’ (3sg.pres.act. *[pal-]za-ha-a-iz-zi*, *pal-za-ha-[iz]-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pal-za-ha-an-zi*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. *?blaso* ‘socle’.

PIE *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*.

See CHD P: 86 for attestations. The different spellings point to a phonological interpretation /pltsHá-/. Formally, the noun shows the suffix *-šĥa-* attached to a root *palt-* which is generally equated with *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘flat’ as seen in *paltana-* ‘shoulder’ (q.v.) as well. We therefore have to reconstruct *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*.

The appurtenance of Lyd. *blaso* ‘socle’ (cf. Tischler HEG P: 408) is quite uncertain.

***panku-* / *pangau-*** (adj.) ‘all, entire, complete; every; general’: nom.sg.c. *pa-an-ku-uš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *pa-an-ku-un* (NH), *pa-a-an-ku-un* (1x, NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *pa-an-ku* (OH or MH/NS), gen. *pa-an-ga-u-ua-aš* (NH), dat.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-i* (OH/NS), abl. *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-u-ua-az*, *pa-an-ga-u-ua-za* (MH/MS?), instr. *pa-an-ku-it* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. *pa-an-ga-u-e-eš* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-u-e-eš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***panku-* / *pangau-*** (c.) ‘multitude, the people, the masses; assembly; advisory body of the king’ (nom.sg. [*p*]*a-an-gu-uš* (OS), *pa-an-ku-uš*, *pa-an-ku-š=a*, *pa-an-ku-ú-š=a*, acc.sg. *pa-an-ku-un* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-ua-aš* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-an-ga-ua-aš* (MH/NS), *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-ua-aš*, *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-u-ua-aš*, *pa-an-ga-u-aš*, *pa-ga-u-ua-aš*, *pa-ga-ua-aš* (NH), dat.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-i* (OH/MS), *pa-an-ga-u-e*, *pa-an-ga-u-ūi*<sub>5</sub> (NH), *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-u-i*, *pa-ga-u-i*), <sup>NINDA</sup>***panku*** (n.), a kind of bread (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-an-ku*), ***pangarije/a-***<sup>tu(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to become widespread, to become common, to become general’ (3sg.pret.midd. *pa-an-ga-ri-ja-(at-)ta-ti* (OH/NS)), ***pangarit*** (adv.) ‘in large numbers, in force, en masse’ (*pa-an-ga-ri-it* (OS), *pa-an-ka<sub>+</sub>-ri-it* (NH)), ***pankuēšš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become plentiful(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-an-ku-e-eš-zi*).

IE cognates: Skt. *bahú-* ‘many, much, frequent, numerous’, Arm. *bazowm* (adj.) ‘much’.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-(e)u-*

See CHD P: 88f. for attestations. Note that the noun *panku-* ‘multitude; assembly’ must be regarded as a substantivized adjective because of the oblique stem *pangau-*, which contrasts with the fact that normally *u-*stem nouns do not show ablaut of the suffix.

There has been some debate about the etymology of these words. Polomé (1968) connected *panku-* with PIE *\*penk<sup>w</sup>e* ‘five’ (which he derives from ‘a handful’), but this is formally unlikely: *panku-* shows a *u-*suffix (gen.sg. *pangau<sub>u</sub>aš*), which cannot be explained by an etymological labiovelar. The same criticism can be uttered against Hamp’s connection with Lat. *cunctus* ‘totally,

every' (1973), which word would point to a labiovelar. I therefore stick to Sturtevant's etymology (1930c: 216), who connected *panku-* with Skt. *bahú-* 'many, much, frequent, numerous'. This word is usually connected with GAv. *dəbqzah-*, YAv. *bqzah-* 'thickness', Gr. *παχύς* 'thick, dense', Latv. *biēzs* 'thick' and Lat. *pinguis* 'fat' (the latter then must show secondary *p-* for expected *\*finguis*), which all show a meaning 'thick, fat'. This has caused criticism on the semantic side of the etymological connection with Hitt. *panku-*, but unjustified, to my mind. The semantics as found in Sanskrit (which fit the Hitt. semantics well) are not isolated, as they are comparable within IIr. to YAv. *bəzuuant-* 'numerous' and outside IIr. to Arm. *bazowm* (adj.) 'much'. I rather assume that the languages showing 'thick, fat' show a semantic development 'much, many' > 'complete, full' > 'thick, fat'.

Formally, Skt. *bahú-*, superl. *bámhiṣṭha-* has to be derived from a stem *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>(e)ng<sup>h</sup>-u-* (for initial *\*d<sup>h</sup>-* cf. GAv. *dəbqzah-* (Beekes 1988a: 78)). This means that the original paradigm must have been *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>éng<sup>h</sup>-u-s*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>éng<sup>h</sup>-u-m*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-éu-s*. Since the full-grade form *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>éng<sup>h</sup>-u-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*pinku-*, I assume that in Hittite the zero-grade form was generalized (just as in Skt. *bahú-*).

Note that the words *pangarit* and *pangarije/a-* are derived from an unattested stem *\*pangara-*, which reflects the Caland-variant *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-ro-*.

***pankur / pankun-*** (n.) animal body part ('udder?'); group of related animals or persons ('clan?'): nom.-acc.sg. *pa-an-kur* (OS), *pa-an-gur* (OH/NS), *pa-a-an-gur*, gen.sg. *pa-an-ku-na-aš* (MH/NS), instr. *pa-an-ku-ni-it* (MH).

Derivatives: ***pankunašša-*** 'one belonging to the *pankur*' (dat.-loc.sg. *pa-an-ku-na-aš-ši*).

See CHD P: 92f. for attestations and contexts. The exact meaning of the word is not clear. On the one hand it seems to denote an external body part of (mostly female) mammals, which can be used in rituals as well (therefore perhaps 'udder'). On the other hand it denotes a group of related people or animals. In one text it occurs in a enumeration of relationships:

KUB 13.20 i

(32) *DI-NAM<sup>HLA</sup> KUR<sup>TI</sup> ku-e ḥa-an-ne-iš-kat-te-e-ni n=a-at SIG<sub>5</sub>-in*

*ḥa-an-ni-iš-ke-et-tén n=a-at=za=kán a-pé-e-el*

(33) *ŠA É=ŠU ŠA ŠEŠ=ŠU NIN=ŠU ḥa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši pa-an-ku-na-aš-ši*

<sup>LÚ</sup>*ka-e-na-an-ti* <sup>LÚ</sup>*a-ri-e=š-ši*

(34) ŠA NINDA KAŠ *ma-a-ni-ja-alḫ-ḫi-ja-at-ti le-e ku-iš-ki i-ja-zi*

‘The law-suits of the country which you will judge, judge them well. No-one shall treat those (sc. the law-suits) of his own house, of his own brother or sister, of his own family-member(s), of his own *pangur*-member(s), of his own in-laws (and) of his own friend(s) for the gain of bread and beer’.

We see that members of the *pankur* are mentioned after the *ḫaššanašša-* (relatives through birth) but before *kaenant-* (relatives by marriage). Perhaps *pankunašša-* denoted people that were ‘relatives’ because they were raised by the same foster mother. Such an interpretation would also fit the meaning ‘udder’. Note that the formal interpretation of *pankunašši* is difficult. I interpret this form as dat.-loc.sg. of a stem *pankunašša-*, which shows the (Luwian) suffix *-ašša-* ‘belonging to’ (cf. the similar analysis of *ḫaššannašši* in HW<sup>2</sup> H: 412).

Despite the fact that we are dealing with a seemingly archaic *-r/n-*inflection, I know of no good comparandum. Formally, *pankur* should reflect *\*PonK-ur* or *\*Ph<sub>2,3</sub>enK-ur*. On the basis of the old idea that *pankur* denotes both ‘clan’ and ‘milk’, Melchert (1983: 9<sup>23</sup>) states that it easily could be derived from the PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to be thick’ (which also underlies Hitt. *panku-* / *pangaṽ-*), reconstructing *\*b<sup>h</sup>óng<sup>h</sup>-ur*. Because the translation ‘milk’ has to be abandoned (see explicitly CHD P: 93), this etymology cannot be upheld. If *pankur* indeed denotes ‘udder’, we could perhaps think of an etymological connection with the PIE root *\*pen-* ‘to feed’ (Lith. *penù* ‘to feed’, Lat. *penus* ‘food’), although the origin of the velar consonant remains unexplained then.

***pantala-*** ‘moment, point in time’: abl. *pa-an-ta-la-az* (MH/MS), *pa-a[n-d]a-[la-az]* (MH/MS).

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See CHD P: 94 for attestations. This word only occurs in the expressions *apet pantalaz* ‘from that time onwards’ and *ket pantalaz* ‘from now onwards’ (this last expression is attested without a word space as well, see *ketpantalaz*), which indicates that *pantala-* may denote ‘moment, point in time’. An etymological interpretation of *pantala-* is difficult, however. Some scholars favour an etymological connection with *paii-zi* / *pai-* ‘to go’ (cf. *uizzapant-* ‘old, having grown weary’ < ‘\*having gone with regard to the year(s)’), but this seems semantically unlikely to me as *pantala-* seems to refer more to a fixed point in time than to long period. Puhvel (HED 4: 202-3) suggests a tie-in with Lat. *pendō* ‘to hang (on scales), to weigh’, giving as a parallel Lat. *mōmentum* < *\*movementum*, derived of *movere* ‘to move’. Nevertheless, it is likely that Lat.

*pendō* belongs with Goth. *spinnan* ‘to spin’, Lith. *pinti* ‘to plaid’, Arm. *hanowm* ‘to weave’ (cf. Meiser 1998: 193), implying an original meaning ‘to strain the cords (by hanging something on them)’. This makes a connection with Hitt. *pantala-* ‘point in time’ rather improbable.

***panzartanna*** (adv.) ‘for five rounds’: *pa-an-za-ua-ar-ta-an-na*.

See CHD P: 96. The word is only attested in the Kikkuli-text on horse-training. It is generally derived from Indic *\*pañca-uartana-* ‘five-rounds’ < *\*penk<sup>w</sup>e-uert-eno-*. See also *aikartanna*, *naartanna*, *šattartanna* and *tierartanna*.

***pāp-*** ‘to make loaves out of dough’: 3pl.pres.act. *pa-a-pa<sup>ʔ</sup>-an-zi* (OS), inf.I *pa-a-pu-ua-an-zi* (NH?), *pa-a-pu-u-ua-an-zi*.

See CHD P: 96 for attestations and semantics. The verb denotes an action that is performed on fermented dough and that results in loaves ready for baking. CHD suggests ‘to subdivide’ or ‘to shape’. No etymology has been suggested, but cf. <sup>GIS</sup>*pāpu-* and <sup>GIS</sup>*pāpul-*.

***pappa-*** (gender unclear) ‘danger’: dat.-loc.sg. *pa-ap-pí*.

IE cognates: ?Gr. *πόποι*, ?Skt. *pāpá-* ‘bad, evil’.

PIE ?\**popo-*

See CHD P: 101 for attestations. This word only occurs in the expression *a-a-i pa-ap-pí na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-še-er* ‘they were cautious about *āi* and about *p*’. CHD translates ‘trouble(?) and danger(?)’, Tischler (HEG P: 425f.) translates ‘Leid und Gefahr<sup>2</sup>’.

Formally, dat.-loc.sg. *pappi* could belong to a stem *pappa-* as well as *pappi-*. Regarding its etymology, H. Berman *apud* Puhvel (HED 1-2: 14) connects *āi pappi* with Gr. *ὦ πόποι* (exclamation of surprise, of unbelieve). Another cognate could be Skt. *pāpá-* ‘bad, evil’ < *\*popó-*.

***pappan(n)ikna-*** (c.) ‘brother sharing the same father, paternal brother’ (Sum. *pa-ap-pa-ŠEŠ*): nom.pl. *pa-ap-pa-ni-ik-ni-eš* (OH/NS), [*pa-ap-pa-a*]n-ni-ik-ni-eš (OH/NS).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***pāpa-*** ‘father’ (nom.sg. *pa-a-pa-aš*, *pa-a-pa-az*=, voc.(?) =*pa-pa=mi*).

See CHD P: 97 for attestations. The word clearly is a compound of *\*pappa-* ‘father’ and *nekna-* ‘brother’ (q.v.). The word *\*pappa-* does not occur in Hittite as such, but is related to Pal. *pāpa-* ‘father’. It likely is a Lallwort (just as *anna-* ‘mother’, *atta-* ‘father’). See *annaneka-* ‘sister of the same mother’ for a similar construction.

**papparš-**<sup>i</sup> (IIa2) ‘to sprinkle’: 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-pár-ši* (MH/MS), *pa-ap-pa-ar-ši* (NS), *pa-ap-pa-ar-aš-zi* (MH/MS), *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ap-pa-ar-aš-ša-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pa-ap-pár-aš-ša-an-zi*, *pa-ap-pár-ša-an-zi* (NH), *pa-pár-ša-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-pa-ar-aš-ḫu-un* (OH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *pā[-ap-pár-(aš-ša-an-du)]* (NS); part. *pa-ap-pár-aš-ša-an-t-* (OH/NS), *pa-ap-pár-ša-an-t-* (MS?), *pa-ap-pa-ar-aš-š[a-an?]* (OH?/MS); inf.I *pa-ap-pa-ar-šu-u-ua-an-zi*, *pa-ap-pár-šu-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *pa-ap-pár-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *pa-ap-par-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *pa-ap-pár-še-eš-ke/a-*, *pa-ap-pár-ši-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: see *paršana-* ‘leopard’.

IE cognates: Tocharian *pärs-* ‘to sprinkle’, Skt. *pṛṣant-* ‘dappled’, Cz. *pršeti* ‘to sprinkle’, Lith. *puṛslai* ‘spray’, OCS *praxъ* ‘dust’ (< *\*porso-*), *prṛstb* ‘heaped up soil’ (< *\*prsti-*), ON *fors/foss* ‘waterfall’.

PIE *\*pórs-ei*, *\*prs-énti*

See CHD P: 98f. for attestations. We find *mi-* as well as *ḫi-*inflected forms (*papparši* besides *papparašzi*). Although *papparšzi* is attested 10x vs. *papparši* 2x, I think that the verb originally was *ḫi-*inflected because the *mi-*inflection is the productive one and because the oldest attested form, 1sg.pret.act. *paparašḫun* (OH/MS), shows *ḫi-*inflection.

Etymologically, this verb is generally connected with Tocharian *pärs-* ‘to sprinkle’, Skt. *pṛṣant-* ‘dappled’, Cz. *pršeti* ‘to sprinkle’, etc. and reconstructed as *\*pers-*.

Note that intervocalic *\*-rs-* regularly should yield *-rr-* (cf. *arra-* ‘arse’ < *\*Horso-*), but in *\*porsei* > *parši* it has been restored on the basis of the plural where the *\*-s-* remained after syllabic *\*r*. In this latter position, *\*s* fortited to /S/, however, which is expressed by spellings like *pa-ap-pa-ar-aš-ša-an-zi* /*paprŠánt<sup>s</sup>i*/.

The CLuw. 3sg.pres.act. [*pa-*]ap-pa-ša-at-ti often is regarded as a cognate to Hitt. *papparš-* and subsequently translated ‘sprinkles’ (cf. e.g. Melchert 1993b: 165), but such an interpretation is not evident from the context.

↳ **pappaš-** (Luw. verb) ‘to swallow’: Luw. 3sg.pres.act. ↳ *pa-ap-pa-ša-i*.

Derivatives: <sup>(UZU)</sup> **pap(p)aššala/i-** ‘throat, esophagus(?)’ (acc.sg. *pa-ap-pa-aš-ša-la-an* (NH), *pa-pa-aš-ša-la-an*, *pa-ap-pa-aš-ša-li-in* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **papašāl-** (n.) ‘esophagus(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl. [*pa-*] *pa-ša-a-la*).

PIE \**-peh<sub>3</sub>-s-*

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See CHD P: 100 for attestation and context. Because of the use of gloss wedges, this verb is generally regarded as the Luwian reduplicated variant of Hitt. *pāš-<sup>i</sup> / paš-* ‘to swallow’. It probably is the source of CLuw. *papašāl-* ‘esophagus(?)’, which in its turn is borrowed into Hitt. *pappaššalla/i-* ‘throat, esophagus(?)’. See at *pāš-<sup>i</sup> / paš-* for further etymology.

**pappi-**: see *pappa-*

**paprant-** (adj.) ‘impure, unclean; proven guilty by ordeal’: nom.sg.c. *pa-ap-ra-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. [*pa-ap-r*] *a-an-da-an* (MH/MS), abl. *pa-ap-ra-an-da-za* (MH/NS), instr. *pa-ap-ra-an-ti-it* (NH), nom.pl.c. *pa-ap-ra-an-te-eš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **paprah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to defile, to make impure’ (2sg.pres.act. [*pa-a*] *p-ra-aḫ-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫe-er* (NH); part. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), **paprātar / paprann-** (n.) ‘impurity, defilement, impropriety’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-ap-ra-a-tar* (OS), *pa-ap-ra-tar* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *pa-ap-ra-an-na-aš* (MH/NS), *pa-ap-ra-na-aš* (NH), loc.sg. *pa-ap-ra-an-ni* (MH/NS), erg.sg. *pa-ap-ra-an-na-a[n-z]a-š=a* (MH/MS), abl. *pa-ap-ra-an-na-za* (MH/NS), *pa-ap-ra-an-na-az* (NH), *pa-ap-ra-an-na-an-za* (NH)), **papre-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be proven guilty by ordeal; to do something impure’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-re-ez-zi* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ap-re-et* (MH?/NS); 3sg.pret.midd. *pa-ap-re-et-ta* (OH/NS); impf. *pa-ap-re-eš-ke/a-*), **paprēšš-<sup>zi</sup>**, **papašš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be found guilty (by ordeal)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-re-eš-zi* (MH?/NS), *pa-ap-ri-iš-zi* (MH?/NS), *pa-ap-ra-aš-zi* (MH?/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-ap-ri-i[š-te-ni]*; part. *pa-ap-re-eš-ša-an-t-* (OH?/NS)), **paprēššar / paprešn-** (n.) ‘impurity, uncleanness’ (loc.sg. *pa-ap-re-eš-ni* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **paratta-** (n.) ‘impurity(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-ra-at-ta-an-za*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *pa-ra-at-ta-aš-ši-iš*, gen.adj.acc.sg. *pa-ra-at-ta-aš-ši-in*), **parattašatta-** (a bad quality) (acc.sg. *pa-ra-at-ta-ša-at-ta-[a]n*).

IE cognates: ON *fár* ‘danger’, OHG *firina* ‘crime’ Goth. *fairina* ‘guilt’, etc.

PIE \**po-pr-*

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See CHD P: 103f. for attestations. All words are derived from a stem *papr-*.

If CLuw. *paratta-* indeed means ‘impurity’ (it denotes a bad quality) and is cognate with Hitt. *papr-*, it would show that we are dealing with a root *\*par-* which is reduplicated in Hittite.

It is difficult to give an IE etymology, as there are many roots that show a form *\*Per-*, but none has a striking semantic similarity. The only one that possibly could fit is the root “*\*per-<sup>2</sup>* E.” ‘to try, to dare, to risk; danger’ (as it is cited in Pokorny 1959: 818), which he reconstructs on the basis of ON *fár* ‘danger’ and OHG *firina* ‘crime’.

The verb *papre-<sup>zi</sup>* is interpreted as a stative in *-eh<sub>1</sub>-* by Watkins (1973: 79f.).

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*pāpu-* (c.) a wooden implement used in a bakery: acc.sg. *pa-pu-u-un* (NS), *[p]a<sup>2</sup>-a-p[u]-u-un<sup>2</sup>-n=a*.

See CHD P: 108. The only sure attestation of this word occurs in KUB 16.34 i (14) ŠÀ É <sup>LÚ</sup>NINDA.DÛ.DÛ=*ua=kán* UR.[GI<sub>7</sub>-aš] *pa-it nu=ua* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*pa-pu-u-un ar-ḫa ḫu-ru-ta-it* ‘A dog came into the bakery and knocked over(?) the *p.*’. On the basis of this context alone, an exact meaning cannot be determined. Other attestations might be KBo 29.70 i (28) [... *p]a<sup>2</sup>-a-p[u]-u-un<sup>2</sup>-na x[ ...]* and KUB 46.48 rev. (22) [...]*x ú-e-te-na-az* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*pa-a-pu<sup>2</sup>*[-...], which could indicate that the word actually was *pāpu-*. Perhaps the word is cognate with <sup>GIŠ</sup>*pāpul-* ‘bread tray(?)’ and perhaps both words belong with *pāp-*, an action performed on fermented dough resulting in loaves ready for baking (q.v.).

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*pāpul-* (gender unclear) a wooden implement for carrying or arranging loaves of freshly baked breads, ‘bread tray(?)’: dat.-loc.sg. *pa-a-pu-li*.

See CHD P: 108 for attestation and context. The word occurs only once, in KUB 55.43 iii 33. It possibly denotes a bread tray or similar. On the basis of the dat.-loc.sg. alone, we cannot decide whether the stem was *pāpul-*, *pāpula-* or *pāpuli-*. On the basis of other words in *-ul-* (*aššul-*, *uštul-*) I cite this word as *pāpul-* here. Possibly, the word belongs with <sup>GIŠ</sup>*pāpu-*, a wooden implement used in a bakery, and *pāp-*, an action performed on fermented dough resulting in loaves ready for baking. No further etymology.

*parā* (prev. with dat.-loc. or all., +=*kan*) ‘out (to), forth, toward’; (prev. with dat.-loc. or all. without locative particles) ‘forward, further, along’; (postpos. with



abl. or instr.) ‘out of, from’; (adv.) ‘furthermore, moreover, additionally, still; then, after that’: *pa-ra-a* (OS).

Derivatives: see *para*<sup>-i</sup> / *par*- ‘to appear’.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parī*** ‘forth, away’ (*pa-ri-i*); HLuw. ***pari*** (adv.) ‘forth, away’ (*pa+ra/i*, *pa+ra/i-i-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A1a §16), PRAE-*i*); Lyc. ***pri*** ‘forth, in front’.

IE cognates: Gr. *πρό*, Skt. *prá-*, Lat. *prō-*, Goth. *fra-*.

PIE *\*pró*

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See CHD P: 109f. for attestations and semantic treatment. This word is abundantly attested from OS onwards and consistently spelled *pa-ra-a*. Within Hittite, it clearly belongs with *peran* ‘in front of’. Both are to be regarded as petrified cases of a further unattested noun *\*per-*: acc.sg. *peran* (although see at *peran* for the difficulties regarding the exact interpretation of this form) besides all.sg. *parā* (cf. *šēr* besides *šarā*) and a possible abl. *parza* (q.v.). In my view, it therefore is evident that *parā* must reflect a zero grade formation /*prá/*. Formally as well as semantically, we must equate *parā* with Gr. *πρό*, Skt. *prá-*, Lat. *prō-*, Goth. *fra-*, etc. < *\*pró*. Note that the equation of *parā* with Gr. *πρό*, Lat. *prō-* and Skt. *prá-* is a major argument in reconstructing the all.sg.-ending *-a* / *-ā* as *\*-o*. The Luwian forms, CLuw. *parī*, HLuw. *pa+ra/i* = /*pri/* and Lyc. *pri* seem to reflect PLuw. *\*prī*, which possibly reflects an old dative *\*pr-ei*.

See at *para*<sup>-i</sup> / *par*- ‘to appear’ for the verbal derivative of *parā*.

***parā-*** (c.) ‘air, breath(?)’: nom.sg. *pa-ra-a-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *pa-ra-a-an*.

IE cognates: Gr. *πυπρήμι* ‘to blow’, Skt. *prāṇa-* ‘breath’.

PIE *\*proh<sub>1</sub>-*

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See CHD P: 130 for attestations and semantics. The word clearly belongs with *parai*<sup>-i</sup> / *pari*- ‘to blow’ (q.v.), which reflects *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-* (cf. Gr. *πυπρήμι* ‘to blow’). The noun *parā-* therefore probably reflects *\*proh<sub>1</sub>-s*, *\*proh<sub>1</sub>-m*, *\*preh<sub>1</sub>-s* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 23).

***para*<sup>-i</sup> / *par*-** (Ha1β?) ‘to appear, to emerge’: 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ra-a-i* (KUB 8.1 ii 17, iii 10, KUB 43.19, 2), verb.noun gen.sg. *pa-ra-an-na-aš* (MH/MS).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***parai-*** ‘to appear(?)’ (3sg.pret.act. *pa-ra-i-it*).

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See CHD P: 134 for attestations. There, the verb is cited as *parai-*, as if it belongs to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class. As Melchert (fthc.b) showed, this is not the case, however, as can be inferred from the verb.noun gen.sg. *parannaš* instead of expected

\**pariġannaš*. This means that *para-* must belong either to the *tarn(a)*-class, or, perhaps better, to class IIa1β (like *dā<sup>i</sup>* / *d-*). It is generally accepted that it is a derivative of *parā*, q.v. for further etymology.

***parahh-***: see *parh<sup>-zi</sup>*

***parai<sup>i</sup>* / *pari-*** (IIa4) ‘to blow (a horn); to blow on (a fire); to blow up, to inflate’: 1sg.pres.act. *pa-re-eh-ĥi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ra-a-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *pa-ri-i-ġa-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-ra-iš-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ri-ġa-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pa-ri-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pa-ra-an-zi* (1x, OH?/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ra-iš* (OH/NS), [p]*a-ra-a-iš*, 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ri-er* (OH/NS); part. *pa-ri-ġa-an-t* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***parip(p)ara<sup>i</sup>* / *parip(p)ari-*** (IIa5) ‘to blow (a horn); to be flatulent (midd.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ri-pa-ra-a-i* (OH?/NS), *pa-ri-ip-pa-ra-a-i* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ri-ip-pa-ri-ġa-an-zi* (NH?), *pa-ri-pa-ra-an-zi* (MH?/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pa-ri-pa-ri-et-ta-ri* (NH); verb.noun *pa-ri-pa-ri-ġa-u-ġa-ar*; impf. *pa-ri-ip-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *pa-ri-pa-ri-eš-ke/a-*, ***papra<sup>i</sup>* / *papri-*** (IIa5) ‘to blow (an instrument)’ (3pl.pres.act. *pa-ap-ri-ġa-an-zi* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***pariparai-*** ‘to blow(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ri-pa-ra-a-i*, part.nom.-acc.sg.n. [*pa<sup>3</sup>*]-*ri-pa-ra-a-an*).

IE cognates: Gr. πμπρήμι ‘to blow’.

PIE *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-*

See CHD P: 133f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class. The only aberrant form is 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ra-an-zi* (KBo 21.57 ii 4), which is difficult to explain as a secondary form, because of the fact that it is attested in a MS text. Perhaps it is the archaic remnant of an *i*-less verb *\*prā-* / *pr-* < *\*proh<sub>1</sub>-* / *prh<sub>1</sub>-*.

In my article on *pai<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’ (Kloekhorst fthc.a) I have argued that verbs of the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class reflect a structure *\*CC-oi-*, *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of the root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/i-*. In the case of *parai<sup>i</sup>* / *pari-*, the root etymology is generally accepted: *\*preh<sub>1</sub>-* as found in Gr. πμπρήμι ‘to blow’ (note that the appurtenance of Russ. *pret* ‘to sweat, to rot’ (thus e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>) does not seem likely on semantic grounds). This means that *parai-/pari-* reflects *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-ó-i-ei*, *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*.

The reduplicated derivative *parip(p)ara<sup>i</sup>* / *parip(p)ari-* shows the *mēma/i*-flexion, as can be seen by NH *pariparanzi* (which we would not expect in a *dāi/tiġanzi*-class verb). This coincides with our observation that polysyllabic verbs that used to belong to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class were influenced by *tarn(a)*-class verbs

from pre-Hittite times onwards, yielding the hybrid synchronic *mēma/i*-class (see at my treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h). It is interesting that it is predominantly spelled *pa-ri-pa-ra/i-*, whereas a spelling *\*\*pa-ri-ip-ra/i-* would have been possible as well. This means that the second *-a-* was phonetically real: [pripəra/i-]. Phonologically, we should interpret this then as */-pəra/i-/*, or, more consistently, */prʔa/i-/*. This shows that, just as *\*CRh<sub>2,3</sub>V* yields Hitt. */CRHV-/*, spelled *CaR(aḥ)ḥV-*, the cluster *\*CRh<sub>1</sub>V* yields Hitt. */CRʔV-/*, spelled *CaRV-*. This means that a word spelled with initial *#CaRV-* could in principle stand for phonological */CRV-/* < *\*CRV-*, or for */CRʔV-/* < *\*CRh<sub>1</sub>V-*. On the basis of this discovery, we must phonologically interpret the simplex verb *parai-<sup>i</sup> / pari-* as */prʔai- / prʔi-/* < *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-oi- / \*prh<sub>1</sub>-i-*.

The imperfective *paripriške/a-*, which reflects *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* (cf. *zikke/a-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ske/o-* from *dai-<sup>i</sup> / ti-* for the absence of *-i-* in the imperfective), shows that the regular outcome of *\*CRHsC* is */CRisC/*, however, and not *\*\*/CəRisC/* or */CRʔisC/*.

***\*parā(-)nekna-*** (c.) ‘half-brother(?), step-brother(?)’: acc.pl. *pa-ra-a ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš*

See CHD P: 129: hapax in KUB 26.1 iii 59, where it is mentioned next to *ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>* ‘brothers’. For the formation, cf. *pappan(n)ikna-*, *annanega-*.

***parānda*** (postpos., adv., prev.) ‘across (to), over (to)’: *pa-ra-a-an-ta* (OS), *pa-ra-a-an-da* (MH/MS), *pa-ra-an-da* (NH), *pár-ra-an-ta* (MH/MS), *pár-ra-an-da* (MH/NS), *pár-ra-a-an-da* (1x, NH).

See CHD P: 135f. for attestations and semantics. In the oldest texts (OS and MS), this word is spelled with the sign PA and plene second vowel, pointing to */p(a)rānTa/*. In younger texts (one MS and many NS texts) the bulk of the attestations show a spelling with the sign PÁR which possibly is due to the fortition of OH */t/* to NH */R/* as described in § 1.4.6.2.b. Sturtevant (1938b) compares *parānda* with Gr. *πέραν + δε*. Tischler (HEG P: 441-2) just states that it is a “Univerbierung von *para* ‘weiter’ + *anda* ‘hinein’”.

***pararah<sup>i</sup>*** (IIb) ‘to chase(?)’: 2pl.pres.act.? *pa-ra-ra-aḥ-t[a-ni<sup>2</sup>]* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ra-ra-aḥ-ḥi-iš* (OH/NS).

PIE *\*pro-r-eh<sub>2</sub>-*

See CHD P: 138 for attestations and contexts. Although the meaning of this verb is not totally clear, a translation ‘to chase’ seems to fit both attestations well.

Formally, the verb looks like a factitive in *-ahh-* of a stem *parara-*. Soysal (1988: 118, 125f.) convincingly compared it with the verb *katterahh<sup>i</sup>* ‘to lower’, which is a factitive in *-ahh-* of a stem *kattera-* which itself is derived from *katta* ‘down’ (q.v.). This would mean that in the case of *pararahh<sup>i</sup>* the stem *parara-* is derived from *parā* ‘in front, forth’. Semantically, we then can assume that just as *katta* ‘down’ corresponds to *katterahh<sup>i</sup>* ‘to lower (\*to make go down)’, *parā* ‘forth’ corresponds to *pararahh<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make go forth > to chase’. See at *parā* for further etymology. Soysal’s suggestion that a contracted form of *pararahh<sup>i</sup>* yielded *parh<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to chase’ (q.v.) does not make much sense as such a contraction is phonetically irregular and *ad hoc*. Besides, *parh-* has a good IE etymology of its own.

***parašant-*** (adj.) modifies troops: nom.sg.c. *pa-ra-ša-an-za* (NH), acc.sg. *pa-ra-ša-a[n-ta-an?]* (NH).

See CHD P: 138-9 for attestations. The adjective is used to describe ERIN<sup>MES</sup> ‘troops’, but its meaning cannot be determined. Possibly, it is cognate with *parāšešš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to disperse’ (q.v.).

***parāšešš<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to disperse(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ra-še-eš-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ra-še-eš-še-er* (NH), *pa-ra-a-še-eš-ši-er* (NH).

See CHD P: 140-1 for attestations. As is argued there, a translation ‘to disperse’ would fit some of the contexts well. Formally, the verb looks like a fientive in *-ēšš-* from a stem *parāš-*. It may be possible that this stem is to be identified with the one underlying the adj. *parašant-* that is used to describe ERIN<sup>MES</sup>. Especially the fact that the verb *parāšešš-* can have ERIN<sup>MES</sup> as its subject (e.g. KBo 5.8 i 22) points to an etymological connection between the two words. Some scholars (e.g. Kronasser 1966: 404) interprets *parāšešš-* as a derivative of *parš-* ‘to flee’. Although this is semantically possible, I do not see how this could work formally. I have no alternative etymology to offer, however.

Note that 3pl.pres.act. *šeššir* ‘they slept’ as cited in HW: 191 without an attestation place (see also at *šeš<sup>zi</sup>* / *šaš-*), probably goes back to a misinterpretation of one of the 3pl.pret.-forms of this verb.

<sup>NA</sup>***parašha-*** (c.), <sup>NA</sup>***parušha-*** (c.), <sup>NA</sup>***parašhi-*** (n.) a semiprecious stone: nom.sg.c. *pa-ra-aš-ḫa-aš* (MH/MS), *ba-ra-aš-ḫa-aš* (MH/NS), [*p*]a-r[*u*]-uš-ḫa-

*aš*, acc.sg.c. *pa-ra-aš-ḥa-an* (MH/MS?), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ba-ra-aš-ḥi* (MH/NS), *pa-ra-aš-ḥi* (NS).

See CHD P: 139 for attestations. The word is clearly of foreign origin because of the alterations. According to Albright (1945: 24), the word is the Hurrian rendering of Akk. *marḥašītu*-glass, which originates in *Marḥaši* (also written *Barašḥi* and *Paraši*).

Note that the alteration *parašḥa-* : *parušḥa-* shows that we must analyse these forms as /prasha-/ and /prusha-/. This is important as it shows that a spelling *pa-ra-aš-C* stands for /parsC-/ , which contrasts with the spelling *pár-aš-C* that stands for /parsC-/ or /prsC-/ (see e.g. at *paršdu-*).

*parašdu-*: see *paršdu-*

*paraštuhḥa-*: see *parštuhḥa-*

*parašza* : see *parza*

<sup>(LÚ)</sup>*parāuuant-* (c.) ‘supervisor’: nom.sg. *pa-ra-a ú-ua-an-za* (MH?/NS), acc.sg. *pa-ra-a-ú-ua-an-da-an* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*parāuuntalla-* ‘lookout’ (acc.pl. *pa-ra-a-ú-ua-tal-lu-uš* (NH)).

See CHD P: 142 and 110f. for attestations. These words clearly exist of the preverb *parā* followed by forms of *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’. The fact that sometimes no word space is written, indicates that synchronically they function as univerbations.

*parḥ-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia4 > IIa1γ) ‘to chase, to pursue, to hunt; to expel; to attack; to make gallop (horses); to hasten (intr.)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pá[r-a]ḥ-mi* (NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pár-aḥ-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aḥ-zi* (OS), *pár-ḥa-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ḥa-i* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥa-i* (MH/MS), *pár-ḥa-a-i* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥa-a-i* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ḥa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (MH?/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ḥu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-aḥ-ta* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *pár-ḥa-aš* (NH), [p]ár-ḥi-ja-at (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *pár-ḥu-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ḥe-er* (OH/NS), *pár-aḥ-[ḥe-er]* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-aḥ-du* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pár-aḥ-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-aḥ-ḥa-an-du* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ḥa-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *pár-ḥa-an-ta* (OH), 3pl.imp.midd. *pár-ḥa-an-ta-ru* (MH/MS); part. *pár-ḥa-an-t-* (MH/MS, OH/NS); verb.noun *pár-ḥu-ua-ar*

(MH/MS), *pár-ḥu-u-ua-ar* (MH/MS); inf.I *pár-ḥu-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥu-ua-a[n-zi]* (MH/MS); sup. *pár-ḥu-ua-an* (OH/MS); impf. *pár-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *pár-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *parḥanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *parḥanni-* (IIa5) ‘to chase (impf.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ḥa-an-na-i* (MH/MS)), *parḥanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make gallop’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ḥa-nu-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *pár-ḥa-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-aḥ-ḥa-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS)), *parḥeššar* / *parḥešn-* (n.) ‘haste, urgency; forced march’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ḥe-eš-šar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ḥe-eš-ni* (NH), *pár-ḥi-iš-ni* (NH), abl. *pár-ḥe-eš-n[a-za]* (OH/NS), *pár-ḥe-eš-na-az* (NH), *pár-ḥe-eš-na-za* (NH), *pár-ḥi-iš-na-az* (NH), *pár-ḥi-iš-na-za* (NH)), *parḥuuar* (n.) a token ‘chasing across’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ḥu-ua-ar*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *par(a)-* ‘to drive, to chase’ (3sg.pres.act.(?) *pa-ra-at-ti*, 2sg.imp.act. *pa-ra*, 3sg.imp.act. *pár-du*, *pa-ra-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *pa-ra-an-du*), *parḥ-* ‘to drive, to chase’ (3sg.imp.act. *pár-ḥa-ad-du*).

IE cognates: Skt. *bhar<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to move rapidly to and fro, to hurry’, YAv. *barəṇti* (loc.abs.) ‘when it storms’.

PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2/3</sub>-ti*, *\*b<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2/3</sub>-énti*

See CHD P: 143f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations (including an OS one) show *mi*-inflection, whereas all forms that show a *tarn(a)*-class inflection (*parḥa-<sup>i</sup>*) are found in one text only, KBo 3.5 (MH/MS). I therefore conclude that this verb is *mi*-inflected originally. The alternation between the spelling *pár-aḥ-zi* and *pár-ḥa-zi* shows that we have to phonologically interpret this form as /párHt<sup>i</sup>/i/. As a *mi*-verb, the original inflection must have been *\*Pérh<sub>2/3</sub>-ti*, *\*Prh<sub>2/3</sub>énti*. Since in the singular form the laryngeal disappears regularly between consonants, the regular PANat. outcome of this paradigm is *\*/párti / prHánti/*. We see that this paradigm was levelled out differently in the Anatolian languages. In Hittite, the /-H-/ of the plural form is generalized, which yields /párHt<sup>s</sup>i / prHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *parḥzi*, *parḥanzi*, whereas in Luwian the *ḥ*-less singular form is generalized, yielding *parti*, *\*paranzi* (if indeed 3sg.pres. *paratti* belongs to this verb). The CLuwian form with *-ḥ-* (3sg.imp.act. *parḥaddu*) is seen by Melchert (1993b: 167) as a possible Iṣtanuwian dialect-form.

Regarding the outer-Anatolian etymology, different views have been put forth. Hrozný (1919: 110<sup>1</sup>) compared *parḥ-* to Gr. *περάω* ‘to penetrate’, which is semantically not satisfactory. Oettinger (1979a: 213f.) plausibly connects *parḥ-* with Skt. *bhar<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to move rapidly, to hurry’, which is semantically as well as formally more compelling. This means that we have to reconstruct *\*b<sup>h</sup>érh<sub>2/3</sub>-*.

Often, Lat. *fervō* ‘to boil’ is seen as a cognate as well, but this verb probably reflects *\*b<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>1</sub>-u-* (see Schrijver 1990: 252ff.) and therefore cannot be cognate (because *\*-h<sub>1</sub>-* does not yield Hitt. *-h-*).

***parhūuaja-*** (gender unclear) an animal, ‘fish?’: gen. *pár-ħu-u-ua-ja-aš* (OH/NS).

The word occurs only once: KBo 10.33 + KBo 10.28 v (2) UZU[.ĤÁD].DU.A *pár-ħu-u-ua-ja-aš* ‘dried meat of the *p.*’. Tischler (HEG P: 458) connects this word with the broken form *pár-ħu[-...]*, found in an enumeration in KBo 10.36 iii (4) [<sup>UZU</sup>AR-NA-BI MUŠEN<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *pár-ħu[-...]*], which has a seeming parallel in KBo 10.52, (10) [<sup>UZU</sup>A]R-NA-BI MUŠEN<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> KU<sub>6</sub><sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *iz[-...]*]. This would mean that *parħu[-...]* has to be read as KU<sub>6</sub><sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> ‘fish’ (thus Otten in the preface of KBo 10). CHD (P: 148) speaks against this equation, however, because KU<sub>6</sub> is always phonetically completed as an *u*-stem, which would not fit the form *parhūuajaš*. Tischler argues that *parhūuajaš* may be a derivative of the *u*-stem *parħu-* and does not have to be the reading of KU<sub>6</sub> itself. If the word for ‘fish’ was *parħu-*, Weeks (1985: 48) connects it with *parħ-* ‘to chase’ (q.v.), because of the swiftness of fishes (*\*b<sup>h</sup>rh<sub>2,3</sub>-u-*). Both the word *parhūuajaš* as well as the broken *parħu[-...]* are spelled with the sign *pár*, which in principle can be read *maš* as well. Then the words (*mašħu[-...]* and *mašhūuaja-*) would resemble the word *mašħuil(a)-* ‘mouse’ (q.v.).

***parijan*** (postpos., prev., adv.) ‘across, over, beyond; over to, across to; in opposition to; in front’: *pa-ri-ja-an* (MH/MS), *pa-ri-e-an* = *pa-ri-ja-an* ? (MH/MS), *pa-a-ri-ja-an* (NH).

Derivatives: ***parijanalla-*** (adj.) ‘future’ (abl. [*p*]a-ri-ja-na-al-la-az), ***par(r)ianta*** (adv.) ‘beyond’ (*pa-ri-ja-an-t[a]*, *pa-ri-ja-an-da*, *pár-ri-an-ta*), ***parijaṽan*** (adv.) ‘on the other side(?)’ (*pa-ri-ja-ṽa-an*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parijan*** (adv., prepos.) ‘beyond, exceedingly, especially (?)’ (*pa-ri-ja-an*, *pa-ri-ja-am=ša*), ***pārijanalla/i-*** (adj.) ‘future’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *pa-a-ri-ja-na-a-al*, *pa-ri-ja-na-al-la-an*); HLuw. ***pari*** (adv.) ‘forth, away’ (*pa+ra/i*, *pa+ra/i-i-* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §16), PRAE-*i*); Lyc. ***pri*** ‘forth, in front’.

PIE *\*pri-om*

This word clearly belongs with *parā* and *peran*. Its oldest attestation is *pa-ri-ja-an*, which seems to point to /prian/. The few NS spellings with plene *-a-*, *pa-a-ri-ja-an*, may be non-probative. The word likely is a derivative in *\*-om* (note that *-m* is still visible in CLuw. *pa-ri-ja-am=ša*), attached to a stem *\*pri-* that is also

visible in CLuw. *parī*, HLuw. *pa+ra/i* = /pri/ and Lyc. *pri*. See at *parā* for further etymology.

**parkī** (adj.) ‘?’: case? *pár-ki-i*.

PIE \*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-i-??

This word occurs only once in KUB 8.2 rev. (11) [..]x *ú-e-te-[na-a]n-da-an pá-ki-i KUR-i[ ..]*. CHD P: 160 suggests to connect it to the group of words having *park-* ‘high’ as stem (see *parkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*). Although a translation ‘high land’ in principle is acceptable, there is no further indication for it. If the connection is justified, however, we would find here an *i*-stem which would match CLuw. *parraia-* ‘high’.

**parkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>**, **park-<sup>aa(ri)</sup>** (Ic1; IIIb > IIIg) ‘to raise, to lift, to elevate, to grow (trans.); to rise, to go up, to grow (intr.); to take away, to remove’: 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ki-ia-az-zi* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ki-ia-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-kán-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. [*pá*]r-ki-ia-nu-un (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ki-ia-at* (OH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *pár-ki-ia*; 1sg.pres.midd.(?) *pár-ak-ki-ia-aḫ-ḫa[-ḫa-ri?]* (NH), *pár-ga-aḫ[-ḫa-ri?]*, 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ki-ia-ta-ri* (OH??/NS?), 3pl.pres.midd. *pár-ki-ia-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.midd.(?) *pár-ki-ia-aḫ[-ḫa-ḫa-at?]* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *pár-ki-ia-at-ta-at* (MH/MS), *pár-ki-ia-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *pár-ki-ia-an-ta-at* (MH??/NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *pár-ak-ta-ru* (OH/MS); part. *pár-ki-ia-an-t*; inf.I *pár-ki-ia-u-ua-an-zi* (NH).

Derivatives: **parknu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make high, to raise, to elevate’ (1sg.pres.act. *pár-ga-nu-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *pár-ga-nu-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ga-nu-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ka-ḫ-nu-ut* (NS), *pár-ak-nu-ut* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. [*p*]ár-ga-nu-ut; impf. *pár-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-*), **parganul-** (n.) ‘elevation’ (all.sg. *pár-ga-nu-la* (KBo 12.63+ obv. 31 (OH/MS)), **pargatar** (n.) ‘height’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ga-tar* (MH/MS)), **pargašti-** ‘height’ (dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ga-aš-ti* (NH), *pár-ka-ḫ-aš-ti*), **parkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become high or tall’ (3sg.pret.act. *pár-ki-iš-ta* (NH); impf. *pár-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), **parkēššar / parkešn-** (n.) ‘height’ (dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ke-eš-ni=t=a-at=kán* or instr. *pár-ke-eš-ni-t=a-at=kán* (NH)), **parkijanu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to raise, to make rise’ (3pl.pres.act. *pár-ki-ia-nu-ua-an-zi* (NH), *pár-ki-ī[a]-nu-an-zi* (NH)), **parku- / pargaḫ-** (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty, elevated’ (nom.sg.c. *pár-ku-uš* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *pár-ku* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-u*, dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ga-u-e-i* (NH), [*pár-ga-u-*]e (NH), *pár-ga-u-i* (NS), abl. *pár-ga-u-az* (NH), *pár-ga-ua-az*, *pár-ga-u-ua-az* (NH), nom.pl.c. *pár-ga-u-e-eš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *pár-ga-mu-uš* (OH/MS), *pár-ga-u-uš* (NH), *pár-ga-u-e-eš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-ga-u-ua*,



dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ga-u-ṽa-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ga-a-u-ṽa-aš* (MH/NS)), *parkuṽatar* (n.) ‘height’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-ṽa-tar* (MH/NS)), *parkuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become tall’ (3sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-iš<sup>1</sup>-ta* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-du* (OH/NS)), *pargauēške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic6) ‘to become high or tall’ (3sg.imp.midd. *pár-ga-u-e-eš-kad-[d]a-ru*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *parraja-* (adj.) ‘high’ (dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ra-ja-an-za*, abl.-instr. *pár-ra-i-ja-[ti]*, [*p*]á[*r-r*]a-ja-ti).

IE cognates: Arm. *bařnam*, aor. *ebarj* ‘to raise’, *barjr* ‘high’, Skt. *barh-* ‘to make strong’, *brhánt-* ‘high’, TochB *pärk-* ‘to arise’, ON *bjarg*, *berg* ‘mountain’.

PIE midd. *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-to*; act. *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-ié/ó-*; adj. *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-(e)u-*

See CHD P: 155f. for attestations. One of the verbal forms is spelled *pár-ak-ki-ja-* and therefore seems to point to an etymological *\*k*. This form is found in a broken context, however, and therefore cannot be ascertained as belonging to this verb. Although the bulk of the attestations inflect according to the *-je/a*-class, there are a few unextended forms. In the oldest texts (OH/MS), we find 3sg.pret.act. *parkijāt* vs. 3sg.imp.midd. *parktaru*. These forms point to an original situation in which the stem *parkije/a-* is used in the active only and the unextended stem *park-* in the middle (compare e.g. *ḫuett-*<sup>(t)α(ri)</sup> besides *ḫuttije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw, to pull’ or *ṽešš-*<sup>ttα(ri)</sup> besides *ṽasse/a-<sup>zi</sup>* < *\*us-ié/ó-* ‘to wear’).

Sturtevant (1930c: 216) etymologically connected this verb and its derivatives with the PIE root *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-*, which is generally accepted. On the one hand, the verbal stem *park-* corresponds to the verbs Arm. *barj-* ‘to raise’ and TochB *pärk-* ‘to arise; to rise’. On the other hand, the *u*-stem adjective *parku-* / *pargau-* ‘high’ beautifully corresponds with Arm. *barjr* ‘high’ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-u-*. So we cannot say that in Hittite either the verb or the adjective is primary in the sense that one is derived of the other as both are of PIE origin (see the discussion in e.g. Weitenberg 1984a: 84).

CLuw. *parraja-* must reflect *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-ei-o-* vel sim., in which *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>* regularly is lost.

For the interpretation of *pár-ga-nu-la* as all.sg. of a noun *parganul-* see Rieken 1999a: 465f. (pace the reading 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ga-nu-úr<sup>1</sup>* by CHD P: 158).

Note that some of the derivatives of *parku-* are formally identical to derivatives of the adjective *parkui-* ‘clean’ (q.v.) (e.g. *parkuēšš-*).

*parkui-* / *parkuṽai-* (adj.) ‘pure; clean, clear; free of; proven innocent’: nom.sg.c. *pár-ku-iš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-i-iš* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-eš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-u-iš*, *pár-ku-ú-iš<sup>1</sup>*, acc.sg.c. *pár-ku-in* (OS), *pár-ku-i-in*, *pár-ku-un* (1x, NS), nom.-acc.n. *pár-ku-i* (OH/MS), *pár-ku-ú-i*, *pár-ku-u-i* (NH), gen. *pár-ku-ṽa-ja-aš* (NS), *pár-*

*ku-ua-aš* (NS), loc.sg. *pár-ku-ua-i* (MH), abl. *pár-ku-ua-ia-az* (NH), *pár-ku-ua-ia-za* (NH), *pár-ku-ua-i-ia-z[a]* (NH), instr. *pár-ku-ua-a-it* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *pár-ku-ua-e-eš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-ua-a-eš* (NH), *pár-ku-ua-a-iš* (NS), *pár-ku-ua-iš* (MH/NS), *pár-ku-i-e-e-š* (NH), *pár-ku-e-eš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-u-e-eš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-ku-e* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-i* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-ua-e* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-ua-ia* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-ua* (NH), loc.pl. *pár-ku-ua-ia-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-ia-aš* (NH), *pár-ku-i-ia-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***parku(i)e/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** ‘(act.) to make clean, to clear (up); (midd.) to be(come) pure’ (3pl.pres.act. *pár-ku-ua-an-zi* (MH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ku-i-ia-ta-at* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-ku-i-ed-d[a-at]* (OH?/NS), *pár-ku-ua-at-ta* (NH)), ***parkuua(ia)-***, a building (gen.pl. *pár-ku-ua-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ku-ua-ia-aš* (OH/NS), abl.pl. *pár-ku-ua-i-ia-z[a]*), ***parkuqalli-*** (adj.) ‘pure(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-ku-ua-al-la*), ***parkuqantarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to be(come) pure(?)’ 1sg.pres.act.(?) *pár-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ī[a-mi?]* (NS)), ***parkuqatar / parkuqann-*** (n.) ‘purification’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-ia-a-tar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *pár-ku-ia-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-e-an-na-aš* (MH?/NS?)), ***parku(i) haštāi*** (n.) a body part or cut of meat, ‘pure-bone’ (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>UZU</sup>*pár-ku-i ha-aš-ta-i* (NH), *pár-ku ha-aš-ta-a-i* (NH)), ***parkuemar*** (n.) ‘purification(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-e-m[ar?]*), ***parkue-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to be pure, to be clear’ or ‘to be high’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-k[u-e-e]z-zi* (OH/NS)), ***parkuešš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to be(come) pure, to be found innocent’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-zi* (MH?/NS), *pár-ku-eš-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-iš-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *pár-ku-eš-te-ni* (MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-šu-un* (NH), *pár-ku-u-e-eš-šu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-ta* (OS), *pár-ku-iš-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-tu* (OH/MS), *pár-ku-eš-du* (MH/NS)), ***parkunu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to cleanse, to purify; to declare innocent, to justify; to castrate; to clarify’ (1sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-mi* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-nu-um-mi* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-uḥ-ḥi*, 2sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-ši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *pár-ku-nu-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-um-me-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-nu-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-nu-nu-un* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-nu-ut* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ku-nu-e-er* (MH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pár-ku-nu-ut* (OH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-ku-nu-ud-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pár-ku-nu-ut-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-ku-nu-ua-an-du* (MH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-an-du*; 3sg.pret.midd. *pár-ku-nu-ut-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-ta-ti* (OH or MH/NS); verb.noun *pár-ku-nu-mar* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *pár-ku-nu-um-ma-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-ma-aš* (MH/NS); part. *pár-ku-nu-ua-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *pár-ku-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. *parkui-* ‘to purify’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ar-ku-i-ti*); CLuw. *parkuṽa(i)-* ‘to cleanse, to purify’ (part.nom.pl. *pár-ku-ṽa-i-mi-in-zì*), *papparkuṽa-* ‘to cleanse, to purify’ (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-pár-ku-ṽa-at-ti*).

PAnat. *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-i-*

IE cognates: OHG *furben*, MHG *vürben* ‘to clean’.

PIE adj. *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-(e)i-*; pres. *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-je/o-*

See CHD P: 163f. for attestations. All the words cited here have the element *parku-* in common. On the basis of the one attestation acc.sg.c. *pár-ku-un* (KUB 24.7 ii 10 (NS)), Sturtevant (1934: 268) assumed that a *u*-stem *parku-* was primary, and that the stem *parkui-* was an extension in *-i-* of it. He compared this situation to Latin adjectives in *-vi-*, like *suavis*, which are recent *i*-stems on the basis of PIE *u*-stems (*\*sueh<sub>2</sub>d-u-*). With the identification of the Latin *-i-* in these adjectives (also e.g. *tenuis*, *brevis*, etc.) as the feminine suffix *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>-*, it was suggested that Hitt. *parkui-* shows *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>-* as well, a view that has often been repeated (most recently Rieken 1999a: 258). Apart from the fact that the status of the form on the basis of which this whole theory was launched is quite dubious (the “*u*-stem form” *pár-ku-un* is attested only once in a NS text; note that CHD P: 358 cites the form as “*parkuin*(!)”), there is not a single piece of evidence that the element *parku-* originally was a *u*-stem: we never find forms that show *\*\*parkau-* or an *u*-less stem *\*\*park-* (as e.g. in the case of the *u*-stem *parku-* / *pargau-* ‘high’ (see at *parkije/a-zì* ‘to raise’)). I therefore conclude that the element *parku-* ‘clean’ is not a *u*-stem but must be regarded as a root that shows a rootfinal labiovelar. In this way, I do not see any objection against assuming that the adjective *parkui-* is a normal *i*-stem derived from a root /p(a)rk<sup>w</sup>-/.

If we compare the CLuwian words, we have to reconstruct PAnat. *\*P(a)rk<sup>w</sup>-*, because PAnat. *\*-g<sup>w</sup>-* would have disappeared in Luwian. The geminate spelling *-pp-* in CLuw. *papparkuṽa-* seems to point to an initial fortis stop as well (PAnat. *\*p(a)rk<sup>w</sup>-*), although evidence from reduplicated syllables has to be used with caution in these matters.

To my knowledge, no convincing IE etymology has been offered, yet. I would like to propose a connection with OHG *furben* ‘to clean’, MHG *vürben* ‘to clean’. These verbs go back to PGerm. *\*furbjan* < pre-PGerm. *\*prp̥jé/ó-*, which can go back to *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-jé/ó-*, showing the development *\*k<sup>w</sup>* > *\*p* after resonant (as is visible in e.g. *\*ul<sup>w</sup>-* > PGerm. *\*wulf-*, cf. Kortlandt 1997). This would show that we have to reconstruct a PIE root *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-* (it cannot be determined whether the full grade was *\*perk<sup>w</sup>-* or *\*prek<sup>w</sup>-*). I therefore reconstruct Hitt. *parkui-* / *parkuṽai-* as *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-(e)i-*.

Note that the verbal *-je/o-* formation as visible in Germanic is possibly comparable to Hitt. *parku(i)e/a-zi* ‘to make clean’ that could reflect *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-je/o-*.

*parn-*: see *per* / *parn-*

<sup>TÚG/GADA</sup>*parna-* (c.) article of textile, a tapestry: nom.sg. *pár-na-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pár-na-an* (NH), abl. *pár-na-az* (OH?/NS), acc.pl. *pár-nu-uš* (NH).

See CHD P: 176 for attestations. The exact meaning of this word is not clear, but according to CHD it may denote something like a Turkish *kilim*, i.e. a lightweight carpet. Some scholars (e.g. Werner 1967: 17) suggest a connection with *per* / *parn-* ‘house’, assuming that <sup>TÚG/GADA</sup>*parna-* was used within the household. As Tischler (HEG P: 485) states, such a semantic connection is not contextually supported, however. No further etymology.

*parnili* (adv.) ‘?’: *pár-ni-li*.

The word is hapax in KBo 29.82 + KBo 14.95 iv (5) *nu=za párnili a-da<an>-zi* ‘and they eat *p.*’. The *-ili-* suffix suggests that the word is an adverb, but a meaning cannot be determined. CHD P: 178 suggests that the word could be a scribal error for *pár-aš-ni-li* ‘in a squatting position’ (see at *paršna-* ‘leopard’).

*parš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia4) ‘to flee, to escape’: 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aš-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pár[-aš-š]a-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-aš-ta* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-še-er* (OH/NS), *pár[-aš-š]e-er* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-aš-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pár-ša[-at-tén?]* (NH); 3sg.pret.midd. *pár-aš-ta-at*; part. *pár-aš-ša-an-t-* (OH or MH/NS).

Derivatives: *paršnu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make flee, to chase away’ (3sg.pret.act. *pár-aš-ša-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ša-nu-er* (NH)).

IE cognates: Lat. *festīnāre* ‘to hurry’, We. *brys* ‘haste’, ?OCS *brъzb* ‘fast’.

PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>érs-ti* / *\*b<sup>h</sup>rs-énti*

See CHD P: 179f. for attestations. On the basis of 3pl.pret.act. *pár-še-er* we can see that the stem is *parš-* and not *\*\*paraš-*. The occasional geminate spelling of *-šš-* shows that phonologically we have to interpret /parS-*l*.

There has been some debate on the etymology of this verb. It has been argued that *parš-* is a *s*-derivative of the verb *parḥ-* ‘to chase’ (q.v.) (e.g. Sturtevant 1933: 72, 229). This is unlikely, however. First, a preform *\*prh<sub>2</sub>-s-* or *\*perh<sub>2</sub>-s-* in my view regularly should have yielded *\*\*pr̥is-* or *\*\*parr̥is-* (cf. *gane/iššanzi*

/kniSánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < \*ǵnh<sub>3</sub>sénti, damme/išhā- /taMīsHā-/ < \*demh<sub>2</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>ó-). Secondly, this scenario is unlikely on semantic grounds: *parḥ-* means ‘to chase, to hunt’ (i.e. ‘to make flee’), whereas *parš-* means ‘to flee, to escape’. This would mean that the *s-* suffix would have de-causativized the verb *parḥ-*. To my knowledge, the *s-* suffixed verbs in Hittite never show such a semantical development (e.g. *gane/išš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to recognize’ is derived from \*ǵneh<sub>3-</sub> ‘to know’; *kallišš<sup>zi</sup>* / *kališš-* ‘to call’ from \*kelh<sub>1-</sub> ‘to call’; *paḥš<sup>-(ri)</sup>* ‘to protect’ from \*peh<sub>2-</sub> ‘to protect’; *pāš<sup>i</sup>* / *paš-* ‘to swallow down’ from \*peh<sub>3-</sub> ‘to drink’).

Other scholars (e.g. Knobloch 1959: 34, followed by Oettinger 1979a: 214) connect *parš<sup>zi</sup>* to Lat. *festīnāre* ‘to hurry’. According to Schrijver (1990), this latter verb reflects \*b<sup>h</sup>rs-ti-, which must also be the preform of We. *brys* ‘haste’. A further connection with OIr. *bras* ‘quickly’ (thus in e.g. Pokorny 1959: 143) is rejected by Schrijver, however. He also denies the connection with OCS *brъzъ* ‘fast’, etc. because he thinks that *-z-* cannot reflect \*s. In BSl. we find a variant \*brzd- (RussCS *borzdo* ‘fast’, Lith. *burzdūs* ‘agile, active’) as well, however, which could regularly reflect \*b<sup>(h)</sup>rs-d<sup>h</sup>-. In my view, it is possible that \*b<sup>(h)</sup>rs-d<sup>h</sup>-, which regularly yielded \*brzd-, has influenced \*b<sup>(h)</sup>rs-o- that then was altered to \*brzo-. Whether or not the BSl. forms are cognate, we find a root \*b<sup>h</sup>rs- ‘hurry, haste’ in Latin and Welsh, which would formally as well as semantically fit Hitt. *parš-*. I therefore reconstruct Hitt. *parš<sup>zi</sup>* as \*b<sup>h</sup>érs-ti / \*b<sup>h</sup>rs-énti. In the zero-grade forms, the *-s-* is adjacent to *-r-*, which causes fortition, yielding /prSánt<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *pár-aš-ša-an-zi*.

**paršahannaš** : see *parzahannaš*

**paršēna-** (c.) ‘cheek; genitals’: dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ši-ni* (MH?/NS), nom.pl. *pár-še-e-nu-uš*, acc.pl. *pár-še-e-n[u-uš]* (MH?/NS), *pár-še-nu-š=u-uš* (MH?/NS), *pár-ši-nu-uš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-še-na-aš* (NH).

See CHD P: 187f. for attestations. Although all attestations of this word refer to body parts, it is difficult to determine exactly what body part is meant. In the case of the following context, it seems clear that *paršimuš* refers to ‘genitals’:

KUB 33.120 i

(24) *n=a-an=kán ne-pí-ša-az kat-ta hu-it-ti-et*

(25) *pár-ši-nu-uš=šu-uš ūa-ak-ki-iš LÚ-na-tar=še-et=kán A-NA<sup>d</sup>Ku-mar-bi ŠÀ=ŠU*  
*an-da ZABAR*

(26) *ma-a-an ú-li-iš-ta*

‘He (= Kumarbi) pulled him (= Anu) down from heaven. He bit off his *p.-s* and his masculinity fused with Kumarbi’s inside like copper’ (cf. CHD P: 187 for translation).

Such an interpretation does not fit for the following contexts, however:

KBo 13.34 iv

(14) *ták-ku* MUNUS-za *ḥa-a-ši nu-u=š-ši* [ZA]G-an

(15) GEŠTU=ŠU *pár-še-nu-(š)=šu-uš*

(16) [m]a-ni-in-ku-ua-an ki-[i]t-t[a-r]i

‘If a woman gives birth and (of the child) his right ear lies near his *p.-s*’

ibid. iv

(6) *ták-ku* MUNUS-za *ḥa-a-ši nu-u=š-š[i]* GEŠTU<sup>III.A</sup>=ŠU]

(7) *pár-ši-ni=ši ki-it-ta-r[i]*

‘If a woman gives birth and (of the child) [his ears] lie near his *p.*’.

Riemschneider (1970: 36) states that the Akkadian parallels of these sentences show *lētu* ‘cheek’ corresponding to Hitt. *paršēna-*, which indicates that here *paršēna-*, too, denotes ‘cheek’. Often, the word *pár-aš-na-aš* (KUB 35.148 iii 27) is regarded as belonging here as well. Because of its aberrant form and because it clearly refers to a body part that is situated near the feet, I have treated it separately, however: see at *paršna-*.

According to CHD, it is best to assume for *paršēna-* an original meaning ‘cheek’, which developed into ‘buttocks’ (parallel in ModHG *Backe* ‘cheek’ > *Hinterbacke* ‘buttocks’), which could euphemistically be used for ‘sexual parts’ (via ‘loins’?) as well. To my mind, these steps are quite uncertain, and therefore I have chosen to translate ‘cheek(?); genitals’ here.

Often it is assumed that the verb *paršnae-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to squat(?), to crouch(?)’ is connected with *paršēna-* (already Pedersen 1938: 157f.), on the basis of which a connection between *paršēna-* and Skt. *pārṣṇi-* ‘heel’, Gr. *πέρνη* ‘heel’, Goth. *fairzna* ‘heel’ etc. has been assumed. In my view, this is improbable formally as well as semantically. As we saw, *paršēna-* does not denote ‘heel’ or any other part of the leg, and a derived verb of *paršēna-* would have had the form *\*\*paršēnae-*. If the verb *paršnae-* is derived from a body part, it could be of *paršna-* (q.v.).

*parši-*<sup>a(ri)</sup>, *parš-*<sup>a(ri)</sup> (IIIc > IIIg) ‘to break’: 1sg.pres.midd. *pár-aš-ḥa* (OS), *pá[r-a]š-ḥa-ri* (OS), 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ši-ja* (OS), *pár-aš-ši-ja* (OH/MS), *pár-ši-ja-ri* (MS), *pár-ši-et-ta-ri* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *pár-ša-an-da* (OS), *pár-ši-an-ta* (OS), *pár-ši-ja-an-da* (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. *pár-ši-et-ta-ru* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-ja-ad-da-ru* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-ši-an-da-ru*; 1sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-ja-mi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-ja-am-mi* (NS), *pár-ši-ja-aḥ-ḥi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aš-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-ši-az-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-ši-ja-az-zi* (MS?), *pár-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (NS), *pár-ši-ja-iz-zi*, *pár-ši-zi* (NH), *pa-ar-ši* (MH/NS), *pár-ši* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pár-šu-ua-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-zi* (OH/MS), *pár-ši-an-zi* (MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-ja-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-ja-at* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-ši-an-du* (NS); part. *pár-ši-ja-an-t-* (OS), *pár-ša-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *pár-š[i-]a-u-ua-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *pár-ši-ja-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *pár-šu-u-ua-an-zi*, *pár-ši-ja-u-ua-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-ja-u-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-u-ua-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pár-aš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: *paršijanna-*<sup>i</sup> / *paršijanni-* (IIa5) ‘to break (impf.)’ (1sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-na-aḥ-ḥi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-na-i* (OS), *pár-ši-ja-an-na-a-i* (OH/NS), *pár-ši-an-na-i* (MH/MS), *pár-ši-i-ja-an-na-i* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-ni-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-ši-ja-an-na-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-ni-et* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ši-ja-an-ni-er* (NS); impf. *pár-ši-ja-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (OH?/NS), *pár-ši-ja-an-ni-eš-ke/a-* (MS)), <sup>NINDA</sup>*parša-* (c.) ‘a morsel or fragment; a kind of bread’ (nom.sg. *pár-ša-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pár-ša-an* (MH?/NS), *pár-ša-a-an* (NH), acc.pl. *pár-šu-uš* (OS), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ša-aš* (NH), *pár-ša-a-aš* (NH)), *paršae-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to break up into small pieces, to crumble’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ša-i-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-ša-a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-ša-iz-zi* (NH?), (Luw.?) *pár-ša-a-ti* (KUB 54.49 obv. 2), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ša-a-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pár-ša-an-zi* (NH); part. *pár-ša-a-an-t-* (MH/MS)), *paršnu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to break up; to break open (with *arḥa*)’ (3sg.pret.act. *pár-ša-nu-ut* (NS); impf. *pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-* (NS)), *paršēššar* (n.) ‘crack’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *pár-še-eš-šar*), *paršil(a)-* (c.) ‘a fragment (of bread?)’ (acc.pl. *pár-ši-la-aš* (OH/NS)), <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*paršul-*, <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*parš(i)ulli-* (n./c.) ‘morsel, fragment, crumb; a type of bread’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *pár-šu-ul-li* (OS), *pár-aš-šu-ul-li* (OH/NS), *pár-šu-ul* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *pár-šu-ul-li-in* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-šu-ul-li* (OS), *pár-ši-ú-ul-li* (MH/MS?), acc.pl.c. *pár-šu-ul-li-e-eš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-šu-ul-li* (OH/NS)), *paršul(l)ae-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to break into pieces, to crumble’ (3sg.pres.act. *pár-šu-ul-la-a-iz-zi* (OH?/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-šu-la-a-an-zi* (MH/NS); part. *pár-šu-u-la-a-an-t-* (MS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *paršul-* ‘crumb, morsel’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-šu-ul-za*).

IE cognates: Gr. φάρσος ‘part’, OE *berstan*, OHG *brestan*, ON *bresta* ‘to burst’.

See CHD P: 180ff. for attestations. In the oldest texts this verb shows middle forms only; the active forms are found from MH times onwards. The verb shows two stems, namely *parš-* and *paršijē/a-*. Note that the verb *paršae-<sup>zi</sup>*, which inflects according to the *hatrae*-class, is a derivative of the noun <sup>NINDA</sup>*parša-*, itself a nominal derivative of *parš(ijē/a)-<sup>a(rj)</sup>*.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is not quite clear. Sturtevant (1930d: 127) gives two suggestions. The first one, a connection with Lat. *pars* ‘part’, is unlikely as this word is an inner-Latin \*-*ti*-derivation of the verb *parere* < \**perh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to provide’. The second one, a connection with Gr. φάρσος ‘part’, may have more merit if this word reflects \**b<sup>h</sup>rs-o-*. Kimball (1999: 239) further adduces OE *berstan*, OHG *brestan*, ON *bresta* ‘to burst’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>res-*, which means that *parš(ijē/a)-* may reflect \**b<sup>h</sup>rs(iē/o)-*.

**paršina-**: see *paršēna-*

**paršna-** (gender unclear) a body part in the vicinity of the feet, ‘heel?’: gen.sg. or pl. *pár-aš-na-aš*.

IE cognates: Skt. *párṣṇi-* ‘heel’, Gr. πτέρνη ‘heel’, Goth. *fairzna* ‘heel’ etc.

PIE \**p(e)rsn-o-* ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 35.148 iii

(20) *n=a-an=š i EGIR-pa iš-ki-ša-az hu-i-nu-mi [ ]*

(21) *nu UR.TUR SAG.DU-i=š-š i an-da e-ep-mi U[R.TUR SAG.DU-aš]*

(22) *i-na-an li-ip-du me-li-ia-[aš=ša-aš]*

(23) *i-na-an KI.MIN <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.UDU-aš iš-ki-ša-a[š<sup>?</sup>=ša-aš (?)]*

(24) *i-na-an KI.MIN a-na-aš-ša-aš=ša-aš i-n[a-an KI.MIN]*

(25) *ar-ra-aš=ša-aš i-na-an KI.MIN <sup>UZU</sup>x[... i-na-an KI.MIN]*

(26) *ge-e-nu-ua-aš=ša-aš i-na-an KI.MIN <sup>U</sup>[<sup>ZU?</sup>x i-na-an KI.MIN]*

(27) *pár-aš-na-aš=ša-aš i-na-an li-i[p-du]*

‘I make it run from his back. I take in a puppy for his head and the puppy must lick away the disease of the head, the disease [of his] *meli-* likewise, the disease of the shoulders (and) [his] back likewise, the dis[ease] of his *anašša-* [likewise], the disease of his arse likewise, [the disease of his] x[. likewise],



the disease of his knees likewise, [the disease of his] x[. likewise] and let it  
li[ck away] the disease of his *paršna-*'.

In this list the body parts seem to be ordered top-down, which indicates that *paršna-* denotes a body part located in the vicinity of the feet. Usually, this word is equated with *paršēna-* 'cheek; genitals' (e.g. in CHD P: 187), but to my mind the formal as well as semantic differences are too large: we should rather regard *paršēna-* and *paršna-* as separate words.

Since Pedersen (1938: 157f.) this word is generally connected with Skt. *pārṣṇi-* 'heel', Gr. πτέρωνη 'heel', Goth. *fairzna* 'heel' etc., on the basis of which *paršna-* is often glossed as 'heel' (note that Pedersen and the scholars that follow him take *paršna-* and *paršēna-* as one word). Formally this connection is possible (*paršna-* would then reflect *\*prsn-o-* or *\*persn-o-* besides *\*pērsn-i-* as reflected in Skt. *pārṣṇi-* and *\*persn-eh<sub>2</sub>-* as visible in Gr. πτέρωνη and Goth. *fairzna*), but it should be noted that semantically it cannot be assured yet. For the question whether the verb *paršnae-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to squat(?)' is derived from this *paršna-*, see at its own lemma.

***paršna-*** (c.) 'leopard' (Sum. PÌRIG.TUR): nom.sg. *pár-š[a-na-aš]* (NS), PÌRIG.TUR-*aš* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *pár-ša-na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. ANA PÌRIG.TUR (OS), nom.pl. *pár-ša-ni-eš* (OH/MS).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>***paršna-*** (c.) 'leopard-man' (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>PÌRIG.TUR; nom.sg. *pár-aš-na-aš* (OS), acc.sg. *pár-aš-na-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *pár-aš-ša-na-aš* (NS)), ***\*paršanatar*** (n.), quality of a leopard (nom.-acc.sg. PÌRIG.TUR-*tar*), ***paršnili*** (adv.) 'in the manner of a leopard' (*pár-ša-ni-li* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-ni-li* (NS)).

IE cognates: see at *papparš-<sup>i</sup>*

PIE *\*prsn-*

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See CHD P: 184f. for attestations. The different spellings *pár-ša-n<sup>o</sup>*, *pár-aš-n<sup>o</sup>* and *pár-aš-ša-n<sup>o</sup>* indicate that we have to phonologically interpret these words as /prSn<sup>o</sup>/.

Often, *paršna-* is seen as a Wanderwort (compared with e.g. Hatt. *ḥapraš-* 'leopard', OTurk. *bars*), but Oettinger (1986: 22) proposes to derive it from PIE *\*prsn-* 'dappled, having spots', which is followed by Melchert (1994a: 175). Because the verbal root *\*pers-* is attested in Hittite (see at *papparš-<sup>i</sup>*), I do not see severe objections against this etymology. See at *paršnae-<sup>zi</sup>* 'to squat?', to crouch(?)' for the possibility that this verb is derived from *paršna-* 'leopard'.

*paršnae*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to squat(?), to crouch(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aš-na-a-ez-zi* (OH/MS?), *pár-aš-na-iz-zi* (OH?/NS), *pár-ša-na-a-iz-zi* (NS), *pár-ša-na-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ša-na-a-a[n-zi]*, *pár-ša-na-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pár-aš-na-a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-ša-na-an-zi* (OH/NS); part. *pár-ša-na-a-an-t-* (OH/MS?), *pár-ša-na-an-t-*, *pár-aš-na-a-an-t-* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-an-t-* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-ša-na-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *pár-ša-na-a-u-ya-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-ša-na-a-u-aš* (MS), *pár-ša-na-u-ya-aš*, *pár-aš-ša-na-a-u-ya-aš* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-aš-na-a-u-ya-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-a-u-aš* (OH/MS?), *pár-aš-na-a-ya-aš* (NS), *pár-aš-na-u-ya-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-ya-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-u-aš* (OH/NS).

PIE \**prsnō-je/o-*

See CHD P: 189 for attestations. The different spellings *pár-ša-na-*, *pár-aš-na-* and *pár-aš-ša-na-* point to a phonological interpretation /prSnae-/. The exact semantics of the verb are not clear: it describes some act that is performed by functionaries in festivals. CHD states “that it denotes some lowering of the body is shown by KUB 25.1 vi 11-15, where a cupbearer stands up after having performed *p.*”, and suggests a translation ‘to squat, to crouch’. They admit, however, that this translation is especially prompted by the etymological connection with *paršna-*, a body part in the vicinity of the feet (q.v.), which is generally connected with the words for ‘heel’ in the other IE languages (although CHD cites this latter word as belonging to *paršēna-* ‘buttocks; cheek’).

Formally, it is indeed quite clear that *paršnae-* (which belongs to the *hatrae-* class) has to be interpreted as a derivative in *-je/a-* of a noun *paršna-*. In this way, a connection with *paršna-* that could mean ‘heel’ would certainly be a possibility. Another candidate is *paršna-* ‘leopard’, however: squatting is a typical movement of big cats. I must admit, however, that I have not been able to find a context in which *paršnae-* is associated with any cat-like animal. Regardless of which connection one chooses to favour, it is quite probable that *paršnae-* formally goes back to \**prsnō-je/o-*.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *paršdu-* (c. and n.?) ‘leaf, foliage’: nom.sg.c. *pár-aš-du-uš* (OH/MS), acc.sg.c. *pár-aš-du-un* (OH?/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n.? *pár-aš-tu* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *pár-aš-du-i*, nom.pl.c. *pár-aš-tu-e-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl.c. *pár-aš-du-uš*.

See CHD P: 190f. for attestations. This word is consistently spelled *pár-aš-* (which contrasts with the spelling *pa-ra-aš-* as e.g. in <sup>NA</sup>*parašha-* and *pa-ra-š°* as in *parašēš-zi*), which is the reason for me to follow CHD in citing this word as

*paršdu-*. Usually, it is translated ‘shoot, sprig’, but CHD convincingly translates ‘leaf’. This is of importance for the etymological interpretation (note that older etymologies, like Weitenberg’s (1975), who connected *paršdu-* with Arm. *ort* ‘vine’ and Gr. *πτόρθος* ‘shoot, twig’, are all based on the translation ‘shoot, sprig’ and therefore have become impossible). Basing oneself on the translation ‘leaf’, one could possibly think of a connection with OE *brord*, *-es* m. ‘prick, point, lance, javelin, the first blade or spire of grass/corn, etc.’, from *\*b<sup>h</sup>rsd<sup>h</sup>-*, although a meaning ‘leaf’ of this latter word could be secondary.

***parštuhha-*** (c.) an earthenware cup(?) (Sum. <sup>(DUG)</sup>GAL.GIR<sub>4</sub>): acc.sg. *pár-aš-du-uh-ha-an* (MS), instr. *pár-aš-tu-uh-ḥi-it* (NS), acc.pl. *pár-aš-tu-uh-ha-aš* (NS), broken: *pár-aš-tu-u-uh-ḥ[a(-)]* (MS).

See CHD P: 191 for attestations. This word is consistently spelled *pár-aš-*, which is the reason for me to follow CHD in citing this word as *parštuhha-* (cf. *paršdu-*). On the basis of alternations with <sup>(DUG)</sup>GAL GIR<sub>4</sub>, we have to conclude that *parštuhha-* denotes an earthenware cup. The etymological interpretation of this word is unclear, but a formal connection with *paršdu-* ‘leaf’ (q.v.) seems likely. If so, we have to assume that this word shows a suffix *-hha-*. Such a suffix is further only attested in *annanuhha-* ‘trained(?)’ (see at *annanu-<sup>zi</sup>*).

***paršur*** (n.) cooked dish (Sum. TU<sub>7</sub>): nom.-acc.sg. *pár-šu-u-ur* (OS), *pár-šu-ur* (OH?/NS), gen.sg. *pár-šu-u-ra-aš* (MS), abl. *pár-šu-u-ra-az* (MS), instr. *pár-šu-u-ri-it* (OH?/NS).

Derivatives: *paršūraš* EN ‘cooking chef’, *paršūraš peda-* ‘cooking area’.

PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>rs-ur*

See CHD P: 193f. for attestations. The word denotes all kinds of cooked dishes: soups, broths, stews, meat varieties. Already Sturtevant (1933: 148) connected this word to *parš(ije/a)-* ‘to break’ (q.v.): ‘Brockengericht’. See there for further etymology.

***paršza:*** see *parza*

<sup>(UZU)</sup>***partāuar*** / ***partāun-*** (n.) ‘wing, feather’: nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ta-u-ua-ar* (OH/MS), *pár-ta-a-u-ua-ar* (OH or MH/MS?), *pár-ta-a-u-ar* (MS?), *pár-ta-a-ua-ar* (NS), *pár-ta-ua-ar*, dat.-loc.sg. *pár-t[a-u-ni]* (OH or MH/MS?), abl. *pár-ta-u-na-az* (KBo 8.155 ii 9 (NS)), *pár-da-u-na-az* (KBo 27.163, 7 (MH/NS)) *pár-da-*

*a-u-na-za* (KBo 33.188 iii<sup>2</sup> 14 (MH/NS)), instr. *pár-ta-ú-ni-t=u-uš* (KBo 17.1 i 6 (OS)), *pár-ta-ú-ni-it* (KUB 32.122, 6, 7 (MS?), KUB 33.8 ii 16 (fr.), 17 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *pár-ta-a-u-ni-it* (KBo 4.2 i 4 (OH/NS), KUB 15.31 i 35, ii 40 (MH/NS)), *pár-ta-u-ni-it* (KUB 15.32 i 37 (MH/NS), KBo 15.48 ii 6, 27 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl. [*pár-t*]a-a-u-ua (OH/MS), [*pá*]r-ta-u-ua (OH/MS), *pár-ta-a-u-ua-ar* (MH/MS), *pár-ta-u-ua-ar* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. [*pá*]r-ta-ú-na-aš (KUB 36.49 i 8 (OS?)), *pár-ta-u-na-aš* (VBoT 125, 3 (NS)).

Derivatives: see *partūni-*.

IE cognates: OCS *perotъ* ‘they fly’, Skt. *parṇá-* ‘wing’, Lith. *spařnas* ‘wing’.

PIE *\*prT-ó-ur* / *\*prT-ó-un-*

See CHD P: 198f. for attestations. The meaning ‘wing’ is securely attested, but some contexts are better understandable if we translate ‘feather’, which seems to indicate that *partāuar* could denote both. This word belongs to the small class of words in *-āuar* / *-aun-* (further *ašāuar* / *ašaun-*, *ḥaršāuar* / *ḥaršaun-*, *karāuar* / *karaun-* and *šarāuar* / *šaraun-*), which on the basis of *ašāuar* and *ḥaršāuar* have to be analysed as *\*CC-āuar*. As I have argued under the lemma *karāuar* / *karaun-*, the suffix *-āuar* / *-aun-* may have to be compared with *-ātar* / *-ānn-* < *\*-ó-tr* / *-ó-tn-*, which means that we should assume that we are dealing with *\*-ó-ur* / *-ó-un-*. For *partāuar* this means that we are dealing with a root *part-*. Within Hittite, such a root is only attested in the verb *partipartiške/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, the meaning of which is unclear, however. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that this *part-* belongs with Skt. *parṇá-* ‘wing, feather’, Lith. *spařnas* ‘wing’, etc. which point to *\*per-*. This indicates that *part-* reflects a dental extension and that *partāuar* can be reconstructed *\*prT-ó-ur*.

The oblique case, *partaun-* is spelled with the sign *Ú* as well as with *U*. These spellings show a chronological distribution, namely *Ú* in older texts and *U* in younger texts. This indicates that OH */-aun-/* phonetically develops into */-aon-/* from MH times onwards (compare § 1.3.9.4.e).

*partipartiške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic6) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ti-pár-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi* (NS).

The word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 17.3 iii

(7) GIM-an=ma lu-uk-kat-ta nu<sup>d.Giš</sup> GIM.MAŠ-uš i-ua-a[r ...]

(8) *pár-ti-pár-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi*

‘But at day-break, Gilgameš *p.-s* like a [...]’.

On the basis of this context, it cannot be determined what the verb denotes. Some scholars translate ‘flies, hurries’ (e.g. Kronasser 1966: 587) on the basis of a formal similarity with *partāuar* / *partaun-* ‘wing’, but this is nothing more than a guess. No further etymology.

*partūni-* (c.) a bird: acc.pl. *pár-tu-u-ni-uš* (OS).

See CHD P: 200 for attestations. It is clear that the word refers to a certain kind of bird, but its exact meaning cannot be determined. Nevertheless it seems obvious that the word should be cognate with *partāuar* / *partāun-* ‘wing, feather’ (q.v.).

<sup>NA</sup>*parušha-*: see <sup>NA</sup>*parašha-*

*parza* (adv. indicating direction) ‘...-wards’; *āppa parza* ‘backwards, in reverse’; *kattan parza* ‘downwards’; *parā parza* ‘forwards(?)’: *pár-za* (often, OS), *pár-aš-za* (2x, MH/NS).

IE cognates: Gr. πρότι, προτί, πορτί (Cret.) ‘to’, Skt. *prāti* ‘in the direction of’.

PIE *\*pr-ti* (?)

See CHD P: 196 for attestations. The spelling *pár-za* is the most common and attested in OS texts already. A spelling *pár-aš-za* is found twice only, in NS texts. Melchert (1994a: 166) attributes the alternation between *pár-za* and *pár-aš-za* to “loss of /s/ in front of /ts/”, so *paršz* > *parz*. He does not explain however, how it is possible that *parza* is found in OS texts already, whereas *parašza* is attested in NS texts only. And if we are dealing with an analogical restoration of -š-, on the basis of what? I therefore assume that *parza* is the original form and regard the attestations of *parašza* more in the line of Joseph (1984: 6f.), who suggests that *parašza* is a secondary formation in analogy to *tapušza* ‘sideward’. The one attestation *pé-er-za* (633/v, l.col. 4, see StBoT 15: 46) is uncertain regarding its reading and found on such a broken piece that its context cannot be reconstructed. I therefore disregard this form in this discussion.

The exact formation of *parza* is unclear. A connection with *per* / *parn-* ‘house’ is probably unjustified, as the abl. of this word is *perza*. Laroche (1970: 40) saw *parza* as the abl.-form that belongs to the paradigm of *peran* and *parā* (old acc. and all. respectively), which would mean that it reflects *\*pr-ti*. If so, it would be comparable to Gr. πρότι, προτί, πορτί (Cret.) ‘to’, Skt. *prāti* ‘in the direction of’. Whereas Gr. πρότι seems to reflect *\*próti* and Skt. *prāti* must reflect *\*préti*, Cret.

πρῑ shows a zero grade formation *\*prti*, which we have to reconstruct for Hittite as well.

If these connections are justified, they would form a major additional argument in favour of reconstructing the abl.-ending *-z* as *\*-ti* (q.v.).

*parzahannaš*, *paršahannaš*, *perzahannaš*, *perešhannaš*, *peršahhannaš* (gen.sg.) modifying livestock: gen.sg. *pár-za-ḫa-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), *pé-er-ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na-aš* (Arn.I/MS), *É-er-ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-aš* (Arn.I/MS), *pé-er-za-ḫa[-an-na-aš]* (MH/NS), *pé-re-eš-ḫa-an-na-aš* (MH/NS), *pár-ša-ḫa-an-na-aš*.

Derivatives:  $\leftarrow$  *parzahanašši-* (adj.), defining cattle (nom.sg.c.  $\leftarrow$  *pár-za-ḫ[a]-na-aš-ši-iš* (NH)).

See CHD P: 201 for attestations. This word only occurs as a gen.sg. describing cattle (mostly GU<sub>4</sub> ‘ox’). Its exact meaning cannot be determined on the basis of the contexts in which these forms are found. Laroche (1957b: 128) suggests to analyze the word as a compound of *per* ‘house’ and *šahhan* ‘tax, feudal duty’. Apart from the fact that there is no semantic evidence to support this idea, it is formally problematic as well since the gen.sg. of *šahhan* is *šahhanaš* with geminate *-hh-*, which contradicts the fact that *parzahannaš* usually shows single spelling. Nevertheless, the spellings *peršahhannaš* and *É-eršahhannaš* seem to fit Laroche’s analysis well, but perhaps these forms are influenced by folk-etymology. To my mind, the many different spellings of this word clearly point to a foreign origin.

*pāš<sup>i</sup>* / *paš-* (IIa2) ‘to swallow, to gulp down’: 3sg.pres.act. *pa-a-ši* (MH/NS), *pa-aš-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ša<sup>2</sup>-a[n-zi]*, 2sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta* (MH/MS), *pa-a-aš-ta* (NH),  $\leftarrow$  *pa-aš-ta* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aš-du* (MH/MS), *pa-a-šu* (MH/NS); inf.I *pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi*; impf. *pa-aš-ke/a-* (NH), *pa-a-ši-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *pašš-* ‘to swallow’ (3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta*, inf. *pa-aš-šu-u-na*), see  $\leftarrow$  *pappaša-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *pībati* ‘drinks’, Gr. πίνω ‘to drink’, OCS *piti* ‘to drink’, OIr. *ebait* ‘they drink’, Lat. *bibere* ‘to drink’, Arm. *əmpə-* ‘to drink’.

PIE *\*poh<sub>3</sub>-s-ei* / *\*ph<sub>3</sub>sentī*

See CHD P: 203f. for attestations. The verb is Hittite as well as Luwian, which explains the occasional use of gloss wedges. We find forms with *mi-* as well as with *hi-* endings (3sg.pres.act. *pašzi* besides *pāši* and 3sg.imp.act. *pašdu* besides

*pāšu*). Since the *mi*-inflection is the productive one, I assume that the *hi*-inflection is original here: *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* / *paš-*.

For 3pl.pres.act., CHD cites two attestations. The form *pa-šā<sup>2</sup>-a[n-zi]* (KBo 34.2, 40) indeed likely means ‘they swallow’, but “*paš?(or piš)-ša-an-zi*” (KUB 51.33, 4) is found in such a broken context that its meaning cannot be determined. CHD even cites this latter form twice, namely as 3pl.pres. of *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to swallow’, and as 3pl.pres. of *peš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to rub’. I therefore would leave that form out of consideration here, which means that *pa-šā<sup>2</sup>-a[n-zi]* is the only form that we can use for our historical interpretation.

Since Sturtevant (1932b: 120) this verb is generally connected with PIE *\*peh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to drink’ and regarded as an *s*-extension: *\*peh<sub>3</sub>-s-*. So *pāši* / *pašanzi* reflects *\*póh<sub>3</sub>-s-ei* / *\*ph<sub>3</sub>-s-énti*.

In CLuwian, a reduplicated derivative is found as well, see under *pappaša-*.

<sup>NINDA</sup>***paš(š)a-*** (c.) a type of bread: acc.pl. *pa-aš-šu-uš* (MH/NS), *pa-šu-[uš]* (MH/NS).

See CHD P: 204. The two attestations are duplicates of each other. In a third duplicate we find <sup>NINDA</sup>*pár-šu-[uš]* on this spot, which could mean that *pa-aš-šu-uš* and *pa-šu-[uš]* have to be read as *pár<sup>1</sup>-aš-šu-uš* and *pár<sup>1</sup>-šu-[uš]* and belong to <sup>NINDA</sup>*parša-* (see at *parš(iie/a)-* ‘to break’).

<sup>LÚ</sup>***paš(š)andala-*** (c.) a servant in the palace kitchen, ‘taster(?)’: nom.sg. *pa-ša-anda-la-aš* (MH?/NS), nom.pl. *pa-aš-ša-an-da-li-eš* (OS), gen.pl. *pa-aš-ša-an-ta-l[a-aš]* (OH or MH/NS).

See CHD P: 204 for attestations. Although the function of the <sup>LÚ</sup>*paššandala-* is unclear, it is formally possible that the word is derived from *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* / *paš-* ‘to swallow’. Therefore, a translation ‘taster’ is often found. See *pāš<sup>-i</sup>* / *paš-* for further etymology.

***pašihae<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to rub, to squeeze, to crush’: 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ši-ḫa-iz-zi* (NH), *pa-ši-ḫa-a-[iz-zi?]* (NH), Luw.3sg.pres.act. *pa-ši-ḫa-a-ti* (NH), Luw.1sg.pret.act. *pa-a-ši-ḫa-aḫ-ḫa* (NH), Luw.3sg.pret.act. *pa-ši-ḫa-a-id-d[a]* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-ši-ḫa-id-du* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pa-ši-ḫa-ta-[r]i* (MH/NS); impf. *pa-ši-ḫa-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

See CHD P: 205 for attestations. The normal meaning of this verb is ‘to rub, to squeeze, to crush’, but the syntagm <sup>(UZU)</sup>GAB-(š)*i pašihae<sup>-zi</sup>* seems to denote ‘to

betray'. Because of the many Luwian inflected forms and the late attestation in the Hittite corpus, *pašihae-* probably is a Luwian verb originally. Formally, it looks as if *pašihae-* is derived from a further unattested noun *\*pašihā-*. According to Starke (1990: 484), it is cognate with Hitt. *peš-* 'to rub, to scrub' (q.v.). Although semantically this would make sense, the formal consequence, namely that we have to analyse *\*pašihā-* as *\*ps-iḫa-*, is awkward since a suffix *-iḫa-* is further unknown.

<sup>(NA)</sup>*paššila-* (c.) 'stone, pebble; gem, precious stone': nom.sg. *pa-aš-ši-la-aš* (MS), acc.sg. *pa-aš-ši-la-an* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *pa-aš-ši-lu-un* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *pa-aš-ši-la-aš* (OH/MS), nom.pl. *pa-aš-ši-le-eš* (OH/MS), *pa-aš-ši-li-iš* (MH/MS), *pa-ši-lu-uš* (OH/NS), [*p*]a-aš-še-lu<sup>1</sup>-uš (NS), acc.pl. *pa-aš-ši-lu-uš* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-še-lu-uš* (NS), *pa-aš-ši-la-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pa-aš-ši-la-aš* (OH or MH/NS), *pa-aš-ši-li-ja-aš* (OH or MH/NS).

Derivatives: <sup>NA</sup>*paššilant-* 'stone, pebble' (acc.pl. *pa-aš-ši-la-an-du-uš*).

See CHD P: 206f. for attestations. Most forms show a stem *paššila-*, but *paššilu-* (acc.sg. *paššilun*) and *paššili-* (dat.-loc.pl. *paššilijaš*) occasionally occur as well. Already since Sturtevant (1930d: 126) the word has generally been connected with Skt. *bhāsmān-* 'ash' and Gr. *ψῆφος* 'pebble' from *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* 'to rub (in pieces)'. Although semantically this connection could be possible, formally it is difficult. What kind of suffix is *-ila-*? Why do we find geminate *-šš-*? Traditionally, *paššila-* is seen as belonging with *paššu-* (q.v.), but this has become improbable as *paššu-* does not mean 'rock'. Cf. also <sup>NA</sup>*paššuela-*.

*pāšk<sup>i</sup> / pašk-* (IIa2 > Ic1, Ic2) 'to stick in, to fasten, to plant; to set up; to impale': 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ka-aḫ-ḫi* (NS), *pa-aš-ga-mi* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ki* (MH/MS), *pa-aš-ki-ez-zi* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aš-kán-zi* (MS?), [*p*]a<sup>2</sup>-a-aš-kán-zi (KBo 29.92 ii 14 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ga-aḫ[-ḫu-un?]* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ki-et* (OH/MS?), 1pl.pret.act. *pa-aš-ki-ja-u-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aš-ke-er* (OH or MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aš-ki-e[d-du?]*; part. *pa-aš-kán-t* (MH/MS); verb.noun *pa-aš-ga-u-ua-ar*; impf. *pa-aš-ke-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

PIE *\*PósK-ei*, *\*PsK-énti*

See CHD P: 207 for attestations. This verb shows a variety of stems, of which it is not always immediately clear how to interpret them, also because of the ambiguity of the signs KI, IZ and IT that can be read *ki* or *ke*, *iz* or *ez* and *it* or *et*, respectively. Usually, this verb is regarded as an original imperfective in *-ške/a-*



(e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 326-7). This could indeed be a meaningful interpretation of the forms 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ga-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-KI-IZ-zi* when read as *pa-aš-ke-ez-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aš-kán-zi*, 3sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-KI-IT* when read as *pa-aš-ke-et*, 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aš-ke-er*, 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aš-KI-ID-du* when read as *pa-aš-ke-ed-du* and verb.noun *pa-aš-ga-u-ua-ar*. Although this seems to be an impressive list, I am doubting its correctness. In my view, the 3sg.pres.act.-form *pa-aš-ki*, which is multiple times attested in MS texts already, it would be unexplicable when we start from an original paradigm in *-ške/a-*. In my view, it is so aberrant that it must reflect the oldest type. I therefore assume that this form shows that we are dealing with an original *hi*-inflecting verb *pašk-<sup>i</sup>*. If the one attestation [p]a<sup>7</sup>-*a-aš-kán-zi* indeed belongs here (but note the doubts expressed in CHD), it would even show that we are dealing with an original ablauting stem *pāšk-<sup>i</sup>* / *pašk-<sup>i</sup>*. This inflection would fit the following forms: 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ka-ah-<sup>hi</sup>* = /pāškHi/, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aš-kán-zi* = /pskánt<sup>s</sup>i/, 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ga-ah[-<sup>hu-un</sup>]* = /pāškHon/, 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aš-ke-er* = /pské/ and part. *pa-aš-kán-t-* = /pskánt-/. In my view, the forms *pa-aš-KI-IZ-zi*, etc. must be read as *pa-aš-ki-ez-zi*, showing a stem *paškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (also in *pa-aš-ki-et*, *pa-aš-ki-ja-u-en* and *pa-aš-ki-e[d-du]*), which can easily be explained as a secondary formation on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *paški*. The forms *pa-aš-ga-mi* and *pa-aš-ga-u-ua-ar* show a stem *paškae-<sup>zi</sup>*, inflecting according to the *hatrae*-class that is highly productive in NH times.

This formal analysis is important for the etymological interpretation of this verb: all etymologies that are based on the assumption that *pāšk-<sup>i</sup>* / *pašk-<sup>i</sup>* is a *-ške/a*-imperfective originally cannot be correct. This goes for Oettinger (l.c.), who reconstructs *\*pas-ske-*, which he connects with the verb *peš-* ‘to rub’ (q.v.) as well as Rikov (1982: 24) and Melchert (1994a: 167) who assume that this verb reflects *\*pakske/a-* from the PIE root *\*peh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* ‘fest werden’ or *\*peh<sub>2</sub>k-* ‘festmachen’. Formally, we can only start from a root *\*PesK-* (for the root structure, cf. the root *\*mosg-* ‘marrow’), showing an inflection *\*PósK-ei*, *\*PsK-énti*. I must admit that I know of no convincing IE cognates, however.

***pašku-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib1 > Ic2) ‘to reject, to ignore; to neglect; to remove’: Luw.3sg.pres.act. [*pa-aš*]-*ku-ti* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aš-ku-ua-an-zi* (OH or MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ku-ua-nu-un* (NH), *pa[-aš-ku-u]a-a-nu-un* (NH), *pa-aš-ku-ua-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ku-ut-ta* (MH/MS), *pa-aš-ku-ua-it* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aš-ku-tu* (NS); 2sg.pres.midd. *pa-aš-ku-i-it-ta* (OH/NS).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***paskw-*** ‘to neglect’ (3sg.pres.act. /pask<sup>w</sup>i/ *pa-sà-REL-i* (SULTANHAN §20)).

See CHD P: 208-9 for attestations. The original stem is *pašku-*, which is visible in the MS forms *paškutta* and *paškuṽanzi*. Especially the form 3sg.pret.act. *paškutta* (and not \*\**paškut*) shows that we have to phonologically interpret this stem as /pask<sup>w</sup>-. In NH times, the trivial transition into the *hatrae*-class yielded forms like *paškuṽānun* and *paškuṽait*. In HLuwian, we find a verbal form *pa-sà-REL-i* ‘neglects’ which likely is to be interpreted as /pask<sup>w</sup>i/ (note the *hi*-inflection), which would indicate that the PAnat. form was \**Pask*<sup>w</sup>- (since \**g*<sup>w</sup> would have disappeared in Luwian). This is supported by the PN <sup>f</sup>*Pa-aš-ku-ṽa-am-mi-iš* (KUB 31.59 ii 4), which formally is to be interpreted as a Luwian participle of a stem *pašku(ṽa)*-. I know of no IE cognates however.

***paššu-*** (c.) elevated structure (‘step, podium, pedestal or terrace’): nom.sg. *ba-aš-š[u]-uš* (NH), acc.sg. *pa-aš-šu-un*, dat.-loc.sg. *pa-aš-šu-i* (MH/MS), *pa-aš-šu-ú-i* ((NH), *pa-aš-šu-ṽi*; (NH), *pa-aš-šu-u-i*, *paš-šu-u-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *pa-aš-šu-ṽa-aš* (NH).

See CHD P: 211f. for attestations. The exact meaning of this word is not clear, but CHD states that ‘*p.* is a raised structure or area [...] on which dignitaries step or stand, and where statues can be erected’. Often we find *paššu-* translated as ‘stone pedestal, rock’, based on the formal similarity with *paššila-* ‘stone, pebble’, but CHD argues that the word hardly can denote a rock: ‘if it were a rock one would expect at least once the det. NA<sub>4</sub>’. This means that all traditional etymologies of this word, which presuppose a connection with *paššila-* ‘stone, pebble’, are likely to be incorrect (e.g. the equation with Skt. *pāmsu-* ‘dust’). I do not have a good alternative, however.

<sup>NA</sup>***paššuela-*** (gender unclear) a stone object: dat.-loc.pl. *pa-aš-šu-e-la-aš*.

This word is hapax in a broken and unclear context. Only the use of the determinative NA<sub>4</sub> is indicative that the word must denote a stone object. Often, the word is connected with *paššu-* (q.v.), but as this latter word probably did not mean ‘rock’, the connection is quite random. A connection with <sup>(NA<sub>4</sub>)</sup>*paššila-* ‘stone, pebble’ (q.v.) may seem more likely, but is hard to interpret formally. No further etymology.

=*pat* (enclitic particle of specification, limitation and identity) ‘the same, the aforementioned (anaphoric); likewise, as before; self; only, exclusively; in addition; rather; even; certainly’: =*pát* (OS).

IE cognates: Av. *bā, bāt, bē, bōit* (particles of emphasis), Arm. *ba, bay* (emphasizing particle), Goth. *ba* (cond. particle), Lith. *bà* ‘really, indeed’, OCS *bo* ‘then’.

PIE  $*=b^h od$

See CHD P: 213f. for a semantic discussion. This particle is written with the sign BAD only, which in principle can be read *pát* as well as *pít*. Although in the older literature the reading =*pít* sometimes can be found, nowadays this clitic is usually cited as =*pát*. This is not a fully arbitrary choice: we know that the most common reading of the sign BAD is *pát* and that words where it should be read *pít* often are spelled with *pí-it* as well. Because this clitic is never spelled  $**=pí-it$ , it is likely that we should read =*pát* here. Moreover, this reading may be supported by the form *a-ki-pa-a[t-š]a-an* (KBo 5.3 iii 31) if this indeed denotes *aki=pat=šan*. Puhvel (1979a: 217) argued that the particle should be read =*pè*, however, which he concluded on the basis of his etymological connection with Av. *bā* ‘truly’ and Lith. *bà* ‘surely’. Note that although the reading *pè* for the sign BAD is common in Akkadian texts, it is as far as I know never used in Hittite texts. I therefore reject Puhvel’s view.

CHD observes that spellings like *a-pí-ia-pát* show that the phonological form of this particle is /=*bat*/ (or /=*bad*/), with lenis *-b-*. This would mean that the quite common etymological connection with Lith. *pát* (indecl. particle) ‘self, just’ that would point to a reconstruction  $*pot$ , is impossible (Pedersen 1935: 80-88 and followers).

Within Hittite, I think we can compare =*pat* to the second part of *apā-* ‘that (near you)’. The first part, *a-*, is likely to be equated with the demonstrative *a-* (*aši / uni / ini*) which means that *-pā-* is some kind of suffix, reflecting  $*-b^{(h)}o-$ . If =*pat* indeed is cognate to that suffix, then we can equate it with nom.-acc.sg.n. *apāt* <  $*h_1o-b^hód$ . The clitic =*pat* then reflects unaccentuated  $*-b^h od$ . The suffix perhaps belongs with  $**b^hē/ō$  (Pokorny 1959: 113) as reconstructed on the basis of the emphasisin particles Av. *bā, bāt, bē, bōit*, Arm. *ba, bay*, etc.

***pāt- / pat-, pata-*** (c.) ‘foot, leg’ (Sum. GÌR, Akk. ŠĒPU (GÌR-*PÍ*)): nom.sg. GÌR-*aš* (MH/NS), GÌR-*iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. GÌR-*an* (OH/NS), gen.sg. GÌR-*aš* (NH), GÌR-*an* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. GÌR-*i* (MH/NS), abl. GÌR-*az* (MH/MS), GÌR-*za* (OH or MH/NS?), instr. *pa-te-et* (NS), GÌR-*it* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *pa-a-tu-u[š]*

(MS), gen.pl. *pa-ta-a-n=a* (OS), *pa-ta-a-an* (OH/MS), [*p*]*a-a-ta-an* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pa-ta-a-aš* (OS),

Derivatives:  $\lambda$  *padumma-* ‘foot(?) (of a bed)’ (abl.  $\lambda$  *pa-du-um-ma-az-z=i-ja* (MH/NS)), <sup>G1š</sup>*pātiḫalli-* ‘leg, foot (of furniture)’ (acc.sg. *pa-ti-ja-al-li-en*, dat.-loc.sg. *pa-ti-ja-al-li* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pa-a-ti-ja-al-li-ia-aš* (NS), *pa-ti-ja-al-li-ia-aš* (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *pāta/i-* ‘foot’ (abl.-instr. *pa-ta-ti*, coll.pl. <sup>G1R</sup>*MEŠ-ta*, dat.-loc.pl. *pa-a-ta-an-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pa-a-ta-aš-ša-an-za*); HLuw. *pada/i-* (c.) ‘foot’ (loc.sg. <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa-ta;-* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §12), <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa-tà* (SULTANHAN §6), instr. <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa+ra/i-ri+i* (ASSUR letters *f+g* §24), acc.pl. <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa-ti-zi* (MARAŞ 4 §13), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa-tà-za* (KARATEPE 1 §22), <sup>“PES”</sup>*pa+ra/i-za* (SULTANHAN §9)); Lyc. *pede/i-* ‘foot’ (abl.-instr. *pededi*).

IE cognates: Skt. *pád-* ‘foot’, *páda-* ‘foot’, Arm. *ot* ‘foot’, Gr. (Dor.)  $\pi\acute{\omega}\zeta$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$  ‘foot’, Lat. *pēs*, *ped-is* ‘foot’.

PIE *\*pód-* / *pd-*

An etymological interpretation of this word was first given by Friedrich (HW: 165), who convincingly connected it with PIE *\*pod-* ‘foot’. Although this connection is generally accepted, it is not easy to interpret the Hittite forms coherently.

An overview of forms can be found in CHD P: 231f.. Note however that there is stated that in IBoT 2.109 ii 25 a nom.sg. <sup>G1R</sup>*iš* can be found, but this is incorrect: the form in fact is <sup>G1R</sup>*aš*. This makes nom.sg. <sup>G1R</sup>*iš* as indeed attested twice on the tablet KUB 9.4 (i 14 and 33) a hapax form. According to CHD this <sup>G1R</sup>*iš* is to be regarded as a Luwian form, which is possible but not obligatory: KUB 9.4 contains many scribal errors and grammatical singularities, which makes it possible that <sup>G1R</sup>*iš* is just a mistaken form.

On the basis of nom.sg. <sup>G1R</sup>*aš* and acc.sg. <sup>G1R</sup>*an*, it is often assumed that we are dealing with an *o*-stem noun *pata-*. These forms are found in NS texts only, however. When we look at the oldest attested forms (OS and MS) of this word, we only find plural forms. If we compare acc.pl. *pātuš* with gen.pl. *patān* and dat.-loc.pl. *patāš*, it is hard not to interpret these forms as showing accentual mobility, and subsequently even ablaut: /*pādus*/ vs. /*pdān*/ and /*pdās*/ . Since ablaut is not to be expected in an *o*-stem noun, it is in my view likely that in the oldest stage of Hittite, this word still was a root noun, which was secondarily thematicized in NH times only (compare the development of *tuekk-* / *tukk-* to *tuekka-*). I therefore reconstruct acc.pl. *\*pód-ms*, gen.pl. *\*pd-óm* and dat.-loc.pl.

\**pd-ós*. Note that in Hittite there is no evidence for an *e*-grade form \**ped-* as is usually assumed on the basis of Lat. *pēs*.

The CLuwian attestations of ‘foot’ need some commentary. Melchert (1993b: 173) cites nom.sg. *pa-ta-a[š]* (KBo 29.25 iii 5-7) and *pa-ta-a-aš* (KUB 25.37 ii 28), but the interpretation of these forms are far from ascertained (note that of the first form Melchert himself does not exclude a reading *pa-ta-t[i]*). An erg.pl. [*pa-a-ta-a*]*n-ta* is cited by Starke 1985: 226 (KUB 35.88 ii 8), but to my mind, there is no positive evidence for this addition. This leaves us only with abl.-instr. *patati*, coll.<sup>?</sup>pl. *GÌR<sup>MES</sup>-ta* (interpreted by Schindler *apud* Watkins 1986: 60 as a dual-form), dat.-loc.pl. *pātanza* and gen.adj. *pātašša/i-*. Especially the fact that the alleged nom.sg.-forms are unascertained, leaves the way open for assuming that in CLuwian this word showed *i*-motion, just as we find in HLUwian (acc.pl. *patinzi*).

***padda-*<sup>i</sup> / *padd-*** (𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎽) ‘to dig (the ground); to bury(?)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pád-da-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *pád-da-a-i* (OH/NS), *pád-da-i* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pád-da-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pád-da-a-an-zi* (MH<sup>?</sup>/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pád-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pád-d[a-aš<sup>?</sup>]* (MH<sup>?</sup>/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pát-te-er* (MH/MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pád-da-a-ri*; part. *pád-da-an-t-* (NS); inf.I *pát-tu-an-zi* (NS), *pát-tu-u-ma-an-zi*.

Derivatives: ***patteššar* / *pattešn-*** (n.) ‘excavation, pit, hole in the ground, breach (in wall)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pát-te-eš-šar* (MH/MS<sup>?</sup>), dat.-loc.sg. *pát-te-eš-ni* (OH/NS), *pát-te-iš-ni* (MH<sup>?</sup>/NS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *fodio* ‘to dig’, OCS *bodq* ‘to stab’, Lith. *bedù* ‘to stick, to dig’, etc.

PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>ód<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ei*, \**b<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-énti*

See CHD P: 235f. for attestations. The verb and its derivative is consistently spelled with the initial sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít*. CHD therefore cites this verb as “*padda-* (or: *pidda-*)” and states that its usual transcription *padd(a)-* is an “arbitrary” choice. This is not fully the case, however: if the verb were *pidd(a)-* (with a reading *pít*), we would expect that at least a few times it was spelled with initial *pí-it-* (cf. e.g. the verb *piddae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to bring, to render’ that is spelled *píd-da-* as well as *pí-id-da-*). I therefore stick to the usual practice and assume that this verbs has to be read with a vowel *-a-*.

Since Sturtevant (1938a: 107) *padd(a)-* is generally connected with Lat. *fodio* ‘to dig’, OCS *bodq* ‘to stab’, Lith. *bedù* ‘to stick, to dig’, etc. These latter forms all seem to go back to a root \**b<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-*, which is problematic because PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>* does

not correspond to Hitt. *-tt-*. Melchert (1984a: 26<sup>55</sup>) therefore reconstructs the root as *\*b<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-*, referring to *mekki-* ‘much, many’ < *\*meǵh<sub>2</sub>-i-* that shows that *\*Dh<sub>2</sub>* > Hitt. *-T-* (followed in e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>). Another problem is the fact that *padd(a)-* inflects according to the *tarn(a)-* class: *paddaḥḥi*, *paddāi*, *paddanzi*. The *tarn(a)-* class mainly consists of verbs that go back to a structure *\*(Ce)CoH-ei*, *\*(Ce)CH-enti*, which yielded Hitt. *(Ce)Cāi*, *(Ce)Canzi*. Such a reconstruction is impossible for *padd(a)-* however. We would rather expect that this verb would have behaved like other verbs with a root structure *\*CeC-*, namely *\*CoC-ei*, *\*CC-enti* > Hitt. *CāCi*, *CCanzi*. Nevertheless, as I have argued in § 2.2.2.2.d, verbs that show a structure *\*CeCh<sub>2,3</sub>-* end up in the *tarn(a)-* class: the 3sg.pres.-form of roots of this structure, *\*CóCh<sub>2,3</sub>-ei*, regularly yielded *\*CaCai* (and not *\*\*CaCi*), on the basis of which these verbs were taken over into the *tarn(a)-* class (see *ḥarra-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḥarr-* ‘to grind’, *iškalla-<sup>i</sup>* / *iškall-* ‘to slit, to tear’, *išparra-<sup>i</sup>* / *išparr-* ‘to trample’, *malla-<sup>i</sup>* / *mall-* ‘to mill’ and *šarta-<sup>i</sup>* / *šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’ for the same phenomenon). This would be an additional argument in favour of reconstructing a root *\*b<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-* and not *\*b<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>-*.



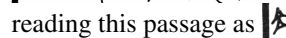
***pattai-<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-*** (IIa4 > Ic1, Ic2, IIa1γ) ‘to run, to race; to flee; to fly’: 1sg.pres.act. *pát-ti-ja-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pád-da-a-i* (OS), *pád-da-i*, *pád-da-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pád-da-a-u-e-ni* (NS?), 3pl.pres.act. *pát-ti-ja-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pát-t[e]-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pád-da-a-an-zi* (NH), *pád-da-an-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *pád-da-it-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. [*p*á]d-da-iš (MH/MS), *pád-da-a-iš* (NH), *pád-da-a-it* (MH?/MS?), *pá[d-d]a-it* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pát-ta-a-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pád-da-i* (OH or MH/NS), *pád-da-a-i* (OH/MS?), 2pl.imp.act. *pád-da-at-tén* (OH/NS), *pád-da-a-at-tén*; verb.noun *pát-te-ja-u-ua-ar* (OH/MS), *pát-ti-ja-ua-ar* (MS), gen.sg. [*pá*]d-du-ma-aš (NS), *pát-ti-ja-u-ua-aš* (NS); inf.I *pád-du-ma-an-zi*; impf. *pát-te-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *pád-da-a-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *pád-da-a-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *pád-da-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>***pattejant-*** (c.) ‘fugitive’ (Akk. *MUNNABTUM*; nom.sg. *pát-te-ja-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-ja-an-za* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *pát-te-ja-an-da-an* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-ja-an-da-an* (MH/NS), gen. *p[át-t]e-ja-an-ta-a[š]* (MH/MS), nom.pl. *pát-te-ja-an-te-eš* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-te-e[š]* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pát-ti-ja-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), case? *pát-te-ja-an-ta-aš* (MH/MS)), <sup>LÚ</sup>***pattejantili***, <sup>LÚ</sup>***pattijantili*** (adv.) ‘in the manner of a fugitive’ (*pát-te-an-ti-li* (OS), *pát-te-ja-an-ti-l[i]* (NH), *pát-ti-ja-an-ti-li* (OH/NS), *pát-ti-an-ti-li* (NH)), ***pattijali-***, ***paddalli-*** (adj.) ‘swift’ (nom.sg.c. *pát-ti-ja-li-iš* (MH/MS), *pád-da-al-li-iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *pát-ti-ja-li-in*, *pát-t[e]-ja-li-in*) (OH?/NS), nom.pl.c. *pát-ti-ja-li-e-eš* (OH or MH/MS?),

[*pát-t*]i-*ja-a-li-eš* (OH/NS)), *pattinu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to run off with, to elope with (a woman), to carry off quickly, to whisk (something) away’ (3sg.pres.act. *pát-ti-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *pát-ti-nu-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *pát-te-nu-uz-zi* (OH/NS), *pát-te-nu-zi* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pát-ti-nu-an-zi* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *pát-te-nu-ut* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *pát-te-nu-er* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pát-te-nu-ud-du* (OH or MH/NS); impf. *pát-te-nu-uš-ke/a-*).

IE cognates: Skt. *pátati* ‘to fly’, Gr. *πέτομαι* ‘to fly’ etc.

PIE *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*

See CHD P: 352f. for attestations (under the lemma “*piddai-*, *pittiya/e-*, *pitte-*”). Almost all forms of this verb and its derivatives are spelled with an initial sign BAD, which can be read *pát* or *pít*. Traditionally, the verb is transliterated with *pít-*, which is done on the basis of two instances where we (allegedly) find *pí-it-* (cf. Tischler HEG P: 624). The first instance is KUB 56.46 vi 3, which is transliterated in its edition StBoT 25: 102 as (line 10) *t=a-aš pí-it-ta-i* [ ... ], whereas CHD cites the line as *t=a-aš pí-ít-t[a-i]*. The meaning of this sentence is ascertained by the fact that it is the NS duplicate of the OS text KBo 17.43 where we find: i (6) *t=a-aš BAD-da-a-i* ‘he runs off’. When we look at the handcopy of KUB 56.46, however, we see that this line is rather damaged: . The word *ta-aš* indeed is clearly visible, but right after this word the tablet breaks off, leaving us only with traces of the lower parts of the following three signs. The traces of the first sign (vertical wedge and a winkelhaken) could indeed be the lower part of the sign BI (= *pí*), but could just as well be interpreted as the sign BAD (= *pát/pít*). The traces of the second sign (vertical wedge, winkelhaken and the lower part of a horizontal wedge) could indeed be read as the lower part of the sign IT, but in my view could be the lower part of the sign TA as well. The only trace of the third sign is the head of a vertical wedge, after which the tablet breaks off. This indeed could fit a sign TA, but a sign I is possible as well. So, instead of reading this passage as  = *ta-aš pí-it-t[a-i]*, one could just as well argue for reading this passage as  = *ta-aš pít-ta-í[...]*.

A second instance of a spelling *pí-it-* is found in KBo 3.34 ii (35) *ni-ku-ma-an-za ú-ua-a-tar pí-it-ta-iz-zi*, which, according to CHD (P: 354) can be translated either ‘naked he runs a review’ or ‘naked he carries water’. The form *pí-it-ta-iz-zi* is inflected according to the *hatrae*-class and not according to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class, and therefore I assume that it rather belongs with *pittae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to bring, to render’ than with *pattai*<sup>-i</sup> / *patti-* (although we do find *hatrae*-class inflected

forms in the paradigm of *pattai-* / *patti-* in NH texts due to the enormous productivity of this class in that period).

In the OS text KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 we find obv. 27 [...]x *pí-ti-nu-an ħar-k[án-zi]*, which by some is interpreted as belonging to the verb that normally is spelled BAD-*ti-nu-* and therefore would indicate a reading *pít*. Nevertheless, the context is that broken that its meaning cannot be independently determined, and therefore I will leave this form out of consideration (thus also CHD P: 365). Puhvel (1979a: 212) cites a form <sup>LÚ</sup>*pí-te-an[* (KUB 40.5 ii 10), which he interprets as showing that BAD-*te-an-t-* has to be read as *pít-te-an-t-*. Although the handcopy of this text indeed seems to show the sign BI = *pí*, CHD (P: 363) cites this form as “<sup>LÚ</sup>*pít-te-a[n]-[ti-l’[i]*”, with the sign BAD.

All in all I conclude that there are no secure examples of this verb that are spelled with initial *pí-it-*. This means that we only have spellings with the sign BAD. In the majority of cases in Hittite, this sign has to be read as *pát*, which I therefore propose to do for this verb as well: *pattai-<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-* (but note that in all the other literature this verb is cited as *pittai-*, *pitti-* or *pittiġa-*).

The oldest forms of this verb clearly point to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-inflection: *pattāi* / *pattiġanzi*. In younger texts we find forms that show a stem *pattiġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (which is common in *dāi/tiġanzi*-verbs) and *pattae-<sup>zi</sup>* (according to the *ħatrae*-class which is highly productive in NH times).

Already since Sturtevant (1927c: 221) this verb is connected with Skt. *pátati* ‘to fly’, Gr. *πέτομαι* ‘to fly’, etc. The exact root-shape of these forms is unclear, however: LIV<sup>2</sup> cites three different roots, *\*peth<sub>1</sub>-* ‘fallen’, *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘ausbreiten’ and *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘(auf)fliegen’ (although the latter two probably have to be equated, see under *pattar* / *pattan-* ‘wing; feather’). As I have explained in Kloekhorst.fthc.a, the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class verbs have to be analysed as reflecting *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of a root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/-i-*. In the case of *pattai-/patti-*, this would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*ptH-ói-ei*, *\*ptH-i-énti*. Note that on the basis of this reconstruction as well, I phonologically interpret *pát-ta-a-i*, *pát-ti-ġa-an-zi* as /ptái/, /ptiánt<sup>s</sup>i/ (so with an initial cluster /pt-/, which may explain the fact that no spellings with *\*\*pa-at-* are attested).

The derivative <sup>LÚ</sup>*patteġant-* ‘fugitive’ is interesting. Semantically, we would expect that the notion ‘fugitive’ < ‘the one who has fled’ would be expressed by a participle, which in the case of *pattai-/patti-* should have been *\*ptH-i-ent-* > *pattiġant-*. This form indeed is attested, but in the younger texts only. In the oldest texts (OS) we only find *pát-te-ġa-an-t-*, which implies a reconstruction *\*ptH-ei-ent-* (cf. <sup>LÚ</sup>*majant-* ‘adult man’ < *\*mh<sub>2</sub>-ei-ent-* besides part. *mġant-* ‘grown’ <



\**mh<sub>2</sub>-i-ent-*). If this analysis is correct, it would imply that reconstructing a root \**peth<sub>2</sub>-* now has become impossible, as \**pth<sub>2</sub>-ei-ent-* would have given \*\**patta<sub>i</sub>ant-*. I therefore reconstruct \**pth<sub>1</sub>-ei-ent-*.

The causative *pattinu-* is spelled *pát-ti-nu-* in the oldest texts (OS), but sometimes *pát-te-nu-* from MH times onwards. Either this is due to influence of the derivative *patte<sub>i</sub>ant-*, or to the confusion of the signs TE and TI in younger times (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137).

<sup>(TUG)</sup>**patalla-** (gender unclear) ‘puttee(?), leg wrapping(?)’: instr. *pa-tal-li-it* (MH/NS), broken *pa-ta-al-la[-..]* (NH).

Derivatives: **patalli<sub>e</sub>/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to tie feet, to fether’ (3pl.imp.act. *pa-tal-li-<sub>i</sub>a-andu* (MH/NS)).

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See CHD P: 238 and 240 for attestations. The word is probably derived from *pāt-* / *pat-* ‘foot’ (q.v.). The connection with <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*patal<sub>h</sub>a-* ‘sole of foot; fether’ is unclear. If they belong together, *patal<sub>h</sub>a-* should reflect \**p(o)d-lh<sub>2</sub>o-*, whereas *patalla-* < \**p(o)d-olh<sub>2</sub>o-*.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**patal<sub>h</sub>a-** (c.) ‘sole of the foot; way of acting, behaviour; wooden fether’: nom.sg. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-aš* (OH/NS), *ba-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pa-ta-al-<sub>h</sub>a-an* (MS?), *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-an* (NS), abl. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-z=a-at=kán* (MH/NS), instr. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>i-it* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>u-uš* (NH).

Derivatives: **patal<sub>h</sub>ae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to fether(?)’ (1sg.pres.act. [*pa-*]tal-<sub>h</sub>a-e-mi (OS), part. *pa<sup>1</sup>-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-an-t-* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **patal<sub>h</sub>a(i)-** ‘to fether(?)’ (inf. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>a-ú-na*, part. [*pa-tal-*]<sub>h</sub>a-a-im-ma), **patal<sub>h</sub>i<sub>i</sub>amman-** ‘fethering(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl. *pa-tal-<sub>h</sub>i-<sub>i</sub>a-ma*).

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See CHD P: 238f. for attestations. Semantically, a connection with *pāt-* / *pat-* ‘foot’ (q.v.) seems likely, but the formation nevertheless remains opaque. A cluster *-lh-* can only have survived if it reflects \**Clh<sub>2,3</sub>V* (whereas \**VIHV* > *VIIV*). Combining these arguments would lead to a reconstruction \**p(o)d-lh<sub>2</sub>o-*. The connection between *patal<sub>h</sub>a-* and *patalla-* ‘fether(?)’ (q.v., with derivative *patalli<sub>e</sub>/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to tie feet, to fether’) is unclear. If *patal<sub>h</sub>a-* reflects \**p(o)d-lh<sub>2</sub>o-*, does *patalla-* then reflect \**p(o)d-olh<sub>2</sub>o-*?

<sup>(UZU)</sup>**pattar** / **pattan-** or <sup>(UZU)</sup>**pettar** / **pettan-** (n.) ‘wing, feather’ (Akk. *KAPPU*): nom.-acc.sg. *pát-tar* (MS), dat.-loc.pl. *pád-da-na-aš* (OH/NS), *pát-ta-na-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: *pattarpalhi-* (c.) an oracle bird, lit. ‘broad-winged’ (nom.sg. *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-iš* (NH), *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-eš* (NH), acc.sg. *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-in* (NH), *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-en* (NH), gen.sg. *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-ia-aš* (NH), nom.pl. *pát-tar-pal-ḫi-iš* (NH), acc.pl.? *pát-tar-pal-ḫu-[uš?]* (NH)).

IE cognates: OHG *fedara*, ON *fjǫðr* ‘feather’, *fiðri* ‘feathers’, Gr. πτερόν, Lat. *penna*, Skt. *pátra-* ‘wing’.

PIE *\*póth<sub>2</sub>-r* / *\*pth<sub>2</sub>-én-* or *\*péth<sub>2</sub>(ō)r* / *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-én-*

See CHD P: 240f. for attestations. The word is always spelled with the sign BAD, which in Hittite usually is to be read *pát*, but in principle could be read *pít/pét* as well. This is the reason for CHD to cite this word as “<sup>(UZU)</sup>*pattar* or <sup>(UZU)</sup>*pittar*”, but consensus has it to read this word as *pattar*. Note that with a reading *pattar*, this word would become homophonic to <sup>(GL, G1S)</sup>*pattar*, *pattan-* ‘basket’ (of which a reading *pat-* is ascertained because of occasional spellings with *pa-at-*). Some scholars have argued that *pattar* ‘basket’ is named after *pattar* ‘wing, feather’ because it was feather-shaped. If this is correct (but there is not a shred of evidence for such a form of the basket), it would prove that ‘wing, feather’ is to be read as *pattar* and not as *pittar*.

The word clearly belongs with the PIE root *\*pet(H)-* ‘to fly, to fall’, the exact form of which is dubious. LIV<sup>2</sup> distinguishes three roots: *\*peth<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to fall’ (Gr. πίπτω, ἔπετον ‘to fall’), *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to fly’ (Gr. πέτομαι, ἔπτατο ‘to fly’) and *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to spread out’ (Gr. πίτυνμι ‘to spread out’). In my view, it is likely that *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to fly’ and *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to spread out’ are identical, especially if ‘to spread out’ is used for ‘wings’.

The word belongs to the *r/n*-class, but its precise formation is unclear. If we read the sign BAD with *-a-*, the nom.-acc.sg. *pattar* seems best explained by assuming a proterodynamic *\*pót(H)-r*. The oblique stem *pattan-* (in dat.-loc.pl. *pattanaš*) could be phonologically interpreted either as *lp(a)tn-/* or as *lp(a)tan-/*. The first interpretation would fit a hysterodynamic preform *\*pt(H)-n-ós* best, whereas the second interpretation could reflect proterodynamic *\*pt(H)-Vn-(o)s*. Normally, such proterodynamic oblique cases have a suffix-syllable *-en-*, which in principle should yield Hitt. *-en-* (e.g. *pahḫuenaš* << *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s*, *uīdenaš* << *\*ud-én-s*). If the root was *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-*, however, then *\*h<sub>2</sub>* could be held responsible for colouring *\*-en-* to *-an-*: *\*pth<sub>2</sub>-én-s* >> *pattanaš* (with trivial introduction of the full grade in the root and the replacement of the gen.-ending by *\*-os*, so virtually *\*poth<sub>2</sub>-en-os*). Note that this would exclude reconstructing a root *\*pet-* or *\*peth<sub>1</sub>-*. If we read the sign BAD with the vowel *-e-*, so *pettar* / *pettan-*, we would have to adapt our reconstruction to *\*péth<sub>2</sub>-(ō)r*, *peth<sub>2</sub>-én-os*.

The other IE words for ‘feather’ or ‘wing’ show traces of an *-r/n*-stem, too: OHG *fedara*, ON *fjǫðr* ‘feather’, *fiðri* ‘feathers’ reflect *\*pétrō-*; Gr. *πτερόν* < *\*pt-er-*; Lat. *penna* < *\*pet-n-*; Skt. *pátra-* ‘wing’ < *pe/ot-ro-*. Note that almost all these forms show *e*-grade in the root, which could perhaps be an argument for interpreting the Hittite word as *pattar* / *pettan-*.

(Gl. Glš) ***pattar* / *pattan-*** (n.) ‘basket (made of wicker or reed)’: nom.-acc.sg. *pa-at-tar* (OS), *pát-tar* (OS), *pád-da-r=a-a=š-ša-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *pa-at-ta-ni* (OS), *pád-da-ni* (OS), [*p*]*át-ta-ni-i* (OS), *pád-da-ni-i* (OS), *pád-da-a-ni* (OS), *pát-ta-a-ni* (OS), abl.? *pád-da-n[a-az]* (NS), instr. *pát-ta-ni-it* (OH/NS), *pa-at-ta-ni[-it?]* (OS), case? *pád-da-na-aš* (OH/NS).

See CHD P: 241f. for attestations. Although the usual spelling of this word is with the sign BAD (which, besides *pát* can be read *pít/pét* as well), the occasional spellings with initial *pa-at-* (in OS texts only) clearly indicate that we have to interpret this word as *pattar* / *pettan-*. The word demotes some kind of basket (made of wicker or reed) in which all kinds of things are carried. Formally, the word seems to be homophonous with <sup>(UZU)</sup>*pattar* / *pattan-* ‘feather, wing’ (if this word should not be read *pettar* / *pettan-*), which made some scholars think that the basket was feather-shaped vel sim. If this indeed is the case, this could be an argument for reading *pattar* ‘feather’ as *pattar* definitively (it is attested with the sign BAD only).

The fact that this word is (well) attested from OS times onwards, and the fact that it is an *-r/n*-stem makes it probable that it is an inherited word. The nom.-acc.sg. *pattar* seems to point to *\*Pót-r*. The oblique cases show two different forms, both occurring in OS texts already: dat.-loc.sg. *pattanī* besides *pattāni*. The first one seems to be hysterodynamic (*\*Pt-n-éi*), whereas the second one proterodynamic (*\*Pt-ón-i*). Perhaps this situation is to be compared to *ēšhar* / *išhan-* and *uttar* / *uddan-* where originally proterodynamically inflected nouns show hysterodynamic accentuation in synchronic Hittite.

The root etymology is difficult. Rieken (297ff.) connects this word with the IE root *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to spread out’, but I do not understand the semantic connection. See at the lemma <sup>(UZU)</sup>*pattar* / *pattan-* ‘wing, feather’ for the possibility that this word is identical to ‘basket’. Other etymologies include connections with Skt. *pátra-* ‘bowl, vessel’ (but this reflects *\*peh<sub>3</sub>-tro-* from *\*peh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to drink’) and Gr. *πατάνη* ‘dish’ (difficult to judge formally). All in all, the etymology of this word is not fully clear.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*paddur* / *paddun-* (n.) ‘mortar(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *pád-du-ur* (OH?/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pát-tu-ni-i* (OH?/NS), *pád-du-ni-i* (OH?/NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. \**battur* / *battun-* (n.) ‘mortar’ (abl.-instr. *ba-at-tu-na-a-ti*).

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See CHD P: 247f. for attestations and discussion. On the basis of the Hittite contexts, the exact meaning of <sup>GIŠ</sup>*paddur* / *pattun-* cannot be determined: it is clear that it refers to some object, and the consistent use of the determinative <sup>GIŠ</sup> indicates that that object is made of wood. In a CLuwian context, we find an abl.-instr. *battunāti* that glosses the sumerogram <sup>GIŠ</sup>NÀGA ‘mortar’, however. If this CLuw. *battun-* is to be equated with the oblique stem of Hitt. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*paddur* / *paddun-*, then a meaning ‘mortar’ for the latter word is likely as well. Moreover, it would show that the sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít* and with which all the Hittite forms are spelled, should be read as *pát* in this word.

Rieken (1999a: 357f.) remarks that the oxytone accentuation /patuní/ is unparalleled in Hittite *-uer-*/*-uen-* stems, and therefore assumes a Luwianism. She proposes to connect this word with *peran pattunaš*, a utensil for carrying (see under *peran ped(d)unaš*). See there for a discussion.

*pe(-)* (prev.) ‘away, thither’: see *pe har(k)-zi* ‘to have, to hold’, *pehute-zi* / *pehut-* ‘to lead, to bring’, *peje-zi* / *pej-* ‘to send’, *penna-i* / *penn-* ‘to drive (there)’, *peššije/a-zi* ‘to throw away’, *peda-i* / *ped-* ‘to take, to carry’, *pai-zi* / *pai-* ‘to go’.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>p-oi*

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The preverb *pe-* ‘away, thither’ functions on a par with the preverb *u-* ‘hither’ in the sense that both can be prefixed to a verb to give it an extra semantic element of direction. The two preverbs function as opposites: *peda-i* / *ped-* ‘to bring (away)’ vs. *uda-i* / *ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ (besides the simplex *dā-i* / *d-* ‘to take’): *penna-i* / *penni-* ‘to drive away’ vs. *ūnna-i* / *ūnni-* ‘to lead here’ (besides the simplex *nai-i* / \**ni-* ‘to lead’).

The exact interpretation of *pe-* is in debate, especially because in the verb *pai-zi* / *pai-* ‘to go’ (antonym of *ue-zi* / *uua-* ‘to come’ from the simplex *i-zi*, *je/a-<sup>ua(r)</sup>* ‘to go’) no vowel *-e-* can be found. According to Melchert (1994a: 133), *pe-* must reflect \**pě*, which he concludes on the basis of an equation of Hitt. *peššije/a-zi* with “HLuv. *pa-si-ya-*”. It is unclear to me, however, to which form he refers: I have not been able to find any verb *pasija-* (or noun, for that matter) in the HLuwian corpus (see also at *peššije/a-zi*). In order to explain the verb *pai-zi* / *pai-*, Melchert (1994a: 177) states that the preform \**pe-h<sub>1</sub>i-enti* regularly yields

\**paḫanzi* due to the sound law \**eh<sub>1</sub>i* > Hitt. *aḫ*. He then assumes that the stem *paḫ-* has spread throughout the paradigm, replacing the full-grade stem \**pe-h<sub>1</sub>ei-* which regularly should have given Hitt. \*\**pē-*. In my view, the development \**eh<sub>1</sub>i* > *aḫ* cannot be substantiated: all alleged examples of it (e.g. *dāi* < \**daje* < \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-ei*) have to be explained differently (I reconstruct *dāi* < \**dāje* as \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ó-i-ei*). All in all, Melchert's reconstruction of *pe-* as \**pē* must be incorrect.

Eichner (1973a: 78) reconstructs *pe-* as \**poi*. The idea is that in isolation \**poi* monophthongizes to *pe*, but before vowels yield *pai-* as visible in *paḫi-zi* / *pai-*. Although I do not think that Eichner's interpretation of the latter verb is fully correct (he assumes that \**poi-h<sub>1</sub>iénti* regularly yields \**paḫanzi* > *pānzi*, whereas e.g. \**h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>iénti* > OH *huḫanzi* 'they run' shows that such a preform should have yielded OH \*\**paḫanzi* with a preserved intervocalic *-i-*), I do accept his idea that the *-e-* of *pe-* goes back to \**-oi-*. According to Eichner, \**po-i* is the old "i-Lokativ" corresponding to BSl. \**po* ("endungsloser Lok.") and Iran.-Gr. \**po-ti* ("Adverbialkasus"). Another possibility would be to connect *pe-* 'away, thither' with Gr. ἔπι (ἐπί) 'upon, over, on to', Skt. *ápi* 'also, further, even', Arm. *ew* 'and' that reflect \**h<sub>1</sub>ep-i*. I therefore reconstruct *pe-* as \**h<sub>1</sub>p-oi*.

***pe ḫar(k)-zi*** (Ia4) 'to have, to hold, to keep possession of; to hold ready; to present, to bring': 3sg.pres.act. *pé-e ḫar-zi* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-e ḫar-ú-e-ni* (OH or MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-e ḫar-te-ni* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e ḫar-kán-zi* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-e ḫar-ku-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-e ḫar-ta*, *pé-e ḫar-da*, 3pl.pret.act. *pé-e ḫar-ke-er* (NH), *pé-e ḫar-ker* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pé-e ḫar-d[u]* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-e ḫar-tén* (OH or MH/NS); part. *pé-ḫar-kán* (NH).

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>poi* + \**h<sub>2</sub>erk-*

See CHD P: 253 for attestations (note that there 3sg.pret.act. *pé-e ḫar-ta* (often) and *pé-e ḫar-da* (KBo 18.54 obv. 9) are omitted). The preverb is almost consistently spelled *pé-e*, except in the one really univerted form *pé-ḫar-kán*. Although this latter form shows that eventually the verb and preverb were univerted, MH forms like KUB 26.17 ii (12) *pé-e=pát ḫar-kán-zi* show that this was not the case in older Hittite.

See at *ḫar(k)-zi* and *pe(-)* for further etymology. According to Watkins (1970: 73) a similar formation can be found in Lat. *porceō* 'to prevent, to restrain' < \**po* + *arceō*.

**pehute<sup>-zi</sup> / pehut-** (Ia1) ‘to lead, to bring, to conduct (there)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-hu-te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-e-hu-te-ši* (OH?/NS?), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-hu-te-zi* (OS), *pé-hu-te-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-e-hu-te-ez-zi* (OH/MS), *pé-e-hu-te-zi* (NH), [*pé*]-*e-hu-ut-te-zi* (1x, NS?), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-e-hu-tu-um-me-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-e-hu-(te-)et-ta-ni* (OH/MS), *pé-e-hu-te-et-te-ni* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-hu-da-an-zi* (OS), *pé-hu-da-an-zi* (OS? or MS?), [*pé*]-*e-hu-te-en-zi* (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-e-hu-te-nu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-hu-te-nu-un* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pé-e-hu-te-eš* (NS), *pé-e-hu-te-et* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-hu-te-et* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *pé-e-hu-te-et* (MH?/MS?, OH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *pé-e-hu-te-et-te-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-hu-te-er* (MH/MS), *pé-e-hu-te-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-hu-te* (MH/MS), *pé-e-hu-te* (NH), [*pé-e-h*]*u-ti*, 3sg.imp.act. *pé-hu-te-ed-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-e-hu-te-et-tén* (OH/MS), *pé-e-hu-te-et-te[-en]* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pé-e-hu-da-an-du* (NH); part. *pé-e-hu-da-an-t-* (NH), *pé-hu-da-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *pé-hu-te-eš-ke/a-* (NH), [*pé-e-h*]*u-te-iš-ke/a-* (NH), [*pé-e-h*]*u-te-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>2</sub>ou-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>2</sub>ou-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>enti*

See CHD P: 257f. for attestations. Because of the spelling BI-*e-hu-*, which clearly must be read *pé-e-hu-*, the spelling BI-*hu-* must be read *pé-hu-* as well. The verb denotes ‘to lead, to bring (there)’ and functions as the opposite of *uuate<sup>-zi</sup> / uuat-* ‘to bring here’.

Oettinger (1979a: 125, following Watkins 1969a: 69) analyses this verb as *\*pē + h<sub>2</sub>au + dē-*, which seems basically correct to me. The element *\*h<sub>2</sub>au* is equated by Oettinger with *hu* as found in *ehu* ‘come!’. I agree with him, but would further equate this element with the prefix *u-* ‘hither’, which I reconstruct as *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou*. The verbal stem *\*te<sup>-zi</sup> / t-* evidently goes back to PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put, to place’ (see at *tē<sup>-zi</sup>*). All in all, I reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>2</sub>ou-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-ti* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>2</sub>ou-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-enti*.

**pejanae<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to reward (someone)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-ja-na-a-mi* (MH/MS), *pé-ja-na-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-ja-na-a-iz-zi* (MH?/MS?), *pé-ja-na-iz-zi* (MH?/MS?, OH/NS), *pé-i-ja-na-iz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-ja-na-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *pé-ja-na-it* (OH/NS), *pé-ja-na-a-it* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. [*pé-ī*]*a-na-at-te-en* (NS); inf.I *pé-ja-na-u-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pé-ja-na-u-ua-an-zi*, *pé-e-ja-na-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *pé-ja-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: **pejanazzije/a-**<sup>(t)<sup>a</sup>(ri)</sup> (IIIg) ‘to be rewarded’ (2sg.pres.midd. *pé-ja-na-az-zi-at-ta*, 3pl.pres.midd. [*pé<sup>3</sup>-ī*]*a<sup>2</sup>-na-az-zi-an-da*).

See CHD P: 249f. for attestations. It is not fully clear whether we are dealing with a verb *pījanae-* or *pejanae-*. The latter interpretation is obligatory in one form, viz. *BI-e-īa-na-u-ūa-an-zi*, which must be read *pé-e-īa-* = /peia/. Most other forms are spelled with *BI-īa-*, which normally would stand for *pī-īa-*, but in principle can be read *pé-īa-* as well. Two forms are spelled *BI-i-īa-*, which seem to point to *pī-i-īa-*, but if necessary, could be read *pé-i-īa-* = /peia/ as well. I therefore cite this verb as *pejanae-<sup>zi</sup>* here.

The verb clearly belongs to the *hatrae*-class, which means that it is denominative. At first sight we would assume that it is derived from a noun *\*pejana-*, but since I know of no other examples of *hatrae*-verbs that end in *-anae-*, I am wondering to what extent it is possible to assume that the basic noun was *\*pejan-* (an *n*-stem). This latter noun would structurally be comparable to e.g. *me(i)an-* ‘range (of a year), extent’.

At first sight, this *\*pejan-*, which probably meant ‘reward’ or sim., seems to be connectable with *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’ (q.v.). If the *e*-vowel of *pejanae-* is real, this is difficult to coincide with *pai-/pi-*, however. Therefore, one could perhaps better assume a connection with *peje-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pej-* ‘to send’ (q.v.). This would mean that *pejanae-* goes back to virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi+h<sub>1</sub>ih<sub>1</sub>-on-oje/o-*. See at *peje-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pej-* for further etymology.

Note that Tischler (HEG P: 611f.) cites this verb under “*piyannai-/piyanniya-*”, with which he means the imperfective *pīanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *pīanni-* (see under *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’). This is incorrect: not only do the forms of the verb *pejanae-* (or *pījanae-* if one chooses to read it thus) specifically not fit the paradigm of *pīanna/i-* (for which we would expect *\*pīannahī*, *\*pīannatti*, *\*pīannai*, *\*pīanniūeni*, *\*pīanništenī*, *\*pīanniānzi*), also the single spelling of *-n-* makes *pejanae-* clearly distinct from the imperfective *pīanna/i-* (imperfectives in *-anna/i-* are consistently spelled with geminate *-nn-*).

***peje-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pej-*** (Ia1 > Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to send’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-i-īa-mi* (MH/MS), *pé-i-e-mi* (MH/NS), *pé-e-i-mi* (OH/NS), *pé-īa-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-i-e-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-i-e-zi* (OH/NS), *pé-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-e-īa-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-e-i-īa-ī[z-zi]* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-i-īa-an-zi* (MH/MS?), *pé-i-īa-an-zi*, *pé-i-e-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-i-e-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-i-e-et* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-i-e-er* (OS? or OH/MS?), *pé-i-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-i-e-īa* (MH/MS), *pé-i-īa* (NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *pé-an-da-ri* (or *pī-an-da-ri* and then belonging to *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-*?); part. *pé-e-īa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *pé-īa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *pé-an-t-*; inf.I *pé-i-īa-u-ūa-an-zi* (NH), *pé-īa-u-(ūa)-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pé-e-i-īš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pé-e-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: *peškattalla-*, *pe(ja)škattalla-* (c.) ‘deliverer’ (nom.sg. *pé-e-iš-kat-tal-la-aš* (NS), [*p*]é<sup>?</sup>-*ia-aš-kat-tal-la-aš* (NS), [*p*]é-iš-kat-tal-la-aš (NS), *pé-iš-gat-tal-la-aš*), see *pejanae-<sup>zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἵημι ‘to release, to make go, to let go’, Lat. *iaciō*, *iēci* ‘to throw’.

PIE *h<sub>1</sub>poi+\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ieh<sub>1</sub>-ti / h<sub>1</sub>poi+\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ih<sub>1</sub>-enti*

See CHD P: 261f. for attestations. It is difficult to decide how to read the stem. The verb is consistently spelled with an initial sign BI, which can be read *pí* as well as *pé*. On the basis of spellings like BI-*e-i-ia-an-zi* and BI-*e-ia-an-za*, CHD choses to interpret the stem as *peije/a-*, and to read all attestations as written with *pé-*, which I have followed. The verb means ‘to send (there)’ and contrasts with *uie-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to send (here)’. Therefore, it is likely that it shows the preverb *pe-* (see there for its etymology), which contrasts with *u-*. Since Pedersen (1938: 198) this verb is generally connected with Gr. ἵημι ‘to release, to make go, to let go’, Lat. *iaciō*, *iēci* ‘to throw’, which probably reflects *\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-* (for the first laryngeal, cf. Peters 1976: Gr. ἵημι < *\*Hi-Hieh<sub>1</sub>-mi*).

The exact interpretation of the Hittite formation is difficult. At first sight, we seem to be dealing with a *-je/a-*verb (*pé-i-ia-mi* /*peiami*/ vs. *pé-i-e-ez-zi* /*peiet<sup>s</sup>i*/), which seems to point to *pe+\*Hih<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*. If we assume a root-present, however (which is the usual formation in unverbated verbs with *pe-*), we have to reconstruct *pe+\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *pe+\*Hih<sub>1</sub>-enti*. These latter forms should regularly yield Hitt. /*peiet<sup>s</sup>i*/, /*peiant<sup>s</sup>i*/, as is attested in the oldest texts: *pé-i-e-ez-zi* (OS) and *pé-e-i-ia-an-zi* (MH/MS). Starting from such a paradigm, a development into the *-je/a-*class is trivial (cf. *ue-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’ on the basis of *ue-zzi* / *uū-anzi*).

Note that the difference in development between *pānzi* ‘they go’ < *\*paianzi* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>1</sub>enti* vs. *peianzi* < *pe+\*Hih<sub>1</sub>enti* shows that the univerbation between *pe-* and *\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-* occurred later than the univerbation between *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-*. Within the relative chronology of Hittite, the sound law *\*-oi# > -e#* must be placed between these two univerbations. The initial laryngeal of *\*Hieh<sub>1</sub>-* must have been *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* should have left a trace (*pe+\*h<sub>2</sub>ieh<sub>1</sub>- > \*\*peh<sub>2</sub>ie-*).

*penna-<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to drive (there); to accept(?), to acknowledge(?)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-en-na-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/NS), *pé-na-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-en-na-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-en-na-i* (OS), *pé-en-na-a-i* (OH/NS), *pé-e-en-na-i* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-en-ni-ú-e-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-en-ni-ia-an-zi* (OH/MS), *pé-en-na-an-zi* (MH/MS?), *pé-in-na-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pé-e-en-ni-ia-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-en-na-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-*



*en-ni-iš-ta* (OH/OS? or MS), *pé-en-ni-eš-ta* (OH/MS), *pé-en-ni-iš* (MH/MS), *pé-en-ni-eš* (MH/MS), *pé-en-ni-it* (MH/NS), *pé-en-na-aš* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-en-ni-er* (MH/MS?), *pé-en-ner* (MH/MS?), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-en-ni* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-en-ni-iš-tén* (MH/NS); part. *pé-en-ni-ja-an-t-* (NH), *pé-en-na-an-t-* (NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *pé-en-nu-ma-aš* (NH); inf.I *pé-en-nu-ma-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-en-nu-um-ma-an-zi* (NH), *pé-en-nu-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-en-ni-ja-u-an-zi* (MH/NS); impf. *pé-en-ni-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

PIE *pe+\*noiH-ei*, *pe+\*niH-enti*

See CHD P: 264f. for attestations. The oldest attestations (3sg.pres.act. *pennai* (OS) and 1pl.pres.act. *penniḡeni* (OS)) together with 1sg.pres.act. *pennaḡhi*, 2sg.pres.act. *pennatti* and 1sg.pret.act. *pennaḡhun* clearly point to the *mēma/i*-inflection. From MH times onwards, forms are occurring that show the *tarn(a)*-class inflection (*pennanzi* and *penner*). In NH times, we occasionally find a form according to the *-je/a*-class (*penniḡanzi*). This situation is typical for *mēma/i*-class verbs, of which I have argued under its treatment in § 2.2.2.2.h that they originally were polysyllabic *dāi/tiḡanzi*-class verbs that are taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class via the intermediate *mēma/i*-class. The occasional occurrence of *-je/a*-class forms is trivial (very common in *dāi/tiḡanzi*-class verbs). This means that *penna-/penni-* originally goes back to a *dāi/tiḡanzi*-class verb as well.

Within Hittite, *penna<sup>i</sup> / penni-* functions as the opposite of *ūnna<sup>i</sup> / ūnni-* ‘to send (here), to drive (here)’, and already Sturtevant (1933: 74) regarded these verbs as the *pe-* and *u-*prefixed forms of the verb *nai<sup>i</sup> / \*ni-* ‘to turn, to send’ (see under *nē<sup>a(rj)</sup>*), which belongs to the *dāi/tiḡanzi*-class. See for further etymology the lemmas of these elements themselves.

Although this etymology is generally accepted, the fact that *penna<sup>i</sup> / penni-* shows a geminate *-nn-* (just as in *ūnna<sup>i</sup> / ūnni-* and *nanna<sup>i</sup> / nanni-*) is remarkable. Perhaps these univerbations and reduplication took place at a period that the initial consonants were fortis automatically.

*penniḡe/a<sup>zi</sup>*: see *penna<sup>i</sup> / penni-*

***peppiešsar*** (n.) ‘shipment, consignment’: nom.-acc.sg. *pé-ep-pí-eš-šar* (MH/MS).

The word is hapax in one of the Amarna letters (VBoT 1, 28). It is spelled with BI-IB-, which can be read *pí-ip-* as well as *pé-ep-*. If we read the word as *peppiešsar*, it seems to be the opposite of the noun *uppiešsar* ‘sending, gift’ (see under *uppa<sup>i</sup> / uppi-*) in the sense that we are dealing with a *pe-* / *u-* pair of a

further unattested noun *\*pieššar*. This *\*pieššar* clearly is a derivative of *pai<sup>i</sup> / pi-* ‘to give’ (q.v.), which would mean that *peppieššar* must reflect virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi + \*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r*. Because of the fact that this word occurs in an Amarna letter only, and because we know that these letters were written by a non-Hittite scribe, it has been suggested that the form is *nicht-sprachwirklich*. If so, then we still have to assume that it is formed as a back-formation to *uppieššar* (which is clearly genuinely Hittite), which means that our etymological analysis remains the same.

**per / parn-** (n.) ‘house, household’ (Sum. É): nom.-acc.sg. *É-er* (OS), nom.sg.c. *pár-na-aš* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *pár-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ni* (OS), *É-er* (OS), *pé-e-ri* (OH/NS), all.sg. *pár-na* (OS), erg.sg. *pár-na-an-za* (OH/MS), abl. *É-er-za* (OS), *pár-na-az* (OH/NS), *pár-na-za* (NH), nom.-acc.pl. *É-er* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *É<sup>MEŠ</sup>-na-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-na-aš* (MH/MS?).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **parna-** (n.) ‘house’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-na-an-za*, *pár-na-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ni*, nom.-acc.pl. *pár<<-ar>>-na*, dat.-loc.pl. *pár-na-an-za*, *pár-na-an-za-aš=ta* (HT 1 ii 7), erg.pl. *pár-na-an-ti-in-zi*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pár-na-aš-ša-an-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-na-a-aš-ši-in-zi*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl. *pár-na-aš-ša-an-za-an-za*); HLuw. **parna-** ‘house’ (nom.-acc.sg. /parnan=<sup>s</sup>a/ DOMUS-na-za, gen.sg. /parnas/ DOMUS-na-sa (KAYSERÍ §21, BOR §2), dat.-loc.sg. /parni/ <sup>DOMUS</sup>pa+ra/i-ni (KARATEPE 1 §58 Ho.), DOMUS-ni, DOMUS-ní, DOMUS-ni-i, DOMUS-ní-i, nom.-acc.pl. /parna/ DOMUS-na, DOMUS-na-’, dat.-loc.pl. /parnant<sup>s</sup>/ DOMUS-na-zá (KULULU 5 §4); unclear DOMUS-ni-za (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §15, cf. Hawkins 2000: 111)), **parnawa-** ‘to serve a house’ (3pl.imp.act. <sup>CRUX</sup>pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u (KARATEPE §58 Hu.), “DOMUS.CRUX” pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu<sub>4</sub> (KARATEPE 1 §58 Ho.)); Lyd. **bira-** ‘house’ (dat.-loc.sg. *biraλ(=k)*, acc.c. *bira(v)(=k)*); Lyc. **prñnawa-** ‘mausoleum, (grave-)house’ (acc.sg. *prñnawã*, *prñnawu*, loc.sg. *prñnawí*), **prñnawa-** ‘to build’ (3sg.pres.act. *prñnawati*, 1sg.pret.act. *prñnawaxã*, 3sg.pret.act. *prñnawate*, *prñnawatẽ*, *prñnawetẽ*, 3pl.pret.act. *prñnawãte*, *prñnawãtẽ*), **prñneze/i-** ‘household’ (nom.sg. *prñnezi*, dat.-sg. *prñnezi*), **prñnezi(je)-** ‘household member’ (dat.-sg. *prñnezi*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *prñnezijehi*, gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *prñnezijehi*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *prñnezijehi*).

PAnat. *\*Pér-r*, *\*Pr-n-ós*

See CHD P: 273f. for attestations. Although the nom.-acc.sg. is never spelled completely phonetically (always *É-er*), there is little doubt that the form was /per/, as is also indicated by the secondary dat.-loc.sg. *pé-e-ri*. The occasional

commune nom.sg. *parnaš* is found in NS texts only and clearly is a secondary formation. Besides gen.sg. *parnaš*, CHD also cites a gen.sg. *per[iaš]* (KUB 51.56, 4), but this reading is too uncertain (note that the handcopy of the text shows ~~𒍪𒍪𒍪𒍪𒍪~~ = *pé-e-ri pé-e-x[...]*, which CHD reads as *pé-e-ri pé-e-r[i-aš]*, whereas e.g. Rieken (1999a: 306<sup>1471</sup>) suggests to read *pé-e-ri pé-e-r[an]*). The abl. *É-er-za /perts/* is attested in OS texts already and therefore must be archaic. The attested alteration *per / parn-* can hardly go back to anything else than an original *-r/n-*stem *\*Per-r / \*P<sub>r</sub>-n-*.

The root-etymology is difficult. In the older literature, a borrowing from Egyptian *pr* ‘house’ has often been assumed, but this is unlikely because a borrowing does not explain the seemingly archaic inflection *per / parn-*. For a listing of other etymological proposals, see Tischler HEG P: 569f., none of which stands out regarding semantical probability.

***peran*** (adv., prev., postpos.) ‘(local postpos.) before, in front of, in presence of; (local prev.) in front; (temporal adv.) previously, in advance; (temporal prev.) in front, first; (temporal postpos.) facing a person in future, ahead of someone; (postpos.) during the reign of (a king); (postpos.) under the supervision of; (causal postpos.) because of, from, out of’ (Akk. *PANI*): *pé-e-ra-an* (OS), *pé-i-ra-an* (1x, OS), *pé-ra-an* (OS), *pé-ra-a-an* (4x, MH/MS), *pé.-an* (abbr., MH/NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parran*** (prev., postpos.) ‘before, in front of’ (*pár-ra-an*, *pár-ra-a-an*); HLuw. ***paran*** (adv.) ‘before, in front of’ (*pa+ra/i-na*, *pa+ra/i-na-*, *PRAE-na*). ***\*parani*** (adv.) ‘id.’ (*PRAE-ni*).

PAnat. *\*pérom*

IE cognates: Gr. *περᾶ(v)* ‘moreover, on the other side’, Skt. *pára-* ‘farther, highest, utmost’.

PIE *\*pér-om*

See CHD P: 291f. for attestations and semantic treatment. This word clearly belongs with *parā* ‘forward’ and *parza* ‘...-wards’ in the sense that these three adverbs probably are petrified cases of an original noun *\*per-* (cf. the situation of *šer* and *šarā*). The exact interpretation of *peran* is intricate, however. In the oldest texts we find forms of *peran* with a poss.pron.suffix attached to it: *pé-e-ra-a(n)=m-mi-it* ‘in front of me’ (OS), *pé-ra-an=te-et* ‘in front of you’ (OH/NS), *pé-e-ra-a(n)=š-še-et* ‘in front of him’ (OS), *pé-e-ra-a(n)=š-mi-it* ‘in front of them’ (OS). The possessive consistently shows its neuter form, which indicates that, at least synchronically, *peran*, too, was interpreted as a neuter form. At first sight, this seems to indicate that *peran* belonged to an originally neuter thematic stem

*\*pera-* (if the stem were athematic, we would expect a nom.-acc.sg. *\*\*per*), but such a stem cannot be reconciled with an all.sg. *parā* and an abl. *parza*, because of the ablaut in the root (thematic stems are generally thought not to show ablaut). Nevertheless, the form *peran* has Anatolian cognates, CLuw. *parran* and HLuw. *paran*, which indicate the existence of a PAnat. form *\*pérom* already.

All in all, although the connection between *peran*, *parā*, *parza* and forms in other IE languages that reflect *\*per-* is clear, it is difficult to reconstruct an original nominal paradigm for all the forms.

***peran ped(d)unaš*** (n.) ‘?’: *pé-ra-an pé-e-du-na-aš* (MH/MS), [*pé-ra-an*] *pé-du-na-a-aš* (NS), *pé-ra-an pé-t-tu-na-a-a[š]* (NS), [*pé-r*] *a-an pé-d-du-na-aš* (NS), *pé-ra-an pé-e-du-ma-aš* (NH), *pé-ra-an pé-e-tum-ma-aš* (NH), *pé-ra-an pé-du-ma-aš* (NH), *pé-an pé-tum-ma-aš* (NH).

See CHD P: 311f. for attestations. This word occurs in inventories and lists only, on the basis of which its exact meaning cannot be determined. It can be made of stone, iron, gold, ivory and other materials. Although the texts do not point to a specific meaning, CHD translates this word as “a utensil for carrying forward (lit. ‘that of bringing forth’)”. This interpretation is fully based on the fact that the form *peran pedumaš* synchronically seems to be identical to the adverb *peran* ‘forward’ and *pedumaš*, the verb.noun gen.sg. of *peda<sup>i</sup> / ped-* ‘to take (away)’. Nevertheless, this spelling is not the only one: we also find *peran pedunāš* and *peran peddunaš*, which do not fit such an interpretation. Melchert (1994a: 34) ingeniously proposes that the forms with *-n-* show the Luwian verbal noun-suffix *-un-* and that the spelling *BAD-du-na-aš* (which I have read as *péd-du-na-aš*) should be read *pád-du-na-aš*, assuming that *paddunaš* would be the Luwian equivalent of Hitt. *pedumaš*. Apart from the fact that the Hittite preverb *pe-* to my knowledge does not have a CLuwian counterpart, the regular correspondant of Hitt. *dā<sup>i</sup> / d-* ‘to take’ is CLuw. *la-*. Moreover, the spelling *pé-du-na-aš* then would show the Hitt. stem *ped-* attached to the Luwian suffix *-un-*, which seems quite improbable to me.

If we look at the chronological distribution, we see that the forms with *-n-* are the older ones. In my view, we therefore are dealing with an original word *peran ped(d)unaš* that folk-etymologically was altered to *peran pedumaš*, indeed as if the verb.noun gen.sg. of the verb *peran peda<sup>i</sup> / ped-*. Since the exact meaning of this word cannot be determined, we cannot etymologize it. Nevertheless, because of the alteration between single *-d-* and geminate *-dd-*, I would not be surprised if this word would turn out to be of a foreign origin.

*peri-* (c.) ‘?’ , formally ‘bird’: nom.sg. *pé-e-ri-iš* (OS), *pé-e-ri-eš* (OS), acc.sg. *pé-e-ri-in* (OS).

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See CHD P: 312f. for attestations. This word occurs several times in OS rituals. On the basis of the contexts in which it occurs, its meaning cannot be determined. In the older literature, the word often was translated ‘bird’, but cf. CHD for the fact that this was based on arguments that have turned out to be incorrect. It therefore is impossible to etymologize this word.

*pernu-*<sup>zi</sup>: see *pirnu-*<sup>zi</sup>

<sup>NA</sup>*peru* / *perun-* (n.) ‘rock, cliff, boulder’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *pé-e-ru* (MH/MS), nom.sg.c. *pé-e-ru-na-aš*, *pé-ru-na-aš* (NH), acc.sg.c. *pé-ru-na-an* (NH), gen.sg. *pé-ru-na-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *pé-e-ru-ni* (OS), *pé-ru-ni* (NS), abl. *pé-ru-na-az* (NS), acc.pl.c. *pé-ru-nu-uš* (NH), *pé-e-ru-nu-uš* (NH), *pé-ru-ni[-iš]*, dat.-loc.pl. *pé-e-ru-na-aš* (OS).

Derivatives: <sup>NA</sup>*perunant-* (adj.) ‘rocky, craggy’ (nom.sg.c. *pé-e-ru-na-an-z[a]* (NH), *pé-ru-na-an-za* (NH)), <sup>NA</sup>*perulū(ua)-* ‘?’ (3sg.pres.midd. *pé-ru-lu-u-ua-ri* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *párvata-* ‘rocky, rugged; mountain’.

PIE *\*pér-ur* / *\*pér-un-*

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See CHD P: 314f. for attestations. The oldest forms of this word show a neuter paradigm nom.-acc.sg. *peru*, obl. *perun-*. In NH times, a secondary commune stem *peruna-* is formed (nom.sg.c. *perunaš*, acc.pl.c. *perunuš*), which is a trivial development (cf. nom.sg.c. *parnaš* ‘house’ besides older neuter *per* / *parn-*). A paradigm *peru* / *perun-* can hardly go back to anything else than to an original *-r/n-*stem, which is the reason for me to assume that nom.-acc.sg. *peru* is the dissimilated variant of older *\*perur* (compare *per* ‘house’ < *\*per-r*). In this way, *\*perur* / *perun-* would be a normal static *-uer/-uen-*stem, just as *mēhur* / *mēhun-* ‘period, time’ and *šēhur* / *šēhun-* ‘urine’.

Sommer *apud* Friedrich HW: 168 connected *peru* / *perun-* with Skt. *párvata-* ‘rocky, mountain’, which could reflect *\*pérur̥-to-*. Semantically as well as formally (*párvata-* is derived from a static *-uer/-uen-*stem as well) this etymology is impeccable. Often, Skt. *párvata-* is further connected with Skt. *párvan-* ‘joint, knot’ and Gr. *πεῖραρ* (*\*pérur̥*) ‘end, boundary, gowl’, which taken together reflect a paradigm *\*pérur*, *\*pérur̥(e)n-*. Yet, a semantic connection

between these words and ‘rock’ is not particularly evident. Nevertheless, on the basis of the connection with Skt. *pārvata-* alone, it is already clear that Hitt. *peru* / *perun-* reflects *\*pér-ur*, *\*pér-un-*.

The possible derivative <sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup>*perulū(ua)-* (which in principle can be read *pirulū(ua)-* as well) is obscure. It is hapax in VBoT 58 i (30) ‘He harrows, ploughs, and irrigates the field’ *ḫal-ki-in-n=a* (31) [*ar-ḫa?*]=*pát* <sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup>*pé-ru-lu-u-ua-ri* ‘and he even *p.-s* the grain’. CHD translates ‘to free from (small) stones(?)’ (implying *peru-* + *lā-/l-* ‘to free’ with some *u*-suffix). Oettinger (1994: 312) translates ‘(mit Stein) mahlen’. Whatever the case, the NA<sub>4</sub>-determinative makes it quite likely the first element, *peru-*, has to be equated with <sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup>*peru* / *perun-*. The second element, *-lūuari*, and therewith the verb’s interpretation, remains obscure.

*peš(š)-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia3?) ‘to rub, to scrub (with soap)’: 3sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pí-iš-ši-er* (NH).

See CHD P: 315 for attestations. There, a 3pl.pres.act. *piš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 51.33 i 4) is cited as well, but this form is found in a totally broken context without any clue for its meaning. Moreover, CHD cites the same form as a 3pl.pres.act. of *pāš-* ‘to swallow’ as well (reading it as a possible *paš-ša-an-zi*). We therefore should leave this form out of consideration. The form *pí-iš-ši-er* is difficult to judge formally: its spelling may have been influenced by the form *ki-iš-ši-er* ‘they combed’ that occurs in the same line.

Oettinger (1979a: 327) proposes to connect *peš(š)-* with Lat. *pēnis*, OHG *fasal*, MHG *visel* ‘penis’ from *\*pes-* (cf. also Hitt. *\*pešan-* / *pešn-* / *pišen-* ‘man’), but regarding the semantics this etymology does not seem self-evident to me. Tischler (HEG P: 581) mentions another possibility, namely a connection with PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* ‘to chew’. This connection would only work if we assume that *\*b<sup>h</sup>es-* originally meant ‘zerreiben’ which on the one hand yielded ‘to chew’ and on the other ‘to rub’. Tischler himself judges this etymology as “weniger wahrscheinlich”.

Melchert (1984a: 110) connects *pešš-* with “*iške/a-*” ‘to smear, to anoint’ (q.v.) under the assumption that the latter is its imperfective and reflects *\*ps-ske/o-*. See at *iškiē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, however, for the establishment that this verb rather belongs to the *-iē/a-* class originally, and therefore cannot reflect *\*ps-ske/o-*.

See under *pašihāe-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to rub’ for the fact that it has been proposed that this verb is connected with *peš(š)-<sup>zi</sup>*.

\**pešan-* / *pešn-* / *pišen-* (c.) ‘man, male person’ (Sum. LÚ): nom.sg. LÚ-*aš* (OS), LÚ-*iš* (OH/MS), LÚ-*eš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. LÚ-*na-an-n=a=ta* (NS), LÚ-*an-n=a-ku* (OH/NS), LÚ-*n=a-ku* (OS), gen.sg. *pé-eš-na-aš*, LÚ-*na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. LÚ-*ni* (OH/NS), instr. LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*it* (MH/NS), nom.pl. *pí-še-ni-eš* (OS), *pí-še-ne-iš* (OH/NS), *pí-še-ni-iš*, [*p*]*é-eš-ne-iš*, LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*eš*, LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš*, acc.pl. *pí-še-e-nu-uš* (OH/NS), LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. LÚ-*an* (OH/NS), LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš* (MH/MS?), <sup>d</sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*na-aš*.

Derivatives: *pišnātar* / *pišnann-* (n.) ‘manhood, virility; male parts’ (nom.acc.sg. *pí-iš-na-tar* (OH?/NS), LÚ-*na-a-t[ar]*, gen.sg. LÚ-*na-an-na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pí-iš-na-an-ni-e=š-ši* (MH?/NS), LÚ-*an-ni* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. LÚ-*na-tar*<sup>HIA</sup>), \**pešnili* (adv.) ‘in manly way’ (LÚ-*ni-li* (OS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *pásas-* ‘penis’, Gr. πέος ‘penis’, Lat. *pēnis* ‘penis’, OHG *fasel* ‘seed, descendant’.

PIE \**pés-ōn+s*, \**pes-én-om*, \**pes-n-ós*.

See CHD P: 324f. for attestations. The phonetically spelled forms of this word show suffix-ablaut: gen.sg. *pé-eš-na-aš* = /*pesnás/* or, less likely, /*pésnas/*, nom.pl. *pí-še-ne-iš* = /*pisénes/*, acc.pl. *pí-še-e-nu-uš* = /*piséenus/*. They must go back to hysterodynamic *n*-stem forms with generalized *e*-grade in the stem: \**pes-n-ós*, \**pes-én-es*, \**pes-én-ṃs*. Unfortunately, the nom.sg. has not been attested written phonetically, but on the basis of the OS attestation LÚ-*aš*, one could assume /*pésas/* < \**pés-ōn+s* (compare *hāraš* < \**h<sub>3</sub>ér-ōn+s*). So all in all, we probably are dealing with an original paradigm nom.sg. \**pés-ōn*, acc.sg. \**ps-én-m*, gen.sg. \**ps-n-ós*, in which already in pre-Hittite times the *-e-* of the nominative has spread throughout the paradigm: \**pesōn*, \**pesénom*, \**pesnós*, etc.

Etymologically, the word has been connected with Skt. *pásas-* ‘penis’, Gr. πέος ‘penis’, Lat. *pēnis* ‘penis’, OHG *fasel* ‘seed, descendant’. Especially the formation of Lat. *pēnis* (*i*-derivative of an *n*-stem) may be closely connected. A further connection with Hitt. *pešš-zi* ‘to rub’ (q.v.) does not seem self-evident to me semantically.

*peššije/a-zi* (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to throw away, to cast, to shove; to abandon; to cast off; to ignore’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-e-mi* (OS), *pé-eš-še-ia-mi* (NH), *pé-iš-ši-ia-mi* (NH), [*pé-eš-ši-ī*]*a-am-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ia-ši* (NH), *pé-iš-ša-at-ti* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-ia-az-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-še-ia-az-zi* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-ši-ia-az-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-iš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-še-ez-zi* (MS), *pé-eš-ši-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-iš-ši-az-zi* (OH/NS?), *pé-eš-ši-e-zi* (MS?), *pé-eš-ši-ia-zi* (MS?), *pé-*

*eš-še-ja-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-zi*, *pé-eš-ši-ja-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-ši-ja-iz-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-ši-az-zi* (NS), *pé-ši-ja-az-zi* (MH/NS), *peš-ši-ja-zi* (NH), *peš-ši-ez-zi* (NH), *pé-eš-ši-ja-i* (MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-u-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-at-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-iš-ši-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), *peš-ši-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 48 (NS)), *pé-eš-še-ja-an-zi* (MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-nu-un* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-iš-ši-ja-at* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-at* (MH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-at* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-ši-at* (NH), *pé-eš-ši-i-e-et* (OH/NS), *pé-e-eš-ši-i-e-et* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-et* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-še-ja-at* (MH/NS), *peš-še-et* (NH), *peš-ši-ja-at* (NH), *pé-še-et* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-u-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *pé-eš-ši-er* (OS), *pé-eš-še-er* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-šer* (NH), *pé-iš-ši-er* (MH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja* (MH/MS), *pé-e-eš-ši-ja* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pé-eš-še-ad-du* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-ad-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-at-te-en* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-te-en* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-tén* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-at-tén* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *pé-e-eš-š[i-ja-an-du]* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-ja-an-du* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-an-du* (NH), *pé-eš-še-ja-an-du* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-še-an-du* (NH); part. *pé-eš-ši-ja-an-t* (NS), *pé-eš-še-an-t*; verb.noun *pé-eš-ši-ja-u-ua-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pé-eš-ši-ja-u-ua-[aš]* (NS), *pé-iš-ši-ja-u-ua-aš*; impf. *pé-iš-ši-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *pé-eš-še-iš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: *peššijanna<sup>i</sup>* / *peššijanni-* (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (impf.3sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-ja-an-ni-eš-ki-iz-zi* (NS)), see *šai<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-*, *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>* and *uššije/a<sup>zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: Skt. *asyati* ‘to throw’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*

See CHD P: 316f. for attestations. Almost all forms can be reconciled with a stem /pešie/a-/. In NS texts we occasionally find a stem *peššijae<sup>zi</sup>*, according to the very productive *h<sub>1</sub>atrae*-class. Together with *uššije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw open (of curtains)’ it clearly forms a pair, showing the preverbs *pe-* and *u-*. There has been some debate whether the original verb stem should be equated with *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to shoot’ or with *šai<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-* ‘to press’ (which, because of their formal similarity have merged early and therefore are treated here under one lemma: *šai<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-*, *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>*), but Kimball (1987b) has convincingly argued that we should assume an original connection with *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>*, which she connects with Skt. *asyati* ‘to throw’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*. This means that *peššije/a<sup>zi</sup>* goes back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*.

Melchert (1994a: 133) and Kimball (1999: 215, 391) cite a HLuwian verb “*pa-si-ya-*” (glossed by Kimball as “reject”), without attestation places, which they regard as the exact correspondant to Hitt. *peššije/a-*. To my knowledge, such a



verb does not exist anywhere in the HLuwian corpus, however (perhaps they have misread the hapax form 3sg.imp.act. *pa-sa-iá-tu-u-* ‘?’ in KAYSERİ §18).

*pešn-*: see \**pešan-* / *pešn-* / *pišen-*

**peda-** (n.) ‘place, location, position, locality’ (Akk. *AŠRU*): nom.-acc.sg. *pé-e-da-an* (MH/MS), *pé-e-da-a(n)=š-me-et* (OS), *pé-e-da(n)=mi-it* (OH/MS), *pé-da-an* (OH or MH/NS), gen.sg. *pé-e-da-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *pé-e-di* (OS), *pé-e-te* (OH/NS), *pé-di* (OH/NS), *pé-te* (MH/NS), abl. *pé-e-da-az* (OH/NS?), *pé-da-az* (OH or MH/NS), *pé-e-da-za* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. *AŠ-Rl<sup>HLA</sup>* (NH), gen.pl. *pé-e-da-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *pé-e-da-aš* (OH?/NS), *pé-da-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: **pedant-** (c.) ‘place’ (voc.sg. *pé-e-ta-an-ti* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pé-e-da-an-ti* (NH)) **pedaššaḫḫ-**<sup>i</sup> (IIB) ‘to place, to install, to deposit’ (3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-da-aš-ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MS? or NS?), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-e-da-aš-ša-aḫ-ḫe-er* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **LOCUS-ta-** (n.) ‘place’ (nom.-acc.sg. *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §23, KARKAMIŠ A31 §7, ADIYAMAN 1 §5, ANCOZ 7 §12, TELL AHMAR 2 §23, HAMA 5 §3), *LOCUS-ta<sub>5</sub>-za* (SULTANHAN §43), *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-zá* (KARKAMIŠ A18e §5), “LOCUS”-*ta<sub>5</sub>-za-*’ (BABYLON 1 §13), *LOCUS-za-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A11a §23, §24)), **LOCUS-tant-** (c.) ‘place’ (dat.-loc.sg. *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §23, KARKAMIŠ A15b §29), *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §9), *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ti-i-*’ (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.1a §i), *LOCUS-ta<sub>5</sub>-ti-i* (BOHÇA §13), “LOCUS”-*ta<sub>5</sub>-ti* (MARAŞ 7 side A), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*LOCUS*]-*ta<sub>1</sub>-ta<sub>5</sub>* (KARKAMIŠ A31 §6), dat.-loc.pl. *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ta-za-*’ (KARATEPE 1 §23 Hu.), “LOCUS<”>-*ta<sub>1</sub>-ta-za* (KARATEPE 1 §23 Ho.)), **LOCUS-tantal(i)-** (c.) ‘precinct’ (acc.sg. *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ta-li-i-na* (MARAŞ 14 §2), abl.-instr. *LOCUS-ta<sub>1</sub>-ta-la-ti-i* (MARAŞ 14 §12)), **LOCUS-tá LOCUS-tá** (adv.) ‘everywhere’ (KARAHÖYÜK §2), <sup>LOCUS</sup>**pītahaliija-** ‘to exile(?)’ (1sg.pret.act. <sup>LOCUS</sup>*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §31)); Lyc. **pddāt-** ‘place’ (loc.sg. *pddāti*, *pddati*(?), *pddēti*(?), gen.adj.dat.sg. *pddātahi*), *pddāti(je)-* (adj.) ‘local(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pddāt[ija]*, abl.-instr. *pd[dātij]edi*), **pdde** (adv.?) ‘in place of, on behalf of(?)’ (*pdde=ñne*), **pddēn-** ‘place, precinct’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pddē*, gen.sg. *pddēneh*(?), dat.-loc.pl. *pddēne*), **pdēχba-** ‘local Hepat’ (nom.sg. *pdēχba*).

IE cognates: Gr. *πέδον* ‘ground, floor’, Skt. *padá-* ‘footstep’, Arm. *het* ‘footprint, track’, ON *fet* ‘footstep’.

PIE \**pédo-*

See CHD P: 330f. for attestations. Already Sturtevant (1933: 79) connected *peda-* with Gr. *πέδον* ‘ground, floor’, which means that we must reconstruct *\*pédom*. The HLUwian word for ‘place’ is always written with the logogram LOCUS, phonetically complemented with the sign *ta*<sub>4</sub> or *ta*<sub>5</sub>. It is quite possible that these signs in fact have to be read /la/ (cf. Hawkins 1995: 114<sup>9</sup>), but this does not invalidate the connection (cf. Luw. *la-* ‘to take’ < *\*deh*<sub>3-</sub>). The exact interpretation of the verb <sup>LOCUS</sup>*pitahaliija-* is unclear. The use of the determinative LOCUS would point to a connection with ‘place’, which could indicate that *pita-* is the pretonic outcome of *\*pedo-*. Nevertheless, the fact that *pitahaliija-* is spelled with the sign *ta*, which contrasts with *ta*<sub>4,5</sub> of LOCUS-*ta*<sub>4,5-</sub>, should make us cautious.

***peda*<sup>i</sup> / *ped-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to take (somewhere), to carry, to transport; to spend (time)’:  
 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-ta-aḥ-hé* (OS), *pé-e-taḥ-hé* (OS), *pé-taḥ-hé* (OS), *pé-e-taḥ-ḥi* (OS), *pé-da-aḥ-ḥi* (MH/MS), *pé-taḥ-ḥi* (OH?/NS?), *pé-e-da-aḥ-ḥi* (OH/NS),  
 2sg.pres.act. *pé-e-da-at-ti* (OS), *pé-e-da-ad-d[i]* (OH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-e-ta-i* (OS), *pé-ta-i* (OS), *pé-e-da-i* (OS), *pé-da-a-i* (OH/NS), *pé-da-i* (MH/MS), *pé-e-da-a-i* (MS), *pé-i-e-da-i* (2x, NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-e-tu-me-ni* (OS), *pé-e-tu-me-e-ni* (OS), *pé-du-me-ni* (OS), *pé-e-tu-mé-ni* (OS), *pé-e-du-mé-ni* (MH/NS), *pé-e-[d]u-um-me-e-ni* (NH), *pé-e-du-um[-me]-ni* (NH), *pé-e-tum-me-e-ni* (OH/NS), *pé-e-tum-me-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-ta-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), *pé-e-ta-at-te-ni* (NS), *pé-e-da-at-te-ni* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-ta-an-zi* (OS), *pé-e-da-an-zi* (OS), *pé-ta-an-zi* (OS), *pé-da-an-zi* (OS), *pé-e-dan<sub>x</sub>-zi* (NH), *pé-dan<sub>x</sub>-zi* (NH),  
 1sg.pret.act. *pé-e-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pé-e-da-aš* (MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-e-ta-aš* (OS), *pé-e-da-aš* (OS), *pé-ta-aš* (OS), *pé-ta-a-aš* (OS), *pé-da-aš* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *pé-e-tu-mé-en* (OS), *pé-e-du-me-en* (MH/MS), *pé-e-tu<sub>r</sub>-um-me-en* (NS), *[p]é-tu<sub>r</sub>-um-me-e[n]* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-e-te-er* (OS? or MS?), *pé-te-er* (NH), *pé-i-te-er* (NH), *pé-e-ti-er* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-e-da* (MH?/MS?), *pé-da* (MH?/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pé-e-da-ú* (OH/NS), *pé-e-da-a-ú* (OH or MH/NS), *pé-da-a-ú* (OH/NS), *pé-e-ta<sub>r</sub>-ú* (2x, OS), *pé-e-da-ad-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-ti-iš-te-en* (OS), *pé-e-da-at-te-en* (MH/NS), *pé-e-da-at-tén* (OH/NS), *pé-e-ta-at[-tén]* (NS), *pé-e-da-at-te-in*, *pé-e-da-tén* (MH/MS?), *pé-da-at-t[én]* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pé-e-ta-an-tu* (OS), *pé-e-da-an-du* (NS), *pé-da-an-du* (MH/MS); part. *pé-e-da-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *pé-e-tum-mar* (NH), gen.sg. *pé-[e]du-um-ma-aš* (NH); inf.I *pé-e-tum-ma-an-zi* (MH/MS?), *pé-tum-ma-an-zi* (NS), *pé-e-du-ma-an-zi* (NH).

Derivatives: ***pipeda-*** ‘to carry out(?)’ (3pl.pres.midd. *pí-pé-e-da-an-ta* (OH or MH?)).

See CHD P: 345f. for attestations. This verb acts as the opposite of *uda<sup>i</sup> / ud-* ‘to bring (here), to bring (over)’, which makes it clear that both verbs are derived from the verb *dā<sup>i</sup> / d-* with the prefixes *pe-* and *u-*. See at the lemmas of *pe-* and *dā<sup>i</sup> / d-* for their respective etymologies. Note that the oldest texts almost consistently spell *peda-/ped-* with a short *-a-* in the strong stem forms, whereas the simplex *dā-/d-* shows long *-ā-* (*petah<sup>h</sup>e* vs. *dā<sup>h</sup>h<sup>e</sup>*, *pedatti* vs. *dātti*, *pedai* vs. *dāi*). This probably shows that the wordaccent was retracted unto the prefix *pe-*. In later texts, the spelling of *dā-/d-* becomes more influential on the spelling of *peda-/ped-*, yielding the spelling *pé-e-da-a-i* (from MS texts onwards). Note that in the plural, *peda-/ped-* preserves more archaic forms than *dā-/d-* (1pl.pret. *pedumen* vs. *dā<sup>u</sup>en*, 3pl.pret. *peter* vs. *dāer*, 2pl.imp. *petišten* vs. *dā<sup>t</sup>ten*), but also in e.g. inf.I *pedumanzi* vs. *dā<sup>u</sup>anzi*.

Melchert (1993b: 175) cites a CLuwian verb *\*padd-/patz(a)-* ‘to carry(?)’, of which only 3sg.imp.act. *pát-za-du* is attested, apparently assuming that this form reflects *\*pe-dh<sub>3</sub>-tu*. Apart from the fact that an interpretation ‘to carry’ seems to be indicated on the basis of an expected etymological connection with Hitt. *peda-/ped-* only, the regular Luwian correspondence to Hitt. *pe-*, which I reconstruct as *\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-*, would not be *pa-*, but rather *pai-* or *pi-*. I therefore reject the claimed connection between CLuw. *pát-za-du* and Hitt. *peda-/ped-*.

The expression *peran ped(d)unaš* has been claimed to be cognate to *peda-/ped-*, but see for a discussion at its own lemma.

The status of the verb *pipeda-* is unclear. Is it really a reduplicated form (which would be unique for a *pe-*-prefixed verb), and why does it show middle inflection? Again it must be noted that a translation ‘to carry’ is largely based on the formal similarity with *peda-/ped-*.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> *pettar / pettan-* ‘wing, feather’: see <sup>UZU</sup> *pattar / pattan-*

*pijanae<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *pejanae<sup>-zi</sup>*

*pijetta-*: see *pitta-*, *pijetta-*

*piha-*, onomastic element, ‘strong(?)’: <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa-aš-du-*, <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa-A.A-*, <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa<sup>d</sup>U-*, <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa-LÚ-*, <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa-ŠEŠ-*, <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ḫa-UR.MAḪ-*.

Derivatives: *pihaim(m)i-* (adj.), epithet of the Storm-god, ‘powerful, strong’ (nom.sg.c. *pi-ḫa-i-mi-iš*, *pi-ḫa-i-mi-i-iš*, *pi-ḫa-im-mi-iš*, *pi-ḫa-im-me-iš*, stem *pi-*

*ḫa-i-mi*), ***piḫam(m)i-*** (adj.), epithet of the Storm-god, ‘powerful, strong’ (nom.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-mi-iš*, *pí-ḫa-am-mi[-iš]*, acc.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-am-mi-in*), ***piḫaššašši-*** (adj.), epithet of the Storm-god, ‘of power, of strength’ (nom.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš*, *pí-ḫa-aš-[š]a-aš-ši-eš*, acc.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in*, *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-ši-in*, *pí-ḫa-ša-ši-ī[n]*, dat.-loc.sg. *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši*, stem *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši*), ***piḫaddašši-*** (adj.), modifies bread and deities (nom.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-ad-da-aš-ši-iš*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. <sup>FULGUR</sup>***pihama/i-*** (adj.) ‘powerful, strong’ (nom.sg.c. <sup>FULGUR</sup>*pi-ha-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §14), *pi-ha-mi-sá* (KÖRKÜN §6), acc.sg. *pi-i-ha-mi-na* (KARKAMIŠ A27o)), ***Pihama/i-***, PN (dat.-loc.sg. *Pi-ha-mi* (ASSUR letter *e* §1)), ***pihas-*** (n.) ‘power, strength’ (nom.-acc.sg. /*pihas=sa*/ “FULGUR”-*há-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §52), broken “FULGUR”-*ha[-...]* (KARKAMIŠ A12 §14)); Lyc. ***Piḫḫma***, PN (gen.sg. *Piḫḫmah*).

PAnat. \**piha-*

The element *piḫa-* is found as the first element in a few personal names and functions as the base of some adjectives. These adjectives are all clearly of Luwian origin, which indicates that *piḫa-* is Luwian originally (it is further absent in Hittite). Nevertheless, the element is not found in CLuwian texts, but does occur in HLuwian texts and a Lycian name. The adj. *piḫaimmi-* and *piḫammi-* are to be equated with HLuw. *pihama/i-* and Lyc. *Piḫḫma*, and reflect a Luw. part. of an unattested verb \**piḫa(i)-*. The adj. *piḫaššašši-* is to be regarded as a Luw. gen.adj. of a stem \**piḫašš-*, which is attested in HLuw. *pihas-*. The adj. *piḫaddašši-* represents a Luw. gen.adj. of a further unattested noun \**piḫatt-*.

The semantics of all these words are difficult to determine. The Hittite adjectives function as epithets of the Storm-god, and could therefore have a wide range of meanings. It has been argued that *piḫaššašši-* is to be equated with the epithet 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲-*ašši-* ‘of lightning’, but KUB 38.12 iii (18) ... <sup>d</sup>U *pí-ḫa-aš-[š]a-aš-ši-eš* (19) <sup>d</sup>U 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲 <sup>d</sup>U *pí-ḫa-i-mi* ... shows that <sup>d</sup>U *piḫaššašši-* and <sup>d</sup>U 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲 are not identical (cf. CHD P: 257: “The last ex. [= KUB 38.12 iii 18-19] shows that <sup>d</sup>U *p.* is not identical w. <sup>d</sup>U 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲(-*ašši-*) despite the appearance of <sup>d</sup>U *p.* in one text (Bronzetafel ii 16) and <sup>d</sup>U 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲 in the par. KBo 4.10 obv. 36, and <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>*p.* in two copies of the Alakšandu treaty w. <sup>d</sup>U 𐎲.𐎲.𐎲 in the third”) and that therefore the translation ‘of lightning’ for *piḫaššašši-* cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, Hawkins (2000: 106) sticks to the basic translation ‘lightning’ for the HLuwian words as well. This is even more pitiful, since the form “FULGUR”-*há-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §52), which is likely to be read /*pihas-sa*/ on the basis of the fact that the determinative FULGUR is used for *pihama/i-* as well (<sup>FULGUR</sup>*pi-ha-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §14)), is the only word that can be securely translated since

it occurs in a bilingual: it corresponds to Phoen. 'z 'power, strength'. I therefore translate HLuw. *pihas-* with 'power, strength', which means that its gen.adj. *\*pihassassa/i-*, which was borrowed into Hitt. *piḫaššašši-* denotes 'of power, of strength'. Since the neuter *s*-stem *pihas-* probably functions as the abstract building of the Luw. verb *\*piha(i)-*, the latter can either mean 'to be powerful, to be strong' or 'to become powerful, to become strong'. I choose for the latter option on the basis of the following context:

KARKAMIŠ A11b

§12: *a-wa/i pa-ia-* 'REGIO-*ni-ia* "VACUUS" *ta-na-tá-ha*

§13: *wa/i-ta-* 'SCALPRUM.CAPERE<sub>2</sub> *u-pa-ni-zi a-tá* "CAPERE" *u-pa-ha*

§14: *a-wa/i pi-i-na-* 'REGIO-*ni-ia-ti* "FULGUR" *pi-ha-mi-sa SUPER+ra/i-* 'PES-*wa/i-i-ha*

'I destroyed these countries and brought in the trophies. And *p*-ed by these countries I came up'.

In my view, 'strengthened' is the better translation here (note that Hawkins (2000: 103) translates 'glorified', which is quite strange for countries to do after they have been destroyed and looted).

The old translation 'lightning' has had its influence on the etymological interpretation as well. The generally accepted etymology seems to be the one of Starke (1990: 103f.) who connects *piha-* with *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to shine' and reconstructs *\*b<sup>h</sup>ēh<sub>2</sub>-o-*. Apart from the unappealing formation, the connection does not make sense anymore semantically. If one wants to assume IE origin, one should rather think of the roots *\*b<sup>h</sup>eiH-* 'to hit, to beat' or *\*peiH-* 'to swell up' (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>).

⌚ *pinta-* (n. or c.) 'oar': Luw.nom.-acc.sg.n. or Luw.acc.pl.c. ⌚ *pi-in-ta-an-za*.

Hapax in KUB 8.50 iii 20. CHD P: 268 translates 'oars', which indeed is possible. The word is clearly Luwian, as can be seen by the Luwian inflection as well as the use of the gloss wedge. Weeks (1985: 161) connected the word with *\*bend-* 'vorspringende Spitze' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 96-7), but this is formally impossible, as *\*bend-* should have given Luw. *\*\*pant-*. Moreover, semantically the connection is not very satisfying. No further etymology.

*pippa<sup>i</sup> / pipp-* (IIa1γ) 'to knock down/apart/off, to tear down, to overturn, to destroy; to turn up, to throw up': 3sg.pres.act. *pi-ip-pa-i* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pi-ip-pa-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *pi-ip-pa-ah-hu-un* (MH?/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pi-ip-pa-aš* (OH/MS), *pi-ip-pa-a-aš* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pi-ip-pé-er*

(MH/MS?), 3pl.imp.act. *pí-ip-pa-an-du* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pí-ip-pa-at-ta-ri* (NS); part. *pí-ip-pa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *pí-ip-pu-u-ua-ar* (NH), *pí-ip-pu-ua-ar* (NH); inf.I *pí-ip-pa-ua-an-zi* (late MH/MS); impf. *pí-ip-pí-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pí-ip-pí-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *pí-ip-pa-aš-ke/a-*, [*pí-ip-p*]a-a-aš-ke/a-.

IE cognates: ?Skt. *ut pipīte* ‘he rises’.

PIE *\*pi-poh<sub>1/3</sub>-ei*, *\*pi-ph<sub>1/3</sub>-enti* ?

See CHD P: 269f. for attestations. The verb is consistently spelled BI-IB-, which can be read *pí-ip-* as well as *pé-ep-* (or even *pí-ep-*). The traditional transliteration is *pippa<sup>i</sup>* / *pipp-*, however. All forms show a spelling with geminate *-pp-*. The only exception seems to be a 2sg.pres.act.-form  $\sphericalangle$  *pí-pa-at-ti* (HKM 17 l. edge 6), which is cited thus by Alp (1991: 146) and CHD. When we look into the handcopy of the tablet, we see that the sign that is read as PA actually resembles GAD more, however, which would yield a reading *u-pí-kat-at-ti* or  $\sphericalangle$  *pí-kat-at-ti* (which does not yield a better understandable word, I must admit). The combination of the facts that this form would be the only one to show single *-p-*, that it would be the only one to be preceded by a gloss wedge, that the reading PA is uncertain and that a translation ‘to overturn’ is not obligatory in the context, makes me leave this form out of consideration here.

The verb clearly belongs to the *tarn(a)*-class. The verbs that belong to this class go back to (reduplicated) roots that end in a laryngeal (cf. e.g. *mimma<sup>i</sup>* / *mimm-* ‘to refuse’). In this case, it means that we are dealing with a structure *\*Pi-PoH-*, *\*Pi-PH-* (or *\*Pe-PoH-*, *\*Pe-PH-*, if we decide to read the verb as *peppa<sup>i</sup>* / *pepp-*). Often this verb is etymologically connected with Skt. *ut pipīte* ‘he rises’, but this is semantically not self-evident. For the time being, it is the best proposal, however, because Skt. *pipīte* seems to reflect a root *\*peH-*, which would explain *pippa-/pipp-* as well: *\*pi-póh<sub>1/3</sub>-ei*, *\*pi-ph<sub>1/3</sub>-énti* (or *\*pe-poh<sub>1/3</sub>-ei*, *\*pe-ph<sub>1/3</sub>-enti*).

*pippeššar*: see *peppieššar*

*pirešhannaš*: see *parzaḥannaš*

*pirnu<sup>z</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to embezzle(?)’: 1sg.pret.act. *pí-ir-nu-nu-un* (NH).

Hapax in KUB 13.35 i 14: see CHD P: 313 for a treatment of its context and possible translation. CHD suggests that it could be a hearing mistake for *mernu<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to make disappear’ (note that BI-IR-*nu-* can be read *pé-er-nu-* as well). Luraghi (1992: 159, 174) takes the verb as a denominative of *per* / *parn-* ‘house’ (q.v.),

however, suggesting that it originally means something like ‘to take to one’s own house’. Such a derivation process would be unique, however. Further unclear.

**piršaḡannaš, pirzaḡannaš:** see *parzaḡannaš*

**pišen-:** see *\*pešan-* / *pešn-* / *pišen-*

**pitta-, piḡetta-** (n., pl. tantum?) ‘allotment’: nom.-acc.pl. *pí-it-ta* (MH/NS), *pí-id-da* (NH), *pí-i-e-et-ta* (NH), *pí-e-et-ta* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *pí-it-ta-a-aš* (NH), abl. *pí-e-ed-da-za*.

Derivatives: **pittaurija-** ‘(man of the) great-allotment’ (gen.sg. *pí-it-ta-ú-ri-ia-aš* (NH), *pí-it-ta-ú-ri-ia-aš* (NH)), see *pittae-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: Lyc. **pijata-** ‘gift’ (nom.sg. *pijata*, acc.sg. *pijatu*).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-teh<sub>2</sub>-* > “*\*h<sub>1</sub>p-je-teh<sub>2</sub>-*”

See CHD P: 262f. for attestations. This word is spelled in a few different ways, *BI-IT-ta*, *BI-e-IT-ta* and *BI-i-e-IT-ta*. Since all spellings are from NS texts, it is not possible to order these spellings chronologically. The one spelling *BI-i-e-IT-ta* clearly has to be read *pí-i-e-et-ta* = /pieta-/. This makes it possible that the forms that are spelled *BI-IT-ta* have to be read *pí-et-ta* = /pietta-/ as well (but see below for the possibility that these are to be read as *pí-it-ta* = /pita-/ anyway). In Lycian, we find a noun *pijata-* ‘gift’ which is likely to be the exact correspondent to Hitt. *piḡetta-*. The fact that in Lycian we find an *a*-stem is important as it shows that we have to reconstruct an *\*eh<sub>2</sub>*-stem.

The stem of the words clearly has to do with the verbs Hitt. *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* and Lyc. *pije-* ‘to give’, but details are uncertain: it depends on one’s reconstruction of *pai-/pi-*. For instance, Rieken (1999a: 251-4) reconstructs *pai-/pi-* as *\*pe-h<sub>2</sub>ei-* and has many problems in explaining why the intervocalic *\*h<sub>2</sub>* does not show up in the verb nor in *piḡetta-*, which she regards as a derivative in *\*-teh<sub>2</sub>-* of *\*pe-h<sub>2</sub>ei-*.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.a (see also under the lemma *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-*), I assume that *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’ reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-oi-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-*, and that Lyc. *pije-* shows a secondary thematization of it, *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-je/o-*. Such a thematicized stem occurs in Hittite as well, namely in the NH period, where we find forms that show a stem *piḡe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. I would therefore reconstruct *piḡetta-* and Lyc. *pijata-* as *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-je-teh<sub>2</sub>-* (note that in Lycian we have to assume *a*-umlaut from older *\*pijeta-*).

This analysis opens up the way to assume that *piḡetta-*, derived from the stem *piḡe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, is a NH innovation and that the original word was derived from the stem

*pi-*, and that this word therefore was *pitta-* < \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-teh<sub>2</sub>-* (compare OH *šittarije/a-* > NH *šijattarije/a-* for a similar replacement of the stem *ši-* by the NH stem *šije/a-*).

All in all, I think that the attestations BI-IT-*ta-* must be read *pí-it-ta-* that stands for /*pita-*/ which reflects \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-teh<sub>2</sub>-*, whereas the attestations BI-e-IT-*ta-* = *pí-e-et-ta-* and BI-i-e-IT-*ta-* = *pí-i-e-et-ta-* stand for /*pieta-*/ that reflect virtual \**h<sub>1</sub>p-ie-teh<sub>2</sub>-*, with the introduction of the NH stem *pije/a-* instead of the old stem *pi-* < \**h<sub>1</sub>p-i-*.

The derivative *pittaurija-* is possibly made up of *pitta-* and the onomastic element *ura/i-* ‘great’, cf. Tischler HEG P: 601.

Note that acc.pl.c.(!) *pí-e-te-eš=ua* (KUB 5.24 ii 9) as cited by Rieken (1999a: 251) is explained by CHD P: 365 as a scribal error for *pé-e-te-e=š-ši<sup>i</sup>* ‘to his place’.

***pittae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to bring, to carry; to render, to pay’: 2sg.pres.act. *píd-da-a-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *pí-it-ta-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *píd-da-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *píd-da-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. [*pí*]d-da-u-e-ni (NS?), 2pl.pres.act. *pí-it-ta-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *píd-da-a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *píd-da-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *píd-da-a-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *píd-da-a-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *píd-da-a-i* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *píd-da-a-at-te-en* (MH/MS), [*pí*]i-it-ta-at-tén (OH/NS), *píd-da-at-te-n=a* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *píd-da-a-an-du* (NS), *píd-da-an-du*; part. *píd-da-a-an-t* (OH/NS); impf. *píd-da-a-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *píd-da-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***piddanna-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***piddanni-*** (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (3sg.pret.act. *píd-da-an-ni-iš* (OH/NS), sup. *píd-da-a-an-ni-ya-an* (MH/MS)).

PAnat. \**pita-je/a-*

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See CHD P: 355f. for attestations. The verb is often spelled with an initial sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít*. In Akkadian, this sign often has the value *pè* as well, but to my knowledge, such a value is never used in Hittite. Nevertheless, in the older literature, it has been argued that in this verb we should read BAD as *pè*, and the verb consequently as *pè-da-*, because of the formally and semantically similar verb *peda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ped-* ‘to bring, to carry’ (q.v.). This has been falsified, however, by the few attestations of this verb that are spelled with initial *pí-it-*. On the basis of the spellings with *pí-it-*, the attestations with BAD have to be read *pít-*. Because of the unambiguous reading *pittae-<sup>zi</sup>*, the supposed connection with *peda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ped-* cannot be upheld anymore either.



This verb follows the *ḥatrae*-inflection, which means that it is likely derived from a noun *\*pitta-*. An indication for the identification of this noun is the fact that *pittae-* not only means ‘to carry, to bring; to render, to pay’ (as given in CHD P: 355, lemma *pid-dai-* B), but also ‘to make a *pitta*-allotment’ (this meaning is treated in CHD P: 358 as a separate entry, *pid-dai-* C), which seems to point to a connection with *pitta-*, *pijetta-* ‘allotment’ (q.v. for etymology). Although this indeed is attractive, it must be noted that *pitta-*, *pijetta-* is reconstructed with *\*-teh<sub>2</sub>-* on the basis of Lyc. *pijata-*, whereas *pittae-* seems to be built on an *o*-stem noun (virtual *\*pito-īé/ó-*). This means that the derivative was formed after the merger of word-final unaccentuated *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-* and *\*-o-* into Hitt. *-a-* (*\*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-teh<sub>2</sub>-* > *\*pita-*, of which *\*pita-īé/á-* > *pittae-*).

***pittai-<sup>i</sup> / pitti-*** ‘to run; to flee’, see *pattai-<sup>i</sup> / patti-*

***pittalae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to abandon, to discard’: 2sg.pres.act. *pid-da-la-ši* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pid-da-la-an-z[i]* (NH), *pi-it-ta-la-an-zi* (NH), *pít-ta-la-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pid-da-la-it* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pi-it-ta-la-a-er* (NH); impf. *pi-it-ta-li-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

See CHD P: 358 for attestations. Although many forms of this verb are written with the sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít*, spellings with initial *pi-it-* show that we have to read *pít-* here. The verb denotes ‘to abandon, to leave behind; to disregard’. It is inflected according to the *ḥatrae*-class, which means that it is a derivative of a further unattested noun *\*pittala-*. Within Hittite, it is likely that the adj. *pittalua-* ‘plain (said of food products)’ (q.v.) is cognate, if we assume an original meaning ‘untouched, left alone’. This would mean that the basic stem is *\*pittal-*, for which I know no convincing etymology.

Puhvel (1979a: 214), followed by Rieken 1999a: 254) analyses *\*pittala-* as a denominative agent noun *\*pitt-ala-* of which the first part is identical with *pitta-*, *pijetta-* ‘allotment’ (q.v.), assuming an unlikely semantic development *\*pittala-* ‘grantor, consigner’ > *pittalae-* ‘to act as a consigner, to despatch, to let go’.

Kronasser (1966: 482) suggested a connection with *pattai-<sup>i</sup> / patti-* ‘to run; to flee’ (which he read as *pittai-*), but this assumption is primarily based on his false assumption that *pittalae-* originally meant ‘laufen lassen’.

***pittalua-*** (adj.) ‘plain, simple, unadultered’: nom.sg.c. *pít-tal-ua-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *pít-tal-ua-an* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *pít-tal-ua-an* (OH?/MS), *pít-tal-ú-an* (MH), acc.pl.c. *pít-tal-ú-iš<sup>?</sup>*.

Derivatives: **pittal̥uant-** (adj.) ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. *pít-tal-̥ua-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *pít-tal-̥ua-an-da-a[n]* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *pít-tal-̥ua-ti* (NS), nom.pl.c. *pít-tal-̥ua-an-te-eš* (NS); case? *pít-tal-̥ua-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), **pittal̥uan-** (adj.) ‘id.’ (instr. *pít-tal-̥ua-ni-it* (MH/MS)).

See CHD P: 358f. for attestations. We find three stems that semantically seem to be identical: *pittal̥ua-*, *pittal̥uant-* and *pittal̥uan-* (although the last one is based on instr. *pittal̥uanit* only). All attestations are spelled with the sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít*. On the basis of a likely etymological connection with *pittalae*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to abandon, to disregard’ (which sometimes is spelled *pí-it-*), I cite this word with *pít-* as well. The adjective is used with bread, oil, stew, meat and other materials and indicates that these food products are plain in the sense that they have not been further processed. The connection between *pittalae-* and *pittal̥ua(nt)-*, which was made by Laroche (1960: 126) is semantically likely if we assume that *pittal̥ua(nt)-* originally meant that the food products it modifies were ‘untouched’, i.e. ‘left alone’. This means that we are dealing with a stem *pittal-*, of which I know no compelling etymology.

Puhvel (1979a: 210f.) unconvincingly connects *pittal̥ua-* with the root *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to spread out’ and assumes *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-l(u)o-* ‘spread thin’, which he connects with Lat. *petilus* ‘thin, slender, meager’.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> **pittar / pittan-** ‘wing, feather’: see <sup>(UZU)</sup> *pattar / pattan-*

<sup>(síG)</sup> **pittula-** (c.) ‘loop, knot’: nom.sg. *pít-tu-la-aš* (OH/MS), *pít-tu-u-la-aš* (MH/MS), *píd-du-la-aš* (NH), *píd-du-u-la-a[š]*, acc.sg. *pít-tu-la-an* (MS? or NS?), *píd-du-la-a[n]*, gen.sg. *pít-tu-la-aš* (NH), instr. *pít-tu-u-li-it* (NS), *píd-du-li-it* (NS), acc.pl. *pít-tu-u-lu-uš*, *pít-tu-lu-uš*.

Derivatives: **pít(t)uli̥ja-** (c.) ‘anguish, worry, constriction, tightness, tension’ (nom.sg. *pít-tu-li-̥ja-aš* (OH/MS), [*píd-*] *du-li-̥ja-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pít-tu-li-̥ja-an* (OH/MS), *pít-tu-li-̥ja-an* (OH/NS), *píd-du-li-an* (NH), gen.sg. *pít-tu-li-̥ja-aš* (OH or MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *píd-du-li-̥ja-i* (OH or MH/MS), abl. *píd-du-li-̥ja-az*, acc.pl. *pít-tu-li-uš* (OS)), **pittuli̥je/a**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to be anxious, to worry’ (3pl.pres.act. [*pít-*] *tu-li-̥ja-an-zi*, 3pl.pret.act. *pít<sup>l</sup>-tu-li-e-er* (MH/NS); verb.noun *pít-tu-li-̥ja-u-̥a-ar*; impf. *pít-tu-li-iš-ke/a-* (OH or MH/MS), [*píd-d*] *u-li-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), **pittuli̥jiant-** (adj.) ‘worried, fearful, intimidated’ (nom.sg.c. *p[ít-]tu-li-̥ja-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *pít-tu-li-̥ja-an-da-an* (OH/MS)), **pittuli̥jau̥uant-** (adj.) ‘restrained, reluctant’ (nom.sg.c. *píd-du-li-̥ja-u-̥a-an-za* (NH)).

See CHD P: 365f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations of the words treated here are spelled with the sign BAD, which can be read *pát* as well as *pít*. In the KIN oracle KBo 18.151 (OH/MS) we twice find a lot *pí-tu-li-ja-an* (rev. 10, 11), on the basis of which the words that have BAD-*tu-l°* are read *pít-tu-l°*. Note that it cannot be excluded, however, that these lots, which are concrete objects that represent abstract notions of which it often is not easy to determine their meaning, have nothing to do with *pít-tu-li-ja-* ‘anguish’. If that is the case, we have no other positive evidence in favour of reading the sign BAD as *pít*.

The meanings ‘loop, knot’ (for <sup>(SÍG)</sup>*pittula-*) and ‘anguish, worry’ (for *pittuliia-* and derivatives) seem to be connected by the notion ‘choking, strangling’, but I have not been able to find a formally fitting cognate with such a meaning.

According to Rieken (1999a: 471-2) we have to start from a stem *pittul-* which she analyses as an *-ul-*derivative of the root *\*peth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to spread out’, assuming a semantic development ‘\*ausbreiten’ > ‘\*Arme ausbreiten’ > ‘\*umfassen’ > ‘umschlingen’. This development does not seem very appealing to me, however.

**pukk-**<sup>(t)u(ri)</sup> (IIIc/d) ‘to be hateful, to be repulsive, to be unpleasant’: 3sg.imp.midd. *pu-ug-ga-ru* (NH), *pu-ug-ga-ta-ru* (NH), *pu-uk-ta-r[u]* (NH).

Derivatives: **pukkant-** ‘hated, hateful, repulsive’ (nom.sg.c. *pu-uk-kán-za* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-uk-kán* (NH)), **pukkanu-**<sup>zi</sup>, **pukkunu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to cause (someone) to be hated, to create dissension’ (3sg.prs.act. *pu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-zi* (NH), 2pl.prs.act. [*p*]u-ug-ga-nu-ut-te-ni (MH?/NS); part. *pu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-ua-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *pu-uk-ku-nu-mar* (NS), gen.sg. *pu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-ma-aš* (NS); impf. [*pu-*]uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-uš-ke/a- (MH/NS)).

See CHD P: 372f. for attestations. The verbal forms *puggaru*, *puggataru* and *puktaru* are all duplicates of each other. The situation is similar to the case of *šupp-*<sup>(t)ari</sup> ‘to sleep’, which has the middle forms *šuppari*, *šuptari* and *šuppatta*. On the basis of the form *puktaru* I cite this verb as *pukk-*<sup>(t)ari</sup>. The spelling *pukkanu-* probably is just used to indicate the fact that *-kk-* is geminate.

See Tischler (HEG P: 641f.) for the different etymological proposals, which I all find improbable: connections with *\*b<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to bend, to flee’, with Skt. *pīyati* ‘to stink’, with Lith. *piktas* ‘bad, evil’ and with Goth. *fauho* ‘fox’ either have to wrong semantics or the wrong form (*-kk-* must reflect *\*-k-*).

**puntarije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to be obstinate(?), to be stubborn(?)’: 3sg.prs.act. *pu-un-tar-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (NH), verb.noun *pu-un-tar-ja-u-ua-ar*, *pu-un-ta-ri-ja[-u-ua-ar]*.

Derivatives: *puntarrijali-* (adj.) ‘stubborn(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *pu-un-tar-ri-ja-li-iš* (NS)).

See CHD P: 377. The translation is based on KUB 24.7 ii (18) ANŠE-*aš=ma=za* GIM-*an pu-un-tar-ri-ja-li-iš zi[-ik]* (19) MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-iš* ‘You are *p.* as an ass, queen Ištar’, which is supported by KUB 3.99 ii (12) ANŠE-*aš pu-un-ta-ri-ja[-u-ya-ar]* ‘the *p.* of an ass’. The meaning ‘stubborn(ness)’ seems to fit these contexts. Formally, the verb resembles *gimmantarije/a<sup>zi</sup>* e.a. No further etymology.

*punušš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1) ‘to ask, to question, to consult; to investigate’ (Sum. ÈN.TAR): 1sg.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-mi* (MH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-ši* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-zi* (MH/MS), OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-te-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *pu-ú-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* (OS), *pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pu-nu-uš-šu-un* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pu-nu-uš-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pu-u-nu-uš-ta* (MH?/MS?), *pu-nu-uš-ta* (MH?/MS?), 1pl.pret.act. *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en* (NH), *pu-u-nu-uš-šu-u-en* (NH), *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-en* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-šer* (OH/NS), *pu-nu-uš-še-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pu-nu-uš* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pu-nu-uš-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. [*pu-]ú-nu-uš-tén* (OH/NS), *pu-nu-uš-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *pu-nu-uš-ša-an-du* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *pu-nu-uš-ta-ri* (MH/MS); verb.noun *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-ya-ar* (NH); inf.I *pu-nu-uš-šu-ya-an-zi* (NS), *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pu-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OS).

IE cognates: ??Gr. πέπνυμαι ‘to be smart’.

PIE *\*pneuH-s-??*

See CHD P: 377f. for attestations. All attestations show a stem *punušš-*, the first *u* of which sometimes is spelled plene. In the oldest texts we find plene spelling with the sign Ú, whereas in younger texts we find the sign U. This points to an inner-Hittite development of OH /punuS-/ to NH /ponuS-/ (see also § 1.3.9.4.f). Because of the disyllabic stem, it is not easy to explain *punušš-* as of IE origin. Usually, however, scholars interpret the verb as /pnuss-/, regarding the first /u/ or /o/ as a silent vowel. If that were the case, we would expect a spelling *\*\*pa-nu-uš-* (like e.g. *pa-ra-a* = /prā/). It must be noted, however, that there are no examples of PIE *\*PnV-* > Hitt. /PnV-/, spelled *pa-nV-*. So perhaps an initial sequence *\*Pnu-* regularly received an anaptyctic vowel between *P* and *n*, yielding /punu-/ > /ponu-/ (compare e.g. *\*Tri-* that yielded Hitt. *Teri-*, whereas e.g. *\*trenti* yielded Hitt. /trant<sup>s</sup>i/ *ta-ra-an-zi* ‘they speak’, cf. *ter-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tar-*, *tē-<sup>zi</sup>*).

Two etymologies have been proposed. Sturtevant (1933: 229) connected *punušš-* with Gr. πνέω ‘to breathe’ (\**pneu-*), but this seems semantically quite far to me. The further connection with Gr. πέπνυμαι ‘to be smart’ may have more merit if we assume that Hitt. *punušš-* reflects some sort of desiderative ‘to want to be smart > to ask’. It must be noted, however, that other Hittite *s*-extensions (*gane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ānš-<sup>i</sup>*, *kallišš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kališš-*, etc.) do not show desiderative semantics. Moreover, the IE origin of the Greek word is in doubt because of forms like πνύσκω ‘to make prudent’ and πινυτός ‘smart’ (an alternation πνυ-, πινυ- can only be explained if we assume substratum origin). If we do chose to equate Gr. πέπνυμαι with Hitt. *punušš-*, however, we would have to reconstruct \**pneuH-s-*.

**purutt-** (n.) ‘soil, mud, earth; mud plaster’: nom.-acc.sg. *pu-ru-ut* (MH/NS), *pu-u-ru-ut* (MH/MS or NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pu-ru-ut-ti* (MH/NS), abl. *pu-ru-ut-ta-az* (NH), *pu-ru-ud-da-za*, instr. *pu-ru-ut-ti-it* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **puruttae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to cover with mud’ (3pl.pres.act. *pu-ru-ud-da-an-zi* (NS), *pu-u-ru-u[d-da-an-zi]* (NS), inf.I *pu-ru-ut-ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi* or *pu-ru-ut ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi* (thus Rieken 1991: 161) (MH/NS)), **purutteššar** / **puruttešn-** (n.) ‘mudbrick’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*p*]u-ru-ut-te-e[š-šar?], dat.-loc.sg. *pu-ru-ut-ti-eš-ni* (MH/NS)).

IE cognates: ?Gr. φύρω ‘to mix’.

PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>ur-u-t-* ?

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See CHD P: 395f. for attestations. Puhvel (1994: 255) connected this word with Gr. φύρω ‘to mix’ (< \*φϋρ-ιω?) because ‘mud’ is a mixture of water and clay. Rieken (1999a: 160f.) follows Puhvel and reconstructs \**b<sup>h</sup>ur-u-t-*. Although in principle this is possible, the reconstruction does not seem self-evident to me.

**pūš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib1) ‘to be eclipsed(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *pu-u-uš-zi* (OH/MS?), *pu-uš-za* (OH/MS?), *pu-uš-zi* (OH/NS).

PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>u-s-*?

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See CHD P: 398 for attestations. The verb has the moon or the sun as its subject. Oettinger (1979a: 215) translates ‘klein werden(?), sich verfinstern(?)’ on the basis of an etymological connection with PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>eu-* ‘little’ (Lat. *paucus*, Gr. παῦρος ‘small, little’), which is followed by CHD (‘to be eclipsed’). Another verb that is used for eclipsing is *āk-<sup>i</sup>* / *akk-* ‘to die’. Perhaps the latter is used when a total eclipse occurs, whereas *pūš-* denotes a partial eclipse. The manifold plene spellings with the sign U point to a phonological form /pos-/.

The etymological connection with *\*ph<sub>2</sub>eu-* is formally not totally satisfying. We would expect that a preform *\*ph<sub>2</sub>eu-s-ti* would yield *\*\*paušzi*. Perhaps, the zero-grade of the plural was generalized. We then have to assume that *\*h<sub>2</sub>*, despite the fact that it was regularly lost at one point, had a lowering effect on *\*u* (for which see § 1.3.9.4.f), so *\*ph<sub>2</sub>u-s-énti* > /posánt<sup>s</sup>i/.

<sup>(sÍG)</sup>*pūttar* (n.) a hairy part of an animal's body: nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-u-ut-tar* (NH), broken *pu-ú-u[t-...]* (NH).

See CHD P: 402 for attestations. The context in which this word is found indicates that it denotes a body part of an animal. The use of the determinative SÍG 'wool' probably indicates that this body part is hairy. Rieken (1999a: 377) proposes to connect the word with Skt. *pula-* 'erection or bristling of the hair of the body', Gr. (Hes.) *πύλλιγες* 'hair at the back, locks' and Mlr. *ul* 'beard' and reconstructs *\*péu-tŕ*, *\*pu-tén-* under the assumption that unlenited *-t-* generalized throughout the paradigm. In my view, this etymologizing is a bit too speculative.

*putkije/a-*<sup>uu(ri)</sup> (IIIg) 'to swell (said of fermented dough and of a tumor or boil on the head)': 3sg.pres.midd. *pu-ut-ki-i-e-et-ta* (MH/NS); impf. *pu-ut-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

See CHD P: 402-3 for attestations. This verb is likely to be analysed as *putk-je/a-*, in which the cluster *-tk-* is remarkable (but cf. *h<sub>2</sub>atk-* 'to shut' and *u<sub>2</sub>atku-* 'to jump'). Tischler (HEG P: 677) therefore states that one should keep in mind that a Hittite cluster *-tk-* reflects PIE *\*-Kp-*, for which he gives *h<sub>2</sub>artagga-* 'bear' < *\*h<sub>2</sub>rkp<sub>o</sub>-* as an example. To my mind, the PIE mother language did not have a phoneme *\*p*, however (*h<sub>2</sub>artagga-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>rtk<sub>o</sub>-*). Therefore, Carruba's reconstruction *\*p(e)ug-t-* (1974: 152) cannot convince me. Other proposed cognates (e.g. Lith. *pūsti* 'to swell') are unconvincing either. No further etymology.

*pūu<sub>2</sub>ae-*<sup>z</sup> (Ic2) 'to pound, to grind': 3sg.pres.act. *pu-u-ua-iz-zi* (NS), *pu-u-ua-a-iz-zi* (NH), Luw.3sg.pres.act. *pu-u-ua-ti*.

Derivatives: *pupulli-* 'ruin(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *pu-p[u-u]l-li* (OH/NS)), *puppušša-*<sup>uu(ri)</sup> (IIIh) 'to be pounded, to be ground(?)' (3sg.pres.midd. *pu-up-pu-uš-ša-ta-ri* (NH)), (4) *puššae-*<sup>z</sup> (Ic2) 'to chop up, to crush' (1sg.pres.act. *pu-uš-š<sub>2</sub>a-m[i]* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. (4) *pu-uš-š<sub>2</sub>a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pu-uš-š<sub>2</sub>a-a-et* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *pu-uš-š<sub>2</sub>a-ed-du* (MH/MS), part.? *pu-uš-š<sub>2</sub>a-a-a[n]*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **pūya-** ‘to pound, to crush’ (3sg.pres.act. *pu-ya-a-ti*, *pu-ya-ti*, 3pl.imp.act. *pu-u-ya-an-du*, *pu-ya-an-du*).

IE cognates: Lat. *pavīre* ‘to beat’, Gr. *παίω* ‘to strike, to smite’.

PIE \**ph<sub>2</sub>u-*

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See CHD P: 368f. for attestations. The verb occurs in CLuwian as well as in Hittite, but one of the forms in Hittite context has a Luwian ending, which may indicate that the verb originally was Luwian (*puṽā-*), and that it was borrowed in NH times into Hittite, where it was brought into the *ḫatrae*-class. The derivatives *puppušša-<sup>ttari</sup>* and *puššae-<sup>zi</sup>* (occasionally attested with gloss wedges) show the Luwian imperfective-suffix *-šša-*.

Since Neumann (1967: 32) this verb is generally connected with Lat. *pavīre* ‘to beat’ and Gr. *παίω* ‘to strike, to smite’. These latter verbs are often reconstructed as \**ph<sub>2</sub>u-* (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 256; Van de Laar 2000: 238; note that LIV<sup>2</sup> regards them as *-u*-presents of a root \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘schlagen’, but the evidence of a root \**pieh<sub>2</sub>-* is rather limited: Gr. *πτάω* ‘to stumble’ is semantically far and TochB *pyāk-* ‘to strike’ is connected with \**b<sup>h</sup>eiH-* ‘to beat’ by Adams 1999: 408). I therefore assume that \**ph<sub>2</sub>u-je/o-* > CLuw. *pūya-*, which was borrowed into Hitt. as *pūyae-*. For possible derivatives, see <sup>TUG</sup>*puṽalia-*, <sup>TUG</sup>*puššaimi-* and *puššali-*.

It has been proposed that HLuw. *pupula/i-* ‘to inscribe’ is cognate, but Hawkins (2000: 542) now suggests that *pupula/i-* may rather mean ‘to answer (vel sim.)’ because of the use of the determinative LOQUI. For Lyc. (*p*)*puwe-* a translation ‘to inscribe’ has been proposed on the basis of which an etymological connection with *pūya-* is assumed. This translation seems especially based on the supposed connection, however, and therefore does not have much merit.

<sup>TUG</sup>**puṽaliṽa-** (n.) a garment for the leg or foot?: Luw.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-ya-li-an-za*, Hitt.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-ya-li-ṽa* (NH).

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See CHD P: 369 for attestations and a semantic discussion. The fact that we find a Luwian inflected form as well may indicate that this word originally is Luwian. Semantically, it seems to resemble <sup>TUG</sup>*puššaimi-* (a kind of garment or cloth) and *puššali-* (a leg or foot garment). The alteration between *puya<sup>o</sup>* and *pušša(i)<sup>o</sup>* is reminiscent of the CLuw. verb *pūya-* ‘to pound’ and its impf. *pušša-* (see at *pūyae-<sup>zi</sup>*). This may indicate that these words are derived from this verb. See there for etymology.

**puṽatti-** (c.) ‘madder(?)’, ‘(dying) powder(?)’: nom.sg. *pu-ya-at-ti-ṽš* (NH).

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The word is hapax in the vocabulary KBo 1.42 iv 46, where Hitt. *puḫattiš* glosses Sum. ŠE.BE.DA and Akk. *ŠI-IN-DU*. As CHD P: 369f. states, the Akk. word may denote *šindu* ‘mark, paint’, but the Sum. word is further unknown. A translation ‘dyer’s madder’, as given in CHD, is prompted on the basis of a resemblance with Ugar. *pwt* and Arab. *fuwwatu* ‘madder’, but this could be coincidental, of course. Tischler (HEG P: 679) suggests a tie-in with the verb *pūḫae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pound, to crush’ (q.v.), assuming that the word means ‘(dying) powder’.



## Š

-š (nom.sg.c.-ending)

PIE \*-s

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The Hittite nom.sg.c.-ending -š of course directly reflects the PIE ending \*-s. For the pre-Hittite process of sigmatization of originally asigmatic nom.sg.c.-words, see Weitenberg 1995.

-š (gen.sg.-ending): see -aš

-š (2sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

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This ending is attested in verbs that end in a vowel only: *te-e-eš* ‘you stated’ (MH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-eš* ‘you brought’, verbs in *-nu-* (e.g. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-uš* (OS), *ša-al-la-nu-uš* (OS)), *ḫatrae*-class verbs (e.g. *ḫa-at-ra-a-eš*, *ḫa-at-ra-a-iš*), *-i/a-*verbs (*i-e-eš*, *ú-ya-aš*), *-ške/a-*verbs (*da-aš-ke-eš*). In verbs that end in a consonant all the evidence shows that the *mi*-ending -š has been replaced by the corresponding *ḫi*-ending *-tta* in the oldest texts already: *e-ep-ta* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ap-ta* (MS), *me-er-ta* (OH/MS). Unfortunately no 2sg.pret.act.-forms of verbs in consonants are attested in OS texts. An occasional form like *pa-it-ta* ‘you went’ (OH/NS) shows that in NH times the replacement of -š by *-tta* is starting to take place in verbs that end in a vowel as well. Moreover, there is evidence that in NH times the function of the 2sg.-forms are taken over by the 3sg.-form (e.g. *i-ia-at* ‘you made’, *pé-e-ḫu-te-et* ‘you brought’, *šu-ul-le-e-et* ‘you bragged’, *ú-ya-te-et* ‘you brought’, *zi-in-ni-it* ‘you finished’). Occasionally, we find *ḫi*-verbs in which the 2sg.pret.act.-ending is -š instead of expected *-tta* (e.g. *pé-e-da-aš* ‘you

carried’, *ša-ak-ki-iš* ‘you knew’, *ša-an-na-aš* ‘you concealed’, *u-un-ni-eš* ‘you carried (here)’, *ú-da-aš* ‘you brought (here)’). Since these are all of NS texts, they must in my view not be regarded as cases in which the original *hi*-ending *-tta* is replaced by the *mi*-ending *-š*, but rather as formal 3sg.pret.act.-forms with the *hi*-ending *-š* that are used in the function of 2sg.pret.act.

The etymology of the 2sg.pret.act.-ending *-š* of the *mi*-conjugation is clear: it must reflect *\*-s* that goes back to the PIE secondary 2sg.-ending *\*-s*.

#### -š (3sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection)

This ending belongs to the *hi*-conjugation and contrasts with the functionally equal *mi*-conjugation ending *-t / -tta* (q.v.). This ending is quite remarkable because whereas almost all other endings of the preterite are etymologically connected with their corresponding present ending in the sense that the present ending is identical to the preterite ending with an element *-i* attached to it (*-mi ~ -un* (< *\*-m*), *-ši ~ -š*, *-zi* (< *\*-ti*) *~ -t*; *-h̄he ~ -h̄hun* (<< *\*-h̄ha*), *-tti* (< *\*-tte*) *~ -tta*; *-uēni ~ -uēn*, *-tteni ~ -tten*), the ending *-š* is formally totally different from its corresponding 3sg.pres.act.-ending *-e* < *\*-e-i*. On the basis of the parallelism mentioned, we would a priori expect an ending *\*-e* in this form (which would then correspond to the PIE 3sg.perf.-ending *\*-e*). Yet in a preform *\*CÓC-e*, this ending would regularly disappear (loss of word-final *\*-e* as e.g. in *\*tok<sup>w</sup>e > takku /tak<sup>w</sup>/*, *\*nek<sup>w</sup>e > nekku /nek<sup>w</sup>/*). I therefore assume that this ending was replaced by a 3sg.pret.-ending from another paradigm, namely the PIE *s*-aorist, which further has been totally lost in Anatolian (unless the several verbs that show an *s*-suffix are to be regarded as the formal descendants of the *s*-aorist). This ending must have been *\*-s-t*, of which *\*-t* was dropped (loss of word-final *\*-t* after another consonant, cf. nom.-acc.sg.n. *kunan* ‘killed’ < *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sup>n</sup>-ent*). Note that only the aorist-ending was taken over, not the whole form, which is visible in the fact that the root vocalism in these forms still is *\*CÓC-*.

Throughout the Hittite period, we see that the ending *-š* is being replaced by the *mi*-ending *-t / -tta*. In verbs ending in *-š*-, this already happened in OH times (e.g. *ha-a-aš-ta* (OS) ‘she bore’ instead of expected *\*\*hāš* or *pa-aš-ta* ‘he drank’ instead of expected *\*\*pāš*). In verb ending in *-t*-, this happened from MH times onwards (e.g. *ha-a-az-ta* (MS) ‘he dried’ vs. *\*\*/Hāds/*). In verbs ending in other consonants, we see replacement in NS texts especially (e.g. *ak-ta* vs. *a-ak-ki-iš*, *hu-ua-ap-ta* vs. *hu-u-ua-ap-pí-iš*, *iš-tap-ta* vs. *iš-tap-pa-aš*, *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ta* vs. *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš*). Occasionally we encounter an ending *-šta*, which seems to be a conflation between *-š* and *-tta* (e.g. *a-ar-aš-ta* ‘he washed’: note that the origin

of *-šta* in *tarn(a)*-class and *mēma/i*-class verbs, where it seems to be the original ending instead of *-š*, may have been different).

=šš(a)-: see =šši- / =šša- / =šše-

**-šš(a)-** (imperfective-suffix): 1sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-at-ti* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-i* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *iš-šu-ú-e-ni* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *i-iš-te-e-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un* (MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *ḫal-ze-eš-še-eš-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ši-iš-ta* (OH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *e-eš-ša-at-te-in* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *i-iš-še-er* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša* (OS), 3sg.imp.act. *e-eš-ša-ú* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *i-iš-te-en* (OS), 3pl.imp.act. *ši-iš-ša-an-du* (MS?); sup. *i-iš-šu-ua-an* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-(š)š(a)-** (impf.-suffix: 3sg.pres.act. *ar-pa-ša-a-i*, *kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i*, 3sg.pret.act. *ar-pa-ša-at-ta*, *ua-ar-pa-ša-a-at-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *pi-pi-iš-ša*; 3sg.pres.midd. *pu-up-pu-uš-ša<at>-ta-ri*, 2pl.pres.midd. *ma-az-za-al-la-ša-du-ua-ri*); HLuw. **-sa-** (impf.-suffix: e.g. 1sg.pres.act. *pi-pa-sa-wa/i-i* (ALEPPO 2 §17), 3sg.pres.act. *pi-pa-sa-i* (BOHÇA §3), *pi-pa-sa-ia* (BOHÇA §5, §9), 3sg.pret.act. *pi-pa-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŞ A23 §4, MARAŞ 1 §11), 3sg.imp.act. *pi-pa-sa-tu* (BOR §11), 3pl.imp.act. *pi-pa-sa-tu* (ŞIRZI §4)).

PIE *\*-soh<sub>1</sub>-*, *\*-sh<sub>1</sub>-*

In the older literature, this suffix is usually called “iterative”, but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-šš(a)-<sup>i</sup>* are used to express progressive, iterative, durative, distributive and ingressive meaning, “all of which share the feature imperfectivity” (o.c.: 414), and therefore I cite this suffix as an “imperfective-suffix”. Melchert has also shown that the stems in *-šš(a)-* are functionally equivalent to stems in *-ške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* and *-anna/i-<sup>i</sup>*, and even that “synchronically they function effectively as suppletive allomorphs of a single morphem” (1998b: 414). This is correct: of the four verbs that show an imperfective in *-šš(a)-*, *šš(a)-<sup>i</sup>* / *šš-* ‘to do, to make’, *ḫalzišša-<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫalzišš-* ‘to call’, *šišša-<sup>i</sup>* / *šišš-* ‘to impress’ and *uarrišša-<sup>i</sup>* / *uarrišš-* ‘to help’, the forms with other imperfective-suffixes, e.g. *iške/a-* ‘to do, to make (impf.)’, *ḫalziške/a-* ‘to scream (impf.)’ are clearly of secondary origin. For the scope of this book it would go too far to elaborate on the question why a certain verb chose a particular one of these three suffixes to express an imperfective meaning, but I can imagine that the answer to it would give us much more insight into the prehistory of the Hittite aspectual system.

As already mentioned, the suffix *-šš(a)-* is found with four verbs only and one should see their respective lemmas for full attestations (*uarrišš(a)-* under the lemma *uarrī-* / *uarrai-*); I have cited under this lemma only a compilation of the oldest attested forms. Of these four verbs, *uarrišš(a)-* stands quite apart, as it is attested in NH compositions only, whereas *tšš(a)-*, *halzišš(a)-* and *šišš(a)-* are attested from OH times onwards (with *tšš(a)-* and *halzišš(a)-* having numerous OS attestations). This may explain why *tšš(a)-*, *halzišš(a)-* and *šišš(a)-* are clear deverbal derivatives (of *ǰe/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, *halzai<sup>-i</sup>* / *halzi-* and *šai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ši-* respectively), whereas *uarrišš(a)-* does not have a clear origin. On the one hand one could think that it is derived from the verb *uarrae<sup>-zi</sup>*, but this verb is itself attested three times only in NH compositions. On the other hand, one could think of the adjective *uarrī-* / *uarrai-* as its origin, but a denominal derivation with an imperfective-suffix seems unlikely to me. Therefore Starke's suggestion (1990: 155-6) that *uarrišš(a)-* is a borrowing from Luwian (where *\*uarrišša-* itself is unattested, but where a verb *uarrīja-* is found in HLuwian), may not be that unattractive. It therefore might be better to further leave *uarrišš(a)-* out of consideration here.

The question is what the exact form of this suffix is. On the one hand, one could analyse the suffix as *-išš(a)-* (which becomes *-ešš(a)-* in NH times due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-*, cf. § 1.4.8.1.d), so *ʔ-iS(a)-l*, *halz-išš(a)-* and *š-išš(a)-*. On the other hand, one could assume that the *-i-* is part of the verbal stem and that the suffix itself is only *-šš(a)-*, so *t-šš(a)-*, *halzi-šš(a)-* and *ši-šš(a)-*. This option has the benefit that the suffix *-šš(a)-* then can be directly compared to the Luwian imperfective-suffix *-(s)sa-* (CLuw. *-(š)ša-*, HLuw. *-sa-*). I therefore will treat the suffix as *-šš(a)-* here.

The original inflection of the suffix is *-ššahhi*, *-ššatti*, *-ššai*, *-ššueni*, *-ššteni*, *-ššanzi*, and it therefore inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class. As this class consists of roots that ended in laryngeal, this must be valid for the suffix *-šš(a)-* as well. We therefore must assume a preform *\*-soH-* besides *\*-sH-*. Since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have yielded Hitt. *-h-*, the laryngeal should be either *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>* (although the latter one is less likely as I know no other suffix or ending where *\*h<sub>3</sub>* is found). The fact that we find a geminate *-šš-* can be explained by the weak stem *\*-sh<sub>1-</sub>*, which would regularly yield geminate *-šš-*, after which this *-šš-* spread through the paradigm (cf. *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-* 'to finish' for a similar scenario). In this way, *tšš(a)-* reflects *\*HH-i-s(o)h<sub>1-</sub>*, *halzišš(a)-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-s(o)h<sub>1-</sub>* and *šišš(a)-* < *\*sh<sub>1-i-s(o)h<sub>1-</sub></sub>*.

The IE origin of this suffix is quite unclear. E.g. Oettinger (1992a: 233) suggests a connection with the IE unreduplicated desiderative, whereas Melchert (1987a: 200) assumes a connection with the Tocharian 'causative' in *-s-*.

Personally, I would not be surprised if in the future it would turn out that this suffix, *\*-soh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*-sh<sub>1</sub>-*, from a pre-PIE point of view has to be regarded as identical to the other imperfective-suffix, *\*-skē/o-* (which probably is a PIE thematization of original *\*-sk-*). Compare e.g. the similarity in form and meaning between *=(i)a* ‘and’ < *\*-h<sub>3</sub>e* and *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* ‘and’.


*šae<sup>-zi</sup>* : see *šāi<sup>-zi</sup>*

*šāh<sup>-i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to clog, to stuff, to fill in, to stop, to block, to plug up’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ḥi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-h[a-a-an-]zi* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ḥa-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-aḥ-ta* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-ḥa-a-ri* (MH/NS); part. *ša-ḥa-an-t-*, *ša-a-ḥa-an-t-* (MH/NS), *ša-ḥa-a-an-t-* (MH/NS); impf. *ša-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ša-a-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: see *šaḥeššar* / *šaḥešn-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἄμεναι ‘to satiate oneself’, Skt. *ásinvant-* ‘unsatiable’, TochB *soy-* ‘to be satisfied’.

PIE *\*sōh<sub>2</sub>-ei*

See CHD Š: 1f. for attestations. Note that Kimball (1999: 398) cites this verb as *šāh-/šāḥh-* in the basis of part.nom.-acc.sg.n. “*sa-a-aḥ-ḥa-an*” (KUB 9.28 i 14), which would be the only form that shows geminate *-ḥh-*. This form does not exist, however: the handcopy clearly reads  = *ša-a-ḥa-an*. So, all forms of this verb are spelled with single *-ḥ-*. Mechanically, *šāh-* can hardly reflect anything else than PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-*. In 3sg.pres.act., we expect that *\*sōh<sub>2</sub>-ei* > *šāḥi* with single *-ḥ-* due to lenition after *\*ó* (cf. *āki* / *akkanzi*, *ištāpi* / *ištappanzi* etc.). In 3pl.pres.act., we would expect that *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-énti* > *\*išḥanzi*. It is likely that this paradigm, *šāḥi* / *\*išḥanzi*, was not retained thus and was levelled out to *šāḥi* / *šāḥanzi*, with introduction of the singular stem in the plural.

Eichner (1973a: 69-70) translates *šāh<sup>-i</sup>* as “verunreinigen, besudeln” (similarly Oettinger 1979a: 512: “verstopfen, beschmieren” and Rieken 1999a: 340: “verunreinigen, verstopfen, beschmieren, auffüllen”). These translations are incorrect: CHD clearly shows that *šāh<sup>-i</sup>* does not mean ‘to pollute, to defile’ but only ‘to clog, to plug up, to stuff’. Eichner further states that *šāh<sup>-i</sup>* is the basis from which Hitt. *šēḥur* / *šēḥun-* ‘urine’ and CLuw. *šahḥa-* “Schmutz” are derived, through the meaning ‘dirty, polluted’. First it should be noted that Starke (1990: 228-9) has shown that CLuw. *šahḥa-* “Schmutz” does not exist: the form that Eichner translates thus is rather to be interpreted as *šahḥan-* ‘feudal service’ (see at *šahḥan-*). Secondly, the fact that *šāh<sup>-i</sup>* actually means ‘to clog, to plug up, to

stuff’ makes an etymological connection with *šēhur* ‘urine’ semantically impossible: I do not see how these meanings can be connected (see at *šēhur* / *šēhun-* for an alternative etymology).

In my view, we rather connect *šāh-*<sup>i</sup> ‘to stuff up, to fill’ with the PIE root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>(i)-* that is translated ‘to satisfy’ on the basis of Gr. ἄμεναι ‘to satiate oneself’, Skt. *ásinvant-* ‘unsatiable’ and TochB *soy-* ‘to be satisfied’ (note that LIV<sup>2</sup> translates the root as ‘satt werden’ (intr.), whereas Hardarson (1993: 207) pleads for transitive ‘sättigen’). In my view, however, the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* originally had the meaning ‘to stuff up, to fill’ that is still visible in Hittite. This meaning was altered to ‘to satiate’ (which is a trivial semantic development) after the splitting off of Anatolian and yielded the forms meaning ‘to satiate, to satisfy’ as found in the other IE languages (cf. Adams 1999: 703 for a similar scenario).

*šahh-*<sup>zi</sup>: see *ša(n)h-*<sup>zi</sup>

**šahhan-** (n.) a kind of obligation, service or payment due from land tenants to the real owners of the land (palace, temple, community or individuals): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ah-ḫa-an* (OS), gen.sg. *ša-ah-ḫa-na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ah-ḫa-ni* (MH/MS), *ša-ah-ḫa-a-ni* (NH), abl. *ša-ah-ḫa-an-za* (MH/MS), *ša-ah-ḫa-na-za* (MH/NS), *ša-ah-ḫa-na-az* (NH), instr. *ša-ah-ḫa-ni-it* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ša-a-ah-ḫa-ni-it*, nom.-acc.pl.(?) *ša-ah-ḫa-na* (NH), *ša-ah-ḫa-ni* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ša-ah-ḫa-na-aš* (NH).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **šahhan-** (n.) ‘id.’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ah-ḫa-an-za*), **šahhaniḫa-** ‘to impose feudal service upon’ (impf.3sg.prets.act. *ša-ah-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta*, *ša-ah-ḫa-ni-eš-ša-at-ta*).

PIE *\*séh<sub>2</sub>n*, *\*s(e)h<sub>2</sub>én(o)s*

See CHD Š: 7f. for attestations and semantic discussion. Rieken (1999a: 287) convincingly reconstructs this word as *\*séh<sub>2</sub>n*, assuming that, together with *išhanitar* ‘relative by marriage’ (q.v.), it derives from *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bind’ (for which see at *išhai-*<sup>i</sup> / *išhi-*). This means that we are dealing with a proterodynamic paradigm *\*séh<sub>2</sub>n*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-én-s* >> pre-Hitt. *séh<sub>2</sub>n*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-én-os* > Hitt. *šahhan*, *šahhanaš* (compare *\*péh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-uén-s* >> *\*péh<sub>2</sub>ur*, *peh<sub>2</sub>uénos* > Hitt. *paḫhur*, *paḫhuenaš* ‘fire’). Kimball (1999: 396) reconstructs *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-om*, but this does not explain the *n*-stem forms in the oblique cases.

**šaheššar** / **šahešn-** (n.) ‘fortification, stronghold’ (Sum. BÀD-*eššar*): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ḫé-eš-šar* (OS).

Derivatives: *šahēšnae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to fortify(?)’ (1sg.pret.act. BÀD-*eš-na-nu-un* (NH), BÀD-*eš<sub>17</sub>-na-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. BÀD-*eš-na-i-it*; impf. *ša-ḥe-eš-ni-eš-ke/a-*, *ša-ḥe-eš-na-eš-ke/a-*).

See CHD Š: 9f. for attestations. The phonetically spelled forms of these words (*šahēššar* and *šahēšnae-*) are not totally clear regarding their interpretation, but the meanings ‘fortification’ and ‘to fortify’ certainly would fit the contexts they occur in. The meaning of the logographically written words, BÀD-*eššar* and BÀD-*ešnae-*, is ascertained as ‘fortification’ and ‘to fortify’, however. Nevertheless, there has been some debate whether or not *šahēššar* is to be equated with BÀD-*eššar* (a reading *\*kutteššar* has been proposed on the basis of HLuw. <sup>SCALPRUM</sup>*kutasara/i-* and CLuw. <sup>NA</sup>*kuttaššara/i-* ‘orthostat’ (see at *kūtt-*)), but CHD (Š: 10) and Rieken (1999a: 136<sup>630</sup>) now state that the equation of BÀD with *šahēššar* / *šahēšn-* is the only likely one.

Formally, *šahēššar* must be derived from *šāḥ<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to clog, to plug up, to stuff’. CHD states that “if the word is derived from the verb *šah-*, whose meaning is “to stuff, fill, stop up, block”, an area of earthen fill (a rampart) may be meant”. It is also possible, however, that we must assume a similar semantic development as visible in *ištappēššar* ‘dam, enclosure’ that is derived from the verb *ištāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *ištapp-* ‘to plug up, to block, to dam, to enclose, to shut; to besiege’. See for further etymology at *šāḥ<sup>-i</sup>*.

*šāi<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib1 > Ic2) ‘to become sullen, to become sulking, to be(come) angry; (midd. + =z) to quarrel with each other’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ša-a-an-zi* (OH/MS), *ša-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-a-nu-un* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-a-i-it* (OH/MS?), *ša-it* (OH/MS), *ša-i-it* (OH/NS), *ša-a-iš* (MH/NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *ša-a-an-ta-ti* (NH); part. *ša-a-an-t-* (MS?); verb.noun *ša-a-u-ya-ar* (OH/MS), *ša-a-u-ar* (OH/MS?), *ša-a-ya-ar* (MH/NS), dat.-loc. *ša-a-u-ya-ar-ri* (NH).

Derivatives: *šātar* (n.) ‘irriation(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ša-a-tar* (OH/MS), *ša-a-a-tar*), see *šanu-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *saevus* ‘wild, furious, ferocious’, Gr. αἰ-ἄνής ‘cruel’, Goth. *sair*, OHG *sēr* ‘pain’.

PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>i-ti*

See CHD Š: 13f. for attestations. This verb inflects according to the *ḥatrae*-class, so seemingly we are dealing with a stem *šae<sup>-zi</sup>*. This class predominantly consists of verbs of denominative origin, showing a *\*-ie/o-* derivation of *o*-stem nouns. In

this case, a nominal origin is not very likely, however, as we would be dealing with a noun *\*so-*. Since Juret (1942: 40), this verb is generally connected with Lat. *saevus* ‘wild’, which reflects *\*seh<sub>2</sub>i-uo-* (cf. Schrijver 1990: 270, who connects it with Gr. αἰ-ἄνής ‘cruel’, Goth. *sair*, OHG *sēr* ‘pain’). Oettinger (1979a: 363) reconstructs *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*, but this is in conflict with his own discovery that verbs in *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* end up in the Hittite *tāje/a-* class (named after *tāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to steal’ < *\*teh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*) whereas *ḫatrae*-class verbs reflect *\*-o-je/o-*. Oettinger tries to disguise this discrepancy by citing the verb as “*\*šae-* (oder *\*šāje-*)”, but from the attested forms it is clear that it does not inflect according to the *tāje/a-* class. Melchert (1994a: 176f.) recognizes this problem and assumes that complex contractions have taken place: *\*šājeje/o- > šā(i)-*. His reconstruction with *\*a* is solely based on the knowledge that *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>je/o-* would have yielded *-āje/a-*. Apart from the methodological problem of reconstructing a phoneme *\*a*, it is quite problematic, in my view, that a preform *\*šājeje/o-* would yield a shorter outcome than *\*teh<sub>2</sub>je-*.

In my opinion, the etymological interpretation of this verb largely depends on the behaviour of the cluster *\*-h<sub>2</sub>i-*. It is generally accepted that in a sequence *\*-Vh<sub>2</sub>iV-* the laryngeal disappears (*\*teh<sub>2</sub>je/o- > tāje/a-*: the seeming exceptions, *lahhije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (derived from *lāhh(a)-* ‘military campaign’), *zahhije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (derived from *zahhāi-* ‘battle’) and *tuhhiatt-* (restored on the basis of *tuhhāe-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to produce smoke’) are clearly of secondary origin). The outcome of a sequence *\*-Vh<sub>2</sub>iC-* is less clear, however. Although one at first sight would expect Hitt. *-VhhiC-*, I have not been able to find any word that unambiguously reflects *-VhhiC-* < *\*-Vh<sub>2</sub>iC-* (*ḫahhima-* ‘drought’ and *tuhhima-* are derivatives in *-ima-* of the verbs *ḫahh-* and *tuhhāe-*, <sup>NINDA</sup> *muhhila-* (a kind of pastry) and <sup>NINDA</sup> *nah(h)iti-* (a bread) are of foreign origin and *zahhin* (acc.sg.) ‘battle’ is a NH secondary form in the paradigm of the diphthong-stem *zahhāi-*: note that nouns in *-āhit-* are all of Luwian origin). This opens up the possibility that *\*-Vh<sub>2</sub>iC-* did not yield Hitt. *-VhhiC-*, but, for instance, *\*-V̄iC-*. If so, then we are allowed to assume that *šāizzi* reflects an athematic verbal form *\*séh<sub>2</sub>i-ti*. As a *mi*-inflecting root present, we would in principle expect ablaut in the stem and therefore 3pl.pres.act. *\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-énti*, which regularly should have yielded Hitt. *išhijanzi* (like *išhijanzi* ‘they bind’ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-énti* in the paradigm *išhāi-<sup>l</sup> / išhi-*). It is quite understandable, however, that a paradigm *šāizzi, išhijanzi* was not retained as such and that the singular stem *šāi-* was introduced into the plural. Note that this generalization of the stem *šāi-* must have taken place in the period before the contraction of *\*V<sub>i</sub>V* to *\*V̄*, since *\*šāijanzi* participated in it, yielding attested *šānzi*. This scenario demands that the only specific *ḫatrae*-class inflected form, 1sg.pret.act. *šānu[n]* (OH/NS) (instead



of expected *\*\*šāinun*), must be regarded as secondary, which is unproblematic in view of the high productivity of the *hatrae*-class inflection in NH times.

*šai<sup>i</sup> / ši-*; *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>* (IIa4 > Ic1 > Ic2; Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to impress, to seal; to put on (headgear); to pitch (a tent); to prick, to sting; to propel, to shoot, to throw; (with *šarā*) to push up, to send up; (with *katta*) to send down; (midd.) to squirt, to spurt, to flow; (midd.) to shoot out, to spring out; to press’: 1sg.pres.act. *ši-ja-mi* (NH), *ši-am-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ši-i-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ši-e-ez-zi* (NS), *ši-i-e-z[i]*, *ši-ja-az-zi* (NH), *ši-i-ja-a-iz-zi*, *ši-i-ja-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ši-ja-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-a-i* (MS), 1pl.pres.act. *ši-ja-a-u-e-ni* (MH?/MS?), *ši-i-e-[u-e-ni?]* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ši-ja-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ši-ja-nu-un* (NH), *ši-ja-a-nu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ši-iš-ta* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ši-i-e-et* (OH/MS), *ša-a-iš*, *ša-i-iš*, *ši-ja-a-it* (NH), *ši-a-it* (NH), *ši-i-ja-it* (NH), 2pl.pret.act.(or imp.) *ša-a-iš-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ši-ja-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ši-ja-a* (OH/MS), *ši-i-ja-a* (OH/NS), *ša-a-i* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act.(or pret.) *ša-a-iš-tén*, *še-iš-te-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ši-i-ja-an-du* (OH/NS), *ši-ja-an-du* (MH/NS), *ši-i-ja-a-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ši-i-e-et-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ši-e-et-ta*, *ši-ja-a-ri* (NS), *ši-ja-ri* (NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ši-ja-an-da-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ši-ja-ti* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.midd. [*š*]<sup>i</sup>-*ja-an-ta-at* (OH/NS); verb.noun *ši-ja-u-ya-ar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ši-ja-ya-aš* (NH); inf.I *ši-ja-u-ya-an-zi* (NH); inf.II *ši-ja-an-na* (NH); part. *ši-ja-a-an-t* (OH/MS), *ši-ja-an-t* (MH?/NS), *ši-i-ja-an-t*; impf. *ši-i-eš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *ši-ja-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ši-i-ja-iš-ke/a-*, *ši-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: see *É šijannaš*, *šijant-*, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*šijattal-*, *\*šijatar / šijann-*, *šijēššar / šijēšn-*, *šijēššar*, *šišša<sup>i</sup> / šišš-*, *šiššija-*, *šiššijant-*, *šittar(a)-* and *šittarije/a<sup>zi</sup>*.

PIE *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*; *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ié-ti*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ió-nti*.

See CHD Š: 15f. for attestations and semantic treatment. It is generally thought that we are dealing here with the conflation of two verbs, namely a *hi*-verb *šai<sup>i</sup> / ši-* ‘to press, to seal, to put on headgear’ and a *mi*-verb *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to throw, to shoot, to sting’ (cf. CHD Š: 21; Kimball 1987b). CHD states, however, that “unfortunately the extent and timing of such a conflation cannot be determined from the available evidence”. I therefore have followed CHD in citing all forms under one lemma. The conflation is the logical result of the fact that *šai<sup>i</sup> / ši-*, which inflects according to the *dāi/tiianzi*-class, in younger times secondarily was taken over into the *-je/a*-class (in this case *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>*) on the basis of the reinterpretation of 3pl.pres.act. *šij-anzi* as *šija-nzi* (cf. *hu<sub>1</sub>ai<sup>i</sup> / hui-* with secondary *huje/a<sup>zi</sup>*, *išpai<sup>i</sup> / išpi-* with secondary *išpije/a<sup>zi</sup>*, etc.).

According to Kimball (1987b), the verb *šije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to shoot’ is to be connected with Skt. *asyati* ‘to shoot’ and reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*, whereas *šai<sup>i</sup> / ši-* ‘to press, to seal’ belongs with the verbs for ‘to sow’ in the other IE languages: Lat. *serō*, Goth. *saian*, Lith. *sėjū*, OCS *sějǫ* ‘to sow’ < *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-* (Kimball 1999: 433, followed by e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>). This would mean, however, that PIE *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-* originally meant ‘to sow by pressing the seed into the ground’, which, on the one hand yielded the Hittite meaning ‘to press’, and, on the other, the meaning ‘to sow’ in the rest of the IE languages. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the verbs of the *dāi/tijanzi*-class reflect a structure *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-*. In this case, it would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*.

**šākk<sup>i</sup> / šakk-** (IIa2) ‘to know (about), to experience, to heed, to pay attention to, to recognize; to remember, to be expert in; to be acquainted with’ (Akk. *IDŪ*): 1sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ak-ḫi* (OH/MS), *ša-a-ak-ka<sub>r</sub>-a[ḫ-ḫi]* (OH/MS), *ša-ak-ka<sub>r</sub>-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), *ša-ka<sub>r</sub>-aḫ-ḫi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ak-ti* (OH?/MS?), *ša-ak-ti* (MH/MS), *še-ek-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ak-ki* (MH/NS), *ša-ak-ki* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *še-ek-ku-e[<sup>?</sup>ni<sup>?</sup>]* (KBo 47.153 obv.<sup>?</sup> 1 (MS?)), *še-ek-ku-e-ni* (NH), *še-ek-ku-u-e-ni* (NH), *še-ek-ku-ú-e-ni* (NH), *ši-ik-ku-e-ni* (NH), *še-ek-ku-ua-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-te-e-ni* (OS), *ša-ak-te-ni* (OH/NS), *še-ek-te-ni* (MH/NS), *še-ek-te-e-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. [*š*]*a-kán-zi* (OH/NS), *še-ek-kán-zi* (MH?/MS?), *še-kán-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-ag-ga-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH), *ša-ka<sub>r</sub>-ḫu-u[n<sup>?</sup>]* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ak-ta<<-aš>>* (MH/MS), *ša-ak-ki-iš* (OH/NS), *ša-ak-ta* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ak-ta* (NH), *ša-ak-ta* (NH), *še-ek-ta* (MH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *še-ek-ku-e-en* (NH), *še-ek-ku-u-e-en* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *še-ek-ke-er* (NH), [*e*]-*ek-k[er]* (NH), 1sg.imp.act. *še-eg-ga-al-lu* (NH), *ši-ig-ga-al-lu* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ša-a-ak* (MH/MS), *ša-ak* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-a-ak-ku* (MH/MS), *ša-ak-ku* (MH/NS), *ša-ak-du* (NH), *ša-a-ak-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. [*š*]*a-ak-tén* (NS), *še-ek-tén* (NS), *ši-ik-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *še-ek-kán-du* (MH/MS); part. *ša-ak-kán-t* (MH/MS), *še-ek-kán-t* (MH/MS), *ši-ik-kán-t*.

Derivatives: see *šak(k)antat(t)ar*.

IE cognates: Lat. *secō* ‘to cut’, *sciō* ‘to know’, OCS *sěšti*, *sěkǫ* ‘to cut’, PGerm. *\*sagō(n)* ‘to saw’.

PIE *\*sókh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*skh<sub>1</sub>-enti*

See CHD Š: 21f. for attestations. Usually, this verb is cited as *šākk-/šekk-*, which is incorrect. Although a stem *šekk-* indeed is attested often, the oldest weak-stem form of this paradigm is 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-te-e-ni* (OS), showing a weak stem *šakk-*. This stem is supported by 3pl.pres.act. [*š*]*a-kán-zi* (OH/NS) and part. *ša-*

*ak-kán-t-* (MH/MS). I therefore cite this verb as *šākk-<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-* here. The stem *šekk-* is attested from MH times onwards, in weak stem forms (1pl.pres.act. *šekkueni* (MS?), 2pl.pres.act. *šekteni* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šekkanzi* (MH?/MS?), 3pl.imp.act. *šekkandu* (MH/MS), part. *šekkant-* (MH/MS)), as well as in strong stem forms (2sg.pret.act. *šekti* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *šekta* (MH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *šekkuen* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *šekker* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *šekten* (NS)). I will first focus on the etymological interpretation of the root, and then look at the origin of the three different stems.

Regarding the root-etymology, we must take into account the fact that we find geminate *-kk-* throughout the paradigm, which is quite remarkable (compare e.g. *āki* / *akkanzi*). Oettinger (1979a: 412f., following a suggestion by Benveniste 1932: 140f.) connects this verb with Lat. *sāgīre* ‘to have a good nose, to perceive keenly’, Goth. *sokjan* ‘to search’, Gr. ἡγέομαι ‘to lead the way; to command, to believe’ from *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-*. He explains the geminate *-kk-* out of *\*-h<sub>2</sub>g-* in *\*(se-)sóh<sub>2</sub>g-ei*. This is in contradiction with the reconstruction of *šāgāi-* ‘sign, omen’ as *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-ōi-* as well as *uāki* ‘bites’ as *\*uóh<sub>2</sub>g-ei*, however. The weak stem *šekk-*, which is taken as original by Oettinger, is explained as reflecting *\*se-sh<sub>2</sub>g-* (i.e. *\*se-sh<sub>2</sub>g-eh<sub>1</sub>-re* > *šekker*), under the assumption that *\*-zgg-* > *-kk-*. This is not very credible, however. So, despite the fact that this etymological connection is semantically quite acceptable (pace Melchert 1994a: 69, who states that this etymology “must be rejected on semantic grounds”), its formal side is unsatisfactory.

Justus (1982: 322ff.) connects *šākk-/šakk-* with “*\*sek-*” ‘to cut’, which in fact must be *\*sekH-* on the basis of Lat. perf. *secuī* (Rix 1999: 525-6). The semantic development would be parallel to the one seen in Lat. *sciō* ‘to know’ < *\*skH-je/o-*. This etymology is widely followed (e.g. Melchert 1994a: 69; LIV<sup>2</sup>). For Hittite, this means that *šākki* must reflect *\*sókH-ei*, in which *-kH-* was not lenited by the preceding *\*ó*. The fact that *šākk-/šakk-* does not inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class, in my view shows that the laryngeal must have been *\*h<sub>1</sub>*, since a preform *\*sókH<sub>2,3</sub>-ei* would have yielded Hitt. *\*\*šakkai* (cf. *mallai* ‘mills’ < *\*molh<sub>2</sub>ei*, *paddai* ‘digs’ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>od<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *iškallai* ‘splits’ < *\*skolh<sub>2,3</sub>ei* and *išparrai* ‘tramples’ < *\*spórh<sub>2,3</sub>ei*). I therefore reconstruct *šākki* as *\*sókH<sub>1</sub>-ei*.

The interpretation of the different stems found within the paradigm of this verb, has caused much debate. On the basis of the fact that most of the forms of this verb shows either a stem *šākk-* or a stem *šekk-*, it was always assumed that this verb shows an original ablaut *šākk-/šekk-*. Such an ablaut, *a/e*, is rare in the Hittite verbal system. Within the *hi-*verbs, it can only be found in *karāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *kare/ip-* ‘to devour’, *šarāp-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarip-* ‘to sip’, *hamank-<sup>i</sup>* / *hame/ink-* ‘to tie’ and *ašāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *aše/iš-*

‘to seat’. Within the *mi*-verbs, we only find *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* ‘to (op)press’. For the *a/e*-ablauting *hi*-verbs, Jasanoff (1979: 85-6; 2003) has proposed to assume that they reflect a PIE ablaut *\*o/e*, a special category of “*h<sub>2</sub>e*-inflecting” verbs. This view has been widely followed. In my opinion, it is incorrect, however. Nowhere in the IE languages, a verbal ablaut *\*o/e* is attested: its only trace would be these Hittite verbs. As I have shown under their respective lemmas, the *-e*-grades in *karāp-/kare/ip-*, *šarāp-/šarip-*, *hamank-/hame/ink-* and *ašāš-/aše/iš-* are to be explained as a secondary introduction of the anaptyctic vowel /i/ in the original zero-grade stems, just as we must assume in the case of *tame/išš-*.

The case of alleged *šākk-/šekk-* is different, however, since we have seen that the original inflection is *šākk-/šakk-*, whereas the stem *šekk-* is attested from MH times onwards only. This situation reminds us of the verb *ār-<sup>i</sup>* / *ar-* ‘to arrive’. In this verb, the original ablaut is *ār-/ar-*, but from MH times onward, a stem *er-* is attested as well. As I have shown under its lemma, the introduction of this *er-* was the result of the analogy *aranzi* : *ārer* with *ašanzi* : *ešer* ‘to be’, after which 3pl.pret.act. *ārer* was altered to *erer*. In NH times, we see that this stem *er-* has spread throughout all plural forms (e.g. *erueni*, *erten*, *eruen*, *erten*, *erir*, etc.).

For *šākk-*, I would like to propose the following scenario. The original paradigm must have been *\*sókh<sub>1</sub>ei*, *\*skh<sub>1</sub>énti* (with normal *\*o/Ø*-ablaut as in all other *hi*-inflecting verbs), which should regularly have yielded Hitt. /*sāki*/, *\*\*/iskanzi*/. This paradigm could not be tolerated, however: nowhere in Hittite we find an ablaut *šVC-* : *išC-*. It therefore was altered to /*sāki*/, /*skanzi*/, spelled *šākk-/šakk-*. An initial cluster /*sk-*/ without an epenthetic vowel /i-/ was rare in Hittite, however: the only other example I know is /*ságn*/ : /*sgnás*/ ‘oil’ (see under *šākan* / *šakn-*). It therefore was eager to be replaced by something better. When in MH times a similar analogy as described above for *ārer* >> *erer* yielded 3sg.pret.act. *šekker* ‘they knew’, this new stem *šekk-* was quickly used to replace all cases of /*sk-*/ (yielding *šekkueni*, *šekteni*, *šekkanzi*, *šekkandu* and *šekkant-*). In NH times, it spread to all plural forms with an original strong stem as well (yielding *šekkuen* and *šekten*). Although this stem *šekk-* indeed goes back to virtual *\*sekh<sub>1</sub>-*, the vowel *-e-* was secondarily introduced in analogy to *mi*-verbs, and not part of the original ablaut.

**šāgāi-** (c.) ‘sign, omen; miracle(?); warning; feature, characteristic’ (Sum. ISKIM): nom.sg. *ša-ga-i-[i]š* (OS), *ša-ga-a-iš* (MH/MS), *ša-ga-iš* (OH/NS), *ša-ka-eš*, *ša<sup>2</sup>-ga-eš*, acc.sg. *ša-ga-in* (OH/MS?), *ša-ga<sup>1</sup>-a-in* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ga-a-in*

(OH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ki-ja-aš* (NH), *ša-ki-aš*, abl. *ša-a-ki-ja-az* (MH/MS), nom.pl. *ša-ga-a-uš* (NH), coll.<sup>?</sup> *ša-ga-e*, *ša-ga-a-e* (MS).

Derivatives: *šākije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to give a sign, to give an omen; to reveal; to exemplify’ (2sg.pres.act. *ša-ki-iš-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ki-ez-zi* (OH/MS?), *ša-ki-ja-az-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ki-ja-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ki-ez-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-nu-un* (OH/MS), [*š*]*a<sup>2</sup>-ki-ja-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-at*, *ša-a-ki-ja-at* (NH); impf. *ša-a-ki-eš-ke/a-*, *ša-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ša-a-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), *šakijaḫḫ-<sup>i</sup>* (Iib) ‘to indicate, to signal, to give a sign or an omen’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ki-ja-ah-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. ISKIM-*ah-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-ja-ah-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-ki-ja-ah-ḫe-er*; 3sg.pret.midd. ISKIM-*ah-ta-at*; verb.noun ISKIM-*ah-ḫu-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *ša-ki-ja-ah-ḫu-u-ua-aš*), *\*šakiaššar / šakiašn-* (n.) ‘sign, omen’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ki-aš-ni* (NS)), *šakijauyant-* (adj.) ‘ominous’ (nom.sg.c. *ša-ki-ja-u-ua-an-za*).

IE cognates: Lat. *sāgīre* ‘to have a good nose, to perceive keenly’, Goth. *sokjan* ‘to search’, Gr. ἡγέομαι ‘to lead the way; to command, to believe’.

PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-ōi-*

See CHD Š: 32f. for attestations. This word is a diphthong-stem, for which see Weitenberg 1979. These stems go back to a structure *\*CéC-ōis*, *\*CC-ói-m*, *\*CC-i-ós*. Regarding its etymology, this word is generally connected with the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-* ‘einer Fährte nachgehen’ (thus LIV<sup>2</sup>). In the older literature, a reconstruction *\*sh<sub>2</sub>g-ōis* is often given, in which *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is supposed to have vocalized to *-a-* (Eichner 1973a: 71; Oettinger 1979a: 345, 413<sup>34</sup>). Nowadays it has become clear that “[t]here is no solid evidence for “vocalization” of *\*h<sub>2</sub>/* anywhere in Anatolian” (Melchert 1994a: 70).

When applying Weitenberg’s analysis of this type, we have to assume a paradigm *\*séh<sub>2</sub>g-ōi-s*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>g-ói-m*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>g-i-ós*, in which generalization of the *e*-grade in the root is trivial: *\*séh<sub>2</sub>g-ōi-s*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-ói-m*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>g-i-ós*. This should regularly have yielded Hitt. *\*\*šāgaiš*, *šagāin*, *\*\*šakijāš*. The assumption of *e*-grade in the root is supported by the occasional plene spelling *ša-a-k<sup>o</sup>* in the paradigm of *šāgāi-* itself (which is the reason for me to cite this noun as *šāgāi-* and not as *šagāi-* as one often finds) as well as in its derivative *šākije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Melchert (1994a: 69) even goes so far in assuming that *šākije/a-* reflects *\*séh<sub>2</sub>g-je/o-* and is to be directly equated with Lat. *sāgīre*. In my view, inner-Hittite derivation of *šākije/a-* from *šāgāi-* is more likely, however.

*šākan / šakn-* (n.) ‘oil, fat’ (Sum. ĩ): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ga-an* (pre-NS), *ša-a-kán* (KBo 40.69 r.col. 5 (NS)), ĩ-*an* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *ša-ak-na-a-aš* (OS), *ša-ak-na-*

aš, loc.sg. *ša-ak-ni* (MH/MS), erg.sg. *Ī-an-za* (NH), abl. *Ī-az*, instr. *ša-kán-da* (OS), *ša-kán-ta*, *Ī-it*.

Derivatives: *šaknije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to anoint, to smear (with oil), to oil’ (3pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-ni-ja-an-zi* (NH), *Ī-an-zi* (NH)), *šaknuyant-* (adj.) ‘filled with fat or oil, fatty’ (nom.sg.c. [*š*] *a-ak-nu-ya-an-za* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ak-nu-an* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-te-eš* (NS), acc.pl.c. *Ī-an-te-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *Ī-nu-an-ta-aš*), see *iškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tāin* (n.) ‘oil’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-a-in*, *ta-a-i-in*, [*t*] *a-in-za*, *da-a-im=pa*, dat.-loc.sg. *Ī-i*, abl.-instr. *ta-a-i-na-a-ti*, *ta-a-i-na-ti*, *da-a-i-na-ti*).

PIE *\*sóg<sup>(s/h)</sup>-n*, *\*sg<sup>(s/h)</sup>-n-ós*

See CHD Š: 35f. for attestations. For a long time the forms with *šakn-* were regarded as belonging to the paradigm of *šakkar*, *zakkar* ‘excrements’, until Hoffner (1994) proved that we are dealing with a separate word *šāgan* / *šakn-* ‘oil, fat’. Although no good IE cognate is known, the inflection of this word looks so archaic that an IE origin is likely. Rieken (1999a: 294) assumes a preform *\*seḡ<sup>(s/h)</sup>-en-*. Mechanically, we must reconstruct a paradigm *\*sóg-n*, *\*sg-n-ós*, which should regularly have given Hitt. /*sāgn*/, *\*\*/isgnās*/. Since an ablaut *šVC* : *išC* is unparalleled in Hittite, the form *\*\*/isgnās*/ probably was remade to /*sgnās*/ (cf. at *šākk<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-* for a similar scenario). Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the *o*-grade was introduced into the oblique cases (so /*sagnās*/). Yet the fact that we are dealing with an OS attestation *šaknāš* that clearly is accentuated on the ending in my view indicates that this form is to be analysed as /*sgnās*/. According to Rieken (l.c.), the verb *iškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to anoint, to oil’ must be regarded as a derivative of this noun, reflecting *\*sḡ<sup>(s/h)</sup>-je/o-*. See there for discussion.

Oettinger (2003: 340) adduces CLuw. *tāin-* ‘oil’, which he assumes to reflect a collective *\*sog-én*. Although semantically this connection is convincing, the formal side is difficult, especially with regard to the initial *t-* in CLuwian. Nevertheless, there are some other words in which CLuw. *t-* seems to correspond to Hitt. *š-*: CLuw. *tāya/i-* ~ Hitt. *šākuya-* ‘eye’ and CLuw. *dūr* / *dūn-* ~ Hitt. *šēhur* / *šēhun-* ‘urine’. It is remarkable that in all these cases we are dealing with a word in which PAnat. *\*g* disappeared in Luwian.

*šak(k)antat(t)ar* (n.) ‘appliqué’: nom.-acc.sg. *ša-kán-ta-tar*, nom.-acc.pl. *ša-ag-ga-an-ta-at-ta-r[a]*, *ša-kán-ta-ad-da-ra*, [*š*] *a-kán-ta-at-ta-ra*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *šakantama/i-* (adj.) ‘decorated with appliqué(?)’ (nom.acc.sg.n. *ša-kán-ta(-am)-ma-an-za*, nom.pl.c. *ša-kán-ta(-am)-me-en-zi*).

See CHD Š: 40 for attestations. It is unclear whether these forms are genuinely Hittite or of Luwian origin. According to Starke (1990: 516ff.) the words are derived from \*šakkant(i)-, which he interprets as an old part. of \*sekh<sub>1</sub>- ‘to cut’, for which see šākk<sup>i</sup> / šakk-.

**šakkar, zakkar / šakn-** (n.) ‘excrement, dung, faeces’: nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ak-kar* (OH/NS), *za-ak-kar* (OH or MH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ak-na-aš* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **šaknešš<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be(come) impure, defiled’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ak-ni-eš-zi*, *ša-ak-ni-e-e[š<sup>3</sup>-zi]*), **šaknuyant-** (adj.) ‘defiled by šakkar, impure, soiled’ (nom.sg.c. *ša-ak-nu-an-za* (MH/NS), *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-da-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-ti*, abl. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-da-za*, nom.pl.c. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-te-eš* (NH), *ša-ak-nu-an-te-eš* (pre-NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ša-ak-nu-ya-an-ta-aš*), **šaknumar** (n.) ‘defilement(?), defecation(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ak-nu-mar* (NH)), see *zašgaraiš*.

IE cognates: Gr. σκῶρ, σκατός ‘excrement’, Av. *sairiia-* ‘dung’, PGerm. \**skarna-* ‘dung, filth’, Russ. *sor* ‘dung’, Latv. *sārņi* ‘dung’.

PIE \**sók-r*, \**sk-ór*, \**sk-n-ós*

See CHD Š: 41f. for attestations. Since Benveniste (1935: 9) and Sturtevant (1936: 183f.) this noun is generally connected with Gr. σκῶρ, σκατός ‘excrement’ (going back to an *r/n*-stem as well) and Av. *sairiia-*, PGerm. \**skarna-*, Russ. *sor* and Latv. *sārņi* ‘dung’ that seem to reflect \**sker-*. The interpretation of the Hittite forms is not fully clear. The form *šakkar* is generally thought to reflect \**sók-r* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 295). From a PIE point of view, we would expect that the oblique forms belonging to \**sók-r* should have had a form \**sk-én-* (compare \**uód-r*, \**ud-én-* ‘water’). This form is not attested, however. The form *zakkar* must reflect a “coll.” \**sk-ór* (not \**sék-ór*, compare *uidār* < \**ud-ór!*), certainly in view of the spelling *za-aš-ga-r<sup>o</sup>* /*tskar*/ as attested in its derivative *zašgaraiš* (q.v.). The expected oblique form belonging to this collective is \**sk-n-ós*, which in my view is the preform of gen.sg. *šaknaš* (so possibly phonetic /*sknâš*/, cf. *šākan* / *šakn-*).

The initial *z-* of *zakkar* has caused much discussion. For instance, Rieken (l.c.) follows Oettinger (1994: 326f.) in assuming that the development of *š-* > *z-* is due to nasal anticipation, and assumes a development \**sakn-* > \**nsakn-* > \**n<sup>l</sup>sakn-* > \**tsakn-*, after which *zakkar* was formed. This is unconvincing: the only form that contains a nasal shows initial *š-* (*šaknaš*), whereas *zakkar* has no nasal. I would like to propose an alternative solution. The only other case that I know of where \**s-* > Hitt. *z-* is *zama(n)kur* ‘beard’ < \**sma(n)k-ur* (note that *zinni-/zinn-* ‘to finish’ < \**ti-n(e)-h<sub>1</sub>-*, *zē-* ‘to cook’ < \**tieh<sub>1</sub>-* and *zēna-* ‘autumn’ < \**tieh<sub>1</sub>-no-* and

therefore do not show \*s- > Hitt. z-). It is remarkable that its derivative *šamankuruant-* ‘bearded’ does not show initial z-. So the development \*s- > z- seems to be limited to two words only, which both are neuter and have an initial cluster \*sC-. I therefore want to propose that this development is due to a false analysis of the syntagms *\*tod smókur* and *\*tod skór* (or whatever preceding pronoun) as *\*tod 'smókur* and *\*tod 'skór* respectively. This would explain why z- is only found in the nom.-acc. of neuter words and not in their oblique cases or derivatives. This development only took place with \*sC- and not with \*sV- (hence *šakkar* < *\*sókr*).

It should be noted that nom.-acc.sg. *\*sókr* regularly should have yielded *\*\*sākar* (with lenition of \*-k- to /g/ due to the preceding \*ó, cf. *\*ótr* > Hitt. *-ātar*), which means that unlenited -kk- must have been restored out of the oblique cases.

**šāklāi-** (c.) ‘custom, customary behavior, rule, law, requirement; rite, ceremony; privilege, right’: nom.sg. *ša-ak-la-iš* (MH/MS), *ša-ak-la-a-iš* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ak-la-a-iš* (NH), acc.sg. *ša-ak-la-in* (MH?/MS?, OH/NS), *ša-ak-la-a-in* (MH/NS), *ša-ak-li-in* (OH/MS?), *ša-a-ak-li(n)=ma-an* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ak-la-a-i* (NH), *ša-ak-la-i* (NH), *ša-ak-li-ja* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ak-la-a-ja-aš* (NH), abl. *ša-ak-la-ja-za*, nom.pl. *ša-ak-l[a-a-eš]* (NH), *ša-ak-la-uš* (NH), acc.pl. *ša-ak-la-uš* (NH).

PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>k-lōi-*

See CHD Š: 44f. for attestations. Since Sturtevant (1933: 87), this word is generally connected with Lat. *sacer* ‘sacred’ and ON *sátt* ‘treaty’. These words reflect a root *\*s(e)h<sub>2</sub>k-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 97), so *šāklāi-* must reflect *\*s(e)h<sub>2</sub>k-lōi-s*. If in the root the zero-grade has generalized, then this word would show a development *\*sh<sub>2</sub>k- > šak-* (thus Kimball 1999: 419), but this is unlikely in view of the fact that “[t]here is no solid evidence for “vocalization” of \*/h<sub>2</sub>/ anywhere in Anatolian” (Melchert 1994a: 70). We should rather assume generalization of the e-grade throughout the paradigm, which is strongly supported by the plene spellings *ša-a-ak-* (in an OH/MS text already).

**šakruye/a-<sup>zi</sup>** : see *šakuruye/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

**šāktae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to provide sick-maintenance’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ak-ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi* (NH).

IE cognates: OIr. *socht* ‘stupor’.



PIE \*sokto-je/o- ??

See CHD Š: 51f. for attestations. See Watkins (1975: 70-1) for semantics and etymology. He states that *šāktae-* means ‘to provide sick-maintenance’ and must be denominative from a noun \**šakta-* < \**sokto-*. He connects this noun with OIr. *socht* ‘stupor’, which he further compares to Skt. *vi-śaktā* ‘dry (cow)’, from the verb \**sek-* ‘to dry’. This etymology demands the assumption of a semantic development \**sokto-* ‘dryness’ > ‘sickness’, which may not be very appealing. Despite its semantic unattractiveness, this etymology is followed by Oettinger (1979a: 377) and Melchert (1994a: 93).

*šakuiššai-* (gender undet.) a body part: dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ku-iš-ša-i* (NS).

This word occurs in one context only:

KUB 45.24 i

(9) *nu-u=š-ši-i=š-ša-an ša-ku-iš-ša-i-i=š-ši ku-it ŠA SÍG [S]A<sub>5</sub>*

(10) *šu-ú-i-el ḥa-ma-an-⟨-ga⟩-kán nu MUNUS ŠU.GI šu-ú-e[l ...]*

//

KBo 33.37 rev. + IBoT 2.48

(2/3) [*(nu-u=š-ši-i=ša-a)n ša-ku-[iš-š]a-i ku-i[(t ŠA SÍG )S(A<sub>5</sub> šu-ú-i-el)]*

(3/4) *ḥ[(a<sup>2</sup>-ma-a)n-kán⟨-an⟩ nu MUNUS [Š]U.GI šu-ú-ī[(-e)l ...]*

‘Whatever thread of red wool is tied onto his (i.e. the client’s) *šakuiššai-*, the Old Woman will [...] (that) thread’.

From this context, we have to conclude that *šakuiššai-* is a body part onto which threads could be tied. The formal similarity with *šākuya-* ‘eye’ has led Haas & Wegner (1988a: 326 and 1988b: 160) to translate ‘Augenpartie’, but this is rejected by CHD Š: 77. For the form *šakuiššit*, which CHD (1.c) cites as a possible instr.-form of this word, see the lemma *šakuiššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Further unclear.

*šakuiššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘?’: 3sg.pret.act.(?) *ša-ku-iš-ši-et* (KUB 17.28 i 15)

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 17.28 i

(14) *ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš-š=a URUDU-aš nu-u=š-ša-an A-ta-an-ta*

(15) *ša-ku-iš-ši-et n=a-an še-er ḥu-i-nu-um-me-ni*

(16) *n=a-an tar-ma-a-u-e-ni*

‘There is a copper pin. It has *š*.-ed with water and we let it run up and hammer it down’.

On the basis of this context, the meaning of *šakuiššiet* cannot be determined. It has been suggested to read the form as *ša-ku-i=š-ši-it* ‘its eye’ (i.e. of the *šapikkušta-*, which is then interpreted as ‘needle’), but there is no positive evidence for this. Moreover, the word for ‘eye’ is an *a*-stem, *šākuua-* (q.v.), and not an *i*-stem. CHD Š: 77 further suggests an interpretation as instr. of the noun *šakuiššai-*, a body part (q.v.), but this cannot be ascertained either. I have therefore chosen to interpret this word as a verbal form (on the basis of the fact that it stands in sentence-final position), namely 3sg.pret.act. of a further unattested verb *šakuiššije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>.

**šak(k)uni-** (c.) ‘spring, well’ (Sum. TÚL?): nom.sg. *ša-ku-ni-iš* (NH), gen.sg. *ša-ku-ni-ja-aš* (MH?/NS), all.sg. *ša-ku-ni-ja*.

Derivatives: **šakunije/a-** (Ic1) ‘to well up’ (part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ku-ni-ja-an* (MH/NS); impf.2sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-ni-eš-ke-ši* (NH)), **šakku(ua)ni-** (c.) ‘mud plaster’ (acc.sg. *ša-ku-ua-ni-in*, *ša-ak-ku-ni-in*, *ša-ku-ni-in*, case? *ša-ak-ku-ua-ni-ja*[*a*...]).

PIE \**sok<sup>w</sup>-n-i-*

See CHD Š: 58 and 77 for attestations. Note that CHD is quite inconsistent in its treatment of these words. For instance, KBo 10.45 ii (11) *ša-ku-ni-ja-an* (12) [*ša-ra-a*] *da-a-i* is translated on page 58 ‘She takes [up] mud-plaster(?)’ (as if belonging with *šakku(ua)ni-* ‘mud-plaster’), whereas on page 78 it is translated ‘She takes [up] welled-up mud’ (as if a part.nom.-acc.sg.n. of the verb *šakunije/a-* ‘to well up’). A close look at all the contexts in which the above mentioned forms occur shows that we should distinguish the following words: the noun *šakuni-* ‘spring, well’ (but not *šakuniia-* as cited in CHD), the noun *šakku(ua)ni-*, *šakkuni-* ‘mud-plaster’ (but not *šakkuniia-* as cited in CHD) and the participle *šakunijant-* ‘welled-up’, derived from the verb *šakunije/a-*. Despite the fact that *šakku(ua)ni-*, *šakkuni-* is the only one of these words that shows spellings with geminate *-kk-* (besides occasional single *-k-*), I assume on the basis of the semantic similarity that all these words are related and that the lack of geminate spelling *-kk-* in the words *šakuni-* and *šakunije/a-* is due to chance (pace Rieken 1999a: 61<sup>288</sup>).

The formal connection between *šakuni-* and *šakunije/a-* is clear, but the relation to *šakku(ua)ni-* is less obvious. Schmid (1988: 314-5) proposed a connection with

*šākuṽa-* ‘eye’ (which is semantically likely in view of Akk. *īnu* that denotes ‘eye’ as well as ‘well’), assuming a derivation of it with the suffix *\*-uon-/un-* (and thus explaining *šakkuṽani-* besides *šakkuni-*). Rieken (l.c.) rejects this suggestion on the basis of her idea that *\*-uon-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*man-* next to labiovelar. This is incorrect, however: the labial element of labiovelars does not participate in the sound law *\*-uṽ- > -um-* (cf. *akueni* ‘we drink’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>w</sup>uēni*). Nevertheless, assuming an *n*-suffix is formally possible as well.

All in all, we have to assume a preform *\*sók<sup>w</sup>-n-*, *\*s(o)k<sup>w</sup>-ón-* ‘eye-like > well’ (or *\*sók<sup>w</sup>-un-*, *\*s(o)k<sup>w</sup>-uón-* if one likes), from which *i*-stem derivatives on the one hand yielded *\*sok<sup>w</sup>-n-i-* > *šakkuni-* ‘well, spring’ and *\*sok<sup>w</sup>-n-je/o-* > *šakkunije/a-* ‘to well up’, and on the other *\*sok<sup>w</sup>-on-i-* > *šakkuṽani-* ‘mud-plaster (i.e. what has welled up)’. The fact that *\*k<sup>w</sup>* was not lenited in these forms (unlike in *šākuṽa-* ‘eye’) is due to the fact that unlenited *\*k<sup>w</sup>* was generalized from the oblique cases. See at *šākuṽa-* for further etymology.

*šakuruṽe/a-<sup>ǰ</sup>* (Ic4) ‘(trans.) to water (animals); (intr. with =z) to drink’: 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-ru-ṽa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ku-ru-u-an-z[i]* (MH/MS), [*š*]a-ku-ru-u-ṽa-an-zi (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-ku-ru-u-e-er* (MH/MS), 3?.imp.act. *ša-ak-ru-x[...]* (NS); inf.I *ša-ku-ru-u-ṽa-ṽa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ak-ru-ú-ṽa-an-zi* (NS), *ša-ku-ru-u-ṽa-u-ṽa-an-zi* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ša-ku-ru-u-ṽa-ṽa-ar* (MH/MS).

PIE *\*srog<sup>w</sup>ru-je/o- ??*

See CHD Š: 50f. for attestations. There, this verb is cited as “*šakruwai-*, *šakuruwai-*”, despite the fact that it is stated (with reference to Melchert 1997a: 132) that “*šakruwe/a-* “to water” is a denominative verb in *\*-ye/o-* with regular loss of intervocalic *\*y*”.

We find spellings that show a stem *šakuruṽe/a-* and *šakruṽe/a-*. Because the form *šakuruṽe/a-* seems to be the older one (it is the predominant spelling in MS texts, whereas *šakru-* occurs in NS texts), I cite the verb as *šakuruṽe/a-* here. Apparently, *šakuruṽe/a-* (/sag<sup>w</sup>rue/a-/? ) was dissimilated to *šakruṽe/a-* (/sagrue/a-/) in the late MH period. This *šakuruṽe/a-* is, as stated by CHD, a denominative in *\*-je/o-* of a stem *\*šakuru-*. Melchert (1994a: 170) assumes that this stem is metathesized from *\*sag<sup>w</sup>ur*. Moreover, he assumes that “[d]issimilatory loss of *\*t/* is seen in *\*srakur-ye-* ‘water’ > *\*srakru-ye-* ... > *\*sakruye-* > *sakruwe-*. The base noun *\*srakur* (i.e. *\*/srag<sup>w</sup>-wr/*) belongs to the poorly attested *s(a)raku-* (/sragw-/) ‘to water’” (o.c.: 169). See at *šaraku-* for further etymology.

**šakutta(i)-** (n.) ‘thigh(?)’: nom.-acc.pl.(?) *ša-ak-ut-ta-i* (OH/NS), *ša-ku-ta-a-e* (NS), *ša-ku-ut-ta* (NS).

IE cognates: ?Skt. *sákthi-* ‘thigh’.

PIE *\*sok<sup>w</sup>tH-* ?

See CHD Š: 81 for attestations. This word is attested in a list of body parts that are arranged top-down: eyes, shoulder, back, breast, heart, lungs, kidneys, *auli*, *šakuttai*, knee, feet, hands. This means that *šakutta(i)-* is a body part (although it does not carry the UZU-determinative) that is located above the knees, but below the *auli-*, which is situated below the kidneys. CHD therefore suggests ‘rump, haunches, thigh or shank’. Normier *apud* Kühne (1986: 103<sup>61</sup>) proposes a connection with Skt. *sákthi-* ‘thigh’, which would formally fit and semantically certainly be possible. If this etymology is correct, we have to reconstruct *\*sok<sup>w</sup>tH-o-*. The fact that we do not find geminate spelling *-kk-* in *šakutta(i)-* /*sak<sup>w</sup>ta(i)-* may be due to chance, although the broken spelling *ša-ak-ut-ta-i* could in fact show that we have to read it as *ša-ak<ku>-ut-ta-i*.

**šakuua-** (n.) ‘eye’ (Sum. IGI, Akk. *ĪNU*): dat.-loc.sg. IGI<sup>HLA</sup>-*i*, gen.sg. ŠA IGI<sup>NIM</sup>, *E-NI*, all.sg.(?) *ša-ku-ua* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-a-ku-ua* (OS), *ša-ku-ua-a* (MH/MS), *ša-ku-ua* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *ša-ku-ua-aš* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-a-ku-ua-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ša-ku-ua-aš* (OH/NS), abl.pl. [*ša-k*]u-ua-za, instr.pl. *ša-a-ku-it* (OS), *ša-ku-i-it* (OH/MS), *ša-a-ku-ua-at* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **šakuual-** (n.) ‘eye-cover’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*š*]a<sup>2</sup>-a-ak-ku-ua-al (MS), instr. [*ša-a-a*]k<sup>2</sup>-ku-ua-li-it (MS), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-ku-ua-a[l-l(i)]*), see *šakuuajē/a<sup>zi</sup>* and *šakuuantarijē/a<sup>zi</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **tāua/i-** (c./n.) ‘eye’ (nom.sg. *da-a-u-i-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ta-a-u-i*, coll.pl. *da-a-u-ua*, IGI<sup>HLA</sup>-*ua*, dist.nom.-acc. IGI<sup>HLA</sup>-*ua-an-ta*, dist.dat.-loc. *da-a-ú-ua-an-t[a-an-za]*, *ta-ua-an-ta-an-[za]*, abl.-instr. *ta-a-ú-ua-ti*, gen.adj.-nom.sg.c. IGI<sup>HLA</sup>-*ua-aš-ši-iš*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n. IGI<sup>HLA</sup>-*ua-aš-ša-an-za*, gen.adj.abl.-instr. *ta-ua-aš-ša-ti*, *da-a-u-ua-aš-ša-ti*, *ta-a-u-ua-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *da-a-u-ua-aš-ša-an-za-ti*), **daualli(ja)-** ‘to cast the evil eye upon’ (3sg.pres.act. *da-ua-al-li-it-ti* (KUB 44.4+KBo 13.241 rev. 33)); HLuw. **tawa/i-** ‘eye’ (acc.sg. <sup>LITUUS</sup> *ta-wá/i-na-*’ (KAYSERĪ §3), abl.-instr. <sup>COR</sup> *ta-wa/i+ra/i* (KÜRTÜL §4), gen.adj.abl.-instr.(?) <sup>COR</sup> *ta-wa/i-sà-ta-ti* (ASSUR letter *e* §10)); Lyc. **\*tewe-** ‘eye’ (coll.pl. *tawa*), **ñtewē** (adv.) ‘facing, opposite, toward’.

PAnat. *\*sóg<sup>w</sup>o-*

IE cognates: PGerm. *\*sex<sup>w</sup>an* ‘to see’

See CHD Š: 65f. for attestations. The oldest attestations of this word is nom.-acc.pl. *šākuṽa* (OS). The bulk of the attested forms are plural, which means that we are practically dealing with a pluralum tantum. Often, the word is written with the sumerogram IGI, but it is not clear whether IGI always stands for *šākuṽa*. For instance, the NS spelling IGI-*anda* for *menaḥḥanda* may show that IGI was associated with *meni-* ‘face’ as well (q.v.). This is important for our judgement of a few cases where IGI is phonetically complemented with *i*-stem endings: nom.sg.c. IGI<sup>Hl.A</sup>-*iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. IGI<sup>Hl.A</sup>-*in* (NS) (see CHD (l.c.) for attestations). On the basis of these forms, e.g. CHD assumes that *šākuṽa-* was an *i*-stem originally, and cites the lemma as “*šakui-*”. Nevertheless, the appurtenance of these *i*-stem forms to the word that I cite as *šākuṽa-* is unlikely, not only because all phonetically spelled forms of this word show the *a*-stem *šākuṽa-*, but also because these *i*-stem forms are commune whereas *šākuṽa-* shows neuter forms only. As an extra argument in favour of the assumption that ‘eye’ originally was an *i*-stem *šakui-*, the form *ša-ku-iš-ši-it* (KUB 17.28 i 15) is interpreted by CHD as nom.-acc.sg.n. *šakui=ššit* ‘its eye’. As we will see at its own lemma, this word is rather a verbal form belonging to a stem *šakuiššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.). Starke (1989: 665f.) states that the forms with IGI<sup>Hl.A</sup>-*i-* should be read as Luwian *tāya/i-*, but according to CHD (Š: 67) there is no evidence for this assumption. Rieken (1999a: 61) suggests to interpret the form *ša-a-ku-i* (KBo 34.129, 2) as reflecting an old dual ending in *\*-ih<sub>1</sub>*, but the fact that it stands right before a break (*ša-a-ku-i*[-...]) makes any interpretation uncertain (according to CHD an interpretation as dat.-loc.sg. is equally possible). All in all, we have to start from a neuter noun *šākuṽa-*, which is almost consistently attested in the plural. There is no evidence that the commune forms IGI<sup>Hl.A</sup>-*i-* should be read *šakui-*, and therefore I will further leave these out of consideration here.

There are two different etymological proposals for this word, both going back to Sturtevant (1927b: 163). The first one connects *šākuṽa-* with *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to see’, which would imply that in Hittite we are dealing with an *s*-mobile: *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-*. The second one connects *šākuṽa-* with PGerm. *\*sex<sup>w</sup>an* ‘to see’ from *\*sek<sup>w</sup>-*. Both etymologies have their problematic sides. The assumption of an *s*-mobile in *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-* is rather awkward, although one can compare *šankuṽai-* ‘nail’ < *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-* and possibly *išḥaḥru-* ‘tear’, if this reflects *\*s-h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-*. A meaning ‘to see’ of PGerm. *\*sex<sup>w</sup>an* is often thought to derive through a secondary development from PIE *\*sek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to follow’ (< ‘to follow with the eyes’). Both etymological proposals have the problem that PIE *\*-k<sup>w</sup>-* does not seem to correspond to Hitt. single *-ku-*,

which rather points to  $*-g^{w(h)}$ -. This last problem is solved differently by different scholars. For instance, Eichner (1973a: 82) assumes a lengthened grade  $*sh_3\acute{e}k^w$ -*o-* that should have caused lenition. He does not explain, however, how this  $*\bar{e}$  could have yielded Hitt.  $\bar{a}$ , since it should not have been coloured according to his own law. Moreover, assuming lengthened grade in this formation is *ad hoc*. Melchert (1994a: 61) states that the PIE phoneme  $*-k^w$ - turns up as Hitt.  $/g^w/$  unconditionally. According to him, this is not only visible in  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ - but also in *nekuz* ‘night’ <  $*nek^w$ ts and *tarku-* besides “Luw.” *taru-* ‘to dance’ <  $*terk^w$ -. As I will show at their own lemmas, *nekuz* and *tar(k)u-* have alternative solutions. Besides, words like  $\acute{s}akku\ddot{u}ani$ - ‘mud-plaster’ <  $*sok^w$ -*on-i-*, *tekkuš-* ‘to show, to present’ <  $*dek^w$ s-, *takku* ‘if, when’ <  $*to-k^w$ e and *nekku* ‘not?’ <  $*ne-k^w$ e clearly show that in Hittite a phoneme  $/k^w/$  <  $*k^w$  is available, which means that the assumption of such a general lenition of  $*k^w$  is incorrect. Moreover, it would be very difficult to offer a phonetic explanation for a general lenition of  $*k^w$  whereas  $*k$ ,  $*t$  and  $*p$  remain unlenited in similar positions.

My solution for the lenited  $/g^w/$  in  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ - is that we see here an example of lenition due to a preceding accentuated  $*\acute{o}$ . As I have stated in § 1.4.1, I assume that  $*\acute{o}$  lenited a following consonant, which is for instance the source of the characteristic alternation between -C- and -CC- in *hi*-verbs (e.g.  $\bar{a}ki$  / *akkanzi*). So in my view,  $*-ók^wo-$  regularly yields Hitt.  $\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ -. All in all, I would reconstruct  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ - as  $*sók^wo-$ , and, to be more precise, nom.-acc.pl.  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$  as  $*sók^weh_2$  (from which  $\acute{s}akku\ddot{u}aje/a^{-z}$ , q.v.).

The interpretation of CLuw.  $t\bar{a}u/i-$ , HLuw. *tawa/i-* and Lyc. *tewe-* ‘eye’ is difficult. Szemerényi (1980: 26-8) connected these words with Lat. *tueor* ‘to look at’ (followed by Melchert 1987a: 188<sup>17</sup> (but retracted in 1994a: 274-5), and by Rieken 1999a: 60<sup>284</sup>). LIV<sup>2</sup> states that Lat. *tueor* reflects a root  $*teuH-$ , which is translated “(freundlich) beachten, betrachten; schützen”. If correct, the connection with ‘eye’ would not be very attractive semantically. In my view, the formal and semantic similarity between Luw.  $t\bar{a}u/i-$  and Hitt.  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ - is too big not to attempt connecting them etymologically. The latter part of the word is no problem: Hitt.  $\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ - points to PANat.  $*-\acute{o}g^wo-$ , which would yield Luw.  $\bar{a}u/i-$  as well. The initial part is more problematic, however: Luw./Lyc. *t-* does not regularly correspond to Hitt.  $\acute{s}$ -. Yet there are a few more words in which we do find this correspondence: CLuw.  $t\bar{a}in-$  ‘oil’ could possibly belong with Hitt.  $\acute{s}\bar{a}kan$  /  $\acute{s}akn-$  ‘oil’ and CLuw.  $d\bar{u}r$  /  $d\bar{u}n-$  ‘urine’ could possibly belong with Hitt.  $\acute{s}\bar{e}hur$  /  $\acute{s}\bar{e}hun-$  ‘urine’. When compared to Luw.  $t\bar{a}u/i-$  ~ Hitt.  $\acute{s}\bar{a}ku\ddot{u}a$ -, we notice that in all these cases we are dealing with a word in which PANat.  $*/g/$ ,  $*/g^w/$  or  $*/g^w/$  is lost:  $t\bar{a}in-$  <  $*s\acute{o}gen-$ ,  $d\bar{u}r$  <  $*s\acute{e}g^wr$  and  $t\bar{a}u/i-$  <  $*s\acute{o}g^wo-$ . Perhaps this

loss of \*/g/ was a decisive factor in the development of PANat. \*s- to pre-Luw. \*t-.

**šakuuāje/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic3 > Ic2) ‘to see, to look’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-ua-e[z-zi]* (here?), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-[k]u-ua-ja-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ku-u-ua-i-ja-at* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-ku-ua-ja-at* (NH), *ša-ku-ua-et*, *ša-ku-ua-a-[et]* (MH/NS), [*ša-*]a-ku-ua-i-e-et, [*š*]a-ku-ua-i-e-et, 2sg.imp.act. *ša-ku-ua-ja* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ša-ku-ua-at-te-en* (OH or MH); verb.noun gen. *ša-ku-ua-ja-u-ua-aš*; impf. *ša-a-ku-iš-ke/a-* (OH?/NS), *ša-ku-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ša-ku-iš-ke/a-* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-ku-uš-ke/a-*.

PIE \*sok<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-

See CHD Š: 55f. for attestations. This verb is generally seen as a derivative of *šākuua-* ‘eye’. As this noun is virtually pluralum tantum (nom.-acc.pl. *šākuua* < \*sók<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>), it is likely that this verb is derived from \*sók<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub> and reflects \*sok<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-, which explains why this verb belongs to the *tāje/a-* class. See for further etymology at *šākuua-*.

**šakuuantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to stay, to remain, to rest; to be neglected, to be unvisited, to be untended, to be uncelebrated’ (Sum. IGI-*uantarije/a-*): 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-zi* (MH/NS), [IG]I-*ua-an-da-ri-ez-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-un* (NH), *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-un* (NH); impf. *ša-ku-ua-an-da-ri-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *ša-ku-ua-an-da-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: **šaku(ua)ntarijanu<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to neglect’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-un-ta-ri-ja-nu-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-te-ni* (OH or MH/NS); part. *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-ua-an-t-* (NH); impf. *ša-ku-ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-uš-ke/a-* (NH), IGI-*ua-an-ta-ri-ja-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)).

PIE \*sok<sup>w</sup>-ent-r-je/o-

See CHD Š: 58f. for attestations. Oettinger (1979a: 352) derives this verb from an adjective \*šakuuant- ‘seeing’ (cf. *šākuua-* ‘eye’, *šakuuaje/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to see’), which would mean that *šakuuantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* is formally comparable to *gimmantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to spend the winter’, derived from *gimmant-* ‘winter’, and *nekumantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to undress’, derived from *nekumant-* ‘naked’. Semantically, this connection makes sense: \*‘to be seeing’ > ‘to be waiting/resting’. The causative in *-nu-* denotes ‘to neglect’, which must derive from \*‘to make (someone) waiting’. On the basis of transitive *šakuuantarijanu<sup>-zi</sup>* a secondary intransitive stem *šakuuantarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to

be neglected' was created which formally fell together with the original verb *šakuqantarije/a-zi* 'to stay, to remain', but semantically is slightly different. For further etymology see at *šākuqa-*.

*šallije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *šalla-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (IIIg / IIIh) 'to melt down': 3sg.pres.midd. *šal-la-at-ta-ri* (NS), *šal-li-ja-it-ta* (MH/NS), [*šal-l*]i-i-e-et-ta (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.midd. *šal-la-at-ta-ru* (MS?), *šal-li-et-ta-ru* (MH/NS), *šal-li-e-et-ta-ru* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *šal-la-an-ta-ru* (NH); verb.noun *šal-la-u-ua-ar* (here?).

Derivatives: *šallanu-zi* (Ib2) 'to melt down (a wax figure); to flatten' (3sg.pres.act. *šal-la-nu-uz-zi* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. [*šal-la-n*]u-ut-tén, 3pl.imp.act. *šal-la-nu-ua-an-du*; impf. *šal-la-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH?/NS)).

See CHD Š: 82 for attestations. We find three stems, *šalla-*, *šallije/a-* and *šallijae-*. Of these stems, *šalla-* is the oldest attested, whereas *šallije/a-* and *šallijae-* are younger secondary formations. Oettinger (1979a: 249, 355) translates "breit werden, zerlaufen" and assumes a connection with *šalli-* / *šallai-* 'big'. See there for further etymology.

*šalai-<sup>i</sup>* / *šali-* (IIa4) '?: 3pl.pres.act. *ša-li-i-an-zi* (KUB 59.14 rev. 1.col. 24 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-la-i-iš* (KBo 3.45 obv. 11 (OH/NS)).

These forms are treated in CHD under different lemmas: *ša-li-i-an-zi* is cited under *šallanna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šallanni-*, but this is formally totally unlikely; *ša-la-i-iš* is cited under *šallai-<sup>i</sup>* / *šalli-*, but this is formally awkward as all other forms show *-ll-*, and semantically unnecessary as the meaning of the other forms cannot be determined. I therefore have chosen to cite these forms in this lemma, but I am not able to prove that they are really part of the same paradigm. The contexts in which they occur run as follows:

KUB 58.14 rev. 1.col. (additions from KBo 25.175 r.col 3-4)

- (21) [ *-t*]a-ki UDU<sup>H<sup>L</sup>A</sup>-uš da-an-zi  
 (22) [(<sup>L<sup>U</sup></sup>.MEŠ)]UR.BA[R.R]A hu-u-ma-an-te-eš UDU-li-ja  
 (23) [p<sup>a</sup>-]a<sup>a</sup>-an-zi n=a-aš-ta UDU<sup>H<sup>L</sup>A</sup>-uš UDU-li-ja-az  
 (24) [š]a-ra-a ša-li-i-an-zi MUNUS<sup>GIŠ</sup>GIDRU  
 (25) [<sup>L<sup>U</sup></sup>]har-ta-ag-ga-an GI-it 1=ŠU ši-i-e-ez-zi

'... they take the sheep. All the wolfmen go to the pen and š. the sheep upwards out of the pen. The female staff-holder shoots at a wolfman once with an arrow'.



Out of this context it is clear that *šaližanzi* describes the action by which the wolfmen get the sheep out of the pen. CHD (Š: 85) translates “drag(?)” and therefore cites it under *šallanna<sup>-i</sup> / šallanni-* ‘to pull, to drag’.

KBo 3.45 obv.

(4-10) ‘We Hittites under King Muršili made the gods sick by taking and plundering Babylon’

(11) [*nu ma*]-*a-an ša-la-i-iš at-ta-aš ut-tar p[é-eš-ši-ia-at (?)]*

‘And when he (= Mursili) *š*.-ed, he d[isregarded(?)] the word of his father’.

CHD translates ‘grew up’ and connects it with *šalli-* / *šallai-* ‘big’. This is not likely because of the single *-l-* vs. geminate *-ll-* in *šalli-*. E.g. Hoffner (1975: 56f.) translates ‘became rebellious’.

All in all, we have to conclude that *šaližanzi* must mean something like ‘to get/pull/drag (someone out of the water)’, whereas the meaning of *šalajiš* is unclear. It therefore remains unclear whether these forms belong to one verb. If so, then they show the *dāi/tižanzi*-class inflection. Further unclear.

*šallai<sup>-i</sup> / šalli-* (IIa4) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-al-la-i* (OH<sup>?</sup>/pre-NS<sup>?</sup>) (here<sup>?</sup>), 3pl.pres.act. *šal-li-ia-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *šal-la-iš-ta*.

See CHD Š: 83 for attestations. There, the form *ša-la-i-iš* (KBo 3.45 obv. 11) is cited as well, but I have chosen to separate the forms with geminate *-ll-* and the forms with single *-l-*.

The forms that belong in this lemma are all attested in contexts that are too broken to determine their meaning. Formally, a connection with *šalli-* / *šallai-* ‘big’ has been suggested, but this cannot be proven on semantic grounds. If the forms all belong together, they would show the *dāi/tižanzi*-class inflection. Further unknown.

*šallakarta-* (n.) ‘presumptuousness’: nom.-acc.pl. *šal-la-kar-ta*, gen. *šal-la-kar-ta-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: *šallakartah<sup>-i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to offend someone through arrogance’ (3sg.pret.act. *šal-la-kar-ta-ah-ta* (NH)), *šallakartae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to offend someone through arrogance’ (3pl.pret.act. *šal-la-kar-ta-a-er* (NH), part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *šal-la-kar-ta-an*), *šallakartatar / šallakartann-* (n.) ‘presumptuousness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šal-la-kar-ta-tar*, abl. *šal-la-kar-ta-na-za*).

See CHD Š: 83f. for attestations. The word is a clear compound of *šalli-* / *šallai-* ‘big’ and *ker* / *kard(i)-* ‘heart’. The meaning ‘presumptuousness, arrogance’ can be compared with ModHG *Hochmut*, ModDu. *hooghartigheid* (lit. ‘high-heartedness’) ‘arrogance’. It is unclear to me whether the *-a-* in *šallakarta-* is from older *-aja-*, or shows a real replacement of *-i-* by *\*-o-* comparable to e.g. Lith. *ugnāvietė* ‘fire-place’ from *ugnīs* ‘fire’. The single spelling of *-k-*, which seemingly contradicts the fact that *ker* / *kard(i)-* reflects *\*ker* / *\*krd-*, is non-probative: the univerbation may have occurred at a time that all initial stops were lenis. See *šalli-* / *šallai-* and *ker* / *kard(i)-* for further etymology.

***šallanna-<sup>i</sup>*** / ***šallanni-*** (IIa5) ‘to pull, to drag’: 3sg.pres.act. *šal-la-an-na-a-i* (OH/NS), *šal-la-an-na-i* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *šal-la-an-ni-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), [*ša*]-*la-an-ni-an-zi* (OH/NS); impf. *šal-la-an-ni-iš-ke/a-*.

See CHD Š: 85f. for attestations and semantics. There it is argued that *šallanna/i-* must be near-synonymous with *huet<sup>(t)j</sup>a<sup>(ri)</sup>*, *hutti<sup>j</sup>e/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to pull, to drag’, because in the Song of Release (StBoT 32) both verbs translate the same Hurrian verb. In CHD, a form *šali<sup>j</sup>anzi* is cited as belonging to this verb as well, but this is formally unlikely. I treat this form under the lemma *šalai<sup>i</sup>* / *šali-* (q.v.)

Often, *šallanna/i-* is connected with the verb *šalla<sup>-tari</sup>*, *šalli<sup>j</sup>e/a<sup>-tari</sup>* ‘to melt down’: e.g. Laroche (1966: 161) translates *šallanna/i-* as ‘étirer, tirailler’ and remarks that it is related to “*šallai-/šalliya-*” as “*pai-/piya-*” is to “*piyanai-*” (which is actually *pejanae<sup>-zi</sup>* and does not have anything to do with *pai<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’), or Oettinger (1979a: 355), who translates *šallanna/i-* as ‘in die Breite ziehen, einschmelzen’, on the basis of the meaning of *šalla-*, *šalli<sup>j</sup>e/a-*. These connections are semantically weak, however.

Formally, we would expect that *šallanna/i-* is derived from a noun *\*šallātar* / *šallann-*, but a connection with *šallātar* ‘greatness’ (see under *šalli-* / *šallai-*) is semantically unlikely. Further unclear.

***šalli-*** / ***šallai-*** (adj. / c.) ‘(adj.) big, great, large, important, full-grown, vast, principal, main; (c.) head, chief, notable’ (Sum. GAL, Akk. *RABŪ*): nom.sg.c. *šal-li-iš* (OH/NS), *ša-al-li-iš* (OH/NS), *šal-li-eš* (1x, NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *šal-li* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *šal-li-in* (NH), voc.sg. GAL-*li* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *šal-la-ja-aš*, *šal-la-ja-š=a* (MH/MS), *šal-la-aš* (OH/NS), all.sg.(?) *šal-la* (MH?/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *šal-la-a-i* (MH/MS), *šal-la-i* (OH/NS), *šal-li* (NH), abl. *šal-la-ja-a[z]*, nom.pl.c. *šal-la-e-eš* (NS), *šal-li-eš* (NS), *šal-la-uš* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*ša*]-*al-la* (OH/NS), *ša-al-la-ja* (OH/NS), *šal-la-i* (NH), acc.pl.c. *šal-la-a-i-uš*

(NS), *šal-la-mu-u[š]* (NS), gen.pl. *šal-la-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *šal-la-ia-aš* (OH/NS), *šal-li-ia-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: *šallātar* / *šallann-* (n.) ‘greatness; kingship, rulership’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šal-la-a-tar*, *šal-la-tar* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *šal-la-an-ni* (OH?/NS)), *šallanu-zi* (Ib2) ‘to raise, to bring up; to exalt, to magnify; to .... emphatically’ (1sg.pres.act. *šal-la-nu-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-al-la-nu-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *šal-la-nu-nu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-al-la-nu-uš* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *šal-la-nu-ut* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *šal-la-nu-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ša-al-la-nu-ut* (OS), *šal-la-nu-ut* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ša-al-la-nu-ut-te-en* (MS, OH/NS), *šal-la-nu-ut-tén* (MS); 3pl.pret.midd. *šal-la-nu-ua-an-ta-ti*; part. *šal-la-nu-ua-an-t-* (NH); inf.I *šal-la-nu-ma-an-zi* (NH), *šal-la-nu-um-ma-an-zi* (NH); verb.noun. *šal-la-nu-mar* (NS), abl.(?) *šal-la-nu-mar-ra-za* (NH); impf. *ša-al-la-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OS), *šal-la-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OH/NS)), *šallēš-zi* (Ib2) ‘to become large, to grow up, to increase in size or power; to become too big, to become too difficult to resolve’ (3sg.pres.act. *šal-le-e-eš-zi*, *šal-li-iš-zi*, *šal-le-eš-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *šal-le-eš-t=a-aš* (KBo 32.14 iii 3 (MH/MS), *šal-le-eš-ta* (OH/NS), *šal-li-iš-ta* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *šal-le-e-eš[-šer]*, [*ša*]-*le-eš-še-er* (OH?/NS?), 3sg.imp.act. *šal-le-e-eš-du* (OH/NS); impf. *šal-le-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *šal-li-iš-ke/a-* (NS)), see *šallakarta-* and *šalla<sup>itari</sup>*, *šallije/a<sup>itari</sup>*.

IE cognates: OIr. *slán* ‘complete’, Lat. *salvus* ‘complete, intact’, Gr. ὅλος ‘whole, complete’, Skt. *sárva-* ‘whole, all’.

PIE *\*solH-i-*

See CHD Š: 92f. for attestations. Since Sturtevant (1933: 138) these words are generally connected with Lat. *salvus* ‘complete, intact’, Gr. ὅλος ‘whole, complete’, Skt. *sárva-* ‘whole, all’, etc., despite the semantic problems (Hitt. ‘big, great’ vs. ‘whole, all’ in the other IE languages). The OIr. cognate, *slán* ‘complete, sane’ reflects *\*slH-no-* (note that the colour of the laryngeal cannot be determined on the basis of this form alone), which is supported by the fact that Hitt. *-ll-* can go back to *\*-lH-*. This means that in Lat. *salvus*, Skt. *sárva-* and Gr. ὅλος that all seem to reflect *\*sol-uo-*, an original laryngeal was lost due to the *o*-grade: *\*solH-uo-*.

Within Hittite, we come across a noun *šalhijanti-*, *šalhanti-*, *šalhitti-* (cf. CHD Š: 92) that occurs in lists of desirable states, e.g.

KUB 17.10 i

(10) <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-š=a ar-ḫa i-ia-an-ni-iš ḫal-ki-in<sup>d</sup> Im-mar-ni-in*

(11) *ša-al-ḫi-an-ti-en ma-an-ni-it-ti-en iš-pí-ia-tar-r=a pé-e-da-aš*

‘And Telipinu went away. He carried off grain, Immarni, *šalḫianti-*, *manitti-* and satisfaction’.

Goetze (1933: 135) translates it as ‘Wachstum?’, which has been taken over by Friedrich HW: 179. This translation is solely based on a presupposed connection with *šalli-* / *šallai-*, however, and therefore is far from ascertained. Nevertheless, this noun is used as an argument to reconstruct *šalli-* as *\*solh<sub>2</sub>-i-* or *\*selh<sub>2</sub>-i-*, with *\*-h<sub>2</sub>-*. The CLuwian form *ša-al-ḫa-a-ti* (KUB 35.121, 7), which is interpreted as the abl.-instr. of an adjective *\*šalḫa/i-* ‘great, grown’ by e.g. Melchert (1993b: 186) and therewith as the Luwian counterpart of Hitt. *šalli-* / *šallai-*, is found in such a broken context that its meaning cannot be independently determined. All in all, none of the forms with *šalḫ-* can be surely identified as a cognate of Hitt. *šalli-* / *šallai-*, which means that the colour of the laryngeal in *\*solH-i-* cannot be determined.

Sometimes, *šalli-* is reconstructed as *\*selH-i-* (e.g. Melchert 1994a: 51) under the assumption that *\*eRHV > aRRV*. As I show under the lemma *erḫ-* / *arah-* / *arḫ-*, this sound law is incorrect, which means that *šalli-* must reflect *\*solH-i-*.

*šalīk-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* (IIIa) ‘to touch, to have contact with; to approach; to intrude into, to invade, to penetrate, to violate, to have (illicit) sexual intercourse; to reach to’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-li-i-ga* (OS), *ša-li-ga* (OS), *ša-a-li-ga* (OS), *ša-a-li-ka<sub>4</sub>* (NS), *ša-li-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri*, *ša-li-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ri* (NS), *ša-a-li-ga-ri*, *ša-li-ga-a-r[i]*, *ša-li-ga-r[i]*, 1pl.pres.midd. [*š*]*a-li-ku-ua-aš-ta-ti* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.midd. *ša-li-ik-tu-ma-ri* (OS), [*š*]*a-li-i]k-tu-ma*, 3pl.pres.midd. *ša-li-ki-an-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.midd. *ša-li-ka-ru* (NH); 1sg.pres.act. *ša-lik-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ša-li-ik-ti* (OH/NS), *ša-a-li-ik-ti* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-li-ik-zi* (NH), *ša-lik-zi*, *ša-li-ga-i* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-li-kán-zi*, [*š*]*a-li-ga-an-zi*, [*š*]*a-a-li-kán-zi*, [*š*]*a-li-in-kán-zi* (MS, but see discussion below), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-li-ku-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-li-ka<sub>4</sub>-aš* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-li-ka-aš* (MH/MS), *ša-li-ik-ta* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. [*š*]*a-li-ki* (OH/MS), *ša-li-i-ik*; part. *ša-li-ga-an-t-* (NS); inf.I *ša-li-ki-u-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ša-li-ku-ar* (NH); impf. *ša-li-kiš-ke/a-* (MH), *ša-li-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ša-li-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

IE cognates: OIr. *sligid* ‘to strike (down)’, ModEng. *slick*, OHG *slīthhan* ‘to sneak’, Gr. λίγδην ‘striking, touching superficially’.

PIE *\*sléiǵ-o* or *\*slíǵ-óri*

See CHD Š: 100f. for attestations. In the oldest texts (OS and MS) we predominantly find middle forms. Active forms are occurring occasionally in MS

texts, but are mostly found in NS texts only. The situation regarding plene spelling is quite unclear. In OS texts, we find the forms *ša-li-i-ga* as well as *ša-a-li-ga* (besides *ša-li-ga*), whereas younger texts also show *ša-li-ga-a-ri*. Nevertheless, if we assume an IE origin of this verb, we can only conclude that the stem originally must have been /slig-/ (a PIE root *\*seliK-* does not make sense). Perhaps the spellings with plene *ša-a-li-* show that already in OH times, a phonetic anaptyctic vowel developed in the initial cluster *sl-* (so phonetic [səlig-]), but phonological /slig-/, cf. Melchert 1994a: 108, 155). When the original middle stem was taken over into the active, it usually was inflected as *šalik-<sup>zi</sup>*, but we find a stem *šalika-<sup>i</sup>* / *šalik-* as well (*tarn(a)*-class). A few forms show a stem *šalikije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (3pl.pres.midd. *šalikianta* (MH/MS) and inf.I *šalikiu<sup>u</sup>anzi* (MH/MS)). One form seems to show a stem *šalink-*: 3pl.pres.act. [š]a-li-in-kán-zi (KBo 29.133 iii 2). We could argue that it shows a secondary form in analogy to *li(n)k-*, but because the context is quite broken, I do not think that it is impossible to read the text as [...-š]a li-in-kán-zi (or even [...-t]a li-in-kán-zi).

Melchert (1994a: 330) tentatively suggests a connection with OIr. *sligid* ‘to strike (down)’ and ModEng. *slick*. In LIV<sup>2</sup>, OIr. *sligid* is connected with OHG *slīhhan* ‘to sneak’ and Gr. λῖγδην ‘striking, touching superficially’ from a root *\*sleiǵ-* ‘schmierer, glatt machen’ (LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs a palatovelar on the basis of OCS *slbzьkb* ‘slippery’, which must reflect *\*slig<sup>h</sup>-*, however, because of the absence of Winter’s Law). Either we have to reconstruct *\*sléiǵ-o* (class IIIa, but note that we then must assume a phonetic development *\*leiK > līk*, perhaps comparable to *\*Kei > Kī*) or *\*slíǵ-ó* (class IIIc).

*šalk-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ia4 > Ic1) ‘to knead, to mix together’: 1sg.pres.act. *šal-ga-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-al-ak-zi* (OS), *šal-ki-ez-zi* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *šal-kán-zi* (MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. [š]a-al-ku-un, *ša-al-ku-u[n]*; part. *šal-kán-t-*.

IE cognates: ?Gr. ἔλκω ‘to draw, to drag’, TochB *sālk-* ‘to draw, to pull’, OE *sulh* ‘plough’.

PIE *\*selk-ti*, *\*slk-enti* ?

See CHD Š: 106 for attestations. The alternation between *šal-ga-mi* and *ša-al-ak-zi* besides *šal-kán-zi* clearly shows that we are dealing with a stem /salk-/. Once, we find a stem *šalkije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (*šalkiezzi*).

The etymological interpretation of this verb is in debate. Kimball (1994a: 80) discusses two possibilities: either a connection with Skt. *śjāti* ‘to set free’ from *\*selǵ-* (but this is semantically quite weak), or a tie-in with Gr. ἔλκω ‘to draw, to

drag’ and TochB *salk-* ‘to draw, to pull’ from *\*selk-* (semantically better, but still not self-evident). Rieken (1999a: 316<sup>1538</sup>) states that a semantic connection with *\*selg-* is unsatisfying, and therefore connects *šalk-* with the root *\*sleh<sub>1</sub>g-* ‘schlaff, matt sein’ (“‘verkneten’ aus trans. ‘weich machen’”). This connection is semantically hardly better (how can a clearly intransitive root suddenly be used transitively?). The formal side is unattractive as well: we would expect that *\*sléh<sub>1</sub>g-ti*, *\*slh<sub>1</sub>g-énti* would yield Hitt. /slégt<sup>s</sup>i/, /slgánt<sup>s</sup>i/, which could only become the attested Hittite paradigm through generalization of the weak stem. Although such generalizations are known (e.g. *gulšmi*, *gulšanzi* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>ls-*), the semantic and formal problems make this etymology less convincing. I therefore stick to the connection with Gr. ἔλκω, but must admit that a better proposal would certainly be welcome.

(GIŠ)*šam(a)lu-* (n.) ‘apple (tree)(?)’ (Sum. GIŠ<sub>HAŠHUR</sub>): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ma-lu* (OH?/NS), erg.sg. *ša-ma-lu-ua-an-za* (NS), abl. GIŠ<sub>HAŠHUR-lu-ua-an-za</sub>, instr. GIŠ<sub>HAŠHUR-it</sub>; unclear (erg.sg. or abl.) *ša-am-lu-ua-an-za* (OH/NS),

Anat. cognates: Pal. *šamlū(ua)-* ‘apple?’ (dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ša-am-lu-ú-ua-aš*).

See CHD Š: 112f. for attestations. The equation of Hitt. *šam(a)lu-* with the sumerogram GIŠ<sub>HAŠHUR</sub> is certain. The meaning of GIŠ<sub>HAŠHUR</sub> is not fully clear, however. Usually, a translation ‘apple’ is given, but ‘apricot’ sometimes as well (cf. CHD Š: 114). The Palaic form *šamlū<sub>uaš</sub>* is interpreted as ‘apples’ because of the formal similarity to Hitt. *šam(a)lu-* only.

Ivanov (1976: 160-2) tried to connect this word with the words for ‘apple’ in the other IE languages, which reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>eb-l-*, assuming that an original cluster *\*-ml-* remained as such in the Anatolian language group but yielded *\*-bl-* in the other IE languages. Such a development is not attested anywhere else, however. The only sound that *šam(a)lu-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>eb-ōl* have in common is *-l-*, which is not enough to establish an etymology. Further unclear.

*šāmāna-* (c.) ‘foundation(s); foundation deposit’: nom.sg. *ša-ma-na-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *ša-ma-na-an*, abl. *ša-ma-na-az*, *ša-am-ma-na-az*, acc.pl. *ša-a-ma-nu-uš* (MH/MS), *ša-ma-nu-uš* (OH/NS), [*š*]*a-am-ma-nu-uš* (NS), *ša-ma-a-nu-uš* (NS), *ša-a-ma-a-nu-uš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ša-ma-na-a-aš* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ma-na-aš* (MH/NS), *ša-ma-na-aš* (MH?/MS?), *ša-am-ma-na-aš*, gen.pl. *ša-ma-na-aš*.

Derivatives: *\*šamanatar / šamanann-* (n.) ‘foundation deposit’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ma-na-an-ni* (NH)).

See CHD Š: 115f. for attestations. Note that HW: 180 cites a form acc.pl. *šamenuš* of this word, but this form occurs in a broken context (KUB 31.112, 11), and is interpreted by Oettinger (1976c: 99) as 2sg.pret.act. of *šamenu-<sup>zi</sup>* (see under *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-*). Spellings with geminate *-mm-* only occur in NS texts and therefore are probably non-probative. One of the MH/MS forms shows plene spelling of the first *-a-*, *ša-a-ma-nu-uš*, which occurs a few times more. Nevertheless, we also come across plene spellings like *ša-ma-a-nu-uš*, *ša-a-ma-a-nu-uš* and *ša-ma-na-a-aš*.

Oettinger (1979a: 366, followed by e.g. Starke 1990: 416 and Kimball 1999: 418) connected *šāmāna-* (which he cites as *šamana-*) with the verb *šamnae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to create’, but I do not find the semantic connection very appealing. He further connects it with Arm. *himn* ‘fundament’ (following Laroche 1963: 76f.) that in his view must reflect *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-men-*, a derivative from the PIE root *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to press in, to sow’ (see also at *šai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-*). He therefore reconstructs the Hittite word “*šamana-*” as *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-men-*, giving especially *ša-me-nu-uš* < *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-mén-*ms** as a key example. This is not likely because (a) *šāmāna-* does not show an *n*-stem inflection, (b) this etymology cannot explain the plene spellings *ša-a-ma-n<sup>o</sup>*, and (c) *ša-me-nu-uš* probably does not belong to this word. Kimball states that the preform *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-mn-* (as visible in Arm. *himn*) underlies the noun *ši-im-ma-an-ta* (KBo 1.44+ KBo 13.1 iv 32) ‘form, facial features’ and the verb “*sem(m)nā(i)-* ‘to create’”. The first statement is phonetically, semantically and morphologically impossible, and the second statement is based on a wrong interpretation of the verbal forms starting in *šemn-* (see at *šamnae-<sup>zi</sup>* as well as *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-*).

All in all, an etymological connection with Arm. *himn* seems formally impossible to me. The inner-Hittite connection with *šamnae-<sup>zi</sup>* in my view has to be given up as well, because this verb probably reflects *\*sm-no-je/o-*, which would not be able to account for *šāmāna-* in a coherent way.

*šamma<sup>nae-zi</sup>*: see *šamnae-<sup>zi</sup>*

*šamankur<sup>ant-</sup>*: see at *zama(n)kur*

*šame-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-*

*šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-*, *šemen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šemn-* (Ia1) ‘to pass by/away/off, to withdraw, to disappear; to relinquish/forfeit one’s right to’: 3sg.pres.act. *še-me-en-zi* (OS), *ša-me-en-zi* (OS), *ša-me-in-z[i]* (NH), *ši-me-en-zi* (MS?), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-am-na-an-zi* (OH/MS?), *še-em-na-an-zi* (NS), *ša-me-ja-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-me-*

*en-ta* (OH/NS), *ša-mi-en-ta* (MH/MS?), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-me-en-du* (OH/NS), *ša-m[i-en-du]* (OH/NS), *ša-me-ed-du* (MH/MS); part. *ša-am-na-an-t-*.

Derivatives: *šamenu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make (something/-one) pass by, to bypass, to dispense with(?); to ignore (someone)’ (2sg.pres.act. *ša-me-nu-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-me-nu-uz-zi* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-me-nu-ut-te-ni* (NH), *ša-mi-nu-u[t-te]-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ša-mi-nu-an-zi* (OH/MS?), 2sg.pret.act.(?) *ša-me-nu-uš*, 3pl.pret.act. *ša-mi-[nu<sup>?</sup>-er<sup>?</sup>]* (OH/NS); part. *ša-me-nu-an-t-*).

PIE \**smén-ti* / *smn-énti*

See CHD Š: 120-1 and Oettinger (1976c) for discussions and citations. It is not always easy to determine whether a form belongs with this verb or rather with *šammae-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to create’ (q.v.). This is the reason why the list of attestations given here slightly differs from the lists as given by CHD and by Oettinger. For instance, *ša-am-na-an-zi* (KBo 17.46, 28 (OH/MS?)) is cited in CHD (Š: 124) under the lemma *šammae-*. Oettinger (o.c.: 98) states, however: “eine auffassung von *samnanzi* als zu *sammae-* ‘gründen, schaffen’ gehörig ist nicht nur lautlich unwahrscheinlich – zu erwarten wäre \**samnānzi* –, sondern auch semantisch, da es sich um eine Opferliste und nicht um ein Bauritual handelt”. The context is difficult:

KBo 17.46 + KBo 34.2

(50) LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> AN.BAR 20 [*pur-*]*pu-ru-uš* AN.BAR *šu-uh-ḫa-an-z[i ...]*

(51) LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> KÙ.BABBAR 20 [*pur-*]*pu-ru-uš* KÙ.BABBAR *šu-uh-ḫa-an-[zi ....]*

(52) LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> URUDU.DÍM.DÍM *ša-am-na-an-zi* LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> [ ... ]

(53) [x-x-]x-u-lu-ma-aš *ša-me-en-zi* LÚ<sup>M[ES]</sup> ...]

‘The iron-workers(?) heap up(?) 20 [b]alls of iron, the silver-workers(?) heap up(?) 20 [b]alls of silver, the coppersmiths *šamnanzi*, the men [...], [...]x-ulumaš passes by’.

Because of *šamenzi* in line 53 (which cannot be interpreted otherwise than as 3sg.pres.act. of *šamen-*), it is likely that *šamnanzi* belongs with *šamen-* as well. CHD (Š: 125), although citing *šamnanzi* as belonging to *šammae-*, states that “possibly *šamnai-* in these examples is a homonymous verb with a meaning ‘compete’”, and thus admits that a translation ‘to create’ may not be very appropriate in this context. I therefore follow Oettinger in assuming that *šamnanzi* is 3pl.pres.act. of *šamen-*.



Another difficult form is *ša-am-na-an* (KBo 3.19 rev. 20), which in CHD (Š: 125) is translated as ‘created’ and therefore interpreted as belonging with *šamnae-*. The context in which it occurs is that unclear, however, that other interpretations could be possible as well. On formal grounds, I treat it as belonging with *šamen-/šamn-*.

The 3pl.pres.act. *še-em-na-an-zi* (KBo 8.102, 8) is cited in CHD Š: 124 under the attestations of *šamnae-*, but in the lemma itself it is stated that its interpretation is “unclear”. In my view, the context could justify an interpretation as a form of *šamen-/šamn-*:

KBo 8.102

- (6) [ ... ]x ar-ta ūa-a-tar iš-pár-nu-u[z-zi]  
 (7) [ ... ]-un šu-up-pí-ia-aḥ-ḥi 2 DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.G[AL]  
 (8) [ ... M]A-ḤAR I-NIM še-em-na-an-zi š=a-a[t]  
 (9) [ ... š<sup>i</sup>-pa<sup>a</sup>-a]n<sup>a</sup>-ta-an-zi

‘[...] stands up and spreads water out. [...] purifies [...]. Two palace servants pass by before the eyes [of? ...]. They [liba]te it [...]’.

So all in all, I think we are dealing with a verb that can be characterized by the forms *šamenzi*, *šemenzi* besides *šamnanzi*, *šemnanzi*. CHD (Š: 120) states that “the vacillation of the vowel in the initial syllable suggests a pronounced \*smen-”, which is also the interpretation of Oettinger, who further interprets *šamnanzi* as \*smn-enti (comparing *tamenta* besides *damnant-*). So the forms *šamenzi* : *šamnanzi* are to be interpreted /smént<sup>s</sup>i/ : /smnánt<sup>s</sup>i/, whereas *šemenzi* : *šemnanzi* show occasional anaptyxis in the initial cluster: /šimént<sup>s</sup>i/ : /šimnánt<sup>s</sup>i/.

This verb cannot reflect anything else than \*smén-ti, \*smn-é-nti, for which I know no cognates. Oettinger (o.c.: 100) translates the verb as ‘verschwinden’ and connects it with Arm. *manr* ‘little’, Gr. μανός ‘scarce, scanty’, μούνος ‘allone’, OIr. *menb* ‘little’. These words probably reflect \*menH-(u-), however, and are semantically not very close: the connection is therefore unconvincing.

We find a few forms that show a stem *šame-* (3pl.pres.act. *šamejanzi*, 3sg.imp.act. *šameddu*) which are explained by Oettinger (o.c.: 99) as a backformation on the basis of impf. \*smen-ske/o-, which according to him regularly should have become \*\*smeske/a-. This is problematic since \*smen-ske/o- would have given \*\*šma(n)ške/a- (which would be the outcome of \*smn-ske/o-, the morphologically expected imperfective, as well, cf. \*g<sup>wh</sup>n-ske/o- >

*kuḡaske/a-*). We should rather assume an analogy to the forms *\*smemi*, *\*smesi*, *\*smeḡen* (cf. *kuemi*, *kuēši*, *kuēḡen* from *kuen<sup>-zi</sup>* / *kun-*).

Oettinger (o.c.: 99) states that the verbs *šamešije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* and *šamešanu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to burn (something)’ derive from an original meaning ‘to make disappear’. CHD convincingly connects these verbs with *šami-* ‘smoke’, however. Moreover, CHD distinguishes between a verb *šame/inu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to make pass by, to let someone go, to ignore (someone)’ (derived from *šamen-/šamn-*) and the verb *šame/inu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to burn (something)’ (derived from *šami-*, q.v.), which Oettinger interprets as belonging to one and the same verb ‘to make disappear; to burn as incense’. Melchert (1984a: 107) draws attention to the fact that in KBo 17.21+ the causative is spelled *ša-mi-nu-*, whereas the basic verb is spelled *ša-me-en-*. He explains this as a difference in accentuation: *\*smen-néu-* vs. *\*smén-*; but in my view we are rather dealing with a difference between */smínu-/* < *\*smn-néu-* (for */CminC/* < *\*CmnC*, compare *ḡame/ink-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>mnḡ<sup>h</sup>-* (see at *ḡamank<sup>i</sup>* / *ḡame/ink-*) vs. */smén-/* < *\*smén-*.

The form *ša-me-nu-uš* (KUB 31.112, 21) is interpreted by Oettinger (o.c.: 99) as 2sg.pret.act. of *šamenu<sup>-zi</sup>*, whereas the edition of this text (Pecchioli Daddi 1975: 108f.) analyses it as acc.pl. of the noun *šamana-* ‘foundation’ (q.v.).

**šammenant-** (adj.) ‘?’: acc.pl.c. *ša-am-me-na-an-du-uš* (OH/NS).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KBo 10.37 ii

(9) *a-ua-an ar-ḡa pá-r-aḡ-tén* EME<sup>MEŠ</sup>HUL-*l*[*a<sup>?</sup>-mu<sup>?</sup>-uš<sup>?</sup>*]

(10) *ša-am-me-na-an-du-uš*

‘Drive away the evil tongues, which are š.’

On the basis of this context, we cannot determine its meaning. On formal grounds it is often regarded as belonging to *šamen<sup>-zi</sup>* / *šamn-* ‘to pass by’ (e.g. Oettinger 1976c, who regards this form as 3pl.imp.act. *šammenandu*) or to *šamnae<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to create’ (e.g. CHD Š: 125). In both paradigms it would not fit, however: as a participle of *šamen-/šamn-* it would be the only form with a geminate *-mm-*, and in the paradigm of *šamnae-* it would be the only form showing an *e*. I therefore have chosen to treat it separately. Further unclear.

***šami-*** ‘smoke(?)’: gen.sg.? *ša-mi-ja-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: *šaminu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to burn (something)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-mi-nu-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-mi-nu-ua-an-zi* (NH), *ša-me-nu-ua-an-zi* (OH/NS), impf. *ša-am-mi-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)), *šamešije/a-*<sup>-zi</sup>, *šimišije/a-*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘(act.) to burn (something) for fumigation; (midd.) to burn for fumigation (intr.); (act.) to interrogate’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-me-ši-ja-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-me-ši-ez-zi*, *ša-mi-ši-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-me-še-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-mi-ši-e-ez-zi* (MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ši-me-še-e-nu-[un]* (NH), *ši-mi-ši-ja-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-mi-ši-ja*, *ša-me-ši-i-e-it-ta*; impf. *ša-mi-ši-iš-ke/a-*), *šamešanu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to burn (something) into smoke’ (3pl.pres.act. *ša-me-ša-nu-an-zi*).

See CHD Š: 118f. for attestations and contexts. Although the context of the hapax noun *šamijaš* is broken and its meaning therefore not fully clear, a translation ‘smoke’, which is based on the formal similarity with *šaminu*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to burn’, would fit. This latter verb clearly belongs with *ša/imi/ešije/a-*<sup>-zi</sup> and *šamešanu*<sup>-zi</sup>, both meaning ‘to burn’ as well, although the formal relationship is unclear. Oettinger (1979a: 346) calls “*šamešje-*” a “(wahrscheinlich aoristischer) *s*-Erweiterung”, but that is just a mere guess. Etymologically, one could think of a connection with PGerm. \**smūkan* ‘to smoke’ but apart from the fact that this verb stands further isolated in IE, it is not easy to formally connect it. I would rather think that these Hittite verbs are of non-IE origin.

*šammae*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic2 > Ic1) ‘to create’: 3pl.pres.act. *ša-am-ma-na-a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. [*š*]*a-am-ni-ja-nu-un* (NS), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-am-na-a-eš* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-am-na-a-it* (MH/NS), *ša-am-na-it* (NS), *ša-am-ni-i-et* (OH/NS), *ša-am-ni-ja-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-am-ni-er* (NS), *ša-am-ma[-na<sup>2</sup>-er<sup>2</sup>]* (NS), [*ša<sup>2</sup>-a*]*m-ni-e-er* (MH/NS); 3sg.imp.midd. *ša-am-ni-ja-ta-ru* (OH/NS), *ša-am-ni-e-t[a]-ru* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *ša-[a]m-ni-ja-an-ta-ru* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-am-ma-ni-ja-an-ta-ru* (OH/NS); part. *ša-am-ni-ja-an-t-*; impf. *ša-am-na-iš-ke/a-*, *ša-am-ma-ni-eš-ke/a-*, *ša-am-ni-eš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *sám*, GAv. *hām*, Lith. *saĩ-*, OCS *sq-* ‘together’.

PIE \**sm-no-je/o-* ?

It is not always fully clear which forms belong to this verb, especially because of the formal similarity with *šamen*<sup>-zi</sup> / *šamn-* ‘to pass by’ (q.v.). The forms mentioned above in my view certainly belong here. CHD Š: 124f. cites the stem of this verb as “*šamnāi-*, *šamma/enāi-*, *šamniye/a-*, *šemnai-*”. Some of the forms that are cited are doubtful regarding their appurtenance to ‘to create’, however.

A stem “*šemnai-*” is given on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *še-em-na-an-zi* (KBo 8.102, 8 (MS)) only, but CHD judges this form as “uncertain” itself. I rather take this form as belonging with *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-* ‘to pass by’ (q.v. for a treatment of the context). A stem “*šammenāi-*” is given on the basis of *ša-am-me-na-an-du-uš* (KBo 10.37 ii 10) only, which is translated as ‘created’ in CHD. This translation is not supported by the context, however, and formally *šammenanduš* stands quite apart from the other forms of this verb as it would be the only one to show a vowel *-e-*. As appurtenance to *šamen-/šamn-* is unlikely as well, I have treated this word under its own lemma, *šammenant-* (q.v.). The form *ša-am-na-an-zi* (KBo 17.46, 28 (OH/MS?)) is translated ‘they created’ in CHD, but with doubt. Under the lemma *šamen-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šamn-* I have treated its context and argued that it rather belongs there. The form *ša-am-na-an* (KBo 3.19 rev. 20) is translated ‘created’ in CHD, but this is merely a possibility. Formally, it could belong to *šamen-/šamn-* as well (q.v.), which perhaps is more likely since the other attested participles of *šammae-*, *šamniē/a-* show a form *šamniiant-*.

So all in all, we are left only with the forms as cited above. The spelling alternation between *ša-am-n<sup>o</sup>* and *ša-am-ma-n<sup>o</sup>* probably denotes that we have to phonologically interpret /saMn<sup>o</sup>/. We encounter two stems: *šammae-<sup>zi</sup>* (*šammanānzi*, *šamnāeš* and *šamnāit*) and *šamniē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (*šamniianun*, *šamnijet*, *šamniiat*, *šamnier*, [ša]mniier, *šamniataru*, *šamniataru*, *šamniiantaru* and *šamniiant-*). Although the stem *šamniē/a-* is attested more often (but is found in NS texts only), the oldest form, *šamnāeš* (OH/MS), shows that the stem *šammae-* is more original.

Verbs that belong to the *hatrae*-class usually are denominatives, derived from *o*-stem nouns. In this case, we have to assume that a noun *\*šamna-* has served as the basis for this verb. Unfortunately, this noun is unattested itself. If from IE origin, it could only go back to *\*smno-* (note that *\*somno-* would have yielded *\*\*šamma-*). Perhaps we are dealing with a nominal derivative of PIE *\*som* ‘together’ (Skt. *sám*, GAv. *hām*, Lith. *saĩ-*). If so, then we can reconstruct a semantic development *\*smno-* ‘togetherness’ > *\*smno-je/o-* ‘to bring together’ > ‘to create’.

*šamniē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *šammae-<sup>zi</sup>*

=(*š*)*šan* sentence particle indicating superposition (‘over’, ‘upon’, ‘on’ etc.); indicating contiguity or close proximity; accompanying ‘for (the benefit of)’ or ‘about, concerning’; accompanying ideas of measuring or counting; indicating

‘off, from’? (only OH): *C=ša-an* (OS), *V=š-ša-an* (OS, often) *V=ša-an* (OS, less often)

PIE \**som*

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When the preceding element ends in a vowel, this sentence particle, which always occupies the last slot of an initial chain of particles, is usually spelled with geminate *-šš-*, but spellings with single *-š-* are attested as well (cf. *ke-e=ša-an*, *ua-al-ḥa-an-zi=ša-an*, both OS). For the semantics, see CHD Š: 126-155. There it is stated that “it would appear that *-šan* suggests or implies an unexpressed dative-locative in clauses with verbs that can or regularly do take locatives. *-šan* also occurs in clauses with expressed locatives, perhaps to reinforce them”. In my corpus of OS texts (consisting of 23.000 words), *=ššan* occurs 76 times (3.3 promille), in my corpus of MH/MS texts (consisting of 18.000 words) 48 times (2.7 promille) and in my corpus of NH texts (consisting of 95.000 words) 71 times (0.75 promille). We see that the use of *=ššan* is diminishing from MH times onwards. In NS copies of OH texts, *=ššan* is replaced by *=kkan* or just omitted.

According to Melchert (1994a: 154), the geminate writing of *=ššan* originates in the forms where it stood in posttonic position. From there it spread to postposttonic places (where Melchert expects lenited *-š-*). According to Melchert, *=ššan* is to be equated with the element *=ššan* as found in *kiššan* ‘thus’, *kuššan* ‘when’, *iniššan* ‘thus’ and *apiniššan* ‘thus’.

According to Eichner (1992: 46), *=(š)šan* is cognate to the adverbs Skt. *sám*, GAv. *hām*, Lith. *saĩ-*, OCS *sq-*, Gr. *ἀ-* (in *ἀδελφός* ‘brother’) ‘together’ < \**som*, \**sm*, which ultimately must be cogante with PIE \**sem* ‘one’ (through the meaning ‘in one’). See at *šani-* ‘the same’ for a possible other descendant of PIE \**sem* ‘one’.

*šanna-*<sup>i</sup> / *šann-* (IIa1γ) ‘to hide, to conceal’: 1sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na-aḥ-ḥi* (OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na-at-ti* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na-a-i* (OH or MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-an-na-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), *ša-a-na-at-te-e-ni* (MH?/NS), *ša-an-na-at-te-e-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-na-an-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-an-na-aš* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-an-ni-eš-ta* (NH), *ša-an-ni-iš-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-an-ni-er* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-an-na-at-ta* (MH/NS); part. *ša-an-na-an-t-*; verb.noun *ša-an-nu-um-mar* (NH); impf. *ša-an-na-aš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *šannapi*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἄνευ ‘without’, Skt. *sanutár* ‘away, far off, aside’, Lat. *sine* ‘without’, OIr. *sain* ‘without’ etc.

PIE *\*sṇ-nó-h<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*sṇ-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti*

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See CHD Š: 156f. for attestations. The verb inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class. The stem *šann-* is visible in verb.noun *šannummar*. According to Oettinger (1979a: 159f.), *šanna-/šann-* must go back to a nasal infix verb. He reconstructs *\*sṇ-n-h<sub>2</sub>-* on the basis of a connection with Gr. ἄνευ ‘without’, Skt. *sanutár* ‘away, far off, aside’, Lat. *sine* ‘without’ etc., which forms he all interprets as reflecting a root *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-*. This interpretation is followed by e.g. CHD (Š: 158 and 159 (sub *šannapi*)) and Kimball (1999: 415), but the formal side is problematic: *\*sn-nó-h<sub>2</sub>-ei* would yield Hitt. *\*\*šannaḫi*. This problem can be solved by Schrijver’s reconstruction of Gr. ἄνευ as *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-eu* (1991: 218), on the basis of which Lat. *sine* < *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-i*, OIr. *sain* < *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-i-* etc. For *šanna-/šann-*, this would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*sṇ-nó-h<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*sṇ-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti*, which would regularly yield Hitt. *šannāi*, *šannanzi*. The semantic side of the etymology is convincing as well. Originally, the root *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-* must have meant something like ‘unavailable, away’. Like the other nasal infix verbs in Hittite, *šanna-/šann-* has to be interpreted as a causative formation, so originally \*‘to make unavailable, to make away’ > ‘to hide, to conceal’.

**šannapi** (adv.?) ‘?’: *ša-an-na-pí ša-an-na-pí* ‘scattered here and there’ (OH or MH/NS).

Derivatives: **šannapili-** (adj.) ‘empty(-handed); not pregnant; plain(?) (modifying hay)’ (nom.sg.c. *ša-an-na-pí-li-iš* (MH or NH/NS), acc.sg.c. *ša-an-na-pí-li-in* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-an-na-pí-li* (NH), instr. *ša-an-na-pí-li-it* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ša-an-na-pí-li* (OH/MS), *ša-an-na-pí-la* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. [*ša-an-na-pí-l*]<sup>2</sup>-uš, [*ša-an-n*]a-pí-la-a-uš (?)), **šannapili-** (n.?) ‘emptiness, void’ (Sum. SUD; erg.sg. SUD-li-an-za (NH), loc.sg. *ša-an-na-pí-l[i]*, SUD-li (NH)), **šannapilahḫ-**<sup>i</sup> (Ib) ‘to empty’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na[-pí-la-aḫ-ḫi]*, 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-na-pí-la-aḫ[-ḫa-an-z]i* (NH); part. *ša-an-na-pí-la-aḫ-ḫa-an-t*), **šannapilēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to be emptied, to be deprived off’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na-pí-le-eš-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-an-na-pí-le-eš-ta* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-an-na-pí-le-eš-du*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄνευ ‘without’, Skt. *sanutár* ‘away, far off, aside’, Lat. *sine* ‘without’, OIr. *sain* ‘without’ etc.

PIE *\*sonh<sub>1</sub>o-b<sup>h</sup>i*

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See CHD Š: 158f. for attestations. The syntagm *šannapi šannapi* (KUB 13.4 iii 47) is hapax and probably denotes ‘scattered here and there’. In form and meaning it can be compared to e.g. *kuuapi kuuapi* ‘wherever’. Since a large part of the semantics of *šannapi šannapi* seems to lie in the fact that it is repeated, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of *šannapi* itself. Nevertheless, it is likely that *šannapi* is connected with *šannapili* ‘empty’ and its derivatives (although this is semantically difficult to prove). On the basis of the meaning ‘empty’, CHD (Š: 159) etymologically connects *šannapi* and *šannapili* with Lat *sine* ‘without’, etc., which they reconstruct as *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-*. As I have pointed out at the lemma of *šanna-<sup>i</sup> / šann-* ‘to hide’, which is cognate with Lat. *sine* etc. as well, the reconstruction should be *\*senh<sub>1</sub>-*. This would mean that *šannapi(li)* reflects *\*sonh<sub>1</sub>-o-b<sup>h</sup>i(-li)*. Note that inner-Hittite derivation from *šanna-/šann-* ‘to hide’ is semantically difficult. A reconstruction *\*snh<sub>1</sub>-o-* is impossible because *\*CRh<sub>1</sub>V* yields Hitt. *CaRV* but not *\*\*CaRRV* (cf. *parai-<sup>i</sup> / pari-* ‘to blow’ < *\*prh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-*).

**ša(n)h<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib3) ‘to seek, to look for; to investigate; to attempt; to avenge; (*āppan*) to loof after; to clean, to sweep clean’: 1sg.pres.act. *ša-aḥ-mi* (MH/MS), *ša-an-aḥ-mi* (NH), *ša-an-ḥa-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ša-an-ḥa-ši* (MS or NS), *ša-an-aḥ-ti* (NH), *ša-an-ḥa-ti* (NH), *ša-an-ḥa-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-aḥ-zi* (OS), *ša-an-aḥ-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḥa-zi* (NH), *ša-an-ḥa-az-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-an-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-aḥ-te-[ni<sup>2</sup>]* (MH/MS), *ša-an-aḥ-te-ni* (NH), *ša-an-ḥa-te-ni*, *ša-an-ḥa-at-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-ḥa-an-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-an-ḥa-a-an-zi* (NH), *ša-ḥa-an-zi* (MH?/MS?), *ša-a-ḥa-an-zi*, *ša-an-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ša-an-ḥu-un* (OH/NS), *ša-an-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), *ša-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-an-aḥ-ta* (NH), *ša-an-na-aḥ-ta* (1x, NH), *ša-na-aḥ-ta* (1x, NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-aḥ-ta* (OS), *ša-an-aḥ-ta* (OH/NS), *ša-an-ḥa-ta* (OH/NS), *ša-na-aḥ-ta* (1x, NH), *ša-an-aḥ-ta* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ša-an-ḥu-u-i-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *ša-an-aḥ-tén* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-an-ḥe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ša-a-aḥ* (OH/MS), *ša-an-ḥa* (OH/MS), *ša-an-aḥ* (OH/MS), *ša-an-ḥi* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-aḥ-du* (MH/LS), *ša-an-a[ḥ-d]u*, 2pl.imp.act. [*š*]*a-a-aḥ-tén* (OH/NS), *ša-an-ḥa-at-tén* (NH/LS), *ša-an-aḥ-tén* (MH/NS), *ša-na-aḥ-tén* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-an-ḥa-an-du* (MH/MS); inf.I *ša-an-ḥu-u-ḡa-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-an-ḥu-ḡa-an-zi*; part. *ša-an-ḥa-an-t* (MH/NS); impf. *ša-an-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *ša-an-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ša-aḥ-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *ša(n)ḥu<sup>-zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: OHG *sinnan* ‘to strive after’, Skt. *san<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to win, to gain’.

PIE *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-ti*, *\*snh<sub>2</sub>-enti*.

See CHD Š: 162f. for attestations. The verb has two quite distinct meanings, namely ‘to search’ and ‘to sweep clean’. Despite some claims that we are dealing with two separate homophonic verbs (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 182), CHD treats all attestations as belonging to one verb. It states (Š: 171) that the basic meaning of *ša(n)ḥ-* was ‘to seek’ and that “growing out of mng. 7 [i.e. ‘to search through’], where the accusative object is the area searched, is mng. 8 [i.e. ‘to clean, to sweep clean’] ... in which the area or object cleaned is the direct object. The idea is that the area or object cleaned is “searched” for the impurities, which are then removed”. For now I will follow this explanation, but I would certainly welcome a convincing etymological account by which can be shown that we are dealing with two etymologically distinct verbs that have phonetically fallen together in Hittite.

We find spellings with *ša-an-aḥ-C* as well as *ša-an-ḥa-C*, which, together with spellings *ša-an-aḥ-ḥV*, show that we are dealing with a stem /sanH-/. Besides these forms, we also find the spelling *ša-aḥ-*. In the oldest texts, the distribution between *šanḥ-* and *šaḥ-* is that *šanḥ-* is found in front of vowel (*šanḥ-V*), whereas *šaḥ-* is found in front of consonant (*šaḥ-C*), which is comparable to e.g. *li(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḥarni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ḥuni(n)k-<sup>zi</sup>*, etc. Already in MS texts, we find that this distribution is getting blurred (e.g. *ša-an-aḥ-zi* (MH/MS)).

Since Eichman (1973: 269ff.), *ša(n)ḥ-* is generally connected with OHG *sinnan* ‘to strive after’, Skt. *san<sup>i</sup>* ‘to win, to gain’, Gr. *ἄνυμι* ‘to fulfil’ etc., which point to a root *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-*. This means that for Hittite we have to reconstruct *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-ti*, *\*snh<sub>2</sub>-enti*.

Puhvel (1979b: 299ff.) argued for a separation of *ša(n)ḥ-* ‘to seek, to search’ and *ša(n)ḥ-* ‘to clean’ because of his claim that the latter rather means ‘to flush (down), to wash, to rinse’ and is derived from the root *\*sneh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bathe, to swim’ (Lat. *nāre*, Skt. *snāti*, etc.). However, Tischler (HEG S: 825-8) shows and explicitly states that *ša(n)ḥ-* predominantly denotes ‘dry’ cleaning, i.e. sweeping the floor, and not ‘wet’ cleaning, as claimed by Puhvel and that therefore Puhvel’s etymological proposal must be rejected on semantic grounds.

For the possibility that *ša(n)ḥu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to roast’ is cognate, see there.

*ša(n)ḥu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib3) ‘to roast’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-an-ḥu-uz-zi* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-ḥu-an-[zi]* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḥu-ṽa-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-an-ḥu-un-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-an-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-du* (MH/NS); 3sg.pres.mid. *ša-an-ḥu-ta* (OH or MH/NS); part. *ša-an-ḥu-ṽa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-t-*, *ša-ḥu-ṽa-an-t-* (OH/NS), *ša-a-an-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-t-*, *ša-an-ḥu-un-t-* (NS).



Derivatives: **šanḫuṽa-** (c.), a food (nom.pl. *ša-an-ḫu-u-ṽa-aš* (OH/NS)), **šanḫuna-**, a food (gen.sg.(?) *ša-an-ḫu-na-aš* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄννυμι ‘to fulfil, to bring to an end’.

PIE *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-u-ti* *\*snh<sub>2</sub>-u-enti*.

See CHD Š: 172f. for attestations. If the one form *ša-ḫu-ṽa-an* (KUB 29.1 iii 46) is linguistically real, it would show that this verb, too, shows an alternation between forms with and without *-n-*, like *li(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*, *ḫarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*, *ša(n)ḫ<sup>-zi</sup>*, etc. The original distribution between this ablaut is that *\*CVnCV > CVnCV*, whereas *\*CVnCC > CVCC* (so loss of *\*-n-* before two consonants). This case, then, would be an extra argument in favour of the view that the sequence *-ḫu-* within Hittite is not to be regarded as consonant+vowel */-Hu-/*, but as a consonantal phoneme */-H<sup>w</sup>-/* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c, § 1.3.5 and at *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>*). Here it is necessary since in a stem */sanHu-/* the nasal would never stand before two consonants (e.g. */sanHumi/*), whereas in */sanH<sup>w</sup>-/* this is possible (e.g. *\*/sanH<sup>w</sup>mi/* should regularly give */saH<sup>w</sup>mi/*). We see that, just as in *ša(n)ḫ<sup>-zi</sup>*, already in MS texts the original distribution between */sanH<sup>w</sup>V-/* and */saH<sup>w</sup>C-/* has been blurred.

Eichner *apud* Oettinger (1979a: 367) connects *ša(n)ḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* with Gr. ἄννυμι ‘to fulfil, to bring to an end’, which is semantically likely (cf. ModEng. *well done* ‘thoroughly baked’, but also Hitt. *zē<sup>-ari</sup>* ‘to cook < \*to be finished’ (q.v.)). The Greek verb is usually seen as an *u*-extension of the root *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to achieve, to try to accomplish’. This latter root is the parent to Hitt. *ša(n)ḫ<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to search’, which is semantically that far from ‘to roast’ that we must assume that the *u*-extension as visible in *ša(n)ḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* is from PIE origin already and therewith directly cognate to the Greek verb (see at *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* ~ Skt. *tūrvati* for a similar scenario).

**šani-** (adj.) ‘the same, one and the same’: dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ni-ia* (OS), *ša-ni-i-ia* (OH/NS), *ša-ni-e*, *ša-ni-i* (NH).

Derivatives: **šanezzi-**, **šanizzi-** (adj.) ‘first-class, excellent, outstanding; pleasant, tasty, fragrant’ (nom.sg.c. *ša-ni-iz-zi-iš* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ša-a-ne-ez-zi-iš* (OH/MS), *ša-ne-ez-zi-iš* (NH), acc.sg. *ša-ni-iz-zi-in* (MH/MS), *ša-ne-ez-zi-in* (pre-MH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ne-ez-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ni-iz-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-ni-i-iz-zi* (MH/NS), abl. *ša-ni-iz-zi-az* (OH/NS), [*ša-n*]e-ez-zi-az (NH), instr. *ša-ni-iz-zi-it* (MH/NS?), nom.pl.c. *ša-ni-iz-zi-uš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ša-ni-iz-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ne-ez-zi* (OHNS)), **šanezziḫ<sup>h</sup>**-<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to make pleasant; to enjoy oneself’ (2sg.imp.act. [*ša-n*]i-iz-zi-ia-aḫ (NS), *ša-ne-ez-zi-i*[a<sup>2</sup>-aḫ<sup>2</sup>] (NS); impf.3?pl.pres.act. *ša-ni-iz-zi-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš*[-kán-zi?]), **šanezziēš<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become

pleasant' (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ne-ez-zi-iš-ta*, *ša-ni-iz-zi-e-eš-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. [*š*]*a-ni-iz-zi-iš-du*, *ša-ne-ez-zi-iš-du*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **sanawa/i-** (adj./n.) 'good/goods' (nom.sg.c. *sa-na-wa/i-sa* (multiple times), nom.-acc.sg.n. *sa-na-wa/i-ia-za* (SULTANHAN §18), dat.-loc.sg. *sa-na-wa/i-ia* (often), abl.-instr. *sa-na-wa/i+ra/i*, nom.-acc.pl.c. *sa-na-wa/i-i-zi* (ASSUR letter *b* §9), nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>BONUS</sup>*sa-na-wá/i* (KARATEPE 1 §14), *sa-na-wa/i-ia* (ASSUR letter *g* §36), <sup>BONUS</sup>*sa-na-wa/i-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §15 Hu.), <sup>"BONUS"</sup>*sa-na-wá/i-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §15 Ho.), etc.), **sanawazi-** (adj.) 'good' (acc.sg.c. *sa-na-wa/i-zi-na'* (ASSUR letter *d* §8), *sa-na-wa/i-zi-na'* (ASSUR letter *e* §23)), **sanawastar-** 'goodness' (abl.-instr. <sup>(<sup>"</sup>BONUS<sup>"</sup>)</sup>*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §18 Hu. and Ho.), *sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* (KULULU 5 §13), *sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri+i* (SULTANHAN §45)).

See CHD Š: 173f. for attestations. Eichner (1992: 45-6) assumes an etymological connection with PIE \**sem* 'one' (e.g. Gr. *ἕν*). Although semantically this is appealing, formally it is quite difficult. The idea is that the *i*-stem *šani-* is comparable to e.g. *aši / uni / ini* that reflects \**h<sub>1</sub>os+i*, \**h<sub>1</sub>om+i*, etc. Problematic, however, is that forms showing an inflected stem *uni-* are found in younger texts only, whereas the inflected stem *šani-* is found in an OS text already. Moreover, because \**h<sub>1</sub>om+i* yields *uni*, *šani-* cannot go back to \**som+i*. Eichner therefore states that \**šan* may reflect \**sem* "if weak stress can be assumed to here cause Hitt. *a* instead of *e*" (l.c.).

The adjective *šanezzi-*, *šanizzi-* is peculiar as well. Usually, it is compared to the adjectives *hantezzi(ia)-*, *appezzi(ia)-*, e.a., but these all show an *a*-stem *-ezzi(ia)-* in OH and MH texts. Such a stem is unattested for *šanezzi-*, *šanizzi-*, which is remarkable. On the other hand, *šanezzi-*, *šanizzi-* does not show suffix-ablaut as is usual in normal *i*-stem adjectives (*-i- / -ai-*), with which it does fit the other adjectives in *-ezzi(ia)-* that do not show suffix-ablaut either when they have adapted the *i*-stem form *-ezzi-* in younger texts. Another peculiarity is the fact that we find the spelling *ša-NI-IZ-zi-* beside *ša-NE-IZ-zi-*. According to CHD (Š: 175), "given the fact that the sign NI is often read *né* from OH and later, an interpretation /*sanezzi/* is possible for occurrences of *ša-NI-IZ-zi-*". Although it does occur that NI should be read *né*, it is a quite restricted phenomenon. Moreover, as CHD admits, "[t]he single occurrence of *ša-ni-i-iz-zi* KUB 15.31 i 25 (MH/NS) would seem to require a *ni* reading of NI". Perhaps we should read the forms with *ša-NI-IZ-zi-* as *ša-ni-ez-zi-*, having the stem *šani-* restored (compare e.g. the few attestations *appaezzi-* instead of original *appezzi(ia)-*, in

which the basic noun *āppa* was restored). The spelling *ša-NI-i-IZ-zi-* could then be read *ša-ni-i-ez-zi-*.

All in all, although I would be tempted to follow Eichner in assuming an etymological connection with PIE *\*sem*, the formal peculiarities are difficult to explain.

**šankuūi-** (c.) ‘nail; a unit of linear measure’ (Sum. UMBIN): nom.sg.c. *ša-an-ku-ūa-ia-aš* (NH), erg.sg. *ša-an-ku-ūa-ia-an-za* (NH), nom.pl.c. *ša-an-ku-ūa-i-š=a-at* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*ša-a*]n-ku-ūa-a-i (pre-NS), *ša-an-ku-ūa-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *ša-an-ku-ūa-ia-aš* (OH/MS), gen.pl. *ša-an-ku-ūa-ia<sup>2</sup>-aš* (NH); case unclear: *ša-an-ku-i-ša-at*, *ša-an-ku-ūa-a[-...]* (OH/MS).

Derivatives: <sup>URUDU</sup>**šankuūal(li)-** (n.), a metal implement for care of the nails? (nom.-acc.pl. *ša-an-ku-ūa-al-li* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *unguis*, Gr. *ὄνυξ*, OIr *ingen*, OCS *nogъtb*, Lith. *nagūtis*, Arm. *ehungn* ‘nail’, Lith. *nagà* ‘hoof’.

PIE *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-oi-* ?

See CHD Š: 180 for attestations. There it is stated that “the oldest attestation *ša-an-ku-wa-i-š(a)* (OH/MS) establishes the word as common gender and its stem as *šankuwai-*”. Nevertheless, we find many neuter forms as well. In an overview of the forms, CHD gives four forms that they cite as commune. The first one, nom.sg.c. *ša-an-ku-ūa-a[-iš]* (KBo 13.31 iii 10 (OH/MS)) occurs in an ‘If of an omen...’-text:

KBo 13.31 iii

(10) *ták-ku ša-ki-aš ša-an-ku-ūa-a[-...]*

(11) DUMU.LUGAL <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA A-BI=ŠU e-x[...].

These lines, which are quite broken, are read by Riemschneider (1970: 76) as :

(10) *ták-ku ša-ki-aš ša-an-ku-ūa-a[-iš<sup>2</sup>]*

(11) DUMU.LUGAL <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA A-BI=ŠU e-e[p-zi]

“(10’) Wenn der Huf (die Hufe) eines “Vorzeichens [ ....] (11’) Der Sohn des Königs wird den Thron seines Vaters ergrei[fen.]”.

Apparently, CHD took over this interpretation as a commune-form, but as we can see, this is unascertained. The second one, nom.sg.c. *ša-an-ku-ūa-ia-aš* (KUB 9.4 i 26 (NH)), is clearly secondary and attested in a text that shows many errors (see

Beckman 1990 for an edition). Of the third one, nom.sg.c. *ša-an-ku-i-ša-at* (KUB 24.13 ii 19 (MH/NS)), CHD itself states that “the form *ša-an-ku-i-ša-at* KUB 24.13 ii 19 is corrupt and stands for an expected abl.”: inclusion in the overview of attested forms as a nom.sg.c. apparently was erroneous. The fourth one, nom.pl.c. *ša-an-ku-ua-i-š=a-at*, is found in the following context:

KUB 33.66 (OH/MS) ii

- (3) *ḥar-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at ka-lu-l[u<sup>2</sup>-pa-aš pi-i-e-er]*
- (4) *ka-lu-lu-pi-š=a-at ša-an-ku-ua-ia-a[š pi-i-e-er]*
- (5) *ša-an-ku-ua-i-š=a-at da-an-ku-ua-i t[a-ga-an-zi-pi]*
- (6) *pi-i-e-er*

‘The soles of the feet [gave it to] the toes; the toes [gave] it to the toenails; the toenails gave it to the dark e[arth]’.

Here, *šankuūaiš* indeed seems to be a genuine plural form (because of *pijer*), and commune because of the ending *-š*. Nevertheless, because *šankuūaiš* is found in an enumeration (following *ḥarganaiš* and *kalulupiš*), it can easily be a corrupt form, as often happens in enumerations. So all in all, of the four forms that are cited by CHD as commune, only two turn out to be genuinely commune, and these forms can easily be or likely are corrupt.

The neuter forms are interpreted in CHD as “collec.nom.-acc.neut.”: [*ša*]nkuūāi (1x: MS) and *šankuūai* (2x, undat. and NS). As we see, one of them occurs in an MS text (KBo 9.127 l.col. 5, dated by CHD as “pre-NS”) and is therefore just as valuable as the (possibly corrupt) nom.pl.c. *šankuūaiš* (OH/MS). Additional proof for neuter gender is the attestation of an erg.sg. *šankuūaianza* (KUB 9.4 i 35 (NH)), which form would only be necessary if the basic word was neuter (although one must admit that in the preceding line (KUB 9.4 i 34) an unusual form *kalulūpanza* is found, whereas *kalulupa-* ‘finger’ is a commune word: Beckman (1990: 50, following Puhvel 1976: 26) interprets it as ‘a set of toes’). All in all, I conclude that it is more likely that *šankuūai-* originally was neuter, and that the two commune forms are of secondary origin.

The word clearly shows a diphthongstem in *-ai-*, on which see Weitenberg (1979). He has left *šankuūai-* out of the discussion, however, because of its difficult interpretation.

The etymological interpretation is difficult as well. Since Forrer *apud* Feist (1939: 194), it is generally connected with Lat. *unguis*, Gr. ὄνυξ, OIr. *ingen*, OCS *ногѣтъ*, Lith. *nagūtis* ‘nail’ etc., which all point to PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neg<sup>h</sup>-u-*, *\*h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-* (cf.

Schrijver 1991: 62, who specifically speaks against reconstructing a form *\*h<sub>3</sub>eng<sup>h</sup>-u-*). This connection does not account for the initial *š-* (on the basis of which e.g. Beekes (1969: 47) rejects it). Nevertheless, if we assume an *s*-mobile (which is admittedly quite *ad hoc*), then we can reconstruct *\*s-h<sub>3</sub>ng<sup>h</sup>-u-oi-* which would regularly yield Hitt. *šankuūai-*. An *s*-mobile has also been suggested for *išhahru-* ‘tear’ (q.v.) and *šākuūa-* ‘eye’ (q.v.).

**šapašije/a-<sup>ḫ</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to scout, to reconnoiter’: 3pl.pret.act. *ša-pa-ši-ia-ar* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-pa-ši-ia-an-du* (MH/MS), [*ša-p*]a-ši-an-du; sup. *ša-pa-ši-ia-u-a[n]* (MH/MS); inf.I *ša-pa-ši-ia-u-an-z[i]* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>**šapašalli-** (c.) ‘scout, lookout’ (nom.sg. *ša-pa-a-ša-al-li-iš*, nom.pl. *ša-p[a-ša-al-li-e-eš]*, acc.pl. *ša-pa-ša-al-li-u[š]* (MH/MS), *ša-pa-ša-al-li-e-eš* (MH/MS)).

See CHD Š: 204f. for attestations. The verb is attested in the Mašat Höyük-letters only. Its derivative, <sup>LÚ</sup>*šapašalli-*, is also attested in texts from Boğazköy, however. Note that Alp (1991: 21) reads HKM 6 rev. (22) *ša-pa-ši-ia-ar* incorrectly as *ša-ú-ši-ia-ar*, on the basis of which he cites this verb as *šapašija-* / *šaušija-* (e.g. Alp 1988).

The etymological interpretation of these words is difficult. The fact that the verb shows a stem *šapašije/a-*, whereas the noun is derived from the unextended stem *šapaš-*, looks like an Indo-European feature. Yet the stem *šapaš-* is difficult to explain as an inherited root: if it is to be interpreted as /*sabas-*/ it can hardly be of IE origin because of the fact that it is disyllabic; if it is to be interpreted /*spas-*/, it cannot be inherited because *\*sT-* would in principle yield Hitt. *išT-* (but see at e.g. *šākk-<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-* and *šākan* / *šakn-* for some cases where we do find an initial cluster /*sT-*/, from secondary origin). Van Brock (1962b: 115) connected *šapašalli-* with Lat. *speciō*, OHG *spehōn* ‘to see’ < *\*spek-je/o-*, however, which indeed is semantically attractive. Nevertheless, the sound laws, which predict that *\*spek-je/o-* would yield Hitt. *\*\*išpekkije/a-*, prevent us from deriving *šapašije/a-* and *šapašalli-* from *\*spek(-je/o)-* through the Anatolian way. Szemerényi (1976: 1069) therefore derives *šapašije/a-* from *\*spek-je/o-* through the Indic way: he assumes that *šapaš(ije/a)-* is a borrowing from Indic/Mitanni *\*spác(-ia)-* < *\*spek(-je/o)-*. This is formally certainly possible: the word *āššušanni-* ‘horse-trainer’, which must (partly) be a borrowing from Indic/Mitanni *\*acva-* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ekuo-*, shows that Indic *-č-* is borrowed into Hittite as a sibilant. Semantically, a connection between *šapaš(ije/a)-* and *\*spek(-je/o)-* is also attractive. Moreover, the meaning ‘to scout’ would fit the sphere of meanings of the other borrowings

from Indic/Mitanni into Asia Minor (which all have to do with horse-training and warfare). All in all, I am quite positive regarding Szemerényi's proposal (but compare scepticism by Mayrhofer 1982: 86).

(URUDU) *šapikkušta*:- see (URUDU) *šepikkušta*-

*šaptaminzu* (adj.?) 'sevenfold(?)': case? *ša-ap-ta-mi-en-zu* (OH/NS).

PIE *\*sptm-in-Hsu* ?

This word is hapax in KUB 29.1 iii (2) *nu GEŠTIN-an ú-da-ú 9 ša-ap-ta-mi-en-zu* 'and let him bring out wine, nine š.'. On the basis of this context, its meaning cannot be determined. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that because of the formal similarity with *8-in-zu* 'eight-fold', it is likely that *šaptam*- is a numeral as well and then derived from *\*septm* 'seven' (cf. Tischler HEG S: 852-3: note that on the basis of this comparison I cite *ša-ap-ta-mi-en-zu* as *šaptaminzu* and not as *šaptamenzu*, which is more common in the literature). CHD Š: 208 therefore translates 'nine sevenfold (offerings?)'.

In view of *šiptam*- 'seven' as attested in *šiptamiija*- 'seven-drink' (q.v.) and *šiptamae*-<sup>zi</sup>, which seem to reflect the Hittite outcome of PIE *\*septm*, it has been suggested that *šaptam*- as found here must be the Luwian counterpart, showing *\*e* > *a*. Although this is a possibility (but as far as I know *-inzu* is not attested in Luwian), I would not want to exclude that we are in fact dealing here with the Hittite outcome of the cardinal *\*sptm*- showing an analogical aphaeresis of the initial *i*- (which we would expect as the regular prothetic vowel to solve the initial cluster *\*sT*-, so *\*/isptm-l*) in analogy to the full-grade *\*septm*- as visible in *šiptamiija*- and *šiptamae*- (see there for a similar account for the female name <sup>f</sup>*Ša-áp-ta-ma-ni-kà* as attested in texts from Kaniš, which probably literally means 'seventh sister' and reflects *\*sptmo*-).

According to CHD (l.c.), *-zu* is comparable to HLuw. *-su* and Lyc. *-su* 'x-fold' (e.g. HLuw. "3" *tara/i-su-u*, Lyc. *trisu* 'thrice'). Note that Lyc. *-s*- cannot reflect a plain *\*s* (which should have become Lyc. *-h*-), but should go back to *\*ss* from older *\*sH* or *\*Hs*. A form *\*-Hsu* could explain Hitt. *-nzu* in view of *genzu*- 'lap' < *\*ġenh<sub>1</sub>su*- (whereas *\*VnsV* > Hitt. *VššV*). The element *-in-* is still unclear, but hardly can reflect anything else than *\*-in-*. So, all in all, *šaptaminzu* must reflect *\*sptm-in-Hsu* (or *\*septm-in-Hsu* if one insists on Luwian origin of this word).

*šar*-<sup>(n)a(ri)</sup>, *šarije/a*-<sup>zi</sup> (IIIc/d; Ic1) 'to embroider(?), to sew on(?); to truss(?) / sew(?) up': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ri-ez-zi* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ri-an-zi*, *ša-ri-ja-an-zi*,

*ša-a-ri-ja-an-zi* (NS), [*š*]a-ra-a-an-zi (KUB 48.124 obv. 14 (NH), KBo 5.1 iii 53 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-ri-ja-ad-du* (NS); 3pl.pres./pret.midd. *ša-ra-an-t[a(-)...]* (OS); part. *ša-ri-ja-an-t-* (NH), *ša-a-ri-ja-an-t-*; inf.I *ša-ra-a-u-an-zi* (KBo 5.1 iii 54 (NS)); impf. *ša-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS).

IE cognates: Lat. *serō*, Gr. εἶρω ‘to string together’.

PIE \**sr-(t)ó-ri*, \**sr-je/o-*

See CHD Š: 257-8 for attestations and semantics. Note that CHD distinguishes between a verb “*šariya-*” ‘to embroider, to truss / sew up’ and “*šarai-* ‘to unravel(?)’”, which both show a 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ra-a-an-zi* (KUB 48.124 obv. 14 is translated by CHD as ‘they embroider’ whereas KBo 5.1 iii 53 is translated as ‘they unravel’). I do not understand this distinction. In my view we rather translate this context as follows:

KBo 5.1 iii

(52) ... nu <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>ka-at-re-e-eš

(53) TÚG-an *ša-ra-a-an-zi*

(54) ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma TÚG-an *ša-ra-a-u-an-zi*

(55) zi-in-na-an-zi

‘The *k-*women embroider(?) a cloth. When they finish embroidering the cloth, ...’.

The oldest attestations of this verb are 3pl.pres. or pret.midd. *ša-ra-an-t[a(-)...]* (OS) and 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ri-ez-zi* (OS). In younger texts we only find active forms, showing the stems *šarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* as well as *šarae-<sup>zi</sup>* (according to the productive *ḥatrae*-class inflection). This points to an original situation in which we find a middle stem *šar-* besides an active stem *šarije/a-* (cf. *ḥatt-<sup>a(r)</sup>* besides *ḥazzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* and *ḥuett-<sup>(t)a(r)</sup>* besides *ḥuttije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*).

Despite the fact that the semantics are not fully clear, it is probable that this verb denoted something like ‘to sew together’. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 78) therefore proposed to connect it with Lat. *serō* and Gr. εἶρω ‘to string together’, which makes sense semantically as well as formally. I therefore reconstruct \**sr-(t)ó-ri*, \**sr-je/o-*.

*šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-* (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic1) (act.) ‘to divide up, to distribute; to split, to separate’; (midd. trans.) ‘to cross (a threshold); to pass through (a doorway); to transgress (borders); to violate (an oath)’; (midd. intr.) ‘to be divided; to split up’:

2sg.pres.act. *šar-ra-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ar-ri* (MH/MS), *šar-ri* (NS), *šar-ri* (NS), *šar-ra-a-i* (OH/NS), *šar-ra-i* (NH), *šar-ri-e-ez-zi* (MH/NS), *šar-ri-ez-zi* (MH/NS), *šar-ri-ia-zi* (NS), *šar-ri-ia-iz-zi* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *šar-ra-u-e-ni* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *šar-ra-at-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-ra-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *šar-ra-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ar-aš* (OS), *šar-ra-aš* (MH/MS), *šar-ri-i-e-et* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *šar-ru-me-en* (NH), *šar-ru-um-me-en* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *šar-re-er* (MH/MS), *šar-ri-i-e-er* (NH), *šar-ri-e-er* or *šar-re-e-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *šar-ri* (NS); 2sg.pres.midd. *šar-ra-at-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.midd. *šar-ri-ē[-ta]* (KUB 36.106 rev. 5 (OS or MS)), *šar-ra-at[-ta]* (KUB 36.108 obv. 10 (OS or MS)); for this addition, cf. Oettinger 1976a: 59), *šar-ra-at-ta-ri* (MS), *šar-ra-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *šar-ra-at-ta* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.midd. *šar-ra-ad-du-ma* (MH/MS), *šar-ra-at-tu-ma* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *šar-ra-an-ta* (MS), *šar-ra-an-ta-ri* (NS), 1sg.pret.midd. *šar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.midd. *šar-ra-at-ta-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.midd. *šar-ra-an-ta-ti* (MH/MS), *šar-ra-an-da-at* (NH); part. *šar-ra-an-t-* (MS); verb.noun *šar-ru-mar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *šar-ru-ma-aš* (OH/NS); inf.I *šar-ru-ma-an-zi* (OH/NS); inf.II *šar-ra-an-[n]a* (NS); sup. *ša[(r-ri)-i]a-u-ua-an* (NS), *šar-ri-ia-u-an* (NS); impf. *šar-ra-aš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *šar-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *šar-ri-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: see *šarran-*, *šarra-*.

PIE *\*sórh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*srh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See CHD Š: 230f. for attestations. This verb has basically two meanings; ‘to divide up, to distribute’ and ‘to transgress (oaths, borders, doorways)’. In the OH and MH period, active forms denote ‘to divide up, to distribute’, intransitive middle forms denote ‘to be divided’ or ‘to split up (intr.)’ and transitive middle forms denote ‘to transgress (oaths, borders, doorways)’ (for the latter, see e.g. Oettinger 1976a: 59f. and Melchert 1984a: 18). In NH times the latter category is transferred to the active inflection as well (compare e.g. KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 (OH/MS) i (7) *n=a-aš-ta ne-pí-ša-aš KÁ-uš zi-ik=pát* (8) [*aš-ša-nu-ū*]a-an-za <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš *šar-ra-aš-ke-et-ta* ‘You alone, O established Sun-god, pass through the gate of heaven’ that shows an active form in its NS duplicate: KUB 31.127 + KUB 36.79 i (31) *šar-ri-eš-ke-ši*).

CHD states the following about the formal side of this verb (based on Oettinger 1979a: 287): “The oldest texts show a root thematic class verb, *mi*-conjugation with diagnostic forms *šarrezzi*, *šarranzi*, *šarret*, *šarrer*, *šarratta*, *šarra/eške-* [...] All *ḥi*-conjugation forms [...] are secondary and belong to the late MH and NH periods”. This is entirely incorrect. Oettinger has based his analysis on the alleged 3sg.pret.act.-form “*šarret*” as found in the OS text KUB 36.106 rev. 5 (note that



Košak 2005b: 175 dates this tablet as “ah.\*/mh.?”; however). Melchert (1984a: 18<sup>36</sup>) correctly states that apart from the fact that the surrounding context of these lines demands a present verb, the meaning ‘to transgress (words)’ in OH texts is expressed with middle forms. We therefore should rather read the context as follows:

KUB 36.106 rev.

(5) [ ... *ke-e-el tu*] *p-pi-aš ut-ta-a-ar šar-ri-ēt[-ta]*

(6) [*n=a-an ke-e*] *li-in-ki-ia-an-te-eš ap-pa-an-tu*

(7) [ ... ] *n=a-aš ħar-ak-tu*

‘[Whoever] transgresses the words of [this] tablet, him must [these] oaths seize, and he must perish’.

Having eliminated the “3sg.pret.act. *šarret*”, we must regard the attestations of this verb with a fresh look. In the active paradigm, we see that the oldest forms are 3sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ar-aš* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-ra-an-zi* (OS) and 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ar-ri* (MH/MS). In my view, these clearly point to an original *ħi*-inflecting stem *šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-* (compare *ārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* ‘to wash’ for similar forms). In NS texts, we find forms that point to a stem *šarra-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-*, according to the *tarn(a)*-class, and *šarrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, according to the *-je/a*-class. Since both the *tarn(a)*-class and the *-je/a*-class are highly productive in NH times, these secondarily created stems are fully understandable and completely in line with the fact that *ārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* shows the secondary stems *arra-<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-* and *arrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* in NH texts. The middle inflection shows a stem *šarrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* besides *šarra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* and therewith is comparable to e.g. *marrije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>*, *marra-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to dissolve’.

Kimball (1999: 414) connects this verb with Gr. *ῥώομαι* ‘to move violently, to rush’ and reconstructs *\*serh<sub>3</sub>-*. Semantically this connection does not make sense, however. Despite the fact that I know no good comparanda, formally *šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-* can only go back to a root *\*serh<sub>1</sub>-* (compare at *ārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *arr-*, which reflects a root *\*ħ<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>1</sub>-*). I therefore mechanically reconstruct this verb as *\*sórħ<sub>1</sub>-ei* / *\*srħ<sub>1</sub>-énti*.

**šarā** (adv., postpos.) ‘up(wards), aloft (adv.); on top of, above (postpos.)’ (Sum. UGU): *ša-ra-a* (OS).

Derivatives: **šarāzzi(ja)-** (adj.) ‘upper, superior’ (nom.sg.c. *ša-ra-a-a-z-zi-aš*) (KUB 33.68 iii 7 (OH/MS)), *ša-ra-a-az-zi-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ia-an* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ra-a-az-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ra-az-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-ra-zi* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-aš* (OH/MS), *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ia-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-

loc.sg. *ša-ra-a-az-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ja* (MH/NS), *ša-ra-az-zi* (MS), abl. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ja-az* (NS), *ša-ra-az-zi-ja-az* (MS?), nom.pl.c. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-iš* (OH/MS), UGU-*az-zi-uš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ša-ra-az-zi* (NH), **šarazzi** (adv.) ‘up(wards)’ (*ša-ra-az-zi*), **šarāzzijaz** (adv.) ‘on the upper side, upstream’ (*ša-ra-a-az-zi-ja-az* (MS), [*ša-r*]a-az-zi-ja-az (MS), *ša-ra-az-zi-az* (NS)), **šaraziēšš-zi** (Ib2) ‘to prevail’ (impf.3pl.pres.act. *ša-ra-zi-eš-kán-zi* (NH)), **šarāzzijahh-<sup>i</sup>** (Ib) ‘to make (a litigant or a legal case) win’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ra-az-ja-hi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ja-ah-te-ni* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ra-a-az-z[i-i]a-ah-ta* (NH), *ša-ra-a-zi-ja-ah-t[a]* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-ra-az-zi-ja-ah-ḥa-an-du*, *ša-ra-az-zi-ah-ḥa-an-du*), **šarāzziatar** (n.) ‘height, summit’ (Akk. *MŪLŪ*; nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ja-tar* (NH)), **šarāmnaz** (adv.) ‘from above’ (*ša-ra-a-am-na-az*, [*ša-*]ra-a-am-na-za)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **šarri** (adv., preverb, postpos., prepos.) ‘above, up; for?’ (*šar-ri*, *ša-ar-ri*), **šarra** (adv., prepos.) ‘(up)on, thereon’ (*šar-ra*, *ša-ar-ra*); Lyc. **hri** ‘up; on (top)’, **hrppi** ‘on (prev.), for (prep.)’, **hrzze/i-** (adj.) ‘upper’ (acc.sg.c. *hrzzi*, nom-acc.sg.n. *hrzzē*, dat.-loc.sg. *hrzzi*).

PAnat. \**sér(-i)*, \**sr-ō*

IE cognates: Gr. *πίον* ‘mountain-ridge’

PIE \**ser-*, \**sr-*

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This adverb is virtually consistently spelled *ša-ra-a* (1000+ examples in my files), whereas a spelling *ša-ra* occurs 3x only (cf. CHD Š: 210: *ša-ra*<sup>1</sup>=*ma*[=*ua*], *kat-ta*<sup>1</sup>=*ša-ra*=*at*=*kán* and *ša-ra-a*=*m-mu*). The Anatolian evidence is clear: we are dealing with an old noun, of which the endless locative \**sér* yielded Hitt. *šēr* (q.v.), the dat.-loc. \**sér-i* yielded CLuw. *šarri*, and the old all. \**sr-ó* yielded Hitt. *šarā* /*srā*/. CLuw. *šarra* must reflect \**séro*. Outer-Anatolian cognates are obscure. The only suggested connection is with Gr. *πίον* ‘mountain-ridge’, which Heubeck (1964) reconstructed as \**srijom*.

See footnote 196 for the phonological implications of the equation between Hitt. *šarāzzi(ia)-* and Lyc. *hrzze/i-*.

**šarae-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *šar-*, *šarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

**šaraku-** (IIa2?) ‘to give water to (?)’: part.nom.pl.c. *ša-ra-ku-ua-an-te-eš* (KUB 35.148 iii 39); impf. 3pl.imp.act. *ša-ra-ak-ku-uš-kán-du* (KBo 3.8 ii 8), *ša-ra-ak-ku-iš-kán-du* (Bo 4010, 2).

PIE \**srog*<sup>w(h)</sup> - ??

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See CHD Š: 239 for attestations and contexts. We are dealing with a stem *šaraku-*, of which the /g<sup>w</sup>/ gets fortified in front of the *-ške/a-* suffix: *šarakkuške/a-* (compare *akkuške/a-* from *eku-<sup>zi</sup> / aku-* ‘to drink’, *lakkiške/a-* from *lāk-<sup>i</sup> / lak-* ‘to make lie down’). Because of its poor attestation, we cannot decide to which conjugation this verb originally belongs. The fact that we seem to deal with /srag<sup>w</sup>-/ could point to original *hi*-conjugation, however (in a *mi*-verb, we would expect *\*\*/sreg<sup>w</sup>-/*). Mechanically, we have to reconstruct *\*srog<sup>w(h)</sup>-*, but I know of no possible IE cognate. See at *šakuruje/a-* ‘to water (animals)’ for the possibility that this latter verb is derived from *šaraku-* and reflects *\*srag<sup>w</sup>-ur-je/o-*.

**šarran-**, **šarra-** (c.) ‘portion, share, half part, division’: nom.sg. *šar-ra-aš* (NS), *šar-ra-a-aš* (NS), acc.sg. *šar-ra-an* (NS), gen.sg. *šar-ra-na-a[š]* (NS), *šar-ra-aš* (NS), abl. *šar-ra-az* (NS), *šar-ra-na-za* (NS), *šar-ra-an-za* (NH).

PIE *\*serh<sub>1</sub>-on-*

See CHD Š: 229f. for attestations. This noun shows *n*-stem as well as *a*-stem nouns. Because this word is attested in NS texts only, we cannot say much on the chronological distribution between these forms. Nevertheless, it is in my view likely that the *n*-stem forms are more original. For a similar case compare *hāran-* ‘eagle’ that shows a stem *hāra-* in NS texts.

Etymologically, it is clear that *šarran-* belongs with the verb *šārr-<sup>i</sup> / šarr-* ‘to divide up, to distribute’. It therefore is likely that originally, *šarran-* inflected *\*serh<sub>1</sub>-ón-s*, *\*srh<sub>1</sub>-ón-m*, *\*srh<sub>1</sub>-n-ós*, which was levelled out to *šarran-*, also under influence of the verb’s weak stem *šarr-*. See there for further treatment.

**šarāp-<sup>i</sup> / šarip-** (IIa3) ‘to sip’: 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ra-pí* (KUB 27.29 iii 9 (MH/NS)), *ša-a-ra-pí* (KUB 34.97, 15 (MS?)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ša-ri-pu-ya-aš* (KUB 17.23 i 10, 15 (NS)), *š[a-]ri-pu-u-ya-aš* (KUB 17.23 ii 43 (NS)), *ša-ra-ap-pu-ya-aš* (VBoT 24 iii 17 (MH/NS)); inf.I [*ša-r*]i-pu-ya-an-zi (KBo 29.144, 7 (MS)), *ša-ri-pu-u-ya-a[n-zi]* (KBo 24.27, 11 (NS), KUB 27.58 i 6 (NS)), [*š*]a-ri-pu-u-ya-an-zi (KBo 14.94 iii, 22 (fr.) (NS), KBo 29.131, 3 (NS)), [*š-a-r*]i-pu-ya-an-z[i] (FHL 4, r.col. 4 (NS)); impf. *ša-a-ra-pí-eš-ki-iz-zi* (KUB 34.97, 17 (MS?)).

IE cognates: Lat. *sorbeō*, Gr. *ρόφῶ* ‘to slurp, to swallow’, Lith. *suṛbti* ‘to suckle’, *srēbti* ‘to slurp’, OCS *srǫbati* ‘to slurp’.

PIE *\*srób<sup>h</sup>-ei*, *\*srb<sup>h</sup>-énti*

See CHD Š: 243f. for attestations. The morphological interpretation of this verb is difficult. We find three different spellings: *ša-ra-p<sup>o</sup>*, *ša-a-ra-p<sup>o</sup>* (2x) and *ša-ri-p<sup>o</sup>*.

On the one hand, the two forms with plene spelling *ša-a-ra-p°* seem to indicate that the first *-a-* is real, whereas on the other the alternation between *-a-* and *-i-* seems to point to ablaut and would show that the second *-a-* is a real vowel. If this verb is of IE origin, it is unlikely that the stem would contain two real vowels: /sarab-/ can hardly reflect a PIE root. I therefore want to propose to regard the two attestations *ša-a-ra-p°* as mistakes (note that they both occur on the same tablet, only two lines from each other). Perhaps they are even scribal errors for *ša-ra-a-p°*.

All in all, I assume that this verb is to be compared with *ašāš<sup>i</sup> / ašeš-*, *hamank<sup>i</sup> / hame/ink-*, *karāp<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-* and represents *šarāp<sup>i</sup> / šare/ip-* (note that a difference between *-e-* and *-i-* is not visible since the sign RI can be read *ri* as well as *re*), and therewith is one of the few verbs that shows an ablaut *-a-/-e/i-*.

Its root etymology has been clear since Neumann (1967: 32), who convincingly connected this verb with Lat. *sorbeō*, Gr. *ρῶφῆω*, etc. ‘to slurp, to swallow’ < \**sreb<sup>h</sup>*-. The exact details of the reconstruction are in debate, especially with regard to the *-a-/-e/i-*ablaut. The usual explanation of this type is the assumption that it reflects a PIE ablaut \**o/e*. Since such a verbal ablaut is not attested anywhere else in the Indo-European languages, I am quite sceptical about it. In my view, we rather have to assume that Hitt. *e/i* in the cases of synchronic *-a-/-e/i-*ablaut is to be interpreted as an anaptyctic vowel /i/. In this case, the /i/ emerged in the zero-grade form of a root of the structure \**CRVC-*. On the basis of the full grade \**CRVC-*, the zero-grade \**CRC-* > *CaRC-* was too aberrant and was replaced by \**CRiC-*: *karāp<sup>i</sup> / kare/ip-* < \**g<sup>h</sup>rób<sup>h</sup>- / \*g<sup>h</sup>rb<sup>h</sup>-*, *hamank<sup>i</sup> / hame/ink-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>mónġ<sup>h</sup>- / \*h<sub>2</sub>mnġ<sup>h</sup>-*, but also *terepp<sup>zi</sup> / terepp-* < \**trép-* / \**trp-*. This means that, in this case, *šarāpi / šaripanzi* represents /sṛābi/, /sṛibánt<sup>si</sup>/ < \**srób<sup>h</sup>ei*, \**srb<sup>h</sup>énti*.

**šarāyar / šaraun-** (n.) ‘storm-clouds(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ra-a-u-ya-ar* (OS), *ša-ra-u-ya-ar* (NS), erg.sg. *ša-ra-u-na-an-za* (NH).

PIE \**sr-ó-ur* / \**sr-ó-un-* ?

See CHD Š: 246-7 for attestations and semantic treatment. The meaning of this word cannot be ascertained, but ‘storm-clouds’ could be possible. It belongs to the small class of nouns in *-āyar / -aun-* (also *ašāyar / ašaun-*, *haršāyar / haršaun-*, *karāyar / karaun-* and *partāyar / partaun-*). As is clear from the other nouns (see their respective lemmas, *haršāyar* under *hārš<sup>i</sup>*), this class represents \**CC-ó-ur*, i.e. a derivation in \**-ó-ur* of a zero-grade root (compare the abstract nouns in *-ātar / -ānn-* that reflect \**CC-ó-tr*). For *šarāyar* this means that we are

dealing with a root *šar-*. Etymologically, this can only reflect *\*sr-*, and one could therefore consider an etymological connection with the noun *\*ser-* ‘top(?), aboveness(?)’ that must underly the words *šarā* ‘upwards’ and *šēr* ‘above, on top’ (q.v.).

**šarḫiie/a-**<sup>2</sup> (Ic1) ‘to attack(?), to press upon(?)’: 2pl.pres.act. *šar-ḫi-e[te-ni]* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *šar-ḫi-ia-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *šar-ḫi-i-e-ed-du* (MH/MS); 2sg.imp.midd. *šar-ḫi-ia-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (NS); impf. *šar-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*; broken *šar-ḫi-ia-at[...]* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: **šarḫuntalli-** (adj.) ‘attacking(?), posing a threat(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *šar-ḫu-un-ta-al-liš* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. *ῥώομαι* ‘move with speed or violence’.

PIE *\*srh<sub>3</sub>-je/o-* ?

See CHD Š: 252 for attestations and semantic treatment. The exact meaning is unclear, but on the basis of

KUB 24.3 ii

(44) *ka-ru-ú=[ia] [(KUR<sup>U</sup>)<sup>RU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-ti IŠ-TU<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-ri-in-na*

(45) *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš A[-N]A KUR.KUR<sup>III.A-TIM</sup> UR.MAḪ ma-a-an šar-ḫi-iš-ke-et*

‘Formerly, with the help of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the land of Ḫatti used to continually š. the foreign countries like a lion’,

it is clear that *šarḫiie/a-* must certainly mean something like ‘to attack’. This is supported by

KBo 16.25 i 4 + 16.24 i

(15) [GIM-an<sup>?</sup>=]m=a-az=kán za-aḫ-ḫi-ḫi-[a-u-ya-an-zi e-ep-zi nu<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚ]R-aš

*ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-an šar-ḫi-i-e-ed-du*

‘[When it (i.e. the army) begins to join] battle, it must š. the first (rank) of [the enem]y’ (for additions and translation see CHD Š: 252).

The interpretation of the form *šarḫiiat* (KUB 44.4 rev. 27 + KBo 13.241 rev. 15) is less clear, but in my opinion a translation ‘to attack’ may be possible as well (for an edition, see Beckman 1983: 178):

(25) *a-aš-ma=ya-r=a-[a]t ú-ya-an-zi UḪ<sub>7</sub><sup>III.A</sup>-uš MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup>-iš*

(26) *ḫu-u-ya-an-da-za<sup>NA</sup>KA-in x<sup>?</sup> [d]a<sup>?</sup>-a-i GIŠ tág-an-za KI.MIN ši-ya-al ḫar-zi*

- (27) IGI-an-da=z=a-aš=kán šar-hi-ia-at[ m]a-an-ni-iš MUNUS-iš<sup>MUNUSŠ</sup> ŠÀ.ZU  
<sup>NA</sup>KA<sup>?</sup>-š=a-aš=kán EME-an  
 (28) ku-e-er<sup>1</sup>-du ši-ya-la-z=a-an IG[I<sup>11</sup>]<sup>LA</sup>-ya ta-aš-ya-aḥ-ḥa-an-du

‘(She says): “Look, they are coming, the sorceresses”. She takes a flint<sup>?</sup> from a *huuanda*, wood from the earth likewise (and) she holds a dagger<sup>?</sup>. (Placing) herself opposite, she has attacked them, the *manni*- woman, the midwife (saying): “May the flint<sup>?</sup> cut off the tongue! May they blind his eyes with the dagger!”’.

The edition of this text translates ‘She presses<sup>?</sup> them against herself<sup>?</sup>’ (o.c.: 179), but this does not seem more likely to me.

Formally, *šarhiie/a-<sup>zi</sup>* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*srh<sub>2/3</sub>-ie/o-*. Čop (1955a: 398) suggested a connection with Gr. ῥώομαι ‘move with speed or violence’, which could reflect *\*srh<sub>3</sub>-je/o-*.

The adj. *šarhuntalli-* occurs in a vocabulary only, where it translates Sum. [Š]U<sup>1</sup>.ŠÚR<sup>1</sup> and Akk. *AL-PU* ‘threatening’.

<sup>(UZU)</sup>*šarhuuant-* (c.) ‘belly; innards; foetus, unborn child’ (Sum. ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA): acc.sg. *šar-hu-ya-an-da-an* (MH/NS), *šar-hu-u-ya-an-ta-an* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-hu-ya-an-ti* (MS), abl. *šar-hu-ya-an-ta-az* (OH/NS), *šar-hu-u-ya-an-da-az* (NS), instr. [*š*]ar-hu-ya-an-ti-t[=a-a]t=kán (OS), *šar-hu-ya-an-ti-it* (NS), acc.pl. *šar-hu-ya-an-du-uš* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *šar-hu-ya-an-da-* (OH/NS), *šar-hu-u-ya-an-da* (OH/NS), *šar-hu<sup>1</sup>-an-ta* (KUB 5.5 i 21, iv 13); unclear *šar-hu-u-ya-an-da-aš* (NS).

IE cognates: Arm. *argand* ‘womb’.

PIE *\*srh<sub>2</sub>uent- ??*

See CHD Š: 253-4 for attestations and semantics. Note that CHD Š: 279 also cites a noun <sup>UZU</sup>*šarnanta-* ‘afterbirth(?)’ (KUB 5.5 i 21, iv 13), which in my view could be regarded as mistakes for *šar-hu<sup>1</sup>-an-ta* (the signs NA (𒀭) and 𒀭U (𒀭𒀭) only differ one vertical stroke vs. winkelhaken from each other).

The only credible etymology that I know of is by Čop (1955a: 403-6) who connected this word with Arm. *argand* ‘womb’. If the Armenian sound laws permit it, we could reconstruct *\*srh<sub>2</sub>uent-*.

*šariie/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *šar-*, *šariie/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

*šarriie/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *šārr-<sup>i</sup>* / *šarr-*

*šarip-*: see *šarāp-*<sup>i</sup> / *šarip-*

<sup>TUG</sup>*šarriūašpa-* (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *šar-ri-ūa-aš-pa-aš* (IBoT 1.31 obv. 7 (NH)).

This word is hapax in an inventory of garments. It is clearly a compound of *šarri-* + *ūašpa-* ‘garment’, although the interpretation of *šarri-* remains elusive. One could think of Hurr. *šarri-* ‘king’ or CLuw. *šarri* ‘upper’.

*šarku-* / *šargau-* (adj.) ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’, (c.) ‘an eminent person’: nom.sg.c. *šar-ku-uš* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *šar-ku-un* (NS), voc.sg. *šar-ku* (OH/NS), *šar-ku-i* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-ga-u-i* (NS), nom.pl.c. *šar-ga-u-e-eš* (MH/NS), *šar-ga-a-u-e-eš* (NS), acc.pl.c. *šar-ga-mu-uš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *šar-ga-u-ūa-aš*.

Derivatives: *šargauatar* / *šargauann-* (n.) ‘eminence’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-ga-ūa-tar*, [š]ar-ga-u-ūa-tar (NS), *šar-g[a-ūa-tar]* (MS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-ga-ūa-an-ni* (MH?/MS)), *šarkiške/a-*<sup>z</sup> (Ic6) ‘to be eminent’ (2sg.pres.act. *šar-[k]i-iš-ke-ši* (KUB 31.127 i 10 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-kiš-kán-zi* (NS)), *šarkuēšš-*<sup>z</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become mighty’ (3sg.pres.act. *šar-ku-e-e[š-zi]* (MS)).

IE cognates: TochB *šark-* ‘to be better than’, Lat. *sarciō* ‘to patch up, to mend’.

PIE *\*srk̑-(e)u-* or *\*sork̑-(e)u-*

See CHD Š: 268f. for attestations. This adjective is often translated ‘high in status’ (cf. also CHD), which goes back to Juret (1942: 43) who assumed an inner-Hittite connection with *šarā* ‘upwards’ and *šēr* ‘on top’. As we will see below, this connection cannot be correct, and *šarku-* / *šargau-* therefore should be translated ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’ without semantically linking it to ‘high’. We are clearly dealing with an *u*-stem adjective derived from a root *šark-*, which probably is visible as such in the verb *šarkiške/a-* ‘to be good’ < *\*šark-ške/a-*. Note that the editors of CHD (Š: 267) translate this verb as “to ascend”, which they admit to have based “on the supposed link to *šarku-* ‘high, eminent’”. Moreover, in order to illustrate this meaning they only cite one context, KUB 24.7 iv 25-26, which is broken and therefore non-probative. The other context in which this verb occurs is much clearer (for the reading *šar-[k]i-iš-ke-ši*, cf. *šarku-*<sup>d</sup>UTU-*u-* ‘eminent Sun-god’ in ibid. i 15, 18, 58):

KUB 31.127 i

(8) ... *ḫa-an-da-an-za=kán*

(9) *a[n-t]u-uḫ-ša-aš tu-uk=pát a-aš-šu-uš n=a-an zi-ik=pát*

(10) *šar-[k]i-iš-ke-ši* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš

‘When righteous, a man is dear to you, and you are therefore always good to him, o Sun-god’.

Kronasser (1957: 123, 127) convincingly connects *šarku-* with TochB *šark-* ‘to surpass, to be better than’. Since this latter verb is a causative and attested in the middle only (p.c. M. Peyrot), the basic meaning of this verb may be ‘to be good’ as well (so \*‘to make oneself good (with regard to someone else)’ > ‘to surpass, to be better than’). Moreover, within Hittite we may think of a connection with the causative *šarnink-zi* ‘to compensate’ (q.v.), which then must go back to \*‘to make (someone) good’ (cf. ModDu. *vergoeden* ‘to compensate’, lit. \*‘to make (someone) good’). This verb is generally connected with Lat. *sarciō* ‘to patch up, to mend’ < \**srk-<sup>w</sup>ié/ó-*, on the basis of which we must reconstruct a root \**serk-*.

*šarku<sup>w</sup>e/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic4) ‘to put on footwear’: 3sg.pres.act. *šar-ku-e-ez-za* (here?, OS), *šar-ku-ez-zi* (MS), *šar-ku-e-ez-zi* (OH/NS), *šar-ku-i-ja-zi* (OH/NS), [*šar-k*]u-e-*ja-zi* (NS), *šar-ku-uz-zi* (NS), *šar-ku-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-ku-u-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *šar-ku-et* (OH/NS), *šar-ku-ut-ta* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *šar-ku-i* (NH), *šar-ku*, 3sg.imp.act. *šar-ku-ja-ad-du* (MH/NS), *šar-ku-ud-du* (MH/NS); part. *šar-ku-u-an-t* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: *šarkuiyant-* (adj.) ‘having shoes on(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *šar-ku-i-u-an-za* (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀπίς, ἴδος ‘kind of shoe’.

PIE \**srk<sup>w</sup>-<sup>i</sup>e/o-* ?

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See CHD Š: 271f. for attestations. This verb clearly is a *-je/a-* derivative of a stem \**šarku-* ‘shoe’, which could be the reading of the sumerogram <sup>KUŠ</sup>E.SIR ‘shoe’. See CHD Š: 270, however, for the fact that there are no unambiguous phonetic complements to <sup>KUŠ</sup>E.SIR to prove that it really has to be read *šarku-*.

The etymological interpretation of this word is difficult. Sommer & Falkenstein (1938: 86) equated \**šarku-* ‘shoe’ with *šarku-* ‘eminent’. The idea is that *šarku<sup>w</sup>e/a-* in fact means ‘to put (shoes) up high’ (adapted by Neumann *apud* Oettinger 1979a: 335 as \**šarku-* ‘shoe’ < \*‘high shoe’). Semantically, this does not seem very attractive to me. Moreover, *šarku-* ‘eminent’ in fact is an *u-* stem *šarku-* / *šargau-*, whereas in the case of \**šarku-* ‘shoe’ there is no evidence at all that we are dealing with a stem \**šark-u-* (rather a labiovelar \**sarK<sup>w</sup>-*). Eichner (1973b: 224) compared \**šarku-* with TochB *serke*, TochA *sark* ‘cycle, circle’ and Skt. *sraj-* ‘wreath, garland’. Apart from the semantic difficulties (‘cycle’ and



‘garland’ do not have anything to do with shoes, unless one assumes that Hittite shoes were made of reed, which was not the case as we can see by the use of the determinative KUŠ ‘leather’), the formal side of this etymology is unattractive as well since a connection of PToch. \**serke* < \**sorKo-* with Skt. *sraj-* would show an undesirable Schwebe-ablaut.

A possible alternative could be a connection with Gr. ἀράϊς, -ῖδος ‘a kind of shoe’ if from \**srk<sup>w</sup>*-. In principle, labiovelars would yield τ, δ, θ in front of *i* or *e*, but perhaps the suffix -ίς, -ῖδος is attached to the root ἀρπ- later (cf. χειρίς, -ῖδος ‘glove’, derived from χεῖρ ‘hand’, for the same suffix).

**šarli-** (adj.) ‘upper(most), superior’: acc.sg.c. *šar-li-in* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *šar-li-ja* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: **šarlae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to exalt, to praise; to let prevail; to lift off, to remove’ (1sg.pres.act. *šar-la-a-mi* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *šar-la-a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *šar-la-iz-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-la-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *šar-la-a-et* (MH/MS), *šar-la-it* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *šar-la-u-e-en* (NS), *š[ar-l]a-a-u-e[n]* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *šar-la-a-i* (OH/NS); part. *šar-la-a-an-t* (MH/MS), *šar-la-an-t* (MS?); verb.noun gen.sg. *šar-lu-ma-aš* (NS), *šar-lu-u-ma-aš* (MH/NS); impf. *šar-li-iš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *šar-li-eš-ke/a-* (NH)), **šarlaim(m)i-** (adj.) ‘exalted(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *šar-la-i-mi-iš* (NH), *šar-la-im-mi-iš* (NH), acc.sg.c. *šar-la-i-mi-in* (MS), *šar-la-a-i-mi-in*, *šar-la-i-me-en* (NS), *šar-la-im-mi-in* (NS), gen.sg. *šar-la-i-mi-aš* (MS?), *šar-la-i-mi-ja-aš* (NS), *šar-la-im-mi-ja-aš*, *šar-la-a-i-ma-aš*), **šarlamiš-** (n.) ‘glory’ (Luw.nom.-acc.sg. *šar-la-mi-iš-ša* (MH/MS)), (SISKUR/SISKUR) **šarlatta-**<sup>(SISKUR)</sup> (n.) ‘exaltation(?)’; praise offering’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-la-at-ta-an* (NH), Luw.nom.-acc.sg. *šar-la-at-ta-an-za* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-la-at-ti*, gen.sg. *šar-la-a-at-ta-aš* (MS), *šar-la-at-ta-aš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. *šar-la-at-ta* (MH/MS)), **šarlattašši-** (adj.) ‘related to praise / exaltation’ (nom.sg.c. *šar-la-ad-da-aš-ši-iš* (NH), *šar-la-at-ta-aš-š[i-iš]* (NH), *šar-la-da-aš-ši-iš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *šar-la-at-ta-aš-ši-in* (MH/MS), [*šar-la-a*]t-ta-aš-ši-in (MH/NS), [*šar-l*]a-a-at-t[a-aš-ši-in]).

PIE \**sr-li-*

See CHD Š: 277-8 for attestations. The adj. *šarli-* and its derivatives are clearly cognate with *šēr* ‘on to’, *šarā* ‘upwards’ and therefore must reflect \**sr-li-*. See at *šēr* and *šarā* for further etymology.

UZU **šarnanta-**: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>šarḫuuant-

**šarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib3) ‘(abs.) to give compensation; (+ acc.) to compensate for something, to make up for something; ((+ acc.) + abl.) to compensate (for something) with something; (+ dat. + acc.) to compensate someone for something’: 1sg.pres.act. *šar-ni-ik-mi* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. [*šar-ni-ik-*]za (KBo 6.2 iv 55 (OS)), *šar-ni-ik-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *šar-ni-in-ku-e-ni* (NH), *šar-ni-in-ku-u-e-[ni]* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *šar-ni-ik-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-ni-in-kán-zi* (OH/NS), *šar-ni-en-kán-zi* (OH/NS), *šar-ni-kán-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *šar-ni-in-ku-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *šar-ni-ik-ta* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. [*š*]ar-ni-in-ku-en, 3pl.pret.act. *šar-ni-in-ker* (NH), *šar-ni-ke-er* (MS?), 3sg.imp.act. *šar-ni-ik-tu* (MS), *šar-ni-ik-du* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. [*ša*]r-ni-in-kán-du (MS); part. *šar-ni-in-kán-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *šar-ni-in-ku-ua-aš* (NH), *šar-ni-in-ku-u-ua-aš* (NH), nom.pl. *šar-ni-in-ku-e-eš* (NH); inf.I *šar-ni-in-ku-ua-an-zi* (NH), *šar-ni-in-ku-u-ua-an-zi* (NH); impf. *šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *šar-ni-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *šar-ni-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *šar-ni-en-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: **šarnikzil-** (n. > c.) ‘compensation, compensatory damages, replacement’ (nom.sg.c. *šar-ni-ik-zi-il* (OS), *šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il* (OH/NS), *šar-ni-ik-zi-el* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *šar-ni-ik-zi-il* (MH/MS), *šar-ni-ik-zi-el* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *šar-ni-ik-zi-la-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *šar<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-ik-zi-li* (NH), abl. *šar-ni-ik-zi-la-az* (NH), acc.pl.c. [*ša*]r-ni-ik-zi-lu-uš (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*šar-ni-*]ik-zi-el<sup>III.A</sup> (NH), [*šar-*]ni-ik-zi<sup>1</sup>-el<sup>MEŠ</sup> (NH)), **šarnikzilēš<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to pay/make compensation’ (impf. 1sg.pres.act. *šar-ni-ik-zi-le<sup>1</sup>-e-eš-ke-m[i]* (NH)).

IE cognates: Lat. *sarciō* ‘to patch up, to mend’, TochB *šark-* ‘to surpass, to be better than’.

PIE *\*sr-nén-k-ti*

See CHD Š: 282f. for attestations and semantics. This verb belongs to the group of nasal-infix verbs that show an infix *-ni(n)-*, cf. the treatment of class Ib3 in § 2.2.2.1.m as well as § 2.2.4. Just as e.g. *ħarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* is derived from *ħark<sup>-zi</sup>* and *ištarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* from *ištar(k)<sup>-zi</sup>*, we would expect that *šarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* is derived from a verb *šark-*. Moreover, since nasal-infix verbs usually have a causative meaning, we would expect that this verb would have the meaning ‘to be good’ (cf. ModDu. *vergoeden* ‘to compensate’, which literally is a causative ‘to make good’, derived from *goed* ‘good’). Pedersen (1938: 145) found such a stem in Lat. *sarciō* ‘to patch up, to mend’ < *\*srk<sup>-</sup>ie/o-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 492-3), but such a stem is now also available within Hittite, namely in the adjective *šarku-* / *šargau-* ‘eminent’ and, more importantly, in the verb *šarkiške/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to be good’ (see at *šarku-* / *šargau-* for both), which have been connected with TochB *šark-* ‘to

surpass, to be better than’. All in all, *šarni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* must reflect *\*sr-nen-k-ti*. See at § 2.2.4 for a detailed account of the infix *-nin-*.

**šarta<sup>-i</sup> / šart-** (IIa1γ > Ic2, Ic1) ‘to wipe, to rub’: 3sg.pres.act. *šar-ta-i* (OS), *šar-ta-iz-zi* (NH), [*šar-*]da-a-iz-zi (undat.), 1sg.pret.act. *šar-ti-ja-nu-un* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-te-er* (OS), *šar-ti-er* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *šar-ta-a-id-du* (NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *šar-ta-u-ua-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>URUDU</sup>**šartal-** (n.), a trowel(?), spatula(?) (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-ta-al* (NS)).

IE cognates: ON *serða* ‘to sodomize’, MHG *serten* ‘to violate (women/animals)’.

PIE *\*sórd<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2,3</sub>-ei*, *\*srd<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2,3</sub>-énti*

See CHD Š: 290-1 for attestations. Note that it does not mention the attestations 3sg.pres.act. *šar-ta-i* (KBo 17.18 ii 16 (OS), KUB 36.110, 20 (OS)), whereas the attestation *šar-ta-i* (KBo 17.43 i 14) is dated as “OH/NS?”, which in fact should be OS (as is correctly done lower in the text). This means that the oldest attestations are 3sg.pres.act. *šartai* and 3pl.pret.act. *šarter* (both OS), which point to the *tarn(a)*-class inflection. In NS texts we find the trivial secondary stems *šarta<sup>e</sup>-zi* (*šartaizzi*, [*šar*]dāizzi, *šartāiddu*, *šartauuāš*), according to the *ḫatrae*-class and *šartije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (*šartijanun* and *šartier*), according to the *-ie/a*-class.

*Tarn(a)*-class verbs reflect roots with a root-final laryngeal, either *\*CoH-* or *\*Ce-CoH-*, but also *\*CoCh<sub>2,3</sub>-* (for this latter root structure, compare *malla<sup>-i</sup> / mall-* ‘to mill, to grind’, *padda<sup>-i</sup> / padd-* ‘to dig’, *iškalla<sup>-i</sup> / iškall-* ‘to slit, to split’, *išparra<sup>-i</sup> / išparr-* ‘to trample’, etc.; cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). In this case, only a structure *\*sorTh<sub>2,3</sub>-* is possible.

Melchert (2002) convincingly connects *šarta<sup>-i</sup> / šart-* with ON *serða* ‘to sodomize’, MHG *serten* ‘to violate (women/animals)’ (note that these verbs do not merely denote ‘to have intercourse’, as Melchert states, but denote sodomy (in ON) and violation (in MHG), p.c. Guus Kroonen), of which he assumes that it goes back to a meaning *\*‘to move the surface of one object obliquely against that of another’*. These latter verbs point to *\*serd<sup>h</sup>-*, which, on the basis of the *tarn(a)*-class inflection in Hittite, means that we have to reconstruct PIE *\*serd<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2,3</sub>-*. Note that Melchert’s further connection with Skt. *sárdigr̥di-* ‘*portio vaginalis*’ is formally impossible as Skt. *-d-* does not match PGerm. *\*-d- < \*-d<sup>h</sup>-*.

**šardi-** (gender unclear) ‘help’: dat.-loc.sg. *šar-di-ja* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: <sup>(LÚ)</sup>**šardija-** (c.) ‘ally, supporter, helper’ (nom.sg. *šar-di-aš* (OS), *šar-ti-ja-aš* (OS), *šar-di-ja-aš* (MS), acc.sg. *šar-ti-an* (OS), *šar-di-a(n)=š-ša-an* (OS), *šar-di-ja-an* (OH/NS)), **šardijatar** / **šardijann-** (n.) ‘alliance, help’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-di-[a-tar]*, dat.-loc.sg. *šar-di-ja-an-ni*).

PIE \**sr-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i*- ??

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See CHD Š: 292f. for attestations. The etymological interpretation is quite uncertain. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 78, 90) connected these words with PIE \**ser-* ‘to protect’, as reflected in Gr. ὄρονται ‘they keep watch’, Av. *har-* ‘to beware’, *hauruaiti* ‘protects’, but also possibly in Lyd. *sarēta-* and *saroka-* if indeed ‘protector’ and ‘protection’ (thus Melchert 1994a: 341). If correct, then we have to assume a root-extension \**ser-T-* for Hittite. In view of the assibilation of the dental stops before \**-i-*, we could perhaps think of \**sr-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*. Nevertheless, I would judge this etymology as mildly probable only.

**šartije/a-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *šarta-<sup>i</sup>* / *šart-*

**šāru-** (n.) ‘booty, plunder’: nom.-acc.sg. *ša-a-ru* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-a-ru-i* (NH), *ša-a-ru-ú-i* (NH), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-a-ru-ua* (NS).

Derivatives: **šaruje/a-<sup>zi</sup>**, **šarujae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic4 > Ic2) ‘to plunder, to loot (something); to take (something) as plunder’ (3sg.pret.act. *ša-ru-ua-it* (MS), *ša-ru-ua-a-it* (NH), *ša-ru-u-ua-it* (NH), *šar-ua-it* (MH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-ru-u-e-er* (MH/MS), *ša-ru-ua-a-er* (NH), *ša-ru-ua-er*, *ša-ar-ua<sup>1</sup>-er* (NS); part.nom.pl.c.(?) *ša-a-ru-un-t[i-eš]* (NH); inf.I *ša-a-ru-ua-u-ua-an-zi* (NH), [*ša*]-*a-ru-u-ua-u-ua-an-zi* (NH)).

IE cognates: MĪr. *serb* ‘theft’, We. *herw* ‘plundering’, Latv. *sirt* ‘to loot’.

PIE \**sór-u-*

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See CHD Š: 296 and 298 for attestations. This word was connected by Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 78) to Latv. *sirt* ‘to loot’, MĪr. *serb* ‘robbery’, to which possibly Lith. *sarióti* ‘to devastate, to loot’ belongs. Especially MĪr. *serb*, which together with We. *herw* ‘plundering’ reflects \**seruā*, seems to be closely cognate with Hitt. *šāru-* that we must reconstruct as \**sór-u-*.

**(*ʌ*) šarunta/i-** (c.) ‘spring, well’: acc.sg. *šar-un-ti-in* (NH), abl. *ša-ru-un-ta-az*.

IE cognates: Skt. *srav-*, Gr. ῥέω ‘to flow’.

PIE \**sru-nt-* ??

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See CHD Š: 299 for attestations. The use of the gloss wedge and the alteration between an *a*- and an *i*-stem seems to point to Luwian origin. If from IE origin, one could think of a connection with the PIE root *\*sreu-* ‘to flow’ (Skt. *srav-*, Gr. *ρέω*, etc. ‘to flow’). Although the formation is not fully clear, we could perhaps reconstruct *\*sru-nt-*.

**šas-**: see *šeš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *šas-*

**šašha-**: see *šišha<sup>-i</sup>* / *šišh-*

**šattayartanna** (adv.) ‘for seven rounds’: (A) *ša-at-ta-ya-ar-ta-an-na*.

See CHD Š: 313. The word is only attested in the Kikkuli-text on horse-training. It is generally derived from Indic *\*sapta-uartana-* ‘seven-rounds’. See also *aikayartanna*, *nauyartanna*, *panzayartanna* and *tierayartanna*.

**šaudišt-** / **šāūitišt-** (c.) ‘weanling’: nom.sg. *ša-ú-di-iš-za* (OS), [*ša-*] *a-ú-te-eš-za* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ú-ti-eš[-za]* (OH/NS), *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš-za* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ú-i-ti-eš-za* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ú[-i-ti]-iš-ta-aš* (NS), gen.pl. *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **šayitištae<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to wean’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-iz-zi* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *ša-a-ú-ti-iš-ta-a-u-ū[a-aš]* (NH)).

PIE *\*só-ut-es-t-* / *\*só-uet-es-t-*

See CHD Š: 318-9 for attestations and semantics. From the contexts it is clear that the *šāūitišt-* is a cow younger than the one-year-old calf, and therefore must be translated ‘weanling’. The oldest attestations (OS) are spelled *ša-ú-di-iš<sup>o</sup>* (/saudist-/), whereas in younger texts we find *ša-(a-)ú-i-ti-iš<sup>o</sup>* (/šāuidist-/). Rieken (1999a: 147) assumes that in OH times *\*šāūitišt-* was syncopated to *šaudišt-*, of which she states: “[b]ei der Synkopierung handelt es sich aber nicht um einen konsequent durchgeführten Lautwandel”. All the parallels she adduces of forms where we find *-i-* in NH forms vs.  $\emptyset$  in OH forms are found in names and a few words of foreign origin, however. Moreover, the supposition of a phonetic development that has not been consistently carried through, and even has been reversed, is against the principles of historical linguistics. In my view, if this word is from IE origin, we should rather view the difference between *šaudišt-* and *šāūitišt-* as ablaut.

Hrozný (1917: 93<sup>2</sup>) saw in *šāyitišt-* a compound of *\*som* ‘one’ (see *šamnae<sup>zi</sup>*, =(*š*)*šan* and *šani-*) and *\*uet-es-* ‘year’ (see also under *uitt-*), literally meaning ‘(a cow) in its first year’, which has been widely followed. This etymology demands that we assume that this word is a *t*-stem: *\*sóm-uetes-t-*. Although the disappearance of *\*N* in front of *-u-* has parallels in e.g. *kueyen* ‘we killed’ < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>en-uen* or *mā=ua* < *\*mān=ua*, this etymology cannot explain the form *šaudišt-*. Kimball (1999: 233) more cogently assumes a compound of the demonstrative pronoun *\*so-* and *\*uetes-*, lit. meaning ‘(a cow) of this year’. Formally, this is much more convincing: *\*só-uetes-t-* would by regular soundlay yield Hitt. /*šáuidist-*/ (accentuated *\*ó* yields /*á*/; raising of *\*e* to /*i*/ between *\*u* and *\*t*; lenition of *\*t* to /*d*/ between unaccentuated vowels; weakening of posttonic *\*e* to /*i*/ in closed syllable), whereas a zero-grade formation *\*só-utes-t-* would regularly yield /*šáuidist-*/ (the accentuated diphthong *\*óu* yields /*áu*/ (with short /*a*/!) in front of dental consonants; lenition of *\*t* to /*d*/ after accentuated diphthong; weakening of posttonic *\*e* to /*i*/ in closed syllables). For semantic parallels, cf. e.g. Skt. *vatsa-* ‘calf’ < *\*uet-s-o-*, Goth. *wīþrus*, OE *weþer* ‘wether’ < *\*uet-ru-*, etc.

<sup>SI</sup>*šāyātar-*: see <sup>SI</sup>*šāyitra-*

*šāyitišt-*: see *šaudišt-*

<sup>SI</sup>*šāyitra-*, <sup>SI</sup>*šāyātar-* (n.) ‘horn (a musical instrument); horn (a drinking vessel)’ (Sum. SI): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-a-ú-i-it-ra-an* (OS), [*š*]*a-ú-i-it-ra-an*, *ša-a-ua-a-tar* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ua-tar* (NS), *ša-ua-a-tar* (MH?/NS), *ša-ua-tar* (NH), *ša-ú-ua-a-tar* (NS), *ša-a-ú-ua-tar* (MH/NS), *ša-ú-ua-tar* (MH?/NS), Luw.nom.-acc.sg. *ša-a-ú-ua-tar-ša* (NS), gen.sg. *ša-a-ua-a-tar-aš* (OS), *ša-a-ua-a-ta-ra-š=a* (OS), [*š*]*a-ú-i-it-ra-aš* (NS), abl. SI-*az* (NS), instr. SI-*it* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-a-ú-i-it-ra* (NS), *ša-ú-i-it-ra* (NS), *ša-úi<sub>5</sub>-it-ra* (NS).

Anat. cognates: Pal. *šāyita/ir-* (n.?) ‘horn(?)’ (acc.sg. *ša-a-ú-i-ti-ra-an*, nom.-acc.pl. *ša-a-ú-i-da-a-ar*).

See CHD Š: 317-8 for attestations. The word’s identification as ‘horn’ is determined by the fact that it often uses the determinative SI ‘horn’, but also can be written sumerographically with SI. Note that *šāyitra-*, *šāyātar-* denotes ‘horn’ as a musical instrument or a drinking vessel only. The ‘horn’ of cows and other animals is expressed by the word <sup>(SI)</sup>*karāyar* (q.v.).

The interpretation of this word is quite difficult. Already in OS texts, we find two stems: *šāyūtra-* and *šāyātar-*. The alteration *-ī-* / *-ā-* is hard to explain from an IE point of view. Oettinger (1979b) treats this word extensively and reconstructs it as *\*sōuh<sub>1</sub>-e-tro-* ‘Instrument zum Stoßen’ (derived from *\*seuh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to push, to shove’ as visible in Hitt. *šūe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to push, to shove’). There are three problems regarding this etymology. (1) I do not see what ‘to push’ has to do with ‘horn’. (2) Oettinger’s explanation that the alternation between *šāyūtra-* and *šāyātar-* is due to analogy with *yātar* ‘water’ besides *yidār* (pl.) (l.c.: 202<sup>31</sup>) is far from compelling. Starke (1990: 400f.) argues that *šāyātar-* is the Luwian form that corresponds to Hitt. *šāyūtra-*, but this is unlikely in view of the fact that gen.sg. *šāyātaras* is found in an OS text already: Luwian loanwords are usually not found that early in Hittite texts. Nevertheless, the existence of a Luwian stem *šāyatar-* cannot be denied in view of the NS Luwian inflected nom.-acc.sg. *šāyatarša*. Melchert (1994a: 138-9) states that the alternation between *-i-* and *-a-* is due to the different outcome of posttonic *\*e* in Hittite, namely /i/ in closed syllables (so *šāyitrV* < *\*sōyedrV*) and /a/ in open syllables (*šāyatar* < *\*sōyedər*). This is contradicted by *šāyitišt-* < *\*sō-uetes-t-*, which shows that the raising of *\*e* to *i* between *\*y* and a dental consonant precedes the weakening of *\*e* to *a* in open syllable. (3) In the preform *\*souh<sub>1</sub>etro-* we would expect monophthongization of *\*ou* to /o/ in front of *\*h<sub>1</sub>* (cf. *\*souh<sub>1/3</sub>-u-* > Hitt. /sō?u-/ , *šu-u-ú-* ‘full’), so *\*sōuh<sub>1</sub>etro-* should have yielded *\*\*/sō?etro/* > *\*\*/sōitra-/*, spelled *\*\*šu-u-it-ra-*.

All in all, Oettinger’s etymology cannot be correct. In my view, it is much more likely that we are dealing with a cultural Wanderwort.

=šše (encl.pron. 3sg. dat.) ‘for him/her/it’: *V=š-še* (OS), *C=še* (OS), *V=š-ši* (OS+), *C=ši* (OS+), *V=ši* (NS).

PIE *\*-soi*

This enclitic pronoun denotes ‘for him/her/it’ and is in the oldest texts always spelled with geminate *-šš-* when this could be expressed (so after a word or another enclitic that ends in a vowel). Spellings with single *-š-* are found sporadically, and in NS texts only. In OS texts, we find =šše (e.g. *nu-u=š-še*, *ta-a=š-še*) more often than =šši, but in MS and NS texts =šše is not found anymore: we then only find =šši. This means that an original =šše is getting replaced by =šši from OH times onwards (which is the reason why I cite this lemma under =šše), probably in analogy to the dat.-loc.sg.-ending *-i* (cf. Melchert 1984a: 94<sup>37</sup>).

This enclitic pronoun is generally reconstructed as *\*-soi* and regarded as ultimately belonging with the PIE demonstrative pronoun *\*so-*, *\*to-*. For the ending, compare encl. dat.-loc.sg. Gr.  $\mu\omicron\iota$  ‘to me’,  $\sigma\omicron\iota$  ‘to you’.

=šše-: see =šši- / =šša- / =šše-

**šēhur / šēhun-** (n.) ‘urine’: nom.-acc.sg. *še-e-ḥur* (KBo 10.45 iv 37 (MH/NS), KUB 9.28 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *še-e-ḥu-ur* (KBo 21.20 i 25 (NS)), *še-e-ḥu-ua-ar* (KUB 58.90 ii 5 (NS)), [š]e-e-ḥu-ua-a[r] (KUB 60.116, 11 (NS)), gen.sg. *še-e-ḥu-na-aš* (IBoT 1.36 i 46 (MH/MS)), *ši-e-ḥu-na-aš* (KUB 7.5+ i 9 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *še-e-ḥu-ni* (KUB 35.132+ iii 7 (NS)), *še-ḥu-ni* (KBo 45.244, 2 (NS)), all.sg. *še-e-ḥu-na* (IBoT 1.36 i 44 (MH/MS)), *še-ḥu-na* (IBoT 1.36 i 45 (MH/MS)), erg.sg. *še-e-ḥu-na-an-za* (IBoT 1.36 i 34 (MH/MS)), instr. [š]e-e-ḥu-ni-it (KBo 12.111, 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: **šēhurije/a-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to urinate’ (3sg.pret.act. *še-e-ḥu-ri-ja-[a]t* (KUB 31.71 iii 11 (NH)), impf.3sg.imp.act. *še-ḥur-ri-eš-ke-əd-du* (KUB 17.27 iii 12)), **šēhurae-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to urinate’ (inf.I [še-]e-ḥu-ra-u-ua-an-zi (KUB 60.116, 6 (NS))), **šēhuganiḡuant-** (adj.) ‘besmeared with urine’ (nom.sg.c. *še-e-ḥu-ga-ni-ja-u-ua-an-za* (KBo 10.37 ii 25, iii 49 (OH/NS))), see *dūr / dūn-*.

PIE *\*séik<sup>w</sup>r*, *\*séik<sup>w</sup>n-??*

The noun is an *r/n*-stem and shows the stems *šēhur* besides *šēhun-*. The NS attestations *šēhuuḡar* are to be compared to the few attestations *pahḡuḡar* besides *pahḡur* and probably show an occasional phonetic realization [šéh<sup>w</sup>ḡ] of phonological /šéh<sup>w</sup>r/. The hapax spelling *ši-e-* is found in an NS text, and is probably not to be taken seriously phonetically.

The noun shows the same inflection as *mēhur / mēhun-* ‘time’. On the basis of the idea that *mēhur* reflects *\*mēh<sub>2</sub>-ur* (but see at *mēhur / mēhun-* for an alternative etymology), Eichner (1973a: 69-70) similarly reconstructs *šēhur* as *\*šéh<sub>2</sub>-ur*, a derivative in *-ur* of the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* “verunreinigen, beschmutzen”. This reconstruction has been widely followed (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 512; Rieken 1999a: 340f.; Kimball 1999: 152). Nevertheless, a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* “verunreinigen, beschmutzen” does not occur in Hittite. The verb *šāḡ-*<sup>i</sup>, which is translated “verunreinigen, besudeln” by Eichner (l.c.), in fact means ‘to clog, to stuff, to stop, to block, to fill in, to plug up’ and probably reflects PIE *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stuff up’ (from which *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to satiate’), whereas CLuw. *šahḡa-*, which Eichner translates as “Schmutz” (on the basis of Laroche 1959: 83), does not exist (cf. Starke 1990:





228-9). With the disappearance of a root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to pollute, to defile’ I see no reason anymore to assume that *šēhur* must reflect *\*sēh<sub>2</sub>-ur*.

It is quite common that words like ‘urine’ are borrowed because of tabooistic reasons (e.g. inherited ModDu. *zeik* ‘urine’ (*\*seik<sup>w</sup>-*) is seen as too rude and therefore replaced by *urine* ‘urine’). Kortlandt (2004: 11) therefore states that *šēhur* must be a loan from Semitic. In my view, the inflection of *šēhur* / *šēhun-* looks too IE to be borrowed from Semitic. I therefore would rather assume borrowing from another Anatolian language. For instance, a preform *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-r* / *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-n-*, derived from the PIE root *\*seik<sup>w</sup>-* (OHG *seihhen* ‘to urinate’, SerbCS *svcati* ‘to piss’, Skt. *siñcáti* ‘to pour out, etc.’), would yield *šēhur* / *šēhun-* in Palaic by regular sound laws: PIE *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-r* / *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-n-* ‘urine’ > PAnat. *\*sēg<sup>w</sup>r* / *\*sēg<sup>w</sup>n-* > Pal. *šēhur* / *šēhun-* (compare *aḫuṽanti* ‘they drink’ < PAnat. *\*ʔg<sup>w</sup>anti* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>g<sup>wh</sup>enti*). Although it is hard to prove, I would certainly regard borrowing from Palaic (or another Anatolian language in which PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* yielded *-ḫu-*) as a possibility.

See at *dūr* / *dūn-* ‘urine’ for the possibility that CLuw. *dūr* / *dūn-* is derived from PAnat. *\*sēg<sup>w</sup>r* < *\*séik<sup>w</sup>r* as well.

For the interpretation of *šēhuganiṽant-* as either *\*šēhur-ganiṽa* or *\*šēhun-ganiṽant-* cf. Rieken (1999a: 341-2).

In the handcopy of KUB 17.27 iii 12 we find the form ~~šē-ḫar-ḫur-ri-eš-ke-ēd-du~~ = *eš-ḫAR/ḪUR-ri-eš-ke-ēd-du*, which often is interpreted as *ešharrieškeddu* ‘he must bleed’. Nevertheless, if we look closely at the photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk), we see that it actually reads  =  = *šē-ḫAR/ḪUR-ri-eš-ke-ēd-du*, which means that we should read *šēhurrieškeddu* ‘he must urinate’. This latter form also fits the context best:

KUB 17.27 iii

(11)

... *n=a-at an-da*

(12) [*GĪR<sup>MEŠ</sup>*]-*it iš-pár-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un n=a-at=kán ANŠE-aš šē-ḫur-re-eš-ke-ēd-du*

(13) [*n=a-at*]=*kán GUD-uš kam-mar-ši-eš-ke-ēd-du*

‘I have trampled it with my feet. May the donkey piss on it and may the cow shit on it!’.

**šekk-**: see *šākk-<sup>i</sup>* / *šakk-*

<sup>(TÚG)</sup>*šeknu-* / *šeknaŷ-* (c./n.) ‘cloak’: acc.sg.c. *še-ek-nu-un* (often), *še-ek-nu-u(n)=š-ša-an*, *ši-ik-nu-un*, nom.acc.sg.n. *še-ek<sup>1</sup>-nu-u=š-me-et* (KBo 3.34 i 21 (OH/NS)), *ši-ik-nu-u=š-ši-it* (917/u + iv 11 (NS)), *ši-ik-nu-u=š-še-et* (KUB 53.3 v 3 (NS), KUB 53.5, 5 (NS)), gen.sg. *še-ek-nu-uš* (KBo 2.3 ii 33 (MH/NS)), *še-ek-nu-ŷa-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *še-e-ek-na-u-i=š-mi* (KBo 17.36 iii 5 (OS)), *še-ek-nu-i=š-ši*, abl. *ši-ik-nu-az*, acc.pl.c. *še-ek-nu-uš*, *ši-ik-nu-uš*.

IE cognates: Skt. *saj-* ‘to adhere, to hang on’, Lith. *segù* ‘to adhere’, OIr. *sén* ‘safety net’.

PIE *\*ség-n(e)u-*

See Weitenberg 1984: 227f. for semantics and attestations. The remarkable form *še-ku-nu-u=š-me-et* (KBo 3.34 i 21) is in my view to be regarded as a scribal error for *še-ek<sup>1</sup>-nu-u=š-me-et*. The only OS form, *šēknaŷi=šmi* shows plene spelling of the vowel *-e-* as well as full grade in the suffix syllable *-naŷ-* (cf. also *hēu-* / *he(i)au-* ‘rain’).

Eichner (1979a: 42<sup>4</sup>) reconstructs *\*sé<sup>h</sup>k-nu-* from the root “\**sek-*” ‘to cut’ (actually *\*sekh<sub>1</sub>-*, see at *šākk<sup>1</sup>-* / *šakk-*), but Weitenberg rather follows Hrozný’s connection (1919: 76<sup>8</sup>) with Lat. *sagum* ‘soldier’s cloak’ which points to the PIE root *\*seg-* ‘to adhere, to hang (on)’ (cf. Skt. *saj-* ‘to adhere, to hang on’, Lith. *segù* ‘to adhere’, OIr. *sén* ‘safety net’). This means that we should reconstruct *\*ség-n(e)u-*.

*šēli-* (c.) ‘grain pile, grain storage’: nom.sg. *še-e-li-iš* (KUB 39.41 ii 14 (OH/NS)), *še-li-iš* (HKM 84 rev. 14 (MH/MS)), acc.sg. *še-li-in* (KUB 30.24 iii 37 (OH/NS), KUB 39.41 ii 13 (OH/NS), HKM 111 obv. 9 (MH/MS), KUB 33.103 ii 11 (MH/NS), KUB 36.16 iii 19 (MH/NS), KUB 30.66 i 8 (NS)), gen.sg. [*še-*]ē-*li-ia-aš* (KBo 6.3 iv 19 (OH/NS)) // *še-ē-lī-ia-aš* (KBo 6.7, 2 (OH/NS)), *še-li-aš* (KUB 18.16,4 (NS)), *še-la-aš* (?) (KUB 55.14 obv. 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *še-e-li-ia* (KBo 6.3 iv 19 (OH/NS)) // *še-e-lī* (KBo 6.7, 1 (OH/NS)), *še-e-li* (KUB 5.9 i 35 (NS), KUB 30.46 l.col. 8 (NS)), *še-li* (KBo 13.260 iii 40 (NS), KUB 55.54 iii 3 (NS)), nom.pl. *še-li-e-eš* (HKM 36 obv. 19 (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *še-e-li-uš* (KBo 11.32, 28 (OH/NS)), *še-li-uš* (KBo 13.260 iii 35 (NS), KUB 21.17 iii 14 (NH)), *še-li-aš* (KUB 21.17 iii 10 (NH)).

IE cognates: OIr. *síl* ‘seed’, Lith. *pasėlyš* ‘seed’.

PIE *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-li-*

This word is firmly attested as ‘grain pile, grain storage’. If the one gen.sg.-form *še-la-aš* indeed belongs here, it would show the ablauting *i*-stem gen. in *-aš* <

\*-ajaš. This word has plausibly been compared by Oettinger (1979a: 541<sup>29</sup>, followed by e.g. Kimball 1999: 146) with OIr. *síl* ‘seed’ and Lith. *pasėlyš* ‘seed’ and reconstructed as \**seh<sub>1</sub>-li-*, a derivative in \*-*li-* from the root \**seh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to sow’.

*šemen*<sup>-zi</sup> / *šemn-*: see *šamen*<sup>-zi</sup> / *šamn-*

*šena-*: see *šīna-*

*-šepa-*: see at <sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzepa-*

(URUDU)*šepikkušta-* (c.) ‘pin; hairpin; stylus’ (Sum. <sup>(URUDU)</sup>ZI.KIN.BAR): nom.sg. *ša-p[í-k]u-uš-ta-š=a* (MH/MS), *ši-pí-í[k-k]u-uš-ta-aš* (MH/MS), *ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš* (NS), *ša-a-pí-ku-uš-ta-aš* (NS), [š]*a-pí-ku-uš-ta-aš* (NS), acc.sg. *ša-pí-ku-uš-ta-an* (MH/MS), *ši-pí-[ik-ku-u]š-ta-an* (MH/MS), *še-pí-ku-uš-ta-a[n]* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *še-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *še-pí-ku-uš-ti* (NS), nom.pl. [š]*e-pí-ku-uš-te-eš* (NS), acc.pl. *še-pí-ik-ku-uš-tu-uš* (MS), *ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-du-uš* (NS).

See Beckman 1983: 63-4 for attestations and semantic treatment. According to Beckman, the word “may be said to designate a long pointed metal object with a single shaft”, i.e. ‘pin’. We encounter spellings with *ša-pí-*, *še-pí-* and *ši-pí-*, which are all found in MS texts already. This alteration in vocalism is remarkable. Melchert (1994a: 31) states that it “points unambiguously to initial /sp-/, and derivation from PIE \**sp(e)ik-* is straightforward”. To my knowledge, a preform with initial \**sp-* would have yielded Hitt. *išp-*, however.

*šepitt-* (n.) a kind of grain: nom.-acc.sg. *še-ep-pí-it* (often), *še-pí-it* (KBo 10.45+iii 51, KBo 4.2 i 9), gen.sg. *še-ep-pí-it-ta-aš* (OS, often), *še-ep-pí-id-da-aš* (KUB 20.66 iv 6), *še-ep-pí-da-aš* (StBoT 25.54 iv 5 (OS)), [še]-*ep-pí-da-aš* (StBoT 25.56 iv 14 (OS)), *še-ep-pí-ta-aš* (VSNF 12.56 obv. 8), instr. *še-ep-pí-it-ti-it* (KBo 30.73 iv<sup>2</sup> 11), nom.-acc.pl. *še-ep-pí-it-ta* (HKM 109 obv. 3, 7 (MH/MS)).

PIE \**sep-it-* ??

See Rieken 1999a: 158f. for a treatment of this word. She argues that the occasional OS attestations gen.sg. *šepidaš* (with single *-d-*) may show lenition of \*-*t-* in posttonic position (\**sépitas*), whereas later on the unlenited variant (geminate *-tt-*) was generalized throughout the paradigm.

Because of the many OS attestations and because of the similarity in formation with *militt-* ‘honey’ (q.v.) it is not unlikely that *šepitt-*, too, is of IE origin. Nevertheless, no good comparandum is known. Rieken’s connection with Hitt. *šeba-* ‘sheaf(?)’, which she reconstructs as *\*sēp-o-*, seems unconvincing to me.

**šēr** (adv.) ‘above, on top’: *še-e-er* (OS), *še-er* (OS).

PIE *\*sēr*

In the oldest texts we see traces of the fact that originally *šēr* belonged to a nominal paradigm. The attestations *še-e-er=ša-me-et* (OS), *še-e-er=še-me-et* (OS) ‘above them’ and *še-e-er=ši-it* ‘above him’, indicate that *šēr* originally was nom.-acc.sg.n. The form *še-e-er=ši-i* ‘above him’ may show that *šēr* was dat.-loc.sg. as well. Of the noun *\*ser-*, the old allative is visible in *šarā* (adv.) ‘up(wards)’ (q.v.). This latter form never has enclitic possessive pronouns, which indicates that it already earlier was seen as adverbial only. So we have to reckon with an original paradigm nom.-acc.sg. *šēr*, dat.-loc.sg. *šēr*, all.sg. *šarā*. I would interpret dat.-loc.sg. *šēr* as an endless locative *\*sēr*, but Melchert (1984a: 88<sup>18</sup>) rather reconstructs a loc. *\*séri*, in which the word-final *-i* regularly dropped. This *\*séri* then would be the direct preform of CLuw. *šarri* as well. See at *šarā* for a treatment of this latter form and for further etymology of the root *\*ser-*.

**šerḥa-** (gender unclear) an object to rinse feet with: acc.sg. *še-e-er-ḥ[(a-an)]* (KBo 20.26 + KBo 25.34 ii 12 (OS) // 327/b + 330/b rev. 3), instr. *še-er-ḥi-it* (KBo 17.43 i 14 (OS)), *še-er-ḥi-it* (KBo 17.18 ii 16 (OS)).

This word occurs in OS ritual texts only, denoting some object with which feet are rinsed, e.g. KBo 17.43 i (14) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub>-an GÍR<sup>HLA</sup>=ŠU-NU *še-e-er-ḥi-it šar-ta-i* ‘he rubs the feet of the clowns with the *šerḥa-*’. Its exact meaning cannot be determined. Usually, it was thought that this word cannot be of IE origin, because of the fact that Melchert (1994a: 83) describes a sound law *\*eRHV > aRRV*, due to which the sequence *-erḥa-* as found in *šerḥa-* should not be possible. As I have shown under *erḥ-* / *arḥ-* / *arḥ-*, however, the examples in favour of this sound law should all be interpreted otherwise, which means that there is no evidence that in *\*eRHV* the *-e-* would get coloured to *-a-*. Nevertheless, the development *\*VRHV > VRRV* is real, which means that the sequence *-VrḥV-* in *šerḥa-* needs an additional explanation. Such an explanation could be, for instance, that we are dealing with an originally ablauting noun *\*serh<sub>2/3-</sub>*, *\*srh<sub>2/3-</sub>*; because in the zero-grade stem the laryngeal would be retained,

we could assume that it was restored in the full grade stem. So, all in all, if *šerha-* is of IE origin, it formally must go back to an original ablauting root noun *\*sérh<sub>2/3</sub>*, *\*sérh<sub>2/3</sub>-m*, *\*srh<sub>2/3</sub>-ós*, which was later on thematicized. I know of no convincing IE cognate, however (but compare *šarhije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* < *\*srh<sub>3</sub>-je/o-*).

**šeš<sup>-zi</sup> / šaš-** (Ia3) ‘to sleep, to rest, to lie down’: 1sg.pres.act. *še-eš-mi* (KUB 5.1 i 101, KBo 3.7 i 25), *še-eš-m[i]* (KUB 12.61 iii 3), 2sg.pres.act.(?) *še-eš-ti* (KBo 13.58 ii 16 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *še-eš-zi* (often), *še-e-eš-zi* (KBo 19.128 vi 29), *še-iš-zi* (KUB 9.34 iii 9), 1pl.pres.act. *ša-šu-e-ni* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 29 (OS)), *še-e-šu-e-ni* (KUB 36.56 ii 5), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ša-an-zi* (KBo 20.56 obv. 11, KUB 25.37 iv 36), *ša-a-ša-an-zi* (KBo 23.27 + KBo 35.183 ii 37, 38), *še-e-ša-an-zi* (KBo 5.11 i 5), 1sg.pret.act. *še-e-šu-un* (KBo 4.4 iv 16, KUB 40.3 ii 4), *še-šu-un* (KUB 43.46, 7), *še-eš-šu-un* (KUB 52.91 ii 4), 3sg.pret.act. *še-eš-ta* (often), *še-e-eš-ta* (KUB 31.39 iv 3), 1pl.pret.act. *še-eš-u-en* (KBo 41.126, 3), 3pl.pret.act. *še-e-š[e-er]* (KUB 36.37 ii 9), 2sg.imp.act. *še-e-e[š]* (KUB 36.35 i 10), 3sg.imp.act. *še-eš-du* (often); part. *ša-ša-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun *še-e-šu-u-ya-[ar]* (KUB 15.15 i 4), gen.sg. *[š]e-šu-ya-a-aš* (ABoT 7 vi 4); inf.I *še-šu-an-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 38, 61), *še-e-šu-u-ya-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 6), *še-šu-u-a-an-zi* (AnSt 20 iv<sup>?</sup> 6), *še-e-šu-u-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 2, 30); inf.II *ša-ša-an-na* (HKM 46 rev. 21 (MH/MS), KBo 10.20 iv 10 (NS)); impf. *še-eš-ke/a-* (OS), *še-eš-ki-eš-ke/a-*, *še-eš-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *še-eš-kiš-ke/a-*, *še-eš-kiš-ki-eš-kán-zi* (KUB 16.16 obv. 27).

Derivatives: **šešu<sup>u</sup>aš É.ŠÀ** ‘bed room’ (gen.sg. *še-šu-ya-aš É.ŠÀ-na-aš* (KUB 33.87+ iii 12)), **šašant-** (c.) ‘concubine’ (nom.sg. *ša-ša-an-za* (KBo 3.7 iv 19 (OH/NS), KUB 17.6 iv 16 (fr.) (NS)), acc.sg. *ša-ša-an-da-n=a-x[...]* (KBo 8.69, 4 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ša-an-ti-i=š-ši* (KUB 8.41 ii 7 (OS)), *[ša-š]a-[a]n-di* (VBoT 124 ii 10 (OS))), **šaš(ša)nu<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make sleep (with someone), to bring to bed’ (2sg.pres.act. *ša-aš-nu-ši* (KUB 48.123 iii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-aš-nu-an-zi* (KBo 17.36+ iii 2 (OS), KBo 13.120, 14 (MS)), *ša-aš-nu-ya-an-zi* (KUB 59.40 obv. 2, IBoT 4.15 obv. 5), *ša-aš-ša-nu-an-zi* (IBoT 1.29 rev. 51 (MH?/MS?), KUB 25.37 iv 19 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-aš-nu-ut* (KUB 33.118, 24 (NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ša-aš-nu-ma-aš* (317/v, 6 (NS), KUB 12.5 iv 9 (MH/MS)); impf.2pl.pres.act. *ša-aš-nu-uš-ga-at-te-ni* (KBo 7.28 obv. 24 (OH/MS)), impf.3pl.pres.act. *ša-aš-nu-uš-kán-zi* (KUB 25.37 iii 9 (OH/NS)), *ša-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* (KUB 51.50 iii<sup>?</sup> 13 (NS), KUB 55.65 iv 12, 23)), <sup>(TUG)</sup>**šašt(a)-** (c.) ‘sleep, bed’ (nom.sg. *ša-aš-za=ti-iš* (KUB 33.8 iii 19 (OH/NS)), *ša-aš-za* (KBo 22.84, 7 (NS)), *ša-aš-ta-aš* (MH?/NS), acc.sg. *ša-aš-ta-an* (MH?/NS), *ša-aš-da-an* (NS), gen.sg. *ša-aš-ta-aš* (KUB 17.31, 24 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-aš-ti* (OH/MS), *ša-aš-te* (KUB 31.127 iii 5 (OH/NS), KBo 34.105 i 2 (NS)), abl. *ša-*

*aš-ta-az* (MS), *ša-aš-ta-za* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *ša-aš-du-uš* (MH/MS), *ša-a-aš-dy-uš* (KBo 5.8 ii 28 (NH)), dat.-loc.pl. *ša-aš-ta-aš* (KUB 42.94 i 4 (NS)), [*ša-aš-t*]*a-aš* (KUB 29.41, 2 (MH/NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *sas-* ‘to sleep’, Av. *hah-* ‘to sleep’.

PIE *\*sés-ti*, *\*ss-énti*

This verb clearly shows an ablaut *šeš-* / *šaš-*. It is consistently spelled with single *-š-*: a spelling with a geminate is found only once (*še-eš-šu-un*), in a NS text. Friedrich HW: 191 cites 3pl.pret.act. *šeššir*, but I have not been able to find this form. Perhaps this citation is based on a wrong interpretation of *pa-ra-a-še-eš-ši-er* ‘they dispersed’<sup>1</sup> (KBo 5.8 i 20, 22) (see at *parāšešš-zi*). The impf. *šeške/a-* apparently was reinterpreted as a single stem as we can see by its impf. *šeškiške/a-*. Once we even find *šeškiškiške/a-*.

An etymological connection with Skt. *sas-* and Av. *hah-* ‘to sleep’ was first suggested by Mudge *apud* Sturtevant 1933: 89, and is generally accepted since. It means that we have to reconstruct a PIE root *\*ses-*. The interpretation of the full grade stem is clear (*\*sés-* regularly yielded Hitt. */sés-/*), but the fate of the zero grade stem is less evident. In my view, we have to assume that PIE *\*ss-* regularly yielded Hitt. */ss-/*, which phonetically was realized [səs-], spelled *ša-š°*. Likewise *šaš(ša)nu-* must phonologically be interpreted as */sSnu-/* (with fortition of the second *\*s* due to its contact with *\*n*), which phonetically was realized [səs:nu-], spelled *ša-aš(-ša)-nu-*.

The derived noun *šašt(a)-* (originally a *t*-stem, thematicized in NH) is extensively treated by Rieken (1999a: 129f.). It probably reflects *\*sós-t-s*, as is possibly still visible in the plene spelling of acc.pl. *šāšduš*.

The CLuwian forms *šašša-* and *šaššumai-* are often cited as belonging with Hitt. *šeš-zi* / *šaš-*. Melchert (1993b: 192), however, interprets the former as ‘release, grant’ and states of the latter: “meaning ‘beschlafe’ is mere guess and difficult formally”. CHD (Š: 310) tentatively translates *šaššumai-* as ‘to make (someone) sorry/contrite’.

*šeš-zi* ‘to prosper, to proliferate’: see *šiš-zi*

*šeša-* (gender unclear) body part of cow: acc.sg. *še-ša-an-n=a* (KBo 11.72 ii 44), *še-e-ša-an* (KBo 30.69 iii 17).

The word occurs twice and is rather unclear regarding its meaning. Nevertheless, the word seems to denote a body part of cows in the following context:

KBo 30.69 iii

- (16) [n]u LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> BANŠUR ḥa-an-te-ez-zi ti-an-zi  
(17) [n]u LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> MUḤALDIM=ma GU<sub>4</sub>-aš še-e-ša-an ti-an-zi  
(18) [G]IM-an=ma=kán {Rasur} TU<sub>7</sub><sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> ta-ru-up-da-ri  
(19) [n]u LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> MUḤALDIM GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> ḥa-ap-ša-al-li da-an-zi  
(20) [n]=a-aš-ta LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> MUḤALDIM da-ga-an-zi-pu<sup>1</sup>-uš  
(21) [š]a-an-ḥa-an-zi

‘The table servants step forward, and the cooks place the š. of the cow. When the soups have been finished, the cooks take a footstool(?) and the cooks sweep the earth’.

In another context it seems to be on a par with ‘feet’:

KBo 11.72 ii

- (43) nu=kán kat-ta-an-ta ši-pa-an-ti UZU<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup>=ma za-nu-a[n-zi ... ]  
(44) GÌR<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> še-ša-an-n=a Ú-UL pé-eš-ši-an-zi

‘They libate downwards and they make the pieces of meat coo[k ... ]. Feet and š. they do not throw away’.

Rieken (1999a: 75) assumes a connection with <sup>(UZU)</sup>šišai- (q.v.), which she suggests to interpret as ‘paw’. This is a possibility but far from assured.

šešša<sup>i</sup> / šešš-: see šišša<sup>i</sup> / šišš-

GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> šēšan(a)-: see GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> šēšatar / šēšann-

šešarije/a<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to sieve’: impf.2pl.imp.act. še-ša-ri-iš-ke-tén (KUB 13.3 iii 23), še-ša[-ri-iš-ke-tén] (KUB 13.3 iii 38).

Derivatives: GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> šēšarul- ‘sieve’ (instr. še-ša-ru-li-it (KUB 13.3 iii 23, 38).

IE cognates: OCS sěti ‘to sieve’, Lith. sijóti ‘to sieve’.

PIE \*seh<sub>1</sub>-sr-je/o- ?

For semantics, cf. the following contexts:

KUB 13.3 iii

- (22) nu-u=š-ma-aš ú-ūi<sub>5</sub>-te-na-aš na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén  
(23) nu ú-ūi<sub>5</sub>-ta-ar GIŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> še-ša-ru-li-it še-ša-ri-iš-ke-tén

‘You must be careful with the water. Sieve the water with a sieve!’;

ibid. iii

(36) *ki-nu-un=ma-a=š-ma-aš šu-me-e-eš* LÚ<sup>M</sup>[<sup>ES</sup> A.ÍL.LÁ]

(37) *ú-ù-i-te-na-aš na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš* [e-eš-tén nu ú-ù-i-ta-ar]

(38) <sup>GIŠ</sup>še-ša-ru-li-it še-ša-[ri-iš-ke-tén]

‘Now you, water-carriers, must be careful with the water. Sieve the water with a sieve!’.

The stem to both *šešarije/a-* and *šešarul-* must be *šešar-*. I wonder to what extent these words can be connected with OCS *šěti* ‘to sieve’ and Lith. *sijóti* ‘to sieve’ < \**seh*<sub>1</sub>-. Regarding its formation, we could compare *naḥšarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be afraid’ (see under *nāḥ-<sup>i</sup>* / *naḥḥ-*), which must reflect \**neh*<sub>2</sub>-*sr-je/o-*. In the case of *šešarije/a-* we therefore perhaps could reconstruct \**seh*<sub>1</sub>-*sr-je/o-*. If this is correct, it shows that \**-éh<sub>1</sub>sr* yields Hitt. *-ešar*, which contrasts with \**-ésr* > Hitt. *-eššar* (e.g. \**ḡ<sup>h</sup>ésr* > *keššar* ‘hand’).

\*<sup>GIŠ</sup>*šešatar* / *šešann-* (n.) ‘fruit-tree?’: gen.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (KUB 24.1 iv 12), <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-na-aš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 14).

The gen.sg.-forms <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (KUB 24.1 iv 12) and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-na-aš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 14) are duplicates of each other. The use of the determinative <sup>GIŠ</sup> and the context could indicate that the words denote ‘fruit-tree (vel sim.)’ (thus CHD L-N 237):

KUB 24.1 iv (with duplicate KUB 24.2 rev. 12ff.)

(9) *A-NA LUGAL=ma MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.LUG[(AL Û A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ḥa-at-ti)]*

(10) *TI-tar ḥa-ad-du-la-tar in-na[(-ra-ya-tar MU<sup>KAM</sup> GÍD.DA)]*

(11) *EGIR.UD<sup>M</sup> du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an[(-n=a p)i-eš-k(i) nu<sup>3</sup> ḥa(l-ki-ja-aš)]*

(12) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*GEŠTIN-aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (var. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*še-e-ša-na-aš*) *GU<sub>4</sub>[(<sup>HLA</sup>-aš<sup>HLA</sup> UDU<sup>HLA</sup>-aš UZ<sub>6</sub><sup>HLA</sup>-aš)]*

(13) *ŠAḤ-aš ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA<sup>HLA</sup>-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš g[(i-im-ra-aš ḥu-u-it-ni-it)]*

(14) *DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš-š=a ŠA EGIR.UD<sup>M</sup>[(<sup>l</sup> mi-ja-a-tar pí-eš-ki)]*

‘But grant to the king, the queen, the princes and to Ḥatti-land life, health, strength, long years in the future and happiness. And grant future growth of



grain, vines, š.-s, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, horses – together with wild animals of the field – and of humans’.

On the basis of the attestation *šēšannaš* a stem *šešatar* is cited by Friedrich HW Erg. 3: 28. This would imply that *šēšannaš* is to be emended to *še-e-ša-(an-)na-aš*. A stem *šēšanna-* cannot be excluded either, of course. If the meaning ‘fruit-tree’ is correct, it is possible that *šēšatar* belongs with *šiš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to prosper, to proliferate’ (q.v.), although the latter verb shows geminate -šš- in e.g. verb.noun *šēššauyaš*, whereas *šēšatar* is spelled with single -š-.

**šešha<sup>i</sup> / šešh-**: see *šišha<sup>i</sup> / šišh-*

**šeššišar** (n.) ‘negligence’: nom.-acc.sg. *še-ęš-ši-š[a]r<sup>2</sup>* (KUB 14.4 iii 26).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 14.4 iii

(23) *ma-a-an=ma I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kum-ma-an-ni=ma pa-a-un A-BU=IA I-NA<sup>d</sup> Hē-pát*  
*<sup>URU</sup> Kum-ma-an-ni*

(24) EZEN *hal-zi-ja-u-ya-aš ta-ra-a-an har-ta pé-eš-ta=m=a-an=ši na-a-ú-i*

(25) *n=a-aš am-mu-uk na-ak-ke-e-eš-ta-at nu I-NA<sup>URU</sup> Ki-iz-zu-ya-at-na pa-a-un*

(26) *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ke-nu-un pa-i-mi=ya=za ŠA A-BI=IA še-ęš-ši-š[a]r<sup>2</sup>*

(27) *ar-ha š[a]r-ni-ik-mi*

‘When I went to Kummanni, (it was the case that) my father had promised to Hēpat of Kummanni a Feast of Summoning, but he had not yet given it to her, and she troubled me! I went to Kummanni and spoke thus: ‘I come to do penance for the negligence(?) of my father’.

Although the meaning ‘negligence(?)’ seems quite certain, I know no good etymology for this word.

**šešd<sup>zi</sup>**: see *šiš<sup>zi</sup>*

**šeš(š)ur**: see *šiššur*

**šī-** (numeral) ‘one’ (Sum. 1 (DIŠ)): nom.sg.c. 1-*iš* (OS), 1-*aš* (NS), acc.sg. 1-*an* (OS), 1-*in* (HKM 47 rev. 49 (MH/MS)), *ši-an* (here?, NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. 1-*at-t=a* (KBo 17.104 ii 7), 1-*e* (KBo 18.172 obv. 16), gen.sg. *ši-i-e-el* (OH/NS), dat.-

loc.sg. *ši-e-da-ni* (OH/MS), *ši-e-ta-ni* (MH/MS), abl. *ši-i-e-ez* (MH/NS), *ši-e-ez* (NH), *še-e-ez* (NH), *1-e-da-az*, *1-e-da-za*, instr. *ši-e-et* (OS), *še-e-et* (OH/NS), *ši-e-et-ta* (NH), *1-e-ta-an-da* (NH).

Derivatives: **šiela-** (adj.) ‘of one’ (nom.sg.c. *1-e-la-aš* (KBo 1.44 + KBo 13.1 i 54 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *ši-e-le-eš* (KBo 6.3 ii 16 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n.(?) *1-e-la* (KUB 45.77 i 7 (NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. nom.sg.f. ἓα ‘one’.

PIE *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*

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The stem *ši-*, with the forms gen.sg. *šijēl*, dat.-loc.sg. *šietani*, abl. *šijez* and instr. *šiet*, was usually interpreted as a demonstrative ‘that’ or ‘this’. Goedegebuure (2006) convincingly shows that an interpretation as a pronoun does not fit the usage of these forms, however, and argues that they in fact denote ‘one’ and therefore must be regarded as the phonetic reading of the sumerogram 1 ‘one’. On the basis of a combination of the phonetic and sumerographic writings she reconstructs a paradigm nom.sg.c. *\*/sias/*, acc.sg.c. */sian/*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*/siat/* and *\*/sie/*, gen.sg. */sie/*, dat.-loc.sg. */siedani/*, abl. */siet<sup>s</sup>/* and *\*/siedat<sup>s</sup>/*, instr. */siet/* and *\*/siedant/* and assumes a basic stem *šija-*. Although I largely agree with her reconstruction of the paradigm, I think that the interpretation of the nom.sg.c. must be adapted. Despite the fact that we do find the sumerographic writing nom.sg.c. *1-aš*, which indeed would point to */sias/*, the oldest attested nom.sg.c.-form is *1-iš* (OS). Goedegebuure interprets this form as belonging to an *i*-stem paradigm, of which she assumes that it is not necessarily identical to the *a*-stem forms. In my view, the absence of any other *i*-stem forms (note that acc.sg.c. *1-in* is attested only once (HKM 47 rev. 49), which can easily be analogical to nom.sg.c. *1-iš* in the preceding line (ibid. 48)) indicates that this form is not part of another paradigm but must in fact belong to this one that we have reconstructed. This is supported by the fact that nom.sg.c. *1-aš* is found in younger texts only (its oldest attestation is KUB 12.19 iii 28 (OH/MS or NS): note that the OS-status of KBo 40.200 (that has *1-aš* in r.col. 4) seems quite dubious to me), whereas *1-iš* is found in OS and MS texts. This points to a situation in which the original nom.sg.c. of ‘one’ was */sis/*, spelled *1-iš*. In analogy to acc.sg.c. */sian/*, nom.sg.c. */sis/* was in younger times secondarily changed to */sias/*, spelled *1-aš*.

For the etymological interpretation of this numeral, Goedegebuure refers to Beekes (1988b: 81) who states that in Greek, besides the feminine μῑά ‘one’ (*\*smih<sub>2</sub>*), also a form ἓα exists (Hom., supported by Lesbian, Thessalic and Boeotian material). On the basis of this latter form, he assumes that the original feminine

form of ‘one’ was *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*, which was altered to *\*sm-ih<sub>2</sub>* in analogy to masculine *\*sem* ‘one’. This is further supported by e.g. the fact that Skt. dat.sg.m. *tásmāi* ‘to him’ < *\*tó-sm-ōi* (containing *-sm-* ‘one’) corresponds to dat.sg.f. *tásyai* ‘to her’ < *\*tó-sih<sub>2</sub>-ōi* (containing *-sih<sub>2</sub>-* ‘one’). In Hittite, this *\*sih<sub>2</sub>-* is the basis for the paradigm as attested: addition of the pronominal endings nom.sg. *-s*, acc.sg. *-an*, gen.sg. *-el*, etc. yielded /sīs/, /sīan/, /sīel/, /sīedani/, etc. Note that the length of *-ī-* in nom.sg. /sīs/ is not independently attested, but cannot be disproven either. It is supported by spellings like *ši-i-e-el* and *ši-i-e-ez*.

The adjective *šiela-*, which since Hrozný (1922a: 24-5) generally has been translated as ‘in love’, has now by Hoffner (2006) been identified as a derivative of the gen.sg. *šiēl* ‘of one’.

**-ši** (2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flexion)

Anat. cognates: Pal. **-šī**; CLuw. **-šī**; HLuw. **-sī**.

IE cognates: Skt. *-si*, Gr. *-σι*, Lith. *-si*, Goth. *-s*, Lat. *-s*, etc.

PIE *\*-si*

The ending for the 2sg.pres.act. for the *mi*-conjugation is *-ši*. Postvocally, it is consistently spelled with single *-š-*. In the OS texts, we find *-ši* postvocally (e.g. *ú-ūa-ši* ‘you come’, *ak-ku-uš-ke-ši* ‘you drink’, *ar-ša-ne-e-ši* ‘you are envious’, *ha-an-ta-a-i-ši* ‘you arrange together’, *i-e-ši* ‘you make’, *pa-i-ši* ‘you go’, *te-ši* ‘you say’) as well as after consonant (*e-eš-ši* ‘you sit / you are’, *e-uk-ši* ‘you drink’, *har-ši* ‘you have’, *pu-nu-uš-ši* ‘you ask’, with fortition to /-Si/ after stops, cf. *e-ku-uš-ši* ‘you drink’, [*e-ez-za-a*]š-ši ‘you eat’). In younger times, the *hi*-ending *-tti* (q.v.) is spreading to the *mi*-conjugation, replacing *-ši*. The first traces of this replacement is visible in MH times, where we occasionally find *-tti* in verbs that end in a consonant (*ha-ap-ti* ‘you attach’, *har-ti* ‘you have’). In NH times, this has become the normal situation (in NH/NS texts we find for instance 15x *e-ep-ti* vs. 2x *e-ep-ši* ‘you seize’). Moreover, in NS texts we occasionally find *-tti* in verbs that end in a vowel: *ar-nu-ut-ti* ‘you settle’, *im-me-at-ti* ‘you mingle’ and *pa-it-ti* ‘you go’. These are the first signs of what probably eventually meant the end of the ending *-ši* in favour of the *hi*-ending *-tti*.

Etymologically, *-ši* goes back to two endings. On the one hand, it directly reflects the PIE athematic primary 2sg.-ending *\*-si* used in PIE root-presents (~ Skt. *-si*, Gr. *-σι*, Lith. *-si*). On the other hand, it reflects the PIE athematic secondary ending *\*-s* used in PIE root-aorists (~ Skt. *-s*, Gr. *-ς*) extended with the ‘presentic’ *-i*.

=ššī : see =šše

=šši- / =šša- / =šše- (encl.poss.pron. 3sg.) ‘his, her, its’: nom.sg.c. *V*=š-š*i-iš* (OS), *C*=š*i-iš* (OS), *V*=š*i-iš* (rare, OS), *V*=š-š*e-eš* (NS), *C*=š*e-iš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *V*(*n*)=š-š*a-an* (OS), Sum.=š*a-an* (OS), *Vn*=š*a-an* (NS), *V*(*n*)=š-š*i-in* (NS), Sum.=š*i-in* (NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *V*=š-š*e-et* (OS), *V*(*n*)=š-š*e-et* (OS), *C*=š*e-et* (OS), *V*=š*e-et* (OH/MS), *V*(*n*)=š-š*i-it* (1x OS, MS), *V*=š-š*i-it* (OH/MS), *V*=š*i-it* (NS), *C*=š*i-it* (1x OS, MS), gen.sg. *Vš*=š*a-aš* (OS), *V*(š)=š*a-aš* (1x, NS), dat.-loc.sg. *V*=š-š*i* (OS), *V*=š-š*e* (1x, NS), *V*=š*i* (MS), *V*=š*e* (1x, NS), all.sg. *V*=š-š*a* (OS), abl.-instr. -*az*=š*e-et* (OS), -*az*=š*e-e-et* (OH/MS), -*za*=š*i-it* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. Sum.=š*e-eš* (OS), *V*=š-š*e-eš* (MS), *V*=š-š*e-iš* (MS), *V*=š-š*i-iš* (NS), acc.pl.c. Sum.=š*u-uš* (OS), *Vš*=š*u-uš* (MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *V*=š-š*e-et* (OS), *V*=š*e-et* (OS), *C*=š*e-et* (MS), *V*=š-š*i-it* (NS), *V*=š*i-it* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *Vš*=š*a-aš* (OS), Sum.=š*a-aš* (NS).

PIE \**si-*, \**so-*, \**se-*

See CHD Š: 324f. for an overview of attestations and spellings. From this overview, we can conclude that the oldest attestations show geminate -šš- (when this could be expressed in the spelling) and that the original inflection is nom.sg.c. =šš*iš*, acc.sg.c. =šš*an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. =šš*et*, gen.sg. =šš*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. =šš*i*, abl.-instr. =šš*it*, nom.pl.c. =šš*eš*, acc.pl.c. =šš*uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. =šš*et*, dat.-loc.pl. =šš*aš*. For the original distinction between nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. =šš*et* vs. abl.-instr. =šš*it* see Melchert 1984a: 122-6. This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem =šš*i-* / =šš*a-* / =šš*e-*. This vocalization can hardly reflect anything else than PIE \**i-*, \**o-* and \**e-*, but an exact explanation for the distribution of these vowels is still lacking (cf. also =*mi-* / =*ma-* / =*me-* ‘my’, =*t*ti-** / =*t*ta-** / =*t*te-** ‘your (sg.)’, =š*ummi-* / =š*umma-* / =š*umme-* ‘our’ and =š*mi-* / =š*ma-* / =š*me-* ‘your (pl.); their’). Etymologically, this enclitic possessive must belong with =šš*e*, =šš*i* (encl.pron. 3sg.dat.), and go back to \**si-*, \**so-* and \**se-*.

**šija-** ‘one’: see šī-

<sup>UTUL</sup>**šijammi-** (n.) a certain dish prepared in a jar: nom.-acc.sg. š*i-ja-am-mi* (KBo 2.7 i 15, 29), š*i-ja-mi* (KUB 17.35 i 35).

The word occurs a few times only. Its exact meaning is unclear. Formally, it looks like a Luwian participle in -*amma/i-*. Further unknown.

**É šijannaš** ‘treasury (house of sealing)’: É š*i-ja-an-na-aš*.

This word denotes ‘treasury’ and is usually transliterated  $\acute{E}\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}an\text{-}na\text{-}a\acute{s}$ . Nevertheless, it is better read  $\acute{E}\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}an\text{-}na\text{-}a\acute{s}$  ‘house of  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}\acute{a}tar$ ’, in which  $*\acute{s}i\acute{i}\acute{a}tar$  denotes ‘sealing’ and is the verbal abstract of the verb  $\acute{s}ai\text{-}^i / \acute{s}i\text{-}$  ‘to seal’. See there for further etymology.

**$\acute{s}i\acute{i}ant\text{-}$**  (n.) ‘alcoholic beverage?’: nom.-acc.pl.  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}an\text{-}ta$  (KUB 14.3 ii 62 (NH)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 14.3 ii

- (61) ... *nu A-NA<sup>m</sup>Pi-ia-ma-ra-du x za-ar-si-ia-an x*[...]  
 (62)  $\acute{\iota}$  *za-ar-si-ia-aš=ma I-NA KUR Ḫat-ti kiš-an ma-a-an NINDA si-ia-an-ta*  
 (63) *ku-e-da-ni up-pa-an-zi nu-u=š-si=kán ḪUL UL ták-ki-iš-ša-an-zi*

‘[I have given] a safeconduct to Pišamaradu. A safeconduct in Ḫatti (goes) as follows: Whenever they send bread (and)  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}anta$  to someone, to him they will not conduct evil’.

Sommer (1932: 132) tentatively translates  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}anta$  as ‘Rauschtrank(?)’. Formally, the word is identical to the nom.-acc.pl.n. of the participle of  $\acute{s}ai\text{-}^i / \acute{s}i\text{-}$ ,  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}e/a\text{-}^{zi}$  ‘to impress; to shoot’. Semantically, however, a translation in the field of food-stuff or drinks would be better, for which we possibly could compare  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}\acute{e}\acute{s}\acute{s}ar / \acute{s}i\acute{i}\acute{e}\acute{s}n\text{-}$  ‘beer’.

$GI\acute{s}$   **$\acute{s}i\acute{i}attal\text{-}$**  (n.) ‘spear(?)’ (Sum.  $GI\acute{s}\acute{S}U.I$ ): nom.-acc.sg.  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}at\text{-}tal$  (KUB 33.106 iii 47, iv 15, KUB 36.95 iii 8),  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}tal$  (KUB 17.7+ iii 17, KUB 33.92 iii 12, KUB 33.95 iv 2).

Derivatives:  **$\acute{s}i\acute{i}atalliške/a\text{-}^{zi}$**  (Ic6) ‘to hunt (with a spear)’ (3sg.pres.act.  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}tal\text{-}li\text{-}i\acute{s}\text{-}ke\text{-}ez\text{-}zi$  (KUB 2.1 vi 6, 8, KBo 12.59 i 3, 6, KUB 40.107+ rev. 18),  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}(at)\text{-}tal\text{-}li\text{-}i\acute{s}/e\acute{s}\text{-}ke\text{-}ez\text{-}zi$  (KBo 11.40 vi 3, 16, 19, 22, 25)).

PIE  $*h_1s\text{-}io\text{-}tlo\text{-}$

See Starke (1990: 200-205) for an extensive treatment of this word, although he reads it as  $\acute{s}i\text{-}\acute{i}a\text{-}(at\text{-})ri$  (the sign RI can be read *ri* as well as *tal*), which he interprets as a Hittitization of a Luwian stem  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}atrit\text{-}$ . See Rieken (1999a: 432<sup>2136</sup>), however, for the view that the word in fact was  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}at(t)al$ . Within Hittite, it is clearly derived from the verb  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}e/a\text{-}^{zi}$  ‘to shoot, to hurl’ (see at  $\acute{s}ai\text{-}^i / \acute{s}i\text{-}$ ;  $\acute{s}i\acute{i}e/a\text{-}^{zi}$ ) and could go back to  $*h_1s\text{-}io\text{-}tlo\text{-}$ , showing the instrumental suffix  $*\text{-}tlo\text{-}$ .

In the nom.-acc.sg. the ending *\*-tlom* should have yielded Hitt. *-ttal*, according to the sound law *\*-Clom > -Cal* as formulated by Melchert 1993c.

*šijattalliē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *šittariē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

*\*šijatar / šijann-* ‘spurting’: gen.sg. *ši-ja-an-na-aš* (KBo 5.2 i 38).

This word occurs only once, in the following context:

KBo 5.2 i

(37) <sup>NA</sup>ZA.GÌN *te-pu* <sup>NA</sup>GUG *te-pu* <sup>NA</sup>AŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL *te-pu*

(38) *hu-u-uš-ti-iš-š=a te-pu* 14 *kap-pí-iš ŠE pa-ra-a ši-ja-an-na-aš*

(39) <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠINIG *te-pu* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN *te-pu*

‘a bit of lapis lazuli, a bit of carnelian, a bit of alabaster, and a bit of *hūšti*.  
Fourteen bowls of grain that has spurting forth, a bit of tamarisk and a bit of cedar’.

It is clearly a gen.sg. of an abstract noun *\*šijatar*, derived from the verb *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (see at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*; *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*). See there for further etymology.

*šijattariē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *šittariē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

*šije-* ‘one’: see *ši-*

*šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*; *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

<sup>UZU</sup>*šiešai-*: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*šišai-*

*šijēšsar / šijēšn-* (n.) ‘beer’ (Sum. KAŠ): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-e-eš-šar* (KUB 43.30 iii 19 (OS)), *ši-i-e-eš-šar* (KUB 7.1 iii 35 (OH/NS), KBo 16.27 ii 11 (MH/MS)), *ši-i-e-eš[-šar]* (KBo 21.21 iii 7 (MH/MS)), *ši-i-e-eš-ša[r]* (KBo 20.49, 20 (MS)), abl. *ši-i-e-(eš-)na-az* (KBo 30.125 iv 8 (OH/NS)), instr. *ši-i-e-eš-ša-ni-it* (KBo 20.34 obv. 12 (OH/MS)), *ši-i-e-(eš-)ni-it* (KBo 15.34 ii 8 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r* ?

The word is well attested in OS and MS texts. Formally, it looks like a derivative in *-ēšsar* from either *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* ‘to impress, to sow’ or from *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to shoot’. Semantically, I would prefer a connection with *šai-/ši-* ‘to impress; to sow’

because of the fact that beer is produced from grain. If so, then *šijēššar* would reflect *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-ésr*. See at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* for further etymology.

**šijēššar** (n.) ‘shooting (vel sim.)?’: nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i-e-eš-šar* (KBo 17.61 rev. 7).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-i-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r* ??

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Hapax in KBo 17.61 rev. (7) *ne-pí-ša-az=kán kat-ta ši-i-e-eš-šar ši-ia-ti* ‘From heaven š. spurted down’. Formally, *šijēššar* is identical with *šijēššar* ‘beer’. Semantically, however, we rather expect a figura etymologica with *šijati*, so ‘shooting (vel sim.)’. If so, then it must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-i-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r*. See at *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (under *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*; *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*) for further etymology.

**šietti-** (c.) a certain hairdo(?) (Sum. GÚ.BAR): nom.sg. *ši-e-et-ti-iš* (KBo 1.42 iii 22).

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The word only occurs once, in a vocabulary, where it glosses Sum. GÚ.BA[R]. Friedrich (HW: 192) translates ‘eine Haartracht?’. No etymology.

**šimišije/a<sup>-zi</sup>**: see *šamišije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* under *šami-*

**šma-** (c.) ‘figurine, doll’: nom.sg. *ši-i-na-aš* (KUB 9.7 iii 6 (MS), KUB 17.18 ii 13 (NS), KUB 59.43 i 9 (NS)), *še-e-na-aš* (KUB 17.14 rev. 16, 22 (NS)), *š[e-e<sup>2</sup>-n]a-aš* (KUB 12.58 i 25 (NS)), acc.sg. *ši-i-na-an* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 5, iv 18 (OS), KBo 17.3+ iv 14, 24 (OS), *še-na-an* (KUB 55.3 obv. 10 (OH/MS?)), KUB 7.2 i 22 (NS)), *še-e-na-an* (KBo 29.17 iii 8 (NS), KUB 7.53+ ii 53 (2x), iii 15 (NS), KUB 24.14 i 13, 14 (NS)), gen.sg. *ši-i-na-aš* (KUB 60.161 ii 42 (NS)), *ši-na-š=a=kán* (KUB 60.161 ii 11 (NS)), *ši-e-na-aš* (KUB 17.18 ii 14, iii 20 (NS)), *še-e-na-aš* (KUB 46.46 ii 13 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ši-i-ni* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 iv 13 (OS), KBo 17.3+ iv 26 (OS), *še-e-ni* (KUB 17.14 rev. 11, 13 (NS)), nom.pl. *ši-e-ni-eš* (KUB 17.18 ii 10 (NS)), acc.pl. *še-e-nu-uš* (KUB 24.13 iii 6 (MH/NS), KUB 7.53+ ii 1, 14, 16 (NS), KUB 24.14 i 11 (NS)), *še-e-nu<sup>1</sup>-uš* (KBo 12.107 rev. 13 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>NINDA</sup>**šma-** (c.), bread in the shape of a figurine (nom.sg. *ši-i-na-aš* (ABoT 5+ iii 6 (OS)), *še-e-na-aš* (KBo 5.1 ii 33 (MH/NS), KUB 55.40, 4 (NS)), acc.sg. *ši-i-na-an* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 ii 16 (MH/NS), KBo 39.180+181, 7, 9, 11 (NS)), *še-na-an* (KBo 30.96 iv 5 (OH/NS)), *še-e-na-an* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 iii 9 (MH/NS)), acc.pl. *še-e-nu-uš* (KBo 39.180+181, 4 (NS), KUB 55.12 iii 2 (NS?))).

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The oldest attestations (OS) of this word are spelled *ši-i-n<sup>o</sup>*, whereas the spellings *še-e-n<sup>o</sup>* and *še-n<sup>o</sup>* are found in NS texts only (the dating of KUB 55.3, where we find *še-na-an*, as MS is not fully assured) according to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before -n- as described in § 1.4.8.1.d.

The etymological interpretation of this word is unclear. Mechanically, we would expect a preform \**siHno-* or \**d<sup>(h)</sup>iHno-*. Unfortunately I have not been able to find cognates.

**-šipa-**: see at <sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzepa-*

**šip(p)ānt-<sup>i</sup> / šip(p)ant-** : see *išpānt-<sup>i</sup> / išpant-*

<sup>(URUDU)</sup>**šipikkušta-**: see <sup>(URUDU)</sup>*šepikkušta*

**šiptamiḫa-** (n.) ‘seven-drink’ (Sum. VII-*mi-ḫa-*): nom.-acc.pl. *ši-ip-ta-mi-ḫa* (KBo 5.1 iv 35), VII-*mi-ḫa* (Bo 4951 rev. 15).

Derivatives: **šiptamae-<sup>z</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to seven(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ši-ip-ta-ma-iz-zi* (543/s iii 2), VII-*iz-zi* (KUB 51.18 obv. 10)).

IE cognates: Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta*, Gr. ἑπτὰ, Lat. *septem*, Goth. *sibun* ‘seven’.

PIE \**septm-io-*

The word is hapax in the following context:

KBo 5.1 iv

(34) UD-az=ma=kán iš-tar-na pa-iz-zi

(35) nu ši-ip-ta-mi-ḫa te-ri-ḫa-al-la

(36) iš-pa-an-da-an-zi

‘The day goes by. They libate seven-drink (and) three-drink’,

which has a parallel in

Bo 4951 rev. (see Burde 1974: 124f.)

(15) [...] III-ḫa-al-la VII-*mi-ḫa* ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi

‘[...] they libate three-drink and seven-drink’.

This proves that *šiptamiḫa-* must mean ‘seven’ and must go back to \**septmḫo-*. On the form *šiptamaizzi* see Neu (1999).



In the texts from Kültepe we find the PN <sup>f</sup>Ša-áp-ta-ma-ni-kà which could well originally mean ‘seventh sister’. It has been assumed that *šaptama-* here is to be interpreted as the Luwian outcome of *\*septm* (with *\*e* > Luw. *a*), but this is unlikely in view of the clearly Hittite element *-nika-* ‘sister’ (which corresponds to CLuw. *\*nānašra-*). Perhaps this *šaptama-* is the outcome of the PIE cardinal *\*sptmo-* ‘seventh’, showing a secondary aphaeresis of expected *i-* (which is the regular prothetic vowel in front of an initial cluster *\*sT-*) in analogy to the full-grade forms *šiptam-* (compare e.g. *šākan / šakn-* ‘oil’ *šakkar / šakn-* ‘excrement’ and *šākk-<sup>i</sup> / šakk-* ‘to know’ for similar scenario’s). See at *šaptaminzu* for a possibly similar case.

**šiš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib1) ‘to prosper, to proliferate’: 3sg.pres.act. *še-eš-zi* (KBo 3.7 i 7 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ši-iš-du* (KUB 12.43, 2, 3 (OS), KBo 7.28 obv. 15, rev. 41 (OH/MS), KUB 24.2 rev. 18 (NH)), *še-iš-du* (KUB 24.3 iii 41 (MH/NS)), *ši-eš-du* (VBoT 121 obv. 6 (MH/NS)), *še-eš-du* (KBo 3.7 i 5 (OH/NS), KUB 14.12 rev. 14 (NH), KUB 24.1 iv 17 (NH)), *še-ē[-eš-du]* (KBo 2.32 rev. 6 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ši-iš-te-en* (KBo 8.35 ii 15 (MH/MS)), *ši-iš[-t]e-en* (KUB 23.78b, 11 + KUB 26.6 ii 12 (MH/MS)); verb.noun *ši-iš-du-ya-ar* (KUB 15.34 ii 23 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *še-iš-du-ya-a[š]* (KUB 24.3 iii 39 (MH/NS)), *še-e-eš-ša-u-ya-a[š]* (KUB 24.1 iv 16 (NH)), *[š]i-iš-ša-ya-aš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 17 (NH)).

The oldest attestations of this verb (OS and MS) are spelled *ši-iš-*, whereas the spellings *še-iš-*, *ši-eš-*, *še-eš-* and *še-e-eš-* occur in NS texts only, which is due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d.

Usually, this verb is cited as *šišd-* or *šešd-*. The assumption that *-d-* is part of the stem is based on the verbal noun *šišduyar* ‘proliferation’ (KUB 15.34 ii 23) and gen.sg. *šešduya[š]* (KUB 24.3 iii 39). Awkward, however, is the fact that in no other form a *-d-* is found (3sg.pres.act. *šešzi* instead of *\*\*šešzazzi*, 3sg.imp.act. *šišdu* instead of *\*\*šišzadu*, 2pl.imp.act. *šišten* instead of *\*\*šišzatten*, and, perhaps more importantly, verbal noun *šiššauaş*, *šēššauaş*). The question is whether the *-d-* is dropped in all other forms (thus Melchert 1994a: 166, who posits a sound law *\*-stt- > -št-*, but this does not account for *šiššauaş* and *šēššauaş*) or whether the two attestations of the verbal noun inserted a *-d-*. In the case of *še-iš-du-ya-a[š]* (KUB 24.3 iii 39) it is striking that a few lines further the 3sg.imp.act. *še-iš-du* (ibid. 41) is attested. In my view, it is possible that this form has influenced the verbal noun. In the case of *ši-iš-du-ya-ar* (KUB 15.34 ii 23) such a form is absent, but since 3sg.imp.act. *šišdu* is the most frequent form of this verb, it is

possible that *šišduṣar* was secondarily created in analogy to it. If so, then we are dealing with a verb *šiš<sup>-zi</sup> > šeš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

The verb practically always occurs together with *mai<sup>-i</sup> / mi-* ‘to grow’ and therefore probably denotes ‘to prosper, to proliferate’. Carruba *apud* Friedrich HW Erg. 3: 28-9 proposed to interpret *šišd-* as reflecting *\*si-sd-* ‘to sit’, but this is semantically unconvincing and therefore must be rejected. I know no other good etymology, however.

**šišša<sup>-i</sup> / šišš-** (IIa1γ: impf. of *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* ‘to impress’): 2sg.pres.act. *ši-iš-ša-at-ti* (KUB 1.16 iii 58 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ši-iš-ša-an-z[i]* (KBo 10.16 i 3 (NS)), *še-eš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 57.79 i 40 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. [*š*]*i-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 11.1 iii 10 (MS?)), *ši-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.2+17+ iii 10 (OH/NS)), [*š*]*i-e-eš-ša-an-du* (KBo 3.1 iii 45 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ši-iš-ša-an-da-ri* (KUB 8.22(+)) ii 17 (OH/NS)), *ši-iš-ša-an-d[a-ri]* (KUB 8.22 (+)) iii 1 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-sóh<sub>1</sub>-ei, \*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-sh<sub>1</sub>-énti*

This verb is the imperfective in *-šš(a)-* of *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* ‘to press’. Like the other imperfectives in *-šš(a)-* (*tšša<sup>-i</sup> / tšš-*, *ḫalzišša<sup>-i</sup> / ḫalzišš-* and *ṽarrišša<sup>-i</sup> / ṽarrišš-*), this verb, too, shows a phonetic development *-išš(a)- > -ešš(a)-*. See at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* and *-šš(a)-* for further etymology.

<sup>(UZU)</sup>**šišai-** (n.) body part of animals (bear, lion, leopard, *šāša-*): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-ša-i* (KUB 9.31 i 8, KUB 29.1 ii 43, KUB 56.59 iv 6), *ši-e-ša-i* (KUB 29.1 ii 42),

This word occurs in two contexts only:

KUB 9.31 i (with additions from KUB 56.59 iv 4-6)

- (5) [ ... ]x *ke-e-lu-un ga-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi nu-u=š-ši ḫu-up-pa-li* ZABAR
- (6) [x x x ]x *li-i=š-ši-it ŠA KUŠ UR.MAḪ ṽa-ar-ḫu-ṽa-ṽa-aš*
- (7) [(<sup>G1Š</sup>GÌR.GUB=Š)]U=<sup>NA</sup>ma *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-ṽa-aš ḫa-az-zi-ul=še-et-[t=(a)]*
- (8) [(ŠA <sup>NA</sup>ZA.GÌN)] *ši-ša-i da-aš-šu ḫar-tág-ga-aš ši-ša-i*
- (9) [x x x ]x *ki=ma ša-a-ša-aš*

‘[...] I hang the *kelu*. It has a bronze *ḫuppali*. Its *x-li* is of the rough skin of a lion, but its stool is of basalt and its *ḫazziul* is of lapislazuli. The heavy *šišai* is of a bear, but the *x-ki šišai* is of a *šāša-*’;

KUB 29.1 ii

- (41) ... *nu ki-nu-u-pi ú-da*

- (42) *ki-nu-pí=ma-a=š-ša-an an-da ŠA UR.MAH ši-e-ša-i*  
 (43) *pár-ša-na-aš*<sup>UZU</sup> *ši-ša-i šu-mu-ma-aḥ n=a-at ḥar-ak*  
 (44) *n=a-at ta-ru-up n=a-at 1<sup>EN</sup> i-ja n=a-at LÚ-aš ŠĀ=ši*  
 (45) *pé-e-da nu LUGAL-ya-aš ZI-aš kar-di-i=š-ši=ja*  
 (46) *ta-ru-up-ta-ru*

‘Bring the *kinupi*-box here. In the *kinupi*-box, *šumumahḥ*- the *šešai* of a lion (and) the *šišai* of a leopard. Hold them and unite them and make them one. Bring them to the heart of the man. May the soul and the heart of the king be united’.

We have to conclude that the *ši(e)šai* is a body part of bears, *šāša*-s, lions and leopards, but it is not totally clear what body part is referred to. Perhaps we have to assume that here ‘tails’ are meant that have to be plaited together (which would explain ‘unite them’; see also under *šumumahḥ*<sup>i</sup>). Rieken (1999a: 74) assumes that the word shows a reduplication from the root *šai*<sup>i</sup> / *ši*- ‘to press’, and suggests that the word means either ‘paw’ or ‘teeth’ (both body parts can be ‘pressing’) and reconstructs *\*si-soh<sub>1</sub>i*. One should always be cautious, however, when the meaning of a word is assumed on the basis of etymological considerations only.

***šišha*<sup>i</sup> / *šišh*-** (\*IIa5 > IIa1γ) ‘to decide, to appoint’: 1sg.pres.act. *še-eš-ḥa-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 5.20+ iii 42 (NS), KUB 15.11 iii 11 (NH), Bronzetafel ii 25 (NH)), *še-eš-ḥa-mi* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *še-eš-ḥa-a-i* (KBo 5.9 iii 6 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *še-eš-ḥa-an-zi* (KUB 9.15 iii 19 (NS), KUB 42.91 ii 9, 21 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *še-eš-ḥa-aš* (KUB 36.67 ii 30 (NS), KUB 33.120 ii 46 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ši-iš-ḥe-er* (KBo 32.14 ii 36 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *še-eš-ḥi* (KBo 18.48 rev. 14 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ša-aš-ḥa-at-tén* (KUB 36.51 i 9 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *še-eš-ḥa-at-ta* (KUB 33.114 i 13 (NS), KUB 33.120 ii 36 (MH/NS)); part. nom.pl.c. *še-eš-ḥa-an-te-eš* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NH)).

PIE *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>oi-e*, *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>i-enti*

The oldest attested form of this verb, 3pl.pret.act. *ši-iš-ḥe-er* (MH/MS), has an *-i* that contrasts with the *-e-* of all the other attestations, which show *še-eš-ḥ*<sup>o</sup>. Since these forms are found in NS texts, only, it is in my view likely these are due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d) and that *šišh*- therefore must have been the original stem. I therefore cite this verb as *šišha*<sup>i</sup> / *šišh*- here. Most of the attested forms show the *tarn(a)*-inflection. Only once, we find a *mi*-inflected form *šešhami* (according to the *ḥatrae*-class inflection). Because almost

all attestations are from NS texts, it is not necessarily the case that the *tarn(a)*-class inflection was the original one. We know, for instance, that *mēma/i*-class verbs are taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class from MH times onwards. It is therefore quite possible that *šišha<sup>i</sup> / šišh-* goes back to an older stem *šišha<sup>i</sup> / \*šišhi-* (perhaps the stem *\*šišhi-* is still visible in 2sg.imp.act. *še-eš-ḫi* (KBo 18.48 rev. 14), if this form is read correctly (cf. e.g. Hagenbuchner 1989: 8 who reads “še-eš-ten<sup>1</sup>”). As I have argued under the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h, this class consists of polysyllabic verbs that used to belong to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class. For *\*šišha/i-* this would mean that we can assume an even older inflection *\*šišhai<sup>i</sup> / šišhi-*. In my view, this stem *\*šišhai-/šišhi-* is to be connected with *išhai<sup>i</sup> / išhi-* ‘to bind; to obligate with’ (q.v.). Not only the formal similarity is striking (*\*šišhai-/šišhi-* could well show the reduplicated form of *išhai-/išhi-*), the semantic similarity is too. I therefore reconstruct *šišha- / šišh-* through an intermediate stage *\*šišha- / šišhi-* as *\*šišhai- / šišhi- < \*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-oi- / \*si-sh<sub>2</sub>-i-*. See at *išhai-/išhi-* for further etymology.

The aberrant vocalism in *šašhatten* (if this form really belongs here: the context is too broken to determine its meaning independently) is remarkable.

**šišhau-** (n.) ‘sweat’ (Akk. ZUDU): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* (KBo 3.2 obv. 26).

PIE *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>ou* ?

Hapax in KBo 3.2 obv. (26) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MES</sup> al-la-ni-ia-an-zi ši-i-iš-ḫa-u ar-ḫa ú-ez-zi* ‘when the horses perspire (and) sweat breaks out’. Schmitt-Brandt (1967: 67) connected this noun with the verb *išhuu<sup>i</sup>ai<sup>i</sup> / išhui-* ‘to throw, to pour’ that, together with *šuh<sup>h</sup>a<sup>i</sup> / šuh<sup>h</sup>-* ‘id.’ reflects PIE *\*sh<sub>2</sub>eu- / \*suh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to pour’. This would mean that *šišhau-* reflects a reduplicated formation *\*si-sh<sub>2</sub>óu, \*si-sh<sub>2</sub>u-ós*, which originally meant ‘outpourings’ (vel sim.). Note however that the word-final sequence <sup>o</sup>*a-u* is very remarkable. The only other instance that I know is <sup>GIŠ</sup>*za-a-u* ‘?’, in all other cases we find <sup>o</sup>*a-ú*. If this spelling means that we should phonologically interpret *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* as /šīshao/, an IE origin is very unlikely.

**šiššija-** (stem) ‘need’

Derivatives: **šiššijatar / šiššijann-** (n.) ‘need’ (instr. *ši-iš-ši-ia-<an->ni-it* (KBo 32.15 ii 4)), **šiššijaunt-** (adj.) ‘being in need’ (nom.sg.c. [*ši-l*]š-ši-ia-u-an-za (KBo 32.15 ii 6)), <sup>LÚ</sup>**šiššijala-** (c.) ‘needy one’ (acc.sg. *ši-iš-ši-ia-la-an* (KBo 32.15 ii 18)).

PIE *\*si-sh<sub>1</sub>-jo-*

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These words occur in one text only, namely KBo 32.15, which is part of the Song of Release (see StBoT 32):

KBo 32.15 ii

- (4) [ ... *ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>I]M-aš *ši-iš-ši-ja-(an->ni-it dam-mi-iš-ḫa-a-an-za*  
(5) [*pa-ra-a tar-nu-mar ú-]e-ya-ak-ki ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>IM-aš  
(6) [ ... *ši-i]*š-ši-ja-u-an-za nu ku-iš-š=a <sup>d</sup>IM-un-ni  
(7) [I GÍN KÙ(.BABBAR p)a-a(-i)]

‘[When] the Storm-god is suffering of need and asks for release: When the Storm-god is in need [of silver] everyone will give a shekel of silver to the Storm-god’;

ibid.

- (18) *n=a-an=kán ḫu-iš-nu-mé-ni* <sup>d</sup>IM-an <sup>LÚ</sup>ši-iš-ši-ja-la-an  
(19) *dam-mi-iš-ḫi-iš-ke-ez-zi=an ku-iš Ú-UL=m=a-an i-ja-u-e-ni pa-ra-a tar-nu-mar*

‘We will rescue him, the Storm-god, who is in need. Whoever keeps on damaging him, to him we will not grant release’.

All forms are derived from a stem *šiššija-* which I translate as ‘need’. Etymologically, this stem probably is a reduplication of the verb *šai-<sup>i</sup> / ši-* ‘to press, to seal’, which means that we have to assume a semantic development \*‘pressing’ > ‘need’. See at *šai-<sup>i</sup> / ši-* for further etymology.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*šiššiam(m)a-* (n.) ‘?’: nom.-acc.sg. *ši-ši-ja-am-ma* (KUB 12.51 i 11, KUB 12.62 rev. 7), *ši-ši-a-ma* (KBo 6.10+ ii 3).

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This word is attested a few times only, always with the determinative <sup>GIŠ</sup> ‘wood’:

KUB 12.62 rev.

- (7) <sup>GIŠ</sup>Ú.SAL-i *ši-ši-ja-am-ma ar-ta kat-ta-an=ma ta-aš-ya-an-za du-du-mi-ja-an-za*  
(8) *a-ša-an-zi*

‘In the meadow a *šiššiamma* is standing. Under it, a blind and a deaf man are sitting’.

In the Hittite Laws we read:

KBo 6.10+ ii

(3) *ták-ku* <sup>GIS</sup>*ši-ši-a-ma* [*ku-ī(š-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR)]

(4) *pa-a-i*

‘When someone steals a *šišiama*, he must pay three shekels of silver’.

From the first context, one would be tempted to conclude that *šišiam(m)a* is a tree. In the second context, it is obvious that this hardly can be the case. Apparently, the *šišiam(m)a-* denotes some wooden object or device that stands in the meadow. That it must have been quite valuable is visible from the fact that the penalty for stealing a *šišiama* is equal to the penalty of e.g. stealing a loaded carriage. Nevertheless, it is not clear exactly what is meant. No etymology.

**šiššijant-** (adj.) ‘sealed’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ši-iš-ši-ja-an-n=a* (KUB 29.7 ii 56).

PIE \**si-sh<sub>1</sub>-i-ent-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 29.7 ii

(56) [*ke*]-*e ud-da-a-ar pá-r-ku-i ši-iš-ši-ja-an-n=a e-eš-tu* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>=*ma* EN

SÍSKUR=*ja a-pé-e-ez*

(57) [*ud-da-a*]-*na-az pá-r-ku-ya-e-eš a-ša-an-[d]u*

‘May these words be pure and *šiššijant-* and may through those words the deity and the patient be pure!’.

Apparently, *šiššijant-* is comparable in meaning to *parkui* ‘pure, clean’. It therefore has been suggested to interpret *šiššijant-* as a reduplication of the verb *šai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-* ‘to seal’. In this case, *šiššijant-* ‘sealed’ may be used in the sense ‘untouched’. For an etymological treatment, see at *šai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ši-*.

**šišd-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *šiš-<sup>zi</sup>*

**šiššur** (n.) ‘irrigation’: gen.sg. *ši-iš-šu-ú-ra-aš* (KBo 6.26 iii 5 (OH/NS)), *še-e-šu-ra-aš* (KUB 17.8 iv 3 (NS)), *še-eš-šu-ra-aš* (RS 25.421 obv. 39 (undat.)).

Derivatives: **šiššurije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to irrigate’ (inf.I *ši-iš-<sup>i</sup>-š-<sub>u</sub>-ri-ja-i-ya-an-zi* (KUB 31.100 rev.<sup>?</sup> 17 (MH/MS)), impf. *ši-iš-šu-ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (KBo 26.96, 6 (NH))), **šiššurije/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to irrigate’ (impf. *ši-iš-ši-u-ri-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.84 iii 54, 55 (MH/NS))).

The alteration between *šišš-* and *šešš-* can be explained if we assume that the spellings with *-i-* reflect the original form of these words, whereas the spellings with *-e-* are the NH variants according to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d.

See Rieken (1999a: 329f.) for an extensive treatment of this word. She connects it with *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to shoot, to spurt, to flow’ (see at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*; *šije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*) and reconstructs *\*h<sub>1</sub>si-h<sub>1</sub>s-ur*, whereas the variant *šiššur* is derived from the verb *šišije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. Alternatively we could assume that *šiššur-* reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>si-h<sub>1</sub>s-ié-ur* in which *\*VsiV* > Hitt. /VSV/ (cf. § 1.4.4.2). This would mean that in *šiššurije/a-* the *-i-* has been restored. See at § 1.3.9.4.f, where I have shown that the spellings with the sign U, which represent /siSor-/ , must be the correct ones (compare e.g. *a-ni-u-ur* /ʔniór/ < *\*h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur*), whereas the spelling with the sign Ú should be regarded as a scribal error.

**šittar(a)-** (n. > c.) sharp-pointed metal object, ‘spear-point(?)’ (not ‘solar disc!’): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-it-tar* (often), *ši-tar* (KUB 20.92 vi<sup>?</sup> 5), acc.sg.c. *ši-it-ta-ra-an* (KUB 30.32 i 7 (NS?)), ŠU.I-*ta-ra-an* (KUB 36.95 iii 4 (NS)), abl. *ši-it-tar-ra-za* (KBo 2.1 i 35), *ši-it-tar-za* (KBo 2.1 i 9, ii 13, iii 14, 27, 35, iv 20), *ši-it-tar-az-za* (KBo 2.16 obv. 12), instr. *ši-it-ta-ri<<iš>>-it* (KUB 5.7 obv. 21), nom.-acc.pl. *ši-it-tar-ra* (KUB 10.28 i 20, KUB 11.21a vi 10), nom.pl.c. *ši-it-ta-re-eš* (KUB 29.4 i 22 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *ši-it-tar-aš* (KUB 48.6 ii 5 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>**šittara-**, name of a mountain (stem? *ši-it-ta-ra*[...] (KBo 25.162 r.col. 3)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **šittar-** (n.) ‘id.’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ši-it-tar*); HLuw. <sup>FUSUS</sup>**sitar-** (n.) ‘spindle’ (nom.-acc.pl. <sup>FUSUS</sup>*si-tara/i* (KARATEPE 1 §25)).

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je-tr* ?

See Starke 1990: 408f. for an extensive treatment of the meaning and attestations of this word. He convincingly shows that the usual translation ‘solar disc’ is not supported by the facts, and that the contexts seem to point to a meaning ‘sharp-pointed metal object, spear-point’. If the one attestation ŠU.I-*ta-ra-an* (KUB 36.95 iii 4) can be regarded as denoting *šittaran*, then a meaning ‘spear-point’ is likely. Starke argues that the word is of Luwian origin, and that in Hittite we have to separate a thematic stem *šittara-* from athematic *šittar-*. The first stem is an older (MH) Hittitized loan from Luw. *šittar-*, whereas the latter represents real Luwianisms within the NH texts. Starke suggests a connection with *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*,

*šijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to shoot, to press’ and reconstructs *\*séh<sub>1</sub>-tro-*. The root *\*seh<sub>1</sub>-*, however, is the basis of *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* ‘to impress, to sow’, whereas *šijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to shoot’ must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-* (see at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-*; *šijē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* for an etymological treatment). Melchert (1993b: 195) therefore assumes that *šittar-* is a contraction of *\*šijattar-* ‘the shoot-thing’ and reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je-tro-* (although it seems to me that *\*-je-* would yield Luw. *-i-* regularly). If this etymology is correct, it would show that initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>* is dropped in front of *-š-* in Luwian.

*šittarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to seal’: 3sg.pres.act. *ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi* (KBo 6.2+ ii 19, 24 (OS)), *ši-ī[a-at-t]a-ri-ja-az-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 39 (OH/MS)), *ši-ja-at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 45 (OH/NS)), *ši-ja-at-tal-li-ja-az-zi* (KBo 6.5 iv 3 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ši-it-ta-ri-et* (KBo 6.2+ iii 19 (OS)).

PIE *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-tr-je/o-*

The oldest attestations of this verb (in the OS version of the Hittite Laws) show the stem *šittarije/a-* (which is the reason for me to cite this verb under the lemma *šittarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*). In the MS copies of the Laws, this stem is replaced by *šijattarije/a-*. Because the verb denotes ‘to seal’ it is likely that it is ultimately derived from the verb *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* ‘to impress, to seal’, probably through a noun *\*ši(ja)ttar-*. In the OH period this noun was *\*šittar-*, showing the weak stem *ši-* of *šai-/ši-* (note that this weak stem originally was not *\*\*šija-*!). When in the MH times the weak stem of *šai-/ši-* is secondarily changed to *šijē/a-* (on the basis of false analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *ši-anzi* as *šija-nzi*), this verb, too, was altered from *šittarije/a-* to *šijattarije/a-*. The only attestation from a NH copy of the Laws is the aberrant form *ši-ja-at-tal-li-ja-az-zi* which is clearly caused by misreading the sign RI/TAL of the (MS) text from which this version was copied (which perhaps was spelled *\*\*ši-ja-at-ri-ja-az-zi*?). The confusion shows that this verb probably was not used anymore in NH times.

All in all, I would reconstruct *šittarije/a-* as *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-i-tr-je/o-*. See at *šai<sup>-i</sup> / ši-* for further etymology.

<sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* (c.) ‘god’ (Sum. DINGIR, Akk. *ILUM*): nom.sg. *ši-i-ú-uš* (KUB 35.93+32.117 iii 4 (OS)), *ši-ú-uš*, *ši-uš=mi-iš* (KBo 3.22 rev. 47 (OS)), DINGIR-*uš* (OS), DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*na-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *ši-ú(n)=šum-m[i-in]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 39 (OS)), *ši-ú(n)=šum[m-(mi-in)]* (KBo 3.22 obv. 41 (OS)), *ši-ú-na-an* or *ši-ú-n=a-an* (KBo 17.51 i<sup>?</sup> 8 (OS)), *ši-ú-na-an* (MS, NS, often), gen.sg. *ši-ú-na-aš* (OS, often), dat.-loc.sg. *ši-ú-ni* (OS, often), *ši-i-ú-ni* (KUB 30.10 rev. 11, 17 (OH/MS)), abl. *ši-ú-na-az* (KBo 10.7 ii 17, 20 (OH/NS)), instr. *ši-ú-ni-it* (KBo 6.28 obv. 5 (NH)),



KBo 22.6 i 25 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-eš (OS), *ši-ya-an-ni-e-eš* (KBo 20.73 iv 8 (MS), KUB 35.146 iii 8 (NS)), *ši-ya-an-ni-eš* (KUB 9.34 iii 45 (NS)), acc.pl. *ši-mu-uš* (KBo 45.3 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), [*š*]*i-mu-uš* (VSNF 12.30 iv 8 (OH/NS)), gen.pl. DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-na-an (OS), *ši-ú-na-an*, *ši-ú-na-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ši-ú-na-aš* (OS), *ši-i-ú-na-aš* (KUB 28.45 vi 15 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: see *šiu*nal(a/i)-, \**šiu*nije/a-<sup>zi</sup>, *šiu*nijaḫḫ-<sup>ta</sup>, *šiu*annant-,  
<sup>NINDA</sup>*šiu*annanni-, <sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiu*anzanna-.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *tiuna*- (c.) ‘god’ (nom.sg.c. *ti-ú-na-aš*); Lyd. *ciw*- (c.) ‘god’ (nom.sg. *ciws*, acc.sg. *ciwv*, abl.(?) *ciwad*, dat.-loc.pl. *ciwav*).

PIE \**diēu*-

In the oldest texts we find the following paradigm: nom.sg. *ši-ú-uš*, *ši-i-ú-uš* acc.sg. \**ši-ú-un* and acc.pl. *ši-mu-uš*. This points to a stem /*sīu*-/ (note that Neu 1974a: 122 and, following him, Rieken 1999a: 36, cites a nom.pl. *šiu*eš, but this form is unattested: we only find DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-eš besides the aberrant *šiu*anniēš). Already in OH times, we see a proliferation of a thematic stem *ši*-(i)-*ú-na*-/*sīuna*-/, with acc.sg. *šiu*an (unless the OS attestations *ši-ú-na-an* (KBo 17.51 i<sup>?</sup> 8) is to be interpreted *ši-ú-n=a-an*, cf. Neu 1983: 168<sup>496</sup>), gen.sg. *šiu*naš, dat.-loc. *šiu*ni etc. in OS texts already. In NH times we even find nom.sg. DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-naš. The fact that we find a similar stem in Pal. *tiuna*- and Lyd. *ciwvali*- ‘divine’ (see under *šiu*nal(a/i)-) as well, may point to a PAnat. stem \**diēu*-no-. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily the case in view of the fact that in Greek we find a similar, independent development, with nom.sg. Ζεύς, acc.sg. Ζῆν, gen.sg. Διός being replaced by younger acc.sg. Ζῆνα, gen.sg. Ζηνός.

All attestations of *šiu*(na)- are spelled with *ú*. The few plene spellings of *-i* indicate that we have to phonetically interpret the stem as /*sīu*-/ and /*sīuna*-/. This /*sīu*-/ is the direct outcome of \**diēu*-. See Rieken (1999a: 37<sup>160</sup>) on the peculiar nom.pl. *šiu*anniēš, who argues that the texts in which this form occurs probably were translations from Luwian texts. Formally, *šiu*anniēš looks like a thematization of \**šiu*ātār ‘deity’, just as the animatized form *šiu*annant- ‘god’.

The fact that Hittite, Palaic and Lydian use the same word for ‘god’ (Hitt. *šīu*(na)-, Pal. *tiuna*-, Lyd. *ciw*-), whereas CLuwian, HLuwian and Lycian show a stem *massan*- (CLuw. *maššan*(i)-, HLuw. DEUS-*n*(i)- (= *massan*(i)-?) and Lyc. *mahan*(a)-), can be used as an argument for the dialectology of the Anatolian language branch.

<sup>(d)</sup>*šīuna*-: see <sup>(d)</sup>*šīu*-, <sup>(d)</sup>*šīuna*-

**šiuṅal(a/i)-** (c.) ‘divine one(?)’: nom.pl. *ši-ú-na-li-eš* (KBo 10.24 iii 14), [*ši-ú-n]a-li-iš* (KBo 30.5 iii 4).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **ciwvalli-** ‘divine’ (nom.sg.c. *ciwvalis*).

This word occurs in one context only:

KBo 10.24 iii (with duplicate KBo 30.5)

(10) *ma-a-an ti-i-e-eš-te-eš la-ri-i-e-eš*

(11) *a-ru-na-aš túh-ḫa-an-da-at*

(12) *še-e-r=a-a=šša-an ne-pí-ši*

(13) *ši-ú-na-li-eš u-e-eš-kán-ta*

‘When the *t*-s (and) *l*-s (or ‘the *t. l*-s) of the sea produce smoke, above in heaven the divine ones(?) will be sent’.

It is likely derived from <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ (q.v.). Note the similarity in formation to Lyd. *ciwvalli-* ‘divine’.

**\*šiuṅiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘?’: 3pl.imp.act. DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ia-an-du* (KBo 23.22, 2), 3pl.pres.midd. DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ia-an-ta-r[i<sup>2</sup>]* (KBo 8.77 rev. 7).

Derivatives: \*<sup>LÚ</sup>**šiuṅiḫant-** (c.) ‘godsmen(?)’ (nom.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*ni-an-za* (KUB 14.10 + 26.86 iv 11)), \***šiuṅiḫatar** / **šiuṅiḫann-** (n.) ‘(statue of) deity’ (nom.-acc.sg. DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*ia-tar*, DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*tar*, dat.-loc.sg. DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*an-ni*).

Both attestations of the verb are found in broken contexts: KBo 23.22 (2) [ ... DI]NGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ia-an-du*[ ... ]; KBo 8.77 rev. (7) [... *k]u-i-e-eš* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ia-an-ta-r[i<sup>2</sup>]* ...]. On the basis of these attestations, we cannot determine what the verb means. The nouns \*<sup>LÚ</sup>**šiuṅiḫant-** and \***šiuṅiḫatar** are mentioned here for formal reasons only as they both seem to derive from a stem *šiuṅiḫe/a-*. Semantically there is no clue, however, that they really belong with this verb. See at <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ for further etymology.

**šiuṅiḫah-<sup>ta</sup>** (IIb) ‘to be hit by a disease (through a god)’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ši-e-ú-ni-aḫ-ta* (KBo 6.26 i 22 (OH/NS)), [*š]i-ú-ni-aḫ-ta* (KBo 6.10 iv 10 (OH/NS)), *ši-ú-ni-ia-aḫ-ta* (KBo 6.15, 13 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ši-ú-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ti* (KUB 11.1 iv 15 (OH/NS)).

The verb occurs in the middle only. Note the aberrant spelling *ši-e-ú-ni-* of KBo 6.26 i 22 (OH/NS). The verb is clearly derived from <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ (q.v.), perhaps through the verb \***šiuṅiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (q.v.).

<sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiuanzanna-*, <sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiuanzanna-* (c.) a kind of priestess (Sum. <sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA.DINGIR): nom.sg. *ši-un-za-an-na-aš* (KBo 16.71+ (StBoT 25.13) iv 22 (OS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ši-ya-an-za-an-na* (IBoT 1.29 i 58 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *ši-ya-an-za-an-ni-iš* (KUB 13.2 ii 32 (MH/NS)), broken *ši-ya-an-z[a-...]* (IBoT 1.29 ii 12 (OH/NS)).

PIE \**diu-nt-s + anna-*

The word denotes a certain kind of priestess. In KUB 13.2, <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*šiuanzanniš* (ii 32) alternates with the sumerographical writing <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>AMA.DINGIR (e.g. ibid. ii 27), lit. ‘mother.god’. This has led e.g. Friedrich (HW: 195) to tentatively translate *šiuanzanna-* as “Gottesmutter” (as if it consists of gen.sg. *šiuanz* + *anna-* ‘mother’). In my view, an original meaning ‘divine mother’ might be more likely, as in this way *šiu(ua)nz* can be interpreted as nom.sg.c. of a further unknown adjective *šiu(ua)nt-* ‘divine’ (which perhaps is visible in <sup>NINDA</sup>*šiuandannanni-* (q.v.) as well) that is ultimately cognate with <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ (q.v.). If this is correct, then the word must be a univerbation of original *šiu(ua)nz annaš* ‘divine mother’. Note that the oldest attestation (OS) shows *šiuanzannaš*. Perhaps this shows that we have to phonologically interpret this word as /siunt<sup>s</sup>aNa/, which was in NH times phonetically realized as [siuənt<sup>s</sup>aNa-], spelled *ši-ya-an-za-an-na-*. I therefore reconstruct \**diéu-nt-s + anna-*. See at <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* for further etymology.

*šiuanna-*: see <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-*

*šiuannant-* (c.) ‘god’: nom.sg. *ši-ya-an-na-an-za* (KUB 13.4 i 27 (OH/NS)).

The word occurs only once. Formally, it seems to be the erg.sg. of an abstract noun \**šiuātar* ‘deity’. See at <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ for further etymology.

<sup>NINDA</sup>*šiuandannanni-* (c.) a bread: nom.sg. *ši-ya-an-da-an-na-an-ni[-iš]* (KBo 29.115 iii 8), *ši-ya-an-da-na-an-ni-iš* (KUB 27.49 iii 7), acc.sg. *ši-ya-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in* (KBo 29.115 iii 3, 5, 7), *ši-ya-an-ta-an-na-an-ni-in* (KBo 23.87, 7); broken *ši-ya-an-ta-an-na-an-n[i-...]* (KUB 17.24 ii 19)

PIE \**diu-ent-otn-??*

It is not clear what kind of bread is meant. Formally, the noun reminds of other bread-names in *-anni-*: <sup>NINDA</sup>*parkuqaštannanni-*, <sup>NINDA</sup>*armanni-*, <sup>NINDA</sup>*arma(n)tal(l)anni-*. For the use of *-anni-* as a derivational suffix, compare

<sup>NINDA</sup>*armanni-* from *arma-* ‘moon’ and *hupparanni-* (a liquid measure) from *huppar-* ‘bowl’. In the case of *šiyandannanni-*, we would have to assume that it is derived from *\*šiyandann-*, which itself seems to be the oblique stem of a further unattested noun *\*šiyandātar*. This *\*šiyandātar* must be derived from a stem *\*šiyant-*. To what extent this *\*šiyant-* is identical to *šiyant-* found in <sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiyanzanna-* (a kind of priestess) (q.v.), is unclear. If so, then this *\*šiyant-* would be ultimately cognate to <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-* ‘god’ and probably reflect *\*diuent-* or *\*dieuent-*.

<sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiyanzanna-*: see <sup>MUNUS</sup>*šiuanzanna-*

<sup>(d)</sup>*šiyatt-* (c.) ‘day’ (Sum. UD<sup>(KAM)</sup>): nom.sg. *šī-i-ua-az* (KBo 17.15 rev.<sup>1</sup> 19 (OS)), UD<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*az* (KBo 25.58 ii 7 (OS)), acc.sg. UD<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*an*, gen.sg. <sup>d</sup>*šī-i-ua-at-ta-aš* (KBo 17.15 obv.<sup>1</sup> 10 (OS)), dat.-loc. *šī-ua-at-ti* (KBo 3.55+ ii 3 (OH/NS)), *šī-ú-ua-at-te* (KUB 41.23 ii 13 (OH/NS)), *šī-ú-ua-at-ti* (KBo 22.170, 3 (OH/NS)), loc.sg. *šī-i-ua-at* (KBo 25.17 i 1 (OS)), *šī-ua-at* (KBo 3.22 rev. 60 (OS)), *šī-ua-a-at* (KBo 21.49 iv 8 (OH/NS)), acc.pl. UD<sup>HIA</sup>-*uš*.

Derivatives: *anišiyat* (adv.) ‘today(?)’ (*a-ni-šī-ua-at* (KBo 3.45 obv. 12 (OH/NS))).

Anat. cognates: Pal. *tījat-* (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. *tī-ja-az*, dat.-loc.sg. *tī-ja-az*); CLuw. <sup>(d)</sup>*Tiyad-* (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. <sup>(d)</sup>*ti-ya-az*, <sup>d</sup>UTU(-*ya*)-*az*, <sup>d</sup>UTU(-*ya*)-*za*, voc.sg.(?) *ti-ya-ta*, *ti-u-ya-ta*, acc.sg. <sup>d</sup>UTU-*an*, dat.-loc.sg. <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ti(-i)*, gen.adj. <sup>d</sup>*ti-ya-d[a-aš-šī-)*, *tīyalija-* (adj.) ‘of the Sun-god’ (voc.sg. *tī-ya-li-ja*), *tīyarija-* (adj.) ‘of the Sun-god’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ti-ya-ri-ja*); HLuw. <sup>DEUS</sup>*tīyad(i)-* (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. /*tiwadas*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*wa/i-za-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §2), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*za-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A17a iii), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*za-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §73), /*tiwadis*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*ti-i-sa* (MALPINAR §11), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*sa* (KARKAMIŠ A4a §13), acc.sg. /*tiwadin*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*wa/i-ti-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 2 §6), gen.sg.? /*tiwadas*/ SOL-*tà-sa* (SAMSAT fr. 1), dat.-loc.sg. /*tiwadi*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*ti* (ANCOZ 7 §4), abl.-instr. /*tiwadadi*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*tà-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §1)), *tīwadama/i-* ‘sun-blessed’ (nom.sg. /*tiwadamis*/ SOL-*wa/i-ra-mi-sá* (CEKKE §17i), SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sa* (CEKKE §17o, HİSARCIK 1 §1), SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi/sa<sub>8</sub>* (KULULU 4 §1, §2), SOL-*tà-mi-sá* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §5), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*wa/i-tà-mi-i-sa* (KULULU 2 §1), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*mi-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §1), gen.sg. /*tiwadamas*/ <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa-*’ (KARKAMIŠ A18h §1), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A5a §1), dat.-loc.sg. /*tiwadami*/ *tī-wa/i+ra/i-mi* (KULULU 5 §3), <sup>DEUS</sup>SOL-*mi* (KARKAMIŠ A21 §2)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dyut-* ‘shine’.

See Rieken 1999a: 102f. for attestations and discussion. It is remarkable that Hittite shows a consistent geminate spelling *-tt-* /*-t-*/, whereas in CLuwian we find a consistent single spelling *-t-* /*-d-*/, which corresponds to the use of the sign *tà* (cf. Rieken fthc.) and the rhotacization in HLuwian. According to Yoshida (2000) this can be explained by assuming that the original PAnat. paradigm shows accent mobility, and that the Luwian languages generalized stem-accentuated forms (\**diéu-ot-*), leaving \**-t-* between unaccentuated vowels causing lenition, whereas Hittite generalized the forms with unlenited *-t-* out of ending-stressed forms (e.g. gen.sg. \**dieu-ot-ós*). In view of the OS attestations nom.sg. *ši-i-ya-az*, gen.sg. *ši-i-ya-at-ta-aš* (both with plene *-i-*) it might be likelier to assume, however, that the stem of the nom.sg., /*šiuats*/, generalized throughout the paradigm, taking with it not only the accentuation of the root, but also the unlenited /*t*/, yielding *šūattaš*.

It is generally accepted that *šūatt-* reflects a *t*-stem of the root \**dieu-* ‘sky(god)’ (cf. the Skt. *t*-stem *dyut-* ‘shine’). The original paradigm must have been \**diéu-t-s*, \**diu-ót-m*, \**diu-t-ós*, which was altered to Pre-PAnat. \**diéu-ot-s*, \**diu-ót-om*, \**diu-ot-ós*, which yielded PAnat. \*/*diéuots*/, \*/*diuódom*/, /*diuodós*/. In Hittite, the stem \*/*diéuot-*/ > *šūatt-* was generalized, whereas in Luwian the stem \*/*diuod-*/ > *tiyad-* was generalised. See for further etymology <sup>(d)</sup>*šū-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*šūna-*.

The hapax *a-ni-ši-ya-at* probably means ‘today’. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 74-5) connects *ani-* with the stem *anna-* ‘former, old’ (q.v.) and states that *ani-* must go back to \**óno-*, whereas *anna-* reflects \**éno-* (with “Čop’s Law”). In my opinion, the elements *anna-* ‘former, old’ and *ani* ‘this’ have opposite meanings and cannot be equated. It is much more likely that *ani-* is in some way related to the pronoun *aši* / *uni* / *ini*. I would rather assume that *a-ni-ši-ya-at* should be read *e<sup>1</sup>-ni-ši-ya-at*, in which *eni* is to be equated with the NH outcome of nom.-acc.sg.n. *ini*.

**šiyi-** / **šiyai-** (adj.?) ‘sour(?)’: acc.sg.? *ši-ú-i-n=a* (KUB 31.110, 3 (OH/NS)), acc.(?)pl.c. *ši-ya-e-e[š]* (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ši(h)ya-** (adj.) ‘sour(?)’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *še-e-ya*), **ši(h)yai-** (adj.) ‘sour(?)’ (nom.pl.c. *ši-e-hu-ya-en-zi*).

Both forms cited are attested in broken contexts. The meaning of *ši-ú-i-n=a* cannot be ascertained, nor can its analysis as *šiyin* + *=a*. The attestation *ši-ya-e-e[š]* is more clear, although it appears in broken context: KBo 17.4 ii (17) [...

*ħa]r-š[a]-ú-uš šī-ua-e-e[š ...].* Otten & Souček (1969: 25<sup>12</sup>) suggest that this phrase might be paralleled by NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-uš *EM-ŠÚ-TIM* ‘sour thick-breads’ and that *šīuaēš* therefore must mean ‘sour’. This interpretation would mean, however, that *šīuaēš* syntactically is acc.pl.c. whereas formally it is nom.pl.c. For an OS text this is quite remarkable if not unique. Starke (1987: 250<sup>26</sup>) connected this word with CLuw. *ši(h)ua(i)-*, which he interprets as ‘sour’ as well. Further unclear.

**-ške/a-** (imperfective-suffix): 1sg.pres.act. *da-aš-ke-e-mi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ši* (OS), *ak-ku-uš-ke-ši* (OS), *šu-uš-ke-ši* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *ak-ku-uš-ke-zi* (OS), *an-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *a-ša-aš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *da-aš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *ħa-at-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *iš-pa-an-za-aš-ke-e[z-zi]* (OS), *pa-ap-pár-aš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *pu-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *šu-un-ni-eš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *ú-uš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *za-aš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *zi-i-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* (OS), *tar-ši-ke-ez-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ua-ni* (OS), *da-aš-ke-e-u-e-n[i]* (OS), *ša-an-ħi-iš-ke-u-e-ni* (OS), *pí-iš-ke-u-ua-ni* (MH/MS), *pí-iš-ga-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. *da-me-eš-kat-te-ni* (OS), *pí-iš-kat-te-ni* (OS), *ša-an-ħi-iš-kat-te-ni* (OS), *ta-me-eš-kat-te-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *an-ni-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *ap-pí-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *da-aš-kán-zi* (OS), *ħa-az-zi-iš-k[án-zi]* (OS), *ħi-in-ga-aš-kán-zi* (OS), *ir-ħa-i-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *iš-ħa-mi-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *iš-ħi-iš-kán[-zi]* (OS), *iš-ku-ne-eš-kán-zi* (OS), *pal-ú-e-eš-kán-zi* (OS), *pí-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *pí-iš-ši-iš-ká[n-zi]* (OS), *še-eš-kán-zi* (OS), *tar-ši-kán-zi* (OS), *[ta-]ru-uš-kán-zi* (OS), *uš-kán-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. °*Vš-ke-nu-un* (MH/MS), *da-aš-ga-nu-un* (KUB 13.35+ i 40, 44 (NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *da-aš-ke-eš* (MH/MS), *ħa-at-ri-eš-ke-eš* (MH/MS), *zi-ik-ke-eš* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ħa-an-di-li-iš-ke-et* (OS), *ša-al-la-nu-uš-kat* (OS), *zi-ke-e-et* (OS), 1pl.pret.act. *uš-ga-u-en* (MH/MS), *ú-e-ki-iš-ke-u-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *da-aš-ke-e-er* (OS), *da-aš-ke-er* (OS), *pí-iš-ke-er* (OS), *pí-iš-ker* (OS, often), *ša-al-la-nu-uš-ker* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *me-e-mi-iš-ki* (OS), *uš-ki-i* (OS), 3sg.imp.act. *tu-u-ri-iš-ke-ed-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ke-tén* (MH/MS), *ħa-at-ri-eš-ke-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-kán-du* (MH/MS), *pí-eš-kán-du* (MH/MS); 1sg.pres.midd. *[e-e]š-ka-aħ-ħa-ri* (OS), 3sg.pres.midd. *uš-ne-eš-kat-ta* (OS), *pa-iš-ke-et-ta* (MH/MS), *e-eš-ke-et-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.midd. *pa-iš-kat-tu-ma* (OS), 3pl.pres.midd. *za-aħ-ħi-iš-kán-ta* (OS), 1sg.pret.midd. *pa-iš-ga-ħa-at* (OS), 3pl.pret.midd. *e-eš-kán-ta-ti* (OS), 1sg.imp.midd. *pa-iš-ka[-aħ-ħu-ut]* (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. *[pa-iš-k]at-ta-ru* (OS); part. *ú-nu-uš-kán-za* (OS); sup. *da-me-eš-ke-ua-an* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-zza-** (impf.-suffix) (3sg.pres.act. *ħal-ua-at-na-az-za-i*, *ħal-ua-at-na-za-i*); HLuw. **-za-** (impf.-suffix) (3sg.pres.act. <sup>PES</sup>*pa-za-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. <sup>PES</sup>*pa-za-ha*, <sup>PES2</sup>*pa-za-ha<sub>x</sub>*, 3sg.pret.act. <sup>“PES2”</sup>*pa-za/i-ta<sub>x</sub>*, 3sg.imp.act.

“CRUS<”>*ta-za-tu*); Lyc. *-s-* (impf.-suffix: 3sg.pres.act. *astti*, *qastti*, 3pl.pres.act. *tasñti*, 3sg.pret.act. *astte*, *qastte*, 3sg.imp.act. *qasttu*; 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *zasãne*; inf. *asñne*).

PAnat. *\*-skē/o-*

PIE *\*CC-ské/ó-*

This suffix is usually called “iterative”, but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-ške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* are used to express progressive, iterative, durative, distributive and ingressive meaning, “all of which share the feature imperfectivity” (o.c.: 414), and therefore I cite this suffix as an “imperfective-suffix”. Melchert has also shown that the stems in *-ške/a-* are functionally equivalent to stems in *-šš(a)<sup>i</sup>* and *-anna/i<sup>i</sup>*, and even that “synchronically they function effectively as suppletive allomorphs of a single morphem” (1998b: 414). About the distribution between the three suffixes, Melchert writes that “[a] survey shows that of stems in *anni/a-* seven are complementary to *-ške/a-*, while another ten occur only sporadically (once or twice each) beside regular, productive *-ške/a-*. There are only two cases of genuine competing stems, in both of which the *-anni/a-* stem has become lexicalized: *nanni/a-* ‘to drive’ beside *naiške/a-*, the imperfective to *nai-* ‘turn, guide; send’ and *walḥanni/a-* ‘beat’ (frequentative) beside *walḥiške/a-* imperfective to *walḥ-* ‘strike’” (o.c.: 416), but see at *-anna<sup>i</sup> / -anni-* for my view on these latter two verbs.

In the overview of forms above, I have given a selection of forms from OS and MH/MS texts. In § 2.2.2.1.t, I have given a diachronic overview of the endings used with this suffix. Note that due to the rise of the anaptyctic vowel /i/ in clusters containing \*s and stops, like *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ské/o-* > OH */tské/á-l*, *za-aš-ke/a-* > OH */tsike/a-l*, *zi-ik-ke/a-* ‘to place (impf.)’, *\*h<sub>1</sub>pské/ó-* > Hitt. */ṣpiské/á-l*, *ap-pi-iš-ke/a-* ‘to seize (impf.)’ and *\*lǵ<sup>h</sup>ské/ó-* > Hitt. */lǵiské/á-l*, *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* ‘to fell (impf.)’, the suffix *-ške/a-* sometimes is reinterpreted as */-iske/a-l*, yielding forms like *la-ḥu-iš-ke/a-* ‘to pour (impf.)’ (instead of original *la-ḥu-uš-ke/a-*) or as */-sike/a-l*, yielding forms like *tar-ši-ke/a-* ‘to speak (impf.)’ (instead of regular *tar-aš-ke/a-*, cf. Kavitskaya 2001: 284).

Within Luwian, we find a verbal suffix *-za-* that Melchert (1987a: 198f.) interprets as an ‘iterative’-suffix and equates with Hitt. *-ške/a-*. His idea is then that Luw. *-za-* and Hitt. *-ške/a-* go back to PAnat. *\*-skē/o-*, which first yielded pre-Luw. *\*-sza-* and then was simplified to *-za-*. A similar scenario then could also explain the Lycian imperfective-suffix *-s-* (note that *s* is the normal Lycian outcome of PAnat. *\*k*). If this is correct, it would imply that we are dealing with a PAnat. suffix *\*-skē/o-*, containing a palatovelar.

From the beginning of Hittitology, the Hittite suffix *-ške/a-* has correctly been identified with the present-suffixes Skt. *-ccha-*, Av. *-sa-*, Gr. *-σκε/o-*, Arm. *-c'-*, Lat. *-sce/o-*, OIr. *-c-*, OHG *-sc-*, etc. The exact reconstruction of this suffix, with *\*-k-* or with *\*-k̥-*, can only be decided on the basis of the *satəm* languages and especially Indo-Iranian. In 2001, Lubotsky has elaborately argued that on the basis of the Indo-Iranian material we should conclude that at a PIE level the cluster *\*-sk̥-* did not exist at all and that therefore the suffix should have been *\*-ske/o-*, with a normal velar. This contrasts, of course, with the PANat. reconstruction *\*-s̥ke/o-* which is required in Melchert's scenario. Either this means that one of these scholars is incorrect, or that we should assume that at the earliest stage of PIE the cluster *\*-sk̥-* was still available and that this suffix in fact was *\*-s̥ke/o-* and that only after the splitting off of Anatolian the cluster *\*-sk̥-* was depalatalized to *\*-sk-*, yielding the suffix *\*-ske/o-* as visible in the other IE languages.

As in the other IE languages, where the suffix *\*-s̥ke/o-* always uses the zero-grade of the root (Skt. *gácchati* ~ Av. *jasaiti* ~ Gr. *βάσχω* < *\*g<sup>w</sup>m-s̥ké/ó-* 'to be going'; Skt. *pr̥cchāti* ~ Av. *pərəsaiti* ~ Arm. *harc'i* ~ Lat. *poscō* ~ OIr. *arco* ~ OHG *forscōn* < *\*pr̥k̥-s̥ké/ó-* 'to ask'), in Hittite the suffix *-ške/a-* in principle uses the zero-grade root as well, e.g. *appiške/a-* from *epp<sup>-zi</sup>* / *app-* 'to seize', *uške/a-* from *au<sup>-i</sup>* / *u-* 'to see', *akkuške/a-* from *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aku-* 'to drink', etc. As in the latter example, the suffix *-ške/a-* had a fortiting effect on the preceding consonant (also *lakkiške/a-* from *lāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *lag-*, *ḫarappiške/a-* from *ḫarp<sup>-ta(n)</sup>* / *Harb-/*, etc.). See § 2.2.2.1.t for a more detailed overview of the distribution between the thematic vowels *-e-* and *-a-* within the Hittite period.

=šma-: see =šmi- / =šma- / =šme-

=šmaš (encl.pers.pron. acc.-dat. 2pl.) '(to) you (pl.)': *V=š-ma-aš* (OS), *C=ša-ma-aš* (OS).

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The form is identical to the dat.-loc.pl. of the enclitic pronoun *=a-* 'he, she, it', which is not coincidental in view of the fact that the enclitic possessive pronoun of 'you (pl.)' and 'they' is identical as well, namely *=šmi- / =šma- / =šme-*. It is clear that the element *-šm-* found in both forms must be identical, but further etymological appurtenance is unclear. The element *-aš* probably is identical to the dat.-loc.pl.-ending *-aš* (q.v.).

=šme-: see =šmi- / =šma- / =šme-



=šmi- / =šma- / =šme- (encl.poss.pron. 2pl. and 3pl.) ‘your (pl.); their’: nom.sg.c. =š-mi-iš (OS), =š-me-iš (rare, NS), acc.sg.c. =š-ma-an (OS), nom.-acc.sg.n. =š-me-et (OS, often), =š-mi-it (OS), =š-e-me-et (OS), =š-a-me-et (OS), =š-a-mi-it, gen.sg. =š-ma-aš (OS), dat.-loc.sg. =š-mi (OS), all.sg. =š-ma (OS), abl. °az=(š)-mi-it (OS), °az-a=š-mi-it (OS), =š-me-et, instr. e.g. ka-lu-lu-pí-iz-mi-it (OS), ka-lu-lu-pí-iz-me-et (OS), nom.pl.c. =š-me-eš (OS), acc.pl. =š-mu-uš (OS), nom.-acc.pl.n. =š-me-et (OS), dat.-loc.pl. =š-ma-aš (OS).

The original paradigm of this particle is nom.sg.c. =šmiš, acc.sg.c. =šman, nom.-acc.sg.n. =šmet, gen.sg. =šmaš, dat.-loc.sg. =šmi, all.sg. =šma, abl. =šmit, instr. =šmit, nom.pl.c. =šmeš, acc.pl.c. =šmuš, nom.-acc.pl.n. =šmet, dat.-loc.pl. =šmaš. For the original distinction between nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. =šmet vs. abl.-instr. =šmit see Melchert (1984a: 122-6). This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem =šmi- / =šma- / =šme-. This vocalization can hardly reflect anything else than PIE \*-i-, \*-o- and \*-e-, but an exact explanation for the distribution of these vowels is still lacking (cf. also =mi- / =ma- / =me- ‘my’, =tti- / =tta- / =tte- ‘your (sg.)’, =šši- / =šša- / =šše= ‘his, her, its’ and =šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme- ‘our’).

The characteristic element -šm- is undoubtedly cognate to -šm- found in the enclitic pronoun 2pl. and 3pl. =šmaš ‘to you (pl.); to them’ (q.v.). The exact PIE origin of this -šm- is unclear, however.

-šta (2sg.pret.act.-ending): see -š and -tta

-šta (3sg.pret.act.-ending): see -t and -š

=šta: see =(a)šta

-štani: (2pl.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection): see -šten(i)

-šten: (2pl.imp.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection): see -šten(i)

-šten(i) (2pl.-ending of the *hi*-flection): pres.: *Vš-te-e-ni* (OS), *Vš-te-ni* (OH/MS), *na-iš-ta-ni* (KUB 23.72 rev. 58 (MH/MS)); pret./imp. *Vš-te-en* (OS), *Vš-tén* (MH/MS).

IE cognates: TochA 2pl.pret.-ending -s, TochB 2pl.pret.-ending -s.

PIE \*-su ??

Usually, the ending *-šten(i)* (which stands for 2pl.pres.act. *-štēni*, *-štani*, 2pl.pret./imp.act. *-šten*) is regarded as a byform of the normal *-tten(i)* (q.v.) that must be of secondary origin. As I have demonstrated in Kloekhorst fthc.d, the ending *-šten(i)* is only used with *hi*-inflected verbs and never with *mi*-inflected forms (which always have *-tten(i)* as its 2pl.act.-ending: note that of stems in *-š-* and *-t-* the difference between *-šten(i)* and *-tten(i)* is invisible, e.g. *šaštēni* ‘you sleep’, *aztēni* ‘you eat’). The *hi*-verbs that use the ending *-šten(i)* use the ending *-tten(i)* as well (except *pai<sup>1</sup> / pi-* ‘to give’, which only uses the ending *-šten(i)* and never *-tten(i)*), clearly show that *-šten(i)* is the ending that is used in the oldest texts, whereas *-tten(i)* is used in younger texts only. As I have argued in detail in o.c., this indicates that *-šten(i)* must have been the original 2pl.act.-ending of the *hi*-inflection, whereas *-tten(i)* is the ending of the *mi*-inflection. The distribution over the forms show that *-šten(i)* is getting replaced by *-tten(i)* throughout the Hittite period. This replacement has already in pre-Hittite times taken place in *hi*-verbs of which the stem ends in a consonant: in the oldest texts we only find remnants of *-šten(i)* in a few *tarn(a)*-class verbs (that go back to stems in a laryngeal), whereas in stems that end in *-k-*, *-p-*, *-t-* or resonant no forms with *-šten(i)* are found anymore. In *hi*-verbs of which the stem ends in a vowel (*dāi/tīanzi*-class and *mēma/i*-class), the replacement of *-šten(i)* by *-tten(i)* first takes place in the late MH period.

In the present, we find *-štēni* as well as *-štani* (just as *-uēni* and *-uani* and *-tteni* and *-tani*). Melchert (1994a: 137-8) has noticed that the variant with *-a-* occurs when the verb’s stem is accentuated (e.g. *naištani* = *lnáistani*). He therefore regarded the forms with *-a-* as the regular outcome of unaccentuated *\*-stēni*, *\*-uēni* and *\*-tteni*.

The etymological interpretation of *-šten(i)* is difficult. Since it is quite possible that the element *-ten(i)* was taken over from the *mi*-ending *-tten(i)* in an earlier period already, the most important element of this ending is *-s-*. Since the *hi*-endings seem to be in one way or another connected with the PIE perfect-endings, we may have to compare this element *-s-* with the Tocharian 2pl.pret.-ending Tocharian *-s*, Tocharian *-s* < PToch. *\*-sə* that can only go back to PIE *\*-su* (the Tocharian preterite class I-V reflects the PIE perfect endings).

**šu** (clause conjunctive particle): *šu=ua*, *šu=mu*, *š=a-aš*, *š=a-an*, *š=e*, *š=u-uš*.

PIE *\*so-*

See at *ta* for a discussion of the OH clause conjunctive particles *nu*, *ta* and *šu* and their grammatical function. Weitenberg (1992) has shown that the difference in use between *ta* and *šu* is determined by the tempus of the verb: *šu* when the verb is preterite, *ta* when the verb is present. From MH times onwards, *ta* and *šu* are replaced by *nu*. Of the three OH particles, *šu* is the least attested. It should be noted that it is never attested loose: it is always accompanied by an enclitic element.

Watkins (1963) convincingly shows that Hitt. *nu*, *ta* and *šu* can functionally and formally be equated with the Old Irish preverbs *no*, *to* and *se* and that *ta* ~ *to* < \**to* and *šu* ~ *se* probably are related to the demonstrative pronoun \**so-*, \**to-* as attested in the other IE languages (Skt. *sá*, *sá́*, *tád*, Gr. *ὁ*, *ἦ*, *το*, etc.). If this is correct, we would have expected to find in Hittite \*\**ša* instead of *šu*. Perhaps we must assume that \*\**ša* has been influenced by *nu* and secondarily has taken over its *-u-* (note that there are only two forms that specifically point to *šu*, namely *šu=mu* (KBo 3.22 rev. 75) and *šu=ya* (KBo 22.2 rev. 5, 6)).

**šu-** ‘to fill’: see *šuyē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

**šū-** ‘full’: see *šūu-* / *šūya-*

<sup>(sÍG)</sup>**šūel-**: see <sup>(sÍG)</sup>*šūil-*

**šūeri-** ‘?’: dat.-loc.sg.? *šu-u-e-ri-ia* (IBot 3.148 iii 21 (MH/NS)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

IBoT 3.148 iii

(20) *nam-ma a-pé-e-da-ni=pát* GE<sub>6</sub>-ti VI PA ZÌ.DA ZÍZ A-NA DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>

*hū-u-ma-an-ta-aš*

(21) *šu-u-e-ri-ia*<sup>NINDA</sup> *zi-ti-ti I-NA É NINDA.DÙ<sup>?</sup>.DÙ<sup>?</sup> šu-un-ni-an-zi*

‘Then, on that specific night, for all the gods they fill 6 *parīsu* wheat meal for?  
*šūeri-* and *ziiti-*bread inside the bakery’.

The function and meaning of *šu-u-e-ri-ia* is unclear.

**šūhḫ-**, **šuhḫa-** (c.) ‘(flat) roof’: acc.sg. *šu-uh-ḫa-an* (KUB 53.3 v 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-uh-ḫi* (often), *šu-u-uh-ḫi*, all.sg. *šu-uh-ḫa* (OS), *šu-u-uh-ḫa*, abl. *šu-u-uh-za* (KUB 43.30 iii 18 (OS)), [*š*]*u-u-uh-za* (KBo 44.142 ii 4 (OS)), *šu-uh-ḫa-az*,

acc.pl. *šu-uh-ḫu-uš* (KUB 39.52+ iii 8, iii 13 (NS)), coll.pl.? [*š*]*u-uh-ḫa* (KUB 31.89 ii 7 (MH/NS)).

PIE *\*séuh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*séuh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-ós* ?

See Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 85f. for the semantics of this word. Usually, this word is cited as *šuhḫa-*, but Rieken (1999a: 65f.) states that the OS attestations of abl. *šu-u-uh-za* indicate that we have to reckon with an original athematic root noun *šūḫh-*. She assumes that only in younger times this root noun was thematized to *šuhḫa-*. If we look at the attested forms closely, we see that an *a*-stem inflection cannot be proven however: all forms could in principle belong to a root noun *šūḫh-* (see at the treatment of the ablative-ending *-(ā)z* for the observation that the allomorph *-z* is in younger times replaced by *-az*, also in consonant-stems). Nevertheless, on the basis of e.g. *ḫuhḫa-*, which shows a thematization from an original root noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>euḫ<sub>2</sub>-*, it is in my view likely that the younger forms indeed belong to a thematic noun *šuhḫa-*.

Formally, the word can hardly reflect anything else than *\*seuh<sub>2</sub>-*. In my view it is likely that we have to assume an original inflection *\*seuh<sub>2</sub>-s*, *\*seuh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-ós*, and that later on, on the basis of gen.sg. *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-ós* a thematic noun *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-o-* > *šuhḫa-* was created. According to Rieken (o.c.: 66) we must assume an etymological connection with the verb *šuhḫa-<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* ‘to scatter’, under the assumption that “[d]ie semantischen Schwierigkeiten lassen sich durch den Hinweis auf die Konstruktionsweise der anatolischen Lehmflachdächer, die durch häufiges Aufschütten von neuem Lehm in Stand gehalten wurden, überwinden”. See at *šuhḫa-<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* and *išḫuḫai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* for further etymological treatment.

*šuhḫa-<sup>i</sup>* / *šuhḫ-* (IIa1γ) ‘to scatter’: 3sg.pres.act. *šu-uh-ḫa-a-i* (OH/MS) *šu-uh-ḫa-i* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *šu-uh-ḫu-ḫa-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.<sup>?</sup> 5 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-uh-ḫa-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-uh-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-un* (VBoT 58 ii 6 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-uh-ḫa-aš* (ABoT 44 i 53 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *šu-uh-ḫa-er* (OS); part. *šu-uh-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *šu-uh-ḫu-ḫa-aš* (KUB 17.35 ii 2 (NS)), *šu-uh-ḫa-ú-ḫa-aš* (KUB 25.23 i 37 (NS)), *šu-uh-ḫa-u-ḫa-aš* (KUB 25.23 iv 50 (NS), VBoT 26, 8 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄω ‘to rain’, TochAB *su-/swās-* ‘to rain’.

PIE *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-enti* ?

This verb denotes ‘to scatter, to pour’ and therewith is semantically almost identical to *išḫuḫai-<sup>i</sup>* / *išḫui-* ‘to throw, to scatter, to pour’. In some cases these two verbs are used interchangeably in duplicates (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 408). Not

only semantically they are very similar, formally they look alike as well. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 503) therefore treats them together: “*išḫuua-* und *šuhḫa-* ‘schütten’”. This seems to be supported by a hybrid form like *šu-uh-ḫu-ua-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.<sup>7</sup> 5). Nevertheless, the exact formal relation between the two is difficult to judge. According to Jasanoff (1978: 90<sup>11</sup>), we have to start with a PIE root *\*sh<sub>2</sub>eu-* ‘to pour’, the zero-grade of which already in PIE occasionally metathesized to *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-*. This *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-* is e.g. visible in Gr. ὕω ‘to rain’ and TochAB *su-/swās-* ‘to rain’, whereas *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-* is visible in Hitt. *išḫuuai-* / *išḫui-*, which belongs to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class and therefore must reflect *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-oi-* / *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-i-*. Note that the alleged reflex of the full grade stem *\*sh<sub>2</sub>eu-*, *šišḫau-* ‘sweat’, hardly can be of IE origin.

These considerations give rise to several scenarios for the origin of *šuhḫa-*<sup>i</sup> / *šuhḫ-*, which belongs to the *tarn(a)*-class. On the one hand, we could assume that already in PIE a secondary root *\*seuh<sub>2</sub>-* existed, which would be inflected in pre-Hittite as *\*sóuh<sub>2</sub>-ei*, *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-énti*. Although the plural form indeed would yield attested *šuhḫanzi*, I would expect that *\*sóuh<sub>2</sub>-ei* would give Hitt. *\*\*šūḫi*. It is problematical, however, that I do not see how a paradigm *\*šūḫi* / *šuhḫanzi* would be altered to *šuhḫa-*<sup>i</sup> / *šuhḫ-*. Another possibility is to assume that we have to begin with the root *\*sh<sub>2</sub>eu-*, which would in pre-Hittite inflect *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óu-ei* / *\*sh<sub>2</sub>u-énti*. In the plural, we could imagine that *\*sh<sub>2</sub>uénti* metathesized to *\*suh<sub>2</sub>énti* > Hitt. *šuhḫanzi*. In the singular, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óuei* should regularly have yielded *\*\*išḫāui*. We know from other verbs in *-au-*, however, that such a form was not tolerated (compare *au-*<sup>i</sup> / *u-* that has 3sg.pres.act. *aušzi* instead of *\*h<sub>2</sub>óu-ei*, and *mau-*<sup>i</sup> / *mu-* that has 3sg.pres.act. *maušzi* instead of *\*móuh<sub>1</sub>-ei*). We could imagine that on the basis of 3pl. *šuhḫanzi* the singular secondarily was changed to *šuhḫai*, as if inflecting according to the *tarn(a)*-class.

Although in principle I would prefer the latter scenario, I must admit that it involves some drastic secondary developments. Moreover, if the noun *šūḫḫ-*, *šuhḫa-* ‘roof’ (q.v.) indeed is etymologically connected with *šuhḫa-*<sup>i</sup> / *šuhḫ-* and *išḫuuai-*<sup>i</sup> / *išḫui-*, it would show a Hittite reflex of the ‘secondary’ stem *\*seuh<sub>2</sub>-*, which then would better fit the former scenario.

**šuhmili-**, **šuhpili-** (adj.) ‘firm(?)’: nom.sg.c. *šu-u-uh-mi-li-iš* (KBo 19.132 rev.<sup>7</sup> 11 (MH/NS)), [*š*]u-uh-mi-lī-iš (KBo 10.37 iii 1 (OH/NS)), [*š*]u-uh-mi-li-iš (KUB 9.28 iii 24 (MH/NS)), *šu-uh-mi-li-iš* (KUB 43.23 rev. 13, 17 (OS)), acc.sg.c.? *šu-uh-mi-li-in* (KBo 10.37 ii 33 (OH/NS)), *šu-uh-pi-li-in* (KUB 51.63 rev. 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-uh-mi-li* (KBo 10.37 iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 43.23 rev. 57 (OS)), [*š*u-

*uḥ-m]i-li* (KBo 13.121, 4 (OH/NS)), *šu[-uḥ-m]i-li* (KBo 13.156 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), broken *šu-uḥ-p[i-li(-)...]* (KUB 51.63 rev. 8 (NS)).

Usually, this adjective is cited as *šuhmili-* and translated ‘well-fixed’, a translation that goes back to Catsanicos 1986 (“bien fixé”). Let us first look at the contexts in which *šuhmili-* is used.

It occurs a few times only and in most cases, the word is used as an adjective describing (*dankui-*) *tagānzepa-* ‘the (black) earth’:

KBo 10.37 iii

(6) *tak-na-aš A-NA DINGIR.MAḤ pá-r-ši-ja* 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA[ ... ]

(7) *šu-uḥ-mi-li GE<sub>6</sub>-i KI-pí pá-r-ši-ja nu-x*[ ... ]

//

KBo 13.121

(3) [*tak-na-]aš A-NA DINGIR.MAḤ pá-r-ši-ja* 1[ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ... ]

(4) [*šu-uḥ-m]i-li GE<sub>6</sub>-i KI-pí pá-r-ši-ja*[ ... ]

‘He breaks [...] of the earth for the mother goddess. One thick-bread [...] he breaks for the *šuhmili-* black earth’;

KUB 43.23 rev.

(13) *šu-uḥ-mi-li-iš da-an-ku-iš da-ga-an-zi-p[a-aš ta-ak-na-a-aš-š=a* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš]

(14) *ú-ya-at-te-en* <sup>d</sup>IM-na-aš *ja-[a]n-ni nu=za e-ez[-za-at-te-en]*

(15) *e-ku-ut-te-en nu še-er kat-t[a] ne-e-pí-iš-za* <sup>d</sup>I[M-]aš LUGAL-i [*a-aš-šu*]

(16) *ḥu-iš-ya-tar mi-ja-tar tar-[ḥ]u-i-li* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tu-u-ri pí-iš-ke-e[d-du]*

(17) *kat-ta-ša-ra-a=ma ták-na-a-az šu-uḥ-mi-li-iš ta<sup>1</sup>-ga-an-zi-p[a]-aš*

(18) *ták-na-a-aš-š=a* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš *A-NA LUGAL a-aš-šu ḥu-iš-ya-tar tar-ḥu-i-li*

(19) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tu-u-ri pí-iš-ke-ed-du*

‘You, *šuhmili-* black earth and Sun-goddess of the earth, must come. You, Storm-god, must come. May above, from heaven downwards, the Storm-god give to the king [goods], life, growth (and) a victorious weapon. May down, from the earth upwards the *šuhmili-* earth and the Sun-goddess of the earth give to the king goods, life (and) a victorious weapon’;

KUB 43.23 rev.

(56) 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA GIR<sub>4</sub> 1 GAL.GEŠTIN

(57) 1 ŠAḤ.TUR *A-NA KI šu-uḥ-mi-li*

(58) *ták-na-aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-i

‘Three thick-breads from the oven, one ‘head of the wine’ (and) one little pig for the *šuhmili*- earth (and) the Sun-goddess of the earth’.

In one context, the word describes GI ‘(drinking) straw’:

KUB 9.28 iii (with dupl. KBo 19.132 rev.<sup>2</sup> 10f.)

(22) 2 <sup>DUG</sup>KU-KU-UB ŠÀ.BA I-NA 1 <sup>DUG</sup>ḪAB.ḪAB KAŠ

(23) *a-ku-ṽa-an-na-aš pá-r-š-u-il šu-u-uš*

(24) 1 GI [(š)]*u-ṽh-mi-li-iš tar-na-an-za*

‘Two pitchers: in one pitcher of beer for drinking, a *šuhmili*- drinking straw full of *paršuil* is inserted’.

In one case, it is not fully clear what the word refers to:

KBo 10.37 ii

(31) *ḫu-u-ṽa-an-da-aš pé-eš-keṽ-tén nu-u=š-š[i ḫ]a-aš-ta'-l[i-ṽ]a-[tar]*

(32) *pé-eš-tén nu-u=š-ši iš-ḫu-na-u-ṽa-a[r] ši-ṽa-u-ṽa-ar*

(33) *pé-eš-tén nu-u=š-ši šu-ṽh-mi-li-in ge-e-nu pé-eš-tén*

‘You must give [him ...] of the wind, give him courage, give him an upper arm (and/with) ability to shoot, give him a knee (and/with) *šuhmili*-’.

E.g. Rieken (1999a: 361) assumes that in this context *šuhmilin* belongs with *gēnu* and translates ‘Gebt ihm ein festes Knie!’. Problematic, however, is the fact the *gēnu* is neuter, whereas *šuhmilin* is commune acc.sg. Catsanicos (1986: 124) assumes that in this case the word is a contraction of *\*šuhmilijan*, which in his view is the nom.-acc.sg.n. of a derived stem *šuhmilijan-*. In note 154 of page 147, he compares this with the form *šu-up-pi-in* from *\*šuppijan*, nom.-acc.sg.n. of *šuppian-*, of which he gives an example in KBo 12.89 ii 13. In this context, however, I have not been able to find any indication that *šuppian* refers to a neuter noun. The other examples that Catsanicos cites, *appezzin* beside *appezzian* and *ḫantezzin* beside *ḫantezzian*, are derived from stems that end in *-i-* as well as in *-iṽa-* (*appezzi(i)a-* and *ḫantezzi(i)a-*). For *šuhmili-*, not a single indication for either a stem *šuhmiliṽa-* nor a stem *šuhmilijan-* are found, so the assumption that *šuhmilin* in this case is a nom.-acc.sg.n.-form from *\*šuhmilijan* seems doubtful to me. If in this context *šuhmilin* does not belong with *gēnu*, it must be substantivized and mean ‘something *šuhmili*-’.

The other contexts of *šuhmili-* are broken:

KBo 10.37 iii

(1) [š]u-uh-mi-li-iš [ ... ]

KBo 13.156 obv.

(7) [ ... ]e 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA gu[l-la-an-]te-en

(8) [ ... ] NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA gul-]la-an-ti-en šu[-uh-m]i-li

(9) [ ... ]

All in all, we see that *šuhmili-* is used as an epithet of ‘the (black) earth’, describes a ‘drinking straw’ and is used as a courageous ‘object’ desired as a gift from the gods that goes together with ‘knee’, parallel to ‘upper arm (and) ability to shoot’.

Catsanicos (1986) argues that the word denotes ‘bien fixé’ and connects it with Skt. *sūmāya-* ‘well prepared’, reconstructing *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-h<sub>2</sub>m(e)i-*. In my opinion, it seems as if Catsanicos especially prompted the translation ‘bien fixé’ on the basis of the supposed etymological connection. Although this meaning would fit for ‘drinking straw’ and ‘knee’, it is slightly odd for ‘the (black) earth’: the earth is not ‘fixed together’. I would rather translate *šuhmili-* as ‘firm’, which would give ‘the firm earth’, ‘a firm straw’ and ‘knee (and/with) firmness’.

One could ask oneself whether it is possible that a meaning ‘firm’ is derived from a meaning ‘well-fixed’ when it applies to objects that are not fixed at all (in this case the earth). This means that semantically, Catsanicos’ etymology is rather weak. There are also problems from the formal side. First, this *šuhmili-* would be the only case where we find the proclitic *šu-* ‘well’ in Hittite. Moreover, although I do think that word-initially *\*h<sub>2</sub>mi-* would yield Hitt. *hmi-* (c.f. *hamešha-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*), the fate of word-internal *\*-h<sub>2</sub>m-* is less clear. On the basis of *maḥrai-* < *\*meh<sub>2</sub>roi-?* and *zahrai-* < *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-roi-* one could argue that *\*h<sub>2</sub>* was retained word-internally in front of a resonant, but no examples of *\*-h<sub>2</sub>m-* > *-hm-* are known.

The final lethal blow to Catsanicos’ etymology, however, is the fact that a word *šuhpili-* is attested twice in the following context:

KUB 51.63 rev.

(6) [ ... ] šu-uh-pi-li-in G[E<sub>6</sub>(?) ]

(7) [ ... ]e-]ku-zi 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pá[r-ši-ia ]

(8) [ ... ]LÚ<sup>MES</sup> šu-uh-p[ti-li- ]



If in line 6 the traces of the broken sign are correctly interpreted as GE<sub>6</sub>, then it is very likely that *šuhpilin* must be regarded as identical to *šuhmili-* (cf. also the fact that this context looks very similar to KBo 10.37 iii 6-7 as given above). Since an alternation *p/m* cannot be explained from an IE point of view, the word *šuhmili-*, *šuhpili-* must be of foreign (Hurrian?) origin.

**šuhpili-**: see *šuhmili-*, *šuhpili-*

<sup>(sīG)</sup>**šūil-** (n.) ‘thread’: nom.-acc.sg. *šu-ú-il* (KBo 15.10+ i 7 (OH/MS), KBo 32.15 iii 1 (MS), KBo 39.8 i 31, ii 5 (MH/MS), KUB 12.51+ i 8 (MH/NS), KUB 55.49 rev. 11 (NH), KUB 17.25 i 8 (fr.), 9 (NS), KUB 17.26 i 9 (fr.) (NS)), *šu-ú-i-il* (KUB 7.3, 7, 13 (OH/NS)), *šu-ú-el* (KBo 12.126+ iii 3 (MH/NS)), *šu-ú-e-el* (HT 1 iii 9 (OH/NS)), *šu-i-el* (KUB 41.1 iii 13 (MH/NS), KUB 58.109 (+) IBoT 2.126 iv 32 (MH/NS)), *šu-ú-i-el* (KUB 45.24 i 10 (MH/NS)), *šu-ú-i-li* (KUB 60.36, 4 (NH)), instr. *šu-ú-i-li-it* (KBo 10.37 i 50 (OH/NS), KBo 11.5 vi 9 (NH)), dat.-loc.pl. *šu-ú-i-la-aš* (KUB 41.4 ii 21 (MH/NS)), *šu-i-la-aš* (KUB 51.83 ii 4 (MH/NS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *suō*, Skt. *sūtra-* ‘thread’, Gr. *ὕμην* ‘thin skin, sinew’.

PIE *\*séh<sub>1</sub>-el-*

See Rieken 1999a: 478f. for a full treatment of this word. She argues that the suffix was *-il-* originally, and not *-el-* which is supported by the fact that all attestations of spellings with the sign EL are NS only. Nevertheless, on p.475 she states that *-il-* probably arose from a PIE suffix *-el-* in unaccentuated position (through *\*CC-él*, *\*CC-l-ós* >> *\*CC-él*, *\*CC-el-ós* > *\*CC-ēl*, *\*CC-il-ás* >> *CC-il*, *CC-ilaš*). The word clearly is derived from the PIE root *\*seuh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to sew’, which is further unattested in Hittite, however (note that it has recently become clear that *šum(m)anza(n)-* (q.v.) does not mean ‘cord’ and therefore cannot be regarded anymore to reflect *\*seuh<sub>1</sub>-*). The fact that this word is spelled with plene *Ú*, points to a phonological */sūil-/*, which points to a reconstruction *\*séh<sub>1</sub>-el-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). Note that besides the PIE root *\*seuh<sub>1</sub>-* we also find *\*sieuh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to sew’ (Lith. *siūti*, Skt. *sīvyati*, Goth. *siujan*, OCS *šijō* ‘to sew’).

**šukšuk(k)a/i-** (c.) ‘hide (of cow or horse)’: nom.sg. *šu-uk-šu-uk-ki-iš* (KBo 32.15 iii 2 (MH/MS)), *šu-uk-šu-uk-ki-i[š]* (KUB 29.52(+) i 2 (MH/MS)), acc.sg. *šu-uk-šu-ka<sub>4</sub>-an* (KUB 7.53+ iii 40 (NS)), *[šu-u]k-šu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-an* (KUB 33.47+54 ii 15 (OH/NS)), *[šu-uk-]šu-ug-ga-an* (25/v, 3 (MS?)), *š[u-uk-š]u-ga-an* (KUB 17.10 iv 1 (OH/MS)).

See e.g. Neu 1996: 341f. for a treatment of this word. It denotes ‘hairy skin’ of horses and cows. We find *i*-stem as well as *a*-stem forms and spellings both with geminate and single *k*. Formally, it is likely that this word is a reduplication. No further etymology.

*šullae*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to become arrogant’: see *šulle*<sup>-zi</sup>

*šulle*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to become arrogant’: 2sg.pres.act. *šu-ul-le-ši* (KUB 36.114 r.col. 6 (MS)), *šu-ul-li-ja-ši* (KBo 12.70 rev. 8 (NS), KBo 19.70 ii 11 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-ul-le-ez-zi* (KUB 36.114 r.col. 14 (MS)), *šu-ul-le-e-ez-zi* (KUB 28.1 iv 36 (NS)), *šu-ul-li-ja-zi* (KUB 14.3 iv 39 (NH)), *šu-ul-la-iz-zi* (KUB 13.32 rev. 7 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *šu-ul-li-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 21.37 obv. 24 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-ul-la-a-an-zi* (KBo 43.77, 7 (MH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. [*šu*]-*ul-le-e-et* (KUB 14.17 iii 17 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-u-ul-le-e-et* (KBo 32.14 ii 4 (MS)), *šu-u-ul-le-et* (KBo 32.14 ii 19, iii 16 (MS)), *šu-ul-le-e-et* (KUB 24.3 ii 28 (MH/NS), KBo 16.17 iii 28 (NH)), *šu-ul-le-et* (KUB 6.41 i 32 (NH)), *šu-ul-li-ja-at* (KBo 3.6 iii 33 (NH), KUB 1.9 iii 7 (fr.) (NH), KUB 26.58 rev. 5a, (NH)), *šu-ul-la-a-it* (KBo 5.13 i 4 (NH), KUB 6.41 i 47 (NH)), 2pl.pret.act. *šu-ul-le-et-te-en* (KUB 4.1 ii 11 (MH/NS)), [*šu*]-*ul-la-at-te[-en]* (Bo 69/48, 2 (undat.)), 3pl.pret.act. *šu-ul-le-er* (KUB 4.1 i 17, ii 15 (NH)), *šu-ul-li-i-e-er* (KBo 5.8 iv 4, 9 (NH)); 3sg.pres.midd. *šu-ul-li-ja-at-ta* (KUB 19.67+ ii 32 (NH)); part. *šu-ul-la-an-t-* (KUB 24.3 ii 34 (MH/NS), KUB 24.1+ iii 18 (NS), KUB 43.37 iii 3 (NS)).

Derivatives: *šullēšš*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become arrogant’ (3sg.pres.act. *šu-ul-le-e-eš-zi* (KUB 9.15 ii 14 (NS)), *šu-ul-li-iš-zi* (KUB 9.15 ii 21 (NS))), *šullatar* / *šullann-* (n.) ‘swollen state > reckless act’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šu-ul-la-tar* (KBo 6.26 i 29 (OH/NS), KBo 6.13 i 9 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-ul-la-an-ni* (KBo 10.45 i 47 (MH/NS), KUB 4.4 obv. 6 (NH)), abl. *šu-ul-la-an-na-az* (KBo 6.3 i 4 (OH/NS), KBo 6.10 ii 17), *šu-ul-la-an-na-za* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: ON *svella* ‘to swell’, ModEng. *swell*, Lat. *īnsolēscō* ‘to become arrogant’

PIE *\*sulH-eh<sub>1</sub>-*

See Melchert (2004c) for the semantics of this verb. He convincingly argues that the verb denotes ‘to become arrogant, to behave disrespectfully towards (someone)’ (pace the usual translation ‘to quarrel’). According to Melchert, this meaning derives from an original meaning ‘\*to become swollen’, which is still visible in

KUB 4.4 obv.

(2) *dam-me-tar-ua-an-za LUGAL-uš*

(3) *UR.SAG-iš ki-im-ma-an-tan<sub>x</sub>*

(4) *ar-ma-a<sub>h</sub>-ha-an-ni*

(5) *h<sub>a</sub>-mi-eš-ha-an-tan<sub>x</sub>*

(6) *š<sub>u</sub>-ul-la-an-ni*

(7) *h<sub>a</sub>-mi-iš-ha-an-da-aš=ma*

(8) *a-le-el a-aš-š<sub>i</sub>-ja-an-ni*

(9) *h<sub>a</sub>-an-da-aš e-eš-š<sub>a</sub>-a[t-ti]*

‘You, the bountiful king, the hero, make the winter for impregnation, the spring for becoming swollen [due to the pregnancy], and the flower of spring for the sake of love’.

The exact formal interpretation of this verb is difficult. In NS texts, we find forms that show a stem *šullije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* and a stem *šullae<sup>-zi</sup>*. In MS texts, we find 2sg.pres.act. *š<sub>u</sub>-ul-LI-ši*, 3sg.pret.act. *š<sub>u</sub>-u-ul-LI-e-IT* and *š<sub>u</sub>-u-ul-LI-IT*. Because the sign LI can be read *li* as well as *le* and the sign IT can be read *it* as well as *et*, these latter forms can in principle be read /suLet/ or /suLiet/. The first form can only stand for /suLisi/ or /suLesi/, however, which means that the combination of these forms point to a stem /suLe-/.

Melchert (o.c.) connects *šulle<sup>-zi</sup>* with Lat. *īnsolēscō* ‘to become arrogant’ and argues that we are dealing with a stative in *\*-eh<sub>1</sub>-*: *\*sulH-eh<sub>1</sub>-* (also visible in the enlarged *šullēšš<sup>-zi</sup>*). The root *\*sulH-* belongs with PIE *\*suelH-* ‘to swell’. Note that he on the basis of part. *šullant-* states that the verb must have shown an ablauting stem *šulle-/šulla-* (o.c.: 96), but this is incorrect: the part. *šullant-* is attested in NS texts only and therefore may well be a form derived from the NH stem *šullae<sup>-zi</sup>*, making it non-probative for establishing an ablaut for the original stem *šulle-*.

**šullije/a<sup>-zi</sup>**: see *šulle<sup>-zi</sup>*

**šulupi-** (c.) an oracle bird: nom.sg. *š<sub>u</sub>-lu-pí-iš*, *š<sub>u</sub>-lu-pí-eš*, acc.sg. *š<sub>u</sub>-lu-pí-in*.

The word denotes a bird mentioned in bird oracles. Its exact meaning cannot be determined, and therefore no etymology.

**šum-** (pers.pron. 2pl.) ‘you (pl.)’: nom. *š<sub>u</sub>-me-eš* (OS), *š<sub>u</sub>-me-e-eš* (MH/MS), *š<sub>u</sub>-um-me-eš* (NH), *š<sub>u</sub>-um-me-iš* (NH), acc.-dat. *š<sub>u</sub>-ma-a-aš* (OS), *š<sub>u</sub>-ma-aš*

(MH/MS), *šu-um-ma-aš*, gen. *šu-me-en-za-an* (MH/MS), *šu-me-in-za-an* (MH/MS), *šu-mi-in-za-an* (MH/MS), *šu-me-e-el* (NH), *šu-me-el* (NH), abl. *šu-me-e-da-az*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **u(n)za-** ‘you (pl.)’ (acc. *u-za-aš*, case? *u-un-za*); HLuw. **unz-** ‘you (pl.)’ (nom. *u-zu<sup>2</sup>-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §22), *u-zu<sup>2</sup>-za* (ASSUR letter *c* §4, *e* §6, §16, §17), abl.-instr.(?) *u-za-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *a* §4), *u-za+ra/i<sup>i</sup>* (ASSUR letter *a* §9)).

In OH and MH texts, the forms of this pronoun are all spelled with a single *-m-*. Spellings with geminate *-mm-* occur in NH texts only, cf. § 1.4.7.1.c. The oldest forms are nom. *šumeš*, acc.-dat. *šumāš* and gen. *šumenzan*. The gen. *šumēl* occurs in NH texts only and is clearly a secondary formation, having taken over the gen.-ending *-ēl* from the pronominal inflection of the singular.

See chapter 2.1 for a treatment of the etymology of the personal pronouns.

=š**umma-**: see =š**ummi-** / =š**umma-** / =š**umme-**

<sup>ú</sup>**šumanzan-** (n.) ‘(bul)rush’: nom.sg. *šu-ma-an-za-an* (KBo 24.3 i 4 (MH/MS)), acc.sg. *šu-ma-an-za-an* (KBo 24.3 i 1 (MH/MS)), (KBo 20.73 i 3 (MH/MS), KUB 7.23, 9 (NS)), *šu-ma-an-za-a[n]* (KBo 24.3 i 4 (MH/MS)), [*šum-m*]a-*an-za-na-an* (KUB 39.8 iv 2 (OH/NS)), *šum-ma-an[-za-na-an]* (KUB 39.8 iv 6 (OH/NS)), *šu-ma-an-za-n[a-...]* (HKM 16 rev. 23 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *šu-ma-a-an-za-[(na-aš)]* (KBo 20.26+ i 11 (OS)), with dupl. *šū-ma-*ā*-an-za-na-aš* (KBo 30.26 rev. 1 (OH/MS)), *šum-ma-an-za-a-aš* (KBo 10.45 ii 29 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-ma-an-za-ni* (KBo 20.8 iv 14 (OS)), abl. *šu-ma-an-za-na-az* (KBo 24.3 + KBo 47.130 i 15, 22 (MH/MS)), nom.-acc.pl. *šu-ma-an-za* (KBo 3.8+ iii 6, 24 (OH/NS), KUB 59.43 i 9 (OH?/NS), KBo 1.45 rev.<sup>1</sup> 2 (NS), KBo 11.11 i 9 (NS)), <sup>ú</sup>*šum-ma-an-za* (KBo 21.20 i 17 (NS)), *šum-ma-an-za* (KUB 12.58+ i 45 (NS), KBo 20.111, 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *šu-ma-an-za-na-aš* (KBo 11.11 i 2 (NS)); context broken *šu-ma-an-za-an* (KBo 24.2 obv. 6 (NS)), *šu-ma-an-za* (KUB 35.54 i 15 (MS)), *šu-m[a-...]* (KBo 24.2 obv. 5 (NS)).

PIE \**sh<sub>1</sub>u-ent-i-on* ?

Consensus had it that this word means ‘cord, binding’ and it therefore was generally connected with Gr. ὑμήν ‘sinew’ from \**suh<sub>1</sub>mēn*. Melchert (2003d), however, has shown that the Hittite word does not mean ‘cord, binding’, but rather ‘(bul)rush’. This means that the connection with Gr. ὑμήν cannot be upheld. Melchert treats many attestations of this word. Although I agree with the

semantic side of his treatment, I do not share all his grammatical interpretations. Because these are important for the formal judgement of this word, I will treat the cases where I disagree with Melchert.

Melchert cites three forms as “AnimNSg” (o.c.: 132): *šummanza* (KUB 12.58+ i 21, KBo 1.45 rev.<sup>1</sup> 2) and *šummanzāš* (KBo 10.45 ii 29). These forms have to be interpreted otherwise. KUB 12.58+ i (21) *nu šum-ma-an-za SÍG mi-i-ti-iš-š=a* (22) [*an-da ta-ru-up-pa-a*]n-za is translated by Melchert (o.c.: 130) as ‘A rush and red wool are braided together’. On the basis of the fact that [*taruppa*]nza is nom.sg.c., Melchert apparently concludes that *šummanza* is nom.sg.c. too. This is not necessary: because SÍG *mītiš* is a commune word, it is possible that [*taruppa*]nza agrees with this word only and not with *šummanza*. Moreover, we cannot tell whether *šummanza* is singular or plural here. I would therefore interpret *šummanza* as nom.-acc.pl.n. and translate the sentence as ‘Rushes and red wool are braided together’. In the vocabulary KBo 1.45 rev.<sup>1</sup> 2, Hitt. *šu-ma-an-za* glosses Akk. *aš-lum* ‘rush’. I do not understand why Melchert explicitly assumes that this form is nom.sg.c. In my view an interpretation as nom.-acc.sg.pl. is just as likely. KBo 10.45 ii (29) *I-NA SAG.DU=ŠÚ=ma šu-um-ma-an-za-a-aš pu-ru-ši-ia[-al-la-aš ki-i]t-ta-at* is translated by Melchert (o.c.: 130) as ‘but on her head was placed a bulrush as a fill[et]’, taking *šummanzāš* as nom.sg.c. (although he admits that an interpretation as gen.sg. cannot be excluded). In my view, an interpretation as gen.sg./pl. is more likely: ‘but on her head a headb[and] of bulrushes is laid’.

All in all, I arrive at a grammatical analysis of the forms as indicated in the overview above. This means that we are dealing with a neuter noun showing the following forms: nom.-acc.sg. *šumanzan*, *šum(m)anzanan*, gen.sg. *šummanzāš*, dat.-loc.sg. *šumanzani*, abl. *šumanzanaz*, nom.-acc.pl. *šum(m)anza*, dat.-loc.pl. *šumanzanaš*. Although we come across a few different types of inflection, it is clear that the *n*-stem *šumanzan-* must have been original. On the basis of nom.-acc.sg. *šumanzan*, which was ambiguous as to whether it belonged with an *n*-stem *šumanzan-* or with a thematic stem *šumanza-*, *a*-stem forms like gen.sg. *šummanzāš* and nom.-acc.pl. *šumanza* were secondarily created. On the other hand, on the basis of a reinterpretation of forms like *šumanzani* and *šumanzanaz* as belonging to a thematic stem *šumanzana-*, the secondary nom.-acc.sg. *šumanzanan* was created. It should be noted that the MS texts al show single *-m-*, whereas geminate *-mm-* occurs in NS texts only, which is due to the fortition of older intervocalic /m/ to NH /M/ as described in § 1.4.7.1.c. All in all, we have to conclude that this word originally was *šumanzan-*, a neuter *n*-stem.

Melchert (o.c.) argues that the element *-anzan-* (also visible in e.g. *ištanzan-* and *lahhanzan-*) reflects the suffix complex *\*-ent-i-on-*. Although I agree with him, it is unclear to me what the origin of the stem *šum-* would be. Formally, one could think of e.g. *\*sHu-ent-* (perhaps *\*sh<sub>1</sub>u-ent-* ‘swaying’, cf. MDu. *swaeien* ‘to sway’, Russ. *xvéjus* ‘to move’ < *\*sueh<sub>1</sub>-*).

=*šumme-*: see =*šummi-* / =*šumma-* / =*šumme-*

*šumeš-* (n.) a kind of grain?: nom.-acc.sg. *šu-me-eš* (KUB 42.107 iii<sup>2</sup> 11 (NS)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 42.107 iii<sup>2</sup>  
 (10) 6 PA ŠE ZI-KU-Ú-KI *ha-at-tar=ku*  
 (11) *zi-na-a-il=ku šu-me-eš=ku*

‘6 *parīsu* of *zikūki*-meal, either *hattar*, *zināil* or *šumeš* grain’.

The exact meaning of the different grain sorts cannot be determined, and therefore no etymology.

*\*šumeššar / šumešn-* (n.) ‘big beans’ (Sum. GÚ.GAL.GAL): gen.sg. *šu-me-eš-na-aš* (KBo 17.15 obv.<sup>2</sup> 14 (OS)), *šu-me-eš-na-a[š]* (KBo 17.40 iv 8 (OH/MS?)), *šu-me-eš-n[a-aš]* (KBo 21.84 iv 6).

PIE *\*suH-u-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r* ?

The contexts KBo 17.15 obv.<sup>2</sup> (14) *šu-me-eš-na-aš me-e-ma-a[l]* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*e-er-ḥu-it* and KBo 17.40 iv (8) *šu-me-eš-na-a[š me-e-ma-a]* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*MA.SÁ.AB-it* are parallel to IBoT 3.1 (34) *ŠA GÚ.GAL.GAL me-ma-al TA* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*MA.SÁ.AB* ‘meal from broad beans by the basket’, which means that *šumešnaš* must be equated with GÚ.GAL.GAL ‘broad beans’. Formally, *šumešnaš* is clearly a genitive of a noun *\*šumeššar*.

Regarding its etymology, I would like to propose the following. If we are allowed to assume that ‘broad beans’ were broad in the sense that they were well-filled with peas, one could perhaps assume a connection with the adj. *šūu-* / *šūuḡu-* ‘filled’ (q.v.). If this connection is justified, we should reconstruct *\*suH-u-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r*. See at *šūu-* / *šūuḡu-* for further etymology.

=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme- (encl.poss.pron. 1pl.) ‘our’: acc.sg.c. <sup>d</sup>Ši-ú(n)=šum-m[i-in] (KBo 3.22 obv. 39 (OS)), <sup>d</sup>Ši-ú(n)=šu[m-...] (KBo 3.22 obv. 41 (OS)), <sup>d</sup>UTU=šum-mi-in (KBo 40.60 iii 56 (fr.), 69, iv 11 (fr.), 17, 25 (OH/MS), VSNF 12.30 iv 15 (OH/NS)), <sup>d</sup>UTU=šum-ma-an (KUB 43.53 obv. 17 (OH/NS), KUB 58.111 obv. 11 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. ša-hé-eš-šar=šum-me-e[t] (KUB 36.110 rev. 8 (OS)), ha-at-ta-tar=šum-mi-it (KUB 24.3+ ii 18 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. <sup>d</sup>Ši-ú-na-š=(š)um-mi-iš (KUB 26.71, 6 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. iš-tar-ni=šum-mi (OS), <sup>d</sup>UTU=šum-mi (KBo 40.60 iii 52 (fr.), 66 (OH/MS)), kat-ti=šu-mi (HKM 57 rev. 21 (MH/MS)), iš[-tar-ni]=šu-um-me (KUB 26.50 + KBo 22.58 obv. 9 (NH)), acc.pl.c. ni-e-ku-š=(š)um-mu-uš (KBo 22.2 obv. 19 (OH/MS)).

PIE \*-sum-ni/o/e-??

This enclitic possessive pronoun functions on a par with =mi- / =ma- / =me- ‘my’, =tti- / =tta- / =tte- ‘your (sg.)’, =šši- / =šša- / =šše= ‘his, her, its’ and =šmi- / =šma- / =šme- ‘your (pl.); their’ (for which see their respective lemmas). It is rarely attested, however, and its paradigm therefore is incomplete. It is remarkable that in acc.sg.c. the oldest forms (OS and OH/MS) seem to be =šummin, whereas =šumman is attested in NS texts only (compare the opposite situation in e.g. =man (OS) vs. =min (NS) ‘my’). The one gen.sg.-form =šummiš is found in a NS copy of the Anitta-text and is likely to be corrupt (cf. Neu 1974a: 124). Perhaps the form is influenced by the unattested nom.sg.c. \*=šummiš. The oldest nom.-acc.sg.n.-form is =šummet, whereas =šummit is found in a NS text (cf. Melchert 1984a: 122-6 for the distribution between -et and -it in possessive enclitic pronouns). Although the variant =šumma- is not attested thus, it can be inferred from acc.pl.c. =šummuš. The exact origin of the vowel alteration -i-, -a-, -e-, which can hardly reflect anything else than \*-i-, \*-o-, \*-e-, is still unclear. The -š- of =šummi/a/e- is consistently spelled single (in iš-tar-ni=šum-mi, kat-ti=šu-mi).

The other enclitic possessive pronouns are clearly etymologically related to their corresponding enclitic personal pronouns (=mu ‘me’, =tta / =ttu ‘thee’, =šše ‘for him/her’, =šmaš ‘to you (pl.); to them’). In the case of =šummi/a/e- this would mean that we have to assume an etymological connection with =nnaš ‘(to) us’ (q.v.). This is only possible if we assume that =šummi/a/e- reflects \*=sum-ni/a/e-. The prehistory of the element -šum- is unclear, however.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>šummittant- (c.) ‘axe’: nom.sg. šum-mi-it-ta-an-za (KUB 32.123 ii 10), acc.sg. šu-um-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an (KUB 12.63 rev. 20), [š]u-um-mi-it-ta-an-da-an

(KBo 19.144 i 5), *šum-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an* (KUB 8.51 ii 4); broken *šum-mi-it-ta-an-da*[-...] (KBo 39.125, 3).

The meaning of the word can be determined because *šummitantan* (KUB 8.51 ii 4) alternates with the akkadogram *HA-AŠ-IN-NU* ‘axe’ (ibid. ii 6). Kimball (1999: 199) reconstructs this word as *\*smit-ent-*, derived from a PIE root *\*smei-* as visible in Gr. *σμίλη* ‘cutting knife’, Goth. *aizasmīþa* and OE *smiþ* ‘blacksmith’, assuming that an epenthetic *-u-* has emerged in the initial cluster *\*sm-*. Such an epenthetic vowel is not visible in e.g. *šamenzi* ‘he passes by’ /smént<sup>s</sup>i/ < *\*smén-ti* or *šamankurūant-* ‘bearded’ /smankuruant-/ < *\*smonkur-uent-*. Moreover, Kimball seems to ignore the geminate *-mm-* (she cites the word as “*šumittant-*”). All in all, I reject Kimball’s etymology. Unfortunately, I am not able to offer an alternative one.

*šumreške/a-*<sup>2</sup> (Ic6) ‘to become filled (because of a pregnancy)’: sup. *šum-re-eš-ke-ya-an* (KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 iii 7, 17), *šum-r[e-eš-ke-ya-an]* (KBo 19.106, 7); broken *šum-re-x[...]* (KBo 47.150, 2).

PIE *\*suH-ur*

This verb occurs a few times only, all in similar contexts:

KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 iii

(7) [(DA)]M <sup>m</sup>*Ap-pu šum-re-eš-ke-ya-an da-a-iš* ITU.1.KAM ITU.2.K[(AM)]

(8) [IT]U.3.KAM ITU.4.KAM ITU.5.KAM ITU.6.KAM ITU.7.KAM ITU.8.KAM  
ITU.9.KAM *p[a-iš]*

(9) *nu* [(IT)]U.10.KAM *ti-ia-at nu=za* DAM <sup>m</sup>*Ap-pu* DUMU.NITA-an *ha-aš-ta*

‘The wife of Appu became pregnant. The first month, the second month, the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the seventh month, the eighth month (and) the ninth month went by. And the tenth month set in, and the wife of Appu bore a son’.

The expression *šumreškeyan dāiš* clearly means ‘she became pregnant’. This indicates that the verb *šumreške/a-* (or *šumrae-* as often cited) itself does not mean ‘to become pregnant’, however. The supine + *dāi-* expression means ‘to begin to’, which means that *šumreške/a-* should have a more fientive meaning like ‘to become thicker (because of the pregnancy)’. Etymologically, it is likely that *šumreške/a-* belongs with *šūu-* ‘filled’. In that case, *šumreške/a-* could originally have meant ‘to become filled (of a pregnancy)’. If this is correct, we



must assume that *šumreške/a-* is ultimately derived from a further unattested verbal noun *\*šumar < \*s(e)uH-ur*, probable through a *\*-je/o-* suffix (*\*šumrije/a-*), whose imperfective is *šumreške/a-*.

***šumumahh-***<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to braid together(?)’: 2sg.imp.act. *šu-mu-ma-aḥ* (KUB 29.1 ii 43).

This verb occurs only once, in the following context:

KUB 29.1 ii

(41) *nu ki-nu-u-pí ú-da*

(42) *ki-nu-pí=ma-a=š-ša-an an-da ŠA UR.MAḤ ši-e-ša-i*

(43) *pár-ša-na-aš<sup>UZU</sup> ši-ša-i šu-mu-ma-aḥ n=a-at ḥar-ak*

(44) *n=a-at ta-ru-up n=a-at 1<sup>EN</sup> i-ja n=a-at LÚ-aš ŠÀ=ši*

(45) *pé-e-da nu LUGAL-ya-aš ZI-aš kar-di-i=š-ši=ja*

(46) *ta-ru-up-ta-ru*

‘Bring the *kinupi*-box here. In the *kinupi*-box, *šumumahh-* the *šešai* of a lion (and) the *šišai* of a leopard. Hold them and unite them and make them one. Bring them to the heart of the man. May the soul and the heart of the king be united’.

The meaning of *šumumahh-* depends on the meaning of *še/išai* (body part of an animal). Apparently, *šumumahh-* indicates an action by which these body parts are united and made one. One could think of ‘to braid together’ if *še/išai* refers to tails or similar. No etymology.

***šunna-***<sup>i</sup> / ***šunn-*** (IIa1γ > Ic1) ‘to fill’: 1sg.pres.act. *šu-un-na-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 33.70 iii 10, 11 (OH/NS), KBo 3.38 rev. 17 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *šu-un-na-at-t[i]* (KUB 15.22, 14 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-un-na-i* (OS, often), *šu-un-na-a-i* (less often), *š[u-]un-ni-e-ez-zi* (KBo 24.4 + IBoT 4.14 rev. 12/17 (NS)), *šu-un-ni-ez-zi* (KBo 40.67 ii 6, iv 4 (MH/NS)), *šu-un-ni-ja-zi* (KUB 6.45+ iv 9, 14, 19, 24 (NH) with dupl. KUB 6.46 i 41, 46, 50, 54, 58, 62 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *šu-un-nu-me-ni* (KBo 32.15 ii 16 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pres.act. *šu-un-na-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 iv 18 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-un-na-an-zi* (MH/MS, often), *šu-un-ni-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 21, 22 (MH/NS), KUB 55.58 obv. 30, 32 (MH/NS), KUB 9.32 i 40 (NS)), *šu-un-ni-ja-an-zi* (KBo 15.24 ii 44 (MH/NS), IBoT 4.30 obv. 4 (fr.) (NS), KUB 7.47 obv. 13 (fr.) (NS), KUB 20.35 iv 3 (fr.) (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-un-na-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 10.2 i 21, ii 23 (OH/NS)), *šu-un-ni-ja-nu-un* (KBo 10.2 i 37 (OH/NS)),

2sg.pret.act. *šu-un-ni-eš-ta*<sup>1</sup> (Oettinger 1979a: 158<sup>50</sup>), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-un-na-aš* (OS), *šu-un-ni-eš* (HT 21 + KUB 8.80, 15 (NH)), *šu-un-ni-iš-ta* (KUB 1.1+ ii 79 (NH)), *šu-un-ni-ia-at* (KBo 19.111, 4 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *šunnir* (HW), 2sg.imp.act. *šu-un-ni*, 3sg.imp.act. *šu-un-ni-ed-du* (KUB 12.58 iv 13 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-u-⟨un-⟩ni-iš-tén* (KUB 13.3 ii 27 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *šu-un-na-an-du* (KBo 39.15 iii 9 (MS?)); verb.noun *šu-un-nu-mar* (KBo 1.42 iii 51 (NS)), [*šu-⟩un-nu-m[ar]* (KUB 55.31 rev. 2 (MS)), gen.sg. *šu-un-nu-ma-aš* (KUB 59.29 iii 17 (NS)); inf.I *šu-un-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 21.17 iii 10 (NH), KBo 21.34+ IBOT 1.7 iv 37 (MH/NS)), impf. *šu-un-ni-eš-ke/a-* (OS), *šu-un-ni-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **šunnummeššar** (n.) ‘filling(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*š⟩u-un-nu-um-me-eš-šar* (KUB 13.4 i 7)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **šūna-** ‘to fill’ (3sg.pret.act. *šu-ú-na-at*, 2sg.imp.act. *šu-ú-na*); CLuw. **šunatruuant(i)-** (adj.) ‘rich in outpourings’ (acc.sg.c. *šu-na-at-ru-ua-an-ti-in*).

PIE *\*su-nó-h<sub>1/3</sub>-e, su-n-h<sub>1/3</sub>-énti*

The oldest attested forms of this verb clearly point to the *tarn(a)*-class inflection: *šunnah<sub>hi</sub>*, *šunnatti*, *šunnai*, *šunnumeni*, *\*šunništeni*, *šunnanzi*. In texts from NH times, we occasionally find forms that belong to a *mi*-inflecting stem *šunnije/a<sup>zi</sup>*. The *tarn(a)*-class consists of *hi*-verbs ending in laryngeal, including nasal-infixed verbs of the type *CR-no-H-*. In the case of *šunna-/šunn-* it is generally accepted that it must reflect a nasal-infixed stem of the root *\*seuH-* that is visible in the adjective *šūu-* / *šūuau-* ‘full’ (so causative meaning, as we often see in nasal infixed verbs: *šūu-* ‘full’ > *šunna-/šunn-* ‘\*to make full > to fill’). This means that we have to reconstruct *\*su-nó-H-ei*, *\*su-n-H-énti*. These forms would regularly yield Hitt. *\*\*šunai*, *šunnanzi*, but the geminate of the plural was taken over into the singular, yielding attested *šunnai* (cf. *zinnizzi*, *zinnanzi* ‘to finish’ << *\*zinizzi*, *zinnanzi* < *\*ti-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *\*ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-enti*). The single *-n-* is still visible in Pal. *šūna-* and CLuw. *šunatruuant(i)-* (*-uant*-derivative of an abstract noun *\*šunattar* ‘outpouring’).

Of the root *\*seuH-*, the rootfinal laryngeal cannot be *\*h<sub>2</sub>* (which would have yielded *\*\*šuh<sub>u</sub>-* as *u*-stem adjective), but a choice between *\*h<sub>3</sub>* or *\*h<sub>1</sub>* cannot be made on the basis of the Hittite material (note that *hi*-verbs always have *o*-grade and that therefore both *\*su-no-h<sub>1</sub>-ei* and *\*su-no-h<sub>3</sub>-ei* would have yielded Hitt. *šunnai*). Melchert (1987b: 24-5) argues that on the basis of the Palaic 3sg.pret.act. *šu-ú-na-at*, which in his view must reflect *\*su-ne-h<sub>3</sub>-t*, we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>3</sub>*. I do not understand on which grounds Melchert chooses to reconstruct *e*-grade here, whereas *o*-grade is equally possible (or even more likely, because of the

close similarity between the Hittite and Palaic formation), and therefore do not follow him in this reconstruction. See at *šūu-* for further etymology.

***šunnazijant-*** (adj.) ‘brim-full’: nom.pl.c. *šu-un-na-zi-an-te-[eš]* (KBo 11.1 rev. 19 (NH)).

This adjective is attested only once. It seems to be derived from *šunna<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-* ‘to fill’ (q.v.), but its exact formation is unclear.

***šūnije/a<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to dip’: 1sg.pres.act. *šu-ú-ni-e-mi* (KBo 32.176 obv. 15), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-ú-ni-e-ez-zi* (KBo 15.36 ii 11 (fr.), 17), *šu-ú-ni-ez-zi* (KBo 3.38 obv. 29, KBo 15.36 ii 6), *šu-ú-ni-ja-zi* (KUB 20.86 ii 4), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-un-ni-ja-an-zi* (KUB 6.45 iv 29 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-ú-ni-at* (KBo 32.14 iii 11, 12, 29 (2x)); part. *šu-ú-ni-ja-an-t-* (KBo 12.101, 13).

For semantics, compare the following contexts:

KBo 32.14 iii

- (9) <sup>NINDA</sup>*ku-gul-la-an UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš UDUN-ni-ja pé-ra-an ar-ḫa pá-t-te-nu-ut*  
 (10) *pa-ra-a=an=kán ḫu-et-ti-at UDUN-ni-ja-az n=a-an=kán Ì-i*  
 (11) *an-da šu-ú-ni-at ša-ak-ni-ḫ=a-an=kán an-da*  
 (12) *šu-ú-ni-at n=a-aš=za e-ša-at n=a-an a-da-a-an-na da-iš*

‘A dog ran off with a *kugulla*-bread in front of the oven, he had pulled it out of the oven and dipped it in oil. In oil he dipped it, he sat down and began eating it’.

KBo 15.36 ii

- (4) [*nu nam-ma* 1 NINDA.GU]R<sub>4</sub>.RA A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>[*Ku-*]ḫi-ú-iš-na <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR  
 (5) [<sup>d</sup>LAMMA=*ja* Û A-NA ] DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-aš pá-r-ši-ja n=a-aš-ta*  
*a-ya-an ar-ḫa*  
 (6) [*te-pu* 3-ŠU] *pár-ši-ja-az-zi n=a-aš-ta mar-ḫi an-da šu-ú-ni-ez-zi*  
 (7) [*še-r=a-a=š-ša-a*]n SAR<sup>III.A</sup> 3 AŠ-RA *da-a-i*

‘Further he breaks one thick-bread for the Storm-god of Kulišna, for Ištar and the Patron deity as well as for all gods. He breaks (it) three times in small pieces and dips (them) into the *marḫa*-stew and places them on top of plants on three places’.

From these examples it is clear that *šūnije/a<sup>zi</sup>* denotes ‘to dip’. Note that the hapax spelling *šu-un-ni-* is found in a NH text and therefore may not be probative:

KUB 6.45 iv

(28) EGIR-ŠU=ma 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 SA<sub>5</sub> A-NA<sup>d</sup>U  
URU Zi-ip-la-an-da

(29) [pár-š]i-ja n=a-aš=kán ŠÀ<sup>Bl</sup> LAL Ì.DÙG.GA šu-un-ni-ja-an-zi

‘He breaks three white thickbreads and one red one of it for the Storm-god of Ziplanda, and they dip them into honey and fine oil’.

Melchert (1994a: 73) reconstructs *šūnije/a-* as *\*súnh<sub>3</sub>-je/o-* (adapting his earlier view (1984a: 29<sup>61</sup>) that the attestations *šu-ú-ni-ez-zi* and *šu-ú-ni-e-ez-zi* can also be read /sunet<sup>s</sup>i/ (which is incorrect since we then would expect spellings with NE) and reflect *\*su-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*), connecting it with *šunna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-* ‘to fill’. I do not see a semantical connection between ‘to dip’ and ‘to fill’, however, and follow Oettinger (1979a: 159) who states that *šūnije/a-* “[f]ern bleibt” from *šunna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-*.

*šunnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *šunna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-*

*šupp-<sup>(tu)(ri)</sup>* (IIIc/d) ‘to sleep’: 3sg.pres.midd. *šu-up-pa-ri* (KUB 37.190 rev.<sup>1</sup> 6<sup>1</sup> (undat.)), *šu-up-ta<sup>1</sup>-ri* (KBo 5.4 rev. 38 (NH)), [*š*]u-up-ta-ri (KUB 20.68 i 7 (OH/NS)), *šu-up[-ta-ri]* (IBoT 2.15 i 5 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-ta-a-ri* (KUB 4.47 obv. 3 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-pa-at-ta* (KUB 43.60 obv. 1 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-pa-at<-at>-ta* (KUB 43.60 obv. 2 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.act. [*š*u-u]p-zi (KUB 4.47 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-pí-ez-zi* (KUB 12.63 rev. 4 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-up-tén* (KUB 39.31, 3 (OH/NS)); part. *šu-up-pa-an-da-aš* (KBo 43.27, 3 (NS)); inf.I *šu-pu-an-zi* (KUB 18.10 iv 33 (NS)); verb.noun *šu-up-pu-u-ya-ar* (KBo 13.2 obv. 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: see *šupparije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* and *šupparūant-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *svap-* ‘to sleep’, Av. *x<sup>v</sup>af-* ‘to sleep’, Lat. *sōpīre* ‘to fall asleep’, OE *swefan* ‘to sleep’.

PIE *\*sup-ó*, *\*sup-tó*

This verb shows active as well as middle forms with no difference in meaning (note the switch between *šuptāri* (KUB 4.47 obv. 3) and [*š*u]pzi (ibid. 5)). The middle inflection seems to be more original because it is attested more often (note that this assumption cannot be supported by chronological evidence: all attestations are from NS texts).

The etymological interpretation is clear: the verb reflects PIE *\*suep-* ‘to sleep’. We find forms with the ending *\*-o* (*šuppari*), with *\*-to* (*šuptari*) and a conflation of the two (*šuppatta* < virtual *\*sup-o-to*). The zero-grade stem of the middle was taken over into the active, yielding the forms [*šu*]pzi and *šupten*.

**šuppa-**: see *šuppi-* / *šuppaj-*

**šupp(a)l(a)-** (n.) ‘cattle’: nom.-acc.sg. *šu-up-pa-al* (KUB 36.55 ii 30 (MH/MS?)), [*š*]u-up-pa-la-an (KUB 8.1 iii 13 (OH/NS)), nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pa-la-aš=mi-iš* (KBo 3.60 ii 1 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-li-i=š-ši* (KBo 6.34 iv 15 (MH/NS)), erg.sg. *šu-up-pa-la-an-za* (KUB 36.32, 5, 8 (MS?)), nom.-acc.pl. *šu-up-pa-la-a=š-še-et* (KBo 6.19 i 22 (OH/NS)), gen.pl. *šu-up-pa-la-an* (KUB 31.127 i 43 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **šuppalēššar** / **šuppalēšn-** (n.) ‘?’ (dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pa-le-e-eš[-n(i)]* (KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 iii 6 (OS) with restoration from KUB 60.20 rev.<sup>?</sup> 6)).

IE cognates: ?Lat. *suppus* ‘walking inverted, with the head downwards’.

PIE *\*sup-lo-* ?

Despite the one commune attestation nom.sg.c. *šuppalaš* (found in a NS text), the word originally was neuter (nom.-acc.sg.n. *šuppal* (MH/MS), erg.sg. *šuppalanza* (MS?)). The nom.pl.c. *šuppalēš* as cited in HW (Erg.1: 19) is now to be read as *šuppalēš[n(i)]*, a dat.-loc.sg. of a further unattested noun *šuppalēššar*.

According to Rieken (1999a: 432<sup>2135</sup>), all attestations of this word are to be interpreted as /supl-/ as can be seen by the one attestation dat.-loc.sg. *šupli*. She follows the etymology of Watkins (1973b), who connects *šupp(a)l(a)-* with Lat. *suppus* ‘walking inverted, with the head downwards’ and reconstructs *\*sup-lo-*. In my view, this etymology, though formally possible, is not self-evident semantically.

**šuppariġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to sleep’: 1sg.pret.act. *šu-up-pa-ri-ġa-nu-un* (KUB 52.91 iii 1); 1pl.pret.midd. [*šu-*]up-pa-ri-ġa-u-aš-ta-ti (KUB 8.48 i 1); part. *šu-up-pa-ri-an-za* (KBo 19.109, 9, KBo 19.111, 7), *šu-up-pa-ri-ġa-an-za* (KUB 36.89 rev. 57).

Derivatives: see also *šupp-<sup>(ti)ari</sup>* and *šupparuant-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *sopor* ‘deep sleep’, Gr. ὕπαρ ‘truth, reality < \*realistic dream’, Skt. *svápna-* ‘sleep’, ON *svefn* ‘sleep’, TochA *spām* ‘sleep’, TochB *spane* ‘sleep’,

Arm. *k'own* 'sleep', Lat. *somnus* 'sleep', Lith. *sāpnas* 'dream', Latv. *sapnis* 'dream', Gr. ὕπνος 'sleep', OCS *сѣнь* 'sleep'.

PIE \**sup-r-je/o-*

This verb, which is attested a few times only, is clearly derived from a stem \**šuppar-* which is also found in the adjective *šupparuant-* 'sleepy(?)' (q.v.). See Rieken 1999a: 305<sup>1468</sup> for its connection with Lat. *sopor* 'deep sleep' and Gr. ὕπαρ 'truth, reality < \*realistic dream' and the *-no-*stems that can be found in e.g. Skt. *svāpna-* 'sleep', Lith. *sāpnas* 'dream' etc. These forms point to an original heteroclitic inflection \**suóp-r*, \**sup-n-ós*. In Hittite, just as in Greek, the zero-grade was generalized, yielding \**sup-r*, which was used as the basis for *šuppariġe/a-*. See at *šupp*<sup>(ti)ari</sup> 'to sleep' for the basic stem \**sup-*.

***šupparuant-*** (adj.) 'sleepy(?)': nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pár-ua-an-za* (KBo 40.219 rev.<sup>7</sup> 7, KUB 60.134 obv. 1), *šu-up-pár-ua-an-te-eš* (KBo 24.56a ii<sup>7</sup> 6); broken *šu-up-pár-ua-a[n-...]* (HKM 91 obv. 4).

Derivatives: see also *šupp*<sup>(ti)ari</sup> and *šuppariġe/a-zi*.

A meaning 'sleepy' is proposed by Alp 1991: 344. The stem *šuppar-* is also found in *šuppariġe/a-zi* 'to sleep'. See there for further etymology.

***šuppauašhanalli-***: see at *šuppiuāšhar*<sup>SAR</sup>

***šuppi-* / *šuppai-*** (adj.) 'purified, sacred': nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pí-iš* (OS), *šu-up-pí-eš* (OS), acc.sg.c. *šu-up-pí-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-up-pí* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pa-i* (OS), *šu-up-pa-ia*, *šu-up-pí*, *šu-up-pa*, abl. *šu-up-pa-az*, *šu-up-pa-za*, *šu-up-pa-ia-az*, *šu-up-pa-ia-za*, instr. *šu-up-pí-it*, nom.pl.c. *šu-up-pa-e-eš*, *šu-up-pí-iš*, acc.pl.c. *šu-up-pa-uš*, nom.-acc.pl. *šu-up-pa* (OS), *šu-up-pí*, dat.-loc.pl. *šu-up-pa-aš* (OS), *šu-up-pa-ia-aš*, *šu-up-pí-ia-aš*.

Derivatives: <sup>UZU</sup>***šuppa*** (n.pl.) '(sacrilized) meat' (nom.-acc.pl. *šu-up-pa* (OS)), ***šuppiāah-i*** (IIb) 'to purify, to sacrilize' (1sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-mi* (KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104 i 17 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-ah-ġi* (OS), *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġi* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġu-un* (KUB 19.37 ii 17 (NH), KUB 7.60 iii 17 (NS)), *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġu-u-un* (KBo 12.85+ i 25 (MH/NS)); 3sg.pret.midd. *šu-up-pí-a-ah-ġa-ti* (OS); part. *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġa-an-t-*; verb.noun *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ġu-u-ua-ar*; impf. *šu-up-pí-(ia-)ah-ġi-iš-ke/a-*, *šu-up-pí-ah-ġi-eš-ke/a-*), ***šuppiēšš-zi*** (Ib2) 'to become purified' (3sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-eš-zi* (KUB 29.4 iv 40)), ***šuppiēššar***, ***šuppiāššar*** (n.)

‘purity’ (dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pí-eš-ni*, *šu-up-pí-ia-aš<sup>1</sup>-ni* (KUB 36.83 i 5), nom.-acc.pl. [*š*]*u-up-pí-eš-šar-ri*<sup>HLA</sup> (KUB 18.24, 9), [*š*u-up-*p*]*i-eš-šar-ri*<sup>HLA</sup> (KUB 18.24, 5)), <sup>(DUMU.MUNUS)</sup>**šuppi(e)ššara-** (c.) a priestess, ‘purified woman’ (nom.sg. *šu-up-pí-eš-šar-aš* (KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.8 i 14, KBo 22.110, 3), *šu-up-pí-iš-ša-ra-aš* (KUB 33.62 iii 16 (fr.), 18), *šu-up-pí-šar-aš* (KUB 7.5 + KUB 9.27 i 33), acc.sg. *šu-up-pí-eš-ša-ra-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pí-iš-ša-ri*, nom.pl. [*š*u-up-]*pí-iš-ša-ra-aš* (KUB 33.32 iii 8), *šu-up-pí-iš-ri-e-eš* (KUB 33.62 iii 19)), **šuppiššarant-** (adj.) ‘being purified’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *šu-up-pí-iš-ša-ra-an-ta* (KBo 15.34 ii 31)), **šuppiiant-** (adj.) ‘purified, sacred’ (acc.sg. *šu-up-pí-ia-an-ta-an* (KUB 27.68 i 14), nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-up-pí-ia-an* (KUB 32.123 iii 38)), **šuppiatar / šuppiann-** (n.) ‘purity’ (dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pí-ia-an-ni* (KUB 8.12, 8, 10, KUB 8.14 i 13)).

Although this word is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards and has many derivatives, it does not have known cognates within the Anatolian language branch, nor in the other IE languages. In the OAssyrian texts from Kültepe *šuppi-* is often used as the first element in personal names, although here we usually find *šuppiā-*: <sup>m</sup>*Šu-pí-aḫ-šu* = *šuppi-* + *ḫaššu-*; <sup>f</sup>*Šu-pí-a-ah-šu-šar* = *šuppi-* + *ḫaššuššara-*; <sup>f</sup>*Šu-pí-a-ni-kà* = *šuppi-* + *neka-*; etc.). In Hittite texts we only find <sup>m</sup>*Šuppiluliuma-* (= *šuppi-* + *lūli-* + *-umen-* / *-umn-*) and <sup>m</sup>*Šuppiuman* / <sup>m</sup>*Šuppimna-* (= *šuppi-* + *-umen-* / *-umn-*). Note that the one attestation <sup>m</sup>*Šu-u-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma* (KUB 19.10 iv 2) clearly points to a phonological interpretation /sopi-/. Mechanically, *šuppi-* can hardly reflect anything else than *\*sup-(e)i-*, but this reconstruction cannot be supported by any other evidence.

**šupp(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *šupp-*<sup>(ti)ari</sup>

**šuppištuuara-** (adj.) ‘ornamented(?)’: nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ua-ar-aš* (OS), acc.sg.c. [*š*u-up-pí-*i*]*š-tu-ua-ra-an* (OS), instr. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ua-ri-it*, nom.pl.c. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ua-a-re-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ua-ru-uš* (KBo 2.12 v 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **šuppišduuari-** (c.) ‘ornamentation(?)’ (nom.sg. [*š*]*u-up-pí-iš-du-ua-ri-iš* (KBo 35.246 obv. 13 (MH/MS)), instr. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ua-ri-it* (KBo 32.14 ii 43 (MH/MS)), nom.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ua-ri-i-e-eš* (KBo 32.14 ii 59 (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ua-ri-uš* (KBo 32.14 ii 56 (MH/MS))).

We have to distinguish two stems: an *a*-stem *šuppištuuara-* that is adjectival and an *i*-stem *šuppišduuari-* that is nominal. It is difficult to determine what the words mean exactly.

As an adjective, it is used of cups: e.g.

StBoT 12 iii

(42) LUGAL  $\dot{U}$  MUNUS.LUGAL *a-ša-an-da-a[š] a-ru-ya-an-zi* GAL  
 $\dot{I}$ ŠKUR *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ya-ri-it a-ku-an-zi*

‘The king and queen bow while sitting and drink from the š. cup of the Storm-god’;

and of sheep:

KBo 2.12 v

(9) 1 UDU *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ya-ra-an*  
(10) *na-at-ta ar-kán-ta-an*  
(11) <sup>MUNUS</sup> *iš-pu-un-na-la-aš da-a-i*  
(12) 10 UDU<sup>HIA</sup> *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ya-ru-uš*  
(13) *na-at-ta ar-kán-te-eš*  
(14) LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> *Zi-pa-la-an-da da-an-zi*

‘The *išpunalla*-woman takes one š. sheep that has not been mounted. The men of Zippalanda take 10 š. sheep that have no been mounted’;

KBo 17.43 i

(6) 1 UDU *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-ya-ar-aš I-NA* <sup>DUG</sup>ÚTUL *mar-ri-et-t[a]*

‘One š. sheep cooks in a pot’).

As a noun, it occurs in the Hittite version of the Hurrian ‘Song of Release’ (see StBoT 32):

KBo 32.14 ii

(42) *te-eš-šum-mi-in* <sup>LÚ</sup>SIMUG *ya-al-li-ja-an-ni la-a-ḫu-uš*  
(43) *la-a-ḫu-š=a-an ti-iš-ša-a-it n=a-an šu-up-pí-iš-du-ya-ri-it*  
(44) *da-iš n=a-an gul-aš-ta nu-u=š-ši-e=š-ta ma-iš-ti an-da*  
(45) *la-a-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut*

‘A smith poured a cup for fame. He poured it and made it right. He provides it with š., ciseled it and made it (the š.?) beam in glow’;

ibid.

(54) *nu te-eš-šum-mi-ja* <sup>LÚ</sup>SIMUG



- (55) *ḥu-u-ur-ta-a-in te-et ȳa-al-aḥ-du=i=a-an*  
 (56) <sup>d</sup>IM-*aš te-eš-šum-mi-in nu-u=š-ši šu-up-pí-iš-du-ȳa-ri-uš*  
 (57) *ar-ḥa ša-ak-ku-ri-e-ed<du> te-eš-šum-mi-iš=kán*  
 (58) *an-da a-mi-ia-ri ma-uš-du*  
 (59) *šu-up-pí-iš-du-ȳa-ri-i-e-eš=ma=kán an-da*  
 (60) <sup>Í</sup>D-*i mu-ȳa-a-an-ta-ru*

‘And the smith spoke a curse against the cup: ‘May the Storm-god strike him, the cup! May he knock off its š.-s! May the cup fall in the ditch! May its š.-s fall in the river!’’.

A translation ‘ornamented’ and ‘ornamentation’ (thus e.g. CHD Š: 79) would certainly fit the contexts that involve cups. In the case of the sheep, such a translation may be less likely, but certainly not impossible.

It is unclear whether *šuppištuȳara-* has anything to do with *šuppi-* ‘purified’ (q.v.). Such a connection is the reason for e.g. Neu (1996 = StBoT 32: 146) to translate “glänzende Applikation”. Further unknown.

***šuppiȳašḥar*<sup>SAR</sup>** (n.) ‘onion’ (Sum. SUM.SIKIL<sup>SAR</sup>(?)): nom.-acc.sg. *šu-up-pí-ȳa-aš-ḥar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 28 (MH/MS)), *š[u-up-pí-ȳa-aš-ḥ]ar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 27 (MH/MS)), *šu-u[p-pí-u]a-aš-ḥar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 30 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *šu-up-pí[-...]-aš* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 30).

Derivatives: ***šuppi/ȳašḥanalli-*** ‘having onions(?)’ (dat.-loc.pl. *šu[-up-p(i-ȳa-aš-ḥa-na-al-li-ī)a-aš* (KBo 17.11(+) i 11 (OS) // KBo 17.74 i 10 (OH/MS)), *šu-up-pí-ȳa-aš-ḥa-n[a-al-li-ī)a-aš*] (KUB 34.120, 5 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-pa(-)ȳa-aš-ḥa-na-al-l[i-...]* (KUB 11.8+9 iii 20 (NH))).

See Rieken (1999a: 312f.) for an extensive treatment of this word. It is likely that this word is to be analysed as a compound of *šuppi-* ‘purified’ and *ȳašḥar-* ‘onion(?)’. The derivative *šuppi/ȳašḥanalli-* shows that *ȳašḥar-* originally must have been an *r/n*-stem. See at both *šuppi-* and *ȳašḥar* for further etymological treatments.

***šupl(a)-***: see *šupp(a)l(a)-*

***šurit(a)-*** (n.) ‘braid(?)’: nom.-acc.pl. *šu-ri-ta* (KBo 5.1 iv 2, ABoT 17 ii 7, KUB 5.10 i 10), *šu-ú-ri-ta* (KBo 5.1 iv 7).

The word *šurita*, which must be plural as can be seen in KUB 5.10 i (10) *šu-ri-ta=ua ú-e-ez-za-pa-an-ta* ‘the *šurita* have grown weary’, denotes objects that are made of wool:

KBo 5.1 iii

(54) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma TÚG-an ša-ra-a-u-an-zi*

(55) *zi-in-na-an-zi nu SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> an-da*

iv

(1) *ta-ru-up-pa-an-zi n=a-at=ša-an A-NA TÚG še-er*

(2) *ti-an-zi šu-ri-ta=ja i-ja-an-zi nu=za<sup>LÚ</sup> pa-ti-li-iš*

(3) *ua-a-tar Ì.DUG.GA da-a-i n=a-at=kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-a-i*

(4) *nu SILA<sub>4</sub> ú-e-te-ni<sup>!</sup>-it kat-ta a-an-ša-an-zi KA<sub>x</sub>U-an*

(5) *GÍR=ŠU ar-ḥa a-ar-ri nam-m=a-an Ì.DUG.GA-it*

(6) *iš-ki-ez-zi nu-u=š-ša-an SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> A-NA GÍR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠU*

(7) *ḥa-ma-an-ki<sup>SÍG</sup> šu-ú-ri-ta=ma-a=š-ši-i=š-ša-an*

(8) *A-NA SAG.DU=ŠU an-da ḥu-u-la-li-ja-an-zi*

‘When they finish embroidering the cloth, they wrap up the red wool and place it on top of the cloth and they make *šurita*. The *patili-* takes water and fine oil and brings it forth. They wipe the lamb with water and wash its mouth and feet. Then they anoint him with the fine oil and tie the red wool to his feet. The *šurita* they bind<sup>?</sup> to its head’.

An exact meaning of this word cannot be established. Formally, the stem could be *šurita-* or *šurit-*.

Friedrich (HW: 200) suggests that *šurita* is the Hurrian plural to *šuri-*, which he translates as “Geflecht (? ?)”. As the latter word denotes a part of the oracle liver, this connection is not very likely. No further etymology.

**šurka/i-** (c.) ‘root’: acc.sg. *šu-ur-ki-in* (KBo 8.130 ii 6), *šur-k[i-in]* (HT 38 obv. 8), gen.sg. *šur-ki-ja-aš* (KUB 33.117 i 13), nom.pl. *šu-ur-ki-iš<sup>H</sup>[<sup>LA?</sup>]* (KBo 17.22 iii 10 (OS)), acc.pl. *šur-ku-uš* (KUB 29.1 iv 16), [*šu-u*]r-ku-uš (KUB 60.113, 5), *šu-ur<sup>!</sup>-ku[-uš]* (KUB 60.113, 6), *šu-u-ur-ku-uš* (KUB 29.1 iv 14).

Within the paradigm of this word, of which the meaning ‘root’ is well established, we find forms that belong to an *i*-stem (acc.sg. *šurkin*, gen.sg. *šurkijaš*) and forms that belong to an *a*-stem (acc.pl. *šurkuš*). The nom.pl. *šurkiš* (if correctly read, see below) is indecisive. According to Melchert (1994a: 132), Hitt. *šurka/i-* is connected with “Lat. *surcus*”, but I have not been able to find

such a word. To my knowledge, in Latin only a word *surculus* ‘twig, sprout’ exists, which the Oxford Latin Dictionary derives from *surus* ‘post, stake’. If this latter derivation is correct (and I see no reason why it should not), then a connection with Hitt. *šurka/i-* becomes impossible. Eichner (1973: 74) suggests a connection with ON *svíri* ‘neck’, OE *swīera* ‘neck’ < \**suérχio-n-*, stating that “die Bedeutungsentwicklung läuft über ‘Pfahl’”, but semantically this seems difficult to me. In my opinion, the alteration between *i*-stem and *a*-stem forms, *šurki-* / *šurka-*, could point to a foreign origin of the word.

The reading of the oldest form of this word, in KBo 17.22 iii 10 (OS), is uncertain. Neu (1980b = StBoT 25: 208) reads *šu-ur-ki-uš*<sup>M[EŠ]</sup>, whereas CHD (L-N: 16) gives *šu-ur-ki-iš-š[e-eš]*. In my view, however, the whole context is to be read as:

KUB 28.8 (+) 291/s (with additions from KBo 17.22 iii 10f.)

(9) *la-ba-ar-na-a*[(š *šu-ur-ki-iš*<sup>H</sup>)<sup>LA</sup>] *a-ru-na-aš te-e-ga-a(n)=š-še-et*

(10) *ú-e-mi-ja-a*[*n-zi la-ba-ar-na-aš (la-aḫ-ḫu-ur-n)*]*u-zi-ja-an-te-š=a*

(11) *ne-pí-iš*[=*še-et x - x - x ú-e-mi-ja-a*]*n-zi*

‘The roots of the *labarna* will fin[d] his ground on the seas, the leafs [of the *labarna* will fi]nd [his] heaven [on the ...?].’

We see that because of the parallellism with *lahḫurnuzianteš* the word ‘roots’ should be nom.pl. as well (which means that a reading acc.pl. *šurkiuš*<sup>M[EŠ]</sup> becomes impossible), and cannot have an enclitic possessive pronoun (so *šurkiš=š[eš]* is not likely either). I would therefore suggest to read *šurkiš*<sup>H</sup>[<sup>LA?</sup>].

*šutāje/a-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic3 > Ic2) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *šu-ta-a-i-ez-zi* (KBo 5.2 i 61).

This word is hapax and occurs in a broken context:

KBo 5.2 i

(56) [ 2=ŠÚ] 7 <sup>NA</sup>*pa-aš-ši-la-an* ÍD-az *ša-ra-a da-a-i*

(57) [ A-NA 1 DU]G A 7 <sup>NA</sup>*pa-aš-ši-la-an an-da pé-eš-ši-ja-zi*

(58) [ A-N]A 1 DUG A 7 <sup>NA</sup>*pa-aš-ši-la-an an-da*

(59) [*pé-eš-ši-ja-zi* ]-*ni-ja=kán* A-NA 1 DUG ME-E

(60) [ *pé-e*]š-*ši-ja-az-zi nu* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠINIG

(61) [ ]x 2 DUG A *še-er šu-ta-a-i-ez-zi*

‘He takes [two times] seven pebbles from the river. He throws seven pebbles into [one ju]g of water, and seven pebbles into another jug of water. [...] in one jug one hundred [... he th]rows, and tamarisk [ .... Then] he *šutāi*-s the two jugs of water.’

Oettinger (1979a: 337) tentatively translates ‘volfüllen’, which apparently is especially prompted by the formal similarity to *šūu-* / *šūuau-* ‘full’. This is too uncertain, however, to draw any conclusions from. Formally, the verb seems to belong to the *tāje/a*-class, which would indicate a (mechanical) reconstruction *\*sud<sup>(h)</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*.

*šūu-* / *šūuau-* (adj.) ‘full’: nom.sg.c. *šu-u-uš* (KBo 20.8 iv 4, 6 (OS), KBo 10.23 iv y+5 (OH/NS), KUB 7.1 i 41 (OH/NS), KUB 9.28 i 13, iii 23 (MH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *šu-u-un* (KBo 21.72 i 13 (OH/NS), KUB 1.16 ii 58 (OH/NS), KUB 58.27 iv 10 (OH/NS), KBo 31.214, 9 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u-ú* (KUB 11.19 iv 22 (OH/NS), 1256/v, 7ff. (StBoT 8: 100<sup>2</sup>) (OH/NS), KBo 19.132 rev. 14 (MH/NS)), *šu-u* (KBo 11.12 i 5 (OH/NS), IBot 2.123, 5 (OH/NS), KBo 6.34 iii 12 (MH/NS), KUB 39.57 i 7 (NS), KUB 41.11 obv. 6 (NS)), abl.(?) *šu-u-ua-u-az* (KBo 38.78, 5 (MS)), acc.pl.c. *šu-u-ua-mu-uš* (KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 i 26 (OS), StBoT 25.4 i 21 (OS), KBo 17.6 ii 2 (OS)).

Derivatives: see *\*šumeššar* / *šumešn-*, *šumreške/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, *šunna<sup>-i</sup>* / *šunn-*, *šunnaziḫant-*, *šutāje/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, (A) *šuuāru-* and *šuje/a<sup>-zi</sup>*.

PIE *\*souh<sub>1/3</sub>-(o)u-*

See Weitenberg 1984: 140 for attestations. This word is an *u*-stem adjective, as can be seen by abl. *šūuauaz*, acc.pl. *šūuamuš*. So we are dealing with a root *šū-* followed by an ablauting suffix *-au-* / *-u-*. The root is consistently spelled with plene U, which points to a phonological /so-/. So e.g. acc.pl.c. *šu-u-ua-mu-uš* = /sóamos/ and abl. *šu-u-ua-u-az* = /sóauat<sup>s</sup>/. In nom.-acc.sg.n. we find the remarkable form *šu-u-ú*. In my view, this is to be interpreted as /sóu/. The alternative spelling *šu-u* then must represent a contraction from this latter form to /só/. The spellings of nom.sg.c. *šu-u-uš* and acc.sg.c. *šu-u-un* are ambiguous: they could either stand for contracted /só<sup>s</sup>/ and /só<sup>n</sup>/, or for uncontracted /sóus/ and /sóun/.

Within Hittite, this adjective clearly belongs with the verb *šunna<sup>-i</sup>* / *šunn-* ‘to fill’ which reflects *\*su-no-H-*, a nasal-infixed stem of the root *\*seuH-*. This means that e.g. *šu-u-ua-mu-uš* = /sóamos/ must reflect older *\*/só<sup>?</sup>amos/* and *šu-u-ú* = /sóu/ < *\*/só<sup>?</sup>u/*. As I have shown in § 1.3.9.4.f, there are arguments that the

adjective *šūu-* / *šūuau-* ultimately reflects *\*sóuh<sub>1,3</sub>-u-* / *\*sóuh<sub>1,3</sub>-ou-*, in which first monophthongization took place (> *\*/sóʔu-/* and */sóʔau-/*), then the intervocalic laryngeal was lost (> OH */sóu-/* and */sóau-/*), after which in younger times the new diphthong /ou/ was monophthongized as well (> */só-/*). For treatment of the root *\*seuh<sub>1,3</sub>-*, see at *šunna<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-*.

*šuuu-* ‘to fill’: see *šuuu/a<sup>zi</sup>*

*šuuu-* ‘to push’: see *šuuu/a<sup>zi</sup>*

*šuuai-* (c.) ‘rejection’ (formerly ‘bird’): nom.sg. *šuuai-iš* (KBo 26.34 i 15).

This word is hapax in column i of the vocabulary KBo 26.34, of which the Sumerian and Akkadian parts are broken off. It is found in a paragraph that consists of four terms, namely (12) *kar-ša-u-ua-ar* ‘to cut’, (13) *ua-at-ku-ua-ar* ‘to jump, to flee, to fly’, (14) *kap-pu-u-ua-ua-ar* ‘to calculate’, and (15) *šuuai-iš*. Otten and Von Soden (1968: 39-40) argued that on the basis of the Sumerian and Akkadian terms that are preserved in column ii, this paragraph can be identified as the section corresponding to Sum. *ĤU*. The Hittite part of a *ĤU*-section has also been preserved in the small fragment HT 42, where we find obv. (2) MUŠEN-*eš* [= *ĤU-eš*] ‘bird’, (3) *ua-at-ku-ar* ‘to fly’. According to Otten and Von Soden, the parallelism between these paragraphs shows that MUŠEN-*eš* must be equated with *šuuai-iš*, which means that *šuuai-iš* denotes ‘bird’. In a footnote (40<sup>2</sup>) they suggest an etymological connection with Lat. *avis* and Skt. *váy-* ‘bird’, which has been widely accepted since, albeit with some difficulty. On the basis of the other IE languages (Lat. *avis*, Skt. *váy-*, Av. *vaii-*, Arm. *haw* ‘bird’, Gr. αἰετός ‘eagle’), the word for ‘bird’ must be reconstructed *\*h<sub>2</sub>éu-i-s*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-éi-m*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-i-ós*, but the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* is not visible in Hittite. Moreover, the initial *š-* in Hittite is aberrant. Several attempts have been made to overcome these problems, e.g. by reconstructing *\*s-h<sub>2</sub>uoi-* in which the *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is lost due to de Saussure effect and the initial *š-* is an *s*-mobile (thus e.g. Kimball 1999: 380).

Recently, Cohen (fthc.) has elaborately treated the vocabulary in which *šuuai-iš* is attested and comes to a quite different conclusion. He convincingly shows that this text cannot be equated with HT 42 and that therefore *šuuai-iš* cannot be identical to MUŠEN-*eš* ‘bird’. Instead, he rather interprets *šuuai-iš* as a verbal noun in *-ai-* of the verb *šuuu/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to push away’ (comparing e.g. *hūrtai-* from *hūu<sup>i</sup>art<sup>i</sup>* / *hūrt-* or *linkai-* from *li(n)k<sup>zi</sup>*) and suggests that it denotes ‘rejection’. With this meaning, Cohen argues, *šuuaiš* can easily be explained as the Hittite

rendering of Sum. pa-ag = 𐎢𐎣 = Akk. *ezēbu* ‘to abandon’ as attested in the vocabulary MSL 3, 54, line 7a.

This explanation is far more convincing than Otten and Von Soden’s one and makes more sense from a linguistic point of view. We therefore must reject the translation ‘bird’ and consequently the reconstruction *\*s-h<sub>2</sub>uoi-*. For further etymological treatment of *šuuai-* ‘rejection’, see at *šuuē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to push (away)’.

*šuuāje/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic3 > Ic2) ‘to spy’: 2sg.pres.act. *šu-ua-i-e-ši* (KUB 60.20 rev. 6 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-ua-i-ez-zi* (OS, often), *šu-ua-ja-az-zi* (KUB 29.28 i 9 (OS)), *šu-ua-a-ez-zi* (KBo 12.48, 4 (OH/NS)), *šu-ua-a-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 3.1 ii 51 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act.? *šu-ú-ua-i-i-a[n-zi<sup>?</sup>]* (KBo 31.117, 7 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-ua-ja-nu<sup>1</sup>-un* (KUB 29.1 ii 1 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-ua-i-et* (KUB 17.6 i 24 (OH/NS)), *šu-ua-ja-at* (KBo 13.94, 9 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *šu-ú-ua-ja* (KUB 29.1 i 52 (OH/NS), KUB 41.23 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *šu-ua-ja* (KUB 48.13 obv. 16 (NS)), *šu-ú-ua-i* (KUB 41.23 ii 10 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-ua-at-te[-en]* (KBo 12.18 i 7 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*su(H)eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* ??

See Oettinger 1979a: 293f. for attestations. The manifold OS attestations of *šu-ua-i-ez-zi* are found in the formula *par-na-aš-še-a šu-ua-i-ez-zi* that is attested in the Laws. The exact meaning of this formula is not clear (in fact, it is a hotly debated topic), but formally the verbal form *šu-ua-i-ez-zi* can hardly belong with anything else than *šuuāje/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to spy’.

This verb belongs to the *tāje/a*-class, which consists of verbs ending in *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*. Oettinger (1979a: 386) therefore reconstructs *\*s<sub>u</sub>ah<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* but does not mention any cognates. Kimball (1999: 368) reconstructs *\*suo<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub>i-jé/ó-* from a root *\*sue<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub>i-* ‘move quickly, turn, swing’ as visible in MHG *swāien* ‘to swing oneself’, We. *chwim* ‘movement, rush’ under the assumption that “[t]he semantic development would have been ‘turn’, i.e. ‘turn one’s attention to’ > ‘look at’“. Semantically as well as formally this does not seem attractive to me, and I would therefore for the time being only mechanically reconstruct *šuuāje/a-* as *\*su(H)eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*.

(*𐎠*) *šuuāru-* (adj.) ‘full, complete’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-ua-a-ru* (OS, often), *šu-ua-ru*, *šu-u-ua-ru* (KUB 10.27 i 31 (MH/NS), KUB 36.2b ii 22 (NS)), *šu-ú-ua-ru* (KBo 19.144 i 12 (NS)), *šu-ú-ua-ru-ú* (KUB 12.29, 3 (NS)), abl. *šu-ua-ru-az* (KBo 19.144 i 15 (NS)), instr. [*šu-*] *ua-ru-ú-it* (KBo 15.25 i 7 (MH/MS)), *𐎠 šu-u-ua-ru-it* (KUB 44.50 i 10 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **šuuāru-** ‘full’ (nom.sg.c. *šu-ua-ru-u[š]*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-ua-a-ru*).

PIE \**suH-óru-*?

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See Weitenberg 1984: 191-194 for a detailed treatment of the semantics of this word. He convincingly concludes that the word means ‘full, complete’ (and not ‘mighty, heavy’ as Puhvel 1981a suggests). The few attestations with gloss wedges could point to a non-Hittite origin. A connection with *šūu-* / *šūuau-* ‘full’ (q.v.) is likely, but the formation is not fully clear. It looks as if *šuuāru-* reflects \**suH-óru-*, but I do not know of other similar formations.

**šuuaruil-** (gender unclear) material to bind reed with: instr. *šu-ua-ru-i-li-it* (KUB 9.28 iii 20).

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The word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 9.28 iii

(18) *šu-u-ua-an-te-eš da-an-na-za ki-it-ta*

(19) *pé-ra-an-n=a KASKAL-ši GI-aš KÁ.GAL<sup>TIM</sup>*

(20) *še-er an-da šu-ua-ru-i-li-it*

(21) *iš-ḫi-ja-an-za n=a-aš ar-ḫa ki-it-ta*

‘The full ones, the empty one lies. In front of the road, up inside the gate, the reed is bound with *šuuaruil-* and is layed down’.

It cannot be determined exactly what *šuuaruil-* denotes. Formally, the word looks like a derivative of the adj. *šuuaru-* ‘full, complete’ (q.v.), but this does not easily give a meaningful interpretation of *šuuaruil-*.

**šūuau-**: see *šūu-* / *šūuau-*

**šuuē/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic4) ‘to fill’: 1pl.pres.act. *šu-ua-u-e-ni* (KUB 12.63 obv. 29 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-(u-)ua-an-zi* (NS); part. *šu-u-ua-an-t-* (NH, often), *šu-ua-an-t-* (NH, often), *šu-u-un-ta-an* (IBoT 1.36 ii 41 (OH/MS)); impf. 2sg.pres.act. *šu-uš-ke-ši* (KUB 31.143 ii 22 (OS)).

Derivatives: see *šūu-* / *šūuau-*, *šunna-<sup>i</sup>* / *šunn-* etc.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **suwa-** ‘to fill’ (1sg.pret.act. *su-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A30h §3), 3sg.pret.act. *su-wa/i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §2)).

PIE \**sHu-je/o-*

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See Oettinger (1979a: 295) for attestations. HW (200) cites the verb as *šuyāi-*, apparently on the basis of 3sg.imp.act. *šu-ua-a-i[d-du]* (KUB 24.10 iii 12 (OH/NS)), which form belongs with *šuyē/a-* ‘to push (away)’, however. Although Oettinger is aware of at least this possibility (1979a: 296<sup>73</sup>), he cites this verb as *šuyae-*, apparently because of the fact that he believes that it is a denominative belonging to the *hatrae*-class, derived from the participle *šuyant-* ‘filled’ (o.c.: 296). Personally, however, I do not see why we cannot assume that the stem was *šuyē/a-*, reflecting a *\*-je/o-*-derivative of the root *\*suH-* ‘full’. Because a preform *\*suH-je/o-* would regularly yield OH *\*\*šuyē/a-* (cf. *hujanzi* ‘they run’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*), I assume that in this word laryngeal metathesis has taken place: *\*sHu-je/o-* would regularly yield Hitt. *šuyē/a-* as is attested (note that it is thus homophonic with *šuyē/a-* ‘to push’). The OS impf. *šuske/a-* could very nicely reflect the archaic formation *\*suH-ske/o-* or *\*sHu-ske/o-* (cf. Melchert 1997b: 84f. for the view that originally, *\*-je/o-*-derivatives display this suffix in present-forms only, and not in non-present forms like the imperfective in *-ške/a-*). See *šūu-* / *šūuay-* for further etymology.

The hapax *šu-u-un-ta-an* (IBoT 1.36 ii 41) shows a contraction from *šuyant-*, just as *ti-in-ti-eš* ‘standing’, attested on the same tablet (IBoT 1.36 ii 48), which shows a contraction from *tijant-*.

**šuyē/a-<sup>2</sup>** (Ic4) ‘to push (away), to shove, to cast off’: 1sg.pres.act. *šu-e-[mi]* (KUB 26.77 i 11 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-ú-éz-zi* (KBo 6.2 iv 48 (OS), KBo 16.25 iv 5 (MH/MS)), *šu-ú-i-e-éz-zi* (KUB 8.81+ rev. 7 (MH/MS)), *šu-ú-e-éz[-zi]* (KBo 19.4 iv 6 (OH/NS)), *šu-ú-ua-a-iz-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 52 (OH/NS)), *šu-ú[a-a]iz-zi* (KBo 6.5 iv 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 13.7 i 7 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-ua-nu-un* (KUB 24.14 i 20 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-ú-e-et* (KBo 32.14 ii 2 (MS)), *šu-ú-et* (KBo 16.25 i 68 (MH/MS)), *šu-u-ua-it* (KUB 18.3, 19 (NS)), 2pl.pret.act. *šu-u-ua-at-t[e-en]* (KBo 12.63 ii 6 (OH/NS)), *šu-ua-at-te-en* (KUB 4.1 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *šu-ú-er* (KUB 36.105 rev. 4 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *šu-ua-a-i[d-du]* (KUB 24.10 iii 12 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-ua-a-at-tén* (KBo 10.45 iv 28 (MH/NS)), *šu-u-ua-at-tén* (KBo 4.2 i 15 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *šu-ua-an-du* (KBo 4.2 i 68, 70 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *šu-ua-at-ta-ri* (KUB 13.2 iii 24 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *šu-ut-ta-ti* (KBo 6.34 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *šu-ua-at-ta-at* (KUB 30.39 ii 10 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *šu-ut-ta-ru* (KBo 6.34 iii 21 (MH/NS)), 2pl.imp.midd. *šu-ua-ad<sup>2</sup>-du-ma-at* (text: *-an-*, KBo 10.45 iv 1 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: see *šuyai-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *sav<sup>1</sup>-* ‘to impel, to set in motion’, OIr. *soid* ‘turns’.



There are three verbs that are formally quite similar: *šuyē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to push (away)’, *šuyē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to fill’ and *šuyāje/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to spy’. Oettinger (1979a: 294f.) conveniently gives an overview of the paradigms and the different forms of the three verbs.

For *šuyē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to push (away)’ we see that the oldest forms show a stem *šuyē-* besides *šuyā-*. In NH times, some forms are inflected according to the highly productive *ḫatrae*-class (3sg.pres.act. *šuyāizzi*, 3sg.pret.act. *šuyait* and 3sg.imp.act. *šuyai[ddu]*).

Oettinger (1979a: 297) convincingly connects *šuyē/a<sup>-zi</sup>* with Skt. *suvāti* ‘to impel, to set to motion’ and reconstructs *\*suh<sub>1</sub>-é-ti*. For Hittite, however, no other thematic verbs are known, so despite the fact that Skt. *suvāti* indeed reflects *\*suHéti* I would rather reconstruct a *\*-ie/o-* formation for Hittite. Because *\*suH-je/o-* would have yielded OH *\*\*šujē/a-* (cf. *ḫujanzi* ‘they run’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*), I assume that in this word laryngeal metathesis has taken place: *\*sHu-je/o-* regularly yielded Hitt. *šuyē/a-* as attested. The colour of the laryngeal cannot be seen in Hittite nor in Sanskrit. Note that the middle forms seem to be derived from the unextended root *\*sHu-*: *šu-ttati* and *šu-ttaru* besides *šuy-attari* (compare Melchert 1984a: 53<sup>101</sup>).

*šuyeri-*: see *šūeri-*



## T

### -t (instr.-ending)

See Melchert 1977 for a full description of the instrumental case in Hittite. Although in NH times the only instr.-ending seems to be *-it* (sometimes spelled *-et* as well, so possibly */-it/*), we find an ending *-t* in older texts: *iš-ḫa-an-da* (OS) ‘blood’ (vs. NS *e-eš-ḫa-ni-it*), *[g]e-nu-t=a-at=kán* (OS) ‘knee’, *ki-iš-šar-at* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-šar-ta* (MH/MS) ‘hand’ (vs. NS *ki-iš-ša-ri-it*), *ú-i-ta-an-ta* (OS) ‘water’ (vs. NS *ú-i-te-ni-it*). If we compare these to other OS instr.-forms like *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-it*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-et*, *[iš-]ḫar-ya-an-te-e[t]*, we can imagine that the original ending was *\*-t*, and that in nouns that end in a stop an epenthetic vowel */i/* was inserted. That this ending */-it/* was spreading in pre-Hittite times already can be seen by forms like *pár-ta-ú-ni-t=u-uš* (OS) and *[ge-]en-zu-i-t=a-at=kán* (OS), possibly under influence of *i*-stem forms, where *-it* is regular (e.g. *ḫal-ki-it* (OS)). It should be noted that *a*-stem nouns show the ending *-it* from the oldest texts onwards (e.g. *ku-un-ni-t=a* (OS) of *kunna-*, *ša-a-ku-it* (OS) of *šākuḫa-* and *še-e-er-ḫi-it* (OS) of *šērḫa-*), whereas an ending *\*\*at* would certainly have been possible.

Etymologically, it is likely that this ending is in one way or another connected with the abl.-ending *-(ā)z* (q.v.), which can be inferred from the fact that in OH texts some pronominal stems use formal instrumentals to express ablative function (e.g. *kēt*, *apēt*, etc.). See at *-(ā)z* for the argumentation that this ending must reflect *\*(ó)ti*, which indicates that instr. *-t* goes back to *\*-t*.

### -t (pronominal nom.-acc.sg.n.-ending)

PIE *\*-d*

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This ending is occurs in e.g. nom.-acc.sg.n. *apāt* ‘that (one)’, =*at* ‘it’, *kuit* ‘what’, 1-*at* ‘one’ (but note that *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-* ‘this (one)’ has nom.-acc.sg.n. *kī*). It is clearly identical to the pronominal nom.-acc.sg.n.-ending *\*-d* as found in several other IE languages: e.g. Skt. *tād*, Av. *cit*, Lat. *id*, *quid*, etc.

**-t** (2sg.imp.act.-ending)

PIE *\*-d<sup>h</sup>i*

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This ending only occurs in *i-it* ‘go!’, *te-e-et* ‘speak!’ and the causatives in *-nu-*, e.g. *ar-nu-ut* ‘you must transport’. It is generally accepted that this ending reflects *\*-d<sup>h</sup>i*, on the basis of cognates like Skt. *ihí*, Gr. *ἴθι* ‘go!’, Skt. *kṛnuhí*, Av. *kərənuiði* ‘make!’, Gr. *ὄρνυθι* ‘incite!’. Note the use of the zero-grade stem: *i-it* ~ *ihí* ~ *ἴθι* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-d<sup>h</sup>i*, *ar-nu-ut* ~ *ὄρνυθι* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-d<sup>h</sup>i*. This etymology shows that word-final *\*-i* regularly was lost in Hittite, which means that e.g. in the verbal endings of the present we must reckon with a wide-scale restoration of *\*-i*. Note that this suffix in principle cannot be used in favour or against the theory that a sequence *\*-d<sup>h</sup>i* should have assibilated in Hittite to *-š-* since we possibly are dealing with loss of *\*-i#* before assibilation occurred at all.

**-t / -tta** (3sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

PIE *\*-t*

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This ending, which contrasts with the corresponding *hi*-ending *-š* (q.v.), shows two allomorphs. When the preceding verb stem ends in a consonant, we find *-tta* (e.g. *e-ep-ta*, *e-eš-ta*, *e-ku-ut-ta*, *ua-al-aḥ-ta*, etc.), when it ends in a vowel, we find *-t* (e.g. *te-e-et*, *ar-nu-ut*, *zi-ke-e-et*, etc.). The opinions on the interpretation of the ending *-tta* differ. E.g. Pedersen (1938: 98) states that e.g. *e-eš-ta* should be interpreted “/est/” and states: “die Schreibung [mit *-tta*] erklärt sich aus der Unmöglichkeit, mit den Mitteln der Keilschrift eine auslautende Gruppe von zwei oder drei Konsonanten auszudrücken” (thus also Kronasser 1956: 31). Oettinger believes that the vowel *-a-* is real here, however. He states (1979a: 9<sup>6</sup>): “Die Sprachwirklichkeit des anaptyktischen Vokals hinter der Endung *\*-t* wird durch Schreibungen wie *li-in-kat-ta* (niemals *\*li-in-ka-at!*) ‘er schwor’, *ḥar-ak-ta* ‘er ging zugrunde’ usw. erwiesen. Sie liegt auch in *e-ip-ta* (niemals *\*e-pa-at!*) ‘er ergriff’ usw. vor”, to which Melchert (1994a: 176) adds that “[t]he reality of the vowel [of *-tta*] is supported by the spelling *e-ku-ut-ta* for /ég<sup>w</sup>ta/ ‘drank’, where *\*\*e-ku-ut* would have been sufficient to spell a real *\*\*/eg<sup>w</sup>t/*”. An additional argument could be the fact that the instr. of ‘hand’ is spelled *ki-iš-šar-at* (OH/MS)

as well as *ki-iš-šar-ta* (MH/MS), both standing for /kišrt/, whereas such an alternation between a spelling *-ta* and *-at* is never found in the case of the 3sg.pret.act.-ending.

All in all, we must assume that the postvocalic variant *-t* represents /-t/, whereas the postconsonantal variant *-tta* represents /-ta/. Etymologically, it is fully clear that Hitt. /-t/ must reflect the PIE secondary 3sg.-ending \*-t. In postconsonantal position word-final \*-t is regularly dropped (cf. e.g. nom.acc.sg.n. of stems in \*-ent > Hitt. -an), which means that the forms of which the stem ends in a consonant became ending-less. In order to solve this confusing situation, the 3sg.midd.-ending \*-to was taken over, which regularly yielded Hitt. /-ta/ (note that a similar scenario explains the Luwian 3sg.pret.act.-ending *-tta* < the middle-ending \*-to and 3pl.pret.act.-ending *-anta* < the middle-ending \*-ento, replacing \*-ent that regularly yielded \*\**-an*, cf. Yoshida 1991: 369f. and Yoshida 1993). This means that e.g. *e-eš-ta* ‘he was’ reflects /ʔésta/ from virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-to*, replacing *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-t* and that *e-ku-ut-ta* ‘he drank’ = /ʔég<sup>w</sup>ta/ from virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>wh</sup>to*, replacing *\*h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>wh</sup>t*.

In NH texts we occasionally find that the original distribution between °V-t and °C-ta is getting blurred, e.g. *pa-a-i-ta* (KBo 3.7 iii 13 (OH/NS)) ‘he went’, *pád-da-it-ta* (KBo 23.1 i 20 (NH)) ‘he ran’ (or ‘you ran’?, cf. CHD P: 353) and *ya-at-ku-ut* (Güterbock 1952: first tablet i 17, iii 18, third tablet i 5, iv 21 (NS)) ‘he jumped’, cf. Kimball 1999: 195.

**ta** (clause conjunctive particle): *ta* (OS), *t=a-aš* (OS), *t=a-an* (OS), *ta-a=š-še* (OS), etc.

Derivatives: see *takku*.

PIE *\*to-*

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In OH texts, we find three sentence initial conjunctive particles, *nu*, *ta* and *šu*, which are used, next to asyndesis, to connect sentences in a semantically neutral way (as opposed to the conjunctives *=(i)a* ‘and, also’, *=(m)a* ‘but, and’, etc., which have a specific semantic function). The exact syntactic reasons to use asyndesis on the one hand and *nu*, *ta* or *šu* on the other, and within that last group the choice between *nu*, *ta* or *šu*, are not fully clear yet. The most complete description to date is by Weitenberg (1992), who shows for instance that *nu*, *ta* and *šu* are obligatory in sentences that only consist of the verb and an enclitic object in order to avoid topicalization of the verb (e.g. *š=uš tameššer* ‘they oppressed them’, *t=uš tarmaemi* ‘I fasten them’ vs. *\*\*tameššer=uš* and *\*\*tarmaemi=uš*), and that the choice between *ta* and *šu* is governed by the

tempus of the sentence: *šu* when the verb is preterite, *ta* when the verb is present. Rieken (1999b) has analysed many OH attestations of *ta* and argues that this particle is used to mark the last sentence in of a piece of discourse dealing with one topic and therefore can be translated “dann”. Nevertheless, many questions regarding the distribution between *nu*, *ta* and *šu* remain. One of the difficulties in establishing the grammar of the sentence initial conjunctive particles is the fact that the system is clearly in decline: from MH times onwards *ta* and *šu* are not part of the living speech anymore (only *ta* is used in MH and NH texts in some formulaic sentences), whereas asyndesis has become rare: the particle *nu* has become the default clause conjunctive.

This unclearness regarding the synchronic use of the conjunctive particles also has a negative impact on their etymology. Nevertheless, Watkins (1963) convincingly shows that Hitt. *nu*, *ta* and *šu* can functionally and formally be equated with the Old Irish preverbs *no*, *to* and *se* and that *ta* ~ *to* < \**to* and *šu* ~ *se* probably are related to the demonstrative pronoun \**so-*, \**to-* as attested in the other IE languages (Skt. *sá*, *sá́*, *tád*, Gr. *ὁ*, *ἦ*, *το*, etc.).

**-ta** (instr.-ending): see *-t*

**-tta** (2sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection)

PIE \**-th<sub>2</sub>e*

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This ending is functionally equal to its corresponding *mi*-conjugation ending *-š*. It is clear that from the earliest texts onwards, the *hi*-ending *-tta* is spreading at the cost of *-š*, first in verbs that end in a consonant: e.g. *e-ep-ta* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ap-ta* (MS), *me-er-ta* (OH/MS). Unfortunately no 2sg.pret.act.-forms of verbs in consonants are attested in OS texts. In NS texts, we even occasionally find that *-tta* is found in original *mi*-verbs in a vowel, like *pa-it-ta* ‘you went’. In NS texts, we also encounter forms that functionally are 2sg.pret.act., but formally are identical to 3sg.pret.act. (e.g. *pé-e-da-aš* ‘you carried’, *ša-ak-ki-iš* ‘you knew’, *ša-an-na-aš* ‘you concealed’, *u-un-ni-eš* ‘you carried (here)’, *ú-da-aš* ‘you brought (here)’), which may show that *-tta* itself is starting to get lost as well. In NS texts, we encounter half a dozen 2sg.pret.act.-forms of *hi*-verbs that show an ending *-šta* (*a-uš[-ta]* (KBo 5.3 iii 56 (NH)), *me-mi-iš-ta* (KUB 15.5 iii 11 (NH)), *pí-eš-ta* (KBo 11.1 rev. 12 (NH)), *ši-iš-ta* (KBo 3.34 i 23 (OH/NS)), *da-iš-ta* (KUB 21.27+ i 4, 6 (NH)), *up-pí-eš-ta* (KBo 8.76 rev. 4 (NS)), *ua-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KUB 31.47 obv. 13 (NH)). It is in my view not coincidental that in most of these cases these forms are formally identical to (the NH variant of) the 3sg.pret.act.-

form of these verbs (see at *-š* (3sg.pret.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation) and their own lemmas). So instead of regarding these forms as showing a remarkable 2sg.-ending *-šta*, I just regard them as formal 3sg.-forms that are used in the function of 2sg.-forms (contra Jasanoff 2003: 119f.). See at *-š* (2sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-conjugation) for a similar phenomenon in the *mi*-conjugated verbs.

See at *-tti* (2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation) for etymological considerations: *-tta* likely reflects the PIE 2sg.perf.-ending *-th<sub>2</sub>e* as reflected in Skt. *-tha*, Gk. *-θα*, TochB *-(s)ta*.

*-tta* (2sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

*-tta* (3sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-t*

*-tta* (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

*=tta-*: see *=tti-* / *=tta-* / *=tte-*

*=ttu* / *=ttu* (encl.pers.pron. acc.-dat. 2sg.) ‘(to) you’

Anat. cognates: HLuw. *=tu* (encl.pers.pron. acc.-dat. 2sg.) ‘to you’ (*=tu-u* (ASSUR letter *a* §4, *c* §5)).

In principle the encl.pers.pron. of 2sg. is *=tta* (e.g. *nu-u=t-ta*). Sometimes, however, we find *=ttu* as well. The form *=ttu* is consistently found before *=z*, but occasionally in other positions as well. In the Adad-hymne, for instance, we find KBo 3.21 iii (10) *li-iš-ši=ma-a=d-du ūa-ar-aš-nu-an-du* ‘let them assuage you in your liver!’, parallel to ibid. (12) *li-iš-ši=ma-a=t-ta* (13) *ūa-ar-aš-nu-an-du*; ibid. ii (17) *ik-ta-aš=ma-a=d-du-u=š-ša-an ir-ḫa-az* ‘from the confines of your net; ibid. iii (3) *šal-la-an-ni=ma-a=d-du-u=š-ša-a[n]* ‘but ... you for greatness’. Sometimes we find *=ttu* in front of *=kan*: *nu-u=d-du=kán* (KUB 12.34 i 9).

Perhaps we are dealing with an original allophonic pair, the distribution of which was determined by the phonetic environment. Nevertheless, the evidence is too scanty to determine this distribution. Phonetically, we could think of e.g. a basic form *\*tu*, the *-u-* of which would drop in front of *\*o* (cf. *tān* < *\*duojom*).

In the other IE languages, the enclitic forms of 2sg. seems to be *\*toi* for the dat.-gen. (Skt. *te*, Av. *tōi*, Gr. *τοι*) and *\*tuē* for the acc. (Skt. *tvā*, Av. *θβā*, Gr. *σε*, Dor. *τε*). Especially the latter form seems to fit Hitt. *=tta* / *=ttu*, although I do not dare to give an exact reconstruction.

*dā<sup>i</sup> / d-* (IIa1β) ‘to take, to wed, to decide’ (Sum. ME): 1sg.pres.act. *da-a-aḥ-ḥé* (OS), *da-a-aḥ-ḥi* (OS), *da-aḥ-ḥi* (NS), 2sg.pres.act. *da-a-at-ti* (OS), *da-at-ti* (NS), *ta-at-ti* (KUB 5.9 i 24 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *da-a-i* (OS), *da-i* (rare, NS), *ta-e* (1x), 1pl.pres.act. *tu-me-e-ni* (OS), *tu-me-ni* (OS), *da-a-u-e-ni* (OS), *du-me-e-ni*, *du-me-ni*, *du-um-me-e-ni*, *tu<sub>r</sub>-me-e-ni*, *tu<sub>r</sub>-me-ni*, *tu<sub>r</sub>-um-me-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *da-at-te-e-ni* (OS), *da-at-te-ni*, *ta-at-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *da-an-zi* (OS, very often), *ta-an-zi* (OS, rare), *da-a-an-zi* (NS, rare), 1sg.pret.act. *da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un* (OS), *da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NS), 2sg.pret.act. *da-a-at-ta* (MH/MS), *da-at-ta* (NS), *ta-at-ta*, 3s.pret.act. *da-a-aš* (OS), *ta-a-aš* (KBo 18.151 obv. 3 (MS)), *ta-aš* (KBo 18.151 obv. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 (MS)), *da-at-ta* (KUB 23.1 ii 25 (NH), Bronzetafel ii 87 (NH), RS 17.109, 4 (NH)), *da-ad-da* (KUB 26.43 obv. 10 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *da-a-u-en* (OS), *da-a-u-e-en*, *da-u-e-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *da-a-at-te-en* (NH), *da-at-te-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *da-a-er* (OS), 1sg.imp.act. *ta-li-it* (KBo 3.38 rev. 16 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *da-a* (OS), 3sg.imp.act. *da-a-ú* (OS), *da-ú* (NH), *da-ad-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *da-a-at-te-en* (OS), *da-at-te-en* (MH/MS), *da-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *da-an-du* (MH/MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *da-at-ta-ri* (MH/NS), *da-ad-da-ri* (NH), *ta-at-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *da-at-ta-at* (NH), *da-ad-da-at* (NH), *ta-at-ta-at* (NH); part. *da-a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *da-an-t-* (NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *da-a-u-ṽa-aš* (NH); inf.I *da-u-ṽa-an-zi* (NH), *da-a-u-ṽa-an-zi* (NH); inf.II *da-a-an-na* (MH/MS), *da-an-na* (MH/MS); impf. *da-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *da-a-aš-ke/a-* (NH), *da-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *peda<sup>i</sup> / ped-* and *uda<sup>i</sup> / ud-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. unclear: 1sg.pret.act. *dahḥa* ‘?’, 3pl.pres.act. *tenzi* ‘?’, 3pl.pret.act. *tāzzunta* ‘?’, 2sg.imp.act. *tāzzu* ‘?’ (see also at *dāi<sup>i</sup> / di-*); CLuw. *lā-* ‘to take’ (1pl.pres.act. *lu-ú-un-ni*, *lu-un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-at-ta*, *la-at-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *la-a-an-du*, part. [*l*]a-a-i-im-ma-an (?)), *lalā-*, *lālā-* ‘to take’ (1sg.pres.act. *la-la-a-ú-i*, 2sg.pres.act. *la-la-a-at-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *la-la-a-i*, *la-a-la-i*, *la-la-i*, 3pl.pres.act. *la-a-la-an-ti*, *la-la-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-la-ad-da*, *la-la-a-at-ta*, *la-la<at>-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *la-a-la*, 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-la-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *la-a-la-an-du*, inf. *la-la-u-na*), *lalāma/i-* ‘itemized list, receipt’ (nom.sg. *la-la-mi-eš*, *la-la-mi-iš*, coll.pl. *la-la-a-ma*), *lalatta-* ‘(ritual) act of taking (away)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *la-la-at-ta-an-za*, gen.adj.abs. *la-la<at>-ta-aš-ši*); HLuw. *la(la)-*, *da-* ‘to take’ (2sg.pres.act. *la-si* (ISKENDERUN §6), 3sg.pres.act. *la-i* (KÖRKÜN §11), *tà-i* (KÖRKÜN §8, KARKAMIŞ A3 §20, KARKAMIŞ A15b, §12, BOROWSKI 3 §9, ALEPPO 2 §13, §18, KÖTÜKALE §5, BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §19, ANCOZ 7 §4, §9), *tà-ia* (KARKAMIŞ A6 §27, §28, §30), 3pl.pres.act. *tà-ti-i* (KARKAMIŞ A11a §27), 1sg.pret.act. CAPERE(-)la-ha (MARAŞ 4 §4, §12), *la-ha* (MARAŞ 13 line 2,



BOHÇA §13), *tà-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §30, KARKAMIŠ A7 §3), 3sg.pret.act. *tà-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §12), 3pl.pret.act. /lalanta/ <sup>“CAPERE”</sup> *la-la-ta* (MARAŞ 1 §10), inf. “CAPERE”(-) *la/i/u-na(-)* (BOHÇA §3, §9), “CAPERE”(-) *la-na* (MARAŞ 3 §8)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dádāti*, Av. *dadāiti*, Arm. *tam*, Gr. δίδωμι, OLith. *duosti*, Lat. *dō*, *dāre* ‘to give’, OCS *daxъ* ‘he gave’.

PIE *\*dóh<sub>3</sub>-ei*, *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-énti*

See Oettinger (1979a: 64-5), Ciantelli (1978), Tischler (HEG T: 5f.) and Neu (1968: 160) for attestations. The oldest forms of this verb show a paradigm *dāḥḥe*, *dāti*, *dāi*, *tumēni*, *dattēni*, *danzi* for the present and *dāḥḥun*, *datta*, *dāš*, *dāuen*, *dätten*, *dāer* for the preterite. Note, however that the derivatives *peda<sup>i</sup>* / *ped-* ‘to bring (away)’ and *uda<sup>i</sup>* / *ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ (formed with the prefixes *pe-* and *u-*) show forms that are more archaic, e.g. *petumen* and *utummen* vs. *dāuen*, *petišten* vs. *dätten*, *peter* and *uter* vs. *dāer*, but also *petumanzi* and *utumanzi* vs. *dāuanzi* and *utiške/a-* vs. *daške/a-*. All in all, I think that we have to reconstruct an original paradigm *dāḥḥe*, *dāti*, *dāi*, *tumēni*, *\*tištēni*, *danzi* for the present and *dāḥḥun*, *datta*, *dāš*, *\*tumen*, *\*tišten*, *\*ter* for the preterite. This means that we find a stem *dā-* in the singular and a stem *d-* in the plural (in both the present and the preterite).

It should be noted that in NH times, the paradigm has undergone some changes. We then find: *dahḥi*, --, *dāi*, *tumeni*, *datteni*, *danzi*, *dahḥun*, *datta*, *dāš*, --, *datten*, *dāer*, *dā*, *dāu*, *datten*, *dandu*. These forms are completely regular according to the developments described in § 1.4.9.3: OH /āCCV/ develops into NH /áCCV/.

Already Hrozný (1915: 29) etymologically connected this verb with the PIE root *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to give’. Although the semantic side of this etymology has received some criticism (but see Tischler HEG T: 7f. for an enumeration of the many scholars who have spoken in favour of a semantic development ‘to give’ > ‘to take’), the formal side has been generally accepted. The exact interpretation of this formal side has caused some debate, however. Eichner (1975a: 93f., followed by Oettinger 1979a: 500f.) assumes that this verb originally was middle (“sich etwas geben lassen”) and that 1sg.aor.midd. “\**də<sub>3</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ā*” and 2sg.aor.midd. “\**də<sub>3</sub>th<sub>2</sub>ā*” regularly yielded Hitt. *\*dahḥa* and *\*datta*, on the basis of which the paradigm was brought into the active and yielded *dāḥḥi*, *dāti*, *dāi*, etc. A similar scenario is given by Melchert (1984a: 25) who states that 3sg.pres.midd. *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-e/o* was reinterpreted as a stem *\*dh<sub>3</sub>e/o-* + zero-ending, which caused the spread of this ‘thematic’ stem in the singular, yielding *\*dh<sub>3</sub>e/o-h<sub>2</sub>ei*, *\*dh<sub>3</sub>e/o-th<sub>2</sub>ei*, *dh<sub>3</sub>e/o-ei*. These scenarios seem unattractive to me. I know of no other instance where an

original PIE middle yielded a Hittite active paradigm. The fact that the active and middle are living categories in Hittite makes it difficult to assume that an original middle did not just stay middle but was taken over into the active paradigm. Moreover, the formal sides are difficult: Eichner's assumption that  $*Ch_3C$  vocalises to Hitt.  $C\bar{a}C$  is unparalleled, whereas Melchert's construct of a thematic  $hi$ -verb would be unparalleled as well (the so-called 'thematic'  $hi$ -verbs that are attested (the *tarn(a)*-class) all go back to a sequence  $*^\circ CoH-$  /  $*^\circ CH-$ ).

In my view, we have to take  $d\bar{a}-/d-$  at face value. It is a  $hi$ -inflecting root-present, and just as all  $hi$ -verbs it shows original  $*o$ -grade:  $*d\acute{o}h_3-h_2ei$ ,  $*d\acute{o}h_3-th_2ei$ ,  $*d\acute{o}h_3-ei$ ,  $*dh_3-u\acute{e}ni$ ,  $*dh_3-st\acute{e}ni$ ,  $*dh_3-\acute{e}nti$ . These forms regularly yield  $d\bar{a}h_3he$ ,  $d\bar{a}tti$ ,  $d\bar{a}i$ ,  $tum\bar{e}ni$ ,  $*zašt\bar{e}ni$ ,  $danzi$ . Already in OH times, we find a spread of a secondary stem  $da-$  (on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *danzi*) in e.g. 2pl.pres.act. *datt\bar{e}ni* (instead of expected  $*zašt\bar{e}ni$ , cf.  $*d^h_1h_1ske/a-$  > OH *tské/á-l*, *za-aš-ke/a-*) and impf. *daške/a-* (instead of  $*zaške/a-$ ).

**taḥḥara-**: see *tuhḥara-*

<sup>UZU</sup> **daḥašti-**: see <sup>UZU</sup> *dānḥašti-*

**taḥš-** (IIIh?) 'to predict': 3sg.pres.midd. *ta-aḥ-ša-at-ta-ri*; impf.3pl.pret.act. *taḥ-iš-ker<sup>1</sup>*.

IE cognates: ?Skt. *dayati* 'divides', Gr. *δαίωμα* 'to divide'.

PIE  $*deh_2s-$  ?

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 41.24 rev. (with additions from KUB 15.2 iv 5-9 and KBo 15.11 iv 5-10)

(1) DUB.1.KAM NU.TIL ŠI-P[ÁT ... (*ma-a*-)an=(*ša-an A-NA LUGAL ag-ga-tar*)]

(2) *ta-aḥ-ša-at-ta-r*[(*i na-aš-m=a-at=za=kán Ū a-uš-zi*)]

(3) *na-aš-m=a-at=ši* I[(Š-TU SU<sup>MEŠ</sup>) *na-aš-m(a IŠ-TU MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup>)*]

(4) *i-ši-ia-aḥ-ta-ri* [*na-aš-ma-a=š-ši GIS(KIM-iš ku-iš-ki ḪUL-lu-uš)*]

(5) ŠA ŪŠ *pé-ra-an k[i-ša-r(i)nu (ki-i SISKUR=ŠU)]*

'First tablet. Unfinished. Conjunction[...]. When to a king death is *t*-ed, -- either he sees it in a dream or it is revealed to him by an entrail- or bird-oracle, or some bad sign has occurred in front of him --, (then) this is the ritual for it'.


From this context it is clear that *taḥšattari* must mean 'is predicted'. A possible other form of this verb can be found in *taḥ-iš-ker<sup>1</sup>*, found in KBo 3.34 iii (14) ...

(i-d)]a-lu *h<sub>2</sub>e-en-kán ta<sub>h</sub>-iš-ker<sup>1</sup>* (the reading *ker* is ascertained by the duplicate KUB 31.38 rev.<sup>2</sup> 18), if this means ‘... they predicted an evil death’.

Often, this verb is seen as a variant of *takš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to undertake, to unify’ (e.g. Kümmel 1967: 109, Oettinger 1979a: 219), but this is semantically as well as formally unlikely: in the rare cases that *k* alternates with *h*, we are dealing with words of foreign origin, where an original cluster *-šh-* or *-hš-* occasionally becomes *-šk-* or *-kš-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 170). The only case of such an alternation in an inherited word is the hapax spelling *ha-mi-iš-kán-za* vs. 40+x *hamešha(nt)-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*.

A better connection may be PIE \**deh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to allot’ (Skt. *dayati*, Gr. *δαίωμα* ‘to divide’). If this connection is correct we are dealing here with an *s*-extension \**deh<sub>2</sub>-s-* (compare *pašš-* < \**peh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, *pāš-* < \**peh<sub>3</sub>-s-*).

**ta<sub>h</sub>h<sub>u</sub>u<sub>ai</sub>- / ta<sub>h</sub>h<sub>ui</sub>-**: see *tuh<sub>h</sub>u<sub>ai</sub>- / tuh<sub>h</sub>ui-*

**dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-** (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to lay, to put, to place’: 1sg.pres.act. *te-e-eh<sub>2</sub>-hé* (OS), *te-eh<sub>2</sub>-hé* (OS), *te-e-eh<sub>2</sub>-hi* (OS), *te-eh<sub>2</sub>-hi* (OH/MS), *ti-i<sub>h</sub>-hi* (KUB 17.28 i 28 (MH/NS), KUB 19.55+ rev. 42 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *da-it-ti* (OH/NS), *ta-it-ti* (KBo 3.38 obv. 24 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *da-a-i* (OS), *da-i* (OH/NS), *ti-ja-az-zi* (ABoT 44 i 50 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ti-ja-u-e-ni* (KBo 3.4 iv 35, 47 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act.  = [t]<sup>i</sup>-i-iš-te-ni (KBo 8.42 rev. 1 (OS)), *da-a-it-te-ni* (KUB 13.6 ii 5 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-an-zi* (OS), *ti-ja-an-zi* (OS), *ti-an-ti* (KBo 20.33 rev. 10 (OS)), 1sg.pret.act. *te-eh<sub>2</sub>-hu-un* (OH/MS), *ti-ja-nu-un* (KUB 31.71 iii 4 (NH), KUB 22.40 ii 9 (NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *ta-it-ta* (KUB 33.70 iii 14 (MH/NS)), *da-iš-ta* (KUB 21.27+ i 4, 6 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *da-iš* (OS, often), *ta-i-iš* (KBo 18.151 rev. 10, 11 (OH/MS)), *da-a-iš* (OH/NS), *da-a-i-iš* (KUB 15.5+ i 10 (NH)), *ti-ja-at* (KUB 43.50 obv. 7 (NH), KUB 8.79 rev. 12 (fr.) (NS), KUB 33.118, 11 (fr.) (NS), KUB 14.14 obv. 37 (fr.) (NH)), *ti-i-ja-at* (KUB 22.40 ii 7 (NS)) 1pl.pret.act. *da-i-ú-en* (MH/MS), *da-a-i-ú-en* (KBo 15.10 i 32 (OH/MS)), 2pl.pret.act. *da-iš-te-en* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *da-a-er* (OS), *da-i-er* (OH/MS), *da-i-e-er* (MH/MS), *da-e-er* (MH/MS), *da-a-i-e-er* (MH/MS), *da-a-i-er* (KBo 15.10 ii 30, iii 47 (OH/MS)), *ti-i-e-er* (KBo 3.1 i 22, 37 (OH/NS), KBo 5.8 ii 5 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *da-i* (KBo 3.23 obv. 6, 8, rev. 6 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *da-a-ú* (KUB 14.3 ii 57 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *da-iš-tén* (MH/MS), *ta-iš-tén* (Bo 4222 iii 9), *da-a-iš-ten* (KBo 12.18 i 3 (OH/NS), KBo 4.8 ii 17 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *ti-an-du* (MH/NS); part. *ti-ja-a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ti-ja-an-t-*; verb.noun *ti-ja-u-ua-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *ti-ja-u-ua-aš* (NH); inf.I *ti-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 26.32 i 3 (NH)), *ti-ja-u-ua-*

*an-zi*; impf. *za-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *zi-ke/a-* (OS), *zi-ik-ke/a-* (OS), *ti-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ti-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: *tījanna<sup>-i</sup>* / *tījanni-* (IIa5) ‘to lay down (impf.)’ (2sg.imp.act. *ti-anna* (KUB 20.76 i 17, KBo 30.165 i 10), sup. *ti-ja-an-ni-ja-u-ua-an* (KUB 43.61 i<sup>2</sup> 7)), *tījantije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to set up, to erect’ (3sg.pres.act. *ti-ja-an-ti-ja-a[z<sup>2</sup>-zi]* (HEG T: 367), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-ja-an-ti-ja-an-zi* (KUB 29.1 iv 17); inf.I [*t*]i-ja-an-ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi (HEG T: 367)), see *titta<sup>-i</sup>* / *titti-*, *titnu<sup>-zi</sup>*, *tešha-* and *tuzzi-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tūua-* ‘to put, to place’ (3sg.pret.act. *du-ú-ua-at-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *du-ú-ua-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *tu-u-ua-a*, 3pl.imp.act. *du-ú-ua-an-du*, *du-ú-un-du*); HLuw. *tu(wa)-* ‘to place, to erect’ (3sg.pres.act. /*tuwai(a)*/ *tu-wa/i-i-*’ (SULTANHAN §31), PONERE-*wa/i-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A13a §3), PONERE+MI *tu-wa/i-i[a]* (MARAŞ 7 A), 1sg.pret.act. /*tu(wa)ha*/ PONERE-*wa/i-ha* (often), “PONERE” *tú-wa/i-há* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §15), PONERE-*u-ha* (BOR §3), 3sg.pret.act. /*tu(wa)ta*/ *tu-wa/i-ta* (SULTANHAN §9), *tu-ta* (ERKİLET 2 §2), PONERE-*u-ta* (BOR §9), 3pl.pret.act. /*tunta*/ *tu-tá* (KULULU 4 §4), 2sg.imp.act. /*tu*/ PONERE-*u* (ASSUR letter *e* §22), 3sg.imp.act. /*tuwatu*/ <sup>PONERE</sup>*tu-wa/i-tu* (MARAŠ 8 §14), 3pl.imp.act. /*tuwantu*/ *tu-wa/i-tu-u* (KULULU 2 §7)); Lyd. *cu(ve)-* ‘to erect’? (in *facuni-* ‘to erect’ and *dacuveršt* ‘has been erected’ ?); Lyc. *ta-* ‘to put, to place’ (3sg.pres.act. *tadi*, *ttadi*, *tddi* (?), 3pl.pres.act. *tāti*, *tēti*, 3sg.pret.act. *tadē*, 3pl.pret.act. *tātē*, *tetē*, 3pl.imp.act. *tatu*, *tātu*, inf. *tane*, *tāne*, *ttāne*, *ttāna*, impf.3pl.pres.act. *tasñiti*), *tuwe-* ‘to place’ (3sg.pres.act. *tuweti*, 3pl.pres.act. *tuwēti*, 3sg.pret.act. *tuwete*, *tuwetē*, 3sg.imp.act. *tuwetu*, impf.3pl.pres.act. *tusñiti*).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei* / \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-énti*, \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-*

The oldest forms of this paradigm are *tēh<sub>h</sub>e*, *daitti*, *dāi*, \**ti<sub>y</sub>eni*, [*t*]īšteni, *tianzi* for the present and *te<sub>h</sub>hun*, *taitta*, *daiš*, *dai<sub>y</sub>en*, *daišten*, *dāer* for the preterite. Note that the original strong stem was *dai-* (with short *-a-*), which is clearly visible in e.g. *dai<sub>y</sub>en* and *daiš*. Only in late MH times, the stem *dai-* was replaced by *dāi-* on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *dāi*, yielding forms like *dāi<sub>y</sub>en* and *dāiš*. In the 1sg.-forms, the stem *dai-* regularly monophthongized to *tē-* in front of *-h-*. In 3sg.pres.act. the preform \**dā<sub>i</sub>-i* yielded /*dāi*/, spelled *da-a-i* (with regular loss of intervocalic *-i-*). Similarly in 3pl.pret.act. \**dā<sub>i</sub>-er*, which regularly yielded /*dāer*/, spelled *da-a-er* (OS). Restoration of the stem *dai-* yielded MS forms like *da-i-e-er* /*dāier*/, whereas later on, when the stem *dāi-* is being generalized, forms like *da-a-i-e-er* /*dāier*/ are found. It is often claimed that in OS there still was a difference between *dāer* ‘they took’ and *dai<sub>y</sub>er* ‘they placed’. This view is based on KBo 22.2 (Zalpa-text) only, where we indeed find *da-a-er* ‘they took’ (obv. 5)

besides *da-i-er* ‘they placed’ (obv. 16). Since this text has now been recognized as showing MH script and not OH script (cf. Kořak 2005d: 112), the difference between *dāer* and *dajer* in this text can be explained in view of the MH restoration of the stem *dai-* in the paradigm of *dai-/ti-*, replacing OH *dāer* ‘they placed’.

The original weak stem is *ti-* (and not *tija-*, as often stated), which is visible in *tianzi* (which is *ti-anzi* and not *tija-nzi*), *tiandu*, *tijant-*, *tiuuanzi* and possibly in *[t]šteni* (if this is the correct reading). Like all *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs, we find here as well generalization of the thematic stem *tije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* in younger times. Because these forms formally fell together with the verb *tije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to step’, it is not always easy to decide whether a form belongs here or with ‘to step’. I have cited in this paradigm only forms of *tije/a-* which are used together with the supine, as gathered by Kammenhuber 1955.

The hapax 3pl.pres.act. *ti-an-ti* (KBo 20.33 rev. 10 (OS)) must be a mistake (compare correct *ti-an-zi* in *ibid.* 7) and does not show non-assibilation of *\*-ti* (compare the wrong interpretation of alleged 3sg.pres.act. *e-eš-ti* ‘he is’ under the lemma of *eš-<sup>zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’).

Already Friedrich (1922: 169) correctly connected *dai-<sup>i</sup> / ti-* with the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to place, to put’ (see also at *tē-<sup>zi</sup>*), which has been generally accepted since. Nevertheless, the exact formal prehistory of this verb has been severely debated, see Tischler HEG T: 21-3 for an extensive overview of views and reconstructions. The formal interpretation of this verb depends on one’s analysis of the *dāi/tijanzi*-class as a whole. In the recent literature, Oettinger (1979a: 461) regarded this class as reflecting a formation *\*Coh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, *\*Ch<sub>1</sub>-énti* (although there he assumes that *dai- / ti-* has been secondarily taken over into this class, a view which he seems to have abandoned later on, cf. 2004: 401), whereas Melchert (1984: 73; 1994a: 65) reconstructs *dāi* as *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-ei*. Both reconstructions cannot be correct on formal grounds: the sequence *\*Vh<sub>1</sub>iV* yields OH *V<sub>i</sub>V*, compare OH *hujanzi* ‘they run’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>énti*. As I have argued extensively in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/tijanzi*-class can only be explained as reflecting a formation *\*CC-ói-ei / \*CC-i-énti*, i.e. the zero-grade of a root followed by an ablauting suffix *\*-oi-/-i-*. For *dai- / ti-* this means that we must reconstruct the following paradigm:

<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-h<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	>	<i>tēh<sub>1</sub></i>
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-th<sub>2</sub>ei</i>	>	<i>daitti</i>
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei</i>	>	<i>dāi</i>
<i>*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-úéni</i>	>	<i>**tiúeni &gt;&gt; tijaúeni</i>

\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-sténi > tišteni  
 \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-énti > tianzi

In OS texts, the imperfective is spelled *za-aš-ke/a-*, *zi-ke/a-* and *zi-ik-ke/a-*. In my opinion, the spelling *za-aš-ke/a-* must be more original and represent /tské/á-/. Already within the OH periode the anaptyctic vowel /i/ emerged in the cluster /tsk/ (cf. § 1.4.4.4), yielding /tsíké/á-/, spelled *zi-(ik-)ke/a-*. These forms are important since they must reflect \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó- and show that originally the *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs did not use the element *-i-* in the imperfective. Note that the NS forms *tiške/a-* and *tieške/a-* are clearly secondarily built on the stem *ti(iē/a)-*.

In the Luwian languages we find CLuw. *tuṽa-*, HLuw. *tu(wa)-* and Lyc. *tuwe-* (the appurtenance from Lyd. *cu(ve)-* in my view is far from assured). The generally accepted explanation of this stem \**tuṽe/o-* is given by Oettinger (1979a: 483), who assumes that this stem must be reanalysed out of “urluw. \**duṽāni* ‘wir setzen’”. This seems entirely *ad hoc* to me: the 1pl.-form is much too small a base for such an analogy. In my view, it almost seems as if we are dealing with a suffix *-u-* in these forms (compare e.g. Skt. *dadháu* for such an *u-*suffix, cf. Kortlandt 1989: 111) so perhaps originally \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-óu-ei*, \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-u-énti*, which was thematicized in younger times to \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ue/o-* (compare \**pīe/a-* ‘to give’ from original \**poi-* / \**pi-*). The Lycian verb *ta-* seems to preserve the unextended root. Melchert (1994a: 67) therefore assumes that 3sg.pres.act. *tadi* directly reflects \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-ti*, showing the development \*-*eh<sub>1</sub>-* > Lyc. *-a-*. Morpurgo Davies (1987: 221f.) assumes that a preform \**d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-ti* should have given Lyc. \*\**tidi*, however, and she therefore proposes an intricate mixing between the roots \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to place’ and \**deh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to put’.

**tajazil-**, **tajezil-** (n.) ‘theft’: nom.sg. *ta-ja-az-zi-il* (OS), gen. *ta-ja-zi-la-aš* (OS), *da-ja-zi-la-aš* (OH/MS), *ta-i-ez-zi-la-aš* (MH/NS), *da-i-ja-zi-la-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE \**teh<sub>2</sub>-jo-til-*

See Rieken (1999a: 481) for attestations. Most forms show *tajazil-*, but the one attestation *ta-i-IZ-zi-la-aš* has to be interpreted /taiet<sup>s</sup>ilas/. This word is clearly a derivative in *-zil-* of the verb *tāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to steal’ (q.v.), which also explains the alteration between *tajazil-* and *tajezil-*. See Rieken (1999a: 476) for the reconstruction of the suffix *-zil-* as \*-*ti-* + \*-*il-*. See at *tāje/a-<sup>zi</sup>* for further etymology.

**tāje/a-**<sup>i</sup> (Ic3 > Ic2) ‘to steal (from)’: 3sg.pres.act. *ta-a-i-ez-zi* (OS, often), *ta-i-ez-zi* (OS), *da-a-i-ez-zi* (OS), *ta-ja-az-zi* (OS), *da-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *da-a-ja-az-zi* (MH), *da-i-ja-zi* (KUB 13.9 ii 16 (MH/NS)), *da-a-i-ja-zi* (NH), *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* (NH), *ta-a-i-ja-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ta-a-et-te-ni* (NH), *ta-ja-at-te-ni* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-i-ja-nu-un* (NH), *ta-ja-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *da-ja-at* (KUB 13.9 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *da-a-i-ja-at* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *ta-ja-u-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *da-ja-er* (HKM 36 rev. 46 (MH/MS)), *da-i-e-er* (HKM 57 obv. 17 (MH/MS)); part. *da-ja-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *da-a-ja-u-ua-ar* (MH); impf. *da-a-ja-aš-ke/a-* (MH), *ta-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *tajazil*.

IE cognates: Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’, *stāyát* (adv.) ‘secretly’, Gr. *τητάω* ‘to rob’, *τηῦσιος* ‘in vain’, OCS *tatb* ‘thief’, *taiti* ‘to conceal’, OIr. *táid* ‘thief’ (\**tā-ti-*).

PIE \**teh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*

See Oettinger 1979a: 396f. for attestations and treatment. The verb shows a stem *tāje/a-*, which has already by Hrozný (1917: 54) been compared to Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’, Gr. *τητάω* ‘to rob’, etc. This means that *tāje/a-* must reflect \**teh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* (similar formation in Skt. *stāyát* ‘secretly’ and OCS *taiti* ‘to conceal’). This verb is the name-giver of the *tāje/a-*-class, which consists of a few other verbs that go back to \**eh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* as well.

Neumann (1961a: 64f.) claims that the Hes.-gloss *τεγοῦν: Λυδοὶ τὸν ληστήην* ‘thief by the Lydians’ points to a Lyd. \**teju-* ‘thief’, which he reconstructs as \**tāju-* and equates with Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’. Problematic, however, is the fact that \**j* should yield Lyd. *d* (cf. Melchert 1994b). Melchert (1988c: 39) claims that HLuw. \*<sup>428</sup>*tà-ia-t[i]* (KARKAMIŠ A24a §13) means ‘steals’, but this is rejected by Hawkins (2000: 136) because such a meaning would not fit the context. Moreover, the sign *tà* must be read /da/ (cf. Rieken fthc.), which does not fit \**teh<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* either.

**tajezil-**: see *tajazil-*

**tāišta-<sup>i</sup> / tāišti-** (IIa5 > IIa1γ, Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to load’: 3sg.pres.act. *ta-a-iš-ta-i* (KBo 6.10 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *ta-[e]š-ti-ja-zi* (IBoT 2.131 rev. 7 (NS)), *da-iš-ti-ja-iz-zi* (KUB 58.91 rev.<sup>2</sup> 10 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *da-iš-te-ja-an-zi* (KUB 31.79 obv. 13 (MH/MS)), *ta-[a-i]š-ti-ja-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 ii 55 (MH/NS)), *da-a-iš-ti-an-zi* (KBo 10.20 iv 6 (NS)), *ta-eš-ti-ja-an-zi* (IBoT 2.131 rev. 17 (NS)), *da-iš-ta-an-zi* (KBo 34.267, 3 (NS)), *da-iš-ta-a[n-zi]* (KBo 24.112+ rev. 2 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-iš-te-i-e-er* (KUB 31.79 obv. 9 (MH/MS)); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-a-iš-ti-ja-an*

(KBo 10.2 iii 12 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*ta-a-i*]š-*ti-an-da* (KUB 29.26, 4 (OH/NS)); inf.I *da-iš-tum-ma-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 ii 43 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***taištijar*** (n.) ‘?’ (nom.-acc.sg.? *ta-iš-ti-ja-ar* (KUB 59.3, 11)), see *taišzi-*.

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-* + \**d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-/i-*

See Tischler HEG T: 28-9 for attestations. The oldest attestations belong to the *mēma/i*-class: *tāištai*, *dāištijanzi*, *daištijer* (the forms *da-iš-te-ja-an-zi* (KUB 31.79 obv. 13) and *da-iš-te-i-e-er* (ibid. 9) probably show use of the sign TE for *ti* (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137)), *tāištijant-*. Like all *mēma/i*-class verbs, in younger times this verb is taken over into the *tarna*-class (*daištanzī* and *daištummanzi*). Besides, we occasionally find forms that show a stem *taištije/a-zi* (*taeštijazi*) and *daištijae-zi* (*daištijaizzi*). As I explained under the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h, its verbs go back to polysyllabic *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs. In this case, too, we therefore can reconstruct a stem \**tāištai-<sup>i</sup>* / *tāišti-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 477) suggests that this verb is of nominal origin and reconstructs a *t*-suffixed *s*-stem: \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-t-*. This cannot easily account for the inflection, however, and has the disadvantage that we would rather expect that \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-t-i-* would show assibilation of \**-t-* to *-z-*. Rieken (1999a: 189-90) therefore adapts Oettinger’s suggestion: she accepts the explanation of *dāiš-* as \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-* ‘which is put upon’, but suggests rather that *tāištai-/tāišti-* is to be seen as a compound of \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-* + *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* ‘to put a load upon’. This analysis is superior in the sense that it perfectly explains the inflection. See at *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* for further etymology.

***taišzi-*** (c.) ‘hay-barn’: acc.sg. *ta-iš-zi-in* (OS).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-ti-*

This word is semi-hapax in §100 of the Hittite Laws:

KBo 6.2 iv (with additions from duplicate KBo 6.3 iv 59-62)

(59) [*tá(k-ku t)*]a-iš-zi-in ku-iš-ki lu-uk-ki-ez-z[(i) G(U<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>III.A=ŠU e-et-ri-i)]š-ke-ez-zi

(60) [(n=u-uš=ša-an)] pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ha-an-da ar-[(nu-zi ta-iš-zi-in)]

(61) [(EGIR-pa p)]a-ā-i ták-ku IN.NU.DA an-da-an [(NU.GÁL nu ta-iš-zi-in ú-e-te-e)]z-zi

‘If someone sets fire to a *t.*, he will feed his (i.e. the owner’s) [co]ws and will bring them to (next) spring. He will pay back the *t.* If there was no hay inside, he will (only) rebuild the *t.*’



On the basis of this context, we must conclude that *taišzi-* denotes a hay-barn in which the hay is stored with which the cows are fed during the winter.

Formally, one can hardly deny the resemblance with the verb *tāišta<sup>i</sup> / tāišti-* ‘to load’, but the exact connection is in debate. Some scholars who analyse *tāišta/i-* as *tāišt-*+ reconstruct *taišzi-* as *\*taišt-i-*. This view is adapted by e.g. Melchert (1994a: 166) who reconstructs *\*taiš-t-ti-* and reckons with a rule *\*-stt- > -št-* (and not /st<sup>t</sup>-/). These etymologies are now flawed by our reconstruction of *tāišta/i-* as *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es- + dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-*. Rieken (1999a: 190) reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ti-* (assuming the same sound law as Melchert did, namely *\*-stt- > -št-*), but this seems unlikely to me. I would prefer *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-ti-*, a *-ti-*-derivative of *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-es-* ‘which has been layed down’ (in this case = ‘hay’). For *-ti-*-derivatives of *s-*-stems compare e.g. Pol. *dlugość* < *\*dblghostb* < *\*dlh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-os-ti-* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 182).

*tājuga-*: see under *juga-*

*dākk<sup>i</sup> / dakk-* (IIa2) ‘to resemble’: 3sg.pres.act. *da-a-ak-ki* (KUB 43.53 i 2ff. (OH/NS)), *ta-ak-ki* (KBo 21.19 i 4, 5 (MH/NS), KUB 33.93 iv 31 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ták-kán-zi* (KBo 17.17 iv 5 (OS), KUB 43.53 i 15 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ták-kán-ta-ri* (KBo 22.6 i 28 (OH/NS)); verb.noun? [*tá*]k-ku-u-*u-a-ar* (KUB 3.110, 5 (NS)), *ták-ku-u-a-ar* (KUB 12.52 iii 6 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. *δοκεῖ* ‘seems’.

PIE *\*dó<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ei, \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-énti*

See Tischler HEG T: 31f. for attestations. This verb clearly shows an ablaut *dākk-* vs. *takk-*. Since Laroche (1963: 71) it is generally connected with Gr. *δοκεῖ* ‘it seems’, which is semantically as well as formally appealing. This latter verb is usually further connected with Gr. *δέχομαι* ‘to take, to accept, to receive’ (with variant *δέχομαι* (Att.)), Skt. *dāś-* ‘to offer, to worship’, Lat. *docēre* ‘teach’ (\*‘to make someone take up something’) < *\*dek-*, but this seems quite unlikely to me for semantic reasons.

Within Hittite, *dākki* is remarkable because it shows unlenited *-kk-* after *ā* < *\*ó* (compare e.g. *āki / akkanzi, ištāpi / ištappanzi*). When we compare this to the form *šākki* ‘knows’, of which I have argued that it must reflect *\*sókh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, we see that we can reconstruct *dākki* only as *\*dókh<sub>1</sub>-ei* (note that *\*dókh<sub>2,3</sub>ei* would have yielded Hitt. *\*\*dakkai*, according to the *tarn(a)*-class). In the plural, *takkanzi* must be phonologically interpreted as /tkánt<sup>s</sup>i/ < *\*dkh<sub>1</sub>-énti* (compare e.g. *taknāš* ‘of the earth’ /tgnās/ << *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>mós*).

<sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzepa-* (c.) ‘earth; goddess of the earth’ (Sum. KI): nom.sg. *ta-ga-an-zi-pa-aš* (MH/MS), *da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš*, *da-ga-zi-pa-aš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *da-ga-an-zi-pa-an*, *da-ga-zi-pa-an*, gen.sg. *ta-ga-a-an-ze-pa-aš* (OS), *da-ga-zi-pa-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *da-ga-an-zi-pí*, *da-a-ga-an-zi-pí* (KUB 9.1 iii 5 (NS)), abl. *da-ga-an-zi-pa-az*, *da-ga-an-zi-pa-za*, acc.pl. *ta-ga-an-zi-pu-uš*, *da-ga-an-zi-pu-uš* (OH/NS), *da-ga-zi-pu-uš*.

PIE \**dʰǵʰóm* + \**sepa-*

The oldest (OS) attestation of this word is spelled *ta-ga-a-an-zi-p°*. In younger texts, the bulk of the forms is spelled *da-ga-an-zi-p°* or *ta-ga-an-zi-p°*. The spelling *da-ga-zi-p°* occurs a few times only in NS texts, whereas a spelling *da-a-ga-an-zi-p°* occurs only once and may not be phonetically real.

The word denotes ‘earth’ and clearly belongs with *tēkan* / *takn-* ‘earth’ (q.v.). The distribution between the two is that *tēkan* is neuter whereas *tagānzepa-* is animate and can function as the ergative of *tēkan* (as the subject of a transitive verb). Formally, *tagānzepa-* must be analysed as showing an element *tagān* (to be equated with the ending-less locative *tagān* ‘on the earth’?) and an element *-ze/ipa-* / *-še/ipa-* that seems to function as a suffix that makes female deifications of the basic word (and therefore words in *-ze/ipa-* / *-še/ipa-* usually show a determinative <sup>d</sup> or <sup>f</sup>). It is generally thought that this element *-ze/ipa-* / *-še/ipa-* originally was a noun that meant ‘genie’ or the like. It is clear that we find *-z-* after stems in *-n-* (<sup>d</sup>*Huriānzipa-*, <sup>d</sup>*Miādanzipa-*, <sup>d</sup>*Šuānzipa-*, <sup>(d)</sup>*taršanzipa-*) and *-š-* elsewhere (<sup>d</sup>*Aškašepa-* (of *āška-* ‘gate’), <sup>d</sup>*Hantašepa-* (of *hant-* ‘forehead’), <sup>d</sup>*Išpanzašepa-* (of *išpant-* ‘night’), <sup>d</sup>*Kam(ma)rušepa-*). The status of the vowel is less clear since we find spellings with both *-e-* as well as *-i-*. A complicating factor is the fact that the sign ZI can be read *zi* as well as *ze*. If we look at the OS spellings of this suffix, we find <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-še-p°* (7x), <sup>d</sup>*Mi-ja-ta-an-zé-p°* (2x) and <sup>d</sup>*Iš-pa-an-za-še-p°* (1x) that show unambiguously *-e-*, and *ta-ga-a-an-ZI/E-p°* (1x), *tar-ša-an-ZI/E-p°* (5x) with the ambiguous sign ZI. Because of the total lack of unambiguous *-i-* spellings in OS texts (never *-ši-p°*), I am inclined to read ZI as *ze* in these cases: *ta-ga-a-an-ze-pa-aš* and *tar-ša-an-ze-p°*, which would mean that these words originally were *tagānzepa-* and *taršanzepa-*. In younger texts, the situation is less clear, however, since we then find spellings with *-ši-* as well (<sup>d</sup>*Aš-ga-ši-p°* besides <sup>d</sup>*Aš-ga-še-p°*, <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-ši-p°* besides <sup>d</sup>*Ha-an-ta-še-p°* and <sup>d</sup>*Kam-(ma-)ru-ši-p°* besides <sup>d</sup>*Kam-(ma-)ru-še-p°*) while the unambiguous *-zē-* is not found anymore (only <sup>d</sup>*Hu-ri-ja-an-ZI/E-p°*, <sup>d</sup>*Mi-ja-da-an-ZI/E-p°*, <sup>d</sup>*Šu-ūa-an-ZI/E-p°*, *da-ga-an-ZI/E-p°* and *tar-ša-an-ZI/E-p°*). Melchert’s account (1984a:

180) that there was a difference between *-e-* and *-i-* that was accentually governed (*\*hanta- + sépa-* vs. *\*dagán + sepa-*) seems unlikely to me. Because of the absence of a simplex *\*še/ipa-* (although one could compare the PN <sup>m</sup>*Ši-pa-LÚ-i-* in CTH 81) and because its exact meaning is unclear, etymologizing is too difficult at this point.

**takkešš-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *takš-<sup>zi</sup>*

**taki-** (adj.) ‘other, foreign(?)’; *taki-* ... *taki-* ‘the one .. the other’: dat.-loc.sg. *ta-ki-i-ia* (OS), *ta-ki-ia* (OS).

See Tischler HEG T: 38 for attestations. Usually, the word is translated ‘other’ and is therewith regarded semantically equal to *tamai-* ‘other’. It is striking, however, that all examples of *taki-* given by Tischler belong either with URU ‘city’ or with *udnē* ‘land’. Perhaps the difference between *taki-* and *tamai-* is that *taki-* has a connotation ‘foreign’.

Kronasser (1966: 210) connects *taki-* with *\*da-* ‘two’, implying a reconstruction *\*duo-gi-* vel sim. Although this etymology seems attractive, the interpretation of the suffix *-ki-* is unclear. Kronasser compares it with “*antaki-* ‘inner room’”, but apart from the fact that the stem in fact is *antaka-* (q.v.), this word is probably of Hurrian origin.

**takkīšš-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *takš-<sup>zi</sup>*

**takš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ia4) ‘to devise, to unify, undertake, to mingle’: 1sg.pres.act. *tág-ga-aš[mi]* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ták-ki-iš-ši* (OH/NS), *tág-ga-aš-ši* (OH/NS, 1x), 3sg.pres.act. *ták-ki-iš[-zi]* (OS), *ták-ki-iš-zi*, *ták-ke-eš-zi*, *ták-ke-e-eš-zi* (NH), *ták-ki-iz-zi* (KBo 6.34 ii 25 (MH/NS)), *ták-ki-iš-iz-zi* (NH), *ták-ke-eš-iz-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ták-ki-iš-te-ni* (MH/MS), *ták-ke-eš-te-ni* (NH), *tág-ga-aš-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ták-ša-an-zi* (OS), *ták-ki-iš-ša-an-zi* (NH), *ták-ke-eš-ša-an-zi* (NH), *ták-ke-e-eš-ša-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ták-ke-eš-šu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ták-ki-iš-ta* (OS), *ták-ke-e-eš-ta* (NH), *tág-ga-aš-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ták-še-er* (OS), 3sg.imp.act. *tág-ga-aš-du* (KBo 26.131 obv. 4 (NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ták-ša-an-da-ri* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ták-ša-an-ta-ru* (MH/NS); inf.I *ták-šu-an-zi* (OS), *ták-šu-ua-an-zi*; part. *ták-ša-an-t-*; impf. *ták-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: see *takšūuar*, *takšeššar*, *takšan*, *takšatar* and *takšul*.

IE cognates: Lat. *texō* ‘to weave, to put together’, OP *ham taxša-* ‘to put together’, Gr. τέχνη ‘skill’, OHG *dehsala-* ‘axe’.

PIE *\*téks-ti*, *\*tks-énti*

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See Oettinger (1979a: 217) for attestations. The semantic interpretation of this verb is quite difficult. We find, for instance, *idālu takš-* ‘to treat (someone) evil’, *takšul takš-* ‘to conclude a peace-treaty’, KASKAL-ša *takš-* ‘to undertake a campaign’, É-er *takš-* ‘to allot a house (to someone)’, GEŠTIN *uetenit takš-* ‘to mingle wine with water’. Kimball (1999: 258) states that the basic meaning of *takš-* must be ‘to put together’.

The oldest attested forms, *takkiš[zi]*, *takkišta*, *takšanzi*, *takšer*, *takšuanzi* and *takkiške/a-* (all OS) show a distribution between *takš-V* vs. *takkiš-C* (note that *-u-* in *takšuanzi* does not count as a consonant here, whereas e.g. in *haruēni* it does (see at *har(k)-zi*). Apparently, in the cluster *\*-ksC-* an anaptyctic vowel */i/* (spelled *e/i*) emerged: */takiS-/*. In younger times, this anaptyctic vowel spread throughout the paradigm, yielding forms like *takke/iššanzi* and *takkeššun*. The forms that are spelled *ták-ke-e-eš-* even seem to show that at one point this anaptyctic vowel received the accent: */takíS-/* or even */tkíS-/*. Some NS forms are spelled *tág-ga-aš-C* (especially found in a NH copy of the Telipinu Edict), which Tischler (HEG T: 41) interprets as another way of breaking the cluster *\*-ksC-* with a “Hilfsvokal *a*” (so */takas-/*). I would rather interpret these forms as attempts to spell */taksC-/* (without an anaptyctic vowel), which in my view is an archaizing hypercorrection: the scribe knew that *takkeššanzi* was the young form that had replaced older *takšanzi* and therefore analogically replaced correct *takke/išC* with */taksC-/*, spelled *taggašC-*.

In a *mi*-inflecting verb, it is quite awkward to find a vowel *-a-*, since all *mi*-verbs show a reflex of original *e*-grade. Melchert (1994a: 140, on the basis of Oettinger 1979a: 219) therefore hesitatingly suggests that we have to reckon with a development *\*TéKs-Ci* > *\*takšCi* (i.e. *\*-e-* > *-a-* before two obstruents followed by a consonant). This is rejected by e.g. Watkins (1985: 253), however, who therefore must reconstruct *\*toKS-* with an aberrant *o*-grade. For *takšanzi* = */tksánt<sup>s</sup>il/* < *\*TKs-énti* compare e.g. *taknāš* ‘of the earth’ = */tgnās/* << *\*d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>mós*.

Sturtevant (1930c: 214) etymologically connects *takš-* with Skt. *takṣ-* ‘to hammer, to build’, which has been followed by many scholars who subsequently reconstruct *\*tekḥ-*. This etymology is problematic, however, in view of the fact that Skt. *takṣ-* rather reflects *\*te-tk-*, an old reduplication of the root *\*tek-* ‘to create’. I therefore rather follow Oettinger (l.c.) who connects *takš-* with Lat. *texō* ‘to weave, to unify’ and OP *ham taxša-* ‘to put together’ from *\*teks-*.

**takšan-** (n.) ‘centre, joint, combination’; *takšan šārr-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to put in half, to divide’: *ták-ša-an*.

Derivatives: **takšan** (adv.) ‘together’ (*ták-ša-an* (OS)).

See Tischler HEG T: 43f. for attestations and treatment. This word is clearly derived from the verb *takš-<sup>zi</sup>*. See there for further etymology.

**takšatar / takšann-** (n.) ‘plain, level’: nom.-acc.sg. *ták-ša-tar*, gen.sg. *ták-ša-an-na-aš*, all.sg.(?) *ták-ša-an-na*.

Derivatives: **takšatnije/a-** (Ic1) ‘to level’ (3pl.imp.midd. *ták-ša-at-ni-ia-an-taru* (KUB 15.34 iii 52 (MH/MS)); impf.2pl.imp.act. *ták-ša-at-ni-iš-(ke-)et-tén* (KUB 15.34 i 45 (MH/MS))), **takšanna-<sup>i</sup> / takšanni-** (IIa5) ‘to level’ (impf.3sg.pret.act. *ták-ša-an-ni-iš-ke-et* (KBo 10.2 ii 5 (OH/NS))).

PIE *\*tks-ótr*

See Tischler HEG T: 45f. for attestations. Originally, *takšatar* must have been a verb.noun of *takš-<sup>zi</sup>*, and probably have meant ‘unification’ *vel sim*. Such an original meaning is not graspable anymore, but a semantic development to ‘level, plain’ is comprehensible. Note that the two verbal forms that show a stem *takšatnije/a-* (both in KUB 15.34) must be of Luwian origin, showing the unassimilation of the cluster *-tn-*, which yielded regular Hittite *-nn-* in *takšannaš* and *takšanna-<sup>i</sup> / takšanni-*. See *takš-<sup>zi</sup>* for further etymology.

**takšeššar** (n.) ‘combination, arrangement, settlement’: nom.-acc.sg. *ták-še-eš-šar=še-et-t=a* (KBo 17.29 + KBo 20.1 i 6 (OS)), *ták-še-eš=še-t=a* (KBo 20.8 iv 1 (OS)), *ták-še-eš-šar=še-et* (KBo 10.28+33 v 12 (OH/NS)), *ták-še-eš-šar* (KBo 6.26 iii 8 (OH/NS)), *ták-še-eš-š[ar]* (KBo 30.82 i 14 (OH/NS)), *[tá]k-ši-iš-šar* (VSNF 12.14 obv. 10 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*tks-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>r*

This noun is attested in nom.-acc.sg. only. The one OS attestation *ták-še-eš=še-t=a* has caused some debate on the original form of this word. E.g. Rieken (1999a: 387-9) states that we have to reckon with an original stem *takšeš / takšešn-*. Others (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 47) just emend the form to *ták-še-eš-šar=še-t=a* on the basis of the multiple other attestations of *ták-še-eš-šar*. The word clearly is derived from *takš-<sup>zi</sup>*, see there for further etymology.

**takšul-** (n.) ‘agreement, settlement, peace(-treaty)’: nom.-acc.sg. *ták-šu-ul* (OS), *ták-šu-ú-ul* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *ták-šu-la-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ták-šu-li*.

Derivatives: **takšul takš<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ia4) ‘to conclude an agreement’, **takšul(a)-** (adj.) ‘friendly’ (instr. *ták-šu-li-it*), **takšulae<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘to agree, to be friendly, to make peace’ (3sg.pres.act. *ták-šu-la-a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ták-šu-la-iz-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ták-šu-la-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ták-šu-la-a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ták-šu-la-an-zi*, 2sg.pret.act. *ták-šu-la-a-eš* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ták-šu-la-a-it*, *ták-šu-la-it*, 3pl.pres.act. *ták-šu-la-a-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *ták-šu-la-a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *ták-šu-la-a-id-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ták-šu-la-at[-te-e]n*, 3pl.imp.act. *ták-šu-la-a-an-du*; part. *ták-šu-la-an-t-*), **takšulatar / takšulann-** (n.) ‘friendliness, peace’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ták-šu-la-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ták-šu-la-an-ni*).

PIE *\*tks-úl*

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This word is clearly a derivative in *-ul-* from the verb *takš<sup>-zi</sup>*. The MH attestation *ták-šu-ú-ul* shows that just as in *aššul* and *uštul / uāštul* the accent was on the suffix. See *takš<sup>-zi</sup>* for further etymology.

**takšuuar** (n.) ‘friendship(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. [*tá*]k-šu-*ua-ar* (KUB 15.34 ii 20 (MH/MS)), *ták-šu-ua-ar* (Bo 3234 rev. 8 (MH/MS)).

PIE *\*teks-ur*

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See Tischler HEG T: 49 for treatment. This word only occurs inbetween *āššijauuar* ‘love’ and DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš āššijauuar* ‘love of the gods’ and therefore must denote a similar notion, e.g. ‘friendship’ or the like. It is clearly originally a verb.noun of the verb *takš<sup>-zi</sup>*. See there for further etymology.

**takku** (conjunction) ‘if, when’: *ták-ku* (OS).

PIE *\*to-k<sup>w</sup>e*

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This conjunction is used in OH times only: from MH times onwards its function is taken over by *mān*. It is probably made up of the sentence initial conjunction *ta* and the particle *=kku* (see at there own lemmas), and reflects *\*to-k<sup>w</sup>e*. Therewith it is formally identical to Gr. τότε ‘then’ and OCS *takъ* ‘thus’. This etymology is important as it shows that *\*k<sup>w</sup>* yields Hitt. /k<sup>w</sup>/ and not /g<sup>w</sup>/ (pace Melchert 1994a: 61). Note that in this word the preceding *\*o* does not lenite the following *\*k<sup>w</sup>*, which shows that the *\*o* cannot have been accentuated (see § 1.4.1 for my view that *\*ó* caused lenition of the following consonant). This coincides with Melchert’s views (1998a) that sentence initial conjunctions were inherently unstressed. I assume that in *\*tok<sup>w</sup>e* the word-final *\*e* was apocopated, which

means that *takku* represents /tak<sup>w</sup>/ (contra Garrett *apud* Melchert 1994a: 184, who assumes that word-final \**e* in \**tok<sup>w</sup>e* first was weakened to \**tak<sup>w</sup>ə*, after which \*/ə/ was coloured to /u/ due to the preceding labiovelar, which means that *takku* = /tak<sup>w</sup>u/).

*dāla<sup>i</sup> / dāli-* (IIa5 > IIa1γ, Ic1, Ic2) ‘to let, to leave, to let in peace’: 1sg.pres.act. *da-a-la-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 13.20 i 24 (MH/NS), KBo 18.136 rev. 16 (NS)), *ta-la-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 13.20 i 11 (MH/NS)), *da-a-li-ja-mi* (KUB 31.84 iii 63 (MH/NS)), *da-a-li-ja-mi* (KUB 19.6+21.1 i 77 (NH), KUB 21.5+ ii 2 (NH), KUB 23.93, 5 (NS)), *da-li-ja-mi* (KUB 14.3 iii 55 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *da-la-a[t-ti<sup>2</sup>]* (KBo 16.47 i 21 (MH/MS)), *da-la-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 32 (NS)), *da-a-li-ja-ši* (KUB 19.49+ i 55 (NH), KUB 21.16 i 20 (NH)), *ta-li-ja-ši* (KUB 40.47 obv. 11 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-a-la-i* (KUB 29.29 obv. 7 (OS)), *da-a-la-i* (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 ii 17 (OS), KBo 15.10 iii 60 (OH/MS), KUB 4.47 obv. 26 (OH/NS)), *ta-la-a-i* (KUB 20.96 ii 24 (OH/NS)), *da-a-la-iz-zi* (KUB 34.118 ii 8 (MS)), *da-a-li-ja-zi* (KUB 13.4 i 61, ii 39 (OH/NS)), *ta-a-li-a-zi* (KUB 13.6+17+19 ii 29 (OH/NS)), *da-li-ja-zi* (KUB 14.3 iii 57 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *da-a-li-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 13.35 iv 8 (NS)), *ta-a-li-ja-u-e-ni* (KuSa I/1.14 obv. 5 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *da-li-eš-te-ni* (KUB 23.82 ii 22 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *da-a-li-ja-an-zi* (KUB 43.55 iv 5 (OH/NS), KUB 22.70 obv. 46, 74 (NH)), *da-li-an-zi* (KBo 10.28+33 i 5 (OH/NS)), *da-li-ja-an-zi* (KBo 4.12 rev. 10 (NH), KBo 5.3 ii 4 (NH)), *ta-li-ja-an-zi* (KBo 13.119 iii 17 (NS)), *da-a-la-an-zi* (KUB 41.54 iii 14 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-a-la-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 3.22 rev. 45 (OS)), *da-a-la-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KUB 21.3 i 6 (NH)), *da-la-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 10.3 i 5 (OH/NS), KBo 5.8 iii 12, 39 (NH), KBo 16.8 iii 17, 42 (NH), KUB 19.6 + 21.1 i 76 (NH), KUB 19.37 iii 40, 45 (NH)), *da-a-li-ja-nu-un* (KBo 5.4 obv. 25 (NH), KUB 1.1+ iii 26 (NH), KUB 19.67+64+ i 23 (NH), KUB 21.5+ ii 1 (NH)), *ta-a-li-ja-nu-un* (KUB 26.32 i 15 (NH)), *da-li-ja-nu-un* (KBo 3.3+ ii 3 (NH), KBo 3.6 ii 21 (NH), KBo 5.13 iv 3 (NH), KUB 14.3 i 38, ii 33 (NH), KUB 19.41+31.12 ii 6 (NH), KUB 19.66 + 6.41 i 16, iv 11 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-a-li-iš* (KBo 22.2 rev. 14 (OH/MS)), *da-a-li-iš* (KBo 3.38 rev. 31 (OH/NS), KUB 26.71 i 12 (OH/NS)), *da-li-iš* (KBo 26.136 obv. 14 (MH/MS), KBo 34.49 ii 6 (MH/MS)), *da-a-li-eš-ta* (KUB 14.1 i 5 (MH/MS)), *ta-a-li-eš-ta* (KBo 5.6 ii 12 (NH)), *da-a-li-iš-t[a]* (KUB 14.16 i 11 (NH)), *da-li-eš-ta* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 5 (MH/MS)), *da-a-la-aš* (KUB 33.9 iii 8 (OH/NS)), *da-a-li-ja-at* (KBo 22.11 i 7 (NS), KUB 1.1+ ii 55 (NH)), *da-li-ja-at* (KUB 1.1 iii 70 (NH), KUB 1.6+ iii 36 (NH), KUB 19.23 obv. 11 (NS)), *ta-li-ja-at* (KUB 19.49 i 3 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *da-li-ja-u-en* (HW: 205), 2pl.pret.act. *da-a-li-ja-at-tén* (KUB 22.70 i 43 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-a-li-e[r]* (KBo 15.10 ii 47 (OH/MS)), *ta-a-li-e-er* (HKM 58 obv. 9

(MH/MS)), *da-a-li-e-er* (Oettinger 1979a: 488<sup>77</sup>), 2sg.imp.act. *da-a-la* (KUB 33.5 ii 15 (OH/MS), KUB 33.66 iii 12 (OH/MS), ABoT 65 obv. 12 (MH/MS), KUB 1.16 + 40.65 ii 14 (OH/NS)), *da-a-li* (KUB 8.53 ii 22 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *da-la-a-ú* (KUB 36.55 ii 9 (MH/MS?)), *ta-a-li-eš-du* (KBo 3.3+ ii 9 (NH)), *ta-a-li-iš-du* (KUB 19.41 ii 13 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *da-a-li-iš-te-en* (KBo 21.22 rev. 50 (OH/MS)), *da-a-li-eš-tén* (KBo 32.14 ii 23, 39, iii 6, 20, 34, 54 (MH/MS)), *da-li-eš-te-en* (KUB 31.101, 8 (MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *da-a-la-an-du* (Oettinger 1979a: 487); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *da-a-li-ja-an* (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iv 16 (NH), KBo 4.4 ii 20 (NH)), *ta-li-ja-an* (KBo 2.6 + KUB 18.51 i 6, 13 (NH)), *da-li-ja-an* (KBo 5.3 ii 5 (NH)); verb.noun *da-lu-mar* (KUB 3.94 i 24 (NS)), *da-li-ja-u-ar* (KUB 3.94 i 16), *da-a-li-ja-u-ua-ar* (KBo 14.21 i 28, 55 (NS)), *ta-li-ja-ua-ar* (KUB 18.18, 15 (NS)); impf. *da-li-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *da-liš-ke/a-* (NS), *da-li-eš-ke/a-*, *ta-li-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE  $d\acute{a}$  +  $*lh_1oi-ei$ ,  $d\acute{a}$  +  $*lh_1-i-enti$ .

The oldest attestations (OS) of this verb, *tālai*, *dālai*, *tālahhun*, *tālier*, *dālišten*, show that originally this verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class:  $d\acute{a}la^{-i}$  /  $d\acute{a}li-$ . As I have explained in the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h, this class consists of polysyllabic verbs that used to belong to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class but are gradually being taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class, having the *mēma/i*-inflection as an intermediate stage. Also in the case of *dāla/i*- this is visible since we find some specific *tarn(a)*-class forms in younger (NS) texts: *dālanzi*, *dālaš*, *dālandu* and *dālumar*. That this verb originally was *dāi/tijanzi*-inflected is visible in the fact that in younger (NS) texts we find many forms that show a stem  $d\acute{a}lije/a^{-zi}$ . Once, we find a form that shows a stem  $d\acute{a}lae^{-zi}$  (*dālaizzi* (MS)), which is built directly on the original 3sg.pres.act. *dālai*. So all in all, despite the wild variety of forms, we can safely conclude that originally this verb must have shown an inflection  $*d\acute{a}lai^{-i}$  /  $d\acute{a}li-$ .

Because of the disyllability of the stem, this verb cannot directly reflect a PIE root. Therefore, etymological proposals like Kapancjan's connection with Arm. *t'ohum* 'to let, to endure' (1931-33: 63) or Petersen's connection with Lat. *tollō* 'to bear', Goth. *pulan* 'to endure', etc. (1937: 210) cannot be upheld anymore. Oettinger (1979a: 488, with reference to Eichner) proposes to connect *dāla/i*- to  $l\acute{a}^{-i}$  /  $l-$  'to loosen, to release' (q.v.), which semantically is convincing. In his view, we are dealing with a preverb  $d\acute{a}-$  <  $*d\acute{o}$ , which is supposed to be an ablaut-variant of Lat. *dē* 'from, away', followed by  $l\acute{a}/l-$ . Problematic, however, is the fact that we have no other examples of  $*d\acute{o}$  (or  $*d\acute{e}$ , for that matter) in Anatolian. Moreover, the second part of *dāla/i*- cannot be directly equated with  $l\acute{a}/l-$  since



the former verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class that goes back to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class < \**CC-oi-* / \**CC-i-*, whereas *lā-/l-* reflects \**lōh<sub>1</sub>-ei*, \**lh<sub>1</sub>-énti*. So, although I do believe that we have to assume some kind of compound of which the second element is cognate with *lā-/l-* (but showing a different inflection), the exact origin of the first element remains unclear to me. Perhaps we are dealing with a compound like \**dóh<sub>1</sub>-lh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-* ‘to leave it like it was put’.

**talli-** (adj.) ‘pleasant(?)’: nom.pl.c. *ta-al-li-eš*

Derivatives: **tallijēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to be pleasant(?)’ (2sg.imp.act. *tal-li-i-e-eš*; part. *da-al-liš-ša-an-t*).

IE cognates: OCS *u-toliti* ‘to soothe’, Lith. *tīlti* ‘to become quiet’ and OIr. *tu(i)lid* ‘sleeps’.

PIE \**tolH-i-* ?

Hapax in KUB 30.19+ iv (21) *ki-i=ua-a=t-ta ta-al-li-eš a-ša-a[n-du]* ‘these (offerings) shall be *t*. to you’. It is quite likely that *ta-al-li-eš* means ‘pleasant’ or similar here. Formally, this form can belong with an *i*-stem as well as an *a*-stem adjective. An inner-Hittite cognate could be the verb **tallijēšš-<sup>zi</sup>**, which is found in the following context:

VBoT 24 iii

(37) *an-da=kán e-ḫu ᵈLAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> kur-ša-aš*

(38) *nu-u=n-na-aš=ša-an an-da mi-i-e-eš*

(39) *nu-u=n-na-aš=ša-an an-da tal-li-i-e-eš*

‘Come inside, o tutelary deity of the *k*! Be kind to us! Be *t*. to us!’.

On the basis of this context, **tallijēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** must be translated ‘to be pleasant’, which would certainly fit *ta-al-li-eš*, and determines the latter form as an *i*-stem adjective. A meaning ‘to be pleasant’ could also fit the participle *dalliššant-* in the following context:

KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 iv

(8) *nu=mu DINGIR=IA da-al-liš-š[a-a]n-ti UN-š*i* UD<sup>KAM.HI.A</sup>-uš*

(9) *i-da<<-da>>-la-e-eš GE<sub>6</sub>-uš HUL-e-eš<sup>1</sup> ma-ni-in-ku-ua-an*

(10) *le-e tar-na-at-ti*

‘O my god, may you not release bad days and bad nights in the vicinity of me, a pleasant man!’.

According to Oettinger (1979a: 251) these words may belong with *talliġe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to pray for’, which he connects (o.c.: 346) with OCS *u-toliti* ‘to soothe’. Although I do not find the connection with *talliġe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* very appealing (see there for an alternative etymology), the connection between *talli-* ‘pleasant(?)’, *talliġēšš-* ‘to be pleasant(?)’ and OCS *u-toliti* ‘to soothe’ is in my view at least a possibility. LIV<sup>2</sup> connects OCS *u-toliti* further with Lith. *tilti* ‘to become quiet’ and OIr. *tu(i)lid* ‘sleeps’ and reconstructs *\*telH-*. For Hittite, this may mean that we have to reconstruct *\*tolH-i-*.

***talliġe/a<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to pray to, to evoke (a deity)’: 3sg.pres.act. *tal-li-ġa-zi* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *tal-li-ġa-at*; part. *tal-li-an-t-*, *tal-li-ġa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *tal-li-ġa-u-aš*; inf.I *tal-li-ġa-u-ġa-an-zi*; impf. *tal-li-eš-ke/a-*, *tal-li-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: ON *telja*, OE *talian* ‘to tell’, Gr. δόλος ‘list’.

PIE *\*de/olH-ġe/o- ?*

See Tischler HEG T: 58f. for attestations. The verb denotes the evoking of deities. Within Hittite, this verb is sometimes connected with *talli-* ‘pleasant(?)’ and *talliġēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to be pleasant(?)’ (see under *talli-*), but this does not make sense semantically. Tischler (1979: 265) rather connects *talliġe/a-* with ON *telja*, OE *talian* ‘to tell’, Gr. δόλος ‘guile, trick’, which is semantically better. If correct, the geminate *-ll-* in Hittite seems to point to *\*-lH-*. We therefore should reconstruct a root *\*delH-*, with Hitt. *talliġe/a-* reflecting *\*delH-ġe/o-* or *\*dolH-ġe/o-* (a pre-form *\*dlH-ġe/o-* is impossible, cf. e.g. *pariġanzi* ‘they blow’ < *\*prh<sub>i</sub>ientī*).

**\**taluki-* / *talugai-*** (adj.) ‘long’ (Sum. GÍD.DA): nom.sg.c. GÍD.DA-*aš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *ta-lu-kán* (NS), *ta-lu-ga-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-lu-ga*, gen.sg. *da-lu-ga-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *da-lu-ga-a-i* (OH/NS), abl. *da-lu-ga-ġa-az* (NH), nom.pl.c. *ta-lu-ga-e-eš* (OS), acc.pl.c. *ta-lu-ga-ú-uš* (OS), *da-lu-ga-uš* (OH/MS), *ta-lu-ga-uš* (MH/MS), *da-lu-ga-e-eš* (NH), gen.pl. *ta-lu-ga-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ta-lu-ga-aš* (OS), *da-a-lu-ga-u-ġa-aš* (KUB 27.67 ii 40 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***talūga*** (adv.) ‘long’ (*ta-lu-ú-ga* (OH/NS)), ***daluknu<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to lengthen’ (2pl.imp.act. *ta-lu-ga-nu-ut-tén* (OH/MS)), ***daluknul-*** (n.) ‘lengthening’ (all.sg. *da-lu-uk-nu-la* (KUB 12.63+ obv. 30 (OH/MS)), ***dalukēšš<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become long’ (3sg.pres.act. *da-a-lu-ke-eš-zi* (OH/NS), *ta-lu-keš-zi* (OH/NS), *da-lu-ki-iš[-zi]* (OH/NS), *ta-lu-ki-iš-zi* (OH/NS); part. *ta-lu-ki-iš-ša-an-t-* (OH/NS)), ***dalugašti-*** ‘length’ (dat.-loc.sg. *da-lu-ga-aš-ti*, *ta-lu-ga-aš-ti*), see *zaluknu<sup>-zi</sup>* and *zalukēšš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

IE cognates: Skt. *dīrghá-*, GAy. *darəga-*, OCS *dlǫgъ*, Russ. *dólgij*, SCr. *dǔg*, Lith. *ilgas*, Gr. *δολιχός*, Goth. *laggs*, ON *langr*, Lat. *longus* ‘long’.

PIE *\*dólug<sup>h</sup>-i-*

The oldest forms of this word, nom.pl.c. *talugaēš*, acc.pl.c. *talugaūš* and dat.-loc.pl. *talugaš* (all OS) clearly show that it originally was an *i*-stem adjective (so *talugaš* < *\*talugaǵiaš*), despite the fact that no form with *taluki-* is attested. In NS texts, we find some attestations that show specific *a*-stem forms: nom.sg.c. *GÍD.DA-aš*, acc.sg.c. *talugan* (both NS), which must be analogical to oblique cases where *\*-aǵa-* > *-a-* (e.g. gen.sg. *\*dalugaš* < *\*dalugaǵiaš*, etc.). The one *u*-stem form dat.-loc.pl. *dālugauuāš* must be regarded as a mistake (cf. Tischler HEG T: 62). The derivatives *daluknu<sup>-zi</sup>*, *dalukēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* and *dalugašti-* are derived from the bare stem *talug-* (without *-i-*). See at *zaluknu<sup>-zi</sup>* for my view that *zaluknu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to lengthen’ and *zalukēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to become long’ are cognate with *talug-* in the sense that they reflect the zero-grade stem *\*dlug-* (showing the development *\*#tl- > #zl-*) whereas *talug-* goes back to *\*dólug-* (cf. the occasional plene spelling *da-a-lu-k<sup>o</sup>*). The verbs *dalugnu<sup>-zi</sup>* and *dalukēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* have generalized the full grade stem *talug-*.

Already since Hrozný (1915: 28) this word is generally regarded as cognate with the other IE words for ‘long’, although the reconstruction of one proto-form is quite difficult. Skt. *dīrghá-*, GAy. *darəga-*, OCS *dlǫgъ*, Russ. *dólgij*, SCr. *dǔg*, Lith. *ilgas* all reflect *\*dlh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>ó-* (the laryngeal is determined as *\*h<sub>1</sub>* on the basis of Gr. *ἐν-δελχής* ‘lasting long’ < *\*delh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*), whereas Gr. *δολιχός* must reflect *\*doli-g<sup>h</sup>o-* or *\*dolh<sub>1</sub>ig<sup>h</sup>o-*. Goth. *laggs*, ON *langr*, Lat. *longus* ‘long’ reflect *\*dlong<sup>h</sup>o-*, however (*\*dlh<sub>1</sub>ong<sup>h</sup>o-* is possible only if one assumes that initial *\*d-* was dropped before the vocalization of *\*-l-* in Germanic, otherwise we would expect PGerm. *\*tulanga-*). Hitt. *taluki-* then seems to reflect *\*dólug<sup>h</sup>i-* (note that *\*dólh<sub>1</sub>ug<sup>h</sup>i-* is impossible since *\*VRh<sub>1</sub>V > VRRV*, cf. *zinnanzi* < *\*tinh<sub>1</sub>énti*, *ārri* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ór<sub>h</sub>ei*). So, all in all, for Hittite we have to reckon with a pre-form *\*dólug<sup>h</sup>-i-* besides *\*dlug<sup>h</sup>-néu-* and *\*dlug<sup>h</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-*. The exact relation between *\*d(o)lug<sup>h</sup>-*, *\*d(e)lh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*, *\*d(o)lig<sup>h</sup>-* and *\*dlong<sup>h</sup>-* is unclear. Perhaps we are dealing with a petrified pair (cf. ModEng. *high and dry*, *safe and sound*) of which the first element was *\*de/ol-* and the second element has been eroded to *\*-g<sup>h</sup>-* only.

For the interpretation of *da-lu-uk-nu-la* as all.sg. of a noun *daluknul-* see Rieken 1999a: 465f. (pace the reading 3pl.pret.act. *da-lu-uk-nu-úr<sup>1</sup>* by CHD P: 158). The noun *dalugašti-* ‘length’ has been compared with Pol. *dlugość* ‘length’ < PSI. *\*dlǫgostъ*. If correct, it would show non-assibilation of *\*-ti-* in a cluster *\*-sti-* (cf. Joseph 1984: 3-4).

*taluppant-*: see at *tarupp-*<sup>zi</sup>

*tamāi-* / *tame-* (adj. with pron. inflection) ‘other, second’: nom.sg.c. *ta-ma-iš* (OS), *ta-ma-i-iš* (MH/MS), *da-ma-iš* (MH/MS), *ta-ma-a-iš* (OH/NS), *da-ma-a-iš*, *da-ma-a-i-iš*, *da-ma-i-iš*, *ta-a-ma-a-i[š]* (KBo 12.71, 1 (fr.), 7 (NS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-iš*, acc.sg.c. [*t*]*a-ma-i-in* (OS), *ta-ma-a-in* (MH/MS), *ta-ma-in* (MH/MS), *da-ma-in*, *da-ma-a-in*, *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-in*, *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-i-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-ma-i* (OS), *ta-ma-a-i* (MH/MS), *da-ma-i*, *da-ma-a-i*, *da-a-ma-i* (KUB 55.63 ii 10 (NS)), gen.sg. *ta-me-e-el*, *ta-me-el*, *da-me-e-el*, *da-me-el*, *da<sub>x</sub>-me-el*, dat.sg. *ta-me-e-da-ni* (MH/MS), *ta-me-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *da-me-e-da-ni*, *da-me-da-ni*, *da-me-e-ta-ni*, *da-me-ta-ni*, *ta-me-da-ni*, *ta-mi-e-ta-ni*, *da-me-i-da-ni* (HKM 70 obv. 9 (MH/MS)), *ta-me-i-da-ni* (KUB 26.43 + KBo 22.56 obv. 64), *ta-a-me-ta-ni* (KUB 13.17 iv 13 (NS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-me-e-da-ni*, *ta-me-e-da*, *ta-me-da*, *ta-me-ta*, *da-me-e-da*, *da-me-da*, *da<sub>x</sub>-me-da*, *ta-ma-at-ta* (KUB 30.10 ii 15 (OH/MS)), abl. *ta-me-e-da-az*, *ta-me-da-za*, *da-me-da-za*, nom.pl.c. *ta-ma-e-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl.c. *ta-ma-a-uš* (OS), *da-ma-uš*, *da-a-ma-uš* (KBo 4.12 obv. 23, 28 (NH)), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*t*]*a-ma-a-e* (OS), *ta-ma-a-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *ta-me-e-da-aš*, *da-me-e-da-aš*, *ta-me-da-aš*, *da-me-ta-š=a-aš*.

Derivatives: *tameuman-* (adj.) ‘belonging to someone else, strange, different’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-me-u-ma-an* (OH/NS), [*ta-*]*mi-u-ma-an* (OH/NS), *da-me-um-ma-an* (MH/MS), *da<sub>x</sub>-me-um-ma-an* (NS), *ta-me-e-u-ma-an* (Bo 6109, 4 (StBoT 17: 25)), *tameummēš-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become different, to change (instr.)’ (3sg.pret.act. *ta-me-um-me-iš-ta* (NS); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-me-um-mi-i[š-š]a-an* (NS), [*a-me-u*]*m-mi-eš-ša* (NS)), *damiummah-*<sup>aa(ri)</sup> (IIIh) ‘to change (trans.)’ (3sg.pres.midd. *da-mi-um-mah-da-ri* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. [*da-mi-u*]*m-ma-aḥ-ta-at* (NS)).

PIE *\*tmh<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / *\*tmh<sub>1</sub>-e-* ?

This adjective shows a mixed nominal and pronominal inflection, showing a stem *tamāi-* besides *tame-*: *tamāiš*, *tamāin*, *tamēl*, *tamēda(ni)*, *tamēdaz*, *tamaeš* < *\*tamāieš*, *tamāuš* < *\*tamāiuš*, *tamāi*, *tamēdaš*.

For etymological considerations it is important to establish whether we are dealing with /tam-/ or /tm-/. The first option seems to be required in view of the few attestation *ta-a-m<sup>o</sup>* and *da-a-m<sup>o</sup>*. Yet since these forms are found in NS texts only they may not be very probative. If however the word indeed is /tam-/, we could think of a connection with *tān* ‘for the second time’ < *\*duoi-om* (cf. e.g. Kronasser 1956: 151-2). Then we should reconstruct *\*duo-moi-*, *\*duo-me-*, although the origin of *\*-m-* is not fully clear to me. If we are dealing with /tm-/,

however, we could perhaps think of a connection with the IE root *\*temh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to cut’ (Gr. τέμνω, τέμνω ‘to cut’, Lat. *temnō* ‘to despise’, Mlr. *tamnaid* ‘to cut’, etc.), compare e.g. ModEng. *separate* for the semantics. We should then reconstruct *\*tmh<sub>1</sub>-oi-*, *\*tmh<sub>1</sub>-e-*, which in my view formally is more appropriate.

The derivative *tameuman-* is clearly made up of the oblique stem *tame-* and the appurtenance-suffix *-umen-* / *-umn-* (q.v.), cf. Catsanicos 1983: 88.

**tamāšš-<sup>z</sup>** / **tame/išš-** (Ia6) ‘to (op)press’: 1sg.pres.act. *ta-ma-a-aš-mi* (KUB 24.15 i 16 (NS)), *ta-ma-aš-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 16 (NS), KUB 36.35 i 2 (fr.), 14 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ta-ma-aš-ti* (KBo 14.15, 4 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-ma-a-aš-zi* (IBoT 1.36 i 34 (MH/MS)), *ta-ma-aš-zi* (KUB 32.9 obv. 2 (fr.) (MS), KUB 35.21 rev. 16 (fr.) (MS), KUB 13.4 iii 75 (OH/NS), KUB 12.49 i 10 (NS), KUB 58.34 iv 18 (NS)), *da-ma-aš-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 42, 44 (OH/NS), KUB 44.61 rev. 25, 31 (MH?/NS)), Luw.? *da-ma-aš-ti* (KBo 5.9 ii 26 (NH)), *[t]a-mi-iš-z[i]* (KBo 18.69 rev. 12 (MS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-me-e-eš-zi* (KUB 12.2 iii 15 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *da-me-iš-ša-a[n-zi]* (KUB 29.48 rev. 19 (MH?/MS)), *ta-me-eš-ša-an-zi* (Oettinger 1979a: 122 (MH)), *ta-ma-[aš]-ša-an-z[i]* (KUB 15.34 i 44 (MH/MS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 59.34 iii 7 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-ma-aš-šu-un* (KUB 21.19 iii 32, 33 (NH)), *da-ma-aš-šu-un* (KBo 3.6 ii 8 (NH), KUB 1.6 ii 17 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ma-a-aš-ta* (KUB 24.4 obv. 15 (OH/MS), KBo 24.11 rev. 7 (NS)), *ta-ma-aš-ta* (KUB 24.4 obv. 16 (OH/MS), HKM 6 obv. 6, 7 (MH/MS), KUB 26.75 obv. 8 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 ii 26 (MH/NS), KUB 14.14 rev. 24 (NH)), *da<sub>x</sub>-me-eš-ta* (KBo 13.68 obv. 11 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *ta-me-eš-šu-u-en* (KBo 3.60 iii 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ta-me-eš-šer* (KBo 22.2 rev. 12 (OH/MS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-m[i-i]š-šer<sub>o</sub>* (KBo 3.38 rev. 29 (OH/NS)), *ta-ma-aš-šer* (KBo 3.4 ii 75 (NH), KBo 16.1 iv 33 (NH), KUB 13.34 i 36 (NS)), *ta-ma-aš-ši-er* (KUB 33.95 iv 9 (NS)), *da<sub>x</sub>-me-eš-ši-er* (AT 545 ii 22 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ta-ma-a-aš-du* (KUB 33.66 i 16 (OH/MS)), *ta-ma-aš-du* (KUB 33.93 iii 31 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ta-ma-aš-ta* (KUB 5.6 ii 38 (NS)), *da-ma-aš-ta-ri* (KUB 15.29 i 12 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ta-ma-aš-ta-at* (KBo 4.6 obv. 25 (NH), KUB 14.10 i 8 (NH), KUB 14.12 obv. 3 (NH)); part. *ta-mi-eš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 12.43, 10 (OS)), *ta-me-eš-ša-an-t-* (IBoT 1.36 iii 59 (MH/MS)), *ta-me-iš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 60.164 ii 10 (NS)), *ta-ma-aš-ša-an-t-* (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iii 51 (NH), KUB 23.70 obv. 70 (NS)), *da-ma-aš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 19.29 iv 5 (NH), KUB 22.70 obv. 81 (NH), CTH 81.E iii 20 (NH)), *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 20.2 iv 14 (OH/NS), KUB 5.1 ii 8, iii 31 (NH), 1342/v, 5 (undat.)); verb.noun gen.sg. *da<sub>x</sub>-ma-aš-šu-aš* (KBo 18.181 rev. 26 (NS)); inf.I *ta-ma-aš-šu-u-an<sup>1</sup>-zi* (IBoT 4.25 rev. 6 (OS?)); impf. *da-me-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 22.1 obv. 1, 19 (OS), KBo 15.32 iv 3 (OH/MS)), *ta-me-eš-ke/a* (KBo 22.1

obv. 3 (OS), KUB 43.62 ii 2 (NS)), *ta-me-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 14.86 i 5 (OH/NS)), *ta-ma-aš-ke/a-* (KBo 4.2 i 57 (OH/NS), KBo 22.143 i 4 (undat.)), *da-ma-aš-ke/a-* (KBo 14.3 iii 18 (NH)).

Derivatives: see *damme/išhā-*.

IE cognates: Gr. δάμνημι ‘to tame’, OIr. *damnaim* ‘to tie up’, Skt. *damāyāti* ‘to tame’, Lat. *domāre* ‘to tame’.

PIE *\*dméh<sub>2</sub>-s-ti*, *\*dmh<sub>2</sub>-s-énti*

In OS and MS texts, this verb is consistently spelled with single *-m-* (*ta-m<sup>o</sup>* and *da-m<sup>o</sup>*). In NS texts we encounter numerous spellings with the sign DAM, which at first sight seem to indicate *-mm-*. Melchert (1991: 126) convincingly argues that in NS texts the sign DAM can be read *da<sub>x</sub>* (besides normal *dam*), however, and I therefore have adopted that reading here (cf. also *išdamašš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to hear’ under the lemma <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ištāman-* / *ištamin-*).

The oldest attestations (OS and OH/MS) of this verb are *ta-ma-a-aš-ta*, *ta-ma-aš-ta*, *ta-me-eš-šir*, *ta-ma-a-aš-du*, *ta-mi-eš-ša-an-t-*, *ta-ma-aš-šu-ua-an-zi*, *da-me-eš-ke/a-* and *ta-me-eš-ke/a-*, which clearly show that we are dealing with an original ablaut *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-*. This makes this verb unique in Hittite since there are no other *-ā-/-e/i-*ablauting *mi-*verbs. Because of its singularity, the ablaut is prone to be analogically altered, and therefore we find aberrancies already in MS texts: 3sg.pres.act. [*t*]*amišz[i]* (MS) and 3pl.pres.act. *tama[š]šanzi* (MS). In NS texts, we can see that the original ablaut pattern is getting blurred: *-a-* is spreading in weak-stem forms (*tamaššanzi*, *tamaššant-* and *tamaške/a-*) and *-e-* in strong stems forms (*damēšzi* and *damešta*).

Already since Sturtevant (1932b: 119f.) this verb is generally connected with Gr. δάμνημι, Skt. *damāyāti*, etc. ‘to tame’ < *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-*. This means that *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* must show an *s*-extension of some kind. The exact nature of this *-s-* remains unclear. It has been viewed as an aorist-*s-* (Sturtevant l.c. and followers) or as a present-suffix comparable to the *s*-future of other IE languages (Pedersen 1938: 90, 95f. and followers), but no theory has won general acceptance. It is clear, however, that within Hittite *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* has to be compared with other *s*-extended verbs like *kane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to recognize’, *kallišš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *kališš-* ‘to call’, *karš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to cut’, *pāš-<sup>i</sup>* / *pašš-* ‘to drink’, *ānš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to wipe’, *ḫane/išš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wipe’ and *paḫš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to protect’.

Despite the fact that the etymological connection with *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-* is well accepted, there is no consensus on the exact interpretation of this verb. The first problem lies in the fact that *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* seems to reflect phonetic /*tmVS-*/, as if from *\*dmVh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, whereas the bare root has a full-grade *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-*. Such a Schwebe-

ablaut is not unparalleled in *s*-extensions, however, compare \**mieks-* from \**meik-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>leks-* from \**h<sub>2</sub>elk-* and *h<sub>2</sub>ueks-* from \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-* (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> under their respective lemmas). I therefore assume that *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* indeed goes back to \**dmVh<sub>2</sub>-s-*.

The second problem lies in the reconstruction of the ablaut-pattern of the proto-forms. Because of its uniqueness within Hittite, the synchronic ablaut *-ā/-e/i-* cannot be of secondary origin in the sense that it is the result of a morphologic analogy: there is no model in analogy to which this ablaut could have been created and it therefore must be the result of phonetic developments. In Kloekhorst fthc.f I have extensively argued that the *-e/i-* of the weak stem *tame/išš-* must be an anaptyctic vowel /i/ that emerged in the cluster \**CRHsV* > *CRissV* (similarly in *ǵnh<sub>3</sub>sénti* > *kane/iššanzi* ‘they recognize’, \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>sénti* > *hane/iššanzi* ‘they wipe’ and \**klh<sub>1</sub>sénti* > *gališšanzi* ‘they call’). So *tame/iššanzi* /*tmiSánt<sup>s</sup>i*/ must reflect \**dmh<sub>2</sub>sénti* (note that *hane/iššanzi* < \**h<sub>2</sub>mh<sub>1</sub>sénti* shows that \**dmh<sub>2</sub>sénti* regularly should have yielded \*\**tane/iššanzi*: it is easy to understand how *-m-* is restored here on the basis of the strong stem *tamāšš-* where it was regularly maintained, whereas the strong stem that corresponds to *hane/iššanzi* underwent a development \**m* > *n* as well: \**h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>sei* > *ānši*). Because of the *Ø*-grade in the weak stem, we would *a priori* assume that the strong stem had ordinary full-grade \**e*: \**dméh<sub>2</sub>-s-ti*. This form should have regularly become \**tmaḥšzi*, but because of the absence of *-h-* in the weak stem /*tmiS-*/ it was removed in the singular as well, yielding *tamāšzi*. All in all, the precise developments must have been as follows: \**dmh<sub>2</sub>sénti* > \**dn<sup>?</sup>sánti* > \**dn<sup>?</sup>sánt<sup>s</sup>i* >> \**dm<sup>?</sup>sánt<sup>s</sup>i* (with analogical reintroduction of *-m-*) in analogy to which \**dmá<sup>s</sup>st<sup>s</sup>i* (< \**dméh<sub>2</sub>sti*) was altered to \**dmá<sup>s</sup>st<sup>s</sup>i*. The regular outcomes of \**dm<sup>?</sup>sánt<sup>s</sup>i* was Hitt. /*tmiSánt<sup>s</sup>i*/, spelled *tame/iššanzi*, and the regular outcome of \**dmá<sup>s</sup>st<sup>s</sup>i* was Hitt. /*tmaš<sup>s</sup>i*/, spelled *tamāšzi*. This means that *tamāšzi*, *tame/iššanzi* ultimately goes back to a paradigm \**dméh<sub>2</sub>-s-ti*, \**dmh<sub>2</sub>-s-énti*.

***tame(n)k-***<sup>z</sup> (Ib3) ‘(act. trans.) to affix, to attach; (midd. and act. intr.) to stick to, to join, to have an affection for’: 1sg.pres.act. *ta-me-ni-ik-mi* (Bo 3445, 11 (MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *da-mi-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 17.105 iv 3 (MH/NS)), *ta-me-ek-zi* (KUB 23.1+iii 9 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-me-ni-kán-zi* (KBo 20.116 rev.<sup>?</sup> 10 (MH/NS)), *ta-mi-[n]i-kán-[zi]* (KUB 25.48 + 44.49 ii<sup>1</sup> 28 (MH/NS)), *ta-me-en-kán-z[i]* (KUB 21.34 rev. 11 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-me-in-ker* (VBoT 58 i 40 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *dam-me-ek-ta-ri* (KUB 21.29 iv 9 (NH)), *ta-me-ek-ta-ri* (KUB 7.41 i 26 (MH/NS), KUB 41.8 i 5 (MH/NS)), *da-me-ek-ta-ri* (KBo 10.45 i 19 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ta-mi-in-kán-ta-r[i]* (KBo 15.35+33 i 4 (MH/MS)),

3sg.pret.midd. *ta-me-ek-ta-ti* (KBo 42.74, 7 (NS)), *ta-me-ek-ta-at* (KBo 17.105 iv 4 (MH/MS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *te-me-ek-ta-ru* (KUB 9.4 ii 2 (MH/NS)); part. *da-me-in-kán-za* (HT 6 + KBo 9.125 i 21 (NS)), *ta-mi-in-kán-za* (KBo 15.28 obv. 12 (MS)), *[t]a-me-in-kán* (KUB 60.67, 6 (NS)), *da-mi-in-kán-ta-a-an* (KBo 15.34 ii 30 (OH/NS)), *ta-me-en-kán-te-eš<sub>17</sub>* (KUB 48.123 iv 8 (NS)), *da-mi-en-kán-te-eš* (KUB 4.1 iii 19 (NS)), *dam-me-en-kán-du-uš* (KUB 24.7 iii 70 (NS)), verb.noun *dam-me-en-ku-u-ar* (KBo 18.24 i 6, 16 (NH)), *dam-me-in-ku-u-ar* (KUB 24.13 ii 5 (MH/NS)), inf.I *[d]a-me-en-ku-u-an-zi* (KUB 23.94, 2 (NS)).

Derivatives: *tamenganu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make attach(?)’ (2sg.pres.act. *ta<sup>1</sup>-me-en-ka<sub>r</sub>-nu-ši* (KBo 27.60, 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *[ta]-me-in-ga-nu-zi* (KBo 35.94 iv 6 (NS)), *ta-me-in<sup>1</sup>-ga<sup>1</sup>-[nu]-u[z-zi]* (VSNF 12.57 iv 27 (NS)); impf.2sg.pres.act. *t[a-me-i]n-ga-nu-uš-ke-š[i]* (KBo 43.291 obv. 2 (NS)); broken *ta-me-en-ga-nu[-...]* (KUB 13.35 i 26 (NS)), *ta-me-en-ga-nu[-...]* (KUB 31.99, 22 (NS))

IE cognates: Skt. *tañc-* ‘to pull together, to coagulate’, MĪr. *tēcht* ‘solidified’, ON *þétrr* ‘close, thick’, Lith. *tánkus* ‘dense, frequent’.

PIE *\*tm-én-k-ti / \*tm-n-k-énti*

This verb shows a few different stems. In the middle forms, we encounter the stem *tame(n)k-* (showing the distribution *tamek-C* vs. *tame/ink-V*), but in the active forms we find the stems *tame(n)k-* as well as *tameni(n)k-* (e.g. *tamenikmi*, *daminikzi*). In my view, this latter stem must be regarded as a secondary creation in analogy to the verbs of the type *Carni(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>*.

Since Van Brock - Mac Gregor (1962a: 32f.), *tame(n)k<sup>-zi</sup>* is generally connected with Skt. *tanakti* (*tañc-*) ‘to pull together, to coagulate’ and therefore must reflect the PIE root *\*temk-*. It is remarkable that both Sanskrit (*tanak-* < *\*tm-ne-k-*) and Hittite (*tamenk-* < *\*tm-Vn-k-*) show a nasal infix formation, and there has been much debate on the exact formal connection between these two (see Tischler HEG T: 78 for an overview of different opinions). See chapter 2.2.4 for my account of the prehistory of the nasal infix verbs.

***damme/išḫā-*** (c.) ‘damaging, act of violence, punishment’: nom.sg. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-aš* (NS), acc.sg. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a-an* (MH/NS), *dam-mi-iš-ḫa-a-an* (MH/MS), *dam-mi-iš-ḫa-an* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *dam-me-eš-ḫi* (NS).

Derivatives: ***damme/išḫa*** (adv.) ‘violently’ (*dam-me-eš-ḫa*, *dam-mi-eš-ḫa*, *dam-mi-iš-ḫa*), ***damme/išḫae<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to damage’ (2sg.pres.act. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a-ši* (KUB 58.73 iii 7 (MH/NS)), *dam-me-eš-ḫa-ši* (IBoT 3.148 iv 38 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *dam-mi-iš-ḫa-ez-zi* (HKM 46 rev. 17 (MH/MS)), *dam-me-iš-ḫa-a-ez-zi* (HKM 25 rev. 21 (MH/MS)), *dam-me-eš-ḫa-iz-zi* (ABoT 56 iii 14 (NH)),



*dam-mi-iš-ḥa-iz-zi* (KUB 13.7 i 4 (MH/NS), *ta-meš-ḥa-zi* (HHCTO 1 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *dam-me-iš-ḥa-a-it* (KBo 13.33 ii 6 (NS)), *dam-mi-eš-ḥa-a-it* (KUB 14.14 obv. 16 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *dam-me-eš-ḥa-a-er* (KBo 3.4 iii 60 (NH)); 2sg.pres.midd. *dam-mi-iš-ḥa-et<ta>-ri* (HKM 80 obv. 6 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *dam-mi-iš-ḥa-an-da-ri* (HKM 31 obv. 12 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *dam-me-eš-ḥa-a-it-ta-at* (KUB 14.13+ i 29 (NH)); part. *tā-ḡam-[m]i-iš-ḥa-an-t-* (KBo 25.25 obv. 4 (OS)), *dam-me-eš-ḥa-an-t-*, *dam-me-iš-ḥa-an-t-*; verb.noun *dam-me-eš-ḥa-a-u-ua-ar* (KBo 13.34 iii 7 (OH or MH/NS)); impf. *dam-mi-iš-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *dam-me-iš-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *dam-me-eš-ḥi-iš-ke/a-*, **dammešḥanu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make punish’ (1sg.pret.act. *dam-me-eš-ḥa-nu-nu-un* (KBo 4.8 ii 13 (NH)); impf. *dam-mi-eš-ḥa-nu-u[š-ke/a-]* (KBo 18.109 rev. 4 (NS))).

IE cognates: see at *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-*.

PIE \**demh<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*

See Otten 1973: 52 for attestations. This noun and its derivatives are almost consistently spelled with the sign DAM. Although in NS texts this sign can be read *da<sub>x</sub>* as well (see e.g. *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* and *ištamašš-<sup>zi</sup>* (under <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ištāman-* / *ištamin-*)), its usage in MS texts and especially the OS attestation *tā-ḡam-[m]i-iš-ḥa-an-ta-an* show that all attestations should be read with geminate *-mm-*. We find spellings with *-i-* as well as *-e-* in MS texts already, which points to a phonological interpretation /daMišHa-*/*.

Already Götze (1930: 179) connected *damme/išḥā-* with the verb *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* ‘to oppress’. Although this is generally accepted, the fact that *damme/išḥā-* shows geminate *-mm-*, whereas *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-* does not, is significant. As I have shown under the lemma of *tamāšš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tame/išš-*, this verb has to be phonologically interpreted /tmāS-*/*, /tmīS-*/* and goes back to \**dméh<sub>2</sub>-s-ti*, \**dmh<sub>2</sub>-s-énti*. The noun *damme/išḥā-* must be phonologically interpreted /taMišHā-*/*, however, with a real vowel *-a-* between *d-* and *-mm-*. This vowel can only reflect a real PIE vowel. I therefore reconstruct \**demh<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*. For the development of \**CeRHsC* > *CaRRisC* compare *kallišta* /kálListal ‘called’ < \**kélh<sub>1</sub>st(o)*.

For the suffix *-šḥa-* compare e.g. *palzahḥa-*, *ḥamešḥa-*, *tešḥa-*, etc.

**dampu-** (adj.) ‘blunt’: nom.-acc.n. *dam-pu* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: **tampuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become blunt (?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ta-am-pu-e-eš-z[i]* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-am-pu-e-eš-ta* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: SerbCS *topb* ‘blunt’, Russ. *tupój* ‘blunt’.

See Tischler HEG T: 86f. for attestations. The adj. *dampu-* occurs two times only, both times in contrast with *alpu-* (q.v.). From the contexts it is clear that one of these forms must mean ‘sharp’ and the other ‘blunt’, but for a long time it has been debated which word meant what. See now Tischler (l.c.) for an overview of the debate on the semantics and its outcome: *dampu-* means ‘blunt’. The most promising etymology is the one given by Popko (1974: 182) who compares it to SerbCS *topъ* ‘blunt’, Russ. *tupój* ‘blunt’. This would mean that *dampu-* reflects \**tomp-u-*.

**tān** (adv.) ‘for the second time, again, subordinately’: *ta-a-an* (OS), *da-a-an* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: see *tājuga-*, *tānḥašti-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*dujanalli-*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. *twa/i-* (adj.) ‘two’ (acc.pl.c. /twint<sup>s</sup>i/ “2” *tu-wa/i-zi* (MARAS 4 §7), 2-*zi-i* (ASSUR letter *b* §9), 2-*zi/a* (TOPADA §19)), *twisu* (adv.) ‘twice’ (2-*sú* (TOPADA §11)); Lyc. *kbi-* (adj.) ‘(an)other’ (acc.sg.c. *kbi*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *kbi*, dat.-sg. *kbi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *kbija*, gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *kbijehi*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *kbijehis*, gen.adj.abl.-instr. *kbijehedi*), *kbihu* (adv.) ‘twice’; Mil. *tbiisu* (adv.) ‘twice’, *tbiplē* ‘?’.

PAnat. \**du(o)i-*

IE cognates: Skt. *dvayá-* ‘twofold, in pairs’, Gr. *δοιοί* ‘both, two’, *δοιός* ‘double’, OCS *dvъojb* ‘twofold’, Lith. *dvejì* ‘two’, *dvėja* ‘of two kinds’.

PIE \**duoióm*

This adverb is attested multiple times. Once we find an attestation *ta-a UD-ti* ‘on the second day’ (KUB 32.123 iii 5 (NS)). It is unclear whether this is a genuine form or has to be emended to *ta-a-an UD-ti*. Already since Hrozný (1919: 116<sup>5</sup>), *tān* is connected with the PIE word for ‘two’. There is some debate on the exact formation, however. On the basis of the *i*-stem forms Lyc. *kbi-*, Mil. *tbi-* and HLuw. *twi-*, I assume that in Hittite, too, we are dealing with an original *i*-stem \**dui-*. This means that *tān* must reflect \**duoi-om*, which corresponds exactly to e.g. Skt. *dvayá-* ‘twofold’, Gr. *δοιός* ‘double’ etc. For the development \**Tuo* > *Ta*, cf. Melchert 1994a: 128.

Tischler (HEG T: 92) cites CLuw. *duyān* as a possible cognate, but its meaning cannot be determined.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**tanau-** (n.) a kind of tree: nom.-acc.pl. *ta-na-a-ú*.

IE cognates: ?OHG *tanna* ‘fir’, ?Skt. *dhānuṣ-* ‘bow’.

PIE *\*dʰn-ōu* ??

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This word is hapax on a landgrant: SBo 4 (2064/g) obv. 10. The fact that it denotes a tree can be deduced from the determinative GIŠ, but the text does not give a clue as to what kind of tree. Neumann (1961b: 77f.) compares the word with PGerm. *\*danuō-* ‘fir(tree)’ (OHG *tanna* ‘fir’). If Skt. *dhānuṣ-* ‘bow’ belongs here as well, then the etymon is *\*dʰen-u-*. If this is correct, Hitt. *tanāu* would reflect *\*dʰn-ōu*, formally a collective (cf. *\*ud-ōr* ‘water (coll.)’).

UZU *dānḥašti-* (n.) ‘double-bone’: nom.-acc.sg. *da-a-an-ḥa-aš-ti* (NS), *ta-an-ḥa-aš-ti* (NS), *da-ḥa-aš-ti* (NS).

PIE *\*duoiom* *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>*

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The exact meaning of this word cannot be determined, but it is clear that it denotes some body part (of cows and sheep). Nevertheless, the word is clearly a compound of *dān-* and *ḥašti-* of which the first part is cognate with *tān* ‘for the second time, again’ and the second part with *ḥaštai-* ‘bone’. Friedrich (HW Erg. 3: 31) therefore translates ‘Doppelknochen’. Starke (1990: 122f.) argues that *-ḥašti-* shows the old dual ending nom.-acc.n. *-ih<sub>1</sub>-* (see also <sup>GIS</sup>*elzi-*). See at *ḥaštāi* / *ḥašti-* for the reconstruction *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-*, which shows that the non-assimilation of *-t-* in *\*h<sub>3</sub>esth<sub>1</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>* is due to the following *-h<sub>1</sub>-*. See at *tān* and *ḥaštai-* / *ḥašti-* for further etymology.

*-ttani* (2pl.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flexion): see *-tten(i)*

*taninu-*<sup>z</sup> (Ib2) ‘to install, to settle’: 1sg.pres.act. *ta-a-ni-nu-mi* (KUB 14.13 iv 3 (NH)), *ta-ni-nu-mi*, *ta-ni-nu-um-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *da-ni-nu-uz-zi*, *ta-ni-nu-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ta-ni-nu-ṽa-an-zi*, *ta-ni-nu-an-zi*, *da-ni-nu-ṽa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ta-ni-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ni-nu-ut*, *da-ni-nu-ut*, Luw. [*t*]a-n[*i*]-nu-ut-ta (KUB 31.7 rev. 8 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ta-ni-nu-er*; part. *ta-ni-nu-ṽa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ta-ni-nu-ma-aš*; inf.I *ta-ni-nu-ma-an-zi*, *ta-ni-nu-um-ma-an-zi*.

PIE *\*dʰoh<sub>1</sub>-ni-neu-*

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This verb is occasionally preceded by gloss wedges (e.g. *ta-ni-nu-an-zi* (KUB 56.39 i 12), *ta-ni-nu-ṽa-an-zi* (ibid. ii 7, iv 27)), which together with the one Luwian inflected from (3sg.pres.act. *tanimutta*), indicates that this verb was used in Luwian as well, or even is of Luwian origin. Formally, the verb is clearly a causative in *-nu-* of a stem *tani-* (or *tāni-*). In my view, this stem *tāni-* must be

equated with the stem *dāni-* that underlies Hitt. *dānit-* ‘stele(?)’ (q.v.), CLuw. *dānit-* ‘id.’ and HLuw. <sup>STELE</sup>*tanisa-* ‘id’. The occurrence of this noun in Luwian matches the Luwian connection of the verb *taninu-*. See at *dānit-* for further etymology.

***dānit-*** (n.) cult object, ‘stele (?)’: nom.-acc.pl. *ta-a-ni-ta* (MH/NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***dānit-*** (n.) ‘id.’ (nom.-acc.pl. *da-a-ni-ta*, *da-a-ni-i-ta*, *ta-a-ni-ta*); HLuw. <sup>STELE</sup>***tanisa-*** (n.) ‘stele’ (nom.-acc.sg. /tanisan=t<sup>s</sup>a/ <sup>STELE</sup>*ta-ni-sà-za* (MEHARDE §1, §7), <sup>STELE</sup>*ta-ni-sà<-za*) (SHEIZAR §4), dat.sg. /tanisi/ <sup>STELE</sup>*ta-ni-si* (MEHARDE §3)).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-ni-d-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 12.59+10.76 iii

(7) *ku-iš=ua-r=a-at ú-e-te-eš-ke-et*

(8) <sup>NA</sup>*ḫu-ua-a-ši*<sup>HIA</sup> *ta-a-ni-ta ki-nu-na=ua-r=a-at=kán*

(9) *ka-a-ša la-ga-a-ri*

‘Who put up the *ḫušaši*-stones and the *tānita*? Look: they now have fallen’.

Because of its co-occurrence with <sup>NA</sup>*ḫušaši*<sup>HIA</sup>, it is likely that *tānit-*, too, denotes some stone cultic object, possibly a stele *vel sim*. According to Starke (1990: 206), Hitt. *tānit-* is to be equated with CLuw. *dānit-*. He connects these words further with the “*dān*-Ritual”, assuming a development ‘belonging to the *dān*-ritual > ritual object > stele’. Problematic is the fact that the *dān*-ritual is not securely attested: Starke bases himself on one poorly understood line only.

If *tānit-* indeed means ‘stele’, then it should be connected with HLuw. <sup>STELE</sup>*tanisa-* ‘stele’. The basic stem then seems to be \**tāni-*, which received a suffix *-id-* in Hittite and CLuwian, but *-sa-* in HLuwian. Semantically, a connection with \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put, to place’ is quite likely and supported by the fact that in the context cited above the verb *uētē-* is used that goes back to \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*. In CLuwian, we find KUB 35.70 ii (15) [*d*]a-a-ni-ta du-ú-un-du ‘They must put up the *dānit*-s!’, with the verb *tuua-* ‘to put up’ that goes back to \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* as well. I therefore reconstruct the stem \**tāni-* as \**d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-ni-*. For this formation (*-ni*-suffix with \**o*-grade in the root) compare OCS *branь* ‘fight’, Lith. *barnis* ‘quarrel’ < \**b<sup>h</sup>or-ni-*.

See at *taninu-*<sup>zi</sup> for the possibility that this verb is derived from the stem \**tāni-*.

*dankui-* / *dankuūai-* (adj.) ‘black, dark’ (Sum. GE<sub>6</sub>): nom.sg.c. *da-an-ku-iš*, *ta-an-ku-iš*, *da-an-ku-i-iš*, *da-an-ku-ja-aš*, acc.sg.c. *da-an-ku-in*, nom.-acc.n. *da-an-ku-i*, dat.-loc.sg. *da-an-ku-ua-i*, *ta-an-ku-ua-i*, *da-an-ku-i*, abl. *da-an-ku-ua-ja-az*, *da-an-ku-ua-ja-za*, *da-an-ku-ja-az*, *da-an-ku-ua-az*, instr. *da-an-ku-it*, nom.pl.c. *ta-an-ku-ua-e-eš*, *ta-an-ku-e-eš*, nom.-acc.n. *ta-an-ku-ua*, *da-an-ku-ua*, *da-an-ku-ua-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *ta-an-ku-ua-aš* (OS), *da-an-ku-ua-ja-aš* (KBo 40.333, 6).

Derivatives: *dankuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to become black’ (3sg.pres.act. *da-an-ku-e-eš-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *da-an-ku-e-eš-ta*; impf. *da-an-ku-iš-ke/a-*), *dankuneške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic6) ‘to make black’ (3pl.pret.act. *da-an-ku-ni-eš-ker*), *danku(ua)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make black’ (part. *da-an-ku-nu-ua-a[n-t-]*; impf. *da-an-ku-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ta-an-ku-nu[-uš-ke/a-]*, *da-an-ku-ua-nu-uš[-ke/a-]*), *?dankujanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make black’ (impf. [*da-an-ku-i*]a-nu-uš-ke/a-), *dankuūahh-<sup>i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to make black’ (impf. [*da-*]an-ku-ua-ah-*hi*-eš-ke/a-), *dankutar* (n.) ‘darkness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-an-ku-tar*), *dankuli-* (adj.) ‘tin’ (nom.sg.c. *da-an-ku-li-iš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *dakkui-* (adj.) ‘dark(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *da-ak-ku-ú-i-iš*, acc.sg.c. [*da-a*]k-ku-ú-i-in, dat.-loc.sg. *ták-ku-i*).

IE cognates: ON *dokkr* (adj.) ‘gloomy, dark of colour’, OSax. *dunkar*, OHG *tunkal*, OFr. *diunk(er)* ‘dark’.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>-(e)i-*

The bulk of the attestations clearly show an *i*-stem inflection *dankui-* / *dankuūai-* (sometimes with loss of intervocalic *-i-*: e.g. *tankuūaš* < *\*tankuūajaš*). We only find two forms that seem to show a stem *dankuūa-*, and these are clearly secondary.

Sturtevant (1934) proposed to interpret *dankui-*, just as *parkui-* and *uarh<sub>ui</sub>-*, as old *u*-stem adjectives that are enlarged with the feminine suffix *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>-*, comparable to Lat. *suavis* (*\*sueh<sub>2</sub>du-ih<sub>2</sub>-*) etc. This view has been widely followed (e.g. most recently Rieken 1999a: 259). As I have shown under *parkui-* / *parkuūai-* ‘clean, pure’, however, this adjective reflects *\*prk<sup>w</sup>-i-* and must be regarded as a normal *i*-stem. In my view, the same goes for *dankui-* / *dankuūai-* as well. Since Forrer *apud* Feist (1924: 130<sup>1</sup>), *dankui-* is generally connected with the Germanic words for ‘dark’. Heidermans (1993: 146, 152, 167) shows that in Germanic we find different formations: ON *dokkr*, *dokkr* ‘dark’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ong<sup>w</sup>o-*, OFr. *diunk* ‘dark’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>w</sup>o-*, OHG *tunkal* ‘dark’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>lo-* and OSax. *dunkar* ‘dark’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>ro-*. Yet it is clear that we are dealing with a root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>w</sup>-*. For Hittite, this means that we can safely reconstruct *\*d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>-(e)i-*, a normal *i*-stem.

Sturtevant’s adduction (1933: 123f.) of Gr. *δνόφος* ‘darkness’ and *δνόφρος* ‘dark’ < *\*dnog<sup>w</sup>h-* is quite interesting, but does not match the Germanic data.

If the interpretation of CLuw. *dakkui-* as ‘dark’ is correct, it shows a development PAnat. \*-ng<sup>w</sup>- > Luw. -*kku-*.

***taparije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to lead, to decide, to rule, to reign’: 2sg.pres.act. *ta-pár-ri-ja-ši* (KUB 21.1 i 65 (NH), KUB 26.25 ii 9, 12 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-pár-ri-ja-iz-zi* (Bronzetafel ii 94, iii 73 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-pa-ri-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 2.2 ii 48 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-pa-ri-ja-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iv 9 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-pa-ri-ja-it* (KBo 13.101 i 3, 4 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ta-pár-ri-ja-i* (KBo 8.63 i 10 (NH), KUB 21.38 obv. 36 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ta-pár-ri-ja-at-tén* (KUB 46.13 iv 8 (NS)); part. *ta-pár-ri-ja-an-t-* (Bronzetafel ii 36 (NH))).

Derivatives: ***taparija-*** (c.) ‘order, ruling’ (nom.sg. *ta-pár-ri-aš* (KUB 5.1 iii 93 (NH)), acc.sg. *ta-pár-ri-an* (KBo 40.13 obv. 10 (NS)), [*t*]a-pa-ri-ja-an (KBo 18.88 rev. 17 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-pa-ri-ja* (KUB 14.7 i 7, 15), *ta-pár-ri-ja* (KUB 26.1 iii 34 (NH)), abl. *ta-pár-ri-ja-az* (KUB 21.19 ii 8 (NH))), <sup>LÚ</sup>***taparijalli-*** (c.) ‘commander’ (nom.pl. *ta-pa-ri-ja-li-i-e-[e]š* (KUB 31.124 iv 3, 5 (fr.) (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *ta-pa-ri-ja-al-[[i-uš<sup>3</sup>]* (KUB 14.1 rev. 39 (MH/MS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tapar-*** ‘to rule, to govern’ (2sg.pres.act. *ta-pár-ši*, 1sg.pret.act. *ta-pár-ḫa*, *da-pár-ḫa*, 3sg.pret.act. *ta-pár-ta*, *ta-pa-ar-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *ta-pár-du*, inf. *ta-pa-ru-na*), ***taparamman-*** (adj.) ‘ruling, governing (?)’ (nom.-acc.pl. *ta-pa-ra-am-ma*), ***taparammahit-*** (n.) ‘position of ruling, governing (?)’ (abl.-instr. *ta-pa-ra<am>-ma-ḫi-ta-ti*); HLuw. ***taparia-*** ‘authority’ (gen.? /tbarias/ LEPUS+ra/i-ia-sa (KARKAMIŠ A26a 1+2, §a, BOROWSKI 2 line 1), abl.-instr. /tbariadi/: <sup>LIGNUM</sup>*ta-pa+ra/i-a-ti* (KARKAMIŠ Stone Bowl §1), LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ti(-i) (MARAŞ 1 §5, SULTANHAN §41, KÖRKÜN §3), ta-LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ti (BOROWSKI 3 §5), LEPUS+RA/I-ti (IZGIN 1 §9)), ***tapara/ita-*** ‘authority’ (acc.sg. /tbara/itan/: LEPUS+ra/i-ta-na (KARKAMIŠ A14a §4)), ***taparahit-*** (n.) ‘authority’ (nom.-acc.sg. /tbarahi/: LEPUS+pa+ra/i-hi (MARAŞ 4 §8)), ***taparija-*** ‘to decree’ (3sg.pret.act. /tbarita/: <sup>LIGNUM.CRUS</sup>LEPUS+ra/i-ta (TELL AHMAR 1 §9), /tbariata/: <sup>LIGNUM</sup>LEPUS+ra/i-ia-ta (TELL AHMAR 1 §19)), ***taparijala/i-*** (c.) ‘governor’ (nom./acc.pl. /tbarialint<sup>si</sup>/: LEPUS+ra/i-ia-li-zi (JISR EL HADID fr. 3 line 2)), ***taparijala-*** ‘to be governor’ (3sg.pret.act. /tbarialata/: LEPUS+ra/i-ia-la-ta (KARABURUN §3)).

The Hittite verb shows forms that belong to two stems, namely *taparije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* and *taparijae-<sup>zi</sup>* (although it must be admitted that all forms that I regard as belonging to *taparije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* show the stem *taparija-* and therewith in principle could belong with *taparijae-* as well). All these forms are attested in NS texts. In MH texts we

find the noun *taparijalli-*, a derivative in *-alli-* of the verbal stem *taparije/a-*. Note that these forms are spelled with single *-r-*, on the basis of which I assume that single *-r-* is more original than the spellings with geminate *-rr-* (cf. § 1.4.6.2.b and e.g. at *išpār-<sup>i</sup>* / *išpar-* for a similar distribution). It is generally thought that the Hittite words are borrowings from CLuwian, where the unextended verbal stem *tapar-* ‘to rule, to govern’ is still found.

Throughout Hittitology, many scholars have supposed that Hitt. *taparije/a-* and CLuw. *tapar-* are cognate with *labarna-* / *tabarna-*, the title of Hittite kings (q.v.). Most recently, Melchert (2003b: 19) has expressed the assumption “that a Luwian *\*dabarna-* was borrowed as Hittite *labarna-* at a prehistoric stage when Hittite no longer had initial voiced *d-*. The Hittite word was later (but still prehistorically) altered to *tabarna-* by association with the Luwian verb *tapar(iya)-* ‘to rule’ after *d-* had also been devoiced to *t-* in Luwian”. Moreover, he states that these words must be cognate to MHG *tapfer* ‘brave’ that he reconstructs as *\*d<sup>h</sup>ob-ro-*. So all in all, Melchert assumes that an adjective *\*d<sup>h</sup>ob-ro-* yielded the nominal stem *\*tapar-* ‘powerful’, from which not only the noun *tabarna-* ‘ruler’ has been derived, but also the verb *taparije/a-* ‘to be powerful’. On the basis of this latter verb, the Luwian verbal stem *tapar-* was then created due to back-formation. This scenario seems highly unlikely to me. If we look at the Anatolian material objectively, we see that the Luwian verbal stem *tapar-* ‘to rule’ must be the origin of all forms. Within Luwian it was the source of e.g. *taparamman-* ‘ruling’, *taparahit-* ‘authority’, *taparija-* ‘authority’ and *taparija-* ‘to decree’. This latter verb was borrowed into Hittite as *taparije/a-* ‘to decree, to rule’, which was the source of the noun *taparija-* ‘order’ and *taparijalli-* ‘commander’. The Luwian verbal stem *tapar-* is used unextendedly (*taparši*, *taparha*), which means that we must regard it as a root. The only way in which a Luwian verbal root *tapar-* could be of IE origin is by assuming that this spelling stands for */tbar-/*, which reflects a root of the structure *\*Tb<sup>(h)</sup>er-* (for an initial cluster *\*TP-*, cf. the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to make thick, to make firm’ as still visible in GAv. *dəbaqz-*, cf. at *panku-* / *pangau-*). This contrasts with the fact that the Germanic words (which by the way seems to have a proto-meaning ‘heavy, sad’, cf. ON *dapr* ‘sad’, Norw. *daper* ‘heavy, saddened’) reflect a nominal stem in *-ro-*: *\*d<sup>h</sup>ob-ro-*. An inner-Anatolian connection between *tapar-* ‘to rule’ and *labarna-* / *tabarna-* is fully gratuitous: the original meaning of the term *tabarna-* / *labarna-* cannot be determined because we are dealing with a personal name.

All in all, I reject the connection between *tapar-*, *labarna-* / *tabarna-* and the Germanic words *\*dapra-*. If Luw. *tapar-* is of IE origin, it must reflect *\*TPer-*, although I know no good cognates. Note that if *tapar-* indeed would reflect

\**TPer-*, it shows a different outcome of such an initial cluster than in Hittite, where \**d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>h</sup>-(e)u-* yielded *panku-* / *pankau-* ‘all, entire’, with loss of the initial dental consonant.

**dapi-** (adj.) ‘all, every, each, altogether’: acc.sg.c. *da-pí-n=a* (KUB 5.1 i 14, 77, ii 31, 65, 72, iii 74 (NH)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *da-pí* (VSNF 12.108 rev.<sup>?</sup> 3 (NS), KUB 28.92 i 10 (NS)), gen.sg. *da-pí-aš*, dat.sg. *da-pí-i* (KUB 5.1 i 12, 37, 48 (NH), KBo 2.6+ ii 33, iii 2 (NH), KBo 18.142, 16 (NS)), abl. *da-pí-za* (KBo 2.9 i 7 (MH/NS)), *da-pí-da-az* (KUB 12.57 iv 4 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *da-pí-uš* (KBo 11.14 i 24 (OH/NS), KUB 55.40, 6 (NS)), gen.pl. *da-pí-aš* (KUB 16.77 iii 11 (NH)), dat.-loc.pl. *da-pí-aš* (KUB 6.45 iii 35 (NH), KBo 25.180 rev. 10 (OH/NS), KBo 40.56 obv. 16 (NS)).

Derivatives: **dapiant-** (adj.) ‘all, every’ (nom.sg.c. *da-pí-an-za*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *da-pí-an*, nom.pl.c. *da-pí-an-te-eš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *da-pí-an-da*).

We are dealing with two stems, *dapi-* and *dapiant-*, which both denote ‘all, every, each’. Herewith they are synonymous with *hūmant-*, which is the reason that *dapi(ant)-* and *hūmant-* occasionally are used as duplicates of each other. It should be noted that the stem *dapi-* does not show ablaut in the suffix like other *i*-stem adjectives. Moreover, the one attestation *dapidaz* shows a pronominal inflection. The acc.sg.c.-form *da-pí-n=a* as attested several times in KUB 5.1 is remarkable because in this NH composition we would not expect the use of the conjunctive =*a* (see at =(m)*a* for the chronological distribution). So perhaps we should regard the syntagm *da-pí-n=a ZI-an* as a petrified expression.

Of the many etymological proposals for *dapi(ant)-* (see the listing in Tischler HEG T: 127f.) none can be regarded as convincing.

**tapuš-** (n.) ‘side’: gen.sg. *ta-pu-ša-aš* (KBo 32.14 ii 29), all.sg. *ta-pu-ú-ša* (KBo 4.2 iii 47, KBo 39.164 r.col. 6, KUB 20.99 ii 18, KUB 31.105, 19, KUB 55.45 ii 12, KUB 55.58 obv. 16, IBoT 2.112 obv. 9, etc.), *ta-pu-u-ša* (KUB 1.8 iv 19 (NH)), *ta-pu-ša* (often), *da-pu-ša* (KBo 5.1 i 33), endless loc.(?) *ta-pu-uš* (KBo 13.20, 7, KUB 8.30 obv. 23), abl. *ta-pu-uš-za* (OS, often), *ta-pu-u-š-za* (KBo 30.58 iii 11 (OH/NS)), *da-pu-uš-za* (KBo 2.29 i 8), *ta-pu-uz-za* (IBoT 2.4 i 6, KBo 34.152 iii 3).

Some of the forms cited above are used adverbially and then denote ‘besides, next to’. The word is difficult to etymologize. Some scholars assume a connection with Hitt. *tāpuuāšš-* ‘rib’, but this is unlikely. Oettinger (1979a: 553) suggests a



connection with e.g. ON *stafr* ‘staff’ < \**steb<sup>h</sup>*- and reconstructs a paradigm \**(s)téb<sup>h</sup>-uos*, \**(s)t(e)b<sup>h</sup>-us-és* (*apud* Tischler HEG T: 140), which does not seem very appealing to me. Rieken (1999a: 210) assumes that *tapuš-* represents an *s*-stem extension of an original *u*-stem \**TéP-u-*, \**TP-éu-*, but such an analysis does not have much merit without a good IE comparandum.

**tar-** ‘to speak’: see *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-*, *tē<sup>-zi</sup>*

**tarra-<sup>aa(ri)</sup>** (IIIh) ‘to be able; (+ inf.) to can’: 1sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-at-ta* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-at-ta* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *tar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *tar-ra-at-ta-at* (NH), *tar-ra-ad-da-at* (NH); part. *tar-ra-an-t-* (NH).

IE cognates: Skt. *tiráte*, *tárate* ‘to overcome’, Lat. *trāns* ‘across, through’.

PIE \**terh<sub>2</sub>-*

See Neu 1968: 167 and Oettinger 1979a: 298 for attestations. It should be noted that all forms are found in NS texts only.

Since Friedrich HW: 213 this verb is generally regarded as an inner-Hittite cognate of *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to prevail, to conquer’ (q.v.), which reflects \**terh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (and not unextended \**terh<sub>2</sub>-* as is usually thought). Oettinger (1979a: 299) equates 3sg. *tarratta* with Skt. *tárate*, which he reconstructs as \**térh<sub>2</sub>-o-to* (but note that Skt. *tárate* must reflect \**térh<sub>2</sub>-e-to*). Apart from the fact that in the Ṛg-Veda the stem *tárate* is hapax, whereas *tiráte* < \**trh<sub>2</sub>-é-to* is attested multiple times, the status of the Hittite ‘thematic’ middle is quite unclear. Examples like 3sg.pres.midd. *ueḫari* besides *ueḫattari* and 3sg.pret.midd. *ueḫtat* besides *ueḫattat* show that the ‘thematic vowel’ *-a-* could well be secondary on the basis of the 3sg.pres.-ending *-ari*. In the case of *tarra-<sup>aa(ri)</sup>* this is important for establishing the phonetic developments it has undergone. If *tarra-* reflects \**terh<sub>2</sub>-o-*, it would show a development \**erHV* > \**arHV*, which would contradict the vowel *-e-* as found in *erḫ-* / *araḫ-* / *arḫ-* ‘boundary’ < \**h<sub>1</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>-* and *šerḫa-* (an object to rinse feet with) < \**serh<sub>2,3</sub>-*. If the ‘thematic vowel’ in *tarra-* is secondary, however, we could assume that in 1sg. \**térh<sub>2</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>o*, 2sg. \**térh<sub>2</sub>-th<sub>2</sub>o*, etc. the sound law \**eRCC* > *aRCC* is responsible for the *-a-* in *tarr-*. This *-a-* then spread to 3sg. \**térh<sub>2</sub>-o* > \**terra* >> \**tarra*, which later on served as the basis for the thematic paradigm *tarra-<sup>aa</sup>*.

Tischler (HEG T: 147) cites the form *tar-ja-an-da-an* (KUB 12.63 + 36.70 obv. 9) as participle of *tarra-*, but this is phonetically impossible: a preform \**trh<sub>2</sub>-ient-* should have yielded Hitt. \*\**tarḫiant-*. Note that its translation “kräftig” is based

on the supposed etymological connection with *tarra-* only and is not obligatory within the context it occurs in. The verb *tarranu-<sup>zi</sup>*, which sometimes is regarded as the causative of *tarra-*, is semantically unclear, and therefore an etymological connection with *tarra-* cannot be ascertained.

*tarah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *tar<sup>h</sup>u-<sup>zi</sup>*

*tarai-<sup>i</sup> / tari-* (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to exert oneself, to become tired’: 3pl.pres.act. *t[a-]ri-ia-an-zi* (HKM 55 rev. 31 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-re-e<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>u-un* (KUB 30.10 rev. 4 (OH/MS)), *da-ri-ia-nu-un* (KUB 21.19+ iii 37 (NH)), *ta-ri-ia-nu-un* (KUB 30.33 i 13 (MH/NS)), *ta-a-ri-ia-nu-un* (KUB 30.36 ii 5 (MH/NS)), *da-ri-ia-a<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>u-un* (KUB 30.35 i 9 (MH/NS), KUB 14.7 iv 16 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ra-iš* (KUB 36.83 i 20, 23 (MH/NS)), *da-ri-ia-at* (KUB 21.27 iv 39 (NH)); part. *ta-ri-ia-an-t* (KUB 24.3 ii 35, 36 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: *tarijaš<sup>ha</sup>-* (c.) ‘tiredness, fatigue’ (nom.sg. *ta-ri-ia-aš-<sup>h</sup>a-aš* (KBo 1.42 i 19), *da-ri-ia-aš-<sup>h</sup>a-aš* (KUB 31.127+ i 25), *tar-ri-ia-aš-<sup>h</sup>a-aš* (KUB 24.3 i 48)), *darijanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to tire, to make tired’ (1sg.pret.act. *da-ri-ia-nu-nu-un* (here? KUB 7.60 iii 13), 3sg.pres.act. *da-ri-ia-nu-zi* (KUB 17.29 ii 11, 12), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ri-ia-nu-ut* (KUB 31.67 iv 17)).

Note that some of the forms that usually are regarded as belonging here are treated under the lemma *dārije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.). For the semantics of *tarai-<sup>i</sup> / tari-*, cf. the following contexts:

KUB 30.10 rev.

(3) *nu=mu ku-iš DINGIR=IA i-na-an pa-iš nu=mu ge-en-zu*

(4) *[da-a ... i-n]a-ni pé-ra-an ta-re-e<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>u-un ma-le-ek-ku-un nu=za nam-ma  
Ú-UL tar-uh-mi*

‘May my god, who gave me the illness, [have] pity on me. [ ... ]because of the [ill]ness I have become tired and *m.*-ed. I cannot succeed any longer’;

KUB 30.36 ii

(2) *... nu kiš-an te-ez-zi*

(3) *HUR.SAG<sup>MEŠ</sup> GAL<sup>TIM</sup> pa-an-ga-u-e-eš TUR<sup>MEŠ-TIM</sup>*

(4) *ha-a-ri-ia-aš na-ak-ki-i-ia-aš ku-it ú-<sup>u</sup>a-nu-un*

(5) *ku-it ta-a-ri-ia-nu-un*

‘He speaks thus: “All you mountains, great and small. Why have I come to the impassable valleys? Why have I wearied myself?”’.

Compare also *tarijašhaš* (KBo 1.42 i 19) which glosses Akk. *MA-NA-AḪ-TUM* ‘fatigue’.

The oldest form of the paradigm is *ta-re-eh-ḫu-un* (OH/MS). The reading of this word is in debate because of the fact that the sign AḪ/UḪ can be read *aḫ*, *eh*, *iḫ* as well as *uḫ*. For instance, Tischler (HEG T: 172) reads this form as *ta-ri-aḫ-ḫu-un* on the basis of two attestations *da-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫu-un* found in NS texts, for instance in

KUB 30.35 i

(7) *nu a-pád-da pa-i-ši nu u[a[-ap-pu-]i kiš-an me-ma-at-ti*

(8) *u[a-ap-pu=mi-it na-an-x[ ku<sup>2</sup>-i]i<sup>2</sup> ú-u-a-nu-un ku-it*

(9) *da-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫu-u[n]*

‘You will go there and will speak to the riverbank thus: “O my riverbank! [Wh]y<sup>2</sup> did I come *nan-x*? Why have I wearied myself?”’.

I do not find this very attractive, however. I follow Oettinger (1979a: 475) in reading *ta-re-eh-ḫu-un*, which, together with 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ra-iš* (KUB 36.83 i 20, 23, although it must be admitted that this context is not fully clear and that therefore the interpretation of *taraiš* as ‘he became tired’ is not totally ascertained), points to an original *dāi/tijanzi*-class inflection. Like the other verbs of this class, *tarai-* / *tari-*, too, shows secondary thematization in NH times, yielding the stem *tarije/a<sup>zi</sup>*. The two forms *darijahhun* must be compared to *nejahhun* (a cross between *nehhun* and *nejanun*).

As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs go back to a structure *\*CC-(o)i-*. In the case of *tarai-/tari-* this means that we are dealing with *\*Tr-oi-* / *\*Tr-i-*, derived from a root *\*Ter-*. Different etymological proposals have been done, but none is convincing: an inner-Hittite connection with *tarra<sup>ta(r)</sup>* ‘to be able’ (thus Friedrich 1968: 37f.) is impossible as the latter verb reflects *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* and *\*trh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*tarḫai-*; the connection with Gr. *δράω* ‘to do’ (Tischler 1979: 265) < *\*dreh<sub>2</sub>-* is formally impossible as well; a connection with Lith. *daryti* ‘to do’ (Tischler l.c.) is semantically improbable as the latter verb is a causative to *derėti* ‘to be fit’, which has nothing to do with ‘to weary oneself’. All in all, the etymology remains unclear.

*tarḫ<sup>zi</sup>*: see *tarḫu<sup>zi</sup>*

**tarhu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ia4) ‘to prevail, to conquer, to be powerful, to be able; (with =z) to defeat’: 1sg.pres.act. *tar-uḥ-mi* (OH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *tar-uḥ-ši* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 i 64 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-ru-uḥ-zi* (KBo 6.2 ii 58 (OS)), *tar-uḥ-zi* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 12 (OS), etc.), *tar-ru-uḥ-zi* (KBo 20.73 iv 6 (OH/MS)), KBo 22.195 iii 8 (OH/MS)), *tar-ḥu-uz-zi* (KUB 17.10 i 33 (OH/MS)), *ta-ru-uḥ-za* (KUB 43.75 rev. 9 (OH/NS)), *tar-ḥu-e-zi* (KBo 38.126, 10 (MS)), 1pl.pres.act. *tar-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *tar-uḥ-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *tar-ru-uḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 9 (OH/NS)), *tar-uḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-uḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 16.47 obv. 4 (MH/MS)), *tar-ḥu-un* (KUB 14.1 rev. 58 (MH/MS)), *tar-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH, often), 3sg.pret.act. *tar-uḥ-ta* (OH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *tar-ḥu-en* (KBo 3.41+ obv. 19 (OH/NS)), *tar-ḥu-u-en* (KBo 22.6 iv 12 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *tar-ḥu-e-er* (KUB 23.79, 12 (MH/MS?)), *tar-ḥu-er* (KBo 32.14 iii 17, 32 (MS)), *tar-[ḥu]-e-er* (KUB 17.27 iii 9 (MH/NS)), *tar-uḥ-ḥe-e-er* (NH), *tar-uḥ-ḥe-er* (NH), 1sg.imp.act. *tar-uḥ-ḥa-al-lu* (KBo 12.58+ obv. 5 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *tar-ḥu-du* (KBo 4.2 i 54 (OH/NS)), *tar-uḥ-du* (MH/NS), *tar-ḥu-id-du* (KUB 36.75 iv 10 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *tar-uḥ-ḥa-an-du* (KBo 43.273, 7 (undat.)); part. *tar-ḥu-an-t-* (Bo 3081 obv. 5 (MS), Bo 6109, 8 (undat.)), *tar-uḥ-ḥa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *tar-aḥ-ḥu-u-ḡa-aš*, *tar-aḥ-ḥu-aš*; sup. *tar-aḥ-ḥu-u-ḡa-an* (KBo 3.7 iii 25 (OH/NS)); impf. *tar-uḥ-ḥi-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-uḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-aḥ-ḥu-i-iš-ke/a-* (Bo 69/969 ii 2 (NS)); broken *tar-ḥu-ḡ[a-...]* (VSNF 12.135, 5 (NS)), *tar-ḥu[-...]* (KUB 33.66 iii 16 (OH/MS)).

Derivatives: **tarḥuēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become powerful’ (3sg.pret.act. *tar-ḥu-iš-ta* (KBo 13.49 ii 4 (NS))), **tarḥuili-** / **tarḥuilai-** (adj.) ‘strong, powerful’ (acc.sg.c. *tar-ḥu-u-i-li-in* (NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *tar-ḥu-u-i-li* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *tar-ḥu-i-la-uš* (MH/MS), *tar-ḥu-i-li-uš* (NH)), **tarḥuilatar** / **tarḥuilann-** (n.) ‘heroism, courage’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-ḥu-i-la-a-tar*, *tar-ḥu-i-la-tar*, gen.sg. *tar-ḥu-i-la-an-na-aš*), **tarḥuilēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become powerful’ (3sg.pres.act. *tar-ḥu-i-le[-e]š-zi* (MH/MS?), 1sg.pret.act. *tar-ḥu-i-le-e-eš-šu-un* (MH/MS)), \*<sup>d</sup>**Tarḥunna-** (c.) ‘Storm-god’ (Sum. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR, <sup>d</sup>U; nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*aš* (OS), <sup>d</sup>U-*aš* (OS), acc.sg. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*an* (OS), <sup>d</sup>U-*an* (OS), gen. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*na-aš* (OS), dat. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*un-ni* (OS)), see *tarra*<sup>11a</sup>.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>d</sup>**Tarḥuyant-** / <sup>d</sup>**Tarḥunt-** ‘Storm-god’ (nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>U-*an-za*, <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*an-za*, voc.sg. <sup>d</sup>U-*an*, <sup>d</sup>Tar-ḥu-un-*za*, dat.-loc.sg. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*u[n-t]i*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *tar-ḥu-un-ta-aš-ši-in-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*aš-ša-an-za*), **tarḥunta-** ‘?’ (3sg.pret.act. *tar-ḥu-un-ta-at-ta*), **tarḥuntiti-**, a kind of food (Hitt.gen.sg. *tar-ḥu-un-ti-ti-ḡa-aš*); HLuw. **Tarhunt-**, **Tarhunza-** (c.) ‘Storm-god’ (nom.sg. /tarhunts/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-za* (KÖRKÜN §5, BULGARMADEN

§4), /tarhuntsas/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §3, KARKAMIŠ A6 §2, SULTANHAN §8, etc.), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §40, §51, §73), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-u-za-sa* (KULULU 1 §10), acc.sg. /tarhuntsan/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-za-na* (MARAŞ 4 §3, KÜRTÜL §7, BOR §4, NİĞDE 2 line 1, KARKAMIŠ A17a §4), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na* (SULTANHAN §2), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-u-za-na-*' (KULULU 1 §5), gen.sg. /tarhuntas/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §1, ÇİFTLİK §6), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sá* (ÇİFTLİK §12, §13), dat.sg. /tarhunti/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20, MARAŞ 11, §8, AKSARAY §5, PALANGA §7), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ti* (BABYLON 3, BOHÇA §2, KARKAMIŠ A24a 2+3 §11), abl.-instr. /tarhuntadi/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti* (NİĞDE 2 line 2), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ta-tí* (KARATEPE 1 §10), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*ta-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §1), gen.adj.abl.-instr. /tarhuntasadi/ <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sá-ti-i* (MARAŞ 1 §5)), *tarhunti-* (adj.) 'of the Storm-god' (nom.sg.c. <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-sa* (ÇİFTLİK §5), <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-sá* (EĞRİKÖY §1) <sup>DEUS</sup>TONITRUS-*hu-ti-sá* (KÜRTÜL §1)); Lyd. *?tarvtalli-* 'of Tarvta' (nom.sg.c. *tarvtallis*); Lyc. *Trqqñt-* 'Storm-god' (nom.sg. *Trqqas*, *Trqas*, dat.sg. *Trqqñti*), Mil. *Trqqñt-* 'Storm-god' (nom.sg. *Trqqiz*, dat.sg. *Trqqñti*, gen.adj. *trqqñtasa/i-*)

IE cognates: Skt. *túrvati* 'to overcome, to overpower', Av. *tauruuiaiieiti* 'to overcome'.

PIE *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-u-ti*, *\*trh<sub>2</sub>-u-enti*

The verbal forms that I have gathered here under one lemma are usually regarded as belonging to two separate verbs, namely *tarh<sup>-zi</sup>* and *tarhu<sup>-zi</sup> / taruñ<sup>-zi</sup>*. Despite the alleged formal difference, these verbs are generally regarded as semantically identical. The existence of a stem *tarhu-/taruñ-* (for the alteration cf. *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* 'to drink' that is spelled *euk<sup>-zi</sup>* as well) is assured by the spellings 3sg.pres.act. *tarhu-uz-zi* (OH/MS) and *ta-ru-uñ-zi* (OS). The most common spelling of 3sg.pres.act. is *tar-AḤ/UḤ-zi*, however. The sign AḤ/UḤ (HZL 332) can in principle be read *aḥ*, *eḥ*, *iḥ* as well as *uḥ*. A choice between these readings is usually based on the preceding sign: e.g. *ta-ru-AḤ/UḤ-zi* is read *ta-ru-uñ-zi* on the basis of the preceding *ru*; *te-AḤ/UḤ-ḥi* is read *te-eḥ-ḥi* on the basis of the preceding *te*. In the case of *tar-AḤ/UḤ-zi*, the preceding sign does not give a clue as to how to read the sign, however. Nevertheless, in some cases we are sure that we must read *uḥ*. For instance, the OS form *tar-AḤ/UḤ-zi* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 12) is duplicated by *tar-ru-uñ-zi* (KBo 22.195 iii 8 (OH/MS)), which shows that we have to read the first form as *tar-uñ-zi*. In KBo 20.73 iv 6 we first find *tar-*

AḪ/UḪ-*zi* and later on, in the same line, *tar-ru-uḫ-zi*. This latter form confirms that the first should be read *tar-uḫ-zi*. A similar case is KBo 4.2 i 52 where we find *tar-AḪ/UḪ-zi*, whereas *ibid.* 54 has *tar-ḫu-du*, which determines the first form as *tar-uḫ-zi*. In addition, there is not a single piece of positive evidence for reading *tar-AḪ/UḪ-zi* as *tar-aḫ-zi*: spellings like *\*\*ta-ra-aḫ-zi* or *\*\*tar-ḫa-zi* lack totally (unlike e.g. *ṽa-la-aḫ-zi* ‘hits’ which determines the spelling *ṽa-al-AḪ/UḪ-zi* as *ṽa-al-aḫ-zi* or *pár-ḫa-zi* ‘chases’ which determines the spelling *pár-AḪ/UḪ-zi* as *pár-aḫ-zi*). Despite these considerations, the form *tar-AḪ/UḪ-zi* is generally transliterated *tar-aḫ-zi* (e.g. Tischler (HEG T: 157) states “[e]s ist jedoch traditionell üblich, *tar-AḪ/UḪ-zi* als *tar-aḫ-zi* zu transliterieren”). This “*tar-aḫ-zi*” then is phonologically interpreted as /tarHt<sup>s</sup>i/ (Oettinger 1979a: 221).

If there indeed were a stem /tarH-/ , we would also expect that forms like 3pl.pres.act. /t(a)rHant<sup>s</sup>i/ or 3pl.pret.act. /t(a)rHer/ were spelled *\*\*tar-ḫa-an-zi* and *\*\*tar-ḫe-er* (cf. *ṽa-al-ḫa-an-zi*, *ṽa-al-ḫe-er* and *pár-ḫa-an-zi*, *pár-ḫe-er*). Yet these are never found: we only find *tar-AḪ/UḪ-ḫa-an-zi* (besides *tar-ru-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi*) and *tar-AḪ/UḪ-ḫe-er* (besides *tar-ḫu-er* and *tar-ḫu-e-er*). The only forms within the whole paradigm that seemingly show an unambiguous stem /tarH-/ are 1sg.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-un* and 1pl.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-u-en*. However, if we compare these to 1sg.pret.act. *ekun* and 1pl.pret.act. *ekuen* from *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to drink’ or 1pl.pres.act. *lahuēni* from *lāḫu<sup>-i</sup>* ‘to pour’, we see that *tarḫun* and *tarḫuen* would perfectly fit the stem *tarḫu-* as well.

All in all, we have to conclude that there is no positive evidence in favour of reading the spellings *tar-AḪ/UḪ-zi* as *tar-aḫ-zi* and interpreting these as spellings of a stem /tarH-/ : all forms that are usually interpreted as showing /tarH-/ could just as well or have to be interpreted as showing the stem *tarḫu-/taruḫ-*. I therefore reject the existence of a stem /tarH-/ and analyse all forms as belonging with *tarḫu-/taruḫ-*. Subsequently I have cited all attestations with *tar-AḪ/UḪ-* as *tar-uḫ-* in the overview above.

The view that we are dealing with a stem *tarḫu-/taruḫ-* only is supported by etymological evidence as well. The verb denotes ‘to conquer, to prevail, to be powerful’ and has since Kuryłowicz (1927: 102) generally been connected with the PIE root *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-*. This unextended root, which was thought to be the predecessor of Hitt. “*tarḫ-*”, does not mean ‘to overpower’, however, but ‘to cross, to pass through’ only (Skt. *tar<sup>i</sup>* ‘to pass through’, Lat. *trāns* ‘past, over’). This does not fit the Hittite meaning ‘to conquer, to overpower’. Such a meaning is only attested in the *u*-present *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-u-* that denotes ‘to overpower’: Skt. *túrvati* ‘to conquer, to overpower’, Av. *tauruuaciiēiti* ‘to overcome’ (*\*trh<sub>2</sub>-u-e/o-*). So also semantically it has become clear that an analysis /tarH-/ is impossible: there

would be no way to explain its meaning ‘to conquer’ from PIE *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to pass through’. The meaning ‘to conquer’ is only explicable from PIE *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-u-* ‘to overpower’, which is an additional argument to read all forms with *tar-AḪ/UḪ-* as *tar-uh-*.

The fact that we find the spelling *tarḫu-* as well as *taruḫḫ-* reminds us of the situation of *eku<sup>-zi</sup>* besides *euk<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to drink’ and *tarku<sup>-zi</sup>* besides *taruk<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to dance’. These latter verbs must be phonologically interpreted as /ʀeg<sup>w</sup>-/ and /tark<sup>w</sup>-/, also on the basis of the forms *akueni*, *ekun*, *ekuen* (instead of *\*\*akumeni*, *\*\*ekunun* and *\*\*ekumen*) and *tarkuuar* (instead of *\*\*tarkumar*) that can only be explained by the fact that the labial feature of /g<sup>w</sup>/ and /k<sup>w</sup>/ does not participate in the sound law *\*-yu- > -mu-*. I therefore assume that the spelling variation between *tarḫu-* and *taruḫḫ-* and the forms 1sg.pret.act. *tarḫun*, 1pl.pret.act. *tarḫuen*, sup. *tarḫuuan* and verb.noun gen.sg. *tarḫuuaš* point to a synchronic phonological interpretation /tarH<sup>w</sup>-/. See Kloekhorst fthc.c for my view that this synchronic phoneme /H<sup>w</sup>/ (which has a lenited variant /h<sup>w</sup>/ in *lāḫu-* /lāh<sup>w</sup>-/) must have been a PANat. phoneme as well because of Lyc. *Trqqñt-* /trk<sup>w</sup>nt-/ < PANat. *\*trH<sup>w</sup>ent-* (see also below).

One of the most important derivatives of the verb *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>* is the name of the Storm-god. In Hittite, this name is almost always spelled with the sumerograms <sup>d</sup>U and <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR. On the basis of the OS attestation dat.-loc.sg. <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*un-ni* (KBo 3.22 obv. 3), it is generally assumed that the underlying Hittite name was *Tarḫunna-*. The exact interpretation of the suffix *-nna-* is unclear, however. In CLuwian, we find the phonetic spellings voc.sg. <sup>d</sup>Tar-ḫu-un-za and gen.adj. *tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš-ša/i-*, which, together with nom.sg. <sup>d</sup>U-*an-za* and <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*an-za* point to an ablauting pair *Tarḫuuant-* / *Tarḫunt-*. These forms point to an original paradigm *\*trh<sub>2</sub>-u-ént-s*, *\*trh<sub>2</sub>-u-nt-ós* which looks like an original participle (note that this would be the only participle in *-ant-* in Luwian, where synchronically only participles in *-mma/i-* can be found). The same paradigm must underly the HLuwian forms, where we find a stem *Tarḫunt-* (nom.sg. /tarhunts/, gen.sg. /tarhuntas/, dat.-loc.sg. /tarhunti/) and a secondary stem *Tarḫunza-* (nom.sg. /tarhuntsas/, acc.sg. /tarhuntsan/). Cf. Eichner 1974: 28<sup>8</sup> for the observation that CLuw. *Tarḫuant-* forms an exact word equation with Skt. *tūrvant-* ‘overpowering’, which is used as an epithet of Indra, Agni and Mitra. The interpretation of Lyc. and Mil. *Trqqñt-* has been in debate because of the unclear interpretation of the sign *q*. For instance, Starke (1990: 140f.) reads *q* as /k/ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>* and subsequently reconstructs *\*trh<sub>2</sub>-ént-*. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, there is no evidence at all that Lyc. *q* reflects *\*h<sub>2</sub>* (which instead yields Lyc. *χ* when unlenited and *g* when lenited) and that an interpretation of *q* as /k<sup>w</sup>/ < *\*-h<sub>2</sub>u-*

is the only convincing solution. Therefore, Lyc. *Trqqñt-* must reflect *\*trh<sub>2</sub>uent-* as well.

The CLuwian verb *tatarh-* may mean ‘to break’, cf. the following context:

KUB 9.6 iii

(25) *ku-iš=tar ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an EN-ja*

(26) *a-ad-du-ua-la a-an-ni-ti a=an DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-in-zi*

(27) *a-aḥ-ḥa na-a-ta-at-ta ta-ta-ar-ḥa-an-du*

(28) *ú-i-it-pa-ni-im=pa=an ú-i-da-a-in-du*

(29) *a=du-ú=[a-a]n an-na-a-an pa-a-ta-an-za du-ú-ua-an-du*

‘Whoever does evil to the patient, may the gods *tatarh-* him like reed, may they *uidāi-* him regarding (his) *uīpani-*, and may they place him under their feet’.

It therefore is often equated with Hitt. *tarh<sup>zi</sup>*. Since Hitt. *tarh<sup>zi</sup>* does not exist anymore, this equation cannot be upheld either. Semantically, a connection with ‘to conquer’ is not very appealing either. I would rather suggest a connection with Gr. τρώω ‘to hurt (someone)’ < *\*trh<sub>3</sub>-ie/o-* and reconstruct *tatarh-* as *\*te-terh<sub>3-</sub>*.

The HLUwian verb *tatarh-* is attested only in the damaged inscription BEYKÖY (see Masson 1980: 118f.):

(1) [ ]x-x

(2) EXERCITUS *ku-x tà-tara/i-ha-tà*

Masson translates ‘L’armée x ne cessait de vaincre’. Because of the broken context, the exact meaning of this inscription cannot be determined. Perhaps, *tatarh-* is to be regarded as a direct cognate to CLuw. *tatarh-*.

*-tta(ri), -ttat(i)* (2sg.midd.-ending)

The endings of the 2sg. of the middle inflection are *-tta*, *-ttari* and *-ttati* for the present and *-ttati*, *-ttat* for the preterite. The distribution between these endings is not fully clear to me (especially between *-tta(ri)* and *-ttati* in the present, but compare Yoshida 1987), but it is clear that the common element is *-tta*. This *-tta* clearly must be compared with 2sg.midd.-endings in the other IE languages like TochA *-tār*, TochB *-tar*, and OIr. *-ther*. In view of the 2sg.perf.-ending *\*-th<sub>2</sub>e*, these probably reflect *\*-th<sub>2</sub>o*.

*-tta(ri), -ttat(i)* (3sg.midd.-endings)



Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-ttar(i)**, **-dari** (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): *a-na-a-it-ta-ri*, *ḫal-ti-it-ta-ri*, *ḫa-a-aš-ši-da-ri*, *ku-la-ni-it-tar*, *pal-pa-ti-it-ta-ri*, *pa-ap-ti-it-tar*.

PIE \*-to

In the 3sg.midd., we find two sets of endings: pres. *-a(ri)*, pret. *-at(i)* vs. pres. *-tta(ri)*, pret. *-ttat(i)*. Sometimes it is stated that the distribution between these endings corresponds to the distribution between *mi-* and *ḫi-* endings in the active, but this is incorrect. On the basis of the active inflection of a given verb, it cannot be predicted whether it will use *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* or *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)* as 3sg.midd.-ending. For instance, *ḫalziḫa(ri)*, *laḫuḫāri*, *lagāri* and *paḫša(ri)* correspond to the *ḫi-*inflecting actives *ḫalzai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ḫalzi-*, *lāḫu<sup>-i</sup>* / *laḫu-*, *lāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *lak-* and *paḫš<sup>-i</sup>*, whereas e.g. *eša(ri)* and *karša* correspond to the *mi-*inflecting actives *eš<sup>-zi</sup>* / *aš-* and *karš<sup>-zi</sup>*.

Usually, a verb is consistent in its ‘choice’ for either the ending *-a(ri)* / *-at(i)* or *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)*, but sometimes we encounter both (e.g. *karša* besides *karštari* or *šuppari* besides *šuptari*) and occasionally even a combination of the two (e.g. *šuppattari*). These are rare cases, however. For instance, the verb *eš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* ‘to seat oneself’ shows the ending *-a(ri)* throughout the Hittite period, whereas e.g. *ki<sup>-tta(ri)</sup>* consistently shows *-tta(ri)*. This does not necessarily reflect the PIE state of affairs, as is visible from the fact that *eša(ri)* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-o* corresponds to Skt. *áste* and Gr. *ῆσται* from *\*h<sub>1</sub>éh<sub>1</sub>s-to*. On the other hand, Hitt. *kitta(ri)* reflects *\*kēi-to* just as Skt. *śéte* and Gr. *κετται*, whereas its CLuwian cognate *zīari* reflects *\*kéi-o* just as Skt. *śáye*.

The endings *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)* occur in all classes of the middle, except in class III<sub>f</sub> (*tukkāri*-class). In the present, there is no clear distribution between *-tta* and *-ttari* (cf. *arta* besides *artari*, both OS). In the preterite, too, there is no clear indication of a chronological distribution between *-ttati* and *-ttat* (unlike in older *-ati* vs. younger *-at*). OS forms like *kištanziatat* and *luktat* may even indicate that the original ending was *-ttat* and that *-ttati* was created in analogy to *-ati*.

As we saw above, the endings *-tta(ri)* / *-ttat(i)* have well-established IE cognates like Skt. *-te*, Gr. *-τοι* (both from *\*-to-i*), Lat. *-tur*, TochAB *-tār*, OIr. *-thir* (from *\*-to-r(i)*), Goth. *-da*, etc. The origin of the element *-r-* in Hitt. *-ttari*, Lat. *-tur*, TochAB *-tār* and OIr. *-thir* is still unclear.

**tarije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** ‘to become weary’: see *tarai<sup>-i</sup>* / *tari-*

**dārije/a<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘?’: 3sg.pret.act. *da-a-ri-ia-at* (KUB 4.12 i 7), 1pl.pret.act. *da-a-ri-ia-u-en* (KUB 24.9(+) i 25); part. *da-ri-ia-an-te-eš* (KUB 1.8 iv 8 (NH)) // *da-*

*ri-ja-an-t[e-eš]* (KUB 1.1+ iv 21 (NH)) // *da-a-ri-ja-an-te-eš* (KBo 3.6 iii 52 (NH)).

Some of the forms that in my view belong here are usually regarded as belonging to *tarai-<sup>i</sup>* / *tari-* ‘to exert oneself’ (especially *dārianteš* (KUB 1.1+ iv 21 with several duplicates)), while others have been translated as ‘to call upon a god’ (especially *dārijat* (KUB 4.12 i 7)) and therefore treated as cognate to *ter-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tar-* ‘to speak’. This is in my opinion incorrect. In the following two contexts, *dārije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* seems to denote an action performed on an ill person in order to heal him:

KBo 4.12 i

- (5) *A-NA PA-NI A-BU=IA=mu kap-pi-in DUMU-an HUL-lu*  
 (6) *GIG.GIG-at nu=mu=kán A-BU=IA A-NA<sup>m</sup> Mi-id-dan-na-A.A GAL DUB.SAR<sup>MEŠ</sup>*  
 (7) *ŠU-i da-a-iš n=a-aš=mu=kán an-da da-a-ri-ja-at*  
 (8) *nu=mu=kán GIG-az TI-nu-ut*

‘(When I was) a little child to my father, a bad disease struck me. My father trusted me to the hand of Middanamuša, the Head of Scribes, who *anda d.-d* me and saved me from the disease’;

KUB 24.9(+ i)

- (23) [<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI A-NA ALAM<sup>HLA</sup> *te-ez-zi ú-ya-at-ti-en=ya iš-šu-u-en=ya ku-e nu=ya=na-š=a-[at]*  
 (24) *[EGIR]-pa pé-eš-ti-en UM-MA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU=ma Ú-UL=ya nam-ma ma-az-zu-u-e-ni*  
 (25) *n=a-an=ya da-a-ri-ja-u-en nu=ya i-na-[an] a-ni-ja-u-e-en nu=ya-r=a-at=za EGIR-pa*  
 (26) *[na]m-ma da-a-at-tén n=e-e=z pé-e-da-at-te-en*

‘The Old Woman speaks to the figurines “Come, you who we have made, and give it back to us!”. Then the mortal speaks “We do not dare anymore. We have *d.-ed* him and treated the illness. Take it back and carry them away!”’.

Although it cannot be denied that a meaning ‘to call upon a god’ is possible in these context, there is no indication at all that we are here dealing with praying.

Another context is less clear:

KBo 3.6 ++ iii

- (60) [... *nu=z*]a<sup>d</sup> *IŠTAR GAŠAN=IA*

- (61) *pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-a-tar a-[(pí-ja=ja)] me-ek-ki te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ut*  
 (62) *nu <sup>m</sup>Úr-ḥi-<sup>d</sup>U-up-aš BE-LU[(<sup>ll.A</sup> ku-i-e-eš ku)]-ya-pí ar-ḥa u-i-ja-at*  
 (63) *nu-u=š-ma-aš <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR GAŠAN=IA [(Ū-at i)]n-na-ra-<sup>=</sup>u-ya-a=š-ma-aš*  
*da-a-ri-ja-an-te-eš*  
 (64) *KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR<sup>TI</sup>=ma=ū[(a=kán ḥu-u-m)]a-an-ta <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR A-NA*  
*<sup>m</sup>Ḥa-at-tu-ši-li*  
 (65) *EGIR-an-da ne-i-ḫ[a-nu-u]n*

‘And there as well My Lady Ištar let her providence show abundantly. The lords that Urḫi-Tešup then had sent away, to them My Lady Ištar appeared in a dream: “You are purposely *d*! But I, Ištar, have returned all Ḥatti-lands back to Ḥattušili”’.

Although I do not know exactly how to translate *dārijaanteš* here, a translation ‘exerted’ does not seem fitting to me.

All in all, the meaning of *dārije/a-zi* cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that apurtenance of these forms to either *tarai-<sup>i</sup> / tari-* or *ter-<sup>zi</sup> / tar-* is unlikely.

<sup>TÚG</sup>*tarrijanali-* (c.) ‘cloth that has been woven three times(?)’: nom.sg. *tar-ri-ja-na-liš* (KBo 18.181 obv. 14, rev. 3, 8, 22), *tar-ja-na-liš* (KBo 18.186 l.edge 4).

PIE \**tri-jo-no-li-* ??

On the basis of the formal connection with <sup>LÚ</sup>*tarrijanalli-* ‘functionary of the third rank’, it has been assumed that this word, which must denote a cloth because of the determinative <sup>TÚG</sup>, should be interpreted as ‘cloth that has been woven three times’ vel sim. See <sup>LÚ</sup>*tarrijanalli-* and *teri-* for further etymology.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*tarrijanalli-* (c.) ‘functionary of the third rank’: nom.sg. *tar-ri-ja-na-al-li-iš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *tar-ri-ja-na-al-li* (MH/MS).

PIE \**tri-jo-no- + -alli-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

IBoT 1.36 i

- (36) ... *a-pa-a-š=a pa-ra-a da-me-ta-ni*  
 (37) <sup>LÚ</sup>*ME-ŠE-DI te-ez-zi a-pa-š=a pa-ra-a <sup>LÚ</sup>tar-ri-ja-na-al-li te-ez-zi*  
 (38) <sup>LÚ</sup>*tar-ri-ja-na-al-li-iš=ma <sup>LÚ</sup>du-ja-na-al-li te-ez-zi*  
 (39) <sup>LÚ</sup>*du-ja-na-al-li-iš=ma A-NA UGULA 10 M[E]-Š[E-D]I te-ez-zi*

‘He passes it on to the other guard. That one passes it on to the one of third rank, the one of third rank passes it on to the one of second rank, and the one of second rank tells it to the Chief of ten guards’.

On the basis of this context, *tarrījanall-* can be determined as ‘functionary of the third rank’ (besides <sup>LÚ</sup>*dujanalli-* ‘functionary of the second rank’ (q.v.)), and likely contains a reflex of the PIE numeral *\*trei-* ‘three’. Since the word for ‘three’ in Hittite shows the stem *teri-* (q.v.), it has been assumed that *tarrījanalli-* must show a Luwian variant, *tarri-*. The idea is then that Luw. *tarri-* shows geminate *-rr-* because of Čop’s Law and therefore must reflect PAnat. *\*təri-* (which also yielded Hitt. *teri-*). For the origin of this PAnat. *\*təri-*, see at *teri-*.

***tar(k)u-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ia4) ‘to dance’: 3sg.pres.act. *tar-uk-zi* (KBo 17.43 i 9 (OS)), *tar-ú-zi* (KBo 30.103 obv. 6 (OH/MS)), *ta-ru-u[k-zi]* (KBo 17.99 i 6 (OH/MS)), *tar-ku-zi* (NH), *tar-ku-uz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *tar-ku-an-zi* (OS), *tar-ku-ua-an-zi* (OS), *tar-ku-u-ua-an-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *tar-ku-e-er* (MH/NS); verb.noun *tar-ku-ua-ar* (KUB 4.1 ivb 40 (MH/NS)); inf.I *tar-ku-ua-an-zi* (KUB 7.19 obv. 8, KUB 11.34 iv 17, KBo 23.97 i 11 (NH)); impf. [*ta*]-*ru-uš-kán-zi* (KBo 17.36+ i 10 (OS)), *ta-ru-u[š-kán-zi]* (ibid. 20 (OS)), *tar-ku-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *tar-ú-i-iš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *tar-ú-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-ui<sub>3</sub>-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-ku-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*taruēšgala-* (c.) ‘dancer(?)’ (nom.sg. *tar-ui<sub>3</sub>-eš<sup>1</sup>-ga-la-aš* (KUB 3.94 i 21 (NS))).

IE cognates: Lat. *torquēre* ‘to turn’, TochB *tärk-* ‘to twist around’, Skt. *tark-* ‘to turn’.

PIE *\*térk<sup>w</sup>-ti* / *\*trk<sup>w</sup>-énti*

Usually, the verbal forms cited under this lemma are treated as two separate verbs, namely *tarku-*<sup>zi</sup> and *taru-*<sup>zi</sup>. The stem *tarku-*, which is occasionally spelled *taruk-* as well (cf. *eku-*<sup>zi</sup> ~ *euk-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to drink’ and *tarhu-*<sup>zi</sup> ~ *taru<sub>h</sub>h-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to conquer’), has since Benveniste (1962: 125) generally been connected with TochB *tärk-* ‘to turn’ and Lat. *torquēre* ‘to turn’ and reconstructed as *\*terk<sup>w</sup>-*. The alteration between *tarku-* and *taruk-* points to a synchronic phonological form /tark<sup>w</sup>-/. This also explains the inf.I *tarku<sub>u</sub>anzi* and verb.noun *tarku<sub>u</sub>ar*, which do not show haplography from *\*\*tar-ku-ua-ua-an-zi* and *\*\*tar-ku-ua-ua-ar* (contra Otten 1973: 53), but are rather the result of the fact that the labial element of /k<sup>w</sup>/ does not participate in the sound law *\*-uu- > -mu-*. So *tarku<sub>u</sub>anzi* and *tarku<sub>u</sub>ar* can be interpreted as perfectly regular /trk<sup>w</sup>uánt<sup>si</sup>/ and /tárk<sup>w</sup>uər/.

The interpretation of the stem *taru*<sup>-zi</sup> has caused much debate. In some contexts, the verb *taru*- clearly denotes ‘to dance’, e.g.

KUB 25.37 i

(6) <sup>LÚ</sup>MUḪALDIM *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an tar-ūi<sub>5</sub>-iš-ke-et nu a-pa-a-aš-š=a QA-TAM-MA*

(7) [*tar-ū*]<sub>i<sub>5</sub></sub>-iš-ke-u-an da-a-i pé-di=<sub>ja</sub>-a=š-ša-an *ūa-aḫ-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi*

‘When the cook has danced, he as well starts to dance in the same manner. He keeps on making himself whirl on (his) place’.

Oettinger (1979a: 226) argues that *taru*- rather means ‘to rage’, however. This interpretation is primarily based on the inf.-form *tar-ūa-u-ūa-an-zi* (KUB 12.62 obv. 11, 13), but Tischler (HEG T: 245) convincingly interprets this form as belonging to a verb *taru<sub>ae</sub>*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to turn to wood; to fix, to fasten’ (see under the lemma *tāru*-). Another context in which Oettinger proposes to translate ‘to rage’ is KBo 10.23 iii (3) *nu pá-r-ša-ni-li tar-ú-i-eš-kán[-zi]* ‘sie toben wie Panther’, which contrasts with CHD’s translation ‘and they dance dressed in leopard’s skins’ (P: 186). All in all, we have to conclude that *taru*<sup>-zi</sup> means ‘to dance’ only (cf. Melchert 1994a: 61: “there is not a shred of evidence for [translating *taru*- as] ‘to rage’”). Therefore, Oettinger’s etymologic interpretation (1979a: 226, based on Knobloch 1959: 35 and repeated thus by Tischler o.c.: 236) of *taru*- as reflecting an *u*-extension of a root *\*d<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘sexuell herumtoben’ (Gr. θόρυνμαι ‘to leap, to mount’, which rather reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-*, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>) is unconvincing.

Having the meaning ‘to dance’, *taru*- strongly resembles *tarku*-, of course (Melchert (l.c.): “*tarku*- and *taru*- are synonymous, being used in virtually identical contexts”), which would point to an etymological connection between the two. Laroche (1958: 197<sup>5</sup>) assumes that *taru*- is the Luwian variant of *tarku*-. Melchert (l.c.) follows this suggestion and assumes that PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>* unconditionally yielded PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>*, which on the one hand gave Hitt. *-k<sup>w</sup>*-, but on the other Luw. *-u*-. Oettinger (1979a: 225) convincingly speaks against a Luwian origin of *taru*- however: “jedoch kommt – abgesehen davon, daß *taru*<sup>-mi</sup> stets wie ein genuin heth. verbum behandelt wird (kein Glossenkeil, Ableitung <sup>LÚ</sup>*taruešgala*- usw.) – *taru*<sup>-mi</sup> bereits in ah. Sprache vor und kann somit kaum luwisch sein”. Moreover, Melchert’s claim that PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>* unconditionally yielded PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* in word-internal position is incorrect (cf. *takku* < *\*tok<sup>w</sup>e*, *nekku* < *\*nek<sup>w</sup>e*, but also the existence of Luwian /k<sup>w</sup>/ in CLuw. *mannakuna/i*- ‘short’, *nakkušša/i*- ‘scapegoat’, (*pap*)*parku<sub>ua</sub>(i)*- ‘to cleanse’, e.a.).

In my view, we must compare the situation of *tarku*<sup>-zi</sup> besides *taru*<sup>-zi</sup> to the verbs *ħar(k)*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to have, to hold’ (*ħark*- besides *ħar*-) and *ištar(k)*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to ail’ (*ištark*- besides *ištar*-). Of these latter two verbs, I have argued that they show loss of \**k* in a cluster \*-*RkC*-. The loss of \**k* in this position was phonetically regular, but in the paradigm of *ištar(k)*-, \**k* is largely restored on the basis of forms in which \**k* was regularly retained (\*-*RkV*-), whereas in *ħar(k)*- the old situation was preserved because of its frequent use. In the case of the pair *tarku*- ~ *taru*- I believe we are dealing with a similar phenomenon. This view is strengthened by the fact that *taru*- is found with endings that start in a consonant only (-*zi* and -*ške/a*-). If this proposal is correct, it would show that we have to reckon with the following line of events: \**terk*<sup>w</sup>*ti* > \**tar*<sup>w</sup>*t*<sup>s</sup>*i* > Hitt. /*tárut*<sup>s</sup>*i*/, spelled *tar-ú-zi*; and \**trk*<sup>w</sup>*ske/o*- > \**tr*<sup>w</sup>*ske/a*- > OH /*truske/a*-/, spelled *taruške/a*- (OS) (note that NH *taruē/iške/a*- seems to stand for /*truiske/a*-/, which cannot be regularly from OH /*truske/a*-/: either we must assume that the NH variant /-*iske/a*-/ of the impf.-suffix -*ške/a*- (q.v.) has been used here, or we must assume that this form stands for /*trwiske/a*-/, which would indicate that OS *taruške/a*- is to be interpreted as /*trwske/a*-/ < \**tr*<sup>w</sup>*ske/a*-). This means that in the case of *ħar(k)*- and *ištar(k)*- we are dealing with \**h*<sub>2</sub>*erk-ti* > \**har*<sup>w</sup>*t*<sup>s</sup>*i* > Hitt. /*hart*<sup>s</sup>*i*/, spelled *ħar-zi*.

Note that Oettinger (1979a: 224) cites a form 3sg.pret.act. *tar-ku-ua-a-iš-ta* (KUB 24.97 i 11), but this should be read *tar-ku-ua a-uš-ta* ‘he looked angrily’ (see under *tarkuuant*-).

***tarkuuant***- (adj.) ‘looking angrily’: nom.-acc.pl.n. *tar-ku-ua-an-ta*, *tar-ku-ua-an-da*.

Derivatives: ***tarkuua*** (adv.) ‘angrily’ (*tar-ku-ua*), ***targullijaubar*** (n.) ‘furious look’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-gul-li-ja-u-ua-ar*), ***tarkuualije/a***<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to look angrily’ (impf.1sg.pret.act. *tar-ku-ua-al-li-iš-ke-nu-un*).

IE cognates: Lat. *torvus* (adj.) ‘grim, looking grimly’, Gr. τάρβος ‘fright, dread’, Skt. *tarjati* ‘to threaten’.

PIE \**trg*<sup>w</sup>-*ent*-

Since Szemérenyi (1942: 395f.) and Neumann (1971: 262) this adjective is generally connected with Lat. *torvus* ‘looking grimly’ < \**torg*<sup>w</sup>-*o*-. In Hittite, we seem to be dealing with a petrified participle of a further unattested verb \**tarku*- ‘to look grimly’ which reflects \**terg*<sup>w</sup>- (also in Skt. *tarj*- ‘to threaten’).

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***tarma***- (c.) ‘nail, peg, pin’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>GAG): nom.sg. *tar-ma-aš* (OS), abl. *tar-ma-za* (here? KBo 26.94 obv. 7), acc.pl. *tar-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: *tarmae*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to nail, to hammer, to fasten down’ (1sg.pres.act. *tar-ma-e-mi* (OS), *tar-ma-a-e[-mi]* (OS), *tar-ma-a-mi* (KUB 17.28 i 8 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *tar-ma-a-iz-zi*, *tar-ma-iz-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *tar-ma-a-u-e-ni* (KUB 17.28 i 16), 3pl.pres.act. *tar-ma-a-an-zi* (KBo 22.249 iv<sup>3</sup> 3), 1sg.pret.act. *tar-ma-a-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *tar-ma-a-it* (KBo 39.8 ii 20 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pret.act. *tar-ma-a-u-en* (KBo 12.129, 7), 3sg.imp.act. *tar-ma-ad-du* (KBo 10.45 iii 21 (MH/NS)); part. *tar-ma-a-an-t-*, *tar-ma-an-t-*; impf. *tar-ma-i-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-mi-iš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tarma/i-* (c.) ‘nail, peg’ (nom.sg. *tar-mi-iš*, abl.-instr. *tar-ma-ti*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *tar-ma-a-aš-ši-in-zi*), *tarmattar* / *tarmatn-* (n.) ‘nailing, fastening’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-ma-at-tar*, Hitt.gen.sg. *tar-ma-at-na-aš*), *tarm(a)i-* ‘to nail, to fasten down’ (3sg.pret.act. *tar-mi-ta*, 3pl.imp.act. *tar-ma-in-du*, part. *tar-ma-i(-im)-mi-iš*, impf.3pl.imp.act. *tar-mi-iš-ša-an-du*).

IE cognates: Gr. τόρμος ‘hole or socket in which a peg is stuck; projecting peg or pivot’.

PIE *\*tor-mo-*

The noun *tarma-* and its derivative *tarmae*<sup>-zi</sup> are attested in OS texts already. Tischler HEG T: 185 cites a stem *tarmi-* as well on the basis of two attestations, which I rather interpret as a separate word (see at *tarmi-*). Many different etymologies have been proposed: see Tischler (l.c.) for an overview. In my view the best proposal is by Frisk (1960-1972: 880, 913), who connects *tarma-* with Gr. τόρμος ‘peg’ (although his proposal to connect PGerm. *\*þarma-* ‘gut’ seems semantically unattractive to me). For Hittite, we can reconstruct *\*tormo-*, but *\*trmo-* is in principle possible as well. The derivative *tarmae-* must reflect *\*t(o)rmo-je/o-* (with *-o-je/o-* as all *hatrae*-class verbs).

Kimball (1999: 381) assumes that the root was *\*terh<sub>1</sub>-* on the basis of Gr. τέρετρον ‘borer, gimlet’, which means that in *\*torh<sub>1</sub>-mo-* > Gr. τόρμος the ‘de Saussure-effect’ must have taken place (i.e. loss of a laryngeal after *\*o*-grade). In Hittite, such an effect is invisible as *\*-h<sub>1</sub>-* would have been lost in this environment anyway.

*tarmi-* (c.) symptom of a disease: nom.sg. *tar-mi-iš*.

This word occurs twice in one text only:

KUB 8.36 iii

- (1) [*ma-a-an*] *an-tu-uh-š[a-an]* *hu-u-ua-aḫ-ḫ[u-ur-ti-in]*
- (2) *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš e-ep-zi na-aš-ma SÚ-U[Ḫ-A-LU]*
- (3) *nu-uh-ḫa-ri-it-ti me-mi-ia-aš=ma-a=š-ši=kán* [NU.GÁL]

(4) *na-aš-ma tar-mi-iš ūa-al-aḥ-zi*

‘When (a feeling) of burning seizes the throat of a man, or a cough convulses?  
(him) and he loses his voice, or a *t.* strikes (him)’;

ibid.

(11) *ma-a-an an-tu-uḥ-ša-an tar-mi-iš ūa-al-aḥ-zi*

‘When a *t.* strikes a man’.

It clearly denotes a certain symptom of a disease. Therewith this word cannot be identical to *tarma-* ‘nail, peg, pin’ (q.v.). Further unclear.

**tarna-** (c.) ‘head, skull; a small measure’: nom.sg. *tar-na-aš*, acc.sg. *tar-na-a(n)=š-ša-an*, abl. *tar-na-a(z)=š-ši-it*, *tar-na-a(z)=š-še-et*, dat.-loc.pl. *tar-na-a(š)=š-ma-aš*.

IE cognates: TochB *tarne* ‘crown of the head, summit’.

PIE *\*trno-* or *\*dʰrno-*

Within the IE languages, TochB *tarne* ‘crown of the head, summit’ evidently is cognate. Van Windekens (1963: 42f.) compared this word to Skt. *dūrṇa-* ‘cracked’ (referring to ModHG *Scheitel* from *scheiden* ‘to split’ as a semantic parallel), but since TochB *t-* cannot reflect *\*d-* (which would have yielded *ts-*) this comparison is formally impossible. So on the basis of the Hittite and Tocharian forms, we should reconstruct *\*trno-* or *\*dʰrno-*. Adams (1999: 281) adduces Yazgulmani *tern* ‘crown of the head’, which then would point to *\*t-*.

**tarna<sup>i</sup> / tarn-** (IIa1γ > Ic2) ‘to let (go), to allow, to leave (something)’: 1sg.pres.act. *tar-na-aḥ-ḥé* (OS), *tar-na-aḥ-ḥi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *tar-na-at-ti* (MH/MS), *tar-na-ši* (KBo 4.2 i 25, ii 21, iii 8 (OH/NS), KUB 19.49+ i 56 (fr.), 57 (fr.) (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *tar-na-i* (OS), *tar-na-a-i* (OS), *tar-na-iz-zi* (KUB 28.4 i 25b (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *tar-nu-me-ni*, *tar-nu-um-me-e-ni* (NH), *tar-nu-um-me-ni*, *tar-nu-um-ma-ni* (KBo 2.8 i 15 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *tar-na-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), *tar-na-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *tar-na-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-un* (OS), *tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-u-un* (1x), 3sg.pret.act. *tar-na-aš* (OS), *tar-ni-eš-ta* (KUB 13.34 iv 14 (NS)), *tar-ni-iš-ta* (KUB 1.1+ iv 49 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *tar-nu-mé-en* (KBo 3.45 obv. 10 (OH/NS)), *tar-nu-um-me-en*, *tar-nu-en* (KBo 3.60 iii 7 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pret.act. *tar-na-at-te-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *tar-ni-er* (MH/MS), *tar-ner*, 2sg.imp.act. *tar-na* (KUB 17.10 iii 24 (OH/MS)), *tar-ni*, 3sg.imp.act. *tar-na-ú*,



*tar-na-a-ú, tar-na-ad-du* (HKM 45 obv. 17 (MH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *tar-na-at-tén* (MH/MS), *tar-ni-iš-tén* (KUB 6.45+ i 32 (NH), KUB 6.46 i 33 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *tar-na-an-du* (MH/MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *tar-na-at-ta-ri* (NH), *tar-na-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *tar-na-at-ta-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *tar-na-an-ta-ri* (OH/MS); part. *tar-na-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun *tar-nu-mar, tar-nu-um-mar* (NH), gen.sg. *tar-nu-um-ma-aš* (KUB 20.29 vi 3); inf.I *tar-nu-um-ma-an-zi*; impf. *tar-ši-ke/a-* (KUB 23.72 ii 41 (MH/MS)), *tar-ši-ik-ke/a-* (HKM 46 rev. 26 (MH/MS)), *tar-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 13.4 iii 23 (OH/NS)), *tar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 22.61 iv 23 (NS)), *tar-na-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 30.28 i 27 (NS)), *tar-(na-)aš-ke/a-* (KUB 24.9 ii 42 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **tarnatt-** (c.) ‘ration, portion’ (Sum. H.A.LA (?); nom.sg. *tar-na-az* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *tar-na-at-ta-an* (OS), gen.sg. *tar-na-at-ta-aš* (OH/NS), nom.pl. *tar-na-at-te-eš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *tar-na-at-ta-aš* (MH/MS)), **tarnattalla-** (c.) ‘partner, sharer’ (case? *tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš(-)x[...]* (KBo 17.71+ ii 9 (OS))).

IE cognates: TochAB *tärk-* ‘let go, to let, to allow’.

PIE *\*tr<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>-nó-h<sub>1/3</sub>-ei, \*tr<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>-n-h<sub>1/3</sub>-énti*

This verb is the name-giver to the *hi*-inflected *tarn(a)*-class, which is characterized by an ablaut *tarna-* vs. *tarn-*. This inflection is quite stable throughout the Hittite texts. Only in younger times we find an occasional transition into the *hatrae*-class (*tarnaši* (NS), *tarnaizzi* (NS), *tarnaddu* (MH/MS)).

The etymological interpretation of this verb is in debate. The *tarn(a)*-class consists of verbs that reflect a structure *\*CoH-*, *\*CH-*, either reduplicated roots (*\*Ce-CoH-ei, \*Ce-CH-enti*) or nasal-infixed verbs (*\*CR-no-H-ei, \*CR-n-H-enti*). See at *malla<sup>i</sup> / mall-*, *padda<sup>i</sup> / padd-*, *ħarra<sup>i</sup> / ħarr-*, *iškalla<sup>i</sup> / iškall-* and *išparra<sup>i</sup> / išparr-* for the view that verbs of a structure *\*CoCh<sub>2/3</sub>-ei, \*CCh<sub>2/3</sub>-enti* end up in the *tarn(a)*-class as well. In the case of *tarna-* / *tarn-*, we are clearly dealing with a nasal-infixed verb of the structure *\*Tr-no-H-ei, \*Tr-n-H-enti*.

Oettinger (1979a: 155, going back to Hrozný 1919: 77<sup>9</sup>) derives *tarn(a)-* from the root *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to cross, to pass through’, but this is formally as well as semantically improbable. From a formal point of view, we would expect that *\*tr-no-h<sub>2</sub>-ei* would yield Hitt. *\*\*tarnaħhi* and not *tarnai*. Oettinger’s claim that the original stem *tarnaħh-* is still visible in the one attestation part. *tarnaħhant-* in KBo 3.45 obv. (2) *nū=zā tar-na-aħ-ħa-[a]n ħar-zi*, which he calls a “Reliktform”, must be refuted because this line is rather to be read *[u]a-ā-tar-na-aħ-ħa-[a]n ħar-zi* ‘he has instructed’, with the participle of *uātarnaħh<sup>i</sup>* ‘to instruct’. From a semantic point of view this etymology is problematic because I do not see at all

how an original meaning ‘to cross, to pass through’ could develop into ‘to let (go), to allow’.

A semantically much better proposal was offered by Benveniste (1932: 142), who connected *tarn(a)-* with TochAB *tärk-* ‘to let go, to let, to allow’, which forms a present *tärnā-* (TochA) ~ *tärkana-* (TochB). This means that for Tocharian we have to reconstruct a root *\*t/dʰerKH-* (note that *\*d-* should have given *\*\*tsärk-*) that shows a present-formation *\*t/dʰrK-n-H-*. If we want to connect these forms with Hitt. *tarn(a)-*, we have to assume that in the pre-form *\*t/dʰrK-no-H-*, the *\*-K-* was dropped. Such a loss is known from the verbs *ḫar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>*, *ištar(k)-<sup>zi</sup>* and *tar(k)u-<sup>zi</sup>* (q.v.), which show that a sequence *\*-RkC-* yields Hitt. *\*-RC-*. This applies to the fortis velars (*\*k*, *\*k* and *\*kʷ*) but does not work for the lenis velars (*\*g<sup>(h)</sup>*, *\*g<sup>(h)</sup>* and *\*g<sup>w(h)</sup>*), cf. for instance *ḫargnau-* ‘palm, sole’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>erġ-nou-*. So the velar must have been *\*k* or *\*k*. Because it is against PIE root constraints to have both an ‘aspirated’ and a ‘voiceless’ stop in one root, the initial dental consonant cannot have been *\*dʰ-*, but must have been *\*t-*. The root-final laryngeal must be either *\*h<sub>1</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have left a trace (*\*\*tarnaḫi*, cf. above). So all in all, if the Tocharian and the Hittite forms indeed are cognate, which is semantically as well as formally very probable, we have to reconstruct a root *\*ter<sup>(ʰ)</sup>k<sub>h<sub>1/3</sub></sub>-* with a present formation *\*tr<sup>(ʰ)</sup>k<sub>n-h<sub>1/3</sub></sub>-* (cf. *\*g<sup>(w)</sup>renth<sub>2</sub>-* and its present *\*g<sup>(w)</sup>rnt-ne-h<sub>2</sub>-* > Skt. *grathnāti* ‘to knot’ for a similar root structure).

The imperfective shows the forms *tar-ši-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *tar-ši-ik-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *tar-ni-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *tar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NS) and *tar-na-aš-ke/a-* (NS). The forms *taršike/a-* and *taršikke/a-* have to be phonologically interpreted as /triské/á-/ , *tarniške/a-* and *tarneške/a-* as /trniské/á-/ and *tarnaške/a-* as /trnaské/á-/ . Of these three, /triske/a-/ must be the most archaic one as it is totally aberrant within the paradigm of *tarn(a)-*. Its archaicity is supported by the fact that it is the oldest attested form (MS texts already). In my view, it reflects the original imperfective *\*tr<sup>(ʰ)</sup>k<sub>h<sub>1/3</sub></sub>-ské/ó-* without the present-suffix *-n-* (compare *duwaraške/a-* < *\*dʰurh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* from the nasal present *duwarni-<sup>zi</sup>* / *duwarn-* ‘to break’ < *\*dʰur-n(e)-h<sub>1</sub>-*, or *zikke/a-* < *\*dʰh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* from the *\*oi*-present *\*dʰh<sub>1</sub>-(o)i-* > *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* ‘to put’). The phonetic development must have been *\*tr<sup>(ʰ)</sup>k<sub>h<sub>1/3</sub></sub>-ské/ó-* > *\*trh<sub>1/3</sub>-ské/ó-* (loss of *\*k* in cluster *\*-rkC-* as discussed above), after which *\*trh<sub>1/3</sub>-ské/ó-* regularly yielded Hitt. /triské/á-/ (compare *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /pripriské/á-/ , *pa-ri-ip-ri-iš-ke/a-* ‘to blow (impf.)’ and *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* > Hitt. /ṛriské/á-/ , *a-ri-iš-ke/a-* , *a-re-eš-ke/a-* ‘to consult an oracle (impf.)’). Only later on, this imperfective was replaced by /trniske/a-/ (on the basis of the weak

stem *\*trnʔ-*), and later on even by /trnaske/a-/ (on the basis of the strong stem *tarna-*).

**tarš-** ‘to become dry’ or ‘to make dry’: 3pl.pres.act. *tar-ša-an-zi* (KBo 46.200 obv. 5 (NS)); part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *tar-ša-an*, part.nom.-acc.pl. *tar-ša-an-ta*; inf.I *tar-šu-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 55.27, 6 (NS)); verb.noun *tar-še-eš-šar* (KUB 43.56 iii 22 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *tarṣ-* ‘to become thirsty’, Gr. τέρσομαι ‘to become dry’, Lat. *torreō* ‘to dry, to roast’, OHG *derren* ‘to make dry’, OHG *durst* ‘thirst’.

PIE *\*ters-*

This verb is not well attested. The only finite form, *taršanzi*, is attested in a broken context only. The exact meaning of *tarš-* is not fully clear either. Often, it is translated ‘to roast, to dry’ (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 219 “trocknen, dörren, rösten”).

The most common context in which this verb occurs is in the pair *taršan mallan* ‘roasted? / dried? and milled’ (cf. CHD L-N: 126 for this translation), said of grains. In my view, a meaning ‘roasted’ is quite unlikely here: why would one roast grain before milling it? Furthermore, a meaning ‘dried’ is supported by the comparable pair *hātan mallan* ‘dried and milled’ (of *hāt-<sup>i</sup> / hat-* ‘to become dry’). The only place where a meaning ‘roasted’ at first sight seems favourable is <sup>UZU</sup>*tar-ša-an*, attested in the quite broken context KBo 30.43 ii 11. Although one is tempted to translate ‘roasted meat’, e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 453) translates it as ‘Dörrfleisch’. Tischler (HEG T: 220) even assumes that <sup>UZU</sup>*taršan* denotes a body part and is to be separated from this verb. All in all, I conclude that *taršant-* means ‘dried’ only, and that there is no evidence for a meaning ‘roasted’.

Oettinger (1979a: 452f.) convincingly connects this verb with the PIE root *\*ters-* ‘to be(come) dry’. He remarks, however, that on the basis of *taršant-* ‘dried’ we have to assume that the basic verb was transitive and cannot directly reflect the intransitive root *\*ters-* but must go back to the causative formation *\*tors-éje-* ‘to make dry’ (Skt. *tarṣáyati*, Lat. *torreō* and OHG *derren* ‘to dry (something)’). On the basis of his reconstruction *\*tors-eje-*, he assumes that *tarš-* is *hi-*conjugated. In my view, all these reasonings are unnecessary. The part. *hātant-* means ‘dried’ as well (and is even used in the same contexts as *taršant-*) but is derived from the intransitive verb *hāt-<sup>i</sup> / hat-* ‘to (become) dry’ (q.v.). This means that we can assume just as well that *tarš-* was intransitive and meant ‘to become dry’ too. If so, then it could directly reflect PIE *\*ters-*. A choice between these two scenarios can only be based on a context in which we find a finite form

of *tarš-* that is used either transitively or intransitively and on the basis of which we can determine the inflection (*mi-* or *hi-*).

***taršanzepa-*** (c.) an object in the temple, a sort of room divider to separate the entrance section from the real temple sanctuary: gen.sg. *tar-ša-an-ze-pa-aš* (OS), abl. *tar-ša-an-ze-pa-az* (OS), dat.sg. *tar-ša-an-zi-pí*, *tar-ša-zi-pí* (1x).

Derivatives: <sup>d</sup>***taršanzipa-*** (c.) ‘id. (deified)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *tar-ša-an-zi-pí*).

Although attested many times, it still is not fully clear what this word denotes. The word is spelled with the sign ZI that in principle can be read *zi* as well as *ze*. The formation of the word resembles *tagānzepa-* (q.v.), which means that *taršanzepa-* is to be analysed as *taršan-* + *ze/ipa-*. At the lemma of *tagānzepa-* I have argued that the element *ze/ipa-* probably was *-zepa-* in OH times, which was altered to *-zipa-* in younger times. In the overview above I therefore have cited the sign ZI as *ze* in the OS attestations and as *zi* in the younger attestations. The origin of the element *taršan-* is unclear. Connections with *tarš-* ‘to become dry’ or *tarša-* ‘shoot’ are semantically not very compelling. No further etymology.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>***tāru-*** (n.) ‘wood’ (Sum. GIŠ): nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-a-ru* (OS), *GIŠ-ru* (OS), gen.sg. *GIŠ-ru-ūa-aš* (MH/NS), *GIŠ-ru-aš* (NS), *GIŠ-aš*, dat.-log.sg. *ta-ru-ú-i* (OS?), *GIŠ-ru-i* (NS), erg.sg. *GIŠ-ru-ūa-an-za* (KBo 32.14 iii 69 (MH/MS)), abl. [*ta-*]q-*ru-az* (OH/NS), *GIŠ-ru-ūa-az*, *GIŠ-ru-ūa-za*, *GIŠ-ru-za* (MH/NS), instr. *GIŠ-ru-it* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *GIŠ<sup>H1.A</sup>-ru* (OH/MS), *GIŠ-ru<sup>H1.A</sup>* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *GIŠ-ru-ūa-aš* (NS), *GIŠ-ru-aš*, *GIŠ-aš*; case? *tar-ūa-aš* (KUB 39.55, 3), *GIŠ-ru-an* (KUB 15.31 iii 39).

Derivatives: ***taruūae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to fix (magically), to fasten’ (part. *GIŠ-ru-an-t-*, *GIŠ-ru-ūa-an-t-*; inf.I *tar-ūa-u-ūa-an-zi*, *GIŠ-ru-an-zi*), <sup>GIŠ</sup>***taruūāli-*** (n.) ‘pestle(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-ūa-li*, *tar-ūa-a-li*, *tar-ūa-al-li*), see *allantaru-* ‘oak’.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>GIŠ</sup>***tāru-*** (n.) ‘wood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-a-ru*, [*da-*]ru-*ša*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *da-ru-ūa-aš-ša*), ***dāruš-*** (n.) ‘statue’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-a-ru-uš-ša*, *ta-a-ru-uš-ša*, ALAM-*ša*, erg.sg. *ta-ru-ša-an-ti-iš*, erg.pl. [*ta-ru-ša*]an-ti-in-*zi*), ***taruūi(ja)-*** ‘to turn to wood (vel sim.)’ (3sg.imp.act. [*ta-*]ru-u-i-it-*ta-ru*); HLuw. \****taru-*** (n.) ‘wood’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. LIGNUM-*sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §33)), ***tarwi(ja)-*** ‘wooden beam(?)’ (abl.-instr. “LIGNUM”-*wa/i-ia-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11a §18)), ***tarut-*** (n.) ‘statue’ (nom.-acc.sg. “LIGNUM”*ta-ru-sa* (ALEPPO 2 §8), “STATUA”*ta-ru-sá* (MARAŞ 3 §3), “STATUA”*tá-ru-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A25 §7), “STATUA”*ta-ru-sá* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §6), STATUA-*ru-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A1a §28), STATUA-*ru-sá* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.11 §ii, KIRÇOĞLU §2), dat.-

loc.sg. <sup>“STATUA”</sup>*ta-ru-ti* (MARAŞ 14 §7), *STATUA-ru-ti-i* (KARKAMIŞ A1a §31, MALPINAR §5, §26), *ta-ru-ti(-i)* (KULULU lead strip 2 §1, §2, §5), dat.-loc.pl. *ta-ru-tà-za* (KULULU lead strip 2 §3)).

PAnat. *\*tāru-*

IE cognates: Gr. δόρυ ‘wood’, Skt. *dāru* ‘wood’, OE *trēo(w)* ‘tree’, OCS *drěvo* ‘tree’.

PIE *\*dóru-*

This word was first identified as ‘wood’ and etymologically connected with PIE *\*dóru-* by Ehelolf (1933: 7), which has since then received general acceptance. It is unclear whether the ablaut visible in Skt. *dāru*, *dróṣ* < *\*dór-u*, *\*dr-éu-s* has survived in Hittite as well. The plene spelling in *ta-a-ru* must reflect *\*dóru*, but whether attestations with *ta-ru-* reflect a zero-grade *\*dr-u-* cannot be determined.

The basic meaning of the Hittite word is ‘wood’, but a meaning ‘tree’ may still be visible in the word *allantaru-* ‘oak’, which seems to be a compound of Sem. *allan-* ‘oak’ and Hitt. *tāru-*, which then here could denote ‘tree’.

See Tischler HEG T: 244f. for an extensive treatment of the verb *taru<sub>ae</sub>-zi*, which he translates ““(magisch) fixieren; anpflocken””. Especially his interpretation of inf.I *tar-ya-u-ya-an-zi* (KUB 12.62 obv. 11, 13) is attractive (contra Oettinger 1979a: 224f., who interpreted this word as belonging with *taru-*, which he therefore translated ‘to rage’, cf. *tar(k)u-zi* ‘to dance’).

According to Hoffner *apud* Friedrich HW Erg. 3: 33, the hapax *ta-a-ru-ma-ki-i[n<sup>?</sup>]* (KUB 8.62 i 6), which possibly denotes a bird, is to be analysed as *tāru-<sub>yaki</sub>* ‘wood-biter’ (second element derived from *uāk-<sup>i</sup>* / *uakk-* ‘to bite’), cf. ‘wood-pecker’.

In Luwian, we find two derivatives, CLuw. *daruš-* ‘statue’ and HLuw. *tarut-* ‘statue’ (the HLuwian nom.-acc.sg. *tarusa* shows the *t*-less nom.-acc. with the secondary ending *-sa*, compare words in *-ahit-* with nom.-acc.sg. *-ahisa*). Starke (1990: 428<sup>1555</sup>) saw the hapax *tar-ya-aš-ši-iš* (KBo 2.4 ii 4) as a genitival adjective in *-ašša/i-* of *taru-* but see Tischler (HEG T: 247-8) for the fact that this word must be identical to *tar<sub>yanašši-</sub>*, an adjective describing fruit dishes (so possibly *tar-ya<na>-aš-ši-iš*), of which a connection with *tāru-* is far from ascertained.

*taru-zi*: see *tar(k)u-zi*

*-ttaru* (3sg.imp.midd.-ending).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *-ttaru* (3sg.imp.midd.-ending): *pa-aḫ-ḫi-it-ta-ru*, *ša-aš-la-at-ta-ru*.

This ending clearly is a secondary formation, replacing the *-i* of 3sg.pres.midd.-ending *-ttari* (q.v.) by the imperetival *-u* (q.v.).

*taruḫḫ-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *tarḫu-<sup>zi</sup>*

*taruk-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *tar(k)u-<sup>zi</sup>*

*tarupp-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib1 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to collect, to unite, to plaid together; (midd.) to collect oneself, to be finished’: 1sg.pres.act. *ta-ru-up-pi-ia-mi* (KBo 11.11 i 2 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-ru-up-zi* (IBoT 2.96, 10 (OH/NS)), *ta-ru-up-za* (NH), *ta-ru-up-pa-iz-zi* (HT 1 iii 11 (NH)), *da-ru-pa-iz-zi* (KUB 9.31 iii 22 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-ru-up-pa-an-zi* (IBoT 2.94 vi 13 (OH/NS), KBo 5.1 iv 1 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-up-pu-un* (KBo 19.90 + 3.53 obv. 10 (OH/NS), KBo 3.46 + KUB 26.75 obv. 40 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-up-ta* (KUB 26.77 i 17 (OH/NS), often (NH)), *ta-ru-up-pi-ia-at* (KUB 27.27 ii 28 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-ru-up-pé-e-e[r]* (KBo 22.1 obv. 2 (OS)), *ta-ru-up-pé-er* (often, MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *ta-ru-up* (KBo 3.23 obv. 3 (OH/NS), KUB 29.1 ii 44 (OH/NS)), *da-ru-up* (KUB 31.115, 7 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ta-ru-up-tén* (OH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ta-ru-up-ta-ri* (often, NH), *ta-ru-up-da-ri*, *ta-ru-up-ta-a-ri* (NH), *ta-ru-up-ta*, *ta-ru-piš-ta* (KBo 11.11 i 9 (NH), for interpretation see Tischler HEG T: 240), 3pl.pres.midd. *ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ta-ru-up-ta-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.midd. *ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-ti* (MH/MS), *ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ta-ru-up-ta-ru* (KUB 29.1 ii 46 (OH/NS)), [*ta-ru*]-*up-da-a-ru* (NH), 3pl.imp.midd. *ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-ru* (NH); part. *ta-ru-up-pa-an-t* (MH/MS), *da-ru-up-pa-an-t* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ta-ru-up-pu-ar* (KBo 1.42 iii 49), gen.sg. [*ta*]-*ru-up-pu-u-ua-aš* (KUB 12,16 i<sup>2</sup> 13); inf.I *ta-ru-up-pu-ua-an-z[i]* (KBo 10.36 iii 11); impf. *ta-ru-up-pi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *taruppeššar* / *taruppešn-* (n.) ‘collection’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-ru-up-pé-eš-šar* (KBo 1.42 ii 15), dat.-loc.sg. *da-ru-up-pi-iš-ni* (KUB 19.49 i 57)), *taruppijanu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to bring together, to collect’ (3sg.pres.act. *da-ru-up-pi-ia-nu-zi* (IBoT 2.129 i 22)), *taruppijaḫḫ-<sup>i</sup>* (Iib) ‘?’ (3sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-pi-ia-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (KUB 9.11+ i 16 (OH/NS)), *ta-ru-up-pi-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (KUB 9.11+ i 17 (OH/NS))), *taruppaḫḫ-<sup>i</sup>* (Iib) ‘?’ (3sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-up-pa-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (Bo 3947, 13 (OH/NS))).

The bulk of the attestations show a stem *tarupp-<sup>zi</sup>* (the few cases with single *-p-* are clearly simplified spellings). Occasionally in NS texts we find the stems *taruppiē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* and *taruppaē-<sup>zi</sup>*.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is quite unclear. Often, *tarupp-* is connected with Lat. *turba* ‘turmoil, multitude’, Gr. τύβη ‘noise’ and ON *þorp* ‘village’ (first proposed by Holma 1916: 36). This is not only formally improbable (*\*tur-* vs. Hitt. *\*Tru-*; *\*b* vs. Hitt. *\*p*), but semantically unlikely as well: Lat. *turba* means ‘multitude, large group’, but this meaning has clearly developed from ‘disorder, chaos’, which is the opposite of Hitt. *tarupp-* ‘to collect, to unite, to plaid together’.

Oettinger’s proposal (1979a: 229) to connect *tarupp-* with Gr. θόρυβος ‘the confused noise of a crowded assembly’ is not convincing either: again Gr. β does not correspond to Hitt. *-pp-* (Oettinger’s explanation that in Hittite *\*b* was replaced by *\*p* in analogy to other verbs ending in *-upp-* is totally *ad hoc*), and the semantic side shows the same problems as the connection with Lat. *turba*.

If *tarupp-* is of IE origin, it can hardly reflect anything else than *\*Treup-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that an initial sequence *\*TrV-* in Hittite seems to yield *\*TerV-* (e.g. *teripp-* > *\*trep-*, *teri-* < *\*tri-*). Perhaps this development took place in front of frontvowels only (otherwise we cannot explain *tarai-<sup>i</sup>* / *tari-* or *taranzi* ‘they speak’ < *\*tr-énti*). If so, it would mean that the epenthesis in *\*TrV<sup>front</sup>* took place after the monophthongization of *\*eu* to *u*. So mechanically, I reconstruct *tarupp-* as *\*Treup-ti*, *\*Trup-énti*. I must admit that I have not been able to find a convincing cognate, however.

Tischler (HEG T: 243) cites the form *ta-ru-up-pí-en-za* (KUB 42.42. i 10 (inventory)) as a participle of *tarupp-*. Because of the broken context, the meaning of the word cannot be determined and therefore a connection with *tarupp-* cannot be proven.

Otten & Siegelová (1970: 36) cite the forms *ta-lu-up-pa-an-da-an* and *ta-lu-up-pa-an* ‘plaid together’:

KUB 2.6 iv

(6) *nu=za iš-ḫu-uz-zi-in*

(7) *SÍG BABBAR SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> an-da*

(8) *ta-lu-up-pa-an-da-an da-a-i*

‘He takes a band plaid together from white and red wool’;

KBo 11.11 iii

(8) 1 <sup>TUG</sup>ku-re-eš-šar ta-lu-up-pa-an

‘one cloth that has been plaid together’.

If these forms are really to be seen as variants of *taruppant-*, they would show an occasional development of *-r-* to *-l-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 171).

<sup>(UZU)</sup>*tašku(i)-* (c.) ‘thigh bone’ (not ‘testicle’!): nom.sg. *ta-aš-ku-uš* (KUB 9.4 i 12, 28 (MH/NS), KUB 9.34 ii 30 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ta-aš-ku-ua-[aš]* (KUB 9.4 i 28 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-aš-ku-i* (KUB 9.4 i 12 (MH/NS)), *ta-aš-ku-ua-ia* (KUB 9.34 ii 30 (MH/NS)), *da-aš-ku-ū[a]-ia* (KBo 21.105 obv. 3), nom.pl. [*t*]a-aš-ku-eš (KBo 24.55 obv.<sup>?</sup> 7).

The bulk of the attestations of this word occur in the Ritual of Tunnaūija: KUB 9.34 ii 22ff, with dupl. KUB 9.4 i 1ff. In this ritual body parts of a ram are used to lift the sickness of the body parts of a sick person. The different body parts used are mentioned in a top-down order, which enables us to determine the (approximate) meaning of some of these body parts. In Kloekhorst 2005a, I have given a detailed treatment of this text, and suggested that the word *tašku(i)-* might denote ‘thigh-bone’ (situated between *hupparattijati-* ‘pelvis’ and *hāpūša(šš)-* ‘shin-bone’) and not ‘testicle’ as was assumed by Alp 1958. Another text in which *tašku-* is found in an enumeration is the following:

KBo 24.55 obv.<sup>?</sup>

(2) [		K]I.MIN
(3) [		-i]š GABA=KA
(4) [		]x SI <sup>HLA</sup> =KA KI.MIN
<hr/>		
(5) [	KA]R-ŠI=KA ŠÀ=KA KI.MIN	
(6) [	]x hu-up-pa-ra-aš=te-eš ge-nu-u=t-t[e-et]	
(7) [	t]a-aš-ku-eš=te-eš GÌR=KA	
(8) [	]x	

‘[ ... li]kewise. [ ... ] your breast [ ... ] your horns likewise. [ ... ] your [be]lly, your heart likewise. [ ... ] your pelvis<sup>?</sup>, yo[ur] knee(s) [ ... ], your [*t*]ašku’s, your feet [ ... ]’.

Although the fragment is small, I think it sheds some light on the meaning of *tašku-*. In line 5 we find weak body parts, ‘[be]lly’ and ‘heart’. Line 6 contains joints: ‘pelvis<sup>?</sup>’ and ‘knee(s)’. Line 7 contains [*t*]ašku-eš and ‘feet’. In my view,



this strongly indicates that *tašku-* cannot mean ‘testicle’, but is likely to denote a limb from the lower half of the body. I therefore stick to my suggestion ‘thigh-bone’.

The dat.-loc.sg.-form *taškuuaja* seems to derive from an *-i*-stem *taškui-* (e.g. Weitenberg 1984a: 271), which could be the source of gen.sg. *taškuuāš* (< \**taškuiāš*) and dat.-loc.sg. *taškui* as well. The nom.sg. *taškuš*, however, shows a genuine *u*-stem *tašku-*. Tischler (HEG T: 255) therefore assumes that the form *taškuuaja* is a scribal error, but if the form *dašku[ū]aja* (KBo 21.105 obv. 3, broken context, with Hurrian from line 4 onwards) really belongs to *tašku-* as well, *taškuuaja* must be a real form. In that case one might wonder whether the three attestations of nom.sg. *ta-aš-ku-uš* (all in the Tunnauija-ritual, which is notorious for its corrupt forms) could be errors for \**ta-aš-ku-iš*, although this would be difficult to defend. The other Hittite word that possibly means ‘thigh’, *šakut(i)a(i)-* (q.v.) is connected with Skt. *sakthi-* < \**sok<sup>w</sup>tH-i-*. If *tašku(i)-* would reflect \**tosk<sup>w</sup>(-i)-*, it would be at least remarkable to find the same phonemes in these two words.

***daššu-* / *daššay-*** (adj.) ‘strong, powerful; heavy; well-fed; difficult; important’ (Sum. DUGUD, Á.GÁL): nom.sg.c. *da-aš-šu-uš* (often), acc.sg.c. *da-aš-šu-un* (KUB 30.45 iii 10), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-aš-šu* (KUB 23.72 ii 54 (MH/MS)), *da-aš-šu* (often), *da-a-aš-šu* (KBo 22.260 obv. 18 (NS)), gen.sg. [*d*]a[-*aš-š*]a-u-ū[*a-aš*] (KUB 2.1 iv 40), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-aš-ša(-u)-i* (KBo 3.8 iii 10), abl. *da-aš-ša-ūa-az*, *da-aš-ša-u-ūa-az*, nom.pl.c. *da-aš-ša-u-e[-eš]* (KUB 36.106 obv. 9 (OS)), *da-aš-ša-u-e-eš* (often), acc.pl.c. *da-aš-ša-mu-uš* (KBo 26.25 iv 9), *da-aš-ša-uš* (KUB 8.53 ii 25), nom.-acc.pl.n. *da-aš-ša-u-ūa* (KUB 17.7 ii 18, KUB 33.98+ iii 6), *da-aš-ša-ūa* (KUB 19.9 i 21), dat.-loc.pl. *da-aš-ša-u-aš* (KUB 33.84+, 6, 27)).

Derivatives: ***daššuyant-*** (adj.) ‘strong’ (nom.sg.c. *da-aš-šu-ūa-an-za* (HT 1 ii 27, KBo 22.107 i 14), ***daš(ša)nu-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make strong’ (1sg.pres.act. *da-aš-ša-nu-mi* (KUB 21.36, 10), 2sg.imp.act. *da-aš-ša-nu-ut* (KUB 33.102 ii 6), 2pl.imp.act. [*ta-aš(-ša)-n*]u-ut-ta-ni (KUB 23.72 ii 54 (MH/MS)); 2sg.imp.midd. *ta-aš-ša-nu-ūh-ūu-ut* (KUB 23.77+ obv. 35 (MH/MS)); part. *da-aš-ša-nu-ūa-an-t-*, *da-aš-nu-ūa-an-t-*; verb.noun *ta-aš-nu-mar*; impf. *da-aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ta-aš-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***daššēš-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to become heavy, to become pressing’ (2sg.pret.act(?) *da-aš-še-eš-ta* (KBo 4.10 i 40), 3sg.imp.act. *da-aš-ši-iš-du* (KUB 43.38 rev. 28)), ***daššuyatar*** (n.) ‘might(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-aš-šu-ūa-tar* (Bo 68/235 i 1)), \****taššije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to be heavy, to make heavy, to press’ (only in derivatives *taššijatar* (n.) a kind of disease (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-ja-tar*),

*taššijauar* (n.) a kind of disease (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-ja-u-ua-ar*) and *taššijama-* (c.) a kind of disease (acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-ja-ma-an*)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dāmsas-* ‘miraculous power’, *daṃs-* ‘to have miraculous power’, Gr. διδάσκω ‘to learn’.

PIE *\*de/oNs-u-*

See Weitenberg 1984: 146 and Tischler HEG T: 259f. for attestations. The word clearly is a *u*-stem of a stem *dašš-*, which is found thus in *daš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* (compare *aš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* and *šaš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* (under the lemma *šeš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šaš-*) for a similar alteration in spelling), *daššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* and, if this interpretation is correct, in *\*taššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, a further unattested verb that served as the basis for several words for diseases.

The judgement of the etymology of this word has been largely determined by one’s view on the development of the clusters *\*-ns-* and *\*-ms-*. For a long time it was thought that *\*-ns-* yielded Hitt. *-nz-*, primarily on the basis of the interpretation of *šumanza-*, allegedly ‘binding’, as reflecting *\*suh<sub>1</sub>mēn-s*. Since this word, which actually is <sup>(L)</sup>*šumanzan-*, now has been identified as ‘(bul)rush’ the etymological connection with Gr. ὑμήν and a reconstruction *\*suh<sub>1</sub>mēn-s* has to be given up. This means that the only good examples for the development of *\*ns* are the following words: *anzāš* ‘us’ reflects *\*ns-ós* and shows that *\*(C)nsV > (C)anzV*; *-uaš* (gen.sg. -ending of verb.nouns in *-uar*) reflects *\*-uēn-s* and shows that *\*Vns# > Vš*. To my knowledge, no good example for *\*VnsV* exists (note that *genzu-* ‘lap’ reflects *\*génh<sub>1</sub>-su-* where the presence of a laryngeal is crucial as it blocks the assimilation). For *\*-ms-* there are more examples. On the basis of *hanzana-* ‘black’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>msono-* and *hanzāšša-* ‘offspring’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>msósi-* we can assume that *\*CmsV > CanzV* (cf. also Melchert 1994a: 121), whereas *hāšša-* ‘offspring’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómso-* and *haššu-* ‘king’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>emsu-* show a development *\*VmsV > VššV* (note that *ānši* ‘wipes’ reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>ómh<sub>1</sub>sei*, again with a crucial laryngeal that blocks the assimilation to *-šš-*). Let us, with this in mind, look at the proposed etymologies for *daššu-*.

Kellogg (1925: 28) proposed a connection with Gr. δασύς ‘thickly wooded, hairy, shaggy’ and Lat. *dēnsus* ‘dense’ that reflect *\*d(e)ns-u-*. This etymology has been criticized for its awkward semantics. An alternative etymology was put forward by Juret (1941: 51), who connected the word with Skt. *dāmsas-* ‘miraculous power’, which indeed seems semantically more likely. Skt. *dāmsas-* is generally regarded a derivative from the verb *daṃs-* ‘to have miraculous power’, which LIV<sup>2</sup> reconstructs as *\*dens-* ‘to become skilled’ (~ Gr. διδάσκω ‘to learn’), although I do not see any reason the specifically reconstruct *-n-*: all forms mentioned in LIV<sup>2</sup> could reflect *\*dems-* as well. Weitenberg (1984: 146) follows

Juret's suggestion, but is forced to reconstruct *\*d(o)msu-*, because in his opinion *\*d(o)nsu-* should have given *\*\*danzu-*. As we saw above, this latter assumption has no ground anymore, and therefore we can reconstruct both *-n-* as well as *-m-*. It must be noted that a reconstruction *\*dNs-u-* is not possible, since this should have given *\*\*danzu-*, whereas both *\*deNs-u-* and *\*doNs-u-* would have yielded *daššu-* as attested.

Starke (1990: 252f.) has argued that the hapax *taššijaman*, a disease, must be of Luwian origin and reflects a neuter stem *taššijam(m)an*, on the basis of which he claims that in Luwian a verb *taššiji-* must have existed. In my view, there is not a shred of evidence that *taššijaman* is of Luwian origin, however: it occurs in a Hittite context, and is grammatically regular. Moreover, a stem *tašš-* is not found in any genuine Luwian text.

**tašūyant-** (adj.) 'blind': nom.sg.c. *da-šu-ya-an-za* (KBo 24.9 i 5 (MS), KUB 36.12 ii 12 (NS)), *ta-aš-ya-an-za* (KBo 6.25 + 13.35 iii 3 (OH/NS), KUB 12.62+ rev. 7, 8 (NS)), *ta-aš-ya-za* (KUB 12.62+ rev. 12 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. [*d*]a-šu-ya-an-t[*i*] (KBo 14.104, 8 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *da-šu-ya-an-te-eš* (KBo 21.6 obv. 10 (NS)).

Derivatives: **dašūyah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>** (Iib) 'to make blind' (3sg.pres.act. *da-šu-ya-ah-ḫi* (KBo 6.2 i 9, 11 (OS)), *ta-šu-ya-ah-ḫi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-šu-ya-ah-ḫu-u-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *da-šu-ya-ḫu-ya-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-šu-ya-ah-ḫa-an-zi* (KBo 18.49 rev. 4 (MH/MS), HKM 14 obv. 14 (MH/MS), HKM 16 obv. 17 (MH/MS), KUB 13.9 ii 18, iv 6 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. [*d*]a-aš-ya-ah-ta (KBo 16.9, 2 (NH)), *ta-šu-ya-ah-t[a]* (KBo 14.11, 9 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-šu-ya-ah-ḫe-er* (KBo 6.34+ i 20 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *da-šu-ya[-ah-ḫa-an-du]* (KBo 6.34+ i 25 (MH/NS)), *da[-šu-ya-ah-ḫa-a]n-du* (KBo 6.34+ iii 8 (MH/NS)), *ta-aš-ya-ah-ḫa-an-du* (KUB 44.4+ KBo 13.241 rev. 28 (NS)); part. nom.sg.c. *ta-šu-ya-ah-ḫa-an-za* (KUB 13.9 ii 12, 14 (MH/NS)).

We find the spellings *da-šu-ya-*, *ta-šu-ya-* as well as *ta-aš-ya-*, all denoting /tasua-/. The etymological interpretation has been in debate. Sturtevant (1933: 105) proposed a connection with Skt. *támas-* 'darkness', *támisrā-* 'dark night' and reconstructed *\*tms-uent-*. The Skt. words, however, clearly reflect *\*temH-(e)s-*, from a verb *\*temH-* 'to faint, to become dark'. Phonetically, it is quite improbable that a pre-form *\*tmH-s-uent-* would have given Hitt. *tašūyant-* (we would expect *\*\*/tniSuant-/*, spelled *\*\*tane/iššūyant-*, cf. § 1.4.4.3). Nevertheless, the etymology has been widely followed (e.g. Kimball 1999: 328: *\*te/omh<sub>2</sub>s-went-*).

Szemerényi (1956: 77) connected the word with a root *\*d<sup>h</sup>em-* which is visible in OIr. *deim* ‘black, dark’, OE *dimm* ‘dark’. This is phonetically equally problematic: a preform *\*d<sup>h</sup>msuent-* probably would have given *\*\*danzuuant-*, whereas *\*d<sup>h</sup>e/omsuent-* should have given *\*\*daššuuant-*.

Melchert (1994a: 70) states: “Hitt. *daš(u)want-* ‘blind’ need not reflect *\*d(e)mh<sub>2</sub>s-went-* ‘dark’, but is better derived from *\*das-went-* ‘lacking’, to the root of Skt. *dásyati* ‘lacks’ (for the meaning cf. Ital. *orbo*)”. LIV<sup>2</sup> and Mayrhofer (1986-2002: s.v.) take Skt. *das-* as reflecting *\*sg<sup>w</sup>es(h<sub>2</sub>)-* (so from Skt. *jas-*), however.

Rieken (1999a: 232f.) rejects all etymologies that assume an original nasal, because “wie auch immer man den *tašuuant-* zugrundeliegenden *s*-Stamm ansetzt, schwundstufig oder hochstufig, mit oder ohne Laryngal, in keine Fall ist bloßes *s* zu erwarten”. She follows a proposal by Juret (1940/41: 51), who connects the word with ModEng. *dusk* (but *-sk* is problematic), Lat. *fuscus* ‘dark brown’ and Skt. *dhvámsati* ‘to fall to dust’, and reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>uos-uent-*. Although this preform indeed would regularly yield Hitt. *tašuuant-* (with *\*Tuo > ta-* like in *tān < \*duoiom*), it is problematic that Skt. *dhvams-* goes back to *\*d<sup>h</sup>uens-* (also visible in PGerm. *\*dunsta-* ‘dust’), with a nasal. All in all, none of the proposed etymologies can account for *tašuuant-* without problems regarding the phonetic development.

**-ttat** (2sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

**-ttat** (3sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

**tattarae<sup>-z</sup>** (Ic2) ‘?’: 3pl.pres.act. *ta-at-ta-ra-a-an-zi* (KUB 9.15 iii 6 (NS)).

IE cognates: ?Lat. *terō* ‘to rub’, ?Gr. *τείρω* ‘to rub’.

PIE *\*to-tr(h<sub>1</sub>)-* ??

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 9.15 iii

(5) *nu=kán É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> pa-ra-a ša-an-ḫa-an-zi*

(6) *da-ga-an-zi-pu-uš ta-at-ta-ra-a-an-zi*

(7) *nu É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> an-dur-za a-ra-aḫ-za ḫur-ni-ja-an-zi*

‘They sweep the temple and *t.* the earth (pl.) and they sprinkle the temple inside (and) outside’.

Because of the plene *-a-* in *-ānzi* it is likely that this verb belongs to the *ḥatrae*-class. On the basis of the duplicate KBo 12.114 iii 4, where we find [K]I<sup>HLA</sup>-*uš ták-ša-an-zi* ‘they unify the earth (pl.)’, Tischler (HEG T: 273) assumes that *tattarae-* means something like ‘to smooth (out)’.

Since the verbs of the *ḥatrae*-class are usually derived from *o*-stem nouns, we would in this case have to assume that *tattarae-* is derived from a further unattested noun *\*tattara-*. Nevertheless, because of the high productivity of the *ḥatrae*-inflection in NH times, it is also possible that *tattarae-* originally belong to another class. This assumption is necessary if one wants to follow Kapancjan’s etymology (1931-33: 24), who proposed to connect *tattarae-* with Lat. *terō* ‘to rub’, Gr. *τέρω* ‘to rub’, which reflect *\*ter(h<sub>1</sub>)-* (see LIV<sup>2</sup> for the possible *-h<sub>1</sub>-*). If this is correct, then we have to reconstruct *\*to-tr(h<sub>1</sub>)-*.

*-ttati* (2sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

*-ttati* (3sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*

*tatrant-* (adj.) ‘agitated, aggressive (cow); sharp-edged (stone)’: nom.sg.c. *ta-at-ra-an-za* (KUB 2.2+ ii 55), acc.sg.c. *ta-at-ra-an-ta-an* (IBoT 1.36 ii 65).

Derivatives: *tatrah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to incite, to stir up’ (3sg.pres.act. *da-at-ra-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 31.103 obv. 16), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-at-ra-aḥ-ḥa-aš* (KUB 23.11 iii 6 (MH/NS)), *ta-at-ra-aḥ-ta* (KUB 19.9 i 24).

IE cognates: Skt. *dar-* ‘to crack, to scatter’, Gr. *δέρω* ‘to skin, to flay(?)’, Goth. *dis-tairip* ‘to tear up’, Lith. *dirti* ‘to tear, to flay(?)’, OCS *dbrati* ‘to tear’.

PIE *\*do-dr-ent-?*, *\*do-dr-eh<sub>2</sub>-?*

These words seem to be derived from a further unattested stem *\*tatr(a)-* (compare the situation of *dašuuant-* ‘blind’ and *dašuuah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to make blind’ that are both derived from a further unattested stem *\*dašu-*). The meaning of the verb *tatrah<sup>h</sup>-<sup>i</sup>* is quite clear in e.g. the following context (although the form itself is rather damaged here):

KUB 19.9 i

(23) EGIR-az=ma KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Jš-ḥu-pí-it-ta-aš* [ku-r]u-ri-aḥ-ta

(24) nu=kán KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup> *da-pí-an-da ta-qt-rq-aḥ-t[a n]u* KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>

*da-[pí-an-da]*

(25) *ku-ru-ri-aḥ-ḥe-er*

‘From the back, the land Išhupitta became hostile and incited all the countries.  
All the countries became hostile’.

Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984: 307 = 1995: 266) saw *tatrah-* as a reduplication of “*tarh-*” ‘to conquer’. This is impossible for several reasons. First, the meanings ‘to incite’ and ‘to conquer’ do not have much in common. Secondly, the verb “*tarh-*” does not exist but in fact is *tarhu-*<sup>zi</sup> (q.v.), which makes a connection with *tatrah-*, which is derived from *tatr(a)-*, formally impossible.

If the stem *\*tatr(a)-* is of IE origin, it can only reflect a reduplication *\*To-Tr-*. Melchert’s connection (1984a: 33) with PIE *\*der-* ‘to cut, to split’ (Skt. *dar-*, Gr. *δέρω*, Lith. *derù*, etc.) therefore is formally better. Nevertheless, we must remain cautious: the proposed semantic connection between ‘hostile, aggressive’ and ‘to cut, to split’ is nothing more than a possibility.

*tē-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ia1: suppletive with *ter-*<sup>zi</sup> / *tar-*, q.v.) ‘to speak, to state’: 1sg.pres.act. *te-e-mi* (OS), *te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *te-ši* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *te-e-ez-zi* (OS), *te-ez-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-ru-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *tar-te-ni* (MH/MS, often), *te-e-te-ni* (KUB 13.3 ii 8 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-ra-an-zi* (OS), *da-ra-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *te-e-nu-un* (KBo 26.136 obv. 17 (MS)), *te-nu-un* (KUB 1.16 ii 3 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *te-e-eš* (HKM 48 obv. 17 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *te-e-et* (KUB 17.10 i 28 (OH/MS), KBo 15.19 i 25 (NS)), *te-et* (MH/MS, often), 3pl.pret.act. *te-re-er* (HKM 63 obv. 16 (MH/MS), HKM 94 rev. 9 (MH/MS), KUB 33.60 rev. 14 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *te-e-et* (KUB 30.10 i 4 (OH/MS)), *te-et* (MH/MS, often), 3sg.imp.act. *te-e-ed-du* (KUB 30.10 i 26 (OH/MS)), *te-ed-du* (KUB 30.10 i 28 (OH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *te-et-te-en* (OS), *te-et-tén* (KBo 13.114 iv 4 (MH/NS)), *te-e-tén* (KUB 13.3 ii 28, iii 42 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *da-ra-an-du* (KBo 3.40 rev. 11 (OH/NS)); part. *ta-ra-an-t-*, *da-ra-an-t-*, *ta-ra-a-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *tar-ši-ke/a-* (OS), *tar-ši-ik-ke/a-* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 34 (MH/MS)), *tar-aš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: OCS *děti* ‘to do, to say’, Skt. *dhā-* ‘to put’, Gr. *τίθημι* ‘to put’, etc.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-ti*

This verb is suppletive: on the one hand we find forms that show the stem *tē-* and on the other forms that show the stem *ter-*<sup>zi</sup> / *tar-* (see there for its own etymological treatment). Already since Hrozný (1915: 29) this verb is connected with especially OCS *děti* ‘to do, to say’ < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, which has been generally accepted since.

We would expect that in Pre-Hittite this verb showed an ablaut  $*d^h eh_1-$  /  $*d^h h_1-$ . This ablaut is still visible in verbs that are derived from  $*d^h eh_1-$ , namely *pehute<sup>-zi</sup>* / *pehut-* ‘to lead (there)’, *uuate<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uuat-* ‘to bring (here)’ and *uete<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uet-* ‘to build’. If we compare forms like 3pl.pres.act. *pehudanzi* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *uwater* (OS), 3pl.imp.act. *uadandu* (MH/MS), part. *uetant-* (OS) and inf.I *uedumanzi* (MH/MS), we must assume that the original paradigm of *tē-* also contained 1pl.pres.act.  $*tumēni$ , 3pl.pres.act.  $*danzi$ , 3pl.pret.act.  $*ter$  and 3pl.imp.act.  $*dandu$ . We see that these forms are identical to the corresponding forms of the verb  $dā^i$  / *d-* ‘to take’ <  $*deh_3-$  (although 3pl.pret.act.  $*dh_3-ēr$  >  $*ter$  itself was replaced by  $*doh_3-ēr$  > *dāer* in pre-Hittite times already: the form  $*ter$  is still visible in *peter* and *uter*, however). This probably was the reason why they were removed from the paradigm of *tē<sup>-zi</sup>* and subsequently replaced by forms of the verb *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-*. For 2pl.pres.act. we would expect that  $*d^h h_1-th_1é+ni$  yielded  $*t^s tēni$ , spelled  $*za-te-e-ni$ , (or perhaps  $*tətēni$ , spelled  $*ta-at-te-e-ni$  as still visible in *uuatatten* (MH/MS)?). This form is replaced by *tarteni*, but in a NS texts, we find *tēteni* as well, probably analogically created on the basis of 2pl.pret.act. *tetten* <  $*d^h eh_1-th_1e+n$ .

=*tte-*: see =*tti-* / =*tta-* / =*tte-*

**tēkan / takn-** (n.) ‘earth’: nom.-acc.sg. *te-e-kán* (OS, often), *te-e-ga-a(n)=š-še-it* (KBo 17.22 iii 11 (OS)), *te-kán* (often), gen.sg. *ták-na-aš* (OS, often), *ták-na-a-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ták-ni-i* (often), *ták-ni* (rare), *ták-na-i* (KUB 24.9+ ii 22 (OH/NS)), ending-less loc.sg. *ta-ga-a-an* (OS, often), *ta-ga-an* (OS, rare), *da-a-ga-an* (KUB 43.17, 6 (NH)), *ta-a-ga-an* (KUB 34.120, 7 (NH)), *da-a-ga-a-an* (KUB 40.46, 9 (NH)), all.sg. *ta-ak-na-a* (KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 iii 8 (OS)), *ták-na-a*, *ta-a-ak-na-a* (KUB 29.30 iii 13 (OS)), abl. *ták-na-a-az* (KUB 43.23 rev. 17), *ták-na-az*, *ták-na-za*.

Derivatives: see <sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzepa-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **tijamm(i)-** ‘earth’ (nom.sg. *ti-ja-am-mi-iš*, *ti-ja-am-me-iš*, acc.sg. *ti-ja-am-mi-in*, *ti-ja-am-me-in*, dat.-loc.sg. *ti-ja-am-mi*, erg.sg. *ti-ja-am-ma-an-ti-iš*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *ti-ja-am-ma-aš-ši-iš*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *ti-ja-am-ma-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. **takam-** ‘earth’ (dat.-loc.sg. <sup>“TERRA”</sup>*ta-ka-mi-i* (SULTANHAN §39)).

PAnat.  $*dég-m$ ,  $*dég-em-$ ,  $*dég-m-ós$

IE cognates: Skt. *kṣás* (f.), gen.sg. *jmás*, Av. *zam-*, Gr. *χθών* (f.), TochA *tkaṃ*, TochB *keṃ*, Alb. *dhe*, Lat. *humus*, OIr. *dú* (gen. *don*), Lith. *žėmė*, OCS *zemlja* ‘earth’.

PIE  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h -m$ , ( $*d^h \acute{z}^h -\acute{e}m -m$ ),  $*d^h \acute{z}^h -m -\acute{o}s$ .

It has been clear since Friedrich (1924-25: 122<sup>2</sup>) that Hitt. *tēkan* / *takn-* belongs with the other IE words for ‘earth’. Details regarding the reconstruction are in debate, however. On the basis of Skt. *kṣās* (f.), gen.sg. *jmās* ~ Gr. *χθών* (f.), the old reconstruction of ‘earth’ was  $*g^h \acute{o}^h \acute{o}m$ ,  $*g^h \acute{o}^h m -\acute{o}s$  (with a PIE phoneme ‘thorn’). On the basis of Lith. *žėmė*, OCS *zemlja* another ablaut-variant  $*g^h \acute{o}^h em$ - can be reconstructed. With the discovery of TochA *tkam*, it became clear that the initial cluster was not  $*g^h \acute{o}^h$ - originally, but rather  $*d^h g^h$ -. So we have  $*d^h g^h \acute{o}m$ ,  $*d^h g^h em$ - and  $*d^h g^h m$ -. With the adduction of Hitt. *tēkan*, which must reflect  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h$ -, it became clear that we are not dealing with a root  $*d^h g^h em$ -, but rather with a root  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h$ - followed by a suffix *-em*-.

The next question is how to reconstruct the original paradigm. Since Schindler (1977: 31), *tēkan* is usually reconstructed ‘holodynamically’ as  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h -\acute{o}m$ ,  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h -om -m$ ,  $*d^h g^h -m -\acute{e}s$ . In this sense it would be comparable to the word for ‘hand’, which is often reconstructed ‘holodynamically’ as well:  $*g^h \acute{e}s -\acute{o}r$ ,  $*g^h \acute{e}s -or -m$ ,  $*g^h s -r -\acute{e}s$  (cf. Rieken 1999a: 280). As I show in detail under its own lemma, the Hittite paradigm of *keššar-* does not go back to these reconstructed forms, however. In my view, it rather shows nom.sg. *keššar* <  $*g^h \acute{e}s -r$  (cf. Gr. *χείρ* < *\*χῆρα* <  $*g^h \acute{e}s -r$ ), acc.sg. *kiššeran* <  $*g^h s -\acute{e}r -m$  and gen.sg. *kišraš* <  $*g^h s -r -\acute{o}s$ . I therefore want to propose that we have to reconstruct a similar paradigm for ‘earth’ as well: nom.sg.  $*d^h \acute{e}g^h -m$ , acc.sg.  $*d^h \acute{z}^h -\acute{e}m -m$ , gen.sg.  $*d^h \acute{z}^h -m -\acute{o}s$ .

Let us first look at the development of nominative and accusative. In Hittite, ‘earth’ is a neuter word, with nom.-acc.sg. *tēkan*. From the Sanskrit and Greek evidence it is clear, however, that the PIE word for ‘earth’ was feminine. In PIE, non-neuter words of the structure  $*CC -\acute{e}R$ ,  $*C\acute{e}C -\acute{o}R$  and  $*C\acute{e}C -R$  originally were asigmatic: they did not carry the nom.-ending *-s*. In Hittite, however, an ending *-s* became obligatory for all commune words, and *-s* was being added to old asigmatic nominatives, e.g. *hasterza* ‘star’ <  $*h_2st\acute{e}r + -s$ , *hāraš* ‘eagle’ <  $*h_3\acute{e}r -\acute{o}n + -s$  (cf. Weitenberg 1995). If a word did not have an ending *-s*, it was eventually reinterpreted in Hittite as neuter (which is the reason that diphthong-stems (especially in *-āu-*) often show neuter as well as commune forms in the oldest texts already). In the case of  $*g^h \acute{e}s r$  we still find an asigmatic nom.sg. *keššar* in OH texts (which is therefore occasionally reinterpreted as neuter). The accusative-form  $*g^h s -\acute{e}r -m$ , which was replaced by  $*g^h s -\acute{e}r -om$  (regular introduction of the *o*-stem ending *-om* in consonant-stem, replacing *-m*, cf. at the lemma *-an*) yielded Hitt. *kiššeran*, on the basis of which the nominative was thematicized as well, yielding *kišširaš* and *kiššaraš* in MH times (cf. Weitenberg



1995). In the case of ‘earth’, we find a different development, however. The PIE forms *\*d<sup>h</sup>éǵ<sup>h</sup>m*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>émm* regularly developed into pre-Hittite *\*déǵm*, *\*dǵém* (with simplification of *\*-emm* > *\*-em*). Because the nominative did not have an ending *-s* and formally looked like an accusative of a consonant-stem, and because the original accusative had become intransparent, the noun was reinterpreted as a neuter and the nominative form *\*déǵm* underwent the replacement of *\*-m* by *\*-om*, yielding nom.-acc.sg.n. *\*déǵ-om*. This *\*déǵ-om* then regularly yielded Hitt. */téǵan/*, spelled *tēkan*. It must be noted that because of the fact that this word is not an original neuter, it does not have a regular ‘ergative’: whenever it is necessary to use an animatized variant of ‘earth’ (e.g. as the subject of a transitive verb), the commune word <sup>(1)</sup>*tagānzepa-* (q.v.) is used.

The interpretation of the oblique cases is more clear. They are predominantly spelled *ták-n<sup>o</sup>* or *ta-ak-n<sup>o</sup>*, showing plene spelling of the vowel of the ending (*ták-na-a-aš*, *ták-ni-i*, *ták-na-a*). The only spelling that shows *ta-a-ak-n<sup>o</sup>* must, despite the fact that it is attested in an OS text, be regarded as a mistake, which is supported by the fact that the vowel of that form’s ending is spelled plene as well: *ta-a-ak-na-a*. It is clear that *taknāš* must go back to *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>-m-ós*. Note that *-m-* is replaced by *-n-*, which must have happened in analogy to the nom.-acc.sg. *\*déǵ-om* > *\*dǵéon* on the basis of which *\*dǵmós* > *\*dǵnós*. This secondary replacement must therefore have been quite recent. Because *taknāš* goes back to *\*dǵnós*, I phonologically interpret *taknāš* as */tǵnāš/*. Note that in the initial cluster */tǵn-/* no anaptyctic vowel has developed (compare *pattai-<sup>i</sup>* / *patti-* < *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-oi-*, which must represent */ptai-/*). The endingless loc.sg. *tagān* (of which the occasional plene spellings of the first *-a-* can be disregarded: e.g. *da-a-ga-a-an* can hardly be a phonetically real spelling) must reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>óm* and therewith is formally to be equated with Gr. *χθών* and, mutatis mutandis, Skt. *kṣās*. The reconstruction of *\*ō* is necessary because *\*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>óm* would have yielded *\*\*tagūn* (cf. *kūn* < *\*kóm* ‘this (acc.sg.c.)’).

The interpretation of the Luwian words is quite difficult. On the one hand we find CLuw. *tijamm(i)-* ‘earth’ and on the other HLuw. *ta-ka-mi-i* ‘on the earth’. Although it is clear that PANat. *\*ǵ* sometimes disappears in Luwian, the exact conditions of this loss are unclear. Certain examples of loss seem to be *\*ǵes-r-o-* > CLuw. *iš(ša)ra/i-*, HLuw. *istra/i-* ‘hand’, *\*ǵim-ro-* > CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* ‘open country’, Hitt. *nekna-* ~ CLuw. *\*nāna/i-* ‘brother’, HLuw. *nanasri-* ‘sister’. Certain examples of retention seem to be *\*ǵodmr-* > CLuw. *katmarši(ia)-* ‘to defecate’, *\*ǵut-* > CLuw. *kuttašra/i-*, HLuw. *kutasra/i-* ‘orthostat’ (cf. Melchert 1994a: 254-5 for examples). Although the evidence is scanty, we seem to be dealing with loss of *\*ǵ* before front vowels (with raising of a following *\*e* to *i*,

which seems to point to a development  $*\acute{g}e- > *i\acute{e}- > *i\acute{i}- > i-$ , word-internally before a consonant (or, at least,  $*n$ ) and retention before back-vowels (compare Kimball 1994c). For  $t\acute{i}amm(i)-$ , Melchert (l.c.) assumes a development PANt.  $*d\acute{g}\acute{e}m- > *d\acute{i}\acute{e}m-$ , after which Čop's Law caused gemination of  $-m-$ :  $t\acute{i}amm(i)-$ . Although I largely agree with this reconstruction (I believe that this indeed is the only way in explaining geminate  $-mm-$ ), I do not accept the fact that Melchert explains the difference with PANat.  $*\acute{g}esr- > i\acute{s}ra/i-$  (which shows  $*\acute{g}e- > i-$  versus  $-i\acute{a}-$  in  $t\acute{i}amm(i)-$ ) due to absence of Čop's Law in the latter. In my view, we have to reconstruct  $*\acute{g}\acute{e}sro-$  and  $*d\acute{g}\acute{e}mo-$ . That the first form yielded  $i\acute{s}ra/i-$  (and not  $i\acute{a}sra/i-$ ) can only be explained by the fact that here we are dealing with word-initial  $*\acute{g}\acute{e}-$  ( $> *i\acute{e}- > i\acute{i}-$ ), whereas in  $*d\acute{g}\acute{e}- > *d\acute{i}\acute{e}-$  a further development to  $**d\acute{i}\acute{i}-$  was blocked by the preceding  $d-$ , after which  $*d\acute{i}\acute{e}- > d\acute{i}a-$ . With the interpretation of  $t\acute{i}amm(i)-$  as reflecting  $*d^h\acute{g}^h-em-$ , we now have evidence for this ablaut-grade in Anatolian as well, despite the fact that in Hittite it is not directly attested.

HLuw.  $ta-ka-mi-i$  is a special case. The normal HLuwian word for 'earth' is <sup>TERRA</sup> $taskuira/i-$ . The dat.-loc.sg.-form  $ta-ka-mi-i$ , which is hapax in SULTANHAN §39, is therefore probably a petrified form of the original word for 'earth'. Because of the fact that it shows retention of  $*\acute{g}$ , it cannot be equated with CLuw.  $t\acute{i}amm(i)-$  like that. Melchert (1994a: 253) therefore reconstructs it as reflecting  $*d\acute{e}g\acute{o}m-$  (and subsequently phonologically interprets the word as  $/taggami/$ ), in which Čop's Law is supposed to have yielded geminate  $-gg-$  that did not fall victim to loss in Luwian. As I argued above, I do not believe that the paradigm of  $*d^he\acute{g}^h-m-$  ever contained a form  $*d^he\acute{g}^h-om$  (apart from the very late pre-Hittite rebuilding from  $*d\acute{e}g\acute{e}m >> *d\acute{e}g\acute{o}m > t\acute{e}kan$ ). In my view there are two possible interpretations. On the one hand, we can assume that  $ta-ka-mi-i$  is to be equated with Hitt. dat.-loc.sg.  $takn\acute{i}$  and reflects  $*d\acute{g}m-\acute{e}i$  (which would mean that we have to phonologically interpret the word as  $/tgm\acute{i}/$ ). If correct, it would show that in a cluster  $*d\acute{g}m-$ ,  $*\acute{g}$  was retained in Luwian. It would also still show  $-m-$ , and be more archaic in that respect than Hitt.  $takn\acute{i}$ . On the other hand, we can equate  $ta-ka-mi-i$  with Hitt.  $tag\acute{a}n$ , and assume that it reflects  $*d^h\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m + -i$ , with retention of PANat.  $*\acute{g}$  in front of back-vowel. This reconstruction would mean that  $ta-ka-mi-i$  is to be interpreted as  $/tg\acute{a}mi/$ .

Quite recently, Melchert proposed to interpret CLuw.  $inzag\acute{a}n$  as denoting 'things inhumated' and reflecting "a hypostasis of a univerbated prepositional phrase  $*en\ d^h\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m$  'into the earth'" (2003a: 148). According to him, the fact that  $*d^h\acute{g}^h-$  yields CLuw.  $-zg-$  here, shows that the concept of the 'thorn' still has to be regarded as a PIE phenomenon, but then rather has to be interpreted as affrication

of dentals before other stops. Apart from the fact that I think that HLuw. *ta-ka-mi-i* shows that \**dʰgʰ*- yields Luvian /tg-/ (if \**g* is not lost in front of a front-vowel), and that therefore this reconstruction formally cannot be correct, the semantic side of this interpretation is improbable as well. If we look closely at the contexts in which *inzagān* occurs, we see that a translation ‘inhumated’ is hardly likely:

KUB 35.54 ii (with additions from the parallels KUB 35.52 and KBo 29.2 ii)

(27) [x - x - x ]KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NUM[(UN)]<sup>H</sup>[(<sup>L.A</sup>)] *ḥu-u-ma-an*

(28) [(<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥa-aḥ-*)]*ra-an* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mu-ú-i-la-an* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*in-ta-lu-zi*

(29) [x - x - x - ]x <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ti-id-du-ut-ri kat-t[a]* *ḥi-ik-zi*

(30) *n=a-aš-ta an-da ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*

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(31) *za-a-ú-i zi-ja-ar* NUMUN<sup>H.L.A</sup>-*na [p]u-u-na-a-ta*

(32) *in-za-ga-a-an ʔa-aš-ḥa a=(a)ta [BE-]ÉL SÍŠKUR*

(33) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥa-at-ta-ra-a-ti ḥa-at-ta[-r]i-it-ta*

(34) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tu-u-ra-a-ti=pa=(a)ta tu-u-r[a-a-a]t-ta*

(35) *a=(a)ta im-ra-aš-ša(-an) ḏIŠKUR-u[n-t]i pa-ri*

(36) *ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta*

‘[xxx] of gold and silver, all the seeds, a rake<sup>?</sup>, a *muḥila-*, a shovel<sup>?</sup>, a X (and) a *tidduri* he presents down, and he speaks thus: “Here lie down all the seeds, *inzagān*, (and) the sacralized objects. The ritual patient has *ḥattari*-ed them with a *ḥattara-* and has *tūra*-ed them with a *tūra-*. He has delivered them to the Storm-god of the Open Country.”’.

According to Melchert, *inzagān* and *ʔašḥa* are appositions to NUMUN<sup>H.L.A</sup> ‘seeds’ and he therefore translates ‘here lie down the seeds, the inhumated things, the sacralized objects’. It is quite awkward, however, to assume that although in the description of the action it has been told that objects of gold and silver, all the seeds and several agricultural implements are presented, in the words spoken after this action no reference is made to these golden and silver objects or to the agricultural implements anymore. I therefore would rather propose that *ʔašḥa* refers to the golden and silver objects (assuming that these are regarded as ‘sacralized objects’), whereas *inzagān* then must refer to the several agricultural implements. In this way, we can translate: ‘Here lie down the seeds, the tools and the sacralized objects’. The other context in which *inzagan-* occurs,

KBo 29.6 obv.

(25) *i-in-za-ga-an-za=pa ku-ua-ti-in ša-pí-ja-im-ma-an a-ú-i-du-ṽ=a-[aš=ta]*

(26) *ua-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-ti ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-[iš EN-aš]*

‘Just as the *inzagan-* is *šapiḫaimma-*, may the ritual patient come away from the sin’,

does not shed any additional light to its meaning, also because the meaning of *šapiḫaimma/i-* is unclear. Nevertheless, it does not speak against a translation ‘tool’. All in all, I conclude that there is no reason to interpret *inzagan-* as ‘inhumated’ and to subsequently reconstruct it as *\*en d<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>ōm*.

URUDU/GIŠ *tēkan* ‘pick-axe (?)’ (Sum. <sup>(GIŠ/URUDU)</sup>AL(?)): case? *te-e-kán* (KUB 32.115 i 9).

IE cognates: Skt. *téjate* ‘is sharp’, OSax. *stekan* ‘to stab’, Gr. στύζω ‘to stab’.

PIE *\*téig-o-* ?

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Hapax in KUB 32.115 i (9) [...-p]i-iš <sup>URUDU</sup>*te-e-kán* <sup>URUDU</sup>MAR, which is compared by Laroche (1949-50: 20f.) with instances where we find <sup>(GIŠ/URUDU)</sup>AL ‘pick-axe’ besides <sup>(GIŠ/URUDU)</sup>MAR ‘spade’ (e.g. KUB 9.3 i 7, KUB 7.41 i 5f.). He therefore assumes that *tēkan* is the Hittite reading of <sup>(GIŠ/URUDU)</sup>AL. According to Laroche, another attestation is found in

KUB 24.9+ ii

(18) *n=a-aš a-ra-aḫ-za pa-iz-zi ma-an-ni-in-ku-ua-aḫ-ḫi* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*te-e-kán pád-da-a-i*

(19) *nu=kán a-ni-ur-aš* KIN<sup>III.A</sup> *an-da da-a-i*

‘She (the <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI) goes outside and in the neighbourhood she digs *t*. and puts the equipment of the ritual in there’

but Tischler (HEG T: 301) plausibly argues that we should rather read *tēkan* ‘earth’ here, as can be seen from the duplicate 452/u where *tekan* is written without the GIŠ-determinative, and that we should translate ‘she digs up earth’. Tischler, however, gives other possible attestations of <sup>(GIŠ/URUDU)</sup>*tēkan*, viz. 448/u, (3) 1 <sup>URUDU</sup>*t[e-e-kán]*, and KUB 12.53, (4) [<sup>(GIŠ?)</sup>*te-e-k]án* <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR, but of course, these can only function as indirect evidence. So, all in all, we are stuck with one real attestation only, viz. KUB 32.115 i 9, which is in a broken context. This makes the reality of the word dubious. Perhaps the word is there to be read as *tēkan* ‘earth’. If <sup>URUDU</sup>*tēkan* indeed means ‘pick-axe’, however, we should follow

Laroche's proposal (l.c.) to connect *tēkan* with the root *\*(s)teig-* 'to stab, to be sharp', which would make sense formally as well as semantically.

**tekri-** (c.) 'deposition (?)': nom.sg. *te-ek-ri-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. *te-ek-ri*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἔδικον 'threw away', Khot. *dīśś-* 'to throw'.

PIE *\*deik-ri-* ?

The word occurs a few times only. In the vocabularies KBo 26.20 and KBo 26.11 (duplicates of each other), of which the Sumerian and Akkadian parts have been broken off, we find *te-ek-ri-iš* being mentioned besides *markiiauar* 'rejection':

KBo 26.10 iv

(8) *mar-ki-ia-u-ua-ar* 'rejection'

(9) [*h*]a-*te-ša-an-za* 'being dried up'

(10) [*t*]e-*ek-ri-iš*

(11) [*a*]n-*da=kán im-pa-ḥu-ua-ar* 'making a burden'

(12) [*an*]-*da=kán im-pa-ḥu-ua-ar* 'making a burden'

KBo 26.11 rev.?

(6) *mar-ki-ia-u-ua-ar* 'rejection'

(7) [*h*]a-*te-eš-ša-an-za* 'being dried up'

(8) *tē-ek-ri[-iš]*

The only real context in which this word is found is the following:

KBo 5.6 iii

(14) ... ÌR=IA=ma=ua nu-u-ua-a-an pa-ra-a da-aḥ-ḥi

(15) nu=ua-r=a-an=za=kán<sup>LÚ</sup> MU-TI=IA i-ia-mi te-ek-ri=[u]a na-aḥ-mi

'I (= the queen of Egypt) do not want to take one of my subjects and make him my husband. I fear for *tekri-*'.

In this last context, *tekri-* has since Kronasser (1966: 225) generally been translated 'Befleckung' (see, most recently, Rieken 1999a: 211: 'Ich fürchte mich vor Befleckung'). On the basis of this translation, an etymological connection with Gr. τέκμαρ 'sign' has been proposed (Neu *apud* Tischler HEG T: 302), which would point to a reconstruction *\*tek-ri-*. In my view, a translation 'Befleckung' does not really make much sense. The queen states that she does not want to marry one of her own subjects out of fair for *tekri-*. I do not think she fears smearing of her good name, but rather that as soon as her future husband has

become the new king, she will be deposed off as queen by him. A translation ‘deposition’ would also much better fit the surrounding terms in the vocabularies (especially *markijauuar* ‘rejection’).

This new suggestion does not fit the etymology cited above. I would rather suggest a possible connection with the root *\*deik-* ‘to throw away’ (Gr. ἔδικον ‘threw away’, Khot. *dīśś-* ‘to throw’: cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>), and reconstruct *\*deik-ri-* ‘\*throwing away > deposition’. For the formation of abstracts in *-ri-* with the full-grade vowel, compare *eśri-*, *edri-*, *auri-*, etc. Note that this interpretation makes a connection with *tekkuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* impossible on semantic grounds (pace Rieken 1999a: 210-1).

***tekkuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to show, to present (oneself)’: 3sg.pres.act. *te-ku-uš-ši-ez-zi* (KBo 25.1b, 2 (OS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-[ez-zi]* (KUB 43.38 rev. 10 (MH/MS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-e[z-zi]* (KUB 43.38 rev. 12 (MH/MS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-i-ez-zi* (KBo 23.103 i 4 (NS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-ia-az-zi* (KBo 13.20, 8 (OH/NS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-ia-ez-zi* (HKM 46 obv. 14 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pres.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-mi* (KBo 5.3+ i 11 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-e-et* (KBo 3.60 i 5 (OH/NS)),

Derivatives: ***tekkuš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to (make) show, to reveal, to (make) present someone’ (2sg.pres.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ši* (KBo 5.3 i 29), 1pl.pres.act. *tī-ik-ku-uš-nu-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 5), *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ma-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 8), 1sg.pret.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-nu-un* (KBo 5.3+ i 5), 3sg.pret.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* (KUB 14.20 i 19), *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ut* (KBo 3.5+ ii 16), *te-ek-ku-⟨nu-⟩-uš-š[a-nu-ut]* (KBo 16.1 iii 17), *te-ek-ku-uš[-ša-nu-ut]* (KUB 1.1+ iv 19), *te-ek<sup>1</sup>-ku-uš<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>-ut* (text: *te-et-ku-nu-uš-ut* KBo 4.4 ii 77), 3pl.pret.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-er* (KBo 2.5 iv 15), 2sg.imp.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* (KUB 7.8 ii 21, iii 10); impf. *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KUB 7.5 iv 8, KUB 13.2 ii 18); broken *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-an[(-).]* (KUB 19.29 i 11)), ***tekkuššēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become visible’ (3sg.pret.act. *te-ek-ku-uš-še-eš-ta* (KBo 4.12 obv. 12 (NH))).

IE cognates: Av. *daxš-* ‘to teach’, *daxšta-* ‘sign’.

PIE *\*dek<sup>v</sup>s-je/o-*

The bulk of the attestations show a stem *tekkuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Only once, we find a form that belongs with a stem *tekkuššijae-<sup>zi</sup>* (although in an MS text), and once we find a form that shows a stem *tekkuššae-<sup>zi</sup>* (in an NH text), both according to the productive *hatrae*-class inflection. The causative is spelled *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-* as well as *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-*, for which compare e.g. *šaš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* (under *šēš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *šaš-* ‘to sleep’) and *aš(ša)nu-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to take care of’ (see under *ašnu-<sup>zi</sup>*).

According to Götze (1951: 471<sup>12</sup>), *tekkuššije/a-* is to be compared with Av. *daxš-* ‘to teach’ and *daxšta-* ‘sign’, which would point to a root *\*dek<sup>w</sup>s-* ‘to show’ (note that initial *\*d<sup>h</sup>-* is not possible as it is against the PIE root constraints to have an ‘aspirated’ as well as a ‘voiceless’ stop in one root). Semantically as well as formally, this etymology is very convincing. Nevertheless, Watkins (1969a: 229), proposes to see *tekkušš-* as an *-u-s-* derivative of *tekk-*, which he connects with Gr. τέκμαρ ‘sign’. This thought is followed by Rieken (1999a: 210-1), who connects *tekkuššije/a-* to Hitt. *tekri-* (q.v.) as well. As I have shown under the lemma of *tekri-*, which is usually translated ‘Befleckung’, but which I interpret as ‘deposition’, a connection between *tekri-* and *\*tek-* is quite unlikely. For *tekkuššije/a-*, a connection with *\*tek-* would semantically work, but the formal aspect is difficult: I cannot explain why *\*tek-us-je/o-* would yield Hitt. *tekkuššije/a-* with geminate *-šš-*. Moreover, derivation of an *-us-* stem seems quite unattractive to me. I therefore stick to Götze’s proposal and reconstruct *\*dek<sup>w</sup>s-je/o-*. For gemination of *-s-* in this phonetic environment, compare *\*no-nog<sup>wh</sup>-s-je/o-* > *nanakuššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become dark’. The fact that in this word *\*-e-* remains *-e-*, whereas e.g. *\*teks-* > *takš-*, must be due to the fact that as an unextended *mi-* verb, *\*teks-* always contained the sequence *\*-eKsC-*, in front of which *\*e > a*, whereas in *\*dek<sup>w</sup>s-je/o-*, the *\*j* did not function as a consonant, and *\*eKsV* remained *eKšV*.

Note that this etymology is an important argument in favour of the view that PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>* yielded PAnat. *\*k<sup>w</sup>* and was not unconditionally lenited to PAnat. *\*g<sup>w</sup>* (contra Melchert 1994a: 61).

**-tten** (2pl.pret.act.- and 2pl.imp.act.-ending of the *mi-* flexion): see *-tten(i)*

**-tten(i)** (2pl.act.-ending of the *mi-* flexion): pres.: °*Vt-te-e-ni* (OS), °*Vt-te-ni* (OS), °*C-te-e-ni* (OS), °*C-te-ni* (OS), °*Vt-ta-ni* (MH/MS), °*C-ta-ni* (MH/MS); pret./imp. °*Vt-te-en* (OS), °*C-te-en* (OS), °*Vt-tén* (MH/MS), °*C-tén* (MH/MS).

The normal ending of 2pl. is *-tteni* / *-ttani* in the present, *-tten* in the preterite and *-tten* in the imperative. Some verbs also use an ending *-šten(i)*, *-štani* in the 2pl., and as I have shown in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.d, the distribution between *-tten(i)* and *-šten(i)* clearly indicates that *-šten(i)* is the original ending of the *hi-* conjugation whereas *-tten(i)* must have been the original ending of the *mi-* conjugation. Already in pre-Hittite times, the *mi-* ending *-tten(i)* is taking over the position of *-šten(i)* until in NH times the ending *-tten(i)* is virtually the only one left to indicate 2pl.

In the present, we find *-tteni* as well as *-ttani* (just as *-uēni* and *-uani* and *-štēni* and *-štāni*). Melchert (1994a: 137-8) has noticed that the variant with *-a-* occurs when the verb's stem is accentuated (e.g. *uūatettani* = /ʔuadētani/). He therefore regarded the forms with *-a-* as the regular outcome of unaccentuated *\*-tteni*, *\*-uēni* and *\*-stēni*.

It is clear that etymologically the ending *-tteni* must reflect the primary 2pl.-ending *\*-th<sub>1</sub>e* (Skt. *-tha*, Gr. *-τε*, OCS *-te*, Lith. *-te*, Goth. *-þ*) as well as the secondary 2pl.-ending *\*-te* (Skt. *-ta*, Gr. *-τε*, OCS *-te*, Goth. *-þ*).

**tepšu-** / **tepšau-** (adj.) ‘something little; some kind of (by-product of) grain (comparable to malt) that does not yield any plant’: nom.sg.c. *te-ep-šu-uš* (KUB 17.10 iii 17 (OH/MS), HKM 116 ii 7 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: **\*tepšauatar** / **tepšauann-** (n.) ‘poverty(?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *te-ep-ša-u-ua-an-ni* (KBo 3.34 ii 12 (OH/NS)), [*t*]e-ep-ša-ua-an-ni (KBo 3.36 obv. 19)), **tepšanu-**<sup>zi</sup> (1b2) ‘to make *t*.’ (2sg.pres.act. *te-ep-ša-nu-ši* (KUB 24.3 ii 53 (MH/NS))), **tepšauēš-**<sup>zi</sup> (1b2) ‘to become *t*.’ (3sg.pres.act. *te-ep-ša-u-e-eš-zi* (KUB 29.11 ii 11 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *te-ep-ša-u-e-eš[-du]* (KUB 17.10 iii 20 (OH/MS), HKM 116 ii 11 (MH/MS))).

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>é<sup>h</sup>-su-*

The word itself occurs in one context only, of which we have two variants (parallel texts, not copies):

KUB 17.10 iii

- (13) <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-uš=ua kar-di-mi-ja-u-ua-an-za ZI=ŠU ka-ra-a-a[z=še-iš]*  
 (14) <sup>Giš</sup>*ua-ar-ša-am-ma-aš ú-i-šu-ri-ja-ta-ti nu ku-u-uš* <sup>Giš</sup>*ua-ar-š[a-am-ma-aš]*  
 (15) *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an ua-ar-nu-ú-e-er* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-ua-aš-š=a kar-pí[-iš]*  
 (16) *kar-di-mi-ja-az ua-aš-tu-ul ša-a-u-ar QA-TAM-MA ua-ra-a[-mu]*  
 (17) *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an te-ep-šu-uš Ú-UL=an gi-im-ra pé-e-d[a-an-zi]*  
 (18) *n=a-an NUMUN-an i-ja-an-zi Ú-UL=m=a-an NINDA-an i-ja-a[n-zi n=a-an I-NA]*  
 (19) <sup>NA</sup>*É KIŠIB ti-an-zi* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-ua-aš-š=a kar-pí-ī[š kar-di-mi-ja-az]*  
 (20) *ua-aš-du-ul ša-a-u-ua-ar QA-TAM-MA te-ep-ša-u-e-eš[-du]*

‘Telipinu was angry, his inmost self smoldered (like) firewood. Just like this firewood they burned, may the wrath, anger and rage of Telipinu likewise be burned. Just as *t*. They do not bring it to the field and use it as seed. They do not make it into bread and carry it into the storehouse. May the wrath, anger and rage of Telipinu likewise become *t*.-ed’;



HKM 116 ii

- (1) [DINGIR<sup>L</sup>] <sup>UM?</sup> TUKU.TUKU-*u-an-za* ZI=ŠU  
 (2) [*ka-r*]a-az=še-iš *ya-ra-an pa-aḥ-ḥur la-ap-ta*  
 (3) [*nu*] *ki-i pa-aḥ-ḥur* GIM-an *ú-i-te-ni-it*  
 (4) [*ki-iš-t*]a-mu-mu-un
- 
- (5) [DINGIR<sup>L</sup>] <sup>MP?</sup> *kar-pí-iš* TUKU.TUKU-az  
 (6) [*ya-aš-du-ul š*]a-a-u-*ya-ar QA-TAM-MA ki-iš-ta-ru*
- 
- (7) [*ma-a-aḥ-ḥa*]-an *te-ep-šu-uš Ú-UL=an A.ŠÀ-ni*  
 (8) [*pé-e-da*]-an-zi n=a-an NUMUN-an *i-ja-an-zi*  
 (9) [Ú-UL=m=a-an] NINDA-an *i-ja-an-zi n=a-an I-NA É* <sup>NA</sup> KIŠIB  
 (10) [*ti-an-zi n*]=a-an=š*i kar-pí-iš* TUKU.TUKU-az  
 (11) [*ya-aš-du-ul ša-a-u*]-*ya-ar QA-TAM-MA te-ep-ša-u-e-eš*[-du]

‘The deity was angry and his innermost self blazed (like) burning fire. Just as I extinguished this fire with water, may the wrath, anger and rage of the deity likewise be extinguished. Just as *t*. They do not bring it to the field and use it as seed. They do not make it into bread and carry it into the storehouse. May the wrath, anger and rage of Telipinu likewise become *t*.-ed’.

In 1928, when the second passage cited above was still un-excavated, Götze (1928: 72) compared the first context with

KUB 40.16+ ii (StBoT 22: 6f.)

- (31) *ke-e-da-ni=ma A-NA DIM<sub>4</sub> GIM-an ḥa-aš-ša-tar=še-et* NU.GÁL  
 (32) Ú-UL=an A.ŠÀ-ni *pé-e-da-an-zi n=a-an* NUMUN-an  
 (33) *i-en-zi Ú-UL=m=a-an* NINDA *i-en-zi*  
 (34) n=a-an I-NA É <sup>NA</sup> KIŠIB *ti-an-zi*

‘Just as this malt has no offspring, and they do not bring it to the field and use it as seed and they do not make it into bread and carry it into the storehouse ...’

and proposed to read KUB 17.10 iii 16-17 as (16) [... *nu ki-i DIM<sub>4</sub>*] (17) *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an te-ep-šu-uš* ... ‘just as this malt is *t*.’. On the basis of this addition, *tepšu-* has generally been translated as an adjective denoting ‘sterile’, ‘dry’, ‘nicht kiemfähig’. With the newly found parallel text in HKM 116 ii 7f., however, we can now see that an addition before *māḥḥan* is incorrect: the sentence clearly starts with [*māḥḥ*]an *tepšuš*. In both KUB 17.10 and HKM 116, we now have to translate ‘Just as *tepšu-*. They do not bring it to the field and use it as seed...’.

This indicates that *tepšu-* is a noun that denotes some kind of (by-product of) grain (comparable to malt) that does not yield any plant.

The derivatives of *tepšu-* may shed some further light on its meaning. Compare the following context:

KBo 3.34 ii

- (8) <sup>m</sup>A-aš-ga-li-ja-aš <sup>URU</sup>Ḫu-ur-mi EN-aš e-eš-ta  
 (9) ku-ya-at-t=a ku-ya-at-t=a LÚ-eš<sub>17</sub> e-eš-ta š=a-n=a-aš-ta at-ti=mi  
 (10) pa-ak-nu-er š=a-an ar-nu-ut š=a-an <sup>URU</sup>An-ku-i IR-DI  
 (11) š=a-an <sup>URU</sup>An-ku-i=pát <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-an i-e-et šar-ku-uš LÚ-eš<sub>17</sub> e-eš-ta  
 (12) a-ki-iš=m=a-aš te-ep-ša-u-ya-an-ni <sup>URU</sup>Ku-zu-ru-ú-i  
 (13) ka-ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-pu-uš ma-ra-ak-ta <sup>URU!</sup>An-ku-ya ka-ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-pí-iš  
 (14) ma-ak-la-an-te-eš

‘Āšgalija was lord in Ḫurmi, and what a man he was. They denounced him to my father, and he deported him and brought him to Ankuḫa and in Ankuḫa he made him a governor. He was a powerful man, but he died in *t*.. In Kuzuruḫa he butchered *kakkapa*’s, in Ankuḫa the *kakkapa*’s were emaciated’.

Here, *tepšauanni* is often translated as ‘in poverty’. The verb *tepšanu<sup>zi</sup>* is found in the following context:

KUB 24.3 ii

- (51) n=a-at A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-ri-in-na kat-ta-ya-a-tar  
 (52) nam-ma ki-ša-a-ru nu=za DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> tu-el ŠUM=KA  
 (53) le-e te-ep-ša-nu-ši

‘And this (hostility against Ḫatti) shall forthwith become a cause of revenge for the Sun-goddess of Arinna. O, goddess, do not *t*. your name!’,

but the duplicate KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 ii 9 has *nu=za tu-e<sup>1</sup>-el<sup>1</sup>* (text: *tu-el-e*) ŠUM=KA <le-e> te-ep-n[u-]uš-ke-ši ‘do not diminish your name!’. The verb *tepšauēšš<sup>zi</sup>* is found in

KUB 29.11 ii

- (11) *ták-ku* <sup>d</sup>SĪN SI ZAG=ŠÚ GAM KI-i ne-ja-an KUR-e-aš BURU<sub>14</sub>-aš  
*te-ep-ša-u-e-eš-zi*

‘when the right horn of the moon is bowed downwards to the earth, the crop of the land will *t*.’.

Its duplicate KUB 8.6 Vs 11 has *te-pa-u-e-eš-zi*, however: ‘the crop will diminish’.

On the basis of these contexts, we must conclude that *tepšanu-<sup>zi</sup>* means ‘to diminish (trans.)’, *tepauešš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to diminish (intr.)’, which makes it likely that the original abstract meaning of *tepu-* is ‘something little’. The concrete meaning ‘some kind of (by-product of) grain (comparable to malt) that does not yield any plant’ that we have established on the basis of the contexts cited above must have developed out of this.

Etymologically, it is in my view quite likely that *tepu-* is cognate with the adjective *tēpu-* / *tēpau-* ‘little, few’. Because this latter reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-(e)u-*, we must reconstruct *tepu-* as *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-su-*, showing the same nominalizing suffix *\*-su-* as visible in *genzu-* ‘lap’ < *\*géh<sub>1</sub>-su-*. See at *tēpu-* / *tēpau-* for further etymology.

***tēpu-* / *tēpau-*** (adj.) ‘little, few’: nom.sg.c. *te-e-pu-uš* (KBo 25.23 rev. 6 (OS)), *te-pu-uš* (KUB 6.12 rev. 10b, KUB 8.30 obv. 21, KBo 13.20, 6), acc.sg.c. [*te-*]*epu-un* (KBo 21.68 i 5), *te-pu-un* (KUB 7.2 i 10), nom.-acc.sg.n. *te-e-pu* (KBo 6.2 iv 42, 46, 47 (OS)), *te-pu* (KBo 6.2 iv 43 (OS), etc. (often)), [*t*]*i-e-pu* (KBo 25.23 rev. 7 (OS)), *z[e-]epu* (KBo 16.71++ iii 7 (OS)), gen.sg. *te-pa-u-ua-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 40), dat.-loc.sg. *te-pa-u-e* (KUB 33.106 ii 5), *te-e-pa-u-e* (KUB 43.64,5), *te-pu* (KBo 38.47 obv. 5), abl. *te-e-pa-u-ua-az*, *te-pa-u-ua-az*, *te-pa-u-ua-za*, instr. *te-pa-u-i-it* (KBo 23.28 i 57), *te-pu-it* (KBo 15.37 i 25), nom.pl.c. *te-e-pa-u-e-eš* (KUB 14.11 iii 42), *te-epa-u-e<sup>2</sup>-eš* (KBo 6.5 iv 26), *te-pa-u-eš* (KUB 14.1 obv. 48), nom.-acc.pl.n. *te-e-pa-u-ua* (ABoT 56 iii 28), *te-pa-u-ua* (KUB 22.70 obv. 83).

Derivatives: ***tepu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to diminish, to despise’ (1sg.pres.act. *te-ep-nu-um-mi* (KUB 21.37 obv. 21), 3sg.pres.act. *te-ep-nu-zi* (Bronzetafel iii 72, iv 18, KBo 4.10 rev. 13), *te-ep-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *te-ep-nu-ua-an-zi* (KBo 3.3 ii 27), 1sg.pret.act. *te-ep-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *te-ep-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *te-ep-nu-er*; part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *te-pa-nu-ua-an* (KUB 16.16 rev. 2); verb.noun *te-ep-nu-mar*, *te-ep-nu-um-mar*; inf.I *te-ep-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 21.15 i 14), *te-ep-nu-um-ma-an-zi* (Bronzetafel ii 77, iii 27); impf. *te-ep-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 ii 9, KBo 3.4 i 24, ii 13)), ***tepauešš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to become little’ (3sg.pres.act. *te-pa-u-e-eš-zi* (KUB 8.6 obv. 11), 3sg.pret.act. *te-pa-u-e-eš-ta* (KBo 4.2 iii 42), *te-e-pa-u-e-eš-ta* (KBo 2.5 i 6), 1sg.imp.act. *te-pa-u-e-eš-ša-al-lu* (Tischler HEG T: 317); part. [*t*]*e-pa-u-e-eš-ša-an-za* (KUB 19.29 iv 18), *te-e-pa-u-e-eš-ša-an-za* (KBo 4.4 iii 23, KUB 13.33 iii 9); impf.1sg.pres.midd. *te-pa-u-e-eš-ke-eḫ-ḫa-a-ri* (KUB

33.105 i 2)), *tepaṃaḥḥ<sup>i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to make little’ (3sg.pret.act. *te-pa-ṃa-aḥ-da* (KUB 14.3 i 13, KBo 13.74, 6), 3pl.imp.act. *te-pa-ṃa-aḥ-ḥa-an-du* (KBo 13.74, 7)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dabhrá-* ‘little, small, deficient’, *dabhnóti* ‘to deceive, to hurt’, *ádbhuta-* ‘unerring, wonderful’, GAv. *dəbənao-* ‘to deceive’.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-u-*

This noun and its derivatives are predominantly spelled *te-e-p<sup>o</sup>* and *te-p<sup>o</sup>* (both in OS texts already). Twice, we find an aberrant spelling, namely [*t*]i-e-pu (OS) and z[e-]e-pu (OS), but these can hardly be anything else than scribal errors.

This adjective, which has to be phonologically interpreted /tébu- / tébau-/ has since Marstrand (1919: 150) generally been connected with Skt. *dabhrá-* ‘little, small, deficient’. At the same time Hrozný (1919: 146<sup>4</sup>) connected Hitt. *teṃnu-<sup>zi</sup>* with Skt. *dabhnóti* ‘to deceive’, which goes back to *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-neu-* (but note that GAv. *dəbənao-* = /dbnao-/ shows the most archaic formation, namely *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>-neu-*). A *u*-stem, as in Hitt. *tēpu-*, is found in Skt. *á-dbhū-ta-* ‘unerring, wonderful’ (*\*ṇ-d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>-u-to-*) as well. See at *teṣṣu-* / *teṣṣau-* for a nominal derivative reflecting *\*d<sup>h</sup>éb<sup>h</sup>-su-*.

*ter-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tar-* (Ia3: suppletive with *tē-<sup>zi</sup>*, q.v.) ‘to speak, to state’: 1sg.pres.act. *te-e-mi* (OS), *te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *te-ši* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *te-e-ez-zi* (OS), *te-ez-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-ru-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *tar-te-ni* (MH/MS, often), *te-e-te-ni* (KUB 13.3 ii 8 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-ra-an-zi* (OS), *da-ra-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *te-e-nu-un* (KBo 26.136 obv. 17 (MS)), *te-nu-un* (KUB 1.16 ii 3 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *te-e-eš* (HKM 48 obv. 17 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *te-e-et* (KUB 17.10 i 28 (OH/MS), KBo 15.19 i 25 (NS)), *te-et* (MH/MS, often), 3pl.pret.act. *te-re-er* (HKM 63 obv. 16 (MH/MS), HKM 94 rev. 9 (MH/MS), KUB 33.60 rev. 14 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *te-e-et* (KUB 30.10 i 4 (OH/MS)), *te-et* (MH/MS, often), 3sg.imp.act. *te-e-ed-du* (KUB 30.10 i 26 (OH/MS)), *te-ed-du* (KUB 30.10 i 28 (OH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *te-et-te-en* (OS), *te-et-tén* (KBo 13.114 iv 4 (MH/NS)), *te-e-tén* (KUB 13.3 ii 28, iii 42 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *da-ra-an-du* (KBo 3.40 rev. 11 (OH/NS)); part. *ta-ra-an-t-*, *da-ra-an-t-*, *ta-ra-a-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *tar-ši-ke/a-* (OS), *tar-ši-ik-ke/a-* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 34 (MH/MS)), *tar-aš-ke/a-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *tarta-* ‘curse’ (acc.sg. *ta-ar-ta-an*); CLuw. *tātarijamman-* (n.) ‘curse’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-a-ta-ri-ja-am-ma-an*, *da-a-ta-ri-ja-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ri-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-ma-an*, *ta-a-ta-ri-i-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-a-am-ma-an*, nom.-acc.pl. *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-a-am-ma*, *ta-a-ta-ri-ja-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-am-na*,

gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *da-a-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-ja-a-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, [*ta-(a)-t*]a-ri-ja-am-na-na-[aš-ši-iš], acc.sg.c. *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-at-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-ta-ri-am-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-en*, acc.pl.c. *ta-a-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-in-za*, *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ši-in-za*, abl.instr. *da-a-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-a-ta-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-tar-ri-ja-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-ta-ri-ja-am-na-(aš)-ša-an-za-ti*); HLuw. **tataria-** ‘to curse’ (3sg.imp.act. <sup>LOQUI</sup>*tá-tara/i-ia-tú* (TELL AHMAR 2 §19, ALEPPO 2 §14), <sup>LOQUI</sup>*tá-tara/i-ia-tu* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §21), part.nom.sg.c. <sup>LOQUI</sup>*ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §24)); Lyd. **kan-tro-** ‘to trust someone with, to dedicate’ (1sg.pres. *kantoru*, 3pl.pres. *kantrōd*, 3sg. or pl.pret. [*ka*]ntrol).

IE cognates: Lith. *tar̃ti*, *tar̃yti* ‘to speak, to say’, Gr. τετορήσω ‘will say clearly’.

PIE \**tér-* / *tr-énti*

This verb is used in suppletion with *tē<sup>-zi</sup>* (q.v.) and denotes ‘to speak, to state’. The distribution between the two stems is that strong-stem forms usually show the stem *tē-* (e.g. *tēmi*, *tēši*, *tēzzi*), whereas weak-stem forms show *tar-* (*tarueni*, *tarteni*, *taranzi*). This is probably because the expected weak stem of the verb *tē-*, \**t-*, had already early phonetically merged with the weak stem of *dā<sup>-i</sup>* / *d-* ‘to give’. Note that the only form in which this distribution between *tē-* and *tar-* does not apply, is 3pl.pret.act. *terer*, which unambiguously shows that the stem *tar-* belongs to an original ablauting paradigm *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-*. This verb therefore should be cited as *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-* and not as *tar<sup>-zi</sup>* as one often can find.

Already Petersen (1933: 17) connected *ter-* / *tar-* with Lith. *tar̃ti*, *tar̃yti* ‘to speak, to say’, Gr. τετορήσω ‘will say clearly’, on the basis of which we must reconstruct a root \**ter-*. Oettinger (1979a: 109) proposes a reconstruction \**d<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘\*festhalten > aussagen’, which is primarily based on his claim that the spellings with initial DA point to an etymological \**d* or \**d<sup>h</sup>*. Apart from the fact that especially in OS texts we often find spellings with the sign TA (e.g. 3x *ta-ra-an-zi*), a connection between the spelling of the initial stop and the etymological nature of that stop has never been proven.

Note that the verb *dārije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* that usually is translated ‘to call upon the gods’ and seen as a derivative of *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-* in fact seems to have a different meaning and therefore hardly can be cognate. I have treated it under a separate lemma. The fact that *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-* and *dārije/a-* have to be separated also weakens the connection between the former verb and Luw. *tātarija-* ‘to curse’, which not only semantically remains far (unless one assumes a development \*‘to state with emphasis’ (vel sim.) > ‘to curse’), but formally is quite different from *ter<sup>-zi</sup>* / *tar-*

as well, also because the single spelling of *-t-*, which points to etymological *\*-d<sup>(h)</sup>-*, does not fit the reconstruction *\*ter-*.

The imperfective shows *tar-ši(-ik)-ke/a-* = /trsiké/á-/ as well as *tar-aš-ke/a-* = /trské/á-/. The latter form is the phonetically expected outcome of *\*tr-ské/ó-*, whereas according to Kavitskaya (2001: 284) /trsiké/á-/ is analogical after the imperfectives *zi-ik-ke/a-* /tsiké/á-/ from *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* ‘to put, to place’ and *az-zi-ke/a-* /ʔdsiké/á-/ from *ed<sup>zi</sup> / ad-* ‘to eat’, which were analysed as showing a suffix /-siké/á-/.

**teraḡartanna:** see *tieraḡartanna*

**terepp<sup>zi</sup> / teripp-** (Ia5) ‘to plough’: 3sg.pres.act. *te-ri-ip-zi* (VBoT 58 i 30), 3pl.pres.act. *te-ri-ip-pa-an-zi* (Bo 6250 obv. 8, KUB 31.57 i 11 (fr.)); part. *te-ri-ip-pa-an* (KUB 18.20 obv. 10); inf.I *te-ri-ip-pu-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 31.57 i 14, KBo 6.28 rev. 23 (fr.), KBo 18.82 rev. 5 (fr.)); impf. *te-ri-ip-pi-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 13.1 iv 24).

Derivatives: <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>**tere/ippi-** (n.) ‘ploughed field’ (nom.-acc.sg.(?) *te-ri-ip-pi* (KUB 33.65 iii 2), abl. *te-ri-ip-pi-ia-az* (VBoT 24 iii 26), nom.-acc.pl. *te-ri-ip-pi* (KUB 9.34 iii 16 (MH/NS)) // *te-ri-ip-pi<sup>Hl.A</sup>* (KUB 9.4 ii 32 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *te-ri-ip-pi-ia-aš* (KUB 13.1 iv 2, HKM 54 obv. 6)), <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>**tere/ippije/a<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to plough’ (3sg.pret.act. *te-ri-ip-pi-ia-at* (HKM 54, 20 (MH/MS))); part. *te-(ri-)ip-pi-ia-an* (HKM 55 obv. 7 (MH/MS))).

IE cognates: Gr. *τρέπω* ‘to turn’, Lat. *trepō* ‘to turn’, Skt. *trapate* ‘is ashamed’.

PIE *\*trép-ti / \*trp-énti*

All forms are spelled *te-RI-IP-*, which in principle can be read *te-ri-ip-* as well as *te-re-ep-*. Convention has it to cite these forms as *teripp-*, however, although we must bear in mind that *terepp-* is equally possible. The basic form is the verb *tere/ipp<sup>zi</sup>*, from which the noun <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>*tere/ippi-* ‘ploughed field’ has been derived. This latter noun was the source of the verb <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>*tere/ippije/a<sup>zi</sup>* as is visible from the use of the determinative <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup> (so, *tere/ippije/a-* is not a mere *-je/a-* derivative of *tere/ipp<sup>zi</sup>*).

Hitt. *tere/ipp<sup>zi</sup>* is quite generally connected with Gr. *τρέπω* ‘to turn’, Lat. *trepit* ‘turns’ etc. that reflect a root *\*trep-* (cf. e.g. Milewski 1936: 42 and Braun 1936: 391). This would mean that in *\*trep-* an anaptyctic vowel *-e-* arose between *t* and *r*, a phenomenon also known from *teri-* ‘three’ < *\*tri-*. Some scholars assume that this anaptyctic vowel secondarily received the accent due to which the unaccentuated *\*-e-* weakened to *-i-*, /térip-/ , but this is not necessarily the case: if

*te-ri-ip-* is to be read *te-re-ep-* an interpretation /*terép-/* is equally possible. Moreover, one could argue that the anaptyctic vowel in fact was a phonetic phenomenon of synchronic Hittite (/trV<sup>front</sup>/ is phonetically realized as [trV<sup>front</sup>]), which would make way to a phonological interpretation /trépt<sup>s</sup>i/.

Usually it is assumed that *tere/ipp-* is a non-ablauting verb, but see § 2.2.2.1.f for my view that *te-ri-ip-zi* / *te-ri-ip-pa-an-zi* in fact stands for /trépt<sup>s</sup>i/, /trípánt<sup>s</sup>i/, the regular outcomes of an ablauting pair \**trép-ti* / \**trp-énti*. I therefore cite this verb under the lemma *terepp<sup>zi</sup>* / *teripp-*.

Morpurgo Davies (1987: 217) suggests that the HLuwian words starting with *tara/i-pa-* and *tara/i-pi-* may be cognate to Hitt. *tere/ipp<sup>zi</sup>*, although she admits that the fact that the meaning of these words is unclear makes this a rather preliminary suggestion.

**teri-** (card.num.) ‘three’: nom.pl.c. 3-*e-eš* (KBo 17.58 i 5 (OS), IBoT 1.36 ii 35, iii 13 (OH/MS), KUB 15.31 i 6 (MH/NS)), 3-*i-e-eš* (KUB 10.55, 12 (undat.)), acc.pl.c. 3-*uš* (KBo 21.85 i 48 (OH/MS), KUB 9.31 i 11 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. 3-*e* (KUB 9.30 iv 7 (NS), IBoT 1.2 iii 10 (NS), 355/t r. 8 (NS), Bo 2692 v 23 (NS)), gen.pl. *te-ri-ja-aš* (KUB 43.60 i 9 (OH/NS)), 3-*aš* (IBoT 2.5 r. 5 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. 3-*ta-aš* (1175/lu r.col. 7 (NS)), abl.pl. 3-*az* (KUB 20.78 iii 6 (OH/NS), 617/p, 11 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: **terija-** (ord.num.) ‘third’ (nom.sg.c. *te-ri-aš* (KBo 16.49 iv 2)), **terijalla-** ‘three-drink(?)’ (case? *te-ri-ja-al-la* (KBo 5.1 iv 35) // 3-*ja-al-la* (Bo 4951, 15)), **terijala-** (c.) ‘third(?) > mediator(?)’ (nom.sg. [t]*e-ri-ja-la-aš* (KBo 17.1+ ii 56)), **terijan** (adv.) ‘at the third time’ (*te-ri-ja-an-n=a* (KBo 20.40 v 8), [*te-ri-ĭ*]*a-an-n=a* (KBo 3.18 rev. 7, KBo 27.126, 10) // 3-*n=a* (KBo 3.16 iii 3), 3-*an* (KUB 2.10 iv 33, KBo 9.79, 6, 888/z rev. 8)), \***terijankiš**(?) (adv.) ‘thrice’ (3-*ki-š=a-a=š-ma-aš* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 3 (OS)), 3-*iš* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 3 (fr.), 4, 5 (OS), StBoT 25.4 iii 45, iv 31 (OS), HT 95, 8, 9 (OS), KBo 17.74 ii 2, 8 (OH/MS?), 3=ŠU (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw.: see <sup>LÚ</sup>*tarrijanalli-* and <sup>TÚG</sup>*tarrijanali-*; HLuw. **t(a)risu** (adv.) ‘three times’ (‘<sup>3</sup>*tara/i-su-u* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §19)); Lyc. **trīsñne** ‘three year old(?)’, **trppeme** ‘threefold(?)’; Mil. **trpplē** ‘?’, **trisu** ‘thrice’.

IE cognates: Skt. *tráyas*, Av. *θrāiiō*, Gr. τρεῖς, Lat. *trēs*, OIr. *trī*, *tri*, ON *þrír*, Goth. *þrins* (acc.pl.m.f.), Lith. *trỹs*, OCS *trъje*, TochA *tre*, TochB *trai* ‘three’, Lith. (dial.) *trisù* (adv) ‘the three of them’.

PIE \**trei-* / \**tri-*; \**tri-jo-*

See Tischler HEG T: 320f. for attestations. Only once the numeral ‘three’ is spelled phonetically, namely as gen.sg. *teriāš*. On the basis of this form and derivatives, it is clear that the stem must be *teri-*. We therefore can assume that the paradigm (all plural forms) must have been nom.c. *\*terijēš*, acc.c. *\*teriuš*, nom.-acc.n. *\*terie*, gen. *teriāš*, dat.-loc. *\*terijetaš*, abl. *\*terijedaz*.

If we compare the Hitt. stem *teri-* with its Luwian counterpart *tarri-* (attested in the noun <sup>LÚ</sup>*tarrījanalli-* ‘functionary of third rank’ (q.v.) and possibly in <sup>TÚG</sup>*tarrījanali-* ‘cloth that has been woven three times (??)’ (q.v.)), we have to reconstruct PANat. *\*téri-* to explain the geminate *-rr-* in Luwian (Čop’s Law). The exact interpretation of PANat. *\*téri-* is difficult, however. E.g. Eichner (1992: 69) assumes that it must go back to a PIE ablaut variant *\*téri-*. Because all other IE languages show a full grade *\*trei-* only, this is not very likely, however (unless we would assume that *\*trei-* goes back to *\*tr-ei-* (with an *\*-ei-* suffix), which has an ablaut variant *\*ter-i-*: this option cannot be excluded in view of the ordinal numbers Skt. *trītya-*, OPr. *tīrts* ‘third’ < *\*tr-ti-* and Lith. *trėčias*, OCS *tretii* ‘third’ < *\*tr-eti-*, which show the reality of a root *\*tr-* without *-i-*). It might be better to compare *teri-* with the verb *terepp-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to plough’ (q.v.) which is generally reconstructed as *\*trep-*. Apparently, in *terepp-* an *-e-* emerged in the initial cluster *\*tr-*. Although not all initial cluster *\*Tr-* show an anaptyctic vowel *-e-* (e.g. *taranzi* ‘they say’ < *\*tr-énti*, *tarupp-* < *\*Treup-(?)*), we might have to conclude that in *\*TrV<sup>front</sup>* an anaptyctic vowel emerged between *\*T* and *-r-* in pre-PAnatolian times already. This anaptyctic vowel then could receive the accent, which yielded, in the case of ‘three’, PANat. *\*téri-*, which is the predecessor of Hitt. *teri-* and CLuw. *tarri-*. Note that *teriā-* ‘third’ < *\*tri-īo-* differs from *tarijanzi* ‘they become weary’ (see under *tarai-<sup>i</sup>* / *tari-*) < *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>r-ī-énti* in the sense that *-ī-* apparently did not count as a fronted vowel, whereas *-i-* did.

The PIE inflection of ‘three’ probably was nom. *\*tréi-es*, acc. *tréi-ms*, gen. *\*tri-om*. This should regularly have yielded Hitt. *\*\*terēš*, *\*\*terejuš*, *\*\*terian*. I am wondering to what extent it is possible that the OS attestation 3-*e-eš* in fact still stands for /*terēs*/ < *\*treies*, with the synchronic stem *teri-* (out of the oblique cases) being introduced only later on, yielding secondary /*terijēs*/, spelled 3-*i-e-eš*.

Note that HLuwian *tara/i-su-u* ‘three times’ and Mil. *trisu* ‘thrice’ can be directly equated with Skt. loc.pl. *triṣú* and Lith. *trisù* ‘the three of them < \*with three (people)’.

In Lycian we find a stem *tri-* of which it is not fully clear whether it can reflect PANat. *\*teri-*. We also find a stem *teri-* (gen.sg. *terihe*) of which Melchert (1993a: 70; 2004a: 63, referring to Eichner 1993: 239ff.) states that it may mean



‘three’. He therefore translates *terihe* as ‘of a third (person)’. This interpretation seems to be based on etymological considerations only, however, and has the disadvantage that we then would have to assume two different outcomes of PANat. \**teri-* in Lycian. I therefore reject this translation.

*teripp-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *terepp-<sup>zi</sup>* / *teripp-*

*teriške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic6) ‘to insult(?)’: 3pl.pres.act. *te-ri-iš-k[án-zi]* (KUB 17.4, 10).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 17.4

(7)

... *ú-i-ī[(š-ke-u-ya-an-za)]*

(8) KÙ.BABBAR-*an-za an-da pá-r-na-a=š-ša pa-it* KÙ.BABBAR-*an-za*

IN[IM<sup>III.A</sup>-*ar* EGIR-*p(a an-ni-i=š-šī)*]

(9) *me-mi-iš-ke-u-ya-an da-a-iš pé-ra-an a-aš-ki=za* DUMU[(<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ku-e-da-aš*)]

(10) *kat-ta-an ḥa-az-zi-ik-ke-nu-un nu=mu te-ri-iš-k[án-zi]*

‘Silver went to his house crying, and began to speak the words to his mother: “The boys whom I struck down before the gate, they keep on *t.-ing* me”’.

Hoffner (1988: 149-51) interprets this form as a variant of *taraške/a-*, *taršike/a-*, the imperfective of *ter-<sup>zi</sup>* / *tar-* ‘to speak’. This would mean that *teriškanzi* here meant ‘they keep on saying (bad things) to me’. This is possible, but far from ascertained.

*tešha-* (c.) ‘dream, sleep’ (Sum. Û): nom.sg. *te-eš-ḥa-aš* (KUB 13.4. iii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 30.10 rev. 18 (OH/MS), KUB 33.84, 7 (MH/NS)), *ti-eš-ḥa-aš* (KUB 15.36 obv. 12 (NH)), acc.sg. *te-eš-ḥa-an* (KUB 4.47 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), abl. *te-eš-ḥa-az* (KUB 9.22+ iii 30, 35 (MS), KUB 41.29 iii 2 (OH/NS), KUB 14.8 ii 36 (NH), KUB 22.70 obv. 17 (NH)), instr. *te-eš-ḥi-it* (KBo 17.65 rev. 18 (MS), ABoT 17 iii 6 (NS), KBo 11.1 obv. 42 (NH), KUB 14.10+ iv 17 (NH)), acc.pl. *te-eš-ḥu-uš* (KUB 24.9+ ii 23 (OH/NS), KUB 17.1 ii 15, 20 (NS), KUB 4.47 obv. 4 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: *zašḥai-* / *zašḥi-* ‘dream’ (acc.sg. *za-aš-ḥa-in* (often), dat.-loc.sg. *za-aš-ḥi-ia* (often), *za-aš-ḥé-ia* (KUB 30.10 obv. 25 (MH/MS)), *za-az-ḥi-i* (KBo 4.2 iii 46 (NH), KUB 43.50 obv. 8, IBoT 2.112, 8 (fr.) (NH)), abl. *za-aš-ḥi-ia-za* (KUB 43.55 ii 1), *za-aš-ḥi-ia-az*, *za-aš-ḥé-az* (KUB 24.4+ i 12 (OH/MS)), instr. *za-aš-ḥi-it* (KBo 5.1 i 43), acc.pl. *za-aš-ḥi-mu-uš* (KUB 7.5 iv 6)), *tešhalli-* (adj.)

‘sleepy(?)’ (acc.sg.c. *te-eš-ḥa-al-li-in* (KUB 36.35 iv 10)), *tešḥanije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to appear in a dream’ (3sg.pret.midd. *te-eš-ḥa-ni-ia-at-ta-at* (KBo 16.52, 9, KUB 21.8 ii 15 (fr.)); impf. *te-eš-ḥa-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 16.55 iv 8, KBo 4.2 iii 46), *te-eš-ḥa-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 16.98 ii 10)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw.: see *duntarrijašḥa-*.

IE cognates: ON *dási* ‘slow’, MHG *daesic* ‘dumb’, ON *dasa-sk* ‘to become weary’, ModEng. *daze*.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-* and *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>oi-*

Of the word *tešḥa-* ‘dream, sleep’, we find the derivatives *tešḥanije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to appear in a dream’ and *tešḥalli-* (adj.), if the latter indeed denotes ‘sleepy’ (its meaning cannot be assuredly determined from the context). The noun *zašḥai-* (*zazḥai-*) ‘dream’ is clearly related to *tešḥa-*. I have cited it as a derivative here, but this is more a matter of convenience: I rather regard *zašḥai-* as an independent formation that made use of the same elements as *tešḥa-*. The comparison of *tešḥa-* with *zašḥai-* shows that the latter should be interpreted */tsḥai-/*. If in *tešḥa-* we indeed find the suffix *-šḥa-* (as in *dammešḥa-* < *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>ó-*, *ḥamešḥa-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*, *palzahḥa-* < *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*) and in *zašḥai-* the same suffix enlarged with *-i-*, we see that the one form shows a root */te-/* whereas the other has */t-/*. This alteration can only be explained by assuming a root structure *\*Teh<sub>1</sub>-*.

Čop (1971: 66-70) connected these words with ON *dási* ‘slow’, MHG *daesic* ‘dumb’ < *\*dēsa-* and ON *dasa-sk* ‘to become weary’, ModEng. *daze* < *\*dāsa-*, which he analyzed as *\*d<sup>h</sup>ē-sHo-*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ə-sHo-*. Although the formal and semantic side of this comparison look convincing, it cannot be excluded that (some of) these Germanic words are of substratum origin (compare ModDu. *duizelen* ‘to grow dizzy’, *beduusd* ‘taken aback’, *bedeesd* ‘timid’, with a number of vowel alternations). Oettinger (1979a: 124, without referring to Čop, so perhaps independently) similarly reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>o-*, of which he states that it originally meant “Hineinsetzung” or “Einsagung”, which is followed by e.g. Rieken (1999a: 381<sup>1916</sup>). If correct, then *zašḥai-* must reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-sh<sub>2</sub>oi-* (original paradigm *\*CéC-ōi(s)*, *\*CC-i-ós*, cf. Weitenberg 1979: 289), showing generalization of the zero grade from the oblique stem.

<sup>(UZU)</sup> *tēta(n)-* (n.) ‘breast, teat’: nom.-acc.sg. *te-e-ta-an* (FHL 32, 10 (OH/NS)), *te-e-da-an* (KBo 10.9 rev.<sup>?</sup> 8 (OH/NS)), *ti-e-ta-a(n)=š-še-it* (KBo 14.98 i 16 (OH/NS)), *te-ta-an* (KUB 35.2 (+) 4 iii 1 (NS)), all.sg. *te-e-da* (KBo 3.34 i 23 (OS)), abl. *te-da-na-az* (KUB 35.2 (+) 4 ii 14 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tītan-* (n.) ‘breast, teat’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ti-i-ta-an* (Hitt. context: HT 6 + KBo 9.125 i 23), dat.-loc.sg. *ti-i-ta-ni*), *tītaimma/i-* (adj.) ‘suckling’ (nom.sg.c. *ti-ta-i-im-me-iš* (KBo 2.1 i 40), *ti-i-ta-i-me-iš* (KBo 2.1 i 33)); Lyc. *tideime/i-* ‘son, child’ (nom.sg. *tideimi*, acc.sg. *tideimi*, gen.sg. *tideimi*, dat.sg. *tideimi*, nom.pl. *tideimi*, acc.pl. *tideimis*, gen.pl. *tideimē*, dat.-loc.pl. *tideime*), *tīdere/i-* ‘collocatus’ (nom.sg. *tideri*).

IE cognates: Skt. *dhāyati* ‘sucks’, Latv. *dēju* ‘to suck’, Gr. θήσατο ‘sucked’.

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-to-*

The Hittite word shows *a*-stem (all.sg. *tēda*) as well as *n*-stem forms (abl. *tedanaz*). Because the *a*-stem form *tēda* is attested in an OS text, we would normally assume that the *a*-stem inflection is original, but because in CLuwian we find an *n*-stem as well, *tītan-* (although Melchert 1993b: 228 states that the Luwian *n*-stem must be regarded as secondary because of the verb *tīt(a)i-* ‘to suckle’ seen in *tītaimma/i-*), this case may be different. Tischler (HEG) treats several isolated words that he regards as cognate as well. E.g. *ti-i-ta-an-ta[-x]* (KBo 29.3 i 6) is interpreted by him (HEG T: 384) as “säugend” (taken over by CHD Š: 276), but I do not see any contextual indication for this. In KUB 5.9 i 4, Tischler (HEG T: 392) reads “*ti-ti-iš-ša-al-li-in*” which he translates as “Säugling, Kleinkind”. Again there is no contextual evidence for such a translation. Moreover, the handcopy of the text quite clearly shows that this form in fact should be read ~~ti-ti-iš-ša-al-li-in~~ = *ti-iš-ša-al-li-in=ua* which cannot be separated from the verbal form *ti-ša-in-ta* in ibid. 5. The verbal form *ti-it-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 14.98 i 16) is interpreted by Tischler (HEG T: 344) as showing the Luwian verbal stem ‘to suckle’ on the basis of GÜB-*lan teta(n)=ššet* ‘her left breast’ in the preceding line. Nevertheless, the geminate *-tt-* does not fit the single *-t-* visible in Hitt. *tēta(n)-* and CLuw. *tītan-* and *tītaimma/i-*, so I would rather interpret this form as belonging with *titta<sup>i</sup> / titti-* ‘to install’:

KBo 14.98 i

(16) [x - x - x - x - x - *h*]u<sup>2</sup>-un GÜB-*la-an ti-e-ta-a(n)=š-še-et*

(17) [x - x - x - x - x - x - ]x DUMU.MUNUS *ti-it-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi*

‘[She ...-s] her left breast [and] installs her daughter [to it]’.

The CLuwian adjective *tītaimma/i-* is only attested in the syntagm *anniš tītaimmeš*, which is interpreted by Melchert (1993b: 228) as ‘nurturing mother’, but which Tischler (HEG T: 344) translates as “Mutter (und) saugendes (Kind)”, which is preferable in view of the identical Lycian noun *tideime/i-* that denotes

‘son, child’. Starke (1990: 229) cites the verb underlying *tataimma/i-* as “\**titi̇j-i-/tataj-i-*”, stating that “[a]uf den *-j-i-*Stamm des Verbums weist lyk. *tidime(i)-* neben *tideime(i)-*”. Although we indeed find the form *tidimi* once (119, 3), it can in my view not compete against the 124 times that this word is attested with the stem *tideim-*. Just like we come across one form spelled *tidemi* (68, 2), which is generally emended to *tide(i)mi*, I think that the unique and aberrant form *tidimi* should be emended to *tide(i)mi*. This means that in Lycian there is no evidence for a verbal stem “\**titi̇j-*”. Tischler (HEG T: 343) cites the verb as \**titi̇ja-* as well, referring to the form *tittiškezzi*. As we saw above, this form cannot belong here. All in all, the verb underlying CLuw. *tataimma/i-* and Lyc. *tideime/i-* cannot have been \**tidija-*, but must have been PLuw. \**tidei-* or \**tidoi-*. This is important for the etymology as we will see below. The Lycian noun *tidere/i-* is translated ‘collocatus’ in Melchert 2004a: 66, with the remark “[c]omponent of \**tide-* ‘teat’ + \**are/i-* ‘companion’”.

All in all, we are dealing with a Hitt. noun *tēta(n)-* ‘teat’ and a Luw. noun *tītan-* and verb \**tide/o-* ‘to suckle’. It has been proposed that these words should be compared with e.g. Gr. τίτη, Lat. *titta* ‘breast’ and regarded as Mediterranean Wanderwörter (see the references in Tischler HEG T: 345), but in my view an etymological connection with the PIE root \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>(i)-* ‘to suck (milk)’ is more likely. As we saw above, some scholars assume a verbal stem \**titi̇ja-* and therefore reconstruct a reduplicated formation \**d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-je/o-* (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 343). Apart from the fact that the *-je/o-* suffix cannot explain the Luwian verb, the initial syllable cannot account for Hitt. *tē-*.

I would like to propose that Hitt. *tēda-* and Luw. *tīta-* go back to \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-to-* ‘that what is suckled’ (with lenition of \**-t-* due to the preceding accentuated long vowel), of which a verbal derivative \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-to-je/o-* yielded PLuw. \**tidoj-i-*, the regular preform of CLuw. *titai-* and Lyc. *tidei-*.

***teth<sup>-a</sup>***: see *tith<sup>-a</sup>*

***-tti*** (2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation): e.g. *a-ak-ti* ‘you die’ (OS), *a-ut-ti* ‘you see’ (OS), *da-a-at-ti* ‘you take’ (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-ttiš*** (in *az-za-aš-ti-iš* ‘you eat’ and *ú-ut-ti-iš* ‘you drink’)?

PIE \**-th<sub>2</sub>e + -i*

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Originally, *-tti* is the 2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation, but from MH times onwards it is used in the *mi*-conjugation as well. First in stems that end in

-š- or another consonant (e.g. *hapti* ‘you join’ (MH/MS) (from *happ<sup>-z</sup>*)), and later on also in stems ending in a vowel (e.g. [*ar*]*nutti* (NH)). Just as the older *hi*-endings 1sg.pres.act. *-hhe* is replaced by *-hhi* and 3sg.pres.act. *-e* by *-i* (probably on the basis of *-i* as found in the *mi*-conjugation endings *-mi*, *-ši*, *-zi*), it is likely that *-tti* is a secondary form that replaced older *\*-tte*. Such an ending is not attested itself, however (note that 2sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-⟨ri-⟩iš-ša-at-te* ‘you help’ (KUB 23.1 ii 35) is from the time of Tutḫaliya IV and therefore probably shows the NH mixing up of the signs TE and TI (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137) instead of an archaic ending *-tte*).

This ending *-tti* (or better: *\*-tte*) is generally connected with the PIE 2sg.perf.-ending *\*-th<sub>2</sub>e* (Skt. *-tha*, Gr. *-θα* (in *οἶσθα* ‘you know’), Lat. *-tī* (+ *\*-i*)). This *\*-th<sub>2</sub>e* regularly yielded Pre-Hitt. *\*-tta*, which was enlarged by *\*-i* (‘presentic’ *-i*), which regularly yielded *\*-tte*. This *\*-tte* eventually was replaced by *-tti* in analogy to the *-i* as found in the *mi*-conjugation.

**=tti-** / **=tta-** / **=tte-** (encl.poss.pron. 2sg.) ‘your (sg.)’: nom.sg.c. *C=ti-iš* (OH/MS), *C=te-eš* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *C=da-an* (KUB 29.1 i 16 (OH/NS), KUB 57.63 ii 21, 22 (NS)), *C=ti-in* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ut-ne-e=t[e-et]* (KBo 25.122 iii 2 (OS)), *C=te-et* (OH/NS), *C=ti-it* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *C=ta-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *V=t-ti* (KUB 1.16 iii 30, 31 (OH/NS), VBoT 1, 9 (MH/MS), *kat-ti-i=t-ti* (KUB 20.7, 13 (OH/NS), KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.8 i 52 (MH/NS)), *V=ti* (*kat-ti=ti* (MH/MS, often), *ku-uš-ša-ni=ti* (KBo 1.42 i 24 (NH))), *V=d-di* (KUB 29.1 ii 25 (OH/NS)), all.sg. *V=ta* (KUB 1.16 iii 72 (OH/NS)), abl.-instr. *°az=ti-it* (OH/NS), *°az=te-et* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. *C=te-eš* (OH/NS), *C=ti-iš* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. *C=tu-uš* (OS), dat.-loc.pl. *C=ta-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE *\*-ti-*, *\*-to-*, *\*-te-*

The original paradigm of this possessive pronoun seems to be nom.sg.c. *=ttiš*, acc.sg.c. *=ttan*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *=ttet*, gen.sg. *=ttaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *=tti*, all.sg. *=tta*, abl.-instr. *=ttit*, nom.pl.c. *=tteš*, acc.pl.c. *=ttuš*, dat.-loc.pl. *=ttaš*. For the original distinction between nom.-acc.sg.n. *=ttet* and abl.-instr. *=ttit* see Melchert 1984a: 122-6. This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem *=tti-* / *=tta-* / *=tte-*. This vocalization can hardly reflect anything else than PIE *\*-i-*, *\*-o-* and *\*-e-*, but an exact explanation for the distribution of these vowels is still lacking (cf. also *=mi-* / *=ma-* / *=me-* ‘my’, *=šši-* / *=šša-* / *=šše=* ‘his, her, its’, *=šsummi-* / *=šsumma-* / *=šsumme-* ‘our’ and *=šmi-* / *=šma-* / *=šme-* ‘your (pl.); their’). Whether this particle originally had *-tt-* or *-t-* is rather obscure: we find *V=t[et]* (*utnē=t[et]*) in an OS text, and both *V=ti* (*katti=ti*) and *V=tti* (*pippi=tti*) in MS

texts. Despite the OS attestation of single *-t-* (but after a long accentuated vowel!), I assume that this stem originally had *-tt-*, just as its enclitic pronoun counterpart *=tta / =ttu* ‘(to) you’.

It is clear that this possessive belongs with *zīk / tu-* ‘you (sg.)’ < *\*tih<sub>1</sub>*, *tu-* and the enclitic pronoun *=tta / =ttu* ‘(to) you’. Direct comparison to e.g. Gr. *τέός*, Lat. *tuus*, Lith. *tāvas* (dial.) ‘your’ < *\*teuo-* and Skt. *tvá-*, Av. *θβa-*, Gr. *σός* ‘your’ < *\*tuo-* is improbable as there is no trace of *-u-* in Hittite. So I assume that *=tti-* / *=tta-* / *=tte-* is not derived from the oblique stem *\*teu-* ‘you’, but rather from the unextended root *\*t-*, which is still visible in nom.sg. *\*t-ih<sub>1</sub>* besides obl. *\*t-(e)u-* (see under *zīk / tu-*).

***tieraṽartanna*** (adv.) ‘for three rounds’: *ti-e-ra-ṽa-ar-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.2 obv. 65), *ti-e-ru-ur-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.2 lower edge 2), *ti-e-ru-u-ur-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.5+ iii 17), *ti-e-ra-u-ur-ta-an<sup>1</sup>* (KBo 3.5+ ii 37), *ti-e-ṽa-ṽa-ar-ta-an-na* (KUB 1.11+ iv 35).

This word occurs in the Kikkuli-text only (cf. Kammenhuber 1961a). It is spelled in various ways: we find *tieraṽartanna*, *tieraūrtan* as well as *tierurtanna*. It is remarkable that all forms are spelled with *ti-e-*, which must stand for /*tie-*/ (compare the difference between *ti-e-ez-zi* /*tié<sup>s</sup>i*/ ‘stands’ and *te-e-ez-zi* /*tét<sup>s</sup>i*/ ‘states’). Nevertheless, this word is generally cited as *teraṽartanna*. The variation between *-ṽartanna* and *-urtanna* is remarkable as well, just as between *tier-* and *tiera-*. So it seems that these spellings stand for /*tier(a)u(ə)rtanna*/. The word is generally seen as an adaptation of Indic *\*tri-ṽartana-* ‘three-round’, just as *aikaṽartanna* ‘for one round’ (*\*Haika-* ‘one’), *panzaṽartanna* ‘for five rounds’ (*\*paná-* ‘five’), *ṣattaṽartanna* ‘for seven rounds’ (*\*sapta-* ‘seven’) and *naṽartanna* ‘for nine rounds’ (*\*naṽa-* ‘nine’). The exact development of *\*tri-* to *tier(a)-* is unclear to me, however.

<sup>GIS</sup>***tiješšar / tiješn-*** (n.) ‘forest(?)’ (Sum. <sup>GIS</sup>TIR-šar (?)): nom.-acc.sg. *ti-i-e-eš-šar* (KUB 33.66 iii 5, KUB 31.100 rev.<sup>?</sup> 16, KUB 13.28, 6, KUB 57.30, 9, 15), dat.-loc.sg. *ti-i-e-eš-ni* (706/v, 5), <sup>GIS</sup>TIR-*ni* (KUB 17.10 iv 12), all.sg. <sup>GIS</sup>TIR-*na* (KUB 29.1 i 52), dat.-loc.pl. <sup>GIS</sup>TIR<sup>HLA</sup>-*na-aš* (KUB 20.10 iii 12).

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r* ?

See Tischler HEG T: 354 for an overview of the attestations of this word. The phonetically spelled attestations of this word are found in broken contexts only, on the basis of which its meaning cannot be independently determined.

Nevertheless, the consistent use of the determinative GIŠ ‘wood’ indicates that the word has something to do with wood. On the basis of the fact that *tijēššar* / *tijēšn-* is the only word ending in *-šar* / *-šn-* that is found with the determinative GIŠ, it has been argued that we should equate it with the sumerogram <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR ‘forest’ that is sometimes phonetically complemented with *-šar* / *-šn-* (nom.-acc.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR-*šar* (KBo 1.53, 2), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR-*ni* (KUB 17.10 iv 12)). Although circumstantial, this reasoning has gained many support and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tijēššar* is quite commonly translated ‘forest’.

Formally, *tijēššar* looks like a deverbative in *-ēššar* of *dai<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* ‘to put, to place’ (see *hukeššar* ‘slaughtering’ from *huk<sup>zi</sup>* / *huk-* ‘to slaughter’ for the fact that *-ēššar* takes the zero-grade of the verbal root) or *tije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to step’. Indicative may be

KUB 33.66 iii

(5) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ti-i-e-eš-šar da-iš n=a[- ... ]*

(6) *n=a-aš<sup>URU</sup> Li-iḫ-zi-na-az a-ap-pa[ pa-it?]*

‘He placed(?) the forest and he[...] and he [came(?)] back from the city Liḫzina’.

Although it is quite unclear what <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tijēššar dai-* means, we perhaps are allowed to interpret this syntagm as a figura etymologica. If correct, it would mean that *tijēššar* reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-ēh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-r*.

*tije/a<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to step, to go stand, to place oneself, to set in’: 1sg.pres.act. *ti-ja-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ti-ja-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ti-ez-zi* (OS), *ti-e-ez-zi* (OS), *ti-i-ez-zi* (OS), *ti-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *ti-ja-zi* (NH), *ti-i-ja-az-zi* (NH), *ti-ja-iz-zi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *ti-ja-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ti-ja-at-te-ni*, [*ti-ja-*]at-ti-ni (KUB 19.49 iv 33), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-an-zi* (often OS), *ti-en-zi* (often OS), *ti-i-en-zi* (1x, OS), *ti-i-in-zi* (1x, OS), *ti-ja-an-zi* (1x OS, often NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ti-ja-nu-un* (MH), *ti-i-ja-nu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ti-ja-at*, *ti-i-ja-at*, 3sg.pret.act. *ti-i-e-et* (OS), *ti-e-et*, *ti-ja-at* (NH), *ti-i-ja-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *ti-ja-u-en* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *ti-ja-at-tén* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ti-e-er* (NH), *ti-i-er* (NH), *ti-i-e-er* (NH), *ti-i-ja-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ti-ja* (MH/MS), *ti-i-ja* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ti-ja-ad-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ti-ja-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ti-ja-an-du* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *ti-ja-[(ri)]* (KUB 30.11 + KUB 31.135 obv. 8 (MH/MS) with addition after KUB 36.75+ i 42 (NH)); part. *ti-an-t*, *ti-ja-an-t*, *ti-in-t* (IBoT 1.36 ii 48); verb.noun *ti-ja-u-ua-ar*, *ti-ja-u-ar*, gen.sg. *ti-ja-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ti-ja-u-an-zi*, *ti-ja-u-ua-an-zi*;

inf.II *ti-ja-an-na* (KUB 22.70 rev. 63, KBo 5.6 iv 8); impf. *ti-iš-ke/a-*, *ti-eš-ke/a-*, *ti-iš-ši-ke/a-* (KBo 3.34 iii 4).

Derivatives: *tijatar* / *tijann-* (n.) ‘?’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ti-ja-an-ni* (KBo 13.261, 6)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tā-* ‘to come to stand’ (3sg.pres.act. *ta-a-i*, 3sg.pret.act. *ta-at-ta*, *da-a-ad-da*, 2pl.pres.midd. *da-a-ad-du-ua-ar*); HLuw. *ta-* ‘to come to stand’ (3sg.pres.act. /tai/ <sup>CRUS</sup>*ta-i* (BOROWSKI 1 §1), *ta-i* (SULTANHAN §39, HÍSARCIK 1 §3), CRUS-*i* (often), /taja/ *ta-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu.), CRUS-*ia* (CEKKE §22, KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), 3sg.pret.act. CRUS-*ta* (IZGIN 1-2 §3), “CRUS”-*ta* (EĞRİKÖY §3), 3pl.pret.act. CRUS-*ta* (KARKAMIŞ A5a §5), 3sg./pl.imp.act. <sup>CRUS</sup>*ta-tú* (GELB §5), 3pl.imp.act. “CRUS”-*tu* (KULULU 2 §6)); verb.noun dat.-loc.sg.? CRUS-*wa/i+ra/i*? (KARKAMIŞ A5a §9)), *tanu-* ‘to set up, to erect, to establish’ (1sg.pres.act. <sup>CRUS</sup>*ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i* (KARKAMIŞ A6 §19), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-nu-wa/i-ha* (SULTANHAN §2, §10), *ta-nu-wa/i-ha-*’ (KULULU §1, §5), CRUS-*nu-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŞ A1a §23, §26, §27), “CRUS”-*nu-wa/i-ha* (MARAŞ 14 §4), CRUS-*nu-ha* (QAL’AT EL MUDIQ §3, KARKAMIŞ A31 §4), CRUS-*nu-ha-á* (RESTAN §3), 3pl.pret.act. CRUS-*nu-wa/i-ta* (KULULU 3 §6), CRUS-*nu-ta* (TİLSEVET §5), gerund CRUS-*nú-wa/i-mi-i-na* (SULTANHAN §3)), *taza-* ‘to stand (impf.)’ (3sg.imp.act. <sup>CRUS<?></sup>*ta-za-tu* (KARATEPE 1 §74)).

PIE *\*(s)th<sub>2</sub>-je/o-*

This verb inflects according to the *-je/a*-class and is in the OH period formally clearly distinct from the verb *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* ‘to place, to put’ (q.v.), except in 3pl.pres.act. *tianzi* (although the secondary form *ti(i)enzi* only occurs in the paradigm of *tije/a<sup>zi</sup>*). In younger times, the verb *dai-/ti-* secondarily gets thematicized and starts to formally fall together with the verb *tije/a<sup>zi</sup>* more and more.

From the beginning of Hittite studies it has been in debate whether *tije/a<sup>zi</sup>* should go back to the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put’ or *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to stand’. The former root would be possible in view of the meaning ‘to place oneself’ and the NH merger of *tije/a<sup>zi</sup>* with *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-*, which clearly must reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*. An etymological connection with *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* would much better fit the meaning ‘to step, to go stand’, however, which cannot easily be derived from an original meaning ‘to put, to place’. Moreover, Morpurgo Davies (1987) has shown that the Luwian languages possess a verb *tā-* that means ‘to come to stand’ and that is used in similar contexts as Hitt. *tije/a-*. Because Luw. *tā-* quite obviously must reflect *\*(s)teh<sub>2</sub>-* (note that *\*(s)tóh<sub>2</sub>-ei* regularly should have given Luw. *\*\*tāhi*, but probably has lost its *-h-* in analogy to all other forms of the paradigm where *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is



dropped in preconsonantal position, yielding attested *tāi*), which would mean that *tīe/a<sup>zi</sup>* ultimately goes back to *\*(s)th<sub>2</sub>-je/o-* (for the *s*-mobile, compare e.g. TochAB *tāk-* ‘to be (subj. and pret.)’ < *\*(s)teh<sub>2</sub>-*). Of course, it cannot be denied that all NH forms that show the secondary stem *tīe/a<sup>zi</sup>* instead of the original *hi-* inflected stem *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* in principle reflect a virtual *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*, but this form never existed as such in pre-Hittite times.

*tīe/a<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to bind(?)’: 2sg.imp.act. *ti-ja* (KBo 3.40+ rev.<sup>1</sup> 13, 14, 15).

Derivatives: *tīamar / tīaman-* (n.) ‘cord, string’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ti-ja-mar* (KBo 17.23 obv.<sup>2</sup> 6 (OS), KUB 17.28 iv 50 (MH/NS)), *ti-ja-am-mar* (KUB 39.71 iv 17 (NS)), instr. *ti-ja-am-ma-an-da* (KUB 9.28 iii 15 (MH/NS), *ti-ja-am-ma-an-ta* (KBo 19.132 rev.<sup>2</sup> 5 (MH/NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. δέω, δίδημι ‘to bind’, Skt. *dā-*, °*dyati* ‘to bind’.

PIE *\*dh<sub>1</sub>-jé/ó-*

The interpretation of the 2sg.imp.act.-form *tīa* found in the Soldier’s Song in the Puḫanu-Chronicle is quite unclear:

KBo 3.40+ rev.<sup>1</sup>

(13) *nu-u=z-za iš-[h]a-ma-i-iš-ke-ez-zi* <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ša[a-aš<sup>KI</sup> TÚG<sup>HLA</sup>]* <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ša-a-aš<sup>KI</sup>*  
           TÚG<sup>HLA</sup> *ti-ja-a=m-mu ti-ja*

(14) *nu-u=m-mu an-na-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut ti-ja[-a=m-mu t]i-ja nu-u=m-mu*  
           *ú-ya-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut*

(15) *[t]i-ja-a=m-mu [t]i-ja*

‘He begins to sing: “The clothes of Neša, the clothes of Neša, *t*. me, *t*! Bring me down my mother’s, *t*. me, *t*! Bring me down my nurse’s, *t*. me, *t*!”’.

Formally, *tīa* seems to belong with *tīe/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to step, to go stand’ (q.v.), but this does not give a sound translation: *tīe/a-* ‘to step’ is not transitive, which would mean that in the first line <sup>URU</sup>*Nešaš TÚG<sup>HLA</sup>* cannot be the object of *tīa*, but rather has to be the subject. But if <sup>URU</sup>*Nešaš TÚG<sup>HLA</sup>* is subject, the number is wrong: <sup>URU</sup>*Nešaš TÚG<sup>HLA</sup>* is plural, whereas *tīa* is singular. Moreover, a translation ‘clothes of Neša, step towards me, step!’ is at least not very probable.

Often, *tīa* has been interpreted as belonging with *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* ‘to put, to place’ and a translation ‘the clothes of Neša, put (them) on me, put!’ has been given. Although semantically better, the formal side of this interpretation is improbable. The 2sg.imp.act. of *dai-/ti-* is always *dai*, and never *tīa*.

Melchert (1983: 14<sup>30</sup>) therefore rather suggests a connection with the element *tija-* as found in *tijamar* ‘cord, string’, which would mean that *tija* means ‘bind’: ‘the clothes of Neša, bind (them) on me, bind!’”. This noun *tijamar* was connected by Eichner (1974: 57) with Gr. δέω, δίδημι ‘to bind’, Skt. *dā-* ‘to bind’ < \**deh<sub>1</sub>-*, which implies a reconstruction \**dh<sub>1</sub>-ié/ó-*.

*titta<sup>-i</sup> / titti-* (IIa5) ‘to install, to assign’: 3sg.pres.act.(?) *ti-it-ta-i* (KBo 19.162 iv 12), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-ja-an-z[i]* (KUB 36.114, 22), [*t*]*i-it-ti-ja-an-z[i]* (KUB 15.11 ii 31); part. *ti-it-ti-an-t-* (OS), *ti-it-ti-ja-an-t-*; impf.3sg.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 14.98 i 16).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-ei*, \**d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-enti*

This verb is predominantly attested with its participle, *tittijant-* ‘put in, installed’. For its meaning, compare KBo 6.3 ii (37) *ták-ku LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>[(TUKUL ḫar-)]ak-zi LÚ IL-KI ti-it-ti-ja-an-za nu LÚ IL-KI te-ez-zi ...* ‘If a man who has TUKUL-obligations disappears, (and) a man who has *ILKU*-obligations is assigned (in his place), and the man owing *ILKU*-services declares ...’ (transl. CHD Š: 3). Finite forms of this verb are rarely attested. We only find 3pl.pres.act. *tittijanzi* in the broken contexts KUB 36.114, 22 and KUB 15.11 ii 31, on the basis of which its meaning cannot be assured, and a possible 3sg.pres.act. in KBo 19.162 iv (11) *ma-a-an* [...] (12) *GIŠ-ru ti-it-ta-i* ‘when [...] he installs<sup>2</sup> the wood’. If this latter form indeed belongs here, it shows that the verb does not show a stem *tittiē/a-*, as is often cited, but must either belong to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class (*tittai<sup>-i</sup> / titti-*) or to the *mēma/i*-class (*titta<sup>-i</sup> / titti-*). As I argued at the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h, the verbs of this class derive from original *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs with a polysyllabic stem. I therefore assume that this verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class as well and cite it as *titta<sup>-i</sup> / titti-*.

Semantically, *titta-/titti-* ‘to install, to assign’ clearly belongs with *dai<sup>-i</sup> / ti-* ‘to place, to put’. Also formally, this connection goes well, especially now we know that *titta-/titti-* originally goes back to \**tittai<sup>-i</sup> / titti-*. I therefore assume that it virtually reflects a reduplicated stem \**d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-oi-* / \**d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-i-*. See at *dai<sup>-i</sup> / ti-* for further etymology.

In KUB 59.47 rev.<sup>1</sup> iii 10, a 3pl.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-ja-an-zi* is attested, but this form is duplicated by *ḫu-it-ti-ja-an-zi* ‘they pull’ in KUB 7.46 iv 7. This means that *ti-it-ti-ja-an-zi* must be a scribal error (omission of the right vertical wedge of the sign  $\text{HU}$  ( $\text{𐎶}$ ) yields the sign  $\text{TI}$  ( $\text{𐎶}$ )), and we can transliterate it as *ḫu<sup>1</sup>-it-ti-ja-an-zi*. Note that Tischler (HEG T: 391) is incorrect in stating that “[w]egen der Gleichsetzung mit *ḫuittiya-* ‘ziehen’ [...] wird man auch *tittiya-* als transitives

Bewegunsverb [...] auffassen”: there was no equation between these verbs: we are merely dealing with a scribal error.

*tittanu*<sup>-zi</sup>: see *titnu*<sup>-zi</sup>

*tith*<sup>-a</sup> (IIIe > IIa1γ) ‘to thunder’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ti-it-ḥa* (KBo 17.11 i 9 (OS), KUB 34.123+ i 1, 28 (OH/NS)), *te-e-et-ḥa* (KUB 32.135 i 3, 10 (OH/MS)); 3sg.pres.act. *te-et-ḥa-i* (often, e.g. KUB 25.23 i 8 (NH), KBo 22.222 iii 9 (NH)), *te-et-ḥa-a-i* (e.g. KUB 43.73, 4 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *te-et-ḥa-aš* (KUB 43.55 v 13 (NH), *te-et-ḥi-et* (KUB 19.14, 11 (NH))); verb.noun gen.sg. *te-e-et-ḥu-u-ua-š=a* (KUB 32.135 i 8 (OH/MS)), *te-et-ḥu-u-ua-aš* (KUB 22.27 iv 25 (NS)); sup. *te-et-ḥu-u-ua-an* (KBo 42.6 obv.<sup>?</sup> 11 (NS)); impf. *ti-it-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 17.10 ii 34 (OH/MS)), *te-et-ḥi-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 10.17 iv 10 (NH)), *te-et-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 31.83 ii 3 (NS), KUB 33.106 i 7 (NS), VBoT 73 iv 2 (NS)).

Derivatives: *tethēššar* / *tethēšn-* (n.) ‘thunder’ (Sum. BÚN; nom.-acc.sg. *te-et-ḥe-eš[šar]* (KUB 19.14, 14), gen.sg. *te-et-ḥé-eš-na-aš* (KBo 40.60 ii 22), [(*te-et-ḥ*)]é-e[(š-na-aš)] (KBo 17.11+ iv 36 (OS)), *te-et-ḥé-eš-na-a[š]* (KUB 34.123+ iv 43), [*te*]-et-ḥé-eš-na-aš (KBo 40.60 ii 19), *te-et-ḥe-eš-na-aš* (KUB 5.7 i 12), *te-et-ḥi-iš-na-aš* (KUB 6.46 ii 14), *te-et-ḥe-eš-ša-na-aš* (KBo 4.11 l.Edge), erg.sg. *te-et-ḥe-eš-na-an-za* (KUB 33.106 i 8), *te-et-ḥe-eš-na-za* (KUB 33.106 iv 21)), *tethima-* (c.) ‘thunder’ (nom.sg. *te-et-ḥi-ma-aš* (KUB 7.13 obv. 18), acc.sg. *te-et-ḥi-ma-an* (KUB 17.35 ii 12), acc.pl. [*te*]-et-ḥi-ma-aš (KUB 6.45 iii 11), [*te*]-ḥi-mu-uš (KUB 33.103 iii 3), [*te*]-et-ḥi-im-mu-uš (KUB 28.5+ iii 6), nom.-acc.pl.n. *te-et-ḥi-ma* (KBo 17.85, 6)).

The oldest attestations of this verb are spelled *ti-it-ḥ*<sup>o</sup> (OS and OH/MS), whereas we find *te-e-et-ḥ*<sup>o</sup> in an OH/MS text, and *te-et-ḥ*<sup>o</sup> in NS texts. This must be due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before a cluster containing *-ḥ-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d. Often, this verb is cited as *tetha-* (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 347) or even *tethai-* (HW: 222), but this is incorrect. In the oldest texts (OS and MS), we find middle forms only (3sg.pres.midd. *titha* and *tetha*), in which *-a* is the ending, and not part of the stem. Only in NH times, the verb was taken over into the active, and was brought into the *tarn(a)*-class, showing a stem *tetha*<sup>i</sup> / *teth-*. Once, we find a form that seems to show a stem *tethiē/a*<sup>-zi</sup> (3sg.pret.act. *te-et-ḥi-et*).

From an Indo-European point of view, a stem *tith-* is difficult to explain, especially because of the cluster *-tḥ-*, since we know that *\*Ch<sub>2</sub>V* > Hitt. *CV* (e.g. *\*plth<sub>2</sub>-eno-* > *paltana-*). The only way to explain the cluster *-tḥ-* is by assuming that it was secondarily restored, but this means that we should find a scenario by

which the *-h-* could be restored. If from IE origin, *tith-* could hardly reflect anything else than a reduplicated form *\*Ti-Th<sub>2/3-</sub>*, but because of the reduplication, we would expect that the root *\*-Th<sub>2/3-</sub>* shows zero-grade throughout the paradigm. Moreover, the only possible corresponding full-grade stem would be *\*Ti-Teh<sub>2/3-</sub>*, in which the laryngeal would regularly drop as well. This means that there is no scenario by which the laryngeal could have been analogically restored and that we either have to think of a foreign or of onomatopoetic origin (cf. Eg. *thn* ‘thunder’).

Some scholars have proposed an etymological connection with Lat. *tonāre* ‘to thunder’, Skt. *stan<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to thunder’ < *\*(s)tenh<sub>2-</sub>*, but these are formally unconvincing. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 514) unconvincingly reconstructs *\*te-tṛh<sub>2-</sub>-o-t* > *\*tetah(h)at* > *tethat*, “mit ungewöhnliche Synkope”.

*tittiē/a-*: see *titta<sup>i</sup>-* / *titti-*

*titnu<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to install, to seat, to put’: 1sg.pres.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-mi* (MH/MS, often), *ti-it-ta-nu-um-mi* (KUB 16.31 iv 18 (cf. Van den Hout 1995: 266)), 3sg.pres.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi*, *ti-it-ta-nu-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ti-it[(-nu-um-me-e-ni)]* (KUB 12.50 + KUB 17.27 ii 9) // *[(ti-it-)]nu<sup>i</sup>-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 58.74 obv. 9)), 2pl.pres.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te-ni* (KUB 31.105, 13 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *[ti-i]t-ta-nu-an-zi* (HHT 75 (Bo 4767), 5 (OS?)), *ti-it-ta-nu-an-zi* (MH/MS, often), *ti-it-ta-nu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 29.44+ iii 36, KUB 59.17 obv. 18, KBo 13.161 iii 9), *ti-it-nu-an-zi* (KBo 19.150 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), *ti-it-nu-ua-an-zi* (KUB 55.38 ii 3 (NS)) 1sg.pret.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un* (often), *ti-it-nu-nu-un* (KUB 19.27 obv. 4 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* (MH/MS, often), *ti-it-nu-ut* (KUB 30.10 ii 7 (OH/MS), KBo 32.14 lower edge 70 (MH/MS), KUB 14.1+ rev. 40, 43 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pret.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-um-me-en* (KUB 17.18 iii 5, KUB 60.161 ii 8), 3pl.pret.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-e-er* (HKM 52 rev. 37 (MH/MS), KUB 13.3 iii 34 (OH/NS)), *ti-it-ta-nu-er* (KBo 18.49 rev. 10, KBo 16.10, 6), 3sg.imp.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-ud-du* (Bronzetafel ii 93), 2pl.imp.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te-en* (KUB 23.77 rev. 63 (MH/MS), KUB 23.68 rev. 26 (MH/NS)), *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-tén* (HKM 65 obv. 9 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-an-du*, *ti-it-ta-nu-ua-an-du*; part. *ti-it-ta-nu-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun *ti-it-ta-nu-mar* (KUB 16.31 iv 19); inf.I *ti-it-ta-nu-ma-an-zi* (KBo 5.9 ii 36, KBo 19.66 i 37); impf. *ti-it-ta-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ti-it-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 33 (MH/MS), HKM 47 obv. 11 (MH/MS)).

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-neu-*

Although this verb is predominantly spelled *ti-it-ta-nu-*, we find spellings with *ti-it-nu-* as well (from OH/MS onwards), which point to a phonological interpretation /titnu-/. Semantically, the verb clearly belongs with *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* ‘to place, to put’ and *titta<sup>i</sup> / titti-* ‘to install, to assign’. I therefore reconstruct *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-neu-*. If *titnu-* is a direct derivative of *titta<sup>i</sup> / titti-*, it would show that the suffix *-nu-* in principle uses the unextended stem (in this case without the suffix *\*-oi-*). See at *dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* for further etymology.

**tu-**: see *zīk / tu-*

**-ttu** (3sg.imp.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

Anat. cognates: Pal. **-du** (*a-aš-du* ‘he must be’); CLuw. **-ddu / -du** (e.g. *a-ri-ia-ad-du* ‘he must raise’, *i-du* ‘he must go’); HLuw. **-tu** (e.g. *pi-ia-tu* ‘he must give, pa-tu ‘he must go’); Lyc. **-tu** (*qasttu* ‘he must destroy’, *tuwetu* ‘he must place’).

This ending originally belongs to the *mi*-inflection only and contrasts with the corresponding *hi*-ending *-u* (q.v.). From the late MH period onwards, we see that *-ttu* is used with *hi*-verbs as well, especially when the stem ends in a consonant (e.g. *ak-du* instead of original *a-ku* ‘he must die’, *ha-aš-du* instead of original *ha-a-šu* ‘she must give birth’, *ha-az-za-du* instead of original *ha-a-du* ‘he must become parched’, etc.). The fact that in verbs ending in a vowel the ending is always spelled with geminate *-tt-* or *-dd-* points to a phonological form /-tu/. It is remarkable that in OS texts, the ending is consistently spelled with the sign TU (e.g. *e-eš-tu*), in MH/MS texts we find spellings with TU as well as DU (compare e.g. *e-eš-du* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 20, rev. 14) with *e-eš-tu* (ibid. obv. 29, 31)) and in NH texts we only find spellings with DU.

This ending is also found in the other Anatolian languages. Note that in CLuwian, we find two variants, namely *-ddu* besides lenited *-du*, e.g. in *i-du* ‘he must go’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-tu*. This means that in Hittite we are dealing with generalization of the unlenited variant, as is the case with all verbal endings in Hittite.

Etymologically, the ending /-tu/ can be compared directly with the Sanskrit 3sg.pres.imp.-ending *-tu*. Compare especially cases like Hitt. *e-eš-tu* ~ Pal. *a-aš-du* ~ CLuw. *a-aš-du* ~ HLuw. *á-sa-tu* ~ Skt. *ástu* < PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>és-tu* ‘he must be’ and Hitt. *e-ez-du* ~ Skt. *attu* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>éd-tu* ‘he must eat’.

**=ttu** (encl. pers.pron.) ‘you’: see *=tta / =ttu*

**tuekk-** / **tukk-**, **tuekka-** (c./n.) ‘body, person, self; (pl.) body parts, limbs’ (Sum. NÍ.TE): nom.sg.c. NÍ.TE-*aš* (KBo 1.42 iv 31 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *tu-ek-ka-a(n)=ma-an* (KUB 30.10 obv. 14 (OH/MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *tu<sup>1</sup>-e-kán* (KBo 1.51 rev.11 (NS)), gen.sg. *tu-ug-ga-aš* (KUB 30.10 obv. 9 (OH/MS)), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-e-ek-ki* (KBo 39.8 iii 7 (MH/MS), KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 ii 24, 38, 48 (MH/MS), KBo 5.2 i 8 (MH/NS), KUB 7.5 iv 3 (MH/NS), KUB 17.2+ i 15 (NS)), *tu-ek-ki* (KUB 33.66 ii 16 (OH/MS), KUB 7.5 iv 19 (MH/NS), KUB 30.31 + 32.114 i 19 (NS)), erg.sg. *tu-ek-kán-za* (KBo 6.2 ii 54 (OS)), abl. [*tu-ug<sup>?</sup>-g*]a-az=(š)-*mi-it* (StBoT 25.7 iv 7 (OS)), *tu-ug-ga-az* (KUB 17.10 iii 10 (OH/MS), KBo 26.132, 3 (OH/NS)), *tu-ug-ga-za-a=š-ši-it* (KBo 13.99 iii 13 (NS)), *tu-e-eg-ga-az* (KBo 32.14 ii 1 (MH/MS), KUB 43.34, 11 (NS)), *du-eg-ga-az* (KBo 34.62 rev. 12 (MS)), *tu-eg-ga-az* (KUB 24.9 i 47 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. [*tu-*]e[-e]k-ke-e-eš (KBo 15.10+ i 17 (OH/MS)), *tu-ek-ke-eš* (KUB 34.91 i 8 (NS)), *tu-e-eg-ga-aš* (VBoT 58 i 24 (OH/NS)), acc.pl. *tu-e-ek-ku-uš* (KBo 24.1 i 17 (MH/MS), KUB 14.1+ obv. 82 (MH/MS), KUB 35.61 l.col. 4 (NS)), *tu-ek-ku-uš* (KBo 39.8 iv 18 (MH/MS), KUB 36.55 ii 22 (MH/MS), KUB 7.55 i 7 (NS)), *tu-i-ik-ku-uš* (KUB 7.1 i 40 (OH/NS)), gen.pl. *tu-u-eg-ga-aš* (KUB 15.32 i 1 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *tu-e-eg-ga-aš* (KBo 17.65 iv 44, 47 (MH/MS), KUB 15.34 ii 28 (MH/MS)), *tu-e-eg-ga-(š)=ša-ma-aš* (KBo 32.19 iii 48 (MH/MS)), *tu-e-ek-ka<sub>4</sub>-aš* (KUB 7.53 + 12.58 i 56 (NS)), *tu-eg-ga-aš* (KBo 39.8 i 48, ii 6, 28, 36 (MH/MS)), *tu-ek-ka<sub>4</sub>-aš* (KUB 13.20 i 30 (MH/NS)), *tu-ú-i-ig-ga-aš* (KUB 7.1 i 31 (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. **tukedri-** ‘statue’ (acc.sg. *tukedri*, acc.pl. *tukedris*).

IE cognates: Skt. *tvác-* (f.) ‘skin’.

PIE *\*tuék*, *\*tuék-m*, *\*tuk-ós*

When used in the singular, this word denotes ‘body’, but also ‘self’ (< \*‘one’s body’). When used in the plural, it denotes ‘body parts, limbs’. It sometimes is duplicated by the sumerogram NÍ.TE, e.g. *tu-u-eg-ga-aš* (KUB 15.32 i 1) // NÍ.TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš* (KUB 15.31 i 1). The spelling *tu-IG-* in principle is ambiguous, since the sign IG can be read *ik* as well as *ek*. On the basis of the many spellings *tu-e-IG-*, I assume that *tu-IG-* has to be interpreted /*tuék-*/. A spelling with plene *-i-* is found twice on one NS tablet only (*tu-i-ik-* and *tu-ú-i-ik-*), and therefore can be disregarded.

We find neuter as well as commune forms. In KBo 1.51 rev. 11, Akk. [RA-MA-]NU ‘self’ is glossed by Hitt. *tu-e-kán*, which can only be a neuter nom.-acc.sg. This neuter form may correspond to the occasional neuter adjectives used with NÍ.TE (e.g. NÍ.TE=ŠU *hu-u-ma-an* (KUB 7.16 v 14)) and is supported by the OS attestation of erg.sg. *tuekkanza*, which is only necessary with a neuter

word. On the other hand, acc.sg. *tu-ek-ka-a(n)=m-ma-an* (in an OH/MS text) must be regarded as commune (if it were neuter, we would expect *\*\*tuekkan=mit*). Also in the plural, we find many commune forms (nom.pl.c. *tuekkēš*, acc.pl.c. *tuekkuš*, from OH/MS texts onwards), but also sometimes neuter forms (NÍ.TE *ḫu-u-ma-an-da* (KUB 7.53 + 12.58 iii 2), NÍ.TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ḫu-u-ma-an-da* (KUB 55.66 iv 4)).

The forms that show *tukk-* (gen.sg. *tuggaš* (OH/MS) and abl. *tuggaz* (OH/MS)) indicate that this word originally showed ablaut. Such an ablaut is unexpected in a normal *o*-stem word, however.

The questions regarding gender and ablaut can be solved by looking at the word's etymology. Already since Petersen (1933: 18), it is generally connected with Skt. *tvác-* (f.) 'skin'. In Sanskrit, this word is a root noun (nom.sg. *tvák*, acc.sg. *tvácam*, gen.sg. *tvácás*, dat.-loc.sg. *tváci*), which, together with the ablaut found in Hittite, must reflect the PIE situation. I therefore reconstruct nom.sg. *\*tuék*, acc.sg. *tuék-m*, gen.sg. *\*tuk-ós*. Note that the reconstruction of the nom.-form without *\*-s* is necessary to explain the Hittite confusion about the gender. Because of the absence of the ending *\*-s*, this word was occasionally reinterpreted as neuter in Hittite, with the acc.sg. *\*tuék-m* >> *\*tuék-om* (replacement of acc.sg.-ending *\*-m* by thematic *\*-om*) > *tuekkan* being used as its nom.-acc.sg. (cf. a similar confusion in the case of *keššar* 'hand' < nom.sg.f. *\*g<sup>h</sup>esr* (q.v.)). Later on, on the basis of the commune forms in the plural and of the thematic acc.sg. *tuekkan*, a new commune nominative *tuekkaš* was created (attested as NÍ.TE-*aš*).

A verbal use of the root *\*tuek-*, which must have meant 'physical appearance' or similar, is visible in Hitt. *tukk-<sup>āri</sup>* 'to be visible' (q.v.) as well.

**tuel, tuedaz:** see *zīk / tu-*

**tuhḫae-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) 'to produce smoke': 3sg.pres.act.(?) *túḫ-ḫa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 17.17, 7 (MH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *túḫ-ḫa-a-it* (KUB 33.118, 17 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *túḫ-ḫa-a-it* (KUB 33.118, 12, 14 (fr.) (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *túḫ-ḫa-it-ta* (KUB 7.41 i 10), 3pl.pret.midd. *túḫ-ḫa-an-da-at* (KBo 10.24 iii 12), *túḫ-ḫa-an-t[a-at]* (KBo 10.5 iii 2); impf. [*túḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 33.118, 11 (NS))].

Derivatives: **tuhḫima-** (c.) 'smoke' (acc.sg. *túḫ-ḫi-ma-an* (KUB 33.118, 12, 17, 20)), **tuhḫijatt-** 'smoking out(?)' (instr. *tu-uh-ḫi-ja-at-ti-it* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 i 6 (OS))).

IE cognates: Gr. *θύω* 'to offer', Lat. *suffiō* 'to smoke', ORuss. *duti* 'to blow', TochAB *tu-* 'to light'.

The verb *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae<sup>-zi</sup>* is consistently written with the sign TAḪ, which can be read *túh* as well as *taḫ*. On the basis of *tu-uh<sub>2</sub>-hi-ja-at-ti-it* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 i 6 (OS)), it has been assumed that we should read *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae-*, but it must be remarked that the connection between the words *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae-* and *tuh<sub>h</sub>ijatt-* in principle has not been proven yet. The verb is mainly found in one text, viz.

KUB 33.118

- (8) *nu-u=š-ša-an* UD.KAM<sup>III.A</sup>-uš [*pa-a-er?* ... ]  
 (9) [*nu?* IT]U 1<sup>KAM</sup> *pa-it* ITU 2<sup>KAM</sup> *ti-ja-a*[*t* ITU 3<sup>KAM</sup> ITU 4<sup>KAM</sup>]  
 (10) [ITU] 5<sup>KAM</sup> ITU 6<sup>KAM</sup> ITU 7<sup>KAM</sup> ITU 8<sup>KAM</sup> *ti-ja-*[*at nu* <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta-aš]  
 (11) [*tú*]h<sub>2</sub>-hi-eš-ke-u-ya-an ti-<sub>2</sub>[*a-at*]  


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 (12) [<sup>HUR.S</sup>AG]U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta-aš *túh-ḫa-a-it* [*tú*]h<sub>2</sub>-hi-ma-an- x - x - x[..  
 (13) [URU<sup>2</sup>]-ri <sup>d</sup>*Ku-mar-pi-iš iš-ta-ma*[-aš-t]a <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta[-aš]  
 (14) [*tú*]h<sub>2</sub>-ḫa-a-it *nu-u=š-ši* <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>MEŠ *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ú-ya-an-na*  
 (15) [*p*]a-a-er <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>MEŠ *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš*  
 (16) [*me*]mi-iš-ke-u-ya-an da-a-er <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta [*ku?*]-<sub>2</sub>[*a-at=ya?*]  
 (17) [*tú*]h<sub>2</sub>-ḫa-a-it DUMU-an-na-za=ya=za *túh-ḫi-ma-an* Ú-UL *ša-ak-ti*  
 (18) Ú-UL=an=tá=k-kán <sup>d</sup>*Gul-aš-še-eš gul-aš-še-er* Ú-UL=m=an=[*tá*]=k-k[*án*]  
 (19) [AM]A-aš *še-er ḫa-aš-ta* <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>U<sub>a</sub>-a-ši-it-ta-aš d[*a-p*]i-aš <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>MEŠ[-aš]  
 (20) [EG]IR-*pa me-mi-iš-ke-u-ya-an da-a-iš* DUMU-an-n[*a-z*]a=ya-a=z *túh-ḫi-ma-an*  
 (21) Ú-UL I-DE Ú-UL=an=mu=kán <sup>d</sup>*Gul-aš-še-eš gul-aš-še-er*  
 (22) Ú-UL=m=a-an=mu-u=š-ša-an AMA=IA *še-er ḫa-a-aš-ta*

“The days [went by ...]. The first month went by and the second month set in. The third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the seventh month and the eighth month s[et in and Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta] began to *tuh<sub>h</sub>eške/a-*. Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae*-ed. Kumarbi heard the *tuh<sub>h</sub>ima-* in the [city?]. Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae*-ed, and all the mountains went to see. All the mountains began to say to Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta: “Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta, [w]h[y] did you *tuh<sub>h</sub>ae-*? From your childhood onwards you did not know *tuh<sub>h</sub>ima-*. The Fate-goddesses did not decree it for you and your mother did not give birth to it for you”. And Mount U<sub>2</sub>šitta began to reply to all the mountains: “From my childhood onwards I did not know it. The Fate-goddesses did not decree it for me, and my mother did not give birth to it for me””.





‘You must go [...] and speak to the man of Ҳаšši: “I will go [...], come to meet me. But if you will not come, I will keep on [...]ing you like a bear (acc.) and you will die of *tuhhijatt-*”’.

The idea of this comparison is that if the man of Ҳаšši does not come to the speaker, but stays inside his city, the speaker will perform an action on him that is also used for bears that do not come out of their holes but stay inside. In my view, the verb in the lacuna therefore probably meant something like ‘to smoke out’. For *tuhhijatt-*, this means that it probably denotes something related to this smoking out: ‘suffocation because of smoke’, ‘smoke-intoxication’ or perhaps more simply ‘the act of smoking out’. I therefore would propose to translate: ‘But if you will not come, I will keep on [smoking] you [out] like a bear and you will die of (this) smoking out’.

Another interesting context is:

KUB 7.41 i

(9) *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i ták-na-a-aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-i *ki-i u[t<sup>2</sup>-tar<sup>2</sup> ...]*

(10) *da-aš-ke-u-ya-ni ki-i É-er ku-ya-at túh-ḥa-it-t[a ...]*

(11) *ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši ku-ya-at ša-ku-eš-ke-ez-[zi]*

‘He said thus: “O Sun-goddess of the Earth, we keep taking [...] this m[atter<sup>2</sup>].

Why does this house *tuhhae-*? Why does it(?) continually look up to heaven?”’.

CHD Š: 55 translates *tuhhaitt[a]* as ‘gasps’, but I do not see any positive clues for it. A translation ‘smokes’ is equally possible.

So, all in all, I am not satisfied with the translations ‘to cry’ or ‘to cough, to be breathless’, but would rather interpret *tuhhae-* as ‘to smoke’. This makes the etymological connection with PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to smoke’, which was uttered already by Oettinger (1979a: 373) with the assumption that the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* originally meant “hauchen”, semantically much more understandable.

Since *tuhhae-*<sup>zi</sup> belongs to the *ḥatrae*-class, we have to derive it from a noun *\*tuhha-*, which must go back to an *o*-stem noun *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-o-* (a verbal derivative of a noun *\*d<sup>h</sup>(é)uh<sub>2</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>-* (thus in Oettinger (l.c.), followed by Rieken 1999a: 108) should have yielded a *tāje/a*-class verb).

The noun *tuhhima-* shows the suffix *-ima-* (so *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-i-mo-*), on which see Oettinger 2001. Although tempting, it cannot be directly equated with PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-mo-* in Skt. *dhūmá-*, Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dūmai*, etc. ‘smoke’. For another descendant of the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-*, see *antuḥahḥaš-* / *antuḥš-*.

**tuhhara-** (c.) ‘?’: Luw. nom.pl. *túh-ḥa-ra-an-zi*, Luw. acc.pl. *túh-ḥa-ra-an-za*.  
PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-ero-*?

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This noun occurs a few times only and is clearly Luwian, as we can see by its Luwian endings. It is spelled with the sign TAḤ, which can be read *taḥ* as well as *túh*. Tradition has it to cite *taḥhara-*, but that seems to be an arbitrary choice. The contexts in which it occurs are the following:

KUB 35.143 ii

(10) [*n=a-aš-t*]a *an-da túh-ḥa-r*[(*a-an-zi*)]

(11) [(*ma-al-u*)]a-*ra-an-zi* [(*ú-ra*)-*an-ta*]

//

KUB 35.145 ii

(2) [*n=a-aš-t*(a *an-da túh-ḥa-r*)]a-*an-zi ma-al-ua-ra-an-zi ú-ra*[-*an-ta*]

‘The *t*-s and *m*-s are burning’;

KUB 17.15 ii

(8) [*n=a-aš-ta an-d*]a *túh-ḥa-ra-an-zi*

(9) [(*ma-al-ua-ra-an-z*)]i *ki-iš-ta-nu-nu-un*

‘I have extinguished the *t*-s and *m*-s’.

Since the *ta/uhhara*-’s are clearly things that are being burned, we may ask ourselves whether there could be a connection with PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to smoke’. If so, then we should read *tuhhara-*. See also *tuhhae<sup>-zi</sup>*.

**tuhš<sup>-a(ri)</sup>** (IIIc > Ib1, IIa1γ) ‘(trans.) to cut off, to separate; (intr.) to be cut off, to be separated’: 3sg.pres.midd. *tu-uh-ša* (KBo 25.73 l.col. 7 (OS), KBo 30.158, 8 (OH?/MS), KBo 30.174, 20 (NS)), *túh-ša* (KBo 30.29, 4 (OS)), *túh-uh-ša* (KBo 25.36 ii 7 (OS), KBo 30.77 iii 15 (OH/NS), KUB 20.59 i 17 (OH/NS), KUB 20.99 ii 3 (OH/NS), VSNF 12.12 i 7 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 ii 22, 31 (NS), KBo 39.86 v 13 (NS), KUB 59.27 ii 7 (NS)), *tu-uh-ša-ri* (KUB 29.29 obv. 4, 5 (OS)), *túh-ša-ri* (VSNF 12.10 iv 21 (OH/MS)), *túh-uh-ša-ri* (KBo 39.8 ii 10 (MH/MS)), *túh-ša-a-ri* (KUB 55.28 iii 10 (fr.), 11 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *tu-uh-ša-an-ta* (KBo 6.3 ii 10 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *túh-ḥu-uš-ta-at* (KBo 39.8 i 41 (MH/MS)), *túh-ḥu-uš-ta-ti* (KBo 20.82 i 14 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *túh-uh-ša-ru* (KBo 39.8 ii 13 (MH/MS)), *túh-ša-ru* (Bo 3097 obv. 6 (NS)); 3sg.pres.act. *túh-*

*uḥ-ḥu-uš-zi* (KUB 32.113 ii 15 (OH/MS)), *túḥ-ḥu-uš-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 29, 36, 38 (NH)), *túḥ-ša-i* (KUB 15.42 iii 18, 31 (NS)), *túḥ-ḥu-ša-a-i* (KUB 28.105 i 7 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *túḥ-ša-an-zi* (KUB 17.10 i 39 (OH/MS), KBo 6.5 iii 5 (OH/NS), KBo 6.3 iii 13 (OH/NS)), *túḥ-uḥ-ša-an-z[i]* (KBo 13.155, 7 (NS)), *túḥ-ḥu-iš-ša[-an-zi]* (KBo 6.5 iii 9 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *túḥ-še-it* (KBo 18.151 rev. 8 (OH/MS)), 1pl.pret.act. *túḥ-šu-me-en* (KBo 15.10 ii 26 (OH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *túḥ-ša-at-[én]* (HKM 34, 9 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *túḥ-uḥ-ša-an-du* (KBo 39.8 i 41 (MH/MS)), *túḥ-ša-an-du* (HKM 31 obv. 11 (MH/MS)); part. *túḥ-ḥu-uš-ša-an-te-eš* (KUB 8.1 iii 2 (OH/NS)), *túḥ-ša-an-t-* (KBo 15.10 ii 27, iii 9, 19 (fr.) (OH/MS)), *túḥ-uḥ-ša-an-t-* (KBo 39.8 i 48 (MH/MS), KBo 9.114, 12 (MS)); verb.noun. gen.sg. *túḥ-šu-u-ya-aš* (KUB 38.12 i 23 (NS)); inf.I *túḥ-ḥu-šu-an-zi* (KBo 6.2 iii 21 (OS)), *[tú]ḥ-šu-ya-an-zi* (HKM 37 obv. 14 (MH/MS)), *túḥ-šu-u-ya-an-zi* (KBo 6.3 iii 24 (OH/NS)), *túḥ-šu-ya-a[n-zi]* (KBo 6.6 i 30 (OH/NS)); inf.II *túḥ-ša-an-na* (KUB 9.28 ii 3 (MH/NS)); impf. *[túḥ]-uḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 44.8 + 58.22 i 15 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: *tuhšanna<sup>i</sup>* / *tuhšanni-* (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *túḥ-ša-an-na-i* (KBo 15.10 ii 24, KUB 29.24, 5), *túḥ-ša-an-na[-a]-i* (KBo 15.10 iii 10), 3pl.imp.act. *túḥ-ša-an-ni-ja-an-du* (KBo 20.73 iv 11), *[tú]ḥ-ša-an-ni-an-du* (KUB 35.146 iii 11); 3sg.pret.midd. *túḥ-uḥ-ša-an-na-at-ta* (KBo 9.114 iii 12)).

See Neu 1968: 175f. for an overview of attestations and a semantic treatment. Note that he does not distinguish between *tuhš<sup>a(ni)</sup>* ‘to cut, to separate’ and *tuhḥuš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to end’ (q.v.).

The verb is spelled in quite a few different ways, of which we find the variants *tu-uḥ-š<sup>o</sup>*, *túḥ-š<sup>o</sup>*, *túḥ-uḥ-š<sup>o</sup>* and *túḥ-ḥu-š<sup>o</sup>* in OS texts already, to which *túḥ-ḥu-uš-* and even *túḥ-uḥ-ḥu-uš-* can be added from MS texts. The forms with *túḥ-uḥ-š<sup>o</sup>* are often transliterated *túḥ<sup>uh</sup>-š<sup>o</sup>* as if the sign UḤ does not have a function here. In my view, the sign UḤ just indicates that we are dealing with a geminate *-ḥḥ-*, in the same way as it is expressed in the spelling *túḥ-ḥu-uš-*. The attestation of NS *túḥ-ḥu-iš-* indicates that we probably are dealing with a stem /tuH<sup>w</sup>s-/ that in NH times occasionally was realized as [tuH<sup>w</sup>is-].

Originally, this verb probably was middle only (in contrast to the homophonic *tuhḥuš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to end’), but from MH times onwards it was taken over into the active as well.

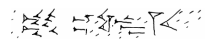
Despite the fact that I have treated *tuhḥuš<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to end’ under a separate lemma, it is clear that both verbs must derive from a same origin (for the semantics compare ModEng. *cut out* ‘to stop’).

Sturtevant (1928c: 161) compared Gr. δέω, Hom. δεύω ‘to lack, to miss’, but this is semantically as well as formally improbable (\**deuh<sub>2</sub>s-* would have given Gr. \*\*δε(φ)άω). If this verb is of IE origin, it would reflect \**Teuh<sub>2</sub>s-* (but note that a final cluster *-uh<sub>2</sub>s-* is against PIE root constraints, so perhaps an *s*-extension \**Teuh<sub>2</sub>s-*?) or \**Tueh<sub>2</sub>s-* (with generalization of zero-grade). Unfortunately, I know of no convincing cognates.

The inner-Hittite connection with *tuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ueššar* ‘sponge(?)’ (q.v.) is based on the many contexts where we find *tuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ueššar tuhš-* ‘to cut the sponge’, but this probably is coincidental: semantically, a connection between ‘to cut, to separate’ and ‘sponge’ is difficult to explain.

*tuhš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to end’: see *tuh<sub>2</sub>huš-<sup>zi</sup>*

### *tuhšalau*

The word *túh-ša-la-u* (HKM 34 obv. 9) cited by Alp (1991: 180, 320: ‘Ernte(?)’) and Tischler (HEG T: 414), does not exist: we should rather read  as *túh-ša-at-én* ‘you must cut off’ (from *tuhš-<sup>a(n)</sup>* (q.v.)).

*tuh<sub>2</sub>tuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to brandish(?)’: 3pl.pres.act. *túh-túh-ḫi-ia-an-zi* (KUB 30.36 iii 14).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>euH<sub>2</sub>-* ??

The verb is hapax in KUB 30.36 iii (13) <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL=*ia-a=š-ma-aš* <sup>KUŠ</sup>*A-RI-TUM* (14) *EGIR-an túh-túh-ḫi-ia-an-zi nu te-ez-zi i-it-tén i-it-tén Uḫ<sub>7</sub>-uš UN<sup>MES</sup>-uš* ‘They *t.* against them the weapon behind a shield, and he says “Go, go, you bewitched people!”’. Note that in principle this form can be read *tah-tah-ḫi-ia-an-zi* as well. Tischler HEG T: 414 translates “schwingen(?)”, but this is just a possibility. Perhaps the hapax *túh-túh-ḫi-mi-eš* (or *tah-tah-ḫi-mi-eš*) in KBo 27.32, 3 (see also at *tuh<sub>2</sub>hae-<sup>zi</sup>*), of which the meaning is unclear, belongs to this verb. If “schwingen” is a correct translation, we could think of a connection with PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>euH-* “rasch hin- und herbewegen, schütteln” (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>: Skt. *dhav<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to shake’, ON *dýja* ‘to shake’, Gr. θυνέω ‘to storm, to move fast’). The *-ḫh-* in Hittite then would point to \**h<sub>2</sub>: \*d<sup>h</sup>euH<sub>2</sub>-*.

*tuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ueššar / tuh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>uešn-* (n.) ‘sponge(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *túh-ḫu-eš-šar* (OS), *túh-ḫu-e-eš-šar*, *túh-ḫu-i-šar* (OS), *túh-ḫu-u-e-eš-šar*, *túh-ḫu-u-eš-šar*, abl. *túh-ḫu-iš-na-az*, instr. *túh-ḫu-eš-ni-it*, *túh-ḫu-i-iš-ni-it* (1x).

This word is always spelled with the sign TAḪ, which can be read *túh* as well as *taḫ* (so *taḫḫueššar* is equally possible). Tradition has it to cite this word as *tuhḫueššar*, however, probably on the basis of the obsolete etymological connection with *tuhš-* (e.g. Kronasser 1966: 104, who wrongly translated *tuhš-* as “sich kultisch reinigen”). The exact meaning of *tuhḫueššar* is not fully clear. On the basis of a formal similarity with *tuhḫuuai-* / *tuhḫui-* ‘smoke’, it is often translated ‘incense’ (e.g. CHD P: 92), but this is not self-evident from the contexts in which this word occurs:

KUB 20.99 ii

- (6) <sup>LÚ</sup>MUḪALDIM *túh-ḫu-i-iš-ni-it* <sup>NA</sup>*ḫu-ṽa-ši-ja* EGIR-*pa*  
 (7) *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi*

‘The cook cleans at the *ḫuuāši*-stone with a *t.*’;

KUB 41.40 i

- (18) [UGULA <sup>L</sup>] <sup>Ú.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM GAL-*it ṽa-a-tar ḫar-z[i]*  
 (19) [*t*] *a A-NA QA-TI LUGAL ṽa-a-tar pa-ra-a*  
 (20) [*t*] *úh-ḫu-eš-ni-it 3=ŠU la-ḫu-u-ṽa-a-i*

‘The Head of the cooks holds water in a cup, and he pours water over the hand of the king three times with a *t.*’ (note that Tischler HEG T: 415 explains this sentence thus: “der König hält also *t.* in der Hand, und der Chefkoch gießt ihm Wasser darüber”);

KUB 20.59 i

- (19) UGULA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM *dan-na-ra-an-da-an* <sup>DUG</sup>GAL  
 (12) *ḫar=zi nu-u=š-ša-an ṽa-a-tar*  
 (13) *la-a-ḫu-u-ṽa-an an-da=ma=kán*  
 (14) *túh-ḫu-eš-šar ki-it-ta*

‘The Head of the cooks holds an empty cup. Water is poured into it, and a *t.* is placed in it’;

KBo 4.13 ii

- (7) UGULA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM *túh-ḫu-eš-šar LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi*  
 LUGAL-*uš=kán túh-uḫ-ša*

‘The Head of the cooks holds the *t*. out in front of the king. The king cuts off (from it)’;

VSNF 12.10 iv

- (16) [GAL L<sub>1</sub><sup>Ú.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM *iš-ta-na-ni pa-ra-a túḫ-ḫu-eš-ni-it*  
 (17) [š]u-up-pí-ja-aḫ-ḫi GAL L<sub>1</sub><sup>Ú.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM *túḫ-ḫu-i-šar*  
 (18) [A-N]A LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi LUGAL-uš=kán  
 (19) [túḫ-]ša-ri nu GAL L<sub>1</sub>[<sup>Ú?</sup>]MEŠMUḪALDIM<sup>1</sup> x - x - x LUG[AL-]i=m[a]<sup>1</sup>  
*pa-ra-a*  
 (20) [e-]ep-zi nu-u=š-ša-an túḫ-ḫu-iš-na-az<sup>1</sup>  
 (21) [ku]-it túḫ-ša-ri n=a-at x - x kat-ta da-a-i

‘The Head of the cooks cleans in front of the altar with a *t*. The Head of the cooks holds the *t*. out in front of the king. The king cuts (it). The Head of the cooks [...] and holds (it) out in front of the king. And he lays down what he cuts off of the *t*.’;

KUB 24.14 i

- (5) nu túḫ-ḫu-e-eš-šar ŠA UZ<sub>6</sub> pa-an-kur<sup>NA</sup>IM.BABBAR  
 (6) kal-ūi<sub>5</sub>-iš-na-an<sup>SAR</sup> ta-pal-ku-uš-ta-na-an<sup>SAR</sup>  
 (7) ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-ši-it-ti-in<sup>SAR</sup> e-u-ua-an<sup>GIŠ</sup> ḫa-aš-du-e-er  
 (8) ku-e-el im-ma GIŠ-ru-ua-aš ḫa-aḫ-ḫal-la-aš a-li-il  
 (9) nu ki-i ḫu-u-ma-an A-NA ZÍD.DA ŠE iš-ni me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da  
*im-mi-ia-mi*

‘And (I take) *tuhḫueššar*, the udder of a nanny goat, gypsum, *kalūišna*-herb, *tapalkuštana*-herb, *ḫahḫašitti*-herb, barley, brush-wood, (and) the blossom of whatever tree or bush, and all this I mix together with the barley meal dough’.

On the basis of these contexts, we see that *tuhḫueššar* is used for cleaning, is especially associated with cooks, can be cut, can be used to pour water with and is used in purification substances. I therefore want to suggest that it denotes a sponge. Etymologically, a connection with *tuhḫuūai*- ‘smoke’ is possible if we assume that sponges were named after the fact that they seem to contain air (note that the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-* from which *tuhḫuūai*- is derived can mean both ‘smoke’ and ‘breath’).

***tuhḫui***:- see *tuhḫuūai*- / *tuhḫui*-

*tuhhuš-zi* (Ib1) ‘to end’: 3sg.pres.act. *túh-ḥu-uš-zi* (KBo 20.39 l.col. 16 (OS), KBo 15.33 iii 15, KUB 41.9 rev. 5), 3sg.pret.act. *túh-ḥu-uš-ta* (KBo 17.11+ iv 35 (OS), KBo 24.5 ii 8, KBo 20.72+ ii 6, iii 15, KBo 7.66 ii 10, KBo 30.25 i 24, KBo 30.57 rev. 18, KBo 30.109 rev. 1, KUB 59.45, 10, VSNF 12.28 iv 4, KBo 17.31, 7, KBo 20.69 + 25.142 obv.<sup>?</sup> 5, KUB 55.42, 9 ), *túh-ḥu-u-uš-ta* (KUB 41.26 + 20.29 iv 25), *túh-ḥu-iš-ta* (KBo 14.101, 3, KBo 29.70 i 23, KBo 26.156 obv. 2 (fr.)), *túh-ḥu-e-eš-ta* (KUB 57.79 iv 12),

Often, this verb is equated with *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to cut, to separate’ (e.g. Neu 1968: 175, Tischler HEG T: 411f.) and the form *túh-ḥu-uš-ta* ‘has ended’ is then interpreted as 3sg.pres. of the middle. The fact that there is a consistent semantic difference between *túh-ḥu-uš-ta* ‘has ended’ and 3sg.pres.midd. *tu-uḥ-ša*, *túh-ša*, *túh-uḥ-ša* ‘he cuts’ asks for a different treatment, however. Oettinger (1979a: 527) therefore distinguishes two verbs, namely *tuhš-<sup>la</sup>* ‘zu Ende sein, fertig werden’ and *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘abschneiden, trennen’, both middle. In my view, we should rather interpret *tuhhušta* as 3sg. preterite of an active verb, however. My assumption is based on the corresponding present form, 3sg.pres.act. *tuhhušzi* ‘ends’ as found in the following contexts:

KBo 15.33 iii

(13) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM=*m=a-aš iš-ta-na-a-ni ḥu-kán-zi* ...

(14) ... *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma*

(15) ŠA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> *uk-tu-u-ri ŠA ḪA.LA ḥu-ke-eš-šar túh-ḥu-uš-zi*

(16) *nu=z=(š)a-an ma-a-an* <sup>LÚ</sup>EN É<sup>TIM</sup> *ku-it-ki A-NA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ma-al-ta-an*

(17) *ḥar-zi ma-a-an Ú-NU-TUM ku-it-ki ma-a-an GU<sub>4</sub> UDU*

(18) *nu-u=š-ša-an Ú-NU-UT I-NA NINDA.ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ti-an-zi*

‘The cooks butcher on the altar. (...) When the god’s regular sacrifice of the portion ends, and if the owner of the house has vowed something to the god, be it some implement or an ox or sheep, they place the implement on the soldier’s bread’;

KUB 41.9 rev.

(5) [ ... ] *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma ḥu-ke-eš-šar túh-ḥu-uš-z[i ... ]*

‘If the sacrifice ends ...’.

Moreover, the interpretation of *tuhhušta* as an active form explains the absence of *\*\*tuhhuštari*.



On the basis of the attestations *tuhhuišta* and *tuhhuēšta*, both denoting [tuH<sup>w</sup>ista], I assume that we phonologically have to interpret this verb as /tuH<sup>w</sup>s-/. Despite the fact that I have treated *tuhhuš-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to end’ and *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to cut off, to separate’ separately, I do believe that it is likely that they go back to the same origin (cf. ModEng. *cut out* ‘to stop’). As I have stated under *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, I have not been able to find good IE comparanda.

*tuhhuš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to cut off, to separate’: see *tuhš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*

*tuhušija-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to await, to wait and see’: 3sg.pret.act. *du-hu-ši-ja-it* (KBo 5.8 iii 17), *tu-hu-ši-ja-i[t]* (KBo 16.8 iii 21, KBo 8.34, 3), *tu-hu-uš-ši-ja-it* (KBo 2.5 i 2), *tu-u-hu-ši-ja-it* (KUB 19.13 i 30), 1pl.pres.act. *tu-u-hu-ši-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 19.13 i 16).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *tahušija-* ‘to keep silent/quiet(?)’ (1sg.pret.act. *ta-hu-ši-ja-aḥ-ḥa*, *da-hu-ši-ja-aḥ-ḥa*, *da-hu-u-ši-ja-a-aḥ-ḥa*).

This verb is consistently spelled with single *-ḥ-* (e.g. Tischler’s citing (HEG T: 421) as “*tuhhusiya-*” is incorrect). Its CLuwian counterpart, *tahušija-* (which is attested in Hittite texts but must be Luwian because of the ending *-ḥḥa* and the use of gloss wedges), is spelled with *-a-*. The alteration Hitt. *tuhuš-* vs. CLuw. *tahuš-* may indicate that the first vowel is anaptyctic and that we are dealing with phonological /thusia-/.

It is difficult to etymologize this verb. It is generally acknowledged that laryngeals are lost after stops (e.g. *paltana-* < \**plth<sub>2</sub>eno-*, 2sg.pret. *-tta* < \**-th<sub>2</sub>e*), which means that a preform \**th<sub>2</sub>u-* should yield Hitt. *tu-*. Oettinger’s connection (1979a: 326) with Skt. *tīṣṇīm* ‘quietly’, which must reflect \**tuHs-*, implies that a preform \**tuh<sub>2</sub>s-* yielded PANat. \**tuHs-*, which was metathesized to \**tHus-* after the period that \**th<sub>2</sub>V* > *tV*. All in all, I would remain sceptical about this etymology.

*tuhhuuḫai-* / *tuhhui-* (c.) ‘smoke’: nom.sg. *túh-ḫu-iš* (KUB 17.10 iv 21 (OH/MS), KUB 33.36 ii 5 (OH/MS)), *túh-ḫu-u-ḫa-iš* (KUB 5.24 ii 16 (NS)), acc.sg. *túh-ḫu-in* (KBo 8.35 iii 6 (MH/MS)), *túh-ḫu-i-in* (KBo 12.89 iii 8, 17 (MS)), *túh-ḫu-ḫa-in* (KBo 10.2 iii 40 (OH/NS)), *túh-ḫu-u-ḫa-in* (KUB 24.5+ obv. 14 (NS)), instr.? *túh-ḫu-i[t]* (KUB 2.4 ii 4 (OH/NS)).

PIE \**d<sup>h</sup>uéh<sub>2</sub>-u-ōi-s*, \**d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-u-ó-i-m*, \**d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-u-i-ós*

The meaning ‘smoke’ is assured by the fact that in the bilingue KBo 10.1 / KBo 10.2, *túh-ḫu-ua-in* (KBo 10.2 iii 40) corresponds to Akk. *qú-ut-ra* ‘smoke’ (KBo 10.1 rev. 23). All forms are written with the TAḫ-sign, which can be read *taḫ* as well as *túḫ*: so a reading *tahḫuuai-* as well as *tuhḫuuai-* is possible. Traditionally, this word is transcribed *tuhḫuuai-*.

Within the paradigm, we find forms that show a stem *tuhḫui-* as well as *tuhḫuuai-*. The oldest attestations (MS) all show *tuhḫui-*, whereas *tuhḫuuai-* is found in NS texts only (but once in an OH/NS-text). For instance, Tischler (HEG T: 418) therefore concludes that *tuhḫui-* is the original form. Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain the forms with *tuhḫuuai-* then: diphthong-stems are rare and unproductive. I therefore think that it is better to regard this word as an original diphthong-stem *tuhḫuuai-* / *tuhḫui-* that must go back to the structure *\*CéC-ōi-s*, *\*CC-ói-m*, *\*CC-i-ós* (cf. Weitenberg 1979).

Already since Petersen (1937: 210f.), this word is generally connected with the PIE root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to produce smoke, to breath’. Since all other IE languages only show reflexes of this root in the zero-grade, the only evidence for a full-grade form is found in Hitt. *antuḫahšaš-* ‘human being’ if this indeed reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>n-d<sup>h</sup>ueh<sub>2</sub>-os-* ‘having breath inside’. This means that for *tuhḫuuai-* / *tuhḫui-* we have to assume a paradigm *\*d<sup>h</sup>uéh<sub>2</sub>-u-ōi-s*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-u-ói-m*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-u-i-ós*, in which the stems *tuhḫuuai-* and *tuhḫui-* were generalized on the basis of the oblique cases. The fact that between the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>2</sub>-* and the suffix *-oi-* another suffix, *-u-*, is found can be compared to e.g. *šāklāi-* < *\*séh<sub>2</sub>k-l-ōi-*.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*dujanalli-* (c.) ‘second in rank’: nom.sg. *du-ia-na-al-li-iš* (IBoT 1.36 i 39), dat.-loc.sg. *du-ia-na-al-li* (IBoT 1.36 i 38).

IE cognates: Skt. *dvayá-* ‘twofold, in pairs’, Gr. *δοιοί* ‘both, two’, *δοιός* ‘double’, OCS *dvъojb* ‘twofold’, Lith. *dvejì* ‘two’, *dvėja* ‘of two kinds’.

PIE *\*dui-jo-no-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

IBoT 1.36 i

(36) ... *a-pa-a-š=a pa-ra-a da-me-ta-ni*

(37) <sup>LÚ</sup>*ME-ŠE-DI te-ez-zi a-pa-š=a pa-ra-a* <sup>LÚ</sup>*tar-ri-ia-na-al-li te-ez-zi*

(38) <sup>LÚ</sup>*tar-ri-ia-na-al-li-iš=ma* <sup>LÚ</sup>*du-ia-na-al-li te-ez-zi*

(39) <sup>LÚ</sup>*du-ia-na-al-li-iš=ma A-NA UGULA 10 M[E]-Š[E-D]I te-ez-zi*

‘He passes it on to the other guard. That one passes it on to the one of third rank, the one of third rank passes it on to the one of second rank, and the one of second rank tells it to the Chief of ten Guards’,

on the basis of which *dujanalli-* can be determined as ‘the one of second rank’. Because *tarrijanalli-* ‘third of rank’ must be a Luwian form (in Hittite, we would expect *\*\*teriā-*) from *\*tri-jo-no-* + *-alli-*, it is likely that *dujanalli-* is Luwian, too, and reflects *\*dui-jo-no-* + *-alli-* (note that a reconstruction *\*duio-* is unlikely as we would expect that here intervocalic *\*-j-* would disappear). See *tān* for other descendants of PIE *\*du(o)i-* ‘two’.

**tuk** : see *zīk* / *tu-*

**tukk-<sup>ārī</sup>** (III<sup>f</sup>) ‘to be visible, to be seen; to be important’: 3sg.pres.midd. *du-ug-ga-a-ri* (KUB 23.72+ ii 15 (MH/MS)), *du-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ri* (KUB 55.43 i 4, 9, iii 1 (MH/MS), KUB 29.1 ii 10 (OH/NS), KUB 59.43 i 3 (NS)), *tu-ug-ga-a-ri* (KBo 17.65 obv. 22 (2x) (MS)), *tu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ri* (KBo 21.74 iii 5 (NS), KBo 22.230, 7 (NS), KBo 40.369, 4 (NS), KUB 8.38 iii 6, 19 (NS)), *du-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri* (KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 ii 45 (MH/MS), KBo 4.9 i 10 (NS), KUB 9.32 i 7 (NS), KBo 4.1+ rev. 11, 30 (NH)), *du-ug-ga-ri* (KUB 17.28 iii 25 (MH/NS)), *tu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri* (KBo 30.186 rev. 19 (NS), KUB 55.48 i 13 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *du-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-an-da-ri* (KBo 21.76, 14 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *du-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ti* (KUB 41.18 ii 8 (MS?)), *tu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-at* (KBo 4.12 obv. 18 (NH)), *tu-ug-ga-at* (KBo 5.3 ii 25 (NS)).

Derivatives: **tukkēš<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become important(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *du-uk-ki-iš-zi* (KUB 5.6 ii 61), *tu-uk-ki-iš-zi* (KUB 8.53 ii 2 // KBo 10.47c iv 28)).

IE cognates: Skt. *tvác-* ‘skin’, Hitt. *tuekk-* / *tukk-*.

PIE *\*tuk-ó-ri*

This verb is consistently spelled with geminate *-kk-* and *-gg-*, never with single *-k-*. It is therefore unclear to me why e.g. Tischler (HEG T: 426) cites this verb as *dug(g)-*. It denotes ‘to be visible’, but also ‘to be important’, especially in the syntagm *ÜL tukkāri* ‘it is not important’. It is quite likely that this latter meaning developed out of the former (\*‘it is not visible’ > ‘it does not have to be taken into account’).

A much cited etymology is the one given by Mudge (1931: 253) (followed by e.g. Oettinger 1976b: 113), who connected the verb with *\*d<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to be of use’. Apart from the fact that the semantic connection is rather weak, the formal side is difficult as well: *\*g<sup>h</sup>* cannot explain the geminate *-kk-* in Hittite (note that

Oettinger assumes that *-kk-* was secondarily taken over from “rhyming” *uakkāri* ‘to be lacking’; perhaps this etymological connection is the reason for Tischler to cite *dug(g)-*, suggesting that the geminate is not to be taken seriously). Schindler (1972: 36f.) connects *tukk-* with Hitt. *tuekk(a)- / tukk-* ‘body’ (q.v.) and Skt. *tvác-* ‘skin’, however, and postulates a root *\*tuek-* ‘to be visible’. Formally as well as semantically this etymology is preferable (note that Oettinger’s rejection (1976b: 144<sup>17</sup>) of this etymology on the basis of the presumption that etymological *\*tu-* cannot be spelled with the sign *du-* in Hittite and that therefore a connection between *du-uk-ka-a-ri* and *tu-ek-ka-* is impossible, is falsified by the attestation abl. *du-eg-ga-az* ‘body’ (KBo 34.62 rev. 12)). We therefore have to reconstruct *tukkāri* as *\*tuk-ó +ri*.

The verbal forms *tukkišzi* and *dukkišzi* are given here as belonging to a verb *tukkēšš-zi* (following Tischler l.c.), but it must be admitted that the meaning of these forms is not quite clear from the contexts.

**tulija-** (c.) ‘gathering, assembly’: acc.sg. *tu-li-ja-an* (KBo 3.1 ii 34, 51), gen.sg. *tu-li-ja-aš* (KUB 9.34 i 33, iv 12, KUB 6.45 iii 11, KUB 6.46 iii 50, KUB 21.19 iv 10), *tu-li-ja[-aš]* (KUB 21.19 iv 25), *tu-u-li-ja-aš* (KUB 33.110, 5), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-li-ja* (KBo 6.3 iii 21, KBo 4.10 obv. 50, KUB 6.45 iii 12, KUB 23.77a obv. 11, KBo 8.35 ii 9, KBo 5.4 rev. 55, KUB 21.1 iv 39, KUB 21.4 iv 9, Bronzetafel iii 79, KUB 21.19 iv 18, 19, KUB 4.1 ii 2, KUB 17.30 iii<sup>2</sup> 4), *tu-u-li-ja* (KUB 6.46 iii 51), *tu-ú-li-ja* (KUB 21.1 iv 39), *tu-ú-li-ja* (KUB 21.5 iv 45), dat.-loc.pl. *tu-li-ja-aš* (KBo 22.1, 16 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **tūlijašša/i-** (adj.) ‘belonging to the assembly’ (nom.sg.c. *tu-li-ja-aš-ši-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *tu-ú-li-i-ja-aš-ša-an*, *tu-ú-li-ja-aš-ša-an*, abl.-instr. *tu-ú-l[i-ja-aš-ša]-a-ti*).

PIE *\*tuH-l-io-* ?

This word is usually spelled without a plene vowel, although we twice find a plene spelling with the sign U and twice a plene spelling with the sign Ú. In CLuwian, this word is almost always spelled with Ú, however, which may indicate that the Hittite spellings with Ú are to be regarded as Luwianisms. For Hittite, this would mean that we should assume that *tu-u-li-ja-* is the correct spelling, and that we are dealing with /tolia-/. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 80) connected this word with the PIE root *\*teuH-* ‘to swell’ that shows an *l*-extension in e.g. Lith. *tūlas* ‘many’, *tūlė* ‘mass’, OPr. *tūlan* ‘many’. If this connection is justified (formally as well as semantically it is possible), then we should reconstruct *\*tuH-l-io-*.

**-ttuma:** (2pl.pres.midd.-ending): see *-ttuma(ri)*

<sup>É</sup>**tūmantijatt-** (c.) a kind of building, ‘ear-building(?)’: dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ja-at-ti* (KUB 17.24 ii 11).

This word is hapax, and its identification as a building can be made on the basis of the use of the determinative <sup>É</sup> only: it is unclear exactly what kind of building is meant. Because of the formal similarity, one is inclined to compare it with CLuw. *tum(m)ant-* ‘ear’, for which see at <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ištāman-* / *ištamin-* ‘ear’.

**-ttuma(ri), -ttumat(i)** (2pl.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-(d)duḡar(i)** (2pl.midd.pres.-ending): *az-tu-u-ḡa-ri*, *ma-az-za-al-la-ša-du-ḡa-ri*, *da-a-ad-du-ḡa-ar*.

In the middle paradigm we find the following endings of the 2pl.: *-ttuma* and *-ttumari* for the present and *-ttumati* and *-ttumat* for the preterite/imperative. When attached to a stem ending in a vowel, these endings are usually spelled with geminate *-tt-* or *-dd-*: *ḡannaddumati*, *ḡuḡadduma*, *iḡadduma*, *iḡaddumat*, *kiddumati*, *šarradduma*, *paiškettuma*, *zahḡijadduma*, *zahḡijaddumat*. The few cases with single *-t-* or *-d-* (*e-eš-ke-du-ma-at* (KUB 12.63 obv. 5), *ḡa-an-na-d[u-ma-at]* (KBo 10.45 iii 36), *ḡa-an-na-du-ma-ti* (KUB 41.8 iii 8), *ḡa-a[š-š]i-ik-ki-du-ma-at* (KBo 39.8 i 35) and *šar-ka-li-ja-tu-ma-ri* (KUB 1.16 ii 49)) in my view all should be regarded as simplified spellings. Spellings with geminate *-mm-* are attested in NS texts only and must be compared to the common fortition of OH /m/ to NH /M/ as described in § 1.4.7.1.c.

In the present, we find *-ttuma* as well as *-ttumari*, reminding us of e.g. 1sg.pres.midd. *-ḡḡa* besides *-ḡḡari*, 2sg. *-tta* / *-ttari*, 3sg. *-a* / *-ari* and *-tta* / *-ttari*, etc. Although the endings *-ttuma* and *-ttumari* are not attested often enough to really establish a distribution, it is likely that *-ttuma* originally was used when the verb stem was stressed, and *-ttumari* when the verb stem was unstressed (e.g. *paiškettuma* (OS) /*paiskétoma*/ vs. *šaliktumari* (OS) /*sliktomári*/). In the preterite/imperative we find *-ttumati* as well as *-ttumat*. Because this ending is not attested in OS texts, it is not easy to establish a distribution. In MS texts, we only find *-ttumat*, whereas *-ttumati* is attested in NS texts only. At first sight, this seems to indicate that *-ttumat* is the original form with *-ttumati* being a NH creation, but on the basis of the fact that the attestations of 3sg.pret.midd. *-ati* and *-at* seem to show a distribution between older *-ati* and younger *-at*, we may

assume that such a distribution underlies *-ttumat* and *-ttumati* as well (but compare 3sg.pret.midd. *-ttati*, *-ttat* where such a distribution is absent).

Within Anatolian, we must compare these endings to the CLuwian 2pl.pres.midd.-ending *-(d)duuar(i)*, which shows that Hitt. *-tuma+* reflects older *\*-ttuua+*. From an IE point of view, we must compare these endings with Skt. 2pl.midd. *-dhve* / *-dhvam* and Gr. 2pl.midd. *-σθε*. These latter endings seem to reflect *\*-d<sup>h</sup>ue* (thus e.g. Beekes 1995: 241), but this is not a possible reconstruction for Hittite (cf. the *-tt-* = */-t-/* that cannot be explained by *\*-d<sup>h</sup>-*). Melchert (1984a: 26) reconstructs *\*-dh<sub>2</sub>ue*, which indeed would account for Hitt. *-tt-* as well as *-um-* (for *\*CHuV* > Hitt. *CumV*, cf. e.g. *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-uēni* > *tumēni*). Nevertheless, *\*-dh<sub>2</sub>ue* probably should have yielded Skt. *-d(h)iva* and Gr. *\*-θαε*.

⚡ ***dūr* / *dūn-*** (n.) ‘urine’: nom.-acc.sg. ⚡ *du-ú-úr* (KUB 13.4 iii 67), [*d*]*u<sup>2</sup>-ú-ur* (KBo 16.99 i 6).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***\*dūr* / *dūn-*** (n.) ‘urine’ (abl.-instr. *du-ú-na-ti*).

PIE *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-r*, *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-n-* ?

This word is hapax in KUB 13.4 iii 67f.: *a-pé-e-da-ni=ma DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-eš za-ak-kar* ⚡ *du-ú-ur* (68) *a-da-an-na a-ku-ua-an-na pí-an-zi* ‘To him the gods will give faeces (and) *dūr* for eating (and) for drinking’. In this context, it is clear that *dūr* must mean ‘urine’. Because of the use of the gloss wedges, it is very likely that the word is Luwian. In CLuwian contexts we find an abl.-instr. *dūnati* in KUB 35.102(+) ii (8) [*an-ni-iš=k*]*u=ua=ti pá-r-na-an-za du-ú-na-ti* (9) [*pa-ap-pár-*]*ku-ua-at-ti* ‘The mother cleans the house with *d*.’, with additions on the basis of ibid. (15) [*a*]*n-ni-iš=k**u=ua=ti pá-r-na-an-za ma-ad-du-ú[-ua-ti]* (16) [*p*]*a-ap-pár-ku-ua-at-ti* ‘The mother cleans the house with wine’. Although the meaning of *dūnati* cannot be ascertained from the context, a meaning ‘urine’ is not impossible (see Starke 1990: 569 for this interpretation). If these considerations are correct, then we are dealing with a CLuwian *r/n*-stem *dūr* / *dūn-* ‘urine’.

CLuw. *dūr* was connected with Hitt. *šēhur* / *šēhun-* ‘urine’ already by Čop (1965: 100ff.), which is semantically appealing and formally only strengthened by the discovery of the oblique stem *dūn-*. Nevertheless, details are unclear. As I have shown under the lemma *šēhur* / *šēhun-* I believe that this word was borrowed into Hittite from another Anatolian language (Palaic?) in which PIE *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-r* / *\*séik<sup>w</sup>-n-* regularly yielded *šēhur* / *šēhun-*. Although the details regarding the initial consonant are not fully clear, I believe that in Luwian, a pre-form *\*Céik<sup>w</sup>-r* would through PANat. *\*Cēg<sup>w</sup>-r* and pre-Luwian *\*Cēḡ<sup>w</sup>-r* yield CLuw. *Cūr*. Note that in the other words where Luwian *t-* seems to correspond to Hitt. *š-*,

we are also dealing with loss of a PANat. \*g in Luwian (CLuw. *tāya/i-* ~ Hitt. *šākuṃa-* ‘eye’ < \*sók<sup>w</sup>o-, CLuw. *tāin-* ~ Hitt. *šākan / šakn-* ‘oil’ < \*sóg<sup>(h)</sup>-(e)n-). Perhaps this loss of PANat. \*-g- caused initial \*s- to yield Luw. *t-*.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*tūri-* (n./c.) ‘spear, lance’ (Sum. <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠUKUR): nom.-acc.sg. *tu-u-ri* (OS), acc.sg.c. *tu-u-ri-in*, gen.sg. *tu-u-ri-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ri-ia*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tūra/i-*, stick or weapon (acc.sg. *tu-u-ri-im=ša-an*, *tu-u-ri-in*, *du-u-ri-in*, abl.-instr. *tu-u-ra-a-ti*, *tu-u-ra-ti*), *tūrā-* ‘to use the *tūra/i-*’ (3sg.pret.act. *tu-u-ra-a-at-ta*, *tu-u-ra-at-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *tu-ra-ad-du*).

This word is attested from OS texts onwards and consistently spelled with plene *-u-*. It denotes ‘spear, lance’. The exact meaning of the CLuwian cognate <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tūra/i-* is less clear, however. Its interpretation depends on a difficult passage in a ritual in which items are buried in order to make the evilness disappear (see at *tēkan / takn-* for a treatment of the word *inzagān*):

KUB 35.54 ii

- (31) *za-a-ú-i zi-ia-ar NUMUN<sup>HL.A</sup>-na [p]u-u-na-a-ta*  
 (32) *in-za-ga-a-an ya-aš-ḥa a=(a)ta [BE-]ĒL SÍSKUR*  
 (33) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥa-at-ta-ra-a-ti ḥa-at-ta[-r]i-it-ta*  
 (34) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tu-u-ra-a-ti=pa=(a)ta tu-u-r[a-a-a]t-ta*  
 (35) *a=(a)ta im-ra-aš-ša<-an><sup>d</sup>ÍŠKUR-u[n-l]i pa-ri*  
 (36) *ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta*

‘Here lie down all the seeds, the tools and the sacralized objects. The ritual patient has *ḥ-*ed them with a *ḥ-* and *t-*ed them with a *t-* and has delivered them to the Storm-god of the Open Field’.

Starke (1990: 310) translates ‘mit dem Grabstock aber hat er es eingegraben’, which indeed seems to make sense. This is important, as it could indicate that *tūri-* originally meant ‘stick’. On this basis, Neumann (1976: 310) connects the word with PIE \*(s)teu- ‘to strike, to hit’ (e.g. in MĪr. *tūag* ‘axe’, OHG *stoc* ‘stick’, Lat. *tudes* ‘hammer’), assuming that *tūri-* shows the suffix *-ri-* (compare *edri-* ‘food’, *auri-* ‘lookout’, etc.). As we see in § 1.3.9.4.f, however, we would expect that \**teuri-* would yield Hitt. \*\*/*tūri-l*-, spelled \*\**tu-ú-ri-*, whereas the spelling *tu-u-ri-* points to /*tóri-l*-. This could point to an etymological connection with the verb *tūrije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* /*torie/a-l* ‘to harness’ that reflects \**d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>r-je/o-*.

*tūrije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to harness’: 3sg.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-ez-zi* (OS), *tu-u-ri-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-ja-az-zi* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-ja-zi*, *tu-u-ri-e-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-ja-u-e-ni* (KUB 13.35 iii 25), 3pl.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-ja-an-zi* (OS), *tu-ri-ja-an-zi* (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *tu-u-ri[-ja-nu-(un)]* (KBo 10.2 iii 42), *tu-u-ri-ja-nu[-un]* (KBo 18.57 obv. y+1), 3pl.pret.act. *tu-u-ri-er* (KBo 3.8 iii 17), *tu-ri-er* (KBo 3.34 i 16 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *tu-u-ri-ja-at-tén* (KUB 24.3+ ii 37); part. *tu-u-ri-ja-an-t-*, *tu-ri-ja-an-t-* (rare); verb.noun.gen.sg. *tu-u-ri-ja-u-aš* (OS), *tu-u-ri-ja-ua-aš* (OS); impf. *tu-u-ri-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

IE cognates: Skt. *dhūr-* ‘yoke; pole or shaft of a carriage’, Gr. *θαῖρός* ‘pivot of a door; axle of a chariot’, TochA *tursko* ‘ox of burden, draught bull’.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>r-je/o-* ?

Most of the attestations of this verb are spelled with plene *-u-*: *tu-u-ri-*, which spelling is found in OS texts already. This points to a phonological interpretation /torie/a/. Since Sommer (1949: 162), this verb is generally connected with Skt. *dhūr-* ‘yoke; pole or shaft of a carriage’ (nom.sg. *dhūr*, acc.sg. *dhuram*). Mayrhofer (1986-2002: s.v.) reconstructs *dhūr* as *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>*, and connects it with Gr. *θαῖρός* ‘pivot of a door; axle of a chariot’, which should reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>-jo-*. In Hittite, *tūrije/a-* seems rather to reflect *\*d<sup>h</sup>uh<sub>1</sub>r-je/o-*, however. Perhaps we have to assume laryngeal-metathesis.

See at <sup>Glš</sup>*tūri-* ‘spear’ for the possibility that it is cognate with *tūrije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>.

*tušk(ije/a)-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib1 > Ic1, IIa1y) ‘to be happy, to entertain (oneself), to play’: 2sg.pres.act. *du-uš-kat-ti* (KUB 6.46 iv 32 (NH)), *du-uš-ga-at-ti* (KBo 25.184 iii 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *tu-uš-ki-ez-zi* (KBo 32.15 ii 21 (MS)), *du-uš-ki-ez-zi* (KBo 32.15 ii 23, 24 (fr.) (MH/MS), KUB 27.49 iii 14 (NS)), *du-uš-ki-ja-zi* (KUB 14.7 iv 14 (NH)), *du-uš-ga-i* (KUB 6.45 iii 61 (NH), KUB 6.46 iv 30 (fr.) (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *du-uš-kán-zi* (KUB 20.92 vi<sup>2</sup> 15 (NS), KBo 30.77 iv 13 (NS), KUB 59.34 iii 4 (NS), KUB 17.35 ii 26 (NS)), *du-uš-ka-an-zi* (KUB 55.60 iv 11 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *du-uš-ku-un* (KUB 21.38 obv. 2 (NH), KBo 18.23 obv. 6 (NH)), *tu-uš-ku-un* (KBo 10.12 i 21 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *du-uš-kit<sub>9</sub>* (KBo 13.94, 14 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *du-uš-kat-ta* (KUB 33.120 i 27 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *du-uš-kán-ta* (KBo 13.94, 12 (OH/NS)), *du-uš-kán-ta-ri* (KUB 29.1 iii 50 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *du-uš-kat-ta-at* (KUB 36.12 i 10 (NS), KBo 26.70 i 10 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.midd. *du-uš-ki-iš-ḥu-ut* (KUB 59.70 iii 8 (NS)), 3pl.imp.midd. *du-uš-kán-ta-ru* (KUB 45.20 ii 12 (MH/NS)); verb.noun *du-uš-ku-um-mar* (KBo 1.35, 4 (NS)), *du-uš-ki-ja-u-ua-ar* (KUB 3.99 ii 10 (NS)); impf.



*du-uš-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *tu-uš-ki-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 3.40+, 3 (OH/NS)), *du-uš-ki-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **tuškari-** ‘happiness’ (gen.sg. [t]u-uš-ka-ri-i-aš (KBo 25.112 ii 20 (OS)); broken *tu-uš-ka-r[i-...]* (KBo 7.54 ii 6)), **tuškaratt-** (c.) ‘happiness, entertainment’ (nom.sg. *du-uš-ga-ra-az*, *du-uš-ka<sub>r</sub>-ra-az*, acc.sg. *tu-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an* (KUB 33.68 ii 16), *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an*, *du-uš-ga-ra-ta-an* (MH/MS), *du-uš-ga-ra-at-tan<sub>x</sub>* (KUB 49.100 rev.<sup>7</sup> 11 (NH)), gen.sg. *tu-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-aš* (KUB 36.110 rev. 14 (OS)), dat.-loc.sg. *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ti* (RS 25.421 rev. 58), *du-uš-ka-ra-ti* (KUB 22.42 obv. 6 (NH)), abl. *du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-za* (NH)), **dušganu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make happy’ (2pl.imp.act. *du-uš-ga-nu-ut-te-en* (KBo 12.18 i 12)), **duškaratar / duškarann-** (n.) ‘happiness’ (abl. *du-uš-ga-ra-na-za* (IBoT 1.33, 16, 59), dat.-loc. *du-uš-ka<sub>r</sub>-ra-an-ni* (KUB 33.103 ii 12), *du-uš-ga-ra-ni* (IBoT 1.33, 19), all.sg. *tu-uš-ga-ra-an-na* (KBo 3.21 iii 25)), **dušgarijatar / dušgarijann-** (n.) ‘happiness’ (dat.-loc.sg. *du-uš-ga-ri-ja-an-ni* (RS 25.421 rev. 61)), **dušgarauyant-** (adj.) ‘happy, glad’ (nom.sg.c. *du-uš-ga-ra-u-ua-an-za*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *du-uš-ga-ra-u-an-da*).

It is difficult to establish what the original stem of this verb is. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 326) interprets the verb as *tuške/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (probably inspired by his etymology, < \**tus-ske/o-*). In my view, 1sg.pret.act. *tuškun* and *duškun* prove that the stem cannot have been *tuške/a-*, as we then would expect *\*\*tuškenun*. These forms seem to point to *tušk-<sup>zi</sup>* only. The forms 2sg.pres.act. *duškatti* and *dušgatti* then perhaps denote /*tuskti/*. The derivative *dušganu-* hardly can be seen as belonging with a stem *tuške/a-*: it likely denotes /*tusknu-/*. The 3sg.pres.act. *du-uš-KI-IZ-zi*, which in principle can be interpreted as *du-uš-ke-ez-zi* = /*tusket<sup>si</sup>/* as from a stem *tuške/a-*, can be read *du-uš-ki-ez-zi* = /*tuskiet<sup>si</sup>/* as well, as from a stem *tuškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. When we assume that the stem was *tušk-<sup>zi</sup>* with a variant *tuškije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, we perhaps can interpret the stem *tuškara-* seen in the derivatives *tuškaratt-*, *tuškarātar* and *tuškarauyant-* as /*tuskra-/*. Note that Rieken (1999a: 116-7) interprets these words as /*tuskra-/* as well, although this is in conflict with her view that the verb is *tuške/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. She therefore states that “es sich wahrscheinlich um eine Reimbildung zu *\*nahšara-* [handelt], da *-ra-* nicht an thematischen Verben tritt”.

The root *tušk-* can only reflect a preform *\*TusK-*. All proposed etymologies, however, presuppose that *tušk-* is a *-ške/o-*-derived stem. Petersen (1937: 211, widely followed, e.g. by Oettinger l.c., Rieken l.c.) connected the verb with Skt. *túṣyati* ‘to be satisfied’ and reconstructed *\*tus-ske/o-*. Neumann *apud* Tischler (HEG T: 466) connects the verb with ON *þýðr* ‘friendly’, Goth. *þiup* ‘das Gute’, which reflect a root *\*teu-* ‘in freundlichem Sinne die Aufmerksamkeit

zuwenden'. In my view, these proposals cannot be correct. The verb *tušk-<sup>zi</sup>* rather reflects a root *\*Tusk-*, which is comparable in structure to e.g. *\*mesg-*, *\*resg-* and *\*tresk-* in LIV<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately I have not been able to find cognates.

<sup>MUNUS</sup> *duttarijata/i-* (c.) a female functionary: nom.sg. *du-ut-tar-ri-ja-ti-iš* (KUB 22.40 iii 18), *du-ut-tar-ja-ta-aš<sup>1</sup>* (Bo 4120 r.col. 4), gen.sg. *du-ut-tar-ri-ja-ti-ja-aš* (KBo 24.126 obv. 28).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* 'daughter' (acc.sg. <sup>FILIA</sup> *tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §24), <sup>FILIA</sup> *tú-wa/i-ta[ra/i-na]* (TELL AHMAR 1 §29), *FILIA-tara/i-na* (KELEKLÍ §2)); Lyc. *kbatra-* 'daughter' (nom.sg. *kbatra*, acc.sg. *kbatru*, dat.sg. *kbatrī*).

PAnat. *\*duegr-*, *\*dugtr-*

IE cognates: Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, Gr. (Myc.) *tu-ka-te<sup>o</sup>* (in compounds), TochB *tkācer*, TochA *ckācar*, Arm. *dowstr*, Osc. *futir*, ModHG *Tochter*, Lith. *duktė*, OCS *dbšti*, Gaul. *duxtir* 'daughter'.

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>-tr*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>-tér-m*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>-tr-ós*

The treatment of these words must start with Lyc. *kbatra-*. Already in 1893, Imbert (1893: 89) identified this word as 'daughter'. A few years later, Bugge (1901: 25) argued that *kbatra-* must reflect *\*tuatra-* (cf. *kbi* 'two' < *\*dui-*) and ultimately must belong with the other IE words for 'daughter'. In 1978, Hawkins shows that in HLuwian a cognate can be found in the form of <sup>FILIA</sup> *tú-wa/i-tara/i-*, which he convincingly identifies as 'daughter'.

The Hittite word for 'daughter' is never written phonetically. On the basis of acc.sg. DUMU.MUNUS-*la-an* (KBo 20.101 rev.<sup>7</sup> 3), we have to assume that it probably ended in *-la-* and therefore hardly can be cognate with the HLuwian and Lycian word. Nevertheless, Starke (1987) argues that some words in the Hittite texts belong with *tuwatra/i-* and *kbatra-*. In KUB 40.2 rev. 5 we find a well called <sup>TÚL</sup> *Du-ua-at-ta-ri-na-aš*, which Starke interprets as "Töchterchen" (1987: 251). Unfortunately, this meaning cannot be verified. A better candidate for a cognate could be <sup>MUNUS</sup> *duttarijata/i-*. This word, which is attested a few times only (see Tischler HEG T: 471f. for attestations and treatment), denotes a female functionary. Although the exact meaning is unknown and a connection with 'daughter' cannot be ascertained, the fact that this word denotes a female functionary (compare <sup>MUNUS</sup> *šiyanzanna-*, a priestess, lit. 'divine mother') and is formally quite similar is remarkable at least. Because of the alteration between a stem *duttarijata-* and *duttarijati-*, it is likely that we are dealing with a word of Luwian origin (note that Melchert in his CLuwian Lexicon (1993b: 238)

confidently cites this word as “*duttariyata/i-* ‘daughter’ (or simil.)”). So, all in all, we are dealing with HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* that clearly mean ‘daughter’, <sup>MUNUS</sup> *duttarriyata/i-* (a Luwian word in Hittite contexts) that could well be cognate, and <sup>TUL</sup> *Duḡattarina-*, the appurtenance of which is far from assured.

The etymological interpretation of these forms is quite difficult. It is generally accepted that the words for ‘daughter’ in the other IE languages all point to a preform *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>ter-* (Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, TochB *tkācer*, etc.). How to get from *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>ter-* to HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* is in debate, however, especially with regard to the origin of *-a-*. In earlier times, it was often stated that *-a-* reflects the vocalized laryngeal: *d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tr-* (or *\*d<sup>h</sup>ug<sub>2</sub>tr-*) > *\*tugatr-* > *tuwatr-* > Lyc. *kbatr-* (cf. most recently Kimball 1999: 388). Nowadays it has become clear that “[t]here is no solid evidence for “vocalization” of *\*/h<sub>2</sub>/* anywhere in Anatolian” (Melchert 1994a: 70: alleged *šaklāi-* ‘custom, rite’ from *\*š<sub>h</sub><sub>2</sub>k-loi-* is rather to be interpreted as *šaklāi-* < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>k-loi-*).

With the elimination of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* as a possible explanation for *-a-*, e.g. Melchert (1994a: 69) has to assume that in *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tr-* > *\*dugtr-* an anaptyctic vowel emerged: *\*dug<sub>2</sub>tr-* > *\*dugatr-*. After the loss of PANat. *\*g*, this form then would yield Luw. *tuwatr-* and, later on, Lyc. *kbatr-* (with *\*t<sub>2</sub>-* > *kb-*). This is not a very attractive scenario, however. If the cluster *\*VgtrV* needed anaptyxis at all, we would expect to find vocalization of *\*r-*: *\*VgtərV* (also a sequence *\*VgtrC* was likely solved as *\*VgtərC*). Moreover, if <sup>MUNUS</sup> *duttarriyata/i-* indeed is cognate, it would show a Luwian form without an anaptyctic vowel before *\*-t-*. It seems to reflect *\*dugt(a)riada/i-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>t(e)r-*.

In my view, we will not easily be able to explain the vowel *-a-* and the difference between *duttarriyata/i-* and *tuwatra-* without assuming that we are dealing with a real vowel and with ablaut. I therefore want to propose that *duttarriyata/i-* indeed reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>t(e)r-*, but that *tuwatra/i-* and *kbatra-* go back to *\*duetr-* < *\*duegr-* < *\*d<sup>h</sup>uegh<sub>2</sub>tr-* (note that *kbatra-* must show *a*-umlaut from older *\*kbeta-*; for disappearance of *\*g* in front of consonant cf. CLuw. *nāna-* ~ Hitt. *nekna-* < *\*negno-*).

My reconstruction implies that the PIE word for ‘daughter’ originally showed ablaut in the root: nom.sg. *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr*, acc.sg. *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér<sub>m</sub>*, gen.sg. *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>trós*. Note that this inflection is supported by the peculiar accentuation pattern as visible in Greek: nom.sg. *θυγάτηρ* < *\*θύγατηρ*, acc.sg. *θυγατέρα*, gen.sg. *θυγατρός*. In Anatolian, nom.sg. *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr* was enlarged with *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-* and regularly yielded HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*. On the basis of either the stem *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér-* or *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tr-* a derivative in *\*-i<sub>o</sub>-* (or *\*-i<sub>eh</sub><sub>2</sub>-*) was formed,

which functioned as the basis for Luw. *\*duttarrijata/i-* (for the suffix *-ata/i-* compare CLuw. *ḫuḫatalla/i-* ‘ancestral’, derived from *\*ḫuḫata/i-*, besides *ḫūḫa-* ‘grandfather’), which was borrowed into Hittite as <sup>MUNUS</sup>*duttarrijata/i-*. After the splitting off of Anatolian, nom.sg. *\*d<sup>h</sup>uég<sub>2</sub>tr* was secondarily altered to *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér* (attested thus abundantly in the other IE languages) on the basis of e.g. *\*ph<sub>2</sub>tér* ‘father’, which is the reason that no traces of ablaut are found anymore outside of Anatolian.

**tūya** (adv.) ‘far’: *tu-u-ya* (NH).

Derivatives: **tuṽān** ‘to this side’, **tuṽān ... tuṽān** ‘to this side ... to that side’ (*tu-ya-a-an* (OS), *tu-u-ya-an* (OS, 1x), *du-ya-a-an*, *du-ya-an*), **tuṽānta** (adv.) ‘to this side’ (*tu-ya-a-an-ta* (KBo 25.42 l.col. 12), *tu-ya-an-ta* (KBo 25.41 + KBo 30.114 obv. 8)), **tūyaz** (adv.) ‘from afar’ (*tu-u-az* (OS), *tu-u-ya-az* (OS), *tu-u-ya-za* (1x)), **tūyala-** (adj.) ‘far’ (nom.sg.c. *tu-u-ya-l[a-aš]* (KBo 1.31 rev. 16), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ya-li* (KBo 4.14 ii 57), all.sg. *tu-u-ya-la* (KUB 8.14 rev. 7)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **dūyaza-** (adj.) ‘wide(?)’ (acc.sg. *du-ú-ya-za-an*).

IE cognates: Skt. *dūrám* ‘far away’, *dūrát* ‘from afar’, Gr. δῆν ‘for a long time, far’, (Dor.) δάν, δοάν ‘for a long time, far’, Gr. δηρός ‘lasting long’, Lat. *dūdum* ‘for a long time already’.

PIE *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>m*

Although I have cited these words under the lemma *tūya*, on the basis of the chronological distribution we probably should conclude that *tūya*, which is attested in NH texts only, was a NH analogical creation on the basis of *tūyaz* and *tūyan*, which are both attested in OS texts. Despite the fact that *tūyan* ‘to this side’ and *tūyaz* ‘from afar’ are semantically rather different, already Pisani (1940: 354) suggests that they belong together, which means that *tūyan* represents a petrified accusative, *tūyaz* an old ablative and *tūya* an allative form.

Already Benveniste (1932: 142f.) etymologically connected *tūya* ‘far’ and *tūyaz* ‘from afar’ with Skt. *dūrám* ‘far away’, *dūrát* ‘from afar’, Gr. δῆν ‘long, far’ (< \*δῆν) etc., which reflect a root *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>-*. Eichner (1978: 160<sup>69</sup>) reconstructs *tūya-* as *\*duh<sub>2</sub>-jo-*, but this is problematic in view of *tājezzi* < *\*teh<sub>2</sub>jeti* and *ḫuianzi* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>ienti* that shows that we then would expect a form *\*\*tūia-*. Although a form *\*\*tūia-* would yield Hitt. *tūya-* in NH times, we would expect that in OS texts the intervocalic *-i-* still would be present (compare OS *ḫuianzi* > NH *ḫuianzi*), which contrasts with the fact that already in OS texts we find the spelling *tu-u-ya-az*. Melchert (1984a: 30) has a different opinion and equates *tuṽān* with Gr. δῆν, which he reconstructs as *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>m*. If this reconstruction is correct, it would show

a few important things. Firstly, in a sequence *\*T<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>-* the *-u-* was retained (unlike in a sequence *\*T<sub>2</sub>uo > Hitt. Ta*). Second, a sequence *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>m* did not yield *\*-ah<sub>2</sub>han* or *\*-ah<sub>2</sub>hun*, as one could have expected, but gave Hitt. *-ān* (possibly an PIE development already, sometimes referred to as ‘Stang’s Law’). Moreover, this form would show that we are dealing with an old root-noun *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>s*, *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>m*, *\*duh<sub>2</sub>os*. In my view, the only way that we can explain the forms *tūuaz* and *tūua* then, is assuming the following scenario. In the cases where we find *\*dueh<sub>2</sub>C*, the *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is regularly lost, probably through a stage *\*dua?C* (with neutralization of *\*h<sub>2</sub>* to *?* in front of consonant). In my view, we could envisage that in a paradigm where we find *\*dua?C* besides *\*du?V*, the consonant *\*?* has been generalized throughout the paradigm, yielding *\*du?V*, which regularly developed into Hitt. *tūuV*.

The CLuwian adjective *dūuaza-*, which is used as an epithet of *tīamm(i)-* ‘earth’ and often translated as ‘wide’, is sometimes regarded as a cognate to Hitt. *tūua*. Apart from the fact that a meaning ‘wide’ is unassured, the formal aspect is not easy either because of the unexplained *-za-* in Luwian.

***tūuan:*** see *tūua*

***duuarni-<sup>zi</sup> / duuarn-*** (Ia1 > Ic2, IIa1γ, Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to break (something); (midd.) to break (intr.)’: 1sg.pres.act. *du-ua-ar-na-ah-ḫi* (KBo 32.19 ii 28 (MH/MS), KBo 22.137 iii 4 (NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-[ah-ḫi]* (KBo 22.137 iii 2 (NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-a-ah-ḫi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *du-ua-ar-na-at-ti* (KUB 15.19 obv. 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *tu-ua-a[r-...]* (KBo 6.2 i 20 (OS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-iz-zi* (KBo 15.10 iv 36 (OH/MS), HKM 60 rev. 24 (MH/MS), KBo 39.258, 11 (MS), KBo 6.4 i 27, 30 (OH/NS), KUB 9.28 iii 26 (MH/NS), KBo 30.2, 7 (NS), KBo 40.46 ii 2 (NS), KUB 7.53+ ii 53 (NS)), *tu-ua-ar-ni-iz-zi* (KBo 39.8 iv 13 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-zi* (KBo 6.3 iii 70 (OH/NS)), *tu-ua-a[r-n]i-iz-zi* (KBo 6.3 i 29 (OH/NS)), *tu-ua-ar-na-zi* (KBo 6.3 i 31 (OH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-i* (KBo 39.8 ii 11 (MH/MS), KUB 24.9 ii 43 (OH/NS), KUB 48.118, 13 (NH)), *tu-ua-ar-na-i* (KBo 24.1 i 8, 12 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-na-a-i* (KUB 26.1 iii 64 (NH)), *du-ua-ar-ni-ja-az-zi* (KUB 17.27 ii 36 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-ja-zi* (KUB 17.28 ii 49 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-e-ez-zi* (NH), *du-ua-ar-na-a-iz-zi* (NH), *tu-ua-ar-na-a-iz-zi* (NH), *du-ua-ar-ni-ja-iz-zi* (KUB 30.15 i 35 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *tu-ua-ar-na-an-zi* (KBo 39.8 iv 14 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-na-an-zi* (KBo 13.146 i 17 (OH/NS), KBo 6.34 ii 43, iii 38 (MH/NS), KUB 9.6+ iii 23 (MH/NS)), *tu-ua-ar-ni-ja-an-zi* (KBo 20.34 obv. 10, 12 (OH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-ja-an-zi* (KUB 30.19 iv 22 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *du-ua-ar-ni-nu-un* (KUB 41.19 rev. 8 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-ah-*

*hu-un* (KUB 13.35 iv 25, 30 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *du-ua-ar-ni-it* (KUB 17.10 i 33 (OH/MS), KBo 10.45 iii 33 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-aš* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *tu-ua-ar-ni-er* (KUB 36.104 obv. 7 (OS), KBo 3.34 i 9 (OH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-ner* (KUB 40.95 ii 13 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *du-ua-ar-na-a-ú* (KBo 6.34 iii 41 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-du* (KBo 2.3 ii 42 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *du-ua-ar-na-an-du* (HKM 66 obv. 19 (MH/MS), KBo 6.34 ii 52 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-ia-an-du* (KBo 22.104, 13 (undat.)); 3sg.pres.midd. *du-ua-ar-na-at-ta-ri* (KBo 32.14 ii 48, iii 43 (fr.) (MH/MS), KBo 5.1 i 4 (MH/NS)), *du-ua-ar-na-ad-da-a-ri* (KBo 5.1 iv 40 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *du-ua-ar-na-at-ta-at* (KBo 32.14 lower edge 71 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-na-ad-da-at* (KBo 5.1 i 45 (MH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *tu-ua-ar-na-at-ta-ru* (KBo 39.8 iii 34, iv 15 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-na-at-ta-ru* (Bo 6166 ii 10, KBo 53.27 iii 47); part. *du-ua-ar-na-an-t-* (MH?/NS); verb.noun *du-ua-ar-nu-ua-ar* (KUB 3.95, 8 (NS)), gen.sg. *du-ua-ar-nu-ma-aš* (KUB 26.92, 12 (NH)); inf.I *du-ua-ar-nu-ma-an[-zi]* (KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 23 (NS)); impf. *tu-ua-ar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 39.8 iii 33, 36 (MH/MS)), *du-ua-ar-ni-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *du-ua-ar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *du-ua-ar-qaš-ke/a-* (KBo 2.3 ii 41 (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *\*dhvar<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to hurt, to damage’.


PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ur-né-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ur-n-h<sub>1</sub>-énti*

This verb shows forms of many different inflection classes, especially in the youngest texts, where we find forms that belong to the stems *duṽarniē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, *duṽarni<sup>-zi</sup>*, *duṽarnae<sup>-zi</sup>*, *duṽarniāe<sup>-zi</sup>* and *duṽarna<sup>-i</sup> / duṽarn-*. It is difficult to decide which inflection is the oldest. In OS texts, we only find 3pl.pret.act. *tu-ua-ar-ni-er* (or *tu-ua-ar-né-er*), which does not reveal anything regarding its inflection (it can belong with *tuṽarniē/a-*, *tuṽarni-* and *tuṽarn(a)-*), and the broken form 3sg.pres.act. *tu-ua-a[r-...]*. In MS texts, we already find different stems: *duṽarnah<sup>hi</sup>* (MH/MS) and *duṽarnai* (MH/MS) unambiguously point to the stem *duṽarna<sup>-i</sup> / duṽarn-*, whereas *tuṽarniānzi* (OH/MS) unambiguously points to a stem *tuṽarniē/a<sup>-zi</sup>*. The interpretation of 3sg.pres.act. *tu/du-ua-ar-ni-iz-zi* (OH/MS) is unclear however, because of the fact that the sign IZ can be read *iz* as well as *ez*. So, in principle a reading *l<sup>o</sup>nit<sup>s</sup>i/* as well as *l<sup>o</sup>niet<sup>s</sup>i/* is possible. On the basis of the form *du-ua-ar-ni-zi* (OH/NS) and *du-ua-ar-ni-nu-un* (MH/NS), which unambiguously point to *l<sup>o</sup>nit<sup>s</sup>i/* and *l<sup>o</sup>ninon/*, I assume that at least a part of the MS attestations with *-ni-iz-zi* denotes *l<sup>o</sup>nit<sup>s</sup>i/* (on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *tuṽarniānzi* (OH/MS), it cannot be excluded that some attestations denote *l<sup>o</sup>niet<sup>s</sup>i/* as well). This means that we have to reckon with a stem *duṽarni<sup>-zi</sup>*. The interpretation of 3pl.pres.act. *tuṽarnanzi* (MH/MS) is unclear as well. On the one hand, one could argue that it belongs with the stem *duṽarna<sup>-i</sup> / duṽarn-*, but, on the

other, we could also assume that it belongs with *duḫarnizzi* and shows an ablauting stem *duḫarni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *duḫarn-* (compare *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-* ‘to finish’). Out of the three stems that are visible in MS texts, *duḫarna<sup>-i</sup>* / *duḫarn-*, *duḫarni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *duḫarn-* and *duḫarnije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*, the stem *duḫarni-/duḫarn-* must be the original one since this type is unproductive and declining in Hittite, whereas both the *tarn(a)*-class as well as the *-ie/a*-class are very productive. In this case, we can easily imagine that on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *duḫarnizzi*, a new 3pl.pres.act. *duḫarnijanzi* was created, which was the source for the *-ie/a*-class, whereas on the other hand on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *duḫarnanzi* a new singular stem *duḫarna<sup>-i</sup>* was created, which was the source for the *tarn(a)*-class inflection. All in all, I assume that the original inflection of this verb was *duḫarnizzi*, *duḫarnanzi* (thus also Oettinger 1979a: 151, but he wrongly cites this verb as *duḫarne-*).

Already Goetze (1954: 403) connected this verb with Skt. *dhvar<sup>i</sup>* ‘to damage, to hurt’. Yet although the root-etymology is generally accepted, the exact analysis of the Hittite verb is not. Eichner (1973a: 75-6) reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>uornejé-*, a derivative from a “Verbaladj. *\*d<sup>h</sup>uorno-* ‘beschädigt’”. Melchert (1984a: 36) rejects this on the basis of the fact that *\*d<sup>h</sup>uo-* should have given Hitt. *\*\*ta-* and not *tuua-*. He therefore rather reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerne-je-ti*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerne-je-onti*, from an *e*-grade noun *\*d<sup>h</sup>uerno-*. Apart from the fact that derivatives of *o*-stem nouns usually show *\*-o-je/o-* and end up in the Hitt. *hatrae*-class, the assumed development of *\*d<sup>h</sup>uern-* > Hitt. *tuarn-* is unparalleled. In my view, *\*d<sup>h</sup>uernV-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*tuernV-*, compare e.g. *\*k<sup>w</sup>ermi* > *kuermi* ‘I cut’.

A better approach in my view is Oettinger’s (1979a: 151), who reconstructs *duḫarnizzi*, *duḫarnanzi* as *\*d<sup>h</sup>ur-né-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *\*d<sup>h</sup>ur-n-h<sub>1</sub>-é-nti* (compare *zinnizzi* / *zinnanzi* ‘to finish’ < *\*ti-né-h<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *\*ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-é-nti*). This reconstruction is rejected by e.g. Melchert (l.c.) on the basis of the assumption that a sequence *\*CuRC* should always yield Hitt. *CuRC*, and never *\*\*CyaRC*. As I show in Kloekhorst fthc.e, this view is incorrect. Although a sequence *\*CuRCV* indeed regularly yields Hitt. */CuRCV/*, a sequence *\*CuRCC* (so with two consonants following the resonant) regularly yields Hitt. *\*/CuəRCC/*, spelled *CuəRCC* (cf. *kuəške/a-* < *\*g<sup>w</sup>h<sup>n</sup>-ške/o-*, *kuaraške/a-* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-ške/o-*, etc.). In this case, the regular outcomes of *\*d<sup>h</sup>urnéh<sub>1</sub>ti* and *\*d<sup>h</sup>urnh<sub>1</sub>é-nti* are *\*\*durnizzi* and *duḫarnanzi*. Apparently, the stem of the plural was generalized throughout the paradigm (similarly in *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-*, where the geminate *-nn-* of the plural spread over the paradigm).

The usual form of the imperfective is *tuḫarni/eške/a-*, but once we find  = *du-ua-ar-qš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 2.3 ii 41). Unfortunately, the form is slightly damaged. E.g. Tischler (HEG T: 495) proposes to read *du-ua-ar-n[i-iš]-ke-ez-zi* or *du-ua-ar-n[i-iš]-ke-ez-zi*. This first reading is impossible as

the handcopy of this text clearly shows that there is no room for a sign IŠ, whereas the second reading is quite far-fetched. I would rather read *du-ua-ar-aš-ke-* here and assume that this form is to be compared with e.g. *taraške/a-* (imperfective of *tarna<sup>i</sup> / tarn-*) in the sense that it is derived from the unextended root *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>-* and reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>ské/ó-*. Note that a sequence *\*CrHsC-* normally yields Hitt. /CrisC-/ (e.g. *paripriške/a-* < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ške/o-*), which means that in *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>ské/o-* the *-u-* may have caused a slightly different development (perhaps *\*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>ské/o-* > *\*d<sup>h</sup>urske/o-* > Hitt. /tuørské/á-/ spelled *duuaraške/a-*). A similar development is visible in <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*uaršma-* ‘piece of firewood’ (q.v.) < *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-smo-*.

Usually, the CLuwian verb *laṽarr(ija)-* is regarded as cognate with *duṽarni<sup>zi</sup> / duṽarn-*, but see its own lemma for the improbability of this.

**tuzzi-** (c.) ‘army, military forces; military camp’ (Sum. ERIN<sup>MES</sup>): nom.sg. *tu-uz-zi-iš* (KUB 23.72 + 40.10 rev. 16, 26 (MH/MS)), *tu-uz-zi-aš=mi-iš* (KBo 2.5 ii 13 (NH)), acc.sg. *tu-uz-zi-in* (KBo 7.14 rev. 4 (OS), etc.), gen.sg. *tu-uz-zi-aš* (MH/MS), *tu-uz-zi-ja-aš*, *tu-zi-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. [*t*] *tu-uz-zi-ja* (KUB 36.106 rev. 11 (OS), etc.), *tu-zi* (KBo 3.13 ii 3 (OH/NS)), abl. *tu-uz-zi-ja-az*, acc.pl. *tu-uz-zi-uš* (KUB 19.37 iii 10, 11), *tu-zi-uš*, *tu-uz-zi-aš* (KBo 2.5 ii 3, iii 49 (NH)).

Derivatives: **tuzziġant-** (c.) ‘army’ (nom.sg. *tu-uz-zi-ja-an-za* (KBo 2.5+ iii 53, KUB 23.21 obv. 30 (fr.)), *tu-uz-zi-az* (KUB 23.11 iii 16)), **tuzziġe/a<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to encamp’ (1sg.pret.act. *tu-uz-zi-ja-nu-un* (often)), **tuzziġašeššar** (n.) ‘army(camp)(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tu-uz-zi-ja-še-eš-šar[r]* (KUB 19.7 i 5)), <sup>NINDA</sup>**tuzzi-** (c.) ‘soldier-bread’ (Sum. NINDA.ERIN<sup>MES</sup>; nom.sg. *tu-uz-zi-iš*, acc.sg. *tu-uz-zi-in*).

PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-uti-*

The bulk of the attestations show a stem *tuzzi-*. Only once, we find a form that points to a stem *tuzziġa-*, namely nom.sg. *tuzziāš=miš* (NH), which is clearly secondary.

Förster *apud* Feist (1924: 130<sup>1</sup>) connected this word with Goth. *þiuda* ‘people’ and Gaul. *Teuto-rix*, which are further connected with OIr. *túath* ‘people, tribe’, We. *tūd* ‘country’, OSax. *thiod*, OHG *diot* ‘people(s)’, Lith. *tautà* ‘people’, Latv. *tauta* ‘people’, Osc. *touto* and Umbr. *totam* ‘civitem’ < *\*teutā*. The Hittite word cannot reflect *\*teutā*, however, but should then go back to an *i*-stem *\*teut-i-* (note that *\*teut-ti-* (thus e.g. Pokorny 1959: 1085) is impossible, as this would yield *\*tuzzi-* / *tutst<sup>i</sup>-*; *\*teut-jo-* (thus Eichner *apud* Hoffmann 1968: 215<sup>11</sup>) is impossible as well, cf. Melchert (1984a: 166)). There are some problems regarding this reconstruction, however. First, Benveniste (1962: 122-5) argues



that a semantic development from ‘people’ > ‘army’ > ‘camp’ is quite unlikely: the normal development is ‘camp’ > ‘army’. Secondly, the words that reflect *\*teutā* are found in Italo-Celtic, Germanic and Baltic only, which points to an old European substratum word (the alleged cognates Sogd. *twδ’k* ‘crowd’ and ModP *tōda* ‘heap, pile’ that e.g. Schmid (1968: 10) adduces in order to show that *\*teutā* is genuinely PIE, are unconvincing).

An alternative etymology was put forward by Carruba (1966: 23), who suggested an inner-Hittite connection with *dai-<sup>i</sup>* / *ti-* ‘to put, to place’. This is followed by e.g. Melchert (1984a: 166), who points to the semantic parallel *katta dai-* ‘to besiege’ and convincingly reconstructs *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-uti-*. For the suffix *\*-uti-*, cf. *luzzi-* < *\*lh<sub>1</sub>-uti-*, *išḫuzzi-* < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-uti-*, etc.

Cf. Dercksen (2004) for the fact that this word is attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as well, namely as *tuzzinum* ‘army’.



## U

**u-** (preverb.) ‘hither’: *ú-e<sup>o</sup>*, *ú-ua-* (in *u<sub>e</sub>-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’), *u-i-(e-)* (in *u<sub>i</sub>ē-<sup>zi</sup>* / *u<sub>i</sub>-* ‘to send (here)’), *u-un-n<sup>o</sup>* (in *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni-* ‘to drive (here)’), *up-p<sup>o</sup>* (in *uppa-<sup>i</sup>* / *uppi-* ‘to send (here)’), (*ú-*)*uš-š*i*-* (in *ūšš*i*e/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to draw open (curtains)’), *ú-d<sup>o</sup>* (in *uda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ud-* ‘to bring (here)’), *ú-ua-t<sup>o</sup>* (in *uuate-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uuat-* ‘to bring (here)’).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **au-** in *au<sub>i</sub>-* ‘to come’ (see at *u<sub>e</sub>-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-*); HLuw. **áw-** in *áwa/i-* ‘to come’ (see at *u<sub>e</sub>-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-*).

IE cognates: Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’, Gr. *αὔ* ‘again, towards’, Lat. *au-fugiō* ‘to flee (away)’, Lith. *au-* ‘away from, down from’, OCS *u-* ‘from, away’.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou*

The preverb *u-* ‘hither’ functions on a par with the preverb *pe-* ‘thither’ in the sense that both can be prefixed to a verb to give it an extra semantic element of direction. The two preverbs function as opposites: *pa<sub>i</sub>i-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pai-* ‘to go’ vs. *u<sub>e</sub>-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uua-* ‘to come’ (besides the simplex *i-<sup>zi</sup>*, *i<sub>e</sub>/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* ‘to be on the move’), *peda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ped-* ‘to bring (away)’ vs. *uda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ (besides the simplex *dā-<sup>i</sup>* / *d-* ‘to take’).

Since Hrozný (1917: 70<sup>1</sup>), this preverb is generally connected with Lat. *au-* ‘away’, Gr. *αὔ* ‘towards’, OCS *u-* ‘away’, Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’ etc., which reflect *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu*. In Hittite, a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu* should have yielded *\*h<sub>u</sub>*, however. This is the reason for e.g. Melchert (1994a: 66) to reconstruct all forms, including the Hittite one, as *\*au*. If we assume *o*-grade however, initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would merge with *\*h<sub>1</sub>* due to the following *\*o* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c) and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* would yield Hitt. */ʔu/*. In my view, we can in this way equate the preverb *u-* with the element *hu* found in *e<sub>h</sub>u* ‘come!’ (q.v.) and *pe<sub>h</sub>ute-<sup>zi</sup>* / *pe<sub>h</sub>ut-* ‘to lead, to conduct’ (q.v.), which both show

retention of  $*h_2$  in internal, intervocalic position. So, whereas *uezzi* ‘he comes’ reflects  $*h_2ou-h_1éi-ti$ , its imperative *ehu* ‘come!’ reflects  $*h_1éi-h_2ou$ .

It is remarkable that we find different spellings of the preverb in the different verbs (*u-uC-*, *u-CV*, *ú-uC-*, *ú-CV* and *uC-*), whereas within the paradigm of each verb the spelling is fully consistent. See §§ 1.3.9.4ff. for a full treatment of this problem.

In Luwian, we find *au-* in CLuw. *au-* and HLuw. *áwi-* ‘to come’, which show the un-monophthongized forms. Note that alleged CLuw. *u-* does not exist: this is based on the verb *uppa-*, of which an analysis *u-* + *pa-* is far from assured (cf. the discussion under *uppa<sup>i</sup> / uppi-* ‘to send (here)’).

**u-** ‘to see’: see *au<sup>i</sup> / u-*

**-u** (3sg.imp.act.-ending of the *hi*-flection)

PIE  $*u$

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This ending denotes the 3sg.imp.act. of *hi*-verbs: e.g. *a-ku* ‘he must die’, *a-ru* ‘he must come’, *hu-u-ua-a-ú* ‘he must run’, *da-a-ú* ‘he must take’, etc. To my knowledge, no direct cognate of this ending exists in the other IE languages. Nevertheless, it is clear that this ending must have a connection with its corresponding *mi*-ending *-tu*, which has a cognate in Skt. *-tu* and reflects  $*-tu$ . One could assume that the *hi*-ending *-u* is the result of an inner-Hittite analogy to the *mi*-endings: *mi*-endings 3sg.pres.  $*-ti$  : 3sg.imp.  $*-tu$  = *hi*-endings 3sg.act. *-i* : 3sg.imp. x. Note however, that this analogy must have taken place before the assibilation of  $*-ti$  to *-zi*, but after the replacement of *hi*-3sg.pres.act. *-e* by *-i*. Since the latter development must be dated exactly before the oldest stage of attested Hittite (because of the two attestations of the ending *-e* in OH), it might become chronologically quite difficult to assume such an analogy. It therefore is better to assume that we are dealing with a PIE element  $*u$ , which could be attached to 3sg.- and 3pl.-forms in order to make them imperatives (compare Goth. 3sg.imp.act.-ending *-adau* <  $*-o-to-u$  for the reality of an element  $*u$ ). In Hittite, this element  $*u$  was attached to 3sg.- and 3pl.-forms instead of the ‘presentic’ *-i* (3sg.pres.act. *-i* > 3sg.imp.act. *-u*; 3sg.pres.midd. *-ari*, *-ttari* > 3sg.imp.midd. *-aru*, *-ttaru*; 3pl.pres.act.  $*-anti$  > 3pl.imp.act. *-antu*; 3pl.pres.midd. *-antari* > 3pl.imp.midd. *-antaru*).

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ueššar*: see <sup>GIŠ</sup>*uieššar*

**uĵe<sup>-zi</sup> / uĵ-** (Ia1 > Ic1) ‘to send (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *u-i-ĵa-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *u-i-ĵa-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *u-i-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *u-i-ĵa-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *u-i-ĵa-u-e-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *u-i-ĵa-an-zi*, [*u-*]i-e-an-zi (KUB 10.93 i 11 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u-i-e-nu-un* (VBoT 1, 11 (MH/MS)), *u-i-ĵa-nu-un*, *u-ĵa-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *u-i-e-eš* (KBo 11.72 ii 29 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u-i-e-et* (MH/MS), *u-i-ĵa-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *uiĵaŷen*, 3pl.pret.act. *u-i-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *u-i-ĵa*, 3sg.imp.act. *u-i-ĵa-ad-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *u-i-ĵa-at-tén*, *u-e-i-ĵa-[at-tén]* (KUB 19.1 rev. 49 (NH)), *ú-a-ĵa-at-tén* (KUB 14.14 ii 36 (NH)); part. *u-i-ĵa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *u-i-ĵa-u-ŷa-aš* (KUB 5.6 iii 74); impf. *u-e-eš-ke/a-*, *u-i-eš-ke/a-*, *u-i-iš-ke/a-*, *u-iš-ke/a-*, *u-i-e-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>ou* + \**h<sub>1/3</sub>iéh<sub>1</sub>-ti* / \**h<sub>1/3</sub>ih<sub>1</sub>-énti*

There is some confusion about the spelling of this verb. Friedrich (HW) cites the verb as “*uiĵa-* (*ú-i-ĵa-*; I 4)”, which seems to imply that it is generally spelled with initial *ú-*. Oettinger (1979a: 338) does not give an overview of the forms, but only cites a form “*ú-i-e-iz-zi*”, without mentioning its attestation place (he probably refers to the form *ú-i-e-ez-z[i]* (FHG 4, 11), for which see at *ŷai<sup>-i</sup> / ŷi-*, *ŷiĵe/a<sup>-zi</sup>*). Again it seems as if the verb is spelled with initial *ú-*. Kronasser (1966: 496) cites several attestations, most of which are spelled *u-*, however. He remarks that the ratio between spellings with *u-* vs. *ú-* is about 12 : 1 (but note that the only form with *ú-* that he cites, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-i-ĵa-an-zi* (VBoT 24 iv 37), in fact is to be read inf.I *ú-i-ĵa-u-an-zi* ‘to cry’, cf. the lemma *ŷai<sup>-i</sup> / ŷi-*). Melchert (1984a: 16<sup>31</sup>) states: “My files show 168 examples of *u(i)ya-* with initial *u-* versus only four with *ú-*”, which gives quite a different picture. In my text files, I found this verb 154 times, of which only one form was spelled with initial *ú-* vs. *u-* in all other cases. This one form is the aberrant form *ú-a-ĵa-at-tén* in KUB 14.14 ii 36 (NH, 1st Plague Prayer). A meaning ‘you must send’ is assured on the basis of other versions of the Plague Prayer, which have *u-i-ĵa-at-tén* ‘you must send’ in this context. On the basis of the form *u-e-i-ĵa-[at-tén<sup>?</sup>]* ‘you must send’, which we find in KUB 19.1 rev. 49, which fragment is a join to KUB 14.14 (and line KUB 19.1 rev. 49 = KUB 14.14 ii 36), one could perhaps argue that it should be read *ú-e<sup>1</sup>-ĵa-at-tén*, but either way, this form (as well as *u-e-i-ĵa-[at-tén]*) is aberrant within the paradigm of *uĵe<sup>-zi</sup> / uĵ-*.

All other verbal forms that show an initial *ú-* belong to other verbs (either *ŷai<sup>-i</sup> / ŷi-*, *ŷiĵe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to cry’ (finite forms and imperfective) or *ŷe<sup>-zi</sup> / ŷŷa-* ‘to come’ (impf. *ŷe/iške/a-*)). So, all forms of the verb *uĵe<sup>-zi</sup> / uĵ-* (except *ú-a-ĵa-at-tén*) are spelled with initial *u-*. This spelling points to a phonological stem [ʔoie-],

whereas  $\underline{u}ai^{-i} / \underline{u}i^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}ije/a^{-zi}$  ‘to cry’ (spelled with  $\acute{u}$ -) rather is / $\underline{u}ai^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}i^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}ie/a^{-}$ / and  $\underline{u}e^{-zi} / \underline{u}a^{-}$  ‘to come’ is / $\underline{u}e/a^{-}$ / (see also at § 1.3.9.4.a).

The bulk of the forms show a stem  $\underline{ui}ia^{-}$ , but these are found in NS texts only: the oldest forms (MH/MS) show only a stem  $\underline{u}je^{-}$  in the singular (3sg.pres.act.  $\underline{u}-i-e-ez-zi$ , 1sg.pret.act.  $\underline{u}-i-e-nu-un$ , 3sg.pret.act.  $\underline{u}-i-e-et$ ). Just as its counterpart  $\underline{pe}je^{-zi} / \underline{pe}j^{-}$  ‘to send away’, I assume that this verb originally inflected  $\underline{u}je^{-zi} / \underline{u}j^{-}$ , which was taken over into the  $\underline{je}/a^{-}$ -class in NH times only.

The verbs  $\underline{u}je^{-}/\underline{u}j^{-}$  ‘to send (here)’ and  $\underline{pe}je^{-}/\underline{pe}j^{-}$  ‘to send (away)’ clearly are compound verbs with the preverbs  $\underline{u}-$  and  $\underline{pe}-$  respectively. The second part of these verbs is generally connected with Gr.  $\tau\eta\mu$  ‘to release, to make go, to let go’ <  $*h_{13}ieh_{1-}$  (see at  $\underline{pe}je^{-zi} / \underline{pe}j^{-}$  for details). In  $\underline{u}je^{-zi} / \underline{u}j^{-}$  the preverb  $\underline{u}-$  / $\underline{u}$ / was lowered to / $\underline{u}o$ / due to the following  $\underline{-i}$ .

Note that the imperfective of  $\underline{u}je^{-zi} / \underline{u}j^{-}$  ‘to send’, which is spelled with initial  $\underline{u}$ - ( $\underline{u}-i-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-i-iš-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-e-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-i-e-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ) is clearly kept distinct from the imperfective of  $\underline{u}e^{-zi} / \underline{u}a^{-}$ , which is spelled with initial  $\acute{u}$ - ( $\acute{u}-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\acute{u}-i-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\acute{u}-e-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ). The latter represents phonological / $\underline{u}išké/á^{-}$ /, whereas the former forms represent / $\underline{u}oišké/á^{-}$ / (=  $\underline{u}-i-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-i-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ) > / $\underline{u}oišké/á^{-}$ / (=  $\underline{u}-i-š-ke/a^{-}$ ,  $\underline{u}-e-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ) and, with analogical introduction of the strong stem, / $\underline{u}oieske/a^{-}$ / (=  $\underline{u}-i-e-eš-ke/a^{-}$ ).

**$\underline{u}k$  /  $\underline{amm}$ -** (pers.pron. 1sg.) ‘I, me’: nom.sg.  $\acute{u}-uk$  (OS),  $\acute{u}-k=$  (OS),  $\acute{u}-g=$  (OS),  $\underline{am}-mu-uk$ , acc.sg.  $\underline{am}-mu-uk$  (OH/MS), gen.sg.  $\underline{am}-me-el$  (OS),  $\underline{am}-mi-el$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-e-el$ , dat.sg.  $\underline{am}-mu-uk$  (OH/MS), abl.  $\underline{am}-me-e-da-az$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-e-da-za$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-da-za$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-e-ta-az$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-ta-az$ ,  $\underline{am}-me-ta-za$ ,  $\underline{am}-mi-ta-az$ .

Derivatives:  **$\underline{ukel}$**  ‘I, myself’ ( $\acute{u}-ke-el$ ),  **$\underline{ukila}$**  ‘I, myself’ ( $\acute{u}-ki-la$ ).

Anat. cognates: HLuw.  **$\acute{a}mu$**  ‘I, me’ (nom.sg. / $\underline{u}mu/ \acute{a}-mu$  (often),  $\acute{a}-mu-u$  (1x),  $\acute{a}-mu-u^{-}$  (1x),  $\underline{mu}$  (1x),  $\underline{mu}^{-}$  (often) acc.sg. / $\underline{u}mu/ \acute{a}-mu$ , dat.sg. / $\underline{u}mu/ \acute{a}-mu$ ),  **$\acute{á}ma/i-$**  (adj.) ‘my’ (nom.sg.c. / $\underline{u}mis/ \acute{á}-mi-sa$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-sá$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-sà$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-sa_{4}$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-i-sa$ ,  $\underline{mi-i-sa}$ ,  $\underline{mi-i-sa}^{-}$ , acc.sg.c. / $\underline{u}min/ \acute{á}-mi-na$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-i-na$ ,  $\underline{mi-i-na}^{-}$ , nom.-acc.sg.n. / $\underline{u}man=t^{s}a/ \acute{á}-ma-za$  (often),  $\acute{á}-ma-za_{4}$  (1x), dat.sg. / $\underline{u}mi/ \acute{á}-mi$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-i$ ,  $\underline{mi-i}$ ,  $\underline{mi-i}^{-}$ , abl.-instr. / $\underline{u}mi(a)di/ \acute{á}-mi+ra/i$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ia+ra/i$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ia-ti$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ia-ti-i$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ri+i$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ti$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-tí$ ,  $\underline{mi-i(a)-ti}^{-}$ ,  $\underline{mi-ia+ra/i}^{-}$ ,  $\underline{mi-ia-ti}^{-}$ , nom.pl.c. / $\underline{u}mint^{s}i/ \acute{á}-mi-i-zi$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-zi$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-zi-i$ ,  $\underline{mi-i-zi}^{-}$ ,  $\underline{mi-zi}$ ,  $\underline{mi-zi}^{-}$ , acc.pl.c. / $\underline{u}mint^{s}i/ \acute{á}-mi-zi$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-zi-i$ ,  $\underline{mi-i-zi}^{-}$ ,  $\underline{mi-zi}$ ,  $\underline{mi-zi}^{-}$ , nom.-acc.pl.n. / $\underline{u}ma/ \acute{á}-ma$ , dat.-loc.pl. / $\underline{u}mi(a)nt^{s}/ \acute{á}-mi-ia-za$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-ia-za^{-}$ ,  $\acute{á}-mi-za$ ,  $\underline{mi-ia-za}$ ,  $\underline{mi-ia-za}^{-}$ ); Lyd.  **$\underline{amu}$**  ‘I, me’ (nom.sg.  $\underline{amu}$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $\underline{amu}$ ),  **$\underline{ēmi}$ -** ‘my’ (nom.sg.c.  $\underline{ēmis}$ , acc.sg.c.  $\underline{ēmv}$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $\underline{ēml}$ , dat.-loc.(pl.?)  $\underline{ēminav}$ ,  $\underline{ēminas}[..](?)$ ); Lyc.  **$\underline{ēmu}$**  ‘I, me’ (nom.sg.  $\underline{ēmu}$ ,  $\underline{emu}$ ,  $\underline{amu}$ ,

dat.sg. *emu*), **ēmi-** ‘my’ (nom.sg.c. *ēmi*, acc.sg.c. *ēmi*, acc.pl.c. *ēmis*, nom.-acc.pl.n.? *ēmaja*).

See chapter 2.1 for an elaborate treatment of these words.

**ukila:** see *ūk* / *amm-*

**uktūri-** (adj.) ‘firm, steady, constant, eternal’ (Sum. SAG.UŠ): nom.sg.c. *uk-tu-u-ri-iš* (often), *uk-tu-ri-iš* (4x), acc.sg.c. *uk-tu-ri-in* (1x), nom.-acc.sg.n. *uk-tu-u-ri* (often, OS), gen.sg. *u[k]-tu-u-ri-aš*, *uk-tu-u-ri-ja-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *uk-tu-u-ri*, nom.pl.c. *uk-tu-u-ri-eš* (OS), *uk-tu-u-ri-i-e-eš*, *ua-a[k-t]u-u-ri-iš* (KUB 33.120 i 6 (NS)).

Derivatives: **uktūri** (adv.) ‘firm, steady, constant, eternal’ (*uk-tu-u-ri*), **uktūri-** (gender unclear) ‘cremation site’ (dat.-loc.sg. *uk-tu-u-ri-ja*, abl. *uk-tu-ri-ja-az*, dat.-loc.pl. *uk-tu-u-ri-ja-aš*, *uk-tu-ri-ja-aš*).

As an adjective, the word means ‘firm, steady’. When used as a noun, it seems to denote ‘cremation site’, cf. e.g.

KUB 30.15 + 39.19 obv.

(10) *nu ak-kán-za ku-e-da-aš uk-tu[-ri]-ja-aš ua-ra-a-ni nu a-pé-e-da-aš  
uk-tu-ri-ja-aš*

(11) *a-ra-aḥ-za-an-da-aš 12 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GAM ti-ja-an-zi*

‘Around those *ukturi*-’s where the deceased person is cremated, they lay down twelve thickbreads’.

Perhaps this word is a specialized meaning of a fire-proof (i.e. “eternal”) place where cremations were executed.

The bulk of the forms are written with plene *-u-*: *uktūri-*. The form *uaktūri-* occurs only once in a NS text and may not have much merit. Rieken (1999a: 354) analyses the word as *ukt-uri-*, in which the morpheme *-uri-* would be ultimately derived from *\*-uer-/-uen-*nouns (she compares Skt. *aṅg-úri-* ‘finger’). Puhvel (1972: 115) connects *uktūri-* with Skt. *ójas-*, Av. *aojah-*, Lat. *\*augus-* ‘strength’. The latter forms go back to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>eug-*, which does not fit the Hitt. forms: a zero-grade *\*h<sub>2</sub>ug-* should have given Hitt. *\*\*huk-*. In LIV, a root *\*ueg-* ‘müinter, lebhaft, kräftig werden’ is cited, which at least semantically could fit *uktūri-*. Nevertheless, the formation of this word would remain intransparent. Further unclear.

**ulae-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to hide, to sneak away’: 1sg.pret.act. *ú-la-nu-un* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-la-e-d=a-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: **ulēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘id.’ (3sg.pres.act. *ú-le-eš-zi* (NS), *ú-li-iš-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-le-eš-ta* (OH/NS), *ú-li-iš-ta* (MH/MS); 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-le-eš-ta<sup>1</sup>-at*; inf.I *ú-li-iš-šu-ya-an-zi*, *ú-le-eš-šu-ya-an-zi*; impf. *ú-ul-li-iš-ke/a-*).

See Oettinger 1979a: 363 for attestations. The forms *ulanun* and *ulaet* clearly point to the *hatrae*-class inflection. The forms that show a stem *ulešš-* and *ulišš-* are sometimes regarded as belonging to the paradigm of *ulae-*, but in my view it is best to assume a derived verb *ulēšš-*<sup>zi</sup> with the suffix *-ēšš-*. The basic verb *ulae-* is attested in NS texts only, and since the *hatrae*-class was highly productive in NH times, it is possible that this verb did not inflect according to the *hatrae*-class originally.

Oettinger (1979a: 364) proposes a connection with Skt. *láyate* ‘to hide oneself’ from a root *\*leiH-*, implying that *u-* must be regarded as the *u*-prefix (q.v.). Since the prefix *u-* had the meaning ‘hither’, it is semantically not easy to interpret *ulae-* ‘to hide’ as *u+\*leiH-* ‘to hide hither’. Moreover, we would expect to find a counterpart with *pe-* as well, which is unattested. All in all, I am not convinced by Oettinger’s etymology.

**ulkiššara-**, **ualkiššara-** (adj.) ‘skilled, experienced, able’: nom.sg.c. *ya-al-kiš-ša-ra-aš* (KBo 1.42 i 4, 5 (NS)), acc.pl. *ul-ki-iš-ša-ru-uš* (KUB 29.1 ii 13 (OH/NS)) // [...k]i-iš-ša-ru-uš (KUB 29.2 ii 5 (OH/NS)))).

Derivatives: **ulkiššarahḫ-**<sup>i</sup>, **ualkiššarahḫ-**<sup>i</sup> (IIb) ‘to make perfectly, to depict perfectly’ (3sg.pres.act. *ya-al-ki-iš-ša-ra[-ah-ḫi]* (KBo 6.26 iv 30 (OH/NS)) // *ya-al-k[i-iš-ša-]ra-ah-ḫi* (KUB 13.14 rev. 7 + KUB 13.16, 4 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ul-ke-eš-ša-ra-ah-ḫe-er* (KBo 3.34 ii 32 (OH/NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *vārcas-*, GAv. *varəcah-* ‘splendour’.

PIE *\*ulk-sro-* ?

This word is spelled with initial *ul-k<sup>o</sup>* as well as *ya-al-k<sup>o</sup>*. E.g. Rieken (2001: 371) interprets this alteration as ablaut, but see Kloekhorst fthc.b for my view that ablauting pairs *uVC-* / *uC-* were not allowed in Hittite. I would rather compare this situation to the one found in *urāni*, *uarāni* ‘burns’: as I explain under its lemma, this verb reflects PIE *\*urh<sub>1</sub>óri*, which first yielded OH /ur<sup>?</sup>āni/, spelled *ú-ra-a-ni*, and consequently develops into MH/NH /uər<sup>?</sup>āni/, spelled *ya-ra-a-ni*. This means that PIE *\*uRC-* > OH /uRC-/ > MH/NH /uəRC/. Although the



attested forms of *ulkiššara-*, *ualkiššara-* are all found in NS texts, the fact that the spelling *ul-k<sup>o</sup>* is only found in OH compositions, could indicate that this word, too, shows this distribution, namely OH /ulk-/ > MH/NH /uəlk-/.

Hoffner (1963: 36-7) reconstructs this word as *\*u<sup>h</sup>al-g<sup>h</sup>esro-* ‘having a strong hand’, but this does not take into account the spellings with *ul-k<sup>o</sup>*. In my view, *ulkiššara-*, *ualkiššara-* is to be interpreted as /ulK<sub>i</sub>Sra-/ , /uəlk<sub>i</sub>Sra-/ , reflecting pre-Hitt. *\*ulK-sra-*, showing the suffix *-sra-* as visible in *naḥšaratt-* ‘fear’ and *gamuššarije/a<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to kneel’ as well. The root *\*ulK-* may belong with Skt. *vārcas-*, GAv. *varəčah-* ‘splendour’, which could reflect *\*uelk-es-*. If correct, we must reconstruct *\*ulk-sro-*.

**-umen- / -umn-** (suffix of appurtenance) ‘coming from ...’: nom.sg. <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-aš-šu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 29 (OH/NS)), <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-tu-šu-ma-aš* (KBo 18.151 obv. 1 (MH/MS)), <sup>URU</sup>*Za-al-pu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 28 (OH/NS)), <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-al-pu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 30 (OH/NS)), <sup>URU</sup>*Šu-tum-ma-na-aš*, acc.sg. <sup>URU</sup>*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an* (KBo 3.28 ii 5 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. <sup>URU</sup>*Lu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫé-eš-tu-u-um-ni* (KUB 58.50 iv 14 (OH/NS)), nom.pl.c. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*Ne-šu-me-né-eš* (OS), <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-a-ta-pu-u-me-né-eš* (OS), <sup>URU</sup>*Ša-lam-pu-u-me-né-eš* (OS); case? <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-tu-šum-ma-aš* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 rev. 15 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-uann(i)-** in <sup>URU</sup>*Ninuṽauann(i)-* ‘of Nineveh’, *tātaṽann(i)-* ‘stepfather’, *ānnaṽann(i)-* ‘stepmother’, *kulaṽann(i)-* ‘of the army’; HLuw. **-wan(i)-** in nom.sg.c. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Harran’, acc.sg.c. TONITRUS.HALPA-*pa-wa/i-ni-na* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Halpa’, gen.sg. <sup>DEUS</sup>*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa=pa=wa/i* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Harman’, dat.-loc.sg. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni=pa=w[a/i...]* ‘of Harran’, abl.-instr. *a-sú-ra/i* <sup>REGIO</sup>-*wa/i-na-ti* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Assyria’, nom.-acc.pl.n. *á-wa/i-ia-na-wa/i-na=pa=wa/i* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Awayana’, dat.-loc.pl. *ka-na-pu-wa/i-na-za* <sup>URBS</sup> ‘of Kanupa’; Lyc. **-ñne/i-** in *Pilleñne/i-* ‘of Pinara’, *Tlāñne/i-* ‘of Tlos’, *Xbidēñne/i-* ‘of Kaunos’; Mil. **-wñni-** in *Tunewñni* ‘of Tumnessos(?)’, *Xbidewñni* ‘of Kaunos’.

In most cases, this suffix denotes ethnic origin, for instance: <sup>LÚ</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫaššumaš* ‘the man of the city Ḫašša’, <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*Nešumeneš* ‘the men of the city Neša’. When derived from other nouns, it denotes appurtenance, e.g. <sup>LÚ</sup>*ḫeštūmni* ‘the man pertaining to the *ḫištā*’, *arunumaneš* ‘those of the sea’. A special case is *kuenzumna-* ‘coming from where?, of what origin?’, which is derived of *\*kuenzan*, gen.pl. of *kui- / kuṽa-* ‘who, what?’.

The original inflection of *-umen-* / *-umn-* seems to be nom.sg.c. *-umaš*, acc.sg. *-umnan*, gen.sg. *-umanaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *-umni*, nom.pl.c. *-umeneš* (all OH texts). According to Oettinger (1982b), the original situation probably has been nom.sg.c. *-umaš*, acc.sg.c. *\*-umenan*, gen.sg. *\*-umnaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *-umni*, nom.pl.c. *-umeneš*, which would point to an original *n*-stem inflection *-umen-* / *-umn-* (note that nom.sg.c. *-umaš* then must reflect *\*-umēn-s*). On the basis of nom.sg.c. *-umaš*, the variant *-umen-* sometimes was altered to *-uman-* (apart from gen.sg. *Lu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš* cited above, also nom.pl. *a-ru-nu-ma-né-e-eš* (KUB 8.14 obv. 14), etc.). The form *Ḫa-at-tu-šum-ma-aš* may show geminate *-mm-* from *\*-mn-*. In younger times, the suffix has become thematic, *-uma-*, on the basis of nom.sg.c. *-umaš*. Compare e.g. the name <sup>m</sup>*Šuppiluliuma*- lit. ‘the one of the pure well’ or <sup>LÚ</sup>*ḫištuma-* ‘person pertaining to the *ḫištā*’.

In Luwian, the suffix *-uann(i)-* has a similar meaning, which must be cognate with Lyc. *-ñne/i-* and Mil. *-wñne/i-*. These clearly show that the *-m-* of Hitt. *-umen-* must go back to *\*-u-*. The Hittite suffix is often spelled with plene U (e.g. *Ka-a-ta-pu-u-me-né-eš*, *Lu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš*), which indicates that we are dealing with */-omen-*, *-omn-/*. Herewith, this suffix is phonetically comparable to e.g. *tumēni* /*tomēni*/ ‘we take’ and *tarnumēni* /*trnomēni*/ ‘we release’ that go back to *\*dH-uēni* and *\*trnH-uēni* respectively. I therefore reconstruct the suffix *-umen-* / *-umn-* as *\*-Huen-* / *\*-Hun-*. I know of no IE cognates, however.

***ummiḫant-*** (adj.) describing ‘birds’: acc.pl.c. *um-mi-ḫa-an-du-uš* (KBo 6.14 i 9 (OH/NS)).

The adjective only occurs in §120 of the Hittite Laws:

KBo 6.14 i

(9) *ták-ku um-mi-ḫa-an-du-uš MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup> a[n-na-nu-uḫ-ḫu-uš? k(u-iš-kî)]*

(10) *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*

‘If someone steals trained? *ummiḫant*-birds, ...’.

On the basis of this context the meaning of *ummiḫant-* cannot be determined. The preceding paragraph deals with *lu-li-ḫa-aš MUŠEN-in an-na-nu-uḫ-ḫa-an na-aš-ma ka-ak-ka-pa-an an-na-nu-uḫ-ḫa-an* ‘a trained? pond-bird or a trained? *kakkapa-*’, but this does not shed much light on the meaning of *ummiḫant-* either. Nevertheless, Puhvel (HED 1/2: 48) translates the word as ‘young’, assuming a connection with *amiḫant-* ‘small’ (q.v.), the negated form of *mijant-*, participle of

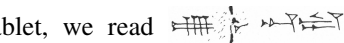
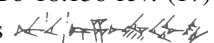
*mai<sup>-i</sup> / mi<sup>-</sup>* ‘to grow’). This translation is followed by Melchert (1994a: 160), who reconstructs *\*ud-mijant-* ‘grown up’. In my view, this is all much too speculative.

*umije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*: see *uemije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*

*-un* (1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-(n)un*

*ūnna<sup>-i</sup> / ūnni-* (IIa5 > IIa1γ) ‘to send (here), to drive (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *u-un-na-aḥ-ḥi* (KBo 18.136 rev. 17), 2sg.pres.act. *u-un-na-at-ti* (HKM 71 obv. 4 (MH/MS), KUB 30.34 iv 12 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *u-un-na-i* (MH/MS), *u-un-na-a-i*, 2pl.pres.act. *u-un-n[a]-at-te-ni* (KUB 26.19 ii 24 (MH/NS)), *u-[u]n-ni-iš-te-ni* (KUB 13.27 i 32 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *u-un-ni-an-zi* (OH/MS), *u-un-ni-ja-an-zi*, *u-un-na-an-zi* 1sg.pret.act. *u-un-na-aḥ-ḥu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *u-un-ni-eš* (KUB 9.34 iii 28, KUB 59.46 rev. 10 (dupl.)), 3sg.pret.act. *u-un-ni-iš* (HKM 24. obv. 11 (MH/MS), KUB 7.23, 3, KBo 12.3 i<sup>1</sup> 22), *u-un-ni-eš-ta* (KBo 18.54 obv. 8, KBo 4.4 ii 70), *u-un-ni-iš-ta* (KUB 14.15 ii 12), 1pl.pret.act. *u-un-nu-me-en* (HKM 47 obv. 10, 12 (MH/MS)), *u-un-nu-um-me-en* (HT 1 ii 27 (NS)) *u-un-nu-um-mi-in* (KUB 9.31 ii 54), 2sg.imp.act. *u-un-ni* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *u-un-na-ú* (KUB 13.2 i 21), 2pl.imp.act. *u-un-ni-iš-tén* (HKM 16, 10 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *u-un-ni-an-du* (HKM 65, rev. 25 (MH/MS)); verb.noun gen. *u-un-nu-ma-aš* (KBo 18.38 obv. 4); part.nom.sg.c. *u-un-na-an-za* (KUB 13.5 ii 17 (OH or MH/NS)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou + \*noih<sub>1/3</sub>-ei / \*nih<sub>1/3</sub>-enti*

In my text files, this verb is attested about 120 times with a spelling *u-un-n<sup>o</sup>*. A citation of an aberrant spelling can be found in the edition of HKM 31, where Alp (1991: 174) cites a form *ú-ni-an-du* ‘sie sollen schicken’ (rev. 19). In the handcopy of this tablet, we read  = *ú-[ ]x-an-du*, however. Although the small remains of the damaged sign indeed resemble the sign NI, this reading would leave quite a gap between *Ú* and NI. I therefore think that the traces that Alp reads as NI form the latter part of a larger sign. Although collation is necessary, I would rather read *ú-[d]a-an-du* ‘they must bring’ here. Kronasser (1966: 597) cites 3pl.pret.act. *ú-ni-ir* (KUB 31.64 ii 39), but the context in which this form is found is too broken to determine its meaning. Hagenbuchner (1989: 223) cites KBo 18.136 rev. (17) *nu-uš<sup>1</sup> un-na-aḥ-ḥi*. The handcopy of the tablet clearly shows  = *nu u un na aḥ ḥi*, however. I do not understand why Hagenbuchner emends U to UŠ: I would rather read *nu u-un-na-aḥ-ḥi*. Some attestations of aberrant spellings are real, however. In KBo 18.14 rev. 12, we find

3sg.pres.act. *un-na-i*, but perhaps we are allowed to emend this to *⟨u-⟩un-na-i*. In HT 1 ii 20, we find 3pl.pres.act. *u-ni-ia-an-zi*, but this is likely to be emended to *u-⟨un-⟩ni-ia-an-zi*. Taking this into account, we must conclude that all spellings of this verb show initial *u-un-n<sup>o</sup>*.

The verb *ūnna/i-* shows the typical *mēma/i-*inflection (*ūnnaḫhi*, *ūnnaṭti*, *ūnnaṭ* vs. *ūnnaṭzi*). As I explain at the treatment of the *mēma/i-*class in § 2.2.2.2.h, verbs of this class derive from polysyllabic *dāi/tiānzi*-class verbs that are being influenced by the *tarn(a)*-class from pre-Hittite times onwards.

It is generally accepted that *ūnna/i-* is a compound of the preverb *u-* (q.v.) and *nai-<sup>i</sup> / \*ni-* ‘to turn’ (see at *nē-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *nai-<sup>i</sup> / \*ni-*) and functions as the counterpart of *penna-<sup>i</sup> / penni-* ‘to send (there)’ (*pe-* + *nai-/ni-*). It is unclear why we find a geminate *-nn-* here, which we also find in *penna-<sup>i</sup> / penni-* and in *nanna-<sup>i</sup> / nanni-* (see under *nē-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*, *nai-<sup>i</sup> / \*ni-*). Perhaps the univerbations and the reduplication were formed at a time that all initial consonants were fortis. Note that the spelling with *u-* points to a phonological stem /ʔoNa-/ , in which the preverb *u-* apparently was lowered to /ʔo/ due to the following *-nn-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f).

***unattalla-*** (c.) ‘merchant’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>DAM.GÀR): acc.sg. *ú-na-at-ta-al-la-an* (KBo 6.2 i 6 (OS)).

This word only occurs in §5 of the Hittite Laws:

KUB 6.2 i

(3) *ták-ku* <sup>LÚ</sup>DAM.GÀR *ku-iš-ki ku-e-en-zi*

...

(6) *nu-u=z-za ú-na-at-ta-al-la-an=pát ar-nu-uz-zi*

‘If someone kills a merchant ..... He will make the merchant be transported (= let him bury)’.

Its meaning is only known because of the fact that it must refer to the <sup>LÚ</sup>DAM.GÀR ‘merchant’ mentioned in the first line.

The suffix *-ttalla-* is used to form, among others, deverbal nomina actoris. Kronasser (1966: 176) therefore derives this noun from the verb *ūnna-<sup>i</sup> / ūnni-* ‘to send here, to drive here’ (q.v.). Problematic, however, is the fact that this verb is consistently spelled *u-un-na-*, whereas *unattalla-* is spelled *ú-na-*. I therefore would reject the connection but must admit that I do not have an alternative solution.

***ū(n)h<sup>-z</sup>*** (Ib3) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *u-un-ħa-zi* (KUB 35.79 i 5), 3pl.pres.act. *u-un-ħa-an-zi* (KUB 32.94 i 3 (OS), KUB 30.40 i 18, KBo 39.118 obv. 9 (fr.), KBo 40.183, 5 (fr.), KUB 39.57 i 9 (fr.)), 1sg.pret.act. *u-un-ħu-un* (KUB 31.77 i 16), 3sg.pret.act. *u-uħ-ta* (KUB 31.77 i 12), *u-un-Vħ-da* (KBo 18.180 rev. 10), 3pl.pret.act. *u-un-ħe-er* (KUB 42.20, 9), 3pl.imp.act. *u-un-ħa-an-du* (Bo 69/326 (see Oettinger 1979a: 183)); impf. *u-un-ħi-eš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 31.77 i 12).

The meaning of this verb is difficult to determine. Laroche (1954: 48) proposed a meaning ‘to suck’, which has been taken over by Friedrich HW and Oettinger (1979a: 183), but Kořak (1982: 242) explicitly states “mng. unkn., not “to suck”“. The verb is consistently spelled with initial *u-*. The only *n*-less form is 3sg.pret.act. *u-uħ-ta*, where we would expect it: *ūnhC* > *ūħC* (compare the distribution between *likC* and *linkV* in the paradigm of *li(n)k<sup>-z</sup>*). This means that in e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *u-un-ħa-zi* and 3sg.pret.act. *u-un-Vħ-da* the *-n-* was restored.

Although clear cognates are missing, Oettinger (l.c.) mechanically reconstructs *\*h<sub>1,3</sub>uénh<sub>2</sub>-ti*, *\*h<sub>1,3</sub>unh<sub>2</sub>-énti*, which would mean that the zero-grade stem spread throughout the paradigm. Note that a root *\*Heunh<sub>2</sub>-* would be against the PIE root constraints.

***uni(-)*** : see *aši / uni / ini*

***unu<sup>-z</sup>*** (Ib2 > Ic2) ‘to adorn, to decorate, to lay (the table)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-nu-ua-mi* (410/u, 14 (NS) (cf. StBoT 5: 184)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-nu-uz-zi* (KBo 38.265 i 11 (MS), KBo 18.108 upper edge 9 (NS)), *ú-nu-u[z-z]i* (KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 iii<sup>1</sup> 4 (NS)), *ú-nu-u-ua-iz-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 16 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-nu-ua-an-zi* (KBo 5.1 iv 16 (MH/NS), KUB 58.100 iii 4, KBo 2.13 obv. 13, KUB 17.35 i 32, etc.), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-nu-ut* (KUB 31.143 ii 23 (OS), KBo 25.119, 3 (OS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-nu-e-er* (KBo 19.112, 6 (MH/NS), KUB 33.96 iv 16 (NS), KUB 15.36 obv. 7, 10 (NH)), *ú-nu-er* (KBo 39.290 iii 10 (NS)), *ú-nu-ua-a-er* (KUB 36.67 ii 19 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-nu-ua-[an]-du* (KUB 33.96 iv 13 + KUB 36.7a iv 50, KUB 36.25 i 4); 1sg.pres.midd. *ú-nu-ua-aħ-ħa-ri* (KUB 17.9 i 32 (NS)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-nu-ud-da* (KUB 4.4 ii 15 (NH)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-nu-ut-ta-at* (KUB 17.5 i 5 (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-nu-ua-an-ta-at* (KUB 46.30, 31); part. *ú-nu-ua-an-t-*; inf. II *ú-nu-ua-an-na* (KUB 17.35 i 28); impf. *ú-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***unuuašħa-***, ***unašħa-*** (c.) ‘decoration, adornment’ (acc.sg. *ú-nu-ua-aš-ħa-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-nu-ua-aš-ħi*, abl. *ú-nu-ua-aš-ħa-za*, nom.pl. *ú-nu-ua-aš-ħe-eš*, acc.pl. *ú-nu-ua-aš-ħu-uš*, *ú-na-aš-ħu-uš* (KUB 12.31 ii 25)).

IE cognates: Lat. *ind-uō* ‘to put on (clothes)’, Arm. *(h)aganim* ‘to put on’, Lith. *aĩti, aunù* ‘to put on (shoes)’, OCS *ob-uti* ‘to put on (shoes)’.

PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>u-néu-ti* / *\*h<sub>3</sub>u-nu-énti*

Friedrich (HW: 234) cited this verb as *unuūāi-*, apparently on the basis of *ú-nu-u-ya-iz-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 16 (OH/NS)) and *ú-nu-ya-a-er* (KUB 36.67 ii 19 (NH)) (note that the form “*ú-nu-u<sup>1</sup>-y[a-iz-z]i<sup>1</sup>*”, read thus in KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 iii<sup>1</sup> 4 by Haas & Wegner (1999: 190), does not exist: the handcopy clearly shows *ú-nu-u[z-z]i* (cf. Groddek & Kloekhorst 2006: 188). The oldest forms of this verb, *ú-nu-uz-zi* (MS) and *ú-nu-ut* (OS), clearly show that we are dealing with an original stem *unu<sup>-zi</sup>*, however. The occasional forms that show a stem *unu<sup>ya-e-zi</sup>* (apart from *ú-nu-u-ya-iz-zi* and *ú-nu-ya-a-er* also *ú-nu-ya-mi*) are found in NS texts only (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 322<sup>134</sup>) and must have been secondarily formed under the influence of the highly productive *hatrae*-class. Almost all forms are spelled with initial *ú-*. A spelling with *u-* can only be found in

KUB 4.3 ii

(12) *ḥa-me-iš-ḥi-a* GU<sub>4</sub>-*un le-e ya-aš-ti kar-ša-an-tan<sub>x</sub>=ma=za*

(13) *gal-liš-tar-ya-ni-li* <le>e<<-da>> *da-at-ti mar-ša-an-za*

(14) GU<sub>4</sub>-*uš ḥa-me-iš-ḥi=pát* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ri i-da-lu-uš=ma=z[a]*

(15) *kar-ša-an-za gal-liš-tar-ya-ni-li u-nu-ya-ta-r[i]*

(16) *nu=za ú-e-kán-ta-an TÚG-an ya-aš-ši-ia[-zi]*

(17) *ku-uš-ša-ni-an=ma=za ḫ-an iš-ki-ḫ[a-zi]*

‘Do not buy a cow in spring (just as) you should not take a girl (in marriage) during a party. Especially in spring a cow of poor quality looks good, (just as) an ugly girl has adorned herself for the party: she wears fashionable clothes and puts on oil that has been borrowed’.

but here we are rather dealing with a scribal error, cf. the mistakes in line 13.

For the meaning ‘to decorate, to adorn’, cf. Sommer & Ehelolf (1924: 74). According to Oettinger (l.c.), who apparently assumes that *unu-* originally is a causative in *-nu-*, this verb is to be connected with Lat. *ind-uō* ‘to put on (clothes)’. This latter verb is generally connected with Arm. *(h)aganim* ‘to put on’, Lith. *aĩti, aunù* ‘to put on (shoes)’, etc. and reconstructed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* ‘to put on (shoes)’ (cf. e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup>, although there a root final laryngeal is reconstructed (*\*h<sub>2</sub>euH-*), for which I see no evidence). This connection is convincing semantically (‘\*to make put on > to decorate’), but formally it is problematic, because a preform *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-neu-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*\*ḫunu-*. This problem

can be solved by either rejecting the etymology, or by adjusting the reconstruction. I would like to propose the latter solution.

The reconstruction of the initial  $*h_2$  is especially prompted by Arm. *(h)aganim*, which seems to reflect  $*h_2eu-$ . The question is of course whether a reconstruction  $*h_3eu-$  is possible as well. In Armenian, there is a sound law that  $*o$  in open syllable yields *a*, so  $*-oCV > -aCV$ , but this development is supposed to have been blocked when this sequence is followed by an *-o-* (*olorm* ‘pity’, *olok* ‘prayer’, *oroĵ* ‘lamb’), or when the consonant in question is *-v-* (*hoviw* ‘shepherd’  $< *h_3eu-$ ) or a reflex of  $*u$  (*loganam* ‘to bathe’  $< *louH-$ , *kogi* ‘butter’  $< *kou-$ ; all examples by Kortlandt 1983: 10). Although in the first two cases the retention of  $*o$  is phonetically motivated, in the second case it is not: the development of  $*u > g$  occurs very early in the Armenian chronology of sound laws, whereas the unrounding of  $*o$  in open syllables is a quite recent phenomenon. It is more probable to assume that in the case of *kogi* and *loganam* the *-o-* is analogical to *kov* ‘cow’ and  $*lov$  (where *-o-* is regular). This would pave the way for my view that *haganim*  $< *hoganim < *h_3eu-$  (whereas *aganim*  $< *oganim < *h_3ou-$ ), and that the PIE root actually was  $*h_3eu-$ . With this reconstruction, the derivation of Hitt. *unu-*  $< *h_3u-neu-$  is phonetically regular (see Kloekhorst fthc.c for the development of word-initial laryngeals in Hittite).

The derivative *unuāšha-* is spelled as *ú-na-aš-h°* once (KUB 12.31 ii 25), which may have to be regarded as a scribal error, copying the signs NU-ŪA (𐎒𐎠𐎶) as NA (𐎒𐎠) (compare the mistaken spelling *nu-ua-aš-šu* for *na-aš-šu*).




***ūpp<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib1) ‘to come up (of the sun)’: 3sg.pres.act. *u-up-zi* (often), *up-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 25, KUB 55.65 rev.<sup>2</sup> iv 50, 643/z 1.col. 4 (see Otten 1971b: 47)), 3sg.pret.act. *u-up-ta* (KUB 31.147 ii 18 (MH/NS), KBo 5.8 iii 23 (NH)), *up-ta* (KBo 16.8 iii 27 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *u-up-ta-at* (KUB 21.10, 13 (NH)); verb.noun gen. *u-up-pu-u-ua-aš* (KUB 8.21, 8).

IE cognates: OHG *ūf*, ModDu. *op* ‘upon’; Skt. *upári*, Gr. *ὑπερ*, Lat. *super*, Goth. *ufar* ‘over’.

PIE  $*h_1éup-ti$

When we look at the attestations of this verb as cited in Oettinger 1979a: 232, we get the impression that its spelling is quite a mess: we find forms that are spelled *u-up°*, *up°* as well as *ú-up°*. A closer look at the attestations shows that this may not be the case, however.

If we look at the instances of *ú-up-*, we see that these are all rather problematic. The form 3sg.pres.act. *ú-up-zi* (KBo 15.34 ii 22) as cited by Oettinger is

incorrect. In the handcopy of this tablet, we see that the second sign of this word is slightly damaged: . The part that is visible, however, does not point to the sign UP, but rather to the sign IZ. We therefore should read *n=a-aš-ta ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš *ú[-e]z-zi* ‘when the Sun-god comes’. The form 2sg.pres.act. *ú-up-ši* (KUB 6.45 iii 14) cited by Oettinger must be read  = *ú-ú[a-]ši* ‘you come’, as can be seen by its duplicate, KUB 6.46 ii 53, where we find *ú-ú-a-ši*. The form 3sg.pres.act. *ú-up[-zi]* (KUB 28.74 obv. 1) that Oettinger cites is more difficult. When we look at the handcopy of the tablet,  we see that the sign following *Ú* is that damaged, that one cannot say with certainty that it must be UP. In my view, IZ is possible as well, which would give a reading *ú-e[z-zi]*. I must admit, however, that this sentence, *[m]a-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš=*kán ú-x[...]* (KUB 28.74 obv. 1) has a seeming parallel in e.g. KBo 5.2 ii 29, where we find *ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš=*kán u-up-zi* ‘when it becomes light, the Sun-god comes up’. Nevertheless, both *ūpp-<sup>zi</sup>* and *ue-<sup>zi</sup> / uua-* are used to describe the coming-up of the Sun-god (e.g. <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš *ú[-e]z-zi* ‘the Sun-god comes’ in KBo 15.34 ii 22 cited above), so despite the seeming parallel, a reading *ú-e[z-zi]* should be equally possible. I therefore conclude that there are no convincing spellings of the verb *ūpp-<sup>zi</sup>* with initial *ú-*.

On the contrary, the attestations cited by Oettinger with only *up<sup>o</sup>* are reliable, e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *up-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 25, KUB 55.65 rev.<sup>7</sup> iv 50, 643/z l.col. 4 (see Otten 1971b: 47), 3sg.pret.act. *up-ta* (KBo 16.8 iii 27).

According to Oettinger (1979a: 233), the one middle form *ūptat*, which is found in a NH text, must be analogical to the middle form *luktat* ‘it has become bright’.

The verb.noun gen.sg. *u-up-pu-u-ua-aš* (KUB 8.21, 8) is important as it shows that the root-final consonant is geminate *-pp-* and not single *-p-*, which points to etymological *\*p*. Oettinger reconstructs the verb as *\*h<sub>1</sub>éup-ti*, connecting it to PIE *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)up(o)*. The exact meaning and form of this adverb is unclear, however: Skt. *úpa*, Gr. *ὑπο*, Lat. *sub*, OIr. *fó*, Goth. *uf* all denote ‘under’, whereas OHG *ūf*, ModDu. *op* mean ‘upon’. The latter forms seemingly belong with *\*uper(i)* ‘over’ (Skt. *upári*, Gr. *ὑπερ*, Lat. *super*, Goth. *ufar* ‘over’), which would semantically fit Hitt. *ūpp-<sup>zi</sup>* as well. All in all, I follow Oettinger in reconstructing *\*h<sub>1</sub>éup-ti*.



*uppa-<sup>i</sup> / uppi-* (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to send (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *up-pa-aḥ-ḥi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *up-pa-at-ti* (KBo 10.12 + KBo 10.13 iii 33 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *up-pa-a-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *up-pí-ú-e-ni* (KUB 17.21 iv 13 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pres.act. *up-pa-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.17 iv 8 (OH/NS), KUB 13.4 iv 45 (fr.) (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *up-pí-an-zi* (MH/MS), *up-pí-ī[a-an-zi]*, *up-pa-an-zi* (KUB 14.3 ii 62 (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *up-pa-aḥ-ḥu-un* (MH/MS), 2sg.pret.act. *up-pí-eš-ta*



(e.g. KBo 18.76 rev. 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *up-pí-eš-ta*, *up-pí-iš-ta*, *up-pa-a-aš* (KUB 9.34 i 17), *up-pa-aš* (KUB 26.70, 3 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *up-pí-ú-en* (KUB 34.55 i 10 (MS)), *up-pa-u-e-en* (MH/MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *up-pí-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *up-pí*, 3sg.imp.act. *up-pa-ú*, 2pl.imp.act. *up-pí-iš-tén* (KBo 20.108 rev. 9 (NS)), *up-pí-eš-tén* (KBo 18.2 rev. 5 (NS)); part. *up-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen. *up-pí-ja-u-ua-aš* (IBoT 3.148 iv 23 (MH/NS)); impf. *up-pí-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *up-pí-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***uppieššar* / *uppiešn-*** (n.) ‘sending, gift’ (nom.-acc.sg. *up-pí-eš-šar* (often), *up-pí-ja-aš-šar*, *up-pí-iš-šar* (KBo 13.57 l.ledge 3 (NS), KBo 1.35, 16 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *up-pí-eš-ni*, nom.-acc.pl. *up-pí-eš-šar*<sup>H1.A</sup> (KUB 23.101 ii 19 (NH)), *up-pí-aš-šar*<sup>H1.A</sup> (KUB 23.101 ii 4 (NH)), *up-pí-ja-aš-šar* (KUB 33.93+ iii 29 (NH)), [*up-*] *pí-eš-šar-ri*<sup>H1.A</sup> (KUB 18.24, 5 (NS))).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-oi-ei* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>p-i-enti*

This verb is consistently spelled *up-p<sup>o</sup>* (about 120 cases in my files). All alleged other spellings are dubious regarding their interpretation. Alp (1991: 294) cites a form *u<sup>2</sup>-up<sup>2</sup>-p[a-aḥ-ḥu-un]* (HKM 93, 4), but the traces in the hand copy of this tablet are very difficult to interpret: . Von Schuler (1957: 42) cites *ú-u[p-p]a-ú* (KUB 13.2 i 19), but this form is damaged as well: . We possibly have to read something else here, e.g. *ú-d[a-]a-ú*? The hapax attestation *u-pí-eš-ká[n-zí]* (KUB 59.3, 11) is problematic as well: in this small fragment (19 lines) the verb *pí-eš-ke/a-* is attested 4 times (3x *pí-eš-kán-zi*, 1x *pí-eš-ke-er*), which may be seen as an indication that the first wedge of *u-pí-eš-ká[n-zí]* is just an error and that we have to read *pí-eš-ká[n-zí]* here as well. All in all, I conclude that the spelling *up-p<sup>o</sup>* is the only correct spelling of this verb.

This verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class (*uppaḥḥi* vs. *uppianzi*). Like all *mēma/i*-class verbs, this verb, too, shows influence of the *tarn(a)*-class inflection from MH times onwards, yielding forms like *uppanzi*, *uppaḥen* and *uppant-*. The form *uppiḥauušaš* shows a stem *uppiḥe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Oettinger (1979a: 489) states that *uppa-<sup>i</sup>* / *uppi-* “sicher als *u* ‘her’ und *piḥe-<sup>hhi</sup>* ‘geben’ [ist] zusammengesetzt”, which I support wholeheartedly. The fact that *uppa/i-* belongs to the *mēma/i*-class whereas *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* ‘to give’ belongs to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class is comparable to the situation of *ūnna-<sup>i</sup>* / *ūnni* ‘to drive (here)’ and *penna-<sup>i</sup>* / *penni-* ‘to drive (away)’ (both inflecting according to the *mēma/i*-class) that are derived from *nai-* / *\*ni-* (*dāi/tijanzi*-class): in pre-Hittite times polysyllabic *dāi/tijanzi*-class verbs were influenced by the *tarn(a)*-class and yielded the synchronic *mēma/i*-class (see at the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h). See at *u-* and *pai-<sup>i</sup>* / *pi-* for an elaborate etymological treatment of these two elements.

According to Rieken (1999a: 383f.), the derivative *uppieššar* is altered to *uppiāššar* in NH times in analogy to the forms of the verb that start to be interpreted as showing a stem *uppiā-* (e.g. *uppiāuuaš*). Rieken (1999a: 390) also cites a form *u-up-pí-iš*, which is attested on a badly damaged fragment:

KBo 34.25

- (4) [x - x -]x-na-a-aš ša-a-ru ki-iš-ta-a-ti šar-ua-aš x[- x]  
 (5) [ki-iš-t]a-a-ti ḫal-ḫal-ta-ni-īa-aš ša-a-ru ki-iš-ta-a-[ti]  
 (6) [x - x k]i-iš-ta-a-ti u-up-pí-iš ki-iš-ta-a-[ti]

‘The loot of [x-x]-nā- has perished. The x of the loot has perished. The loot of the ḫalḫaltani- has perished. The [x] has perished. The *ūppi-* has perished’.

Because of the occurrence of the word *šāru* ‘loot, booty’ on this fragment (note however that CHD (Š: 296) interprets *šāru* as “an evil force” here), and because of the formal similarity, Rieken states that “eine Deutung von *uppiš* als “Sendung, Geschenk” (= *uppeššar/uppiāššar*) immerhin eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit [besitzt]”. Problematic, however, is the fact that this form would be the only one within the group of attestations of *uppa<sup>i</sup>- / uppi-* and *uppieššar* that is spelled with initial *u-up-p<sup>o</sup>*. I therefore would rather separate this form from *uppa/i-*.

The CLuw. verb *ūppa-* is often translated ‘to send, to bring’ and regarded as cognate with Hitt. *uppa<sup>i</sup>- / uppi-*. In my view, a translation ‘to send, to bring’ for CLuw. *uppa-* cannot be ascertained on the basis of the contexts in which it occurs, and has probably been suggested on the basis of a formal similarity with Hitt. *uppa/i-* only. This makes CLuw. *uppa-* etymologically valueless.

**upāti-** (n.) ‘landgrant’: nom.-acc.sg. (𐎧) *ú-pa-ti, ú-ba-a-ti* (KBo 5.11 ii 15), gen.sg. *ú-pa-ti-aš, ú-pa-ti-aš, ú-pa-a-ti-īa-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-ba-a-ti* (OS), *ú-ba-ti-īa* (OS), nom.-acc.pl. *ú-pa-a-ti<sup>HLA</sup>*.

Derivatives: <sup>(LÚ)</sup>*upatitalla-* ‘?’ (stem? *ú-pa-ti-ta-al-la* (KUB 56.12, 9), <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*ú-pa-ti-ta-al-l[a(-)...]* (KUB 56.12, 10)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **upa-** ‘to furnish, to grant(?)’ (3pl.pres.act. *ú-pa-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-pa-at-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *ú-pa*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-pa-an-du*, part. *ú-pa-am-ma-an*); HLuw. **upatit-** ‘territory’ (dat.-loc.sg. <sup>\*274</sup>*u-pa-ti-ti* (TELL AHMAR 1 §8), <sup>\*274</sup>*u-pa-ti-ti-i* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20), gen.adj.acc.sg.c. <sup>\*274</sup>*u-pa-ti-tà-si-i-na* (MARAŞ 4 §3)).

Although this word is attested in OS texts already, it is generally accepted that this word must be of Luwian origin. This is indicated by the occasional use of

gloss wedges as well as by the fact that the word is attested in HLuwian as *upatit-*. Luwian stems in *-it-* show a nom.-acc.sg. in *-i* and therefore are borrowed into Hittite as *-i*-stems (cf. gen.sg. *upatiiaš*). Melchert (1993b: 242) interprets the CLuwian verb *ú-pa-* as ‘to furnish, to grant’ and assumes that this is the basis for *upatit-*. Starke (1990: 198), however, states that *upatit-* is likely to be analysed as a derivative in *-it-*, of which the basis *upat-* is not yet identifiable. According to him, other borrowings are OAss. *ubadinnum* and Ugar. ‘*ubdy* ‘territory’.

**ur-<sup>āri</sup>**, **uar-<sup>āri</sup>** (III<sup>f</sup>) ‘to burn (intr.), to be burned’ (Sum. BIL): 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-ra-a-ni* (StBoT 25.4 iii 44 (OS), StBoT 25.137 ii 3 (fr.) (OS), KBo 9.127+ i 6, 8, 29 (fr.) (MS), KUB 33.59 iii 9 (OH/NS), KBo 22.137 ii 13 (NS), KUB 32.8 iii 23 (NS), 450/u, 4 (NS)), *ua-ra-a-ni* (KBo 8.96 obv. 3, 5, 7 (MS), KUB 60.73 rev. 17 (MS), KBo 6.12 i 19 (OH/NS), KUB 30.15+ obv. 10 (OH/NS), KUB 33.46 i 4 (OH/NS), KUB 33.53 + FHG 2 ii 14 (OH/NS), KUB 33.67 iv 3, 4 (OH/NS), KUB 15.31 ii 2, 4, iii 59 (MH/NS), KUB 15.32 ii 20, iv 29 (MH/NS), 1321/u iii 59, iv 8 (MH/NS), KBo 39.169 i 2 (NS), KBo 39.290 iii 14 (NS), KBo 44.80, 3 (NS), KUB 7.56 ii 2 (NS), KUB 10.95 iii 4 (NS), KUB 17.12 iii 7 (NS), KUB 25.31 ii 2, 4 (NS), KUB 29.4 iii 58, iv 41 (NS), KUB 39.71 ii 18 (NS), KUB 58.83 iii 9 (NS), KBo 12.33 iii 5 (NH), etc.), *ú-ua-ra-a-n[i]* (1191/z obv. 11 (NS)), *ua-ra-ni* (KUB 33.67 iv 2 (2x) (OH/NS)), *ua-ra-an-ni* (KUB 30.36 iii 3 (MH/NS), KUB 58.83 iii 14 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ua-ra-an-da-ri* (KUB 58.83 iii 10 (NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ua-ra-an-ta-at* (KUB 39.36, 7 (OH/NS), KUB 39.39 ii 2 (OH/NS)), *ua-ra-an-da-at* (KUB 39.4+ obv. 19 (OH/NS), KUB 39.14 i 14, ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 39.35 (+) 30.24 i 30, ii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 34.65, 8 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-ra-a-nu* (KUB 12.28, 8 (NS)), *ua-ra-a-nu* (KUB 29.7+ obv. 66 (MH/MS), KUB 33.11 iii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 33.49 iii 12 (OH/NS), KUB 33.53 + FHG 2 ii 16 (OH/NS), KUB 51.30 rev. 6 (OH/NS), KBo 39.252, 3, 5 (NS), KUB 17.12 iii 5 (NS)), *ua-ra-nu* (KBo 38. 247 ii 6 (MS?)); part. *ua-ra-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ua-ra-a-an-t-*.

Derivatives: **uarnu-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to kindle, to set fire to’ (1sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-nu-zi*, *ua-ar-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ar-nu-an-zi*, *ua-ar-nu-ua-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-nu-ut*, 1pl.pret.act. *ua-ar-nu-me-en*, *ua-ar-nu-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ua-ar-nu-er* (MH/MS), *ua-ar-nu-e-er*, *ua-ar-nu-ú-e-er* (KUB 17.10 iii 15), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-nu-ut*, 2pl.imp.act. *ua-ar-nu-ut-tén*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ua-ar-nu-ta-ri* (KUB 8.25 i 3, 9); part. *ua-ar-nu-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ua-ar-nu-ma-aš*, *ua-ar-nu-um-ma-aš*, *ua-ar-nu-ua-aš* (KUB 12.22, 16), inf.I *ua-ar-nu-ma-an-zi*, *ua-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi*; impf. *ua-ar-*

*nu-uš-ke/a-*), **uriṽarant-** (adj.) ‘burning’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ú-ri-ṽa-ra-an* (KUB 17.10 iii 22 (OH/MS))), see *uranae*<sup>zi</sup>.

IE cognates: Lith. *virtī*, *vérdu* ‘to cook’, OCS *vbrěti* ‘to cook’.

PIE *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-ó-ri*

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See Neu 1968: 188f. for an extensive treatment of this verb. The 3sg.-forms *ṽ(a)rāni* and *ṽ(a)rānu* are unique in the sense that they show dissimilation from original *\*ṽ(a)rāri* and *\*ṽ(a)rāru*. The verb shows two stems, namely *ur-* (attested in OS texts already) and *ṽar-* (from MS texts onwards). Sometimes, these stems are regarded as ablaut variants (e.g. Rieken 2001: 371, who apparently regards *ur-* as zero grade vs. *ṽar-* as full grade). This is very unlikely, however: middles from the *tukkāri*-class show a zero grade root throughout the paradigm. This means that there never was a full grade form to begin with from which a full grade stem could have spread over the paradigm. Moreover, the clear chronological distribution between OH *ú-ra-a-ni* vs. MH/NH *ṽa-ra-a-ni* rather indicates that we are dealing with a phonetic development that took place within the Hittite period.

Since Goetze & Pedersen 1934: 74 this verb is generally connected with Lith. *virtī* ‘to cook’ and OCS *vbrěti* ‘to cook’. Because these latter forms show acute accent, they must reflect *\*uerH-*, which means that for Hittite we must reconstruct *\*urH-ór(i)*. If we now compare the MH/NH form *ṽa-ra-a-ni*, which must go back to *\*urH-ór(i)*, to *paripparai* = /pripərʔái/ < *\*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei*, in which *\*h<sub>1</sub>* must have remained as a synchronic phoneme /ʔ/ in order to cause the *\*r* to vocalize to /ər/, we see that we must phonologically interpret *ṽa-ra-a-ni* as /uərʔáni/. So here the laryngeal has been preserved as well (which indicates that we must reconstruct *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-*, since *\*urh<sub>2/3</sub>-ór(i)* would have yielded *\*\*uarhāri*). The question now is, how is OH *ú-ra-a-ni* to be interpreted? In my view, *ú-ra-a-ni* represents phonological /urʔáni/ in which vocalization of *-r-* has not taken place yet. So I reckon with a development *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-ór(i)* > OH /urʔáni/ > MH/NH /uərʔáni/. For other instances of PIE *\*uRC-* > OH /uRC-/ > MH/NH /uəRC-/ , see e.g. at *ṽalkuṽa-* and *ulkiššara-*, *ṽalkiššara-*.

Note that the reduplicated adj. *uriṽarant-* probably stands for /uri-uərʔant-/. The causative *ṽarnu*<sup>zi</sup> must reflect *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-neu-*. This form then should regularly have yielded OH /urnū-/ (with loss interconsonantal *\*h<sub>1</sub>*) > MH/NH /uərnū-/. The absence of a spelling *\*\*ur-nu-* = /urnū-/ is due to the fact that this verb is not attested in OS texts.

The exact interpretation of the hapax form *u-a-ra-i* (KUB 17.27 ii 26 (MH/NS)) is unclear to me. It seems to denote something like ‘starts a fire’, cf. the translation by Haas & Wegner (1988a: 192):

KUB 17.27 ii

(25) *nu=kán*<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI<sup>d</sup>UTU-i IGI-an-da 3 GIR<sub>4</sub><sup>HIA</sup> an-da *har-pa-a-iz-zi*

(26) *nu GÍR ZABAR pa-aḥ-hur-r=a u-a-ra-i nu=kán u-a-tar*

(27) <sup>NINDA</sup>*pár-ša-an-n=a an-da pé-eš-ši-ia-az-zi nu kiš-an me-ma-i*

“Und die Beschwörerin häuft dem Sonnengott gegenüber gesondert drei gebrannte Tongeschirre auf; und einen Dolch (aus) Bronz (hält sie), und facht ein Feuer an; und Wasser und zerbröckeltes Brot wirft sie hinein und spricht in dieser Weise:”.

Yet, the formal analysis of *uārai* is rather enigmatic. Melchert (1984a: 11<sup>13</sup>) states that *uārai* replaces original *\*uāri* < *\*uórei*, but since we are dealing with a root *\*uēr<sub>h</sub>*- and since *\*uór<sub>h</sub>-ei* should yield *\*uāri* (cf. *āri* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ór<sub>h</sub>-ei*, *šāri* < *\*sór<sub>h</sub>-ei*) this is impossible. Perhaps *uārai* is an *ad hoc* transitive formation on the basis of the middle *uār-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be burning’ instead of normal *uarnu-<sup>zi</sup>*.

*ūrr-*: see *ūrr(ije/a)-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ura-*: see <sup>GIŠ</sup>*uera-*

<sup>DUG</sup>*urā-* (gender unclear) a vessel?: case? *u-ra-a-aš* (KUB 11.56 v 5).

This word occurs only once, in KUB 11.56 v (5) [ ... ] 2 <sup>DUG<sup>HIA</sup></sup>*u-ra-a-aš mar-nu-ua-an ar-ta* ‘... 2 u.-vessels with beer stands’. It is not clear whether we have to regard *urāš* as nom.pl. here, or as dat.-loc.pl. and assume that another word, which is now lost because it stood in the broken part, was the subject of the sentence and stood near the *urā*-vessels. No clear meaning, no etymology.

Friedrich (HW Erg. 1: 22) also refers to KBo 8.72 i 7 under this lemma, but there we find <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ú-ra-a-an*, for which see at <sup>GIŠ</sup>*uera-*.

*urajanni-*, *urijanni-*<sup>MUŠEN</sup> (c.) an oracle bird: nom.sg. *u-ra-ia-an-ni-eš* (KUB 5.11 iv 60), *u-ra-ia-an-ni-š* (KUB 5.24 ii 46), *u-ri-an-ni-eš*<sup>MUŠEN</sup> (KBo 15.28 i 4), acc.pl. *u-ra-ia-an-ni-uš* (KUB 5.20 iii 18).

This word denotes a bird used in bird oracles, but it is not clear exactly what kind of bird is meant. The formal similarity with <sup>LÚ</sup>*urijanni-*, *urajanni-*, a functionary (spelled with the sign U as well, and showing a similar alternation between *urija-* and *uraja-*) is striking. An equation of the two cannot be proven, however. Further unclear.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*urajanni-*: see <sup>LÚ</sup>*urijanni-*

<sup>LÚ</sup>*uralla-* (c.) ‘horse-trainer’: acc.sg. *u-ra-al-la-a(n)=š-ša-ma-an* (KBo 3.34 ii 23).

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>*urallatar* / *urallann-* (n.) ‘profession of horse-trainer’ (dat.-loc.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup>*u-ra-al-la-an-ni* (KUB 31.112, 15)).

This word occurs only once, in KBo 3.34 ii (22) ... *a-pu-u-n=a* (23) <sup>LÚ</sup>*u-ra-al-la-a(n)=š-ša-ma-an i-e-et* ‘but he made him into their *uralla-*’. From the context it is clear that *uralla-* is some kind of functionary in horse-training. The context of <sup>LÚ</sup>*urallanni* is too broken for a good understanding of the text. Nevertheless it is likely that this word, which must belong with an abstract noun *\*urallatar* must denote something like ‘profession of horse-trainer’. The origin of these words is unclear.

⚡ *uranae-<sup>z</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to bring a fire-offering’: 3sg.pres.act. ⚡ *ú-ra-na-iz-zi* (KBo 23.112, 4), verb.noun ⚡ *ú-ra-na-u-ya-ar* (KBo 23.112, 3).

See Van den Hout 1995: 120f. for the context in which these words occur:

KBo 23.112 + KUB 49.14

- (3) [<sup>m</sup>*Ta-at-ta-m*]a-ru ku-it ⚡ *ú-ra-na-u-ya-ar* SIxSÁ-at  
 (4) [ <sup>m</sup>*Ta-at-*]ta-ma-ru-uš ⚡ *ú-ra-na-iz-zi*  
 (5) [ -]x ma-a-an=ma-a=š-ši=at DINGIR<sup>L,UM</sup> ḫa-ra-tar ya-aš-túl  
 (6) [Ú-UL k]u-ít-ki i-ja-š[i<sup>?</sup>] S]U<sup>MEŠ</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru GIŠŠÚ.A-ḫi GÙB-an NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>

‘Was [das betrifft, daß für Tattam]aru ein Brandopfer festgestellt wurde, [... Tat]tamaru wird ein Brandopfer dabringeren [...] ... wenn du, o Gottheit, für ihn das keineswegs zum Verstoß (und) Vergehen machst, so sollen die Zeichen günstig sein; der Thron Links: ungünstig’.

Etymologically these words likely belong with *ur-<sup>āni</sup>* ‘to burn’ (q.v.). The use of gloss wedges hardly can denote a foreign origin, because the forms are genuinely

Hittite (3sg. on *-zi*, verb.noun on *-uar*). Perhaps the words are *ad hoc*-formations and therefore marked.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*urijanni-*, *urajanni-* (c.) a functionary: nom.sg. *u-ri-an-ni-iš* (OS), *u-ra-ja-an-ni-iš* (KUB 31.61 + KUB 26.61 ii 9, VBoT 71 obv. 10 (fr.), KUB 16.77 iii 2), acc.sg. *u-ri-an-ni-in* (OS); stem *u-ri-an-ni* (OS), *u-ri-ja-an-ni*; broken *u-ri-ja-an-ni-i[a(-)]* (KUB 55.43 iii 36).

This word is consistently spelled with initial *u-* (and never with *ú-*) and is attested in OS already. It is not clear what kind of functionary it denotes exactly. It is remarkable that the word quite often is attested uninflected. This could point to a foreign origin, which may be supported by the attestation of a form *u-ra-ja-an-ni* in a CLuwian text (KBo 29.43, 6). The alternation between *urija-* and *uraja-* may point to foreign origin as well.

The formal similarity to *urajanni-*, *urijanni-*<sup>MUŠEN</sup>, an oracle bird, is striking, especially because this word, too, is spelled with the sign U and shows an alternation between *urija-* and *uraja-*. Semantically, a connection cannot be proven, however. Further unclear.

*urijanni-*<sup>MUŠEN</sup>: see *urajanni-*

*ūr(ije/a)-* ‘?’: 3pl.pret.act. *u-ur-ri/e-er* (KBo 3.60 ii 7).

The hapax attestation *u-ur-ri-er* or *u-ur-re-er* (KBo 3.60 ii 7 (OH/NS)) is generally translated as ‘they helped’ and seen as belonging to the paradigm of *uarrae-zi* ‘to help’ (q.v.). The context runs as follows:

KBo 3.60 ii

(description of a people that attack humans and then eat them)

(6) *ma-a-an ú-e-er* LÚ<sup>URU</sup> *Šu-tu-um-ma-na-aš* URU<sup>URU</sup> *Z[u- x - x - x]*

(7) URU<sup>URU</sup> *U-ka-a-pu-ua u-ur-ri/e-er* LÚ<sup>URU</sup> *Šu-ú-da*<sup>KI</sup> =š[e<sup>??</sup>]

(8) <sup>m</sup>*Ka-ni-u-uš* URU<sup>URU</sup> *U-ka-a-pu-ja-aš-š=a*

(9) *me-na-ah-ḥa-an-ta pa-i-[er]*

Güterbock (1938: 104f.) translates this text as:

‘Als es geschah, daß der Šudaër (und) die Stadt Zu[...] der Stadt Uqapuua zu Hilfe kamen, da zo[gen] ihm(?) der Mann von Šuda, Kaniu und die Stadt Uqapuua entgegen’.

This translation is not imperative, however: the form *ūrri(i)er* could just as well mean something else. I would translate as follows:

‘When they came, the Šudaean [and] Zu[...] *ū*-ed towards<sup>?</sup> Ukāpu. The Man of Šuda and Kaniuš of Ukāpu went against him’.

This means that I would separate the form *ūrri(i)er* from the verb *uarrae<sup>-zi</sup>*. Further unclear.

**uriyarant-**: see at *ur<sup>-āni</sup>*

**ūrki-** (c.) ‘trace, track, trail’: nom.sg. *u-ur-ki-eš*, *u-ur-ki-iš*, acc.sg. *u-ur-ki-in*, dat.-loc.sg. *u-ur-ki-ia*.

Derivatives: *urkiġae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic3), *urkiġe/a<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to track down’ (1sg.pres.act. *urkiġami* (HW: 235), 3sg.pres.act. *ur-ki-ġa-ez-zi* (KUB 29.30 ii 5 (OS), *u-ur-ki-ez[-zi]* (VBoT 114, 6 (NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *vraj-* ‘to walk, to stride’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>urg-i-*

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Note that virtual all attestations of *ūrki-* are spelled with initial U (except *ur-ki-ġa-ez-zi*) which points to phonological /(?)orgi-/ or /(?)orki-/. Duchesne-Guillemain (1947: 80) connected this word with Skt. *vraj-* ‘to walk, to stride’, which would point to a pre-form *\*urg-i-* (thus also e.g. Eichner 1973: 73; Melchert 1994a: 95). Although semantically this connection seems plausible, formally it is problematic. On the basis of *\*urh<sub>1</sub>ór(i)* > OH *lur<sup>?</sup>ānil*, *ú-ra-a-ni* > MH/MH *luər<sup>?</sup>ānil*, *ua-ra-a-ni* ‘burns’ and *\*ulk<sup>w</sup>o-* > MH *luəlk<sup>w</sup>a-*, *ua-al-ku-ua-* ‘bad omen’ (if this latter etymology is correct) we would expect that the preform *\*urg-i-* would have yielded OH *\*\*/urgi-/*, *\*\*(*ú*-)ur-ki-* > MH/NH *luərgi-/*, *\*\*ua-ar-ki-*. With this knowledge in mind, we would rather think that *u-ur-ki-* = /*ʔorKi-*/ reflects *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>urK-i-*, compare e.g. *\*h<sub>2</sub>urg-i-* > Hitt. *hurki-* = /*Horgi-*/ ‘wheel’. Perhaps this means that we should reconstruct the root of *ūrki-* and *vraj-* as *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ureg-* (for this structure, compare e.g. *\*h<sub>2</sub>uied<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to hurt (lethally)’, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v.; for the development *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ure-* > Skt. *vra-*, cf. *vrajá-* ‘fold, fenced area’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ureġ-o-*). All in all, I reconstruct *ūrki-* as *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>urg-i-* (cf. Kimball’s reconstruction “*\*(h<sub>1</sub>)wřġi-*” (1999: 247)), derived of a root *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>ureg-* as visible in Skt. *vraj-* ‘to walk, to stride’.

**ūrta-** (c.) a disease?: acc.pl. *u-ur-tu-uš* (KUB 43.38 rev. 23).

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This word occurs only once, in the following context:

KUB 43.38 rev.

(21) [*ki-i=ya ku*]-it SAG.DU-az nu=*ya-a=š-ma-aš* <sup>d</sup>SĪN *ya-al-ḫa-an-na-ú*  
n[*u=ya-a=š-ma-aš* (?)]

(22) [...-z]a ŠĀ-az ḫu-u-*ya-a-ú* nu=*ya-a=š-ma-aš* an-du-u-ri-*ja-aš* [ ]x[ ]

(23) [ ]-za <sup>d</sup>SĪN u-ur-tu-uš i-ad-du nu=*ya-a=š-ma-aš*=za ki-n[*u-un* ...]

(24) [...] -aš KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> an-da ú-*ya-an-na* i-at-ta-ri

‘Regarding that what is on the head, the Moon-god must strike you. And he must run .... out of [your] heart. And in your entrails the Moongod [...] must make u.-s. And no[w] he comes into the [...] lands to see’.

Perhaps *ūrtuš* means ‘diseases’. No further etymology.

**-uš** (acc.pl.c.-ending)

IE cognates: Skt. -as, Gr. -ας, Lat. -ēs, Goth. -uns, Lith. -is.

PIE \*-oms, \*-ms

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This ending is used in consonant- as well as thematic stems and denotes acc.pl. of commune words. It is predominantly spelled °Cu-uš, but occasionally we find forms with plene spelling. As I have shown in § 1.3.9.4.f, we predominantly find plene spellings with the sign Ú, pointing to /-us/, in older texts, whereas spellings with the sign U, indicating /-os/, occur in younger texts. This seems to indicate that an OH acc.pl.-ending /-us/ is developing into NH /-os/. Note that an ending /-os/ occurs also in *ku-u-uš* /kós/ ‘these’ and *a-pu-u-uš* /ʔbós/ ‘those’, but these are spelled with the sign U throughout the Hittite period.

Often, the PIE acc.pl.-ending is reconstructed as \*-ns, on the basis of e.g. Gr. -ας, Skt. -as, Goth. -uns, etc. For Hittite, a reconstruction \*-ns is impossible however: it would have yielded -aš or possibly -anz, but not /-os/. On the basis of the parallelism with the 1sg.pret.act.-ending /-on/ < \*-m, acc.sg.c. *ku-u-un* /kón/ < \*kóm and acc.sg.c. *a-pu-u-un* /ʔbón/ < \*h<sub>1</sub>bʰóm, it is in my view likely that the OH acc.pl.c.-ending /-us/ > NH /-os/ goes back to \*-ms and, when thematic, to \*-oms. Note that when accentuated, \*Cóms yielded already OH /-ós/, spelled Cu-u-uš.

**uššanije/a-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *ušnije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

**ušantari-** / **ušantarai-** (Luw. adj.) ‘bringing gains, bringing blessings’: nom.sg.c. *u-ša-an-ta-ri-iš* (KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 i 52 iv 8), *u-ša-an-da-ri-iš* (ibid. iv 11), *u-ša-an-da-ri-iš* (KUB 58.108 iv 10, 11, 13), acc.sg.c. *u-ša-an-ta-ri-in* (KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 iv 7), dat.-loc.sg. *u-ša-an-ta-ri* (KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 iv 9), Luw.nom.pl.c. *ú-ša-an-da-ra-i-in-zi* (KUB 35.84 ii 12), Luw.dat.-loc.pl. [*u/ú-ša-a*] *n-ta-ra-ia-an-za* (KUB 35.84 ii 9).

Derivatives: **ušantara-**<sup>i</sup> ‘?’ (3sg.prs.act. *u-ša-an-ta-ra-a-i* (KUB 15.9 ii 4)).

The bulk of the attestations occur in one text only:

KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 iv

- (7) *nam-ma=za=kán GU<sub>4</sub> u-ša-an-ta-ri-in SI e-ep-zi nu me-ma-i*  
 (8) <sup>d</sup>UTU *BE-LÌ=JA ka-a-aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an GU<sub>4</sub>-uš u-ša-an-ta-ri-iš*  
 (9) *n=a-aš=kán u-ša-an-ta-ri ḥa-li-ia an-da nu=za=kán ḥa-a-li-et*  
 (10) *GU<sub>4</sub>.NÌTA-it* <sup>GU<sub>4</sub></sup> *ÁB-it šu-un-ni-eš-ke-ez-zi ka-a-ša*  
 (11) EN.SISKUR *QA-TAM-MA u-ša-an-da-ri-iš e-eš-du nu=za=kán É-er*  
 (12) *IŠ-TU DUMU.NÌTA*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *DUMU.MUNUS*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ḥa-aš-še-et*  
*ḥa-an-za-aš-ši-it [ḥar-t]u-[u-u]a-t[i]*  
 (13) *ḥar-tu-u-ṽa-ḥar-tu-ṽa-ti QA-TAM-MA šu-un-ni-ed-du*

‘He further takes a *u*. cow by the horns and says: ‘Sun-god, My Lord, behold. Just as this cow is *u*. and (is) in a *u*.-pen and she keeps filling the pen with bull-calves and cow-calves; may likewise the Lord of the Ritual be *u*. too, and may he fill his house with sons and daughters and progeny and brood!’.

On the basis of this text, many scholars translated *ušantari-* as ‘fertile, pregnant’. Starke (1990: 374f.), however, argues that the adjective, which he regards as Luwian because of the gloss wedged forms *u-ša-an-da-ri-iš* (KUB 58.108 iv 10, 11, 13) and the Luwian inflected nom.pl.c. *ú-ša-an-da-ra-i-in-zi* (KUB 35.84 ii 12) and dat.-loc.pl. [*u/ú-ša-a*] *n-ta-ra-ia-an-za* (KUB 35.84 ii 9), has the meaning ‘bringing gains, bringing blessings’ (followed by Melchert 1993b: 245-6). He also points to the fact that the word shows a stem-form *ušantari-* as well as *ušantarai-*. According to Starke, *ušantar(a)i-* is derived from an unattested noun *ušantar-*, which itself goes back to a participle *\*ušant-*, which he interprets as cognate with the HLuwian verb <sup>(BONUS)</sup>*usnu(wa)-* ‘to bless’ and the noun <sup>(BONUS)</sup>*wasu-* ‘good’.

**ušiḫe/a-**<sup>zi</sup>: see *uēšiḫe/a-*<sup>zi</sup>

***ūššije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to draw open (of curtains)’: 3pl.pres.act. *ú-uš-ši-an-zi* (KBo 25.17 i 2 (OS), KBo 17.11 i 15 (fr.) (OS), KBo 20.10 i 2 (OS)), *uš-ši-a[n-zi]* (KBo 17.74 iv 27 (OH/MS)), *uš-ši-ja-an-zi* (KUB 2.13 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 7.25 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 11.22 i 15 (NS), KUB 11.35 i 9 (OH/NS), KUB 2.6 iii 22 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 20.79 l.col. 4 (OH/NS), KUB 25.15 rev. 6, 17 (NS), KUB 25.26 i 3 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *uš-še-et-tén* (KUB 29.1 i 43, 45 (OH/NS)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*

It is remarkable that all OS attestations are spelled with initial *ú-uš-*, whereas all younger attestations show *uš-* only. See § 1.3.9.4 for my view that this points to phonological /ʔuSie/a-/. See Kimball (1987b: 165f.), for a detailed treatment of this verb. She interprets *ūššije/a-* as the *u*-counterpart of *peššije/a-* ‘to throw away, to cast’ (q.v.), and suggests that both are derived from the verb *šije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to throw’ (see at *šai-<sup>i</sup> / šī-*, *šije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>), which she reconstructs as *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-je/o-*. See there for further treatment.

***ušnije/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to put up for sale’: 3sg.pres.act. *uš-ni-ja-zi* (KUB 13.4 ii 40 (OH/NS)), *uš-ša-ni-ja-zi* (KUB 13.4 ii 40 (OH/NS), KUB 13.6 + KUB 13.19+ ii 31 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *uš-ni-ja-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 ii 72, iv 26 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *uš-ša-ni-ja-nu-un* (KUB 26.69 v 9 (NS), KUB 40.91 iii 14 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *uš-ša-ni-ia-at* (KUB 31.76+ iii 20 (MS), KUB 13.35 iii 16 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *uš-ša-ni-ja-u-e-en* (KUB 13.4 iv 73 (OH/NS)), *uš-ša-ni-ja-u-en* (KUB 13.35 iii 24 (NS), KUB 40.86 rev. 9 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *uš-ša-ni-ja-ad-du* (KUB 13.4 ii 39 (OH/NS)); impf. 3sg.pres.midd. *uš-ne-eš-kat-ta* (KUB 29.29, 12, 15 (fr.) (OS), KBo 6.10 iii 18, 22 (OH/NS)), impf.1sg.pret.act. *uš-ni-iš-ke-nu-un* (KUB 31.76+ iv 14 (MS)), impf.3sg.pret.act. *uš-ša-ni-iš-ke-et* (KUB 21.27 i 35 (fr.), iv 40 (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vasná-* ‘price’, Gr. *ῥνοϝ* (n.) ‘price’, Lat. *vēnum dare* ‘to sell’, Arm. *gin* ‘price’.

PIE *\*us-n-je/o-*

This verb denotes ‘to put up for sale’ and therewith clearly is connected with Hitt. *uāš-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to buy’, Skt. *vasná-* ‘price’, Gr. *ῥνοϝ* ‘price’, etc. It is spelled *uš-ni-* as well as *uš-ša-ni-* which points to phonological /uSnie/a-/.

Although all attested forms of this verb inflect according to the *-je/a-* class, Neu (1980c: 87-8) states that *ušnije/a-* must be a remodelling of an older stem *\*ušnae-<sup>zi</sup>* (according to him still visible in the OS imperfective *ušneške/a-*) and that this *\*ušnae-<sup>zi</sup>* reflects *\*usno-je/o-*, a verbal derivative of a noun *\*usno-* ‘sale’. This

seems improbable to me: *ḫatrae*-class verbs are very stable throughout Hittite, and it would be unexpected that an original *\*ušnae-<sup>zi</sup>* would be transformed into *ušniē/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. I therefore think we should analyse /uSnie/a-/ at face value, namely as a derivative in *-iē/a-* of a noun *\*ušn-*, which can only be regarded as an *n*-stem *\*us-n-*. This would also explain the different ablaut-grades as found in Skt. *vasná-*, Arm. *gin*, Lat. *vēnum* < *\*ues-no-* : Gr. ὄνος < *\*uos-n-os* : Hitt. *ušn-* < *\*us-n-*. Note that Hitt. *ušniē/a-<sup>zi</sup>* cannot be compared directly to Skt. *vasnayāti* ‘to higgie’ and Gr. ὠνέομαι ‘to buy’ that reflect *\*uosn-ejē-*.

***uštul-*, *uāštul-*** (n.) ‘sin, offense’: nom.-acc.sg. *uš-tu-ul* (KBo 18.151 rev. 15 (OH/MS)), *uš-[d]u<sup>2</sup>-ul* (KUB 17.10 iii 10 (OH/MS)), *uā-aš-túl* (MH/MS, often), *uā-aš-du-ul*, *uā-aš-tu-ul*, acc.sg.c. *uā-aš-du-li-in* (ABoT 44 iv 16 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *uš-tu-la-aš* (KUB 29.29 i 10, 16 (fr.) (OS)), *uā-aš-túl-aš* (KBo 6.10 iii 20 (OH/NS)), *uā-aš-túl-la-aš* (MH/MS), *uā-aš-du-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *uā-aš-du-ú-li* (KUB 23.77 rev. 105 (MH/MS)), *uā-aš-du-li*, *uā-aš-túl-li* (KUB 9.15 ii 23 (NS)), abl. *uā-aš-du-la-az* (KBo 32.15 iii 19), instr. *uā-aš-du-li-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *uā-aš-du-ul<sup>HLA</sup>*.

Derivatives: ***uāšdulae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to offend’ (3pl.pres.act. *uā-aš-du-la-an-zi* (KBo 17.65 obv. 41)), ***uāšdulayant-*** ‘offense’ (abl. *uā-aš-d[u-l]a-uā-an-da-za* (KUB 16.39 ii 11)).

PIE *\*usTh<sub>2,3</sub>-éul*

This word clearly is cognate with *uāšta-<sup>i</sup>* / *uāšt-* ‘to sin’ (q.v.). Although the bulk of the attestations of this word show a stem *uāšdul-*, the oldest ones show *uštul-*. This latter stem therefore must have been the original one. Apparently, the zero grade stem *ušt-* of *uštul-* was replaced by *uāšt-* in the early MH period, probably in analogy to the full grade stem of the verb. The fact that we find an original zero-grade root in this noun implies that the suffix *-ul-* must have been accentuated, which is supported by the spelling *uā-aš-du-ú-li*, which must reflect *\*-éul-i*. See at *uāšta-<sup>i</sup>* / *uāšt-* for further etymology. Note that despite the one NS commune form acc.sg.c. *uāšdulin* all other forms clearly indicate that the word is neuter.

***uda-<sup>i</sup>* / *ud-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to bring (here), to bring (over)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-da-aḫ-ḫi*, 2sg.pres.act. *udatti* (HW: 236), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-da-i* (OS), *ú-da-a-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *ú-du-me-e-ni* (OS), *ú-tu-me-e-ni*, *ú-du-um-me-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *ú-da-at-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-da-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-daḫ-ḫ[u-un]* (OS), *ú-da-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *ú-daḫ-ḫu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ú-da-aš* (KUB 29.1 i 24), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-da-aš* (MH/MS),

*ú-da-a-aš* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-tum-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ú-ter* (OS), *ú-te-er*, *ú-te-e-er*, 1sg.imp.act. *ú-da-al-lu* (KBo 17.62+63 iv 15, 18 (MS?)), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-da*, 3sg.imp.act. *ú-da-ú*, *ú-da-ad-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ú-da-at-te-[en]* (MH/MS), *ú-da-at-tén*, *ú-ta-a[t-tén]*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-da-an-du* (MH/MS); part. *ú-da-an-t-*; verb.noun *ú-tum-mar*; inf.I I [*ú*]-*tu<sub>4</sub>-ma-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-tum<<-da>>-m[a-an-zi]*; impf. *ú-ti-iš-ke/a-*, [*ú*]-*te-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* + *\*doh<sub>3</sub>-ei* / *\*dh<sub>3</sub>-enti*

All attestations in my file (about 510 examples) are spelled with initial *ú-* and never with *u-*. Semantically, *uda<sup>i</sup> / ud-* is the counterpart of *peda<sup>i</sup> / ped-*. Both are a clear compound of *u-* ‘hither’ (*\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-*) and *pe-* ‘thither’ (*\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-*) respectively and the verb *dā<sup>i</sup> / d-* ‘to take’. See at their lemmas for etymology. Note that the oldest texts consistently spell *uda/ud-* with a short *-a-* in the strong stem forms, whereas the simplex *dā<sup>i</sup>/d-* shows long *-ā-* (*udaḫḫi* vs. *dāḫḫe*, *udai* vs. *dāi*). This is due to the fact that *uda<sup>i</sup> / ud-* is trisyllabic (cf. the short *-a-* in *tarna<sup>i</sup> / tarn-*, etc.). In later texts, the spelling of *dā<sup>i</sup>/d-* becomes more influential on the spelling of *uda/ud-*, yielding the spelling *ú-da-a-i*. Note that the paradigm of *uda/ud-* has preserved some archaic forms that have been innovated in the paradigm of *dā<sup>i</sup>/d-*: e.g. *utummen* vs. *dā<sub>u</sub>en*, *uter* vs. *dā<sub>e</sub>r*, *utumanzi* vs. *dā<sub>u</sub>anzi*. These are an important indication for the original ablaut patterns in Hittite verbs

**uttar / uddan-** (n.) ‘word, speech; thing, case; story; reason’ (Sum. INIM, Akk. *AUĀTU*): nom.-acc.sg. *ut-tar* (OS), *ud-da-ar*, gen.sg. *ud-da-na-a-aš* (OH/MS, MH/MS), *ud-da-na-aš* (MH/MS), *ut-ta-na-aš*, *ud-da-a-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ud-da-ni-i* (MH/MS, often), *ud-da-a-ni-i* (OH/NS less often), *ud-da-ni* (less often), erg.sg. *ut-ta-na-an-za*, abl. *ud-da-na-a-az* (MH/MS), *ud-da-na-za* (MH/MS), *ud-da-a-na-az* (NH/NS), instr. *ud-da-an-ta*, *ud-da-ni-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *ut-ta-a-ar* (OS), *ud-da-a-ar*, dat.-loc.pl. *ud-da-na-a-aš* (MH/MS), erg.pl. *ut-ta-na-a-an-te-eš*, *ud-da-na-an-te-eš*.

Derivatives: **ud(da)nalli<sub>e</sub>/a<sup>-z</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to speak about, to conjure, to bewitch’ (1sg.pres.act. *ud-da-na-al-li-ja-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ud-da-na-al-li-zi*, impf. *ut-na-al-li-iš-ke/a-*), **uddani<sub>e</sub>/a<sup>-z</sup>** (Ic1) ‘to speak about, to conjure, to bewitch’ (impf. *ud-da-ni-iš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **utar / utn-** (n.) ‘word(?), spell(?)’ (n.) (nom.-acc.sg. *ú-tar-*, *ú-tar-ša*, *ú-ta-ar-ša*, nom.-acc.pl. *ú-ut-ra*, gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *ú-ut-na-aš-ši-in*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *ú-ut-na-aš-ši-in-za*).

PIE *\*uéth<sub>2</sub>-r*, *\*uth<sub>2</sub>-én-s*.

It should be noted that the interpretation of the CLuwian words is far from assured. The forms and translation cited here have been taken over from Melchert (1993b: 247), but e.g. Starke (1990: 565) assumes that *utar* / *utn-* in fact means ‘water’. If *utar* / *utn-* indeed means ‘word’, it would be difficult to reconcile the single *-t-* of CLuwian with the geminate *-tt-* of Hittite. I therefore will largely ignore the CLuwian forms here.

The etymological interpretation of *uttar* / *uddan-* has proven to be very difficult. Eichner (1980: 146<sup>69</sup>) connects *uttar* with Skt. *vad-*<sup>1</sup> ‘to speak’, Gr. *ᾠδῆ* ‘voice’ and reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>uodh<sub>2</sub>-r* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>udh<sub>2</sub>-n-*. The idea is that the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* is lost in the nominative due to the *o*-grade (‘de Saussure effect’: *\*h<sub>2</sub>uodh<sub>2</sub>-r* > *\*uattar*) and that absence of *h-* then spread throughout the paradigm (*\*h<sub>2</sub>udh<sub>2</sub>-n-* > *\*h<sub>2</sub>utn-* >> *utn-*), after which the nominative *\*uattar* is replaced by *uttar* in analogy to the oblique stem. This account seems quite intricate to me. Rieken (1999a: 299-302) mechanically reconstructs *\*é/óut-r* / *\*ut-n-*. This would regularly yield *\*údar* / *utn-*, and if we assume that in Hittite the fortis *-t-* of the oblique stems has been generalized, whereas in Luwian *-d-* has spread, we could account for both Hitt. *uttar* / *uttan-* and CLuw. *utar* / *utn-*. Problematic, however, is that a root *\*eut-* is further unattested (Rieken’s account that “man [...] an den Ansatz von *\*h<sub>1</sub>eu-* “sagen, sprechen” [könnte] denken, zu dem *\*h<sub>1</sub>eu<sup>uh</sup>-*/*\*h<sub>1</sub>ue<sup>uh</sup>-* “feierlich, rühmend, prahlend sprechen” (gr. *εὐχομαι*, lat. *voveō*, ai. *vāghát-*) im gleichen Verhältnis steht wie *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei<sup>h</sup>-* “gehen” zu *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* “ds.”. Auszuegehen wäre von einem proterodynamischen Paradigma mit komplexem Suffix *\*h<sub>1</sub>éu-ty*/*\*h<sub>1</sub>u-tén-s* (>> *\*h<sub>1</sub>ut-n-és*)” is not very compelling).

I would rather suggest a connection with the root *\*ueth<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to speak’ that is reconstructed in LIV<sup>2</sup> on the basis of Lat. *vetō* ‘to veto’, MWe. *dy-wed-* ‘to say’ < *\*ut-ne-h<sub>2</sub>-* and OIr. *as’pena* ‘testifies’ < *\*eks-uet-nā-ti* (see already Pedersen 1938: 29<sup>1</sup> for a connection between *uttar* and MWe. *dy-wed-*). The paradigm *\*uéth<sub>2</sub>-r* / *\*uth<sub>2</sub>-en-* regularly yielded *\*uettar* / *uttan-* (cf. e.g. *pattar* / *pattan-* < *\*poth<sub>2</sub>-r* / *\*pth<sub>2</sub>-en-*), of which it is obvious that it was replaced by *uttar* / *uttan-* (see Kloekhorst fthc.b for the impossibility of an ablaut *uVC* / *uC* in Hittite). The seemingly hysterodynamically inflected forms *ud-da-na-a-aš*, *ud-da-ni-i* and *ud-da-na-a-az* can be compared to *ēšhar* / *išhan-* where an originally proterodynamic noun (*\*h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>-r* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>-en-*) also shows hysterodynamically accentuated forms in Hittite (e.g. *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš*). It may not be accidental that here the suffix-vowel *\*e* has been coloured to *-a-* as well.

***utnē* / *utni-*** (n.) ‘land’ (Sum. KUR): nom.-acc.sg. *ut-ne-e* (OS), *ut-ni-e*, *ut-ni*, gen.sg. *ut-ni-ia-aš* (KUB 8.30 i 23 (OH/NS)), *ut-ne-ia-aš* (KBo 3.21 ii 4

(OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ut-ni-ja* (OS), *ut-ni-i* (OH/NS), *ut-ne-ja*, *ut-ne-e-ja*, *ut-ne-e*, abl. *ut-ni-ja-az*, *ut-ne-e-az*, nom.-acc.pl. *ut-ne-e*, dat.-loc.pl. KUR-*e-aš*.

Derivatives: **utniiant-** (c.) ‘people, population’ (nom.sg. *ut-ni-ja-an-za* (OS), KUR-*e-an-za*, acc.sg. *ut-ni-(ja-)an-da-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ut-ni-ja-an-ti* (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. \***uatna-** ‘land’ in *Kizzu<sub>u</sub>atna-?*; Lyc. **wedre/i-** ‘city?, country?’ (nom.sg. *wedri*).

IE cognates: Arm. *getin* ‘ground, land’.

PIE \*(*h*<sub>3</sub>)*ud-n-ēi*, \*(*h*<sub>3</sub>)*ud-n-i-*

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See e.g. Neu (1974a: 113) for attestations. The oldest paradigm seems to be *utnē*, *utni<sub>ja</sub>š*. In more recent times, the stem *utnē* was generalized throughout the paradigm, giving e.g. *utne<sub>ja</sub>š* and *utnēaz*. The dat.-loc.sg. *utni<sub>ja</sub>* probably is the old allative \**utni-o*, whereas *utnī* is the old dative \**utni-ei*. The inflection is very rare: the only possibly comparable form is nom.-acc.pl. *ku-le-e-i* ‘vacant’ (KBo 6.2 ii 47). Nom.-acc.sg. *utnē* is best explained as \**nēi*, whereas the oblique cases show \**ni-*.

The identification of the stem is difficult. Often, the word is connected with Arm. *getin* ‘ground, land’, which probably reflects \**uedenV*. It is disputed whether the root \**ued-*, \**ud-* is the same as in \**uod-r* ‘water’ (see at *uātar / uūtēn-*). If Gr. οὔδας ‘ground’ is cognate, we perhaps have to reconstruct \**h<sub>3</sub>ued-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>ud-* although it is not without controversy to assume a development \**h<sub>3</sub>ud-* > Gr. οὐδ-. For a possible connection with Lyc. *wedre/i-* and Luw. \**uadna-*, cf. Melchert (1994a: 317) who states that “[b]oth the meaning of *wedre/i-* and the analysis of *Kizzuwatna-* remain problematic”. It is interesting why this word show a cluster *-tn-* whereas normally \**-tn-* assimilated to *-nn-* (cf. the abstract nouns in *-ātar / -ānn-* < \**-ōtr / \*-ōtn-*). Melchert (1994a: 161) explains this as the result of a morpheme boundary that prevented the assimilation, but Puhvel (HED 3: 353) more plausibly states that etymological \**-dn-* remains unassimilated and therewith contrasts with \**-tn-* that regularly yields *-nn-* (similarly in *huidar / hūitn-*).

**ŠĀRU udumeni-** (n.?) a wind or direction of the wind: nom.-acc.sg.? *ú-du-me-ni*.

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This word occurs only once, in KUB 8.34 iii (12) *ŠA-A-RU ú-du-me-ni i-ja[-at-ta-ri<sup>?</sup>]* ‘The *u*-wind will bl[ow]’ (cf. Laroche 1952b: 22). The context is too broken to determine what direction of wind is meant. Oettinger (1995: 46f.) interprets *udumeni* as ‘Benetze das Gesicht!’, from \**ued-* ‘to wet’, parallel to <sup>IM</sup>*tarašmeni-* ‘Dörre das Gesicht aus!’, from *ters-* ‘to dry’. He cannot explain,

however, why the form is *udumeni* instead of *\*\*udmeni*. Moreover, the verbal root *\*ued-* is unattested in Hittite. I would rather follow Tischler (HEG T: 153) who states that “[d]a es sich jedoch um Ausdrücke aus der Übersetzungsliteratur handelt, ist fremde Herkunft wahrscheinlicher”.

**u $\ddot{u}$ a-** (c.) ‘?’: gen.sg. *ú- $\ddot{u}$ a-aš* (KBo 3.40+ rev. 14).

This word occurs in one difficult context only, the Soldier’s Song in the Puḫanu-Chronicle:

KBo 3.40+ rev.<sup>1</sup>

(13) ... URU<sup>URU</sup>Ne-š[a-aš<sup>KI</sup> TÚG<sup>II</sup>]<sup>LA</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup>Ne-ša-aš<sup>KI</sup> TÚG<sup>III.A</sup> ti- $\ddot{u}$ a-a=m-mu ti- $\ddot{u}$ a

(14) nu-u=m-mu an-na-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut ti- $\ddot{u}$ a[-a=m-mu t]i- $\ddot{u}$ a nu-u=m-mu  
ú- $\ddot{u}$ a-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut

(15) [t]i- $\ddot{u}$ a-a=m-mu ti- $\ddot{u}$ a

‘The clothes of Neša, the clothes of Neša, bind<sup>?</sup> me, bind<sup>?</sup>! Bring me down my mother’s, bind<sup>?</sup> me, bind<sup>?</sup>! Bring me down my u.’s<sup>?</sup>, bind<sup>?</sup> me, bind<sup>?</sup>!’.

The exact interpretation of *u $\ddot{u}$ a-* is unclear, despite several proposals by different scholars (e.g. ‘son’ (Hrozný 1929: 297), ‘forefather’ (Ivanov 1967: 977ff.; Watkins 1969b: 239; Oettinger 1978: 74-5, who assumes that *u $\ddot{u}$ a-* is the Nešite variant of ‘normal’ Hittite *ḫuḫḫa-* ‘grandfather’ and consequently that *anna-* ~ *ḫanna-* ‘grandmother’), ‘nurse’ (Melchert 1986)).

**u $\ddot{u}$ a-:** ‘to come’: see *ue<sup>-zi</sup>* / *u $\ddot{u}$ a-*

**u $\ddot{u}$ a-** ‘to see’: see *au<sup>-i</sup>* / *u-*

**u $\ddot{u}$ aḫnu $\ddot{u}$ ar:** see *u $\ddot{u}$ aḫnu $\ddot{u}$ ar* at *ueḫ<sup>-zi</sup>* / *u $\ddot{u}$ aḫ-*

**U<sup>ZU</sup>u $\ddot{u}$ alla-:** see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*u $\ddot{u}$ alla-*

**u $\ddot{u}$ anti $\ddot{u}$ ant(a)-:** see at *u $\ddot{u}$ antai<sup>-i</sup>* / *u $\ddot{u}$ anti-*

**u $\ddot{u}$ arkant-:** see *u $\ddot{u}$ arkant-*

**u $\ddot{u}$ ašta<sup>-i</sup>:** see *u $\ddot{u}$ ašta<sup>-i</sup>* / *u $\ddot{u}$ ašt-*



*uuate<sup>-zi</sup> / uuat-* (Ia1) ‘to bring (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-te-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-te-ez-zi* (OS), *ú-ua-da-az-zi* (1x, KUB 21.29 iii 38 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-tu<sub>4</sub>-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 12 (MH/NS)), *ú-ua-te-ua-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 14 (MH/NS)), *ú-ua-te-u-e-ni* (KUB 14.15 iii 38 (NH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-te-et-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *uuate<sub>ten</sub>* (HW: 239), *ú-ua-da-te-e-ni* (KUB 13.9 + KUB 40.63 iii 10 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-ta-an-zi* (OS), *ú-ua-da-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-ua-te-nu-un* (OS), 2sg.pret.act. *ú-ua-te-et* (KUB 24.7 iv 36), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-ua-te-et* (OS), 1pl.pret.act. *uuate<sub>ten</sub>* (HW: 239), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-ua-te-er* (OS), *ú-ua-te-e-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-ua-te* (MH/MS), *ú-ua-ti*, *ú-ua-te-et*, 3sg.imp.act. *ú-ua-te-ed-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-ua-ti-it-tén* (MH/MS), *ú-ua-ta-at-tén* (KUB 15.34 iii 16 (MH/MS)), *ú-ua-te-et-tén*, *ú-ua-te-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-ua-da-an-du* (MH/MS).

This verb shows some variety of forms, but the oldest paradigm probably inflected thus: *u<sub>2</sub>atemi*, *u<sub>2</sub>ateši*, *u<sub>2</sub>atezzi*, *u<sub>2</sub>atummēni*, *u<sub>2</sub>adatēni*, *u<sub>2</sub>atanzi*, *u<sub>2</sub>atemun*, \**u<sub>2</sub>ateš*, *u<sub>2</sub>atet*, \**u<sub>2</sub>atumen*, *u<sub>2</sub>atatten*, *u<sub>2</sub>ater*. This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem *u<sub>2</sub>ate<sup>-zi</sup> / u<sub>2</sub>at-*, which is fully compatible with a derivation of \**d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-/\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-*. Synchronically, *u<sub>2</sub>ate-/u<sub>2</sub>at-* seems to function as the counterpart of *pe<sub>2</sub>hute<sup>-zi</sup> / pe<sub>2</sub>hut-* ‘to bring (there)’, which goes back to \**h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>2</sub>ou-d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, combining the preverbs \**h<sub>1</sub>poi-* (Hitt. *pe-*) and \**h<sub>2</sub>ou-* (Hitt. *u-*). The exact interpretation of *u<sub>2</sub>ate-/u<sub>2</sub>at-* is unclear, however. It is likely that the initial *u-* is to be equated with the preverb *u-* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ou-*, but the element *-ua-* is unclear to me. Melchert (1994a: 134) therefore assumes that *u<sub>2</sub>ate-/u<sub>2</sub>at-* reflects *u-* + \**uod<sup>h</sup>eje-* ‘to lead’ that secondarily has taken over the inflection of *pe<sub>2</sub>hute-/pe<sub>2</sub>hut-*.

Melchert (1993b: 248) cites a CLuwian verb *u<sub>2</sub>ata-* ‘to bring?’, which is hapax in the following context (same in iv 1-2):

KUB 35.102+103 ii

(13) *i-ja-an-du=ku=ua za-aš-ši-in DUMU-an-na-aš-ši-i[n]*

(14) *a-an-ni-in ua-ra-al-li-in ú-ua-ta-a[n-du]*

‘They must go, they must *u.* one’s own mother of this son’.

I would not dare to state that a translation ‘to bring’ is imperative here. Such a translation is apparently assumed on the basis of a formal similarity with Hitt. *u<sub>2</sub>ate-/u<sub>2</sub>at-* only, which in my opinion is too small a base.

**uṣīten-:** see *uātar* / *uītēn-*

**uzuḥri-** (c.) ‘grass’: acc.sg. *ú-zu-uḥ-ri-in*, dat.-loc.pl. *ú-zu-uḥ-ri-ti-i*, [*ú-zu-uḥ-ri*]-*ti-ia*.

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This word, which denotes ‘grass’, is sometimes interpreted as <sup>ú</sup>*zuḥri-*, having the determinative <sup>ú</sup> that is used with plants. Otten (1971b: 1) states that we better read *uzuḥri-*, however. The word only occurs in texts about horse-training. The dat.-loc.-forms in *-ti(ia)* clearly indicate that the word is Hurrian.

## Ū

=ua= : see =ua(r)=

uah-: see ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah-

[ma]rhanuammant-: read [ma]rhanuammant-, q.v.

uahhu<sup>-zi</sup>: see ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah-

uai<sup>-i</sup> / ui- (IIa4 > Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to cry (out)’: 1sg.pres.act. ú-i-ia-mi (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii 93 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. ya-a-i (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii 91 (MH/MS)), ú-i-ia-ez-z[i] (KUB 15.34 iv 19 (MH/MS)), ú-i-ia-iz-zi (KUB 15.32 i 37 (MH/NS)), ú-i-e-ez-z[i] (FHG 4, 11 (undat.)), 3pl.pres.act. ú-i-ia-an-[zi] (KUB 15.31 i 35 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. ú-i-e-er (KUB 31.67 iv 10 (NS)); inf.I ú-i-ia-u-an-zi (KUB 30.28 obv. 29 (NS), VBoT 24 iv 37 (MH/NS)); impf. ú-e-eš-ke/a- (3pl.pres.act. ú-e-eš-kán-zi (KUB 39.5 rev. 13 (OH/NS)), sup. ú-e-eš-ga-u-an (KUB 17.6 i 26 (OH/NS), KBo 32.15 iii 9 (MS)), ú-e-eš-ke-u-an (KUB 19.4 + 19.45 obv. 8 (NH)), ú-e-eš-ke<<-iš>>-u-an (KUB 33.106 iii 6 (NS))).

Derivatives: uiya<sup>-i</sup> / uiyi- (IIa5) ‘to cry’ (3sg.pres.act. ú-i-ya-i (KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii 92), impf. ú-i-ú-i-iš-ke/a- (KBo 16.72+73 i 11, 14, 18, KUB 33.119, 16), ú-e-u-iš-ke/a- (KBo 24.5 ii 10)), uiš kattalla- (c.) ‘crier’ (nom.sg. ú-i-uis-iš-kat-tal-la-aš (KBo 1.44 + KBo 13.1 i 40)).

The interpretation of the forms of this verb has been difficult. Friedrich (HW) cites two verbs: a *hi*-verb “uāi-” (with 3sg.pres.act. uāi only) and a *mi*-verb “uiiāi-”, both ‘schreien’. Oettinger is not consistent in his treatment. The form uāi

he cites (1979a: 475) as belonging to a stem “*uġe<sup>hhi</sup>*” (i.e. belonging to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class), but he does not mention the other forms under this lemma. On p. 73 he cites a verb “*uġġe<sup>hhi</sup>*” (also belonging to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class), but does not cite any forms. Are *uġġe<sup>hhi</sup>* and *uġe<sup>hhi</sup>* to be seen as the same verb, and does he also regard forms like *uġġami* as belonging here? Melchert (1984a: 132) is more clear and states that *uāi*, *uġġanzi* are to be regarded as belonging to the *dāi/tiġanzi*-class, with forms like *uġġami* being backformations on the basis of 3pl. *uġġanzi*. According to him, this is indicated by the fact that 3sg.pres.act. *uāi* is found in the same context as 1sg.pres.act. *uġġami*:

KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii

(91) *a-li-ġa-aš=ua Ú-UL ūa-a-i Ú-UL=ma=ua ūa-a-ki Ú-UL=ma=ua iš-pár-ri-ez-zi*

(92) *x[ ... ]a-li-ġa-an pá-r-ġa-at-ta-ri ŠAH=ma=ua ú-i-ua-i ku-it nu=ua ku-iš A-NA*

KUR-e

(93) *še-x[ ... ]x x x x x [ ... ]x-ġa ku-en-zi nu=ua ú[-ug]-g=a ŠAH-aš i-ua-ar*

*ú-i-ġa-mi*

‘The *aliġa*-bird does not cry, it does not bite, it does not spread (its wings). [...] hunts the *aliġa*-bird. Why does the pig cry? Who [...] in the land [...] kills. And I wil cry like a pig’.

I agree with Melchert: the oldest paradigm of this verb is shown by *uāi* / *uġġanzi*, whereas the forms that belong to the paradigms *uġġe/a<sup>zi</sup>* and *uġġae<sup>zi</sup>* are younger secondary creations.

Formally, the thematic forms *uġġe/a<sup>zi</sup>* resemble the forms of the verb *uġe<sup>zi</sup>* / *uġ<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to send’ a lot, but they are consistently spelled differently: ‘to cry’ has an initial *ú-*, whereas ‘to send’ shows initial *u-*. Nevertheless, forms of these verbs have occasionally been misinterpreted by scholars. For instance,

KUB 31.67 iv

(9) [ ... ]x 2<sup>MUNUS</sup>SUHUR.LA<sub>5</sub> DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> IŠ-TU É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>

(10) [ ... ]x *ú-i-e-er nu=ua-a=š-ma-aš=kán* SAG.DU-*i*

(11) [ ... *ki-ġ*]a-an-ta-ri

is translated by Starke (1990: 430) as

‘2 Hierodulen der Gottheit schickte man aus dem Tempel [...] herauf<sup>2</sup> (mit den Worten): “Auf ihren Kopf sind [...] gelegt.”’,

but I would prefer

‘Two hierodules of the deity cried from out of the temple “On your/their heads [...] are lied.”’.

The same goes for the form *ú-i-e-ez-z[i]* (FHG 4, 11), which is cited in Oettinger (1979a: 338) as ‘to send’, but must mean ‘to cry’. The context it occurs in,

FHG 4

(10) [ ... ]x-ja TI<sub>8</sub><sup>MUŠEN</sup>-aš pá-r-ta-ú-n[i-it ... ]

(11) [ ... ]x [ ... ]=pát ú-i-e-ez-z[i ... ]

must, despite its bad preservation, be compared to

KBo 15.48 ii

(5) ... nu<sup>LÚ</sup> pal-ua-at-tal-la-aš

(6) TI<sub>8</sub><sup>MUŠEN</sup>-aš pá-r-ta-u-ni-it LUGAL-i me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da

(7) ua-a-tar 3=ŠU pa-ap-pár-aš-zi pal-ua-iz-zi=ma 1=ŠU

‘The crier sprinkles water with an eagle’s feather three times toward the king and cries out once’ (cf. CHD P: 199).

In the case of the imperfective, the spelling difference between *ú-* and *u-* is significant as well: *ú-e-eš-ke/a-* means ‘to cry’ (or ‘to come’, but this is more often spelled *ú-i-iš-ke/a-*) whereas *u-e-eš-ke/a-* is ‘to send’. This means that the forms should be phonologically interpreted as follows: *ua-a-i* = /uái/, *ú-i-ja-an-zi* = /uiánt<sup>s</sup>i/ and *ú-e-eš-ke/a-* = /uiské/á-/. This contrasts with e.g. *uie<sup>-zi</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to send (here)’ which is spelled *u-i-ja-an-zi* = /ʔoiánt<sup>s</sup>i/ and *u-i-eš-ke/a-* = /ʔoiské/á-/ and *u-e-eš-ke/a-* = /ʔoiské/á-/.

Etymologically, the verb is likely derived from the onomatopoeic words *ú-i* ‘wheel!’ (KUB 55.38 ii 19) or *(u)uāi-* ‘woe’ (in *āi-* *(u)uāi-* ‘woe and pain’ (acc.sg. *a-i-in ú-ua-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.4 iv 26-7, 35 (OS), StBoT 25.7 iv 5 (OS), *a-i-in ua-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.3 iv 14 (OS), StBoT 25.7 iv 9 (OS))).

**uāk<sup>-i</sup> / uakk-** (IIa2 > Ic1) ‘to bite’: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-a-ki* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ak-ka-an-zi* (IBoT 1.36 i 20 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-a-kiš* (NS), *ua-ka<sub>1</sub>-aš* (NS), *ua-ak-ki-iš* (MH/NS), *ua-a-ki-et* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ua-a-ku-e-en* (MH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ak* (undat.), *ua-a-ga* (NH); inf.II *ua-ga-a-an-na* (KUB 34.128 obv. 13 (OH/MS)), *ua-ga-an-na* (KUB 60.121 obv. 19 (MS)), *ua-kán-na* (KBo 8.130 ii 7 (MS)), *ua-ka<sub>1</sub>-an-na*; impf. *ua-ak-ki-i[š-ke/a-...]* (KBo 3.40b obv. 17 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: <sup>NINDA</sup>*uagātaš-* (n.), a kind of bread (acc.sg. *u-a-ga-a-ta-aš* (OS), *u-a-ga-a-da-aš* (OS), *u-a-ga-ta-aš* (OS), *u-a-ga-da-aš* (OS), *u-a-ga-da-a-aš* (1x, OS), acc.sg.c. *u-a-ga-ta-an* (OH/NS), coll. *u-a-ga-a-ta*), <sup>NINDA</sup>*uageššar* / *uagešn-* (n.) a kind of bread (nom.-acc.sg. *u-a-ge-eš-šar* (OS, often), *u-a-ke-eš-šar* (OS), *u-a-ge-eš-ša* (1x, OS), dat.-loc.sg. *u-a-ge-eš-ni* (KBo 30.17, 12 (OH/NS))), see *uakk-<sup>āri</sup>*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. *uakk-* ‘to bite(?)’ (3pl.pret.act. *u-a-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-kán-ta*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄγνυμι ‘to break’, TochAB *wāk-* ‘to split, to burst’.

PIE *\*uóh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>-ei* / *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>-énti*.

See Oettinger 1979a: 444f. for attestations. The oldest forms (OS and MS), *u-a-ki* and *u-a-ak-kán-zi*, clearly show an ablaut *uāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *uakk-*, with which this verb belongs to class IIa2 (*ā/a*-ablauting *hi*-verbs). The alternation between *-k-* and *-kk-* is typical for this class (compare *āk<sup>-i</sup>* / *akk-* ‘to die’, *ištāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *ištapp-* ‘to shut’, *nāh<sup>-i</sup>* / *nahh-* ‘to fear’, e.a.). Usually, this alternation can be explained by lenition of an original fortis consonant due to the \*ó of the singular (e.g. *\*stóp-ei* > *lištābi*, *\*nóh<sub>2</sub>-ei* > *lnáhi*). In the case of *uāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *uakk-*, we would therefore at first sight assume a preform *\*uók-ei* > *uāki*. Such a reconstruction is problematic in the weak stem, however: as we see at the treatment of *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>*, a zero-grade *\*uk-* in an ablauting paradigm secondarily was changed to Hitt. *luik-/ = ue/ikk-*.

This problem is solved by the etymology provided by Kammenhuber (1961b: 47), who connected *uāk-/uakk-* with Gr. ἄγνυμι ‘to break’, which reflects *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>*. If we apply this root structure, we arrive at a paradigm *\*uóh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>-ei* / *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>-énti*. In the plural, where *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>* should regularly have yielded Hitt. *\*ūkk-*, an anaptyctic vowel emerged in order to avoid an ablaut *uVC-* / *uC-* (see also at *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>*, *uātar* / *uitēn-*). Due to the adjacent *\*h<sub>2</sub>*, this vowel appears as /ə/ (cf. the difference between *paḥḥašC<sup>o</sup>* = /paHəsC<sup>o</sup>/ < *\*peh<sub>2</sub>sC<sup>o</sup>* and *takke/išC* = /takisC<sup>o</sup>/ < *\*teksC-*). If we assume that *\*-h<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>* assimilates to fortis *-kk-* in pretonic position, but yields *-k-* after accentuated vowel (compare *šāgāi-* ‘sign, omen’ < *\*šéh<sub>2</sub>gōi*), we arrive at a strong stem *\*uóh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>* > *uāk-* vs. a weak stem *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>* > *\*uəh<sub>2</sub>ǵ<sup>(2)</sup>* > *uakk-*.

Although <sup>NINDA</sup>*uageššar* / *uagešn-* is generally seen as a derivative of *uāk<sup>-i</sup>* / *uakk-*, it is unclear whether <sup>NINDA</sup>*uagātaš* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 196-7) is as well. The word apparently is a neuter stem *uagātaš-*, out of which in younger Hittite a commune stem *uagata-* was extracted (as can be seen in the acc.sg.c. *uagatan*). If it is derived from this verb, then the formation is unclear (there are no other words that show a suffix *-ātaš-*).

*uakk-āri* (III<sup>f</sup>) ‘to be lacking’: 3sg.pres.midd. *uak-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ri* (KBo 18.79 rev. 33, HT 18, 8, KBo 4.8 ii 8, KBo 45.211, 7), *ua-ag-ga-a-ri* (KBo 4.8 ii 10), *ua-a-ag-ga-a-ri* (Bo 3375, 6), *ua-ag-ga-ri* (KUB 36.25 i 15, Bo 5166 rev. 5), *ua-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri* (KUB 24.8 + 36.60 i 15, ii 3, KUB 36.25 i 14, KBo 10.50 r.col. 13, KUB 42.100 iii 25), 3sg.imp.act. *uak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ru* (KUB 31.86+ i 12).

PIE *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-ó(-ri)* ?

See Oettinger 1976b: 140f. for attestations. In HW (241), this verb is cited as *uakkar-*, probably on the basis of “Prt. Sg. 3 *uaqqaresš*” in KUB 33.106 ii 8. Oettinger (l.c.) rather reads this context thus:

KUB 33.106 ii

- (7) ... nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an <sup>d</sup>Hé-pád-du-uš <sup>d</sup>Taš-mi-šu-un a-uš-ta  
 (8) nu=kán <sup>d</sup>Hé-pa-du-uš šu-uḥ-ḥa-az kat-ta ma-uš-šu-u-ua-an-zi  
*uak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri-eš[-ke-u]-an*  
 (9) ti-ja-at ma-n=a-aš=kán šu-uḥ-ḥa-az kat-ta ma-uš-ta-at

See at the lemma *uakkarije/a-zi* for a treatment of this context.

The verb *uakk-āri* denotes ‘to be lacking’, as e.g. in KBo 4.8 ii (10) *Ú-UL=a=š-ši-i=š-ša-an ku-it-ki ua-ag-ga-a-ri* ‘but nothing is lacking for him’ i.e. ‘but he lacks nothing’. Oettinger (l.c.) supposes a connection with *uakkarije/a-zi* ‘to revolt against’ (q.v.), but I do not see how this connection would work semantically. A better comparandum might be *uak(ki)šije/a-zi* (q.v.), which denotes ‘to be lacking’ as well.

Because of the almost consistent plene spelled ending *-āri*, it is clear that *uakk-āri* belongs to the *tukkāri*-type, of which it has been generally thought that it goes back to a structure *\*CC-ó-ri*, i.e. zero-grade root followed by an accentuated ending. In the case of *uakkāri*, this means that *uakk-* reflects a zero-grade formation. The only zero-grade stem *uakk-* that I know of in Hittite is found in the verb *uāk<sup>i</sup>- / uakk-* ‘to bite’ that reflects PIE *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* ‘to break’ (Gr. ἄγνυμι ‘to break’). See at *uāk<sup>i</sup>- / uakk-* for an explanation of the zero-grade *uakk-* << *\*uh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*. A semantic parallel is available in ModDu. *ontbreken* ‘to be lacking’, derived from *breken* ‘to break’.

Oettinger (l.c.) suggests a connection with Lat. *vacuus* ‘empty’, which reflects *\*(H)uh<sub>2</sub>k-* (cf. Schrijver 1990: 307-8). Problematic, however, is that in my view a preform *\*uh<sub>2</sub>k-óri* should regularly yield Hitt. *\*\*ukkāri*, and that I see no way how to explain the secondary epenthetic vowel *-a-* without availability of a full-grade form.

**uagai-** (c.) ‘grain weevil’ (Sum. Uḫ.ŠE): nom.sg. *u-a-ga-a-iš* (KUB 4.3 obv. 5), abl. *u-a-ga-ia-za* (KUB 46.42 iv 11), acc.pl. *u-a-ka-a-uš* (KUB 46.38 i 4, KUB 46.42 iii 1), *u-a-ka-a-uš* (KUB 46.38 i 6).

See Hoffner (1977b: 75) for attestations. He translates this word as ‘grain weevil’ and states that “the connection with *wak-* ‘to bite, peck’ may be only illusory (folk etymology) or genuine”. If the connection with *uāk-* / *uakk-* indeed is justified, we should reconstruct \**uéh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>(r)</sup>-oi-*. See at *uāk-* / *uakk-* for further etymology.

**uakkarije/a-**<sup>z</sup> (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to rebel against, to revolt against’: 3sg.pres.act. *u-a-g-ga-ri-ez-zi* (NH), *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-az-zi* (NH), *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-zi* (NH), *u-a-ak-ka-ri-ia-zi* (NH), *u-a-ak-ri-ia-zi* (KUB 8.3 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-iz-zi* (NH), *u-a-ak-ka-ri-ia-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-nu-un* (NH), *u-a-ak-ka-ri-ia-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-at*, 2sg.imp.act. *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia* (OH/NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *u-a-g-ga-ri-ia-u-aš* (NH); inf.I *uaggarija<sub>u</sub>anzi* (HW: 241); impf. *u-a-ak-ka-ri-eš[-ke/a-]*; broken *u-a-ak-ka-ri-ia[-...]* (OS).

Derivatives: **uakkareššar** / **uakkarešn-** (n.) ‘rebellion(?)’ (abl. *u-a-ak-kar-eš-na-az* (KBo 8.47 i 12)).

PIE \**uok<sup>(r)</sup>-r-je/o-* ??

Most attestations are from NH texts, but the OS attestation *u-a-ak-ka-ri-ia[-...]* (KUB 36.106 obv. 7) shows that the verb was used in OH times already. The one attestation *u-a-ak-ri-ia-zi* (OH/NS) might indicate that we are dealing with a phonological /uakrie/a-/.  
The verb denotes ‘to rebel, to revolt’, as can be seen from many contexts. One context, however, may indicate that *uakkarije/a-* could stand for fysical revolting as well:

KUB 33.106 ii

(7) ... *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-bad-du-uš* <sup>d</sup>*Taš-mi-šu-un a-uš-ta*

(8) *nu=kán* <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pa-du-uš šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-šu-u-ua-an-zi*  
*u-a-ak-ka-ri-eš[-ke-u]-an*

(9) *ti-ia-at ma-n=a-aš=kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-ta-at n=a-an*  
MUNUS.MEŠ SUḪUR.LA<sub>5</sub>

(10) *e-ep-per n=a-an Ú-UL tar-ni-er*



‘When Hēpat saw Tašmišu, Hēpat began to stir<sup>7</sup> sothat she would fall down from the roof. She would have fallen down from the roof, but her servants grabbed her and did not let her go’.

Often, *uakkarije/a-* is seen as a derivative of *uakk-<sup>ari</sup>* ‘to be lacking’ (q.v.). This seems to be based especially on the fact that in the older literature the verb *uakk-* was thought to display a root *uakkar-* (3sg.pres.midd. *uakkāri*), and because of the fact that we find a few attestations of *uakkarije/a-* spelled *u-a-ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-a-ri-ja-*, a spelling that resembles the word *u-a-ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-a-ri* ‘is lacking’. Nevertheless, a connection between *uakkarije/a-* and *uakk-* is difficult, especially semantically. I do not see how we could connect ‘to rebel against, to revolt’ with ‘to be lacking’. E.g. Tischler (HW) translates *uakkarije/a-* with ‘Mangel leiden lassen’, but this translation seems to be based on the presupposed etymological connection with *uakk-* only. Formally, the connection is not evident either. We would have to assume that *uakkarije/a-* is a derivative in *-arije/a-* of the verbal root *uakk-*, whereas to my knowledge, this suffix is only used with nouns in *-ant-*, e.g. *gimmandarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to spend the winter’ from *gimmant-* ‘winter’, *nekumandarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to undress (someone)’ from *nekumant-* ‘naked’, *parkuuantarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to become pure’ from *\*parkuuant-* ‘pure’, while other verbs in *-arija-* are all derived from nouns in *-ar-*: *ešharije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* from *ešhar-*, *hahharije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* from *hahhar(a)-*, *happarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* from *happar-*, etc.

All in all, I would conclude that *uakkarije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* means ‘to stir’ > ‘to revolt against’ (and not ‘to make someone lack something’) and is derived from a noun *\*uakkar-*, which perhaps denoted some movement (and is not derived from the verb *uakk-* ‘to be lacking’). Unfortunately, such a noun is unknown in Hittite, nor do I have a etymological suggestion for it. Formally, it could go back to *\*uok<sup>h</sup>-r*.

*uak(ki)šije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic1) ‘to be lacking’: 3sg.pres.act. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-zi* (KUB 8.35 i 11 (NS), Bronzetafel ii 74 (NH)), *u-a-ak-ki-ši-e-ez-zi* (KUB 8.28 i 5 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-a[t]* (VSNF 12.116 rev. 5, 10 (NS)); part. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-an-za* (KUB 23.61 i 8 (NS)).

Derivatives: *uaggašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to leave out’ (3pl.pres.act. *u-a-ag-ga-aš-nu-an-zi* (VBoT 24 i 9 (MH/NS))), *uakšijanū-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to deny a person of something’ (3sg.pres.act. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-nu-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 40 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-nu-ut-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 i 49 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u-a-ak-ši-ja-nu-nu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 15 (NH))).

PIE *\*u<sub>h</sub>₂ḡ-s-je/o-?*

For the semantics of this verb, cf. e.g.

Bronzetafel ii

(74) *ú-uk-k=a, ma-aḥ-ḥa-an<sup>md</sup>LAMMA-an pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥi mu-u=š-ši=kán ma-a-an  
ua-ak-ši-ja-zi*

(75) *ku-it-ki n=a-an=kán an-da šar-ni-en-ki-iš-ke-mi*

‘Just like I will protect Kurunta – every time something is lacking for him I will replace it – ...’.

Semantically, this verb is therefore quite similar to *uakk-<sup>āri</sup>* ‘to be lacking’ (q.v.). Formally, *uak(ki)šije/a-* could then be a derivative in *-s-* of *uakk-*. This plain stem *uakš-* is still visible in *uaggašnu-<sup>zi</sup>* = *luaksnu-/*, whereas all other forms show the NH *-je/a-* extension. See at *uakk-<sup>āri</sup>* for further etymology.

DUG/URUDU **uakšur** (n.) a vessel; a cubic measure; a time unit: nom.-acc.sg. *ua-ak-šur*, gen.sg.(?) *u[a-a]k-šur-ra-aš* (KUB 17.28 i 27).

This word denotes a vessel that is used as a cubic measure for e.g. honey, oil, milk and wine. Moreover, it is used as a time unit (probably a water clock). Only one possibly inflected form is known, viz. gen.sg.(?) *u[a]kšurraš*.

Because we do not know exactly what kind of object *uakšur* denotes, it is difficult to etymologize it. Pisani (1982: 178) connected this word with *uak(ki)šije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be lacking’, which formally is possible (cf. the stem *uakš-* visible in *uakšnu-<sup>zi</sup>*), but semantically not easy to defend. According to Pisani, *uak(ki)šije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ultimately is cognate with Lat. *vacō* ‘to be empty’, and he therefore assumes a semantic development ‘to be empty’ > ‘to be a container’. See at the lemma of *uak(ki)šije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* for the impossibility of a connection with Lat. *vacō*, however.

**uaktūri-**: see *uktūri-*

<sup>(UZU)</sup> **ualla-**, **ualli-** (c.) ‘thigh(-bone)(?)’: nom.sg. *ua-al-la-aš*, *ú-ua-al-la-aš* (1x, KUB 55.53 i 11), acc.sg. *ua-al-la-an*, gen.sg. *ua-al-la-aš*, nom.pl. *ua-al-li-e-eš* (KUB 29.1 iv 10), *ua-al-li-i-e-eš* (KBo 4.1 rev. 20), *ua-al-li-iš* (ABoT 1 i 16), acc.pl. *ua-al-lu-uš* (KUB 29.1 iv 9).

For semantics, compare Alp (1957: 26-7), who translates this word as “‘Keule, Schenkel’ (beim Tier) und ‘Oberbein, Oberschenkel’ (beim Menschen)”. Alp

cites the word as *uḡalla-* as well, based on a spelling *u-ḡa-al-lu-uš* in KUB 29.1 iv 9 and *ú-ḡa-al-la-aš* in KUB 55.53 i 11. The former attestation may rather be read (KUB 29.1 iv 9) *nu* 10 *ḡa-al-lu-uš ti-an-zi* ‘they put down ten *ḡ*.-s’. The latter attestation runs thus:

KUB 55.53 i

(10) *nu* 12 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>III.A</sup> TUR<sup>TM</sup> ŠÀ.BA 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA

*ḡa-az-zi-la-a[š]*

(11) *me-ma-al ZÍZ* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A ZAG-aš *ú-ḡa-al-la-aš*

(12) *n=a-at A-NA* DINGIR.MAḤ *pé-ra-an ti-an-zi*

‘(There are) 12 thickbreads, the heart(?) of a cub, one thickbread (of) *ḡ*. meal, wheat, fat-bread (and) a right *u*. They place these before the Mother-goddess’.

It indeed may show a singular spelling *ú-ḡa-al-la-*. If the form *ḡa-al-li-i-e-eš* (KBo 4.1 rev. 20) belongs here as well, we see a stem *ḡalli-* too. The appurtenance of the word <sup>UZU</sup>*ú-la-* (q.v.) is unclear, however.

Alp (l.c.) proposed to analyse <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ḡalla-* as a derivative in *-alla-* of the verb *uḡa-* ‘to come’ (see *ḡe-zi* / *uḡa-*). This is formally quite improbable, as *uḡa-* is a quite recent stem which was formed out of the original paradigm *ḡē-zi* / \**uḡ-* in analogy to the *-je/a*-class. No further etymology.

***ḡalla/i-*** ‘to praise, to honour’: 1sg.pres.act. *ḡa-al-la-aḡ-ḡi* (KUB 31.127 iii 37), 3pl.pres.act. *ḡa-li-[i]a-an-zi* (KUB 6.46 iv 28); impf. *ḡa-al-li-iš-ke/a-*, *ḡa-al-li-eš-ke/a-*.

This verb is generally translated as ‘to praise, to honour’, compare, e.g.

KUB 31.127 iii

(37) *tu-uk* DINGIR<sup>LAM</sup> *ḡa-al-la-aḡ-ḡi*

‘I praise you, god’;

KUB 6.46 iv

(28) *nu-u=t-ta* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ŠA ME-E ḤUR.SAG<sup>MEŠ</sup> ÍD<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ḡa-li-[i]a-an-zi*

‘the gods of the 100 mountains and rivers praise you’.

When accompanied with =z, the verb is translated ‘to boast, to brag’, e.g.

KBo 5.6 i

- (3) ... nu ku-it-ma-an URU<sup>DIDL.HI.A</sup> ú-e-te-eš-ke-et  
 (4) LÚKÚR-aš=za ūa-al-le-eš-ke-ez-zi I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Al-mi-na=ūa-r=a-an=kán  
 (5) kat-ta-an-da Ú-UL ku-ūa-at-ka<sub>1</sub> tar-nu-um-me-ni ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma  
 (6) URU<sup>DIDL.HI.A</sup> ú-e-tu<sub>1</sub>-ma-an-zi zi-in-ni-it n=a-aš<sup>URU</sup> Al-mi-na  
 (7) an-da-an pa-it nu-u=š-ši LÚKÚR za-aḥ-ḥi-ja me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da  
 (8) nam-ma Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ma-az-za-aš-ta

‘While he was fortifying the cities, the enemy was boasting “We will never let him come down to the city of Almina”. But when he had finished fortifying the cities, he entered Almina, but none of his enemies gave further resistance in battle against him’.

The exact inflection of this verb is unclear. I will therefore cite it as *ualla/i-*. If the form *ūa-li-[i]a-an-zi* really belongs to this verb (which is semantically quite possible), we must assume that it is misspelled for *ūa<al>-li-ja-an-zi*.

This verb probably is related with *ualli-* ‘pride(?)’ and *uallijatar / uallijann-* ‘(song of) praise’. Often, *ualla/i-* is further connected with *ualluške/a-*, which then is translated ‘to praise’, too. For instance, Melchert (1994a: 81-2) reconstructs “*ualla-*” as \**ūal-neh<sub>2</sub>-* and “*uallu-*” as \**ūal-neu-*, but see at *ualluške/a-* for the problems regarding this view. Oettinger (1979a: 490-1) assumes that ‘to praise’ developed out of ‘to make strong’ and therefore connects *ualla/i-* with Lat. *valēre* ‘to be strong’, TochB *walo* ‘king’, etc. < \**uelH-*.

***ualahh<sup>-zi</sup>***: see *ualh<sup>-zi</sup>*

***ualahhi-***: see *ualhi-*

***uallanu<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to erase(?)’: 3sg.pres.act. *ūa-al-la-nu-u[z-zi]* (KUB 26.43 ii 37); part. nom.sg.c. *ūa-al-la-nu-an-za* (KUB 34.19 iv 9).

The only clear context in which this verb is attested is

KUB 26.43 ii

- (35) ki-i ṬUP-PU PA-NI<sup>dU</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup> Ḥa-at-ti ki-it-ta-ru n=a-at pé-an ar-ḥa [Ú-UL ku-iš-ki da-a-i]  
 (36) ku-iš=ma ki-i ṬUP-PU A-NA<sup>dU</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup> Ḥa-at-ti pé-ra-an ar-ḥa da-a-[i ... ]  
 (37) na-aš-m=a-at ar-ḥa la-ḥu-u-ūa-i na-aš-ma ŠUM-an ūa-al-la-nu-u[z-zi ... ]  
 (38) pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i n=a-an=kán<sup>dU</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-ti<sup>dUTU</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup> A-ri-in-[na ... ]  
 (39) Ú DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš QA-DU NUMUN=ŠU ar-ḥa

‘This tablet must lay before the Storm-god of Ḫatti. [No-one shall take] it from before (the deity). Whoever does take this tablet from before the Storm-god of Ḫatti [...] or will pour it away or will erase<sup>7</sup> the name [...] will bring forth, the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the Sun-goddess of Arin[na] and all the gods shall destroy him together with his offspring’.

Formally, *uallanu*<sup>zi</sup> looks like a causative in *-nu-* of a stem *ualla-*, but the only known verb *ualla-* ‘to praise’ does not fit the meaning. No further etymology.

**ualḫ**<sup>zi</sup> (Ia4) ‘to hit, to strike’ (Sum. GUL, RA): 1sg.pres.act. *ua-al-aḫ-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ua-al-aḫ-ši* (MH/MS), [*u*]a-al-aḫ-ti, 3sg.pres.act. *ua-al-aḫ-zi* (OS), *ua-la-aḫ-zi* (OS), *u-ua-al-aḫ-zi* (KBo 16.50 obv. 20), 1pl.pres.act. *ua-al-ḫu-u-ua-ni* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫu-ua-ni* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫu-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ua-al-aḫ-ta-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ua-al-ḫa-an-zi* (OS), *ua-al-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ua-al-ḫu-un* (OS), *ua-al-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-al-aḫ-ta* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *ua[-al<sup>2</sup>-ḫ]u<sup>2</sup>-en* (KBo 18.86 obv. 13), 2pl.pret.act. *ua-la-aḫ-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ua-al-aḫ-ḫe-er* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫe-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ua-al-aḫ* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ua-al-aḫ-tén* (MH/MS), *ua-al-aḫ-te-en* (MH/MS); part. *ua-al(-aḫ)-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun *ua-al-ḫu-ua-ar*, *ua-al-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *ua-al-ḫu-ua-aš*; inf.I *ua-al-ḫu-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫu-u-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ua-al-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-an-zi*, *u-ua-al-ḫu(-u)-ua-an-zi* (KBo 16.50 obv. 10, 15); impf. *ua-al(-aḫ)-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *ua-al(-aḫ)-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **ualḫanna**<sup>i</sup> / **ualḫanni**- (IIa5) ‘to hit, to strike (impf.)’ (2sg.pres.act. *ua-al-ḫa-an-na-at-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *ua-al-aḫ-ḫa-an-na-i*, *ua-al-ḫa-an-na-i*, *ua-al-ḫa-an-na-a-i*, 3pl.pres.act. *ua-al-ḫa-an-ni-an-zi* (OS), *ua-al-ḫa-an-ni-ia-an-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *ua-al-ḫa-an-na-ú*; impf. *ua-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫa-an-ni-eš-ke/a-*), **ualḫeššar** / **ualḫešn-** (n.) ‘strike, blow’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ua-al-ḫe-eš-šar*, *ua-al-ḫi-iš-šar*, gen.sg. *ua-al-ḫi-iš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. RA-eš-ni).

IE cognates: Lat. *vellō* ‘to tear apart’, Gr. *ἐάλων* ‘was killed’, TochA *wälläštär* ‘dies’.

PIE *\*uelh<sub>3</sub>-ti* / *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-énti*

This verb is well-attested, from OS onwards. The spellings *ua-al-aḫ-C*, *ua-la-aḫ-C*, *ua-al-ḫV* and *ua-al-aḫ-ḫV* all clearly point to a phonological interpretation /ualH-/. The spellings with *u-ua-* occur in one text only (KBo 16.50) and therefore can be disregarded. The exact etymological interpretation of *ualḫ-* has

been disturbed by the idea that it has an inner-Hittite cognate in *hulle<sup>-zi</sup>* / *hull-* ‘to smash’. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 264) reconstructs a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>uelh<sub>2</sub>-*, of which on the one hand a thematic formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>2</sub>-é-ti* would be visible in *hullezi* and on the other a root-present *\*h<sub>2</sub>uelh<sub>2</sub>-ti* yielded *u<sub>1</sub>alh<sub>2</sub>zi* with dissimilation of the first *\*h<sub>2</sub>* due to the second one. As I have argued under its own lemma, *hulle<sup>-zi</sup>* / *hull-* is best explained as a nasal-infix formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>ul-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-* of a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ulh<sub>1</sub>-*, and therefore cannot be equated with *u<sub>1</sub>alh-*.

I rather follow LIV<sup>2</sup> in reconstructing a root *\*uelh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to strike’ (*\*-h<sub>3</sub>-* visible in Gr. ἐάλω ‘was killed’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-ulh<sub>3</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>-*). Note that *uélh<sub>3</sub>-ti* / *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-énti* in principle should have yielded *\*\*u<sub>1</sub>alzi* / *\*\*ulhanzi*. Nevertheless, on the basis of the consonantal *\*u* of the singular, the plural form was realized *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-énti*. This latter form regularly yielded Hitt. /uəlHánt<sup>s</sup>i/, on the basis of which the laryngeal was restored in the singular form, which then yielded /uálHt<sup>s</sup>i/.

**u<sub>1</sub>alhi-** (n.) a beverage used in cult: nom.-acc.sg. *ua-al-hi* (OS), *ua-al-ah-hi*, gen.sg. *ua-al-hi-aš* (OS), *ua-al-ah-hi-aš*, *ua-al-hi-ia-aš*, *ua-al-ah-hi-ia-aš*, instr. *ua-al(-ah)-hi-it*.

Derivatives: <sup>LÚ</sup>**u<sub>1</sub>alahhi<sup>2</sup>ala-** (c.) a kitchen servant (nom.sg. *ua-al-ah-hi-ia-la-aš* (KUB 13.3 ii 22)).

PIE *\*uolh<sub>3</sub>-i*, *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-i-os* ??

This word denotes a beverage that is used in cult and is attested from OS texts onwards. Although in principle the word could very well be of IE origin, our lack of understanding its exact meaning precludes etymologizing it. Nevertheless, one could envisage a formal connection with the verb *u<sub>1</sub>alh<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to strike’. If so, then we would have to reconstruct *\*uolh<sub>3</sub>-i*, *\*ulh<sub>3</sub>-i-ós*. Note however that this paradigm regularly should have yielded *\*\*u<sub>1</sub>alli*, *\*\*ulh<sup>2</sup>iaš*. We therefore have to assume that on the one hand the consonantal *\*u* of the nominative spread throughout the paradigm, and on the other the laryngeal of the oblique stem, yielding attested *u<sub>1</sub>alhi*, *u<sub>1</sub>alhiaš*.

**u<sub>1</sub>alhu<sup>2</sup>uant-** (adj.) ‘uncultivated(?)’: nom.sg.c. *ua-al-hu-u-ua-an-za* (HKM 77 obv. 11 (MH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *ua-al-hu-u-ua-an-te-eš* (KUB 31.84 iii 69).

This adjective occurs twice, but in only one case the context is clear:

KUB 31.84 iii

(66) *har-kán-ta-aš ŠA LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup> TUKUL ku-iš A.ŠÀ<sup>III.A</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>-an-na-a-at-ta=ia*

(67) *ku-e pí-e-et-ta n=e-e=t-ta h[u-]u-[m]a-an GUL-aš-ša-an e-eš-tu*

- (68) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=ma* NAM.RA<sup>III.A</sup> *pi-an-z[i n]u-u=š-ši A[Š<sup>2</sup>-R]A ḥu-u-da-ak*  
 (69) *ḥi-in-kán-du gi-im-ra-aš-š=a ku-i-e-e[š ṽ]a-al-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-te-eš*  
 (70) *nu-u=š-ma-aš=ša-an ú-e-tum-ma-aš ud-d[a-n]i-i IGI<sup>III.A</sup>-ṽa ḥar-ak*  
 (71) *n=a-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-in ú-e-da-an-za e-eš-t[u]*

‘What fields there are of a TUKUL-man who has disappeared and what unoccupied *pietta*-allotments there are, all this must be put in writing for you. And when they give deportees, provide them quickly with a place. And the field which are *ṽ*., keep an eye on them regarding the matter of construction. It must be built well’.

The other context is broken:

HKM 77 obv.

- (10) [ ... a]-*pa-a-aš* LÚKÚR *ḥa-an-da-a-an*  
 (11) [ ... ]x-*zi ṽa-al-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-za*

Alp (1991: 267) translates *ṽalḥūṽanza* here as ‘geschlagen’ but this apparently is based on a false connection with *ṽalḥ<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to hit’ (q.v.) only. In the first context, *ṽalḥūṽanteš* seems to refer to fields that are uncultivated and have to be built upon. The exact meaning, however, is still unclear and etymologizing therefore is useless.

***ṽalli-*** (adj.) ‘shaven(?)’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ṽa-al-li* (KBo 6.26 iii 13), nom.sg.c. *ṽa-al-li-iš* (IBoT 1.31 i 25).

This word is an adjective that describes skins. Generally, it is translated ‘shaven’, ‘depilated’ or ‘smooth’, e.g. IBoT 1.31 i (25) 1 <sup>KUŠ</sup>A.GÁ.LÁ BABBAR *ṽa-al-li-iš* LÚGUD.DA SÍG *ḥur-ri=kán an-da* ‘one white bag of smooth leather, short, contains Hurrian wool’. No etymology.

***ṽalli-*** (?) ‘pride(?)’: gen.sg. *ṽa-al-li-ia-aš* (KUB 19.13 i 48 (NH)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

- KUB 19.13 i (additions and translation by Güterbock 1956b: 110)  
 (47) [*I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>*T*]*i-mu-ḥa-la an-da-an ú-et nu* <sup>URU</sup>*Ti-mu-ḥa-la-aš URU-aš*  
 (48) [*ŠA* LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>UR</sup>U]*Ga-aš-ga ṽa-al-li-ia-aš pé-e-da-an e-eš-ta*

‘Then he came back [into (the town of) T]imuḫala. The town of Timuḫala was a place of pride [of the] Gašgaeans’.

If *ualli-* indeed means ‘pride’, it may be the source of the derivative *uallijatar / uallijann-* ‘(song of) praise’ and the verb *ualla/i-* ‘to praise’.

*ualli-* ‘thigh(-bone)(?)’: see <sup>(UZU)</sup>*ualla-*

*uallijatar / uallijann-* (n.) ‘(song of) praise’: nom.-acc.sg. *u-a-al-li-ja-tar* (KUB 21.38 obv. 48, 51 (NH), KUB 6.45 ii 48, 49 (NH), KUB 6.46 iv 17, 18 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *u-a-al-li-ja-an-ni* (KBo 32.14 ii 42, iii 41 (MH/MS), KBo 32.19 iii 44 (MH/MS)).

This word probably is an abstract noun of the stem *ualli-*, also visible in *ualli-* ‘pride’ and *ualla/i-* ‘to praise’.

*ualliyallija-* (adj.) ‘quick(?)’: nom.sg.c.(?) *u-a-li-u-a-li-aš* (KUB 5.1 ii 110), *u[a-al-li-u]a-al-li-ja-aš* (KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 20), *u-a-a[l-li-u-a-]al-li-ja-aš* (KBo 35.160 rev.<sup>?</sup> 5, 9 (fr.)), dat.-loc.sg. *u-a-al-li-u-a-al-li* (KUB 27.1 i 3, 29, iv 8, 16), *u-a-al-li-u-a-li* (KUB 27.1 i 17, iv 21), *u-a-al-li-u-a-al-li-ja* (KUB 27.1 iv 31), nom.pl.c. *u-a-al-li-u-a-al-li-uš* (KUB 33.112 + KUB 36.2c iii 12 // KUB 33.111, 3).

This word occurs a few times, mostly as an epithet of <sup>d</sup>*IŠTAR*. In the following context it describes ‘winds’:

KUB 33.112 + KUB 36.2c iii (with additions from KUB 33.111 + HT 25, see Otten 1950: 11)

- (10) KASKAL-*an=ma* k[(*u-in*)] *i-ja-an-ta-ri nu* KASKAL[-*an ku-in*<sup>?</sup>]  
(11) *ú-u-a-an-zi* n[*u-uš*<sup>?</sup> *am-(mu-u)*]k <sup>d</sup>LAMA-*aš ne-pí-š*[(*a-aš* LUGAL-*u*)š]  
(12) DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš hi-in-ik-m*[(*i IM*<sup>H</sup>)]<sup>L.A</sup>-*uš u-a-al-li-u-a*[(*-al-li-uš*)]  
(13) *A-NA* <sup>dÉ</sup>.A KASKAL-š[*i me-n*]a-*aḫ-ḫa-an-da* x[...]

‘The road that they go (and) the road [that] they come, these I, <sup>d</sup>LAMA, the king of Heaven, point out to the gods. The *u*. winds opposite the way of Ea [brought them the words of <sup>d</sup>LAMA]’ (added translation based on similar contexts).

Otten (l.c.) translates *u*. as “stürmisch” here. For its use as an epithet of *Ištar*, compare e.g. KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i (20) *n=a-aš=kán u[a-al-li-u]a-al-li-ja-*



aš (21) *ti-ja-at* <sup>d</sup>*IŠTAR-iš*, but especially KUB 27.1 i (29) *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*IŠTAR É* *ua-al-li-ua-al-li=ma* ..., etc.

Besides these attestations of the adjective, Oettinger (1979a: 34) also cites a verb *ualliyalae-* ‘streuen(?)’, but gives no reference to its attestation place(s). Tischler (HG: 193) cites a verb “*ualliyallai-* (II) ‘kräftigen’”, but does not give attestations either. Besides the translation ‘stürmisch’, we sometimes find a translation ‘strong’ as well (e.g. Tischler HG: 193). The latter meaning seems to be especially prompted by a connection with HLuw. *wali-* (nom.-acc.pl.n. (adv.) <sup>CRUX</sup>*wa/i-la* (CEKKE §24), *wa/i-la* (KULULU 5 §8)), which is translated as ‘strong’ by Starke (1990: 452), because of the connection with the CLuwian adjective *niyalla/i-*, which he interprets as ‘weak’. CHD (N: 459) translates *niyalla/i-* as ‘innocent’, however, a meaning which would fit Hawkins’ interpretation of HLuw. *wa/i-la* as ‘fatally’ as well (cf. Hawkins 2000: 486). This would mean that there is no Luwian stem \**ualli-* that means ‘strong’, so there is no ground anymore to translate *ualliyallija-* as ‘strong’ as well.

All in all, we can conclude that *ualliyallija-* is an adjective describing ‘winds’ as well as ‘Ištar’. A translation ‘stürmisch’ could be possible, but perhaps ‘quick’ fits both contexts better. An etymological connection with a supposed Luwian stem \**ualli-* is unassured, and semantically not likely.

***ualk(ije/a)-*** (Ia4 / Ic1) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-la-ak-zi* (KUB 8.3 obv. 10 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ua-al-ki-ja-an-da* (KUB 58.30 ii 21 (MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ua-al-ak-ta-at* (KUB 49.3 obv. 8 (NS)); verb.noun. *ua-al-ki-ja-u-ua-ar* (KUB 7.58 i 7 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***ualganu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘?’ (3sg.pres.act. *ua-al-ga-nu-uz-zi* (KBo 13.31 i 11 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-al-ga-nu-ut* (KUB 33.10 obv. 11 (OH/MS))).

See Neu 1968: 187f. for attestations. There he also cites *ualkuuan*, but see *ualku(y)a-* for this. According to Neu, the meaning of *ualk(ije/a)-* can hardly be determined because most of its forms are found in broken contexts: “[n]ur *ualganut* steht in einem vollständig erhaltenen Satz”:

KUB 33.10 obv.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| (6) [   | š]a-a-an-ta-an ku-ua-at me-ma-nu-ut-tę-ęn [         | ] |
| (7) [   | (-)]ni-e-ęt-ta-at n=a-aš-ta TÚL-ru ši-il-mq[-       | ] |
| (8) [   | x ÍD <sup>HLA</sup> ar-šar-šu-u-ru-uš hu-it-ti-į[a- | ] |
| (9) [   | š]a-aḫ-ta n=u-uš ua-al-ga-nu-ut ua-ap-pa-mu-uš x[   | ] |
| (10) [lu-ut-ta-]a-uš pi-ip-pa-aš É <sup>HLA.TM</sup> pi-i[p-pa-aš |   | ] |

Otten (1942: 32-34) translates this as

“Warum habt ihr mich [...] zum Sprechen gebracht? (15) ]..., nun die Quelle(n) ...[ (16) ]x, die strömenden Flüsse leit[ete er (ab)<sup>(?)</sup> (17) ]er suchte und ...te die Wadi [ (18) [die Fenst]er stürzte er ein, die Häuser stür[zte er ein]”.

Personally, I would not dare to guess what *u<sub>l</sub>ganu-* would mean in this context. Nevertheless, Oettinger (1979a: 234) glosses *u<sub>l</sub>alk-* with “(in bestimmter Weise) schlagen, mißhandeln(?)”, without indicating how he arrives at this meaning. He admits, however, that “eine genauere semantische Untersuchung würde den hier vorgegebenen Rahmen sprengen”. His etymological proposal to connect OHG *walkan* ‘to move to and fro, to press together’ therefore does not have much value.

Kimball (1994a: 81-2), states about *u<sub>l</sub>alk(i<sub>e</sub>/a)-* that “[t]he meaning of the verb is not entirely clear, since it is preserved mostly in damaged or obscure contexts, but it seems to indicate an action with destructive, or at least unpleasant, consequences”, and in note 22: “In KBo XIII 31 in a badly damaged passage (Riemschneider, StBoT 9 no. 15) *walganu-* occurs in what is plainly a series of unfavourable omens; cf. *ēšhar arszī* “blood will flow” ib. I 8 and KUR<sup>LÚ</sup> *KÚR sakkuriatta* “the enemy will prevail” ib. I 10. In KUB XXXIII 10 its object is *wappamus* “river banks”, and it refers to actions done by Telepenus in his rage: *nu=s walganut wappamus* “He w.’ed the river banks”.” Nevertheless, Kimball as well states that “*walk-* is probably to be compared with Skt. *valgati* “jumps”, OE *wealcan* “roll” (NE *walk*) and OHG *walkan* id. [...], which would point to an IE \**welg-*”. I do not understand how she arrives at this conclusion. The semantics of *u<sub>l</sub>alk(i<sub>e</sub>/a)-* and of *u<sub>l</sub>al<sub>g</sub>anu-* are too unclear to base any firm conclusion on. Any etymological proposal can be based on formal similarities only, which is unconvincing. So, without more clear attestations of these verbs, no etymology can be given.

***u<sub>l</sub>alkiššara-***: see *ulkiššara-*

***u<sub>l</sub>alku(u)a-*** (n.) something negative: acc.sg. *u<sub>l</sub>a-al-ku-an* (KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (OH/MS)), *u<sub>l</sub>a-al-ku-u<sub>l</sub>a-an* (KBo 3.40b, 15).

IE cognates: Skt. *a-vṛká-* ‘safe’.

PIE \**ulk<sup>v</sup>ó-*?

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The word occurs twice, namely in the following contexts:

KBo 22.2 obv.

(1) [MUNUS.LUGA]L<sup>URU</sup> *Ka-ni-iš* 30 DUMU<sup>MES</sup> I<sup>EN</sup> *MU-an-ti ḫa-a-aš-ta UM-MA*  
ŠI=MA

(2) [*ki*]-i=*ua* *ku-it ua-al-ku-an ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un*

‘The Queen of Kaniš bore thirty sons within one year. She (speaks) thus: “What kind of *u*. did I give birth to?”’;

KBo 3.40b+

(15) ... *ú-k=u-uš pu-nu-uš-ke-m*[*i ki-i=ua?* *k*] *u-it ua-al-ku-ua-an*

(16) [ ]x[ -*t*]e<sup>2</sup>-*ni UM-MA ŠU-NU=MA ERÍN*<sup>MES</sup> [*Hur-r*]i(?) *ut-ni-ia ú-ez-zi*

‘I ask them “What [kind of] *u*. do you (pl.) [...]?”. They answer: “The [Hurr]ian army comes to the country”’ (cf. Soysal 1987: 177 and 181).

On the basis of these contexts, an exact meaning cannot be determined. Otten (1973: 16) proposes a meaning “schlechtes Omen, Unheilverkündendes”.

Lehrman (1987: 16-7) suggests that *ualkuua-* is cognate with Skt. *a-vṛká-* ‘safe’, which would point to an original adjective *\*ul<sup>w</sup>k-ó-* ‘dangerous’. His idea is then that this adjective is the source of the substantive *\*u<sup>w</sup>lk-o-* ‘wolf’ as visible in Skt. *vṛka-* and Gr. *λύκος* (through the same derivation process as visible in e.g. Skt. *kṛṣṇa-* ‘black antelope’ from *kṛṣṇá-* ‘black’ or Gr. *Γλαῦκος*, PN, from *γλαυκός* ‘shining’). If this etymology is correct (but note that it semantically is weak in the sense that the meaning of *ualkuua-* is not clear beyond any doubt), it would show that the word-initial sequence *\*uRC-* yields Hitt. *uARC-*. The examples cited in Melchert (1994a: 126-7) to claim the contrary (*\*uRC* > Hitt. *uRC-*) are false: the stem *ūr-*, which Melchert interprets as ‘help’ and derives from “*\*wṛh<sub>1</sub>i-*” has nothing to do with ‘help’ (cf. the lemma *ūr(iē/a)-*); the noun *ūrki-* ‘track, trail’, which Melchert derives from “PA[nat.] *\*wṛgi-*”, may in fact rather reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>urg-i-*. Moreover, a development *\*uRC* > *uARC* is visible in *\*urh<sub>1</sub>óri* > OH */urʔāni/*, *ú-ra-a-ni* > MH/NH */uərʔāni/*, *u-ra-a-ni* ‘burns’.

Note that Lehrman (1987 and 1978: 228-30) claims that PIE *\*u<sup>w</sup>lk-o-* has an Anatolian outcome as well, namely CLuw. *u<sub>1</sub>alua/i-*, which he translates as ‘lion’. This translation goes back to Steinherr (1968) who argues that the sumerogram UR.MAḪ, which occasionally occurs in CLuwian names and carries the phonetic complements *-a-* and *-i-*, must be identified with the onomastic element *u<sub>1</sub>alua/i-*. Although Steinherr indeed shows that we find *Piḫa-UR.MAḪ* as well as *Piḫa<sub>1</sub>al<sub>1</sub>i* and UR.MAḪ.LÚ as well as *U<sub>1</sub>al<sub>1</sub>iziti*, he is not able to give a single

text in which UR.MAḪ and *u<sub>2</sub>al<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>/i-* are used as duplicates of one another. Because *piḫa-* and *-ziti* are very common onomastic elements, their occurrence with both UR.MAḪ and *u<sub>2</sub>al<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>/i-* in my view is non-probative. Moreover, the fact that both onomastic elements end in *-a/i-* is non-probative either, because this alteration is inherent to every commune *a*-stem-word. Nevertheless, Lehrman (l.c.) takes the equation between *u<sub>2</sub>al<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>/i-* and UR.MAḪ ‘lion’ for granted and states that CLuw. *u<sub>2</sub>al<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>/i-* ‘lion’ must be cognate with PIE \**u<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>k<sup>w</sup>o-* ‘wolf’. Apart from the objections raised above, this is formally impossible as well: PIE \**-k<sup>w</sup>*- yields CLuw. */-k<sup>w</sup>-/*, cf. CLuw. *papparku<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to cleanse’ < \**perk<sup>w</sup>-* (see at *parkui-/parku<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>i-*).

***u<sub>2</sub>allu<sub>2</sub>ške/a-*<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic6) ‘to pray to(?)’: 1sgpres.act. *u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ke-mi* (KUB 29.1 i 26), 3sg.pres.act. *u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ke-zi* (KUB 34.53 ii 12), [*u<sub>2</sub>a-a*]l-lu-uš-ke-zi (KBo 32.16 iii 6), 2pl.pret.act. *u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ke-et-te-n=a-an* (KUB 23.77, 79 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ká[n-zi]* (KUB 34.53 ii 13); 2pl.pres.midd. *u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ke-ed-du-ma-at* (KUB 34.44 iv 14).

This verb is attested a few times, but mostly in damaged contexts, on the basis of which its meaning cannot be (well) determined. The only good context is

KUB 29.1 i

(24) DINGIR-na-aš=(š)-ma-aš KUR-e ḫe-e-še-er nu=mu=za LUGAL-un

(25) la-ba-ar-na-an ḫal-zi-i-e-er

(26) nu EGIR-pa ad-da-a(n)=š-ma-an<sup>d</sup>U-an u<sub>2</sub>a-al-lu-uš-ke-mi nu GIS<sup>III.A</sup> LUGAL-uš

(27) <sup>d</sup>U-ni ú-e-ek-zi ḫé-e-ja-u-e-eš ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ke-er šal-la-nu-uš-ke-er

‘The gods have opened up the country for you, and me they have called the king, Labarna. Again I *u<sub>2</sub>*. the Storm-god, your father. The king wishes from the Storm-god trees that the rains have made strong and raised’.

In this context, *u<sub>2</sub>allu<sub>2</sub>ške/a-* seems to denote ‘to pray to, to ask (of a deity)’. On the basis of the formal resemblance to *u<sub>2</sub>alla/i-* ‘to praise, to honour’, *u<sub>2</sub>allu<sub>2</sub>ške/a-* is often translated ‘to praise’ as well. Although in this context such a translation is possible, it is by no means ascertained. I would therefore refrain from too much etymologizing on the basis of a supposed connection between *u<sub>2</sub>alla/i-* and *u<sub>2</sub>allu<sub>2</sub>ške/a-* (unlike e.g. Melchert 1994a: 81, who derives *u<sub>2</sub>alla-* from \**u<sub>2</sub>al-neh<sub>2</sub>-* and “*u<sub>2</sub>allu-*’ from \**u<sub>2</sub>al-neu-*).

Unclear is the appurtenance of the verb *u<sub>2</sub>alu-* in the following context:



in *-ula-*. There are many more words that end in *-ula-*, however, and these are just as well a candidate to be added here.

From the first context mentioned, it is clear that *uālula-* is a body part, situated on the face, probably paired (which is also suggested by acc.pl. in the other context). Groddek (l.c.) suggests that the word means ‘pupil’, because it is mentioned between ‘eyes’ and ‘white and dark (parts) of the eyes’. This is a possibility. No further etymology.

⚡ *uāluajalla-* (gender unclear) ‘evil gossip(?)’: dat.-loc.sg. *uā-al-uā-ja-al-li*, gen.sg. *uā-al-uā-ja-al-la-aš*.

This word is attested in one context only:

KUB 13.35 + KUB 23.80 i

(17) *nu=uā=mu I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ka-ra-<sup>d</sup>Du-ni-ja-aš u-i-e-r*

(18) *nu=uā ku-it-ma-an I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ka-ra-<sup>d</sup>Du-ni-ja-aš pa-a-un [ ]*

(19) *ku-it-ma-an=uā EGIR-pa ú-uā-nu-un nu=uā=kán EGIR-az*

(20) ⚡ *uā-al-uā-ja-al-li an-da Ú-UL ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-iš-ke-et*

(21) *nu=uā a-pé-ez INIM-az GÜB-li-iš-šu-un*

(22) *ma-a-an=ma=uā IŠ-TU KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ka-ra-<sup>d</sup>Du-ni-ja-aš=ma ku-uā-pí*

(23) *EGIR-pa ú-uā-nu-un nu=uā=mu<sup>LÚ</sup> pa-ra-a-ú<sup>1</sup>-uā-an-da-an-n=a u-i-e-er*

(24) *INIM ⚡ uā-al-uā-ja-al-la-aš=ma=uā=kán nam-ma EGIR-an kat-ta pa-it*

‘They sent me to Babylon. And while I went to Babylon until I came back, no-one kept throwing inside the *u*. from behind. Because of this case ‘I became left’. But when I at one point came back from Babylon, they sent to me also a supervisor. But the case of the *u*. went back down again’.

Although details are unclear, it seems that *uāluajalla-* refers to some kind of evil gossip. The use of gloss wedges indicates a foreign (Luwian?) origin.

**-uan** (supine-suffix)

IE cognates: Skt. *iva* ‘in the manner of’.

PIE \*-*un*

The verbal noun that ends in *-uan* is traditionally called supine. This supine only occurs in the construction *supine + dai<sup>i</sup> / ti-* which denotes ‘to begin ...-ing’. It is remarkable that the supine is seldomly derived from the bare verbal stem (I only know of the examples *ha-an-nu-an* (NS, of *hanna<sup>i</sup> / hann-*), *iš-ḫu-u-uā-u-ū[a-n]*

(NH, of *išḫuṣai<sup>-i</sup>* / *išḫui-*), *iš-pár-ru-ṣa-an* (NH, of *išpār<sup>-i</sup>* / *išpar-*), *ka-ni-eš-šu-ṣa-an* (of *kane/išš<sup>-zi</sup>*), *ka-ri-pu-u-ṣa-an* (of *karāp<sup>-i</sup>* / *kare/ip-*), *pí-i-ṣa-u-ṣa-an* (of *pai<sup>-i</sup>* / *pi-*), *pár-ḫu-ṣa-an* (OH/MS, of *parḫ<sup>-zi</sup>*), *ša-pa-ši-ṣa-u-a[n]* (MH/MS, of *šapašije/a<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to spy’), *ša[r-ri-ṣ]a-ṣa-an* (NS, of *šārr<sup>-i</sup>* / *šarr-*), *tar-uḫ-ḫu-u-ṣa-an* (of *tarḫu<sup>-zi</sup>*), *ṣa-aš-šu-u-ṣa-an* (of *uešš<sup>-<sup>11a</sup></sup>*, *ṣašše/a<sup>-zi</sup>*) and *[..]x-ni-[i]n-ku-ṣa-an* (KUB 31.81 rev. 11), cf. Kammenhuber 1955: 40). Instead, in the bulk of the attestations it is derived of the imperfectives in *-ške/a-* (*°ške-(u)-ṣa-an* and *°š-ga-ṣa-an*), *-šš(a)-* (*°š-šu-ṣa-an*) and *-anna/i-* (*-an-ni-ṣa-an* and *-an-ni-ṣa-an*).

The supine-suffix *-ṣan* cannot be separated from the verbal noun in *-ṣar* / *-ṣaš* and the inf.I-suffix *-ṣanzi*. These all point to an original substantivizing suffix *\*-ṣr* / *\*-ṣen-*. Within the paradigm of such a suffix, *-ṣan* can only reflect an endingless locative *\*-ṣn* (note that *\*-ṣen* (reconstructed thus by e.g. Melchert 1984a: 24<sup>47</sup>) should have yielded Hitt. *\*-ṣen*). In my view, the form *\*-ṣn* must be compared to Skt. *iva* ‘in the manner of’ that goes back to virtual *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-ṣn* (with generalized zero-grade stem), the locative of a verbal noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ṣr* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>i-ṣén* that is still visible in Hitt. *iṣar* (q.v.). Note that also in Hittite forms like *i-iš-šu-ṣa-an* (OS, of *išša<sup>-i</sup>* / *išš-*) and *pí-ṣa-an-ni-ṣa-an* (OS, of *pīanna<sup>-i</sup>* / *pīanni-*) the verbal stem shows the generalized zero-grade formation. The suffix *\*-ṣn* originally must have had two outcomes, namely *-ṣn* after consonants and *-ṣan* after vowels. Just as in nom.-acc.sg. *-ṣar*, the postvocalic variant *-ṣan* has been generalized (from *\*-ške-ṣn* and *\*-anni-ṣn*).

**-ṣani** (1pl.pres.act.-ending): see *-ṣen(i)*

**ṣant-**, **ṣantae-**, **ṣantije/a-** ‘to glow, to light’: 3sg.pres.act. *ṣa-an-t[a-...]* (KUB 27.68 i 5 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ṣa-an-ta-it* (KUB 23.59 ii 8 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ṣa-an-ta-i* (KUB 30.14 + KUB 6.45 iii 70 (NH)), *[ṣa-a]n-ta-a-i* (KUB 6.46 iv 38 (NH)); part. nom.sg.c. *ṣa-an-ti-an-za* (KBo 27.60, 13 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *ṣa-an-ti-ṣa-an-da-a[n]* (KUB 48.80 i 6 (NS)); impf. *ṣa-an-te-eš-ki-iz-zi* (KUB 36.12 iii 12 (NS)).

Derivatives: **ṣantēšš<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to become glowing(?)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ṣa-an-te-eš-zi* (KUB 14.12 obv. 13), 3sg.pret.act. *ṣa-an-te-eš-ta* (KUB 48.80 i 9), **ṣantēma-**, **ṣanteṣantema-** (c.) ‘glowing (of the sun), lightning’ (nom.sg. *[ṣa-an-t]e-e-ma-aš* (KBo 25.117 obv. 6 (OS)), *ṣa-an-ti-ma-aš* (KUB 36.12 iii 11), *ṣa-an-te-em-ma-aš* (KUB 7.13 obv. 18, KUB 26.25 ii 10), *ṣa-an-te-ṣa-an-te-ma-aš* (KUB 6.45+ iii 11, KUB 6.46 iii 50 (fr.)), acc.pl. *ṣa-an-ti-m[u-uš]* (KUB 33.103 iii 2)), **ṣantiṣant(a)-** ‘lightning(?)’ (abl. *ú-ṣa-an-ti-ṣa-an-ta-az* (KUB 17.10 ii 33)).

The exact semantics of this verb and its derivatives are not easy to determine. A translation ‘glow’ seems to fit well for the following contexts:

KUB 30.14 + KUB 6.45 iii

- (66) *n=a-an=ši du-uš-ga-ra-u-ua-an-za pí-iš-ke-el-lu*  
 (67) *píd-du-li-ja-u-ua-an-za=ma=da le-e pé-eš-ke-mi*  
 (68) *nu=mu<sup>d</sup>U pí-ħa-aš-ša-aš-ši EN=IA ar-mu-ua-la-aš-ħa-aš*  
 (69) *i-ua-ar še-er ar-mu-u-ua-la-i ne-pí-ša-aš=ma=mu*  
 (70) *<sup>d</sup>UTU-aš i-ua-ar še-er ua-an-ta-a-i*

‘May I give it to him gladly, may I not give it to you reluctantly. Oh, *p.* Storm-god, moon-shine over me like the moon-shine, glow over me like the Sun-god of heaven!’;

KUB 27.68 i

- (5) *GIM-an=kán<sup>d</sup>UTU AN<sup>E</sup> ua-an-t[a-...]*

‘When the Sun-god of heaven starts’ glowing’;

KBo 26.60

- (13) *[GUŠ]KIN ua-an-ti-an-za*

‘glowing gold’.

Sometimes, a translation ‘to light (of lightning)’ is needed:

KUB 36.12 iii

- (8) ... *ħar-ši-ħar-ši=ma pa-ra-a*  
 (9) *ħal-zi-ja-an-du ku-e-uš=kán A-NA 90 IKU-ni<sup>NA</sup> pé-ru-ni[-iš(?)]*  
 (10) *pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi 8 ME=ma ua-aš-ša-an-zi ħé-e-uš*  
 (11) *IM<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš ħal-zi-ja-an-du ua-an-ti-ma-aš=ma ku-iš KAL.GA-ja[ ]*  
 (12) *ua-an-te-eš-ke-ez-zi n=a-an=kán še-šu-ua-aš É.ŠÀ-na-aš*  
 (13) *pa-ra-a ú-da-an-du*

‘May they call forth the thunderstorm. May they call forth the rains and winds that break the rock for 90 IKU’s and cover (it) for 800 (IKU’s). The lightning that lights strongly, may they bring it in front of the sleeping room’.

The noun *uantem(m)a-* denotes either the radiation of the sun or ‘lightning’. For the first meaning, cf.



KUB 26.25 ii<sup>3</sup>

- (8) *ma-a-an ŠA<sup>m</sup>KÙ.PÚ-ma HUL-lu na-aš-ma ŠA DUMU<sup>m</sup>Šu-up-pi-lu-l[i-u-ma]*  
 (9) *HUL-lu ᵏ<sup>d</sup>UTU AN<sup>E</sup> ta-pár-ri-ja-ši a-pé-da-ni=tá=k-kán*  
 (10) *me-ḥu-ni LI-IM DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>MA-MIT<sup>d</sup>UTU-aš ᵐa-an-te-em-ma-aš*  
 (11) *ḥar-ni-en-kán-du*

‘When under the Sun of heaven you command evil against Šuppiluliuma or evil against the son of Šuppiluliuma, at that moment may the thousand gods of the oath (and) the radiation of the Sun-god destroy you!’.

The second meaning is found in e.g. KUB 7.13 obv. (18) *te-et-ḥi-ma-aš ᵐa-an-te-em-ma-aš* ‘thunder (and) lightning’. Compare also

KUB 17.10 ii

- (33) *<sup>d</sup>Te-li-pi-nu-uš le-e-la-ni-ja-an-za ú-et ú-ᵐa-an-ti-ᵐa-an-ta-az[=ma<sup>2</sup>]*  
 (34) *ti-it-ḥ[i-i]š-ke-et-ta*

‘Telipinu came furiously and it thundered with lightning’.

A morphological interpretation of the verb is difficult. The 3sg.pret.act-form *ᵐantait* unambiguously points to the *ḥatrae*-class inflection. The 2sg.imp.act.-form *ᵐantai* could either belong to the *ḥatrae*-class or to the *dāi/tiānzi*-class inflection. The participle *ᵐantijant-* could in principle show a *dāi/tiānzi*-class inflection, but also belong to a *-ie/a*-class inflection. Since all forms are attested in NS texts, and since both the *ḥatrae*- and the *-ie/a*-class inflection are very productive in this period, we cannot determine what the original inflection of this verb was. A loose stem *ᵐant-* seems to be visible in *ᵐantēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* and the nouns *ᵐantēma-* and *ᵐanteᵐantema-* ‘lightning’, which are a derivative with the suffix *-ema-*, *-ima-* (for which see Oettinger 2001: 463-5). The origin of this *ᵐant-* is further unknown.

Sometimes it is assumed that the CLuwian adjective or noun *ᵐandanija-* is cognate (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 381), but this is a mere guess as the meaning of CLuw. *ᵐandanija-* is unclear.

<sup>NINDA</sup> *ᵐantili-* (c.) a kind of bread: nom.sg. *ᵐa-an-ti-i-li-iš* (KUB 35.142 i 10).

The word occurs only once and an exact meaning cannot be determined. Starke (1990: 345) interprets the word as ‘hot’, but this is a mere guess based on a formal similarity with *ᵐant-*, *ᵐantae-*, *ᵐantije/a-* ‘to glow’ (q.v.). Further unclear.

**uannu(m)mija-** (adj. from original noun) ‘orphaned (child), widowed (woman)’: nom.sg.c. *ua-an-nu-um-mi-aš* (KUB 17.4, 3), *ua-nu-um-mi-ia-aš* (KUB 17.4, 6, 12 (fr.)), acc.sg.c. *ua-an-nu-um-mi-ia-an* (KUB 17.4, 2), gen.sg. *ua-an-nu-mi-ia-aš*.

This word only occurs together with MUNUS ‘woman’ and DUMU ‘son’. According to Hoffner (1988: 150-1), *uannummiāš* MUNUS and *uannummiāš* DUMU denote “women and children who are without husbands and fathers either because he has died or because he has abandoned them”. It usually functions as an adjective (e.g. nom.sg.c. *ua-an-nu-um-mi-aš* DUMU-*aš* (KUB 17.4, 3), acc.sg.c. *ua-an-nu-um-mi-ia-an* DUMU-*an* (KUB 17.4, 2)), but in KUB 13.2 iii 31-2 we find *ua-an-nu-mi-ia-aš* MUNUS-*ni*, where *u* does not agree with dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS-*ni*. This implies that *uannummiā-* originally was a noun, ‘singlehood (vel sim.)’. The construction X + gen.sg. *uannummiāš* ‘X of singlehood’ was used as ‘orphaned (child), widowed (woman)’ on the basis of which *uannummiāš* was reinterpreted as nom.sg.c. of an adjective *uannummiā-*.

According to Kimball (1999: 337), *uannummiā-* is “obviously related to Lat *vānus* ‘vain, empty’, < *\*h<sub>1</sub>weh<sub>2</sub>-no-*, Skt. *vāyati* ‘disappear’ (with full-grade *\*h<sub>1</sub>weh<sub>2</sub>-*), Skt. *ūná-* ‘deficient, inferior < *\*h<sub>1</sub>uh<sub>2</sub>-nó-* [...]”, and she therefore reconstructs *uannummiā-* as *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueh<sub>2</sub>-n-* + the appurtenance-suffix *-umn-* + *-ia-* ‘being in a state of bereavement’. I must admit that I do not find this analysis as obvious as Kimball does (the appurtenance-suffix *-umn-* is to my knowledge only used as a real ethnicon). On the basis of this word alone, she then assumes a development *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>nV* > *VnnV*. As I have argued under <sup>GIŠ</sup>*māhla-*, <sup>UZU</sup>*muḥrai-* / *mahrai-* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*zahrai-*, these words seem to point to a development *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>RV* > Hitt. *VhRV*. Although I must admit that I have no examples of *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>nV* > Hitt. *VhnV* (but compare *šahhan* < *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-n*), I do not think that the case of *uannummiā-* is strong enough to prove the opposite.

<sup>MUL</sup>**uanup(p)aštal(l)a/i-** (c.) ‘morning star(?), comete(?), falling star(?)’: nom.sg. *ua-an-nu-up-pa-aš-ta-al-la-aš* (KUB 29.4 ii 68), *ua-an-nu-up-pa-aš-ta-al-li-iš* (KUB 19.4 i 11), *ua-an-nu-pa<sup>1</sup>-aš-ta-li-eš* (KUB 34.16 iii 3), [*ua-an-nu*]-*pa-aš-ta-lu-uš* (? KBo 14.61, 6), nom.pl. *u[a-a]n-nu-up-pa-aš-ta-lu-uš* (KUB 8.16+24 ii 4).

Because of the determinative MUL, the word clearly refers to some kind of star. We find *a*-stem as well as *i*-stem forms, and possibly even a *u*-stem form if

Weitenberg (1984: 276) is right in interpreting [*ua-an-nu-]pa-aš-ta-lu-uš* (KBo 14.61, 6) as nom.sg. No further etymology.

**-*uanzi*** (inf.I-suffix)

PIE \*-*uen-ti* + *-i* ?

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The suffix *-uanzi*, which marks inf.I, is clearly related to the verbal noun-suffix *-uar* / *-uaš* (q.v.) and the supine-suffix *-uan* (just as the inf.II-suffix *-anna* is related to the verbal noun-suffix *-ātar* / *-ann-*). The suffix *-uar* / *-uaš* reflects the substantivizing suffix *\*-ur* / *\*-uen-*, which means that *-uanzi* probably reflects an old case form of this suffix. In the nominal inflection, no case ending *-zi* is known, however. I am wondering to what extent it is possible to assume that *-uanzi* reflects an old ablative ending *\*-uanz* < *\*-uen-ti*, to which an *-i* was added in analogy to the adding of *-i* to the 3sg./pl.pres.act.-ending *-(an)z* < *\*(en)ti*, which yielded *-(an)zi*. As this *-i* is not added to other ablatives, we must assume that at that time the infinitive was not seen as a nominal form anymore, but as a real part of the verbal paradigm.

***uappiē/a<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1) ‘to bark’: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-ap-pi-ia-zi* (KUB 13.8, 7), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ap-pi-an-zi*, *ua-ap-pi-ia-an-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *ua-ap-pi-ia-ad-du*; impf. *ua-ap-pi-iš-ke/a-*.

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The verb occurs often in rituals, in the expression <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> *ua-ap-pi-ia-an-zi* (e.g. KBo 4.13 vi 7) ‘the dog-men bark’. Clearly onomatopoeic, cf. ModDu. *waffen* ‘to bark’.

***uappu-* / *uappau-*** (c.) ‘river bank’: voc.sg. *ua-ap-pu=mi-it* (KUB 30.35 i 8), acc.sg. *ua-ap-pu-un*, gen.sg. *ua-ap-pu-aš*, *ua-ap-pu-ua-aš*, *ua-ap-pu-u-ua-aš*, *ua-ap-pu-u-ua-a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ua-ap-pu-i*, *ua-ap-pu-ua-i* (KBo 9.106 ii 15), all.sg.(?) *ua-ap-pu-ua* (KUB 33.69 iii 13), abl. *ua-ap-pu-ua-az*, *ua-ap-pu-ua-za*, acc.pl.c. *ua-ap-pa-mu-uš* (KUB 33.10 i 11), *ua-ap-pu-uš* (? KUB 41.8 i 21), dat.-loc.pl. *ua-ap-pu-ua-aš* (KBo 10.45 i 32).

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See Weitenberg 1984: 52-4 for attestations and an extensive treatment. Note the acc.pl.-form *uappamuš* which shows that this noun originally showed ablat: *uappu-* / *uappau-*. To my knowledge, the word has no good etymology.

<sup>UZU</sup>***uappuzzi-***

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The word <sup>UZU</sup>*ua-ap-pu-uz-zi-ja* (KUB 27.1 i 39) occurs only once, and denotes ‘tallow’. As the normal word for ‘tallow’ is <sup>UZU</sup>*appuzzi-*, which is also attested in *ibid.* 43, it is likely that *uappuzziia* is a scribal error. See at <sup>UZU</sup>*appuzzi-* for further etymology.

*uar-āri*: see *ur-āri*

=*ua(r)*= (particle of direct speech)

Anat. cognates: Pal. =*uar*= (particle of direct speech(?)); CLuw. =*ua* (sentence initial particle); HLuw. =*wa*= (sentence initial particle); Lyc. =*we* (sentence initial particle).

PAnat. =*uor*=

IE cognates: Gr. εἶπω ‘to speak’.

PIE \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-*

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The particle =*ua(r)*= is used in the sentence-initial particle chain and denotes direct speech. If it is followed by a particle starting in a vowel, the form is =*uar*= (e.g. *nu=ua-r=a-aš*). If the following particle starts in a consonant or if =*ua(r)*= is the last particle, the *-r-* is dropped (e.g. *nu=ua-a=š-ši*, *nu=ua*). It is obligatorily used in the first sentence of the direct speech, but can sometimes be omitted in the remaining sentences of the direct speech phrase. The particle can be found in most other Anatolian languages as well. Palaic =*uar*= shows that the *-r-* is real, Lyc. =*we* shows that we have to reconstruct PAnat. =*uor*=. Usually, the particle is connected with the PIE root for ‘speak’, \**uerh<sub>1</sub>-* as seen in Gr. εἶπω.

-*uar* / -*uaš* (suffix of verb.noun)

PIE \**-ur* / \**-uen-s*

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One of the suffixes to form a deverbal abstract noun is *-uar*. In the oldest texts, we only find nom.-acc.sg. *-uar* and gen.sg. *-uaš* as inflected forms. Other cases (e.g. abl. as in *ar-ma-aḥ-ḥu-ua-az-za* and instr. as in *a-aš-ši-ja-u-ni-it* and *a-aš-ši-ja-u-ua-an-ni-it* ‘with love’) are younger creations. The suffix *-uar* / *-uaš* is etymologically connected with the inf.I-suffix *-uanzi* (q.v.) and the supine-suffix *-uan* (q.v.) (just as the inf.II-suffix *-anna* is etymologically connected with the verbal nouns that end in *-ātar*, *-ann-*). They clearly must go back to the PIE suffix \**-ur* / \**-uen-*.

The prehistory of this suffix is quite complicated. As we can see from *a-ni-u-ur* ‘prestation, ritual’ = *ἵνιόρ* < \**h<sub>3</sub>n-ié-ur*, the phonetic outcome of \**oCé-ur* was

/°Cór/. We therefore must assume that in verbs of the structure \*CC-*ié-ur* and \*CC-*ské-ur*, which regularly would have yielded /CCiór/ and /CCskór/, the suffix \*-*ur* was restored on the basis of verbs of the structure \*CéC-*ur*. The new forms \*CC-*ié-ur* and \*CC-*ské-ur* were phonemicized as \*CC*iéur* and \*CC*skéur*. Because in postconsonantal position the suffix \*-*ur* should yield Hitt. °C*ur*, cf. \*péh<sub>2</sub>*ur* > pah<sub>2</sub>*hur* ‘fire’, we must assume that the variant \*-*ur* spread from the thematic verbs to the verbs of the structure \*CéC-*ur* as well, yielding \*CéC-*ur*. Note that this generalization only took place in the verbal noun, which is nicely visible in the fact that the synchronic verbal noun to *hink*-<sup>zi</sup> ‘to bestow’ is *hinkuuar*, whereas we also find a noun *henkur* ‘gift’, which must be the old verbal noun that at one point was not synchronically analysed as such anymore and therefore retained its phonetically regular -*ur*.

The gen.sg.-ending -*uaš* must reflect proterodynamic \*-*uen-s* (Schindler 1975a: 8). Note that this is one of the very few traces of the gen.sg.-ending \*-*s* in Hittite: in all other cases, the hysterodynamic ending \*-*os* has been generalized, also in originally proterodynamic and static paradigms (e.g. *pah<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>uenaš* ‘fire’ and *mē<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>unaš* ‘time’).

The paradigm of these nouns originally must have shown ablaut: \*CéC-*ur*, \*CC-*uén-s*. The full-grade of the root was generalized, cf. *šēš<sub>2</sub>uuar*, *šēš<sub>2</sub>uuaš* ‘to sleep’. For the interpretation of inf.I-suffix -*uanzi* as an old abl. \*-*uen-ti* and of the supine-suffix -*uan* as an old locative \*-*uṇ*, see their respective lemmas.

**uaraš<sub>2</sub>h-** ‘?’: 3pl.pres.act. *ú-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi*, *u[a-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi]*, verb.noun *ua-ar-aš-ḫu-ar*, *ua-ar-aš-ḫu-u-ua-ar*.

The verb *uaraš<sub>2</sub>h-* is attested in one context only, of which we have two versions:

KUB 10.66 vi

- (1) [x - x - x - x d]a<sup>??</sup>-al-li-e-eš
- (2) [(<sup>Giš</sup>)]ḫa-at-ta-lu-ut <sup>LÚ</sup>ḫa-at-ua<sub>a</sub>-ia-an
- (3) <sup>LÚ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub> <sup>LÚ</sup>ku-ua-na-an-n=a
- (4) GÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠU-NU ú-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi

with semi-duplicate

KBo 7.48

- (11) [x-al-li-e-eš <sup>Giš</sup>ḫa-at-ta-[lu-ut <sup>LÚ</sup>ḫa-at-ua<sub>a</sub>-ia-aš]
- (12) [<sup>LÚ</sup>UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš <sup>LÚ</sup>k]u-ú-na-aš-š=a GÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠU u[a-(ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi)]

‘the *x-alli-s* *uarašh-* the feet of the *hatuaja*-men(man), the dog-men(man) and the *k.*-men(man) with a bolt-pin’ (first text with gen.pl., second text with acc.sg. of respect).

The verb.noun *uarašhuuar* is attested in only one context as well, of which there are two versions:

KBo 10.28 + 33 i

(2) *u*-ar-a[š-*hu-u-u*-a-ar ]x *ti-an-zi*

(3) *ma-a-an=za* LUGAL-u[š GA]L<sup>AM</sup> EGIR-*pa da-a-i*

(4) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA *u*-ar-aš-*hu-u-u*-a-ar

(5) *da-li-an-zi n=e* [p]ár-aš-na-an-*zi*

‘... they put [down] the *u.* When the king takes back the cup, the wolf-men leave the *u.* and they squat’.

Similarly in

Bo 69/396 obv. (see Singer 1983: 84<sup>70</sup>)

(2) [ ]-zi<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UR.BAR.RA

(3) [ K]AxUD *u*-ar-aš-*hu-ar*

(4) [ ]-zi *ta pá*r-aš-na-a-an-*zi*

On the basis of these contexts, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the verb *uarašh-*.

Sometimes, *uaršh-* is equated with *uarš-* ‘to wipe’ (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 429), but this is not supported by the facts. A meaning ‘sie streifen ab’ (thus Oettinger 1979a: 429<sup>70</sup>) for *uarašhanzi* is by no means ascertained. It is even unlikely, as *uarašh-* apparently denotes some action executed with a bolt-pin (<sup>GIŠ</sup>*hattalu-*). I therefore regard a connection with *uarš-* ‘to wipe’ as improbable.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*uarašma-*: see <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*uaršma-*

*uaraṣara-* (c.) a fruit: nom.sg. *u*-ra-*u*-ra-aš (KBo 10.34 i 17).

The word occurs only once, in a list of fruit. No clear meaning, no etymology.

*uarḥui-* / *uarḥuṣai-* (adj.) ‘raw, rough; unshaven; leafy; covered with forest’: nom.sg.c. *u*-ar-*hu-iš*, acc.sg.c. *u*-ar-*hu-in* (IBoT 2.39 ii 25), nom.-acc.sg.n. *u*-

*ar-ḥu-i*, gen.sg. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-ṽa-ja-aš* (KUB 9.31 i 6), nom.pl.c. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-ṽa-e-eš* (KBo 2.12 ii 3), *ṽa-ar-ḥu-iš*, acc.pl.c. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-ṽa-uš* (KUB 32.63, 8, KUB 45.47+ ii 17), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-ṽa* (KUB 20.4 i 9).

Derivatives: ***ṽarḥu(ṽa)nu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to plant densely’ (2sg.pret.act. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-ṽa-nu-ut* (KBo 12.59 iv 5 (OH/NS))); part. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-nu-ṽa-an-t-* (KUB 13.24, 16 (MH/NS)); impf. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 10.47g iii 13 (NS)), ***ṽarḥuēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘?’ (3sg.imp.act. [*ṽa<sup>?</sup>*]-*ar-ḥu-u-iš-du* (KUB 41.33 ii 8)), ***ṽarḥuēššar*** (n.) ‘brushwood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-e-e[š-šar]* (KUB 21.19 + 338/v + 1303/u iii 13), *ṽa-ar-ḥu-eš<sup>1</sup>-šar* (KUB 3.94 i 22)).

PIE *\*uérh<sub>2,3u</sub>-i-s*, *\*urh<sub>2,3u</sub>-éi-s* ??

The word denotes the roughness of hides and clothes, the unshavenness of sheep’s body parts, the leafiness of trees and the dense overgrowth of mountains. The derivative *ṽarḥunu-<sup>zi</sup>* shows that we are dealing with an *i*-stem of a root *ṽarḥu-* /uarH<sup>w</sup>-/. Oettinger (1979a: 549) connects this word with Gr. εἶρος ‘fleece’ (following Neumann 1958: 90) which he reconstructs as *\*uṽrh<sub>2</sub>-u-ih<sub>2</sub>-*, but this preform does not yield the Greek form by regular sound change. If *ṽarḥui-* indeed is of IE origin it cannot reflect anything else than *\*uṽrh<sub>2,3u</sub>-(e)i-*. Melchert (1984a: 13) agrees with this etymology, but states that we have to reconstruct *\*uṽerh<sub>2</sub>ui-*, as he thinks that *\*urh<sub>2</sub>ui-* would lead to *ur-*. For the OH period, this is correct (compare OH *urāni* = /urʔānil/ ‘burns’ < *\*urh<sub>1</sub>ór(i)*), but in the MH period, it would regularly have yielded *ṽarḥui-* = /uərḥui-/ (cf. MH *ṽarāni* = /uərʔānil/). Moreover, a preform *\*uṽerh<sub>2,3u</sub>i-* would have yielded Hitt. *\*\*uṽerrui-* (cf. *erḥ-* / *arah-* / *arḥ-*). Nevertheless, if this adjective is of IE origin, we must reconstruct *\*uérh<sub>2,3u</sub>-i-s*, *\*urh<sub>2,3u</sub>-éi-s*, in which the zero-grade stem has been generalized. Note that a PIE root *\*uṽerh<sub>2,3u</sub>-* is against the PIE root constraints (a cluster *-rHu-* in a root is unparalleled), which means that we would be dealing with an *-u-* extension of a root *\*uṽerh<sub>2,3</sub>-*.

***ṽarḥuššu-***, ***ṽarḥušt-*** (gender unclear) ‘?’: dat.-loc.sg. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-uš-šu-i* (IBoT 1.29 obv. 39) with dupl. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-uš-ti-i* (KBo 45.51 ii 3).

See Weitenberg 1984: 54 for attestations. The meaning of these words cannot be determined. The connection with <sup>GIS</sup>*ṽarḥušdu-* is unclear. No etymology.

<sup>GIS</sup>***ṽarḥušdu-*** (n.) an object in cult: nom.-acc.sg. *ṽa-ar-ḥu-uš-du* (KUB 55.5 iv 25); broken *ṽa-ar-ḥu-uš-du[(-)...]* (KUB 20.15, 6), *ṽarḥušdu[...]* (Bo 5628 obv. 2).

See Weitenberg 1984: 54 for attestations. The exact meaning of this word cannot be determined. The connection with *uarḫuššu-*, *uarḫuš-* is unclear. No etymology.

***uari-* / *uarai-*** (adj.?) describing oracle bird: nom.pl.c. *ua-ra-e-eš* (HKM 47, 44, 46 (MH/MS), HKM 49,16 (MH/MS)).

This word occurs in two letters from Maṣat Höyük only. HKM 47 deals with bird-oracles, and *uaraēš* apparently refers to some kind of oracle-bird. HKM 49 is badly damaged, but this letter probably deals with bird-oracles as well. Alp (1991: 415) cites the stem as *uarai-*, but perhaps an interpretation as a (substantivized?) adjective *uari-* is better. No clear meaning, no etymology.

***uarri-* / *uarrai-*** (adj./n.) ‘helpful; help’: nom.sg.c. *ua-ar-ri-iš*, *ua-ar-ri-eš*, acc.sg.c. *ua-ar-ri-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ua-ar-ri*, gen.sg. *ua-a-ar-ra-aš* (KUB 23.72 ii 19 (MH/MS)), *ua-ar-ra-aš* (KUB 23.72 ii 20 (MH/MS), HKM 5 obv. 9 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***uarrišša-<sup>i</sup>* / *uarrišš-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to help, to come to help’ (2sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 45 (NH), KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 68 (NH)), *ua-ar-re-eš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 46 (NH), KUB 19.6 + 21.1 + 19.73 iii 49 (NH)), *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša-at-ti* (KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 65 (NH)), *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša-at-te* (KUB 23.1 ii 35 (NH)), *ua-ar-ri[-e/iš]-ša-at-t[i]* (KBo 10.12+13 ii 52 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. [*ua-a*]r-re-eš-ša-at-te-ni (KUB 26.12 i 7 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 5.8 i 10 (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. [*ua-a*]r-re-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un (KBo 4.4 ii 38 (NH)), 2sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KUB 31.47 obv. 13 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KBo 6.29 + KUB 21.12 ii 11 (NH)), *ua-ar-re-eš-še-eš-ta* (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 i 37 (NH), KBo 16.1 i 56 (fr.) (NH), KUB 14.16 ii 13 (NH), KBo 5.8 i 42 (fr.) (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša* (KBo 5.9 ii 17 (NH), KBo 4.3 ii 15 (NH)), *ua-ar-re-eš-ša* (KBo 5.13 iii 20 (NH), KBo 19.66 + KUB 6.41 iii 38 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-du* (HW: 245), *ua-a[r-re-e]š-še-eš-du* (ABoT 57 obv. 29 (NH)), *ua-ar-r[e-eš-še-eš-du]* (ibid. 32 (NH)); part. *ua-ar-ri-iš-ša-an-t-* (KBo 5.8 i 19 (NH)), *ua-ar-re-eš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 19.36 i 14 (NH)), (***u***)***uarra ḫalzai-<sup>i</sup>*** ‘to cry for help’ (*ú-ua-a-ar-ra ḫal-za-iš* (KUB 31.4 + obv. 3 (OH/NS)), with dupl. *ua-ar-ra ḫal[-...]* (KBo 12.22 i 4 (OH/NS))), ***uarrae-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to come to help’ (3sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-ra-a-iz-zi* (KBo 4.4 ii 26 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-ra-it* (KBo 3.4 iv 17 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-ra-a-i* (KBo 4.4 ii 24 (NH))), ***uarraḫitašša-*** (adj.) ‘being of help’ (nom.sg.c. *ua-ar-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ša-aš* (KUB 20.60, 7)).



Anat. cognates: CLuw. *uarrahitašša/i-* ‘being of help’ (nom.sg.c. [u]a-ar-ra-*hi-ta-aš-ši-iš* (KBo 45.11 obv. 6)); HLuw. *warija-* ‘to help’ (3sg.pres.act. *wa/i+ra/i-ia-ia* (BOHÇA §7, §8, §12), 3sg.pret.act. *wa/i+ra/i[-ia<sup>?</sup>]-ta* (BOHÇA §11)).

PIE *\*uorH-i-*

The stem *uarri-* occurs as an adj. ‘helpful’ as well as a neuter noun ‘help(fulness)’. Suffix ablaut can be seen in gen.sg. *uārraš* (KUB 23.72 ii 19), *uarraš* (ibid. 20) < *\*uarraiāš*. The expression (*u*)*uarra halzai<sup>i</sup>* (spelled *ú-ua-ar-ra* and *ua-ar-ra*) occurs in one context only (Puḫanu-chronicle: both attestations are duplicates of each other). These forms could be old allatives *\*uarraja* > *uarra*. The verb *uarrae<sup>zi</sup>* is NH only. It seems to be based on the stem *uarra-* as seen in *uarra halzai-*, although it cannot be excluded that it is derived directly from *uarri-*, as e.g. *kappae<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to diminish’ is derived from the adjective *kappi-* / *kappai-* ‘little’. Often, 3pl.pret.act. *u-ur-ri/e-er* (KBo 3.60 ii 7 (OH/NS)) is cited as belonging to the paradigm of *uarrae-* as well, but a translation ‘they helped’ is not ascertained. Its aberrant appearance (*ūrr-* instead of *uarr-*) is hard to explain, so we rather have to regard it as a separate verb that does not belong to this stem. I therefore treat it under a separate lemma, *ūrr(iie/a)-*. The adj. *uarrahitašša-* is clearly based on the Luw. gen.adj. *uarrahitašša/i-*, itself derived of a Luwian noun *\*uarrahit-* ‘help’. According to Starke (1990: 155-6), the verb *uarrišša<sup>i</sup>* / *uarrišš-* is based on a Luwian impf. *\*uarrišša-*, although that verb is not attested. It is true that within the small group of imperfectives in *-šš(a)-*, *uarrišš(a)-* stands quite apart as it is attested in NH compositions only, whereas *išša<sup>i</sup>* / *išš-* ‘to do, to make’, *halzišša<sup>i</sup>* / *halzišš-* ‘to call’ and *šišša<sup>i</sup>* / *šišš-* ‘to impress’ are attested from OH times onwards. Whether this means that *uarrišš(a)-* is not a genuine Hittite formation is unclear, however.

I know of no outer-Anatolian cognates. If these words are of IE origin, the *-rr-* points to *\*-rH-*. This means we are dealing with a preform *\*uorH-i-*. See Melchert (1994a: 78) for an elaborate treatment of these words, which in my view lays too much weight on the form *ūrr(i)er*.

*uariše/i(ja)-* (gender unclear) ‘?’: gen.sg. *ua-ri-še-ja-aš*, *ua-ri-ši-ja-aš*.

This word occurs in one context only:

KBo 13.260 iii

(33) *nu EGIR-az al-l[a-al-l]a-a-a[š]*

(34) *[h]a-ta-am-mi-iš pé-ra-an=ma-a=š-ši*

(35) *[u]a-ri-še-ja-aš še-li-uš a-ra-an-da*

- (36) [p]a-ra-a=aš ti-ja-zi  
 (37) [n]=a-aš=kán an-da a-la-al-la-a  
 (38) [m]a-uš-du a-ap-pa=m=a-aš ti-ja-zi  
 (39) [n]=a-aš=kán an-da ya-ri-ši-ja-aš  
 (40) [pa-]ah-ḥu-e-na-aš-š=a še-li  
 (41) [m]a-uš-ta-ru

‘Behind, the *allallā-* is *ḥata*-ed. But before him, piles of *uarišeja-* are standing. (If) he walks forward, let him fall into the *alallā-*. (If) he falls backward, let him fall into the pile of *uarišja-* and fire’.

On the basis of this context, it cannot be determined exactly what *uariše/ija-* means. Perhaps it is parallel to *al(l)allā-* (q.v.), which possibly denotes ‘treachery’. One could think of a connection with *ur-āri* ‘to burn’ (q.v.), but this is based on the formal similarity only.

*uarite-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *uerite-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uerit-*

***uarkant-*** (adj.) ‘fat’: nom.sg.c. *ya-ar-kán-za*, acc.sg.c. *ya-ar-kán-ta-an*, *ú-ya-ar-k[án-ta-an]* (KBo 3.60 ii 3), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ya-ar-kán*, gen.sg. *ya-ar-kán-ta-aš*, nom.pl.c. *ya-ar-kán-te-eš*, *ya-ar-ga-an-te-eš*, *ya-ag-ga-an-te-eš*, acc.pl.c. *ya-ar-kán-du-uš*.

Derivatives: ***uarkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to grow fat’ (3sg.pret.act. *ya-ar-ke-eš-ta* (KBo 32.14 ii 4)), ***uargnu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make fat’ (1sg.pret.act. *ya-ar-ga-nu-nu-un* (KBo 32.14 ii 12); impf. [*ya-a*]r-ga-nu-uš[-ke/a-] (KBo 32.113, 5)).

IE cognates: Skt. *úrj-* ‘food, refreshment, strength’, Av. *varəzaiiant-* ‘providing much strength’, Av. *varəz-* ‘strength’, Gr. *ὀργάω* ‘to overflow, to swell’, *ὀργή* ‘passion, anger, fierceness’, OIr. *ferc* ‘anger’.

PIE *\*uorh<sub>1</sub>ǵ-ont-*

Once we find a form *ya-ag-ga-an-te-eš* (HT 1 iii 32), which assuredly belongs to this word, as it is a duplicate of *ya-ar-kán-te-eš* (KUB 9.31 iii 39) and *ya-ar-ga-an-te-eš* (KUB 9.32 i 21). It is unclear whether we are dealing with a real phonetic change (*uark-* > *uakk-*), or a mistake from the copyist (AK instead of AR). The word is usually spelled with initial *ya-*, but once we find a spelling *ú-ya-*, in KBo 3.60 ii 3. The derivatives *uarkēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* and *uargnu-<sup>zi</sup>* show that we have to analyse *uarkant-* as a stem *uark-* followed by the suffix *-ant-* which we find more often in adjectives. For the etymology see Szemerényi (1942: 397) and Čop

(1955b: 31), who connect it with Skt. *úrj-* (f.) ‘food, refreshment, strength’ etc. from *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>ǵ-*. This means that *uarkant-* probably reflects *\*uorh<sub>1</sub>ǵ-ont-*.

**uarkui-** (c.) ‘anger, fury (?)’: acc.sg. *ua-ar-ku-i(n)=š-ša-an* (KUB 33.28, 6), *ua-ar-ku-i(n)=š<sup>1</sup>-ša-an* (KUB 17.10 iii 12).

PIE *\*u(o)rK<sup>w</sup>-i-*

This word is attested twice.

KUB 17.10 iii

- (9) *... n=a-aš-ta<sup>d</sup>Te-li-pi-nu-i*  
 (10) *tu-ug-ga-az=še-e-et i-da-a-lu-u=š-ši-it da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un* *uš-du<sup>?</sup>-ul=še-et*  
 (11) *da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un kar-pi-i(n)=š-ša-an da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un kar-di-mi-ia-at-ta-a(n)=š-ša-an*  
 (12) *da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un* *ua-ar-ku-u(n)=š-ša-an da-a-aḥ-ḥu-un ša-a-u-ar da-a-aḥ[-ḥu-un]*

‘Of Telipinu, of his body, I took his evil, I took his sin, I took his wrath, I took his anger, I took his *u.*, I took fury’.

A parallel is found in

KUB 33.28

- (4) *n=a-aš-ta<sup>d</sup>U-ni* ]  
 (5) *ua-aš-du-ul=še-et da-a[ḥ-ḥu-un* ]  
 (6) *ua-ar-ku-i(n)=š-ša-an da-a[ḥ-ḥu-un* ]

‘Of the Storm-god[ ... ], I to[ok] his sin, [ ... ], I to[ok] his *u.*[ ... ]’.

It is likely that either *ua-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* is wrong for *ua-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* or the other way around. As it is easier to assume that in *ua-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* a vertical wedge is lost than to assume that an extra one was written in *ua-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* (so UŠ (𒍪) wrong for IŠ (𒍪)), I assume that the word must have originally been *uarkui(n)=ššan* ‘his *uarkui-*’.

As the word appears in an enumeration of *idālu* ‘evil’, *ušdul* ‘sin’, *karpī-* ‘wrath’, *kardimīatt-* ‘anger’ and *šāuar* ‘fury’, it is likely that it denotes something evil as well, and particularly something like ‘anger, fury, etc.’. The one attestation with gloss wedges may point to a foreign (Luwian) origin, but this is not obligatory. In the same text *ušdul* is gloss wedged as well, though this word is generally regarded as genuinely Hittite. I know of no cognates, but *uarkui-* should mechanically reflect *\*u(o)rK<sup>w</sup>-i-*.

*uarp*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ia4 > Ic1) ‘to wash, to bathe’ (Sum. ŠE.NAGA): 1sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-ap-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-ap-zi* (MH/MS), *ua-ar-pa-zi* (KBo 2.8 i 21), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ar-pa-an-zi*, *ua-ar-ap-pa-an-zi*, *ua-ar-pi-ia-an-zi* (KUB 29.40 iii 28, 32), *ua-ar-pa-a-an-zi* (KBo 31.139. 8), 1sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-pu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-ap-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-ap-du*, *ua-ar-ap-tu<sub>i</sub>*; 2sg.imp.midd.? *ua-ar-pu-ut* (VBoT 120 iii 7); part. *ua-ar-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun *ua-ar-pu-ua-ar*, gen.sg. *ua-ar-pu-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ua-ar-pu-(u-)ua-an-zi*.

Derivatives: *uarpa-* (n.) ‘?’ (nom.-acc.pl. *ua-ar-pa* (KBo 4.11 obv. 13, KUB 35.133 ii 33), dat.-loc.pl. *ua-ar-pa-aš* (KUB 35.133 ii 34)), <sup>GIS</sup>DÍLIM *uarpaš-* (c.), a certain bowl (for washing?) (nom.sg. <sup>GIS</sup>DÍLIM *ua-ar-pa-ši-i-iš* (KUB 12.36 + KUB 60.9 i 9, KUB 30.37 i 7)), *uarpuzi-* (n.), object used by bathing? (nom.-acc.sg. *ua-ar-pu-zi* (KUB 12.8 i 17)).

IE cognates: Lith. *veĩpti* ‘to spin’, RussCS *vьrpsti* ‘to tear, to rob’.

PIE *\*uērp-ti / \*urp-énti*

The spelling *ua-ar-ap-zi* besides *ua-ar-pa-zi* proves that the stem was *uarp-*. The geminate spelling *-pp-* in *uarappanzi* shows that the stem was */uarp-/*. A stem *uarpīe/a-* (*uarpīanzi*) is found in one MH/MS text only. It is unclear whether this is a secondary creation or an old remnant of a system in which *uarp-* reflects an old root-aorist and *uarpīe/a-* a *\*-īe/o-* derived present (see e.g. *karp(īe/a)-zi* for such a distribution). See Weitenberg (1977) for the separation of *uarp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ and a verb *uarpae-zi* ‘to suppress’, a derivative of *uarpa-* ‘enclosure’ (q.v.).

The verb quite clearly denotes ‘to wash, to bathe; but Oettinger (1979a: 234) cites the interesting passage KUB 15.31 i (18) *nu=kán EGIR-an-da* (19) <sup>GIS</sup>*pa-aḫ-ḫu-ru-la-az pa-aḫ-ḫur ua-ar-pa-an-zi* (dupl. KUB 15.32 i 19-21) ‘und dann reiben sie mit dem Feuerholz Feuer’, which he uses as an argument to assume that *uarp-* originally meant ‘to rub’, which through ‘to rub clean with water’ became to denote ‘to wash, to bathe’. CHD P: 17 translates this passage as ‘Afterwards they enclose (i.e. bank?) the fire with a *p-*implement’, however, and explicitly state that *uarpanzi* here does not belong with *uarp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ but with *uarpae-* ‘to enclose, to surround’ (see at *uarpa-*). Whatever the correct interpretation, Oettinger’s proposal (1979a: 234) to connect *uarp-* with the root *\*uērp-* ‘to turn to and fro’ (Lith. *veĩpti* ‘to spin’) through a semantic development ‘to rub (one’s hands)’, still remains the best etymology.

Some instances of the noun *uarpa-* are not fully clear. The contexts in which they are found show that they do not belong with *uarpa-* ‘enclosure’ (q.v.), but more likely are related to *uarp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’. The first context is

KBo 4.11 obv.

(13) ... <sup>DUG</sup>ÚTUL<sup>H.L.A</sup> *ti-an-zi ūa-ar-pa da-an-zi*

(14) *n=a-at da-ga-an la-a-ḫu-ūa-an-zi*

‘They place the vessels, take *ū*.’s and empty them on the floor’.

A similar context can be found in

KUB 35.133 ii

(33) ... *nu=kán ūa-ar-pa*

(34) *da-a-i nu ūa-ar-pa-aš še-er* GEŠTIN KU<sub>7</sub> *ši-ip-pa-an-ti*

‘He takes the *ū*.-s and libates sweet wine over the *ū*.-s’.

The exact meaning of *ūarpa*- remains unclear, however.

***ūarpa***- (n.) ‘enclosure’: dat.-loc.sg. *ūa-ar-pí* (in *ūarpi tiġant*- ‘fenced-in, enclosed’ (KUB 13.2 iv 28)), nom.-acc.pl. *ūa-ar-pa* (in *ūarpa dai<sup>i</sup>* ‘to enclose’),

Derivatives: ***ūarpae<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to suppress, to conquer’ (1sg.pret.act. *ūa-ar-pa-nu-u[n]* (KBo 3.13 iii 4), ?3pl.pres.act. *ūa-ar-pa-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 19), impf.2sg.pres.act. *ūa-ar-pí-iš-ke-ši* (KBo 3.21 ii 19)). ***ūarpa/īlae<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic2) ‘to surround(??)’ (3pl.pret.act. *ūa-ar-pí-la-a-e-er* (KUB 31.101 obv. 10); inf.I [*ū*] *a-ar-pa-la-u-ūa-an-zi* (IBoT 3.121, 2)).

IE cognates: TochA *wārp*- ‘to surround’, *warp* ‘enclosure’, TochB *wārp*- ‘to surround’.

PIE *\*uorP-o-*

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See Weitenberg 1977 for a treatment of these words. The exact stemformation of the basic word is not fully clear, but we possibly are dealing with a noun *ūarpa*- (n.) ‘enclosure’ of which we find a nom.-acc.pl. *ūa-ar-pa* in the expression *ūarpa dai<sup>i</sup>* ‘(lit.) to place enclosures > to enclose’, and of which we only once find a dat.-loc.sg. *ūa-ar-pí* in *ūarpi tiġant*- ‘put in enclosure(?)’. If this is correct, then the verbal forms *ūarpanu[n]* and *ūarpiške/a-* ‘to suppress, to conquer’ may be analysed as belonging to a stem *ūarpae<sup>zi</sup>* < *\*ūarpa-ġe/a-*. See at the lemma of *ūarp<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to wash, to bathe’ for the discussion of 3pl.pres.act. *ūa-ar-pa-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 19).

The adj. *ūarpalli-* ‘strong, great’, which is often seen as cognate to these words, must have a different origin: see at its own lemma.

Etymologically, we have to connect Hitt. *uarpa-* to TochA *wārp-*, TochB *wārp-* ‘to surround’. Adams (1999: 587) connects these words further with Goth. *wairpan* ‘throw’ (but this verb reflects *\*uerg<sup>w</sup>-*), Latin *verbera* ‘switches, lashes, thongs’ and Lithuanian *viřbas* ‘switch, rod’ (but these are semantically far). His connection with ModEng. *wrap* is more appealing semantically, but the formal side is difficult: if related, it would show Schwebelablaut *\*uroP-* (the *-p-* of *wrap* goes back to a PGerm. geminate *\*-pp-* and therefore bears no information on the possible PIE labial). We must bear in mind, however, that the word is very recent and local, so likely does not go back to an old inherited word.

This means that we are left only with Hitt. *uarpa-* and TochA *wārp-*, B *wārp-*, on the basis of which we can reconstruct a root *\*uorP-* only. TochA *warp* ‘enclosure’ shows the exact same formation as Hitt. *uarpa-*, viz. *\*uorP-o-*.

The verb *uarpa/ilae-* possibly means ‘to enclose’ as well. It occurs twice, but only one context is clear:

KUB 31.101 obv.

(8) ... *nam-ma-a=n-na-aš*

(9) *ki-iš-ša-an ħa-at-⟨⟨at-⟩⟩-ra-at-tén MUŠEN<sup>HLA</sup>=u-a-a=n-na-aš=kán*

(10) *u-a-ar-pí-la-a-e-er nu=u-a=kán ÍD a-pád-da*

(11) *za-i-u-en*

‘You have written us thus: “The birds enclosed(?) us, and therefore we crossed the river”’.

The exact formation of the verb is unclear to me, however.

***uarpalli-*** (adj.) ‘strong, great’: nom.sg.c. *u-a-ar-pa-al-liš* (KUB 4.4 i 13)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***warpali-*** ‘brave; strong, great’ (nom.sg.c. <sup>“SCALPRUM+RAI-  
LA/1/U”</sup> *wa/i+ra/i-pa-li-sa* (MARAŞ 1, §1d)), ***warpa/i-*** ‘craft, skill, knowledge’ (acc.sg. <sup>\*273</sup> *wa/i+ra/i-pi-na* /warpin/ (KARKAMIŞ A15b §22), gen.sg. <sup>“\*273”</sup> *wa/i+ra/i-pa-si* /warpasil/ (KARKAMIŞ A3 §16), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>“\*273”</sup> *wa/i+ra/i-pi* /warpil/ (KARKAMIŞ A12 §8, §12)), ***warpasali-*** (adj.) ‘craft-’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>\*273</sup> *wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-li-ia<sup>i</sup>* (MARAŞ 14 §3)).

This word occurs only once, in a bilingual text where it corresponds to Akk. *gašru* ‘strong, great’. The *-alli-* suffix clearly points to Luwian origin, which is supported by the attestation of the HLuw. adj. *warpali-* which is translated as ‘brave’ by Hawkins (2000, 132), but which could just as well mean ‘strong, great’. Within HLuwian, this word likely belongs with *warpa/i-* ‘skill, craft,

knowledge’ (on which see Hawkins & Morpurgo-Davies 1986: 76-7), which has no good etymology. This means that the inner-Hittite connection of *uarpalli-* with *uarpae-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to conquer, to suppress’ (see at *uarpa-* ‘enclosure’) is incorrect.

***uarpan(n)ala-*** (adj.) describing sacrificed sheep: acc.sg. *ua-ar-pa-an-na-la-an* (KUB 9.13, 18), *ua-a[r-p]a-na-la-an* (KUB 24.5 ii 12).

This word occurs twice, in the following contexts:

KUB 24.5 ii

(11) GIM-an=ma GE<sub>6</sub>-za k[i-ī]š<sup>2</sup>-ša-ri nu=kán [ne]-pí-ši GAM-an

(12) A-NA <sup>d</sup>SĪN 1 UDU *ua-a[r-p]a-na-la-an ši-p[a-an-ti]*

‘When it becomes night, he sacrifices one *u.* sheep to the Moongod under the sky’;

KUB 24.5 + KUB 9.13 i

(30) n=a-aš=kán GIM-an ar-ḫa ú-ez-zi nu=za *ua-ar-a[p-zi nu]=kán* 1 UDU

*ua-ar-pa-an-na-la-an*

(31) A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU ne-pí-ši kat-an ši-pa-an-ti

‘When he comes, he washes himself and sacrifices one *u.* sheep to the Sun-god under the sky’.

It apparently describes the sheep that are being sacrificed to the Moongod and the Sun-god. Perhaps the sentence *nu=za uarapzi* ‘he washes himself’ indicates some etymological connection with *uarpan(n)ala-*, but this is mere speculation. For the time being, a meaning cannot be determined, so etymologizing is useless.

***uarpije/a-<sup>zi</sup>***: see *uarp-<sup>zi</sup>*

***uarš-<sup>i</sup>*** (IIa2 > Ic1) ‘to reap, to harvest, to wipe’: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-ar-aš-še* (KUB 29.30 iii 4 (OS)), *ua-ar-ši* (KUB 29.30 iii 8 (OS), KUB 29.38 i 3 (fr.) (OS), IBoT 1.36 i 69 (MH/MS), KBo 6.11 i 7 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ua-ar-aš-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 45 (OH/NS)), *ua-ar-še-e-ez-zi* (KBo 6.12 i 25 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. [*ua-ar-š*]<sup>i</sup>-an-zi (KUB 29.30 ii 18 (OS)), *ua-ar-ša-an-zi* (KBo 15.10 iii 42 (OH/MS), HKM 66 rev. 37 (MH/MS)), *ua-ar-aš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 24.3 ii 8 (MH/NS)), *ua-ar-ši-ja-an-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 8 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-šu-un* (KUB 33.66 iii 10 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ar-aš-ta* (KBo 3.33 ii 17 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ua-ar-še-er* (KBo 3.33 iii 18 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ar-aš* (HKM 21 rev. 15 (MH/MS)),

3sg.imp.act. *ya-ar-aš-du* (HKM 33 rev. 33 (MH/MS), KUB 31.84 ), 3pl.imp.act. *ya-ar-ši-ja-an-du* (KUB 13.1 i 36 (MH/MS)); part. *ya-ar-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun *ya-ar-aš-šu-ya-aš* (KBo 5.7 ii 44 (MH/MS)); inf.I *ya-ar-šu-ya-an-zi* (HKM 66 rev. 41 (fr.) (MH/MS), KUB 12.62 i 11 (NS)), *ya-ar-šu-u-ya-an-zi* (KUB 14.20, 19); impf. *ya-ar-aš-ke/a-* (HKM 25 obv. 10 (MH/MS), HKM 66 rev. 38 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 i 2 (fr.)).

Derivatives: ***ya-urš-*** ‘id.’ (part. *ya-ya-ar-ša-an-t-* (KUB 30.38 i 10 (NS), KUB 41.22 iv 2, KBo 23.1 i 30)).

IE cognates: OLat. *vorrō* ‘to wipe’, Lat. *verrere* ‘to wipe’, RussCS *vbrxu* ‘to thresh’.

PIE *\*uórs-ei / \*urs-énti*

In the oldest texts, this verb inflects according to the *hi*-conjugation: *ya-rašše*, *ya-rši*. Only later on, we find forms that are *mi*-inflected (*ya-rašzi* (OH/NS)). The only form that is deviant is [*ya-ar-š*]i-an-zi (KUB 29.30 ii 18 (OS)), which would point to a stem *ya-ršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. Unfortunately, the form is broken on the crucial point, and we therefore may not have to take this form into account. Note that the oldest form of this verb, 3sg.pres.act. *ya-ar-aš-še* (OS) is very important because it shows that the original 3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *hi*-conjugation was *-e*, which was replaced by *-i* through analogy (see also at the lemma *-i*).

Already Benveniste (1932: 137) connected Hitt. *urš-* with Lat. *verrere* ‘to wipe’, OLat. *vorrō* ‘id.’, RussCS *vbrxu* ‘to thresh’ that reflect a root *\*urs-*. Note that in *\*uórs-ei / \*urs-énti* first the consonantal *\*u-* of the singular spread to the plural. The regular outcome of *\*uórsei / \*ursénti* then would have been *\*\*/uáRi*, *uərSánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, of which the cluster */rS-/* spread throughout the paradigm. This also explains the occasional geminate spelling of *-šš-* in e.g. *ya-ar-aš-še*, *ya-ar-aš-ša-an-zi*, etc.

***urš-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>***, ***uršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (IIIb / Ic1) ‘to lift (oneself); to refresh; (+ ZI ‘spirit’) to lift the spirit > to reconcile, to pull oneself together’: 3sg.pres.act. *ya-ar-ši-ja-az-zi* (KUB 14.8 ii 28 (NH)), *ya-ar-ši-ja-zi* (KUB 14.3 ii 67, 68 (NH), KUB 15.5+ i 15 (fr.) (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *ya-ar-ši-ja-nu-un* (KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104 iii 26 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ya-ar-ši-i-et* (KBo 19.109, 7 (MH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ya-ar-aš-du* (KUB 14.14 ii 14 (NH)), *ya-ar-ši-ja-ad-du* (KUB 14.11 iii 38 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *ya-ar-ši-ja-an-du* (KUB 13.1 i 36 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ya-ar-aš-ta* (KUB 33.62 ii 4, 5, 6 (OH/MS) // Bo 6472 ii 14, 15, 16 (OH/?)), *ya-ar-ši-ja-at-ta-ri* (KUB 14.8 ii 34 (NH), KUB 16.7 ii 36 (NS)), 2sg.imp.midd. *ya-ar-ši-*



*ja-aḥ-ḥu-ut* (KUB 9.32 i 14, 23 (NS)); part. *ya-ar-ša-an-t-* (IBot 3.148 iii 11 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: *yarš(ija)nu-<sup>d</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to make (someone) pull oneself together; to refresh (trans.)’ (3pl.pres.act. *ya-ar-ša-nu-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iv 11 (OH/NS)) // *ya-ar-ši[-ja-nu-an-zi]* (KUB 40.63 iv 5 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ya-ar-ši-ja-nu-nu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 21 (NH)); part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *ya-ar-ši-ja-nu-ya-an* (KUB 19.23 obv. 7 (NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *vārṣman-* ‘hight’, *ā vṛṣásva* ‘pull yourself together!’, Lith. *viršùs*, OCS *vrъxb* ‘top, summit’.

PIE *\*uérs-to*, *\*urs-<sup>ié</sup>/ó-*

Usually, this verb is translated ‘to appease oneself, to soothe’, but in my view it more likely has a meaning ‘to regain one’s strength, to refresh’, and, when used with ZI ‘spirit, soul’, ‘to lift the spirit, to reconcile, to pull oneself together, to get a grip’. Compare e.g.

IBot 3.148 iii

(10) EN *tab-ri=ua=za iš-pí-ja-an-za*

(11) *ni-in-kán-za e-eš nu=za EGIR-an ya-ar-ša-an-za e-eš*

‘Oh lord of the *tabri*, be satisfied with food and drink and then be refreshed!’;

KUB 14.11 iii

(36) ... *nu A-NA<sup>dU</sup> URUḤa-at-ti EN=IA*

(37) *ḪA-NA DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=IA ZI-an-za nam-ma*

(38) *ya-ar-ši-ja-ad-du nu=mu ge-en-zu nam-ma*

(39) *da-at-tén nu=kán IŠ-TU KUR URUḤa-at-ti*

(40) *ḥi-in-ga-an ar-ḥa nam-ma u-i-ja-at-tén*

‘May the spirit of the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the gods, my lords, be lifted (= may you be reconciled)! May you take pity in me! May the plague be sent away out of the land Ḫatti!’;

KBo 16.32 + KUB 50.6 ii

(16) *ḪUL-aḥ-t=a-aš ku-iš UN-aš n=a-aš nu-u-ya ku-it TI-za nu a[-pé-(el ku-it)]*

(17) *ZI-za UL ya-ar-ši-ja-an-za nu SISKUR ma-an-tal-li ar-ḥa B[AL-u-(an-zi)]*

(18) *a-pé-ez UL SİxSÁ-at*

‘Because the person who hit them is still alive and because his spirit is not (yet) lifted (= he has not pulled himself together yet), it therefore was determined not to perform the *mantalli*-ritual’;

KUB 19.23 obv.

(7) EN=IA ZI-an UL *u*a-ar-ši-*i*a-nu-*u*a-an *h*ar-ku<sup>1</sup>-un

‘I have not lifted the spirit of my master’.

A more literal meaning ‘to lift’ may be visible in the following context, which then seems to deal with levers:

KUB 33.62 ii

(4) [*nu* kat-te-ra-an *h*a-]a-an IM-aš=kán *u*a-ar-aš-ta ša-ra-a-az-zi-*i*a-an

(5) [(*h*a-a-an ma-)]a-al-az=kán *u*a-ar-aš-ta nu iš-tar-ni-*i*a-an

(6) [*h*a-a-an <sup>G(18)</sup>ša-a)]m-ma-ma=kán *u*a-ar-aš-ta

‘[D]ip [the lower] and the clay will be lifted. [Dip] the upper and the *māl* will be lifted. [Dip] the middle and the *šammama*-nut will be lifted’

(cf. CHD L-N: 124 for this reconstruction of the text, but note that CHD’s translation of *u*arašta as “will be refreshed(?)” (CHD Š: 115) does not make sense).

If the OH/MS 3sg.pres.mid.-forms *u*arašta from the last cited context indeed belong to this verb, it seems that we are dealing with an original opposition between a middle stem *u*arš-<sup>tt(a)(ri)</sup> vs. an active stem *u*arš*i*je/a-<sup>zi</sup>, for which compare e.g. *h*att-<sup>(ti)(a)(ri)</sup>, *h*azzije/a-<sup>zi</sup>. In younger times we find the stem *u*arš- also in the active (3sg.imp.act. *u*arašdu (NH)) and *u*arš*i*je/a- in the middle (*u*arš*i*attari (NH) and *u*arš*i*ahhut (NS)).

The etymology of this verb depends on one’s interpretation of its semantics. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 163) states that *u*arš(*i*je/a)-, which he translates as ‘to soothe’, goes back to an original meaning \*‘to trickle, to drip’, on the basis of which he assumes a connection with the noun *u*arša- that he translates as ‘rain-shower’. Rieken (1999a: 470<sup>2313</sup>), who translates *u*arš(*i*je/a)- as “beruhigen, besänftigen”, rejects such an etymological connection, however.

If the verb *u*arš(*i*je/a)- indeed originally denotes ‘to lift (oneself)’, I would like to connect it with the root \**u*ers- as visible in Skt. *várṣman*- ‘hight’, Lith. *viršùs*, OCS *vrъxъ* ‘top, summit’. A semantic development to ‘to lift oneself, to pull

oneself together' is also visible in Skt. *á vṛṣásva* 'pull yourself together!'. All in all, I reconstruct *uarš-*<sup>ta(ri)</sup> as *\*uérš-to* and *uaršije/a-*<sup>zi</sup> as *\*urs-jé/ó-*.

**uarša-** (c.) 'fog, mist': gen.sg. *ua-ar-ša-aš* (KUB 16.37 iv 5 (NS), KBo 13.245 vi 6 (NS), KUB 9.15 ii 7 (NS)), *ua-ar-ša-š=a* (KUB 9.15 ii 6 (NS)), acc.pl. *ua-ar-ša-aš* (KUB 5.1 iv 71 (NH)).

This word especially occurs in the syntagm *uaršaš* <sup>d</sup>U 'Storm-god of *u.*', which is mostly found in broken passages:

KUB 16.37 iv

(5) [ ... *i?-]ši-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi* <sup>d</sup>U *ua-ar-ša-aš*

(6) [ ... *-]ma ḥé-e-ú-uš* DÜ-*zi*

'... they [re]veal. The Storm-god of *u.* [...] but [...] makes rain';

KBo 13.245 vi

(5) *ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš te-et-ḥi-mi* [ ... ]

(6) <sup>d</sup>U<sup>H1.A</sup>-*aš al-pa-aš ua-ar-ša-aš* [ ... ]

(7) *ḥé-e-u-uš da-a-i*

'[...] for all in the thunder [...] for the Storm-gods of clouds and *u.* [...] places rains';

KUB 9.15 ii (cf. Cohen 2002: 134f.)

(6) [ ... ] *an-da ta-ma-aš-zi ua-ar-ša-š=a* <sup>d</sup>[U<sup>2</sup>]

(7) [ ... ] *ta-ma-aš-zi n=a-an=kán ua-ar-ša-aš*

'[...] will oppress, and [the Storm]-god of *u.* will oppress [...] and [...] of *u.* [will ...] him'.

In one context, *uarša-* occurs without <sup>d</sup>U:

KUB 5.1 iv

(71) *BAD-an=ma an-za-aš KAL-i BÚN-mi ḥar-ši-ḥar-ši ua-ar-ša-aš*

*ḥé-[u]a<sup>2</sup>-aš UL ḤUŠ-ḥi*

(72) *KARAS<sup>H1.A</sup>=kán TA* <sup>d</sup>U *UL za-aḥ-ta-ri*

'But when he for our sake(?) does not fear the violent thunder and lightning, the *u.*-s and the rains and the armies are not stricken by the Storm-god, ...'.

Although all passages are either incomplete or difficult to interpret, the latter context clearly shows that *uarša-*, just as KAL-*i* BÚN-*mi* *haršiharši* ‘violent thunder and lightning’ and *he[ū]aš* ‘rains’, should be regarded as a certain bad weather condition. This would of course perfectly fit the fact that it is used as an epithet of <sup>d</sup>U ‘Storm-god’.

Friedrich (1930: 35<sup>5</sup>), who translates the first context cited here as “Der Wettergott ... [...] ... macht Regengüsse” (which is not necessarily correct: the *-ma* before *hēūuš* could well be the conjunction =*ma*, which implies a new subject for this sentence), points to the formal similarity between *uaršaš* and Skt. *varṣá-* ‘rain’, assuming that Hitt. *uarša-* is a loanword from Indic. Laroche (1946-47: 110) translates *uarša-* as “rosée”, ‘dew’ and in 1963: 62 states that it is “un mot hittite authentique” that must be cognate with Skt. *varṣá-* ‘rain’ and Gr. *έέρση* ‘dew’. This view has been generally accepted since then. In my view, we first should compare *uarša-* within Hittite, namely to *uaršula-* that denotes ‘fume, vapour’. It therefore is more likely that *uarša-* denotes ‘fog, mist’. Nevertheless, this does not affect the etymological connection with Skt. *varṣá-* ‘rain’ and Gr. *έέρση* ‘dew’ semantically. Yet, we need to discuss a few formal points.

First, there is some debat on the interpretation of the Greek forms. In the poetic language, we find the word *έέρση* ‘dew’, which in classical times is (irregularly) contracted to *έψη*. In Hesych, we find the gloss *άερσαν· τήν δρόσον· Κρήτες* ‘dew (Cretan)’, which resembles the unique spelling *άέρσην* as found on one papyrus. On the basis of these latter two forms, often the reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>uérseh<sub>2</sub>-* is given, under the assumption that *άέ-* has been assimilated to *έέ-*. Because such assimilations are far from regular in Greek and because a spelling with initial *ά-* is found twice only, both in dubious sources, we should rather take the frequent spelling *έέρση* as original and reconstruct *\*h<sub>1</sub>uérseh<sub>2</sub>-* (cf. also Eichner 1973: 54). In view of the development PANat. *\*ʔRV-/ > Hitt. /RV-/* as described in § 1.4.5.a, we can assume that a sequence *\*h<sub>1</sub>uo-* would yield Hitt. *ua-*. (Note that scholars that reconstruct *uarša-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>uors-o-* must assume ‘De Saussure Effect’, i.e. loss of *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* in an *o*-grade formation.)

Secondly, intervocalic *\*VrsV* should have yielded Hitt. */VRV/*, cf. *\*Horso- > Hitt. ʔaRa-/*, *a-ar-ra-* ‘arse’. The only way in explaining *uarša-* then is by assuming an original ablauting root noun, e.g. *\*h<sub>1</sub>uérsh<sub>2</sub>-*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>uérsh<sub>2</sub>-m*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>uérsh<sub>2</sub>-ós* (cf. e.g. *tuekk-* / *tukk-*). (Note that this scenario precludes the existence of an *o*-grade stem, which is necessary if one reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>uors-o-*.)

All in all, we can say that the etymological connection between Hitt. *uarša-* ‘fog, mist’ on the one hand and Skt. *varṣá-* ‘rain’ and Gr. *έέρση* ‘dew’ on the

other is semantically attractive, but that the exact reconstruction of the Hittite word is difficult.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *uaršama-*: see <sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *uaršma-*

*uaršha-*: see *uarašha-*

*uaršijatt-* (c.) ‘reconciliation(?)’: nom.sg.c. [*ua-a*]r-ši-ia-za (HT 42 obv. 10), gen.sg. *ua-ar-ši-ia-at-ta-aš* (KUB 9.12 ii 5).

Derivatives: *uaršijatar* (n.) ‘reconciliation’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ua-ar-ši-ia-tar* (KBo 26.34 i 18)).

See Rieken 1999a: 107 for a treatment. In the vocabulary HT 42, of which the Akkadian and Sumerian parts are broken off, we find obv. (9) [*t*]a-ri-aš-*ha-aš* ‘tiredness’ (10) [*ua-*]ar-ši-ia-za (11) [*ua-a*]r-ši-ia-za. In the vocabulary KBo 26.34 we find i (16) SĒD-an-za ‘calmness(?)’ (17) ta-ri-ia-aš-*ha-aš* ‘tiredness’ (18) *ua-ar-ši-ia-tar*, of which the translations are lost as well. Although we are dealing here with another formation (stem in *-atar* instead of *-att-*), it is likely that the words are semantically similar. Besides this, we find the following context:

KUB 9.12 ii

- (3) <sup>d</sup>UTU-aš IGI<sup>III.A</sup>=ŠU 3 TA-PAL 1<sup>NU-TIM</sup> x[ ... ]
- (4) ša-ku-(*ua*-)ia-u-ua-aš n=a-aš-ta LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL š[a-ku-iš-ke-ed-du]
- (5) 1<sup>NU-TIM</sup> *ua-ar-ši-ia-at-ta-aš* IGI<sup>I</sup>[<sup>LA</sup>=ŠU ... ]
- (6) nu LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>d</sup>UTU-i an-da-an *ua-a*[r-ši-ia-an-te-eš?]
- (7) a-ša-an-du 1<sup>NU-TIM</sup> ma-ni-ia-a[*h-hi-ia-aš*?]
- (8) *ha-ne-eš-na-aš* IGI<sup>III.A</sup>=ŠU

‘The Sun-god’s eyes are three pairs – one pair is [...] of looking; with (them) [let him look] at the king and queen. One pair are his eyes of reconciliation, let the king and queen be rec[onciled] to the Sun-god. One pair are his eyes of gover[ning] and judging’ (translation as in CHD Š: 55).

A translation ‘reconciliation’ (thus in CHD Š: 55), would fit the place in the vocabularies as well. Clearly, this word is derived from *uarš-<sup>IIa(ri)</sup>*, *uaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to lift (oneself); reconcile’ (q.v.).

*uaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to appease’: see *uarš-<sup>IIa(ri)</sup>*, *uaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

uaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to produce uaršula-’: 3sg.pret.act. ua-ar-ši-i-et.

There is one verbal form showing the stem uaršije/a- that does not seem to belong with either uarš-<sup>i</sup> ‘to reap, to harvest, to wipe’ or with uarš-<sup>ta(r)</sup>, uaršije/a-<sup>zi</sup> ‘to lift (oneself); to refresh’, namely the form found in the following context:

KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109a iv (cf. Siegelová 1971: 58)

(6) [(*nu=kán a-qš-šĭ-ĭa-*)]*tar*<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ša-ĥi-in*<sup>GIŠ</sup>[*pár-nu-ul-ĭ*]*i-in-n=a da-aš-ša-u-aš*  
A<sup>HI.A</sup>-*na-aš*

(7) [(*šū-un-ni-ĭa-at nu=kán A<sup>HI.A</sup>-aš a*)]*n-da a-aš-šĭ-ĭa-tar*<sup>GIŠ</sup>[*a-ĥi-iš*<sup>GI</sup>]<sup>Š</sup>*pár-nu-ul-li*  
*ua-ar-ši-i-et*

(8) [(*nu GIM-an<sup>MUŠ</sup> Ĥé-dam-mu-ūš*) *ua-ar-š*] *u-la-an KAŠ iš-taĥ-ta nu=kán [(A-NA<sup>M</sup>)]<sup>UŠ</sup> Ĥé-dam-mu tar-ĥu-u-i-li*

(9) [(*ZI<sup>HI.A</sup>=Š*) *U ša-ne-ez-zi-iš*] *te-eš-ĥa-aš e-ep-ta*

‘She (= Ištar) strewed aphrodisiac(?), *šaĥi-* and *parnulli-*wood into the mighty waters. And in the waters the aphrodisiac(?), *šaĥi-* and *parnulli-*wood uaršije/a-d. When Ĥedammu tasted the taste of the brewage, a sweet dream seized the soul of the mighty Ĥedammu’.

CHD (P: 179) translates “in the waters (Ĥedammu) smelled the aphrodisiac(?), *šaĥi-*wood, and *p.*”, interpreting uaršijet as “smelled”. This cannot be correct. Firstly, we would have expected that *parnulli-* would be in the accusative case, *parnullin* (just as in line 6), if it were the object of uaršijet. Secondly, if Ĥedammu were the subject of uaršijet, I do not see why he is not already mentioned by name in this line. The fact that Ĥedammu’s name is expressly used in line 8 indicates that he is introduced as a new topic there, which means that he cannot have been the subject to uaršijet.

In my view, it is clear that *āššĭĭatar*, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*šaĥiš* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*parnulli* are the subject of uaršijet and that this verb describes the process by which the strewing of these three objects into the waters yields the KAŠ (which must stand for ‘brewage’ here and not for ‘beer’), whose uaršula- intoxicates Ĥedammu. So it is not coincidental that uaršijet and uaršula- both show a root uarš-: the verb means ‘produces the uaršula-’, or ‘dissolve into uaršula-’ (cf. Siegelová’s translation “zerging”). See at uaršula- for further treatment.

In CHD Š: 178 the words *ša-ni-iz-zi ua-ar-aš-ta* (KUB 27.29 ii 16) are translated as “he smelled the sweet things”, again as if we are dealing with a verb

*uarš-* ‘to smell’. Yet the context is too broken to ascertain this interpretation, and e.g. Haas & Wegner (1988a: 135-6) translate “süß ... wegwischte”.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*uaršma-* (c.) ‘(piece of) firewood’: nom.sg. *ua-ar-ša-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *ua-ar-ša-ma-an* (VSNF 12.65 i 26, KUB 7.47 obv. 4), *ua-ar-aš-ma-a[n]* (KUB 32.138 rev.<sup>?</sup> 5), *ú-ua-ar-ša-ma-an* (KUB 32.129 rev. 3 (NS)), abl. *ua-ar-ša-ma-za* (KUB 26.58 obv. 11), *ua-ar-ša-am-ma-za* (KBo 6.29 + KUB 21.12 iii 22 (NH)), acc.pl. *ua-ar-ša-mu-uš* (often), *ua-ar-ša-ma-aš* (KBo 13.131 obv. 5), *ua-ar-ša-am-ma-aš* (KUB 17.10 iii 14 (OH/MS)).

PIE \**urh<sub>1</sub>-smo-*

This word is commonly spelled *ua-ar-ša-m-*, but occasionally we find a spelling with geminate *-mm-* (*ua-ar-ša-am-m-*), and once a spelling *ua-ar-aš-ma-*. Especially this last spelling indicates that phonetically, this word was /uarsMa-/ or /uərsMa-/. The spelling *ú-ua-ar-ša-ma-an* (KUB 32.129 rev. 3) is cited by HW: 247 as <sup>ú</sup>*ua-ar-ša-ma-an*, but this seems incorrect to me: nevertheless, because of its aberrancy (note that on the same tablet we find *ua-ar-* (ibid. 4)), we can disregard this spelling.

For the meaning, cf. for instance

KUB 17.10 iii

- (14) <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ua-ar-ša-am-ma-aš ú-i-šu-u-ri-ja-ta-ti nu ku-u-uš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ua-ar-š[a-mu-uš]*  
 (15) *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an ua-ar-nu-ú-e-er* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pi-nu-ua-aš-š=a kar-pi-[iš]*  
 (16) *kar-di-mi-ja-az ua-aš-tu-ul ša-a-u-ar QA-TAM-MA ua-ra-a-[ni]*

‘(Pieces of) firewood is broken. While they burn these pieces of firewood, the anger, rage, fury and wrath of Telipinu burns likewise’;

KUB 51.22 rev. (with additions from dupl. KUB 32.138 ii 11f.)

- (1) [<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ua-a*]r-ša-mu-uš-š=a [(*ki-iš-ta-nu-zi*)]  
 (2) [(*n=a-at=kán*)] *pa-ra-a pá-r-ni pé-e-da-a[-i n=a-aš=ša-an]*  
 (3) [*ḥa-aš-š(i-)*]i *iš-ḥu-u-ua-a-i*  
 (4) [(*n=a-aš ar-*)ḥa] *ua-ar-nu-zi*  
 (5) [<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ua-ar-ša-mu-uš kar*[(*-a*)š-zi]  
 (6) [*n=a-aš=*]ša-an <sup>DUG</sup>*pa-aḥ-ḥu-n[(a-al-)li-ja<sup>?</sup>*  
 (7) [*I-NA*] É.ŠA-ni *PA-NI DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> pé-e-da-a[-i]*  
 (8) [ *ḥa-aš-*]šu-un-ga-iz-zi[ ]  
 (9) [ *A-NA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> pa-ra-a i*]š-ḥu-u-ua-a-i]  
 (10) [*nu* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ua-ar-š*]a-mu-uš *kán-ti-i*[t ]

(11) [ *n]u ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*

‘And he extinguishes the pieces of firewood. He carries it out to the house, and throws them into the fire-place. He sets them alight. He cuts pieces of firewood and brings them in a *paḥḥunalli*-container into the inner room to the deity. [He pr]esses [them and] th[rows them in front] of the deity. [He covers(?) the pieces of fir]ewood with wheat and speaks as follows’.

It is likely that *uaršma-* is connected with *ur-āri* ‘to burn’ (especially visible in the first context). If so, it probably shows a suffix *\*-smo-*, which is further unattested in Hittite, however (unless *tarašma-* ‘skull’ (q.v.) shows it as well). As I argued at *ur-āri*, this verb reflects *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-óri*, which means that *uaršma-* reflects *\*urh<sub>1</sub>smo-*. Note that a sequence *\*CrHsC-* normally yields Hitt. */CRisC-/* (e.g. in *paripriške/a- < \*pri-prh<sub>1</sub>-ške/o-*), which means that in *\*urh<sub>1</sub>smo-* the *\*u-* may have caused a slightly different development. A similar development is visible in *duḡaraške/a- < \*d<sup>h</sup>urh<sub>1</sub>-ške/o-* (the old imperfective of *duḡarni-zi* / *duḡarn-* ‘to break’ (q.v.)). See at *ur-āri* for further etymology.

***uaršula-*** (c./n.) ‘fume, haze, vapour’: nom.sg.c. *ua-ar-šu-la-aš* (KBo 3.5 iv 32, KUB 7.23, 11 (fr.), KUB 12.65, 21 (fr), KUB 15.34 ii 32, KUB 24.1 i 10 // KUB 17.10 ii 7, KUB 36.44 iv 4, KUB 36.95 iii 6, FHG 2 + KUB 33.45+53, 25, VBoT 58 i 11, ), acc.sg. *ua-ar-šu-la-an* (KUB 24.14 i 22, KUB 33.52 iii 7, 2073/g, 3), dat-loc.sg. *ua-ar-šu-li* (KBo 4.13 vi 6, KUB 25.32 + KUB 27.70 iii 28, KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.131 i 42, ii 12, KUB 27.12, 5, IBoT 1.1 iii 3, 6, 13, etc.), *ua-ar-šu-ú-li* (KUB 20.99 iii 21), *ua-ar-šu-li<sub>x</sub>* (KUB 17.35 i 33, iv 32), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ua-ar-šu-la* (KBo 3.2 ii<sup>1</sup> 11).

The exact interpretation of this word is debated. It often occurs in the syntagm *uaršuli eku-zi*:

IBoT 1.1 iv

(9) 3 *BE-LU<sup>HLA</sup>=ši me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an[-da]*

(10) *ua-ar-šu-li*

(11) *a-ku-ua-an-zi*

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(12) [LU]GAL-*uš* GUB-*aš* <sup>d</sup>U-*an*

(13) <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>*Piš-ku-ru-nu-ua-an*

(14) *u[a]-ar-šu-li* 1=*ŠU*

(15) *e-ku-zi*



‘The three lords opposite him drink *uaršuli*. While standing, the king drinks *uaršuli* the Storm-god and the mountain Piškurunuša once’;

KUB 20.99 iii

(18) LUGAL-*uš=za=kán ŠU<sup>HL.A</sup>=ŠU a-ar-ri n=a-aš ša-ra-a*

(19) *ti-i-e-ez-zi n=a-aš PA-NI<sup>NA</sup>ZI.KIN<sup>d</sup>IM*

(20) *pa-iz-zi nu<sup>dU</sup> URU<sup>š</sup>Ša-a-ri-iš-ša*

(21) *ua-ar-šu-ú-li 1=ŠU e-ku-zi*

‘The king washes his hands and steps upwards and goes to the *huuša*-stone of the Storm-god. He drinks *uaršuli* the Storm-god of Šārišša once’.

A few times, *uaršula-* occurs together with <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN ‘cedar wood’:

KUB 24.1 i

(11) *ki-nu-na-a=t-ta ša-ne-ez-zi-iš ua-ar-šu-la-aš*

(12) <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*an-za Ì-an-za kal-li-iš-du n=a-aš-ta EGIR-pa*

(13) <sup>É</sup>*ka-ri-im-ni an-da e-ḫu*

‘May the sweet *u*. (from/and) cedar wood and oil call you now, come back into the temple!’;

KUB 15.34 ii

(32) <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*aš=ma ua-ar-š[u-la]-aš<sup>GIŠ.d</sup>INNANA-ia-aš ḫa-z[i<sup>2</sup>-ia-tar]*

<sup>LÚ</sup>*AZU-aš me-mi-ia-aš*

(33) DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš kal-li-iš-tar-u[a-ni]e-eš-du*

‘Let there be on the party for the gods *u*. of cedar wood, the st[riking] of the Ištar-instrument and the reciting of the priest’.

In HW (274), Friedrich translates this word as “Besänftigung, Beruhigung” and “Erfrischung” but adjusts this to “Tropfen; Saft; Duft” in HW Erg. 3: 36 (on the basis of Laroche 1963: 61), stating that, when used with *eku-zi* ‘to drink’, *uaršuli* means “(im Tropfen), tropfenweise”. Güterbock (1986: 212) proposes to translate *uaršula-* as ‘smell’, and states that “*uaršuli ekuzi* should be translated “he drinks in the smell” and refers to “drinking the god” only by sniffing the aroma of the wine”. This translation, ‘smell, odor’, is taken over in CHD (e.g. the third context cited here is translated in CHD Š: 176 as ‘let the fragrant odor, (namely) the cedar and the oil summon you’). This works also fine for e.g.

KUB 24.14 i

(22) ŠA UR.GI<sub>7</sub>=ma-a=t-ta ūa-ar-šū-la-an

(23) a-ūa-an ar-ḥa pá-r-ḥu-un ŠA UR.GI<sub>7</sub>=ma šal-pa-aš UZU UR.GI<sub>7</sub>

(24) <sup>UZU</sup>GÌR.PAD.DU UR.GI<sub>7</sub>=ja ši-mi-ši-ja-nu-un

‘I have driven away from you the odor of the dog; I have burned the dung(?) of the dog, the flesh of the dog, and the bones of the dog’ (translation: CHD Š: 107);

KBo 3.5 iv

(31) ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḥa la-a-an-zi n=a-aš I-NA É <sup>LÚ</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>

(32) an-da pé-e-ḥu-da-an-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=m=a-aš=kán ūa-ar-šū-la-aš

(33) pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi n=a-aš 5=ŠU ar-ru-ūa-an-zi nam-m=a-aš

(34) kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi

‘When they unharness them (the horses), they bring them into the stable. When they begin to smell (lit. When smell goes forth from them), they wash them five times and then make them shrug’ (translation: CHD P: 33);

KBo 3.2 rev.<sup>1</sup>

(10) ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḥa la-a-an-zi nu-u=š-ma-aš

<sup>KUŠ</sup>KIR<sub>4</sub>.TAB.ANŠE=ŠU-NU pa-ra-a Ú-UL

(11) da-an-zi n=a-aš kat-ta aš-nu-an-zi ūa-ar-šū-la=ja-a=š-ma-aš kat-ta  
pé-e-da-i

‘When they unharness them they do not take off of them their halter. They rub them down (lit. treat them), and it carries their odors down’ (cf. CHD P: 352).

In the following context (cf. Siegelová 1971: 58), a translation ‘smell, odor’ is not fully correct: KUB 33.84+ iv (8) [(nu GIM-an <sup>MUŠ</sup>Ḥé-dam-mu-ūš) ūa-ar-š]u-la-an KAŠ iš-taḥ-ta ‘When Ḥedammu tasted the ū. of the brewage’. Here we seem to be dealing with ‘taste’. Another translation is also necessary in KUB 36.44 iv (4) nu ūa-ar-šū-la-aš=te-eš a[m]-me-el kat-ta u-ūa-ru ‘Let your (i.e. <sup>d</sup>UTU) ū. be seen by me’. Here it is clear that we are dealing with something visible. All in all, ūaršula- seems to denote the immaterial appearance of a certain object in smell, taste or “materialization”. We could think of a basic meaning ‘fume, haze, vapour’.

Within Hittite, we probably have to assume that *uaršula-* is cognate with *uarša-* ‘fog, mist’. See there for etymological treatment. See also at *uaršije/a-zi* ‘to produce *uaršula-*’.

**uart-** ‘to plaid together’: 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ar-ta-an-zi* (KBo 3.2 rev.<sup>1</sup> 7).

PIE *\*uert-* ‘to turn’

This verb occurs only once, in the Kikkuli-text:


KBo 3.2 rev.<sup>1</sup>

(6) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš ID-az ša-ra-a ú-ua-da-an-zi*

(7) *nu-u=š-ma-aš KUN<sup>Hl.A</sup>=ŠU an-da ua-ar-ta-an-zi n=a-aš tu-u-ri-ja-an-zi*

(8) *n=a-aš ½ DANNA pé-en-na-i*

‘When they lead them (the horses) up out of the river, they *anda u.* their tails for them and harness them. One drives them half a mile’.

It should be noticed that the third sign of the word *ua-ar-ta-an-zi* is slightly damaged: : the second upright wedge is lost, so in principle a reading ŠA is possible as well. Nevertheless, the place of the first vertical wedge shows that we are dealing with TA, as it should have been more to the right if the sign were ŠA.

Kammenhuber (1961a: 137) translates the sentence as ‘dreht man ihnen ihre Schwänze ein’, which indeed seems to be a meaningful translation.

Etymologically, a connection with PIE *\*uert-* ‘to turn’ (thus Kammenhuber o.c. 136<sup>49</sup>) seems appealing. Problematic, however, could be the fact that all other IE languages seem to show that *\*uert-* means ‘to turn (oneself)’ and is not used as a transitive verb. Yet in Hittite, the use of the preverb *anda* could be crucial in this regard. Kammenhuber assumes that *uart-* is a borrowing from Indic (just as *-uartanna* (q.v.), which is only found in the Kikkuli-text as well), but this cannot be decided on formal grounds: a preform *\*urtenti* ‘they turn’ would by regular sound law give Hitt. *uartanzi* (vocalization of *\*ur-* to *uar-* in analogy to the singular, where we would expect *\*uertmi* to give *\*\*uartmi*).

**-uartanna** ‘for ... rounds’

This word only occurs in the Kikkuli text, as the second member of compounds *aikauartanna* ‘for one round’, *tierauartanna* ‘for three rounds’, *panzauartanna* ‘for five rounds’, *šattauartanna* ‘for seven rounds’ and *nāuartanna* ‘for nine

rounds' (probably haplology for \**na<sub>u</sub>u<sub>a</sub>rtanna*). All these words are borrowed from Indic. The element *-u<sub>a</sub>rtanna* corresponds to Skt. *vartanī-* 'road, course'.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *u<sub>a</sub>rduli-* (c.) a kind of plant?: nom.sg. *u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-iš*, acc.sg. *u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-in*, gen.sg.? *u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-la-aš*, acc.pl.? *u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-e-eš*.

The word occurs a few times only:

KUB 7.13 obv. (with additions from dupl. KUB 46.56 obv.<sup>?</sup> 4-7)

(18) ... EGIR-*a*[*n=ma=u(a-r=a)an*]

(19) *hu-im-ma-aš tar-na-a-ú kat-ta-an=ma=u<sub>a</sub>-r=a-an ta-ga-an[-zi-(pa-aš)]*

(20) GIŠ.ÛR<sup>?</sup> *tar-na-a-ú GUNNI-aš=u<sub>a</sub>-r=a-an u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-iš[-š=a<sup>?</sup>]*

(21) *tar-na-a-ú* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*a-ra-ša-aš=u<sub>a</sub>-r=a-an* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*kat-ta-lu-uz<-zi>=ja t[ar-na-a-ú]*

'Then, may the *huimma-* release [him]. May the flo[or] below (and) the roof-beam<sup>?</sup> release him. May the hearth [and] the *u*. release him. May the door and the lintel re[lease] him';

KUB 24.9+ iii (see Jakob-Rost 1972: 45-6 for transliteration)

(27) [(*ma-an z*)]*i-in-ni-iz-zi nu-u=š-ša-an <<nu>> u<sub>a</sub>-a-tar*

(28) [(*I-NA* 5 GAL GIR<sub>4</sub>)] *la-a-hu-u<sub>a</sub>-i n=e=ta ŠÀ.BA A-NA GAL G[(IR<sub>4</sub>)]*

(29) [(*ta-ri-ja-at-ta-(a-r)*)]*i-ja-an* 1 GAL GIR<sub>4</sub> *u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-[(e-eš)]*

(30) [(1 GAL G)]IR<sub>4</sub> GEŠTIN *ma-aḥ-la-aš hu-el-pi-iš* 1 GAL GIR<sub>4</sub> [(*aš-ḥa-i-ú-ul*)]

(31) [1 GAL GIR<sub>4</sub> (*ir-ḥa-a-i*)]*t nu ku-it-t=a ar-ḥa-ja šar-ra-[(i)]*

'When she is finished, she pours water in 5 clay cups. And of these, in one cup (she puts) *tariiattarija-*, in one cup *u<sub>a</sub>rduli-*'s, in one cup the young branch of a vine, in one cup *ašḥajul* (and) in one cup *irḥāit*. And each one she divides separately';

ibid.

(41) [E]GIR-*an-da=ma u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-li-in la-hu-u-ū[a-a-i]*

(42) [*nu t*]*e-ez-zi ku-u-un UN-an DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> u<sub>a</sub>-ar-du-la-a[š]*

(43) [.....-*a*]*r a-aš-šu-an-ni an-da hu-u-la-li-[ja-at-tén]*

'Then she pours the *u<sub>a</sub>rduli-* and says: "O gods, you must surround this man [.....] of<sup>?</sup> *u<sub>a</sub>rduli-* (and) in well-being!";

ChS I/5, Nr.7 i

(2) [ *te-pu* <sup>GIŠ</sup>(*an-tar-ūi;-la-a*)]*š NUMUN-an te-pu*

(3) [(u-un-te-eš ŠA<sup>GIŠ</sup>KI)RI<sub>6</sub> ...] <sup>GIŠ</sup>u-a-a[(r-du-li-i)]š HUR.SAG GUŠKIN KUŠ SA<sub>5</sub>  
te-pu

‘[ein wenig]; Samen der antarwila-Pflanze, ein wenig; ūnt-(Pflanzen)? des Gar[tens ?], warduli-Gewächs (des) Gebirge(s); Gold, (ein Stück) rotes Fell, (von allem) ein wenig’ (translation Haas & Wegner 1988a: 76).

It is difficult to establish what *warduli-* denotes exactly. In KUB 24.9+ it seems to denote some kind of liquid that can be poured. In KUB 7.13, however, it appears in the pair GUNNI-aš *warduliš*[š=a] ‘hearth and *u.*’, which in one way or another must be similar to *taganzipaš* GIŠ.ÛR ‘floor and roof-beam’ and <sup>GIŠ</sup>arašaš <sup>GIŠ</sup>kattaluz<zi>=ia ‘door and lintel’. Moreover, in the Allaiturahhi-ritual (ChS I/5, Nr. 7 i 3) it appears with the determinative GIŠ. It therefore is likely that *warduli-* denotes some kind of plant, the juice of which could be used in magical practices. The connection with ‘hearth’, however, remains unclear. No etymology.

↳ *uar(ru)ualan-* (n.) ‘seed, progeny’ (Sum. NUMUN): nom.-acc.sg. NUMUN-an, gen.sg. < *ua-ar-ru-ua-la-na-aš* (KUB 21. 37,13), dat.-loc.sg. < *ua-ar-ua-la-ni* (KBo 4.10 ii 24), *ua-ar-ua-la-ni* (Bronzetafel iii 2, 6, 16, iv 24), nom.-acc.pl. NUMUN<sup>HLA</sup>-na (KUB 35.54 ii 31, KBo 29.2 ii 9), Luw.erg.sg. < *ua-ar-ua-la-na-an-te-eš* (KBo 4.10 ii 25).

The manifold usage of gloss wedges as well as the occurrence of a Luwian inflected erg.sg. *uarualanteš* (note the *i*-Motion!) in

KUB 4.10 ii

(24) *da-me-da-ni-i=a-at* ↳ *ua-ar-ua-la-ni le-e pí-ia-an-zi*

(25) ŠA<sup>m</sup>Ul-mi-<sup>d</sup>U-up=pát (or -up-p=át ?) ↳ *ua-ar-ua-la-na-an-te-eš har-du*

‘They shall not give it to another progeny, the progeny of (only?) Ulmitešsub must have (it?)’,

indicates that we are dealing with an original Luwian word. Starke (1990: 480f.) argues that this word has to be read as *uaruatn-* (reading the sign LA (𐎡𐎢)) as AT (𐎡𐎢)), but Melchert (1993b: 261-2) speaks against this because of a possible connection with <sup>d</sup>*Uarualija-*. Moreover, Starke assumes that the paradigm originally was *uaruattar*, *uaruatn-*, but this would not fit the neuter *n*-stem endings that are used with the sumerogram NUMUN (e.g. nom.-acc.pl.

NUMUN<sup>H1A</sup>-*na*). I therefore follow Melchert and interpret this word as a neuter *n*-stem *uarualan-*. No etymology, however.

**uāš-**<sup>i</sup> (IIb > Ic1) ‘to buy’: 2sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-ti* (KUB 4.3 i 12 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ua-a-ši* (KBo 6.2 ii 45, 46, 49 (OS), KUB 29.29, 11 (OS), KUB 13.8 obv. 16 (MH/NS), VSNF 12.57 i 9 (NS), VSNF 12.127 obv. 6), *ua-ši-ia-zi* (often, NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ua-a-ši-ī[a-at-te-]ni* (KUB 13.4 ii 72 (OH/NS)) 1sg.pret.act. *ua-ši-ia-nu-un* (KUB 31.78 iv 8 (NS)), *ua-a-ši-ia-nu-u[n]* (KUB 7.6, 2 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ši-(ia)-at* (often), 2pl.imp.act. *ua-a-aš-tén* (KUB 23.72 rev. 36a (MH/MS)); inf.I *ua-ši-ia-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 31.76 ii 3 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vasná-* ‘price’, Gr. ὄνοϛ (n.) ‘price’, Lat. *vēnum dare* ‘to sell’, Arm. *gin* ‘price’ < \**uesno-*.

PIE \**uós-ei* / \**us-énti*

For the semantics of this verb, compare e.g.

KBo 6.26 ii

(27) *ták-ku*<sup>LÚ</sup> MUŠEN.DÙ-*a[n a]n-na-nu-ua-an-ta-an ku-iš-ki ua-a-ši*

(28) 25 GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR] *pa-a-i ták-ku LÚ-an na-aš-ma MUNUS-an*

(29) *dam-pu-u-pí-in ku-iš-ki ua-a-ši* 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

‘If someone buys a trained augur, he will pay 25 silver shekels. If someone buys an inferior man or woman, he will pay 20 silver shekels’.

The oldest forms of this verb, 3sg.pres.act. *uāši* (OS) and 2pl.imp.act. *uāšten* (MH/MS), clearly shows that we are dealing with a stem *uāš-* that is *hi*-conjugated. Unfortunately, no weak stem forms are attested on the basis of which the ablaut of this verb can be determined. See at *ušniġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to put up for sale’, however, for an inner-Hittite cognate that reflects zero-grade. In NS texts, we find a secondary stem *uāšiġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, which is formed on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *uāši*.

Already since Götze (1928: 99<sup>2</sup>) this verb is generally connected with Skt. *vasná-* ‘price’, Gr. ὄνοϛ (n.) ‘price’, Lat. *vēnus* ‘sale’, etc. that all go back to a root \**ues-* ‘to buy’. This means that Hitt. *uāši* must go back to \**uós-ei*.

**uāšš-**<sup>zi</sup>: see *uešš-<sup>IIa</sup>*; *uāšše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

**uāšanna-** ‘track’

The word is found in the Kikkuli-text only:

KBo 3.2 rev.<sup>1</sup>

- (22) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḥa la-a-an-zi n=a-aš a-a-an-te-et ú-e-te-ni-it*  
(23) *ar-ra-an-zi nam-m=a-aš ÍD-i kat-ta pé-e-ḥu-da-an-zi n=a-aš 3=ŠU*  
(24) *kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi nam-m=a-aš tu-u-ri-ja-an-zi n=a-aš na-ya-ar-ta-an-ni*  
(25) *ya-ša-an-na-ša-ja 1 DANNA 80 IKU<sup>III.A</sup>=ja pá-r-ḥa-i A-NA ya-ša-an-ni=ma*  
(26) *pár-ga-tar=še-et 6 IKU pal-ḥa-tar=še-et=ma 4 IKU<sup>III.A</sup> ya-ša-an-na=ma*  
(27) *9<sup>12</sup>=ŠU ya-aḥ-nu-zi*

‘When they unharness them, they wash them with warm water. Then they bring them to the river and make them immerse three times. Then they harness them and let them galop nine rounds of the track for one mile and 80 IKU. The height of the track is six IKU, its width is four IKU. He makes (them) turn nine times around the track’;

KUB 1.11 + KUB 29.57 iv

- (20) *nam-m=a-aš kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi n=a-aš ar-ra-an-du-uš*  
(21) *tu-u-ri-ja-an-zi n=a-aš<sup>1</sup> 1 DANNA 20 IKU<sup>III.A</sup>*  
(22) *pár-ḥa-an-du-uš<sup>1</sup> pa-a-an-zi ya-ša-an-na*  
(23) *n=a-aš<sup>1</sup> pá-r-ku-ya-tar=še-et 5 IKU DAGAL=ZU=ma 3 IKU ½ IKU=ja*  
(24) *a-ra-aḥ-za-an-da=m=a-aš<sup>1</sup> IŠ-TU GIS<sup>III.A</sup> ya-aḥ-nu-ma-a[n]*  
(25) *ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup></sup>=ma a-ra-aḥ-za<sup>1</sup>-an-da 6=ŠU ya-aḥ-nu-an-z[i]*

‘Then they make them immerse and harness them after being washed. They go galloping for one mile and twenty IKU, on the track. Its height is five IKU, its width is three IKU and a half. It is surrounded with trees. They make the horses surround it six times’.

The word probably denotes ‘track’ or something similar. Because of its use with *naḡartanna*, which is an Indic word, it is likely that *yašanna-*, too, is of Indic origin. Kammenhuber (1961a: 138-9) even suggests that the form *ya-ša-an-na-ša-ja* is to be interpreted as a spelling of an Indic gen.sg. *\*vasannasya* ‘of *vasanna-*’. Unfortunately, I do not know of an Indic word *\*vasan(n)a-* that would fit this meaning.

**yaššapa-**: see *yašpa-*

**yašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>**: see *yešš-<sup>IIa</sup>*; *yašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

**uāšhar** (n.) ‘onion(?)’ (Sum. SUM<sup>SAR</sup>(?)): nom.-acc.sg. *u-a-āš-har* (KUB 60.57, 7).

PIE \*uosh<sub>2</sub>-r/n- ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 60.57

(6) [            ]x SISKUR *aš-ša-nu-u-a-an-zi nu x[            ]*

(7) [            k]u-e im-ma ku-e *u-a-āš-har x[            ]*

(8) [            ku-i]t-ma-an=*kán* DINGIR<sup>LAM</sup> I-NA[            ]

[ ... ] they take care of the ritual. [ ... ] whatever *uāšhar* [ ... W]hen the deity in [ ... ]’.

Although on the basis of this fragmentary context a meaning for *uāšhar* cannot be determined, it is likely that this word must be equated with *uāšhar* as found in the compound *šuppiuāšhar*<sup>SAR</sup> ‘onion(?)’ (lit. ‘pure *uāšhar*’) (q.v.). This could mean that just as *šuppiuāšhar* corresponds to the sumerogram SUM.SIKIL<sup>SAR</sup>, *uāšhar* possibly corresponds to SUM<sup>SAR</sup>.

The fact that *šuppiuāšhar* shows a derivative *šuppiuāšhanalli-* could indicate that *uāšhar*, if it is correctly connected with *šuppiuāšhar*, is *r/n*-inflected.

Mechanically, *uāšhar* seems to reflect \*uosh<sub>2</sub>-r/n-, but I do not know of any cognates. Further unknown.

**uāšši-** (n.) ‘(ingredients of) medicine’: nom.-acc.sg. *u-a-āš-ši*, nom.-acc.pl. *u-a-āš-ši*<sup>HIA</sup>.

This word denotes ‘medicine’, or ‘ingredients of medicine’:

KBo 5.2 iv

(20) *nu 1 kap-pí-in ŠE da-a-i* <sup>NA<sub>2</sub></sup>Z.A.GÌN <sup>NA<sub>2</sub></sup>GUG <sup>NA<sub>2</sub></sup>AŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL

(21) *te-pu da-a-i hu-u-uš-ti-in* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠINIG *te-pu*

(22) *da-a-i n=a-at=ša-an A-NA* <sup>DUG</sup>*ku-uš-ku-uš-šu-ul-li*

(23) *kat-ta ku-uš-ku-uš-zi ar-ḥa=m=a-at ši-ḥi-il-li-ia-aš*

(24) *ú-i-te-ni-it tar-na-i n=a-aš-ta* EN SÍSKUR <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ia*

(25) *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ti-i-e-ez-zi nu ke-e u-a-āš-ši*

(26) *ta-an-ga-ra-an-za e-ku-zi*

‘He takes one bowl of barley, he takes a little lapis-lazuli, carnelian and alabaster and he takes a little *hūšti-*, cedar and tamarisk and pounds them in a mortar. He



dissolves it in purified water. The patient steps in front of the Sun-god and drinks this medicine on an empty stomach’;

KBo 5.2 iv

- (37) ... *nu=kán*<sup>LÚ</sup> *AZU a-pé-e-ez še-er ar-ḥa*  
 (38) *la-a-ḥu-i nu*<sup>DUG</sup> *GAL.GIR<sub>4</sub> šu-un-na-i n=a-aš-ta A-NA DUG-za*  
 (39) *ši-ḥe-el-li-ja-aš ṽa-a-tar ku-it an-da nu=za a-pé-e-ez a-ar-ri*  
 (40) <sup>DUG</sup> *GAL=ma ku-iš šu-u-ṽa-an-za n=a-at<sup>1</sup> A-NA ṽa-aš-ši*<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *da-a-i*  
 (41) *nu ṽa-aš-ši*<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *ku-uš-ku-uš-ša-an-zi n=a-aš=kán A-NA*<sup>dEN.ZU</sup>  
 (42) *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ti-i-e-ez-zi n=a-at a-da-an-za e-ku-zi*

‘The magician pours out of it and fills the clay cup. He washes himself with the purified water that is in the vessel. He places the cup that was filled near the ingredients. They pound the ingredients and he steps opposite the Moongod. While eating, he drinks it’;

KUB 6.36 ii

- (6) [*ma-a-a*] *n=za=kán an-tu-uḥ-ša-an a-ú-li-iš e-ep-zi*  
 (7) [*ma-a-a*] *n an-tu-uḥ-ša-an IGI*<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *-ṽ[a] iš-tar[-ak-zi]*  
 (8) [ ] *x ki-i ṽa-aš-ši da-a-i*

‘When *auli-* seizes a man, when the eyes of a man ail, [ ... ] he will take this medicine’.

No clear etymology.

*ṽašṽe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *ṽaš-<sup>i</sup>*

*ṽašṽe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *ṽešš-<sup>1</sup>a*; *ṽašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

***ṽašku(i)-*** (c.) ‘offense, sin’: acc.sg. *ṽa-aš-ku-in* (KBo 24.122, 25 (NS), KUB 15.1 iii 45 (NH), KUB 18.63 i 21 (NS)), *ṽa-aš-ku-un* (KUB 18.63 iv 20 (NS)), gen.sg. *ṽa-[aš]-ku-i-ja-aš* (KUB 15.6 i 16 (NS)), dat.-log.sg. *ṽa-aš-ku-i* (IBoT 2.129 obv. 26 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *ṽa-aš-ku-i-e-eš* (KUB 5.6 i 7 (NS), KUB 18.18, 3 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *ṽa-aš-ku-uš* (KUB 5.9 obv. 29 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ṽa-aš-ku-ṽa-aš* (KBo 23.114 obv. 29, 29 (NS)), *ṽa-aš-ku-aš* (KUB 16.48 rev. 6 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ṽaškuit-*** (n.) ‘offense’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ṽa-aš-ku-u-i-š[a]* (ABoT 56 iv 6 (NH/NS))), ***ṽašku(ṽa)llimma/i-*** (adj.) ‘sinful’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ṽa-aš-ku-ṽa-al-li-im-ma-an-za*, abl.-instr. *ṽa-aš-ku-ul-<sup>1</sup>-li-im-ma-a-ti*).

See Weitenberg 1984: 270 for attestations. This word occurs in NH and NS texts only. It shows *u*-stem forms (e.g. acc.sg. *uaškun*) as well as *i*-stem forms (e.g. acc.sg. *uaškuin*), but it cannot be determined which inflection is more original. The one attestation with gloss wedge, namely  $\text{𐎠 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠}$  (ABoT 56 iv 6) is interpreted by Starke (1990: 180) as a Luwian nom.-acc.sg.-form *uaškui=ša* of a Luwian neuter stem *uaškuit-*. According to Starke, the forms that show a Hitt. stem *uaškui-* are based on an adaptation of this Luwian word. The Hittite forms that show a *u*-stem *uašku-* are, according to Starke, borrowed from CLuw. *\*uašku(i)-* (a commune word with *i*-Motion), the stem of which is still visible in CLuw. *uašku(ua)llimma/i-* (adj.) ‘sinful’. The fact that Hitt. *uašku(i)-* is attested in NS texts only, supports these assumptions.

Eichner (1974: 71) suggests that CLuw. *uaškait-* and *\*uašku(i)-* are the regular outcomes of a stem *\*uastu-* (showing a development *\*tu > ku*), which he connects with Hitt. Hitt. *uašta-<sup>i</sup> / uašt-* ‘to sin’ and its derivative *uštul-*, *uaštul-* ‘sin’. Although a Luwian development *\*tu > ku* is hard to prove (cf. Melchert 1994a: 274), this suggestion may offer an attractive explanation of the semantic similarity between the Luwian and the Hittite words. Note that besides the extended stem *\*uast-u-* CLuwian also possesses the unextended stem *uašta-*, which is cited under the lemma *uašta-<sup>i</sup> / uašt-*. See there, too, for an etymological treatment.

(TÚG) **uašpa-** (c.) ‘clothing’ (Sum. TÚG<sup>(?)</sup>): nom.sg. *ua-aš-ša-pa-aš* (KBo 35.109, 6, KUB 27.28 i 7), acc.sg. *ua-aš-pa-an* (KBo 17.93 obv. 11 (MS), KUB 31.69 obv.<sup>2</sup> 5, 6); broken *ua-aš-ša-pa[-...]* (KBo 8.114 obv. 8).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **uašpant-** ‘wearing shrouds(?)’ (gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *ua-aš-pa-an-ta-aš-ši-in-zī*).

PIE *\*uos-b<sup>h</sup>o-?*

This word occurs a few times only, e.g.

KUB 31.69 obv.<sup>2</sup>

(4) [*ma-a-an*<sup>d</sup> *IŠTA*]R<sup>URU</sup> *La-ua-za-an-ti-ia* GAŠAN=*I*A A-NA<sup>d</sup> UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> I-NA K[UR  
<sup>URU</sup> *Ar-za-u-ua*]

(5) [*pé-an hu-u*]-*i-ia-ši tu-el=za ua-aš-pa-an* LÚ-aš *i-ua-ar ua-aš-ši-ī*[*a-ši*]

(6) [MUNUS-š]a=za *i-ua-ar ua-aš-ši-ia-ši tu-el=za ua-aš-pa-an* NÍ.TE-š[*i ...*]

‘When you, Ištar of Lauzantija, My Lady, rush forth to My Majesty in the land of Arzaa, you put on your *u*. like a man, and you put (it) on like a woman. And your *u*. on your body [...]’;

KBo 8.114 obv.

(7) *nu*<sup>d</sup>LUGAL=*pát* *ua-aš-ša-an-z[i* ... ]

(8) *A-NA*<sup>d</sup>LUGAL=*ma* *ua-aš-ša-pa[-* ... ]

‘They clothe Šarruma. [...] to Šarruma a *uaššapa*[- ... ]’.

On the basis of the contextual evidence, Goetze (1955: 50-1) suggested that *uašpa*- must be the word underlying the sumerogram TÚG ‘clothes’.

As Goetze already noticed, the word seems to be derived from the verb *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>*, *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to clothe’. Watkins (1969b) compares *uašpa*- to Lat. *vespillo* ‘undertaker < \*dresser (of dead bodies)’ (cf. the fact that CLuw. *uašpant*- is found in a negative (funereal) context) and reconstructs \**uos-po*-. The several Hitt. attestations *ua-aš-ša-pa*- seem to point to phonological /uaSba-/ which then must reflect \**uos-b<sup>(h)</sup>o*-.

Goetze (l.c.) points to the fact that the plural form TÚG<sup>HLA</sup> appears with commune as well as neuter adjectives, which shows that *uašpa*-, although basically commune, could form a coll.pl. in *-a* as well.

***uašta-<sup>i</sup>* / *uašt-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to sin, to offend’: 2sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-ta-at-ti* (KUB 6.44 iv 32 (NH)), *ua-aš-ta-ši* (NH, often), *ua-aš-ta-a-ši* (NH, 2x), 3sg.pres.act. [*u*]a-aš-ta-i (KBo 9.73 obv. 6 (OS)), *ú-ua-aš-ta-i* (KBo 3.28 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ua-aš-ta-i* (KUB 13.8 obv. 12 (MH/NS)), *ua-aš-da-a-i* (KUB 23.68+ obv. 28 (MH/NS)), *ua-aš-ti* (KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 iii 60 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-aš-ta-an-zi* (KBo 16.47 i 8 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ua-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 14.11 + 650/u iii 29 (NH)), *ua-aš-da-ḫu-un* (KUB 26.32 i 11 (NH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *ua-aš-ta-at-ta* (KUB 33.24 i 33 (OH/NS)), *ua-aš-ta-aš* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *ua-aš-ta-at-te-en* (KBo 16.27 i 23 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ua-aš-te-er* (NH), *ua-aš-ti-er* (NH); verb.noun *ua-aš-du-mar* (KBo 4.14 ii 60, 64, 71); impf. *ua-aš-ta-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 23.72 obv. 36 (MH/MS)), *ua-aš-te-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 14.11 + 650/u iii 26 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***uaštanu-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib2) ‘to make into a sin, to regard as an offense’ (3sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-ta-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ua-aš-ta-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ua-aš-ta-nu-nu-un*; part. *ua-aš-ta-nu-ua-an-t-*), ***uaštaḫḫ-<sup>i</sup>*** (IIb) ‘to sin, to offend’ (impf. *ua-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 36.86 obv. 8 (NS))), ***uaštai-*** (c.) ‘sin, offense’ (nom.sg. *ua-aš-ta-i-iš* (KBo 4.3+ i 33 (NH)), *ua-aš-ta-iš* (KUB 21.19 iii

45 (NH), KUB 14.7 iv 2 (NH)), acc.sg. *ya-aš-ta-in* (KUB 23.99 obv. 5 (NH)), acc.pl. *ya-aš-ta-uš* (KBo 3.34 ii 24 (OH/NS), KUB 7.41 + KBo 10.45 + Bo 2072 + KUB 12.56 i 56 (MH/NS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *yašta-* (n.) ‘sin’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ya-aš-ta-an-za*, *ya-aš-ta-az-za*).

In the oldest texts, this verb clearly inflects according to the *tarna*-class. Forms that are inflected according to the *hatrae*-class (*yaštāši*) and the *-je/a*-class (*yaštier*) are found in NH texts only and are clearly secondary due to the high productivity of both the *hatrae*- and the *-je/a*-class in this period. Within Hittite, the noun *uštul-*, *yaštul-* ‘sin’ clearly is a derivative, and shows that originally this verb must have had a weak stem *ušt-*. Because Hittite did not tolerate an inner-paradigmatic alternance between  $\#uVC$  and  $\#uC$  (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.b), the original paradigm  $*yašta^{-i} / ušt-$  was altered to *yašta^{-i} / yašt-* with generalization of the full-grade stem.

Verbs that belong to the *tarna*-class can go back to three different structures:  $*CR\text{-no-}H\text{-}$ ,  $*Ce\text{-}C(R)oH\text{-}$  or  $*CoRCh_{2/3}\text{-}$  (see § 2.2.2.2.d for these types). In the case of *yašta-* only the latter type is applicable, which indicates that *yašta^{-i} / \*ušt-* mechanically goes back to  $*uósTh_{2/3}\text{-}ei / *usTh_{2/3}\text{-}énti$ . I know of no convincing IE cognates. Catsanicos (1991) unconvincingly argues that Hitt. *yašta-* is cognate with Gr. ἄατη ‘error, sin’ and reconstructs  $*h_2umst\text{-}$  (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 50). The latter word is more likely a verbal noun of Gr. ἄαω ‘to damage’, however, which reflects  $*h_2ueh_2\text{-}$  or  $*h_2euh_2\text{-}$  and may be connected with Lyc. *qa-* ‘to destroy’ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

See at *yašku(i)-* for possible Luwian cognates.

**-yašta(ri), -yaštati** (1pl.midd.-endings): 1pl.pres.midd.: *ar-ya-aš-ta* (KUB 17.21 iv 5 (MH/MS), KBo 16.27 ii 3 (MH/MS)), *u-ya-u-ya-aš-ta-ri* (KBo 16.59 i 7 (NS)), *e-šu-ya-aš-ta* (KUB 31.143 ii 36 (OS), KUB 12.66 iv 10 (OH/NS)), *e-šu-aš-ta* (KBo 16.25 i 71 (MH/MS)), *e-šu-ya-aš-ta-ti* (KBo 3.7 iv 7 (OH/NS), KUB 24.8 iv 6 (OH/NS), KUB 33.106 ii 13, 14 (NS)), *i-ja-u-ya-aš-ta[(-)...]* (KBo 17.48 obv. 6 (MS)), *pa-aḫ-šu-ya-aš-ta* (KBo 16.27 iii 16 (MH/MS), KUB 19.25 i 13 (fr.) (NH)), *[š]a-li-ku-ya-aš-ta-ti* (KBo 3.45, 9 (OH/NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫi-ja-u-ya-aš-ta* (KUB 31.44 ii 15 (MH/NS), 777/v, 3 (fr.) (NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫi-ja-u-ya-aš-ta-ti* (KBo 3.4 ii 13 (NH), KBo 12.27 iii 5 (NH), KUB 21.10, 9 (NH), KBo 14.6, 15 (NH)); 1pl.pret.midd.: *ar-ya-aš-ta-at* (KBo 16.59 obv. 14 (NS), KUB 23.115, 13 (MH/NS), 500/u, 7 (“erg.”) (MS)), *e-eš-šu-ya-aš-ta-ti* (1490/u 14 (NS)), *[šu-]up-pa-ri-ja-u-ya-aš-ta-ti* (KUB 8.48 i 1 (NS)).

The present-ending is found in three different forms, *-ušta*, *uštati* and *-uštari*. It is clear that of these forms *-ušta* is the more original one (attested in OS and MS texts), whereas *-uštati* and *-uštari* are found in NS texts only (see also Yoshida 1987 for this distribution). Note that *-uštari* is attested only once vs. 8 times *-uštati*. In the preterite, we find *-uštāt* and *-uštati*. Almost all of these are found in NS texts, except possibly for *ar-ua-aš-ta-at* that Neu (1968: 5) cites in 500/u, 7 (MS, according to Košak 2005c: 162), but with the comment “(erg.)”. Does this mean that the whole form is added, or only a part of it?

Etymologically, this ending should be compared with Skt. *-mahe*, *-mahi*, Gr.  $-\mu\epsilon(\sigma)\theta\alpha$ , TochAB *-mtär*, which point to  $*-me(s)-d^h h_2$ . The *-u-* found in Hittite is comparable to 1pl.act. *-uēn(i)*, *-uani* (q.v.). This means that Hitt. *-ušta* reflects (virtual)  $*-uos-d^h h_2$  or  $*-uos-d^h h_2o$  (with secondary *-o* in analogy to the other middle endings).

**uštul-**: see *uštul-*

**uattai-** (c.) ‘bird’ (Sum. MUŠEN): nom.pl. *ua-at-ta-e-eš* (KBo 4.2 ii 32 (OH/NS)).

This word occurs only once, in

KBo 4.2 ii

(31) ... nu ki-i[š-ša-an me-ma-i]

(32) *ku-i-e-eš=ua ha-tu-ga-e-eš ua-at-ta-e-eš nu=ua=aš[=ša-an ...]*

‘he speaks as follows: “Whatever terrible *uattai*-s (there are), them [...]”’.

Because of the occurrence of *hatugi-* MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup> ‘terrible birds’ in

ibid. i

(16) *nu=ua i-it-tén h[a-t]u-ga-uš* MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup> *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-te-en*

(17) *nu=kán ke-e* NUMUN<sup>[III.]<sup>A</sup></sup> *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ki-iš-ta-ri*

*kal-la-a-ra=ja«-ra-ja»=kán*

(18) *ud-da-a-ar ha-tu-ga-ú-š=a* MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup> *QA-TAM-MA ki-iš-ta-ru*

‘You must go and exterminate the terrible birds. Just as these seeds are exterminated, may likewise the inauspicious words and the terrible birds be exterminated’.

Friedrich (1927: 190<sup>1</sup>) suggests that *uattašš* may be the phonetical spelling of MUŠEN<sup>HIA</sup>. This suggestion is generally accepted.

Because of the diphthong-stem, it is likely that this word is inherited. Nevertheless, I do not know of any cognates.

*uātar* / *uitēn-* (n.) ‘water’ (Sum. A, Akk. *MŪ*, *MĒ*): nom.-acc.sg. *ua-a-tar* (OS), *ua-tar* (OS), gen.sg. *ú-ú<sub>3</sub>-te-na-aš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ú-i-te-e-ni* (MH/MS), *ú-e-te-ni* (MH/NS), all.sg. *ú-e-te-na* (MH/NS), erg.sg. *ú-e-ti-na-an-za(-)* (MH/NS), instr. *ú-i-ta-an-ta* (OS), *ú-i-da-an-da* (OS), *ú-e-da-an-da* (MH/NS), *ú-e-da-an-ta* (undat.), *ú-i-te-ni-it* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ú-i-ta-a-ar* (OS), *ú-e-da-ar* (OS), *ú-e-da-a-ar* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ú-i-te-na-aš* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: see also *uida-* ‘wet’.

IE cognates: Skt. *udán-*, Gr. *ὔδωρ*, Umbr. *utur*, OCS *voda*, Goth. *wato*, ON *vatn*, OSax. *watar*, OHG *wazzar* ‘water’.

PIE *\*uód-r*, *ud-én-*

The etymological tie-in of this word with the other IE words for ‘water’ (especially OSax. *watar*) was one of the keys to deciphering the Hittite language and has generally been accepted since then. The paradigm shows two stems, nom.-acc.sg. *uātar* besides obl. *uitēn-*. Since Schindler (1975a: 4-5) these stems have been explained as reflecting a static paradigm *\*uód-r*, *\*uéd-n-*.

See now Kloekhorst (fthc.b), however, for my view that the PIE paradigm of ‘water’ was not static, but proterodynamic (*\*uód-r*, *\*ud-én-*) and that Hitt. *uitēn-* must be phonologically interpreted as */uidén-/*, the phonetic outcome of *\*udén-*, which form shows an analogical restored consonantal *\*u-* instead of expected vocalic *\*u-* in analogy to nom.-acc. *\*uodr*. The basis of this analogy is the fact that alternation between initial consonantal *u* and vocalic *u* was not tolerated in Hittite (cf. e.g. *uekk-<sup>zi</sup>* and *uttar*, *uttan-*).

*uattarije/a-<sup>ta(ri)</sup>* (IIIg) ‘?’: 3sg.imp.med. *ua-at-ta-ri-et-ta-ru* (KBo 12.96 i 15).

This verb occurs only once:

KBo 12.96 i

(14) [*ma-a-a*]n ŠA<sup>URU</sup> *La-la-an-da me-ma-i nu la-la-at-ta-ru*

(15) [*ma-a-a*]n ŠA<sup>URU</sup> *Ua-at-tar-ua me-ma-i nu ua-at-ta-ri-et-ta-ru*

‘If (someone) from the city Lalanda speaks, he must be *l*.-ed. If (someone) from Ūattarūa speaks, he must be *u*.-ed’.

From this context alone, a meaning cannot be determined. HW, Erg. 3: 36 glosses it with ‘quellen(?)’, but this meaning is based on the formal similarity with *uattaru-* ‘source, well’ only and has no merit. It is quite possible that we are dealing with a nonce-formation, created on the basis of the city name Ūattarūa.

<sup>NINDA</sup>*uatarmašši-* (c.) a kind of bread: acc.pl. <sup>NINDA</sup>*ua-tar-ma-aš-ši-uš* (KUB 55.54 obv. 17).

The suffix *-ašši-* could point to a Luwian origin. The exact meaning of this word is unclear, so no further etymology.

*uātarnahh<sup>i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to order, to instruct’: 1sg.pres.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥi* ((KBo 11.1 obv. 20) (NH)), *ua-a-tar-na-ah-mi* (KBo 18.76 rev. 8 (NH)), *ua-tar-na-ah-mi* (KBo 18.76 rev. 13 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ua-a-tar-na-ah-ḥi* (KUB 2.2 iii 37 (OH/NS)), *ua-a-tar-na-ah-zi* (VSNF 12.114 obv. 7 (NS)), *ua-tar-na-ah-zi* (KUB 26.12 ii 26 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥa-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ua-a-tar-na-ah-ḥu-un*, *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥi-iš* (KBo 3.38 obv. 23 (OH/NS)), *ua-a-tar-na-ah-ta* (KBo 14.1 rev. 87 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥu-u-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *ua-tar-na-ah-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ua-a-tar-na-ah-ḥe-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ua-a-tar-na-ah* (MH/MS); part. *ua-a-tar-na-ah-ḥa-an-t*, *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥa-an-t*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥu-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥu-u-ua-an-zi*, impf. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥe-eš-ke/a-*, *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *uātarnahha-* ‘message, instruction’ (abl. *ua-tar-na-ah-ḥa-az* (KBo 12.85 ++ i 27 (MH/NS))).

This verb shows forms both with *mi-* and *ḥi-* conjugation endings. Nevertheless, it is likely that just as the other verbs in *-ahh-*, *uātarnahh-* was *ḥi-* conjugated originally. The etymology of this word is unclear. Often (e.g. Eichner 1980: 126, 146<sup>69</sup>), the verb is compared to *uttar* / *uttan-* ‘word, speech’, but it is difficult to reconcile the geminate spelling of *uttar* with the single spelling of *uātarnahh-*. Eichner states that *uātarnahh-* is derived from a part. *\*uadarnant-*, which is syncopated from *\*uadarienant-*, itself a derivative in *-nant-* of a verb *\*uadarijé-*, which is a denominative derivative of *\*uaddar-*, the preform of *uttar* ‘word’. This account is incorrect, for several reasons: (1) I know of no derivatives in *-je/a-* that show a lenited stop vs. the fortified stop of the ground word; (2) I know of no

deverbal derivatives in *-nant-*; and (3) I know of no syncopes of *-je-*. All in all, I see no possibility to etymologically connect *uātarnahh-* with *uttar / uttan-* ‘word, speech’, although I am not able to offer an alternative solution.

**uat(ta)ru-** (n.) ‘well, source’ (Sum. TÚL): nom.-acc.sg. *ua-at-ta-ru* (KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 (StBoT 25: 188) iii 21 (OS), KUB 8.41 iii 14 (fr.) (OS)), *ua-at-ru* (KBo 40.34, 5 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *ua-at-ru-aš* (KBo 8.41 ii 3 (OS)), *ua-at-ta-ru-aš* (KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 ii 11 (OS), Bo 4767 (StBoT 25: 180), 4 (OS)), [*ua-at-*]*ta-ru-ua-aš* (KBo 25.112 iii 8 (OS)), all.sg. *ua-at-tar-ua* (KBo 3.7 iv 12 (OH/NS), KUB 17.6 iv 9 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ua-at-tar-ú-i* (KBo 24.12 obv. 6 (NS)), TÚL-*i* (KUB 12.66 iv 15 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.(?) [*ua-at-ta*]*r<sup>2</sup>-ua?* (KUB 19.37 iii 54).

PIE *\*uot(H)-ru-*

Already in OS texts, where the word is attested multiple times, we find a spelling *uattaru-* besides *uatru-*, probably indicating phonological /uatru-/.

Etymologically, it is tempting to connect this word with *uātar / uītēn-* ‘water’ (thus e.g. Weitenberg 1984: 195), but this is impossible in view of the geminate spelling of *-tt-* in *uattaru-*, which points to an etymological *\*t*, which contrasts with the etymological *\*d* in *uātar < \*uódr*. One could argue that *uattaru-* reflects Luw. *\*uéd-ru-* (with Čop’s Law causing geminate *-tt-*), but because of the abundant attestations in OS texts already, a foreign origin of this word is not likely. Moreover, *\*ued-* would probably have yielded CLuw. *\*\*uid-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262). So, although I know of no IE cognates, I would reconstruct this word mechanically as *\*uot(H)-ru-*.

**uatku-<sup>zi</sup>** (Ia4) ‘to jump (out of), to flee’: 3sg.pres.act. *ua-at-ku-uz-zi* (often), *ua-at-ku-zi* (often), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-at-ku-ua-an-zi*, *ua-at-ku-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-at-ku-ut-ta* (KBo 25.122 ii 5 (OS), HKM 64 rev. 15 (MH/MS)), *ua-at-ku-ut* (Güterbock 1952: first tablet i 17, iii 18, third tablet i 5, iv 21), 3pl.pret.act. *ua-at-ku-e-er* (KBo 18.57 rev. 39), 2sg.imp.act. *ua-at-ku* (KBo 47.7 obv. 13 (MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ua-at[-ku-an-tu]* (KBo 25.122 ii 6 (OS)); 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *ua-at-ku-at-ta* (KBo 13.137, 11), *ua-at-ku-ut-ta* (KUB 31.111, 5), *ua-at-ku-it-ta* (KUB 30.67, 6), 2sg.imp.midd. *ua-at-ka-aḥ-ḥu-ut* (KBo 5.3+ iii 50), *ua-at-ga-aḥ-ḥ[u-ut]* (KUB 19.24 rev. 31); part. *ua-at-ku-ua-an-t-*; verb.noun *ua-at-ku-ua-ar* (KUB 26.12 iv 40, KUB 21.43 iv 8); impf. *ua-at-ku-uš-ke/a-* (StBoT 14.16 iv 15 (MH/NS)).



Derivatives: *uatkunu*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to make jump, to make flee’ (3sg.pres.act. *ua-at-ku-nu-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ua-at-ku-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-at-ku-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *ua-at-ku-nu-e-er*, *ua-at-ku-nu-er*).

PIE \**uétk*<sup>w</sup>-*ti*

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This verb is attested quite often, a few times in OS texts already. It shows a stem *uatku*- throughout its forms. Only the 2sg.imp.midd.-forms *uatkahhut*, *uatgahhut* (duplicates of each other) are aberrant, but according to Neu (1968: 195), these forms are modelled after the form *uṣgahhut* which precedes in the text. The 3sg.pres.midd. *ua-at-ku-it-ta* (or *ua-at-ku-et-ta*) is, according to Oettinger (1979a: 337<sup>161</sup>), a rebuilding in analogy to the *-ue*-class.

Oettinger (1979a: 237) convincingly suggests that *uatku*- has to be interpreted as /*uatk*<sup>w</sup>-, which is supported by 3sg.pret.act. *uatkutta* (the ending *-tta* is used only when the stem ends in consonant whereas *-t* is used when the stem ends in vowel, e.g. 3sg.pret.act. *arnut*: note that the spelling *ua-at-ku-ut* occurs in the Song of Ullikummi (Güterbock 1952) only).

Čop (1955c: 69, followed by e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 237) assumes that /*uatk*<sup>w</sup>-/ reflects \**uo-tk*<sup>w</sup>-, of which the latter part is the zero-grade of the root \**tek*<sup>w</sup>- ‘to walk, to hurry’ (Skt. *tak*- etc.). Melchert (1994a: 95) reconstructs \**u'é/ót*<sup>w</sup>-, apparently assuming that \**uetk*<sup>w</sup>-, too, would yield *uatk*<sup>w</sup>- (similarly *takš*<sup>-zi</sup> ‘to undertake, to unify’ < \**teks*-). If so, then *uatku*- could reflect \**ue-tk*<sup>w</sup>-, of which the prefix \**ue*- possibly is identical to the prefix found in *uete*<sup>-zi</sup> / *uet*- ‘to build’. If *uatku*- does not reflect a univerted verb, however, we have to reckon with a root \**uetk*<sup>w</sup>-, which is structurally comparable to e.g. \**h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>*- (see at *hatk*<sup>-i</sup>) or \**tek*<sup>-</sup> ‘to create’ (although the latter probably goes back to an old reduplication of \**tek*<sup>-</sup> ‘to procreate’).

<sup>GIŠ</sup> *uaṣarkima*- (c.) object in which the door-ax is fixed and turns: nom.sg. *ua-ua-ar-ki-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *ua-ua-ar-ki-ma-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ua-ua-ar-ki-mi*, abl. *ua-ua-ar-ki-ma-za* (KUB 32.120, 3); uninfl.? *ua-ua-ar-ki-ma* (KUB 17.10 iv 10).

IE cognates: Gr. εἶργω, ἐέργω ‘to enclose, to encompass’, Skt. *vrjána*- ‘community, enclosure of a community’.

PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>uorǵ*- ?

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This word was determined as “Türangel” by Otten (1952: 235), a translation which still often can be found. Boysan-Dietrich (1987: 128f.) shows that the word means either ‘Drehzapfen’ or ‘Drehpfanne’, however, e.g. in

KBo 21.6 obv. (with dupl. KBo 25.193 obv.<sup>?</sup> 3f.)

- (1) [EGIR-a]n-da=ma-a=z [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]u-a-u-a-ar-ki-ma-an ŠA IM [ ]da-a-i  
 (2) [n=a-an=]ši=kán A-NA SAG.DU=ŠU an-da ap-pí-iš-ke-ez-zi  
 (3) [<sup>MUNUS</sup>]ŠU.GI=ma ki-iš-ša-an hu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi
- 
- (4) [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]u-a-u-a-]ar-ki-ma-aš ta-me-tar-u-a-an-za EGIR-an ke-e-da-ni tar-ru-u [ ... ]  
 (5) [ke-]e-da-ni tar-ru-u pa-ra-a-an iš-tap-pé-er EGIR-an da-ma-[aš-šer]
- 
- (6) [ma-]ah-ḥa-an=ma-a=š-ša-an <sup>GIŠ</sup>IG <sup>GIŠ</sup>u-a-u-a-ar-ki-mi ú-e-[eḥ-zi i-da-a-lu-uš]  
 (7) [U]D-az ma-ni-in-ku-u-a-an-za MU-za DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš kar-pí-iš pa-an-[ga-u-u-a-aš  
 EME-aš]  
 (8) KASKAL-az EGIR-pa ne-[ia-ru]

‘She takes a *u*. of clay and holds it on his head. The Old Woman conjures as follows. “The powerful<sup>9</sup> *u*. [...-s] afterward *tarrū* for this one. They have stopped the breath *tarrū* for this one. They oppressed back. Just as the door turns in the *u*., let the evil day (and) the short year (and) anger of the gods turn back from every road”’.

Boysan-Dietrich also adduces the following context, where *uauarkima-* is added, however:

KBo 12.112 rev.

- (11) ... nu=u-a-a=š-ša-an <sup>GIŠ</sup>IG GIM-an  
 (12) [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]u-a-u-a-ar-ki-mi ú-e-ḥ]a-qt-ta DUMU-la-aš-š=a=u-a-a=š-ša-an an-ni-i=š-ši  
 (13) [an-da-an QA-TAM-MA] ú-e-ḥa-at-ta-ru

‘Just as a door turns [in a *u*.], [likewise] the child must turn [inside] his mother’.

She also cites

KBo 24.71

- (11) [... ša-]ra-a-az-zi u-a-u-a-ar-ki-mi kat-te-r[i DINGIR]<sup>MEŠ</sup> dan-ku-i  
 da-ga-an-z[i-pí ...]

which would indicate that there was an ‘upper’ *u*.

In my view, we have to interpret *uauarkima-* as that part of the threshold or door-post in which the door-ax is fixed and turns. Perhaps it denotes some kind of wooden bearing between the wooden ax and the stone threshold.

An enigmatic attestation is

KUB 17.10 iv

- (8) *pa-id-du* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pi-nu-ua-aš kar-pi-iš kar-di-mi-ja-az ua-aš-du-ul*  
 (9) *ša-a-u-ar pár-na-an-z=a-at tar-na-ú iš-tar-ni-ja-š=a-at an-na-aš-na-an-za*  
 (10) *tar-na-ú* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*lu-ut-ta-an-z=a-at tar-na-ú ua-ua-ar-ki-ma iš-tar-ni-ja-š=a-at*  
 (11) *hi-la-aš tar-na-ú KÁ.GAL=at tar-na-ú hi-lam-na-an-z=a-at tar-na-ú*

‘It must go, the wrath, anger, desolation and rage of Telipinu. The house must let them go. The inner *annaššar* must let them go. The window must let them go. *u*.. The inner courtyard must let them go. The big gate must let them go. The gatehouse must let them go’.

It is remarkable that *uaarkima*, which apparently is uninflected, seems to fall outside the sentences here.

Etymologically, the word is often connected with the verb for ‘to turn’ that is reconstructed as *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerg-* (Hitt. *hurki-* ‘wheel’, Skt. *vāṛj-*). The assumption is then that the *\*h<sub>2</sub>* is lost in *uaarkima-* because of the *o*-grade: *\*h<sub>2</sub>uorg-* > *\*uorg-* > *uark-*. This connection is not that likely on semantic grounds, however: the *uaarkima-* did not turn itself, but the door was turning in the *uaarkima-*.

In my view, other connections are possible as well, e.g. with Gr. *ἐέργω, εἶργω* ‘to enclose, to encompass’ (*\*h<sub>1</sub>uerg-*): the *uaarkima-* is, of course, the object in which the door-ax is fixed. Note that a development *\*h<sub>1</sub>uo-* > Hitt. *ua-* is supported by e.g. *\*h<sub>1</sub>uorso-* > Hitt. *uarša-* ‘fog, mist’ (cf. § 1.4.5.a).

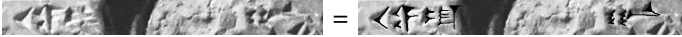
See Oettinger 2001 for the suffix *-ima-*.

**ue-<sup>d</sup> / uua-** (Ic4) ‘to come’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-mi* (OS), *ú-ua-am-mi* (2x), *ú-ua-a-mi* (1x), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-ši* (OS), *ú-ua-a-ši* (1x), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ez-zi* (OS, 6x), *ú-ez-zi* (OS, often), *ú-ua-az-zi* (rare), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-u-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *ú-ua-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), *ú-ua-at-te-e-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-en-zi* (OS, later rare), *ú-ua-an-zi* (OS, later often), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-ua-nu-un* (MH/MS), *ú-ua-a-nu-un* (1x), 2sg.pret.act. *ú-ua-aš*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-et* (OS), *ú-et* (OS), *ú-i-it* (KBo 25.123, 4), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-ua-u-en* (OS), 2pl.pret.act. *ú-ua-at-tén*, *ú-ua-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-er* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *e-ḫu* (q.v.), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-ed-du*, *ú-ua-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ú-ua-at-te-en* (OS), *ú-ua-at-tén*, *ú-ua-tén*, *ú-et-te-en* (KBo 3.41, 22 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-ua-an-du*; part. *ú-ua-an-t-*; inf.I *ú-ua-u-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *ú-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-iš-ke/a-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **uui-** ‘to come’ (2sg.pres.act. *a-ú-i-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ú-i-ti*, *a-úi<sub>5</sub>-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ú-i-ḫa*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ú-i-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ú-i-in-ta*, *a-ú-i-en-ta*, *a-ú-in-t[a]*, 2sg.imp.act.(?) *a-úi<sub>5</sub>*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ú-i-du*, *a-úi<sub>5</sub>-du*, *a-ú-i-*

*du=r*; part. *a-ú-i-im-mi-iš*, *a-ú-i-(im)-mi-[iš]*, *a-ú-i-im-ma-an*); HLuw. *úwi-* ‘to come’ (3sg.pres.act. *ʔawidi/ á-wa/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A5a §11, KÜRTÜL §3), *á-wa/i+ra/i* (PALANGA §11), 3sg.pret.act. *ʔawida/ á-wa/i-tà-* (SULTANHAN §5), 3sg.(?)pret. <sup>“PES”</sup> *á-wa/i-tà*, 3pl.imp.act. *ʔawintul á-wa/i-i-tu* (KULULU 1 §13)).

PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou + \*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ti / \*h<sub>1</sub>i-énti*

All forms of this verb are spelled with initial *Ú-*. Beckman (1983: 34) cites a form *u-ya-a[t-te-]in* (KBo 17.62+63 iv 7) that he translates as ‘come!’, but the photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk) clearly does not support this reading: : the gap between *-a[t-..]* and *[..]in* is far too large to support this reading. Perhaps we are dealing here with a middle form of *au-<sup>i</sup> / u-* ‘to see’ (q.v.), which occasionally is spelled with initial *U-*. Note that the imperfective of *ue-<sup>zi</sup> / uya-*, which is spelled with initial *ú-* (*ú-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-iš-ke/a-*) is clearly kept distinct from the imperfective of *uġe-<sup>zi</sup> / uġ-* ‘to send’, which is spelled with initial *u-* (*u-i-eš-ke/a-*, *u-i-iš-ke/a-*, *u-iš-ke/a-*, *u-e-eš-ke/a-*, *u-i-e-eš-ke/a-*). The former represents phonological *ʔuiské/á-/*, whereas the latter represents *ʔoiiské/á-/ > ʔoiské/á-/* and, with analogical introduction of the strong stem, *ʔoieske/a-/*. Some of the forms of the paradigm of *ue-<sup>zi</sup> / uya-* are identical to forms of the paradigm *au-<sup>i</sup> / u-* ‘to see’ (q.v.). The hapax *ú-i-it* (KBo 25.123, 4) with *-i-* instead of normal *uġet* is found in a text that contains the equally aberrant *ha-an-ti-iz-zi-an* instead of normal *hantezzian* (cf. Melchert 1984a: 93).

Synchronically, *ue- / uya-* inflects according to class Ic4, verbs in *-uġe/a-* (note that the occasional spellings *ú-ya-a-mi* and *ú-ya-a-ši* may have to be regarded as inflecting according to the *hatrae*-class). Usually, these verbs are denominatives in *\*-ġe/o-* that are derived from *u*-stem nouns. It is clear that this is not the origin of *ue- / uya-*, however. From a semantic point of view, it is obvious that *ue- / uya-* is the *u*-counterpart of *paiġi-<sup>zi</sup> / pai-* ‘to go’ (q.v.). Just as this latter verb is a compound of the preverb *pe-* (*\*h<sub>1</sub>poi-*) and the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-*, *ue-<sup>zi</sup> / uya-* must originally have been a univerbation of the preverb *u-* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>ou-*) and the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-*. Exactly when this univerbation was created is not fully clear. Apparently, it happened at the time that *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* had already monophthongized to *ʔu/*. Moreover, because in *hujanzi* ‘they run’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>énti* the cluster *\*h<sub>1</sub>i* intervocalically yielded OH *-ġ-*, we must assume that the initial laryngeal of *\*h<sub>1</sub>énti* ‘they go’ had already been lost. So, in 3pl.pres.act. the univerbation took place between the elements *\*ʔu/* and *\*iánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, which yielded pre-Hitt. *\*ʔuiánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, which regularly developed into OH *ʔuánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, spelled *ú-ya-an-zi*. In 3sg.pres.act. and 3sg.pret.act.,

which were *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-ti* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi-t* in PIE, we are dealing with the univerbation of the elements *\*/ʔu/* and *\*/ʔét<sup>s</sup>i/* and *\*/ʔét/*, which formed pre-Hitt. *\*/ʔuʔét<sup>s</sup>i/* and */ʔuʔét/*, which regularly yielded OH */ʔuét<sup>s</sup>i/*, spelled *ú-e-ez-zi* and */ʔuét/*, spelled *ú-e-et*. On the basis of */ʔuét<sup>s</sup>i/* : */ʔuánt<sup>s</sup>i/*, the verb was reinterpreted as a thematic verb belonging to class Ic4, on the basis of which secondary forms like 1sg.pres.act. *ú-ua-mi* */ʔuámi/* were created. Note that like in other thematic verbs, the thematic vowel *-e-* received some productivity in the OH period, on the basis of which the OS form *ú-en-zi* was created.

In Luwian, the univerbation between *\*h<sub>2</sub>ou* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>ei-* took place when the former element still contained a diphthong, so *\*/ʔau/*. On the basis of the fact that in CLuwian we find a stem *au-*, the HLUwian verb *áwa/i-*, which is spelled with the ambiguous sign *wa/i*, must be read *áwi-* as well.

**ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah<sup>-</sup>** (Ia3; IIIa > IIIb, IIIh) ‘to turn (oneself); to patrol’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-eh-mi* (KBo 12.103 i 16 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-eh-zi* (OS, very often), *ua-ah-zi* (KUB 1.13 i 49 (MH/NS)), *ua-ah-hu-zi* (KBo 3.5 iii 4 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ha-an-zi* (OS, very often), *ú-e-ha-an-zi* (KBo 11.1 i 33 (NH), KUB 25.37 ii 22 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-hu-un* (KUB 23.11 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-eh-ta* (KUB 33.106 iii 46 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-e-ha-ad-du* (KUB 12.17, 10 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-e-ha-an-du* (KUB 7.1 ii 34 (OH/NS)); 1sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ha-ah-h[a]* (KUB 36.75 iii 18 (OH/MS) (cited by HW: 250 as *uehahha[ri]*, but there is no indication for the sign RI), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ha-at-ta* (KBo 32.13 ii 12 (MH/MS), KUB 7.1 ii 33 (OH/NS), KUB 9.25 + 27.67 iii 5, 53, 58, iv 13 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-ha-at-ta-ri* (KUB 33.103 iii 6 (MH/NS), KUB 9.31+ i 12 (NS)), *ú-e-eh-ta-ri* (KUB 13.4 iii 20 (OH/NS), KBo 3.3+ ii 18 (NH), KBo 4.12 rev. 11 (NH), KUB 19.41+ ii 22 (NH), KUB 21.38 obv. 31 (NH)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ú-e-ha-an-ta* (OS), *ú-e-ha-an-ta-ri*, *ú-e-ha-an-da(-ri)*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-ha-at-ta-at* (KUB 4.1 i 14 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-eh-ta-at* (KUB 26.1 iii 18 (NH)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-e-ha-an-da-at* (KUB 32.68 ii 7 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-ha-at-ta-ru* (KBo 12.112 rev. 10, 13 (NS), KBo 4.6 obv. 15 (NH)), 3pl.imp.midd. *ú-e-ha-an-da-ru*; part.nom.sg.c. *ua-ha-an-za* (KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 iii 62), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ua-ha-a-an* (KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 ii 28); verb.noun *ú-e-hu-ua-ar*, gen. *ú-e-hu-ua-aš*; inf.II *ú-e-ha-an-na* (KUB 4.1 i 40, KUB 24.2 i 9); impf. *ú-e-he-eš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-hi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: **uahātar / uahann-**, **uehātar / uehann-** (n.) ‘turning’ (gen.sg. *ua-ha-an-n[a-aš]* (KBo 6.29 iii 23, HKM 26 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ha-an-na-aš* (KBo 6.28 ii 25)), **uahn<sup>-zi</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make turn, to turn (someone)’ (1sg.pres.act. *ua-ah-nu-mi* (OS), *ua-ah-nu-ú-mi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *ua-ah-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act.

*ua-ah-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *ua-ah-nu-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *ua-ah-nu-me-ni* (OS), *ua-ah-nu-um-me-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *ua-ah-nu-ut-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ah-nu-ua-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ua-ah-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ua-ah-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ua-ah-nu-ut*, 1pl.pret.act. *ua-ah-nu-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ua-ah-nu-e-er*, *ua-ah-nu-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ua-ah-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *ua-ah-nu-ud-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ua-ah-nu-ut[-tén]*, 3pl.imp.act. *ua-ah-nu-ua-an-du*; part. *ua-ah-nu-an-t*, *ua-ah-nu-ua-an-t*; verb.noun *ua-ah-nu-mar*; [*ua-*]*ah-nu-ua-u-ua-ar*, *ú-ua-ah-nu-ua-ar* (KBo 3.2 i 66 *passim*); verb.noun *ua-ah-nu-eš-sar*; inf.I *ua-ah-nu-ma-an-zi*; impf. *ua-ah-nu-uš-ke/a-*), <sup>LÚ</sup>*uehešgattalla-* (c.) ‘patrol’ (dat.-loc.pl. <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*ú-e-ḫe-eš-ga-at-tal-la-aš* (KUB 13.4 iii 12)).

PIE \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-o* ?

The active forms of this verb show an ablaut *ueh<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uah-*. Sometimes the verb is cited as *ueh-/uah(h)-* as well, which would imply that there are also forms with *uahh-*. This is not the case, however. The form 1pl.pres. *ua-ah-hu-u-e-ni* (189/v, 3 = KBo 19.110, 3), cited in Oettinger 1979a: 99, has to be read as [*ku-u*]t-ru-*ua-ah-hu-u-e-n[i]* ‘we summon as witness’ (cf. Oettinger 2002: XIX). To my knowledge, only the opaque 3sg.pres. *ua-ah-hu-zi* (KBo 3.25 iii 4, in the same context where ibid. iv 18 has *ú-e-eh-zi*) and the one attestation *ua-ah-ha-an-na* (KUB 36.80 i 7 (MH/NS), but note that the crucial signs are damaged) (versus many attestations *ua-ha-an-na*) show a geminate *-hh-*. These cannot nullify the dozens of attestations of *uah-* (many in OS) that are spelled with a single *-h-*.

Consensus has it that *ueh<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uah-* reflects a Narten-inflected verb \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-* / *ueh<sub>2</sub>-*. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 99) states: “*ú-e-ih-zi* [...] : *ua-ah-hu-u-e-ni* [...] geht auf \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-ti* : \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-uene-i* [...] zurück. Schon in der älteren Sprache dringt die Lenierung des *h* (*ua-ha-an-zi* [...]) und später auch der *e*-Vokalismus (*ú-e-ha-an-zi* [...]) aus dem Sg. ein”. This is unlikely for several reasons, however. The first reason is the fact that there are virtually no forms with *uahh-* attested. We find *uahanzi* from OS onwards, which contrasts with the fact that the preform \**ueh<sub>2</sub>nti* should regularly have given \*\**uahhanzi*. It therefore is often stated that 3pl. *uahanzi* took over the lenited *-h-* from the singular (as also Oettinger l.c.), but this is impossible. First, the \**h<sub>2</sub>* of the singular forms \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-mi*, \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-si* and \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-ti* would not get lenited as it is part of a cluster. Moreover, the \**h<sub>2</sub>* in these forms would have regularly been lost before consonant other than \**s*. So the regular outcome in Hittite of a PIE Narten-paradigm of a root \**ueh<sub>2</sub>-* would have been \*\*\**ue<sub>2</sub>mi*, \*\**ue<sub>2</sub>si*, \*\**ue<sub>2</sub>zi*, \*\**uah<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>eni*, \*\**u<sub>2</sub>atteni*, \*\**uah<sub>2</sub>hanzi* (if one accepts Eichner’s Law, which I reject, cf. § 1.4.9.2.b). I do not see how in this paradigm a lenited *-h-* could have been generalized in order to yield attested *uahanzi*.

Moreover, the reconstructed root *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>-* is based on the Hittite forms only. Reflexes of this root are unknown from any other IE language. All in all, I reject the theory that the active paradigm *ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah-* can be explained as the outcome of a Narten-inflected paradigm of a PIE root *\*ueh<sub>2</sub>-*.

We should rather go back to the etymology provided by Eichner (1973a: 76-7). The only way in which this verb could be regarded as of IE origin, is to start with the middle paradigm. Middle forms are attested in OS texts already, which means that the middle inflection is not necessarily derived of the active inflection. Unfortunately, it is not fully clear what the original 3sg.-form was: we find *uehatta(ri)* as well as *uehtari* (compare e.g. *šuppari*, *šuptari* and *šuppattari* ‘he sleeps’). On the basis of 1sg.pres.midd. *uehahha* and 3sg.pres.midd. *uehatta(ri)* it is certainly possible that the original form was *\*ueha(ri)*. If so, this form could in principle go back to a preform *\*ueih<sub>2</sub>-o*. Note that in this form the lenited /h/ would be regular. When on the basis of the middle stem *\*ueih<sub>2</sub>-* > Hitt. *ueh-* an active paradigm was created, it is in my view quite credible that in analogy to e.g. *eš<sup>-zi</sup> / aš-* ‘to be’ and the other *e/a*-ablauting *mi*-verbs this paradigm received a secondary ablaut *ueh<sup>-zi</sup> / uah-*.

If this scenario is correct, we should connect the root *\*ueih<sub>2</sub>-* to Skt. *vēti* ‘to pursue, to strife after’ (compare especially *vī́á-* ‘turned to’ for the semantics), Lith. *výti* ‘to pursue’, etc. (cf. also Eichner 1973: 77 and Kimball 1999: 211). Usually, these verbs are reconstructed as reflecting a root *\*ueih<sub>1</sub>-*, with a *\*h<sub>1</sub>* that is based on Gk. *ἔμμι* ‘to pursue’ (< *\*ḥ<sub>1</sub>éμμι*). The exact construction of *ἔμμι* is too uncertain to draw any conclusions on, however (cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. who states that this verb well may have been influenced by *ἵημι* ‘to send’).

***uekk<sup>-zi</sup>*** (Ia5) ‘to wish, to desire, to ask for’ (Sum. IR): 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ek-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ek-ti*, *ú-ek-ti* (KBo 19.74 iv 3), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ek-zi* (OS), *ú-ek-zi* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-ek-kán-zi* (KUB 27.66 ii 15 (NS)), *ú-e-ek-k[án-zi]* (HT 36 obv. 10 (NS)), *[ú-]e-ek-kán-zi* (HT 36 rev. 4 (NS)), *ú-e-ek-k[án-zi]* (KBo 29.69, 14 (NS)), *[ú-(e-)e]k-kán-zi* (KBo 15.64 i 1 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-kán-zi* (KUB 59.69, 4 (NS), KBo 19.133, 6 (NS), KUB 51.79 iv 18 (NS), KUB 58.43 i 13 (NS), KUB 45.65, 6 (NS)), *ú-e-kán-z[i]* (KUB 17.24 iii 8 (NS)), *[ú-]e-ga-an-zi* (KBo 45.25 iii 11 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-ek-ku-un* (KBo 17.61 rev. 8 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ku-un* (KUB 19.39 iii 10 (NH), KUB 34.53 rev. 6 (MS?)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-ek-ta* (OS), *ú-e-ek-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. *ú-e-ku-u-en* (cited by Oettinger (1979a: 18) (NH)), *ú-e-ku-e«(-u)»-en* (KUB 16.42 i 34 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-ke-er* (KBo 3.38 obv. 21 (OH/NS), KUB 14.8 i 21 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-e-ek*, 2pl.imp.act. *ú-e-ek-*

*te-i[n]*; part. *ú-e-kán-t-* (NS), verb.noun *ú-e-ku-ua-ar*, impf. *ú-e-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-ki-eš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *vaś-* ‘to wish, to want, to strive after’, Av. *vas-* ‘id.’, Gr. *ἐκών* ‘voluntary’.

PIE *\*uék-ti / \*uk-énti*

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See Oettinger 1979a: 17f. for an overview of forms. Already since Hrozný (1919: 180<sup>6</sup>), this verb is generally regarded as derived from the root *\*uek-*, also visible in Skt. *vaś-*, Av. *vas-* ‘to wish, to want’ and Gr. *ἐκών* (Ἰεκών) ‘voluntary’. In his description of the leniting rules, Eichner (1973a: 81) assumed that the single *-k-* as visible in forms like 1sg.pret. *uekun* and 3pl.pret. *ueker* must be the result of a lenition due to a preceding accentuated long vowel: *\*uék-*. He therefore reconstructs an acrostatic root present *\*uék-ti / \*uék-nti*. This view is widely followed and has been elaborated upon. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 100) states that *ú-e-ek-zi* must be analysed as */uēgzi/* and *ú-e-ek-kán-zi* as */uēkkanzi/* and that the forms that are spelled *ú-e-kán-zi* show generalization of the lenited velar out of the singular.

Apart from the fact that the other IE languages in which the root *\*uek-* has been preserved do not show any traces of an acrostatic inflection (Skt. 3sg. *váṣṭi* : 1pl. *uśmáṣi* and GAv. 3sg. *vaštī* : 1pl. *usmahī* reflect an ordinary root-present *\*uék-ti* : *\*uk-mé*), the occurrence of a lenited velar in the paradigm of Hitt. *uekk-<sup>zi</sup>* is difficult to explain. In the singular forms, where *\*-k-* allegedly has been lenited due to the preceding long vowel, *\*k* is always part of a cluster, and clusters do not get lenited: the preforms *\*uékmi*, *\*uékksi*, *\*uékti* therefore would not yield Hitt. */uēg-/*, but rather */uēk-/*. The only form for which one could argue that *\*k* could have undergone lenition is 1sg.pret. *\*uék-ṃ*, but of exactly this form the oldest attestation is *ú-ek-ku-un* (MH/MS) with a geminate *-kk-*. So I do not see how a lenited velar could have come about and spread throughout the paradigm.

If we compare the spellings *ú-e-ek-kán-zi* and *ú-e-kán-zi*, we see that the first form is the *lectio difficilior* and therefore must be the ‘correct’ spelling. This means that the latter form is a simplified spelling in which the sign IG has been left out. I therefore want to propose to interpret all spellings with *ú-e-kV* as simplified spellings for *ú-e-ek-kV*. This means that we are only dealing with a stem *uekk-*.

As we saw above, the other IE languages in which this verb is attested show a normal root-present *\*uék-ti / \*uk-énti*. The question is what this paradigm would yield in Hittite. The answer for the singular form is straightforward: PIE *\*uék-ti* would yield Hitt. */uék<sup>s</sup>t/*, spelled *ú-e-ek-zi*, which is exactly the form we find in



the texts. The expected outcome of PIE *\*ukénti* is more problematic, however. Taken in isolation, the phonetically regular outcome of PIE *\*ukénti* would have been Hitt. *\*\*ukkanzi*. As part of a paradigm, however, the outcome may have been different. In Hittite, we never find word-initial paradigmatical alternations: for instance, an initial consonantal *u* never alternates with vocalic *u*. I therefore assume that original paradigms in which a full grade *\*ue/oC-* alternated with the zero-grade *\*uC-*, first the consonantal *\*u-* was generalized, yielding a zero-grade *\*uC-*. The cluster *\*uC-* then was solved in different ways: through the anaptyctic vowel /i/ (spelled *-e/i-*) when the following consonant was a stop (cf. also *uātar / uītēn-*) or through the anaptyctic vowel /ə/ (spelled *-a-*) when the following consonant was *\*R*, *\*h* and *\*s* (cf. also *uēšš-<sup>ta</sup>*, *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*). In the case of *\*ukénti*, I therefore believe that on the basis of the singular stem *\*uék-*, the original 3pl.pres. *\*uk-énti* was altered to *\*ukénti*, the initial cluster of which then was solved as /uikánt<sup>s</sup>i/, spelled *ú-e(-ek)-kán-zi*. I must admit, however, that it cannot be excluded that in some cases the spelling *ú-e(-ek)-kán-zi* in fact denotes /uékánt<sup>s</sup>i/, a secondary 3pl.-form in which the full-grade stem of the singular has been generalized. All in all, I assume that Hitt. *uekzi / uekkanzi* ultimately goes back to *\*uék-ti / \*uk-énti*.

**uēlku-** (n.) ‘grass, vegetation’ (Sum. *Ú<sup>(H.L.A.)</sup>*): nom.-acc.sg. *ú-el-ku* (often), *ú-e-el-ku* (often), *ú-i-el-ku* (KUB 30.53+ ii 7), *ú-el-ku-ua-an* (KBo 6.34 iv 17), dat.-loc.sg. *ú-el-ku-i*, *ú-e-el-ku-i* (KUB 27.16 i 17), all.sg. *ú-el-ku-ua* (KBo 17.61 rev. 19), abl. *Ú-ua-az* (KBo 20.19+ i 8, 12), instr. *ú-el-ku-it* (KBo 19.130 i 10); unclear *ú-e-el-ku-ua* (KUB 34.60, 9).

IE cognates: Skt. *valśa-* ‘sprout’, OCS *vlasъ* ‘hair’, Russ. *vólos* ‘hair’.

PIE *\*uélk-u-??*

This word is treated by Weitenberg (1984: 179f.), who discusses the problem regarding the semantics (‘grass’ or, more general, ‘vegetation’) and the occurrence of two stems, namely *uelku-* and nom.-acc.sg.n. *uelkuuan* which either is from *uelkuua-* (n.) or *uelkuuant-*. Eichner (1975b: 158<sup>4</sup>) connects this word with Skt. *valśa-* ‘sprout’, OCS *vlasъ* ‘hair’, Russ. *vólos* ‘hair’, all from *\*uolkō-*. If the Hittite word indeed is cognate, it would show *\*uélk-u-*.

**uellu-** (n. > c.) ‘pasture, meadow’ (Sum. *Ú.SAL*, Akk. *USALLU*): nom.sg.c. *ú-e-el-lu-uš* (KBo 6.34 iv 13 (MH/NS), KUB 33.41 ii 3 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. *ú-el-lu-un* (KUB 9.4 iii 29 (MH/NS)), *Ú.SAL-un* (KUB 39.8 iv 6 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ú-e-el-lu* (KBo 5.7 rev. 1 (MH/MS), VBoT 58 i 10 (OH/NS)), *ú-el-lu* (KUB 17.8

iv 27 (NS)), gen.sg. *ú-el-lu-aš* (KBo 20.19 + 20.25 obv.<sup>?</sup> 7 (OS)), *ú-e-el-lu-ya-aš* (KBo 21.47 iii 17, KBo 24.110 iv 7, KBo 23.49 iv 8, KBo 25.109 iii 20), *ú-e-el-ya-aš* (KBo 25.109 iii 10), *ú-el-lu-ya-aš* (KBo 13.223 ii 6, KBo 34.108, 5), dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-el-lu-i* (KBo 25.109 iii 24, KUB 17.10 i 12, KUB 33.10 ii 4), *úe-el-lu-ú-i* (KUB 7.5 i 14), *ú-i-el-lu-i* (KBo 30.2, 14 (NS)), *ú-el-lu-i* (KBo 24.11 obv. 9), all.sg. *Ú.SAL-ya* (KUB 30.19 iv 8), abl. *ú-e-el-lu-ya-az* (KBo 23.50 ii 12, KUB 29.4 iii 46), *ú-el-lu-ya-az* (KBo 15.29 iii 14), *ú-ēl-lu-u-ya-az* (KUB 15.34 i 1), instr. *Ú.SAL-it* (KUB 36.18 iii 27), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ú-e-el-lu-ya[...]* (KUB 8.41 ii 16 (OS)).

IE cognates: ?ON *vōllr* ‘meadow, pasture’.

PIE *\*uélmu-* ?

See Weitenberg (1984: 181f.) for an extensive treatment of this word. We find *commune* as well as neuter forms. All *commune* forms are from NS texts, however, whereas nom.-acc.sg.n. *ú-e-el-lu* is found in a MH/MS text and, more importantly, the form *ú-e-el-lu-ya[...]* (KUB 8.41 ii 16), which is possibly to be interpreted as nom.-acc.pl.n., in an OS text. I therefore assume that the forms with neuter gender reflect the original situation.

The word is consistently spelled *ú-e-el-* or *ú-el-*. The only exception, *ú-i-el-lu-i*, is found in a NS text. The spelling of geminate *-ll-* is consistent as well. The one exception *ú-e-el-ya-aš* may have to be emended to *ú-e-el-(lu-)ya-aš*.

The geminate *-ll-* must be the result of an assimilation process and go back to either *\*-ln-* or *\*-lh-*. This means that in principle, *uēllu* only can reflect *\*uélmu* or *\*uélHu*.

A possible connection could be made with ON *vōllr* ‘meadow, pasture’, which could reflect *\*uolnu-*. The latter word is usually reconstructed as *\*ualpu-*, however, as if belonging to the other Germanic words for ‘wood, forest’. Yet, from a semantic point of view, a connection with the Hittite word seems preferable, which would mean that *uēllu-* reflects *\*uelnu-*.

***uemiē/a-***<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘to find’ (Sum. KAR): 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-ši* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-ez-zi* (OS, often), *ú-e-mi-zi* (OS, 1x), *ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-e-mi-ia-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-e-mi-az-zi* (1x), *ú-e-mi-i-e-ez-zi* (NS), *ú-e-me-ez-zi* (1x), *ú-i-mi-ia<zi>* (KBo 6.3 iv 27 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-u-e-ni* (HHCTO 4, 7 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-mi-ia-an-zi* (KUB 30.42 iv 23), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-et* (OS), *ú-e-mi-ia-at* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-er*, *ú-e-mi-e-er*,

*ú-e-mi-i-e-er*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-e-mi-ja-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *ú-e-mi-ja-at-ta* (KBo 18.50 obv. 11), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-mi-ja-at-ta-ru*; inf.I *uemiḫaṅanzi* (cited by HW: 252); impf. *ú-e-mi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. *wa/imi-* ‘to find’ (1sg.pret.act. *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A15b §23, MARAŞ 8 §3, TELL TAYINAT 2, line 3), 2sg.pres.act. *wa/i-mi-LITUUS-si* (ASSUR letters *f+g* §42), uninfl. *wa/i-mi-OCULUS* (KARAHÖYÜK §3)).

PAnat. *\*uemiḫe/o-*

This verb is cited by Friedrich (HW: 252) as *uemiḫa-*, *uimiḫa-*, *umiḫa-*. The stem *uimiḫa-*, however, is found only once in *ú-i-mi-ja* (KBo 6.3 iv 27), which is likely to be a spelling mistake (cf. the absence of the ending *-zi*). The stem *umiḫa-* is found only once as well, in KUB 30.42 iv 23, which form is likely to be emended to *ú-⟨e-⟩mi-ja-an-zi*. This form therefore cannot be used as proof for an ablauting stem *uem-*, *um-*.

The verb lacks a good etymology. It has been suggested that it consists of a *u*-preverb attached to the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>em-* ‘to take’ (e.g. LIV<sup>2</sup> following Melchert 1994a: 66). Semantically, however, this connection is not very appealing, and formally, we then would expect the existence of a verb *\*pemiḫe-* as well. Moreover, if the HLuwian verb *wami-* indeed means ‘to find’ (often, suggested translations of HLuwian verbs are inspired by etymological connections) and is cognate with Hitt. *uemiḫe/a-*, it would provide a formal argument against a reconstruction *\*u + \*h<sub>1</sub>em-*. The only known Luwian cognate of the Hitt. preverb *u-* is found in HLuw. *awi-* ‘to come’ and CLuw. *auḫi-* ‘id.’, showing that Hitt. *u-* ~ Luw. *au-*. The HLuw. form *wami-* therefore would not fit a reconstruction *\*u+h<sub>1</sub>em-*. We are rather dealing with a genuine PAnat. stem *\*uemiḫe/o-*. A structure *\*CeC-ḫe/o-* is remarkable in Hittite, and either reflects a verb that is derived from a noun (e.g. *uēšiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to pasture’ from *uēši-* / *uēšai-* ‘pasture’ or <sup>A.Š.Ā</sup>*tere/ippiḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to plough’ from <sup>A.Š.Ā</sup>*tere/ippi-* ‘ploughed field’) or a secondary *-ḫe/a-*-presens of an original root aorist (e.g. *uēriḫe/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to call’ from *uēr-<sup>zi</sup>*). Since I know of no noun anywhere in Anatolian that could be regarded as the origin of this verb, we possibly are dealing with the latter case. Prof. Lubotsky suggests to me a connection with Skt. *van-* ‘to win, to usurp’, Av. *van-* ‘to win’ and OHG *gi-winnan* ‘to win, to get’, which semantically indeed is attractive. Nevertheless, these verbs are generally reconstructed as *\*uen-*, which means that a connection is only possible if we would be able to set up a scenario through which the root-final *\*-m-* would turn into *-n-* in IIr. and Germanic.

**uen<sup>-zi</sup> / uuan-** (Ia3) ‘to copulate’: 3sg.pres.act. *ú-en-zi* (OS, often), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-en-t[a]* (KBo 3.42, 5 (but cf. Weitenberg 1984: 407-8 who doubts whether this form belongs here)); impf. *ú-ua-an-ši-ke-u-en* (KBo 3.60 iii 13 (but cf. Weitenberg 1984: 407-8 who doubts whether this form belongs here)), *ú-ua-an-ši-kán-zi* (KUB 31.64 i 7).

IE cognates: Skt. *van<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to love, to desire’, OHG *wunsc(h)* ‘wish’, OHG *wunskēn* ‘to wish’, Lat. *uenus* ‘love, charm’, TochA *wañi* ‘joy’, TochB *wīna* ‘joy’, TochA *winās-* ‘to honour’.

PIE *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>uénh<sub>1</sub>-ti; h<sub>1/3</sub>unh<sub>1</sub>-ské/o-*

Often, this verb is cited as *uen(t)-*, on the basis of the hapax 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-en-ti-er* (KUB 5.9 ii 43). The meaning of this form cannot be independently determined (the context is quite broken), and in my view there is no evidence that shows that *uentier* belongs with the other forms of *uen<sup>-zi</sup> / uuan-*. I interpret it as a separate verb *uentije/a<sup>-zi</sup>*.

The verb *uen<sup>-zi</sup> / uuan-* is generally connected with Skt. *van<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to love, to desire’ etc., from a root *\*uenH-*. If the root-final laryngeal was *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or *\*h<sub>3</sub>*, it would have been preserved in a paradigm *\*uenh<sub>2/3</sub>-ti, \*unh<sub>2/3</sub>-enti* (cf. e.g. *uālḫzi / uālḫanzi* from *\*uélh<sub>3</sub>ti / \*ulh<sub>3</sub>énti*). I therefore reconstruct *\*uenh<sub>1</sub>-*.

The imperfective should go back to a preform *\*uḡH-ské/ó-* (cf. Skt. *vāñchati*). This latter form should regularly give *\*uāššike/a-* (cf. *ḥaššike/a-*, impf. of *ḥanna<sup>i</sup> / ḥann-* ‘to sue’ from *\*h<sub>3</sub>nh<sub>3</sub>-ské/o-*), in which form the *-n-* was analogically restored, giving *uuanšike/a-*. The spelling with initial *ú-* may indicate that we have to interpret this form phonologically as */ʔuənske/a-/* (cf. *ú-ua-a-tar* ‘inspection’ */ʔuádr/ < \*Hu-ó-tr* vs. *ua-a-tar* ‘water’ */uádr/ < \*uódr*), which would mean that we have to reconstruct *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>uenh<sub>1</sub>-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c for the view that initial *\*h<sub>3</sub>* merges with the reflex of *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* before consonants in PANat.). An initial laryngeal would fit the Skt. perfect *vāvan-* < *\*Hue-HuonH-* perfectly.

**-uēni / -uāni; -uen** (1pl.act.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **-unni** (1pl.pres.act.-ending) Lyd. **-wv** (1pl.pres.act.-ending).

In the present, the ending *-uēni* denotes 1pl.act. in the *mi-* as well as in the *ḫi-* conjugation. It is spelled *°Cu-e-ni* (OS), *°Cu-ú-e-ni* (OS), *°Cu-u-e-ni*, *°V-u-e-ni* (OS) and *°V-ú-e-ni* (OS). When the verbal stem ends in *-u-*, the ending becomes *-mēni* (usually spelled *-me-e-ni* (OS) and *-me-ni* (OS), but once also *-mi-ni* (OS)), according to the sound law *\*-uū- > -um-*. Also when the preceding stem consists



*uēp*<sup>-zi</sup> (Ib1) ‘to weave(?)’: 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ep-ta* (NS).

Derivatives: *uēpa-* (c.) ‘woven fabric (?)’ (acc.pl. *ú-e-pu-uš*).

IE cognates: Skt. *vabh-* ‘to bind, to fetter’, Gr. *ὠφαίνω* ‘to weave’, Myc. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = *ἐΨεψησόμμενα* (fut.part.) ‘which will be woven’, OHG *weban* ‘to weave’, TochA *wāp-*, TochB *wāp-* ‘to weave’.

PIE *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)uēb<sup>h</sup>-ti* ?

Hapax in the following context:

KBo 42.6 obv.<sup>?</sup>

(9) [...]*x-ni ú-e-pu-uš ú-e-ep-ta nu=mu TÚG-an=mi-i*[t ...]

‘[...] he *uēp*-ed *uēp*-s and [...] me my clothing’.

According to Neu (1998: 59<sup>17</sup>), it is possible that this figura etymologica has to be interpreted as “Webstücke webte er / sie” and reflects PIE *\*uēb<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to weave’. This may be supported by the mentioning of TÚG ‘clothing’ in the following sentence. According to Beekes (1969: 67), the Myc. fut.part. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = *ἐΨεψησόμμενα* points to a present *\*ἐΨέψω* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>uēb<sup>h</sup>-s-*, which would show that the root in fact was *\*h<sub>1</sub>uēb<sup>h</sup>-*.

<sup>GIS</sup>*uēra-*, *ura-* (c./n.) ‘plate, tray’: nom.sg.c. *ú-e-ra-aš* (OS, often), *ú-ra-aš* (KBo 11.5 vi 7 (NS), KBo 12.106, 9 (OH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *ú-e-ra-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-ri* (KUB 55.39 i 15), abl. *ú-e-ra-za* (KBo 4.14 ii 5), instr. *ú-e-ri-it* (KUB 7.16, 9), nom.-acc.pl.n.(?) *ú-e-ra* (KBo 11.32, 16), acc.pl. *ú-e-ru-uš* (KUB 36.83 iv 10); broken <sup>GIS</sup>*ú-ra-x*[...] (KBo 11.32, 18).

This word denotes some kind of wooden plate on which different foods are lying. For instance,

KUB 55.39 i

(14) ... DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.GAL=*ma=kán šu-uh-ḫa-az QA-DU* <sup>GIS</sup>*ú-e-ra-an*

(15) 1 <sup>DUG</sup>*KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN=ja ú-da-an-zi* <sup>GIS</sup>*ú-e-ri=ma-a=š-ša-an*

(16) *še-er* 7 NINDA.ḪUR(sic).RA SIG *me-ma-al ip-pí-ja-an-za* <sup>GIS</sup>*te-pa-aš-š=a* [ ]

(17) [*k*]*i-it-ta-ri n=a-at* <sup>GIS</sup>*AB-ja-aš pé-ra-an da-a-i*

‘The palace servants bring down from the roof a *uēra-* together with a jug of wine. Upon the *uēra-*, 7 thin thickbreads, meal, a vine and a spoon<sup>?</sup> are lying. He places them in front of the window’.

The two attestations *ú-ra-aš* are found in NS texts and may not be linguistically real. To my knowledge, no good etymology exists of this word.

***uer(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ib1 / Ic1) ‘to call, to name, to summon’: 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-ja-ši* (KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 11), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-ja-az-zi*, *ú-e-ri-az-zi*, *ú-e-ri-e[z]-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-ja-an-zi*, *ú-e-ri-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ri-at*, *ú-e-ri-et*, 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-ri-e[r]* (KUB 8.63 iv 8), *ú-e-ri-i-e[-er]* (KBo 4.4 ii 2), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-e-ri-ja-at-tén* (KUB 17.31, 17); 2sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ri-ja-at-ta-ti* (KUB 6.41 iii 61), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ri-ja-at-ta-ri* (KUB 21.29 iii 47), 1sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-ri-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-[a]t* (KUB 26.32 i 13), 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-ri-ja-at-ta-at* (KUB 23.1+ iii 7), 2sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-ri-ja-ḫu-ut* (KUB 31.68, 46); part. *ú-e-ra-an-za* (HKM 7 obv. 10 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ri-ja-an-t*; impf. *ú-e-ri-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***uerianna<sup>i</sup>*** / ***uerianni-*** (IIa5) ‘id.’ (impf.2sg.pres.act. *ú-e[-ri-an-ni-iš-k]e-ši* (KUB 14.16 iv 21) with dupl. [*ú-e-ri-a*]n-[n]i-iš-ke-ši (KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104 iv 49)), see also =*ua(r)*= and *uerite<sup>zi</sup>* / *uerit-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***uer-*** ‘to say, to call’ (3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-er-ti*).

IE cognates: Gr. εἶπω ‘to speak’.

PIE *\*uérh<sub>1</sub>-t*, *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-jé-ti*

This verb is virtually consistently spelled *ú-e-ri-* and is a clear example of the *-je/a*-inflection. It is remarkable, however, that we once find a participle *uerant-* without the *-je/a*-suffix. Since this form is from a MH/MS text, it cannot be of secondary origin and must reflect an archaism. The fact that a stem without *-je/a-* is found in a participle fits well with the views of Melchert 1997b, who argues that in some verbs traces of a system still can be found in which the unextended stem is found in non-present forms and the *-je/a*-stem in present-forms. According to Melchert, this reflects the original opposition between an old root-aorist vs. *-je/o*-present (see at *karp(ije/a)-<sup>zi</sup>* for a more detailed treatment of this view).

According to Oettinger (1979a: 344), *uerije/a-<sup>zi</sup>* must be connected with Gr. εἶπω ‘to speak’ and reconstructed as *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*, a view which is generally accepted. This means that we must assume that originally we are dealing with a root-aorist *\*uérh<sub>1</sub>-t* / *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-ént* besides a *-je/o*-present *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-jé-ti*. Because of the tendency to avoid an ablaut pair *ue-* / *u-*, the full-grade was generalized throughout the paradigm of the aorist (attested as *uerant-*) and also taken over into the *-je/a*-present (*uerije/a-*). The only Anatolian cognate, Pal. 3sg.pres.act. *uert<sub>i</sub>*, may show that here the aorist-stem was generalized in disfavour of the *-je/o*-present.

Note that the impf. *ueriške/a-* does not reflect *\*ueriġe-ske/a-* vel sim., but rather */ueriské/á-/*, the regular outcome of *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-* (of course replacing original *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-ské/ó-*).

*uerite<sup>-zi</sup> / uerit-* (Ia1) ‘to fear, to be frightened’: 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-iz-za-aš-ti* (KUB 33.86 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-ti-iz[-zi]* (KUB 8.1 ii 4 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-ri-ta-an-zi* (KBo 17.3 iv 34 (OS), KBo 17.1 + KBo 25.3 iv 39 (OS)), *ú-e-ri-ta[-an-zi(?)]* (KUB 36.3 obv. 2 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta* (KUB 44.4+ rev. 7 (NS)), *ú-i-ri-te-eš-ta* (KUB 36.89 rev. 2 (NS)), *ú-e-ri-t[e-...]* (KUB 58.112, 5); impf. *ú-e-ri-te-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *ueritema-* (c.) ‘fear, fright’ (nom.sg. *ú-e-ri-te-ma-aš* (KUB 28.4 obv. r.col. 21), acc.sg. *ú-e-ri-te-ma-an*, *ú-e-ri-ti-ma-an* (KUB 29.1 ii 34), dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-ri-te-mi* (KBo 13.245 rev. 16), nom.pl. *ú-e-ri-te-mu-uš*), *ueritēšš<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to fear, to be frightened’ (part. *ú-e-ri-te-iš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 14.7 i 11)), *ueritanu<sup>-zi</sup>, ueritenu<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to scare’ (3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-da-mu-zi* (KBo 12.106 + 13.146 i 2), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-ta-nu-er* (KUB 59.46 rev. 12 (NS)), *ú-e-ri-te-nu-er* (KUB 9.34 iii 30 (NS))).

PIE *\*u(e)rh<sub>1</sub>-i-* + *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ?

First it should be noted that although the bulk of the forms of this verb are spelled *ú-e-ri-*, we find two OS attestations that show *ua-ri-* with an aberrant *-a-*. The one form that is spelled *ú-i-ri-* is attested in a NS text and can therefore be disregarded for etymological purposes. The fact that we find a stem *uerite-* (*ú-e-ri-ti-iz[-zi]*, *ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta* and *ueritema-*) besides a stem *ue/arit-* (*ú-e-ri-iz-za-aš-ti* / *ueritsti*), *uaritanzi*, *ú-e-ri-ta[-an-zi]* and *ueridanu-*) reminds of verbs like *pehute<sup>-zi</sup> / pehut-*, *uuate<sup>-zi</sup> / uuat-* and *uete<sup>-zi</sup> / uet-*. These verbs all can probably be traced back to the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put’ preceded by several univertated elements. Therefore, it is likely that *ue/arite<sup>-zi</sup> / ue/arit-* also consists of *ue/ari-* + *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*. This view is also advocated by Oettinger (2001: 467), who analyses the verb as *\*ueri-dē-* ‘zur Verehrung setzen’, apparently connecting the first element with *uer(iġe/a)<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to call, to summon’ (q.v.).

If this connection is correct, I would rather suggest another semantical development, namely ‘\*to place a call > \*to scream (in fear) > to fear’. If so, then the OS variant with *uari-* may show a zero-grade formation *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-i-* besides the *e*-grade in *ueriġe/a-* < *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-ġe/o-*, in analogy to which *e*-grade was introduced in *uarit(e)-* >> *uerit(e)-* after the OH period.



**ueš / anz-** (pers.pron. 1pl.) ‘we, us’: nom. *ú-e-eš* (OS), *ú-e-š=a* (OS), acc. *an-za-aš* (OS), *an-za-a-aš*, gen.sg. *an-ze-el* (OS), *an-ze-l=a* (OS), *an-zi-el*, dat. *an-za-aš*, *an-za-a-aš*, abl. *an-ze-da-az*, *an-zi-da-za*, *an-zi-e-da-za*.

Derivatives: see *=(n)naš*

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **anzā** ‘we, us’ (dat.-acc. *an-za*, *a-an-za*, *an-za-aš*); HLuw. **anz-** ‘we, us’ (nom. /ant<sup>s</sup>unt<sup>s</sup>/(?) (*a-zu<sup>2</sup>-za*, *a-zu<sup>2</sup>-’-za*, *á-zu<sup>2</sup>-’-za*), gen.adj.dat.-loc.sg. *á-zu<sup>2</sup>-sa<sub>7</sub>-na*), /ant<sup>s</sup>-/ ‘our’ (nom.sg.c. *a-zi-sa*, abl.-instr. *á-zi-ia-ti*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-za-ia*).

IE cognates: Skt. *vayám*, *asmá-*, Av. *vaēm*, *ḍhma-* Goth. *weis*, *uns-* ‘we, us’, TochA *was*, TochB *wes* ‘we’, Gr. ἄμμε ‘us’, etc.

PIE *\*uei-(e)s*, *\*us-*

See chapter 2.1 for a treatment of these words.

**uešš-<sup>na</sup>**; **uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>** (IIIb > IIIg; Ic5 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘(midd. intr.) to be dressed, to be covered; (midd. + acc.) to wear (something); (act. (+ =z) + acc.) to put on (something); (act. + acc. + dat.) to put something on on someone; (act. + acc. (+ instr.)) to clothe someone (with something), to cover someone or something (with something); (act. + =z) to clothe (oneself), to be dressed; (act. + *anda*) to cover (horses)’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-eš-ta* (KBo 3.41+, 2 (OH/NS), KBo 12.22 i 3 (OH/NS), KUB 9.28 i 15 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-š-ta* (AT 454 iv 10 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ú-e-eš-ša-an-da* (KBo 17.1 i 24 (OS)), *ú-e-eš-ša-an-ta* (IBoT 1.36 i 77, ii 49, 53, 58 (MH/MS), KUB 9.31 i 37 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-eš-ša-(an-)ta* (HT 1 i 30 (MH/NS)), *ua-aš-ša-an-da* (?) (KBo 39.8 i 27 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *ua-aš-ši-ja-aḥ-ḥa-ḥa-at* (KUB 24.5+ rev. 15 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ua-aš-ši-ja-at-ta-ru* (KUB 33.98 iii 19 (NS)); 2sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-ša-ši* (KUB 33.54, 14 (OH/NS)), *ua-aš-ša-a-ši* (KUB 12.58 iii 36 (NS)), *ua-aš-ši-ja-ši* (KUB 31.69 obv. 5 (fr.), 6 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-še-e[z-zi]* (KBo 20.18 + KBo 25.65 rev. 3 (OS)), *ua-aš-še-ez-zi* (KBo 13.137, 9 (OH/NS), KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 i 54 (NS)), [*ua-aš-š*]e-ez-zi (KUB 20.4 i 10 (OH/NS)), *ua-aš-ši-ez-zi* (KBo 17.61 obv. 21 (MH/MS), KUB 34.76 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 15.3 iv 8 (NH)), *ua-aš-ši-e-ez-zi* (KUB 2.6 iv 5 (OH/NS), KBo 6.26 iv 13 (OH/NS)), *ua-aš-ši-ja-az-zi* (KUB 4.47 obv. 18 (OH/NS), KUB 20.17 v 13 (OH/NS), KUB 20.80 iii 13 (OH/NS), KUB 11.32 + 20.17 v 23 (OH/NS), Bo 6472 ii 5 (OH/NS?), KUB 30.43 iii 21 (fr.) (NS)), *ua-aš-ši-ja-zi* (KBo 10.23+ i 11 (OH/NS), KBo 13.93, 9 (NS), KBo 15.9 iv 19 (NS), KBo 20.47, 12 (NS), KUB 4.3 ii 16 (fr.) (NS), KUB 7.60 iii 8 (NS)), [*ua-aš-š*]a-iz-zi (KUB 29.57, 2 (MH/NS)), [*u*]a-aš-ši-ja-iz-zi (KBo 15.7, 13 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ua-aš-ša-u-e-ni* (KBo 32.15 ii 12 (MS)), *ua-aš-šu-ú-e-ni* (KUB 9.17,

20 (NS)), *ua-aš-šu-u-e-ni* (KUB 15.3 iv 12 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ua-aš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 1.11 iv 39 (MH/MS), KUB 29.48 rev. 12 (MH?/MS), KBo 30.152+ r.col. 3 (MS), KBo 11.52 v 11 (OH/NS), KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 ii 12 (MH/NS), KBo 3.2 obv. 24, rev. 35 (MH/NS), KBo 5.1 iv 17 (MH/NS), FHL 17, 2 (MH?/NS), VSNF 12.26 obv. 5 (NS), KBo 8.144 obv. 7 (NS), KUB 10.12 iv 4 (NS)), Luw. *ua-aš-ša-an-ti* (KUB 1.11 iii 3 (MH/MS)), *ua-aš-ši-ī[a-an-zi]* (KBo 8.52 i 45 (MH/MS)), *ua-aš-ši-īa-an-zi* (KUB 9.31 ii 11 (MH/NS), KUB 9.15 iii 4 (NS), KUB 15.2 i 10 (NS), KUB 43.49 rev.<sup>?</sup> 19 (NS)), *ú-e-eš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 29.44 iii 13 (MH/MS), IBoT 2.92, 6 (NS)), *ú-e-eš-ši-īa-an-zi* (KBo 12.114 obv. 13 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ua-aš-ši-īa-nu-un* (KUB 24.5 i 21 (NS)), *ua-aš-ši-nu-un* (NH, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 300), 3sg.pret.act. *ua-aš-ta* (KUB 13.9+ ii 4 (MH/NS)), *ua-aš-ši-īa-at* (KBo 4.6 rev. 13 (NH)), *ua-aš-ši-[e-]et* (NH, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 300), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-e-eš-ši-īa* (KBo 2.9 i 29 (MH/NS)), *ua-aš-ši-ī[a]* (KUB 26.25 ii 7 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ua-aš-ši-īa-a[d-d]u<sup>?</sup>* (KUB 17.8 iv 18 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-e-eš-tén* (KUB 13.5 iii 32 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ua-aš-ša-an-du* (KBo 6.34 ii 50 (MH/NS), KUB 7.59 ii 14 (fr.) (MH/NS)); part. *ua-aš-ša-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ua-ša-a-an-t-* (KUB 7.53+ iv 15, 17 (NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ua-aš-šu-ua-aš* (KBo 34.64, 5 (NS)); inf.I *ua-aš-šu-an-zi* (KUB 12.19 iii 21 (OH/MS)), *ua-aš-šu-u-ua-an-zi* (KUB 2.5 ii 22 (NS), KUB 31.69 obv.<sup>?</sup> 8 (NS), KUB 55.54 obv. 12 (NS)), *ua-aš-šu-ua-an-ti* (KUB 25.1 iii 46 (NS)); sup. *ua-aš-šu-u-ua-an* (KUB 31.69 obv.<sup>?</sup> 9, 10); impf. *ua-aš-še-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 24.7 ii 9 (NS)), *ua-aš-ši-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 26.25 ii 7 (NH), KUB 22.70 rev. 31 (fr.) (NH)), [*u*]*a-aš-ši-ke/a-* (KUB 36.10 iii 11 (NS)).

Derivatives: see *uašpa-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *uašš-* ‘to wear’ (3pl.pres.midd. *ua-aš-ša-an-ta-ri*).

IE cognates: Skt. *váste* ‘to be clothed’, GAv. *vastē* ‘to be clothed’, Gr. *ἔτατ* ‘to wear’, Goth. *wasjan* ‘to clothe’, Lat. *vestis* ‘garment’.

PIE *\*ués-to; \*us-jé-ti*

See Neu 1968: 193 for an overview of the middle forms, and Oettinger 1979a: 299-300 for the active forms. Eichner (1969) gives an extensive treatment of the semantics of this verb.

The original inflection of the middle must have been 3sg. *uešta* (OH/NS), 3pl. *ueššanda* (OS). The forms *uaššijahḥaḥat* and *uaššijattaru* (both NS) must be secondary rebuildings in analogy to the active stem *uaššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*, whereas *uaššanda*, according to Eichner (1969: 14), is influenced by CLuw. *uaššandari*.

The active paradigm shows quite a lot of different stems. The only OS form is found in 3sg. *ua-aš-še-e[z-zi]* that shows a stem *uašše-*. This stem is found a few

more times in 3sg.-forms in OH/NS texts. Almost all other attestations of singular forms (from MS texts onwards) show a stem *uaššije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*. In the plural, the oldest forms are 1pl. *uaššaueni* (MS) and 3pl. *uaššanzi* (MH/MS and OH/NS). The latter form turns up as *uaššijanzi* in younger texts (once in a (hippological) MH/MS-text, further in NS texts). In NS texts, we occasionally find a stem *uaššae-<sup>zi</sup>* (2sg.pres.act. *ua-aš-ša(-a)-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. [*uaš*]šaizzi and possibly some of the NS instances of *uaššanzi*) and *uaššijae-<sup>zi</sup>* ([*u*]aššijaizzi), both according to the productive *hatrae*-class. The NS forms *uaššuueni* probably are back-formed on 3pl.pres.act. *uaššanzi*, which was re-analysed as *uašš-anzi*. The occasional usage of the *e*-vowel in the active (*ueššanzi* once in a (hippological) MH/MS-text, further only in NS texts (*ueššija-*)), are clearly secondary formations in analogy to the middle paradigm. All in all, we have to conclude that the oldest inflection was middle *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>* besides active *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

Eichner shows that the middle forms virtually always denote '(intr.) to be dressed; (trans.) to wear (something)'. With this meaning, *uešta* has to be equated with Skt. *váste* 'wears', GAv. *vastē* 'wears' and Gr. εἶται, ἔσται 'wears' that reflect *\*ués-to*. In 3pl.pres.midd. *ueššanta* ~ Skt. *vásate*, Gr. εἶνται < *\*ués-nto*, the *\*s* probably was geminated due to contact with *-n-* (cf. *keššar* 'hand' < *\*g<sup>h</sup>és-r*).

The interpretation of the active forms has caused much debate, however. Eichner (l.c.: 31f.) points to the semantic correspondence between *uaššezzi*, *uaššijezzi* 'he dresses someone' and the causative building *\*uos-éie-ti* as visible in Skt. *vāśáyati* 'he clothes (someone)', Goth *wasjan* 'to dress' and assumes that *uaššijezzi* directly reflects *\*uos-éie-ti* and *uaššijanzi* < *\*uos-éio-nti*. Oettinger (1979a: 304) points to the fact that the oldest active forms are *uaššezzi*, *uaššanzi* and states that these cannot reflect *\*uos-éie/o-*, but must go back to a thematic inflection *\*uós-e-ti*, *\*uós-o-nti*. This solution is highly unlikely in view of the absence of any other thematic verb in Hittite. Moreover, I know no other examples in IE languages of thematic verbs with *o*-grade. Oettinger's solution is therefore rightly rejected by Melchert (1984a: 31f.), who himself assumes that *uaššezzi* and *uaššanzi* are the regular outcomes of *\*uos-éie-ti* and *\*uos-éio-nti*. Although a development *\*-eie-ti* > Hitt. *-ezzi* can hardly be denied (compare e.g. *\*uei(e)s* 'we' > Hitt. *ueš*), I am not sure if *\*-eionti* would yield Hitt. *-anzi*. When we compare <sup>LÚ</sup>*patte(i)ant-* 'fugitive' < *\*pth<sub>1</sub>-ei-ent-* (see under *pattai<sup>1</sup>* / *patti-*), we would expect that *\*-eionti* rather yields Hitt. *-e(i)anzi*. Moreover, Melchert's reconstructions cannot account for the geminate *-šš-* (as he admits himself: o.c.: 31<sup>64</sup>). I therefore will not follow this proposal either.

When we look at other Hittite verbs that show active as well as middle forms, we see that sometimes both paradigms use the unextended root: e.g. *eš-<sup>a(ri)</sup>*

besides  $e\check{s}^{-zi} / a\check{s}^{-}$ ;  $n\bar{e}^{-ani}$  besides  $nai^{-i} / *ni^{-}$ . In other cases, we find that the middle shows an unextended form, but the active is  $-i\check{e}/o$ -derived:  $huett^{-a(ri)}$  besides  $hutti\check{i}e/a^{-zi}$ ;  $hatt^{-a}$  besides  $hazzi\check{i}e/a^{-zi}$ . These last verb show a formation  $*C\acute{e}C-(t)o$  besides  $CC-i\acute{e}-ti$ . For the root  $*ues-$ , we could therefore expect a system in which the middle uses the unextended root,  $*u\acute{e}s-to$ , whereas the active shows the  $-i\check{e}/o$ -extended stem  $*us-i\acute{e}-ti$ . As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.b, Hittite did not allow an alternation  $\#uV-$  vs.  $\#uC-$ . In these cases,  $*\#uC-$  was analogically altered to  $*\#uC-$  and this initial cluster then had to be solved by an epenthetic vowel. If the following consonant was a stop, the epenthetic vowel was /i/ (e.g.  $u\acute{i}den-$  ‘water’ / $u\acute{i}d\acute{e}n-/ \ll *u\acute{d}-\acute{e}n-$ ;  $u\acute{e}kkanzi$  / $u\acute{i}k\acute{a}nt\acute{s}i/ \ll *u\acute{k}\acute{e}nti$ ). In this case, I think that on the basis of  $*u\acute{e}sto$ ,  $*us-i\check{e}/o-$  was altered to  $*u\acute{s}i\check{e}/o-$ , which was realized as / $u\acute{o}sie/a-/$ . In my view, this / $u\acute{o}sie/o-/$  then underwent the sound law  $*VsiV > V\acute{s}\acute{s}V$  (for this development, cf. § 1.4.4.2 and the suffix  $-a\acute{s}\acute{s}a- < *-o\acute{s}i\acute{o}-$ ). So, in my view,  $*usi\acute{e}ti$ ,  $*usi\acute{o}nti$  first became  $*u\acute{o}si\acute{e}ti/$ , / $u\acute{o}si\acute{o}nti/$ , which then regularly yielded / $u\acute{o}S\acute{e}t\acute{s}i/$ , / $u\acute{o}S\acute{a}nt\acute{s}i/$ , spelled  $u\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{s}ezzi$ ,  $u\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{s}anzi$ . Already in MH times, the  $-i\check{e}/a-$  suffix was restored, yielding secondary  $u\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{s}i\check{i}ezzi$ ,  $u\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{s}i\check{i}anzi$ .

GI<sup>š</sup> **ueššar**: see GI<sup>š</sup> *uieššar*

**ueši- / uešai-** (c.) ‘pasture’: nom.sg.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-i\acute{s}$  (KBo 1.45 rev.<sup>1</sup> 13), acc.sg.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-in$  (KUB 29.29, 8 (OS)), KUB 7.60 iii 29 (NS)),  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}e-in$  (KUB 7.60 iii 24 (NS)), gen.sg.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-a\acute{s}$ , dat.-loc.sg.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}a-i$  (KBo 12.3 iv 6 (OH/NS)),  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i$  (KBo 12.73, 3 (NS)), abl.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-az$ , nom.pl.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}e-e\acute{s}$  (KBo 32.14 ii 27, 28 (MS)),  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}a-e-e\acute{s}$  (KUB 17.10 i 17 (OH/MS)), acc.pl.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}a-u\acute{s}$  (KUB 31.64 iv 7 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-a\acute{s}$  (KBo 32.14 ii 29 (MS)).

Derivatives: **uešije/a<sup>-ta(ri)</sup>** (IIIg) ‘to pasture (trans.); to pasture (intr.), to graze’ (1sg.pres.midd.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-a\acute{h}-\acute{h}a-ri$  (KBo 32.14 ii 6 (MS)), 2sg.pres.midd.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-at-ta$  (KUB 31.84 iii 56 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.midd.  $\acute{u}-\acute{s}i-e-et-ta$  (KBo 17.23 obv. 4 (OS)),  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-at-ta-ri$  (KUB 26.19 ii 33 (MH/MS), KBo 32.14 ii 27 (MS)), 3pl.pres.midd.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-ia-an-da-ri$  (KUB 26.19 ii 18 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.midd.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}e-ia-at-ta$  (KUB 29.1 i 33 (OH/NS)),  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-et-ta-at$  (KUB 29.1 i 32 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-et-ta-ru$  (KUB 57.63 ii 14 (NS)); 3sg.imp.act.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}e-ed-du$  (KUB 30.24 ii 4 (OH/NS)); verb.noun gen.sg.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}i-i[a-u]-\acute{u}a-a\acute{s}$  (KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33 i 6 (OH/NS)),  $\acute{u}-i-\acute{s}i-ia-u-\acute{u}a-a\acute{s}$  (KBo 3.4 iii 72 (NH)); impf.  $\acute{u}-e-\acute{s}e-e\acute{s}-ke/a-$ , see also  $u\acute{e}\acute{s}tara-$ .

IE cognates: OIr. *fess* ‘food’ <  $*ues-teh_2-$ , ON *vist* ‘nutricion’ <  $*ues-ti-$ , Tocharian *wäsri* ‘pasture’ <  $*ues-ri-$ , Av. *vāstra-* n. ‘pasture’, *vāstar-* m. ‘herd’, Lat. *vēscor* ‘to feed oneself’.

Friedrich (HW: 253) states that this noun actually reflects a diphthong stem \**uešai-* (apparently because of e.g. nom.pl. *uešaēš* and acc.pl. *uešauš*), but this is not necessary if one compares e.g. the noun *heju-* / *heiau-* ‘rain’, in the paradigm of which an ablauting stem *heiau-* can be encountered as well. This means that we have to assume an ablauting paradigm \**ues-i-* / \**us-éi-*, in which the full grade was generalized. The verb *uešije/a-*<sup>11a(m)</sup> probably is a denominal derivative, which would explain the fact that we find *-e*-grade in the root, which we normally would not expect in *-je/o-*-derived verb (that go back to PIE \**CC-je/ó-*). The OS attestation *ú-ši-e-et-ta*, if not to be emended to *ú-⟨e⟩-ši-e-et-ta*, may be a last remnant of the zero-grade root *uš-*. The verb denotes ‘to pasture (trans.)’ as well as ‘to pasture (intr.), to graze’ (cf. Neu 1968: 200f.).

The IE cognates all clearly point to a root \**ues-* (the long *-ē-* of Lat. *vēscor* ‘to feed oneself’ is explained by LIV<sup>2</sup> as going back to a Narten-inflection, but in my view is just analogical after *ēscō* ‘to eat’). Note that Eichner (1973a: 79, followed by Melchert 1984a: 10<sup>3</sup>) derives *ueši-* from \**ueis-* ‘to flourish’ (Lat. *vireō* ‘to flourish’), but the inner-Hittite connection with *uešije/a-* ‘to pasture’ and *ueštara-* ‘herd’ in my view clearly point to the root \**ues-* ‘to pasture, to feed’.

*ueššije/a-*<sup>zi</sup>: see *uešš-*<sup>11a</sup>; *uašše/a-*<sup>zi</sup>

*ueštara-* (c.) ‘herd’ (Sum. <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA): nom.sg. *ú-e-eš-ta-ra-aš* (KUB 6.46 iii 52).

Derivatives: see also *ueši-* / *uešai-*.

IE cognates: Av. *vāstar-* ‘herd’.

PIE \**ues-tr-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 6.46 iii

(52) <sup>d</sup>UTU ŠA-ME-E EN=IA ŠA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-ut-ti ú-e-eš-ta-ra-aš

//

KUB 6.45 iii

(13) <sup>d</sup>[(UT)]U ŠA-ME-E EN=IA ŠA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA-aš

‘Sun-god of Heaven, My Lord, you are the herd of mankind’.

It clearly belongs with *ueši-* / *uešai-* ‘pasture’ (q.v.), and has a direct cognate in Av. *vāstar-* ‘herd’ < \**ues-ter-*. The Hittite form probably shows a thematization \**ués-tro-*.

*uešurije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*: see *uišurije/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

*uešuu<sup>zi</sup>ae-* (Ic2) ‘?’: 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-šu-ua-a-an-zi*.

To my knowledge, this verb is only attested in one context:

KUB 17.18 ii

(10) *nu GIM-an ze-en-na-an-zi nu ši-e-ni-eš ku-i-e-eš x[ ... ]*

(11) *ta-pu-uš-za a-še-ša-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> n=a-aš ša-ra-a da-an-zi n=a-a[š A-NA*

EN.SÍSKUR]

(12) *pa-ra-a ap-pa-an-zi nu-u=š-ma-aš=kán EN SÍSKUR PA-NI ták-na[-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-i]*

(13) *an-da ú-e-šu-ua-a-an-zi ši-i-na-aš=m=a-an ṬUP-PA<sup>III.A</sup> GIM-an [(ki-it-ta-ri)]*

(14) *ši-e-na-aš=kán tup-pí-aš me-mi-ia-nu-uš an-da me-mi-ia-an-zi*

‘When they finish, they take up the dolls that were laid down [...] on the side and they bring them to the patient. They *anda u.* the patient for the Sun-god of the earth. Just as it is laid down on the tablets of the dolls, they speak the words of the tablets of the dolls’.

On the basis of this context, the exact meaning of *uešuu<sup>zi</sup>an-zi* cannot be determined. Formally, the form seems to belong with a stem *uešuu<sup>zi</sup>ae-*. Tischler (HH: 201) translates this verb as “mit Kleidern versehen(?)”, but this is clearly based on the supposed formal connection with *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>*, *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to clothe’ (q.v.). In my view, such a connection cannot be proven semantically and is formally unlikely because of the single *-š-* in *uešuu<sup>zi</sup>ae-* vs. the consistent geminate *-šš-* of *uešš-<sup>ta</sup>*, *uašše/a-<sup>zi</sup>*.

*uett-*: see *uitt-*

*ueda-<sup>i</sup>*: ‘to bring (here)’: see *uedae-<sup>zi</sup>*

*ueda-<sup>i</sup>*: ‘to build’: see *uete-<sup>zi</sup>* / *uet-*

*uedae-<sup>zi</sup>* (Ic2 > IIa1γ) ‘to bring (here)’: 1sg.pret.act. *ú-i-da-a-mi* (KBo 16.24+ i 10 (MH/MS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-da-a-ši* (KUB 29.1 i 3 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-i-da-*

*a-ez-zi* (IBoT 1.36 i 62 (OH/MS)), *ú-e-da-i* (KBo 12.56, 8 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-e-da-u-e-ni* (KBo 12.42 iii 6 (OH?/NS)), *ú-e-da-a-u-e-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 21 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ú-i-ta-at-te-ni* (KUB 23.77+ rev. 69, 73 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-da-an-zi* (KUB 30.15 i 32 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 3.6 ii 10 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-i-da-a-it* (KUB 22.70 i 72 (NH)), *ú-e-da-aš* (KUB 21.9 i 7 (NH), but this form perhaps belongs with *uet(e)-*), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-e-ta-at-te-en* (KBo 3.43 rev. 10, 11 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-i-ta-ú* (Oettinger 1979a: 374); part. *ú-i-da-an-t-*; inf.I *ú-i-du-ma-an-zi* (Oettinger 1979a: 374).

PIE *\*ued<sup>h</sup>-o-je/o-*

The oldest forms of this verb show that it originally inflected according to the *hatrae*-class: 1sg.pres.act. *uidāmi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *uedāši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *uidāezzi* (OH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *uedāuēni* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *uitatteni* (MH/MS) and 3pl.pres.act. *uedanzi* (OH/NS), and I therefore cite the verb as *uedae-<sup>zi</sup>*. It is almost identical in meaning to the *ḥi*-verb *uda-<sup>i</sup> / ud-* ‘to bring (here)’ (*udaḥḥi*, *udatti*, *udai*, *udumēni*, *udatteni*, *udanzi*, q.v.), which it formally resembles as well. This explains the rise of *ḥi*-inflected forms within the paradigm of *uedae-<sup>zi</sup>* in NH times (e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *uedai* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *uedaḥḥun* (NH), inf.I *uidumanzi* in analogy to *udai*, *udaḥḥun* and *utumanzi*).

Verbs that belong to the *hatrae*-class are derived from *\*o*-stem nouns. In this case, *uedae-<sup>zi</sup>* must be derived from a further unattested noun *\*ueda-*. Oettinger (1979a: 374) connects this form to the PIE root *\*ued<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to carry’, which is satisfactory from a formal as well as semantical side. We therefore have to reconstruct *\*ued<sup>h</sup>-o-je/o-*. The occasional spellings with *-i-* are probably due to the development *\*ueT > uiT* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262 and § 1.4.9.1).

*uete-<sup>zi</sup> / uet-* (Ia1 > IIa1γ) ‘to build’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-i-te-mi* (Oettinger 1979a: 129), *ú-e-da-aḥ-ḥi* (KUB 22.25 i 32 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-te-ez-zi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-e-du-me-e-ni* (Oettinger 1979a: 129 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-da-an-zi* (ABoT 60 obv. 16 (MH/MS), often (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-te-nu-un* (OS), *ú-e-da-aḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 17 (NH)), *ú-e-tu,-un* (KUB 21.11 obv. 12 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-te-et* (OS), *ú-e-da-aš* (KBo 12.39 obv. 17 (NH), KUB 21.9 i 7 (NH), but the latter form perhaps belongs with *uedae-*), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-e-tu,-me-en* (KBo 4.1 i 28 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-te-er* (KBo 16.27 i 18 (MH/MS), often (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-e-te* (180/v, 11 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-e-te-ed-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-e-da-an-du*; part. *ú-e-ta-an-t-* (OS), *ú-e-da-an-t-*; verb.noun *ú-e-tu,-mar* (KUB 13.20 i 20 (MH/NS)); inf.I *ú-e-du-ma-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *ú-e-te-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: *uetumeššar* / *uetumešn-* (n.) ‘building’ (abl. *ú-e-tu<sub>4</sub>-mi-eš-na-za* (KBo 12.125, 4)).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. *wic-* ‘to build, to erect’ (1sg.pret. *wicv*), *dawic-* ‘to erect’ (3sg./pl.pret. *dawicil*).

PIE *\*ue+* *d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* / *d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-*

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In the older texts we find the forms *uetezzi*, *uedanzi*, *uetenun*, *uetet*, *uedant-*, *uedumanzi*, which all point to an ablauting stem *uete<sup>-zi</sup>* / *uet-*, comparable to *tē<sup>-zi</sup>* and especially *pehute<sup>-zi</sup>* / *pehut-*. Only in NH times (according to Oettinger 1979a: 130 from the times of Šuppiluliuma I onwards) we find forms that can be analysed as belonging to a stem *ueda<sup>-i</sup>* / *uet-* (e.g. *uedahhun*). These were secondarily created in analogy to the verb *uedae<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to bring (here)’ (which itself by that time had undergone secondary alteration to *ueda<sup>-i</sup>* / *uet-* in analogy to the verb *uda<sup>-i</sup>* / *ud-* ‘to bring here’) on the basis of the identical form for 3pl.pres.act., which is *uedanzi* in both the paradigm of *uete-/uet-* and *uedae-*.

Within Anatolian, the verb *uete-/uet-* has been compared with the Palaic verb *uite/i-* (2sg.pres.act. *ú-i-te-ši* and *ú-i-ti-ši*), whose meaning is not totally clear, however. Because this verb takes *arunam* ‘sea?’ as an object, a meaning ‘to build’ may not be very likely, however. A connection to Lyd. *(da)wic-* may have more merit, however, as this verb more clearly means ‘to build, to erect’ and could reflect *\*uedē-*. If so, then we are dealing with a PAnat. verb *\*ued(ē)-*.

It is very likely that *\*ued(ē)-* is the result of a univerbation of the verb *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to put’ with an element *\*ue-*. The origin and meaning of this element *\*ue-* remain unclear, however.

*ueuakk<sup>-i</sup>* (IIb) ‘to demand, to ask’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ua-ak-mi* (KBo 53.19, 6 (MS?)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ua-ak-ki* (KBo 5.2 i 52 (MH/NS), KBo 10.7 i 9 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ú-e-ua-ak-k[i (?)]* (KUB 14.1 rev. 88 (MH/MS), cited by Oettinger 1979a: 432 as *ú-e-ua-ak-ta*), *ú-⟨e-⟩ua-ak-ki-ez-zi* (KUB 14.4 iii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-ua-ag-ga-an-zi* (KUB 9.34 ii 37 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-ua-kán-zi* (KUB 9.34 ii 37 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ua-ak-ki-nu-un* (KBo 3.4 ii 11 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ua-ak-ta* (KUB 43.23 rev. 12 (OH/MS)), *ú-e-ua-ki-et* (KUB 12.60 i 20 (OH?/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-i-ua-ak-⟨te-⟩-tén* (KUB 15.34 iii 40 (MH/MS)); unclear: *ú-e-ua-ak-u-i* (KBo 4.2 iii 39 (NH), to be read as *ú-e-ua-ak-ki<sup>1</sup>?*).

PIE *\*ué-uok-ei*

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This verb clearly functions as a sort of iterative/intensive of the verb *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to wish, to desire, to ask for’. This is especially indicated by the fact that 1sg.pret.act. *ueyakkinun* (KBo 3.4 ii 11) is duplicated by the impf. *uekiškenun* (KBo 16.1 iii 9).

Already in older texts we find *mi*-forms besides *hi*-forms (e.g. 1sg.pres.act. *ueyakmi* (MS) besides 3sg.pres.act. *ueyakk* (MH/NS, OH/NS)). It is nevertheless likely that the verb originally was *hi*-conjugated, which would better explain the *-a*-vocalism (*ue-uok-e-i*). Compare e.g. *āk<sup>-i</sup>* / *akk-* ‘to die’, which also shows *mi*-inflected forms in MS texts already. In younger times we find a *mi*-conjugated stem *ueyakkije/a-* as well.

It is likely that the verb was accentuated on the reduplication syllable as can be inferred from the almost consistent spelling of *-e-* of its vowel (whereas pretonic *\*e* would have given *-i-*) and the absence of plene spelling of *-a-* in the root syllable.

Formally, *\*ue-uok-e-i* looks like the PIE perfect of *\*uek-*, but semantically, it does not function as such. The verb *ueyakk-* clearly has an iterative/intensive meaning, which suggests that the reduplication was not inherited but only added in post-PIE times during the period in which the creation of the typical Anatolian reduplicated intensives was productive. Any theory in which *ueyakk-* is seen as reflecting a PIE perfect (or the 3sg.pret.-form *ueyakta* as reflecting a PIE pluperfect, cf. e.g. Jasanoff 2003: 36f.) has no merit.

The fact that this verb does not show ablaut is probably due to the fact that the regular outcome of expected *\*ue-uok-* / *\*ue-uk-* was *ueyakk-* / *\*\*uūk-*, which showed an alternation that was too aberrant to be preserved. The strong stem then was generalized throughout the paradigm.

See *uekk<sup>-zi</sup>* for further etymology.

*uez(za)pant-*: see *uizzapant-*

*ui* (interjection) ‘whee’: *ú-i* (e.g. KUB 55.38 ii 19).

An onomatopoeic interjection, e.g. in KUB 55.38 ii (19) *ú-i ú-i hal-zi-eš-ša-an-zi* ‘they cry *ui ui*’, which may be the source of the verb *uai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ui-* ‘to cry’ (q.v.).

*uijae<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to cry (out)’: see *uai<sup>-i</sup>* / *ui-*

**uījan-** (c.) ‘wine’ (Sum. GEŠTIN, Akk. *KARĀNU*): nom.sg. GEŠTIN-*iš* (KBo 6.26 i 18 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. GEŠTIN-*na-an* (OS), GEŠTIN-*an* (OS), gen.sg. *uī<sub>5</sub>-ia-na-aš* (KUB 56.50 ii 5), GEŠTIN-*aš* (OS), instr. GEŠTIN-*it*.

Derivatives: <sup>(d)</sup>**Uīnijant-** (c.) ‘wine (deified)’ (acc.sg. *ú-i-ni-ia-an-ta-an* (KUB 55.56 iv 16), *ú-i-ni-ia-an-da-an* (KUB 25.37 iii 17, 19)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **uīnija-** (adj.) ‘of wine’ (coll.pl. *ú-i-ni-ia*); HLuw. **wijana/i-**, **wina/i-** (c.) ‘vine’ (nom.sg.c. /wianis/ <sup>“VITIS”</sup> *wa/i-ia-ni-sa* (SULTANHAN §7), *wa/i-ia-ni-sá* (SULTANHAN §15), *wa/i-ia-ni-i-sa* (SULTANHAN §23), acc.sg. /winin/ <sup>VITIS</sup> *wa/i-ni-na* (KÖRKÜN §11), case? *wa/i-ia-ni-[x]-i* (KULULU 1 §8)).

IE cognates: Gr. οἶνος, ποῖνος ‘wine’, Lat. *vīnum* ‘wine’, *vītis* ‘vine’, Arm. *gini* ‘wine’, Alb. *vēnë* ‘wine’

PIE *\*uīh<sub>1</sub>-on-*

This word is usually written with the sumerogram GEŠTIN, which sign can be read phonetically as *uī<sub>5</sub>* as well, however. This makes it difficult to decide whether we should read the form GEŠTIN-*ia-na-aš* (KUB 56.50 ii 5) sumerographically or phonetically as *uī<sub>5</sub>-ia-na-aš*. The latter reading is attractive in view of HLuw. *wijana/i-* ‘vine’. Moreover, it is likely that the sign GEŠTIN only received the phonetic value *uī<sub>5</sub>* because of the fact that the ‘wine’-word started in *uī-*.

See Beekes (1987) for an extensive treatment of the IE cognates of this word and for the reconstruction *\*uīh<sub>1</sub>-on-o-*. Note, however, that in the oldest stages of Hittite there is no proof of a thematicized stem *uīh<sub>1</sub>-on-o-* (unlike in HLuwian), on the basis of which I assume that in Hittite we are dealing with an *-n*-stem *\*uīh<sub>1</sub>-on- > uījan-*. The nom.sg.-form GEŠTIN-*iš*, which is found in a NS text, could easily be influenced by the Luwian stem *uījana/i-*.

**uīje/a-<sup>zi</sup>** ‘to cry (out)’: see *uī<sup>i</sup>- / uī-*

**uīje/a-<sup>zi</sup>** ‘to send (here)’: see *uīe-<sup>zi</sup> / uī-*

<sup>GIŠ</sup>**uīeššar** (n.) a tree or its wood: nom.-acc.sg. *ú-i-eš-šar* (KUB 7.37, 12).

This word occurs only once. Usually (HW Erg. 1: 22; Tischler HH: 184), it is cited as <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ueššar*, but the spelling actually points to *uīeššar*. The meaning cannot be determined. Formally, it could be regarded as a derivative in *-ēššar* of *uī<sup>i</sup>- /*

*ui-* ‘to cry’ (q.v.), but a meaning ‘crying; cry’ does not make much sense, unless we have to assume ‘weeper’ (cf. the *weeping-willow*).

***ūil(a/i)n-*** (c.) ‘clay’ (Sum. IM): gen.sg. *ū-il-na-a-aš* (OS), *ū-i-il-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ū-li-ni-i* (KBo 3.46 + KUB 26.75 obv. 13 (OH/NS)), IM-*ni*, instr. *ū-i-la-ni-it* (KUB 13.2 ii 15), acc.pl. *ū-i-la-a-nu-uš* (OS).

This word is attested in OS texts several times and shows different spellings (*ū-il-n<sup>o</sup>*, *ū-i-il-n<sup>o</sup>*, *ū-li-n<sup>o</sup>*, *ū-i-la-n<sup>o</sup>*, *ū-i-la-a-n<sup>o</sup>*), which are hard to explain from an IE point of view. I therefore assume that the word is of foreign origin.

***ūimiġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>***: see *uemiġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*

<sup>NINDA</sup>***ūišta-*** some kind of bread: case? *ū-i-iš-ta-aš* (KUB 9.17, 16).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***ūišta-*** (c.) a kind of bread (nom.sg. *ū-iš-ta-aš*, *ū-i-iš-ta[-aš]*); CLuw. <sup>NINDA</sup>***ūištatnimma/i-*** (c.) a kind of bread (nom.sg. *ūi<sub>3</sub>-iš-ta-at-ni<im>-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *ūi<sub>3</sub>-iš-ta-at-ni-im-mi-en*), <sup>d</sup>***ūištašša/i-*** (c.) ‘god of the *ūišta*-bread’ (acc.sg. *ūi<sub>3</sub>-i-iš-ta-aš-ši-in*).

This word occurs only once, in KUB 9.17, (15) ... *nu LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>T[IR]* (16) <sup>NINDA</sup>*ū-i-iš-ta-aš NINDA-an ū-un-ga-na-an-ta-an ħar-zi pal-ū-i[š-ke-ez-zi=ja (?)]* ‘The man of the forest holds a *ūunganant-* bread of <sup>2</sup>*ūišta-* and cr[ies]’. The word can be compared to (or is a loan from) Pal. *ūištaš* (some kind of bread). Compare also Luw. <sup>NINDA</sup>*ūištatnimma/i-*, derived from *\*ūištattar / ūištatn-*, and <sup>d</sup>*ūištašša/i-*.

Starke (1990: 73) suggests a connection with PIE *\*ueis-* ‘to turn’, which would imply that *ūišta-* means ‘circle-bread’. Although in principle possible, this assumption is not supported by any semantic evidence.

***ūišuriġe/a-<sup>zi</sup>*** (Ic1 > Ic2; IIIg) ‘(act.) to press (together), to be pressing, to be difficult; to tie up, to suffocate (trans.); (midd.) to suffocate (intr.); to be tied up’: 3sg.pres.act. *ū-i-šu-u-ri-ez-zi* (154/w, 3 (NS)), *ū-i-šu-ri-ġa-iz-zi* (KBo 27.136 ii 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ū-e-šu-ri-ġa-an-zi* (KUB 9.6 iii 23 (MH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ū-i-šu-u-ri-ġa-at-ta-ri* (KBo 32.14 ii 49 (MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ū-e-šu-ri-ġa-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.11 iii 9 (OH/NS)), *ū-i-šu-ri-ġa-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.46 i 11 (OH/NS)), *ū-i-šu-u-ri-ġa-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.15, 13 (OH/NS), KUB 33.51 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *ū-i-šu-u-ri-ġa-ta-ti* (KUB 17.10 iii 14 (OH/MS)), *ū-i-šu-ri-ġa-ad-da-at* (KUB 33.45 + 33.53+ ii 8 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ū-e-šu-ri-ġa-an-ta-ti* (KUB 33.48 i 8 (OH/NS)), *ū-i-šu-ri-ġa-an-ta-ti* (KUB 33.37+39 iv 1, 2 (OH/NS)), *ū-i-šu-u-ri-ġa-*

*an-ta-ti* (KUB 17.10 i 6, 7, 8 (OH/MS), KBo 14.86 + KUB 33.17 i 15 (OH/NS)), [*ú-i-š*] *u-ri-ja-an-ta-at* (KUB 33.36 ii 6 (OH/MS)), *ú-i-šu-ri-an-da-at* (KUB 33.36 ii 8 (OH/MS)); part. *ú-i-šu-ri-ja-an-t-* (KBo 31.76 l.col. 9 (OH/NS), KUB 30.65 iii 2 (NS)), *ú-e-šu-ri-ja-an-t-* (KBo 1.42 ii 39 (NS)); verb.noun *ú-e-šu-ri-ja-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.42 ii 26 (NS)); impf. *ú-i-šu-ri-eš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-šu-ri-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***uešuriškattala-*** (c.) ‘presser’ (nom.sg. *ú-e-šu-ri-iš-kat-tal-la-aš* (KBo 1.42 ii 27 (NS)), *ú-e-šu-ri-iš-ga-tal-la-aš* (KBo 1.42 ii 41 (NS)), *ú-e-šu-ri-iš-kat-tal-la-aš* (KBo 1.42 ii 42 (NS))).

Although often cited as *uešurije/a-*, the MS attestations *uišurije/a-* in my view show that we have to take the spellings with *-i-* as more original (note that the spelling *ú-e-šu-* is predominantly found in the vocabulary KBo 1.42). See Carruba (1966: 50-54) for an extensive semantic treatment of this verb. He also provides a morphological analysis, namely a *-je/a-* derivative of a verbal noun *\*uisur-*, of an unattested verbal root *\*uis-* (although Carruba talks about *\*uesur-*). Carruba connects this root with ON *visna* ‘to wither’ and Lat. *viēscō* ‘to shrivel’, but that does not seem attractive to me semantically. Also Eichner’s direct comparison (1973: 77) with Slav. *\*vixъръ* ‘whirlwind’ < *\*uéisuro-* does not make much sense to me semantically.

***uit-***: see *uida-* ‘water’

***uit-*** (c.) ‘year’ (Sum. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>): nom.sg. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*za*, acc.sg. MU-*an*, gen.sg. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*za*, MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-i-it-ti* (KUB 4.72 rev. 2 (OS), KUB 29.32+ iii 2 (OS)), *ú-it-ti* (KBo 3.22 obv. 10 (OS), KBo 3.46 obv. 14 (OH/NS), KUB 58.63 ii<sup>2</sup> 9, Bo 69/465, 1 (NH)), MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*ti*, abl. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*za*, nom.pl. MU<sup>HIA</sup>-*uš*, acc.pl. MU.KAM<sup>HIA</sup>-*uš*, gen.pl. *ú-ī[-(it-ta-an)]* (KUB 29.3, 2 (OS)), *ú-it-ta-an* (KUB 29.1+ i 22 (OH/NS), *ú-i-it-ta-aš* (Bo 4636 iii 10f. (OH/MS)), MU<sup>(KAM.HIA)</sup>-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. MU<sup>(KAM.HIA)</sup>-*aš*.

Derivatives: ***\*uittant-*** (c.) ‘year’ (dat.-loc.sg. MU-*an-ti* (KBo 12.2 obv. 1 (OS)), ***uettandātar / uettandann-*** (n.) ‘period of a year’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-et-ī[(a-an-da-an-ni)]* (KBo 3.22 rev. 64 (OS)) // *ú-i-da-an-da-an-ni* (KUB 26.71 i 10 (OH/NS)), MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*an-ni*), ***\*uittili*** (adv.) ‘annually’ (MU-*ti-li*, MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*li*), see also *uiz(za)pant-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ušša/i-*** (c.) ‘year’ (nom.sg. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*iš*, acc.sg. MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*in*, abl.-instr. *uš-ša-a-ti*, MU<sup>HIA</sup>-*ti*, MU<sup>(KAM)</sup>-*ti*); HLuw. ***usa/i-*** (c.) ‘year’ (acc.sg. /*usin*/ (ANNUS-*si-na* (SHEIZAR §2), “ANNUS” *u-si-na* (KULULU 1 §6 (2x))), dat.-loc.sg. /*usi*/ (e.g. ANNUS *u-si* (KARATEPE 1 §48), ANNUS *u-si-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11b

§7)), /usa/? (<sup>ANNUS</sup>*u-sá*<sup>2</sup> (PALANGA §12)), acc.pl. /usint<sup>s</sup>/ (<sup>ANNUS</sup>*u-si-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §51)), dat.-loc.pl. /usant<sup>s</sup>/ (<sup>ANNUS</sup>*u-sá-za* (AKSARAY §4a)); unclear (but perhaps nom.sg.?) /usis/ (ANNUS-*si-ša*) (KARKAMIŠ A17b §6)); gen.adj. /usasa/i-/ (nom.sg.c. ANNUS-*sa-si-sá-*' (HĪSARCIK 1 §3)), /usisa/i-/ (acc.sg.c. "ANNUS"-*si-si-na* (MARAŞ 11 §8)), **usalinza-** (adj.) 'annual' (nom.sg. ANNUS-*sa-li-za-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11b §18a), acc.sg. <sup>ANNUS</sup>*u-sa-li-za-ná* (KARKAMIŠ A13d §10), ANNUS-*sa-li-za-n[a]* (KARKAMIŠ A4d §1)), **usali-** (adj.) 'annual' (nom.-acc.pl.n. <sup>ANNUS</sup>*u-sa-li-ia* (MARAŞ 3 §6), acc.pl. ANNUS+ANNUS-*la/i/u-zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.2 b-a)); Lyc. **uhe/i-** 'year' (dat.-loc.sg. *uhi*, dat.-loc.pl. *uhe*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *uhahi*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.sg. *uhahi*), **uhazata-** 'yearly tribute' (coll.pl. *uhazata*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἔτος, φέτος 'year', Lat. *vetus* 'old', Skt. *vatsará-* 'year'

PIE *\*uet-*

See Rieken (1999a: 25-28) for a detailed treatment of this word. On the basis of the fossilized gen.sg. MU<sup>KAM</sup>-*za* in the phrase MU<sup>KAM</sup>-*za mēhur* 'the time of the year', Rieken assumes an acrostic root noun *\*uot-s*, *\*uot-m*, *\*uet-s*, *\*uet-i*. According to her, the *\*e*-grade stem generalized throughout the paradigm. This *-e-* was phonetically raised to *i* between *\*u* and a dental consonant (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262). The older form *uett-* is still visible in *ú-e-et-t[(a-an-da-an-ni)]* (KBo 3.22 rev. 64 (OS)) and in some forms of the derivative *uiz(za)pant-*, *uez(za)pant-* (q.v.). Although the forms with the spelling *ú-it-* in principle could be read *ú-et-* as well the spellings with *ú-i-it-* indicates that the vowel *-i-* is real.

The Luwian forms show a different formation, namely *ušša/i-* (in my view, HLUwian shows *usa/i-* as well, and not an *i*-stem as cited in Hawkins (2000: 630), which can be seen in the dat.-loc.pl. *usanz* instead of *\*\*usijanz*). It is generally accepted that this form reflects *\*ut-s-o-*, a thematization of the *s*-stem *\*uet-os-* that is found in other IE languages (Gr. ἔτος, φέτος 'year', Lat. *vetus* 'old'). Hitt. *uitt-*, however, probably reflects the old root noun.

**ūida-** (gender unclear) 'water': dat.-loc.sg. *ú-i-ti*, abl. *ūi<sub>5</sub>-ta-az*, dat.-loc.pl. *ūi<sub>5</sub>-ta-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **ūida-** 'wet' (dat.-loc.pl. *ú-i-da-an-za*).

PIE *\*ued-o-* ?

This word occurs a few times only:

KBo 3.8+ iii (OH/NS)

(1) *šal-li-iš ÍD-aš hu-un-hu-ma-az-zi=ši-it ha-mi-i[k-ta]*

- (2) *n=a-aš-ta an-da KU<sub>6</sub>-un I-NA ḥa-an-ti-ja-ra ú-i-ti*  
 (3) *ḥa-mi-ik-ta HUR.SAG<sup>HLA</sup> pá-r-ga-mu-uš ḥa-mi-ik-ta*

‘The great river bound its flow. And he bound the fish in the *ḥ. u.* And he bound the high mountains’;

ibid.

- (18) ... *nu ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi<sup>d</sup> Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš*  
 (19) GAL-in ÍD-an *n=a-aš-ta an-da ḥa-an-ti-ja-ra KU<sub>6</sub>-an ú-i-ti*  
 (20) *ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi GAL-iš ÍD ḥu-un-ḥu-ma-az=ši-it*  
 (21) EGIR-pa *la-a-at-ta-at an-da KU<sub>6</sub>-uš ḥa-an-ti-ja-ra-aš la-at-ta-at*

‘Kamrušepa conjures the great river. She conjures the fish in the *ḥ. u.* The great river, its flow, was released again. The fish in the *ḥ.*’s was released’;

KUB 21.19 +1303/u + 338/v (+) KUB 14.7 iii (NH) (see Sürenhagen 1981: 94)

- (11) ... KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ne-ri-i[k]*  
 (12) *ḥu-u-da-ak=pát ka-ru-ú-i-li-ja-aš A-NA LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> x[...]*  
 (13) *ḥar-kán-za e-eš-ta nu KASKAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> an-da ḡa-ar-ḥu-e-e[š-šar e-eš-ta]*  
 (14) *nu=kán<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-ik-ka<sub>r</sub>-aš URU-aš<sup>NA</sup> a<sub>r</sub>-ku-uš GIM-an [ḡi<sub>5</sub>-ti(?)]*  
 (15) *an-da e-eš-ta nu=kán ḡal-lu-ú-ḡa-aš<sup>Δ</sup> ḡi<sub>5</sub>-ta-aš kat[-ta-an e-eš-ta]*  
 (16) *nu=kán<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-ik-ka<sub>r</sub>-an URU-an<sup>NA</sup> a<sub>r</sub>!-ku-un GIM[-an]*  
 (17) *ḡal-lu-ḡa-az ḡi<sub>5</sub>-ta-az ša-ra-a ú-da-aḡ-ḡu-u[n nu=kán KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-ik]*  
 (18) *A-NA<sup>dU</sup> URU<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-ik DUMU=KA ḡa-an-da-aš še-er d[a-aḡ-ḡu-un]*

‘The land of Nerik was soon gotten lost for the older kings x[...], and on the roads there was brushwood. The city of Nerik was like a pebble in the [*u.*(?)], and was down in the deep *u.* And I lifted the city of Nerik like a pebble out of the deep *u.*, and I took the land of Nerik, for the sake of the Storm-god of Nerik, your son’.

The forms could either belong to a stem *ḡid-* or a stem *ḡida-*. In all contexts, a meaning ‘water (vel sim.)’ would fit. This is especially the case for the first context, where we read about ‘fish in the *u.*’. It therefore is generally agreed that in one way or another the word has a connection to PIE *\*uódr* ‘water’.

Kronasser (1966: 162) assumes that these words show a root noun *\*ued-* ‘water’, a view that has been followed for many years.

Starke (1990: 568), however, states that the word is likely of Luwian origin: “Die späte Bezeugung wie insbesondere auch der Gebrauch des Glossenkeils [...]

sprechen indessen wohl eher für k.-luw. Herkunft”. He translates the word as ‘wet’ and claims to have found the same word in genuine CLuwian as well, namely in Ú.SAL<sup>Hl.A</sup>-*an-za ú-i-da-an-za* (KUB 35.45 ii 6), which he translates as “den feuchten Wiesen”. In his view, CLuw. *ūida/i-* (as he analyses the stem) reflects a *vr̥ddhi*-formation *\*uēd-o-*, derived from *\*uód-r*. The reconstruction with *\*ē* apparently is given in order to explain Luw. *-i-*, since *\*e* in principle yields Luw. *-a-*.

Rieken (1999a: 76), however, points to the fact that there are indications that an *\*e* develops to Luw. *i* when between *ū* and dental consonant (as in Hittite, see Melchert 1994a: 262) and implies that a reconstruction *\*ued-o-* is possible as well. She follows Starke in assuming that the Hittite forms are Luwian borrowings: “Angesichts der Beschränkung von *ūid(a)-* auf eine luw. Ausdrucksform, ein Glossenkeilwort und zwei Belege aus einem stark luwisierten Text ist luw. Herkunft sehr wahrscheinlich” (1999a: 77).

All in all, I think it is best to assume that the forms found in Hittite contexts belong to a stem *ūida-* and are borrowings from the CLuw. adjective *ūida-* ‘wet’ that reflects *\*ued-o-*.

***ūida-*** ‘to bring (here)’: see *ūedae<sup>-zi</sup>*

***ūida-*** ‘to build’: see *ūete<sup>-zi</sup> / ūet-*

***ūite-*** ‘to build’: see *ūete<sup>-zi</sup> / ūet-*

***ūitēn-***: see *ūātar / ūitēn-*

***ūitriš-*** (n.) a disease of bone and skin<sup>?</sup>: nom.-acc.sg. *ú-it-ri-iš* (KBo 9.4 iii 39), [*ú-it-r*]i-iš (KBo 17.54 i 12).

This word is found in the Ritual of Tunnauija:

KBo 9.4 iii

(35) SAG.DU-aš *ḫu-u-ul-ta-ra-am-ma-an*

(36) *mu-ú-da-id-du* ...

(38) ... *ḫa-aš-ti-ia-aš*

(39) *ma-a-lu-li-ia-aš ú-it-ri-iš-š=a* KI.MIN

‘Let it remove the *ḫ*.-sickness of the head! ... Likewise the *u*.-sickness of bone and skin<sup>?</sup>!’.

It is not clear what kind of disease the word denotes.

*uīua<sup>-i</sup> / uīui-* ‘to cry (out)’: see *uai<sup>-i</sup> / uī-*

*uīzzapant-, uēz(za)pant-* (adj.) ‘old, grown old’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ú-iz-z[a-p]a-an* (KUB 17.21 i 16 (MH/MS), *ú-iz-za pa-a-an* (KBo 1.42 iv 42 (NH)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ú-iz-za-pa-an-ta* ((KUB 17.21 i 16 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ez-pa-an-ta* (KUB 5.10, 5 (NH)), *ú-e-ez-za-pa-an-ta* (KUB 5.10, 10 (NH)).

PIE “\*uet-s \*h<sub>1</sub>poi-h<sub>1</sub>i-ent”

This word occurs a few times only, denoting the weariness of objects that have to be renewed: compare e.g.

KUB 17.21 i

(6) *nu šu-me-eš=pát* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš *iš-ta-an-z[a-n]i-it še-ek-te-n[i]*

...

(14) *nam-ma š[u]-me-en-za-an* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš *ku-e* ALAM<sup>III.A</sup>=*KU-NU ŠA*

KÚ.BABBAR GUŠKIN

(15) *nu-u=š-ša-an [k]u-e-da-ni* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-ni *ku-it tu-e-ek-ki-i=š-ši*

(16) *an-da ú-iz-z[a-p]a-an* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-š=a *ku-e Ú-NU-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> ú-iz-za-pa-an-ta*

(17) *n=a-at an-z[e-]el i-ua-ar* EGIR-pa *Ú-UL ku-iš-ki* (18) *ne-u-ua-aḥ-ḥa-a[n ḥar-t]a*

‘You, o gods, must know with your divine spirit .... . And further whatever statues of you, o gods, of silver (or) gold (there are), and on whatever god (of them) on his body whatever thing has grown old, and whatever utensils of the god have grown old, no-one has renewed them like us’;

KUB 5.10 i

(2) ... *nu LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-en UM-MA ŠU-NU-U=M-MA*

(3) *BI-IB-RU* GUŠKIN=*ua-a=z zi-in-za-pu-uš-ši-aš*«=*ua-a=z*»<sup>LÚ</sup>NAR  
*da-a-i-ia-at*

(4) *EGIR-pa=ma=ua-r=a-aš na-ú-i DÙ-an-za TÚG.GÚ.È.A ḤUR-RI* GUŠKIN=*ua*  
*ku-e*

(5) *DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ua-aš-ša-an ḥar-zi nu=ua-r=a-at ú-e-ez-pa-a-an-ta<sup>?</sup> Giš<sup>?</sup> ḥu-lu-ga-an-*  
*ni-eš-š=a=ua*

(6) *ar-ḥa du-ua-ar-na-an-za* KUŠ<sup>?</sup>NÍG.BÀR=*ua IŠ-TU É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup> pé-eš-ke-er*

(7) *nu=ua-r=a-at na-ú-i pí-ia-an* EZEN<sup>?</sup>*aš-ra-ḥi-ta-aš-ši-in=ua ku-ua-pí i-ia-an-zi*

(8) *nu=ua A-NA* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> *IŠ-TU É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup> 1 KUŠ KÙ.BABBAR SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> SÍG*



- ZA.GÌN I<sup>NU-TUM</sup> KUŠ NÍG.BÀR<sup>III.A</sup>=*ia*  
 (9) pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na=*ua* <sup>EZEN</sup> *aš-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-in i-e-er* KÙ.BABBAR=*ma=ua* SÍG  
 SA<sub>5</sub> SÍG ZA.GÌN KUŠ NÍG.BÀR<sup>III.A</sup>=*ia*  
 (10) Ú-UL pí-i-e-er <sup>SÍG</sup> *šur-ri-ta=ua ú-e-ez-za-pa-an-ta*

‘We asked the men of the temple, and they said: ‘A musician has stolen golden *zinzapu*-shaped rhytons but he has not been making them back yet. The golden Hurrian clothes which the deity is wearing have grown old and the chariot is broken apart. They used to give the curtain from the palace but it has not been given yet. When they make a *ašraḫitašši*-feast, they used to give to the deity one hide, silver, red wool, blue wool and one unit of curtains from the palace. Now they have made an *ašraḫitašši*-feast but they have not given silver, red wool, blue wool nor curtains. The *šurita*-wool has grown old’.

In the vocabulary KBo 1.42 iv 42, *ú-iz-za pa-a-an* glosses Akk. *LA-BI-RU* ‘old’, showing a clear word space between *uizza* and *pān*. On the basis of this attestation, Güterbock (1955: 64f.) suggested that the word is a univerbation of *uitt-* ‘year’ (q.v.) and *pānt-* ‘having gone’ (see *paii<sup>-zi</sup> / pai-*) and that it originally meant ‘the year has gone’. Rieken (1999a: 26) states that therefore *ue/izza* must be interpreted as the original nom.sg. of *uitt-* ‘year’. This interpretation is unlikely in my view, however, since an interjection of a loose sentence ‘the year has gone’ is quite ungrammatical. Moreover I cannot envisage how such an interjection would develop into an inflecting adjective.

It therefore might be better to interpret *\*ue/izza* as gen.sg., univerbated with a *\*pānt-* that agrees with the noun it determines, so that *uizza pānt-* originally meant ‘having gone with regard to the year(s)’, which developed into ‘having gone weary’.

See for further etymology the separate lemmas *uitt-* ‘year’ and *paii<sup>-zi</sup> / pai-* ‘to go’.



## Z

**-z** (abl.-ending): see  $-(\bar{a})z$

**=z** (enclitic reflexive particle): =z (e.g. *ta-a=z* (OS), *ki-i-i=z* (OS), *nu=mu-u=z* (OS)),  $=(z)za$  (e.g. *nu=za*, *nu-u=z-za* (OS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal.  $=\bar{t}i=?$  (reflexive particle?); CLuw.  $=\bar{t}i$  (reflexive particle); HLuw.  $=\bar{t}i$ ,  $=ri$  / $=di$ / (reflexive pron. 3sg.); Lyc.  $=\bar{t}i$  (reflexive particle).

PAnat.  $*=ti$

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The oldest spellings of this particle are =z. From OS texts onwards, the spelling  $=(z)za$  is generalized.

The reflexive particle is found in most other Anatolian languages as well, all going back to PAnat.  $*=ti$  (HLuw. / $=di$ / probably shows lenition).

In Lydian, the reflexive particle is  $-ś$ ,  $-is$ , which, according to Melchert (1991a: 135-142), goes back to  $*-soi$ ,

In HLuwian, the form of the reflexive particle differs per person. We find  $=mi$  for the 1sg.,  $=ti$  and  $=ri$  / $=di$ / for 2sg. and  $=ti$ ,  $=ri$  / $=di$ / for 3sg. (the old reflexive particle from  $*=ti$ ). The reflexives  $=mi$  and / $=di$ / are probably innovated on the basis of  $*=ti$ , combining the consonant of the enclitic pronouns  $=mu$  'me' and  $=du$  'you' with the  $-i$  of  $*=ti$ .

The development  $*=ti >$  Hitt.  $=z$  / $=t^s$ / is supported by the occasional OS spelling  $-za$  / $-t^s$ / of the 3sg.pres.-ending  $< *-ti$ .

**-za** (abl.-ending): see  $-(\bar{a})z$

**-za** (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see  $-zi$

*zāh<sup>i</sup> / zahh-* (IIa2) ‘to hit, to beat’: 1sg.pres.act. *za-ah-mi* (KUB 43.71 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 26.91 i 8 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *za-a-hi* (KBo 6.25+ iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 26.12 ii 16 (NH)), *za-ah-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 38 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *za-ah-hu-u-e-ni* (KBo 3.60 ii 17 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-ha-an-zi* (KUB 5.7 i 32, 35 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *za-ah-ta* (KUB 33.110 ii 6 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *za-ah-ḫe-er* (KUB 17.21 iv 2f. (MH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *za-ah-du* (KUB 43.35, 10 (OS?, MH/MS?)), 3pl.imp.act. *za-ha-an-d[u]* (KUB 13.4 iii 39 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *za-ah-ta-ri* (KUB 5.1 iv 72 (NH), KUB 5.18 rev. 6 (NS), KUB 50.79 obv.<sup>3</sup> 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *za-ah-ha-an-da* (KBo 23.92 ii 14 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: see also *zahhai-* / *zahhi-*, *zahrai-* and *zahhurae-*.

IE cognates: Gr. σῆμα ‘sign, mark’, Gr. σῶμα ‘corpse’, σῖτος ‘grain, food’.

PIE *\*tióh<sub>2</sub>-ei* / *\*tih<sub>2</sub>-énti* ?

It is not easy to determine whether this verb originally was *hi-* or *mi-* conjugated since we find forms of both conjugations in older texts (e.g. *zāhi* (OH/NS) vs. *zahdu* (MH/MS)). Nevertheless, it is likely that the *hi-* conjugation was the older (likewise Oettinger 1979a: 446). Firstly because the *mi-* conjugation is the productive one and secondly because we would otherwise not be able to explain how the stem final *-h-* was retained, as *\*h<sub>2</sub>* was regularly lost before most consonants (e.g. *\*Ceh<sub>2</sub>-ti* should have yielded *\*\*Cāzi*). This means that we have to reckon with an original ablaut *zāh<sup>i</sup> / zahh-* (the stem *zahh-* is still visible in 1pl.pres.act. *zahhu<sub>u</sub>eni* and 3pl.pret. *zahher*: in younger Hittite, the lenited variant *-ḫ-* from the 3sg.pres. *zāhi* is spreading through the paradigm, yielding forms like 3pl.pres.act. *zahanzi*).

Phonologically, *zāh-* represents *h<sup>s</sup>āh-/*, which can go back to either *\*Tsoh<sub>2</sub>-* or *\*tioh<sub>2</sub>-*. Oettinger (1979a: 447 with reference to Schindler) suggests a reconstruction *\*ds-eh<sub>2</sub>-* on the basis of a connection with Gr. δαῖ ‘in battle’ < *\*das-*. This is quite improbable as the *a* of *das-* requires *\*h<sub>2</sub>* or a vocalized nasal.

In my view, we should rather reconstruct a root *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-* (structurally like *\*pieh<sub>2</sub>-* or *\*kieh<sub>2</sub>-*): a reconstruction *\*tióh<sub>2</sub>-ei* would perfectly account for Hitt. *zāhi*. The weak stem *\*tih<sub>2</sub>-énti* probably should have given *\*\*zihhanzi*, however (although *zahhanzi* could be possible if we assume an intermediate stage *\*ti<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>-enti*, cf. *zanu-* ‘to make cook’ < *\*ti<sub>2</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-neu-*), which implies that an analogical rebuilding to *zahhanzi* has taken place on the basis of verbs like *hāši / haššanzi*, *aki / akkanzi*, *uāki / uakkanzi*. Janda (2005) also assumes that *zāh-* / *zahh-* reflects a root *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to strike’ and adduces Gr. σῆμα ‘sign, mark’ < *\*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-mn* ‘the beaten one’, Gr.



3 (OH/NS)), *za-ah-ḥi-in* (KBo 5.6 iii 29 (NH), KUB 4.1 iii 14 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *za-ah-ḥi-ia* (OS), abl. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-az* (MH/MS), *za-ah-ḥi-ia-za*, *za-ah-ḥa-ia-az* (KUB 34.23 ii 2 (NH)), instr. *za-ah-ḥa-it* (KUB 19.36 iv 10 (NH)), acc.pl. *za-ah-ḥa-uš* (KUB 36.7b+ iv 16 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***zahḥiie/a-zi*** (Ic1) ‘to battle (someone)’ (1sg.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-u-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *za-ah-ḥi-er*; 1sg.pres.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ah-ḥa* (MH/MS), *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ah-ḥa-ri* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-u-ua-aš-ta-ti*, *za-ah-ḥi-ia-u-ua-aš-ta*, 2pl.pres.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ad-du-ma* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-an-da*, 1sg.pret.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ah-ḥa-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-at-ta* (OH/NS), *za-ah-ḥi-ia-at-ta-at*, 1sg.imp.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ah-ḥ[ar-ru]* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ah-ḥu-ut* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.midd. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-ad-du-ma-at*; part. *za-ah-ḥi-ia-an-t*; inf.I *za-ah-ḥi-ia-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *za-ah-ḥi-iš-ke/a-*), ***zahzahḥiie/a-zi*** (Ic1) ‘to battle fiercely’ (impf. *za-ah-za-ah-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 46.45 rev.<sup>7</sup> 9)).

PIE *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-oi-* / *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-i-* ?

The noun *zahḥai-* clearly is a derivative of the verb *zāḥ-<sup>i</sup> / zahḥ-* ‘to hit, to beat’ (q.v.). The verb *zahḥiie/a-zi* ‘to battle’, however, is a derivative of *zahḥai-*.

The etymology of both words depends on the interpretation of *zāḥ/zahḥ-*, which I have reconstructed as reflecting a root *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-*. If this is correct, then *zahḥai-* reflects *\*tiéh<sub>2</sub>-oi-*. We have to assume that the full-grade generalized through the paradigm, which is a common phenomena in diphthong-stems. Note that *zahḥiie/a-*, which reflects virtual *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-ie/o-* (or *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-i-ie/o-?*) shows a different development than *\*teh<sub>2</sub>-ie/o-* > *tāie/a-zi* ‘to steal’ (q.v.).

***zahḥanettienna-*** (adj.?) ‘?’: abl. *za-ḥa-ne-et-ti-en-na-za* (KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 vi 3, 4).

This word occurs in one context only:

KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 vi (with additions from KUB 55.2 obv. 5 - rev. 2)

(1) [DUM]U É.GAL *te-ez-z[(i ḥé-e-eš<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU)]*.GI *te-ez-z[i ... le-e?]*

(2) *ú-ua-at-te-ni UM-M[(A DUMU É.GAL š)]u-up-pa-ia-za=ua pi<sup>2</sup>-x[ ... UM-MA?<sup>MUNUS</sup>Š(U.GI)]*

(3) *nu=ua ku-e-ez-za šu-up-pa-ī[a-az] UM-MA DUMU É.GAL za-ḥa-n[e-et-ti-en-*

- na-za=ua .... UM-MA<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI*  
 (4) *nu=ua ku-e-ez-za za-ḥa-ne-et-ti-en-na-za UM-MA [(DUMU É.GAL ap)- ... ]*  
 (5) <sup>d</sup>UTU-aš=ua an-na-az [(U)]M-MA<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI *nu=ua-r=a-aš G[(IM-an<sup>d</sup>UTU-uš) ... ]*

‘The palace servant says: ‘Open up!’. The Old Woman says: ‘[...] you [must not?] come’. Thus the palace servant: ‘From the pure [...]’. [Thus?] the Old Woman: ‘From which pure one?’. Thus the palace servant: ‘From the *zaḥanettienna-* one [...]’. [Thus the Old Woman]: ‘From which *zaḥanettienna-* one?’. Thus the palace servant: [‘...’] from the mother of the Sun-god’. Thus the Old Woman: ‘When the Sun-god [...] them [...]’.

The context is too unclear for me to do a suggestion about the meaning of the word. If however *zaḥanettiennaza* functions on a par with *šuppajaza*, it might have to be interpreted as an adjective. Tischler (HH: 204) translates “Örtlichkeit im Tempel, ‘Schrein’?”, but this does not seem probable to me.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*zaharti-*: see <sup>GIŠ</sup>*zahurti-*

*zahhel(i)-* (n.) ‘weeds’: nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *za-aḥ-ḥé-li* (KBo 6.34+ iii 45).

This word occurs only once:

KBo 6.34 + KUB 48.76 iii

(39) *nu kiš-an te-ez-zi ku-iš=ua=kán ke-e*

(40) *li-in-ga-uš šar-ri-ez-zi nu-u=š-ši<sup>d</sup>IM-aš*

(41) <sup>GIŠ</sup>APIN *ar-ḥa du-ua-ar-na-a-ú*

(42) *[n=a]-aš-ta IŠ-TU IM.ŠU.NÍG.RIN.NA GIM-an=ma<sup>1</sup> ú-el-ku*

(43) *ša-r[a]-a Ú-UL ú-ez-zi n=a-aš-ta a-pé-el-l=a*

(44) *IŠ-TU A.ŠÀ=ŠU ZÍZ-tar ŠE<sup>AM</sup> ša-ra-a le-e*

(45) *ú-ez-zi n=[a]-aš-ta UGU za-aḥ-ḥé-li i-ja-ta-ru*

‘He says thus: ‘Who will transgress these oaths, for him the Storm-god must break the plough.’. When, however, out of the oven grass does not come up, out of his field grain barley must not come up, (but) *zahheli* must go up’.

It is possible that *zahheli* means something like ‘weeds’. The word either must be interpreted as a nom.-acc.sg. of a stem *zahheli-*, or as a nom.-acc.pl. in *-i* of a stem *zahhel-*.

Tischler (HH: 204) states that *zahheli* is “möglicherweise bloß Verschreibung für *hahheli*- ds.”, apparently assuming that *za-ah-hé-li* is wrong for *ha<sup>1</sup>-ah-hé-li*, writing ZA (𐎠𐎵) for HA (𐎧𐎫). Problematic for this idea, however, is the fact that *hahhal*- ‘greenery, vegetation’ (q.v.) never shows a form *hahhel*-, and that the oblique cases of *hahhal*- always show geminate *-ll-* (e.g. nom.-acc.pl. *hahhalli*).

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*zahrai*- (c.) ‘knocker(?)’: acc.sg. *za-ah-ra-in* (KBo 6.10 ii 11 and duplicates).  
 PIE *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-r-oi- ??*

This word occurs in one context only, namely in §126 of the Hittite Laws:

KBo 6.10 ii (with duplicates)

(11) *ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*za-ah-ra-in ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi*

(12) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

‘If someone steals the *zahrai*- on the gate of the palace, he will pay 6 shekels of silver’.

From this context, it is not exactly clear what kind of object *zahrai*- refers to. Formally, one could think of a connection with the verb *zāh<sup>-i</sup> / zahh-* ‘to beat, to hit’ (q.v.), which possibly could indicate that *zahrai*- denotes ‘knocker (on a door)’. If this is true and if *zāh<sup>-i</sup>/zahh-* indeed goes back to a root *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-*, *zahrai*- could reflect *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-r-oi-*. Note that this word then would show that *\*Vh<sub>2</sub>RV* > Hitt. *VhRV* (cf. also <sup>GIŠ</sup>*māhla-* and <sup>UZU</sup>*muhrai-/mahrai-*).

*zahhurae<sup>-zi</sup>* (Ic2) ‘to break, to crush’: 3sg.imp.act. *za-ah-hur-ra-id-du* (KBo 10.45 iii 38 (MH/NS)), *za-ah-hu-ra-id-du* (KUB 41.8 iii 29 (MH/NS)); impf. *za-ah-hu-ra-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 33.120 ii 31 (MH/NS)), *z[a-a]h-[h]u-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 36.7a iii 36 (NS)), *za-ah-ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (KUB 33.93 iii 34 = 23 (NS)); broken: *za-ah-hu-r[a-...]* (VSNF 12.131 i 4 (NS)).

PIE *\*tieh<sub>2</sub>-ur-o-je/o- ?*

This verb occurs in a few contexts only. For instance,

KUB 33.93 ii

(23) <sup>d</sup>*Ta-aš-mi-šu-un=ma=ya ha-ah-ha[-ri-in G]I-an ma-a-an ar-ha*

*za-ah-ri-eš-ke-ed-du*

‘Let him break Tašmišu off like a *h.* reed’;



KUB 36.7a+ iii

(35) [n]u=ua-r=a-an ha-ah-ha-ri-in GI-an G[I]M-an ar-ha le-e

(36) z[a-a]h-[h]u-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi

‘Let her not break him off like a *h*. reed’;

KUB 41.8 iii (with additions from dupl. KBo 10.45)

(27) ... nu-u=š-ma-aš [(GAM-an)] KI-aš

(28) GUL-ua-an-na-aš k[(i-š)a-ru UG]U=ma ne-pí-iš pa-ak-ku-šu-ar

(29) ki-ša-ru nu AN[-za ... (x)] an-da za-ah-hu-ra-id-du

‘May the earth below you become the GUL-*uanna*- and may the sky above become the crusher, and may the sky(?) crush [...] therein’ (cf. CHD P: 59).

The verb clearly means ‘to break, to crush’ and seems to have a stem *zahhurae-*. The one attestation showing a stem *zahrae-* (KUB 33.93 iii 34 = 23) may have to be emended to *za-ah-(hu-)ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (a sort of haplography of  $\text{H}\bar{\text{U}}$  ( $\text{𒀭}$ ) and  $\text{RI}$  ( $\text{𒀭}$ )?). The verb belongs to the *hatrae*-class, which are denominative verbs derived from \**o*-stem nouns, which indicates that *zahhurae-* is built on an unattested noun \**zahhura-* ‘crusher, breaker’ (cf. Rieken 1999a: 356<sup>1759</sup>). This noun easily can be seen as a derivative of the verb *zāh<sup>i</sup>- / zahh-* ‘to beat, to hit’ (q.v.). If this latter verb indeed reflects a root \**tieh<sub>2</sub>-*, *zahhurae-* goes back to virtual \**tieh<sub>2</sub>-ur-o-je/o-*.

<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> **zahurti-** (c./n.) some chair or couch: nom.sg.c. *za-hur-ti-iš*, acc.sg.c. *za-hur-ti-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *za-hur-ti*, gen.sg. *za-hur-ti-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-hur-ti* (OS), *za-hur-ti-ia*, acc.pl. *za-hur-ti-uš*.

This word clearly denotes a wooden object to sit or lie upon, as can be seen e.g. in KUB 20.11 ii (8) ... UGULA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> (9) <sup>GIŠ</sup> *za-hur-ti-ia e-ša* ‘the head of the clowns sits down on the z.’ or KUB 36.104 rev. (5) *za-hur-ti-i=š-ši ki-it-ta* ‘he lies on his z.’. Because of the fact that the word is consistently written with the sign  $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{R}/\text{H}\bar{\text{U}}\text{R}$ , the word could be read *zaharti-* as well. Consensus has it, however, to cite *zahurti-*.

The single spelling of *-h-* is indicative for a foreign origin of this word, because PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>* yields fortis *-hh-* unless it stands in leniting position. One could suggest that we have to interpret the word as /tshurti-/ and that the single spelling of *-h-* is due to the fact that it is part of an initial cluster /tsh-/. In the one case where we are sure to deal with such an initial cluster, we regularly find the spelling *zašh-*,

however, namely in *za-aš-ḥa-i-* ‘dream’ /tsHai-/ < \*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>oi-. This indicates that *zahurti-* stands for /t<sup>s</sup>ahurti-/ (or /t<sup>s</sup>aharti-/), having a real single -h-, which points to a non-IE origin, in spite of its OS attestation. The fact that the word is of non-IE origin could explain the variation in gender.

**zai<sup>i</sup> / zi-** (IIa4 > Ic2) ‘to cross, to cross over’: 2sg.pres.act. *za-a-it-ti* (KBo 4.3 i 19 (NH), KUB 19.53 ii 9 (MH/MS), KUB 6.41 ii 8 (NH), KBo 4.7 ii 11 (NH)), *za-a-[i]-it-ti* (KBo 5.13 i 31 (NH)), *za-a-š[i]* (KUB 33.124 iv 1 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *za-a-i* (KBo 6.2 ii 31 (OS), KUB 31.81 obv. 1 (OS), KBo 6.3 ii 53 (OH/NS), KBo 6.5 iv 14 (OH/NS), KBo 8.38 obv.<sup>7</sup> 7 (NS), KUB 22.29 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 36.25 i 15 (NS), KUB 21.29 ii 42 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. *zi-iš-te-e-n[i]* (KUB 26.87, 11 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-a-an-zi* (KUB 46.38 i 16 (NS)), *za-an-zi* (KUB 25.14 iv 13 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *[z]é-eh-ḥu-un* (KBo 16.10, 5 (NH)), *zi-iḥ-ḥu-un* (KBo 10.2 ii 18, iii 31 (OH/NS), KUB 23.21 rev. 27 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *za-a-iš* (MH/MS, often), *za-a-i-iš* (KBo 12.39 i 18 (NS), KUB 14.8 rev. 11 (NH)), *za-iš* (HKM 46 obv. 7 (MH/MS)), *za-a-it* (KUB 33.106 iii 10 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *za-i-u-en* (KUB 31.101, 11 (MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *za-a-er* (KUB 18.24 iii 16 (NS), KUB 49.11 ii 24 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *za-it-te-en* (KUB 31.101, 7 (MS)), *za-at-tén* (KUB 40.1 obv. 6 (NS)); verb.noun *za-a-u-[ar]* (KUB 3.95, 1 (NS)); impf. *za-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.130 rev. 7 (OH/MS)), *za-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 33.117 obv. 10 (NS)), *za-a-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 33.124 iv 2 (NS), KUB 8.50 ii 10 (NS)), *za-a-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 12.44, 7 (NH)).

Derivatives: **zīnu<sup>-i</sup>**, **zainu<sup>-i</sup>** (Ib2) ‘to make cross’ ([z]i-nu-uz-zi (KBo 10.11 i 7 (OH/NS)), *zi-nu-e-er* (KBo 3.46 i 19 (OH/NS)), *zi-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 52 (OH/NS)); *zi-i-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 6.2+19.1 ii 30 (OS)); *zi-e-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 6.5 iv 12 (OH/NS)); *za-nu-ma-an-zi* (KBo 22.6 i 20 (OH/NS)), *za-nu-um-ma-an-z[i]* (KUB 23.101 iii 8 (NH)); *za-i-nu-* (IBoT 4.242, 3, KBo 35.227 obv. 9 (NS), KUB 1.8 iv 19 (NH)); *za-a-i-nu-* (IBoT 4.242, 5, IBoT 3.148 iii 42 (MH/NS), KBo 10.44 obv. 19 (NS), KBo 3.6 iii 77 (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *at-* ‘to wander, to roam’; Gr. ἔτι ‘further, beyond’, Skt. *āti* ‘beyond, over’, Lat. *et* ‘and’, Goth. *ip* ‘and, but’ ??

PIE \*h<sub>1</sub>t-oi- \*h<sub>1</sub>t-i- ??

The oldest forms of this verb clearly belong to the *dāi/tijanzi*-class: *zāitti*, *zāi*, *zištēni*, *zehhun*. In younger Hittite, we find forms that inflect according to the *hatrae*-class (*zāši*, *zānzi*, *zait*, *zatten*). Despite its archaic formation (the *dāi/tijanzi*-class is a closed category and almost all verbs that inflect thus have a good IE etymology), the verb has never received a credible etymology.

The *dāi/tījanzi*-class consists of two types of verbs. Firstly, we find one verb that reflects a root that ends in *-i-*, namely *nai<sup>i</sup>* / *\*ni-* ‘to turn’ < *\*neiH-*. The other verbs reflect a formation *\*CC-oi-* / *\*CC-i-*, i.e. the zero-grade of a root followed by an ablauting *\*-oi-/i-* suffix (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.a).

In the case of *zai-/zi-*, this means that we are either dealing with a root *zai-* ending in *-i-*, or with a stem *z-ai-*. As the sound *z-* either reflects *\*Ts* or an assibilated *\*t* before *\*i*, the possibilities in the first case are limited. If we have to reckon with a root *zai-*, then it either reflects *\*tiei-*, which is unlikely because of the two *i*’s, or *\*Tsei-*, which is an impossible PIE root structure. I therefore assume that *zai-/zi-* goes back to an *-oi-/i-* suffixed formation *\*z-ai-/z-i-*.

If *zai-/zi-* indeed is to be analysed as *z-ai-/z-i-*, then *z-*, which is phonetically [ts-], must reflect the zero-grade of the root. This means that the root could be *\*Tes-*. Another possibility arises, however, if we look at the prehistory of *ḫalzai<sup>i</sup>* / *ḫalzi-* ‘to shout’. This verb reflects a formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-oi-* / *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-* of which the assibilated variant of the root-final *\*t* of the weak stem (*\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-* > *ḫalzi-*) was generalized throughout the paradigm. If a similar scenario could apply in the case of *zai-/zi-*, we can assume that it reflects a root *\*Het-*.

When looking for roots having either the structure *\*Tes-* or *\*Het-*, I only found one verb within the IE languages that would be connectible to Hitt. *zai-/zi-* on semantic grounds, namely Skt. *at-* ‘to roam, to wander’.

Until now, Skt. *at-* is usually connected with Lat. *annus* and Goth. *aþna-* ‘year’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>et-no-*, implying a reconstruction *\*h<sub>2</sub>et-*. Such a reconstruction is impossible for Hittite, however, as *h<sub>2</sub>t-i-* should have given *\*\*ḫazi-*. The question is, of course, whether Skt. *at-* indeed is to be connected with the word for ‘year’. Semantically it is not imperative and in my view less probable than a connection with Hitt. ‘to cross (over)’.

If Skt. *at-* and Hitt. *zai-/zi-* indeed belong together, then we have to reconstruct a root *\*h<sub>1,3</sub>et-*, which makes a connection with lat. *annus* and Goth. *aþna-* impossible. I am wondering to what extent the root *\*h<sub>1,3</sub>et-* is further connectible with the adverb *\*h<sub>1</sub>eti* ‘beyond, over’, the semantics of which are strikingly similar to at least the Hittite verb. If these belong together, we can reconstruct a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>et-* (visible in Skt. *at-* ‘to roam, to wonder’) of which the *-oi-/i-* suffixed formation (*\*h<sub>1</sub>t-oi-/i-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>t-i-*) yielded Hitt. *zai-/zi-*.

The causative of this verb is attested with several stems: *zīnu-*, *zanu-*, *zainu-*, *zāīnu-*. The stem *zīnu-* (with OS attestations) is clearly the original one, reflecting *\*h<sub>1</sub>t-i-neu-*. Note that in this form the *-i-* is retained, in contrast to *zanu-* ‘to make cook’ < *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-*. The stem *zainu-* is clearly a younger form, built on the 3sg.pres. *zāī*. The one NH attestation *zanu-* is likely to be emended *za-(i-)nu-*.

**zakkar**: see *šakkar*, *zakkar* / *šakn-*

<sup>(URUDU/GIŠ)</sup>**zakki-** (c.) ‘bolt’ (Sum. MUD): nom.sg. *za-ak-ki-iš*, *za-ak-ki-eš*, acc.sg. *za-ak-ki-in*, gen.sg. *za-ak-ki-ja-aš* (KUB 29.11 + KBo 36.48 ii 4), dat.-loc.sg. *za-ak-ki-ti-i* (KBo 5.11 i 1, KBo 5.11 i 25), *za-ak-ki-ti* (KUB 26.23 ii 13), acc.pl. *za-ak-ki-uš*, *za-ak-ki-e-eš* (KUB 13.1 i 25).

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For an extensive treatment of the semantics of this word see Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 133f. She concludes that *zakki-* denotes a bolt that can close doors, windows but also covers of chests. It is either made of wood (GIŠ) or metal/copper (URUDU). The dat.-loc.sg. *zakkiī* shows a Hurrian case-ending, which indicates that the word is of Hurrian origin.

**zalla-** (gender unknown) ‘trot’: acc.sg.? *za-al-la-an* (KUB 9.1 i 12, 20), abl. *za-al-la-az* (KUB 29.40 ii 12 etc.), Luw.abl.-instr. *za-al-la-ti* (KBo 3.5 i 7, 12, 66).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. **zallauuar** (n.) ‘gait, driving’ (nom.-acc.pl. *za-al-la-u-ua-ra* (KUB 44.4+ rev. 5)).

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This word occurs in hippological texts only. According to Kammenhuber (1961a: 366), the word is of Hurrian origin. She interprets *zallati* as a Hurrian gloss of Hitt. *pennai* ‘to make trot’ and *zallaz* (found in the expression *zallaz uya-* ‘to trot’) as the Hittite borrowing of that word. Starke (1990: 546), however, interprets the word as Luwian, and states that *zallati* is the Luw. abl.-instr. of a stem *zalla-*, which is the source of hittitized *zalla-* of which we find the abl. in *zallaz uya-*. Melchert (1993b: 275) follows Starke and adduces a Hitt. acc.sg. *za-al-la-an* (KUB 9.1 i 12, 20). The latter forms are in such broken contexts, however, that we cannot decide whether they really mean ‘trot’ there. According to Starke (1990: 544f.), the stem *zalla-* is found in the Luwian word *zallauuar* (n.) ‘gait, driving’ (attested with gloss wedge in Hittite context: KUB 44.4+ rev. 5) as well. No further etymology.

<sup>(DUG)</sup>**zallhāi-** (n.) vessel used in rituals: nom.-acc.sg. *za-al-ḥa-a-i* (e.g. IBoT 2.14 i 4), *za-al-ḥa-i*, abl. *za-al-ḥa-ja-az*, instr. *za-al-ḥa-a-it*, *za-al-ḥa-it*.

PIE *\*tlh<sub>2</sub>-ōi-* ??

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Although this word shows the archaic diphthong-inflection, no IE etymology has been offered to date, as far as I am aware. If the connection between *zaluganu-<sup>zi</sup>* and *dāluki-* (see their respective lemmas) indeed proves that an initial dental was

assibilated before \*l in Hittite, I am wondering to what extent we can connect *zalhāi-* to the root \*tleh<sub>2</sub>- ‘to carry’. Semantically a meaning ‘carrier’ would fit well for *zalhāi-*, and formally a reconstruction \*tlh<sub>2</sub>-ōi- (with generalized zero-grade out of the oblique stems) would regularly yield Hitt. /tʰHāi-/ , spelled *zalhāi-*.

**zaluknu-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to postpone, to delay’: 1sg.pres.act. *za-lu-ga-nu-mi* (KUB 31.38 obv. 37 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *za-lu-ga-nu-zi*, *za-lu-uk-nu-za* (KUB 26.17 i 9 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pres.act. [*z*]*a-lu-ga-nu-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 49.2 i 6 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-lu-ga-n[u]-an-zi* (KUB 55.43 i 14 (MH/MS)), 1pl.pret.act. *za-lu-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-me-en* (KUB 18.36, 12 (NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *za-al-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-an-ta-ri* (KUB 13.1 iv 22 (MH/MS)); verb.noun *za-lu-ga-nu-mar* (KUB 21.38 i 34, 36 (NH)); impf. *za-lu-ga-nu-u[š-ke-š-i]* (KUB 21.38 obv. 25 (NH)).

Derivatives: **zalukēšš-**<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to take long’ (3sg.pret.act. *za-lu-ki-iš-ta* (KUB 18.59 + KUB 6.9 ii 13 (NS)), *za-lu-keš[-ta]* (KUB 50.77 + KUB 49.73 r.col. 5 (NS))).

PIE \*dlug<sup>h</sup>-

The one attestation *za-lu-uk-nu-za* (note the very archaic 3sg.pres.-ending *-za* instead of *-zi*) proves that the stems of these verbs are *zaluk-nu-* and *zaluk-ēšš-*. It has always been noted by scholars that these verbs closely resemble *daluknu-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to lengthen’ and *dalukēšš-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to become long’ not only from a formal point of view, but from a semantical point of view as well. Since Laroche (1950: 41), however, the two stems *dalug-* and *zalug-* are regarded as separate forms: the former is seen as a cognate to Skt. *dīrghá-*, Gr. *δολιχός* ‘long’ etc., and the latter as a cognate to Gr. *λήγω* ‘to end’. This has found wide acceptance: for instance, Eichner (1973a: 85<sup>11</sup>) reconstructs *daluki-* as \*dlh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>ó- and \**zaluki-* as \*slh<sub>1</sub>gó-; Melchert (1994a: 67) similarly reconstructs \*dl-(e)ug<sup>h</sup>- and \*sl-(e)ug- respectively (with different enlargements).

In my view, however, the words *zaluknu-* and *zalukēšš-* are semantically that similar to *daluknu-* and *dalukēšš-* that they must be cognate in one way or another. This view was also expressed by Oettinger (1979a: 249), who explains the formal difference between the two stems as reflecting ablaut. He states that *zl-* reflects \*dl- whereas *dal-* goes back to \*dol-. This is supported by the fact that the adjective *daluki-* shows a few plene spellings *da-a-lu-*, which indicate that it reflects a full grade form \*dólug-i-, whereas the derived verbs in *-nu-* and *-ēšš-* in principle should use the zero-grade stem: \*dlug<sup>h</sup>-néu- and \*dlug<sup>h</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-. If we assume that in Hittite an initial dental assibilated before \*l (\*#Tl- > Hitt. #zl- as in

*zalhāi-* < \**tlh<sub>2</sub>-ōi-*), then \**dlug-néu-* and \**dlug<sup>h</sup>-éh<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>1</sub>-* regularly would yield Hitt. *złuknu-* and *złukēšš-*. The verbs *daluknu-* and *dalukēšš-* probably are to be interpreted as /*talugnū-*/ and /*talugéš-*/ (cf. the one attestation *da-a-lu-ke-eš-zi*), having restored the full grade of the adjective and subsequently its *t-*.

See at *taluki-* / *talugai-* for further etymology.

<sup>GIŠ</sup>*zaluṽani-* (c.) ‘plate (vel sim.)’: nom.sg. [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup>-iš (KBo 3.34 iii 19), [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup>-iš (KBo 3.34 iii 22), <sup>GIŠ</sup>z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup>-iš (KBo 3.34 iii 25), dat.-loc.sg. <sup>GIŠ</sup>z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup> (KBo 3.34 iii 19)

This word occurs in one context only:

KBo 3.34 iii

- (15) A-ḪI LUGAL A-NA P[A-NI A-BI] LUGAL ku-i-e-eš e-eš-kán-ta <sup>m</sup>[Am]-mu-na  
 (16) DUMU <sup>URU</sup>Šu-uk-z[i-ja] a-ap-pa-an-n=a <sup>m</sup>Pi-im-pí-ri-it [DUMU <sup>URU</sup>]U Ni-na-aš-ša  
 (17) ki-i kar-di-[a-aš=ša-a]š DUMU <sup>MEŠ</sup> e-še-er nu-u=š-ma-aš [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]Ú.A  
 (18) ki-it-ta <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠ]UR-u(š)=š-ma-aš ki-it-ta  
 (19) [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup>-iš [= (š)-ma-aš] ki-it-ta ḫa-pa-šu-uš <sup>GIŠ</sup>z<sup>a</sup>l<sup>u</sup>ṽ<sup>a</sup>n<sup>i</sup> zi-kán-zi

‘Those who sit as brothers before the father of the king, Ammuna the son from Šukziya and behind (him) Pimpirit the son of Ninašša, these were the sons of his heart. A chair is placed before them. A table is placed before them. A *zaluṽani-* is placed before them. They put *ḫapaša-*’s on the *zaluṽani*’.

It is possible that *ḫapaša-* denotes ‘dish’ (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> Ḫ: 218), so *zaluṽani-* probably denotes a table or plate on which the dishes are placed. No further etymology.

*zama(n)kur* (n.) ‘beard’: nom.-acc.sg. *za-ma-kur* (KUB 30.10 ii 8 (OH/MS), KUB 31.127 i 11 (OH/NS)), *za-ma-an-kur* (KBo 21.20 i 25 (NS), KUB 35.45 ii 33 (NS)), *za-ma-an-gur* (KUB 24.12 ii 21, iii 7, 34 (NS)).

Derivatives: *šamankurṽant-* (adj.) ‘bearded’ (nom.pl.c. *ša-ma-an-ku-úr-ṽa-an-te-eš* (KBo 3.8 iii 25 (NH)), acc.pl.c. [*ša-m*]a-an-ku-úr-ṽa-du-uš (KBo 3.8 iii 7 (NH))).

IE cognates: Skt. *śmáśru-* ‘beard’, Arm. *mawrow-k* ‘beard’, Lith. *smākras*, *smakrà* ‘chin’, Alb. *mjekër* ‘chin, beard’.

PIE \**smók<sup>h</sup>-ur*

It is remarkable that all attestations with *-n-* are found in NS texts (including the derivative *šamankurṽant-*), whereas the variant *za-ma-kur* (attested twice, so it

cannot be disregarded as a form to be emended to *za-ma-(an-)kur*) is attested in a MH/MS and an OH/NS text. Does this indicate that the original form was *zamakur* in which a nasal was inserted in NH times only? If so, then it would explain the fact that all IE cognates lack a nasal (Skt. *śmáśru-*, Arm. *mawrow-k* ‘beard’ etc. < \**smók-ru-*).

The other IE languages show a preform \**smók-ru-*, whereas Hittite points to \**smók-ur* (note that if *za-ma-kur* is the original form, it shows lenition of \**k* to Hitt. single *-k-* due to the preceding \**ó*, cf. § 1.4.1). This indicates that the PIE form \**smók-ur* only after the split-off of Anatolian was metathesized to \**smokru*.

The word *zama(n)kur* is consistently spelled with *za-*, whereas the derivative *šamankuruant-* is spelled with *ša-*. The origin of this *z-* has been debated. E.g. Oettinger (1994: 322) argues that we are dealing with a sporadic development of \**s* > *z* in a nasal environment. This is quite *ad hoc*, however, and does not explain the *š-* in *šamankuruant-*. The only other case where initial \**s-* ends up as Hitt. *z-* is in *zakkar* ‘faeces’, which has an oblique stem *šakn-* with *š-* (see at *šakkar*, *zakkar* / *šakn-*). In my view, it is remarkable that in both *zama(n)kur* and *zakkar* only the nom.-acc.sg.n.-form shows *z-* and not the oblique stem or derivatives. I therefore want to propose that the development \**s-* > *z-* is due to a false analysis of the syntagms \**tod smókur* and \**tod skór* (or whatever preceding pronoun) as \**tod 'smókur* and \**tod 'skór* respectively. Note that this only happened when we are dealing with \**sC-* (cf. *šakkar* < \**sokr*, but also e.g. *šahhan* ‘corvée’ < \**séh,n*, *šākan* ‘oil’ < \**sóġ<sup>(h)</sup>n*, etc.).

**zamna/i-** (unclear) ‘?’: case? *za-am-ni-ša-an* (KBo 3.8 iii 11), *za-am-na-aš* (KBo 3.8 iii 29).

These words occur in the following contexts only:

KBo 3.8 iii

(10) ... *ú-li-pa-na-an pá-r-ga-u-e-i*

(11) *ha-mi-ik-ta* UR.MAḪ *za-am-ni-ša-an*

(12) *ha-mi-ik-ta*

‘He tied the *ulipa-* on the high (place), he tied the lion *zamnišan*’,

besides

ibid.

(28) ... *ú-li-ip-za-a(n)=š-ša-an*

(29) [pár-ga-u-]e la-a-ad-da-at UR.MAḪ za-am-na-aš la-a-at-ta-at

‘He released the *ulipza-* on the high (place), he released the lion *zamnaš*’.

It is not clear what case-forms the two words represent nor what they mean.

( $\sphericalangle$ ) *zammurae-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic2) ‘to insult, to slander’: 3sg.pres.act. *za-am-mu-ra-a-ez-zi* (KUB 14.1 i 38 (MH/MS), KUB 13.20 i 27 (MH/NS)), *za-am-mu-ra-e[z-zi]* (KBo 16.25 iv 27 (MH/MS)), [*za-a*]m-mu-ra-e-ez-zi (KBo 8.35 i 25 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-am-mu-ra-a-an-zi* (KUB 23.72 rev. 26 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. > *za-mu-ra-nu-un* (KUB 19.23 obv. 3), 1pl.pret.act. *za-am-mu-ra-u-e-en*, *za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en*, 1sg.imp.act. *za-am-mu-ra-al-lu* (KUB 36.85, 7); inf.I *za-am-mu-ra-u-ya-an-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. *zammurai-* (n.) ‘insult, slander’ (nom.-acc.sg. *za-am-mu-ra-i*), *zammuratt(i)-* (c.) ‘insult, slander’ (dat.-loc.sg.  $\sphericalangle$  *za-am-mu-ra-at-ti*).

This verb is attested from MH times onwards. It clearly belongs to the *hatrae*-class, which consists of denominative verbs derived of \**o*-stem nouns. In this case, the verb probably is derived from a noun \**zammura-*. A few times the verb is preceded by a gloss wedge, which can indicate a foreign origin.

A nominal stem *zammura-* is attested in CLuwian, where we find the nouns *zammurai-* and *zammuratt-*, both meaning ‘insult, slander’. It is therefore likely that the Hittite verb *zammurae-* is built on a Luwian nominal stem *zammura-* ‘insult, slander’. Further etymology of this form is unknown.

*zankila-*<sup>i</sup> / *zankil-* (IIa1 $\gamma$ ) ‘to fine, to punish’: 3sg.pres.act. *za-an-ki-la-i* (KBo 2.4 ledge 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-an-ki-la-an-zi* (KUB 21.29 iii 33, KUB 23.123, 5, KUB 13.4 iv 10), 3pl.imp.act. *za-an-ki-la-a-an-du* (KUB 9.15 ii 22 (NS)).

Derivatives: *zankilatar* / *zankilann-* (n.) ‘penalty, fine’ (nom.-acc.sg. *za-an-ki-la-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-an-ki-la-an-ni* (KUB 5.5 iv 15), nom.-acc.pl. *za-an-ki-la-tar*<sup>H1.A</sup> (KUB 5.6 ii 48), *za-an-ki-la-tar-ri*<sup>H1.A</sup> (KUB 5.6 iii 34)).

PIE \*sh<sub>2</sub>nk-i + \*l(o)h<sub>1</sub>- ??

This verb on the one hand shows the *tarn(a)*-inflection in 3sg.pres.act. *zankilai* and on the other the *hatrae*-class inflection in 3pl.imp.act. *zankilāndu*. The 3pl.pres.act.-forms *zankilanzi* can belong to both. Since both inflections are productive in NH times, we cannot decide what the original inflection was. Nevertheless, it is not likely that the *hatrae*-class inflection is original, since verbs of this class do not show secondary influence by the *tarn(a)*-class. Therefore,



Oettinger's citation (1979a: 34) of this verb as *zankilae-* is incorrect. Rieken (1999a: 480, following Eichner 1973a: 98<sup>78</sup>) assumes that “*zankilae-*” is derived from an *-il-* stem noun *\*zankil-*, but this is then equally incorrect.

I am wondering to what extent we can compare the inflection of *zankila-*<sup>i</sup> to *lā-*<sup>i</sup> / *l-* ‘to let go’ and assume an old univerbation of a noun *\*zanki* + *lāi* / *lanzi*. Oettinger (1979a: 152<sup>40</sup>) suggests as a root etymology a connection with Lat. *sanciō* ‘to make holy, inviolable’ and *sacrāmentum* ‘security, deposit’, which words probably reflect *\*sh<sub>2</sub>nk-* and *\*sh<sub>2</sub>k-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 97). If this root etymology is correct, we have to interpret *\*zanki* as an old dat.-loc.sg. of a noun *\*zank-* that reflects *\*sh<sub>2</sub>nk-*. The original meaning of the verb then may have been something like ‘to let go into security’. Nevertheless, the formal side of this etymology, namely the development of initial *\*s-* into Hitt. *z-*, is highly dubious. Oettinger (l.c.) assumes that “*s* > *z* im Anlaut in Nachbarschaft von *n*”, but his examples in favour of this development, *zena-* and *zamankur*, to which he adds *zakkar*, *zapnu-*<sup>zi</sup>, *zalugnu-*<sup>zi</sup> and *zinni-*<sup>zi</sup> / *zinn-* in 1994: 323-4, have to be explained otherwise (see their respective lemmas).

*zanu-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to cook (trans.)’: see *zē-*<sup>a(r)</sup> / *z-*

*zanu-*<sup>zi</sup> ‘to make cross’: see *zai-*<sup>i</sup> / *zi-*

*zappiē/a-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ic1) ‘(act.) to drop, to drip; (midd.) to leak’: 3sg.pres.act. *za-ap-pi-ia-zi* (KUB 9.15+39.52 iii 29, 30), 3pl.pret.act. *za-ap-pi-e-er* (KUB 48.7 iii 3, 12), *za-ap-pi-i-e-er* (KUB 48.7 iii 8), 3sg.pres.midd. *za-ap-pi-ia-at-ta* (KBo 3.23 i 11, KUB 13.2 ii 38), *za-ap-pi-ia-at-ta-ri* (KUB 31.86 ii 18, KUB 31.89 ii 7); impf. *za-ap-pi-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 30.10 ii 15).

Derivatives: *zappi-* ‘leak’ (abl. *za-ap-pi-ia-az* (KUB 9.15 iii 8, 13)), *zapnu-*<sup>zi</sup> (Ib2) ‘to sprinkle’ (3sg.pres.act. *za-ap-pa-nu-uz-zi* (KBo 5.2 i 51, KUB 7.1 i 28, KBo 39.156 iii 16’), *za-ap-nu-uz-zi* (KUB 39.71 i 28, KUB 9.6 i 38), 3pl.pres.act. *za-ap-pa-nu-ua-an-zi*; impf. *za-ap-pa-nu-uš-ke-ši* (HKM 10 rev. 31 (MH/MS))).

Oettinger (1979a: 528) suggests to connect *zappiē/a-* with ModHG *Saft* ‘juice’, but this word rather belongs rather with Lat. *sapiō* ‘to have taste, to know’ < *\*sHp-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 93-4), which makes a connection with *zappiē/a-*<sup>zi</sup> highly unlikely. Moreover, the formal side is difficult, because *\*s-* does not normally yield Hitt. *z-*. Note that Oettinger (1994: 321f.) tries to fix this problem by posing a sporadic development by which initial *\*s-* can yield Hitt. *z-*, namely

through “Fernassimilation durch Nasal”. In this case, *z-* must then have originated in the causative *zapnu<sup>-zi</sup>*. All other examples that Oettinger adduces in favour of this development, *zakkar*, *zalugnu<sup>-zi</sup>*, *zamankur*, *zankila<sup>-i</sup>* / *zankil-*, *zena-*, and *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-*, must be explained otherwise, however (see their respective lemmas).

Mechanically, *zappiie/a-* should be reconstructed as *\*tiop-īe/o-*, which in my view could easily be onomatopoeic (cf. e.g. ModEng. *drip*).

⚡ *zaršija-* (c.) ‘safeconduct, warranty’: acc.sg. ⚡ *za-ar-ši-ja-an* (KUB 14.3 ii 61), gen.sg. ⚡ *za-ar-ši-ja-aš* (KUB 14.3 ii 62), dat.-loc.sg. ⚡ *za-ar-ši-ja* (KUB 14.3 ii 64).

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This word is consistently written with a gloss wedge, which points to a foreign (Luwian?) origin. No further etymology.

*zarzur-* (n.) ‘concoction’: nom.-acc.sg. *za-ar-zu-úr* (KUB 42.107 iii 13 (OH/NS)), *za-ar-zu-u-ur* (KUB 31.57 iv 18 (OH/NS)), *za-ar-zu-ú-úr* (KUB 34.89 obv. 6 (OH?/MS)), *[za-a]r-zu-úr* (KUB 34.89 obv. 1 (OH?/MS)).

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This noun is treated by Rieken (1999a: 359) who convincingly assumes that it means ‘concoction’. She argues that the word is of Luwian origin, because of the occurrence of *z* before dark vowels. This is not imperative however (cf. *zāh<sup>-i</sup>* / *zahh-*, *zalhāi-* and *zaluknu<sup>-zi</sup>*). Rieken suggests a connection with the root *\*kerh<sub>2</sub>*- ‘to mix’ and unconvincingly reconstructs *\*korh<sub>2</sub>-k̄rh<sub>2</sub>*, with loss of the first laryngeal in *o*-grade form and of the second one in Auslaut, and with syllabification of *\*r̄* to *-ur* as supposedly in Luw. *gurta-* < *\*g<sup>h</sup>r̄d<sup>h</sup>-o-* and HLuw. *zura/in-* ‘horn’ < *\*k̄rn-*. I can offer no alternative, however.

*zašhai-*: see *tešha-*

*zašgaraiš* / *zašgarišš-* (n.) ‘anus’: nom.sg. *za-aš-ga-ra-iš* (KBo 17.61 rev. 14 (MH/MS)), dat.-loc.sg. *za-aš-ga-ri-iš-ši* (KBo 17.61 rev. 14 (MH/MS)).

PIE *\*skōr* + *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>3</sub>-es-*

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This word clearly is a compound of *zakkar* ‘dung’ (see *šakkar*, *zakkar* / *šakn-*) and *aiš-* / *išš-* ‘mouth’ (q.v.). See there for further etymological considerations.

(Glš) *zāu* (n.): nom.-acc.sg. *za-a-u*.

This word occurs quite often in rituals and probably denotes some kind of container, vessel or plate. It is usually accompanied with the adjective KÙ.BABBAR ‘silver’ or GUŠKIN ‘gold’. Once we find an attestation where *zāu* bears the determinative GIŠ ‘wood’ (KUB 59.19 v 7: <sup>GIŠ</sup>*za-a-u* KÙ.BABBAR), which might indicate that in principle a *zāu* is made of wood, but that in rituals silver or golden ones were used. Note that the word is consistently spelled °*a-u*, which is remarkable. The only other instance of a spelling °*a-u* is *ši-i-iš-ḥa-u* ‘sweat’ (q.v.): in all other cases we find °*a-ú*. If this spelling is to be interpreted as /t<sup>s</sup>āo/, it is likely that the word is not of IE origin.

*zazḥai-*: see *tešḥa-*

*zē<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *z-* (IIIa) ‘to cook (intr.), to be cooked’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ze-e-ja* (KBo 17.36 ii 11 (OS)), *zé-e-a-ri* (KUB 53.11 ii 6 (MS), KBo 5.1 i 29, 36 (MH/NS), KBo 15.49 i 13 (MH/NS)), *zé-e-ja-ri* (KBo 8.91 i 6 (MS), KUB 32.49a iii 25, 33, 25, etc. (MH/MS)), *zé-a-ri* (ABoT 20+ rev. 6 (MH/MS)), *zé-ia-ri* (KUB 60.121 obv. 7 (MS), KUB 2.6 v 8 (OH/NS), KUB 32.128 ii 27 (MH/NS), KUB 7.4, 13 (NS)), *ze-ja-ri* (KUB 7.13 rev. 17 (NS)), [*z*]é-*i-e-ri* (KBo 18.201 rev. 8 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *zé-ja-an-ta* (KBo 4.9 i 23 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *zé-e-a-an-ta-ri* (Bo 69/601 iii 4 (NS)); part. *ze-e-an-t-* (OS), *zé-e-an-t-* (OS), *zé-ja-an-t-*, *zé-e-ja-an-t-*, *ze-ja-an-t-*.

Derivatives: *zanu<sup>zi</sup>* (Ib2) ‘to cook (trans.)’ (3sg.pres.act. *za-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *zanu-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *za-nu-an-zi* (OS), *za-nu-ya-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *za-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *za-nu-er*; inf.I *za-nu-ma-an-zi*; impf. *za-nu-uš-ke/a-*).

PIE *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-o*, *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-*

This verb is usually cited as *zeja-*, *zea-* or *zija-*. This is misleading as *-a-* is not part of the stem but the 3sg.pres.midd.-ending. The one form [*z*]é-*i-e-ri* (KBo 18.201 rev. 8), which seems to indicate a stem *zeje-* besides *zeja-*, is to be interpreted as *zé-i-ja-ri* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 35). The verb is written with either the sign ZÉ or with ZI. The latter sign can also be read *ze*, and therefore all attestations point to a stem *zē-*. In the causative *zanu<sup>zi</sup>* (probably /t<sup>s</sup>nu-*l*), we find a stem *z-*. I therefore cite the verb as *zē<sup>a(ri)</sup>* / *z-*.

An ablaut *zē-* / *z-* can only be explained if we assume a ‘preform’ *\*zeh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*zh<sub>1</sub>-*. The origin of *z-* is difficult, however, and opinions differ. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 515) reconstructs *\*seih<sub>1</sub>-* (Lat. *sinere* ‘to let’), whereas Melchert (1994a: 118) reconstructs *\*teih<sub>1,3</sub>-* (Lat. *tītio* ‘fire-brand’). LIV<sup>2</sup> also reconstructs *\*teih<sub>1</sub>-* but connects this with OIr. *tinaid* ‘to melt’. All reconstructions seem unlikely to

me, as I do not see how *\*seih<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*teiH-* would yield *z-* (Melchert's assumption (l.c.) that *\*t* assibilates before *-ei-* as well is totally *ad hoc*). In my view, only a preform *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-* would be able to explain the outcome *zē-* / *z-* (note that *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-* probably phonetically became *\*t<sub>h</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-neu-*, yielding Hitt. *lt<sup>s</sup>enu-*, spelled *zanu-*, which contrasts with *\*h<sub>1</sub>ti-neu- > zimu-* 'to make cross').

Within Hittite, a connection with *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-* 'to stop, to finish' is likely on formal grounds as the latter verb probably reflects *\*ti-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-*. This could mean that the middle *zē-* / *z-* originally meant 'to be brought to its end > to be cooked; to cook (intr.)'. If this indeed is the semantical development displayed by *zē-* / *z-*, one may wonder if connecting *zē-* / *z-* with IE words like Lat. *tūtio* 'fire-brand' or OIr. *tinaid* 'to melt' makes much sense.

**ze(i)a-**: see *zē<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* / *z-*

**zēna-** (gender unknown) 'autumn': gen.sg. *zé-e-na-aš* (KUB 38.32 rev. 21, IBoT 2.93, 8, KBo 13.248 i 13), dat.-loc.sg. *zé-e-ni* (often), *zé-ni*.

Derivatives: **zēnant-** (c.) 'autumn' (nom.sg. *zé-na-an-za* (KUB 21.11 rev. 4), gen.sg. *zé-e-na-an-da-aš*, *zé-e-na-an-ta-aš*, *zé-na-an-da-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *zé-e-na-an-ti*)

PIE *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-no-*

Friedrich (HW) cites this word as *commune*, giving a nom.sg. *zenaš*. I have not been able to find this form, however: all cases of *zēnaš* that I could find had to be interpreted as gen.sg. Just as we find *hamešhant-* 'spring' beside *hamešha-* 'id.' and *gimmant-* 'winter' beside *gimm-* 'id.', we here find *zēnant-* beside *zēna-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 152<sup>40</sup>) states that *zēna-* reflects *\*seno-* 'year', showing a development *\*s- > z-* in nasal environment. He repeats this view in 1994: 323, adducing Lyc. *-snñi* 'year(?)'. I am rather sceptical about this etymology as I do not think that such a phonetic development can be established for Hittite. Moreover, I find it semantically unlikely that a word 'year' would develop into 'autumn'.

I would rather suggest a tie-in with *zē<sup>-a(ri)</sup>* / *z-* 'to cook < \*to bring to its end' and *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-* 'to stop, to finish' and reconstruct *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-no-* '\*the closing (season) > autumn'.

**zenna-**: see *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-*

**zenni-**: see *zinni<sup>-zi</sup>* / *zinn-*

**-zēpa-**: see at <sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzēpa-*

**zēri-** (n.) ‘cup’ (Sum. <sup>DUG</sup>GAL): nom.-acc.sg. *ze-e-ri* (KUB 17.3+ iv 31 (OS)), all.sg. *ze-e-ri-ja* (KBo 17.3+ iv 32, (OS)).

Derivatives: <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>**zeriḫalli-** (n.) ‘cup-holder’ (nom.acc.sg. *zé-e-ri-ja-al-[li]* (KBo 27.42 ii 29), *zé-ri-ja-al-li* (KBo 4.9 v 18), *z[é-r]i-ja-al-li* (KUB 10.21 ii 7), <sup>(GIŠ)</sup>*ze-r[i-ja-al-li] (?)* (KBo 21.78 ii 1)), gen.sg. *zé-ri-ja-al-li-aš* (KUB 42.87 v 16)), *zé-ri-ja-li-ja-aš* (KUB 55.54 obv. 32)).

PIE *\*tiéh<sub>1</sub>-ri-*

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Although this word is attested in its phonetic form only twice (both in OS texts), its sumerogram <sup>DUG</sup>GAL is attested quite often. The sign ZI can be read *zi* as well as *ze*, so *ZI-e-ri(-)* can be interpreted as *zēri-* as is indicated as well by the spelling *zé-ri-ja-al-li* of the derivative.

Formally, the word could be a deverbative noun in *-ri-*, like *ešri-* ‘shape’, *edri-* ‘food’ and *auri-* ‘lookout’ from *eš-<sup>zi</sup>* / *aš-* ‘to be’, *ed-<sup>zi</sup>* / *ad-* ‘to eat’ and *au-<sup>i</sup>* / *u-* ‘to see’ respectively. In that case *zēri-* would be derived of the verb *zē-<sup>(n)</sup>* ‘to cook’, which might make sense from a semantic point of view as well: ‘the cooking cup’.

**-zi** (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

Anat. cognates: Pal. °**C-ti**, °**V-tti**, °**V-ti** (3sg.pres.act.-ending); CLuw. °**C-ti**, °**V-tti**, °**V-ti** (3sg.pres.act.-ending); HLuw. **-ti** = /-ti/ or /-di/, **-ri** = /-di/ (3sg.pres.act.-ending); Lyc. **-ti**, **-di** (3sg.pres.act.-ending).

PAnat. *\*-ti*

IE cognates: Skt. *-ti*, Gr. *-τι*, Lith. *-ti*, Lat. *-t*, Goth. *-t*.

PIE *\*-ti*

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Although the bulk of the attestations the 3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-conjugation show *-zi*, we occasionally find *-za* as well: *e-eš-za* (KBo 6.2 iv 54 (OS)), *ḫar-za* (KBo 9.73 obv. 12 (OS), KBo 24.9 i 5 (OH/MS)), *iš-tar-ni-ik-za* (KBo 40.272, 5 (MS)), *pu-uš-za* (KBo 8.128 l.col. 3 (OH/NS), KUB 34.10, 6 (fr.), 9 (OH/NS), KBo 13.36 rev. 4 (fr.), 7, 10, 13 (fr.) (OH/MS?)), *šar-ku-e-ez-za* (KBo 25.196, 4 (OS); but interpretation not fully certain), *[šar-ni-ik]-za* (KBo 6.2 iv 55 (OS) // *šar-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 6.3 iv 54)), *ta-ru-uḫ-za* (KUB 43.75 rev. 9 (OH/NS)), *za-lu-uk-nu-za* (KUB 26.17 i 9 (MH/MS)). These forms are clearly archaic and show that the original ending of the 3sg.pres.act. was *-za* = /-t<sup>s</sup>/, to

which already in pre-Hittite times an extra *-i* was added in analogy to *-mi*, *-ši*, *-uēni* and *-ttēni*. In the other Anatolian languages, we find the ending */-ti/* as well as */-di/*, the latter being the lenited variant.

These endings clearly belong with e.g. Skt. *-ti*, Gr. *-τι*, Lith. *-ti*, Lat. *-t*, Goth. *-t*, etc. < PIE *\*-ti*.

**ziia-**: see *zē<sup>a(rī)</sup> / z-*

**zīk / tu-** (pers.pron. 2sg.) ‘you (sg.)’: nom.sg. *zi-i-ik* (OS), *zi-ik* (OS), *zi-g=a* (OS), acc.sg. *tu-uk* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *tu-e-el* (OS), *tu-e-l=a* (OS), *tu-el* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-uk* (MH/MS), abl. *tu-e-da-az*, *tu-e-ta-az*.

Derivatives: **zikila** ‘you yourself’ (*zi-ki-la* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. **tī / tū** ‘you (sg.)’ (nom.sg. *ti-i*, *tī=*, acc.-dat.sg. *tu-ú*); CLuw. **tī** ‘you (sg.)’ (nom.sg. *ti-i*, *ti-i-i=h-ḫa*, *ti-i=h-ḫa*); HLuw. **tī / tu** ‘you (sg.)’ (nom.sg. *ti=ha=wa/i=za* (ASSUR letter *g* §52), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u* (ASSUR letter *f* §16), abl.-instr. *tu-wa/i-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *f* §10)).

PAnat. *\*tī / \*tu-*

IE cognates: Skt. *tvám*, acc. *tvám*, GAv. *tuuǎm*, acc. *θβqm*, TochB *tuwe*, TochA *tu*, Gr. *σέ*, Dor. *τῷ*, Lat. *tū*, Goth. *þu*, Lith. *tù*, OCS *ty*.

PIE *\*tih<sub>1</sub>*, *\*tu-*

See chapter 2.1 for a detailed treatment of these forms.

**zik(k)e/a-<sup>d</sup>**, impf. of *dai-<sup>i</sup> / ti-* (q.v.)

**zinna-**: see *zinni-<sup>zi</sup> / zinn-*

**zinail-** (n.) a food-stuff: nom.-acc.sg. *zi-na-a-il* (Bo 3123 iv 6 (OS), KUB 42.107 iii<sup>?</sup> 11 (OH/NS)), *zi-na-il* (KBo 11.41 i 8 (OH/NS)), [*z*]i-en-na-el (IBoT 2.93 rev. 14 (OH/NS)).

See Rieken 1999a: 488f. for attestations and interpretation of this word. She convincingly argues that the word is of Hattic origin. The NS form [*z*]i-en-na-el may show lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d) as well as fortition of OH intervocalic /n/ to NH /N/ (cf. § 1.4.7.2.e).

**zinakki-** (c.) a plant(-product): nom.sg. *zi-na-ak-ki-iš* (KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 i 47).

The word occurs only once, in a list of ingredients for cultic matters. Its meaning is unclear and therefore no etymology.

*zinni<sup>-zi</sup> / zinn-* (Ia1 > IIa1γ) ‘(act.) to stop, to finish, to be ready with; to destroy; (midd.) to go to the end’: 1sg.pres.act. *zi-in-na-aḥ-ḥi* (KBo 15.25 obv. 12 (MH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *zi-in-ni-ši* (KUB 29.1 i 5 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *zi-in-ni-z[i]* (KBo 20.10 + 25.59 i 5 (OS), [*zi-i*]n-ni-i[*z-zi*] (KUB 60.41 rev. 19 (OS)), *zi-in-ni-iz-zi* (MH/NS, NH), *ze-en-ni-iz-zi* (NH), *zi-in-na-a-i* (NH), *zi-in-na-i* (NH), *ze-en-na-i* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. [*z*]i-in-na-ú-e-ni (KBo 17.25 ii 2 (OS)), *zi-in-nu-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 13.35+ iv 3 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ze-en-na-at-te-ni* (KUB 43.22 iv 15 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *zi-in-na-an-zi* (OS), *ze-en-na-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *zi-in-ni-nu-un* (NH, Oettinger 1979a: 311), *zi-in-na-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), *ze-en-na-aḥ-ḥu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *zi-in-ni-it* (KBo 3.21 ii 2 (OH or MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *zi-in-ni-it* (MH/NS, NH), *ze-en-ni-it* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *zi-in-ni-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 12 (MH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ze-en-ni-eš-du* (Bo 2968 obv.<sup>2</sup> 10), *zi-in-na-a-ú* (KBo 4.4 ii 13 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *zi-in-na-at-tén* (HKM 72 obv. 15 (MH/MS), KUB 31.64 iii 20 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *zi-in-na-at-ta-ri* (NH), *ze-en-na-at-ta-ri* (NH), 3pl.pres.midd. *zi-in-na-an-ta-ri* (IBoT 1.36 iii 51 (OH/MS), NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *zi-in-na-at-ta-at* (HKM 80 obv. 8 (MH/MS), NH); part. *zi-in-na-an-t-*, *ze-en-na-an-t-*; verb.noun *zi-in-nu[-mar]* (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 312); inf.I *zi-in-ni-u-an[-zi]* (KUB 34.9, 4 (OH/NS)); impf. *zi-in-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

PIE \**ti-ne-h<sub>1</sub>-*, \**ti-n-h<sub>1</sub>-*

In the older texts, this verb is consistently spelled *zi-in-*. Only in NH times, we find spellings with *ze-en-*, which is due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-n-* (cf. § 1.4.8.1.d). The older attestations show an ablaut between *zinni-* (*zinniši*, *zinnizzi*) in the singular and *zinn-* (*zinnanzi*) in the plural. Already in OS we find that, on the basis of the analysis of *zinnanzi* as *zinna-nzi*, that the stem *zinna-* becomes productive, giving e.g. 1pl. *zinna<sub>u</sub>eni* (OS), instead of the more original *zinnummēni* (although the latter form is found in a NS text only). From MH/NS onwards, we find *tarn(a)*-class inflected forms like *zinnaḥḥi* and *zinnāi*.

The ablaut found in the oldest forms, *zinni<sup>-zi</sup> / zinn-* is only explicable if we assume \**°Ceh<sub>1</sub>- / \*°Ch<sub>1</sub>-* (thus Oettinger 1979a: 152). Melchert (1984a: 114) correctly remarks that despite this attractive interpretation, the verb is consistently spelled *zi-in-ni-* instead of expected \**zi-in-ne-*. Therefore, Melchert states that the verb cannot be cited as *zinne-* (as e.g. Oettinger does) but must be rendered *zinni-* “whatever the explanation of the *i* vocalism” (l.c.). Perhaps we are dealing with

some kind of raising of *\*zinnēzi* to *zinnizi* because of the phonetic environment (cf. § 1.4.9.1).

Oettinger (1979a: 152) gives two possible reconstructions for this verb, namely *\*tineh<sub>1</sub>-* and *\*sineh<sub>1</sub>-*. He favours the latter, because of a possible connection with Lat. *sinere* ‘to allow, to let, to permit’. I do not understand the semantic connection, however. A meaning ‘to allow, to permit’ is quite something else than ‘to stop, to finish, to be ready with’: the meanings are rather opposites. Also formally, the connection is problematic as I do not think that *sineh<sub>1</sub>-* would yield *zi-*: there are many Hittite words starting in *ši-* < *\*si-*, also when containing nasals.

In my view, we therefore rather reconstruct *\*tinéh<sub>1</sub>-ti*, *tin<sub>h</sub><sub>1</sub>-énti*. These forms would regularly yield pre-Hitt. *\*zinēzi* / *zinnanzi*, after which the *-nn-* of the plural was generalized throughout the paradigm and the *-ē-* of the singular was raised to *-i-*.

I would suggest that the root *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>-* is the same as the one visible in *zē<sup>a(rj)</sup>-* / *z-* ‘to cook (intr.), to be cooked’, which therefore must be interpreted as originally denoting ‘to be brought to its end’. This would indicate that of the root *\*tieh<sub>1</sub>-* the meaning ‘to end, to finish’ is primary, and not ‘to cook’, which makes a tie-in with OIr. *tinaid* ‘to melt’ (cf. at *zē<sup>a(rj)</sup>-*) less likely.

Note that in *\*ti-n-eh<sub>1</sub>-* the *t* is assibilated with retention of the *-i-* (so also *zinu<sup>zi</sup>-* ‘to make cross’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>t-i-neu-*), which contrasts with *zanu<sup>zi</sup>-* ‘to make cook’ < *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-*.

<sup>MUNUS</sup>*zintuḫi-* (c.) ‘girl’ (Sum. <sup>MUNUS</sup>KI.SIKIL): gen.sg.(?) *zi-in-tu-ḫi-ja-[aš?]*, nom.pl. *zi-in-tu-ḫi-e-eš* (OS), *zi-in-tu-ḫi-eš* (OS), *zi-in-tu-ḫi-i-e-eš*, *zi-tu-ḫi-i-e-[eš]*, gen.pl. *zi-in-tu-ḫi-ja-aš*.

According to Friedrich (HW, Erg. 3: 38), <sup>MUNUS</sup>*zintuḫi-* alternates with <sup>MUNUS</sup>KI.SIKIL in parallel texts, which would determine its meaning as ‘girl’. The word probably is of foreign (Hattic?) origin, which can be seen by the occurrence of the single *-ḫ-* which is hard to explain from an IE point of view.

*zinu<sup>zi</sup>-* ‘to make cross’: see *zai<sup>i</sup>-* / *zi-*

*zinnuk* ‘?’: *zi-in-nu-uk* (VBoT 1, 26)

This word occurs only once, in the first Arzawa-letter:

VBoT 1



(25) ... *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un*

(26) *zi-in-nu-uk hu-u-ma-an-da*

‘I heard everything *zinmuk*’.

We know that this letter is written by an Egyptian person, which might explain the aberrantness of this form. It could perhaps be built on the verb *zinni-zi* / *zinn-* ‘to be finished’, and then mean something like ‘I heard that everything is finished’. This is quite speculative, though.

**zipa-:** see *šipa-*, *zipa-*

**-zipa-:** see at <sup>(f)</sup>*tagānzepa-*

**zipat**, **zipattan(n)i** (uninfl.) a small measure unit, especially for food: *zi-pát* (OS), *zi-pát-ta-an-ni* (OS). *zi-pád-da-ni* (OS)

The exact meaning of these words is not clear. Like many other measure units, they probably are of a foreign origin.

**zizzaḫi-** (c.) Hurrian term, denoting some ritual beverage: acc.sg. *zi-iz-za-ḫi-in* (KUB 15.1 i 17).

The word occurs in Hurrian texts quite often. Only once we find it in a Hittite text:

KUB 15.1 i

(15) ... <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pát=ṽa*

(16) *me-mi-iš-ke-ez-zi I[-NA] KUR<sup>URU</sup>GIDRU-ti=ṽa=mu*

(17) *zi-iz-za-ḫi-in i-i[a-an-d]u INA KUR Mu-kiš=ma=ṽa=mu*

(18) *GEŠTIN i-ṽa-an-du*

‘Ḫepat says: In Ḫatti they have to make *zizzaḫi-* for me, but in Mukiš they have to make wine for me’.

It clearly denotes some kind of beverage.

In Friedrich HW Erg. 3: 38, this form is mistakenly regarded as a variant of *zizzuḫi-* (vessel for wine). It clearly is of Hurrian origin.

**zizzipanti-<sup>SAR</sup>** (c.) a herb: nom.sg. *zi-iz-zi-pa-an-ti-iš* (KBo 13.248 i 11).

The word occurs only once in a list of herbs. Its exact meaning is unknown and therefore no etymology.

Ú **zuḥri-**: see *uzuḥri-*

𐎠 **zūya-** (c.) ‘bread, food’ (Sum. NINDA): nom.sg. NINDA-*aš* (KUB 3.105 i 2), acc.sg. 𐎠 *zu-u-ya-an* (KUB 36.5 i 4, KUB 13.4 iv 67, 71, KUB 13.4 ii 20, KUB 13.6 ii 8), *zu-u-ya-an* (KUB 41.25 obv. 7), gen.sg./dat.-loc.pl. 𐎠 *zu-u-ya-aš* (KUB 13.17 iv 34).

Derivatives: see *zuḡae<sup>zi</sup>*.

See Otten (1971b: 14) for an extensive treatment. In KUB 36.5 i 4 we find KAxU-*aš* 𐎠 *zūyan* as a parallel of KUB 33.112+ iii 9 NINDA-*an* KAxU-*i*, which indicates that 𐎠 *zūya-* is the word behind NINDA. The almost consistent use of gloss wedges with this word indicates foreign (Luwian?) origin. Unfortunately no further etymology.

**zuḡae<sup>zi</sup>** (Ic2) ‘?’: 3sg.pres.act. *zu-ya-a-iz-zi* (KBo 12.89 iii 8), 3sg.pret.act. *zu-ya-a-it* (KBo 12.89 iii 17).

This verb occurs twice in one context only:

KBo 12.89 iii

- (8) [ *.]úḥ-ḥu-in zu-ya-a-iz-zi*  
 (9) [ *-]ti ti-ya-da-ni-in-ti n=a-aš-ta<sup>d</sup> Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš*  
 (10) [ *]x a-uš-ta i-ni=ma=ya ku-it*
- 
- (11) [ *(-)n]a<sup>7</sup>-uš EZEN<sub>4</sub>-an i-e-et nu=ya-a=z GAL-la-mu-uš*  
 (12) [DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-uš kal-l]i-iš-ta nu=ya-a=z a-mi-ja-an-du-uš DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-mu-uš  
 (13) [kal-li-iš-ta *]x-az šu-up-pa-uš TI<sub>8</sub><sup>MUŠEN.HI.A</sup> kal-li-eš-ta*
- 
- (14) [ *-]a-an Ú-UL a-aš-ta nu=ya-r=a-at=za-an A-NA pa-x[...]*  
 (15) [ *]x=kán ar-ḥa ú-ya-an-zi nu=ya-a=š-ma-aš ḥu-ya-an-za*  
 (16) [ *]x-an-zi nu=ya-a=š-ma-aš túḥ-ḥu-i-iš*
- 
- (17) [ *]x túḥ-ḥu-in zu-ya-a-it*

‘He z.-s smoke. [...] they curse. And Kamrušipa [...] looked: ‘What is this? [...]. (s)he went to the festival and [call]ed upon the big [gods] and [called upon] the small gods and [...] called upon the pure eagles. [...] was not there

and [.....] it. They come and the wind [...] them. They [...] and the smoke (...) them. [...] he z.-ed smoke’.

It is quite unclear what the context refers to. The only thing that is clear, is that *zuṽae-* has *tuhḥuṽai-* / *tuhḥui-* ‘smoke’ as its object. An exact meaning is beyond our grasp.

Formally, the verb belongs to the *ḥatrae*-class, which consists of denominative verbs derived from \**o*-stem nouns. In this case, *zuṽae-* seems to be derived from a noun \**zuṽa-*. It is unclear whether this \**zuṽa-* can be equated with (𐎠) *zūṽa-* ‘bread, food’ (q.v.). If so, then *zuṽae-* should mean something like ‘to eat’ or similar, but this is highly speculative, of course.



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## SAMENVATTING

Het Hittitisch was de taal van het Hittitische rijk dat van 1650 tot 1180 v.Chr. grote delen van Turkije in zijn macht had. De taal werd in spijkerschrift geschreven op kleitabletten waarvan bij opgravingen ca. 30.000 grotere en kleinere fragmenten gevonden zijn. Het hoort tot de zogenaamde Anatolische taalgroep, waarvan o.a. ook de veel minder goed bekende talen Palaïsch, Luwisch en Lycisch deel uit maken. De Anatolische groep is één van de twaalf takken van de grote Indo-Europese taalfamilie.

Sinds de ontcijfering van het Hittitisch in 1915 hebben vele geleerden zich bezig gehouden met de vraag hoe het Hittitisch en de andere Anatolische talen zich precies tot de overige Indo-Europese talen verhouden. Vanwege zijn hoge ouderdom (de oudste Hittitische teksten zijn eeuwen ouder dan de oudste teksten in andere Indo-Europese talen zoals het Sanskrit en Grieks) alsmede zijn afwijkende uiterlijk zijn vele geleerden het er over eens dat het Hittitisch belangrijke informatie bevat voor het reconstrueren van het Proto-Indo-Europees. Desalniettemin zijn veel aspecten van de historische fonologie van het Hittitisch omstreden, wat mede veroorzaakt wordt door het feit dat Indoeuropeanisten niet altijd het gehele materiaal in acht nemen of niet even consequent met het materiaal omgaan.

Deze dissertatie biedt daarom een beschrijving van de geschiedenis van het Hittitisch op basis van een systematische etymologische behandeling van de gehele Hittitische erfwoordenschat met inachtneming van een zo precies mogelijke analyse van fonetische en morfologische veranderingen.

Het boek bestaat uit twee delen, namelijk *Part One, Towards a Hittite Historical Grammar* en *Part Two, An Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Deze twee delen zijn zeer verweven in de zin dat de één niet zonder de ander had kunnen bestaan. Er zijn dan ook veel kruisverwijzingen tussen deze delen opgenomen.

*Part Two* bevat etymologische behandelingen van de woorden van Indo-Europese herkomst, maar ook van woorden die er Indo-Europees uitzien maar waarvan geen cognaten bekend zijn alsmede van woorden waarvoor in de literatuur een Indo-Europese etymologie is voorgesteld die niet correct kan zijn. Daarnaast worden alle nominale en verbale uitgangen etymologisch behandeld alsmede verscheidene nominale en verbale suffixen. Per lemma worden alle geattesteerde spellings- en morfologische varianten in chronologische volgorde geciteerd zodat de oudste situatie zo goed mogelijk beschreven kan worden. Aan de hand van verwanten uit de andere Anatolische en de overige Indo-Europese talen wordt de etymologie besproken met inachtneming van semantische, fonetische en morfologische argumenten.

De etymologische behandeling van de woorden in *Part Two* vormen de basis voor de inhoud van *Part One*, welke is onderverdeeld in twee hoofdstukken.

*Chapter 1, Historical Phonology* richt zich met name op de volgende twee onderwerpen:

1. *Het vaststellen van het Hittitisch foneemsysteem.* Omdat het spijkerschrift waarmee het Hittitisch geschreven werd eigenlijk ongeschikt was voor de fonetische opbouw van de taal, was het lang niet altijd duidelijk hoe de geschreven vormen fonetisch of fonologisch geïnterpreteerd moeten worden. Aan de hand van een uitgebreide beschrijving van orthografische bijzonderheden en het vergelijken van verschillende spellingsmogelijkheden van specifieke woorden wordt het Hittitische foneemsysteem vastgesteld.

2. *Het beschrijven van de Hittitische klankwetten.* Aan de hand van vele voorbeelden uit het materiaal van *Part Two* wordt van elk Proto-Indo-Europees foneem gedetailleerd beschreven hoe het zich fonologisch ontwikkeld heeft in de periode tussen het Proto-Indo-Europese en het Hittitische taalstadium.

*Chapter 2, Aspects of Historical Morphology* beschrijft de morfologische ontwikkelingen die zich tijdens de voorgeschiedenis van het Hittitisch hebben voorgedaan in de nominal, pronominale en verbale klassen. Vooral de behandeling van de classificatie van het Hittitische werkwoord neemt hier een belangrijke plaats in omdat enkele nieuwe interpretaties van synchrone feiten een geheel nieuw licht werpen op de diachrone ontwikkeling van het Hittitisch werkwoordstelsel.

Eén van de belangrijkste conclusies van deze dissertatie is dat de Anatolische taalgroep als eerste van het Proto-Indo-Europees afgesplitst is en dat alle andere Indo-Europese takken een periode van gezamenlijke innovaties hebben ondergaan. Daarmee neemt het Anatolisch en vooral het Hittitisch een zeer belangrijke plaats in binnen de vergelijkende Indo-Europese taalwetenschap aangezien het potentieel taalkundige informatie bewaard heeft die in alle andere Indo-Europese talen verdwenen is. Hopelijk zal deze dissertatie een nuttig handvat blijken te zijn bij het in deze context beoordelen van het Hittitische taal materiaal.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Alwin Kloekhorst werd geboren op 4 maart 1978 te Smilde. Na in 1996 zijn gymnasiumdiploma aan de CSG Vincent van Gogh in Assen behaald te hebben, begon hij aan de Universiteit Leiden met de studie Talen en Culturen van India. Na het voltooien van de propedeuse hiervan in 1997 (bekroond met de *Caland Aanmoedigingsprijs*) stapte hij over naar de bovenbouwstudie Vergelijkende Indo-Europese Taalwetenschap welke hij in 2001 (*cum laude*) afsloot. Tevens doorliep hij tijdens zijn studie onderdelen van het onderwijsprogramma Anatolische Talen en Culturen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Na zijn afstuderen werd Alwin Kloekhorst toegelaten tot het eenjarig Advanced Masters' Program van de Onderzoeksschool CNWS te Leiden, welke hij *with distinction* voltooide. In 2002 werd hem bij hetzelfde instituut een aio-aanstelling van vier jaar toegekend (vanaf september 2005 overgenomen door het Leiden University Centre of Linguistics) ten behoeve van het onderzoek waarvan deze dissertatie het resultaat is.

Tijdens zijn studie en promotie maakte Alwin Kloekhorst meerdere buitenlandse studiereizen, onder andere naar de Freie Universität Berlin en het Oriental Institute van de University of Chicago. Sinds het begin van zijn aio-aanstelling verschenen van zijn hand ruim tien wetenschappelijke artikelen. Tevens publiceerde hij in 2006 in het kader van het internationale *Boğazköy-Texte in Umschrift* project samen met dhr. D. Groddek het boek *Hethitische Texte in Transkription: KBo 35 (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 19)*.

Op dit moment doceert Alwin Kloekhorst Hittitisch en Historische Grammatica van het Grieks bij de opleiding Vergelijkende Indo-Europese Taalwetenschap aan de Universiteit Leiden en organiseert hij daarnaast de *Leiden Summer Schools at the Faculty of Arts*.