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The Hittite Inherited Lexicon

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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;[283] and (d) words of which I found it important to show that they must be of a foreign origin.[284]

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[285] 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

[283] Although I certainly do not claim exhaustiveness for this category.

[284] I am aware that this latter category is quite arbitrary.

[285] 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Hittitology, it is nowadays outdated in some respects: it does not give examples of contexts to illustrate a word's meaning, it cites forms in bound transcription, often disregarding plene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^2), which was initiated in 1975, sofar comprises *a-* till *ḫaššu-* 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 *Materialen zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus* (1973 - 1989) that treats the lemmas *āk-^{i} / akk-* 'to die', *šu* (conjunction), *ta* (conjunction), *-a-* (encl. pers. pron.), *eku-^{zi} / aku-* 'to drink', *dā-^{i} / d-* 'to take', *šākk-^{i} / šakk-* 'to know' and *ḫandae-^{zi}* '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-^{i} / 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 *Materialen 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*, *Ụ* 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)[286], 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 Luwian 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 *-uu̯a-* is regarded as *-u-* + *-u̯-* + *-a-*, so e.g. *duu̯arni-*^{zi} / *duu̯arn-* follows ^{MUNUS}*duttariia/i-* and precedes *tuzzi-*.

[286] 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*

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* /ʔáška/ ‘gate’, *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da* /HmésHanta/, *lu-li-i̯a* /lúlia/ ‘pond’, *ne-e-pí-ša* /nébisa/ ‘heaven’, *šu-uḫ-ḫa* /sóHa/ ‘roof’ vs. *iš-ša-a* /ɨSá/ ‘mouth’, *ki-iš-ra-a* /kɨSrá/ ‘hand’, *ta-ak-na-a* /tgná/ ‘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. *prŏ-* 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_2

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-u̯a* (OS) from *šākuu̯a-* ‘eye’), stems in *-tt-* (*a-ni-i̯a-at-ta* (OS) from *aniii̯att-* ‘work, task’), stems in *-nt-* (e.g. *a-mi-i̯a-an-ta* (OH/MS) from *amii̯ant-* ‘small’, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta* (OS) from *ḫūmant-* ‘all’) and *i-* and *u*-stem adjectives (e.g. *a-aš-ša-u-u̯a* from *āššu- / āššau̯-* ‘good’, *ḫar-ga* < **ḫarkai̯a* from *ḫarki- / ḫarkai-* ‘white’, *šu-up-pa* (OS) < **šuppai̯a* from

šuppi- / šuppai- ‘clean’). In stems in resonants, we see introduction of the lengthened grade (e.g. *ḫar-ša-a-ar* (OS) from *ḫaršar / ḫaršn-* ‘head’, *ḫu-i-ta-a-ar* (OS) from *ḫuitar / ḫuitn-* ‘game, wild animals’, *ḫa-aš-ta-a-i* from *ḫaštai- / ḫašti-* ‘bone’, *ú-i-ta-a-ar* (OS) from *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-* ‘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*$_2$ (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-u̯a* (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*$_2$, showing a lowering of *-*Cih*$_2$ to /-Ce/ comparable to the lowering visible in *-*Cuh*$_2$ > /-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- / parku̯ai-* ‘clean’ (instead of expected *parku̯a* < *parku̯ai̯a*, which is attested as well), which may show the reality of the ending *-e* < *-*ih*$_2$.

As we already saw, I reconstruct the ending °*Cu-u* in neuter *u*-stem nouns as *-*Cu-h*$_2$ and the ending °*Ce-e* in pronominal stems and possibly in *parkue* as *-*Ci-h*$_2$, both showing the neuter nom.-acc.pl.-ending *-*h*$_2$ as attested in the other IE languages as well (e.g. Skt. *-i*, Gr. -α, Lat. *-ă*). The Hittite ending *-a* must go back to *-*eh*$_2$, however, because in word-final position after consonant *-*h*$_2$ would regularly drop, cf. **mégh*$_2$ > Hitt. *mēk* ‘much, many’. This *-*eh*$_2$ is also visible in Lyc. *-a*, Skt. *-ā*, OCS *-a* and Goth. *-a*. See Prins (1997: 221f.) for a treatment of this *-*eh*$_2$.

-a (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-a(ri)*

=a ‘and, too’: see *=(i̯)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), *ḫar-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$_5$*-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-aḫ-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_4*-n=a-a=š-ma-aš* (OS), *ma-a-an=ša-ma-aš* (OS), *nam-ma=ma-a=š-ša-ma-aš* (OS), *na-at-ta=ša-ma-aš* (OS), *ḫal-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. *=ši*, 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. /=as/, acc.sg.c. /=an/, nom.-acc.n. /=ada/, dat.sg. /=du/, nom.pl.c. /=ada/, acc.pl.c. /=ada/, nom.-acc.pl.n. /=ada/, dat.pl. /=mant^{s}/); Lyd. ***=a-*** 'id.' (nom.sg.c. *=aś*, *=ś*, acc.sg.c. *=aν*, *=ν*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *=ad*, *=at*, dat.sg. *=a*$\lambda^{?}$, *=*λ); Lyc. ***=e-*** 'id.' (nom.sg.c. *=e*? (see Garret 1992: 204), acc.sg.c. *=ẽ*, *=e*, *=ẽn*, *=ẽne*, *=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 locatival 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*$_2$ (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*$^{?}$]-*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*$^{??}$-*u̯a-a-pí-it* UD-*at*)]
(2) LUGAL-*ez*-[*zi*$^{?}$-*i̯a*$^{?}$- x - x - x]
(3) *š=a-an=z=a-p*[(*a a-aš-šu*)]
(4) *šu-u-u̯a-a*[*t-te-en*$^{?}$]
(5) *nu-u*[*n-n*]*a-p*[*a*$^{?}$ (*a-aš-šu*)]
(6) *šu-u-u̯a-at-t*[(*e*)-*en*$^{?}$]

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(7) *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš=m*[(*i-iš a-iš*)]
(8) ^{URU}*Za*-[(*a*)]*l*-[*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=an=z=apa*, then it is possible that we should interpret *nu-un-na-p*[*a*$^{?}$] 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-$^{a(ri)}$ 'to be hot': see *ā(i)-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ i-*

-aḫḫ-^{i} ('factitive'-suffix)

Verbs that display the suffix *-aḫḫ-* 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 *šuppiiaḫḫ-*^{i} 'to make pure', *neu̯a-* 'new' and *neu̯aḫḫ-*^{i} 'to make new', *dašuu̯ant-* 'blind' and *dašuu̯aḫḫ-*^{i} 'to make blind', etc. It should be noted that *-aḫḫ-* is a denominal suffix only: we never find verbs in *-aḫḫ-* that are derived from a verbal stem. In the oldest texts, verbs in *-aḫḫ-* inflect according to the *ḫi*-conjugation (3sg.pres.act. *-aḫ-ḫi* (OS)), but in NH times, we find *mi*-inflected forms like 1sg.pres.act. *-aḫ-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *-aḫ-zi*, etc. In 1sg.pres.act.,

the combination of the suffix *-aḫḫ-* with the ending *-ḫḫi* is predominantly spelled *-aḫḫi*. A spelling *-aḫḫaḫḫi* occurs twice only, namely [...]x-*aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 17.25 rev. 5 (OS)) and *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 41.32 rev. 10 (OH/NS)). The 1sg.pret.act.-form to my knowledge is always spelled *-aḫ-ḫu-un*: I do not know of any spellings **-*aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-un*.

On the basis of the word equation *nēu̯aḫḫ-*^{i} 'to renew' with Lat. *novāre* 'to renew' and Gr. νεάω 'to plough up', it is generally thought that the suffix *-aḫḫ-* must be of PIE origin and reflects *-*eh*$_2$-. So, *neu̯aḫḫ-* < **néu̯eh*$_2$-. Why the factitives in *-aḫḫ-* ended up in the *ḫi*-conjugation is unclear to me. Note that they differ from normal *ḫi*-conjugating verbs in *-aḫḫ-* in the sense that these show an alternation *-ḫ- / -ḫḫ-* (*nāḫ-*^{i} */ naḫḫ-*, *zāḫ-*^{i} */ zaḫḫ-*), whereas factitives in *-aḫḫ-* have geminate *-ḫḫ-* throughout, also in 3sg.pres.act. *-aḫḫi*. This is due to the fact that normal *ḫi*-verbs have **ó* in the singular, which lenites the following **h*$_2$, whereas the factitives have *-*eh*$_2$-.

-ai (dat.-loc.sg.-ending): see *-i*

ā(i)-^{ari} ***/ 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.$^{?}$ 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.$^{?}$ 6 (NS)); part. *a-a-an-t-* (OS), *a-an-t-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***inu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make hot, to fry' (3sg.pres.act. *i-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *i-nu-an-zi*, *i-nu-u̯a-an-zi*, 2pl.imp.act. *i-nu-ut-te-en* (OS); impf. *i-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***aḫēšš-***^{zi} (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*$_1$*eh*$_3$*i-o-ri*, **h*$_1$*h*$_3$*i-neu-* ??

See HW^2 A: 44f. for attestations. For a good interpretation of this verb, we should first look at its causative, *inu-*^{zi}. This causative often is cited as *enu-*^{zi} as well (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 11; HW^2 E: 42f.), which is done only on the basis of two attestation showing a spelling *e-nu-*. As I show at the lemma *enu-*^{zi}, 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 /ʔắari/, /ʔắanta/, /ʔắant-/, which was lost in the younger period, yielding /ắri/, /ʔắnta/ and /ʔắnt-/. The fact that the causative of this verb shows a stem *i-* (which must be zero-grade) highly indicates that *a-a-ri* reflects **āi̯-o-ri* vel sim., in which form the loss of intervocalic **i̯* yielded hiatus. The assumption of a stem **āi-* makes way to a connection with the scarcely attested verb *ai̯išš-* that then could be interpreted as a fientive *ai̯-ēšš-^{zi}* ‘to become hot’. Another form that shows a stem *ai̯-* may be 3sg.pret.midd. *a-i-it-ta-at* in KBo 42.6 obv.$^{?}$ (6) [...]x=*mu* A-*tar*=*me-et a-i-it-ta-at*, if this means ‘my water was warm’. Because of this *ai̯ēšš-^{zi}* and *ai̯ittat* (= /ʔắitat/?), I have decide to cite the basic verb as *ā(i)-^{ari} / i-* here.

The stem *ā(i)-/i-* often is connected with Gr. αἴθω, αἴθομαι and Skt. *inddhé* ‘entzundet’. These forms clearly derive from **h$_2$eid^{h}-*, 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$_1$éh$_1$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$_2$* or **h$_3$*. As **h$_2$* would have remained in initial as well as intervocalic position (or, when in **Vh$_2$i̯V* would have given *Vi̯V*, like *tāi̯ezzi* < **teh$_2$i̯eti*), the root must contain **h$_3$*. As **h$_3$* yields Hitt. *ḫ-* in initial position when preceding **e*, the only possible root structure is **h$_1$eh$_3$i-*. This would mean that *a-a-ri* = /ʔắʔari/ reflects **h$_1$éh$_3$i-o-ri*, and *inu-* < **h$_1$h$_3$i-neu-*. Note that the first form shows that **Vh$_3$i̯V* > OH /VʔV/, and not **/ViV/ and that the second form shows that **h$_1$h$_3$i-* > Hitt. *i-* and not **ḫi-*. 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$_1$eh$_3$i-*.

aikau̯artanna (adv.) ‘for one turn’: *a-i-ka-u̯a-ar-ta-an-na* (KBo 3.5 i 17, 22).

This word is a loan through Hurrian from Pre-Indic **aika-* ‘one’ and **u̯artana-* ‘turn’, compare Skt. *éka-* and *vártana-*.

aiš / išš- (n.) ‘mouth’ (Sum. KAxU, Akk. *PÛ*): 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$^{\underline{H}LA}$*-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$_5$-za-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §42, §48) *á-sa$_5$-za-i* (MARAŞ 14 §11, SULTANHAN §34), 3sg.pret.act. *á-sa$_5$-za-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §11, KAYSERİ §20), 2sg.imp.act. *á-sa$_5$-za* (ASSUR letter *a* §1, *b* §1, *c* §1, *d* §1, *e* §1, *f*+*g* §1); part.nom.sg.c. *á-sa$_5$-za-mi-i-sá* (KARKAMIŠ A7*a* §14)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ā́s-*, Av. *āh-*, Lat. *ōs*, OIr. *á* 'mouth'.

PIE **h$_1$eh$_3$-es-*

See HW^2 A: 48f. for attestations. Although already since the beginning of Hittitology (e.g. Pedersen 1938: 47) this word is connected with Skt. *ā́s-*, 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$_3$*. Since initial **h$_3$* in front of **e* would yield Hitt. *ḫ-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), we have to reconstruct **h$_1$eh$_3$-es-*. From a PIE point of view, we would expect this word to show an inflection **h$_1$éh$_3$-s*, **h$_1$h$_3$-és-s*, later replaced by **h$_1$éh$_3$-os*, **h$_1$(e)h$_3$-és-os*.

The regular outcome of nom.-acc.sg. *$h_1éh_3$-*os* would be Hitt. **$\bar{a}š$. 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-V́*, 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-^{i} / akk- (IIa2) 'to die, to be killed; to be eclipsed (of sun and moon: Sum. UG_6)': 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$_4$-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$_4$-a-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. ***akτa-*** 'of the dead'?? (Melchert 1994a: 332).

PIE *$h_{1/3}$*ók-ei*, *$h_{1/3}$*k-énti*

See HW^2 A: 51f. for attestations. The original paradigm must have been **ākḫi*, *ākti*, *aki*, *akkueni*, **akteni*, *akkanzi*, standing for /ʔā́kHi, ʔā́kti, ʔā́gi, ʔkuéni, ʔkténi, ʔkánt^{s}i/. 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 **Hók̑$^{(r)}$-ei*, **Hk̑$^{(r)}$-énti*. Although all three laryngeals would be neutralized to /ʔ/ in front of **o*, a reconstruction with **h_2-* is not likely as this phoneme would have been preserved in the weak stem (> ***ḫakkanzi*), on the basis of which the *ḫ-* probably would have been reintroduced in the strong stem (but compare *au-^{i} / u-*). As both **h_1* and **h_3* 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 **$h_{1/3}$ek̑$^{(r)}$-* 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 **$h_{1/3}$ek-*. Eichner (1973: 83) unconvincingly suggests a connection with Skt. *āśú-*, Gr. ὠκύς 'fast, quickly' through an intermediate meaning 'dahingeschwunden sein'.

$^{(NA_4)}$***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*[*š*$^?$] (VBoT 134,2).

Derivatives: ^{NA_4}***akuu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'covered with sea-shells' (acc.pl.c. *a-ku-u̯a-an-du-uš* (KUB 35.84 ii 4)).

See HW^2 A: 53 for attestations. Since Laroche (1957a: 25-6) this word is usually translated 'stone' (HW^2: "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 *$h_2e\acute{k}$- ‘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_1g^{wh}-d^{h}*lo*-

This word is attested only twice in duplicate texts:

KUB 2.13 i
(8) ^{LÚ}Ú.ḪÚB *a-ku-ga-al-li-it* KÙ.BABBAR *u̯a-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 () can easily be explained as an error for the sign TA () through omission of the vertical wedge. If *akutalla-* is the correct form, it could reflect *h_1g^{wh}-d^{h}*lo*-, containing the root *h_1eg^{wh}- ‘to drink’ (see *eku-*^{zi} / *aku*-) and the PIE instrument-suffix *-*tlo*- / *-d^{h}*lo*-.

^{GIŠ}*allantaru-* (n.) ‘oak’ (Sum. ^{GIŠ}*allan*-GIŠ-*ru*-): nom.-acc.sg. ^{GIŠ}*al-la-an-da-ru* (KUB 39.290 iii 13), dat.-loc.sg. ^{GIŠ}*al-la-an*-GIŠ-*ru-i* (KUB 39.7 ii 35), nom.-acc.pl.n. ^{GIŠ}*al-la-an-ta-ru* (KUB 39.8 i 48), [^{GI}]^{Š}*al-la-an*-GIŠ-*r*[*u*] (KUB 39.24 obv. 2).

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*$^{ḪI.A}$ (KUB 36.14, 5), gen.pl. *al-pa-aš*.

Derivatives: ***alparama-*** ‘cloudiness, clouddeck’ (instr. *al-pa-ra-mi-it* (KBo 3.21 ii 20)).

See HW^2 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_2elb^ho- should have given Hitt. **$ḫalpa$-), 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_4, which would be *a*-colouring, but not giving *ḫ* in Hittite: *h_4elb^ho-. Yet, to my mind, the connection is semantically too weak to base a new PIE phoneme on. Unfortunately, I have no better IE etymlogy for this word. The form *alpa*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$ is regarded by some as a 'collective' in *-eh_2 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^2 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.$^{?}$ (7) ... I GA[.KIN.AG] (8) *al-pa-a-an* ^{GIŠ}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 *alu̯ant-* 'bewitched' seems to make sense semantically (followed in e.g. HW^2 (l.c.): "behext"). Formally, this is difficult, however, as the stem for 'bewitched' is not *alu̯ant-*, but *alu̯anz-* (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. *alp̃ti* 'to swoon', *alpùs* '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*), ***alpuēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to be sharp, to be acute' (3sg.pres.act. [*a*]*l-pu-e-eš-zi*).

See HW^2 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 *alpuēšš-* 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 **l̥pu*, which he connects with Welsh *llym*, Breton *lemm* 'sharp' < **l̥p-s-mo-*. Although Hamp's claim that *u*-stem adjectives have zero-grade would fit for e.g. *parku-* 'high' < **b^{h}rǵ^h-u-*, it does not for e.g. *tēpu-* 'little' < **d^{h}éb^h-u-*, and therefore a reconstruction **l̥p-u-* is, though possible, not obligatory.

Puhvel's proposal to connect *alpu-* with Lith. *alpùs* '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*

alu̯anz- (stem) 'being bewitched, affected by sorcery' (Sum. UḪ$_7$).

Derivatives: ***alu̯anzātar / alu̯anzann-*** (n.) 'witchcraft, sorcery, spell' (nom.-acc.sg. *a-lu*[(*-u̯a*)*-an-za-tar*] (OS), *al-u̯a-an-za-tar*, *al-u̯a-a-za-tar*, *al-u̯a-za-a-tar*, *al-u̯a-an-za-ta*, dat.-loc.sg. *al-u̯a-an-za-an-ni*), ****alu̯anzeššar / alu̯anzešn-*** (n.) 'witchcraft' (dat.-loc.sg. *al-u̯a-an-zé-iš-ni*, abl. *al-u̯a-an-zé-eš-na-za*, *al-u̯a-an-ze-eš-na-za*), ***alu̯anzena-*** (adj. / c.) 'practising sorcery, sorcerous; sorceror' (nom.sg.c. *al-u̯a-an-zé-na-aš*, *al-u̯a-zé-na-aš*, acc.sg. UḪ$_7$*-an*, gen.sg. *al-u̯a-an-zé-na-aš*, *al-u̯a-an-ze-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *al-u̯a-an-zé-ni*, *al-u̯a-zé-ni*, *al-u̯a-an-ze-ni*, *al-u̯a-ze-ni*, abl. *al-u̯a-zé-na-az*, nom.pl.c. *al-u̯a-an-zé-ni-eš*, *al-u̯a-an-ze-ni-eš*, *al-u̯a-an-zi-in-ni-eš*, acc.pl. *al-u̯a-zé-nu-uš*, *al-u̯a-an-zi-in-nu-uš*), ***alu̯anzaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to bewitch' (3sg.pres.act. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ*[*-ḫi*], 3sg.pret.act. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ-ḫi-i-it*; part. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; impf. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *al-u̯a-an-*

za-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-), ***alu̯anzaḫḫa-*** (gender unclear) ‘sorcery’ (abl. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ-ḫa-az*, instr. *al-u̯a-an-za-aḫ-ḫi*[*-it*]).

See HW^2 A: 63f. for attestations. The stem of all these words seems to be *alu̯anz-*, which is problematic because of its *-z-*. All etymologies that try to explain *alu̯anz-* as a word of IE origin, treat it as if it were a participle *alu̯ant-*, but such a stem is never found (then we would expect e.g. ***alu̯antaḫḫ-* (like *mai̯andaḫḫ-*, *mii̯aḫuu̯antaḫḫ-*) or ***alu̯antātar* (like *mai̯andatar*, *mii̯aḫuu̯andatar*). The *-z-* really is inherent to the stem. It therefore is unlikely that the stem is of IE origin.

amii̯ant- (adj.) ‘small’: nom.sg.c. *a-mi-i̯a-an-za* (KUB 17.10 i 38 (OH/MS)), *am-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-ta*$^{!}$*-an* (KUB 45.20 ii 10 (NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *am-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-te-eš* (KUB 33.66 iii 13 (OH?/MS)), *am-mi-i̯a-an-te-eš* (KBo 20.82 iii 15 (MH?/NS)), acc.pl.c. *a-mi-i̯a-an-du-uš* (KBo 12.89 iii 12 (MS)), *a-am-mi-i̯a-an-tu-uš* (KBo 3.34 ii 28 (OH/NS)), *am-me-i̯a-an-du-uš* (KBo 12.112 obv. 16 (NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-mi-i̯a-an-ta* (KUB 17.10 i 38 (OH/MS)), *am-me-i̯a-an*[*-ta* (KUB 33.23 ii 6 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *a-mi-i̯a-an-ta-aš* (KUB 32.123 iii 24 (NS)), *a-am-mi-i̯a-an-da-aš* (KBo 8.107, 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: ^{NINDA}***amii̯anteššar*** (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-i̯a-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 22.193 iv 7 (NS)), *am-mi-i̯a-an-te-eš-šar* (KBo 22.186 v 8 (NS)), *am-me-i̯a-an-t*[*e-eš-šar*] (KUB 30.32 iv 3 (NS?)).

PIE **n̥-mh$_2$i-ent-*

See HW^2 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 *amii̯ant-* is the original form of this word. Apparently, *-m-* fortited 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-i̯a-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-*^{i} */ mi-* ‘to grow’ (q.v.) (first suggested by Laroche 1967: 174 and Čop 1966-68: 60), which I have explained as reflecting **mh$_2$-oi-* / **mh$_2$-i-*, so *amii̯ant-* goes back to virtual **n̥-mHi-ent-*. It is remarkable, however, that this is the only known

case of the *alpha privans* in Hittite. Note that the NH spelling *ammeiant-* 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_1i-.

ammuk: see *ūk / amm-*

-an (acc.sg.c.-ending): see *-n*

-an (nom.-acc.sg.n.-ending of *a*-stems)
PIE *-*om*

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. *iugan* 'joke' that directly corresponds to Skt. *yugám*, Gr. ζυγόν, Lat. *iugum*, OCS *igo*, Goth. *juk*, etc. < **iugom*.

-an (gen.pl.-ending)
PIE *-*om*

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. *-ų̄*, 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. *-ų̄* as well as OIr. gen.pl. *fer*^{N} 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. locatival sentence particle)

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. *ḫar-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 *=šša*n. HW^2 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^2 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. *tásmin* (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$_x$-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^2 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^2 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 fur ein L[ehn]w[ort]" (l.c.).

Melchert (1994a: 74) incorrectly connects the stem *anna-* with *anišiu̯at* 'today' (see under *šiu̯att-*), and states that *anna-* must reflect **éno-* (with "Čop's Law") whereas *ani-* goes back to **óno-*. Since *anna-* clearly denotes 'formerly' and

anišiu̯at means ‘today’, it is in my view impossible that *anna-* and *ani-* are etymologically connected (they have an almost opposite meaning!). See at *šiu̯att-* for a treatment of *anišiu̯at*.

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: ***anniu̯atar / anniu̯ann-*** (n.) ‘motherhood’ (nom.-acc.sg. *an-ni-u̯a-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. AMA-*an-ni*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***anna-*** (c.) ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *an-na-aš*, *a-an-na-az=ku-u̯a-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*, ^{MUNUS}AMA-*ni*), ***annalla/i-*** (adj.) ‘maternal’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *an-na-al-la*), ***ānnau̯ann(i)-*** (c.) ‘stepmother’ (nom.sg. *a-an-na-u̯a-an-n*[*i-iš*]), $^{\text{(LÚ/MUNUS)}}$***ānninniu̯ami-*** (c.) ‘cousin’ (nom.sg. *a-a-an-ni-in-ni-u̯a-mi-iš*, *an-ni-in-ni-u̯a-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *a-an-ni-in-ni-u̯a-mi-in*, *a-a-an-ni-in-ni-u̯a-mi-in*), ***ānni(u̯a)-*** (adj.) ‘maternal’ (nom.sg.c. AMA-*i-iš*, AMA-*iš*, acc.sg.c. AMA-*i-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. [*a-*]*an-ni-u̯a-an*, AMA-*u̯a-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-an-ni*, abl.-instr. *an-ni-u̯a-ti*, nom.pl.c. AMA-*in-zi*); HLuw. **MATER-*nata/i-*** (c.) ‘mother’ (acc.sg. MATER-*na-tí-na* (KARATEPE 1 §3, see discussion below)); Lyd. ***ẽna-*** ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *ẽna-k taada-k* ‘mother and father’, *ẽnaś*, dat.-loc.sg. *ẽnaλ*); Lyc. ***ẽne/i-*** (c.) ‘mother’ (nom.sg. *ẽni* ‘mother’); Mil. ***ẽne/i-*** (c.) ‘mother’ (gen. adj. *ẽnesi-*).

PAnat. **Honno-*

See HW^2 A: 70f. for attestations. Sporadically, we find a stem *anni-* in Hittite: acc.pl. *anniuš* (KBo 22.5 obv. 8) and the derivative *anniu̯atar* (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* ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa Á-TANA-wa/i-ia*^{URBS} MATER-*na-tí-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tà* [*wa=mū Tarhunzas Adanau̯a̯a* MATER-*natin tatin=ha izīta*] ‘Tarhunt made me mother and father over Adanau̯a’. 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 onomatopoetic origin.

-ānna (inf.II-suffix)

PIE **-ótn-o*

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', *u̯a-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 *-u̯anzi*. Nevertheless, to my knowledge there is no semantic difference between inf.I and inf.II. Just as the suffix *-u̯anzi* is a petrified case out of the paradigm of the verbal noun in *-u̯ar / -u̯an-*, 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-^{i} / -anni- (imperfective-suffix)

PIE **CC-otn-ói-ei / *CC-otn-i-énti*

In the older literature, this suffix is usually called "durative", but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-anna/i-^{i}* 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-^{zi}* and *-šš(a)-^{i}*, and even that "synchronically they function effectively as suppletive allomorphs of a single morpheme" (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 *walḫanni/a-* 'beat' (frequentative) beside *walḫiške/a-* imperfective to *walḫ-* 'strike'" (o.c.: 416). The latter statement is not true: *nanna-^{i} / nanni-* must be regarded as a reduplicated formation of *nai-^{i} /*ni-* (see at *nē-$^{a(ri)}$*) and not as a stem in *-anna/i-*, because then we should expect ***niu̯anna/i-*; the imperfective *u̯alḫiške/a-^{zi}* to my knowledge only occurs in NS texts and therewith likely is a secondary creation, which means that *u̯alḫanna/i-* is the original imperfective to *u̯alḫ-^{zi}*. 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. *iy̯annaḫḫe*, *iy̯annai* vs. *iy̯anniy̯anzi*. 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 (*iy̯annai*, *iy̯annanzi*), and on the other into the *-y̯e/a*-class (*iy̯anniy̯azzi*). Because *mēma/i*-verbs are polysyllabic verbs that in pre-Hittite times belonged to the *dāi/tiy̯anzi*-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-^{i} / -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. *gr̥bhāyáti*-type and verbs in *-anyá-*, the Tocharian present suffix *-ññ-* and the Greek verbs in -αινω, for which he reconstructs a special PIE type with a stem **CC-nh$_2$-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 *-eny̯é-*. This is problematic because to my knowledge *-eny̯é-* would not yield Hitt. *-anniy̯a-* (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-^{i} / -anni-* that inflects according to the *dāi/tiy̯anzi*-class. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, this class reflects a structure **CC-oi- / *CC-i-*. In the case of **-annai- / -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-u̯a-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- / -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-^{i} / 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-^{i} / iškaranni-* ‘to be (in the act of) stabbing’ (**skr-otn-oi- / *skr-otn-i-*) has been derived. Similarly: the verb *laḫḫiie/a-^{zi}* ‘to go on an expedition’ (itself a denominal derivative of *lāḫḫ-* ‘expedition’) is the basis for an abstract noun *laḫḫiiātar / laḫḫiiānn-* ‘campaign’ on the basis of which the derivative *laḫḫiianna-^{i} / laḫḫiianni-* ‘to be on a campaign’ is made. Effectively, *laḫḫiianna/i-* serves as the imperfective of *laḫḫiie/a-*. Not of all verbs that use the imperfective-suffix *-anna/i-* a corresponding abstract noun in *-ātar / -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-^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to train, to educate’: 3pl.pres.act. *an-na-nu-ua-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-ua-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-uḫ-ḫa-an* (OS)), **(KUŠ)*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)), ***annanuzziiant-*** (adj.) ‘haltered’ (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$_3$n-neu-* ?

See HW^2 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 **(GIŠ)***parštu-* ‘leaf, foliage’). The noun **(KUŠ)***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 *aniie/a-^{zi}* ‘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 *aniie/a-* < *h_3n-ie/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_3n-sḱe/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-* /sSnu-/ '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 TochAB *en-* 'to instruct' would indeed go back to a causative formation from the root *$h_3$en-*, it would show a similar semantic development as *annanu-*.

(ϟ) 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 ḫu-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 ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU-*aš iš-ki-ša-a*[*š$^{?}$=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 ^{UZU}x[... *i-na-an* KI.MIN]
(26) *ge-e-nu-ua-aš=ša-aš i-na-an* KI.MIN ^{U}[$^{ZU?}$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-*'.

We see that *anaššaš=šaš* is mentioned between ^{UZU}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. *áṁsa-* to Lat. *umerus*), so **h*$_2$*em-es-* (**h*$_2$- because of TochA *es*, TochB *āntse*). If Hittite would display a preform **h*$_2$*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*$_2$*ems-u-*). If Hittite would reflect a preform **h*$_2$*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*$_2$*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 *aniie/a-*^{zi} 'to work, to carry out' (lit. 'creation' > 'establishment'), but the geminate *-nn-* in *annaššar / annašn-* vs. the single *-n-* in *aniie/a-* is not favourable to this etymology.

$^{(MUNUS)}$***annauanna-*** (c.) 'stepmother': gen.sg. *an-na-ua-an-na-aš* (KUB 29.34+ iv 12); broken ^{MUNUS}*an-na-u*[*a-...*] (621/f, 10).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ānnauann(i)-*** (c.) 'stepmother' (nom.sg. *a-an-na-ua-an-n*[*i-iš*], acc.sg. *an-na-ua-an-ni-in*, *an-na-u-ua-an-ni-in*).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 65 for attestations. Note that *an-na-ua-an-na-aš=ša-aš* (KUB 29.34+ iv 12 = Hitt. Laws §196) is duplicated by ^{MUNUS}*an-na-ua-at*$^{?}$*-tal*$^{?}$*-aš-ša* in KBo 6.26 iii 30. The connection with CLuw. *ānnauann(i)-* suggests, however, that *annauanna-* is the correct Hittite reading of this word.

The word clearly is a derivative in *-u̯anna-* of *anna-* ‘mother’ (q.v.), which view is supported by CLuw. *tātau̯ann(i)-* ‘stepfather’ besides *tāta/i-* ‘father’. The origin and meaning of this suffix is unclear. Compare perhaps $^{(GIŠ)}$*mariia̯u̯anna-*, a part of the house (q.v.).

anni- ‘that, the already mentioned one’: see *anna-* ‘former, old’

-anni- (imperfective-suffix): see *-anna-^{i} / -anni-*

aniia̯/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to work; to carry out, to produce, to treat’ (Sum. KIN): 1sg.pres.act. *a-ni-e-mi* (OS), *a-ni-ia̯-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *a-ni-ia̯-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *a-ni-e-ez-zi* (OS), *a-ni-ez-zi* (OS), *a-ni-ia̯-az-zi*, *a-ni-ia̯-zi*, *a-ni-ia̯-e-ez-zi* (KUB 41.15 obv. 13), *an-ni-ia̯-az-zi* (KUB 44.61 iv 6), 1pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ia̯-u-e-ni* (KBo 14.111, 16), 2pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ia̯-at-te-(e-)ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *a-ni-ia̯-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-ia̯-nu-un*, 3.sg.pret.act. *a-ni-i-e-et* (KUB 7.41 i 16 (MH/NS), *a-ni-ia̯-at*, *a-ni-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *a-ni-ia̯-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-ia̯-er* (KBo 12.3 iii 10 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ia̯*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ni-ia̯-ad-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *a-ni-ia̯-at-te-en*; 3sg.pret.mid. *a-ni-ia̯-at-ta-at*; part. *a-ni-ia̯-an-t-* (MH/MS), *a-ni-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ni-ia̯-u-u̯a-ar*; inf.I *a-ni-ia̯-u-u̯a-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: ***aniia̯att-*** (c.) ‘work, task; ritual gear or garments; message’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ni-ia̯-az* (KUB 13.20 i 20, KUB 13.8 obv. 18), acc.sg.c. *a-ni-ia̯-at-ta-an* (KBo 30.39 iii 14 (OH/MS), KUB 7.41 iv 13 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *a-ni-ia̯-at-ta-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. KIN-*ti*, abl. *a-ni-ia̯-at-ta-az*, coll.pl. *a-ni-ia̯-at-ta* (OS), *a-ni-ia̯-at-te* (KBo 30.80 rev. 5 (MH/MS)), *a-ni-ia̯-at-ti* (OH/NS), acc.pl.c. *a-ni-ia̯-ad-du-uš* (KUB 10.45 iv 45 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *a-ni-ia̯-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))), ***aniia̯au̯ar*** (n.) ‘id.’ (nom.-

acc.sg. *a-ni-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 15.21+ i 15), erg.sg. *a-ni-i̯a-u̯a-ra-an-za* (KBo 10.45 iv 40 (MH/NS))), see *annanu-*[zi].

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***aniie/a-*** 'to do, to work' (2sg.pres.act. *a-ni-i-i̯a-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ni-et-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ni-e-eḫ-ḫa*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ni-i̯a*); 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-i̯a* (? in broken context)).

PIE *$*h_3n$-i̯e/o-*

See HW[2] 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. *ánas-* 'cart') are in dispute regarding their interpretation as well.

Both Lat. *onus* and Skt. *ánas-* 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 *$*h_3$*. 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 *$*h_3$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 *$*h_3$e* is not subject to Brugmann's Law in Sanskrit, and that a development *$*h_3$en-es-* > Skt. *ánas-* is regular.

For Hittite, the reconstructed root *$*h_3$enH-* is used by e.g. Melchert to explain the outcomes *aniie/a-* besides *anniške/a-*. In 1994a: 85 he states that a present **enH-i̯e/o-* would lose its laryngeal regularly before *$*i̯$*, giving *aniie/a-*, wheres in **enH-i̯e-sḱé/ó-* we would first find pretonic syncope, yielding **enHi-sḱé/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 *$*i̯$*. Secondly, I think that his proposed preforms are morphologically unlikely. Verbs in *-i̯e/o-* usually show zero-grade in the root. The same goes for imperfectives in *-sḱe/o-*. Moreover, *-sḱe/o*-imperfectives originally were derived from the bare root and not from the present stem, as we can see in impf. *zikke/a-* (*$*d^hh_1$-sḱe/o-*) from the present stem *dai- / ti-* 'to place, to put' (*$*d^hh_1$-(o)i-*).

We had better search for another solution. If we assume that the other IE languages point to a root *h_3*en*- (with no second laryngeal), then the usual way of deriving a *-*i̯e/o*-present of this root is by making a formation *h_3*n-i̯é/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_3 would in this position merge with *h_1 in PAnat., yielding Hitt. *aniie/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_3*n-ské/ó*-. Such a form would regularly have given Hitt. **aške/a*-, compare *g^{wh}*nské/ó*- > *k^w*nske/a*- > *kuu̯aške/a*- (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.e). Just as *kuu̯aške/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*- = /ʔNɨské/á-/, with geminate *-nn*-. A similar process could be visible in *annanu-*^{zi} 'to educate, to train' (q.v.) if this verb is really an old causative of *aniie/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 **éni̯e*- 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 *aniiatt*-, 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_3*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 *-u̯ar* anymore, the heteroclitic inflection was given up. Later on, a secondary *aniiauu̯ar* was created, a synchronic derivation in *-u̯ar* of the stem *aniia*-.

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 < *-n̥kis (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 **Hoi̯onki*, 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 **Hoio-nki*.

anku (adv.) 'fully': *an-ku* (OS).

See HW^2 A: 95 for attestations. The adverb denotes 'fully, totally' or similar (HW^2: "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-^{i} (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$^{!}$ 6 (NS), etc.), *an-ša-an-zi* (KBo 20.116 rev.$^{?}$ 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-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.40 ii 14 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-an-šḭ-i̯*[*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(i̯a)-*** 'to wipe' (3pres.sg.act. *am-ma-aš-ši-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. [*am-*]*ma-aš-ši-i̯a-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *am-ma-*‹*aš-*›*ša-t*[*a*], 3pl.pret.act. *am-ma-aš-ša-an-da*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀμάω 'to mow, to reap', OE *māwan*, OHG *māwen*, *māen* 'to mow'.

PIE **h$_2$ómh$_1$-s-ei*

Originally, this verb is inflected according to the *ḫi*-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 *ānšiḭe/a-*^{zi}, 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*$_1$*- / *m-eh*$_1$*-*. For a parallel semantical development, he refers to Hitt. *u̯aršː*^{i} '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)šša/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. *ḫaššu-* 'king' < **h*$_2$*emsu-*; *ḫāši* 'gives birth to' < **h*$_2$*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*$_2$*meh*$_1$*-* (note that Gr. ἀμάω must be denominative of a noun **h*$_2$*mh*$_1$*-eh*$_2$*-*, 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*$_2$*omh*$_1$*-s-ei* (showing a similar Schwebe-ablaut as we see in e.g. *tamāšš-* << **dmeh*$_2$*-s-* from the root **demh*$_2$*-* 'to tame', cf. at *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-*). In my opinion, this **h*$_2$*omh*$_1$*-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 **VmhsV* > Hitt. *VnšV* does not contradict the forms *ḫaššu-* and *ḫāši* that show **VmsV* > *VššV*.

As all *ḫi*-verbs, **h*$_2$*emh*$_1$*s-* must originally have shown ablaut as well. This means that beside the singular **h*$_2$*omh*$_1$*s-ei* we expect a plural form **h*$_2$*mh*$_1$*s-enti*. In Kloekhorst fthc.f I have argued that this weak-stem form regularly would yield Hitt. /Hn̥Sánt^{s}i/ (cf. **ǵnh*$_3$*senti* > /kn̥Sánt^{s}i/, spelled *ganiššanzi* 'they recognize'), a form that is indeed attested as part of the paradigm *ḫane/išš-*^{zi} 'to wipe' (q.v.). I therefore assume that the original ablauting paradigm **h*$_2$*ómh*$_1$*-s-ei* : **h*$_2$*mh*$_1$*-s-énti* regularly yielded *ānši* : *ḫane/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 *ḫane/išzi*, *ḫane/iššanzi* (generalization of the stem *ḫane/išš-*).

-ant- (part.-suffix)

PIE *-*ent*-

The Hitt. participle is formed with the suffix *-ant-*. In ablauting verbs it is attached to the zero-grade root: *kunant-* 'killed' (from *kuen-*^{zi} / *kun-* 'to kill'), *appant-* 'seized' (from *epp-*^{zi} / *app-* 'to seize'), *piia̯nt-* 'given' (from *pai-*^{i} / *pi-* 'to give'), etc. Although in almost all cases the participle has a passive meaning ('killed', 'seized', 'given'), we come accross a few cases where the participle can have an active meaning: *ašant-* 'being' (from *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-* 'to be'), *akuu̯ant-* 'drinking' (from *eku-*^{zi} / *aku-* 'to drink'), *adant-* 'eating' and 'eaten' (from *ed-*^{zi} / *ad-* 'to eat'). The participles do not show ablaut and show the normal consonant-inflection:

nom.sg.c.	*kunanza*	/k^{w}nánts/
acc.sg.c.	*kunantan*	/k^{w}nántan/
nom.-acc.sg.n.	*kunan*	/k^{w}nán/
gen.sg.	*kunantaš*	/k^{w}nántas/
dat.-loc.sg.	*kunanti*	/k^{w}nánti/
etc.		

Note that nom.-acc.sg.n. *kunan* /k^{w}nán/ must reflect older */k^{w}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-*, *akuu̯ant-* 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. ^{d}*Tarḫuu̯ant-* / ^{d}*Tarḫunt-*, HLuw. /trhunt-/, Lyc. *Trqqñt-*, which is the lexicalized (active!) participle of the verb *tarḫu-* 'to conquer' (etymologically identical to Skt. *tūrvant-* 'conquering', see at *tarḫu-*^{zi}). On the basis of the ablaut visible in this word (CLuw. nom.sg. ^{d}*Tarḫuu̯anza* vs. oblique ^{d}*Tarḫunt-*) 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_1s-ént-s*), acc.sg. *sántam* (< **h_1s-ént-m*), gen.sg. *satás* (< **h_1s-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': **$h_2$uéh$_1$-nt-s*, **$h_2$uh$_1$-ént-m*, **$h_2$uh$_1$-nt-ós* (see at *ḫuu̯ant*-), originally a participle of the verb **$h_2$ueh$_1$*- '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 ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti=i̯a 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-tá*), ***antan*** 'into' (*a-ta-na* (KARKAMIŠ A31 §8), ***antatila/i-*** (adj.) 'internal' (nom.sg.c. *a-tá-ti-li-i-sa* (BABYLON 1 §11)); Lyd. ***ẽt-*** (prev.); Lyc. ***ñte*** (prev., adv.) 'inside'.

IE cognates: OLat. *endo* 'into', OIr. *and* 'in it', Gr. ἔνδον (adv.) 'inside'

PIE *$h_1$ndo(m)

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 **$h_1$endo(m)*. Nevertheless, the OIr. cognate *and* 'in it' must reflect a zerograde **$h_1$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 **$h_1$ndo(m)* since a preform **$h_1$éndo(m)* would have yielded Lyc. ***ẽte*. On the basis of the OIr. and Lyc. words I conclude that all IE forms reflect **$h_1$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*$^?$-]*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 though to have derived from *anda* 'inside' (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 77 for 'chamber' and Melchert (l.c.) for 'loins'). Melchert even goes sofar in interpretating *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-***^{zi} (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. *mȍdar*) 'blue'.

PIE **mdʰró-*

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' < **modʰro-* (the absence of Winter's Law points to **dʰ*). If this connection is justified, the Hittite word likely reflects a zero-grade **mdʰ-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 /ndŕ̥n/, the regular outcome of **mdʰ-ró-m*.

-anta(ri), ***-antat(i)*** (3pl.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-antari*** (3pl.pres.midd.-ending): *u̯a-aš-ša-an-ta-ri*, *la-aḫ-ḫi-i*[*n*]*-ta-ri* < **laḫḫiu̯antari*; HLuw. ***-antasi*** (3pl.pres.midd.-ending): $^{\text{PES}_2}$*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-aḫ-ši-an-ta-ti* (OS) vs. *na-aḫ-ši-i̯a-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)* < **h₃r-énto(ri)*) and **-nto* when the verbal root is in full grade (e.g. *ešanta(ri)* < **h₁éh₁s-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-ḫa-an-da-ru*.

This ending clearly is built up of the 3pl.pres.midd.-ending *-antari* in which the *-i* is replaced by the imperatival *-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-*

^{LÚ}***antii̯ant-*** (c.) ‘son-in-law’: acc.sg. *an-ti-i̯a-an-ta-an* (KBo 3.1 ii 39), *an-ti-i̯a-an-da-an* (KBo 12.4 ii 8).

Derivatives: ***andaii̯andatar / andaii̯andann-*** (n.) ‘son-in-lawship’ (dat.-loc.sg. *an-da-i-i̯a-an-da-an-ni* (KUB 13.8 obv. 14)).

Puhvel (HED 1/2: 78f.) also cites a nom.pl. [^{LÚ}]*āntii̯anteš* (KUB 26.1a, 10), of which HW^2 states that it had better be read [*pé-r*]*a-an-ti-i̯a-an-ti-eš*.

Since Balkan (1948) this word is generally interpreted as showing syncope from **anda ii̯ant-* ‘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 *andaii̯andatar* ‘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 *antiḭandatar*, and does not necessarily prove that *antiḭant-* stems from **anda iḭant-*. 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. ***-Ṽtu***.

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' < $*h_1s$-*éntu* and Hitt. *ku-na-an-du* ~ Skt. *ghnantu* 'they must kill' < $*g^{wh}n$-*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: ***andurziḭa*** (adv.) 'inside, indoors' (*an-dur-zi-ḭa*), ***anturiḭa-*** (adj.) 'interior, native' (nom.sg.c. *an-dur-ḭa-aš*, *an-tu-ri-ḭa-aš*, *an-tu-u-ri-ḭa-aš*, *an-du-u-ri-ḭa-aš*, nom.pl.c. *an-tu-u-ri-e-eš*, *an-dur-ri-ḭa-aš*, *an-dur-ḭa-aš*).

PIE $*h_1n$-d^hur-

Semantically there seems to be no difference between *andurza* and *andurziḭa*. Formally, the latter could be interpreted as *andurza* + *=(i)a* 'and' (pace HW^2 A: 123), which indicates that *andurza* is an adverbially used ablative of a stem *andur-*, which is visible in the derivative *anturiḭa-* 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 $*h_1(e)n$-d^hur- 'indoors'. The root $*d^huer$- does not occur further in Anatolian, however.

antuu̯aḫḫaš- / antuḫš- (c.) ‘man, human being, person’ (Sum. UKÙ, LÚ.ULÙ.LU): nom.sg. *an-tu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (OS), *an-tu-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš*, *an-tu-uḫ-ḫa-aš*, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš*, *an-tu-u-u̯a-aḫ-za* (KUB 12.44 iii 7 (NS)), acc.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an* (MH/MS), *an-du-uḫ-ša-an* (MH/MS), *an-tu-u-uḫ-ša-an*, *an-tu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an*, gen.sg. *an-du-uḫ-ša-aš* (OS), *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* (MH/MS), *an-tu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ši*, *an-tu-u-uḫ-ši*, *an-tu-uḫ-še* (MH/NS), abl. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-az*, nom.pl. *an-tu-uḫ-še-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl. *an-tu-uḫ-šu-uš* (MH/MS), gen.pl. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* (OH/MS), *an-tu-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš*.

Derivatives: ***antuḫšātar / antuḫšann-*** (n.) ‘mankind; population’ (nom.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-tar*, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-a-tar*, gen.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-ni*, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-ni*, erg.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-an-za*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ?***antola***, ***anlola*** ‘statue’.

PIE nom. *$*h_1$n-d^{h}uéh$_2$-ōs$, gen.sg. *$*h_1$n-d^{h}uh$_2$-s-ós$

See HW^2 A : 109f. for attestations. In the oldest texts, the paradigm of this word is nom.sg. *antuu̯aḫḫaš*, acc.sg. *antuḫšan*, gen.sg. *antuḫšaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *antuḫši*, nom.pl. *antuḫšeš*, acc.pl. *antuḫšuš*, dat.-loc.pl. *antuḫšaš*. In later texts, nom.sg. *antuu̯aḫḫaš* was the source for some forms that show a stem *antuu̯aḫḫa-*. Besides, we find some forms that inflect according to a thematic stem *antuḫša-*, which is based on the oblique forms with the stem *antuḫš-*.

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 *$*d^{h}uH-$ (Skt. *dhūmá-* ‘smoke’, Gr. ἔνθῡμος ‘spirited’), so literally ‘having breath inside’. He states that the word originally must have been a hysterodynamic *s*-stem *$*-d^{h}ueh$_2$-ōs$, *$*-d^{h}uh$_2$-s-os$. Rieken (1999a: 190f.) repeats this view and reconstructs *$*en-d^{h}u̯éh$_2$-ō̆s$, with *$*e > a$ in front of *$*nT$. Formally, a reconstruction *$*h$_1$n-d^{h}ueh$_2$-ōs$ is perhaps more likely (cf. *$*anda(n) < *h$_1$ndo(m)$*).

For other attestations of the root *$*d^{h}uh$_2$-$ ‘smoke, breath’ in Hittite, see *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-* and *tuḫḫae-^{zi}*.

The root *$*d^{h}uh$_2$-$ ‘smoke, breath’ is attested in zero-grade in all outer-Anatolian IE languages. On the basis of Hitt. *antuu̯aḫḫaš- / antuḫš-*, we can establish that the full-grade form in fact is *$*d^{h}ueh$_2$-$.

anz-: see *u̯ēš / 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. ***- Ṽnti***, ***-ñti***.

PAnat. **-Vnti*

PIE **CC-énti*, **-i̯ó-nti*, **-sḱó-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-u̯a-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 *-ętъ*, Goth. *-ind*, etc. < PIE **-enti*, and on the other to the thematic 3pl.pres.-endings like Skt. *-anti*, OCS *-ǫtъ*, Gr. -ουσι, Lat. *-unt*, OIr. *-ait*, Goth. *-and* < **-o-nti*. The regular outcome of **-énti* and **-ónti* is Hitt. /-ánt^{s}/ (with **ó* yielding /á/ and not /ā́/ in internal syllables, cf. § 1.4.9.3.a) as attested in *-anza* cited above. Already in Pre-Hitt. times this /-ant^{s}/ was secondarily changed to /-ant^{s}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$_1$s-énti*, Hitt. *i̯a-an-zi* ~ Skt. *yánti* ~ Gr. ἴᾱσι 'they go' < **h$_1$i-énti* and Hitt. *ku-na-an-zi* ~ Skt. *ghnanti* 'they kill' < **g^{wh}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. locatival 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. entence 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^2 A: 125f. also cites *an-d=a-ąp* (KBo 17.1 i 26) and *š=a-a*[*p*] (KUB 36.99 rev. 3) but these are better read *an-da=kąn* and *š=a-a*[*n*] or *š=a-a*[*t*] respectively; *n=a-ap* (KUB 8.3 obv. 12) might better be read ^{NA_4}KIŠIB, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 408).

According to HW^2 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*$^{!}$ (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*$_x$), ***apiḭa*** (adv.) 'there, then' (*a-pí-ḭa*), ***apiniššan*** (adv.) 'thus' (*a-pí-ni-iš-ša-an* (OS), *a-pí-ni-eš-ša-an*, *a-pé-e-ni-eš-ša-an*), ***apiniššuu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'of such kind' (*a-pí-ni-iš-šu-u̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *a-pé-e-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-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*$^{!}$*-a*$^{!}$*-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. /ʔba/ *á-pa*, dat.sg. /ʔbadi/ *á-pa-ti*, *á-pa-ti-i*, *á-pa-ri+í*, *pa-ti*, *pa-ti-´*, *pa-ti-i*, *pa-ti-i-´*, nom.pl.c. /ʔbant^{s}i/ *á-pa-zi-i*, acc.pl.c. /ʔbant^{s}i/ *á-pa-zi-i*, nom.-acc.pl.n. /ʔbaḻa/ *á-pa-i-i̯a* dat.pl. /ʔbatant^{s}/ *á-pa-ta-za*, gen.adj. /ʔbasa/i-/ *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. *bλ*, *buλ*), ***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. *ebẽ*, *ebẽñnẽ*, *ebẽñni*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ebẽ*, dat.-loc.sg. *ebehi*, acc.pl.c. *ebeis*, *ebeijes*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ebeija*, *abaija*, gen.pl. *ebẽhẽ*(?), *ebehẽ*(?), *ebãhã*(??), dat.-loc.pl. *ebette*), ***eb(e)-*** (dem.pron.) ‘he, she, it’ (acc.sg.c. *ebñnẽ*, gen.sg. *ehbi*, dat.-loc.pl. *ebtte*), ***ebei*** (adv.) ‘here’, ***ebeila*** (adv.) ‘here’, ***ebeli*** (adv.) ‘here’, ***ehbi-*** (adj.) ‘his’ (metathesized from *eb(e)hi-*), ***eptteh*e/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 analaysed as **Ho-* + *-bo-*, of which I would like to connect **Ho-* with the pronominal stem **h$_1$e- / *h$_1$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^{h}o-*. If this analysis is correct, we are probably dealing with a PAnatolian 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* < **ḱós*. 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*$^{!}$*-a*$^{!}$*-an*, HLuw. *á-pa-na*, Lyc. *ebẽ*). It is comparable to *ku-u-un* /kón/ < **ḱóm* (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 **ḱí* and **h₁í*, *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. **ḱód*, whereas Hitt. *apiniššan* can only be explained from a form **api* 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* < **ḱói*), 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 **Hobih₂*, in which **-i-* is lowered to Hitt. *-e-* due to the following **h₂* (similarly in *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSo/ 'goods' < **-uh₂*). Gen.pl. *apenzan* shows *-nzan* as in gen.pl. *kinzan*, *kuenzan* and *šumenzan* and must be directly compared to Lyc. *ebẽhẽ*. I would mechanically reconstruct **HobénHsom*, in which **-som* can be compared to Skt. *téṣām* 'of those', Lat. *eōrum* 'of these', and OCS *těxъ* '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(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'backmost, hindmost, rear' (nom.sg.c. *ap-pé-ez-zi-i̯a-š=a=š-ša-an* (KBo 22.2 obv. 18 (OH/MS)), *ap-pé-ez-zi-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ap-pé-ez-zi*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-i̯a*, abl. *ap-pé-ez-zi-az*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-i̯a-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-i̯a-aš*; broken *ap-pé-e-ez-zi-*x[...] (KBo 16.45 rev. 3 (OS)), ***āppa-^{i} / 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-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ap-pa-a-ru* (KBo 17.90 ii 15 (NS))), ***appašiu̯att-*** (c.) 'future' (Sum. EGIR.UD$^{(MI)}$; nom.sg. EGIR.UD-*az*, gen.sg./pl. *ap-pa-ši-u̯a-at-ta-aš* (KUB 31.81 rev. 8 (OS)), dat.-loc.sg. EGIR-*pa*-UD-*ti*, all.sg. *ap-pa-ši-u̯a-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', ***epre/i-*** (adj.) 'back-, rear-' (acc.pl.c. *epris*).

PIE **h*$_2$*op-o*, **h*$_2$*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^{s}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*$_2$*epo*, another with Gr. ἔπι < **h*$_1$*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 *ḫ-*, nowadays the former option is often rejected. Nevertheless, as I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, an initial **h*$_2$- regularly merges with **h*$_1$- in front of **-o-*,

which means that the preform */ʔop-/ formally can reflect *h_1*op-* as well as *h_2*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_2*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_1*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: ὄπισθεν '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 -ι- in my view is non-probative because it must be regarded as an old case-ending.

A possible connection between Hitt. *appezzi(i̯a)-* 'backmost, hindmost' and Skt. *ápatya-* 'offspring' (cf. also Lith. *apačià* '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. ὄπισθεν and ὀπίσσω; if Hitt. *appezzi(i̯a)-* indeed ~ Skt. *ápatya-* and HLuw. *ápara/i-* / Lyc. *epre/i-* ~ Skt. *ápara-*, then we should reconstruct *h_2*op-*.

The adjective *appezzi(i̯a)-* is predominantly spelled *ap*-BI-IZ-*zi-* and therefore often cited as *appizzi(i̯a)-*. 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, *appezzii̯a-*, whereas from MH times onwards we increasingly find *i*-stem forms, *appezzi-*. This is typical for the suffix *-ezzi(i̯a)-* that is also found in e.g. *ḫantezzi(i̯a)-* (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^{s}i(a)-/. The verb *āppai-*^{i} / *āppi-* shows the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection in the oldest texts. The NS form *apii̯azi* is inflected according to the *-i̯e/a*-class, which is a normal development for *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class verbs. If the 3sg.imp.midd.-form *appāru* indeed belongs here, it would show a stem *appae-*^{zi}, according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class inflection. The noun *appašiu̯att-* 'future' is a compound of *āppa* and *šiu̯att-* '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-***^{zi} (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-*), ***appaliialla-*** (c.) '?' (gen.sg. *ap-pa-li-i̯a-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-*^{i} 'to mislead (someone)' and is the source of the verb *āppalae-*^{zi} 'to mislead, to deceive'. The meaning of the noun *appialla-* 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-*^{i} '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-*^{zi} */ app-* 'to take, to seize'. On the basis of the long *ā-*, which does not fit the weak stem of *epp-*^{zi} */ 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 **h₁ép-*. 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.

^{UZU}***appuzzi-*** (n.) 'animal fat, tallow' (Sum. ^{UZU}ÌÀ.UDU): nom.-acc.sg. *ap-pu-uz-zi*, *ap-pu-zi*, *a-pu-zi*, gen.sg. *ap-pu-uz-zi-i̯a-aš*, erg.sg. [*ap-*]*pu-uz-zi-an-za* (OS), *ap-*[*p*]*u-uz-zi-i̯a-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-*^{i} */ l-*, *kuruzzi-* from *kuer-*^{zi} */ kur-*, *išḫuzzi-* from *išḫai-*^{i} */ išḫi-*, *tuzzi-* from *dai-*^{i} */ 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-*^{zi} */ app-* 'to take, to seize', but it is unclear how this connection would work semantically. Further unclear.

ar-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIId) 'to stand (by), to be stationed, to remain standing; to be present, to occur' (Sum. GUB): 1sg.pres.midd. *ar-ḫa-ri* (OS), *ar-ḫa-ḫa-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Skt. 3sg.aor.midd. *ārta* ‘erhebte sich, hat sich bewegt’ (see Kümmel 2000), Gr. ὤρτο ‘erhebte sich’, Lat. *orior* ‘to arise, to come into existence’, Arm. *y-arr̄ne-* ‘to rise’.

PIE **h₃r-to*

See HW^2 A: 194f. for attestations. This verb occurs in the middle only and is therewith clearly distinct from the verb *ār-*^{i} */ ar-* ‘to arrive’ that occurs in the active only. The oldest spellings all show initial *ar-* or *a-r°*. 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 **h₁er-* means ‘to come to, to reach (to move horizontally)’ (Gr. ἔρχομαι ‘to go, to come’) whereas **h₃er-* means ‘to rise (to move vertically)’. Because of semantic considerations Oettinger (1979a: 523f.) assumes that Hitt. *ar-*$^{tta(ri)}$ must derive from **h₃er-*. In LIV^2, *ar-*$^{tta(ri)}$ is regarded as reflecting the root **h₁er-*, however, on the basis of the presumption that initial **h₃-* should have yielded Hitt. *ḫ-*. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, the outcome of initial **h₃* is dependent on the phonetic environment: a sequence **h₃e-* indeed develops into Hitt. *ḫa-* but **h₃r-* 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-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 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 **h₃r-to / *h₃r-ento*.

ār-^{i} ***/ 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-ẹ*[-*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. *ṛcchá́ti* 'to go to, to go at, to attain'.

PIE **h*$_1$*ór-ei*, **h*$_1$*r-énti*

See HW^2 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*, **aru̯eni*, *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. *eru̯eni* and *erteni*. The OS spelling *a-a-ri* is quite remarkable (hyperplene), but in my view denotes *'a-a-ri* /ʔári/. The etymological connection with Gr. ἔρχομαι 'to come, to go' and Skt. *ṛcchá́ti* 'to go to, to go at, to attain', both from **h*$_1$*r-sḱé/ó-*, was first suggested by Sturtevant (1927b: 165-7). This means that Hitt. reflects **h*$_1$*ór-ei*, **h*$_1$*r-énti*. Note that the imperfective of this verb is spelled *ar-aš-ke/a-* (with younger adaptions 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 *ariu̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.). This means that the imperfective of *ār- / ar-* was /ʔrské/á-/ < **h*$_1$*r-sḱé/ó-*, whereas *a-ri-iš-ke/a-* must represent /ʔrɨské/á-/ < **h*$_1$*rh*$_1$*-sḱé/ó-*.

ārr-^{i} ***/ 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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-aḫ-ḫu-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-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (Bo 5439, 9), 3sg.pret.midd. *ar-ra-at-ta-at*, *ar-ra-ta-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *a-ar-ra-aḫ-ḫu-ut*, *ar-ra-aḫ-ḫu-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.[?] 8), gen.sg. *a-ar-ru-u̯a-aš*, *a-ar-ru-ma-aš*, *ar-ru-ma-aš*, *ar-ru-um-ma-aš*; inf.I *ar-ra-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *ar-ra-u̯a-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 *yär-* 'to bathe'.

PIE **h₁órh₁-ei*, **h₁rh₁-énti*

See HW^2 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 *-i̯e/a*-class (*arri̯azzi*, *ārri̯ezzi*). In KBo 3.5 we find a few forms that belong to a stem *arruu̯e/a-* (**arruu̯e/a-*), the origin of which is unclear.

Since Couvreur (1937: 97), Hitt. *ārr-^{i} / arr-* has generally been connected with TochA *yär-* 'to bathe' (pres.-stem *yärnās-*), from a root **HerH-* (second laryngeal is visible in Hitt. *-rr-* < **-rH-* and TochA *yärnās-* < **Hr-n-H₂-*). The colour of the first laryngeal is determined by TochA *y-* which can only reflect **h₁-*. 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 *ārri* and not *ārrai* (only found in NS texts) to my mind shows that the second laryngeal must have been **h₁* as well: root-final **h₂* and **h₃* would have yielded the ending *-ai* (as in 3sg.pres.act. *mallai* 'mills' < **molh₂-ei*, 3sg.pres.act. *paddai* 'digs' < **b^{h}od^{h}h₂-ei*, *išparrai* 'tramples' < **sporh₂/₃-ei*, etc., cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). I therefore reconstruct the root as **h₁erh₁-*. Note that **-rh₁-* does not get lenited by a preceding **ó*.

ārа (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*), ***arāu̯a-*** (adj.) 'free (from)' (Akk. *ELLUM*; nom.sg.c. *a-ra-u-aš* (OS), *a-ra-u-u̯a-aš* (OS), *a-ra-u̯a-aš*, nom.-acc.sg. *a-ra-u-u̯a-an*, *a-ra-a-u-u̯a-an* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *a-ra-u-e-eš*, *a-ra-a-u-e-eš*), ***arau̯aḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) 'to make free, to release'

(3sg.pres.act. *a-ra-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi*, *a-ra-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi*, 3pl.pres.act. *a-ra-u-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ra-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *a-ra-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-u̯a-aḫ-ḫe-er*; part. *a-ra-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*), ***araṷēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become free' (3sg.pret.act. *a-ra-u-e-eš-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ra-a-u-e-eš-šer*), ***araṷan(n)i-*** 'free (not being a slave)' (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-u̯a-ni-iš*, *a-ra-u̯a-ni-eš*, *a-ra-u̯a-an-ni-eš*, acc.sg.c. *a-ra-u-u̯a-an-ni-in*, gen.sg. [*a-ra-u̯*]*a-ni-i̯a-aš* (OS), *a-ra-u̯a-an-ni-i̯a-aš*, acc.pl.c. *a-ra-u-u̯a-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 **$h_2$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*$_2$*er-*. If these connections are justified (and semantically they are appealing), then the Anatolian forms ultimately reflect **h*$_2$*or-*, which is an important argument in favour of the view that **h*$_2$ neutralizes before **o* (cf. Kortlandt 2004; Kloekhorst fthc.c).

$^{(UZU)}$***arra-*** (c.) 'arse, anus' (Sum. ^{UZU}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 *$h_{1?}orso$-

See HW^2 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_1ers-.

arae-^{zi} (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_3or-*o*-$i̯e/o$-

The verb *arae*- is *mi*-conjugated and belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class. It has to be separated from *arai-*^{i} */ ari*- 'to rise, to raise' (q.v.), despite homophonic forms like 3pl.pret.act. *arāer* and 2sg.imp.act. *arāi*. See HW^2 for a correct separation between *arai-*^{2} (= *arae-*^{zi}) (A: 246f.) and *arai-*^{1} (= *arai-*^{i} */ ari*-) (A: 244f.).

Like all *ḫatrae*-class verbs, *arae-*^{zi} probably is denominative as well. Oettinger (1979a: 369) derives *arae-*^{zi} from a noun *h_3or-*eh*$_2$- 'Stand, aufgestanden Sein', a derivative of the root *h_3er- 'to rise'. This is in contradiction, however, with his view that *ḫatrae*-class verbs are derived from *o*-stems and *tā$i̯$e/a*-class verbs from *eh*$_2$-stems. I therefore would assume that *arae*- is derived from a noun *h_3or-*o*-.

araḫ-: see *erḫ- / araḫ- / arḫ-*

arai-^{i} ***/ ari-*** (IIa4 > Ic2) 'to (a)rise, to lift; to raise': 1sg.pres.act. *a-re-eḫ-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-$i̯$a-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-u̯a-ar*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ari(i̯a)-*** '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-i̯a*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ri-i̯a-ad-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *a-ri-in-du*, part. *a-ri-im-mi*), ^{GIŠ}***ari̯al-*** (n.) 'carrying basket' (nom.-acc.pl. *a-ri-i̯a-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 *$*h_3$r-oi-* / *$*h_3$r-i-*

The verb *arai-*^{i} / *ari-* 'to rise, to raise' is originally *ḫi*-conjugated and belongs to the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class. From MS texts onwards we find *mi*-inflected forms as well, as if the verb inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class. This verb has to be separated from the verb *arae-*^{zi} 'to stop, to rein in; to overpower' (q.v.) (a *mi*-inflected verb belonging to the *ḫatrae*-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-*^{1} (= *arai-*^{i} / *ari-*) and *arai-*^{2} (= *arae-*^{zi}) in HW^{2} A: 244f.. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 123f.) wrongly regards *arai-*^{i} / *ari-* and *arae-*^{zi} as one verb and must assume a wild mix of inflected forms within one paradigm.

Oettinger (1979a: 479) connected *arai-*^{i} / *ari-* with Lat. *orior* 'to arise', from the root *$*h_3$er-* 'to rise, to move vertically'. See Kloekhorst fthc.a for my view that the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class consists of *ḫi*-inflected *i*-presents, showing a zero-grade root followed by an ablauting suffix *-*oi-/-i-*. In the case of *arai-/ari-* I therefore reconstruct *$*h_3$r-oi- / *$*h_3$r-i-*.

It is interesting to note that the participle of this verb shows no *i*-suffix: *arant-* instead of expected **ari̯ant-*. 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' < *$*d^{h}h_1$-oi- / *$*d^{h}h_1$-i-* besides impf. *zikke/a-* < *$*d^{h}h_1$-ske/o-*). The verb.noun *arau̯ar* probably shows loss of intervocalic *-i̯-*: **ara̯i̯u̯ar* < *$*h_3$r-oi-u̯r*.

arašši̯e/a-^{zi} : see *ārš-*^{zi} / *arš-*

arḫ(a)-: see *erḫ-* / *araḫ-* / *arḫ-*

-a(ri), ***-at(i)*** (3sg.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-ar(i)*** (3sg.pres.midd.-ending): *a-a-i̯a-ri*, *zi-i̯a-ar*, *zi-i-i̯a-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 *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, *ḫalziia(ri)*, *laḫuuāri*, *lagāri* and *paḫša(ri)* correspond to the *ḫi*-inflecting actives *ḫalzai-^{i} / ḫalzi-*, *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-*, *lāk-^{i} / lak-* and *paḫš-^{i}*, whereas e.g. *eša(ri)* and *karša* correspond to the *mi*-inflecting actives *eš-^{zi} / aš-* and *karš-^{zi}*.

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-$^{a(ri)}$* 'to seat oneself' shows the ending *-a(ri)* throughout the Hittite period, whereas e.g. *ki-$^{tta(ri)}$* consistently shows *-tta(ri)*. That this does not necessarily reflect the PIE state of affairs is visible in the fact that *eša(ri)* < *$h_1éh_1s$-o* corresponds to Skt. *ā́ste* and Gr. ἧσται from *$h_1éh_1s$-to*. On the other hand, Hitt. *kitta(ri)* reflects *ḱéi-to* just as Skt. *śéte* and Gr. κεῖται, whereas its CLuwian cognate *zīḭari* reflects *ḱéi-o* just as Skt. *śáye*.

The endings *-a(ri) / -at(i)* occur in all the middle classes. Note that in class IIIf (*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)* < *$h_1éh_1s$-o* and *kīša(ri)*, *kīšat(i)* < *ǵéis-o* to *tukkāri*, *tukkāti* < *tuk-ó* and *lagāri* < *lǵ^{h}-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$_4$-a-ti* (MS?) besides *tu-uk-ka$_4$-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* < *ḱéi-o-i* besides *śéte* < *ḱéi-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(iḭe/a)-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to consult an oracle; to determine by oracle': 1sg.pres.act. *a-ri-ḭa-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *a-ri-ḭa-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ri-e-ez-zi*, *a-ri-ḭa-zi*,

1pl.pres.act. *a-ri-i̯a-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ri-an-zi*, *a-ri-i̯a-an-zi*, *a-ri-en-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ri-i̯a-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-ri-i̯a-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *a-ri-i̯a-u-en*, *a-ri-i̯a-u-e-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *a-ri-i̯a-at-ti-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-ri-i-e-er*, *a-ri-er*, *a-ri-i̯a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-ri-i̯a*; part. *a-ra-an-t-*, *a-ra-a-an-t-*, *a-ri-i̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*; impf. *a-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *a-re-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***ari̯ašeššar / ari̯ašešn-*** (n.) 'oracle' (Sum. MÁŠ, Akk. *BĒRU*; nom.-acc.sg. *a-ri-i̯a-še-eš-šar*, gen.sg. *a-ri-i̯a-še-eš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ri-i̯a-še-eš-ni*, *a-ri-še-eš-ni*, abl. *a-ri-i̯a-še-eš-na-az*, *a-ri-i̯a-še-eš-na-za*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἐρέω 'to ask'.

PIE $*h_1rh_1$-*i̯e/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 *-i̯e/a*-class, *ari̯e/a-*^{zi}, 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-*^{zi} (q.v.) or *arai-*^{i} */ ari-* (q.v.).

The participle shows two different forms, viz. *arant-* and *ari̯ant-*. According to HW^2 (A: 295), the original participle is *arant-*, showing a situation where al finite forms bear the **-ie/o-*suffix, whereas the inifinite forms do not (cf. the situation in e.g. *karp(i̯e/a)-*^{zi}). The participle *ari̯ant-* is a younger formation.

Houwink ten Cate (1973: 209-10) argues that *ari̯e/a-*^{zi} is to be seen as a variant of *arai-*^{i} */ ari-* 'to rise; to raise', so literally denoting 'to arouse the gods'. Although verbs that belong to the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class indeed often show younger thematizations inflecting according to the *-i̯e/a*-class (e.g. *ḫalzāi* beside younger *ḫalziezzi*), I do not think that semantically an equation between *arai-*^{i} */ ari-* 'to rise, to raise' and *ari̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to consult an oracle' is likely.

Since Götze & Pedersen (1934: 47f.), this verb is often connected with Lat. *ōrāre* 'to pray'. The latter word, however, belongs with Gr. ἀρή 'prayer', which shows that the root must have been $*h_2er$-. For Hittite, reconstructing a root $*h_2er$- is difficult, as we would expect an outcome $**ḫar$- (unless we assume *o*-grade, but that is not likely in a **-i̯e/o*-verb).

LIV^2 connects *ari̯e/a-* with Gr. ἐρέω 'to ask' from a root $*h_1reh_1$-, which seems semantically plausible. This means that *ari̯e/a-*^{zi} must reflect $*h_1rh_1ié/ó$-, for which compare e.g. *pari̯anzi* 'they blow' < $*prh_1iénti$ or *kari̯ant-* 'grass' if from $*ǵ^hrh_1$-*i̯ent-*.

The imperfective *ariške/a- / areške/a-* at first sight seems to reflect **ari̯e+ske/a-* vel sim., but in fact must be phonologically interpreted /ʔrɨské/á-/, the regular outcome of **h₁rh₁-sḱé/ó-* (compare *paripriške/a-* 'to blow (impf.)' /pripr̥ɨské/á-/ < **pri-prh₁-sḱé/ó-*). This explains the fact that the imperfective of *arii̯e/a-*^{zi} is consistently spelled differently from the imperfective of *ār-*^{i} / *ar-* 'to arrive', which is spelled *ar-aš-ke/a-* in the oldest texts, representing /ʔrské/á-/ < **h₁r-sḱé/ó-*.

For *arii̯ašeššar* 'oracle' compare *tuzzii̯ašeššar* 'army', which is seen as a compound of *tuzzi-* and *ašeššar* 'gathering'. This would mean that *arii̯ašeššar* literally means 'gathering for consulting an oracle'.

arrii̯e/a- (Ic1) 'to be awake': verb.noun *ar-ri-i̯a-a-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 13.1 i 41).

The word is attested in a vocabulary only: KBo 13.1 i 41: (Sum.) IGI.LIB.A = (Akk.) *DÁ-LA-PU* = (Hitt.) *ar-ri-i̯a-a-u-u̯a-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 *arrii̯e/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*, *araizzi* '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 *arrii̯āuu̯ar* with the consistently single spelled *-r-* of the verbs *arai-*^{i} / *ari-* and *ar-*^{tta}.

ark-$^{a(ri)}$, ***ārk-***^{i} ***/ ark-*** (IIIc > IIId; 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*, MIr. *uirge*, Av. *ərəzi-* 'testicle(s)', ON *argr* 'passive homosexual', Lith. *aržùs* 'lustful', *eȓžilas*, dial. *aȓžilas* 'stallion', Russ. *ërzat'* 'to fidget'.

PIE **h₃rǵʰ-o*, **h₃órǵʰ-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*[*rg*]*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. *ərəzi-* 'testicle(s)', Arm. *orj* 'male', Lith. *aržùs* 'lustful', *eřžilas* 'stallion' from a root $*h_1erǵ^h$-. A reconstruction with $*h_1$- (thus also in LIV^2) 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 $*orǵ^h$-, we have to reconstruct $*h_3erǵ^h$-. This is especially prompted by the equation of Av. *ərəzi-* 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 $*h_3$-: $*h_3rǵ^h$-*i*-. It is likely that this is the preform that is reflected in Hitt. *arki-* as well, which shows that initial $*h_3$ 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-*^{a} are consistently written with a short vowel, we have to assume a zero-grade formation $*h_3rǵ^h$-*o*, again with loss of initial $*h_3$ 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 $*h_3órǵ^h$-*ei* (*o*-grade as in all *ḫi*-verbs), and could show that initial $*h_3$ was lost in Hittite in front of **o* as well (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

ārk-^{i} ***/ 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-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 19.142 ii 20); impf. *ar-ki-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *(h)ercīscō* 'to divide (an estate)', *(h)erctum* 'division (of inheritence)'.

PIE *$h_1$or$\overset{(\mathrm{r})}{\mathrm{k}}$-ei, *$h_1r\overset{(\mathrm{r})}{\mathrm{k}}$-enti

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See HW^2 A: 300f. for attestations. The oldest forms of this verb show an ablaut between *ārk-* 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-aḫ-ḫa-an* SILA$_4$ BAL-*an-ti*
(13) *nam-m=a-an=kán u̯a-ap-pu-i kat-ta*
(14) *ḫa-at-ta-i nu e-eš-ḫar tak-ni-i*
(15) *kat-ta tar-na-i* SILA$_4$=*ma=kán*
(16) *ar-kán-zi nam-ma=kán* SILA$_4$
(17) *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an pít-tal-u̯a-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 *ḫattai* '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 ἕρκατος· φραγμός (Hes.) 'fence', ἑρκάτη· 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)ercīscō* 'to divide (an estate)', *(h)erctum* 'division (of inheritence)', may make more sense if the awkward sporadic presence of *h-* in Latin does not point to un-IE origin. If accepted, Hitt. *ārk-*^{i} / *ark-* and Lat. *(h)erc-* would point to a PIE root *$h_1$er$\overset{(\mathrm{r})}{\mathrm{k}}$-.

arkuu̯ae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to pray; to plead': 1sg.pres.act. *ar-ku-u̯a*[*-mi*] (KUB 14.14+ i 6), 3sg.pres.act. *ar-ku-*[*u̯a-*]*iz-zi* (KUB 43.57 iv 7), 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ku-an-zi*, *ar-ku-u̯a-an-zi*, *a-ar-ku-u̯a-a-an-zi* (KBo 23.97 iv 15), 1sg.pret.act. *ar-ku-u̯a-nu-un* (KBo 4.8 iii 22, KUB 6.46 iv 3, KUB 6.45 iii 35), 3sg.pret.act. *ar-ku-u̯a-it* (KBo 11.1 obv. 32, rev. 4), *ar-ku-u̯a-a-it* (KUB 50.53, 12), *ar-ku-ut-ta* (KUB 22.70

obv. 80); verb.noun *ar-ku-u̯a-ar*, *ar-ku-u-u̯a-ar*, *ar-ku-u-ar*, *ar-ku-ar*, *a-ar-ku-u-u̯a-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 *yärk* 'worship', TochB *yarke* 'worship', Arm. *erg* 'song'.

PIE *h_1ork^wo-i̯e/o-??

See HW^2 A: 309f. for attestations. There is some debate about the exact semantics of this verb. E.g. HW^2 (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 *-i̯e/o-* of nouns in *-o-*. In this case we have to postulate a noun **arku̯a-* < **H(o)rK^{w}o-* which should be the source of *arkuu̯ae-^{zi}*. The scholars that translate *arkuu̯ae-^{zi}* as 'to pray' connect it with Skt. *arc-* 'to shine, to sing, to praise', TochA *yärk-* 'to worship' < **h_1erk^w-*, implying a reconstruction **h_1(o)rk^{w}o-i̯e/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', **$h_2$erǵ-* (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 67-8). A connection with Hitt. *arkuu̯ae-*, however, would imply a reconstruction **$h_2$org^{w}o-i̯e/o-* for Hittite and **$h_2$erg^w-* for Latin. On a formal level, this etymology would only be acceptable if we assume that in Hittite an initial **h_2* is dropped in front of **o* (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c), and secondly that **-rg^w-* would yield *-rgu-* in Latin (possibly parallel to the development of **-ng^w-* as in Lat. *unguen* 'nail' < **$h_3$ng^w-en-*).

So from a formal point of view, both etymologies are possible, provided that **-rg^w-* > Lat. *-rgu-*. Semantically, however, I personally would favour the translation 'to pray' and therefore the reconstruction **h_1(o)rk^{w}o-i̯e/o-*.

The few spellings with initial plene *a-ar-ku-u̯a-* may indicate that the *a-* was a real vowel /ʔark^{w}ae-/, and point to a reconstruction **$h_1$ork^{w}o-i̯e/o-*, whereas **$h_1$rk^{w}oi̯e/o-* would have yielded /ʔrk^{w}ae-/, which should have been spelled with *ar-ku-u̯a-* only.

arma- (c.) 'moon(god); month' (Sum.^{d}EN.ZU, ITU$^{(KAM)}$, Akk. ^{d}*SÎN*): nom.sg. ^{d}*SÎN-aš*, ^{d}EN.ZU-*aš*, ITU$^{(KAM)}$-*aš*, acc.sg. ITU-*an*, gen.sg. ^{d}EN.ZU-*aš*, ITU-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. ^{d}*SÎN-mi*, ITU$^{(KAM)}$-*mi*, abl. ITU-*az*, instr. ITU-*mi-it*, nom.pl. ITU$^{ḪI.A}$-*eš*, dat.-loc.pl. ITU$^{KAM.ḪI.A}$-*aš*.

Derivatives: ***armatar*** (n.) 'monthspan(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. ITU^{KAM}-*tar*), $^{(NINDA)}$***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*), ^{NINDA}***arma(n)tal(l)anni-*** (c.) type of bread, ***armuu̯alae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to shine (of the moon)' (2sg.imp.act. *ar-mu-u-u̯a-la-i* (KUB 6.45 + KUB 30.14 iii 69)), ***armuu̯alašḫa(i)-*** (c.) 'waxing of the moon' (nom.sg. *ar-mu-u̯a-la-aš-ḫa-aš*, *ar-mu-u̯a-la-aš-ḫa-iš*, gen.sg. *ar-mu-u̯a-la-aš-ḫa-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***^{d}arma-*** (c.) 'Moon-god' (nom.sg. [^{d}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. ^{d}EN.ZU-*in-zi*, gen.adj.dat.-loc.pl.(pl.poss.) ^{d}EN.ZU-*an-za-an-za* (=*armaššaššanzanza*)); HLuw. ***arma-*** (c.) 'moon(god)' (nom.sg. ^{DEUS}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. ^{DEUS}LUNA+*MI-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §75), dat.-loc.pl.(?) LUNA+*MI-zi/a* (TOPADA §22)); Lyd. ***armτa-*** (adj.) 'belonging to Arma(?)'; Lyc. ***arm̃ma-*** 'moon' (nom.sg. *arm̃ma*), ***rm̃mazata-*** 'monthly offering(?)' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *rm̃mazata*), ***Erm̃menẽni***, PN, lit. 'brother of the moon'.

PIE *$*h*_1(o)r-mo-$ (?)

A reading *arma-* of the logograms ^{d}*SÎN*, ^{d}EN.ZU and ITU$^{(KAM)}$ is suggested by the derivative *armanni-* 'lunula' and names like ^{m}*Ar-ma-zi-ti-* = $^{m.d}$*SÎN-ma*-LÚ-*i-* (cf. HW^2 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^2 (A: 327) just states that the word denotes "Teil am Ochsengespann", 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 *Arm̃ma-* at first sight seems to point to PAnat. *arma-*. If the first *a* of *Arm̃ma-*, which is an *a*-stem, is due to *a*-umlaut, however, and the form *Erm̃menẽni* shows the original stem, we can reconstruct PAnat. *$*ʔ(o)rm-o-$ (or even *$*ʔ(o)rm-eh*_2-$ 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' < **$h_1$ermn*, assuming that 'moon' derives from 'measurer' (cf. PIE **meh$_1$ns* 'moon' from **meh$_1$-* 'to measure'). This would point to a reconstruction **$h_1$ormo-* as well. Another possibility is assuming that *arma-* reflects **h_1(o)r-mo-* derived from **$h_1$er-* 'to move' (the moon as 'traveller').

armae-^{zi} (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-u̯a-aš* (KUB 35.103 iii 10).

Derivatives: ***armau̯ant-*** (adj.) 'pregnant' (nom.sg.c. *ar-ma-u-u̯a-an-za*, acc.sg. *ar-ma-u-an-da-an*, nom.pl.c. *ar-ma-u-u̯a-an-te-š=a*), ***armaḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) 'to make pregnant; (with =*z*) to become pregnant' (3sg.pres.act. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫe-er*; 3sg.imp.act. *ar-ma-aḫ-du*, *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu*, *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-u*[*d-du*] (KUB 41.8 iv 32); part. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-(u̯a-)aš*, abl. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-az-za*; verb.noun. dat.-loc.sg. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ni*).

PIE **h_1(o)r-mo-ie/o-*(?)

See HW^2 A: 323-4 and Puhvel HED 1/2: 155f. for attestations. The verb *armae-^{zi}* 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 *armaḫḫ-^{i}*. 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* < **$h_1$ermn*) and *armae-^{zi}* as **h_1(o)rmo-i̯e/o-*.

arnu-^{zi} (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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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: ^{LÚ}***arnuu̯ala-*** (c.) 'deportee' (Sum. NAM.RA) (nom.sg. *ar-nu-u̯a-la-aš*, acc.sg. *ar-nu-u̯a-la-an*, nom.pl. *ar-nu-u̯a-la-aš* (KUB 55.1 iii 2), dat.-loc.pl. *ar-nu-u̯a-la-aš*).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄρνῡμι 'to make (someone) move', Skt. *ṛṇóti* 'to put in motion'.

PIE **h₃r-n(e)u-* and **h₁r-n(e)u-*

From a synchronic point of view, *arnu-* looks like the causative of either *ār-*^{i} / *ar-* 'to arrive' (from PIE **h₁er-* 'to move horizontally') or *ar-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to stand' (from PIE **h₃er-* '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) **h₁r-neu-*. From a historical point of view, however, the semantic as well as formal similarity with Gr. ὄρνῡμι 'to make (someone) move' and Skt. *ṛṇóti* 'to make move' makes one wonder whether *arnu-* is not an inherited formation that reflects **h₃r-neu-*. Formally, a development from **h₃r-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. **h₁r-neu-* and **h₃r-neu-*.

ārš-^{zi} ***/ 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-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 29.9 i 11 (OH/NS)), [*a*]*r-ši-i̯a-zi* (KUB 33.49 ii 3 (OH?/NS)), *a-ar-ši-i̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 30.19 + 20 + 21 + 22 + 39.7 i 28, 29 (OH/NS)), *a-ar-aš-ši-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 33.4 + IBoT 3.141 iv 5 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ar-aš-t*[*a*$^{?}$] (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to let flow' (3pl.pres.act. *ar-aš-ša-nu-u̯a-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-u̯a* (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. ***āršiia-*** 'to flow' (3pl.imp.act. *a-ar-ši-i̯a-an-du*).

IE cognates: Skt. *arṣ-* 'to stream, to flow' (3sg.pres.act. *árṣati*).

PIE **h*$_1$*ers-ti*, **h*$_1$*rs-enti*

See HW^2 A: 341f. for attestations. Originally, the verb *ārš-/arš-* is a root-inflected present. From MS texts onwards, we find **-i̯e/o-*inflected forms (*aršiii̯ezzi* etc.) as well as occasional forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*aršiii̯aizzi*) and the *tarn(a)*-class (*āršaš*). The few attestations with geminate *-šš-* (*a-ar-aš-ši-ez-zi*, *a-ar-aš-ši-i̯a-zi*, *ar-aš-ša-nu-u̯a-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*$_1$*ers-* (Rieken 1999a: 327 states that **h*$_3$*ers-* is possible as well, but this is not true: **h*$_3$*ers-* would have given ***ḫarš-*, cf. Hitt. *ḫark-*^{zi} 'to get lost' < **h*$_3$*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 *ā* : *a*. This problem was seen before, and different scholars have proposed different explanations. Kimball (1983: 181) seems to assume that *ārš-* reflects **h₁érs-* and *arš-* < **h₁rs-*, but does not explain why e.g. **ḱérs-* did not yield ***kārš-*. Melchert (1994a: 125) therefore dismisses her reconstruction and assumes that *āršzi* reflects a zero grade stem **ṛ́s-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 *ā* in other verbs of this type, e.g. ***ḱṛ́s-ti* > ***kórs-ti* > ***kāršzi*.

In my view, the spelling *a-ar-aš-zi* is best regarded not to denote a long *ā*, but should be read *'a-ar-aš-zi* = /ʔárSt^{s}i/, in contradistinction to *ar-ša-an-zi*, which was /ʔrSánt^{s}i/. 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 pronounciation of the interconsonantal /r/.

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 supporst the view that the first *a* of *aršanzi* was not a phonological real vowel, so /ʔrSánt^{s}i/ instead of /arSant^{s}i/).

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-^{zi} / 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-i̯a-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 *$*h_{1/3}$rs-ne-h_1-ti / *$h_{1/3}$rs-n-h_1-enti*.

See HW^2 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_1-*, *aršaniie/a-* (*-ie/o-*derivative) and *aršanant-*. This stem **aršan(a)-* is generally connected with Skt. *ī́rṣyant-* 'angry', *irasyáti* 'to be angry', Av. *arəšiiaṇt-* 'envious', *araska-* 'envy', which must reflect **HrH(e)s-*. Watkins (l.c.) therefore reconstructs **aršan(a)-* as **r̥$h_{1/3}$s-no-*, whereas Oettinger (1979a: 355) gives **r$h_1$son-ie-*. 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. **/ʔrisna-/, spelled *are/išna-* (cf. *paripriške/a-* /pripriské/á-/ < **pri-prh_1sḱé/ó-*), and **HrHs-on-* > Hitt. **/ʔriSan-/, spelled *are/iššan-* (cf. *gane/iššanzi* /kniSánt^{s}i/ < **ǵnh$_3$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-^{zi}* (OS), *aršaniie/a-^{zi}* (from MH times onwards) and *aršan-* (OH/NS and MH/MS). As *-ie/a-*stems are often secondary, we are left with an original ablauting stem *aršanē-^{zi} / aršan-*. If we compare this ablauting pair to e.g. *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-* 'to finish' or *ḫulle-^{zi} / ḫull-* 'to smash', it is quite obvious that *aršanē- / aršan-*, too, must reflect a nasal-infixed verb with root-final **h_1*: **Hrs-ne-h_1- / *Hrs-n-h_1-*. The root of this verb is either **Hersh$_1$-* or **Hresh$_1$-* (structurally like *meusH-* 'aufheben, wegnemen' (cf. Skt. *muṣṇā́ti*) or **$h_1$eish$_2$-* 'kräftigen, antreiben' (cf. Skt. *iṣṇā́ti*); for both roots, see LIV^2). The initial laryngeal can only be **h_1* or **h_3* as **h_2* would have yielded Hitt. *ḫa-* in this position. Unfortunately, I know no cognate in any other IE language.

aršiie/a-^{zi} : see *ārš-^{zi} / 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*[*u̯andu*]; HW^2 A: 347: 1pl.pres.act. *ar-du*[*-me-(e-)ni*]).

Derivatives: ^{URUDU}***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-u̯eni*, *ardumar* < **ardu-u̯ar*), this verb is usually cited as *ard-* (so in Puhvel HED 1/2: 175; *ard(a)-* in HW^2 A: 347), on the basis of the assumption that the *-u-* in the verb is added after false interpretation of 1pl. **ard-uu̯eni* 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 **ardu̯ol(o)-*, showing the development **-du̯o-* > Hitt. *-da-* as can be seen in e.g. *idālu* < **h₁edu̯ólu-*.

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. *rádati* 'to dig, to scrave' and Lat. *rōdere* 'to gnaw', which must reflect **Hreh₃d-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 309-10). Although from a formal point of view a reconstruction **Hrh₃d-u-* could be possible for Hitt. *ardu-*, it is not very appealing.

aru- / arau̯- (adj.) 'high(?)': acc.pl. *a-ra-m*[*u-uš*$^{?}$] (KUB 33.5 ii 17).

Derivatives: ***aru(-)šuu̯aru-*** (adj.) 'high-and-full(?)' (nom.sg.c. *a-ru-uš šu-u̯a-ru-u*[*š*] (KBo 19.155, 5), nom.-acc.sg.n. (adv.) *a-ru-šu-u̯a-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-u̯a*), ***aru(u̯a)ruu̯a-*** 'to lift(?)' (1pl.pres.act. *a-ru-u̯a-ru-un-ni*, part.nom.sg.c. *a-ru-u-ru-u-u̯a-am-mi-iš*).

PIE **h₃(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- / arau̯-* that is translated as 'high'. If this is correct, then a connection with the verb *ar-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to stand' is likely, which means that *aru- / arau̯-* is derived from the root **h₃er-* 'to rise'. Because **h₃-* yields Hitt. /ʔ/ before **o* and before consonant, but is retained as *ḫ-* before **e* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), we can reconstruct both **h₃or-u-* and **h₃r-u-*.

-aru (3sg.imp.midd.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-aru*** (3sg.imp.midd.-ending): *a-a-i̯a-ru*, *ku-u̯a-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 **h₃r-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- / araṷ-* ‘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 /ʔrṹn-/, then *aruna-* must reflect **h₃r-éu-no-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). A semantic parallel can be found in Skt. *árṇa-* ‘wave, flood, stream’ < **h₃er-no-* (*’rising water’).

The adjective *arunuman-* is a derivative showing the suffix of appurtenance *-umen- / -umn-* (q.v.).

aruṷae-^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to prostrate oneself, to bow’ (Akk. *ŠUKĒNU*, 3sg.pres.act. *UŠKEN*): 3sg.pres.act. *a-ru-ṷa-ez-zi* (OS, often), *a-ru-ṷa-a-ez-zi* (OS, often), *a-ru-ṷa-i-ez-zi* (KBo 25.127 ii 4 (OS)), *a-ru-ṷa-e-ez-zi* (VSNF 12.10 i 2, 18, 25), *a-ru-ú-ṷa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 2.6 i 9), *a-ru-u-ṷa-iz-zi* (KBo 39.62 ii 9), *a-ru-ṷa-a-zi* (KBo 13.214 iv 10), *ar-ṷa-iz-zi* (KUB 59.32 iii 10 3), 3pl.pres.act. *a-ru-ṷa-a-an-zi* (OS?, often), *a-ru-ṷa-an-zi* (OS?, often), *a-ru-ṷa-en-zi* (KBo 17.28 l.col. 6 (OS)), *a-ru-ṷa-a-en-zi* (KBo 12.131, 6 (OH/NS)), *a-ru-u-ṷa-an-zi* (KBo 8.117 ii 9), *ar-ṷa-an-zi* (KBo 4.9 ii 39), 1sg.pret.act. *a-ru-ṷa-nu-un* (KUB 36.75+ ii 7), *ar-ṷa-a-nu-un* (KUB 14.13+ i 18), 3sg.pret.act. *a-ru-ṷa-it* (KUB 23.36 ii 23, KUB 36.101 ii 6, 8, KUB 36.102, 7, KUB 48.106, 18), *a-ru-ṷa-a-*[*i*]*t* (KUB 31.127 i 13), 3pl.pret.act. *ar-ṷa-er* (KBo 12.132 rev. 1), 3sg.imp.act. [(*a-ru-ṷa-*)]*a-id-*[*du*] (KUB 13.10 obv. 3 with dupl. 919/v); part. *a-ru-ṷa-an-t-*; verb.noun. *a-ru-u-ṷa-u-ar* (KBo 3.21 ii 10), inf.I *a-ru-ṷa-an-zi* (KBo 22.2 rev. 13 (OH/MS), KBo 10.11 i 2), *a-ru-ṷa-u-ṷa-an-zi* (KBo 3.38 rev. 30 (OH/NS)); impf. *a-ru-ṷa-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *a-ru-ú-iš-ke/a-*, *a-ru-ú-e-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE **h₂orṷo-i̯e/o-*

The verb is attested from OS texts onwards and inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class. This class consists of denominative verbs derived from **o*-stem nouns, which means that in this case, *aruu̯ae*- is derived from a noun **aruu̯a*-. Oettinger (1979a: 345[171] and 365) states that *aruu̯ae*- must be derived from a noun **aru̯ā*- which is identical to Gr. ἀρϝᾱ́ 'prayer'. This reconstruction cannot be correct, however, as denominative verbs from nouns in *-eh₂*- should inflect according to the *tāi̯e/a*-class (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 393f.). Moreover, Gr. ἀρϝᾱ́ reflects **h₂(e)r-u̯eh₂*-, which should have given Hitt. ***ḫaruu̯a*-.

Nevertheless, the connection does not have to be given up. If the noun **aruu̯a*- was an **o*-stem (as is indicated by the fact that the verb inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class), it is quite possible that it reflects **Horu̯o*-, 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 **h₁* (cf. Kortlandt 2004; Kloekhorst fthc.c), we are able to reconstruct **h₂oru̯o*-, an ablaut-variant of **h₂(e)ru̯eh₂*- as seen in Gr. ἀρϝᾱ́.

-aš (gen.sg.-ending)
PIE **-os*, **-s*

The usual ending of gen.sg. is *-aš* or, when accentuated, *-āš* (compare *nēpišaš* 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 *-u̯ar*, gen.sg. *-u̯aš* < **-u̯r / *-u̯en-s* and in an occasional *u*-stem form like [m]*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 *-u̯a*- to *-u*- in final syllables).

-aš (dat.-loc.pl.-ending)

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^{s}/ on the basis of *i-pa-ma-an-za-aš=ta* (KBo 13.260 ii 28)) and HLuw. *-a-za* = /-ant^{s}/, 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^{h}ios*, Lat. *-bus* can reflect **-b^{h}os*, OLith. *-mus* and OCS *-mъ* point to **-mus*, which would also fit Goth. *-m*. It has been suggested that the forms with **-b^{h}-* are due to conflation with the instr.pl.-ending **-b^{h}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-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 22.70 obv. 51); impf. *a-aš-ke/a-*.

PIE **h$_1$eNs-* ??

See HW^2 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-*$^{a(ri)}$, *āššiu̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ '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-*^{zi} / *aš-* 'to be' and *eš-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to sit' have been discarded (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 189; HW^2 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^2 (l.c.): "muß als primäres Vb. Ew. sein").

The only other Hitt. *mi*-verb ending in *-ašš-* is *kuu̯ašš-*^{zi} 'to kiss' (q.v.), which I reconstruct as **kuens-*. This could mean that *āšš-* reflects **h$_1$eNs-*. For the strong

stem forms this would work fine (*h_1*éNs-ti* > /ʔaSt^{s}i/, spelled *a-aš-zi*), but for the weak stem forms we have to reckon with analogical change (*h_1*Ns-énti* should regularly give **/ʔnt^{s}ánt^{s}i/, spelled ***an-za-an-zi*), for which we could compare 3sg. *ḫāši* 'to give birth' < *h_2*oms-ei* besides 3pl. *ḫaššanzi* << *h_2*ms-enti* that regularly should have given ***ḫanzanzi*. Unfortunately, I know no words in other IE languages that reflect *h_1*eNs-* and show similar semantics.

āšš-$^{a(ri)}$, ***āššiḭe/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIh/IIIg) 'to be loved, to be good' (Sum. SIG_5): 3sg.pres.midd. *a-aš-ša-a-ri* (KUB 59.50 rev. 4 (NS)), *a-aš-ši-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 24.7 iv 37 (NS)), [*a-aš-ši-*]*i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 24.7 i 15 (NS)), [*a-aš-*]*ši-i̯a-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-i̯a-at-ta-at* (KUB 33.121 ii 9 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-at-ta-ru* (KBo 35.254 obv.$^?$ 5, 7 (fr.) (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-an-du* (KUB 41.19 i 6 (MH/NS)); part. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-an-t-* (often), *aš-ši-i̯a-an-t-* (rare); verb.noun. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* 'favour, love', instr. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-ni-it*, *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-ni-it*; impf. *a-aš-ši-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***āššiḭanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make beloved(?)' (impf. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 13.55 rev. 4, KUB 31.42 ii 23)), ***āššiḭatar / āššiḭann-*** (n.) 'love' (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-tar*, gen.sg. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-an-na-aš*, *a-ši-i̯a-na-aš* (KUB 24.7 iv 19), dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-an-ni*, instr. [*a-aš-š*]*i-i̯a-an-ni-it* (KUB 33.64+KBo 21.60, 8)), ***āššiḭauu̯ant-*** (c.) 'lover' (nom.sg. *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za-aš=m=a-aš* (RS 25.421 rev. 62)), see also *āššu-*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ^{LITUUS}***áza-*** 'to love' (3sg.pres.act. *á-za-ti* (KARATEPE 2 §2), 3sg.pret.act. ^{LITUUS}*á-za-ta* (often), part. ^{LITUUS}*ázama/i-* (often)), $^{\text{LITUUS/OCULUS}}$***ázatiwada-***, PN (lit. 'beloved by the Sun(god)'), **TONITRUS-*huna-*** ^{LITUUS}***áza-***, PN (lit. 'beloved by the Storm-god') ^{I}**DEUS-*na-*** ^{OCULUS}***ázama/i-***, PN (lit. 'beloved by the gods').

The verb is attested with middle forms only, which makes it distinguishable from *āšš-*^{zi} '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 *āššiḭe/a-*.

Within Hittite, it is quite clear that *āšš(iḭe/a)-* must in some way be cognate with *āššu- / āššau̯-* 'good, dear, favourable', but the exact connection is unclear. According to Weitenberg (1984: 96, following Laroche *apud* Bader 1969: 9[3]), it is not possible that *āšš(iḭe/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 **-i̯e/o-*) as well as in HLuwian (with the suffix **-ske/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* < **h₁éh₁s-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(i̯e/a)-* is derived from the nominal stem *āššu- / āššau̯-*, for the etymology of which see there.

-aššа- (genitival adjective-suffix)

PIE **-osio-*

Although the use of a genitival adjective-suffix is especially known from the Luwian languages (CLuw. *-aššа/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 *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' < **h₂msósio-*, *iugašša-* 'yearling', derived from the noun *iuga-* 'yearling' (q.v.), which because of its OS attestation cannot be regarded as a Luwianism, and in *pedaššaḫḫ-*^{i} '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 **-eh₂so-*. On the basis of this reconstruction, he assumes that **-eh₂so-* > Hitt. *-aššа-* shows that **Vh₂sV* > Hitt. *VššV*. This is incorrect, however, as we can see from Hitt. *paḫšari* 'protects' < **peh₂s-o*, Hitt. *paḫši* 'protects' < **poh₂s-ei* and especially from *palaḫša-* /plaHsa-/ 'a garment' < **pleh₂so-* (note that this last example cannot be explained as showing a secondary retention of *-ḫ-*). 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 **-eh₂-*.

We should rather follow Georgiev (1967: 164; 1972: 90) in assuming that the genitival adjective suffixes Hitt. *-aššа-*, Luw. *-aššа/i-* and Lyc. *-ahe/i-* are derived from a pre-form **-osi̯o-* (with Lyc. *-ahe/i-* then from virtual **-eh₂-si̯o-*), in which the intervocalic cluster **-si̯-* yielded *-šš-*, just as in Hitt. *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi} 'to clothe' < **us-i̯e/o-* (see at *u̯ešš-*^{tta}; *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi} for a detailed treatment of this form and the development **Vsi̯V* > Hitt. *VššV*). Etymologically, this **-osi̯o-* may be compared with the gen.-endings Skt. *-asya*, Hom. -οιο < **-osio*, and, mutatis mutandis, with the Lat. suffix *-ārius* < **-eh₂-si̯o-*.

aššanu-^{zi}: see *ašnu-*^{zi}

ašāš-^{i} **/ *aše/iš-*** (IIa3) ‘to seat, to make sit; to settle; to install’: 1sg.pres.act. *a-ša-aš-ḫé* (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-u̯a-ar* (HT 42 rev. 7, 11); inf.I *a-še-šu-u̯a-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-***^{zi} (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-(u̯a-)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 *$*h_1s$-$h_1$ós-ei*, *$*h_1s$-h_1s-énti*

See HW^2 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/i̯* (also *ḫamank-*^{i} */ ḫame/ink-*, *garāp-*^{i} */ gare/ip-* and *šarap-*^{i} */ 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 */i̯/*, which in these verbs emerged in the zero grade formations.

In this case, *ašāš-*^{i} */ aše/iš-* clearly must be cognate with *eš-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘to sit (down)’ (q.v.) and shows a full-reduplication. If *ašāš-*^{i} */ aše/iš-* is derived from the middle stem *ēš-*, which probably goes back to *$*h_1eh_1s$-*, then it is possible that *ašāš-*^{i} */ aše/iš-* goes back to *$*h_1h_1s$-h_1óh_1s-ei*, *$*h_1h_1s$-h_1h_1s-énti*. If, however, *ašāš-*^{i} */ aše/iš-* is derived from the active stem, which possibly reflects *$*h_1es$-* / *$*h_1s$-*, then we can reconstruct *$*h_1s$-$h_1$ós-ei*, *h_1s-h_1s-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 /i̯/ emerged to solve the heavy cluster, yielding /ʔsi̯s-/.

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-*$^{a(ri)}$ 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-*: /ʔsi̯snu-/ and not **/ʔsi̯Snu-/.

ašāu̯ar / 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-u̯*[*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-u̯a* (KBo 17.92 obv. 6 (MS)), *a-ša-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 10.2 i 7 (OH/NS)).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 296f. and HW^2 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 *-āu̯ar / -aun-*, to which also *ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-* 'tilled land', *karāu̯ar / karaun-* 'horns, antlers', *partau̯ar / partaun-* 'wing' and *šarāu̯ar / šaraun-* 'storm-clouds' belong. Although e.g. *ḫaršāu̯ar* 'tilled land' clearly seems to belong with *ḫārš-*^{i} 'to till (the soil)', the exact interpretation of the suffix *-āu̯ar* is unclear. In isolated forms like *išḫāu̯ar* 'yoke-plough-set (?)' and *mugāu̯ar* 'materials for an invocation ritual', the origin is more clear (verbal nouns from *išḫai-*^{i} / *išḫi-* (so *išḫāu̯ar* < **išḫai̯-u̯ar*) and *mugae-*^{zi} (so *mugāu̯ar* from **mugai̯a-u̯ar*)), but that does not solve the problem of the other nouns. As I have argued under the lemma *karāu̯ar / karaun-*, we may have to compare *-āu̯ar / -aun-* to *-ātar / -ānn-* < **-ó-tr / -ó-tn-* and assume that we are dealing with **-ó-u̯̥r / -ó-un-*. Puhvel (l.c.) assumes an etymological connection with *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-* 'to sit', which would point to a reconstruction *h_1s-ó-u̯̥r*.

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-i̯a-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 *$h_1$ós + *-i*, *$h_1$óm + *-i* and **i* + *-m* + *-i* (compare *kāš*, *kūn*, *kī* < **ḱós*, **ḱóm*, **ḱí*). It seems as if dat.-loc.sg. *edi* shows a stem **h_1e-*. Note that the form *uni* and its derivatives (*uni̯aš* 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 **$h_1$óm*, just as *ku-u-un* /kón/ goes back to **ḱóm* (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. **$h_1$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. *uni̯aš*.

It is quite likely that this pronoun belongs with the pronoun **h_1e-*, **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_1o-* can be found (e.g. Beekes 1995: 205 reconstructs nom.sg.m. **h_1e*, acc.sg.m. **im*, nom.-acc.sg.n. **id*, nom.sg.f. **ih_2*, acc.sg.f. **ih_2m*, obl. **h_1e-*). Perhaps the stem **h_1o-* was created within Anatolian in analogy to the pronouns *kā- / kū- / ki* and *apā- / apū-*. So the virtual pre-forms nom.sg.c. **$h_1$os*, acc.sg.c. **$h_1$om*, nom.-acc.sg.n. **h_1i*, obl. **h_1e-* show an adaptation of the PIE system nom.sg.c. **h_1e*, acc.sg.c. **$h_1$im*, nom.-acc.sg.n. **h_1i*, obl. **h_1e-* 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_1i* (and not ***$h_1$id*!) spread to the paradigm of *kā- / kū- / ki-*.

The adverb *iniššan* corresponds to *kiššan* (once also *kiniššan*!) and the rare *apiniššan*.

āššii̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$: see *āšš-*$^{a(ri)}$, *āššii̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$

(LÚ)***ašiu̯ant-*** (adj.; c.) ‘poor (man)’ (Sum. LÚMÁŠDA): nom.sg.c. *a-ši-u̯a-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *a-ši-u̯a-an-ta-an*, *a-ši-u̯a-an-da-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-an* (KUB 41.32 rev. 9), gen.sg. *a-ši-u̯a-an-da-aš*, nom.pl.c. *a-ši-u̯a-an-te-eš*.

Derivatives: ***ašiu̯antatar*** (n.) ‘poverty’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-š*[*i-u̯*]*a-an-ta-tar* (KUB 21.18 iv 10)), ***ašiu̯antēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to become poor’ (3sg.pres.act. *a-ši-u̯a-an-te-eš-zi*; impf. *a-ši-u̯a-an-te-eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***āššiu̯ant(i)-*** (adj.) ‘poor’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-an*), ***āššiu̯antattar / āššiu̯antattn-*** (n.) ‘poverty’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-an-ta-at-tar*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-an-ta-at-ta-na-a-ši-iš*, *a-aš-ši-ú-u̯a-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-iš*, acc.sg.c. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in*, *a-aš-ši-ú-u̯a-an-ta-at-ta-na-aš-ši-in*).

This noun and its derivatives are in Hittite consistently spelled *a-ši-u̯a-an-*, except for nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-aš-ši-u̯a-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 *āššiu̯antattar* ‘poverty’.

The old etymology of *ašiu̯ant-* (going back to Jucqois 1964: 87-9), interpreting it as **n̥-di̯eu-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. *ašiu̯ant-* from CLuw. *āššiu̯ant-*, which word cannot reflect **n̥-di̯eu-* 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 **ési-*, 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$_4$-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$_2$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 $*h_2$ 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 $*h_2es$-. In that case, we would have to reconstruct $*h_2os$-*ko*-.

āšma (interject.) 'lo, behold': *a-aš-ma* (OH/MS).

PIE $*h_1ós$ +

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 $*h_1ós$ + *=(m)a*.

ašnu-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-an-zi*, *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-t-*, *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *aš-nu-mar*, *aš-ša-nu-mar*, *aš-nu-u̯a-u̯a-ar*, *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-u̯a-ar*; impf. *aš-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*.

PIE $*h_1s$-*neu*-

See HW^2 A: 372f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations of *ašnu-^{zi}* are spelled *aš-nu-* or *aš-ša-nu-*. Only sporadically we find forms with initial plene *a-* (e.g. once *a-aš-ša-mu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 32.103 ii 15) besides 70x *aš-nu-an-zi*, 20x

aš-nu-u̯a-an-zi, 7x *aš-ša-nu-an-zi*, 20x *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-zi* and 1x *aš-ša-nu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (cf. HW^2 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-i̯a-an-zi* GAL$^{ḪI.A}$=*kán*
(20) *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-zi*

'When they give an offering, they deliver the cups';

VSNF 12.29 i
(8) GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL=*za e-ša ta ḫal-zi-i̯*[*a*]
(9) GAL^{Ḫ}[$^{I.A}$]-*uš*$^{?}$ *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-zi*
(10) *ḫa-an-t*[*e*]-*ez-zi pal-ši* GUB-*aš* ^{d}U *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^2 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 (afflected 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-$^{a(ri)}$*, *āššii̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$* 'to be loved' and *āššu- / āššau̯-* '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 *āššii̯anu-* that Puhvel

stealthily equates with *ašnu-* do not belong here but indeed are derived from *āšš-*$^{a(ri)}$, *āššiḫe/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$, for which see there.

There is no concensus regarding the etymological interpretation of this verb. An interpretation as a causative of *ēš-* 'to sit (down)' has been suggested (Götze 1928: 102ff.), but does not make sense semantically. A connection to *āššu-* 'good' (so Puhvel HED 1/2: 205, who compares *tepnu-* '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^2 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 *ēš-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to sit down' (with active forms *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-*), but also the verb *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-* 'to be' is, on formal grounds, a possible candidate for being the source of *ašnu-*, especially if we compare the causative *šašnu-*^{zi} of *šeš-*^{zi} */ šaš-* 'to sleep' (also spelled *šaššanu-*). 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 *ēš-*^{zi} */ aš-* 'to be' and that it reflects **h*$_1$*s-neu-*. See at *eš-*^{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. locatival sentence particle): *C=ašta* (*t=a-aš-ta* (OS), *pa-ra=m=a-aš-ta* (OS), *ḫa-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^2 (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- / āššau̯- (adj.) 'good; dear; favourable' (Sum. SIG$_5$): 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-(u̯a-)aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-ša-u-i*, *a-aš-ša-u-e*, abl. *a-aš-ša-u̯a-az*, *a-aš-šu-u̯a-az*, *a-aš-šu-u-u̯a-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-)u̯a*, 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-u̯a-an-za*, *a-aš-ša-u-u̯a-za*, *a-aš-ša-u-u̯a-an*$^{!}$*-za* (KUB 22.64 iii 7), abl. *a-aš-šu-ua-az*, *a-aš-ša-u-ua-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-u̯-aš*), ***āššuu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'good; favourable' (nom.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-u̯a-an-za*, *a-aš-šu-u-u̯a-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *a-aš-šu-u̯a-an-da-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-šu-u̯a-an-ti*, instr. SIG$_5$*-an-te-et*), ***āššuu̯atar / āššuu̯ann-*** (n.) 'favourableness, friendly fashion' (nom.-acc.sg. SIG$_5$*-u-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-aš-šu-an-ni*, *a-aš-šu-u̯a-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-*$^{a(ri)}$, *āššiu̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$.

IE cognates: Gr. ἐύς 'good', Skt. *sú* 'good'.

PIE **h$_1$oh$_1$s-u-* ?

See HW^2 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-*, *āššau̯-*) 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. ἐύς '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 *$*h_1ós$-u*, *$*h_1és$-u*, whereas the adjective goes back to a derived proterokinetic *u*-stem adjective *$*h_1és$-u-*, *$*h_1es$-eu-*. Melchert (1994c: 300f.) takes over this view and argues that the noun *$*h_1ós$-u* yielded Hitt. **āšu*, whereas the oblique *$*h_1és$-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. ἐύς, 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 *$*h_2$* or *$*h_3$*, so the form must have been *$*h_1oh_1s$-(é)u-* (note that a preform *$*h_1óh_1s$-u-* would have yielded **/ʔā́su-/, spelled as ***a-a-šu-*). This means that *a-aš-šu-* represents /ʔáSu-/ (cf. *a-ar-aš-zi* = /ʔárSt^{s}i/). All in all, we must reckon with a original paradigm *$*h_1óh_1s$-u-s*, *$*h_1h_1s$-éu-s*, which after generalization of the full-grade stem was altered to *$*h_1óh_1s$-u-s*, *$*h_1oh_1s$-éu-s*. This paradigm regularly should have yielded Hitt. **/ʔā́sus/, **/ʔaSū́s/, which was levelled out to /ʔáSu-/, spelled *a-aš-šu-*. The question is, of course, what kind of formation this is. On the one hand, one could compare Gr. ὠκύς 'quick', Skt. *āśú-* 'fast', which, if they are to be connected with *$*h_1eḱuos$* 'horse' and Lat. *acupedius* 'quick-footed' < **HHḱ-u-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 77), must reflect *$*h_1o$-$h_1ḱ$-u-*, an *o*-reduplicated *u*-stem adjective. In that way, Hitt. *āššu-* would reflect *$*h_1o$-h_1s-u-* besides Gr. ἐύς < *$*h_1es$-u-* and Skt. *sú*, *su-* < *$*h_1su$(-)*. On the other hand, one could wonder to what extent the Gr. epic form ἠύς 'good' is linguistically real. It has generally been dismissed as an epic metrically lengthened form, but I do not see why (ἐύς is not problematic for the hexametre). If ἠύς and ἐύς are ablaut-variants, it would point to a reconstruction *$*h_1eh_1s$-u-* besides *$*h_1h_1s$-u-*. Than we could interpret Hitt. *āššu-* as the *o*-grade

variant *h_1oh_1s-*u*- of which the *e*-grade is visible in Gr. ἠύς and the zero grade in Gr. ἐύς 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 spellinsg *aš-šu-ú-ul*), leaving the initial *a*- unstressed and therefore short (or are we dealing with a zero-grade formation *h_1h_1s-*éul* here?).

In my view, it is likely that the verb *āšš-*$^{a(ri)}$, *āššiy̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to be loved' is derived from *āššu*- 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-*.

^{LÚ}***āššušanni*** (uninfl.) 'horse-trainer': stem *a-aš*[*-š*]*u-uš-ša-an-ni* (KUB 1.13 i 1), *a-aš-šu-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* ^{I}*Ki-ik-ku-li* ^{LÚ}*a-aš*[*-š*]*u-uš-ša-an-ni* (2) *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*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.Ḫ̬UM, Akk. *BIBRU*): nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-šu-zé-ri* (KUB 27.13 i 13 (NS)), *a-aš-šu zé-e-ri* (KUB 1.17 i 5 (OH/NS)), instr. *a-aš-šu-zé-ri-it* (KBo 20.67 i 18 (OH/MS)), [*a-aš-šu-z*]*é-ri̯-it* (KBo 17.75 ii 58 (OH/MS?)), *a-aš-šu z*[*é-r*]*i*[*-it*] (IBoT 2.67, 11 (NS)).

See HW^2 A: 541 for attestations. The word is written with and without a word space between *āššu* and *zēri*-, so we are clearly dealing with a univerbation of the two words, forming 'good-cup'. See both at *āššu*- '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(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'paternal' (nom.sg.c. *ta-a-ti-i-iš*, *ta-ti-i-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-ti-i-i̯a-an*, *ta-a-ti-i̯a-an*, abl.-instr. *ta-ti-i̯a-ti*, nom.pl.c. *da-a-ti-i-in-zi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ta-a-ti-e-i̯a*), ***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*$_4$, 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*), ***tatii̯a-*** (adj.) 'paternal' (dat.-loc.sg.? *tá-ti-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A23 §11), nom.-acc.pl.n. *tá-ti-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §8)), ***tatala/i-*** (adj.) 'fatherly' (nom.sg.c. *tá-tà-li-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §11)); Lyd. ***taada-*** (c.) 'father' (nom.sg. *taadaś*); Lyc. ***tede/i-*** (c.) 'father(?)' (nom.sg. *tedi*, dat.-loc.sg. *teθθi*).

See HW^2 A: 541f. for attestations. It is remarkable that Hittite shows a stem *atta-*, whereas the other Anatolian languages show **todo-*. Both stems clearly are onomatopoetic: Hitt. *atta-* can be compared to e.g. Lat. *atta*, Gr. ἄττα, Goth. *atta*, OCS *отьсь* 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. *anni̯ātar* 'mothership', *antuḫšātar* 'mankind', *ḫantezzi̯ātar* 'first position' for the former category and e.g. *akkātar* 'death', *ḫukātar* 'conjuration', *uu̯ātar* '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 **/-ā́dr/, which was at some point altered to */-ā́tr/ in analogy to /-t-/ as found in the oblique stem /-ā́tn-/. In Hittite the oblique stem */-ótn-/ assimilated to /-ā́N-/, however, which means that there was no model anymore on the basis of which the nom.-acc.sg.-form /-ā́dr/ could be altered. This means that e.g. *appātar / appānn-* 'seizing' reflects **h_1p-ótr / *h_1p-ótn-*. Note that Melchert 1994a: 86 reconstructs this suffix as **-éh$_2$tr / *-éh$_2$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 *-aḫḫ-*^{i} (q.v.). This latter assumption cannot be correct: not only is there no semantic connection between the factitives in *-aḫḫ-* and the abstract nouns in *-ātar / -ānn-*, the suffix *-aḫḫ-* 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$_2$-* 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-^{i} ***/ u-*** (IIa1α) 'to see, to look' (Akk. *AMARU*): 1sg.pres.act. *u-uḫ-ḫi* (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-u̯a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u-uḫ-ḫu-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-u̯a-al-lu* (KUB 14.8 rev. 42 (NH)), *ú-u̯i$_5$-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-u̯a-an-du* (MH/MS); 1pl.pres.midd. *u-u̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta-ri* (KBo 16.59 obv. 7 (NS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *a-uš-*

ḫa-ḫa-at (KUB 31.121a ii 20 (NH)), *u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-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-u̯a-an-ta-a*[*t*] (HT 21 + KUB 8.80, 10 (NH)), 1sg.imp.midd. *u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ru* (KUB 14.14 rev. 15 (NH)), *ú-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ru* (KUB 14.14 rev. 30 (NH)), 3sg.imp.midd. *u-u̯a-ru* (KUB 36.44 iv 4 (OH/MS)), 3pl.imp.midd. *u-u̯a-an-da-ru* (KUB 21.19 iv 28 (NH)); part. *ú-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *ú-u̯a-a-tar*, *ú-u̯a-tar*, gen.sg. *ú-u̯a-an-na-aš* (KBo 35.246 obv. 20 (MH/MS)); inf.II *ú-u̯a-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: ***u̯u̯atalla-*** (c.) 'seer' (acc.pl. *ú-u̯a-tal-lu-uš* (KBo 4.14 iii 18 (NH)), $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***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 *parāu̯u̯ant-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***a̯u̯a*** (interjection) 'behold, look here' (*a-a-u̯a*, *a-u̯a*).

IE cognates: Skt. *āvíṣ* (adv.) 'evidently, before the eyes', Av. *āuuiš* 'id', Gr. ἀΐω 'to perceive', αἰσθάνομαι 'to perceive', Lat. *audiō* 'to hear'.

PIE **h*$_2$*óu-ei*, **h*$_2$*u-énti*

See HW^2 A: 572f. for attestations. The oldest attested paradigm (OS and MS) of this verb is as follows:

u-uḫ-ḫi	*u-uḫ-ḫu-un*
a-ut-ti	**autta*
a-uš-zi	*a-uš-ta*
ú-me-e-ni	*a-ú-me-en*
uš-te-e-ni	(*a-uš-tén*)
ú-u̯a-an-zi	*a-ú-e-er*

It is clear that originally this verb must have been *ḫi*-conjugated, showing a stem *au-* / *u-* (with regular monophthongization of *au-* to /o/ before *ḫ*). Only the 3sg.-forms are aberrant, showing *mi*-inflected forms and a stem *aušš-* (similar in the verb *mau-*^{i} / *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. **/ʔá̯ue/ for the present and **Hóu-s-t* > Hitt. **/ʔáuS/ for the preterite. Apparently, **/ʔá̯ue/ was too aberrant to be retained and analogically remade into /ʔáuSt^{s}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. *ašdu* 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. *aušḫaḫat* (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 *ḫi*-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-uḫ-*, with the sign U, whereas 3pl.pres. is spelled *ú-u̯a-an-zi*, consistently with Ú. As I have argued in § 1.3.9.4, the spelling *u-uḫ-ḫi* represents /ʔóHi/, the regular outcome of **Hóu-h$_2$ei*, showing monophthongization of **-ou-* before **h$_2$*, whereas *ú-u̯a-an-zi* represents /ʔuánt^{s}i/, the regular outcome of **Hu-énti* (compare 'to give': *pé-e-eḫ-ḫi* /péHi/ < **h$_1$pói-h$_2$ei* vs. *pí-i̯a-an-zi* /piánt^{s}i/ < **h$_1$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 ***aušk*e/a- (compare the imperfective of 'to give': in OH times the form is *pí-iš-ke/a-* /piské/á-/ < **h$_1$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-$^{tta(ri)}$*, the spellings *ú-u̯a-* besides *u-u̯a-*. 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-uḫ-ḫi* and *u-uḫ-ḫu-un* (quite understandably in 1sg.pret.midd. *u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at* and 1sg.imp.midd. *u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ru*).

The verb *au-^{i} / 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^2 codified this view by reconstructing a root **h$_1$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. *āvíṣ* (adv.) 'evidently, before the eyes' and Av. *āuuiš* 'id.'. These forms, which point to **Houis*, clearly belong with Gr. ἀΐω 'to perceive' < *ἀϝίσω < **h₂euis-* and Gr. αἰσθάνομαι 'to perceive' < * ἀϝισθάνομαι and Lat. *audiō* 'to hear' that both go back to **h₂euis-dʰ-* (note that Slav. **javě* 'manifestly, clearly' must be a borrowing from Iranian). These forms all reflect a PIE adverb **h₂euis* / **h₂ouis* 'before the eyes, clearly perceivingly'. If this adverb is to be analysed as **h₂e/ou-is* (showing the suffix **-is* as in e.g. Skt. *bahíṣ* 'outside'), we seem to be dealing with a root **h₂eu-* 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 **h₂-* does not match Hitt. *Ø-*. Although in Hittite an initial **h₂* would indeed usually yield *ḫ-*, in front of **o* it regularly merges with **h₁-* into /ʔ-/ (see Kloekhorst fthc.c). This means that a paradigm **h₂óu-h₂ei*, **h₂ou-th₂e-i*, **h₂óu-ei*, **h₂u-uéni*, **h₂u-sténi*, **h₂u-énti* would by regular sound laws yield pre-Hitt. */ʔóHe/, */ʔáute/, */ʔá̯ue/, */Huméni/, */Husténi/, */Huántˢi/. 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-ⁱ* < **h₂ómh₁s-*, 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 *ḫuške/a-ᶻⁱ* 'to wait for, to linger', which in my view could go back to **h₂u-ské/ó-*, and therewith be a lexicalized imperfective of **h₂eu-* '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-i̯a* (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 **h₂oul-i-*

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) röhrförmiges 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. αὐλών ‘canal’, Lith. *aũlas*, Latv. *aũle* ‘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 [..] **h₂eul-*, since the laryngeal is not preserved in Hittite”. Although indeed **h₂e-* would have yielded Hitt. *ḫa-*, a word-initial sequence **h₂o-* would have yielded Hitt. /ʔa-/ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), and I therefore think it is perfectly in order to reconstruct Hitt. *auli-* as **h₂oul-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-i̯a-aš* (MH/MS), *a-ú-u̯a-ri-(i̯a-)aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *a-ú-ri-i̯a*, *a-ú-ri*, abl. *a-ú-ri-i̯a-za* (KUB 33.106 ii 11), nom.pl.c. *a-ú-ri-e-eš* (MH/NS), *a-ú-u̯a-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-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ú-ri-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***auri̯ala-*** (c.) ‘guard’ (nom.sg. *a-ú-ri-i̯a-la-aš*, acc.pl. *a-ú-ri-i̯a-lu-uš*), ***auri̯atalla-*** (c.) ‘id.’ (acc.pl. *a-ú-ri-i̯a-tal-lu-uš*), see also *au-^{i} / u-*.

PIE **h₂ou-ri-*

See HW^2 A: 631f. for attestations. This word is consistently spelled *a-ú-ri-* or *a-ú-u̯a-ri-*, never with *-u-*. It is generally seen as a derivative in *-ri-* (cf. e.g. *ešri-* ‘shape’ from *eš-^{zi} / aš-* ‘to be’ and *edri-* ‘food’ from *ed-^{zi} / ad-* ‘to eat’) of the verbal root *au-^{i} / 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 *au̯u̯ari-*. Rieken (2001: 375-6) states that the stem *au̯u̯ari-* 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 *aṷ-ari-*, showing a suffix *-ari-* instead of *-ri-*. This is unlikely: the OS attestations she adduces (*a-ṷa-ri-i̯a-aš* (KUB 39.49 i 9 (OS)), *a-ṷa-ri-i̯*[*a-aš*?] (ibid. iv 1 (OS)), both in rather broken context) are "fraglich ob zu *auri-*" (HW^2 A: 632), and are spelled *a-ṷa-ri-*, instead of regular *a-ú-ṷa-ri-*. Moreover, in my corpus of MH originals, I was not able to find an attestation *a-(ú-)ṷa-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-ṷa-ri-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2005b: 94). It is remarkable that the spelling *a-ú-ṷa-ri-* is only found in cases where the *-i-* is followed by a vowel: gen.sg. *a-ú-ṷa-ri-i̯a-aš*, nom.pl.c. *a-ú-ṷa-ri-e-eš*. In my view this indicates that the phonological form /ʔáurias/ in earlier times phonetically was realized as [ʔáuri$^{\text{i̯}}$as], spelled *a-ú-ri(-i̯a)-aš*, but later on as [ʔáwr̥jas], spelled *a-ú-ṷa-ri-i̯a-aš*.

See at *au-*^{i} */ u-* for further etymology.

aušš-: see *au-*^{i} */ u-*

aṷan (indecl. particle): *a-ṷa-an* (MH/MS), *a-u-ṷa-an*.

PIE *$*h_2ouom$* ?

See HW A: 635 for attestations and semantics: this particle strengthens the meaning of other adverbs like *arḫa*, *katta*, *šarā*. See Puhvel HED 1/2: 245 for several etymological proposals. Formally, the best one is Hrozný's (1915: 28), who connected *aṷan* with Lat. *au-* 'off', Lith. *au-* 'away', etc. (cf. also *u-*). If correct, *aṷan* would reflect *$*h_2ouom$*. See at *u-* for further etymology.

auṷari-: 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 *$*-óti$*, *$*-ti$*

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 distrubition 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 where 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 *=(i̯)a* is attached to it, it does not become °*z=a* as one would expect (compare e.g. *ir-ma-la-an-za-š=a* = *irmalanz* + *=(i̯)a*, *ar-pu-u̯a-an-za-aš-š=a* = *arpuu̯anz* + *=(i̯)a*, *ku-un-na-an-za-aš-š=a* = *kunnanz* + *=(i̯)a*, [^{LÚ}*pát-te-i̯*]*a-an-za-aš-š=a* (MH/MS) = *patteia̯nz* + *=(i̯)a*), but rather °*z=ii̯a* (e.g. *a-pé-e-ez-z=i-i̯a* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az-z=i-i̯a*, *ku-na-an-na-z=i-i̯a*, 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. *práti* ‘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 *ḫi*-flection): see *-i*

-e (voc.sg.-ending): see *-i*

=e : see *=a-*

^{GIŠ}***ea-***: see ^{GIŠ}*e̯ian-*

eḫu (2sg.imp.act.) ‘come!’: *e-ḫu* (OS).

IE cognates: for *e-* see at *i-*; for *-ḫu*: Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’, Gr. αὖ ‘again, towards’, Lat. *au-fugiō* ‘to flee (away)’, Lith. *au-* ‘away from, down from’, OCS *u-* ‘from, away’.

PIE *$*h_1$éi-$*h_2$ou*

Synchronically, this word functions as the imperative for the verb *u̯e-^{zi} / uu̯a-* ‘to come’ (q.v.). It is generally seen as consisting of the element *$*h_1$ei* ‘go!’ (see for this verbal root at *i-^{zi}* ‘to go’) enlarged by an element *-ḫu* which is to be compared with Skt. *áva* ‘off, away’, Gr. αὖ ‘again, towards’ etc. < *$*h_2$(e/o)u*. The latter element is quite interesting as it hardly can be separated from the prefix *u-* visible in *u̯e-/uu̯a-* ‘to come’ (< *u-* + *$*h_1$ei-*). In my view, it proves that the element *u-* must go back to *$*h_2$ou-*, in which the initial *$*h_2$* was lost in front of *$*o* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). So, whereas e.g. *ú-ez-zi* ‘he comes’ must be reconstructed as

*$h_2$ou *$h_1$eiti*, the imperative must have been *$h_1$ei *$h_2$ou*, univerbated in Hitt. *eḫu* ‘come!’.

GIŠ***eia̯n-*** (n.) a tree (evergreen), perhaps ‘yew’: nom.-acc.sg. *e-ia̯-an* (OS), *e-a-an* (MH/NS), *e-ia̯* (KUB 17.10 iv 27 (OH/MS)), *e-ia̯-na-an* (KBo 37.157, 4 (NS)), gen.sg. *e-ia̯-na-aš* (MS), *e-ia̯-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *e-ia̯-ni* (OH/NS), *e-a-ni* (MH/NS), *e-ia̯* (OH/NS), abl. *e-ia̯-az* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl. *e-ia̯-an* (OS), *e-i-e* = *e-i-ia̯$_x$* (Bo 2689 ii 30 (NS)).

See HW^2 E: 22f. and Puhvel HED 1/2: 253f. for attestations. We find forms that point to an *a*-stem *eia̯-* as well as forms that point to an *n*-stem *eia̯n-*. 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) GIŠ*e-ia̯-an*
(18) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an uk-tu-u-ri i-ia̯-at-ni-ia̯-an nu ḫur-pa-aš-ta-nu-uš*
(19) *ar-ḫa Ú-UL iš-ḫu-u̯a-i* LUGAL-*š=a* MUNUS.LUGAL-*š=a*
QA-TAM-MA
(20) *i-ia̯-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 *eia̯n-* denotes a yew and therefore should be cognate with Russ. *íva* ‘willow’, Lith. *ievà* ‘bird-cherry’, Latv. *iẽva* ‘bird-cherry’, Gr. οἴη, ὄα, ὄη ‘service-tree’. The Balto-Slavic words reflect *h_1eh_1i-u̯eh_2- or *h_1eiH-u̯eh_2- (second laryngeal because of the acute intontation). The Greek forms perhaps reflect *h_1oiH-ueh_2- or *h_1oh_1i-u̯eh_2-. Although a preform *$h_1éh_1i$-*on*- indeed would yield Hitt. *eia̯n-*, this etymology is far from assured.

ek-: see *āk-^{i} / 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-***^{zi}, ***igae-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become cold' (3sg.pres.act. *i-ku-ni-eš-zi* (1214/z, 6)), ***ikunaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make cold' (form? *i-ku-na-aḫ-ḫu*-x[...] (KUB 39.41 i 6)), see also *ikniia̯nt-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *aig*, gen. *ega* 'ice' (**i̯egi-*), MCorn. *yeyn* 'cold' (**i̯eg-n-*), ON *jaki* 'ice-floe' (**i̯eg-(e)n-*), *jökull* 'glacier'.

PIE **iég-o-*

See HW^2 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 *ḫatrae*-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-i̯é/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' < **h₃r-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-*

See HW^2 E: 28-9 for attestations. We are clearly dealing with an original consonant stem *ekt-* with nom.sg. *ekza* = /ʔékts/, 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$_1$i(e)h$_1$-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-m̥*, **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-^{zi} / 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-u̯a-ni* (KBo 15.26, 7 (MH/MS)), *a-ku-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-zi* (OS), *a-ku-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-da-aš*; verb.noun. *a-ku-u̯a-a-tar*, *a-ku-u̯a-tar*, gen.sg. *a-ku-u̯a-an-na-aš*; inf.II *a-ku-an-na* (OS), *a-ku-u̯a-an-na*; impf. *ak-ku-uš-ke/a-* (OS), *a-ak-ku-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 21.63 ii 10).

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***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-u̯a-an-ti*, *a-ḫu-u̯a-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 *$*h_1eg^{wh}$-ti*, *$*h_1g^{wh}$-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^w/ 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 *u̯a-ar-nu-me-en*), which shows that the labialization of the phoneme /K^w/ did not participate in the sound law **u̯u* > *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^{w}/ was fortited to /k^{w}/ by the following *-ške/a-* (note that this is not a matter of 'devoicing' as can be seen by *e-ku-ut-ta* /ʔég^{w}ta/ and *a-ku-ut-ta-ra-* /ʔg^{w}tra-/). I therefore phonologically interpret the stems as /ʔeg^{w}-/, /ʔg^{w}-/ and /ʔk^{w}ske/a-/.

These stems hardly can go back to anything else than a PIE root *$h_1eg^{w(h)-}$. This means that the old connection with Lat. *aqua* 'water' cannot be correct as the latter, if from IE origin, shows *h_2ek^{w}-eh_2. 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 *$\bar{e}K^{w}$-, which possibly goes back to a reduplicated stem *h_1e-h_1K^{w}-. Lat. *ēbrius*, too, must reflect a reduplicated form, and shows that the labiovelar was *g^{wh}: *h_1e-h_1g^{wh}-. The appurtenance of Gr. νήφω 'to be sober' is difficult in view of the one Doric attestation νᾶφε, which implies an original *$\bar{a}$ that is contradictive with *h_1. According to Winter (1955: 173-5), Dor. νᾶ- could be of secondary origin, however, which would make way to interpreting Gr. νήφω as *$n\bar{e}g^{wh}\bar{o}$ from *$n̥$-h_1g^{wh}-*e/o-* 'to not-drink'.

All in all, Hitt. *eku-/aku-* must reflect *h_1eg^{wh}- / *h_1g^{wh}-. The Palaic cognate shows a lenition of *g^{wh} to /h^{w}/ (note that *aḫuu̯anti-* must stand for /ʔh^{w}anti/, so *g^{wh} was not intervocalic), whereas in CLuwian the root *h_1eg^{wh}- first yielded *ʔeu̯- which developed into /ʔū-/.

Kimball (1999: 187) cites a form 2pl.pres.act. *e-ku-u̯a-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$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$-*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^{MEŠ}-*uš* (HT 10, 12 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ā̄ššu-*** 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*$_4$ (TOPADA §19), ^{ANIMAL}EQUUS-*sa*$_8$ (TOPADA §26), acc.sg. /ʔasun/ EQUUS.ANIMAL-*sù=ha=wa/i=ta* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Hu.), $^{\text{EQUUS.ANIMAL}}$*á-‹sù-›=pa=wá/í=ta* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Ho.), dat.-loc.sg. /ʔasui/ $^{\text{EQUUS.ANIMAL}}$*á-sù-wa/i* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Hu.), $^{\text{EQUUS.ANIMAL}}$*á-sù-wá/í* (KARATEPE 1 §8 Ho.), abl.-instr. /ʔasuadi/ ^{ANIMAL}EQUUS-*wa/i-ti* (TOPADA §5, §8, §10), ^{ANIMAL}EQUUS-*ti* (TOPADA §23), nom.pl.(?) /ʔasunt^{s}i/ ^{ANIMAL}EQUUS-*zi/a* (TOPADA §21), dat.-loc.pl. /ʔasuant^{s}/ ^{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-qo*, 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 *$*h_1ek^u$-*

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$^{ḪI.A}$-*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, 𔓱, 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 *$*k^u$* (also 𔓱-*wa/i-ni-* = *sù-wa/i-ni-* or *zú-wa/i-ni-* 'dog' < *$*k^uon$-), 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. ^{ANIMAL}EQUUS-*wa/i-ti* = /ʔasuadi/ and dat.-loc.pl. ^{EQUUS}*á-sù-wa/i-za* = /ʔasuant^s/ 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-*𔓱- as *á-zú-*, cites dat.-loc.pl. *az-zu-u̯a-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[236]), who reads HLuw. *á-*𔓱- as *á-sù-*, cites *a-aš-š*[*u-*...] (KUB 35.107+108 iv 22), *a-aš-š*[*u-*...] (KUB 35.102 i 7) and *ạ-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. *-aššа/i-*). I therefore cite this noun as *esb-*. Starke (1995: 119) further adduces a Pisidian placename Εσουακωμη, 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 *áśva-* or Iran. *aspa-*), but as Starke (1995: 119[238]) 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 *Pí-ri-da-aš-šu-u̯a* and *Pí-ri-aš-u̯a* respectively, clearly showing the thematic vowel *-a-*. I therefore regard all Anatolian words as inherited (but see at ^{LÚ}*āššušanni* for a genuine borrowing from Indic).

On the basis of HLuw. *á-sù-* ~ Lyc. *esb-* we can reconstruct a PAnat. form **ʔeḱu-*. Taking the Hittite historical phonology into account, we would expect that the Hittite outcome of PAnat. **ʔeḱu-* 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. **ʔeḱu-*, which must reflect a preform **h_1eḱu-*, cannot be separated from the words for 'horse' in the other IE languages that point to a reconstruction **h_1eḱuo-* (Skt. *áśva-*, 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_1eḱuo-*, the Anatolian evidence clearly points to a *u*-stem noun. Starke (1995: 120) therefore states that we are dealing with an "Umbildung des Stammausgangs *°u̯o- -> °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_1eḱuo-* to Anat. **h_1eḱu-* is hard to defend. We must conclude that it is impossible to assume that a PIE *o*-stem **h_1eḱuo-* would have yielded an Anat. *u*-stem **h_1eḱu-* and that the inverse therefore must be true. I consequently assume that the original PIE word for 'horse' was a *u*-stem **h_1eḱu-* and that only after the splitting off of Anatolian this word was thematicized to **h_1eḱuo-* (a trivial development) as it is attested in all the other IE languages. We may think of an original paradigm **h_1éḱ-u-s*, **h_1ḱ-éu-m*, **h_1ḱ-u-ós*, from a stem **h_1eḱ-u-* 'quick, swift' as also seen in Skt. *āśú-* ~ Gr. ὠκύς 'quick, swift' < **h_1o-h_1ḱ-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.

^{MUŠ}***elliia̯nku-***: see ^{MUŠ}*illua̯nka-*

^{GIŠ}***elzi-*** (n.) '(pair of) scale(s)' (Sum. GIŠ.RÍN, ^{GIŠ}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-ia̯-aš* (KUB 32.129 i 14 (NS)).

PIE *$*h_1$élt-ih_1$* ??

Although formally one cannot decied whether nom.-acc. *ēlzi* is singular or plural, HW^2 (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. *ilzia̯š*.

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 *$*-ih_1$*. If so, then we might have to do with a root *$*h_1$elt-* + *$-ih_1$*. He connects the word with OIr. *leth*, We. *lled* 'halve', Lat. *latus* 'side', assuming that these words reflect a root *$*h_1$let-* besides the root *$*h_1$elt-* found in Hittite. Hamp (1988) followed this suggestion, but tried to show that the indeed awkward assumption of Schwebe-ablaut is unnecessary. He derives the Celtic forms through *$*letes-$* < *$*lit-$* from a zero-grade form *$*l̥t-$*, which, according to Hamp, is the preform for Lat. *latus* as well (like *magnus* < *$*m̥g-no-$*). Problematic to this view is the fact that in Latin, a pre-form *$*h_1$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' < *$*plth_2no-$* 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 *$*-ih_1$* (which is at least possible from a semantic point of view), we mechanically have

to reconstruct *h_1elt-ih_1, but I have not been able to find any convincing IE cognates that reflect this root as well.

eni(-) : see *aši / uni / ini*

enu-^{zi} (Ib2) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *e-nu-z*[*i*] (KUB 44.61 iv 20 (NS)); part. *e-nu-u̯a-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-uḫ-še IŠ-TU* ^{UZU}*I-ŠA-RI=ŠU z*[*aʾ-ap-pí-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (?)]
(20) [NUMU]N-*an=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*$^{?}$ ^{UZU}*I-ŠA-RI=ŠU an-da zi-ik-ke-ez-zi an-da=ma* [x x x x x]
(22) [x x M]I-*an ḫu-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=maʾ* x[x x]
(5) ŠÀ.BA 1^{EN} *e-nu-u̯a-an-d*[*a(-)...*]

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(6) *n=a-aš-ta* GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL
(7) GADA-*an še-er ar-ḫa* [SUD-*zi*?]
(8) LUGAL-*uš UŠ-KI*-[*EN*]

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(9) *n=a-aš-ta* GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL x[x x]
(10) ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*az ar-ḫa da-a*-[*i n=a-at*]
(11) LUGAL-*i pa-a-i* LUGAL-*uš* ^{d}U[-*i*]
(12) *pár-ši-i̯a*

'It [...]. And down for (it) [...] one of which (is?) *enuu̯ant*- [..]. 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 wat *enuu̯and*[*a(-)*...] denotes.

Nevertheless, it has often been suggested that *enu-* means 'to make warm' (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 11; HW^2 E: 42f.) and therefore should be equated with *inu-*^{zi}, the causative of *ā(i)-*$^{(a)ri}$ / *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-*^{zi} and *inu-*^{zi} 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-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš* ÍD-*az*
(34) [EGI]R-*pa ú-u̯a-da-an-zi n=a-aš I-NA* É ^{LÚ}IŠ
(35) [*an-d*]*a pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi nu-u=š-ma-aš nam-ma*
(36) [1 ^{DUG}G]AL *ME-E* MUN 1 ^{DUG}GAL *ME-E* DIM$_4$ *a-ku-u̯a-an-na*
(37) [*pí-a*]*n-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma e-nu-ma-an-da-ri*
(38) [*nam-m*]*a* ÍD-*i pé-e-ḫu-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-*^{zi} 'to make hot', the caus. of *ā(i)-*$^{a(ri)}$ / *i-* 'to be hot' (q.v.).

A stem *enuma-* does not look particularly IE to me. The comparison to *ešḫarnumae-*^{zi} 'to smear with blood' (see *ešḫar*) as given by Puhvel (l.c.) does not help much either.

epp-^{zi} **/ *app-*** (Ia3) 'to take, to seize, to grab, to pick, to capture' (Sum. DIB, Akk. *ṢABATU*): 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-ẹ*[*-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-u̯a-aš* (Gurney 6, 4 (NS)); inf.I *e-ep-pu-u-u̯a-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)riu̯e/a-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-zi* (KUB 13.9 i 10 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ap-pa-at-ri-i̯a-at* (KBo 14.21 i 32 (NS)); inf.I *a-ap-pa-at-ri-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 28 (NS)), *a*[*p-pa-at-ri-u̯a-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 *$*h_1$ép-ti / *$*h_1$p-énti*

See HW^2 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 *eppuu̯eni* 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 *ā́pa* < *$*h_1$e-h_1(o)p-*), Lat. *apīscor* ‘to reach, to receive, to grab, to get’, *co-ēpī* ‘I have started, I have undertaken’ (*co-ēpi* < *$*h_1$e-h_1p-* and *ap-* from *$*h_1$h̥$_1$p-*, cf. Schrijver 1990: 28f.), reflecting a root *$*h_1$ep-* ‘to take, to seize’. According to Oettinger (1979a: 88), *epp-/app-* must reflect a Narten-inflection *$*h_1$é̯p-ti*, *$*h_1$ép-nti*, but this is improbable for a number of reasons. Firstly, 1sg.pret. *$*h_1$é̯p-m̥* should have given Hitt. **epun* /ʔébun/ and not *eppun* /ʔépun/. Secondly, *$*h_1$ép-nti* should have given Hitt. **eppanzi* /ʔépnt^{s}i/ and not *appanzi* /ʔpánt^{s}i/. I therefore reconstruct a normal root present *$*h_1$ép-ti*, *$*h_1$p-énti*.

The verb *appat(a)riu̯e/a-* is derived from the verb.noun *appātar* < *$*h_1$pótr̥*, and shows that synchronically the final *-ar* here phonologically still was /-r/, so *appātar* = /ʔpā́dr/.

See at *pai-/pi-* ‘to give’ for my view that that verb reflects *$*h_1$p-(o)i-*, derived from the root *$*h_1$ep-*.

er-: see *ār-^{i} / ar-*

-er (3pl.pret.act.-ending)

PIE *-*ēr*

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 = ḪA_6 (*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 *-ḫi-ir*, which in his view must be interpreted as /-Hir/. Since the sign ḪI nowadays can be read *ḫi* as well as *ḫe* (compare HZL 335), we are here as well allowed to read *-ḫe-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* (< *-*r̥*). The difference between *-*ēr* and *-*r̥* can be explained if we assume that reduplicated perfects had *-*r̥* (**Cé-CC-r̥*), whereas unreduplicated perfects had *-*ēr* (**CC-ḗr*). Since in my view the Hittite *ḫi*-verbs are the reflex of PIE unreduplicated perfects, I think that *-*ēr* > Hitt. *-er* originally was found in the *ḫi*-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 *ḫa-a-ni-i̯a-r=a-at* (Bo 6472, 12 (undat.)), *u̯̣-e̯-mi̯-i̯a̯-a̯r* (KUB 17.10 i 37 (MS)), *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-ar* (HKM 6 rev. 7 (MH/MS), although Neu still cites the incorrect *ša-ú-ši-i̯a-ar* of the edition (Alp 1991: 128)), *da$_x$-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$_x$-m*[*i-i*]*š-šer$_9$* and *pí-iš-ker$_8$* as well and therefore cannot be used as an argument, but he is right in claiming that *ḫānii̯ar*, *u̯emii̯ar* and *šapašii̯ar* 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, *ḫānii̯ar*, *u̯emii̯ar* and *šapašii̯ar* are just the result of the MH replacement of the suffix *-i̯e-* by *-i̯a-* in *-i̯e/a*-verbs. Just as OH *-i̯eši*, *-i̯ezi*, *-i̯ettani*, etc. are replaced by MH *-i̯aši*, *-i̯azi*, *-i̯atteni* (cf. my treatment of the *-i̯e/a*-class in § 2.2.2.1.o), the OH 3pl.pret.act.-form °*-i̯er* is in these forms replaced by *-i̯ar*. Of course, the ending *-er* was restored immediately, and the normal MH and NH 3pl.pret.-form in *-i̯e/a*-verbs is therefore *-i̯er*, although *-i̯aer* is occasionally attested as well (e.g. *a-ni-i̯a-er*, *a-ri-i̯a-er*, *ti-i̯a-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*$^!$ and *pár-ga-nu-úr*$^!$, 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- / araḫ- / 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-***^{zi}, ***arḫae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to go down the line, to circulate, to make the rounds, to treat in succesion, 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-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), *ir-ḫa-u-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *ir-ḫa-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *ir-ḫa-a-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *ir-ḫa-u-u̯a-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)), ***arḫaia(n)*** (adv.) 'separately, apart, especially, additionally' (*ar-ḫa-ia*, *ar-ḫa-ia-an*), ***araḫza*** (adv.) 'around; on the outside, away, absent, abroad' (*a-ra-aḫ-za* (OS)), ***araḫzanda*** (adv.) '(all) around' (*a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da* (OS), *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-ta*), ***araḫza-*** (adj.) 'alien' (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-za-aš* (NH)); ***araḫziia-*** (adj.) 'alien' (nom.sg.c. *a-ra-aḫ-zi-ia-aš* (NS)), ***araḫzena-*** (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-aḫ-*]*zé-ni-e-eš*, *a-ra-aḫ-zé-nu-uš* (NH), *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš*), ***araḫzenant-*** (adj.) 'id.' (nom.pl.c. *a-ra-aḫ-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. "FINES"*i+ra/i-há-za* (KARATEPE 1 §19 Ho., §30 Hu.), "FINES"*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 $*h_1erh_{2/3}$- / $*h_1rh_{2/3}$-

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-*ḫ*° can be interpreted as *ir-ḫ*° as well as as *er-ḫ*°. The absence of plene spelling (never **e-er-ḫ° or *i-ir-ḫ°) makes the matter difficult to decide.

The spelling of abl. *a-ra-aḫ-za* is remarkable. The fact that this word and its derivatives are never spelled **ar-aḫ-za* or **ar-ḫa-za* precludes an analysis "*arḫza*" (cf. e.g. /ualHt^{s}i/ 'he hits' that is spelled *u̯a-al-aḫ-zi* as well as *u̯a-la-aḫ-zi*). Instead, it is enevitable 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-ḫa-zi*, *pár-aḫ-zi* = /párHt^{s}i/ 'he chases' or *u̯a-al-aḫ-zi*, *u̯a-la-aḫ-zi* = /ualHt^{s}i/. I therefore assume that the stem *araḫ-* is to be taken seriously.

If these words are of IE origin, the alternation *e/irḫ-* : *araḫ-* : *arḫ-* must reflect ablaut. It is remarkable that all OS attestations of the noun show *arḫ-* or *araḫ-*, whereas the forms with *e/irḫ-* are found in MS and NS texts only. Nevertheless, the fact that the OS attestations of the derived verb *irḫae-*^{zi}, *arḫae-*^{zi} all show *e/irḫ-* indicates that the variant *e/irḫ-* 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 *erḫ-* : *araḫ-* : *arḫ-*. I therefore have read the sign IR as *er-* in the forms of the noun as cited above.

An ablauting pair *erḫ-* : *araḫ-* : *arḫ-* is not unproblematic, however, especially in view of the sound law "$*ĕRh_xV > aRRV$" as formulated by Melchert (1994a: 83) for PAnatolian. If this sound law is correct it is impossible that a Hitt. sequence *erḫ-* 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-* < $*enh_xisḱé/ó$- (compare my analysis of this imperfective at *aniu̯e/a-*^{zi}); *malla-* < $*melh_2$- (this verb is *ḫi*-inflected and

therefore must reflect **molh$_2$-*); *tarra-* < **terh$_2$o-* (see at *tarra-*$^{tta(ri)}$ for an alternative account); *-anna/i-* < **-enh$_2$i-* (I reconstruct this suffix as **-otn-(o)i-*); *ḫarra-* < **h$_2$erh$_3$o-* (here the *-a-* is due to the preceding **h$_2$*); *tarḫu-* < **terh$_2$u-* (I rather assume that *tarḫuzzi* /tárH^{w}t^{s}i/ < */térH^{w}ti/ in which *-a-* is due to the development **eRCC* > *aRCC*); *išparranzi* < **spérh$_1$n̥ti* (see at *išpār-*^{i} */ išpar-* and *išparra-*^{i} */ 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 *erḫa-* is that **VRHV* > *VRRV*, as is visible from e.g. *mallai* < **molh$_2$ei*, *išparrai* < **sporh$_{2/3}$ei*, etc. This can be solved by assuming that *arḫ-* reflects a zero-grade form, **CRHV*, where the laryngeal regularly was retained, and on the basis of which *-ḫ-* was restored in *erḫa-*.

All in all, if this noun is of IE origin, the ablaut-variants *erḫ-* : *araḫ-* : *arḫ-* can only go back to **h$_1$erh$_2$-* : **h$_1$reh$_2$-* : *h$_1$rh$_2$-*. From an Indo-European point of view, this ablaut is only comprehensible when it is interpreted as a hysterodynmically inflecting *h$_2$*-stem **h$_1$er-h$_2$-*: nom.sg. **h$_1$ér-h$_2$*, acc.sg. **h$_1$r-éh$_2$-m*, gen.sg. **h$_1$r-h$_2$-ós*. Because of the regular retention of **h$_2$* in the gen.sg.-form **h$_1$rh$_2$ós*, it was restored in the rest of the paradigm. This means that the synchronic *a*-stem noun *arḫa-*, *erḫa-* as attested in Hittite is a recent thematicization going back to virtual **h$_1$rh$_2$-o-* and **h$_1$erh$_2$-o-*. This is supported by the archaic abl. *a-ra-aḫ-za* that shows the ending **-z* attached directly to the stem and reflects virtual **h$_1$r-éh$_2$-ti*.

The derived verb *irḫae-*^{zi} must go back to virtual **h$_1$er-h$_2$-o-i̯é/ó-*. Because pretonic **-e-* yields Hitt. *-i-*, I have transliterated all forms of this verb with initial *ir-* in the overview above. The variant *arḫae-*^{zi} reflects **h$_1$r-h$_2$-o-i̯é/ó-*.

The HLuwian cognate *irḫa-* must show *i-* from pretonic **e-* (cf. Hajnal 1995: 63) and therefore go back to **h$_1$er-h$_2$-ó-*.

The reconstruction **h$_1$er-h$_2$-* : **h$_1$r-eh$_2$-* : **h$_1$r-h$_2$-* is based on inner-Anatolian reasoning only. Perhaps the root **h$_1$er-* is to be identified as the verbal root **h$_1$er-* 'to move horizontally', which is also found in Hitt. *ār-*^{i} */ ar-* 'to arrive' and *arnu-*^{zi} '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. *ārā́t* 'from afar, *ārá* 'far'), which then could reflect **h$_1$ōr-eh$_2$-* or **h$_1$o-h$_1$r-eh$_2$-*. Kimball (1999: 166) adduces Lith. *ìrti* "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$_2$* 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: ***armaniie/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$, ***ermaniie/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) ‘to be(come) ill’ (3sg.pres.midd. *ar-ma-ni-ia-at-ta* (KUB 4.72 rev. 3 (OS)); verb.noun *er-ma-ni-ia-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)), ***armaliie/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$, ***ermal(l)iie/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) ‘to be(come) ill; to afflict (with illness)’ (1sg.pres.midd.(?) *ar-m*[*a-li-ia-aḫ-ḫa-at*?] (KUB 1.16 ii 2 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *er-ma-li-ia-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-ia-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$_1$érmn*, **h$_1$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. *armaniiatta* ‘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)-* (*armaniiatta* (OS) vs. *ermaniiauuar* (NH); *armalaš* (OH/MS) vs. *ermalaš* (NH); *arm*[*aliiaḫḫat*] (OH/NS) vs. *ermaliiattat* (NH)), the noun iself only shows a stem *erman-*, which is attested multiple times in OS texts. HW^2 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 protero-dynamic inflection *$*h_1$érmn*, *$*h_1$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-^{zi}* '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[15]) suggests a relationship with Alb. *jerm* 'daze, stupor, sickness, etc.' and states that "the root is that of *$*(h_1)$er*- 'move' in the sense of 'be agitated'". Anoter 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 **$*h_1$erm*-).

eš-^{zi} / 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. *ẹ-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar* (KUB 24.7 i 55 (NS)), *e-šu-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 1.42 i 7, 8 (NS)), gen.sg. *e-šu-u̯a-aš* (KUB 26.43 obv. 11 (NH)).

Derivatives: see *ašnu-*^{zi} 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. ***ás- / 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 A5*a* §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*$_8$*-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 A11*a* §17), *sa-ta*$_x$ (TOPADA §3, §21), *sa-ta* (BOHÇA §6), *sa-tá-´* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §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*), *ahãma(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$_1$és-ti*, **h$_1$s-énti*

See HW^2 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-*^{zi} */ aš-* 'to be'. Neu (1983: 39), however, states that in

this case the use of the locatival enclitic particle *=šš(a)n* indicates that *e-eš-ši* belongs to the active paradigm of *eš-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to sit' and must be translated 'you sit in heaven' (thus also HW^2 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-u̯a-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-*aššš=a* (it could hardly be anything else), and if *=(i̯)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 *=šš(a)n* 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?/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^{MEŠ}[...] 'I [...](1sg.pret.) and the gods [...] me', (3)[...]*e̯-ep-pu-un* 'I took', (7) KASKAL^{MEŠ}=*ŠU u̯a-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^2 (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. *e̯-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^s/, 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-*^{zi} */ aš-* is fully clear, of course: PIE **h$_1$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 /ʔést^{s}i/, /ʔsánt^{s}i/ from **h$_1$és-ti*, **h$_1$s-énti*. See at

eš-$^{a(ri)}$ */ 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-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘to seat’ and *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-* ‘to sit’.

See Kloekhorst (2004: 41f.) for a detailed treatment of the HLuw. verb *ás-* ‘to be’ and its aphaeresis.

eš-$^{a(ri)}$ ***/ aš-*** (IIIa; Ia3) ‘(midd.) to sit down, to seat oneself; (+ *=šš̆an*) to sit; (act.) to sit, to reside; (trans.) to settle’ (Sum. TUŠ): 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-u̯a-aš-ta* (OS), *e-šu-aš-ta* (KBo 16.24+25 i 82/71 (MH/MS)), *e-šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-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.$^{?}$ 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^{MEŠ}) '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-^{zi}*** (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. ***ás-*** '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* (KARKAMIŠ 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. ^{SOLIUM}*á-sa-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §10); verb.noun nom.sg. SOLIUM+*MI-ia-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §36 Hu.)), ***isnu(wa)-*** 'to seat, to settle' (1sg.pret.act. ^{SOLIUM}*i-sà-nu-há* (KARATEPE 1 §31 Ho.), ^{SOLIUM}*i-s*[*à*]*-nú-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §47 Hu.), $^{SOLIUM+MI}$*i-sà-nu-ha* (KÖRKÜN §5), $^{"SOLIUM"}$*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha* (MARAŞ 1 §4), ^{SOLIUM}*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §20, BOYBEYPINARI 2 §1), ^{SOLIUM}*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §31 Hu., KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §17, KARABURÇLU line 3, GÜRÜN §3b, TELL AHMAR 2 §10), $^{"SOLIUM"}$*i-sà-nu-wà/ì-há-´* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Ho.), $^{SOLIUM+MI}$*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §16), 3pl.pres.act. ^{SOLIUM}*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §54 Ho.), 3sg.pret.act. $^{"SOLIUM"}$*i-sà-nu-wa/i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §3), 3pl.pret.act. ^{SOLIUM}*i-sà-nú-wa/i-ta* (MARAŞ 1 §3)), ***ása-*** (c.) 'seat' (nom.sg. $^{"MENSA.SOLIUM"}$*á-sa-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §25), acc.sg. $^{"MENSA.SOLIUM"}$*á-sa-na* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §24), $^{"MENSA.SOLIUM"}$*á-sa-na-´* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §8), $^{"SOLIUM"}$*sa-na* (HAMA 4 §5, §6), dat.-loc.sg. $^{SOLIUM.MI}$*á-sa* (KARAHÖYÜK §4), SOLIUM-*sa-´* (HAMA 4 §8), $^{"SOLIUM}$[$^{"}$]*sa* (HAMA 5 §5)), ***istarta-*** (n.) 'throne' (nom.-acc.sg. ^{THRONUS}*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. ^{THRONUS}*i-sà-tara/i-ti-i* (MARAŞ 1 §3, MARAŞ 4 §17), $^{"THRONUS"}$*i-sà-tara/i-tí-i* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Ho.), $^{"THRONUS"}$*i-sà-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §16 Hu.), THRONUS-*tara/i-ti* (IZGIN 1 §2)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ā́ste* ‘to sit, to live, to settle, to abide, to continue’, *āsa-* (n.) ‘seat’, YAv. *āh-* ‘to sit’, Gr. ἧσται ‘to sit’.

PIE **h_1éh_1s-o*, **h_1éh_1s-nto*; **$h_1$és-ti*, **h_1s-énti*

See HW^2 E: 97f. for attestations. Already Hrozný (1919: XIII, 14) connected this verb with Gr. ἧσται ‘to sit’ and Skt. *ā́ste* ‘to sit’. These latter forms seem to reflect **h_1éh_1s-to*, displaying a root **h_1eh_1s-*. Because this structure is quite remarkable, it is generally assumed that **h_1eh_1s-* must reflect an old reduplication **h_1e-h_1s-* of a root **$h_1$es-* ‘to sit’ (cf. LIV^2). This root **$h_1$es-* is identical to **$h_1$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-*$^{a(ri)}$ besides an active stem *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-*. Usually, the middle paradigm *ešari* / *ešantari* is interpreted as reflecting **h_1éh_1s-o*, **h_1éh_1s-nto*. The active stem *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-* is formally identical to *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-* ‘to be’ (and, as we saw above, historically as well), and therefore is best regarded as reflecting **$h_1$és-ti*, **h_1s-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. ^{SOLIUM}*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/ < **$h_1$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_1-*, Starke reconstructs /isai/ as **h_1e$h_1$so*. Melchert (1994a: 265) claims that **-eh_1-* 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^{h}és-*), the stem *is-* could also be regarded as the outcome of the unreduplicated stem **$h_1$es-* in pretonic position. In the verb *isnu(wa)-* this is certainly possible (< virtual **$h_1$es-néu-*) and in *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* probably as well (< **$h_1$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_1s-énto* and the noun *á-sa-* 'seat' in my view must reflect **h_1s-o-* (in which the initial preconsonantal /ʔ-/ 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_1-* in Luwian. If one follows Starke in assuming that **-eh_1-* > Luw. *-i-*, *isnu(wa)-* and *i-sà-tara/i-ta-* can reflect **h_1eh_1s-n(e)u-* and **h_1eh_1s-tro-*. If one follows Melchert in assuming that **-eh_1-* > Luw. *-ā-*, one must reconstruct **$h_1$es-néu-* and **$h_1$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 °*Ce-eš* (e.g. *la-a-le-eš*, *li-in-ki-i̯a-an-te-eš*, *a-re-eš*, *ku-ú-še-eš*, *pal-u̯a-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. *ḫa-a-pí-e-eš*, *ma-a-ri-e-eš*, *pal-ḫa-a-e-eš*, *ap-pé-ez-zi-e-eš*, *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-e-eš*, *ku-i-e-eš*, *ḫar-ša-e-eš*). In my view, the plene *-e-* in these cases much more likely denotes the hiatus than a long vowel. So *pal-ḫa-a-e-eš* = /pÍHāes/, *ḫa-a-pí-e-eš* = /hā́bies/, *ḫar-ša-e-eš* = /Hŕsāes/, etc. In cases like *iš-ḫe-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 /ʔisHés/ and /sumés/. In younger times, we do find some spellings °*Ce-e-eš* (e.g. *pal-u̯a-at-ta-al-le-e-eš*, *ḫu-uḫ-ḫe-e-eš*), but these are much less common than °*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 *išḫēš* and *šumēš*), and since unaccentuated /e/ reflects **-ē-*, we must assume that the ending *-eš* reflects a pre-form **-ēs*.

In younger times, we sometimes find spellings like °*Ci-eš*, °*Ce-iš* and °*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:

**CV́C-ei-es* and **CV́C-eu-es*

(3) contraction of **-eie-* to *-ē-*:

**CV́C-ēs* and **CV́C-eu-es*

(4) restoration of suffix-syllable *-ei-* in the *i*-stem adjective on the basis of e.g. acc.pl.c. **CV́C-ei-us*:

**CV́C-ei-ēs* and **CV́C-eu-es*

(5) spread of the marked nom.pl.c.-ending *-ēs* throughout the other nominal stems:

**CV́C-ei-ēs* and **CV́C-eu-ēs*

(6) weakening of posttonic **e* in open syllable to *-a-* and subsequent shortening of unaccentuated **ē* to *e*:

**CV́Caies* and *CV́Ca̯es*

(7) loss of intervocalic **i* with lengthening of the preceding vowel:

CV́Cāeš and *CV́Ca̯eš*

-ēšš-^{zi} (“fientive”-suffix)
PIE **-éh₁-sh₁-*

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: *araa̯ēšš-*^{zi} ‘to become free’ from *araa̯ant-* (adj.) ‘free’; *ḫarkia̯ēšš-*^{zi} ‘to become white’ from *ḫarki- / ḫargai-* (adj.) ‘white’; *idalaa̯ēšš-*^{zi} ‘to become bad’ from *idālu- / idālaa̯-* (adj.) ‘evil’; *makkēšš-*^{zi} ‘to become numerous’ from *mek*, *mekki- / mekkai-* (adj.) ‘numerous’ (note the zero-grade formation); *mīēšš-*^{zi} ‘to be(come) mild’ from *mīu- / mīa̯au-* ‘soft, mild’; *parkēšš-*^{zi} ‘to become tall’ from *parku- / pargau-* (adj.)

'high'; *parkuēšš-*^{zi} 'to become tall' from *parku- / pargau̯-* (adj.) 'high'; *tepau̯ēšš-*^{zi} 'to become little' from *tēpu- / tēpau̯-* (adj.) 'little'. For verbs, compare: *ḫatēšš-*^{zi} 'to become dry' from *ḫāt-*^{i} */ ḫat-* 'to dry up'; *miēšš-*^{zi} 'to grow' from *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* 'to grow'; *tukkēšš-*^{zi} 'to be important' from *tukk-*^{āri} 'to be important'. For nouns, compare: *šaknēšš-*^{zi} '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 *°*ēššti*), °*ēšzi*, *°*ēššuu̯eni*, °*ēšteni*, °*ēššanzi*). Note the difference between *tepau̯ēšš-*, *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 *$*-eh_1$-*, just as in Latin we find the inchoative suffix *-ēscere* (e.g. *rubēscere* 'to become red'), which in his view reflects *$*-eh_1$-sḱe/o-* (the stative suffix *$*-eh_1$-* itself is also sporadically attested in Hittite: *nakke-*^{zi}, *papre-*^{zi}, *parkue-*^{zi} and *šulle-*^{zi}, cf. the treatment of this class in § 2.2.2.1.l). Nevertheless, as we can see from *$*h_1éh_1s$-o* > Hitt. *eša* 'to seat', a reconstruction *$*-éh_1$-s-* cannot explain the geminate *-šš-* found in *-ēšš-*. In my view, this means that we must reconstruct *$*-éh_1$-sh_1-* in which the element *$*-sh_1$-* must be compared with the imperfective-suffix *-šš(a)-* that reflects *$*-s(o)h_1$-*. Just as the Hittite imperfective suffixes *-šš(a)-* < *$*-s(o)h_1$-* and *-šḱe/a-* < *-sḱe/o-* are functionally equal, we can now even better understand that the Hittite fientive suffix *-ēšš-* < *$*-éh_1$-sh_1-* is functionally equal to the Latin suffix *-ēscere* < *$*-eh_1$-sḱe/o-*.

ēšša-^{i} ***/ ēšš-*** : see *īšša-*^{i} */ īšš-*

-ešš(a)- ("imperfective"-suffix): see *-šš(a)-*

ēššari-: see *ēšri-*

^{SÍG}***ēššari-***: see ^{SÍG}*ēšri-*

ēšḫa-: see *išḫā-*

ēšḫaḫru-: see *išḫaḫru-*

ešḫar / išḫan- (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? 3 (OH/NS), HFAC 40 obv.? 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: ***išḫanuu̯ant-***, ***ēšḫanuu̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘bloody’ (nom.sg.c. *iš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 13.131 iii 14 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *e-eš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-ta* (HT 1 i 30 (NS), KUB 9.31 i 37 (fr.) (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-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-***^{zi}, ***ēšḫarnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make bloody; to dye blood-red’

(1sg.pres.act. *e*[-*eš-ḫar-nu-*]*mi* (KUB 14.1+ obv. 27 (MH/MS)), *e-eš-ḫar-nu*[-*mi*] (KUB 14.1+ rev. 47 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *e-eš-ḫar-nu-zi* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 30 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫar-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 6.34+ iii 47 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *e-eš-ḫar-nu-ut* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 18 (MH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *e-eš-ḫar-nu-ut-tén* (KUB 14.1+ rev. 29, 65 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-ḫar-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (OH/NS); impf. *iš-ḫar-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 12.126 + KUB 24.9 i 38 (OH/NS), KUB 30.36 iii 1 (MH/NS)), *e-eš-ḫar-nu-uš-ke/a-* (Bo 2709 ii 8 (NS))), ***ēšḫarnumae-***^{zi}, ***išḫarnumae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to make bloody, to smear with blood' (3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫar-nu-ma-iz-zi* (KBo 5.1 i 26 (MH/NS), KUB 15.31 ii 23 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫar-nu-ma-a-iz-zi* (KUB 15.32 ii 18 (MH/NS), KBo 13.114 iii 3 (MH/NS)) 3pl.pres.act. *e-eš-ḫar-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 iv 39 (NS)), *iš-ḫar-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-ḫar-nu-ma-a-an-zi* (KBo 14.127 iv 3 (fr.), 7 (fr.), 9 (fr.) (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *e-eš-ḫar-nu-ma-it* (KBo 35.198 rev. 7), 1pl.pret.act. *iš-ḫar-‹nu-›ma-u-en* (KBo 13.101 i 5 (MH/NS)); inf.I *e-eš-ḫar-nu-ma-a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 24.45 rev. 11 (MS?), KBo 27.202, 9 (fr.) (NS))), ***ēšḫaru̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make blood-red' (impf.3sg.pres.midd. *e-eš-ḫar-u̯a-aḫ*[-*ḫi-eš-ke-et-ta*] (KBo 15.1 i 27 (NS))), ***išḫaru̯ant-*** (adj.) 'bloody' (acc.sg.c. *iš-ḫar-u̯a-an-da-an* (KUB 9.34 i 26 (NS), KUB 17.15 iii 2 (fr.) (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫar-u̯a-an-ti* (KUB 36.89 obv. 13 (fr.), rev. 1 (NS)), all.sg. *iš-ḫar-u̯a-an-da* (KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 14 (OH/NS), KUB 34.76 i 3 (OH/NS)), instr. [*iš-*]*ḫar-u̯a-an-te-e*[*t*] (KBo 17.25 rev. 14 (OS)), nom.pl.c. [*i*]*š-ḫar-u̯a-an-te-eš* (KBo 8.74 + 19.156 + KUB 32.117 + 35.93 iii 3 (OS)), acc.pl.c. *iš-ḫar-u̯a-an-tu-uš* (KBo 17.1 + 25 3 i 25 (OS)), nom.-acc.pl.n. *iš-ḫar-u̯a-an-ta* (KBo 30.39 + 25 139 + KUB 35.164 rev. 17 (OS))), ***išḫaru̯ieške/a-***^{zi} (Ic6) 'to be blood-red' (3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫar-ú-i-eš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 28.6 obv. 11b (NS))), ***išḫaru̯ul***, ***ēšḫaru̯ul*** (n. or adj.) 'blood-red (object)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-ḫar-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-ḫar-ú-u̯i*$_5$*-i*[*l*] (KBo 27.32, 4 (NS)), *e-eš-ḫar-ú-i-il* (KUB 9.4 ii 5 (NS), KUB 7.13 obv. 14 (NS))), ***išḫanallēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become a blood-shedder (?)' (3sg.pres.midd. *iš-ḫa-na-al-le*$_x$*-eš-ta-at* (1490/u, 11 (NS)), *iš-ḫa-na-al-li-iš-t*[*a-at*] (1490/u, 6 (NS))), ***išḫanattalla-*** (c.) 'blood-shedder, murderer (?)' (nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-aš* (Bo 4222 (see KUB 21.19) rev. 8 (NH))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***āšḫar*** (n.) 'blood' (nom.-acc.sg. *a-aš-ḫar-ša*, [*a-*]*aš-ḫa-ar*), ***āšḫarnu-*** 'to bloody' (part. *a-aš-ḫar-nu-um-m*[*i-*]), ***āšḫarnummai-*** (adj.) 'covered with blood' (nom.pl.c. *a-aš-ḫar-nu-um-ma-in-zi*), ***āšḫanu̯ant(i)-*** (adj.) 'bloody' (nom.sg.c. *a-aš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-ti-iš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *aš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-ta*); HLuw. ***ásharmi-*** (c.) 'offering(?)' (nom.sg. /ʔasharmis/ "*350" *á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà*),

áshanantisa- (n.) ‘blood-offering’ (nom.-acc.sg. /ʔshanantisantˢa/ *á-sa-ha-na-ti-sa-za* (lit. a substantivized gen.adj. of a noun **ʔshanant(i)-* ~ Hitt. *išḫanant-*, ‘that of blood’).

PAnat. **ʔésHr*, **ʔsHanós*

IE cognates: Skt. *ásṛk*, *asnás* ‘blood’, TochA *ysār* ‘blood’, TochB *yasar* ‘blood’, Gr. ἔαρ ‘blood’, Latv. *asins* ‘blood’, Lat. *sanguen/sanguis*, *sanguinis* ‘blood’.

PIE **$h_1$ésh$_2$-r*, **$h_1$sh$_2$-én-s*

See HW^2 E: 115f. for attestations. The oldest attestations show that the paradigm originally was nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḫar*, gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-i*. The spelling nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫar* is found in NS texts only. In the case of the oblique cases, the spelling *e-eš-ḫa-n-* is predominantly NS, too, except for one possible MS spelling *e-eš-ḫa-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 *-ḫ-* 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 *-ḫ-* is not written must be regarded as spelling errors. The form *e-eš-šar* (KUB 41.8 iii 9) duplicates *e-eš-ḫar* (KBo 10.45 iii 18) and therefore must mean ‘blood’. It contrasts with the spelling *e-eš-ḫar* 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-ḫa-na-aš* (KBo 10.45 iii 1), and therefore must mean ‘of blood’. It contrasts with the manyfold spellings *e-eš-ḫa-n*° 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‹-ḫa›na-aš* (cf. *tar-ša‹-an›-zi-pí* in the same line). All in all, I only reckon with the forms *ēšḫar* (*išḫar*) and *išḫan-* (*ēšḫan-*).

Since Ribezzo (1920: 128), *ēšḫar* / *išḫan-* has generally been connected with Skt. *ásṛk*, *asnás* ‘blood’, Gr. ἔαρ ‘blood’, etc. Opinions on the exact reconstruction differs, however. If we compare nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḫar* to Skt. *ásṛk* and Gr. ἔαρ, we can hardly reconstruct anything else than **$h_1$ésh$_2$r*. Nevertheless, for instance Melchert (1984a: 92) reconstructs **h_1é̯sh$_2$r*, apparently on the basis of the plene spelling *e-eš-*. This argument can be refuted if we compare e.g. *e-eš-mi* < **$h_1$ésmi*. Moreover, CLuw. nom.-acc.sg. *āšḫar(ša)* points to **$h_1$ésh$_2$r*, as ***h_1é̯sh$_2$r* would have yielded CLuw. ***īšḫar* (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 **ʔesH-*, **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 /ɨsH-/, spelled *iš-ḫa-*. I know of no other example, however, where a pre-Hittite ablaut **ʔe-*, *Ø-* was retained (in verbs with initial *h_1-, for example, the initial laryngeal was restored, e.g. *ašanzi* < *h_1*senti*), so this scenario may not be very likely. If the *h_1- was restored, we would expect that pre-Hitt. **ʔsH-* 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. *paḫḫuenaš* 'fire' < *peh_2u-en-os* << *ph_2u-en-s*), giving pre-Hitt. **ʔesH-*. 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^2 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 /ʔisHn̰ās/, 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* /párHtˢi/. 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 /ʔisHan̰ās/, 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-ḫar*, *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš* must reflect (virtual) **h₁ésh₂r*, **h₁esh₂enós*, from PIE **h₁ésh₂r*, **h₁sh₂éns*. Note that the full grade suffix syllable is still visible in Lat. *sanguen* < **h₁sh₂en-*. The phenomenon that in synchronic Hittite we find a hysterodynamic accentuation of an original proterodynamic word is also found in *uttar / uddan-* 'word' and $^{(GI,\ GIŠ)}$*pattar / pattan-* 'basket'. Note that this is not the case in e.g. *u̯ātar*, *u̯itenaš* 'water' and *paḫḫur*, *paḫḫuenaš* 'fire' that both are original proterodynamic *r/n*-stems, too, but still show show accentuation on the suffix syllable in the oblique cases (/uɨdénas/ and /paH^{w}énas/). It cannot be coincidental that in all three words of the first group, *išḫan-*, *uddan-* and *pattan-*, the original **e* of the suffix syllable has been coloured to *-a-* due to a preceding **h₂* (**h₁sh₂-en-*, **uth₂-en-*, **pth₂-en-*), whereas in *u̯iten-* and *paḫḫuen-* 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 *išḫ-* in the older texts, which is being replaced by *ēšḫ-* 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 *ēšḫaškant-*, *išḫaškant-* shows a spelling *e-eš-ḫa-aš-k-* in OS already (besides *iš-ḫa-aš-k-* as well in OS, however). Note that besides the old adjective *išḫaru̯ant-* (attested in OS texts a few times), we find a younger *išḫanuu̯ant-* in NS texts, which seems to have to be equated with CLuw. *ašḫanuu̯ant(i)-* (note that Kimball (1999: 356) incorrectly cites *išḫanuu̯ant-* as a form in which *-r-* has been sporadically lost: the adjective is not a participle of the verb *išḫarnu-*^{zi}, but rather reflects **h₁esh₂en-u̯ent-* 'having blood'). On the basis of *išḫaru̯ant-*, however, the stem *išḫaru̯-* received some productivity, resulting in forms like *ēšḫaru̯aḫḫ-*, *išḫaru̯ieške/a-* (as if from a verb *išḫaru̯iie/a-* or *išḫaru̯ae-*), and *išḫaru̯īl*.

ešḫarrieškeddu : read *še*$^{!}$*-ḫur-ri-eš-ke-ed-du,* see under *šeḫur*

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-i̯a* (KUB 9.28 iv 5), instr. *e-eš-ša-ri-t=a-at=kán* (KUB 24.13 ii 7).

PIE **h₁es-ri-*

This word must be separated from ^{SÍG}*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-*^{zi} */ ad-* 'to eat' and *au-*^{i} */ u-* 'to see' respectively, *ēšri-* must be a derivative of the verb *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-* 'to be' (q.v.) and reconstructed as **h*$_1$*es-ri-*. The spelling *e-eš-ša-ri-* points to /ʔéSri-/, in which the single *-s-* of **h*$_1$*es-* has been fortited to /S/ due to the adjacent *-r-*.

The suffix *-ri-* is of PIE date as we can see in Skt. *áśri-* 'sharp edge, angle' ~ Gr. ἄκρις 'mountain top' < **h*$_2$*ék-ri-* (cf. Brugmann 1906: 381-4).

^{SÍG}***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 ^{SÍG}*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-^{zi} ***/ ad-*** (Ia3 > IIa1γ) '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-u̯a-ni* (Bo 5709 obv. 10 (NS)), *e-du-u̯a-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 $^{(\text{NINDA})}$*edri-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***ad-*** 'to eat' (3pl.pres.act. *a-ta-a-an-ti*, *a-da-a-an*[*-ti*$^{?}$], 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-u̯a-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. /ʔadantu/ *á-tà-tu-u* (SULTANHAN §33, KAYSERİ §12), *a+ra/i-tu* (KULULU 5 §11), EDERE-*tú* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §32), inf. /ʔaduna/ ^{EDERE}*á-ru-na* (ÇİFTLİK §16), *á-ru*$^{?}$*-na* (? TOPADA §31), part. "EDERE"-*tà-mi-i-sa* 'eating' (KULULU 2 §3); broken *á-ta-*[...] (KARKAMIŠ A13*a-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$_1$éd-ti / *h$_1$d-énti*

See HW^2 E: 128f. for attestations. The original paradigm of this verb was /ʔédmi, ʔédSi, ʔédst^{s}i, ʔduéni, ʔdsténi, ʔdánt^{s}i/. In NS texts, we find a few forms that seem to show a stem *ezza-*^{i} 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-ši*) = /ʔédSi/ > **h$_1$éd-si*, *azzašteni* = /ʔdsténi/ < **h$_1$d-th$_1$éni*. It has been claimed that the HLuwian form $^{\text{"*471"}}$*á-za-i* (BABYLON 1 §10) shows a similar formation as *ezz(a)-*^{i}, but the meaning of this form is not assured.

The etymological connection with e.g. Skt. *ad-*, Gr. ἐδ-, 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* (< **ėsti*) and Lat. 3sg.pres.act. *ēst*, it has been assumed that the PIE root *$*h_1ed$-* originally was 'Narten-inflected': *$*h_1ēd$-/h_1ed-* (e.g. LIV^2). Oettinger (1979a: 89) therefore assumes that the Hittite paradigm is a remodelling of *$*h_1ḗd$-ti / *$h_1éd$-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-u̯a-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 *eduu̯āni/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 *$*h_1éd$-ti*, *$*h_1d$-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* < **ėsti*) are due to Winter's Law, whereas the long vowel in Lat. *ēst* 'eats' (but short in *ĕdō* 'I eat'!) is due to Lachmann's Law. We therefore are dealing with a perfect exemple of a PIE root-present with *$*e/Ø$*-ablaut: *$*h_1éd$-ti / *h_1d-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/.

(NINDA)*edri-* (n.) 'food' (Sum. ŠÀ.GAL): nom.-acc.sg. *e-et-ri*, nom.-acc.pl. *e-et-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$, *et-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$.

Derivatives: ***edriḭe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to feed' (impf.3sg.pres.act. *e-et-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi*), ***edriḭanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to feed(?)' (impf.3sg.pret.act. *e-et-ri-i̯a-nu-uš-ke-e*[$t^?$] (KUB 39.41 rev. 15)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***ádri(a)-*** 'to feed(?)' (3pl.imp.act. EDERE-*tà-ri+i-tu* (MALPINAR §7)).

PIE *$*h_1ed$-ri-*

Just like *auri-* 'lookout' and *ēšri-* 'image' are derived from *au-*^{i} / *u-* and *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-*, *edri-* 'food' is a derivative in *-ri-* from the verb *ed-*^{zi} / *ad-* 'to eat' (q.v.). See at *ēšri-* for more information on the suffix *-ri-*.

euk-^{zi} : see *eku-*^{zi} */ aku-*

$^{(UDÚL)}$***eu̯an-*** (n.) a kind of grain; (with det. UDÚL) soup of a kind of grain: nom.-acc.sg. *e-u̯a-an* (KBo 4.2 i 10, KBo 11.14 i 6, IBoT 3.96 i 12, FHL 4, 12), *e-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-na-aš* (KBo 10.34 i 13, 21 (MH/NS)), *e-u-u̯a-aš* (KBo 13.227 i 13 (OH/NS), KUB 29.6+ ii 9 (NS), KUB 7.55 obv. 6 (NS)), instr. *e-u-u̯a-ni-i*[*t*] (KUB 51.48, 14 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *yáva-* 'grain, corn, crop, barley', Lith. *jãvas* 'grainplant', Lith. *javaī* 'grain', Gr. ζειαί 'spelt'.

PIE **iéu-on-* ?

See HW^2 E: 141 for attestations. In the oblique cases, we find forms that point to a stem *eu̯a-* (gen.sg. *eu̯aš*) and forms that point to a stem *eu̯an-* (gen.sg. *euu̯anaš* and inst. *euu̯anit*). Because all forms are attested in NS texts, we cannot determine on the basis of diachronical ordenings 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-pí-it e-u-u̯a-an-n=a šu-uḫ-ḫa-er nu pa-ak-ku-uš-kán-zi* 'they have strewn *šeppit* and *euu̯a-* and crush it' it is likely, however, that *eu̯an-*, just as *šeppitt-* (q.v.), denotes some kind of grain. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 320) interprets the word as 'barley' (which cannot be ascertained, however, cf. HW^2 (l.c.)) and plausibly connects it with Skt. *yáva-* 'grain', Gr. ζειαί 'spelt' and Lith. *javaī* 'grain', reconstructing **iéuo-*. Since I regard the *n*-stem as more original, I would adapt this reconstruction to **ieu̯-on-*. Because in Hittite only initial **i-* drops in front of *e* (cf. *eka-* 'ice' < **iego-*) whereas **Hie-* yields *i̯-* (cf. *i̯anzi* 'they go' < **h$_1$ienti*), we cannot reconstruct **Hieuo-*, which is sometimes done by scholars who assume that **Hi̯-* > Gr. ζ-. Nevertheless, since the exact meaning of *eu̯an-* has not been established, we must regard this etymology with caution.

ezza-^{i} : see *ed-*^{zi} */ ad-*

Ḫ

ḫā-^{zi} / ḫ- (Ia2 > Ic2) ‘to believe, to trust, to be convinced’: 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ši*, 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-iš*, 2pl.pret.act. *ḫa-at-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a*, part. *ḫa-a-an-t-*.

IE cognates: ?Lat. *ōmen* ‘omen’.

PIE *h_3eH-, *h_2eh_3-

See HW^2 (Ḫ: 1) for semantics and attestations. This verb often is cited as *ḫai-* (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 9) or *ḫae-* (Oettinger 1979a: 360f.), but the bulk of the attestations point to a stem *ḫā-*. We only once find a form that seems to show a stem *ḫai-* (2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-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^2 l.c.), but this is not necessarily so. The verb *lā-^{i} / l-* (q.v.) must have been *ḫi*-inflected originally, whereas in the case of *ḫā-* there is no indication for this (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 361^{211}). In my opinion, the fact that *ḫā-* has an initial *ḫ-* points to original *mi*-inflection as both *h_2e- and *h_3e- yields Hitt. *ḫa-*, but *h_2o- and *h_3o- > Hitt. *a-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). If 2pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-tén* belongs to this paradigm (so Oettinger, but HW^2 states that this form hardly can mean ‘to trust, to believe’), then we see an ablaut *ḫā-/ḫ-*.

Formally, *ḫā-^{zi} / ḫ-* must reflect *$h_{2/3}eH$-. 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 *$h_{2/3}eH$- was *h_3. Semantically, however, the connection is not without problems.

-ḫḫa (1sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫa(ri)*

(GIŠ)*ḫāḫḫall-* (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: **MUNUS*ḫaḫḫallalla-*** (c.) a female functionary (nom.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-(al-)la-al-le-eš*), ***ḫaḫḫalieške/a-****zi* (Ic6) ‘to become yellow(green)’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-li-eš-ke-et*), ***ḫaḫḫaluu̯ant-*** ‘?’ (dat.-loc.sg. ≮ *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-lu-u̯a-an-ti*), ***ḫaḫlaḫḫ-****i* (IIb) ‘to make yellow(green)’ (impf.3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-iš-k*[*e-et*]), ***ḫaḫlanieške/a-****zi* (Ic6) ‘to make yellow(green)’ (3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-aḫ-la-n*[*i-eš-k*]*er*), ***ḫaḫlau̯ant-*** (n.) ‘the yellow’ (nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-aḫ-la-u-u̯a-an-da*), ***ḫaḫlimma-*** (c.) ‘jaundice(?)’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-aḫ-li-im-ma-aš*), ***ḫaḫliu̯ant-*** (SIG_7-*u̯ant-*) (adj.) ‘yellow(green)’ (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-aḫ-li-u-u̯a-an-za*).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 3 for semantics and attestations. In OS texts, the stem of this word is *ḫāḫḫall-*, whereas in younger texts we find *ḫaḫḫall-*. Most derivatives show a syncopated stem *ḫaḫl-*. The only gloss wedged form, *ḫaḫḫaluu̯anti*, of which the meaning is not clear, is regarded by HW^2 Ḫ: 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.

-ḫḫaḫari (1sg.pres.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫa(ri)*

-ḫḫaḫaru (1sg.imp.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫaru*

-ḫḫaḫati (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫat(i)*

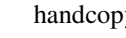
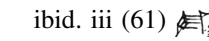
ḫai(n)k-*tta(ri)*, ***ḫink-****a(ri)*; ***ḫi(n)k-****zi* (IIIh; Ib3) ‘(act. trans.) to bestow, to offer; (act. intr.) to bow; (midd.) to bow’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-ik-t*[*a-ri*] (OS) // [*ḫa-i*]*k-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ḫa-ik-ta* (OH/MS), *ḫé-ek-ta* (OS), *ḫi-ik-ta* (MS), *ḫi-in-ga* (OS), *ḫi-in-ga-ri* (MH/MS), *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-u̯a-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), [*ḫi*]-*in-ik-ta* (NS), *ḫe-en-ik-ta* (MH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫi-in-ku-u-e-en* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫi-in-ker* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫi-in-ga* (NH), *ḫi-in-i*[*k*] (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫi-in-kán-du* (MH/NS); verb.noun *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), *ḫi-in-ku-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *ḫé-en-ku-u̯a-aš* (OS), *ḫe-en-ku-u̯a-aš* (NS), *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS); inf.I *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS); impf. *ḫi-in-ga-aš-ke/a-* (OS), *ḫi-in-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḫi-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***ḫengur / ḫengun-*** (n.) 'gift, offering' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫé-en-gur* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫé-en-ku-ni* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-ri* (NS)), ****ḫinkatar / ḫinkann-*** (n.) 'gift' (dat.-loc.sg. IGI.DU$_8$.A-*an-ni* (NS)), ***ḫinganu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to make bow' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫi-in-ga-nu-zi* (NS)), ^{LÚ}***ḫinkula-*** (c.) 'offerant' (nom.sg. *ḫi-in-ku-la-aš* (OH/NS)), see *ḫenkan-*.

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 *ḫik-* and *ḫink-* (assuming that the spellings *ḫi-in-ik-zi* and *ḫi-in-ga-zi* and the hapax *ḫi-ni-ik-zi* stand for /Hinkt^{s}i/). In the older texts (MS) these show a clear distribution between *ḫik-C* and *ḫink-V* (compare e.g. *li(n)k-^{zi}*, *ḫarni(n)k-^{zi}*, *ištarni(n)k-^{zi}*, etc.). In the younger texts (NS) this distribution is given up, and we here find /Hinkmi/ and /Hinkt^{s}i/ here as well. Only once, in a NS text, we find a form, *ḫi-in-ki-ez-zi*, which seems to show a stem *ḫinki̯e/a-^{zi}*, according to the very productive *-i̯e/a-*class. In the middle paradigm, the stems *ḫik-* and *ḫink-* are found as well, again showing *ḫik-C* vs. *ḫink-V*. The stem *ḫenk-* 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 *ḫik-C*, *ḫink-V* and *ḫenk-*, we occasionally find the stems *ḫaink-* and *ḫaik-* as well, which show the same distribution regarding the presence or absence of *-n-*: *ḫaik-C* vs. *ḫaink-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 () for the sign E () (only two vertical strokes missing). These two examples are therefore not cogent. The third example, *ma-ik-ka$_4$-uš* 'many' (KUB 26.1 iii 58 (NH)) instead of expected *me-ek-ka$_4$-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 *ḫaik-* and *ḫaink-* do not have to be taken seriously and should be interpreted as standing for *ḫek-* and *ḫenk-* 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$_4$-uš*". If we look closely at this form in the handcopy of KUB 26.1,  , we see that it in fact does not read *ma-ik-ka$_4$-uš*, but rather *ku-ik-ka$_4$-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)  = *šu-u̯m-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$_4$-uš* can only be regarded as a (rather big) scribal mistake for correct *me-ek-ka$_4$-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 *ḫaik-* and *ḫaink-* must be taken seriously phonetically. They show that the original stem was *ḫai(n)k-*. Already in OS times this *ḫai(n)k-* was contracted to *ḫe(n)k-* and slightly later on it became *ḫi(n)k-* on the basis of the raising of *-e-* in front of *-nk-*. In NH times, the stem *ḫink-* developed into *ḫenk-* again due to the NH lowering of OH /i/ to /e/ before *-n-*.

The original stem *ḫai(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 *ḫenk-*. In order to explain the *-e-* that is adjacent

to *ḫ-*, the magic wand of Eichner's Law is used and *ḫenk-* is subsequently reconstructed as **h₂ēnK-*. E.g Oettinger (1979a: 175f., referring to Pedersen 1938: 183f.) connects "*ḫenk-*" with Gr. ἀνάγκη 'fate' and OIr. *écht* 'killing' and reconstructs **h₂ēnk-*. The semantic connection between Hitt. "*ḫenk-*" 'to bestow' and Gr. 'fate' and Ir. 'killing' is explained through the "semantische Bindeglied" *ḫenkan-* '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 **h₁neḱ-*.

In my view, the original stem *ḫai(n)k-* can only reflect **h₂/₃einK-*. 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-infixed stem of a root **h₂/₃eiK-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that the only other secure example of a nasal-infixed stem of a root **CeiK-* shows the structure *Ci-nin-K-*: *nini(n)k-*^{zi} '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[46], but retracted in 1994a: 144) proposed to interpret *ḫai(n)k-* as a compound **h₃e-h₁enḱ-*, 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 **h₁neḱ-*, which makes Melchert's reconstruction impossible.

ḫalai-^{i} **/** ***ḫali-***$^{?}$ (IIa4 > Ic2) 'to set in motion': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-la-a-mi* (KBo 47.292, 3 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-la-a-ši* (KBo 5.9 iii 9 (NH), KUB 36.46, 6 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-la-a-i* (KUB 9.1 ii 32 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-la-a-an-zi* (KUB 15.27 ii 3 (NS)), *ḫa-li-en-zi* (here? KBo 6.26 iv 14 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-la-iš* (KUB 24.8+ iii 11 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-a-la-eš* (here? KUB 36.55 ii 38 (MH/MS?)), 2pl.pret.act. *ḫa-la-it-*[*t*]*én* (KBo 26.100 i 7 (MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-la-a-er* (KUB 26.65 iii 5 (NS), KUB 5.25 iv 35 (NS)), *ḫa-a-la-er* (KUB 50.37, 14 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἰάλλω 'to send off, to stretch forth'.

PIE **h₂l-oi-*, **h₂l-i-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 16f. for a semantic treatment of this verb. Formally, it is attested both with forms that belong to the *mi*-inflection (*ḫatrae*-class) and with forms that belong to the *ḫi*-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/tiia̯nzi*-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^2 Ḫ: 16).

Puhvel (l.c.) connects this verb with Gr. ἰάλλω 'to send off', which must reflect **h*$_2$*i-h*$_2$*l-ia̯/o-*, from a root **h*$_2$*el-*. For Hittite, this means that *ḫalai-*^{i} / *ḫali-*$^{?}$ must reflect **h*$_2$*l-oi-* / **h*$_2$*l-i-* (see Kloekhorst fthc.a on the formation of the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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*$_3$*rói-ei* due to the 'de Saussure Effect').

For an original homophonic verb, see at *ḫaliia̯e/a-*^{zi}.

ḫallanna-^{i} ***/ 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-ia̯-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. ὄλλῡμι 'to destroy', ?Lat. *dēleō* 'to destroy', *ab-oleō* 'to destroy'.

PIE **h*$_3$*elh*$_1$- ?

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* DÙ-*ši*
(7) *ma-a-an=ma=za=kán* A.ŠÀ-*ni=ma an-da* [T]ÚL DÙ-*ši*
(8) *nu=za=kán* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*aš* GÌR=[*Š*]*U an-da tar-na-at-ti*
(9) *nu* A.ŠÀ-*aš=ti-iš ḫal-la-an-ni-ia̯-at-ta-ri*
(10) *iš-tal-ki-ia̯-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) *u̯elku ḫaršani=šši ḫallanianzi* 'They *ḫ*. the grass on his head' and KBo 19.112 (17) [...*-z*]*i ar-ḫa ḫal-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 *ištalkiie/a-* in KUB 4.3 ii 10, *ḫallanna/i-*^{j} denotes the flattening or trampling down of plants and fields. Therefore, HW^2 Ḫ: 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. ὄλλῡμι 'to destroy'.

Formally, the verb looks like a imperfective in *-anna/i-* of a further unattested root **ḫall-*. If from IE origin, this **ḫall-* could reflect **$h_{2/3}$elH-* or **$h_{2/3}$eln-*.

As we saw, Puhvel connects this verb with Gr. ὄλλῡμι 'to destroy', etc., implying a reconstruction **h_3elh_1-*, 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_3elh_1-* and that the meaning 'to destroy' as found in Greek and Latin has developed out of this.

ḫāli- (n.) 'pen, corral (for cows and horses)': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-a-li* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ḫa-li-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-a-li* (OH/NS), *ḫa-a-li-i̯a* (NS), *ḫa-li-i̯a* (NS), abl. *ḫa-a-li-az* (OH/MS), *ḫa-a-li-i̯a-az* (MH/NS), *ḫa-li-i̯a-az* (OH/NS), instr. *ḫa-a-li-it* (NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-a-li-i̯a* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-a-li-i̯a*$_x$*-aš* (OS) // [*ḫa-a-li-i̯*]*a-aš* (OH/?) // *ḫa-a-li-aš* (OH/NS).

See Puhvel HED 3: 26f. and HW^2 Ḫ: 30 for attestations. The word denotes a pen or corral for cows and horses, which contrasts with *ašāu̯ar / 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) [... *ḫ*]*a-a-li aš-pu-uz-za* LUGAL-*an u̯a-ak-ri-i̯a-zi ku-iš-ki* '[If ... *ḫ*]*āli ašpuzza*, someone will become rebelious to the king' for this meaning, of which HW^2 (Ḫ: 30) states that it must be regarded as belonging with *ḫāli-* 'night watch (as a time measurement)'. Puhvel's etymological connection with Gr. ἅλως 'halo' therefore becomes impossible.

Rieken (1999a: 226) connects *ḫāli-* with *ḫīla-* 'courtyard' and reconstructs a root "*h_2*el-* 'einfassen' o. ä., die zwar außerhalb des Hethitischen nur mit Gutturalerweiterung als **$h_2$elk-/*$h_2$lek-* (gr. ἀλέξω 'wehre ab, beschirme', ai. *rákṣati* 'hütet, schirmt, bewahrt', aengl. *ealgian* 'schützen', etc.) erscheint, die sich aber in heth. *ḫi-(i-)la-* 'Hof' < **h_2ēl-éh_2-* und in *ḫa-a-li-* 'Viehhürde' <

*h_2*óli- fortsetzt" (l.c.), and which, according to Rieken, also is visible in the noun *ḫališša-* 'casting, overlay'. Because the noun *ḫīla-* (q.v.) cannot reflect **h*$_2$*ēl-eh*$_2$*-, this etymological connection in my view falls apart.

ḫaliie/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to kneel down': 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-li-ia-zi* (KUB 8.62 i 4 (NS), KUB 16.72, 7, 23 (NS)), *ḫa-li-e*[*-ez-zi*] (KBo 13.106 i 6 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-li-ez-zi* (KBo 53.15, 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-*[*l*]*i-en-zi* (here? KBo 6.26 iv 14 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-li-ia-an-zi* (KUB 9.34 i 2 (NS) // IBoT 3.99, 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-li-ia-at* (KBo 3.3 i 13 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-a-li-er* (KBo 3.34 iii 12 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-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. *ḫa-a-li-ia* (KUB 10.11 ii 17 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-li-ia-ri* (KUB 12.11 iv 33 (MS?)), *ḫa-a-li-ia-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. *ḫa-li-ia-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)), *ḫa-li-at-ta-at* (KUB 19.49 i 39 (NH)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ḫa-a-li-ia-an-da-at* (KBo 4.4 iii 47 (NH), KUB 14.15 iii 47 (NH)); part. *ḫa-a-li-an-t-* (KUB 29.1 iii 3 (OH/NS)); verb.noun. *ḫa-li-ia-tar* (HKM 13 obv. 4 (MH/MS), KUB 3.95, 6 (NS)); impf. *ḫa-a-li-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 5.6 ii 51 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫalinu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make kneel' (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-li-nu-ua-an-zi* (KBo 8.49, 7 (MH/MS))), ***ḫaliḫla-***^{i} **/ *ḫaliḫli-*** (IIa5) 'to genuflect, (trans.) to make obeisance to' (2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-li-iḫ-la-at-ti* (KBo 3.34 ii 21 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-li-iḫ-la-i* (KUB 14.1 rev. 10 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pres.act. [*ḫa-l*]*i-iḫ-la-at-te-ni* (KBo 3.23 rev. 13 (OH/NS)); 2sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-li-iḫ-li-iš-ta-ri* (KBo 7.28, 5 + KBo 8.92, 4 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-li-iḫ-li-ia-an-da-a-ri* (KUB 29.1 iv 1 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.midd. [*ḫa-l*]*i-iḫ-li-ia-an-da-ru* (Bo 3417 rev. 9 (NS)); impf. *ḫa-li-iḫ-li-iš-ke/a-* (MS)).

PIE *h_2*l-ói-ei / *h_2*l-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 28f. for attestations. The bulk of the forms are attested in NS texts. They all show the *-ie/a*-class. Since this class is quite productive in NH times, it is not necessarily the case that this verb was *-ie/a*-inflected originally, however. Although the spelling *ḫa-li-* is the most common one, we also find a fair number of examples of plene spelling *ḫa-a-li-*.

In my view, the exact interpretation of this verb for a large part depends on the analysis of its derivative *ḫaliḫla-*^{i} / *ḫaliḫli-* '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/tiia̯nzi*-class. In this case, *ḫaliḫla/i-* therefore must go back to **ḫaliḫlai-^{i} / ḫaliḫli-*. In my view, we must draw two conclusions from this analysis. First, the basic verb was *dāi/tiia̯nzi-* inflected as well. Second, the plene spelling *ḫa-a-li-* cannot reflect an old situation, since there is no vowel visible in *ḫaliḫlai-/ḫaliḫli-* = /Hli-Hlai- / Hli-Hli-/. So, the verb that is attested as *ḫaliia̯/a-^{zi}* only must go back to an original **ḫalai-^{i} / *ḫali-*.

This outcome means that originally, this verb was homophonic to the verb *ḫalai-^{i} / ḫali-* 'to set in motion' (q.v.). This may explain the fact that in 'to kneel down' no specific forms of the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-class have survived into the NH period: to avoid the homophony, *ḫalai-^{i} / ḫali-* 'to kneel down' was fully taken over into the *-ia̯/a*-class, whereas *ḫalai-^{i} / ḫali-* 'to set in motion' was partly taken over into the *ḫatrae*-class.

Etymologically, also **ḫalai-^{i} / ḫali-* 'to kneel down' can hardly reflect anything else than **h_2l-oi- / *h_2l-i-*. Nevertheless, I know no good comparandum. Puhvel's attempt (l.c.) to connect it to the 'elbow'-words like Gr. ὠλένη, 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$_3$l-en-* or **h$_3$eHl-en-*, which does not fit **h_2l-oi- / *h_2l-i-*.

ḫalīna- (gender unclear) 'clay(?)': gen.sg. *ḫa-li-i-na-aš* (OS).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀλίνειν 'to anoint, to smear', Lat. *linō*, *lēvi* 'to rub, to smear'.

PIE **$h_2$liH-no-* ??

The word occurs in the genitive only, describing *teššummi-* 'cup(?)' and *zēri-* 'cup'. A translation 'clay(?)' (thus HW^2 Ḫ: 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. ἀλίνειν 'to smear' and Lat. *linō* 'to smear' that reflect a root **$h_2$leiH-* (cf. LIV^2; note that the *-n-* in these forms are from the nasal present). If this connection is jusified, Hitt. *ḫalīna-* would reflect **$h_2$liH-no-*.

ḫalki- (c.) 'barley; grain' (Sum. ŠE): nom.sg. *ḫal-ki-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg. *ḫal-ki-in* (OS), gen.sg. *ḫal-ki-aš* (OS), *ḫal-ki-ia̯-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫal-ki-i* (MH/MS), abl. *ḫal-ki-ia̯-za*, *ḫal-ki-ia̯-az*, instr. *ḫal-ki-it* (OS), nom.pl. *ḫal-ki-e-eš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ki*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$*-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ki*$^{(\text{Ḫ.A})}$*-uš* (NS), acc.pl. *ḫal-ki-uš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ki*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$*-uš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ki*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$*-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ki-ia̯-aš* (NS).

Derivatives: ^{d}***Ḫalki-*** (c.) ‘barley-god’ (Sum. ^{d}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-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫal-ki-i̯a* (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. ^{d}*Ḫalki-* 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 *$*h_2u̯$*, 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*$^{ḪI.A}$.

IE cognates: Skt. *árhati* ‘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 *$*h_2lg^{wh}$-éh_1sh_1-r / *h_2lg^{wh}-éh_1sh_1-n-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 62f. for semantics and attestations of this word. Puhvel (HED 3: 40f.) plausibly connects *ḫalkuēššar* with the PIE root *$*h_2elg^{wh}$- ‘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$_4$-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- / ḫalugai̯-*** (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)), ^{LÚ}***ḫalukat(t)alla-*** (c.) ‘messenger, envoy’ (Akk. ^{LÚ}*ṬE$_4$-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-^{i} / ḫaluganni-*** (IIa5) ‘to make an announcement, to bring news’ (impf. *ḫa-lu-ga-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 27.29 iii 17)), ***ḫaluganae-^{zi}*** (Ic2) ‘to

bring news' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-lu-ga-na-iz-zi* (KUB 28.4 iii 14)), ***ḫaluganili*** (adv.) 'in messenger-fashion' (*ḫa-lu-ga-ni-li* (KUB 17.16 iv 4)).

IE cognates: Goth. *liugan* 'to lie', OCS *lъgati* 'to lie', OIr. *lu(i)ge*, *lugae* 'oath'.

PIE $*h_2l(e/o)ug^h$-*o*-

See Puhvel HED 3: 44f. for attestations. This word is attested in OS texts already. The basic stem is *ḫaluk*-, with a thematic noun *ḫaluka*- and an *i*-stem adjective *ḫaluki- / ḫalugai*-. Two forms go back to a stem *ḫalugan(a)*-, namely *ḫaluganili* and *ḫaluganaizzi*.

Despite its OS attestation and perfectly normal derivations, it is difficult to etymologize *ḫaluka*-. Sturtevant (1932a: 8) connected *ḫaluka*- to Goth. *liugan* 'to lie', which further belongs with OCS *lъgati* 'to lie' and OIr. *lu(i)ge*, *lugae* 'oath'. Although formally possible (we should then reconstruct $*h_2leug^h$-), 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 *ḫulukanni*- 'carriage' for the claim that this word is a derivative.

Dercksen (fthc.) suggests that the word *ḫulugannum* that occurs in the OAssyrian text AKT 1.14 from Kültepe (acc. pl. *ḫu-lu-kà-ni* in line 7 and gen.sg. *ḫi-lu-kà-ni-im* (with scribal error) in line 30) may be a loanword on the basis of Hitt. acc.sg. *ḫalugan*.

ḫalzai-*^{i} / *ḫalzi- (IIa4 > Ic1; IIIc > IIIg) 'to cry out, to shout, to call (trans.), to invoke, to recite': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫal-ze-eḫ-ḫi* (OS, often), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-mi* (KUB 15.23, 19 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫal-za-i-it-t*[*i*] (KBo 17.23 obv. 2 (OS)), *ḫal-za-it-ti* (KUB 13.3 iv 28 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-ze-eš-ti* (KUB 26.88 obv. 8 (NS), KUB 31.136 ii 3 (NS)), [*ḫal-*]*zi-i̯a-ši* (KUB 26.12 iii 23 (NH)), [*ḫal-z*]*i-i̯a-š*[*i*] (KUB 15.1 iii 11 (NH)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 26 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫal-za-a-i* (OS, often), *ḫal-za-i* (OS, less often), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-u̯a-ni* (KUB 17.21 iv 11 (MH/MS)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u-e*[*-ni*] (KUB 12.50, 6 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-i̯a-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 iv 17 (2x) (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-an-zi* (OS, often), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-an-zi* (often), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫal-ze-eḫ-ḫu-un* (OS, often), 2sg.pret.act. *ḫal-za-it*[*-ta*] (KUB 30.10 obv. 9 (OH/MS)), *ḫal-za-it-ta* (KUB 1.16 ii 60 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-za-a*[*-it-ta*] (KBo 18.28 i 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫal-za-iš* (OS, often), *ḫal-za-i-iš* (MH/MS), *ḫal-za-a-iš* (often), *ḫal-za-a-i-iš* (1x), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-at* (KUB 21.16 i 18 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫal-zi-e-u*[*-en*] (KUB 23.77a obv. 11 (MH/MS)), *ḫal-zi-ú-en* (KBo 5.3 i 40 (NH)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u-en* (KBo 11.1 obv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 (NH)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-ú-en* (KUB 4.1 ii 2 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫal-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-du*; 2sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-zi-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 26.12 iii 18 (NH)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫal-zi-i̯a* (OS, often), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-ri*, *ḫal-zi-ri*, *ḫal-zi-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 25.41 v 11 (NS), IBoT 1.29 obv. 54 (OH/NS)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-ta-ri* (KUB 25.32 + 27.70 ii 43 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd.(?) *ḫal-zi-i̯a-ti* (KBo 3.34 iii 13 (OH/NS)); part. *ḫal-zi-i̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun. *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš*, *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 36.89 obv. 24 (fr.), rev. 6, 53 (NS), KUB 21.16 i 12 (fr.) (NH)), *ḫal-zi-i̯a-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-*^{i} / *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*$_2$*lt-oi-*, **h*$_2$*lt-i-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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/ti̯anzi*-class. The secondary *mi*-inflected stem *ḫalzi̯e/a-*, created on the basis of a wrong analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *ḫalzi̯anzi*, 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-*^{i} / *ḫalzi-* with Goth. *laþon* etc. 'to call, to summon' (derived of a noun **lotā-*), which points to a root **h*$_2$*let-*. Puhvel (l.c.) assumes a Schwebe-ablaut **h*$_2$*el-t-*, **h*$_2$*l-et-*, but this is unnecessary. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class consists of verbs that

show an ablauting *-*oi*-/-*i*-suffix attached to the zero grade of the verbal root. In the case of *ḫalzai-/ḫalzi-* this means that it goes back to *h_2*lt-oi-* / *h_2*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-^{i} / zi-* 'to cross').

For the impf. *ḫalzišša-^{i} / ḫalzišš-* see at its own lemma.

ḫalzišša-^{i} / ḫalzišš- (IIa1γ: impf. of *ḫalzai-^{i} / ḫalzi-*) 'to cry out, to call': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-at-ti* (MH/MS), *ḫal-ze-eš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 18.24 i 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-i* (OS, often), *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-a-i* (OS), *ḫal-ze-eš-ša-i* (KUB 17.7 iii 15 (NS), KUB 36.89 obv. 24 (NS)), *ḫal-zi-ša-i* (KUB 10.72 ii 20 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫal-ze-e-e*[*š*-...], 2pl.pres.act. *ḫal-ze-eš-ša-at-te-ni* (KBo 12.110, 8 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi* (OS, often), *ḫal-ze-eš-ša-an-zi* (NS), *ḫal-zi-ša-an-zi* (KUB 17.35 iii 10 (NS), KUB 30.56 iii 8 (NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KBo 16.1 iii 11 (NH)), *ḫal-ze-eš-še-eš-ta* (KBo 3.4+ ii 12 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. [*ḫal-*]*zi-iš-ši-er* (KBo 18.66 obv. 9 (MS)), *ḫal-ze-eš-šer* (KBo 3.4 i 24 (NH), KBo 16.1 i 37 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša* (KBo 20.31 obv. 6 (OS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 33.120 ii 59, 62 (MH/NS)), *ḫal-ze-eš-ša-an-du* (KUB 1.16 iii 57 (OH/NS), KUB 24.8 iii 14 (OH/NS)).

PIE *h_2*lt-i-sóh$_1$-ei / *h_2*lt-i-sh$_1$-énti*

This verb is an imperfective in -*šš(a)*- of the verb *ḫalzai-^{i} / ḫalzi-* 'to cry out, to call' and belongs to the small group of imperfectives in -*šš(a)*- (next to *īšš(a)*-, *šišš(a)*- and *u̯arišš(a)*-). The oldest forms (OS and MS) are all spelled *ḫal-zi-iš*-, whereas a spelling *ḫal-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 *īšš(a)*- > *ēšš(a)*-, *šišš(a)*- > *šešš(a)*- and *u̯arišš(a)*- > *u̯arešš(a)*-). See at *ḫalzai-/ḫalzi-* and -*šš(a)*- for further etymological treatment.

ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink- (IIa3) 'to tie, to betroth': 1sg.pres.act. [*ḫ*]*a-ma-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 12.96 i 20 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-ma-an-ga-mi* (KUB 41.18 ii 12 (MS?), KUB 9.31 iii 24 (NS)), *ḫa-ma-an-kạ́m-mi* (KBo 13.72 obv. 6 (NS)), *ḫa-ma-an-ak-mi* (KBo 23.113 iii 20 (NS)), [*ḫa-me-*]*en-ki-mi* (IBoT 3.99, 12 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-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.), *ḫa-ma-ak-zi* (KUB 24.9+JCS 24 ii 47 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ma-an-ga-*[*zi*] (KUB 4.47 obv. 19), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-mi-in-kán-zi* (KUB 2.3 ii 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-me-in-kán-zi* (KBo 39.14 i 2, 3 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-ma-an-ga-an-zi* (KUB 41.18 ii 13 (MS?), KUB 9.32 obv. 11 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-ma-an-ku-un* (KUB 58.108 iv 12 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-ma-ak-ta* (KUB 51.33 i 13 (NS), KUB 26.91 obv. 9 (NS)), *ḫa-ma-na-ak-ta* (KUB 14.4 ii 10 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-me-in-kad-du* (KBo 10.45 iv 27 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-mi-in-kán-du* (KUB 7.41 iv 26 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-ma-an-kán-du* (KUB 21.38 obv. 64 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-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. *ḫa-me-in-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 4, 10 (NS)), *ḫa-me-en-ga-an-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 6, 7 (NS)), *ḫa-me-en-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 9 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-en-kán-ta-at* (KBo 12.100 i 19, 20 (NS)); part. *ḫa-mi-in-kán-t-* (KBo 17.15 obv.? 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)), *ḫa-me-in-kán-t-* (KBo 6.3 ii 11 (OH/NS), KUB 27.67 iii 18 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-am-me-en-kán-t-* (KBo 6.5 iii 6 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-am-mi-in-kán-t-* (HKM 116, 39 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-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 *ḫa-me-en-ku-u̯a-a*[*r*] (KBo 1.38 rev. 6 (NS)), *ḫa-me-in*[*-ku-u̯a-ar*] (KBo 1.38 rev. 4 (NS)), gen. *ḫa-ma-an-ku-u̯a-aš* (KUB 20.66 iii 4 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-me-en-ku-u̯a-aš* (KUB 30.48, 14 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-mi-i*[*n-ku-u̯a-aš*] (KUB 7.1+ iii 62 (OH/NS)); impf. *ḫa-me-in-ki-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 11.11 i 5 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄγχω ‘to tie up, to strangle’, Lat. *angō* ‘to throttle, to choke, to strangle’, Skt. *áṃhas-* ‘distress, trouble’.

PIE **h₂m-ón-ǵʰ-ei*, **h₂m-n-ǵʰ-énti*

This verb shows two stems, *ḫamank-* and *ḫame/ink-*. Although in the younger texts the two stems seem to be found randomly within forms (e.g. 3pl.imp.act. *ḫaminkandu* vs. *ḫamankandu*), in the older texts it is clear that *ḫamank-* is found in the strong-stem forms, and *ḫame/ink-* in the weak-stem forms (cf. OS part. *ḫaminkant-*).

The etymological connection with Gr. ἄγχω ‘to tie up’ and Skt. *áṃhas-* ‘distress’ etc. is generally accepted (cf. Puhvel HED 3: 67; Oettinger 1979a: 148) and points to a root **h₂emǵʰ-*.

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 *ḫamank-* indeed reflects an **o*-grade form **h₂móngʰ-ei*, the stem *ḫame/ink-* must be the outcome of a zero grade form **h₂mngʰ-énti*, showing the development **CNNC* > *CN̥NC*. For this latter development and a treatment of the prehistory of this nasal present, see § 2.2.4.

ḫammaša- (gender unclear) '?': gen.sg. *ḫa-am-ma-ša-aš* (KBo 10.10 iv 9).

The word occurs only once, in KBo 10.10 iv (9) *ŠA* É.GAL *ḫa-am-ma-ša-aš* 'of the palace of *ḫammaša-*'. Laroche (1962: 29) compares this term with É.GAL *ḫu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* 'the palace of the grandfather' (attested several times) and therefore equates *ḫammaša-* with Luw. *ḫamsa/i-* 'grandchild' (see at *ḫāšša-* '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 HW² (Ḫ: 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. HW² suggests to rather interpret *ḫammaša-* as a personal name.

All in all, a connection between *ḫammaša-* and the words for 'grandson' in the other Anatolian languages is far from assured and phonetically impossible if we compare *ḫāši* 'gives birth' < **h₂óms-ei*, *ḫaššu-* 'king' < **h₂éms-u-* and *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' < **h₂msósi̯o-* (see under *ḫāš-ⁱ / ḫašš-* 'to give birth').

ḫamenk-: see *ḫamank-ⁱ / ḫame/ink-*

ḫamešḫa- (gender unclear) 'spring' (Sum. Ú.BAR$_8$, Akk. *DĪŠĪ*): acc.sg. *ḫa-meš-ḫa-an* (KUB 50.90, 20 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 12.2 ii 10 (NS)), *ḫa-me-iš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 38.32 rev. 21 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫa-aš* (KBo 13.231 obv. 2 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫi* (often), *ḫa-am-me-iš-ḫi* (KUB 59.1 iv 16 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫi* (IBoT 2.1 vi 10 (NS), KUB 33.54 13 (OH/NS), KUB 42.100 iv 23 (NS)), *ḫa-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: ***ḫamešḫant-*** (c.) 'spring' (nom.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-za* (often), *ḫa-me-iš-ḫa-an-za* (KBo 2.7 rev. 4 (NS), KUB 7.24 obv. 11 (NS), KUB 8.6 obv. 6, 8 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫa-an-za* (KBo 2.5 iii 38 (NH), KUB 60.27 rev. 12 (NS)), *ḫa-meš-ḫa-an-za* (KBo 2.7 rev. 16 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-iš-kán-za* (KUB 38.26 rev. 1 (NS)), *ḫa-mi-eš-kán-zi* (KUB 38.26 rev. 19 (NS)), acc.sg. *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫa-an-tan$_x$* (KUB 4.4 obv. 5 (NH)), gen.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da-aš* (often), *ḫa-me-iš-ḫa-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-mi̯-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 **h₂meh₁-sh₂o-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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$_8$ '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-û̯esHa-* '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 **û̯es-r*, **û̯es-n-*, and not as **û̯esh₂-*. Similarly, Hoffner's interpretation **ḫant-mi̯asḫa-* (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_2meh_1- (note that Gr. ἀμάω probably is derived from the noun ἄμη < *h_2mh_1-eh_2-, cf. Schrijver 1990: 20), which would mean that *ḫamešḫa-* reflects *h_2meh_1-sh_2o- (see *tešḫa-* 'dream' and *damme/išḫā-* 'oppression' for the suffix *-šḫa-* < *-sh_2o-). Semantically, this etymology fits the fact that *ḫamešḫa-* is the season in which harvest took place, as we see by the use of the sumerogram Ú.BAR$_8$. Puhvel (HED 3: 74) is sceptical about this etymology because in his view deriving *ḫamešḫa-* "from a nonattested verb remains dubious". This scepsis can be nullified by my claim that the root *h_2meh_1- is visible in the Hittite verbs *ānš-*^{i} and *ḫane/išš-*^{zi} 'to wipe'. It is remarkable that these latter verbs show an *s*-extension of *h_2meh_1- besides the nominal suffix -sh_2o- in *ḫamešḫa-*, which reminds of the situation of *tamāšš-*^{zi} / *tame/išš-*, which shows a verbal *s*-extension besides the nominal suffix -sh_2o- visible in *damme/išḫā-*.

ḫamink-: see *ḫamank-*^{i} / *ḫame/ink-*

ḫamišḫa-: see *ḫamešḫa-*

ḫān-^{i} **/** ***ḫan-*** (IIa2 > Ic1) 'to draw (liquids)': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ni-i̯a-mi* (KUB 30.26 i 18 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ni* (OH/MS, often), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫa-a-nu-mé-e-ni* (KBo 23.27 ii 27 (MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-a-na-an-zi* (KUB 32.72 obv. 10 (MS), KBo 23.27 ii 30 (MS), KUB 31.57 i 25 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-na-an-zi* (KBo 10.31 ii 14 (OH/NS), KBo 13.178, 3 (fr.) (NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-i̯a-an-zi* (KBo 23.27 iii 12 (MS)), *ḫa-ni-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 i 60 (NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-a*[*n-zi*] (KUB 55.63 ii 17 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-ni-er-r=a=at* (KUB 44.56 rev. 1 (OH?/NS)), *ḫa-a-ner* (KUB 54.31 obv. 8 (NS)), *ḫa-ni-e-er* (KUB 33.106 i 10 (NS)), *ḫe-e-ni-r=a-at* (KUB 33.34 i 6 (OH/NS)), *ḫe-ę-ni-er* (KUB 33.34 i 8 (OH/NS)), *ḫe-ni-er* (KUB 33.34 i 7 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-i̯a-r=a-at* (Bo 6472, 12 (undat.)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-an*, *ḫa-a-ni*, 2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-an-tén* (KBo 22.127 i 1 (NS)); inf.I *ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 39.71 i 24 (NS)), *ḫa-nu-ma-an-zi* (KUB 29.4 i 59 (NS)); inf.II *ḫa-na-an-na* (KUB 32.72 i 5 (MS)); impf. *ḫa-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 15.37 v 9 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 47.62, 10 (NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 25.172 iv 6 (NS)).

Derivatives: ^{DUG}***ḫaneššar / ḫanešn-*** (n.), a vessel (nom.-acc.sg. [*ḫa-n*]*e-eš-šar* (KBo 11.41 iv 10 (NS)), *ḫa-ne-eš-ša(-)*x[...] (IBoT 2.93, 16 (NS)), gen.sg. [*ḫa-n*]*e-iš-na-aš* (KBo 11.41 iv 11 (NS)), *ḫa-ne-eš-n*[*a-aš*] (IBoT 2.93, 17 (NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄντλος 'bilge-water', ?Arm. *hanem* 'to draw out'.

PIE *h_2*ón-ei*, *h_2*n-énti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 133f. for semantics and attestations of this verb (cited as *ḫan-/ḫen-*). It shows a variaty of stems, namely *ḫān-*, *ḫan-*, *ḫāniie/a-* and *ḫen-*. The form 3sg.pres.act. *ḫāni* is the oldest and most often attested form. The forms with a stem *ḫāniie/a-* are all NS and clearly built on 3sg.pres. *ḫāni*. As 3pl.pres.act. we find both *ḫānanzi* and *ḫananzi*. Despite the fact that *ḫānanzi* is attested in MS texts, and *ḫananzi* in NS texts only, I think that *ḫananzi* must be considered the original form, with *ḫānanzi* showing secondary introduction of the long *ā* from the singular. The stem *ḫen-* is found in one NS text only, in the form 3pl.pres.act. *ḫenier* (note that Oettinger (1979a: 52) cites *ḫe-e-ni-er* and *ḫe-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 *ḫen-* must be secondarily formed in analogy to *ašanzi* : *ešer* = *ḫananzi* : *x* (similarly *erer* in the paradigm of *ār-^{i} / ar-* 'to arrive' and *eker* in the paradigm of *āk-^{i} / akk-*). All in all, I reckon with an original ablauting verb *ḫān-^{i} / ḫan-*.

Puhvel (HED 3: 77) connects this verb with Gr. ἄντλος 'bilge-water' (*h_2n-tlo-*) and Arm. *hanem* 'to draw out'. If this connection is justified, then we must reconstruct *ḫāni*, *ḫananzi* as *$h_2$ón-ei*, *h_2n-énti*. Note that *h_2 regularly would have dropped in front of *o* in the strong stem *$h_2$on-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), but was restored on the basis of the weak stem *h_2n-*.

A connection with the vessel ^{DUG}*ḫane/išša-* (q.v.) is difficult, despite Rieken's attempt (1999a: 227) to invent an IE scenario to explain *ḫane/išša-*. Nevertheless, the sporadic NH secondary remodellings into an *r/n*-stem *ḫaneššar / ḫanešn-*, as if it were a verb.noun of *ḫān-/ḫan-*, shows that at that time the Hittite speakers folk-etymologically associated ^{DUG}*ḫane/išša-* with this verb.

ḫanna-^{i} / ḫann- (IIa1γ; IIIh) 'to sue; to judge'; ***ḫanneššar ḫann(a)-^{i}*** 'to render judgement': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 19.70 iii 3 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-na-i* (KUB 21.17 iii 39 (NH)), *ḫa-an-na-a-i* (KBo 3.3 ii 3 (NH), KUB 43.35, 8 (fr.) (MS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫa-a*[*n*]*-n*[*a-at-te-ni*(?)] (HKM 57 rev. 30 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-an-na-*[*at-te-ni*(?)] (HKM 57 rev. 31 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-an-na-an-zi* (KUB 19.20 rev. 15 (NH), StBoT 24 iii 72 (NH))), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-na-nu-un* (KUB 14.4 ii 9 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-ni-iš*[*-ta*] (KUB 36.19, 6 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-an-ni* (HKM 52 rev. 29 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 iii 31, 32 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-an-ne* (KUB 19.14 iv 6 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-an-na-ú* (KUB 13.2 iii 23 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-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. *ḫa-an-ni-iš-tén* (HKM 60 obv. 9 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-an-ni-eš-tén* (KUB 54.1 ii 43 (NS)), [*ḫ*]*a-an-n*[*a*]*-at-tén* (HKM 57. rev. 23 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-an-na-at-te-en* (KUB 4.1 i 22, 33, 34 (MH/NS)),

3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-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. *ḫa-an-na-at-ta* (KUB 30.11+ obv. 3, 6 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-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. *ḫa-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. *ḫa-an-na-ta-at* (78/e rev. 4 (undat.)), *ḫa-an-na-‹ta-›at* (KUB 12.63 obv. 33 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-an-na-ad-da-a*[*t*$^{?}$] (KUB 34.51, 5 (NS)), 2pl.pret.midd. *ḫa-an-na-d*[*u-ma-a*]*t* (KBo 10.45 iii 36 (MH/NS)) // [*ḫa-an-na-*]*tum-ma-at* (KUB 41.8 iii 27 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ḫa-an-na-‹an-›ta-ti* (KUB 12.26 ii 2 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫa-an-na-r*[*u*] (KBo 3.46 iii 3 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.midd. *ḫa-an-na-ad-du-ma-ti* (KBo 10.45 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-an-na-du-ma-ti* (KUB 41.8 iii 8 (MH/NS)); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-an-na-an* (KUB 13.9 + 40.62 iii 19 (MH/NS)); inf.I [*ḫ*]*a-an-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 13.9+ i 9 (MH/NS)); sup. *ḫa-an-mu-an* (KUB 29.39 rev. 8 (NS)); impf. *ḫa-aš-ši-ke/a-* (KUB 34.84+ i 33, ii 18 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 iii 10 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-an-ne-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 13.20 i 32 (MH/NS), KUB 6.45 ii 17 (NH), KUB 31.66 iii 10 (NH)), *ḫa-an-na-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 36.83 i 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫanneššar / ḫannešn-*** (n.) 'law-suit, case, trial' (Sum. DI-*eššar*, Akk. *DINAM*; nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-an-ne-eš-šar* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *ḫa-an-ne-eš-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ne-iš-ni* (OS), *ḫa-an-ne-eš-ni*, all.sg. *ḫa-an-ni-eš-na*, erg.sg. *ḫa-an-ni-iš-na-an-za*, abl. *ḫa-an-ne-eš-na-az*, instr. *ḫa-an-ne-eš-ni-it*), ***ḫannešnatar / ḫannešnann-*** (n.) 'jurisdiction' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ni-eš-na-an-ni* (KUB 13.9 + 40.62 i 7 (MH/NS)), ***ḫanne/italu̯ana-*** (c.) 'legal advisory, litigator' (nom.sg. *ḫa-an-ni-tal-u̯a-na-aš* (KUB 7.60 iii 31), nom.pl.c. *ḫa-an-ne-tal-u̯a-ni-e-eš* (KUB 31.66 iii 6)), ***ḫannitalu̯anēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become legal adversaries' (3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-an-ni-tal-u̯a-‹ne-›-eš-šer* (KUB 21.17 i 3)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὄνομαι 'to blame, to treat scornfully'.

PIE **h₃e-h₃nóh₃-ei*, **h₃e-h₃nh₃-énti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 135f. for attestations and semantics of *ḫann(a)-* and Ḫ: 149 for *ḫanneššar*. 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 *ḫanna-*. If the active indeed was derived from the middle, we would expect that it would show the stem *ḫanna-* throughout the paradigm. The case is, however, that besides the stem *ḫanna-*, we also find a stem *ḫann-*, namely in 2pl.imp.act. *ḫanništen* (MH/MS). This form cannot be a recent creation as we can see by the fact that it shows the archaic *ḫi*-ending *-šten*. This ending was the unproductive one, being replaced by the *mi*-ending *-tten* from OH times onwards already (visible in secondary *ḫannatten*, with introduction of the strong stem *ḫanna-*, which is attested in a MH/MS text as well). So, the fact that we find an ablauting stem *ḫanna-*^{i} */ ḫann-* in the active (of which *ḫann-* cannot be secondary as it is found in an archaic form) besides a non-ablauting stem *ḫanna-* 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 *ḫanna-*^{i} */ ḫann-* 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 *ḫanna-/ḫann-*, 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 *ḫanna-/ḫann-*, a formal connection between the two verb is impossible as well, since Lyc. *q* reflects PAnat. */H^{w}/ < **h*$_{2}$*u̯* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

Other Anatolian cognates are seen by some scholars in the HLuwian words *haniia̯tastar-* 'evilness' (abl.-instr. $^{\text{MALUS}_2}$*ḫa-ní-ia-ta-sa-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §72)), *haniia̯-* (adj.) 'malicious' (nom.-acc.pl.n. $^{\text{MALUS}_2}$*ḫá-ní-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §12)), *hanhaniwa-* (n.) 'wickedness' (nom.-acc.sg.n. $^{\text{MALUS}_2}$*ha-ha-ní-wa/i-za* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20)) and the CLuwian forms *ḫaniia̯-* 'malicious' (abl.-instr. *ḫaniia̯ti*) and *ḫanḫaniia̯-* 'to be malicious' (3sg.pres.act.(Hittitized) *ḫanḫaniia̯i*) (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. ὄνομαι 'to blame, to treat scornfully', which has more merit. The Greek verb shows a stem ὀνα- once (in the aorist ὤνατο), on the basis of which Puhvel reconstructs a root **h*$_{3}$*enh*$_{2}$-. This connection is taken over by e.g. Melchert (1994a: 51) who, on the basis of his supposition that the middle inflection of *ḫanna-* is the primary one, reconstructs

h_3enh_2-o. This is incorrect in two respects. Firstly, Van de Laar (2000: 232) states that the Gr. stem ὀνα- must be secondary and that the stem ὀνο- points to a root *h_3enh_3-. In my view, a root *h_3neh_3- is possible as well, as in Greek we only find middle forms that go back to a zero grade stem *h_3nh_3-. 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_3neh_3- we arrive at the reconstruction *h_3e-$h_3$nóh_3-ei, *h_3e-h_3nh_3-énti, which by regular sound laws yielded Hitt. *ḫannāi*, *ḫannanzi*.

In my view, the root *h_3neh_3- is visible in PIE *h_3neh_3-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-*^{i} / *ḫann-* shows such an aberrant form that it cannot have been secondarily created. In my opinion, it points to a development *h_3nh_3-sḱé/ó- > /HəSɨké/á-/.

The derivative *ḫannetalu̯ana-* clearly is derived from the verb *ḫann(a)-*, but its exact formation is unclear. Rieken (1999a: 274) implausibly reconstructs *h_2onh_1-e-tlo-u̯on-*. It recalls *annitalu̯atar* '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. ***χñna-*** 'grandmother' (gen.adj.dat.sg. *χñnahi*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *χñnaha*).

IE cognates: Lat. *ănus* 'old woman', OHG *ana* 'grandmother', *ano* 'grandfather' OPr. *ane* 'grandmother', Lith. *aný́ta* 'husband's mother', Arm. *han* 'grandmother'.

PIE *h_2enHo-

See Puhvel HED 3: 84f. and HW^2 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-*, *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather' (q.v.)). Especially Arm. *han* and Lat. *anus* point to an initial *h_2-. The fact that in Hittite we find a geminate *-nn-* can only be explained from *-*nH*-.

ḫane/išš-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to wipe’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ni-iš-zi* (KUB 41.4 ii 21 (MH/NS), KBo 19.142 iii 31 (NS)), *ḫa-ni-eš-zi* (KBo 29.65 i 5 (NS), KUB 10.99 vi 10 (fr.), KUB 41.83 obv. 4 (fr.)), *ḫa-ne-eš*[*-zi*] (KUB 10.99 vi 7, 12) *ḫa-ni-šḛ-ḛz-zi* (KBo 21.74 iii 11 (NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫa-ni-iš-te-ni* (KUB 29.1 iii 32 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ni-eš-te-ni* (KUB 29.1 iii 31, 32, 33 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 43.61 i 3 (NS), KUB 11.3 i 5 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 15 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-ni-eš-še-er* (KUB 40.83 obv. 15 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-ni-iš* (KUB 29.1 i 8, 9 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-eš* (KUB 40.122 rev. 4), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-ni-eš-te-en* (KUB 29.1 iii 34 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ni‹-eš›-te-en* (KUB 29.1 iii 34 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.91 ii 6 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-ḍ*[*-n*]*i-iš-ša-an-du* (KUB 31.86 ii 43 (MH/NS)); part. *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-an* (KBo 23.74 iii 19 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-a-an* (KBo 21.22 rev. 42 (OH/MS)), [*ḫ*]*a-ni-iš-ša-an-*[*t*]*a* (ABoT 21 + KBo 17.65 rev. 10 (MS)); inf.I *ḫa-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.1 iii 29 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ni-iš-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 18.33 obv. 6); verb.noun *ḫa-a-ni-iš-šu̯-u̯ḁ-ḁr* (KUB 31.86 iii 1 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-a-ni-ḛš-š*[$u^{?}$*-u̯a-ar*(?)] (VSNF 12.57 iv 2), *ḫa-ni-iš-šu-u̯a-ar* (KUB 31.87+88 ii 18 (MH/NS), KUB 13.2 ii 16 (MH/NS)), [*ḫa-n*]*i-iš-šu-u̯a-ar* (KBo 1.36, 2 (NS)), *ḫa-ni-iš-šu-u-u̯a-ar* (KUB 7.13 i 11 (NS)), abl. *ḫa-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-az* (KUB 26.43 rev. 11 (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***am(ma)šša- / am(ma)šši(i̯a)-*** ‘to wipe’ (3pres.sg. *am-ma-aš-ši-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. [*am-*]*ma-aš-ši-i̯a-an-ti*, 3sg.pret.act. *am-ma-‹aš-›ša-t*[*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 **h₂mh₁-s-énti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 143f. for semantics and attestations. Puhvel (HED 3: 86) cites this verb as *ḫan(n)eš(š)-*, assuming that a geminate *-nn-* can be seen in 2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-an-ni-eš-tén* (KUB 54.1 ii 43). HW^2 (Ḫ: 153) takes this form as belonging to *ḫanna-*^{i} / *ḫann-* ‘to sue, to judge’, however: KUB 54.1 ii (42) *nu=u̯a am-me-el=pát iš-ḫa*[*-aḫ-ru*] (43) *ḫa-an-ni-eš-tén* ‘Judge my tears!’ (instead of Puhvel’s translation ‘wipe my tears!’).

Besides the hapax *ḫanišezzi*, which shows a NH *-i̯e/a-*derivative, this verb shows two stems, viz. *ḫane/išš-* /Hn̥S-/ and *ḫāniššš-* /Hān̥S-/. Diachronically, a third stem /ʔān̥s-/ can be found in the paradigm of *ānš-*^{i} ‘to wipe’ (q.v.). As I have argued at *ānš-*^{i}, both verbs ultimately reflect an *s*-extension of the PIE root **h₂meh₁-* and go back to an ablauting paradigm **h₂omh₁-s-* / **h₂mh₁-s-*. The

regular outcome of this paradigm was quite different per form: 1sg.pres.act. *$h_2$ómh$_1$s-$h_2$ei and 2sg.pres.act. *$h_2$ómh$_1$s-th$_2$ei should regularly have given **/ʔáni̯SHi/ and **/ʔáni̯Sti/, 3sg.pres.act. $h_2$ómh$_1$s-ei yielded /ʔánsi/ whereas 3pl.pres.act. *$h_2$mh$_1$sénti regularly gave /Hni̯Sántˢi/ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.f for details). So, from one paradigm three different stems emerged, namely /ʔāni̯S-/, /ʔāns-/ and /Hni̯S-/.

The stem /ʔāns-/ became the source of the verb *ānši*, *ānšanzi* (q.v.), the stem /Hni̯S-/ became the source of the verb *ḫane/išzi*, *ḫane/iššanzi* whereas the stem /ʔāni̯S-/ restored the initial /H-/ on the basis of /Hni̯S-/ and yielded the forms 2sg.imp.act. *ḫāniš* and verb.noun *ḫāniššuu̯ar* that usually are taken as belonging to the verb *ḫane/išš-*^{zi}.

^{DUG}*ḫane/iššā-* (c./n.) a vessel: nom.sg.c. *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-a-aš* (OS), *ḫa-a-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*, *ḫa-a-ni-iš-ša-aš*, *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-aš*, *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*, *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-aš*, *ḫa-ni-ša-aš*, *ḫa-ni-ša-a-aš*, acc.sg.c. *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-an* (OS), *ḫ*]*a*-[*a*]-*ne-eš-ša-an* (KBo 25.58 ii 3 (OS)), *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-an*, *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-a-an*, *ḫa-a-ni-iš-ša-a-an*, *ḫa-ni-ša-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-ne-eš-ša* (Bo 3123 iv 8 (OS)) // *ḫ*[*a*]-*ne-eš-ša*[(-) (KBo 25.79 iv 8 (OS)), *ḫa-ne-e-eš-ša* (KUB 42.107 iii 12 (NS)), *ḫa-ni-iš-ša*, *ḫa-ni-ša*, gen.sg. *ḫa-ni-ša-aš*, abl. *ḫa-a-ni-eš-ša-az*, *ḫa-a-ni-eš-ša-a-za*, *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-za*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-ni-eš-ša-a-aš*.

Derivatives: **^{DUG}*ḫanniššānni*** (n.) a vessel (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ni-iš-ša-a-an-ni* (KBo 20.3 ii 15), *ḫa-ni-ša-an-ni* (KBo 11.11 iii 6)).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 145f. for attestations. HW^2 cites two lemmas, ^{DUG}*ḫanešša-* and ^{DUG}*ḫaneššar* (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 *ḫaneššar* / *ḫanešn-* (that I have cited as a derivative of *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-*) are NH remodellings due to a folk-etymological connection with *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-* 'to draw (water)' (formally, *ḫaneššar* / *ḫanešn-* would be a verb.noun of *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-*).

The original word shows different stems in OS texts already, viz. commune stems *ḫaniššā-*, *ḫaniša-* and *ḫāneša-* besides a neuter stem *ḫaneša*. In my opinion, these alternations point to a foreign origin. Rieken's attempt (1999a: 227) to explain *ḫane/iša-* as an IE formation on the basis of a stem *$h_2$en-* 'to draw (water)', is unconvincing.

ḫāni(i̯a)- (gender unknown) '?': gen.sg. *ḫa-a-ni-i̯a-aš*, *ḫa-ni-i̯a-aš*.

See HW^2 (Ḫ: 156) for attestation places. The word only occurs in the combination *ḫāniia̯š* KÁ(.GAL) 'gate of *ḫ*.'. Puhvel (HED 3: 76) argues that this gate must be a wellgate by which water flows are regulated and connects *ḫāni(ia̯)-* with *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-* 'to draw (water)'. HW^2 argues, however, that the *ḫāniia̯š* KÁ(.GAL) is an ordinary gate of which an etymological connection with *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-* cannot be proven.

ḫāniia̯/a-^{zi} : see *ḫān-*^{i} */ ḫan-*

ḫāniš- : see *ḫane/išš-*^{zi}

ḫanišš-^{zi} : see *ḫane/išš-*^{zi}

ḫant- (gender unclear) 'forehead, front(age)' (Sum. SAG.KI, Akk. *PŪTUM*): nom.sg. *ḫa-an-za* (KUB 3.95, 13 (NS)), *ḫa-an-za=ti-it* (KUB 10.96 iv 11 (NS)), *ḫa-an-za-a=t-ti-it* (KUB 10.96 iv 14 (NS)), acc.sg. *ḫa-an-z*[*a(-)...*] (KBo 8.73 ii 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ti-i=š-ši* (KUB 33.66 ii 19 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-an-di-i=š-ši* (KBo 13.31 ii 6 (OH/MS), KBo 10.23 iv 5 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-an-te-e=š-ši* (KUB 32.123 + KBo 29.206 i 15 (NS)), abl. *ḫa-an-ta-a-az* (KBo 17.22 iii 19 (OS)), *ḫa-an-ta-az*, *ḫa-an-da-az*, nom.pl. *ḫa-an-ti-iš* (KUB 42.78 ii 18 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫanza*** (adv.) 'in front' (*ḫa-an-za* (NS), *ḫa-a-an-za* (KUB 9.28 ii 12 (MH/NS), KUB 48.118 i 17 (NH))), ***ḫanzan*** (adv.) 'id.' (KUB 17.21 iv 13 (MH/MS), ABoT 60 rev. 10 (MH/MS))), ***ḫanda*** (adv.) 'for the sake of, in view of' (*ḫa-an-da* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-ta*, *ḫa-a-an-da* (NH)), ***ḫandaš*** (adv.) 'for the sake of, regarding' (*ḫa-an-da-aš* (NH)), ^{d}***Ḫantašša-*** (c.) deity of the forehead (nom.sg. ^{d}*Ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša-aš*), ^{d}***Ḫantašepa-*** (c.) deity of the forehead (acc.sg. ^{d}*Ḫa-an-ta-še-pa-an* (OS), ^{d}*Ḫa-an-ta-še-pé-eš* (OS), acc.pl. ^{d}*Ḫa-an-ta-še-pu-uš* (OS)), ***ḫanti*** (adv.) 'opposite, against; instead; apart' (*ḫa-an-ti* (OS), *ḫa-an-di* (OS), *ḫa-an-ti-i* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-di-i*), ***ḫantiia̯e-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to support(?)' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-ti-ia̯-i*[*z-z*]*i*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-an-ti-ia̯-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-ti-ia̯-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-ti-ia̯-it*), see also *ḫantezziia̯-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫandau̯at(i)-*** (c.) 'supreme authority, king' (nom.sg. *ḫa-an-da-u̯a-te-eš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-an-da-u̯a-te-en*), ***ḫandau̯adaḫit-*** (n.) 'kingship' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-an-ta-u̯a-da-ḫi-ša*), ***ḫantil(i)-*** (adj.) 'first' (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-an-te-li-eš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-an-ti-il-za*), ***ḫanti(ia̯)-*** 'headband' (nom.sg. *ḫa-an-ti-iš*); HLuw. ***hant-*** (n.) 'face, forehead' (dat.-loc.sg. FRONS-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20), abl.-instr. $^{\text{"FRONS"}}$*ha-ta-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §6), nom.-acc.pl. $^{\text{"FRONS"}}$*ha-tá* (KARKAMIŠ A3 §23), $^{\text{"FRONS"}}$*ha-ta* (KIRÇOĞLU §3), dat.-loc.pl. $^{\text{"FRONS"}}$*ha-ta-*

za (TELL AHMAR 1 §17)), ***hanti-*** (adj.) 'first' (nom.sg.c. FRONS-*ti-sa*$_7$ (TOPADA §19), abl.-instr. FRONS-*ti-ia+ra/i* (TOPADA §21) gen.adj.nom.sg.c. FRONS-*ti-ia-sí*$^{?}$*-sa* (TOPADA §19), gen.adj.abl.-instr. FRONS-*ti-ia-sa*$_5$*+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 A11*a* §17)), ***hanti*** (adv.) 'against' (FRONS-*ti* (KARKAMIŠ A4*b* §3)), **FRONS-*hit-*** (n.) 'preeminence' (dat.-loc.sg. "FRONS"-*hi-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §2, KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §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*$_7$ (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-*‹tá*$^{?}$*›-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. ***χñtawa-*** 'to rule' (3sg.pret.act. *χñtawate*, *χñtewete*), *χñtawata-* 'rule, kingship' (acc.sg. *χñtawatã*, loc.sg. *χñtawata*, *χñtawwata*), ***χñtawat(i)-*** 'ruler, king' (nom.sg. *χñtawati*, dat.sg. *χñtawati*, abl.-instr. *χñtawatedi*, gen.adj. *χñtawehe/i-*), ***χñtawati(je)-*** 'of the ruler, royal' (dat.-loc.pl. *χñtawatije*).

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*$_2$*ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 89f. for attestations. Within Hittite it is clear on the basis of e.g. dat.-loc.sg. *ḫanti* (OH/MS) and abl. *ḫantāz* (OS) that we are dealing with a stem *ḫant-*. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the nominative- and accusative-forms are unclear. At first sight, nom.sg. *ḫanza* seems to show that we are dealing with a commune nom.sg. *ḫant-s*. This commune form then would correspond to the commune nom.pl. *ḫantiš*. Nevertheless, the forms *ḫanza=tit* and *ḫanza=ttit* 'your forehead' bear a neuter enclitic possessive pronoun *=ttit*. Moreover, if the accusative-form *ḫa-an-z*[*a(-)*...] should be read as *ḫanza*, we rather seem to be dealing with a neuter nom.-acc.sg. *ḫanza*. Starke (1990: 125f.) therefore states that the nominative-accusative-forms *ḫanza* are rather to be interpreted as Luwian forms that show the neuter secondary ending *-sa*, so *ḫant-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. **ḫān*. Rieken (1999a: 31f.) argues that this latter form could be interpreted as *ḫanzan* 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. *ḫanza* are found in NS texts, they could in principle indeed be Luwianisms in *-sa*. Note that in HLuwian, we find nom.-acc.pl. "FRONS"*ha-ta* = /hanta/, which seems to indicate that here the word is neuter.

Already since Hrozný (1917: 21) it has been generally assumed that *ḫant-*, 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 *ḫant-* has given rise to some adverbially used forms as well. E.g. *ḫanza* 'in front' probably reflects **h₂ent-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 *ḫant-* 'forehead' anymore, since neither the **-t-* nor the **-i* was restored (as opposed to the synchronic dat.-loc.sg. *ḫanti* and its adverbialized variant *ḫanti*). The adverbial forms *ḫanti* (derived from the dat.-loc.sg.), *ḫanda* (< all.sg.) and *ḫandaš* (< dat.-loc.pl.) are slight later lexicalizations of inflected forms of *ḫant-* 'forehead'. The adverb *ḫanzan* probably is a secondary formation, adding the *-an* from *andan*, *āppan*, *kattan*, etc. to *ḫanza*. Note that the Gr. adverb ἀντίον 'against' has a remarkable parallel formation (both from virtual **h₂enti-om*).

Because it is not fully clear whether *ḫant-* was commune or neuter originally, we cannot properly reconstruct a paradigm. Note that therefore Gr. ἄντα can either reflect acc.sg. **h₂ent-m* (if originally a commune word) or nom.-acc.pl. **h₂ent-h₂* (if originally a neuter word).

ḫantae-^{zi} (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. *ḫa-an-ta-a-mi*, *ḫa-an-da-a-mi*, *ḫa-an-da-mi*, *ḫa-a-an-da-mi* (KUB 7.54 i 10 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *ḫa-an-da-a-iz-zi*, *ḫa-an-ta-iz-zi*, *ḫa-an-da-iz-zi*, *ḫa-an-da-zi*, *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi* (HT 1 iii 7), *ḫa-an-da-a-i* (KBo 5.2 iv 16), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-u-ni* (1691/u ii 15 (MS), cf. Puhvel HED 3: 98), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-an-ta-a-an-zi*, *ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi*, *ḫa-an-ta-an-zi*, *ḫa-an-da-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-ta-a-nu-un*, *ḫa-an-da-a-nu-un*, *ḫa-an-ta-nu-un*, *ḫa-an-da-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-it*, *ḫa-an-*

da-it, 1pl.pret.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-u-en*, *ḫa-an-da-u-e-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-er* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-ta-a-er*, *ḫa-an-ta-er*, *ḫa-an-da-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-ed-du* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-da-ed-du* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-ta-id-du*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-an-da-a-an-du*, *ḫa-an-ta-an-du*, *ḫa-an-da-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-an-da-a-et-ta* (OS), *ḫa-an-da-a-e-et-ta* (OS), *ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-ta-a-it-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-ta-it-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-it-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-it-ta-a-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-a-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-a-at-ta-ri*, 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-an-da-a-an-ta-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-an-da-a-ri*, *ḫa-an-da-an-ta-ri*, 2sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-an-da-a-it-ta-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-an-da-a-et-ta-at* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-ta-it-ta-at*, *ḫa-an-da-it-ta-at*, *ḫa-an-da-a-ta-at*, *ḫa-an-da-a-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *ḫa-an-da-an-ta-ti* (OH/MS), *ḫa-an-ta-an-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *ḫa-an-ta-an-da-ti* (OH/NS), *ḫa-an-da-an-da-ti* (OH/NS), *ḫa-an-da-a-an-ta-at* (MS), *ḫa-an-ta-an-ta-at* (OH/NS), *ḫa-an-da-an-da-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *ḫa-an-da-aḫ-ḫu-ut*, *ḫa-an-da-ḫu-ut*, 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫa-an-da-it-ta-ru*; part. *ḫa-an-da-a-an-t-* (OS), *ḫa-an-da-an-t-* (often), *ḫa-a-an-da-a-an-t-* (KUB 20.29 vi 4 (OH/NS)); verb.noun. *ḫa-an-da-a-u-u̯a-ar*, *ḫa-an-da-u-u̯a-ar*, *ḫa-an-da-u-ar*, gen.sg. *ḫa-an-da-a-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *ḫa-an-da-a-(u-)u̯a-an-zi*, *ḫa-an-da-u-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *ḫa-an-da-a-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḫa-an-ta-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫa-an-te-eš-ke/a-*, *ḫa-an-te-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***parā ḫandandātar*** (n.) ‘providence (of a deity)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-an-da-an-ta-a-tar*, *ḫa-an-da-an-da-a-tar*, *ḫa-an-da-a-an-ta-tar*, *ḫa-an-ta-an-ta-tar*, *ḫa-an-da-an-ta-tar*, *ḫa-an-da-an-da-tar*, *ḫa-an-ta-an-da-tar*, *ḫa-a-an-da-an-da-tar* (NH), *ḫa-an-ta-tar*, *ḫa-an-da-a-tar*, gen.sg. *ḫa-an-ta-an-ta-an-na-aš*, *ḫa-an-da-an-ta-an-na-aš*, *ḫa-an-da-an-da-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-da-an-da-an-ni*, *ḫa-an-da-a-an-ni*, *ḫa-an-da-an-ni*), ***parā ḫandandae-***^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to show providence’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-an-da-an-da-i*[*z-zi*] (KUB 40.1 obv. 39 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-an-da-an-da-a-a*[*n-zi*] (KBo 15.34 iii 20 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-da-an-te-eš-ta* (StBoT 24 i 21 (NH))), ***ḫandatt-*** (c.) ‘trust, determination(?)’ (gen.sg. *ḫa-an-da-at-ta-aš*), ^{LÚ}***ḫantantiu̯ala-*** (c.) ‘repairman (?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ta-an-ti-u̯a-li*).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 163f. and Puhvel HED 3: 96f. for semantics and attestation of this verb and its derivatives. The verb inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class, which mainly consists of denominal verbs ending in **-o-u̯e/o-*. For *ḫantae-*, this seems to indicate that this verb is derived from a noun **ḫanta-*. The question is whether a noun *ḫant-*, too, would yield a derived verb *ḫantae-*^{zi}. There are only a few other verbs that end in *-antae-*. The NH verb *ištantae-* ‘to stay put’ derives from OH *ištantāu̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.) and reflects **sth$_2$ent-eh$_2$-u̯é/ó-*. The verb *ḫandandae-*^{zi} ‘to show providence’ (cited here) and the verb *nekumandae-*^{zi} ‘to undress oneself’ clearly

are derived from *ḫandant-* and from *nekumant-* 'naked' (q.v.) respectively. Both verbs are sporadically attested (*ḫandandae-* 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 *ḫatrae*-class was a very productive category. So it is questionable whether on formal grounds we are allowed to derive *ḫantae-* (which is attested in OS texts already) from a noun *ḫant-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 367) states that *ḫantae-* is derived from *ḫant-* '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 *ḫandae-* from *ḫānt-*, the participle of the verb *ḫā-*^{zi} 'to believe, to trust', arguing that occasional plene spellings *ḫa-a-an-* point in that direction. In my corpus, I have found 430+ examples of *ḫandae-*^{zi} and derivatives that show a spelling *ḫa-an-* (of which 23 are found in OS texts) vs. only 3 plene spellings *ḫa-a-an-*. As these latter are attested in NS texts only, they hardly can be phonologically valuable. Moreover, a semantic connection with *ḫā-*^{zi} */ ḫ-* 'to trust, to believe' is unattractive.

All in all, we have to conclude that *ḫantae-*^{zi} must have been derived from a further unattested noun **ḫanta-*, of which no cognates are known.

ḫanda(i)š- (c.) 'heat': nom.sg. *ḫa-an-da-iš* (KBo 3.23 obv. 6, rev. 9 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-an-da-a-*[*iš*] (KUB 31.115, 9 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-ta-i-ši* (KBo 3.22 obv. 17, 19 (OS)), [*ḫa-a*]*n-da-iš-ši* (1554/u, 8 (NS)), *ḫa-an-da-š*[*i*] (KBo 3.23 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), [*ḫa-an-d*]*a-ši* (KUB 31.115, 11 (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: ?OIr. *and-* 'to kindle'.

PIE *$*h_2end^{(h)}$-* ?

This word is often regarded as neuter (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 107; HW^2 Ḫ: 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) *ḫa-an-da-iš u̯a-la-aḫ-zi zi-g=a-an e-ku-ni-mi da-i*

(7) *ták-ku-u̯=a-an e-ku-ni-ma-aš u̯a-la-aḫ-zi n=a-an ḫa-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 *ḫantai-*, as the dat.-loc.sg. shows the stems *ḫantaiš-* and *ḫantaš-*. The form *ḫantaiši* occurs in the formula *ḫantaiši mēḫuni* 'in the heat of noon' only (*ḫa-an-ta-i-ši me-e-ḫ*[*u-ni*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 17), *ḫa-an-ta-i-ši me-e-ḫu-n*[*i*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 19) and [*ḫa-a*]*n-da-iš-ši=kán me*[*-ḫu-ni*] (1554/u, 8 (cf. StBoT 18: 98)), whereas *ḫandaši* is only attested in the above cited context. Neumann (1960: 141) assumes that *ḫantaiši mēḫuni* is a wrong inflection of an originally nominal sentence **ḫantaiš mēḫur* 'heat is the time = daytime'. Rieken (1999a: 220) convincingly argues that it is better to assume that just as *nekuz mēḫur*, **ḫantaiš mēḫur* shows an original gen.sg. **ḫantaiš* 'the time of heat'. Problematic, however, is the question how to interpret this gen.sg. **ḫantaiš* formally. Moreover, if the form *ḫandaši* represents the real dat.-loc.sg., I would not be able to explain how the stem *ḫandaš-* is to be seen in comparison to a nom.sg. *ḫandaiš* and a gen.sg. **ḫantaiš*. According to Rieken (l.c.), the forms are all explicable if we assume an originally ablauting *i*-stem **ḫand-i-*, **ḫand-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$_2$end$^{(h)}$-*.

ḫandaš-: see *ḫanda(i)š-*

ḫantezzi(i̯a)- (adj.) 'first, foremost' (Sum. IGI-*zi(i̯a)-*, Akk. *MAḪRÛ*): nom.sg.c. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-aš* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-aš* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i-aš* (OH/NS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-an* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-in* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-ti-iz-zi-an* (KBo 25.123, 8), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-an* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-te-e-ez-zi* (KUB 36.55 ii 21), gen.sg. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi*, nom.pl.c. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-e-eš* (OS), *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-uš*, *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-iš*, gen.pl. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-(i̯a-)aš*.

Derivatives: ***ḫantezzi*** (adv.) 'firstly; in front' (*ḫa-an-te-ez-zi*), ***ḫantezzii̯az*** (adv.) 'before; in front' (*ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-az*, *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-az*, *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-za*), ***ḫantezzili*** (adv.) 'in earlier times' (*ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-li*), ***ḫantezzii̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make foremost' (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš*), ***ḫantezzii̯atar / ḫantezzii̯ann-*** (n.) 'first position' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-i̯a-an-ni*).

PIE **h$_2$ent-etiHo-*

The word shows two stems, namely *ḫantezziia-* and *ḫantezzi-*. It is remarkable that all OS attestations belong to the stem *ḫantezziia-* (nom.sg.c. *ḫantezziiaš*, acc.sg. *ḫantezzian*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫantezzian*), whereas from MH onwards we find the stem *ḫantezzi-* (nom.sg.c. *ḫantezziš*, acc.sg.c. *ḫantezzin*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫantezzi*). The stem *ḫantezzi-* does not show an ablauting suffix (no **ḫantezzaii-*). The hapax spelling with *-i-* (*ḫa-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 *ḫant-* 'forehead; front' (q.v.) with the *-ezziia*-suffix that we find in *appezzi(ia)-* (from *āppa* (q.v)) as well. The suffix seems to go back to **-etiHo-* (note that **-etio-* probably would have given ***-ezza-*, cf. *zāḫ-*^{i} / *zaḫḫ-* < **tioh*$_2$-).

ḫanzana- (adj. / c.) 'black'; 'web': nom.sg. *ḫa-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$_5$ SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG *ḫa-an-za-na-aš* SÍG SIG$_7$.SIG$_7$ SÍG BABBAR *da-an-zi* 'They take red wool, blue wool, *ḫ*. 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*[*Ù-TI*] 'spider web' is glossed by Hitt. *a-u-ua-ua-aš ḫa-an-za-na-aš* '*ḫ*. of a spider', which would mean that *ḫanzana-* means 'web' here. HW^2 Ḫ: 195 cites a context in which ^{GIŠ}*ḫanzana-* should denote "ein Gerät". So it is possible that we are in fact dealing with three homophonous words *ḫanzana-*.

The first *ḫanzana-*, 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*$_2$*ms(o)no-*, although in my view a reconstruction **h*$_2$*ns-(o)no-* is equally possible. It should be noted that the etymology is far from certain, however.

ḫanzāšša- (c.) 'offspring': dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-an-za-aš-ši*, all.sg. *ḫa-an-za-a-aš-ša* (MH/MS), *ḫa-an-za-aš-ša* (MH/MS), instr. *ḫa-an-za-aš-ši-it*, nom.pl. *ḫa-an-za-a*[*-aš-še*]*-eš* (OS), *ḫa-an-za-aš-še-eš*, *ḫa-a-an-za-aš-še-eš* (1x, MH/NS), acc.pl. *ḫa-an-za-aš-šu-uš*, *ḫa-an-za-šu-uš* (1x, NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-an-za-aš-ša-aš* (OS).

PIE **h*$_2$*msósio-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 224f. and HW^2 Ḫ: 397f. for attestations. This word only occurs as the second part of the expression *ḫāšša- ḫanzāšša-* that denotes 'further

offspring', compare e.g. KUB 29.1 iv (2) *nu* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ḫa-aš-še-eš ḫa-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=*ḪA* DUMU.DUMU=*ḪA ḫa-aš-ša ḫa-an-za-aš-ša pa-aḫ-ši* 'You must protect my son (acc.) and grandson (acc.) down all generations'. Although the plene spelling *ḫa-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 *ḫanzāššša-* and *ḫāššša-* are etymologically cognate. For the nasal in *ḫanzāššša-*, compare Luw. *ḫamsa/i-* 'grandchild' as cited under the lemma of *ḫāššša-*. Within Hittite, *ḫanzāššša-* and *ḫāššša-* clearly belong with the verb *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* 'to procreate', and therefore also with *ḫaššu-* 'king'. See at the lemma of *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* for a detailed treatment of these words. There I argue that *ḫanzāššša-* must reflect *$*h_2msó-$*, the full-grade of which yielded *ḫāššša-*. The second part, *-aššša-*, in my view must be equated with the genitival suffix *-aššša-* (q.v.), which means that *ḫāššša- ḫanzāššša-* literally means 'offspring (and) the offspring thereof'. All in all, I reconstruct *ḫanzāššša-* as *$*h_2msósio-$*.

ḫapp-^{zi} (Ia4; IIIa > IIIb) '(act.) to join, to attach; (impers., midd.) to arrange itself, to work out': 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-ti* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-ap-pu-un* (MS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-ap-da-ri* (MS?), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-ap-da-at* (MS?), *ḫa-ap-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫa-ap-pa-ru* (OS).

Derivatives: $^{(UZU)}$***ḫappeššar / ḫappešn-*** (n.) '(joint, limb, member, body part' (Sum. ^{UZU}ÚR; nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-šar*, *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-ša*, *ḫa-ap-pé-e-eš‹-šar›*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-ni*, abl. *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-na-za*, [*ḫ*]*a-ap-pé-eš-na-za*, [*ḫa-*]*ap-pí-iš-na-az*, instr. ^{UZU}ÚR-*it*, nom.-acc.pl. ^{UZU}ÚR$^{ḪI.A}$-*ša*, gen.pl. *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-na-aš*, *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-aš*), ***ḫappešnant-*** (c.) 'id.' (nom.sg. ^{UZU}ÚR-*za*, acc.sg. ^{UZU}ÚR-*da-an*, nom.pl. *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-an-te-eš*), ***ḫappešnae-^{zi}*** '(+ *arḫa*) to dismember' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-mi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-na-a-an-zi*, *ḫa-ap-pé-eš-na-an-zi*, *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-an-zi*, *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-ša-na*[*-an-zi*], [*ḫa-ap-*]*pé-eš-ša*[*-na-an-zi*]), see *ḫappu-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. $^{(UZU)}$***ḫappiš-*** 'limb, member' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-iš-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḫa-ap-pí-ša-a-ti*, *ḫa-ap-pí-ša-ti*, *ḫa-ap-pí-i-ša-a-ti*).

IE cognates: Lat. *aptus* 'connected, fitting'.

PIE *h_2ep-

See HW^2 Ḫ: 196f. for attestations and semantics. The oldest form is 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫapparu* (OS), which may indicate that the middle inflection was original. Puhvel (HED 3: 113-4) convincingly connects *ḫapp-* with Lat. *aptus* 'connected, fitting' and reconstructs **h_2ep-*.

ḫapa- (c.) 'river' (Sum. ÍD): nom.sg. ÍD-*aš*, acc.sg. ÍD-*an* (OS), gen.sg. *ḫa-pa-aš*, dat.sg. [Í]D-*pí* (KUB 36.49 i 11 (OS)), all.sg. ÍD-*pa*, *ḫa-pa-a*, abl. ÍD-*az*, ÍD-*za*, nom.pl. ÍD$^{ḪI.A}$-*eš*, acc.pl. ÍD^{MEŠ}-*uš*, gen.pl. ÍD^{MEŠ}-*an*, ÍD^{MEŠ}-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. ÍD^{MEŠ}-*aš*, abl.pl. ÍD^{MEŠ}-*az*, ÍD^{MEŠ}-*za*.

Derivatives: ***ḫapae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to wet, to moisten' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-pa-a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-a-pa-a-an-zi*; impf. *ḫa-pí-iš-ke/a-*), ***ḫapāti-*** (c.) 'river land(?)' (acc.sg. *ḫa-pa-a-ti-in* (MH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***ḫāpna-*** (c.) 'river' (nom.sg. *ḫa-a-ap-na-aš*); CLuw. ***ḫāpa/i-*** (c.) 'river' (nom./voc.sg. *ḫa-a-pí-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. ÍD-*i*, abl.-instr. ÍD-*ti*, nom.pl.(? in Hitt. context) *ḫa-pa-an-zi*, acc.pl. ÍD$^{ḪI.A}$-*in-za*, dat.-loc.pl. ÍD^{MEŠ}-*an-za*), ***ḫāpinna/i-*** (c.) 'little river, stream' (acc.pl. *ḫa-a-pí-in-ni-in-za*, *ḫa-pí-in-ni-in-za*); HLuw. ***hapa/i-*** (c.) 'river' (acc.sg. /hapin/ FLUMEN-*pi-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §7, §8), FLUMEN-*pi-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §9), FLUMEN(-)*311$^{?}$(-)*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)), ***hapad(a)i-*** (c.) 'riverland' (nom.sg. /hapadis/ $^{\text{"FLUMEN"}}$*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^{s}i/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*zi* (IZGIN 1 §5), dat.-loc.pl. /hapadiant^{s}/ FLUMEN.REGIO-*za* (IZGIN 1 §5)); Lyc. ***χba(i)-*** 'to irrigate' (3pl.pret.act. *χbaitẽ*).

PAnat. **$h_2$ebo-*

IE cognates: OIr. *aub*, gen. *abae*, MWe. *afon* 'river', Lat. *amnis* 'stream, river'.

PIE **h_2eb^h-o-*, **h_2eb^h-n-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 197f. for attestations. There, an all.sg.-form *ḫa-ap-pa* with geminate *-pp-* is cited as well (KUB 31.74 ii (9) *ḫa-ap-pa an-da še-eš-te-en*[...] 'You must sleep inside the *ḫ*.'), but in my view there is no indication from the context that this word should mean 'river'. Besides the stem *ḫapa-*, 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. *ḫāpna-*.

The consistent spelling with single *-p-* in Hittite and Luwian points to IE $*b^{(h)}$, which is confirmed by Lyc. *χba(i)-*. We therefore have to reconstruct PAnat. $*h_2ebo$-, which cannot be connected with $*h_2ep$- '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 $*h_2eb^h$*-n-*. These *n*-stem forms remind of Pal. *ḫāpna-* 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-***^{zi}, ***ḫappirae-***^{zi}, ***ḫap(pa)riie/a-***^{zi} (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*[*-ši*] (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(ii)a-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *ápas-* 'work', Lat. *opus* 'work'.

PIE $*h_3ép$-*r-*

See HW^2 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-*^{zi} (oldest attestation MH/MS) and *ḫāppir(ii)a-* '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 /Hắpr/. This means that we are dealing with two stems, /Hāpr-/ and /Hāpɨr- / 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 **h₃ép-r*, **h₃p-ér-s* yielding the secondary stems **h₃ép-ēr* and **h₃ép-r-os*, **h₃ép-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' < **h₃ep-*. Reconstructing an original *-r/n*-stem on the basis of *ḫāppar* besides *ḫappina-* '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 *ḫāppar-* (and especially *ḫappiriie/a-*). This has led to the generally accepted view that initial **h₃-* 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. *ḫappiriie/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 **h₃e-* yielded Lyc. *χe-*, and that therefore the connection between Hitt. *ḫāppar-* < **h₃ep-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.

ḫappena-: see *ḫapn- / ḫappen-*

ḫappina- (adj.) 'rich' (Sum. NÍG.TUKU): dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-ni* (NH).

Derivatives: $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***ḫappinant-*** (adj.) 'rich (person)' (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-an-za*, gen.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-an-da-aš*, [*ḫ*]*a-ap-pí-n*[*a-an-t*]*a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-an-ti*, nom.pl.c. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-an-te-eš*), ***ḫappinaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to enrich' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ*-[*ḫi*], 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-na*[*-aḫ-ḫe-er*], 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ*, *ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ-ḫi*), ***ḫappinēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become rich' (2sg.pres.act. NÍG.TUKU-*ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ap-pí-ni-eš-zi*, [*ḫ*]*a-ap-pí-ni-iš-ši-e*[*z-zi*]), ***ḫappinatt-*** (c.) 'wealth' (nom.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-az*, acc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pí-na-at-ta-an*).

IE cognates: Lat. *ops* 'wealth', *opulentus* 'rich', Skt. *ápnas* 'possessions', YAv. *afnaŋ*^{v}*haṇt-* 'rich in property'.

PIE **h₃ep-en-o-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 230f. for attestations. It is generally accepted that *ḫappina-* and its derivatives are derived from the noun *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-* 'business, trade' (see there for etymology). According to Szemerényi (1954: 275-82), Hitt. *ḫappinant-* is to be equated with Lat. *opulentus* 'rich' from **h$_3$ep-en-ont-* (the latter showing dissimilation of **-n-n-* to *-n-l-*). Other *n*-derivations of the stem **h$_3$ep-* are found in e.g. Skt. *ápnas* 'possessions'.

ḫappina- 'baking kiln, fire-pit': see *ḫapn- / ḫappen-*

ḫappir-: see *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-*

ḫāppiriia-, ***ḫāppira-*** (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-*i*]*a-an* (KBo 6.10 iii 17 (OH/NS)), [U]RU-*pí-ra-an* (ABoT 32 i 4 (MH/MS?), gen.sg. *ḫa-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. *ḫa-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$^{(\text{DIDLI.})\text{Ḫ}\text{I.A}}$ (OS), acc.pl. URU$^{\text{DIDLI.Ḫ}\text{I.A}}$*-uš*, gen.pl. URU-*ri-ia*[*-an*], URU-*ia-an*, dat.-loc.pl. URU-*ri-aš*.

Derivatives: ****ḫāppiriiašeššar / ḫāppiriiašešn-*** (n.) 'town-settlement' (nom.-acc.sg. URU-*ri-a-še-eš-šar* (KBo 4.4 iv 6), URU-*ia-še-eš-šar* (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)), ****ḫāppiriiant-*** (c.) 'town (personified)' (nom.sg. URU-*az* (KUB 41.8 iv 30)).

PIE **h$_3$ep-er-io-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 233f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *ḫāppiriia-* and **ḫāppira-* (URU-*pira-*). According to HW^2, *ḫāppiriia-* is the older form, although **ḫāppira-* is attested in MH times already. Puhvel (HED 3: 128) assumes that *ḫāppira-* is a backformation on the basis of oblique forms like dat.-loc.sg. *ḫāppiri*.

It is generally accepted that *ḫāppiriia-* is derived from *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-* 'business, trade' and therefore originally probably meant 'place of trade'. See at *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-* for further etymology.

ḫapn- / ḫappen- (gender undet.) 'baking kiln, fire-pit, broiler (oven)': gen.sg. *ḫa-ap‹-pé›-e-na-aš* (KUB 46.73 iii 4 (NS)), *ḫa-ap-pé-na-aš*, *ḫa-ap-pa-na-aš* (KBo 25.171 v 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pé-e-ni* (OH/MS), *ḫa-ap-pé-ni*, all.sg. *ḫa-ap-pé-na*, instr. *ḫa-ap-pé-ni-it*.

PIE **h₃ep-en-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 *-pé-*, which means that the stem in fact is *ḫappen-* (note that HW^2 treats this word under the lemma *ḫappina-*). HW^2 cites one form "mit der singulären Schreibung" *ḫa-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 *ḫappen-*, *ḫapn-* (in which I interpret *ḫa-ap-pa-na-aš* as /Hapnas/), and not with a thematic noun *ḫappena-* (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. ὀπτάω 'to bake', itself probably derived from Gr. ὀπτός 'baked'. This would point to a root **h₃ep-*, which means that we have to reconstruct an original paradigm **h₃ép-n*, **h₃p-én-s* (if the word originally was neuter) or **h₃ép-ōn*, **h₃p-én-m*, **h₃p-n-ós* (if it was commune, cf. **pešan- / pešn- / pišen-* for a similar paradigm).

ḫappu- (adj.) 'secret(?)': nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫap$^{?}$-pu*.

Hapax in vocabulary KBo 1.42 ii 22, where Sum. GÚ.ZAL and Akk. *PÍ-RI-ÌŠ-TÙ* 'secret' are glossed with Hitt. *ḫap$^{?}$-pu ut-tar* '*ḫ*. matter', on the basis of which we must assume that *ḫappu-* means something like 'secret' (cf. Weitenberg 1984: 26). To what extent this *ḫappu-* is cognate with *ḫappu-* 'cage(?)' is unclear. One could assume that an original *'caged' develops into 'secret'. See then at *ḫappu-* 'cage' for further etymology.

ḫappu- (gender unclear) 'fence, railings, cage (within a pen)': dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pu-i*, *ḫa-ap-pu-u-i*, *ḫa-ap-pu-ú-i*.

Derivatives: $^{(KUŠ)}$***ḫapputri-*** (n.) 'leather part of harness' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ap-pu-ut-ri*).

PIE **h₂ep-u-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 ^{KUŠ}*ḫapputri-*, which denotes a leather part of the harness of oxen, is derived from *ḫappu-*. Tischler HEG 1: 167 proposes to connect *ḫappu-* with *ḫapp-* 'to join, to attach' (q.v.), which is widely followed. This would mean that *ḫappu-* reflects **h₂ep-u-*. Puhvel (l.c.) compares this *u*-stem with Lat. *cōpula-* 'binding' < **co-apula-*). For the possibility that *ḫappu-* 'secret' is derived from this *ḫappu-*, see there.

ḫapuri- (c.) 'foreskin': acc.sg. *ḫa-pu-ri-in*.

See HW^2 Ḫ: 256 for attestation and context. This word is generally connected with "*ḫapuš-* 'penis'" (cf. e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 131; Rieken 1999: 206), but this has now become impossible since "*ḫapuš-*", which in fact is *ḫāpūša(šš)-*, does not denote 'penis', but 'shin-bone' (cf. Kloekhorst 2005a). This leaves *ḫapuri-* without any reliable IE etymology.

ḫapuš-: see *ḫāpūša(šš)-*

ḫāpūša(šš)- (n.) 'shaft (of an arrow or of reed); shin-bone': nom.-acc.sg. [*ḫa-*]*a-pu-ú-ša=kán* (KUB 9.4 i 13), gen.sg. *ḫa-a-pu-ú-ša-aš* (KUB 9.4 i 31), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-a-pu-ú-ša-aš-ši* (KUB 9.4 i 13), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-pu-ša-ši* (KUB 9.34 ii 34), erg.sg. *ḫa-pu-ša-aš-ša-an-za* (KUB 7.1 ii 35), erg.sg. [*ḫa-a-p*]*u-ša-an-za* (KUB 9.4 i 30), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-pu-ša-aš-ša* (KUB 7.1 ii 35), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-a-pu-ša-aš-ša* (KUB 17.8 iv 5), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-pu-ú-še-eš-šar* (KUB 7.1 ii 16).

Derivatives: ***ḫapušeššar*** (n.) '(arrow)shaft' (nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *ḫa-pu-ú-še-eš-šar* (KUB 7.1 ii 16)).

This word, which usually is cited as *ḫapuš-*, 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. ὀπυίω 'to wed, to have sexual intercourse', reconstructing **h₃pus-*. As I have argued in detail in Kloekhorst 2005a, the word in fact shows a stem *ḫāpūša(šš)-* and can hardly mean 'penis' because the list already contains a term for 'penis', namely ^{UZU}ÚR. Since *ḫāpūša(šš)-* is mentioned between *ḫupparattiḭati-* '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^2 Ḫ: 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, *ḫāpūša(šš)-* hardly can be of IE origin.

ḫapuš(š)-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to make up for, to make up, to bring after’: Luw.1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-pu-uš-u̯i*$_5$, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-pu-uš-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *(x) ḫa-pu-ša-an-zi*, *ḫa-pu-uš-ša-an-zi*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-pu-uš*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-pu-uš-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-p*[*u-ša-a-r*]*i*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫa-pu-uš-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *ḫa-pu-ša-an-ta-at*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *ḫa-pu-uš-šu-u-u̯*[*a-aš*]; impf. *ḫa-pu-uš-ke/a-*.

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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^2 cites some forms with geminate *-pp-* as well. The appurtenance of these forms is uncertain however. E.g. 3pl.pres.act. [*ḫ*]*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 *ḫa-ap-pu-ša-an-da-aš* (KBo 6.26 iii 48), which is duplicated by *ḫa-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 *ḫa-ap-pu-uš-šu-u̯a-ar* is attested in the vocabulary KBo 8.10 + 29.9 i 5, where Hitt. MU$^{?}$*-aš ḫa-ap-pu-uš-šu-u̯a-ar* (cf. MSL 15: 91) glosses Akk. *uz-zu-bu* ‘vernachlässigt, verkommen’ (thus in AHW, note that this meaning fits the fact that MU$^{?}$*-aš ḫa-ap-pu-uš-šu-u̯a-ar* is found in a paragraph together with (4) *ar-ḫa da-lu*$^{!}$*-mar* ‘forsaking’, (6) [*u̯*]*a-aš-túl* ‘sin’ and (7) [*ḫ*]*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 Puhvels proposal to etymologically connect *ḫapuš-* 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 arrear’, which does not easily fit the Greek semantics. Unfortunately, I have no convincing alternative etymology to offer.

ḫāra- ‘eagle’: see *ḫāran-*$^{(MUŠEN)}$

ḫarra-^{i} / ḫarr- (IIa1γ) ‘to grind, to splinter up (wood), to crush (bread), (+ *arḫa*) to destroy; (midd.) to go to waste, to go bad’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ra-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ru-u̯a-ni* (KUB 23.77, 50 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ra-an-zi*, *ḫa̯r-ra̯-a̯-an-zi* (KUB 46.22 i 6 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫar-ra-at-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫar-ra-at-ta*; part. *ḫar-ra-an-t-*, *ḫar-ra-a-an-t-* (KUB 9.31 i 2 (MH/NS)); inf.I *ḫar-ru-u̯a-an-zi*.

Derivatives: ***ḫarranu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) ‘id.’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ra-nu-ut*; impf. *ḫar-ra-nu-uš-ke/a-*), see *ḫārš-^{i}*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫarra-*** ‘to crush(?)’ (3pl.pret.act. *ḫar-ra-an-ta* (KBo 29.34 i 6)), ^{NA_4}***ḫarra-*** ‘grindstone’ (abl.-instr. *ḫar-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 *orjǫ*, *orati* ‘to plough’.

PIE *$*h_2órh_3$-ei*, *$*h_2rh_3$-énti* ?

See HW^2: H 263f. for attestations. There, a 3sg.pres.act.-form *ḫa-ra-ra-zi* is mentioned as belonging to this verb, which in my view is rather to be interpreted as a noun (see ^{NA_4}*ḫararazi-* for its own lemma). The verb shows a stem *ḫarra-* besides *ḫarr-* (in inf.I *ḫarru̯anzi* and 1pl.pres.act. *ḫarru̯ani* (although this latter form is mentioned under the lemma *ḫar(k)-^{zi}* in HW^2 Ḫ: 280)) which determines it as belonging to the *tarn(a)*-class. In NS texts we occasionally find forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*ḫarrānzi*, *ḫarrānt-*). The *tarn(a)*-class consists of verbs with the structure **(Ce)CeH-*, and of verbs with the structure **CeCh$_{2/3}$-* (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 *$*h_{2/3}$* was responsible for these verbs’ transition into the *tarn(a)*-class: cf. also *iškalla-^{i} / iškall-* ‘to split’, *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* ‘to trample’, *malla-^{i} / mall-* ‘to mill’, *padda-^{i} / padd-* ‘to dig’ and *šarta-^{i} / šart-* ‘to wipe, to rub’). Because the first structure is unlikely for *ḫarra-^{i} / ḫarr-*, 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 *$*h_3$* would drop, the only possible reconstruction is with *$*h_2$-*. Because *$*h_2$-* was dropped in front of **o* as well, but not in front of **r*, we have to assume that *ḫ-* is

restored throughout the paradigm on the basis of the weak stem *h_2rH- (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c for the outcome of the initial laryngeals). The root-final laryngeal must be *h_2 or *h_3. So formally, *ḫarra-/ḫarr-* can only reflect a root *$h_2erh_{2/3}$-.

A connection with PIE *h_2erh_3- 'to plough' (Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, Lith. *árti*, 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_2erh_3- originally meant 'to crush', which developed into 'to plough' (from 'to crush the soil', cf. also at *ḫārš-*^{i} 'to till the soil' < *h_2orh_3-s-*) only after the splitting off of the Anatolian branch.

Puhvel (HED 3: 136) alternatively suggests a borrowing from Akk. *ḫarāru* 'to grind', but in my opinion, the inflection of *ḫarra-*^{i} / *ḫarr-* cannot easily be explained by this assumption.

ḫāran-$^{(\text{MUŠEN})}$ (c.) 'eagle' (Sum. Á^{MUŠEN}, Akk. *ERŪ*, *ARŪ*): nom.sg. *ḫa-a-ra-aš* (OS, often), *ḫa-ra-aš* (rare), *ḫa-ra-a-aš* (1x, KBo 12.86, 7 (NS)), acc.sg. *ḫa-a-ra-na-an* (OS, often), *ḫa-ra-na-an* (OS, less often), *ḫa-ra-na-a-an* (KBo 13.86 obv. 16 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-a-ra-an* (KUB 30.34 iv 12 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-ra-an* (KUB 30.35 iv 4 (MH/NS), KUB 58.99, 6 (NS)), *ḫa-ra-a-an* (KBo 39.239, 3 (MS?)), gen.sg. *ḫa-a-ra-na-aš* (often), *ḫa-ra-na-aš*, *ḫar-ra-n*[*a-aš*] (KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev. 8 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-a-ra-ni* (KBo 12.77, 12 (MS)), nom.pl. *ḫa-a-ra-ni-iš* (KUB 33.62 ii 2 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-a-ra-‹ne-›e-eš* (KUB 50.1 ii 12 (MS)), *ḫa-ra-a-ni-iš* (Bo 6472, 13 (undat.)), acc.pl. *ḫa-a-ra-ni-e-e*[*š*] (KUB 41.33 obv. 12 (OH/NS)) // *ḫa-ra-ni-i̯a-aš* (KUB 41.32 obv. 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫāranili*** (adv.) 'in eagle-fashion' (*ḫa-a-ra-ni-li* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***ḫaran-*** 'eagle?' (nom.sg. *ḫa-ra-a-aš*, gen.sg. [*ḫa*$^{?}$-]*a-ra-na-aš*); CLuw. ***ḫarran(i)-*** (c.), a bird (acc.pl. *ḫar-ra-ni-en-za*); Lyc. ***Xerẽi***, name of a dynasty.

IE cognates: Gr. ὄρνις 'bird', Goth. *ara* 'eagle', OIc. *ǫrn* 'eagle', OIr. *irar* 'eagle', OCS *orьlъ* 'eagle', Lith. *erẽlis* 'eagle'.

PIE *h_3*ér-on-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 265f. for attestations. This word is attested with and without the determinative MUŠEN. Usually this determinative follows the word (*ḫāran-*^{MUŠEN}) but it does occur preceding the word as well (^{MUŠEN}*ḫāran-*, especially often in OS texts). The original paradigm must have been nom.sg. *ḫāraš*, acc.sg. *ḫāranan*, gen.sg. *ḫāranaš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫārani*, nom.pl. *ḫāraneš*. These show that

the stem was *ḫāran-* (the *-n-* of which was regularly dropped in front of the nom.sg.-ending *-s*, yielding *ḫāraš*). Only sporadically, we find spellings with a different plene vowel (*ḫarāš* once, *ḫaranān* once). In the younger texts we find a few times an acc.sg. *ḫāran* (also *ḫaran*, *ḫarān*), which show a secondary thematic stem *ḫāra-* on the basis of a false analysis of nom.sg. *ḫāraš*.

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 $*h_2$- or $*h_3$-), the non-apophonic *o-* in my view points to a root $*h_3er$- (cf. also Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that Lith. *erẽlis* 'eagle' must show Rozwadowski's change from **arẽlis* (cf. Andersen 1996: 141; Derksen 2002). The Hittite forms go back to an *n*-stem $*h_3ér\text{-}on$- (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, *ḫarran(i)-* (cf. Starke 1990: 76) is treated under the lemma Hitt. *ḫarrani-*, q.v.

See Starke (1987: 265[80]) for the convincing identification of the Lycian dynastic name *Xerẽi* 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.

ḫarrani- (c.) an oracle-bird: nom.sg. *ḫar-ra-ni-iš* (NS), *ḫar-ra-ni-i-iš* (NS), *ḫar-ra-ni-eš* (NS), acc.sg. *ḫar-ra-ni-in* (NS), *ḫar-ra-ni-i-in* (NS), acc.pl. [*ḫar-r*]*a-ni-uš*[!] (NS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫarran(i)-*** (c.) a bird (acc.pl. *ḫar-ra-ni-en-za*).

PIE ?$*h_3ér\text{-}on$-

See HW^2 Ḫ: 271-2 for attestations. All attestations are written with the sign ḪAR, which can be read *ḫar* as well as *ḫur*, which makes a reading *ḫurrani-* 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. *ḫarrani-* as the Luwian cognate to Hitt. *ḫāran-* 'eagle' (q.v.), explaining *-rr-* by Čop's Law. The connection would fit even better if we assume that, since *ḫarrani-* is a commune word, the *-i-* is due to the *i*-Motion and that the stem actually was *ḫarran-*. If this etymology is correct (and formally I see no hindrances, pace Melchert (1994a: 235) who believes that $*h_3éC$- did not participate in Čop's Law because of the intemediate stage $*h_3óC$-, 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^{MUŠEN} *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-*$^{(MUŠEN)}$.

$^{(NA_4)}$***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^2 Ḫ: 263 interprets the words as verbal forms, however, regarding them as variants of *ḫarra-*^{i} */ 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 *-ḫḫaḫḫari* = /-HaHari/ if the ending were very recent); on the other hand it corresponds exactly to the Lycian 1sg.pret.midd.-ending *-χagã* as attested in *aχagã* ‘I became’ (note that here we find a lenited consonant as well: *-χagã* < PAnat. */-Haha+/). 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), exercized 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-ḫári*. 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 *-ḫḫati* and *-ḫḫaḫati*, the *-i*'s of which were eleminated 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 *-ḫḫa* 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_2*. Because in Anatolian this ending would have been regularly lost in post-consonantal position (cf. *mek* 'much' < **meǵh_2*), I assume that it was restored with an additional vowel that yielded Hitt. *-a* and Lyc. *-a*.

ḫar(k)-^{zi} (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-u̯a-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: $^{\text{LÚ/MUNUS}}$***ḫaru̯ant-*** (c.) 'keeper, caretaker, nurse' (Sum. $^{\text{LÚ/MUNUS}}$ÙMMEDA; nom.sg. *ḫar-u̯a-an-za*, acc.sg. *ḫa-ru-u̯a-an-da-an*, *ḫar-u̯a-an-da-(n)=ša-an*, gen.sg. *ḫar-u̯a-an-da*[*-aš*], *ḫar-u̯a-an-ta-aš*, nom.pl. *ḫar-u̯a-an-te-eš*), see *pe ḫar(k)-^{zi}*.

IE cognates: Lat. *arcēre* 'to shut off, to enclose, to hold off', Gr. ἀρκέω 'to ward off, to protect'.

PIE **$h_2$er(ḱ)-ti*, **h_2r̥(ḱ)-enti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 280f. for attestations: note that no infinite forms of this verb are attested. HW^2 cites a 1pl.pres.act.-form *ḫar-ru-u̯a-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-u̯a-ni*, which I would rather translate 'We will crush you' (see under *ḫarra-^{i} / 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)-^{zi}* 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 *$*h_2er^{(h)}k$-*.

In Hittite, the verb shows two stems, namely *ḫar-* when followed by an ending starting in a consonant (including *-u̯-*) 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*° vs. *likC*°) or *kīš-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ kiš-* 'to become' (*kīšV*° vs. *kišC*°). 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' (*$*h_2er^{(h)}k$-*) behaved differently from the (lenis) **g* reflected in *ḫark-*^{zi} 'to get lost' (*$*h_3erg$-*). 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 *$*h_2erǵ$-*nou-*, precludes this: all forms within its paradigm have the cluster /-rgn-/, which shows that **-rǵn-* did not regularly lose its **-ǵ-*. This would mean that only the second possibility remains, namely assuming that **RkC* behaved differently from *$*Rg^{(h)}C$*, in the sense that **k* disappeared, but *$*g^{(h)}$* did not. This could have a parallel in the difference in outcome between (lenis) *$*-d^{(h)}n$-* > Hitt. *-tn-* and (fortis) **-tn-* > Hitt. *-nn-* (cf. Puhvel 1972: 112).

All in all, I conclude that *ḫar(k)-^{zi}* shows that in a cluster **RkC* the fortis **k* regularly was dropped, whereas this was not the case with lenis **g$^{(h)}$*. See *tarna-^{i} / tarn-* 'to let (go), to allow', *ištar(k)-^{zi}* and *tar(k)u-^{zi}* for similar scenarios. The latter verb may show that the development of **-RkC-* to Hitt. *-RC-* went through an intermediate stage **-RʔC-*.

The noun $^{LÚ/MUNUS}$*ḫaru̯ant-* 'keeper, caretaker', which is quite obviously derived from *ḫar(k)-^{zi}* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 164), is regarded by Puhvel (HED 3: 204-5) as cognate with Lith. *šérti* 'to feed', Gr. κορέω 'to clean' < **ḱerh$_1$-*, of which he supposes that **k* yielded *ḫ* through assimilation similar to the one in *ḫaršar / ḫaršn-* 'head' which he derives from **ḱerh$_2$sr*. See for the incorrectness of the latter etymology at its own lemma.

ḫark-^{zi} (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-i̯a-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-i̯a-it-ta-ru* (KUB 57.63 ii 8 (NH)); part. *ḫar-kán-t-*, *ḫar-ga-an-t-*, *ḫar-ki-i̯a-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$_4$-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-^{zi}*** (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$_4$*, 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-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *ḫar-ni-in-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫar-ni-in-ki-eš-ke/a-*), ***ḫarknu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to ruin, to destroy' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ka$_4$-nu-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act.

ḫar-ga-nu-zi, *ḫar-ka$_4$-nu-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ka$_4$-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$_4$-nu-er*, *ḫar-ga-nu-e-*[*e*]*r*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-u̯a-an-du*, *ḫar-ga-nu-a*[*n-du*], *ḫar-kán-nu*[*-an-du*], part. *ḫar-ga-nu-u̯a-an-t-*).

IE cognates: OIr. *orgaid* 'to kill, to ravage, to devastate', *con•oirg* 'to smite', ?Arm. *harkanem* 'to smite, to smash'.

PIE **h$_3$erg-ti*, **h$_3$rg-enti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 297f. for attestations. We find two stems, namely *ḫark-^{zi}* and *ḫarkii̯e/a-^{zi}*. 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 *ḫarkii̯ae-^{zi}* according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class. The derivatives *ḫarni(n)k-^{zi}* and *ḫarknu-^{zi}* 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$_3$erg-*. For *ḫark-^{zi}*, this means that we have to reconstruct **h$_3$érg-ti*, **h$_3$rg-énti*. In the zero grade forms, **h$_3$* should regularly disappear before resonant, but was restored on the basis of the full grade **h$_3$erg-* where **h$_3$* is retained as Hitt. *ḫ-* in front of **e* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

See at *ḫar(k)-^{zi}* 'to hold, to have' for an account for the difference between the paradigms of *ḫark-^{zi}* and *ḫar(k)-^{zi}*.

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-i̯a-aš*, *ḫar-ki-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ki-i̯a*, *ḫar-ga-i̯a*, *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-i̯a*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ki-*[*a*]*š* (KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 ii 18).

Derivatives: ***ḫargnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make white’ (3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ga-nu-ut*; impf. *ḫar-ga-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***ḫarkiḭēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to become white’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ki-i-e-eš-zi*, *ḫar-ki-e-eš-zi*, *ḫar-ki-eš-zi*, *ḫar-ki-iš-zi*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀργι-όδων ‘white-toothed’, ἀργός ‘white’, Skt. *ṛjrá-* ‘shining reddishly, brightcoloured; quick, hurrying’, *ṛjíśvan-* ‘with fast dogs’, TochA *ārki*, TochB *ārkwi* ‘white’.

PIE *$*h_2(e)rǵ-(e)i-$*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 307f. for attestations. The word shows the normal adjectival *i*-stem inflection with ablaut (*ḫarki-/ḫargai-*). The nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫarga* is contracted from *$*ḫargaḭa$*. Since Kuryłowicz (1927: 101) this word is connected with Gr. ἀργός, Skt. *ṛjrá-* ‘white’, which points to a reconstruction *$*h_2rǵ-i-$*. This *i*-stem is a Caland-variant of the *-ro*-stem *$*h_2rǵ-ro-$* seen in Greek (ἀργός < *ἀργρός with dissimilation) and Sanskrit, and is still visible in the compounds ἀργι-όδων ‘white-toothed’ and *ṛjíśvan-* ‘with fast dogs’. Note that an *i*-less form is visible in the causative *ḫargnu-*^{zi} ‘to make white’.

Puhvel (HED 3: 171) suggests that the logographic spelling of ‘silver’, KÙ.BABBAR-*ant-* could stand for *$*ḫarkant-$* (*$*h_2rǵ-ent-$*) and in that way could be cognate with Skt. *rajatám*, Lat. *argentum*, YAv. *ərəzata-* and Arm. *arcat’* ‘silver’ that reflect *$*h_2rǵ-n̥t-ó-$*.

See at *ḫargnau-* for the possibility that this word is derived from *ḫarki-*.

ḫarkiḭe/a-^{zi} : see *ḫark-*^{zi}

ḫargnau- (n.) ‘palm (of hand), sole (of foot)’: nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫar-ga-na-ú* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *ḫar-ga-na-u-u̯a-aš* (MH/NS), [*ḫar-ga-*]*na-u̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ga-na-ú-i* (MH/NS), erg.sg. *ḫar-ga-na-u-u̯a-an-za* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ḫar-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at* (OH/MS).

PIE *$*h_2érǵ-nōu(-s)$*, *$*h_2rǵ-nóu-m$*, *$*h_2rǵ-nu-ós$*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 303f. for attestations. Note that Puhvel (HED 3: 168) cites a nom.sg.c. *ḫar-ga-na-uš*, which is based on KUB 9.34 ii (32) [...]x=*kán ḫar-ga-n*[*a-ú-i* ...], where Puhvel reads [*ḫarganau*]*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 *ḫar-ga-na-ú=kán ḫar-ga-na-ú-i*, and since the trace could fit *ú* as well, I would rather read [*ḫar-ga-na-*]*u̯=kán*. The only assured commune form is nom.pl.c. *ḫar-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at*, which contrasts with nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫar-ga-na-ú*

and erg.sg. *ḫar-ga-na-u-u̯a-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 **h₃rǵ-nou-*. Many scholars regarded this etymology as key evidence for the view that initial **h₃* was retained in Hittite as *ḫ-*. As I have argued in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.c, it can be established that initial **h₃* 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 **h₂erǵ-nōu*. See at *ḫarki- / ḫargai-* 'white' for further etymology.

ḫarna-*[zi] / *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-i̯a-zi* (KBo 10.45 ii 15 (MH/NS)), *ḫar-ni-i̯a-iz-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-*[zi]** (Ib2 > Ic1) 'to spray' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-nu-zi* (KUB 47.39 obv. 12 (MH/NS)), *ḫar-nu-ú-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-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 24.45 obv. 22 (MS?), KBo 13.179 ii 10 (MH?/NS)); part. *ḫar-nu-u̯a-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 **h₂r-ne-h₂/₃-ti*, **h₂r-n-h₂/₃-enti* ??

See HW² 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°* or *ḫurn°*. The one attestation *ḫa-ar-ni-i̯a-ad-du* solves this question in favour of the reading *ḫarn°* (cf. Neu 1983: 55[261]). Despite this unambiguous form, many scholars still cite this verb as *ḫurn°* (e.g. Puhvel HED 3: 402f.; Oettinger 1979a: 307f., etc.), also on the basis of the form *ḫu-u-ur-nu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 39.6 obv. 14), which then is interpreted as gen.sg. of a verbal noun **ḫurnuu̯ar* 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-u̯a-aš* 'on the eleventh day of *ḫ*.'.

I therefore follow Neu to read this verb as *ḫarn*° (see also HW^2 (l.c.) for this interpretation).

The verb is difficult to interpret formally. The oldest attestation, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫarnaun̯eni* (StBoT 25.137 ii 17 (OS)), shows a stem *ḫarna-* (note however that I have doubts regarding the reliability of this text: cf. the fully aberrant 1pl.pres.act.-form *iš-ḫu-un̯a-un̯a-a-ni* (ibid. 18)). In NS texts, we find the stem *ḫarniin̯e/a-*, but also 3pl.pres.act. *ḫarnanzi* that seems to point to a stem *ḫarn-*. This makes it likely that we are dealing with an original verb *ḫarna-^{zi} / ḫarn-*, which in the course of time was altered to *ḫarniin̯e/a-^{zi}* (cf. *ḫulle-^{zi} / ḫull-* for a similar development). Note that Oettinger (1979a: 151) cites this verb as *ḫurne-*, apparently interpreting the attestation *ḫar-ni-e-ez-zi* as /°net^{s}i/, but this is incorrect: it must be /Hrniét^{s}i/, as *-nezzi* would have been spelled *ḫar-ne-(e-)ez-zi*.

A *mi*-inflecting stem *ḫarna-^{zi} / ḫarn-* hardly can reflect anything else than a nasal infixed stem *$*h_2$r-ne-h_{2/3}$-ti*, *$*h_2$r-n-h_{2/3}$-enti*. Unfortunately, I know of no convincing cognate.

The verb *ḫarnu-^{zi}* is cited by e.g. Puhvel (l.c.) as *ḫurnun̯ai-*, but this is unnecessary: almost all forms point to a plain stem *ḫarnu-*. The one attestation *ḫar-nu-ú-i-ez-zi* is probably secondary (cf. e.g. *unu-^{zi}* 'to decorate' that in NS times occasionally is altered to *unun̯ae-^{zi}*). The fact that *ḫarna-^{zi} / ḫarn-* and *ḫarnu-^{zi}* 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 *$*h_2rh_{2/3}$-* 'to drip (intr.), to flow' into transitive 'to sprinkle, to drip (trans.), to make flow > to pour').

ḫarnae-^{zi}, ***ḫarniin̯e/a-^{zi}*** (Ic2 / Ic1) 'to stir, to churn, to ferment, to agitate, to foment': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-na-mi* (KBo 40.272, 6 (MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ni-et* (KBo 40.272, 9 (MS)), part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-ar-na-a-an* (KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 i 27 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫarnammar*** (n.) 'yeast, ferment' (*ḫa-ar-na-am-mar* (OH/NS), *ḫar-nam-mar* (MH/NS), *ḫa-ar-na-am-ma* (MH/NS)), ***ḫarnamniin̯e/a-^{zi}*** (Ic1) 'to stir (up), to churn, to cause to ferment, to incite' (2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-zi*, *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-az-zi*, *ḫar-nam-ni-ez-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-at*[*-te-ni*], 3sg.pret.act. [*ḫar-na*]*m-ni-e-et*, *ḫar-nam-ni-et*, *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-at*; part. *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-an-t-*; impf. [*ḫar-n*]*am-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫar-nam-ma-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫar-nam-ni-eš-ke/a-*), ***ḫarnamniin̯ašḫa-*** (c.) 'stir, commotion' (nom.sg. *ḫar-nam-ni-in̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*, acc.sg. [*ḫar-nam-*]*ni-in̯a-aš-ḫa-an* (MH/MS)).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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-*^{zi}, whereas *ḫarniet* shows *ḫarniie/a-*^{zi}. Nevertheless, the derivatives *ḫarnammar* and *ḫarnamniie/a-*^{zi} seem to point to a stem **ḫarna-*, which would fit *ḫarnae-*^{zi} 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-ua=a* (KBo 5.1 i 39 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫar-nu-ua-aš* (ABoT 21 obv. 15 (MS)), *ḫar-na-ua-aš* (KUB 26.66 iii 11 (NS)), *ḫar-na-a-ua-aš* (KUB 21.27 ii 17 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-u-aš* (KUB 21.27 iv 36 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-u-ua-aš* (Bo 7953 iii 11, iii 16, KBo 8.63 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 21.27 ii 16 (NH)), *ḫar-na-a-ú-ua-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: ***ḫarnuuašši-*** (adj.) 'of the birthing seat' (dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-nu-ua-‹aš-›ši-aš* (KBo 17.65 obv. 49 (MS)).

PIE **h₃ér-nōu(-s)*, **h₃r-nóu-m*, **h₃r-nu-ós*.

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 *ḫarnuuašši-* 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 *ḫar-* with Hitt. *ḫardu-* 'descendant' (q.v.) and ^{MUNUS}*ḫaru̯ant-* 'nurse' (q.v.). Although the latter must be regarded as a derivative of *ḫar(k)-*^{zi} (q.v.), the connection between *ḫarnāu-* and *ḫardu-* is convincing. The word *ḫardu-* is compared by Weitenberg with Lat. *ortus* 'rise, origin, birth'. These connections were elaborated by Ofitsch (1995: 22ff.), who connects the element *ḫar-* with PIE **h₃er-* 'to start to move (forth)' and reconstructs *ḫarnau-* as **h₃r̥-nōu-*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, a reconstruction **h₃ér-nōu* would be better in view of the fact that initial **h₃r̥-* yielded Hitt. *ar-*, whereas **h₃e-* > *ḫa-*.

ḫarniie/a-^{zi} : see *ḫarna-*^{zi} */ ḫarn-*

ḫarp-$^{tta(ri)}$; ***ḫarp-***^{zi} (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. *ḫar-ap-ta* (OS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫar-pa-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ḫar-pa-an-da-ri* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫar-ap-ta-ti* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *ḫar-ap-ḫu-ut* (OH/NS), *ḫar-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (NH), 2pl.imp.midd. *ḫar-ap-du-ma-ti* (NS), *ḫar-ap-tum-ma-ti* (NS); 1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-pí-ia-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ap-ši* (NS), *ḫa-ar-ap-ši* (NS), *ḫar-pí-ia-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-ap-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫar-pu-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), *ḫar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* (NS), *ḫar-pí-ia*[*-u-e-ni*], 1sg.pret.act. *ḫar-pí-ia-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ap-ta* (MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫar-ap-ta*, *ḫar-pí-ia-a*[*t*] (NS), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫar-ap-te-en*, *ḫar-ap-tén*, *ḫar-pí-ia-at-tén*; part. *ḫar-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *ḫar-pu-u-u̯a-aš*; impf. *ḫar-pí-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ḫar-ap-pí*[*-iš-ke/a-*].

Derivatives: $^{(\text{GIŠ})}$***ḫarpa/i-*** (c.) '(wood)pile, heap, mound' (nom.sg. *ḫar-pa-aš*, *ḫar-pa-a-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫar-pa-an*, *ḫar-pí-in*, gen.sg. *ḫar-pa-aš*, *ḫar-pa-a-aš*, *ḫar-pí-ia-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-pí*, *ḫar-pí-ia*, nom.pl. *ḫar-pí-i*[*š*], acc.pl. *ḫar-pu-uš*, *ḫar-pí-uš*, *ḫa-ar-pí-uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫar-pa*, dat.-loc.pl. [*ḫa*]*r-pa-aš*), ***ḫarpae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to heap up' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫar-pa-a-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-pa-a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-pa-a-an-zi*, *ḫar-pa-an-zi*, *ḫar-ap-pa-an-zi* (KBo 11.52 v 8 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 17.28 iii 40 (MH/NS)), ***ḫarpal(l)i-*** (n.) 'heap, stack, pile' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-pa-li*, nom.-acc.pl. *ḫar-pa-li*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-pa-al-li-ia-aš*), ***ḫarpanalla/i-*** (c.) 'rebel, turncoat' (nom.sg. *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-*[*iš*], acc.sg. *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-ia-an*, *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-in*, gen.sg. *ḫar-pa-na-al-la-aš*, *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-i*[*a-aš*], dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-pa-n*[*a-al-*]*li*, nom.pl. *ḫar-pa-na-li-e-eš*, acc.pl. *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-uš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-pa-na-al-li-ia-aš*), ↙ ***ḫarpanalla*** (adv.) 'disloyally' (↙ *ḫar-pa-na-al-la*), ***ḫarpu*** in the expression *ḫar-pu ša-ru-pa le-e i-ia-ši* 'do not act helter-skelter'.

IE cognates: Gr. ὀρφανός, Arm. *orb* 'orphan', Lat. *orbus* 'bereft of', OIr. *orb(b)* 'heir, inheritance', Goth. *arbi* 'inheritance'.

PIE *$*h_3erb^h$-to*.

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 *ḫarpa/i-* 'heap, pile' is formed, which itself is the origin of the denominative verb *ḫarpae-*^{zi} 'to heap up'. In the oldest texts, we only find the stem *ḫarp-*, whereas *ḫarpiy̯e/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 *ḫarp-*, *ḫarpiy̯e/a-* and *ḫarpae-* in younger times.

Melchert convincingly argues that we should follow the etymology of Polomé (1954: 159-60), who connected *ḫarp-* with PIE *$*h_3erb^h$-* as found in Gr. ὀρφανός 'orphan', OIr. *orb(b)* 'heir; inheritance' etc. Melchert explains that the original meaning of *$*h_3erb^h$-* 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 *orbus* '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 *$*h_3erb^h$-to*, after which the stem *ḫarp-* 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* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *ḫar-ap-te-en*
(8) *UM-MA* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *le-e=ta na-a-ḫi ú‹‹-i››-e-eš=ta*
(9) *ḫar-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 *ḫar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* with geminate *-pp-*. In my view, this spelling is caused by the preceding *ḫar-ap-te-en*, on the basis of which the scribe wrote *ḫar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* instead of expected *ḫar-pu-u-e-ni*. The geminate in impf. *ḫar-ap-pí*[*-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-*^{zi} / *aku-* 'to drink'), *lakkiške/a-* (impf. of *lag-*^{ārri} 'to make lay down'), etc. This leaves us with only two instances of *ḫar-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)-*^{zi} and *parkiḭe/a-*^{zi}, the two other alleged examples of this development, for alternative solutions).

ḫārš-^{i} (IIb > Ic1) 'to till (the soil)': 3sg.pres.act. *ḫar-aš-zi* (OH/NS), *ḫar-ši-i*[*-e-*]*ez-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-a*[*n-z*]*i* (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ar-aš-ta* (MS); inf.I *ḫar-šu-u̯a-an-z*[*i*] (NH); impf. *ḫar-aš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ḫar-ši-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ḫar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: $^{(A.ŠÀ)}$***ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-*** (n.) 'tilled land' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫar-ša-u-u̯a-ar*, *ḫar-ša-a-u-ar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ša-ú-n*[*i*] (175/w obv. 8), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ša-ú-na-a*[*š*] (KBo 6.34 ii 39 (MH/NS)), see *ḫarra-*^{i} / *ḫarr-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, OIr. *-air*, OHG *erien*, Lith. *ariù*, *árti*, OCS *orjǫ*, *orati* 'to plough'.

PIE **h₂órh₃-s-ei / *h₂rh₃-s-énti*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 340 for attestations. Because the forms that show a stem *ḫaršiye/a-*^{zi} are found in NS texts only, it is likely that these are of a secondary origin. This verb therefore is usually cited as *ḫarš-*^{zi}. The oldest attestation, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-ar-aš-ta* (MS) shows a peculiar plene spelling, however. Because none of the *mi*-conjugated verbs of the structure *CaRC-*^{zi} (class I4a) ever shows plene spelling (except in the verb *ārš-*^{zi} / *arš-* 'to flow', but here the spelling *a-ar-aš-* is used to indicate the full-grade stem /ʔarS-/, cf. its lemma), it is difficult to assume that this verb belongs to this class originally. I therefore assume that it in fact was *ḫi*-conjugated originally: *ḫārš-*^{i} (note that in verbal stems in *-š-* the *ḫi*-ending 3sg.pret.act. *-š* already in OH times has been replaced by the corresponding *mi*-ending *-tta*, e.g. *ḫa-a-aš-ta* 'she bore' (OS)). The absence of plene spelling in the NH forms is then due to the development OH /ǽCCV/ > NH /áCCV/ as described in § 1.4.9.3.

The verb denotes ‘to till (the soil)’ and is often connected with PIE *h_2erh_3- ‘to plough’ (since Goetze & Sturtevant 1938: 70), assuming that we are dealing with an *s*-extension. When *ḫārš-* was still regarded as a *mi*-conjugated verb *ḫarš-*^{zi}, this was formally impossible as a preform *h_2erh_3-*s*-*ti* should have yielded Hitt. **ḫarre/išzi* (due to the sound law **VRHsC* > /VRR‡sC/, cf. *damme/išḫā-* < *$demh_2sh_2ó$-, *kallišta* < *$ḱelh_1st(o)$*: § 1.4.4.3). With the establishment that *ḫārš-* must have been *ḫi*-conjugated originally, the formal side is better explicable. Although it is true that if we compare the expected preform *$h_2órh_3$-*s*-*ei* to the development of *$h_2ómh_1$-*s*-*ei* to Hitt. *ānši* ‘he wipes’ (cf. *ānš-*^{i}) we must assume that *$h_2órh_3$-*s*-*ei* would yield Hitt. **ārši*, it is in my view trivial that initial *h_2- was restored on the basis of the zero-grade stem *h_2rh_3-*s*- where it was regulary retained as *ḫ-* (cf. *ḫān-*^{i} / *ḫan-* ‘to draw (water)’ < *$h_2ón$- / h_2n- for a similar restoration). Note that the expected outcome of the zero-grade stem, e.g. 3pl. **ḫare/iššanzi* < *h_2rh_3-*s*-*énti*, is thus far unattested and seems to have been fully supplanted by the strong stem *ḫārš-*. The occurrence of the NS *mi*-conjugated form *ḫar-aš-zi* and the stem *ḫaršiie/a-* is completely parallel to the NS forms *a-an-aš-zi* and *ānšiie/a-* in the paradigm of *ānš-*^{i} ‘to wipe’.

From the fact that *ḫārš-*^{i} sometimes occurs together with *terepp-*^{zi} / *teripp-* ‘to plough’ (q.v.) in the pair *ḫārš- ... terepp-* ‘to till and plough’ it is clear that *ḫārš-* 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 *ḫarra-*^{i} / *ḫarr-* ‘to crush’ that also goes back to the root *h_2erh_3-. On the basis of these verbs, we must conclude that the original meaning of *h_2erh_3- 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 *ḫārš- ... 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 *ḫārš-*^{i} must be a loanword, stating that “the probable source of *ḫars-* is Akk. *ḫarāšu* ‘plant’, or *ḫarāṣu* ‘dig a furrow’, or WSem. *ḥaraš-* ‘plough’”, but e.g. HW^2 (l.c.) correctly rejects this view.

For the morphological interpretation of *ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-*, see at *karāu̯ar / karaun-*.

ḫaršar / ḫaršn- (n.) ‘head; person; front; beginning’ (Sum. SAG[.DU]): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ar-ša-ar* (KUB 57.83, 7), gen.sg. *ḫar-aš-ša-na-aš*, *ḫar-ša-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ša-ni* (OS), *ḫa-ar-aš-ni*, *ḫar-ša-ni-i*, *ḫar-ša-an-ni* (1x), all.sg. *ḫar-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 **h₃ers-r*, **h₃rs-n-os*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 344f. for attestations. The paradigm has to be phonologically interpreted as /HárSr/, /HrSnā́s/ (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* /HrSnā́/.

Already since the beginning of Hittitological studies, *ḫaršar / ḫaršn-* has been compared with Skt. *śíras*, *śīrṣnás* 'head' < **ḱérh₂-s-r*, **ḱrh₂-s-n-ós*. Although the semantic side of this etymology is attractive, the formal side is far from. Not only does **ḱ* not regularly give Hitt. *ḫ*, a sequence **VRHsC* should yield Hitt. /VRR̥sC/ (cf. *demh₂sh₂ó-* > *damme/išḫā-*). Peters' scenario (1980: 230[176a]) in which **ḱ...h₂* > **h₂...h₂* 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 **ḱerh₂sr / ḱrh₂sn-* are too similar to be unrelated is useless since *-r/n-*stems are rather common in Hittite.

Already Goetze (1937: 492[3]) suggested another, attractive comparison, namely with Gr. ὄρος 'mountain', which reflects an *s*-stem of the root 'high', **h₃er-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 **h₁er-*, which cannot explain Hitt. *ḫ-*. In my view, it nowadays has become much clearer that we have to distinguish a root **h₁er-* 'to come, to arrive < *to move horizontally' and **h₃er-* 'to raise, to rise < *to move vertically' (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c on the outcomes of different formations with **h₃er-* in Hittite: *ar-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to stand' < **h₃rto*, *arai-*^{i} / *ari-* 'to raise' < **h₃r-(o)i-* vs. *ḫarnau-* 'birthchair' < **h₃er-nou-* and *ḫardu-* 'descendant' < **h₃er-tu-*). In this case, we therefore can safely reconstruct **h₃er-s-r*, **h₃r-s-n-ós*, which should regularly yield Hitt. /HárSr/ and /HrSnā́s/ (with restoration of initial *ḫ-*). See at ^{NINDA}*ḫarši- / ḫaršai-* 'thickbread' for another derivative of the stem **h₃er-s-*.

Note that Puhvel (HED 3: 1987) interprets the syntagm ^{d}U *ḫar-ša-an-na-aš* as 'Storm-god of the head', on the basis of the sumerographical writing ^{d}U SAG.DU. HW^2 (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 *ḫaršiḫarši* 'thunderstorm'. The almost consistent spelling with geminate *-nn-* in *ḫaršannaš* (although ^{d}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 ^{d}U SAG.DU seems to speak in favour of Puhvel's reading (HW^2 seems to regard this attestation as a scribal mistake where a scribe had to write ^{d}U *ḫaršannaš*, but thought of *ḫaršanaš* and subsequently wrote ^{d}U SAG.DU).

^{NINDA}***ḫarši- / ḫaršai-*** (c.) 'thick-bread' (Sum. NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA): nom.sg. *ḫar-ši-iš* (OS), acc.sg. *ḫar-ši-in* (OS), gen.sg. *ḫar-ša-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫar-ši-i̯a-aš*, *ḫar-ši-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ša-i* (OS), *ḫar-ša-a-i* (KBo 30.158, 10 (MS)), *ḫar-ši* (OH/NS), *ḫar-ša-i̯a* (MH/NS), abl. *ḫar-ša-i̯a-az* (NS), *ḫar-ši-i̯a-az* (NS), instr. *ḫar-ši-it* (SBo 4 (2064/g) rev. 3 (MS)), nom.pl. *ḫar-ša-eš* (OS), *ḫar-ša-e-eš* (OS), *ḫar-ša-a-eš* (MS?), *ḫar-ša-a-e-eš* (NS), acc.pl. ^{NINDA}*ḫar-ša-ú-uš* (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (fr.) (OS), KUB 7.8+ ii 11 (NS)), *ḫar-ša-uš* (OH/MS), *ḫar-ša-a-uš* (MS), *ḫar-ši-uš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ša-aš* (OH/MS), *ḫar-ša-i̯a-aš*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: $^{(LÚ)}$***ḫaršii̯ala-***, $^{(LÚ)}$***ḫaršii̯alli-*** (c.) 'bread-server' (Sum. ^{LÚ}NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA; nom.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-la-aš*, gen.pl. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-i̯a-aš*), ^{GIŠ}***ḫaršii̯all-*** (n.) 'breadbox, storage jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li*, gen.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-aš*, *ḫar-ši-al-li-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-i̯a*, abl. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-la-az*), ^{DUG}***ḫarši-*** (c.) 'jar' (nom.sg. *ḫar-ši-iš* (OS), acc.sg. *ḫar-ši-in*, gen.sg. *ḫar-ši-aš*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a*, abl. *ḫar-ša-az* (KUB 53.13 iv 9 (NS)), *ḫar-ši-i̯a-za*, nom.pl. *ḫar-ši-iš*, *ḫar-š*[*a-eš*$^{?}$] (KBo 13.247 obv. 8 (NS)), gen.pl. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ši-aš*), ^{DUG}***ḫaršii̯allanni-*** (n.) 'small jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-la-an-ni*), ^{DUG}***ḫaršii̯alli-*** (n.) 'jar' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li*, *ḫar-ši-al-li*, gen.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-i̯a-aš*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-aš*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-i̯a*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li*, abl. *ḫar-ši-al-li-az*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-la-az*, nom.-acc.pl. *ḫar-ši-al-li*, *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫar-ši-i̯a-al-li-i̯a-aš*, *ḫar-ši-al-li-aš*).

PIE **h$_3$ers-i-*, **h$_3$rs-ei-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 358ff. for attestations. This word shows an ablauting stem *ḫarši- / ḫaršai-* which is rare for proper nouns (but cf. *ḫeu- / ḫe(i̯)au-* and *u̯eši- / u̯ešai-* 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$_4$.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 wouild like to propose *ḫarši- / ḫaršai-* to the element *ḫarš-* as visible in *ḫaršar / ḫaršn-* 'head' that must be connected with Gr. ὄρος 'mountain', Skt. *ṛ̥ṣvá-* 'high' < **h$_3$ers-*. This means that *ḫarši- / ḫaršai-* reflects an originally ablauting *i*-stem **h$_3$ers-i-*, **h$_3$rs-ei-*.

The homophonic noun ^{DUG}*ḫarši-* ‘jar’ probably was named after its highness as well.

ḫaršiḭe/a-^{zi} : see *ḫārš-*^{i}

ḫaršiḫarši- (n.) ‘thunderstorm; jar, pithos’ (Sum. ḪI.ḪI): nom.sg. *ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši* (OS), gen.sg. *ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši-ḭa-aš*.

This noun denotes ‘thunderstorm’ as well as ‘jar, pithos’. On the basis of this latter meaning, *ḫaršiḫarši-* clearly has to be regarded as a full-reduplication of the noun ^{DUG}*ḫarši-* ‘jar’ (see at $^{(NINDA)}$*ḫarši- / ḫaršai-*), although it must be remarked that ^{DUG}*ḫarši-* is a commune word whereas *ḫaršiḫarši-* 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.

ḫartakka- (c.) ‘bear’ (Sum. UR.MAḪ): nom.sg. *ḫar-tág-ga-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫar-ták-kán* (OS), *ḫar-tág-ga-an*, gen.sg. *ḫar-tág-ga-aš*.

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***ḫartak(k)a-*** (c.) a cult official, ‘bear-man’ (nom.sg. *ḫar-tág-ga-aš*, *ḫar-ta-ga-aš*, *ḫar-ta-ka-aš* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *ḫar-tág-ga-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ta-ak-ki*, *ḫar-ták-ki*, [*ḫar-t*]*a-ki*).

IE cognates: Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, YAv. *arəša-*, Gr. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, MIr. *art*, Arm. *arǰ* ‘bear’.

PIE **h₂rtḱo-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 **h₂rḱþo-*, with the PIE ‘thorn’. This has now become unnecessary as Hitt. *ḫartakka-* /Hrtka-/ clearly shows that we have to reconstruct **h₂rtḱo-*. With the disappearence of other cases of PIE ‘thorn’ (e.g. **ǵʰðem-* ‘earth’ that now has to be reconstructed as **dʰeǵʰ-m*, **dʰǵʰ-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).

ḫardu- (n.) 'brood, descendance': nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-ar-du-u̯a*, *ḫar-du-u̯a*, gen.pl. *ḫa-ar-du-u̯a-aš*, *ḫar-du-u̯a-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫardu-*** 'descendance' (abl.-instr. *ḫar-tu-u-u̯a-ḫar-tu-u̯a-ti*), ***ḫarduu̯att(i)-*** 'descendant' (nom.pl. *ḫar-du-u̯a-at-ti-in-zi*); HLuw. ***hartu-*** (c.) 'descendant' (nom.sg. ^{INFANS}*ha+ra/i-tu-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1g)).

PIE **h₃er-tu-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 379f. for attestations. This word has been connected by Weitenberg (1984: 235) with Lat. *ortus* 'birth', which would point to a reconstruction **h₃er-tu-* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Another Hittite word in which the root **h₃er-* is connected with 'giving birth' is *ḫarnāu / ḫarnu-* 'birthing seat' (q.v.).

-ḫḫaru (1sg.imp.midd.-ending)

The 1sg.imp.midd.-ending *-ḫḫaru* is clearly based on the 1sg.pres.midd.-ending *-ḫḫari* in which *-i* was replaced by the imperatival 'suffix' *-u*. See at *-ḫḫa(ri)* and *-u* for further etymology.

ḫaruu̯a- (c.) 'road, path': abl.pl. *ḫa-ru-u̯a-az* (KBo 24.45 rev. 23 (MS?)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫaru̯a-*** (c.) 'path' (Sum. KASKAL; nom.sg. *ḫa-ru-u̯a-aš*, acc.sg. KASKAL-*an*, nom.pl. KASKAL^{ḪLA}-*an-zi*, acc.pl. KASKAL^{ḪLA}-*u̯a-an-za*), ***ḫaru̯a-*** 'to send(?)' (3pl.imp.act. *ḫar-u̯a-an-du*), ***ḫaru̯anna/i-*** (c.) 'little path' (acc.pl. *ḫa-r*[*u-u̯a-an-ni-in-za*]), ***ḫaru̯anni(i̯a)-*** 'to send' (3sg.imp.act. *ḫar-u̯a-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*$^{?}$] /harwantant^{s}i/ (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr. 6), dat.-loc.pl. VIA-*wa/i-ta-za* /harwantant^{s}/ (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.7)), ***harwantahit-*** (n.) 'wayfaring' (abl.-instr. $^{\text{"VIA"}}$*ha+ra/i-wa/i-ta-hi-ta₅-ti-i* /harwantahitadi/ (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §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/ ^{VIA}*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-nī*^{i} (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 *ḫaru̯a-* 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 **h₂er-* ‘to join’ (roads as joining elements) or the root **h₃er-* ‘high’.

ḫaru(u̯a)nae-^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to get light, to dawn’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-ru-u̯a-na-a-iz-zi*, *ḫa-a-ru-u̯a-na-a-iz-zi*, *ḫa-ru-na-iz*[*-zi*], [*ḫa*]*r-u̯a-na-iz-zi*.

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 *ḫaru(u̯a)na-*. Such a noun might be attested in KUB 8.9 (OH/NS) i (5) *ták-ku ḫar-u̯a-n*[*a-a*]*z* ITU-*aš t*[*a-*...] ‘When the moon ...-s from *ḫaru̯ana-*’. It is certainly not impossible that this *ḫaru̯ana-* is the source of *ḫaru(u̯a)nae-*, but since the meaning of *ḫaru̯ana-* itself cannot be determined, further etymologizing is difficult.

HW^2 (l.c.) assumes a connection with *ḫaru̯a-* ‘road, path’, assuming that *ḫaru̯ana-* literally means ‘Sich-auf-den-Weg-machen’. Puhvel (HED 3: 204) proposes a connection with Skt. *ravi-* and Arm. *arew* ‘sun’ that must reflect **h₂reu̯-i-*, assuming that *ḫaru(u̯a)nae-* reflects **h₂ru̯(o)no-*.

ḫāšš- (c.) ‘ash(es); dust; soap’ (Sum. SAḪAR): 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. *ā́sa-* ‘ash’, OHG *essa* ‘ash’, OIc. *aRina* ‘ash’, Lat. *ārēre* ‘to dry’, OLat. *āsa* ‘altar’, TochAB *ās-* ‘to dry out’, Hitt. *ḫāššā-* ‘hearth’.

PIE **h₂éh₁s-s*, **h₂éh₁s-m*, **h₂h₁s-ós*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 enougn to secure the reading *ḫāšš-*, the long *-a-* of which corresponds to Skt. *ā́sa-* ‘ash’. In Germanic, however, we encounter a short *a-*, namely in OHG *essa* ‘ash’ < **ăsi̯ōn* 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 *ā*. Since Hitt. *ḫāšš*- cannot reflect *h_2eh_2s-, however, which should have yielded **ḫaḫš- (cf. *paḫš*- < *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 *$h_2ḫ_1s$- > *ăs*-. In Hittite and Latin a derivative *h_2eh_1s-eh_2- '*that of the ashes' yielded Hitt. *ḫāššā*- 'heart' and Lat. *āra* 'altar' (see at *ḫāššā*-).

A verbal stem *h_2eh_1s- 'to dry' is visible in Lat. *ārēre* 'to dry' and TochAB *ās*- 'to dry out'. Often it is claimed that Gr. ἄζω 'to dry' belongs here as well and reflects **ăs-d-ō*, but as is stated under *ḫāt-*^{i} / *ḫat*-, it is rather to be regarded as reflecting *h_2d-*i̯e/o*-.

A further analysis of *h_2eh_1s- as *h_2eh_1-*s*- on the basis of Pal. *ḫā*- 'to be warm', which then is thought to reflect *h_2eh_1- (thus in LIV^2), is in my view far from assured.

ḫāš-^{i} ***/ ḫašš-*** (IIa2) 'to give birth (to), to beget, to procreate': 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ši* (OS, often), *ḫa-aš-ši* (1x, MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi* (OH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un* (OH/MS), *ḫa-a-šu-un* (1x, NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-aš-ta* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-a-še-er* (NS), *ḫa-a-ši-er* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-šu* (MH/NS), *ḫa-aš-du* (OH/NS); part. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-t*-, *ḫa-a-ša-an-t*-; impf. *ḫa-aš-ke/a*- (OH/MS).

Derivatives: ***ḫaššātar / ḫaššann-*** (n.) 'begetting, birth, offspring, family' (Sum. MÁŠ-*tar*; nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-tar*, *ḫa-ša-a-tar* (1x, OH/NS), gen.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš*, *ḫa-an-ša-an-na-aš* (HT 6 i 17 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-i* (OH/NS), abl. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-az*, *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-za*, *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-an-za*, instr. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-ni-it*, gen.pl. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-an*, MÁŠ^{ḪLA}-*aš*), ***ḫaššumar*** (n.) 'begetting, genitals' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-šu-mar*, gen.sg. *ḫa-aš-šu-ma-aš*), ***ḫaššannašša/i-*** (c.) 'family member' (nom.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na‹-aš›-ša-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši*, nom.pl. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši-š=a*), ***ḫašnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to bring to birth' (3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-aš-ša-nu-er*, *ḫa-aš-nu*[-*er*$^{?}$]; impf. *ḫa-aš-ša-nu-uš*[-*ke/a*-]), see *ḫanzāšša*-, *ḫāšša*- and *ḫaššu*-.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***has-*** 'to beget' (3pl.imp.act. /hasantu/ *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^2 Ḫ: 391f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *ḫāš-* in the strong stem forms and *ḫašš-* in the weak stem forms. The etymology of this verb cannot be described without referring to its Hittite cognates *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring', *ḫāšša-* 'descendant' and *ḫaššu-* 'king' (for the semantic relation between 'to procreate' and 'king' see at *ḫaššu-*). The word *ḫaššu-* has a direct counterpart in ON *áss* 'god' < *h_2eNsu-* and Skt. *ásura-* 'godlike, powerful', Av. *ahu-*, *ahura-* 'god, lord' < *h_2Nsu-(ro-)*. The words *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' and *ḫāšša-* 'descendant' are related to, among others, CLuw. *ḫamša/i-* and HLuw. *hamsa/i-* 'grandchild'. These latter forms, together with ON *áss* < *h_2eNsu-*, point to a stem *$h_2$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 *ḫi*-verb, we would expect that *ḫāši / ḫaššanzi* reflects *$h_2$óms-ei / *$h_2$ms-énti*, with the *o/Ø*-grade as described in § 2.2.2.2.e. The long *-ā-* of *ḫāšša-* 'descendant' seems to reflect an **ó*, especially if we compare the consistently non-plene spelled adjective *daššu- / daššau̯-* 'heavy, important' that reflects **dens-(e)u-*. Because **-m-* assibilates to **-s-* in **VmsV*, the form *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' hardly can reflect anything else than **$h_2$mso-* (likewise Rieken 1999: 233). To sum up, we would at first sight reconstruct these words as follows:

ḫaššu- 'king'	<	**$h_2$emsu-*
ḫāšša- 'descendant'	<	**$h_2$ómso-*
ḫāši '(s)he procreates'	<	**$h_2$óms-ei*
ḫāšḫun 'I procreated'	<	**$h_2$óms-h_2e+*
ḫanzāšša- 'offspring'	<	**$h_2$msó-*
ḫaššanzi 'they procreate'	<	**$h_2$ms-énti*

Although the outcomes of **$h_2$emsV* > *ḫaššV* and *$h_2$ómsC* > *ḫāšC* seem certain, the other forms cannot all be phonetically regular: **$h_2$ómsV* cannot yield both *ḫāššV* and *ḫāšV*; **$h_2$msV* cannot yield both *ḫanzV* and *ḫaššV*.

In the case of **$h_2$msV*, it is in my view quite probable that the phonetically regular outcome is *ḫanzV*. Because *ḫaššanzi* 'they procreate' is part of a verbal paradigm, it is easily understandable how the phonetic outcome of **$h_2$msénti* > **ḫanzanzi* has been secondarily altered to *ḫaššanzi* under the influence of the full grade stem **$h_2$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 *ḫaššanzi* directly reflects **$h_2$oms-énti*.

The case of *$h_2$ómsV* is less clear. On the one hand, one could state that the lenition visible in *ḫāši* '(s)he procreated' is analogical to the type *aki / akkanzi*, *ištāpi / ištappanzi*, where **ó* regularly lenited the following stop. This then would mean that *$h_2$ómsV* regularly yielded *ḫāššV* showing that **-ms-* > *-šš-* was not lenited by a preceding **ó*. On the other hand, there is a possibility that *ḫāšša-* 'descendant' was not a thematic noun originally. The close cognate *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' < *$h_2$msósi̯o-* shows a zero-grade stem, which is probably also visible in Luw. *ḫamsa/i-* (cf. below). This could point to an ablauting root noun. Normally, however, such a root noun would inflect *$h_2$éms-s*, *$h_2$éms-m*, *$h_2$ms-ós*, which does not make it easy to explain the *o*-grade visible in *ḫāšša-*. A possibility remains in assuming that this *-ó-* was taken over from the verb, and then we could perhaps assume that *ḫāši* < *$h_2$ómsei* does show the regular development, and that **-ms-* > *-šš-* did get lenited by a preceding **ó*.

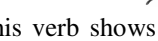
Note that an initial *h_2-* would regularly drop in front of **o* (so *h_2o-* > Hitt. *a-*, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c), but in these cases we can easily assume secondary restoration of *h_2-* on the basis of forms with *$h_2$ems-* and *$h_2$ms-*, where initial *h_2-* regularly yielded Hitt. *ḫ-*.

A similar problem exists in the Luwian material. Here we find *hams-* (CLuw. *ḫamša/i-*, HLuw. *hamsa/i-* 'grandchild', CLuw. *ḫamšukkala/i-*, HLuw. /hamsk^{w}ala/i-/ 'great-grandchild') vs. *has-* (HLuw. /hasantu/ 'they must beget' and *hasu-* 'family'). On the basis of the Hittite development *$h_2$msV* > *ḫanzV*, it seems likely to me that Luw. *hams-* reflects *$h_2$ms-*, whereas *has-* reflects *h_2e/oms-*. That is why I would reconstruct *hamsa/i-* 'grandchild' as *$h_2$ms-o-* and *has-* 'to beget' and *hasu-* 'family' as *h_2e/oms-* and *$h_2$ems-u-* respectively. Note that CLuw. *ammašša/i-* 'to wipe' reflects *$h_2$omh$_1$s-* in which *h_1-* prevented assimilation of *-mš-* to *-šš-*.

All in all, I assume that *ḫāši / ḫaššanzi* in one way or another goes back to *$h_2$óms-ei / *$h_2$ms-énti*. It is unclear whether the form gen.sg. *ḫa-an-ša-an-na-aš* (HT 6 i 17 (NS)) is just a scribal error for *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš*, or really reflects a trace of the original nasalization from *$h_2$oms-*. Because of its very late attestation the latter possibility hardy seems viable (cf. also Kimball 1999: 332).

ḫāš- / ḫašš-, ***ḫēš- / ḫešš-*** 'to open' (Akk. *PETŪ*): 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-a-ši* (KBo 13/35 iii 6 (OH/NS), KUB 7.41 obv. 4 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-aš-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 13 (MH/NS)), *ḫé-e-eš-zi* (KBo 17.94 iii 23 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫa-aš-šu-e-ni* (KBo 19.156 obv. 9 (OS)), *ḫa-aš-šu-ú-e-ni* (KBo 25.139 + KUB 35.164 rev. 1 (OS)), *ḫé-e-šu-u-e-ni* (KUB 50.6 + 16.41+ iii 44 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-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)), *ḫe-ša-an-zi* (KBo 21.34 ii 3 (MH/NS), KBo 25.183 r.col. 5 (NS)), *ḫé-e-ša-an-zi* (KUB 12.2 iv 3 (NS), KUB 15.11 ii 11 (NH), KUB 21.17 iii 13 (NH)), *ḫé-ša-an*[*-zi*] (KUB 27.15 iv 8 (NS)), *ḫé-eš-ša-an*[*-zi*] (KUB 51.69 obv. 4 (NS)), *ḫi-iš-ša-an-zi* (Bo 6871 rev. 33 (undat.)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-aš-ta* (KUB 17.10 iv 14 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-aš-ta* (KUB 33.52 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-aš-ši-it* (KUB 9.39 i 6 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫé-e-šu-u-en* (KBo 22.116 obv. 14 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫé-e-še-er* (KUB 29.3 i 5 (OS), KUB 16.48 obv.16 (NS)), *ḫé-še-er* (KBo 10.2 ii 7 (OH/NS)), *ḫe-e-še-er* (KUB 29.1 i 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫé-eš-šer* (KBo 10.2 i 32 (OH/NS)), *ḫé-eš-še-er* (KUB 55.37 iii 10 (NS)), *ḫa-a-šer* (KUB 35.148+ iii 2 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-aš* (KBo 21.22 obv. 22 (OH/MS), KBo 11.14 iii 27 (MH/NS)), *ḫe-e-eš* (KBo 18.48 obv. 17 (NS)), *ḫé-e-eš* (KUB 55.2 obv. 5 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-šu* (KBo 10.45 i 39 (MH/NS), KUB 29.1 iii 2 (OH/NS)), *ḫe-eš-du* (KUB 36.89 obv. 19 (NS)), *ḫé-e-eš-du* (KUB 36.89 obv. 39 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫé-e-eš-tén* (KUB 33.106 iii 50 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫé-e-ša-an-du* (KBo 13.58 ii 26 (MH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-a-ša-an-ta* (KBo 10.7 ii 25 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫé-eš-ta-at* (KUB 13.34 iv 3 (NS)); part. *ḫa-aš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 2.6 iii 35 (OH/NS), KUB 11.20 ii 20 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 i 29 (NS)), *ḫé-e-ša‹-an›-t-* (KUB 31.136 iii 5 (NS)); verb.noun. *ḫé-e-šu-u-ar* (KUB 3.94 i 25 (NS)), gen. *ḫé-e-šu-u̯a-aš* (KUB 17.35 ii 3, 13, iv 19 (NS)), *ḫé-šu-u̯a-aš* (KUB 27.15 iv 23 (NS)); impf. *ḫa-aš-ke/a-* (KBo 11.14 iii 26 (OH/NS), KUB 24.3 i 53 (MH/NS), KUB 30.32 i 17 (NS?)), *ḫé-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 13.109 iii 8 (MH/NS)).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 394f. for attestations. There, a form impf.1sg.pres.act. *ḫé-ši-ke-e-mi* (KBo 17.3, 10) is cited, but this form does not exist. The editors probably have misread the form  = *da-aš-ke-e-mi* (KBo 17.3 iv 10).

This verb shows a wild variaty of forms and stems. In OS texts, we find the forms *ḫaššu(u̯)eni*, *ḫaššanzi* and *ḫēšer*. On the basis of these forms, one would conclude that we are dealing with a verb that shows a strong stem *ḫēš-* and a weak stem *ḫašš-*. In MS texts, we find the forms *ḫaššanzi*, *ḫāšta* and *ḫāš*, which seem to point to an ablauting paradigm *ḫāš- / ḫašš-*. In NS texts, we find, besides the stems *ḫāš-*, *ḫašš-* and *ḫēš-* also forms with a stem *ḫešš-*. At this moment, it is impossible to determine what the original inflection was. In my view, it looks like we are dealing with a *ḫi*-inflecting verb *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* (which is homophonic to *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* 'to give birth (to)'), which was crossed with a (*mi*-inflecting?) stem *ḫēš-*. In NH times, almost only forms with the stem *ḫēš-* are found, on the basis of

which an analogical stem *ḫeššˇ-* was made. Whereas *ḫāšˇ- / ḫašˇš-* in principle could be of IE origin, the stem *ḫēšˇ-* shows an *e* besides *ḫ*, 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 *ḫāšˇ- / ḫašˇš-* either. Formally, it should reflect **h₂es-* or **h₂eNs-*.

Within Hittite, one could think of a connection with *āška-* 'gate' (Oettinger, p.c.) if we assume that in *āška-* an initial laryngeal (**h₂*) was lost in front of **o* (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c), which was retained in *ḫāšˇ- / ḫašˇš-*.

ḫāššā- (c.) 'fireplace, hearth' (Sum. GUNNI): nom.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš*, *ḫa-a-aš-ša‹-aš›*, acc.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša-an* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ša-a-an* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ša-an* (OS), voc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš*, gen.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš* (OS), *ḫa-a-aš-ša-aš* (OH/NS), *ḫa-aš-ša-aš*, *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* (OS), *ḫa-a-aš-ša-an* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ša-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ši-i* (OS, often), *ḫa-a-aš-ši-i* (OS, 1x), *ḫa-aš-ši* (OS), *ḫa-a-aš-ši* (OH/NS), [*ḫa-*]*aš-ša-a-i* (KBo 25.36 iii 8 (OS)), all.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-a* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ša* (OS), abl. *ḫa-aš-ša-a-az* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ša-az* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫaššanitt(i)-*** 'hearth' (nom.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-ni-it-ti-in*).

IE cognates: OLat. *āsa*, Lat. *āra*, Osc. *AASAÍ* 'altar'.

PIE **h₂eh₁s-eh₂-*

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 **h₂eH-*. The second laryngeal hardly can be **h₃*, because we then would expect **ō-*. In Hittite, a preform **h₂eh₂s-* would have yielded ***ḫaḫš-* (cf. *paḫš-* < **peh₂s-*). So Hitt. *ḫāššā-* ~ OLat. *āsa* can only reflect **h₂eh₁seh₂-*. It is likely that *ḫāššā-* is a derivative of *ḫāšˇš-* 'ashes' (q.v.), which would mean that **h₂eh₁seh₂-* is to be analysed as **h₂eh₁s-eh₂-*.

In PIE, **-h₂-*stems originally showed ablaut:

nom.sg.	**h₂éh₁s-h₂*	cf.	**g^{w}én-h₂*	'woman'
acc.sg.	**h₂éh₁s-h₂-m*		**g^{w}én-h₂-m*	
gen.sg.	**h₂h₁s-éh₂-s*		**g^{w}n-éh₂-s*	

It is quite likely that the paradigm of 'hearth' was secondarily altered to **h₂éh₁s-eh₂(-s)*, **h₂éh₁s-eh₂-m*, **h₂eh₁s-éh₂-(o)s*. On the basis of Hitt. *eša* 'seats himself' < **h₁éh₁s-o*, we can conclude that a sequence **-éh₁sV-* yields Hitt. *-ešV-*. We therefore must conclude that the geminate *-šš-* in *ḫāššā-* is the regular outcome of

*-*eh*$_1$*sV́*- and that the originally alternating paradigm of 'hearth', **h́sas*, **h́sām*, **hassás*, has been normalized to *ḫāššā*-.

ḫāšša- (c.) 'descendant': nom.sg. *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ši* (1x, NH), *ḫa-aš-ši-i* (1x, NH), all.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša* (OH/MS), *ḫa-aš-ša* (NS), instr. *ḫa-aš-še-et* (1x, NS), nom.pl. *ḫa-a-aš-še-eš* (OS), *ḫa-aš-še-eš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ḫa-a-aš-šu-uš* (OH/MS), *ḫa-aš-šu-uš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-aš-ša-aš* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫamša/i-*** (c.) 'grandchild' (abl.-instr. *ḫa-am-ša-a-ti*, *ḫa-am-ša-ti*), ***ḫamšukkalla/i-*** (c.) 'great-grandchild' (abl.-instr. *ḫa-am-šu-uk-ka*$_4$*-la-a-ti*, *ḫa-am-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti*, *ḫa-am-šu-kal-la-a-ti*); HLuw. ***hamsa/i-*** (c.) 'grandchild' (nom.sg. /hamsis/ "INFANS.NEPOS"*ha-ma-si-sa* (MARAŞ 14 §5), INFANS.NEPOS*ha-ma-si-sa* (PORSUK §1), INFANS.NEPOS*ha-ma-si-sá-´* (MARAŞ 1 §1c), INFANS*ha-ma-si-sa*$_5$ (ISPEKÇÜR side B §1), INFANS*ha-ma-si-sa* (ISPEKÇÜR side C fr. c+d), NEPOS*ha-ma-si-sá* (KÖRKÜN §6), INFANS.NEPOS-*si-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §1), INFANS.NEPOS-*si-sa* (SHEIZAR §5), INFANS.NEPOS-*sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §1), INFANS.NEPOS-*MI-sa* (DARENDE §1)), dat.-loc.sg. /hamsi/ NEPOS*ha-ma-si* (KÖRKÜN §11), *ha-ma-si* (KARABURUN §7, §9), nom.pl. /hamsant^{s}i/ INFANS.NEPOS-*zi* (SHEIZAR §4), dat.-loc.pl. /hamsant^{s}/ INFANS.NEPOS-*sa-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §4, §30)), ***hamsukala-***, ***hamskwala-*** (c.) 'great-grandson' (nom.sg. /hamsk^{w}alas/ INFANS.NEPOS*ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1d), INFANS.NEPOS-*ka-la-*[*sa*] (SHEIZAR §5), NEPOS-*ka-la-sa* (KÖRKÜN §6), "INFANS.NEPOS"-REL-*la-sá* (MARAŞ 4 §10), dat.-loc.sg. /hamsk^{w}ala/ NEPOS*ha-ma-su-ka-la* (KÖRKÜN §11), abl.-instr. /hamsk^{w}ala/ INFANS.NEPOS.REL-*la* (KARKAMIŠ A4*a* §12), nom.pl. /hamsk^{w}alant^{s}i/ INFANS.NEPOS-*ka-la-zi* (SHEIZAR §4)); Lyd. ***eśa-*** 'offspring' (dat.-loc.sg. *eśav*); Lyc. ***χahba-*** 'grandchild' (nom.sg. *χahba*, acc.sg. *χahbu*, acc.pl. *χahbas*, dat.pl. *χahba*, *χahbe*).

PIE **h*$_2$*éms-o-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 224f. for attestations. The word predominantly occurs in the syntagm *ḫāšša- ḫanzāšša-* that denotes 'further offspring' as e.g. in KUB 29.1 iv (2) *nu* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ḫa-aš-še-eš ḫa-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) *kat-ta=ma am-me-el* DUMU=*Į́A* DUMU.DUMU=*Į́A ḫa-aš-ša ḫa-an-za-aš-ša pa-aḫ-ši* 'You must protect my son (acc.) and grandson (acc.) down all generations'. The word *ḫāšša-* is used separately only once, in KUB 21.27 iii (43) ^{d}*Zi-in-tu-ḫi-*

i-iš GAŠAN=*ḫA ŠA* ^{d}IM (44) ^{d}UTU ^{URU}PÚ-*na=ḫia a-aš-ši-ḫia-an-za ḫa-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 *ḫa-a-aš-š°*, whereas the spelling *ḫa-aš-š°* is predominantly found in NS texts. The plene spelling therefore must reflect the original situation.

The fact that *ḫāšša-* and *ḫanzāšša-* are used as a pair is not coincidental in my view: they are etymologically related as well. The nasal in *ḫanzāšša-* must be compared to the nasal found in Luw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’. Within Hittite, *ḫāšša-* and *ḫanzāšša-* obviously belong with the verb *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* ‘to procreate’ and therefore also with *ḫaššu-* ‘king’. As I have shown in detail under the lemma of *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* all these words go back to a root *$*h_2$ems-*. In the case of *ḫāšša-*, we would at first sight think that it reflects *$*h_2$óms-o-*. If, however, *ḫāši* ‘(s)he procreates’ regularly reflects *$*h_2$óms-ei*, it would show that the expected outcome of *$*h_2$ómso-* would have been **$*ḫāša-*. Moreover, since *ḫanzāšša-* must reflect *$*h_2$msó-si̯o-* and Luw. *hamsa/i-* probably goes back to *$*h_2$ms-o-*, it is in my view more likely that this word originally was a root noun *$*h_2$éms-s*, *$*h_2$ems-m*, *$*h_2$ms-ós*, which was later on thematicized: in Hittite, the full grade stem was used, whereas in *ḫanzāšša-* and Luw. *hamsa/i-* we find the zero-grade stem. This scenario implies that the **ó* as visible in *ḫāšša-* has been secondarily taken over from the verb *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-*, however.

ḫaššikk-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to satiate oneself, to be satiated’: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-zi* (KBo 13.94, 3 (OH/NS), KBo 41.17, 5 (NS)), *ḫa-‹aš$^{?}$-›še-ek-zi* (Bo 4491, 4 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. [*ḫ*]*a-aš-ši-kat-ta* (KBo 12.3 i 11 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ke-er* (KUB 17.10 i 20 (OH/MS)), 1sg.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-lu* (KUB 24.5 + 9.13 rev. 1 (NS)), *ḫa-aš-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KUB 36.93 rev. 6 (NS)), *ḫa-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KBo 15.14, 4 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik* (KUB 33.87+ i 7 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-du* (KBo 15.10+ i 37 (OH/MS), KBo 4.1+ obv. 13, 18 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-tén* (KUB 9.26 rev. 7 (NS)), *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-t*[*e-en*] (KBo 22.142 i 6 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-kán-du* (KBo 15.10+ iii 38 (OH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫaššik(ka)nu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) ‘to satiate, to saturate with, to steep (in)’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-i*[*g-g*]*a-nu-an-z*[*i*] (KBo 14.63 iv 35), *ḫa-aš-ši-ig-ga-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.44+ iii 38), *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-nu-an-zi* (KBo 8.52 + 14.63 i 46), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ka$_4$-nu-ut* (KUB 25.23 iv 59)), $^{(GIŠ)}$***ḫaššikk(a)-*** (c./n.) a tree and its fruit (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-aš-ši-ka$_4$-aš*, *ḫa-ši-ik-ka$_4$-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ka-*

an, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-ši-ik*, *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ka-an*, gen.sg. *ḫa-aš-ši-ig-ga-aš*, *ḫa-ši-ik-ka$_4$-aš*, instr. *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-ki-it*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫa-ši-ig-ga*).

See HW^2 Ḫ: 421f. for attestations and semantic treatment. All spellings seem to point to a phonological interpretation /haSɨk-/. Such a verbal root is formally quite aberrant and can hardly reflect anything Indo-European. On the basis of the Palaic verb *ḫaš-* 'to be satiated of drinking' (3pl.pres.act. *ḫašanti*, *ḫašānti*), one could assume that *ḫaššikk-^{zi}* 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. ἆσαι, Lat. *satis*, Lith. *sótis*, which he reconstructs as **h$_2$es-*. These words rather reflect **seh$_2$-* and etymologically belong with Hitt. *šāḫ-^{i}* (q.v.). All in all, *ḫaššikk-^{zi}* remains without a credible etymology. To what extent the homophonic fruit (tree) $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫaššikk(a)-* is cognate, is unclear.

ḫaštāi / ḫašti- (n.) 'bone(s); (metaphorically) strength; a length measure (GÌR.PAD.DU)': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ta-a-i*, *ḫa-aš-ta-i*, *ḫa-aš-da-i*, [*ḫ*]*a-aš-da-a-i*, gen.sg. *ḫa-aš-ti-i-aš* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ti-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-aš-ta-i*, erg.sg. *ḫa-aš-ti-an-za*, abl. [*ḫa-aš-ti-i̯*]*a-az*, instr. *ḫa-aš-ti-it*, *ḫa-aš-ti-i-it* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-aš-ta-i* (OS), *ḫa-aš-ta-a-i*, *ḫa-aš-ta-a-e*, *ḫa-aš-ta-e*, *ḫa-aš-da-i*, *ḫa-aš-da-a-i*, gen.pl. *ḫa-aš-ti-i̯a-aš*, *ḫa-aš-ti-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-aš-ti-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***ḫaštili(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'stout, brave, heroic' (noun) 'hero' (Sum. UR.SAG: nom.sg.c. UR.SAG-*li-iš*, UR.SAG-*liš*, acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-te-li-i̯a-an* (NS), nom.(voc.)pl.c. UR.SAG-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. UR.SAG-*li-i̯a-aš*; broken *ḫa-aš-ti-li-i̯*[*a-*...] (NS)), ***ḫašteliiant-*** (adj.) 'brave' (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-aš-te-li-an-za* (NS)), ***ḫaštiliiatar***, ***ḫaštaliiatar*** (n.) 'heroic bearing, heroism, bravery' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-t*[*i-li-i̯a-tar*] (OH/MS), *ḫa-aš-ta-li-i̯a-tar* (OH/NS), *ḫa-aš-ta-ri-i̯a-tar* (NS), abl. UR.SAG-*an-na-az* (NS)), ***ḫaštalēšš-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to become brave, to turn warlike' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-aš-ta-le-eš-zi*, *ḫa-aš-ta-li-iš-zi*), see ^{UZU}*dānḫašti*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫāš-*** 'bone' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša*, *ḫa-aš-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḫa-a-ša-ti*, *ḫa-ša-a-ti*); HLuw. ***has-*** 'force(?)' (abl.-instr. $^{\text{"*314"}}$*ha-sá-ti-i* 'by force' (KARKAMIŠ A11*c* §30)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ásthi*, *asthnás* 'bone', Gr. ὀστέον 'bone', Lat. *os, ossis* 'bone, leg'.

PIE **h$_3$ésth$_1$-ōi*, **h$_3$esth$_1$-i-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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 *$*h_3$-*. On the basis of the aspirated stop in Skt. *asth-*, we seem to be dealing with a root *$*h_3$estH-*. The colour of the second laryngeal is determined as *$*h_1$* on the basis of Gr. ὀστέον < *$*h_3$esth$_1$-ei-*. Note that this latter form closely resembles Hitt. *ḫaštāi* that reflects *$*h_3$esth$_1$-ōi*.

The derivative *ḫaštili(i̯a)-* and *ḫaštilii̯atar* 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 *ḫaštaliiatar* and *ḫaštalēšš-*^{zi} probably reflect *$*ḫ$aštai̯a-*. For a treatment of ^{UZU}*dānḫašti* 'double-bone' < *$*dṵ$oi̯om h$_3$esth$_1$-ih$_1$*, see there.

In CLuwian, we find the stem *ḫāš-*, without *-t-*. We therefore must assume that here the original root noun *$*h_3$ésth$_1$* yielded *ḫāš* (with regular loss of word-final *-th$_1$*, compare also Lat. *os* < *$*h_3$esth$_1$*, 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$^{Ḫ.A}$-*eš* (OS), acc.pl. MUL$^{Ḫ.A}$-*uš*, gen.pl. MUL$^{Ḫ.A}$-*aš*, dat.-loc.pl. MUL$^{Ḫ.A}$-*aš*.

Derivatives: ^{URU}***Ḫašter(a)-*** (c.), place-name (Sum. ^{URU}MUL; acc.sg. ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-te-ra-an*, ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-ti-ra-an*, gen.sg. ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-ti-ra-aš*, all.sg. ^{URU}MUL-*ra*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀστήρ, Arm. *astl*, Skt. *stár-*, Lat. *stēlla* 'star', Goth. *stairno* 'star'.

PIE *$*h_2$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 ^{URU}*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 ^{URU}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. ἀστήρ 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 *$*h_2$estēr-*, whereas Watkins (1974: 13-4) reconstructs

$h_2$ostēr. In my view, the fact that we find Gr. ἀστήρ and Arm. *astł* besides Skt. *stár-* cannot be interpreted otherwise than that they reflect PIE *$h_2$ster-*, which therefore must be the reconstruction of the Hittite word as well. Further analysis of *$h_2$ster-* as an agent noun in *-ter-* of a root *$h_2$es-* is not supported by any evidence: a root *$h_2$es-* is further unattested. The likeliness that *ḫašterza* reflects *$h_2$stḗr-s* implies that it has to be phonologically interpreted as /Hstért^s/.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***ḫašduer-*** (n.) 'twig(s), brushwood': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-aš-du-e-er*, *ḫa-aš-du-er*, abl. *ḫa-aš-du-er-ra-za.*

PIE *$h_3$esth$_1$-g^{w}er-* ?

See HW^2 Ḫ: 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$_6$.KUR.RA=*kán ḫa-aš-du-er te-pu ḫa-aš-ḫa-aš-ša-an* 'A little *ḫ.* scraped off of the horn of a mountain goat', HW^2 states that *ḫašduer* more likely had "eine Grundbedeutung des Zerkleinerten, Abgerissenen". On the basis of this meaning, HW^2 suggests an etymological connection with Hitt. *ḫašḫašš-* '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 *ḫašduer-* derives from *ḫašḫašš-*, what kind of suffix would *-duer-* be?

Usually, *ḫašduer-* 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 *-u̯er-*.

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$^{(w)}$o-* and OIr. *odb* 'knot', MWe. *oddf* 'knot' that go back to **osbo-* < **Hosg^{w}o-*. Taken together with Gr. ὄζος, Arm. *ost* and Goth. *asts* 'branch' < **Hosdo-*, we seem to be dealing with a preform **Hosdg^{w}o-* (that has undergone metathesis to **Hodsg^{w}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 **$h_3$esth$_1$-* 'bone' (see at *ḫaštai / ḫašti-* 'bone' for this reconstruction). If Hittite *ḫašduer-* belongs here as well, we should reconstruct the word as **$h_3$esth$_1$g^{w}er-*. If the second element **g^{w}er-* is to be identified with **g^{w}er-* 'summit, peak' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 477-8), the compound **$h_3$esth$_1$-g^{w}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 *ḫašduer-*, which saw it as a derivation in *-u̯er-* (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'.

ḫaššu- (c.) 'king' (Sum. LUGAL, Akk. *ŠARRU*): nom.sg. LUGAL-*uš* (OS), *ḫa-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. *ḫa-aš-šu-u̯*[*a-aš*] (KBo 13.165 ii 6), LUGAL-*u̯a-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. LUGAL-*i* (OS), LUGAL-*u-i* (OS), LUGAL-*u-e*, *ḫa-aš-šu-u-ú-i* (KUB 7.7, 8; interpretation uncertain), abl. LUGAL-*u̯a-az*, LUGAL-*u̯a-za*, instr. LUGAL-*it*, nom.pl. LUGAL-*u-e-eš*, acc.pl. LUGAL^{MEŠ}-*uš*, gen.pl. LUGAL-*u̯a-an* (OS), LUGAL-*an*, dat.-loc.pl. LUGAL^{MEŠ}-*aš*.

Derivatives: ****ḫaššuššara-*** (c.) 'queen' (Sum. MUNUS.LUGAL-*ra-*; nom.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*, gen.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri*), ***ḫaššuē-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to become king' (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-aš-šu-u-e-et*, LUGAL-*u-e-et*), ****ḫaššuezzi-*** (n.) 'royal status' (nom.-acc.sg. LUGAL-*u-e-ez-zi*, LUGAL-*u-ez-zi*, LUGAL-*ez-zi*, LUGAL-*u-e-zi=še-et*), ****ḫaššuezziie/a-$^{tta(ri)}$*** (IIIg) 'to become king' (1sg.pres.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-aḫ-ḫa-ri*, 1sg.pret.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-aḫ-ḫa-at*, LUGAL-*ez-zi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at*, 3sg.pres.midd. LUGAL-*ez-zi-i̯a-at-ta*-[*at*], LUGAL-*u-ez-zi-et-ta-at*; 3sg.pret.act. LUGAL-*ez-zi-at*), ****ḫaššuezna-*** '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*), ****ḫaššueznae-^{zi}*** (Ic2) 'to be king' (1sg.pret.act. LUGAL-*u-ez-na-nu-un*), ****ḫaššueznatar / ḫaššueznann-*** (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 **h₂ems-u-*

See HW^2 Ḫ: 439f. for attestations. See Weitenberg 1984: 436[375] for the phonetic forms. The interpretation of MUNUS.LUGAL-*ra-* as **ḫaššuššara-* (see at *išḫā-* 'master, lord' for a similar feminine derivative *išḫaššara-* 'lady, mistress') is especially based on the personal names ^{f}*Ḫa-šu-šar* and ^{f}*Ḫa-šu-uš-ra* that are

attested in the Kültepe-texts. Especially pairs like ^{m}*Ni-u̯a-aḫ-šu* besides ^{f}*Ni-u̯a-aḫ-šu-šar* and ^{m}*Ḫi-iš-ta-aḫ-šu* and ^{f}*Ḫi-iš-ta-aḫ-šu-šar* point to the opposition between male *ḫaššu-* and female **ḫaššušša̯ra-*. To what extent the garden vegetable *ḫašušša̯rā-* (*ḫa-šu-uš-ša-ra-a-an* (KUB 7.1 i 21, KUB 24.47 iv 19), *ḫa-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 *ḫašušša̯rā-* is not particularly positive for its equation with **ḫaššušša̯ra-*.

Sommer (1920: 9-10) convincingly assumed that *ḫaššu-* is derived from *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-* '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$_1$-* 'to give birth to'. In outer-Anatolian languages, *ḫaššu-* must be compared with Skt. *ásura-* 'godlike, powerful', Av. *ahu-*, *ahura-* 'god, lord' and ON *áss* 'god'. This latter word must reflect **h$_2$eNs-u-*, which determines the preform of Skt. *ásura-* and Av. *ahu-* and *ahura-* as **h$_2$Ns-u-(ro-)*. As I will show under the lemma of *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-*, there is additional evidence that the root was **h$_2$ems-*, which makes it likely that *ḫaššu-* reflects **h$_2$ems-u-*.

ḫāt-^{i} / ḫat- (IIa2) 'to dry up, to become parched': 3sg.pres.act.? *ḫa-a-ti* (KUB 8.3 obv. 12 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-a-az-ta* (KUB 17.10 i 16, 17 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-a-az-za-aš-ta* (KUB 29.40 iv 20 (MH/MS)), *ḫa-za-aš-ta* (KUB 12.62 obv. 8, 9, rev. 2 (NS)), *ḫa-az-za-aš-ta* (KUB 12.62 obv. 17, rev. 1 (2x), 2 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-a-te-er* (KUB 17.10 i 16, 17 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-du* (KUB 17.28 ii 44 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-az-za-du* (KUB 60.144, 6 (NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-a-da-an-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iv 8 (OH/NS)); part. *ḫa-ta-an-t-* (KUB 17.28 ii 43 (MH/NS)), *ḫa-da-an-t-* (KUB 30.32 iv 7 (MS)), *ḫa-da-a-an-t-* (KBo 23.44 i 11 (MH?/NS)), *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-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: ***ḫatēšš-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to become dry' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-te-eš-zi* (KUB 45.58 iii 13 (MH/NS))), ***ḫatnu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to cause to dry up' (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-nu-ut* (VBoT 58 i 8 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-da-nu-ut* (KUB 33.89 + 36.21 iii 21 (NS))), see *ḫatantiu̯a-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἄζω 'to dry up'.

PIE **h$_2$ód-ei*, **h$_2$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 *ḫi*-conjugation. The first *ḫi-*

inflected form, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-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*$^{!}$*-ap ḫa-a-ti* 'hunger will arise and it will become parched' could be read as [... *k*]*a-a-aš-za ki-ša* ^{NA_4}KIŠIB ZÁḪ^{TI} 'hunger will arise (and) destruction of the seal' as well (cf. Oettinger l.c.). In principle, ^{NA_4}KIŠIB *ḫa-a-ti* 'the seal will get dry' is possible as well, of course. The other *ḫi*-form, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-a-du* (KUB 17.28 ii 44), which in principle could alternatively be read ZÁḪ-*du* 'it must be destroyed', hardly can be anything else than 'to become parched':

KUB 17.29 ii
(43) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫa-ta-an-za a-pé-el-l=a e-eš-ša-ri*
(44) É=*ZU QA-TAM-MA ḫa-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 *ḫa-a-ti* is found in an OH/NS text, *ḫa-a-du* in an MH/NS text. Some of the *mi*-forms occur in MS texts already (e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *ḫāzta* (OH/MS), *ḫāzzašta* (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. *ḫazzadu* that is found in an NS text), and because it is known that *ḫi*-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 *ḫāt*- (*ḫāti*, *ḫādu*, *ḫāzta*) besides *ḫat*- (*ḫatant*-), which points to an original ablauting pair *ḫāt-/ḫat*-. Such an ablaut is typical for the *ḫi*-inflection. I therefore assume that this verb originally was *ḫi*-inflected and showed a paradigm *ḫāti*, **ḫatanzi*. These forms can only reflect *$h_2$ód$^{(h)}$-ei*, *h_2d$^{(h)}$-énti* (cf. Oettinger 1979a: 409).

Puhvel (l.c.) convincingly connects this verb with Gr. ἄζω 'to dry up (trans.)', which he reconstructs as *$h_2$ed-i̯e/o*- (although *h_2d-i̯e/o*- is possible as well).

ḫatt-$^{a(ri)}$, ***ḫazzii̯e/a-***^{zi} (IIIa > IIIg; Ic1 > Ib1 > IIa1γ) 'to pierce, to prick, to stab, to hit (a target), to engrave (a tablet)': 1sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-ad-da-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (KUB 17.28 i 6 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-at‹-ta›-ri* (KBo 25.29 ii 4 (OS)), *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-at-ta-ri* (KBo 29.205, 11 (MS), KBo 11.14 iii 9 (OH/NS), 352/v, 4 (NS), KBo 25.30, 11 (NS)), *ḫa-ad-da-ri* (109/u, 3 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫa-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-i̯a-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.? 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$_x$-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-i̯a-an-zi* (KBo 20.40 v 10 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-az-zi-i̯a-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-^{i} / 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), ***ḫazziia̯šar*** (n.) ‘perforation’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-az-zi-i̯a-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 **h₂ét-o*; **h₂t-ié-ti*

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 *ḫazziḭe/a-* (**ḫatt-i̯e/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. *ḫaddaḫḫari*), 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 *ḫazziḭe/a-* is found in the middle paradigm as well (3sg.pret.midd. *ḫazziḭattat* (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[176], 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 *ḫatrae-* ‘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 **h₂/₃et-*. If Hitt. *ḫazziḭe/a-* goes back to **Ht-i̯e/o-* (in principle **-i̯e/o-* derivatives show zero grade of the root), the initial laryngeal must be **h₂* as **h₃* would disappear initially before stop (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). We therefore should mechanically reconstruct **h₂et-*, 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 **h₂t-i̯e/o-* in

principle would yield Hitt. **ḫazze/a-*, but that we must reckon with restoration of the suffix *-i̯e/a-* here (similarly in *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}, which later on is restored as *u̯aššii̯e/a-*^{zi}). Possibly the remarkable spelling 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-az-*ZE/I-*zi* (OH/NS), cited above as *ḫa-az-zi-zi* is to be read as *ḫa-az-ze-zi* = /Ht^{s}ét^{s}i/, the regular outcome of **h₂t-ié-ti*.

The *-ške/a-*imperfective shows different spellings. The spellings *ḫa-az-zi-iš-ke/a-* and *ḫa-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^{s}i̯ské/á-/. Nevertheless, I think that the forms that show the spellings *ḫa-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* and *ḫa-az-zi-ke/a-*, which are predominantly attested in OH/NS texts and represent /Htsi̯ké/á-/, must be more original, particularly if we compare the imperfectives *zi-ik-ke/a-* = /tsi̯ké/á-/ 'to put' < **d^{h}h₁-sḱé/ó-* and *az-zi-ke/a-* = /ʔdsi̯ké/á-/ 'to eat' < **h₁d-sḱé/ó-*. Especially the latter one shows that *ḫa-az-zi(-ik)-ke/a-* = /Htsi̯ké/á-/ must be the regular reflex of the morphologically expected preform **h₂t-sḱé/ó-*. I therefore assume that already in OH times the phonetically regular form *ḫa-az-zi-ik-ke/a-* = /Htsi̯ké/á-/ < **h₂t-sḱé/ó-* was altered to *ḫa-az-zi-iš-ke/a-* = /Ht^{s}i̯ské/á-/ in analogy to the present-stem *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi} = /Ht^{s}ié/á-/. The influence of this stem is especially apparent in the MS form *ḫa-az-zi-i-e-eš-ke/a-* = /Ht^{s}ieské/á-/.

-ḫḫat (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫa(ri)*, *-ḫḫat(i)*

ḫatta-: see *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi}

$^{(GIŠ/NA_4)}$***ḫattalla-*** (n.) 'club, mace': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-tal-la-an* (KUB 1.17 ii 28), *ḫat-tal-la-an* (KUB 38.2 ii 9), instr. ≺ *ḫa-at-tal-li-it* (KUB 26.25, 12), nom.-acc.pl. *ḫa-at-tal-la* (KUB 42.35 obv. 5).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ^{*274}***hatal(a)i-*** 'to smite' (1sg.pret.act. ^{*274}*ha-ta-li-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A25*a* §1), ^{*274}*ha-ta-li-i-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §28 Hu.), ^{*274}*ha-ta-li-há* (KARATEPE 1 §28 Ho.), ^{*274}*há-ta-li-há* (KARATEPE 1 §25 Ho.), *274-*ta-li-ha* (KARATEPE 1 §25 Hu.), 3pl.pret.act. ^{*274}*ha-ta-la-i-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Hu.), *há-ta-la-i-ta* (KARATEPE 1 §26 Ho.)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 255 for attestions. This word is likely a derivative in *-alla-* of the verb *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to pierce, to hit' (q.v.).

$^{(GIŠ)}$***ḫattalu-*** (n.) 'bolt, lock' (Sum. SAG.KUL): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-lu*, *ḫa-ad-da-lu*, gen.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-lu-aš* (OS), *ḫa-at-ta-lu-u̯a-aš* (OS), *ḫa-at-tal-u̯a-aš*, *ḫa-tal-u̯a-aš*, *ḫa-at-ta-al-u̯a-aš*, instr. *ḫa-at-ta-lu-ut*.

Derivatives: ***ḫattaluu̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to bolt, to lock’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-tal-u̯a-an-zi*, 3pl.pret.act. [*ḫa-a*]*t-tal-u̯a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-at-tal-u̯a-i*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-tal-u̯a-an-du*; part. *ḫa-at-tal-u̯a-an-t-*), ^{LÚ}***ḫattalu̯ala-*** (c.) ‘lockman, doorguard’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-al-u̯a-la-aš*, *ḫa-tal-u̯a-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-tal-u̯a-li*, nom.pl. *ḫa-at-tal-u̯a-al-li-iš*, *ḫa-at-tal-u̯a-la-aš*, *ḫa-tal-u̯a-le-e-eš*).

PIE *$*h_2t$-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. *adduu̯al-*). 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. *išḫiil-* ‘bond, belt’ that is derived from *išḫai-*^{i} / *išḫi-* ‘to bind’ (q.v.), and assumes a derivation from *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘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-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazziie/a-*^{zi}.

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: ***ḫattaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to make clever, to instruct’ (impf.2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ta-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-te-en*), ***ḫattātar / 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 *$*h_2t$-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 260f. for attestations. Synchronically, all words of this lemma seem to belong with *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazziie/a-*^{zi} ‘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-*^{i} / *šakk-* ‘to know’ from PIE **sekH-* ‘to cut’). See at the lemma of *ḫatt-*^{a}, *ḫazziie/a-*^{zi} for further etymology.

ḫatantiia- (gender unclear) ‘dry land’: gen.sg.(?) *ḫa-ta-an-ti-ia-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-ia-*

aš (KUB 42.1 iii 14 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ta-an-ti-i̯a* (KUB 36.75 iii 22 (OH/MS), KUB 31.130 rev. 6 (OH/MS)), *ḫa-da-an-te-i̯a* (KBo 12.38 iii 10 (NH)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 263 for attestations and semantics. According to Puhvel, it is likely that *ḫatantii̯a-* is a nominal derivative of the part. *ḫatant-* of *ḫāt-*^{i} / *ḫat-* '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_2d-ent-i̯o-* regularly should have given ***ḫatanzii̯a-*. See at *ḫāt-*^{i} / *ḫat-* for further etymology.

^{GIŠ}***ḫattara-*** (n.) 'prick, awl (vel sim.)': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a*[*n*] (KUB 33.8 ii 14 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫattarae-***^{zi}, ***ḫattarii̯e/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (Ic2 / IIIg) 'to prick, to incise' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-mi* (KUB 36.35 i 3 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫa-ad-da-ri-i-e-et-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iii 14 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-ad-da-ri-i-et-ta-ri* (KBo 10.7 iii 18, 22, 26 (OH/NS)); part. nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫa-at-ta-ra-an* (OS)), ***ḫattareššar / ḫattarešn-*** (n.) 'intersection, crossroad' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-ad-da-re-eš‹-šar›* (KUB 7.54 ii 13 (NS)), gen.sg. [*ḫa-at-t*]*a-ri-iš-na-aš* (KUB 20.2 iv 19 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫa-ad-da-ri-iš-ni* (KUB 35.145 ii 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ḫa-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)), *ḫa-at-ta-ri-iš-na-aš* (KUB 24.11 ii 16 (OH/NS)), *ḫa-at-re-eš-na-aš* (KUB 9.22 iii 20, 44 (fr.) (MS)), [*ḫa-at-ta-r*]*i-ša-na-aš* (KBo 17.64, 8 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ^{GIŠ}***ḫattara-*** 'hoe (vel sim.)' (acc.sg. *ḫa-at-ta-ra-am=ša-an*, *ḫa-at-ta-ra-an*, abl.-instr. *ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-ti*, *ḫa-‹at-›ta-ra-ti*), ***ḫattari(i̯a)-*** 'to hoe' (3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ta-ri-it-ta*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 263 for attestations and semantics. It is tempting to see *ḫattara-* and especially its derivative *ḫattarae-*^{zi} as mere variants to *ḫatrae-*^{zi} 'to write' and its postulated nominal origin **ḫatra-*, but the slight difference in semantics (*ḫattarae-*^{zi} denotes 'to prick, to incise', whereas *ḫatrae-*^{zi} means 'to write' only) and the consistent difference in spelling (*ḫa-at-ta-r*° vs. *ḫa-at-r*°) speaks against this. Puhvel (l.c.) assumes a suffix *-ara-* that is attached to the verbal stem *ḫatt-* (see *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to pierce, to hit'), which then must be different from the suffix *-ra-* as seen in *ḫatrae-*. Rieken (1999a: 390) assumes a Luwian origin of these words (cf. CLuw. ^{GIŠ}*ḫattara-*), but the OS attestations of the part. *ḫattaran* 'incised' is not favourable to this view. Whatever the case,

ḫattara- and its derivatives ultimately derive from the verbal stem *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazziy̯e/a-*^{zi}, q.v. for an etymological treatment.

-ḫḫat(i) (1sg.pret.midd.-ending): see *-ḫḫa(ri)*, *-ḫḫat(i)*

ḫatk-^{i} (IIa2) 'to shut, to close': 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ki* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ku-e-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-kán-zi* (OS); part. *ḫa-at-ga-an-t-* (undat.); impf. *ḫa-at-ga-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḫa-at-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***ḫatganu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make tight, to put pressure on' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ga-nu-uz-zi* (NH), *ḫa-at-ga-nu-zi* (NH)), ***ḫatkešnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'id.' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ki-iš-nu-ši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ki-iš-nu-uz-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ke‹-eš›nu-e-er* (NH), [*ḫa-at-k*]*i-iš-nu-er* (NH), *ḫa-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* (NH), part. *ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-y̯a-an-t-*, *ḫa-at-keš-ša-nu-an-t-*; impf. *ḫa-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ḫa-at-keš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***ḫatku- / ḫatgaw̯-*** (adj.) 'tight, pressed, stressful' (nom.sg.c. *ḫa-at-ku-uš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. *ḫa-at-ku-un* (NH), abl. *ḫa-at-ga-u-y̯a-az* (OS), nom.pl.c. [*ḫ*]*a-at-ga-u-e-eš* (OH/NS)), ***ḫatkuēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become tight' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ku-e-eš-zi* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄχθομαι 'to be burdened, to be depressed', ἄχθος 'pressure, burden'.

PIE *$*h_2ód^hǵ^h$-ei / *$h_2d^hǵ^h$-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 266f. for attestations. The verb is attested from OS texts already, and shows the *ḫi*-inflection (cf. 3sg.pres.act. *ḫatki*). Despite its awkward looking form, it functions as any normal Hittite verb: it forms a causative in *-nu-*, *ḫatganu-*^{zi}, it forms a fientive in *-ēšš-*, **ḫatkēšš-*^{zi} as visible in *ḫatkešnu-*^{zi}, and it forms an *u*-stem adjective *ḫatku- / ḫatgaw̯-*. 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 *ḫatk-* with Gr. ἄχθομαι 'to be burdened, to be depressed' (cf. ἄχθος 'pressure, burden'), which would mean that we have to reconstruct *$*h_2ed^hǵ^h$-*. Note that the fact that neither the *-t-* nor the *-k-* in Hittite is ever spelled with a geminate (unlike e.g. *ḫar-ták-ka-* 'bear' < *$*h_2rtḱ$-*o-*) supports this etymology.

Puhvel HED 3: 417 cites a stem *ḫutk-* which he equates with *ḫatk-*. The words that he regards as showing this stem, *ḫu-ut-ki-iš-na-aš* (KUB 36.49 i 3), *ḫu-te-ek-ki-iš-kán-du* (KUB 31.100 obv. 9), *ḫu-u-te-ek-ki-iš-kán-du* (ibid. 11), are

(semi-)hapaxes the meaning of which cannot be indenpendantly determined. The form *ḫutkišnaš* occurs in a list of evil things, whereas *ḫutekkiškandu* is attested twice in a broken context. There is not a shred of evidence that they belong with *ḫatk-*.

ḫatrae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to write, to report, to declare, to order' (Akk. *ŠAPĀRU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-mi* (MH/MS, often), *ḫa-at-ra-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *ḫa-at-ra-iz-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. [*ḫa-*]*at-ra-a-u-ni* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. [*ḫa-at-*]*ra-at-te-ni*, *ḫa-at-ra-a-at-te*[*-ni*] 3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-nu-un* (MH/MS), *ḫa-at-ra-nu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-eš*, *ḫa-at-ra-a-iš*, *ḫa-at-ra-iš*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ra-et* (OS), *ḫa-at-ra-a-et* (MH/MS), 2pl.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-at-te-en* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-ú*, 2pl.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫa-at-ra-a-an-du*; impf. *ḫa-at-re-eš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***ḫatriḭeššar*** (n.) 'written message, decree' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫa-at-ri-eš-šar*, *ḫa-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+›a-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*$_2$*et-ro-ḭé/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. "*ḫa-at-ra-a-i*" (KUB 8.24 iii 3), which in fact is *ḫa-at-ra-a-iz*[*-zi*]). This verb is prototypical for the so-called *ḫatrae*-class, which means that it shows a stem *ḫatrāe-* or *ḫatrāi-* besides *ḫatrā-*. As Oettinger (1979a: 357f.) convincingly argues, the verbs of the *ḫatrae*-class are denominative derivations in **-ḭe/o-* of *o*-stem nouns that show **-o-ḭé-* > *-ae-* and **-o-ḭó-* > *-ā-* (see § 2.2.2.1.p for a treatment of this class).

In the case of *ḫatrae-*^{zi} itself, this means that we have to assume a basic noun **ḫatra-* 'writing'. It is likely that this **ḫatra-* is derived from the verbal stem *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazziḭe/a-*^{zi} 'to pierce, to hit, to engrave' (q.v. for further etymology). Compare the lemma of ^{GIŠ}*ḫattara-*, where we find a derivative *ḫattarae-*^{zi} 'to prick, to incise', for the semantic and orthographic difference from *ḫatrae-*.

Note that in HLuwian the unextended verb *hat-* means 'to write' and that *hatura-* 'letter' is a more direct derivative of it.

ḫatuk-^{zi} (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-i̯a* (KBo 15.3, 7 (NS)), abl. *ḫa-tu-ga-i̯a-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-i̯a* (KUB 19.14, 11 (NH))), ***ḫatugātar / 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-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to terrify’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫa-tu-ga-nu-u̯a-an*[*-zi*]; verb.noun gen.sg. *ḫa-tu-ga-nu-u̯a-u̯a-aš*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀτύζομαι ‘to be distraught from fear, to be terrified’, ?Skt. *tuj-* ‘to thrust’.

PIE **h₂téug-ti / *h₂tug-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 *šuppištu̯ara-* (adj.) besides *šuppišdu̯ari-* (c.)).

The most generally accepted etymology is the one first suggested by Benveniste (1937: 497), who connected *ḫatuka/i-* with Gr. ἀτύζομαι ‘to be distraught from fear, to be terrified’ < **h₂tug-*, which semantically indeed is convincing. The formal aspect of this etymology is more complicated however. If Hitt. *ḫatuk-* indeed reflects **h₂tug-*, it would mean that the initial cluster **h₂t-* 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’ < **h₃pus-* is wrong as the stem actually is *ḫāpūša(šš)-* (q.v.), which

denotes ‘shin-bone’ and not ‘penis’). On the contrary, forms like *ḫappeššar* ‘limb’ < **h₂p-ésr*, *ḫattant-* ‘clever’ < **h₂t-ent-* or *appanzi* ‘they seize’ < **h₁penti* 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 **h₂tug-* the initial cluster **h₂t-* regularly lenited to Hitt. /Hd-/, spelled *ḫa-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 *ḫa-aT-TV-* or *aT-TV-*.

Couvreur (1937: 147) further connected *ḫatuk-^{zi}* and Gr. ἀτύζομαι 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. ἀτύζομαι (without argumentation) and connects *ḫatuk-^{zi}* with Gr. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι ‘to be wroth against, to hate’. As this word is connected with Lat. *odium* ‘to hate’ (from PIE **h₃ed-*), it must in his view be analysed as a suffixed form **h₃ed-u-* or **h₃d-u-*. This does not fit the fact that Hitt. *ḫatuk-* clearly functions as a monosyllabic root. Moreover, if the preform were **h₃d-u-*, the initial **h₃* would regularly in Hittite, namely before stop (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

ḫāu̯i- (c.) ‘sheep’ (Sum. UDU): nom.sg. UDU-*iš*, nom.pl.(??) *ḫa-a-u-e-eš*.

Derivatives: ***ḫau̯iia̯šši-*** (adj.) ‘sheep-like’ (acc.sg.c. *ḫa-ú-i-aš-ši-in* (KUB 32.1 iii 2), *ḫa-ú-i-i̯a-aš-ši-in* (KUB 32.1 iii 10), undecl. *ḫa-u̯i₅-i̯a-aš-ši* (KBo 21.42 i 11)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫāu̯i-*** (c.) ‘sheep’ (nom.sg. *ḫa-a-ú-i-iš*, acc.pl. UDU-*in-za*); HLuw. ***hawi-*** (c.) ‘sheep’ (nom.sg. $^{\text{OVIS.ANIMAL}}$*há-wá/í-i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), $^{\text{OVIS.ANIMAL}}$*há-wa/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu.), $^{\text{“OVIS.ANIMAL}}$*há-wa/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Hu., KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §18c, §18e), OVIS-*wa/i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §18e), OVIS-*sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §18b), acc.sg. ^{OVIS}*ha-wa/i-na* (KULULU lead strips fr. 1), OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-na* (MARAŞ 11 §8), OVIS.ANIMAL-*na* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §31), gen.sg. OVIS.ANIMAL-*wa/i-si* (KARATEPE 1 §55), OVIS.ANIMAL-*si* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §30), dat.-loc.sg. $^{\text{OVIS.ANIMAL}}$*ha-wa/i-i* (AKSARAY §4a), abl.-instr. $^{\text{“OVIS.ANIMAL”}}$*ha-wa/i-ti* (KULULU 1 §6)), nom.pl. OVIS.ANIMAL-*zi* (SULTANHAN §29)); Lyc. ***χawa-*** (c.) ‘sheep’ (acc.sg. *χawã*).

IE cognates: Skt. *ávi-* ‘sheep’, Gr. ὄϊς, ὄϝις ‘sheep’, Lat. *ovis* ‘sheep’, TochB *ā(u̯)w*, *awi* (nom.pl.) ‘ewe’.

PIE **h₃eu̯i-*

The word for ‘sheep’ in Hittite is predominantly written with the sumerogram UDU, which had several phonetic readings. We find the phonetically spelled ^{UDU}*i̯ant-* (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 *ḫau̯i-* as is attested in CLuw. *ḫāu̯i-* and HLuw. *hawi-* ‘sheep’. A possible phonetic spelling is found in the following context, although its interpretation is far from assured:

KBo 24.26 iii
(3) [... *(-)ḫ*]*a-a-u-e-eš la-az-za-an-da-ti-in ḫa-aš-ta*
(4) [... *la-az-*]*za-an-da-ti-iš* ^{d}*A-i-in-du-pí-in-zu ḫa-aš-t*[*a*]

‘[... *(-)ḫ*]*āu̯ēš* bore *lazzandati-*. [... *laz*]*zandati-* bore ^{d}*Ai̯indupinzu*’.

Both *lazzandati-* and ^{d}*Ai̯indupinzu* are hapax. More securely attested is the adjective *ḫau̯ii̯ašši-* ‘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. *χawa-* ‘sheep’, the Luwian forms probably are not inhereted *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. *χawã* (149, 10)) is directly preceded by acc.sg. *wawã* ‘cow’ and it is likely that this word has had an influence on ‘sheep’. In my view, the Luwian gen.adj. *ḫau̯ii̯ašši-* 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 **h₂ou̯i-* or **h₃eu̯i-*. Scholars in favour of **h₂ou̯i-* point to the fact that the Tocharian forms seem to show *ā-* from **h₂e-* and that *χ-* in Lycian is supposed to reflect **h₂* only, and not **h₃*. Scholars in favour of **h₃eu̯i-* 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 **h₃-* > Lyc. *Ø-* is based on one example only (*epirijeti*) that is falsely interpreted (see also at *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-*). 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 **h₃eu̯i-*.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, *h_3e- probably yielded Lyc. χe- (cf. *Xerẽi* < *h_3er-*on*-, see under *ḫāran-* 'eagle'), which means that *χawa-* shows *a*-umlaut from original *χewa- (which replaces original *χewi- on the basis of *wawa-* 'cow').

ḫazziḭe/a-^{zi} : see *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazziḭe/a-*^{zi}

-ḫḫe (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection): see *-ḫḫi*

ḫēḭau-: see *ḫēu- / ḫē(ḭ)au-*

ḫēḭu-: see *ḫēu- / ḫē(ḭ)au-*

^{NA_4}***ḫekur*** (c.) 'rock-sanctuary': *ḫé-kur*, *ḫé-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' *$h_2ēḱ$-*ur* with non-colouration of *$ē$ by *h_2 because of Eichner's Law) must be rejected.

ḫen-: see *ḫān-*^{i} */ ḫan-*

ḫe(n)k-$^{tta(ri)}$, ***ḫe(n)k-***^{zi}: see *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$

ḫenkan- (n.) 'death, doom, deadly disease, plague' (Sum. UG_6): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫe-en-ka-an* (KBo 18.151 obv. 12 (OH/MS)), *ḫi-in-kán* (MH/MS, often), *ḫi-in-ga-an* (KUB 15.34 ii 47 (MH/MS), KUB 14.8 obv. 29, rev. 9 (NH)), *ḫe-en-kán* (HT 1 ii 29 (NS)), *ḫé-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. *ḫi-in-ga-na-aš* (KUB 34.58 i 2 (MH/MS), KBo 3.21 ii 25 (MH/NS), KUB 14.12 obv. 8 (NH)), *ḫi-in-ka$_4$-na-aš* (KBo 13.8 obv. 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-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.), *ḫé-en-ga-ni* (KBo 22.2 rev. 5 (OH/MS)), all.sg. *ḫi-in-ga-na* (KUB 30.10 obv. 20 (OH/MS)), erg.sg. *ḫi-in-ga-na-an-za* (KUB 24.3 ii 25 (MH/NS)), abl. *ḫi-in-ga-na-az* (MH/MS), *ḫi-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 *ḫi-in-k°*, *ḫe-en-k°* and *ḫé-en-k°* besides each other. Since we know that **-enK-* develops into *-inK-*, I assume that *ḫenkan-* 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 **neḱ-*, and not **h₂neḱ-* as Puhvel must assume. I would rather connect *ḫenkan-* with Hitt. *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *ḫi(n)k-*^{zi} 'to bestow (act.); to bestow oneself > to bow (midd.)'. Semantically, we should regard *ḫenkan-* then as an euphemistic 'that what has been alloted 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 **ḫainkan-*, which in OH times contracted to *ḫenkan-* and almost immediately fell vicitim to the development **-enK- > -inK-* and subsequently became *ḫinkan-*. See at the lemma of *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$ for further etymology.

***ḫēš- / ḫešš-*:** see *ḫāš- / ḫašš-*, *ḫēš- / ḫešš-*

^{GIŠ}***ḫešša-***: see ^{GIŠ}*ḫišša-*

^{É}***ḫeštā***, ^{É}***ḫeštī*** : see ^{É}*ḫištā*, ^{É}*ḫištī*

ḫēu- / ḫē(i)au- (c.) 'rain' (Akk. *ZUNNU*): nom.sg. *ḫé-e-ú-uš* (KUB 19.14, 9 (NH)), *ḫé-e-uš* (KUB 16.81 rev. 4 (NS), KUB 5.1 iv 77 (NH), KUB 19.50 iv 27 (NH)), *ḫé-uš* (RS 25.421 obv. 32 (undat.)), acc.sg. *ḫé-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)), *ḫé-ú-un* (KBo 10.25 ii 3 (OH/NS), KBo 25.176 obv. 12, 14, rev. 20 (OH/NS)), *ḫé-i-ú-un* (KBo 3.7 ii 25 (OH/NS)), *ḫé-e-u-un* (KBo 3.21 ii 25 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 25.23 iv 52 (NS)), *ḫé-e-u-u̯a-aš*, *ḫé-e-u̯a-aš*, *ḫé-e-u-aš*, instr. *ḫé-e-a-u-it*, nom.pl. *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš* (OS), *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-e-š=a* (OS), *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-e-eš*, *ḫé-e-u-e-eš*, *ḫé-e-mu-uš*, *ḫé-e-u-uš* (KUB 7.5 i 17 (MH/NS)), *ḫé-e-u*[*-u*]*š* (KUB 19.50 iv 27 (NH)), acc.pl. *ḫe-e-a-mu-uš*, *ḫé-i̯a-mu-uš*, *ḫe-e-mu-ú-uš*, *ḫé-u-uš* (KBo 3.7 ii 22 (OH/NS)), *ḫé-e-ú-uš* (KUB 16.37 iv 6 (NH), KUB 28.4 obv. 19 (NS)), *ḫé-e-ú-š=a=š-ši* (KUB 28.5 obv. 13 (NS)), *ḫé-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.(?) *ḫé-e-u-uš* (KBo 13.245 rev. 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫē(i̯a)u̯aniie/a-***[zi] (Ic1) 'to rain' (3sg.pret.act. [*ḫé-*]*e-u̯a-ni-i̯a-at*; impf. *ḫé-i̯a-u-u̯a-ni-eš-ke/a-*, [*ḫé-*]*i̯a-u-u̯a-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫé-e-u-u̯a-ni-eš-ke/a-*), ***ḫei̯au̯alla/i-*** 'rain-drain, gutter' (Sum. PISÀN: dat.-loc.sg. ^{GIŠ}PISÀN-*li*, instr. ^{URUDU}*ḫé-i̯a-u̯a-al-li-it*).

IE cognates: ?Gr. αἰονάω 'to moisten'.

PIE **h₂eih₃-(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. *ḫé-e-un*, nom.pl. *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš*, *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-e-š=a* clearly show that in the oldest texts we are dealing with a stem *ḫē(i̯)-* followed by an ablauting suffix *-u-/-au-*. The fact that we find the spelling *ḫé-e-a-u-* besides *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-* reminds of OS *ne-e-a* 'he turns' besides younger *ne-e-i̯a*. These latter forms reflect the situation that OH /néʔa/ develops into younger /néa/, which then is phonetically realized as [nḗ$^{i̯}$a], spelled *ne-e-i̯a*. This means that in the paradigm of 'rain' we have to reckon with an original OH stem /HéʔauC/ that develops into /HéauC/, realized [Hḗ$^{i̯}$auC], spelled *ḫé-e-i̯a-u-*. This means that acc.sg. *ḫé-e-un* probably represents /HéʔunC/ or, already with contraction, /HéunC/. From MH times onwards, the stem /HéuC/ is spreading over the paradigm, yielding nom.pl. *ḫēu̯ēš* and acc.pl. *ḫēmuš*.

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 *ḫēu- / ḫē(i̯)au-* originally was an adjective that was gradually being substantivized, or it means that *u*-stem nouns (and subsequently *i*-stem nouns, compare *u̯ešu- / u̯ešai-* 'pasture') originally showed ablaut as well, and that *ḫēu- / ḫē(i̯)au-* is one of the last remnants of this system.

Melchert (1994a: 102) tentatively connects this word with Gr. αἰονάω 'to moisten', which points to **h₂ei̯ih₃-* (although it is problematic whether in **h₂ei̯ih₃-* the yod would remain, yielding Gr. αἰο-). If the etymon is correct, however, we have to reconstruct nom.sg. **h₂éih₃-u-s*, nom.pl. **h₂ih₃-éu-ēs*, which with generalization of the full grade stem would yield PAnat. */HáiʔusC/, */Háiʔouēs/ that regularly developed into OH /HéʔusC/, /HéʔauesC/.

Note that Puhvel's unattractive scenario (l.c.: a basic stem **ḫeu̯-* that became an *u*-stem **ḫeu̯-u-*, **ḫeu̯-au̯-*, after which **ḫeu̯au̯-* was dissimilated to attested *ḫei̯au̯-*) seems to be especially based on the etymological presumption that *ḫēu- /*

ḫē(i)au- is cognate with Gr. ὗει ‘to rain’ and TochAB *su-* ‘to rain’, which he reconstructs as **s-E₂ew-*.

-*ḫḫi* (1sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection)

This ending denotes the 1sg.pres.act. of verbs that inflect according to the *ḫi*-conjugation (which is named after this ending). Actually, the original shape of this ending was *-ḫḫe* as is still attested in OS texts (e.g. *tar-na-aḫ-ḫé*, *da-a-aḫ-ḫé*, *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫé*, *me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫé*, etc.). Nevertheless, already in OS texts we find that this ending is altered to *-ḫḫi* (e.g. *tar-na-aḫ-ḫi*, *da-a-aḫ-ḫi*, *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi*, *me-e-ma-aḫ-ḫi*, etc. (all OS)), which probably is due to the fact that the element *-i* had developed as a specific present-marker (cf. pres. *-u̯eni* vs. pret. *-u̯en*, *-tteni* vs. *-tten*, etc.). In the same vein original 3sg.pres.act. *-e* (of the *ḫi*-conjugation) was altered to *-i* and 3sg.pres.act. *-za* = /-t^{s}/ (of the *mi*-conjugation) was altered to *-zi*.

From the late MH period onwards, we see that *-ḫḫi* is gradually being replaced by its *mi*-conjugation counterpart *-mi*. This happened predominantly in stems ending in a consonant (e.g. *ḫa-ma-an-ga-mi* (MS?) instead of *ḫamangaḫḫi*, *ú-e-u̯a-ak-mi* (MS?) instead of ***u̯eu̯akḫi*, *a-ak-mi* (NS) instead of ***ākḫi*, etc.). A nice line of developmenst is visible in ‘I plug up’: *iš-ta-a-ap-ḫé* (OS) > *iš-ta-a-ap-ḫi* (OH/MS) > *iš-ta-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi* (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-ḫa-mi* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NS)) instead of *še-eš-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi* ‘I decide’ (see at *šišḫa-^{i} / šišḫ-*). It must be noted that *mi*-inflecting verbs never use the ending *-ḫḫi*. So in the competition between *-ḫḫi* and *-mi* it is clear that *-mi* was the winning party.

For the etymological interpretation of *-ḫḫe*, we must first look at the other Anatolian languages. In Luwian we find 1sg.pres.act. *-u̯i* that corresponds with Lyc. *-u*, but that cannot be cognate with Hitt. *-ḫḫe*. In the preterite, we find in Luwian 1sg.pret.act. *-(ḫ)ḫa*, however, which corresponds to Lyc. 1sg.pret.act. *-χa*. These forms point to PAnat. */-Ha/ (with an *-a* as visible in Lyc. *-a*), which indicates that Hitt. *-ḫḫe* must go back to PAnat. */-Hai/ (note that the Hittite 1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-conjugation is *-ḫḫun* which is a conflation of PAnat. */-Ha/ with Hitt. *-un*, the corresponding *mi*-ending). This PAnat. */-Hai/ can only reflect QIE **-h₂e-i*.

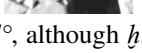
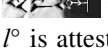
The furter etymology of *-ḫḫe* depends on ones interpretation of the *ḫi*-conjugation as a whole. In my view, it is quite clear that formally the *ḫi*-conjugation must be cognate with the category that yielded the perfect in the other IE languages. I therefore directly compare Hitt. *-ḫḫe* that must reflect **-h₂e-*

i with the 1sg.-ending of the PIE perfect that is usually reconstructed as *-h_2e (Skt. -*a*, Gk. -α, Goth. -*Ø*, etc.).

^{É}***ḫīla-*** (c.) ‘courtyard; halo’ (Sum. TÙR): nom.sg. *ḫi-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)), *ḫi-la-aš* (KUB 17.10 iv 10 (OH/MS), KBo 10.45 i 12 (MH/NS)), [*ḫi-*]*la-a-aš* (KUB 34.13 obv. 8 (NS)), acc.sg. *ḫi-i-la-an* (IBoT 1.36 i 6 (MH/MS)), *ḫi-la-an* (KBo 23.23 obv. 63 (MH/MS), KUB 27.29 i 21 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫi-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)), *ḫi-e-la-aš* (HT 1 i 18 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-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.), *ḫi-li* (KUB 33.19 iii 6 (OH/NS), KBo 10.45 i 13 (MH/NS), IBoT 3.69 i 15 (NS)), all.sg. *ḫi-i-la* (KBo 25.48 iii 10 (OH/MS), KBo 21.90 obv. 14, 21 (OH/MS)), abl. *ḫi-i-la-az* (IBoT 1.36 i 74 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫilae-***^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to be haloed, to have a halo’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫi-la-iz-zi*, *ḫi-la-a-iz-zi*), ***ḫilatar / ḫilann-*** (n.) ‘yard’ (gen.sg. *ḫi-l*[*a-a*]*n-na-aš* (KBo 6.3 iv 13 (OH/NS)), ^{É}***ḫilammar / ḫilamn-*** (n.) ‘gate building, gatehous, portal’ (Sum. KI.LAM; nom.-acc.sg. *ḫi-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. *ḫi-lam-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-lam-ni* (OS), all.sg. *ḫi-lam-na* (OS), erg.sg. *ḫi-lam-na-an-za* (KUB 17.10 iv 11 (OH/MS)), abl. *ḫi-lam-na-az* (OS)), ^{LÚ}***ḫilammi-*** (c.) ‘courtier’ (nom.sg. *ḫi-lam-mi-iš*, nom.pl. *ḫi-lam-mi-e-eš*), ^{LÚ}***ḫilammatta-*** (c.) a functionary (nom.pl. *ḫi-lam-ma-ti-eš*, *ḫi-lam-ma-at-ti-eš*, *ḫi-lam-ma-at-ti-iš*, *ḫi-lam-ma-di-iš*, *ḫi-lam-ma-at-ta-aš*), ***ḫilammili*** (adv.) ‘in a *ḫ*. fashion’ (*ḫi-lam-mi-li*), ***ḫilam(min)ni-*** (c.) ‘courtier(?)’ (nom.sg. *ḫi-lam-mi-in-ni-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫi-lam-ni-in*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **PORTA-*lana-*** (n.) ‘gate-house’ (abl.-instr. PORTA-*la-na-ri+i* (KARATEPE 1 §63 Hu.), nom.-acc.pl. “PORTA”-*la-na* (KARATEPE 1 §66, §69, §72b), “PORTA”-*la/i/u-na* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §13), “PORTA”-*na* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §16), dat.-loc.pl. PORTA-*na-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §20), gen.adj.acc.pl.c. PORTA-*la/i/u-ni-si-i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b+c* §34)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 305f. for attestations. Note that there a form *ḫi-i-e*[*l-l*]*i* (KBo 19.145 iii 44) is cited, which is wrongly read: the form in fact is  =  = *ḫi-i-l*[*i*]. The most common and oldest spelling is *ḫi-i-l*°, although *ḫi-l*° is attested multiple times as well. A spelling *ḫi-e-l*° 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 *ḫīla-*.

The word denotes 'courtyard', but in the expressions '*ḫīla-* of the moon' and '*ḫīla-* of the sun' it probably denotes 'halo'. The word ^{É}*ḫilammar / ḫilamn-* 'gatehouse' is generally seen as a derivative of ^{É}*ḫīla-* (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 *ḫilammi-*, *ḫilammatta-* and *ḫilammili*, on the basis of which expected **ḫilamar* was altered to *ḫilammar*). Note however that the phonetic resemblance to its Sumerian counterpart KI.LAM is remarkable and that we therefore must not rule out the possibility that it is a loanword.

Within Anatolian, Hitt. *ḫīla-* often is compared to Lyc. *qla-* 'precinct', but this is formally impossible. The Lycian sign *q* denotes a labialized consonant (possibly [k^{w}]) that reflects PAnat. */H^{w}/ (see Kloekhorst fthc.c). I would therefore rather reconstruct Lyc. *qla-* as **h_2u-leh$_2$-*, comparable to Gr. αὐλή 'courtyard, precinct' < **$h_2$eu-leh$_2$-*.

As an inner-Hittite comparandum, the noun *ḫāli-* 'pen, corral' often is mentioned, and Rieken (1999a: 226, 246) therefore reconstructs *ḫāli-* as **$h_2$ól-i-* and *ḫīla-* as **h_2ēl-éh$_2$-* from a root **$h_2$el-* 'to surround' that further only is attested in the root-extension **$h_2$elk- / *$h_2$lek-s-* 'to protect' (OE *ealgian*, Gr. ἀλέξω, Skt. *rakṣ-* 'to protect'). She states that in the case of *ḫīla-* "der *i*-Vokalismus der Wurzel von *ḫīla-* 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_2ē* > Hitt. *ḫi*. In 1994a: 143, Melchert explicitly withdraws this development, however, and therewith the formal basis under the reconstruction of *ḫīla-* as **h_2ēl-* 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_2* or **h_3*). Furthermore, reconstructing a root **$h_2$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 *ḫīla-* should be connected with Akk. *bīt ḫilāni*, pointing to an areal Wanderwort.

ḫimma- (c.) 'imitation, substitute, replica': nom.sg. *ḫi-im-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *ḫi-im-ma-an*, gen.sg. *ḫi-im-ma-aš*, nom.pl. *ḫi-im-mi-ẹ*[*-eš*], acc.pl. *ḫi-im-mu-uš*, *ḫi-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***ḫimmalli-*** (c.) 'imitator, vel sim.' (nom.sg. *ḫi-im-ma-al-li-iš*).

IE cognates: Lat. *imitor* ‘to copy, to imitate’, *imāgō* ‘copy’, *aemulus* ‘rival’.
PIE *$h_2$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_2(e)im-. The geminate *-mm-* in Hittite must be the product of an assimilation, possibly *$h_2$im-no-.

ḫin-: see *ḫān-^{i} / ḫan-*

ḫinik-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIh) ‘to pour?’: 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫi-ni-ik-ta*.

In 1976, Hart was the first to separate the forms that were spelled *ḫi-ni-ik-ta* from the verb ‘*ḫink-*’ (see at the lemma *ḫai(n)k-$^{tta(ri)}$*, *ḫink-$^{a(ri)}$*; *ḫi(n)k-^{zi}*) because of their aberrant spelling: *ḫi-ni-ik*-C vs. *ḫi-in-ik*-C. On the basis of the two contexts in which *ḫi-ni-ik-ta* occurs, namely

KBo 3.7 ii
(21) $^{Ḫ\text{UR.SAG}}$*Za-li-i̯a-nu-ú ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš ḫa-an-*[*te-ez-zi-i̯a-aš*?]
(22) *ma-a-an I-NA* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik ḫé-u-uš*
(23) *ḫi-ni-ik-ta nu* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-ka$_4$-az*
(24) [L]Ú ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^{NINDA}*ḫar-ši-i̯n pé-e-da-a-i*

‘The mountain Zalii̯anū was fi[rst?] of all. When in Nerik rain *ḫ*.-s / is *ḫ*.-ed, the staff-bearer brings away thick-bread from Nerik’

and

KUB 34.16 iii
(3) [...]x *u̯a-an-nu-pa*$^{!}$*-aš-ta-li-eš ḫa-la-li-ez-zi*
(4) [(*ut-ne-i̯a*)- ..] *ḫé-e-a-u-it ḫi-ni-ik-ta*

// KBo 14.61
(6) [... (*u̯a-an-na-p*)]*a-aš-ta-lu-uš*[ ]
(7) [(*ḫa-la-li-ez-z*)]*i ut-ne-i̯a*[(-)]
(8) [(*ḫé-e-a-u-it ḫi-*)]*ni-ik-*[(*ta*)]

‘... the morningstar$^{?}$ cleans ... on$^{?}$ the earth (it?) *ḫ*.-s / is *ḫ*.-ed with rain’

Hart assumes that *ḫinik-* may mean "wet, pour, deluge" and therefore proposes an etymological connection with Skt. *siñcati* 'to pour', interpreting *ḫinik-* 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$_1$ey-k$^{(w)}$-*") and Kimball (1999: 382, who for reasons unclear to me insists on a reconstruction with **h$_3$*). The preform of Skt. *siñcati*, which belongs with OHG *sīhan* 'to filter', *seihhen* 'to urinate', SerbCS *sьcati* 'to urinate' and Gaul. *Sēquana* 'Seine', must contain a **-k^{w}-*, however, **seik^{w}-*, which does not fit Hitt. *ḫinik-*. Moreover, there is no indication for a laryngeal in any of the other languages. All in all, I reject the connection between *ḫinik-$^{tta(ri)}$* and Skt. *siñcati*.

ḫink-$^{a(ri)}$, ***ḫi(n)k-^{zi}***: see *ḫai(n)k-$^{tta(ri)}$*

ḫinkan-: see *ḫenkan-*

^{LÚ}*ḫippara-* (c.) 'serf' (Akk. ^{LÚ}*ASIRUM*): nom.sg. *ḫi-ip-pár-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-ip-pa-ri* (OS).

For the semantics of this word we must compare the following context:

KBo 6.2 ii

(49) ^{LÚ}*ḫi-ip-pár-aš lu-uz-zi kar-pí-i-ez-zi nu* ^{LÚ}*ḫi-ip-pa-ri ḫa-a-ap-pár le-e*

(50) [*k*]*u-iš-ki i-ez-zi* DUMU=*ŠU* A.ŠÀ=*ŠU* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$.GEŠTIN=*ŠU le-e ku-iš-ki ḫa-a-ap-pár-ši*

(51) [*ku-i*]*š=za* ^{LÚ}*ḫi-ip-pa-ri ḫa-a-ap-pár i-ez-zi n=a-aš=kán ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az*

(52) [*ša-me-e*]*n-zi* ^{LÚ}*ḫi-ip-pár-aš ku-it ḫa-ap-pa-ra-a-et ta-a=z a-ap-pa da-a-*[*i*]

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(53) [*ták-ku* ^{LÚ}*ḫi*]*-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 *ḫ*. shall perform corvée. No-one shall do business with a *ḫ*.. No-one shall buy his child, his field (or) his vineyard. Whoever does do business with a *ḫ*. forefeits his right to the trade. Whatever the *ḫ*. traded, he shall give it back. When a *ḫ*. steals, there is no restitution. (...) His body alone shall restitute (it)'.

From this text, it is clear that *ḫippara-* is some sort of outcast that is not allowed to do any trade. Even when a *ḫippara-* 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, ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-* is

akkadographically written ^{LÚ}*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 *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-* ‘trade, business’, which was codified by Eichner (1973a: 72) who reconstructed **h_2ēp(o)ró-* ‘Käufling’ (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 76, who assumes a basic meaning ‘bought’). There is not a shred of evidence, however, that a ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-* was subject to being sold and bought. On the contrary, the fact that a ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-* 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 (*ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-*) with a ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-*, in my opinion shows that an etymological connection between *ḫāppar- / ḫāppir-* and ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-* is very unlikely.

^{GIŠ}***ḫišša-*** (c.) ‘carriage pole’: acc.sg. *ḫi-iš-ša-an* (KBo 13.119 iii 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-iš-ši* (KUB 30.32 i 3 (MS), KUB 34.16 ii 7 (OH/NS), Bo 4929 v 17-20 (NS)), *ḫe-eš-ši* (KBo 12.123, 15 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *īṣā́* ‘pole, shaft’, Slov. *ojȇ* ‘carriage pole’, dial.Russ. *vojë* ‘carriage pole’, Gr. οἰήϊον ‘handle of rudder’, Gr. οἴαξ ‘handle of rudder, tiller’.

PIE **$h_2ih_{1/3}s$-eh_2-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 318f. for attestations. Almost all attestations (including the oldest (MS) one) are spelled *ḫi-iš-š°*. Only once, we find a spelling *ḫe-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. *īṣā́* ‘pole, shaft’. Combined with the Hittite evidence, we must reconstruct **h_2iHs-éh_2-*. In other IE languages, we find e.g. Slov. *ojȇ*, gen. *ojȇsa* ‘carriage pole’, which seems to point to an *s*-stem **$h_2$ei$h_{1/3}$-es-* or **$h_2$oi$h_{1/3}$-es-*, dial.Russ. *vojë* ‘carriage pole’, Gr. οἰήϊον ‘handle of rudder’ and Gr. οἴαξ ‘handle of rudder, tiller’, the preforms of which are less clear. On the basis of Gr. ὀ-, Kimball (1999: 386) reconstructs **h_3-*, but this does not seem obligatory to me.

According to Dercksen (fthc.), the noun *ḫišša-* is attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as well, namely as *ḫiššannum*.

^{É}*ḫištā*, **^{É}*ḫištī*** (n.) ‘mausoleum(?)’ (Sum. É.NA$_4$): nom.-acc.sg. *ḫé-eš-ta-a* (MS), gen.sg. *ḫi-iš-ta-a-aš* (OS), *ḫi-iš-ta-aš* (MS), *ḫé-eš-ta-a-aš* (MS), *ḫé-eš-ta-aš* (NS), *ḫi-iš-ta-a* (OS), *ḫi-iš-da-a* (OH/MS), *ḫé-eš-ta-a* (OH/MS), *ḫé-eš-da-a* (NS), *ḫé-eš-ti-i* (OH/NS), *ḫe-eš-ti-i* (NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫi-iš-ti-i* (OS), *ḫé-eš-ti-i* (OH/NS), *ḫé-iš-ti-i* (NS), *ḫi-iš-ta-a* (OS), ≮ *ḫi-iš-da-a* (OH/NS), *ḫé-eš-ta-a* (OH/MS), abl. *ḫé-eš-ti-i* (NS).

Derivatives: **^{LÚ}*ḫištum(n)a-*** (c.) ‘person pertaining to the *ḫištā*’ (nom.sg. *ḫi-iš-tu-um-ma-aš*, *ḫi-iš-tu-u-ma-aš*, *ḫé-eš-tu-um-na-aš*, *ḫé-eš-tu-u-ma-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫé-eš-tu-u-um-ni*, nom.pl. *ḫé-eš-tu-u-um-ni-eš*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 319f. for attestations. The oldest attestations (OS) are all spelled *ḫi-iš-t°*, whereas spellings with *-e-* (*ḫé-eš-t°*, *ḫé-iš-t°* and *ḫi-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$_4$ ‘house of stones’.

Since Götze (1925: 104), ^{É}*ḫištā*, ^{É}*ḫištī* has been connected with *ḫa-aš-ti-i̯a-aš* É-*er* ‘house of bones’ that is mentioned by Ḫattušili III (KUB 1.1 iv 75), on the basis of which an etymological connection between ^{É}*ḫištā*, ^{É}*ḫištī* and *ḫaštai-* ‘bone’ (q.v.) has been assumed. For instance, Eichner (1973a: 72) reconstructs **h$_2$ēstoi̯ó-* (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 76), whereas Puhvel (l.c.) reconstructs **h$_3$stoi̯ó-* (with anaptyctic *e/i*).

If we look at the paradigm of ^{É}*ḫištā*, ^{É}*ḫištī*, 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 *ḫištā* or *ḫištī*. In my view, this strongly indicates that this word is not genuinely Hittite, but must be a foreignism (cf. ^{NA_4}*ḫekur* for a similar uninflectedness). This would fit the fact that cultic buildings often have non-IE names (e.g. ^{É}*ḫalent(i)u-*, ^{É}*māk(kiz)zi(i̯a)-*, ^{É}*karimmi-*, etc.). This view was also advocated by Kammenhuber (1972: 300), who explained *ḫaštii̯aš* É-*er* ‘house of bones’ as a folk etymology.

ḫuek-^{zi}* / *ḫuk- (Ia1) ‘to conjure, to treat by incantation’: 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-e-ek-mi* (KBo 22.107 i 14 (MS)), *ḫu-ek-mi* (KBo 22.107 i 11 (MS), KBo 17.61 rev. 7 (MH/NS), KUB 17.28 i 28 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-uk-mi* (KUB 17.28 ii 3, 8 (fr.) (MH/NS), KBo 27.134 i 20 (MS)), *ḫu-u-uk-mi* (KBo 11.19 obv. 1 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-i‹-ik›-ši* (KUB 45.21, 1 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-e-ek-zi* (OS, often), *ḫu-ek-zi* (OS, often), *ḫu-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)), *ḫu-u-uk-zi* (KBo 12.112 obv. 13 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫu-e-ku-u̯a-ni* (KBo 15.28 obv. 7 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-kán-zi* (KBo 2.12 ii 34 (NS)), *ḫu-u-kán-zi* (MH/MS, often), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u-ga-u-en* (KUB 18.12 obv. 13 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫu-ek-du* (KUB 7.1 iii 12ff. (OH/NS)); part. *ḫu-u-kán-t-*, *ḫu-u-ga-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ḫu-u-kán-na-aš* (KUB 16.47, 12 (NS)), *ḫu-u-ga-an-na-aš* (KUB 18.12 obv. 7 (NS)); inf.II *ḫu-u-kán-na* (KUB 17.24 ii 14 (NS)); impf. *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (often), *ḫu-uk-ki-eš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-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: ***ḫukmai- / ḫukmi-*** (c.) 'conjuration' (Akk. *ŠIPTU*; acc.sg.c. *ḫu-uk-ma-in* (KUB 7.52 + 12.58 i 57, 62, 64 (NS), KBo 15.1 iv 40 (NS), Gurney 6, 6 (NS)), *ḫu-u-uk-ma-in* (KBo 27.134 i 19 (MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫu-uk-ma-i* (KUB 9.34 iii 6 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-uk-mi-i̯a-aš* (KBo 17. 62+63 i 13 (MS?)), acc.pl.c. *ḫu-uk-ma-uš* (KUB 27.29 i 7 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-uk-ma-a-uš* (VBoT 58 iv 37 (OH/NS), KUB 36.44 i 6 (OH/MS)), *ḫu-u-uk-ma-a-uš* (KUB 14.4 iii 8 (NH))), ^{LÚ}***ḫukmatalla-*** (c.) 'conjurer' (Sum. ^{LÚ}KAxLI; nom.pl. *ḫu-uk-ma-tal-li*[*-e-eš*] (KUB 12.61 ii 7 (NS))), ***ḫuganna-^{i} / ḫuganni-*** (IIa5) 'to conjure (impf.)' (inf.I *ḫu-u-ga-an-ni-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (313/z rev. 6)).

IE cognates: ?Gr. αὐχέω 'to boast, to brag'.

PIE **h₂ueg^{h}-* or **h₂ueǵ^{h}-* ?

See Puhvel HED 3: 323f. for attestations. As the sign IG can be read *ik* as well as *ek*, all cases where we find *ḫu*-IG- are, just as *ḫu-e*-IG-, to be interpreted as /Hoeg-/ (cf. § 1.3.9.4 for the phoneme /o/). The verb clearly shows an original ablaut *ḫuekzi / ḫukanzi* and therewith is homophonic to the verb *ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk-* 'to slaughter, to butcher'. In MH times we see that the strong stem *ḫuek-* is used in 1pl.pres.act. *ḫuekuu̯ani* as well (replacing original **ḫuku̯eni*), which is normal in *e/Ø*-ablauting *mi*-verbs. Remarkable is the fact that the weak stem *ḫuk-* seems to have become productive in NH times. This can be explained in view of the fact that the bulk of the cases of *ḫukmi* and *ḫukzi* are found in the syntagm *ḫukmain ḫuk-* 'to conjure a conjuration'. It is likely that here the use of the weak stem *ḫuk-* in the verbal form is due to analogy to the noun *ḫukmai-*.

The single writing of *-k-* (*ḫuekuu̯ani*, *ḫukanzi*, *ḫukant-*, *ḫuganna*, etc.) points to etymological **g* or **g^{h}* (or **ǵ$^{(h)}$*). Note that the imperfective is predominantly spelled with geminate *-kk-*, which is due to fortition of original lenis stops before the **-sḱe/o-*suffix (similarly *eku-^{zi} / aku-* 'to drink' with *akkuške/a-*, *lāk-^{i} / lak-* 'to make lie down' with *lakkiške/a-*, etc.). Mechanically, *ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk-* must go back to a root **h₂ueg$^{(h)}$-* or **h₂ueǵ$^{(h)}$-* (the initial laryngeal must be **h₂* because **h₃* 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_1ueg^{wh}-, with εὔχ- reflecting *h_1e-h_1ug^{wh}-: this has the wrong velar as well as the wrong laryngeal.

Oettinger (1979a: 103) connects *ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk-* with Gr. αὐχέω 'to boast, to brag', which could point to a root *h_2ueg^h- or *$h_2ueǵ^h$-. 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.

ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk- (Ia1) 'to slaughter, to butcher': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-e-ek*[*-mi*] (KBo 17.3 iii 14 (OS)), *ḫu-ek-mi* (KBo 17.1 i 41 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-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)), *ḫu-u-e-ek-zi* (KUB 17.24 iii 3 (NS)), *ḫu-uk-zi* (KUB 41.8 i 18 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-uk-zi* (KBo 10.45 i 35 (MH/NS), KUB 53.12 iii 21 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-kán-zi* (OS, often), *ḫu-u-kán-zi* (OS, often),3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-e-ek-ta* (OS), *ḫu-u-e-ek-ta* (KBo 22.6 i 18 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ek-ta* (KBo 11.45 + IBoT 3.87 ii 17 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫu-u-kán-ta* (KUB 55.28 ii 12 (MH/NS)); part. *ḫu-ga-an-t-* (OS), *ḫu-ga-a-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun. *ḫu-u-ga-tar*; inf.II *ḫu-ga-an-na*, *ḫu-u-ga-an-na*, *ḫu-u-kán-na*; impf. *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḫu-u-uk-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ḫu-u-ki-iš-ke/a-* (MS), *ḫu-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *ḫu-u-ki-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***ḫukeššar / ḫukešn-*** (n) 'slaughtering' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-ke-eš-šar*, *ḫu-u-ke-eš-šar*, *ḫu-ge-eš-šar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-ke-eš-ni*), see *ḫuni(n)k-^{zi}*.

IE cognates: OP *vaǰ-* 'to stab'.

PIE *$h_2ueg^{(h)}$-

See Puhvel HED 3: 327f. for attestations. Note that Puhvel cites "1pl.pres.act. (?)]*ḫu-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: *ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk-* 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 *ḫu*-IG- are, just as *ḫu-e*-IG- and *ḫu-u-e*-IG-, to be interpreted as /Hoeg-/ (cf. § 1.3.9.4 for the phoneme /o/). The verb clearly shows an original ablaut *ḫuekzi /*

ḫukanzi and therewith is homophonic to the verb *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-* ‘to conjure’. The consistent spelling with single *-k-* points to an etymological **g* or **g*^{h} (or **ǵ*$^{(h)}$). 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 **-sḱe/o-* (compare *eku-*^{zi} */ aku-* ‘to drink’ and *akkuške/a-*, *lāk-*^{i} */ lak-* ‘to make lie down’ and *lakkiške/a-*, etc.). Mechanically, *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-* must go back to a root **h*$_2$*ueg*$^{(h)}$- or **h*$_2$*ueǵ*$^{(h)}$- (the initial laryngeal must be **h*$_2$ because **h*$_3$ would regularly drop in this position).

Strunk (1979: 254) connects *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-* with OP *vaǰ-* ‘to stab’ (1sg.pret.act. *avaǰam*), which is widely followed. Puhvel (lc.) proposes to further adduce Gr. (ϝ)ὀφνίς, OHG *waganso* ‘ploughshare’, but these forms must reflect **ueg*^{wh}-, which is the wrong velar from a Hittite point of view. Eichner’s suggestion (1982: 18) to connect *ḫuek-* 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*$^{(h)}$-.

ḫueš-: see *ḫuiš- / ḫuš-*

ḫuett-$^{tta(ri)}$ ***/ ḫuetti-***$^{a(ri)}$**; *ḫuttiie/a-***^{zi} (IIIa/b > IIIg; Ic1) ‘to draw, to pull, to pluck’ (Sum. SUD. Akk. *ŠADĀDU*): 1sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-it-ta-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (KBo 11.11 i 4 (NS)), 2sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-e-ez-ta* (KUB 17.10 iv 1, 2 (OH/MS), KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 15 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ḫu-iz*[*-ta*] (IBoT 4.8 obv. 2 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-at*[*-ta*] (KUB 21.19 + 1303/u ii 18 (NH)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-ri* (KBo 17.92, 15 (MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫu-e-et-ti-an-ta* (KUB 29.30 iii 6 (OS)), *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-an-ta* (KUB 29.35 iv 15 (OS), KBo 19.152 i 6 (MS), KUB 29.37, 8 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 i 41 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 i 42 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-an-ta* (KBo 6.26 iv 5, 21 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *ḫu-it-ta-aḫ-ḫa-at* (KBo 11.11 i 9 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-ti* (KBo 3.22, 54 (OS), KUB 26.71 i 3 (OH/NS), KUB 43.75 obv. 19 (NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-et-ti* (KUB 26.71 i 3 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-at-ta-at* (KUB 19.67 i 2 (NH)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-at-ta-at* (KUB 1.7 ii 10 (NH)), *ḫu-iz-za-aš-ta-ti* (KUB 43.74 obv. 11 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-ru* (Bo 6472, 10 (undat.)); 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-mi* (VBoT 24 iii 13, iv 10 (MH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-ši* (KUB 7.53 iii 2, 4 (NS), KBo 5.3 ii 29 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-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)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-az-zi* (KBo 22.102 rev. 10 (NS), KUB 29.4 ii 21 (NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 28 (MH/NS), KBo 8.90 ii 9 (NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-az-zi* (KBo 23.1 i 18 (NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-e-iz-zi* (KUB 1.13 i 12

(MH/NS)), *ḫu-it-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 33.43 ii 57 (NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-i* (KUB 27.67 ii 17, 18, iii 21, 22 (MH/NS), KBo 5.2 iii 20 (MH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ḫu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.5 ii 26 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.6 ii 9 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-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.), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-zi* (often), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-an-zi* (less often), *ḫu-u-i-it-ti-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 2.5 i 8 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-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)), *ḫu-u-i-it-ti-i̯a-nu-un* (KBo 2.5 ii 3 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-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)), *ḫu-it-ti-et* (KUB 33.120 i 24 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-at* (KBo 32.14 iii 10, 28 (MH/MS), Bronzetafel i 23 (NH)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-at* (KUB 14.4 iv 15 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-u-en* (KUB 13.4 iv 72 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-et-ti-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 15 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-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)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a* (KUB 33.54 + 47 ii 19 (OH/NS), KUB 7.53 iii 8 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-at-tén* (HKM 25 obv. 14 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-u-e-za-at-tén* (KUB 58.77 obv. 27, 28 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-ad-du* (KBo 10.45 iv 27 (MH/NS)); part. *ḫu-et-ti-an-t-* (OS), *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun. *ḫu-it-te-eš-šar* (KUB 27.67 i 19, iii 25 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-it-ti*[-*i̯a-*]*aš-šar* (KUB 27.67 ii 20 (MH/NS)); verb.noun. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-u-ar* (KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 obv. 60, rev. 4, 16 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KUB 10.92 i 18 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-u-aš* (KUB 29.4 ii 18 (NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 29.4 i 73 (NS), KUB 42.106 rev. 10 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-u-ni* (KUB 15.34 iv 61 (MH/MS)); inf.I *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 21.19+ ii 20 (NS), KUB 29.4 iii 38, 49 (NS)), *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-u-an-zi* (KUB 12.23, 20 (NS)), [*ḫu-*]*u-it-ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 15.29 iii 8 (NS)), *ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a-u-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 33, ii 41, 48 (MH/NS)); impf. *ḫu-it-ti-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 13. 64 obv. 12 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫuttii̯anna-***^{i} **/** ***ḫuttii̯anni-***, ***ḫuittii̯anna-***^{i} **/** ***ḫuittii̯anni-*** (IIa5) ‘id. (impf.)’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 2.9 iv 21 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-ut-ti-an-na-i* (KBo 17.18 ii 12 (OS)), *ḫu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i* (KBo 17.43 i 3 (fr.), 11 (OS)), *ḫu-et-ti-i̯a-an-na-i* (KBo 22.42 obv. 10 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-u-i-it-ti-i̯a-an-na-i* (KUB 32.18 iii 8 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. [*ḫu-et-*]*ti-i̯a-an-ni-ú-e-ni* (KBo 15.10 iii 15 (OH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. [*ḫu-*]*et-ti-i̯a-an-na-ú* (KUB 36.55 ii 18 (MH/MS?)); impf. *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-ni-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-an-ni-eš-ke/a-*), ^{SÍG}***ḫuttulli-*** (n.) ‘strand (of wool)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-ut-tu-ul-li*, *ḫu-ut-tu-li*, *ḫu-ud-du-ul-li*, abl. *ḫu-ud-du-ul-li-i̯a-az*, instr. *ḫu-ut-tu-ul-li-it*, *ḫu-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 *ḫu*-IT-*t*° can stand for both *ḫuitt-* as well as *ḫuett-*. There are a few forms that show plene spellings: *ḫu-u-i*-IT-*ti-i̯a-an-zi* (NS) and *ḫu-u-i*-IT-*ti-i̯a-nu-un* (NS) show unambiguously /Hoit-/, whereas *ḫu-e*-IT-*ti-an-ta* (OS), *ḫu-e*-IZ-*ta* (OH/MS) and *ḫu-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 *ḫuett-* is the original form, and that the stem *ḫuitt-* is a later development. In the above overview of forms, I have chosen to cite all MS and OS attestations as *ḫu-et-* and the NS attestations as *ḫu-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: *ḫuettii̯e/a-*, *ḫuett-* and *ḫuttii̯e/a-*. The stem *ḫuettii̯e/a-* is found in both active and middle forms, in early times already (3pl.pres.act. *ḫuettianzi* (OH/MS) and 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫuettianta* (OS)). The stem *ḫuett-* is found much less often, also in both active and middle forms (2pl.imp.act. *ḫūezatten* (NS) besides 2sg.pres.midd. *ḫuezta* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫuezzaštati* (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 *ḫuttii̯e/a-* is found in the impf. *ḫuttii̯anna/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 *ḫuett-*, whereas in the active the stem *ḫuttii̯e/a-* was used (cf. *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi} for a similar distribution). Already in pre-Hittite times, the full grade of the middle was taken over into the active, yielding the stem *ḫuettii̯e/a-* (with *ḫuttii̯e/a-* surviving in the imperfective only), which stem was subsequently taken over into the middle paradigm as well. If the noun *ḫuttulli-* 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* ^{SÍG}*ḫu-ut-tu-ul-li ḫu-it-ti-i̯a-mi* 'I pluck a strand from it (viz. sheep)'), it would show another instance of the zero grade stem *ḫutt-*.

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 *-i̯- in the stems *ḫuttii̯e/a-* and *ḫuettii̯e/a-* show that *-tt-* cannot reflect *-t-* just like that. It is likely that some laryngeal stood between the dental consonant and *-i̯-*. As Melchert (1984a: 88[16]) rightly points out, a sequence *-$d^{(h)}H$- would yield Hitt. *-tt-* as well (cf. *mekki-* < *$meǵh_2$-), which means that we can mechanically reconstruct *ḫuett-* / *ḫutt-* 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[16]) connects *ḫuett-* 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 *vedǫ* 'to lead', YAv. *vāδaiieiti* 'to lead', Skt. *vadhū́-* '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. *vadhū́-* 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. *vẽd-* '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. *vadhū́-* '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 PSl. **věno* '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 *νήεδνος < *$n̥$-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. *$vadh^i$-* 'to slay', Gr. ὠθέω 'to push' that up to now are reconstructed *ued^hh_1-. If, however, Gr. ὠθέω could reflect *ἀοθέω < *$h_2uod^hh_1$-$éi̯e$-, then we may be allowed to connect this with *ḫuett-* (which then would show that a sequence *-d^hh_1- yields *-tt-*, but compare *ka-ra-a-pí* < *$g^hróbh_1$-ei). Semantically, we should especially compare Gr. ὠθέω 'to push' with Hitt. *ḫuett-* 'to pull, to draw'.

LIV[2] assumes that *ḫuett-* stands isolated in IE and mechanically reconstructs *h_2uet-. Note however, that this is incorrect: *h_2ut-$i̯e/o$- should have yielded **ḫuzzii̯e/a-*.

All in all, I do not dare to take a final decision.

ḫuettii̯e/a-: see *ḫuett-*$^{(tt)a}$; *ḫuttii̯e/a-*^{zi}

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. ***huha-*** (c.) ‘grandfather’ (nom.sg. /huhas/ AVUS-*ha-sá* (MARAŞ 4 §9), acc.sg. /huhan/ AVUS-*ha-na* (MARAŞ 4 §11), dat.sg. /huha/ AVUS-*ha* (MARAŞ 4 §8, KARKAMIŠ A2 §4), nom.pl. /huhant^{s}i/ AVUS-*ha-zi* (KARABURUN §1, KARKAMIŠ A14*a* §5, BOHÇA §6, §10, ÇİFTLİK §3), ^{AVUS}*hu-ha-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A26*a* §d)), ***huhant(i)-*** (c.) ‘(great)grandfather(?)’ (acc.sg. /huhantin/ AVUS-*ha-ti-na* (MARAŞ 4 §11), dat.-loc.sg. /huhanti/ AVUS-*ha-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §14), nom.pl. /huhantint^{s}i/ AVUS-*ha-ti-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §8), dat.-loc.pl. /huhatant^{s}/ AVUS-*ha-ta-za* (HAMA 4 §10)), ****huhantia-*** (adj.) ‘of the grandfather’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. AVUS-*ti-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §8, 13)), ***huhantul(i)-*** (c.) ‘greatgreatgrandfather(?) (acc.sg. /huhantulin/ AVUS-*ha-tu-li-(ha)* (MARAŞ 4 §11)); Lyc. ***χuge-*** ‘grandfather’ (gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *χugaha*).

IE cognates: Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw* ‘grandfather’, OIc. *ć́e* ‘greatgrandfather’, Goth. *awo* ‘grandmother’, SCr. *ȕjāk* ‘uncle on mother’s side’, Lith. *avýnas* ‘uncle on mother’s side’.

PIE **h*$_2$*éuh*$_2$*-s*, **h*$_2$*éuh*$_2$*-m*, **h*$_2$*uh*$_2$*-ós*

See Puhvel HED 3: 355f. for attestations. In Hittite, this word is almost consistently spelled *ḫu-uḫ-ḫV°*, with geminate *-ḫḫ-*, whereas in CLuwian, we find *ḫu-u-ḫV°* and *ḫu-ḫV°* with single *-ḫ-*, which corresponds to Lyc. *χuge-*, 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*$_2$*e-*, which corresponds to Hitt. *ḫ-*. The second *-ḫḫ-* in Hittite corresponds to the acute intonation in SCr. *ȕjāk* which points to a laryngeal. Because **h*$_3$ was lost intervocalically (cf. Melchert 1987b: 23f.), it is likely that we must reconstruct **h*$_2$ here as well. All in all, we arrive at a stem **h*$_2$*euh*$_2$*-*. The question remains why Hittite shows geminate *-ḫḫ-* where the Luwian languages

show single -*ḫ*-. In my view, this problem can only be solved by assuming that this word originally was a root noun. If we reconstruct *$h_2éuh_2$-*s*, *$h_2éuh_2$-*m*, *h_2uh_2-*ós*, we can explain that on the one hand we find the thematicized stem *$h_2éuh_2$-*o*- in CLuw. *ḫūḫa*-, Lyc. *χuge*-, but also Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw*, Goth. *awo*, etc., but on the other a thematicized stem *h_2uh_2-*ó*- which regularly yields Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa*- without lenition of *-h_2-. Compare *šūḫḫ*-, *šuḫḫa*- for a similar thematization.

ḫuiḭe/a-^{zi}: see *ḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *ḫui-*

ḫuiš-^{zi} **/ *ḫuš-*** (Ia1) ‘to live; to survive’ (Sum. TI): 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-zi* (KBo 12.81 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-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. *ḫu-i-iš-te-ni* (KUB 1.16 iii 37 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-e-eš* (ABoT 44 i 56 (OH/NS)); part. TI-*eš-ša-an-t*- (KUB 31.77 i 9 (NH)); impf. *ḫu-eš-ke/a*- (KUB 49.1 iv 17 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫušnu-***^{zi}, ***ḫuišnu-***^{zi}, ***ḫuešnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make recover; to rescue; to spare’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-nu*[*-mi*] (KBo 39.223 rev. 3), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-zi* (OH/NS), *ḫu-iš-nu-uz-zi* (OH/MS), *ḫu-u-iš-nu-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-mé-ni* (KBo 32.15 ii 18 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-iš-nu-e-ni* (KUB 36.32, 15), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-e-‹eš-›nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28 ii 19), *ḫu-iš-nu-ut* (MH/MS), *ḫu-uš-nu-ut* (KBo 3.36 obv. 9 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-ut*, *ḫu-u-iš-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *ḫu-iš-nu-ud-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ḫu-uš-nu-ut-tén* (KUB 32.64 ii 14 (MH/NS)); part. TI-*nu-an-t*-; impf. *ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ke/a*-), ***ḫuišu- / ḫuišaṷ-***, ***ḫuešu- / ḫuešaṷ-***, ***ḫušu-*** ‘fresh, raw’ (nom.-acc.sg. and pl. *ḫu-e-šu*, *ḫu-e-šú*, *ḫu-u-e-šu*, *ḫu-i-šu*, *ḫu-u-i-šu*, *ḫu-šu* (1x), abl. *ḫu-e-ša-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-e-ša-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-e-ša-u-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-e-ša-u-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-u-e-ša-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-u-e-ša-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-u-e-ša-u-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-u-e-ša-u-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-u-i-e-ša-u-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-i-ša-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-u-i-ša-u-az*, *ḫu-u-i-ša-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-u-i-ša-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-u-i-ša-u-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-u-i-ša-u-ṷa-az*, *ḫu-e-šu-ṷa-za*, *ḫu-šu-ṷa-za*, nom.pl.c. *ḫu-u-e-ša-u-e-eš*, *ḫu-u-ṷi$_5$-ša-u-e-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫu-i-šu-ṷa-aš*, *ḫu-i-ša‹-ṷa›-aš*), ***ḫušṷe/a-***^{zi}, ***ḫuišṷe/a-***^{zi} (Ic4 > Ic2) ‘to stay alive, to be alive, to survive’ (3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-iš-ú-e-ez-zi*, *ḫu-iš-ú-ez-zi*, *ḫu-iš-šu-ez-zi*, *ḫu-u-iš-šu-u-ez-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. [*ḫ*]*u-šu-e-ṷa-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-iš-ṷa-it*, *ḫu-iš-ṷa-a-iš*, 2pl.pret.act. *ḫu-iš-ú-e-te-en* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-iš-šu-er* (HKM 50 obv. 5 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-u-i-šu-er*, *ḫu-šu-e-er*; part. *ḫu-šu-ṷa-an-t*- (OS), *ḫu-uš-ṷa-an-t*-, *ḫu-iš-ṷa-an-t*- (OS), *ḫu-i-šu-ṷa-an-t*- (OS), *ḫu-iš-šu-ṷa-an-t*- (OS), *ḫu-u-iš-ṷa-an-t*-, *ḫu-u-i-iš-ṷa-an-t*-; verb.noun *ḫu-*

iš-u̯a-a-tar, *ḫu-iš-u̯a-tar*, *ḫu-u-iš-u̯a-tar*, gen.sg. *ḫu-e-eš-u̯a-an-na-aš*, *ḫu-iš-u̯a-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-iš-u̯a-an-ni*, instr. TI-*an-ni-it*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***ḫwisar*** (n.) 'game, wild beasts' (nom.-acc.sg. ^{BESTIA}*HWI-sà+ra/i-sa* (ALEPPO 2 §5), $^{\text{"ANIMAL.BESTIA"}}$*HWI-sa*$_5$*+ra/i* (BOHÇA §5), *HWI-sa*$_5$*+ra/i-´* (BULGARMADEN §7))), ***ḫwisnamaia*** (n.?) '?' (nom.-acc.pl.(?) ^{BESTIA}*HWI-sá-na-ma-i̯a* (ASSUR letter *a* §10)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἰαύω, aor. ἄεσα 'to spend the night', Skt. *vásati* 'to dwell', TochB *wäs-* 'to rest, to reside', Goth. *wisan* 'to be'.

PIE **h*$_2$*u̯es-*, **h*$_2$*us-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 332f. for attestations. Witihin the verb, we find the stems *ḫuiš-* and *ḫueš-*. 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 *ḫuš-*, especially in several OS attestations of *ḫušu̯ant-* (besides *ḫuišu̯ant-*). I therefore cite this lemma as *ḫuiš-*^{zi} */ ḫuš-*.

Already since Kuryłowicz (1927: 102) this verb is generally derived from the PIE root **h*$_2$*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*$_2$*ues-* > OH *huiš-* can be understood if we apply the sound law as formulated by Melchert (e.g. 1994a: 101), namely **e* between **u̯* and dental consonant > *i* (also in *u̯itt-* besides *u̯ett-*).

Opponents against this etymology (e.g. Weitenberg 1984: 108f., Tischler HEG A: 265) point to the Luwian stem *ḫuit-* 'to live' (see under the lemma *ḫuitar / ḫuitn-*), and raise the possibility that Hitt. *-š-* reflects **-di̯-*. Apart from the fact that the sound law **di̯* > Hitt. *š* is only ascertained for word-initial position, the connection with Luw. *ḫuit-* is difficult morphologically. We would have to assume a basic stem **ḫued-*, of which a derivative **ḫued-i̯u-* (but what kind of suffix is this **-i̯u-*?) yielded Hitt. **ḫuešu-*, out of which a verbal stem *ḫueš-* was back-formed. This does not seem appealing to me. Moreover, the root *ḫuiš-* is attested in HLuwian as well, which cannot be explained by an assibilation of **ḫued-*.

ḫuitar / ḫuitn- (n.) 'game, wild animals': nom.-acc.sg. [*ḫu*]*-i-ta-ar* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 15 (OS)), [*ḫu-i*]*-ta-ar* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 14 (OS)), *ḫu-i-ta-ar* (KBo 4.2 i 59 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-i-tar* (KUB 3.94 ii 18 (NS), KUB 8.62 i 2 (NS), etc.), *ḫu-u-e-da-ar* (KUB 36.67 ii 9 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-it-na-aš* (KUB 6.45 iii 16 (NH)) // *ḫu-it-ta-aš* (KUB 6.46 iii 56 (NH)), [*ḫ*]*u-it-na-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 16 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-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-*]*i̯-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$_4$-um-na-ḫi-ta-ti*), ***ḫuitu̯al(i)-*** (adj.) 'alive, living' (nom.sg.c. *ḫu-i-du-u̯a-li-iš*, *ḫu-i-it-u̯a-li-iš*, *ḫu-it-u̯a-a-li-iš*), ***ḫuitu̯alāḫit-*** (n.) 'life' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u-it-u̯a-la-a-ḫi-ša*, abl.-instr. *ḫu-u-i-du-u̯a-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti*, *ḫu-i-it-u̯a-la-ḫi‹-ta›-ti*, *ḫu-it-u̯a-la-ḫi‹-ta›-ti*), ***ḫuitu̯aliia-*** (adj.) 'of a living person' (nom.sg.c. [*ḫu-*]*i-it-u̯a-a-li-i-iš*, *ḫu-it-u̯a-li-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫu-u-i-it-u̯a-li-i̯a-an*, *ḫu-u-i-it-u̯a-a-li-i̯a-an*, *ḫu-it-u̯a-li-i̯a-an*, [*ḫu-i-*]*du-ua‹‹la-››li-i̯a-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-i-it-u̯a*[*li-i̯a*]), ***ḫuitu̯aluu̯ar*** (n.) 'being alive' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-i-du-u-u̯a-lu-u̯a-ra*); HLuw. ***hwitar*** (n.) 'game, wild animals' (nom.-acc.sg. ^{BESTIA}*HWI-tara/i* (MARAŞ 1 §11)), ***hwitnia-*** (adj.) 'of the wild animals(?)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *HWI-tà-ni-i̯a-za* (ŞIRZI §4))).

IE cognates: ON *vitnir* 'creature'.

PIE **h$_2$uéid-r / *h$_2$uid-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 ḪU followed by Ú 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. *ḫuitar*, CLuw. *ḫuitumar*, *ḫuitu̯ali-*, etc.) and that **-dn-* did not assimilate (unlike **-tn- > -nn-*), as is clear from *utnē / utni-* 'land' (q.v.).

In Hittite, the word *ḫuitar / ḫuitn-* does not have cognates (apart perhaps from the unclear hapax *ḫu-i-it-na-i-ma-aš*), whereas in CLuwian the root *ḫuid-* is wider spread, and seems to denote 'life, to live' (cf. e.g. *ḫuitumar* 'life', *ḫuitu̯al(i)-* 'alive, living'). This meaning resembles the meaning of Hitt. *ḫuiš-* 'to live' a lot, and it therefore has been assumed that *ḫuid-* and *ḫuiš-* in fact are cognate. See at *ḫuiš-*^{zi} */ ḫuš-* 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 *ḫuitar / ḫuitn-* with ON *vitnir* 'creature', which would point to a root **$h_2$ueid-*. For Hittite, this means that we can reconstruct a formation **$h_2$uéid-r / *$h_2$uid-n-ós*.

***ḫuitt(iḭe/a)-*:** see *ḫuett(iḭe/a)-*, *ḫuttiḭe/a-*

ḫulla-: see *ḫulle-*^{zi} */ ḫull-*

^{GIŠ}***ḫulāli-*** (n.) 'distaff': nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-la-a-li*, *ḫu-u-la-li*, *ḫu-la-li*.

Derivatives: ***ḫulāliḭe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to entwine, to encircle' (1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-la-a-li-e-mi* (OS), *ḫu-la-a-li-ḭa-mi* (OS), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-la-a-li-e-z*[*i*] (OS), *ḫu-la-a-li-ez-zi* (OS), *ḫu-la-a-li-az-zi*, *ḫu-la-li-ḭa-az-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-li-e-ez-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-li-ez-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-a-li-ez-zi*, [*ḫu-*]*ul-la-li-ḭa-az-zi* (1x), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-la-li-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-a-li-ḭa-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-li-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-la-li-ḭa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u-la-li-ḭa-nu-un*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-la-li-ḭa-at-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫu-u-la-li-et-ta-at* (MH/MS); part. *ḫu-la-li-an-t-* (OS), *ḫu-u-la-li-an-t-*; verb.noun *ḫu-u-la-li-ḭa-u-u̯a-ar* (MH/MS); impf. *ḫu-u-la-a-li-eš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-u-la-li-iš-ke/a-*), ***ḫulalieššar / ḫulaliešn-*** (n.) 'encirclement' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-la-li-eš-šar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-la-li-eš-ni*), ***ḫulḫuliḭe/a-*** (Ic1) 'to embrace, to wrestle' (3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ḭa-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ḭa-at*, 3pl.imp.act. *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-an-du*; part. *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ḭa-an-t-*; verb.noun *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ḭa-u̯a-ar*), ***ḫulḫul(iḭ)a-*** 'wrestling' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li-ḭa*, *ḫu-ul-ḫu-li*$_{12}$*-ḭa*, *ḫu-ul-ḫu-la*).

See Puhvel HED 3: 361f. for attestations. The interpretation of ^{GIŠ}*ḫulāli-* as 'distaff' is especially based on the fact that it is used in combination with ^{GIŠ}*ḫueša-* 'spindle', e.g. in KBo 6.34 ii (42) *nu* TÚG *ŠÁ* MUNUS ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-la-a-li* ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-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 *ḫulāliia/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* ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-la-li ḫu-la-li-ia-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 *ḫulāli* is cognate with the root **ḫul-* 'wool' as visible in *ḫulana-* 'wool' and *ḫuliia-* 'wool'. See under *ḫulana-* for further etymology.

ḫulana- (c.) 'wool' (Sum. SÍG): acc.sg. SÍG-*an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-la-*[*n*(*i*)] (KBo 3.8 iii 8), [(*ḫu-u-la-*)*n*]*i* (KBo 3.8 iii 26), instr. SÍG-*ni-it*.

Derivatives: ***ḫuliia-*** (c.) 'wool' (nom.sg. *ḫu-li-ia-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫulana/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$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš ḫu-li-ia-aš* // KBo 11.72 ii (33) UDU$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš* SÍG-*aš* 'wool of the sheep', show a spelling *ḫuliia-*. On the other, the parallel texts KUB 26.50 i (25) KUR URU$^{?}$ ^{ÍD}SÍG-*na* ^{URU}*Ir-ḫa-an-ta*[(-*aš* ^{URU}*Ki-*)]*ig-gi-ip-ra-aš* // KUB 26.43 i (31) KUR URU ^{Í}[^{D}]*Ḫu-la-na* ^{URU}*Ir-ḫa-an-da-aš* ^{URU}*Ki-ik-ki-ip-ra-aš*, show a phonetic spelling *ḫulana-*. 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 *ḫulana-* 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 ḫa-a-ra-aš*[$^{MUŠEN?}$]
(7) *ḫa-mi-ik-ta* [*ša-m*]*a-an-ku-úr-ua-du-uš=kán* MUŠ$^{ḪI.A}$-*uš*
(8) *an-da ḫu-u-la-*[*n*(*i*)]*ḫa-mi-ik-ta*
...
(24) *pár-ti-an-zi*
(25) [*ḫa-a-ra-aš*^{M}]^{UŠEN} *la-a-at-ta-at ša-ma-an-ku-úr-ua-an-te-eš* MUŠ$^{ḪI.A}$
(26) [(*ḫu-u-la-*)*n*]*i la-a-at-ta-at*

'He bound the *p.* eagle, he bound the bearded snakes in *ḫ.* ... He released the *p.* eagle, he released the bearded snakes in *ḫ.*'

In CLuwian, we find a nom.sg. SÍG-*la-ni-iš* (KUB 25.39 iv 6) that seems to belong with Hitt. *ḫulana-* and then must be read as *ḫulaniš*.

All in all, we must assume two words for wool, namely *ḫuliia-* and *ḫulana-*. Because of their formal similarity, it is likely that both are derived from a root *ḫul-* 'wool', which then possibly also underlies *ḫulāli-* 'distaff' (q.v.) and its derivatives *ḫulaliie/a-*^{zi} 'to entwine'.

Since Friedrich (1961), *ḫulana-* has been compared with the words for 'wool' in the other IE languages: Skt. *ū́rṇā-*, Gr. λῆνος, Lat. *lāna-*, Goth. *wulla*, Lith. *vìlna*, etc. If we leave the Anatolian forms out of consideration, these forms point to **ulh₁neh₂-*. On the basis of Hitt. *ḫulana-* this reconstruction is now widely adapted to **h₂ulh₁neh₂-*. There are some problems, however. First, the development of **h₂ulh₁n-* to Gr. λῆνος is not easy to explain. If the form vocalized as **h₂u̯lh₁n-*, we would in principle expect **ἀλῆν-. Secondly, if Hitt. *ḫulana-* reflects **h₂ulh₁n-*, the *-a-* is unexpected. It has been claimed that *ḫulana-* stands for /Holna-/ (cf. Melchert 1994a: 65), but then we should rather expect a spelling ***ḫu-ul-na-*. Thirdly, if *ḫulana-* and *ḫuliia-* together with *ḫulali-* point to a root *ḫul-*, this *ḫul-* does not fit **h₂ulh₁-*, which should have yielded ***ḫull-*. So, all in all, if the PIE word for 'wool' was **h₂ulh₁neh₂-*, I would have rather expected Hitt. /huLna-/, which should have been spelled either ***ḫu-ul-na-* or ***ḫu-ul-la-na-* but not *ḫu-la-na-* as attested.

Kronasser (1967: 45) rather connects *ḫul-* with a Hurrian noun **ḫul(a)-* 'wool' which is only attested as a loanword in Akk. *ḫul(l)anu*, a piece of clothing made of wool, which is used in texts from Nuzi and Alalaḫ.

ḫulle-^{zi} ***/ ḫull-*** (Ia1 > Ic1, IIa1γ) 'to smash, to defeat': 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-ul-la-ši* (KUB 37.223 rev. 5 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-ul-le-ez-z*[*i*] (KUB 29.32, 4 (OS)), *ḫu-ul-le-ez*[*-zi*] (KUB 29.32, 5 (OS)), *ḫu-ul-le*[*-ez-zi*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 35 (OS)), *ḫu-ul-le-ez-zi* (KUB 34.53 rev. 9 (MS), KUB 40.54 rev. 2 (NS), (IBoT 3.131, 5 (NS)), *ḫu-ul-le-zi* (KBo 20.82 ii 27 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-la-az-zi* (KUB 37.223 obv. 4 (OS)), *ḫu-u-ul-la-az-zi* (KBo 6.26 ii 11 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-*[(*le-e-ez-zi*)] (KBo 3.22 obv. 34 (OS) // *ḫu-ul-le-e-ez-zi* KUB 36.98a obv. 5 (OH/NS))), *ḫu-u-ul-li-ia-az-zi* (KBo 6.26 ii 12 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-li-ia-az-zi* (KBo 4.10 obv. 46 (NH)), *ḫu-ul-la-i* (KBo 6.28 rev. 29 (NH), KUB 31.59 iii 26 (NS)), *ḫu-ul-la-a-i* (KBo 6.29 iii 42 (NH), KUB 26.50 rev. 9 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. [*ḫu*$^{?}$-]*ul-la-at-te-ni* (KUB 26.34 rev. 5 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-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)), *ḫu-u-ul-la-an-zi* (KBo 6.5 iii 8 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-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)),

ḫu-ul-la-a-nu[*-un*] (KUB 23.21 iii 28 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-li-i̯a-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. *ḫu-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)), *ḫu-ul-li-i-e-et* (KUB 14.15 i 29 (NH)), *ḫu-ul-li-i̯a-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)), *ḫu-u-ul-li-i̯a-at* (KUB 19.8 iii 30 (NH)), *ḫu-ul-li-iš* (KBo 3.38 rev. 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-la-aš* (Bronzetafel i 98 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫu-ul-lu-mé-en* (KUB 23.21 obv. 29 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-lu-um-me-*[*en*] (KBo 3.15, 6 (NS)), *ḫu-u-ul-li-i̯a-u-en* (KUB 23.16 iii 9 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-ul-le-er* (KUB 31.124 ii 12 (MH/MS), KBo 3.18 rev. 8 (OH/NS), KBo 3.38 obv. 32 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-li-e-er* (KBo 3.16 rev. 2, 3, 4 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫu-ul-la-ad-du* (KUB 35.148 iv 8 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫu-ul-la-an-ta-ri* (KUB 17.28 iv 45 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. [*ḫu-ul-*]*la-at-ta-ti* (KBo 3.29, 14 (OH/NS)) // *ḫu*[*-ul-la-at-ta-ti*] (KBo 8.41, 4 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-ul-la-ta-at* (KUB 14.17 ii 29 (NH)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ḫu-la-da-ru* (KBo 3.29, 15 (OH/NS), KBo 8.41, 5 (OH/NS)); part. *ḫu-ul-la-an-t-* (KUB 24.8 ii 18 (OH/NS)); impf. *ḫu-ul-li-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***ḫullātar*** (n.) 'infliction' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-a-tar*, *ḫu-ul-la-tar*), ***ḫullumar*** (n.) 'defeat' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u-ul-lu-mar* (KBo 14.4 i 28 (NH)), ***ḫullanza-*** (c.) 'defeat' (acc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-an* (OS)), ***ḫullanzai-*** (c.) 'infliction, defeat' (nom.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-iš*, *ḫul-la-an-za-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-in*), ***ḫullanzatar / ḫullanzann-*** (n.) 'infliction, defeat' (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-tar*, *ḫu-u-ul-la-an-za-tar*, *ḫu-ul-la-a-an-za-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-za-an-ni*), ***ḫullanzeššar / ḫullanzešn-*** (n.) 'infliction' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-ul-la-an-zi-eš-ni*, abl. *ḫu-ul-la-an-zi-eš-na-az*).

PIE **h₂uelh₁-*: **h₂ul-né-h₁-ti*, **h₂ul-n-h₁-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 363f. for attestations. In the oldest texts (OS), we often find the spelling *ḫu-ul*-LI-IZ-*zi* and *ḫu-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 *ḫu-ul*-LI-IZ-*zi* could in principle be read *ḫullizzi*, *ḫulliezzi* or *ḫullezzi*, and similarly *ḫu-ul*-LI-IT as *ḫullit*, *ḫulliet* or *ḫullet*. A reading *ḫullie-* (i.e. /HoLie-/) in my view is not likely, as there are no other examples of the stem *ḫulliḭe/a-* in OS or MS texts (but note that in NS texts we do find *ḫulliḭe/a-* and the corresponding unambiguous spellings *ḫu-ul-li-i-e-et* /HoLiét/). The choice between *ḫulli-* and *ḫulle-* is difficult, however. On the basis of the fact that *ḫulle/i-* seems to alternate

with *ḫulla-*, I assume that we have to read *ḫulle-* since an alternation *e* : *a* is better understandable than an alternation *i* : *a*.

As already mentioned, this verb shows quite a wide variaty of stems. Already in OS texts, we find different stems: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫullezzi* and 3sg.pret.act. *ḫullet* show a stem *ḫulle-*^{zi}, whereas 2sg.pres.act. *ḫullaši*, 3sg.pres.act. *ḫullazi* and 1sg.pret.act. *ḫullanun* show a stem *ḫulla-*^{zi}. A stem *ḫulliie/a-*^{zi} is found in NS texts only, and clearly must be secondary. The same goes for the occasional *ḫi*-inflected forms 3sg.pres.act. *ḫullāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫullaš* and *ḫulliš* (all based on the stems *ḫulla-* and *ḫulli-*). A stem *ḫull-* is found in 1pl.pret.act. *ḫullumen* (MH/NS), *ḫullumme*[*n*] (NS) and derivative *ḫullumar* (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. *ḫullanzi* (OH/MS) is less certain. It could in principle show a stem *ḫulla-*, but in my view, a stem *ḫull-* is much more likely, which would give more value to the forms *ḫullumen* and *ḫullumar* as well. So all in all, I regard the stems *ḫulle-*^{zi}, *ḫulla-*^{zi} and *ḫull-* as original, but it should be noted that in OS texts the stem *ḫulle-*^{zi} is more numerous than *ḫulla-*^{zi}. This situation reminds of the verb *zinni-*^{zi} / *zinn-* 'to finish' that also occasionally shows a stem *zinna-* in OS texts already. I therefore think that it is possible that *ḫulle-/ḫulla-/ḫull-* should be judged similar to *zinni-*^{zi} / *zinn-*, which would mean that the original ablaut is *ḫulle-*^{zi} / *ḫull-* (which is the reason for me to cite this verb thus in this lemma). The stem *ḫulla-* probably arose in analogy to stems in *-ie/a-* or *-ške/a-* where *-e-* alternates with *-a-*.

As I have argued in detail under its own lemma, *zinni-*^{zi} / *zinn-* reflects an *n*-infixed stem of the root **tieh$_1$-* : **ti-ne-h$_1$- / *ti-n-h$_1$-*. Applying this structure to *ḫulle-*^{zi} / *ḫull-*, we have to reconstruct **hul-ne-h$_1$- / *hul-n-h$_1$-*. Because the cluster **-ln-* assimilates to Hitt. **-ll-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 81f.), the regular outcomes are Hitt. *ḫullē- / ḫull-* (note however, that in the case of *zinni-* that unambiguously must have *-i-*, the vowel **-ē-* < **-eh$_1$-* apparently was raised to *-i-*).

All these considerations lead to reconstructing the root as **h$_2$uelh$_1$-* (the initial **h$_2$* is obligatory because **h$_3$* would not have been retained as *ḫ-* in this position, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that this reconstruction precludes a connection with *ualḫ-* 'to hit, to strike' (q.v.), which must reflect **uelh$_3$-*.

As cognates, one could think of OIr. *follnadar* 'to rule' (**(H)ul-ne-H-*), Lat. *ualeō* 'to be powerful' (**(H)ulH-ie/o-*) and, with a **-d^h*-extension, Lith. *véldu* 'to own', Goth. *waldan* 'to rule' and OCS *vladǫ* 'to rule'.

ḫulli-: see *ḫulle-*^{zi} */ ḫull-*

ḫuliia- ‘wool’: see at *ḫulana-*

ḫulliie/a-^{zi} : see *ḫulle-*^{zi} */ ḫull-*

ḫuldalae-^{zi} : see *ḫuuantalae-*^{zi}

^{GIŠ}***ḫulukanni-*** (c.) ‘coach, carriage’: nom.sg. *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ḫu-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *ḫu-u-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (MS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-en* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ḫu-lu-ga-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-lu-ka-an-ni-ia* (OS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-ia* (OS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-ia* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ka-an-ni* (MS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *ḫu-u-lu-ka-an-ni* (OH/NS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni* (NS), abl. *ḫu-lu-ga-a*[*n-ni-a*]*z* (OS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-ia-az* (MS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (NS), *ḫu-lu-ka-a-an-na-az* (MH/MS), *ḫu-lu-ga-a-an-na-za* (MH/MS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-na-az* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ga-na-az* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-na-za* (OH/NS), *ḫu-lu-ga-an-na-az-za* (OH/NS), instr. *ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (NS), *ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (OH/NS).

See Puhvel HED 3: 370f. for attestations. All attestations are spelled with either *ḫu-lu-* or *ḫu-u-lu-*, but on the tablet KBo 22.181 we come across a spelling *ḫa-lu-* twice, namely rev. 2 and 4. In my view, both forms must be regarded as copy mistakes (possible reading a squeezed ḪU+U ( ) as ḪA (), cf. the incorrect PÍ () instead of GA () in rev. (2) [...] ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-lu-pí-an*[-...], which clearly must be ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-lu-ga*$^{!}$*-an*[-...]).

The oldest forms of this word show an *i*-stem *ḫulukanni-*, 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. *ḫu-lu-kà-ni* and gen.sg. *ḫi-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 *ḫaluga-* ‘message’, of which an interpretation /Hluga-/ seems certain. Note that on the basis of this derivation, Laroche translates *ḫulukanni-* as “voiture de poste”. First it should be noted that there is no contextual evidence that *ḫulukanni-* has anything to do with postal services. Secondly, the OAssyrian forms cannot be equated with *ḫulukanni-* on semantic grounds (cf. Dercksen (fthc.), who assumes that these words are the OAssyrian adaptations of Hitt. *ḫaluga-* (q.v.)). Moreover, it is in my view hard to explain why *ḫaluka-* is consistently spelled with *ḫa-* whereas *ḫulukanni-* is always spelled with *ḫu-* if both words would have the same phonetic shape, namely /Hlu°/. I therefore do

not accept this etymology. In my view, it is likely that *ḫulukanni-* is of a non-IE origin.

ḫūmant- (adj.) 'every, each, all; whole entire': nom.sg.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-za* (OS), acc.sg.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u-ma-an* (OS), *ḫu-ma-an* (KBo 3.7 i 15, KBo 10.45 iii 54, KBo 18.72 l.edge 5), *ḫu-ma-a(n)=š-ša-an* (KBo 5.1 iii 16), gen.sg. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-aš*, [*ḫ*]*u-u-ma-an-da-a-aš* (KUB 24.4 rev. 5), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-i* (KBo 4.4 iv 13, VBoT 120 ii 22), *ḫu-u-ma-an-te* (KUB 24.9 ii 31, KUB 13.2 iv 10, KUB 13.1 iv 14), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-i̯a*, abl. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-za*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-az*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-za*, instr. *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-et* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-it* (OS), nom.pl.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš*$_{17}$, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-iš*, acc.pl.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš* (OS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta* (OS), *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti* (KUB 32.123 ii 41), gen.pl. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an* (KUB 10.15 iv 29 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-aš*, *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš*; broken *ḫu-ma*[*-an-*...] (KBo 39.58, 4 (MS)).

IE cognates: ?Skt. *ubhá-* 'both'.

PIE **h₂u-u̯ent-* ?

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 *ḫu-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 *ḫu-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 *ḫūm-*. This *ḫūm-* has been etymologically connected with Lat. *omnis* (first by Holma 1916: 54-5), but formally this connection does not work. If we analyse *ḫūmant-* as having a suffix **-u̯ant-*, however, we could assume that it goes back to **ḫu-u̯ant-* 'having *ḫu-*'. Puhvel (l.c.) proposes to connect this *ḫu-* with Skt. *ubhá-* 'both' and reconstructs **h₂u-u̯ent-* '*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 **h₂u-* are known.

-ḫḫun (1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection)

This ending is normally spelled °*C-ḫu-un* and °*Vḫ-ḫu-un*, but we encounter a spelling *-ḫu-u-un* several times ([*a*]*r-ḫu-u-un* (KBo 19.76 i 15), *ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-u-un* (KUB 6.46 iii 62), *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-un* (KBo 12.85+ i 26), *da-aḫ-ḫu-u-un* (ibid. i 34), *tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-un* (KUB 31.52 obv. 13)), which indicates that phonologically this ending was /-Hon/. This ending belongs to the *ḫi*-conjugation and therewith stands in contrast to the *mi*-ending *-(n)un*. In the younger texts we find a few original *ḫi*-verbs in which ending *-ḫḫun* has been replaced by the *mi*-ending *-(n)un*: *a-an-šu-un* (MH/NS) instead of ***ānšḫun*, *ḫa-ma-an-ku-un* (MH/NS) instead of ***ḫamankḫun*, *ḫa-a-šu-un* (NS) instead of *ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un*. If *la-a-ḫu-un* (MS) 'I poured' is to be regarded as such a case as well (so instead of expected ***lāḫuḫḫun*, although we cannot rule out the possibility that this latter form regularly yielded *lāḫun* 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 *-ḫḫun*.

If we compare the 1sg.pret.act.-endings in the other Anatolian languages, where we find Pal. *-ḫḫa*, Luw. *-(ḫ)ḫa* and Lyc. *-χa*, 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 *-ḫḫun* always shows geminate *-ḫḫ-*, whereas the corresponding Luwian ending shows *-ḫḫa* as well as *-ḫa*, depending on whether or not the *-ḫḫ-* stood in leniting position. In Hittite, the unlenited variant was generalized.

ḫuni(n)k-^{zi} (Ib3) 'to batter, to bash, to crack': 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi* (OS, often), *ḫu-ú-ni-ik-zi* (KBo 6.2 i 16 (OS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-ni-ik-ta-ri*, *ḫu-u-ni-ik-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ḫu-u-ni-ik-ta-at*, *ḫu-ni-ik-ta-at*; part. *ḫu-u-ni-in-kán-t-* (OS), *ḫu-u-ni-kán-t-* (KBo 6.2 i 15 (OS) // KBo 6.5 i 3 (OH/NS)); verb.noun *ḫu-*[*u-*]*ni-ki-iš-ša-*[*ar*] (KBo 1.51 rev. 15 (NS)).

PIE *h_2u-ne-g$^{(h)}$-

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 *ḫu-u-ni-kán-za* (KBo 6.2 i 15) does not follow this rule: the regular form *ḫu-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-*^{zi}).

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-*^{zi} / *ḫuk-* 'to slaughter, to slay'. It is remarkable, however, that *ḫuni(n)k-*^{zi} does not have a causatival 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-*^{zi} / *ḫuk-* for further etymology.

ḫuntariia(i)-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg > IIIh) 'to break wind, to fart': 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-un-ta-ri-ia-it-ta* (KUB 17.28 ii 8 (NS)); verb.noun *ḫu-un-tar-ri-ia-u-ua-ar* (KBo 1.44 + 13.1 iv 29 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫuntarnu-***^{zi} (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*$_2$*uh*$_1$*-nt-r-ie/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 *-ariie/a-* (cf. *gimmantariie/a-*^{zi} 'to spend the winter', *nikumandariie/a-*^{zi} 'to denude' (Eichner 1979a: 56)). See at *ḫuuant-* for further etymology.

ḫupp-: see *ḫuuapp-*^{i} / *ḫupp-*

ḫurrani-: see *ḫarrani-*

GIŠ*ḫurki-* (c.) ‘wheel’ (Sum. GIŠUMBIN): acc.sg. *ḫur-ki-in*, *ḫu-ur-ki-in*, *ḫu-u-ur-ki-in*, gen.sg. *ḫur-ki-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫur-ki*, acc.pl. *ḫur-ki-uš*.

IE cognates: Skt. *varj-* ‘to turn (around)’, Lat. *vergere* ‘to incline’, OE *wrencan* ‘to turn, to wring’.

PIE **h₂urg-i-*

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 **h₂uerg-* (with initial **h₂-* since **h₃* would not have been retained as *ḫ-* in this position, cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c). Note that the initial larygneal of this root is also visible in Skt. 3sg.perf.midd. *vāvṛje* (**h₂u̯e-h₂u̯rg-oi*) and int. *várīvṛj-* (**h₂u̯er-h₂u̯rg-*). This means that Hitt. *ḫurki-* must reflect **h₂urg-i-*.

ḫurkil- (n.) ‘perversity’: nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-ur-ki-il* (OS), *ḫu-ur-ki-i-i*[*l*] (KBo 46.17 obv.? 5 (MS)), *ḫu-u-ur-ki-il* (OH/NS), *ḫur-ki-il* (MH/NS), *ḫur-ki-el* (KUB 30.67, 9 (NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-ur-ki-la-aš* (OH/MS), *ḫur-ki-la-a-aš* (KBo 31.121 obv.? 15 (NS)), abl. *ḫur-ki-la-za*, ≮ *ḫu-úr-ki-la-za*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫurkil-*** ‘perversion’ (gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *ḫur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za*).

PIE **h₂urg-il-* ? or **h₂urǵʰ-il-* ?

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 *ḫurkil-* with *ḫurki-* ‘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 *ḫurkil-* with the root **(H)uerǵʰ-* ‘to strangle’ (OE *wyrgan* ‘to strangle’, Lith. *veržiù* ‘to tie in’, OCS *-vrьzǫ* ‘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.

ḫurn- ‘to hunt’: see *ḫuu̯arn- / ḫurn-*

ḫurna-, ***ḫurne-***, ***ḫurniie/a-*** ‘to sprinkle’: see *ḫarna-zi / ḫarn-*

ḫurt(a)-: see *ḫuu̯art-^{i} / ḫurt-*

ḫuš-: see *ḫuiš-^{zi} / ḫuš-*

ḫuške/a-^{zi} (Ic6) ‘to wait for, to linger’: 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-uš-ke-ši*, 3sg.prs.act. *ḫu-uš-ke-ez-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-uš-kán-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-uš-ke-et*, 2pl.pres.act. *ḫu-u-uš-ke-et-tén*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-u-uš-ke*; verb.noun *ḫu-uš-ke-u̯a-ar*.

Derivatives: ***ḫuškeu̯ant-*** (c.) ‘dawdler’ (nom.pl. *ḫu-uš-ke-u̯a-an-te-eš*).

PIE *h_2u-sḱé/ó- (or *$h_2$us-sḱé/ó-)

See Puhvel HED 3: 410 for attestations. See *au-^{i} / u-* for my suggestion that this verb reflects *h_2u-sḱé/ó- and therewith is a petrified imperfective of the root *$h_2$eu- ‘to see’ that is the predecessor of *au-^{i} / u-* ‘to see’. Alternatively, one could assume that it is a petrified imperfective of *ḫuiš-^{zi} / ḫuš-* ‘to live’ and reflects *$h_2$us-sḱé/ó- (for the semantics compare Skt. *vāsáyati* ‘to make wait’ < *h_2u̯os-éi̯e-).

-ḫḫut (2sg.imp.midd.-ending)

The exact origin of this ending is unclear. It does not match its functional correspondants like Skt. *-sva*, Gr. -(σ)o, Lat. *-re*, etc.

ḫūda- (c./n.) ‘readiness, ability to act swiftly’: nom.sg. c. *ḫu-u-da-aš* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-ta-aš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-da* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***ḫudāk*** (adv.) ‘straightaway, immediately, suddenly’ (*ḫu-da-a-ak* (OS), *ḫu-u-da-a-ak* (MH/MS, often), *ḫu-u-da-ak* (often), *ḫu-u-ta-ak*, *ḫu-u-ta-a-ak*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫutarl(ii̯)a-*** (c.) ‘servant’ (acc.sg. *ḫu-tar-li-i-i̯a*[*-an*], *ḫu-u-tar-la-a-an*).

PIE *h_2uh_1d-o-

See Puhvel HED 3: 414f. for attestations. Although the adverb *ḫudāk* is attested far more often than the noun *ḫūda-*, it is likely that *ḫudāk* is derived from *ḫūda-*. The exact formation is unclear however (no other known adverbs in *-k* are known: the one attestation *ap-pí-i̯a-ak* (IBoT 1.19, 8) is to be emended to *ap-pí-i̯a-ak‹-ku›*, cf. HW^{2} A: 185)).

Puhvel (l.c.) suggests to connect these words with Gr. εὐθύς ‘immediately’, but this is formally impossible (Hitt. *ḫ-* vs. Gr. ε-). Starke (1990: 359-65)

convincingly argues for a connection with *ḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *ḫui-* ‘to run, to hurry’ (q.v.), which is derived from *$*h_2uh_1$-* ‘to blow (of the wind)’. In his view, *ḫūda-* and *ḫudāk* reflect *$*h_2uh_1d$-*, a formation with *-d-* that he compares with Lith. *vėdìnti* ‘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 *ḫūtarl(ii̯)a-* ‘servant’ is cognate as well.

ḫuttiɪe/a-: see *ḫuett-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$, *ḫuttiɪe/a-*^{zi}

ḫuu̯ai-^{i} ***/ ḫui-*** (IIa4 > Ic1, Ic2) ‘to run, to hurry; to spread (of vegetation); (+ *=kan*) to escape; (+ *āppan*) to run behind, to back up’: 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-i-iḫ-ḫi* (KBo 11.19 obv. 14 (NS)), *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-mi* (KUB 1.1 iv 10 (NH), Bo 69/256, 5 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-ši* (KUB 5.1 iii 55 (NH)), *ḫu-u-e-ɪa-ši* (KUB 15.23, 9 (NH)), [*ḫ*]*u-u-ɪa-ši* (KUB 48.126 i 21 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯a-a-i* (OS, often), *ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i* (often), *ḫu-u̯a-i* (KBo 27.42 i 24 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-i* (KBo 27.42 ii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 2.3 i 43 (OH/NS), KBo 4.9 iv 14, 33 (NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-iz-zi* (KBo 5.9 ii 40 (NH)), *ḫu-u̯*[*a-*]*iz-zi* (KBo 10.12+13 iii 41 (NH)), *ḫu-u-ɪa-zi* (KUB 14.3 iii 51 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-u-e-ni* (KUB 23.83 obv. 5 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-ɪa-an-zi* (OS, often), *ḫu-u-ɪa-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-i-an-zi* (KBo 11.32 obv. 15 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *ḫu-u-u̯a-ɪa-an-zi* (KUB 57.84 iii 16 (NS), Bo 6570 ii 4 (undat.)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-e-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 33.57 ii 3 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-nu-un* (KUB 14.15 iii 44 (NH)), *ḫu-ɪa-nu-un* (KUB 19.39 ii 4 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u̯a-iš* (MH/MS, often), *ḫu-u-u̯a-iš*, *ḫu-u-u̯a-a-iš*, *ḫu-u̯a-i-iš* (KUB 17.10 i 13 (OH/MS)), *ḫu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 2.6 iii 56 (NH)), *ḫu-u̯a-i*[*t*] (KUB 23.72 i 17 (MH/MS)), 2pl.pret.act. [*ḫu-*]*u-i-ɪa-at-tén* (KUB 36.6 i 9 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u̯a-a-er* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u̯a-e-er* (MH/MS), *ḫu-u-u̯a-er*, *ḫu-i-e-er*, *ḫu-u-e-er*, *ḫu-u-i-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-u-i-ɪa* (KBo 10.24 iii 16 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫu-u-u̯a-a-ú* (KUB 43.38 rev. 22 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ḫu-u-i-ɪ-at-ta*[(?)] (KUB 21.1 iii 65 (NH)), 2pl.pres.midd. *ḫu-ɪa-ad-du-ma* (KUB 23.72 rev. 20 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ḫu-u̯a-ɪa-an-da-ri* (KUB 33.88, 11 (MH/NS), IBoT 2.135, 10 (fr.) (MH/NS)), *ḫu-ɪa-an-da* (KBo 8.102, 11 (NS)); part. *ḫu-ɪa-an-t-* (OS), *ḫu-u-ɪa-an-t-*, *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-an-t-*, *ḫu-u-u̯a-ɪa-an-t-*, *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ḫu-u-i-ɪa-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 25 (OH/NS)); impf. *ḫu-u̯a-iš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-u-e-eš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-eš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-u̯a-a-i-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***ḫuinu-***^{zi}, ***ḫunu-***^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to make run’ (1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-i-nu-mi* (KBo 7.14 obv. 18 (OS), KUB 35.148 iii 20 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-i-nu-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 19 (NH)), *ḫu-u-i-nu-zi* (KUB 9.4 ii 12 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-i-nu-uz-zi* (KUB 29.1 i 41 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-e-nu-uz-zi* (KUB 4.47 obv. 34 (undat.)),

1pl.pres.act. *ḫu-i-nu-me-ni* (VBoT 24 i 31 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-i-nu-um-me-ni* (KUB 17.28 i 15 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-i-nu-an-zi* (KUB 53.14 iii 8 (MS)), *ḫu-i-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 7 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-i-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 53.6 ii 12 (NS)), 1pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u-i-nu-nu-un* (HKM 89 obv. 10 (MH/MS), KUB 9.4 ii 18, 20 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-i-nu-ut* (HKM 13 obv. 10 (MH/MS), HKM 89 obv. 13 (MH/MS), KUB 14.1 obv. 63 (MH/MS)), *ḫu-u-i-nu-ut* (KBo 3.6 ii 32 (NH), KUB 1.1 ii 51 (NH), KBo 3.4 ii 69 (NH)), *ḫu-e-nu-ú-ut* (KBo 3.28, 19 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-u-i-nu-ut* (KBo 5.4 obv. 19, 20, 22 (NH)), *ḫu-u-e-nu-ut* (KBo 4.3 iii 7 (NH)), *ḫu-u-nu-ut* (KUB 21.1 ii 66 (NH)), *ḫu-nu-ut* (KUB 21.1 ii 72 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫu-i-nu-ut-tén* (HKM 41 obv. 14 (MH/MS), KUB 7.41 iv 20 (MH/MS?)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫu-i-nu-ud-du* (KBo 32.14 iii 46 (MS)) 3pl.imp.act. *ḫu-u-e-nu-u̯a-an-du* (KUB 40.57 i 6 (MH/NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ḫu-u-e-nu-ma-aš* (KBo 24.14 v 7 (MH/NS)); inf.I *ḫu-i‹-nu[?]›-ma-an-zi* (KUB 15.33 iii 13 (MH/NS)); impf. *ḫu-i-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ḫu-u-i-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***peran ḫūiḭatalla-*** (c.) 'head marcher, helper' (nom.sg. *ḫu-u-i-i̯a-tal-la-aš*, acc.pl. *ḫu-u-i-i̯a-tal-lu*[*-uš*], *ḫu-u-i-i̯a-at-tal-lu-uš*), see *ḫuu̯antalae-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫui(i̯a)-*** 'to run' (1pl.pres.act. *ḫu-u-i-un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u-i-i̯a-ad-da*), ***ḫu(i)ḫuiḭa-*** 'to run' (3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u-ḫu-i-i̯a-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *ḫu-i-ḫu-i-i̯a*, *ḫu-u-e-ḫu-u-i-i̯a*; broken *ḫu-i-ḫu-i̯a-a*[*n(-)*...]); HLuw. ***huia-*** 'to run, to march' (3sg.pret.act. /huiata/ ^{PES_2}*HWI-ia-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §23), 3pl.pret.act. /huianta/ ^{PES_2}*HWI-ia-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §11)), ***huihuia-*** 'to run, to march' (3sg.pret.act. /huihuita/ ^{PES_2}*HWI-HWI-ta* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §9), impf.3pl.pret.midd. /huihuisantasi/ ^{PES_2}*HWI-HWI-sà-tá-si* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §8)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vā́ti*, Gr. ἄησι, Slav. **vějati* 'to blow (of wind)'.

PIE *h_2uh_1-ói-ei*, *h_2uh_1-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 3: 419f. for attestations. The oldest attestations clearly show a *dāi/tiḭanzi*-class inflection: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫuu̯āi* (OS) besides 3pl.pres.act. *ḫuḭanzi* (OS). That the weak stem is *ḫui-* and not *ḫuḭa-* as is often cited (e.g. Puhvel l.c.), is visible in the causative *ḫuinu-* (and not **ḫuḭanu-*). In younger times (from MS texts onwards) we find some forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class: *ḫuu̯aizzi* (NH) and *ḫuu̯ait* (MH/MS). In NH texts we find many forms that show the *mi*-inflected stem *ḫuḭa-* (usually spelled *ḫu-u-i-i̯a-*), which is common in *dāi/tiḭanzi*-class verbs. The point of departure for this secondary stem is 3pl.pres.act. *ḫuḭanzi* that was reanalysed as *ḫuḭa-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 *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / ḫui-* with the PIE root **h₂ueh₁-* 'to blow (of wind)' (see also at *ḫuu̯ant-*), 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/tiu̯anzi*-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 **h₂uh₁-ói-ei*, **h₂uh₁-i-énti*, which by regular sound law indeed would yield Hitt. *ḫuu̯āi*, *ḫuu̯anzi*.

Puhvel (l.c.) objects to this etymology, stating that we do not find the syntagm ***ḫuu̯anza ḫuu̯āi* 'the wind blows', but this hardly can be seen as a serious objection. He rather connects *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / ḫui-* with Skt. *vay^{i}-* 'to pursue, to seek, to strive after, to fall upon, to take hold of'. This latter verb probably reflects **ueih₂-*, however (see at *u̯eḫ-^{zi} / u̯aḫ-*), which cannot explain Hitt. *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / 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*.

ḫuu̯ant- (c.) 'wind' (Sum. IM): nom.sg. *ḫu-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 17.62+63 iv 8 (MS?)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-za* (KUB 8.65, 4 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *ḫu-u̯a-an-da-aš* (KUB 17.28 ii 7 (NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da-aš* (KBo 10.37 ii 31 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u̯a-an-ti* (VBoT 58 i 9 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-ti* (KBo 22.6 i 27 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-te-eš* (KUB 6.46 iii 49 (NH)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-te-eš*$_{17}$ (KUB 7.5 i 17 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-du-uš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 17 (NS)), acc.pl. *ḫu-u̯a-an-du-uš* (KUB 24.3 iii 38 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ta-aš* (KUB 28.4 obv. 20b (NS)).

Derivatives: see *ḫuu̯antalae-^{zi}*.

IE cognates: Skt. *vā́nt-* 'blowing', *vā́ta-* 'wind', Gr. ἀέντ- 'blowing', Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, TochA *want-*, TochB *yente*.

PIE **h₂uh₁-ent-*

See Puhvel HED 3: 428 for attestations.The etymological interpretation of this word is generally accepted. It derives from the PIE root **h₂ueh₁-* 'to blow (of wind)' and belongs with the many other words for 'wind' in IE languages. Hitt.

ḫuu̯ant- can hardly reflect anything else than *$*h_2uh_1$-ent-*, which matches Gr. ἀέντ-, which synchronically functions as the participle of the verb 'to blow'. The other IE languages have words that go back to the ablaut-variant *$*h_2ué h_1$-nt-(o-)*: Skt. *vā́nt-*, *vā́ta-*, Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, TochA *wänt-*, TochB *yente*. This seems to point to an original paradigm *$*h_2ué h_1$-nt-s*, *$*h_2uh_1$-ént-m*, *$*h_2uh_1$-nt-ós*, which must have been to original inflection of participles in *-*ent-*, cf. at *-ant-*.

(ḫ) ḫuu̯antalae-^{zi}, ***ḫultalae-^{zi}*** (Ic2) 'to spare': 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-ul-da-la-a-nu-un* (KUB 19.37 iii (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. [*ḫu-u-u̯*]*a-an-ta-la-a-it* (KUB 21.8 ii 10 (NH)), ḫ *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-ta-la-*[*a-it*] (KUB 21.8 ii 4 (NH)).

See Puhvel HED 3: 429 for attestations. Note that Puhvel cites [*ḫu-u-u̯*]*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 *ḫuu̯antalae-^{zi}* is to be regarded as a compound of *ḫuu̯anta* + *lae-^{zi}* (see *lā-^{i} / l-* 'to let go'). Eichner (1979c: 205) analysed *ḫuu̯anta* as nom.-acc.pl.n. of the participle of *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / ḫui-* 'to run', so therefore 'to let escape'. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests to interpret *ḫuu̯anta* as the all.sg. of *ḫuu̯ant-* 'wind', however, so 'to set loose to the wind'. According to Puhvel, *ḫuldalānun* is an assimilated form of *ḫu(u̯a)ndalae-^{zi}*. See at *lā-^{i} / l-*, *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / ḫui-* and *ḫuu̯ant-* for further etymologies.

ḫuu̯app-^{i} / ḫupp- (IIa1α > IIa1γ) 'to hurl, to throw (+ acc.)': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 7.57 i 7 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯a-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.! 4 (fr.) (OH/NS), KUB 10.63 ii 8 (fr.) (NS)), [*ḫu-u̯a-ap-p*]*a-a-i* (KBo 6.34 iii 25 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯p-pa̯-a̯n*[*-zi*] (KBo 8.68 i 20 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-tén* (KUB 9.1 iii 28 (MH/NS), meaning unascertained), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫu-u-up*[*-pa-an-du*] (IBoT 3.114 rev. 3 (NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pa-an-du* (KUB 7.46 rev. 12 (NS)); part. *ḫu-u-up-pa-an-t-* (KBo 3.21 ii 16 (MH/NS)); broken: *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap*[-...] (KUB 28.100 obv. 12 (NS), meaning unascertained).

Derivatives: ***ḫūppa-*** (gender unclear) 'heap' (dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-up-pi-i=š-ši* (KUB 43.30 iii 17 (OS)), *ḫu-u-up-pé-e=š-ši* (KUB 27.29 iii 7 (MH/NS))), ***ḫuppae-^{zi}*** (Ic2) 'to heap, to pile up' (1sg.pres.act.(?) *ḫu-u-up-am-mi* (KUB 33.67 iv 18 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-up-pa-ez-zi* (KBo 24.115 i 20 (MS), *ḫu-up-pa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 59.22 iii 26, 28 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi* (KUB 27.29 iii 8 (MH/NS), 819/u, 4 (NS)); part. *ḫu-u-up-pa-an-t-* (VBoT 24 ii 20 (MH/NS), KBo

10.27 iv 32 (OH/NS))), ↗ ***ḫūpala-*** ‘fish-net’ (abl. ↗ *ḫu-u-pa-la-za* (KBo 6.29 ii 34 (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vap-* ‘to strew (out), to scatter (seed)’, GAv. *vīuuāpaṯ* ‘strews apart, plunders, destroys’, Goth. *ubils* ‘evil’.

PIE *$h_2uóph_1$-ei*, *h_2uph_1-énti*

See Melchert fthc.c for the establishment of the semantics of this verb and the view that the noun *ḫūppa-* ‘heap’ (which is the source of *ḫuppae-*^{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 *ḫuu̯app- / ḫupp-*, 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 *ḫi*-conjugated cannot be substantiated: both forms show *ḫi*-conjugated forms in the oldest texts and must be regarded formally identical. Moreover, as I have shown under its lemma, the meaning of *ḫuu̯app-*^{i} */ ḫupp-* ‘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 *ḫuu̯app-*^{i} */ ḫupp-* ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against’.

ḫuu̯app-^{i} ***/ ḫupp-*** (IIa1α) ‘to be hostile towards, to do evil against (+ dat.-loc.)’: 2sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-ti* (KUB 26.1 iii 43 (NH), KUB 26.8 iii 5 (fr.) (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-zi* (KUB 26.43 obv. 62 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pí-iš* (KUB 43.75 obv. 19 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u̯a-ap-ta* (KUB 13.34 + 40.84 i 14 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ḫu-u-up-pé-er* (KBo 3.34 i 3 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pé-er* (KUB 1.5 i 9 (NH), KBo 3.6 i 30 (NH)); impf. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pí-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 21.17 i 9 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***ḫuu̯appa-*** (adj.) ‘evil, ill, bad’ (Sum. ḪUL; nom.sg.c. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 15.32 i 48 (MH/NS)), ḪUL-*pa-aš* (KBo 19.101, 2 (OH/NS)), acc.sg.c. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pa-an* (KBo 3.21 ii 9 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-p*[*a-an*] (KUB 1.5 i 21 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pí* (KBo 15.25 obv. 34 (MH/MS), KUB 1.1 iv 12 (NH)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pí* (KUB 1.1 i 40 (NH), KUB 1.10 iii 31 (NH), etc.), nom.pl.c. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pa-e-eš* (KUB 46.54 obv. 11 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pu-š=a* (KUB 24.8 i 4 (OH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pa-š=a* (KUB 24.8 i 3 (OH/NS)), gen.pl. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 30.11 obv. 5 (OH/MS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pa-aš* (KUB 31.127 + 36.79 i 45 (OH/NS))), ***ḫuu̯appanatar / ḫuu̯appanann-*** (n.) ‘evilness’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ḫu-u̯a-ap-pa-na-tar* (KBo 8.70, 10 (MH/MS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pa-na-an-ni* (KUB 36.86 obv. 4 (NS))).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***hwapasanu-*** 'to cause harm' (2sg.imp.act. "SIGILLUM"*HWI-pa-sa-nu* (ASSUR letter *f*+*g* §13)).

IE cognates: Goth. *ubils* 'evil', Skt. *vap-* 'to strew (out), to scatter (seed)', GAv. *vīuuāpaṯ* 'strews apart, plunders, destroys'.

PIE *$*h_2uóph_1$-ei*, *$*h_2uph_1$-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, *ḫuu̯app-* 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 *ḫuwapp-* 'to do evil' is an athematic *mi*-verb [...] while the other verb [...] is an originally athematic *ḫi*-verb". I do not agree with him on this: the two specific *mi*-conjugated forms of *ḫuu̯app-* 'to do evil', 3sg.pres. *ḫuu̯apzi* and 3sg.pret. *ḫuu̯apta* (note that the meaning of 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-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 *ḫi*-ending *-i*; 3sg.pret. *-tta* is spreading at the cost of its corresponding *ḫi*-ending *-š*, cf. their respective lemmas). Moreover, the 3sg.pret.-form *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pí-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) ... ^{d}LAMMA-*aš=(š)ta* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA^{HLA} *iš-pár-ri-iš*

(19) [K]UR-*e ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pí-iš* GÍR=*ŠU ḫu-u-eṭ-ti-i̯a-ti* ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-ar-ša-mu-uš=šu-uš*

(20) [*u̯*]*a-al-ḫi-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 *ḫi*-conjugated: *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / ḫupp-*.

Herewith, the verbs *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / ḫupp-* 'to do evil against' and *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / ḫupp-* 'to hurl, to throw (down)' are formally identical. I think that they semantically they can be united as well. The two meanings of *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / ḫupp-* 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 *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / 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 *ḫuu̯appa-* 'evil' that is attested in OH compositions already. If HLuw. *hwapasanu-* 'to cause harm' is cognate, it would show that the semantical development had taken place at least in PAnatolian already.

Mechanically, *ḫuu̯appi / ḫuppanzi* must go back to *$*h_2uóph_1$-ei / *h_2uph_1-énti*. The initial laryngeal must be *$*h_2$* because *$*h_3$* would drop in this position. A root-final laryngeal is needed to explain the *-pp-* in *ḫuu̯appi*, because a preform *$*h_2uóp$-ei* should have given **ḫuu̯āpi* with lenition of *$*p$* due to *$*ó$*. The choice for root-final *$*h_1$* is based on the fact that *$*h_2$* and *$*h_3$* would have caused the verb to inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). Juret (1942: 71) connected *ḫuu̯app-^{i} / 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 *vīuuāpaṯ* '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 *ḫuu̯app-* must reflect a root *$*h_2uap$-* with *$*-a$-* because it is *mi*-conjugated (thus Eichner 1988: 133; Melchert fthc.c, note 4) has now been eliminated since the *-a-* in *ḫuu̯app-* is perfectly explicable as the reflex of the *$*o$*-grade that is morphologically expected in a *ḫi*-conjugated verb (cf. also note 11).

ḫuu̯arn- / ḫurn- 'to hunt': inf.I *ḫu-ur-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 33.121 ii 8); impf. 3sg.pres.act. [*ḫ*]*u-u-u̯a-ar-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 12.59 i 7), *ḫu-ur*[*-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi*] (KBo 12.59 i 2).

PIE *$*h_2u̯erH$-* ??

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 *ḫuu̯arn-* besides *ḫurn-*. 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 infixed stem. This means that it could either belong to the *tarn(a)*-class (when *ḫi*-conjugated) or inflect similarly to *tuu̯arni-*^{zi} */ tuu̯arn-* 'to break' and *zinni-*^{zi} */ zinn-* 'to finish' (when *mi*-conjugated). The alternation *ḫuu̯arn°* besides *ḫurn°* then cannot be ablaut, but must be the result of different vocalizations of **Hurn-*: **HurnV* would regularly yield *ḫurnV*, whereas **HurnC* would give *ḫuu̯arnC* (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 infixed stem of a root **h*$_2$*urH-* (the initial laryngeal must be **h*$_2$ because **h*$_3$ would not be retained as *ḫ-* in this position (cf. Kloekhors fthc.Lar.)). If it were *ḫi*-conjugated, we would expect a paradigm ***ḫurnāi*, ***ḫuu̯arnanzi* (with rootfinal **h*$_1$ or **h*$_3$: rootfinal **h*$_2$ would yield ***ḫurnaḫḫi*). If it were *mi*-conjugated, we would expect ***ḫurnizzi*, ***ḫuu̯arnanzi* (with rootfinal **h*$_1$) or ***ḫurnāzzi*, ***ḫuu̯arnanzi* (with rootfinal **h*$_2$ or **h*$_3$).

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).

ḫuu̯art-^{i} **/ *ḫurt-*** (IIa1α > IIa1γ) 'to curse': 1sg.pres.act. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ar-ta-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 33.117 iv 8 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ḫur-da-a-i* (KUB 9.15 ii 15 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*[*-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un*] (KUB 26.71 i 7 (OH/NS)), *ḫur-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 23.45, 15 (NS)), *ḫur-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 36.47, 5 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫu-u̯a-ar-za-aš-ta* (KBo 32.14 ii 11 (MS)), ≮ *ḫu-u̯a-ar-ta-aš* (KUB 22.70 obv. 86 (NH)), *ḫur-ta-aš* (KUB 22.70 obv. 8 (NH)), *ḫur-za-aš-ta* (KBo 10.45 i 4 (MH/NS)), *ḫur-za-ta* (KUB 5.6 iv 22 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ḫur-za-aš-du* (KUB 17.27 iii 20 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ḫur-ta-an-du* (KBo 6.34 iv 12 (MH/NS)); part. *ḫu-u̯a-ar-ta-an-t-* (KBo 32.14 ii 21, iii 5 (MS)), *ḫur-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. *ḫu-u-ur-za-ke/a-* (KBo 39.8 ii 2 (MH/MS), KBo 32.14 ii 54, iii 43, 45, l.edge 2 (MS)), *ḫu-ur-za-ke/a-* (KBo 32.14 ii 5, 13, 46 (MS), KUB 32.113 ii 16 (fr.) (MH/MS)), *ḫur-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)), *ḫur-za-aš-ke/a-* (KUB 17.27 iii 18 (MH/NS)), *ḫu-u-u̯a-ar-za-ke/a-* (KBo 1.45 ii 2 (NH)); broken *ḫu-u-u̯a-ar-za-a*[*š(-)*...] (KUB 35.92 iv 23 (MS)).

Derivatives: ***ḫurtāi- / ḫurti-*** (c.) 'curse' (nom.sg. *ḫur-ta-iš*, *ḫu-u-ur-ta-iš*, *ḫur-da-a-iš*, acc.sg. *ḫu-ur-ta-in*, *ḫur-ta-in*, *ḫur-da-a-in*, gen.sg. *ḫur-ti-i̯a-aš*, *ḫu-ur-di-i̯a-aš*, *ḫu-u-ur-di-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ḫur-ta-a-i*, *ḫur-da-i*, *ḫur-ti-i̯a*, abl. *ḫu-ur-ti-i̯a-az*, *ḫu-ur-di-i̯a-az*, nom.pl. *ḫur-da-a-e-eš*, acc.pl. *ḫur-ta-uš*, *ḫur-ta-a-uš*, *ḫu-u-ur-ta-a-uš*, *ḫur-da-a-uš*, *ḫu-u-ur-ta-uš*, *ḫur-ti-i̯a-aš*).

IE cognates: ?OPr. *wertemmai* 'we swear'.

PIE *$*h_2$u̯órt-ei / *$h_2$urt-énti* ?

See Puhvel HED 3: 433f. for attestations. The oldest attestations, 1sg.pret.act. *ḫūu̯ar*[*taḫḫun*] (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫuu̯arzašta* (MS) and impf. *ḫurzake/a-* (MS), clearly show that originally this verb was *ḫi*-conjugated and showed an ablauting pair *ḫuu̯art-/ḫurt-*. The original ablaut-pattern got blurred in younger times, however, yielding forms like 3sg.pret.act. *ḫurzašta*, part. *ḫuu̯artant-* and impf. *ḫuu̯arzake/a-*. In NH texts, we find a few forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class: 3sg.pres.act. *ḫurdāi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ḫurtaš*, *ḫuu̯artaš* (note that Friedrich HW: 76 wrongly cites this latter stem, "*ḫurta-* (*ḫuu̯arta-*)", as the primary one).

Sturtevant (1930d: 128) connected this verb with Lat. *verbum* 'word', Lith. *var̃das* '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. εἴρω 'to speak' and Hitt. *u̯eri̯i̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to call, to name': because Hitt. *u̯eri̯i̯e/a-* does not show an initial laryngeal whereas Hitt. *ḫuu̯art-*^{i} / *ḫurt-* does, he claims that the connection cannot be correct. This reasoning is questionable, however, in view of the fact that Hitt. *u̯eri̯i̯e/a-*^{zi} must reflect *$*uerh_1$-* (because of Gr. ἐρέω (fut.)), which is impossible for Lith. *var̃das* that must reflect *$*u̯ord^h o$-* (a preform *$**u̯orh_1d^h o$-* would have yielded Lith. ***várdas*). So, formally, Sturtevant's connection between *ḫuu̯art-*^{i} / *ḫurt-* and Lat. *verbum* etc. is still possible: it would mean that we have to reconstruct a root *$*h_2uerd^h$-*. 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 *$*h_2uert$-*. The absence of any other IE cognates is unpleasant, however.

I

i-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to go’: 3pl.pres.act. *i̯a-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: ***i̯anna-***^{i} ***/ i̯anni-*** (IIa5 > Ic1) ‘to march’ (1sg.pres.act. *i-i̯a-an-na-aḫ-ḫ*[*é*], 3sg.pres.act. *i-i̯a-an-na-i* (OS, often), *i̯a-an-na-i* (KBo 20.48 rev. 9), *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 18.68 i 7), *i-i̯a-an-ni-az-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 24), *i-i̯a-an-ni-ez-zi* (VBoT 111 iii 4), 3pl.pres.act. *i-i̯a-an-ni-*[*an*]*-z*[*i*] (OS), *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-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. *i̯a-an-ni-iš* (KBo 22.2 rev. 7 (OH/MS)), *i-i̯a-an-ni-iš* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-an-ni-eš*, *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-a*[*t*] (KUB 33.102 ii 20), *i-i̯a-an-ni-a*[*t*] (KBo 12.26 iv 10), 3pl.pret.act. *i-i̯a-an-ni-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *i̯a-*[*a*]*n-ni* (KUB 43.23 rev. 14), *i-i̯a-an-ni*, 2pl.imp.act. *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-at-tén* (KUB 8.51 ii 16), *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-tén* (KUB 7.60 ii 29); part. *i-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-an-t-*; inf.I *i*[*-i̯*]*a-an-ni-i̯a-u-u̯a-a*[*n-zi*] (KUB 8.53 ii 18); sup. *i-i̯a-an-ni-u̯a-an* (MH/MS)), see *antii̯ant-*, *ii̯ant-*, *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *itar*, *iu̯ar*.

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-i̯a-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/ $^{\text{PES}_2}$*i-ha* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §9), 3sg.pret.act. /ida/ $^{\text{“PES}_2\text{”}}$*i-tà* (KAYSERİ §19), $^{\text{“PES}_2\text{”}}$*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/ $^{\text{“PES}_2\text{”}}$*i-u-na* (KARATEPE 1 §34)).

IE cognates: Skt. *éti* ‘to go’, Gr. εἶμι ‘to go’, Lat. *īre* ‘to go’, Lith. *eĩti* ‘to go’, OCS *iti* ‘to go’.

PIE **h*$_1$*ei-* / **h*$_1$*i-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 325f. for attestations. In the Hittite texts, we find a few traces of an active verb *i-*^{zi} 'to go', which on the one hand is supplanted by its univerbated forms *paii-*^{zi} / *pai-* 'to go' (*$h_1$poi + *$h_1$ei-) and *ue-*^{zi} / *ua-* 'to come' (*$h_2$ou + *$h_1$ei-), and on the other hand by its middle counterpart *ie/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ '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. *īt* and 2pl. *ītten* are used throughout the Hittite periode, but synchronically function as imperatives to *paii-*^{zi} / *pai-*. In the Luwian languages, however, the active stem *i-* 'to go' has not died out: it is still used, although here we find univerbated forms as well (CLuw. *aui-*, HLuw. *áwi-* (see under *ue-*^{zi} / *ua-*) and HLuw. *pa-* (see under *paii-*^{zi} / *pai-*)).

The etymon has since Hrozný (1917: 173) been clear: PIE *$h_1$ei- 'to go'. Hitt. 3pl.pres.act. *ianzi* is therewith a direct counterpart to e.g. Skt. *yánti*, Gr. ἴασι, etc. from *h_1i-énti, whereas 2sg.imp.act. *īt* /ʔíd/ generally is reconstructed *h_1í-d^{h}i* (Gr. ἴθι, Skt. *ihí*) and 2pl.imp.act. *ītten* /ʔitén/ as *h_1i-té* (Gr. ἴτε, Skt. *itá*).

For the formation of the "imperfective" *iianna-*^{i} / *iianni-* 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-i=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_1í-d^{h}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/ << **dʰgʰméi* or *kar-ti-i* /krdí/ << **ḱrd-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!'; ^{d}UTU-*ú-i* (KUB 41.23 ii 18 (OH/NS)), ^{d}UTU-*i* (KUB 30.10 rev. 10 (OH/MS), KUB 7.1 i 6, 8, 15 (OH/NS)), ^{d}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!', ^{d}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 ...!', *u̯a-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-sḱé*, 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 *aniu̯att-* show a nom.-acc.pl.-form in *-i*: *a-ni-u̯a-at-ti* (from *aniu̯att-* 'work, task'), *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-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 *kṷu-u-ru-re-e* (KBo 44.10, 11 (NS)) and *a-ni-i̯a-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. *ḫu-ḫu-pa-al-le*, *ḫi-in-ku-u̯a-re*, *iš-ḫi-ú-le*, *me-ḫur-re*, *pár-šu-ul-le*). Nevertheless, on the basis of forms like *a-ni-i̯a-at-ti*, which unambiguously shows *-i*, she concludes that the ending must have been *-i*. She does not seems to have noticed, however, that *a-ni-i̯a-at-te* is attested in a MS text, whereas all examples of *a-ni-i̯a-at-ti* are from NS texts. So perhaps we must assume a chronological distribution: *aniii̯atte* (MS) > *aniii̯atti* (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$_1$*, 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$_2$* (comparable to the fact that **-Cuh$_2$* is lowered to Hitt. /-Co/).

-*i* (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection)

In the *ḫi*-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 *u̯a-ar-aš-še* 'he wipes', which are normally spelled *ma-az-zi* and *u̯a-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 *-ḫ-* (*pa-ap-pár-ši* (MH/MS) > *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi* (MH/MS), *a-an-ši* > *a-an-aš-zi* (NS), *u̯a-ar-ši* > *u̯a-ar-aš-zi* (NS); *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* > *ma-ni-i̯a-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-u̯a-ap-pí* > *ḫu-u̯a-ap-zi* (NH)).

It should be noted that no *mi*-conjugation verb ever takes over the *ḫi*-ending *-i* (alleged *ku-er-ri* 'he cuts' instead of normal *ku-er-zi* in my view is a scribal error (see at *kuer-*^{zi} */ kur-*); 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-i*" (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 *ḫi*-conjugation endings *-ḫḫe* < **-h₂e-i* and ***-tte* < **th₂e-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.

=*(i̯)a* (enclitice conjunctive particle) 'and, also': *CC=a*, *V=i̯a*, *V=e-a* (OS).

Derivatives: see *kui-* + *=(i̯)a* under *kui- / kuu̯a-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. **=*(i̯)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 **=h₃e*

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=i̯a* 'A and B'. When used on both elements, *A=i̯a ... B=i̯a*, 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 op as *=i̯a* (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* + *=(i̯)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 *=(i̯)a* cannot be derived from a particle **=i̯o* 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_2o or *=h_3e. In my view, the first option is unlikely as a sequence **V*=h_2o should have yielded Hitt. ***V*=$\underline{ḫ}\underline{ḫ}a$, and not *V*=$\underline{i}a$ (which seems to derive from a hiatus **V*ʔ*a*). I would therefore rather reconstruct the particle as *=h_3e: we know that intervocalic *h_3 is lost through hiatus in Hittite. This means, however, that in Luwian and Lycian *=h_3e shows the development as if it was a separate word, with preservation of initial *h_3 in front of **e*. In function and use the particle *=h_3e acts identical to PIE *=k^we 'and, also'. If *h_3 was a labialized consonant, then the formal similarity between *=h_3e ([=ʕ^{w}e]?) and *=k^we is striking.

i̯a-$^{tta(ri)}$: see *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$

i̯a-^{zi} : see *i̯e/a-*^{zi}

^{UDU}***i̯ant-*** (c.) 'sheep' (Sum. UDU): nom.sg. *i-i̯a-an-za*, acc.sg. *i-i̯a-an-ta-an*, gen.sg. *i-i̯a-an-ta-aš*.

PIE **h*$_1$*i-ent-*

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 *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ '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 *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ for further etymology.

i̯āta, ***i̯atar / i̯atn-*** (n.) 'growth, fertility, prosperity': nom.-acc.sg. *i-i̯a-a-ta* (KUB 12.63 rev. 29 (OH/MS)), *i-i̯a-a-da* (KBo 3.7 i 18 (OH/NS)), *i-i̯a-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-i̯a-da* (KUB 12.63 rev. 16 (OH/MS), KUB 4.4 obv. 13 (NH)), *i-i̯a-tar* (KUB 23.40 obv. 3 (MS), KUB 43.60 i 11 (OH/NS), KBo 11.1 obv. 15 (NH)), gen.sg. *i-i̯a-at-na-aš* (KUB 39.7 i 11, ii 10 (OH/NS), KUB 13.33 ii 5 (NS)), *i-i̯a-at-na‹-aš›* (KUB 39.7 ii 20 (OH/NS)), *i-i̯a-ta-aš* (KBo 18.133 obv. 8 (NS)), abl. *i-i̯a-at-na-za* (KUB 31.71 iv 30 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***i̯atnu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'growing, luxuriant' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-i̯a-at-nu-u̯a-an* (KUB 29.7 rev. 18 (MH/MS))), ***i̯atni̯ant-*** (adj.) 'growing' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-i̯a-at-ni-i̯a-an* (KUB 29.1 iv 18 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *i-i̯a-at-ni-i̯a-an-da-aš* (KBo 6.11 i 8 (OH/NS))).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 350f. for attestations. This word has two stems, namely *iia̯ta* besides *ia̯tar / ia̯tn-*. That the first variant is not a mere *r*-less variant of the second is apparent from the gen.sg. *ia̯taš* as visible in the expression *i-ia̯-ta-aš me-ḫu-ni* (KBo 18.133 obv. 8) 'in the time of fertility'. Moreover, *ia̯ta* is attested in an OH/MS text already, which may indicate that we rather should assume that the stem *ia̯tar / ia̯tn-* is a secondary rebuilding of an original stem *ia̯ta*. This could possibly explain the remarkable retention of the cluster *-tn-* that contrasts with the normal oblique stem of abstracts nouns in *-ātar*, which is *-ānn-*. Rieken (1999a: 255-6) therefore reconstructs *ia̯ta* as $*h_1i$-eh_2-teh_2, ultimately from the root $*h_1ei$- 'to go', through 'moveable wealth', cf. Watkins (1979: 282-3).

i̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) 'to go, to come, to walk, to proceed, to stride, to march' (Sum. DU): 1sg.pres.midd. *i-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *i-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *i-i̯a-at-ta-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *i̯a-at-ta* (KUB 36.106 obv. 2 (OS)), *i-i̯a-at-ta*, *i-i̯a-ad-da*, *i-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS, often), *i-at-ta-ri* (KUB 43.38 rev. 24 (MH/MS)), *i-i̯a-ad-da-ri*, *i-i̯a-at-ta-a-ri* (KUB 2.5 v 5 (NS)), *i-i̯a-ad-da-a-ri*, 1pl.pres.midd. *i-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta*, 2pl.pres.midd. *i-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-ta-ri* (MH/MS, often), *i-i̯a-an-da-ri* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-an-ta* (often), 1sg.pret.midd. *i-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at*, *i-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at*, 2sg.pret.midd. *i-i̯a-at-ta-ti*, 3sg.pret.midd. *i-i̯a-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. *i-i̯a-an-ta-at*, 2sg.imp.midd. *i-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (OS), *i-e-ḫu-ut* (KBo 8.66 obv. 8 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *i-i̯a-at-ta-ru* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.midd. *i-i̯a-ad-du-ma-at*, 3pl.imp.midd. *i-i̯a-an-ta-ru*; part. *i-i̯a-an-t-*.

PIE $*h_1i$-*i̯e/o-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 330f. for attestations. The bulk of the attestations show a stem *ia̯-* (rarely spelled *i̯a-*), but we find a stem *i̯e-* a few times, of which the OS attestation *i-e-en-ta* is significant. We therefore are clearly dealing with an original thematic inflection *i̯e/a-*. This verb is middle, but compare the occasional active forms that are gathered under the lemma *i-*^{zi}. The connection with the PIE root $*h_1ei$- was made from the beginning of Hittitology onwards, but the exact formation of this verb is in debate. In my opinion, assuming a formation $*h_1i$-*i̯e/o-* would explain the attested paradigm best (i.e. belonging to class IIIg, cf. § 2.2.3.4). See at *pai̯i-*^{zi} */ pai-* 'to go' and *u̯e-*^{zi} */ uu̯a-* 'to come' for other verbs that go back to $*h_1ei$-.

i̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to do, to make’ (Sum. DÙ): 1sg.pres.act. *i-i̯a-mi* (OS, often), *i-e-mi* (OS, 1x), *i-i̯a-am-mi* (KUB 1.16 iii 24 (OH/NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *i-e-ši* (OS), *i-i̯a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *i-e-ez-zi* (OS, often), *i-e-zi* (OS), *i-ez-zi* (OS), *i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 36.108 obv. 12 (OS)), *i-i̯a-az-zi*, *i-i̯a-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *i-i̯a-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-u-u̯a-ni* (KBo 3.8 ii 24 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *i-i̯a-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *i̯a-an-zi* (OS), *i-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-aš* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-at*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-e-et* (OS, often), *e-et* (KUB 36.41 i 5 (MS)), *i-i̯a-at* (MH/MS, often), 1pl.pret.act. *i-i̯a-u-en* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-u-e-en* (MH/MS), 2pl.pret.act. *i-i̯a-at-te-en* (OH/NS), *i-i̯a-at-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *i-e-er* (OS, often), *i-i̯a-er* (KUB 34.90, 7 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *i-i̯a* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *i-e-ed-du* (MH/MS), *i-i̯a-ad-du* (MH/MS), *i-ad-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *i-i̯a-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *i-i̯a-an-du* (often), *i-en-du* (KBo 6.34 ii 48, 49 (MH/NS)); part. *i-i̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *i-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*; inf.I *i-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi*; inf.II *i-i̯a-u-u̯a-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 *īššа-*^{i} */ īšš-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ā(i̯a)-*** ‘to do, to make’ (1sg.pres.act. *a-u̯i*$_5$, 2sg.pres.act. *a-a-i̯a-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ti*, 1sg.pret.act. *a-ḫa*, 3sg.pret.act. *a-i̯a-ta*, *a-a-ta*, *a-a-da*, *a-ta*, *a-da*, 3pl.pret.act. *a-a-i̯a-an-ta*, *a-i-i̯a-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *a-a-i̯a*, 3sg.imp.act. *a-a-du*, 3sg.pres.midd. *a-a-i̯a-ri*, 3sg.imp.midd. *a-a-i̯a-ru*, part. *a-i-i̯a-am-mi-in-zi*); HLuw. ***á(ia)-*** ‘to do, to make’ (1sg.pres.act. /ʔawi/ *á-wa/i-´* (HİSARCIK 1 §5), 3sg.pres.act. /ʔaiadi/ *á-ia-ti-i* (SULTANHAN §25), 1sg.pret.act. /ʔaha/ *á-ha* (HİSARCIK 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. *aχa*, *aχã*, *agã*, 3sg.pret.act. *ade*, *adẽ*, *ede*, 3pl.pret.act. *aitẽ*; 1sg.pret.midd. *aχagã*; inf. *ẽñne*, *ẽñne(i)*).

PIE **HH-i̯e/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* /iétˢi/ and does not show a stem *i-* (pace Puhvel l.c.).

This verb inflects according to the *-i̯e/a*-class. The oldest attestations closely reflect the PIE situation:

present	preterite
iy̯ami	*iy̯anun*
y̯eši	*y̯eš*
y̯ezzi	*y̯et*
iy̯aw̯eni (OH/NS)	*iy̯aw̯en*
[**y̯ettani*]	[**y̯etten*]
iy̯anzi	*y̯er*

In the OH/MH-period, we see that the stem *y̯e-* receives some productivity (yielding *y̯emi* (1x in an OS text vs. *iy̯ami* 7x in an OS text), *y̯enzi* and *y̯endu*), but from the MH period onwards it is clear that the stem *iy̯a-* is winning the competition, yielding *iy̯aši*, *iy̯azzi*, *iy̯aš*, *iy̯at* and *iy̯addu*. In the Luwian languages, we find a stem *ay̯a-* 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 *iy̯e/a-*^{zi} with Lat. *iēcī* 'I threw' and Gr. ἧκα 'I sent, I threw' < **y̯ē-* (i.e. **Hieh*$_1$*-*), 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*$_1$*-*, we would expect Hitt. ***y̯ē-* throughout the single forms. In the 1sg. of 'to make, to do', the original forms are *iy̯ami* and *iy̯anun* and not *y̯emi* and ***y̯enun*. The form *y̯emi* '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 *iy̯ami*, which is attested 7x in OS texts and 90x in total in my files. A form ***y̯enun* is not attested at all, which is remarkable, especially if we compare the verbs *pey̯e-*^{zi} */ pey̯-* 'to send away' and *uy̯e-*^{zi} */ uy̯-* 'to send (here)', which indeed are derived from the root **Hieh*$_1$*-* 'to send'): they show 1sg.pret.act. *pey̯enun* (MH/MS) and *uy̯enun* (MH/MS). Together with the fact that **Hieh*$_1$*-* in my view would not yield Luw. *ay̯a-*, I therefore reject the reconstruction that involves the root **Hieh*$_1$*-* (but see at *pey̯e-/pey̯-* and *uy̯e-/uy̯-* for real descendants of this root).

Oettinger (1979a: 349), too, rejected the connection with **Hieh*$_1$*-* and reconstructed, primarily on the basis of Luw. *ay̯a-*, a thematic verb **h*$_1$*éy̯-e/o-*. For Hittite, he assumes that **ĕ-* yields *i-* and that **h*$_1$*éy̯-e/o-* yields Hitt. /iy̯e/a-/. Apart from the fact that the supposed development **ḗ-* > *i-* is incorrect (e.g. *ēšzi* < **h*$_1$*és-ti*, *ēšḫar* < **h*$_1$*ésh*$_2$*r*, etc.), Melchert (1984a: 14f.) rightly points out that

Hitt. *i-e-ez-zi* probably denotes /iet^{s}i/, which is supported by the OS spelling *i̯a-an-zi* /iant^{s}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. *a i̯a-*, is to assume a preform **HH-i̯e/o-* (note that there is no further evidence for active verbs that show a thematic vowel in Hittite). In Hittite, **HH-i̯e/o-* yielded *i̯e/a-* (cf. *inu-*^{zi} < **h$_1$h$_3$i-neu-* (see under *ā(i)-*^{ari} / *i-*), whereas in Luwian, it yielded /ʔəia-/ (through **HḪ-i̯e/o-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2004 for the interpretation of the HLuwian sign *á* as /ʔ(a)/). Unfortunately, I know of no IE cognates. See at *īššа-*^{i} / *īšš-* for a treatment of the imperfective of this verb.

i̯ēššar / i̯ēšn- (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-u̯a-an-za-tar i-e-eš-šar-r=a*

'I have wiped from your body evil words, witchcraft and *i̯ēššar*';

KBo 19.145 iii
(7) [... *al-u̯*]*a-an-za-tar i-e-eš-šar pa-ap-ra-a-tar* ...

'..., witchcraft, *i̯ēššar*, defilement, ...'.

Often, this word is regarded as a spelling variant of '*ēššar / ēšn-*', which is supposed to be the *ḫ*-less variant of *ēšḫar / išḫan-* 'blood' (e.g. Puhvel HED 1/2: 305f.). Although it is true that *ēšḫar / išḫan-* can occur in lists of evils as well, then denoting 'bloodshed', there is one context in which it is clear that *i̯ēššar / i̯ēšn-* and *ēšḫar / išḫan-* cannot be identical:

KUB 17.18 ii
(29) [(*a-pé-e-*)*da-aš i-da-la-u-*]*u̯a-aš ud-da-a-na-aš iš-ḫa-a-na-aš*
(30) [(*iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-aš li-in-k*)]*i-i̯a-aš ḫu-u-ur-ti-i̯a-aš*
(31) [*a*(*l-u̯a-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 sorcerors, of defilement (and) of *i̯ēššar*'.

Since both *i̯ēššar* and *ēšḫar* are mentioned here, they cannot be the same word.

Because the exact meaning of *i̯ēššar / i̯ēšn-* cannot be determined, it is hard to etymologize it. Formally it looks like an abstract noun in *-ēššar / -ēšn-* of a root *i-* or *i̯e/a-*. The only verbs that formally would fit are *i-*^{zi} 'to go' / *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to go' and *i̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to do'. The semantic connection between one of these verbs and 'something evil' is not clear, however.

ikniu̯ant- (adj.) 'lame': nom.sg.c. *ik-ni-i̯a-an-za* (NS).

PIE **ig-n-i̯ent-* ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 12.62 rev.

(7) Ú.SAL-*i* ^{GIŠ}*ši-ši-i̯a-am-ma ar-ta kat-ta-an=ma ta-aš-u̯a-an-za du-du-mi-i̯a-an-za*

(8) *a-ša-an-zi ta-aš-u̯a-an-za a-uš-zi le-e du-ud-du-mi-i̯a-an-za iš-ta-ma-aš-zi*

(9) *le-e ik-ni-i̯a-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 *ikniu̯ant-* man cannot run'.

From this context, it is clear that *ikniu̯ant-* 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' (**i̯eg-n-*) and ON *jaki* 'ice-floe' (**i̯eg-(e)n-*). See at *eka-* for further etymology.

ikt-: see *ekt-*

^{MUŠ}***illu̯ianka-***, ^{MUŠ}***elliu̯anku-*** (c.) 'snake, serpent': nom.sg. *il-lu-i̯a-an-ka-aš* (KBo 3.7 i 9, 11, KUB 17.5 i 9), *il-lu-i-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-ka-an* (KUB 17.5 i 5 (fr.), 15, 17 (fr.), KBo 3.7 iii 24), *il-li-i̯a-a*[*n-ka-an*] (KBo 3.7 iii 31), [*e*]*l-li-i̯a-an-ku-un* (KBo 26.79, 17), gen.sg. *il-lu-i̯a-an-ka-aš* (KBo 3.7 iii 7, 26), acc.pl. *el-li-i̯a-an-ku-uš* (KUB 24.7 iii 70).

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 358-9 for attestations. This word shows several different stems, namely *illu̯ianka-*, *illiu̯anka-*, *elliu̯anku-* 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 *illuį-* and *anka/u-* of which the former is supposed to be cognate to PGerm. **ēla-* '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*$_2$ (with nom.-acc.sg.n. **id* of the demonstrative pronoun **h*$_1$*e-*, **(h*$_1$*)i-*) but Kimball (1999: 299), pointing to the fact that **VdmV* would probably have been preserved in Luwian (cf. Luw. *katmarši-* ~ Hitt. *kammaršiį̂e/a-*^{zi}), rather reconstructs **im-moh*$_2$, with acc.sg.c. **im*. According to her, **moh*$_2$ may be compared with Gr. μά < **mh*$_2$. Within Hittite, one could consider a connection with *namma* 'then, in addition' (q.v.).

imiį̂e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to mingle, to mix': 1sg.pres.act. *i-mi-į̂a-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 4 (NS)), *i-im-mi-į̂a-mi* (KUB 24.15 obv. 10 (NS)), *im-mi-į̂a-mi* (KUB 24.14 i 10 (NS)), 2sg.pres.act. *im-me-į̂a-ši* (KBo 21.20 rev. 17 (NS)), *im-me-at-ti* (KUB 21.5 iii 15 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *im-mi-į̂a-zi* (KUB 11.20 i 10 (OH/NS)), *im-mi-į̂a-az-zi* (KUB 7.1 i 27 (OH/NS), VBoT 120 ii 3 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *i-mi-į̂a-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-į̂a-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-į̂a-u-en* (KUB 43.74 obv. 13 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *im-mi-į̂a-an-du* (KUB 36.12 iii 3 (NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *i-mi-į̂a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 32.135 i 9 (fr.), iv 8 (OH/MS)), *im-mi-į̂a-ad-da-ri* (KUB 29.8 ii 21 (MH/MS)), *im-me-į̂a-ta-r*[*i*] (KBo 18.62 rev. 10 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *i*[*-im-mi-į̂*]*a-an-ta-ri* (KBo 20.63 i 7 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *im-mi-į̂a-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-į̂a-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-i̯a-an-t-* (KUB 15.34 i 15, i 25, iii 30 (MH/MS)), *im-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯e/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-i̯a-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 *amiu̯ant-*: original *a-mi-* changed to *am-mi-* through a stage *a-am-mi-*). This means that we are dealing with an original verb *imiu̯e/a-*^{zi}.

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*$_2$*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*$_1$*en-* 'in' is unparalleled in Hittite.

In my view, *imiu̯e/a-*^{zi} can hardly reflect anything else than **(H)im-i̯e/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(?)', MIr. *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 anyhting else than **(H)in-on-*, but it is difficult to find IE cognates. Usually, *inan-* is connected with Skt. *énas-* '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 *énas-* 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=u̯a=kán* (KUB 31.68 rev. 32 (NS)), *in-na-ra=u-u̯a=mu=kán* (KUB 54.1 i 36 (NS), *in-na-ra=u-u̯a-a=š-ma-aš* (KUB 1.8 iv 8 (NH))), ***in(n)araḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make strong, to strenghten' (3sg.pres.act. *i-na-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 36.110 rev. 12 (OS)); 1sg.pret.midd. *in-na-ra-aḫ-ḫa-at* (KUB 30.10 obv. 18, 19 (OH/MS)); verb.noun *in-na-ra-aḫ-ḫu-ar* (KBo 17.60 rev. 10 (MH/MS))), ***innarau̯au̯ar*** (n.) 'strength' (nom.-acc.sg. *in-na-ra-u̯*[*a-u-*]*a-ar* (KUB 30.10 rev. 19 (OH/MS))), $^{(d)}$***in(n)arau̯ant-*** (adj.) 'strong, vigorous (deity)' (nom.sg.c. *i-na-ra-u-an-za* (KUB 36.110 rev. 11 (OS)), *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-da-an* (VBoT 24 ii 30 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *in-na-ra-u̯a-an-ti* (FHG 1, 19 (OH/NS), VBoT 24 ii 34 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-a-u-u̯a-an-ti* (KUB 30.10 obv. 8 (OH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-ta-aš* (HT 1 i 29 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-ta-aš* (KUB 9.31 i

36 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-da-aš* (HT 1 i 59 (MH/NS)), *in-na-ra-ú-u̯a-an-da-aš* (KUB 9.31 ii 6 (MH/NS))), ***innarau̯ātar / innarau̯ann-*** (n.) 'strength, force, vigor' (Sum. KAL-*tar*; nom.-acc.sg. *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-tar* (MH/MS), *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-a-tar*, *in-na-ra-u̯a-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-ni*, instr. *in-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-ni-it*), ***innarauu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make strong, to strengthen' (verb.noun gen.sg. [*in-n*]*a-ra-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 2.1 ii 17 (OH/NS))), ***innarau̯ēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become strong' (3sg.pres.act. *in-na-ra-u-e-eš-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-u̯a*-[*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*), ***ānnarumāḫit-*** (n.) 'forcefulness, virility' (nom.-acc.sg. *an-na-ru-ma-a-ḫi*, abl.-instr. *a-an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫi‹-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 attesations are spelled with geminate *-nn-* (in OH/MS-texts already), the two OS attestations *inaraḫḫi* and *inarauu̯anza* show that the original spelling must have been with single *-n-* (cf. *amiu̯ant-* and *imiu̯e/a-*^{zi} 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. *ănnar-* reminds us of Hitt. *idālu-* ~ CLuw. *adduu̯al-* 'evil', which is explained by assuming that the Hitt. word reflects **h₁eduól-u-*, whereas the CLuw. word goes back to **h₁éduol-* (showing Čop's Law). This means that for *inarā-* ~ *ānnar-*, we have to assume a difference in accentuation as well. Mechanically, we should reconstruct **h₁enoró-* for Hittite, and **h₁énor-* for CLuwian.

Since Hrozný (1917: 74), this word is generally connected with PIE **h₂ner-* 'man' and reconstructed as **h₁en-h₂nor-o-* 'having virility inside' (compare for this formation *antuu̯aḫḫaš- / anduḫš-* 'man, person' < *'having breath inside'). Apart from the fact that it is awkward that the root **h₂ner-* 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-^{zi} caus. of *ā(i)-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ i-* ‘to be hot’ (q.v.)

irḫ(a)-: see *erḫ- / araḫ- / arḫ-*

īššа-^{i} **/ *īšš-*** (IIa1γ: impf. of *i̯e/a-*^{zi} ‘to do, to make’) ‘to do, to make’ (Sum. DÙ-*ešša-*): 1sg.pres.act. [*i-i*]*š-ša-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 1.16 ii 43 (OH/NS)), *iš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* (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-aḫ-ḫi* (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-aḫ*[*-ḫu-un*] (KUB 30.10 ii 24 (OH/MS)), *iš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un* (HKM 52 rev. 39 (MH/MS)), *e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-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.[?] 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-u̯a-an* (KBo 8.42 rev. 2 (OS), KUB 1.16 ii 25 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-u̯a-an* (KBo 3.1 i 22 (OH/NS)), *e-eš-šu-u-u̯a-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 *i̯e/a-*^{zi} '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-*^{i} / *ḫalzišš-*, *šišša-*^{i} / *šišš-* and *u̯arrišša-*^{i} / *u̯arrišš-*). Of these imperfectives in *-šš(a)-*, *īšša-/īšš-* is important as it is the best and oldest attested one.

The verb shows a wild variaty of forms, for instance in the spelling of the initial vowel. We find *i-iš-š°*, *iš-š°*, *e-eš-š°* and *eš-š°*. In OS texts we only find the spelling *i-iš-š°*. In MS texts, this spelling is altered to *iš-š°*, wheres the spellings *e-eš-š°* and *eš-š°* 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 *īšš-* > *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)-*, ^{É}*ḫištā* > ^{É}*ḫeštā*, etc.).

The original paradigm of this verb must have been (note that the initial plene *i-* is not attested for every form): *īššaḫḫi*, *īššatti*, *īššai*, *īššu̯eni*, *īšteni*, *īššanzi* for the present and *īššaḫḫun*, **īššatta*, *īššišta*, *īššu̯en*, *īšten*, *īššer* 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 *īšša-/īšš-* as if

it were an isolated verb do not have any merit (e.g. Jasanoff 1988: 235, who reconstructs *īššа-/īšš-* as **(H)i̯i-(H)ih₁-s-*, a reduplication of the root **(H)ieh₁-* (but note that **i̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.) cannot reflect **Hieh₁-*) followed by an "iterative"-suffix" **-s-*, without explaining *ḫalzišš(a)-* and *u̯arrišš(a)-*). See at *i̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to do, to make' and *-šš(a)-* for further etymological treatments.

-išš(a)- ("imperfective"-suffix): see *-šš(a)-*

išša̯na-: see *išnā-*

išḫā- (c.) 'master, lord, owner; lady, mistress' (Sum. EN, Akk. *BELU*, *BELTU*): nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-aš* (OS, often), *iš-ḫa-aš* (OS, less often), *e-eš-ḫa-aš=ši-iš* (KUB 41.8 iii 21 (MH/NS)), acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-an*, voc.sg. *iš-ḫa-a* (OH/MS), *iš-ḫa* (1x: OH/NS), gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫi-i=š-ši* (OS), *iš-ḫi-e=š-ši* (KUB 41.1 i 6, 10, 14 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-i* (KUB 33.62 ii 18 (OH/MS), KUB 26.17 ii 5 (MH/MS)), *eš-ḫé* (KBo 3.34 i 25 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *iš-ḫe-e-eš* (KUB 30.68 obv. 6 (MS)), *iš-ḫé-eš* (KBo 3.46 obv. 38 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ḫa-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***išḫaššara-*** (c.) 'lady, mistress' (Sum. GAŠAN, Akk. *BELTU*; dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri* (KUB 33.62 ii 18 (OH/MS))), ***išḫaššaru̯ant-*** (adj.) 'practising lordliness' (nom.sg.c. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-an-za*, acc.sg.c. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-an-ta*[n_x], dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-an-ti*), ***išḫaššaru̯ātar / išḫaššaru̯ann-*** (n.) 'lordliness' (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-a-tar*, *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-tar*, gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-an-na-aš*, instr. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-an-ni-t=a-at=kán*), ***išḫaššaru̯ēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become a lord(?)' (broken: *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u-e-e*[*š-...*]), ***išḫaššaru̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make lordly' (impf.3sg.imp.act. *iš-ḫa-aš-šar-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ki*), ***išḫezzi̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to dominate' (3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫe-ez-zi-i̯a-zi*; 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-ḫe-ez-zi-ta*), ****išḫeznatar / išḫeznann-*** (n.) 'lordship' (dat.-loc.sg. EN-*ez-na-an-ni*).

IE cognates: Lat. *erus* 'master'.

PIE **h₁esh₂-ó-*

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. *iš-ḫa-a-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-an*, voc.sg. *iš-ḫa-a*, gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫi-i*. The rare spellings with initial *e-eš-ḫ°* or *eš-ḫ°* are all NS and are due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* 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 *išḫā-* with Lat. *erus* 'master' remains the most attractive. This would imply a reconstruction **h₁esh₂-ó-*.

Puhvel (l.c.) rejects this etymology (for unclear reasons) and rather connects *išḫā-* to Luw. *u̯ašḫa-*, which he translates as 'master'. As Melchert (1993b: 263) states, CLuw. *u̯ašḫa-* rather denotes 'sacralized object', whereas the interpretation of HLuw. *washa-* remains unclear (nom.sg. "*419"*wa/i-sa-ha-sa* (TÜNP 1 §6), acc.pl. "*419"*wa/i-sa-ha-i-za* (BABYLON §2); case unclear *420*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 *šišḫa-*^{i} */ šišḫ-* 'to ordain', which he cites as *šešḫ(a)-* and reconstructs as **se-sh₂oh₁-ei*. For *išḫā-*, this would mean a reconstruction **sh₂óh₁-s*. Although semantically not unattractive, the formal side of this alternative etymology is difficult. As I show in the lemma of *šišḫa-*^{i} */ šišḫ-*, this verb rather reflects **si-sh₂-oi-ei*, **si-sh₂-i-enti*, a reduplicated form of *išḫai-*^{i} */ išḫi-* 'to bind, to impose upon', which makes the reconstruction with a root **sh₂eh₁-* impossible. Moreover, the prothetic *i-* that arises in the initial cluster **sh₂-* does not participate in the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before *-š-* as we see happening in *išḫā-* > *ešḫa-*.

išḫaḫru- (n.) 'tear(s)': nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru* (often), *e-eš-ḫa-aḫ-ru* (KUB 7.41 obv. 19 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-aš* (KUB 31.77 i 7), *e-eš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-aš* (KBo 31.121, 11 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-ú-i* (KBo 11.1 obv. 45), erg.sg. [*iš-ḫa-a*]*ḫ-ru-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 53.29, 9), abl. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-az*, *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-za*, instr. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-it* (KUB 43.60 i 21), nom.pl. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru*.

Derivatives: ***išḫaḫruu̯e/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) 'to weep' (3sg.pret.midd. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-at-ta-at*; part. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-u̯a-an-t-*).

IE cognates: Skt. *áśru-*, TochA *ākär*, *ākrunt* (nom.pl.), TochB *akrūna** (nom.pl.), Lith. *ãšara, ašarà* 'tear'.

PIE **s+h₂éḱ-ru-* ??

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 390f. for attestations. The word is almost consistently spelled *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-*. The spelling *e-eš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-* occurs twice only, and these instances are clearly due to the vicinity of the word *ēšḫar* '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. *áśru-*, TochA *ākär*, n.pl. *ākrunt*, TochB *akrūna**, Lith. *ãšara, 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 **h₂eḱ-ru-*, a derivative of the root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp, bitter', seems generally accepted. For Hittite, this would mean that we have to assume a

prothetic *s- (an *s*-mobile?, cf. *šankuu̯ai-* ‘nail’ < **s-h₃ng^{h}-u-*) and assimilation of **h₂eḱ-* to **h₂eh₂-*. Unfortunately, such an assimilation is further unknown in Hittite (for my rejection of alleged **ḱerh₂sr* > **h₂erh₂sr* > *ḫaršar* ‘head’, see there). Moreover, there is evidence that the word for ‘tear’ originally was a **-ur/-u̯en-*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/-u̯en-* stem in Hittite (like e.g. *paḫḫur / paḫḫuen-* ‘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 *išḫaḫru-* out of PIE **h₂éḱru-* remains quite intricate.

išḫai- ^{i} **/ *išḫi-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to bind, to wrap; to obligate with, to impose upon’ (Akk. *RAKĀSU*): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫe-eḫ-ḫi* (KUB 55.3 obv. 3, 4 (fr.) (OH/MS?), KBo 18.74, 2 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫa-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-ḫi-i-e-ez-zi* (KUB 33.67 i 5 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-zi* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 i 58 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-az-zi* (KBo 14.3 iv 41 (NH), KUB 34.26, 16 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫi-i̯a-at-te-e-ni* (KUB 14.8 ii 35 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫi-an-zi* (KBo 6.2 iv 42, 43, 46 (OS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-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-ḫi-an-za* (KBo 6.26 i 7 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫe-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 3.4 iii 26, 31 (NH), KBo 5.8 ii 3 (NH)), *iš-ḫe-ḫu-un* (KUB 21.48 rev. 7 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-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-ḫi-i̯a-at* (KBo 6.29 ii 35 (NH), KBo 14.12 iv 31 (NH)), 2pl.pret.act. *iš-ḫa-iš-te*[*-en*] (KBo 12.22, 11 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ḫi-i-e-er* (KBo 6.34 i 26 (MH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-ḫi-i̯a-at-tén* (KBo 10.45 ii 8 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ḫi-an-du* (KBo 6.34 i 24 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-an-du* (KBo 6.34 i 28 (MH/NS)); part. *iš-ḫi-i̯a-an-t-* (OS), *iš-ḫi-an-t-*; verb.noun. *iš-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-a*[*r*] (KBo 1.38 rev. 5, 7 (NS)), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-*[*u̯a-a*]*r* (KBo 1.42 ii 3 (NS)); impf. *iš-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: $^{(KUŠ)}$***išḫiman- / išḫimen-*** (c.) ‘string, line, cord, rope, strap’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḫi-ma-a-aš* (KBo 17.15 rev. 11 (OS)), acc.sg. *iš-ḫi-ma-na-an* (KBo 20.40 v 9 (OH/NS)), [*i*]*š-ḫi-me-na-an* (988/u, 7 (NS)), abl. *iš-ḫi-ma-na-az* (KUB 36.55 ii 16 (MH/MS)), instr. *iš-ḫi-ma-an-ta* (KUB 17.5, 15 (OH/NS)), *iš-ḫi-ma-an-da* (KUB 17.28 i 31 (NS)), *iš-ḫi-ma-ni-it* (KBo 17.60 obv. 3 (MH/MS)), nom.pl. *iš-ḫi-ma-a-ne-eš* (KBo 17.15 obv. 10 (OS))), ***išḫamin-*** (c.) ‘cord’ (acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-mi-na-an* (KUB 17.27 ii 31, 34 (MH/NS))), ***išḫiu̯e/ani-*** (c.) ‘(body)hair’ (nom.pl. *iš-ḫi-e-ni-uš* (KUB 13.4 iii 62 (OH/NS), *iš-ḫi-i̯a-ni-uš* (KUB 13.19, 5 (OH/NS))), $^{(TÚG)}$***išḫiu̯al-*** (n.) ‘bond, band, belt’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫi-al*, abl. *iš-ḫi-i̯a-*

la-az), ***išḫiul-*** (n.) ‘binding; obligation, injunction; statute, treaty’ (nom.-acc.sg./pl. *iš-ḫi-ú-ul,* gen.sg. *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aš*, nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ḫi-ú-li*), ***išḫiulaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to bind by treaty’ (3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫi-ul-la-aḫ-ḫu-un*; part. *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*), ***išḫuzzi-*** (c.) ‘band, belt, girdle’ (nom.sg. *iš-ḫu-zi-iš*, acc.sg. *iš-ḫu-uz-zi-in*, gen.sg. *iš-ḫu-uz-zi-aš*, *iš-ḫu-uz-zi-i̯a-aš*), ***išḫuzzii̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to gird’ (3sg.pres.at. *iš-ḫu-uz-zi-i̯a-iz-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ḫu-zi-ed-du*, part. *iš-ḫu-uz-zi-i̯a-an-t-*), ***išḫieššar / išḫiešn-*** (n.) ‘binding’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫi-eš-ša=mi-it-t=a* (KUB 30.10 obv. 7 (OH/MS)), *iš-ḫi-eš-ša-a=š-ši-it* (KBo 21.22 rev. 45 (OH/MS)), instr. *iš-ḫi-eš-ni-it* (473/t obv. 14 (NS)), erg.pl. *iš-ḫi-iš-na-an-te-eš* (473/t obv. 11 (NS))), ^{GIŠ}***išḫāu̯ar*** (n.) ‘yoke-plough-set(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-a-u-u̯a-ar*, *iš-ḫa-u-u̯a-ar*, *iš-ḫa-a-ur-r=a*), see *išḫamai-*^{i} / *išḫami-* and *šišḫa-*^{i} / *šišḫ-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ḫišḫii̯a-*** ‘to bind’ (3pl.pres.act. *ḫi-iš-ḫi-i̯a-an-ti*), ***ḫišḫiša/i-*** ‘spell’ (< *‘binding’?) (gen.adj.acc.sg.c. *ḫi-iš-ḫi-ša-aš-ši-in*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *ḫi-iš-ḫi-ša-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. ***hishi-*** ‘to bind’ (gerund $^{\text{PUGNUS.PUGNUS}}$*hi-sà-hi-mi-na* ‘is to be bound’ (CEKKE §13, cf. Melchert 2004b: 360[7])).

IE cognates: Skt. *sā-*, *si-* ‘to bind’, Lith. *siẽti* ‘to bind’.

PIE *sh_2-ói-ei*, *sh_2-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/tii̯anzi*-class (*išḫāi*, *išḫianzi*, both OS). Like all other *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class verbs, *išḫai-*^{i} / *išḫi-*, too, is taken over into the *mi*-conjugating *-i̯e/a*-class in NH times, on the basis of the false analysis of *išḫi-anzi* as *išḫii̯a-nzi*.

Since Kuryłowicz (1927: 101) this verb is generally connected with e.g. Skt. *sā-* ‘to bind’ and Lith. *siẽti* ‘to bind’. The exact reconstruction of the root is difficult, however: e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 461) reconstructs a root *seh_2-, LIV a root *$seh_2(i)$- and LIV^2 a root *sh_2ei-. Apparently there is no consensus whether or not the *-i-* is integral part of the root.

In Hittite, *išḫāi / išḫianzi* must go back to *sh_2óiei, *sh_2iénti. As I have shown in Kloekhorst ftch.a, most of the the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-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 *išḫai-/išḫi-*, this means that we either are dealing with a root *sh_2ei- or with a root *seh_2- which shows a stem *sh_2-(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 *išḫi-* < *sh_2i- (e.g. *išḫiman- / išḫimen-*, *išḫii̯al-*, *išḫiul-*), but we also find derivatives that show a stem *išḫ-* < *sh_2- (e.g. *išḫamin-*, *išḫuzzi-*).

These latter show that we must analyse *išḫai-/išḫi-* as an **-oi-*suffixed verb that shows a root **seh₂-*.

This also fits the Sanskrit evidence. There we find the verbal forms (all in Vedic): pres. °*syáti*, *sināti*; perf. *siṣāya*; aor. *sāt*. On the basis of aor. *sāt* it is clear that the root must have been **seh₂-* (note that LIV² states that *sāt* actually belongs with another root, namely **seh₁(i)-* 'to release': this has now become unnecessary because of the Hittite material that unambiguously shows that we can reconstruct a root **seh₂-*). 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-sóh₂-e* > *sasāu* as attested in Classical Sanskrit) can be directly equated with Hitt. *išḫāi* < **(si-)sh₂-ói-e*. Just as in Hittite *išḫiia̯zzi* is a secondary form on the basis of the zero-grade **sh₂-i-énti*, it is likely that Skt. °*syáti* is secondary as well (both reflecting virtual **sh₂iéti*). The Skt. nasal-present *sināti* reflects virtual **si-né-h₂-ti* and must be a backformation to the zero-grade stem **sh₂-i-* that yielded **sih₂-* through metathesis.

The stem **sh₂-oi-* is also visible in Lith. *siẽti* 'to bind', Skt. *setár-* 'binder', etc.

The Luwian forms, with the stem *hishi-*, must reflect reduplicated forms: **(s)h₂i-sh₂i-* and could possibly be directly equated with Skt. *siṣāya*. Note that HLuw. *hishimin* shows that the stem must have been *hishi-* and not *hishia̯-* as often stated.

Note that the derivative ^{GIŠ}*išḫāu̯ar* does not reflect **sh₂óu̯r* (thus Puvhel HED 1/2: 397-8), but just reflects **išḫāia̯u̯r* < **sh₂-ói-ur*, the verbal noun of *išḫai-/išḫi-*. For the development of **-aia̯u̯ar* > *-āu̯ar* cf. e.g. *šāu̯ar* 'sullenness' from *šāi-*^{zi} 'to become sullen'.

išḫamai-^{i} **/ *išḫami-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) 'to sing' (Sum. SÌR, Akk. *ZAMARU*): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫa-mi-iḫ-ḫi* (KUB 33.96 i 4 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫa-ma-i* (KUB 58.30 ii 6 (MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫa-mi-an-zi* (OS, often), *iš-ḫa-mi-ia̯-an-zi* (often), *iš-ḫa-mi-en-zi* (KUB 59.19 ii 3 (OH/NS)); inf.I *iš-ḫa-mi-ia̯-u-an-zi* (KUB 25.37 i 40 (NS)), *iš-ḫa-mi-ia̯-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 27.1 iv 12 (MH/NS)); impf. *iš-ḫa-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OS, often), *iš-ḫa-mi-eš-ke/a-*, *iš-ḫa-ma-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***išḫamai-*** (c.) 'song, melody' (Sum. SÌR; acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ma-in* (KUB 12.11 iii 31 (MS?)), *iš-ḫa-ma-a-in* (VSNF 12.118, 2 (NS)), acc.pl. *iš-ḫa-ma*[*-uš*] (KUB 10.7, 14 (NS))), ^{LÚ}***išḫamatalla-*** (c.) 'singer' (Sum. ^{LÚ}SÌR; nom.pl. *iš-ḫa-ma-tal-le-eš* (KUB 17.21 ii 11, iii 19 (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *iš-ḫa-ma-a-tal-lu-uš* (KUB 31.124 ii 17 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḫa-ma-tal-‹‹li-››lu-uš* (KUB 17.21 iii 5 (MH/MS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *sā́man-* 'song, hymn'.

PIE *sh_2m-ói-ei*, *sh_2m-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 394f. for attestations. The verb inflects according to the *dāi/tiy̯anzi*-class (the forms that show a stem *išḫamiy̯e/a-^{zi}* 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/tiy̯anzi*-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 *išḫamai-/išḫami-*, 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 /ɨsHamai-/).

Etymologically, this verb is ultimately derived from the root **seh$_2$-* 'to bind' (attested in Hitt. *išḫai-^{j} / išḫi-* (q.v.)), and shows a root-extension with *-m-*. The formation **sh$_2$em-* (not ***seh$_2$m-*, see below for argumentation) and the meaning 'to sing' must have been of PIE date already, as can be seen by Skt. *sā́man-* 'song, hymn' < **sh$_2$óm-en-*.

In Hittite, the preform **sh$_2$m-oi- / *sh$_2$m-i-* should regularly have yielded ***smai-/smi-* (loss of interconsonantal laryngeal), which means that a full-grade form **sh$_2$em-* must have been available in Hittite to make restoration of **h$_2$* possible. In my view, this full-grade form is visible in *išḫamai-* 'song' < **sh$_2$ém-ōi-* (which determines the root as **sh$_2$em-*: a formation ***séh$_2$m-oi-* should have given Hitt. ***šāmai-* or ***šaḫmai-* (if word-internal **h$_2$* was indeed retained in front of resonant, cf. the discussion at ^{GIŠ}*māḫla-*, ^{UZU}*muḫrai-/maḫrai-* and ^{GIŠ}*zaḫrai-*)).

The alleged Greek cognate, οἰμός 'song' (thus Benveniste 1954: 39f.) cannot reflect **sh$_2$om-i̯o-* (because **-VmiV-* should have given Gr. -VτνV-, cf. Beekes 1972: 127) and therefore this connection must be given up.

išḫanittar (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: ***išḫanittarātar*** (n.) '?' (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar*), ***išḫanattalla-*** (c.) '?' (nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-at-tal-la-an*), ***išḫanalla-*** (c.) '?' (nom.sg. *iš-ḫa-na-al-liš*).

PIE **sh$_2$-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 *išḫanittar*, Rieken argues that ultimately these words must be connected with the root *$*seh_2$*- 'to bind'. In her view, we are dealing with a stem *$*sh_2$-en-*, which she further connects with *šaḫḫan-* 'feudal service' < *$*seh_2$-en-* (q.v.). See it *išḫai-^{i} / išḫi-* for the basic root *$*seh_2$*-.

išḫiie/a-^{zi} : see *išḫai-^{i} / išḫi-*

išḫunau- (c. > n.) 'arm, upper arm': nom.sg.c. *iš-ḫu-na-ú-uš* (KBo 32.14 ii 49 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḫu-nạ-ạ-uš* (KBo 32.14 rev. 44, l.edge 1 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḫu-na-uš*$^{!}$ (text: *-aš*, KUB 9.34 ii 25 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-ḫu-na-a-u=š-mi-it* (KUB 7.58 i 11 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-aš*$^{!}$ (KBo 10.37 ii 32 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *iš-ḫu-u-na-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 9.4 i 25 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-aš* (571/u, 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫu-na-u-i* (KUB 25.37 ii 8 (NS)), [*iš-*]*ḫu-na-ú‹-i›* (KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 i 6), erg.sg. *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-an-za* (KUB 9.4 i 25), dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ḫu-u-na-u-u̯a-aš* (KBo 46.62 ii 7 (NS)); case? *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a‹-aš*$^{?}$*›* (KUB 56.60 iv 5 (NS)).

PIE *$*sh_2$u-nou-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 403f. for attestations. The interpretation of this word has always largely depended on the form *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 10.37 ii 32). Since Laroche (1962: 31), this *išḫunauu̯ar* is generally regarded cognate with Skt. *snā́van-*, Gr. νευρά, Lat. *nervus* 'sinew' and therefore translated as 'sinew' as well. An exact reconstruction of these forms was quite difficult, however (for instance, the *-ḫ-* in Hittite does not match Gr. -ε-). Weitenberg (1984: 224-5) convincingly argues that besides the form *išḫunauu̯ar*, all other forms of the paradigm rather point to a stem *išḫunau-* 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 *išḫunau-* 'upper arm' from the hapax *išḫunauu̯ar* 'sinew'. The fact that we indeed are dealing with a stem *išḫunau-* 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. *išḫunāuš* 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 *išḫunau-* denotes 'upper arm' as well. Moreover, the forms show that originally *išḫunau-* was a commune noun and that the NS attestation nom.-acc.sg.n. *išḫunau=šmit* must be a secondary form (see also the discussion on the gender of these kind of nouns at *ḫarnau-*).

Rieken (1999a: 360-1) follows Weitenberg in translating *išḫunau-* as 'upper arm', but also connects the form *išḫunauu̯ar* 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-u̯a-ar ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*
(33) *pé-eš-tén*

'Gebt ihm das Schießen des Oberarmes!'.

According to Rieken, *išḫunauu̯ar* is a falsely back-formed nom.-acc.sg.n. on the basis of gen.sg. *išḫunau̯aš*. In my view, this is not necessary: I think it is quite possible that *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-ar* must be regarded as a mere scribal error for *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-aš*, with AŠ mistakenly written as AR due to anticipation to the following *ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* 'shooting'. So I would suggest to read *iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-aš*$^{!}$ *ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-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 *išḫunauu̯ar* 'sinew' does not exist anymore. Therewith the words for 'sinew' in the other IE languages (Skt. *snā́van-*, Gr. νευρά, Lat. *nervus*, Arm. *neard*, TochB *ṣñaura* (pl.)) can now safely be reconstructed as **sné*h_1*-ur* / **sn*h_1*-uén-*.

For the etymological interpretation of *išḫunau-* I follow a suggestion of Weitenberg (l.c.) who hesitatingly connects it with Hitt. *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *išḫui-* 'to throw' (q.v.). This would mean that *išḫunau-* reflects **sh*$_2$*u-neu-* and originally denotes 'throwing-arm'. See at *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *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*$^{!}$*=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[603]) is improbable; note that Puhvel (l.c.) interprets this form as gen.sg. or pl. (implying a reading *iš-ḫu-na‹-u̯a›-aš*) despite the fact that it clearly must be nom.sg. here.

išḫunau̯ar: see *išḫunau-*

išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *išḫui- (IIa4 > IIa1γ, Ic2) 'to throw, to scatter, to pour': 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-uḫ-ḫi* (KUB 31.84 iii 63 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 9.25 + 27.67 i 3 (2x) (MH/NS), KUB 15.11 ii 9 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-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-*

ḫu-u̯a-i (e.g. KBo 15.31 i 11, iv 11 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 iii 45 (MH/MS), etc.), *i*[*š-ḫu-*]*ú-ạ-i* (KBo 23.23 obv. 59 (MH/MS)), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-i* (OH/NS), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i* (OH/NS), *iš-ḫu-a-i* (KBo 39.189 i 7 (NS), KUB 41.17 i 28 (NS)) *iš-ḫu-i* (KBo 2.3 ii 32 (MH/NS)), *iš-ḫu-u-i* (KUB 6.46 iv 54 (NH)), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (HT 5, 6 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *iš-*[*ḫ*]*u-u̯a-u̯a-a-n*[*i*] (StBoT 25.137 ii 18 (OS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi* (e.g. KBo 15.32+ ii 5 (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 iv 45 (MH/MS), etc.), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 17.10 iii 7 (OH/MS)), [(*iš-ḫ*)]*u-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 15.34+ ii 44 (MH/MS)), 2sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-it-ta* (HKM 5 obv. 6 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-iš* (KUB 49.60 ii 11 (NS), KBo 14.3 iv 35, 36 (NH)), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 37.1 ii 4 (NS)), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 33.53, 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-er* (KUB 29.54 iv 5, 11 (MH/MS), KUB 26.84 ii 9 (NH)), [*i*]*š-ḫu-u-u̯a-*[*a-er*] (KBo 14.1 ii 14 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-ú* (KUB 33.93 iii 35 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *iš-ḫu-u-it-tén* (HKM 18 l.edge 5 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *iš-ḫu-u-an-du* (HKM 24, 52 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pret.midd. [*iš-ḫu*]*-u̯a-it-ta-a*[*t*] (KBo 8.96 obv. 1 (MS)), [*i*]*š-ḫu-u̯a-it-t*[*a-at*] (KBo 8.96 obv. 2 (MS)); part. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-an-t-* (OH/MS), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-t-* (MH/NS), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-an-t-* (MH/NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *iš-ḫu-u̯a-u̯a-aš* (KUB 55.60 iv 12 (NS)), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 12.2 ii 6 (NS)), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 10.92 vi 13 (NS)); sup. *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-u-u̯*[*a-an*] (KBo 14.1 ii 13 (NH)); impf. *iš-ḫu-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-ḫu-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***išḫuēššar / išḫuēšn-*** (n.) 'heap' (nom.-acc.sg. [*iš-ḫ*]*u-u-e-eš-šar* (119/w rev. 6), *i*[*š-ḫ*]*u-e-eš-šar* (KUB 31.84 iii 63), *iš-ḫu-eš-šar* (KBo 32.15 ii 15), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ḫu-eš-ni* (KBo 16.60 rev. 5, KUB 14.1 obv. 7, 8), instr. *iš-ḫu-e-eš-ni-it* (KUB 13.2 iii 37)), ***išḫuu̯anna-*** [i] **/ išḫuu̯anni-** (IIa5) 'to throw (impf.)' (1sg.pres.act. *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 7.5 ii 30), *iš-ḫu-u̯a-an-na-aḫ-*[*ḫi*] (KUB 12.44 iii 17), 3sg.pres.act. [*iš-ḫu-u̯a-an-*]*na-an-zi* (KUB 12.58 iii 16)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὗω 'to rain', TochAB *su-/swās-* 'to rain'.

PIE **sh₂u-ói-ei / *sh₂u-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-*[*ḫ*]*u-u̯a-u̯a-a-n*[*i*] that must be regarded as a 1pl.pres.act.-form because of the 1pl.-forms *la-ḫu-e-ni* (ibid. 15), *da-a-*[*u-*]*e-ni* (ibid. 16) and *ḫar-na-u-e-ni* (ibid. 17) in the preceding lines. In my view, this form is so aberrant (cf. the totally unexpected plene spelling *-u̯a-a-ni*), that I severely doubt the reliability of this form or even the text in which it is found (compare also *dā*[*u̯*]*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. *išḫuu̯āi*, *išḫuu̯ai*, 3pl.pres.act. *išḫuu̯anzi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u-Vḫ-ḫu-un*, *iš-ḫu-Vḫ-ḫu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *išḫuu̯āitta*, 3pl.pret.act. *išḫuu̯āer*, 2pl.imp.act. *išḫuu̯itten*, 3pl.imp.act. *išḫuu̯andu*. The forms *išḫuu̯itten* and *išḫuu̯āitta* can only belong to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection (*išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / išḫui-*). The forms *išḫuu̯āi*, *išḫuu̯anzi*, *išḫuu̯āir* and *išḫuu̯andu* can either belong to the *tarn(a)*-inflection, or to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-inflection (if we assume that **išḫui̯anzi* > *išḫuu̯anzi*). In principle, the forms *išḫuu̯anzi* and *išḫuu̯andu* could belong to an inflection similar to that of *au-^{i} / u-* 'to see' as well (cf. *uu̯anzi* 'they see'), but because of the total absence of forms with a stem ***išḫau-*, this option is very unlikely. The forms 1sg.pret.act. *iš-ḫu-u-Vḫ-ḫu-un* and *iš-ḫu-Vḫ-ḫu-un* are multi-interpretable. The sign AḪ can be read *aḫ*, *eḫ*, *iḫ* as well as *uḫ*, which means that we could be dealing with *iš-ḫu(-u)-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *iš-ḫu(-u)-iḫ-ḫu-un*, *iš-ḫu(-u)-eḫ-ḫu-un* or *iš-ḫu(-u)-uḫ-ḫu-un*. If we should read *išḫuaḫḫun*, the word would belong to the *tarn(a)*-class (cf. the NS attestation *iš-ḫu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi*); if the forms represent *išḫuiḫḫun* or *išḫueḫḫun*, they would belong to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class. I must admit, however, that in these cases we would rather have found plene spelling of the specific vowel (cf. e.g. *ḫu-i-iḫ-ḫi* 'I run', *ḫu-e-eḫ-ḫu-un* 'I ran', *iš-ḫu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi*). Nevertheless, an analysis *išḫuḫḫun* is quite improbable, because this form could only belong to an inflection similar to *au-/u-* 'to see' (cf. *ūḫḫun* '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/tii̯anzi*-class or a *tarn(a)*-class inflection.

Since the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class is a closed, unproductive class within Hittite, whereas the *tarn(a)*-class is very productive, I assume that the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection is more archaic and consequently the original one. I therefore cite this verb as *išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / išḫui-*, and the attestations *iš-ḫu-u-Vḫ-ḫu-un* and *iš-ḫu-Vḫ-ḫu-un* as *iš-ḫu-u-eḫ-ḫu-un* and *iš-ḫu-eḫ-ḫu-un* (the NS attestations *iš-ḫu-uḫ-ḫi* may be viewed as belonging with 3sg.pres.act. *išḫui* (see below)). The fact that the 3pl.-forms are *išḫuu̯anzi* and *išḫuu̯andu*, whereas e.g. *ḫuu̯ai-^{i} / ḫui-* 'to run' has *ḫui̯anzi* (OS) 'they run', in my view is explained by the difference in preforms: *išḫuu̯anzi* reflects **sh$_2$uiénti* (see below for etymology), whereas *ḫui̯anzi* reflects **h$_2$uh$_1$iénti*. Intervocalic *-i-* in **sh$_2$uiénti* was lost in pre-Hittite already, yielding a hiatus: OH /ɨsHoánt^{s}i/, realized as [ɨsHo^{u}ánt^{s}i], spelled *iš-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*. In the case of **h$_2$uh$_1$iénti* 'they run', we are dealing with intervocalic **-h$_1$i-*, which yielded *-i-* in that same period (OH /Hoiánt^{s}i/, spelled *ḫu-i̯a-an-zi*), which was lost in the NH period only (NH /Hoánt^{s}i/, realized as [Ho^{u}ánt^{s}i], spelled *ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*).

This means that the OH paradigm of *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *išḫui-* must have been **išḫueḫḫi*, **išḫuu̯aitti*, *išḫuu̯āi*, **išḫuiu̯eni*, **išḫuišteni*, *išḫuu̯anzi*. On the basis of 3sg. *išḫuu̯āi* and 3pl. *išḫuu̯anzi*, in younger times forms were created that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (1sg.pres.act. *išḫuu̯aḫḫi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *išḫuu̯aš* (OH/NS) and verb.noun gen.sg. *išḫuu̯au̯aš* (NS)). In NH times, we find some forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*išḫūu̯āizzi* (NS), *išḫuu̯ānt-* (NS)), and some forms in which the stem *išḫu-* has been generalized (3sg.pres.act. *išḫui* (NS)). For the cognate verb *šuḫḫa-*^{i} */ šuḫḫ-*, see at its own lemma.

As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the Hittite *dāi/tiu̯anzi*-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[11]), who connects *išḫuu̯ai-/išḫui-* with Gr. ὕω 'to rain', TochAB *su-/swās-* 'to rain' < **suH-*, which is now codified in LIV^{2}. Formally, this connection is justified by assuming that a full-grade root **sh$_2$eu-* had a zero-grade form **sh$_2$u-* (still visible in Hitt. *išḫuu̯ai-/išḫui-*) that metathesized already in PIE to **suh$_2$-* (Gr. ὑ-, TochAB *su-* and Hitt. *šuḫḫa-*^{i} */ šuḫḫ-* 'to scatter, to pour' (q.v.)). Semantically, we have to assume that the PIE root denotes 'to pour', which in Hittite (where *išḫuu̯ai-/išḫui-* still means 'to pour' as well) developed into 'to throw' (cf. ModDu. *gooien* 'to throw' < **ǵ^{h}eu-* 'to pour'), whereas in Greek and Tocharian the meaning shifted to 'to rain'. The full-grade **sh$_2$eu-* may still be visible in Hitt. *šīšḫau-* 'sweat' (although its spelling with °*a-u* is highly aberrant, q.v.).

As said above, within Hittite, a close cognate is the verb *šuḫḫa-*^{i} */ šuḫḫ-* 'to scatter, to pour'. In some cases, *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} */ išḫui-* and *šuḫḫa-*^{i} */ šuḫḫ-* are used interchangeably in duplicates (cf. Puhvel HED 1/2: 408), and their connection is suported by a hybrid form like *šu-uḫ-ḫu-u̯a-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.$^{?}$ 5). Nevertheless, the exact formal interpretation of *šuḫḫa-*^{i} */ šuḫḫ-* is not fully clear. See at its own lemma for a full discussion.

iškalla-*^{i} */ 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$^{?}$ 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-ya-u-an-zi* (KBo 43.61 i 13 (NS)); impf. *iš-kal-li-iš-ke/a-*, *iš-gal-li-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ^{TÚG}***iškalleššar*** (n.) 'slit dress' (nom.-acc.sg. *iš-kal-le-eš-šar*, *iš-kal-li-iš-šar*, [*i*]*š-gal-le*$_{12}$*-eš-šar*).

IE cognates: Gr. σκάλλω 'to hoe', Lith. *skélti* 'to split'.

PIE **skólh$_{2/3}$-ei*, **sklh$_{2/3}$-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$_{2/3}$-*. As I have shown under § 2.2.2.2.d, the 3sg.pres.-form of roots of this structure, **CóCh$_{2/3}$-ei*, regularly yielded **CaCai* (and not ***CaCi*), on the basis of which these verbs were taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (see *ḫarra-^{i} / ḫarr-* 'to grind', *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* 'to trample', *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill', *padda-^{i} / padd-* 'to dig' and *šarta-^{i} / šart-* 'to wipe, to rub' for the same phenomenon). In the case of *iškall(a)-*, this means that we have to reconstruct **sKelh$_{2/3}$-*. Already since Hrozný (1917: 71), this verb is connected with Gr. σκάλλω 'to hoe' and Lith. *skélti* '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$_{2/3}$-* and the Hittite formation as **skólh$_{2/3}$-ei*, **sklh$_{2/3}$-énti* (note that this latter form regularly should have yielded Hitt. ***iškalḫanzi*, but the geminate *-ll-* of the singular was generalized throughout the verb).

išgāp-^{i} / išgap- (IIa2) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *iš-ga-a-pí* (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* ^{LÚ}ḪAL

(18) *A-NA PA-NI* ^{d}*U-ma-ra-ap-ši* ^{d}*A-a-pí-in ki-nu-zi*

(19) *n=a-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}AZU 1 UDU *A-NA* ^{d}*U-ma-ra-ap-ši ši-pa-an-ti*

(20) *n=a-an=kán* ^{LÚ}AZU *A-NA* ^{d}*A-a-pí kat-ta-an-da ḫa-ad-da-a-i*

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(21) *nu=kán e-eš-ḫar A-NA* GAL *kat-ta tar-na-i n=a-at ták-ni-i*

(22) *A-NA PA-NI* ^{d}*U-ma-ra-ap-ši da-a-i nu=kán* ^{LÚ}AZU
(23) *A-NA* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ *ḫu-u-i-šu nu te-pu ku-er-zi*
(24) *e-eš-ḫar-r=a te-pu da-a-i n=a-at=kán* ^{d}*A-a-pí*
(25) *kat-ta-an-da da-a-i*

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(26) *n=a-aš-ta* ^{d}*A-a-pí-in še-er IŠ-TU* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *iš-ga-a-pí*
(27) UDU=*ma=kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an-zi*
(28) *n=a-an=kán* LÚ^{MEŠ} EN DINGIR^{MEŠ} *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*$^{!}$*-a-pí*, belonging to the verb *ištāp-*^{i} / *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 *u̯a-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. *išḫuzzi-* from *išḫai-*^{i} / *išḫi-*, *kuruzzi-* from *kuer-*^{zi} / *kur-*, *luzzi-* from *lā-*^{i} / *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-*^{i} / *išgap-*. Formally, this could reflect hardly anything else than a root **s*$^{(r)}$*k̑eb*$^{(h)}$*-*. 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-*^{i} / *išgapp-* (cf. *ištāp-*^{i} / *ištapp-*), which then could reflect **s*$^{(r)}$*k̑ep-*. 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 **skep-* 'to cover' is available in Gr. σκέπω 'to cover'.

iškār-^{i} ***/ iškar-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic2) 'to sting, to stab, to pierce; to stick (to)': 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ka-a-a*[*r-ḫi*] (KBo 17.25 rev. 6 (OS)), *iš-ka-a-ar-ḫi* (KBo 17.96 i 14 (MS)), *iš-kar-ḫi* (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$_4$-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$_4$-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$_4$-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-^{i} / 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. *skìrti* '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 *ḫi*-verb: *iškārḫi*, *iškāri* vs. *iškaranzi*. In NS texts, we find forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*išgarāi*) and to the *ḫatrae*-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. *skìrti* 'to separate' etc. For Hittite, this means that we have to reconstuct **skór-ei*, *skr-énti*. The same root (**k$^{(w)}$er-*) is visible in *karš-^{zi}* and *kuer-^{zi} / kur- / kuu̯ar-* (q.v.).

iške/a-^{zi} : see *iškiu̯e/a-^{zi}*

iškiu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic6, Ic2, IIa1γ) 'to smear, to daub, to salve, to oil, to anoint' (Sum. I̯À): 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-ḫi* (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-i̯a-zi* (KUB 39.8 iv 3 (OH/NS), VBoT 120 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *iš-ki-i̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 9.31 ii 36 (MH/NS), HT 1 i 38 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ki-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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 *$s\overset{(\prime)}{g}{}^{(h)}$-*i̯é/ó-*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 420f. for attestations. We find forms of different stems: *iškii̯azi*, *iškii̯anzi*, *iškii̯andu* and *iškii̯ant-* point to a stem *iškii̯e/a-*^{zi}; *iškemi*, *iškanzi*, *iški* and *iškant-* point to a stem *iške/a-*^{zi}; *išgāmi* points to a stem *išgae-*^{zi}; *išgaḫḫi* points to a stem *išg(a)-*^{i}; *iškii̯aizzi* points to a stem *iškii̯ae-*^{zi}. The forms *iš*-KI-IZ-*zi*, *iš*-KI-IT, *iš*-KI-IR and *iš*-KI-IT-*du* are dubious regarding their interpretetation: either they should be read *iš-ke-e*° and belong to a stem *iške/a-*^{zi}, or they should be read *iš-ki-e*° and belong to a stem *iškii̯e/a-*^{zi}. Although the stems *išgae-*, *išg(a)-* and *iškii̯ae-* 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 *iškii̯e/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. *iškii̯ant-*, I assume that *iškii̯e/a-*^{zi} is more original. This has consequences for the etymological interpretation as well, of course.

Melchert (1984a: 110) connects this verb with *pešš-*^{zi} 'to rub' (q.v.) and assumes that the imperfective **ps-sḱe/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 *iškii̯e/a-*. Rieken (1999a: 293-4) proposes to connect *iškii̯e/a-* with *šākan / šakn-* 'oil, fat' (q.v.) and assumes a preform *$s\overset{(\prime)}{g}{}^{(h)}$-*i̯e/o-*. This preform indeed would yield Hitt. *iškii̯e/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* Ì-*an iš-ki-i̯a*[-*zi*] 'She anoints herself with rented oil' and KUB 27.1 iv (39) EGIR=*ŠU=ma* Ì-*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.

$^{(UZU)}$***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$^{?}$], 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. ἴσχι· ὀσφύς 'loins' (first by Ribezzo 1920: 130), but the semantic connection is in my view not very convincing. Moreover, the inner-Greek alteration ἴσχι : 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.

išnā- (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'-na-aš* (KUB 24.9 iii 6 (OH/NS)) // *e-eš-ša-na-aš* (KUB 41.1 iii 21 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***iššanauu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'doughy' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *iš-ša-na-u-u̯a-an-ta* (OH/MS)), ^{DUG}***išnura-***, ^{DUG}***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 *yäs-*, 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*° as well as *iš-ša-n*°. 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 /(ʔ)iSnā́-/. Puhvel reconstructs ths 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 /(ʔ)iSnā́-/. Another possibility is to reconstruct **is-nó-*, with the zero-grade root.

išpai- [i] **/ *išpi-*** (IIa5 > 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-ą*[ʔ][-*i*] (KBo 13.94, 2 (OH/NS)) 3pl.pres.act. *iš-pí-i̯a-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-i̯a* (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-i̯a-an-du* (KUB 15.34 i 49 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-pí-i̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *iš-pí-i̯a-tar* ‘satiety’ (KUB 17.10 i 11 (OH/MS), KUB 33.24 ii 16 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***išpiḫanu-*** [zi] (Ib2) ‘to saturate’ (verb.noun *iš-pí-i̯a-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 **sph₁-ói-ei*, **sph₁-i-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 429f. for attestations. The oldest attested forms inflect according to the *dāi/tiḫanzi*-class: *išpāi*, *išpiḫanzi*. In younger times we find forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*išpāiši*) and the *-i̯e/a*-class (2sg.imp.act. *išpiḫa*, also visible in *išpiḫanu-*).

Since Sturtevant (1928a: 4), this verb is generally connected with Skt. *sphā́yate* ‘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 **speh₁-*, which has received a **-i̯e/o*-suffix in OE *spōwan* < **speh₁-i̯e/o-*. This latter preform cannot account for Skt. *sphā́yate*, however, as it would not yield *-ph-* (note that LIV^2 unconvincingly reconstructs the root as **sp^{h}eh₁-*). As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the Hitt. *dāi/tiḫanzi*-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*, *išpiḫanzi*, this means that we have to reconstruct **sph₁-oí-ei*, **sph₁-i-énti*. Note that the preform **sph₁-ói-e* would regularly yield Skt. *sphā́ya-* 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. $GE_6^{(KAM)}$, Akk. *MUŠU*): nom.sg. *iš-pa-an-za*, acc.sg. *iš-pa-an-ta-an*, *iš-pa-an-da-an*, gen.sg. GE_6*-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 $*k^{(w)}sp$*-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 *ḫamešḫant-* (beside *ḫamešḫa-*) 'spring', *zēnant-* (besides *zēna-*) 'autumn', *gimmant-* (besides *gim(m)-*) 'winter', etc. We therefore have to reconstruct $*k^{(w)}sp$*-ent-*.

išpānt-*^{i} / *išpant- (IIa2 > IIa1γ) 'to libate, to pour, to sacrifice' (Sum. BAL): 1sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-an-taḫ-ḫé* (1x OS), *iš-pa-an-taḫ-ḫi* (3x OS), *ši-pa-an-da-aḫ-ḫi*, *ši-pa-an-ta-aḫ-ḫi*, *ši-pa-an-taḫ-ḫi*, *ši-ip-pa-an-taḫ-ḫi*, 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-u̯a-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$_x$-zi* (1x), *ši-pa-a-an-da-a*[*n-zi*] (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *ši-ip-pa-an-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (1x), *ši-pa-an-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (1x), *ši-pa-an-taḫ-ḫu-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-u̯a-ar*, *ši-ip-pa-an-du-u-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *ši-ip-pa-an-tu-u̯a*[*-aš*], *ši-pa-an-du-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *ši-pa-an-tu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *ši-pa-an-du-u̯a-an-zi*, *ši-ip-pa-an-du-u̯a-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-*^{i} / *šippandanni-*** (IIa5) 'to libate (impf.)' (3sg.pret.act. *ši-ip-pa-an-da-an-na-aš*), ^{DUG}***išpantu̯a-*** (c.) 'libation-vessel' (nom.sg. *ši-pa-an-du-u̯a-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-pa-an-tu-u̯a-an*, *iš-pa-an-du-u̯a-an*, *ši-ip-*

pu-u̯a-an-da-an, abl. *iš-pa-an-du-u̯a-az*, *iš-pa-an-du-az*, instr. *iš-pa-an-du-it*, nom.pl. *iš-pa-an-du-u̯a-aš*), $^{(DUG)}$***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-i̯a*, abl. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-az*, instr. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-it*, gen.pl. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-i̯a-aš*), ^{LÚ}***išpantuzziia-la-*** (c.) 'libation-bearer' (nom.pl. [*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-i̯*]*a-le-e-eš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-a-li-uš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-i̯a-li-uš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-i̯a-la-aš*, *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-la-aš*), $^{(DUG)}$***išpantuzziia-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-i̯a-aš-šar* (OS), *iš-pa-an-tu-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-i̯a-aš-šar-an* (OS), instr. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-i̯a-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 *spänt-* '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-^{i} / išḫi-* 'to bind' next to CLuw. *ḫišḫiia-* 'id.' < **sh₂i-sh₂-(o)i-*), this hypothesis cannot be proven. Moreover, we would perhaps expect a (slight) difference in meaning between the two, which to my knowlegde 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[35]) the noun ^{DUG}*išpantuu̯a-* is based in a false analysis of the gen.sg. *išpantuu̯aš* of verb.noun *išpantuu̯ar*: DUG *išpantuu̯aš* 'vessel of libation' > ^{DUG}*išpantuu̯aš* 'libation-vessel', which was interpreted as nom.sg. of a stem ^{DUG}*išpantuu̯a-*.

išpār-*^{i} / *išpar- (IIa2 > Ic1, IIa1γ(?)) 'to spread (out), to strew': 1sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-ar-ḫi* (KUB 12.44 ii 30 (NS)), *iš-pár-aḫ-ḫi* (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-pár-ri-ez-zi* (KUB 14.1 rev. 91 (MH/MS)), *iš-pár-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (Oettinger 1979a: 266), *iš-pár-ri-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 7.60 ii 10 (NS)), [*iš-*]*pár-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-pár-ra-an-zi* (KUB 29.45 i 14 (MH/MS), often NS), 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-ḫu-un* (KUB 15.34 i 41, 42 (MH/MS)), *iš-pár-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 7.60 ii 2 (NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *iš-pár-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-pí-ir-te-en* (KBo 21.14 obv. 8 (MS?)); 2sg.imp.midd. *iš-pár-ḫu-ut* (KUB 23.77 i 4 (MH/MS)); part. *iš-pár-ra-an-t-*; verb.noun. *iš-pár-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 1.42 v 4 (NS)); sup. *iš-pár-ru-u̯a-an* (KBo 14.45, 4 (NH)); inf.I *iš-pár-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-*^{i} / *išparanni-*** (IIa5) 'to spread (impf.)' (3sg.pres.act. *iš-pa-ra-an-na-i* (KUB 57.83 iv 5 (NS))), ***išparnu-*^{zi}** (Ib2) 'to spread, to spray, to scatter' (1sg.pres.act. *iš-pár-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pár-nu-zi* (OS), *iš-pár-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. [*iš-pár-n*]*u-u̯a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *iš-pár-nu-ut*; impf. [*i*]*š-pár-nu-uš-ke/a-*), $^{(GIŠ)}$***išparuzzi-*** (n.) 'rafter' (nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *iš-pa-ru-uz-zi* (KUB 29.1 iii 18 (OH/NS)), *iš-pár-ru-uz-zi* (KUB 40.55 + 1236/u, 16 (MH/MS))).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parri(i̯a)-*** 'to apply (medicine), to smear(?)' (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ar-ri-it-ti*, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ar-ri-en-ti*, 3sg.pret.act.(?) *pár-ri-i̯a-i*[*t*] (KUB 35.111 ii 2), verb.adj.nom.sg. *pa-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* (KUB 12.61 i 14).

IE cognates: Gr. σπείρω '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-pár*-RI-IZ-*zi* as the most original form /isparret^{s}i/ and reconstructs it as **sprh$_1$-*

é-ti. All the forms that show *išpāri* are in his view secondary formations in analogy to the semantically comparable verb *iškār-^{i} / iškar-* '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-^{i} / 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 *amiia̯nt-* > *ammiia̯nt-*, *imiia̯e/a-* > *immiia̯e/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-^{i} / išparr-*. Already in MH texts, we find a few forms that show the secondary stem *išparriia̯e/a-* (*iš-pár*-RI-IZ-*zi* (which is to be interpreted as *iš-pár-ri-ez-zi* = /ɨspaRiet^{s}i/ and not as *iš-pár-re-ez-zi* = /ɨspaRet^{s}i/), *išparriia̯ezzi*, *išparriia̯zzi*, *išparriia̯auu̯ar*). Occasionally, the verb is taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class ([*iš*]*parrāi*, *išparraḫḫun*) and therewith becomes fully homophonic with *išparr(a)-* 'to trample (with the feet)'.

The obvious cognate is Gr. σπείρω 'to spread', which must reflect **sper-i̯e/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. *spìrti* 'to kick out (of horses)', etc., and which was identified as $*h_1$ by e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 270) on the basis of the interpretation of *iš-pár*-RI-IZ-*zi* as /sparret^{s}i/ < $*sprh_1$-*é-ti*. This solves the vexing problem of the difference between *išpāri* and *ārri* 'he washes': when *išpāri* was still reconstructed as $*spórh_1$-*ei*, it was impossible to explain why it shows single *-r-*,

whereas *ārri* < **h₁órh₁-ei* (see at *ārr-^{i} / arr-*) shows geminate *-rr-*. Now we see that the only outcome of **Vrh₁V* 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 /ɬsperten/, it is fully aberrant within the paradigm of *išpār-^{i} / 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^{s}i-] at that time.

išparra-^{i} / išparr- (IIa1γ) '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. *spìrti* 'to kick out (of horses), to defy, to sting', Arm. *spaīrna-* 'to threaten'.

PIE **spórh₂/₃-ei*, **sprh₂/₃-énti*

The forms that I treat in this lemma are usually regarded as belonging to *išpār-^{i} / išpar-* 'to spread (out)'. This is primarily based on the fact that both verbs are formally quite similar: especially because *išpār-/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-/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*[-*u̯a A-ŲA-TE*^{MEŠ} GÌ]R^{MEŠ}-*i*[*t*]

(30) *iš-pár-ra-at-ti*

‘You will trample these evi[l words] with (your) [fe]et’;

KBo 6.34 iii

(24) *n*[*u* ...]x *pa-ra-a e-ep-zi n=a-an* IGI$^{HI.A}$-*u̯a*
(25) *kat-t*[*a ḫu-u̯a-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=u̯a=kán ku-u-uš*
(27) *NI-IŠ* [DINGIR^{LIM}] *šar-ri-ez-zi nu ú-u̯a-an-du a-pé-el*
(28) URU-*a*[*n* DINGIR^{M}]$^{EŠ\ URU}$*Ḫat-ti ZA-TAM-MA* GÌR-*it iš-pár-ra-an-du*
(29) *n=a-*[*at da*]*n-na-at-ta* URU-*i̯a-še-eš-šar i-i̯a-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 Ḫatti 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* UḪ$_7$-*na-aš* UḪ$_7$-*tar pé-eš-ši-i̯a-nu-un*
(11) [ ]x-*aš=kán še-er al-la-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un n=a-at an-da*
(12) [GÌR^{MEŠ}]-*it iš-pár-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un n=a-at=kán* ANŠE-*aš še*^{I}*-ḫur-ri-eš-ke-ed-du*
(13) [*n=a-at*]=*kán* GU$_4$-*uš kam-mar-ši-eš-ke-ed-du* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU-*uš-š=a=an*
(14) [*ku-iš*] *še-er ar-ḫa i-i̯a-at-ta-ri nu-u=š-ša-an še-er*
(15) [*al-l*]*a-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi-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-*^{i} / *išpar-* in fact belong here.

The forms that belong with this verb, *išparratti*, *išparranzi* (homophonic with *išparranzi* ‘they spread (out)’), *išparraḫḫun* and *išparrandu* clearly show a *tarn(a)*-class inflection: *išparra-*^{i} / *išparr-*. As stated above, the obvious cognates to this verb are Skt. *sphuráti* ‘to kick (with the feet)’, Lith. *spìrti* ‘to kick out (of horses)’, etc. that reflect **sperH-* (note that reconstructions with root-final **-h_1-* are based on false interpretation of the Hittite material, e.g. Oettinger (1979a: 270) who reconstructs *iš-pár-*RI-IZ-*zi* as **sprh$_1$-é-ti* (actually, the form means ‘to spread out’ and shows the secondary stem *išparri̯e/a-*), or Melchert (1994a: 80-1)

who reconstructs *išpirten* as **sperh$_1$-ten* with the argument that **sperh$_{2/3}$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$_{2/3}$-* (see also at *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill, to grind', *padda-^{i} / padd-* 'to dig' and *iškalla-^{i} / iškall-* 'to slit, to split'): 3sg.pres.act. **CóCh$_{2/3}$-ei* 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$_{2/3}$-* whereas **sperh$_1$-* is impossible. This is supported by PGerm. **spurnō-* (ON *sperna*, *sporna*, OE *spornan*) that must reflect **spr-ne-h$_{2/3}$-* and cannot go back to **spr-ne-h$_1$-* (cf. LIV^2 under lemma **sp^{h}erH-*). I therefore reconstruct **spórh$_{2/3}$-ei*, **sprh$_{2/3}$-énti*. Note that the plural-form regularly should have given ***išparḫanzi*, but was replaced by *išparranzi* with generalization of the *-rr-* of the singular.

išparriie/a-^{zi} : see *išpār-^{i} / išpar-*

išpart-^{zi} (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^h-ti*, **sprd^h-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^{s}i/), *išparzašta* (/išpartsta/), *išparter*). In NS texts, we find a few forms with a stem *išpartiie/a-^{zi}* (*išpartiezzi*,

išpartieddu). The NS forms that show a stem *išparza-^{i} / išparz-* (according to the *tarn(a)*-class: *išparzai*, *išparzaḫḫun*, *išparzaš*, *išparzer*, *išparzant-*) are comparable to the stem *ezza-^{i} / ezz-* that is derived from the verb *ed-^{zi} / 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 *ḫatrae*-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^{h}-*, which must have had a basic meaning 'to run (away) fast'.

išpartiḫe/a-^{zi} : see *išpart-^{zi}*

išparza-^{i} / išparz- : see *išpart-^{zi}*

$^{(URUDU)}$***išpātar / išpann-*** (n.) 'spit, skewer, dagger' (Sum. GÍR?, cf. Rieken 1999a: 380^{1913}): 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^{1913}) suggests a connection with the PIE root **speh$_1$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.

išpiḫe/a-^{zi} : see *išpai-^{i} / išpi-*

ištaḫḫ-^{zi} : see *išta(n)ḫ-^{zi}*

ištalk-^{zi} (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-ḫa-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 **stelǵ^{h}-ti*, **stlǵ^{h}-énti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 451f. for attestations. We are dealing with an original stem *ištalk-^{zi}*, on the basis of which the secondary stems *ištalkiie/a-^{zi}* and *ištalgae-^{zi}* are made. Puhvel (l.c.) suggests a tie-in with OCS *postьlati* 'to spread', that belongs with Gr. στέλλω '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 **sterǵ^{h}-* 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 **stelǵ^{h}-* '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 *ḫar(k)-^{zi}* and *ḫark-^{zi}*, namely loss of lenis /k/ in *-*RkC*- > -*RC*-, but preservation of lenis /g/ in *-*Rg$^{(h)}$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$_x$-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-a-ma-nu-uš* (KBo 6.3 iv 43 (OH/NS)), *iš-ta-ma-nu-uš* (Bo 3640 iii 8 (NS)).

Derivatives: ^{d}***Ištamanašša-*** (c.) deity of hearing (nom.sg. *iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-aš*), ***ištamašš-^{zi}*** (Ib1) 'to hear, to listen to, to obey; to percieve' (Sum, GEŠTUG, Akk. *ŠEMŪ*; 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-mi* (MH/MS), *iš-da$_x$-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$_x$-ma-aš-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-u̯a-ni* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni* (MH/MS), *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* (OS), *iš-da$_x$-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$_x$-ma-aš-ta*, 2pl.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-tén*, *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš-še-er* (MH/MS), *iš-ta-ma-aš-šer*, *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-ši-er*, *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-šer*, 2sg.imp.act. *iš-ta-ma-aš*, *iš-da$_x$-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$_x$-ma-aš-ta-ri*; part. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-t-*, *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-u̯a-ar*, *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-šu-u̯a-ar*; inf.I *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *iš-da$_x$-ma-aš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tummant-*** (n.) ‘ear’ (nom.-acc.pl. *tum-ma-a-an*, gen.adj. nom.-acc.sg.n. ^{UZU}GEŠTUG-*za*), ***tūmmāntaima/i-*** (adj.) ‘renowned’ (nom.sg.c. *tu-u-um-ma-a‹-an›-ta-im-mi-iš*), ***tūmmanti(i̯a)-*** ‘to hear’ (3sg.pret.act. *tu-um-ma-an-te-it-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *t*[*u*]*-u-ma-an-ti-in-ta*), ***tūmmantii̯a-*** (c.) ‘obedience’ (nom.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-i̯a-aš*, *du-um-ma-an-te-i̯a-aš*, acc.sg. *tu-um-ma-an-ti-i̯a-an*, *tu-u-um-ma-an-ti-i̯a-an*, *tu-u-ma-an-ti-i̯a-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *tu-um-ma-an-ti-i̯a*), ***dumantii̯ala-*** ‘ear canal (vel sim.)’ (Hitt. dat.-loc.pl. *du-ma-an-ti-i̯a-la-aš*), ^{É}***tūmantii̯atta/i-*** ‘audience room’ (dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-i̯a-at-ti*); HLuw. ****tumanti(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)), ****tumantari(ia)-*** ‘to hear’ (3pl.imp.midd. AUDIRE+*MI-ta+ra/i-ru* (KARKAMIŠ A11*c* §32)).

IE cognates: Gr. στόμα (n.) ‘mouth’, Av. *staman-* (m.) ‘snout, maw’.

PIE **stéh$_3$-mn*, **sth$_3$-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. *ištaminit*). 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$_3$*. 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$_3$mn*, **sth$_3$mén-s*. It is likely that, just as **h$_3$neh$_3$-men-* ‘name’ (which is derived from the verbal root **h$_3$neh$_3$-* visible in Hitt. *ḫanna-^{i} / ḫann-*), *steh$_3$men-* has to be analysed as **steh$_3$-men-*, although I know of no IE words that show a verbal root **steh$_3$-*.

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$_x$* 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$_x$-ma-aš-* with single *-m-*. The verb is a clear *-s-*extension of the nominal stem *ištaman-*, with **-ans-* > *-aššš-* (from virtual **sth$_3$men-s-*).

^{GIŠ}*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°*, although such a spelling is not attested in OS texts. Puhvel (o.c.: 463) states that an etymological connection with PIE **steh$_2$-* '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 unparallelled.

išta(n)ḫ-^{zi} (Ib3) 'to taste, to try (food or drinks)': 2pl.pres.act *iš-taḫ-te-e-ni* (KUB 41.8 iii 31 (MH/NS)), *iš-taḫ-te-ni* (KBo 10.45 iii 40 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *iš-taḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (KUB 33.89 + 36.21, 14 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *iš-taḫ-ta* (KUB 33.84, 6 (MH/NS), KBo 3.38 obv. 5 (OH/NS)); impf. *iš-ta-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (701/z, 8 (NS)), *iš-ta-an-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 8.41, 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: **^{MUNUS}*ištaḫatal(l)i-*** (c.) 'taster' (nom.sg. *iš-ta-ḫa-ta-al-li-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-ta-ḫa-ta-li*).

PIE **sTeNh$_{2/3}$-* ?

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 463 for attestations. Most forms show a stem *ištaḫḫ-*, but impf. *ištanḫišket* shows a stem *ištanḫ-* (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)ḫ-*. The original distribution between *ištanḫ-* and *ištaḫḫ-* must have been *ištanḫV-* vs. *ištaḫC-* (cf. *li(n)k-^{zi}*, *ni(n)k-^{zi}*, 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 *ištaḫḫanzi* (instead of expected **ištanḫanzi*) is not unexpected.

Mechanically, *išta(n)ḫ-* must go back to PIE **sTeNh$_{2/3}$-*, but I know of no convincing IE cognate. LIV^2 states that *išta(n)ḫ-* is a nasal-infixed form of PIE **steh$_2$-* 'to stand' through an original meaning *'(den Geschmack) feststellen'. This does not seem very convincing to me semantically.

ištantāi̯e/a-^{zi} (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-u̯a-ar* (NS).

Derivatives: ***ištantanu-***^{zi} (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 **sth₂-ent-eh₂-i̯é/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 *tāi̯e/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 *ištantāi̯e/a-*^{zi} developed into NH *ištantae-*^{zi}.

Already since Marstrander (1919: 132) this verb has been generally connected with PGerm. **standan* ‘to stand’. This means that *ištantae-*^{zi} must be derived from **sth₂-ent-*, the participle of **steh₂-* ‘to stand’ (visible in Hitt. *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.)), and goes back to virtual **sth₂-ent-eh₂-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. [*i*]*š-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: ^{d}***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 **sth₂-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. *ḫāraš*, *ḫāranan*, *ḫāranaš* '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-* ar 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. *stána-*, YAv. *fštāna-*, Arm. *stin* 'breast of a woman', Gr. στήνιον· στῆθος '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. ὑμήν 'sinew' '< **sh$_1$u-mḗn*. As we can see under its own lemma, this latter word, which in fact is $^{(Ú)}$*šumanzan-*, means '(bul)rush' and has nothing to do with Gr. ὑμήν. 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$_2$-ént-*, the participle of **steh$_2$-* '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$_2$-ent-i-on-*.

ištāp-^{i} / ištapp- (IIa2) 'to plug up, to block, to dam, to enclose, to shut; to besiege': 1sg.pres.act. *iš-ta-a-ap-ḫé* (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-***^{zi} (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)), ***ištappulliḫe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to use as a stopper' (part. *iš-tap-pu-ul-li-ḫa-an-t-*), ***ištappēššar / 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-*^{i} */ 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)kiḫe/a-^{zi} : see *ištar(k)-*^{zi}

ištar(k)-^{zi} (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-ḫa-az-zi* (KBo 5.4 rev. 38 (NH)), *iš-tar-ak-ki-ḫa-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-i̯a-at* (KUB 14.16 iii 41 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-tar-ak-ki-i̯a-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-***^{zi} (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 **sterḱ-ti*

See Puhvel HED 1/2: 475f. for attestations. Of this verb we find the stems *ištark-*^{zi} and *ištarki̯e/a-*^{zi}. 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=u̯a=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=u̯a* DINGIR^{LUM} UN-*ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* TUKU.TUKU-*an-za*
(46) *iš-tar-ak-zi=u̯a-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*^{h}-. Although semantically possible, the formal side is difficult: PIE **-ǵ*^{h}- 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*^{h}-. The other examples of this gemination of lenis stops are quite dubious, however: the only example of *parki̯e/a-* 'to rise, to raise' (q.v.) < **b*^{h}*erǵ*^{h}- that shows gemination is dubious

regarding its interpretation, whereas in the paradigm of *ḫarp-*$^{tta(ri)}$ / *ḫarp(iḭe/a)-*^{zi} 'to change sides' (q.v.) < *h_3erb^h- and its derivatives, we only find two examples of *ḫar-ap-pa-*, both in a NS text, which therefore may not be very probative. In the case of *ištark(iḭe/a)-*^{zi}, 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. *ḫark(iḭe/a)-*^{zi} 'to get lost' < *h_3erg-, which never shows a spelling **ḫar-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. *ḫar-zi* from the paradigm of *ḫar(k)-*^{zi} '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 *$g^{(h)}$: e.g. *h_3erg-ti* > *ḫar-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*$^{(h)}$*-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 *ištarkiḭe/a-*), however. See at *tar(k)u-*^{zi} for the possiblity that **-RkC-* > Hitt. *-RC-* through an intermediate stage **-RʔC-*.

All in all, I would like to propose an etymological connection with Lith. *teršiù* 'to befoul', Lat. (n.) *stercus* 'excrement' < **sterḱ-* 'to befoul, to pollute'. Semantically, a development 'it befouls 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-*^{zi} 'to afflict, to ail'. See at *ištalk-*^{zi} 'to flatten' for my view that Skt. *(s)tarh-* 'to crush' rather belongs with that verb and reflects **stelǵ*^{h}-.

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: ***ištarniḭa-*** (adj.) 'middle, central' (nom.sg.c. *iš-tar-ni-ḭa-aš*, acc.sg. *iš-tar-ni-ḭa-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *iš-tar-ni-ḭa*, dat.-loc.sg. *iš-tar-ni*, *iš-tar-ni-ḭa*, dat.-loc.pl. *iš-tar-ni-ḭa-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. *-u̯en-s* > *-u̯aš* (of verb.nouns in *-u̯ar*)). 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$_1$eNs-*). Furthermore, we do not find a formation **h$_1$ens-ter-* anywhere in the other IE languages, whereas **h$_1$en-ter-* is widely attested. Moreover, Gr. εἰς does not show an inherited *s*-extension of **h$_1$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$_1$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-sḱe/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-ḫa* [...]
(13) *du-uš-ga-ra-za iš-du-uš-du-uš-k*[*e-*...]

'Out of this town [...]. Joy will[?]/must[?] *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*[*iu̯atta(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-*^{āri}). 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-*^{zi} were created. See at *ištu-*^{āri} for further etymology.

ištu-^{āri} (IIIf) 'to be exposed, to get out (in the open); to be announced': 3sg.pres.midd. *iš-du-u̯a-a-ri* (often), *iš-tu-u̯a-a-ri*, *iš-du-u̯a-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *iš-du-u̯a-a-ti*, *iš-du-u̯a-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. στεῦται '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-u̯a-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. στεῦται 'announces solemnly, promises, asserts', that reflects **steu-*. For Hittite, this means that we have to reconstruct **stu-ó-ri*. Although regularly **u̯* would disappear in this position (**Tu̯o* > Hitt. *Ta*), it could easily have been restored from other forms of the paradigm (although these are unattested in Hittite). See at *išdušduške/a-*^{zi} for the possibility that this verb is the reduplicated impf. of *ištu-*^{āri}.

-it (instr.-ending): see *-t*

idālu- / idālaṳ- (adj.; n.) ‘bad, evil; evilness’ (Sum. ḪUL, 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-ṳa* (KBo 18.151 rev. 19 (OH/MS)), abl. *i-da-a-la-u-ṳa-az*, *i-da-a-la‹-u›-az*, erg.sg. *i-da-a-la-u-ṳa-an-za*, nom.pl.c. *ida-a-la-u-e-eš*, *i-da-la-u-e-eš*, Luwoid *i-da-a-la-u-ṳa-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-ṳa*, *i-da-la-u-ṳa*, *i-da-a-lu*, dat.-loc.pl. *i-da-a-la-u-ṳa-aš*.

Derivatives: ***idālaṳatar / idālaṳann-***, ***idaluṳatar*** (n.) ‘badness, evil disposition’ (nom.-acc.sg. *i-da-lu-ṳa-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. *i-da-a-la-u-an-ni*, *i-da-a-la-u-ṳa-an-ni*, *i-da-la-u-an-ni*), ***idālaṳaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to treat badly, to maltreat’ (1sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-u-ṳa-aḫ-mi*, sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-ṳa-aḫ-ti*, *i-da-a-la-a-u-ṳa-aḫ-ti*, *i-da-la-a-u-ṳa-aḫ-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *i-da-la-ṳa-aḫ-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *i-da-a-la-ṳa-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *i-da-la-ṳa-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *i-da-a-la-ṳa-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *i-da-la-ṳa-aḫ-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. *i-da-la-u-ṳa-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*), ***idalaṳēšš-***^{zi} (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. ḪUL-*eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***āddu ṳa-*** (adj.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ad-du-ṳa-an-za*, dat.-loc.pl. *a-ad-du-ṳa-an-za*), ***āddu ṳal-*** (n.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg. *a-ad-du-ṳa-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl. *a-ad-du-ṳa-la*), ***āddu ṳāl(i)-*** (adj.) ‘evil’ (nom.sg.c. *a-ad-du-ṳa-li-iš*, *a-ad-du-ṳa-a-li-iš*, *ad-du-ṳa-li-iš*, acc.sg.c. *a-ad-du-ṳa-li-in*, *ad-du-ṳa-li-in*, *at-tu-ṳa-li-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *a-ad-du-ṳa-al-za*, [*a-a*]*d-du-ṳa-a-al-za*, *ad-du-ṳa-al-za*, *at-tu-*[*ṳa-*]*al-za*, abl.-instr. *a-ad-du-ṳa-la-ti*, *ad-du-ṳa-la-ti*, nom.pl.c. [*a*]*d-du-ṳa-l*[*i-i*]*n-zi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *a-ad-du-ṳa-la*), ***adduṳalaḫit-*** (n.) ‘evil’ (dat.-loc.sg. *at-tu-ṳa-la-ḫi-ti*), ***adduṳali(ịa)-*** (adj.) ‘of evil’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ad-du-ṳa-li-ịa-an*); HLuw. ***átuwa-*** (n.) ‘evil’ (nom.-acc.sg /ʔatuwan=tˢa/ MALUS-*wa/i-za-´* (TELL AHMAR 1 §19, TELL AHMAR 2 §13), MALUS-*za* (KARABURUN §7, §9, SULTANHAN §34)), ***átuwal(i)-*** (adj./n.) ‘evil’ (nom.pl.c. MALUS-*ta*$_4$*-zí* (KARATEPE 1 §20 Hu.), ^{MALUS}*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §20 Ho.), abl.-instr. MALUS-*ta*$_4$*-a-ti* (ALEPPO 2 §24), MALUS-*ta*$_4$*-ti-i-´* (KARKAMIŠ A11*c* §19, §20), MALUS-*ta*$_4$*-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A31 §10, ADIYAMAN §1)), ***átuwalada-*** ‘evil’ (abl.-instr. [“]MALUS”-*ta*$_4$*-tara/i-ti* (ANCOZ 7 §9)), ***átuwalahit-*** ‘evilness’ (abl.-instr. MALUS-*hi-tà-ri+i* (CEKKE §20)), ***átuwalastar-*** (n.) ‘evilness’ (abl.-instr. MALUS-*ta*$_5$*-sa-tara/i-ti* (BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §5, §15, §19), MALUS-*ta*$_4$-

sa-tara/i-ri+i (KARATEPE 1 §72 Hu.), MALUS-*ta*$_4$-*sá-tara/i-ri+i* (KARATEPE 1 §72 Ho.), MALUS-*ta*$_4$-*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- / idālau̯-* (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 *āddu̯a-* 'evil', besides the stem *āddu̯al-*. Note that in HLuwian, the assumption of a stem *atuwal-* (with *-l-*) largely depends on the phonetic interpretation of the signs *ta*$_4$ and *ta*$_5$ as /la/ (cf. Hawkins 1995: 114[9]), e.g. MALUS-*ta*$_4$-*a-ti* = /ʔatualādi/. For the one attestation ^{MALUS}*á-tu-wa/i-ri+i-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §20 Ho.), which shows *-r-* instead of *-l-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2004: 39[26].

Because Hitt. *idālu- / idālau̯-* clearly is a *u*-stem, we can compare Hitt. *idāl-* directly with Luw. *āddu̯al-*. 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 *-u̯-* which is absent in Hittite, is easily explained by the sound law **Tu̯o* > Hitt. *Ta*. So, all in all, Hitt. *idāl-* must reflect PAnat. **ʔedu̯ól-*, whereas Luw. *āddu̯al-* < PAnat. **ʔédu̯ol-*. Taken the Luwian stems CLuw. *addu̯a-* 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 cource of the *u*-stem adjective *idālu- / idālau-* as attested in Hittite.

If these words are of IE origin, PAnat. **ʔeduo-* can only go back to PIE **h*$_1$*ed*$^{(h)}$*uo-*, which means that a connection with the root **h*$_3$*ed-* 'to hate' (thus e.g. Hrozný 1917: 5) is impossible. Watkins (1982a: 261) states that *idālu* may be a derivative from **h*$_1$*edu̯ōl*, in his view "[t]he Indo-European prototype of the substantive 'Evil' [...], comparable in shape to **seh*$_2$*u̯ōl* 'sun' and ultimately a derivative of the root **h*$_1$*ed-* 'bite (> eat)' like the similarly formed IE **h*$_1$*edu̯ō(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 *$*h_1$éi-tr*, *$*h_1$i-tén-s*

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 *$*h_1$éi-tr*, *$*h_1$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 ^{LÚ}*ittaranni* for a discussion of this alleged cognate.

^{LÚ}***ittaranni*** (uninfl.) 'runner, messenger' (Sum. ^{LÚ}KAŠ$_4$.E): acc.sg. *it-ta-ra-an-ni* (KUB 23.77 rev. 68 (MH/MS)); broken $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*it-t*[*a-*...] (KUB 31.102 iv 2).

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.

iu̯ar (postpos. + gen.) 'in the manner of, after the fashion of, like, as': *i-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS).

IE cognates: Skt. *iva* 'in the manner of, like, as'.

PIE *$*h_1$i-u̯r$_{(e)}$* << *$*h_1$éi-u̯r*

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 pertrified verbal noun of *i-*^{zi} 'to go', which is semantically quite plausible. This

would mean that *iu̯ar* reflects *h_1i-u̯r̥*, which must go back to original *$h_1$éi-u̯r̥* with introduction of the zero-grade root from the oblique cases (*h_1i-u̯én-s*). The semantically and formally very similar Skt. *iva* 'in the manner of' may reflect the old loc.sg. *h_1i-u̯n̥* (also from original *$h_1$éi-u̯n* with introduction of zero-grade), the latter part of which is identical to the Hitt. supine-"ending" *-u̯an* (q.v.).

iūk-, (GIŠ)***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 thematicized 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 /iū́g/ and therefore must reflect **ieuǵ* (a preform **iouǵ* would have yielded Hitt. **/ióg/, 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. *iˈ-úˈ-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)), ***tāi̯uga-*** ("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 *tāi̯ugaš*, 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. *iˈ-úˈ-ga-an* shows that from that time onwards, *iuga-* was regarded as a real congruating adjective (there are no attestations of *tāi̯uga-* 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 Luwian gen.adj.-suffix *-ašša/i-* (note that because of the OS attestation of this adjective, a Luwian origin of it is unlikely). The element *tā-* in *tāi̯uga-* is cognate with *tān* ‘for a second time’ (q.v.) and must reflect **du̯oi̯o-* (Melchert (1994a: 168) reconstructs **dān-i̯ugo-*, 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 **du̯oi̯o-i̯ugo-* the *i̯* of *i̯ugo-* 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 *tāi̯uga-*, so then < **du̯oi̯o-Hiugo-*) because of Gr. ζυγόν: cf. at $^{(\text{UDÚL})}$*eu̯an-* for the fact that **#i̯-* > 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*[$a^{?}$]-*a*[$n^{?}$] (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))), ***kiššuu̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘of this kind’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ki-iš-šu-u̯a-an*, *ki-iš-šu-an*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***kā-*** (dem.pron.) ‘this’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. *kāt(-)*), ***kii̯at*** (adv.) ‘here’; CLuw. ***zā- / zi-*** (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*), ***zāu̯i(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. /t^{s}ās/ *za-a-sa*, *za-sa*, acc.sg.c. /t^{s}ān/ *za-a-na*, *za-na*, *za-a=C*, *za-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §25), nom.-acc.sg.n. /t^{s}ā/ *za-a*, *za*, gen.sg. /t^{s}asi/ *za-si* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Hu.), *za-i-si-i* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Ho.), dat.sg. /t^{s}ādi/ *za-a-ti*, *za-a-ti-i*, *za-ti*, *za-ti-i*, *za-ri+i*, abl.-instr. /t^{s}in/ *zi-i-na*, *zi-na*, nom.pl.c. /t^{s}ānt^{s}i/ *za-a-zi*, *za-zi*, acc.pl.c. /t^{s}ānt^{s}i/ *za-a-zi*, *za-zi*, nom.-acc.pl.n. /t^{s}āia/ *za-a-ia*, *za-ia*, dat.pl. /t^{s}ādiant^{s}/ *za-a-ti-ia-za*, *za-ti-ia-za*, *za-ti-za* (KULULU 5 §4))), ***zin ... zin*** (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. *šìs* 'this', *šiañ-dien* 'today', *šį̃-met* 'this year', *šè* 'here', OCS *sь* 'this', *dьnь-sь* 'today', Arm. *sa* 'this', OIr. *cē* 'here', Lat. *-c(e)* in *ecce* and *hi-c*, Gr. σήμερον 'today' < *κι-άμερον, σῆτες 'this year' < *κι-(ϝ)ετες (= Alb. *si-vjet* 'this year'), Alb. *sot* < **ḱi̯ā́-diti* 'today', *si-vjet* 'this year'.

PIE **ḱo-*, **ḱi-*

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 **ḱ-*, which is supported by the cognates in the other IE languages as well (PGerm. **hi-*, Lith. *ši-*, Gr. *κι-).

The flection of this demonstrative shows some peculiarities. Nom.sg.c. *kāš* ~ Luw. *zās* < **ḱós*. 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 **ḱu-* is found), also in view of HLuw. *zān* and CLuw. *zam=pa*, that seem to reflect **ḱóm*. 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* /ʔbón/, *uni* /ʔóni/), that contrasts with *°*C-m* > /°C-on/ and **-om* > /-an/ (cf. Melchert 1994a: 186). Nom.-acc.sg.n. *kī* seems to reflect **ḱí* (this stem also in Lith. *ši-*, PGerm. **hi-*, Gr. *κι-), and must be more archaic than CLuw. *zā*, HLuw. *zā* and Pal. *kāt* that reflect **ḱód* (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 **ḱí* + *-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-n̥h₁-* as visible in gen.pl. *kinzan* (see below)?). Nom.pl.c. *ke* must reflect **ḱói*, whereas acc.pl.c. *kūš* < **ḱóms* (compare *apūš*). The interpretation of nom.-acc.pl.n. *ke* is less clear. One could think of an *i*-diphthong (**ḱoi* or **ḱei*, seemingly supported by HLuw. nom.-acc.pl.n. *zāi̯a* < **ḱe/oi̯-eh₂*?), 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 **ḱih₂* in which **h₂* had a lowering effect on **i* (similarly in *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSo/ 'goods' < **-uh₂*). Note that CLuw. *za-a* reflects **ḱeh₂*. Gen.pl. *kinzan* (with *-i-* instead if *-e-* (cf. *apenzan*, *kuenzan*, *šumenzan*) due to raising as in *ki-*$^{tta(ri)}$ and *kīš-*$^{a(ri)}$ / *kiš-* ?) shows the ending *-nzan* that is also visible in the already mentioned forms. Because of Lyc. gen.pl. *ebẽhẽ*, 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 *těxъ* 'of those'.

^{LÚ}***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: ^{LÚ}***kainant-*** (c.) 'id.' (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-e-na-an-ti* (MH/NS)), ^{LÚ}***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 **ḱoi(H)-no-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 12f. for attestations. On the basis of attestations like KUB 13.4 i (30) DAM=*ŠU* DUMU^{MEŠ}=*ŠU* (31) ŠEŠ=*ŠU* NIN=*ŠU* ^{LÚ}*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^{MEŠ}=*ŠU* (25) ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}=*ŠU* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ga-e-na-aš=ši-iš* LÚ^{MEŠ} *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. *jā́mātar-*, Gr. γαμβρός 'son-in-law'. This reconstruction is formally impossible, however: we would expect an outcome ***kamḫina-*. 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 **ḱei-* 'cognate, connected (vel sim.)'. This root is also reflected in Lat. *cīvis* '(fellow) citizen' (OLat. *ceiueis* < **ḱei̯-u̯i-*), Skt. *śivá-* 'friendly, prosperous, beneficient', and with root extension **ḱeiH-* in OHG *hīrāt* 'wedding', Latv. *siẽva* 'wife, spouse' (**ḱeiH-u̯o-*), 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[31]). Therefore a connection between Hitt. *kaka-* and these Germanic words does not make much sense.

kalank-^{i} (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-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to make drowsy' (2sg.pres.act. *ga-la-ak-ta-ra-ši*).

IE cognates: ON *kløkkr* 'weak', Lith. *glẽžnas* 'weak, soft', Bulg. *glézja* 'to pamper'.

PIE **glo-n-ǵ*^{h}*-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-*^{zi}, *ni(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫuni(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫarni(n)k-*^{zi}, *nini(n)k-*^{zi}, etc.) it is in my view unlikely that this verb was *mi*-conjugated originally. The stem *kalank-* much better fits *ḫi*-inflected

verbs like *kānk-^{i} / kank-* ‘to hang’ or *ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink-* ‘to tie’. This is the reason that I cite this verb as *kalank-^{i}* (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 “**gleǵ-*” ‘weak, soft’, which in Pokorny (1959: 401) is reconstructed on the basis of ON *kløkkr* ‘weak’, Lith. *glẽžnas* ‘weak, soft’ and Bulg. *glézja* ‘to pamper’. Although ON *kløkkr* indeed seems to point to a root **gleǵ-*, Lith. *glẽžnas* can only reflect **gleǵ^{h}-* because of the absence of Winter’s Law (we would expect **gleǵ-* to have yielded Lith. ***glëž-*). 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. *glẽžnas*. This means that we would have to reconstruct a root **gleǵ^{h}-* (note that the reconstruction **gleǵ-* 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-ǵ^{h}-*. Note that the noun *galaktar* must reflect **glóǵ^{h}-tr*, because in **glóngʰ-tr* the nasal would not disappear (cf. § 1.4.7.2.b).

kallar- (adj.) ‘inauspicious, unpropitious, baleful, enormous’ (Sum. NU.SIG$_5$): 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*), ***kallaraḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) ‘to make inauspicious’ (3sg.pret.act. *kal-la-ra-aḫ-ḫa-aš*, 3sg.imp.act. NU.SIG$_5$*-aḫ-du*), ***kallarešš-^{zi}*** (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 **ǵ$^{(ʰ)}$olH-ro-* ?

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. *galar* 'disease', which then reflects $*\overset{(z)}{g}{}^{(h)}e/olH\text{-}ro\text{-}$. Starke rejects this etymology on the basis of his assumption that IE $*\overset{(z)}{g}{}^{(h)}$ either was lost in Luwian or yielded *-z-*. Melchert (1994a: 255) argues that because PAnat. $*\overset{(z)}{g}$ is preserved in Luwian before a backvowel, we may have to reconstruct PAnat. $*\overset{(z)}{g}allr\text{-}$ already, in which the $*\overset{(z)}{g}$ regularly was preserved.

kaleliie/a-^{zi} (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-ia-an-t-* (OH/NS).

IE cognates: Gr. κάλως, κάλος 'rope, line, reef'.

PIE $*\acute{k}lh_1\text{-}el\text{-}ie/o\text{-}$

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 *kaleliie/a-*. According to Oettinger (1979a: 354) this verb is a derivative in *-ie/a-* of a stem **kalel-*, which he compares to *šuel-* 'thread' (see under $^{(SÍG)}$*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. κάλως, κάλος 'rope, line, reef' (o.c. 481), which points to **klH-o-*. If this connection is correct, **kalel-* should reflect $*klh_1\text{-}el\text{-}$ ($*h_1$ because $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ would have yielded $*kalḫal\text{-}$ in that position).

kallišš-^{zi} ***/ 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-u̯a-an-z[*i*] (KUB 20.88 vi 22 (MS)), *kal-le-eš-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 41.8 i 22 (MH/NS), KBo 10.45 i 38 (fr.) (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***kallištaru̯ana-*** (c.) 'feast, party' (Sum. EZEN; gen.sg. *kal-li-iš-tar-u̯a-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. [*kal-l*]*i-iš-tar-u̯a-ni*, *kal-le-eš-tar-u̯*[*a-ni*]), ***gallištaru̯anili*** (adv.) 'in a feastly manner' (*gal-liš-tar-u̯a-ni-li*).

IE cognates: Gr. καλέω 'to call', Lat. *calāre* 'to call'.

PIE **ḱélh₁-s-ti*, **ḱlh₁-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 **ḱelh₁-*. Although Oettinger (1979a: 197) states about *kallišš-* that "die Flexion ist völlig regelmäßig", 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' < **kalh₁-es-tr̥*. Kimball (1999: 412) takes *kallišš-* as a derivation of a formation **kalh₁-éh₁-*, which she compares to Umbr. *kařitu*, *kařetu*, *carsito* which must reflect PItal. **kalētōd*. Since the Umbrian forms with **kalē-* probably are an inner-Italic innovation (cf. Schrijver 1990: 400), the postulation of a PIE formation **kalh₁-éh₁-* is incorrect.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.f, 3pl.pres.act. *ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi* must be phonologically interpreted as /klɬSántˢi/, which in my view is the phonetic outcome of **ḱlh₁sénti* (compare *tame/iššanzi* < **dmh₂sénti* and *kane/iššanzi* < **ǵnh₃sénti*). The form 3sg.pret.act. *kal-li-iš-ta* in my view reflects /káLɬista/ (note the spelling with *-e-* in inf.I. *kal-le-eš-šu-u̯a-an-zi*), which I reconstruct as **ḱélh₁st* (for the development of **CeRHsC* > *CaRRɬsC* compare *damme/išḫā-* < **demh₂sh₂o-*). Note that the colouring of **e* in **ḱelh₁st* > *kallišta* besides the non-colouring of **e* in *genzu-* 'lap' < **ǵenh₁-su-* shows that **eRh₁CC* > Hitt. *aR*°, whereas **eRh₁CV* > Hitt. *eR*°.

With the reconstruction of *kallišš-* as **ḱelh₁s-* and *gališš-* as **klh₁s-*, we see that *kallišš-*^{zi} / *kališš-* goes back to a normal *e/Ø*-ablauting *s*-extended verb like *tamāšš-*^{zi} / *tame/išš-* 'to (op)press' < **dmeh₂s-* / **dmh₂s-*, etc.

The derivative *kallištaru̯ana-* 'feast, party' probably is derived from a noun **kallištar-* < **ḱelh₁s-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: $^{(GIŠ)}$***kalmi-*** (c.) 'piece of firewood' (acc.sg. *kal-mi-in*, nom.pl. *kal-mi-i-e-eš*$_{17}$), $^{(GIŠ)}$***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)'; $^{(GIŠ)}$*kalmi-* occurs in a clear context once, where it seems to denote a piece of firewood; $^{(GIŠ)}$*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[5]), who connects them with Gr. κάλαμος 'reed', Lat. *culmus*, OHG *hal(a)m*, Latv. *saĩms* 'straw', etc., from PIE **ḱolh$_2$-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 ^{GIŠ}*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.

^{GIŠ}***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-^{zi} (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-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS), erg.sg. *ga-ma-ar-šu-u̯a-an-za* (MH/MS); impf. *ka-mar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *kam-mar-ši-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***kammarašniie/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) 'to befoul(?)' (3sg.pret.midd. *kam-ma-ra-aš-ni-i̯a-at-ta-at* (MS?), 3pl.pret.midd. [*ka(m)-m*]*a-ra-aš-ni-i̯a-an-ta-at* (MS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***katmarši(i̯a)-*** 'to defecate' (3sg.pres.act. *kat-mar-ši-it-ti*).

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 **ǵ^{h}ed-* 'to defecate' (Gr. χέζω, Skt. *hadati*, Alb. *dhjes* 'to shit, to defecate', Av. *zaδah-* '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$^{(h)}$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$^{(h)}$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-* < **ǵ^{h}od-mr-* less likely. All in all, I remain cautious in etymologizing this verb.

=*kkan* (encl. locatival 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 **ḱom* ?

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 locatival sentence particle (22 promille vs. *=šš̆an* (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 locatival sentence particals that Hittite originally used (*=(a)n*, *=(a)p(a)*, *=(a)šta* and *=šš̆an*). 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. < **ḱom*.

kanen(iia̯e/a)-^{zi} (Ib1 > Ic1) ‘to bow down, to crouch, to squat’: 3pl.pret.act. [*ka*$^{?}$-]*ni-ni-e-er* (KUB 36.19, 11 (MH/NS)); verb.noun *ka-ni-ni-ia̯-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), *ka-ni-ni-ia̯-u̯a-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 *ganenant-* ‘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 *kaninii̯au̯ar* 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 *kaninii̯e/a-*^{zi}, are found in NS texts and therefore may be regarded as secondary forms.

The etymological interpretation of *ganenant-* ‘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 **ǵen-u-* ‘knee’. Such a connection is followed by others: Eichner (1979a: 59[58]) unconvincingly states that *kanen(iia̯e/a)-* shows ‘Binnenreduplikation’ from a preform **ǵn̥ia̯e-* (referring to the verb *kaleliia̯e/a-*, which has to be explained otherwise, however). Rieken (1999a: 151-152) puts *ganenant-* ‘bowing’ on a par with *ganenant-* ‘thirsty’ (see at *kanint-*) and assumes an original meaning ‘to bow down to water thirstily’, of which she judges the tie-in with **ǵenu-* ‘knee’ as “unproblematisch”. Puhvel (l.c.) connects *kanen(iia̯e/a)-* with the PIE root **knei-* of which we find root extensions **knei-g*^{wh}- (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. *knìbti* ‘to collapse’). Hitt. *kanen-* would then go back to a preform **kn(e)i̯-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 *ganenant-* with **ǵenu-* ‘knee’ may have some merit. We then should assume that PIE possessed a verbal root **ǵen-* ‘to bend’, of which on the one hand the noun **ǵen-u-* ‘knee’ was derived, and on the other a nasal-infixed verb **ǵ-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 *kaniniiauuar* was secondarily created.

kane/išš-^{zi} (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-u̯a-ar*, *ka-ni-eš-šu-u-u̯a-ar*; inf.I *ka-ni-iš-šu-u̯a-an-zi*; sup. *ka-ni-eš-šu-u-u̯a-an*.

IE cognates: Skt. *jānā́ti*, Goth. *kunnan*, Lith. *žinóti*, Gr. γιγνώσκω, Lat. *(g)nōscō* 'to know'.

PIE **ǵnéh$_3$-s-ti*, **ǵnh$_3$-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 acknowlegde 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$_3$-*, which has yielded verbs that denote 'to know' in the other IE languages (e.g. Skt. *jānā́ti*, Gr. γιγνώσκω, etc.). The *-s-* apparently is some extension that can be compared to e.g. the *-s-* in *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-* 'to (op)press' (**demh$_2$-* + *-s-*), *paḫš-*^{i} 'to protect' (*peh$_2$-* + *-s-*), *pāš-*^{i} */ paš-* 'to swallow' (**peh$_3$-* + *-s-*), etc. Although widely accepted, this etymology presents a problem: we would not expect that a sequence **-eh$_3$-* would yield Hitt. *-e-*. Different solutions to this problem have been given (e.g. the reconstruction of an ablauting root **ǵnoh$_1$-* besides **ǵneh$_1$-*, 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 *kñasäṣt* 'du kennst dich aus' and states that both forms must reflect **ǵnēh$_3$-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 *kñasäṣt* 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 note 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 /i̯/. Since there is no difference in spelling between the singular and the plural, we are dealing with a synchronic non-ablauting paradigm /kni̯Stˢi / kni̯Santˢi/. Because *mi*-verbs in principle show ablaut, it is likely that in this verb one of the ablaut-stems has been generalized thoughout the paradigm (note that this is silently assumed by Jasanoff as well: his reconstructed paradigm **ǵnéh₃-s-ti*, **ǵnéh₃-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* /kni̯Santˢi/ is the regular outcome of **ǵnh₃-s-énti* (just as *tame/iššanzi* /tmi̯Santˢi/ < **dmh₂sénti* and *gališšanzi* /kli̯Santˢi/ < **ḱlh₁sénti*). 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 **ǵnéh₃-s-ti*, which regularly should have yielded ***knāšzi*. Just as the original paradigm /tmástˢi / tmi̯Sántˢi/ is altered in NH times to /tmístˢi / tmi̯Sántˢi/, I believe that the original paradigm /*knáStˢi / kni̯Sántˢi/ is altered to attested /knístˢi / kni̯Sántˢi/, spelled *kane/išzi*, *kane/iššanzi*.

kānint- (gender unclear) 'thirst': nom.sg. *ka-ni-i̯*[-...] (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: ***kaniruu̯ant-***, ***kaniriu̯ant-***, ***ganinant-*** (adj.) 'thirsty' (nom.sg.c. *ka-ni-ru-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 10.45 iv 11 (MH/NS)) // *ka-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 41.8 iv 10 (MH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ka-ni-ri-u̯a-an* (KUB 31.19 rev. 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. [*k*]*a-ni-ri-u̯a-an-t*[*i*] (KUB 35.157, 3 (NS)), *kaniru̯anti* (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-u̯a-an-da-aš* (VSNF 12.100 iii 8 (NS)), [*ka-*]*ni-ri*ˡ-*u̯a-an-da-aš* (ibid. 3 (NS)); broken *ka-ne-ri-u̯a-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 *kaniruu̯ant-*, *kaniriu̯ant-* and *ganinant-* (note that the one attestation *ka-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-an-t-* hardly can be anything else than a scribal error, cf. Rieken 1999a: 151[709]). Puhvel (l.c.) assumes that *kanint-* is a *t*-stem and that the root *kanen-* is the basis of *ganinant-* and *kaniru̯ant-*, 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 *kaniru̯ant-* must be compared to *ešḫanant-* besides *išḫaru̯ant-* (see Weitenberg 1971-72: 172) and that these reflect an *-r/n-*stem **kaner- / *ganen-*. She further compares *ganinant-* to *ganenant-* 'bowing' (see at *kanen(iu̯e/a)-*[zi]) 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 **ǵen-u-* 'knee' (see at *kanen(iu̯e/a)-*[zi] for the etymological connection with **ǵen-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$_1$)-*" 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-*[i] / *kank- (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic1) 'to hang (trans.); to weigh': 1sg.pres.act. *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫé* (OS), *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *ga-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi*, *kán-ga-aḫ-ḫi*, 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-i̯a-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*[!]*-ri*, 2sg.imp.midd. *kán-ga-aḫ-ḫu-ut*; part. *ga-an-ga-an-t-* (OS), *ga-an-kán-t-*, *kán-ga-an-t-*, *kán-kán-t-*; verb.noun *kán-ku-u̯a-ar*, *ga-an-ku-u-u̯a-ar*; impf. *kán-ki-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***kanganu-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-aš*), $^{(DUG)}$***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 **ḱónk-ei / *ḱnk-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 *-i̯e/a-*class (*gankii̯anun*). The form *ga-a-an-ga-aḫ-ḫi* must be phonologically interpreted as /kā́nkHi/ and shows retention of *-n-* in front of two consonants. This seems to contradict the distribution in e.g. *li(n)k-*^{zi} ‘to swear’, where we find *lik-C* vs. *link-V*. Perhaps the difference in treatment of *-n-* depends on the fact that in *gāngaḫḫi* 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. *ẽ* and *ã* 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-*^{i} */ 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 **ḱenk-*. Nevertheless, the morphological interpretation of this verbs is in debate.

Hittite *kānk- / kank-* points to **ḱonk- / *ḱnk-* 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 **ḱónk-*. From this verb a secondary stative **ḱonk-éh$_1$-* is visible in OHG *hangēn* ‘to hang (intr.)’, whereas a secondary ‘causative’ that virtually goes back **ḱonk-i̯é-* 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* < **ḱé/ónk-e-to* ‘to hesitate’ < *‘to hang (intr.)’, which might be equated with Lat. *cunctor* < **ḱonk-to* ‘to hesitate’ < *‘to hang (intr.)’. Although I do not know how to explain the Germanic *o*-grade, this system appears to reflect a siuation in which an intransitive middle formation **ḱenk-to*

‘to hang (intr.)’ is primary, whereas the transitive Hittite *ḫi*-inflected verb reflects the causative **ḱonk-eie-* (compare *lāki* ‘to make lie down’ < **loǵʰ-eie-*, the causative to **leǵʰ-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 **ḱónk-* vs. **ḱénk-*, but Melchert (1994a: 139) points out that **ḱénk-* should have yielded Hitt. ***kink-*.

(UZU)***ganu-***: see (UZU)*genu- / ganu-*

(PÍŠ)***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_x 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’ < **reh₁d-*, *roh₁d-*, **r̥h₁d-*. The idea is then that *kapart-* reflects *kappi-* + *ard-* whereas *kapirt-* goes back to *kappi-* + **r̥d*. 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 **bʰēr-t-* and *bʰr̥-t-*. Oettinger (1995: 44-6) elaborates this idea and derives *kapart- / kapirt-* from **kom-bʰér̥-t- / *kom-bʰr-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-bʰér̥-t-* and *kappi- / kappai-* ‘small’ < **kmb(ʰ)-(e)i-* (q.v.).

This etymology has found wide acceptence. 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. ἀγνώς ‘not knowing’ < **n̥-ǵnh₃-t-*), the type displayed in *kapirt- / kapart-* < **kom-bʰér̥-t- / *kom-bʰr̥-t-* must show a very archaic ablaut pattern. Melchert *apud* Oettinger (1995: 45) even adduces a Lydian cognate, namely *kabrdokid* ‘steals’ < **kabrd-u̯a-ka-*, which then would show that ‘mouse’ developed into ‘thief’, a development comparable to Gr. φώρ ‘thief’ < **bʰōr*.

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 flection 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-***^{zi} (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*$^{(h)}$*-(e)i-*

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 **km̥b-na-*. This would then mean that Hitt. *kappi- / kappai-* reflects **kmb*$^{(h)}$*-(e)i-* (with **kmb*$^{(h)}$*-* > *kapp-* comparable to **kmt-* > *katt-*). Note that a reconstruction **komb*$^{(h)}$*-(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-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to pick a fight (vel sim.)': 3pl.pret.act. *kap-pí-la-a-er* (NS).

Derivatives: ***kappilaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to get in a fight' (3pl.pret.act. *kap-pí-la-aḫ-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. "#314"*ka-pi-la-li-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §24), "*314"*k*[*a*]*-pi-la-li-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §26)).

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' < **ḱep-*, but this should have yielded Luw. ***zapp-*. All in all, none of the proposed etymologies are convincing.

kappuu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic4 > Ic2) 'to count, to calculate; (+ *āppa(n)*) to take into account, to value': 2sg.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-u̯a-at-te-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-en-zi* (OS), *kap-pu-u-an-zi* (OH/?), *kap-pu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *kap-pu-u̯a-an-zi*, *kap-pu-u-u̯a-a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-it* (NH), *kap-pu-u̯a-it* (OH/NS), 1pl.pret.act. *kap-pu-u-u̯a-u-en*, *kap-pu-u̯a-u-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *kap-pu-u̯a-at-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *kap-pu-u-e-er* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-u-u̯a-a-er* (undat.), 2sg.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-i* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-u̯a-i* (OH/NS), *kap-pu-u-u̯a-i* (MH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-ed-du* (MH/NS), *kap-pu-u-u̯a-id-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *kap-pu-u̯a-at-te-en* (MH/NS), *kap-pu-u-u̯a-at-ti-en* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *kap-pu-u-u̯a-an-du* (MH/MS); part. *kap-pu-u̯a-an-t-*, *kap-pu-u-an-t-*, *kap-pu-u-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun. *kap-pu-u̯a-u-u̯a-ar*, *kap-pu-u-u̯a-u-u̯a-ar*, *kap-pu-u-u̯a-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 *-uu̯e/a-*inflection is original. In NS texts, we also find forms that show a stem *kappuu̯ae-*^{zi}, according to the very productive *ḫatrae-*class. Verbs in *-uu̯e/a-* reflect **-u-i̯e/o-* and usually are denominative (*ḫuešuu̯e/a-*^{zi} from *ḫuešu-*, *šaruu̯e/a-*^{zi} from *šāru-* etc.). We would therefore at first sight assume that *kappuu̯e/a-* is derived from a further unattested noun **kappu-*. Pisani (1953: 307-8) analysed *kappuu̯e/a-* as **katt(a) + puu̯e/a-*, which he connected with Lat. *putāre* 'to cut, to carve'. Čop (1965: 104; 1966-8: 61) adapted this view and assumed **kom+puu̯e/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 $^{(PIŠ)}$*kapart- / kapirt-* for the unlikeliness of its usual interpretation **kom-b*^{h}*ēr-t-*), makes me quite sceptical towards this interpretation.

karaitt- / karett- (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-i̯a-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-* 'expance, space, flat surface', YAv. *zraiiah-* 'sea'.

PIE **ǵrói-t-s*, **ǵrói-t-m*, **ǵréi-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 *-ḫ-*, *-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 *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$, 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-* 'expance, space, flat surface', YAv. *zraiiah-* 'sea' and reconstruct **ǵroi̯-t-*. Rieken (1999a: 134-5) follows this connection and states that "[die] Lautungen [*grai̯t-*, *gret-*, *grit-*] ... lassen sich unter der Annahme eines paradigmatischen Ablauts **-ōi̯-* / **-oi̯-* / **-i-* auf eine *t*-Ableitung ... **ǵrōi̯-t-* / **ǵroi̯-t-* / **ǵri-t-* zurückführen". This is not fully correct: the diphthong **-oi-* does not monopthongize to *-e-* in front of **t* (compare e.g. *daitti* < **d^{h}h$_1$-ói-th$_2$e-i*), and **ǵroi-t-* therefore would not yield Hitt. /kret-/. If the stem /kret-/ is linguistically real, it can only reflect **ǵrei-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 **ǵrói-t-s*, **ǵrói-t-m*, **ǵréi-t-s* (cf. at *nekuz* for a similar static *t*-stem **nóg^{wh}-t-s*, **nóg^{wh}-t-m*, **nég^{wh}-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 **ǵrói-t-s*, **ǵrói-t-m* (or **ǵri-ót-m*?), **ǵri-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. *šiu̯att-* for the outcome of a hysterodynamic *t*-stem.

The root **ǵrei-* is verbally attested in Skt. *jray-* 'to expand', which means that *karaitt-* as well as Skt. *jrayas-* and Av. *zraiiah-* originally meant 'fast surface, large body (of water)'.

karāp-^{i} / 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-u̯a-an-zi*, *ka-ri-pa-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NS); sup. *ka-ri-pu-u-u̯a-an*; impf. *ka-ri-pa-aš-ke/a-*, *ga-ri-pí-iš-ke/a-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *grabh^{i}-* 'to seize', OCS *grabiti* 'to rob', SCr. *grȁbiti* 'to seize', Lith. *gróbti* 'to rob', Latv. *grebt* 'to seize', ON *grápa* 'to seize'.

PIE **g^{h}róbh$_{1}$-ei*, **g^{h}rbh$_{1}$-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-^{zi} / ad-* 'to eat' in the sense that the latter verb is used for the normal eating of humans, whereas *karāp-^{i} / 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-^{i} / 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$^{!}$-a$^{!}$-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-/.

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[57]) states that "man [wird] aus semant. Gründen die heth. Entsprechung von **g^{h}reb^{h}-* 'ergreifen' eher in *karpi̯e-^{mi}* (**g^{h}r̥b^{h}-i̯e-*) 'heben' als in *garāp-/garēp-* 'verschlingen' suchen". Nevertheless, the verb *karpp(i̯e/a-)^{zi}* formally can hardly derive from **g^{h}reb$^{(h)}$-*, 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^{w}r-ēp/b^{h}-*, connecting Gr. βράπτειν 'to eat' and Skt. *giráti* 'to devour'.

In my view, the connection between *karāp- / kare/ip-* 'to devour' and Skt. *grabh^{i}-* 'to seize', Lith. *grẽbti* '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. *gr̥bhnā́ti* it is clear that the structure of the root must be **g$^{(h)}$reb$^{(h)}$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^{2}, this indicates that we are dealing with **h$_{2}$*, since it apparently is assumed that only **h$_{2}$* caused aspiration in Sanskrit. Nevertheless, the comparison between the Sanskrit primary 2pl.-ending *-thá* and the corresponding Greek ending -τε < **-th$_{1}$e* shows that **h$_{1}$* caused aspiration in Sanskrit as well. The root-final laryngeal therefore could be **h$_{1}$* as well as **h$_{2}$*. 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^{h}-*. This **g^{h}* 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-^{i} / 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-^{i} / kare/ip-* is one of the few *ḫi*-verbs that show a synchronic ablaut *-ā-/-e/i-* (also *ašāš-^{i} / aše/iš-*, *ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink-* and *šarāp- / šarip-*: note that *šākk-^{i} / 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 *-ā-/-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-^{i} / šakk-*, Oettinger's interpretation of this verb cannot be upheld anymore, and therewith the idea that the *-ā-/-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 *-ā-/-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 *-ā-/-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-^{i} / šarip-* 'to sip' and to *terepp-^{zi} / 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 *ḫi*-conjugated) were too aberrant (synchronically, it looks like Schwebe-ablaut) and therefore eliminated, secondarily placing the anaptyctic vowel /i̯/ 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- / CRi̯C-*, whereas the *ḫi*-conjugating **CRóC- / *CRC-* was altered to synchronic *CRāC- / CRi̯C-*. In both cases, the weak stem is spelled *CRe/iC-*. With this scenario in mind, we can explain *karāp-^{i} / kare/ip-* as phonological /krāb- / kri̯b-/, 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 *$ǵ^{h}$*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 *$ǵ^{h}$*ersd^{h}*- 'barley', which was elaborated by Rieken (1999a: 63-65). According to her, *$ǵ^{h}$*ersd^{h}*- 'barley' is a dental extension of the verbal root *$ǵ^{h}$*ers*- as found in Skt. *hárṣate*, *hr̥ṣyati* 'to be excited', Lat. *horreō* 'to stand up straight, to shiver', which in her view is a derivative of a root *$ǵ^{h}$*er*- as visible in Gr. (Hes.) χήρ 'hedge-hog', χοῖρος < *$ǵ^{h}$*or̥ios* 'porcupine' and Alb. *derr* < *$ǵ^{h}$*ōr-n*- 'pig, swine'. According to Rieken (o.c.: 64) the connection to these latter forms (*$ǵ^{h}$*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 *$ǵ^{h}$*er*- 'pig' out of consideration here. Rieken reconstructs *$ǵ^{h}$*rs* or *$ǵ^{h}$*ers* "weil sowohl *-*er*- als auch *-*r̥*- vor Konsonant heth. -*ar*- ergeben". I do not fully agree with her: *$ǵ^{h}$*ers* in my view would have yielded ***kerš*. I would much rather reconstruct *$ǵ^{h}$*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. *hirā́-* ‘vein’.

PIE **ǵrh$_l$-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^{DIDLI}*-eš ta-ma-i-in ka-ra-a-ta-an da-i-er nu*
AMA=*ŠU-NU*
(17) [x x x *-u*]*š*$^{?}$ *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 Puhvels 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. *hirā́* 'vein', which were reconstructed by Schrijver (1991: 208) as a root *$ǵ^h$(e)rH-*. If Hitt. *karāt-* then would show a *-d*-stem (compare the *d*-extension in Gr. χορδή), we must reconstruct *$ǵ^h rh_1$-ód-* (note that both $ǵ^h rh_2$-ód- and *$ǵ^h rh_3$-ód-* would have yielded Hitt. ***karḫāt-*). Since in synchronic Hittite we only find the stem *karāt-* < *$ǵ^h rh_1$-ód-*, the original paradigm cannot be determined (possibly *$ǵ^h érh_1$-ōd-s*, *$ǵ^h rh_1$-ód-m*, *$ǵ^h rh_1$-d-ós*?). Note that this reconstruction implies that the synchronic analysis of *karāt-* should be /krʔād-/.

(SI)***karāu̯ar / karaun-*** (n.) 'horn(s), antler(s)' (Sum. SI): nom.-acc.sg. *ka-ra-a-u̯a-ar* (KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 15, 16, 19 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ga-ra-ú-ni* (KUB 43.32 iii 1 (OS), KBo 17.4 iii 9 (OS)), *ka-ra-ú-ni* (Bo 2689 ii 11 (OH/NS)), instr. SI$^{ḪI.A}$*-an-da* (KUB 43.60 i 19 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl. *ga-ra-a-u̯*[*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*), ***zaru̯ani(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'of a horn' (abl.-instr. *za-ar-u̯a-ni-i̯a-ti*); HLuw. ***suran-*** 'horn; plentifulness(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. $^{\text{"CORNU+}RA/I\text{"}}$*su+ra/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §6), $^{\text{CORNU+}RA/I}$*su+ra/i-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §36), nom.-acc.pl. $^{\text{"CORNU"}}$*sù+ra/i-ni* (ASSUR letters *f*+*g* §34)).

PIE **ḱr-ó-ur / *ḱr-ó-un-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 77-9 for attestations. This word belongs to the small group of words that end in *-āu̯ar / -aun-*: *ašāu̯ar / ašaun-* 'sheepfold', *ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-* 'tilled land', *partāu̯ar / partaun-* 'wing, feather' and *šarāu̯ar / šaraun-* 'storm-clouds(?)'. The exact formation of these forms is not fully clear, but the nouns *ḫaršāu̯ar*, a derivative from the verb *ḫārš-*^{i} 'to till (the soil)', and *ašāu̯ar*, possibly a derivative of the verb *eš-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ aš-* 'to seat', clearly have to be analysed as **C(V)C-āu̯ar*, i.e. a suffix *-āu̯ar* 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 *karāu̯ar* this would mean that we are dealing with a root *kar-*.

Hilmarsson (1985) argued that *karāu̯ar* must be regarded as cognate with Arm. *elǰewr* 'horn' and TochA *kror*, TochB *krorīya* 'horn, crescent (of moon)' that seem to reflect *$g^h reh_1 u̯_ə r$*. This latter preform should have yielded Hitt. ***krēu̯ar*, however, and I therefore reject this etymology. Sommer (1941: 60[1]) connected *karāu̯ar* with PIE **ḱer(h_2)-* 'head, horn' (on which see especially Nussbaum 1986), which makes much more sense. Nevertheless, there has been no concensus

on the morphology of *karāu̯ar*. Some scholars analyse *karau̯*-+-*ar* (in which *karau̯*- ~ Gr. κερα(ϝ)ός 'horned', Lat. *cervus* 'stag'), others *kara*-+-*u̯ar* (with *kara*- ~ Gr. κέρας 'horn'). Eichner (1973a: 92[35]) states that *karāu̯ar* may reflect "ein Nomen **karā* (mit vorheth. Schwund von auslautendem -H_2 < **ḱreh₂* oder **ḱr̥eh₂* = (formal) gr.ion. κάρη)" to which a suffix "-*u̯or/-u̯n*- 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 -*u̯ar* after the loss of word-final laryngeal (normally, **-eh₂-ur* would yield Hitt. -*aḫḫur*, cf. **péh₂ur* > *paḫḫur* 'fire') and that this reconstruction cannot account for CLuw. *zaru̯ani(i̯a)*- 'of a horn', in which no trace of **h₂* can be found.

In my view, there is no need to reconstruct a basis **ḱerh₂*-: as Nussbaum (1986: 1-18) has shown, we must assume for PIE a basic stem **ḱer*- 'horn', from which a 'collective' **ḱer-h₂*- 'horn' has been derived that serves as a basis for many derivations that denote 'horn' and 'head'. So, if we assume that the suffix -*āu̯ar* / -*aun*- can be compared to -*ātar* / -*ānn*- and reflects *-*ó-u̯r̥* / -*ó-un*-, we can safely assume that *karāu̯ar* has been derived from the unextended stem **ḱer*-: **ḱr-ó-u̯r̥*.

The exact interpretation of HLuw. *suran*- 'horn; plentifulness(?)' is unclear to me. Perhaps we are dealing with a metathesis of **ḱruan*- ~ CLuw. *zaru̯an*-.

karett-: see *karaitt- / karett-*

kareu̯ariu̯ar (adv.) 'at daybreak, early in the morning'

Derivatives: *ka-re-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (NS), *ka-a-re-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (1x, NS), *ka-re-u̯a-a-ri-u̯a-ar* (NS), *ka-re-ú-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (OH/NS), [*ka-r*]*e-u̯a-ri-u-u̯*[*a-ar*] (NS), *ka-ru-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (MH/MS), *ka-ru-ú-a-ri-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-u̯a-ri-u-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-u̯a-a-ri-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-u̯a-ar-u̯a-ar* (1x, OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú a-ri-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú a-ar-ri-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS).

PIE **ǵʰreh₁u̯-ri-u̯r̥* or **ǵʰrh₁-eu̯-ri-u̯r̥*

See Puhvel HED 4: 86f. for attestations. We basically find three forms of this adverb, namely *ka*-RI-*u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* (which could be read *ka-ri-u̯a*- as well as *ka-re-u̯a*-: I will therefore further cite it as *karIu̯ariu̯ar*), *karūu̯ariu̯ar* and *karū ariu̯ar*. 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 *karuu̯ariu̯ar*. At first sight this seems to indicate that *karuu̯ariu̯ar* is the original form. Nevertheless,

Puhvel (l.c.) rightly points out that it is likely that the variant *karuu̯ariu̯ar* is a reshaping on the basis of the simplex *karū* and that *karIu̯ariu̯ar* therefore must be the original form. So we are dealing with an original *karIu̯ariu̯ar* 'at daybreak, early in the morning' that under the influence of *karū* 'early' is reshaped to *karūu̯ariu̯ar*. Later on, this form even is reanalysed as *karū ariu̯ar* 'at an early rising', with *ariu̯ar*, as if from *arai-^{i} / ari-* 'to rise' (the regular verbal noun of which is *arau̯ar* < **arai̯u̯ar*, however).

The adverb *karIu̯ariu̯ar* probably has to be analysed as a verbal noun in *-u̯ar* of a further unattested verb **karIu̯arii̯e/a-^{zi}* (cf. *genušriu̯ar*, the verbal noun of *genuš(ša)rii̯e/a-^{zi}* (see at *genu- / ganu-*)). This **karIu̯arii̯e/a-^{zi}* then probably is a derivation in *-arii̯e/a-^{zi}* of the stem **karIu̯-* (cf. *gimmantarii̯e/a-^{zi}* of *gimmant-*, *nekumandarii̯e/a-^{zi}* of *nekumant-*). It is quite tempting to equate this **karIu̯-* with *karū* 'early'. This means that **karIu̯-* must be read as **kareu̯-*, and that the diphthong **eu̯* 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-*u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* as *ka-re-u̯a-ri-u̯a-ar* /kreuəriuər/, derived from **kareu̯arii̯e/a-^{zi}* /kreuərie/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^{h}rh$_{1}$i̯ent-* ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 17.28 ii
(33) [*m*]*a-a-an an-tu-uḫ-ši* ^{LÚ}*TAP-PU=ŠU la-a-la-an kar-ap-zi*
(34) *na-aš-ma-a=š-ši-i=š-ša-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-uš ú-e-ri-i̯a-az-zi*
(35) *nu ki-i* SÍSKUR=*ŠU* 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA 1 ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB GEŠTIN
(36) *a-ra-aḫ-za ka-ri-ta-aš-ḫi pé-e-da-an-zi*
(37) *nu* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA GÙB-*la-az pár-ši-i̯a n=a-an da-ga-a-an*
(38) *da-a-i* KAŠ GEŠTIN GÙB-*la-az* BAL-*an-ti*
(39) *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-em-ma-i*

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(40) *ku-iš* DUMU.LÚ[.U$_{19}$.L]U-*za la-a-la-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-na-aš*
(41) *pé-ra-an* [*k*]*ar-ap-ta ku-iš=mu-u=š-ša-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-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 ḫa-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 *karitašḫa-*. 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 *u̯elku ḫādan* 'dried grass'. On the basis of this interpretation of *karianza*, he translates *karitašḫi* as 'lawn'. Although these semantic intepretation seems probable to me, I think that the connection between *kariant-* and *karitašḫa-* would be much more understandable if the latter form is emended to *ka-ri-‹an-›ta-aš-ḫi*.

Puhvel connects these words to ON *gróa* 'grow', Goth. *gras* 'grass', Lat. *grāmen* 'grass', etc., which all reflect a root *$ǵ^{h}reh_{1}$- (ON *gróa* < *$ǵ^{h}reh_{1}$-*i̯e/o-*, Goth. *gras* < *$ǵ^{h}rh_{1}$-s-*, Lat. *grāmen* < *$ǵ^{h}rh_{1}$-s-men-*, cf. Schrijver 1991: 487). This would mean that *kariant-* reflects *$ǵ^{h}rh_{1}i̯ent$-*. For the development of *$Crh_{1}i̯e/o$- > Hitt. *Cari̯e/a-*, cf. e.g. *pari̯anzi* 'they blow' < *$prh_{1}i̯enti$*.

***kari̯e/a-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$** (IIIg) 'to be gracious towards': 1sg.pret.midd. *ka-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *ka-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***kari̯ašḫa-*** (c.) 'graciousness, mercy' (nom.sg. *ka-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš* (NH)), ***kāri ti̯e/a-*^{zi}** (Ic1) 'to be gracious towards, to be mercyful to' (*ka-a-ri* + *ti̯e/a-*^{zi} (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. *háryati* 'to desire, to covet', Gr. χαίρω 'to rejoice at, to take pleasure in'.

PIE *$ǵ^{h}r$-i̯e/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 *$ǵ^{h}er$- as reflected in Skt. *háryati* 'to desire, to covet', Av. *zara-* 'aim, goal(?)', Gr. χαίρω 'to rejoice at, to take pleasure in' (< *$ǵ^{h}_{\circ}r$-i̯e/o-*), χάρις 'grace, favour', but also in Lat. *horior* 'to incite, to urge on' (< *$ǵ^{h}_{\circ}r$-i̯e/o-*). The word *kāri* would then be similar to Gr. χάρις 'grace, favour' and reflect a petrified dative-locative.

***kari̯e/a-*^{zi}** (Ic1) 'to cover (someone/thing (acc.) with something (instr.)': 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ri-ez-zi* (NS), *ka-ri-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ri-i̯a-zi* (NS),

3pl.pres.act. *ka-ri-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-du* (NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *ka-ri-i̯a-an-da* (OH/NS); part. *ka-ri-i̯a-an-t-*, *ga-ri-i̯a-an-t-*; impf. *ka-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ka-a-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ^{TÙG}***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-i̯e/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 *kariu̯e/a-* is derived from IE **ǵ^{h}er-* 'greifen, fassen, umfassen, einfassen' as reflected in Skt. *hárati* 'to take, to carry (off), to bear', Gr. χόρτος 'enclosure'. Formally, this is indeed possible, but the supposed semantic development from '*to grasp, to seize' > '*to enclose' > 'to cover' is less attractive.

kariu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to pause(?), to rest(?)': 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ri-i̯a-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ri-i-e-et*.

Derivatives: ***karinu-***^{zi}, ***kariu̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to silence' (3pl.pres.act. *ka-ri-nu-an-zi* (OS), *ga-ri-nu-an-zi* (OS), *ka-ri-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ri-i̯a-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) ^{URU}*Ḫa-an-ḫa-na-az=kán ar-ḫa* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-te-na an-da-an nu I-NA* URU.DU$_6^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ ^{URU}*Ka-at-ru-ma*

(26) *ka-ri-i̯a-zi nu I-NA* ^{URU}*Pí-it-tág-ga-la-aš-ša an-da-an* ^{URU}*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.

(20) ^{URU}*Ḫa-an-ḫa-na-za=kán ar*[*-ḫa* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-te-na an-da-an nu I-N*]*A*
URU.DU$_6^{ḪI.A\ URU}$*Ka-at-ru-ma ka-ri-i̯a-zi*
(21) *lu-uk-kat-ti=ma ...*

'Out of Ḫanḫana, towards Ḫattena. In the ruins of Katruma he *k*.-s. The next morning ...'

(30) ^{URU}*Ḫa-an-ḫa*[*-na-za=kán ar-ḫa nu I-N*]*A* URU.DU$_6^{ḪI.A}$ [^{URU}*Ka-at-r*]*u-ma ka-ri-i̯a-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 *kariiazi* 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*$^{!}$*-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 *kariie/a-*^{zi} '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-*^{zi}, 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 *kariie/a-*^{zi} 'to pause', but this now has become shaky in view of the unclearness regarding *kariie/a-*^{zi} 'to pause'. Moreover, the oldest attestations show the stem *karinu-*, whereas the stem *kariianu-* is attested once in a NH text only. In my view, this rather points to derivation of a further unattested verb **karai-*^{i} */ kari-* (for causatives in *-inu-* from *dāi/tiianzi*-class verbs compare e.g. *ḫuinu-*^{zi} from *ḫuuai-*^{i} */ ḫui-*, *pattinu-*^{zi} from *pattai-*^{i} */ patti-* and *zinu-*^{zi} from *zai-*^{i} */ zi-*). Further unclear.

^{É}***karimmi***, ^{É}***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: $^{LÚ(.É)}$***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 *kariie/a-*^{zi} 'to cover' (q.v.) from IE **ǵ^{h}er-*, thus reconstructing **ǵ^{h}er-i-men*. He explains the nom.sg. *karimmi* as **kari-mn-i*, "a neuter nom.-acc.pl. like *ḫalḫaltumari* '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 ^{É}*ḫištā*, ^{É}*ḫištī*, ^{É}*ḫalent(i)u-*, ^{É}*māk(kiz)zi(ia)-* e.a.).

karinu-^{zi}: see at *kariie/a-*^{zi} 'to pause(?), to rest(?)'

karitt-: see *karaitt- / karett-*

kariuariuar: see *kareuariuar*

karp-$^{tta(ri)}$: see *karp(iie/a)-*$^{tta(ri)}$

karp-^{zi}: see *karpiie/a-*^{zi}

karp(iie/a)-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIId / IIIg) 'to be angry': 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-ap-ta-ri* (NH), *kar-pí-ia-at-ta* (NS); part. *kar-pí-ia-an-t-*; Luw.part. *kar-pí-mi-*.

Derivatives: ***karpēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become angry' (part. *kar-pí-iš-ša-an-t-*), ***karpi-*** (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)), ***karpiuāla-*** (adj.) 'furious' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *kar-pí-ua-a-la* (OH/MS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *increpāre* ‘to shout out, to upbraid’, Skt. *kṛpate* ‘to lament’, Russ. *kropotá* ‘conflict, fight’.

PIE **ḱrp-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 98f. for attestations. Although the verb is attested a few times only, the noun *karpi-* is well-established. Tischler (HEG A-K: 515) connects *karpi-* 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. *karpi-*, which particularly denotes ‘divine wrath’, is indeed possible. On the basis of Hitt. *karp-* and Luw. *zarp-* we should reconstruct PAnat. **ḱrp-*.

Eichner (1979a: 61) suggests to connect *karp(iḛ/a)-* to Lat. *increpāre* ‘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. καρπάλιμος ‘swift, impetuous’. In my view, all forms (except Gr. καρπάλιμος, which semantically remains far) could point to an IE root **ḱrep-* ‘to express one’s discontent’. We should then assume, however, that the **ḱ* of **ḱrep-* depalatalized before **r* in Russian and Sanskrit (Weise’s Law) and yielded plain velars there. In Hittite, the zero grade of this root, **ḱrp-*, would then have been generalized. Although this etymology is not impossible, it is not instantly convincing either.

karp(iḛ/a)-^{zi} (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-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *kar-ap-pí-an-zi* (OS), *kar-ap-pí-i̯a-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-i̯a* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *kar-ap-du* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *kar-ap-tén* (MH/MS), *kar-ap-pí-i̯a-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-u̯a-ar* (NS), *kar-pé-eš-šar* (NS); inf.I *kar-pu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NS); impf. *kar-pí-iš-ke/a-*, *kar-pí-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***karpanu-***^{zi} (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. *kiřpti* ‘to shear off’, OE *sceorfan* ‘to bite’, Latv. *šķirpta* ‘notch, sherd’.

PIE **krp-i̯é/ó-*; **kérp-t / *krp-ént*

See Puhvel HED 4: 91f. for attestations. Already in the oldest texts, we find two stems, namely *karp-*^{zi} besides *karpii̯e/a-*^{zi}. Oettinger (1979a: 345) states that of these two, *karpii̯e/a-* is older than *karp-*: “*karp-*^{mi} ist jüngere Umbildung!”. Melchert (1997b: 84ff.) states that it is significant that in OS texts the stem *karpii̯e/a-* is attested in the present indicative only. In his view, this is a remnant of a system in which the stem *karpii̯e/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-i̯e/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 /krpie/a-/. This is of importance for the etymological interpretation. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 345) derives *karpii̯e/a-* from IE **g^{h}r̥b^{h}h$_1$-i̯e/o-*, connecting it with Skt. *grabh*^{i}- ‘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$^{(h)}$*, the full grade **g^{h}rebh$_1$-* does not correspond to the Hittite stem /karp-/ < **KerP-*. Moreover, it is more likely that the PIE root **g^{h}rebh$_1$-* is reflected in Hitt. *karāp-*^{i} */ kare/ip-* ‘to devour’ (q.v.).

Already Sturtevant (1930b: 155-6; 1930c: 217) compared *karp(ii̯e/a)-* with Lat. *carpō* ‘to pick, to pluck’ and Lith. *kiřpti* ‘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* ^{GIŠ}*IN-BI*$^{ḪI.A}$ *kar-ap-pí-i̯a-an*[*-zi*] ‘Further they pluck fruits’; KBo 4.9 v (36) *ta* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NAR GIŠ ^{d}INANNA$^{ḪI.A}$ *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-^{zi}: see *karš(iḭe/a)-*^{zi}

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-i̯a-aš* (NS), *kar-še-i̯a-aš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *kar-ša* (NS), *kar-ša-i̯a* (NH), *kar-aš-ša-i̯a* (NH), *kar-aš-ši-i̯a* (NH).

Derivatives: ***karšikarši-*** (n.) ‘astringent’ (nom.-acc.sg. *kar-ši-kar-ši*, abl. *kar-ši-kar-ši-i̯a-za*).

IE cognates: ModHG *harsch*, ModEng. *harsh*.

PIE **krs-(e)i-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 107f. for attestations. An etymological tie-in with *karš(iḭe/a)-*^{zi} 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 **kérs-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(iḭe/a)-^{zi} (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-u̯a-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *kar-šu-u̯a-aš* (NS), *kar-šu-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *kar-šu-an-zi*, *kar-šu-u-u̯a-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-^{zi}*** (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. *skìrti* 'to divide', etc.

PIE **krs-i̯é/ó-*; **kérs-t / *krs-ént*

See Puhvel HED 4: 100f. for attestations. The most common stem of this verb is *karš-^{zi}*. A stem *karšii̯e/a-^{zi}* only occurs in 3sg.pres.act. in the Hittite Laws. This reminds of the distribution between *karp-^{zi}* and *karpii̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to take (away)', which reflects an old distinction between root-aorist **kerp-* vs. derived present **krp-i̯e/o-* (cf. Melchert 1997b: 86). In NH texts, we occasionally find forms that display a stem *karšae-^{zi}* (*karšanun* and possibly *karšauu̯ar*) and a stem *karš(a)-^{i}* (*karšatti* and possibly *karšauu̯ar*), 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' < **ǵʰésr*).

According to Melchert (1994a: 332), Lyd. *fa-karse-* reflects **-kors-éi̯e-*.

kard-: see $^{(UZU)}$*ker / kard(i)-*

kartae-^{zi} (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-i̯e/o-*, gave *kartae-*. In my view, verbs like *ḫantae-*^{zi}, *lelḫuntae-*^{zi}, *mitae-*^{zi}, *partae-*^{zi}, *pittae-*^{zi}, 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 $^{(UZU)}$*ker / kard(i)-*

kardimii̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg / Ic1) 'to be angry' (Sum. TUKU[.TUKU]): 3sg.pres.midd. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (MS?), *ka*[*r-di-mi-*]*i̯a-et-ta* (MH/MS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-at-ta*[*-ri*] (OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-at-t*[*a*] (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-an-ta-ri* (OH/?), 3sg.pret.midd. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-et-ta-at* (MS, OH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-at-ta-at* (NS); 3sg.pres.act. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-az-zi* (MS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-ez-zi* (MS), 1sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-nu-un* (OH/NS); verb.noun abl. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-a*[*z*] (OH/NS); impf. *kar-tim-mi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***kardimii̯auu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'angry' (nom.sg.c. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* (MH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-u̯a-an-za* (MS), *kar-di-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* (OH/MS), *kar-dim$_x$-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* (NS), acc.sg. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-da-an* (OH/MS), nom.pl.c. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NS)), ***kartimmiēšš-***^{zi} (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(i̯a)nu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make angry' (3sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-nu-zi* (NS), *kar-tim-nu-uz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-nu-u̯a*[*-an-zi*] (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-nu-ut* (NS), part. *kar-di-mi-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS)), ***kardimii̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make angry' (3sg.pres.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. [*ka*]*r-di-mi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MS), 3sg.pret.act. *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-aḫ-ta* (NS)), ***kardimii̯att-*** (c.) '(cause of) anger' (nom.sg. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-az* (OH/MS),

kar-tim-mi-i̯a-az (NH), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-za* (NS), acc.sg. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-at-ta-an* (OH/MS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-at-ta-an* (MH/NS), *kar-tim-mi-at-ta-an* (NS), gen.sg. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-at-ta-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *kar-di-mi-at-ti* (MS), acc.pl. *kar-di-mi-i̯a-at-tu-uš* (OS), *kar-tim-mi-i̯a-ad-du-uš* (NS)).

PIE **ḱrd-im-i̯e/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$_x$-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. *imi̯e/a-* > *immi̯e/a-*, *ami̯ant-* > *ammi̯ant-*, 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 *kardimi̯ae-*^{zi}.

Since Pedersen (1938: 40) it is generally accepted that *kardimi̯e/a-* is cognate with *ker / kard(i)-* 'heart' (compare OCS *srъditi sę* 'to be angry' ~ *srъdьce* 'heart', Lith. *šiřsti* 'to be angry' ~ *širdìs* 'heart' and Arm. *srtnim* 'to become angry' ~ *sirt* 'heart'). Nevertheless, the morphological analysis of *kardimi̯e/a-* has been in debate. For instance, Pedersen (l.c.) thought that *kardimi̯e/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 *kardimi̯e/a-* is derived from a base *kardima-*, an "*(i)ma*-Nomen" (like *laḫlaḫḫima-* 'agitation', *teṯḫima-* 'thunder', *tuḫḫima-* '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 *ḫatrae*-class (so ***kardimae-*). Rieken (1999a: 110-1) therefore gives a different analysis. According to her, the root **ḱerd-* 'heart' served as the basis for a verb **ḱerd-i̯e/o-* 'to be angry'. Of this **ḱerd-i̯e/o-* a *-men-* derivation **ḱerd-i-men-* 'anger' is formed, of which another verb in **i̯e/o-* is derived: **ḱerd-i-mn-i̯e/o-*, which regularly yielded Hitt. *kartimmi̯e-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that the original form of this verb is *kardimi̯e/a-*, with single *-m-*, which cannot be explained out of **-mn-*.

I would like to propose a different analysis. In my view, *kardimiḭe/a-* is a compound of *kard-* + *imiḭe/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 *imiḭe/a-*^{zi} '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[17]). 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 *-ḭe/a-* formed causatives in **-i-nu-* (compare the causatives in *-inu-* that are derived from the *dāi/tiḭanzi-*class verbs), which were later on replaced by *-ḭa-nu-* (like *kar-tim-mi-ḭa-nu-* in this case).

karū (adv.) 'early; formerly, earlier, already; up to now': *ka-ru-ú* (OS).

Derivatives: ***karuu̯ili-***, ***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-ḭa-aš* (NH), *ka-ru-i-li-aš* (NS), abl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-az* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-za* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-li-ḭa-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*[1] (KBo 16.86 i 9 (OH/NS)), voc.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-aš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ka-ru-ú-i-la* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-i-li* (NS), *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa* (NS), gen.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-aš* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-aš* (NS)), ***karuu̯iliḭatt-*** (c.) 'former state' (all.sg. as adverb *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ḭa-at-ta* (OH/MS)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***ruwan*** (adv.) 'formerly' (*rú-wa/i-na* (KARATEPE 1 §33)).

IE cognates: ON *gryiandi* 'dawn', Swed. *dagen gryr* 'the day dawns', OIc. *grár*, OHG *grāo* 'grey'.

PIE **ǵ^{h}rh$_1$-ēu* or **ǵ^{h}reh$_1$-u*

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[1] 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 /krṹ/, which contrasts with the form *a-aš-šu-u* /ʔáSo/ 'goods' < **-uh$_2$*. 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. **(r)ǵr-*. As I have shown

under its own lemma, the adverb *kareu̯ariu̯ar*, which originally is a verbal noun to a verb **kareu̯ariu̯e/a-*^{zi}, itself a derivative in *-ariu̯e/a-*^{zi} from a stem **kareu̯-*, shows that *karū* must show the word-final development of **kareu̯*. All in all, we must reconstruct PAnat. **$^{(\acute{o})}$ǵreu̯*. Puhvel (l.c. with reference to Čop 1961-62: 187-197, 206-9) cites as outer-Anatolain cognates ON *grýiandi* 'dawn' and Swed. *dagen gryr* 'the day dawns', which together with OIc. *grár* and OHG *grāo* 'grey' point to a *u*-stem **ǵ^{h}reh$_1$-u-*. This means that *karū* could go back to **ǵ^{h}rh$_1$-ēu* or **ǵ^{h}reh$_1$-u*.

karūšš(iu̯e/a)-^{zi} (Ib1 / Ic1) 'to be silent, to fall silent': 1sg.pres.act. [*ka-r*]*u-uš-ši-u̯a-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-ši* (NH), *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-u̯a-zi* (MH/NS), *ka-ru-uš*$^{!}$*-ši-ez-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ga-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-at-te-ni* (MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-at* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-u̯a-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-u̯a-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-at-ta-at* (NH), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-u̯a-at-ta-at* (MH/NS); part. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-u̯a*[*-ar*] (NS).

Derivatives: ***karūššiu̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to silence' (3pl.pres.act. *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-nu-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-nu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-u̯a-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), ***karuššiu̯antili*** (adv.) 'silently, quietly' (*ka-ru-uš-ši-u̯a-an-ti-li* (NH)).

IE cognates: OHG *chrosōn*, MHG *krosen*, Goth. *kriustan*, OSwed. *krýsta* 'to gnash'.

PIE **gréus-t / *grus-ént*, **grus-u̯é/ó-*

See Puvhel 116f. for attestations. Almost all forms show a stem *karuššiu̯e/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 *-u̯e/a-*, which reflect the *-u̯e/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(iu̯e/a)-*^{zi}).

Eichner (1975b: 164[16]) 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-éu̯e/o-*, but e.g. Rieken (1999a: 211[994]) adapts this to **grous-u̯e/o-*. Both

interpretations must be incorrect because the diphthong *-*ou*- would not monophthongize in front of -*s*- (cf. *aušten* < *$h_2$óu-sten*). Moreover, as we saw above, this verb likely goes back to a root-aorist and its -*i̯e/o*-derived present. So structurally, we would expect an aorist **gréus-t* / **grus-ént* besides a present **grus-i̯é/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-i̯e/a*- points to **greus-i̯e/o*-. The geminate -*šš*- in my view must be explained by the fact that **grusi̯e/o*- regularly yielded Hitt. /kruSe/a-/, showing the development **Vsi̯V* > *VššV* (cf. also -*aššа*- < *-*osi̯o*- and *u̯ašše/a*- < **usi̯e/o*-). When the -*i̯e/a*-suffix was restored, this yielded /kruSie/a-/, spelled *karuššii̯e/a*- (see at *u̯ešš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi} for a similar scenario).

karūu̯ariu̯ar: see *kareu̯ariu̯ar*

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', *kr̥tsná*- '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 *kr̥tsná*- 'whole, entire'. The loss of -*r* in nom.-acc. *karza* is explained by him as due to "prophylaktische Dissimilation". Neu (1982: 206[6]), 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/. 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-ʹ*. In my view, it is also possible to assume that *karza* = /kártsa/ 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. ***zāu̯i(n)*** (interj.) 'here, voici' (*za-a-ú-i*, *za-ú-i*, *za-a-ú-i-in*, *za-ú-i-in*).

PIE **ḱós* + *=(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 **$h_1$ós + =(m)a*. The interpretation of CLuw. *zāu̯i* 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: ***kištuu̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘hungry’ (nom.sg.c. *ki-iš-du-an-za* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ki-iš-du-u̯a-an-ti* (OH/NS), all.sg. *ki-iš-du-u̯a-an-da* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ki-iš-du-u̯a-an-te-eš* (MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *ki-iš-du-u̯a-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)), ***kištanziie̯/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) ‘to suffer famine’ (3sg.pret.midd. *ki-iš-ta-an-zi-at-ta-at* (OS)), see *kišt-*^{āri} ‘to perish, to be extinguished’.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. **“*460”*ást-*** ‘hunger(?)’ (abl.-instr. “*460”*á-sa-ta-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *e* §10), nom./acc.pl. *460-*t*[*i*]-*zi* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.3 §ii)).

PAnat. **ǵ(ʳ)ósT-* ?

IE cognates: TochA *kaṣt*, TochB *kest* ‘hunger, famine’.

PIE **ǵ(ʰ)ósd-*; **ǵ(ʰ)d-u̯ent-*

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 *kāst-*. 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-m̥* / **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. /KɨsT-/, spelled *kišt-* (cf. § 1.4.4.4 for clusters with *-k-* and *-s-* that receive the anaptyctic vowel /ɨ/). This analysis would morphologically fit *kištuu̯ant-* < **KsT-u̯ent-* 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 IIIf (*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 *kištuu̯ant-* and *kištant-* reflects **KsT-*.

The etymological interpretation of these words is difficult. Already since Friedrich (1924-25: 122), *kāšt-* is generally connected with TochA *kaṣt*, 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. "460"*á-sa-ta-*, which is found in ASSUR letter *e* §10 COR*na-hu-ti-zi=wa/i=mu* |*za-zi* |INFANS-*ni-zi* |REL-*i* |"*460"*á-sa-ta-ri+i* |"COR"*ta-wa/i-sa-ta-ti=ha* |*su-ti-ri+i-ti* |*ha+ra/i-ta-ti=ha* |PRAE-*na* |ARHA-ˊ |MORI*wa/i-wa/i-ri+i-ta-ti* 'These beloved[?] children of mine are nearly[?] dying of "460"*ást-* and of "COR"*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. **ǵ*$^{(ʷ)}$*osT-*, since only lenis velars disappear in Luwian. Note however that Starke (1990: 186[613]) 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-*$^{\bar{a}(ri)}$ 'to be extinguished', it has been thought that *kāšt-* and *kišt-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 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)g*^{ʷ}*es-*, whereas an initial **g*^{ʷ}- 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 /g/". 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 *kaṣt*, TochB *kest* reflect a *t*-stem-noun **gos-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-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$. 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. **-i̯e/o-*) and would be semantically more close to the noun (e.g. 'to hunger out'). In my opinion, if *kāšt-* and *kišt-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 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 *kaṣt*, 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 *kištuu̯ant-* 'hungry' and *kištant-* 'hunger') is related to *kišt-$^{\bar{a}ri}$* 'to be extinguished' and that they reflect **KosT-* and *KsT-óri* respectively, derived from a root **KesT-* 'to starve'. If HLuw. $^{\text{"460"}}$*á-sa-ta-* indeed denotes 'hunger', it would imply a PAnat. reconstruction **$\acute{g}^{(h)}$osT-*. The only known outer-Anatolian cognate is TochA *kaṣt*, TochB *kest* 'hunger', which reflect **KosT-*. For the PIE reconstruction, it is of importance that PAnat. **$\acute{g}^{(h)}$* can reflect PIE **$\acute{g}^{(h)}$* as well as **$\acute{g}^{(h)h}$*. 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^{h}-* (cf. LIV^{2}; for **-sd-* compare **pesd-* 'to fart', **$\acute{g}^{h}$eisd-* 'to startle', **$h_2$eisd-* 'to honour'). If this is correct, then the initial consonant should have been **$\acute{g}^{h}$-* (PIE roots never contain two glottalic stops). I therefore (tentatively) reconstruct a verbal root **$\acute{g}^{(h)h}$esd-* 'to starve', which was the basis for a root noun **$\acute{g}^{(h)h}$ósd-* 'starvation, hunger' (> Hitt. *kāšt-*, TochA *kaṣt*, TochB *kest*), an adjective **$\acute{g}^{(h)h}$sd-uént-* 'starving' (> Hitt. *kištuu̯ant-*) and the middle verb **$\acute{g}^{(h)h}$sd-ó* 'to be starved > to be extinguished' (> Hitt. *kišt-$^{\bar{a}ri}$*).

$^{(\text{DUG})}$***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 **kmto* + **k^{w}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-^{zi} / kur-* for further etymologies.

^{GIŠ}***kattaluzzi-*** (n.) 'threshold'; ***kattera- kattaluzzi-*** 'doorstep'; ***šarāzzi(i̯a)-kattaluzzi-*** 'lintel': nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*, gen.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ^{GIŠ}***kattaluzzi-*** (n.) 'threshold' (nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-lu-uz-*[*zi*]*-ša*).

PIE **kmto* + **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.) '?', ***κατ-*** (prev.) '?'.

IE cognates: Gr. κατά 'down, along, according to, against', OIr. *cēt*, OWe. *cant* 'with', Lat. *cum* 'with', etc.

PIE **$k^{(u)}$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 "locatival adverb" *kattan* 'below, underneath', a "terminative adverb" *katta* 'downwards', a "locatival postposition (+ genitive)" *katta* '(along) with' and a "locatival 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 **ḱ̑mt-*. 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 **ḱ̑mt-* > *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 **md^{h}ro-*. Other examples Melchert (1994a: 125) gives for the assumption that **N̥* keeps its nasalization are **sm̥n-* 'to disappear, to withdraw' > *šamn-* (see *šamen-*^{zi} */ šamn-*) and **ns-* 'us' > *anz-*. However, it is not imperative that a preform **ḱ̑mt-* 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^{h}-i-*, it would show that a sequence **TNT-* > Hitt. *TaT* (in which *T* = any stop), and that a development **ḱ̑mt-* > Hitt. *katt-* is in perfect order.

All in all, I reconstruct *katta* as **ḱ̑mt-o*, *kattan* as **ḱ̑mt-om* and *katti=* as **ḱ̑mt-(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*$^{?}$] (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))), ***katteraḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to lower, to make inferior, to dismiss' (3sg.pres.act. *kat-te-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 13.2 iii 27 (MH/NS)), 2pl.prs.act. *kat-te-er-ra-aḫ-te-e-ni* (KUB 13.20 i 35 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *kat-te-er-ra-aḫ-ta* (KUB 1.1 iii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *kat-te-er-ra-aḫ-ḫe-er* (KUB 1.4 + 674/v iii 43 (NH), KUB 1.10 iii 15 (NH)); impf. *kat-te-er-ra-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.66 iii 16 (NH))), ***katterezzi-*** (adj.) 'lower, inferior' (dat.-loc.sg. *kat-te-re*[*-ez-z*]*i* (KBo 24.71, 11 (NS))).

PIE *$^{(r)}$*k̑mt-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*°, 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*°) 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-/.

It is in my view evident that this word reflects *$^{(r)}$*k̑mt-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: ***kattuu̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to be aggrieved(?)' (3sg.pret.act. *kad-du-u-u̯a-i*[*t*] (OH/NS), *kad-du-u̯a-i-i*[*t*] (OH/NS)), ***kattau̯ātar / kattau̯ann-*** (n.) 'aggrievedness, enmity' (nom.-acc.sg. *kat-ta-u̯a-a-tar* (OH/NS), *kat-ta-u̯a-tar* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *kat-ta-u̯a-an-na-aš* (OH/NS)), ***kattau̯annalli-*** (adj.) 'vengeful' (nom.sg.c. *kat-ta-u̯a-‹an-›na-al-li-iš* (MH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***kattau̯atnalli-*** (adj.; c.) 'vengeful; plaintiff' (nom.sg.c. *kat-ta-u̯a-at-na‹-al›li-iš*, acc.sg.c. *kat-ta-u̯a-at-na-al-li-in*, *kat-ta-u̯a-at-na-al-li-en*, nom.pl.c. [(*kat-ta-u̯a-at-na-a*)]*l-li-in-zi*, acc.pl.c. *kat-ta-u̯a-at-na-al-li-in-za*).

PIE **k̑h₂et-(e)u-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 138f. for attestations. Although the basic noun *kattu-* is only attested once, on the basis of the derivatives *kattuu̯ae-* and *kattau̯atar* we can set up an adjective **kattu- / kattau̯-* '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 **ḱh₂et-* (laryngeal needed to explain OIr. *-a-*), which would mean that Hitt. *kattu- / kattaṷ-* reflects **ḱh₂et-eu-*. Note that this implies that CLuw. *kattaṷatnalli-* cannot be genuinely Luwian, since **ḱ* > Luw. *z-*, and therefore must be an adaptation of the Hittite word.

GADA***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[?]", 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 **-ṷl̥*) from a verb **kazzarnu-* (for the formation she compares the hapaxes *dalugnul-* and *parganul-* (see at *daluki- / dalugai-* and *parkiṷe/a-*[zi] respectively)). She states that the root *kazzar-* could be connected with **ḱsĕro-* (Gr. ξερόν 'fast, dry land', Lat. *serēscunt* 'they dry', OHG *serawēn* 'to become dry'). As a parallel for the development **#ḱs-* > *#kˡs-* she gives *zakkar-* /ᵗskar/ < **sḱōr*. 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-* /kɨst-/. All in all, I find Rieken's assumption that *kazzarnul-* reflects **ḱser-nu-l-* phonetically improbable. Moreover, since the exact meaning of this noun cannot be established, this etymology lacks any semantic background as well.

(UZU)***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-ṷa-an* (Bo 4463, 13 (NS)), gen.sg. *ge-nu-ṷa-aš* (OS), *ge-e-nu-ṷa-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ge-nu-u=š-ši* (MH/NS), *ge-nu-ṷa* (NS), abl. *ge-e-nu-ṷa-za* (NH), *ge-nu-ṷa-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-ṷa* (NH), *ge-nu-ṷa* (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-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *ge-nu-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *ka-nu-u̯a-aš* (NS).

Derivatives: ***genuššariie/a-***^{zi}, ***kanuššariie/a-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-an-t-*, *ke-nu-uš-ša-ri-i̯a-an-t-*, *ge-nu-šar-ri-an-t-*, *ka-nu-uš-ša-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (NS), *ka-nu-ša-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (MS); verb.noun *ge-nu-uš-ri-u̯a-ar* (NS); impf. *ge-nu-uš-ša-ri-eš-ke/a-*), ***genušrinu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make kneel' (3sg.pres.act. *ge-nu-uš-ri-nu-zi* (MS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *jā́nu-*, Gr. γόνυ, TochA *kanw-*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* 'knee'.

PIE **ǵénu- / *ǵn-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. *jā́nu-*, Gr. γόνυ, TochA *kanw-*, TochB *keni* reflect **ǵón-u-*; Lat. *genū* reflects **ǵén-u-*; and Goth. *kniu*, ON *kné*, OE *cnēow* < **ǵn-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-/ < **ǵénu-*. The spellings *ka-nu-* and *ga-nu-* are sometimes interpreted as reflecting **ǵónu-*, 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-/ < **ǵn-(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. **ǵónu*, gen. **ǵénu-s* and that the forms that show **ǵn-eu-* are secondary. Nevertheless, the Hittite forms seem to point to a paradigm **ǵén-u*, **ǵn-éu-s*.

The verb *kanuššariie/a-*^{zi} must be compared to e.g. *naḫšariie/a-*^{zi} 'to be afraid' (**neh₂-sr-i̯e/o-*) and possibly *šešariie/a-*^{zi} 'to sieve' (**seh₁-sr-i̯e/o-*?), and reflects **ǵn-eu-sr-i̯e/o-* or **ǵn-u-sr-i̯e/o-* (compare Rieken 1999a: 276). The *e*-grade form *genuššariie/a-* must be secondary to the noun.

kenu-^{zi}: see *kīnu-*^{zi}

$^{(UZU)}$***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-*[(*u̯a-*)*az*], instr. [*ge-*]*en-zu-i-t=a-at=kán* (KBo 30.30 rev.

7 (OS)), nom.-acc.pl. *ge-en-zu-u-u̯a* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ge-en-zu-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS, OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***genzuu̯e/a-***^{zi}, ***genzuu̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic1 / Ic2) 'to treat gently, to be compassionate (towards), to be kind (to)' (2sg.pres.act. *ge-en-zu-u̯a-i-ši* (OH/NS), *ge-en-zu-u̯a-ši* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ge-en-zu-u̯a-it* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ge-en-zu-u̯a-i* (NH)), ***genzuu̯ala-*** (adj.) 'kindhearted' (nom.sg.c. *ge-en-zu-u̯a-la-aš* (NH), *gi-in-zu-u̯a-la-aš* (MH/NS)).

PIE **ǵenh$_1$-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-*^{i} */ d-* 'to take pity on', *genzu ḫar(k)-*^{zi} 'to have fondness for', *genzu pai-*^{i} */ pi-* 'to extend kindness', but also in its derivatives *genzuu̯ae-*^{zi} 'to be gentle with' and *genzuu̯ala-* 'kindhearted'. The literal meaning 'lower abdomen' ('*area of the loins'?) and the metaphoric meaning 'kindness' seem to fit the PIE root **ǵenh$_1$-* 'to beget, to procreate' (Skt. *jan*^{i}*-* '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$_1$-su-* (cf. Skt. *ráṃsu-* 'enjoyable', *dhákṣu-* 'burning', but also Hitt. *tepšu-* < **d^{h}eb^{h}-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$_1$-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 *ráṃsu-* 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 **ǵénh$_1$-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$_1$s-* behaved differently when in intervocalic position (**VmsV* > *VššV* (**h$_2$emsu-* > *ḫaššu-*) whereas **Vmh$_1$sV* > *VnšV* (**h$_2$ómh$_1$sei* > *ānši*)), so did *-ns-* and *-nh$_1$s-*

behave differently as well. The first one assimilated to *-šš-*, whereas **Vnh$_1$sV* yielded *VnzV* (for this outcome compare **CnsV* > *CanzV* and **CmsV* > *CanzV*).

The preservation of *-e-* is quite remarkable. Apparently, *genzu-* < **ǵenh$_1$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$_1$sV* > *VnzV*; (3) **eRCC* > *aRCC*.

$^{(UZU)}$*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-i̯a-aš* (MH/MS), *kar-di-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *kar-di-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *kar-di* (OS), *kar-ti* (OS), *kar-ti-i* (NH), *kar-di-i̯a-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 *kardimi̯e/a-*^{zi}.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***kārt-*** 'heart' (dat.-loc.sg. *ka-a-ar-ti*); CLuw. ^{UZU}***z̥ārt-*** 'heart' (nom.-acc.sg. *za-a-ar-za*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-ar-ti*, abl.-instr. ^{UZU}ŠÀ-*ti*, case? *za-ar-ta*); HLuw. ^{COR}***z̥art(i)-*** (n.) 'heart' (nom.-acc.sg. /t^{s}art=sa/ *za+ra/i-za* (KULULU 5 §11), gen.sg. /t^{s}artias/ ^{COR}*za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá* (ALEPPO 3 §1), dat.-loc.sg. /t^{s}arti/ *za+ra/i-ti* (KARABURUN §12), gen.adj.acc.sg.c. /t^{s}artasin/ *za+ra/i-ta-si-na* (KÖRKÜN §11)), ***z̥artii̯a-*** 'to wish' (3sg.pres.act. /t^{s}artiti/ *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i(-i)* (KARABURUN §7, §9, TELL AHMAR 2 §13, SULTANHAN §46), 3sg.pret.act. /t^{s}artita/ ^{COR}*za+ra/i-ti-i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20)).

PAnat. **ḱēr*, **ḱrdios*, **ḱrd-´*

IE cognates: Gr. κῆρ, Arm. *sirt*, OCS *srъdьce*, Lith. *širdìs*, OPr. *seyr*, Lat. *cor*, OIr. *cride*, Skt. *hārdi / hr̥d-*, *hr̥daya-* 'heart'

PIE **ḱēr*, **ḱrd-i-ós*, **ḱrd-´*

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*$^{!}$*-ta-aš-ma* in the following context:

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(12) *nu* Ú$^{ḪI.A}$*-an* KUR$^{!}$.KUR^{MEŠ} GU$_4$$^{ḪI.A}$ UDU$^{ḪI.A}$ UR.GI$_7$$^{ḪI.A}$ ŠA[Ḫ]$^{ḪI.A}$ *ti-in-n*[*u-zi/ut*]

(13) DUMU^{MEŠ} *kar*$^{!}$*-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*$^{!}$*-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^{2} Ḫ: 54 reads [^{GI}]^{Š}[GEŠ]TI̯N in the break, however, and interprets *kar*$^{!}$*-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. *u̯ār-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. *kardi̯aš* and HLuw. gen.sg. *za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá* is remarkable and points to PAnat. **ḱrdios*. All in all, we can reconstruct a PAnat. paradigm **ḱ(e̯)r*, **ḱrdios*, **ḱrd-*.

Already since Hrozný (1922b: 69[1]), 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 **ḱēr* on the basis of Gr. κῆρ, Skt. *hārdi*, Arm. *sirt*, OPr. *seyr*. The PAnat. gen.sg. **ḱrdios* can be compared to *i*-extensions as visible in Gr. καρδίη 'heart' and Skt. *hṛ̯daya-*, Av. *zərəδaiia-*.

The interpretation of the word *ke-er-ti-it-ta* in KBo 3.21 iii (11) ^{d}IM-*aš ke-er-ti-it-ta mi-nu-an-du li-iš-ši=ma-a=t-ta u̯a-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-*, *ḫaḫri-*, *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[9]) 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 **ḱérd-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 **ḱérd-i* would yield Hitt. *kerti*: according to her **éRC* > *aRC*, and thus **ḱérd-i* > *karti*. The fact that **eRCV* remains *eRCV* is clearly visible in e.g **k^{w}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. **ḱérd-i*, whereas Hitt. dat.-loc.sg. *kartī* goes back to the PIE dat.sg. **ḱrd-éi*. Note that Puhvel also cites a dat.-loc.sg. *girdi* on the basis of KUB 53.50 i (3) URU-*aš gìr-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-^{zi}: see *kiš-*^{zi}

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^{MEŠ}*-an-ta*, dat.-loc.pl. *iš-ša-ra‹-an›-z*[*a*], gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.nt. *iš-ša-ra‹-aš-ša›-an-za*), ***iššarallattar-*** (n.) 'bracelet' (nom.-acc.pl. *iš-ša-ra-la-ad-da-ra*), ***išaru̯aia-*** (adj.) 'favourable (vel sim.)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-šar-ú-u̯a-i̯a-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *i-šar-u̯a-i̯a*), ***išaru̯ila/i-*** 'right hand' (nom.sg.c. *i-šar-ú-i-li-iš*, *i-šar-u̯i*$_5$*-li-iš*, abl.-instr. *i-šar-ú-i-la-ti*), ***išaru̯ili(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'of the right hand (> favourable)' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *i-šar-ú-i-li-i̯a-an*, abl.-instr.? [*i-šar-*]*ú-i-ri-i̯a-a-ti*); HLuw. ***istra/i-*** (c.) 'hand' (acc.sg /istrin/ ^{MANUS}*i-sà-tara/i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A7 §3), "MANUS"*-tara/i-na* (JISR EL HADID fr.2 line 2), dat.-loc.sg. /istri/ ^{MANUS}*i-sà-tara/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §15, §17, §22), MANUS-*tara/i* (KARKAMIŠ A21 §3), abl. /istradi/ ["MA]NUS"*-tara/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §2b)); Lyc. ***izre/i-*** 'hand' (abl.-instr. *izredi*).

PAnat. **gésr-*

IE cognates: Gr. χείρ ‘hand’, Arm. *jern* ‘hand’, TochA *tsar*, TochB *ṣar* ‘hand’, Alb. *dorë* ‘hand’, Skt. *hásta-* ‘hand’ (**ǵʰés-to-*).

PIE **ǵʰés-r / *ǵʰs-ér-m / *ǵʰs-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. χείρ ‘hand’, which in view of Arm. *jern* and Skt. *hásta-* ‘hand’ must reflect **ǵʰes-r*. In Hittite, we find a variaty 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 **ǵʰes-r-* must have been ‘holodynamic’, **ǵʰés-ōr / *ǵʰés-or-ṃ / *ǵʰs-r-és / *ǵʰs-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 **ǵʰés-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 **ǵʰés-r*, in which **s* has been fortited due to contact with *-r-*. With this pre-form it is an exact match with Gr. χείρ. The reconstructed acc.sg. **ǵʰés-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 /kɨSéran/ < **ǵʰs-ér-m* (for the possible development of **#KsV- > Hitt. /KɨSV-/ 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/ < **ǵʰes-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 /kɨSrás/ < *ǵʰs-r-ós* or for /kiSrás/ < **ǵʰes-r-ós* (compare Gr. χείρος < **ǵʰesr-os*). Dat.-loc.sg. *kiš(ša)rī*, all.sg. *kišrā* and abl. *kiš(ša)raz* stand for /kɨSr-/ < **ǵʰs-r-*́ or /kiSr-/ < **ǵʰes-r-*́. Instr. *kiššarta /*

kiššarat stands for /kɨSrt/ < *$ǵ^h$s-r-t*. Acc.pl. *kiššeruš* stands for /kɨSérus/ < *$ǵ^h$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 *$ǵ^h$és-r*, *$ǵ^h$s-ér-m*, *$ǵ^h$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) *ǵes-r-o-*, a thematicized form of PAnat. *ǵes-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. *išarṵaia-*, *išarṵila/i-* and *išarṵili(ia)-* 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 *īš(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. ἐπὶ κάρ 'head down', ἀνὰ κάρ 'upwards'.

PIE **ḱed* + **ḱr(h$_2$)*

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. ἐπὶ κάρ 'head down', ἀνὰ κάρ 'upwards', which must somehow reflect PIE **ḱreh$_2$* '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 *-ḱ$_̥$r-h$_2$*, which would be the reduced form of **ḱréh$_2$* in univerbation. It is difficult to judge whether a development **ḱrh$_2$* > Hitt. *kar*, Gr. κάρ is regular. In Greek, I know of no comparable instances of *-*Crh$_2$*#. Rix (1992: 75) only cites examples for the outcome of *-*Cnh$_2$*#: **ḱrh$_2$sn-h$_2$* > Gr. (Hom.) κάρηνα and **g^{w}elh$_1$-mn-h$_2$* > Gr. (Hom.) βέλεμνα 'projectile'. These forms show that we would expect that *-**ḱrh$_2$* yielded Gr. **κρά. In Hittite, if *kar* reflects **ḱr-h$_2$*, 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. ἐπὶ κάρ may never have had a laryngeal at all. She argues that the univerbation **-ḱr* stems from the time that there still was a root **ḱer-* 'bone substance' (of which later the extensions **ḱer-h₂-* 'head', **ḱer-no-* 'horn' e.a. were formed). According to her, this **-ḱr* did not receive a laryngeal at all, because "already in PIE the form **-ḱr* in univerbated 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-*$^{tta(ri)}$** (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-i̯a-an-ta* (OS), *ki-i̯a-an-da* (NS), *ki-an-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ki-i̯a-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-i̯a-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. ***kī-*** 'to lie' (3sg.pres.midd. *ki-i-ta-ar*); CLuw. ***zī-*** 'to lie' (3sg.pres.midd. *zi-i̯a-ar*, *zi-i-i̯a-ri*); Lyc. ***si-*** 'to lie' (1sg.pres.midd. *siχani*, 3sg.pres.midd. *sijẽni*, *sijeni*, 3pl.pres.midd. *sitẽni*).

PAnat. **ḱíi̯-*

IE cognates: Skt. *śáye*, *śéte* 'to lie', Av. *saēte* 'to lie', Gr. κεῖμαι 'to lie'.

PIE **ḱéi-to / *ḱéi-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. κεῖται 'to lie', which reflect **ḱei-*. Because the Sanskrit and the Greek verb show the static inflection (Skt. 3sg. *śáye*, 3pl. *śére*; Gr. 3sg. κεῖται, 3pl. κέατο < **ḱéi-n̥to*), 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) asssumed that *-*ei*- is raised to -*ī*- after a velar consonant (also in *kīš*-$^{a(ri)}$ / *kiš*- (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* < *ḱónk-h*$_2$*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 *u̯ītt*- 'year' < **u̯ét*- 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*° 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: **ḱei*- > Pal. *kī*-, CLuw. *zī*- and Lyc. *si(j)*-. This is therefore probably a Proto-Anatolian development. Eichner (l.c.) assumes that **Kei̯*- > **kę̄*- (regular monophthongization of *-*ei*-) and that then the velar gets palatalized to **k'ę̄*-, due to which **ę̄* is raised, yielding **k'ī*-. In my view, we should rather assume that **Kei̯*- was raised to **kii̯*- before the monophthongization of *-*ei̯*- to -*ē*-. In the case of *ki*-$^{tta(ri)}$, this means that PIE **ḱéi̯-tor* yielded PAnat. **ḱíi̯tor*. This **ḱíi̯tor* fell victim to lenition due to the accentuated diphthong, yielding **ḱíi̯dor*. This **ḱíi̯dor* is the immediate preform of Pal. *kītar* (with monophthongization of *-*ii̯*- > -*ī*-). In Pre-Hittite, the synchronically aberrant ending *-*dor* is replaced by the normal ending *-*tor* (with fortis /t/), yielding **ḱíi̯-tor*. It should be noted that /t/ was phonetically a long (geminate) consonant: [kíi̯t:or] or [kíi̯ttor]. In this form, the triconsonantal cluster *-*i̯tt*- is simplified to -*tt*- through loss of the consonantal part of the diphthong *-*ii̯*-, a development comparable to **kíi̯sC* > *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* < **ḱéi-o-i* and *śéte* < **ḱéi-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* < **ḱéi-to* besides CLuw. *zīi̯ari* and Lyc. *sijẽni* < **ḱéi-o*, we must assume that Proto-Anatolian possessed both forms as well (which shows that already in PIE there were two forms: archaic **ḱéi-o* and renewed **ḱéi-to*). From

the two forms, **ḱéi-o* 'won' in the Luwian branch, whereas **ḱéi-to* 'won' in the Palao-Lydo-Hittite branch. Note that I interpret Lyc. *sitẽni*, which is usually cited as 3sg., as a 3pl.-form, reflecting **ḱéinto-* > **ḱi̯nto* > Lyc. /sĩte-/, spelled *site-* (cf. Melchert 1992a: 195 for the fact that *sitẽni* has a plural subject).

=*kki*, **=*kka*** : see at *kui-*

giem-: see *gimm-*

gimm- (c.) 'winter' (Sum. $ŠE_{12}$, Akk. *KUṢṢU*): 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: ***gimaniḭe/a-***^{zi} (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*$_x$ (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)), ***gimmantariḭe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to spend the winter' (3pl.pres.act. $ŠE_{12}$-*i̯a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *gi-im-ma-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), *gi-im-ma-an-da-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH)), see *gimra-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *héman-*, Av. *ziiå̊*, Lat. *hiems*, Gr. χειμών 'winter' etc.

PIE **ǵ^{h}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 the 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^{h}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^{h}iem-* (Lat *hiems* 'winter', Av. *ziiå̊* < **ǵ^{h}iōm*), but also an *n*-stem **ǵ^{h}eim-n-* (Skt. *héman-*, Gr. χείμων, χεῖμα).

In Hittite, an *n*-stem is assuredly attested in the verb *gimaniḭe/a-*^{zi} 'to spend the winter', which reflects **ǵ^{h}im-n-i̯e/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^{h}im-n-* and **ǵ^{h}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 (**ǵʰéim-n*, **ǵʰim-n-ós* > Hitt. ***kēman*, ***kimnāš*) has been taken over by *gimmant*- (**ǵʰim-n-ent*-) at an early stage already. This is supported by the fact that OH *gimaniia/a-*^{zi} is replaced by NH *gimmantariia/a-*^{zi} '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 **u̯ittant*- besides *u̯itt*- '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[90]) discusses the possibility that *gi-e-mi* is an archaic form that has to be equated with Lat. *hiemi* 'in the winter' and reflects **ǵʰiém-i*.

gimmant-: see *gimm-*

gimmara-: see *gimra-*

gimra- (c.) 'the outdoors, countryside, field, military campaign' (Sum. LÍL, Akk. *ṢERU*): 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. **(ʔ)ǵimro-*

PIE **ǵʰim-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. **(ʔ)ǵimro-*.

Sturtevant (1930c: 216) suggested a connection with PIE **dʰeǵʰm-* 'earth'. In view of Hitt. *tēkan / takn-* 'earth' < **dʰeǵʰ-m / *dʰǵʰ-m-* and CLuw. *tiia/imma/i-* 'earth' < **dʰǵʰém-*, it is impossible to derive PAnat. **(ʔ)ǵimro-* from a preform ***dʰǵʰem-ro-*. Tie-ins with IE **ḱei-* 'to lie' (Jucqois 1967: 177) or **kem-* 'to

border' (Van Windekens 1981) are contradicted by CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* that requires PIE *$*g^{(h)}/\acute{g}^{(h)}$*.

Benveniste *apud* Puhvel (l.c.) rather connects *gimra-* to PIE *$*\acute{g}^{h}iem$-* '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 *$*\acute{g}^{h}im$-ro-* indeed would yield Hitt. /kiMra-/ and CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-*, and although *r*-extensions of *$*\acute{g}^{h}iem$-* are found in e.g. Arm. *jmeṙn* 'winter' < *$*\acute{g}^{h}im$-r-inos*, Gr. χειμερινός 'happening in the winter' < *$*\acute{g}^{h}eim$-er-ino-*, Lat. *hībernus* 'winterly' < *$*\acute{g}^{h}eim$-r-ino-* as well, the assumed semantic development may not be self-evident. For a further treatment of *$*\acute{g}^{h}iem$-*, see *gimm-* 'winter'.

kinae-^{zi} (*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-a-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_2-ti / *ki$-n$-h_2-énti$* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 179f. for attestations. This verb is attested in NS texts only and inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class. Because the *ḫatrae*-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 *$*kieh_2$-i̯ō*, 3pl.pres. σῶσι 'they sift' as *$*kieh_2$-ionti* and σήθω 'to sift' < *$*kieh_2$-dʰ*-, thus identifying a root *$*kieh_2$-* 'to sift'. According to Puhvel, this root also had a nasal infixed stem *$*ki-ne-h_2$-* which ended up in Hittite as *kinae-^{zi}*. 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_2-ti / *ki$-n$-h_2-énti* would regularly yield Hitt. **$*kinā$zi / **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* < *$*tineh_1ti$ / *$tinh_1enti$*; *šunnai / šunnanzi* 'to fill' << *$*šunai$ / *šunnanzi* < *$su-no-H-ei$ / *$su-n-H-enti$*). A priori, I would therefore expect to have found Hitt. **kinnae-^{zi}* instead of *kinae-^{zi}*. 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-^{zi}* is, like all original *ḫatrae*-class verbs, a verbal derivative of an *o*-stem noun, *$*kina-i̯e/a$-*. This hypothetical

noun *kina-* then could reflect **kih$_2$-no-* (note that in this way the few plene spellings *ki-i-na-* could be better explained as well).

kīnu-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ki-nu-an-zi* (MS?), *ki-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ke-e-nu-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-t-* (MH/NS), *gi-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; inf.I *ki-nu-ma-an-zi* (MS?), *ki-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (1x, MH/NS); verb.noun gen. *gi-nu-ma-aš* (NS), *ge-e-nu-u̯a-aš* (here?, NS).

PIE **ǵ^{h}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 **ǵ^{h}ieh$_{2/3}$-*, whereas Gr. χήμη 'yawn' and χάνος 'gaping mouth' reflect **ǵ^h(e)h$_2$-*. On the other hand, OCS *zějǫ* 'to yawn' reflects **ǵ^{h}eh$_1$(i)-*, whereas Lat. *hīscō* 'to open up, to yawn' goes back to **ǵ^{h}iH-sḱe/o-*, and OHD *ginēn* 'to yawn' < **ǵ^{h}i-ne-h$_1$-*.

All in all, a reconstruction **ǵ^{h}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)), ***kinuntariia̯l*** (adv.) ‘in the present’ (*ki-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯a-al*), ***kinuntariia̯lalla-*** (adj.) ‘as of now, present’ (abl. *ki-nu-un-ta-ri-i̯a-la-za*, *ki-nu-un-tar-i̯a-la-za*, *ki-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯a-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*]*a-nu-un-tar-ri-š*[*a*]), ***nanuntarri(i̯a)-*** (adj.) ‘of the present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯*]*a-an-za*), ***nānuntarriia̯l(i)-*** (adj.) ‘present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-i̯a-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-i̯a-la*, *na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯a-la*, *na-a-nu-um-ta-ri-i̯a-la*).

PIE **ǩi-num*

The adverb *kinun* ‘now’ is abundantly attested from OS texts onwards. Already in OS texts, it is often attested with the enclitic conjuction *=(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=u̯a* (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’ < **ǩí* (see *kā- / kū- / kī*). The element *nun* probably reflects **num* as still is visible in the one CLuwian attestation with *-m-*, *nānumtariia̯la*. This **num* must be compared to Gr. νῦν ‘now’ and Lat. *nunc* ‘now’. This latter form is especially interesting as it derives from **nun-ce* < **num* + **ǩi*. 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 *kinuntariia̯lalla-* must be compared with Hitt. *nuntariia̯-* (adj.) ‘swift, quick’ and CLuw. *nanuntariia̯-*, reflecting **num-tr-i̯e/o-*.

ginzu-: see $^{(UZU)}$*genzu-*

$^{(GIŠ)}$***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. *ggośtä* 'hand(ful)' and reconstructs **g^{h}eb^{h}esr*, but this does not seem immediately appealing to me. I would rather expect derivation of a root **Keib$^{(h)}$-* or **Kieb$^{(h)}$-*, but have not been able to find a convincing cognate.

kir : see $^{(UZU)}$*ker / kard(i)-*

kīš-$^{a(ri)}$ / kiš- (IIIa) 'to happen, to occur, to turn out to be; (+ *=z*) to become': 1sg.pres.midd. *ki-iš-ḫa* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḫa-ḫa-ri* (MH/NS), *kiš-ḫa-ḫa-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-ḫa-ti* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḫa-at* (OH/MS), *ki-iš-ḫa-ḫa-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-ḫu-ut* (OH/NS), *ki-iš-ḫu-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: ***kikkiš-$^{tta(ri)}$*** (*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-ṷa-an* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: OHG *kēran*, ModHG *kehren* 'to turn'.

PIE **$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$éis-o / *$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$éis-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°* vs. *ki-iš-C°*. From MH times onwards the spelling *ki-šV* starts to appear as well, which becomes standard in NH texts (126 x *ki-šV°* vs. 2x *ki-i-šV°*). This does not effect

the establishment of the original distribution, however. Since the alteration *kīš-V* vs. *kiš-C* is comparable to *link-V* vs. *lik-C* (cf. *li(n)k-*^{zi}) and *ḫark-V* vs. *ḫar-C* (cf. *ḫar(k)-*^{zi}), it is evident that in *kīšV / kišC* a phonological proces has taken place. Oettinger (1976b: 128-9) states that the distribution is due to "das Quantitätengesetz $\breve{\breve{}}$ > $\bar{}$ bei offener erster Silbe", on the basis of which he states that "dieses sekundären Lautgesetzes erlaubt der Stammvokalismus keine Entscheidung zwischen idg. *eḭ*, *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-ḫé* : *iš-ta-a-pí* : *iš-tap-pa-an-zi* is in fact *iš-ta-a-ap-ḫé* (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 *kišC* is the result of a 'shortening' of original **kīšC*, just as we see a 'shortening' in **linkC* > *likC* and **ḫarkC* > *ḫarC*. 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*$_2$*eǵ-* 'to drive', and thus reflects **h*$_2$*ǵ-es-*. This makes the connection between *kǐš-* and Lat. *gerō* improbable, for IE **h*$_2$*ǵ-es-* would have given Hitt. ***ḫakeš-*.

Melchert (1984a: 103) derives *kǐš-* 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 uncompelling.

Eichner (1973a: 78) compares *kǐš-* to OHG *kēran*, ModHG *kehren* 'to turn' that reflect **ǵ*$^{(\mathrm{y})}$*eis-*. Semantically, this etymology is supported by e.g. Gr. πέλομαι 'to turn; to become' < **k*^{w}*el-* 'to turn', Goth. *wairþan* 'to become, to happen' < **u̯ert-* '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* < **ḱéi-to*). The question then is why do we find the distribution **kišC* 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. *ištāpḫi* < **stóp-h*$_2$*ei*, *kānkḫi* < **ḱónk-h*$_2$*ei*). In order to solve this, we have to look closely at the development of **Kei-* > *kī-*. Eichner (l.c.) assumes that **Keḭ-* > **kḛ̄-* (regular monophthongization of **-ei-*) and that then the velar gets palatalized to **k'ḛ̄-*, due to which **ḛ̄* is raised, yielding **k'ī-*. In my view, we must assume that **Keḭ-* was raised to **kiḭ-* before the

monophthongization of *-*eḭ*- to -*ē*-. In this way, we can explain the development of **kiḭCC* > *kiCC* in the same lines as **linkC* > *likC* and **ḫarkC* > *ḫarC*, namely as loss of a consonantal element in a triconsonantal cluster. The sequence **kiḭCV* regularly developed into *kīCV*.

All in all, I believe that *kǐš*- reflects the root **(ə)ǵeis*- 'to turn'. The preform **(ə)ǵéḭs-h₂e* yielded **kíḭsha* > *kišḫa*, whereas the preform **(ə)ǵéḭs-o* yielded **kíḭsa* > *kīša*.

Note that Puhvel states that the reduplicated imperfective *kikkiš*- 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 the we find a geminate -*kk*- here does not have any bearing on the etymological interpretation of *kǐš*-, since the reduplication can be formed quite recently.

kiš-^{zi} (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: ***kiš(ša)nu-***^{zi} (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.)), ^{SÍG}***kiš(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)), ***kišama/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. ***kiš-*** '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. κόσμος '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 *kiš-*^{zi}; *ki-ša-a-iz-zi* and *ki-i-ša-a-id-du* point to a stem *kišae-*^{zi}; *ki-iš-ši-er* points to a stem *kiššiḭe/a-*^{zi}. Since both the *ḫatrae*-class and the -*ḭe/o*-class are very productive in younger Hittite, we can

safely assume that *kišae-^{zi}* and *kiššiy̯e/a-^{zi}* (with gemination due to the following *-y̯-*?) are secondary creations and that the stem *kiš-^{zi}* 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* < **ǵenu-*, *genzu* < **ǵenh$_1$-su-*), and we would therefore expect **kes-* to develop to Hitt. ***keš-*. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 152) therefore reconstructs **kēs-éh$_2$-y̯e/o-*, in which unaccentuated **-ē-* should have yielded Hitt. *-i-*. This preform is based on the stem *kišae-^{zi}* only, which must be secondary, and cannot account for *kiš-^{zi}*.

I would like to propose the following solution. In PIE, the verb **kes-* inflected **kés-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}* < **ǵ$^{(ǵ)h}$sd-óri*, we could expect that **KsV-* would regularly yield Hitt. /kɨsV-/, 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* /kɨsánt^{s}i/ as attested. In my view, it is quite possible that the weak stem /kɨs-/ has spread throughout the paradigm (compare e.g. the situation in *gulš-^{zi}*). 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} (IIIf) '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-^{zi}*** (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-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-t-*; inf.I *ki-iš-ta-nu-um-ma-an-zi*; impf. *ki-iš-ta-nu-uš-ke/a-*), see *kāšt-*.

PAnat. *$^{*(\acute{e})}$gsd-ó*

PIE *$^{*(\acute{e})h}$gsd-ó*

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, *kištuu̯ant-* 'hungry'. This could indicate that *kišt-$^{\bar{a}ri}$* originally meant 'to be starved'. As I have argued extensively under the lemma *kāšt-*, the original root of these words probably was *$^{*(\acute{e})h}$esd-* 'to starve'. Since *kišt-$^{\bar{a}ri}$* belongs to the *tukkāri*-class, which goes back to zero-grade middles, I reconstruct *kištāri* as *$^{*(\acute{e})h}$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 enlcitic particle) 'and(?), furtermore(?)'.

IE cognates: Skt. *ca* 'and', Lat. *-que* 'and', Gr. τε 'and' etc.

PIE *-*k^{w}e*

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=u̯a-a=t-ta na-a-ḫi tu-e̯*[-(*el=ku u̯a-a*)*š-ta-iš*]
(44) *úg=a-at* SIG$_5$-*zi-i̯a-mi Ú-UL-a=k-ku tu*[(-*el u̯*)*a-aš-ta-iš*]
(45) *ú-g=a-at* SIG$_5$-*zi-i̯a-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$^{?}$

(10) 6 *PA* ŠE *ZI-KU-Ú-KI ḫa-at-tar=ku*
(11) *zi-na-a-il=ku šu-me-eš=ku*

'6 *parīsu* of either *zikûki*-meal, *ḫattar*, *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*), *apiḭa=kku* 'there and then' (see *apā- / apū-*) and possibly *anku* 'fully' (q.v.).

The etymon of *=kku* as reflecting the enclitic particle **-$k^{w}e$* has been widely accepted since Pisani (1952: 322). Pisani convincingly assumed that *=kku* reflects /=k^{w}/ with apocope from **-$k^{w}e$* (contra Garett *apud* Melchert (1994a: 184) who interprets *takku* as /tak^{w}u/ < */tak^{w}ə/ < **tok^{w}e*).

In the Laws, we find an enclitic particle *=aku*, of which it is not fully clear whether we should divide it further in *=(ḭ)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$_{19}$)].LU-*an* LÚ-*n=a-ku* (variant: LÚ-*an-n=a-ku*) [(MUNUS-*n=a-ku* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš*)-*ki*(LÚ ^{URU}*Lu-ú-i-ḭa-aš*)]
(37) [(*ta-a*)]-*i-ez-zi*

'If some man from Lūiḭa steals a person from Ḫattuša, either a male or a female, ...'.

Tischler HEG 1: 601 states that "LÚ-na-ku" stands for "LÚ-n-ku = Akk.sg. *antuḫšan-ku*", but this seems hardly credible to me. Perhaps we have to assume *=(ḭ)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 *=u̯a*, by which one could be tempted to analyse it as *=kuu̯a* < **-$k^{w}e$* without apocope. The fact that this is not possible is visible in sentences like

KUB 35.102 ii
(15) [*a*]*n-ni-iš=ku=u̯a=ti pár-na-an-za ma-ad-du-ú*[*-u̯a-ti*]
(16) [*p*]*a-ap-pár-ku-u̯a-at-ti ta-a-ti-iš=pa=u̯a=ti=a*[*-ta*]
(17) [.]x-*ti-ḭa-ti pu-šu-ri-ḭa*[*-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=u̯a=ti ~ tātiš=pa=u̯a=ti(=ata)* show that we have to analyse a separate particle *=u̯a* in both chains.

kueluu̯ana- (c.) 'washbasin (vel sim.)': dat.-loc.sg. [*k*]*u-e-lu-u̯a-ni* (KBo 22.203 obv.[?] 6 (MS?)), nom.pl. *ku-e-lu-u̯a-ni-iš* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ku-e-lu-u̯a-na-aš*, *ku-lu-u̯a-na-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE *$g^{w}elh_1$-u̯on-o-*

Apart from dat.-loc.sg. [*k*]*ueluu̯ani*, 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-u̯a-na-aš* and *ku-lu-u̯a-na-aš* as a scribal error (so the latter form rather *ku-‹e-›lu-u̯a-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 "*$g^{w}el$-" 'to drip, to overflow' (Skt. *gálati* 'to drip', OHG *quellan* 'to well', Gr. βαλανεῖον 'bath') seems convincing. Nevertheless, Gr. (Hom.) βάλον (aor.) 'he fell' (cf. Rix 1992: 74) as well as Skt. *galita-* 'dripped' seem to point to a root *$g^{w}elh_1$-. This would mean that *kuelu̯ana-* reflects *$g^{w}élh_1$-u̯on-o-* (with loss of *h_1 between consonants).

kue(n)-^{zi} / kun- / kuu̯a(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-u̯a-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-i̯a* (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-u̯a-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 *ženǫ* 'to pursue, to hunt down', Lith. *genù* 'id.', Gr. θείνω 'to smite', Lat. *de-fendō* 'to keep off, to defend'.

PIE *g^{wh}én-ti / *g^{wh}n-énti, *g^{wh}n-sḱé/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*, *kueu̯en*, *kuenten*, *kuener*. We see that the *-n-* is lost in front of *m*, *s* and *u̯*. 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-^{i} / 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 *kuu̯aške/a-* is remarkable as it is the only form within the paradigm that shows a stem *kuu̯a(n)-* (unless the hapax form *ku-u̯a-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^{w}ənuéni/). Because of the idea that **K^{w}RC* regularly yields Hitt. *KuRC* and never ***Kuu̯aRC*, it is generally thought that this *kuu̯aške/a-* cannot reflect **K^{w}n-sḱe/o-*, but must be the outcome of **kuen- + -ske/a-*. As I have shown in detail in Kloekhorst fthc.e, the imperfective *kuu̯aške/a-* can be better explained if we assume that the development **K^{w}RC* > Hitt. *KuRC* is valid only when one consonant follows the resonant (so **K^{w}RCV*), whereas in the case that two consonants follow the resonant (**K^{w}RCCV*), we find a development to Hitt. *Kuu̯aRCCV*. In this way, *kuu̯aške/a-* = /k^{w}əské/á-/ shows the regular outcome of the preform **g^{wh}n-sḱé/ó-*, the morphologically expected imperfective.

Already since Hrozný (1919: 73) the etymon has been clear: PIE **g^{wh}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^{wh}énti / *g^{wh}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- / kuu̯a-* '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*^{w}*oi̯-nHsom*: see at *kā- / kū- / ki-* for a treatment of the element *-nzan*. See at *-umen- / -umn-* for a treatment of this suffix.

kuer-^{zi} **/ kur- / kuu̯ar-** (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-e̯-n*[*i*$^{?}$] (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-u̯a-ar-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *kur-aš-ke/a-* (MS), *ku-ri-eš-ke/a-* (NS), *ku-ra-aš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: $^{A.ŠÀ}$***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*), ^{URUDU}***kuruzzi-*** 'cutter' (instr. *ku-ru-uz-zi-it* (NS)), ***kuerš-***^{zi} **/ 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 $^{(TÚG)}$*kurēššar / kurešn-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***kuu̯ar- / kur-*** 'to cut' (3sg.pres.act. *ku-u̯a-ar-ti*, *ku-u̯a-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*), ***kuršau̯ar / kuršau̯(a)n-*** (n.) 'island' (nom.-acc.pl. *gur-ša-u̯a-ra*, dat.-loc.pl. *gur-ša-u-u̯a-na-an-za*, erg.pl. *kur-ša-ú-na-an-ti-in-zi*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *gur-ša-u̯a-na-aš-ši-iš*); HLuw. ***kwar-*** 'to cut (off)' (1sg.pret. $^{"MANUS+CULTER"}$REL+*ra/i-ha-´* = /k^{w}arha/ (MARAŞ 4 §13)).

PAnat. **k*^{w}*er- / *k*^{w}*r-*

IE cognates: Skt. *kṛ-* 'to make', OIr. *cruth* 'shape, form' (< **k*^{w}*r-tu-*), Lat. *curtus* 'short' (< **k*^{w}*r-to-*).

PIE **k*^{w}*ér-t / *k*^{w}*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*[!] (note that the signs RI and ZI are quite alike). The oldest form of the imperfective is *kuu̯araške/a-*, which in my view is the regular outcome of *$*k^{w}$r-sḱé/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 *$*k^{w}$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 *$*k^{w}$ér-t / *k^{w}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), *kueršun* is "ererbt 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 *kuerš-* is just a root-variant of *kuer-* as e.g. *karš-*^{zi} is of *iškār-*^{i} / *iškar-* < **(s)ker-*. If this were the case, we would expect that *$*k^{w}$er-s-* would yield Hitt. **$**ku̯arš-* 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 *kueršun* 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-*^{i} / *kurš-*. Starke (1990: 536[1978]), however, translates "Solange ich das Land besiedlen werde, solange trenne es ab!", taking *kuršāi* as 2sg.imp.act. of a stem *kuršae-*^{zi}. He assumes that this *kuršae-* is a Hittite borrowing from a Luwian verb **kurša-* which is visible in CLuw. *kuršau̯ar* 'island'.

kueru̯ana-: see *kureu̯ana- / kueru̯ana-*

kui- / kue- / kuu̯a- (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*$_4$, *ku-el-ka*$_4$, *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*$_4$ (NH), *ku-e-ez-ga* (NS), nom.pl.c. *ku-i-e-eš-ka*$_4$ (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*$_4$ (NH), *ku-e-ka*$_4$ (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *ku-e-da-aš-ka*$_4$ (NH)), ***kui-* + *=(i)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-i̯a* (MH/MS), *ku-e-ta-ni-i̯a* (OH/NS), abl. *ku-e-ez-zi-i̯a* (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)), ***kuu̯āt*** (interrog. adv.) 'why?; (+ 'if') for some reason; (*kuu̯at imma kuu̯at*) for whatever reason' (*ku-u̯a-a-at* (OS), *ku-u̯a-at* (MH/MS), *ku-u-u̯a-at* (1x)), ***kuu̯ātka*** (marked indef.) 'in some way, somehow, perhaps' (*ku-u̯a-a-at-k*[*a*] (OS), *ku-u̯a-at-ka*$_4$ (MH/MS), *ku-at-ka*$_4$ (1x)), ***kuu̯atta(n)*** (interrog. adv.) 'where?, whither?'; (rel. conj.) 'where, whither'; (indef. adv.) 'somewhere', ***kuu̯atta kuu̯atta*** (adv.) 'in every way', ***kuu̯atta imma kuu̯atta*** 'wherever', ***kuu̯atta* (*imma kuu̯atta*) *šer*** 'wherefore, whatever for' (*ku-u̯a-at-ta*, *ku-u̯a-at-ta-an*, *ku-u̯a-at-tan*$_x$ (1x), *ku-u̯a-ta-an* (1x), *ku-u̯a-tan*$_x$ (1x)), ***kuu̯āpi(t)*** (interrog. adv.) 'where?, whither?; when?'; (rel. conj.) 'where, whither; when' (*ku-u̯a-a-pí-it*, *ku-u̯a-pí-it* (OS), *ku-u̯a-a-pí* (MH/MS), *ku-u̯a-pí* (MH/MS)), ***kuu̯āpikki*** (indef. adv.) 'somewhere, sometime, ever' (*ku-u̯a-a-pí-ik-ki* (OS), *ku-u̯a-a-pí-ki* (OS), *ku-u̯a-pí-ik-ki* (MH/MS, often), *ku-u̯a-pí-ki* (rare), *ku-u-u̯a-pí-ik-ki* (1x), *ku-u̯a-pí-ik-ka*$_4$ (rare)), ***kuu̯āpitta***, ***kuu̯apii̯a*** (generalizing adv.) 'everywhere, always' (*ku-u̯a-a-pí-it-ta* (OS), *ku-u̯a-pí-it-ta*, *ku-u̯a-pí-i̯a*), ***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*$_4$).

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-*** **+ *=ḫa*** (indef. pron.) 'some/any(one)' (nom.sg.c. *ku-iš-ḫa*, acc.sg.c. *ku-i-en-ḫa*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ku-i-ḫa*); HLuw. ***kwi-*** (rel. and interrog. pron.) 'who, what' (nom.sg.c. /k^{w}is/ REL-*i-sa*, REL-*sa*, acc.sg.c. /k^{w}in/ REL-*i-na*, REL-*na*, nom.-acc.sg.n. /k^{w}at=sa/ REL-*a-za*, REL-*za*, dat.-loc.sg. /k^{w}adi/ REL-*a-ti*, REL-*a-ti-i*, REL-*ti*, REL+*ra/i*, REL+*ra/i-i*, nom.pl.c. /k^{w}int^{s}i/ REL-*i-zi*, REL-*zi*, acc.pl.c. /k^{w}int^{s}i/ REL-*i-zi*, REL-*zi*, nom.-acc.pl.nt. /k^{w}ia/ REL-*ia*), ***kwi-*** **+ *=ha*** (indef. pron.) 'someone' (nom.sg.c. /k^{w}isha/ REL-*i-sa-ha*, REL-*sa-ha*, acc.sg.c. /k^{w}inha/ REL-*i-ha*, dat.-loc.sg. /k^{w}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^{w}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*), ***km̃me/i-*** 'how(ever) many' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *km̃mẽ*, acc.pl.c. *km̃mis*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *km̃ma*), ***km̃mẽt(i)-*** 'how(ever) many' (nom.pl.c. *km̃mẽtis*, acc.pl.c. *km̃mẽtis*).

PAnat. **k^{w}i-*, **k^{w}o-*

IE cognates: e.g. Skt. *kás*, *ká́*, *kát*/*kím*, OCS *kъto*, *čьto*, Gr. τίς, τί, Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Goth. *ƕas*, *ƕo*, *ƕa*

PIE **k^{w}i- / *k^{w}e- / *k^{w}o-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 218f. for attestations. All Anatolian languages show reflexes of the relative and indefinite pronoun **k^{w}e- / *k^{w}i- / *k^{w}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^{w}e-*, **k^{w}i-* and **k^{w}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* /ʔáSo/ 'goods' < **-uh$_2$* in which **h$_2$* caused lowering of **u* to /o/). A stem *kuu̯a-* < **k^{w}o-* is found in *kuu̯āt* 'why' and *kuu̯āpi(t)* 'where, whither', both showing *-ā-* < **-ó-* in the oldest texts (*kuu̯āt* < **k^{w}ód* (cf. Lat. *quod*) and *kuu̯āpi(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/$^{?}$ (which contrasts with CLuw. nom.-acc.sg.n. *kui*) and dat.-loc.sg. REL-*a-ti* = /k^{w}adi/$^{?}$. 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 *km̃me/i-* and *km̃mẽt(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-* + *=(i̯)a* 'everyone' must be etymologically cognate with CLuw. *kui-* + *=ḫa* 'someone', HLuw. *kui-* + *=ha* 'someone' and Lyc. *ti-* + *=ke* 'someone' < PAnat. **k^{w}i-* + **=h$_3$e* (see at *=(i̯)a* for this reconstruction and the fact that Hitt. *=(i̯)a* ~ Luw. *=ḫa* 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 **=ḱi* and **=ḱo* respectively (**ḱ* because of Lyc. *s*). Scholars have always been tempted to equate *kui-* + *=kki / =kka* with Lat. *quisque* 'whoever', which generally is derived from **$k^{w}$is-k^{w}e*. Attempts to derive Hitt. *kuiški* through dissimilation from **$k^{w}$is-k^{w}e* (e.g. Oettinger 1983: 182, 185[17], who also adduces Av. *ci-ca*) have no merit: if **$k^{w}$is-k^{w}e* would have been altered through dissimilation, we would expect **$k^{w}$is-ke* (with a plain velar), which is contradicted by the palatovelar that is reflected in Lyc. *tise* (< **k^{w}i(s)-ḱo*). If one insists on upholding the connection between Hitt. *kuiš-ki* and Lat. *quisque* and Av. *ci-ca*, one should rather assume that **$k^{w}$is-k^{w}e* as reflected in Latin and Avestan is a reshaped form itself, which arose out of **$k^{w}$is-ḱe* through assimilation. One could then assume that this assimilation is triggered by the formation **$k^{w}$is $k^{w}$is*. Note that the enclitic **-ḱe* is also visible in Lat. *nunc* 'now' < **num-ḱe* (cf. Hitt. *kinun* < **ḱi-num*), *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* (OLat. *hoce* < **hod-ke*) < **g^{h}e/o-* + *-ḱe*.

kukkurš- / kuu̯akuu̯arš- (Ib1) 'to cut up, to mutilate': part. *ku-kur-ša-an-t-* (NS), *ku-gur-ša-an-t-* (NS); impf. *ku-u̯a-ku-u̯a-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^{w}-k^{w}rs-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 235 for attestations. This verb seems to display a reduplication of the verb *kuerš-^{zi}*, for which see under *kuer-^{zi} / kur- / kuu̯ar-*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.e, the form *kuu̯akuu̯araške/a-* is the regular outcome of **-k^{w}rs-sḱe/o-*, whereas *kukkuraške/a-* and *kukkureške/a-* are younger formations in which the synchronic weak stem has been introduced. See at *kuer-^{zi}* for further etymology.

kukuš-^{zi} (Ib1) 'to taste': 3sg.pres.act. *ku-ku-uš*[*-zi*$^{?}$] (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*$^{?}$ ...]

is too broken to base any conclusion on. The second context is better preserved: it describes a ritual:

KUB 10.99 i
(24) ^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU$_9$ *A-NA* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA 1=*ŠU*
(25) *me-ma-i ta-u̯a-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*)]*ḷa-ḷan A-NA* LUGAL GEŠTIN ^{NINDA}*ḫar-za-zu-un-n*[*a*$^{?}$]
(29) [x - x - x - x -*z*]*i n=a-an ku-ku-uš-zi*

//
KBo 47.247 vi$^{?}$
(10) [(^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU$_9$ NI)]NDA.GUR$_4$.RA 1=*ŠU*
(11) [(*me-ma-i ta-u̯a-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 ^{NINDA}*ḫar-za-zu-u*]*n-n=a*$^{?}$ *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 *tau̯al*-. The king *u̯elala*-s (and) *u̯ella*-s. He *u̯ella*-s thus in Luwian. [They bring$^{?}$] forth wine and *ḫarzazu*-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-^{zi}: see *gulš-*^{zi}

gulš-^{zi} (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-u̯a-ar* (NS), *gul-aš-šu-u̯a-ar* (NS); impf. *gul-aš-ke/a-* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ^{d}***Gulša-*** (c.) ‘fate-goddess’ (nom.sg. ^{d}*Gul-ša-aš*, ^{d}*Gul-aš-ša-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. ^{d}*Gul-ši*, nom.pl. ^{d}*Gul-še-eš*, acc.pl. ^{d}*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. ^{d}***Gulzannikeš*** ‘fate-godesses’ (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*), ^{d}***Gulza-*** (c.) ‘fate, fate-goddess’ (acc.sg. ^{d}*Gul-za-an*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *gul-za-aš-ša*), $^{GIŠ(.ḪUR)}$***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^{w}ls-énti*

See Puhvel HED 4: 239f. for attestations. All forms are spelled *gul-aš-C°*, *gul-šV°* or *gul-aš-šV°*. The spellings with geminate *-šš-* point to a phonological /k^{w}lS-/. The verb denotes ‘to carve, to inscribe’. From it the noun *gulša-* ‘*what has been inscribed > fate’ has been derived, which is deified as ^{d}*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^{w}l̥-s-* ‘to sting’ (from a root **g^{w}el-* as visible in Lith. *gélti* ‘to sting’, Gr. βαλόνη ‘needle’ (which in fact must reflect **g^{w}elH-* because of the acute in Lithuanian)). The main objection against this etymology is the fact that **g^{w}* should have yielded Luw. *u̯*. Oettinger (1979a: 204), Starke (1990: 464) and Melchert (1994a: 150) all connect *gulš-* with PIE **k^{w}els-* ‘to draw furrows’ (probibly an *s*-extension from **k^{w}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^{w}él̥s-ti / *k^{w}ls-énti* should regularly yield Hitt. ***kuu̯alšzi / kulšanzi*, but apparently the weak stem was generalized.

kuluu̯ana-: see *kueluu̯ana-*

kunna- (adj.) ‘right (hand or side); right, favourable, succesfull’ (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*), ***kunnaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to set aright, to get it right, to succeed’ (1sg.pres.act. ZAG-*aḫ-mi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. ZAG-*na-aḫ-ḫa-a-an-zi* (MH/NS), part. ZAG-*an-t-*; verb.noun *ku-un-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (NS); impf. ZAG-*na-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)), ***kunnēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to turn out right’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-un-ni-eš-zi* (MH/MS)).

PIE **ǩun-no-* ?

See Puhvel HED 4: 245f. for attestations. The etymological interpretation of these words is difficul. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 89-90) connected *kunna-* with Av. *spənta-*, Lith. *šveñtas*, OCS *svętъ* ‘holy, sacred’, Skt. *śunám* ‘success(fully)’ that reflect a root **ǩuen-*. A direct equation with Skt. *śunám* is impossible, however, since **ǩun-o-* should have yielded Hitt. *kuna-* and not *kunna-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 162). One could solve this by assuming an *-no*-stem **ǩun-no-*. Melchert (l.c.) rather derives *kunna-* from **ǩuh$_2$-no-* ‘the strong one’, connecting it with Skt. *śávas-* ‘might’ (**ǩeu̯h$_2$-o-*) and *śū́ra-* ‘hero’ (**ǩuh$_2$-ro-*). If this is correct, then this would show that **Vh$_2$nV* > Hitt. *VnnV* (cf. the discussion about **Vh$_2$RV* at ^{GIŠ}*māḫla-*, ^{UZU}*muḫrai-/maḫrai-* and ^{GIŠ}*zaḫrai-*). Both etymologies are semantically possible, but I would be inclined to follow the first one.

Note that both etymologies preclude a connection with CLuw. *kummai̯a/i-*, Lyc. *kume/i-* ‘holy’ since **ǩ-* would have yielded Luw. *z-* and Lyc. *s-*.

^{NA_4}***kunkunuzzi-*** (c.) ‘rock’ (Sum. ^{NA_4}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-i̯a-aš*, *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi*, instr. *ku-un-ku-nu-zi-it*.

PIE **g^{wh}n-g^{wh}n-u-ti-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 251f. for attestations and semantic treatment. The word ^{NA_4}*kunkunuzzi-* denotes ‘rock’ and is predominantly attested in the Song of Ullikummi, which tells about ^{NA_4}*kunkunuzzi-* ^{d}*Ullikummi-* ‘the Rock Ullikummi’. Because of contexts like KUB 41.ii 39 ^{NA_4}*ku-un-ku-nu-uz-it u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫa-na-i* ‘he

strikes with a *kunkunuzzi-*' and KUB 22.70 rev. (55) *nam-ma=at* ^{NA_4}*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- / kuu̯an-* 'to strike, to kill'. For the reconstruction of *-uzzi-* as **-u-ti-*, cf. Rieken (1999a: 476). For a treatment of *kue(n)-*^{zi} */ kun- / kuu̯an-*, see there.

kur-: see *kuer-*^{zi} */ kur- / kuu̯ar-*

$^{(TÚG)}$***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*$^{ḪI.A}$.

Derivatives: ^{TÚG}***kurešnae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to provide with head-dress' (part. *ku-re-eš-na-an-t-*, *ku-ri-iš-na-an-t-* 'coiffed').

PIE **k*^{w}*r-éh*$_1$*sh*$_1$*-r / -n-*

See Puhvel HED 4: 262f. for attestations. Just as *ḫukeššar / ḫukešn-* 'slaughter' is derived from *ḫuek-*^{zi} **/** *ḫuk-* 'to slaughter' and *ašeššar / ašešn-* 'meeting' from *eš-*$^{a(ri)}$ **/** *aš-* 'to sit', so does *kureššar / kurešn-* belong to *kuer-*^{zi} **/** *kur- / kuu̯ar-* 'to cut' and reflects **k*^{w}*r-éh*$_1$*sh*$_1$*-r*. The original meaning therefore must have been '*cut piece (of cloth) > piece of cloth'. See at *kuer- / kur- / kuu̯ar-* for further etymology.

kureu̯ana- / kueru̯ana- (adj.) describing a foreign person or country in relation to a superior potentate: nom.pl.c. *ku-re-e-u̯a-ni-eš* (MH/MS), *ku-re-u̯a-ni-eš* (NH), [*ku-*]*re-ú-u̯a-nu-uš* (NS), *ku-re-u̯a-na*[*-aš*] (MH/NS), [*k*]*u-e-ru-u̯a-nu-uš* (NH), *ku-er-u̯a-na-aš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ku-re-u̯a-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 *kureu̯ana-* and a stem *kueru̯ana-*, which is quite remarkable. If the word is of IE origin, it apparently shows an ablaut *kuer-u-* vs. *kur-eu̯-*. Neumann (1961a: 93) analyses the word as showing a Luwian suffix *-u̯ana-* 'pertaining to' attached to the stem *kuera-* 'field' (q.v.). He states that "[d]ie beiden Wechselformen

könnten etwa verschiedene Dissimilationsprodukte eines **kuiriu̯ana-* 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: ^{LÚ}***gurtau̯anni-*** (adj.) 'man of the citadel' (nom.sg. *gur-ta-u̯a-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 **ǵʰór-to-* (Gr. χόρτος 'yard', Lat. *hortus* 'garden') and **ǵʰr̥-dʰó-* (Skt. *gr̥há-* 'house', OCS *gradъ* '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 *-r̥-*. Because of its late attestation (NH only) and the derivative *gurtau̯anni-* that shows a Luwian suffix *-u̯anna/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 **ǵʰrdʰo-*. Nevertheless, because in Luwian the normal outcome of **CrC* is also *CarC*, this etymology remains problematic. Kimball (1999: 250) suggests a reconstruction **gʷrto-*, derived from a root **gʷer-* 'mountain, height' as visible in Skt. *giri-* 'mountain', Av. *gairi-* 'mountain', OCS *gora* 'mountain'. These forms rather point to **gʷerH-*, however.

$^{GIŠ(.ḪUR)}$***kurta-*** (gender unclear) 'wooden tablet' (Sum. GIŠ.ḪUR, Akk. ^{GIŠ}*LE-U*$_5$): 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 **kʷr-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-i̯a-z=a-at=kán* $^{GIŠ.ḪUR}$*gur-da-*[*za*]
(5) *ar-ḫa gul-aš-ša-an-za* x[...]

which Puhvel (who reads GIŠ.ḪUR *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.ḪUR 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.ḪUR as a determinative of *gurda*[*za*]. As a parallel he cites KUB 42.103 iii (13) *an-na-la-z=a-at=kán* (14) $^{\text{GIŠ.ḪUR}}$*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-*^{zi} */ kur-* ‘to cut’ (q.v.), originally meaning “das Abgeschnittene” (although Starke assumes a Luwian origin, and subsequently derivation from CLuw. *kuu̯ar-* ‘to cut’). This latter translation and etymological account seems attractive to me, and I therefore reconstruct **k^{w}r-to-*. See at *kuer-*^{zi} */ kur- / kuu̯ar-* 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*$^{ḪI.A}$, *ku-ru-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$, *ku-u-ru-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$, dat.-loc.pl. *ku-u-ru-ra*[*-aš*].

Derivatives: ***kūruriia/e-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to be hostile’ (3sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ra-iz-zi* (NS)), ***kūruriiaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to wage war (on), to act hostile (towards) (+ dat.), to become enemies’ (2sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ti* (NH), *ku-ru-u-ri-ia-aḫ-ti* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ta*, *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ta*, *ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. *ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*, 3pl.pres.act. *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-u-ru-ri-i-ia-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫe-er*, *ku-u-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫe-er*, 3sg.imp.act. *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-du*; part. *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*, *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*, *ku-u-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; inf.I *ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫu-an-zi*; impf. *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*, *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*), ****kururatar / kururann-*** (n.) ‘enmity, hostility’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ru-ra-an-ni* (NH)), **^{LÚ}KÚR-*na-*** (c.) ‘enemy’ (nom.sg. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*aš* (OS), acc.sg. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*an*, dat.-loc.sg.c. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ni* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KÚR, acc.pl.c. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KÚR-*uš*, ^{LÚ}KÚR^{MEŠ}-*uš*, dat.-loc.pl.c. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*na-š=a-at* (OS)), **^{LÚ}KÚR-*nili*** (adv.) ‘in enemy fashion’ (^{LÚ}KÚR-*ni-li* (NH), ^{LÚ}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 ^{LÚ}KÚR 'enemy' (thus e.g. Puhvel l.c.), but all occurrences of ^{LÚ}KÚR with an unambiguous phonetic complement point to a stem in *-na-* (dat.-loc.sg. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ni*, dat.-loc.pl. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*naš*, adv. ^{LÚ}KÚR-*nili*): we never find **^{LÚ}KÚR-*ra-*, which would have pointed to an equation with *kūrura-*. I therefore have chosen to gather all occurrences of ^{LÚ}KÚR and separate them from *kūrura-*. One may even ask oneself whether the stem *kūrur-* and ^{LÚ}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. *paḫḫur / paḫḫuen-* or *mēḫur / mēḫun-*). Nevertheless, these are usually regarded as old **-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 ^{LÚ}KÚR-*na-* goes back to the old oblique stem **kūrun-* or **kūruen-*.

The etymological interpretation of *kūrur-* is difficult. The first proposal, comparing it with Skt. *krūrá-* 'bloody', etc. (Holma 1916: 66), implies an unattractive dissimilation from **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-^{zi} / kur-* 'to cut'. Although semantically certainly possible (cf. Rieken l.c.), Eichner (1980: 139) points out that the reflexes of **K^{w}R-* are never spelled *ku-u-R* in Hittite (cf. the total absence of e.g. a spelling ***ku-u-ra-an-zi* 'they cut' or ***ku-u-na-an-zi* 'they kill'; the only counter-example I know of is *ku-u-ut-ru-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (KBo 6.4 iv 7 (OH/NS) if this really reflects **k^{w}t-ru-*, but this is strictly speaking no example of **K^{w}R*). Therewith a reconstruction **k^{w}r-ur-* has become unattractive. Eichner (1973a: 75, 99) rather connects *kūrur-* with Skt. *hvárate* 'to deviate', Av. *zūrah-* 'iniquity' from **ǵ^{h}u̯er-* 'to walk crookedly', but these Indo-Iranian forms might better be compared with Lith. *pažulnùs* 'crooked, oblique', Gr. φηλός 'deceitful' and OCS *zъlъ* 'bad, evil' and then must reflect **ǵ^{h}uel-*. Puhvel (o.c.: 286) suggests to compare *kūrur-* to Gr. θήρ, OCS *zvěrь*, Lith. *žvėrìs*, Lat. *ferus* 'wild beast', for which he reconstructs a PIE root **ǵ^{h}u̯er-* 'to be savage, to rage'. However, all forms point to a root **ǵ^{h}u̯eh$_{1}$r-* (cf. the broken tone in Latv. *zvẽrs*; Lat. *ferus* then must show Dybo-shortening, cf. Schrijver 1991: 337), which would mean that we have to reconstruct **ǵ^{h}uh$_{1}$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 **ǵ^{h}uh$_{1}$r-ur-* would explain the formal facts best.

$^{(LÚ)}$***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-* ?

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 /kṹsa-/. 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. κύσθος ‘female sex-organ’ was not very convincing, however. Rieken (1999a: 258) rather reconstructs **ǵeus-o-* ‘the chosen one’. In her view, *kūšāta-* would be a derivation in **-teh$_2$-*. Although more appealing, it is a slight problem that PIE **ǵeus-* did not mean ‘to choose’, but rather ‘to taste’ (Hitt. *kukuš-^{zi}* ‘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-^{zi}* for another reflex of PIE **geus-*.

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: ***kuššaniie/a-^{zi}*** (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-i̯a-zi* (OH/NS), *ku-uš-ne-ez-zi* (OH/NS)), ^{LÚ}***kuššan(ii)atalla-*** (c.) ‘hireling, mercenary’ (nom.sg. *ku-uš-ša-ni-i̯a-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$_{1/3}$s-n*

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*°, 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 $*h_1$ or $*h_3$, since $*h_2$ would have yielded Hitt. *-ḫ-* in front of *-s-*. The original paradigm probably was $*keuh_{1/3}s$-*n* or $*kueh_{1/3}s$-*n* (depending on where the full-grade vowel was located, which cannot be determined from the available evidence), $*kuh_{1/3}s$-*én-s*, which was secondarily changed to $*kuh_{1/3}s$-*n*, $*kuh_{1/3}s$-*n-ós*, yielding attested *kuššan*, *kuššan-*.

kūtt- / 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. ^{NA_4}***kuttaššara/i-*** 'orthostat' (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ta-aš-ša-ri*); HLuw. ^{SCALPRUM}***kutasara/i-*** (c.) 'orthostat' (dat.-loc.sg. $^{"SCALPRUM"}$*ku-ta-sa$_5$+ra/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ A13*d* §5, KARKAMIŠ A16*b*), nom.pl. ^{SCALPRUM}*ku-ta-sa$_5$+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §15), acc.pl. ^{SCALPRUM}*ku-ta-sa$_5$+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §23, KARKAMIŠ A27*e* §4), ^{SCALPRUM}*ku-tá-sa$_5$+ra/i-zi* (KARKAMIŠ A18*e* §5), [^{SCALPRUM}]*ku-ta-sa$_5$+ra/i-zi-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §23), dat.-loc.pl. ^{SCALPRUM}*ku-ta-sa$_5$+ra/i-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §24, KARKAMIŠ A20*a*1 §3)), ***kutasara-*** 'to "orthostat"' (1sg.pret.act. SCALPRUM-*sa$_5$+ra/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §16)).

IE cognates: Gr. χέ(ϝ)ω 'to pour', Skt. *juhóti* 'to pour, to sacrifice'.

PIE $*ǵ^heu$-*t-s*, [$*ǵ^hu$-*ét-m*], $*ǵ^hu$-*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 *šaḫeššar* (see at *šaḫeššar / šaḫešn-*).

Since Kronasser (1956: 228), this word is usually regarded as an abstract noun in *-t-* of the PIE root $*ǵ^heu$- '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. χώμα 'embankment'). A priori, we

would expect that a commune *-t*-stem would show a hysterodynamic ablaut pattern, namely **ǵʰéu-t-s*, **ǵʰu-ét-m*, **ǵʰu-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* = /kṹts/ : /kutás/. The acc.sg.-form **ǵʰu-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 **ǵʰu-t-esr* and show that PIE **ǵʰ* remains as *k-* in Luwian in front of the back vowel *-u-* (cf. Kimball 1994c: 82).

kutruu̯an- / kutruu̯en- (c.) 'witness': nom.sg. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-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-u̯t-rụ-ę-nị-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-u̯a-aš* (KUB 13.6 ii 27 (OH/NS)), *ku-ut-ru-u-uš* (KUB 13.4 ii 36 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***kutruu̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to bear witness, to provide testimony' (3sg.pres.act. *ku-u-ut-ru-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-a-iz-zi*), ***kutruu̯atar / kutruu̯ann-*** (n.) 'witnessing' (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-an-ni*), ***kutruēššar / kutruēšn-*** (n.) 'witnessing' (dat.-loc.sg. *ku-ut-ru-e-eš-ni*), ***kutruu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to summon as witness' (1pl.pres.act. [*ku-u*]*t-ru-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 1pl.pret.act. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*, 2sg.imp.act. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-aḫ*; verb.noun gen.sg. *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***trwan(i)-*** (c.) 'judge' (nom.sg. "IUDEX"*tara/i-wa/i-ni-i-sa* (EĞRİKÖY §3), IUDEX*tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §1), "IUDEX"*tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* (TELL AHMAR 1 §1), "IUDEX"*tara/i-wa/i-ni-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1e), "IUDEX"*tara/i-wa/i-ni-sà* (MARAŞ 1 §1a), "IUDEX"*tara/i-wa/i-ní-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. IUSTITIA*tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* (SHEIZAR §2, AKSARAY §5), "IUSTITIA"*tara/i-wa/i-na+ra/i* (MARAŞ 1 §7), <">IUSTITIA"-*wa/i-ní-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §4), "IUSTITIA"-*ni-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A12 §10)).

IE cognates: Skt. *catvar-*, TochA *śtwar*, TochB *śtwer*, Gr. τέτορες, Arm. *č'ork'*, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *cetheoir*, Goth. *fidwor*, Lith. *keturì*, OCS *četyre* 'four'.

PIE **kʷtru-en-*

The oldest (MS) attestations of this noun are nom.sg. *kutruu̯aš*, nom.pl. *kutruu̯eneš*, which point to an original *n*-stem inflection *kutruu̯an- / kutruu̯en-*. On the basis of nom.sg. *kutruu̯aš* (< **kutruu̯an-s*), an *a*-stem inflection *kutruu̯a-* is analogically created in NH times. Note that the form in KUB 17.18 iii 6 is often cited as *ku-ut-ru-u̯a-ni-eš* (thus e.g. Puhvel HED K: 299), but according to Oettinger (1982: 165[12]) the photograph of the tablet also allows a reading [*k*]*u-u̯t-rṷ-ę-nį-eš*, which I have taken over. The derivatives *kutruu̯ae-*, *kutruu̯ātar*, *kutruēššar* and *kutruu̯aḫḫ-* seem to be derived from a stem **kutru-*.

Since Carruthers (1933: 152) this noun is generally seen as a derivative of the PIE numeral **k*^{w}*etuor-* 'four', reflecting the zero-grade formation **k*^{w}*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. *kutrueneš* < **k*^{w}*tru-én-es*, he assumes that nom.sg. *kutruu̯aš* must have had *e*-grade as well and reflects **k*^{w}*tru-é́n-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*$_{1}$*u-mé́n+s*) (cf. Harðarson 1987: 118-121 for an extensive treatment) in contradistinction to **-ōn+s* that yielded Hitt. *-aš* (*ḫāraš* 'eagle' < **h*$_{3}$*ér-ōn+s*). Since *šumanza* now has been identified as '(bul)rush' rather than 'binding', its reconstruction **sh*$_{1}$*u-mé́n+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 *kutruu̯aš* reflects **k*^{w}*tru-é́n+s* (compare the development of gen.sg. **-u̯én-s* > Hitt. *-u̯aš*).

As a parallel formation Oettinger (1982: 174[46]) 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*°. 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*^{w}*truen-* with loss of initial **k*^{w} in front of **-tr-*, and therewith is directly congate with Hitt. *kutruu̯an- / kutruen-*. This interpretation has the advantage over an analysis **tri-u̯an-i-* (as if derived from **tri-* 'three') that we now do not have to assume a suffix *-u̯an-* which is further unknown.

Puhvel (HED K: 299f.) rejects the etymological connection with PIE *k^{w}*etuor-* because the Hitt. word for 'four' is *me(i̯)u- / mei̯au̯-* (q.v.). He rather assumes a connection with Lith. *gudrùs* 'wise', proposing a proto-meaning 'expert (witness)' for *kutruu̯an-*. 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.

kuu̯an- (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. MUNU$S^{MEŠ}$-*iš*, acc.pl. MUNU$S^{MEŠ}$-*uš*.

Derivatives: **MUNUS-*nili*** (adv.) 'in woman's way, in female fashion' (MUNUS-*ni-li*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯ānā-*** (c.) 'woman' (dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-a-ni*, dat.-loc.pl. *u̯a-na-an-za*, *u̯a-na-a-an-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.nt. [*u̯a-a-*]*na-aš-ša-an*, [*u̯a-n*]*a-a-aš-ša-an*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *u̯a-na-aš-ši-in-zi*), ***u̯(a)natt(i)-*** (c.) 'woman' (nom.sg. *u̯a-na-at-ti-iš*, *u-na-at-ti-iš*, MUNUS-*iš*, acc.sg. MUNUS-*in*, acc.pl. MUNUS-*at-ti-in-za*); HLuw. **FEMINA-*nat(i)-*** (c.) 'woman' (nom.sg. "FEMINA"-*na-ti-i-sa* (SULTANHAN §47), FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 1 §1, BOYBEYPINARI 2 §1), FEMINA-*na-tí-sa* (SHEIZAR §1), acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 2 §16), dat.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §19, KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §34), nom.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §35, HAMA 4 §3, SULTANHAN §33b), acc.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (TİLSEVET §2)); Lyd. ***kãna-*** 'wife' (nom.sg. *kãna(ś)=k=av*, dat.-loc.sg. *kãnaλ*, nom.-acc.pl. *kq̃ns*[?]).

The Hittite word for 'woman' only occurs sumerographically written with the sign MUNUS 'woman'. Attemps 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 ^{d}*Kuu̯anšeš* as found in the following lists of deities, which are parallels of each other:

KUB 43.30 iii
(5) [(*ne-pí‹-ša›-aš* ^{d}U-*aš kat-ti-i=š-š*)]*i=ma an-na-aš ta-ga-a-an-zi-pa-aš*
(6) [(^{d}UTU-*uš kat-ti-i=š*)]*-ši=ma* ^{d}*Me-ez-zu-la-aš*
(7) [(^{d}NIN.URTA-*aš kat-ti-i*)]*=š-ši=ma* ^{d}*Ḫal-ki-iš*

(8) [(d*SÎN-aš kat-t*)]*i-i=š-ši=ma* d*Iš-pa-an-za-še-pa-aš*
(9) [(d*Ḫa-a-aš-ša k*)]*at-ti-iš-ši=ma* d*Ḫi-la-aš-ši-iš*
(10) [(d*Pí-še-ni-iš*)] *kat-ti-iš-mi=ma* d*Ma-li-i̯a-aš*
(11) [d*Ma-li-i̯*]*a-aš kat-ti-iš-ši=ma* d*Pí-še-ni-eš*
(12) [d*U̯a-aš-ku-u̯*]*a-at-ta-aš-ši-iš ‹kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma›* d*Ku-u̯a-an-še-eš*

KBo 11.32 obv.
(31) *ne-pí‹-ša›-aš* d*U-aš* GAM-*ši=ma=ši an-na-aš* KI-*aš*
(32) d*UTU-uš* KI.MIN d*Me-zul-la-aš*
(33) d*NIN.URTA-aš* KI.MIN d*Ḫal-ki-iš*
(34) d*SÎN*?*-aš* KI.MIN GE$_6$-*az* d*Še-pa*
(35) GUNNI KI.MIN d*Ḫi-la-ši-iš*
(36) d*LÚ*^{MEŠ}*-aš* KI.MIN d*Ma-li-aš*
(37) d*Ma-li-aš* KI.MIN d*LÚ*^{MEŠ}
(38) d*U̯a-aš-ku-at-ta-ši-iš* KI.MIN d*Ku-u̯a-an-š*[*e-eš*]
(40!) d*LÚ*^{MEŠ}*-aš* d*Ma-li-aš* GUNNI-*aš* d*Ḫi-la-ši-i*[*š*]

KBo 43.75
(1) [(*ne-pí‹-ša›-aš*)] d*U-a*[(*š kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma an-na-aš ta-ga-a-an-zi-pa-aš*)]
(2) [(d*UTU-u*)]*š kat-ti-i=š-š*[*i=ma* d*Me-ez-zu-la-aš*]
(3) d*Šu-u̯a-li-az kat-t*[(*i-i=š-ši=ma* d*Ḫal-ki-iš*)]
(4) d*SÎN-aš kat-ti-i=š-ši*[(*=ma* d*Iš-pa-an-za-še-pa-aš*)]
(5) d*Ḫa-a-aš-ša kat-ti*[(*-i=š-ši=ma* d*Ḫi-la-aš-ši-iš*)]
(6) d*Pí-še-ni-iš kat*[(*-ti-i=š-mi=ma* d*Ma-a-li-i̯a-aš*)]
(7) d*Mą-a-li-i̯a-aš*[(*kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma* d*Pí-še-ni-iš*)]
(8) [(d*U̯*)]*a-aš-ku-u̯a-at*[(*-ta-aš-ši-iš kat-ti-i=š-ši=ma* d*Ku-u̯a-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 / Šuu̯aliaz 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 Māliia beside them; the Deity Māliia with the Male Deities beside her; the Deity U̯aškuu̯attaššiš with the Deity (or Deities) Kuu̯anšeš beside him’.

According to Carruba, the ending *-eš* implies that d*Kuu̯anšeš* is a plural form, and since the only other plural deity in this list are the d*LÚ*^{MEŠ} = d*Pišeneš* ‘Male Deities’, it is in his view likely that d*Kuu̯anšeš* should be interpreted as the

counterpart of ^{d}*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 ^{d}*Pišeneš*, which is written as ^{d}LÚ^{MEŠ} here. If ^{d}*Kuu̯anšeš* indeed would denote 'female deities', we would rather have expected the spelling ^{d}MUNUS^{MEŠ}. Secondly, there is no contextual argument to be given on the basis of which one can state with certainty that ^{d}*Kuu̯anšeš* correspond to ^{d}*Pišeneš*. If we look at contexts like

KUB 55.39 iii
(26) ^{d}IM-*aš* ^{d}*In-na-ra-aš-mi*[-*i*]*š* ^{d}*Da-ši-mi-iz*$^{!}$
(27) ^{d}*Iš-ta-an-za-aš-ši-iš* ^{d}*Ša-ku-u̯a-aš-ša-aš*
(28) ^{d}*Ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša-aš* ^{d}*Iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-aš*
(29) ^{d}*Ki-iš-ša-ra-aš-ša-aš* ^{d}*Ge-nu-u̯a-aš-ša-aš*
(30) ^{d}*Iš-pa-an-za* ^{d}*In-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-za*
(31) ^{d}*Uš-ku-u̯a-at-ta-aš-ši-iš* ^{d}*Ku-u̯a-an-ši-iš*
(32) ^{d}IM-*aš* ^{d}*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 Uškuu̯attaššiš, the Deity Kuu̯aniš, the Storm-god (and) the Deity Inarašmiš. The king bows (for them)'.

or

KUB 20.24 iii
(36) [^{LÚ}DUB.SAR *ḫal-za-a-i*] ^{d}*Ḫa-aš-ku-u̯a-at*$^{!}$-*ta-aš-ši-iš*
(37) [^{d}*Ku-u̯a-an-ši-iš* DUMU É.]GAL LUGAL-*i* I NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA
(38) [*pa-a-i* LUGAL-*uš pár-ši-i̯a*] ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR *ḫal-za-a-i*
(39) [^{d}*Ḫa-aš-ku-u̯a-at-ta-aš-ši-i*]*š* ^{d}*Ku-u̯a-an-ši*[-*iš*]
(40) [DUMU É.GAL=*kán* LUGAL-*i* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *e*]-*ep-zi*

'The writer screams '^{d}Ḫaškuu̯attaššiš, ^{d}Kuu̯aniš!'. The palace servant gives one thick-bread to the king. The king breaks it. The writer screams '^{d}Ḫaškuu̯attaššiš, ^{d}Kuu̯aniš'. The palace servant takes the thick-broad from the king'

it is more likely that the presence of ^{d}*Kuu̯anšeš* in the first three texts is determined by the presence of ^{d}*Ụaškuu̯attaššiš*, and does not have anything to do with the mentioning of ^{d}*Pišeneš*.

An extra argument in favour of interpreting ^{d}*Kuu̯anšeš* 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-pí-i̯a-aš*
(52) ^{GIŠ}*kiš-ḫi-aš nu* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *pé-ra-an ti-an-zi*
(53) *n=a-aš-ta* LUGAL-*uš* 1 UDU ^{d}*Ši-u̯a-at-ti*
(54) ^{d}*Ku-u̯a-an-ša-i̯a 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 ^{d}Kuu̯anšai̯a'

must be regarded as a parallel to

KUB 56.45 ii
(4) *n=a-aš-ta* 1 MÁŠ.GAL *A-NA* ^{d}*Pí-ir-u̯a* ^{d}MU̯NUS.LU[GAL]
(5) ^{d}*Aš-ka-še-pa* ^{d}IMIN.IMIN.BI ^{d}*Šu-u̯a-li-i̯a-at*[-*ti*]
(6) ^{d}MUNUS^{MEŠ}-*i̯a* ^{d}*Ši-u̯a-at-ti* ^{d}*Ḫa-ša-am-me-l*[*i*]
(7) DINGIR$^{MEŠ\ URU}$*Ka-ni-iš* ^{d}*Ḫi-la-aš-ši* ^{d}U.GUR
(8) ^{d}*Zu-li-i̯a-a ši-pa-an-ti*

'He sacrifices one billy-goat to Piru̯a, to ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL, to Aškašepa, to the Pleiads, to Šuu̯ali̯at, to the Female Deities, to Šiu̯at, to Ḫašammeli, to the gods of Kaniš, to the Deity of the Courtyard, to Nergal (and) to Zuli̯ā'.

Although the latter context indeed shows the ^{d}MUNUS^{MEŠ}-*i̯a* 'female deities', it can in my view not be used as proof that this word has to be equated with ^{d}*Kuu̯anšai̯a* 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 °*an*-, which was thematicized in NH times. In CLuwian, we find a stem *u̯ānā*- (dat.-loc.sg. *u̯āni*, dat.-loc.pl. *u̯anānza*, *u̯ananza*, gen.adj. [*u̯ā*]*našša/i*-, [*u̯an*]*āšša/i*-) as well as a derived stem *u̯anatti*-, *unatti*-. In HLuwian, we find the logographically spelled FEMINA-*nati*-, which undoubtedly must be equated with CLuw. *u̯anatti*-, *unatti*-. In Lydian, we find a sten *kãna*-, which possibly means 'wife'.

It is quite obvious that CLuw. *u̯ānā*- and Lyd. *kãna*- in one way or another must be cognate to words like Gr. γυνή, Skt. *jánis*, gen.sg. *gnáś*, OIr. *ben*, gen.sg. *mná*, OCS *žena*, etc. 'woman' that reflect *$*g^{w}$én-h_2*, *$*g^{w}$n-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 *kãna*- reflects *$*g^{w}$óneh_2*-. This reconstruction is supported by CLuw. *u̯ānā*-, which seems to point to *$*g^{w}$óneh_2*- as well, since a preform *$*g^{w}$éneh_2*- would have undergone Čop's Law and subsequently yielded **u̯ānnā*-. 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 *$*g^{w}$oneh_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 *$*g^{w}$enanza* < *$*g^{w}$en-ōn+s*, with acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* as *$*g^{w}$enanzanan* and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* as *$*g^{w}$enanzanaš* (thus also Starke (1980: 74-86): MUNUS-*anza* = *$*g^{w}$enanz*).

Harđarson (1987: 118-122) has a slightly different view. He introduces the idea that *šumanza* 'cord, band' must reflect *$*sh_1$u-mḗn+s* (cf. Gr. ὑμήν), whereas e.g. *ḫāraš* reflects *$*h_3$ér-ōn+s* (cf. OHG *aro*). He therefore interprets MUNUS-*anza* as /k^{w}ant^{s}/ < *$*g^{w}$ēn+s*, with acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* = /k^{w}ant^{s}anan/ and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* = /k^{w}ant^{s}anas/. According to Harđarson, *$*g^{w}$ēn* as reflected in /g^{w}anz/ must be identical to OIr. *bé* < *$*g^{w}$ēn*.

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. °*anza*, acc.sg. °*anzanan*, gen.sg. °*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. *u̯ānā*- and Lyd. *kãna*-, it is in my view very likely that the Hittite sumerographic spelling MUNUS-*anza* stands for /k^{w}ant^{s}/. The difference with *ḫāraš* 'eagle' < *$*h_3$ér-ōn+s* in my view can be explained by assuming that /k^{w}ant^{s}/ does not reflect *$*g^{w}$en+s*, but rather *$*g^{w}$enh$_2$+s*. Just as in medial position **VnsV* > *VššV* behaves

differently from **VnHsV* > *VnzV* (compare *genzu* < **ǵenh$_1$-su-*), I think that in word-final position these clusters behaved differently as well: **Vns* > *Vš* whereas **VnHs* > *Vnz* (the difference in the vowel between **ǵenh$_1$-su-* > *genzu* vs. **g^{w}enh$_2$-s* > /k^{w}ant^{š}/ 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*.

^{LÚ}*kuu̯an- / kun-* (c.) 'hound-man' (Sum. ^{LÚ}UR.GI$_7$): nom.sg. *ku-u̯a-aš*, acc.sg. *ku-u̯a-na-an*, gen.sg. *ku-ú-na-aš*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***swan(i)-*** (c.) 'dog' (nom.sg. *sù-wa/i-ní-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A4*a* §10), *sù-wa/i-ni-i-sá* (KULULU 1 §11)).

IE cognates: Gr. κύων, Skt. *śvā́*, Arm. *šun*, Lith. *šuõ*, etc. 'dog'.

PIE **ḱuōn*, **ḱuón-m*, **ḱun-ós*

See Melchert 1989 for his excellent treatment of these words and their context. He convincinly suggests that ^{LÚ}*kuu̯an-* must denote something like 'hound-man' and that nom.sg. *kuu̯aš*, acc.sg. *kuu̯anan*, gen.sg. *kūnaš* reflect PIE **ḱuōn+s*, **ḱuón-m*, **ḱu-nós* 'dog' as attested also in e.g. Skt. *śvā́*, *śvā́nam*, *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 **-uu̯a-*, so *kūnaš* < **kuu̯anaš* < **ḱu̯ón-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 /kunā́s/, which regularly should have yielded **/konā́s/, the /u/ was restored in analogy to the full grade stem /kuā́n-/.

In HLuwian, the stem *suu̯an(i)-* reflects the generalized full grade **ḱuon-*.

kuu̯ar-: see *kuer-^{zi} / kur- / kuu̯ar-*

kuu̯aššˇ-^{zi} (Ib1) 'to kiss': 3sg.pres.act. *ku-u̯a-aš*[*-zi*$^{?}$] (KBo 20.37 i 1 (OS)), *ku-u̯a-aš-zi*, *ku-u̯a-a-aš-zi* (KBo 30.101 iii 12 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ku-u̯a-aš-ša-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ku-u̯a-aš-ta*; impf. *ku-u̯a-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***kuu̯ašnu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to make kiss' (3pl.pres.act. *ku-u̯a-aš-nu-an-zi*).

IE cognates: Gr. κυνέω 'to kiss', Skt. *śvásiti* 'to puff, to snort'.

PIE **ḱu-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 onomatopoetic origin instead of inherited forms (he also compares Skt. *śvásiti* 'to puff, to snort', *cū́ṣati* 'to suck, to smack', *cúmbati* 'to kiss').

If Hitt. *kuu̯ašš-* 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[2] the reason to reconstruct *kuu̯ašš-* as PIE **ḱ̑uas-*, 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 *kuu̯ašš-* instead of *kuu̯aš-* 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 *-u̯aš* of the verbal nouns in *-u̯ar*, which reflects **-u̯en-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-* (**Ku-en-s-*) instead of *-ne-* compare *ḫamanki* 'ties' < **h₂m-ón-ǵʰ-ei*.

If we take Hitt. *kuu̯ašš-* together with Gr. κυνέω and Skt. *śvas-*, we arrive at a root **ḱues-*, which shows a formation **ḱu-ne-s-* in Greek and **ḱu-en-s-* in Hittite.

****kuu̯āu-*** (c.) 'cow' (Sum. GU_4): nom.sg. GU_4*-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[?] 8 (NS), KUB 12.58 iv 8 (NS)), GU_4*-aš* (KBo 6.3 iii 68 (OH/NS)), acc.sg. GU_4*-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_4*-a*[*n*] (KBo 40.337 obv.[?] 6 (NS)), gen.sg. GU_4*-aš* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 rev. 10 (OS), KBo 6.2 ii 31, iv 8 (OS), etc.), dat.-loc.sg. GU_4*-i*, instr. $GU_4^{ḪI.A}$*-it* (KBo 23.90 i 5 (NS)), acc.pl. $GU_4^{ḪI.A}$*-uš* (StBoT 25.13 i 10 (OS), etc.), gen.pl. $GU_4^{ḪI.A}$*-aš*.

Derivatives: GU_4*-li* (adv.) 'like a cow' (KBo 3.34 i 16 (OH/NS), KBo 22.253 rev. 2 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯au̯a/i-*** (c.) 'cow' (nom.sg. GU_4*-iš*, acc.sg. GU_4*-in*, acc.pl. GU_4*-in-za*; broken *u̯a-a-u-i-*[...] (although appurtenance to 'cow' is far from assured)); HLuw. ***wawa/i-*** 'cow' (nom.sg. $^{BOS.ANIMAL}$*wa/i-wa/i-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §48 Ho.), acc.sg. $^{BOS.ANIMAL}$*wa/i-wa/i=pa=wa/i=tu*[!] (MARAŞ 3

§5), abl.-instr. "BOS.ANIMAL"*wa/i-wa/i-ti-i* (KULULU 1 §6), "BOS"*wa/i-wa/i-ti-i* (ARSLANTAŞ §6), BOS^{ANIMAL}*-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. βοῦς, Lat. *bōs*, Latv. *gùovs*, TochA *ko*, TochB *ke$_u$*, OHG *chuo* 'cow'.

PIE **g^{w}éh$_3$-u-s*, **g^{w}h$_3$-éu-m*, **g^{w}h$_3$-u-ós*

In Hittite, the word for 'cow' is consistently written with the sumerogram GU$_4$, 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$_4$*-uš*, acc.sg. GU$_4$*-un*. The rare NS attestations nom.sg. GU$_4$*-aš* and acc.sg. GU$_4$*-a*[*n*] may show that this stem in younger times occasionally was thematicized. The alleged attestation nom.sg. GU$_4$*-iš* (KUB 12.58 iv 8), cited thus in HW: 275, in fact is GU$_4$*-uš* (cf. Götze & Sturtevant 1938: 20).

In the Luwian languages, we do find phonetic spellings of the word for 'cow', however. In HLuwian, we come across $^{\text{BOS.ANIMAL}}$*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$_4$*(-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 Luwian languages point to a PLuwian form **u̯au̯(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 **u̯au̯(i)-*, **u̯eu̯(i)-* or **u̯ou̯(i)-*.

It is quite clear that the Luwian forms must be cognate to words for 'cow' in other IE languages like Skt. *gav-*, Gr. βοῦς, Lat. *bōs*, Latv. *gùovs*, TochA *ko*, TochB *ke$_u$*, 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^{w}éh$_3$-u-s*, **g^{w}h$_3$-éu-m*, **g^{w}h$_3$-u-ós* as the most original paradigm (for the stem **g^{w}eh$_3$-u-* compare e.g. Kortlandt 1985: 118). Whether the oblique stem **g^{w}h$_3$-u-* already in PIE times was altered to **g^{w}eh$_3$-u-* or **g^{w}h$_3$-eu-* is of little concern here. In Anatolian, we would expect that **g^{w}éh$_3$us*, **g^{w}h$_3$éum* yields

PAnat. *g^{w}*óʔus*, *g^{w}*óum*. In Hittite, these forms would regularly yield **/k^{w}ā́us/ and **/k^{W}ā́un/ respectively, which would have been spelled as ***ku-u̯a-a-uš* and ***ku-u̯a-a-un*. This is the reason for me to treat this lemma in this book under the reconstructed stem **kuu̯āu-*. In the Luwian languages, PAnat. *g^{w} regularly yields *u̯*, which means that, with the rise of the *i*-mutation, PAnat. *g^{w}*óʔus* and *g^{w}*óum* yielded the PLuwian stem **u̯óu̯(i)-*. In Luwian, this regularly develops into attested /u̯āu̯(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-^{i} **/ *l-*** (IIa1α > Ic2) ‘to loosen, to release, to untie, to relieve, to remove (ailments)’ (Sum. DU_8): 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-u̯a-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *la-a-u-u̯a-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. *ļaũju* ‘to let, to allow’.

PIE **lóh$_1$-ei*, **lh$_1$-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 *ḫi*-conjugation. The oldest attestations (3sg.pres.act. *la-a-i* and 3sg.imp.act. *la-a-ú*) clearly show that the *ḫi*-flection 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 *ḫatrae*-class inflection was created. The oldest plural form, 3pl.pres.act. *lanzi* shows a weak stem *l-*, which

means that *lā-^{i} / l-* originally inflected as *dā-^{i} / d-* (thus also Oettinger 1979a: 63-7, against this Puhvel HED 5: 31).

An ablauting verb *lā-/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. *ļaũju* 'to let, to allow' (*u*-present), which means that *lāi*, *lanzi* reflects **loh$_1$-ei*, **lh$_1$-enti*.

lae-^{zi}: see *lā-^{i} / l-*

lāḫ-: see *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-*

lāḫḫ- (c.) 'military campaign; journey, trip, voyage': dat.-loc.sg. *la-a-aḫ-ḫi* (OH or MH/MS), *la-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS, MH/MS), all.sg. *la-a-aḫ-ḫa* (OS), *la-aḫ-ḫa* (OS), abl. *la-a-aḫ-ḫa-az* (OH/MS), *la-aḫ-ḫa-az* (OH/NS), *la-aḫ-ḫa-za* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *la-a-aḫ-ḫu-u-uš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***laḫḫiie/a-^{zi}*** (Ic1) '(intr.) to travel, to go on an expedition, to roam; (trans.) to attack' (1sg.pres.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-mi* (NH), *la-ḫi-i̯a-am-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. [*la-aḫ-ḫ*]*i-i̯a-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-ez*$^{?}$*-zi* (KUB 26.17 i 4 (MH/MS)), *la-ḫi-i̯a-iz-zi* (NH), *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-az-zi* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-it* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-i̯a* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-tén* (MH/MS); part. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS); inf.I *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-(u-)u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *la-aḫ-ḫi-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *la-ḫi-i̯a-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *la-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *la-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***laḫḫii̯anna-^{i} / laḫḫii̯anni-*** (IIa5) 'id.' (impf. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***laḫḫii̯atar / laḫḫii̯ann-*** (n.) 'campaign' (dat.-loc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-ni*), $^{(LÚ)}$***laḫḫii̯ala-*** (c.) 'campaigner, (field-)fighter, warrior, infantry' (nom.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-la-aš* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-la-an* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-l*[*i*] (MS?), nom.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-le-eš* (OS)), ***laḫḫema-*** (c.) 'military field action, raid, maneuver' (acc.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫé-mu-uš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***laḫḫi(i̯a)-*** 'to travel, to campaign' (3pl.pres.midd. *la-aḫ-ḫi-i*[*n*]*-ta-ri*), ***lalḫii̯a-*** (c.) 'journey, campaign' (acc.sg. *la-al-ḫi-i̯a-an*); Lyd. **λαίλας·** ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν; Mil. ***laχ-*** 'to strike(?)' (3sg.pres.act. *laχadi*).

IE cognates: Gr. λᾱ(ϝ)ός '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-uḫ-za* by younger *šu-uḫ-ḫa-az*), this form is non-probative. The fact however, that verbal derivative of this root is *laḫḫiie/a-* and not ***laḫḫae-* (from **laḫḫa-ie/a-*), in my view strongly indicates that the noun was *lāḫḫ-* originally. The derivative *laḫḫiie/a-* (occasionally secondarily changed into *laḫḫiiae-*) is predominantly spelled with *-ḫḫ-*, showing spellings with single *-ḫ-* in texts from the time of Ḫattušili III only.

An etymological connection with Gr. λᾱ(ϝ)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 **leh₂-* and consequently a reconstruction **lóh₂-s*, **lóh₂-m*, **léh₂-s* (or otherwise **léh₂-s*, **léh₂-m*, **lh₂-ós* ?).

laḫḫanzan-^{MUŠEN} (c.) a water-bird, a duck: nom.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za-aš* (OH/NS), [*l*]*a*$^{?}$*-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 **leh₂-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 *laḫḫanzan-*, and that the forms that show a thematic stem *laḫḫanzana-* (nom.sg. *laḫḫanzanaš*) and the forms that show a stem *laḫḫanz-* (nom.sg. *laḫḫanza*, acc.pl. *laḫḫanzuš* and even *laḫanziuš*) 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 *laḫḫ-* is less clear, however. Melchert (o.c.: 136) starts from a participle **laḫḫant-* 'travelling, migrating' implying an etymological connection with *laḫḫiie/a-*^{zi} 'to travel, to go on an

expedition' (see sub *lāḫḫ-* 'military campaign'). Because this latter word probably had an original meaning 'to go an a military campaign' (cf. Gr. λᾱ(ϝ)ός 'men, troops, army, folk', OIr. *láech* 'warrior'), I would be rather hesitant in accepting this etymology. Katz (2001: 210) interprets *laḫḫanzan-* as derived from **(s)néh₂-* '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* < **h₃neh₃mn*, *lammar* < **nomr*). In my view, a development **neh₂-ention-* > *laḫḫanzan-* would be unexpected. Another possibility could be a connection with the root **leh₂-* 'to cry out loud' (Skt. *rā́yati* 'to bark', YAv. *gāθrō.raiiaṇt-* 'crying out songs', Lat. *lāmentum* 'lament', Arm. *lam* 'to lament', Lith. *lóti* 'to bark', OCS *lajǫ* 'to bark'. The preform **leh₂-ent-i-on-* could then mean 'the quacking one' which yielded Hitt. *laḫḫanzan-* 'duck'.

lāḫu- ^{i} **/ *laḫu-*** (IIa2 > IIa1γ, Ic2) 'to pour, to cast (objects from metal); (intr.) to (over)flow': 1sg.pres.act. *la-ḫu-uḫ-ḫi* (NS), 2sg.pres.act. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ut-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *la-a-ḫu-i* (OS), *la-a-ḫu-u-i* (OH/MS), *la-ḫu-i* (MH/NS), *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-i* (OH/NS), *la-ḫu-u̯a-i*, *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-i*, *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-a-i*, *la-ḫu-u̯a-a-i*, *la-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i*, *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i*, *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-i*, *la-ḫu-uz-zi* (NH), *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *la-ḫu-e-ni* (OS), *la-a-ḫ*[*u*]*-e-ni* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *la-ḫu-an-zi* (OS), *la-a-ḫu-an-zi* (NH), *la-ḫu-u-an-zi*, *la-a-ḫu-u-an-zi*, *la-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*, *la-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *la-a-ḫu-un* (MS), *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *la-a-ḫu-š* (KBo 32.14 i 42, 43 (MS)), *la-a-aḫ-ḫu-uš* (OH/NS), *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-iš*, 3pl.pret.act. *la-ḫu-u̯a-a-er* (NS), 2sg.imp.act. *la-a-aḫ* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *la-aḫ-ḫu-tén* (NS), *la-a-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-tén* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *la-ḫu-u̯a-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-an-du* (NS), *la-ḫu-u̯a-a-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-du* (NS), *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-an-du* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *la-ḫu-u̯a-a-ri* (OH/MS), *la-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-ri* (OH?/NS), *la-ḫu-ut-ta-ri* (MH/NS), *la-a-ḫu-ut-ta-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *la-ḫu-ut-ta-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da-at*, 3sg.imp.midd. *la-ḫu-u-u̯a-ru* (MH/NS); part. *la-ḫu-a-an-t-* (OS), *la-a-ḫu-an-t-* (OH/MS?), *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-a-an-t-*; verb.noun *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-ar*, *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *la-ḫu-aš*, *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*; inf.II *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-an-na*; impf. *la-ḫu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *la-ḫu-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *la-ḫu-u̯a-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***laḫḫu-*** (c.) 'container' (Sum. DAG.KISIM$_5$xLA, Akk. *LAḪTANU*) (nom.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫu-uš*), ***laḫḫuēššar / laḫḫuēšn-*** (n.) 'pouring cup' (instr. *la-aḫ-ḫu-e-eš-ni-it*), ***lalḫuu̯ant-*** 'poured(?)' (instr. *la-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-ti-it* (KUB 36.2b ii 20), ***lilaḫu-*** ^{i} (IIa2) 'to pour' (3sg.pres.act. *li-la-ḫu-i*), see *laḫḫura-* and *lilḫuu̯a-* ^{i} */ lilḫui-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***lā(ḫ)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-u̯a-an-da*, *lu-ú-un-ta*).

PIE **lóh₂u-ei*, **lh₂u-énti*

In CHD, two verbs are cited, namely “*lāḫ-* ‘to pour’” and “*laḫ(ḫ)uwai-*, *laḫ(ḫ)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. *laḫueni*, *lāḫueni*, although of these latter forms it is stated that they could belong to *lāḫu-* as well (cf. *akueni* of *eku-^{zi} / aku-*). This would mean that we have to phonologicaly analyse this form as /lah^{w}uéni/, showing the phoneme /h^{w}/, 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-^{zi} / aku-* (and not ***ekunun*) and therefore must represent /lā́h^{w}on/. We only have to assume that it secondarily has taken the *mi*-ending instead of expected ***lāḫuḫun*. 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 /lā́h^{w}/ would lose its labialization and give /lā́h/ (but cf. 2sg.imp.act. *eku* /ʔeg^{w}/ where the labialization was retained), or even read the form as *la-a-uḫ* /lā́h^{w}/ (compare spellings like *tar-uḫ-* = /tarh^{w}-/).

The oldest forms of this verb clearly shows that the original paradigm was 3sg. *lāḫui*, 3pl. *laḫuanzi*. In NH times we find forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*laḫuu̯ai*, *laḫuu̯aš*) and the *ḫatrae*-class (*laḫuu̯āizzi*, *laḫuu̯anun*), but also occasionally a *mi*-inflected form (*laḫuzzi*, *lāḫun*).

The singular stem *lāḫu-* (which phonologically was /lāh^{w}-/), can only reflect a preform **lóh₂u-*. We would expect that the corresponding plural stem was **lh₂u-*. The latter form regularly probably should have given ***lu-* (compare *māi* ‘grows’ < **mh₂-ói-ei*), in which the *-ḫ-* of the singular was reintroduced. This explains why we find a lenited *-ḫ-* in the plural as well and not a stem **laḫḫu-* 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 **leuh₃-*, however, which is an impossible reconstruction for Hittite, where we would expect it to yield ***lū-* (likewise if we assume laryngeal-metathesis **leh₃u-*).

With the disappearance of a verb *lāḫ-* ‘to pour’, there is no reason to assume that *lāḫu-* reflects an *u*-extension of a root **leh₂-* (as argued e.g. by Puhvel HED 5: 23f.).

Note that the derivatives *laḫḫu-* and *laḫḫuēššar* show a geminate *-ḫḫ-* which indicates that these words reflect *e*-grade: **leh₂u-* and **leh₂u-éh₁sh₁r*. These forms must be the source of the few NH forms within the paradigm of *lāḫu-* that show a stem *laḫḫu-* (clearly in e.g. KUB 9.31 ii 9 where we find *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-i* because of *la-aḫ-ḫu-ri* in the preceding line, see *laḫḫura-*).

A hypothetical **laḫuzzi-* is possibly attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as *luḫuzzinnum*, a vessel, cf. Dercksen (fthc.).

(GIŠ)***laḫḫura-*** (c.) 'offering table(?) or stand (for pots and offerings)' (Sum. GIŠGAN.KAL): nom.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ra-aš*, *la-ḫu-u-ra-aš*, acc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ra-an*, *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ra-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ri*, *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ri*, *la-a-ḫu-ri*, all.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ra*, nom.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ri-iš*, *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ri-e-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-ra-aš*.

PIE **leh₂u-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 vincinity of the altar. It is used to place objects upon (mostly cups and pots). Puhvel (l.c.) translates *laḫḫura-* as 'bench' on the basis of a supposed connection with Russ. *lávka* 'bench' and Lith. *lóva* 'bed'. This seems incorrect to me as there is no indication that the *laḫḫura-* was used to lie upon.

Some contexts of *laḫḫura-* show a connection with *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-* 'to pour', which might point to an etymological connection between the two, e.g.

KUB 9.31 ii
(8) *n=a-at=ša-an* GIŠ*la-aḫ-ḫu-ri šu-uḫ-ḫa-i nu me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da*
(9) GEŠTIN *la-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-i*

'He scatters them (broken pieces of thick-bread) on the *laḫḫura-* and pours wine over (them)'.

This connection with *lāḫu-/laḫu-* (either real or folk-etymologically) might explain the occasional spellings *lāḫura-*.

If the connection with *lāḫu-/laḫu-* 'to pour' is real, the word probably goes back to **leh₂u-ro-* (*e*-grade because of the fortis *-ḫḫ-*). See at *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-* for further etymology.

(GIŠ)***laḫḫurnuzzi-*** (n./c.) 'leafage, leavy branches, foliage, greenery': nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ur-nu-(uz-)zi*, *la-aḫ-ḫur-nu-uz-zi*, *la-ḫur-nu-zi*, dat.-loc.sg. *la-aḫ-ḫur-nu-uz-zi*, nom.pl.c. [*l*]*a-*[*ḫ*]*ur-nu-uz-zi-e-eš* (NH), *la-aḫ-ḫur-nu-(uz-)zi-*

uš (NH), *la-aḫ-ḫur-nu-zi-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *la-(aḫ-)ḫur-nu-uz-zi-(i̯a-)aš*, erg.pl. *la-aḫ-ḫu-ur-nu-uz-zi-i̯a-an-t*[*e-eš*] (OS); broken *la-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-ar-nu-u*[*z-zi(-)*...] (KBo 22.216, 4).

Originally this word was neuter, as can be seen by the OS erg.pl. *laḫḫurnuzziant*[*eš*] and the many neuter singular forms. Only in NH times, we find commune forms being used for the plural. The one attestation *laḫḫuu̯arnuzzi-* is caused by the fact that phonologically this word was /laH^{w}rnut^{s}i-/ (for the phonemic status of /H^{w}/ see Kloekhorst fthc.c), in which the *-r-* occasionally was realized vocalically: [laH^{w}ṛnut^{s}i-].

Formally, the word looks like a derivative in *-uzzi-* of a stem *laḫḫurn-*, but semantically this is unlikely as *-uzzi-* is used for instruments and tools. Moreover, a stem *laḫḫurn-* is further unknown.

Puhvel's connection (HED 5: 27f.) with *laḫḫura-* and *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-* 'to pour' does not makes sense semantically. His comparison to the Germanic words for 'foliage', ModDu. *loof*, ModEng. *leaf* from PGerm. **laub-* (**leh$_2$u-b^{h}-*?) may have more merit, but still leaves us with the problem of the Hittite formation. Puhvel's claim that *laḫḫurnuzzi-* originally was a compound does not convince.

^{GIŠ}*laḫḫuu̯arnuzzi-*: see $^{(GIŠ)}$*laḫḫurnuzzi-*

lāk-^{i} / 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-^{zi}*** (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-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *la-ak-nu-u-u̯a-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)-^{i}*** (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^{h}-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-*^{zi} 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 expresion 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 acceted: PIE **leg^{h}-* '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^{h}-eie-*. This seems to indicate that here the causative **CoC-eie-* ended up in the Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation (but see *lukke-*). The middle forms formally reflect **lg^{h}-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-*^{zi} */ aku-* 'to drink' or *ḫukkiške/a-* from *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-* 'to butcher'.

$^{(TÚG/GAD)}$***lakkušanzani-*** (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$^{(w)}$-*. The formation of *lakkušanzani-* is unclear to me. The one Luwian inflected form may point to a Luwian origin.

lāla- (c.) 'tongue, blade, speech, talk' (Sum. $^{(UZU)}$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. ^{d}*La-la-aš-ši-*); HLuw. ****lalant(i)-*** (c.) 'language' (acc.sg. "LINGUA"-*la-ti-i-na* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §20), dat.-loc.sg. "LINGUA"-*la-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §21)).

PAnat. **lólo-* or **lālo-*

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 onomatopoetic 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)uēššar / lala(k)uēšn-*** (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-u̯i$_5$-iš-n*[*a-aš*], [*l*]*a-la-u̯i$_5$-ša-na-a*[*š*].

See CHD L-N: 27 and Puhvel HED 5: 44f. for attestations. The word shows two stems, namely *lalakueša-* besides *lalau̯eša-*. This can be explained if we assume that the stem *lalakueša-* is Hittite, the /g^{w}/ of which corresponds to Luwian /u̯/ in *lalau̯eša-*.

Puhvel suggests a connection with PIE **leg^{wh}-* 'light' as cited in Pokorny 660-1. This root nowadays is reconstructed as **h$_1$leng^{wh}-* 'to move lightly' (cf. LIV^{2}), 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 haplology 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*.

See CHD L-N: 26 for attestations. The mulitple uses of gloss wedges indicate a foreign (Luwian) origin. Semantically as well as formally a connection with

CLuw. *lāla-* ‘to take’ (see at *dā-^{i} / d-*) is attractive, which means that *lalami-* is to be seen as a Hittitized adaptation of the Luwian part. *lalama/i-*.

lalaṷe/iša-: see *lala(k)ue/iša-*

lālu- (n.) ‘penis’ (Akk. ^{UZU}*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-^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to be or become luminous’: 3sg.pret.act. *la-lu-uk-ke-et*.

Derivatives: ***lalukkeṷant-*** (adj.) ‘luminous’ (nom.sg.c. *la-lu-uk-ke-u-ṷa-an-za*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *la-lu-(uk-)ke-u-ṷa-an*, *la-lu-ke-ṷa-an*, nom.pl.c. *la-lu-uk-ke-u-(ṷa-)an-te-eš*), ***lalukkima-*** (c.) ‘light source’ (Sum. ZÁLAG.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 *lalukkiie/a-^{zi}*, the derivative *la-lu-uk*-KI-ṷa-an-t-* clearly shows that this interpretation is improbably, as verbs in *-ie/a-* usually have a derivative in *-iiaṷant-* (cf. *āššiiaṷant-*, *kardimiiaṷant-*, *naḫšariiaṷant-*, *pidduliiaṷant-*). This means that the verbal form must be interpreted as *la-lu-uk-ke-et* and its derivative as *la-lu-uk-ke-ṷa-an-t-*, both belonging to the stem *lalukke-^{zi}*, a ‘stative’ in **-eh$_1$-* (cf. Watkins 1973a: 76). See at *lukk-^{tta}* for further etymology.

laluk(k)e/išš-^{zi} (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-^{zi}*** (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-ṷa-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-^{tta}* (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(iie/a)-* 'to be(come) dark' (q.v.), which must reflect **no-nog^{wh}-s-* or **no-neg^{wh}-s-*, derived from *neku-^{zi}* (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*$^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}$, dat.-loc.pl. *lam-na-aš*.

Derivatives: ***lam(ma)niie/a-^{zi}*** (Ic1) 'to name, to call, to summon, to assign' (2sg.pres.act. *lam-ni-ia-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *lam-ni-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *lam-ni-e-ez-zi* (NH), *lam-ni-az-zi*, *lam-ni-ia-zi*, *lam-ni-ia-az-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *lam-ma-ni-i-e-u-e-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *lam-ni-ia-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *lam-ni-ia-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *lam-ni-ia-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *ŠUM-(u-)en*, 3pl.pret.act. *lam-ni-er*, *lam-ma-ni-er*, *lam-ni-e-er*; part. *lam-ni-(ia-)an-t-*; impf. *lam-ni-iš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***álaman-*** (n.) 'name' (nom.-acc.sg. /ʔlaman=t^{s}a/ *á-ta$_{4/5}$-ma-za*, nom.-acc.pl.(?) /ʔlamni/ *á-ta$_5$-ma-ni* (BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §19), *á-ta$_5$-ma-ni-i* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.11)), ***lamni-*** 'to proclaim' (impf.3pl.pres.act. /lamnisanti/ ^{LOQUI}*la-ma-ní-sà-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A31+ §9)); Lyc. ***alãman-*** 'name' (nom.-acc.pl. *alãma*).

PAnat. **ʔlā́mn*, **ʔlāmn-´*

IE cognates: Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nā́man-*, Goth. *namo*, Gr. ὄνομα, OIr. *ainm*, etc. 'name'.

PIE **h$_3$néh$_3$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. *nā́man-*, Gr. ὄνομα etc. 'name', but the exact reconstruction of these words is in debate. The difference in length between *ō* in Lat. *nōmen* and *ŏ* in Gr. ὄνομα points to an ablauting complex **-eh$_3$-* vs. **-h$_3$-*. The initial o- of Gr. ὄνομα must be due to an initial laryngeal, but the question is which one, **h$_1$-* or **h$_3$-*. Many scholars argue that we have to reconstruct an initial **h$_1$-* 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 *ḫ-* in Anatolian. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.c, the absence of *ḫ-* in Anatolian is non-probative as initial **h₃* merged with the reflex of **h₁* 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, νώνυμους 'anonymous' and Phr. *onoman*, we have to assume an initial **h₃-*.

The word for 'name' therefore has to be reconstructed as **h₃néh₃mn*. In my view, this word further can be analysed as **h₃néh₃-mn*, which is a derivative of the verbal stem **h₃neh₃-* that is visible in Hitt. *ḫanna-^{i} / ḫann-* 'to sue' (q.v.) and Gr. ὄνομαι 'to call names'.

Already in PAnat., the preform **ʔnāmn* was subject to nasal dissimilation, yielding **ʔlāmn* (for my interpretation of HLuw. *á-ta$_{4/5}$-ma-* as /ʔlāman-/ and for the reading of Lyc. *alãma* instead of *aḍãma*, see Kloekhorst 2004: 39-40), which development can be compared to *lammar* 'moment' (q.v.) < **nomr*.

The derived verb *lam(ma)niie/a-* (~ HLuw. *lamni-sa-*, showing aphaeresis from original **ʔlamni-sa-*) must be equated with Gr. ὀνομαίνω, Goth. *namnjan* 'to call' < **h₃n(e)h₃mn-ie/o-*. Phonologically it is to be interpreted as /laMnie/a-/, spelled *lamniie/a-*, which occasionally was phonetically rendered [lam:ṇje/a-], which is expressed in the spelling *lammaniie/a-*.

Puhvel rightly remarks that the Hitt. expression *lāman dai-^{i} / ti-* 'to name (someone)' is to be equated with e.g. Skt. *nā́ma dhā-*, Av. *nāmąn dadāṯ*, Gr. τίθεσθ' ὄνομα, OLat. *nōmen facere*, all reflecting the PIE syntagm **h₃neh₃mn dʰeh₁-* '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: ***lamarḫandatti-*** (adj.) 'hour-fixing' (nom.sg.c. *la-mar-ḫa-an-da-at-ti-eš*, Luw.gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *la-mar-ḫa-an-da-at-ta-aš-ši-iš*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***lam(i)ni*** (adv.) 'at the time' (*la-mi-ní-´* (KARAHÖYÜK §1)).

IE cognates: Lat. *numeros* 'number, measure'.

PIE **nóm-r*, *n(o)m-n-ós*

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. *niman* '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' < **ǵʰés-r*.

lāpp-*^{zi} / *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-*^{zi}** (Ib1) 'to kindle, to cause to flash' (part. *la-ap-pa-nu-(u̯a-)an-t-*; impf. *la-ap-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***lappiu̯a-*** (c.) 'fever' (nom.sg. *la-ap-pí-(i̯a-)aš*, acc.sg. *la-ap-pí-i̯a-an*, gen.sg. *la-ap-pí-i̯a-aš*), ^{GIŠ}***lappiu̯a-*** (c.) 'burner-wood, wood-ember' (nom.sg. *la-ap-pí-i̯a-aš*), ***lappina-*$^{(\text{SAR})}$** '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-*^{zi}** (Ic2) 'to insert a wick(?)' (3pl.pres.act. *la-ap-pí-na-an-zi*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***lappiu̯a-*** 'heat?' (acc.sg. *la-ap-pí-an*, *la-ap-pí-i̯a-an*).

IE cognates: Gr. λάμπω 'to shine' (**lh₂-n-p-*), Lith. *lópė* 'light', Latv. *lãpa* 'torch'.

PIE **leh₂p-* / **lh₂p-*

See CHD L-N: 39-40, 44f. for attestations and contexts. Oettinger (1979a: 443) states that this verb originally belonged to the *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-inflected verbs. In this verb *-ā-* reflects **-eh₂-*, however, and not an *o*-grade. The geminate *-pp-* is visible in the derivatives *lap(pa)nu-* and *lappiu̯a-*. 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 **leh₂p-* (with Gr. λάμπω < **lh₂-n-p-*), which means that the Hitt. ablauting pair *lāpp- / lapp-* reflects **leh₂p- / *lh₂p-*.

The appurtenance of *lappina-* and its derived verb *lappinae-*^{zi} 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. *lappiia-* 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-pí-it*.

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. *lãpas* '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*.

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-u̯a$_a$-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 [t͡ʰafarna-]). 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 *tapariie/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.

laṷarr(iia)- (CLuw. verb) 'to despoil, to strip': 3sg.pret.act. *la-ṷa-ar-ri-it-ta*; part. nom.acc.pl.n. *la-ṷa-ar-ri-ma*; inf. *la-u-ṷa-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 *laṷarr(iia)-* is the Luwian counterpart of Hitt. *duṷarni-^{zi} / duṷarn-* 'to break' (q.v.) (cf. Carruba 1966: 17-8), which view is generally accepted. In my opinion, this connection is impossible, however. Hitt. *duṷarni-/duṷarn-* must reflect **d^{h}ur-n-(e)h_1-*, the nasal-present of a root **d^{h}uerh$_1$-*, of which I do not see how it could have yielded Luw. *laṷarr-*, especially with regard to the first *-a-*. Note that Carruba's comparison to the *au-* : *u-* correspondence in CLuw. *aṷi-* ~ Hitt. *uṷa-* 'to come' is invalid, of course. If the **d^{h}-* of **d^{h}uerh$_1$-* indeed would have yielded CLuw. *l-* (which is possible, cf. *la-* 'to take' < **deh$_3$-*), we would expect an outcome ***luṷarr-*, and not *laṷarr-*. Melchert (1994a: 238) seems to be aware of this problem and stealthily cites the verb as *l(a)ṷarri-*, but this is incorrect: the verb is always spelled *la-ṷa-ar-* and never ***lu-ṷa-ar-*. I therefore reject this etymology and the supposed connection between Luw. *laṷarr(iia)-* and Hitt.

duu̯arni-/duu̯arn-. Unfortunately, I have no alternative etymology to offer for *lau̯arr(ii̯a)-*.

lāu̯att- (c.?) '?': gen.sg. *la-a-u̯a-at-ta-aš* (OS).

The word is hapax in KBo 20.21 rev. (1) [*ḫa-m*]*e-eš-ḫi la-a-u̯a-at-ta-aš me-ḫ*[*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. *šiu̯att-*, *tarnatt-* etc., which would mean that we should rather look for a root **lāu̯-* (e.g. **leh₃u-* 'to wash', cf. spring cleaning?).

(GIŠ)***lazzai- / lazi-*** (c.) 'sweet flag, calamus' (Sum. GI.DÙG.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.DÙG.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_5, DÙG.GA): nom.sg.c. *la-az-zi-iš* (OS), acc.sg.c. [*la*$^{?}$*-az*$^{?}$*-z*]*i*$^{?}$*-i̯a-an-n=a* (KUB 29.38 i 2 (OS)).

Derivatives: ***lāzziie/a-***^{zi} '(act.) to set straight, to prosper; (midd.) to be good, to be right, to be favourable, to get well' (1sg.pres.act. SIG_5*-zi-i̯a-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. SIG_5*-ez-zi*, 2pl.pres.act. SIG_5*-at-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. SIG_5*-an-zi*; 3sg.pres.midd. *la-a-az-zi-at-ta* (OS), *la-az-zi-at-ta*, SIG_5*-at-ta(-ri)*, 3pl.pres.midd. SIG_5*-(i̯a-)an-ta(-ri)*, 1sg.pret.midd. *la-az-zi-aḫ-ḫa-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. SIG_5*-ta-ti*, SIG_5*-i̯a-at-ta-at*, 3pl.pret.midd. SIG_5*-i̯a-an-ta-at*, 3sg.imp.midd. *la-az-zi-i̯a-at-ta-ru*; part. SIG_5*-ant-* (= *āššu̯ant-*?); verb.noun *la-az-zi-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* 'wellness'; impf. SIG_5*-iš-ke/a-*), ****lazziēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become good, to get well' (3sg.pret.act. SIG_5*-eš-ta*, 1pl.pret.act. SIG_5*-eš-šu-u-en*), ****lazzi̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make right, to repair, to cure; to give a favourable sign' (1sg.pres.act. SIG_5*-aḫ-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. SIG_5*-aḫ-ti*,

3sg.pres.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫi*, SIG_5-*aḫ-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫu-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1pl.pret.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫu-en*, 3pl.pret.act. SIG_5-*(i̯a-)aḫ-ḫe-er*, 3pl.imp.act. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫa-an-du*; part. SIG_5-*i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; impf. SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, SIG_5-*aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***arha lada-*** 'to prosper, to flourish' (3sg.pret.act. /ladata/ *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_5, 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. λώϊον 'better'. This latter form has an inner-Greek comparandum in λῆν 'to wish' (so λώϊον originally 'wanted more'), however, which probably reflects **ulh₁-i̯e/o-*, from the root **uelh₁-* as visible in Skt. *var$^{(i)}$-* 'to choose', Lat. *volō* 'to want', Goth. *wiljan* 'to want', etc.

le (prohibitive particle) 'not': *le-e* (OS).

PIE **leh₁*

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' < **h₃neh₃mn*. All these are less attractive in my view.

In the other Indo-European languages, this prohibitive function is expressed by the particle **meh₁* (Skt. *mā́*, Gr. μή, Arm. *mi*, TochAB *mā*), which is likely a petrified 2sg.imp. of a verb **meh₁-* 'to refuse', which is still attested as such in Hitt. *mimma-^{i} / 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-^{i} / l-* 'to let, to loosen' (q.v.), which means that *le* must reflect **leh₁*. 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-^{zi}*** (Ic2) 'to conciliate, to pacifiy' (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-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *le-la-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *le-la-u-u̯a-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-^{zi}*** (Ic6) 'to conciliate, to pacifiy' (1pl.pres.act. *li-la-a-ri-iš-ke-u̯a-n*[*i*] (MH/MS), [*l*]*i-la-ri-iš-ke-u̯a$^{!}$-ni* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *li-la-ri-eš*[*ke-ed-du*] (OH/MS), [*li-la-*]*a$^{!}$-ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***līla(i)-*** 'to pacifiy, 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-^{i} / 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$_1$-lo-*, which by regular sound laws would on the one hand yield Hitt. *lela-* and, on the other, Luw. *lila-*. It may be slightly problematic, however, that the verb *lā- / l-* is not attested in Luwian. For further etymology see at the lemma *lā-^{i} / l-*.

The formation of the verb *lilāri/eške/a-*, which seems to be similar in meaning to *lelae-^{zi}*, is unclear.

lelaniie̯/a-$^{tta(ri)}$ (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-i̯a-an-t-* (OH/MS), *le-la-ni-i̯a-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.

lelḫuu̯a-^{i} **/ *lelḫui-*:** see *lilḫuu̯a-*^{i} / *lilḫui-*

leliu̯ant- (adj.) ‘travelling swiftly, winged(?); urgent’: nom.sg.c. *le-li-u̯a-an-za* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *le-e-li-u̯a-an-da-an* (OH/MS), *le-li-u̯a-an-da-an* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *le-li-u̯a-an* (MH?/NS), acc.pl.c. *le-li-u̯a-an-du-uš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***leliu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to make haste, to hurry’ (3sg.pret.act. *le-li-u̯a-aḫ-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *le-li-u̯a-aḫ-ḫe-er*, 2pl.imp.act. *le-li-u̯a-aḫ-tén*; inf.I *le-li-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *le-li-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*).

See CHD L-N: 61f. for attestations and semantics. Although the bulk of the attestations is spelled LI-*li-u̯a-*, I take the OH/MS spelling LI-*e-li-u̯a-* as an indication that all spellings (including LI-*li-u̯a-aḫ-*) are to be read *le-li-u̯a-*, and I therefore cite *leliu̯ant-* and *leliu̯aḫḫ-*.

On the one hand, one could assume that *leliu̯ant-* and *leliu̯aḫḫ-* are derived from an unattested stem *leliu̯(a)-*, which itself looks like the reduplication of a stem **liu̯(a)-*. Such a stem does not look particularly IE to me. On the other hand, one could analyse the words as *leli-u̯ant-* and *leli-u̯aḫḫ-* (cf. *arau̯a-* and *arau̯aḫḫ-* 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-^{zi}: see *li(n)k-*^{zi}

lešš-^{zi} **/ *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-u̯a-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-*^{zi} (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 transative, whereas *lišae-* is intransitive). I have therefore chosen to separate these verbs and treat *līšae-*^{zi} under its own lemma.

The verb *lešš-*^{zi} / *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. ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG, Akk. *KABITTU*): nom.-acc.sg. *le-e-ši*, dat.-loc.sg. *li-iš-ši*; case? *le-eš-ši*.

Derivatives: ***lišši̯ala-*** (adj.) 'liver-related, located in the liver(?)' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *li-iš-ši-i̯a-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-^{zi}: see *li(n)k-*^{zi}

lila-: see *lela-*

lilḫuu̯a-^{i} ***/ lilḫui-*** (IIa5 > IIa1γ) 'to pour': 3sg.pres.act. *li-il-ḫu-u̯a-i* (MH/MS), *le-el-ḫu-u-u̯a-i* (MH/MS? *le-el-ḫu-u̯a-i* (MH/NS), [*le-*]*el-ḫu-u̯a-a-i* (MH/MS?), 3pl.pres.act. *le-e-el-ḫu-an-zi* (NS), 3pl.imp.act. *le-el-ḫu-u̯a-an-du* (OH/NS); sup. *li-il-ḫu-u̯a-an* (MH/MS); impf. *li-il-ḫu-uš-ke/a-* (MS).

Derivatives: ^{DUG}***lelḫuntai-*** (c.) 'vessel for pouring' (acc.sg. *le-el-ḫu-u-un-da-in* (MH?/NS)), ^{DUG}***lelḫuntalli-*** (c.) 'vessel for pouring' (acc.sg. *le-el-ḫu-un-ta-al-li-in* (MH?/NS)), ***lelḫuntae-***^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi*, *le-el-ḫu-u-un-ta-u-u̯a-an-zi*), ***lelḫu(u̯a)rtima-*** (c.) 'outpourings(?), inundations(?)' (nom.pl. *le-el-ḫu-ur-ti-ma-aš* (NH), *le-el-ḫu-u̯a-ar-ti*[*-ma-aš*(?)] (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***lilūu̯a-*** 'to pour' (2sg.imp.act. *li-lu-u-u̯a*, *li-lu-u-u̯a-a*).

PIE **li-lh₂u-oi-ei*, **li-lh₂u-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 *lilḫuu̯a/i*- here. The development of original *lilḫuu̯a/i*- to younger *lelḫuu̯a/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/tii̯anzi*-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/tii̯anzi*-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 (*lilḫuu̯a-*^{i} / *lilḫui*-), although this inflection goes back to pre-Hitt. **lilḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *lilḫui*-. Note that 3pl.pres.act. **lilḫui̯anzi* (which we would expect in a *mēma/i*-class verb) would regulary yield *lilḫuu̯anzi* (cf. *išḫuu̯anzi* < **išḫui̯anzi* in the paradigm of *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *išḫui*- 'to throw, to scatter').

The verb clearly shows a reduplication of *lāḫu-*^{i} / *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-lh$_2$u-oi-ei* / **li-lh$_2$u-i-enti*. See for the forms *lilaḫui* and *lalḫuu̯ant*- at the lemma of *lāḫu-*^{i} / *laḫu*- itself.

liliu̯ant-: see *leliu̯ant-*

li(n)k-^{zi} (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*$^{?}$*-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-i-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$_4$-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$_4$-en* (NH), *li-in-ka$_4$-in* (NS), gen.sg. *li-in-ki(-i̯a)-aš* (MH/MS), *le-en-ki-aš* (MH/NS), *le-en-ki-i̯a-aš* (NH), *li-in-ga-i̯a-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *li-in-ki-i̯a* (MH/MS), *le-en-ki-i̯a* (MH/NS), *li-in-ki-i-i̯a* (NH), loc.sg. *li-in-ga-e* (MH/MS), *li-in-ga-i* (MH/NS), *le-en-ga-i* (MH/NS), *le-en-ka$_4$(-a)-i* (NH), erg.sg. *li-in-ki-i̯a-an-za* (MH/MS), abl. *li-in-ki-(i̯a-)az*

(MH/MS), *le-en-ki-i̯a-az* (NH), *li-in-ki-i̯a-za* (NH), *le-en-ki-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-te-eš* (OS), *li-in-ki-an-te-eš* (MH/NS)), ***linganu-***^{zi}, ***lenganu-***^{zi} (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*$_4$*-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*$_4$*-nu-e-er* (NH); part. *li-in-ga-nu-(u̯a-)an-t-* (NH), *li-in-ka*$_4$*-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (NH), *le-en-ka*$_4$*-nu-u̯a-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*$_1$*lén*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-ti*, **h*$_1$*ln*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-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-*^{zi}, *šarni(n)k-*^{zi}), but also *ḫar(k)-*^{zi} and *kīš-*$^{a(ri)}$ / *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*$_1$*len*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-*. Just as all *mi*-inflected verbs, this verb must have shown ablaut as well: **h*$_1$*len*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-ti*, **h*$_1$*ln*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-enti*. The development **h*$_1$*ln*$\acute{g}^{(')h}$*-enti* > *linkanzi*

/lɨngantˢi/ is paralleled by h_2mng^h*-enti* > *ḫaminkanzi* (cf. *ḫamank-*^{i} / *ḫame/ink-*). Note that initial preconsonantal *h_1 is dropped without a trace.

lip(p)-^{zi}, ***lipae-***^{zi} (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-***^{i} (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 *lVP-* (e.g. Lat. *lambere*, OE *lapian*, OHG *laffan*, Gr. λάπτω 'to lick', Arm. *lap'em* 'to slurp') indicates that the verb is onomatopoetic in origin. The derivative *lel(l)ipa-* may belong to class IIa5 (and should then be cited *lel(l)ipa-*^{i} / *lel(l)ipi-*), just as other reduplicated verbs like *mēma-*^{i} / *mēmi-*, *paripara-*^{i} / *paripari-*, etc.

lišš-: see *lešš-*

līšae-^{zi} (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-*^{zi} / *lišš-* 'to pick up, to gather' (q.v.), but this is improbable. Firstly, because of the formal differences (*līšae-* vs. *lešš-* / *lišš-*), and secondly because of the fact that *līšae-* is an intransitive verb whereas *lešš-* / *lišš-* is transitive. I therefore propose to separate them.

The verb *līšae-* occurs in one context only:

KUB 15.31 ii

(11) *nu* 9 *a-a-pí ki-nu-an-zi*

(12) *ḫu-u-da-a-ak=ma=za* ^{GIŠ}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) ^{GIŠ}*ša-at-ta* ^{GIŠ}MAR ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-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^{MEŠ}=*ma*

(16) *pár-ši-i̯a n=a-at a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da ke-e-ez ke-e-ez-z=i-i̯a 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 *ḫuppara*-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-*

-lit (1sg.imp.act.-ending): see *-llu*

-llu, ***-lit*** (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)), *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-lu* (KUB 24.5 + 9.13 rev. 1 (NS)), *ḫa-aš-ši-ig-gal-lu* (KUB 36.93 rev. 6 (NS)), *ḫa-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-u̯a-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-uḫ-ḫa-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-u̯a-al-lu* (KUB 14.8 rev. 42 (NH)), *ú-u̯e₅-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-u̯a-i̯a-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), *ḫaššiklu* // *ḫaššiggallu* // *ḫašigallu* (NS), *karšallu* (OH/NS), *memallu* (NH), *nuntarnuu̯a*[*llu*] (NH),

šeggallu (NH), *taruḫḫallu* (NS), *tepaṷēššallu*, *udallu* (MS?), *uṷallu* (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 *uṷellut* (NS) (the origin of *-e-* in the latter form is unclear to me: perhaps it represents anaptyctic /ɨ/). 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-^{i} / 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* < *-*$d^{h}i$. So we arrive at the virtual reconstructions *$l(e/o)h_1$-*u* (lit. 'he must let me ...') and *leh_1-$d^{h}i$ (lit. 'you must let me ...').

$^{(GIŠ)}$*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*]*u-u-e-eš-na-aš* (NS).

PIE *$luh_{1/3}$-$éh_1sh_1$-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. *lunā́ti* 'to cut (off)').

This etymology was rejected by Puhvel (HED 5: 128f.) who implausibly assumes that *lūēššar* is the Luwian variant of *tuḫḫuēššar*, which he translates as 'incense', Apart from the fact that the meaning of *tuḫḫuēššar* (q.v.) is not clear, there is no single indication that *lūēššar* would be of Luwian origin.

lūḫa- (c.) '?': nom.sg. 𒀸 *lu-u-ḫa-aš*, acc.sg. 𒀸 *lu-u-ḫa-an*, dat.-loc.sg.? *lu-u-ḫa*.

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. *-ḫ-*. 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.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***luiēššar*** : see $^{(GIŠ)}$*lūēššar / lūēšn-*

lukk-^{tta} (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$_4$-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(iie/a)-***^{zi} (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$_4$-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-***^{zi} (Ib1) 'to become light' (3sg.pres.act. *lu-ki-iš-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *lu-uk-ke-eš-ta*), ***lukkanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make it light(?)' (3pl.pres.act. *lu-uk-ka$_4$-nu-ua-an-zi* (NH)), see *lalukkiie/a-*^{zi}, *laluk(k)e/išš-*^{zi} 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-ié/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*, *ḫalziiatta* beside *ḫalziia*).

The verb that I cite as *lukk(iie/a)-*^{zi} 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^{s}i/, *lu-uk-ki-ez-zi* /lukiet^{s}i/ or *lu-uk-ke-ez-zi* /luket^{s}i/, pointing to a stem *lukki-*, *lukke-* or *lukkiie-*. 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-i*[*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$_4$-nu-un* (OH/NS) seems to show a stem *lukkae-^{zi}* 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 **loukéieti*, **loukéionti* (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*]*kkanun* as non-probative, cf. above). Secondly, a development **loukéionti* > *lukkanzi* is improbable in view of ^{LÚ}*patteiant-* 'fugitive' < **pth$_1$ei-ent-* and ^{LÚ}*maiant-* 'adult man' < **mh$_2$ei-ent-* (see the lemmas *pattai-^{i} / patti-* and ^{LÚ}*maiant-* 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-^{i} 'to fell' < **loǵ^{h}-eie-* '*to make lie down'). Note that the alleged example *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi} 'to dress' < **u̯os-eie-* must be explained otherwise, cf. *u̯ešš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}. 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 *lukkiy̯e-*. In that way we would be dealing with a situation in which we find a *-y̯e/a-*derived stem *lukkiy̯e/a-* besides an underived stem *lukk-*. This resembles the situation as discussed by Melchert (1997b: 84f.) who states that some verbs (e.g. *karpp(iy̯e/a)-* (q.v.)) reflect an old opposition between a root-aorist and a *-y̯e/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 *rucānā́-*) besides a present **luk-y̯e/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 *-y̯e/o-*present **luk-y̯é-ti*.

The verb *lukke/iš-*^{zi} '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-*^{zi}), or as an *s*-extension comparable to *lalukke/iš-*^{zi} '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*$_{4}$*-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 *šiu̯att-* 'day' (q.v.). It must reflect **l(e)uk-ot-*, which can be compared with Goth. *liuhaþ* '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-i̯a-an* (NH), gen.sg. *lu-li-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), *lu-ú-li-aš* (OH/MS?), *lu-ú-li-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-ú-li* (OH/NS), *lu-ú-li-i̯a* (OH/NS), all.sg. *lu-li-i̯a* (OS), abl. *lu-ú-li-az* (OH/MS), *lu-ú-li-i̯a-az* (OH/NS), *lu-li-i̯a-za* (MH/NS), gen.pl. *lu-ú-li-i̯a-aš* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: see *lūliu̯ašḫa-*.

See CHD L/N: 80 and Puhvel HED 5: 111f. for attestations. Both dictionaries cite two stems, namely *luli-* and *luliu̯a-*. See Tischler HEG L-M: 72f., however, who convincingly argues that the forms that seemingly show a stem *luliu̯a-* (e.g. acc.sg. *luliu̯an* and the PN *Šuppiluliama-*) 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 /lū́li-/.

There are no known cognates (apart form *luliu̯ašḫa-* 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-pí-aḫ-šu* = *Šuppiaḫšu-*, see *ḫaššu-*). Nevertheless, I agree that *lūli-* hardly can be of IE origin.

lūliu̯ašḫa- (c.) 'marsh, marshland': gen.sg. *lu-li-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*; broken *lu-ú-li*[*-i̯a-aš-ḫa(-)*].

See CHD L/N: 82 for attestations. It is likely that *lūliu̯ašḫa-* in some way is derived from *lūli-* 'pond, lake' (q.v.) but the exact formation is unclear. The suffix *-šḫa-* normally is deverbal, which could indicate that we have to assume the existence of a verb **lūliu̯e/a-*^{zi}. 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-i̯a-az* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *lu-u-ri-e-eš* (OS), acc.pl. *lu-u-ri-uš* (OS).

Derivatives: ***lūriiatar*** (n.) ‘disgrace, humiliation’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*l*]*u-u-ri-i̯a-tar* (NH)), ***lūriiaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to humiliate, to disgrace’ (3sg.pret.act. *lu-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ta* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *lu-u-ri-i̯a-aḫ* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *lu-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (OH/NS), impf. *lu-u-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (NH)).

PIE **léh$_1$u-ri-s*, **léh$_1$u-ri-m*, **lh$_1$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-* = /lṹri-/ (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-*^{zi} */ ad-* ‘to eat’ and *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-* ‘to be’ respectively. If this is correct, we may think of a connection with the verbal root **leh$_1$-*, 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-* = /lṹri-/ reflects **leh$_1$u-ri-*, whereas *lu-u-ri-* = /lóri-/ reflects **lh$_1$u-ri-*.

-llut (1sg.imp.act.-ending): see *-llu*

(GIŠ)***luttāi / lutti-*** (n. > c.) ‘window’ (Sum. ^{GIŠ}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-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-ut-ti-i̯a* (OH/MS), abl. *lu-ut-ti-i̯a-az* (OH/MS), *lu-ut-ti-i̯a-za* (NH), *lu-ti-i̯a-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. ^{GIŠ}AB^{MEŠ}*-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *lu-ut-ta-a-uš* (OH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *lu-ut-ti-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), *lu-ut-ti-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: see *kattaluzzi-*.

IE cognates: Gr. Arc. λευτοντ- ‘seeing’, Gr. λεύσσω ‘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) ^{GIŠ}*lu-ut-ta-a-uš kam-ma-ra-a-aš IṢ-BAT* 'Mist seized the windows' (OH/MS). A parallel sentence is found on the same tablet, namely ibid. iv (21) ^{GIŠ}*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-*^{tta} '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. *lunā́ti*), 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. *ḫaštāi* 'bone' < **h$_3$esth$_1$-oi-*, *ḫurtāi* 'curse' < **h$_2$urt-oi-*, *lelḫuntāi* 'vessel for pouring' < **le-lh$_2$u-nt-oi-*, *šakuttāi* 'a body part, thigh?' < **sok^{w}t(H)-oi-*(?), we would expect that *luttāi* is derived from a root **lutt-*. Such a root is cited in LIV^2, namely **leut-* 'to see' (Arc. Gr. λευτοντ- 'seeing', Gr. λεύσσω 'to see' < **leut-i̯e/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 ^{GIŠ}*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.

luu̯areššа- (n.?) a topographic feature: dat.-loc.sg. *lu-u̯a-re-eš-ši*, Luw.gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *lu-u-u̯a-re-eš-ša-aš-ši-iš*, *lu-u̯a-ri-iš-ša-aš-ši-iš*; unclear *lu-u-u̯a-re-eš-ši-i̯a-an*.

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.

(GIŠ)*luu̯ēššar* : see (GIŠ)*lūēššar / lūēšn-*

luzzi- (n.) 'forced service, public duty, corvée': nom.-acc.sg. *lu-uz-zi* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *lu-uz-zi-i̯a* (NH), *lu-uz-zi* (NH), abl. *lu-zi-i̯a-za* (MH/NS), *lu-uz-zi-i̯a-za* (NH), *lu-uz-zi-i̯a-az* (NH), instr. *lu-uz-zi-it* (OH/NS, MH/MS).

PIE **lh$_1$-uti-*

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 impies **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 *l-uzzi-*, a derivative in *-uzzi-* (cf. e.g. *išpanduzzi-*, *tuzzi-* etc.) from *lā-^{i} / 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$_1$-uti-*. See at *lā-^{i} / 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_1o and *=*mo*

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 *=(i̯)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* + *=(i̯)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=u̯a* (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 *=(i̯)a*, I have argued that the two allomorphs (*C=a* vs. *V=i̯a*) probable are different outcomes of a particle *+=h₃e* 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 **=h₁o*. 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 **=h₁o* 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 **=h₁o* 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* < **=h₁o* 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- / ku̯a-*. 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. *mašiu̯ant-* (q.v.). Note that the connection between *=a* and *=ma* resembles e.g. the connection between Hitt. *māḫḫan* and CLuw. *āḫḫa*.

=ma-: see *=mi- / =ma- / =me-*

ma-^{zi} (Ia2?) 'to disappear' (?): 3sg.imp.act. *ma-du* (OH/MS); impf. *ma-aš-ke/a-* (MS).

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/Ø*-ablauting *mi*-verbs). This means that if this verb is from IE origin, it must reflect *meh_2- or *meh_3-. I know of no cognates, however.

māḫḫan (postpos., conj.) 'like (postpos.); as, just as (conj.); how (in indirect statement or question); when, as soon as' (Sum. GIM-*an*): *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an* (OS), *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* (MS).

PIE **món $h_2$ent* ?

This word is spelled both with and without plene *-a-*. The spelling *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an* is very common, and found from OS onwards, whereas the spelling *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* is first attested in OH/MS texts. Semantically, *māḫḫan* is in virtually all respects synonymous to *mān* (q.v.). It therefore has been claimed that *mān* must be the contracted form of *māḫḫan*. 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 *māḫḫan* with *māḫḫanda* (subord. conj.) 'just as' (q.v.), which is also spelled *mānḫanta* (OS), and even once *mān ḫanda* (MS) (with word space). These forms make it likely that we are dealing with petrified compounds of the element *mān* and the noun *ḫant-* 'face' (q.v.). It is then possible that *māḫḫan* is an old endingless locative or an adverbially used nom.-acc.sg., in which the original **ḫant* lost its final *-t* (cf. e.g. part.nom.-acc.sg. *kunan* < *g^{wh}nent*) whereas *māḫḫanda* is a variant with an original nom.-acc.pl. **ḫanda* < *$h_2$enteh$_2$*. 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 *mänt* 'how?', TochB *mant* (conj.) 'so'.

Sometimes it is claimed that CLuw. *āḫḫa* 'when, as (temporal and comparative)' and Lyc. *ẽke* are cognate, but these more likely reflect *$h_1$om* + **=h_3e* (for the latter element compare at *=(i)a*).

māḫḫanda (subord. conj.) 'just as': *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* (OS), *ma-a-an-ḫa-an-da* (OS), *ma-a-an ḫa-an-da* (MS), [*m*]*a-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta* (OH/MS).

See at *māḫḫan* for a treatment.

(GIŠ)***māḫla-*** (c.) ‘branch of a grapevine’: nom.sg. *ma-a-aḫ-la-aš* (OS), *ma-aḫ-la-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *ma-aḫ-la-an* (OH/NS), dat.-loc. *ma-a-aḫ-li* (OH/MS), *ma-aḫ-li* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *ma-aḫ-lu-uš* (OH/NS).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. **μῶλαξ·** εἶδος οἴνου: ἀπο τοῦ μώλου ὡς τινές. Λυδοὶ τὸν οἶνον (Hes.).

PIE **mé/óh₂lo-* ?

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 uncompelling.

Within *māḫla-*, the cluster *-ḫl-* is remarkable and of importance for the etymological interpretation, because it is not fully clear whether this can reflect PIE **Vh₂lV* or not. Normally, we see that **h₂* disappears word-internally in front of another consonant (e.g. *lāpp-*^{zi} ‘to glow’ < **leh₂p-*, *šāgāi-* ‘sign’ < **seh₂g-ōi-*, *šāklāi-* ‘custom’ < **seh₂k-lōi-*, *u̯āk-*^{i} ‘to bite’ < **u̯oh₂(ʳ)g-*), except for **s* (e.g. *paḫš-*^{i} ‘to protect’ < **poh₂s-*, *antuḫš-* ‘human being’ < **h₁n-dʰuh₂-s-*). It is possible, however, that **h₂* does not disappear in front of resonants either, compare *zaḫrai-* ‘knocker(?)’ < **tieh₂roi-* (?) and *maḫrai-* / *muḫrai-* (a body part) < **m(e)h₂roi-* (?) (note that Kimball’s only example (1999: 400) of a development **-h₂R-* > *-RR-* is false: see at *u̯annum(m)iu̯a-*). If this is correct, then this would mean that, at least formally, *māḫla-* could be of IE origin and reflect **meh₂lo-* or **moh₂lo-*. Nevertheless, since no convincing IE cognates are known and since no other convincing examples of the development **-h₂l-* > Hitt. *-ḫl-* can be found, this reconstruction and this supposed phonetic development remain speculative.

UZU***maḫrai-* / *muḫrai-*** (c.) a body parts of animals: nom.sg. or pl. *mu-uḫ-ra-iš* (OH/NS), acc.sg. *ma-aḫ-ra-en* (OS), *mu-uḫ-ra-in* (MH/NS), *mu-u-uḫ-ra*[*-in*], [*mu-u*]*ḫ-ra-a-in* (NS), *mu-uḫ-ḫa-ra-in* (NH), *mu-uḫ-ra-an*, gen.sg. or pl. *mu-uḫ-ri-aš* (OH/MS), loc.sg.(?) *mu-uḫ-ra-i* (MS?), acc.pl. *mu-uḫ-ra-a-uš* (OS), *mu-uḫ-ra-uš* (NS), *mu-uḫ-ḫa-ra-uš* (NS).

IE cognates: ?Gr. μηρός ‘thigh(bone)’.

PIE **méh₂r-oi-*, **mh₂r-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-uḫ-ra-i*° or *mu-uḫ-ḫa-ra-i*° = /moHrai-/. In one text, KBo 17.30 ii 2 (OS), we find the form UZU*ma-aḫ-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 *muḫ(ḫa)rai-*. Puhvel HED 6: 174f. also adduces the form *ma-ḫu-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 denotes a body part, I follow CHD (L-N: 318) in separating this form from *maḫrai- / muḫrai-*.

The word clearly is a diphthong-stem, on which see Weitenberg (1979). If the form *maḫraen* really belongs with *muḫrai-*, the alternation *maḫrai- / muḫrai-* 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 *maḫr-*, 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* = /tákɨst^{s}i/ < **téks-ti* besides *paḫḫašzi* = /páHst^{s}i/ < **péh$_2$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$_2$r-ōi-s*, **mh$_2$r-i-os*. If this etymology is correct, it would show retention of internal **h$_2$* in front of resonant, which is possibly also visible in $^{(GIŠ)}$*māḫla-* 'apple' and ^{GIŠ}*zaḫrai-* 'knocker(?)' (for the falseness of Kimball's only example (1999: 400) of a development **-h$_2$R-* > *-RR-*, see at *u̯annum(m)iu̯a-*).

mai-^{i} / 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-u̯a-ḫu-un* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ma-a-ú* (OS), 2pl.imp.act. *ma-iš-te-en* (MH/MS); 3sg pres.midd. *mi-u̯a-ri* (OH or MH/NS), *mi-i-u̯a-a-ri* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *mi-u̯a-ti* (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. *mi-i-u̯a-ru* (OH/NS); part. *mi-u̯a-a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *mi-u̯a-an-t-* (OH/NS), *mi-i-u̯a-an-t-*; impf. *ma-iš-ke/a-* (OH or MH/MS), *mi-u̯a-aš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***miēšš-^{zi}*** (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-ḫa-ti* (MH/MS); impf. *mi-i-e-eš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***miu̯ātar / miu̯ann-*** (n.) 'growth, increase, proliferation, abundance' (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-u̯a-tar* (OS), *mi-u̯a-a-tar* (MH/MS), *mi-u̯a-ta* (OH/NS), *mi-i-u̯a-ta* (NH), gen.sg. *mi-u̯a-an-na-aš* (NH), *me-u̯a-an-na-aš* (NS)), ***miu̯antila-*** (adj.) 'fruitful' (loc.sg. *mi-u̯a-an-ti-li*), ***miu̯anu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to make (branches) fruit-bearing' (3sg.pres.act. *mi-u̯a-nu-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *mi-u̯a*[*-nu-an-zi*] (NH)), see $^{(LÚ)}$*mau̯ant-* and ^{LÚ}*mau̯ananni-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mašḫāḫit-*** (n.) ‘growth, prosperity’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-aš-ḫa-a-ḫi-ša*, *ma-aš-ḫa-ḫi-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 *$*mh_2$-ói-ei / *mh_2-i-énti*

See CHD L-N: 113f. for attestations and semantics. In its oldest forms, the verb clearly inflects according to the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-type (3sg.pres.act. *māi*, 3sg.imp.act. *māu*, 2pl.imp.act. *maišten*, part. *mia̯ant-*). In NH times, we find a few forms showing a stem *mia̯e/a-*^{zi}, which is trivial for *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-inflecting verbs. Despite the fact that all other *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-verbs have good IE etymologies, the etymological interpretation of *mai-*^{i} / *mi-* has always been unclear.

Oettinger (1979a: 471) connected *mai-*^{i} / *mi-* with *mīu-* ‘soft’ and reconstructs a verbal root *$*meih_{1/3}$-* ‘to ripen’. Semantically, this is unattractive because neither Hitt. *mīu-* ‘soft, gentle’ nor its cognate Lat. *mītis* ‘soft’ has any connotation ‘ripened’. Melchert (1984a: 46) adduces a formal argument: if we would apply Oettinger’s reconstruction to the derivative ^{LÚ}*maia̯ant-* ‘adult’ (q.v.), we would have to assume a pre-form *$*moih_{1/3}$-ent-*, but this would probably have yielded Hitt. ***mēant-*.

As I have argued extensively in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the bulk of the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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-*^{i} / *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 *$*meh_2$-* ‘big, much’. If we apply this root-structure to *mai- / mi-*, we arrive at a reconstruction *$*mh_2$-ói-ei*, *$*mh_2$-i-énti*, which would regularly yield Hitt. *māi*, *mia̯anzi*.

For a detailed account of $^{(LÚ)}$*maia̯ant-* ‘adult’ < *$*mh_2$-ei-ent-*, see its own lemma. The Luwian forms *mašḫāḫit-* and *mashani-* derive from a basic noun *$*masha$-* (cf. Starke 1990: 167f.), which may reflect *$*meh_2$-sh_2o-* or even *$*mh_2sh_2o$-*.

$^{(LÚ)}$***maia̯ant-*** (c.) ‘young, adult man, (adj.) adult, powerful’ (Sum. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ): nom.sg. *ma-a̯a-an-za* (OH/MS), acc.sg. *ma-a̯a-an-ta-an* (OH or MH/NS), gen.sg.?

ma-i̯a-an-ta-aš, dat.-loc.sg. *ma-i̯a-an-ti*, acc.pl. *ma-i̯a-an-du-uš*, gen./dat.-loc.pl. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*aš*.

Derivatives: ***mai̯antaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to rejuvenate, to install youthfull vigor’ (3pl.pres.act. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-i̯a-an-da-aḫ-ḫe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-i̯a-an-ta-aḫ* (OH/NS); impf. *ma-i̯a-an-ta-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*), $^{(LÚ)}$***mai̯antatar / mai̯andann-*** (n.) ‘young adulthood, youth, youthful vigor’ (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-i̯a-an-da-tar* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ma-i̯a-an-ta-tar*, *ma-i̯a-ta-tar* (1x, OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. [*ma*$^{?}$-*i̯*]*a-an-da-an-ni* (OS)), ***mai̯antili*** (adv.) ‘?’ (*ma-i̯a-an-ti-li*), ***mai̯antēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to become a young man, to become young again’ (3sg.pres.act. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*an-te-eš-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-i̯a-te-eš-še-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-i̯a-an-te-eš* (OH/MS)), ^{LÚ}***mai̯ananna-*** (c.) ‘young man(?)’ (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-i̯a-na-an-ni*).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ^{LÚ}***mai̯ant-*** (c.) ‘grown-up man’ (nom.sg. *ma-i̯a-an-za*).

PIE **mh₂-ei-ent-*

See CHD L-N: 116f. for attestations. This word and its derivatives clearly belong with the verb *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* ‘to grow’. Because a sequence *-ai̯a-* cannot reflect **-oio-*, which should regularly contract to *-ā-* (cf. e.g. *ḫatrāmi* < *h₂etro-i̯o-mi*), it has often been claimed that $^{(LÚ)}$*mai̯ant-* can only be explained by either assuming a root **meiH-* (thus Oettinger 1979a: 471: **moih₁/₃-ént-*) or a root **meHi-* (thus Melchert 1984a: 46: *moh₁i-ent-*) in which the laryngeal prevented the **-i̯-* from dropping. I do not agree with this, however. In my view, the relationship between $^{(LÚ)}$*mai̯ant-* and *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* must be compared to the relationship between ^{LÚ}*patteii̯ant-* ‘fugitive’ and the verb *pattai-*^{i} */ patti-* ‘to flee’ (q.v.), which reflect **pth₁-ei-ent-* and **pth₁-oi-* / **pth₁-i-* respectively. With the reconstruction of *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* (q.v.) as **mh₂-oi-* / **mh₂-i-*, we should consequently reconstruct *mai̯ant-* as **mh₂-ei-ént-*. Although in **pth₁-ei-ent-* > PAnat. */pteiant-/ > Hitt. /pteant-/, realized as [pte^{i}ant-], spelled *pát-te-(i̯a-)an-t-*, the sequence *-e(i̯)a-* is phonetically regular, I believe that **mh₂ei-ent-* should first have given PAnat. */maiant-/, which regularly developed into Hitt. **/māant-/, 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-* ?

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-u̯a-ad-du ne-pí-ša-aš* ^{d}UTU-*u-i*
(12) *ma-iš-za-aš=ti-iš ku-e-el mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-za*
(13) *ḫa-ap-pár-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫi-iš ku-e-el la-lu-uk-ki-u-an-te-eš*

'Have mercy, o Sun-god, whose *m*. is *mišriu̯ant-*, whose beams are radiant'

KBo 32.14 ii
(43) *n=a-an šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-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. *mišriu̯ant-* '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 *mišriu̯ant-* for doubts). Nevertheless, if *maišt-* is of IE origin, it can only reflect **mois-t-*.

$^{(SÍG)}$***maišta-*** (c.) 'fiber, flock or strand of wool'(?): acc.sg. *ma-iš-ta-an*.
IE cognates: Skt. *meṣá-* 'ram, male sheep', Lith. *maīšas* 'bag, sack', Latv. *màiss* 'bag', Russ. *mex* 'skin, fur', ON *meiss* 'wicker carrying basket'.
PIE **mois-to-* ??

See Kimball (1994b: 14-17) for separating this word from the noun *maišt-* 'glow' (q.v.). The noun $^{(SÍG)}$*maišta-* only occurs in the expression ^{SÍG}*ma-iš-ta-an ma-ši-u̯a-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. *maīšas* '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-^{zi} (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- / mekkai-*.

PIE *$*mǵh_2$-eh_1sh_1-*

See CHD L-N: 120 for attestations and semantics. The verb clearly is a fientive in *-ēšš-* derived from *mekk-*, *mekki- / mekkai-* 'much, many' (q.v.). Whilst *mekk-* reflects the *e*-grade root *$*meǵh_2$-*, *makkēšš-*^{zi} must reflect zero grade *$*mǵh_2$-*. Although the sequence *$*mǵh_2$-* regularly would have yielded Hitt. /mk-/, phonetically realized as [əmk-], this was analogically changed to /mək-/ on the basis of the full grade *mekk-*. See at *mekk-*, *mekki- / mekkai-* 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.

^{É}***māk(kiz)zi(i̯a)-*** (gender unknown) a building in which the king and queen wash and dress themselves: gen.sg. *ma-a-ak-ki-iz-zi-i̯a-aš* (OS), *ma-ak-zi-aš* (OH?/NS), all.sg. *ma-ak-zi-i̯a* (OS), abl. *ma-a-ak-zi-i̯a-az* (OS), *ma-az-ki-i̯a-az*.

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. ^{É}*ḫištā* / ^{É}*ḫištī*, ^{É}*kāškāštipa-*, ^{É}*ḫalent(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. μῆκος, Dor. μᾶκος 'length' (< **meh$_2$ḱ-os*).

PIE **m(e)h$_2$ḱ-lo-nt-*

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$_2$ḱ-ró-* (full-grade visible in Gr. μῆκος, Dor. μᾶκος 'length' < **meh$_2$ḱ-os*). This means that Hitt. *maklant-* must reflect a formation **mh$_2$ḱ-lo-nt-* or **meh$_2$ḱ-lo-nt-*.

maknu-^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make abundant, to increase, to multiply': 1sg.pret.act. *ma-ak-nu-mu-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$_2$-neu-*

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-*^{zi}). This means that we have to reconstruct **mǵh$_2$-neu-*. Although the sequence **mǵh$_2$-* regularly would have yielded Hitt. /mk-/, phonetically realized as [əmk-], this was

analogically changed to /mək-/ on the basis of the full grade *mekk-*. See at *mekk-*, *mekki- / mekkai-* for further etymology.

makkuia- (gender unknown) 'churn': acc.sg. *ma-ak-ku-ia-an*, dat.-loc.pl. *ma-ak-ku-ia-aš*.

PIE *$*m(o)k^{w}$-*i̯o-* ??

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* ^{LÚ}SAGI.[A ...] (5) *ši-pa-an-ti ma-ak-ku-ia-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 *makkuia-* phonetically has to interpreted as [mak^{w}ia-], which he connects with Skt. *mac-* 'to pound, to grind'. If this connection is correct, we might have to reconstruct *$*mok^{w}$-*i̯o-*.

^{É}***mākzi(ia)-***: see ^{É}*māk(kiz)zi(ia)-*

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$^{!}$-li-u̯i$_{5}$*, 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=u̯a=za te-pu=ia*

(36) *Ú-UL* [*ša-a*]*k-ki* UR.SAG-*tar=ma-a=š-ši* 10-*pa pí-ia-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-^{i} / mall-*

mă̆la-^{i} / mă̆l- (IIa1γ), ***mă̆lae-^{zi}*** (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-ḁ-la-u̯a-an-zi* (NH); impf. *ma-li-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***(ꜣ) maliu̯ašḫa-*** (c.) 'approval' (nom.sg.? [*ma-l*]*i-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*, abl. *(ꜣ)ma-li-i̯a-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*, *malāi*, 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-^{i} / 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-i̯a-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-u̯a-an-zi*; verb.subst. *ma-al-lu-u̯a-ar*; impf. *ma-al-li-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *mēmal(l)-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mal(ḫ)u-*** 'to break' (3sg.pret.act. *ma-a-la-ḫu-u-ta*, part. *ma-al-u̯a-am-mi-iš*, *ma-al-u̯a-a-am-mi-iš*), ***mammal(ḫ)u-*** 'to crush, to break'

(3sg.pres.act. *ma-am-ma-lu-u̯a-i*, [*ma-am*]-*ma-al-u̯a-i̯=a*, 1pl.pres.act. *ma-am-ma-al-ḫu-un-ni*).

IE cognates: Skt. *mr̥ṇáti* 'to crush', Lat. *molō* 'to mill', Goth. *malan* 'to mill', Lith. *málti* 'to mill', etc.

PIE **mólh₂-ei*, **mlh₂énti*

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*$^{!}$*-nu-un* (HT 35 obv. 7) actually is written *ma-al-ku-nu-un*, of which an emendation to *ma-al-la*$^{!}$*-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-*^{zi}. The oldest texts (MS) show forms that inflect according to the *tarn(a)*-class (*mallāi*, *mallanzi*). In younger texts, we find a few forms that inflect according to the productive *-i̯e/a*-class (*malliezzi*, *malli̯azzi*, *malliet*). Note that in CHD, a stem *malli-* 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-ez-zi* /maLiet^{s}i/, however, and belongs with the stem *malli̯e/a-*. Only the form *malli*, which is attested only once in a NS text, shows a stem *mall-*. Although in my view it is quite obvious that the original inflection must have been *malla-*^{i} */ mall-*, there has been some debate about the interpretation of the form *malli*. According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 102, following e.g. Melchert 1984a: 16f.) the form *malli* must be more original as it is a general fact that 'athematic' *ḫi*-verbs are being replaced by 'thematic' ones, like OS *māldi* vs. NH *maltai* 'recites' and OS *lāḫui* vs. NH *lāḫuu̯āi* '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 *malli* is attested only once in a NS texts. I therefore conclude that the original paradigm of this verb was *mallai / mallanzi*, a perfect example of the *tarn(a)*-class.

Since Friedrich (1922: 159), the etymological connection between Hitt. *malla-*^{i} */ mall-* 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 **melh₂-* (a laryngeal is necessary for Skt. *mr̥ṇáti* < **ml-né-H-ti* and Lith. *málti* where the acute points to **molH-*; on the basis of CLuw. *mal(ḫ)u-*, the laryngeal can be determined as **h₂*). This means that for Hittite we must reconstruct a paradigm **molh₂-ei / *mlh₂-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. *-lḫ-*: **mollai*, *mollanzi*. At this

point, the 3sg.pres.-ending *-*ai* does not match the 'normal' 3sg.pres.-ending of the *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-verbs, but was retained as such and ultimately merged with the ending -*ai* of the *tarn(a)*-class inflection (*°*CoH-ei* > *°*Caʔē* >> *°*Caʔi* > °*Cai*), yielding attested *mallāi*, on the basis of which the whole verb was taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (see at *ḫarra-*^{i} */ ḫarr-* 'to grind', *iškalla-*^{i} */ iškall-* 'to split', *išparra-*^{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(ḫ)u-*, *mammal(ḫ)u-* (the -*ḫ*- 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)lh₂-u-*.

malae-^{zi}: see *mǎla-*^{i} */ mǎl-*

malekk(u)-^{zi} (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*^{w}- ?

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=*LÍA i-na-an pa-iš nu=mu ge-en-zu*

(4) [*da-a-ú ... i-n*]*a-ni pé-ra-an ta-re-eḫ-ḫu-un ma-le-ek-kụ-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 *tareḫḫun* 'have become tired', *malekkun*, too, denotes some negative consequence of the illness.

If *malekkun* is of IE origin, there are two possible reconstructions: **mleḱ*$^{(w)}$- and **mlek*^{w}- (cf. *ekun* /ʔég^{w}on/ 'I drank' from *eku-*^{zi} */ 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 *$m\underset{\circ}{l}k^{w}$-$\underset{\smile}{i}e/o$-. Usually, this word is connected with Skt. *marc-* 'to damage, to hurt, to destroy' and reconstructed as *$melk^{w}$-, but if for some reason Skt. *marc-* cannot reflect *$melk^{w}$- (e.g. because of a possible tie-in with Hitt. *markii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to disapprove of' (q.v.)), it is possible that the Greek verb goes back to a root *$mlek^{w}$-, since all its attested forms reflect the zero-grade root *$m\underset{\circ}{l}k^{w}$-. 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.

malli̯e/a-^{zi}: see *malla-*^{i} / *mall-*

malikk(u)-^{zi}: see *malekk(u)-*^{zi}

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-u̯a-az* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-li-iš-ku-e-eš* (NS).

Derivatives: ***maleškuēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become weak' (3sg.pres.act. *ma-le-eš-ku-eš-zi* (NH)), ***mališkunu-***^{zi} (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. βλᾱ́ξ 'weak, soft', Skt. *mlāta-* 'weak, soft', ModHG *mulsch* 'weak'.

PIE *mlh_2-sk-u-* ?

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 /mlɨsku-/, containing the phoneme /ɨ/ 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. βλᾱ́ξ 'weak, soft', Skt. *mlāta-* 'weak, soft' etc., the root must be *$mleh_2$-. This root can only be connected to Hitt. /mlɨsku-/ if we reconstruct *mlh_2-sK-. The development of *ClHsC > Hitt. *ClɨsC* is then comparable to *CrHsC > Hitt. *CrɨsC* (e.g. *paripriške/a-* < *pri-prh_1-sḱe/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-^{i} / 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-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ma-al-ki*$^{!?}$*-nu-un* (HT 35 rev. 7 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-al-ki-i̯a-at* (MH?/NS); verb.subst. *ma-a-al-ku-u-u̯a*[*-ar*] (NH), *ma-al-ki-i̯a-u̯a-ar* (NH).

Derivatives: ***malkeššar*** (n.) ‘spun wool (?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. [*m*]*a-al-ke-eš-šar* (OH?/NS)).

IE cognates: TochAB *mälk-* ‘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-^{zi}* besides *malkii̯e/a-^{zi}*. Yet the one attestation with plene *-a-*, *ma-a-al-ku-u-u̯a*[*-ar*], is remarkable: none of the *mi*-conjugated verbs of the structure *CaRC-^{zi}* (class I4a) ever shows plene spelling (except in the verb *ārš-^{zi} / 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°* to this class. We therefore may have to assume that this verb was **ḫi*-conjugated originally and showed a stem *mālk-^{i} / malk-*. The taking over into the *mi*-conjugation (*ma-la-ak-zi*) as well as the *-i̯e/a*-class (*malkii̯e/a-^{zi}*) 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 *mälk-* ‘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-^{i} / mald- (IIa2 > IIa1γ) ‘to recite, to make a vow’ (Akk. *KARĀBU*): 1sg.pres.act. *ma-al-da-aḫ-ḫi* (NH), *ma-al-ta-aḫ-ḫi* (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-taḫ-ḫu-un* (OS), *ma-al-da-aḫ-ḫu-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-u̯a-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-ḷal-*[*te-eš*]*-šḷar* (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^{h}-ei / *mld^{h}-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 (*maltai*, *maldai* and possibly 3sg.pret. *maldaš*). 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. *u̯arš-^{i}* : 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-aš-še* (OS)).

The etymology of this verb has been known since Hrozný (1919: 44[1]), i.e. **meld^{h}-* (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^{h}-*, which contrasts with the *o*-grade in the strong-stem forms (*māldi* < **móld^{h}-ei*) and the zero-grade in the weak-stem forms (*maltant-* < **mld^{h}-ent-*).

𒀸 ***mamanna-*** ‘to look at’: 2pl.imp.act. 𒀸 *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* ?

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=u̯a-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 *=u̯a(r)* on the other (e.g. *a-ši=ma-an=u̯a*, *an-za-a-aš=ma-an=u̯a*, *a-pí-i̯a=ia=ma-an=u̯a=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*, *nūu̯an* (q.v.).

The etymology of this particle is unclear. Formally, it seems to go back to **mn̥*. 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. ***mẽ*** 'as; so, likewise'.

PAnat. **món* ?

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.). Occassionally, however, one finds spellings without plene *-a-* (*ma-an*, *ma-n=*).

Semantically, the word is virtually identical to *māḫḫan* (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 *māḫḫan*. Moreover, the Anatolian cognates (especially Lyc. *mẽ*) seem to point to a preform **món*. Outer-Anatolian cognates may be OIr. *ma*, *mā* 'when', TochA *mänt* 'how?', TochB *mant* (conj.) 'so'. These forms seem to point to a pronominal stem **mo-* that is visible in Hitt. *=(m)a*, *māḫḫan* 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-eh₂-*

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-eh₂-*, 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.

mānḫanda: see *māḫḫanda*

maniyaḫḫ-^{i} (IIb) 'to distribute; to entrust (with dat.); to hand over; to show; to govern': 1sg.pres.act. *ma-a-ni-ya-aḫ-mi* (MH/NS), *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *ma-a-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/MS?), *ma-ni-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (OH?/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/MS?), 2sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ta* (OH or MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-aḫ-ta* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫe-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-aḫ-tén* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-tén* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.midd. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫ*[*a-ti*$^{?}$]; part. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫu-u-ua-an-zi*; impf. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*, *ma-a-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (1x, MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***maniyaḫḫa-*** (c.) 'confidant'? (nom.sg. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-aš*), ***maniyaḫḫai-*** (c.) 'administrative district; government' (nom.sg. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-iš* (MH/NS), [*ma-n*]*i-ya-aḫ-ḫa-a-iš* (NS), acc.sg. *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-en* (OH/NS), *ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-i-i*[*n*], *ma-ni-aḫ-ḫa-in*, gen.sg. *ma-ni-ya*[*a-aḫ-*]*ḫa-ya-aš* (OH/NS), *ma-*

ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aš (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-uš* (NH)), ***maniḫḫae-***[zi] (Ic2) 'to be in charge of, to administer, to govern' (2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-it-tén* (OH/NS)), [LÚ]***maniḫḫatalla-*** (c.) 'administrator, deputy, governor' (acc.sg. *ma-ni-(i̯a-)aḫ-ḫa-tal-la-an* (OH/NS)), ***maniḫḫatar / maniḫḫann-*** (n.) 'administration' (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ni*), ***maniḫḫiḫiatt-*** (c.) 'allotment(?), consignment(>)' (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-a-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ti* (NS)), ***maniḫḫeššar*** (n.) 'allotment(?), consignment(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫe-eš-šar*), ***maniḫḫiškattalla-*** 'administrator, deputy' (= *maniḫḫatalla-*) (acc.sg. *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-iš-kat-tal-la-an*).

IE cognates: Lat. *manus* 'hand', OIc. *mund*, OE *mund*, OHG *munt* 'hand', OIr. *muin* 'patronage, protection'.

PIE **mn-i̯eh₂-*

See CHD L-N 163ff. for attestations. Although the bulk of the attestations is spelled *ma-ni(-i̯a)-aḫ-*, we occasionally find spellings with plene *-a-*: *ma-a-ni-i̯a-aḫ-*. 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-i̯a-aḫ-* is found in an OS text, I assume that *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-* is the original spelling (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 458[143]: "[d]ie Pleneschreibung *ma-a-*° ist jh. Neuerung").

The verb *maniḫaḫḫ-* looks like a fientive in *-aḫḫ-* of a further unattested stem **man(iḫa)-*. According to Oettinger (l.c.), we should compare *maniḫaḫḫ-* with e.g. Lat. *manus* 'hand'. He reconstructs **mən-i̯é-*, but assuming "*-ə-*" (i.e. *-h_2-*) is unnecessary: Schrijver (1991: 458) reconstructs Lat. *manus* as *mon-u-*. I therefore reconstruct *maniḫaḫḫ-* as **mn-i̯-eh₂-*.

maninku(u̯a)- (adj.) 'near': nom.pl. *ma-ni*[!]*-in-ku-e-eš*.

Derivatives: ***man(n)i(n)kuu̯aḫḫ-***[i] (IIb) 'to draw near, to come/go near, to approach; to shorten' (1sg.pres.act. *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-aḫ-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (OH?/NS, MH/MS), *ma-an-ni-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-aḫ-tén* (NH); verb.noun *ma-a-ni-en-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-ar*)), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (adv. MH/NS) 'nearby, in the vincinity', ***man(n)i(n)kuu̯ăn*** (adv.) 'near (of place), nearby; near (of time)' (Akk. *QERUB*; *ma-an-ni-in-ku-an* (OS), *ma-an-ni-ku-u̯a-an* (OH?/NS), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an* (MH/NS), *ma-ni-en-ku-u̯a-an*, *ma-a-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an*, *ma-ni-in-ku-u-u̯a-a-an*), ***man(n)i(n)kuu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'short, low; close' (nom.sg.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-za* (NS), *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-a-an-za* (NH),

acc.sg.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-da-an* (NH), [*ma-ni-i*]*n-ku-u̯a-an-ta-az* (MH?/NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NH), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NH), *ma-a-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *ma-ni-ku-an-du-uš* (OH/MS), *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-du-uš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*m*]*a-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-da*, *ma-an-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-da* (MH/NS), gen.pl. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-ta-aš* (NH)), ***manikuu̯andaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make short' (2pl.imp.act. *ma-ni-ku-an-da-aḫ-tén* (OH/MS)), ***maninkuu̯antatar*** (n.) 'shortness' (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-ta-tar* (NH)), ***maninkuu̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to bring near (?)' (forms? *ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-nu-ut*), ***maninkuēšš-***^{zi} (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: *maninkuu̯a-*, *manninkuu̯a-*, *manikuu̯a-*, *māninkuu̯a-*, *mānninkuu̯a-*, *manenkuu̯a-*, *mānenkuu̯a-*, which makes it difficult to etymologize. Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 82f.) assumed that the element *-e/inkuu̯a-* must be compared to Lat. *prop-inquus*, Skt. *praty-áñc-* < **-enk^{w}o-*. One could then propose to connect the element *mǎn(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*$_4$

PIE **mn-ḱo* ?

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 futher etymology.

mant- (c.) something harming: nom.sg. *ma-an-za*.

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ***mẽtli-***, something negative; Lyc. ***mẽte-*** 'harm (or sim.)' (acc.sg. *mẽtẽ*).

IE cognates: Lat. *mendum* 'fault, error', OIr. *mind* 'mark'.

PIE **mond-* ?

The word *manza* is a hapax in a lexical list (KBo 1.45 obv.! 10), of which the Sumerian and Akkadian translations are broken off. The word follows *alu̯anzatar* '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 ^{SISKUR}*mantalli-*, ^{SISKUR}*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. ***mẽtli-***, 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 𒀸 ^{SISKUR}*mantalli-*, 𒀸 ^{SISKUR}*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.

𒀸 ^{SISKUR}***mantalli-***, 𒀸 ^{SISKUR}***maltalli-*** (c./n.) a ritual pertaining to rancor(ous words): nom.sg.c. 𒀸 *ma-an-tal-li-iš* (NH), *ma-an-ta-al-li-iš* (NH), Luw.acc.pl. *ma-an-tal-li-i̯a-an-za* (NH), acc.pl.n. *ma-an-ta-al-li-i̯a* (NH), *ma-an-tal-li-i̯a* (NH), *ma-al-tal-li-i̯a* (NH), *ma-an-tal-li* (NH).

Derivatives: $^{(\text{SISKUR})}$***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 ^{SISKUR}*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-*! */ mald-*).

The *mantalli*-ritual is used against evil curses, and therefore it is possible that ^{SISKUR}*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 *mantalliia̯nza*. Moreover, its derivative *mantallaššammi-* is clearly a Luwian formation.

If the equation with the adj. *mantalli-* is correct, ^{SISKUR}*mantalli-*, too, is possibly derived from the noun *mant-* (q.v.) that denotes something evil. See there for further etymology.

mar-: see *mer-*^{zi} */ mar-*

marra- or ***marri-*** (gender unknown) '(sun)light' (Akk. *ṢETU*): dat.-loc.sg. *mar-ri*.

IE cognates: Gr. μαρμαίρω 'to glitter', Μαῖρα 'Sirius', Skt. *márīci-* '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-ia̯-zi?*], which is duplicated by KUB 17.31, (8) *n=a-aš=kán A-NA ṢE-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', Μαῖρα 'Sirius' and Skt. *márīci-* 'particle of light', which point to a root **merH-*. If *marri* is derived from an *i*-stem *marri-*, the formal similarity between Skt. *márī-* < **me/orH-ih*$_2$- and Gr. Μαῖρα < **mr̥H-ih*$_2$- is even closer.

How this word must be regarded in view of the Hittite adv. *marrī* 'rashly' (q.v.) is not fully clear.

$^{(TU_7)}$***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*$_{2/3}$*-ó-*??

See CHD L-N: 182 for attestations. The precise meaning of the word is unclear, but the use of the determinative TU_7 indicates that it is some stew or cooked food. Note that Puhvel (HED 6: 65) reads TU_7 as UTÚL 'jar' and therefore interprets *marḫā-* as a "dish, bowl".

Starke (1986: 161-2) connects *marḫā-* with *marriia̯/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them'. Semantically, this is possible

if *marḫā-* indeed denotes a stew. Formally, we then would have to assume that *marriie/a-* shows a development **VRHV > VRRV*, whereas *marḫā-* must reflect **mrH-ó-*. At this moment, this is quite speculative, though.

marḫanuuamma- (adj.) 'brewed?': nom.-acc.sg.n.? [*ma*]*r-ḫa-nu-ua-am-ma-an.*

See CHD L-N: 182f.: this word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 1.13 ii
(26) *ḫa-aš-ši-i=ma=kán* MUN *mar*[*-ra/i-*]*at-ta-ri*
(27) *A-NA* ^{DUG}*NAM-ZI-TI=ia* BULÙG AL.GAZ
(28) [*ma*]*r-ḫa-nu-ua-am-ma-an*

'Salt is being dissolved on the hearth. Crushed malt is *m*. in the fermenting pot'.

CHD translates [*ma*]*rḫanuuamman* as 'brewed(?)', which would mean that it in some way could belong with $^{(TU_7)}$*marḫā-*, a kind of stew (q.v.), and *marriie/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to soften/melt/dissolve solid objects by heating them' (q.v.). Formally, *marḫanuuamma-* looks like a Luw. part. in *-mma/i-* of a verb *marḫanu-*.

Note that in the older literature this form sometimes incorrectly is cited as [*u*]*a-ḫa-nu-ua-am-ma-an.*

$^{(GIŠ)}$***māri(t)-*** (c.) 'spear(?)': acc.sg. *ma-a-ri-in* (OS), *ma-ri-in* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ma-a-ri-ia-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: ^{NINDA}***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 *marāiit* 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 *marriie/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ ‘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 *ŪL marri* as ‘not within a glimpse’.

marri-: see *marra-*

(GIŠ)***mariiauuanna-*** (n.) ‘railing?’: nom.-acc.sg. *ma-ri-ia-ua-an-na* (MH/NS), *ma-ar-ia-ua-an-na*, instr. *ma-ri-ia-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. *annauanna-* for the suffix *-uanna-*. Further unclear.

marriie/a-$^{tta(ri)}$, ***marra-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (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-ia-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-ia-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 *marriie/a-*, but we also find forms that show a stem *marra-* (*marrattat* and *marrant-*, cf. at *šārr-*^{i} */ 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$_2$-* ~ Skt. *mṛṇáti* ‘to crush’ (followed by e.g. LIV^2). The root **merh$_2$-* rather seems to denote ‘to crush, to quench’ (cf. Gr. μαραίνω ‘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 ^{TU}*marḫā-* for a possible inner-Hittite cognate.

mārk-*^{i} / *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-u̯a-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' (**morǵ-*), OIr. *mruig* 'territory, area', We. *bro* 'country' (**mroǵi-*).

PIE **morǵ-ei*, **mrǵ-énti*

See CHD L-N: 187f. for attestations. Although *mi*-inflected forms are attested (*marakzi* and *marakta*), the two OS attestations of 1sg.pres.act. *mārkaḫḫi* 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-*^{i} / *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 **mórǵ-ei*, **mrǵ-énti*. For Skt. *marc-*, see at *markiie/a-*^{zi}.

markiie/a-^{zi} (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-ia-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-ia-ši* (NH), *mar-ki-ši* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *mar-ki-ia-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-ia-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-ia-at*; 3pl.pres.midd. [*mar*]-*ki-ia-an-ta-ri*, 3pl.pret.midd. *mar-ki-ia-an-da-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. [*m*]*ar-ki-ia-ru* (OH/NS); part. *mar-ki-ia-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *mar-ki-ia-u-ua-ar* (NH); impf. *mar-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

IE cognates: Skt. *marc-* 'to hurt, to damage', Lat. *murcus* 'mutilated'.

PIE **mrk-ie/o-*

See CHD L-N: 189 for attestations and semantics. Often, this verb is seen as a derivative of *mārk-*^{i} / *mark-* 'to divide, to separate' (q.v.), but semantically this is not very appealing: *markiie/a-*^{zi} 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. *markiiazi* < **mṛk-ié-ti*.

markištae-^{zi} (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-ua-aš* (NH), *mar-kiš-da-u-ua-aš*, [*ma*]*r-ki-eš-ta-u-ua-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***markištaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to take someone by surprise(?)' (1sg.pret.act. *mar-ki-iš-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3pl.pret.act. *mar-ki-iš-ta-aḫ-ḫe-er*; broken *mar-kiš-ta-aḫ*[-...]).

See CHD L-N: 190 for attestations. The semantics of this verb are diffcult. The verb *markištae-* is poorly attested, except for the verb.noun.gen.sg. *markištauua-aš*, which occurs often as a designation of a decease 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 **merḱ-* are unconvincing without the Sanskrit support. I have no alternative etymology, however.

[d]Markuu̯aia̯- '(plur.) deities in the depth of the earth': dat.-loc.pl. [d]*Mar-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***[d]Maru̯ai-*** (c.) 'dark deities' (dat.-loc.pl. [d]*Mar-u̯a-i̯a-an-za*).

This word is the genuinely Hittite counterpart of CLuw. [d]*Maru̯aia̯-*, derived from the basic Luwian word *maru̯a-* 'black' that has been borrowed into Hittite (see at *maru̯āi-*). This means that we have to reconstruct a PAnat. form **marg*^{w}*aia̯-*. See at *maru̯āi-* for further etymology.

marlant- (adj.) 'dumb, foolish, idiot' (Sum. [(LÚ)]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. [LÚ]LIL-*aš*.

Derivatives: ***marlaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make foolish(?)' (form? *mar-la-aḫ-ḫa-an*[-...] (MS?)), ***marlae-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become foolish (?)' (part. *mar-le-eš-ša-an-t-* (NH)).

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. *mūrá-* 'foolish' into account, the picture becomes more difficult, however. A connection between the Greek and the Sanskrit word would point to **mu(e)h₃-ró-* (if **mu̯ōro-* indeed would yield Gr. μωρός?), but in such a scenario, Hitt. **marla-* cannot be cognate. Further unclear.

marnuu̯a-: see *marnuu̯ant-*

marnuu̯ant- (n. > c.) a kind of beer: nom.-acc.sg.n. *mar-nu-an* (OS), *mar-nu-u̯a-an* (OH or MH/MS), *mar-nu-u-u̯a-an* (OH/NS), acc.sg.c. *mar-nu-u̯a-an-da-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *mar-nu-u̯a-aš* (OS), *mar-nu-an-da-aš* (OS), *mar-nu-u̯a-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 *marnuu̯a-* besides *marnuu̯ant-*, which are both attested in OS texts already (gen.sg. *marnuu̯aš* vs. *marnuandaš*). The most likely source of this dichotomy lies in the fact that the nom.-acc.sg.-form of a stem *marnuu̯ant-* is *marnuu̯an*, which is easily interpreted as belonging to a stem *marnuu̯a-*. 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 *marnuu̯ant-* is more original.

Formally, *marnuu̯ant-* is identical to the participle of the verb *marnu-*^{zi} 'to make disappear' (caus. of *mer-*^{zi} / *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 *marnuu̯ant-* 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: ***maršaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to desecrate; to make treacherous' (part. *mar-ša-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *mar-ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (NH)), ***maršanu-***^{zi} (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-(u̯a-)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-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to be/become corrupt' (3pl.pret.act. *mar-še-e-er* (OS)), ***maršēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become desecrated, to become profane, to become unhloy; 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. ≺ *mar-ša-aš-ša‹-an›*), ***maršaza-*** '?' (case? *mar-ša-za-an*); Mil. ***mrssχ-*** '?'.

PAnat. **mr̥sa-*

IE cognates: Skt. *mṛ́ṣā* (adv.) ‘invain, falsely’; Skt. *marṣ-* ‘to forget’, Lith. *už-miršti* ‘to forget’, TochAB *märs-* ‘to forget’.

PIE **mr̥s-o-*

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 ununderstandable 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. *maršaḫḫ-*^{i}.

The stem **marša-* must reflect **mrso-* since a preform **mVrso-* would have given Hittite ***marra-* (cg. *arra-* ‘arse’ < **Horso-*). An etymological connection with Skt. *mṛ́ṣā* (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-*^{zi}, 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 *maršeššer*, 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-*^{zi}, showing the stative-suffix **-eh$_1$-*.

maru̯āi- (Luw. verb) ‘to blacken(?)’: 3sg.pret.act. ≺ *ma-ru-u̯a-a-i̯t*.

Derivatives: $^{(\text{NA}_4)}$***mar(r)uu̯ašḫa-***, a mineral imported from Cyprus, (acc.sg. *mar-ru-u̯a-aš-ḫa-an*, case? *ma-ru-u̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***marruu̯a-*** ‘to blacken’ (part. *mar-ru-u̯a-am-mi-in*), ***maru̯ai-*** (adj.) ‘black, dark-coloured(?)’ (nom.pl.c. *mar-u̯a-a-in-zi*, dat.-loc.pl. ^{d}*Mar-u̯a-i̯a-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*),

marṷatar*(?)** ‘blackness(?)’ (dat.-loc.sg.(?) *mar-ṷa-ta-ni* (interpretation unsure)); HLuw. ^{DEUS}marwawana/i-*** (adj.) ‘?’ (nom.sg $^{\text{“DEUS”}}$*ma-ru-wá/í-wá/í-ni-sa* (KAYSERİ §8)).

IE cognates: OIc. *myrkr* ‘dark’, *mjǫrkvi* ‘darkness’, OSax. *mirki*, OE *mierce* ‘dark’.

PIE **merg*^{w}-

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 *maruṷāi-* (gloss wedged, so probably of Luwian origin), which he translates as ‘to blacken’. This means that we would be dealing with a Luwian stem *marṷ(a)-* ‘black’, which would mean that e.g. the $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Marṷāinzi* denote ‘black deities’. Of this last term, a Hittite counterpart has been found in ^{d}*Markuṷaia-*, which then might mean ‘black deity’ as well (q.v.).

If Luw. $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Marṷāinzi* and Hitt. ^{d}*Markuṷaia-* are really cognate, we have to reconstruct a PAnat. form **marg*^{w}*ai-*. Neumann (1973: 298) connects this with PIE **merg*^{w}- (misprinted as “**merq*^{u}-”), referring to Pokorny (1959: 734). Indeed, words like OIc. *myrkr* ‘dark’, *mjǫrkvi* ‘darkness’, OSax. *mirki*, OE *mierce* ‘dark’ point to a root **merg*^{w}- ‘dark’. Formally, Lith. *mirgėti*, *mìrgu* ‘to twinkle’ could belong here as well, but semantically this remains far.

marzae-^{zi} (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 connetion 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. $BURU_5$): nom.sg. [*m*]*a-ša-aš*, acc.sg. *ma-a-ša-an* (NH), gen. *ŠA* BUR[U_5], acc.pl. $BURU_5^{ḪI.A}$, gen.pl. *ŠA* $BURU_5^{ḪI.A}$.

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-* < **menth₂-*, 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*$^{!}$*-ša-an* (reading 𒆳𒀀𒄿 = MA-A as 𒆳𒀀𒄿 = KAR), Eichner (1974: 63) wrongly reconstructs "*karša-*" as **gr̥só-*, derived from the root **gres-* (Skt. *grásate* 'to devour').

****mašḫuil(a)-*** 'mouse' (Sum. PÍŠ.TUR).

See Tischler (HEG L/M: 157f). On the basis of the phonetic spelling ^{m}*Maš-ḫu-i-lu-u̯a-* of the PN ^{m}PÍŠ(.TUR)-*u̯a-*, we must conclude that behind the sumerogram PÍŠ(.TUR) 'mouse', the Hittite word *mašḫuil(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-u̯a-aš* (KBo 4.3 i 35) proves that we have to read *Mašḫuiluu̯a-*. 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*$^{?}$], *ma-še-e* (NS) (with pron. inflection), dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ma-ši-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***mašii̯an*** (adv.) 'as much as' (*ma-ši-i̯a-an* (OH/NS)), ***mašii̯anki*** (adv.) 'however many times' (*ma-ši-i̯a-an-ki* (MH/NS)), ***mašii̯ant-*** (adj.) 'however many times' (dat.-loc.sg. *ma-ši-i̯a-an-ti*, *ma-ši-i̯a-an-te* (MH/NS), nom.pl.c. *ma-ši-i̯a-an-te-eš*), ***mašiu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'equal in size or amount, as much/little as, as big/small as' (nom.sg.c. *ma-ši-u̯a-an-za* (NH), *ma-a-ši-u̯a-an-za* (1x, NH), acc.sg.c. *ma-ši-u̯a-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ma-ši-u̯a-an*, acc.pl.c. *ma-ši-u̯a-an-du‹-uš›*), ***mašiu̯an*** (adv.) 'as much as, as many as, how many (times)' (*ma-ši-u̯a-an* (OH/MS?), *ma-a-ši-u̯a-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_1o-, Melchert states that **maš* reflects **mo*-, a pronominal stem also visible in *mān*, *māḫḫan* etc. (q.v.).

^{TÚG}*maššiia-* (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *ma-aš-ši-(ia-)aš* (NH), gen.sg. *ma-aš-ši-ia-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***maššaiaššiš-*** (adj. describing garments) (nom.pl. *maš-ša-ia-aš-ši-iš*).

See CHD L-N: 205f. for attestations. It is not quite clear what kind of clothing is meant, although one time a hem (^{TÚG}*SISIKTUM*) of a *maššiia-* 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. *maššiia-*. Rabin (1963: 129) suggested that *maššiia-* is a cultural Wanderwort (cf. Hebr. *maeši* 'silk' and Eg. *mśj* (a garment)).

mau-^{i} / mu-, ***maušš-^{zi}*** (IIa1α) 'to fall': 1sg.pres.act. *mu-uḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), [*mu*]-*u-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*$^{?}$*-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)iie/a-^{zi}*** (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$_1$-ei / *muh$_1$-énti*

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)iie/a-^{zi}*. The verb *mau-/mu-* shows three stems: *mau-* (3pl.pret.act. *mauer*, 1sg.pres.act. *muḫḫi*, 1sg.pret.act. *muḫḫun*), *mu-* (3pl.imp.midd. *muuāntaru*) and *maušš-* (e.g. *maušzi*, *maušta*, *mauššer*). This

immediately reminds of the situation in *au-^{i} / 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 *mauššuu̯anzi*, 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 *mūḫḫi*, **mautti*, *mauszi*, **mumeni*, **mušteni*, **muu̯anzi*, in which 3sg.pres.act. *mauszi* replaced an older **māu̯i*.

This verb is generally connected with PIE **m(i)euh$_1$-*, which means that we have to reconstruct **móuh$_1$-ei*, **muh$_1$-énti*.

The interpretation of the verb *mum(m)iie̯/a-^{zi}* 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 *mumiie̯/a-*. The verb cannot reflect a mere reduplication of *mau-^{i} / 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 **u̯* that has turned to *-m-* next to *-u-*. Yet, reconstructing a correct preform remains difficult. A formation **muh$_1$ie̯/o-* should have given ***muie̯/a-* (cf. *ḫuie̯anzi* 'they run' < **h$_2$uh$_1$-i-enti*); a formation **mh$_1$u-ie̯/o-* should have given ***muu̯e/a-* (cf. **sh$_1$u-ie̯/o-* 'to push' > *šuu̯e/a-*); a formation **mouh$_1$-eie̯/o-* (thus Eichner 1973a: 90) shoud have given ***muu̯e/a-* (cf. *u̯ezzi* 'he comes' < **h$_2$ou-h$_1$ei-ti*); and a formation *mouh$_1$-ie̯/o-* should probably have given ***muie̯/a-* (cf. *uie̯zzi* 'he sends' < **h$_2$ou-h$_1$ieh$_1$-ti*). In my view, the only possible solution is assuming that *mumiie̯/a-^{zi}* is a rebuilding of an original verb **mumai-^{i} / mumi-* that inflected according to the *dāi/tiie̯anzi*-class (note that all verbs of this class are eventually taken over in the *-ie̯/a*-class). In this verb then the development **CHuV* > Hitt. *CumV* (e.g. **dh$_3$-ueni* > Hitt. *tumēni*) must have taken place, which means that we must reconstruct **mh$_1$u-ói-ei*.

maušš-^{zi}: see *mau-^{i} / mu-*

maz-^{i} (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-u̯a-aš* (NH).

IE cognates: OE *mōd* 'courage, Goth. *modags* 'angry'.

PIE **moh$_3$d-s-ei* (?)

See CHD L-N: 213f. for attestations. There is debate on two points: what was the actual stem of this verb, and which inflection (*ḫi* 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^{s}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^{s}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-*^{zi} */ ad-*)). In my view, *mazze* is to be seen as a *ḫi*-conjugated 3sg.pres.act., showing the ending *-e*, which is the archaic variant of the ending *-i* (compare the OS attestation *u̯arašše* (see at *u̯arš-*^{i}) and the existence of *-ḫḫe* besides less archaic *-ḫḫi*). With the view that *maz-* originally was *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-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$_3$do-*. This would imply that Hitt. *maz-* is an *s*-extensions as also visible in e.g. *ānš-*^{i} 'to wipe' < **h$_2$omh$_1$-s-*, *paḫš-*^{i} 'to protect' < **poh$_2$-s-*, *pāš-*^{i} 'to drink' < **poh$_3$-s-*, etc. All in all, I would reconstruct **móh$_3$d-s-ei*.

^{É}***mazki(i̯a)-***: see ^{É}*māk(kiz)zi(i̯a)-*

=me-: see *=mi- / =ma- / =me-*

mēḫur / mēḫun- (n.) 'period, time': nom.-acc.sg. *me-e-ḫur* (OH/NS), *me-ḫu-ur* (NH), *me-ḫur* (NH) gen.sg. *me-e-ḫu-na-aš* (NH), *me-ḫu-na-aš* (MH/NS), loc.sg. *me-e-ḫu-ni* (OS), *me-e-ḫu-u-ni* (OH or MH/NS), *me-ḫu-u-ni* (NH), *me-ḫu-ni* (MH/NS), *me-e-ḫu-e-ni* (1x, NS), *me-eḫ-ni* (1x, NS), *me-e-ḫu-un-ni* (1x, MS), nom.-acc.pl. *me-ḫur-ri*^{ḪLA} (NH), gen.pl. *me-e-ḫu-u-na-aš* (OH or MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *me-e-ḫu-na-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***mēḫur*** (adv.) 'at/in the time' (*me-e-ḫu-ur* (OS), *me-ḫu-ur* (OS), *me-e-ḫur* (OH/MS?), *me-ḫur* (MS)).

PIE **méih$_2$-ur*, **méih$_2$-un-(o)s*

See CHD L-N: 239 for attestations. There, a distinction is made between nom.-acc.sg. *mēḫur* and adverbial *mēḫur*. Yet it is likely that, at least historically, these forms are identical. Usually, *mēḫur / mēḫun-* 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 *-ḫ-*. The oldest etymology was put forward by Kretschmer *apud* Hrozný (1917: 70[3]), who connected the word with PIE **meh$_1$-* 'to measure'. Although semantically attractive, formally this connection is improbable as **h$_1$* does not yield Hitt. *-ḫ-* (Puhvel's recent attempt (HED 6: 111) to revive the theory that *-ḫ-* can reflect an *e*-colouring laryngeal must be strongly rejected), and because a suffix *-ḫur-* is further unknown. The theory that **mē-ur* would give *mēḫur*, in which *-ḫ-* is a hiatus-filler, has now generally been denied.

Another etymological account was given by Eichner (1973a). First, he rightly notes that *mēḫur*, *mēḫunaš* inflects differently from e.g. *paḫḫur*, *paḫḫuenaš* 'fire':

the latter word shows a proterodynamic paradigm (**péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uén-s*), whereas the accent in *mēḫur*, *mēḫunaš* 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 **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uén-s*, must have been **ē* : *ĕ* in static inflected paradigms: **CéC-ur*, **CéC-un-s*. As an etymological cognate for *mēḫur*, he proposes to interpret Lat. *mātūrus* 'mature', *mānus* 'good' as reflecting a root **meh₂-* 'to be the right time'. When applied to the structure cited above, he comes to the reconstruction **mḗh₂-ur*, **méh₂-un-(o)s*. One of the consequences of this reconstruction is that a long **ē* apparently is not coloured by the adjacent **h₂*. 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 **méh₂-un-* would have been ***maḫḫun-*. Eichner's etymology and his law has found wide acceptance.

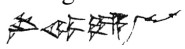
Although Eichner's etymology formally seems well-crafted, the semantic side is rather weak: connecting a word for 'time' with words for 'good; mature' is quite far-fetched. Moreover, the presumption that **ē* is not coloured by a laryngeal in Hittite is further unfounded (see at *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$, ^{É}*ḫīla-*, ^{NA_4}*ḫekur*, *ḫenkan-*, ^{LÚ}*ḫippara-*, ^{É}*ḫištā*, *šeḫur / šeḫun-* and *kane/išš-*^{zi} 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 *-eḫ-*, we are dealing with original *i*-diphthongs: *tēḫḫi* 'I take' < **dʰh₁-oi-h₂ei*, *pēḫḫi* < **h₁p-oi-h₂ei*. It therefore is formally quite likely that *mēḫur* reflects **mo/eih₂-ur*, derived from a root **meih₂-*. Semantically, the translation 'time' is a bit misleading. When looking at the contexts cited in CHD, we notice that all translations of *mēḫur* have in common that they denote a (fixed, regularly recurring) period. So *mēḫur* 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. *minā́ti* 'to diminish', Lat. *minuō* 'to diminish'), which would point to a reconstruction **méih₂-ur*, **méih₂-un-(o)s* > Hitt. *mēḫur*, *mēḫunaš* (note that no analogic levelling within the paradigm is needed). For the semantics, compare 'minute' from Lat. *minuō* 'to diminish'.

meḫuu̯ant- (adj.) 'old, elderly', (n.) 'old man or woman, ederly person', (pl.) 'elders (a body with political-military, judicial and religious functions)' (Sum. ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI): nom.sg.c. ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI-*an-za* (OS), nom.pl.c. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI-*eš* (OS), dat.-loc.pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI-*aš* (OS).

Derivatives: ***meḫuu̯andaḫḫ-***^{i}, ***mi̯aḫuu̯antaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make old, to age; (midd.) to become old, to grow old' (2sg.pret.act. ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI-*aḫ-ta* (NH);

3sg.pret.act. ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI[-*aḫ-ta-a*(*t*)] (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *mi-ḫu-un-ta-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (NH), *me-ḫu-un-ta-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (NH), *mi-e-ḫu-u̯a-an-da-ḫu-ut* (NH), *mi-i̯a*[-*ḫu-u̯a-an-t*]*a-ḫu-ut* (NH)), ***miḫuntatar / mii̯aḫuandann-*** (n.) 'old age' (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-ḫu-un-ta-tar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *mi-i̯a-ḫu-an-da-na-aš* (OH/MS)), ***mii̯aḫunte-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become old' (3sg.pres.act. *mi-i̯a-ḫu-un-te-zi* (OH/NS)), $^{(LÚ)}$***mii̯aḫuntēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become an old man' (3sg.pres.act. *mi-i̯a-ḫu-un-te-eš-z*[*i*] (NH)).

See CHD L-N: 223f. for attestations. The basic word is only attested spelled sumerographically: ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI-*ant-*. Its derivatives are found in phonetic spellings, however, but display a variaty of forms: *mi-ḫu-un-t*°, *me-ḫu-un-t*°, *mi-e-ḫu-u̯a-an-t*°, *mi-i̯a-ḫu-un-t*° and *mi-i̯a-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 **mii̯aḫuu̯ant-*, which he connects with *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* 'to grow' and reconstructs as **mih*$_{1/3}$*-eh*$_2$*-u̯ent-* (followed by Oettinger 1979a: 471). Problematic for this view, however, is the fact that the proposed pre-form in fact should have yielded ***mii̯aḫḫuu̯ant-*, 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) "^{LÚ}*miyah*[*hunteszi*", copying the reading as given in CHD L-N: 228: "^{LÚ}*mi-ia-*⌜*aḫ*⌝[*-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 AḪ, however:  = = . In fact I am sure that we can only read this form as ^{LÚ}*mi-i̯a-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 *meḫuu̯ant-*. At an early stage already this *meḫuu̯ant-* was reinterpreted as belonging to the verb *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* 'to grow' on the basis of its 1sg.-forms **me-ḫḫi* and **me-ḫḫun*. When the verb *mai-*^{i} */ mi-* was secondarily changed to *mii̯e/a-*^{zi} (like all *dāi/tii̯anzi*-verbs end up in the *-i̯e/a-*class), the 1sg.-forms were changed to **mii̯a-mi* and **mii̯a-nun* as well. With this change from the stem **me-* into *mii̯a-*, the etymologically unrelated stem *meḫuu̯ant-* was secondarily changed to *mii̯aḫuu̯ant-* as well. For further etymology, see at *mēḫur / mēḫun-*.

me(i)an- (c.) 'range (of a year), extent': gen.sg. *mi-e-ni-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), *me-e-i̯a-ni-(i̯a-)aš* (MH/MS), *me-e-i̯a-an-ni-i̯a-aš* (NS), *me-e-ni-aš* (OH or MH/MS), *me-*

e-ne-i̯a-aš (MS), *me-e-i̯a-na-aš* (NH), *me-i̯a-na-aš* (NH), *me-i̯a-an-na-aš* (NH), *me-e-a-na-aš* (NH), *me-e-na-aš* (NH), *me-i-i̯a-na-aš* (NH), *mi-i-i̯a-na-aš* (NH), *mi-i̯a-na-aš* (NH), loc.sg. *me-i̯a-ni* (OS), *me-e-i̯a-ni* (MH/MS), *me-e-a-ni* (MS), *me-i-i̯a-ni* (MH/MS), *me-e-ni* (MS), *me-i-e-ni* (NS), *me-e-e-ni* (NH), *mi-i̯a-ni* (OH/NS), *me-an-ni*, *me-e-i̯a-an-ni*, gen.sg. or loc.pl. *me-e-a-na-aš* (MS), *me-e-i̯a-ni-i̯a-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE **meh$_1$-on-*, **meh$_1$-en-*

See CHD L-N: 229f. for attestations and semantics. This word mostly occurs in a fixed combination with *u̯itt-* 'year': *u̯itti mēi̯an(ii̯)aš*, *u̯itti mēi̯ani* and *u̯ittaš mēi̯anaš*. 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^{KAM}-*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^{KAM}-*z*[*a*] *me-e-ḫu-ni a-ri* 'Until the year reaches the time'. Here we see that *mēani* semantically must correspond to *mēḫuni* 'period, time'. It therefore is likely that *mē(i̯)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=*I̯A*

(43) [x]x *LI-ÌM* 5 *ME* 30$^{?}$ NAM.RA$^{ḪI.A}$ *ú-*[*u̯a*]*-te-nu-un*

(44) [^{URU}*Ḫa-at-t*]*u-ša-aš=ma=za* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{M}[^{EŠ} *ku-i*]*n* NAM.RA [GU$_4$] UDU

(45) [*ú-u̯a-te-er* (?)] *nu-u=š-ša-an ir-ḫa-aš mi-i̯a-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 Ḫattuša [brought in], there w[as] no boundary of (its) *m*.'.

Here, *mii̯anaš* must mean something like 'size, extent'. So, all in all, we have to conclude that *mē(i̯)an-* denotes something like 'extent, range (of a year)'.

According to Tischler (HEG L/M: 175), another case of *mei̯an-* without 'year' can be found in KUB 43.74 rev. (10) *nu nam-ma mi-i̯a-ni-i=š-ši pa-*x[...] (11) [... ^{NA_4}G]UG *an-da-an ḫu-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 *mii̯ani* here might mean 'on the surface'. CHD (L-N: 234), however, cites this form as a separate noun *mii̯anišši* of which the meaning cannot be determined.

Formally, the word seems to show *a*-stem as well as *i*-stem forms (gen.sg. *mē(i̯)anaš* vs. *mē(i̯)anii̯aš*). The *i*-stem forms are only found in the expression *u̯itti*

meḫaniḫaš, which is likely a secondary formation on the basis of the petrified expression *ḫitti mē(ḫ)ani*, the loc.sg. of the stem *me(ḫ)an-*.

Because of the alternation between *mē(ḫ)an-* and *mē(ḫ)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 *$*meh_1$-* 'to measure' seems likely. This would mean that we have to reconstruct *$*meh_1$-on-*, *$*meh_1$-en-*. For the development of *$*meh_1$-on-* to Hitt. *mē(ḫ)an-*, compare *zē(ḫ)ari* 'is cooking' < *$*tieh_1$-o* (see *zē-*$^{a(ri)}$ / *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$^{ḪI.A}$ *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$^{ḪI.A}$ *meḫannašašši* only, e.g. KUB 5.4 ii (9) MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *me-ḫa-an-na-ša-aš-ši* (10) *I-NA* ^{URU}*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(ḫ)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(ḫ)an-* (*meḫanaš*, *meḫani*). The one attestation MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *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 *miḫanaš=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 *miḫatar* '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(i̯)u- / mei̯au̯- (adj.) 'four': nom.pl.c. *mi-e-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *mi-e-i̯a-u̯a-aš* (OH or MH/NS), acc.pl.c. *mi-e-ú-uš* (OH or MH/NS), 4-*uš* (OS), 4-*aš*, gen.pl. *mi-i-ú-u̯a‹-aš›* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-ú-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS?), 4-*ta-aš* (OH/NS), inst. 4-*it*, uncl. *me-u-u̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***miuu̯anii̯ant-***, ***mūu̯anii̯ant-*** (adj.) 'running in teams of fours(?)' (nom.pl. *mi-u-u̯a-ni-ia-an-ti-š(-)* (MS?), *mu-u-u̯a-ni*[*-i̯a-an-te-eš*]).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***māuu̯a-*** 'four' (abl.-inst. *ma-a-u-u̯a-a-ti*, *ma-a-u-u̯a-ti*), ***mau̯alla/i-*** (adj.?) 'four-span(?)' (acc.sg. *ma-u̯a-al-li-in*), ***māuu̯allašša/i-*** (adj.) 'of a four-span' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ma-a-ú*$^{?}$-[*u̯*]*a-al-la-aš-ša*), ***māuu̯ani(i̯a)-*** 'to hitch as a four-span' (3pl.pret.act. *ma-a-u-u̯a-ni-in-ta*); HLuw. ****miwa-***$^{?}$ (adj.) 'four' (nom.-acc.pl.c. "4"-*wa/i-zi* (ARSLANTAŞ §6), 4-*zi* (ASSUR letter *a* §10, *c* §9, *f*+*g* §28)); Lyc. ***mupm̃m-*** 'fourfold?' (dat.-loc.pl. *mupm̃me*).

PIE **méh*$_1$*-u-*, **méh*$_1$*-eu-* ?

See CDH L-N: 308f. for attestations. Because of nom.pl.c. *mei̯au̯aš*, we seem to be dealing with an *u*-stem adjective **mei̯u- / mei̯au̯-*. In CLuwian, we do not find evidence for a *-i̯-*, but perhaps *māu̯a-* reflects **méi̯u̯o-*. In HLuwian, the word is not attested in a phonetic spelling. Because of the fact that the HLuwian sign MI (𒀸, 𒀹) is made up of four strokes, we may have to assume that the word for 'four' actually was **miu̯a-*. On the basis of these forms, we must reconstruct a PAnat. **mei̯-(e)u-* or **meʔ-(e)u-* (if the *-i̯-* in Hitt. *mei̯au̯aš* can be regarded as a hiatus-filler for /méʔauas/, cf. *me(i̯)an-* < **meh*$_1$*-on-*).

Further etymologizing has proven to be difficult. It has been argued that **mei̯u-* must belong to a root **mei-* 'to diminish' (because 'four' is five minus one), but this root possibly is **meih*$_2$*-* (cf. at *mēḫur / mēḫun-*). If PAnat. **meʔ-(e)u-* is a correct reconstruction, we could also assume connection with the root **meh*$_1$*-* 'to measure' (cf. Kimball's reconstruction (1999: 233) **meh*$_1$*i̯-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*$_4$*-i̯a-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*$_4$*-e-eš* (NH), *me-ek-ka*$_4$*-uš* (NH), *ma-ek-ka*$_4$*-uš* (NH), acc.pl.c. *me-ek-ku-uš* (OS), *me-ek-ka*$_4$*-a-uš* (MH/NS), *me-ek-ka*$_4$*-uš* (NH), nom.-acc.pl.n. *me-eg-ga-i̯a* (NH); case? *me-ek-ka*$_4$*-i̯a-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***mekkaḭaz*** (adv.) ‘on many occasions, often’ (*me-ek-ka$_4$-ḭa-az* (NH)), ***mekki*** (adv.) ‘greatly, much. in large numbers, very’ (*me-ek-ki-i* (1x, OS), *me-ek-ki*), see *makkēšš-^{zi}*, *maknu-^{zi}*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***maḭa-*** (adj.) ‘much, many (??)’ (nom.sg.c. *ma-ḭa-aš* (?), gen.adj. *ma-ḭa-aš-ša/i-* (?)).

IE cognates: Gr. μέγα-, Skt. *máhi*, Arm. *mec’*, Lat. *magnus*, Goth. *mikils* ‘big’.

PIE **meǵh$_2$-*, **meǵh$_2$-(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. *mekkaḭaz*, nom.pl.c. *mekkaeš*, acc.pl.c. *mekkauš* and nom.-acc.pl.n. *meggaḭa*). 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$_2$-* is generally accepted. This means that nom.-acc.sg.n. *mēk* is to be equated with Gr. μέγα and Skt. *máhi* < **méǵh$_2$* (so **-Ch$_2$# > -C*). In the inflected forms, e.g. acc.pl.c. *mekkuš* < **meǵh$_2$-ms*, the sequence **-ǵh$_2$-* yields /k/.

The derivatives *makkēšš-^{zi}* ‘to become numerous’ and *maknu-^{zi}* ‘to multiply’ (see at their respective lemma) reflect the zero-grade of the root, **mǵh$_2$-*.

The interpretation of the stem *maḭa-* is strongly debated. E.g. Starke (1990: 506, followed by Puhvel HED 6: 123)) assumes that this stem is Luwian (because of gen.adj. *maḭašša/i-*), translates it as ‘much, many’ or substantivized ‘multitude’ and subsequently proposes that it is the CLuwian reflex of **méǵh$_2$-ei-*. Melchert (1993b: 145), on the other hand, states that this stem must be interpreted as a Hittite stem that belongs with *mai-^{i} / mi-* ‘to grow’ and $^{(LÚ)}$*maḭant-* ‘adult’ and therefore means ‘young adult’.

Note that the one form “*ma-ik-ka$_4$-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$_4$-uš* and therewith can only be regarded as a (rather big) scribal error for expected *me-ek-ka$_4$-uš* and not as a hypercorrect form (see at *ḫai(n)k-$^{tta(ri)}$* for the consequences of this improved reading).

melteššar: derivative of *māld-^{i} / mald-* (q.v.)

memma-^{i} / memm-: see *mimma-^{i} / mimm-*

mēma-^{i} / mēmi- (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘to speak, to recite, to tell’ (Sum. DU_{11}): 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$^{!}$-ma-i* (1x, NS), 1pl.pres.act. *me-mi-u-e-ni* (MH/NS), *me-ma-u-e-ni* (NH), *me-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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$_{4}$*, 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-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at* (NH); part. *me-mi-an-t-* (MH/MS), *me-mi-i̯a-an-t-* (NH), *me-ma-an-t-* (NS); inf.I *me-mi-ú-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *me-mi-i̯a-u-an-zi* (MH/MS), *me-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *me-em-ma-u-u̯a-an*[*-zi*] (NH); verb.noun *me-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*, *me-em-mu-u-u̯a-ar*; iter, *me-e-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *me-mi-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *me-mi-eš-ke/a-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***mem(ii̯)anu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) ‘to have (someone) say, to recite, to make (someone) talk’ (3sg.pres.act. *me-mi-i̯a-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$^{!}$-ši* (OH/NS)).

PIE **mé-h$_{1}$m-oi-ei / *mé-h$_{1}$m-i-enti* ?? or **mé-moi-ei / *mé-mi-enti* ??

See CHD L-N: 254 for attestations. The oldest forms show a paradigm *mēmaḫḫe*, *mēmatti*, *mēmai*, *memiu̯eni*, *memišteni*, *memianzi*. Although these forms seems to display a distribution between *mē-* in the singular and *mĕ-* 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 *memau̯eni*, *mematteni* and part.

memant-. On the other hand, we also see the occasional spreading of the stem *memiy̯e/a-* (*memiy̯aṷeni*, *memiy̯aḫḫat*, *memiy̯aṷanzi*), probably on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *memiy̯anzi*.

As I have argued in the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h., this class contains original polysyllabic *dāi/tiy̯anzi*-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 **mēmeḫḫi*, **mēmaitti*, *mēmai*, **mēmiṷeni*, **mēmišteni*, **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/tiy̯anzi*-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-^{i} / mi-* 'to grow' in which *m-* is the only remnant of the zerograde of a root **meh$_2$-*. Nevertheless, if we would assume that in *mē-m-(a)i-*, *-m-* is the zerograde 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$_1$-énti*, *zinnanzi* 'they finish' < **tinh$_1$-énti*, etc.). If we compare the situation of *zai-^{i} / zi-* 'to cross', however, in which *z-* from assibilated **t-* is the only remnant of the zerograde of the root **h$_1$et-*, we could also assume a root **Hem-* and a reconstruction **mé-Hm-(o)i-*. Since **h$_2$* and **h$_3$* both would have coloured the *-e-* to *-a-*, the only possibility is **h$_1$em-* here. In my view, a cluster **-h$_1$m-* would after an accentuated vowel not yield a geminate *-mm-* (compare *dānit-* 'stele' < **d^{h}óh$_1$-ni-d-*, *zēna-* 'autumn' < **tiéh$_1$-no-* and *zēri-* 'cup' < **tiéh$_1$-ri-*). So, if *mēma/i-* reflects a structure **mé-m-(a)i-*, the only possible reconstruction is *mé-h$_1$m-(o)i-*, from a root **h$_1$em-*. The only PIE root **h$_1$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-^{i} / *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-^{i} / mēmi-*, which must go back to an older **mēmai-^{i} / mēmi-* can only reflect **mé-h$_1$m-oi-ei / *mé-h$_1$m-i-enti* from a

root *$h_1$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/tiia̯nzi*-inflection. Hrozný (1915: 37[2]) connected *mēma/i-* with Skt. *mā-/mī-* 'to bellow' and OCS *mъmati* 'to stammer'. This latter verb likely is onomatopoetic, 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$_2$-

See CHD L-N: 265 for attestations. This word has already since Hrozný (1920: 47[1]) been connected with *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill, to grind' (q.v. for further etymology). We therefore have to reconstruct *mé-molh$_2$, in which the -h_2 was lost after consonant (cf. *mēk* < *méǵh$_2$*). 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_2- in e.g. gen.sg. *me-molh$_2$-os*.

memiia̯n- (c.) 'word(s), speech, talk, message; deed; matter, subject' (Sum. INIM, Akk. *AṢĀTU*): nom.sg. *me-mi-aš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia̯-aš* (NH), *me-mi-i-ia̯-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *me-mi-an* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *me-mi-ia̯-an* (MH/MS), gen.sg. *me-mi-ia̯-na-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *me-mi-e-ni* (OH/NS), *me-mi-ni* (NH), *me-mi-ia̯-ni* (NH), *me-mi-ia̯-an-ni* (NH), abl. *me-mi-ia̯-na-az* (NH), *me-mi-ia̯-an-na-az* (NH), *me-mi-na-za* (NH), *me-mi-az* (NH), instr. *me-mi-ni-it* (NS), *me-mi-ia̯-ni-it* (NH), nom.pl. *A*[*ṢAT*]*E*^{MEŠ}, acc.pl. *me-mi-ia̯-nu-š=a* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia̯-nu-uš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia̯-ni-eš* (MH/MS), *me-mi-ia̯-aš* (NH), gen.pl. *me-mi-ia̯-na-aš* (NH), *me-mi-ia̯-an-na-aš* (OH/NS).

PIE *mé-mi-on- or *mé-h_1m-i-on-

See CHD L-N: 268 for attestations. The acc.sg. *memi(i̯)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 coincodes with the MH/MS attestations of commune nom.sg. *memiaš* and acc.pl. *memiy̯anuš*. Tischler further argues that nom.sg.c. *memiaš* and acc.sg.c. *memi(y̯)an* point to an *a*-stem *memiy̯a-*, but this is contradicted by the oblique cases that in the older texts all show *n*-stem forms: *memiy̯an-*. Nevertheless, we would expect that the acc.sg. of an *n*-stem would have been ***memiy̯anan*. Puhvel (HED 6: 145) therefore argues that we are dealing with a heteroclitic paradigm: a stem *memiy̯a-* in nom. and acc. besides a stem *memiy̯an-* 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. *memiy̯aš* < **mé-mi-ōn-s*, a secondarily created acc.sg. *memiy̯an* supplanted unattested **memiy̯anan* in MH times already.

The word is clearly derived from the verb *mēma-^{i} / mēmi-* 'to speak' and is an important argument for the view that *mēma/i-* is a rebuilding of an original **mēmai-^{i} / 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 *-y̯en-/-y̯on-*suffix). We therefore have to reconstruct **mé-mi-on-*. The fact that the first *-e-* is never spelled plene (unlike in *mēma-^{i} / 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-^{i} / mēmi-* for further etymology.

mēna-: see *mēni-*

mēnaḫḫanda (adv. or postpos.) 'against, before, facing, opposite, in regard to': *me-e-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta* (OS), *me-e-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* (OS), *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* (OS), *me-na-ḫa-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 *māḫḫan* and *māḫḫanda* (q.v.), which reflect **món* + **h$_2$ent-*, it is difficult to interpret the element *mēna-* as belonging to a pronominal stem **mo-*. It is therefore better to assume that *mēnaḫḫanda* is an old compound of *mēna-* 'face' + *ḫant-* '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: *mēnaḫḫanda* (q.v.)

PIE **mén-ih$_1$*, **mén-eh$_2$*

See CHD L-N: 289 for attestations. There, an acc.pl. *miniūš* (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_1 (cf. *elzi-*), whereas nom.-acc.sg. *mēna* reflects the collective-ending *-eh_2. Etymologically, she connects the word with CLuw. *manā-* 'to see' (q.v.), ultimately from the root **men-* 'to think'. Melchert (1984a: 88[17]) rather suggests a connection with Lat. *mentum* 'chin', reconstructing a root **men-* 'to stick out, to pertrude'.

^{LÚ}***meneia-*** (c.) a cult functionary using a bow and arrows: nom.sg. *me-ne-ia-aš* (OS), *me-e-ni-aš* (OS), *me-e-ni-i*[*a-aš*] (MS), *mi-ni-ia-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *me-ne-an* (OS), *mi-ni-ia-an* (OH/NS), gen.sg.(?) *me-ne-ia-š=a* (OS).

See CHD L-N: 290 for attestation and the suggestion that ^{LÚ}*meneia-* possibly denotes a hunter. Often, the word is cited *meniia-*, but the oldest attestations show that originally it must have been *meneia-*. 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 *meneia-* has come about (note that the most OS spellings clearly show that the word is *meneia-*, which later on became *meniia-*). I am therefore sceptical about the etymological connections with *mēni-*, *mēna-* 'face'. As long as the precise function of ^{LÚ}*meneia-* is unclear, it is nothing more than a possibility.

mer-^{zi} / 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-*]*e*$^{?}$*-er-du* (OH/NS), *me-e-er-tu*$_4$ (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: ***marnuuala-*** (adj.) 'invisible(?)' (acc.sg.c. *mar-nu-ua-la-an* (OH/NS)), ***marnu-^{zi}***, ***mernu-^{zi}*** (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-ua-an-t-*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ?***marnuwa-*** 'to make disappear' (see discussion).

IE cognates: Skt. *ámṛta* 'he died', *mriyate* 'he dies', Gr. ἔμορτεν· ἀπέθανεν 'he died' (Hes.), Arm. *meṙaw* 'he died', OCS *mrěti* 'to die', Lat. *morior* 'to die'.

PIE **mér-t / *mr-ént*

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-*^{zi} / *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-*^{zi} / *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-*^{i} / *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-*nuu̯a-* 'to cause to disappear, to destroy' is not known. In the fragment KARKAMIŠ A28*g* l. 2, we find [...]^{DELERE}*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_x. If so, then we would have to read [...]^{DELERE}*m*[a_x]+*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-*^{zi} 'to make disappear' (cf. the discussion in Hawkins 2000: 154).

-mi (1sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection)

IE cognates: Skt. *-mi*, Gr. -μι, Lith. *-mi*, OCS *-mь*, Goth. *-m*, Lat. *-m*.

PIE **-mi*

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 *ḫi*-conjugation ending *-ḫḫi*. In the course of the Hittite period, the ending *-mi* is gradually replacing *-ḫḫi* (see there for examples). I know of only one alleged form in which

an original *mi*-conjugating verb would show the *ḫi*-ending *-ḫḫi*, namely "*pár-ku-nu-uḫ-ḫi*" (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-uḫ-ḫe*[*-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. -μι, Lith. *-mi*). On the other hand, it reflects the PIE athematic secondary ending **-m* used in PIE root-aorists (~ Skt. *-(a)m*, Gr. -α, -ν) 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 *=tti- / =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.).

miu̯aḫu(u̯a)nt-: see *meḫuu̯ant-*

mienu-^{zi} (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-*^{zi} '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 *mienuu̯er* 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-u̯a-aš* (KUB 33.103 iii 7), but the connection with the verb *mienu-*^{zi} 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-*^{zi}.

miḫu(u̯a)nt-: see *meḫuu̯ant-*

miššku-: see *mišku-*

militt- / malitt- (n.) 'honey' (Sum. LÀL): nom.-acc.sg. *mi-li-it* (MH/NS), LÀL-*it* (OS), gen.sg. *mi-li-it-ta-aš* (617/p ii 14 (NS)), *mi-l*[*i-i*]*t-ta-aš* ((KUB 25.32 iii 37 + KUB 27.70 iii 3 (NS)), LÀL-*aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ma-li-it-ti* (here?, Bo 3757 ii 5)), LÀL-*ti* (MH/MS), erg.sg.? LÀL-*an-za*, instr. LÀL-*it* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***milit(t)ēšš-***^{zi} (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-l*]*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.$^{?}$ *ma-li-ta-an-na-aš*); CLuw. ***mallit-*** (n.) 'honey' (nom.-acc.sg. *ma-al-li*, dat.-loc.sg. LÀL-*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*), ***mallitiu̯alla/i-*** 'honey-coated (or sim.)' (Hitt. nom.sg.c. *ma-al-li-ti-u̯a-al-la-aš*), ***malliti(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'honeyed' (nom.pl.c. *ma-al-li-ti-in-zi*); HLuw. ***malidima/i-*** (adj.) 'honey-sweet' (nom.sg.c. "PANIS"*ma-li-rị*+*i̯-mi-i-sá* (MARAŞ 1 §1i)).

IE cognates: Gr. μέλι, μέλιτος 'honey', Goth. *miliþ* 'honey', Alb. *mjaltë* 'honey', Lat. *mel*, *mellis* 'honey'.

PIE **mél-it / *ml-it-ós*

See CHD L-N: 250f. and Starke 1990: 192[627a] 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-*^{zi} 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-i̯ω), 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*^{h}*-éh*$_{1}$*sh*$_{1}$*-r*). In my view, it must be the result of some kind of *i*-umlaut (cf. *zinnizzi* 'finishes' < **tinéh*$_{1}$*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 *šeppitt-*, 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-^{i} ***/ 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-aḫ-ḫu-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$_1$-ei*, **mi-mh$_1$-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-*^{i} / *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. μίμνω 'to stand fast'). In my view, however, a semantic connection between 'to refuse' and 'to stay' is far from evident. Moreover, an equation with μίμνω 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$_1$* as found in Gr. μη, Skt. *mā́*, Arm. *mi*, etc. This means that *mimma- / mimm-* would reflect **mi-móh$_1$-ei*, **mi-mh$_1$-énti*. In the singular, the phonetic outcome would have been ***mimai*, but the geminate of the plural (*mi-mh$_1$-enti* > *mimmanzi*) was generalized throughout the paradigm (cf. e.g. *zinnizzi / zinnanzi* << **zinizzi / zinnanzi* < **tinéh$_1$ti / *tinh$_1$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).

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-*^{zi} / *mar-* 'to vanish', and suggests 'filthy drainage water, water which drains away', but this does not seem very convincing to me. Further unclear.

mišriu̯ant- (adj.) 'perfect, complete, full' or 'bright, splendid': nom.sg.c. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-za* (NH), *me-eš-ri-u̯a-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), *me-iš-ri-u̯a-an-da-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-ti* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-te-eš* (MH/MS), acc.pl.c. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-du-uš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-ta-aš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***mišriu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make *mišriu̯ant-*' (3pl.pret.act. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-aḫ-ḫe*[*-er*]), ***mišriu̯anda*** (adv.) 'splendidly(?)' (*mi-iš-ri-u̯a-an-da*), ***mišriu̯ātar*** (n.) 'wholeness, brightness' (nom.-acc.sg. *mi-iš-ri-u̯a-a-tar*), ***mišriu̯ēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become full, to become bright (said of the moon)' (3sg.pres.act. *mi-iš-ri-u-e-eš-zi*).

See CHD L-N: 297f. for attestations and a semantical discussion. All forms are derived from a stem *mišriu̯a-*. 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 *mišriu̯ēšš-*^{zi} (having the moon as subject), which functions as the opposite of *tepau̯ēšš-*^{zi} 'to become small (of the moon)'. This may indicate that *mišriu̯ešš-* must be translated 'to become big, to wax', which would imply that all words from **mišriu̯a-* have an original meaning 'big, complete, full, perfect'.

The generally accepted etymology of **mišriu̯a-* is based on a translation 'splendid, bright': Neumann (1958: 88) connected **mišriu̯a-* with the PIE root **meis-*, which he translated as 'to shimmer'. This etymology has found wide acceptance. LIV^2, however, translates the root **meis-* as 'die Augen aufschlagen' (Skt. *miṣáti* 'opens the eyes'), which semantically would not fit 'bright' very well. Moreover, if **mišriu̯a-* 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_5): 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: $^{(SÍG)}$***mītae-***^{zi} (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-*), ***mītdanima-*** '?' (abl. *mi-i-da-ni-ma-az*).

See CHD L-N: 301f. for attestations. In the oldest texts, only the sumerogram SA_5 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 variaty of forms could point to a foreign origin of this word. Nevertheless, Čop (1958: 28-32) connects it with Slav. **mědъ* 'copper' (**moid-o-*). Yet the absence of other IE cognates do not speak in favour of this etymology.

The verb *mītae-*^{zi} was translated by Catsanicos (1986: 156) as "fixer, attacher" and reconstructed as **h₂mói-to-i̯e/o-* (followed by Kimball 1999: 274), i.e. derived from the root **h₂mei-* that he reconstructs on the basis of an equation between Skt. *sūmáya-* 'well-prepared' (from the verb *may-* 'to fix') and Hitt. *suḫmili-*, allegedly "bien fixé" (q.v.). It is problematic, however, that a preform **h₂mói-to-* would regularly yield Hitt. ***ḫamaita-* (cf. **h₂meh₁sh₂o-* > Hitt. *ḫamešḫa-* and **d^{h}h₁óith₂e* > 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-i̯e/a-*. For a possible connection with *mītdanima-* see CHD L-N: 305.

miti-: see *mit(t)a-*, *miti-*

mīu- / mīi̯au̯- (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-i̯a-u-e-eš* (OH/MS), *mi-i-i̯a-u-e-eš*, acc.pl.c. *mi-e-uš* (NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *mi-i-i̯a-u-u̯a* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *mi-ú-u̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***mīēšš-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (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-u̯a-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*$^{ḪI.A}$, *mi-nu-mar-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mīu- / mīi̯au-*** (adj.) ‘smooth’ (nom.pl.c. *mi-i-i̯a-u̯i*$_5$*-en-zi*).

IE cognates: Lat. *mītis* ‘soft’, Lith. *míelas* ‘tender, lovely’, Russ. *mílyj* ‘sweet’, etc.

PIE **míh*$_1$*-(e)u-*

See CHD L-N: 306f. for attestations of *mīu-*, 243f. for *mīēšš-*^{zi}, 309 for *mīumar*, and 291 for *mīnu-*^{zi}. 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-*^{zi}). 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- / mīi̯au̯-*, with derivatives *mīnu-*^{zi} (like *tepnu-*^{zi} of *tēpu- / tēpau̯-* ‘few, little’), *mīēšš-*^{zi} (fientive in *-ēšš-* of the root *mī-*, which contrasts with e.g. *tepau̯ēšš-*^{zi} of *tēpu-* and *idālau̯ēšš-*^{zi} of *idālu- / idālau̯-* ‘bad, evil’, but matches *parkēšš-*^{zi} beside *parkuēšš-*^{zi} of *parku- / parkau̯-* ‘high’) and *mīumar* (a derivative in *-u̯ar / -u̯n-* of the stem *mīu-*, showing the development **-uu̯-* > *-um-*).

Etymologically, *mīu-* has to be compared with Lat. *mītis* ‘soft’, Lith. *míelas* ‘tender, lovely’, etc. (thus first Knobloch 1959: 38) that point to a root **meih*$_1$- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 240). We therefore have to reconstruct **méih*$_1$*-u- / *mih*$_1$*-éu-*, which was levelled out to **míh*$_1$*-u- / *míh*$_1$*-eu-* and regularly yielded OH /míʔu-/, /míʔau-/ > NH /mi̯u-/, /mi̯au-/, spelled *mi-i-u*°, *mi-i-i̯a-u*°.

^{NINDA}***mīumīu(t)-*** (n.) a kind of bread, “soft bread”: nom.-acc.sg. *mi-i-ú-mi-i-ú*, *mi-i-ú-mi-u=š-ša-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- / mīi̯au̯-*

'mild, soft' (q.v.), which is attested in CLuwian as well. See there for further etymology.

mu-: see *mau-*^{i} */ 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'.

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. **mĕ* '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.

^{UZU}***muḫ(ḫa)rai-***: see ^{UZU}*maḫrai- / muḫrai-*

$^{(GIŠ)}$***mūil(a)-*** (n. > c.) an agricultural implement, 'spade'? (Sum. ^{GIŠ}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$_1$-el-* ?

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 ^{GIŠ}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 *$s(i)euh_1$- 'to sow', which would make it formally possible to derive *mūil(a)*- from the root *$m(i)euh_1$- 'to move'. As this root turned up in Hitt. *mau-^{i}* / *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 /mṹil-/, which points to *$méuh_1$-el*- (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f).

mūgae-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi*, *mu-ga-u-an-zi*; verb.noun. *mu-ga-a-u-u̯a-ar* (OH/NS), *mu-ga-a-u-ar* (MH?/NS), *mu-ga-u-u̯a-ar*, *mu-ka_4-a-u-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *mu-ga-a-u-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS); impf. *mu-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *mu-ki-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *mu-ga-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***mugāu̯ar*** (n.) 'materials of an invocation / evocation ritual' (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ga-a-u-ar* (MH?/NS)), ***mukēššar / 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*$^{ḪI.A}$, *mu-u-keš-šar*$^{ḪI.A}$).

IE cognates: Lat. *mūgīre* 'to roar', Gr. μυγμός 'sigh'.

PIE **moug-o-i̯e/o-*

See CHD L-N: 319f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *ḫatrae*-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 ^{GIŠ}*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 ^{GIŠ}*mūkar* could be derived directly), which formed a noun **moug-o-* 'invocation of the gods through noise', of which a verbal derivative **moug-o-i̯e/o-* yielded Hitt. *mūgae-*^{zi} 'to invoke'.

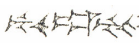
^{GIŠ}***mūkar / mukn-*** (n.) implement used as a noise maker, 'rattle'?: nom.-acc.sg. *mu-ú-kar* (OH/NS), *mu-kar* (OH/NS, MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg.? *mu-un-ka$_4$-ni* (OH/NS), abl. *mu-uk-na-za* (NH), gen.pl. *mu-uk-na-aš* (OS), *mu-ka$_4$-na-aš* (KBo 41.129 obv. 1).

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)uu̯ai- '?': *mu-mu-u̯a-i* (OH/NS), ≺ *mu-mu-u̯a-a-i*; broken *mu-um-mu-u̯a-a*-x[.].

CHD (L-N: 329) cites the forms mentioned above under two separate lemmas, namely a verb *mummuu̯āi-* 'to fall (repeatedly)?' and a word (≺) *mumuu̯ai-* (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-u̯a-aš ud-da-a-ar mu-um-mu-u̯a-a*-x[.]
(4) *e-eš-tu*

We see that the form in question is broken:  . CHD reads *mu-um-mu-u̯a-a-a*[*n*?!] and interprets this form as a participle of a verb *mummuu̯āi-*, which is analysed as a reduplication of *mau-*^{i} */ 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-u̯a-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 *mumuu̯ai-* 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-^{zi} (*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-ši* (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-$h_{2/3}$-ti / *mu-n-$h_{2/3}$-énti* ??

See CHD L-N: 329f. for attestations. The verb shows the *ḫatrae*-class inflection from the oldest texts (OH/MS) onwards. Normally, *ḫatrae*-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 infixed verb that was taken over into the *ḫatrae*-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 μύστης 'adept, insider', LIV^2 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-$h_{2/3}$-ti*, **mu-n-$h_{2/3}$-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 reinterpretated 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, *ḫarna-*^{zi} / *ḫarn-* 'to drip, to sprinkle' < **h_2r-né-$h_{2/3}$-ti / *h_2r-n-$h_{2/3}$-énti*, does not end up in the *ḫatrae*-class, but in the *-i̯e/a-*class (*ḫarni̯e/a-*^{zi}).

Other etymological proposals have no merit. Gr. ἀμύνω 'to ward off' (cf. Petersen 1937: 208) reflects **$h_2$meu-*, the **h_2* of which would not disappear in

Hittite. Skt. *muṣṇáti* '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*[!] '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-*[i] / *mu-* 'to fall' (cf. e.g. *tarṷešgala-* (although with single *-l-*) from *tarṷeške/a-*)).

Puhvel (HED 6: 194) proposes a connection with Lat. *musca*, OCS *muxa*, Lith. *musẽ* 'fly'.

mūtae-[zi] (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$_1$to-* from **meuh$_1$-* '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-t*[*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 ^{URU}ŠAḪ.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-*^{zi} '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$_7$$^{ḪI.A}$ ŠAḪ$^{ḪI.A}$=*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-*^{zi} '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-*^{zi} and *mūtamuti-*). Further unclear.

mūu̯a- (c.) an awe-inspiring quality (Sum. A.A): acc.sg. *mu-u-u̯a-an*, A.A-*an*, dat.-loc.pl.(?) *mu-u-u̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***mūu̯anu-*** (adj.), epithet of Storm-god (acc.sg. *mu-u-u̯a-nu-un*, dat.-loc.sg. *mu-u-u̯a-nu*), ***mūu̯at(t)alla/i-*** (adj.) 'awe-inspiring(?)' (Sum. NIR.GÁL; acc.sg.n.? [*m*]*u-u̯a-ta-li*, nom.pl.c.? *mu-u-u̯a-at-ta-a*[*l-l*]*i-iš*, acc.pl.c.? *mu-u̯a-at-ta-lu-uš*; broken *mu-u̯a-tal*[-...]), ***muu̯at(t)allaḫit-*** (n.) 'the king's or Storm-god's ability to inspire awe(?)' (gen.sg. *mu-u̯a-ad-da‹-al›-la-ḫi-da-aš*, *mu-u̯a-tal-la-*[*ḫi-ta-aš*]), ***muu̯atallatar*** (n.) 'ability to inspire awe(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *mu-u̯a-tal-la-tar*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***mūu̯a-*** 'to overpower (vel sim.)' (3sg.pres.act. *mu-u-u̯a-i*, 3pl.pres.act. *mu-u-u̯a-an-ti*), ***mūu̯attalla/i-*** (adj.) 'overpowering, mighty' (abl.-instr. *mu-u-u̯a-at-ta-al-la-ti*), ***muu̯attallaḫit-*** (n.) 'ability to inspire' (see above), ***mu(u̯a)tti(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'having overpowering might (?)' (nom.sg.c. [*m*]*u-ut-ti-i-iš*, acc.sg.c. *mu-u-u̯a-at-ti-in*); HLuw. ***muwa-*** 'to dominate(?), to atack(?)' (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*$_x$ (TOPADA §29), [*462]***muwita-*** (c.) ‘seed’(?) (acc.sg. [*462]*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* (KARKAMIŠ A11*c* §28)), ***nimuwinza-*** (c.) ‘child’ (nom.sg. [INFANS]*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, [INFANS]*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, [INFANS]*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá*, dat.-loc.sg. *ni-mu-wa/i-zi* (KARABURUN §7, §9)); Lyc. ***muwẽte-*** ‘descendence?’.

See CHD L-N: 314f. for attestations. The stem *mūu̯a-* is quite wide-spread in the Anatolian languages, especially in names (Hitt. [m]*Muu̯atalli-*, Lyc. *Mutli*). The precise meaning of *mūu̯a-* is not fully clear but CHD’s tranlation ‘awe-inspiring’ is probably not far from it. The connotation ‘male seed’ is perhaps found in HLuw. *muwita-* ‘seed(?)’, and perhaps Lyc. *muwẽte-*, 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* < **-m̥* (cf. the verbal ending *-un* of the *mi*-conjugated 1sg.pret.act. < **-m̥*). This means that the consonant stems have taken over the ending of the *o*-stem nouns, which was **-o-m* > Hitt. *-an*.

nāḫ- ^{i} ***/ naḫḫ-*** (IIa2) 'to fear, to be(come) afraid, to be respectful, to be careful' (Sum. ḪUŠ): 1sg.pres.act. *na-aḫ-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *na-aḫ-ti* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-ḫi* (MH/NS), ḪUŠ-*ḫi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *na-a-ḫu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *na-aḫ-te-e-ni*, 1sg.pret.act. *na-a-ḫu-un* (NH), *na-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *na-aḫ-ta* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *na-a-ḫi* (OH/NS), *na-ḫi* (OH/NS), *na-a-ḫi-i* (OH/MS); 3pl.pret.midd. *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta-at*; part. *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*, *na-aḫ-ḫa-a-an-t-* (OH/NS, MH/MS); verb.noun gen.sg. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (NH), *na-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš*; impf. [*n*]*a-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *na-a-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***naḫšaratt-*** (c.) 'fear, fright; respect, reverence, awe; frighfulness' (nom.sg. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-az* (MH/MS), *na-aḫ-šar-az* (MH/NS), *na-aḫ-šar-ra-az* (MH/NS), *na-aḫ-ša-ra-za* (MH/NS) acc.sg. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-ad-da-an* (OH/NS), *na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-ta-an* (MH/MS), *na-aḫ-šar-ra-ta-an* (NH), *na-aḫ-šar-at-ta‹-an›*, *na-aḫ-šar-an-ta-an* (1x, NH), dat.-loc.sg. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-ti* (OH/NS), *na-aḫ-šar-ra-at-ti* (NH), abl. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-ta-za*, nom.pl. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-te-eš* (OH/NS), acc.pl. *na-aḫ-ša-ra-ad-du-uš*, *na-aḫ-šar-ad-du-uš*, gen./dat.-loc.pl. *na-aḫ-šar-at-ta-aš* (MS)), ***naḫšariu̯e/a-*** ^{zi} (Ic1) 'to be(come) afraid; to show respect (for a deity)'

(3sg.pres.act. *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-az-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *na-aḫ-šar-i̯a-an-zi* (MS), *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-an-zi* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *na-aḫ-šar-ri-i̯a-at-tén*; 3sg.pres.midd. *na-aḫ-šar-ri-i̯a-an-da-ri* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *na-aḫ-šar-i-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-at-ta-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.midd. [*n*]*a-aḫ-ša-ri-an-ta-ti* (OS), *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-an-da-ti* (NH), *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-an-ta-at* (NH); impf. *na-aḫ-ša-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *na-aḫ-šar-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***naḫšariu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'afraid' (nom.sg.c. *na-aḫ-ša-ri-i̯a-u̯a-an-za* (OH?/NS)), ***naḫšarnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make (someone) afraid, to cause (someone) to show respect' (2sg.pres.act. [*n*]*a-aḫ-šar-nu-ši*, 2sg.pret.act.? *na-aḫ-šar-nu-ut*, 3sg.pret.act. *na-aḫ-šar-nu-ut* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***naḫḫu̯a-*** 'there is a concern (to someone (dat.) about something/someone (dat.-loc. + *šer*))' (3sg.pret.act. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-i*, 3sg.imp.act. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-i̯a-ad-du*, *na-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-i̯a-du*, *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-ad-du*), ***naḫḫu̯aašša/i-*** 'fearful' or 'fearsome' (nom.pl.c. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-aš-ši-en‹-zi›*).

IE cognates: OIr. *nár* 'modest, noble', *náire* 'modesty'.

PIE **nóh₂-ei*, *nh₂énti*, **neh₂-sr*

See CHD L-N: 338f. for attestations. There, a 3sg.pres.act. *na-aḫ-zi* is cited twice, but both attestations should be interpreted otherwise. KBo 23.27 iii 13 (MS) should be read [... GEŠ]TIN *na-aḫ-zi-i*[*š*] *te-pu me-ma-al* 'a *naḫzi* of wine and a bit of meal' (see at *naḫši-*, *naḫzi-* for the noun *naḫzi-* 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* ^{GIŠ}*kat-ta-lu-zi* x-*na-aḫ-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-aḫ-zi* and translate '... or he sweeps the threshold'. At least semantically, my interpretation would fit better. In this way both acclaimed instances of *naḫzi* are eliminated, which means that we are left with 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-ḫi* and ḪUŠ-*ḫi* only, which show that the verb must have been *ḫi*-conjugated originally (contra Tischler HEG N: 246). The few NH instances of 1sg.pres.act. *na-aḫ-mi* show the trivial NH replacement of the ending *-ḫḫi* by *-mi*.

The view that this verb was *ḫi*-conjugated originally, fits the fact that this verb displays a root-final *-ḫ-*, which would be hard to explain for a *mi*-conjugated verb

since *h_2 is lost preconsonantally (*neh_2ti should have given Hitt. **$nāzi$). Moreover, the alternation *nāḫ- / naḫḫ-* is prototypical for *ḫi*-verbs (e.g. *āk-^{i} / akk-*, *ḫāš-^{i} / ḫašš-*, *u̯āk-^{i} / u̯akk-*, etc.). The verb itself hardly can reflect anything else than a root *neh_2-: 3sg.pres.act. *nāḫi* < *$nóh_2ei$, 3pl.pres.act. *naḫḫanzi* < *nh_2-énti*.

Most of the derivatives show a stem *naḫšar-*, 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'.

naḫḫaši-: see *naḫši-*, *naḫzi-*

naḫši-, ***naḫzi-*** (c.) a measurement of capacity or weight, = 2 *tarna-*: nom.sg. *na-aḫ-ḫa-ši-iš*, *na-aḫ-ši-iš*, *na-aḫ-zi-iš* (MS).

See CHD L-N: 341f. for attestations. Note that KBo 23.27 iii 31 *na-aḫ-zi-i*[*š*] should be added to it, which in CHD is read as *na-aḫ-zi*, a 3sg.pres.act.-form of *nāḫ-^{i} / naḫḫ-* (q.v.). The alternation between *š* and *z* indicates that the word is of foreign origin.

naḫzi-: see *naḫši-*, *naḫzi-*

nai-^{i}: see *nē-$^{a(ri)}$*, *nai-^{i} / *ni-*

nakkī- (adj.) 'important, valuable; difficult, inaccesible; 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-i̯a* (MH/MS), *na-ak-ki-i*, abl. *na-ak-ki-i̯a-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-*]*i̯a-aš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-ak-ki-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *na-ak-ki-i-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***nakki-*** (n.) 'honour(?), importance(?), power(?), force(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *na-ak-ki* (MS), instr. *na-ak-ki-it* (OS)), ***nakkiu̯aḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) 'to be(come) a concerne to someone, to be difficult for someone; (part.) honoured, revered' (3sg.pret.midd. *na-ak-ki-i̯a-aḫ-ta-at* (NH); part. *na-ak-ki-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*), ***nakkiu̯atar / nakkiu̯ann-*** (n.) 'dignity, importance; esteem; power; difficulty' (Sum. DUGUD-*atar*: nom.-acc.sg. *na-ak-ki-i̯a-tar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *na-ak-ki-i̯a-an-ni* (OH/NS)), ***nakkē-^{zi}*** (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-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-t-*), ***nakkēšš-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-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 *nakkī-* 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 adjcetives. 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 *nakkī-* with Hitt. *nini(n)k-*^{zi} 'to set in motion' (q.v.), which is regarded by him as a cognate to Gr. ἐνεγκεῖν 'to carry' etc. from PIE **h₁neḱ-*. This view is widely followed, but semantically this etymology is difficult. The root **h₁neḱ-* denotes 'to seize, to carry'. If this were the ancestor of Hitt. *nakkī-*, 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 *nakkī-*, which makes this etymology semantically difficult.

The verb *nakkē-*^{zi} is regarded by Watkins (1973a: 72) as a stative in *-ē-* < **-eh₁-*.

nakku- (c.) a remover of evils, a substitute: gen.pl. *na-ak-ku-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. *na-ak-ku-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ≺ ^{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)), ***nakkuššii̯e/a-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-nu-un*), ***nakkuššēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2)

'to be(come) a scapegoat' (3sg.pres.midd. *na-ak-ku-uš-še-eš-dą*$^{?}$ (OH?/NS), *na-ak-ku-uš-še-e-eš-dą*$^{?}$ (OH?/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 *nakkuššaḫit-*, which shows the Luwian suffix *-aḫit-*, 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 words 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 ḫar-ak-zi* LÚ.U$_{19}$[(.LU=*ku* GU$_4$=*ku*) UD(U=*ku*)]*ę-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. *noxa* 'damage', especially because of the Lat. syntagm *noxiam sarcire* 'to repare the damage', which then would correspond to Hitt. *nakkuš šarni(n)k-*^{zi} (see at *šarni(n)k-*^{zi} 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*, *=(i̯)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(i̯e/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-i̯a-an-t-*.

Derivatives: ***nanankuššii̯a-*** (adj.) 'dark, obscure' (abl. [*na*]*-na-an-ku-uš-ši-i̯a-az*).

PIE **no-nog*^{wh}*-s-* or **no-neg*^{wh}*-s-*

See CHD L-N: 394f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs with *neku-*^{zi} 'to become evening' (q.v.) < **neg*^{wh}*-*, which means that we formally have to reconstruct **no-nog*^{wh}*-s-(i̯e/o)-* or, with Melchert (*apud* Oettinger 1994: 328), **no-nég*^{wh}*-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 *u̯ēš / anz-*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***=nz*** 'us' (e.g. *ma-wa/i-za ha-sá-tu-´* /man=wa=nt^{s} hasantu/ 'much let them beget for us' (KARATEPE 1 §56), *wa/i-za*$^{-i}$ | *ni-i* | *ARHA* | $^{\text{“*69”}}$*sa-tu*$^{-i}$ /wa=nt^{s} nī arha santu/ 'and do not let them miss us' (ASSUR letter *e* §13)).

IE cognates: Skt. *nas* (encl.), GAv. *nə̄*, Lat. *nōs* 'us'.

PIE **-nos*

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)

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 conjuction and particles often obide to other rules. For the etymology of *naššu* see there.

naššu (conj.) 'or': *na-aš-šu* (OS).

PIE **no-sue*

See CHD L-N: 405f. for attestations and semantics. The word is consistently spelled *na-aš-šu*. The hapax spelling *nu-u̯a-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 () resembles *nu-u̯a* ()), 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* < **su̯o*. For the semantics, compare Dutch *dit*, *zo niet dat* 'this, if not (lit. not so) that > this or that'. I therefore tentatively reconstrut **no-sue* (for loss of word-final **-e* compare e.g. *=kku* < **-k^{w}e*).

$^{(GI)}$***nāta/i-*** (c.) 'reed, arrow, drinking straw' (Sum. $^{(GIŠ)}$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$^{HI.A}$, acc.pl. GI$^{HI.A}$.

Derivatives: ***natānt-*** (adj.) 'provided with a drinking straw' (nom.pl.c. *na-ta-a-an-te-eš* (NH)), ≺ ***naduu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'having reeds, reedy' (nom.sg.c. ≺ *na-du-u̯a-an-za*, acc.pl.c. *na-du-u̯*[*a-an-du-uš*]).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***nātatta-*** 'reed' (coll.pl. *na-a-ta-at-ta*).

IE cognates: Skt. *nadá-* 'reed', *naḍá-* '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. *nadá-* '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 *nāu̯i*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***nī*** 'not' (*ni-i*), ***nit*** 'not' (*ni-it=*); CLuw. ***nāu̯a*** 'not' (*na-a-ú-u̯a*, *na-a-u̯wa*, *na-ú-u̯a*, *na-u-u̯a*, *na-u̯a*), ***nīš*** (prohibitive) 'not' (*ni-i-iš*, *ni-iš*, *ne-iš*, *ni-i-š=*); HLuw. ***na*** 'not' (*na* (AKSARAY §8, ?TÜNP 1 §7), NEG$_2$ (often)), ***nis*** (prohibitive) 'not' (*ni-sa* (ISKENDERUN §6), *ni-i-sá* (MARAŞ 14 §8), NEG$_3$-*sa*); Lyd. ***ni-*** (prefix) 'not', ***nid*** 'not', ***nik*** 'and not', ***nikumẽk*** '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. *nĕ-*, OIr. *ne-*, Goth. *ni*, Lith. *ne*, OCS *ne*).

nāu̯artanna/i (adv.) ‘for nine laps’: *na-a-u̯a-ar-ta-an-na*, *na-u̯a-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 *-u̯artanna* (see *aikau̯artanna*, *panzau̯artanna*, *šattau̯artanna*, *tierau̯artanna*) that are clearly derived from Indic. In this case, *nāu̯artanna* must show haplology from **nau̯au̯artanna* < Indic **nava-vartana* ‘nine rounds’.

nāu̯i (adv.) ‘not yet’: *na-a-ú-i* (OS), *na-ú-i* (OH/NS), *na-a-u̯i*$_5$ (OH?/NS, MH/NS), *na-u̯i*$_5$ (NH), *na-u-u̯i*$_5$ (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[33]) compares OCS *ne ju* ‘not yet’ and reconstructs **neiḗu̯i*. According to regular sound changes, such a preform would not yield Hitt. *nāu̯i*, 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. *nāu̯i*. See at *natta* for the problems regarding reconstructing an *o*-grade **no*, however.

***nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / *ni-** (IIIa > IIIg; IIa4 > Ic1) ‘to turn, to turn someone, to turn oneself, to send’: 1sg.pres.midd. *ne-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *ne-i̯a-at-ta-ti* (NH), *na-iš-ta-ri* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ne-a* (OS), *ne-e-a* (OS), *ne-e-i̯a* (MH/MS), *ne-i-i̯a* (OH?/NS), *ne-i̯a* (OH/NS), *ne-e-a-ri* (MH/MS), *ne-i̯a-a-ri* (MH/NS), *ne-i̯a-ri* (NH), *ni-i̯a* (late NH), *ni-i̯a-ri* (late NH), 3pl.pres.midd. *ne-e-an-da* (OS), *ne-i̯a-an-ta* (OH/NS), *ne-e-an-ta-ri*, *ne-an-ta-ri* (NH), *ne-i̯a-an-da-ri*, *ni-i̯a-an-ta-ri* (late NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *ne-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *ne-e-a-at* (MH/MS), *ne-i̯a-at*, *ne-i-i̯a-at*, *ne-at* (NH), *ni-a-ti* (OH/NS), *ne-at-ta-at* (NH), *ne-i̯a-at-ta-at* (NH), *ne-i̯a-ta-at* (NH), *ni-i̯a-at-ta-at* (NH), 3pl.pret.midd. *ne-e-an-ta-ti* (MH?/NS), *ne-i̯a-an-ta-ti* (OH/NS), *ne-an-ta-at* (NH), *ne-i̯a-an-ta-at* (NH), 2sg.imp.midd. *na-a-i-iš-ḫu-ut*, *na-a-iš-ḫu-ut* (OH/NS), *ni-iš-ḫu-ut* (MH/MS), [*n*]*a-eš-ḫu-ut*, *na-i-eš-ḫu-ut* (MH/NS), *na-iš-ḫu-ut* (NS), *ne-eš-ḫu-ut* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *ne-i̯a-a-ru* (NH), *ne-i̯a-ru* (NH), *ni-i̯a-ru* (late NH), 2pl.imp.midd. *na-iš-du-ma-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.midd. *ne-i̯a-an-da-ru*;

1sg.pres.act. *ne-eḫ-ḫi* (MH/MS), *ne-i̯a-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *na-it-ti* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *na-i-it-ti* (NH), *na-a-it-ti* (NH), *ne-i̯a-ši* (NH), *ni-i̯a-ši* (late NH), *ne-i̯a-at-ti* (NH), *ne-i̯a-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *na-a-i* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ne-i̯a-az-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *na-i-u̯a-ni* (MH?/MS), [*n*]*e-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *ne-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ne-an-zi* (NH), *ni-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ne-e-eḫ-*[*ḫu-un*] (OS), *ne-eḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ne-ḫu-un* (NH), *ne-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-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-i̯a-at* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *ne-i̯a-u-e-en*, *ne-i̯a-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-i̯a* (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-i̯a-at-tén* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ne-*[*i̯*]*a-an-du*; part. *ne-e-an-t-* (OS), *ne-e-a-ant-* (MH?/MS?), *ne-an-t-* (MH/NS), *ne-i̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ne-e-i̯a-an-t-* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ni-i̯a-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *ne-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (NH), *na-i-u̯a-ar* (OH?/early NS), gen. *ne-e-u-u̯a-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-^{i} / nanni-*** (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) 'to drive, to ride in an animal-drawn vehicle; to draw/drive back' (1sg.pres.act. *na-an-na-aḫ-ḫi*, 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-i̯a-u-e-ni* (early NS), 3pl.pres.act. *na-an-ni-an-zi* (OS), *na-an-ni-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *na-a-an-ni-i̯a-an-zi*, *na-an-na-an-zi* (NH), *na-na-an-zi* 1sg.pret.act. *na-an-na-aḫ-ḫu-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-^{i} / nenni-*** (IIa5) 'to drive (animals)' (3pl.pres.act. *ne-in-ni-i̯a-an-zi*), see ^{GIŠ}*ninii̯al(la)-*, *penna-^{i} / penni-* and *ūnna-^{i} / 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 A11*b* §16)).

IE cognates: Skt. *nay^{i}-* 'to lead'.

PIE **néih$_{1/3}$-o*, **nóih$_{1/3}$-ei / *nih$_{1/3}$-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 /néʔənta/?). These forms regularly developed into MH /néa/ and /néanta/, which were phonetically realized as [nḗ^{i}a] and [nḗ^{i}anta], spelled *ne-e-i̯a* and *ne-i̯a-an-da*. In NH times, these forms were reinterpreted as belonging to a thematic stem *nēi̯a-*, which gave rise to the NH forms *nei̯aḫḫari*, *nei̯attari* etc.

In the active paradigm, the singular forms are inflected according to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection and show the stem *nai-* (*neḫḫi*, *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. *naiu̯ani* (MH/MS) instead of expected **niu̯ēni*; 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 ***nii̯anzi* (but note that **nii̯anzi* is indeed attested in the derivates *nanna-^{i} / nanni-* (*nannianzi* (OS)), *penna-^{i} / penni-* (*penni̯anzi* (OH/MS)) and *ūnna-^{i} / 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 *nei̯anzi* as well. On the basis of this latter form as well as on the basis of the NH middle stem *nei̯a-*, a *mi*-inflected active stem *nei̯a-^{zi}* is spreading in NH times.

Within the middle paradigm, 2sg.imp.midd. *naišḫut* 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 *naišḫut* 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 *ḫi*-flection *-šten*, was incorrectly reanalysed as *naiš-ten* as a result of the MH replacement of the *ḫi*-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 **nēḫḫut* and **nēdumat* by *naišḫut* and *naišdumat*.

The etymological connection with Skt. *nay^{i}-* 'to lead' was made already by Hrozný (1917: 29[3]) 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(i̯)a* we can conclude that the root-final laryngeal cannot have been *h_2, because this consonant should have been retained as *-ḫ-* intervocalically. The active stem *nai-* must, like all *ḫi*-inflected verbs, reflect *o*-grade, which means that *neḫḫi*, *naitti*, *nāi* go back to **nóiH-$h_2$ei*, **nóiH-th$_2$ei*, **nóiH-ei*. Note that 3sg. **nóiH-ei* regularly should have yielded Pre-Hitt. **/néʔe/, cf. **$h_2$eih$_3$us* > Hitt. *ḫēuš* '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-$h_2$ei* and **nói-th$_2$ei*. This new form, **nóiei*, regularly yielded */nā́ie/ >> */nā́ii/ > /nā́i/, *na-a-i*.

The derivative *nanna-^{i} / nanni-* inflects according to the *mēma/i*-class. Melchert (1998b: 416) interprets this verb as an *-anna/i*-imperfective of *nai-^{i} / *ni-*, but this is unlikely, as we would expect such a formation to have been ***nii̯anna/i-*. I therefore rather interpret *nanna/i-* as a reduplication of *nai-*. The fact that *nanna/i-* does not inflect according to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class is paralleled in the derivatives *penna-^{i} / penni-* and *ūnna-^{i} / ūnni-* (q.v.), and is due to the pre-Hittite influence of the *tarn(a)*-class on polysyllabic *dāi/tii̯anzi*-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.

nēi̯(a)-: see *nē-$^{a(ri)}$*, *nai-^{i} / *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^{MEŠ}-*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$^{(ʔ)}$ǵo-*

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$^{(ʔ)}$ǵo-*, 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^{MEŠ}-*iš*, ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-*uš*.

Derivatives: ***neknatar / neknann-*** 'brotherhood' (nom.-acc.sg. ŠEŠ-*tar*, dat.-loc.sg. ŠEŠ-*an-ni*), ***neknaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make someone a brother, to regard someone as a brother' (1sg.pret.act. ŠEŠ-*aḫ-ḫ*[*u-un*]).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***nāni(i̯a)-*** (adj.) 'of a brother' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *na-a-ni-i̯a-an*, ŠEŠ-*i̯a-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-ne-i̯a*, abl.-instr. *na-a-ni-i̯a-ti*), ***nānaḫit-*** 'brotherhood' (form? *na-a-na-ḫi*[*(-)*...]), ***nānašri̯a-*** (adj.) 'of a sister' (nom.-acc.sg.n. NIN-*i̯a-an*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-na-aš-ri*[-*i̯a*]); HLuw. ***nanasri-*** (c.) 'sister' (dat.pl. ^{FEMINA}*na-na-sa*$_5$*+ra/i-za* /nanasrint^{s}/ (MARAŞ 6 line 1)); Lyc. ***nẽne/i-*** 'brother' (nom.sg. *nẽni*, dat.-loc.pl. *nẽne*, *nene*).

PAnat. **ne*$^{(\prime)}$*ǵno-*

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. *nẽne/i-*, we can reconstruct PAnat. **ne*$^{(\prime)}$*ǵno-*. This seems to be a derivative of the word for 'sister' as found in Hitt. *neka-* < PAnat. **ne*$^{(\prime)}$*ǵo-*. In the Luwian languages, the word for 'sister' is derived from 'brother', however: *nānašri-* < **ne*$^{(\prime)}$*ǵno-* + *ašri-*. No outer-Anatolian cognates are known.

Note that Luw. *nāna-* ~ Hitt. *nekna-* proves that in Luwian, internal **ǵ*$^{(\prime)}$ 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*^{w}*e*

See CHD L-N: 432 for attestations. This adverb is used in rhetorical questions: 'did I not ...?'. Already Hahn (1936: 110[14]) analysed it as **ne-k*^{w}*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*^{w} remained fortis (contra Melchert 1994a: 61f., who claims that intervocalic **k*^{w} unconditionally became "voiced" in PAnat.).

neku-^{zi} (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 meḫur*** (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(i̯i̯e/a)-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Gr. νύξ, νυκτ- ‘night’, ἔννυχος ‘nightly’, Lat. *nox* ‘night’, Goth. *nahts* ‘night’, Lith. *naktìs* ‘night’, OCS *noštь* ‘night’.

PIE **neg^{wh}-*; **nog^{wh}-t-s*, **neg^{wh}-t-s*

See CHD L-N: 432 for attestations. The verb *neku-^{zi}* originally was active only. In NH times, middle forms were created in analogy to its opposite *lukk-^{tta}* ‘to become light’.

The verb *neku-^{zi}* and the expression *nekuz mēḫur* ‘at night, in the evening’ are generally regarded as cognate to the PIE word for ‘night’ that is usually reconstructed as **nok^{w}ts* (Lat. *nox*, Goth. *nahts*, etc.). According to Schindler (1967), the expression *nekuz mēḫur* literally meant ‘time of night’ and shows the original gen.sg. **nek^{w}ts*. This then means that the word for ‘night’ had a static inflection: nom.sg. **nók^{w}ts*, gen.sg. **nék^{w}ts*. The fact that in Hittite the verbal root *neku-^{zi}* is attested, indicates that **nok^{w}ts* actually was a *t*-stem **nok^{w}-t-s*.

The consistent single spelling of *-k-* in Hittite is problematic, however: it seems to point to PAnat. **g^{w}* < PIE **g$^{w(h)}$*. According to Melchert (1994a: 61), intervocalic **k^{w}* yielded PAnat. **g^{w}* unconditionally, but this cannot be correct in view of forms like *nekku* < **ne-k^{w}e*, *takku* < **to-k^{w}e*, *takkušš-* < **dek^{w}s-*, *šakkuu̯ani-* ‘mud-plaster’ < **sok^{w}-on-i-*. This means that the PAnat. preform **neg^{w}-* 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^{w}t-*, νυχ- must reflect **nog^{wh}-*. I therefore conclude that the Greek stem νυχ- together with Hitt. *neku-* shows that the root itself must have been **neg^{wh}-*. The PIE *t*-stem originally must have been **nog^{wh}-t-s*, **neg^{wh}-t-s*, of which the latter form yielded Hitt. *nekuz*. Only in the separate IE languages, where the old fortis : lenis opposition was re-phonemicized as a distinction in voice, an assimiliation of **nog^{wh}ts* to **nok^{w}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-^{zi}*** (Ic2) ‘to undress oneself’ (3sg.pres.act. [*n*]*e-ku-ma-an-ta-iz-zi*), ***nekumandariu̯e/a-^{zi}*** (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*[*-u̯a-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. *maγna-* 'naked'.

PIE **neg^{w}-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^{w}-o-(d$^{(h)}$o-)* in Lith. *núogas*, Lat. *nūdus*, Goth. *naqaþs*, OIr. *nocht*; **ne/og^{w}-no-* in Skt. *nagná-*, Av. *maγna-* (with dissimilation); **neg^{w}-ro-* in Arm. *merk* (also with (tabuistic?) dissimilation). Hitt. *nekumant-* seems to derive from **neg^{w}-mo-nt-*, but it is possible that it shows a dissimilation from **nekunant-* < **neg^{w}-no-nt-*. In that case, it would be equatable to Skt. *nagná-* and Av. *maγna-*.

Note that a reconstruction **neg^{w}-u̯ent-* is impossible as a sequence **K^{w}u̯-* does not participate in the rules **-u̯u-* > *-mu-* and **-uu̯-* > *-um-* (cf. *akueni* < **h$_{1}$g^{wh}uéni*).

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*[*i*], erg.sg. *tap-pa-ša-an-ti-iš*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *tap-pa-ša-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. ***tipas-*** (n.) 'heaven' (nom.-acc.sg. "CAELUM"*ti-pa-sá* (TÜNP 1 §4, KÖRKÜN §9), dat.-loc.sg. "CAELUM"*ti-pa-si* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §2, MARAŞ 14 §6), "CAELUM"*ti-pa-si-i* (TELL AHMAR 3 §1), erg.sg. "CAELUM"*ti-pa-sa-ti-sa* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §21), abl.-instr. "CAELUM"*ti-pa-sa+ra/i-i* (SULTANHAN §14), gen.adj.nom.pl.c. "CAELUM"*ti-pa-sa-si-zi* (SULTANHAN §33b)).

PAnat. **nébos*, **nebésos*

IE cognates: Skt. *nábhas-* 'cloud, mist', Gr. νέφος 'cloud', OCS *nebo* 'heaven', Lith. *debesìs* 'cloud'.

PIE **néb^{h}-os*, **neb^{h}-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 manyfold attestation of nom.-acc.sg.n. *nēpiš* in OS texts clearly shows that the word is neuter originally.

Already Hrozný (1919: 72[5]) identified this word as the cognate of Skt. *nábhas-* 'cloud', Gr. νέφος 'cloud', etc. This neuter *s*-stem must originally have inflected proterodynamically: **néb^h-s*, **nb^h-és-s*, which possibly already in PIE was normalized to **néb^h-os*, **neb^h-és-os* (cf. Schindler 1975b). In Hittite, we find the stem *nēpiš-*, which must reflect **néb^h-es-*, throughout the paradigm, including in nom.-acc.sg. This implies that first the stem accentuation of nom.-acc.sg. **néb^h-os* spread throughout the paradigm, changing **neb^h-és-os* to pre-Hitt. **néb^{h}esos*. Afterwards, the suffix-syllable *-es-* was taken over into the nom.-acc.sg. as well, changing **néb^h-os* to pre-Hitt. **néb^h-es* > *nēpiš* as attested. Nevertheless, there are some possible traces of the original nom.-acc.sg.-form **néb^h-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 ^{d}IM, the Storm-god. This makes it very attractive to interpret *Ni-ba-aš* as a spelling for /nébas/ (cf. Kryszat 2006: 113[70] for the possibility of a reading "*Nepaš*"), the expected outcome of PIE **néb^h-os*. This implies that in pre-Hittite times the paradigm still was /nébas/, /nébesas/. 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^{h}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. /nebist^{s}/ where /i/ is regular (**néb^{h}es*, **néb^{h}es-ti*). If this scenario is correct, and if OAss. *Ni-ba-aš* indeed represents Hitt. /nébas/, we must assume that between the 19th-20th century BC (the period of the OAss. tablets) and the 16th 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 */nébesas/; (2) the weaking 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^{h}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^{h}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^{h}és-*. If this is correct, the pre-Luwian paradigm should have been **néb^{h}os*, **neb^{h}ésos*, which would indeed fit the other material.

^{LÚ}***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*$^{!}$*-ni-*[*li*]), ***kanišumnili*** (adv.) 'in the languages of the Kanišites (= Hittites)', ^{URU}***nišili*** (adv.) 'in Nešite' (*ni-ši-li*), ***nāšili*** (adv.) 'in Nešite' (*na-a-ši-li*).

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.

nēu̯a- (adj.) 'new, fresh' (Sum. GIBIL): nom.sg.c. GIBIL-*aš*, acc.sg.c. GIBIL-*an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ne-e-u̯a-an* (OH/MS), *ne-e-u-u̯a-an* (OH?/NS), instr. *ne-e-u-*[*it*] (MH/NS), *ni-u-i-i*[*t*], acc.pl.c. *ne-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: ***nēu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to renew, to restore, to make new again' (1sg.pres.act. GIBIL-*aḫ-mi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ne-e-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ne-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MH?/MS?), 1sg.pret.act. *ne-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ne-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ne-u̯a-aḫ-ḫe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ne-u̯a-a-aḫ* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ne-e-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (MH/MS), *ne-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (MH/NS); part. *ne-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/MS)); inf.I [GI]BIL-*an-zi*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***nāu̯a/i-*** (adj.) 'new' (abl.-instr. *na-a-ú-u̯a-ti*, *na-ú-u̯a-ti*, *na-a-ú-u̯a-te*).

IE cognates: Skt. *náva-*, Gr. νέος, Lat. *novus*, OCS *novъ* 'new'.

PIE **néuo-*

See CHD L-N: 455f. for attestations. Since long, the etymology has been clear: the word belongs with Skt. *náva-*, Gr. νέος, etc. 'new' and reflects **néuo-*. The derivative *neu̯aḫ-*^{i} is cognate to Lat. *novāre* 'to renew', Gr. νεάω 'to plough up' and reflects **neueh$_2$-*.

PIE **néuo-* probably is a derivative of **nu* 'now' (see at *nu*).

ni(i̯a)-: see *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / **ni-*

nik-^{zi}: see *ni(n)k-*^{zi}

^{GIŠ}***ninii̯al-*** (n.) 'cradle': nom.-acc.sg. *ni-ni-i̯a-al*, dat.-loc.sg. *ni-ni-i̯a-al-li*, loc.pl. *ni-ni-i̯a-la-aš*.

See CHD L-N: 438 for attestations. Neumann (1961a: 85) interpreted the word as a derivative of *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / **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$_{1/3}$-ol-*.

^{NINDA}***niniu̯ami-*** (c.) a bread or pastry: nom.sg. *ni-ni-i̯a-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *ni-ni-i̯a-mi-in*.

See CHD L-N: 438 for attestations. Formally, the word looks like a Luwian participle of a verb *niniu̯a-*, which formally resembles Hitt. *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / **ni-* 'to turn' (cf. CHD). Nevertheless, as long as the exact meaning of this word cannot be determined, this remains speculation.

nini(n)k-^{zi} (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*$^{!}$*-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 [*ni*]-*ni-in-ku-u-an-zi*; verb.noun *ni-ni-in-ku-u̯a-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-nikǫ* 'they raised themselves', Lith. *į-nìkti*, *į-ninkù* 'to occupy oneself with', *ap-nìkti* 'to attack', Gr. νεῖκος '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-*infixed verbs (*ḫarni(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫuni(n)k-*^{zi}, *ištarni(n)k-*^{zi} and *šarni(n)k-*^{zi}), but also in e.g. *li(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫar(k)-*^{zi} etc.

The other *-nin-*infixed verbs always show the structure *CR-nin-C-* and are derived from verbal roots with the structure **CeRC-* or **CReC-* (e.g. *ḫarni(n)k-* from *ḫark-*^{zi}, *ištarni(n)k-* from *ištar(k)-*^{zi}, besides *ḫuni(n)k-* from *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-*). 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)-*^{zi}] 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-nikǫ* 'they raised themselves', Lith. *į-nìkti*, *į-ninkù* 'to occupy oneself with', *ap-nìkti* 'to attack' and Gr. νεῖκος 'fight, war', which point to a root **neik-* 'to raise'. In Hittite, the nasal infix had causative function, and therefore *nini(n)k-*^{zi} denotes 'to set in motion, to mobilize'.

ni(n)k-^{zi} (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), [*ni-i*]*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-iḫ-ḫ*[*u-ut*] (OH/NS); part. *ni-in-kán-t-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: $^{(d)}$***ninga-*** (c.) 'drenching, cloudburst' (Sum. ^{d}ŠUR; nom.sg. *ni-in-ga-aš*, abl. ^{d}ŠUR-*za*), ***ninganu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make (the ground etc.) drink to satisfaction, to drench; to make someone drunk' (3pl.pres.act. *ni-in-ga-nu-u̯a-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-*^{zi} 'to swear', with *-n-* getting lost in a cluster **-nkC-*. Nevertheless, the MS attestation *ni-in-zi* rather resembles verbs like *ḫar(k)-*^{zi}, 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$_1$neḱ-* '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. *ņẹmu* '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. νέμω 'to allot').

All in all, none of the proposed etymological connections stands out as evident.

nu (clause conjunctive particle) 'and, but'

Derivatives: see *kinun*, *nēu̯a-* and *nuu̯a*.

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 < **n̥u̯-o-*??), ***unu(n)*** 'now?' (clause conjunctive particle, ASSUR letters).

IE cognates: Skt. *nú*, *nū́* 'now', Gr. νυ, νυν (encl. particle), νῦν 'now' Lat. *num* 'but now', *nunc* 'now', Goth. *nu*, Lith. *nù*, *nū̃*, OCS *nъ* '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 an 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* < **Tu̯o* (compare e.g. *tān* < **du̯oi̯om*), so **nu-os* > **nu̯os* > *naš*, **nu-om* > *nu̯om* > *nan*, etc. This implies that 3pl.nom. *n=e* goes back to **nai*

< *nu̯oi < *nu-oi* (note that this shows that the development *C^{dental}u̯o > *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*

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-*^{zi} 'to make sleep' from *šeš-*^{zi} */ šaš-* 'to sleep'. Later on, it was possible to use the full-grade stem as well, e.g *mernu-* (beside older *marnu-*) from *mer-*^{zi} */ 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 *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ú-mi* (KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 18 (OS)) and *ḫu-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-u̯éni*, 2pl. *-nu-ut-te-e-ni* < **-nu-téni* and 3pl. *-nu-u̯a-an-zi* < **-nu-énti*.

nū-: see *nū(t)-*

nukku (adv.) 'and now': *nu-uk-ku* (NH).

PIE **nu-k*^{w}*e*

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, ***nūu̯an*** (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-u̯a-an* (1x, NH), *nu-u-u̯a-a-an* (1x, NH).

PIE **ne-u-mon* ??

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. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ú-mi* < **-néu-mi*). The sporadic forms with *-u̯-* hardly can be anything else than hypercorrectisms, having the development **-uu̯-* > *-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*: **°C-m̥* > Hitt. *°Cun* = /°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)), ***nuntariu̯a-***, ***nut(t)ariu̯a-*** (adj.) ‘swift’ (nom.sg.c. [*nu-u*]*n-tar-i̯a-aš*, *nu-un-tar-i̯a-š=a*, *nu-ut-ta-ri-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *nu-tar-ri-i̯a-aš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *nu-ut-ta-ri-i̯a-an* (NS)), ***nuntarriu̯e/a-***^{zi} (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-i̯a*, 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)tariu̯ašḫa-*** ‘haste, speed’ (gen.sg. EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*, EZEN *nu-un-tar-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*, EZEN *nu-ut-tar-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš*), ***nu(n)tarnu-***^{zi} (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-u̯a-a*[*l-lu*], 2pl.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-ten*, 3pl.imp.act. *nu-un-tar-nu-u̯a-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(i̯a)-*** (adj.) ‘of the present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯*]*a-an-za*), ***nānuntarriu̯al(i)-*** (adj.) ‘present’ (nom.-acc.sg.n. [*na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-i̯a-a-al*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *na-a-nu-un-ta-ri-i̯a-la*, *na-a-nu-un-tar-ri-i̯a-la*, *na-a-nu-um-ta-ri-i̯a-la*).

IE cognates: Lat. *num*, Gr. νῦν ‘now’.

PIE **num-tr-*

See CHD L-N: 472f. for attestations. The basic stem was *nuntr-* as we can tell from the derivative *nuntariia/a-*^{zi} = /nuntrie/a-/ (in case of a stem ***nuntra-*, we would have expected ***nuntarae-*^{zi}). Occasionally, the second *-n-* drops, yielding *nuttar*°. There does not seem to be a distribution between *nuntar*° vs. *nuttar*°, but one could envisage that originally there was one comparable to the distribution found in e.g. *li(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫarni(n)k-*^{zi}, etc., i.e. *VnCV* vs. *VCCV*. In this case, we would perhaps expect a distribution *VntṛC* vs. *VtrV*, but this cannot be supported by the material.

The fact that in CLuwian we once find a spelling with *-m-* (*nānumtariiala*) points to original **numtar-*. Etymologically, it is quite obvious that we are dealing with **num* (as found in *kinun* 'now' < **ḱi* + *num* (q.v.)), followed by a suffix **-tr-*. This **num* clearly belongs with Lat. *num*, Gr. νῦν '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).

See CHD L-N: 476 for attestations. The word either occurs in lists of good things, always followed by *ištamaššuua̯r* or *tummantiia-*, or it occurs as an interjection (then *nu-ú*) in *nu-ú ḫalzai-*^{i} 'to call "*nū*"'. Since *tummantiia-* is the Luwian correspondent to Hitt. *ištamaššuua̯r*, 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.

nūua̯ (adv.) 'still, yet': *nu-u-ua̯* (OS), *nu-u-a* (MH/MS?), *nu-u-ua̯-a* (NH).

PIE **nu-h*$_3$*e*

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 *=(i̯)a* 'and' (q.v.). For semantics compare Goth. *nauh*, OHG *noch* 'still, yet' < **nu-k*^{w}*e*.

nūuan: see at *nūman*

nuḫaššu: see at *naššu*

P

=*pa*: see *=apa*

paḫḫaš-: see *paḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$

paḫḫi- (c.) something harmful?: acc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫi-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 *paḫḫieškeuu̯ar*, a hostile action (q.v.), could be possible. No further etymology.

paḫḫieškeuu̯ar (n.) a hostile action: nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke-u-u̯a-ar*.

See CHD P: 1: this word is hapax and occurs in a vocabulary only, preceded by *ḫuu̯arzakeuu̯ar* '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 *-u̯ar* of an impf. *paḫḫieške/a-* of a further unattested verb. A tie-in with *paḫḫi-*, something harmful (q.v.), is likely. No further etymology.

paḫš-$^{a(ri)}$, ***paḫš-***^{i} (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-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫa* (OH/NS, MH/MS or NS), 2sg.pres.midd. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.midd. *pa-aḫ-ša* (MH/MS or NS), *pa-aḫ-ša-ri* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.midd. *pa-aḫ-šu-u̯a-aš-ta* (MH/MS), 2pl.pres.midd. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma* (OH/NS,

MH/MS), 3pl.prs.midd. *pa-a-aḫ-ša-an-ta* (OH/MS), [*pa-aḫ-*]*ḫạ-ạš-ša-an-ta-ri* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫa-at* (NH), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫa-ḫa-at* (NH), 3sg.pret.midd. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.midd. *pa-aḫ-ša-ru* (OH/NS), 2pl.imp.midd. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma-at* (OH/NS, MH/MS), 3pl.imp.midd. *pa-aḫ-ša-an-ta-ru* (MH/MS), [*pa-aḫ-š*]*a-an-da-a-r*[*u*]; 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫi* (MH/NS, often), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-mi* (1x, OH/NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ti* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-šu-e-ni* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-šu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-*[*aš-ḫu-u*]*n* (OH or MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-šer* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ši* (OH/NS, MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-en* (MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén* (MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ti-en* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-aš-té*[*n*] (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-an-du* (NH), [*p*]*a-aḫ-ḫa-ša-*[*an-du*] (MH/NS); impf. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***paḫšnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to protect, to defend, to take care of, to be watchful’ (1sg.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-mi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni* (OH/NS), [*p*]*a-aḫ-ša-nu-ut-te-ni* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-te-n*[*i*], 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-*[*aš-*]*ša-nu-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-ạḫ-šạ-nụ-*[*n*]*u-*[*un*] (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-uš* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-*[*er*] (OH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-*[*nu-er*] (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ut*, *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-ut* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ud-du* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ud-du* (MH/NS), 2pl.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ut-te-en* (OS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut-te-en* (OH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-*[*ut-te-en*], 3pl.imp.act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-an-du* (OH/MS); part. *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ụa-an-t-* (OH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ụa-an-t-* (OH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-ụa-an-t-* (MH/NS); verb.noun *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-mar*, gen.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ma-aš* (MH/MS)); inf.I *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-um-*[*m*]*a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫa-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. *pȁsti* ‘to pasture, to look after’.

PIE **péh₂s-o*, **póh₂s-ei*, **ph₂s-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. *paḫḫašmi*. This is misleading, as this form occurs only once, whereas *paḫḫašḫi* is attested many times. I therefore assume that the active verb originally is *ḫi*-conjugated. The verb shows a quite consistent

alternation between *paḫš-V* and *paḫḫaš-C*, which reminds of e.g. *takš-V* besides *takkeš-C* (see *takš-*^{zi} 'to undertake, to unify'). Apparently, in **paḫšC*, the cluster received an epenthetic vowel: /paHəSC°/. It is remarkable, however, that the causative *paḫšnu-*^{zi} does not show this distribution (we would then expect *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-* throughout the paradigm): the oldest (OS) forms are spelled *pa-aḫ-ša-nu-*. In my view, this points to a zero-grade formation /pHSnu-/ vs. the full grade stem /paHSV°, paHəSC°/ 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 **peh₂-s-*, an *s*-extension of the root **peh₂(i)-* 'to protect'. This means that the middle paradigm goes back to **péh₂s-o* and the active paradigm to **póh₂s-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 **peh₂-*.

paḫḫur / paḫḫuen- (n.) 'fire, campfire, embers; fever' (Sum. IZI, Akk. *IŠĀTI*): nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫur* (often, OS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-ur* (OH/NS), *pa-a-aḫ-ḫur* (2x, OH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-ur* (1x, MS?), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-ar* (1x, NS), gen.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš* (often, MH?/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-na-aš* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-aš* (1x, NH), loc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni* (often, OH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni*, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-ni* (2x, MH/NS), all.sg. [*pa-a*]*ḫ-ḫu-e-na* (NH/early NS), erg.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-an-za* (MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-za*, abl. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-az* (MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-na-az*, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-az*, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-za*, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-na-za*, instr. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni-it* (MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni-it* (MH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-ni-it* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: $^{\text{DUG/NA}}$***paḫḫunal(l)a/i-***, ^{DUG}***paḫḫuinali-*** (n.) a container for fire, embers and other things (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-al-li* (OH or MH/MS), loc.sg. [*pa-aḫ-ḫu-n*]*a-al-li-i̯a* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-li* (OH?/NS), abl. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-li-i̯a-za* (NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-li-az* (OH?/MS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-i-na-li-az* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-al-li* (OH/NS), *pa-aḫ-ḫu-na-li* (NH)), ^{LÚ}***paḫḫurula-*** (c.) '(fire-)tender' (nom.sg. *p*[*a*]*-aḫ-ḫu-ru-la-aš* (NH)), ^{GIŠ}***paḫḫurul(a)-*** (c.) an implement for tending or banking a fire (nom.sg. [*pa-a*]*ḫ-ḫu-ru-la-aš* (NH), abl. *pa-aḫ-ḫu-ru-la-az* (MH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pāḫūr*** (n.) 'fire(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-a-ḫu-u-ur*), ***pa̯uari(i̯a)-*** 'to light a fire' (3sg.pret.act. *pa-u̯a-ar-it-ta*).

IE cognates: Gr. πῦρ, OHG *fuir*, Arm. *hur*, Goth. *fon*, OPr. *panno* 'fire'.

PIE **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uen-s*

See CHD P: 12f. for attestations. In my view, *paḫḫur / paḫḫuenaš* has to be phonologically interpreted /páH^{w}r / paH^{w}énas/, showing the phoneme /H^{w}/ (for which see Kloekhorst fthc.c). This also explains the one NH attestation *paḫḫuu̯ar*, which denotes phonetic [páH^{w}r̥].

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$_2$-ur*, **ph$_2$-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$_2$uén-* > *paḫḫuen-*.

In CLuwian, a noun *pa-a-ḫu-u-ur* is attested that is generally regarded as cognate to Hitt. *paḫḫur* (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 *pāḫūr* shows a lenited *-ḫ-*. The meaning of the Luwian verb *pau̯ariia-* 'to light a fire' (which is attested in Hittite context) is ascertained, however. It shows loss of *-ḫ-* in front of *-u̯-*, which we also observe in e.g. *mal(ḫ)u-* 'to break' (see at *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill') and *la(ḫ)un(a)i-* 'to wash' (see at *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-* 'to pour').

pai- 'to go': see *pai̯i-^{zi} / pai-*

pai-^{i} / pi- (IIa4 > Ic1) 'to give, to pay, to grant, to hand over' (Sum. SUM, Akk. *NADĀNU*): 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-eḫ-ḫé* (OS), *pé-e-eḫ-ḫi* (OS), *pé-eḫ-ḫi* (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-i̯a-u-e-ni* (OH/NS), *pí-i-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-zi* (OS), *pí-en-zi* (2x), *pí-i-i̯a-an-zi* (NH), *pí-e-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *pé-eḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-e-eḫ-ḫu-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-i̯a-u-e-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pí-i-e-er* (OS), *pí-i-er* (OS), *pí-e-er* (MH/MS), *pí-i̯a-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*]*í-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-i̯a-an-du* (OH?/NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *pí-an-da-ri*; part. *pí-ia-an-t-* (OS); verb.noun *pí-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pí-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (NH)); inf.I *pí-i-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *pí-i̯a-u-u̯a-*

an-zi, *pí-i̯a-u̯a-an-zi*; inf.II *pí-i̯a-an-na* (MH/NS), *pí-an-na*; sup. *pí-i-i̯a-u-u̯*[*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: ***pii̯anna-^{i} / pii̯anni-*** (IIa5) 'to give (impf.)' (sup. *pí-i̯a-an-ni-u̯a-an*), ****pii̯atar / pii̯ann-*** (n.) 'giving' (nom.-acc.sg. SUM-*tar*, gen.sg. SUM-*an-na-aš*), **^{NINDA}*pii̯antalla/i-*** 'donated bread' (nom.sg. *pí-i̯a-an-ta-al-li-iš* (OS), *pí-i̯a-an-tal-li-i*[*š*] (OH/NS), acc.sg. *pí-i̯a-an-ta-al-la-an* (NS), nom.pl.? *pí-i̯a-an-ta-al-li-iš* (OS), acc.pl.? *pí-i̯a-an-tal-la-aš* (OH/NS)), see *peppieššar* and *uppa-^{i} / uppi-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pai- / pi(i̯a)-*** 'to give' (1pl.pres.act. *pí-u-un-ni*, 3sg.pret.act. *pí-i̯a-at-ta*, *pí-i-i̯a-at-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *pí-un-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *pí-i-i̯a*, 3sg.imp.act. *pa-a-i-ú*, *pa-i-ú*, 3pl.imp.act. *pí-i̯a-an-du*), ***pipiššа-*** 'to give' (2sg.imp.act. *pí-pí-iš-ša*); HLuw. ***pia-*** 'to give'(3sg.pres.act. *pi-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. *pi-ia-ti* (KULULU lead strip 2.18), 1sg.pret.act. *pi-ia-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §8, §9, ANCOZ 7 §6, BABYLON 1 §3, §9), 3sg.pret.act. *pi-ia-ta* (often), 3pl.pret.act. DARE-ta_x (TOPADA §30), 3sg.imp.act. *pi-ia-tu* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Hu., §52 Hu., KÖRKÜN §7), *pi-ia-tu-u* (ÇİFTLİK §16), *pi-ià-tù* (KARATEPE 1 §52 Ho., *pi-iá-tù* (KARATEPE 1 §51 Ho.), ***piaza*** 'gifts(?)' (*pi-ia-za* (KULULU lead strips), ***pipasa-*** 'to present' (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* (KARKAMIŠ A23 §4, MARAŞ 1 §11), 3sg.imp.act. *pi-pa-sa-tu* (BOR §11)); Lyc. ***pije-*** 'to give' (3sg.pres.act. *pije*, 3pl.pres.act. *pijeti*, 1sg.pret.act. *pijaχa*, *pijaχã*, 3sg.pret.act. *pijete*, *pijetẽ*, 3pl.pret.act. *pijẽte*, *pijẽtẽ*), ***pibi(je)-*** 'to give' (3sg.pres.act. *pibiti*, 3pl.pres.act. *pibijeti*).

PAnat. **poi- / pi-*

IE cognates: Hitt. *epp-^{zi} / 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_1p-ói-ei / *h_1p-i-énti*

See CHD P: 40f. for attestations. The oldest paradigm is *peḫḫe*, *paitti*, *pāi*, *pīu̯eni*, *pišteni*, *pianzi*. This clearly shows an ablaut *pai- / pi-*, and herewith this verb belongs to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class. In one point it differs from the other *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class verbs, however, namely in the fact that it shows zero-grade in the plural of the preterite as well (*peḫḫun*, *paitta*, *paiš*, *piu̯en*, **pišten*, *pii̯er*, vs. e.g. *daiu̯en*, *daišten*, *dai̯er* 'to put'). In my view, *pai-^{i} / 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 *pii̯e/a-^{zi}* occasionally is

found, which was created in the basis of a false analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *piy̯anzi* (compare e.g. secondary *ḫalziy̯e/a-*^{zi} in the paradigm of *ḫalzai-*^{i} / *ḫalzi-* 'to shout' (q.v.)). The stem *pe-* as found in *peḫḫi* and *peḫḫun* is due to monophthongization of *pai-* in front of *-ḫ-*. 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$_1$)ai-* or **(H)ei-*, which is connected with TochB *ai-*, TochA *e-* 'to give' and Gr. αἴνυμι 'to take'. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 470) reconstructs **pói* + *h$_{1,3}$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$_1$poi-* that is prefixed to a verbal root. As we see in the paradigm of *pai-* 'to go', a preform **h$_1$poi* + **h$_1$ienti* yields **paiy̯anzi* > *pānzi*, and not ***piy̯anzi*. 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/tiy̯anzi*-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-*^{i} / *pi-* this means that the root must be either **PeH-* or **HeP-*. The only root that semantically fits is **h$_1$ep-* 'to seize, to grab' (for which see also at *epp-*^{zi} / *app-*), as can be seen by e.g. Alb. *ap-* 'to give' (< **h$_1$op-eiy̯e-*, cf. Klingenschmitt 1981: 127) and Germ. **geb-* 'to give' (< **ga-* + **h$_1$ep-*, cf. Kortlandt 1992: 104). I therefore reconstruct **h$_1$p-oi- / *h$_1$p-i-*.

Note that in Luwian and in Lycian the thematicized stem **piy̯o-* has been generalized, with the exception of a few CLuw. forms found in the Ištanuwian hymns, viz. 3sg.imp.act. *pāiu* < **pói-*.

paiy̯i-^{zi} ***/ 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-u̯a-ni* (OS), *pa-a-i-u̯a-a-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-a-i-u̯a-ni* (OH/NS), *pa-i-ú-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar* (NH), *pa-a-u-ar* (NH), *pa-a-u-u̯a-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pa-a-u-u̯a-aš* (NH); inf.I *pa-ú-u̯a-a-an-zi* (OS), *pa-ú-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pa-a-u-u̯a-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. $^{\text{"PES}_2\text{"}}$*pa-tu* (ASSUR letter *e* §24), impf.3sg.pres.act. $^{\text{PES}_2}$*pa-za-ti* (MARAŞ 14 §13), impf.1sg.pret.act. $^{\text{PES}_2}$*pa-za-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A12 §11, §12, KARKAMIŠ A5*b* §1), $^{\text{PES}_2}$*pa-za-ha*$_x$ (SHEIZAR §2), impf.3sg.pret.act. $^{\text{"PES}_2\text{"}}$*pa-za/i-ta*$_x$ (TOPADA §23)).

PIE **h*$_1$*pói* + **h*$_1$*éi-ti / *h*$_1$*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-u̯a-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 **paḭanzi*, **paḭun* and **paḭer*, it is clear that all forms point to a stem *pai-* (with **short** vowel) and *paḭi-*. 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 *paḭi-* (compare e.g. dat.-loc.sg. *ḫar-ga-a-i* /Hárgāi/ 'white' < */Hárgaii/ < virtual **h*$_2$*érǵ-ei-i*). This shows that the OS stem *paḭi-* is linguistically real. Forms that first occur in NS texts are *pa-a-mi*, *pa-a-i-ši / pa-a-ši*, *pa-a-i-u̯a-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-*^{zi} (according to the *ḫatrae*-class).

All in all, I assume the following situation: in OH times, the paradigm was /páiimi, páiisi, páiit^{s}i, páiiuani, páiitani, pánt^{s}i < *páiant^{s}i/. In MH times, this changed to /páimi, páisi, páit^{s}i, páiuani, páitani, pánt^{s}i/. In NH times forms according to the *ḫatrae*-class are created.

It is generally accepted that this verb must be compared with *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* 'to come' and that these verbs form a pair showing univerbations of the PIE root **h*$_1$*ei-* (for which see also *i-*^{zi} and *i̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$) with the preverbs *pe* 'away' and *u*

'hither', respectively. The exact interpretation of *paḭi-^{zi} / 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 **pĕ*, assuming that in the preform **pe-$h_1$iénti* a development **-eh_1i- > -ai-* is responsible for the stem *pai-*, which then spread throughout the paradigm. All alleged examples of the development **-eh_1i- > -ai-* (Melchert 1994a: 177) are false, however: e.g. *dāi* 'he takes' is reconstructed as **daḭe < *d^{h}eh$_1$i-ei*, whereas we should reconstruct **dāḭe < *d^{h}h$_1$-ói-ei* (see at *dai-^{i} / ti-*). I therefore reject Melchert's reconstruction **pĕ*. A better proposal is Eichner's (1973: 68), who assumes that *pe* goes back to **poi* and that the variant *pai-* as seen in *paḭi- / pai-* therefore must reflect the non-monophthongized variant. Although I do not agree with the details of Eichner's reconstruction of *paḭi- / pai-*, I do think that his interpretation of the preverb *pe-* is basically correct. I therefore will work with a reconstruction **$h_1$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(-)ḫar(k)-^{zi}* (q.v.), we see univerbation happening before our eyes in OH texts. In the case of *paḭi-^{zi} / pai-*, however, it must have happened earlier, namely before the moment of monophthongization of **$h_1$poi* to *pe*. Nevertheless, it is not likely that univerbation took place at the PIE level. A preform **$h_1$poi-$h_1$iénti* as assumed by e.g. Eichner (1973: 68), should in view of **$h_2$uh$_1$iénti* > OH *ḫuḭanzi* 'they run' have given OH ***paḭanzi*, with preserved intervocalic *-ḭ-*, instead of attested *pānzi*. In the case of *u̯e-^{zi} / uu̯a-* 'to come' (q.v.), we see that we must assume that univerbation has taken place at the time that **$h_2$ou* has monophthongized to */ʔu/ and **$h_1$éiti / *$h_1$iénti* have become */ʔét^{s}i/ and */iánt^{s}i/. The case of *paḭi-^{zi} / pai-* is slightly different, however. First, we must assume that **$h_1$poi* had not yet monophthongized to *pe*, but must have had its intermediate shape */pai/. Secondly, whereas in *u̯ezzi / uu̯anzi* it is clear that the verbal forms remained accentuated (*/ʔu+ʔét^{s}i/ and /ʔu+iánt^{s}i/), the forms *paiu̯ani* and *paittani* show that in the case of *paḭi-/pai-* the preverb attracted the accent. If we assume univerbation at the time that we are dealing with */pái/ on the one hand and */ʔémi, ʔési, ʔét^{s}i, ʔiuéni, ʔiténi, iánt^{s}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-ʔet^{s}i/, 2pl.pres. /pái-ʔiteni/, 3pl.pres. /pái-iánt^{s}i/, 3sg.pret. /pái-ʔet/. In 3pl.pres. */páiiant^{s}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

syllable (cf. § 1.4.9.1.b): 3sg.pres. */páiʔatˢi/, 2pl.pres. */páiʔitani/, 3sg.pret. /páiʔit/. The stem */páiʔi-/ of the sg.pret.- and the pl.-forms replaces the stem */páiʔa-/ of the sg.pres.-forms, yielding */páiʔitˢi/. The loss of intervocalic *-i̯-*, which causes contraction of the adjacent vowels, as well as the subsequent simplification of */ViʔV/ to /ViV/ yields the paradigm as attested in OH texts: /páiitˢi, páiitani, pāntˢi, páiit/. The MH development /CaiiC/ > /CāiC/ further explains the MH/NH paradigm /pāitˢi, pāitani, pāntˢi, pāit/.

HLuw. *pa-* does not show a reflex of *-i-* anymore. This is possibly due to a similar contraction as in Hitt. *pānzi* < **paia̯nzi*, after which a stem *pa-* spread throughout the paradigm.

paknu-^{zi} (Ib2) 'to defame, to slander, to denounce': 3pl.pret.act. *pa-ak-nu-er* (OH/NS), *pa-ak-nu-e-er* (OH/NS).

See CHD P: 58 for attestations and contexts. Its meaning cannot easily be determined, but a translation 'to defame' may fit. Formally, the verb looks like a causative in *-nu-* of a root *pak-*. As causatives in *-nu-* in principle are derived from zero-grade roots, we could be dealing here with a root **Pe(H)K-*. Further unclear.

pakkušš- 'to pound, to crack, to crush, to grind': impf.3pl.pres.act. *pa-ak-ku-uš-kán-zi* (OH/NS), impf.3pl.imp.act. *pa-ak-ku-uš-kán-du* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***pak(kuš)šuu̯ant-*** (adj.) modifying 'grain') 'cracked(?)' (nom.-acc.sg.v. *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu̯!-u̯a-an* (NS), *pa-ak-šu-u̯a-an*, nom.pl.c. *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-an-te-eš* (MH?/MS?), nom.-acc.pl.n. *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-u̯a-an-da* (MH/NS), *pa-ak-šu-u̯a-da* (NH), loc.pl. *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-u̯a-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), abl. *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-u̯a-an-da-az*), $^{(GIŠ)}$***pakkuššuu̯ar*** (n.) a wooden implement used to crack or crush cereals (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-ak-k*[*u-u*]*š-šu-ar* (MH/NS), *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS)).

See CHD P: 58f. for attestations. The adjective *pak(kuš)šuu̯ant-* is cited in CHD as *pakkuššau̯ant-* as well, which is done on the basis of one form in KBo 21.1 i 15, which CHD reads as *pa-ak-ku-uš-*⌜*ša?*⌝*-u̯a-an*. If we look at the handcopy of this tablet, howver, we see that the damaged sign in between *-uš-* and *-u̯a-* hardly can be ŠA: . I therefore transliterate this form as *pa-ak-ku-uš-šu̯!-u̯a-an*.

On the basis of the adjective *pak(kuš)šuu̯ant-*, we can infer that the verbal stem is *pakkušš-*. Oettinger (1979a: 212) suggests a connection with PIE **peh₂ǵ-* 'to

become firm' and *$peh_2ḱ$- '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 *$peh_2ḱ$- 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^w- 'to cook' and assumes on the basis of this connection that *pek^w- originally meant 'genießbar machen'. This does not seem semantically attractive to me either. Further unclear.

palāḫ-^{i} / palaḫḫ- (IIa2) 'to call(?), to summon(?)': 3sg.pret.act. *pa-la-a-aḫ-t*[*a*] (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-la-aḫ-ḫe-er* (OH/NS).

See CHD P: 60 for attstations and contexts. Both forms occur in broken context, but on the basis of KUB 32.56 obv. 6 *nu u̯a-ar-ri pa-la-aḫ-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 -*ḫḫ*-, the verb is likely to have been *ḫi*-conjugated (*mi*-conjugated roots of the structure *Ceh_2- would have lost their *h_2 because it always stood in preconsonantal position). On the analogy of *nāḫ-^{i} / naḫḫ-* 'to fear' and *zāḫ-^{i} / zaḫḫ-* 'to beat', I assume that this verb was *plāḫ-^{i} / plaḫḫ-* (note that the long vowel is attested in 3sg.pret.act. *palāḫt*[*a*]). Mechanically, we have to reconstruct a root *$Pleh_2$-, of which I know no other examples.

(TÚG)***palaḫša-*** (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *pa-la-aḫ-ša-aš*, acc.sg. *(-)an pa-la-aḫ-ša-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *pa-la-aḫ-ši*, nom.pl.(?) *pa-la-aḫ-ši-iš*.

Derivatives: ***palaḫš(i̯e/a)-^{zi}***, ***palaḫšae-^{zi}*** (Ic1 / Ic2) 'to cover' (3pl.pres.act. *pa-la-aḫ-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pa-la-aḫ-ša-an-zi* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-la-aḫ-še-et* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pa-a-la-aḫ-ša-e-er*).

PIE *$pleh_2$-so-* or *$ploh_2$-so-*

See CHD P: 60f. for attestations. The noun and its derivatives are always spelled *pa-la-aḫ-š°*, indicating a phonological analysis /plaHsa-/. Kronasser (1966: 167) connects this word with Hitt. *palḫi-* 'wide, broad' < *plh_2-i-*. This means that /plaHsa-/ would reflect *$pleh_2so$- or *$ploh_2so$- (for the retention of *h_2 in front of -*s*-, cf. *paḫš*- 'to protect' < *poh_2s-). See at *palḫi-* for further etymology.

I do not understand how Tischler (HEG P: 389) can follow Neumann (1988: 259[13]) in assuming that *palaḫša-* shows thematicization of a verbal noun

palḫiššar (of a further unattested verb **palḫ-* ‘to protect’, which is supposed to be cognate to Gr. πέλας ‘skin’, ON *fela* ‘to hide’ < **pelh₂-*) that first shows syncope of the second syllable and then anaptyxis in the cluster *-lḫš-*: the supposed developments are irregular and unlikely.

***palḫ-*[?]** ‘?’: 3pl.pret.act. *pa-a*[*l*[?]-]*ḫe-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^{MEŠ}*-an pa-a*[*l?-*]*ḫe-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^{MEŠ}=*an pa*[*-aḫ-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^{MEŠ} has been improved as well, namely to [ÉR]IN^{MEŠ}. Nevertheless, on the basis of the translation ‘to protect’, he suggests to connect *palḫ-* with $^{(TÚG)}$*palaḫša-*, a garment (q.v.), and, on an IE level, with Gr. πέλας ‘skin’, ON *fela* ‘to hide’ < **pelh₂-* (see at his treatment of $^{(TÚG)}$*palaḫša-*, HEG P: 389). As I have argued at the lemma $^{(TÚG)}$*palaḫša-*, this latter word cannot derive from a root **pelh₂-*, but reflects **pleh₂-*. Moreover, a translation ‘to protect’ of *palḫ-* is based on nothing, so Tischler’s etymologization has no merit.

palḫi- / palḫai- (adj.) ‘wide, broad’: nom.sg.c. *pal-ḫi-iš* (NH), nom.pl.c. *pal-ḫa-a-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: ***palḫanu-*^{zi}** (Ib2) ‘to broaden(?)’ (3sg.pret.act. *pal-ḫa-nu-ut*), ***palḫašti-*** (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)), ***palḫatar / palḫann-*** (n.) ‘width’ (nom.-acc.sg. *pal-ḫa-tar*, loc.sg. *pal-ḫa-an-ni*), $^{(DUG)}$***palḫa/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*^{ḪLA} (OS), *pal-ḫi* (OH/MS), *pal-ḫa* (OH/NS), *pal-ḫi-aš* (MS?), loc.pl. *pal-ḫa-aš* (OH/NS)), ***palḫēšš-*^{zi}** (Ib2) ‘to become wide or broad, to expand’ (impf.3sg.imp.act. *pal-ḫi-iš-ke-et-ta-ru* (OH?/NS)), ***palḫeššar / palḫešn-*** ‘width’ (instr. *pal-ḫe-eš-ni-t=á=k-kán* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***palḫaia-*** (?) (adj.) 'wide, broad' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḫa-an*[-*za*], interpretation uncertain, thus Starke 1990: 257), ***palḫā-*** 'to make flat, to spread out' (inf. ⩤ *pal-ḫu-na* (NH), part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pal-ḫa-a‹-am›-ma-an-za*), ***palḫamman-*** (adj.) 'lying flat, spreading out' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pal-ḫa-am-ma*), ***palḫašḫa-*** 'breadth(?)' (nom.sg. *pal-ḫa-aš-ḫa-aš*).

IE cognates: Lat. *plānus* 'flat, smooth, Lith. *plónas*, Latv. *plãns* 'thin, flat', Lith. *plóti*, Latv. *plãt* 'to flatten'.

PIE *$*plh_2$-(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 *$*pleh_2$-*. For Hittite, a reconstruction *$*plh_2$-i-* is generally accepted. Melchert (1984a: 45) states that a reconstruction *$*pelh_2$i-* would have yielded **$**palli-*, and that therefore *$*plh_2$-i-* is needed. A preform *$*pelh_2$-i-* is impossible anyway, however, as the regular full grade is *$*pleh_2$-* (Lat. *plānus*, Lith. *plóti*) and not *$*pelh_2$-* (Gr. πέλανος 'porridge' is semantically far): all the forms with *palḫ-* must therefore reflect *$*plh_2$-*. A genuine full-grade is found in *palaḫša-*, a garment (q.v.) which is to be analysed as /plaHsa-/ < *$*pleh_2$-so-* or *$*ploh_2$-so-*. Note that the derivatives *palḫašti-*, *palḫatar*, *palḫešš-*, *palḫanu-* all are derived from the bare root *$*plh_2$-*, not from the *i*-stem.

Originally, the adjective probably inflected *$*pléh_2$-i-s*, *$*plh_2$-éi-s*, of which the oblique stem was generalized.

Note that the CLuwian words are all quite disputable regarding their interpretation.

palkuiḫe/a-$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ (IIIg) '?': 3pl.pres.midd. *pal-ku-i-ḫa-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$^{ḪI.A}$-*uš* (OS), gen.pl. KASKAL^{MEŠ}-*aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. KASKAL-*ša-aš*, KASKAL$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***palšiaḫḫ-**^{i} (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-u̯a-ar* (NH); inf.I KASKAL-*ḫu-an-zi* (NH); impf. KASKAL-*ši-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***palšiiala-*** (c.) 'guide(?)' (nom.sg. ^{LÚ}KASKAL-*la-aš* (OH/NS)).

Anat. cognates: Lyc. ***tbiplẽ*** 'two times(?)', ***trpplẽ*** 'three times(?)'.

IE cognates: Gr. δι-πλός, 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 *tbiplẽ* and *trpplẽ* 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 $^{\text{“3”}}$*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.

$^{(\text{UZU})}$***paltana-*** (c.) 'shoulder, shoulder blade' (Sum. $^{(\text{UZU})}$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. ὠμο-πλάτη 'shoulder blade', MIr. *leithe* 'shoulder blade'.

PIE **plth$_2$-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$_2$-eno-*.

It is unclear to me, however, what the connection is with the root **pleh$_2$-* 'wide, broad' (for which see *palḫi-* and $^{(\text{TÚG})}$*palaḫša-*). In principle, Hitt. *paltana-* could also reflect a preform **plh$_2$th$_2$eno-*, but the other IE languages do not show traces of **plh$_2$t-*.

palu̯ae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to cry out, to shout for joy, to cheer': 3sg.pres.act. *pal-u̯a-a-ez-zi* (OS), *pal-u̯a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *pal-u-u̯a-a-iz-zi*, *pal-u-u̯a-iz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pal-u̯a-an-zi* (OS), *pal-u̯a-a-an-zi* (NH), *pal-u-u̯a-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *pal-u̯a-it*; part. *pal-u̯a-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-u̯i$_5$-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *pal-u̯i$_5$-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: $^{(\text{LÚ/MUNUS})}$***palu̯āt(t)alla-*** (c.) 'crier, a participant in festivals who cries out' (nom.sg. *pal-u̯a-at-tal-la-aš* (OS), *pal-u̯a-tal-la-aš* (NS), *pal-u̯a-tal-aš*, *pal-u̯a-a-at-tal-l*[*a-aš*] (OH/NS), *pal-u̯a-a-tal-la*[*-aš*] (NH), *pal-u-u̯a-tal-la-aš* (OH/NS), *pal-lu-u̯a-tal-la-aš* (1x), dat.sg. *pal-u̯a-a*[*t-ta-al-l*]*i* (OS), *pal-u̯a-tal-li*

(MS or early NS), *pal-u̯a-at-ta-li*, nom.pl. *pal-u̯a-at-ta-al-le-eš* (OS), *pal-u̯a-at-tal-le-eš*, *pal-u̯a-at-tal-le-e-eš*, *pal-u̯a-tal-le-e-eš* (OH/NS), [*pa*]*l-u̯a-tal-la-aš*, acc.pl. *pal-u̯a-tal-la-aš* (OH?/NS), *pal-u̯a-tal-lu-uš*; case? *pal-u̯a-a-tal-la*, *pal-u̯a-tal-la* (NH)).

PIE *$*b^hlh_1$-uo-i̯é/ó-* ?

See CHD P: 80f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which means that it is a *-i̯e/a*-derivative of a noun **palu̯a-*, which is visible in *palu̯attalla-* as well. CHD suggests a connection with the verb *palkuii̯e/a-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ whose meaning cannot be determined, referring to other alterations like *tarku- / taru-* 'to dance' and *lalakueša- / lalau̯eša-*. These alternations are often seen as showing a distribution between Hitt. *-ku-* and Luw. *-u̯-* from PIE *$*-g^w$-* (but see at *tar(k)u-*^{zi} for a different interpretation of its alteration). Because *palu̯ae-* is so well attested in OS texts already, I think it is unlikely that the *-u̯-* is of Luwian origin. I therefore rather separate *palkuii̯e/a-*.

The etymological interpretation is difficult. The noun **palu̯a-* can phonologically represent /palua-/ as well as /pl(ʔ)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 *päl-* 'to praise', Lat. *ap-pellare* 'to talk to', implying a reconstruction **pol-u̯o-*. Schrijver 1991: 406f. derives these IE forms from a root *$*pelh_2$-*, which would have yielded Hitt. *$**palluu̯a- < *polh_2$-uo-* or *$**palḫuu̯a- < *plh_2$-uo-*, however. In my view, a better possibility would be the root *$*b^hleh_1$-* 'to cry, to roar' as visible in Lat. *fleō* 'to cry', OHG *blāen* 'to blow', Latv. *blêju* 'to bellow', RussCS *blějų* 'to bellow'. We then should reconstruct a noun *$*b^hlh_1$-uo-* 'crying, roaring' of which the *-i̯e/o*-derivative *$*b^hlh_1$uo-i̯é/ó-* 'to be crying' yielded Hitt. /plʔuāé-/, spelled *palu̯ae-*^{zi}.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***palzaḫ(ḫ)a-***, $^{(GIŠ)}$***palzašḫa-*** (c.) 'pedestal, a flat base for statues': nom.sg. *pal-za-ḫa-aš* (OH/MS), *pal-za-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (OH?/NS), *pal-za-ḫa-a-aš*, *pal-za-aš-ḫa-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pal-za-ḫa-an*, gen.sg. *pal-za-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (OH?/NS), loc.sg. *pal-za-ḫi* (OH/MS), *pal-za-aḫ-ḫi* (NH), *pal-za-aš-ḫi* (NH), acc.pl. *pal-za-ḫu-uš* (OS); stem *pal-za-ḫa* (OH?/NS), *pal-za-aš-ḫa*.

Derivatives: ***palzaḫae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to stretch (a sheep, lamb, kid) out (on a flat surface)' (3sg.pres.act. [*pal-*]*za-ḫa-a-iz-zi*, *pal-za-ḫa-*[*iz*]*-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *pal-za-ḫa-an-zi*).

Anat. cognates: Lyd. ?***bλaso*** 'socle'.

PIE *$*plth_2$-sh_2ó-*.

See CHD P: 86 for attestations. The different spellings point to a phonological interpretation /pltsHá-/. Formally, the noun shows the suffix *-šḫa-* attached to a root *palt-* which is generally equated with **plth$_2$-* 'flat' as seen in *paltana-* 'shoulder' (q.v.) as well. We therefore have to reconstruct **plth$_2$-sh$_2$ó-*.

The appurtenance of Lyd. *bλaso* 'socle' (cf. Tischler HEG P: 408) is quite uncertain.

panku- / pangau̯- (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-u̯a-aš* (NH), dat.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-i* (OH/NS), abl. *pa-an-ka$_4$-u-u̯a-az*, *pa-an-ga-u-u̯a-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$_4$-u-e-eš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***panku- / pangau̯-*** (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-u̯a-aš* (OH or MH/MS), *pa-an-ga-u̯a-aš* (MH/NS), *pa-an-ka$_4$-u̯a-aš*, *pa-an-ka$_4$-u-u̯a-aš*, *pa-an-ga-u-aš*, *pa-ga-u-u̯a-aš*, *pa-ga-u̯a-aš* (NH), dat.sg. *pa-an-ga-u-i* (OH/MS), *pa-an-ga-u-e*, *pa-an-ga-u-u̯i$_5$* (NH), *pa-an-ka$_4$-u-i*, *pa-ga-u-i*), ^{NINDA}***panku*** (n.), a kind of bread (nom.-acc.sg. *pa-an-ku*), ***pangariu̯e/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) 'to become widespread, to become common, to become general' (3sg.pret.midd. *pa-an-ga-ri-i̯a-(at-)ta-ti* (OH/NS)), ***pangarit*** (adv.) 'in large numbers, in force, en masse' (*pa-an-ga-ri-it* (OS), *pa-an-ka$_4$-ri-it* (NH)), ***pankuēšš-***^{zi} (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^{h}b^{h}ng^h-(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^{w}e* 'five' (which he derives from 'a handful'), but this is formally unlikely: *panku-* shows a *u*-suffix (gen.sg. *pangau̯aš*), 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. *dəbązah-*, YAv. *bązah-* 'thickness', Gr. παχύς 'thick, dense', Latv. *bìezs* '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. *bəzuuaṇt-* '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. *báṃhiṣṭha-* has to be derived from a stem **dʰbʰ(e)ngʰ-u-* (for initial **dʰ-* cf. GAv. *dəbązah-* (Beekes 1988a: 78)). This means that the original paradigm must have been **dʰbʰéngʰ-u-s*, **dʰbʰéngʰ-u-m*, **dʰbʰngʰ-éu-s*. Since the full-grade form **dʰbʰéngʰ-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 *pangariie/a-* are derived from an unattested stem **pangara-*, which reflects the Caland-variant **dʰbʰngʰ-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*$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ KUR^{TI} *ku-e ḫa-an-ne-iš-kat-te-e-ni n=a-at* SIG$_5$*-in ḫa-an-ni-iš-ke-et-tén n=a-at=za=kán a-pé-e-el*

(33) *ŠA* É=*ŠU ŠA* ŠEŠ=*ŠU* NIN=*ŠU ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši pa-an-ku-na-aš-ši* ^{LÚ}*ka-e-na-an-ti* ^{LÚ}*a-ri-e=š-ši*

(34) *ŠA* NINDA KAŠ *ma-a-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ti le-e ku-iš-ki i-i̯a-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^2 Ḫ: 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$_{2/3}$enK-ur*. On the basis of the old idea that *pankur* denotes both 'clan' and 'milk', Melchert (1983: 9[23]) states that it easily could be derived from the PIE root **b^{h}engʷ^h-* 'to be thick' (which also underlies Hitt. *panku- / pangau̯-*), reconstructing **b^{h}óngʷ^h-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).

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 *pai̯i-^{zi} / pai-* 'to go' (cf. *u̯izzapant-* '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. *pìnti* '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.

panzau̯artanna (adv.) 'for five rounds': *pa-an-za-u̯a-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 **pańca-u̯artana-* 'five-rounds' < **penk^{w}e-u̯ert-eno-*. See also *aikau̯artanna*, *nau̯artanna*, *šattau̯artanna* and *tierau̯artanna*.

pāp- 'to make loaves out of dough': 3pl.pres.act. *pa-a-pa$^{?}$-an-zi* (OS), inf.I *pa-a-pu-u̯a-an-zi* (NH?), *pa-a-pu-u-u̯a-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. ^{GIŠ}*pāpu-* and ^{GIŠ}*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-aḫ-ḫa-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$^{?}$'.

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. ὤ 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-^{i} (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. *pa*[-*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-u̯a-an-zi*, *pa-ap-pár-šu-u-u̯a-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: TochAB *pärs-* 'to sprinkle', Skt. *pṛ́ṣant-* 'dappled', Cz. *pršeti* 'to sprinkle', Lith. *puřslai* 'spray', OCS *praxъ* 'dust' (< **porso-*), *prъstъ* '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 TochAB *pärs-* 'to sprinkle', Skt. *pṛ́ṣant-* '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* /paprSánt^{s}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.

𒀀 ***pappaš-*** (Luw. verb) 'to swallow': Luw. 3sg.pres.act. 𒀀 *pa-ap-pa-ša-i*.

Derivatives: $^{(UZU)}$***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 *-*peh₃-s-*

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-^{i} / 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-^{i} / 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: ***papraḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) ‘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-^{zi}*** (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-^{zi}***, ***paprašš-^{zi}*** (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-*

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-*^{2} 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-*^{zi} is interpreted as a stative in *-eh$_1$-* by Watkins (1973: 79f.).

GIŠ*pāpu-* (c.) a wooden implement used in a bakery: acc.sg. *pa-pu-u-un* (NS), [*p*]*a*$^{?}$*-a-p*[*u*]*-u-un*$^{?}$*-n=a*.

See CHD P: 108. The only sure attestation of this word occurs in KUB 16.34 i (14) ŠÀ É ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÙ.DÙ=*u̯a=kán* UR.[GI$_7$*-aš*] *pa-it nu=u̯a* ^{GIŠ}*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*$^{?}$*-a-p*[*u*]*-u-un*$^{?}$*-na* x[...] and KUB 46.48 rev. (22) [...]x *ú-e-te-na-az* ^{GIŠ}*pa-a-pu*$^{?}$[-...], which could indicate that the word actually was *pāpu-*. Perhaps the word is cognate with ^{GIŠ}*pāpul-* 'bread tray(?)' and perhaps both words belong with *pāp-*, an action performed on fermented dough resulting in loaves ready for baking (q.v.).

GIŠ*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 ^{GIŠ}*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 locatival 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-^{i} / 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 A1*a* §16), PRAE-*i*)); Lyc. ***pri*** ‘forth, in front’.

IE cognates: Gr. πρό, Skt. *prá-*, Lat. *prŏ-*, Goth. *fra-*.

PIE **pró*

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 /prā́/. Formally as well as semantically, we must equate *parā* with Gr. πρό, Skt. *prá-*, Lat. *prŏ-*, Goth. *fra-*, etc. < **pró*. Note that the equation of *parā* with Gr. πρό, Lat. *prŏ-* 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-^{i} / 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. πιμπρήμι ‘to blow’, Skt. *prāṇa-* ‘breath’.

PIE **proh$_1$-*

See CHD P: 130 for attestations and semantics. The word clearly belongs with *parai-^{i} / pari-* ‘to blow’ (q.v.), which reflects **prh$_1$-(o)i-* (cf. Gr. πιμπρήμι ‘to blow’). The noun *parā-* therefore probably reflects **proh$_1$-s*, **proh$_1$-m*, **preh$_1$-s* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 23).

para-^{i} / par- (IIa1β?) ‘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*).

See CHD P: 134 for attestations. There, the verb is cited as *parai-*, as if it belongs to the *dāi/tiianzi*-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

pariia̯nnaš. This means that *para-* must belong either to the *tarn(a)*-class, or, perhaps better, to class IIa1β (like *dā-^{i} / d-*). It is generally accepted that it is a derivative of *parā*, q.v. for further etymology.

paraḫḫ-: see *parḫ-^{zi}*

parai-^{i} / pari- (IIa4) 'to blow (a horn); to blow on (a fire); to blow up, to inflate': 1sg.pres.act. *pa-re-eḫ-ḫi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pa-ra-a-i*, 1pl.pres.act. *pa-ri-i-u̯a-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *pa-ra-iš-te-ni* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pa-ri-ia̯-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-ia̯-an-t-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***parip(p)ara-^{i} / 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-ia̯-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-ia̯-u-u̯a-ar*; impf. *pa-ri-ip-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *pa-ri-pa-ri-eš-ke/a-*), ***papra-^{i} / papri-*** (IIa5) 'to blow (an instrument)' (3pl.pres.act. *pa-ap-ri-ia̯-an-zi* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***pariparai-*** 'to blow(?)' (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ri-pa-ra-a-i*, part.nom.-acc.sg.n. [*pa*$^{?}$]*-ri-pa-ra-a-an*).

IE cognates: Gr. πιμπρήμι 'to blow'.

PIE **prh$_1$-(o)i-*

See CHD P: 133f. for attestations. The verb clearly belongs to the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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$_1$- / prh$_1$-*.

In my article on *pai-^{i} / pi-* 'to give' (Kloekhorst fthc.a) I have argued that verbs of the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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-^{i} / pari-*, the root etymology is generally accepted: **preh$_1$-* as found in Gr. πιμπρήμι 'to blow' (note that the appurtenance of Russ. *pret'* 'to sweat, to rot' (thus e.g. LIV^{2}) does not seem likely on semantic grounds). This means that *parai-/pari-* reflects **prh$_1$-ói-ei*, **prh$_1$-i-énti*.

The reduplicated derivative *parip(p)ara-^{i} / parip(p)ari-* shows the *mēma/i-*flection, as can be seen by NH *pariparanzi* (which we would not expect in a *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-class verb). This coincides with our observation that polysyllabic verbs that used to belong to the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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$_{2/3}$V* yields Hitt. /CRHV-/, spelled *CaR(aḫ)ḫV-*, the cluster **CRh$_1$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$_1$V-*. On the basis of this discovery, we must phonologically interpret the simplex verb *parai-^{i} / pari-* as /prʔai- / prʔi-/ < **prh$_1$-oi- / *prh$_1$-i-*.

The imperfective *paripriške/a-*, which reflects **pri-prh$_1$-sḱé/ó-* (cf. *zikke/a-* < **d^{h}h$_1$sḱe/o-* from *dai-^{i} / ti-* for the absence of *-i-* in the imperfective), shows that the regular outcome of **CRHsC* is /CRɨsC/, however, and not **/CəRɨsC/ or /CRʔɨsC/.

parā(-)nekna- (c.) 'half-brother(?), step-brother(?)': acc.pl. *pa-ra-a* ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}*-uš*

See CHD P: 129: hapax in KUB 26.1 iii 59, where it is mentioned next to ŠEŠ^{MEŠ} '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)rā́nTa/. 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 /r/ 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'".

pararaḫḫ-^{i} (IIb) 'to chase(?)': 2pl.pres.act.? *pa-ra-ra-aḫ-t*[*a-ni*$^{?}$] (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-ra-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (OH/NS).

PIE **pro-r-eh$_2$-*

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 *-aḫḫ-* of a stem *parara-*. Soysal (1988: 118, 125f.) convincingly compared it with the verb *katteraḫḫ-*^{i} 'to lower', which is a factitive in *-aḫḫ-* of a stem *kattera-* which itself is derived from *katta* 'down' (q.v.). This would mean that in the case of *pararaḫḫ-*^{i} the stem *parara-* is derived from *parā* 'in front, forth'. Semantically, we then can assume that just as *katta* 'down' corresponds to *katteraḫḫ-*^{i} 'to lower (*to make go down)', *parā* 'forth' corresponds to *pararaḫḫ-*^{i} 'to make go forth > to chase'. See at *parā* for further etymology. Soysal's suggestion that a contracted form of *pararaḫḫ-*^{i} yielded *parḫ-*^{zi} 'to chase' (q.v.) does not make much sense as such a contraction is phonetically irregular and *ad hoc*. Besides, *parḫ-* 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^{MEŠ} 'troops', but its meaning cannot be determined. Possibly, it is cognate with *parāšešš-*^{zi} 'to disperse' (q.v.).

parāšešš-^{zi} (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^{MEŠ}. Especially the fact that the verb *parāšešš-* can have ERIN^{MEŠ} 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-*^{zi} / *šaš-*), probably goes back to a misinterpretation of one of the 3pl.pret.-forms of this verb.

^{NA4}***parašḫa-*** (c.), ^{NA4}***parušḫa-*** (c.), ^{NA4}***parašḫi-*** (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-ḫa-an* (MH//MS?), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ba-ra-aš-ḫi* (MH/NS), *pa-ra-aš-ḫi* (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. *marḫašītu*-glass, which originates in *Marḫaši* (also written *Barašḫi* and *Paraši*).

Note that the alteration *parašḫa-* : *parušḫa-* 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 /prasC-/, which contrasts with the spelling *pár-aš-C* that stands for /parsC-/ or /prsC-/ (see e.g. at *paršdu-*).

parašdu-: see *paršdu-*

paraštuḫḫa-: see *parštuḫḫa-*

parašza : see *parza*

$^{(LÚ)}$***parāuu̯ant-*** (c.) 'supervisor': nom.sg. *pa-ra-a ú-u̯a-an-za* (MH?/NS), acc.sg. *pa-ra-a-ú-u̯a-an-da-an* (NH).

Derivatives: $^{(LÚ)}$***parāuu̯atalla-*** 'lookout' (acc.pl. *pa-ra-a-ú-u̯a-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-^{i} / u-* 'to see'. The fact that sometimes no word space is written, indicates that synchronically they function as univerbations.

parḫ-^{zi} (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*]*ḫ-mi* (NS), 2sg.pres.act. *pár-aḫ-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aḫ-zi* (OS), *pár-ḫa-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ḫa-i* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫa-i* (MH/MS), *pár-ḫa-a-i* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫa-a-i* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ḫa-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MH?/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ḫu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-aḫ-ta* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *pár-ḫa-aš* (NH), [*p*]*ár-ḫi-i̯a-at* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *pár-ḫu-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ḫe-er* (OH/NS), *pár-aḫ*-[*ḫe-er*] (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-aḫ-du* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pár-aḫ-tén* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ḫa-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *pár-ḫa-an-ta* (OH), 3pl.imp.midd. *pár-ḫa-an-ta-ru* (MH/MS); part. *pár-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/MS, OH/NS); verb.noun *pár-ḫu-u̯a-ar*

(MH/MS), *pár-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar* (MH/MS); inf.I *pár-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-a*[*n-zi*] (MH/MS); sup. *pár-ḫu-u̯a-an* (OH/MS); impf. *pár-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *pár-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***parḫanna-^{i} / parḫanni-*** (IIa5) 'to chase (impf.)' (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ḫa-an-na-i* (MH/MS)), ***parḫanu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to make gallop' (3sg.pres.act. *pár-ḫa-nu-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *pár-ḫa-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pár-aḫ-ḫa-nu-uš-ke/a* (MH/MS)), ***parḫeššar / parḫešn-*** (n.) 'haste, urgency; forced march' (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ḫe-eš-šar* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *pár-ḫe-eš-ni* (NH), *pár-ḫi-iš-ni* (NH), abl. *pár-ḫé-eš-n*[*a-za*] (OH/NS), *pár-ḫe-eš-na-az* (NH), *pár-ḫe-eš-na-za* (NH), *pár-ḫi-iš-na-az* (NH), *pár-ḫi-iš-na-za* (NH)), ***parḫuu̯ar*** (n.) a token 'chasing across' (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ḫu-u̯a-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*), ***parḫ-*** 'to drive, to chase' (3sg.imp.act. *pár-ḫa-ad-du*).

IE cognates: Skt. *bhar^{i}-* 'to move rapidly to and fro, to hurry', YAv. *barəṇti* (loc.abs.) 'when it storms'.

PIE **b^{h}érh$_{2/3}$-ti*, **b^{h}rh$_{2/3}$-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 (*parḫa-^{i}*) 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-aḫ-zi* and *pár-ḫa-zi* shows that we have to phonologically interpret this form as /párHt^{s}i/. As a *mi*-verb, the original inflection must have been **Pérh$_{2/3}$-ti*, **Prh$_{2/3}$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^{s}i / prHánt^{s}i/, spelled *parḫzi*, *parḫanzi*, whereas in Luwian the *ḫ*-less singular form is generalized, yielding *parti*, **paranzi* (if indeed 3sg.pres. *paratti* belongs to this verb). The CLuwian form with *-ḫ-* (3sg.imp.act. *parḫaddu*) is seen by Melchert (1993b: 167) as a possible Ištanuwian dialect-form.

Regarding the outer-Anatolian etymology, different views have been put forth. Hrozný (1919: 110[1]) compared *parḫ-* to Gr. περάω 'to penetrate', which is semantically not satisfactory. Oettinger (1979a: 213f.) plausibly connects *parḫ-* with Skt. *bhar^{i}-* 'to move rapidly, to hurry', which is semantically as well as formally more compelling. This means that we have to reconstruct **b^{h}erh$_{2/3}$-*.

Often, Lat. *fervō* 'to boil' is seen as a cognate as well, but this verb probably reflects *$*b^herh_1$-u-* (see Schrijver 1990: 252ff.) and therefore cannot be cognate (because *$*-h_1$-* does not yield Hitt. *-ḫ-*).

parḫūu̯aia- (gender unclear) an animal, 'fish?': gen. *pár-ḫu-u-u̯a-ia-aš* (OH/NS).

The word occurs only once: KBo 10.33 + KBo 10.28 v (2) UZU[.ḪÁD].DU.A *pár-ḫu-u-u̯a-ia-aš* 'dried meat of the *p.*'. Tischler (HEG P: 458) connects this word with the broken form *pár-ḫu*[-...], found in an enumeration in KBo 10.36 iii (4) [^{UZ}]^{U}*AR-NA-BI* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *pár-ḫu*[-...], which has a seeming parallel in KBo 10.52, (10) [^{UZU}*A*]*R-NA-BI* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ KU$_6^{ḪI.A}$ *iz*-[...]. This would mean that *parḫu*[-...] has to be read as KU$_6^{ḪI.A}$ 'fish' (thus Otten in the preface of KBo 10). CHD (P: 148) speaks against this equation, however, because KU$_6$ is always phonetically completed as an *u*-stem, which would not fit the form *parḫūu̯aiaš*. Tischler argues that *parḫūu̯aiaš* may be a derivative of the *u*-stem *parḫu-* and does not have to be the reading of KU$_6$ itself. If the word for 'fish' was *parḫu-*, Weeks (1985: 48) connects it with *parḫ-* 'to chase' (q.v.), because of the swiftness of fishes (*$*b^hrh_{2/3}$-u-*). Both the word *parḫūu̯aiaš* as well as the broken *parḫu*[-...] are spelled with the sign *pár*, which in principle can be read *maš* as well. Then the words (*mašḫu*[-...] and *mašḫūu̯aia-*) would resemble the word *mašḫuil(a)-* 'mouse' (q.v.).

pariia̯n (postpos., prev., adv.) 'across, over, beyond; over to, across to; in opposition to; in front': *pa-ri-ia-an* (MH/MS), *pa-ri-e-an* = *pa-ri-ia$_x$-an* ? (MH/MS), *pa-a-ri-ia-an* (NH).

Derivatives: ***pariianalla-*** (adj.) 'future' (abl. [*p*]*a-ri-ia-na-al-la-az*), ***par(r)ianta*** (adv.) 'beyond' (*pa-ri-ia-an-t*[*a*], *pa-ri-ia-an-da*, *pár-ri-an-ta*), ***pariiau̯an*** (adv.) 'on the other side(?)' (*pa-ri-ia-u̯a-an*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pariian*** (adv., prepos.) 'beyond, exceedingly, especially (?)' (*pa-ri-ia-an*, *pa-ri-ia-am=ša*), ***pāriianalla/i-*** (adj.) 'future' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *pa-a-ri-ia-na-a-al*, *pa-ri-ia-na-al-la-an*); HLuw. ***pari*** (adv.) 'forth, away' (*pa+ra/i*, *pa+ra/i-i-´* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §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-ia-an*, which seems to point to /prian/. The few NS spellings with plene *-a-*, *pa-a-ri-ia-an*, may be non-probative. The word likely is a derivative in **-om* (note that *-m* is still visible in CLuw. *pa-ri-ia-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 *$b^hrǵ^h$-i- ??

This word occurs only once in KUB 8.2 rev. (11) [..]x *ú-e-te-*[*na-a*]*n-da-an pár-ki-i* KUR-*i*[..]. CHD P: 160 suggests to connect it to the group of words having *park-* 'high' as stem (see *parkiie/a-*^{zi}). 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'.

parkiie/a-^{zi}, ***park-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (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-***^{zi} (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$_4$-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$_4$-aš-ti*), ***parkēšš-***^{zi} (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)), ***parkiianu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to raise, to make rise' (3pl.pres.act. *pár-ki-ia-nu-ua-an-zi* (NH), *pár-ki-i*[*a*]*-nu-an-zi* (NH)), ***parku- / pargau-*** (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-u̯a-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ga-a-u-u̯a-aš* (MH/NS)), ***parkuu̯atar*** (n.) 'height' (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-u̯a-tar* (MH/NS)), ***parkuēšš-***[zi] (Ib2) 'to become tall' (3sg.pret.act. *pár-ku-iš*[!]*-ta* (NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pár-ku-e-eš-du* (OH/NS)), ***pargau̯ēške/a-***[zi] (Ic6) 'to become high or tall' (3sg.imp.midd. *pár-ga-u-e-eš-kad-*[*d*]*a-ru*).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***parraia-*** (adj.) 'high' (dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ra-i̯a-an-za*, abl.-instr. *pár-ra-i-i̯a-*[*ti*], [*p*]*á*[*r-r*]*a-i̯a-ti*).

IE cognates: Arm. *barrnam*, aor. *ebarj* 'to raise', *barjr* 'high', Skt. *barh-* 'to make strong', *bṛhánt-* 'high', TochB *pärk-* 'to arise', ON *bjarg*, *berg* 'mountain'.

PIE midd. **b*^{h}*érǵ*^{h}*-to*; act. **b*^{h}*rǵ*^{h}*-i̯é/ó-*; adj. **b*^{h}*rǵ*^{h}*-(e)u-*

See CHD P: 155f. for attestations. One of the verbal forms is spelled *pár-ak-ki-i̯a-* 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. Altough the bulk of the attestations inflect according to the *-i̯e/a-*class, there are a few unextended forms. In the oldest texts (OH/MS), we find 3sg.pret.act. *parkiu̯at* vs. 3sg.imp.midd. *parktaru*. These forms point to an original situation in which the stem *parkiu̯e/a-* is used in the active only and the unextended stem *park-* in the middle (compare e.g. *ḫuett-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ besides *ḫuttiu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to draw, to pull' or *u̯ešš-*$^{tta(ri)}$ besides *u̯asse/a-*^{zi} < **us-ié/ó-* 'to wear').

Sturtevant (1930c: 216) etymologically connected this verb and its derivatives with the PIE root **b*^{h}*erǵ*^{h}*-*, 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- / pargau̯-* 'high' beautifully corresponds with Arm. *barjr* 'high' < **b*^{h}*rǵ*^{h}*-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. *parrai̯a-* must reflect **b*^{h}*rǵ*^{h}*-ei-o-* vel sim., in which **ǵ*^{h} 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*[!] 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- / parkuu̯ai- (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-i̯š*[!], 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-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (NS), *pár-*

ku-u̯a-aš (NS), loc.sg. *pár-ku-u̯a-i* (MH), abl. *pár-ku-u̯a-i̯a-az* (NH), *pár-ku-u̯a-i̯a-za* (NH), *pár-ku-u̯a-i-i̯a-z*[*a*] (NH), instr. *pár-ku-u̯a-a-it* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *pár-ku-u̯a-e-eš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-u̯a-a-eš* (NH), *pár-ku-u̯a-a-iš* (NS), *pár-ku-u̯a-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-u̯a-e* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-u̯a-i̯a* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-u̯a* (NH), loc.pl. *pár-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-i̯a-aš* (NH), *pár-ku-i-i̯a-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***parku(i̯)e/a-***^{zi} '(act.) to make clean, to clear (up); (midd.) to be(come) pure' (3pl.pres.act. *pár-ku-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS); 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ku-i-i̯a-ta-at* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-ku-i-ed-d*[*a-at*] (OH?/NS), *pár-ku-u̯a-at-ta* (NH)), ^{É}***parkuu̯a(i̯a)-***, a building (gen.pl. *pár-ku-u̯a-aš* (NH), dat.-loc.pl. *pár-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), abl.pl. *pár-ku-u̯a-i-i̯a-z*[*a*]), ***parkuu̯alli-*** (adj.) 'pure(?)' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pár-ku-u̯a-al-la*), ***parkuu̯antariie/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to be(come) pure(?)' 1sg.pres.act.(?) *pár-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯*[*a-mi*?] (NS)), ***parkui̯ātar / parkui̯ann-*** (n.) 'purification' (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-i̯a-a-tar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *pár-ku-i̯a-an-na-aš* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-e-an-na-aš* (MH?/NS?)), $^{(UZU)}$***parku(i) ḫaštāi*** (n.) a body part or cut of meat, 'pure-bone' (nom.-acc.sg. ^{UZU}*pár-ku-i ḫa-aš-ta-i* (NH), *pár-ku ḫa-aš-ta-a-i* (NH)), ***parkuemar*** (n.) 'purification(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ku-e-m*[*ar*?]), ***parkue-***^{zi} (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)), ***parkuēšš-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to cleanse, to purify; to declare innocent, to justifiy; to castrate; to clarify' (1sg.pres.act. *pár-ku-nu-mi* (MH/MS), *pár-ku-nu-um-mi* (OH/NS), *pár-ku-nu-uḫ-ḫi*, 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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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. ***parkuu̯a(i)-*** 'to cleanse, to purify' (part.nom.pl. *pár-ku-u̯a-i-mi-in-zi*), ***papparkuu̯a-*** 'to cleanse, to purify' (3sg.pres.act. *pa-ap-pár-ku-u̯a-at-ti*).

PAnat. *$*prk^w$-i-*

IE cognates: OHG *furben*, MHG *vürben* 'to clean'.

PIE adj. *$*prk^w$-(e)i-*; pres. *$*prk^w$-i̯e/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 (*$*sueh_2d$-u-*). With the identification of the Latin *-i-* in these adjectives (also e.g. *tenuis*, *brevis*, etc.) as the feminine suffix *$*-ih_2$-*, it was suggested that Hitt. *parkui-* shows *$*-ih_2$-* 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 *parki̯e/a-*^{zi} '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^{w}-/.

If we compare the CLuwian words, we have to reconstruct PAnat. *$*P(a)rk^w$-*, because PAnat. *$*-g^w$-* would have disappeared in Luwian. The geminate spelling *-pp-* in CLuw. *papparkuu̯a-* seems to point to an initial fortis stop as well (PAnat. *$*p(a)rk^w$-*), 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. *$*prpi̯é/ó$-*, which can go back to *$*prk^w$-i̯é/ó-*, showing the development *$*k^w$* > *$*p$* after resonant (as is visible in e.g. *$*u̯lk^w$-* > PGerm. **wulf-*, cf. Kortlandt 1997). This would show that we have to reconstruct a PIE root *$*prk^w$-* (it cannot be determined whether the full grade was *$*perk^w$-* or *$*prek^w$-*). I therefore reconstruct Hitt. *parkui- / parkuu̯ai-* as *$*prk^w$-(e)i-*.

Note that the verbal *-i̯e/o-*formation as visible in Germanic is possibly comparable to Hitt. *parku(i̯)e/a-^{zi}* ‘to make clean’ that could reflect **prk^{w}-i̯e/o-*.

parn-: see *per / parn-*

$^{\text{TÚG/GADA}}$***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 $^{\text{TÚG/GADA}}$*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 pár-ni-li 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-^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (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 *brъzъ* ‘fast’.

PIE **b^{h}érs-ti / *b^{h}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-/.

There has been some debate on the etymology of this verb. It has been argued that *parš-* is a *s*-derivative of the verb *parḫ-* ‘to chase’ (q.v.) (e.g. Sturtevant 1933: 72, 229). This is unlikely, however. First, a preform **prh$_2$-s-* or **perh$_2$-s-* in my view regularly should have yielded ***pr̥s-* or ***parr̥s-* (cf. *gane/iššanzi*

/knɨSánt^{s}i/ < *ǵnh$_3$sénti, *damme/išḫā-* /taMɨsHā́-/ < **demh$_2$sh$_2$ó-*). Secondly, this scenario is unlikely on semantic grounds: *parḫ-* 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 *parḫ-*. To my knowledge, the *s*-suffixed verbs in Hittite never show such a semantical development (e.g. *gane/išš-*^{zi} 'to recognize' is derived from *ǵneh$_3$- 'to know'; *kallišš-*^{zi} */ kališš-* 'to call' from *kelh$_1$- 'to call'; *paḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to protect' from *peh$_2$- 'to protect'; *pāš-*^{i} */ paš-* 'to swallow down' from *peh$_3$- 'to drink').

Other scholars (e.g. Knobloch 1959: 34, followed by Oettinger 1979a: 214) connect *parš-*^{zi} to Lat. *festīnāre* 'to hurry'. According to Schrijver (1990), this latter verb reflects *b^{h}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. *burzdùs* 'agile, active') as well, however, which could regularly reflect *b$^{(h)}$rs-d^{h}-. In my view, it is possible that *b$^{(h)}$rs-d^{h}-, which regularly yielded **brzd-*, has influenced *b$^{(h)}$rs-o- that then was altered to **brzo-*. Whether or not the BSl. forms are cognate, we find a root *b^{h}rs- 'hurry, haste' in Latin and Welsh, which would formally as well as semantically fit Hitt. *parš-*. I therefore reconstruct Hitt. *parš-*^{zi} as *b^{h}érs-ti / *b^{h}rs-énti. In the zero-grade forms, the *-s-* is adjacent to *-r-*, which causes fortition, yielding /prSánt^{s}i/, spelled *pár-aš-ša-an-zi*.

paršaḫannaš : see *parzaḫannaš*

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 *paršinuš* refers to 'genitals':

KUB 33.120 i

(24) *n=a-an=kán ne-pí-ša-az kat-ta ḫu-it-ti-et*

---

(25) *pár-ši-nu-uš=šu-uš ṷa-ak-ki-iš* LÚ-*na-tar=še-et=kán A-NA* ^{d}*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 masculanity 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 ḫa-a-ši nu-u=š-ši* [ZA]G-*an*
(15) GEŠTU=*ŠU pár-še-nu-(š)=šu-uš*
(16) [*m*]*a-ni-in-ku-u̯a-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 ḫa-a-ši nu-u=š-š*[*i* GEŠTU$^{UI.A}$=*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-*^{zi} ‘to squat(?), to crouch(?)’ is connected with *paršēna-* (already Pedersen 1938: 157f.), on the basis of which a connection between *paršēna-* and Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-* ‘heel’, Gr. πτέρνη ‘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 ***paršenae-*. If the verb *paršnae-* is derived from a body part, it could be of *paršna-* (q.v.).

parši-$^{a(ri)}$, ***parš-***$^{a(ri)}$ (IIIc > IIIg) ‘to break’: 1sg.pres.midd. *pár-aš-ḫa* (OS), *pá*[*r-a*]*š-ḫa-ri* (OS), 3sg.pres.midd. *pár-ši-i̯a* (OS), *pár-aš-ši-i̯a* (OH/MS), *pár-ši-i̯a-ri* (MS), *pár-ši-et-ta-ri* (MH/NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *pár-ša-an-da* (OS), *pár-ši-an-ta* (OS), *pár-ši-i̯a-an-da* (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. *pár-ši-et-ta-ru* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-ad-da-ru* (MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-ši-an-da-ru*; 1sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-mi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-am-mi* (NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-aš-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-ši-az-zi* (MH/MS), *pár-ši-i̯a-az-zi* (MS?), *pár-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-iz-zi*, *pár-ši-zi* (NH), *pa-ar-ši* (MH/NS), *pár-ši* (NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pár-šu-u̯a-ni* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/MS), *pár-ši-an-zi* (MH/NS), 1sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-nu-un* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-at* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *pár-ši-an-du* (NS); part. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-t-* (OS), *pár-ša-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *pár-š*[*i-i̯*]*a-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), gen.sg. *pár-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *pár-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *pár-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-u-an-zi* (MH/NS), *pár-ši-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pár-aš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***paršiia̯nna-***^{i} **/ *paršiia̯nni-*** (IIa5) ‘to break (impf.)’ (1sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-na-i* (OS), *pár-ši-i̯a-an-na-a-i* (OH/NS), *pár-ši-an-na-i* (MH/MS), *pár-ši-i-i̯a-an-na-i* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-ni-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-an-na-an-zi* (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-ni-et* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-ni-er* (NS); impf. *pár-ši-i̯a-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (OH?/NS), *pár-ši-i̯a-an-ni-eš-ke/a-* (MS)), ^{NINDA}***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-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to break up; to break open (with *arḫa*)’ (3sg.pret.act. *pár-ša-nu-ut* (NS); impf. *pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-* (NS)), ***paršeššar*** (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)), $^{\text{(NINDA)}}$***paršul-***, $^{\text{(NINDA)}}$***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-***^{zi} (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’.

PIE *$b^hrs(i̯e/o)$- ?

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 *paršii̯e/a-*. Note that the verb *paršae-*^{zi}, which inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class, is a derivative of the noun ^{NINDA}*parša-*, itself a nominal derivative of *parš(i̯e/a)-*$^{a(ri)}$.

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* < *$perh_3$- 'to provide'. The second one, a connection with Gr. φάρσος 'part', may have more merit if this word reflects *b^hrs-o-*. Kimball (1999: 239) further adduces OE *berstan*, OHG *brestan*, ON *bresta* 'to burst' < *b^hres-, which means that *parš(i̯e/a)-* may reflect *$b^hrs(i̯e/o)$-*.

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. *pā́rṣṇi-* '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=ši* EGIR-*pa iš-ki-ša-az ḫu-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-i̯a-*[*aš=ša-aš*]
(23) *i-na-an* KI.MIN ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU-*aš iš-ki-ša-a*[*š*$^{?}$*=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 ^{UZU}x[... *i-na-an* KI.MIN]
(26) *ge-e-mu-u̯a-aš=ša-aš i-na-an* KI.MIN ^{U}[$^{ZU?}$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. *pā́rṣṇi-* 'heel', Gr. πτέρνη '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$_2$-* as visible in Gr. πτέρνη and Goth. *fairzna*), but it should be noted that semantically it cannot be assured yet. For the question whether the verb *paršnae-^{zi}* '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: ^{LÚ}***paršna-*** (c.) 'leopard-man' (Sum. ^{LÚ}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-^{i}*

PIE **prs-no-*

See CHD P: 184f. for attestations. The different spellings *pár-ša-n°*, *pár-aš-n°* and *pár-aš-ša-n°* indicate that we have to phonologically interpret these words as /prSn°/.

Often, *paršna-* is seen as a Wanderwort (compared with e.g. Hatt. *ḫapraš-* 'leopard', OTurk. *bars*), but Oettinger (1986: 22) proposes to derive it from PIE **prs-no-* 'dappled, having spots', which is followed by Melchert (1994a: 175). Because the verbal root **pers-* is attested in Hittite (see at *papparš-^{i}*), I do not see severe objections against this etymology. See at *paršnae-^{zi}* 'to squat(?), to crouch(?)' for the possibility that this verb is derived from *paršna-* 'leopard'.

paršnae-^{zi} (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-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-ša-na-a-u-aš* (MS), *pár-ša-na-u-u̯a-aš*, *pár-aš-ša-na-a-u-u̯a-aš* (OH or MH/NS), *pár-aš-na-a-u-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-a-u-aš* (OH/MS?), *pár-aš-na-a-u̯a-aš* (NS), *pár-aš-na-u-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *pár-aš-na-u-aš* (OH/NS).

PIE **prsno-i̯e/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 *ḫatrae-* class) has to be interpreted as a derivative in *-i̯e/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 **prsno-i̯e/o-*.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***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 ^{NA_4}*parašḫa-* and *pa-ra-š*° as in *parašēšš-*^{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 $*b^hrsd^h$-, although a meaning 'leaf' of this latter word could be secondary.

parštuḫḫa- (c.) an earthenware cup(?) (Sum. $^{(DUG)}$GAL.GIR$_4$): acc.sg. *pár-aš-du-uḫ-ḫa-an* (MS), instr. *pár-aš-tu-uḫ-ḫi-it* (NS), acc.pl. *pár-aš-tu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* (NS), broken: *pár-aš-tu-u-uḫ-ḫ*[*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 *parštuḫḫa-* (cf. *paršdu-*). On the basis of alternations with $^{(DUG)}$GAL GIR$_4$, we have to conclude that *parštuḫḫa-* 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 *-ḫḫa-*. Such a suffix is further only attested in *annanuḫḫa-* 'trained(?)' (see at *annanu-*^{zi}).

paršur (n.) cooked dish (Sum. TU$_7$): 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 $*b^hrs$-u̯r

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(iie/a)-* 'to break' (q.v.): 'Brockengericht'. See there for further etymology.

paršza: see *parza*

$^{(UZU)}$***partāu̯ar / partāun-*** (n.) 'wing, feather': nom.-acc.sg. *pár-ta-u-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), *pár-ta-a-u-u̯a-ar* (OH or MH/MS?), *pár-ta-a-u-ar* (MS?), *pár-ta-a-u̯a-ar* (NS), *pár-ta-u̯a-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[?] 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-u̯a* (OH/MS), [*pá*]*r-ta-u-u̯a* (OH/MS), *pár-ta-a-u-u̯a-ar* (MH/MS), *pár-ta-u-u̯a-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 *perǫtъ* 'they fly', Skt. *parṇá-* 'wing', Lith. *spařnas* 'wing'.

PIE **prT-ó-u̯r / *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 *partāu̯ar* could denote both. This word belongs to the small class of words in *-āu̯ar / -aun-* (further *ašāu̯ar / ašaun-*, *ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-*, *karāu̯ar / karaun-* and *šarāu̯ar / šaraun-*), which on the basis of *ašāu̯ar* and *ḫaršāu̯ar* have to be analysed as **CC-āu̯ar*. As I have argued under the lemma *karāu̯ar / karaun-*, the suffix *-āu̯ar / -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-u̯r̥ / -ó-un-*. For *partāu̯ar* this means that we are dealing with a root *part-*. Within Hittite, such a root is only attested in the verb *partipartiške/a-*[zi], 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 *partāu̯ar* can be reconstructed **prT-ó-u̯r̥*.

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-[zi] (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* [d.GIŠ]GIM.MAŠ-*uš i-u̯a-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 *partāu̯ar / 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 *partāu̯ar / partāun-* 'wing, feather' (q.v.).

^{NA_4}***parušḫa-***: see ^{NA_4}*parašḫa-*

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. *práti* '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-ḗr-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. *práti* 'in the direction of'. Whereas Gr. πρότι seems to reflect **próti* and Skt. *práti* must reflect **préti*, Cret.

πορτί 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.).

parzaḫannaš, ***paršaḫannaš***, ***perzaḫannaš***, ***perešḫannaš***, ***peršaḫḫannaš*** (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: ≺ ***parzaḫanašši-*** (adj.), defining cattle (nom.sg.c. ≺ *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_4 '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 *šaḫḫan* '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 *šaḫḫan* is *šaḫḫanaš* with geminate *-ḫḫ-*, which contradicts the fact that *parzaḫannaš* usually shows single spelling. Nevertheless, the spellings *peršaḫḫannaš* and É-*eršaḫḫanaš* 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- ^{i} ***/ 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*$^{?}$*-a*[*n-zi*], 2sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta* (MH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ta* (MH/MS), *pa-a-aš-ta* (NH), ≺ *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 ≺ *pappaša-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *píbati* 'drinks', Gr. πίνω 'to drink', OCS *piti* 'to drink', OIr. *ebait* 'they drink', Lat. *bibere* 'to drink', Arm. *əmpe-* 'to drink'.

PIE **poh$_3$-s-ei / *ph$_3$senti*

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 *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-inflection is original here: *pāš-^{i} / paš-*.

For 3pl.pres.act., CHD cites two attestations. The form *pa-šḫ$^{?}$-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-^{i}* 'to swallow', and as 3pl.pres. of *peš-^{zi}* 'to rub'. I therefore would leave that form out of consideration here, which means that *pa-šḫ$^{?}$-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 *$*peh_3$-* 'to drink' and regarded as an *s*-extension: *$*peh_3$-s-*. So *pāši / pašanzi* reflects *$*póh_3$-s-ei / *ph_3$-s-énti*.

In CLuwian, a reduplicated derivative is found as well, see under *pappaša-*.

^{NINDA}***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 ^{NINDA}*pár-šu-*[*uš*] on this spot, which could mean that *pa-aš-šu-uš* and *pa-šu-*[*uš*] have to be read as *pár$^{!}$-aš-šu-uš* and *pár$^{!}$-šu-*[*uš*] and belong to ^{NINDA}*parša-* (see at *parš(iḫe/a)-* 'to break').

^{LÚ}***paš(š)andala-*** (c.) a servant in the palace kitchen, 'taster(?)': nom.sg. *pa-ša-an-da-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 ^{LÚ}*paššandala-* is unclear, it is formally possible that the word is derived from *pāš-^{i} / paš-* 'to swallow'. Therefore, a translation 'taster' is often found. See *pāš-^{i} / paš-* for further etymology.

pašiḫae-^{zi} (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 $^{(UZU)}$GAB-*(š)i pašiḫae-^{zi}* seems to denote 'to

betray'. Because of the many Luwian inflected forms and the late attestation in the Hittite corpus, *pašiḫae-* probably is a Luwian verb originally. Formally, it looks as if *pašiḫae-* is derived from a further unattested noun **pašiḫa-*. 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 **pašiḫa-* as **ps-iḫa-*, is awkward since a suffix *-iḫa-* is further unknown.

$^{(NA_4)}$***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*$^{!}$*-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-i̯a-aš* (OH or MH/NS).

Derivatives: ^{NA_4}***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. *paššili̯i̯aš*) occasionally occur as well. Already since Sturtevant (1930d: 126) the word has generally been connected with Skt. *bhásman-* 'ash' and Gr. ψῆφος 'pebble' from **b*^{h}*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 ^{NA_4}*paššuela-*.

pāšk-*^{i} / *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*$^{?}$*-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-i̯a-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-u̯a-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 variaty 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 ey 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-u̯a-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 *ḫi*-inflecting verb *pašk-*^{i}. If the one attestation [*p*]*a*$^{?}$*-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-*^{i} */ pašk-*. This inflection would fit the following forms: 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ka-aḫ-ḫi* = /páskHi/, 3pl.pres.act. *pa-aš-kán-zi* = /pskánt^{s}i/, 1sg.pres.act. *pa-aš-ga-aḫ*[*-ḫu-un*] = /páskHon/, 3pl.pret.act. *pa-aš-ke-er* = /pskér/ 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 *paškii̯e/a-*^{zi} (also in *pa-aš-ki-et*, *pa-aš-ki-i̯a-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-u̯a-ar* show a stem *paškae-*^{zi}, inflecting according to the *ḫatrae*-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-*^{i} */ pašk-* 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*$_2$*ǵ-* 'fest werden' or **peh*$_2$*ḱ-* '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.

paškuu̯-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi* (OH or MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ku-u̯a-nu-un* (NH), *pa*[*-aš-ku-u̯*]*a-a-nu-un* (NH), ≺ *pa-aš-ku-u̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pa-aš-ku-ut-ta* (MH/MS), *pa-aš-ku-u̯a-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^{w}i/ *pa-sà*-REL-*i* (SULTANHAN §20)).

PAnat. **Pask^{w}-*

See CHD P: 208-9 for attestations. The original stem is *pašku-*, which is visible in the MS forms *paškutta* and *paškuu̯anzi*. Especially the form 3sg.pret.act. *paškutta* (and not ***paškut*) shows that we have to phonologically interpret this stem as /pask^{w}-/. In NH times, the trivial transition into the *ḫatrae*-class yielded forms like *paškuu̯ānun* and *paškuu̯ait*. In HLuwian, we find a verbal form *pa-sà*-REL-*i* 'neglects' which likely is to be interpreted as /pask^{w}i/ (note the *ḫi*-inflection), which would indicate that the PAnat. form was **Pask^{w}*- (since **g^{w}* would have disappeared in Luwian). This is supported by the PN ^{f}*Pa-aš-ku-u̯a-am-mi-iš* (KUB 31.59 ii 4), which formally is to be interpreted as a Luwian participle of a stem *pašku(u̯a)-*. 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-u̯i$_5$* (NH), *pa-aš-šu-u-i*, *paš-šu-u-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *pa-aš-šu-u̯a-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$_4$'. 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. *pāṁsu-* 'dust'). I do not have a good alternative, however.

^{NA_4}***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$_4$ 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 $^{(NA_4)}$*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*, *bāṯ, bē, bōiṯ* (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-i̯a-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. *pàt* (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^hĕ/ŏ*" (Pokorny 1959: 113) as reconstructed on the basis of the emphasizin particles Av. *bā*, *bāṯ, bē, bōiṯ*, 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: 𒂍 ***padumma-*** 'foot(?) (of a bed)' (abl. 𒂍 *pa-du-um-ma-az-z=i-i̯a* (MH/NS)), ^{GIŠ}***pātii̯alli-*** 'leg, foot (of furniture)' (acc.sg. *pa-ti-i̯a-al-li-en*, dat.-loc.sg. *pa-ti-i̯a-al-li* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pa-a-ti-i̯a-al-li-i̯a-aš* (NS), *pa-ti-i̯a-al-li-i̯a-aš* (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pāta/i-*** 'foot' (abl.-instr. *pa-ta-ti*, coll.pl. GÌR^{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. $^{"PES"}$*pa-ta$_5$-´* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §12), $^{"PES"}$*pa-tà* (SULTANHAN §6), instr. $^{"PES"}$*pa+ra/i-ri+i* (ASSUR letters *f+g* §24), acc.pl. $^{"PES"}$*pa-ti-zi* (MARAŞ 4 §13), dat.-loc.pl. $^{"PES"}$*pa-tà-za* (KARATEPE 1 §22), $^{"PES"}$*pa+ra/i-za* (SULTANHAN §9)); Lyc. ***pede/i-*** 'foot' (abl.-instr. *pededi*).

IE cognates: Skt. *pád-* 'foot', *pā́da-* 'foot', Arm. *ot* 'foot', Gr. (Dor.) πώς, ποδός '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. GÌR-*iš* can be found, but this is incorrect: the form in fact is GÌR-*aš*. This makes nom.sg. GÌR-*iš* as indeed attested twice on the tablet KUB 9.4 (i 14 and 33) a hapax form. According to CHD this GÌR-*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 GÌR-*iš* is just a mistaken form.

On the basis of nom.sg. GÌR-*aš* and acc.sg. GÌR-*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: /pā́dus/ vs. /pdā́n/ and /pdā́s/. 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.?pl. GÌR^{MEŠ}*-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-*^{i} / *padd- (IIa1γ) '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?/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pád-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pád-d*[*a-aš*?] (MH?/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?), dat.-loc.sg. *pát-te-eš-ni* (OH/NS), *pát-te-iš-ni* (MH?/NS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *fodio* 'to dig', OCS *bodǫ* 'to stab', Lith. *bedù* 'to stick, to dig', etc.

PIE **b^{h}ód^{h}h$_2$-ei*, **b^{h}d^{h}h$_2$-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-*^{zi} '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 *bodǫ* 'to stab', Lith. *bedù* 'to stick, to dig', etc. These latter forms all seem to go back to a root **b^{h}ed^{h}-*, which is problematic because PIE **d^{h}* does

not correspond to Hitt. *-tt-*. Melchert (1984a: 26[55]) therefore reconstructs the root as **b^{h}ed^{h}h$_2$-*, referring to *mekki-* 'much, many' < **meǵh$_2$-i-* that shows that **Dh$_2$* > Hitt. *-T-* (followed in e.g. LIV[2]). Another problem is the fact that *padd(a)-* inflects according to the *tarn(a)*-class: *paddaḫḫi*, *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$_{2/3}$-* end up in the *tarn(a)*-class: the 3sg.pres.-form of roots of this structure, **CóCh$_{2/3}$-ei*, regularly yielded **CaCai* (and not ***CaCi*), on the basis of which these verbs were taken over into the *tarn(a)*-class (see *ḫarra-^{i} / ḫarr-* 'to grind', *iškalla-^{i} / iškall-* 'to slit, to tear', *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* 'to trample', *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill' and *šarta-^{i} / šart-* 'to wipe, to rub' for the same phenomenon). This would be an additional argument in favour of reconstructing a root **b^{h}ed^{h}h$_2$-* and not **b^{h}ed^h-*.

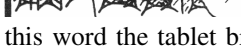
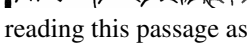
pattai-^{i} / patti- (IIa4 > Ic1, Ic2, IIa1γ) 'to run, to race; to flee; to fly': 1sg.pres.act. *pát-ti-i̯a-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pád-da-a-i* (OS), *pád-da-i*, *pád-da-a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pád-da-a-u-e-ni* (NS?), 3pl.pres.act. *pát-ti-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-an-zi* (OH/NS), *pát-t*[*e*]*-an-zi* (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*]*ád-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), *pát$^{!}$-ti-i̯*[*a-u-u̯a-ar*] (MS), gen.sg. [*pá*]*d-du-ma-aš* (NS), *pát-ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-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: ^{LÚ}***patteii̯ant-*** (c.) 'fugitive' (Akk. *MUNNABTUM*; nom.sg. *pát-te-i̯a-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-an-za* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-i̯a-an-za* (MH/NS), acc.sg. *pát-te-i̯a-an-da-an* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-ta-an* (MH/MS), *pát-ti-i̯a-an-da-an* (MH/NS), gen. *p*[*át-t*]*e-i̯a-an-ta-a*[*š*] (MH/MS), nom.pl. *pát-te-i̯a-an-te-eš* (MH/MS), *pát-te-an-te-e*[*š*] (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *pát-ti-i̯a-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), case? *pát-te-i̯a-an-ta-aš* (MH/MS)), $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***patteii̯antili***, $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***pattiii̯antili*** (adv.) 'in the manner of a fugitive' (*pát-te-an-ti-li* (OS), *pát-te-i̯a-an-ti-l*[*i*] (NH), *pát-ti-i̯a-an-ti-li* (OH/NS), *pát-ti-an-ti-li* (NH)), ***pattiii̯ali-***, ***paddalli-*** (adj.) 'swift' (nom.sg.c. *pát-ti-i̯a-li-iš* (MH/MS), *pád-da-al-li-iš* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *pát-ti-i̯a-li-in*, *pát-t*[*e-i̯a-li-in*] (OH?/NS), nom.pl.c. *pát-ti-i̯a-li-e-eš* (OH or MH/MS?),

[*pát-t*]*i-i̯a-a-li-eš* (OH/NS)), ***pattinu-***^{zi} (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$_1$-ói-ei*, **pth$_1$-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-i̯t-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 afther 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 pi̯-i̯t-t*[*a-i*], one could just as well argue for reading this passage as  = *ta-aš pít-tạ-i̯*[..].

A second instance of a spelling *pí-it-* is found in KBo 3.34 ii (35) *ni-ku-ma-an-za ú-u̯a-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 *ḫatrae*-class and not according to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class, and therefore I assume that it rather belongs with *pittae-*^{zi} ‘to bring, to render’ than with *pattai-*^{i} / *patti-* (although we do find *ḫatrae*-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 ḫar-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 ^{LÚ}*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 "^{LÚ}*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-^{i} / patti-* (but note that in all the other literature this verb is cited as *pittai-*, *pitti-* or *pittiia-*).

The oldest forms of this verb clearly point to the *dāi/tiianzi-*inflection: *pattāi / pattiianzi*. In younger texts we find forms that show a stem *pattiie/a-^{zi}* (which is common in *dāi/tiianzi-*verbs) and *pattae-^{zi}* (according to the *ḫatrae-*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^2 cites three different roots, **peth$_1$-* 'fallen', **peth$_2$-* 'ausbreiten' and **peth$_2$-* '(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/tiianzi-*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-ia-an-zi* as /ptắi/, /ptiántˢi/ (so with an initial cluster /pt-/, which may explain the fact that no spellings with ***pa-at-* are attested).

The derivative ^{LÚ}*patteiant-* '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-* > *pattiiant-*. This form indeed is attested, but in the younger texts only. In the oldest texts (OS) we only find *pát-te-ia-an-t-*, which implies a reconstruction **ptH-ei-ent-* (cf. ^{LÚ}*maiant-* 'adult man' < **mh$_2$-ei-ent-* besides part. *miiant-* 'grown' <

mh_2-i-ent-). If this analysis is correct, it would imply that reconstructing a root *$peth_2$- now has become impossible, as *pth_2-ei-ent- would have given **pattaia̯nt-*. I therefore reconstruct *pth_1-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 *patteia̯nt-*, or to the confusion of the signs TE and TI in younger times (cf. Melchert 1984a: 137).

(TÚG)***patalla-*** (gender unclear) 'puttee(?), leg wrapping(?)': instr. *pa-tal-li-it* (MH/NS), broken *pa-ta-al-la*[-..] (NH).

Derivatives: ***patalliia̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to tie feet, to fetter' (3pl.imp.act. *pa-tal-li-ia̯-an-du* (MH/NS)).

See CHD P: 238 and 240 for attestations. The word is probably derived from *pāt- / pat-* 'foot' (q.v.). The connection with (GIŠ)*patalḫa-* 'sole of foot; fetter' is unclear. If they belong together, *patalḫa-* should reflect *$p(o)d\text{-}lh_2o$-, whereas *patalla-* < *$p(o)d\text{-}olh_2o$-.

(GIŠ)***patalḫa-*** (c.) 'sole of the foot; way of acting, behaviour; wooden fetter': nom.sg. *pa-tal-ḫa-aš* (OH/NS), *ba-tal-ḫa-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pa-ta-al-ḫa-an* (MS?), *pa-tal-ḫa-an* (NS), abl. *pa-tal-ḫa-z=a-at=kán* (MH/NS), instr. *pa-tal-ḫi-it* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *pa-tal-ḫu-uš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***patalḫae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to fetter(?)' (1sg.pres.act. [*pa-*]*tal-ḫa-e-mi* (OS), part. ≺ *pa*$^{!}$*-tal-ḫa-an-t-* (NH)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***patalḫa(i)-*** 'to fetter(?)' (inf. *pa-tal-ḫa-ú-na*, part. [*pa-tal*]*-ḫa-a-im-ma*), ***patalḫiia̯mman-*** 'fettering(?)' (nom.-acc.pl. *pa-tal-ḫi-ia̯-ma*).

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 *-lḫ-* can only have survived if it reflects *$Clh_{2/3}V$ (whereas **VlHV* > *VllV*). Combining these arguments would lead to a reconstruction *$p(o)dlh_2o$-. The connection between *patalḫa-* and *patalla-* 'fetter(?)' (q.v., with derivative *patalliia̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to tie feet, to fetter') is unclear. If *patalḫa-* reflects *$p(o)d\text{-}lh_2o$-, does *patalla-* then reflect *$p(o)d\text{-}olh_2o$-?

(UZU)***pattar / pattan-*** or UZU***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: ***pattarpalḫi-*** (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-ya-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 **póth₂-r / *pth₂-én-* or **péth₂(ō)r / *peth₂-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 "$^{(UZU)}$*pattar* or $^{(UZU)}$*pittar*", but consensus has it to read this word as *pattar*. Note that with a reading *pattar*, this word would become homophonic to $^{(GI,\ GIŠ)}$*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^2 distinguishes three roots: **peth₁-* 'to fall' (Gr. πίπτω, ἔπετον 'to fall'), **peth₂-* 'to fly' (Gr. πέτομαι, ἔπτατο 'to fly') and **peth₂-* 'to spread out' (Gr. πίτνημι 'to spread out'). In my view, it is likely that **peth₂-* 'to fly' and **peth₂-* '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 /p(a)tn-/ or as /p(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. *paḫḫuenaš* << **ph₂-u̯én-s*, *u̯idenaš* << **ud-én-s*). If the root was **peth₂-*, however, then **h₂* could be held responsible for colouring **-en-* to *-an-*: **pth₂-én-s* >> *pattanaš* (with trivial introduction of the full grade in the root and the replacement of the gen.-ending by **-os*, so virtually **poth₂-en-os*). Note that this would exclude reconstructing a root **pet-* or **peth₁-*. If we read the sign BAD with the vowel *-e-*, so *pettar / pettan-*, we would have to adept our reconstruction to **péth₂-(ō)r*, *peth₂-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 *pettar / pettan*-.

$^{(GI.\ GIŠ)}$***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 / pattan*-. 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 homophonic with $^{(UZU)}$*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 *ēšḫar / išḫan*- 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*$_2$- ‘to spread out’, but I do not understand the semantic connection. See at the lemma $^{(UZU)}$*pattar / pattan*- ‘wing, feather’ for the possibility that this word is identical to ‘basket’. Other etymologies include connections with Skt. *pā́tra*- ‘bowl, vessel’ (but this reflects **peh*$_3$*-tro*- from **peh*$_3$- ‘to drink’) and Gr. πατάνη ‘dish’ (difficult to judge formally). All in all, the etymology of this word is not fully clear.

GIŠ***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*).

See CHD P: 247f. for attestations and discussion. On the basis of the Hittite contexts, the exact meaning of GIŠ*paddur / pattun-* cannot be determined: it is clear that it refers to some object, and the consistent use of the determinative GIŠ indicates that that object is made of wood. In a CLuwian context, we find an abl.-instr. *battunāti* that glosses the sumerogram GIŠNÀGA 'mortar', however. If this CLuw. *battun-* is to be equated with the oblique stem of Hitt. GIŠ*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 *-u̯er-/-u̯en-*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 ḫar(k)-zi* 'to have, to hold', *peḫute-zi / peḫut-* 'to lead, to bring', *peie-zi / pei-* 'to send', *penna-i / penn-* 'to drive (there)', *peššiie/a-zi* 'to throw away', *peda-i / ped-* 'to take, to carry', *paii-zi / pai-* 'to go'.

PIE **h₁p-oi*

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 *paii-zi / pai-* 'to go' (antonym of *ue-zi / u̯a-* 'to come' from the simplex *i-zi*, *ie/a-tta(ri)* 'to go') no vowel *-e-* can be found. According to Melchert (1994a: 133), *pe-* must reflect **pĕ*, which he concludes on the basis of an equation of Hitt. *peššiie/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 *pasiia-* (or noun, for that matter) in the HLuwian corpus (see also at *peššiie/a-zi*). In order to explain the verb *paii-zi / pai-*, Melchert (1994a: 177) states that the preform **pe-h₁i-enti* regularly yields

**pai̯anzi* due to the sound law **eh₁i̯* > Hitt. *ai̯*. He then assumes that the stem *pai̯-* has spread throughout the paradigm, replacing the full-grade stem **pe-h₁ei-* which regularly should have given Hitt. ***pē-*. In my view, the development **eh₁i̯* > *ai̯* cannot be substantiated: all alleged examples of it (e.g. *dāi* < **dai̯e* < **dʰeh₁i-ei*) have to be explained differently (I reconstruct *dāi* < **dāi̯e* as **dʰh₁-ói-ei*). All in all, Melchert's reconstruction of *pe-* as **pĕ* 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 *pai̯i-*^{zi} / *pai-*. Although I do not think that Eichner's interpretation of the latter verb is fully correct (he assumes that **poi-h₁iénti* regularly yields **pai̯anzi* > *pānzi*, whereas e.g. **h₂uh₁iénti* > OH *ḫui̯anzi* 'they run' shows that such a preform should have yielded OH ***pai̯anzi* with a preserved intervocalic *-i̯-*), 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 **h₁ep-i*. I therefore reconstruct *pe-* as **h₁p-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 **h₁poi* + **h₂erk-*

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 univerbated form *pé-ḫar-kán*. Although this latter form shows that eventually the verb and preverb were univerbated, 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*.

peḫute-^{zi} / peḫut- (Ia1) ‘to lead, to bring, to conduct (there)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-ši* (OH?/NS?), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-ḫu-te-zi* (OS), *pé-ḫu-te-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-ez-zi* (OH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-zi* (NH), [*pé-*]*e-ḫu-ut-te-zi* (1x, NS?), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-e-ḫu-tu-um-me-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-e-ḫu-‹te-›et-ta-ni* (OH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-et-te-ni* (MH/MS, OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi* (OS), *pé-ḫu-da-an-zi* (OS? or MS?), [*pé*]*-e-ḫu-te-en-zi* (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-nu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-ḫu-te-nu-un* (OH/NS), 2sg.pret.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-eš* (NS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-et* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-ḫu-te-et* (MH/MS, OH/NS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-et* (MH?/MS?, OH/NS), 2pl.pret.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-et-te-en* (OH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pé-ḫu-te-er* (MH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *pé-ḫu-te* (MH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te* (NH), [*pé-e-ḫ*]*u-ti*, 3sg.imp.act. *pé-ḫu-te-ed-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-e-ḫu-te-et-tén* (OH/MS), *pé-e-ḫu-te-et-te*[*-en*] (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *pé-e-ḫu-da-an-du* (NH); part. *pé-e-ḫu-da-an-t-* (NH), *pé-ḫu-da-an-t-* (MH/MS); impf. *pé-ḫu-te-eš-ke/a-* (NH), [*pé*]*-e-ḫu-te-eš-ke/a-* (NH), [*pé-e-ḫ*]*u-te-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

PIE **h$_1$poi-h$_2$ou-d^{h}eh$_1$ti / *h$_1$poi-h$_2$ou-d^{h}h$_1$enti*

See CHD P: 257f. for attestations. Because of the spelling BI-*e-ḫu-*, which clearly must be read *pé-e-ḫu-*, the spelling BI-*ḫu-* must be read *pé-ḫu-* as well. The verb denotes ‘to lead, to bring (there)’ and functions as the opposite of *uu̯ate-^{zi} / uu̯at-* ‘to bring here’.

Oettinger (1979a: 125, following Watkins 1969a: 69) analyses this verb as **pē* + *h$_2$au* + *dē-*, which seems basically correct to me. The element **h$_2$au* is equated by Oettinger with *ḫu* as found in *eḫu* ‘come!’. I agree with him, but would further equate this element with the prefix *u-* ‘hither’, which I reconstruct as **h$_2$ou*. The verbal stem **te-^{zi} / t-* evidently goes back to PIE **d^{h}eh$_1$-* ‘to put, to place’ (see at *tē-^{zi}*). All in all, I reconstruct **h$_1$poi-h$_2$ou-d^{h}eh$_1$-ti / *h$_1$poi-h$_2$ou-d^{h}h$_1$-enti*.

peii̯anae-^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to reward (someone)’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-i̯a-na-a-mi* (MH/MS), *pé-i̯a-na-mi* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *pé-i̯a-na-a-iz-zi* (MH?/MS?), *pé-i̯a-na-iz-zi* (MH?/MS?, OH/NS), *pé-i-i̯a-na-iz-zi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-i̯a-na-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *pé-i̯a-na-it* (OH/NS), *pé-i̯a-na-a-it* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. [*pé-i̯*]*a-na-at-te-en* (NS); inf.I *pé-i̯a-na-u-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pé-i̯a-na-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *pé-e-i̯a-na-u-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *pé-i̯a-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***peii̯anazziie/a-$^{(tt)a\,(ri)}$*** (IIIg) ‘to be rewarded’ (2sg.pres.midd. *pé-i̯a-na-az-zi-at-ta*, 3pl.pres.midd. [*pé^{ʔ}-i̯*]*a^{ʔ}-na-az-zi-an-da*).

See CHD P: 249f. for attestations. It is not fully clear whether we are dealing with a verb *piḭanae-* or *peḭanae-*. The latter interpretation is obligatory in one form, viz. BI-*e-ḭa-na-u-u̯a-an-zi*, which must be read *pé-e-ḭa-* = /peia-/. Most other forms are spelled with BI-*ḭa-*, which normally would stand for *pí-ḭa-*, but in principle can be read *pé-ḭa-* as well. Two forms are spelled BI-*i-ḭa-*, which seem to point to *pí-i-ḭa-*, but if necessary, could be read *pé-i-ḭa-* = /peia-/ as well. I therefore cite this verb as *peḭanae-*^{zi} here.

The verb clearly belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which means that it is denominative. At first sight we would assume that it is derived from a noun **peḭana-*, but since I know of no other examples of *ḫatrae*-verbs that end in *-anae-*, I am wondering to what extent it is possible to assume that the basic noun was **peḭan-* (an *n*-stem). This latter noun would structurally be comparable to e.g. *me(i̯)an-* 'range (of a year), extent'.

At first sight, this **peḭan-*, which probably meant 'reward' or sim., seems to be connectable with *pai-*^{i} */ pi-* 'to give' (q.v.). If the *e*-vowel of *peḭanae-* is real, this is difficult to coincile with *pai-/pi-*, however. Therefore, one could perhaps better assume a connection with *peḭe-*^{zi} */ peḭ-* 'to send' (q.v.). This would mean that *peḭanae-* goes back to virtual **$h_1$poi+$h_{1/3}$ih_1-on-oḭe/o-*. See at *peḭe-*^{zi} */ peḭ-* for further etymology.

Note that Tischler (HEG P: 611f.) cites this verb under "*piyannai-/piyanniya-*", with which he means the imperfective *piḭanna-*^{i} */ piḭanni-* (see under *pai-*^{i} */ pi-* 'to give'). This is incorrect: not only do the forms of the verb *peḭanae-* (or *piḭanae-* if one chooses to read it thus) specifically not fit the paradigm of *piḭanna/i-* (for which we would expect **piḭannaḫḫi*, **piḭannatti*, **piḭannai*, **piḭanniu̯eni*, **piḭanništeni*, **piḭanniḭanzi*), also the single spelling of *-n-* makes *peḭanae-* clearly distinct from the imperfective *piḭanna/i-* (imperfectives in *-anna/i-* are consistently spelled with geminate *-nn-*).

peḭe-^{zi} ***/ peḭ-*** (Ia1 > Ic1 > Ic2) 'to send': 1sg.pres.act. *pé-i-ḭa-mi* (MH/MS), *pé-i-e-mi* (MH/NS), *pé-e-i-mi* (OH/NS), *pé-ḭa-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-ḭa-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-e-i-ḭa-i*[*z-zi*] (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-e-i-ḭa-an-zi* (MH/MS?), *pé-i-ḭa-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-ḭa* (MH/MS), *pé-i-ḭa* (NS); 3pl.pres.midd. *pé-an-da-ri* (or *pí-an-da-ri* and then belonging to *pai-*^{i} */ pi-*?); part. *pé-e-ḭa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *pé-ḭa-an-t-* (MH/MS), *pé-an-t-*; inf.I *pé-i-ḭa-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *pé-ḭa-u-(u̯a)-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pé-e-i-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *pé-e-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***peškattalla-***, ***pe(i̯a)škattalla-*** (c.) ‘deliverer’ (nom.sg. *pé-e-iš-kat-tal-la-aš* (NS), [*p*]*é*$^{?}$*-i̯a-aš-kat-tal-la-aš* (NS), [*p*]*é-iš-kat-tal-la-aš* (NS), *pé-iš-ga-ta*[*l-la-aš*]), see *pei̯anae-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Gr. ἵημι ‘to release, to make go, to let go’, Lat. *iaciō*, *iēci* ‘to throw’.

PIE h_1*poi*+*$h_{1/3}$*ieh*$_1$*-ti / h_1*poi*+*$h_{1/3}$*ih*$_1$*-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-i̯a-an-zi* and BI-*e-i̯a-an-za*, CHD choses to interpret the stem as *pei̯e/a-*, and to read all attestations as written with *pé-*, which I have followed. The verb means ‘to send (there)’ and contrasts with *u̯e-*^{zi} */ u̯i̯-* ‘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*$_1$*-* (for the first laryngeal, cf. Peters 1976: Gr. ἵημι < **Hi-Hieh*$_1$*-mi*).

The exact interpretation of the Hittite formation is difficult. At first sight, we seem to be dealing with a *-i̯e/a-*verb (*pé-i-ia-mi* /peiami/ vs. *pé-i-e-ez-zi* /peiet^{s}i/), which seems to point to *pe*+**Hih*$_1$*-i̯e/o-*. If we assume a root-present, however (which is the usual formation in univerbated verbs with *pe-*), we have to reconstruct *pe*+**Hieh*$_1$*-ti*, *pe*+**Hih*$_1$*-enti*. These latter forms should regularly yield Hitt. /peiet^{s}i/, /peiant^{s}i/, as is attested in the oldest texts: *pé-i-e-ez-zi* (OS) and *pé-e-i-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS). Starting from such a paradigm, a development into the *-i̯e/a-*class is trivial (cf. *u̯e-*^{zi} */ u̯u̯a-* ‘to come’ on the basis of *u̯e-zzi / u̯u̯-anzi*).

Note that the difference in development between *pānzi* ‘they go’ < **pai̯anzi* < **h*$_1$*poi-h*$_1$*ienti* vs. *pei̯anzi* < *pe-*Hih*$_1$*enti* shows that the univerbation between *pe-* and **Hieh*$_1$*-* occurred later than the univerbation between **h*$_1$*poi-* and **h*$_1$*ei-*. Within the relative chronology of Hittite, the sound law **-oi# > -e#* must be placed between these two univerbations. The initial laryngeal of **Hieh*$_1$*-* must have been **h*$_1$ or **h*$_3$, since **h*$_2$ should have left a trace (*pe*+**h*$_2$*ieh*$_1$*-* > ***peḫi̯e-*).

penna-^{i} ***/ 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-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/MS), *pé-en-na-an-zi* (MH/MS?), *pé-in-na-an-zi* (OH?/NS), *pé-e-en-ni-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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. *penniu̯eni* (OS)) together with 1sg.pres.act. *pennaḫḫi*, 2sg.pres.act. *pennatti* and 1sg.pret.act. *pennaḫḫun* 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 *-i̯e/a-*class (*pennii̯au̯anzi*). 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/tii̯anzi-*class verbs that are taken over into the *tarn(a)-*class via the intermediate *mēma/i-*class. The occasional occurrence of *-i̯e/a-*class forms is trivial (very common in *dāi/tii̯anzi-*class verbs). This means that *penna-/penni-* originally goes back to a *dāi/tii̯anzi-*class verb as well.

Within Hittite, *penna-*^{i} */ penni-* functions as the opposite of *ūnna-*^{i} */ 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-*^{i} */ *ni-* 'to turn, to send' (see under *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$), which belongs to the *dāi/tii̯anzi-*class. See for further etymology the lemmas of these elements themselves.

Although this etymology is generally accepted, the fact that *penna-*^{i} */ penni-* shows a geminate *-nn-* (just as in *ūnna-*^{i} */ ūnni-* and *nanna-*^{i} */ nanni-*) is remarkable. Perhaps these univerbations and reduplication took place at a period that the initial consonants were fortis automatically.

pennii̯e/a-^{zi}: see *penna-*^{i} */ penni-*

peppieššar (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 *peppieššar*, it seems to be the opposite of the noun *uppieššar* 'sending, gift' (see under *uppa-*^{i} */ uppi-*) in the sense that we are dealing with a *pe-* / *u-* pair of a

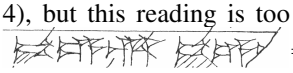
further unattested noun **pieššar*. This **pieššar* clearly is a derivative of *pai-*^{i} */ pi-* 'to give' (q.v.), which would mean that *peppieššar* must reflect virtual **$h_1$poi* + **h_1p-i-éh$_1$sh$_1$-r*. Because of the fact that this word occurs in an Amarna letter only, and because we know that 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^{MEŠ}-*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=t^{s}a/ DOMUS-*na-za*, gen.sg. /parnas/ DOMUS-*na-sa* (KAYSERİ §21, BOR §2), dat.-loc.sg. /parni/ ^{DOMUS}*pa+ra/i-ní* (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^{s}/ 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. ^{CRUX}*pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u* (KARATEPE §58 Hu.), $^{\text{"DOMUS.CRUX"}}$*pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu$_4$* (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. *prñnawi*), ***prñnawa-*** 'to build' (3sg.pres.act. *prñnawati*, 1sg.pret.act. *prñnawaχã*, 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  = *pé-e-ri pé-e*-x[...], which CHD reads as *pé-e-ri pé-e-r*[*i-aš*], whereas e.g. Rieken (1999a: 306[1471]) suggests to read *pé-e-ri pé-e-r*[*a-an*]). The abl. É-*er-za* /pert^{s}/ 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 / *P̥r-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. πέρᾱ(ν) '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*]*pḛ́-du-na-a-aš* (NS), *pé-ra-an pét-tu-na-ṣa*[*š*] (NS), [*pé-r*]*a-an péd-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-^{i} / ped-* 'to take (away)'. Nevertheless, this spelling is not the only one: we also find *peran pedun̆̆š* and *peran peddunaš*, which do not fit such an interpretation. Melchert (1994a: 34) ingenuously 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*, asuming 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-^{i} / 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-^{i} / 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).

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-^{zi}: see *pirnu-*^{zi}

^{NA_4}***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: ^{NA_4}***perunant-*** (adj.) 'rocky, craggy' (nom.sg.c. *pé-e-ru-na-an-z*[*a*] (NH), *pé-ru-na-an-za* (NH)), ^{NA_4}***perulū(u̯a)-*** '?' (3sg.pres.midd. *pé-ru-lu-u-u̯a-ri* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *párvata-* 'rocky, rugged; mountain'.

PIE **pér-ur / *pér-un-*

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 *-u̯er-/-u̯en-*stem, just as *mēḫur / mēḫun-* 'period, time' and *šēḫur / šēḫun-* 'urine'.

Sommer *apud* Friedrich HW: 168 connected *peru / perun-* with Skt. *párvata-* 'rocky, mountain', which could reflect **pérṷn̥-to-*. Semantically as well as formally (*párvata-* is derived from a static *-u̯er-/-u̯en-*stem as well) this etymology is impeccable. Often, Skt. *párvata-* is further connected with Skt. *párvan-* 'joint, knot' and Gr. πεῖραρ (**pérṷr̥*) 'end, boundary, gowl', which taken together reflect a paradigm **pérur*, **pérṷ(e)n-*. Yet, a semantic connection

between these words and 'rock' is not particularly evident. Nevertheless, on the basis of the connection with Skt. *párvata-* alone, it is already clear that Hitt. *peru / perun-* reflects **pér-ur*, **pér-un-*.

The possible derivative ^{NA_4}*perulū(u̯a)-* (which in principle can be read *pirulū(u̯a)-* 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* ^{NA_4}*pé-ru-lu-u-u̯a-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_4-determinative makes it quite likely the first element, *peru-*, has to be equated with ^{NA_4}*peru / perun-*. The second element, *-lūu̯ari*, and therewith the verb's interpretation, remains obscure.

peš(š)-^{zi} (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^{h}es-* 'to chew'. This connection would only work if we assume that **b^{h}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 "*išḫe/a-*" 'to smear, to anoint' (q.v.) under the assumption that the latter is its imperfective and reflects **ps-sḱe/o-*. See at *iškiu̯e/a-*^{zi}, however, for the estalishment that this verb rather belongs to the *-u̯e/a-*class originally, and therefore cannot reflect **ps-sḱe/o-*.

See under *pašiḫae-*^{zi} 'to rub' for the fact that it has been proposed that this verb is connected with *peš(š)-*^{zi}.

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^{MEŠ}-*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^{MEŠ}-*eš*, LÚ^{MEŠ}-*aš*, acc.pl. *pí-še-e-nu-uš* (OH/NS), LÚ^{MEŠ}-*uš*, gen.pl. LÚ-*an* (OH/NS), LÚ^{MEŠ}-*aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.pl. LÚ^{MEŠ}-*aš* (MH/MS?), ^{d}LÚ^{MEŠ}-*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*$^{HI.A}$), ***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* = /pisénus/. 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 *ḫāraš* < **h₃ér-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.

peššiḭe/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to throw away, to cast, to shove; to abandon; to cast off; to ignore’: 1sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-mi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-e-mi* (OS), *pé-eš-še-i̯a-mi* (NH), *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-mi* (NH), [*pé-eš-ši-i̯*]*a-am-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-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-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-še-i̯a-az-zi* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-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-i̯a-zi* (MS?), *pé-*

eš-še-i̯a-zi (MH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-zi*, *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-iz-zi* (MH/NS), *pé-ši-az-zi* (NS), *pé-ši-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/NS), *peš-ši-i̯a-zi* (NH), *peš-ši-ez-zi* (NH), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-i* (MH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-u-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-at-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-an-zi* (MH/MS), *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), *peš-ši-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 iii 48 (NS)), *pé-eš-še-i̯a-an-zi* (MS), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-nu-un* (OH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-at* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-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*^{j}*-i̯a-at* (MH/NS), *peš-še-et* (NH), *peš-ši-i̯a-at* (NH), *pé-še-et* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-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-i̯a* (MH/MS), *pé-e-eš-ši-i̯a* (OH/NS), 3sg.imp.act. *pé-eš-še-ad-du* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-ad-du* (NH), 2pl.imp.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-at-te-en* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-te-en* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-tén* (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-at-tén* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *pé-e-eš-š*[*i-i̯a-an-du*] (MH/MS), *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-an-du* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-ši-an-du* (NH), *pé-eš-še-i̯a-an-du* (OH/NS), *pé-eš-še-an-du* (NH); part. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-an-t-* (NS), *pé-eš-še-an-t-*; verb.noun *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-*[*aš*] (NS), *pé-iš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-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: ***peššii̯anna-***^{i} ***/ peššii̯anni-*** (IIa5) 'id. (impf.)' (impf.3sg.pres.act. *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-an-ni-eš-ki-iz-zi* (NS)), see *šai-*^{i} *̸ ši-*, *šii̯e/a-*^{zi} and *ūššii̯e/a-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Skt. *asyati* 'to throw'.

PIE **h*$_1$*poi* + **h*$_1$*s-i̯e/o-*

See CHD P: 316f. for attestations. Almost all forms can be reconciled with a stem /peSie/a-/. In NS texts we occasionally find a stem *peššii̯ae-*^{zi}, according to the very productive *ḫatrae*-class. Together with *ūššii̯e/a-*^{zi} '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 *šii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to shoot' or with *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* 'to press' (which, because of their formal similarity have merged early and therefore are treated here under one lemma: *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*, *šii̯e/a-*^{zi}), but Kimball (1987b) has convincingly argued that we should assume an original connection with *šii̯e/a-*^{zi}, which she connects with Skt. *asyati* 'to throw' < **h*$_1$*s-i̯e/o-*. This means that *peššii̯e/a-*^{zi} goes back to **h*$_1$*poi* + **h*$_1$*s-i̯e/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. *peššii̯e/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-RI*$_3^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ (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-***^{i} (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*$_4$*-za* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §23, KARKAMIŠ A31 §7, ADIYAMAN 1 §5, ANCOZ 7 §12, TELL AHMAR 2 §23, HAMA 5 §3), LOCUS-*ta*$_5$*-za* (SULTANHAN §43), LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-zá* (KARKAMIŠ A18*e* §5), "LOCUS"-*ta*$_5$*-za-´* (BABYLON 1 §13), LOCUS-*za-´* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §23, §24)), **LOCUS-*tant-*** (c.) 'place' (dat.-loc.sg. LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §23, KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §29), LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §9), LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ti-i-´* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.1a §i), LOCUS-*ta*$_5$*-ti-i* (BOHÇA §13), "LOCUS"-*ta*$_5$*-ti* (MARAŞ 7 side A), nom.-acc.pl.n. [LOCUS]-*ta*$_4$*-ta*$_5$ (KARKAMIŠ A31 §6), dat.-loc.pl. LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ta-za-´* (KARATEPE 1 §23 Hu.), "LOCUS<">-*ta*$_4$*-ta-za* (KARATEPE 1 §23 Ho.)), **LOCUS-*tantal(i)-*** (c.) 'precinct' (acc.sg. LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ta-li-i-na* (MARAŞ 14 §2), abl.-instr. LOCUS-*ta*$_4$*-ta-la-ti-i* (MARAŞ 14 §12)), **LOCUS-*tá*** **LOCUS-*tá*** (adv.) 'everywhere' (KARAHÖYÜK §2), ^{LOCUS}***pitahaliia-*** 'to exile(?)' (1sg.pret.act. ^{LOCUS}*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §31)); Lyc. ***pddãt-*** 'place' (loc.sg. *pddãti*, *pddati*(?), *pddẽti*(?), gen.adj.dat.sg. *pddãtahi*), *pddãti(je)-* (adj.) 'local(??)' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *pddãt*[*ija*], abl.-instr. *pd*[*dãtij*]*edi*), ***pdde*** (adv.?) 'in place of, on behalf of(?)' (*pdde=ñne*), ***pddẽn-*** 'place, precinct' (nom.-acc.sg. *pddẽ*, gen.sg. *pddẽneh*(?), dat.-loc.pl. *pddẽne*), ***pdẽχba-*** 'local Ḫepat' (nom.sg. *pdẽχba*).

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_4 or ta_5. It is quite possible that these signs in fact have to be read /la/ (cf. Hawkins 1995: 114[9]), but this does not invalidate the connection (cf. Luw. *la-* 'to take' < **deh*$_3$-). The exact interpretation of the verb ^{LOCUS}*pitahaliia-* 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 *pitahaliia-* is spelled with the sign *ta*, which contrasts with $ta_{4/5}$ of LOCUS-$ta_{4/5}$-, should make us cautious.

peda-*^{i} / *ped- (IIa1γ) 'to take (somewhere), to carry, to transport; to spend (time)': 1sg.pres.act. *pé-e-ta-aḫ-ḫé* (OS), *pé-e-taḫ-ḫé* (OS), *pé-taḫ-ḫé* (OS), *pé-e-taḫ-ḫi* (OS), *pé-da-aḫ-ḫi* (MH/MS), *pé-taḫ-ḫi* (OH?/NS?), *pé-e-da-aḫ-ḫi* (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$_x$-zi* (NH), *pé-dan$_x$-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *pé-e-da-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/NS), *pé-da-aḫ-ḫu-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$_4$-um-me-en* (NS), [*p*]*é-tu$_4$-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‹-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?)).

PIE *$h_1$poi + *doh_3-ei / *$h_1$poi + *dh_3-enti

See CHD P: 345f. for attestations. This verb acts as the opposite of *uda-^{i} / ud-* 'to bring (here), to bring (over)', which makes it clear that both verbs are derived from the verb *dā-^{i} / d-* with the prefixes *pe-* and *u-*. See at the lemmas of *pe-* and *dā-^{i} / 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-* (*petaḫḫe* vs. *dāḫḫe*, *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. *dāu̯en*, 3pl.pret. *peter* vs. *dāer*, 2pl.imp. *petišten* vs. *dātten*), but also in e.g. inf.I *pedumanzi* vs. *dāu̯anzi*.

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_3-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 **$h_1$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-*.

$^{(UZU)}$***pettar / pettan-*** 'wing, feather': see ^{UZU}*pattar / pattan-*

piu̯anae-^{zi}: see *peu̯anae-^{zi}*

piu̯etta-: see *pitta-*, *piu̯etta-*

piḫa-, onomastic element, 'strong(?)': ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-aš-du-*, ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-*A.A-, ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-*^{d}U-, ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-*LÚ-, ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-*ŠEŠ-, ^{m}*Pí-ḫa-*UR.MAḪ-.

Derivatives: ***piḫaim(m)i-*** (adj.), epithet of the Storm-god, 'powerful, strong' (nom.sg.c. *pí-ḫa-i-mi-iš*, *pí-ḫa-i-mi-i-iš*, *pí-ḫa-im-mi-iš*, *pí-ḫa-im-me-iš*, stem *pí-*

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-i*[*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. ^{FULGUR}***pihama/i-*** (adj.) 'powerful, strong' (nom.sg.c. ^{FULGUR}*pi-ha-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §14), *pi-ha-mi-sá* (KÖRKÜN §6), acc.sg. *pi-i-ha-mi-na* (KARKAMIŠ A27*o*)), ***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. ***Piχm̃ma***, PN (gen.sg. *Piχm̃mah*).

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. *Piχm̃ma*, 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 ḪI.ḪI-*ašši-* 'of lightning', but KUB 38.12 iii (18) ... ^{d}U *pí-ḫa-aš-*[*š*]*a-aš-ši-eš* (19) ^{d}U ḪI.ḪI ^{d}U *pí-ḫa-i-mi* ... shows that ^{d}U *piḫaššašši-* and ^{d}U ḪI.ḪI are not identical (cf. CHD P: 257: "The last ex. [= KUB 38.12 iii 18-19] shows that ^{d}U *p.* is not identical w. ^{d}U ḪI.ḪI(-*ašši-*) despite the appearance of ^{d}U *p.* in one text (Bronzetafel ii 16) and ^{d}U ḪI.ḪI in the par. KBo 4.10 obv. 36, and ^{d}U ^{URU}*p.* in two copies of the Alakšandu treaty w. ^{d}U ḪI.ḪI 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 (^{FULGUR}*pi-ha-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b* §14)), is the only word that can be securely translated since

it occurs in a bilingual: it corresponds to Phoen. *ʿz* '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 A11*b*
§12: *a-wa/i pa-ia-ʹ* REGIO-*ni-ia* "VACUUS" *ta-na-tá-ha*
§13: *wa/i-ta-ʹ* SCALPRUM.CAPERE$_2$ *u-pa-ní-zi a-tá* "CAPERE" *u-pa-ha*
§14: *a-wa/i pi-i-na-ʹ* REGIO-*ni-ia-ti* FULGUR *pi-ha-mi-sa* SUPER+*ra/i-ʹ* 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*^{h}*eh*$_2$- 'to shine' and reconstructs **b*^{h}*ēh*$_2$*-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*^{h}*eiH-* 'to hit, to beat' or **peiH-* 'to swell up' (cf. LIV^2).

𒀸 ***pinta-*** (n. or c.) 'oar': Luw.nom.-acc.sg.n. or Luw.acc.pl.c. 𒀸 *pí-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 connecton is not very satisfying. No further etymology.

pippa-^{i} ***/ pipp-*** (IIa1γ) 'to knock down/apart/off, to tear down, to overturn, to destroy; to turn up, to throw up': 3sg.pres.act. *pí-ip-pa-i* (OH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *pí-ip-pa-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *pí-ip-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un* (MH?/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *pí-ip-pa-aš* (OH/MS), *pí-ip-pa-a-aš* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pí-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-u̯a-ar* (NH), *pí-ip-pu-u̯a-ar* (NH); inf.I *pí-ip-pa-u̯a-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$_{1/3}$-ei*, **pi-ph$_{1/3}$-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-^{i} / pipp-*, however. All forms show a spelling with geminate *-pp-*. The only exception seems to be a 2sg.pres.act.-form 𒁀 *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 𒁀 *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-^{i} / 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-^{i} / pepp-*). Often this verb is etmologically 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$_{1/3}$-ei*, **pi-ph$_{1/3}$-énti* (or **pe-poh$_{1/3}$-ei*, **pe-ph$_{1/3}$-enti*).

pippeššar: see *peppieššar*

pirešḫannaš: see *parzaḫannaš*

pirnu-^{zi} (Ib2) 'to embezzle(?)': 1sg.pret.act. *pí-i̯r-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-^{zi}* '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 proces would be unique, however. Further unclear.

piršaḫannaš, ***pirzaḫannaš*****:** see *parzaḫannaš*

pišen-: see **pešan- / pešn- / pišen-*

pitta-, ***piia-*** (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: ***pittauria-*** ‘(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-*^{zi}.

Anat. cognates: Lyc. ***pijata-*** ‘gift’ (nom.sg. *pijata*, acc.sg. *pijatu*).

PIE **h*$_1$*p-i-teh*$_2$*-* > “**h*$_1$*p-ie-teh*$_2$*-*”

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. *pia-*. The fact that in Lycian we find an *a*-stem is important as it shows that we have to reconstruct an *-*eh*$_2$-stem.

The stem of the words clearly has to do with the verbs Hitt. *pai-*^{i} */ pi-* and Lyc. *pije-* ‘to give’, but details are uncertain: it depends on ones reconstruction of *pai-/pi-*. For instance, Rieken (1999a: 251-4) reconstructs *pai-/pi-* as **pe-h*$_2$*ei-* and has many problems in explaining why the intervocalic **h*$_2$ does not show up in the verb nor in *pia-*, which she regards as a derivative in *-*teh*$_2$- of **pe-h*$_2$*ei-*.

As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.a (see also under the lemma *pai-*^{i} */ pi-*), I assume that *pai-*^{i} */ pi-* ‘to give’ reflects **h*$_1$*p-oi-* / **h*$_1$*p-i-*, and that Lyc. *pije-* shows a secondary thematization of it, **h*$_1$*p-ie/o-*. Such a thematicized stem occurs in Hittite as well, namely in the NH period, where we find forms that show a stem *pie/a-*^{zi}. I would therefore reconstruct *pietta-* and Lyc. *pijata-* as **h*$_1$*p-ie-teh*$_2$- (note that in Lycian we have to assume *a*-umlaut from older **pijeta-*).

This analysis opens up the way to assume that *pietta-*, derived from the stem *pie/a-*^{zi}, is a NH innovation and that the original word was derived from the stem

pi-, and that this word therefore was *pitta-* < *$*h_1$p-i-teh$_2$-* (compare OH *šittariia̯/a-* > NH *šii̯attarii̯e/a-* for a similar replacement of the stem *ši-* by the NH stem *šii̯e/a-*).

All in all, I think that the attestations BI-IT-*ta-* must be read *pí-it-ta-* that stands for /pita-/ which reflects *$*h_1$p-i-teh$_2$-*, 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 *$*h_1$p-ie-teh$_2$-*, with the introduction of the NH stem *pii̯e/a-* instead of the old stem *pi-* < *$*h_1$p-i-*.

The derivative *pittauri̯a-* 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=u̯a* (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*[!] 'to his place'.

pittae-^{zi} (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), [*p*]*í-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-***^{i} ***/ piddanni-*** (IIa5) 'id. (impf.)' (3sg.pret.act. *píd-da-an-ni-iš* (OH/NS), sup. *píd-da-a-an-ni-u̯a-an* (MH/MS)).

PAnat. **pita-i̯e/a-*

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-*^{i} */ 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-*. Beacuse of the unambiguous reading *pittae-*^{zi}, the supposed connection with *peda-*^{i} */ ped-* cannot be upheld anymore either.

This verb follows the *ḫatrae*-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 *piddai-* B), but also 'to make a *pitta*-allotment' (this meaning is treated in CHD P: 358 as a separate entry, *piddai-* C), which seems to point to a connection with *pitta-*, *piḭetta-* 'allotment' (q.v. for etymology). Although this indeed is attractive, it must be noted that *pitta-*, *piḭetta-* is reconstructed with **-teh$_2$-* on the basis of Lyc. *pijata-*, whereas *pittae-* seems to be built on an *o*-stem noun (virtual **pito-ḭé/ó-*). This means that the derivative was formed after the merger of word-final unaccentuated **-eh$_2$-* and **-o-* into Hitt. *-a-* (**h$_1$p-i-teh$_2$-* > **pita-*, of which **pita-ḭé/á-* > *pittae-*).

pittai-^{i} / pitti- 'to run; to flee', see *pattai-^{i} / patti-*

pittalae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to abandon, to discard': 2sg.pres.act. *píd-da-la-ši* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *píd-da-la-an-z*[*i*] (NH), *pí-it-ta-la-an-zi* (NH), *pít-ta-la-an-zi* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *píd-da-la-it* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *pí-it-ta-la-a-er* (NH); impf. *pí-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 *pí-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 *ḫatrae*-class, which means that it is a derivative of a further unattested noun **pittala-*. Within Hittite, it is likely that the adj. *pittalu̯a-* '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-*, *piḭetta-* '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-^{i} / 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'.

pittalu̯a- (adj.) 'plain, simple, unadultered': nom.sg.c. *pít-tal-u̯a-aš* (MH/NS), acc.sg.c. *pít-tal-u̯a-an* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *pít-tal-u̯a-an* (OH?/MS), *pít-tal-ú-an* (MH), acc.pl.c. *pít-tal-ú-ḭš*[?].

Derivatives: ***pittalu̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘id.’ (nom.sg.c. *pít-tal-u̯a-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *pít-tal-u̯a-an-da-a*[*n*] (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *pít-tal-u̯a-ti* (NS), nom.pl.c. *pít-tal-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NS); case? *pít-tal-u̯a-an-da-aš* (MH/NS), ***pittalu̯an-*** (adj.) ‘id.’ (instr. *pít-tal-u̯a-ni-it* (MH/MS)).

See CHD P: 358f. for attestations. We find three stems that semantically seem to be identical: *pittalu̯a-*, *pittalu̯ant-* and *pittalu̯an-* (although the last one is based on instr. *pittalu̯anit* 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-*^{zi} ‘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 *pittalu̯a(nt)-*, which was made by Laroche (1960: 126) is semantically likely if we assume that *pittalu̯a(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 *pittalu̯a-* with the root *$*peth_2$-* ‘to spread out’ and assumes *$*peth_2$-l(u̯)o-* ‘spread thin’, which he connects with Lat. *petilus* ‘thin, slender, meager’.

$^{(UZU)}$***pittar / pittan-*** ‘wing, feather’: see $^{(UZU)}$*pattar / pattan-*

$^{(SÍG)}$***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: ***pit(t)uli̯a-*** (c.) ‘anguish, worry, constriction, tightness, tension’ (nom.sg. *pít-tu-li-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), [*píd-*]*du-li-i̯a-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *pí-tu-li-i̯a-an* (OH/MS), *pít-tu-li-i̯a-an* (OH/NS), *píd-du-li-an* (NH), gen.sg. *pít-tu-li-i̯a-aš* (OH or MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *píd-du-li-i̯a-i* (OH or MH/MS), abl. *píd-du-li-i̯a-az*, acc.pl. *pít-tu-li-uš* (OS)), ***pittuli̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to be anxious, to worry’ (3pl.pres.act. [*pít-*]*tu-li-i̯a-an-zi*, 3pl.pret.act. *pít*$^{!}$*-tu-li-e-er* (MH/NS); verb.noun *pít-tu-li-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*; impf. *pít-tu-li-iš-ke/a-* (OH or MH/MS), [*píd-d*]*u-li-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***pittuli̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘worried, fearful, intimidated’ (nom.sg.c. *p*[*ít-*]*tu-li-i̯a-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *pít-tu-li-i̯a-an-da-an* (OH/MS)), ***pittuli̯au̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘restrained, reluctant’ (nom.sg.c. *píd-du-li-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-* '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 $^{(SÍG)}$*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 *$*peth_2$-* 'to spread out', assuming a semantic development '*ausbreiten' > '*Arme ausbreiten' > '*umfassen' > 'umschlingen'. This development does not seem very appealing to me, however.

***pukk-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$** (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-*^{zi}**, ***pukkunu-*^{zi}** (Ib2) 'to cause (someone) to be hated, to create dissension' (3sg.prs.act. *pu-uk-ka$_4$-nu-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. [*p*]*u-ug-ga-nu-ut-te-ni* (MH?/NS); part. *pu-uk-ka$_4$-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun *pu-uk-ku-nu-mar* (NS), gen.sg. *pu-uk-ka$_4$-nu-ma-aš* (NS); impf. [*pu-*]*uk-ka$_4$-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-*$^{(tt)ari}$ 'to sleep', which has the middle forms *šuppari*, *šuptari* and *šuppatta*. On the basis of the form *puktaru* I cite this verb as *pukk-*$^{(tt)ari}$. 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 *$*b^heug^h$-* 'to bend, to flee', with Skt. *pūyati* 'to stink', with Lith. *pìktas* 'bad, evil' and with Goth. *fauho* 'fox' either have to wrong semantics or the wrong form (*-kk-* must reflect *-*k-*).

***puntariie/a-*^{zi}** (Ic1) 'to be obstinate(?), to be stubborn(?)': 3sg.pres.act. *pu-un-tar-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (NH), verb.noun *pu-un-tar-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*, *pu-un-ta-ri-i̯a*[*-u-u̯a-ar*].

Derivatives: ***puntarriḭali-*** (adj.) ‘stubborn(?)’ (nom.sg.c. *pu-un-tar-ri-ḭa-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-ḭa-li-iš zi*[*-ik*] (19) MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* ^{d}*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-ḭa*[*-u-u̯a-ar*] ‘the *p*. of an ass’. The meaning ‘stubborn(ness)’ seems to fit these contexts. Formally, the verb resembles *gimmantariḭe/a-*^{zi} e.a. No further etymology.

punušš-^{zi} (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-mu-uš-zi* (MH/MS), OH/NS), 1pl.pres.act. *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *pu-mu-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-*]*ú̯-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-u̯a-ar* (NH); inf.I *pu-nu-uš-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (NS), *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-an-zi* (NH); impf. *pu-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OS).

IE cognates: ??Gr. πέπνῡμαι ‘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 exemples 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^{s}i/ *ta-ra-an-zi* ‘they speak’, cf. *ter-*^{zi} */ tar-*, *tē-*^{zi}).

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. πέπνῡμαι '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-*^{zi}, *ānš-*^{i}, *kallišš-*^{zi} */ kališš-*, etc.) do not show desiderative semantics. Moreover, the IE origin of the Greek word is in doubt because of forms like πινύσκω '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. πέπνῡμαι 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-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* or *pu-ru-ut ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (thus Rieken 1991: 161) (MH/NS)), ***puruttešša*r / *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*^{h}*ur-u-t-* ?

See CHD P: 395f. for attestations. Puhvel (1994: 255) connected this word with Gr. φύρω 'to mix' (< *φῠρ-i̯ω?) because 'mud' is a mixture of water and clay. Rieken (1999a: 160f.) follows Puhvel and reconstructs **b*^{h}*ur-u-t-*. Although in principle this is possible, the reconstruction does not seem self-evident to me.

pūš-^{zi} (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*$_2$*u-s-*?

See CHD P: 398 for attestations. The verb has the moon or the sun as its subject. Oettinger (1979a: 215) translates 'klein werden(?), sich verfinsteren(?)' on the basis of an etymological connection with PIE **ph*$_2$*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-*^{i} */ akk-* 'to die'. Perhaps the latter is used when a total eclipse occurs, whereas *pūš-* denotes a partial eclipse. The manyfold plene spellings with the sign U point to a phonological form /pos-/.

The etymological connection with *ph_2eu- is formally not totally satisfying. We would expect that a preform *ph_2eu-*s*-*ti* would yield **paušzi. Perhaps, the zero-grade of the plural was generalized. We then have to assume that *h_2, 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_2u-*s*-*énti* > /posántˢi/.

(SÍG)***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.) πύλιγες 'hair at the back, locks' and MIr. *ul* 'beard' and reconstructs **péu-tr̥*, **pu-tén*- under the assumption that unlenited *-t*- generalized throughout the paradigm. In my view, this etymologizing is a bit too speculative.

putkiie/a-$^{tta(ri)}$ (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-ie/a*-, in which the cluster *-tk*- is remarkable (but cf. *ḫatk*- 'to shut' and *uatku*- 'to jump'). Tischler (HEG P: 677) therefore states that one should keep in mind that a Hittite cluster *-tk*- reflects PIE *-*Kþ*-, for which he gives *ḫartagga*- 'bear' < *$h_2rkþo$- as an example. To my mind, the PIE mother language did not have a phoneme *þ, however (*ḫartagga*- < *$h_2rtḱo$-). Therefore, Carruba's reconstruction **p(e)ug-t*- (1974: 152) cannot convince me. Other proposed cognates (e.g. Lith. *pùsti* 'to swell') are unconvincing either. No further etymology.

pūuae-^{zi} (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-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIh) 'to be pounded, to be ground(?)' (3sg.pres.midd. *pu-up-pu-uš-ša-ta-ri* (NH)), *(?)* ***puššae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to chop up, to crush' (1sg.pres.act. *pu-uš-šą-ą-m*[*i*] (NS), 3sg.pres.act. *(?) pu-uš-ša-ez-zi* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *pu-uš-ša-a-et* (MH/MS), 3sg.imp.act. *pu-uš-ša-ed-du* (MH/MS), part.? *pu-uš-ša-a-a*[*n*]).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***pūu̯a-*** 'to pound, to crush' (3sg.pres.act. *pu-u̯a-a-ti*, *pu-u-u̯a-ti*, 3pl.imp.act. *pu-u-u̯a-an-du*, *pu-u̯a-an-du*).

IE cognates: Lat. *pavīre* 'to beat', Gr. παίω 'to strike, to smite'.

PIE *ph_2u-

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 (*puu̯ā-*), and that it was borrowed in NH times into Hittite, where it was brought into the *ḫatrae*-class. The derivatives *puppušša-*^{ttari} and *pušša-*^{zi} (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_2u- (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 256; Van de Laar 2000: 238; note that LIV^2 regards them as *-u*-presents of a root *$pieh_2$- 'schlagen', but the evidence of a root *$pieh_2$- is rather limited: Gr. πταίω 'to stumble' is semantically far and TochB *pyāk-* 'to strike' is connected with *b^heiH- 'to beat' by Adams 1999: 408). I therefore assume that *ph_2u-i̯e/o- > CLuw. *pūu̯a-*, which was borrowed into Hitt. as *pūu̯ae-*. For possible derivatives, see ^{TÚG}*puu̯alia-*, ^{TÚG}*pušša̯imi-* and *pušša̯li-*.

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 *pūu̯a-* is assumed. This translation seems especially based on the supposed connection, however, and therefore does not have much merit.

^{TÚG}***puu̯ali̯a-*** (n.) a garment for the leg or foot?: Luw.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-u̯a-li-an-za*, Hitt.nom.-acc.sg.n. *pu-u̯a-li-i̯a* (NH).

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 ^{TÚG}*pušša̯imi-* (a kind or garment or cloth) and *pušša̯li-* (a leg or foot garment). The alteration between *puu̯a°* and *pušša(i)°* is reminiscent of the CLuw. verb *pūu̯a-* 'to pound' and its impf. *pušša-* (see at *pūu̯ae-*^{zi}). This may indicate that these words are derived from this verb. See there for etymology.

puu̯atti- (c.) 'madder(?)', '(dying) powder(?)': nom.sg. *pu-u̯a-at-ti-i̯š* (NH).

The word is hapax in the vocabulary KBo 1.42 iv 46, where Hitt. *puu̯attiš* 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 *pūu̯ae-*^{zi} 'to pound, to crush' (q.v.), assuming that the word means '(dying) powder'.

Š

-*š* (nom.sg.c.-ending)
PIE *-*s*

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)

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*), -*i̯e/a*-verbs (*i-e-eš*, *ú-u̯a-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.pres.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-i̯a-at* 'you made', *pé-e-ḫu-te-et* 'you brought', *šu-ul-le-e-et* 'you bragged', *ú-u̯a-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 *ḫi*-ending *-tta* is replaced by the *mi*-ending *-š*, but rather as formal 3sg.pret.act.-forms with the *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-flection)

This ending belongs to the *ḫi*-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*; *-ḫḫe ~ -ḫḫun* (<< **-ḫḫa*), *-tti* (< **-tte*) ~ *-tta*; *-u̯eni ~ -u̯en*, *-tteni ~ -tten*), the ending *-š* is formally totally different from its corresponding 3sg.pres.act.-ending *-e* < **-e-i*. On the basis of the parallelitiy 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^{w}e* > *takku* /tak^{w}/, **nek^{w}e* > *nekku* /nek^{w}/). 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^{wh}n-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. *ḫa-a-aš-ta* (OS) 'she bore' instead of expected ***ḫāš* or *pa-aš-ta* 'he drank' instead of expected ***pāš*). In verb ending in *-t-*, this happened from MH times onwards (e.g. *ḫa-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*, *ḫu-u̯a-ap-ta* vs. *ḫu-u-u̯a-ap-pí-iš*, *iš-tap-ta* vs. *iš-tap-pa-aš*, *ma-ni-i̯a-aḫ-ta* vs. *ma-ni-i̯a-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).

=šša-: 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-u̯a-an* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-(š)ša-*** (impf.-suffix: 3sg.pres.act. *ar-pa-ša-a-i*, *kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i*, 3sg.pret.act. *ar-pa-ša-at-ta*, *u̯a-ar-pa-ša-a-at-ta*, 2sg.imp.act. *pí-pí-iš-ša*; 3sg.pres.midd. *pu-up-pu-uš-ša‹-at›-ta-ri*, 2pl.pres.midd. *ma-az-za-al-la-ša-du-u̯a-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* (KARKAMIŠ 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$_1$-*, **-sh$_1$-*

In the older literature, this suffix is usually called "iterative", but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-šš(a)-*^{i} 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 *-šimportant/a-*^{zi} and *-anna/i-*^{i}, 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)-*, *īšša-*^{i} */ īšš-* 'to do, to make', *ḫalzišša-*^{i} */ ḫalzišš-* 'to call', *šišša-*^{i} */ šišš-* 'to impress' and *u̯arrišša-*^{i} */ u̯arrišš-* '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 (*u̯arrišš(a)-* under the lemma *u̯arri- / u̯arrai-*); I have cited under this lemma only a compilation of the oldest attested forms. Of these four verbs, *u̯arrišš(a)-* stands quite apart, as it is attested in NH compositions only, whereas *īšš(a)-*, *ḫalzišš(a)-* and *šišš(a)-* are attested from OH times onwards (with *īšš(a)-* and *ḫalzišš(a)-* having numerous OS attestations). This may explain why *īšš(a)-*, *ḫalzišš(a)-* and *šišš(a)-* are clear deverbal derivatives (of *i̯e/a-*^{zi}, *ḫalzai-*^{i} / *ḫalzi-* and *šai-*^{i} / *ši-* respectively), whereas *u̯arrišš(a)-* does not have a clear origin. On the one hand one could think that it is derived from the verb *u̯arrae-*^{zi}, but this verb is itself attested three times only in NH compositions. On the other hand, one could think of the adjective *u̯arri- / u̯arrai-* as its origin, but a denominal derivation with an imperfective-suffix seems unlikely to me. Therefore Starke's suggestion (1990: 155-6) that *u̯arrišš(a)-* is a borrowing from Luwian (where **u̯arrišša-* itself is unattested, but where a verb *u̯arriia-* is found in HLuwian), may not be that unattractive. It therefore might be better to further leave *u̯arrišš(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)-/, *ḫalz-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 *ī-šš(a)-*, *ḫalzi-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 *-ššaḫḫi*, *-ššatti*, *-ššai*, *-ššueni*, *-šteni*, *-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 $*h_2$ would have yielded Hitt. *-ḫ-*, the laryngeal should be either $*h_1$ or $*h_3$ (although the latter one is less likely as I know no other suffix or ending where $*h_3$ is found). The fact that we find a geminate *-šš-* can be explained by the weak stem **-sh$_1$-*, which would regularly yield geminate *-šš-*, after which this *-šš-* spread through the paradigm (cf. *zinni-*^{zi} / *zinn-* 'to finish' for a similar scenario). In this way, *īšš(a)-* reflects **HH-i-s(o)h$_1$-*, *ḫalzišš(a)-* < **h$_2$lt-i-s(o)h$_1$-* and *šišš(a)-* < **sh$_1$-i-s(o)h$_1$-*.

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$_1$- / *-sh$_1$-*, from a pre-PIE point of view has to be regarded as identical to the other imperfective-suffix, **-sḱe/o-* (which probably is a PIE thematicization of original **-sḱ-*). Compare e.g. the similarity in form and meaning between *=(i)a* 'and' < **-h$_3$e* and **-k^{w}e* 'and'.

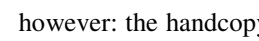
šae-^{zi} : see *šāi-*^{zi}

šāḫ-^{i} (IIb) 'to clog, to stuff, to fill in, to stop, to block, to plug up': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ḫi* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ḫ*[*a-a-an-*]*zi* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ḫa-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-aḫ-ta* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-ḫa-a-ri* (MH/NS); part. *ša-ḫa-an-t-*, *ša-a-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/NS), *ša-ḫa-a-an-t-* (MH/NS); impf. *ša-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NS), *ša-a-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/NS), *ša-a-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: see *šaḫeššar / šaḫešn-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ἄμεναι 'to satiate oneself', Skt. *ásinvant-* 'unsatiable', TochB *soy-* 'to be satisfied'.

PIE **sóh$_2$-ei*

See CHD Š: 1f. for attestations. Note that Kimball (1999: 398) cites this verb as *šāḫ-/šaḫḫ-* in the basis of part.nom.-acc.sg.n. "*sa-a-aḫ-ḫa-an*" (KUB 9.28 i 14), which would be the only form that shows geminate *-ḫḫ-*. This form does not exist, however: the handcopy clearly reads  = *ša-a-ḫa-an*. So, all forms of this verb are spelled with single *-ḫ-*. Mechanically, *šāḫ-* can hardly reflect anything else than PIE **seh$_2$-*. In 3sg.pres.act., we expect that **sóh$_2$-ei* > *šāḫi* with single *-ḫ-* due to lenition after **ó* (cf. *āki / akkanzi*, *ištāpi / ištappanzi* etc.). In 3pl.pres.act., we would expect that **sh$_2$-énti* > **išḫanzi*. It is likely that this paradigm, *šāḫi / *išḫanzi*, was not retained thus and was levelled out to *šāḫi / šāḫanzi*, with introduction of the singular stem in the plural.

Eichner (1973a: 69-70) translates *šāḫ-*^{i} 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 *šāḫ-*^{i} does not mean 'to pollute, to defile' but only 'to clog, to plug up, to stuff'. Eichner further states that *šāḫ-*^{i} is the basis from which Hitt. *šēḫur / šēḫun-* 'urine' and CLuw. *šaḫḫa-* "Schmutz" are derived, through the meaning 'dirty, polluted'. First it should be noted that Starke (1990: 228-9) has shown that CLuw. *šaḫḫa-* "Schmutz" does not exist: the form that Eichner translates thus is rather to be interpreted as *šaḫḫan-* 'feudal service' (see at *šaḫḫan-*). Secondly, the fact that *šāḫ-*^{i} actually means 'to clog, to plug up, to

stuff' makes an etymological connection with *šēḫur* 'urine' semantically impossible: I do not see how these meanings can be connected (see at *šēḫur / šēḫun-* for an alternative etymology).

In my view, we rather connect *šāḫ-*^{i} 'to stuff up, to fill' with the PIE root *$*seh_2(i)$-* that is translated 'to satisfy' on the basis of Gr. ἅμεναι 'to satiate oneself', Skt. *ásinvant-* 'unsatiable' and TochB *soy-* 'to be satisfied' (note that LIV^2 translates the root as 'satt werden' (intr.), whereas Harđarson (1993: 207) pleas for transitive 'sättigen'). In my view, however, the root *$*seh_2$-* 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).

šaḫḫ-^{zi}: see *ša(n)ḫ-*^{zi}

šaḫḫan- (n.) a kind of obligation, service or payment due from land tennants to the real owners of the land (palace, temple, community or individuals): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an* (OS), gen.sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni* (MH/MS), *ša-aḫ-ḫa-a-ni* (NH), abl. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-za* (MH/MS), *ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-za* (MH/NS), *ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-az* (NH), instr. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-it* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *ša-a-aḫ-ḫa-ni-it*, nom.-acc.pl.(?) *ša-aḫ-ḫa-na* (NH), *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni* (OH/NS), dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-aš* (NH).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***šaḫḫan-*** (n.) 'id.' (nom.-acc.sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-za*), ***šaḫḫaniia-*** 'to impose feudal service upon' (impf.3sg.prets.act. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta*, *ša‹-aḫ›-ḫa-ni-eš-ša‹-at›-ta*).

PIE *$*séh_2n$*, *$*s(e)h_2én(o)s$*

See CHD Š: 7f. for attestations and semantic discussion. Rieken (1999a: 287) convincingly reconstructs this word as *$*séh_2$-n*, assuming that, together with *išḫanitar* 'relative by marriage' (q.v.), it derives from *$*seh_2$-* 'to bind' (for which see at *išḫai-*^{i} */ išḫi-*). This means that we are dealing with a proterodynamic paradigm *$*séh_2$-n*, *$*sh_2$-én-s* >> pre-Hitt. *$séh_2$-n*, *$*seh_2$-én-os* > Hitt. *šaḫḫan*, *šaḫḫanaš* (compare *$*péh_2$-ur*, *$*ph_2$-uén-s* >> *$*péh_2$ur*, *peh_2uénos* > Hitt. *paḫḫur*, *paḫḫuenaš* 'fire'). Kimball (1999: 396) reconstructs *$*seh_2$-om*, but this does not explain the *n*-stem forms in the oblique cases.

šaḫešš*ar / *šaḫešn- (n.) 'fortification, stronghold' (Sum. BÀD-*eššar*): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ḫé-eš-šar* (OS).

Derivatives: ***šaḫešnae-***^{zi} (Ic2) ‘to fortify(?)’ (1sg.pret.act. BÀD-*eš-na-nu-un* (NH), BÀD-*eš$_{17}$-na-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. BÀD-*eš-na-i-it*; impf. *ša-ḫe-eš-ni-eš-ke/a-*, *ša-ḫe-eš-na-eš-ke/a-*).

See CHD Š: 9f. for attestations. The phonetically spelled forms of these words (*šaḫeššar* and *šaḫešnae-*) are not totally clear regarding thier 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 *šaḫeššar* is to be equated with BÀD-*eššar* (a reading **kutteššar* has been proposed on the basis of HLuw. ^{SCALPRUM}*kutasara/i-* and CLuw. ^{NA_4}*kuttaššara/i-* ‘orthostat’ (see at *kūtt-*)), but CHD (Š: 10) and Rieken (1999a: 136^{630}) now state that the equation of BÀD with *šaḫeššar / šaḫešn-* is the only likely one.

Formally, *šaḫeššar* must be derived from *šāḫ-*^{i} ‘to clog, to plug up, to stuff’. CHD states that “if the word is derived from the verb *šaḫ-*, 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 *ištappeššar* ‘dam, enclosure’ that is derived from the verb *ištāp-*^{i} / *ištapp-* ‘to plug up, to block, to dam, to enclose, to shut; to besiege’. See for further etymology at *šāḫ-*^{i}.

šāi-^{zi} (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-u̯a-ar* (OH/MS), *ša-a-u-ar* (OH/MS?), *ša-a-u̯a-ar* (MH/NS), dat.-loc. *ša-a-u-u̯a-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-ᾱνής ‘cruel’, Goth. *sair*, OHG *sēr* ‘pain’.

PIE **seh$_2$i-ti*

See CHD Š: 13f. for attestations. This verb inflects according to the *ḫatrae*-class, so seemingly we are dealing with a stem *šae-*^{zi}. 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$_2$i-uo-* (cf. Schrijver 1990: 270, who connects it with Gr. αἰ-ᾱνής 'cruel', Goth. *sair*, OHG *sēr* 'pain'). Oettinger (1979a: 363) reconstructs **seh$_2$-i̯e/o-*, but this is in conflict with his own discovery that verbs in **-eh$_2$-i̯e/o-* end up in the Hittite *tāi̯e/a-*class (named after *tāi̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to steal' < **teh$_2$-i̯e/o-*) whereas *ḫatrae*-class verbs reflect **-o-i̯e/o-*. Oettinger tries to disguise this discrepancy by citing the verb as "*šae-* (oder *šāi̯i̯e-*)", but from the attested forms it is clear that it does not inflect according to the *tāi̯e/a-*class. Melchert (1994a: 176f.) recognizes this problem and assumes that complex contractions have taken place: **šai̯éi̯e/o- > šā(i)-*. His reconstruction with **a* is solely based on the knowledge that **-eh$_2$i̯e/o-* would have yielded *-āi̯e/a-*. Apart from the methodological problem of reconstructing a phoneme **a*, it is quite problematic, in my view, that a preform **šai̯ei̯e/o-* would yield a shorter outcome than **teh$_2$i̯e-*.

In my opinion, the etymological interpretation of this verb largely depends on the behaviour of the cluster **-h$_2$i-*. It is generally accepted that in a sequence **-Vh$_2$iV-* the laryngeal disappears (**teh$_2$i̯e/o- > tāi̯e/a-*: the seeming exceptions, *laḫḫi̯e/a-^{zi}* (derived from *lāḫḫ(a)-* 'military campaign'), *zaḫḫi̯e/a-^{zi}* (derived from *zaḫḫai-* 'battle') and *tuḫḫi̯att-* (restored on the basis of *tuḫḫae-^{zi}* 'to produce smoke') are clearly of secondary origin). The outcome of a sequence **-Vh$_2$iC-* is less clear, however. Although one at first sight would expect Hitt. *-VḫḫiC-*, I have not been able to find any word that unambiguously reflects *-VḫḫiC- < *-Vh$_2$iC-* (*ḫaḫḫima-* 'drought' and *tuḫḫima-* are derivatives in *-ima-* of the verbs *ḫaḫḫ-* and *tuḫḫae-*, ^{NINDA}*muḫḫila-* (a kind of pastry) and ^{NINDA}*naḫ(ḫ)iti-* (a bread) are of foreign origin and *zaḫḫin* (acc.sg.) 'battle' is a NH secondary form in the paradigm of the diphthong-stem *zaḫḫai-*: note that nouns in *-āḫit-* are all of Luwian origin). This opens up the possibility that **-Vh$_2$iC-* did not yield Hitt. *-VḫḫiC-*, but, for instance, **-V̄iC-*. If so, then we are allowed to assume that *šāizzi* reflects an athematic verbal form **séh$_2$i-ti*. As a *mi*-inflecting root present, we would in principle expect ablaut in the stem and therefore 3pl.pres.act. **sh$_2$i-énti*, which regularly should have yielded Hitt. *išḫi̯anzi* (like *išḫi̯anzi* 'they bind' < **sh$_2$-i-énti* in the paradigm *išḫai-^{i} / išḫi-*). It is quite understandable, however, that a paradigm *šāizzi*, *išḫi̯anzi* 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 periode before the contraction of **Vi̯V* to **V̄*, since **šāi̯anzi* 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 *ḫatrae*-class inflection in NH times.

šai-^{i} / ši-; šiia/a-^{zi} (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-ia-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-ia-az-zi* (NH), *ši-i-ia-a-iz-zi*, *ši-i-ia-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ši-ia-iz-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-a-i* (MS), 1pl.pres.act. *ši-ia-a-u-e-ni* (MH?/MS?), *ši-i-e-*[*u-e-ni*?] (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ši-ia-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ši-ia-nu-un* (NH), *ši-ia-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-ia-a-it* (NH), *ši-a-it* (NH), *ši-i-ia-it* (NH), 2pl.pret.act.(or imp.) *ša-a-iš-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ši-ia-er* (NH), 2sg.imp.act. *ši-ia-a* (OH/MS), *ši-i-ia-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-ia-an-du* (OH/NS), *ši-ia-an-du* (MH/NS), *ši-i-ia-a-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd. *ši-i-e-et-ta-ri* (OH/NS), *ši-e-et-ta*, *ši-ia-a-ri* (NS), *ši-ia-ri* (NS), 3pl.pres.midd. *ši-ia-an-da-ri*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ši-ia-ti* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.midd. [*š*]*i*$^{?}$*-ia-an-ta-at* (OH/NS); verb.noun *ši-ia-u-ua-ar* (OH/NS), gen.sg. *ši-ia-ua-aš* (NH); inf.I *ši-ia-u-ua-an-zi* (NH); inf.II *ši-ia-an-na* (NH); part. *ši-ia-a-an-t-* (OH/MS), *ši-ia-an-t-* (MH?/NS), *ši-i-ia-an-t-*; impf. *ši-i-eš-ke/a-* (OH/MS), *ši-ia-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *ši-i-ia-iš-ke/a-*, *ši-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: see É *šiiannaš*, *šiiant-*, ^{GIŠ}*šiiattal-*, **šiiatar / šiiann-*, *šiiēššar / šiiēšn-*, *šiiēššar*, *šišša-^{i} / šišš-*, *šiššiia-*, *šiššiiant-*, *šittar(a)-* and *šittariie/a-^{zi}*.

PIE **sh$_1$-ói-ei*, **sh$_1$-i-énti*; **h$_1$s-ié-ti*, **h$_1$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 *ḫi*-verb *šai-^{i} / ši-* 'to press, to seal, to put on headgear' and a *mi*-verb *šiie/a-^{zi}* '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-^{i} / ši-*, which inflects according to the *dāi/tiianzi*-class, in younger times secondarily was taken over into the *-ie/a*-class (in this case *šiie/a-^{zi}*) on the basis of the reinterpretation of 3pl.pres.act. *šii-anzi* as *šiia-nzi* (cf. *ḫuuai-^{i} / ḫui-* with secondary *ḫuie/a-^{zi}*, *išpai-^{i} / išpi-* with secondary *išpiie/a-^{zi}*, etc.).

According to Kimball (1987b), the verb *šii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to shoot' is to be connected with Skt. *asyati* 'to shoot' and reflects **h₁s-i̯e/o-*, whereas *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* 'to press, to seal' belongs with the verbs for 'to sow' in the other IE languages: Lat. *serō*, Goth. *saian*, Lith. *sėju*, OCS *sějǫ* 'to sow' < **seh₁-* (Kimball 1999: 433, followed by e.g. LIV^2). This would mean, however, that PIE **seh₁-* 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/tii̯anzi*-class reflect a structure **CC-oi- / *CC-i-*. In this case, it would mean that we have to reconstruct **sh₁-ói-ei*, **sh₁-i-énti*.

šākk-^{i} ***/ 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-ka₄-a*[*ḫ-ḫi*] (OH/MS), *ša-ak-ka₄-aḫ-ḫi* (OH/NS), *ša-ka₄-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-ẹ*[$^{?}$*-ni*$^{?}$] (KBo 47.153 obv.$^{?}$ 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-u̯a-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-ka₄-ḫu-u*[*n*$^{?}$] (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), *š*[*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. **sagǿ(n)* 'to saw'.

PIE **sókh₁-ei*, **skh₁-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-^{i} / 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$_2$g-*. He explains the geminate *-kk-* out of **-h$_2$g-* in **(se-)sóh$_2$g-ei*. This is in contradiction with the reconstruction of *šāgāi-* 'sign, omen' as **seh$_2$g-ōi-* as well as *u̯āki* 'bites' as **u̯óh$_2$g-ei*, however. The weak stem *šekk-*, which is taken as original by Oettinger, is explained as reflecting **se-sh$_2$g-* (i.e. **se-sh$_2$g-eh$_1$-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-i̯e/o-*. This etymology is widely followed (e.g. Melchert 1994a: 69; LIV^{2}). 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$_1$*, since a preform **sókh$_{2/3}$-ei* would have yielded Hitt. ***šakkai* (cf. *mallai* 'mills' < **molh$_2$ei*, *paddai* 'digs' < **b^{h}od^{h}h$_2$ei*, *iškallai* 'splits' < **skolh$_{2/3}$ei* and *išparrai* 'tramples' < **spórh$_{2/3}$ei*). I therefore reconstruct *šākki* as **sókh$_1$-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 *ḫi*-verbs, it can only be found in *karāp-^{i} / kare/ip-* 'to devour', *šarāp-^{i} / šarip-* 'to sip', *ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink-* 'to tie' and *ašāš-^{i} / aše/iš-*

'to seat'. Within the *mi*-verbs, we only find *tamāšš-^{zi} / tame/išš-* 'to (op)press'. For the *a/e*-ablauting *ḫi*-verbs, Jasanoff (1979: 85-6; 2003) has proposed to assume that they reflect a PIE ablaut **o/e*, a special category of "h_2e-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-*, *ḫamank-/ḫame/ink-* and *ašāš-/aše/iš-* are to be explained as a secondary introduction of the anaptyctic vowel /i̯/ 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-^{i} / 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*, *erteni*, *eruen*, *erten*, *erir*, etc.).

For *šākk-*, I would like to propose the following scenario. The original paradigm must have been **sókh$_1$ei*, **skh$_1$énti* (with normal **o/Ø*-ablaut as in all other *ḫi*-inflecting verbs), which should regularly have yielded Hitt. /sāki/, **/i̯skanzi/. 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 /i̯-/ 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$_1$-*, 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$^{?}$-ga-eš*, acc.sg. *ša-ga-in* (OH/MS?), *ša-ga$^{!}$-a-in* (OH/NS), *ša-a-ga-a-in*

(OH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ki-i̯a-aš* (NH), *ša-ki-aš*, abl. *ša-a-ki-i̯a-az* (MH/MS), nom.pl. *ša-ga-a-uš* (NH), coll.[?] *ša-ga-e*, *ša-ga-a-e* (MS).

Derivatives: ***šākii̯e/a-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ki-i̯a-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-ki-ez-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-nu-un* (OH/MS), [*š*]*a*[?]*-ki-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-at*, *ša-a-ki-i̯a-at* (NH); impf. *ša-a-ki-eš-ke/a-*, *ša-ki-iš-ke/a-*, *ša-a-ki-iš-ke/a-* (NH)), ***šakii̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to indicate, to signal, to give a sign or an omen' (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ki-i̯a-aḫ-zi* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. ISKIM-*aḫ-ta*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ki-i̯a-aḫ-ta* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-ki-i̯a-aḫ-ḫe-er*; 3sg.pret.midd. ISKIM-*aḫ-ta-at*; verb.noun ISKIM-*aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *ša-ki-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš*), ***šakiaššar / šakiašn-*** (n.) 'sign, omen' (dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ki-aš-ni* (NS)), ***šakii̯auu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'ominous' (nom.sg.c. *ša-ki-i̯a-u-u̯a-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$_2$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$_2$g-* 'einer Fährte nachgehen' (thus LIV^2). In the older literature, a reconstruction **sh$_2$g-ōis* is often given, in which **h$_2$* is supposed to have vocalized to *-a-* (Eichner 1973a: 71; Oettinger 1979a: 345, 413[34]). Nowadays it has become clear that "[t]here is no solid evidence for "vocalization" of */h$_2$/ anywhere in Anatolian" (Melchert 1994a: 70).

When applying Weitenberg's analysis of this type, we have to assume a paradigm **séh$_2$g-ōi-s*, **sh$_2$g-ói-m*, **sh$_2$g-i-ós*, in which generalization of the *e*-grade in the root is trivial: **séh$_2$g-ōi-s*, **seh$_2$g-ói-m*, **seh$_2$g-i-ós*. This should regularly have yielded Hitt. ***šāgaiš*, *šagāin*, ***šakii̯āš*. The assumption of *e*-grade in the root is supported by the occasional plene spelling *ša-a-k°* 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 *šākii̯e/a-*^{zi}. Melchert (1994a: 69) even goes so far in assuming that *šākii̯e/a-* reflects **séh$_2$g-i̯e/o-* and is to be directly equated with Lat. *sāgīre*. In my view, inner-Hittite derivation of *šākii̯e/a-* from *šāgāi-* is more likely, however.

šākan / šakn- (n.) 'oil, fat' (Sum. Ì): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ga-an* (pre-NS), *ša-a-kán* (KBo 40.69 r.col. 5 (NS)), Ì-*an* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *ša-ak-na-a-aš* (OS), *ša-ak-na-*

aš, loc.sg. *ša-ak-ni* (MH/MS), erg.sg. Ì-*an-za* (NH), abl. Ì-*az*, instr. *ša-kán-da* (OS), *ša-kán-ta*, Ì-*it*.

Derivatives: ***šakni̯i̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to anoint, to smear (with oil), to oil' (3pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-ni-i̯a-an-zi* (NH), Ì-*an-zi* (NH)), ***šaknu̯u̯ant-*** (adj.) 'filled with fat or oil, fatty' (nom.sg.c. [*š*]*a-ak-nu-u̯a-an-za* (NH), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ak-nu-an* (MH/MS), nom.pl.c. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NS), acc.pl.c. Ì-*an-te-eš*, dat.-loc.pl. Ì-*nu-an-ta-aš*), see *iškii̯e/a-*^{zi}.

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. Ì-*i*, abl.-instr. *ta-a-i-na-a-ti*, *ta-a-i-na-ti*, *da-a-i-na-ti*).

PIE **sóǵ*$^{(ʼ)(h)}$*-n*, **sǵ*$^{(ʼ)(h)}$*-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', untill 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 **seǵ*$^{(ʼ)(h)}$*-en-*. Mechanically, we must reconstruct a paradigm **sóg-n*, **sg-n-ós*, which should regularly have given Hitt. /sāgn/, **/ɨsgnās/. Since an ablaut *šVC* : *išC* is unparalleled in Hittite, the form **/ɨsgnās/ probably was remade to /sgnās/ (cf. at *šākk-*^{i} / *šakk-* for a similar scenario). Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the *o*-grade was introduced into the oblique cases (so /sagnā́s/). 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 /sgnā́s/. According to Rieken (l.c.), the verb *iškii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to anoint, to oil' must be regarded as a derivative of this noun, reflecting **sǵ*$^{(ʼ)(h)}$*-i̯e/o-*. See there for discussion.

Oettinger (2003: 340) adduces CLuw. *tāin-* 'oil', which he assumes to reflect a collective **sog-ḗn*. 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. *tāu̯a/i-* ~ Hitt. *šākuu̯a-* 'eye' and CLuw. *dūr / dūn-* ~ Hitt. *šēḫur / šēḫun-* '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$_1$-* 'to cut', for which see *šākk-^{i} / 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: ***šaknēšš-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to be(come) impure, defiled' (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ak-ni-eš-zi*, *ša-ak-ni-e-e*[*š$^{?}$-zi*]), ***šaknuu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'defiled by *šakkar*, impure, soiled' (nom.sg.c. *ša-ak-nu-an-za* (MH/NS), *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-za* (NH), acc.sg.c. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-da-an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an* (NH), dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-ti*, abl. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-da-za*, nom.pl.c. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-an-te-eš* (NH), *ša-ak-nu-an-te-eš* (pre-NS), dat.-loc.pl. *ša-ak-nu-u̯a-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. *sãrn̥i* 'dung'.

PIE **sóḱ-r*, **sḱ-ór̥*, **sḱ-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. *sãrn̥i* 'dung' that seem to reflect **sḱer-*. The interpretation of the Hittite forms is not fully clear. The form *šakkar* is generally thought to reflect **sóḱ-r* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 295). From a PIE point of view, we would expect that the oblique forms belonging to **sóḱ-r* should have had a form **sḱ-én-* (compare **uód-r*, **ud-én-* 'water'). This form is not attested, however. The form *zakkar* must reflect a "coll." **sḱ-ór̥* (not **séḱ-ōr*, compare *u̯idār* < **ud-ór̥*!), certainly in view of the spelling *za-aš-ga-r°* /tskar/ as attested in its derivative *zašgaraiš* (q.v.). The expected oblique form belonging to this collective is **sḱ-n-ós*, which in my view is the preform of gen.sg. *šaknaš* (so possibly phonetic /sknā́s/, 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^{l}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' < **smo(n)ḱ-ur* (note that *zinni-/zinn-* 'to finish' < **ti-n(e)-h$_1$-*, *zē-* 'to cook' < **tieh$_1$-* and *zēna-* 'autumn' < **tieh$_1$-no-* and

therefore do not show **s-* > Hitt. *z-*). It is remarkable that its derivative *šamankuru̯ant-* '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 smóḱur* and **tod sḱṓr* (or whatever preceding pronoun) as **tod ˈsmóḱur* and **tod ˈsḱṓr* 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* < **sóḱr*).

It should be noted that nom.-acc.sg. **sóḱr* regularlly should have yielded ***sākar* (with lenition of **-ḱ-* 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-i̯a* (MH/NS), gen.sg. *ša-ak-la-a-i̯a-aš* (NH), abl. *ša-ak-la-i̯a-za*, nom.pl. *ša-ak-l*[*a-a-eš*] (NH), *ša-ak-la-uš* (NH), acc.pl. *ša-ak-la-uš* (NH).

PIE **seh₂k-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)h₂k-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 97), so *šaklāi-* must reflect **s(e)h₂k-lōi-s*. If in the root the zero-grade has generalized, then this word would show a development **sḫ₂k-* > *šak-* (thus Kimball 1999: 419), but this is unlikely in view of the fact that "[t]here is no solid evidence for "vocalization" of */h₂/ 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).

šakru̯e/a-^{zi} : see *šakuru̯e/a-*^{zi}

šāktae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to provide sick-maintainance': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-a-ak-ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi* (NH).

IE cognates: OIr. *socht* 'stupor'.

PIE **sokto-i̯e/o-* ??

See CHD Š: 51f. for attestations. See Watkins (1975: 70-1) for semantics and etymology. He states that *šāktae-* means 'to provide sick-maintainance' and must be denominative from a noun **šakta-* < **sokto-*. He connects this noun with OIr. *socht* 'stupor', which he further compares to Skt. *ví-ṣaktā* '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$_5$
(10) *šu-ú-i-el ḫa-ma-an-‹‹-ga››-kán nu* MUNUS ŠU.GI *šu-u̯-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$_5$ *šu-ú-i-el*)]
(3/4) *ḫ*[(*a*$^{?}$*-ma-a*)]*n-kán‹‹-an›› nu* MUNUS [Š]U.GI *šu-ú-i̯*[(*-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 *šākuu̯a-* '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 (l.c) cites as a possible instr.-form of this word, see the lemma *šakuiššii̯e/a-*^{zi}. Further unclear.

šakuiššii̯e/a-^{zi} (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 ḫu-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, *šākuu̯a-* (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 *šakuiššiie̯/a-*[zi].

šak(k)uni- (c.) 'spring, well' (Sum. TÚL?): nom.sg. *ša-ku‹-ni›-iš* (NH), gen.sg. *ša-ku-ni-i̯a-aš* (MH?/NS), all.sg. *ša-ku-ni-i̯a*.

Derivatives: ***šakuniie̯/a-*** (Ic1) 'to well up' (part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ku-ni-i̯a-an* (MH/NS); impf.2sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-ni-eš-ke-ši* (NH)), ***šakku(u̯a)ni-*** (c.) 'mud plaster' (acc.sg. *ša-ku-u̯a-ni-in*, *ša-ak-ku-ni-in*, *ša-ku-ni-in*, case? *ša-ak-ku-u̯a-ni-i̯*[*a-...*]).

PIE **sok*[w]*-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-i̯a-an* (12) [*ša-ra-a*] *da-a-i* is translated on page 58 'She takes [up] mud-plaster(?)' (as if belonging with *šakku(u̯a)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 *šakuniie̯/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 *šakkuu̯ani-*, *šakkuni-* 'mud-plaster' (but not *šakkuniia-* as cited in CHD) and the participle *šakuniiant-* 'welled-up', derived from the verb *šakuniie̯/a-*. Despite the fact that *šakkuu̯ani-*, *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 *šakuniie̯/a-* is due to chance (pace Rieken 1999a: 61[288]).

The formal connection between *šakuni-* and *šakuniie̯/a-* is clear, but the relation to *šakku(u̯a)ni-* is less obvious. Schmid (1988: 314-5) proposed a connection with

šākuu̯a- ‘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 *-*u̯on-/-un-* (and thus explaining *šakkuu̯ani-* besides *šakkuni-*). Rieken (l.c.) rejects this suggestion on the basis of her idea that *-*u̯on-* should have yielded Hitt. **-*man-* next to labiovelar. This is incorrect, however: the labial element of labiovelars does not participate in the sound law *-*uu̯-* > *-um-* (cf. *akueni* ‘we drink’ < *h_1g^{wh}*uéni*). Nevertheless, assuming an *n*-suffix is formally possible as well.

All in all, we have to assume a preform *$sók^{w}$*-n-*, *$s(o)k^{w}$*-ón-* ‘*eye-like > well’ (or *$sók^{w}$*-un-*, *$s(o)k^{w}$*-u̯ón-* if one likes), from which *i*-stem derivatives on the one hand yielded *sok^{w}*-n-i-* > *šakkuni-* ‘well, spring’ and *sok^{w}*-n-i̯e/o-* > *šakkuni̯e/a-* ‘to well up’, and on the other *sok^{w}*-on-i-* > *šakkuu̯ani-* ‘mud-plaster (i.e. what has welled up)’. The fact that *k^{w}* was not lenited in these forms (unlike in *šākuu̯a-* ‘eye’) is due to the fact that unlenited *k^{w}* was generalized from the oblique cases. See at *šākuu̯a-* for further etymology.

šakuruu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic4) ‘(trans.) to water (animals); (intr. with =*z*) to drink’: 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ak-ru-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ku-ru-u-an-z*[*i*] (MH/MS), [*š*]*a-ku-ru-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ak-ru-ú-u̯a-an-zi* (NS), *ša-ku-ru-u-u̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS); verb.noun *ša-ku-ru-u-u̯a-u̯a-ar* (MH/MS).

PIE *$srog^{w}$*ru-i̯e/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 *šakuruu̯e/a-* and *šakruu̯e/a-*. Because the form *šakuruu̯e/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 *šakuruu̯e/a-* here. Apparently, *šakuruu̯e/a-* (/sag^{w}rue/a-/?) was dissimilated to *šakruu̯e/a-* (/sagrue/a-/) in the late MH period. This *šakuruu̯e/a-* is, as stated by CHD, a denominative in *-i̯e/o-* of a stem **šakuru-*. Melchert (1994a: 170) assumes that this stem is metathesized from *sag^{w}*ur*. Moreover, he assumes that “[d]issimilatory loss of */r/ is seen in **srakur-ye-* ‘water’ > **srakru-ye-* ... > **sakruye-* > *sakruwe-*. The base noun **srakur* (i.e. */srag^{w}-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 *$sok^{w}tH$- ?

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[61]) 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 *$sok^{w}tH$-*o*-. The fact that we do not find geminate spelling *-kk-* in *šakutta(i)-* /sak^{w}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*.

šākuu̯a- (n.) 'eye' (Sum. IGI, Akk. *ĪNU*): dat.-loc.sg. IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-i*, gen.sg. *ŠA* IGI^{NIM}, *E-NI*, all.sg.(?) *ša-ku-u̯a* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-a-ku-u̯a* (OS), *ša-ku-ua-a* (MH/MS), *ša-ku-u̯a* (OH/NS), gen.pl. *ša-ku-u̯a-aš* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-a-ku-u̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *ša-ku-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS), abl.pl. [*ša-k*]*u-u̯a-za*, instr.pl. *ša-a-ku-it* (OS), *ša-ku-i-it* (OH/MS), *ša-a-ku-u̯a-at* (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ***šakuu̯al-*** (n.) 'eye-cover' (nom.-acc.sg. [*š*]*a*$^{?}$*-a-ak-ku-u̯a-al* (MS), instr. [*ša-a-a*]*k*$^{?}$*-ku-u̯a-li-it* (MS), nom.-acc.pl. *ša-ku-u̯a-a*[*l-l*(*i*)]), see *šakuu̯aie/a-*^{zi} and *šakuu̯antariie/a-*^{zi}.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tāu̯a/i-*** (c./n.) 'eye' (nom.sg. *da-a-u-i-iš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ta-a-u-i*, coll.pl. *da-a-u-u̯a*, IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-u̯a*, dist.nom.-acc. IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-u̯a-an-ta*, dist.dat.-loc. *da-a-ú-u̯a-an-t*[*a-an-za*], *ta-u̯a-an-ta-an-*[*za*], abl.-instr. *ta-a-ú-u̯a-ti*, gen.adj.-nom.sg.c. IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-u̯a-aš-ši-iš*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.sg.n. IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-u̯a-aš-ša-an-za*, gen.adj.abl.-instr. *ta-u̯a-aš-ša-ti*, *da-a-u-u̯a-aš-ša-ti*, *ta-a-u-u̯a-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *da-a-u-u̯a-aš-ša-an-za-ti*), ***dau̯alli(i̯a)-*** 'to cast the evil eye upon' (3sg.pres.act. *da-u̯a-al-li-it-ti* (KUB 44.4+KBo 13.241 rev. 33)); HLuw. ***tawa/i-*** 'eye' (acc.sg. $^{\text{"LITUUS"}}$*ta-wá/í-na-´* (KAYSERİ §3), abl.-instr. ^{COR}*ta-wa/i+ra/i* (KÜRTÜL §4), gen.adj.abl.-instr.(?) $^{\text{"COR"}}$*ta-wa/i-sà-ta-ti* (ASSUR letter *e* §10)); Lyc. ****tewe-*** 'eye' (coll.pl. *tawa*), ***ñtewẽ*** (adv.) 'facing, opposite, toward'.

PAnat. *$s\acute{o}g^{w}o$-

IE cognates: PGerm. *$sex^{w}an$ 'to see'

See CHD Š: 65f. for attestations. The oldest attestations of this word is nom.-acc.pl. *šākuu̯a* (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 *šākuu̯a-*. For instance, the NS spelling IGI-*anda* for *menaḫḫanda* 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. $IGI^{ḪLA}$-*iš* (MH/MS), acc.sg.c. $IGI^{ḪLA}$-*in* (NS) (see CHD (l.c.) for attestations). On the basis of these forms, e.g. CHD assumes that *šākuu̯a-* 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 *šākuu̯a-* is unlikely, not only because all phonetically spelled forms of this word show the *a*-stem *šākuu̯a-*, but also because these *i*-stem forms are commune whereas *šākuu̯a-* 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=šši̯t* 'its eye'. As we will see at its own lemma, this word is rather a verbal form belonging to a stem *šakuiššiie/a-*^{zi} (q.v.). Starke (1989: 665f.) states that the forms with $IGI^{ḪLA}$-*i-* should be read as Luwian *tāu̯a/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_1, 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 *šākuu̯a-*, which is almost consistently attested in the plural. There is no evidence that the commune forms $IGI^{ḪLA}$-*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 *šākuu̯a-* with *h_3ek^{w}- 'to see', which would imply that in Hittite we are dealing with an *s*-mobile: *s-h_3ek^{w}-. The second one connects *šākuu̯a-* with PGerm. *$sex^{w}an$ 'to see' from *sek^{w}-. Both etymologies have their problematic sides. The assumption of an *s*-mobile in *s-h_3ek^{w}- is rather awkward, although one can compare *šankuu̯ai-* 'nail' < *s-h_3ng^{h}-*u-* and possibly *išḫaḫru-* 'tear', if this reflects *s-h_2ekʷ*ru-*. A meaning 'to see' of PGerm. *$sex^{w}an$ is often thought to derive through a secondary development from PIE *sek^{w}- 'to follow' (< 'to follow with the eyes'). Both etymological proposals have the problem that PIE *-k^{w}- 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 *šākuu̯a-* but also in *nekuz* 'night' < *nek^wts 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 *šakkuu̯ani-* 'mud-plaster' < *sok^w-*on-i-*, *tekkuš-* 'to show, to present' < *dek^ws-, *takku* 'if, when' < *$to\text{-}k^we$ and *nekku* 'not?'< *$ne\text{-}k^we$ 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 *šākuu̯a-* is that we see here an example of lenition due to a preceding accentuated *$ó$. As I have stated in § 1.4.1, I assume that *$ó$ lenited a following consonant, which is for instance the source of the characteristic alternation between -*C*- and -*CC*- in *ḫi*-verbs (e.g. *āki / akkanzi*). So in my view, *-$ók^wo$- regularly yields Hitt. -*ākuu̯a-*. All in all, I would reconstruct *šākuu̯a-* as *$sók^wo$-*o-*, and, to be more precise, nom.-acc.pl. *šākuu̯a* as *$sók^weh_2$ (from which *šakuu̯aḭe/a-*^{zi}, q.v.).

The interpretation of CLuw. *tāu̯a/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[17] (but retracted in 1994a: 274-5), and by Rieken 1999a: 60[284]). LIV^2 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. *tāu̯a/i-* and Hitt. *šākuu̯a-* is too big not to attempt connecting them etymologically. The latter part of the word is no problem: Hitt. *-ākuu̯a-* points to PAnat. *-$\acute{o}g^wo$-, which would yield Luw. *-āu̯a/i-* as well. The initial part is more problematic, however: Luw./Lyc. *t-* does not regularly correspond to Hitt. *š-*. Yet there are a few more words in which we do find this correspondence: CLuw. *tāin-* 'oil' could possibly belong with Hitt. *šākan / šakn-* 'oil' and CLuw. *dūr / dūn-* 'urine' could possibly belong with Hitt. *šēḫur / šēḫun-* 'urine'. When compared to Luw. *tāu̯a/i-* ~ Hitt. *šākuu̯a-*, we notice that in all these cases we are dealing with a word in which PAnat. */g/, */ǵ/ or */g^w/ is lost: *tāin-* < *$s\acute{o}gen$-, *dūr* < *$s\acute{e}g^wr$ and *tāu̯a/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-*.

šakuu̯āi̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic3 > Ic2) 'to see, to look': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-e*[*z-zi*] (here?), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-*[*k*]*u-u̯a-i̯a-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ku-u-u̯a-i-i̯a-at* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-ku-u̯a-i̯a-at* (NH), *ša-ku-u̯a-et*, *ša-ku-u̯a-a-*[*et*] (MH/NS), [*ša-*]*a-ku-u̯a-i-e-et*, [*š*]*a-ku-u̯a-i-e-et*, 2sg.imp.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-i̯a* (OH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-at-te-en* (OH or MH); verb.noun gen. *ša-ku‹-u̯a›-i̯a-u-u̯a-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*^{w}*eh*$_2$*-i̯e/o-*

See CHD Š: 55f. for attestations. This verb is generally seen as a derivative of *šākuu̯a-* 'eye'. As this noun is virtually pluralum tantum (nom.-acc.pl. *šākuu̯a* < **sók*^{w}*eh*$_2$), it is likely that this verb is derived from **sók*^{w}*eh*$_2$ and reflects **sok*^{w}*eh*$_2$*-i̯e/o-*, which explains why this verb belongs to the *tāi̯e/a*-class. See for further etymology at *šākuu̯a-*.

šakuu̯antariii̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to stay, to remain, to rest; to be neglected, to be unvisited, to be untended, to be uncelebrated' (Sum. IGI-*u̯antariii̯e/a-*): 3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-zi* (MH/NS), [IG]I-*u̯a-an-da-ri-ez-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *ša-a-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH); impf. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-da-ri-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *ša-ku-u̯a-an-da-ri-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ***šaku(u̯a)ntariii̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to neglect' (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ku-un-tar-ri-i̯a-nu-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-te-ni* (OH or MH/NS); part. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (NH); impf. *ša-ku-u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-uš-ke/a-* (NH), IGI-*u̯a-an-ta-ri-i̯a-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)).

PIE **sok*^{w}*-ent-r-i̯e/o-*

See CHD Š: 58f. for attestations. Oettinger (1979a: 352) derives this verb from an adjective **šakuu̯ant-* 'seeing' (cf. *šākuu̯a-* 'eye', *šakuu̯ai̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to see'), which would mean that *šakuu̯antariii̯e/a-*^{zi} is formally comparable to *gimmantariii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to spend the winter', derived from *gimmant-* 'winter', and *nekumandariii̯e/a-*^{zi} '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 *šakuu̯antariii̯anu-*^{zi} a secondary intransitive stem *šakuu̯antariii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to

be neglected' was created which formally fell together with the original verb *šakuu̯antariie/a-*^{zi} 'to stay, to remain', but semantically is slightly different. For further etymology see at *šākuu̯a-*.

šalliie/a-$^{tta(ri)}$, ***šalla-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg / IIIh) 'to melt down': 3sg.pres.midd. *šal-la-at-ta-ri* (NS), *šal-li-i̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-du*; impf. *šal-la-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH?/NS)).

See CHD Š: 82 for attestations. We find three stems, *šalla-*, *šalliie/a-* and *šalliiae-*. Of these stems, *šalla-* is the oldest attested, whereas *šalliie/a-* and *šalliiae-* 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-^{i} ***/ šali-*** (IIa4) '?': 3pl.pres.act. *ša-li-i-an-zi* (KUB 59.14 rev. l.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-*^{i} */ šallanni-*, but this is formally totally unlikely; *ša-la-i-iš* is cited under *šallai-*^{i} */ 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. l.col. (additions from KBo 25.175 r.col 3-4)
(21) [*-t*]*a-ki* UDU$^{ḪI.A}$*-uš da-an-zi*
(22) [($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$)]UR.BA[R.R]A *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš* UDU-*li-i̯a*
(23) [*pa*$^{?}$-]*a*$^{?}$*-an-zi n=a-aš-ta* UDU$^{ḪI.A}$*-uš* UDU-*li-i̯a-az*
(24) [*š*]*a-ra-a ša-li-i-an-zi* MUNUS ^{GIŠ}GIDRU
(25) [^{L}]^{Ú}*ḫar-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 *šaliḭanzi* 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-*^{i} / *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-ḭa-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 *šaliḭanzi* must mean something like 'to get/pull/drag (someone out of the water)', whereas the meaning of *šalaḭiš* is unclear. It therefore remains unclear whether these forms belong to one verb. If so, then they show the *dāi/tiḭanzi*-class inflection. Further unclear.

šallai-^{i} **/ *šalli-*** (IIa4) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-al-la-i* (OH?/pre-NS?) (here?), 3pl.pres.act. *šal-li-ḭa-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/tiḭanzi*-class inflection. Further unkown.

šallakarta- (n.) 'presumptuousness': nom.-acc.pl. *šal-la-kar-ta*, gen. *šal-la-kar-ta-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ***šallakartaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to offend someone through arrogance' (3sg.pret.act. *šal-la-kar-ta-aḫ-ta* (NH)), ***šallakartae-***^{zi} (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 *-aia-*, or shows a real replacement of *-i-* by **-o-* comparable to e.g. Lith. *ugnãvietė* 'fire-place' from *ugnìs* 'fire'. The single spelling of *-k-*, which seemingly contradicts the fact that *ker / kard(i)-* reflects **ǩer / *ǩrd-*, 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-^{i} / 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-ia-an-zi* (OH/NS), [*ša*]*l-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 *ḫuett-$^{(tt)a(ri)}$*, *ḫuttiie/a-^{zi}* 'to pull, to drag', because in the Song of Release (StBoT 32) both verbs translate the same Hurrian verb. In CHD, a form *šaliianzi* is cited as belonging to this verb as well, but this is formally unlikely. I treat this form under the lemma *šalai-^{i} / šali-* (q.v.)

Often, *šallanna/i-* is connected with the verb *šalla-^{ttari}*, *šalliie/a-^{ttari}* '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 *peianae-^{zi}* and does not have anything to do with *pai-^{i} / 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-*, *šalliie/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-ia-aš*, *šal-la-ia-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-ia-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-ia* (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-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. *šal-la-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), *šal-li-i̯a-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-u̯a-an-ta-ti*; part. *šal-la-nu-u̯a-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)), ***šallēšš-***^{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*]*l-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-*^{ttari}, *šalli̯e/a-*^{ttari}.

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-u̯o-*, an original laryngeal was lost due to the *o*-grade: **solH-u̯o-*.

Within Hittite, we come across a noun *šalḫi̯anti-*, *šalḫanti-*, *šalḫitti-* (cf. CHD Š: 92) that occurs in lists of desirable states, e.g.

KUB 17.10 i
(10) ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-š=a ar-ḫa i-i̯a-an-ni-iš ḫal-ki-in* ^{d}*Im-mar-ni-in*
(11) *ša-al-ḫi-an-ti-en ma-an-ni-it-ti-en iš-pí-i̯a-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$_2$-i-* or **selh$_2$-i-*, with **-h$_2$-*. 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- / araḫ- / arḫ-*, this sound law is incorrect, which means that *šalli-* must reflect **solH-i-*.

šalǐk-$^{a(ri)}$ (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$_4$* (NS), *ša-li-ka$_4$-ri*, *ša-li-ka$_4$-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-u̯a-aš-ta-ti* (OH/NS), 2pl.pres.midd. *ša-li-ik-tu-ma-ri* (OS), [*ša-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$_4$-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-u̯a-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 *slīhhan* ‘to sneak’, Gr. λίγδην ‘striking, touching superficially’.

PIE **sléi̯g̑-o* or **sli̯g̑-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-*^{zi}, but we find a stem *šalika-*^{i} / *šalik-* as well (*tarn(a)*-class). A few forms show a stem *šalikiie/a-*^{zi} (3pl.pres.midd. *šalikianta* (MH/MS) and inf.I *šalikiuuanzi* (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^2, OIr. *sligid* is connected with OHG *slīhhan* 'to sneak' and Gr. λίγδην 'striking, touching superficially' from a root **sleiˀǵ-* 'schmieren, glatt machen' (LIV^2 reconstructs a palatovelar on the basis of OCS *slьzъkъ* 'slippery', which must reflect **sliǵ^h-*, however, because of the absence of Winter's Law). Either we have to reconstruct **sléiˀǵ-o* (class IIIa, but note that we then must assume a phonetic development **leiK* > *līk*, perhaps comparable to **Kei* > *Kī*) or **sliˀǵ-ó* (class IIIc).

šalk-^{zi} (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. ἕλκω 'to draw, to drag', TochB *sälk-* 'to draw, to pull', OE *sulh* 'plough'.

PIE **selk-ti*, **slk-enti* ?

See CHD Š: 106 for attestions. 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 *šalkiie/a-*^{zi} (*šalkiezzi*).

The etymological interpretation of this verb is in debate. Kimball (1994a: 80) discusses two possibilities: either a connection with Skt. *sṛjáti* 'to set free' from **selǵ-* (but this is semantically quite weak), or a tie-in with Gr. ἕλκω 'to draw, to

drag' and TochB *sälk-* 'to draw, to pull' from **selk-* (semantically better, but still not self-evident). Rieken (1999a: 316[1538]) states that a semantic connection with **selǵ-* is unsatisfying, and therefore connects *šalk-* with the root **sleh$_1$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$_1$g-ti*, **slh$_1$g-énti* would yield Hitt. /slḗgtˢi/, /slgántˢi/, which could only become the attested Hittite paradigm through generalization of the weak stem. Although such generalizations are known (e.g. *gulšmi*, *gulšanzi* < **k^{w}ls-*), the semantic and formal problems make this etymology less convincing. I therefore stick to the connection with Gr. ἕλκω, but must admit that a better proposal would certainly be welcome.

(GIŠ)***šam(a)lu-*** (n.) 'apple (tree)(?)' (Sum. ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR): nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ma-lu* (OH?/NS), erg.sg. *ša-ma-lu-u̯a-an-za* (NS), abl. ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR-*lu-u̯a-an-za*, instr. ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR-*it*; unclear (erg.sg. or abl.) *ša-am-lu-u̯a-an-za* (OH/NS),

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***šamlū(u̯a)-*** 'apple?' (dat.-loc.pl.(?) *ša-am-lu-ú-u̯a-aš*).

See CHD Š: 112f. for attestations. The equation of Hitt. *šam(a)lu-* with the sumerogram ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR is certain. The meaning of ^{GIŠ}ḪAŠḪUR is not fully clear, however. Usually, a translation 'apple' is given, but 'apricot' sometimes as well (cf. CHD Š: 114). The Palaic form *šamlūu̯aš* 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$_2$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$_2$eb-ōl* have in common is *-l-*, which is not enough to establish an etymology. Further unclear.

šāmă̆na- (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-*^{zi} (see under *šamen-*^{zi} */ 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 *šāmă̄na-* (which he cites as *šamana-*) with the verb *šamnae-*^{zi} '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$_1$-men-*, a derivative from the PIE root **seh$_1$-* 'to press in, to sow' (see also at *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*). He therefore reconstructs the Hittite word "*šamana-*" as **sh$_1$-men-*, giving especially *ša-me-nu-uš* < **sh$_1$-mén-m̥s* as a key example. This is not likely because (a) *šāmă̄na-* does not show an *n*-stem inflection, (b) this etymology cannot explain the plene spellings *ša-a-ma-n*°, and (c) *ša-me-nu-uš* probably does not belong to this word. Kimball states that the preform **seh$_1$-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-*^{zi} as well as *šamen-*^{zi} */ šamn-*).

All in all, an etymological connection with Arm. *himn* seems formally impossible to me. The inner-Hittite connection with *šamnae-*^{zi} in my view has to be given up as well, because this verb probably reflects **sm-no-i̯e/o-*, which would not be able to account for *šāmă̄na-* in a coherent way.

šammanae-^{zi}: see *šamnae-*^{zi}

šamankuru̯ant-: see at *zama(n)kur*

šame-^{zi}: see *šamen-*^{zi} */ šamn-*

šamen-^{zi} ***/ šamn-***, ***šemen-***^{zi} ***/ 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-i̯a-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-***^{zi} (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*$^{?}$*-er*$^{?}$] (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 *šamnae-*^{zi} '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 *šamnae-*. Oettinger (o.c.: 98) states, however: "eine auffassung von *samnanzi* als zu *samnae-* 'gründen, schaffen' gehörig ist nicht nur lautlich unwahrscheinlich – zu erwaten 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^{MEŠ} AN.BAR 20 [*pur-*]*pu-ru-uš* AN.BAR *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an-z*[*i* ...]
(51) LÚ^{MEŠ} KÙ.BABBAR 20 [*pur-*]*pu-ru-uš* KÙ.BABBAR *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an-*[*zi* ....]
(52) $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$URUDU.DÍM.DÍM *ša-am-na-an-zi* LÚ^{MEŠ} [...]
(53) [x-x-]x-*u-lu-ma-aš ša-me-en-zi* LÚ^{M}[^{EŠ} ...]

'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 *šamnae-*, 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 interpretion as a form of *šamen-/šamn-*:

KBo 8.102
(6) [...]x *ar-ta u̯a-a-tar iš-pár-nu-u*[*z-zi*]
(7) [...]-*un šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* 2 DUMU^{MEŠ} É.G[AL]
(8) [... *M*]*A-ḪAR I-NIM še-em-na-an-zi š=a-a*[*t*]
(9) [... *ši*$^{?}$-*pa*$^{?}$-*a*]*n*$^{?}$-*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 **sm̥n-enti* (comparing *tamenta* besides *damnant-*). So the forms *šamenzi* : *šamnanzi* are to be interpreted /smént^{s}i/ : /smnánt^{s}i/, whereas *šemenzi* : *šemnanzi* show occasional anaptyxis in the initial cluster: /sɨmént^{s}i/ : /sɨmnánt^{s}i/.

This verb cannot reflect anything else than **smén-ti*, **smn-énti*, 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', μοῦνος '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. *šame-i̯anzi*, 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 **sm̥n-ske/o-*, the morphologically expected imperfective, as well, cf. **g^{wh}m̥n-ske/o-* >

kuu̯aske/a-). We should rather assume an analogy to the forms **smemi*, **smesi*, **smeu̯en* (cf. *kuemi*, *kueši*, *kueu̯en* from *kuen-*^{zi} */ kun-*).

Oettinger (o.c.: 99) states that the verbs *šamešiu̯e/a-*^{zi} and *šamešanu-*^{zi} '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-*^{zi} 'to make pass by, to let someone go, to ignore (someone)' (derived from *šamen-/šamn-*) and the verb *šame/inu-*^{zi} '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 basice 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 /sm̥nu-/ < **smn-néu-* (for /Cm̥nC/ < **CmnC*, compare *ḫame/ink-* < **h$_2$mnǵ^h-* (see at *ḫamank-*^{i} */ ḫame/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-*^{zi}, 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-u̯a-an ar-ḫa pár-aḫ-tén* EME^{MEŠ}ḪUL-*l*[*a*$^{?}$*-mu*$^{?}$*-uš*$^{?}$]
(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-*^{zi} */ šamn-* 'to pass by' (e.g. Oettinger 1976c, who regards this form as 3pl.imp.act. *šammenandu*) or to *šamnae-*^{zi} '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-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***šaminu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to burn (something)’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-mi-nu-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-mi-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *ša-me-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (OH/NS), impf. *ša-am-mi-nu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/NS)), ***šamešiie/a-***^{zi}, ***šimišiie/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘(act.) to burn (something) for fumigation; (midd.) to burn for fumigation (intr.); (act.) to interrogate’ (3sg.pres.act. *ša-me-ši-i̯a-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-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pres.midd. *ša-mi-ši-i̯a*, *ša-me-ši-i-e-it-ta*; impf. *ša-mi-ši-iš-ke/a-*), ***šamešanu-***^{zi} (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 *šamiiaš* is broken and its meaning therefore not fully clear, a translation ‘smoke’, which is based on the formal simililarity with *šaminu-*^{zi} ‘to burn’, would fit. This latter verb clearly belongs with *ša/imi/ešiie/a-*^{zi} and *šamešanu-*^{zi}, both meaning ‘to burn’ as well, although the formal relationship is unclear. Oettinger (1979a: 346) calls “*šamešie-*” 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.

šamnae-^{zi} (Ic2 > Ic1) ‘to create’: 3pl.pres.act. *ša-am-ma-na-a-an-zi* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. [*š*]*a-am-ni-i̯a-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-i̯a-at* (OH/NS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-am-ni-er* (NS), *ša-am-ma*[*-na*$^{?}$*-er*$^{?}$] (NS), [*ša*$^{?}$*-a*]*m-ni-e-er* (MH/NS); 3sg.imp.midd. *ša-am-ni-i̯a-ta-ru* (OH/NS), *ša-am-ni-e-t*[*a*]*-ru* (OH/NS), 3pl.imp.midd. *ša-*[*a*]*m-ni-i̯a-an-ta-ru* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-am-ma-ni-i̯a-an-ta-ru* (OH/NS); part. *ša-am-ni-i̯a-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. *həm*, Lith. *saⁿ̃-*, OCS *sǫ-* ‘together’.

PIE **sm-no-i̯e/o-* ?

It is not always fully clear which forms belong to this verb, especially because of the formal similarity with *šamen-*^{zi} / *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-*^{zi} / *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-*^{zi} / *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 *šamnae-*, *šamniie/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*° and *ša-am-ma-n*° probably denotes that we have to phonologically interpret /saMn°/. We encounter two stems: *šamnae-*^{zi} (*šammanānzi*, *šamnāeš* and *šamnāit*) and *šamniie/a-*^{zi} (*šamniianun*, *šamniiet*, *šamniiat*, *šamnier*, [*ša*]*mniier*, *šamniiataru*, *šamnietaru*, *šamniiantaru* and *šamniiant-*). Although the stem *šamniie/a-* is attested more often (but is found in NS texts only), the oldest form, *šamnāeš* (OH/MS), shows that the stem *šamnae-* is more original.

Verbs that belong to the *ḫatrae*-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. *hə̄m*, Lith. *saṁ-*). If so, then we can reconstruct a semantic development **smno-* 'togetherness' > **smno-ie/o-* 'to bring together' > 'to create'.

šamniie/a-^{zi}: see *šamnae-*^{zi}

=*(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*

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*, *u̯a-al-ḫa-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 post-posttonic 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. *hə̄m*, Lith. *samˀ-*, OCS *sǫ-*, Gr. ἀ- (in ἀδελφεός '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-*^{i} / *šann- (IIa1γ) 'to hide, to conceal': 1sg.pres.act. *ša-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* (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 **sn̥-nó-h$_1$-ei*, **sn̥-n-h$_1$-énti*

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 infixed verb. He reconstructs **sn̥-n-h$_2$-* 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$_2$-*. 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$_2$-ei* would yield Hitt. ***šannaḫi*. This problem can be solved by Schrijver’s reconstruction of Gr. ἄνευ as **snh$_1$-eu* (1991: 218), on the basis of which Lat. *sine* < **snh$_1$-i*, OIr. *sain* < **snh$_1$-i-* etc. For *šanna-/šann-*, this would mean that we have to reconstruct **sn̥-nó-h$_1$-ei*, **sn̥-n-h$_1$-énti*, which would regularly yield Hitt. *šannāi*, *šannanzi*. The semantic side of the etymology is convincing as well. Originally, the root **snh$_1$-* must have meant something like ‘unavailable, away’. Like the other nasal infixed 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*]*i*$^{?}$*-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)), ***šannapilaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘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-***^{zi} (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$_1$o-b^{h}i*

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. *kuu̯api kuu̯api* '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$_2$-*. As I have pointed out at the lemma of *šanna-^{i} / šann-* 'to hide', which is cognate with Lat. *sine* etc. as well, the reconstruction should be **senh$_1$-*. This would mean that *šannapi(li)* reflects **sonh$_1$-o-b^{h}i(-li)*. Note that inner-Hittite derivation from *šanna-/šann-* 'to hide' is semantically difficult. A reconstruction **snh$_1$-o-* is impossible because **CRh$_1$V* yields Hitt. *CaRV* but not ***CaRRV* (cf. *parai-^{i} / pari-* 'to blow' < **prh$_1$-(o)i-*).

ša(n)ḫ-^{zi} (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-aḫ-mi* (MH/MS), *ša-an-aḫ-mi* (NH), *ša-an-ḫa-mi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *ša-an-ḫa-ši* (MS or NS), *ša-an-aḫ-ti* (NH), *ša-an-ḫa-ti* (NH), *ša-an-ḫa-at-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ša-aḫ-zi* (OS), *ša-an-aḫ-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḫa-zi* (NH), *ša-an-ḫa-az-zi* (OH/NS), *ša-an-zi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-aḫ-te-*[*ni*$^{?}$] (MH/MS), *ša-an-aḫ-te-ni* (NH), *ša-an-ḫa-te-ni*, *ša-an-ḫa-at-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-ḫa-an-zi* (OH or MH/NS), *ša-an-ḫa-a-an-zi* (NH), *ša-ḫa-an-zi* (MH?/MS?), *ša-a-ḫa-an-zi*, *ša-an-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ša-an-ḫu-un* (OH/NS), *ša-an-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH), *ša-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ša-an-aḫ-ta* (NH), *ša-an-na-aḫ-ta* (1x, NH), *ša-na-aḫ-ta* (1x, NH), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-aḫ-ta* (OS), *ša-an-aḫ-ta* (OH/NS), *ša-an-ḫa-ta* (OH/NS), *ša-na-aḫ-ta* (1x, NH), *ša-a-an-aḫ-ta* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *ša-an-ḫu-u-i-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *ša-an-aḫ-tén* (NS), 3pl.pret.act. *ša-an-ḫe-er* (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *ša-a-aḫ* (OH/MS), *ša-an-ḫa* (OH/MS), *ša-an-aḫ* (OH/MS), *ša-an-ḫi* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ša-aḫ-du* (MH/LS), *ša-an-a*[*ḫ-d*]*u*, 2pl.imp.act. [*š*]*a-a-aḫ-tén* (OH/NS), *ša-an-ḫa-at-tén* (NH/LS), *ša-an-aḫ-tén* (MH/NS), *ša-na-aḫ-tén* (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-an-ḫa-an-du* (MH/MS); inf.I *ša-an-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-an-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*; part. *ša-an-ḫa-an-t-* (MH/NS); impf. *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (OS), *ša-an-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *ša-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *ša(n)ḫu-^{zi}*.

IE cognates: OHG *sinnan* 'to strive after', Skt. *san^{i}-* 'to win, to gain'.

PIE **senh$_2$-ti*, **snh$_2$-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)ḫ-* 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-aḫ-C* as well as *ša-an-ḫa-C*, which, together with spellings *ša-an-aḫ-ḫV*, show that we are dealing with a stem /sanH-/. Besides these forms, we also find the spelling *ša-aḫ-*. In the oldest texts, the distribution between *šanḫ-* and *šaḫ-* is that *šanḫ-* is found in front of vowel (*šanḫ-V*), whereas *šaḫ-* is found in front of consonant (*šaḫ-C*), which is comparable to e.g. *li(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫarni(n)k-*^{zi}, *ḫuni(n)k-*^{zi}, etc. Already in MS texts, we find that this distribution is getting blurred (e.g. *ša-an-aḫ-zi* (MH/MS)).

Since Eichman (1973: 269ff.), *ša(n)ḫ-* is generally connected with OHG *sinnan* 'to strive after', Skt. *san*^{i}*-* 'to win, to gain', Gr. ἄνυμι 'to fulfil' etc., which point to a root **senh*$_2$*-*. This means that for Hittite we have to reconstruct **senh*$_2$*-ti*, **snh*$_2$*-enti*.

Puhvel (1979b: 299ff.) argued for a separation of *ša(n)ḫ-* 'to seek, to search' and *ša(n)ḫ-* '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*$_2$*-* 'to bathe, to swim' (Lat. *nāre*, Skt. *snā́ti*, etc.). However, Tischler (HEG S: 825-8) shows and explicitly states that *ša(n)ḫ-* 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)ḫu-*^{zi} 'to roast' is cognate, see there.

ša(n)ḫu-^{zi} (Ib3) 'to roast': 3sg.pres.act. *ša-an-ḫu-uz-zi* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *ša-an-ḫu-an-*[*zi*] (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/NS), *ša-an-ḫu-un-zi* (OH or MH/NS), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-an-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-du* (MH/NS); 3sg.pres.mid. *ša-an-ḫu-ta* (OH or MH/NS); part. *ša-an-ḫu-u̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ša-an-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-t-*, *ša-ḫu-u̯a-an-t-* (OH/NS), *ša-a-an-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-t-*, *ša-an-ḫu-un-t-* (NS).

Derivatives: ***šanḫuu̯a-*** (c.), a food (nom.pl. *ša-an-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (OH/NS)), ***šanḫuna-***, a food (gen.sg.(?) *ša-an-ḫu-na-aš* (NH)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄνυμι 'to fulfil, to bring to an end'.

PIE **senh₂-u-ti *snh₂-u-enti*.

See CHD Š: 172f. for attestations. If the one form *ša-ḫu-u̯a-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-^{zi}*, *ḫarni(n)k-^{zi}*, *ša(n)ḫ-^{zi}*, 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^{w}-/ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c, § 1.3.5 and at *tarḫu-^{zi}*). Here it is necessary since in a stem /sanHu-/ the nasal would never stand before two consonants (e.g. /sanHumi/), whereas in /sanH^{w}-/ this is possible (e.g. */sanH^{w}mi/ should regularly give /saH^{w}mi/). We see that, just as in *ša(n)ḫ-^{zi}*, already in MS texts the original distribution between /sanH^{w}V-/ and /saH^{w}C-/ has been blurred.

Eichner *apud* Oettinger (1979a: 367) connects *ša(n)ḫu-^{zi}* with Gr. ἄνυμι 'to fulfil, to bring to an end', which is semantically likely (cf. ModEng. *well done* 'thoroughly baked', but also Hitt. *zē-^{ari}* 'to cook < *to be finished' (q.v.)). The Greek verb is usually seen as an *u*-extension of the root **senh₂-* 'to achieve, to try to accomplish'. This latter root is the parent to Hitt. *ša(n)ḫ-^{zi}* 'to search', which is semantically that far from 'to roast' that we must assume that the *u*-extension as visible in *ša(n)ḫu-^{zi}* is from PIE origin already and therewith directly cognate to the Greek verb (see at *tarḫu-^{zi}* ~ Skt. *tū́rvati* for a similar scenario).

šani- (adj.) 'the same, one and the same': dat.-loc.sg. *ša-ni-i̯a* (OS), *ša-ni-i-i̯a* (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)), ***šanezziḭaḫḫ-^{i}*** (IIb) 'to make pleasant; to enjoy oneself' (2sg.imp.act. [*ša-n*]*i-iz-zi-i̯a-aḫ* (NS), *ša-ne-ez-zi-i̯*[*a*$^{?}$*-aḫ*$^{?}$] (NS); impf.3?pl.pres.act. *ša-ni-iz-zi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-iš*[*-kán-zi*?]), ***šanezziēšš-^{zi}*** (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. ^{BONUS}*sa-na-wá/í* (KARATEPE 1 §14), *sa-na-wa/i-ia* (ASSUR letter *g* §36), ^{BONUS}*sa-na-wa/i-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §15 Hu.), $^{\text{"BONUS"}}$*sa-na-wá/í-ia* (KARATEPE 1 §15 Ho.), etc.), ***sanawazi-*** (adj.) 'good' (acc.sg.c. *sa-na-wa/i-zi-na*$^{-i}$ (ASSUR letter *d* §8), *sa-na-wa/i-zi-na-´* (ASSUR letter *e* §23)), ***sanawastar-*** 'goodness' (abl.-instr. $^{(\text{"})\text{BONUS}(\text{"})}$*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ti* (KARATEPE 1 §18 Hu. and Ho.), *sa-na-wa/i-sa*$_4$*-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*$_1$*os+i*, **h*$_1$*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*$_1$*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 *ḫantezzi(i̯a)-*, *appezzi(i̯a)-*, e.a., but these all show an *a*-stem *-ezzi̯a-* 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(i̯a)-* 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(i̯a)-*, 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.

šankuu̯āi- (c.) 'nail; a unit of linear measure' (Sum. UMBIN): nom.sg.c. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (NH), erg.sg. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-an-za* (NH), nom.pl.c. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i-š=a-at* (OH/MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. [*ša-a*]*n-ku-u̯a-a-i* (pre-NS), *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (OH/MS), gen.pl. *ša-an-ku-u̯a‹-i̯a²›-aš* (NH); case unclear: *ša-an-ku-i-ša-at*, *ša-an-ku-u̯a-a*[-...] (OH/MS).

Derivatives: ^{URUDU}***šankuu̯al(li)-*** (n.), a metal implement for care of the nails? (nom.-acc.pl. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-al-li* (OH/NS)).

IE cognates: Lat. *unguis*, Gr. ὄνυξ, OIr *ingen*, OCS *nogъtь*, Lith. *nagùtis*, Arm. *eɫungn* 'nail', Lith. *nagà* 'hoof'.

PIE **s-h₃ng^{h}-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-a*[-...]
(11) DUMU.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}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-u̯a-a*[-*iš*²]
(11) DUMU.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}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-u̯a-i̯a-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 erronuous. The fourth one, nom.pl.c. *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i-š=a-at*, is found in the following context:

KUB 33.66 (OH/MS) ii
(3) *ḫar-ga-na-u-i-š=a-at ka-lu-l*[*u*$^{?}$*-pa-aš pí-i-e-er*]
(4) *ka-lu-lu-pí-š=a-at ša-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-a*[*š pí-i-e-er*]
(5) *ša-an-ku-u̯a-i-š=a-at da-an-ku-u̯a-i t*[*a-ga-an-zi-pí*]
(6) *pí-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, *šankuu̯aiš* indeed seems to be a genuine plural form (because of *pii̯er*), and commune because of the ending *-š*. Nevertheless, because *šankuu̯aiš* is found in an enumeration (following *ḫarganau̯iš* 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*]*nkuu̯āi* (1x: MS) and *šankuu̯ai* (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. *šankuu̯aiš* (OH/MS). Additional proof for neuter gender is the attestation of an erg.sg. *šankuu̯ai̯anza* (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 *šankuu̯ai-* 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 *šankuu̯ai-* 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 *nogъtь*, Lith. *nagùtis* 'nail' etc., which all point to PIE *$*h_3neg^h$-u-*, *$*h_3ng^h$-u-* (cf.

Schrijver 1991: 62, who specifically speaks against reconstructing a form *h_3eng^h-*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_3ng^h-*u*-*oi*- which would regularly yield Hitt. *šankuu̯ai*-. An *s*-mobile has also been suggested for *išḫaḫru*- 'tear' (q.v.) and *šākuu̯a*- 'eye' (q.v.).

šapašiie/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to scout, to reconnoitter': 3pl.pret.act. *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-ar* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-an-du* (MH/MS), [*ša-p*]*a-ši-an-du*; sup. *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-u-a*[*n*] (MH/MS); inf.I *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-u-an-z*[*i*] (MH/MS).

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***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 Maşat Höyük-letters only. Its derivative, ^{LÚ}*šapašalli*-, is also attested in texts from Boğazköy, however. Note that Alp (1991: 21) reads HKM 6 rev. (22) *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-ar* incorrectly as *ša-ú-ši-i̯a-ar*, on the basis of which he cites this verb as *šapašii̯a- / šaušii̯a*- (e.g. Alp 1988).

The etymological interpretation of these words is difficult. The fact that the verb shows a stem *šapašii̯e/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-*^{i} / *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' < **speḱ-i̯e/o*-, however, which indeed is semantically attractive. Nevertheless, the sound laws, which predict that **speḱ-i̯e/o*- would yield Hitt. ***išpekkii̯e/a*-, prevent us from deriving *šapašii̯e/a*- and *šapašalli*- from **speḱ(-i̯e/o)*- through the Anatolian way. Szemerényi (1976: 1069) therefore derives *šapašii̯e/a*- from **speḱ-i̯e/o*- through the Indic way: he assumes that *šapaš(ii̯e/a)*- is a borrowing from Indic/Mitanni **spać(-i̯a)*- < **speḱ(-i̯e/o)*-. This is formally certainly possible: the word *āššušanni*- 'horse-trainer', which must (partly) be a borrowing from Indic/Mitanni **aćva*- < *$h_1eḱu̯o$-, shows that Indic *-ć*- is borrowed into Hittite as a sibilant. Semantically, a connection between *šapaš(ii̯e/a)*- and **speḱ(i̯e/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 *šiptamiia-* 'seven-drink' (q.v.) and *šiptamae-*^{zi}, 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 */i̯sptm-/) in analogy to the full-grade **septm-* as visible in *šiptamiia-* and *šiptamae-* (see there for a similar account for the female name ^{f}*Šaáp-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. $^{\text{"3"}}$*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' < **ǵenh*$_1$*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-$^{(t)a(ri)}$, ***šariia/a-***^{zi} (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-ia-an-zi*,

ša-a-ri-i̯a-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-i̯a-ad-du* (NS); 3pl.pres./pret.midd. *ša-ra-an-t*[*a(-)*...] (OS); part. *ša-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (NH), *ša-a-ri-i̯a-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. εἴρω 'to string together'.

PIE **sr-(t)ó-ri*, **sr-i̯e/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* MUNUS.MEŠ*ka-at-re-e-eš*

(53) TÚG-*an ša-ra-a-an-zi*

---

(54) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-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 *šari̯e/a-*^{zi} as well as *šarae-*^{zi} (according to the prodcutive *ḫatrae*-class inflection). This points to an original situation in which we find a middle stem *šar-* besides an active stem *šari̯e/a-* (cf. *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$ besides *ḫazzi̯e/a-*^{zi} and *ḫuett-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ besides *ḫutti̯e/a-*^{zi}).

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. εἴρω 'to string together', which makes sense semantically as well as formally. I therefore reconstruct **sr-(t)ó-ri*, **sr-i̯e/o-*.

šārr-^{i} **/ *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), *ša-ar-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-i̯a-zi* (NS), *šar-ri-i̯a-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-aḫ-ḫu-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-ri̯-e̯t*[*-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-aḫ-ḫa-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*)-*i̯*]*a-u-u̯a-an* (NS), *šar-ri-i̯a-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$_1$-ei*, **srh$_1$-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-u̯*]*a-an-za* ^{d}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 *ḫi*-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 "*šarreṭ*" 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[36]) 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-pí-aš ut-ta-a-ar šar-rị̄-ẹ̣t*[*-ta*]
(6) [*n=a-an ke-e*]*li-in-ki-i̯a-an-te-eš ap-pa-an-tu*
(7) [...] *n=a-aš ḫar-ak-tu*

'[Whoever] transgresses the words of [this] tablet, him must [these] oaths seize, and he must perish'.

Having eliminated the "3sg.pret.act. *šarreṭ*", 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 *ḫi*-inflecting stem *šārr-^{i} / šarr-* (compare *ārr-^{i} / arr-* 'to wash' for similar forms). In NS texts, we find forms that point to a stem *šarra-^{i} / šarr-*, according to the *tarn(a)*-class, and *šarri̯e/a-^{zi}*, according to the *-i̯e/a*-class. Since both the *tarn(a)*-class and the *-i̯e/a*-class are highly productive in NH times, these secondarily created stems are fully understandable and completely in line with the fact that *ārr-^{i} / arr-* shows the secondary stems *arra-^{i} / arr-* and *arri̯e/a-^{zi}* in NH texts. The middle inflection shows a stem *šarri̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$* besides *šarra-$^{tta(ri)}$* and therewith is comparable to e.g. *marri̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$*, *marra-$^{tta(ri)}$* 'to dissolve'.

Kimball (1999: 414) connects this verb with Gr. ῥώομαι 'to move violently, to rush' and reconstructs **serh$_3$-*. Semantically this connection does not make sense, however. Despite the fact that I know no good comparanda, formally *šārr-^{i} / šarr-* can only go back to a root **serh$_1$-* (compare at *ārr-^{i} / arr-*, which reflects a root **h$_1$erh$_1$-*). I therefore mechanically reconstruct this verb as **sórh$_1$-ei / *srh$_1$-énti*.

šarā (adv., postpos.) 'up(wards), aloft (adv.); on top of, above (postpos.)' (Sum. UGU): *ša-ra-a* (OS).

Derivatives: ***šarāzzi(i̯a)-*** (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-i̯a-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-i̯a-aš* (OH/NS), dat.-

loc.sg. *ša-ra-a-az-zi* (MH/MS), *ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a* (MH/NS), *ša-ra-az-zi* (MS), abl. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a-az* (NS), *ša-ra-az-zi-i̯a-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*), ***šarāzziu̯az*** (adv.) 'on the upper side, upstream' (*ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a-az* (MS), [*ša-r*]*a-az-zi-i̯a-az* (MS), *ša-ra-az-zi-az* (NS)), ***šaraziēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to prevail' (impf.3pl.pres.act. *ša-ra-zi-eš-kán-zi* (NH)), ***šarāzziu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make (a litigiant or a legal case) win' (3sg.pres.act. *ša-ra-az-i̯a-ḫi* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a-aḫ-te-ni* (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *ša-ra-a-az-z*[*i-i̯*]*a-aḫ-ta* (NH), *ša-ra-a-zi-i̯a-aḫ-t*[*a*] (NH), 3pl.imp.act. *ša-ra-az-zi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-du*, *ša-ra-az-zi-aḫ-ḫa-an-du*), ***šarāzziu̯atar*** (n.) 'height, summit' (Akk. *MŪLÛ*; nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a-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. *hrzzẽ*, dat.-loc.sg. *hrzzi*).

PAnat. **sér(-i)*, **sr-ō*

IE cognates: Gr. ῥίον 'mountain-ridge'

PIE **ser-*, **sr-*

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*$^{!}$*=ma*[*=u̯a*], *kat-ta*$^{!}$*=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 endingless locative **sḗr* yielded Hitt. *šēr* (q.v.), the dat.-loc. **sér-i* yielded CLuw. *šarri*, and the old all. **sr-ó* yielded Hitt. *šarā* /srā́/. CLuw. *šarra* must reflect **séro*. Outer-Anatolian cognates are obscure. The only suggested connection is with Gr. ῥίον 'mountain-ridge', which Heubeck (1964) reconstructed as **sriu̯om*.

See footnote 196 for the phonological implications of the equation between Hitt. *šarāzzi(i̯a)-* and Lyc. *hrzze/i-*.

šarae-^{zi}: see *šar-*, *šariu̯e/a-*^{zi}

šaraku- (IIa2?) 'to give water to (?)': part.nom.pl.c. *ša-ra-ku-u̯a-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*$^{w(h)}$- ??

See CHD Š: 239 for attestations and contexts. We are dealing with a stem *šaraku-*, of which the /g^{w}/ gets fortited in front of the *-ške/a*-suffix: *šarakkuške/a-* (compare *akkuške/a-* from *eku-^{zi} / aku-* 'to drink', *lakkiške/a-* from *lāk-^{i} / 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^{w}-/ could point to original *ḫi*-conjugation, however (in a *mi*-verb, we would expect **/sreg^{w}-/). Mechanically, we have to reconstruct **srog$^{w(h)}$-*, but I know of no possible IE cognate. See at *šakuruu̯e/a-* 'to water (animals)' for the possibility that this latter verb is derived from *šaraku-* and reflects **srag^{w}-ur-i̯e/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$_1$-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 *ḫāran-* 'eagle' that shows a stem *ḫāra-* in NS texts.

Etymologically, it is clear that *šarran-* belongs with the verb *šārr-^{i} / šarr-* 'to divide up, to distribute'. It therefore is likely that originally, *šarran-* inflected **serh$_1$-ón-s*, **srh$_1$-ón-m*, **srh$_1$-n-ós*, which was levelled out to *šarran-*, also under influence of the verb's weak stem *šarr-*. See there for further treatment.

šarāp-^{i} / 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-u̯a-aš* (KUB 17.23 i 10, 15 (NS)), *š*[*a-*]*ri-pu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 17.23 ii 43 (NS)), *ša-ra-ap-pu-u̯a-aš* (VBoT 24 iii 17 (MH/NS)); inf.I [*ša-r*]*i-pu-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 29.144, 7 (MS)), *ša-ri-pu-u-u̯a-a*[*n-zi*] (KBo 24.27, 11 (NS), KUB 27.58 i 6 (NS)), [*š*]*a-ri-pu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 14.94 iii, 22 (fr.) (NS), KBo 29.131, 3 (NS)), [*ša-r*]*i-pu-u̯a-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. ῥοφέω 'to slurp, to swallow', Lith. *suřbti* 'to suckle', *srẽbti* 'to slurp', OCS *srъbati* 'to slurp'.

PIE **srób^{h}-ei*, **srb^{h}-énti*

See CHD Š: 243f. for attestations. The morphological interpretation of this verb is difficult. We find three different spellings: *ša-ra-p°*, *ša-a-ra-p°* (2x) and *ša-ri-p°*.

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-^{i} / ašeš-*, *ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink-*, *karāp-^{i} / kare/ip-* and represents *šarāp-^{i} / 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. ῥοφέω, etc. 'to slurp, to swallow' < **sreb^{h}-*. 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 /i̯/. In this case, the /i̯/ emerged in the zero-grade form of a root of the structure **CRVC-*. On the basis of the full grade **CRVC-*, the zero-grade **CR̥C- > CaRC-* was too aberrant and was replaced by **CRi̯C-*: *karāp-^{i} / kare/ip-* < **g^{h}rób^{h}- / *g^{h}rb^{h}-*, *ḫamank-^{i} / ḫame/ink-* < **h$_2$móng^{h}- / *h$_2$mng^{h}-*, but also *terepp-^{zi} / terepp-* < **trép- / *trp-*. This means that, in this case, *šarāpi / šaripanzi* represents /sŕ̥bi/, /sri̯bánt^{s}i/ < **sróbʰei*, **srbʰénti*.

šarāu̯ar / šaraun- (n.) 'storm-clouds(?)': nom.-acc.sg. *ša-ra-a-u-u̯a-ar* (OS), *ša-ra-u-u̯a-ar* (NS), erg.sg. *ša-ra-u-na-an-za* (NH).

PIE **sr-ó-u̯r̥ / *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 *-āu̯ar / -aun-* (also *ašāu̯ar / ašaun-*, *ḫaršāu̯ar / ḫaršaun-*, *karāu̯ar / karaun-* and *partāu̯ar / partaun-*). As is clear from the other nouns (see their respective lemmas, *ḫaršāu̯ar* under *ḫārš-^{i}*), this class represents **CC-ó-u̯r̥*, i.e. a derivation in **-ó-u̯r̥* of a zero-grade root (compare the abstract nouns in *-ātar / -ānn-* that reflect **CC-ó-tr*). For *šarāu̯ar* 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.).

šarḫi̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to attack(?), to press upon(?)': 2pl.pres.act. *šar-ḫi-e*[*t-te-ni*] (NS), 3sg.pret.act. *šar-ḫi-i̯a-at* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *šar-ḫi-i-e-ed-du* (MH/MS); 2sg.imp.midd. *šar-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (NS); impf. *šar-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*; broken *šar-ḫi-i̯a-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 **srh₃-i̯e/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=*[*i̯a*] [(KUR ^{U})]^{RU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti IŠ-TU* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}*A-ri-in-na*
(45) *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš A*[*-N*]*A* KUR.KUR$^{ḪI.A\text{-}TIM}$ 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 *šarḫi̯e/a-* must certainly mean something like 'to attack'. This is supported by

KBo 16.25 i 4 + 16.24 i
(15) [GIM-*an*$^{?}$=]*m=a-az=kán za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯*[*a-u-u̯a-an-zi e-ep-zi nu* ^{LÚ}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 *šarḫi̯at* (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=u̯a-r=a-*[*a*]*t ú-u̯a-an-zi* UḪ$_7^{ḪI.A}$*-uš* MUNUS^{MEŠ}*-iš*
(26) ⩤ *ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da-za* ^{NA_4}KA-*in* x$^{?}$ [*d*]*a*$^{?}$*-a-i* GIŠ *tág-an-za* KI.MIN *ši-u̯a-al ḫar-zi*

(27) IGI-*an-da=z=a-aš=kán šar-ḫi-i̯a-at*[*m*]*a-an-ni-iš* MUNUS-*iš* ^{MUNUS}ŠÀ.ZU ^{NA_4}KA$^{?}$-*š=a-aš=kán* EME-*an*

(28) *ku-e-er*$^{!}$*-du ši-u̯a-la-z=a-an* IG[I^{Ij}]^{LA}-*u̯a ta-aš-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-du*

'(She says:) "Look, they are coming, the sorceresses". She takes a flint$^{?}$ from a *ḫuu̯anda*, wood from the earth likewise (and) she holds a dagger$^{?}$. (Placing) herself opposite, she has attacked them, the *manni*- woman, the midwife (saying): "May the flint$^{?}$ cut off the tongue! May they blind his eyes with the dagger!"'.

The edition of this text translates 'She presses$^{?}$ them against herself$^{?}$' (o.c.: 179), but this does not seem more likely to me.

Formally, *šarḫiie/a-*^{zi} can hardly reflect anything else than **srh$_{2/3}$-ie/o-*. Čop (1955a: 398) suggested a connection with Gr. ῥώομαι 'move with speed or violence', which could reflect **srh$_3$-ie/o-*.

The adj. *šarḫuntalli-* occurs in a vocabulary only, where it translates Sum. [Š]U$^{!}$.ŠÚR$^{!}$ and Akk. *AL-PU* 'threatening'.

$^{(UZU)}$***šarḫuu̯ant-*** (c.) 'belly; innards; foetus, unborn child' (Sum. *ŠA* ŠÀ-*BI-ŠA*): acc.sg. *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-da-an* (MH/NS), *šar-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-ta-an* (MH/NS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-ti* (MS), abl. *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-ta-az* (OH/NS), *šar-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da-az* (NS), instr. [*š*]*ar-ḫu-u̯a-an-ti-t*[*=a-a*]*t=kán* (OS), *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-ti-it* (NS), acc.pl. *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-du-uš* (OH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *šar-ḫu-u̯a-an-da-* (OH/NS), *šar-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da* (OH/NS), *šar-ḫu*$^{!}$*-an-ta* (KUB 5.5 i 21, iv 13); unclear *šar-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-da-aš* (NS).

IE cognates: Arm. *argand* 'womb'.

PIE **srh$_2$u̯ent-* ??

See CHD Š: 253-4 for attestations and semantics. Note that CHD Š: 279 also cites a noun ^{UZU}*šarnanta-* 'afterbirth(?)' (KUB 5.5 i 21, iv 13), which in my view could be regarded as mistakes for *šar-ḫu*$^{!}$*-an-ta* (the signs NA (𒀭) and ḪU (𒄩) 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$_2$u̯ent-*.

šariie/a-^{zi}: see *šar-*, *šariie/a-*^{zi}

šarriie/a-^{zi}: see *šārr-*^{i} / *šarr-*

šarip-: see *šarāp-^{i} / šarip-*

^{TÚG}***šarriu̯ašpa-*** (c.) a garment: nom.sg. *šar-ri-u̯a-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-* + *u̯ašpa-* 'garment', although the interpretation of *šarri-* remains elusive. One could think of Hurr. *šarri-* 'king' or CLuw. *šarri* 'upper'.

šarku- / šargau̯- (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-u̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ***šargau̯atar / šargau̯ann-*** (n.) 'eminence' (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-ga-u̯a-tar*, [*š*]*ar-ga-u-u̯a-tar* (NS), *šar-g*[*a-u̯a-tar*] (MS), dat.-loc.sg. *šar-ga-u̯a-an-ni* (MH?/MS)), ***šarkiške/a-^{zi}*** (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-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to become mighty' (3sg.pres.act. *šar-ku-e-e*[*š-zi*] (MS)).

IE cognates: TochB *ṣärk-* 'to be better than', Lat. *sarciō* 'to patch up, to mend'.

PIE **srḱ-(e)u-* or **sorḱ-(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- / šargau̯-* 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-* ^{d}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* ^{d}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 *ṣärk-* '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 onself 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' < **srḱ-ié/ó-*, on the basis of which we must reconstruct a root **serḱ-*.

šarkuu̯e/a-^{zi} (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-i̯a-zi* (OH/NS), [*šar-k*]*u-e-i̯a-zi* (NS), *šar-ku-uz-zi* (NS), *šar-ku-zi* (NS), 3pl.pres.act. *šar-ku-u̯a-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-i̯a-ad-du* (MH/NS), *šar-ku-ud-du* (MH/NS); part. *šar-ku-u̯a-an-t-* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***šarkuiu̯ant-*** (adj.) 'having shoes on(?)' (nom.sg.c. *šar-ku-i-u̯a-an-za* (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ἀρπίς, -ῖδος 'kind of shoe'.

PIE **srk*^{w}*-i̯e/o-* ?

See CHD Š: 271f. for attestations. This verb clearly is a *-i̯e/a-*derivative of a stem **šarku-* 'shoe', which could be the reading of the sumerogram ^{KUŠ}E.SIR 'shoe'. See CHD Š: 270, however, for the fact that there are no unambiguous phonetic complements to ^{KUŠ}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 *šarkuu̯e/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- / šargau̯-*, 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*^{w}-). 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. ἁρπίς, -ῖδος ‘a kind of shoe’ if from **srk*^{w}*-*. 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 ἁρπ- later (cf. χειρίς, -ῖδος ‘glove’, derived from χείρ ‘hand’, for the same suffix).

šarli- (adj.) ‘upper(most), superior’: acc.sg.c. *šar-li-in* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *šar-li-i̯a* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: ***šarlae-***^{zi} (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-i̯a-aš* (NS), *šar-la-im-mi-i̯a-aš*, *šar-la-a-i-ma-aš*), ***šarlamiš-*** (n.) ‘glory’ (Luw.nom.-acc.sg. *šar-la-mi-iš-ša* (MH/MS)), $^{(SISKUR/SÍSKUR)}$***šarlatta-***$^{(SISKUR)}$ (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 $^{(UZU)}$*šarḫuu̯ant-*

šarni(n)k-^{zi} (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-u̯a-aš* (NH), *šar-ni-in-ku-u-u̯a-aš* (NH), nom.pl. *šar-ni-in-ku-e-eš* (NH); inf.I *šar-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *šar-ni-in-ku-u-u̯a-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*$^{?}$*-ni*$^{!}$*-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*$^{\text{HI.A}}$ (NH), [*šar-*]*ni-ik-zi*$^{!}$*-el*^{MEŠ} (NH)), ***šarnikzilēšš-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to pay/make compensation' (impf.1sg.pres.act. *šar-ni-ik-zi-le*$^{!}$*-e-eš-ke-m*[*i*] (NH)).

IE cognates: Lat. *sarciō* 'to patch up, to mend', TochB *ṣärk-* 'to surpass, to be better than'.

PIE **sr-nén-ḱ-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 *ḫarni(n)k-*^{zi} is derived from *ḫark-*^{zi} and *ištarni(n)k-*^{zi} from *ištar(k)-*^{zi}, we sould expect that *šarni(n)k-*^{zi} 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 literaly 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' < **srḱ-ie/o-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 492-3), but such a stem is now also available within Hittite, namely in the adjective *šarku- / šargau̯-* 'eminent' and, more importantly, in the verb *šarkiške/a-*^{zi} 'to be good' (see at *šarku- / šargau̯-* for both), which have been connected with TochB *ṣärk-* 'to

surpass, to be better than'. All in all, *šarni(n)k-^{zi}* must reflect **sr-nen-ḱ-ti*. See at § 2.2.4 for a detailed account of the infix *-nin-*.

šarta-^{i} / 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-i̯a-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-u̯a-aš* (NH).

Derivatives: ^{URUDU}***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^{h}h$_{2/3}$-ei*, **srd^{h}h$_{2/3}$-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 *šartae-^{zi}* (*šartaizzi*, [*šar*]*dāizzi*, *šartāiddu*, *šartau̯a-aš*), according to the *ḫatrae*-class and *šartii̯e/a-^{zi}* (*šartii̯anun* and *šartier*), according to the *-i̯e/a*-class.

Tarn(a)-class verbs reflect roots with a root-final laryngeal, either **CoH-* or **Ce-CoH-*, but also **CoCh$_{2/3}$-* (for this latter root structure, compare *malla-^{i} / mall-* 'to mill, to grind', *padda-^{i} / padd-* 'to dig', *iškalla-^{i} / iškall-* 'to slit, to split', *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* 'to trample', etc.; cf. § 2.2.2.2.d). In this case, only a structure **sorTh$_{2/3}$-* is possible.

Melchert (2002) convincingly connects *šarta-^{i} / 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^{h}-*, which, on the basis of the *tarn(a)*-class inflection in Hittite, means that we have to reconstruct PIE **serd^{h}h$_{2/3}$-*. Note that Melcherts further connection with Skt. *sárdigr̥di-* '*portio vaginalis*' is formally impossible as Skt. *-d-* does not match PGerm. **-d-* < **-d^{h}-*.

šardi- (gender unclear) 'help': dat.-loc.sg. *šar-di-i̯a* (MH/NS).

Derivatives: $^{(LÚ)}$***šardiia-*** (c.) ‘ally, supporter, helper’ (nom.sg. *šar-di-aš* (OS), *šar-ti-ia-aš* (OS), *šar-di-ia-aš* (MS), acc.sg. *šar-ti-an* (OS), *šar-di-a(n)=š-ša-an* (OS), *šar-di-ia-an* (OH/NS)), ***šardiiatar / šardiiann-*** (n.) ‘alliance, help’ (nom.-acc.sg. *šar-di-i*[*a-tar*], dat.-loc.sg. *šar-di-ia-an-ni*).

PIE **sr-d^{h}h$_{1}$-i-* ??

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’, *hauruuaiti* ‘protects’, but also possibly in Lyd. *sarẽta-* 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^{h}h$_{1}$-i-*. Nevertheless, I would judge this etymology as mildly probable only.

šartiie/a-^{zi}: see *šarta-*^{i} */ 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: ***šaruue/a-***^{zi}, ***šaruuae-***^{zi} (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*$^{!}$*-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: MIr. *serb* ‘theft’, We. *herw* ‘plundering’, Latv. *sirt* ‘to loot’.

PIE **sór-u-*

See CHD Š: 296 and 298 for attestations. This word was connected by Duchesne-Guillemin (1947: 78) to Latv. *sirt* ‘to loot’, MIr. *serb* ‘robbery’, to which possibly Lith. *sarióti* ‘to devestate, to loot’ belongs. Especially MIr. *serb*, which together with We. *herw* ‘plundering’ reflects **seruā*, seems to be closely cognate with Hitt. *šāru-* that we must reconstruct as **sór-u-*.

(ꟾ) šarunta/i- (c.) ‘spring, well’: acc.sg. ꟾ *ša-ru-un-ti-in* (NH), abl. *ša-ru-un-ta-az*.

IE cognates: Skt. *srav-*, Gr. ῥέω ‘to flow’.

PIE **sru-nt-* ??

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. ῥέω, etc. 'to flow'). Although the formation is not fully clear, we could perhaps reconstruct **sru-nt-*.

šaš-: see *šeš-*^{zi} */ šaš-*

šašḫa-: see *šišḫa-*^{i} */ šišḫ-*

šattaa̯artanna (adv.) 'for seven rounds': *(𒀸) ša-at-ta-a̯-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-a̯artana-* 'seven-rounds'. See also *aikaa̯artanna*, *naa̯artanna*, *panzaa̯artanna* and *tieraa̯artanna.*

šaudišt- / šāa̯itišt- (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: ***šaa̯itištae-***^{zi} (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-a̯*[*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 *šāa̯itišt-* 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*° (/saudist-/), whereas in younger texts we find *ša-(a-)ú-i-ti-iš*° (/sāuidist-/). Rieken (1999a: 147) assumes that in OH times **šāa̯itišt-* 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. *Ø* 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 *šāa̯itišt-* as ablaut.

Hrozný (1917: 93[2]) saw in *šāu̯itišt-* a compound of **som* 'one' (see *šamnae-*^{zi}, *=(š)šan* and *šani-*) and **u̯et-es-* 'year' (see also under *u̯itt-*), 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-u̯etes-t-*. Although the disappearance of **N* in front of *-u̯-* has parallels in e.g. *kueu̯en* 'we killed' < *g^{wh}*en-u̯en* or *mā=u̯a* < **mān=u̯a*, 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-u̯etes-t-* would by regular soundlay yield Hitt. /sáuidist-/ (accentuated **ó* yields /á/; raising of **e* to /i/ between **u̯* 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 /sáudist-/ (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. *wiþrus*, OE *weþer* 'wether' < **uet-ru-*, etc.

[SI]***šāu̯ātar-***: see [SI]*šāu̯ītra-*

šāu̯itišt-: see *šaudišt-*

[SI]***šāu̯ītra-***, [SI]***šāu̯ātar-*** (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-u̯a-a-tar* (OH/NS), *ša-a-u̯a-tar* (NS), *ša-u̯a-a-tar* (MH?/NS), *ša-u̯a-tar* (NH), *ša-ú-u̯a-a-tar* (NS), *ša-a-ú-u̯a-tar* (MH/NS), *ša-ú-u̯a-tar* (MH?/NS), Luw.nom.-acc.sg. *ša-a-ú-u̯a-tar-ša* (NS), gen.sg. *ša-a-u̯a-a-tar-aš* (OS), *ša-a-u̯a-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-u̯i$_5$-it-ra* (NS).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***šāu̯ita/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 *šāu̯ītra-*, *šāu̯ātar-* denotes 'horn' as a musical instrument or a drinking vessel only. The 'horn' of cows and other animals is expressed by the word [(SI)]*karāu̯ar* (q.v.).

The interpretation if this word is quite difficult. Already in OS texts, we find two stems: *šāu̯ītra-* and *šāu̯ātar-*. The alteration *-ī- / -ā-* is hard to explain from an IE point of view. Oettinger (1979b) treats this word extensively and reconstructs it as **sóuh$_1$-e-tro-* "Instrument zum Stoßen" (derived from **seuh$_1$-* 'to push, to shove' as visible in Hitt. *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* '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 *šāu̯ītra-* and *šāu̯ātra-* is due to analogy with *u̯ātar* 'water' besides *u̯idār* (pl.) (l.c.: 202[31]) is far from compelling. Starke (1990: 400f.) argues that *šāu̯ātar-* is the Luwian form that corresponds to Hitt. *šāu̯ītra-*, but this is unlikely in view of the fact that gen.sg. *šāu̯ātaraš* 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 *šāu̯atar-* cannot be denied in view of the NS Luwian inflected nom.-acc.sg. *šāuu̯atarša*. 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 *šāu̯itrV* < **sóu̯edrV*) and /a/ in open syllables (*šāu̯atar* < **sóu̯edər*). This is contradicted by *šāu̯itišt-* < **só-u̯etes-t-*, which shows that the raising of **e* to *i* between **u̯* and a dental consonant precedes the weakening of **e* to *a* in open syllable. (3) In the preform **souh$_1$etro-* we would expected monophthongization of **ou* to /o/ in front of **h$_1$* (cf. **souh$_{1/3}$-u-* > Hitt. /sóʔu-/, *šu-u-ú-* 'full'), so **sóuh$_1$etro-* should have yielded **/sóʔetro/ > **/sóitra-/, 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[37]).

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. μοι 'to me', σοι 'to you'.

=šše-: see *=šši- / =šša- / =šše-*

šēḫur / šēḫun- (n.) 'urine': nom.-acc.sg. *še-e-ḫur* (KBo 10.45 iv 37 (MH/NS), KUB 9.28 iii 17 (MH/NS)), *še-e-ḫu-ur* (KBo 21.20 i 25 (NS)), *še-e-ḫu-u̯a-ar* (KUB 58.90 ii 5 (NS)), [*š*]*e-e-ḫu-u̯a-a*[*r*] (KUB 60.116, 11 (NS)), gen.sg. *še-e-ḫu-na-aš* (IBoT 1.36 i 46 (MH/MS)), *ši-e-ḫu-na-aš* (KUB 7.5+ i 9 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *še-e-ḫu-ni* (KUB 35.132+ iii 7 (NS)), *še-ḫu-ni* (KBo 45.244, 2 (NS)), all.sg. *še-e-ḫu-na* (IBoT 1.36 i 44 (MH/MS)), *še-ḫu-na* (IBoT 1.36 i 45 (MH/MS)), erg.sg. *še-e-ḫu-na-an-za* (IBoT 1.36 i 34 (MH/MS)), instr. [*š*]*e-e-ḫu-ni-it* (KBo 12.111, 7 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***šēḫuriḭe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to urinate' (3sg.pret.act. *še-e-ḫu-ri-i̯a-*[*a*]*t* (KUB 31.71 iii 11 (NH)), impf.3sg.imp.act. *šḛ-ḫur-ri-eš-kḛ-ḛd-dụ* (KUB 17.27 iii 12)), ***šēḫurae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to urinate' (inf.I [*še-*]*ḛ-ḫu-ra-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 60.116, 6 (NS))), ***šēḫuganiḭaụant-*** (adj.) 'besmeared with urine' (nom.sg.c. *še-e-ḫu-ga-ni-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 10.37 ii 25, iii 49 (OH/NS))), see *dūr / dūn-*.

PIE **séik*^{w}*r*, **séik*^{w}*n-* ??

The noun is an *r/n*-stem and shows the stems *šēḫur* besides *šēḫun-*. The NS attestations *šēḫuu̯ar* are to be compared to the few attestations *paḫḫuu̯ar* besides *paḫḫur* and probably show an occasional phonetic realization [sḗh^{w}r̥] of phonological /séh^{w}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 *mēḫur / mēḫun-* 'time'. On the basis of the idea that *mēḫur* reflects **mḗh$_2$-ur* (but see at *mēḫur / mēḫun-* for an alternative etymology), Eichner (1973a: 69-70) similarly reconstructs *šēḫur* as **sḗh$_2$-ur*, a derivative in *-ur* of the root **seh$_2$-* "verunreinigen, beschmutzen". This reconstruction has been widely followed (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 512; Rieken 1999a: 340f.; Kimball 1999: 152). Nevertheless, a root **seh$_2$-* "verunreinigen, beschmutzen" does not occur in Hittite. The verb *šāḫ-*^{i}, 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$_2$-* 'to stuff up' (from which **seh$_2$-* 'to satiate'), whereas CLuw. *šaḫḫa-*, 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_2- 'to pollute, to defile' I see no reason anymore to assume that *šēḫur* must reflect *$s\acute{e}h_2$-ur*.

It is quite common that words like 'urine' are borrowed because of tabooistic reasons (e.g. inherited ModDu. *zeik* 'urine' (*$seik^w$-) is seen as too rude and therefore replaced by *urine* 'urine'). Kortlandt (2004: 11) therefore states that *šēḫur* must be a loan from Semitic. In my view, the inflection of *šēḫur / šēḫun-* looks too IE to be borrowed from Semitic. I therefore would rather assume borrowing from another Anatolian language. For instance, a preform *$séik^w$-r / *$séik^w$-n-*, derived from the PIE root *$seik^w$- (OHG *seihhen* 'to urinate', SerbCS *sьcati* 'to piss', Skt. *siñcáti* 'to pour out, etc.), would yield *šēḫur / šēḫun-* in Palaic by regular sound laws: PIE *$séik^w$-r / *$séik^w$-n-* 'urine' > PAnat. *$sēg^wr$ / *$sēg^wn$- > Pal. *šēḫur / šēḫun-* (compare *aḫuu̯anti* 'they drink' < PAnat. *$ʔg^wanti$ < *$h_1g^{wh}enti$*). Although it is hard to prove, I would certainly regard borrowing from Palaic (or another Anatolian language in which PAnat. *g^w yielded *-ḫu-*) as a possibility.

See at *dūr / dūn-* 'urine' for the possibility that CLuw. *dūr / dūn-* is derived from PAnat. *$sēg^wr$ < *$séik^wr$ as well.

For the interpretation of *šēḫuganiu̯au̯ant-* as either *šēḫur-ganiu̯a* or *šēḫun-ganiu̯au̯ant-* cf. Rieken (1999a: 341-2).

In the handcopy of KUB 17.27 iii 12 we find the form = *eš*-ḪAR/ḪUR-*ri-eš-kẹ-ẹd-dụ*, which often is interpreted as *ešḫarrieškeddu* 'he must bleed'. Nevertheless, if we look closely at the photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk), we see that it actually reads = = *šẹ*-ḪAR/ḪUR-*ri-eš-kẹ-ẹd-dụ*, which means that we should read *šeḫurrieškeddu* 'he must urinate'. This latter form also fits the context best:

KUB 17.27 iii

(11) ... *n=a-at an-da*

(12) [GÌR^{MEŠ}]-*it iš-pár-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un n=a-at=kán* ANŠE-*aš šẹ-ḫur-re-eš-kẹ-ẹd-dụ*

(13) [*n=a-at*]=*kán* GUD-*uš kam-mar-ši-eš-ke-ed-du*

'I have trampled it with my feet. May the donkey piss on it and may the cow shit on it!'.

šekk-: see *šākk-^{i} / šakk-*

(TÚG)***šeknu- / šeknau̯-*** (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*$^{!}$*-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-u̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *še-e-ek-na-u-i-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*$^{!}$*-nu-u=š-me-et*. The only OS form, *šēknau̯i=šmi* shows plene spelling of the vowel *-e-* as well as full grade in the suffix syllable *-nau̯-* (cf. also *ḫēu- / ḫe(i)au̯-* ‘rain’).

Eichner (1979a: 42[4]) reconstructs **sék-nu-* from the root “**sek-*” ‘to cut’ (actually **sekh$_1$-*, see at *šākk-*^{i} */ šakk-*), but Weitenberg rather follows Hrozný’s connection (1919: 76[8]) 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-*]*ę-li-i̯a-aš* (KBo 6.3 iv 19 (OH/NS)) // *šę-ę-li-i̯a-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-i̯a* (KBo 6.3 iv 19 (OH/NS)) // *še-e-lį* (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. *šę-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. *pasėlỹs* ‘seed’.

PIE **seh$_1$-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* <

*-*aḭaš*. This word has plausibly been compared by Oettinger (1979a: 541[29], followed by e.g. Kimball 1999: 146) with OIr. *síl* 'seed' and Lith. *pasėlỹs* 'seed' and reconstructed as **seh$_1$-li-*, a derivative in **-li-* from the root **seh$_1$-* 'to sow'.

šemen-^{zi} / šemn-: see *šamen-^{zi} / šamn-*

šena-: see *šīna-*

-šepa-: see at $^{(f)}$*tagānzepa-*

$^{(URUDU)}$***šepikkušta-*** (c.) 'pin; hairpin; stylus' (Sum. $^{(URUDU)}$ZI.KIN.BAR): nom.sg. *ša-p*[*í-k*]*u-uš-ta-š=a* (MH/MS), *ši-pí-i*[*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/NS), 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.

šeppitt- (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-pḭ-tạ-ạš* (VSNF 12.56 obv. 8), instr. *še-ep-pí-it-ti-it* (KBo 30.73 iv$^{?}$ 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. *šeppidaš* (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 *šeppitt-*, 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 possesive 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 endingless locative **sēr*, but Melchert (1984a: 88[18]) 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-*.

šerḫa- (gender unclear) an object to rinse feet with: acc.sg. *še-e-er-ḫ*[(*a-an*)] (KBo 20.26 + KBo 25.34 ii 12 (OS) // 327/b + 330/b rev. 3), instr. *še-ę-er-ḫi-it* (KBo 17.43 i 14 (OS)), *še-er-ḫi-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) $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAM.ZU$_9$-*an* GÍR$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$=*ŠU-NU še-e-er-ḫi-it šar-ta-i* 'he rubs the feet of the clowns with the *šerḫa-*'. 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 *-erḫa-* as found in *šerḫa-* should not be possible. As I have shown under *erḫ- / araḫ- / arḫ-*, 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 *-VrḫV-* in *šerḫa-* needs an additional explanation. Such an explanation could be, for instance, that we are dealing with an originally ablauting noun **serh$_{2/3}$-*, **srh$_{2/3}$-*; 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 *šerḫa-* is of IE origin, it formally must go back to an original ablauting root noun **sérh$_{2/3}$*, **sérh$_{2/3}$-m*, **srh$_{2/3}$-ós*, which was later on thematicized. I know of no convincing IE cognate, however (but compare *šarḫiie/a-*^{zi} < **srh$_3$-ie/o-*).

šeš-*^{zi} / *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-u̯a-*[*ar*] (KUB 15.15 i 4), gen.sg. [*š*]*e-šu-u̯a-a-aš* (ABoT 7 vi 4); inf.I *še-šu-an-zi* (KUB 5.1 i 38, 61), *še-e-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 6), *še-šu-u-a-an-zi* (AnSt 20 iv$^?$ 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: ***šešuu̯aš* É.ŠÀ** 'bed room' (gen.sg. *še-šu-u̯a-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-*^{zi}** (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-u̯a-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$^?$ 13 (NS), KUB 55.65 iv 12, 23)), **(TÚG)*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-dụ-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[?]' (KBo 5.8 i 20, 22) (see at *parāšešš-*^{zi}). The impf. *šeške/a-* aparently 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$^{MEŠ\ GIŠ}$BANŠUR *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi ti-an-zi*
(17) [*n*]*u* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM=*ma* GU_4-*aš še-e-ša-an ti-an-zi*
(18) [G]IM-*an*=*ma*=*kán* {Rasur} $TU_7^{ḪI.A}$ *ta-ru-up-da-ri*
(19) [*n*]*u* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-ap-ša-al-li da-an-zi*
(20) [*n*]=*a-aš-ta* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *da-ga-an-zi-pu*$^{!}$*-uš*
(21) [*š*]*a-an-ḫa-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$^{ḪI.A}$=*ma za-nu-a*[*n-zi* ...]
(44) GÌR$^{ḪI.A}$ *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 $^{(UZU)}$*šišai-* (q.v.), which she suggests to interpret as 'paw'. This is a possibility but far from assured.

šešša-*^{i} / *šešš-: see *šišša-*^{i} / *šišš-*

^{GIŠ}*šēšan(a)-*: see ^{GIŠ}*šēšatar / šēšann-*

***šešariie/a-*^{zi}** (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}*šešarul-*** '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*$_1$*-sr-ie/o-* ?

For semantics, cf. the following contexts:

KUB 13.3 iii
(22) *nu-u*=*š-ma-aš ú-ui*$_5$*-te-na-aš na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén*
(23) *nu ú-ui*$_5$*-ta-ar* ^{GIŠ}*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^{M}[^{EŠ} A.ÍL.LÁ]
(37) *ú-u̯i-te-na-aš na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš* [*e-eš-tén nu ú-u̯i-ta-ar*]
(38) ^{GIŠ}*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 *šešariu̯e/a-* and *šešarul-* must be *šešar-*. I wonder to what extent these words can be connected with OCS *sěti* ‘to sieve’ and Lith. *sijóti* ‘to sieve’ < **seh$_1$-*. Regarding its formation, we could compare *naḫšariu̯e/a-^{zi}* ‘to be afraid’ (see under *nāḫ-^{i} / naḫḫ-*), which must reflect **neh$_2$-sr-u̯e/o-*. In the case of *šešariu̯e/a-* we therefore perhaps could reconstruct **seh$_1$-sr-u̯e/o-*. If this is correct, it shows that **-éh$_1$sr* yields Hitt. *-ešar*, which contrasts with **-ésr* > Hitt. *-eššar* (e.g. **ǵ^{h}ésr* > *kešša*r ‘hand’).

^{GIŠ}*šēšatar* / *šēšann- (n.) ‘fruit-tree?’: gen.sg. ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (KUB 24.1 iv 12), ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-na-aš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 14).

The gen.sg.-forms ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (KUB 24.1 iv 12) and ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-na-aš* (KUB 24.2 rev. 14) are duplicates of each other. The use of the determinative GIŠ 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^{MEŠ}.LUG[(AL *Ù A-NA* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti*)]
(10) TI-*tar ḫa-ad-du-la-tar in-na*[(*-ra-u̯a-tar* MU^{KAM} GÍD.DA)]
(11) EGIR.UD^{MI} *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an*[(*-n=a p*)*í-eš-k*(*i*) *nu*$^{?}$ *ḫa*(*l-ki̯-i̯a-aš*)]
(12) ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*aš* ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-an-na-aš* (var. ^{GIŠ}*še-e-ša-na-aš*) GU$_4$[($^{I̯I.A}$*-aš* UDU$^{I̯I.A}$*-aš* UZ$_6$$^{I̯I.A}$*-aš*)]
(13) ŠAḪ-*aš* ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA$^{I̯I.A}$*-aš* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*aš g*[(*i-im-ra-aš ḫu-u-it-ni-it*)]
(14) DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU-*aš-š=a ŠA* EGIR.UD^{M}[(^{I} *mi-i̯a-a-tar pí-eš-ki*)]

‘But grant to the king, the queen, the princes and to Ḫatti-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 *šēšanaš* 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-*^{zi} 'to prosper, to proliferate' (q.v.), althought the latter verb shows geminate *-šš-* in e.g. verb.noun *šēššauu̯aš*, whereas *šēšatar* is spelled with single *-š-*.

šešḫa-^{i} **/ *šešḫ-***: see *šišḫa-*^{i} / *šišḫ-*

šeššišar (n.) 'negligence': nom.-acc.sg. *šẹ-ẹš-ši-š*[*a*]*r*$^{?}$ (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 ^{URU}*Kum-ma-an-ni=ma pa-a-un A-BU=Į̆A I-NA* ^{d}*Ḫé-pát* ^{URU}*Kụm-ma-an-ni*

(24) EZEN *ḫal-zi-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš ta-ra-a-an ḫar-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* ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-u̯a-at-na pa-a-un*

(26) *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ke-nu-un pa-i-mi=u̯a=za ŠA A-BI=Į̆A šẹ-ẹš-ši-š*[*a*]*r*$^{?}$

(27) *ar-ḫa š*[*a*]*r-ni-ik-mi*

'When I went to Kummanni, (it was the case that) my father had promised to Ḫepat 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-^{zi}: see *šiš-*^{zi}

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. ἴα 'one'.

PIE **sih₂*

The stem *ši-*, with the forms gen.sg. *šiia̯ēl*, dat.-loc.sg. *šietani*, abl. *šiia̯ez* 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. /siel/, dat.-loc.sg. /siedani/, abl. /siet^{s}/ and */siedat^{s}/, instr. /siet/ and */siedant/ and assumes a basic stem *šiia̯-*. 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 μία 'one' (**sm-ih₂*), also a form ἴα 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_2, which was altered to *$sm\text{-}ih_2$ in analogy to masculine **sem* ‘one’. This is further supported by e.g. the fact that Skt. dat.sg.m. *tásmai* ‘to him’ < **tó-sm-ōi* (containing *-sm-* ‘one’) corresponds to dat.sg.f. *tásyai* ‘to her’ < **tó-sih₂-ōi* (containing *-sih₂-* ‘one’). In Hittite, this **sih₂-* 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*-flection)

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***-ši***; CLuw. ***-ši***; HLuw. ***-si***.

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*. Postvocalically, it is consistently spelled with single *-š-*. In the OS texts, we find *-ši* postvocalically (e.g. *ú-u̯a-ši* ‘you come’, *ak-ku-uš-ke-ši* ‘you drink’, *ar-ša-ne-e-ši* ‘you are envious’, *ḫa-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’, *ḫar-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 *ḫi*-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 (*ḫa-ap-ti* ‘you attach’, *ḫar-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 *ḫi*-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*.

=šši : see *=šše*

=šši- / =šša- / =šše- (encl.poss.pron. 3sg.) 'his, her, its': nom.sg.c. *V=š-ši-iš* (OS), *C=ši-iš* (OS), *V=ši-iš* (rare, OS), *V=š-še-eš* (NS), *C=še-iš* (NS), acc.sg.c. *V(n)=š-ša-an* (OS), Sum.*=ša-an* (OS), *Vn=ša-an* (NS), *V(n)=š-ši-in* (NS), Sum.*=ši-in* (NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *V=š-še-et* (OS), *V(n)=š-še-et* (OS), *C=še-et* (OS), *V=še-et* (OH/MS), *V(n)=š-ši-it* (1x OS, MS), *V=š-ši-it* (OH/MS), *V=ši-it* (NS), *C=ši-it* (1x OS, MS), gen.sg. *Vš=ša-aš* (OS), *V(š)=ša-aš* (1x, NS), dat.-loc.sg. *V=š-ši* (OS), *V=š-še* (1x, NS), *V=ši* (MS), *V=še* (1x, NS), all.sg. *V=š-ša* (OS), abl.-instr. *-az=še-et* (OS), *-az=še-e-et* (OH/MS), *-za=ši-it* (OH/NS), nom.pl.c. Sum.*=še-eš* (OS), *V=š-še-eš* (MS), *V=š-še-iš* (MS), *V=š-ši-iš* (NS), acc.pl.c. Sum.*=šu-uš* (OS), *Vš=šu-uš* (MS), nom.-acc.pl.n. *V=š-še-et* (OS), *V=še-et* (OS), *C=še-et* (MS), *V=š-ši-it* (NS), *V=ši-it* (NS), dat.-loc.pl. *Vš=ša-aš* (OS), Sum.*=ša-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. *=šši̯š*, acc.sg.c. *=šši̯an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *=šši̯et*, gen.sg. *=šši̯aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *=šši̯*, abl.-instr. *=šši̯it*, nom.pl.c. *=šši̯eš*, acc.pl.c. *=šši̯uš*, nom.-acc.pl.n. *=šši̯et*, dat.-loc.pl. *=šši̯aš*. For the original distinction between nom.-acc.sg./pl.n. *=šši̯et* vs. abl.-instr. *=šši̯it* see Melchert 1984a: 122-6. This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem *=šši- / =šša- / =šše-*. 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.)', *=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme-* 'our' and *=šmi- / =šma- / =šme-* 'your (pl.); their'). Etymologically, this enclitic possessive must belong with *=šše*, *=šši* (encl.pron. 3sg.dat.), and go back to **-si-*, **-so-* and **-se-*.

šii̯a- 'one': see *šī-*

UTÚL**šii̯ammi-** (n.) a certain dish prepared in a jar: nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i̯a-am-mi* (KBo 2.7 i 15, 29), *ši-i̯a-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 šii̯annaš 'treasury (house of sealing)': É *ši-i̯a-an-na-aš*.

This word denotes 'treasury' and is usually transliterated ^{É}*ši-i̯a-an-na-aš*. Nevertheless, it is better read É *ši-i̯a-an-na-aš* 'house of *šii̯ātar*', in which **šii̯ātar* denotes 'sealing' and is the verbal abstract of the verb *šai-^{i} / ši-* 'to seal'. See there for further etymology.

šii̯ant- (n.) 'alcoholic beverage?': nom.-acc.pl. *ši-i̯a-an-ta* (KUB 14.3 ii 62 (NH)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 14.3 ii
(61) ... *nu A-NA* ^{m}*Pí-i̯a-ma-ra-du* ≺ *za-ar-ši-i̯a-an* x[...]
(62) ≺ *za-ar-ši-i̯a-aš=ma I-NA* KUR *Ḫat-ti kiš-an ma-a-an* NINDA *ši-i̯a-an-ta*
(63) *ku-e-da-ni up-pa-an-zi nu-u=š-ši=kán* ḪUL *UL ták-ki-iš-ša-an-zi*

'[I have given] a safeconduct to Pii̯amaradu. A safeconduct in Ḫatti (goes) as follows: Whenever they send bread (and) *šii̯anta* to someone, to him they will not conduct evil'.

Sommer (1932: 132) tentatively translates *šii̯anta* as 'Rauschtrank(?)'. Formally, the word is identical to the nom.-acc.pl.n. of the participle of *šai-^{i} / ši-*, *šii̯e/a-^{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 *šii̯ēššar / šii̯ēšn-* 'beer'.

^{GIŠ}***šii̯attal-*** (n.) 'spear(?)' (Sum. ^{GIŠ}ŠU.I): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i̯a-at-tal* (KUB 33.106 iii 47, iv 15, KUB 36.95 iii 8), *ši-i̯a-tal* (KUB 17.7+ iii 17, KUB 33.92 iii 12, KUB 33.95 iv 2).

Derivatives: ***šii̯atalliške/a-^{zi}*** (Ic6) 'to hunt (with a spear)' (3sg.pres.act. *ši-i̯a-tal-li-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 2.1 vi 6, 8, KBo 12.59 i 3, 6, KUB 40.107+ rev. 18), *ši-i̯a(-at)-tal-li-iš/eš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 11.40 vi 3, 16, 19, 22, 25)).

PIE **h*$_1$*s-io-tlo-*

See Starke (1990: 200-205) for an extensive treatment of this word, although he reads it as *ši-i̯a-(at-)ri* (the sign RI can be read *ri* as well as *tal*), which he interprets as a Hittitization of a Luwian stem *šii̯atrit-*. See Rieken (1999a: 432^{2136}), however, for the view that the word in fact was *šii̯at(t)al*. Within Hittite, it is clearly derived from the verb *šii̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to shoot, to hurl' (see at *šai-^{i} / ši-*; *šii̯e/a-^{zi}*) and could go back to **h*$_1$*s-io-tlo-*, showing the instrumental suffix *-*tlo-*.

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.

šiia̯ttalliia̯e/a-^{zi}: see *šittariia̯e/a-*^{zi}

****šiia̯tar / šiia̯ann-*** 'spurting': gen.sg. *ši-ia̯-an-na-aš* (KBo 5.2 i 38).

This word occurs only once, in the following context:

KBo 5.2 i
(37) ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN *te-pu* ^{NA_4}GUG *te-pu* ^{NA_4}AŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL *te-pu*
(38) *ḫu-u-uš-ti-iš-š=a te-pu* 14 *kap-pí-iš* ŠE *pa-ra-a ši-ia̯-an-na-aš*
(39) ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG *te-pu* ^{GIŠ}ERIN *te-pu*

'a bit of lapis lazuli, a bit of carnelian, a bit of alabaster, and a bit of *ḫūšti-*. Fourteen bowls of grain that has spurted forth, a bit of tamarisk and a bit of ceder'.

It is clearly a gen.sg. of a abstract noun **šiia̯tar*, derived from the verb *šiia̯e/a-*^{zi} (see at *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*; *šiia̯e/a-*^{zi}). See there for further etymology.

šiia̯ttariia̯e/a-^{zi}: see *šittariia̯e/a-*^{zi}

šiia̯e- 'one': see *ši-*

šiia̯e/a-^{zi} : see *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*; *šiia̯e/a-*^{zi}

^{UZU}***šiešai-***: see $^{(UZU)}$*šišai-*

šiia̯ēššar / šiia̯ēšn- (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-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$_1$-i-éh$_1$sh$_1$r* ?

The word is well attested in OS and MS texts. Formally, it looks like a derivative in *-ēššar* from either *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* 'to impress, to sow' or from *šiia̯e/a-*^{zi} '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 *šiḭēššar* would reflect **sh$_1$-i-ésr*. See at *šai-^{i} / ši-* for further etymology.

šiḭēššar (n.) 'shooting (vel sim.)?': nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i-e-eš-šar* (KBo 17.61 rev. 7).
PIE **h$_1$s-i-éh$_1$sh$_1$r* ??

Hapax in KBo 17.61 rev. (7) *ne-pí-ša-az=kán kat-ta ši-i-e-eš-šar ši-ḭa-ti* 'From heaven *š.* spurted down'. Formally, *šiḭēššar* is identical with *šiḭēššar* 'beer'. Semantically, however, we rather expect a figura etymologica with *šiḭati*, so 'shooting (vel sim.)'. If so, then it must reflect **h$_1$s-i-éh$_1$sh$_1$ḭr*. See at *šiḭe/a-^{zi}* (under *šai-^{i} / ši-*; *šiḭe/a-^{zi}*) for further etymology.

šietti- (c.) a certain hairdo(?) (Sum. GÚ.BAR): nom.sg. *ši-e-et-ti-iš* (KBo 1.42 iii 22).

The word only occurs once, in a vocabulary, where it glosses Sum. GÚ.BA[R]. Friedrich (HW: 192) translates 'eine Haartracht?'. No etymology.

šimišiḭe/a-^{zi}: see *šamišiḭe/a-^{zi}* under *šami-*

šīna- (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$^{?}$-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$^{!}$-uš* (KBo 12.107 rev. 13 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ^{NINDA}***šīna-*** (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?))).

The oldest attestations (OS) of this word are spelled *ši-i-n°*, whereas the spellings *še-e-n°* and *še-n°* 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 **$d^{(h)}$iHno-*. Unfortunately I have not been able to find cognates.

-šipa-: see at $^{(f)}$*tagānzepa-*

šip(p)ānt-^{i} / šip(p)ant- : see *išpānt-^{i} / išpant-*

$^{(URUDU)}$***šipikkušta-***: see $^{(URUDU)}$*šepikkušta*

šiptamiia- (n.) 'seven-drink' (Sum. VII-*mi-ia-*): nom.-acc.pl. *ši-ip-ta-mi-ia* (KBo 5.1 iv 35), VII-*mi-ia* (Bo 4951 rev. 15).

Derivatives: ***šiptamae-^{zi}*** (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. ἑπτά, 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-ia te-ri-ia-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-*ia-al-la* VII-*mi-ia ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi*

'[...] they libate three-drink and seven-drink'.

This proves that *šiptamiia-* must mean 'seven' and must go back to **septmio-*. On the form *šiptamaizzi* see Neu (1999).

In the texts from Kültepe we find the PN ^{f}*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-^{i} / šakk-* 'to know' for similar scenario's). See at *šaptaminzu* for a possibly similar case.

šiš-^{zi} (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-ę*[*-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-u̯a-ar* (KUB 15.34 ii 23 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *še-iš-du-u̯a-a*[*š*] (KUB 24.3 iii 39 (MH/NS)), *še-e-eš-ša-u-u̯a-a*[*š*] (KUB 24.1 iv 16 (NH)), [*š*]*i-iš-ša-u̯a-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 *šišduu̯ar* 'proliferation' (KUB 15.34 ii 23) and gen.sg. *šešduu̯a*[*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 *šiššau̯aš*, *šēššauu̯aš*). 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 *šiššau̯aš* and *šēššauu̯aš*) or whether the two attestations of the verbal noun inserted a *-d-*. In the case of *še-iš-du-u̯a-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-u̯a-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 *šišduu̯ar* was secondarily created in analogy to it. If so, then we are dealing with a verb *šiš-*^{zi} > *šeš-*^{zi}.

The verb practically always occurs together with *mai-*^{i} / *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-^{i} ***/ šišš-*** (IIa1γ: impf. of *šai-*^{i} / *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*$_1$*-i-sóh*$_1$*-ei*, **sh*$_1$*-i-sh*$_1$*-énti*

This verb is the imperfective in *-šš(a)-* of *šai-*^{i} / *ši-* 'to press'. Like the other imperfectives in *-šš(a)-* (*īšša-*^{i} / *īšš-*, *ḫalzišša-*^{i} / *ḫalizišš-* and *u̯arrišša-*^{i} / *u̯arrišš-*), this verb, too, shows a phonetic development *-išš(a)-* > *-ešš(a)-*. See at *šai-*^{i} / *ši-* and *-šš(a)-* for further etymology.

$^{(UZU)}$***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),

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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 *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a-i̯a-aš*

(7) [(^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB=*Š*)]*U=ma* ^{NA_4}*ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-i̯a-aš ḫa-az-zi-ul=še-et-*[*t*=(*a*)]

(8) [(*ŠA* ^{NA_4}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-pí ú-da*

(42) *ki-nu-pí=ma-a=š-ša-an an-da ŠA* UR.MAḪ *ši-e-ša-i*
(43) *pár-ša-na-aš* ^{UZU}*ši-ša-i šu-mu-ma-aḫ n=a-at ḫar-ak*
(44) *n=a-at ta-ru-up n=a-at* 1^{EN} *i-i̯a n=a-at* LÚ-*aš* ŠÀ=*ši*
(45) *pé-e-da nu* LUGAL-*u̯a-aš* ZI-*aš kar-di-i=š-ši=i̯a*
(46) *ta-ru-up-ta-ru*

'Bring the *kinupi*-box here. In the *kinupi*-box, *šumumaḫḫ-* 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 *šumumaḫḫ-*^{i}). Rieken (1999a: 74) assumes that the word shows a reduplication from the root *šai-*^{i} / *ši-* 'to press', and suggests that the word means either 'paw' or 'teeth' (both body parts can be 'pressing') and reconstructs **si-soh*$_1$*i*. One should always be cautious, however, when the meaning of a word is assumed on the basis of etymological considerations only.

šišḫa-^{i} **/ *šišḫ-*** (*IIa5 > IIa1γ) 'to decide, to appoint': 1sg.pres.act. *še-eš-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 5.20+ iii 42 (NS), KUB 15.11 iii 11 (NH), Bronzetafel ii 25 (NH)), *še-eš-ḫa-mi* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *še-eš-ḫa-a-i* (KBo 5.9 iii 6 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *še-eš-ḫa-an-zi* (KUB 9.15 iii 19 (NS), KUB 42.91 ii 9, 21 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *še-eš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 36.67 ii 30 (NS), KUB 33.120 ii 46 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ši-iš-ḫe-er* (KBo 32.14 ii 36 (MH/MS)), 2sg.imp.act. *še-eš-ḫi* (KBo 18.48 rev. 14 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ša-aš-ḫa-at-tén* (KUB 36.51 i 9 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *še-eš-ḫa-at-ta* (KUB 33.114 i 13 (NS), KUB 33.120 ii 36 (MH/NS)); part. nom.pl.c. *še-eš-ḫa-an-te-eš* (KUB 14.19, 10 (NH)).

PIE **si-sh*$_2$*oi-e*, **si-sh*$_2$*-i-enti*

The oldest attested form of this verb, 3pl.pret.act. *ši-iš-ḫe-er* (MH/MS), has an *-i-* that contrasts with the *-e-* of all the other attestations, which show *še-eš-ḫ°*. 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 *šišḫ-* therefore must have been the original stem. I therefore cite this verb as *šišḫa-*^{i} / *šišḫ-* here. Most of the attested forms show the *tarn(a)*-inflection. Only once, we find a *mi*-inflected form *šešḫami* (according to the *ḫatrae*-class inflection). Because allmost

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 possibe that *šišḫa-^{i} / šišḫ-* goes back to an older stem *šišḫa-^{i} / *šišḫi-* (perhaps the stem **šišḫi-* 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*!")). 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/tiy̯anzi*-class. For **šišḫa/i-* this would mean that we can assume an even older inflection **šišḫai-^{i} / šišḫi-*. In my view, this stem **šišḫai-/šišḫi-* is to be connected with *išḫai-^{i} / išḫi-* 'to bind; to obligate with' (q.v.). Not only the formal similarity is striking (**šišḫai-/šišḫi-* could well show the reduplicated form of *išḫai-/išḫi-*), the semantic similarity is too. I therefore reconstruct *šišḫa- / šišḫ-* through an intermediate stage **šišḫa- / šišḫi-* as **šišḫai- / šišḫi-* < **si-sh$_2$-oi- / *si-sh$_2$-i-*. See at *išḫai-/išḫi-* for further etymology.

The aberrant vocalism in *šašḫatten* (if this form really belongs here: the context is too broken to determine its meaning independently) is remarkable.

šīšḫau- (n.) 'sweat' (Akk. *ZUDU*): nom.-acc.sg. *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* (KBo 3.2 obv. 26).

PIE **si-sh$_2$ou* ?

Hapax in KBo 3.2 obv. (26) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *al-la-ni-y̯a-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 *išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / išḫui-* 'to throw, to pour' that, together with *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-* 'id.' reflects PIE **sh$_2$eu- / *suh$_2$-* 'to pour'. This would mean that *šīšḫau-* reflects a reduplicated formation **si-sh$_2$óu*, **si-sh$_2$u-ós*, which originally meant 'outpourings' (vel sim.). Note however that the word-final sequence *°a-u* is very remarkable. The only other instance that I know is ^{GIŠ}*za-a-u* '?', in all other cases we find *°a-ú*. If this spelling means that we should phonologically interpret *ši-i-iš-ḫa-u* as /sīshao/, an IE origin is very unlikely.

šiššiy̯a- (stem) 'need'

Derivatives: ***šiššiy̯atar / šiššiy̯ann-*** (n.) 'need' (instr. *ši-iš-ši-y̯a-‹an-›ni-it* (KBo 32.15 ii 4)), ***šiššiy̯au̯ant-*** (adj.) 'being in need' (nom.sg.c. [*ši-i*]*š-ši-y̯a-u-an-za* (KBo 32.15 ii 6)), ^{LÚ}***šiššiy̯ala-*** (c.) 'needy one' (acc.sg. *ši-iš-ši-y̯a-la-an* (KBo 32.15 ii 18)).

PIE **si-sh$_1$-y̯o-*

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* ^{d}I]M-*aš ši-iš-ši-i̯a-‹an-›ni-it dam-mi-iš-ḫa-a-an-za*
(5) [*pa-ra-a tar-nu-mar ú-*]*e̯-u̯a-ak-ki ma-a-an* ^{d}IM-*aš*
(6) [... *ši-i*]*š-ši-i̯a-u-an-za nu ku-iš-š=a* ^{d}IM-*un-ni*
(7) [1 GÍN KÙ(.BABBAR *p*)*a-a*(*-i̯*)]

'[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* ^{d}IM-*an* ^{LÚ}*ši-iš-ši-i̯a-la-an*
(19) *dam-mi-iš-ḫi-iš-ke-ez-zi=an ku-iš Ú-UL=m=a-an i-i̯a-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 *šišši̯a-* which I translate as 'need'. Etymologically, this stem probably is a reduplication of the verb *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* 'to press, to seal', which means that we have to assume a semantic development *'pressing' > 'need'. See at *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* for further etymology.

^{GIŠ}***šišši̯am(m)a-*** (n.) '?': nom.-acc.sg. *ši-ši-i̯a-am-ma* (KUB 12.51 i 11, KUB 12.62 rev. 7), *ši-ši-a-ma* (KBo 6.10+ ii 3).

This word is attested a few times only, always with the determinative GIŠ 'wood':

KUB 12.62 rev.
(7) Ú.SAL-*i* ^{GIŠ}*ši-ši-i̯a-am-ma ar-ta kat-ta-an=ma ta-aš-u̯a-an-za du-du-mi-i̯a-an-za*
(8) *a-ša-an-zi*

'In the meadow a *šišši̯amma* 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* ^{GIŠ}*ši-ši-a-ma* [*ku-i*(*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 *šišiia̯m(m)a* is a tree. In the second context, it is obvious that this hardly can be the case. Apparantly, the *šišiia̯m(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.

šiššiia̯nt- (adj.) 'sealed': nom.-acc.sg.n. *ši-iš-ši-ia̯-an-n=a* (KUB 29.7 ii 56).
PIE **si-sh$_1$-i-ent-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 29.7 ii
(56) [*ke*]-*e ud-da-a-ar pár-ku-i ši-iš-ši-ia̯-an-n=a e-eš-tu* DINGIR^{LUM}*=ma* EN SÍSKUR*=ia̯ a-pé-e-ez*
(57) [*ud-da-a*]-*na-az pár-ku-u̯a-e-eš a-ša-an-*[*d*]*u*

'May these words be pure and *šiššiia̯nt-* and may through those words the deity and the patient be pure!'.

Apparently, *šiššiia̯nt-* is comparable in meaning to *parkui* 'pure, clean'. It therefore has been suggested to interpret *šiššiia̯nt-* as a reduplication of the verb *šai-*^{i} */ ši-* 'to seal'. In this case, *šiššiia̯nt-* 'sealed' may be used in the sense 'untouched'. For an etymological treatment, see at *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*.

šišd-^{zi}: see *šiš-*^{zi}

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: ***šiššuriia̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to irrigate' (inf.I *ši-iš*$^{!}$*-šu̯-u-ri-ia̯-i-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 31.100 rev.$^{?}$ 17 (MH/MS)), impf. *ši-iš-šu-ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (KBo 26.96, 6 (NH))), ***šiššiuriia̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to irrigate' (impf. *ši-iš-ši-u-ri-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 31.84 iii 54, 55 (MH/NS))).

PIE *$h_1$si-h_1s-ur or *$h_1$si-h_1s-ié-ur

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 *šiie/a-*^{zi} 'to shoot, to spurt, to flow' (see at *šai-*^{i} / *ši-*; *šiie/a-*^{zi}) and reconstructs *$h_1$si-h_1s-ur*, whereas the variant *šiššiur* is derived from the verb *šišiie/a-*^{zi}. Alternatively we could assume that *šiššur-* reflects *$h_1$si-h_1s-ié-ur* in which **VsiV* > Hitt. /VSV/ (cf. § 1.4.4.2). This would mean that in *šiššuriie/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_3n-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$^{?}$ 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: ^{Ḫ}**UR.SAG*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. **"FUSUS"*sitar-*** (n.) 'spindle' (nom.-acc.pl. "FUSUS"*si-tara/i* (KARATEPE 1 §25)).

PIE *h_1s-ie-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-*^{i} / *ši-*,

šiia/a-^{zi} ‘to shoot, to press’ and reconstructs **séh$_1$-tro-*. The root **seh$_1$-*, however, is the basis of *šai-^{i} / ši-* ‘to impress, to sow’, whereas *šiia/a-^{zi}* ‘to shoot’ must reflect **h$_1$s-ia/o-* (see at *šai-^{i} / ši-*; *šiia/a-^{zi}* for an etymological treatment). Melchert (1993b: 195) therefore assumes that *šittar-* is a contraction of **šiiattar-* ‘the shoot-thing’ and reflects **h$_1$s-ie-tro-* (although it seems to me that **-ie-* would yield Luw. *-i-* regularly). If this etymology is correct, it would show that initial **h$_1$* is dropped in front of *-š-* in Luwian.

šittariia/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to seal’: 3sg.pres.act. *ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi* (KBo 6.2+ ii 19, 24 (OS)), *ši-i*[*a-at-t*]*a-ri-ia-az-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 39 (OH/MS)), *ši-ia-at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 45 (OH/NS)), *ši-ia-at-tal-li-ia-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$_1$-i-tr-ie/o-*

The oldest attestations of this verb (in the OS version of the Hittite Laws) show the stem *šittariia/a-* (which is the reason for me to cite this verb under the lemma *šittariia/a-^{zi}*). In the MS copies of the Laws, this stem is replaced by *šiiattariia/a-*. Because the verb denotes ‘to seal’ it is likely that it is ultimately derived from the verb *šai-^{i} / ši-* ‘to impress, to seal’, probably through a noun **ši(ia)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 ***šiia-*!). When in the MH times the weak stem of *šai-/ši-* is secondarily changed to *šiia/a-* (on the basis of false analysis of 3pl.pres.act. *ši-anzi* as *šiia-nzi*), this verb, too, was altered from *šittariia/a-* to *šiiattariia/a-*. The only attestation from a NH copy of the Laws is the aberrant form *ši-ia-at-tal-li-ia-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-ia-at-ri-ia-az-zi* ?). The confusion shows that this verb probably was not used anymore in NH times.

All in all, I would reconstruct *šittariia/a-* as **sh$_1$-i-tr-ie/o-*. See at *šai-^{i} / ši-* for further etymology.

$^{(d)}$šīu-, **$^{(d)}$šīuna-** (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^{LUM}*-na-aš* (NH), acc.sg. *ši-ú(n)=šum-m*[*i-in*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 39 (OS)), *ši-ú(n)=šu*[*m-*(*mi-in*)] (KBo 3.22 obv. 41 (OS)), *ši-ú-na-an* or *ši-ú-n=a-an* (KBo 17.51 i$^{?}$ 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^{MEŠ}*-eš* (OS), *ši-u̯a-an-ni-e-eš* (KBo 20.73 iv 8 (MS), KUB 35.146 iii 8 (NS)), *ši-u̯a-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^{MEŠ}*-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 *šiunal(a/i)-*, **šiuniie/a-*^{zi}, *šiuniiaḫḫ-*^{ta}, *šiu̯annant-*, ^{NINDA}*šiu̯annanni-*, ^{MUNUS}*šiu̯anzanna-*.

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. *šiu̯eš*, but this form is unattested: we only find DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-eš* besides the aberrant *šiu̯anniēš*). Already in OH times, we see a proliferation of a thematic stem *ši-(i-)ú-na-* /sīuna-/, with acc.sg. *šiunan* (unless the OS attestations *ši-ú-na-an* (KBo 17.51 i$^{?}$ 8) is to be interpreted *ši-ú-n=a-an*, cf. Neu 1983: 168^{496}), gen.sg. *šiunaš*, dat.-loc. *šiuni* etc. in OS texts already. In NH times we even find nom.sg. DINGIR^{LUM}*-naš*. The fact that we find a similar stem in Pal. *tiuna-* and Lyd. *ciwvali-* 'divine' (see under *šiunal(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. Ζέυς, 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 /sí̯u-/ and /sí̯una-/. This /sí̯u-/ is the direct outcome of **diḗu-*. See Rieken (1999a: 37^{160}) on the peculiar nom.pl. *šiu̯anniēš*, who argues that the texts in which this form occurs probably were translations from Luwian texts. Formally, *šiu̯anniēš* looks like a thematization of **šiu̯ātar* 'deity', just as the animatized form *šiu̯annant-* '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.

$^{(d)}$***šīuna-***: see $^{(d)}$*šīu-*, $^{(d)}$*šīuna-*

šiunal(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. ***ciwvali-*** '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 túḫ-ḫa-an-da-at*
(12) *še-e-r=a-a=š-ša-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 $^{(d)}$*šīu-*, $^{(d)}$*šīuna-* 'god' (q.v.). Note the similarity in formation to Lyd. *ciwvali-* 'divine'.

***šiuniie/a-**^{zi}* (Ic1) '?': 3pl.imp.act. DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-ni-ia-an-du* (KBo 23.22, 2), 3pl.pres.midd. DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-ni-ia-an-ta-r*[*i*$^{?}$] (KBo 8.77 rev. 7).

Derivatives: ***^{LÚ}šiuniiant-*** (c.) 'godsman(?)' (nom.sg. ^{LÚ}DINGIR^{LIM}*-ni-an-za* (KUB 14.10 + 26.86 iv 11)), ***šiuniiatar / šiuniiann-*** (n.) '(statue of) deity' (nom.-acc.sg. DINGIR^{LIM}*-ia-tar*, DINGIR^{LIM}*-tar*, dat.-loc.sg. DINGIR^{LIM}*-an-ni*).

Both attestations of the verb are found in broken contexts: KBo 23.22 (2) [... DI]NGIR^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-ni-ia-an-du*[...]; KBo 8.77 rev. (7) [... *k*]*u-i-e-eš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-ni-ia-an-ta-r*[*i*$^{?}$ ...]. On the basis of these attestations, we cannot determine what the verb means. The nouns *^{LÚ}*šiuniiant-* and **šiuniiatar* are mentioned here for formal reasons only as they both seem to derive from a stem *šiuniie/a-*. Semantically there is no clue, however, that they really belong with this verb. See at $^{(d)}$*šīu-*, $^{(d)}$*šīuna-* 'god' for further etymology.

***šiuniiaḫḫ-**^{ta}* (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 $^{(d)}$*šīu-*, $^{(d)}$*šīuna-* 'god' (q.v.), perhaps through the verb **šiuniie/a-**^{zi}* (q.v.).

MUNUS***šiunzanna-***, MUNUS***šiu̯anzanna-*** (c.) a kind of priestess (Sum. MUNUSAMA.DINGIR): nom.sg. *ši-un-za-an-na-aš* (KBo 16.71+ (StBoT 25.13) iv 22 (OS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ši-u̯a-an-za-an-na* (IBoT 1.29 i 58 (OH/NS)), nom.pl. *ši-u̯a-an-za-an-ni-iš* (KUB 13.2 ii 32 (MH/NS)), broken *ši-u̯a-an-z*[*a-...*] (IBoT 1.29 ii 12 (OH/NS)).

PIE **dieu-nt-s* + *anna-*

The word denotes a certain kind of priestess. In KUB 13.2, MUNUS.MEŠ*šiu̯anzanniš* (ii 32) alternates with the sumerographical writing MUNUS.MEŠAMA.DINGIR (e.g. ibid. ii 27), lit. 'mother.god'. This has led e.g. Friedrich (HW: 195) to tentatively translate *šiu̯anzanna-* as "Gottesmutter" (as if it consists of gen.sg. *šiu̯anz* + *anna-* 'mother'). In my view, an original meaning 'divine mother' might be more likely, as in this way *šiu(u̯a)nz* can be interpreted as nom.sg.c. of a further unknown adjective *šiu(u̯a)nt-* 'divine' (which perhaps is visible in NINDA*šiu̯andannanni-* (q.v.) as well) that is ultimately cognate with (d)*šīu-*, (d)*šīuna-* 'god' (q.v.). If this is correct, then the word must be a univerbation of original *šiu(u̯a)nz annaš* 'divine mother'. Note that the oldest attestation (OS) shows *šiunzannaš*. Perhaps this shows that we have to phonologically interpret this word as /siunt^{s}aNa-/, which was in NH times phonetically realized as [siuənt^{s}aNa-], spelled *ši-u̯a-an-za-an-na-*. I therefore reconstruct **diéu-nt-s* + *anna-*. See at (d)*šīu-*, (d)*šīuna-* for further etymology.

šiu̯anna-: see (d)*šīu-*, (d)*šīuna-*

šiu̯annant- (c.) 'god': nom.sg. *ši-u̯a-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 **šiu̯ātar* 'deity'. See at (d)*šīu-*, (d)*šīuna-* 'god' for further etymology.

NINDA***šiu̯andannanni-*** (c.) a bread: nom.sg. *ši-u̯a-an-da-an-na-an-ni*[*-iš*] (KBo 29.115 iii 8), *ši-u̯a-an-da-na-an-ni-iš* (KUB 27.49 iii 7), acc.sg. *ši-u̯a-an-da-an-na-an-ni-in* (KBo 29.115 iii 3, 5, 7), *ši-u̯a-an-ta-an-na-an-ni-in* (KBo 23.87, 7); broken *ši-u̯a-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-*: NINDA*parkuu̯aštannanni-*, NINDA*armanni-*, NINDA*arma(n)tal(l)anni-*. For the use of *-anni-* as a derivational suffix, compare

NINDA*armanni-* from *arma-* ‘moon’ and *ḫupparanni-* (a liquid measure) from *ḫuppar-* ‘bowl’. In the case of *šiu̯andannanni-*, we would have to assume that it is derived from **šiu̯andann-*, which itself seems to be the oblique stem of a further unattested noun **šiu̯andātar*. This **šiu̯andātar* must be derived from a stem **šiu̯ant-*. To what extent this **šiu̯ant-* is identical to *šiu̯ant-* found in MUNUS*šiu̯anzanna-* (a kind of priestess) (q.v.), is unclear. If so, then this **šiu̯ant-* would be ultimately cognate to (d)*šīu-*, (d)*šīuna-* ‘god’ and probably reflect **diuent-* or **dieuent-*.

MUNUS*šiu̯anzanna-*: see MUNUS*šiunzanna-*

(d)***šīu̯att-*** (c.) ‘day’ (Sum. UD(KAM)): nom.sg. *šḭ-i-u̯a-az* (KBo 17.15 rev.! 19 (OS)), UDKAM*-az* (KBo 25.58 ii 7 (OS)), acc.sg. UD(KAM)*-an*, gen.sg. d*ši-i-u̯a-at-ta-aš* (KBo 17.15 obv.! 10 (OS)), dat.-loc. *ši-u̯a-at-ti* (KBo 3.55+ ii 3 (OH/NS)), *ši-ú-u̯a-at-te* (KUB 41.23 ii 13 (OH/NS)), *ši-ú-u̯a-at-ti* (KBo 22.170, 3 (OH/NS)), loc.sg. *ši-i-u̯a-at* (KBo 25.17 i 1 (OS)), *ši-u̯a-at* (KBo 3.22 rev. 60 (OS)), *ši-u̯a-a-at* (KBo 21.49 iv 8 (OH/NS)), acc.pl. UDḪI.A*-uš*.

Derivatives: ***anišiu̯at*** (adv.) ‘today(?)’ (*a-ni-ši-u̯a-at* (KBo 3.45 obv. 12 (OH/NS))).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***tiḭat-*** (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. *ti-ḭa-az*, dat.-loc.sg. *ti-ḭa-az*); CLuw. (d)***Tiu̯ad-*** (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. (d)*ti-u̯a-az*, dUTU(*-u̯a*)*-az*, dUTU(*-u̯a*)*-za*, voc.sg.(?) *ti-u̯a-ta*, *ti-u-u̯a-ta*, acc.sg. dUTU*-an*, dat.-loc.sg. dUTU*-ti*(*-i*), gen.adj. d*ti-u̯a-d*[*a-aš-ši-*), ***tiu̯aliḭa-*** (adj.) ‘of the Sun-god’ (voc.sg. *ti-u̯a-li-ḭa*), ***tiu̯ariḭa-*** (adj.) ‘of the Sun-god’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. *ti-u̯a-ri-ḭa*); HLuw. **DEUS*tiu̯ad(i)-*** (c.) ‘Sun-god’ (nom.sg. /tiwadsas/ DEUSSOL*-wa/i-za-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §2), DEUSSOL*-za-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A17*a* iii), DEUSSOL*-za-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §73), /tiwadis/ DEUSSOL*-ti-i-sa* (MALPINAR §11), DEUSSOL*-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A4*a* §13), acc.sg. /tiwadin/ DEUSSOL*-wa/i-ti-i-na* (TELL AHMAR 2 §6), gen.sg.? /tiwadas/ SOL*-tà-sa* (SAMSAT fr. 1), dat.-loc.sg. /tiwadi/ DEUSSOL*-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20), DEUSSOL*-ti* (ANCOZ 7 §4), abl.-instr. /tiwadadi/ DEUSSOL*-tà-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §1)), ***tiwadama/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*$_8$ (KULULU 4 §1, §2), SOL*-tà-mi-sá* (BOYBEYPINARI 2 §5), DEUSSOL*-wa/i-tà-mi-i-sa* (KULULU 2 §1), DEUSSOL*-mi-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §1), gen.sg. /tiwadamas/ DEUSSOL*-wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa-´* (KARKAMIŠ A18*h* §1), DEUSSOL*-wa/i+ra/i-ma-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A5*a* §1), dat.-loc.sg. /tiwadami/ *ti-wa/i+ra/i-mi* (KULULU 5 §3), DEUSSOL*-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-u̯a-az*, gen.sg. *ši-i-u̯a-at-ta-aš* (both with plene *-i-*) it might be likelier to assume, however, that the stem of the nom.sg., /sḯuats/, generalized throughout the paradigm, taking with it not only the accentuation of the root, but also the unlenited /t/, yielding *šīu̯attaš*.

It is generally accepted that *šīu̯att-* 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/, */diuṓdom/, /diuodṓs/. In Hittite, the stem */diéuot-/ > *šīu̯att-* was generalized, whereas in Luwian the stem */diuod-/ > *tiu̯ad-* was generalised. See for further etymology $^{(d)}$*šīu-*, $^{(d)}$*šīuna-*.

The hapax *a-ni-ši-u̯a-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-u̯a-at* should be read *e*$^{!}$*-ni-ši-u̯a-at*, in which *eni* is to be equated with the NH outcome of nom.-acc.sg.n. *ini*.

šiu̯i- / šiu̯ai- (adj.?) 'sour(?)': acc.sg.? *ši-ú-i-n=a* (KUB 31.110, 3 (OH/NS)), acc.(?)pl.c. *ši-u̯a-e-e*[*š*] (KBo 17.4 ii 17 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ši(ḫ)u̯a-*** (adj.) 'sour(?)' (nom.-acc.pl.n. *še-e-u̯a*), ***ši(ḫ)u̯ai-*** (adj.) 'sour(?)' (nom.pl.c. *ši-e-ḫu-u̯a-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 *šiu̯in* + *=a*. The attestation *ši-u̯a-e-e*[*š*] is more clear, although it appears in broken context: KBo 17.4 ii (17) [...

ḫa]*r-š*[*a*]*-ú-uš ši-u̯a-e-e*[*š* ...]. Otten & Souček (1969: 25[12]) suggest that this phrase might be paralleled by NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA-*uš EM-ṢÚ-TIM* 'sour thick-breads' and that *šiu̯aēš* therefore must mean 'sour'. This interpretation would mean, however, that *šiu̯aēš* 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[26]) connected this word with CLuw. *ši(ḫ)u̯a(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), *ḫa-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-u̯a-ni* (OS), *da-aš-ke-e-u-e-n*[*i*] (OS), *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ke-u-e-ni* (OS), *pí-iš-ke-u-u̯a-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-ḫi-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), *ḫa-az-zi-iš-k*[*án-zi*] (OS), *ḫi-in-ga-aš-kán-zi* (OS), *ir-ḫa-i-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *iš-ḫa-mi-iš-kán-zi* (OS), *iš-ḫi-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), *ḫa-at-ri-eš-ke-eš* (MH/MS), *zi-ik-ke-eš* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ḫa-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), *ḫa-at-ri-eš-ket$_9$-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-aḫ-ḫa-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-aḫ-ḫi-iš-kán-ta* (OS), 1sg.pret.midd. *pa-iš-ga-ḫa-at* (OS), 3pl.pret.midd. *e-eš-kán-ta-ti* (OS), 1sg.imp.midd. *pa-iš-ka*[*-aḫ-ḫu-ut*] (OS), 3sg.imp.midd. [*pa-iš-k*]*at-ta-ru* (OS); part. *ú-nu-uš-kán-za* (OS); sup. *da-me-eš-ke-u̯a-an* (OS).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-zza-*** (impf.-suffix) (3sg.pres.act. *ḫal-u̯a-at-na-az-za-i*, *ḫal-u̯a-at-na-za-i*); HLuw. ***-za-*** (impf.-suffix) (3sg.pres.act. ^{PES_2}*pa-za-ti*, 1sg.pret.-act. ^{PES_2}*pa-za-ha*, ^{PES2}*pa-za-ha$_x$*, 3sg.pret.act. $^{\text{"PES2"}}$*pa-za/i-ta$_x$*, 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. **-sḱe/o-*

PIE **CC-sḱé/ó-*

This suffix is usually called "iterative", but this should be abandoned. According to Melchert (1998b), stems in *-šḱe/a-*^{zi} 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 *-šḱe/a-* are functionally equivalent to stems in *-šš(a)-*^{i} and *-anna/i-*^{i}, 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 *-šḱe/a-*, while another ten occur only sporadically (once or twice each) beside regular, productive *-šḱe/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 *naišḱe/a-*, the imperfective to *nai-* 'turn, guide; send' and *walḫanni/a-* 'beat' (frequentative) beside *walḫišḱe/a-* imperfective to *walḫ-* 'strike'" (o.c.: 416), but see at *-anna-*^{i} / *-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 /i̯/ in clusters containing **s* and stops, like **$d^{h}h_{1}$sḱé/o-* > OH /tské/á-/, *za-aš-ke/a-* > OH /tsi̯ke/a-/, *zi-ik-ke/a-* 'to place (impf.)', **h_{1}psḱé/ó-* > Hitt. /ʔpi̯ské/á-/, *ap-pí-iš-ke/a-* 'to seize (impf.)' and **lǵ^{h}sḱé/ó-* > Hitt. /ləki̯ské/á-/, *la-ak-ki-iš-ke/a-* 'to fell (impf.)', the suffix *-šḱe/a-* sometimes is reinterpreted as /-i̯ske/a-/, yielding forms like *la-ḫu-iš-ke/a-* 'to pour (impf.)' (instead of original *la-ḫu-uš-ke/a-*) or as /-si̯ke/a-/, 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. *-šḱe/a-*. His idea is then that Luw. *-za-* and Hitt. *-šḱe/a-* go back to PAnat. **-sḱe/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. **ḱ*). If this is correct, it would imply that we are dealing with a PAnat. suffix **-sḱe/o-*, containing a palatovelar.

From the beginning of Hittitology, the Hittite suffix *-šḱe/a-* has correctly been identified with the present-suffixes Skt. *-ccha-*, Av. *-sa-*, Gr. -σκε/ο-, Arm. *-c'-*, Lat. *-sce/o-*, OIr. *-c-*, OHG *-sc-*, etc. The exact reconstruction of this suffix, with **-k-* or with **-ḱ-*, 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 **-sḱ-* 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 **-sḱe/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 **-sḱ-* was still available and that this suffix in fact was **-sḱe/o-* and that only after the splitting off of Anatolian the cluster **-sḱ-* 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 **-sḱe/o-* always uses the zero-grade of the root (Skt. *gácchati* ~ Av. *jasaiti* ~ Gr. βάσκω < **g^{w}m-sḱé/ó-* 'to be going'; Skt. *pṛccháti* ~ Av. *pərəsaiti* ~ Arm. *harc'i* ~ Lat. *poscō* ~ OIr. *arco* ~ OHG *forscōn* < **prḱ-sḱé/ó-* 'to ask'), in Hittite the suffix *-šḱe/a-* in principle uses the zero-grade root as well, e.g. *appiške/a-* from *epp-^{zi} / app-* 'to seize', *uške/a-* from *au-^{i} / u-* 'to see', *akkuške/a-* from *eku-^{zi} / aku-* 'to drink', etc. As in the latter example, the suffix *-šḱe/a-* had a fortiting effect on the preceding consonant (also *lakkiške/a-* from *lāk-^{i} / lag-*, *ḫarappiške/a-* from *ḫarp-$^{tta(ri)}$* /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).

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), *=še-me-et* (OS), *=ša-me-et* (OS), *=ša-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 *ḫi*-flection): see *-šten(i)*

-šten: (2pl.imp.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection): see *-šten(i)*

-šten(i) (2pl.-ending of the *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-verbs that use the ending *-šten(i)* use the ending *-tten(i)* as well (except *pai-*^{i} */ 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 *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-verbs of which the stem ends in a consontant: 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 *ḫi*-verbs of which the stem ends in a vowel (*dāi/tiia̯nzi*-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 *-u̯eni* and *-u̯ani* and *-tteni* and *-ttani*). Melchert (1994a: 137-8) has noticed that the variant with *-a-* occurs when the verb's stem is accentuated (e.g *naištani* = /náistani/). He therefore regarded the forms with *-a-* as the regular outcome of unaccentuated **-steni*, **-u̯eni* and **-tteni*.

The etymological interpretation of *-šteni* 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 *ḫi*-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 TochA *-s*, TochB *-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=u̯a*, *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*, *sā́*, *tád*, Gr. ὁ, ἡ, 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=u̯a* (KBo 22.2 rev. 5, 6)).

šu- 'to fill': see *šuu̯e/a-*^{zi}

šū- 'full': see *šūu-* / *šūu̯au̯-*

$^{(SÍG)}$***šūel-***: see $^{(SÍG)}$*šūil-*

šūeri- '?': dat.-loc.sg.? *šu-u-e-ri-i̯a* (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_6*-ti* VI *PA* ZÌ.DA ZÍZ *A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
ḫu̯-u̯-mą-ą̣n-tą-ąš
(21) *šu-u-e-ri-i̯a* ^{NINDA}*zi-ti-ti I-NA* É NINDA.DÙ$^{?}$.DỤ *šu-un-ni-an-zi*

'Then, on that specific night, for all the gods they fill 6 *parīsu* wheat meal for$^{?}$ *šuu̯eri-* and *zititi*-bread inside the bakery'.

The function and meaning of *šu-u-e-ri-i̯a* is unclear.

šūḫḫ-, ***šuḫḫa-*** (c.) '(flat) roof': acc.sg. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an* (KUB 53.3 v 8 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-uḫ-ḫi* (often), *šu-u-uḫ-ḫi*, all.sg. *šu-uḫ-ḫa* (OS), *šu-u-uḫ-ḫa*, abl. *šu-u-uḫ-za* (KUB 43.30 iii 18 (OS)), [*š*]*u-u-uḫ-za* (KBo 44.142 ii 4 (OS)), *šu-uḫ-ḫa-az*,

acc.pl. *šu-uḫ-ḫu-uš* (KUB 39.52+ iii 8, iii 13 (NS)), coll.pl.? [*š*]*u-uḫ-ḫa* (KUB 31.89 ii 7 (MH/NS)).

PIE **séuh$_2$-s*, **séuh$_2$-m*, **suh$_2$-ós* ?

See Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 85f. for the semantics of this word. Usually, this word is cited as *šuḫḫa-*, but Rieken (1999a: 65f.) states that the OS attestations of abl. *šu-u-uḫ-za* indicate that we have to reckon with an original athematic root noun *šūḫḫ-*. She assumes that only in younger times this root noun was thematicized to *šuḫḫa-*. 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 *šūḫḫ-* (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. *ḫuḫḫa-*, which shows a thematization from an original root noun **h$_2$euh$_2$-*, it is in my view likely that the younger forms indeed belong to a thematic noun *šuḫḫa-*.

Formally, the word can hardly reflect anything else than **seuh$_2$-*. In my view it is likely that we have to assume an original inflection **seuh$_2$-s*, **seuh$_2$-m*, **suh$_2$-ós*, and that later on, on the basis of gen.sg. **suh$_2$-ós* a thematic noun **suh$_2$-o-* > *šuḫḫa-* was created. According to Rieken (o.c.: 66) we must assume an etymological connection with the verb *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-* '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 *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-* and *išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / išḫui-* for further etymological treatment.

šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ- (IIa1γ) 'to scatter': 3sg.pres.act. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-i* (OH/MS) *šu-uḫ-ḫa-i* (OH/NS, MH/MS), *šu-uḫ-ḫu-u̯a-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.$^{?}$ 5 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (OS), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-un* (VBoT 58 ii 6 (OH/NS), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* (ABoT 44 i 53 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-er* (OS); part. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *šu-uḫ-ḫu-u̯a-aš* (KUB 17.35 ii 2 (NS)), *šu-uḫ-ḫa-ú-u̯a-aš* (KUB 25.23 i 37 (NS)), *šu-uḫ-ḫa-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 25.23 iv 50 (NS), VBoT 26, 8 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. ὕω 'to rain', TochAB *su-/swās-* 'to rain'.

PIE **suh$_2$-enti* ?

This verb denotes 'to scatter, to pour' and therewith is semantically almost identical to *išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / 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: "*išḫuu̯a-* und *šuḫḫa-* 'schütten'". This seems to be suported by a hybrid form like *šu-uḫ-ḫu-u̯a-i* (KBo 30.115 rev.$^{?}$ 5). Nevertheless, the exact formal relation between the two is difficult to judge. According to Jasanoff (1978: 90[11]), we have to start with a PIE root *$*sh_2eu$-* 'to pour', the zero-grade of which already in PIE occasionally metathesized to *$*suh_2$-*. This *$*suh_2$-* is e.g. visible in Gr. ὕω 'to rain' and TochAB *su-/swās-* 'to rain', whereas *$*sh_2u$-* is visible in Hitt. *išḫuu̯ai- / išḫui-*, which belongs to the *dāi/tiu̯anzi*-class and therefore must reflect *$*sh_2u$-oi- / *$*sh_2u$-i-*. Note that the alleged reflex of the full grade stem *$*sh_2eu$-*, *šišḫau-* 'sweat', hardly can be of IE origin.

These considerations give rise to several scenarios for the origin of *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-*, which belongs to the *tarn(a)*-class. On the one hand, we could assume that already in PIE a secondary root *$*seuh_2$-* existed, which would be inflected in pre-Hittite as *$*sóuh_2$-ei*, *$*suh_2$-énti*. Although the plural form indeed would yield attested *šuḫḫanzi*, I would expect that *$*sóuh_2$-ei* would give Hitt. **$**šūḫi*. It is problematical, however, that I do not see how a paradigm *$*šūḫi / šuḫḫanzi*$ would be altered to *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-*. Another possibility is to assume that we have to begin with the root *$*sh_2eu$-*, which would in pre-Hittite inflect *$*sh_2óu-ei$ / *$*sh_2u$-énti*. In the plural, we could imagine that *$*sh_2uénti$ metathesized to *$*suh_2énti$ > Hitt. *šuḫḫanzi*. In the singular, *$*sh_2óuei$ should regularly have yielded **$**išḫāu̯i*. We know from other verbs in *-au-*, however, that such a form was not tolerated (compare *au-^{i} / u-* that has 3sg.pres.act. *aušzi* instead of *$*h_2óu-ei$, and *mau-^{i} / mu-* that has 3sg.pres.act. *maušzi* instead of *$*móuh_1$-ei*). We could imagine that on the basis of 3pl. *šuḫḫanzi* the singular secondarily was changed to *šuḫḫai*, 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-*, *šuḫḫa-* 'roof' (q.v.) indeed is etymologically connected with *šuḫḫa-^{i} / šuḫḫ-* and *išḫuu̯ai-^{i} / išḫui-*, it would show a Hittite reflex of the 'secondary' stem *$*seuh_2$-*, which then would better fit the former scenario.

šuḫmili-, ***šuḫpili-*** (adj.) 'firm(?)': nom.sg.c. *šu-u-uḫ-mi-li-iš* (KBo 19.132 rev.$^{?}$ 11 (MH/NS)), [*š*]*u-uḫ-mi-lḭ-iš* (KBo 10.37 iii 1 (OH/NS)), [*š*]*u-uḫ-mi-li-iš* (KUB 9.28 iii 24 (MH/NS)), *šu-uḫ-mi-li-iš* (KUB 43.23 rev. 13, 17 (OS)), acc.sg.c.? *šu-uḫ-mi-li-in* (KBo 10.37 ii 33 (OH/NS)), *šu-uḫ-pí-li-in* (KUB 51.63 rev. 6 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *šu-uḫ-mi-li* (KBo 10.37 iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 43.23 rev. 57 (OS)), [*šu-*

uḫ-m]*i-li* (KBo 13.121, 4 (OH/NS)), *šu*[*-uḫ-m*]*i-li* (KBo 13.156 obv. 8 (OH/NS)), broken *šu-uḫ-p*[*í-li(-)*...] (KUB 51.63 rev. 8 (NS)).

Usually, this adjective is cited as *šuḫmili-* and translated 'well-fixed', a translation that goes back to Catsanicos 1986 ("bien fixé"). Let us first look at the contexts in which *šuḫmili-* 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.MAḪ *pár-ši-i̯a* 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA[...]
(7) *šu-uḫ-mi-li* GE$_6$*-i* KI-*pí pár-ši-i̯a nu*-x[...]

//
KBo 13.121
(3) [*tak-na-*]*aš A-NA* DINGIR.MAḪ *pár-ši-i̯a* 1[NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA ...]
(4) [*šu-uḫ-m*]*i-li* GE$_6$*-i* KI-*pí pár-ši-i̯a*[...]

'He breaks [...] of the earth for the mother goddess. One thick-bread [...] he breaks for the *šuḫmili-* black earth';

KUB 43.23 rev.
(13) *šu-uḫ-mi-li-iš da-an-ku-iš da-ga-an-zi-p*[*a-aš ta-ak-na-a-aš-š=a* ^{d}UTU-*uš*]
(14) *ú-u̯a-at-te-en* ^{d}IM-*na-aš i̯a-*[*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* ^{d}I[M-]*aš* LUGAL-*i* [*a-aš-šu*]
(16) *ḫu-iš-u̯a-tar mi-i̯a-tar tar-*[*ḫ*]*u-i-li* ^{GIŠ}*tu-u-ri pí-iš-ke-e*[*d-du*]
(17) *kat-ta-ša-ra-a=ma ták-na-a-az šu-uḫ-mi-li-iš ta*$^{!}$*-ga-an-zi-p*[*a*]*-aš*
(18) *ták-na-a-aš-š=a* ^{d}UTU-*uš A-NA* LUGAL *a-aš-šu ḫu-iš-u̯a-tar tar-ḫu-i-li*
(19) ^{GIŠ}*tu-u-ri pí-iš-ke-ed-du*

'You, *šuḫmili-* 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 *šuḫmili-* 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$_4$.RA GIR$_4$ 1 GAL.GEŠTIN
(57) 1 ŠAḪ.TUR *A-NA* KI *šu-uḫ-mi-li*
(58) *ták-na-aš* ^{d}UTU-*i*

‘Three thick-breads from the oven, one ‘head of the wine’ (and) one little pig for the *šuḫmili-* 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.[?] 10f.)
(22) 2 ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB* ŠÀ.BA *I-NA* 1 ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB KAŠ
(23) *a-ku-u̯a-an-na-aš pár-šu-il šu-u-uš*
(24) 1 GI [(*š*)]*u-uḫ-mi-li-iš tar-na-an-za*

‘Two pitchers: in one pitcher of beer for drinking, a *šuḫmili-* 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-u̯a-an-da-aš pé-eš-ket$_{9}$-tén nu-u=š-š*[*i ḫ*]*a-aš-ta*$^{!}$*-l*[*i-i̯*]*a-*[*tar*]
(32) *pé-eš-tén nu-u=š-ši iš-ḫu-na-u-u̯a-a*[*r*] *ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*
(33) *pé-eš-tén nu-u=š-ši šu-uḫ-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) *šuḫmili-*’.

E.g. Rieken (1999a: 361) assumes that in this context *šuḫmilin* belongs with *gēnu* and translates ‘Gebt ihm ein festes Knie!’. Problematic, however, is the fact the *gēnu* is neuter, whereas *šuḫmilin* is commune acc.sg. Catsanicos (1986: 124) assumes that in this case the word is a contraction of **šuḫmiliii̯an*, which in his view is the nom.-acc.sg.n. of a derived stem *šuḫmiliii̯ant-*. In note 154 of page 147, he compares this with the form *šu-up-pí-in* from **šuppii̯an*, nom.-acc.sg.n. of *šuppii̯ant-*, 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 *šuppin* refers to a neuter noun. The other examples that Catsanicos cites, *appezzin* beside *appezzii̯an* and *ḫantezzin* beside *ḫantezzii̯an*, are derived from stems that end in *-i-* as well as in *-ii̯a-* (*appezzi(i̯a)-* and *ḫantezzi(i̯a)-*). For *šuḫmili-*, not a single indication for either a stem *šuḫmilii̯a-* nor a stem *šuḫmilii̯ant-* are found, so the assumption that *šuḫmilin* in this case is a nom.-acc.sg.n.-form from **šuḫmilii̯an* seems doubtful to me. If in this context *šuḫmilin* does not belong with *gēnu*, it must be substantivized and mean ‘something *šuḫmili-*’.

The other contexts of *šuḫmili-* are broken:

KBo 10.37 iii

(1) [*š*]*u-uḫ-mi-li-iš* [...]

KBo 13.156 obv.

(7) [-]*e* 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *gu*[*-la-an-*]*te-en*

(8) [NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *gul-*]*la-an-ti-en šu*[*-uḫ-m*]*i-li*

(9) [ ]

All in all, we see that *šuḫmili-* is used as en 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. *sūmáya-* 'well prepared', reconstructing **h$_1$su-h$_2$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 *šuḫmili-* 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 *šuḫmili-* would be the only case where we find the proclitic *šu-* 'well' in Hittite. Moreover, although I do think that word-initially **h$_2$mi-* would yield Hitt. *ḫmi-* (c.f. *ḫameššḫa-* < **h$_2$meh$_1$-sh$_2$o-*), the fate of word-internal **-h$_2$m-* is less clear. On the basis of *maḫrai-* < **meh$_2$roi-*? and *zaḫrai-* < **tieh$_2$-roi-* one could argue that **h$_2$* was retained word-internally in front of a resonant, but no examples of **-h$_2$m-* > *-ḫm-* are known.

The final lethal blow to Catsanicos' etymology, however, is the fact that a word *šuḫpili-* is attested twice in the following context:

KUB 51.63 rev.

(6) [ ] *šu-uḫ-pí-li-in* G[E$_6$(?)]

(7) [*e-*]*ku-zi* 3 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *pá*[*r-ši-ia*]

(8) [ ]LÚ^{MEŠ} *šu-uḫ-p*[*í-li-*]

If in line 6 the traces of the broken sign are correctly interpreted as GE_6, then it is very likely that *šuḫpilin* must be regarded as identical to *šuḫmili-* (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 *šuḫmili-*, *šuḫpili-* must be of foreign (Hurrian?) origin.

šuḫpili-: see *šuḫmili-*, *šuḫpili-*

(SÍG)***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. *sū́tra-* 'thread', Gr. ὑμήν 'thin skin, sinew'.

PIE **séuh$_1$-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-ḗl*, **CC-l-ós* >> **CC-ḗl*, **CC-el-ós* > **CC-ēl*, **CC-il-ás* >> *CC-il*, *CC-ilaš*). The word clearly is derived from the PIE root **seuh$_1$-* '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$_1$-*). The fact that this word is spelled with plene Ú, points to a phonological /sṹil-/, which points to a reconstruction **séuh$_1$-el-* (cf. § 1.3.9.4.f). Note that besides the PIE root **seuh$_1$-* we also find **sieuh$_1$-* 'to sew' (Lith. *siū́ti*, Skt. *sī́vyati*, Goth. *siujan*, OCS *šijǫ* '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$_4$-an* (KUB 7.53+ iii 40 (NS)), [*šu-u*]*k-šu-uk-ką$_4$-ą̣n* (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-^{zi} 'to become arrogant': see *šulle-*^{zi}

šulle-^{zi} (Ib2 > Ic1, Ic2) 'to become arrogant': 2sg.pres.act. *šu-ul-le-ši* (KUB 36.114 r.col. 6 (MS)), *šu-ul-li-i̯a-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-i̯a-zi* (KUB 14.3 iv 39 (NH)), *šu-ul-la-iz-zi* (KUB 13.32 rev. 7 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *šu-ul-li-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-***^{zi} (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*$_1$-

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-u̯a-an-za* LUGAL-*uš*
(3) UR.SAG-*iš ki-im-ma-an-tan*$_{x}$
(4) *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ni*
(5) *ḫa-mi-eš-ḫa-an-tan*$_{x}$
(6) *šu-ul-la-an-ni*
(7) *ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš=ma*
(8) *a-le-el a-aš-ši-i̯a-an-ni*
(9) *ḫa-an-da-aš e-eš-ša-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 *šulliu̯e/a-*^{zi} and a stem *šullae-*^{zi}. In MS texts, we find 2sg.pres.act. *šu-ul*-LI-*ši*, 3sg.pret.act. *šu-u-ul*-LI-*e*-IT and *šu-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-*^{zi} with Lat. *īnsolēscō* 'to become arrogant' and argues that we are dealing with a stative in *-*eh*$_{1}$-: **sulH-eh*$_{1}$- (also visible in the enlarged *šullēšš-*^{zi}). The root **sulH-* belongs with PIE **suelH-* 'to swell'. Note that he on the basis of part. *šullant-* statest 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-*^{zi}, making it non-probative for establishing an ablaut for the original stem *šulle-*.

šulliu̯e/a-^{zi}: see *šulle-*^{zi}

šulupi- (c.) an oracle bird: nom.sg. *šu-lu-pí-iš*, *šu-lu-pí-eš*, acc.sg. *šu-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. *šu-me-eš* (OS), *šu-me-e-eš* (MH/MS), *šu-um-me-eš* (NH), *šu-um-me-iš* (NH), acc.-dat. *šu-ma-a-aš* (OS), *šu-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*$^{?}$*-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §22), *u-zu*$^{?}$*-za* (ASSUR letter *c* §4, *e* §6, §16, §17), abl.-instr.(?) *u-za-ri+i* (ASSUR letter *a* §4), *u-za+ra/i*^{i} (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 prononimal inflection of the singular.

See chapter 2.1 for a treatment of the etymology of the personal pronouns.

=*šumma-*: see *=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme-*

^{Ú}***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-ạn-zạ-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-zạ-*[(*na-aš*)] (KBo 20.26+ i 11 (OS)), with dupl. *šụ-mạ-ạ-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.$^{!}$ 2 (NS), KBo 11.11 i 9 (NS)), ^{Ú}*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$_1$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$_1$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.! 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.! 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-i̯a*[*-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 *laḫḫanzan-*) 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$_1$u-ent-* 'swaying', cf. MDu. *swaeien* 'to sway', Russ. *xvéjus'* 'to move' < **sueh$_1$-*).

=šumme-: see *=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme-*

šumeš- (n.) a kind of grain?: nom.-acc.sg. *šu-me-eš* (KUB 42.107 iii[?] 11 (NS)).

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 42.107 iii[?]
(10) 6 *PA* ŠE *ZI-KU-Ú-KI ḫa-at-tar=ku*
(11) *zi-na-a-il=ku šu-me-eš=ku*

'6 *parīsu* of *zikûki*-meal, either *ḫattar*, *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.[?] 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$_1$sh$_1$r* ?

The contexts KBo 17.15 obv.[?] (14) *šu-me-eš-na-aš me-e-ma-a*[*l*] ^{GIŠ}*e-er-ḫu-it* and KBo 17.40 iv (8) *šu-me-eš-na-a*[*š me-e-ma-a*]*l* ^{GIŠ}MA.SÁ.AB-*it* are parallel to IBoT 3.1 (34) *ŠA* GÚ.GAL.GAL *me-ma-al TA* ^{GIŠ}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- / šūu̯au̯-* 'filled' (q.v.). If this connection is justified, we should reconstruct **suH-u-éh$_1$sh$_1$r*. See at *šūu- / šūu̯au̯-* for further etymology.

=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme- (encl.poss.pron. 1pl.) 'our': acc.sg.c. ^{d}*Ši-ú(n)=šum-m*[*i-in*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 39 (OS)), ^{d}*Ši-ú(n)=šu*[*m-...*] (KBo 3.22 obv. 41 (OS)), ^{d}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)), ^{d}UTU=*šum-ma-an* (KUB 43.53 obv. 17 (OH/NS), KUB 58.111 obv. 11 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *ša-ḫé-eš-šar=šum-me-e*[*t*] (KUB 36.110 rev. 8 (OS)), *ḫa-at-ta-tar=šum-mi-it* (KUB 24.3+ ii 18 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. ^{d}*Ši-ú-na-š=(š)um-mi-iš* (KUB 26.71, 6 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *iš-tar-ni=šum-mi* (OS), ^{d}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.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***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 *ḪA-AṢ-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. *aizasmiþa* 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' /sménᵗˢi/ < **smén-ti* or *šamankuru̯ant-* 'bearded' /smankuruant-/ < **smonḱur-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-^{zi} (Ic6) 'to become filled (because of a pregnancy)': sup. *šum-re-eš-ke-u̯a-an* (KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 iii 7, 17), *šum-r*[*e-eš-ke-u̯a-an*] (KBo 19.106, 7); broken *šum-re-*x[...] (KBo 47.150, 2).

PIE **suH-u̯r̥*

This verb occurs a few times only, all in similar contexts:

KUB 24.8 + KUB 36.60 iii

(7) [(DA)]M ^{m}*Ap-pu šum-re-eš-ke-u̯a-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-it*]

(9) *nu* [(IT)]U.10.KAM *ti-i̯a-at nu=za* DAM ^{m}*Ap-pu* DUMU.NITA-*an ḫa-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 expresion *šumreškeu̯an 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-u̯r̥*, probable through a **-i̯e/o-*suffix (**šumriu̯e/a-*), whose imperfective is *šumreške/a-*.

***šumumaḫḫ-*^{i}** (IIb) 'to braid together(?)': 2sg.imp.act. *šu-mu-ma-aḫ* (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.MAḪ *ši-e-ša-i*
(43) *pár-ša-na-aš* ^{UZU}*ši-ša-i šu-mu-ma-aḫ n=a-at ḫar-ak*
(44) *n=a-at ta-ru-up n=a-at* 1^{EN} *i-i̯a n=a-at* LÚ*-aš* ŠÀ*=ši*
(45) *pé-e-da nu* LUGAL*-u̯a-aš* ZI*-aš kar-di-i=š-ši=i̯a*
(46) *ta-ru-up-ta-ru*

'Bring the *kinupi*-box here. In the *kinupi*-box, *šumumaḫḫ-* 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 *šumumaḫḫ-* depends on the meaning of *še/išai* (body part of an animal). Apparently, *šumumaḫḫ-* 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-*^{i} / *šunn- (IIa1γ > Ic1) 'to fill': 1sg.pres.act. *šu-un-na-aḫ-ḫi* (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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 10.2 i 21, ii 23 (OH/NS)), *šu-un-ni-i̯a-nu-un* (KBo 10.2 i 37 (OH/NS)),

2sg.pret.act. *šu-un-ni-eš-ta*[!] (Oettinger 1979a: 158[50]), 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-i̯a-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. ***šunatruu̯ant(i)-*** (adj.) 'rich in outpourings' (acc.sg.c. *šu-na-at-ru-u̯a-an-ti-in*).

PIE **su-nó-h*$_{1/3}$*-e*, *su-n-h*$_{1/3}$*-énti*

The oldest attested forms of this verb clearly point to the *tarn(a)*-class inflection: *šunnaḫḫi*, *šunnatti*, *šunnai*, *šunnumeni*, **šunništeni*, *šunnanzi*. In texts from NH times, we occasionally find forms that belong to a *mi*-inflecting stem *šunniẹ/a-*^{zi}. The *tarn(a)*-class consists of *ḫi*-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- / šūu̯au̯-* 'full' (so causatival 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*$_1$*-ti*, **ti-n-h*$_1$*-enti*). The single *-n-* is still visible in Pal. *šūna-* and CLuw. *šunatruu̯ant(i)-* (*-u̯ant-*derivative of an abstract noun **šunattar* 'outpouring').

Of the root **seuH-*, the rootfinal laryngeal cannot be **h*$_2$ (which would have yielded ***šuḫu-* as *u*-stem adjective), but a choice between **h*$_3$ or **h*$_1$ cannot be made on the basis of the Hittite material (note that *ḫi*-verbs always have *o*-grade and that therefore both **su-no-h*$_1$*-ei* and **su-no-h*$_3$*-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*$_3$*-t*, we have to reconstruct **h*$_3$. 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.

šunnaziia̯nt- (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-*^{i} / *šunn-* 'to fill' (q.v.), but its exact formation is unclear.

šūniia̯/a-^{zi} (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-ia̯-zi* (KUB 20.86 ii 4), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-un-ni-ia̯-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-ia̯-an-t-* (KBo 12.101, 13).

For semantics, compare the following contexts:

KBo 32.14 iii

(9) ^{NINDA}*ku-gul-la-an* UR.GI$_7$-*aš* UDUN-*ni-ia̯ pé-ra-an ar-ḫa pát-te-nu-ut*

(10) *pa-ra-a=an=kán ḫu-et-ti-at* UDUN-*ni-ia̯-az n=a-an=kán* Ì-*i*

(11) *an-da šu-ú-ni-at ša-ak-ni-i̯=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$_4$.RA *A-NA* ^{d}IM ^{URU}[*Ku-*]*li-ú-iš-na* ^{d}*IŠTAR*

(5) [^{d}LAMMA*=ia̯ Ù A-NA*] DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-aš pár-ši-ia̯ n=a-aš-ta a-u̯a-an ar-ḫa*

(6) [*te-pu* 3-*ŠU*] *pár-ši-ia̯-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$^{\text{HI.A}}$ 3 *AŠ-RA da-a-i*

'Further he breaks one thick-bread for the Storm-god of Kuliu̯išna, 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 *šūniia̯/a-*^{zi} 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$_4$.RA BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 SA$_5$ *A-NA* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Zi-ip-la-an-da*

(29) [*pár-š*]*i-i̯a n=a-aš=kán* ŠÀ^{BI} LAL Ì.DÙG.GA *šu-un-ni-i̯a-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 *šūnii̯e/a-* as **súnh$_3$-i̯e/o-* (adapting his earlier view (1984a: 29[61]) that the attestations *šu-ú-ni-ez-zi* and *šu-ú-ni-e-ez-zi* can also be read /sunet^{s}i/ (which is incorrect since we then would expect spellings with NE) and reflect **su-ne-h$_1$-ti*), connecting it with *šunna-^{i} / 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 *šūnii̯e/a-* "[f]ern bleibt" from *šunna-^{i} / šunn-*.

šunnii̯e/a-^{zi}: see *šunna-^{i} / šunn-*

šupp-$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ (IIIc/d) 'to sleep': 3sg.pres.midd. *šu-up-pa-ri* (KUB 37.190 rev.$^{!}$ 6$^{!}$ (undat.)), *šu-up-ta$^{!}$-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. [*šu-u*]*p-zi* (KUB 4.47 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), *šu̯-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-u̯a-ar* (KBo 13.2 obv. 14 (NS)).

Derivatives: see *šuppariii̯e/a-^{zi}* and *šupparu̯ant-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *svap-* 'to sleep', Av. *x^{v}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 [*šu*]*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- / šuppai̯-*

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.[?] 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[2135]), 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.

šupparii̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to sleep': 1sg.pret.act. *šu-up-pa-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 52.91 iii 1); 1pl.pret.midd. [*šu-*]*u̯p-pa-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-i̯a-an-za* (KUB 36.89 rev. 57).

Derivatives: see also *šupp-*$^{(tt)ari}$ and *šupparu̯ant-*.

IE cognates: Lat. *sopor* 'deep sleep', Gr. ὕπαρ 'truth, reality < *realistic dream', Skt. *svápna-* 'sleep', ON *svefn* 'sleep', TochA *ṣpäṃ* 'sleep', TochB *ṣpane* 'sleep',

Arm. *k'own* 'sleep', Lat. *somnus* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas* 'dream', Latv. *sapnis* 'dream', Gr. ὕπνος 'sleep', OCS *sъnъ* 'sleep'.

PIE **sup-r-i̯e/o-*

This verb, which is attested a few times only, is clearly derived from a stem **šuppar-* which is also found in the adjective *šupparu̯ant-* 'sleepy(?)' (q.v.). See Rieken 1999a: 305[1468] 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. *svápna-* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas* '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 *šupparii̯e/a-*. See at *šupp-*$^{(tt)ari}$ 'to sleep' for the basic stem **sup-*.

šupparu̯ant- (adj.) 'sleepy(?)': nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pár-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 40.219 rev.$^{?}$ 7, KUB 60.134 obv. 1), *šu-up-pár-u̯a-an-te-eš* (KBo 24.56a ii$^{?}$ 6); broken *šu-up-pár-u̯a-a*[*n-...*] (HKM 91 obv. 4).

Derivatives: see also *šupp-*$^{(tt)ari}$ and *šupparii̯e/a-*^{zi}.

A meaning 'sleepy' is proposed by Alp 1991: 344. The stem *šuppar-* is also found in *šupparii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to sleep'. See there for further etymology.

šuppau̯ašḫanalli-: see at *šuppiu̯ašḫar*^{SAR}

šuppi- / šuppai̯- (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-i̯a*, *šu-up-pí*, *šu-up-pa*, abl. *šu-up-pa-az*, *šu-up-pa-za*, *šu-up-pa-i̯a-az*, *šu-up-pa-i̯a-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-i̯a-aš*, *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aš*.

Derivatives: ^{UZU}***šuppa*** (n.pl.) '(sacrilized) meat' (nom.-acc.pl. *šu-up-pa* (OS)), ***šuppii̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to purify, to sacrilize' (1sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-mi* (KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104 i 17 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 19.37 ii 17 (NH), KUB 7.60 iii 17 (NS)), *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-un* (KBo 12.85+ i 25 (MH/NS)); 3sg.pret.midd. *šu-up-pí-a-aḫ-ḫa-ti* (OS); part. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*; impf. *šu-up-pí-(i̯a-)aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*), ***šuppiēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become purified' (3sg.pres.act. *šu-up-pí-eš-zi* (KUB 29.4 iv 40)), ***šuppiēššar***, ***šuppii̯ašša̯r*** (n.)

'purity' (dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pí-eš-ni*, *šu-up-pí-i̯a-aš*$^{!}$*-ni* (KUB 36.83 i 5), nom.-acc.pl. [*š*]*u-up-pí-eš-šar-ri*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$ (KUB 18.24, 9), [*šu-up-p*]*í-eš-šar-ri*$^{\text{Ḫ.A}}$ (KUB 18.24, 5)), $^{(\text{DUMU.MUNUS})}$***šuppi(e)šša-*** (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. [*šu-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)), ***šuppi̯ant-*** (adj.) 'purified, sacred' (acc.sg. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-an-ta-an* (KUB 27.68 i 14), nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-an* (KUB 32.123 iii 38)), ***šuppi̯atar / šuppi̯ann-*** (n.) 'purity' (dat.-loc.sg. *šu-up-pí-i̯a-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 *šuppii̯a-*: ^{m}*Šu-pí-aḫ-šu* = *šuppi-* + *ḫaššu-*; ^{f}*Šu-pí-a-aḫ-šu-šar* = *šuppi-* + *ḫaššušša-*; ^{f}*Šu-pì-a-ni-kà* = *šuppi-* + *neka-*; etc.). In Hittite texts we only find ^{m}*Šuppiluliuma-* (= *šuppi-* + *lūli-* + *-umen-* / *-umn-*) and ^{m}*Šuppiuman* / ^{m}*Šuppimna-* (= *šuppi-* + *-umen-* / *-umn-*). Note that the one attestation ^{m}*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(ii̯e/a)-^{zi}: see *šupp-*$^{(tt)ari}$

šuppištuu̯ara- (adj.) 'ornamented(?)': nom.sg.c. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-u̯a-ar-aš* (OS), acc.sg.c. [*šu-up-pí-i*]*š-tu-u̯a-ra-an* (OS), instr. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-it*, nom.pl.c. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-u̯a-a-re-eš* (OS)), acc.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-u̯a-ru-uš* (KBo 2.12 v 12 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***šuppišduu̯ari-*** (c.) 'ornamentation(?)' (nom.sg. [*š*]*u-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-iš* (KBo 35.246 obv. 13 (MH/MS)), instr. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-it* (KBo 32.14 ii 43 (MH/MS)), nom.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-i-e-eš* (KBo 32.14 ii 59 (MH/MS), acc.pl. *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-uš* (KBo 32.14 ii 56 (MH/MS))).

We have to distinguish two stems: an *a*-stem *šuppištuu̯ara-* that is adjectival and an *i*-stem *šuppišduu̯ari-* 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 *Ù* MUNUS.LUGAL *a-ša-an-da-a*[*š*] *a-ru-u̯a-an-zi* GAL ^{d}IŠKUR *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-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-u̯a-ra-an*
(10) *na-at-ta ar-kán-ta-an*
(11) ^{MUNUS}*iš-pu-un-na-la-aš da-a-i*
(12) 10 UDU$^{ḪI.A}$ *šu-up-pí-iš-tu-u̯a-ru-uš*
(13) *na-at-ta ar-kán-te-eš*
(14) LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*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-u̯a-ar-aš I-NA* ^{DUG}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* ^{LÚ}SIMUG *u̯a-al-li-i̯a-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-u̯a-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-i̯a* ^{LÚ}SIMUG

(55) *ḫu-u-ur-ta-a-in te-et u̯a-al-aḫ-du=i̯=a-an*
(56) [d]IM-*aš te-eš-šum-mi-in nu-u=š-ši šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-uš*
(57) *ar-ḫa ša-ak-ku-ri-e-ed‹-du› te-eš-šum-mi-iš=kán*
(58) *an-da a-mi-i̯a-ri ma-uš-du*
(59) *šu-up-pí-iš-du-u̯a-ri-i-e-eš=ma=kán an-da*
(60) ÍD-*i mu-u̯a-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 *šuppištu̯ara-* 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.

***šuppiu̯ašḫar*[SAR]** (n.) 'onion' (Sum. SUM.SIKIL[SAR](?)): nom.-acc.sg. *šu-up-pí-u̯a-aš-ḫar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 28 (MH/MS)), *š*[*u-up-pí-u̯a-aš-ḫ*]*ar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 27 (MH/MS)), *šu-u*[*p-pí-u̯*]*a-aš-ḫar* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 30 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *šu-up-pí*[-...]-*aš* (KUB 29.7+ rev. 30).

Derivatives: ***šuppi/au̯ašḫanalli-*** 'having onions(?)' (dat.-loc.pl. *šu*[*-up-p*(*í-u̯a-aš-ḫa-na-al-li-i̯*)*a-*]*aš* (KBo 17.11(+) i 11 (OS) // KBo 17.74 i 10 (OH/MS)), *šu-up-pí-u̯a-aš-ḫa-n*[*a-al-li-i̯a-aš*] (KUB 34.120, 5 (OH/NS)), *šu-up-pa*(*-*)*u̯a-aš-ḫa-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 *u̯ašḫar-* 'onion(?)'. The derivative *šuppi/au̯ašḫanalli-* shows that *u̯ašḫar-* originally must have been an *r/n*-stem. See at both *šuppi-* and *u̯ašḫar* for further etymological treatments.

šupl(a)-: see *šupp(a)l(a)-*

[(SÍG)]***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=u̯a 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-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma* TÚG-*an ša-ra-a-u-an-zi*
(55) *zi-in-na-an-zi nu* SÍG SA_5 *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=i̯a i-i̯a-an-zi nu=za* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš*
(3) *u̯a-a-tar* Ì.DUG.GA *da-a-i n=a-at=kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-a-i*
(4) *nu* $SILA_4$ *ú-e-te-ni*$^{!}$*-it kat-ta a-an-ša-an-zi* KAxU-*an*
(5) GÍR=*ŠU ar-ḫa a-ar-ri nam-m=a-an* Ì.DUG.GA-*it*
(6) *iš-ki-ez-zi nu-u=š-ša-an* SÍG SA_5 *A-NA* $GÍR^{MEŠ}$=*ŠU*
(7) *ḫa-ma-an-ki* ^{SÍG}*šu-ú-ri-ta=ma-a=š-ši-i=š-ša-an*
(8) *A-NA* SAG.DU=*ŠU an-da ḫu-u-la-li-i̯a-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$^{?}$ 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-i̯a-aš* (KUB 33.117 i 13), nom.pl. *šu-ur-ki-iš*^{H}[$^{L.A?}$] (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*$^{!}$*-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. *šurkii̯aš*) 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' < **sṷérχi̯o-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*^{M}[^{EŠ}], 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*^{Ḫ})$^{I.A}$]*a-ru-na-aš te-e-ga-a(n)=š-še-et*
(10) *ú-e-mi-i̯a-a*[*n-zi la-ba-ar-na-aš* (*la-aḫ-ḫu-ur-n*)]*u-zi-i̯a-an-te-š=a*
(11) *ne-pí-iš*[*=še-et* x - x - x *ú-e-mi-i̯a-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 *laḫḫurnuzianteš* the word 'roots' should be nom.pl. as well (which means that a reading acc.pl. *šurkiuš*^{M}[^{EŠ}] becomes impossible), and cannot have an enclitic possessive pronoun (so *šurkiš=š*[*eš*] is not likely either). I would therefore suggest to read *šurkiš*^{Ḫ}[$^{I.A?}$].

šutāi̯e/a-^{zi} (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 ^{NA_4}*pa-aš-ši-la-an* ÍD-*az ša-ra-a da-a-i*
(57) [*A-NA* 1 DU]G A 7 ^{NA_4}*pa-aš-ši-la-an an-da pé-eš-ši-i̯a-zi*
(58) [*A-N*]*A* 1 DUG A 7 ^{NA_4}*pa-aš-ši-la-an an-da*
(59) [*pé-eš-ši-i̯a-zi*]-*ni-i̯a=kán A-NA* 1 DUG *ME-E*
(60) [*pé-e*]*š-ši-i̯a-az-zi nu* ^{GIŠ}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- / šūu̯au̯-* ‘full’. This is too uncertain, however, to draw any conclusions from. Formally, the verb seems to belong to the *tāi̯e/a*-class, which would indicate a (mechanical) reconstruction **sud$^{(h)}$eh$_2$-i̯e/o-*.

šūu- / šūu̯au̯- (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: 100^2) (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-u̯a-u-az* (KBo 38.78, 5 (MS)), acc.pl.c. *šu-u-u̯a-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-^{zi}*, *šunna-^{i} / šunn-*, *šunnazii̯ant-*, *šutāi̯e/a-^{zi}*, *(⅄) šuu̯āru-* and *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}*.

PIE **souh$_{1/3}$-(o)u-*

See Weitenberg 1984: 140 for attestations. This word is an *u*-stem adjective, as can be seen by abl. *šūu̯au̯az*, acc.pl. *šūu̯amuš*. 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-u̯a-mu-uš* = /sóamos/ and abl. *šu-u-u̯a-u-az* = /sóauat^{s}/. 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 /sós/ and /són/, or for uncontracted /sóus/ and /sóun/.

Within Hittite, this adjective clearly belongs with the verb *šunna-^{i} / šunn-* ‘to fill’ which reflects **su-no-H-*, a nasal-infixed stem of the root **seuH-*. This means that e.g. *šu-u-u̯a-mu-uš* = /sóamos/ must reflect older */sóʔamos/ and *šu-u-ú* = /sóu/ < */sóʔu/. As I have shown in § 1.3.9.4.f, there are arguments that the

adjective *šūu- / šūu̯au̯-* ultimately reflects **sóuh$_{1/3}$-u- / *sóuh$_{1/3}$-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$_{1/3}$-*, see at *šunna-^{i} / šunn-*.

šuu̯a- 'to fill': see *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}*

šuu̯a- 'to push': see *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}*

šuu̯ai- (c.) 'rejection' (formerly 'bird'): nom.sg. *šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar* 'to cut', (13) *u̯a-at-ku-u̯a-ar* 'to jump, to flee, to fly', (14) *kap-pu-u-u̯a-u̯a-ar* 'to calculate', and (15) *šu-u̯a-iš*. Otten and Von Soden (1968: 39-40) argued that on the basis of the Sumerian and Akkadian terms that are preserved in colum ii, this paragraph can be identified as the section corresponding to Sum. ḪU. The Hittite part of a ḪU-section has also been preserved in the small fragment HT 42, where we find obv. (2) MUŠEN-*eš* [= ḪU-*eš*] 'bird', (3) *u̯a-at-ku-ar* 'to fly'. According to Otten and Von Soden, the parallelism between these paragraphs shows that MUŠEN-*eš* must be equated with *šu-u̯a-iš*, which means that *šu-u̯a-iš* denotes 'bird'. In a footnote (40[2]) 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. αἰετος 'eagle'), the word for 'bird' must be reconstructed **h$_2$éu-i-s*, **h$_2$u-éi-m*, **h$_2$u-i-ós*, but the initial **h$_2$-* 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$_2$uoi-* in which the **h$_2$* 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 *šu-u̯a-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 *šu-u̯a-iš* cannot be identical to MUŠEN-*eš* 'bird'. Instead, he rather interprets *šu-u̯a-iš* as a verbal noun in *-ai-* of the verb *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to push away' (comparing e.g. *ḫurtai-* from *ḫuu̯art-^{i} / ḫurt-* or *linkai-* from *li(n)k-^{zi}*) and suggests that it denotes 'rejection'. With this meaning, Cohen argues, *šuu̯aiš* can easily be explained as the Hittite

rendering of Sum. pa-ag = ḪU = 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-h₂uoi-*. For further etymological treatment of *šuu̯ai-* 'rejection', see at *šuu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to push (away)'.

šuu̯āi̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic3 > Ic2) 'to spy': 2sg.pres.act. *šu-u̯a-i-e-ši* (KUB 60.20 rev. 6 (OS)), 3sg.pres.act. *šu-u̯a-i-ez-zi* (OS, often), *šu-u̯a-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 29.28 i 9 (OS)), *šu-u̯a-a-ez-zi* (KBo 12.48, 4 (OH/NS)), *šu-u̯a-a-i-e-ez-zi* (KBo 3.1 ii 51 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act.? *šu-ú-u̯a-i-i̯-a*[*n-zi*$^{?}$] (KBo 31.117, 7 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-u̯a-i̯a-nu*$^{!}$*-un* (KUB 29.1 ii 1 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *šu-u̯a-i-et* (KUB 17.6 i 24 (OH/NS)), *šu-u̯a-i̯a-at* (KBo 13.94, 9 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *šu-ú-u̯a-i̯a* (KUB 29.1 i 52 (OH/NS), KUB 41.23 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *šu-u̯a-i̯a* (KUB 48.13 obv. 16 (NS)), *šu-ú-u̯a-i* (KUB 41.23 ii 10 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-u̯a-at-te*[*-en*] (KBo 12.18 i 7 (OH/NS)).

PIE **su(H)eh₂-i̯e/o-* ??

See Oettinger 1979a: 293f. for attestations. The manyfold OS attestations of *šu-u̯a-i-ez-zi* are found in the formula *par-na-aš-še-a šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-i-ez-zi* can hardly belong with anything else than *šuu̯ai̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to spy'.

This verb belongs to the *tāi̯e/a*-class, which consists of verbs ending in **-eh₂-i̯e/o-*. Oetinger (1979a: 386) therefore reconstructs **su̯ah₂-i̯e/o-* but does not mention any cognates. Kimball (1999: 368) reconstructs **suoh₂/₃i-i̯é/ó-* from a root **sueh₂/₃i-* "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 *šuu̯āi̯e/a-* as **su(H)eh₂-i̯e/o-*.

(ᛦ) šuu̯āru- (adj.) 'full, complete': nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u̯a-a-ru* (OS, often), *šu-u̯a-ru*, *šu-u-u̯a-ru* (KUB 10.27 i 31 (MH/NS), KUB 36.2b ii 22 (NS)), *šu-ú-u̯a-ru* (KBo 19.144 i 12 (NS)), *šu-ú-u̯a-ru-ú* (KUB 12.29, 3 (NS)), abl. *šu-u̯a-ru-az* (KBo 19.144 i 15 (NS)), instr. [*šu-*]*u̯a-ru-ú-it* (KBo 15.25 i 7 (MH/MS)), ᛦ *šu-u-u̯a-ru-it* (KUB 44.50 i 10 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***šuu̯āru-*** 'full' (nom.sg.c. *šu-u̯a-ru-u*[*š*], nom.-acc.sg.n. *šu-u̯a-a-ru*).

PIE **suH-óru-*?

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- / šūu̯au̯-* 'full' (q.v.) is likely, but the formation is not fully clear. It looks as if *šuu̯āru-* reflects **suH-óru-*, but I do not know of other similar formations.

šuu̯aru̯il- (gender unclear) material to bind reed with: instr. *šu-u̯a-ru-i-li-it* (KUB 9.28 iii 20).

The word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 9.28 iii
(18) *šu-u-u̯a-an-te-eš da-an-na-za ki-it-ta*
(19) *pé-ra-an-n=a* KASKAL-*ši* GI-*aš* KÁ.GAL^{TIM}
(20) *še-er an-da šu-u̯a-ru-i-li-it*
(21) *iš-ḫi-i̯a-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 *šuu̯aruil-* and is layed down'.

It cannot be determined exactly what *šuu̯aruil-* denotes. Formally, the word looks like a derivative of the adj. *šuu̯aru-* 'full, complete' (q.v.), but this does not easily give a meaningful interpretation of *šuu̯aru̯il-*.

šūu̯au̯-: see *šūu- / šūu̯au̯-*

šuu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic4) 'to fill': 1pl.pres.act. *šu-u̯a-u-e-ni* (KUB 12.63 obv. 29 (OH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-(u-)u̯a-an-zi* (NS); part. *šu-u-u̯a-an-t-* (NH, often), *šu-u̯a-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- / šūu̯au̯-*, *šunna-*^{i} */ šunn-* etc.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***suwa-*** 'to fill' (1sg.pret.act. *su-wa/i-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A30*h* §3), 3sg.pret.act. *su-wa/i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 5 §2)).

PIE **sHu-i̯e/o-*

See Oettinger (1979a: 295) for attestations. HW (200) cites the verb as *šuu̯āi-*, apparently on the basis of 3sg.imp.act. *šu-u̯a-a-i*[*d-du*] (KUB 24.10 iii 12 (OH/NS)), which form belongs with *šuu̯e/a-* 'to push (away)', however. Although Oettinger is aware of at least this possibility (1979a: 296[73]), he cites this verb as *šuu̯ae-*, apparently because of the fact that he believes that it is a denominative belonging to the *ḫatrae*-class, derived from the participle *šuu̯ant-* 'filled' (o.c.: 296). Personally, however, I do not see why we cannot assume that the stem was *šuu̯e/a-*, reflecting a **-i̯e/o-*derivative of the root **suH-* 'full'. Because a preform **suH-i̯e/o-* would regularly yield OH ***šui̯e/a-* (cf. *ḫui̯anzi* 'they run' < **h₂uh₁-i-énti*), I assume that in this word laryngeal metathesis has taken place: **sHu-i̯e/o-* would regularly yield Hitt. *šuu̯e/a-* as is attested (note that it is thus homophonic with *šuu̯e/a-* 'to push'). The OS impf. *šušk̂e/a-* could very nicely reflect the archaic formation **suH-sḱe/o-* or **sHu-sḱe/o-* (cf. Melchert 1997b: 84f. for the view that originally, **-i̯e/o-*derivatives display this suffix in present-forms only, and not in non-present forms like the imperfective in *-šk̂e/a-*). See *šūu- / šūu̯au̯-* for further etymology.

The hapax *šu-u-un-ta-an* (IBoT 1.36 ii 41) shows a contraction from *šuu̯ant-*, just as *ti-in-ti-eš* 'standing', attested on the same tablet (IBoT 1.36 ii 48), which shows a contraction from *tii̯ant-*.

šuu̯e/a-^{zi} (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-ez-zi* (KBo 6.2 iv 48 (OS), KBo 16.25 iv 5 (MH/MS)), *šu-ú-i-e-ez-zi* (KUB 8.81+ rev. 7 (MH/MS)), *šu-ú-e-ez*[*-zi*] (KBo 19.4 iv 6 (OH/NS)), *šu-ú-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (KBo 6.3 ii 52 (OH/NS)), *šu-u̯*[*a-a-*]*iz-zi* (KBo 6.5 iv 13 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *šu-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 13.7 i 7 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-it* (KUB 18.3, 19 (NS)), 2pl.pret.act. *šu-u-u̯a-at-t*[*e-en*] (KBo 12.63 ii 6 (OH/NS)), *šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-a-i*[*d-du*] (KUB 24.10 iii 12 (OH/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *šu-u̯a-a-at-tén* (KBo 10.45 iv 28 (MH/NS)), *šu-u-u̯a-at-tén* (KBo 4.2 i 15 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *šu-u̯a-an-du* (KBo 4.2 i 68, 70 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-ad*[!?]*-du-ma-at* (text: *-an-*, KBo 10.45 iv 1 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: see *šuu̯ai-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *sav*^{i}- 'to impel, to set in motion', OIr. *soïd* 'turns'.

There are three verbs that are formally quite similar: *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to push (away)', *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to fill' and *šuu̯ai̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to spy'. Oettinger (1979a: 294f.) conveniently gives an overview of the paradigms and the different forms of the three verbs.

For *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to push (away)' we see that the oldest forms show a stem *šuu̯e-* besides *šuu̯a-*. In NH times, some forms are inflected according to the highly productive *ḫatrae-*class (3sg.pres.act. *šuu̯āizzi*, 3sg.pret.act. *šuu̯ait* and 3sg.imp.act. *šuu̯ai*[*ddu*]).

Oettinger (1979a: 297) convincingly connects *šuu̯e/a-^{zi}* with Skt. *suváti* 'to impel, to set to motion' and reconstructs **suh$_1$-é-ti*. For Hittite, however, no other thematic verbs are known, so despite the fact that Skt. *suváti* indeed reflects **suHéti* I would rather reconstruct a **-ie/o-*formation for Hittite. Because **suH-i̯e/o-* would have yielded OH ***šui̯e/a-* (cf. *ḫui̯anzi* 'they run' < **h$_2$uh$_1$-i-énti*), I assume that in this word laryngeal metathesis has taken place: **sHu-i̯e/o-* regularly yielded Hitt. *šuu̯e/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 *šuu̯-attari* (compare Melchert 1984a: 53[101]).

šuu̯eri-: 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 /-ɨt/), 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-u̯a-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 /ɨ/ was inserted. That this ending /-ɨt/ 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 *šāku̯a-* 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*

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. *tád*, Av. *cit*, Lat. *id*, *quid*, etc.

-t (2sg.imp.act.-ending)
PIE *-*$d^{h}i$*

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 *-*$d^{h}i$*, on the basis of cognates like Skt. *ihí*, Gr. ἴθι 'go!', Skt. *kṛṇuhí*, Av. *kərənuiδi* 'make!', Gr. ὄρνυθι 'incite!'. Note the use of the zero-grade stem: *i-it* ~ *ihí* ~ ἴθι < *h_1i-d^{h}í*, *ar-nu-ut* ~ ὄρνυθι < *h_3r-nu-d^{h}í*. 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 *$d^{h}i$ 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*

This ending, which contrasts with the corresponding *ḫi*-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*, *u̯a-al-aḫ-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 Schriebung [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[6]): "Die Sprachwirklichkeit des anaptyktischen Vokals hinter der Endung *-*t* wird durch Schreibungen wie *li-in-kat-ta* (niemals **li-in-ka-at*!) 'er schwor', *ḫar-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^{w}ta/ 'drank', where ***e-ku-ut* would have been sufficient to spell a real **/eg^{w}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 /kiSrt/, 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 **$h_1$és-to*, replacing **$h_1$és-t* and that *e-ku-ut-ta* 'he drank' = /ʔég^{w}ta/ from virtual **$h_1$ég^{wh}to*, replacing **$h_1$ég^{wh}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 *u̯a-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-*

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 *=(i̯)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*, *sā́*, *tád*, Gr. ὁ, ἡ, το, etc.).

-ta (instr.-ending): see *-t*

-tta (2sg.pret.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection)
PIE **-th$_2$e*

This ending is functionally equal to its corresponding *mi*-conjugation ending *-š*. It is clear that from the earlies texts onwards, the *ḫi*-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.pres.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.pres.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 *ḫi*-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)), *u̯a-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 *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-conjugation) for etymological considerations: *-tta* likely reflects the PIE 2sg.perf.-ending *-th₂e* 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-*

=tta / =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 u̯a-ar-aš-nu-an-du* 'let them assuage you in your liver!', parallel to ibid. (12) *li-iš-ši=ma-a=t-ta* (13) *u̯a-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* < **du̯oi̯om*).

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 **tuĕ* 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-^{i} / d- (IIa1β) ‘to take, to wed, to decide’ (Sum. ME): 1sg.pres.act. *da-a-aḫ-ḫé* (OS), *da-a-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), *da-aḫ-ḫi* (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$_{4}$-me-e-ni*, *tu$_{4}$-me-ni*, *tu$_{4}$-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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OS), *da-aḫ-ḫu-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-u̯a-aš* (NH); inf.I *da-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), *da-a-u-u̯a-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-^{i} / ped-* and *uda-^{i} / ud-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. unclear: 1sg.pret.act. *daḫḫa* ‘?’, 3pl.pres.act. *tenzi* ‘?’, 3pl.pret.act. *tāzzunta* ‘?’, 2sg.imp.act. *tāzzu* ‘?’ (see also at *dāi-^{i} / 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* (İSKENDERUN §6), 3sg.pres.act. *la-i* (KÖRKÜN §11), *tà-i* (KÖRKÜN §8, KARKAMIŠ A3 §20, KARKAMIŠ A15*b*, §12, BOROWSKI 3 §9, ALEPPO 2 §13, §18, KÖTÜKALE §5, BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 §19, ANCOZ 7 §4, §9), *tà-ia* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §27, §28, §30), 3pl.pres.act. *tà-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §27), 1sg.pret.act. CAPERE(-)*la-ha* (MARAŞ 4 §4, §12), *la-ha* (MARAŞ 13 line 2,

BOHÇA §13), *tà-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c* §30, KARKAMIŠ A7 §3), 3sg.pret.act. *tà-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §12), 3pl.pret.act. /lalanta/ "CAPERE"*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. *daδāiti*, Arm. *tam*, Gr. δίδωμι, OLith. *duosti*, Lat. *dō*, *dăre* 'to give', OCS *daxъ* 'he gave'.

PIE **dóh$_3$-ei*, **dh$_3$-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 *dāḫḫe*, *dātti*, *dāi*, *tumēni*, *dattēni*, *danzi* for the present and *dāḫḫun*, *dātta*, *dāš*, *dāu̯en*, *dātten*, *dāer* for the preterite. Note, however that the derivatives *peda-^{i} / ped-* 'to bring (away)' and *uda-^{i} / ud-* 'to bring (here)' (formed with the prefixes *pe-* and *u-*) show forms that are more archaic, e.g. *petumen* and *utummen* vs. *dāu̯en*, *petišten* vs. *dātten*, *peter* and *uter* vs. *dāer*, but also *petumanzi* and *utumanzi* vs. *dāu̯anzi* and *utiške/a-* vs. *daške/a-*. All in all, I think that we have to reconstruct an original paradigm *dāḫḫe*, *dātti*, *dāi*, *tumēni*, **tištēni*, *danzi* for the present and *dāḫḫun*, *dātta*, *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: *daḫḫi*, --, *dāi*, *tumeni*, *datteni*, *danzi*, *daḫḫun*, *datta*, *dāš*, --, *datten*, *dāer*, *dā*, *dāu*, *datten*, *dandu*. These forms are completely regular according to the developments described in § 1.4.9.3: OH /áCCV/ develops into NH /áCCV/.

Already Hrozný (1915: 29) etymologically connected this verb with the PIE root **deh$_3$-* '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 generaly 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$_3$h$_2$á*" and 2sg.aor.midd. "**də$_3$th$_2$á*" regularly yielded Hitt. ***daḫḫa* and ***datta*, on the basis of which the paradigm was brought into the active and yielded *dāḫḫi*, *dātti*, *dāi*, etc. A similar scenario is given by Melchert (1984a: 25) who states that 3sg.pres.midd. **dh$_3$-e/o* was reinterpreted as a stem **dh$_3$e/o-* + zero-ending, which caused the spread of this 'thematic' stem in the singular, yielding **dh$_3$e/o-h$_2$ei*, **dh$_3$e/o-th$_2$ei*, *dh$_3$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 *ḫi*-verb would be unparalleled as well (the so-called 'thematic' *ḫi*-verbs that are attested (the *tarn(a)*-class) all go back to a sequence *°*CoH- / *°*CH-*).

In my view, we have to take *dā-/d-* at face value. It is a *ḫi*-inflecting root-present, and just as all *ḫi*-verbs it shows original *o*-grade: *$*dóh_3$-$h_2$ei*, *$*dóh_3$-th_2ei*, *$*dóh_3$-ei*, *$*dh_3$-u̯éni*, *$*dh_3$-sténi*, *$*dh_3$-énti*. These forms regularly yield *dāḫḫe*, *dātti*, *dāi*, *tumēni*, *zaštēni*, *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. *dattēni* (instead of expected *zaštēni*, cf. *$*d^{h}h_1$sḱe/a-* > OH /tské/á-/, *za-aš-ke/a-*) and impf. *daške/a-* (instead of *zaške/a-*).

taḫḫara-: see *tuḫḫara-*

^{UZU}***daḫašti-***: see ^{UZU}*dānḫašti-*

taḫš- (IIIh?) 'to predict': 3sg.pres.midd. *ta-aḫ-ša-at-ta-ri*; impf.3pl.pret.act. *taḫ-iš-ker*$^{!}$.

IE cognates: ?Skt. *dayati* 'divides', Gr. δαίομαι 'to divide'.

PIE *deh_2-s-* ?

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-aḫ-ša-at-ta-r*[(*i na-aš-m=a-at=za=kán* Ù *a-uš-zi*)]
(3) *na-aš-m=a-at=ši I*[(*Š-TU* SU^{MEŠ}) *na-aš-m*(*a IŠ-TU* MUŠEN^{ḪLA})]
(4) *i-ši-i̯a-aḫ-ta-ri* [*na-aš-ma-a=š-ši* GIS(KIM-*iš ku-iš-ki* ḪUL-*lu-uš*)]
(5) *ŠA* ÚŠ *pé-ra-an k*[*i-ša-r*(*i*)*nu* (*ki-i* SISKUR=*ŠU*)]

'First tablet. Unfinished. Conjuration[...]. 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'.

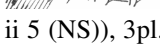
From this context it is clear that *taḫšattari* must mean 'is predicted'. A possible other form of this verb can be found in *taḫ-iš-ker*$^{!}$, found in KBo 3.34 iii (14) ...

(*i-d*)]*a-lu ḫé-en-kán taḫ-iš-ker*[1] (the reading *ker* is ascertained by the duplicate KUB 31.38 rev.[?] 18), if this means '... they predicted an evil death'.

Often, this verb is seen as a variant of *takš-*[zi] '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 *ḫ*, we are dealing with words of foreign origin, where an original cluster *-šḫ-* or *-ḫš-* occasionally becomes *-šk-* or *-kš-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 170). The only case of such an alternation in an inherited word is the hapax spelling *ḫa-mi-iš-kán-za* vs. 40+x *ḫamešḫa(nt)-* < *h_2meh_1-sh_2o-.

A better connection may be PIE *deh_2- 'to allot' (Skt. *dayati*, Gr. δαίομαι 'to divide'). If this connection is correct we are dealing here with an *s*-extension *deh_2-*s*- (compare *paḫš-* < *peh_2-*s*-, *pāš-* < *peh_3-*s*-).

taḫḫuu̯ai- / taḫḫui-: see *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-*

dai-*[i] */ ti- (IIa4 > Ic1) 'to lay, to put, to place': 1sg.pres.act. *te-e-eḫ-ḫé* (OS), *te-eḫ-ḫé* (OS), *te-e-eḫ-ḫi* (OS), *te-eḫ-ḫi* (OH/MS), *ti-iḫ-ḫi* (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-i̯a-az-zi* (ABoT 44 i 50 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ti-i̯a-u-e-ni* (KBo 3.4 iv 35, 47 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act.  = [*t*]*i*[?]*-i̯-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-i̯a-an-zi* (OS), *ti-an-ti* (KBo 20.33 rev. 10 (OS)), 1sg.pret.act. *te-eḫ-ḫu-un* (OH/MS), *ti-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-a-an-t-* (MH/MS), *ti-i̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (NH), gen.sg. *ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (NH); inf.I *ti-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 26.32 i 3 (NH)), *ti-i̯a-u-u̯a-*

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: ***tiy̯anna-^{i} / tiy̯anni-*** (IIa5) 'to lay down (impf.)' (2sg.imp.act. *ti-an-na* (KUB 20.76 i 17, KBo 30.165 i 10), sup. *ti-y̯a-an-ni-y̯a-u-u̯a-an* (KUB 43.61 i$^{?}$ 7)), ***tiy̯antiy̯e/a-^{zi}*** (Ic1) 'to set up, to erect' (3sg.pres.act. *ti-y̯a-an-ti-y̯a-a*[$z^{?}$*-zi*] (HEG T: 367), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-y̯a-an-ti-y̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.1 iv 17); inf.I [*t*]*i-y̯a-an-ti-y̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (HEG T: 367)), see *titta-^{i} / titti-*, *titnu-^{zi}*, *tešḫa-* and *tuzzi-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tūu̯a-*** 'to put, to place' (3sg.pret.act. *du-ú-u̯a-at-ta*, 3pl.pret.act. *du-ú-u̯a-an-da*, 2sg.imp.act. *tu-u-u̯a-a*, 3pl.imp.act. *du-ú-u̯a-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 A13*a* §3), $^{\text{PONERE+}MI}$*tu-wa/i-i*[*a*] (MARAŞ 7 A), 1sg.pret.act. /tu(wa)ha/ PONERE-*wa/i-ha* (often), $^{\text{"PONERE"}}$*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/ ^{PONERE}*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 *dacuverśt* 'has been erected' ?); Lyc. ***ta-*** 'to put, to place' (3sg.pres.act. *tadi*, *ttadi*, *tddi* (?), 3pl.pres.act. *tãti*, *tẽti*, 3sg.pret.act. *tadẽ*, 3pl.pret.act. *tãtẽ*, *tetẽ*, 3pl.imp.act. *tatu*, *tãtu*, inf. *tane*, *tãne*, *ttãne*, *ttãna*, impf.3pl.pres.act. *tasñti*), ***tuwe-*** 'to place' (3sg.pres.act. *tuweti*, 3pl.pres.act. *tuwẽti*, 3sg.pret.act. *tuwete*, *tuwetẽ*, 3sg.imp.act. *tuwetu*, impf.3pl.pres.act. *tusñti*).

PIE *$d^{h}h_{1}$-ói-ei / *$d^{h}h_{1}$-i-énti, *$d^{h}h_{1}$-ské/ó-

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The oldest forms of this paradigm are *tēḫḫe*, *daitti*, *dāi*, **tiu̯eni*, [*t*]*īšteni*, *tianzi* for the present and *teḫḫun*, *taitta*, *daiš*, *daiu̯en*, *daišten*, *dāer* for the preterite. Note that the original strong stem was *dai-* (with short *-a-*), which is clearly visible in e.g. *daiu̯en* 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 *dāiu̯en* and *dāiš*. In the 1sg.-forms, the stem *dai-* regularly monophthongized to *tē-* in front of *-ḫ-*. In 3sg.pres.act. the preform **dáḭ-i* yielded /dái/, spelled *da-a-i* (with regular loss of intervocalic *-ḭ-*). Similarly in 3pl.pret.act. **dáḭ-er*, which regularly yielded /dáer/, spelled *da-a-er* (OS). Restoration of the stem *dai-* yielded MS forms like *da-i-e-er* /dáier/, whereas later on, when the stem *dāi-* is being generalized, forms like *da-a-i-e-er* /dáier/ are found. It is often claimed that in OS there still was a difference between *dāer* 'they took' and *daḭer* '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. Košak 2005d: 112), the difference between *dāer* and *daḭer* 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 <u>not</u> *tiḭa-*, as often stated), which is visible in *tianzi* (which is *ti-anzi* and not *tiḭa-nzi*), *tiandu*, *tiḭant-*, *tiuu̯anzi* and possibly in [*t*]*īšteni* (if this is the correct reading). Like all *dāi/tiḭanzi*-class verbs, we find here as well generalization of the thematic stem *tiḭe/a-*^{zi} in younger times. Because these forms formally fell together with the verb *tiḭe/a-*^{zi} ‘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 *tiḭe/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-*^{zi} */ aš-* ‘to be’).

Already Friedrich (1922: 169) correctly connected *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* with the PIE root **d^{h}eh$_1$-* ‘to place, to put’ (see also at *tē-*^{zi}), 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/tiḭanzi*-class as a whole. In the recent literature, Oettinger (1979a: 461) regarded this class as reflecting a formation **Cóh$_1$i-ei*, **Ch$_1$i-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^{h}eh$_1$i-ei*. Both reconstructions cannot be correct on formal grounds: the sequence **Vh$_1$iV* yields OH *VḭV*, compare OH *ḫuḭanzi* ‘they run’ < **h$_2$uh$_1$iénti*. As I have argued extensively in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/tiḭanzi*-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:

**d^{h}h$_1$-ói-h$_2$ei*	>	*tēḫḫi*
**d^{h}h$_1$-ói-th$_2$ei*	>	*daitti*
**d^{h}h$_1$-ói-ei*	>	*dāi*
**d^{h}h$_1$-i-u̯éni*	>	***tiu̯eni* >> *tiḭau̯eni*

**dʰh₁-i-sténi* > *tišteni*
**dʰh₁-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 /ɨ/ emerged in the cluster /tsk/ (cf. § 1.4.4.4), yielding /tsɨké/á-/, spelled *zi-(ik-)ke/a-*. These forms are important since they must reflect **dʰh₁-sḱé/ó-* and show that originally the *dāi/tiy̯anzi*-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(y̯e/a)-*.

In the Luwian languages we find CLuw. *tuu̯a-*, 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 **tuu̯e/o-* is given by Oettinger (1979a: 483), who assumes that this stem must be reanalysed out of "urluw. **duu̯ăni* '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 **dʰh₁-óu-ei*, **dʰh₁-u-énti*, which was thematicized in younger times to **dʰh₁-ue/o-* (compare **piy̯e/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 **dʰéh₁-ti*, showing the development **-eh₁-* > Lyc. *-a-*. Morpurgo Davies (1987: 221f.) assumes that a preform **dʰéh₁-ti* should have given Lyc. ***tidi*, however, and she therefore proposes an intricate mixing between the roots **dʰeh₁-* 'to place' and **deh₃-* 'to put'.

taiazil-, ***taiezil-*** (n.) 'theft': nom.sg. *ta-ia-az-zi-il* (OS), gen. *ta-ia-zi-la-aš* (OS), *da-ia-zi-la-aš* (OH/MS), *ta-i-ez-zi-la-aš* (MH/NS), *da-i-ia-zi-la-aš* (MH/NS).

PIE **teh₂-io-til-*

See Rieken (1999a: 481) for attestations. Most forms show *taiazil-*, but the one attestation *ta-i-*IZ*-zi-la-aš* has to be interpreted /taiet^{s}ilas/. This word is clearly a derivative in *-zil-* of the verb *tāie/a-^{zi}* 'to steal' (q.v.), which also explains the alteration between *taiazil-* and *taiezil-*. See Rieken (1999a: 476) for the reconstruction of the suffix *-zil-* as **-ti-* + **-il-*. See at *tāie/a-^{zi}* for further etymology.

tāi̯e/a-^{zi} (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-i̯a-az-zi* (OS), *da-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *ta-a-ez-zi* (OS), *da-a-i̯a-az-zi* (MH), *da-i-i̯a-zi* (KUB 13.9 ii 16 (MH/NS)), *da-a-i-i̯a-zi* (NH), *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* (NH), *ta-a-i-i̯a-zi* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ta-a-et-te-ni* (NH), *ta-i̯a-at-te-ni* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-i-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), *ta-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *da-i̯a-at* (KUB 13.9 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *da-a-i-i̯a-at* (NH), 1pl.pret.act. *ta-i̯a-u-en* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *da-i̯a-er* (HKM 36 rev. 46 (MH/MS)), *da-i-e-er* (HKM 57 obv. 17 (MH/MS)); part. *da-i̯a-an-t-* (MH/MS); verb.noun *da-a-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (MH); impf. *da-a-i̯a-aš-ke/a-* (MH), *ta-iš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: see *ta i̯azil*.

IE cognates: Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’, *stāyát* (adv.) ‘secretly’, Gr. τητάω ‘to rob’, τηΰσιος ‘in vain’, OCS *tatь* ‘thief’, *taiti* ‘to conceal’, OIr. *táid* ‘thief’ (**tā-ti-*).

PIE **teh₂-i̯e/o-*

See Oettinger 1979a: 396f. for attestations and treatment. The verb shows a stem *tāi̯e/a-*, which has already by Hrozný (1917: 54) been compared to Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’, Gr. τητάω ‘to rob, etc. This means that *tāi̯e/a-* must reflect **teh₂-i̯e/o-* (similar formation in Skt. *stāyát* ‘secretly’ and OCS *taiti* ‘to conceal’). This verb is the name-giver of the *tāi̯e/a-*class, which consists of a few other verbs that go back to **-eh₂-i̯e/o-* as well.

Neumann (1961a: 64f.) claims that the Hes.-gloss τεγοῦν: Λυδοὶ τὸν λῃστήν ‘thief by the Lydians’ points to a Lyd. **teju-* ‘thief’, which he reconstructs as **tāi̯u-* and equates with Skt. *tāyú-* ‘thief’. Problematic, however, is the fact that **i̯* should yield Lyd. *d* (cf. Melchert 1994b). Melchert (1988c: 39) claims that HLuw. ^{*428}*tà-ia-t*[*i*] (KARKAMIŠ A24*a* §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 **teh₂-i̯e/o-* either.

ta i̯ezil-: see *ta i̯azil-*

tāišta-^{i} ***/ 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-i̯a-zi* (IBoT 2.131 rev. 7 (NS)), *da-iš-ti-i̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 58.91 rev.$^{?}$ 10 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *da-iš-te-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 31.79 obv. 13 (MH/MS)), *ta*-[*a-i*]*š-ti-i̯a-an-zi* (IBoT 3.148 ii 55 (MH/NS)), *da-a-iš-ti-an-zi* (KBo 10.20 iv 6 (NS)), *ta-eš-ti-i̯a-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-i̯a-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: ***taištiia̯r*** (n.) '?' (nom.-acc.sg.? *ta-iš-ti-ia̯-ar* (KUB 59.3, 11)), see *taišzi-*.

PIE **dʰoh₁-es-* + **dʰh₁-oi-/-i-*

See Tischler HEG T: 28-9 for attestations. The oldest attestations belong to the *mēma/i*-class: *tāištai*, *dāištiia̯nzi*, *daištiia̯er* (the forms *da-iš-te-ia̯-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)), *tāištiia̯nt-*. Like all *mēma/i*-class verbs, in younger times this verb is taken over into the *tarna*-class (*daištanzi* and *daištummanzi*). Besides, we occasionally find forms that show a stem *taištiia̯e/a-*^{zi} (*taeštiia̯zi*) and *daištiia̯ae-*^{zi} (*daištiia̯aizzi*). As I explained under the treatment of the *mēma/i*-class in § 2.2.2.2.h, its verbs go back to polysyllabic *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-class verbs. In this case, too, we therefore can reconstruct a stem **tāištai-*^{i} */ tāišti-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 477) suggests that this verb is of nominal origin and reconstructs a *t*-suffixed *s*-stem: **dʰoh₁-es-t-*. This cannot easily account for the inflection, however, and has the disadvantage that we would rather expect that **dʰoh₁es-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 **dʰoh₁-es-* 'which is put upon', but suggests rather that *tāištai-/tāišti-* is to be seen as a compound of **dʰoh₁-es-* + *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* 'to put a load upon'. This analysis is superior in the sense that it perfectly explains the inflection. See at *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* for further etymology.

taišzi- (c.) 'hay-barn': acc.sg. *ta-iš-zi-in* (OS).

PIE **dʰoh₁-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$_4$ $^{?\text{III.A}}$=*ŠU e-et-ri-i*)]*š-ke-ez-zi*
(60) [(*n*=*u-uš*=*ša-an*)] *pa-ra-a ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da ar-*[(*nu-zi ta-iš-zi-in*)]
(61) [(EGIR-*pa p*)]*a-ạ-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-^{i} / 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^{s}t-/). These etymologies are now flawed by our reconstruction of *tāišta/i-* as **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-es-* + *dai-^{i} / ti-*. Rieken (1999a: 190) reconstructs **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-es-d^{h}h$_{1}$-ti-* (assuming the same sound law as Melchert did, namely **-stt-* > *-št-*), but this seems unlikely to me. I would prefer **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-es-ti-*, a *-ti-*derivative of **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-es-* 'which has been layed down' (in this case = 'hay'). For *-ti-*derivatives of *s*-stems compare e.g. Pol. *długość* < **dьlgostь* < **dlh$_{1}$g^{h}-os-ti-* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 182).

tāi̯uga-: see under *i̯uga-*

dākk-^{i} / 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-u̯a-ar* (KUB 3.110, 5 (NS)), *ták-ku-u̯a-ar* (KUB 12.52 iii 6 (NS)).

IE cognates: Gr. δοκεῖ 'seems'.

PIE **dó(u̯)k̑h$_{1}$-ei*, **d(u̯)k̑h$_{1}$-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. δέκομαι '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') < **dek̑-*, 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$_{1}$-ei*, we see that we can reconstruct *dākki* only as **dókh$_{1}$-ei* (note that **dókh$_{2/3}$ei* would have yielded Hitt. ***dakkai*, according to the *tarn(a)*-class). In the plural, *takkanzi* must be phonologically interpreted as /tkánt^{s}i/ < **dkh$_{1}$-énti* (compare e.g. *taknāš* 'of the earth' /tgnā́s/ << **d^{h}g^{h}mós*).

[(f)]***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 **dʰǵʰṓm* + **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 [d] or [f]). 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-* ([d]*Ḫuriia̯nzipa-*, [d]*Mia̯adanzipa-*, [d]*Šuua̯nzipa-*, [(d)]*taršanzipa-*) and *-š-* elsewhere ([d]*Aškašepa-* (of *āška-* ‘gate’), [d]*Ḫantašepa-* (of *ḫant-* ‘forehead’), [d]*Išpanzašepa-* (of *išpant-* ‘night’), [d]*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 [d]*Ḫa-an-ta-še-p*° (7x), [d]*Mi-ia̯-ta-an-zé-p*° (2x) and [d]*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 ([d]*Aš-ga-ši-p*° besides [d]*Aš-ga-še-p*°, [d]*Ḫa-an-ta-ši-p*° besides [d]*Ḫa-an-ta-še-p*° and [d]*Kam-(ma-)ru-ši-p*° besides [d]*Kam-(ma-)ru-še-p*°) while the unambiguous *-zé-* is not found anymore (only [d]*Ḫu-ri-ia̯-an-*ZI/E-*p*°, [d]*Mi-ia̯-da-an-*ZI/E-*p*°, [d]*Šu-ua̯-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 gouverned (**ḫanta-* + *sépa-* vs. **dagán* + *sepa-*) seems unlikely to me. Because of the absence of a simplex **še/ipa-* (although one could compare the PN ^{m}*Ši-pa-*LÚ-*i-* in CTH 81) and because its exact meaning is unclear, etymologizing is too difficult at this point.

takkešš-^{zi}: see *takš-*^{zi}

taki- (adj.) 'other, foreign(?)'; *taki- ... taki-* 'the one .. the other': dat.-loc.sg. *ta-ki-i-i̯a* (OS), *ta-ki-i̯a* (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 **du̯o-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.

takkišš-^{zi}: see *takš-*^{zi}

takš-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi*; part. *ták-ša-an-t-*; impf. *ták-ki-iš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: see *takšuu̯ar*, *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*

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 *u̯etenit 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 *-u̯-* in *takšuanzi* does not count as a consonant here, whereas e.g. in *ḫaru̯eni* it does (see at *ḫar(k)-*^{zi})). Apparently, in the cluster **-ksC-* an anaptyctic vowel /i̵/ (spelled *e/i*) emerged: /takɨS-/. 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: /takɨ́S-/ or even /tkɨ́S-/. 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* = /tksántˢi/ < **TKs-énti* compare e.g. *taknāš* ‘of the earth’ = /tgnā́s/ << **dʰǵʰmós*.

Sturtevant (1930c: 214) etymologically connects *takš-* with Skt. *takṣ-* ‘to hammer, to build’, which has been followed by many scholars who subsequently reconstruct **teḱp-*. This etymology is problematic, however, in view of the fact that Skt. *takṣ-* rather reflects **te-tḱ-*, an old reduplication of the root **teḱ-* ‘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-^{i}* '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-^{zi}*. 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: ***takšatniie/a-*** (Ic1) 'to level' (3pl.imp.midd. *ták-ša-at-ni-ia-an-ta-ru* (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-^{i} / 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-^{zi}*, 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 *takšatniie/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-^{i} / takšanni-*. See *takš-^{zi}* 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$_{1}$sh$_{1}$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-^{zi}*, 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-^{zi}*** (Ia4) 'to conclude an agreement', ***takšul(a)-*** (adj.) 'friendly' (instr. *ták-šu-li-it*), ***takšulae-^{zi}*** (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*

This word is clearly a derivative in *-ul-* from the verb *takš-^{zi}*. The MH attestation *ták-šu-ú-ul* shows that just as in *aššul* and *uštul / u̯aštul* the accent was on the suffix. See *takš-^{zi}* for further etymology.

takšuu̯ar (n.) 'friendship(?)': nom.-acc.sg. [*tá*]*k-šu-u̯a-ar* (KUB 15.34 ii 20 (MH/MS)), *ták-šu-u̯a-ar* (Bo 3234 rev. 8 (MH/MS)).

PIE **teks-u̯r̥*

See Tischler HEG T: 49 for treatment. This word only occurs inbetween *āššiu̯auu̯ar* 'love' and DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-aš āššiu̯auu̯ar* '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-^{zi}*. See there for further etymology.

takku (conjunction) 'if, when': *ták-ku* (OS).

PIE **to-k^{w}e*

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^{w}e*. Therewith it is formally identical to Gr. τότε 'then' and OCS *takъ* 'thus'. This etymology is important as it shows that **k^{w}* yields Hitt. /k^{w}/ and not /g^{w}/ (pace Melchert 1994a: 61). Note that in this word the preceding **o* does not lenite the following **k^{w}*, 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 conjuntions were inherently unstressed. I assume that in **tok^{w}e* the word-final **e* was apocopated, which

means that *takku* represents /tak^{w}/ (contra Garrett *apud* Melchert 1994a: 184, who assumes that word-final **e* in **tok^{w}e* first was weakened to **tak^{w}ə*, after which */ə/ was coloured to /u/ due to the preceding labiovelar, which means that *takku* = /tak^{w}u/).

dāla-^{i} / dāli- (IIa5 > IIa1γ, Ic1, Ic2) 'to let, to leave, to let in peace': 1sg.pres.act. *da-a-la-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 13.20 i 24 (MH/NS), KBo 18.136 rev. 16 (NS)), *ta-la-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 13.20 i 11 (MH/NS)), *da-a-lí-i̯a-mi* (KUB 31.84 iii 63 (MH/NS)), *da-a-li-i̯a-mi* (KUB 19.6+21.1 i 77 (NH), KUB 21.5+ ii 2 (NH), KUB 23.93, 5 (NS)), *da-li-i̯a-mi* (KUB 14.3 iii 55 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *da-la-a*[*t-ti*$^{?}$] (KBo 16.47 i 21 (MH/MS)), *da-la-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 32 (NS)), *da-a-li-i̯a-ši* (KUB 19.49+ i 55 (NH), KUB 21.16 i 20 (NH)), *ta-li-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-zi* (KUB 14.3 iii 57 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *da-a-li-i̯a-u-e-ni* (KUB 13.35 iv 8 (NS)), *ta-a-li-i̯a-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-zi* (KBo 4.12 rev. 10 (NH), KBo 5.3 ii 4 (NH)), *ta-li-i̯a-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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 3.22 rev. 45 (OS)), *da-a-la-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 21.3 i 6 (NH)), *da-la-aḫ-ḫu-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-i̯a-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-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 26.32 i 15 (NH)), *da-li-i̯a-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-i̯a-at* (KBo 22.11 i 7 (NS), KUB 1.1+ ii 55 (NH)), *da-li-i̯a-at* (KUB 1.1 iii 70 (NH), KUB 1.6+ iii 36 (NH), KUB 19.23 obv. 11 (NS)), *ta-li-i̯a-at* (KUB 19.49 i 3 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *da-li-i̯a-u-en* (HW: 205), 2pl.pret.act. *da-a-li-i̯a-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[77]), 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-i̯a-an* (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iv 16 (NH), KBo 4.4 ii 20 (NH)), *ta-li-i̯a-an* (KBo 2.6 + KUB 18.51 i 6, 13 (NH)), *da-li-i̯a-an* (KBo 5.3 ii 5 (NH)); verb.noun *da-lu-mar* (KUB 3.94 i 24 (NS)), *da-li-i̯a-u-ar* (KUB 3.94 i 16), *da-a-li-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 14.21 i 28, 55 (NS)), *ta-li-i̯a-u̯a-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 *dā́* + **lh$_1$-oi-ei*, *dā́* + **lh$_1$-i-enti*.

The oldest attestations (OS) of this verb, *tālai*, *dālai*, *tālaḫḫun*, *tālier*, *dālišten*, show that originally this verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class: *dāla-^{i} / dāli-*. 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/tii̯anzi*-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/tii̯anzi*-inflected is visible in the fact that in younger (NS) texts we find many forms that show a stem *dāli̯e/a-^{zi}*. Once, we find a form that shows a stem *dālae-^{zi}* (*dālaizzi* (MS)), which is built directly on the original 3sg.pres.act. *dālai*. So all in all, despite the wild variaty of forms, we can safely conclude that originally this verb must have shown an inflection **dālai-^{i} / dāli-*.

Because of the disyllabity of the stem, this verb cannot directly reflect a PIE root. Therefore, etymological proposals like Kapancjan's connection with Arm. *t'ołum* 'to let, to endure' (1931-33: 63) or Petersen's connection with Lat. *tollō* 'to bear', Goth. *þulan* 'to endure', etc. (1937: 210) cannot be upheld anymore. Oettinger (1979a: 488, with reference to Eichner) proposes to connect *dāla/i-* to *lā-^{i} / l-* 'to loosen, to releave' (q.v.), which semantically is convincing. In his view, we are dealing with a preverb *dā-* < **dō*, which is supposed to be an ablaut-variant of Lat. *dē* 'from, away', followed by *lā-/l-*. Problematic, however, is the fact that we have no other examples of **dō* (or **dē*, for that matter) in Anatolian. Moreover, the second part of *dāla/i-* cannot be directly equated with *lā-/l-* since

the former verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class that goes back to the *dāi/tiia̯nzi*-class < **CC-oi- / *CC-i-*, whereas *lā-/l-* reflects **lóh$_1$-ei*, **lh$_1$-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$_1$-lh$_1$-(o)i-* 'to leave it like it was put'.

talli- (adj.) 'pleasant(?)': nom.pl.c. *ta-al-li-eš*

Derivatives: ***talliia̯ēšš-***^{zi} (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. *tìlti* 'to become quiet' and OIr. *tu(i)lid* 'sleeps'.

PIE **tolH-i-* ?

Hapax in KUB 30.19+ iv (21) *ki-i=ua̯-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 *talliia̯ēšš-*^{zi}, which is found in the following context:

VBoT 24 iii
(37) *an-da=kán e-ḫu* ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*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, *talliia̯ēšš-*^{zi} 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-*ši* UD$^{!KAM.ḪI.A}$*-uš*
(9) *i-da‹‹-da››-la-e-eš* GE$_6$*-uš* ḪUL*-e-eš*$^{!}$ *ma-ni-in-ku-ua̯-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 *talliie/a-*^{zi} 'to pray for', which he connects (o.c.: 346) with OCS *u-toliti* 'to soothe'. Although I do not find the connection with *talliie/a-*^{zi} very appealing (see there for an alternative etymology), the connection between *talli-* 'pleasant(?)', *talliiēšš-* 'to be pleasant(?)' and OCS *u-toliti* 'to soothe' is in my view at least a possibility. LIV^2 connects OCS *u-toliti* further with Lith. *tìlti* 'to become quiet' and OIr. *tu(i)lid* 'sleeps' and reconstructs **telH-*. For Hittite, this may mean that we have to reconstruct **tolH-i-*.

talliie/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to pray to, to evoke (a deity)': 3sg.pres.act. *tal-li-ia-zi* (OS), 3sg.pret.act. *tal-li-ia-at*; part. *tal-li-an-t-*, *tal-li-ia-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *tal-li-ia-u-aš*; inf.I *tal-li-ia-u-ua-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-ie/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 *talliiēšš-*^{zi} 'to be pleasant(?)' (see under *talli-*), but this does not make sense semantically. Tischler (1979: 265) rather connects *talliie/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. *talliie/a-* reflecting **delH-ie/o-* or **dolH-ie/o-* (a pre-form **dlH-ie/o-* is impossible, cf. e.g. *pariianzi* 'they blow' < **prh$_1$ienti*).

****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-ia-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-ua-aš* (KUB 27.67 ii 40 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***talūga*** (adv.) 'long' (*ta-lu-ú-ga* (OH/NS)), ***daluknu-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (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-*^{zi} and *zalukēšš-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Skt. *dīrghá-*, GAv. *darəga-*, OCS *dlьgъ*, Russ. *dólgij*, SCr. *dȕg*, Lith. *ìlgas*, Gr. δολιχός, Goth. *laggs*, ON *langr*, Lat. *longus* 'long'.

PIE **dólug^{h}-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* < **talugaia̯š*), 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 **-aia̯-* > *-a-* (e.g. gen.sg. **dalugaš* < **dalugaia̯š*, etc.). The one *u*-stem form dat.-loc.pl. *dālugauua̯š* must be regarded as a mistake (cf. Tischler HEG T: 62). The derivatives *daluknu-^{zi}*, *dalukēšš-^{zi}* and *dalugašti-* are derived from the bare stem *talug-* (without *-i-*). See at *zaluknu-^{zi}* for my view that *zaluknu-^{zi}* 'to lenghten' and *zalukēšš-^{zi}* '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°*). The verbs *dalugnu-^{zi}* and *dalukēšš-^{zi}* 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-*, GAv. *darəga-*, OCS *dlьgъ*, Russ. *dólgij*, SCr. *dȕg*, Lith. *ìlgas* all reflect **dlh$_1$g^{h}ó-* (the laryngeal is determined as **h$_1$* on the basis of Gr. ἐν-δελεχής 'lasting long' < **delh$_1$g^{h}-*), whereas Gr. δολιχός must reflect **dol-i-g^{h}o-* or **dolh$_1$ig^{h}o-*. Goth. *laggs*, ON *langr*, Lat. *longus* 'long' reflect **dlong^{h}o-*, however (**dlh$_1$ong^{h}o-* is possible only if one assumes that initial **d-* was dropped before the vocalization of **-l-* in Germaic, otherwise we would expect PGerm. **tulanga-*). Hitt. *taluki-* then seems to reflect **dólug^{h}i-* (note that **dólh$_1$ug^{h}i-* is impossible since **VRh$_1$V* > *VRRV*, cf. *zinnanzi* < **tinh$_1$énti*, *ārri* < **h$_1$órh$_1$ei*). So, all in all, for Hittite we have to reckon with a pre-form **dólug^{h}-i-* besides **dlug^{h}-néu-* and **dlug^{h}-éh$_1$sh$_1$-*. The exact relation between **d(o)lug^{h}-*, **d(e)lh$_1$g^{h}-*, **d(o)lig^{h}-* and **dlong^{h}-* 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^{h}-* 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*$^{!}$ by CHD P: 158). The noun *dalugašti-* 'length' has been compared with Pol. *długość* 'length' < PSl. **dlьgostь*. If correct, it would show non-assibilation of **-ti-* in a cluster **-sti-* (cf. Joseph 1984: 3-4).

taluppant-: see at *tarupp-*^{zi}

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$_x$-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$_x$-ma-in*, *da$_x$-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$_x$-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$_x$-me-e-da-ni*, *ta-me-e-da*, *ta-me-da*, *ta-me-ta*, *da-me-e-da*, *da-me-da*, *da$_x$-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.) 'beloging 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$_x$-me-um-ma-an* (NS), *ta-me-e-u-ma-an* (Bo 6109, 4 (StBoT 17: 25)), ***tameummēšš-***^{zi} (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), *t*[*a-me-u*]*m-mi-eš-ša* (NS))), ***damiummaḫḫ-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIh) 'to change (trans.)' (3sg.pres.midd. *da-mi-um-maḫ-da-ri* (NS), 3sg.pret.midd. [*da-mi-u*]*m-ma-aḫ-ta-at* (NS)).

PIE **tmh$_1$-oi- / *tmh$_1$-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°* and *da-a-m°*. 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 *$temh_1$- ‘to cut’ (Gr. τάμνω, τέμνω ‘to cut’, Lat. *temnō* ‘to despise’, MIr. *tamnaid* ‘to cut’, etc.), compare e.g. ModEng. *separate* for the semantics. We should then reconstruct *tmh_1-*oi*-, *tmh_1-*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-*^{zi} / *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*$_x$*-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*$_x$*-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*$_x$*-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*$_x$*-m*[*i-i*]*š-šer*$_9$ (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*$_x$*-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*$_x$*-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*$_x$*-ma-aš-šu-aš* (KBo 18.181 rev. 26 (NS)); inf.I *ta-ma-aš-šu-u̯a-an*$^{!}$*-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/išḫā-*.

IE cognates: Gr. δάμνημι 'to tame', OIr. *damnaim* 'to tie up', Skt. *damāyáti* 'to tame', Lat. *domāre* 'to tame'.

PIE **dméh$_2$-s-ti*, **dmh$_2$-s-énti*

In OS and MS texts, this verb is consistently spelled with single *-m-* (*ta-m°* and *da-m°*). 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$_x$* (besides normal *dam*), however, and I therefore have adopted that reading here (cf. also *išdamašš-^{zi}* 'to hear' under the lemma $^{(UZU)}$*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-u̯a-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-^{zi} / 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. *damāyáti*, etc. 'to tame' < **demh$_2$-*. 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-^{zi}* 'to recognize', *kallišš-^{zi} / kališš-* 'to call', *karš-^{zi}* 'to cut', *pāš-^{i} / pašš-* 'to drink', *ānš-^{i}* 'to wipe', *ḫane/išš-^{zi}* 'to wipe' and *paḫš-^{i}* 'to protect'.

Despite the fact that the etymological connection with **demh$_2$-* 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$_2$-s-*, whereas the bare root has a full-grade **demh$_2$-*. Such a Schwebe-

ablaut is not unparalleled in *s*-extensions, however, compare **mieḱs-* from **meiḱ-*, **h₂leks-* from **h₂elk-* and *h₂ueks-* from **h₂eug-* (cf. LIV[2] under their respective lemmas). I therefore assume that *tamāšš-/tame/išš-* indeed goes back to **dmVh₂-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 /i̵/ that emerged in the cluster **CRHsV* > *CRi̵ssV* (similarly in *ǵnh₃sénti* > *kane/iššanzi* 'they recognize', **h₂mh₁sénti* > *ḫane/iššanzi* 'they wipe' and **ḱlh₁sénti* > *gališšanzi* 'they call'). So *tame/iššanzi* /tmi̵Sánt^{s}i/ must reflect **dmh₂sénti* (note that *ḫane/iššanzi* < **h₂mh₁sénti* shows that **dmh₂sénti* 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 regulary maintained, whereas the strong stem that corresponds to *ḫane/iššanzi* underwent a development **m* > *n* as well: **h₂ómh₁sei* > *ānši*). Because of the *Ø*-grade in the weak stem, we would *a priori* assume that the strong stem had ordinary full-grade **e*: **dméh₂-s-ti*. This form should have regularly become **tmaḫšzi*, but because of the absence of *-ḫ-* in the weak stem /tmi̵S-/ it was removed in the singular as well, yielding *tamāšzi*. All in all, the precise developments must have been as follows: **dmh₂sénti* > **dn̥sánti* > **dn̥i̵sánt^{s}i* >> **dmi̵sánt^{s}i* (with analogical reintroduction of *-m-*) in analogy to which **dmás̥st^{s}i* (< **dméh₂sti*) was altered to **dmás̥t^{s}i*. The regular outcomes of **dmi̵sánt^{s}i* was Hitt. /tmi̵Sánt^{s}i/, spelled *tame/iššanzi*, and the regular outcome of **dmás̥t^{s}i* was Hitt. /tmáSt^{s}i/, spelled *tamāšzi*. This means that *tamāšzi*, *tame/iššanzi* ultimately goes back to a paradigm **dméh₂-s-ti*, **dmh₂-s-énti*.

tame(n)k-^{zi} (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.[?] 10 (MH/NS)), *ta-mi-*[*n*]*i-kán-*[*zi*] (KUB 25.48 + 44.49 ii[!] 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*$_{17}$ (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-u̯a-ar* (KBo 18.24 i 6, 16 (NH)), *dam-me-in-ku-u̯a-ar* (KUB 24.13 ii 5 (MH/NS)), inf.I [*d*]*a-me-en-ku-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 23.94, 2 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***tamenganu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make attach(?)' (2sg.pres.act. *ta*$^{!}$*-me-en-ka*$_{4}$*-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*$^{!}$*-ga*$^{!}$-[*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-gą-nu̯*[-...] (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', MIr. *tēcht* 'solidified', ON *þéttr* '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-*^{zi}.

Since Van Brock - Mac Gregor (1962a: 32f.), *tame(n)k-*^{zi} 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 infixed 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-***^{zi} (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-ḫa-iz-zi (KUB 13.7 i 4 (MH/NS), *ta-meš-ḫa-zi* (HHCTO 1 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *dam-me-iš-ḫa-a-it* (KBo 13.33 ii 6 (NS)), *dam-mi-eš-ḫa-a-it* (KUB 14.14 obv. 16 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a-er* (KBo 3.4 iiii 60 (NH)); 2sg.pres.midd. *dam-mi-iš-ḫa-et‹-ta›-ri* (HKM 80 obv. 6 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *dam-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-ri* (HKM 31 obv. 12 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a-it-ta-at* (KUB 14.13+ i 29 (NH)); part. *tą-ąm-*[*m*]*i-iš-ḫa-an-t-* (KBo 25.25 obv. 4 (OS)), *dam-me-eš-ḫa-an-t-*, *dam-me-iš-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun *dam-me-eš-ḫa-a-u-ų̆a-ar* (KBo 13.34 iii 7 (OH or MH/NS)); impf. *dam-mi-iš-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *dam-me-iš-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *dam-me-eš-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*), ***dammešḫanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make punish’ (1sg.pret.act. *dam-me-eš-ḫa-nu-nu-un* (KBo 4.8 ii 13 (NH)); impf. *dam-mi-eš-ḫa-nu-u*[*š-ke/a-*] (KBo 18.109 rev. 4 (NS))).

IE cognates: see at *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-*.

PIE **demh*$_2$*-sh*$_2$*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*$_x$ as well (see e.g. *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-* and *ištamašš-*^{zi} (under $^{(UZU)}$*ištāman-* */ ištamin-*)), its usage in MS texts and especially the OS attestation *tą-ąm-*[*m*]*i-iš-ḫa-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 /daMɨsHa-/.

Already Götze (1930: 179) connected *damme/išḫā-* with the verb *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-* ‘to oppress’. Although this is generally accepted, the fact that *damme/išḫā-* shows geminate *-mm-*, whereas *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-* does not, is significant. As I have shown under the lemma of *tamāšš-*^{zi} */ tame/išš-*, this verb has to be phonologically interpreted /tmāS-/, /tmɨS-/ and goes back to **dméh*$_2$*-s-ti*, **dmh*$_2$*-s-énti*. The noun *damme/išḫā-* must be phonologically interpreted /taMɨsHā́-/, however, with a real vowel *-a-* between *d-* and *-mm-*. This vowel can only reflect a real PIE vowel. I therefore reconstruct **demh*$_2$*-sh*$_2$*ó-*. For the development of **CeRHsC* > *CaRRɨsC* compare *kallišta* /káLɨsta/ ‘called’ < **ḱélh*$_1$*st(o)*.

For the suffix *-šḫa-* compare e.g. *palzaḫḫa-*, *ḫamešḫa-*, *tešḫa-*, etc.

dampu- (adj.) ‘blunt’: nom.-acc.n. *dam-pu* (OH/NS).

Derivatives: ***tampuēšš-***^{zi} (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 *tǫpъ* ‘blunt’, Russ. *tupój* ‘blunt’.

PIE **tomp-u-*

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 *tǫpъ* '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 *tāi̯uga-*, *tānḫašti-* and ^{LÚ}*du̯analli-*.

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***twa/i-*** (adj.) 'two' (acc.pl.c. /twint^{s}i/ $^{\text{“2”}}$*tu-wa/i-zi* (MARAŞ 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. ***tbisu*** (adv.) 'twice', ***tbiplẽ*** '?'.

PAnat. **du(o)i-*

IE cognates: Skt. *dvayá-* 'twofold, in pairs', Gr. δοιοί 'both, two', δοιός 'double', OCS *dъvojь* 'twofold', Lith. *dvejì* 'two', *dvẽja* '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 genuin form or has to be emended to *ta-a‹-an›* UD-*ti*. Already since Hrozný (1919: 116[5]), *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 **Tu̯o* > *Ta*, cf. Melchert 1994a: 128.

Tischler (HEG T: 92) cites CLuw. *du̯u̯ān* as a possible cognate, but its meaning cannot be determined.

^{GIŠ}***tanau-*** (n.) a kind of tree: nom.-acc.pl. *ta-na-a-ú*.

IE cognates: ?OHG *tanna* ‘fir’, ?Skt. *dhánuṣ-* ‘bow’.

PIE **dʰn-ǵ̑u* ??

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. **danu̯ō-* ‘fir(tree)’ (OHG *tanna* ‘fir’). If Skt. *dhánuṣ-* ‘bow’ belongs here as well, then the etymon is **dʰen-u-*. If this is correct, Hitt. *tanāu* would reflect **dʰn-ǵ̑u*, formally a collective (cf. **ud-ǵ̑r* ‘water (coll.)’).

^{UZU}*dānḫašti-* (n.) ‘double-bone’: nom.-acc.sg. *da-a-an-ḫa-aš-ti* (NS), *ta-an-ḫa-aš-ti* (NS), *da-ḫa-aš-ti* (NS).

PIE **duoiom *h₃esth₁-ih₁*

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 *ḫašti-* of which the first part is cognate with *tān* ‘for the second time, again’ and the second part with *ḫaštai-* ‘bone’. Friedrich (HW Erg. 3: 31) therefore translates ‘Doppelknochen’. Starke (1990: 122f.) argues that *-ḫašti-* shows the old dual ending nom.-acc.n. *-ih₁-* (see also ^{GIŠ}*elzi-*). See at *ḫaštāi / ḫašti-* for the reconstruction **h₃esth₁-*, which shows that the non-assimilation of *-t-* in **h₃esth₁-ih₁* is due to the following *-h₁-*. See at *tān* and *ḫaštai- / ḫašti-* for further etymology.

-ttani (2pl.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-tten(i)*

taninu-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi*, 𒀸 *ta-ni-nu-an-zi*, *da-ni-nu-u̯a-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-u̯a-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 **dʰoh₁-ni-neu-*

This verb is occasionally preceded by gloss wedges (e.g. 𒀸 *ta-ni-nu-an-zi* (KUB 56.39 i 12), 𒀸 *ta-ni-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (ibid. ii 7, iv 27)), which together with the one Luwian inflected from (3sg.pres.act. *taninutta*), 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. ^{STELE}*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. ^{STELE}***tanisa-*** (n.) 'stele' (nom.-acc.sg. /tanisan=t^{s}a/ ^{STELE}*ta-ni-sà-za* (MEHARDE §1, §7), ^{STELE}*ta-ni-sà‹-za›* (SHEIZAR §4), dat.sg. /tanisi/ ^{STELE}*ta-ni-si* (MEHARDE §3)).

PIE **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-ni-d-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 12.59+10.76 iii
(7) *ku-iš=u̯a-r=a-at ú-e-te-eš-ke-et*
(8) $^{\text{NA}_4}$*ḫu-u̯a-a-ši*$^{\text{HI.A}}$ *ta-a-ni-ta ki-nu-na=u̯a-r=a-at=kán*
(9) *ka-a-ša la-ga-a-ri*

'Who put up the *ḫuu̯aši*-stones and the *tānita*? Look: they now have fallen'.

Because of its co-occurrence with $^{\text{NA}_4}$*ḫuu̯āši*$^{\text{HI.A}}$, 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. ^{STELE}*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^{h}eh$_{1}$-* 'to put, to place' is quite likely and supported by the fact that in the context cited above the verb *u̯etē-* is used that goes back to **d^{h}eh$_{1}$-*. 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 *tuu̯a-* 'to put up' that goes back to **d^{h}eh$_{1}$-* as well. I therefore reconstruct the stem **tāni-* as **d^{h}oh$_{1}$-ni-*. For this formation (*-ni-*suffix with **o*-grade in the root) compare OCS *branъ* 'fight', Lith. *barnìs* 'quarrel' < **b^{h}or-ni-*.

See at *taninu-*^{zi} for the possibility that this verb is derived from the stem **tāni-*.

dankui- / dankuu̯ai- (adj.) 'black, dark' (Sum. GE_6): nom.sg.c. *da-an-ku-iš*, *ta-an-ku-iš*, *da-an-ku-i-iš*, *da-an-ku-i̯a-aš*, acc.sg.c. *da-an-ku-in*, nom.-acc.n. *da-an-ku-i*, dat.-loc.sg. *da-an-ku-u̯a-i*, *ta-an-ku-u̯a-i*, *da-an-ku-i*, abl. *da-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-az*, *da-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-za*, *da-an-ku-i̯a-az*, *da-an-ku-u̯a-az*, instr. *da-an-ku-it*, nom.pl.c. *ta-an-ku-u̯a-e-eš*, *ta-an-ku-e-eš*, nom.-acc.n. *ta-an-ku-u̯a*, *da-an-ku-u̯a*, *da-an-ku-u̯a-i*, dat.-loc.pl. *ta-an-ku-u̯a-aš* (OS), *da-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (KBo 40.333, 6).

Derivatives: ***dankuēšš-***^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (Ic6) 'to make black' (3pl.pret.act. *da-an-ku-ni-eš-ker*), ***danku(u̯a)nu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make black' (part. *da-an-ku-nu-u̯a-a*[*n-t-*]; impf. *da-an-ku-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ta-an-ku-nu*[*-uš-ke/a-*], *da-an-ku-u̯a-nu-uš*[*-ke/a-*]), ?***dankui̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make black' (impf. [*da-an-ku-i̯*]*a-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***dankuu̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make black' (impf. [*da-*]*an-ku-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi-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 *døkkr* (adj.) 'gloomy, dark of colour', OSax. *dunkar*, OHG *tunkal*, OFr. *diunk(er)* 'dark'.

PIE $*d^{h}ng^{w}$*-(e)i-*

The bulk of the attestations clearly show an *i*-stem inflection *dankui- / dankuu̯ai-* (sometimes with loss of intervocalic *-i̯-*: e.g. *tankuu̯aš* < **tankuu̯ai̯aš*). We only find two forms that seem to show a stem *dankui̯a-*, and these are clearly secondary.

Sturtevant (1934) proposed to interpret *dankui-*, just as *parkui-* and *u̯arḫui-*, as old *u*-stem adjectives that are enlarged with the feminine suffix *$*-ih_2$-*, comparable to Lat. *suavis* (*$*sueh_2du-ih_2$-*) etc. This view has been widely followed (e.g. most recently Rieken 1999a: 259). As I have shown under *parkui- / parkuu̯ai-* 'clean, pure', however, this adjective reflects *$*prk^{w}$-i-* and must be regarded as a normal *i*-stem. In my view, the same goes for *dankui- / dankuu̯ai-* as well. Since Forrer *apud* Feist (1924: 130[1]), *dankui-* is generally connected with the Germanic words for 'dark'. Heidermans (1993: 146, 152, 167) shows that in Germanic we find different formations: ON *døkkr*, *doḳkr* 'dark' < *$d^{h}ong^{w}o$-*, OFr. *diunk* 'dark' < *$d^{h}eng^{w}o$-*, OHG *tunkal* 'dark' < *$d^{h}ng^{w}lo$-* and OSax. *dunkar* 'dark' < *$d^{h}ng^{w}ro$-*. Yet it is clear that we are dealing with a root *$d^{h}eng^{w}$-*. For Hittite, this means that we can safely reconstruct *$d^{h}ng^{w}$*-(e)i-*, a normal *i*-stem.

Sturtevant's adduction (1933: 123f.) of Gr. δνόφος 'darkness' and δνόφεος 'dark' < *$dnog^{wh}$-* 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*^{w}- > Luw. *-kku-*.

tapariị̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic2) 'to lead, to decide, to rule, to reign': 2sg.pres.act. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-ši* (KUB 21.1 i 65 (NH), KUB 26.25 ii 9, 12 (NH)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-iz-zi* (Bronzetafel ii 94, iii 73 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a-u-e-ni* (KUB 2.2 ii 48 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iv 9 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a-it* (KBo 13.101 i 3, 4 (MH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-i* (KBo 8.63 i 10 (NH), KUB 21.38 obv. 36 (NH)), 2pl.imp.act. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-at-tén* (KUB 46.13 iv 8 (NS)); part. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-an-t-* (Bronzetafel ii 36 (NH))).

Derivatives: ***tapariị̯a-*** (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-ị̯a-an* (KBo 18.88 rev. 17 (NH)), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a* (KUB 14.7 i 7, 15), *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a* (KUB 26.1 iii 34 (NH)), abl. *ta-pár-ri-ị̯a-az* (KUB 21.19 ii 8 (NH))), ^{LÚ}***tapariị̯alli-*** (c.) 'commander' (nom.pl. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a-li-i-ẹ-*[*e*]*š* (KUB 31.124 iv 3, 5 (fr.) (MH/MS)), acc.pl. *ta-pa-ri-ị̯a-al-l*[*i-uš*$^{?}$] (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*), ***taparammaḫit-*** (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 A26*a* 1+2, §a, BOROWSKI 2 line 1), abl.-instr. /tbariadi/: ^{LIGNUM}*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 A14*a* §4)), ***taparahit-*** (n.) 'authority' (nom.-acc.sg. /tbarahi/: LEPUS-*pa*+*ra/i-hi* (MARAŞ 4 §8)), ***tapariị̯a-*** 'to decree' (3sg.pret.act. /tbarita/: $^{LIGNUM.CRUS}$LEPUS+*ra/i-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §9), /tbariata/: $^{"LIGNUM"}$LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1 §19)), ***tapariị̯ala/i-*** (c.) 'governor' (nom./acc.pl. /tbarialint^{s}i/: LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-li-zi* (JISR EL HADID fr. 3 line 2)), ***tapariị̯ala-*** '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 *tapariị̯e/a-*^{zi} and *tapariị̯ae-*^{zi} (although it must be admitted that all forms that I regard as belonging to *tapariị̯e/a-*^{zi} show the stem *tapariị̯a-* and therewith in principle could belong with *tapariị̯ae-* as well). All these forms are attested in NS texts. In MH texts we

find the noun *tapariialli-*, a derivative in *-alli-* of the verbal stem *tapariie/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-^{i} / 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. *tapariie/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 devioced to *t-* in Luwian". Moreover, he states that these words must be cognate to MHG *tapfer* 'brave' that he reconstructs as **d^{h}$_{ə}$b-ro-*. So all in all, Melchert assumes that an adjective **d^{h}$_{ə}$b-ro-* yielded the nominal stem **tapar-* 'powerful', from which not only the noun *tabarna-* 'ruler' has been derived, but also the verb *tapariie/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', *tapariia-* 'authority' and *tapariia-* 'to decree'. This latter verb was borrowed into Hittite as *tapariie/a-* 'to decree, to rule', which was the source of the noun *tapariia-* 'order' and *tapariialli-* 'commander'. The Luwian verbal stem *tapar-* is used unextendedly (*taparši*, *taparḫa*), 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$^{(h)}$er-* (for an initial cluster **TP-*, cf. the PIE root **d^{h}b^{h}enǵ^{h}-* 'to make thick, to make firm' as still visible in GAv. *dəbaƹ-*, 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^{h}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 **$d^{h}b^{h}ng^{h}$-(e)u-* yielded *panku- / pankau̯-* '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.? 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 *ḫūmant-*, which is the reason that *dapi(ant)-* and *ḫūmant-* occasionlly 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), endingless loc.(?) *ta-pu-uš* (KBo 13.20, 7, KUB 8.30 obv. 23), abl. *ta-pu-uš-za* (OS, often), *ta-pu-u-uš-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. *tāpuu̯ašš-* 'rib', but this is unlikely. Oettinger (1979a: 553) suggests a

connection with e.g. ON *stafr* 'staff' < *$steb^h$- and reconstructs a paradigm *$(s)téb^h$-$u̯$os, *$(s)t(e)b^h$-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 extenstion 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-^{zi} / tar-*, *tē-^{zi}*

tarra-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIh) 'to be able; (+ inf.) to can': 1sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (NH), 2sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-at-ta* (MH/NS), 3sg.pres.midd. *tar-ra-at-ta* (NH), 1sg.pret.midd. *tar-ra-aḫ-ḫa-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 *$terh_2$-

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-^{zi}* 'to prevail, to conquer' (q.v.), which reflects *$terh_2$-u-* (and not unextended *$terh_2$-* as is usually thought). Oettinger (1979a: 299) equates 3sg. *tarratta* with Skt. *tárate*, which he reconstructs as *$térh_2$-o-to* (but note that Skt. *tárate* must reflect *$térh_2$-e-to*). Apart from the fact that in the Ṛg-Veda the stem *tárate* is hapax, whereas *tiráte* < *trh_2-é-to* is attested multiple times, the status of the Hittite 'thematic' middle is quite unclear. Examples like 3sg.pres.midd. *$u̯$eḫari* besides *$u̯$eḫattari* and 3sg.pret.midd. *$u̯$eḫtat* besides *$u̯$eḫattat* show that the 'thematic vowel' *-a-* could well be secondary on the basis of the 3sg.pres.-ending *-ari*. In the case of *tarra-$^{tta(ri)}$* this is important for establishing the phonetic developments it has undergone. If *tarra-* reflects *$terh_2$-o-*, it would show a development *erHV > *arHV*, which would contradict the vowel *-e-* as found in *erḫ- / araḫ- / arḫ-* 'boundary' < *h_1er-h_2- and *šerḫa-* (an object to rinse feet with) < *$serh_{2/3}$-. If the 'thematic vowel' in *tarra-* is secondary, however, we could assume that in 1sg. *$térh_2$-h_2o*, 2sg. *$térh_2$-th_2o*, etc. the sound law *eRCC > aRCC* is responsible for the *-a-* in *tarr-*. This *-a-* then spread to 3sg. *$térh_2$-o* > *terra >> *tarra*, which later on served as the basis for the thematic paradigm *tarra-^{tta}*.

Tischler (HEG T: 147) cites the form *tar-i̯a-an-da-an* (KUB 12.63 + 36.70 obv. 9) as participle of *tarra-*, but this is phonetically impossible: a preform *trh_2-i̯ent-* should have yielded Hitt. **tarḫi̯ant-*. 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-*^{zi}, which sometimes is regarded as the causative of *tarra-*, is semantically unclear, and therefore an etymological connection with *tarra-* cannot be ascertained.

taraḫḫ-^{zi}: see *tarḫu-*^{zi}

tarai-^{i} **/ *tari-*** (IIa4 > Ic1) 'to exert oneself, to become tired': 3pl.pres.act. *t*[*a-*]*ri-i̯a-an-zi* (HKM 55 rev. 31 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-re-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 30.10 rev. 4 (OH/MS)), *da-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 21.19+ iii 37 (NH)), *ta-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 30.33 i 13 (MH/NS)), *ta-a-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 30.36 ii 5 (MH/NS), *da-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-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-i̯a-at* (KUB 21.27 iv 39 (NH)); part. *ta-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (KUB 24.3 ii 35, 36 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***tariu̯ašḫa-*** (c.) 'tiredness, fatigue' (nom.sg. *ta-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš* (KBo 1.42 i 19), *da-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 31.127+ i 25), *tar-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 24.3 i 48)), ***dariu̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to tire, to make tired' (1sg.pret.act. *da-ri-i̯a-nu-nu-un* (here? KUB 7.60 iii 13), 3sg.pres.act. *da-ri-i̯a-nu-zi* (KUB 17.29 ii 11, 12), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-ri-i̯a-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 *dāriu̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.). For the semantics of *tarai-*^{i} */ tari-*, cf. the following contexts:

KUB 30.10 rev.
(3) *nu=mu ku-iš* DINGIR=*I̯A i-na-an pa-iš nu=mu ge-en-zu*
(4) [*da-a ... i-n*]*a-ni pé-ra-an ta-re-eḫ-ḫu-un ma-le-ek-ku̯-un nu=za nam-ma Ú-UL tar-uḫ-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) ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} GAL^{TIM} *pa-an-ga-u-e-eš* TUR$^{MEŠ\text{-}TIM}$
(4) *ḫa-a-ri-i̯a-aš na-ak-ki-i-i̯a-aš ku-it ú-u̯a-nu-un*
(5) *ku-it ta-a-ri-i̯a-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 *tariia̯šḫaš* (KBo 1.42 i 19) which glosses Akk. *MA-NA-AḪ-TUM* ‘fatigue’.

The oldest form of the paradigm is *ta-re-eḫ-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*, *eḫ*, *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-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-un* found in NS texts, for instance in

KUB 30.35 i
(7) *nu a-pád-da pa-i-ši nu u̯a*[*-ap-pu-*]*i kiš-an me-ma-at-ti*
(8) *u̯a-ap-pu=mi-it na-an-*x[*ku*$^{?}$*-i*]*t*$^{?}$ *ú-u̯a-nu-un ku-it*
(9) *da-ri-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u*[*n*]

‘You will go there and will speak to the riverbank thus: “O my riverbank! [Wh]y$^{?}$ 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-eḫ-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/tii̯anzi*-class inflection. Like the other verbs of this class, *tarai- / tari-*, too, shows secondary thematization in NH times, yielding the stem *tarii̯e/a-*^{zi}. The two forms *darii̯aḫḫun* must be compared to *nei̯aḫḫun* (a cross between *neḫḫun* and *nei̯anun*).

As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.a, the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-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-*$^{tta(ri)}$ ‘to be able’ (thus Friedrich 1968: 37f.) is impossible as the latter verb reflects **terh*$_2$*-* and **trh*$_2$*-oi-* should have yielded Hitt. ***tarḫai-*; the connection with Gr. δράω ‘to do’ (Tischler 1979: 265) < **dreh*$_2$*-* is formally impossible as well; a connection with Lith. *darýti* ‘to do’ (Tischler l.c.) is semantically improbable as the latter verb is a causative to *derĕti* ‘to be fit’, which has nothing to do with ‘to weary oneself’. All in all, the etymology remains unclear.

tarḫ-^{zi}: see *tarḫu-*^{zi}

tarḫu-^{zi} (Ia4) ‘to prevail, to conquer, to be powerful, to be able; (with =*z*) to defeat’: 1sg.pres.act. *tar-uḫ-mi* (OH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *tar-uḫ-ši* (KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 i 64 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ta-ru-uḫ-zi* (KBo 6.2 ii 58 (OS)), *tar-uḫ-zi* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 12 (OS), etc.), *tar-ru-uḫ-zi* (KBo 20.73 iv 6 (OH/MS), KBo 22.195 iii 8 (OH/MS)), *tar-ḫu-uz-zi* (KUB 17.10 i 33 (OH/MS)), *ta-ru-uḫ-za* (KUB 43.75 rev. 9 (OH/NS)), *tar-ḫu-e-zi* (KBo 38.126, 10 (MS)), 1pl.pres.act. *tar-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *tar-uḫ-te-ni* (NH), 3pl.pres.act. *tar-ru-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 9 (OH/NS)), *tar-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-uḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 16.47 obv. 4 (MH/MS)), *tar-ḫu-un* (KUB 14.1 rev. 58 (MH/MS)), *tar-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH, often), 3sg.pret.act. *tar-uḫ-ta* (OH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-en* (KBo 3.41+ obv. 19 (OH/NS)), *tar-ḫu-u-en* (KBo 22.6 iv 12 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-e-er* (KUB 23.79, 12 (MH/MS?)), *tar-ḫu-er* (KBo 32.14 iii 17, 32 (MS)), *tar-*[*ḫu*]*-e-er* (KUB 17.27 iii 9 (MH/NS)), *tar-uḫ-ḫe-e-er* (NH), *tar-uḫ-ḫe-er* (NH), 1sg.imp.act. *tar-uḫ-ḫa-al-lu* (KBo 12.58+ obv. 5 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *tar-ḫu-du* (KBo 4.2 i 54 (OH/NS)), *tar-uḫ-du* (MH/NS), *tar-ḫu-id-du* (KUB 36.75 iv 10 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *tar-uḫ-ḫa-an-du* (KBo 43.273, 7 (undat.)); part. *tar-ḫu-an-t-* (Bo 3081 obv. 5 (MS), Bo 6109, 8 (undat.)), *tar-uḫ-ḫa-an-t-* (NH); verb.noun gen.sg. *tar-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš*, *tar-aḫ-ḫu-aš*; sup. *tar-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-an* (KBo 3.7 iii 25 (OH/NS)); impf. *tar-uḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-uḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-aḫ-ḫu-i-iš-ke/a-* (Bo 69/969 ii 2 (NS)); broken *tar-ḫu-u̯*[*a-...*] (VSNF 12.135, 5 (NS)), *tar-ḫu*[*-...*] (KUB 33.66 iii 16 (OH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***tarḫuēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to become powerful’ (3sg.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-iš-ta* (KBo 13.49 ii 4 (NS))), ***tarḫuili- / tarḫuilai-*** (adj.) ‘strong, powerful’ (acc.sg.c. *tar-ḫu-u-i-li-in* (NS), nom.-acc.sg.n. *tar-ḫu-u-i-li* (MH/NS), acc.pl. *tar-ḫu-i-la-uš* (MH/MS), *tar-ḫu-i-li-uš* (NH)), ***tarḫuilātar / tarḫuilann-*** (n.) ‘heroism, courage’ (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-ḫu-i-la-a-tar*, *tar-ḫu-i-la-tar*, gen.sg. *tar-ḫu-i-la-an-na-aš*), ***tarḫuilēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to become powerful’ (3sg.pres.act. *tar-ḫu-i-le*[*-e*]*š-zi* (MH/MS?), 1sg.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-i-le-e-eš-šu-un* (MH/MS)), ****^{d}Tarḫunna-*** (c.) ‘Storm-god’ (Sum. ^{d}IŠKUR, ^{d}U; nom.sg. ^{d}IŠKUR-*aš* (OS), ^{d}U-*aš* (OS), acc.sg. ^{d}IŠKUR-*an* (OS), ^{d}U-*an* (OS), gen. ^{d}IŠKUR-*na-aš* (OS), dat. ^{d}IŠKUR-*un-ni* (OS)), see *tarra-*^{tta}.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***^{d}Tarḫuu̯ant- / ^{d}Tarḫunt-*** ‘Storm-god’ (nom.sg. ^{d}U-*an-za*, ^{d}IŠKUR-*an-za*, voc.sg. ^{d}U-*an*, ^{d}*Tar-ḫu-un-za*, dat.-loc.sg. ^{d}IŠKUR-*u*[*n-t*]*i*, gen.adj.acc.pl.c. *tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš-ši-in-za*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. ^{d}IŠKUR-*aš-ša-an-za*), ***tarḫunta-*** ‘?’ (3sg.pret.act. *tar-ḫu-un-ta-at-ta*), ***tarḫuntiti-***, a kind of food (Hitt.gen.sg. *tar-ḫu-un-ti-ti-i̯a-aš*); HLuw. ***Tarhunt-***, ***Tarhunza-*** (c.) ‘Storm-god’ (nom.sg. /tarhunts/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-za* (KÖRKÜN §5, BULGARMADEN

§4), /tarhuntsas/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §3, KARKAMIŠ A6 §2, SULTANHAN §8, etc.), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* (KARATEPE 1 §40, §51, §73), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-u-za-sa* (KULULU 1 §10), acc.sg. /tarhuntsan/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-za-na* (MARAŞ 4 §3, KÜRTÜL §7, BOR §4, NİĞDE 2 line 1, KARKAMIŠ A17*a* §4), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na* (SULTANHAN §2), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-u-za-na-´* (KULULU 1 §5), gen.sg. /tarhuntas/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sa* (KARATEPE 1 §1, ÇİFTLİK §6), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sá* (ÇİFTLİK §12, §13), dat.sg. /tarhunti/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §20, MARAŞ 11, §8, AKSARAY §5, PALANGA §7), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ti* (BABYLON 3, BOHÇA §2, KARKAMIŠ A24*a 2+3* §11), abl.-instr. /tarhuntadi/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti* (NİĞDE 2 line 2), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ta-tí* (KARATEPE 1 §10), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*ta-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §1), gen.adj.abl.-instr. /tarhuntasadi/ ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ta-sá-ti-i* (MARAŞ 1 §5)), ***tarhunti-*** (adj.) 'of the Storm-god' (nom.sg.c. ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-sa* (ÇİFTLİK §5), ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i-sá* (EĞRİKÖY §1) ^{DEUS}TONITRUS-*hu-ti-sá* (KÜRTÜL §1)); Lyd. ?***tarvταlli-*** 'of Tarvτa' (nom.sg.c. *tarvταllis*); 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. *tū́rvati* 'to overcome, to overpower', Av. *tauruuaiieiti* 'to overcome'.

PIE *$terh_2$-u-ti*, *trh_2-u-enti*

The verbal forms that I have gathered here under one lemma are usually regarded as belonging to two separate verbs, namely *tarḫ-^{zi}* and *tarḫu-^{zi} / taruḫ-^{zi}*. Despite the alleged formal difference, these verbs are generally regarded as semantically identical. The existence of a stem *tarḫu-/taruḫ-* (for the alteration cf. *eku-^{zi}* 'to drink' that is spelled *euk-^{zi}* as well) is assured by the spellings 3sg.pres.act. *tar-ḫu-uz-zi* (OH/MS) and *ta-ru-uḫ-zi* (OS). The most common spelling of 3sg.pres.act. is *tar-*AḪ/UḪ*-zi*, however. The sign AḪ/UḪ (HZL 332) can in principle be read *aḫ*, *eḫ*, *iḫ* as well as *uḫ*. A choice between these readings is usually based on the preceding sign: e.g. *ta-ru-*AḪ/UḪ*-zi* is read *ta-ru-uḫ-zi* on the basis of the preceding *ru*; *te-*AḪ/UḪ*-ḫi* is read *te-eḫ-ḫi* on the basis of the preceding *te*. In the case of *tar-*AḪ/UḪ*-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 *uḫ*. For instance, the OS form *tar-*AḪ/UḪ*-zi* (StBoT 25.19 obv. 12) is duplicated by *tar-ru-uḫ-zi* (KBo 22.195 iii 8 (OH/MS)), which shows that we have to read the first form as *tar-uḫ-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. *u̯a-la-aḫ-zi* 'hits' which determines the spelling *u̯a-al*-AḪ/UḪ-*zi* as *u̯a-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^{s}i/ (Oettinger 1979a: 221).

If there indeed were a stem /tarH-/, we would also expect that forms like 3pl.pres.act. /t(a)rHant^{s}i/ or 3pl.pret.act. /t(a)rHer/ were spelled ***tar-ḫa-an-zi* and ***tar-ḫe-er* (cf. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-zi*, *u̯a-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-*^{zi} 'to drink' or 1pl.pres.act. *laḫueni* from *lāḫu-*^{i} '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*$_2$-. 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*^{i}- '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*$_2$*-u-* that denotes 'to overpower': Skt. *tū́rvati* 'to conquer, to overpower', Av. *tauruuaiieiti* 'to overcome' (**trh*$_2$*-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 *$terh_2$- 'to pass through'. The meaning 'to conquer' is only explicable from PIE *$terh_2$-*u*- 'to overpower', which is an additional argument to read all forms with *tar*-AḪ/UḪ- as *tar-uḫ-*.

The fact that we find the spelling *tarḫu-* as well as *taruḫḫ-* reminds us of the situation of *eku-*^{zi} besides *euk-*^{zi} 'to drink' and *tarku-*^{zi} besides *taruk-*^{zi} 'to dance'. These latter verbs must be phonologically interpreted as /ʔeg^{w}-/ and /tark^{w}-/, also on the basis of the forms *akueni*, *ekun*, *ekuen* (instead of **akumeni*, **ekunun* and **ekumen*) and *tarkuu̯ar* (instead of **tarkumar*) that can only be explained by the fact that the labial feature of /g^{w}/ and /k^{w}/ does not participate in the sound law *-*u̯u-* > *-mu-*. I therefore assume that the spelling variation between *tarḫu-* and *taruḫḫ-* and the forms 1sg.pret.act. *tarḫun*, 1pl.pret.act. *tarḫuen*, sup. *tarḫuu̯an* and verb.noun gen.sg. *tarḫuu̯aš* point to a synchronic phonological interpretation /tarH^{w}-/. See Kloekhorst fthc.c for my view that this synchronic phoneme /H^{w}/ (which has a lenited variant /h^{w}/ in *lāḫu-* /lāh^{w}-/) must have been a PAnat. phoneme as well because of Lyc. *Trqqñt-* /trk^{w}nt-/ < PAnat. *$trH^{w}ent$- (see also below).

One of the most important derivatives of the verb *tarḫu-*^{zi} is the name of the Storm-god. In Hittite, this name is almost always spelled with the sumerograms ^{d}U and ^{d}IŠKUR. On the basis of the OS attestation dat.-loc.sg. ^{d}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. ^{d}*Tar-ḫu-un-za* and gen.adj. *tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš-ša/i-*, which, together with nom.sg. ^{d}U-*an-za* and ^{d}IŠKUR-*an-za* point to an ablauting pair *Tarḫuu̯ant- / Tarḫunt-*. These forms point to an original paradigm *trh_2-*u-ént-s*, *trh_2-*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 *Tarhunt-* (nom.sg. /tarhunts/, gen.sg. /tarhuntas/, dat.-loc.sg. /tarhunti/) and a secondary stem *Tarhunza-* (nom.sg. /tarhuntsas/, acc.sg. /tarhuntsan/). Cf. Eichner 1974: 28[8] for the observation that CLuw. *Tarḫu̯ant-* 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_2 and subsequently reconstructs *trh_2-ént-*. As I have shown in Kloekhorst fthc.c, there is no evidence at all that Lyc. *q* reflects *h_2 (which instead yields Lyc. *χ* when unlenited and *g* when lenited) and that an interpretation of *q* as /k^{w}/ < *-h_2u-

is the only convincing solution. Therefore, Lyc. *Trqqñt-* must reflect **trh$_2$uent-* as well.

The CLuwian verb *tatarḫ-* may mean 'to break', cf. the following context:

KUB 9.6 iii
(25) *ku-iš=tar ma-al-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an* EN-*i̯a*
(26) *a-ad-du-u̯a-la a-an-ni-ti a=an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-in-zi*
(27) *a-aḫ-ḫa na-a-ta-at-ta ta-ta-ar-ḫa-an-du*
(28) *ú-i-it-pa-ni-im=pa=an ú-i-da-a-in-du*
(29) *a=du-u̯=*[*a-a*]*n an-na-a-an pa-a-ta-an-za du-ú-u̯a-an-du*

'Whoever does evil to the patient, may the gods *tatarḫ-* him like reed, may they *u̯idāi-* him regarding (his) *u̯ītpani-*, and may they place him under their feet'.

It therefore is often equated with Hitt. *tarḫ-^{zi}*. Since Hitt. *tarḫ-^{zi}* 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$_3$-i̯e/o-* and reconstruct *tatarḫ-* as **te-terh$_3$-*.

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. *tatarḫ-*.

-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$_2$e*, these probably reflect **-th$_2$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, *ḫalziia(ri)*, *laḫuuāri*, *lagāri* and *paḫša(ri)* correspond to the *ḫi*-inflecting actives *ḫalzai-*^{i} */ ḫalzi-*, *lāḫu-*^{i} */ laḫu-*, *lāk-*^{i} */ lak-* and *paḫš-*^{i}, whereas e.g. *eša(ri)* and *karša* correspond to the *mi*-inflecting actives *eš-*^{zi} */ aš-* and *karš-*^{zi}.

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-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to seat oneself' shows the ending *-a(ri)* throughout the Hittite period, whereas e.g. *ki-*$^{tta(ri)}$ consistently shows *-tta(ri)*. This does not necessarily reflect the PIE state of affairs, as is visible from the fact that *eša(ri)* < **$h_1$éh$_1$s-o* corresponds to Skt. *ā́ste* and Gr. ἧσται from **$h_1$éh$_1$s-to*. On the other hand, Hitt. *kitta(ri)* reflects **ḱéi-to* just as Skt. *śéte* and Gr. κειται, whereas its CLuwian cognate *zīi̯ari* reflects **ḱéi-o* just as Skt. *śáye*.

The endings *-tta(ri) / -ttat(i)* occur in all classes of the middle, except in class IIIf (*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 *kištanziattat* 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 *-tär*, OIr. *-thir* (from **-to-r(i)*), Goth. *-da*, etc. The origin of the element *-r-* in Hitt. *-ttari*, Lat. *-tur*, TochAB *-tär* and OIr. *-thir* is still unclear.

tariii̯e/a-^{zi} 'to become weary': see *tarai-*^{i} */ tari-*

dāriii̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) '?': 3sg.pret.act. *da-a-ri-i̯a-at* (KUB 4.12 i 7), 1pl.pret.act. *da-a-ri-i̯a-u-en* (KUB 24.9(+) i 25); part. *da-ri-i̯a-an-te-eš* (KUB 1.8 iv 8 (NH)) // *da-*

ri-i̯a-an-t[*e-eš*] (KUB 1.1+ iv 21 (NH)) // *da-a-ri-i̯a-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-*^{i} / *tari-* 'to exert oneself' (especially *dǎrii̯anteš* (KUB 1.1+ iv 21 with several duplicates)), while others have been translated as 'to call upon a god' (especially *dāriu̯at* (KUB 4.12 i 7)) and therefore treated as cognate to *ter-*^{zi} / *tar-* 'to speak'. This is in my opinion incorrect. In the following two contexts, *dāriu̯e/a-*^{zi} 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=I̯A=mu kap-pí-in* DUMU-*an* ḪUL-*lu*
(6) GIG.GIG-*at nu=mu=kán A-BU=I̯A A-NA* ^{m}*Mi-id-dan-na*-A.A GAL DUB.SAR^{MEŠ}
(7) ŠU-*i da-a-iš n=a-aš=mu=kán an-da da-a-ri-i̯a-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 Middanamuu̯a, the Head of Scribes, who *anda d.*-d me and saved me from the disease';

KUB 24.9(+) i

(23) [^{MUNUS}]ŠU.GI *A-NA* ALAM$^{ḪI.A}$ *te-ez-zi ú-u̯a-at-ti-en=u̯a iš-šu-u-en=u̯a ku-e nu=u̯a=na-š=a-*[*at*]
(24) [EGIR]-*pa pé-eš-ti-en UM-MA* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU=*ma Ú-UL=u̯a nam-ma ma-az-zu-u-e-ni*
(25) *n=a-an=u̯a da-a-ri-i̯a-u-en nu=u̯a i-na-*[*an*] *a-ni-i̯a-u-e-en nu=u̯a-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* ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN=*I̯A*

(61) *pa-ra-a ḫa-an-da-a-tar a-*[(*pí-i̯a=i̯a*)] *me-ek-ki te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ut*
(62) *nu* ^{m}*Úr-ḫi-*^{d}U-*up-aš BE-LU*[($^{\text{I}\underline{\text{I}}\text{II.A}}$ *ku-i-e-eš ku*)]*-u̯a-pí ar-ḫa u-i-i̯a-at*
(63) *nu-u=š-ma-aš* ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN=*i̯A* [(Ù-*at i*)]*n-na-ra-=u-u̯a-a=š-ma-aš*
da-a-ri-i̯a-an-te-eš
(64) KUR.KUR$^{\text{MEŠ URU}}$KÙ.BABBAR^{TI}*=ma=u̯*[(*a=kán ḫu-u-m*)]*a-an-ta* ^{d}*IŠTAR A-NA*
^{m}*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li*
(65) EGIR-*an-da ne-i-i̯*[*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 Ḫatti-lands back to Ḫattušili"'.

Although I do not know exactly how to translate *dāriu̯anteš* here, a translation 'exerted' does not seem fitting to me.

All in all, the meaning of *dāriu̯e/a-*^{zi} cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that appurtenance of these forms to either *tarai-*^{i} / *tari-* or *ter-*^{zi} / *tar-* is unlikely.

^{TÚG}*tarriu̯anali-* (c.) 'cloth that has been woven three times(??)': nom.sg. *tar-ri-i̯a-na-liš* (KBo 18.181 obv. 14, rev. 3, 8, 22), *tar-i̯a-na-liš* (KBo 18.186 l.edge 4).

PIE **tri-i̯o-no-li-* ??

On the basis of the formal connection with ^{LÚ}*tarriu̯analli-* 'functionary of the third rank', it has been assumed that this word, which must denote a cloth because of the determinative TÚG, should be interpreted as 'cloth that has been woven three times' vel sim. See ^{LÚ}*tarriu̯analli-* and *teri-* for further etymology.

^{LÚ}*tarriu̯analli-* (c.) 'functionary of the third rank': nom.sg. *tar-ri-i̯a-na-al-li-iš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *tar-ri-i̯a-na-al-li* (MH/MS).

PIE **tri-i̯o-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) ^{LÚ}*ME-ŠE-DI te-ez-zi a-pa-š=a pa-ra-a* ^{LÚ}*tar-ri-i̯a-na-al-li te-ez-zi*
(38) ^{LÚ}*tar-ri-i̯a-na-al-li-iš=ma* ^{LÚ}*du-i̯a-na-al-li te-ez-zi*
(39) ^{LÚ}*du-i̯a-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, *tarriia̯nall-* can be determined as ‘functionary of the third rank’ (besides ^{LÚ}*dui̯analli-* ‘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 *tarriia̯nalli-* 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. **téri-* (which also yielded Hitt. *teri-*). For the origin of this PAnat. **téri-*, see at *teri-*.

tar(k)u-^{zi} (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-u̯a-an-zi* (OS), *tar-ku-u-u̯a-an-zi* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *tar-ku-e-er* (MH/NS); verb.noun *tar-ku-u̯a-ar* (KUB 4.1 ivb 40 (MH/NS)); inf.I *tar-ku-u̯a-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-eš-ke/a-* (OH/NS), *tar-ú-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-u̯i*$_5$*-eš-ke/a-*, *tar-ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *tar-ku-eš-ke/a-* (NH).

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***taru̯ešgala-*** (c.) ‘dancer(?)’ (nom.sg. *tar-u̯i*$_5$*-eš*$^{!}$*-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*^{w}*-ti / *trk*^{w}*-énti*

Usually, the verbal forms cited under this lemma are treated as two separate verbs, namely *tarku-*^{zi} and *taru-*^{zi}. The stem *tarku-*, which is occasionally spelled *taruk-* as well (cf. *eku-*^{zi} ~ *euk-*^{zi} ‘to drink’ and *tarḫu-*^{zi} ~ *taruḫḫ-*^{zi} ‘to conquer’), has since Benveniste (1962: 125) generally been connected with TochB *tärk-* ‘to turn’ and Lat. *torquēre* ‘to turn’ and reconstructed as **terk*^{w}*-*. The alteration between *tarku-* and *taruk-* points to a synchronic phonological form /tark^{w}-/. This also explains the inf.I *tarkuu̯anzi* and verb.noun *tarkuu̯ar*, which do not show haplography from ***tar-ku-u̯a-u̯a-an-zi* and ***tar-ku-u̯a-u̯a-ar* (contra Otten 1973: 53), but are rather the result of the fact that the labial element of /k^{w}/ does not participate in the sound law **-u̯u- > -mu-*. So *tarkuu̯anzi* and *tarkuu̯ar* can be interpreted as perfectly regular /trk^{w}uánt^{s}i/ and /tárk^{w}uər/.

The interpretation of the stem *taru-*^{zi} has caused much debate. In some contexts, the verb *taru-* clearly denotes 'to dance', e.g.

KUB 25.37 i
(6) ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an tar-u̯i$_5$-iš-ke-et nu a-pa-a-aš-š=a QA-TAM-MA*
(7) [*tar-u̯*]*i$_5$-iš-ke-u-an da-a-i pé-di=i̯a-a=š-ša-an u̯a-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-u̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 12.62 obv. 11, 13), but Tischler (HEG T: 245) convincingly interprets this form as belonging to a verb *taruu̯ae-*^{zi} '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 pár-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-*^{zi} 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^{h}er-* 'sexuell herumtoben' (Gr. θόρνυμαι 'to leap, to mount', which rather reflects **d^{h}erh$_3$-*, cf. LIV^2) 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[5]) assumes that *taru-* is the Luwian variant of *tarku-*. Melchert (l.c.) follows this suggestion and assumes that PIE **k^{w}* unconditionally yielded PAnat. **g^{w}*, which on the one hand gave Hitt. *-k^{w}-*, but on the other Luw. *-u̯-*. Oettinger (1979a: 225) convincingly speaks against a Luwian origin of *taru-* however: "jedoch kommt – abgesehen davon, daß *taru-*^{mi} stets wie ein genuin heth. verbum behandelt wird (kein Glossenkeil, Ableitung ^{LÚ}*taruešgala-* usw.) – *taru-*^{mi} bereits in ah. Sprache vor und kann somit kaum luwisch sein". Moreover, Melchert's claim that PIE **k^{w}* unconditionally yielded PAnat. **g^{w}* in word-internal position is incorrect (cf. *takku* < **tok^{w}e*, *nekku* < **nek^{w}e*, but also the existence of Luwian /k^{w}/ in CLuw. *mannakuna/i-* 'short', *nakkušša/i-* 'scapegoat', *(pap)parku̯u̯a(i)-* 'to cleanse', e.a.).

In my view, we must compare the situation of *tarku-*^{zi} besides *taru-*^{zi} to the verbs *ḫar(k)-*^{zi} 'to have, to hold' (*ḫark-* besides *ḫar-*) and *ištar(k)-*^{zi} '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 *ḫar(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 phenomemon. 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: **terkʷti* > **tarʔʷtˢi* > Hitt. /tárutˢi/, spelled *tar-ú-zi*; and **trkʷsḱe/o-* > **trʔʷske/a-* > OH /truske/a-/, spelled *taruške/a-* (OS) (note that NH *tar̯u̯e/iške/a-* seems to stand for /truɨske/a-/, which cannot be regularly from OH /truske/a-/: either we must assume that the NH variant /-ɨske/a-/ of the impf.-suffix *-ške/a-* (q.v.) has been used here, or we must assume that this form stands for /trwɨske/a-/, which would indicate that OS *taruške/a-* is to be interpreted as /trwske/a-/ < **trʔʷske/a-*). This means that in the case of *ḫar(k)-* and *ištar(k)-* we are dealing with **h₂erk-ti* > **harʔtˢi* > Hitt. /hartˢi/, spelled *ḫar-zi*.

Note that Oettinger (1979a: 224) cites a form 3sg.pret.act. *tar-ku-u̯a-a-iš-ta* (KUB 24.97 i 11), but this should be read *tar-ku-u̯a a-uš-ta* 'he looked angrily' (see under *tarkuu̯ant-*).

tarkuu̯ant- (adj.) 'looking angrily': nom.-acc.pl.n. *tar-ku-u̯a-an-ta*, *tar-ku-u̯a-an-da*.

Derivatives: ***tarkuu̯a*** (adv.) 'angrily' (*tar-ku-u̯a*), ***targulliiau̯ar*** (n.) 'furious look' (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-gul-li-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*), ***tarkuu̯alliie/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to look angrily' (impf.1sg.pret.act. *tar-ku-u̯a-al-li-iš-ke-nu-un*).

IE cognates: Lat. *torvus* (adj.) 'grim, looking grimly', Gr. τάρβος 'fright, dread', Skt. *tarjati* 'to threaten'.

PIE **trgʷ-ent-*

Since Szemérenyi (1942: 395f.) and Neumann (1971: 262) this adjective is generally connected with Lat. *torvus* 'looking grimly' < **torgʷ-o-*. In Hittite, we seem to be dealing with a petrified participle of a further unattested verb **tarku-* 'to look grimly' which reflects **tergʷ-* (also in Skt. *tarj-* 'to threaten').

(GIŠ)***tarma-*** (c.) 'nail, peg, pin' (Sum. ^{GIŠ}GAG): nom.sg. *tar-ma-aš* (OS), abl. *tar-ma-za* (here? KBo 26.94 obv. 7), acc.pl. *tar-mu-uš*.

Derivatives: ***tarmae-***^{zi} (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$^{?}$ 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-*^{zi} 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-i̯e/o-* (with *-o-i̯e/o-* as all *ḫatrae*-class verbs).

Kimball (1999: 381) assumes that the root was **terh*$_1$*-* on the basis of Gr. τέρετρον 'borer, gimlet', which means that in **torh*$_1$*-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*$_1$*-* 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-uḫ-š*[*a-an*] *ḫu-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫ*[*u-ur-ti-in*]
(2) *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš e-ep-zi na-aš-ma SÚ-U*[*ḪA-LU*]
(3) *nu-uḫ-ḫa-ri-it-ti me-mi-i̯a-aš=ma-a=š-ši=kán* [NU.GÁL]

(4) *na-aš-ma tar-mi-iš u̯a-al-aḫ-zi*

'When (a feeling) of burning seizes the throath 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-uḫ-ša-an tar-mi-iš u̯a-al-aḫ-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 **d^{h}rno-*

Within the IE languages, TochB *tarne* 'crown of the head, summit' evidently is cognate. Van Windekens (1963: 42f.) compared this word to Skt. *dīrṇa-* '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 **d^{h}rno-*. Adams (1999: 281) adduces Yazgulmani *tern* 'crown of the head', which then would point to **t-*.

tarna-^{i} / tarn- (IIa1γ > Ic2) 'to let (go), to allow, to leave (something)': 1sg.pres.act. *tar-na-aḫ-ḫé* (OS), *tar-na-aḫ-ḫi* (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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (OS), *tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-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. ḪA.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 **tr̥ǩ-nó-h$_{1/3}$-ei*, **tr̥ǩ-n-h$_{1/3}$-énti*

This verb is the name-giver to the *ḫi*-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 *ḫatrae*-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-^{i} / mall-*, *padda-^{i} / padd-*, *ḫarra-^{i} / ḫarr-*, *iškalla-^{i} / iškall-* and *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* for the view that verbs of a structure **CoCh$_{2/3}$-ei*, **CCh$_{2/3}$-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[9]) derives *tarn(a)-* from the root **terh$_2$-* '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$_2$-ei* would yield Hitt. ***tarnaḫḫi* and not *tarnai*. Oettinger's claim that the original stem *tarnaḫḫ-* is still visible in the one attestation part. *tarnaḫḫant-* in KBo 3.45 obv. (2) *nu̯=za̯ tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-*[*a*]*n ḫar-zi*, which he calls a "Reliktform", must be refuted because this line is rather to be read [*u̯*]*a-a̯-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa̯-*[*a*]*n ḫar-zi* 'he has instructed', with the participle of *u̯ātarnaḫḫ-^{i}* '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)-zi*, *ištar(k)-zi* and *tar(k)u-zi* (q.v.), which show that a sequence **-RkC-* yields Hitt. **-RC-*. This applies to the fortis velars (**ḱ*, **k* and **kʷ*) but does not work for the lenis velars (**ǵ(ʰ)*, **g(ʰ)* and **gʷ(ʰ)*), cf. for instance *ḫargnau-* ‘palm, sole’ < **h₂erǵ-nou-*. So the velar must have been **k* or **ḱ*. 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 **h₁* or **h₃*, since **h₂* 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(ə)kʷh₁/₃-* with a present formation **trkʷ-n-h₁/₃-* (cf. **gʷ(ʰ)renth₂-* and its present **gʷ(ʰ)rnt-ne-h₂-* > Skt. *grathnā́ti* ‘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 /trɨské/á-/, *tarniške/a-* and *tarneške/a-* as /trnɨské/á-/ and *tarnaške/a-* as /trnaské/á-/. Of these three, /trɨske/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 **trkʷh₁/₃-sḱé/ó-* without the present-suffix *-n-* (compare *duu̯araške/a-* < **dʰurh₁-sḱé/ó-* from the nasal present *duu̯arni-zi / duu̯arn-* ‘to break’ < **dʰur-n(e)-h₁-*, or *zikke/a-* < **dʰh₁-sḱé/ó-* from the **-oi-*present **dʰh₁-(o)i-* > *dai-i / ti-* ‘to put’). The phonetic development must have been **trkʷh₁/₃-sḱé/ó-* > **trh₁/₃-sḱé/ó-* (loss of **k* in cluster **-rkC-* as discussed above), after which **trh₁/₃-sḱé/ó-* regularly yielded Hitt. /trɨské/á-/ (compare **pri-prh₁-sḱé/ó-* > Hitt. /pripɾɨské/á-/, *pa-ri-ip-ri-iš-ke/a-* ‘to blow (impf.)’ and **h₁rh₁-sḱé/ó-* > Hitt. /ʔɾɨské/á-/, *a-ri-iš-ke/a-*, *a-re-eš-ke/a-* ‘to consult an oracle (impf.)’). Only later on, this imperfective was replaced by /trnɨske/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-u̯a-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 *ḫātan mallan* 'dried and milled' (of *ḫāt-*^{i} / *ḫat-* 'to become dry'). The only place where a meaning 'roasted' at first sight seems favourable is ^{UZU}*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 ^{UZU}*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-éi̯e-* 'to make dry' (Skt. *tarṣáyati*, Lat. *torreō* and OHG *derren* 'to dry (something)'). On the basis of his reconstruction **tors-ei̯e-*, he assumes that *tarš-* is *ḫi*-conjugated. In my view, all these reasonings are unnecessary. The part. *ḫātant-* means 'dried' as well (and is even used in the same contexts as *taršant-*) but is derived from the intransitive verb *ḫāt-*^{i} / *ḫat-* '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 *ḫi-*).

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: ^{d}***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.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***tāru-*** (n.) 'wood' (Sum. GIŠ): nom.-acc.sg.n. *ta-a-ru* (OS), GIŠ-*ru* (OS), gen.sg. GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-za* (KBo 32.14 iii 69 (MH/MS)), abl. [*ta-*]*u̯a-ru-az* (OH/NS), GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-az*, GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-za*, GIŠ-*ru-za* (MH/NS), instr. GIŠ-*ru-it* (MH/NS), nom.-acc.pl. GIŠ^{ḪLA}-*ru* (OH/MS), GIŠ-*ru*^{ḪLA} (MH/NS), dat.-loc.pl. GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-aš* (NS), GIŠ-*ru-aš*, GIŠ-*aš*; case? *tar-u̯a-aš* (KUB 39.55, 3), GIŠ-*ru-an* (KUB 15.31 iii 39).

Derivatives: ***taruu̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to fix (magically), to fasten' (part. GIŠ-*ru-an-t-*, GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-an-t-;* inf.I *tar-u̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi*, GIŠ-*ru-an-zi*), ^{GIŠ}***taru̯āli-*** (n.) 'pestle(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *tar-u̯a-li*, *tar-u̯a-a-li*, *tar-u̯a-al-li*), see *allantaru-* 'oak'.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ^{GIŠ}***tāru-*** (n.) 'wood' (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-a-ru*, [*da*]-*ru-ša*, gen.adj.nom.-acc.pl.n. *da-ru-u̯a-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*), ***taruu̯i(ia)-*** '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 A11*b*+*c* §33)), ***tarwi(ia)-*** 'wooden beam(?)' (abl.-instr. "LIGNUM"-*wa/i-ia-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A11*a* §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 A1*a* §28), STATUA-*ru-sá* (TELL TAYINAT 2 fr.11 §ii, KIRÇOĞLU §2), dat.-

loc.sg. "STATUA"*ta-ru-ti* (MARAŞ 14 §7), STATUA-*ru-ti-i* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §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. *dā́ru* '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. *dā́ru*, *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 *tarṷae-*^{zi}, which he translates "'(magisch) fixieren; anpflocken'". Especially his interpretation of inf.I *tar-ṷa-u-ṷa-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*[$n^{?}$] (KUB 8.62 i 6), which possibly denotes a bird, is to be analyses as *tāru-ṷaki-* 'wood-biter' (second element derived from *ṷāk-*^{i} / *ṷakk-* '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[1555]) saw the hapax ⩤ *tar-ṷa-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 ⩤ *tarṷanašši-*, an adjective describing fruit dishes (so possibly *tar-ṷa‹-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-^{zi}: see *tarḫu-*^{zi}

taruk-^{zi}: see *tar(k)u-*^{zi}

tarupp-^{zi} (Ib1 > Ic1, Ic2) 'to collect, to unite, to plaid together; (midd.) to collect oneself, to be finished': 1sg.pres.act. *ta-ru-up-pí-i̯a-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-pí-i̯a-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-u̯a-aš* (KUB 12,16 i$^{?}$ 13); inf.I *ta-ru-up-pu-u̯a-an-z*[*i*] (KBo 10.36 iii 11); impf. *ta-ru-up-pí-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-pí-iš-ni* (KUB 19.49 i 57)), ***taruppi̯anu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to bring together, to collect' (3sg.pres.act. *da-ru-up-pí-i̯a-nu-zi* (IBoT 2.129 i 22)), ***taruppi̯aḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) '?' (3sg.pret.act. *ta-ru-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (KUB 9.11+ i 16 (OH/NS)), *ta-ru-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (KUB 9.11+ i 17 (OH/NS))), ***taruppaḫḫ-***^{i} (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-^{zi}* (the few cases with single *-p-* are clearly simplified spellings). Occasionally in NS texts we find the stems *taruppiie/a-^{zi}* and *taruppae-^{zi}*.

The etymological interpretation of this verb is quite unclear. Often, *tarupp-* is connected with Lat. *turba* 'turmoil, multitude', Gr. τύρβη '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 anyhting 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-^{i} / tari-* or *taranzi* 'they speak' < **tr-énti*). If so, it would mean that the epenthesis in **TrV*^{front} 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_5 *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 ^{TÚG}*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).

$^{(UZU)}$***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-u̯a-*[*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-u̯a-i̯a* (KUB 9.34 ii 30 (MH/NS)), *da-aš-ku-u̯*[*a*]-*i̯ą* (KBo 21.105 obv. 3), nom.pl. [*t*]*ą-aš-ku-eš* (KBo 24.55 obv.$^{?}$ 7).

The bulk of the attestations of this word occur in the Ritual of Tunnau̯iia: 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 *ḫupparattii̯ati-* 'pelvis' and *ḫāpūša(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.$^{?}$

(2) [K]I.MIN
(3) [*-i*]*š* GABA=*KA*
(4) [ ]x SI$^{ḪI.A}$=*KA* KI.MIN

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(5) [*KA*]*R-ŠI=KA* ŠÀ=*KA* KI.MIN
(6) [ ]x *ḫu-up-pa-ra-aš=te-eš ge-nu-u=t-t*[*e-et*]
(7) [*t*]*ą-aš-ku-eš=te-eš* GÌR=*KA*
(8) [ ]x

'[... li]kewise. [...] your breast [...] your horns likewise. [...] your [be]lly, your heart likewise. [...] your pelvis$^{?}$, 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$^{?}$' and 'knee(s)'. Line 7 contains [*t*]*aškueš* and 'feet'. In my view,

this stronlgy 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 *taškuu̯a̯ia* seems to derive from an *-i*-stem *taškui-* (e.g. Weitenberg 1984a: 271), which could be the source of gen.sg. *taškuu̯aš* (< **taškua̯iaš*) 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 *taškuu̯a̯ia* is a scribal error, but if the form *dašku*[*u̯*]*a̯ia* (KBo 21.105 obv. 3, broken context, with Hurrian from line 4 onwards) really belongs to *tašku-* as well, *taškuu̯a̯ia* 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 Tunnau̯iia̯-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(t)a(i)-* (q.v.) is connected with Skt. *sakthi-* < **sok^{w}tH-i-*. If *tašku(i)-* would reflect **tosk^{w}(-i)-*, it would be at least remarkable to find the same phonemes in these two words.

daššu- / daššau̯- (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-u̯*[*a-aš*] (KUB 2.1 iv 40), dat.-loc.sg. *ta-aš-ša‹-u›-i* (KBo 3.8 iii 10), abl. *da-aš-ša-u̯a-az*, *da-aš-ša-u-u̯a-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-u̯a* (KUB 17.7 ii 18, KUB 33.98+ iii 6), *da-aš-ša-u̯a* (KUB 19.9 i 21), dat.-loc.pl. *da-aš-ša-u-aš* (KUB 33.84+, 6, 27)).

Derivatives: ***daššuu̯ant-*** (adj.) ‘strong’ (nom.sg.c. *da-aš-šu-u̯a-an-za* (HT 1 ii 27, KBo 22.107 i 14), ***daš(ša)nu-***^{zi} (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-uḫ-ḫu-ut* (KUB 23.77+ obv. 35 (MH/MS)); part. *da-aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-t-*, *da-aš-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *ta-aš-nu-mar*; impf. *da-aš-ša-nu-uš-ke/a-*, *ta-aš-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ***daššēšš-***^{zi} (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)), ***daššuu̯atar*** (n.) ‘might(?)’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-aš-šu-u̯a-tar* (Bo 68/235 i 1)), ****taššiia̯/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to be heavy, to make heavy, to press’ (only in derivatives *taššiia̯tar* (n.) a kind of disease (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-ia̯-tar*),

taššiia̯u̯ar (n.) a kind of disease (nom.-acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar*) and *taššiia̯ma-* (c.) a kind of disease (acc.sg. *ta-aš-ši-i̯a-ma-an*)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dáṃsas-* '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-*^{zi} (compare *aš(ša)nu-*^{zi} and *šaš(ša)nu-*^{zi} (under the lemma *šeš-*^{zi} */ šaš-*) for a similar alteration in spelling), *daššēšš-*^{zi} and, if this interpretation is correct, in **taššii̯e/a-*^{zi}, 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 **suh₁-mḗn-s*. Since this word, which actually is $^{(Ú)}$*šumanzan-*, now has been identified as '(bul)rush' the etymological connection with Gr. ὑμήν and a reconstruction **suh₁mḗn-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)n̥sV > (C)anzV*; *-u̯aš* (gen.sg. -ending of verb.nouns in *-u̯ar*) reflects **-u̯en-s* and shows that **Vns# > Vš*. To my knowledge, no good example for **VnsV* exists (note that *genzu-* 'lap' reflects **ǵenh₁-su-* where the presence of a laryngeal is crucial as it blocks the assimilation). For **-ms-* there are more examples. On the basis of *ḫanzana-* 'black' < **h₂msono-* and *ḫanzāšša-* 'offspring' < **h₂msósio-* we can assume that **CmsV > CanzV* (cf. also Melchert 1994a: 121), whereas *ḫāšša-* 'offspring' < **h₂ómso-* and *ḫaššu-* 'king' < **h₂emsu-* show a development **VmsV > VššV* (note that *ānši* 'wipes' reflect **h₂ómh₁sei*, 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. *dáṃsas-* 'miraculous power', which indeed seems semantically more likely. Skt. *dáṃsas-* is generally regarded a derivative from the verb *daṃs-* 'to have miraculous power', which LIV^2 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^2 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 *taššiyaman*, a disease, must be of Luwian origin and reflects a neuter stem *taššiyam(m)an*, on the basis of which he claims that in Luwian a verb *taššyi-* must have existed. In my view, there is not a shred of evidence that *taššiyaman* 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.

tašuwant- (adj.) 'blind': nom.sg.c. *da-šu-wa-an-za* (KBo 24.9 i 5 (MS), KUB 36.12 ii 12 (NS)), *ta-aš-wa-an-za* (KBo 6.25 + 13.35 iii 3 (OH/NS), KUB 12.62+ rev. 7, 8 (NS)), *ta-aš-wa-za* (KUB 12.62+ rev. 12 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. [*d*]*a-šu-wa-an-t*[*i*] (KBo 14.104, 8 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *da-šu-wa-an-te-eš* (KBo 21.6 obv. 10 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***dašuwaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to make blind' (3sg.pres.act. *da-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 6.2 i 9, 11 (OS)), *ta-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi* (OS), 1pl.pres.act. *ta-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 11 (MH/NS)), *da-šu-wa-ḫu-wa-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ta-šu-wa-aḫ-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-wa-aḫ-ta* (KBo 16.9, 2 (NH)), *ta-šu-wa-aḫ-t*[*a*] (KBo 14.11, 9 (NH)), 3pl.pret.act. *da-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫe-er* (KBo 6.34+ i 20 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *da-šu-wa*[*-aḫ-ḫa-an-du*] (KBo 6.34+ i 25 (MH/NS)), *da*[*-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-a*]*n-du* (KBo 6.34+ iii 8 (MH/NS)), *ta-aš-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (KUB 44.4+ KBo 13.241 rev. 28 (NS)); part. nom.sg.c. *ta-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-za* (KUB 13.9 ii 12, 14 (MH/NS)).

We find the spellings *da-šu-wa-*, *ta-šu-wa-* as well as *ta-aš-wa-*, 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 **tm̥s-went-*. 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-from **tmH-s-went-* would have given Hitt. *tašuwant-* (we would expect **/tniSuant-/, spelled ***tane/iššuwant-*, cf. § 1.4.4.3). Nevertheless, the etymology has been widely followed (e.g. Kimball 1999: 328: **te/omh₂s-went-*).

Szemerényi (1956: 77) connected the word with a root *d^h*em*- which is visible in OIr. *deim* 'black, dark', OE *dimm* 'dark'. This is phonetically equally problematic: a preform *d^h*msuent*- probably would have given **danzuu̯ant*-, whereas *d^h*e/omsu̯ent*- should have given **daššuu̯ant*-.

Melchert (1994a: 70) states: "Hitt. *daš(u)want*- 'blind' need not reflect *$d(e)mh_2s$-*went*- 'dark', but is better derived from **das-went*- 'lacking', to the root of Skt. *dásyati* 'lacks' (for the meaning cf. Ital. *orbo*)". LIV^2 and Mayrhofer (1986-2002: s.v.) take Skt. *das*- as reflecting *sg^w*es(h_2)*- (so from Skt. *jas*-), however.

Rieken (1999a: 232f.) rejects all etymologies that assume an original nasal, because "wie auch immer man den *tašuu̯ant*- 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. *dhváṃsati* 'to fall to dust', and reconstructs *d^h*u̯os-u̯ent*-. Although this preform indeed would regularly yield Hitt. *tašu̯ant*- (with **Tuo* > *ta*- like in *tān* < **duoiom*), it is problematic that Skt. *dhvaṃs*- goes back to *d^h*uens*- (also visible in PGerm. **dunsta*- 'dust'), with a nasal. All in all, none of the proposed etymologies can account for *tašuu̯ant*- 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-^{zi} (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 *$to\text{-}tr(h_1)$*- ??

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 9.15 iii
(5) *nu=kán* É DINGIR^{LIM} *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^{LIM} *an-dur-za a-ra-aḫ-za ḫur-ni-i̯a-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 *ḫatrae-*class. On the basis of the duplicate KBo 12.114 iii 4, where we find [K]I$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-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 *ḫatrae-*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 *ḫatrae-*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. τείρω 'to rub', which reflect **ter(h$_1$)-* (see LIV^2 for the possible *-h$_1$-*). If this is correct, then we have to reconstruct **to-tr(h$_1$)-*.

-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: ***tatraḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) 'to incite, to stirr up' (3sg.pres.act. *da-at-ra-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 31.103 obv. 16), 3sg.pret.act. *ta-at-ra-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (KUB 23.11 iii 6 (MH/NS)), *ta-at-ra-aḫ-ta* (KUB 19.9 i 24).

IE cognates: Skt. *dar-* 'to crack, to scatter', Gr. δέρω 'to skin, to flay(?)', Goth. *dis-tairiþ* 'to tear up', Lith. *dìrti* 'to tear, to flay(?)', OCS *dьrati* 'to tear'.

PIE **do-dr-ent-* ?, **do-dr-eh$_2$-* ?

These words seem to be derived from a further unattested stem **tatr(a)-* (compare the situation of *dašuu̯ant-* 'blind' and *dašuu̯aḫḫ-*^{i} 'to make blind' that are both derived from a further unattested stem **dašu-*). The meaning of the verb *tatraḫḫ-* 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 ^{URU}*Iš-ḫu-pí-it-ta-aš* [*ku-r*]*u-ri-aḫ-ta*

(24) *nu=kán* KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} *da-pí-an-da tạ-ạt-rạ-aḫ-t*[*a n*]*u* KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} *da-*[*pí-an-da*]

(25) *ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫe-er*

‘From the back, the land Išḫupitta became hostile and incited all the countries.
All the countries became hostile’.

Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984: 307 = 1995: 266) saw *tatraḫḫ-* as a reduplication of “*tarḫ-*” ‘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 “*tarḫ-*” does not exist but in fact is *tarḫu-*^{zi} (q.v.), which makes a connection with *tatraḫḫ-*, 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-^{zi} (Ia1: suppletive with *ter-*^{zi} */ 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 *dĕti* ‘to do, to say’, Skt. *dhā-* ‘to put’, Gr. τίθημι ‘to put’, etc.
PIE **d*^{h}*éh*$_{1}$*-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-*^{zi} */ tar-* (see there for its own etymological treatment). Already since Hrozný (1915: 29) this verb is connected with especially OCS *dĕti* ‘to do, to say’ < PIE **d*^{h}*eh*$_{1}$*-*, 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 *peḫute-^{zi} / peḫut-* 'to lead (there)', *uu̯ate-^{zi} / uu̯at-* 'to bring (here)' and *u̯ete-^{zi} / u̯et-* 'to build'. If we compare forms like 3pl.pres.act. *peḫudanzi* (OS), 3pl.pret.act. *uu̯ater* (OS), 3pl.imp.act. *uu̯adandu* (MH/MS), part. *u̯etant-* (OS) and inf.I *u̯edumanzi* (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-ér* > **ter* itself was replaced by *$dóh_3$-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-^{zi}* and subsequently replaced by forms of the verb *ter-^{zi} / tar-*. For 2pl.pres.act. we would expect that *$d^{h}h_1$-th_1é+ni* yielded */t^{s}téni/, spelled **za-te-e-ni*, (or perhaps */təténi/, spelled ***ta-at-te-e-ni* as still visible in *uu̯atatten* (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 $^{(f)}$*tagānzepa-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tii̯amm(i)-*** 'earth' (nom.sg. *ti-i̯a-am-mi-iš*, *ti-i̯a-am-me-iš*, acc.sg. *ti-i̯a-am-mi-in*, *ti-i̯a-am-me-in*, dat.-loc.sg. *ti-i̯a-am-mi*, erg.sg. *ti-i̯a-am-ma-an-ti-iš*, gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *ti-i̯a-am-ma-aš-ši-iš*, gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *ti-i̯a-am-ma-aš-ši-in-zi*); HLuw. ***takam-*** 'earth' (dat.-loc.sg. "TERRA"*ta-ka-mi-i* (SULTANHAN §39)).

PAnat. **déǵ-m*, **dǵ-em-*, **dǵ-m-ós*

IE cognates: Skt. *kṣā́s* (f.), gen.sg. *jmás*, Av. *zam-*, Gr. χθών (f.), TochA *tkaṃ*, TochB *keṃ*, Alb. *dhe*, Lat. *humus*, OIr. *dú* (gen. *don*), Lith. *žẽmė*, OCS *zemlja* 'earth'.

PIE *d^h*éǵ^h-m*, (*d^h*ǵ^h-ém-m*), *d^h*ǵ^h-m-ós*.

It has been clear since Friedrich (1924-25: 122[2]) 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. *kṣā́s* (f.), gen.sg. *jmás* ~ Gr. χθών (f.), the old reconstruction of 'earth' was **ǵ^{h}ð^{h}ṓm*, **ǵ^{h}ð^{h}m-ós* (with a PIE phoneme 'thorn'). On the basis of Lith. *žẽmė*, OCS *zemlja* another ablaut-variant **ǵ^{h}ð^{h}em-* can be reconstructed. With the discovery of TochA *tkaṃ*, it became clear that the initial cluster was not **ǵ^{h}ð^h-* originally, but rather **d^hǵ^h-*. So we have **d^hǵ^{h}ōm*, **d^hǵ^{h}em-* and **d^hǵ^{h}m-*. With the adduction of Hitt. *tēkan*, which must reflect **d^heǵ^h-*, it became clear that we are not dealing with a root **d^hǵ^{h}em-*, but rather with a root **d^heǵ^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^héǵ^h-ōm*, **d^héǵ^h-om-m*, **d^hǵ^h-m-és*. In this sense it would be comparable to the word for 'hand', which is often reconstructed 'holodynamically' as well: **ǵ^{h}és-ōr*, **ǵ^{h}és-or-m*, **ǵ^{h}s-r-és* (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* < **ǵ^{h}és-r* (cf. Gr. χείρ < *χεhαρ < **ǵ^{h}és-r̥*), acc.sg. *kiššeran* < **ǵ^{h}s-ér-m* and gen.sg. *kišraš* < **ǵ^{h}s-r-ós*. I therefore want to propose that we have to reconstruct a similar paradigm for 'earth' as well: nom.sg. **d^héǵ^h-m*, acc.sg. **d^hǵ^h-ém-m*, gen.sg. **d^hǵ^h-m-ós*.

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-ḗR*, **CéC-ōR* and **CéC-R* originally where 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. *ḫasterza* 'star' < **$h_2$stḗr* + *-s*, *ḫāraš* 'eagle' < **$h_3$ér-ōn* + *-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 **ǵ^{h}esr* we still find an asigmatic nom.sg. *keššar* in OH texts (which is therefore occasionally reinterpreted as neuter). The accusative-form **ǵ^{h}s-ér-m*, which was replaced by **ǵ^{h}s-ér-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 **dʰégʰm*, **dʰǵʰémm* 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 accustive of a consonant-stem, and because the original accusative had become intransparent, the noun was reinterpretated 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. /tégan/, 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 $^{(f)}$*tagānzepa-* (q.v.) is used.

The interpretation of the oblique cases is more clear. They are predominantly spelled *ták-n*° or *ta-ak-n*°, 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*° 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 **dʰǵʰ-m-ós*. Note that *-m-* is replaced by *-n-*, which must have happened in analogy to the nom.-acc.sg. **déǵ-om* > **déǵon* 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 /tgnā́s/. Note that in the initial cluster /tgn-/ no anaptyctic vowel has developed (compare *pattai-*^{i} */ patti-* < **pth₁-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 **dʰǵʰṓm* and therewith is formally to be equated with Gr. χθών and, mutatis mutandis, Skt. *kṣā́s*. The reconstruction of **ō* is necessary because **dʰǵʰóm* would have yielded ***tagūn* (cf. *kūn* < **ḱóm* 'this (acc.sg.c.)').

The interpretation of the Luwian words is quite difficult. On the one hand we find CLuw. *tiia̯mm(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(i̯a)-* '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 *ǵe- > *i̯e- > *i̯i- > *i-*), word-internally before a consonants (or, at least, **n*) and retention before back-vowels (compare Kimball 1994c). For *tii̯amm(i)-*, Melchert (l.c.) assumes a development PAnt. **dǵém-* > **di̯ém-*, after which Čop's Law caused gemination of *-m-*: *tii̯amm(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. **ǵesr-* > *išra/i-* (which shows **ǵe-* > *i-* versus *-ii̯a-* in *tii̯amm(i)-*) due to absence of Čop's Law in the latter. In my view, we have to reconstruct **ǵésro-* and **dǵémo-*. That the first form yielded *išra/i-* (and not *ii̯ašra/i-*) can only be explained by the fact that here we are dealing with word-initial **ǵé-* (> **i̯é-* > *i̯í-*), whereas in **dǵé-* > **di̯é-* a further development to ***di̯i-* was blocked by the preceding *d-*, after which **di̯é-* > *di̯a-*. With the interpretation of *tii̯amm(i)-* as reflecting **d^{h}ǵ^{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 ^{TERRA}*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 **ǵ*, it cannot be equated with CLuw. *tii̯amm(i)-* like that. Melchert (1994a: 253) therefore reconstructs it as reflecting **déǵom-* (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^{h}eǵ^{h}-m-* ever contained a form **d^{h}éǵ^{h}-om* (apart from the very late pre-Hittite rebuilding from **déǵm* >> **déǵom* > *tēkan*). 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. *taknī* and reflects **dǵm-éi* (which would mean that we have to phonologically interpret the word as /tgmī/). If correct, it would show that in a cluster **dǵm-*, **ǵ* was retained in Luwian. It would also still show *-m-*, and be more archaic in that respect than Hitt. *taknī*. On the other hand, we can equate *ta-ka-mi-i* with Hitt. *tagān*, and assume that it reflects **d^{h}ǵ^{h}ōm + -i*, with retention of PAnat. **ǵ* in front of back-vowel. This reconstruction would mean that *ta-ka-mi-i* is to interpreted as /tgāmi/.

Quite recently, Melchert proposed to interpret CLuw. *inzagān* as denoting 'things inhumated' and reflecting "a hypostasis of a univerbated prepositional phrase **en d^{h}ǵ^{h}ŏ̄m* 'into the earth'" (2003a: 148). According to him, the fact that **d^{h}ǵ^{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 *d^hǵ^h- yields Luwian /tg-/ (if *ǵ 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)]^{Ḫ}[($^{\text{I.A}}$)] *ḫu-u-ma-an*
(28) [(^{GIŠ}*ḫa-aḫ-*)]*ra-an* ^{GIŠ}*mu-ú-i-la-an* ^{GIŠ}*in-ta-lu-zi*
(29) [x - x - x -]x ^{GIŠ}*ti-id-du-ut-ri kat-t*[*a*] *ḫi-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-i̯a-ar* NUMUN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-na* [*p*]*u-u-na-a-ta*
(32) *in-za-ga-a-an u̯a-aš-ḫa a=(a)ta* [*BE-*]*ÈL* SÍSKUR
(33) ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-ti ḫa-at-ta*[*-r*]*i-it-ta*
(34) ^{GIŠ}*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›* ^{d}IŠKUR-*u*[*n-t*]*i pa-ri*
(36) *ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta*

'[xxx] of gold and silver, all the seeds, a rake$^{?}$, a *mu̯u̯ila-*, a shovel$^{?}$, a X (and) a *tiddutri* he presents down, and he speaks thus: "Here lie down all the seeds, *inzagān*, (and) the sacralized objects. The ritual patient has *ḫattari*-ed them with a *ḫattara-* 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 *u̯ašḫa* are appositions to NUMUN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ '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 *u̯ašḫa* 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-u̯a-ti-in ša-pí-i̯a-im-ma-an a-ú-i-du-u̯=a-*[*aš=ta*]
(26) *u̯a-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-ti ma-al-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-*[*iš* EN-*aš*]

'Just as the *inzagan-* is *šapii̯aimma-*, may the ritual patient come away from the sin',

does not shed any additional light to its meaning, also because the meaning of *šapii̯aimma/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*^{h}*ǵ*^{h}*ṓm*.

URUDU/GIŠ***tēkan*** 'pick-axe (?)' (Sum. (GIŠ/URUDU)AL(?)): case? *te-e-kán* (KUB 32.115 i 9).

IE cognates: Skt. *téjate* 'is sharp', OSax. *stekan* 'to stab', Gr. στίζω 'to stab'.
PIE **téig-o-* ?

Hapax in KUB 32.115 i (9) [...-*p*]*í-iš* URUDU*te-e-kán* URUDUMAR, which is compared by Laroche (1949-50: 20f.) with instances where we find (GIŠ/URUDU)AL 'pick-axe' besides (GIŠ/URUDU)MAR 'spade' (e.g. KUB 9.3 i 7, KUB 7.41 i 5f.). He therefore assumes that *tēkan* is the Hittite reading of (GIŠ/URUDU)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-u̯a-aḫ-ḫi* GIŠ*te-e-kán pád-da-a-i*
(19) *nu=kán a-ni-ur-aš* KIN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ *an-da da-a-i*

'She (the MUNUSŠU.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 GIŠ/URUDU*tēkan*, viz. 448/u, (3) 1 URUDU*t*[*e-e-kán*], and KUB 12.53, (4) [GIŠ?*te-e-k*]*án* GIŠMAR, 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 URUDU*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 **deiḱ-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 *markiia̯ua̯ar* 'rejection':

KBo 26.10 iv
(8) *mar-ki-ia̯-u-ua̯-ar* 'rejection'
(9) [*ḫ*]*a-te-ša-an-za* 'being dried up'
(10) [*t*]*e-ek-ri-iš*
(11) [*a*]*n-da=kán im-pa-ḫu-ua̯-ar* 'making a burden'
(12) [*an-*]*da=kán im-pa-ḫu-ua̯-ar* 'making a burden'

KBo 26.11 rev.?
(6) *mar-ki-ia̯-u-ua̯-ar* 'rejection'
(7) *ḫa-te-eš-ša-an-za* 'being dried up'
(8) *tẹ-ẹk-riị*[*-iš*]

The only real context in which this word is found is the following:

KBo 5.6 iii
(14) ... ÌR=*IA̯=ma=ua̯ nu-u-ua̯-a-an pa-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫi*
(15) *nu=ua̯-r=a-an=za=kán* ^{LÚ}*MU-TI=IA̯ i-ia̯-mi te-ek-ri=*[*u̯*]*a na-aḫ-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 furchte 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 *markiia̯ua̯ar* 'rejection').

This new suggestion does not fit the etymology cited above. I would rather suggest a possible connection with the root **deiḱ-* 'to throw away' (Gr. ἔδικον 'threw away', Khot. *dīśś-* 'to throw': cf. LIV[2]), and reconstruct **deiḱ-ri-* '*throwing away > deposition'. For the formation of abstracts in *-ri-* with the full-grade vowel, compare *ešri-*, *edri-*, *auri-*, etc. Note that this interpretation makes a connection with *tekkušši̯e/a-*^{zi} impossible on semantic grounds (pace Rieken 1999a: 210-1).

tekkušši̯e/a-^{zi} (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-i̯a-az-zi* (KBo 13.20, 8 (OH/NS)), *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-i̯a-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-***^{zi} (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.*ti-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*$^{!}$*-ku-uš*$^{!}$*-nu*$^{!}$*-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)), ***tekkušše̯šš-***^{zi} (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*^{w}*s-i̯e/o-*

The bulk of the attestations show a stem *tekkušši̯e/a-*^{zi}. Only once, we find a form that belongs with a stem *tekkušši̯ae-*^{zi} (although in an MS text), and once we find a form that shows a stem *tekkuššae-*^{zi} (in an NH text), both according to the productive *ḫatrae*-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-*^{zi} (under *šēš-*^{zi} */ šaš-* 'to sleep') and *aš(ša)nu-*^{zi} 'to take care of' (see under *ašnu-*^{zi}).

According to Götze (1951: 471[12]), *tekkušši̯e/a-* is to be compared with Av. *daxš-* 'to teach' and *daxšta-* 'sign', which would point to a root **dek^{w}s-* 'to show' (note that initial **d^{h}-* 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 tought is followed by Rieken (1999a: 210-1), who connects *tekkušši̯e/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 *tekkušši̯e/a-*, a connection with **tek-* would semantically work, but the formal aspect is difficult: I cannot explain why **tek-us-i̯e/o-* would yield Hitt. *tekkušši̯e/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^{w}s-i̯e/o-*. For gemination of *-s-* in this phonetic environment, compare **no-nog^{wh}-s-i̯e/o-* > *nanakušši̯e/a-^{zi}* 'to become dark'. The fact that in this word **-e-* remains *-e-*, wheras 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^{w}s-i̯e/o-*, the **i̯* 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^{w}* yielded PAnat. **k^{w}* and was not unconditionally lenited to PAnat. **g^{w}* (contra Melchert 1994a: 61).

-tten (2pl.pret.act.- and 2pl.imp.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-tten(i)*

-tten(i) (2pl.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): 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 *ḫi-*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 *-u̯eni* and *-u̯ani* and *-šteni* and *-štani*). Melchert (1994a: 137-8) has noticed that the variant with *-a-* occurs when the verb's stem is accentuated (e.g *uu̯atettani* = /ʔuadétani/). He therefore regarded the forms with *-a-* as the regular outcome of unaccentuated **-tteni*, **-u̯eni* and **-steni*.

It is clear that etymologically the ending *-tteni* must reflect the primary 2pl.-ending **-th₁e* (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- / tepšau̯- (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: ****tepšau̯atar / tepšau̯ann-*** (n.) 'poverty(?)' (dat.-loc.sg. *te-ep-ša-u-u̯a-an-ni* (KBo 3.34 ii 12 (OH/NS)), [*t*]*e-ep-ša-u̯a-an-ni* (KBo 3.36 obv. 19)), ***tepšanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make *t*.' (2sg.pres.act. *te-ep-ša-nu-ši* (KUB 24.3 ii 53 (MH/NS))), ***tepšau̯ēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) '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^{h}éb^{h}-su-*

The word itself occurs in one context only, of which we have two variants (parallel texts, not copies):

KUB 17.10 iii

(13) ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-uš=u̯a kar-di-mi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za* ZI=*ŠU ka-ra-a-a*[*z=še-iš*]

(14) ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-ar-ša-am-ma-aš ú-i-šu-ri-i̯a-ta-ti nu ku-u-uš* ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-ar-š*[*a-am-ma-aš*]

(15) *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an u̯a-ar-nu-ú-e-er* ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-u̯a-aš-š=a kar-pí*[*-iš*]

(16) *kar-di-mi-i̯a-az u̯a-aš-tu-ul ša-a-u-ar QA-TAM-MA u̯a-ra-a*[*-nu*]

(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-i̯a-an-zi Ú-UL=m=a-an* NINDA-*an i-i̯a-a*[*n-zi n=a-an I-NA*]

(19) É ^{NA_4}KIŠIB *ti-an-zi* ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-u̯a-aš-š=a kar-pí-i*[*š kar-di-mi-i̯a-az*]

(20) *u̯a-aš-du-ul ša-a-u-u̯a-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^{L}]$^{UM?}$ TUKU.TUKU-*u-an-za* ZI=*ŠU*
(2) [*ka-r*]*a-az=še-iš u̯a-ra-an pa-aḫ-ḫur la-ap-ta*
(3) [*nu*]*ki-i pa-aḫ-ḫur* GIM-*an ú-i-te-ni-it*
(4) [*ki-iš-t*]*a-nu-nu-un*

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(5) [DINGIR^{L}]$^{IM?}$ *kar-pí-iš* TUKU.TUKU-*az*
(6) [*u̯a-aš-du-ul š*]*a-a-u-u̯a-ar QA-TAM-MA ki-iš-ta-ru*

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(7) [*ma-a-aḫ-ḫa*]*-an te-ep-šu-uš Ú-UL=an* A.ŠÀ-*ni*
(8) [*pé-e-da*]*-an-zi n=a-an* NUMUN-*an i-i̯a-an-zi*
(9) [*Ú-UL=m=a-an*] NINDA-*an i-i̯a-an-zi n=a-an I-NA* É ^{NA_4}KIŠIB
(10) [*ti-an-zi n*]*=a-an=ši kar-pí-iš* TUKU.TUKU-*az*
(11) [*u̯a-aš-du-ul ša-a-u*]*-u̯a-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_4 GIM-*an ḫa-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 ^{NA_4}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_4] (17) *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-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 *māḫḫan* is incorrect: the sentence clearly starts with [*māḫḫ*]*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) ^{m}*A-aš-ga-li-i̯a-aš* ^{URU}*Ḫu-ur-mi* EN-*aš e-eš-ta*
(9) *ku-u̯a-at-t=a ku-u̯a-at-t=a* LÚ-*eš*$_{17}$ *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* ^{URU}*An-ku-i IR-DI*
(11) *š=a-an* ^{URU}*An-ku-i=pát* ^{LÚ}AGRIG-*an i-e-et šar-ku-uš* LÚ-*eš*$_{17}$ *e-eš-ta*
(12) *a-ki-iš=m=a-aš te-ep-ša-u-u̯a-an-ni* ^{URU}*Ku-zu-ru-ú-i*
(13) *ka-ak-ka*$_{4}$*-pu-uš ma-ra-ak-ta* $^{URU!}$*An-ku-u̯a ka-ak-ka*$_{4}$*-pí-iš*
(14) *ma-ak-la-an-te-eš*

‘Āšgali̯a was lord in Ḫurmi, and what a man he was. They denounced him to my father, and he deported him and brought him to Ankuu̯a and in Ankuu̯a he made him a governor. He was a powerful man, but he died in *t*.. In Kuzuruu̯a he butchered *kakkapa*’s, in Ankuu̯a the *kakkapa*’s were emaciated’.

Here, *tepšauu̯anni* is often translated as ‘in poverty’. The verb *tepšanu-*^{zi} is found in the following context:

KUB 24.3 ii

(51) *n=a-at A-NA* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}*A-ri-in-na kat-ta-u̯a-a-tar*
(52) *nam-ma ki-ša-a-ru nu=za* DINGIR^{LUM} *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*$^{!}$*-el*$^{!}$ (text: *tu-el-e*) *ŠUM=KA ‹le-e› te-ep-n*[*u-*]*uš-ke-ši* ‘do not diminish your name!’. The verb *tepšau̯ēšš-*^{zi} is found in

KUB 29.11 ii

(11) *ták-ku* ^{d}*SÎN* SI ZAG=*ŠÚ* GAM KI-*i ne-i̯a-an* KUR-*e-aš* BURU$_{14}$-*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-*^{zi} means 'to diminish (trans.)', *tepšau̯ēšš-*^{zi} 'to diminish (intr.)', which makes it likely that the original abstract meaning of *tepšu-* 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 *tepšu-* is cognate with the adjective *tēpu- / tēpau̯-* 'little, few'. Because this latter reflects **d^{h}eb^{h}-(e)u-*, we must reconstruct *tepšu-* as **d^{h}éb^{h}-su-*, showing the same nominalizing suffix **-su-* as visible in *genzu-* 'lap' < **ǵénh$_{1}$-su-*. See at *tēpu- / tēpau-* for further etymology.

tēpu- / tēpau̯- (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-*]*ẹ-pu-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-*]*ẹ-pu* (KBo 16.71++ iii 7 (OS)), gen.sg. *te-pa-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-az*, *te-pa-u-u̯a-az*, *te-pa-u-u̯a-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), *tẹ-ẹ-pạ-u-ẹ̓-ẹš* (KBo 6.5 iv 26), *te-pa-u-eš* (KUB 14.1 obv. 48), nom.-acc.pl.n. *te-e-pa-u-u̯a* (ABoT 56 iii 28), *te-pa-u-u̯a* (KUB 22.70 obv. 83).

Derivatives: ***tepnu-***^{zi} (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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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)), ***tepau̯ēšš-***^{zi} (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)), ***tepaṷaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to make little’ (3sg.pret.act. *te-pa-ṷa-aḫ-da* (KUB 14.3 i 13, KBo 13.74, 6), 3pl.imp.act. *te-pa-ṷa-aḫ-ḫa-an-du* (KBo 13.74, 7)).

IE cognates: Skt. *dabhrá-* ‘little, small, deficient’, *dabhnóti* ‘to deceive, to hurt’, *ádbhuta-* ‘unerring, wunderful’, GAv. *dəbənao-* ‘to deceive’.

PIE **dʰébʰ-u-*

This noun and its derivatives are predominantly spelled *te-e-p°* and *te-p°* (both in OS texts already). Twice, we find an aberrant spelling, namely [*t*]*i-e-pu* (OS) and *z*[*e-*]*ẹ-pu* (OS), but these can hardly be anything else than scribal errors.

This adjective, which has to be phonologically interpreted /tébu- / tébau-/ has since Marstrander (1919: 150) generally been connected with Skt. *dabhrá-* ‘little, small, deficient’. At the same time Hrozný (1919: 146[4]) connected Hitt. *tepnu-*^{zi} with Skt. *dabhnóti* ‘to deceive’, which goes back to **dʰebʰ-neu-* (but note that GAv. *dəbənao-* = /dbnao-/ shows the most archaic formation, namely **dʰbʰ-neu-*). A *u*-stem, as in Hitt. *tēpu-*, is found in Skt. *á-dbhu-ta-* ‘unerring, wunderful’ (**n̥-dʰbʰ-u-to-*) as well. See at *tepšu- / tepšau-* for a nominal derivative reflecting **dʰebʰ-su-*.

ter-^{zi} ***/ tar-*** (Ia3: suppletive with *tē-*^{zi}, 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. ***tātariia̯mman-*** (n.) ‘curse’ (nom.-acc.sg. *da-a-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-an*, *da-a-ta-ri-i̯a-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ri-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-an*, *ta-a-ta-ri-i-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-i̯a-am-ma-an*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-i̯a-a-am-ma-an*, nom.-acc.pl. *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-i̯a-a-am-ma*, *ta-a-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-i̯a-am-ma*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-i̯a-am-na*,

gen.adj.nom.sg.c. *da-a-ta-ri-i̯a-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, *ta-ta-ar-ri-i̯a-a-am-na-aš-ši-iš*, [*ta-(a)-t*]*a-ri-i̯a-am-ma-na*-[*aš-ši-iš*], acc.sg.c. *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-at-ri-i̯a-am-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-ta-ri-am-na-aš-ši-in*, *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-na-aš-ši-en*, acc.pl.c. *ta-a-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in-za*, *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-aš-ši-in-za*, abl.-instr. *da-a-ta-ri̯a-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-a-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-tar-ri-i̯a-am-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti*, *ta-ta-ri-i̯a-am-ma-‹aš›-ša-an-za-ti*); HLuw. ***tataria-*** 'to curse' (3sg.imp.act. ^{LOQUI}*tá-tara/i-ia-tú* (TELL AHMAR 2 §19, ALEPPO 2 §14), ^{LOQUI}*tá-tara/i-ia-tu* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §21), part.nom.sg.c. ^{LOQUI}*ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §24)); Lyd. ***kan-tro-*** 'to trust someone with, to dedicate' (1sg.pres. *kantoru*, 3pl.pres. *kantrod*, 3sg. or pl.pret. [*ka*]*ntrol*).

IE cognates: Lith. *tarˇti*, *tarýti* 'to speak, to say', Gr. τετορήσω 'will say clearly'.

PIE **tér- / tr-énti*

This verb is used in suppletion with *tē-*^{zi} (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-*^{i} / *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-*^{zi} / *tar-*. This verb therefore should be cited as *ter-*^{zi} / *tar-* and not as *tar-*^{zi} as one often can find.

Already Petersen (1933: 17) connected *ter- / tar-* with Lith. *tarˇti*, *tarýti* '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 **dʰer-* "*festhalten > aussagen", which is primarily based on his claim that the spellings with initial DA point to an etymological **d* or **dʰ*. 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 *dāri̯e/a-*^{zi} that usually is translated 'to call upon the gods' and seen as a derivative of *ter-*^{zi} / *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-*^{zi} / *tar-* and *dāri̯e/a-* have to be separated also weakens the connection between the former verb and Luw. *tātari̯a-* '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-*^{zi} / *tar-*

as well, also because the single spelling of *-t-*, which points to etymological **-d$^{(h)}$-*, does not fit the reconstruction **ter-*.

The imperfective shows *tar-ši(-ik)-ke/a-* = /trsi̯ké/á-/ as well as *tar-aš-ke/a-* = /trské/á-/. The latter form is the phonetically expected outcome of **tr-sḱé/ó-*, whereas according to Kavitskaya (2001: 284) /trsi̯ké/á-/ is analogical after the imperfectives *zi-ik-ke/a-* /tsi̯ké/á-/ from *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* 'to put, to place' and *az-zi-ke/a-* /ʔdsi̯ké/á-/ from *ed-*^{zi} */ ad-* 'to eat', which were analysed as showing a suffix /-si̯ké/á-/.

teraṷartanna: see *tieraṷartanna*

terepp-^{zi} ***/ 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-ṷa-an-zi* (KUB 31.57 i 14, KBo 6.28 rev. 23 (fr.), KBo 18.82 rev. 5 (fr.)); impf. *te-ri-ip-pí-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 13.1 iv 24).

Derivatives: $^{\text{A.ŠÀ}}$***tere/ippi-*** (n.) 'ploughed field' (nom.-acc.sg.(?) *te-ri-ip-pí* (KUB 33.65 iii 2), abl. *te-ri-ip-pí-i̯a-az* (VBoT 24 iii 26), nom.-acc.pl. *te-ri-ip-pí* (KUB 9.34 iii 16 (MH/NS)) // *te-ri-ip-pí*$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ (KUB 9.4 ii 32 (MH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *te-ri-ip-pí-i̯a-aš* (KUB 13.1 iv 2, HKM 54 obv. 6)), $^{\text{A.ŠÀ}}$***tere/ippiḭe/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to plough' (3sg.pret.act. *te-ri-ip-pí-i̯a-at* (HKM 54, 20 (MH/MS)); part. *te-‹ri-›ip-pí-i̯a-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-*^{zi}, from which the noun $^{\text{A.ŠÀ}}$*tere/ippi-* 'ploughed field' has been derived. This latter noun was the source of the verb $^{\text{A.ŠÀ}}$*tere/ippiḭe/a-*^{zi} as is visible from the use of the determinative A.ŠÀ (so, *tere/ippiḭe/a-* is not a mere *-i̯e/a-*derivative of *tere/ipp-*^{zi}).

Hitt. *tere/ipp-*^{zi} 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^{front}/ is phonetically realized as [terV^{front}]), which would make way to a phonological interpretation /trépt^{s}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^{s}i/, /tr̥pánt^{s}i/, the regular outcomes of an ablauting pair **trép-ti / *trp-énti*. I therefore cite this verb under the lemma *terepp-^{zi} / 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-^{zi}*, 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-i̯a-aš* (KUB 43.60 i 9 (OH/NS)), 3-*aš* (IBoT 2.5 r. 5 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. 3-*ta-aš* (1175/u r.col. 7 (NS)), abl.pl. 3-*az* (KUB 20.78 iii 6 (OH/NS), 617/p, 11 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***teri̯a-*** (ord.num.) 'third' (nom.sg.c. *te-ri-aš* (KBo 16.49 iv 2)), ***teri̯alla-*** 'three-drink(?)' (case? *te-ri-i̯a-al-la* (KBo 5.1 iv 35) // 3-*i̯a-al-la* (Bo 4951, 15)), ***teri̯ala-*** (c.) 'third(?) > mediator(?)' (nom.sg. [*t*]*e-ri-i̯a-la-aš* (KBo 17.1+ ii 56)), ***teri̯an*** (adv.) 'at the third time' (*te-ri-i̯a-an-n=a* (KBo 20.40 v 8), [*te-ri-i̯*]*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)), ****teri̯ankiš***(?) (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 ^{LÚ}*tarri̯analli-* and ^{TÚG}*tarri̯anali-*; HLuw. ***t(a)risu*** (adv.) 'three times' ($^{"3"}$*tara/i-su-u* (KARKAMIŠ A6 §19)); Lyc. ***trisñne*** 'three year old(??)', ***trppeme*** 'threefold(??)'; Mil. ***trpplẽ*** '?', ***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 *trьje*, TochA *tre*, TochB *trai* 'three', Lith. (dial.) *trisù* (adv) 'the three of them'.

PIE **trei- / *tri-*; **tri-i̯o-*

See Tischler HEG T: 320f. for attestations. Only once the numeral 'three' is spelled phonetically, namely as gen.sg. *teriya̯š*. 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. **teriya̯ēš*, acc.c. **teriuš*, nom.-acc.n. **terie*, gen. *teriya̯š*, dat.-loc. **teriya̯etaš*, abl. **teriya̯edaz*.

If we compare the Hitt. stem *teri-* with its Luwian counterpart *tarri-* (attested in the noun ^{LÚ}*tarriya̯nalli-* 'functionary of third rank' (q.v.) and possibly in ^{TÚG}*tarriya̯nali-* '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. *tr̥tī́ya-*, OPr. *tīrts* 'third' < **tr-ti-* and Lith. *trẽčias*, 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-*^{zi} '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*^{front} 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 *teriya̯-* 'third' < **tri-ya̯o-* differs from *tariya̯anzi* 'they become weary' (see under *tarai-*^{i} */ tari-*) < **d*$^{(h)}$*r-ya̯-énti* in the sense that *-ya̯-* 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*, ***tereya̯uš*, ***terian*. I am wondering to what extent it is possible that the OS attestation 3-*e-eš* in fact still stands for /terēs/ < ***treya̯es*, with the synchronic stem *teri-* (out of the oblique cases) being introduced only later on, yielding secondary /teriya̯ēs/, 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-^{zi}: see *terepp-^{zi} / teripp-*

teriške/a-^{zi} (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-i*[(*š-ke-u-u̯a-an-za*)]
(8) KÙ.BABBAR-*an-za an-da pár-na-a=š-ša pa-it* KÙ.BABBAR-*an-za*
IN[IM$^{HI.A}$-*ar* EGIR-*p*(*a an-ni-i=š-ši*)]
(9) *me-mi-iš-ke-u-u̯a-an da-a-iš pé-ra-an a-aš-ki=za* DUMU[(^{MEŠ} *ku-e-da-aš*)]
(10) *kat-ta-an ḫa-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-^{zi} / 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.

tešḫa- (c.) 'dream, sleep' (Sum. Ù): nom.sg. *te-eš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 13.4. iii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 30,10 rev. 18 (OH/MS), KUB 33.84, 7 (MH/NS)), *ti-eš-ḫa-aš* (KUB 15.36 obv. 12 (NH)), acc.sg. *te-eš-ḫa-an* (KUB 4.47 obv. 5 (OH/NS)), abl. *te-eš-ḫa-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-ḫi-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-ḫu-uš* (KUB 24.9+ ii 23 (OH/NS), KUB 17.1 ii 15, 20 (NS), KUB 4.47 obv. 4 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***zašḫai- / zašḫi-*** 'dream' (acc.sg. *za-aš-ḫa-in* (often), dat.-loc.sg. *za-aš-ḫi-i̯a* (often), *za-aš-ḫé-i̯a* (KUB 30.10 obv. 25 (MH/MS)), *za-az-ḫi-i* (KBo 4.2 iii 46 (NH), KUB 43.50 obv. 8, IBoT 2.112, 8 (fr.) (NH)), abl. *za-aš-ḫi-i̯a-za* (KUB 43.55 ii 1), *za-aš-ḫi-i̯a-az*, *za-aš-ḫé-az* (KUB 24.4+ i 12 (OH/MS)), instr. *za-aš-ḫi-it* (KBo 5.1 i 43), acc.pl. *za-aš-ḫi-mu-uš* (KUB 7.5 iv 6)), ***tešḫalli-*** (adj.)

‘sleepy(?)’ (acc.sg.c. *te-eš-ḫa-al-li-in* (KUB 36.35 iv 10)), ***tešḫaniie/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to appear in a dream’ (3sg.pret.midd. *te-eš-ḫa-ni-ia-at-ta-at* (KBo 16.52, 9, KUB 21.8 ii 15 (fr.)); impf. *te-eš-ḫa-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 16.55 iv 8, KBo 4.2 iii 46), *te-eš-ḫa-ni-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 16.98 ii 10)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw.: see *duntarriiašḫa-*.

IE cognates: ON *dási* ‘slow’, MHG *daesic* ‘dumb’, ON *dasa-sk* ‘to become weary’, ModEng. *daze*.

PIE *$*d^{h}eh_{1}$-$sh_{2}o$-* and *$*d^{h}h_{1}$-$sh_{2}oi$-*

Of the word *tešḫa-* ‘dream, sleep’, we find the derivatives *tešḫaniie/a-*^{zi} ‘to appear in a dream’ and *tešḫalli-* (adj.), if the latter indeed denotes ‘sleepy’ (its meaning cannot be assuredly determined from the context). The noun *zašḫai-* (*zazḫai-*) ‘dream’ is clearly related to *tešḫa-*. I have cited it as a derivative here, but this is more a matter of convenience: I rather regard *zašḫai-* as an independent formation that made use of the same elements as *tešḫa-*. The comparison of *tešḫa-* with *zašḫai-* shows that the latter should be interpreted /tsHai-/. If in *tešḫa-* we indeed find the suffix *-šḫa-* (as in *dammešḫa-* < *$*demh_{2}$-$sh_{2}ó$-*, *ḫamešḫa-* < *$*h_{2}meh_{1}$-$sh_{2}o$-*, *palzaḫḫa-* < *$*plth_{2}$-$sh_{2}o$-*) and in *zašḫai-* 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 *$*Teh_{1}$-*.

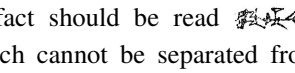
Čop (1971: 66-70) connected these words with ON *dási* ‘slow’, MHG *daesic* ‘dumb’ < *$*dēsa$-* and ON *dasa-sk* ‘to become weary’, ModEng. *daze* < *$*dəsa$-*, which he analyzed as *$*d^{h}ē$-*sHo-*, *$*d^{h}ə$-*sHo-*. Although the formal and semantic side of this comparison look convincing, it cannot 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 alternationes). Oettinger (1979a: 124, without referring to Čop, so perhaps independently) similarly reconstructs *$*d^{h}éh_{1}$-$sh_{2}o$-*, of which he states that it originally meant “Hineinsetzung” or “Einsagung”, which is followed by e.g. Rieken (1999a: 381[1916]). If correct, then *zašḫai-* must reflect *$*d^{h}h_{1}$-$sh_{2}oi$-* (original paradigm *$*CéC$-*$ōi(s)$, *$*CC$-*i-*$ós$, cf. Weitenberg 1979: 289), showing generalization of the zero grade from the oblique stem.

$^{(UZU)}$***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.$^{?}$ 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*), ***titaimma/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. *tideimẽ*, dat.-loc.pl. *tideime*), ***tidere/i-*** 'collacteus' (nom.sg. *tideri*).

IE cognates: Skt. *dhávati* 'sucks', Latv. *dêju* 'to suck', Gr. θήσατο 'sucked'.

PIE **dʰeh₁i-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 *tit(a)i-* 'to suckle' seen in *titaimma/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-iš-ša-al-li-in=ṷa* 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 GÙB-*lan teta(n)=šše*t '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 *titaima/i-*, so I would rather interpret this form as belonging with *titta-^{i}* / *titti-* 'to install':

KBo 14.98 i
(16) [x - x - x - x - x - *ḫ*]*u*$^{?}$*-un* GÙB-*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 *titaimma/i-* is only attested in the syntagm *anniš titaimmeš*, 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 "**titi̯i-/tatai̯i-*", stating that "[a]uf den *-i̯i-*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 *tid‹e›imi*. This means that in Lycian there is no evidence for a verbal stem "*titi̯i-*". Tischler (HEG T: 343) cites the verb is **titii̯a-* as well, referring to the form *tittiškezzi*. As we saw above, this form cannot belong here. All in all, the verb underlying CLuw. *titaimma/i-* and Lyc. *tideime/i-* cannot have been **tidii̯a-*, 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 'collacteus' in Melchert 2004a: 66, with the remark "[c]ompound 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/oi-* 'to suckle'. It has been proposed that these words should be compared with e.g. Gr. τίτθη, 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 **$d^{h}eh_{1}(i)$-* 'to suck (milk)' is more likely. As we saw above, some scholars assume a verbal stem **titii̯a-* and therefore reconstruct a reduplicated formation **$d^{h}i$-$d^{h}h_{1}$-i̯e/o-* (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 343). Apart from the fact that the *-i̯e/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 **$d^{h}éh_{1}i$-to-* 'that what is suckled' (with lenition of **-t-* due to the preceding accentuated long vowel), of which a verbal derivative **$d^{h}eh_{1}i$-to-i̯e/o-* yielded PLuw. **tidoi̯i-*, the regular preform of CLuw. *titai-* and Lyc. *tidei-*.

tetḫ-^{a}: see *titḫ-*^{a}

-tti (2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-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 **-$th_{2}e$ + -i*

Originally, *-tti* is the 2sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-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 *ḫapti* 'you join' (MH/MS) (from *ḫapp-*^{zi})), and later on also in stems ending in a vowel (e.g. [*ar*]*nutti* (NH)). Just as the older *ḫi*-endings 1sg.pres.act. *-ḫḫe* is replaced by *-ḫḫi* 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. *u̯a-ar-‹ri-›iš-ša-at-te* 'you help' (KUB 23.1 ii 35) is from the time of Tutḫaliia 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$_2$e* (Skt. *-tha*, Gr. -θα (in οἶσθα 'you know'), Lat. *-tī* (+ **-i*)). This **-th$_2$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', *=šummi- / =šumma- / =šumme-* '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$_1$*, *tu-* and the enclitic pronoun *=tta / =ttu* '(to) you'. Direct comparison to e.g. Gr. τεός, Lat. *tuus*, Lith. *tãvas* (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$_1$* besides obl. **t-(e)u-* (see under *zīk / tu-*).

tieraṷartanna (adv.) 'for three rounds': *ti-e-ra-ṷa-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*! (KBo 3.5+ ii 37), *ti-e‹-ra›-ṷa-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 *tieraṷartanna*, *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* /tiétˢi/ 'stands' and *te-e-ez-zi* /tétˢi/ 'states'). Nevertheless, this word is generally cited as *teraṷartanna*. The variation between *-ṷartanna* 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-ṷartana-* 'three-round', just as *aikaṷartanna* 'for one round' (**Haika-* 'one'), *panzaṷartanna* 'for five rounds' (**pańca-* 'five'), *šattaṷartanna* 'for seven rounds' (**sapta-* 'seven') and *naṷartanna* 'for nine rounds' (**naṷa-* 'nine'). The exact development of **tri-* to *tier(a)-* is unclear to me, however.

^{GIŠ}***tiṷeššar / tiṷešn-*** (n.) 'forest(?)' (Sum. ^{GIŠ}TIR-*šar* (?)): nom.-acc.sg. *ti-i-e-eš-šar* (KUB 33.66 iii 5, KUB 31.100 rev.$^{?}$ 16, KUB 13.28, 6, KUB 57.30, 9, 15), dat.-loc.sg. *ti-i-e-eš-ni* (706/v, 5), ^{GIŠ}TIR-*ni* (KUB 17.10 iv 12), all.sg. ^{GIŠ}TIR-*na* (KUB 29.1 i 52), dat.-loc.pl. ^{GIŠ}TIR^{ḪLA}-*na-aš* (KUB 20.10 iii 12).

PIE **d^{h}h$_1$-i-éh$_1$sh$_1$-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 *tiiēššar / tiiešn-* 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 ^{GIŠ}TIR 'forest' that is sometimes phonetically complemented with *-šar / -šn-* (nom.-acc.sg. ^{GIŠ}TIR-*šar* (KBo 1.53, 2), dat.-loc.sg. ^{GIŠ}TIR-*ni* (KUB 17.10 iv 12)). Although circumstantial, this reasoning has gained many support and ^{GIŠ}*tiiēššar* is quite commonly translated 'forest'.

Formally, *tiiēššar* looks like a deverbative in *-ēššar* of *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* 'to put, to place' (see *ḫukeššar* 'slaughtering' from *ḫuek-*^{zi} */ ḫuk-* 'to slaughter' for the fact that *-ēššar* takes the zero-grade of the verbal root) or *tiie/a-*^{zi} 'to step'. Indicative may be

KUB 33.66 iii
(5) ^{GIŠ}*ti-i-e-eš-šar da-iš n=a*[- ...]
(6) *n=a-aš* ^{URU}*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 ^{GIŠ}*tiiēššar dai-* means, we perhaps are allowed to interpret this syntagm as a figura etymologica. If correct, it would mean that *tiiēššar* reflects *$*d^{h}h_{1}$-i-éh$_{1}$sh$_{1}$-r$*.

tiie/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic2) 'to step, to go stand, to place oneself, to set in': 1sg.pres.act. *ti-ia-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ti-ia-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-ia-zi* (NH), *ti-i-ia-az-zi* (NH), *ti-ia-iz-zi* (NH), 1pl.pres.act. *ti-ia-u-e-ni* (NH), 2pl.pres.act. *ti-ia-at-te-ni*, [*ti-ia-*]*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-ia-an-zi* (1x OS, often NH), 1sg.pret.act. *ti-ia-nu-un* (MH), *ti-i-ia-nu-un* (NH), 2sg.pret.act. *ti-ia-at*, *ti-i-ia-at*, 3sg.pret.act. *ti-i-e-et* (OS), *ti-e-et*, *ti-ia-at* (NH), *ti-i-ia-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *ti-ia-u-en* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *ti-ia-at-tén* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *ti-e-er* (NH), *ti-i-er* (NH), *ti-i-e-er* (NH), *ti-i-ia-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ti-ia* (MH/MS), *ti-i-ia* (NH), 3sg.imp.act. *ti-ia-ad-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ti-ia-at-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.imp.act. *ti-ia-an-du* (NH); 3sg.pres.midd. *ti-ia-*[(*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-ia-an-t-*, *ti-in-t-* (IBoT 1.36 ii 48); verb.noun *ti-ia-u-ua-ar*, *ti-ia-u-ar*, gen.sg. *ti-ia-u-ua-aš*; inf.I *ti-ia-u-an-zi*, *ti-ia-u-ua-an-zi*;

inf.II *ti-i̯a-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: ***tii̯atar / tii̯ann-*** (n.) '?' (dat.-loc.sg. *ti-i̯a-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-u̯a-ar*); HLuw. ***ta-*** 'to come to stand' (3sg.pres.act. /tai/ ^{CRUS}*ta-i* (BOROWSKI 1 §1), *ta-i* (SULTANHAN §39, HİSARCIK 1 §3), CRUS-*i* (often), /tai̯a/ *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* (KARKAMIŠ A5*a* §5), 3sg./pl.imp.act. $^{\text{"CRUS"}}$*ta-tú* (GELB §5), 3pl.imp.act. "CRUS"-*tu* (KULULU 2 §6)); verb.noun dat.-loc.sg.? CRUS-*wa/i+ra/i*$^{?}$ (KARKAMIŠ A5*a* §9)), ***tanu-*** 'to set up, to erect, to establish' (1sg.pres.act. $^{\text{"CRUS"}}$*ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i* (KARKAMIŠ 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* (KARKAMIŠ A1*a* §23, §26, §27), "CRUS"-*nu-wa/i-ha* (MARAŞ 14 §4), CRUS-*nu-ha* (QAL'AT EL MUDIQ §3, KARKAMIŠ 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. $^{\text{"CRUS<">}}$*ta-za-tu* (KARATEPE 1 §74)).

PIE **(s)th₂-i̯e/o-*

This verb inflects according to the *-i̯e/a-*class and is in the OH period formally clearly distinct from the verb *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* 'to place, to put' (q.v.), except in 3pl.pres.act. *tianzi* (although the secondary form *ti(i̯)enzi* only occurs in the paradigm of *tii̯e/a-*^{zi}). In younger times, the verb *dai-/ti-* secondarily gets thematicized and starts to formally fall together with the verb *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} more and more.

From the beginning of Hittite studies it has been in debate whether *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} should go back to the PIE root **dʰeh₁-* 'to put' or **steh₂-* 'to stand'. The former root would be possible in view of the meaning 'to place oneself' and the NH merger of *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} with *dai-*^{i} */ ti-*, which clearly must reflect **dʰeh₁-*. An etymological connection with **steh₂-* 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. *tii̯e/a-*. Because Luw. *tā-* quite obviously must reflect **(s)teh₂-* (note that **(s)tóh₂-ei* regularly should have given Luw. ***tāḫi*, but probably has lost its *-ḫ-* in analogy to all other forms of the paradigm where **h₂* is

dropped in preconsonantal position, yielding attested *tāi*), which would mean that *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} ultimately goes back to **(s)th$_2$-i̯e/o-* (for the *s*-mobile, compare e.g. TochAB *tāk-* 'to be (subj. and pret.)' < **(s)teh$_2$-*). Of course, it cannot be denied that all NH forms that show the secondary stem *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} instead of the original *ḫi-* inflected stem *dai-*^{i} / *ti-* in principle reflect a virtual **d^{h}h$_1$-i̯e/o-*, but this form never existed as such in pre-Hittite times.

tii̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to bind(?)': 2sg.imp.act. *ti-i̯a* (KBo 3.40+ rev.$^{!}$ 13, 14, 15).

Derivatives: ***tii̯amar / tii̯aman-*** (n.) 'cord, string' (nom.-acc.sg. *ti-i̯a-mar* (KBo 17.23 obv.$^{?}$ 6 (OS), KUB 17.28 iv 50 (MH/NS)), *ti-i̯a-am-mar* (KUB 39.71 iv 17 (NS)), instr. *ti-i̯a-am-ma-an-da* (KUB 9.28 iii 15 (MH/NS), *ti-i̯a-am-ma-an-ta* (KBo 19.132 rev.$^{?}$ 5 (MH/NS))).

IE cognates: Gr. δέω, δίδημι 'to bind', Skt. *dā-*, °*dyati* 'to bind'.

PIE **dh$_1$-i̯é/ó-*

The interpretation of the 2sg.imp.act.-form *tii̯a* found in the Soldier's Song in the Puḫanu-Chronicle is quite unclear:

KBo 3.40+ rev.$^{!}$

(13) *nu-u=z-za iš-[ḫ]a-ma-i-iš-ke-ez-zi* ^{URU}*Ne-š[a-aš*^{KI} TÚG^{Ḫ}]$^{I.A}$ ^{URU}*Ne-ša-aš*^{KI} TÚG$^{ḪI.A}$ *ti-i̯a-a=m-mu ti-i̯a*

(14) *nu-u=m-mu an-na-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut ti-i̯a[-a=m-mu t]i-i̯a nu-u=m-mu ú-u̯a-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut*

(15) *[t]i-i̯a-a=m-mu [t]i-i̯a*

'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, *tii̯a* seems to belong with *tii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to step, to go stand' (q.v.), but this does not give a sound translation: *tii̯e/a-* 'to step' is not transitive, which would mean that in the first line ^{URU}*Nešaš* TÚG$^{ḪI.A}$ cannot be the object of *tii̯a*, but rather has to be the subject. But if ^{URU}*Nešaš* TÚG$^{ḪI.A}$ is subject, the number is wrong: ^{URU}*Nešaš* TÚG$^{ḪI.A}$ is plural, whereas *tii̯a* is singular. Moreover, a translation 'clothes of Neša, step towards me, step!' is at least not very probable.

Often, *tii̯a* has been interpreted as belonging with *dai-*^{i} / *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 *tii̯a*.

Melchert (1983: 14[30]) therefore rather suggests a connection with the element *tiia-* as found in *tiiamar* 'cord, string', which would mean that *tiia* means 'bind': "the clothes of Neša, bind (them) on me, bind!". This noun *tiiamar* was connected by Eichner (1974: 57) with Gr. δέω, δίδημι 'to bind', Skt. *dā-* 'to bind' < **deh*$_1$-, which implies a reconstruction **dh*$_1$-*iié/ó-*.

titta-*^{i} / *titti- (IIa5) 'to install, to assign': 3sg.pres.act.(?) *ti-it-ta-i* (KBo 19.162 iv 12), 3pl.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-ia-an-z*[*i*] (KUB 36.114, 22), [*t*]*i-it-ti-ia-an-z*[*i*] (KUB 15.11 ii 31); part. *ti-it-ti-an-t-* (OS), *ti-it-ti-ia-an-t-*; impf.3sg.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 14.98 i 16).

PIE **d*^{h}*i-d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-oi-ei*, **d*^{h}*i-d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-i-enti*

This verb is predominantly attested with its participle, *tittiiant-* 'put in, installed'. For its meaning, compare KBo 6.3 ii (37) *ták-ku* LÚ ^{GIŠ}[(TUKUL *ḫar-*)]*ak-zi* LÚ *IL-KI ti-it-ti-ia-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. *tittiianzi* 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[?] the wood'. If this latter form indeed belongs here, it shows that the verb does not show a stem *tittiie/a-*, as is often cited, but must either belong to the *dāi/tiianzi*-class (*tittai-*^{i} / *titti-*) or to the *mēma/i*-class (*titta-*^{i} / *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/tiianzi*-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-*^{i} / *titti-*.

Semantically, *titta-/titti-* 'to install, to assign' clearly belongs with *dai-*^{i} / *ti-* 'to place, to put'. Also formally, this connection goes well, especially now we know that *titta-/titti-* originally goes back to **tittai-*^{i} / *titti-*. I therefore assume that it virtually reflects a reduplicated stem **d*^{h}*i-d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-oi-* / **d*^{h}*i-d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-i-*. See at *dai-*^{i} / *ti-* for further etymology.

In KUB 59.47 rev.$^{!}$ iii 10, a 3pl.pres.act. *ti-it-ti-ia-an-zi* is attested, but this form is duplicated by *ḫu-it-ti-ia-an-zi* 'they pull' in KUB 7.46 iv 7. This means that *ti-it-ti-ia-an-zi* must be a scribal error (omission of the right vertical wedge of the sign ḪU ( ) yields the sign TI ()), and we can transliterate it as *ḫu*$^{!}$*-it-ti-ia-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-^{zi}: see *titnu-*^{zi}

titḫ-^{a} (IIIe > IIa1γ) 'to thunder': 3sg.pres.midd. *ti-it-ḫa* (KBo 17.11 i 9 (OS), KUB 34.123+ i 1, 28 (OH/NS)), *te-e-et-ḫa* (KUB 32.135 i 3, 10 (OH/MS)); 3sg.pres.act. *te-et-ḫa-i* (often, e.g. KUB 25.23 i 8 (NH), KBo 22.222 iii 9 (NH)), *te-et-ḫa-a-i* (e.g. KUB 43.73, 4 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *te-et-ḫa-aš* (KUB 43.55 v 13 (NH), *te-et-ḫi-et* (KUB 19.14, 11 (NH)); verb.noun gen.sg. *te-e-et-ḫu-u-u̯a-š=a* (KUB 32.135 i 8 (OH/MS)), *te-et-ḫu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 22.27 iv 25 (NS)); sup. *te-et-ḫu-u-u̯a-an* (KBo 42.6 obv.? 11 (NS)); impf. *ti-it-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 17.10 ii 34 (OH/MS)), *te-et-ḫi-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 10.17 iv 10 (NH)), *te-et-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KBo 31.83 ii 3 (NS), KUB 33.106 i 7 (NS), VBoT 73 iv 2 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***tetḫeššar / tetḫešn-*** (n.) 'thunder' (Sum. BÚN; nom.-acc.sg. *te-et-ḫe-eš*[*-šar*] (KUB 19.14, 14), gen.sg. *te-et-ḫé-eš-na-aš* (KBo 40.60 ii 22), [(*te-et-ḫ*)]*é-e*[(*š-na-aš*)] (KBo 17.11+ iv 36 (OS)), *te-et-ḫé-eš-na-a*[*š*] (KUB 34.123+ iv 43), [*te*]*-et-ḫé-eš-na-aš* (KBo 40.60 ii 19), *te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš* (KUB 5.7 i 12), *te-et-ḫi-iš-na-aš* (KUB 6.46 ii 14), *te-et-ḫe-eš-ša-na-aš* (KBo 4.11 l.edge), erg.sg. *te-et-ḫe-eš-na-an-za* (KUB 33.106 i 8), *te-et-ḫe-eš-na-za* (KUB 33.106 iv 21)), ***tetḫima-*** (c.) 'thunder' (nom.sg. *te-et-ḫi-ma-aš* (KUB 7.13 obv. 18), acc.sg. *te-et-ḫi-ma-an* (KUB 17.35 ii 12), acc.pl. [*t*]*e-et-ḫi-ma-aš* (KUB 6.45 iii 11), [*te-et*]*-ḫi-mu-uš* (KUB 33.103 iii 3), [*t*]*e-et-ḫi-im-mu-uš* (KUB 28.5+ iii 6), nom.-acc.pl.n. *te-et-ḫi-ma* (KBo 17.85, 6)).

The oldest attestations of this verb are spelled *ti-it-ḫ*° (OS and OH/MS), whereas we find *te-e-et-ḫ*° in an OH/MS text, and *te-et-ḫ*° in NS texts. This must be due to the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ before a cluster containing *-ḫ-* as described in § 1.4.8.1.d. Often, this verb is cited as *tetḫa-* (e.g. Tischler HEG T: 347) or even *tetḫai-* (HW: 222), but this is incorrect. In the oldest texts (OS and MS), we find middle forms only (3sg.pres.midd. *titḫa* and *tetḫa*), 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 *tetḫa-*^{i} / *tetḫ-*. Once, we find a form that seems to show a stem *tetḫiu̯e/a-*^{zi} (3sg.pret.act. *te-et-ḫi-et*).

From an Indo-European point of view, a stem *titḫ-* is difficult to explain, expecially because of the cluster *-tḫ-*, since we know that *$*Ch_2V$* > Hitt. *CV* (e.g. *$*plth_2$-eno-* > *paltana-*). The only way to explain the cluster *-tḫ-* is by assuming that it was secondarily restored, but this means that we should find a scenario by

which the -*ḫ*- could be restored. If from IE origin, *titḫ*- could hardly reflect anything else than a reduplicated form **Ti-Th$_{2/3}$*-, but because of the reduplication, we would expect that the root **-Th$_{2/3}$*- shows zero-grade throughout the paradigm. Moreover, the only possible corresponding full-grade stem would be **Ti-Teh$_{2/3}$*-, 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. *tḫn* 'thunder').

Some scholars have proposed an etymological connection with Lat. *tonāre* 'to thunder', Skt. *stan^{i}*- 'to thunder' < **(s)tenh$_2$*-, but these are formally uncompelling. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 514) unconvincingly reconstructs **te-tn̥h$_2$-o-t* > **tetaḫ(ḫ)at* > *tetḫat*, "mit ungewöhnliche Synkope".

tittiie/a-: see *titta-^{i} / titti-*

titnu-^{zi} (Ib2) 'to install, to seat, to put': 1sg.pres.act. *ti-it-ta-nu-mi* (MH/MS, often), *ti-it-ta-nu-um-mì* (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$^{!}$-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-du*; part. *ti-it-ta-nu-u̯a-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^{h}i-d^{h}h$_1$-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-^{i} / ti-* 'to place, to put' and *titta-^{i} / titti-* 'to install, to assign'. I therefore reconstruct **d^{h}i-$d^{h}h_{1}$-neu-*. If *titnu-* is a direct derivative of *titta-^{i} / titti-*, it would show that the suffix *-nu-* in principle uses the unextended stem (in this case without the suffix **-oi-*). See at *dai-^{i} / 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-i̯a-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*-inflecion only and contrasts with the corresponding *ḫi*-ending *-u* (q.v.). From the late MH period onwards, we see that *-ttu* is used with *ḫi*-verbs as well, especially when the stem ends in a consonant (e.g. *ak-du* instead of original *a-ku* 'he must die', *ḫa-aš-du* instead of original *ḫa-a-šu* 'she must give birth', *ḫa-az-za-du* instead of original *ḫa-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_{1}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_{1}és-tu* 'he must be' and Hitt. *e-ez-du* ~ Skt. *attu* < **h_{1}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)=m-ma-an* (KUB 30.10 obv. 14 (OH/MS)), nom.-acc.sg.n. *tu$^{!}$-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$^{?}$-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$_4$-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$_4$-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^{MEŠ}*-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 /tuek-/. 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 ḫu-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^{MEŠ} *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. *tvacás*, dat.-loc.sg. *tvací*), 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. **ǵ^{h}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-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 'to be visible' (q.v.) as well.

tuel, ***tuedaz***: see *zīk / tu-*

tuḫḫae-^{zi} (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. [*tú*]*ḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 33.118, 11 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***tuḫḫima-*** (c.) 'smoke' (acc.sg. *túḫ-ḫi-ma-an* (KUB 33.118, 12, 17, 20)), ***tuḫḫiiatt-*** 'smoking out(?)' (instr. *tu-uḫ-ḫi-i̯a-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 *tuḫḫae-*^{zi} is consistently written with the sign TAḪ, which can be read *túḫ* as well as *taḫ*. On the basis of *tu-uḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ti-it* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 i 6 (OS)), it has been assumed that we should read *tuḫḫae-*, but it must be remarked that the connection between the words *tuḫḫae-* and *tuḫḫi̯att-* 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$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-uš* [*pa-a-er*? ...]
(9) [*nu*? IT]U 1^{KAM} *pa-it* ITU 2^{KAM} *ti-i̯a-a*[*t* ITU 3^{KAM} ITU 4^{KAM}]
(10) [ITU] 5^{KAM} ITU 6^{KAM} ITU 7^{KAM} ITU 8^{KAM} *ti-i̯a-*[*at nu* $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ụa$_{a}$-a-ši-it-ta-aš*]
(11) [*tú*]*ḫ-ḫi-eš-ke-u-u̯a-an ti-i̯*[*a-at*]

(12) [$^{\text{ḪUR.S}}$]^{AG}*Ụa$_{a}$-a-ši-it-ta-aš túḫ-ḫa-a-it* [*tú*]*ḫ-ḫi-ma-an-* x - x - x[..]
(13) [URU$^{?}$]*-ri* ^{d}*Ku-mar-pí-iš iš-ta-ma*[*-aš-t*]*a* $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ụa$_{a}$-a-ši̯-i̯t-tạ*[*-aš*]
(14) [*tú*]*ḫ-ḫa-a-it nu-u=š-ši* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *ḫu-u̯-ma-an-te-eš ú-u̯a-an-na*
(15) [*p*]*a-a-er* $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ụa$_{a}$-a-ši-it-ta* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš*
(16) [*me-*]*mi-iš-ke-u-u̯a-an da-a-er* $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ụa$_{a}$-ši-it-ta* [*ku*$^{?}$*-*]*u̯*[*a-at=u̯a*$^{?}$]
(17) [*tú*]*ḫ-ḫa-a-it* DUMU*-an-na-za=u̯a=za túḫ-ḫi-ma-an Ú-UL ša-ak-ti*
(18) *Ú-UL=an=tá=k-kán* ^{d}*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* $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ụa$_{a}$-a-ši-it-ta-aš d*[*a-p*]*í-aš* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ}[*-aš*]
(20) [EG]IR*-pa me-mi-iš-ke-u-u̯a-an da-a-iš* DUMU*-an-n*[*a-z*]*a=u̯a-a=z túḫ-ḫi-ma-an*
(21) *Ú-UL I-DE Ú-UL=an=mu=kán* ^{d}*Gul-aš-še-eš gul-aš-še-er*
(22) *Ú-UL=m=a-an=mu-u=š-ša-an* AMA*=i̯A 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 Ụāšitta] began to *tuḫḫeške/a-*. Mount Ụāšitta *tuḫḫae-*ed. Kumarbi heard the *tuḫḫima-* in the [city$^{?}$]. Mount Ụāšitta *tuḫḫae-*ed, and all the mountains went to see. All the mountains began to say to Mount Ụāšitta: "Mount Ụāšitta, [w]h[y] did you *tuḫḫae-*? From your childhood onwards you did not know *tuḫḫima-*. The Fate-goddesses did not decree it for you and your mother did not give birth to it for you". And Mount Ụāšitta 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"'.

Otten (KUB 33: iii) calls this text "Erzählung vom Kreißen des Berges Vāšittas", and Friedrich (1947: 293) states that "da das Verbum *tuḫḫāi-* am Ende der Aufzählung steht, muss es das Ende des Schwangerschafts bezeichnen und "kreissen, in die Wehen kommen" bedeuten" (this translation also in HW: 226). It should be noted, however, that in Hittite texts the period of pregnancy is always ten months, so that the eigth months' period mentioned here cannot have to do with being pregnant. Laroche (1956: 75) connects *tuḫḫae-* with the hapax noun *tuḫḫiiatt-* and translates the latter as 'étouffement' (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 i 6: *nu tu-uḫ-ḫi-ia-at-ti-it a-ak-ti* 'you will die of *t.*'). He also cites KUB 24.7 i (26) *nu* É-*er túḫ*[*-ḫi-ma-az-z*]*a* (27) *píd-du-li-ia-az-za e-eš-ša-an-zi* '(les servants) soignent la maison dans l'étou[fement] et l'angoisse' (cf. CHD P: 366: 'and they do the house-work with gr[oanin]g and anguish'), but it should be noted that this addition is far from assured (I will therefore leave this context out of consideration). Laroche's translations have been taken over by Friedrich in his HW Erg. 1: 21 as 'keuchen, Atemnot haben'. Also Oettinger (2001: 463) translates *tuḫḫima-* as 'Keuchen, Atemnot' and even cites a form *tuḫtuḫḫima-* in KBo 27.32, (3) *túḫ-túḫ-ḫi-mi-eš=t*[*e-eš*] (note that Oettinger's interpretation of the context is incorrect: (3) [...] *túḫ-túḫ-ḫi-mi-eš-t*[*e-eš* ...] (4) [...]x *nu=ua-r=a-an iš-da*$_x$*-m*[*a-aš-*...] is translated by Oettinger as "(3) deine *tuḫtuḫḫima* (Pl.)[(4)... hört[(e)(n)] ihn[", but the enclitic personal pronoun *=an* in line 5 cannot refer to the plural form *tuḫtuḫḫimeš*, as *=an* is sg. only). Perhaps *tuḫtuḫḫima-* belongs with *tuḫtuḫḫiie/a-*^{zi} (q.v.).

In my view, the translations as given above are not really convincing. I would rather propose a different interpretation. In the first context cited above (KUB 33.118, 11f.), the interpretation of the noun *tuḫḫima-* depends on the verb *ištamašta* (KUB 33.118, 13). If *ištamašta* really means 'heard' here, then *tuḫḫima-* must denote something that can be heard. If *ištamašta* meant 'heard of', however, then *tuḫḫima-* could mean something else as well. In my view, it is almost impossible not to connect *tuḫḫae-*^{zi} and *tuḫḫima-* with some vulcanic activity like smoking, spitting lava or similar: this is much more likely than assuming that mountains were crying or coughing.

The possible derivative *tuḫḫiiatt-* is hapax in the following context:

KBo 7.14 i

(3) [-]x *i-it-te-en A-NA* LÚ ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-ši te-et-te-en*

(4) [-]*ta pa-i-mi nu me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da e-ḫu*

(5) [*ták-ku n*]*a-at-ta=ma ú-ua-ši nu-u=t-ta ḫar-ták-kán ma-a-an*

(6) [ ]x-*iš-ke-mi nu tu-uḫ-ḫi-ia-at-ti-it a-ak-ti*

‘You must go [...] and speak to the man of Ḫašši: “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 *tuḫḫiy̯att-*”’.

The idea of this comparison is that if the man of Ḫašši 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 *tuḫḫiy̯att-*, this means that it probably denotes something related to this smoking out: ‘suffication 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* ^{d}UTU-*i ki-i u*[*t*$^{?}$-*tar*$^{?}$ ...]
(10) *da-aš-ke-u-y̯a-ni ki-i* É-*er ku-y̯a-at túḫ-ḫa-it-t*[*a* ...]
(11) *ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši ku-y̯a-at ša-ku-eš-ke-ez-*[*zi*]

‘He said thus: “O Sun-goddess of the Earth, we keep taking [...] this m[atter$^{?}$]. Why does this house *tuḫḫae-*? Why does it(?) continually look up to heaven?”’.

CHD Š: 55 translates *tuḫḫaitt*[*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 *tuḫḫae-* as ‘to smoke’. This makes the etymological connection with PIE **$d^{h}ueh_{2}$-* ‘to smoke’, which was uttered already by Oettinger (1979a: 373) with the assumption that the root **$d^{h}ueh_{2}$-* originally meant “hauchen”, semantically much more understandable.

Since *tuḫḫae-*^{zi} belongs to the *ḫatrae-*class, we have to derive it from a noun **tuḫḫa-*, which must go back to an *o*-stem noun **$d^{h}uh_{2}$-o-* (a verbal derivative of a noun **d^{h}(é)uh_{2}-eh_{2}-* (thus in Oettinger (l.c.), followed by Rieken 1999a: 108) should have yielded a *tāi̯e/a-*class verb).

The noun *tuḫḫima-* shows the suffix *-ima-* (so **$d^{h}uh_{2}$-i-mo-*), on which see Oettinger 2001. Although tempting, it cannot be directly equated with PIE **$d^{h}uh_{2}$-mo-* in Skt. *dhūmá-*, Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dū́mai*, etc. ‘smoke’. For another descendant of the root **$d^{h}ueh_{2}$-*, see *antuy̯aḫḫaš- / antuḫš-*.

tuḫḫara- (c.) '?': Luw. nom.pl. *túḫ-ḫa-ra-an-zi*, Luw. acc.pl. *túḫ-ḫa-ra-an-za*.
PIE *d^huh_2-ero-?

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 TAḪ, which can be read *taḫ* as well as *túḫ*. Tradition has it to cite *taḫḫara-*, 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 túḫ-ḫa-r*[(*a-an-zi*)]
(11) [(*ma-al-u̯*)]*a-ra-an-zi* [(*ú-ra-*)*an-ta*]

//
KUB 35.145 ii
(2) [*n=a-aš-t*(*a an-da túḫ-ḫa-r*)]*a-an-zi ma-al-u̯a-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 túḫ-ḫa-ra-an-zi*
(9) [(*ma-al-u̯a-ra-an-*)*z*]*i ki-iš-ta-nu-nu-un*

'I have extinguished the *t*.-s and *m*.-s'.

Since the *ta/uḫḫara-*'s are clearly things that are being burned, we may ask ourselves whether there could be a connection with PIE *d^hueh_2- 'to smoke'. If so, then we should read *tuḫḫara-*. See also *tuḫḫae-*^{zi}.

tuḫš-$^{a(ri)}$ (IIIc > Ib1, IIa1γ) '(trans.) to cut off, to separate; (intr.) to be cut off, to be separated': 3sg.pres.midd. *tu-uḫ-ša* (KBo 25.73 l.col. 7 (OS), KBo 30.158, 8 (OH?/MS), KBo 30.174, 20 (NS)), *túḫ-ša* (KBo 30.29, 4 (OS)), *túḫ-uḫ-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-uḫ-ša-ri* (KUB 29.29 obv. 4, 5 (OS)), *túḫ-ša-ri* (VSNF 12.10 iv 21 (OH/MS)), *túḫ-uḫ-ša-ri* (KBo 39.8 ii 10 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-ša-a-ri* (KUB 55.28 iii 10 (fr.), 11 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *tu-uḫ-ša-an-ta* (KBo 6.3 ii 10 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *túḫ-ḫu-uš-ta-at* (KBo 39.8 i 41 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-ḫu-uš-ta-ti* (KBo 20.82 i 14 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *túḫ-uḫ-ša-ru* (KBo 39.8 ii 13 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-ša-ru* (Bo 3097 obv. 6 (NS)); 3sg.pres.act. *túḫ-*

uḫ-ḫu-uš-zi (KUB 32.113 ii 15 (OH/MS)), *túḫ-ḫu-uš-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 29, 36, 38 (NH)), *túḫ-ša-i* (KUB 15.42 iii 18, 31 (NS)), *túḫ-ḫu-ša-a-i* (KUB 28.105 i 7 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *túḫ-ša-an-zi* (KUB 17.10 i 39 (OH/MS), KBo 6.5 iii 5 (OH/NS), KBo 6.3 iii 13 (OH/NS)), *túḫ-uḫ-ša-an-z*[*i*] (KBo 13.155, 7 (NS)), *túḫ-ḫu-iš-ša*[*-an-zi*] (KBo 6.5 iii 9 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *túḫ-še-it* (KBo 18.151 rev. 8 (OH/MS)), 1pl.pret.act. *túḫ-šu-me-en* (KBo 15.10 ii 26 (OH/MS)), 2pl.imp.act. *túḫ-ša-at-t*[*én*] (HKM 34, 9 (MH/MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *túḫ-uḫ-ša-an-du* (KBo 39.8 i 41 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-ša-an-du* (HKM 31 obv. 11 (MH/MS)); part. *túḫ-ḫu-uš-ša-an-te-eš* (KUB 8.1 iii 2 (OH/NS)), *túḫ-ša-an-t-* (KBo 15.10 ii 27, iii 9, 19 (fr.) (OH/MS)), *túḫ-uḫ-ša-an-t-* (KBo 39.8 i 48 (MH/MS), KBo 9.114, 12 (MS)); verb.noun. gen.sg. *túḫ-šu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 38.12 i 23 (NS)); inf.I *túḫ-ḫu-šu-an-zi* (KBo 6.2 iii 21 (OS)), [*tú*]*ḫ-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (HKM 37 obv. 14 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 6.3 iii 24 (OH/NS)), *túḫ-šu-u̯a-a*[*n-zi*] (KBo 6.6 i 30 (OH/NS)); inf.II *túḫ-ša-an-na* (KUB 9.28 ii 3 (MH/NS)); impf. [*túḫ*]*-uḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 44.8 + 58.22 i 15 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***tuḫšanna-^{i} / tuḫšanni-*** (IIa5) 'id. (impf.)' (3sg.pres.act. *túḫ-ša-an-na-i* (KBo 15.10 ii 24, KUB 29.24, 5), *túḫ-ša-an-na*[*-a*]*-i* (KBo 15.10 iii 10), 3pl.imp.act. *túḫ-ša-an-ni-i̯a-an-du* (KBo 20.73 iv 11), [*tú*]*ḫ-ša-an-ni-an-du* (KUB 35.146 iii 11); 3sg.pret.midd. *túḫ-uḫ-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 *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to cut, to separate' and *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi} 'to end' (q.v.).

The verb is spelled in quite a few different ways, of which we find the variants *tu-uḫ-š*°, *túḫ-š*°, *túḫ-uḫ-š*° and *túḫ-ḫu-š*° in OS texts already, to which *túḫ-ḫu-uš-* and even *túḫ-uḫ-ḫu-uš-* can be added from MS texts. The forms with *túḫ-uḫ-š*° are often transliterated *túḫ*^{uḫ}*-š*° as if the sign UḪ does not have a function here. In my view, the sign UḪ just indicates that we are dealing with a geminate *-ḫḫ-*, in the same way as it is expressed in the spelling *túḫ-ḫu-uš-*. The attestation of NS *túḫ-ḫu-iš-* indicates that we probably are dealing with a stem /tuH^{w}s-/ that in NH times occasionally was realized as [tuH^{w}is-].

Originally, this verb probably was middle only (in contrast to the homophonic *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi} 'to end), but from MH times onwards it was taken over into the active as well.

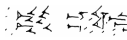
Despite the fact that I have treated *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi} 'to end' under a separate lemma, it is clear that both verbs must derive from a same origin (for the semantics compare ModEng. *cut out* 'to stop').

Sturtevant (1928c: 161) compared Gr. δέω, Hom. δεύω ‘to lack, to miss’, but this is semantically as well as formally improbable (**deuh₂s-* would have given Gr. **δε(ϝ)άω). If this verb is of IE origin, it would reflect **Teuh₂s-* (but note that a final cluster *-uh₂s-* is against PIE root constraints, so perhaps an *s*-extenstion **Teuh₂-s-*?) or **Tueh₂s-* (with generalization of zero-grade). Unfortunately, I know of no convincing cognates.

The inner-Hittite connection with *tuḫḫueššar* ‘sponge(?)’ (q.v.) is based on the many contexts where we find *tuḫḫueššar tuḫš-* ‘to cut the sponge’, but this probably is coincidental: semantically, a connection between ‘to cut, to separate’ and ‘sponge’ is difficult to explain.

tuḫš-^{zi} ‘to end’: see *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi}

tuḫšalau

The word *túḫ-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 *túḫ-ša-ạt-t*[*én*] ‘you must cut off’ (from *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ (q.v.)).

tuḫtuḫḫiịe/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to brandish(?)’: 3pl.pres.act. *túḫ-túḫ-ḫi-ịa-an-zi* (KUB 30.36 iii 14).

PIE **d^{h}euh₂-* ??

The verb is hapax in KUB 30.36 iii (13) ^{GIŠ}TUKUL*=ịa-a=š-ma-aš* ^{KUŠ}*A-RI-TUM* (14) EGIR-*an túḫ-túḫ-ḫi-ịa-an-zi nu te-ez-zi i-it-tén i-it-tén* UḪ₇*-uš* UN^{MEŠ}*-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 *taḫ-taḫ-ḫi-ịa-an-zi* as well. Tischler HEG T: 414 translates “schwingen(?)”, but this is just a possibility. Perhaps the hapax *túḫ-túḫ-ḫi-mi-eš* (or *taḫ-taḫ-ḫi-mi-eš*) in KBo 27.32, 3 (see also at *tuḫḫae-*^{zi}), 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^{h}euH-* “rasch hin- und herbewegen, schütteln” (cf. LIV^{2}: Skt. *dhav^{j}-* ‘to shake’, ON *dýja* ‘to shake’, Gr. θυνέω ‘to storm, to move fast’). The *-ḫḫ-* in Hittite then would point to **h₂*: **d^{h}euh₂-*.

tuḫḫuēššar / tuḫḫuešn- (n.) ‘sponge(?)’: nom.-acc.sg. *túḫ-ḫu-eš-šar* (OS), *túḫ-ḫu-e-eš-šar*, *túḫ-ḫu-i-šar* (OS), *túḫ-ḫu-u-e-eš-šar*, *túḫ-ḫu-u-eš-šar*, abl. *túḫ-ḫu-iš-na-az*, instr. *túḫ-ḫu-eš-ni-it*, *túḫ-ḫu-i-iš-ni-it* (1x).

This word is always spelled with the sign TAḪ, which can be read *túḫ* as well as *taḫ* (so *taḫḫueššar* is equally possible). Tradition has it to cite this word as *tuḫḫueššar*, however, probably on the basis of the obsolete etymological connection with *tuḫš-* (e.g. Kronasser 1966: 104, who wrongly translated *tuḫš-* as "sich kultisch reinigen"). The exact meaning of *tuḫḫuēššar* is not fully clear. On the basis of a formal similarity with *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-* '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) ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM *túḫ-ḫu-i-iš-ni-it* ^{NA_4}*ḫu-u̯a-ši-i̯a* EGIR-*pa*
(7) *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi*

'The cook cleans at the *ḫuu̯aši*-stone with a *t.*';

KUB 41.40 i
(18) [UGULA ^{L}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM GAL-*it u̯a-a-tar ḫar-z*[*i*]
(19) [*t*]*a A-NA QA-TI* LUGAL *u̯a-a-tar pa-ra-a*
(20) [*t*]*úḫ-ḫu-eš-ni-it* 3=*ŠU la-ḫu-u-u̯a-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 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *dan-na-ra-an-da-an* ^{DUG}GAL
(12) *ḫar=zi nu-u=š-ša-an u̯a-a-tar*
(13) *la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-an an-da=ma=kán*
(14) *túḫ-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 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *túḫ-ḫu-eš-šar* LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi* LUGAL-*uš=kán túḫ-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}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *iš-ta-na-ni pa-ra-a túḫ-ḫu-eš-ni-it*
(17) [*š*]*u-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi* GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$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}[$^{Ú?.}$]^{MEŠ}MUḪALDIM$^{!}$ x - x - x LUG[AL-]*i=m*[*a*]$^{!}$
pa-ra-a
(20) [*e-*]*ep-zi nu-u=š-ša-an túḫ-ḫu-iš-na-az*$^{!}$
(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$_6$ *pa-an-kur* ^{NA_4}IM.BABBAR
(6) *kal-u̯i$_5$-iš-na-an*^{SAR} *ta-pal-ku-uš-ta-na-an*^{SAR}
(7) *ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-ši-it-ti-in*^{SAR} *e-u-u̯a-an* ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-aš-du-e-er*
(8) *ku-e-el im-ma* GIŠ-*ru-u̯a-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-i̯a-mi

‘And (I take) *tuḫḫuēššar*, the udder of a nanny goat, gypsum, *kalu̯išna*-herb, *tapalkuštana*-herb, *ḫaḫḫašitti*-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 *tuḫḫueššar* 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 *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* ‘smoke’ is possible if we assume that sponges were named after the fact that they seem to contain air (note that the root **d^{h}ueh$_2$-* from which *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* is derived can mean both ‘smoke’ and ‘breath’).

tuḫḫui-: see *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-*

tuḫḫuš-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to end’: 3sg.pres.act. *túḫ-ḫu-uš-zi* (KBo 20.39 l.col. 16 (OS), KBo 15.33 iii 15, KUB 41.9 rev. 5), 3sg.pret.act. *túḫ-ḫu-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.$^{?}$ 5, KUB 55.42, 9), *túḫ-ḫu-u-uš-ta* (KUB 41.26 + 20.29 iv 25), *túḫ-ḫu-iš-ta* (KBo 14.101, 3, KBo 29.70 i 23, KBo 26.156 obv. 2 (fr.)), *túḫ-ḫu-e-eš-ta* (KUB 57.79 iv 12),

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Often, this verb is equated with *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘to cut, to separate’ (e.g. Neu 1968: 175, Tischler HEG T: 411f.) and the form *túḫ-ḫu-uš-ta* ‘has ended’ is then interpreted as 3sg.pres. of the middle. The fact that there is a consistent semantic difference between *túḫ-ḫu-uš-ta* ‘has ended’ and 3sg.pres.midd. *tu-uḫ-ša*, *túḫ-ša*, *túḫ-uḫ-ša* ‘he cuts’ asks for a different treatment, however. Oettinger (1979a: 527) therefore distinguishes two verbs, namely *tuḫš-*^{ta} ‘zu Ende sein, fertig werden’ and *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘abschneiden, trennen’, both middle. In my view, we should rather interpret *tuḫḫušta* as 3sg. preterite of an active verb, however. My assumption is based on the corresponding present form, 3sg.pres.act. *tuḫḫušzi* ‘ends’ as found in the following contexts:

KBo 15.33 iii

(13) $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM=*m=a-aš iš-ta-na-a-ni ḫu-kán-zi* ...

(14) ... *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma*

(15) *ŠA* DINGIR^{LIM} *uk-tu-u-ri ŠA* ḪA.LA *ḫu-ke-eš-šar túḫ-ḫu-uš-zi*

(16) *nu=z=(š)a-an ma-a-an* ^{LÚ}EN É^{TIM} *ku-it-ki A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM} *ma-al-ta-an*

(17) *ḫar-zi ma-a-an Ú-NU-TUM ku-it-ki ma-a-an* GU_4 UDU

(18) *nu-u=š-ša-an Ú-NU-UT I-NA* NINDA.ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *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-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma ḫu-ke-eš-šar túḫ-ḫu-uš-z*[*i* ...]

‘If the sacrifice ends ...’.

Moreover, the interpretation of *tuḫḫušta* as an active form explains the absence of ***tuḫḫuštari*.

On the basis of the attestations *tuḫḫuišta* and *tuḫḫuēšta*, both denoting [tuH^{w}ɨsta], I assume that we phonologically have to interpret this verb as /tuH^{w}s-/. Despite the fact that I have treated *tuḫḫuš-*^{zi} 'to end' and *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ '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 *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$, I have not been able to find good IE comparanda.

tuḫḫuš-$^{a(ri)}$ 'to cut off, to separate': see *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$

tuḫušiia-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to await, to wait and see': 3sg.pret.act. *du-ḫu-ši-ia-it* (KBo 5.8 iii 17), *tu-ḫu-ši-ia-i*[*t*] (KBo 16.8 iii 21, KBo 8.34, 3), *tu-ḫu-uš-ši-ia-it* (KBo 2.5 i 2), *tu-u-ḫu-ši-ia-it* (KUB 19.13 i 30), 1pl.pres.act. *tu-u-ḫu-ši-ia-u-e-ni* (KUB 19.13 i 16).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***taḫušiia-*** 'to keep silent/quiet(?)' (1sg.pret.act. *ta-ḫu-ši-ia-aḫ-ḫa*, *da-ḫu-ši-ia-aḫ-ḫa*, *da-ḫu-u-ši-ia-a-aḫ-ḫa*).

This verb is consistently spelled with single *-ḫ-* (e.g. Tischler's citing (HEG T: 421) as "*tuḫḫusiya-*" is incorrect). Its CLuwian counterpart, *taḫušiia-* (which is attested in Hittite texts but must be Luwian because of the ending *-ḫḫa* and the use of gloss wedges), is spelled with *-a-*. The alteration Hitt. *tuḫuš-* vs. CLuw. *taḫuš-* 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$_2$eno-*, 2sg.pret. *-tta* < **-th$_2$e*), which means that a preform **th$_2$u-* should yield Hitt. *tu-*. Oettinger's connection (1979a: 326) with Skt. *tūṣṇ́īm* 'quietly', which must reflect **tuHs-*, implies that a preform **tuh$_2$s-* yielded PAnat. **tuHs-*, which was metathesized to **tHus-* after the period that **th$_2$V* > *tV*. All in all, I would remain sceptical about this etymology.

tuḫḫuua-* / *tuḫḫui- (c.) 'smoke': nom.sg. *túḫ-ḫu-iš* (KUB 17.10 iv 21 (OH/MS), KUB 33.36 ii 5 (OH/MS)), *túḫ-ḫu-u-ua-iš* (KUB 5.24 ii 16 (NS)), acc.sg. *túḫ-ḫu-in* (KBo 8.35 iii 6 (MH/MS)), *túḫ-ḫu-i-in* (KBo 12.89 iii 8, 17 (MS)), *túḫ-ḫu-ua-in* (KBo 10.2 iii 40 (OH/NS)), *túḫ-ḫu-u-ua-in* (KUB 24.5+ obv. 14 (NS)), instr.? *túḫ-ḫu-i*[*t*] (KUB 2.4 ii 4 (OH/NS)).

PIE **d^{h}ueh$_2$-u-ōi-s*, **d^{h}uh$_2$-u-ói-m*, **d^{h}uh$_2$-u-i-ós*

The meaning ‘smoke’ is assured by the fact that in the bilingue KBo 10.1 / KBo 10.2, *túḫ-ḫu-u̯a-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 *taḫḫuu̯ai-* as well as *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* is possible. Traditionally, this word is transcribed *tuḫḫuu̯ai-*.

Within the paradigm, we find forms that show a stem *tuḫḫui-* as well as *tuḫḫuu̯ai-*. The oldest attestations (MS) all show *tuḫḫui-*, whereas *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* is found in NS texts only (but once in an OH/NS-text). For instance, Tischler (HEG T: 418) therefore concludes that *tuḫḫui-* is the original form. Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain the forms with *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* then: diphthong-stems are rare and unproductive. I therefore think that it is better to regard this word as an original diphthong-stem *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-* 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 **dʰuh₂-* ‘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. *antuu̯aḫḫaš-* ‘human being’ if this indeed reflects **h₁n-dʰueh₂-os-* ‘having breath inside’. This means that for *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-* we have to assume a paradigm **dʰuéh₂-u-ōi-s*, **dʰuh₂-u-ói-m*, **dʰuh₂-u-i-ós*, in which the stems *tuḫḫuu̯ai-* and *tuḫḫui-* were generalized on the basis of the oblique cases. The fact that between the root **dʰuh₂-* and the suffix *-oi-* another suffix, *-u-*, is found can be compared to e.g. *šāklāi-* < **séh₂k-l-ōi-*.

LÚ***du̯ianalli-*** (c.) ‘second in rank’: nom.sg. *du-u̯a-na-al-li-iš* (IBoT 1.36 i 39), dat.-loc.sg. *du-u̯a-na-al-li* (IBoT 1.36 i 38).

IE cognates: Skt. *dvayá-* ‘twofold, in pairs’, Gr. δοιοί ‘both, two’, δοιός ‘double’, OCS *dъvojь* ‘twofold’, Lith. *dvejì* ‘two’, *dvẽja* ‘of two kinds’.

PIE **dui-u̯o-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) LÚ*ME-ŠE-DI te-ez-zi a-pa-š=a pa-ra-a* LÚ*tar-ri-u̯a-na-al-li te-ez-zi*
(38) LÚ*tar-ri-u̯a-na-al-li-iš=ma* LÚ*du-u̯a-na-al-li te-ez-zi*
(39) LÚ*du-u̯a-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 *duḭanalli-* can be determined as ‘the one of second rank’. Because *tarriḭanalli-* ‘third of rank’ must be a Luwian form (in Hittite, we would expect ****teriḭa-*) from **tri-ḭo-no-* + *-alli-*, it is likely that *duḭanalli-* is Luwian, too, and reflects **dui-ḭo-no-* + *-alli-* (note that a reconstruction **duio-* is unlikely as we would expect that here intervocalic **-ḭ-* would disappear). See *tān* for other descendants of PIE **du(o)i-* ‘two’.

tuk : see *zīk / tu-*

tukk-$^{\bar{a}ri}$ (IIIf) ‘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$_4$-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$_4$-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$_4$-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$_4$-ri* (KBo 30.186 rev. 19 (NS), KUB 55.48 i 13 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *du-uk-ka$_4$-an-da-ri* (KBo 21.76, 14 (NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *du-uk-ka$_4$-a-ti* (KUB 41.18 ii 8 (MS?)), *tu-uk-ka$_4$-a-at* (KBo 4.12 obv. 18 (NH)), *tu-ug-ga-at* (KBo 5.3 ii 25 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***tukkēšš-***^{zi} (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 is *dug(g)-*. It denotes ‘to be visible’, but also ‘to be important’, especially in the syntagm *ŪL 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^heug^h-* ‘to be of use’. Apart from the fact that the semantic connection is rather weak, the formal side is difficult as well: **g^h* cannot explain the geminate *-kk-* in Hittite (note that

Oettinger assumes that *-kk-* was secondarily taken over from "rhyming" *u̯akkāri* '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[17]) 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$_4$-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.

tuli̯a- (c.) 'gathering, assembly': acc.sg. *tu-li-i̯a-an* (KBo 3.1 ii 34, 51), gen.sg. *tu-li-i̯a-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-i̯a*[*-aš*] (KUB 21.19 iv 25), *tu-u-li-i̯a-aš* (KUB 33.110, 5), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-li-i̯a* (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[?] 4), *tu-u-li-i̯a* (KUB 6.46 iii 51), *tu-ú-li-i̯a* (KUB 21.1 iv 39), *tu-ú-li-i̯*[*a*] (KUB 21.5 iv 45), dat.-loc.pl. *tu-li-i̯a-aš* (KBo 22.1, 16 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***tūli̯ašša/i-*** (adj.) 'belonging to the assembly' (nom.sg.c. *tu-li-i̯a-aš-ši-iš*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *tu-ú-li-i-i̯a-aš-ša-an*, *tu-ú-li-i̯a-aš-ša-an*, abl.-instr. *tu-ú-l*[*i-i̯a-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-i̯a-* 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. *tū́las* 'many', *tūlẽ* '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)*

[É]***tūmantiḭatt-*** (c.) a kind of building, 'ear-building(??)': dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ḭa-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 É 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 [(UZU)]*ištāman- / ištamin-* 'ear'.

-ttuma(ri), ***-ttumat(i)*** (2pl.midd.-endings)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-(d)duu̯ar(i)*** (2pl.midd.pres.-ending): *az-tu-u-u̯a-ri*, *ma-az-za-al-la-ša-du-u̯a-ri*, *da-a-ad-du-u̯a-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-*: *ḫannaddumati*, *ḫuḭadduma*, *iḭadduma*, *iḭaddumat*, *kiddumati*, *šarradduma*, *paiškettuma*, *zaḫḫiḭadduma*, *zaḫḫiḭaddumat*. The few cases with single *-t-* or *-d-* (*e-eš-ke-du-ma-at* (KUB 12.63 obv. 5), *ḫa-an-na-d*[*u-ma-at*] (KBo 10.45 iii 36), *ḫa-an-na-du-ma-ti* (KUB 41.8 iii 8), *ḫa-a*[*š-š*]*i-ik-ki-du-ma-at* (KBo 39.8 i 35) and *šar-ka-li-ḭa-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. *-ḫḫa* besides *-ḫḫari*, 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)du̯ar(i)*, which shows that Hitt. *-ttuma+* reflects older **-ttu̯a+*. 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^{h}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^h-*). Melchert (1984a: 26) reconstructs **-dh$_2$ue*, which indeed would account for Hitt. *-tt-* as well as *-um-* (for **CHuV* > Hitt. *CumV*, cf. e.g. **dh$_3$-u̯éni* > *tumēni*). Nevertheless, **-dh$_2$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*$^?$*-ú-ur* (KBo 16.99 i 6).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ****dūr / dūn-*** (n.) 'urine' (abl.-instr. *du-ú-na-ti*).

PIE **séik^w-r*, **séik^w-n-* ?

This word is hapax in KUB 13.4 iii 67f.: *a-pé-e-da-ni=ma* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-eš za-ak-kar* ⮜ *du-ú-ur* (68) *a-da-an-na a-ku-u̯a-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=u̯a=ti pár-na-an-za du-ú-na-ti* (9) [*pa-ap-pár-*]*ku-u̯a-at-ti* 'The mother cleans the house with *d.*', with additions on the basis of ibid. (15) [*a*]*n-ni-iš=ku=u̯a=ti pár-na-an-za ma-ad-du-ú*[*-u̯a-ti*] (16) [*p*]*a-ap-pár-ku-u̯a-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. *šēḫur / šēḫun-* '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 *šēḫur / šēḫun-* I believe that this word was borrowed into Hittite from another Anatolian language (Palaic?) in which PIE **séik^w-r* / **séik^w-n-* regularly yielded *šēḫur / šēḫun-*. Although the details regarding the initial consonant are not fully clear, I believe that in Luwian, a pre- from **Céik^{w}r* would through PAnat. **Cēg^{w}r* and pre-Luwian **Cēʔ^{w}r* yield CLuw. *Cūr*. Note that in the other words where Luwian *t-* seems to correspond to Hitt. *š-*,

we are also dealing loss of a PAnat. *g in Luwian (CLuw. *tāu̯a/i-* ~ Hitt. *šākuu̯a-* 'eye' < **sók^{w}o-*, CLuw. *tāin-* ~ Hitt. *šākan / šakn-* 'oil' < **sóg$^{(h)}$-(e)n-*). Perhaps this loss of PAnat. *-g- caused initial *s- to yield Luw. *t-*.

^{GIŠ}***tūri-*** (n./c.) 'spear, lance' (Sum. ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR): nom.-acc.sg. *tu-u-ri* (OS), acc.sg.c. *tu-u-ri-in*, gen.sg. *tu-u-ri-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ri-i̯a*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ^{GIŠ}***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 ^{GIŠ}*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-i̯a-ar* NUMUN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-na* [*p*]*u-u-na-a-ta*
(32) *in-za-ga-a-an u̯a-aš-ḫa a=(a)ta* [*BE-*]*ÈL* SÍSKUR
(33) ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-at-ta-ra-a-ti ḫa-at-ta*[*-r*]*i-it-ta*
(34) ^{GIŠ}*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›* ^{d}IŠKUR-*u*[*n-t*]*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 *ḫ*.-ed them with a *ḫ*. 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 MIr. *tūag* 'axe', OHG *stoc* 'stick', Lat. *tudes* 'hammer'), assuming that *tūri-* shows the suffic *-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. **/tū́ri-/, spelled ***tu-ú-ri-*, whereas the spelling *tu-u-ri-* points to /tóri-/. This could point to an etymological connection with the verb *tūrii̯e/a-^{zi}* /torie/a-/ 'to harness' that reflects **d^{h}uh$_{1}$r-i̯e/o-*.

tūriḭe/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to harness’: 3sg.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-ez-zi* (OS), *tu-u-ri-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-i̯a-zi*, *tu-u-ri-e-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-i̯a-u-e-ni* (KUB 13.35 iii 25), 3pl.pres.act. *tu-u-ri-i̯a-an-zi* (OS), *tu-ri-i̯a-an-zi* (1x), 1sg.pret.act. *tu-u-ri*[*-i̯a-nu-*(*un*)] (KBo 10.2 iii 42), *tu-u-ri-i̯a-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-i̯a-at-tén* (KUB 24.3+ ii 37); part. *tu-u-ri-i̯a-an-t-*, *tu-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (rare); verb.noun.gen.sg. *tu-u-ri-i̯a-u-aš* (OS), *tu-u-ri-i̯a-u̯a-aš* (OS); impf. *tu-u-ri-eš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *tu-u-ri-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS).

IE cognates: Skt. *dhúr-* ‘yoke; pole or shaft of a carriage’, Gr. θαιρός ‘pivot of a door; axle of a chariot’, TochA *tursko* ‘ox of burden, draught bull’.

PIE **dʰuh₁r-i̯e/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. *dhúr-* ‘yoke; pole or shaft of a carriage’ (nom.sg. *dhū́r*, acc.sg. *dhuram*). Mayrhofer (1986-2002: s.v.) reconstructs *dhū́r* as **dʰu̯r̥h₁*, and connects it with Gr. θαιρός ‘pivot of a door; axle of a chariot’, which should reflect **dʰu̯r̥h₁-i̯o-*. In Hittite, *tūriḭe/a-* seems rather to reflect **dʰuh₁r-i̯e/o-*, however. Perhaps we have to assume laryngeal-metathesis.

See at ^{GIŠ}*tūri-* ‘spear’ for the possibility that it is cognate with *tūriḭe/a-*^{zi}.

tušk(iḭe/a)-^{zi} (Ib1 > Ic1, IIa1γ) ‘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-i̯a-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? 15 (NS), KBo 30.77 iv 13 (NS), KUB 59.34 iii 4 (NS), KUB 17.35 ii 26 (NS)), *du-uš-ka₄-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-kit₉* (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-ḫu-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-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$_4$-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$_x$* (KUB 49.100 rev.? 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-^{zi}*** (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$_4$-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)), ***dušgariia̯tar / dušgariia̯nn-*** (n.) 'happiness' (dat.-loc.sg. *du-uš-ga-ri-i̯a-an-ni* (RS 25.421 rev. 61)), ***dušgarauua̯nt-*** (adj.) 'happy, glad' (nom.sg.c. *du-uš-ga-ra-u-u̯a-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-^{zi}* (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-^{zi}* 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^{s}i/ as from a stem *tuške/a-*, can be read *du-uš-ki-ez-zi* = /tuskiet^{s}i/ as well, as from a stem *tuškii̯e/a-^{zi}*. When we assume that the stem was *tušk-^{zi}* with a variant *tuškii̯e/a-^{zi}*, we perhaps can interpret the stem *tuškara-* seen in the derivatives *tuškaratt-*, *tuškarātar* and *tuškarau̯ant-* 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-^{zi}*. She therefore states that "es sich wahrscheinlich um eine Reimbildung zu **naḫšara-* [handelt], da *-ra-* nicht an thematischen Verben tritt".

The root *tušk-* can only reflect a preform **TusK-*. All proposed etmologies, 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. *þiuþ* 'das Gute', which reflect a root **teu-* 'in freundlichem Sinne die Aufmerksamkeit

zuwenden'. In my view, these proposals cannot be correct. The verb *tušk-^{zi}* rather reflects a root **TusK-*, which is comparable in structure to e.g. **mesg-*, **resg-* and **tresḱ-* in LIV^2. Unfortunately I have not been able to find cognates.

^{MUNUS}***duttariia/i-*** (c.) a female functionary: nom.sg. *du-ut-tar-ri-ia-ti-iš* (KUB 22.40 iii 18), *du-ut-tar-ia-ta-aš*$^{!}$ (Bo 4120 r.col. 4), gen.sg. *du-ut-tar-ri-ia-ti-ia-aš* (KBo 24.126 obv. 28).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***tuwatra/i-*** 'daughter' (acc.sg. ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (TELL AHMAR 1 §24), ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-ta*[*ra/i-na*] (TELL AHMAR 1 §29), FILIA-*tara/i-na* (KELEKLİ §2)); Lyc. ***kbatra-*** 'daughter' (nom.sg. *kbatra*, acc.sg. *kbatru*, dat.sg. *kbatri*).

PAnat. **duegtr-*, **dugtr-*

IE cognates: Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, Gr. (Myc.) *tu-ka-te*° (in compounds), TochB *tkācer*, TochA *ckācar*, Arm. *dowstr*, Osc. *futír*, ModHG *Tochter*, Lith. *duktẽ*, OCS *dъšti*, Gaul. *duχtir* 'daughter'.

PIE **dʰuégh$_2$-tr*, **dʰugh$_2$-tér-m*, **dʰugh$_2$-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 ^{FILIA}*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.$^{?}$ 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 ^{TÚL}*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 ^{MUNUS}*duttarriiata/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 ^{MUNUS}*šiuanzanna-*, a priestess, lit. 'divine mother') and is formally quite similar is remarkable at least. Because of the alteration between a stem *duttariata-* and *duttarriiati-*, 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', ^{MUNUS}*duttarriiata/i-* (a Luwian word in Hittite contexts) that could well be cognate, and ^{TÚL}*Duuattarina-*, 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 **dʰugh₂ter-* (Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, TochB *tkācer*, etc.). How to get from **dʰugh₂ter-* 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: *dʰugh₂tr-* (or **dʰugə₂tr-*) > **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 */h₂/* anywhere in Anatolian" (Melchert 1994a: 70: alleged *šaklāi-* 'custom, rite' from **sh₂k-loi-* is rather to be interpreted as *šāklāi-* < **seh₂k-loi-*).

With the elimination of **h₂* as a possible explanation for *-a-*, e.g. Melchert (1994a: 69) has to assume that in **dʰugh₂tr-* > **dugtr-* an anaptytic vowel emerged: **dug$_e$tr-* > **dugatr-*. After the loss of PAnat. **g*, this form then would yield Luw. *tuwatr-* and, later on, Lyc. *kbatr-* (with **tu-* > *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 ^{MUNUS}*duttarriiata/i-* indeed is cognate, it would show a Luwian form without an anaptyctic vowel before **-t-*. It seems to reflect **dugt(a)riada/i-* < **dʰugh₂t(e)r-*.

In my view, we will not easily be able to explain the vowel *-a-* and the difference between *duttarriiata/i-* and *tuwatra-* without assuming that we are dealing with a real vowel and with ablaut. I therefore want to propose that *duttarriiata/i-* indeed reflects **dʰugh₂t(e)r-*, but that *tuwatra/i-* and *kbatra-* go back to **duetr-* < **duegtr-* < **dʰuegh₂tr-* (note that *kbatra-* must show *a*-umlaut from older **kbetra-*; 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. **dʰuégh₂tr*, acc.sg. **dʰugh₂térm*, gen.sg. **dʰugh₂trós*. 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. **dʰuégh₂tr* was enlarged with **-eh₂-* and regularly yielded HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*. On the basis of either the stem **dʰugh₂tér-* or **dʰugh₂tr-* a derivative in **-io-* (or **-ieh₂-*) was formed,

which functioned as the basis for Luw. **duttarriia/i-* (for the suffix *-ata/i-* compare CLuw. *ḫuḫatalla/i-* 'ancestral', derived from **ḫuḫata/i-*, besides *ḫūḫa-* 'grandfather'), which was borrowed into Hittite as ^{MUNUS}*duttarriiata/i-*. After the splitting off of Anatolian, nom.sg. **dʰuégh₂tr* was secondarily altered to **dʰugh₂tḗr* (attested thus abundantly in the other IE languages) on the basis of e.g. **ph₂tḗr* 'father', which is the reason that no traces of ablaut are found anymore outside of Anatolian.

tūua (adv.) 'far': *tu-u-ua* (NH).

Derivatives: ***tuuān*** 'to this side', ***tuuān*** ... ***tuuān*** 'to this side ... to that side' (*tu-ua-a-an* (OS), *tu-u-ua-an* (OS, 1x), *du-ua-a-an*, *du-ua-an*), ***tuuānta*** (adv.) 'to this side' (*tu-ua-a-an-ta* (KBo 25.42 l.col. 12), *tu-ua-an-ta* (KBo 25.41 + KBo 30.114 obv. 8)), ***tūuaz*** (adv.) 'from afar' (*tu-u-az* (OS), *tu-u-ua-az* (OS), *tu-u-ua-za* (1x)), ***tūuala-*** (adj.) 'far' (nom.sg.c. *tu-u-ua-l*[*a-aš*] (KBo 1.31 rev. 16), dat.-loc.sg. *tu-u-ua-li* (KBo 4.14 ii 57), all.sg. *tu-u-ua-la* (KUB 8.14 rev. 7)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***dūuaza-*** (adj.) 'wide(?)' (acc.sg. *du-ú-ua-za-an*).

IE cognates: Skt. *dūrám* 'far away', *dūrát* 'from afar', Gr. δήν '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 **dueh₂m*

Although I have cited these words under the lemma *tūua*, on the basis of the chronological distribution we probably should conclude that *tūua*, which is attested in NH texts only, was a NH analogical creation on the basis of *tūuaz* and *tūuan*, which are both attested in OS texts. Despite the fact that *tūuan* 'to this side' and *tūuaz* 'from afar' are semantically rather different, already Pisani (1940: 354) suggests that they belong together, which means that *tūuan* represents a petrified accusative, *tūuaz* an old ablative and *tūua* an allative form.

Already Benveniste (1932: 142f.) etymologically connected *tūua* 'far' and *tūuaz* 'from afar' with Skt. *dūrám* 'far away', *dūrát* 'from afar', Gr. δήν 'long, far' (< **δϝάν*) etc., which reflect a root **dueh₂-*. Eichner (1978: 160[69]) reconstructs *tūua-* as **duh₂-io-*, but this is problematic in view of *tāiezzi* < **teh₂ieti* and *ḫuianzi* < **h₂uh₁ienti* that shows that we then would expect a form ***tūia-*. Although a form ***tūia-* would yield Hitt. *tūua-* in NH times, we would expect that in OS texts the intervocalic *-i-* still would be present (compare OS *ḫuianzi* > NH *ḫuuanzi*), which contrasts with the fact that already in OS texts we find the spelling *tu-u-ua-az*. Melchert (1984a: 30) has a different opinion and equates *tuuān* with Gr. δήν, which he reconstructs as **dueh₂m*. If this reconstruction is correct, it would show

a few important things. Firstly, in a sequence **Tu̯eh₂-* the *-u̯-* was retained (unlike in a sequence **Tu̯o* > Hitt. *Ta*). Second, a sequence **-eh₂m* did not yield **-aḫḫan* or **-aḫḫun*, 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 **dueh₂s*, **dueh₂m*, **duh₂os*. In my view, the only way that we can explain the forms *tūu̯az* and *tūu̯a* then, is assuming the following scenario. In the cases where we find **dueh₂C*, the **h₂* is regularly lost, probably through a stage **duaʔC* (with neutralization of **h₂* to *ʔ* in front of consonant). In my view, we could envisage that in a paradigm where we find **duaʔC* besides **duʕV*, the consonant **ʔ* has been generalized throughout the paradigm, yielding **duʔV*, which regularly developed into Hitt. *tūu̯V*.

The CLuwian adjective *dūu̯aza-*, which is used as an epithet of *tiį̯amm(i)-* 'earth' and often translated as 'wide', is sometimes regarded as a cognate to Hitt. *tūu̯a*. Apart from the fact that a meaning 'wide' is unassured, the formal aspect is not easy either because of the unexplained *-za-* in Luwian.

tūu̯an: see *tūu̯a*

duu̯arni-*^{zi} / *duu̯arn- (Ia1 > Ic2, IIa1γ, Ic1 > Ic2) 'to break (something); (midd.) to break (intr.)'.: 1sg.pres.act. *du-u̯a-ar-na-aḫ-ḫi* (KBo 32.19 ii 28 (MH/MS), KBo 22.137 iii 4 (NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-*[*aḫ-ḫi*] (KBo 22.137 iii 2 (NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-a-aḫ-ḫi* (NH), 2sg.pres.act. *du-u̯a-ar-na-at-ti* (KUB 15.19 obv. 7 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *tu-u̯a-a*[*r-*...] (KBo 6.2 i 20 (OS)), *du-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar-ni-iz-zi* (KBo 39.8 iv 13 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-zi* (KBo 6.3 iii 70 (OH/NS)), *tu-u̯a-a*[*r-n*]*i-iz-zi* (KBo 6.3 i 29 (OH/NS)), *tu-u̯a-ar-na-zi* (KBo 6.3 i 31 (OH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-i* (KBo 39.8 ii 11 (MH/MS), KUB 24.9 ii 43 (OH/NS), KUB 48.118, 13 (NH)), *tu-u̯a-ar-na-i* (KBo 24.1 i 8, 12 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-a-i* (KUB 26.1 iii 64 (NH)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-į̯a-az-zi* (KUB 17.27 ii 36 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-į̯a-zi* (KUB 17.28 ii 49 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-e-ez-zi* (NH), *du-u̯a-ar-na-a-iz-zi* (NH), *tu-u̯a-ar-na-a-iz-zi* (NH), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-į̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 30.15 i 35 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *tu-u̯a-ar-na-an-zi* (KBo 39.8 iv 14 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar-ni-į̯a-an-zi* (KBo 20.34 obv. 10, 12 (OH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-į̯a-an-zi* (KUB 30.19 iv 22 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *du-u̯a-ar-ni-nu-un* (KUB 41.19 rev. 8 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-aḫ-*

ḫu-un (KUB 13.35 iv 25, 30 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *du-u̯a-ar-ni-it* (KUB 17.10 i 33 (OH/MS), KBo 10.45 iii 33 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-aš* (NH), 3pl.pret.act. *tu-u̯a-ar-ni-er* (KUB 36.104 obv. 7 (OS), KBo 3.34 i 9 (OH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ner* (KUB 40.95 ii 13 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *du-u̯a-ar-na-a-ú* (KBo 6.34 iii 41 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-du* (KBo 2.3 ii 42 (MH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *du-u̯a-ar-na-an-du* (HKM 66 obv. 19 (MH/MS), KBo 6.34 ii 52 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-i̯a-an-du* (KBo 22.104, 13 (undat.)); 3sg.pres.midd. *du-u̯a-ar-na-at-ta-ri* (KBo 32.14 ii 48, iii 43 (fr.) (MH/MS), KBo 5.1 i 4 (MH/NS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-ad-da-a-ri* (KBo 5.1 iv 40 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *du-u̯a-ar-na-at-ta-at* (KBo 32.14 lower edge 71 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-ad-da-at* (KBo 5.1 i 45 (MH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *tu-u̯a-ar-na-at-ta-ru* (KBo 39.8 iii 34, iv 15 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-na-at-ta-ru* (Bo 6166 ii 10, KBo 53.27 iii 47); part. *du-u̯a-ar-na-an-t-* (MH?/NS); verb.noun *du-u̯a-ar-nu-u̯a-ar* (KUB 3.95, 8 (NS)), gen.sg. *du-u̯a-ar-nu-ma-aš* (KUB 26.92, 12 (NH)); inf.I *du-u̯a-ar-nu-ma-an*[*-zi*] (KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 23 (NS)); impf. *tu-u̯a-ar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (KBo 39.8 iii 33, 36 (MH/MS)), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-eš-ke/a-* (NH), *du-u̯a-ar-ni-iš-ke/a-* (NH), *du-u̯a-ar-ṣaš-ke/a-* (KBo 2.3 ii 41 (NH)).

IE cognates: Skt. **dhvar^{i}-* ‘to hurt, to damage’.

PIE **d^{h}ur-né-h$_{1}$-ti*, **d^{h}ur-n-h$_{1}$-énti*

This verb shows forms of many different inflection classes, especially in the youngest texts, where we find forms that belong to the stems *duu̯arni̯e/a-^{zi}*, *duu̯arni-^{zi}*, *duu̯arnae-^{zi}*, *duu̯arni̯ae-^{zi}* and *duu̯arna-^{i} / duu̯arn-*. It is difficult to decide which inflection is the oldest. In OS texts, we only find 3pl.pret.act. *tu-u̯a-ar-ni-er* (or *tu-u̯a-ar-né-er*), which does not reveal anything regarding its inflection (it can belong with *tuu̯arni̯e/a-*, *tuu̯arni-* and *tuu̯arn(a)-*), and the broken form 3sg.pres.act. *tu-u̯a-a*[*r-...*]. In MS texts, we already find different stems: *duu̯arnaḫḫi* (MH/MS) and *duu̯arnai* (MH/MS) unambiguously point to the stem *duu̯arna-^{i} / duu̯arn-*, whereas *tuu̯arni̯anzi* (OH/MS) unambiguously points to a stem *tuu̯arni̯e/a-^{zi}*. The interpretation of 3sg.pres.act. *tu/du-u̯a-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 /°nit^{s}i/ as well as /°niet^{s}i/ is possible. On the basis of the form *du-u̯a-ar-ni-zi* (OH/NS) and *du-u̯a-ar-ni-nu-un* (MH/NS), which unambiguously point to /°nit^{s}i/ and /°ninon/, I assume that at least a part of the MS attestations with *-ni-iz-zi* denotes /°nit^{s}i/ (on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *tuu̯arni̯anzi* (OH/MS), it cannot be excluded that some attestations denote /°niet^{s}i/ as well). This means that we have to reckon with a stem *duu̯arni-^{zi}*. The interpretation of 3pl.pres.act. *tuu̯arnanzi* (MH/MS) is unclear as well. On the one hand, one could argue that it belongs with the stem *duu̯rna-^{i} / duu̯arn-*, but, on the

other, we could also assume that it belongs with *duu̯arnizzi* and shows an ablauting stem *duu̯arni-^{zi} / duu̯arn-* (compare *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-* 'to finish'). Out of the three stems that are visible in MS texts, *duu̯arna-^{i} / duu̯arn-*, *duu̯arni-^{zi} / duu̯arn-* and *duu̯arnii̯e/a-^{zi}*, the stem *duu̯arni-/duu̯arn-* must be the original one since this type is unproductive and declining in Hittite, whereas both the *tarn(a)*-class as well as the *-i̯e/a*-class are very productive. In this case, we can easily imagine that on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *duu̯arnizzi*, a new 3pl.pres.act. *duu̯arnii̯anzi* was created, which was the source for the *-i̯e/a*-class, whereas on the other hand on the basis of 3pl.pres.act. *duu̯arnanzi* a new singular stem *duu̯arna-^{i}* 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 *duu̯arnizzi*, *duu̯arnanzi* (thus also Oettinger 1979a: 151, but he wrongly cites this verb as *duu̯arne-*).

Already Goetze (1954: 403) connected this verb with Skt. *dhvar^{i}-* '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 **dʰu̯orne i̯é-*, a derivative from a "Verbaladj. **dhu̯orno-* 'beschädigt'". Melchert (1984a: 36) rejects this on the basis of the fact that **dʰu̯o-* should have given Hitt. ***ta-* and not *tuu̯a-*. He therefore rather reconstructs **dʰu̯erne-i̯é-ti*, **dʰu̯erne-i̯ónti*, from an *e*-grade noun **dʰu̯erno-*. Apart from the fact that derivatives of *o*-stem nouns usually show **-o-i̯e/o-* and end up in the Hitt. *ḫatrae*-class, the assumed development of **dʰu̯ern-* > Hitt. *tuu̯arn-* is unparalleled. In my view, **dʰu̯ernV-* should have yielded Hitt. ***tuernV-*, compare e.g. **kʷermi* > *kuermi* 'I cut'.

A better approach in my view is Oettinger's (1979a: 151), who reconstructs *duu̯arnizzi*, *duu̯arnanzi* as **dʰu̯r̥-né-h$_1$-ti*, **dʰu̯r̥-n-h$_1$-énti* (compare *zinnizzi / zinnanzi* 'to finish' < **ti-né-h$_1$-ti*, **ti-n-h$_1$-énti*). 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 ***Cu̯aRC*. 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 *Cu̯aRCC* (cf. *ku̯aške/a-* < **gʷʰn-ske/o-*, *kuaraške/a-* < **kʷr-ske/o-*, etc.). In this case, the regular outcomes of **dʰurnéh$_1$ti* and **dʰurnh$_1$énti* are ***durnizzi* and *duu̯arnanzi*. Apparently, the stem of the plural was generalized throughout the paradigm (similarly in *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-*, where the geminate *-nn-* of the plural spread over the paradigm).

The usual form of the imperfective is *tuu̯arni/eške/a-*, but once we find = *du-u̯a-ar-aš-ke-ez-zi* (KBo 2.3 ii 41). Unfortunately, the form is slightly damaged. E.g. Tischler (HEG T: 495) proposes to read *du-u̯a-ar-n*[*i-iš*]*-ke-ez-zi* or *du-u̯a-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-u̯a-ar-ạš-ke-* here and assume that this form is to be compared with e.g. *taraške/a-* (imperfective of *tarna-*^{i} / *tarn-*) in the sense that it is derived from the unextended root *d^{h}uerh$_{1}$- and reflects *d^{h}urh$_{1}$sḱé/ó-. Note that a sequence *CrHsC- normally yields Hitt. /CrɨsC-/ (e.g. *paripriške/a-* < *pri-prh$_{1}$-sḱe/o-), which means that in *d^{h}urh$_{1}$sḱe/o- the *-u-* may have caused a slightly different development (perhaps *d^{h}urh$_{1}$sḱe/o- > *d^{h}urske/o- > Hitt. /tuərské/á-/, spelled *du̯araške/a-*). A similar development is visible in $^{(GIŠ)}$*u̯aršma-* 'piece of firewood' (q.v.) < *urh$_{1}$-smo-.

Usually, the CLuwian verb *lau̯arr(ii̯a)-* is regarded as cognate with *du̯arni-*^{zi} / *du̯arn-*, but see its own lemma for the improbability of this.

tuzzi- (c.) 'army, military forces; military camp' (Sum. ERIN^{MEŠ}): 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-i̯a-aš*, *tu-zi-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. [*t*]*u-uz-zi-i̯a* (KUB 36.106 rev. 11 (OS), etc.), *tu-zi* (KBo 3.13 ii 3 (OH/NS)), abl. *tu-uz-zi-i̯a-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: ***tuzzii̯ant-*** (c.) 'army' (nom.sg. *tu-uz-zi-i̯a-an-za* (KBo 2.5+ iii 53, KUB 23.21 obv. 30 (fr.)), *tu-uz-zi-az* (KUB 23.11 iii 16)), ***tuzzii̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to encamp' (1sg.pret.act. *tu-uz-zi-i̯a-nu-un* (often)), ***tuzzii̯ašeššar*** (n.) 'army(camp)(?)' (nom.-acc.sg. *tu-uz-zi-i̯a-še-eš-ša*[*r*] (KUB 19.7 i 5)), ^{NINDA}***tuzzi-*** (c.) 'soldier-bread' (Sum. NINDA.ERIN^{MEŠ}; nom.sg. *tu-uz-zi-iš*, acc.sg. *tu-uz-zi-in*).

PIE *d^{h}h$_{1}$-uti-

The bulk of the attestations show a stem *tuzzi-*. Only once, we find a form that points to a stem *tuzzii̯a-*, namely nom.sg. *tuzziaš=miš* (NH), which is clearly secondary.

Forrer *apud* Feist (1924: 130[1]) 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. *tàuta* 'people', Osc. *touto* and Umbr. *totam* 'civitatem' < *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 **tuzzazzi- /tutst^{s}i-/; *teut-i̯o- (thus Eichner *apud* Hoffmann 1968: 215[11]) 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-^{i} / 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 **$d^{h}h_{1}$-uti-*. For the suffix **-uti-*, cf. *luzzi-* < **lh_{1}-uti-*, *išḫuzzi-* < **sh_{2}-uti-*, etc.

Cf. Dercksen (2004) for the fact that this word is attested in OAssyrian texts from Kültepe as well, namely as *tuzzinnum* ‘army’.

U

u- (preverb.) 'hither': *ú-e*°, *ú-u̯a-* (in *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* 'to come'), *u-i-(e-)* (in *ui̯ē-*^{zi} / *ui̯-* 'to send (here)'), *u-un-n*° (in *ūnna-*^{i} / *ūnni-* 'to drive (here)'), *up-p*° (in *uppa-*^{i} / *uppi-* 'to send (here)'), *(ú-)uš-ši-* (in *ūššiie/a-*^{zi} 'to draw open (curtains)'), *ú-d*° (in *uda-*^{i} / *ud-* 'to bring (here)'), *ú-u̯a-t*° (in *uu̯ate-*^{zi} / *uu̯at-* 'to bring (here)').

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***au̯-*** in *au̯i-* 'to come' (see at *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-*); HLuw. ***áw-*** in *áwa/i-* 'to come' (see at *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-*).

IE cognates: Skt. *áva* 'off, away', Gr. αὖ 'again, towards', Lat. *au-fugiō* 'to flee (away)', Lith. *au-* 'away from, down from', OCS *u-* 'from, away'.

PIE *h_2ou*

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: *pai̯i-*^{zi} / *pai-* 'to go' vs. *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* 'to come' (besides the simplex *i-*^{zi}, *ie/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to be on the move'), *peda-*^{i} / *ped-* 'to bring (away)' vs. *uda-*^{i} / *ud-* 'to bring (here)' (besides the simplex *dā-*^{i} / *d-* 'to take').

Since Hrozný (1917: 70[1]), this preverb is generally connected with Lat. *au-* 'away', Gr. αὖ 'towards', OCS *u-* 'away', Skt. *áva* 'off, away' etc., which reflect *h_2eu*. In Hittite, a preform *h_2eu* should have yielded **$h̯u$*, 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_2* would merge with *h_1* due to the following **o* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c) and *h_2ou* would yield Hitt. /ʔu/. In my view, we can in this way equate the preverb *u-* with the element *h̯u* found in *eh̯u* 'come!' (q.v.) and *peh̯ute-*^{zi} / *peh̯ut-* 'to lead, to conduct' (q.v.), which both show

retention of *h_2 in internal, intervocalic position. So, whereas *u̯ezzi* 'he comes' reflects *$h_2$ou-$h_1$éi-ti*, its imperative *eḫu* 'come!' reflects *$h_1$éi-$h_2$ou*.

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 *au̯-* in CLuw. *au̯i-* 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-*^{i} / *uppi-* 'to send (here)').

u- 'to see': see *au-*^{i} / *u-*

-u (3sg.imp.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-flection)
PIE **u*

This ending denotes the 3sg.imp.act. of *ḫi*-verbs: e.g. *a-ku* 'he must die', *a-ru* 'he must come', *ḫu-u-u̯a-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 *ḫi*-ending *-u* is the result of an inner-Hittite analogy to the *mi*-endings: *mi*-endings 3sg.pres. **-ti* : 3sg.imp. **-tu* = *ḫi*-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 *ḫi*-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*).

^{GIŠ}***ueššar***: see ^{GIŠ}*u̯ieššar*

u̯i̯e-^{zi} / u̯i̯- (Ia1 > Ic1) ‘to send (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *u-i-i̯a-mi*, 2sg.pres.act. *u-i-i̯a-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *u-i-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), *u-i-i̯a-zi*, 1pl.pres.act. *u-i-i̯a-u-e-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *u-i-i̯a-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-i̯a-nu-un*, *u-i̯a-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-i̯a-at*, 1pl.pret.act. *ui̯i̯au̯en*, 3pl.pret.act. *u-i-e-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *u-i-i̯a*, 3sg.imp.act. *u-i-i̯a-ad-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *u-i-i̯a-at-tén*, *u-e-i-i̯a-*[*at-tén*] (KUB 19.1 rev. 49 (NH)), *ú-a-i̯a-at-tén* (KUB 14.14 ii 36 (NH)); part. *u-i-i̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *u-i-i̯a-u-u̯a-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_2ou + *$h_{1/3}ié h_1$-ti / *$h_{1/3}ih_1$-énti

There is some confusion about the spelling of this verb. Friedrich (HW) cites the verb as “*ui̯i̯a-* (*ú-i-i̯a-*; 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 *u̯ai-^{i} / u̯i-*, *u̯ii̯e/a-^{zi}*). 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-i̯a-an-zi* (VBoT 24 iv 37), in fact is to be read inf.I *ú-i-i̯a-u-an-zi* ‘to cry’, cf. the lemma *u̯ai-^{i} / u̯i-*). Melchert (1984a: 16[31]) 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-i̯a-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-i̯a-at-tén* ‘you must send’ in this context. On the basis of the form *u-e-i-i̯a-*[*at-tén*$^{?}$] ‘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$^{!}$-i̯a-at-tén*, but either way, this form (as well as *u-e-i-i̯a-*[*at-tén*]) is aberrant within the paradigm of *u̯i̯e-^{zi} / u̯i̯-*.

All other verbal forms that show an initial *ú-* belong to other verbs (either *u̯ai-^{i} / u̯i-*, *u̯ii̯e/a-^{zi}* ‘to cry’ (finite forms and imperfective) or *u̯e-^{zi} / uu̯a-* ‘to come’ (impf. *u̯e/iške/a-*)). So, all forms of the verb *u̯i̯e-^{zi} / u̯i̯-* (except *ú-a-i̯a-at-tén*) are spelled with initial *u-*. This spelling points to a phonological stem [ʔoie-],

whereas *u̯ai-*^{i} / *u̯i-*, *u̯iḭe/a-*^{zi} ‘to cry’ (spelled with *ú-*) rather is /uai-, ui-, uie/a-/ and *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* ‘to come’ is /ʔue/a-/ (see also at § 1.3.9.4.a).

The bulk of the forms show a stem *uiḭa-*, but these are found in NS texts only: the oldest forms (MH/MS) show only a stem *uḭe-* in the singular (3sg.pres.act. *u-i-e-ez-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u-i-e-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u-i-e-et*). Just as its counterpart *peḭe-*^{zi} / *peḭ-* ‘to send away’, I assume that this verb originally inflected *uḭe-*^{zi} / *uḭ-*, which was taken over into the *-ḭe/a-*class in NH times only.

The verbs *uḭe-/uḭ-* ‘to send (here)’ and *peḭe-/peḭ-* ‘to send (away)’ clearly are compound verbs with the preverbs *u-* and *pe-* respectively. The second part of these verbs is generally connected with Gr. ἵημι ‘to release, to make go, to let go’ < *$h_{1/3}ieh_1$- (see at *peḭe-*^{zi} / *peḭ-* for details). In *uḭe-*^{zi} / *uḭ-* the preverb *u-* /ʔu/ was lowered to /ʔo/ due to the following *-i-*.

Note that the imperfective of *uḭe-*^{zi} / *uḭ-* ‘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-*) is clearly kept distinct from the imperfective of *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-*, which is spelled with initial *ú-* (*ú-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-iš-ke/a-*). The latter represents phonological /ʔuɨské/á-/, whereas the former forms represent /ʔoiɨské/á-/ (= *u-i-eš-ke/a-*, *u-i-iš-ke/a-*) > /ʔoɨské/á-/ (= *u-iš-ke/a-*, *u-e-eš-ke/a-*) and, with analogical introduction of the strong stem, /ʔoieske/a-/ (= *u-i-e-eš-ke/a-*).

ūk / amm- (pers.pron. 1sg.) ‘I, me’: nom.sg. *ú-uk* (OS), *ú-k*= (OS), *ú-g*= (OS), *am-mu-uk*, acc.sg. *am-mu-uk* (OH/MS), gen.sg. *am-me-el* (OS), *am-mi-el*, *am-me-e-el*, dat.sg. *am-mu-uk* (OH/MS), abl. *am-me-e-da-az*, *am-me-e-da-za*, *am-me-da-za*, *am-me-e-ta-az*, *am-me-ta-az*, *am-me-ta-za*, *am-mi-ta-az*.

Derivatives: ***ukel*** ‘I, myself’ (*ú-ke-el*), ***ukila*** ‘I, myself’ (*ú-ki-la*).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***ámu*** ‘I, me’ (nom.sg. /ʔmu/ *á-mu* (often), *á-mu-u* (1x), *á-mu-u-´* (1x), *mu* (1x), *mu-´* (often) acc.sg. /ʔmu/ *á-mu*, dat.sg. /ʔmu/ *á-mu*), ***áma/i-*** (adj.) ‘my’ (nom.sg.c. /ʔmis/ *á-mi-sa*, *á-mi-sá*, *á-mi-sà*, *á-mi-sa*$_4$, *á-mi-i-sa*, *mi-i-sa*, *mi-i-sa-´*, acc.sg.c. /ʔmin/ *á-mi-na*, *á-mi-i-na*, *mi-i-na-´*, nom.-acc.sg.n. /ʔman=tˢa/ *á-ma-za* (often), *á-ma-za*$_4$ (1x), dat.sg. /ʔmi/ *á-mi*, *á-mi-i*, *mi-i*, *mi-i-´*, abl.-instr. /ʔmi(a)di/ *á-mi+ra/i*, *á-mi-ia+ra/i*, *á-mi-ia-ti*, *á-mi-ia-ti-i*, *á-mí-ri+i*, *á-mi-ti*, *á-mi-tí*, *mi-i(a)-ti-´*, *mi-ia+ra/i-´*, *mi-ia-ti-´*, nom.pl.c. /ʔmintˢi/ *á-mi-i-zi*, *á-mi-zi*, *á-mi-zi-i*, *mi-i-zi-´*, *mi-zi*, *mi-zi-´*, acc.pl.c. /ʔmintˢi/ *á-mi-zi*, *á-mi-zi-i*, *mi-i-zi-´*, *mi-zi*, *mi-zi-´*, nom.-acc.pl.n. /ʔma/ *á-ma*, dat.-loc.pl. /ʔmi(a)ntˢ/ *á-mi-ia-za*, *á-mi-ia-za-´*, *á-mi-za*, *mi-ia-za*, *mi-ia-za-´*); Lyd. ***amu*** ‘I, me’ (nom.sg. *amu*, dat.-loc.sg. *amu*), ***ẽmi-*** ‘my’ (nom.sg.c. *ẽmis*, acc.sg.c. *ẽmν*, dat.-loc.sg. *ẽmλ*, dat.-loc.(pl.?) *ẽminaν*, *ẽminas*[..](?)); Lyc. ***ẽmu*** ‘I, me’ (nom.sg. *ẽmu*, *emu*, *amu*,

dat.sg. *emu*), ***ẽmi-*** 'my' (nom.sg.c. *ẽmi*, acc.sg.c. *ẽmi*, acc.pl.c. *ẽmis*, nom.-acc.pl.n.? *m̃maja*).

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-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *uk-tu-u-ri*, nom.pl.c. *uk-tu-u-ri-eš* (OS), *uk-tu-u-ri-i-e-eš*, *u̯a-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-i̯a*, abl. *uk-tu-ri-i̯a-az*, dat.-loc.pl. *uk-tu-u-ri-i̯a-aš*, *uk-tu-ri-i̯a-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*]*-i̯a-aš u̯a-ra-a-ni nu a-pé-e-da-aš uk-tu-ri-i̯a-aš*
(11) *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da-aš* 12 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA^{MEŠ} GAM *ti-i̯a-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 *u̯aktūri-* 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 **-u̯er-/-u̯en-*nouns (she compares Skt. *aṅg-úri-* 'finger'). Puhvel (1972: 115) connects *uktūri-* with Skt. *ójas-*, Av. *aoǰah-*, Lat. **augus-* 'strength'. The latter forms go back to a root **h$_2$eug-*, which does not fit the Hitt. forms: a zero-grade **h$_2$ug-* should have given Hitt. ***ḫuk-*. In LIV, a root **ueǵ-* 'münter, lebhaft, kräftig werden' is cited, which at least semantically could fit *uktūri-*. Nevertheless, the formation of this word would remain intransparent. Further unclear.

ulae-^{zi} (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-***^{zi} (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*$^{!}$*-at*; inf.I *ú-li-iš-šu-u̯a-an-zi*, *ú-le-eš-šu-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *ú-ul-li-iš-ke/a-*).

See Oettinger 1979a: 363 for attestations. The forms *ulanun* and *ulaet* clearly point to the *ḫatrae*-class inflection. The forms that show a stem *uleššš-* 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-*^{zi} with the suffix *-ēšš-*. The basic verb *ulae-* is attested in NS texts only, and since the *ḫatrae*-class was highly productive in NH times, it is possible that this verb did not inflect according to the *ḫatrae*-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-, ***u̯alkiššara-*** (adj.) ‘skilled, experienced, able’: nom.sg.c. *u̯a-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: ***ulkiššaraḫḫ-***^{i}, ***u̯alkiššaraḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to make perfectly, to depict perfectly’ (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ki-iš-ša-ra*[*-aḫ-ḫi*] (KBo 6.26 iv 30 (OH/NS)) // *u̯a-al-k*[*i-iš-ša-*]*rạ-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 13.14 rev. 7 + KUB 13.16, 4 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ul-ke-eš-ša-ra-aḫ-ḫe-er* (KBo 3.34 ii 32 (OH/NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *várcas-*, GAv. *varəčah-* ‘splendour’.

PIE **ulk-sro-* ?

This word is spelled with initial *ul-k°* as well as *u̯a-al-k°*. E.g. Rieken (2001: 371) interprets this alteration as ablaut, but see Kloekhorst fthc.b for my view that ablauting pairs *u̯VC- / uC-* were not allowed in Hittite. I would rather compare this situation to the one found in *urāni*, *u̯arāni* ‘burns’: as I explain under its lemma, this verb reflects PIE **urh₁óri*, which first yielded OH /urʔáni/, spelled *ú-ra-a-ni*, and consequently develops into MH/NH /uərʔáni/, spelled *u̯a-ra-a-ni*. This means that PIE **uRC-* > OH /uRC-/ > MH/NH /uəRC/. Although the

attested forms of *ulkiššara-*, *u̯alkiššara-* are all found in NS texts, the fact that the spelling *ul-k°* 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 **u̯al-ǵ^{h}esro-* 'having a strong hand', but this does not take into account the spellings with *ul-k°*. In my view, *ulkiššara-*, *u̯alkiššara-* is to be interpreted as /ulKɬSra-/, /uəlKɬSra-/, reflecting pre-Hitt. **ulK-sra-*, showing the suffix *-sra-* as visible in *naḫšaratt-* 'fear' and *ganuššariu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to kneel' as well. The root **ulK-* may belong with Skt. *várcas-*, GAv. *varəčah-* 'splendour', which could reflect **u̯elk-es-*. If correct, we must reconstruct **ulk-sro-*.

-umen- / -umn- (suffix of appurtenance) 'coming from ...': nom.sg. ^{URU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 29 (OH/NS)), ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-šu-ma-aš* (KBo 18.151 obv. 1 (MH/MS)), ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 28 (OH/NS)), ^{URU}*Ḫa-al-pu-u-ma-aš* (KBo 3.27 obv. 30 (OH/NS)), ^{URU}*Šu-tum-ma-na-aš*, acc.sg. ^{URU}*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-du-um-na-an* (KBo 3.28 ii 5 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. ^{URU}*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. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*Ne-šu-me-né-eš* (OS), ^{URU}*Ka-a-ta-pu-u-me-né-eš* (OS), ^{URU}*Ša-lam-pu-u-me-né-eš* (OS); case? ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-šum-ma-aš* (KBo 7.14 + KUB 36.100 rev. 15 (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-u̯ann(i)-*** in ^{URU}*Ninuu̯au̯ann(i)-* 'of Nineveh', *tātau̯ann(i)-* 'stepfather', *ānnau̯ann(i)-* 'stepmother', *kulau̯ann(i)-* 'of the army'; HLuw. ***-wan(i)-*** in nom.sg.c. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa*^{URBS} 'of Harran', acc.sg.c. TONITRUS.HALPA-*pa-wa/i-ní-na*^{URBS} 'of Halpa', gen.sg. ^{DEUS}*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa=pa=wa/i*^{URBS} 'of Harman', dat.-loc.sg. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni=pa=w*[*a/i...*] 'of Harran', abl.-instr. *a-sú-ra/i*^{REGIO}*-wa/i-na-ti*^{URBS} 'of Assyria', nom.-acc.pl.n. *á-wa/i-ia-na-wa/i-na=pa=wa/i*^{URBS} 'of Awayana', dat.-loc.pl. *ka-na-pu-wa/i-na-za*^{URBS} 'of Kanupa'; Lyc. ***-ñne/i-*** in *Pilleñne/i-* 'of Pinara', *Tlãñne/i-* 'of Tlos', *Xbidẽñne/i-* 'of Kaunos'; Mil. ***-wñni-*** in *Tunewñni* 'of Tumnessos(?)', *Xbidewñni* 'of Kaunos'.

In most cases, this suffix denotes ethnic origin, for instance: LÚ ^{URU}*Ḫaššumaš* 'the man of the city Ḫašša', $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*Nešumeneš* 'the men of the city Neša'. When derived from other nouns, it denotes appurtenance, e.g. ^{LÚ}*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- / kuu̯a-* '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 ^{m}*Šuppiluliuma-* lit. 'the one of the pure well' or ^{LÚ}*ḫištuma-* 'person pertaining to the *ḫištā*'.

In Luwian, the suffix *-u̯ann(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 **-u̯-*. 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* /toméni/ 'we take' and *tarnumeni* /trnoméni/ 'we release' that go back to **dH-u̯éni* and **trnH-u̯éni* respectively. I therefore reconstruct the suffix *-umen- / -umn-* as **-Huen- / *-Hun-*. I know of no IE cognates, however.

ummiia̯nt- (adj.) describing 'birds': acc.pl.c. *um-mi-ia̯-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-ia̯-an-du-uš* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *a*[*n-na-nu-uḫ-ḫu-uš*? *k*(*u-iš-ki*)]
(10) *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*

'If someone steals trained[?] *ummiia̯nt*-birds, ...'.

On the basis of this context the meaning of *ummiia̯nt-* cannot be determined. The preceding paragraph deals with *lu-li-ia̯-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 *ummiia̯nt-* either. Nevertheless, Puhvel (HED 1/2: 48) translates the word as 'young', assuming a connection with *amiia̯nt-* 'small' (q.v.), the negated form of *miia̯nt-*, participle of

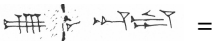
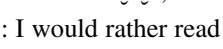
mai-^{i} / mi- ‘to grow’). This translation is followed by Melchert (1994a: 160), who reconstructs **ud-miia̯nt-* ‘grown up’. In my view, this is all much too speculative.

umiia̯e/a-^{zi}: see *u̯emiia̯e/a-^{zi}*

-un (1sg.pret.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-(n)un*

ūnna-^{i} / ūnni- (IIa5 > IIa1γ) ‘to send (here), to drive (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *u-un-na-aḫ-ḫi* (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-ia̯-an-zi*, *u-un-na-an-zi* 1sg.pret.act. *u-un-na-aḫ-ḫu-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$^{!}$ 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$_2$ou* + **noih$_{1/3}$-ei / *nih$_{1/3}$-enti*

In my text files, this verb is attested about 120 times with a spelling *u-un-n*°. 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$^{!}$ un-na-aḫ-ḫi*. The handcopy of the tablet clearly shows  = *nu u un na aḫ ḫi*, however. I do not understand why Hagenbuchner emends U to UŠ: I would rather read *nu u-un-na-aḫ-ḫi*. 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-i̯a-an-zi*, but this is likely to be emended to *u-‹un-›ni-i̯a-an-zi*. Taking this into account, we must conclude that all spellings of this verb show initial *u-un-n*°.

The verb *ūnna/i-* shows the typical *mēma/i*-inflection (*ūnnaḫḫi*, *ūnnatti*, *ūnnai* vs. *ūnnianzi*). 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/tii̯anzi*-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-*^{i} / **ni-* 'to turn' (see at *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / **ni-*) and functions as the counterpart of *penna-*^{i} / *penni-* 'to send (there)' (*pe-* + *nai-/ni-*). It is unclear why we find a geminate *-nn-* here, which we also find in *penna-*^{i} / *penni-* and in *nanna-*^{i} / *nanni-* (see under *nē-*$^{a(ri)}$, *nai-*^{i} / **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. ^{LÚ}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* ^{LÚ}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 ^{LÚ}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-*^{i} / *ūnni-* 'to send here, to drive here' (q.v.). Problematic, however, is the fact that this verb is consistantly 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)ḫ-^{zi} (Ib3) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *u-un-ḫa-zi* (KUB 35.79 i 5), 3pl.pres.act. *u-un-ḫa-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-ḫu-un* (KUB 31.77 i 16), 3sg.pret.act. *u-uḫ-ta* (KUB 31.77 i 12), *u-un-Vḫ-da* (KBo 18.180 rev. 10), 3pl.pret.act. *u-un-ḫe-er* (KUB 42.20, 9), 3pl.imp.act. *u-un-ḫa-an-du* (Bo 69/326 (see Oettinger 1979a: 183)); impf. *u-un-ḫi-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 Košak (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-uḫ-ta*, where we would expect it: *ūnḫC* > *ūḫC* (compare the distribution between *likC* and *linkV* in the paradigm of *li(n)k-*^{zi}). This means that in e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *u-un-ḫa-zi* and 3sg.pret.act. *u-un-Vḫ-da* the *-n-* was restored.

Although clear cognates are missing, Oettinger (l.c.) mechanically reconstructs **h*$_{1/3}$*uénh*$_2$*-ti*, **h*$_{1/3}$*unh*$_2$*-énti*, which would mean that the zero-grade stem spread throughout the paradigm. Note that a root **Heunh*$_2$- would be against the PIE root constraints.

uni(-) : see *aši / uni / ini*

unu-^{zi} (Ib2 > Ic2) 'to adorn, to decorate, to lay (the table)': 1sg.pres.act. *ú-nu-u̯a-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$^{!}$ 4 (NS)), *ú-nu-u-u̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 16 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-nu-u̯a-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-u̯a-a-er* (KUB 36.67 ii 19 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-nu-u̯a-*[*an*]*-du* (KUB 33.96 iv 13 + KUB 36.7a iv 50, KUB 36.25 i 4); 1sg.pres.midd. *ú-nu-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-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-u̯a-an-ta-at* (KUB 46.30, 31); part. *ú-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; inf.II *ú-nu-u̯a-an-na* (KUB 17.35 i 28); impf. *ú-nu-uš-ke/a-* (OS).

Derivatives: ***unuu̯ašḫa-***, ***unašḫa-*** (c.) 'decoration, adornment' (acc.sg. *ú-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫa-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫi*, abl. *ú-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫa-za*, nom.pl. *ú-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫe-eš*, acc.pl. *ú-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫu-uš*, *ú-na-aš-ḫu-uš* (KUB 12.31 ii 25)).

IE cognates: Lat. *ind-uō* ‘to put on (clothes)’, Arm. *(h)aganim* ‘to put on’, Lith. *aũti*, *aunù* ‘to put on (shoes)’, OCS *ob-uti* ‘to put on (shoes)’.

PIE *$*h_3$u-néu-ti / *$*h_3$u-nu-énti*

Friedrich (HW: 234) cited this verb as *unuu̯āi-*, apparently on the basis of *ú-nu-u-u̯a-iz-zi* (KUB 10.91 ii 16 (OH/NS)) and *ú-nu-u̯a-a-er* (KUB 36.67 ii 19 (NH)) (note that the form “*ú-nu-u*$^{!}$*-u̯*[*a-iz-z*]*i*”, read thus in KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 iii$^{!}$ 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-*^{zi}, however. The occasional forms that show a stem *unuu̯ae-*^{zi} (apart from *ú-nu-u-u̯a-iz-zi* and *ú-nu-u̯a-a-er* also *ú-nu-u̯a-mi*) are found in NS texts only (cf. also Oettinger 1979a: 322[134]) and must have been secondarily formed under the influence of the highly productive *ḫatrae*-class. Almost all forms are spelled with initial *ú-*. A spelling with *u-* can only be found in

KUB 4.3 ii
(12) *ḫa-me-iš-ḫi-a* GU$_4$*-un le-e u̯a-aš-ti kar-ša-an-tan$_x$=ma=za*
(13) *gal-liš-tar-u̯a-ni-li ‹le-›e‹‹-da›› da-at-ti mar-ša-an-za*
(14) GU$_4$*-uš ḫa-me-iš-ḫi=pát* SIG$_5$*-ri i-da-lu-uš=ma=z*[*a*]
(15) *kar-ša-an-za gal-liš-tar-u̯a-ni-li u-nu-u̯a-ta-r*[*i*]
(16) *nu=za ú-e-kán-ta-an* TÚG*-an u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a*[*-zi*]
(17) *ku-uš-ša-ni-an=ma=za* Ì*-an iš-ki-i̯*[*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. *aũti*, *aunù* ‘to put on (shoes)’, etc. and reconstructed as *$*h_2$eu-* ‘to put on (shoes)’ (cf. e.g. LIV^2, although there a root final laryngeal is reconstructed (*$*h_2$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 *$*h_2$u-neu-* should have yielded Hitt. **$*ḫ$unu-*. 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 **h₂eu-*. The question is of course whether a reconstruction **h₃eu-* 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-* (*ołorm* 'pity', *ołok* 'prayer', *oroǰ* 'lamb'), or when the consonant in question is *-v-* (*hoviw* 'shepherd' < **h₃eu-*) or a reflex of **u̯* (*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 **u̯* > *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* < **h₃eu-* (whereas *aganim* < **oganim* < **h₃ou-*), and that the PIE root actually was **h₃eu-*. With this reconstruction, the derivation of Hitt. *unu-* < **h₃u-neu-* is phonetically regular (see Kloekhorst fthc.c for the development of word-initial laryngeals in Hittite).

The derivative *unuu̯ašḫa-* is spelled as *ú-na-aš-ḫ*° once (KUB 12.31 ii 25), which may have to be regarded as a scribal error, copying the signs NU-U̯A () as NA () (compare the mistaken spelling *nu-u̯a-aš-šu* for *na-aš-šu*).

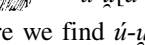
ūpp-^{zi} (Ib1) 'to come up (of the sun)': 3sg.pres.act. *u-up-zi* (often), *up-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 25, KUB 55.65 rev.$^{?}$ iv 50, 643/z l.col. 4 (see Otten 1971b: 47)), 3sg.pret.act. *u-up-ta* (KUB 31.147 ii 18 (MH/NS), KBo 5.8 iii 23 (NH)), *up-ta* (KBo 16.8 iii 27 (NH)); 3sg.pret.midd. *u-up-ta-at* (KUB 21.10, 13 (NH)); verb.noun gen. *u-up-pu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 8.21, 8).

IE cognates: OHG *ūf*, ModDu. *op* 'upon'; Skt. *upári*, Gr. ὕπερ, Lat. *super*, Goth. *ufar* 'over'.

PIE **h₁éup-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-aḫ-ḫa-an* ^{d}UTU-*uš ú*[-*e*]*z-zi* 'when the Sun-god comes'. The form 2sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯p-ši* (KUB 6.45 iii 14) cited by Oettinger must be read  = *ú-u̯*[*a-*]*ši* 'you come', as can be seen by its duplicate, KUB 6.46 ii 53, where we find *ú-u̯a-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* ^{d}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* ^{d}UTU-*uš=kán u-up-zi* 'when it becomes light, the Sun-god comes up'. Nevertheless, both *ūpp-*^{zi} and *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* are used to describe the coming-up of the Sun-god (e.g. ^{d}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-*^{zi} with initial *ú-*.

On the contrary, the attestations cited by Oettinger with only *up°* are reliable, e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *up-zi* (KUB 7.1 ii 25, KUB 55.65 rev.$^{?}$ 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'.

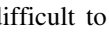
The verb.noun gen.sg. *u-up-pu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 8.21, 8) is important as it shows that the root-final consonant is geminate *-pp-* and not single *-p-*, which points to etymological **p*. Oettinger reconstructs the verb as **h$_1$éup-ti*, connecting it to PIE **(h$_1$)up(o)*. The exact meaning and form of this adverb is unclear, however: Skt. *úpa*, Gr. ὕπο, Lat. *sub*, OIr. *fo*, 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-*^{zi} as well. All in all, I follow Oettinger in reconstructing **h$_1$éup-ti*.

uppa-^{i} ***/ uppi-*** (IIa5 > Ic1, IIa1γ) 'to send (here)': 1sg.pres.act. *up-pa-aḫ-ḫi* (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-i̯*[*a-an-zi*], *up-pa-an-zi* (KUB 14.3 ii 62 (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-i̯a-aš-šar*, *up-pí-iš-šar* (KBo 13.57 l.edge 3 (NS), KBo 1.35, 16 (NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *up-pí-eš-ni*, nom.-acc.pl. *up-pí-eš-šar*$^{\text{HI.A}}$ (KUB 23.101 ii 19 (NH)), *up-pí-aš-šar*$^{\text{HI.A}}$ (KUB 23.101 ii 4 (NH)), *up-pí-i̯a-aš-šar* (KUB 33.93+ iii 29 (NH)), [*up-*]*pí-eš-šar-ri*$^{\text{HI.A}}$ (KUB 18.24, 5 (NS))).

PIE *$*h_2ou$* + *$*h_1p$-oi-ei / *$*h_1p$-i-enti*

This verb is consistenly spelled *up-p°* (about 120 cases in my files). All alleged other spellings are dubious regarding their interpretation. Alp (1991: 294) cites a form *u*$^{?}$*-up*$^{?}$*-p*[*a-aḫ-ḫu-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-*]*ḳa-ú*? The hapax attestation *u-pí-eš-ká*[*n-zi*] (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-zi*] is just an error and that we have to read *pí-eš-ká*[*n-zi*] here as well. All in all, I conclude that the spelling *up-p°* is the only correct spelling of this verb.

This verb belongs to the *mēma/i*-class (*uppaḫḫi* 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*, *uppau̯en* and *uppant-*. The form *uppii̯au̯aš* shows a stem *uppii̯e/a-*^{zi}. Oettinger (1979a: 489) states that *uppa-*^{i} / *uppi-* "sicher als *u* 'her' und *pii̯e-*^{hhi} 'geben' [ist] zusammengesetzt", which I support wholeheartedly. The fact that *uppa/i-* belongs to the *mēma/i*-class whereas *pai-*^{i} / *pi-* 'to give' belongs to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class is comparable to the situation of *ūnna-*^{i} / *ūnni* 'to drive (here)' and *penna-*^{i} / *penni-* 'to drive (away)' (both inflecting according to the *mēma/i*-class) that are derived from *nai-* / **ni-* (*dāi/tii̯anzi*-class): in pre-Hittite times polysyllabic *dāi/tii̯anzi*-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-*^{i} / *pi-* for an elaborate etymological treatment of these two elements.

According to Rieken (1999a: 383f.), the derivative *uppieššar* is altered to *uppiia̯ššar* in NH times in analogy to the forms of the verb that start to be interpreted as showing a stem *uppiia-* (e.g. *uppiia̯ua̯š*). 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-ua̯-aš* x[- x]
(5) [*ki-iš-t*]*a-a-ti ḫal-ḫal-ta-ni-ia̯-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/uppiia̯ššar*) 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-*^{i} */ uppi-* and *uppieššar* that is spelled with initial *u-up-p*°. 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-*^{i} */ 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. *(◄) 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-ia̯-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-ba-a-ti* (OS), *ú-ba-ti-ia̯* (OS), nom.-acc.pl. *ú-pa-a-ti*^{HLA}.

Derivatives: $^{(\text{LÚ})}$***upatitalla-*** '?' (stem? *ú̯-pa-ti-ta-al-la* (KUB 56.12, 9), $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*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. ^{*274}*u-pa-ti-ti* (TELL AHMAR 1 §8), ^{*274}*u-pa-ti-ti-i* (TELL AHMAR 1 §20), gen.adj.acc.sg.c. ^{*274}*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-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$, *u̯ar-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$** (IIIf) '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)), *u̯a-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-u̯a-ra-a-n*[*i*] (1191/z obv. 11 (NS)), *u̯a-ra-ni* (KUB 33.67 iv 2 (2x) (OH/NS)), *u̯a-ra-an-ni* (KUB 30.36 iii 3 (MH/NS), KUB 58.83 iii 14 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *u̯a-ra-an-da-ri* (KUB 58.83 iii 10 (NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *u̯a-ra-an-ta-at* (KUB 39.36, 7 (OH/NS), KUB 39.39 ii 2 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-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)), *u̯a-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)), *u̯a-ra-nu* (KBo 38. 247 ii 6 (MS?)); part. *u̯a-ra-an-t-* (MH/MS), *u̯a-ra-a-an-t-*.

Derivatives: ***u̯arnu-*^{zi}** (Ib2) 'to kindle, to set fire to' (1sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-zi*, *u̯a-ar-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-an-zi*, *u̯a-ar-nu-u̯a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-ut*, 1pl.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-me-en*, *u̯a-ar-nu-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-er* (MH/MS), *u̯a-ar-nu-e-er*, *u̯a-ar-nu-ú-e-er* (KUB 17.10 iii 15), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-ut*, 2pl.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-nu-ut-tén*; 3sg.pres.midd. *u̯a-ar-nu-ta-ri* (KUB 8.25 i 3, 9); part. *u̯a-ar-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-nu-ma-aš*, *u̯a-ar-nu-um-ma-aš*, *u̯a-ar-nu-u̯a-aš* (KUB 12.22, 16), inf.I *u̯a-ar-nu-ma-an-zi*, *u̯a-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi*; impf. *u̯a-ar-*

nu-uš-ke/a-), ***uriu̯arant-*** (adj.) 'burning' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *ú-ri-u̯a-ra-an* (KUB 17.10 iii 22 (OH/MS))), see ≮ *uranae-*^{zi}.

IE cognates: Lith. *vìrti*, *vérdu* 'to cook', OCS *vьrěti* 'to cook'.

PIE **urh$_1$-ó-ri*

See Neu 1968: 188f. for an extensive treatment of this verb. The 3sg.-forms *u̯(a)rāni* and *u̯(a)rānu* are unique in the sense that they show dissimilation from original **u̯(a)rāri* and **u̯(a)rāru*. The verb shows two stems, namely *ur-* (attested in OS texts already) and *u̯ar-* (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. *u̯ar-* 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 *u̯a-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. *vìrti* 'to cook' and OCS *vьrěti* '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 *u̯a-ra-a-ni*, which must go back to **urH-ór(i)*, to *paripparai* = /pripərʔái/ < **pri-prh$_1$-ói-ei*, in which **h$_1$* 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 *u̯a-ra-a-ni* as /uərʔáni/. So here the laryngeal has been preserved as well (which indicates that we must reconstruct **uerh$_1$-*, since **urh$_{2/3}$-ór(i)* would have yielded **u̯arḫāri*). 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$_1$-ór(i)* > OH /urʔáni/ > MH/NH /uərʔáni/. For other instances of PIE **uRC-* > OH /uRC-/ > MH/NH /uəRC-/, see e.g. at *u̯alkuu̯a-* and *ulkiššara-*, *u̯alkiššara-*.

Note that the reduplicated adj. *uriu̯arant-* probably stands for /uri-uərʔant-/. The causative *u̯arnu-*^{zi} must reflect **urh$_1$-neu-*. This form then should regularly have yielded OH /urnū-/ (with loss interconsonantal **h$_1$*) > 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 *u̯a-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* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI ^{d}UTU-*i* IGI-*an-da* 3 GIR$_4^{\text{ḪLA}}$ *an-da ḫar-pa-a-iz-zi*
> (26) *nu* GÍR ZABAR *pa-aḫ-ḫur-r=a u̯a-a-ra-i nu=kán u̯a-a-tar*
> (27) ^{NINDA}*pár-ša-an-n=a an-da pé-eš-ši-i̯a-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 *u̯ārai* is rather enigmatic. Melchert (1984a: 11[13]) states that *u̯ārai* replaces original **u̯āri* < **u̯órei*, but since we are dealing with a root **u̯erh$_1$-* and since **u̯órh$_1$-ei* should yield ***u̯ārri* (cf. *ārri* < **h$_1$órh$_1$-ei*, *šārri* < **sórh$_1$-ei*) this is impossible. Perhaps *u̯ārai* is an *ad hoc* transitive formation on the basis of the middle *u̯ar-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 'to be burning' instead of normal *u̯arnu-*^{zi}.

ūrr-: see *ūrr(i̯e/a)-*

^{GIŠ}***ura-***: see ^{GIŠ}*u̯era-*

^{DUG}***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 DUG^{ḪLA} *u-ra-a-aš mar-nu-u̯a-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 ^{GIŠ}*ú-ra-a-an*, for which see at ^{GIŠ}*u̯era-*.

ura̯ianni-, ***uri̯ianni-***^{MUŠEN} (c.) an oracle bird: nom.sg. *u-ra-i̯a-an-ni-eš* (KUB 5.11 iv 60), *u-ra-i̯a-an-ni-š* (KUB 5.24 ii 46), *u-ri-an-ni-eš*^{MUŠEN} (KBo 15.28 i 4), acc.pl. *u-ra-i̯a-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 ^{LÚ}*uriḫanni-*, *uraḫanni-*, a functionary (spelled with the sign U as well, and showing a similar alternation between *uriḫa-* and *uraḫa-*) is striking. An equation of the two cannot be proven, however. Further unclear.

^{LÚ}*uraḫanni-*: see ^{LÚ}*uriḫanni-*

^{LÚ}*uralla-* (c.) 'horse-trainer': acc.sg. *u-ra-al-la-a(n)=š-ša-ma-an* (KBo 3.34 ii 23).

Derivatives: **^{LÚ}*urallatar / urallann-*** (n.) 'profession of horse-trainer' (dat.-loc.sg. ^{LÚ}*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) ^{LÚ}*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 ^{LÚ}*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-^{zi}* (Ic2) 'to bring a fire-offering': 3sg.pres.act. ≮ *ú-ra-na-iz-zi* (KBo 23.112, 4), verb.noun ≮ *ú-ra-na-u-ṷa-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) [^{m}*Ta-at-ta-m*]*a-ru ku-it* ≮ *ú-ra-na-u-ṷa-ar* SIxSÁ-*at*

(4) [^{m}*Ta-at-*]*ta-ma-ru-uš* ≮ *ú-ra-na-iz-zi*

(5) [-]x *ma-a-an=ma-a=š-ši=at* DINGIR^{LUM} *ḫa-ra-tar ṷa-aš-túl*

(6) [*Ú-UL k*]*u-it-ki i-ḫa-š*[*i*$^{?}$ S]U^{MEŠ} SIG$_5$-*ru* ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-*ḫi* GÙB-*an* NU.SIG$_5$

'Was [das betrifft, daß für Tattam]aru ein Brandopfer festgestellt wurde, [... Tat]tamaru wird ein Brandopfer dabringen [...] ... 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-^{āri}* '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 *-u̯ar*). Perhaps the words are *ad hoc*-formations and therefore marked.

^{LÚ}*uriia̯nni-*, ***uraia̯nni-*** (c.) a functionary: nom.sg. *u-ri-an-ni-iš* (OS), *u-ra-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-ni*; broken *u-ri-i̯a-an-ni-i̯*[*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-i̯a-an-ni* in a CLuwian text (KBo 29.43, 6). The alternation between *uriia̯-* and *uraia̯-* may point to foreign origin as well.

The formal similarity to *uraia̯nni-*, *uriia̯nni-*^{MUŠEN}, an oracle bird, is striking, especially because this word, too, is spelled with the sign U and shows an alternation between *uriia̯-* and *uraia̯-*. Semantically, a connection cannot be proven, however. Further unclear.

uriia̯nni-^{MUŠEN}: see *uraia̯nni-*

ūrr(iia̯/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 *u̯arrae-*^{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 ^{URU}*Šu-tu-um-ma-na-aš* ^{URU}*Z*[*u-* x - x - x]
> (7) ^{URU}*U-ka$_4$-a-pu-u̯a u-ur-ri/e-er* LÚ ^{URU}*Šu-ú-da*^{KI}=*š*[*e*$^{??}$]
> (8) ^{m}*Ka-ni-u-uš* ^{URU}*U-ka$_4$-a-pu-i̯a-aš-š=a*
> (9) *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta pa-i-*[*er*]

Güterbock (1938: 104f.) translates this text as:

> 'Als es geschah, daß der Šudaër (und) die Stadt Zu[...] der Stadt Uqapuu̯a zu Hilfe kamen, da zo[gen] ihm(?) der Mann von Šuda, Kaniu und die Stadt Uqapuia̯ entgegen'.

This translation is not imperative, however: the form *ūrr(i)er* could just as well mean something else. I would translate as follows:

> 'When they came, the Šudaean [and] Zu[...] *ū*.-ed towards[?] Ukāpu. The Man of Šuda and Kaniuš of Ukāpu went against him'.

This means that I would separate the form *ūrr(i)er* from the verb *u̯arrae-*^{zi}. Further unclear.

***uriu̯arant-*:** see at *ur-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$

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-i̯a*.

Derivatives: ***urkiii̯ae-***^{zi} (Ic3), ***urkii̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to track down' (1sg.pres.act. *urkii̯ami* (HW: 235), 3sg.pres.act. *ur-ki-i̯a-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 *$*h_{1/3}urg\text{-}i\text{-}$*

Note that virtual all attestations of *ūrki-* are spelled with initial U (except *ur-ki-i̯a-ez-zi*) which points to phonological /(ʔ)orgi-/ or /(ʔ)orki-/. Duchesne-Guillemin (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). Althouch semantically this connection seems plausible, formally it is problematic. On the basis of *$*urh_1ór(i)$* > OH /urʔáni/, *ú-ra-a-ni* > MH/MH /uərʔáni/, *u̯a-ra-a-ni* 'burns' and *$*ulk^wo$*- > MH /uəlk^{w}a-/, *u̯a-al-ku-u̯a-* '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 /uərgi-/, ***u̯a-ar-ki-*. With this knowledge in mind, we would rather think that *u-ur-ki-* = /ʔorKi-/ reflects *$*h_{1/3}urK\text{-}i\text{-}$*, compare e.g. *$*h_2urg\text{-}i\text{-}$* > Hitt. *ḫurki-* = /Horgi-/ 'wheel'. Perhaps this means that we should recontruct the root of *ūrki-* and *vraj-* as *$*h_{1/3}ureg\text{-}$* (for this structure, compare e.g. *$*h_2uied^h\text{-}$*- 'to hurt (lethally)', cf. LIV^2 *s.v.*; for the development *$*h_{1/3}ure\text{-}$* > Skt. *vra-*, cf. *vrajá-* 'fold, fenced area' < *$*h_1ureǵ\text{-}o\text{-}$*). All in all, I reconstruct *ūrki-* as *$*h_{1/3}urg\text{-}i\text{-}$* (cf. Kimball's reconstruction "*$*(h_1)wr̥ǵi\text{-}$*" (1999: 247)), derived of a root *$*h_{1/3}ureg\text{-}$* as visible in Skt. *vraj-* 'to walk, to stride'.

ūrta- (c.) a disease?: acc.pl. *u-ur-tu-uš* (KUB 43.38 rev. 23).

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* ^{d}*SÎN ya-al-ḫa-an-na-ú*
n[*u=ya-a=š-ma-aš* (?)]
(22) [...-*z*]*a* ŠÀ-*az ḫu-u-ya-a-ú nu=ya-a=š-ma-aš an-du-u-ri-ia-aš* [ ]x[ ]
(23) [ ]-*za* ^{d}*SÎN u-ur-tu-uš i-ad-du nu=ya-a=š-ma-aš=za ki-n*[*u-un* ...]
(24) [...]-*aš* KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} *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*

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/ < **ḱóm* and acc.sg.c. *a-pu-u-un* /ʔbón/ < **$h_1b^hóm$*, 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*.

uššaniie/a-^{zi}: see *ušniie/a-*^{zi}

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), 𒌷 *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-i̯a-an-za* (KUB 35.84 ii 9).

Derivatives: ***ušantara-***^{i} '?' (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_4 *u-ša-an-ta-ri-in* SI *e-ep-zi nu me-ma-i*
(8) ^{d}UTU *BE-LÌ=I̯A ka-a-aš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* GU_4*-uš u-ša-an-ta-ri-iš*
(9) *n=a-aš=kán u-ša-an-ta-ri ḫa-li-i̯a an-da nu=za=kán ḫa-a-li-et*
(10) GU_4.NÌTA-*it* ^{GU_4}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^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ḫa-aš-še-et*
ḫa-an-za-aš-ši-it [*ḫar-t*]*u-*[*u-u̯*]*a-t*[i]
(13) *ḫar-tu-u-u̯a-ḫar-tu-u̯a-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 𒌷 *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-i̯a-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 $^{(BONUS)}$*usnu(wa)-* 'to bless' and the noun $^{(BONUS)}$*wasu-* 'good'.

ušii̯e/a-^{zi}**:** see *u̯ešii̯e/a-*^{zi}

ūššiia̯/a-^{zi} (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-ia̯-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 *$h_2$ou- + *h_1s-i̯e/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 *ūššiia̯/a-* as the *u*-counterpart of *peššiia̯/a-* ‘to throw away, to cast’ (q.v.), and suggests that both are derived from the verb *šiia̯/a-*^{zi} ‘to throw’ (see at *šai-*^{i} */ ši-*, *šiia̯/a-*^{zi}), which she reconstructs as *h_1s-i̯e/o-*. See there for further treatment.

ušniia̯/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to put up for sale’: 3sg.pres.act. *uš-ni-ia̯-zi* (KUB 13.4 ii 40 (OH/NS)), *uš-ša-ni-ia̯-zi* (KUB 13.4 ii 40 (OH/NS), KUB 13.6 + KUB 13.19+ ii 31 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *uš-ni-ia̯-at-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 ii 72, iv 26 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *uš-ša-ni-ia̯-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-ia̯-u-e-en* (KUB 13.4 iv 73 (OH/NS)), *uš-ša-ni-ia̯-u-en* (KUB 13.35 iii 24 (NS), KUB 40.86 rev. 9 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *uš-ša-ni-ia̯-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. ὦνος (n.) ‘price’, Lat. *vēnum dare* ‘to sell’, Arm. *gin* ‘price’.

PIE *us-n-i̯e/o-

This verb denotes ‘to put up for sale’ and therewith clearly is connected with Hitt. *u̯āš-*^{i} ‘to buy’, Skt. *vasná-* ‘price’, Gr. ὦνος ‘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 *-i̯e/a-*class, Neu (1980c: 87-8) states that *ušniia̯/a-* must be a remodelling of an older stem **ušnae-*^{zi} (according to him still visible in the OS imperfective *ušneške/a-*) and that this **ušnae-*^{zi} reflects **usno-i̯e/o-*, a verbal derivative of a noun **usno-* ‘sale’. This

seems improbable to me: *ḫatrae*-class verbs are very stabile throughout Hittite, and it would be unexpected that an original **ušnae-^{zi}* would be transformed into *ušniy̯e/a-^{zi}*. I therefore think we should analyse /uSnie/a-/ at face value, namely as a derivative in *-y̯e/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. ὦνος < **u̯os-n-os* : Hitt. *ušn-* < **us-n-*. Note that Hitt. *ušniy̯e/a-^{zi}* cannot be compared directly to Skt. *vasnayáti* 'to higgle' and Gr. ὠνέομαι 'to buy' that reflect **u̯osn-ey̯e-*.

uštul-, ***u̯aštul-*** (n.) 'sin, offense': nom.-acc.sg. *uš-tu-ul* (KBo 18.151 rev. 15 (OH/MS)), *uš-*[*d*]*u*$^{?}$*-ul* (KUB 17.10 iii 10 (OH/MS)), *u̯a-aš-túl* (MH/MS, often), *u̯a-aš-du-ul*, *u̯a-aš-tu-ul*, acc.sg.c. *u̯a-aš-du-li-in* (ABoT 44 iv 16 (OH/NS)), gen.sg. *uš-tu-la-aš* (KUB 29.29 i 10, 16 (fr.) (OS)), *u̯a-aš-túl-aš* (KBo 6.10 iii 20 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-túl-la-aš* (MH/MS), *u̯a-aš-du-la-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-aš-du-ú-li* (KUB 23.77 rev. 105 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-aš-du-li*, *u̯a-aš-túl-li* (KUB 9.15 ii 23 (NS)), abl. *u̯a-aš-du-la-az* (KBo 32.15 iii 19), instr. *u̯a-aš-du-li-it*, nom.-acc.pl. *u̯a-aš-du-ul*^{ḪLA}.

Derivatives: ***u̯ašdulae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to offend' (3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-aš-du-la-an-zi* (KBo 17.65 obv. 41)), ***u̯ašdulau̯ant-*** 'offense' (abl. *u̯a-aš-d*[*u-l*]*a-u̯a-an-da-za* (KUB 16.39 ii 11)).

PIE **usTh$_{2/3}$-éul*

This word clearly is cognate with *u̯ašta-^{i} / u̯ašt-* 'to sin' (q.v.). Although the bulk of the attestations of this word show a stem *u̯ašdul-*, 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 *u̯ašt-* 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 *u̯a-aš-du-ú-li*, which must reflect **-éul-i*. See at *u̯ašta-^{i} / u̯ašt-* for further etymology. Note that despite the one NS commune form acc.sg.c. *u̯ašdulin* all other forms clearly indicate that the word is neuter.

uda-^{i} ***/ 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$_4$-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*$_4$-*ma-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-tum‹‹-da››-m*[*a-an-zi*]; impf. *ú-ti-iš-ke/a-*, [*ú*]-*te-eš-ke/a-*.

PIE *$h_2$ou + *doh$_3$-ei / *dh$_3$-enti

All attestations in my file (about 510 examples) are spelled with initial *ú-* and never with *u-*. Semantically, *uda-^{i} / ud-* is the counterpart of *peda-^{i} / ped-*. Both are a clear compound of *u-* 'hither' (*$h_2$ou-*) and *pe-* 'thither' (*$h_1$poi-*) respectively and the verb *dā-^{i} / 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-/d-* shows long *-ā-* (*udaḫḫi* vs. *dāḫḫe*, *udai* vs. *dāi*). This is due to the fact that *uda-^{i} / ud-* is trisyllabic (cf. the short *-a-* in *tarna-^{i} / tarn-*, etc.). In later texts, the spelling of *dā-/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-/d-*: e.g. *utummen* vs. *dāu̯en*, *uter* vs. *dāer*, *utumanzi* vs. *dāu̯anzi*. 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. *AU̯ĀTU*): 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)nalliu̯e/a-^{zi}*** (Ic1) 'to speak about, to conjure, to bewitch' (1sg.pres.act. *ud-da-na-al-li-u̯a-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *ud-da-na-al-li-zi*, impf. *ut-na-al-li-iš-ke/a-*), ***uddaniu̯e/a-^{zi}*** (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 *u̯éth$_2$-r, *uth$_2$-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[69]) connects *uttar* with Skt. *vad-*^{i} 'to speak', Gr. αὐδή 'voice' and reconstructs *h_2uodh_2-r / *h_2udh_2-n-*. The idea is that the initial *h_2- is lost in the nominative due to the *o*-grade ('de Saussure effect': *h_2u̯odh_2-r > *u̯attar*) and that absence of *ḫ-* then spread throughout the paradigm (*h_2udh_2-n- > *ḫuttn- >> *uttn-*), after which the nominative *u̯attar* 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 */ū́dar / 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 *$h_1$eu̯- "sagen, sprechen" [könnte] denken, zu dem *$h_1$eu̯$g^{u̯h}$-/*h_1u̯$eg^{u̯h}$- "feierlich, rühmend, prahlend sprechen" (gr. εὔχομαι, lat. *voveō*, ai. *vāghát-*) im gleichen Verhältnis steht wieh *$h_1$ei̯g^h- "gehen" zu *$h_1$ei̯- "ds.". Auszuegehen wäre von einem proterodynamischen Paradigma mit komplexem Suffix *$h_1$éu̯-tr̥/*h_1u-tén-s (>> *$h_1$ut-n-és)" is not very compelling).

I would rather suggest a connection with the root **ueth$_2$-* 'to speak' that is reconstructed in LIV[2] on the basis of Lat. *vetō* 'to veto', MWe. *dy-wed-* 'to say' < **ut-ne-h$_2$-* and OIr. *as·pena* 'testifies' < **eks-u̯et-nā-ti* (see already Pedersen 1938: 29[1] for a connection between *uttar* and MWe. *dy-wed-*). The paradigm **uéth$_2$-r / *uth$_2$-en-* regularly yielded **uettar / uttan-* (cf. e.g. *pattar / pattan-* < **poth$_2$-r / *pth$_2$-en-*), of which it is obvious that it was replaced by *uttar / uttan-* (see Kloekhorst fthc.b for the impossibility of an ablaut *u̯VC / 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 *ēšḫar / išḫan-* where an originally proterodynamic noun (*$h_1$ésh$_2$-r / *$h_1$sh$_2$-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-i̯a-aš* (KUB 8.30 i 23 (OH/NS)), *ut-ne-i̯a-aš* (KBo 3.21 ii 4

(OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *ut-ni-i̯a* (OS), *ut-ni-i* (OH/NS), *ut-ne-i̯a*, *ut-ne-e-i̯a*, *ut-ne-e*, abl. *ut-ni-i̯a-az*, *ut-ne-e-az*, nom.-acc.pl. *ut-ne-e*, dat.-loc.pl. KUR-*e-aš*.

Derivatives: ***utniu̯ant-*** (c.) 'people, population' (nom.sg. *ut-ni-i̯a-an-za* (OS), KUR-*e-an-za*, acc.sg. *ut-ni-(i̯a-)an-da-an* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ut-ni-i̯a-an-ti* (OS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ****u̯atna-*** 'land' in *Kizzuu̯atna*-?; Lyc. ***wedre/i-*** 'city?, country?' (nom.sg. *wedri*).

IE cognates: Arm. *getin* 'ground, land'.

PIE **(h₃)ud-n-ēi*, **(h₃)ud-n-i-*

See e.g. Neu (1974a: 113) for attestations. The oldest paradigm seems to be *utnē*, *utniu̯aš*. In more recent times, the stem *utnē* was generalized throughout the paradigm, giving e.g. *utnei̯aš* and *utnēaz*. The dat.-loc.sg. *utniu̯a* 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 **u̯edenV*. It is disputed whether the root **u̯ed-*, **ud-* is the same as in **u̯od-r* 'water' (see at *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-*). If Gr. οὖδας 'ground' is cognate, we perhaps have to reconstruct **h₃ued-*, **h₃ud-* although it is not without controversy to assume a development **h₃ud-* > Gr. ουδ-. For a possible connection with Lyc. *wedre/i-* and Luw. **u̯adna-*, 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-* < **-ótr / *-ótn-*). 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 *ḫuidar / ḫuitn-*).

ŠĀRU udumeni- (n.?) a wind or direction of the wind: nom.-acc.sg.? *ú-du-me-ni*.

This word occurs only once, in KUB 8.34 iii (12) *ŠA-A-RU ú-du-me-ni i-i̯a*[*-at-ta-ri*[?]] '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 [IM]*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".

uu̯a- (c.) '?': gen.sg. *ú-u̯a-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.!
(13) ... URU*Ne-š*[*a-aš*KI TÚG^{II}]I.A URU*Ne-ša-aš*KI TÚG$^{III.A}$ *ti-i̯a-a=m-mu ti-i̯a*
(14) *nu-u=m-mu an-na-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut ti-i̯a*[*-a=m-mu t*]*i-i̯a nu-u=m-mu*
ú-u̯a-aš=ma-aš kat-ta ar-nu-ut
(15) [*t*]*i-i̯a-a=m-mu ti-i̯a*

'The clothes of Neša, the clothes of Neša, bind? me, bind?! Bring me down my mother's, bind? me, bind?! Bring me down my *u.*'s?, bind? me, bind?!'.

The exact interpretation of *uu̯a-* 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 *uu̯a-* is the Nešite variant of 'normal' Hittite *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather' and consequently that *anna-* ~ *ḫanna-* 'grandmother'), 'nurse' (Melchert 1986)).

***uu̯a-*:** 'to come': see *u̯e-*^{zi} */ uu̯a-*

uu̯a- 'to see': see *au-*^{i} */ u-*

uu̯aḫnuu̯ar: see *u̯aḫnuu̯ar* at *u̯eḫ-*^{zi} */ u̯aḫ-*

UZU***uu̯alla-*:** see (UZU)*u̯alla-*

uu̯antiu̯ant(a)-: see at *u̯antai-*^{i} */ u̯anti-*

uu̯arkant-: see *u̯arkant-*

uu̯ašta-^{i}: see *u̯ašta-*^{i} */ u̯ašt-*

uu̯ate-^{zi} / uu̯at- (Ia1) ‘to bring (here)’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-te-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-te-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-te-ez-zi* (OS), *ú-u̯a-da-az-zi* (1x, KUB 21.29 iii 38 (NH)), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-tu$_4$-um-me-e-ni* (KUB 31.44 ii 12 (MH/NS)), *ú-u̯a-te-u̯a-ni* (KUB 31.42 ii 14 (MH/NS)), *ú-u̯a-te-u-e-ni* (KUB 14.15 iii 38 (NH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-te-et-ta-ni* (MH/MS), *uu̯atetteni* (HW: 239), *ú-u̯a-da-te-e-ni* (KUB 13.9 + KUB 40.63 iii 10 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-ta-an-zi* (OS), *ú-u̯a-da-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-te-nu-un* (OS), 2sg.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-te-et* (KUB 24.7 iv 36), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-te-et* (OS), 1pl.pret.act. *uu̯ateu̯en* (HW: 239), 3pl.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-te-er* (OS), *ú-u̯a-te-e-er* (MH/MS), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-te* (MH/MS), *ú-u̯a-ti*, *ú-u̯a-te-et*, 3sg.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-te-ed-du* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-ti-it-tén* (MH/MS), *ú-u̯a-ta-at-tén* (KUB 15.34 iii 16 (MH/MS)), *ú-u̯a-te-et-tén*, *ú-u̯a-te-tén*, 3pl.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-da-an-du* (MH/MS).

This verb shows some variaty of forms, but the oldest paradigm probably inflected thus: *uu̯atemi*, *uu̯ateši*, *uu̯atezzi*, *uu̯atummēni*, *uu̯adatēni*, *uu̯atanzi*, *uu̯atenun*, **uu̯ateš*, *uu̯atet*, **uu̯atumen*, *uu̯atatten*, *uu̯ater*. This means that we are dealing with an ablauting stem *uu̯ate-^{zi} / uu̯at-*, which is fully compatible with a derivation of **d^{h}eh$_1$-/*d^{h}h$_1$-*. Synchronically, *uu̯ate-/uu̯at-* seems to function as the counterpart of *peḫute-^{zi} / peḫut-* ‘to bring (there)’, which goes back to **h$_1$poi-h$_2$ou-d^{h}eh$_1$-*, combining the preverbs **h$_1$poi-* (Hitt. *pe-*) and **h$_2$ou-* (Hitt. *u-*). The exact interpretation of *uu̯ate-/uu̯at-* is unclear, however. It is likely that the initial *u-* is to be equated with the preverb *u-* < **h$_2$ou-*, but the element *-u̯a-* is unclear to me. Melchert (1994a: 134) therefore assumes that *uu̯ate-/uu̯at-* reflects *u-* + **u̯od^{h}ei̯e-* ‘to lead’ that secondarily has taken over the inflection of *peḫute-/peḫut-*.

Melchert (1993b: 248) cites a CLuwian verb *uu̯ata-* ‘to bring?’, which is hapax in the following context (same in iv 1-2):

KUB 35.102+103 ii
(13) *i-i̯a-an-du=ku=u̯a za-aš-ši-in* DUMU-*an-na-aš-ši-i*[*n*]
(14) *a-an-ni-in u̯a-ra-al-li-in ú-u̯a-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. *uu̯ate-/uu̯at-* only, which in my opinion is too small a base.

***uu̯iten-*:** see *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-*

uzuḫri- (c.) ‘grass’: acc.sg. *ú-zu-uḫ-ri-in*, dat.-loc.pl. *ú-zu-uḫ-ri-ti-i*, [*ú-zu-uḫ-ri*]-*ti-i̯a*.

This word, which denotes ‘grass’, is sometimes interpreted as ^{Ú}*zuḫri-*, having the determinative Ú that is used with plants. Otten (1971b: 1) states that we better read *uzuḫri-*, however. The word only occurs in texts about horse-training. The dat.-loc.-forms in *-ti(i̯a)* clearly indicate that the word is Hurrian.

Ṷ

=*ṷa*= : see *=ṷa(r)=*

***ṷaḫ*-:** see *ṷeḫ-*^{zi} / *ṷaḫ-*

[*ṷ*]*aḫanuṷammant*-: read [*ma*]*rḫanuṷammant*-, q.v.

***ṷaḫḫu*-**^{zi}**:** see *ṷeḫ-*^{zi} / *ṷaḫ-*

***ṷai*-**^{i} **/ *ṷi*-** (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. *ṷa-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: ***ṷiṷa*-**^{i} **/ *ṷiṷi*-** (IIa5) ‘to cry’ (3sg.pres.act. *ú-i-ṷa-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)), ***ṷiṷiškattalla*-** (c.) ‘crier’ (nom.sg. *ú-i-ṷi*$_5$*-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 *ḫi*-verb “*ṷāi-*” (with 3sg.pres.act. *ṷāi* only) and a *mi*-verb “*ṷiiāi-*”, both ‘schreien’. Oettinger is not consistent in his treatment. The form *ṷāi*

he cites (1979a: 475) as belonging to a stem "*u̯i̯e-*^{hhi}" (i.e. belonging to the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class), but he does not mention the other forms under this lemma. On p. 73 he cites a verb "*u̯ii̯e-*^{hhi}" (also belonging to the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class), but does not cite any forms. Are *u̯ii̯e-*^{hhi} and *u̯i̯e-*^{hhi} to be seen as the same verb, and does he also regard forms like *u̯ii̯ami* as belonging here? Melchert (1984a: 132) is more clear and states that *u̯āi*, *u̯ii̯anzi* are to be regarded as belonging to the *dāi/ti̯anzi*-class, with forms like *u̯ii̯ami* being backformations on the basis of 3pl. *u̯ii̯anzi*. According to him, this is indicated by the fact that 3sg.pres.act. *u̯āi* is found in the same context as 1sg.pres.act. *u̯ii̯ami*:

KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii

(91) *a-li-i̯a-aš=u̯a Ú-UL u̯a-a-i Ú-UL=ma=u̯a u̯a-a-ki Ú-UL=ma=u̯a iš-pár-ri-ez-zi*

(92) x[...]*a-li-i̯a-an pár-ḫa-at-ta-ri* ŠAḪ*=ma=u̯a ú-i-u̯a-i ku-it nu=u̯a ku-iš A-NA* KUR-*e*

(93) *še-*x[...]x x x x x [...]x-*i̯a ku-en-zi nu=u̯a ú*[*-ug*]*-g=a* ŠAḪ*-aš i-u̯a-ar ú-i-i̯a-mi*

'The *ali̯a*-bird does not cry, it does not bite, it does not spread (its wings). [...] hunts the *ali̯a*-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 *u̯āi / u̯ii̯anzi*, whereas the forms that belong to the paradigms *u̯ii̯e/a-*^{zi} and *u̯ii̯ae-*^{zi} are younger secondary creations.

Formally, the thematic forms *u̯ii̯e/a-*^{zi} resemble the forms of the verb *u̯i̯e-*^{zi} / *u̯i̯-* '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 ^{MUNUS}SUḪUR.LA$_5$ DINGIR^{LIM} *IŠ-TU* É.DINGIR^{LIM}

(10) [...]x *ú-i-e-er nu=u̯a-a=š-ma-aš=kán* SAG.DU-*i*

(11) [... *ki-i̯*]*a-an-ta-ri*

is translated by Starke (1990: 430) as

'2 Hierodulen der Gottheit schickte man aus dem Tempel [...] herauf[?] (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-*i̯a* $TI_8^{MUŠEN}$*-aš pár-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* ^{LÚ}*pal-u̯a-at-tal-la-aš*
(6) $TI_8^{MUŠEN}$*-aš pár-ta-u-ni-it* LUGAL-*i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da*
(7) *u̯a-a-tar* 3=*ŠU pa-ap-pár-aš-zi pal-u̯a-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: *u̯a-a-i* = /uā́i/, *ú-i-i̯a-an-zi* = /uiánt^{s}i/ and *ú-e-eš-ke/a-* = /uɨské/á-/. This contrasts with e.g. *ui̯e-^{zi} / ui̯-* ‘to send (here)’ which is spelled *u-i-i̯a-an-zi* = /ʔoiánt^{s}i/ and *u-i-eš-ke/a-* = /ʔoiɨské/á-/ and *u-e-eš-ke/a-* = /ʔoɨské/á-/.

Etymologically, the verb is likely derived from the onomatopoetic words *ú-i* ‘whee!’ (KUB 55.38 ii 19) or *(u)u̯āi-* ‘woe’ (in *āi- (u)u̯āi-* ‘woe and pain’ (acc.sg. *a-i-in ú-u̯a-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.4 iv 26-7, 35 (OS), StBoT 25.7 iv 5 (OS), *a-i-in u̯a-a-i-in* (StBoT 25.3 iv 14 (OS), StBoT 25.7 iv 9 (OS)).

u̯āk-^{i} / u̯akk- (IIa2 > Ic1) ‘to bite’: 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-a-ki* (OS), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ak-ka-an-zi* (IBoT 1.36 i 20 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-a-kiš* (NS), *u̯a-ka$_4$-aš* (NS), *u̯a-ak-ki-iš* (MH/NS), *u̯a-a-ki-et* (NS), 1pl.pret.act. *u̯a-a-ku-e-en* (MH/NS), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ak* (undat.), *u̯a-a-ga* (NH); inf.II *u̯a-ga-a-an-na* (KUB 34.128 obv. 13 (OH/MS)), *u̯a-ga-an-na* (KUB 60.121 obv. 19 (MS)), *u̯a-kán-na* (KBo 8.130 ii 7 (MS)), *u̯a-ka$_4$-an-na*; impf. *u̯a-ak-ki-i*[*š-ke/a-...*] (KBo 3.40b obv. 17 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: ^{NINDA}***u̯agātaš-*** (n.), a kind of bread (acc.sg. *u̯a-ga-a-ta-aš* (OS), *u̯a-ga-a-da-aš* (OS), *u̯a-ga-ta-aš* (OS), *u̯a-ga-da-aš* (OS), *u̯a-ga-da-a-aš* (1x, OS), acc.sg.c. *u̯a-ga-ta-an* (OH/NS), coll. *u̯a-ga-a-ta*), ^{NINDA}***u̯ageššar / u̯agešn-*** (n.) a kind of bread (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-ge-eš-šar* (OS, often), *u̯a-ke-eš-šar* (OS), *u̯a-ge-eš-ša* (1x, OS), dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-ge-eš-ni* (KBo 30.17, 12 (OH/NS))), see *u̯akk-*^{ārri}.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***u̯akk-*** 'to bite(?)' (3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-kán-ta*).

IE cognates: Gr. ἄγνυμι 'to break', TochAB *wāk-* 'to split, to burst'.

PIE **u̯óh$_2$(ʾ)g-ei / *uh$_2$(ʾ)g-énti*.

See Oettinger 1979a: 444f. for attestations. The oldest forms (OS and MS), *u̯a-a-ki* and *u̯a-ak-kán-zi*, clearly show an ablaut *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯akk-*, with which this verb belongs to class IIa2 (*ā/a*-ablauting *ḫi*-verbs). The alternation between *-k-* and *-kk-* is typical for this class (compare *āk-*^{i} / *akk-* 'to die', *ištāp-*^{i} / *ištapp-* 'to shut', *nāḫ-*^{i} / *naḫḫ-* '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* > /ɨstắbi/, **nóh$_2$-ei* > /nắhi/). In the case of *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯akk-*, we would therefore at first sight assume a preform **u̯ók-ei* > *u̯āki*. Such a reconstruction is problematic in the weak stem, however: as we see at the treatment of *u̯ekk-*^{zi}, a zerograde **uk-* in an ablauting paradigm secondarily was changed to Hitt. /uɨk-/ = *u̯e/ikk-*.

This problem is solved by the etymology provided by Kammenhuber (1961b: 47), who connected *u̯āk-/u̯akk-* with Gr. ἄγνυμι 'to break', which reflects **ueh$_2$(ʾ)g-*. If we apply this root structure, we arrive at a paradigm **uóh$_2$(ʾ)g-ei / *uh$_2$(ʾ)g-énti*. In the plural, where **uh$_2$(ʾ)g-* should regularly have yielded Hitt. **ūkk-*, an anaptyctic vowel emerged in order to avoid an ablaut *u̯VC- / uC-* (see also at *u̯ekk-*^{zi}, *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-*). Due to the adjacent **h$_2$*, this vowel appears as /ə/ (cf. the difference between *paḫḫaššC°* = /paHəsC°/ < **peh$_2$sC°* and *takkeišC* = /takɨsC°/ < **teksC-*). If we assume that **-h$_2$(ʾ)g-* assimilates to fortis *-kk-* in pretonic position, but yields *-k-* after accentuated vowel (compare *šāgāi-* 'sign, omen' < **séh$_2$gōi*), we arrive at a strong stem **uóh$_2$(ʾ)g-* > *u̯āk-* vs. a weak stem **uh$_2$(ʾ)g-* > **u̯əh$_2$(ʾ)g-* > *u̯akk-*.

Although ^{NINDA}*u̯ageššar / u̯agešn-* is generally seen as a derivative of *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯akk-*, it is unclear whether ^{NINDA}*u̯agātaš* (cf. Rieken 1999a: 196-7) is as well. The word apparently is a neuter stem *u̯agātaš-*, out of which in younger Hittite a commune stem *u̯agata-* was extracted (as can be seen in the acc.sg.c. *u̯agatan*). If it is derived from this verb, then the formation is unclear (there are no other words that show a suffix *-ātaš-*).

u̯akk-$^{\bar{a}ri}$ (IIIf) 'to be lacking': 3sg.pres.midd. *u̯a-ak-ka₄-a-ri* (KBo 18.79 rev. 33, HT 18, 8, KBo 4.8 ii 8, KBo 45.211, 7), *u̯a-ag-ga-a-ri* (KBo 4.8 ii 10), *u̯a-a-ag-ga-a-ri* (Bo 3375, 6), *u̯a-ag-ga-ri* (KUB 36.25 i 15, Bo 5166 rev. 5), *u̯a-ak-ka₄-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. *u̯a-ak-ka₄-ru* (KUB 31.86+ i 12).

PIE **uh₂ǵ-ó(-ri)* ?

See Oettinger 1976b: 140f. for attestations. In HW (241), this verb is cited as *u̯akkar-*, probably on the basis of "Prt. Sg. 3 *u̯aqqareš*" in KUB 33.106 ii 8. Oettinger (l.c.) rather reads this context thus:

KUB 33.106 ii

(7) ... *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* ^{d}*Ḫé-pád-du-uš* ^{d}*Taš-mi-šu-un a-uš-ta*

(8) *nu=kán* ^{d}*Ḫé-pa-du-uš šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi*
u̯a-ak-ka₄-ri-eš[*-ke-u*]*-an*

(9) *ti-i̯a-at ma-n=a-aš=kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-ta-at*

See at the lemma *u̯akkarii̯e/a-*^{zi} for a treatment of this context.

The verb *u̯akk-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 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 u̯a-ag-ga-a-ri* 'but nothing is lacking for him' i.e. 'but he lacks nothing'. Oettinger (l.c.) supposes a connetion with *u̯akkarii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to revolt against' (q.v.), but I do not see how this connection would work semantically. A better comparandum might be *u̯ak(ki)šii̯e/a-*^{zi} (q.v.), which denotes 'to be lacking' as well.

Because of the almost consistent plene spelled ending *-āri*, it is clear that *u̯akk-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 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 *u̯akkāri*, this means that *u̯akk-* reflects a zero-grade formation. The only zero-grade stem *u̯akk-* that I know of in Hittite is found in the verb *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯akk-* 'to bite' that reflects PIE **ueh₂ǵ-* 'to break' (Gr. ἄγνυμι 'to break'). See at *u̯āk-*^{i} / *u̯akk-* for an explanation of the zero-grade *u̯akk-* << **uh₂ǵ-*. 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)uh₂k-* (cf. Schrijver 1990: 307-8). Problematic, however, is that in my view a preform **uh₂k-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.

u̯agai- (c.) ‘grain weevil’ (Sum. UḪ.ŠE): nom.sg. *u̯a-ga-a-iš* (KUB 4.3 obv. 5), abl. *u̯a-ga-i̯a-za* (KUB 46.42 iv 11), acc.pl. *u̯a-ka$_4$-a-uš* (KUB 46.38 i 4, KUB 46.42 iii 1), *u̯a-ka$_4$-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 *u̯āk-^{i} / u̯akk-* indeed is justified, we should reconstruct **uéh$_2$(ˀ)ǵ-oi-*. See at *u̯āk-^{i} / u̯akk-* for further etymology.

u̯akkariu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1 > Ic2) ‘to rebel against, to revolt against’: 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-ez-zi* (NH), *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-az-zi* (NH), *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-zi* (NH), *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-ri-i̯a-zi* (NH), *u̯a-ak-ri-i̯a-zi* (KUB 8.3 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-iz-zi* (NH), *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-a-ri-i̯a-zi* (NH), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-ri-i̯a-nu-un* (NH), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-at*, 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a* (OH/NS); verb.noun gen.sg. *u̯a-ag-ga-ri-i̯a-u-aš* (NH); inf.I *u̯aggariu̯aanzi* (HW: 241); impf. *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-ri-eš*[*-ke/a-*]; broken *u̯a-ak-ka-ri-i̯a*[-...] (OS).

Derivatives: ***u̯akkareššar / u̯akkarešn-*** (n.) ‘rebellion(?)’ (abl. *u̯a-ak-kar-eš-na-az* (KBo 8.47 i 12)).

PIE **u̯o^{h}k-r-i̯e/o-* ??

Most attestations are from NH texts, but the OS attestation *u̯a-ak-ka-ri-i̯a*[-...] (KUB 36.106 obv. 7) shows that the verb was used in OH times already. The one attestation *u̯a-ak-ri-i̯a-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 *u̯akkariu̯e/a-* could stand for fysical revolting as well:

KUB 33.106 ii

(7) *... nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* ^{d}*Ḫé-bad-du-uš* ^{d}*Taš-mi-šu-un a-uš-ta*

(8) *nu=kán* ^{d}*Ḫé-pa-du-uš šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi*
u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-ri-eš[*-ke-u*]*-an*

(9) *ti-i̯a-at ma-n=a-aš=kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta ma-uš-ta-at n=a-an*
$^{MUNUS.MEŠ}$SUḪUR.LA$_5$

(10) *e-ep-per n=a-an Ú-UL tar-ni-er*

'When Ḫepat saw Tašmišu, Ḫepat began to stirr$^{?}$ 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, *u̯akkariie/a-* is seen as a derivative of *u̯akk-^{āri}* 'to be lacking' (q.v.). This seems to be based especially on the fact that in the older literature the verb *u̯akk-* was thought to display a root *u̯akkar-* (3sg.pres.midd. *u̯akkāri*), and because of the fact that we find a few attestations of *u̯akkariie/a-* spelled *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-a-ri-ia-*, a spelling that resembles the word *u̯a-ak-ka$_4$-a-ri* 'is lacking'. Nevertheless, a connection between *u̯akkariie/a-* and *u̯akk-* is dificult, especially semantically. I do not see how we could connect 'to rebel against, to revolt' with 'to be lacking'. E.g. Tischler (HW) translates *u̯akkariie/a-* with 'Mangel leiden lassen', but this translation seems to be based on the presupposed etymological connection with *u̯akk-* only. Formally, the connection is not evident either. We would have to assume that *u̯akkariie/a-* is a derivative in *-ariie/a-* of the verbal root *u̯akk-*, whereas to my knowledge, this suffix is only used with nouns in *-ant-*, e.g. *gimmandariie/a-^{zi}* 'to spend the winter' from *gimmant-* 'winter', *nekumandariie/a-^{zi}* 'to undress (someone)' from *nekumant-* 'naked', *parkuu̯antariie/a-^{zi}* 'to become pure' from **parkuu̯ant-* 'pure', while other verbs in *-ariia-* are all derived from nouns in *-ar-*: *ešḫariie/a-^{zi}* from *ešḫar-*, *ḫaḫḫariie/a-^{zi}* from *ḫaḫḫar(a)-*, *ḫapparie/a-^{zi}* from *ḫappar-*, etc.

All in all, I would conclude that *u̯akkariie/a-^{zi}* means 'to stirr' > 'to revolt against' (and not 'to make someone lack something') and is derived from a noun **u̯akkar-*, which perhaps denoted some movement (and is not derived from the verb *u̯akk-* '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 **u̯o$_2^{(?)}$k-r*.

u̯ak(ki)šiie/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to be lacking': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-zi* (KUB 8.35 i 11 (NS), Bronzetafel ii 74 (NH)), *u̯a-ak-ki-ši-e-ez-zi* (KUB 8.28 i 5 (OH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-a*[*t*] (VSNF 12.116 rev. 5, 10 (NS)); part. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-an-za* (KUB 23.61 i 8 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯aggašnu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to leave out' (3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ag-ga-aš-nu-an-zi* (VBoT 24 i 9 (MH/NS))), ***u̯akšiianu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) 'to deny a person of something' (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-nu-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 40 (OH/NS)), 2pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-nu-ut-te-ni* (KUB 13.4 i 49 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ak-ši-ia-nu-nu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 15 (NH))).

PIE **u̯h$_2$ǵ$^{(?)}$-s-ie/o-* ?

For the semantics of this verb, cf. e.g.

Bronzetafel ii

(74) *ú-uk-k=a$_4$ ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* $^{m.d}$LAMMA-*an pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫi nu-u=š-ši=kán ma-a-an ṷa-ak-ši-i̯a-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 *ṷakk-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 'to be lacking' (q.v.). Formally, *ṷak(ki)šii̯e/a-* could then be a derivative in *-s-* of *ṷakk-*. This plain stem *ṷakš-* is still visible in *ṷaggašnu-*^{zi} = /uaksnu-/, wheras all other forms show the NH *-i̯e/a-*extension. See at *ṷakk-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ for further etymology.

$^{DUG/URUDU}$***ṷakšur*** (n.) a vessel; a cubic measure; a time unit: nom.-acc.sg. *ṷa-ak-šur*, gen.sg.(?) *ṷ*[*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.(?) *ṷ*[*a*]*kšurraš*.

Becauce we do not know exactly what kind of object *ṷakšur* denotes, it is difficult to etymologize it. Pisani (1982: 178) connected this word with *ṷak(ki)šii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to be lacking', which formally is possible (cf. the stem *ṷakš-* visible in *ṷakšnu-*^{zi}), but semantically not easy to defend. According to Pisani, *ṷak(ki)šii̯e/a-*^{zi} 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 *ṷak(ki)šii̯e/a-*^{zi} for the impossibility of a connection with Lat. *vacō*, however.

***ṷaktūri-*:** see *uktūri-*

$^{(UZU)}$***ṷalla-***, ***ṷalli-*** (c.) 'thigh(-bone)(?)': nom.sg. *ṷa-al-la-aš*, *ú-ua-al-la-aš* (1x, KUB 55.53 i 11), acc.sg. *ṷa-al-la-an*, gen.sg. *ṷa-al-la-aš*, nom.pl. *ṷa-al-li-e-eš* (KUB 29.1 iv 10), *ṷa-al-li-i-e-eš* (KBo 4.1 rev. 20), *ṷa-al-li-iš* (ABoT 1 i 16), acc.pl. *ṷa-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 *uu̯alla-* as well, based on a spelling *u-u̯a-al-lu-uš* in KUB 29.1 iv 9 and *ú-u̯a-al-la-aš* in KUB 55.53 i 11. The former attestation may rather be read (KUB 29.1 iv 9) *nu* 10 *u̯a-al-lu-uš ti-an-zi* 'they put down ten *u̯*.-s'. The latter attestation runs thus:

KUB 55.53 i
(10) *nu* 12 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA$^{ḪI.A}$ TUR^{TIM} ŠÀ.BA 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA
ḫa-az-zi-la-a[*š*]
(11) *me-ma-al* ZÍZ NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A ZAG-*aš ú-u̯a-al-la-aš*
(12) *n=a-at A-NA* DINGIR.MAḪ *pé-ra-an ti-an-zi*

'(There are) 12 thickbreads, the heart(?) of a cub, one thickbread (of) *ḫ*. meal, wheat, fat-bread (and) a right *u*. They place these before the Mother-goddess'.

It indeed may show a singular spelling *ú-u̯a-al-la-*. If the form *u̯a-al-li-i-e-eš* (KBo 4.1 rev. 20) belongs here as well, we see a stem *u̯alli-* too. The appurtenance of the word ^{UZU}*ú-la-* (q.v.) is unclear, however.

Alp (l.c.) proposed to analyse $^{(UZU)}$*u̯alla-* as a derivative in *-alla-* of the verb *uu̯a-* 'to come' (see *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-*). This is formally quite improbable, as *uu̯a-* is a quite recent stem which was formed out of the original paradigm *u̯ē-*^{zi} / **uu̯-* in analogy to the *-i̯e/a-*class. No further etymology.

u̯alla/i- 'to praise, to honour': 1sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-la-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 31.127 iii 37), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-li-*[*i̯*]*a-an-zi* (KUB 6.46 iv 28); impf. *u̯a-al-li-iš-ke/a-*, *u̯a-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^{LAM} *u̯a-al-la-aḫ-ḫi*

'I praise you, god';

KUB 6.46 iv
(28) *nu-u=t-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ŠA ME-E* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} ÍD^{MEŠ}*u̯a-li-*[*i̯*]*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$^{DIDLI.ḪI.A}$ *ú-e-te-eš-ke-et*
(4) ^{LÚ}KÚR-*aš=za ṷa-al-le-eš-ke-ez-zi I-NA* KUR ^{URU}*Al-mi-na=ṷa-r=a-an=kán*
(5) *kat-ta-an-da Ú-UL ku-ṷa-at-ka$_4$ tar-nu-um-me-ni ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma*
(6) URU$^{DIDLI.ḪI.A}$ *ú-e-tu$_4$-ma-an-zi zi-in-ni-it n=a-aš* ^{URU}*Al-mi-na*
(7) *an-da-an pa-it nu-u=š-ši* ^{LÚ}KÚR *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a me-na-aḫ-ḫa-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 resistence in battle against him'.

The exact inflection of this verb is unclear. I will therefore cite it as *ṷalla/i-*. If the form *ṷa-li-*[*i̯*]*a-an-zi* really belongs to this verb (which is semantically quite possible), we must assume that it is misspelled for *ṷa‹-al›-li-i̯a-an-zi*.

This verb probably is related with *ṷalli-* 'pride(?)' and *ṷalliu̯atar / ṷalliu̯ann-* '(song of) praise'. Often, *ṷalla/i-* is further connected with *ṷalluške/a-*, which then is translated 'to praise', too. For instance, Melchert (1994a: 81-2) reconstructs "*ṷalla-*" as **ṷal-neh$_2$-* and "*ṷallu-*" as **ṷal-neu-*, but see at *ṷalluške/a-* for the problems regarding this view. Oettinger (1979a: 490-1) assumes that 'to praise' developed out of 'to make strong' and therefore connects *ṷalla/i-* with Lat. *valēre* 'to be strong', TochB *walo* 'king', etc. < **uelH-*.

ṷalaḫḫ-^{zi}: see *ṷalḫ-*^{zi}

ṷalaḫḫi-: see *ṷalḫi-*

ṷallanu-^{zi} (Ib2) 'to erase(?)': 3sg.pres.act. *ṷa-al-la-nu-u*[*z-zi*] (KUB 26.43 ii 37); part. nom.sg.c. *ṷa-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* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti ki-it-ta-ru n=a-at pé-an ar-ḫa* [*Ú-UL ku-iš-ki da-a-i*]
(36) *ku-iš=ma ki-i ṬUP-PU A-NA* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti pé-ra-an ar-ḫa da-a-*[*i ...*]
(37) *na-aš-m=a-at ar-ḫa la-ḫu-u-ṷa-i na-aš-ma* ŠUM-*an ṷa-al-la-nu-u*[*z-zi ...*]
(38) *pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i n=a-an=kán* ^{d}U ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}*A-ri-in-*[*na ...*]
(39) *Ù* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš QA-DU* NUMUN=*ŠU ar-ḫa*

ḫar-kán-nu-[*u̯a-an-du*]

'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[?] 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, *u̯allanu-*^{zi} looks like a causative in *-nu-* of a stem *u̯alla-*, but the only known verb *u̯alla-* 'to praise' does not fit the meaning. No further etymology.

u̯alḫ-^{zi} (Ia4) 'to hit, to strike' (Sum. GUL, RA): 1sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ši* (MH/MS), [*u̯*]*a-al-aḫ-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-zi* (OS), *u̯a-la-aḫ-zi* (OS), *u-u̯a-al-aḫ-zi* (KBo 16.50 obv. 20), 1pl.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-ni* (MH/MS), *ua-al-ḫu-u̯a-ni* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-ḫu-e-ni* (NS), 2pl.pres.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ta-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-zi* (OS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-al-ḫu-un* (OS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ta* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *u̯a*[*-al*$^{?}$*-ḫ*]*u*$^{?}$*-en* (KBo 18.86 obv. 13), 2pl.pret.act. *u̯a-la-aḫ-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫe-er* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-ḫe-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-tén* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-te-en* (MH/MS); part. *u̯a-al(-aḫ)-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun *u̯a-al-ḫu-u̯a-ar*, *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *u̯a-al-ḫu-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *u̯a-al-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi*, *u-u̯a-al-ḫu(-u)-u̯a-an-zi* (KBo 16.50 obv. 10, 15); impf. *u̯a-al(-aḫ)-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*, *u̯a-al(-aḫ)-ḫi-eš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***u̯alḫanna-***^{i} / ***u̯alḫanni-*** (IIa5) 'to hit, to strike (impf.)' (2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-na-at-ti*, 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫa-an-na-i*, *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-na-i*, *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-na-a-i*, 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-ni-an-zi* (OS), *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-ni-i̯a-an-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-na-ú*; impf. *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ke/a-* (MH/MS), *u̯a-al-ḫa-an-ni-eš-ke/a-*), ***u̯alḫeššar / u̯alḫešn-*** (n.) 'strike, blow' (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-al-ḫe-eš-šar*, *u̯a-al-ḫi-iš-šar*, gen.sg. *u̯a-al-ḫi-iš-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. RA-*eš-ni*).

IE cognates: Lat. *vellō* 'to tear apart', Gr. ἐάλων 'was killed', TochA *wälläṣtär* 'dies'.

PIE **uélh*$_3$*-ti* / **ulh*$_3$*-énti*

This verb is well-attested, from OS onwards. The spellings *u̯a-al-aḫ-C*, *u̯a-la-aḫ-C*, *u̯a-al-ḫV* and *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫV* all clearly point to a phonological interpretation /ualH-/. The spellings with *u-u̯a-* occur in one text only (KBo 16.50) and therefore can be disregarded. The exact etymological interpretation of *u̯alḫ-* has

been disturbed by the idea that it has an inner-Hittite cognate in *ḫulle-^{zi} / ḫull-* 'to smash'. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 264) reconstructs a root **$h_2$uelh$_2$-*, of which on the one hand a thematic formation **$h_2$ulh$_2$-é-ti* would be visible in *ḫullezi* and on the other a root-present **h_2u̯elh$_2$-ti* yielded *u̯alḫzi* with dissimilation of the first **h_2* due to the second one. As I have argued under its own lemma, *ḫulle-^{zi} / ḫull-* is best explained as a nasal-infix formation **$h_2$ul-ne-h$_1$-* of a root **$h_2$ulh$_1$-*, and therefore cannot be equated with *u̯alḫ-*.

I rather follow LIV^2 in reconstructing a root **uelh$_3$-* 'to strike' (**-h$_3$-* visible in Gr. ἐάλων 'was killed' < **h$_1$e-u̯lh$_3$-eh$_1$-*). Note that *uélh$_3$-ti / *ulh$_3$-énti* in pinciple should have yielded ***u̯alzi / **ulḫanzi*. Nevertheless, on the basis of the consonantal **u̯* of the singular, the plural form was realized **u̯lh$_3$-énti*. This latter form regularly yielded Hitt. /uəlHántˢi/, on the basis of which the laryngeal was restored in the singular form, which then yielded /uálHtˢi/.

u̯alḫi- (n.) a beverage used in cult: nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-al-ḫi* (OS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫi*, gen.sg. *u̯a-al-ḫi-aš* (OS), *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫi-aš*, *u̯a-al-ḫi-i̯a-aš*, *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aš*, instr. *u̯a-al(-aḫ)-ḫi-it*.

Derivatives: ^{LÚ}***u̯alaḫḫii̯ala-*** (c.) a kitchen servant (nom.sg. *u̯a-al-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-la-aš* (KUB 13.3 ii 22)).

PIE **uolh$_3$-i*, **ulh$_3$-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 *u̯alḫ-^{zi}* 'to strike'. If so, then we would have to reconstruct **uolh$_3$-i*, **ulh$_3$-i-ós*. Note however that this paradigm regularly should have yielded ***u̯alli*, ***ulḫii̯aš*. We therefore have to assume that on the one hand the consonantal **u̯* of the nominative spread throughout the paradigm, and on the other the laryngeal of the oblique stem, yielding attested *u̯alḫi*, *u̯alḫiaš*.

u̯alḫuu̯ant- (adj.) 'uncultivated(??)': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-za* (HKM 77 obv. 11 (MH/MS)), nom.pl.c. *u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-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) *ḫar-kán-ta-aš ŠA* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *ku-iš* A.ŠÀ$^{I̯I.A}$ *ta*$^{!}$*-an-na-a-at-ta=i̯a*

(67) *ku-e pí-e-et-ta n=e-e=t-ta ḫ*[*u-*]*u-*[*m*]*a-an* GUL*-aš-ša-an e-eš-tu*

(68) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=ma* NAM.RA$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ *pí-an-z*[*i n*]*u-u=š-ši A*[*Š*$^{?}$*-R*]*A ḫu-u-da-ak*
(69) *ḫi-in-kán-du gi-im-ra-aš-š=a ku-i-e-e*[*š u̯*]*a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-te-eš*
(70) *nu-u=š-ma-aš=ša-an ú-e-tum-ma-aš ud-d*[*a-n*]*i-i* IGI$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-u̯a ḫar-ak*
(71) *n=a-aš* SIG$_5$*-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 *u̯*., 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* ^{LÚ}KÚR *ḫa-an-da-a-an*
(11) [...]x-*zi u̯a-al-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-za*

Alp (1991: 267) translates *u̯alḫūu̯anza* here as 'geschlagen' but this apparently is based on a false connection with *u̯alḫ-*^{zi} 'to hit' (q.v.) only. In the first context, *u̯alḫūu̯anteš* 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.

u̯alli- (adj.) 'shaven(?)': nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-al-li* (KBo 6.26 iii 13), nom.sg.c. *u̯a-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 ^{KUŠ}A.GÁ.LÁ BABBAR *u̯a-al-li-iš* LÚGUD.DA SÍG *ḫur-ri=kán an-da* 'one white bag of smooth leather, short, contains Hurrian wool'. No etymology.

u̯alli- (?) 'pride(?)': gen.sg. *u̯a-al-li-i̯a-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* ^{URU}*T*]*i-mu-ḫa-la an-da-an ú-et nu* ^{URU}*Ti-mu-ḫa-la-aš* URU*-aš*
(48) [*ŠA* LÚ$^{\text{MEŠ UR}}$]^{U}*Ga-aš-ga u̯a-al-li-i̯a-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 *u̯alli-* indeed means 'pride', it may be the source of the derivative *u̯alliia̯tar / u̯alliia̯nn-* '(song of) praise' and the verb *u̯alla/i-* 'to praise'.

u̯alli- 'thigh(-bone)(?)': see $^{(UZU)}$*u̯alla-*

u̯alliia̯tar / u̯alliia̯nn- (n.) '(song of) praise': nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-al-li-ia̯-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. *u̯a-al-li-ia̯-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 *u̯alli-*, also visible in *u̯alli-* 'pride' and *u̯alla/i-* 'to praise'.

u̯alliu̯alliia̯- (adj.) 'quick(??)': nom.sg.c.(?) *u̯a-li-u̯a-li-aš* (KUB 5.1 ii 110), *u̯*[*a-al-li-u̯*]*a-al-li-ia̯-aš* (KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 20), *u̯a-a*[*l-li-u̯a-*]*al-li-ia̯-aš* (KBo 35.160 rev.$^{?}$ 5, 9 (fr.)), dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-al-li-u̯a-al-li* (KUB 27.1 i 3, 29, iv 8, 16), *u̯a-al-li-u̯a-li* (KUB 27.1 i 17, iv 21), *u̯a-al-li-u̯a-al-li-ia̯* (KUB 27.1 iv 31), nom.pl.c. *u̯a-al-li-u̯a-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 ^{d}*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-ia̯-an-ta-ri nu* KASKAL[-*an ku-in*$^{?}$]
(11) *ú-u̯a-an-zi n*[*u-uš*$^{?}$ *am-*(*mu-u*)]*k* ^{d}LAMA-*aš ne-pí-š*[(*a-aš* LUGAL-*u*)*š*]
(12) DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš ḫi-in-ik-m*[(*i* IM^{Ḫ})]$^{I.A}$-*uš u̯a-al-li-u̯a*[(-*al-li-uš*)]
(13) *A-NA* ^{d}É.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, ^{d}LAMA, the king of Heaven, point out to the gods. The *u̯*. winds opposite the way of Ea [brought them the words of ^{d}LAMA]' (added translation based on similar contexts).

Otten (l.c.) translates *u̯*. 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 u̯*[*a-al-li-u̯*]*a-al-li-ia̯-*

aš (21) *ti-i̯a-at* ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš*, but especially KUB 27.1 i (29) *A-NA* ^{d}*IŠTAR* É *u̯a-al-li-u̯a-al-li=ma* ..., etc.

Besides these attestations of the adjective, Oettinger (1979a: 34) also cites a verb *u̯aliu̯alae-* 'streuen(?)', but gives no reference to its attestation place(s). Tischler (HG: 193) cites a verb "*u̯alliu̯allai-* (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.) ^{CRUX}*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 *niu̯alla/i-*, which he interprets as 'weak'. CHD (N: 459) translates *niu̯alla/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 **u̯alli-* that means 'strong', so there is no ground anymore to translate *u̯alliu̯alli̯a-* as 'strong' as well.

All in all, we can conclude that *u̯alliu̯alli̯a-* 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 **u̯alli-* is unassured, and semantically not likely.

u̯alk(i̯e/a)- (Ia4 / Ic1) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-la-ak-zi* (KUB 8.3 obv. 10 (OH/NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *u̯a-al-ki-i̯a-an-da* (KUB 58.30 ii 21 (MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *u̯a-al-ak-ta-at* (KUB 49.3 obv. 8 (NS)); verb.noun. *u̯a-al-ki-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KUB 7.58 i 7 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯alganu-***^{zi} (Ib2) '?' (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-ga-nu-uz-zi* (KBo 13.31 i 11 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-al-ga-nu-ut* (KUB 33.10 obv. 11 (OH/MS))).

See Neu 1968: 187f. for attestations. There he also cites *u̯alkuu̯an*, but see *u̯alku(u̯)a-* for this. According to Neu, the meaning of *u̯alk(i̯e/a)-* can hardly be determined because most of its forms are found in broken contexts: "[n]ur *u̯alganut* steht in einem vollständig erhaltenen Satz":

KUB 33.10 obv.

(6) [*š*]*a-a-an-ta-an ku-u̯a-at me-ma-nu-ut-te̯-e̯n* [ ]
(7) [*(-)*]*ni-e-e̯t-ta-at n=a-aš-ta* TÚL-*ru ši-il-mą*[-]
(8) [ ]x ÍD$^{ḪI.A}$ *ar-šar-šu-u-ru-uš ḫu-it-ti-i̯*[*a-*]
(9) [*š*]*a-aḫ-ta n=u-uš u̯a-al-ga-nu-ut u̯a-ap-pa-mu-uš* x[ ]
(10) [*lu-ut-ta-*]*a-uš pí-ip-pa-aš* É$^{ḪI.A.TIM}$ *pí-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)(?) (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 *u̯algan̯u-* would mean in this context. Nevertheless, Oettinger (1979a: 234) glosses *u̯alk-* 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 *u̯alk(iie/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. *ēsḫar arszi* "blood will flow" ib. I 8 and KUR ^{LÚ}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 *u̯alk(iie/a)-* and of *u̯algan̯u-* 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.

u̯alkiššara-: see *ulkiššara-*

u̯alku(u̯)a- (n.) something negative: acc.sg. *u̯a-al-ku-an* (KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (OH/MS)), *u̯a-al-ku-u̯a-an* (KBo 3.40b, 15).

IE cognates: Skt. *a-vṛ́ká-* 'safe'.

PIE **ulk*^{w}*ó-*?

The word occurs twice, namely in the following contexts:

KBo 22.2 obv.

(1) [MUNUS.LUGA]L ^{URU}*Ka-ni-iš* 30 DUMU^{MEŠ} 1^{EN} MU-*an-ti ḫa-a-aš-ta UM-MA ŠI=MA*

(2) [*ki*]-*i=u̯a ku-it u̯a-al-ku-an ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un*

'The Queen of Kaniš bore thirty sons within one year. She (speaks) thus: "What kind of *u̯*. did I give birth to?"';

KBo 3.40b+

(15) *... ú-k=u-uš pu-nu-uš-ke-m*[*i ki-i=u̯a*? *k*]*u-it u̯a-al-ku-u̯a-an*

(16) [ ]x[-*t*]*e*$^{?}$-*ni UM-MA ŠU-NU=MA* ERÍN^{MEŠ} [*Ḫur-r*]*i*(?) *ut-ni-i̯a ú-ez-zi*

'I ask them "What [kind of] *u̯*. 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 *u̯alkuu̯a-* is cognate with Skt. *a-vr̥ká-* 'safe', which would point to an original adjective **ulk^{w}ó-* 'dangerous'. His idea is then that this adjective is the source of the substantive **u̯ĺ̥k^{w}o-* 'wolf' as visible in Skt. *vŕ̥ka-* and Gr. λύκος (through the same derivation process as visible in e.g. Skt. *kŕ̥ṣṇa-* 'black antelope' from *kr̥ṣṇá-* '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 *u̯alkuu̯a-* is not clear beyond any doubt), it would show that the word-initial sequence **uRC-* yields Hitt. *u̯aRC-*. The examples cited in Melchert (1994a: 126-7) to claim the contrary (**uRC* > Hitt. *uRC-*) are false: the stem *ūrr-*, which Melchert interprets as 'help' and derives from "**wr̥h$_1$i-*" has nothing to do with 'help' (cf. the lemma *ūrr(iu̯e/a)-*); the noun *ūrki-* 'track, trail', which Melchert derives from "PA[nat.] **wr̥gi-*", may in fact rather reflect **h$_{1/3}$urg-i-*. Moreover, a development **uRC* > *u̯aRC* is visible in **urh$_1$óri* > OH /urʔa̋ni/, *ú-ra-a-ni* > MH/NH /uərʔa̋ni/, *u̯a-ra-a-ni* 'burns'.

Note that Lehrman (1987 and 1978: 228-30) claims that PIE **u̯ĺ̥k^{w}o-* has an Anatolian outcome as well, namely CLuw. *u̯alu̯a/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 *u̯alu̯a/i-*. Although Steinherr indeed shows that we find *Piḫa-*UR.MAḪ as well as *Piḫau̯alu̯i* and UR.MAḪ.LÚ as well as *Ur̥alu̯iziti*, he is not able to give a single

text in which UR.MAḪ and *u̯alu̯a/i-* are used as duplicates of one another. Because *piḫa-* and *-ziti* are very common onomastic elements, their occurrence with both UR.MAḪ and *u̯alu̯a/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 *u̯alu̯a/i-* and UR.MAḪ 'lion' for granted and states that CLuw. *u̯alu̯a/i-* 'lion' must be cognate with PIE **u̯ḷ́k^{w}o-* 'wolf'. Apart from the objections raised above, this is formally impossible as well: PIE **-k^{w}-* yields CLuw. /-k^{w}-/, cf. CLuw. *papparkuu̯a-* 'to cleanse' < **perk^{w}-* (see at *parkui-* / *parkuu̯ai-*).

u̯alluške/a-^{zi} (Ic6) 'to pray to(?)': 1sgpres.act. *u̯a-al-lu-uš-ke-mi* (KUB 29.1 i 26), 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-al-lu-uš-ke-zi* (KUB 34.53 ii 12), [*u̯a-a*]*l-lu-uš-ke-zi* (KBo 32.16 iii 6), 2pl.pret.act. *u̯a-al-lu-uš-ke-et-te-n=a-an* (KUB 23.77, 79 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-al-lu-uš-ká*[*n-zi*] (KUB 34.53 ii 13); 2pl.pres.midd. *u̯a-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*

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(26) *nu* EGIR-*pa ad-da-a(n)=š-ma-an* ^{d}U-*an u̯a-al-lu-uš-ke-mi nu* GIS$^{ḪI.A}$ LUGAL-*uš*

(27) ^{d}U-*ni ú-e-ek-zi ḫé-e-i̯a-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 *u̯*. the Storm-god, your father. The king wishes from the Storm-god trees that the rains have made strong and raised'.

In this context, *u̯alluške/a-* seems to denote 'to pray to, to ask (of a deity)'. On the basis of the formal resemblance to *u̯alla/i-* 'to praise, to honour', *u̯alluške/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 *u̯alla/i-* and *u̯alluške/a-* (unlike e.g. Melchert 1994a: 81, who derives *u̯alla-* from **u̯al-neh$_2$-* and "*u̯allu-*' from **u̯al-neu-*).

Unclear is the appurtenance of the verb *u̯alu-* in the following context:

KUB 48.99

(12) *da-a-er=u̯a tu-li-i̯a-an a-az-za*

(13) *u̯a-lu-uš-ke-u-u̯a-an ti-i-e-er*

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(14) [^{d}]*I-la-li-iš=u̯a=za u̯a-lu-ut-ta-a*[*t*]

(15) [*ú-*]*uk=u̯a-r=a-an ú-u̯a-tę*[*-mi*]

'They took the assembly (and) *azza* began *u̯*.-ing. The deity Ilali was *u̯*.-ed, and I brought him here'.

u̯ālula- (c.) 'pupil?': acc.pl. *u̯a-a-lu-lu-uš* (KBo 31.143 obv.$^{?}$ 3), dat.-loc.pl. *u̯a-a-lu-la-aš* (KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 ii 18).

This word occurs only twice. The first context is:

KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 ii (for text cf. Groddek 1999: 38)

(16) *A-NA* DUMU.LÚ.U$_9$.LU=*ma tu-ek-ki-i=š-ši* [*a*]*n-da-an*

(17) *la-lu-uk-ke-et ḫar-ša-ni-i=š‹-ši›* KI.MIN *ša-ku-u̯a-aš=ša-aš* KI.MIN

(18) *u̯a-a-lu-la-aš=ša-aš* KI.MIN IGI$^{ḪI.A}$*-aš ḫar-ki-*[*a*]*š da-an-ku-u̯a-i̯a-aš*

(19) KI.MIN *ḫa-an-ti-*[*i*]*=š-ši* KI.MIN *e-ne-ra-aš=ša-aš*

(20) KI.MIN *la-ap-li-pa-aš=ša*[*-aš*$^{?}$] KI.MIN

(21) *ka-ru-ú ma-a-an n=a-aš a-ap-pa*

(22) *QA-TAM-MA ki-ša-ru*

'To the mortal it became luminous on his body. Ditto on his head. Ditto on his eyes. Ditto on his *u̯*. Ditto on the white parts (and) black parts of (his) eyes. Ditto on his forehead. Ditto on his eyebrows. Ditto on his eyelashes. Like (he was) before, let him become again likewise!'.

The other context is broken:

KBo 31.143 obv.

(2) [ ]x *pa-ra-a-a=š-ta pa*[-]

(3) [ ]x *u̯a-a-lu-lu-uš iš-ša-a-aš*[ ]

(4) [I]GI$^{ḪI.A}$=*ŠU ú-u̯a-a-tar=še-et d*[*a-*]

In line 3 it seems as if '*u̯alula*-s (acc.) of the mouth' are mentioned.

Oettinger (1976a: 30) also cites KBo 6.34+ iii (30) [*u̯a-a-lu-*]*ú-la-an pa-ri-i̯a-an-zi*, which he translates as '[Eine Bl]ase blasen sie auf'. It is unclear to me why Oettinger reads *u̯ālūlan* here, apparently only because of the fact that *u̯ālula-* ends

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 *u̯ālula-* 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.

⩤ *u̯alu̯aia̯lla-* (gender unclear) 'evil gossip(?)': dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-al-u̯a-ia̯-al-li*, gen.sg. *u̯a-al-u̯a-ia̯-al-la-aš*.

This word is attested in one context only:

KUB 13.35 + KUB 23.80 i
(17) *nu=u̯a=mu I-NA* KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ra-*^{d}*Du-ni-ia̯-aš u-i-e-r*
(18) *nu=u̯a ku-it-ma-an I-NA* KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ra-*^{d}*Du-ni-ia̯-aš pa-a-un* [ ]
(19) *ku-it-ma-an=u̯a* EGIR-*pa ú-u̯a-nu-un nu=u̯a=kán* EGIR-*az*
(20) ⩤ *u̯a-al-u̯a-ia̯-al-li an-da Ú-UL ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-iš-ke-et*
(21) *nu=u̯a a-pé-ez* INIM-*az* GÙB-*li-iš-šu-un*
(22) *ma-a-an=ma=u̯a IŠ-TU* KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ra-*^{d}*Du-ni-ia̯-aš=ma ku-u̯a-pí*
(23) EGIR-*pa ú-u̯a-nu-un nu=u̯a=mu* ^{LÚ}*pa-ra-a-ú*$^{!}$*-u̯a-an-da-an-n=a u-i-e-er*
(24) INIM ⩤ *u̯a-al-u̯a-ia̯-al-la-aš=ma=u̯a=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 *u̯*. 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 *u̯*. went back down again'.

Although details are unclear, it seems that *u̯alu̯aia̯lla-* refers to some kind of evil gossip. The use of gloss wedges indicates a foreign (Luwian?) origin.

-u̯an (supine-suffix)
IE cognates: Skt. *iva* 'in the manner of'.
PIE **-u̯n*

The verbal noun that ends in *-u̯an* is traditionally called supine. This supine only occurs in the construction *supine* + *dai-*^{i} */ 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 *ḫa-an-nu-an* (NS, of *ḫanna-*^{i} */ ḫann-*), *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-u-u̯*[*a-n*]

(NH, of *išḫuu̯ai-*^{i} / *išḫui-*), *iš-pár-ru-u̯a-an* (NH, of *išpār-*^{i} / *išpar-*), *ka-ni-eš-šu-u̯a-an* (of *kane/išš-*^{zi}), *ka-ri-pu-u-u̯a-an* (of *karāp-*^{i} / *kare/ip-*), *pí-i-i̯a-u-u̯*[*a-an*] (of *pai-*^{i} / *pi-*), *pár-ḫu-u̯a-an* (OH/MS, of *parḫ-*^{zi}), *ša-pa-ši-i̯a-u-a*[*n*] (MH/MS, of *šapašii̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to spy'), *ša*[*r-ri-i̯*]*a-u̯a-an* (NS, of *šārr-*^{i} / *šarr-*), *tar-uḫ-ḫu-u-u̯a-an* (of *tarḫu-*^{zi}), *u̯a-aš-šu-u-u̯a-an* (of *u̯ešš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}) and [..]x-*ni-*[*i*]*n-ku-u̯a-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-* (°*š-ke-(u-)u̯a-an* and °*š-ga-u̯a-an*), *-šš(a)-* (°*š-šu-u̯a-an*) and *-anna/i-* (*-an-ni-u̯a-an* and *-an-ni-i̯a-u̯a-an*).

The supine-suffix *-u̯an* cannot be separated from the verbal noun in *-u̯ar* / *-u̯aš* and the inf.I-suffix *-u̯anzi*. These all point to an original substantivizing suffix **-u̯r* / **-u̯en-*. Within the paradigm of such a suffix, *-u̯an* can only reflect an endingless locative **-u̯n* (note that **-u̯en* (reconstructed thus by e.g. Melchert 1984a: 24[47]) should have yielded Hitt. ***-u̯en*). In my view, the form **-u̯n* must be compared to Skt. *iva* 'in the manner of' that goes back to virtual **h₁i-u̯n* (with generalized zero-grade stem), the locative of a verbal noun **h₁éi-u̯r* / **h₁i-u̯én-* that is still visible in Hitt. *iu̯ar* (q.v.). Note that also in Hittite forms like *i-iš-šu-u̯a-an* (OS, of *īšša-*^{i} / *īšš-*) and *pí-i̯a-an-ni-u̯a-an* (OS, of *pii̯anna-*^{i} / *pii̯anni-*) the verbal stem shows the generalized zero-grade formation. The suffix **-un* originally must have had two outcomes, namely *-un* after consonants and *-u̯an* after vowels. Just as in nom.-acc.sg. *-u̯ar*, the postvocalic variant *-u̯an* has been generalized (from **-sḱe-u̯n̥* and **-anni-u̯n̥*).

-u̯ani (1pl.pres.act.-ending): see *-u̯en(i)*

u̯ant-, ***u̯antae-***, ***u̯antii̯e/a-*** 'to glow, to light': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-an-t*[*a-...*] (KUB 27.68 i 5 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-an-ta-it* (KUB 23.59 ii 8 (NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-an-ta-i* (KUB 30.14 + KUB 6.45 iii 70 (NH)), [*u̯a-a*]*n-ta-a-i* (KUB 6.46 iv 38 (NH)); part. nom.sg.c. *u̯a-an-ti-an-za* (KBo 27.60, 13 (NS)), acc.sg.c. *u̯a-an-ti-i̯a-an-da-a*[*n*] (KUB 48.80 i 6 (NS)); impf. *u̯a-an-te-eš-ki-iz-zi* (KUB 36.12 iii 12 (NS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯antēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to become glowing(?)' (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-an-te-eš-zi* (KUB 14.12 obv. 13), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-an-te-eš-ta* (KUB 48.80 i 9), ***u̯antēma-***, ***u̯anteu̯antema-*** (c.) 'glowing (of the sun), lightning' (nom.sg. [*u̯a-an-t*]*e-e-ma-aš* (KBo 25.117 obv. 6 (OS)), *u̯a-an-ti-ma-aš* (KUB 36.12 iii 11), *u̯a-an-te-em-ma-aš* (KUB 7.13 obv. 18, KUB 26.25 ii 10), *u̯a-an-te-u̯a-an-te-ma-aš* (KUB 6.45+ iii 11, KUB 6.46 iii 50 (fr.), acc.pl. *u̯a-an-ti-m*[*u-uš*] (KUB 33.103 iii 2)), ***uu̯antiu̯ant(a)-*** 'lightning(?)' (abl. *ú-u̯a-an-ti-u̯a-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-u̯a-an-za pí-iš-ke-el-lu*
(67) *píd-du-li-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-za=ma=da le-e pé-eš-ke-mi*
(68) *nu=mu* ^{d}U *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši* EN=*I̯A ar-mu-u̯a-la-aš-ḫa-aš*
(69) *i-u̯a-ar še-er ar-mu-u-u̯a-la-i ne-pí-ša-aš=ma=mu*
(70) ^{d}UTU-*aš i-u̯a-ar še-er u̯a-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* ^{d}UTU AN^{E} *u̯a-an-t*[*a-*...]

‘When the Sun-god of heaven starts$^{?}$ glowing’;

KBo 26.60
(13) [GUŠ]KIN *u̯a-an-ti-an-za*

‘glowing gold’.

Sometimes, a translation ‘to light (of lightning)’ is needed:

KUB 36.12 iii
(8) ... *ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši=ma pa-ra-a*
(9) *ḫal-zi-i̯a-an-du ku-e-uš=kán A-NA* 90 IKU-*ni* ^{NA_4}*pé-ru-ni*[*-iš*($^{?}$)]
(10) *pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* 8 ME=*ma u̯a-aš-ša-an-zi ḫé-e-uš*
(11) IM^{MEŠ}-*uš ḫal-zi-i̯a-an-du u̯a-an-ti-ma-aš=ma ku-iš* KAL.GA-*i̯a*[ ]
(12) *u̯a-an-te-eš-ke-ez-zi n=a-an=kán še-šu-u̯a-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 *u̯antem(m)a-* denotes either the radiation of the sun or ‘lightning’. For the first meaning, cf.

KUB 26.25 ii[?]

(8) *ma-a-an ŠA* ^{m}KÙ.PÚ-*ma* ḪUL-*lu na-aš-ma ŠA* DUMU ^{m}*Šu-up-pí-lu-l*[*i-u-ma*]

(9) ḪUL-*lu* ≮ ^{d}UTU AN^{E} *ta-pár-ri-i̯a-ši a-pé-da-ni=tá=k-kán*

(10) *me-ḫu-ni LI-IM* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*MA-MIT* ^{d}UTU-*aš u̯a-an-te-em-ma-aš*

(11) *ḫar-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-ḫi-ma-aš u̯a-an-te-em-ma-aš* 'thunder (and) lightning'. Compare also

KUB 17.10 ii

(33) ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-uš le-e-la-ni-i̯a-an-za ú-et ú-u̯a-an-ti-u̯a-an-ta-az*[*=ma*[?]]

(34) *ti-it-ḫ*[*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 *u̯antait* unambiguously points to the *ḫatrae*-class inflection. The 2sg.imp.act.-form *u̯antai* could either belong to the *ḫatrae*-class or to the *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection. The participle *u̯antii̯ant-* could in principle show a *dāi/tii̯anzi*-class inflection, but also belong to a *-i̯e/a*-class inflection. Since all forms are attested in NS texts, and since both the *ḫatrae-* and the *-i̯e/a*-class inflection are very productive in this period, we cannot determine what the original inflection of this verb was. A loose stem *u̯ant-* seems to be visible in *u̯antēšš-*^{zi} and the nouns *u̯antēma-* and *u̯anteu̯antema-* 'lightning', which are a derivative with the suffix *-ema-*, *-ima-* (for which see Oettinger 2001: 463-5). The origin of this *u̯ant-* is further unknown.

Sometimes it is assumed that the CLuwian adjective or noun *u̯andanii̯a-* is cognate (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 381), but this is a mere guess as the meaning of CLuw. *u̯andanii̯a-* is unclear.

^{NINDA}***u̯antīli-*** (c.) a kind of bread: nom.sg. *u̯a-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 *u̯ant-*, *u̯antae-*, *u̯antii̯e/a-* 'to glow' (q.v.). Further unclear.

u̯annu(m)mi̯a- (adj. from original noun) 'orphaned (child), widowed (woman)': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-an-nu-um-mi-aš* (KUB 17.4, 3), *u̯a-nu-um-mi-i̯a-aš* (KUB 17.4, 6, 12 (fr.)), acc.sg.c. *u̯a-an-nu-um-mi-i̯a-an* (KUB 17.4, 2), gen.sg. *u̯a-an-nu-mi-i̯a-aš*.

This word only occurs together with MUNUS 'woman' and DUMU 'son'. According to Hoffner (1988: 150-1), *u̯annummi̯aš* MUNUS and *u̯annummi̯aš* 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. *u̯a-an-nu-um-mi-aš* DUMU-*aš* (KUB 17.4, 3), acc.sg.c. *u̯a-an-nu-um-mi-i̯a-an* DUMU-*an* (KUB 17.4, 2)), but in KUB 13.2 iii 31-2 we find *u̯a-an-nu-mi-i̯a-aš* MUNUS-*ni*, where *u̯*. does not agree with dat.-loc.sg. MUNUS-*ni*. This implies that *u̯annummi̯a-* originally was a noun, 'single-hood (vel sim.)'. The construction X + gen.sg. *u̯annummi̯aš* 'X of single-hood' was used as 'orphaned (child), widowed (woman)' on the basis of which *u̯annummi̯aš* was reinterpreted as nom.sg.c. of an adjective *u̯annummi̯a-*.

According to Kimball (1999: 337), *u̯annummi̯a-* is "obviously related to Lat *vānus* 'vain, empty', < $*h_1weh_2$-*no-*, Skt. *vāyati* 'disappear' (with full-grade $*h_1weh_2$-), Skt. *ūná-* 'deficient, inferior < $*h_1uh_2$-*nó-* [...]", and she therefore reconstructs *u̯annummi̯a-* as $*h_1ueh_2$-*n-* + the appurtenance-suffix *-umn-* + *-i̯a-* '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 $*Vh_2nV$ > *VnnV*. As I have argued under ^{GIŠ}*māḫla-*, ^{UZU}*muḫrai- / maḫrai-* and ^{GIŠ}*zaḫrai-*, these words seem to point to a development $*Vh_2RV$ > Hitt. *VḫRV*. Although I must admit that I have no examples of $*Vh_2nV$ > Hitt. *VḫnV* (but compare *šaḫḫan* < $*seh_2$-*n*), I do not think that the case of *u̯annummi̯a-* is strong enough to prove the opposite.

^{MUL}***u̯anup(p)aštal(l)a/i-*** (c.) 'morning star(?), comete(?), falling star(?)': nom.sg. *u̯a-an-nu-up-pa-aš-ta-al-la-aš* (KUB 29.4 ii 68), *u̯a-an-nu-up-pa-aš-ta-al-li-iš* (KUB 19.4 i 11), *u̯a-an-nu-pa'-aš-ta-li-eš* (KUB 34.16 iii 3), [*u̯a-an-nu*]*-pa-aš-ta-lu-uš* (? KBo 14.61, 6), nom.pl. *u̯*[*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 [*u̯a-an-nu-*]*pa-aš-ta-lu-uš* (KBo 14.61, 6) as nom.sg. No further etymology.

-u̯anzi (inf.I-suffix)

PIE **-uen-ti* + *-i* ?

The suffix *-u̯anzi*, which marks inf.I, is clearly related to the verbal noun-suffix *-u̯ar / -u̯aš* (q.v.) and the supine-suffix *-u̯an* (just as the inf.II-suffix *-anna* is related to the verbal noun-suffix *-ātar / -ann-*). The suffix *-u̯ar / -u̯aš* reflects the substantivizing suffix **-ur / *-u̯en-*, which means that *-u̯anzi* 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 *-u̯anzi* reflects an old ablative ending **-u̯anz* < **-u̯en-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.

u̯appiie/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to bark': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ap-pí-ia-zi* (KUB 13.8, 7), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ap-pí-an-zi*, *u̯a-ap-pí-ia-an-zi*, 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ap-pí-ia-ad-du*; impf. *u̯a-ap-pí-iš-ke/a-*.

The verb occurs often in rituals, in the expression $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$UR.GI$_7$ *u̯a-ap-pí-ia-an-zi* (e.g. KBo 4.13 vi 7) 'the dog-men bark'. Clearly onomatopoetic, cf. ModDu. *waffen* 'to bark'.

u̯appu- / u̯appau̯- (c.) 'river bank': voc.sg. *u̯a-ap-pu=mi-it* (KUB 30.35 i 8), acc.sg. *u̯a-ap-pu-un*, gen.sg. *u̯a-ap-pu-aš*, *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a-aš*, *u̯a-ap-pu-u-u̯a-aš*, *u̯a-ap-pu-u-u̯a-a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-ap-pu-i*, *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a-i* (KBo 9.106 ii 15), all.sg.(?) *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a* (KUB 33.69 iii 13), abl. *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a-az*, *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a-za*, acc.pl.c. *u̯a-ap-pa-mu-uš* (KUB 33.10 i 11), *u̯a-ap-pu-uš* (? KUB 41.8 i 21), dat.-loc.pl. *u̯a-ap-pu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 10.45 i 32).

See Weitenberg 1984: 52-4 for attestations and an extensive treatment. Note the acc.pl.-form *u̯appamuš* which shows that this noun originally showed ablaut: *u̯appu- / u̯appau̯-*. To my knowledge, the word has no good etymology.

^{UZU}*u̯appuzzi-*

The word ^{UZU}*u̯a-ap-pu-uz-zi-i̯a* (KUB 27.1 i 39) occurs only once, and denotes ‘tallow’. As the normal word for ‘tallow’ is ^{UZU}*appuzzi-*, which is also attested in ibid. 43, it is likely that *u̯appuzzii̯a* is a scribal error. See at ^{UZU}*appuzzi-* for further etymology.

u̯ar-$^{\bar{a}ri}$: see *ur-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$

=u̯a(r)= (particle of direct speech)

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***=u̯ar=*** (particle of direct speech(?)); CLuw. ***=u̯a*** (sentence initial particle); HLuw. ***=wa=*** (sentence initial particle); Lyc. ***=we*** (sentence initial particle).

PAnat. *=uor=*

IE cognates: Gr. εἴρω ‘to speak’.

PIE **uerh$_1$-*

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 *=u̯ar=* (e.g. *nu=u̯a-r=a-aš*). If the following particle starts in a consonant or if *=u̯a(r)=* is the last particle, the *-r-* is dropped (e.g. *nu=u̯a-a=š-ši*, *nu=u̯a*). 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 *=u̯ar=* shows that the *-r-* is real, Lyc. *=we* shows that we have to reconstruct PAnat. *=u̯or=*. Usually, the particle is connected with the PIE root for ‘speak’, **u̯erh$_1$-* as seen in Gr. εἴρω.

-u̯ar / -u̯aš (suffix of verb.noun)

PIE **-u̯r̥ / *-u̯en-s*

One of the suffixes to form a deverbal abstract noun is *-u̯ar*. In the oldest texts, we only find nom.-acc.sg. *-u̯ar* and gen.sg. *-u̯aš* as inflected forms. Other cases (e.g. abl. as in *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-az-za* and instr. as in *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-ni-it* and *a-aš-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-ni-it* ‘with love’) are younger creations. The suffix *-u̯ar / -u̯aš* is etymologically connected with the inf.I-suffix *-u̯anzi* (q.v.) and the supine-suffix *-u̯an* (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’ = /ʔniór/ < **h$_3$n-ié-ur*, the phonetic outcome of **°Cé-ur* was

/°Cór/. We therefore must assume that in verbs of the structure **CC-ié-ur* and **CC-sḱé-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-sḱé-ur* were phonemicized as **CCiéu̯r* and **CCsḱeu̯r*. Because in postconsonantal position the suffix **-ur* should yield Hitt. *°Cur*, cf. **péh₂ur* > *paḫḫur* 'fire', we must assume that the variant **-u̯r* spread from the thematic verbs to the verbs of the structure **CéC-ur* as well, yielding **CéC-u̯r*. Note that this generalization only took place in the verbal noun, which is nicely visible in the fact that the synchronic verbal noun to *ḫink-*^{zi} 'to bestow' is *ḫinkuu̯ar*, whereas we also find a noun *ḫenkur* '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 *-u̯aš* must reflect proterodynamic **-u̯en-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. *paḫḫuenaš* 'fire' and *mēḫunaš* '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. *šēšuu̯ar*, *šēšuu̯aš* 'to sleep'. For the interpretation of inf.I-suffix *-u̯anzi* as an old abl. **-u̯en-ti* and of the supine-suffix *-u̯an* as an old locative **-u̯n̥*, see their respective lemmas.

u̯arašḫ- '?': 3pl.pres.act. *ú-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi*, *u̯*[*a-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi*], verb.noun *u̯a-ar-aš-ḫu-ar*, *u̯a-ar-aš-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*.

The verb *u̯arašḫ-* is attested in one context only, of which we have two versions:

KUB 10.66 vi
(1) [x - x - x - x *d*]*a*$^{??}$*-al-li-e-eš*
(2) [(^{GIŠ})]*ḫa-at-ta-lu-ut* ^{LÚ}*ḫa-at-u̯a$_a$-i̯a-an*
(3) ^{LÚ}UR.GI$_7$ ^{LÚ}*ku-u̯a-na-an-n=a*
(4) GÌR^{MEŠ}*=ŠU-NU ú-ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi*

with semi-duplicate

KBo 7.48
(11) [ ]x-*al-li-e-eš* ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-at-ta-*[*lu-ut* ^{LÚ}*ḫa-at-u̯a$_a$-i̯a-aš*]
(12) [^{LÚ}UR.GI$_7$*-aš* ^{LÚ}*k*]*u-ú-na-aš-š=a* GÌR^{MEŠ}*=ŠU u̯*[*a-*(*ar-aš-ḫa-an-zi*)]

'the x-*alli*-s *u̯arašḫ-* the feet of the *ḫatu̯aia*-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 *u̯arašḫuu̯ar* is attested in only one context as well, of which there are two versions:

KBo 10.28 + 33 i
(2) *u̯a-ar-a*[*š-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*]x *ti-an-zi*

(3) *ma-a-an=za* LUGAL-*u*[*š* GA]L^{AM} EGIR-*pa da-a-i*
(4) $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.BAR.RA *u̯a-ar-aš-ḫu-u-u̯a-ar*
(5) *da-li-an-zi n=e* [*p*]*ár-aš-na-an-zi*

'... they put [down] the *u̯*.. When the king takes back the cup, the wolf-men leave the *u̯*. and they squat'.

Similarly in

Bo 69/396 obv. (see Singer 1983: 84[70])
(2) [ ]-*zi* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.BAR.RA
(3) [K]AxUD *u̯a-ar-aš-ḫu-ar*
(4) [ ]-*zi ta pár-aš-na-a-an-zi*

On the basis of these contexts, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the verb *u̯arašḫ-*.

Sometimes, *u̯aršḫ-* is equated with *u̯arš-* 'to wipe' (e.g. Oettinger 1979a: 429), but this is not supported by the facts. A meaning 'sie streifen ab' (thus Oettinger 1979a: 429[70]) for *u̯arašḫanzi* is by no means ascertained. It is even unlikely, as *u̯arašḫ-* apparently denotes some action executed with a bolt-pin (^{GIŠ}*ḫattalu-*). I therefore regard a connection with *u̯arš-* 'to wipe' as improbable.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***u̯arašma-***: see $^{(GIŠ)}$*u̯aršma-*

u̯arau̯ara- (c.) a fruit: nom.sg. *u̯a-ra-u̯a-ra-aš* (KBo 10.34 i 17).

The word occurs only once, in a list of fruit. No clear meaning, no etymology.

u̯arḫui- / u̯arḫuu̯ai- (adj.) 'raw, rough; unshaven; leafy; covered with forest': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-iš*, acc.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-in* (IBoT 2.39 ii 25), nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-*

ar-ḫu-i, gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a-i̯a-aš* (KUB 9.31 i 6), nom.pl.c. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a-e-eš* (KBo 2.12 ii 3), *u̯a-ar-ḫu-iš*, acc.pl.c. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a-uš* (KUB 32.63, 8, KUB 45.47+ ii 17), nom.-acc.pl.n. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a* (KUB 20.4 i 9).

Derivatives: ***u̯arḫu(u̯a)nu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to plant densely' (2sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-u̯a-nu-ut* (KBo 12.59 iv 5 (OH/NS)); part. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-nu-u̯a-an-t-* (KUB 13.24, 16 (MH/NS)); impf. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-nu-uš-ke/a-* (KBo 10.47g iii 13 (NS))), ***u̯arḫuēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) '?' (3sg.imp.act. [*u̯a*$^{?}$-]*ar-ḫu-u-iš-du* (KUB 41.33 ii 8)), ***u̯arḫuēššar*** (n.) 'brushwood' (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-e-e*[*š-šar*] (KUB 21.19 + 338/v + 1303/u iii 13), *u̯a-ar-ḫu-eš*$^{!}$*-šar* (KUB 3.94 i 22)).

PIE **uérh$_{2/3}$u-i-s*, **urh$_{2/3}$u-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 *u̯arḫunu-*^{zi} shows that we are dealing with an *i*-stem of a root *u̯arḫu-* /uarH^{w}-/. Oettinger (1979a: 549) connects this word with Gr. εἶρος 'fleece' (following Neumann 1958: 90) which he reconstructs as **ů̯rh$_2$-u-ih$_2$-*, but this preform does not yield the Greek form by regular sound change. If *u̯arḫui-* indeed is of IE origin it cannot reflect anything else than **ů̯rh$_{2/3}$u-(e)i-*. Melchert (1984a: 13) agrees with this etymology, but states that we have to reconstruct **u̯erh$_2$u̯i-*, as he thinks that **urh$_2$ui-* would lead to *ur-*. For the OH period, this is correct (compare OH *urāni* = /urʔā́ni/ 'burns' < **urh$_1$ór(i)*), but in the MH period, it would regularly have yielded *u̯arḫui-* = /uərHui-/ (cf. MH *u̯arāni* = /uərʔā́ni/). Moreover, a preform **uerh$_{2/3}$ui-* would have yielded Hitt. ***u̯errui-* (cf. *erḫ- / araḫ- / arḫ-*). Nevertheless, if this adjective is of IE origin, we must reconstruct **uérh$_{2/3}$u-i-s*, **urh$_{2/3}$u-éi-s*, in which the zero-grade stem has been generalized. Note that a PIE root **uerh$_{2/3}$u-* 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 **uerh$_{2/3}$-*.

u̯arḫuššu-, ***u̯arḫušt-*** (gender unclear) '?': dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-uš-šu-i* (IBoT 1.29 obv. 39) with dupl. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-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 ^{GIŠ}*u̯arḫušdu-* is unclear. No etymology.

^{GIŠ}***u̯arḫušdu-*** (n.) an object in cult: nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ḫu-uš-du* (KUB 55.5 iv 25); broken *u̯a-ar-ḫu-uš-du*[*(-)*...] (KUB 20.15, 6), *u̯arḫušdu*[...] (Bo 5628 obv. 2).

See Weitenberg 1984: 54 for attestations. The exact meaning of this word cannot be determined. The connection with *u̯arḫuššu-*, *u̯arḫušt-* is unclear. No etymology.

u̯ari- / u̯arai- (adj.?) describing oracle bird: nom.pl.c. *u̯a-ra-e-eš* (HKM 47, 44, 46 (MH/MS), HKM 49,16 (MH/MS)).

This word occurs in two letters from Maşat Höyük only. HKM 47 deals with bird-oracles, and *u̯araēš* 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 *u̯arai-*, but perhaps an interpretation as a (substantivized?) adjective *u̯ari-* is better. No clear meaning, no etymology.

u̯arri- / u̯arrai- (adj./n.) 'helpful; help': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš*, *u̯a-ar-ri-eš*, acc.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-ri-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-ar-ri*, gen.sg. *u̯a-a-ar-ra-aš* (KUB 23.72 ii 19 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-ar-ra-aš* (KUB 23.72 ii 20 (MH/MS), HKM 5 obv. 9 (MH/MS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯arrišša-^{i} / u̯arrišš-*** (IIa1γ) 'to help, to come to help' (2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 45 (NH), KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 68 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-re-eš-ša-at-ti* (KBo 5.4 rev. 46 (NH), KUB 19.6 + 21.1 + 19.73 iii 49 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-ri-‹iš-›ša-at-ti* (KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 65 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-‹ri-›iš-ša-at-te* (KUB 23.1 ii 35 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-ri*[*-e/iš*]*-ša-at-t*[*i*] (KBo 10.12+13 ii 52 (NH)), 2pl.pres.act. [*u̯a-a*]*r-re-eš-ša-at-te-ni* (KUB 26.12 i 7 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ša-an-zi* (KBo 5.8 i 10 (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. [*u̯a-a*]*r-re-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 4.4 ii 38 (NH)), 2sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KUB 31.47 obv. 13 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta* (KBo 6.29 + KUB 21.12 ii 11 (NH)), *u̯a-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. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ša* (KBo 5.9 ii 17 (NH), KBo 4.3 ii 15 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-re-eš-ša* (KBo 5.13 iii 20 (NH), KBo 19.66 + KUB 6.41 iii 38 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-du* (HW: 245), ≺ *u̯a-a*[*r-re-e*]*š-še-eš-du* (ABoT 57 obv. 29 (NH)), ≺ *u̯a-ar-r*[*e-eš-še-eš-du*] (ibid. 32 (NH)); part. *u̯a-ar-ri-iš-ša-an-t-* (KBo 5.8 i 19 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-re-eš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 19.36 i 14 (NH))), ***(u)u̯arra ḫalzai-^{i}*** 'to cry for help' (*ú-u̯a-a-ar-ra ḫal-za-iš* (KUB 31.4 + obv. 3 (OH/NS)), with dupl. *u̯a-ar-ra ḫal*[-...] (KBo 12.22 i 4 (OH/NS))), ***u̯arrae-^{zi}*** (Ic2) 'to come to help' (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ra-a-iz-zi* (KBo 4.4 ii 26 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ra-it* (KBo 3.4 iv 17 (NH)), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-ra-a-i* (KBo 4.4 ii 24 (NH))), ***u̯arraḫitašša-*** (adj.) 'being of help' (nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ša-aš* (KUB 20.60, 7)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯arraḫitašša/i-*** ‘being of help’ (nom.sg.c. [*u̯*]*a-ar-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-iš* (KBo 45.11 obv. 6)); HLuw. ***wariia-*** ‘to help’ (3sg.pres.act. *wa/i+ra/i-ia-ia* (BOHÇA §7, §8, §12), 3sg.pret.act. *wa/i+ra/i*[*-ia*?]*-ta* (BOHÇA §11).

PIE **uorH-i-*

The stem *u̯arri-* occurs as an adj. ‘helpful’ as well as a neuter noun ‘help(fulness)’. Suffix ablaut can be seen in gen.sg. *u̯ārraš* (KUB 23.72 ii 19), *u̯arraš* (ibid. 20) < **u̯arraia̯š*. The expression *(u)u̯arra ḫalzai-*^{i} (spelled *ú-u̯a-a-ar-ra* and *u̯a-ar-ra*) occurs in one context only (Puḫanu-chronicle: both attestations are duplicates of each other). These forms could be old allatives **u̯arraia̯* > *u̯arra*. The verb *u̯arrae-*^{zi} is NH only. It seems to be based on the stem *u̯arra-* as seen in *u̯arra ḫalzai-*, although it cannot be excluded that it is derived directly from *u̯arri-*, as e.g. *kappae-*^{zi} ‘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 *u̯arrae-* as well, but a translation ‘they helped’ is not ascertained. Its aberrant appearance (*ūrr-* instead of *u̯arr-*) 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(iu̯e/a)-*. The adj. *u̯arraḫitašša-* is clearly based on the Luw. gen.adj. *u̯arraḫitašša/i-*, itself derived of a Luwian noun **u̯arraḫit-* ‘help’. According to Starke (1990: 155-6), the verb *u̯arrišša-*^{i} / *u̯arrišš-* is based on a Luwian impf. **u̯arrišša-*, although that verb is not attested. It is true that within the small group of imperfectives in *-šš(a)-*, *u̯arrišš(a)-* stands quite apart as it is attested in NH compositions only, whereas *īšša-*^{i} / *īšš-* ‘to do, to make’, *ḫalzišša-*^{i} / *ḫalzišš-* ‘to call’ and *šišša-*^{i} / *šišš-* ‘to impress’ are attested from OH times onwards. Whether this means that *u̯arišš(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 **u̯orH-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*.

u̯ariše/i(i̯a)- (gender unclear) ‘?’: gen.sg. *u̯a-ri-še-i̯a-aš*, *u̯a-ri-ši-i̯a-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) [*ḫ*]*a-ta-am-mi-iš pé-ra-an=ma-a=š-ši*
(35) [*u̯*]*a-ri-še-i̯a-aš še-li-uš a-ra-an-da*

(36) [*p*]*a-ra-a=aš ti-i̯a-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-i̯a-zi*
(39) [*n*]*=a-aš=kán an-da u̯a-ri-ši-i̯a-aš*
(40) [*pa-*]*aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš-š=a še-li*
(41) [*m*]*a-uš-ta-ru*

'Behind, the *allallā-* is *ḫata-*ed. But before him, piles of *u̯arišeia-* are standing. (If) he walks forward, let him fall into the *alallā-*. (If) he falls backward, let him fall into the pile of *u̯arišia-* and fire'.

On the basis of this context, it cannot be determined exactly what *u̯ariše/iia-* means. Perhaps it is parallel to *al(l)allā-* (q.v.), which possibly denotes 'treachery'. One could think of a connection with *ur-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ 'to burn' (q.v.), but this is based on the formal similarity only.

u̯arite-^{zi}: see *u̯erite-*^{zi} */ u̯erit-*

u̯arkant- (adj.) 'fat': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-kán-za*, acc.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-kán-ta-an*, *ú-u̯a-ar-k*[*án-ta-an*] (KBo 3.60 ii 3), nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-ar-kán*, gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-kán-ta-aš*, nom.pl.c. *u̯a-ar-kán-te-eš*, *u̯a-ar-ga-an-te-eš*, *u̯a-ag-ga-an-te-eš*, acc.pl.c. *u̯a-ar-kán-du-uš*.

Derivatives: ***u̯arkēšš-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to grow fat' (3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ke-eš-ta* (KBo 32.14 ii 4)), ***u̯argnu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make fat' (1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ga-nu-nu-un* (KBo 32.14 ii 12); impf. [*u̯a-a*]*r-ga-nu-uš*[*-ke/a-*] (KBo 32.113, 5)).

IE cognates: Skt. *ū́rj-* 'food, refreshment, strength', Av. *varəzaiiaṇt-* 'providing much strength', Av. *varəz-* 'strength', Gr. ὀργάω 'to overflow, to swell', ὀργή 'passion, anger, fierceness', OIr. *ferc* 'anger'.

PIE **uorh*$_{\text{l}}$*ǵ-ont-*

Once we find a form *u̯a-ag-ga-an-te-eš* (HT 1 iii 32), which assuredly belongs to this word, as it is a duplicate of *u̯a-ar-kán-te-eš* (KUB 9.31 iii 39) and *u̯a-ar-ga-an-te-eš* (KUB 9.32 i 21). It is unclear whether we are dealing with a real phonetic change (*u̯ark-* > *u̯akk-*), or a mistake from the copyist (AK instead of AR). The word is usually spelled with initial *u̯a-*, but once we find a spelling *ú-u̯a-*, in KBo 3.60 ii 3. The derivatives *u̯arkēšš-*^{zi} and *u̯argnu-*^{zi} show that we have to analyse *u̯arkant-* as a stem *u̯ark-* followed by the sufffix *-ant-* which we find more often in adjectives. For the etymology see Szemerényi (1942: 397) and Čop

(1955b: 31), who connect it with Skt. *ū́rj-* (f.) 'food, refreshment, strength' etc. from **u̯erh₁ǵ-*. This means that *u̯arkant-* probably reflects **u̯orh₁ǵ-ont-*.

u̯arkui- (c.) 'anger, fury (?)': acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ku-i(n)=š-ša-an* (KUB 33.28, 6), 𒀀 *u̯a-ar-ku-i(n)=š*$^{!}$*-ša-an* (KUB 17.10 iii 12).

PIE ?**u̯(o)rK*^{w}*-i-*

This word is attested twice.

KUB 17.10 iii

(9) ... *n=a-aš-ta* ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-i*

(10) *tu-ug-ga-az=še-e-et i-da-a-lu-u=š-ši-it da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un* 𒀀 *uš-du*$^{?}$*-ul=še-et*

(11) *da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un kar-pí-i(n)=š-ša-an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un kar-di-mi-i̯a-at-ta-a(n)=š-ša-an*

(12) *da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un* 𒀀 *u̯a-ar-ku-u(n)=š-ša-an da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un ša-a-u-ar da-a-aḫ*[*-ḫu-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 *u̯*., I took fury'.

A parallel is found in

KUB 33.28

(4) *n=a-aš-ta* ^{d}U-*ni*[ ]

(5) *u̯a-aš-du-ul=še-et da-a*[*ḫ-ḫu-un*]

(6) *u̯a-ar-ku-i(n)=š-ša-an da-a*[*ḫ-ḫu-un*]

'Of the Storm-god[...], I to[ok] his sin, [...], I to[ok] his *u̯*.,[...]'.

It is likely that either *u̯a-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* is wrong for *u̯a-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* or the other way around. As it is easier to assume that in *u̯a-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* a vertical wedge is lost than to assume that an extra one was written in *u̯a-ar-ku-iš-ša-an* (so UŠ (𒌋) wrong for IŠ (𒌋𒁹)), I assume that the word must have originally been *u̯arkui(n)=ššan* 'his *u̯arkui-*'.

As the word appears in an enumeration of *idālu* 'evil', *ušdul* 'sin', *karpi-* 'wrath', *kardimii̯att-* 'anger' and *šāu̯ar* '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 *u̯arkui-* should mechanically reflect **u̯(o)rK*^{w}*-i-*.

u̯arp-^{zi} (Ia4 > Ic1) ‘to wash, to bathe’ (Sum. ŠE.NAGA): 1sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ap-mi*, 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ap-zi* (MH/MS), *u̯a-ar-pa-zi* (KBo 2.8 i 21), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-pa-an-zi*, *u̯a-ar-ap-pa-an-zi*, *u̯a-ar-pí-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 29.40 iii 28, 32), *u̯a-ar-pa-a-an-zi* (KBo 31.139. 8), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-pu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ap-ta*, 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-ap-du*, *u̯a-ar-ap-tu*$_4$; 2sg.imp.midd.? *u̯a-ar-pu-ut* (VBoT 120 iii 7); part. *u̯a-ar-pa-an-t-*; verb.noun *u̯a-ar-pu-u̯a-ar*, gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-pu-u-u̯a-aš*; inf.I *u̯a-ar-pu-(u-)u̯a-an-zi*.

Derivatives: ***u̯arpa-*** (n.) ‘?’ (nom.-acc.pl. *u̯a-ar-pa* (KBo 4.11 obv. 13, KUB 35.133 ii 33), dat.-loc.pl. *u̯a-ar-pa-aš* (KUB 35.133 ii 34)), ^{GIŠ}**DÍLIM *u̯arpašī-*** (c.), a certain bowl (for washing?) (nom.sg. ^{GIŠ}DÍLIM *u̯a-ar-pa-ši-i-iš* (KUB 12.36 + KUB 60.9 i 9, KUB 30.37 i 7)), ***u̯arpuzi-*** (n.), object used by bathing? (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-pu-zi* (KUB 12.8 i 17)).

IE cognates: Lith. *veřpti* ‘to spin’, RussCS *vьrpsti* ‘to tear, to rob’.

PIE **u̯érp-ti / *u̯rp-énti*

The spelling *u̯a-ar-ap-zi* besides *u̯a-ar-pa-zi* proves that the stem was *u̯arp-*. The geminate spelling *-pp-* in *u̯arappanzi* shows that the stem was /uarp-/. A stem *u̯arpi̯e/a-* (*u̯arpi̯anzi*) 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 *u̯arp-* reflects an old root-aorist and *u̯arpi̯e/a-* a **-i̯e/o-*derived present (see e.g *karp(i̯e/a)-*^{zi} for such a distribution). See Weitenberg (1977) for the seperation of *u̯arp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ and a verb *u̯arpae-*^{zi} ‘to suppress’, a derivative of *u̯arpa-* ‘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) ^{GIŠ}*pa-aḫ-ḫu-ru-la-az pa-aḫ-ḫur u̯a-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 *u̯arp-* 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 *u̯arpanzi* here does not belong with *u̯arp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ but with *u̯arpae-* ‘to enclose, to surround’ (see at *u̯arpa-*). Whatever the correct interpretation, Oettinger’s proposal (1979a: 234) to connect *u̯arp-* with the root **u̯erp-* ‘to turn to and fro’ (Lith. *veřpti* ‘to spin’) through a semantic development ‘to rub (one’s hands)’, still remains the best etymology.

Some instances of the noun *u̯arpa-* are not fully clear. The contexts in which they are found show that they do not belong with *u̯arpa-* ‘enclosure’ (q.v.), but more likely are related to *u̯arp-* ‘to wash, to bathe’. The first context is

KBo 4.11 obv.

(13) ... ^{DUG}ÚTUL$^{ḪI.A}$ *ti-an-zi u̯a-ar-pa da-an-zi*

(14) *n=a-at da-ga-an la-a-ḫu-u̯a-an-zi*

'They place the vessels, take *u̯*.'s and empty them on the floor'.

A similar context can be found in

KUB 35.133 ii

(33) ... *nu=kán u̯a-ar-pa*

(34) *da-a-i nu u̯a-ar-pa-aš še-er* GEŠTIN KU$_7$ *ši-ip-pa-an-ti*

'He takes the *u̯*.-s and libates sweet wine over the *u̯*.-s'.

The exact meaning of *u̯arpa-* remains unclear, however.

u̯arpa- (n.) 'enclosure': dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-ar-pí* (in *u̯arpi tiia̯nt-* 'fenced-in, enclosed' (KUB 13.2 iv 28)), nom.-acc.pl. *u̯a-ar-pa* (in *u̯arpa dai-*^{i} 'to enclose'),

Derivatives: ***u̯arpae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to suppress, to conquer' (1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-pa-nu-u*[*n*] (KBo 3.13 iii 4), ?3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-pa-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 19), impf.2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-pí-iš-ke-ši* (KBo 3.21 ii 19)). ***u̯arpa/ilae-***^{zi} (Ic2) 'to surround(??)' (3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-pí-la-a-e-er* (KUB 31.101 obv. 10); inf.I [*u̯*]*a-ar-pa-la-u-u̯a-an-zi* (IBoT 3.121, 2)).

IE cognates: TochA *wärp-* 'to surround', *warp* 'enclosure', TochB *wārp-* 'to surround'.

PIE **u̯orP-o-*

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 *u̯arpa-* (n.) 'enclosure' of which we find a nom.-acc.pl. *u̯a-ar-pa* in the expression *u̯arpa dai-*^{i} '(lit.) to place enclosures > to enclose', and of which we only once find a dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-ar-pí* in *u̯arpi tiia̯nt-* 'put in enclosure(?)'. If this is correct, then the verbal forms *u̯arpanu*[*n*] and *u̯arpiške/a-* 'to suppress, to conquer' may be analysed as belonging to a stem *u̯arpae-*^{zi} < **u̯arpa-ie̯/a-*. See at the lemma of *u̯arp-*^{zi} 'to wash, to bathe' for the discussion of 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-pa-an-zi* (KUB 15.31 i 19).

The adj. *u̯arpalli-* '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. *u̯arpa-* to TochA *wärp-*, TochB *wārp-* 'to surround'. Adams (1999: 587) connects these words further with Goth. *wairpan* 'throw' (but this verb reflects **uerg*^{w}-), Latin *verbera* 'switches, lashes, thongs' and Lithuanian *vir̃bas* '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 Schwebe-ablaut **u̯roP-* (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. *u̯arpa-* and TochA *wärp-*, B *wārp-*, on the basis of which we can reconstruct a root **u̯orP-* only. TochA *warp* 'enclosure' shows the exact same formation as Hitt. *u̯arpa-*, viz. **u̯orP-o-*.

The verb *u̯arpa/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 ḫa-at-‹‹at-››-ra-at-tén* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$*=u̯a-a=n-na-aš=kán*

(10) *u̯a-ar-pí-la-a-e-er nu=u̯a=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.

u̯arpalli- (adj.) 'strong, great': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ar-pa-al-liš* (KUB 4.4 i 13)).

Anat. cognates: HLuw. ***warpali-*** 'brave; strong, great' (nom.sg.c. "SCALPRUM+*RA/I-LA/I/U*"*wa/i+ra/i-pa-li-sa* (MARAŞ 1, §1d)), ***warpa/i-*** 'craft, skill, knowledge' (acc.sg. ^{*273}*wa/i+ra/i-pi-na* /warpin/ (KARKAMIŠ A15*b* §22), gen.sg. "^{*273}"*wa/i+ra/i-pa-si* /warpasi/ (KARKAMIŠ A3 §16), dat.-loc.sg. "^{*273}"*wa/i+ra/i-pi* /warpi/ (KARKAMIŠ A12 §8, §12)), ***warpasali-*** (adj.) 'craft-' (nom.-acc.pl.n. ^{*273}*wa/i+ra/i-pa-sa-li-ia*$^{-i}$ (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 *u̯arpalli-* with *u̯arpae-*^{zi} 'to conquer, to suppress' (see at *u̯arpa-* 'enclosure') is incorrect.

u̯arpan(n)ala- (adj.) describing sacrificed sheep: acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-pa-an-na-la-an* (KUB 9.13, 18), *u̯a-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_6-*za k*[*i-i*]*š*$^{?}$*-ša-ri nu=kán* [*ne*]*-pí-ši* GAM-*an*
(12) *A-NA* ^{d}*SÎN* 1 UDU *u̯a-a*[*r-p*]*a-na-la-an ši-p*[*a-an-t*]*i*

'When it becomes night, he sacrafices one *u̯*. 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 u̯a-ar-a*[*p-zi nu*]*=kán* 1 UDU *u̯a-ar-pa-an-na-la-an*
(31) *A-NA* ^{d}UTU *ne-pí-ši kat-an ši-pa-an-ti*

'When he comes, he washes himself and sacrifices one *u̯*. 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 u̯arapzi* 'he washes himself' indicates some etymological connection with *u̯arpan(n)ala-*, but this is mere speculation. For the time being, a meaning cannot be determined, so etymologizing is useless.

u̯arpiḭe/a-^{zi}: see *u̯arp-*^{zi}

u̯arš-^{i} (IIa2 > Ic1) 'to reap, to harvest, to wipe': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-aš-še* (KUB 29.30 iii 4 (OS)), *u̯a-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)), *u̯a-ar-aš-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 45 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-ar-še-e-ez-zi* (KBo 6.12 i 25 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. [*u̯a-ar-š*]*i*$^{?}$*-an-zi* (KUB 29.30 ii 18 (OS)), *u̯a-ar-ša-an-zi* (KBo 15.10 iii 42 (OH/MS), HKM 66 rev. 37 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-ar-aš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 24.3 ii 8 (MH/NS)), *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (KBo 6.26 i 8 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-šu-un* (KUB 33.66 iii 10 (OH/MS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-aš-ta* (KBo 3.33 ii 17 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-še-er* (KBo 3.33 iii 18 (OH/NS)), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-aš* (HKM 21 rev. 15 (MH/MS)),

3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-aš-du* (HKM 33 rev. 33 (MH/MS), KUB 31.84), 3pl.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-an-du* (KUB 13.1 i 36 (MH/MS)); part. *u̯a-ar-ša-an-t-*; verb.noun *u̯a-ar-aš-šu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 5.7 ii 44 (MH/MS)); inf.I *u̯a-ar-šu-u̯a-an-zi* (HKM 66 rev. 41 (fr.) (MH/MS), KUB 12.62 i 11 (NS)), *u̯a-ar-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 14.20, 19); impf. *u̯a-ar-aš-ke/a-* (HKM 25 obv. 10 (MH/MS), HKM 66 rev. 38 (MH/MS), KUB 13.2 i 2 (fr.)).

Derivatives: ***u̯au̯arš-*** 'id.' (part. *u̯a-u̯a-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 *vьrxu* 'to thresh'.

PIE **uórs-ei / *urs-énti*

In the oldest texts, this verb inflects according to the *ḫi*-conjugation: *u̯arašše*, *u̯arši*. Only later on, we find forms that are *mi*-inflected (*u̯aršzi* (OH/NS)). The only form that is deviant is [*u̯a-ar-š*]*i-an-zi* (KUB 29.30 ii 18 (OS)), which would point to a stem *u̯aršiḭe/a-*^{zi}. 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. *u̯a-ar-aš-še* (OS) is very important because it shows that the original 3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *ḫi*-conjugation was *-e*, which was replaced by *-i* through analogy (see also at the lemma *-i*).

Already Benveniste (1932: 137) connected Hitt. *u̯arš-* with Lat. *verrere* 'to wipe', OLat. *vorrō* 'id.', RussCS *vьrxu* 'to thresh' that reflect a root **u̯ers-*. Note that in **uórs-ei / *urs-énti* first the consonantal **u-* of the singular spread to the plural. The regular outcome of **u̯órsei / *u̯ṛsénti* then would have been **/uáRi, uərSántˢi/, of which the cluster /-rS-/ spread throughout the paradigm. This also explains the occasional geminate spelling of *-šš-* in e.g. *u̯a-ar-aš-še*, *u̯a-ar-aš-ša-an-zi*, etc.

u̯arš-$^{tta(ri)}$, ***u̯aršiḭe/a-***^{zi} (IIIb / Ic1) 'to lift (oneself); to refresh; (+ ZI 'spirit') to lift the spirit > to reconcile, to pull oneself together': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-az-zi* (KUB 14.8 ii 28 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-zi* (KUB 14.3 ii 67, 68 (NH), KUB 15.5+ i 15 (fr.) (NH)), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104 iii 26 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i-et* (KBo 19.109, 7 (MH/NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-aš-du* (KUB 14.14 ii 14 (NH)), *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-ad-du* (KUB 14.11 iii 38 (NH)), 3pl.imp.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-an-du* (KUB 13.1 i 36 (MH/MS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *u̯a-ar-aš-ta* (KUB 33.62 ii 4, 5, 6 (OH/MS) // Bo 6472 ii 14, 15, 16 (OH/?)), *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 14.8 ii 34 (NH), KUB 16.7 ii 36 (NS)), 2sg.imp.midd. *u̯a-ar-ši-*

i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-ut (KUB 9.32 i 14, 23 (NS)); part. *u̯a-ar-ša-an-t-* (IBot 3.148 iii 11 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯arš(iia)nu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to make (someone) pull oneself together; to refresh (trans.)' (3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ša-nu-an-zi* (KUB 13.4 iv 11 (OH/NS)) // *u̯a-ar-ši*[*-i̯a-nu-an-zi*] (KUB 40.63 iv 5 (OH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-nu-nu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 21 (NH)); part.nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-nu-u̯a-an* (KUB 19.23 obv. 7 (NS))).

IE cognates: Skt. *várṣman-* 'hight', *á vṛṣásva* 'pull yourself together!', Lith. *viršùs*, OCS *vrъxъ* 'top, summit'.

PIE **uérs-to*, **u̯rs-i̯é/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=u̯a=za iš-pí-i̯a-an-za*

(11) *ni-in-kán-za e-eš nu=za* EGIR-*an u̯a-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* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti* EN=*i̯A*

(37) *Ù A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *BE-LU*^{MEŠ}=*i̯A* ZI-*an-za nam-ma*

(38) *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-ad-du nu=mu ge-en-zu nam-ma*

(39) *da-at-tén nu=kán IŠ-TU* KUR ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti*

(40) *ḫi-in-ga-an ar-ḫa nam-ma u-i-i̯a-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-*aḫ-t=a-aš ku-iš* UN-*aš n=a-aš nu-u-u̯a ku-it* TI-*za nu a*[*-pé-*(*el ku-it*)]

(17) ZI-*za UL u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-an-za nu* SISKUR *ma-an-tal-li ar-ḫa* B[AL-*u-*(*an-zi*)]

(18) *a-pé-ez UL* SIxSÁ-*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=*ḪA* ZI-*an UL u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-nu-u̯a-an ḫar-ku*$^{!}$*-un*

‘I have not lifted the spirit of my master’.

A more literal meanging ‘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 ḫa-*]*a-an* IM-*aš=kán u̯a-ar-aš-ta ša-ra-a-az-zi-i̯a-an*
(5) [(*ḫa-a-an ma-*)]*a-al-az=kán u̯a-ar-aš-ta nu iš-tar-ni-i̯a-an*
(6) [*ḫa-a-an* ^{G}(^{IŠ}*ša-a*)]*m-ma-ma=kán u̯a-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 *u̯arašta* as “will be refreshed(?)” (CHD Š: 115) does not make sense).

If the OH/MS 3sg.pres.midd.-forms *u̯arašta* from the last cited context indeed belong to this verb, it seems that we are dealing with an original opposition between a middle stem *u̯arš-*$^{tta(ri)}$ vs. an active stem *u̯aršii̯e/a-*^{zi}, for which compare e.g. *ḫatt-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$, *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi}. In younger times we find the stem *u̯arš-* also in the active (3sg.imp.act. *u̯arašdu* (NH)) and *u̯aršii̯e/a-* in the middle (*u̯aršii̯attari* (NH) and *u̯aršii̯aḫḫut* (NS)).

The etymology of this verb depends on one’s interpretation of its semantics. E.g. Melchert (1994a: 163) states that *u̯arš(ii̯e/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 *u̯arša-* that he translates as ‘rain-shower’. Rieken (1999a: 470^{2313}), who translates *u̯arš(ii̯e/a)-* as “beruhigen, besänftigen”, rejects such an etymological connection, however.

If the verb *u̯arš(ii̯e/a)-* indeed originally denotes ‘to lift (oneself)’, I would like to connect it with the root **u̯ers-* 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 *u̯arš-*$^{tta(ri)}$ as **uérs-to* and *u̯aršiie/a-*^{zi} as **u̯rs-ié/ó-*.

u̯arša- (c.) 'fog, mist': gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-ša-aš* (KUB 16.37 iv 5 (NS), KBo 13.245 vi 6 (NS), KUB 9.15 ii 7 (NS)), *u̯a-ar-ša-š=a* (KUB 9.15 ii 6 (NS)), acc.pl. *u̯a-ar-ša-aš* (KUB 5.1 iv 71 (NH)).

This word especially occurs in the syntagm *u̯aršaš* ^{d}U 'Storm-god of *u̯*.', which is mostly found in broken passages:

KUB 16.37 iv
(5) [... *i*?-]*ši-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* ^{d}U *u̯a-ar-ša-aš*
(6) [... -]*ma ḫé-e-ú-uš* DÙ-*zi*

'... they [re]veal. The Storm-god of *u̯*. [...] but [...] makes rain';

KBo 13.245 vi
(5) *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš te-et-ḫi-mi* [...]
(6) ^{d}U$^{ḪI.A}$*-aš al-pa-aš u̯a-ar-ša-aš* [...]
(7) *ḫé-e-u-uš da-a-i*

'[...] for all in the thunder [...] for the Storm-gods of clouds and *u̯*. [...] places rains';

KUB 9.15 ii (cf. Cohen 2002: 134f.)
(6) [...] *an-da ta-ma-aš-zi u̯a-ar-ša-š=a* ^{d}[U$^{?}$]
(7) [...] *ta-ma-aš-zi n=a-an=kán u̯a-ar-ša-aš*

'[...] will oppress, and [the Storm]-god of *u̯*. will oppress [...] and [...] of *u̯*. [will ...] him'.

In one context, *u̯arša-* occurs without ^{d}U:

KUB 5.1 iv
(71) BAD-*an=ma an-za-aš* KAL-*i* BÚN-*mi ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši u̯a-ar-ša-aš ḫé-*[*u̯*]*a*$^{?}$*-aš UL* ḪUŠ-*ḫi*
(72) KARAŠ$^{ḪI.A}$*=kán* TA ^{d}U *UL za-aḫ-ta-ri*

'But when he for our sake(?) does not fear the violent thunder and lightning, the *u̯*.-s and the rains and the armies are not striken by the Storm-god, ...'.

Although all passages are either incomplete or difficult to interpret, the latter context clearly shows that *u̯arša-*, just as KAL-*i* BÚN-*mi ḫaršiḫarši* 'violent thunder and lightning' and *ḫe*[*u̯*]*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 ^{d}U 'Storm-god'.

Friedrich (1930: 35[5]), who translates the first context cited here as "Der Wettergott ... [...] ... macht Regengüsse" (which is not necessarily correct: the *-ma* before *ḫēu̯uš* could well be the conjunction *=ma*, which implies a new subject for this sentence), points to the formal similarity between *u̯aršaš* and Skt. *varṣá-* 'rain', assuming that Hitt. *u̯arša-* is a loanword from Indic. Laroche (1946-47: 110) translates *u̯arša-* 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. ἐέρση 'dew'. This view has been generally accepted since then. In my view, we first should compare *u̯arša-* within Hittite, namely to *u̯aršula-* that denotes 'fume, vapour'. It therefore is more likely that *u̯arša-* denotes 'fog, mist'. Nevertheless, this does not affect the etymological connection with Skt. *varṣá-* 'rain' and Gr. ἐέρση '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 ἐέρση 'dew', which in classical times is (irregularly) contracted to ἕρση. In Hesych, we find the gloss ἄερσαν· τὴν δρόσον. Κρῆτες 'dew (Cretan)', which resembles the unique spelling ἀέρσην as found on one papyrus. On the basis of these latter two forms, often the reconstruction **h₂uérs-eh₂-* is given, under the assumption that ἀέ- has been assimilated to ἐέ-. Because such assimilations are far from regular in Greek and because a spelling with initial ἀ- is found twice only, both in dubious sources, we should rather take the frequent spelling ἐέρση as original and reconstruct **h₁uérs-eh₂-* (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 **h₁uo-* would yield Hitt. *u̯a-*. (Note that scholars that reconstruct *u̯arša-* as **h₂uors-o-* must assume 'De Saussure Effect', i.e. loss of **h₂-* 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 *u̯arša-* then is by assuming an original ablauting root noun, e.g. **h₁u̯érs-s*, **h₁u̯érs-m*, **h₁u̯rs-ós* (cf. e.g. *tuekk- / tukk-*). (Note that this scenario precludes the existence of an *o*-grade stem, which is necessary if one reconstructs **h₂uors-o-*.)

All in all, we can say that the etymological connection between Hitt. *u̯arša-* 'fog, mist' on the one hand and Skt. *varṣá-* 'rain' and Gr. ἐέρση 'dew' on the

other is semantically attractive, but that the exact reconstruction of the Hittite word is difficult.

(GIŠ)*u̯aršama-*: see (GIŠ)*u̯aršma-*

u̯aršḫa-: see *u̯arašḫa-*

u̯aršiiatt- (c.) ‘reconciliation(?)’: nom.sg.c. [*u̯a-a*]*r-ši-i̯a-za* (HT 42 obv. 10), gen.sg. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-at-ta-aš* (KUB 9.12 ii 5).

Derivatives: ***u̯aršiiatar*** (n.) ‘reconciliation’ (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-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-ḫa-aš* ‘tiredness’ (10) [*u̯a-*]*ar-ši-i̯a-za* (11) [*u̯a-a*]*r-ši-i̯a-za*. In the vocabulary KBo 26.34 we find i (16) SÈD-*an-za* ‘calmness(?)’ (17) *ta-ri-i̯a-aš-ḫa-aš* ‘tiredness’ (18) *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-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) ^{d}UTU-*aš* IGI$^{II.A}$=*ŠU* 3 *TA-PAL* 1^{NU-TIM} x[...]
(4) *ša-ku-*‹*u̯a-*›*i̯a-u-u̯a-aš n=a-aš-ta* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *š*[*a-ku-iš-ke-ed-du*]
(5) 1^{NU-TIM} *u̯a-ar-ši-i̯a-at-ta-aš* IGI^{II}[$^{I.A}$=*ŠU* ...]
(6) *nu* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ^{d}UTU-*i an-da-an u̯a-a*[*r-ši-i̯a-an-te-eš*?]
(7) *a-ša-an-du* 1^{NU-TIM} *ma-ni-i̯a-a*[*ḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aš*?]
(8) *ḫa-ne-eš-na-aš* IGI$^{II.A}$=*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 *u̯arš-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *u̯aršiiе/a-*^{zi} ‘to lift (oneself); reconcile’ (q.v.).

u̯aršiiе/a-^{zi} “to appease”: see *u̯arš-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *u̯aršiiе/a-*^{zi}

u̯aršiu̯e/a-^{zi} (Ic1) ‘to produce *u̯aršula-*’: 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ar-ši-i-et*.

There is one verbal form showing the stem *u̯aršiu̯e/a-* that does not seem to belong with either *u̯arš-*^{i} ‘to reap, to harvest, to wipe’ or with *u̯arš-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *u̯aršiu̯e/a-*^{zi} ‘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 ḳa-ḳaš-ši-u̯a-*)]*tar* ^{GIŠ}*ša-ḫi-in* ^{GIŠ}[*pár-nu-ul-l*]*i-in-n=a da-aš-ša-u-aš* A$^{IJI.A}$*-na-aš*

(7) [(*šu-un-ni-u̯a-at nu=kán* A$^{IJI.A}$*-aš a*)]*n-da a-aš-ši-u̯a-tar* ^{GIŠ}*š*[*a-ḫi-iš* ^{GI}]^{Š}*pár-nu-ul-li u̯a-ar-ši-i-et*

(8) [(*nu* GIM-*an* ^{MUŠ}*Ḫé-dam-mu-u̯uš*) *u̯a-ar-š*]*u-la-an* KAŠ *iš-taḫ-ta nu=kán* [(*A-NA* ^{M})]^{UŠ}*Ḫé-dam-mu tar-ḫu-u-i-li*

(9) [(ZI$^{IJI.A}$=*Š*)*U ša-ne-ez-zi-iš*] *te-eš-ḫa-aš e-ep-ta*

‘She (= Ištar) strewed aphrodisiac(?), *šaḫi-* and *parnulli*-wood into the mighty waters. And in the waters the aphrodisiac(?), *šaḫi-*and *parnulli*-wood *u̯aršiu̯e/a*-d. When Ḫedammu tasted the taste of the brewage, a sweet dream seized the soul of the mighty Ḫedammu’.

CHD (P: 179) translates “in the waters (Ḫedammu) smelled the aphrodisiac(?), *šaḫi*-wood, and *p*.”, interpreting *u̯aršiu̯et* 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 *u̯aršiu̯et*. Secondly, if Ḫedammu were the subject of *u̯aršiu̯et*, I do not see why he is not already mentioned by name in this line. The fact that Ḫedammu’s name is expresly used in line 8 indicates that he is introduced as a new topic there, which means that he cannot have been the subject to *u̯aršiu̯et*.

In my view, it is clear that *āššiu̯atar*, ^{GIŠ}*šaḫiš* and ^{GIŠ}*parnulli* are the subject of *u̯aršiu̯et* 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 *u̯aršula-* intoxicates Ḫedammu. So it is not conincidental that *u̯aršiu̯et* and *u̯aršula-* both show a root *u̯arš-*: the verb means ‘produces the *u̯aršula-*’, or ‘dissolve into *u̯aršula-*’ (cf. Siegelová’s translation “zerging”). See at *u̯aršula-* for further treatment.

In CHD Š: 178 the words *ša-ni-iz-zi u̯a-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

u̯arš- ‘to smell’. Yet the context is too broken to ascertain this interpretation, and e.g. Haas & Wegner (1988a: 135-6) translate “süß ... wegwischte”.

(GIŠ)***u̯aršma-*** (c.) ‘(piece of) firewood’: nom.sg. *u̯a-ar-ša-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-ša-ma-an* (VSNF 12.65 i 26, KUB 7.47 obv. 4), *u̯a-ar-aš-ma-a*[*n*] (KUB 32.138 rev.? 5), *ú-u̯a-ar-ša-ma-an* (KUB 32.129 rev. 3 (NS)), abl. *u̯a-ar-ša-ma-za* (KUB 26.58 obv. 11), *u̯a-ar-ša-am-ma-za* (KBo 6.29 + KUB 21.12 iii 22 (NH)), acc.pl. *u̯a-ar-ša-mu-uš* (often), *u̯a-ar-ša-ma-aš* (KBo 13.131 obv. 5), *u̯a-ar-ša-am-ma-aš* (KUB 17.10 iii 14 (OH/MS)).

PIE **urh₁-smo-*

This word is commonly spelled *u̯a-ar-ša-m-*, but occasionally we find a spelling with geminate *-mm-* (*u̯a-ar-ša-am-m-*), and once a spelling *u̯a-ar-aš-ma-*. Especially this last spelling indicates that phonetically, this word was /uarsMa-/ or /uərsMa-/. The spelling *ú-u̯a-ar-ša-ma-an* (KUB 32.129 rev. 3) is cited by HW: 247 as ^{Ú}*u̯a-ar-ša-ma-an*, but this seems incorrect to me: nevertheless, because of its aberrancy (note that on the same tablet we find *u̯a-ar-* (ibid. 4)), we can disregard this spelling.

For the meaning, cf. for instance

KUB 17.10 iii
(14) ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-ar-ša-am-ma-aš ú-i-šu-u-ri-i̯a-ta-ti nu ku-u-uš* ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-ar-š*[*a-mu-uš*]
(15) *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an u̯a-ar-nu-ú-e-er* ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-u̯a-aš-š=a kar-pí-*[*iš*]
(16) *kar-di-mi-i̯a-az u̯a-aš-tu-ul ša-a-u-ar QA-TAM-MA u̯a-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) [^{GIŠ}*u̯a-a*]*r-ša-mu-uš-š=a* [(*ki-iš-ta-nu-zi*)]
(2) [(*n=a-at=kán*)] *pa-ra-a pár-ni pé-e-da-a*[*-i n=a-aš=ša-an*]
(3) [*ḫa-aš-š*(*i-*)]*i iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i*
(4) [(*n=a-aš ar-*)*ḫa*] *u̯a-ar-nu-zi*
(5) [^{GI}]^{Š}*u̯a-ar-ša-mu-uš kar*[(*-a*)*š-zi*]
(6) [*n=a-aš=*]*ša-an* ^{DUG}*pa-aḫ-ḫu-n*[(*a-al-*)*li-i̯a*?]
(7) [*I-NA*] É.ŠA-*ni PA-NI* DINGIR^{LIM} *pé-e-da-a*[*-i*]
(8) [*ḫa-aš-*]*šu-un-ga-iz-zi*[ ]
(9) [ ]*A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM} *pa-ra-a i*[*š-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i*]
(10) [*nu* ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-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 *paḫḫunalli*-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 *u̯aršma-* is connected with *ur-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ '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-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$, this verb reflects **urh₁-óri*, which means that *u̯aršma-* reflects **urh₁smo-*. Note that a sequence **CrHsC-* normally yields Hitt. /CRɨsC-/ (e.g. in *paripriške/a-* < **pri-prh₁-sḱe/o-*), which means that in **urh₁smo-* the **u-* may have caused a slightly different development. A similar development is visible in *duu̯araške/a-* < **d*^{h}*urh₁-sḱe/o-* (the old imperfective of *duu̯arni-*^{zi} / *duu̯arn-* 'to break' (q.v.)). See at *ur-*$^{\bar{a}ri}$ for further etymology.

u̯aršula- (c./n.) 'fume, haze, vapour': nom.sg.c. *u̯a-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. *u̯a-ar-šu-la-an* (KUB 24.14 i 22, KUB 33.52 iii 7, 2073/g, 3), dat-loc.sg. *u̯a-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.), *u̯a-ar-šu-ú-li* (KUB 20.99 iii 21), *u̯a-ar-šu-li*$_x$ (KUB 17.35 i 33, iv 32), nom.-acc.pl.n. *u̯a-ar-šu-la* (KBo 3.2 ii$^{!}$ 11).

The exact interpretation of this word is debated. It often occurs in the syntagm *u̯aršuli eku-*^{zi}:

IBoT 1.1 iv
(9) 3 *BE-LU*$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*=ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an*[*-da*]
(10) *u̯a-ar-šu-li*
(11) *a-ku-u̯a-an-zi*

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(12) [LU]GAL-*uš* GUB-*aš* ^{d}U-*an*
(13) $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Piš-ku-ru-nu-u̯a-an*
(14) *u̯*[*a*]*-ar-šu-li* 1=*ŠU*
(15) *e-ku-zi*

‘The three lords opposite him drink *u̯aršuli*. While standing, the king drinks *u̯aršuli* the Storm-god and the mountain Piškurunuu̯a once’;

KUB 20.99 iii
(18) LUGAL-*uš=za=kán* ŠU$^{ḪI.A}$=*ŠU a-ar-ri n=a-aš ša-ra-a*
(19) *ti-i-e-ez-zi n=a-aš PA-NI* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN ^{d}IM
(20) *pa-iz-zi nu* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ša-a-ri-iš-ša*
(21) *u̯a-ar-šu-ú-li* 1=*ŠU e-ku-zi*

‘The king washes his hands and steps upwards and goes to the *ḫuu̯aši*-stone of the Storm-god. He drinks *u̯aršuli* the Storm-god of Šārišša once’.

A few times, *u̯aršula-* occurs together with ^{GIŠ}ERIN ‘cedar wood’:

KUB 24.1 i
(11) *ki-nu-na-a=t-ta ša-ne-ez-zi-iš u̯a-ar-šu-la-aš*
(12) ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*an-za* Ì-*an-za kal-li-iš-du n=a-aš-ta* EGIR-*pa*
(13) ^{É}*ka-ri-im-ni an-da e-ḫu*

‘May the sweet *u̯*. (from/and) cedar wood and oil call you now, come back into the temple!’;

KUB 15.34 ii
(32) ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*aš=ma u̯a-ar-š*[*u-la*]-*aš* $^{GIŠ.d}$INNANA-*i̯a-aš ḫa̯-z*[*i*$^{?}$-*i̯a-tar*]
^{LÚ}AZU-*aš me̯-mi̯-i̯a̯-aš*
(33) DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš kal-li-iš-tar-u̯*[*a-ni*]*e-eš-du*

‘Let there be on the party for the gods *u̯*. 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’, *u̯aršuli* means “(im Tropfen), tropfenweise”. Güterbock (1986: 212) proposes to translate *u̯aršula-* as ‘smell’, and states that “*u̯arsuli 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$_7$*=ma-a=t-ta u̯a-ar-šu-la-an*
(23) *a-u̯a-an ar-ḫa pár-ḫu-un ŠA* UR.GI$_7$*=ma šal-pa-aš* UZU UR.GI$_7$
(24) ^{UZU}GÌR.PAD.DU UR.GI$_7$*=i̯a ši-mi-ši-i̯a-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-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḫa la-a-an‹-zi› n=a-aš I-NA* É ^{LÚ}KUŠ$_7$
(32) *an-da pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš=kán u̯a-ar-šu-la-aš*
(33) *pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi n=a-aš* 5*=ŠU ar-ru-u̯a-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.$^{!}$
(10) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḫa la-a-an-zi nu-u=š-ma-aš*
^{KUŠ}KIR$_4$.TAB.ANŠE*=ŠU-NU pa-ra-a Ú-UL*
(11) *da-an-zi n=a-aš kat-ta aš-nu-an-zi u̯a-ar-šu-la=i̯a-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* ^{MUŠ}*Ḫé-dam-mu-u̯š*) *u̯a-ar-š*]*u-la-an* KAŠ *iš-taḫ-ta* 'When Ḫedammu tasted the *u̯*. of the brewage'. Here we seem to be dealing with 'taste'. Another translation is also necessary in KUB 36.44 iv (4) *nu u̯a-ar-šu-la-aš=te-eš a*[*m*]*-me-el kat-ta u-u̯a-ru* 'Let your (i.e. ^{d}UTU) *u̯*. be seen by me'. Here it is clear that we are dealing with something visible. All in all, *u̯aršula-* 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 *u̯aršula-* is cognate with *u̯arša-* 'fog, mist'. See there for etymological treatment. See also at *u̯aršiie/a-*^{zi} 'to produce *u̯aršula-*'.

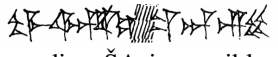
u̯art- 'to plaid together': 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ar-ta-an-zi* (KBo 3.2 rev.$^{!}$ 7).

PIE **u̯ert-* 'to turn'

This verb occurs only once, in the Kikkuli-text:

KBo 3.2 rev.$^{!}$
(6) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš* ÍD-*az ša-ra-a ú-u̯a-da-an-zi*
(7) *nu-u=š-ma-aš* KUN$^{ḪI.A}$=*ŠU an-da u̯a-ar-tạ-an-zi n=a-aš tu-u-ri-i̯a-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 u̯.* their tails for them and harness them. One drives them half a mile'.

It should be noticed that the third sign of the word *u̯a-ar-tạ-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 **u̯ert-* 'to turn' (thus Kammenhuber o.c. 136[49]) seems appealing. Problematic, however, could be the fact that all other IE languages seem to show that **u̯ert-* 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 *u̯art-* is a borrowing from Indic (just as *-u̯artanna* (q.v.), which is only found in the Kikkuli-text as well), but this cannot be decided on formal grounds: a preform **u̯rtenti* 'they turn' would by regular sound law give Hitt. *u̯artanzi* (vocalization of **u̯r-* to *u̯ar-* in analogy to the singular, where we would expect **u̯ertmi* to give ***u̯artmi*).

-u̯artanna 'for ... rounds'

This word only occurs in the Kikkuli text, as the second member of compounds *aikau̯artanna* 'for one round', *tierau̯artanna* 'for three rounds', *panzau̯artanna* 'for five rounds', *šattau̯artanna* 'for seven rounds' and *nāu̯artanna* 'for nine

rounds' (probably haplology for **nau̯au̯artanna*). All these words are borrowed from Indic. The element *-u̯artanna* corresponds to Skt. *vartaní-* 'road, course'.

(GIŠ)***u̯arduli-*** (c.) a kind of plant?: nom.sg. *u̯a-ar-du-li-iš*, acc.sg. *u̯a-ar-du-li-in*, gen.sg.? *u̯a-ar-du-la-aš*, acc.pl.? *u̯a-ar-du-li-e-eš*.

The word occurs a few times only:

KUB 7.13 obv. (with additions from dupl. KUB 46.56 obv.? 4-7)
(18) ... EGIR-*a*[*n=ma=u̯*(*a-r=a-*)*an*]
(19) *ḫu-im-ma-aš tar-na-a-ú kat-ta-an=ma=u̯a-r=a-an ta-ga-an*[*-zi-*(*pa-aš*)]
(20) GIŠ.ÙR? *tar-na-a-ú* GUNNI-*aš=u̯a-r=a-an u̯a-ar-du-li-iš*[*-š=a*?]
(21) *tar-na-a-ú* GIŠ*a-ra-ša-aš=u̯a-r=a-an* GIŠ*kat-ta-lu-uz‹-zi›=i̯a t*[*ar-na-a-ú*]

'Then, may the *ḫuimma-* release [him]. May the flo[or] below (and) the roof-beam? release him. May the hearth [and] the *u̯*. 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›› u̯a-a-tar*
(28) [(*I-NA* 5 GAL GIR$_4$)] *la-a-ḫu-u̯a-i n=e=ta* ŠÀ.BA *A-NA* GAL G[(IR$_4$)]
(29) [(*ta-ri-i̯a-at*)*-ta-*(*a-r*)]*i-i̯a-an* 1 GAL GIR$_4$ *u̯a-ar-du-li-*[(*e-eš*)]
(30) [(1 GAL G)]IR$_4$ GEŠTIN *ma-aḫ-la-aš ḫu-el-pí-iš* 1 GAL GIR$_4$ [(*aš-ḫa-i-ú-ul*)]
(31) [1 GAL GIR$_4$ (*ir-ḫa-a-i*)]*t nu ku-it-t=a ar-ḫa-i̯a šar-ra-*[(*i*)]

'When she is finished, she pours water in 5 clay cups. And of these, in one cup (she puts) *tariiattarii̯a-*, in one cup *u̯arduli-*'s, in one cup the young branch of a vine, in one cup *ašḫai̯ul* (and) in one cup *irḫāit*. And each one she divides separately';

ibid.
(41) [E]GIR-*an-da=ma u̯a-ar-du-li-in la-ḫu-u-u̯*[*a-a-i*]
(42) [*nu t*]*e-ez-zi ku-u-un* UN-*an* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *u̯a-ar-du-la-a*[*š*]
(43) [.....*-a*]*r a-aš-šu-an-ni an-da ḫu-u-la-li-*[*i̯a-at-tén*]

'Then she pours the *u̯arduli-* and says: "O gods, you must surround this man [.....] of? *u̯arduli-* (and) in well-being!"';

ChS I/5, Nr.7 i
(2) [*te-pu* GIŠ(*an-tar-u̯i$_5$-la-a*)]*š* NUMUN-*an te-pu*

(3) [(*u-un-te-eš ŠA* ^{GIŠ}KI)RI$_6$ ...] ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-a*[(*r-du-li-i*)]*š* Ḫ̲UR.SAG GUŠKIN KUŠ SA$_5$ *te-pu*

'[ein wenig]; Samen der antarwila-Pflanze, ein wenig; ūnt-(Pflanzen)[?] des Gar[tens ?], warduli-Gewächs (des) Gebirge(s); Gold, (ein Stuck) rotes Fell, (von allem) ein wenig' (translation Haas & Wegner 1988a: 76).

It is difficult to establish what *u̯arduli-* 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 u̯arduliš*[*š=a*] 'hearth and *u̯*.', which in one way or another must be similar to *taganzipaš* GIŠ.ÙR 'floor and roof-beam' and ^{GIŠ}*arašaš* ^{GIŠ}*kattaluz‹zi›=i̯a* 'door and lintel'. Moreover, in the Allaiturah̲h̲i-ritual (ChS I/5, Nr. 7 i 3) it appears with the determinative GIŠ. It therefore is likely that *u̯arduli-* denotes some kind of plant, the juice of which could be used in magical practices. The connection with 'hearth', however, remains unclear. No etymology.

≺ *u̯ar(ru)u̯alan-* (n.) 'seed, progeny' (Sum. NUMUN): nom.-acc.sg. NUMUN-*an*, gen.sg. *‹ u̯a-ar-ru-u̯a-la-na-aš* (KUB 21. 37,13), dat.-loc.sg. *‹ u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-ni* (KBo 4.10 ii 24), *u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-ni* (Bronzetafel iii 2, 6, 16, iv 24), nom.-acc.pl. NUMUN$^{Ḫ̲I.A}$-*na* (KUB 35.54 ii 31, KBo 29.2 ii 9), Luw.erg.sg. *< u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-na-an-te-eš* (KBo 4.10 ii 25).

The manyfold usage of gloss wedges as well as the occurrence of a Luwian inflected erg.sg. *u̯aru̯alanteš* (note the *i*-Motion!) in

KUB 4.10 ii
(24) *da-me-da-ni-i̯=a-at ≺ u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-ni le-e pí-i̯a-an-zi*
(25) *ŠA* ^{m}*Ul-mi-*^{d}U-*up=pát* (or *-up-p=át* ?) *≺ u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-na-an-te-eš ḫ̲ar-du*

'They shall not give it to another progeny, the progeny of (only?) Ulmiteššub must have (it?)',

indicates that we are dealing with an origial Luwian word. Starke (1990: 480f.) argues that this word has to be read as *u̯aru̯atn-* (reading the sign LA (𒆷) as AT (𒀀𒋫)), but Melchert (1993b: 261-2) speaks against this because of a possible connection with ^{d}*Ú̯aru̯aliia-*. Moreover, Starke assumes that the paradigm originally was *u̯aru̯attar*, *u̯aru̯atn-*, but this would not fit the neuter *n*-stem endings that are used with the sumerogram NUMUN (e.g. nom.-acc.pl.

NUMUN^{ḪLA}-*na*). I therefore follow Melchert and interpret this word as a neuter *n*-stem *u̯aru̯alan-*. No etymology, however.

u̯āš-^{i} (IIb > Ic1) 'to buy': 2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-aš-ti* (KUB 4.3 i 12 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-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), *u̯a-ši-i̯a-zi* (often, NH), 2pl.pres.act. *u̯a-a-ši-i̯*[*a-at-te-*]*ni* (KUB 13.4 ii 72 (OH/NS)) 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ši-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 31.78 iv 8 (NS)), *u̯a-a-ši-i̯a-nu-u*[*n*] (KUB 7.6, 2 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-ši-(i̯a)-at* (often), 2pl.imp.act. *u̯a-a-aš-tén* (KUB 23.72 rev. 36a (MH/MS)); inf.I *u̯a-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 31.76 ii 3 (NS)).

IE cognates: Skt. *vasná-* 'price', Gr. ὦνος (n.) 'price', Lat. *vēnum dare* 'to sell', Arm. *gin* 'price' < **u̯esno-*.

PIE **uós-ei / *us-énti*

For the semantics of this verb, compare e.g.

KBo 6.26 ii
(27) *ták-ku* ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ-*a*[*n a*]*n-na-nu-u̯a-an-ta-an ku-iš-ki u̯a-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 u̯a-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. *u̯āši* (OS) and 2pl.imp.act. *u̯āšten* (MH/MS), clearly shows that we are dealing with a stem *u̯āš-* that is *ḫi*-conjugated. Unfortunately, no weak stem forms are attested on the basis of which the ablaut of this verb can be determined. See at *ušniie/a-*^{zi} 'to put up for sale', however, for an inner-Hittite cognate that reflects zero-grade. In NS texts, we find a secondary stem *u̯āšiie/a-*^{zi}, which is formed on the basis of 3sg.pres.act. *u̯āši*.

Already since Götze (1928: 99[2]) this verb is generally connected with Skt. *vasná-* 'price', Gr. ὦνος (n.) 'price', Lat. *vēnus* 'sale', etc. that all go back to a root **ues-* 'to buy'. This means that Hitt. *u̯āši* must go back to **uós-ei*.

u̯ašš-^{zi}: see *u̯ešš-*^{tta}; *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}

u̯ašanna- 'track'

The word is found in the Kikkuli-text only:

KBo 3.2 rev.!

(22) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an=m=a-aš ar-ḫa 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-ḫu-da-an-zi n=a-aš* 3=*ŠU*
(24) *kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi nam-m=a-aš tu-u-ri-i̯a-an-zi n=a-aš na-u̯a-ar-ta-an-ni*
(25) *u̯a-ša-an-na-ša-i̯a* 1 DANNA 80 IKU$^{IJI.A}$=*i̯a pár-ḫa-i A-NA u̯a-ša-an-ni=ma*
(26) *pár-ga-tar=še-et* 6 IKU *pal-ḫa-tar=še-et=ma* 4 IKU$^{IJI.A}$ *u̯a-ša-an-na=ma*
(27) 9$^{!?}$=*ŠU u̯a-aḫ-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-i̯a-an-zi n=a-aš*! 1 DANNA 20 IKU$^{IJI.A}$
(22) *pár-ḫa-an-du-uš*! *pa-a-an-zi u̯a-ša-an-na*
(23) *n=a-aš*! *pár-ku-u̯a-tar=še-et* 5 IKU DAGAL=*ZU=ma* 3 IKU ½ IKU=*i̯a*
(24) *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da=m=a-aš*! *IŠ-TU* GIŠ$^{IJI.A}$ *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ma-a*[*n*]
(25) ANŠE.KUR.RA$^{MEŠ!}$=*ma a-ra-aḫ-za*!*-an-da* 6=*ŠU u̯a-aḫ-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 *nau̯artanna*, which is an Indic word, it is likely that *u̯ašanna-*, too, is of Indic origin. Kammenhuber (1961a: 138-9) even suggests that the form *u̯a-ša-an-na-ša-i̯a* 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.

u̯aššapa-: see *u̯ašpa-*

u̯ašše/a-^{zi}: see *u̯ešš-*^{tta}; *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}

u̯ašḫar (n.) 'onion(?)' (Sum. SUM^{SAR}(?)): nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-ḫar* (KUB 60.57, 7).

PIE *$uosh_2$-r/n- ?

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 60.57
(6) [ ]x SISKUR *aš-ša-nu-u̯a-an-zi nu* x[ ]
(7) [*k*]*u-e im-ma ku-e u̯a-aš-ḫar* x[ ]
(8) [*ku-i*]*t-ma-an=kán* $DINGIR^{LAM}$ *I-NA*[ ]

'[...] they take care of the ritual. [...] whatever *u̯ašḫar* [... W]hen the deity in [...]'.

Although on the basis of this fragmentary context a meaning for *u̯ašḫar* cannot be determined, it is likely that this word must be equated with *u̯ašḫar* as found in the compound *šuppiu̯ašḫar*^{SAR} 'onion(?)' (lit. 'pure *u̯ašḫar*') (q.v.). This could mean that just as *šuppiu̯ašḫar* corresponds to the sumerogram $SUM.SIKIL^{SAR}$, *u̯ašḫar* possibly corresponds to SUM^{SAR}.

The fact that *šuppiu̯ašḫar* shows a derivative *šuppiu̯ašḫanalli-* could indicate that *u̯ašḫar*, if it is correctly connected with *šuppiu̯ašḫar*, is *r/n*-inflected.

Mechanically, *u̯ašḫar* seems to reflect *$uosh_2$-r/n-, but I do not know of any cognates. Further unknown.

u̯ašši- (n.) '(ingredients of) medicine': nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-ši*, nom.-acc.pl. *u̯a-aš-ši*$^{HI.A}$.

This word denotes 'medicine', or 'ingredients of medicine':

KBo 5.2 iv
(20) *nu* 1 *kap-pí-in* ŠE *da-a-i* ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN ^{NA_4}GUG ^{NA_4}AŠ.NU_{11}.GAL
(21) *te-pu da-a-i ḫu-u-uš-ti-in* ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG *te-pu*
(22) *da-a-i n=a-at=ša-an A-NA* ^{DUG}*ku-uš-ku-uš-šu-ul-li*
(23) *kat-ta ku-uš-ku-uš-zi ar-ḫa=m=a-at ši-ḫi-il-li-i̯a-aš*
(24) *ú-i-te-ni-it tar-na-i n=a-aš-ta* EN SÍSKUR ^{d}UTU-*i̯a*
(25) *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ti-i-e-ez-zi nu ke-e u̯a-aš-ši*
(26) *ta-an-ga-ra-an-za e-ku-zi*

'He takes one bowl of barley, he takes a little lapis-lazuli, carneol and alabaster and he takes a little *ḫūšti-*, 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* ^{LÚ}AZU *a-pé-e-ez še-er ar-ḫa*
(38) *la-a-ḫu-i nu* ^{DUG}GAL.GIR$_4$ *šu-un-na-i n=a-aš-ta A-NA* DUG-*za*
(39) *ši-ḫe-el-li-i̯a-aš u̯a-a-tar ku-it an-da nu=za a-pé-e-ez a-ar-ri*
(40) ^{DUG}GAL=*ma ku-iš šu-u-u̯a-an-za n=a-at*$^{!}$ *A-NA u̯a-aš-ši*$^{ḪI.A}$ *da-a-i*
(41) *nu u̯a-aš-ši*$^{ḪI.A}$ *ku-uš-ku-uš-ša-an-zi n=a-aš=kán A-NA* ^{d}EN.ZU
(42) *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-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-uḫ-ša-an a-ú-li-iš e-ep-zi*
(7) [*ma-a-a*]*n an-tu-uḫ-ša-an* IGI$^{ḪI.A}$-*u̯*[*a*] *iš-tar*[*-ak-zi*]
(8) [ ]x *ki-i u̯a-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.

u̯āššiḭe/a-^{zi}**:** see *u̯āš-*^{i}

u̯aššiḭe/a-^{zi}: see *u̯ešš-*^{tta}; *u̯aššе/a-*^{zi}

u̯ašku(i)- (c.) 'offense, sin': acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-ku-in* (KBo 24.122, 25 (NS), KUB 15.1 iii 45 (NH), KUB 18.63 i 21 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-ku-un* (KUB 18.63 iv 20 (NS)), gen.sg. *u̯a-*[*aš*]*-kṷ-i-i̯a-aš* (KUB 15.6 i 16 (NS)), dat.-log.sg. *u̯a-aš-ku-i* (IBoT 2.129 obv. 26 (NS)), nom.pl.c. *u̯a-aš-ku-i-e-eš* (KUB 5.6 i 7 (NS), KUB 18.18, 3 (NS)), acc.pl.c. *u̯a-aš-ku-uš* (KUB 5.9 obv. 29 (NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *u̯a-aš-ku-u̯a-aš* (KBo 23.114 obv. 29, 29 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-ku-aš* (KUB 16.48 rev. 6 (NS)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯aškuit-*** (n.) 'offense' (nom.-acc.sg. ≺ *u̯a-aš-ku-u-i-š*[*a*] (ABoT 56 iv 6 (NH/NS))), ***u̯aškuu̯a)llimma/i-*** (adj.) 'sinful' (nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-aš-ku-u̯a-al-li-im-ma-an-za*, abl.-instr. *u̯a-aš-ku‹-ul› -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. *u̯aškun*) as well as *i*-stem forms (e.g. acc.sg. *u̯aškuin*), but it cannot be determined which inflection is more original. The one attestation with gloss wedge, namely ≺ *u̯a-aš-ku-u-i-š*[*a*] (ABoT 56 iv 6) is interpreted by Starke (1990: 180) as a Luwian nom.-acc.sg.-form *u̯aškui=ša* of a Luwian neuter stem *u̯aškuit-*. According to Starke, the forms that show a Hitt. stem *u̯aškui-* are based on an adaptation of this Luwian word. The Hittite forms that show a *u*-stem *u̯ašku-* are, according to Starke, borrowed from CLuw. **u̯ašku(i)-* (a commune word with *i*-Motion), the stem of which is still visible in CLuw. *u̯ašku(u̯a)llimma/i-* (adj.) 'sinful'. The fact that Hitt. *u̯ašku(i)-* is attested in NS texts only, supports these assumptions.

Eichner (1974: 71) suggests that CLuw. *u̯aškuit-* and **u̯ašku(i)-* are the regular outcomes of a stem **u̯astu̯-* (showing a development **tu̯* > *ku̯*), which he connects with Hitt. Hitt. *u̯ašta-*^{i} / *u̯ašt-* 'to sin' and its derivative *uštul-*, *u̯aštul-* 'sin'. Although a Luwian development **tu̯* > *ku̯* 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 **u̯ast-u̯-* CLuwian also possesses the unextended stem *u̯ašta-*, which is cited under the lemma *u̯ašta-*^{i} / *u̯ašt-*. See there, too, for an etymological treatment.

(TÚG)***u̯ašpa-*** (c.) 'clothing' (Sum. TÚG$^{(?)}$): nom.sg. *u̯a-aš-ša-pa-aš* (KBo 35.109, 6, KUB 27.28 i 7), acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-pa-an* (KBo 17.93 obv. 11 (MS), KUB 31.69 obv.$^{?}$ 5, 6); broken *u̯a-aš-ša-pa*[-...] (KBo 8.114 obv. 8).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯ašpant-*** 'wearing shrouds(?)' (gen.adj.nom.pl.c. *u̯a-aš-pa-an-ta-aš-ši-in-zi*).

PIE **u̯os-b^{h}o-*?

This word occurs a few times only, e.g.

KUB 31.69 obv.$^{?}$

(4) [*ma-a-an* ^{d}*IŠTA*]*R* ^{URU}*La-u̯a-za-an-ti-i̯a* GAŠAN=*I̯A A-NA* ^{d}UTU^{ŠI} *I-NA* K[UR ^{URU}*Ar-za-u-u̯a*]

(5) [*pé-an ḫu-u*]*-i-i̯a-ši tu-el=za u̯a-aš-pa-an* LÚ*-aš i-u̯a-ar u̯a-aš-ši-i̯*[*a-ši*]

(6) [MUNUS-*š*]*a=za i-u̯a-ar u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-ši tu-el=za u̯a-aš-pa-an* NÍ.TE-*š*[*i* ...]

‘When you, Ištar of Laụazantiịa, My Lady, rush forth to My Majesty in the land of Arzaụa, you put on your *ụ*. like a man, and you put (it) on like a woman. And your *ụ*. on your body [....]’;

KBo 8.114 obv.
(7) *nu* ^{d}LUGAL=*pát ụa-aš-ša-an-z*[*i* ....]
(8) *A-NA* ^{d}LUGAL-*ma ụa-aš-ša-pa*[- ...]

‘They clothe Šarruma. [...] to Šarruma a *ụaššapa*-[...]’.

On the basis of the contextual evidence, Goetze (1955: 50-1) suggested that *ụašpa*- must be the word underlying the sumerogram TÚG ‘clothes’.

As Goetze already noticed, the word seems to be derived from the verb *ụešš-*^{tta}, *ụašše/a-*^{zi} ‘to clothe’. Watkins (1969b) compares *ụašpa*- to Lat. *vespillo* ‘undertaker < *dresser (of dead bodies)’ (cf. the fact that CLuw. *ụašpant*- is found in a negative (funereal) context) and reconstructs **ụos-po*-. The several Hitt. attestations *ụa-aš-ša-pa*- seem to point to phonological /uaSba-/ which then must reflect **uos-b*$^{(h)}$*o*-.

Goetze (l.c.) points to the fact that the plural form TÚG^{ḪLA} appears with commune as well as neuter adjectives, which shows that *ụašpa*-, although basically commune, could form a coll.pl. in -*a* as well.

ụašta-^{i} **/ *ụašt-*** (IIa1γ) ‘to sin, to offend’: 2sg.pres.act. *ụa-aš-ta-at-ti* (KUB 6.44 iv 32 (NH)), *ụa-aš-ta-ši* (NH, often), *ụa-aš-ta-a-ši* (NH, 2x), 3sg.pres.act. [*ụ*]*a-aš-ta-i* (KBo 9.73 obv. 6 (OS)), *ú-ụa-aš-ta-i* (KBo 3.28 ii 10 (OH/NS)), *ụa-aš-ta-i* (KUB 13.8 obv. 12 (MH/NS)), *ụa-aš-da-a-i* (KUB 23.68+ obv. 28 (MH/NS)), *ụa-aš-ti* (KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 iii 60 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ụa-aš-ta-an-zi* (KBo 16.47 i 8 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ụa-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KUB 14.11 + 650/u iii 29 (NH)), *ụa-aš-da-ḫu-un* (KUB 26.32 i 11 (NH/NS)), 2sg.pret.act. *ụa-aš-ta-at-ta* (KUB 33.24 i 33 (OH/NS)), *ụa-aš-ta-aš* (NH), 2pl.pret.act. *ụa-aš-ta-at-te-en* (KBo 16.27 i 23 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pret.act. *ụa-aš-te-er* (NH), *ụa-aš-ti-er* (NH); verb.noun *ụa-aš-du-mar* (KBo 4.14 ii 60, 64, 71); impf. *ụa-aš-ta-aš-ke/a*- (KUB 23.72 obv. 36 (MH/MS)), *ụa-aš-te-eš-ke/a*- (KUB 14.11 + 650/u iii 26 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***ụaštanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make into a sin, to regard as an offense’ (3sg.pres.act. *ụa-aš-ta-nu-uz-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ụa-aš-ta-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *ụa-aš-ta-nu-nu-un*; part. *ụa-aš-ta-nu-ụa-an-t*-), ***ụaštaḫḫ-***^{i} (IIb) ‘to sin, to offend’ (impf. *ụa-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke/a*- (KUB 36.86 obv. 8 (NS))), ***ụaštai-*** (c.) ‘sin, offense’ (nom.sg. *ụa-aš-ta-i-iš* (KBo 4.3+ i 33 (NH)), *ụa-aš-ta-iš* (KUB 21.19 iii

45 (NH), KUB 14.7 iv 2 (NH)), acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-ta-in* (KUB 23.99 obv. 5 (NH)), acc.pl. *u̯a-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. ***u̯ašta-*** (n.) 'sin' (nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-aš-ta-an-za*, *u̯a-aš-ta-az-za*).

In the oldest texts, this verb clearly inflects according to the *tarna*-class. Forms that are inflected according to the *ḫatrae*-class (*u̯aštāši*) and the *-i̯e/a*-class (*u̯aštier*) are found in NH texts only and are clearly secondary due to the high productivity of both the *ḫatrae*- and the *-i̯e/a*-class in this period. Within Hittite, the noun *uštul-*, *u̯aštul-* '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 *#u̯VC* and *#uC* (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.b), the original paradigm **u̯ašta-^{i} / ušt-* was altered to *u̯ašta-^{i} / u̯ašt-* with generalization of the full-grade stem.

Verbs that belong to the *tarna*-class can go back to three different structures: **CR-no-H-*, **Ce-C(R)oH-* or **CoRCh$_{2/3}$-* (see § 2.2.2.2.d for these types). In the case of *u̯ašta-* only the latter type is applicable, which indicates that *u̯ašta-^{i} / *ušt-* mechanically goes back to **u̯ósTh$_{2/3}$-ei / *usTh$_{2/3}$-énti*. I know of no convincing IE cognates. Catsanicos (1991) unconvincingly argues that Hitt. *u̯ašta-* is cognate with Gr. ἀάτη 'error, sin' and reconstructs **h$_2$u̯mst-* (followed by e.g. Melchert 1994a: 50). The latter word is more likely a verbal noun of Gr. ἀάω 'to damage', however, which reflects **h$_2$ueh$_2$-* or **h$_2$euh$_2$-* and may be connected with Lyc. *qa-* 'to destroy' (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c).

See at *u̯ašku(i)-* for possible Luwian cognates.

-u̯ašta(ri), ***-u̯aštat(i)*** (1pl.midd.-endings): 1pl.pres.midd.: *ar-u̯a-aš-ta* (KUB 17.21 iv 5 (MH/MS), KBo 16.27 ii 3 (MH/MS)), *u-u̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta-ri* (KBo 16.59 i 7 (NS)), *e-šu-u̯a-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-u̯a-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-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta*[*(-)*...] (KBo 17.48 obv. 6 (MS)), *pa-aḫ-šu-u̯a-aš-ta* (KBo 16.27 iii 16 (MH/MS), KUB 19.25 i 13 (fr.) (NH)), [*š*]*a-li-ku-u̯a-aš-ta-ti* (KBo 3.45, 9 (OH/NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta* (KUB 31.44 ii 15 (MH/NS), 777/v, 3 (fr.) (NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-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-u̯a-aš-ta-at* (KBo 16.59 obv. 14 (NS), KUB 23.115, 13 (MH/NS), 500/u, 7 ("erg.") (MS)), *e-eš-šu-u̯a-aš-ta-ti* (1490/u 14 (NS)), [*šu-*]*u̯p-pa-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta-ti* (KUB 8.48 i 1 (NS)).

PIE *-u̯os-dʰh₂(o)

The present-ending is found in three different forms, *-u̯ašta*, *u̯aštati* and *-u̯aštari*. It is clear that of these forms *-u̯ašta* is the more original one (attested in OS and MS texts), whereas *-u̯aštati* and *-u̯aštari* are found in NS texts only (see also Yoshida 1987 for this distribution). Note that *-u̯aštari* is attested only once vs. 8 times *-u̯aštati*. In the preterite, we find *-u̯aštat* and *-u̯aštati*. Almost all of these are found in NS texts, except possibly for *ar-u̯a-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, of only a part of it?

Etymologically, this ending should be compared with Skt. *-mahe*, *-mahi*, Gr. -με(σ)θα, TochAB *-mtär*, which point to *-*me(s)-dʰh₂*. The *-u̯-* found in Hittite is comparable to 1pl.act. *-u̯en(i)*, *-u̯ani* (q.v.). This means that Hitt. *-u̯ašta* reflects (virtual) *-*u̯os-dʰh₂* or *-*u̯os-dʰh₂o* (with secondary *-o* in analogy to the other middle endings).

u̯aštul-: see *uštul-*

u̯attai- (c.) 'bird' (Sum. MUŠEN): nom.pl. *u̯a-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=u̯a ḫa-tu-ga-e-eš u̯a-at-ta-e-eš nu=u̯a=aš*[*=ša-an* ...]

'he speaks as follows: "Whatever terrible *u̯attai*-s (there are), them [...]"'.

Because of the occurrence of *ḫatugi-* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ 'terrible birds' in

ibid. i

(16) *nu=u̯a i-it-tén ḫ*[*a-t*]*u-ga-uš* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-te-en*

(17) *nu=kán ke-e* NUMUN[$^{ḪI.}$]^{A} *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ki-iš-ta-ri*
kal-la-a-ra=i̯a‹‹-ra-i̯a››=kán

(18) *ud-da-a-ar ḫa-tu-ga-ú-š=a* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *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[1]) suggests that *u̯attaēš* may be the phonetical spelling of MUŠEN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$. This suggestion is generally accepted.

Because of the diphthong-stem, it is likely that this word is inhereted. Nevertheless, I do not know of any cognates.

u̯ātar / u̯itēn- (n.) 'water' (Sum. A, Akk. *MÛ*, *MÊ*): nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-a-tar* (OS), *u̯a-tar* (OS), gen.sg. *ú-u̯i$_5$-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 *u̯ida-* 'wet'.

IE cognates: Skt. *udán-*, Gr. ὕδωρ, Umbr. *utur*, OCS *voda*, Goth. *wato*, ON *vatn*, OSax. *watar*, OHG *waʒʒar* '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. *u̯ātar* besides obl. *u̯itēn-*. Since Schindler (1975a: 4-5) these stems have been explained as reflecting a static paradigm **uód-r*, **ué̯d-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. *u̯itēn-* must be phonologically interpreted as /uɨdén-/, the phonetic outcome of **u̯dén-*, which form shows an analogical restored consonantal **u̯-* instead of expected vocalic **u-* in analogy to nom.-acc. **u̯odr*. The basis of this analogy is the fact that alternation between initial consonantal *u̯* and vocalic *u* was not tolerated in Hittite (cf. e.g. *u̯ekk-^{zi}* and *uttar*, *uttan-*).

u̯attariu̯e/a-$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) '?': 3sg.imp.med. *u̯a-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* ^{URU}*La-la-an-da me-ma-i nu la-la-at-ta-ru*
(15) [*ma-a-a*]*n ŠA* ^{URU}*U̯a-at-tar-u̯a me-ma-i nu u̯a-at-ta-ri-et-ta-ru*

‘If (someone) from the city Lalanda speaks, he must be *l*.-ed. If (someone) from Ụattarụa speaks, he must be *ụ*.-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 *ụattaru-* ‘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 Ụattarụa.

^{NINDA}*ụatarmašši-* (c.) a kind of bread: acc.pl. ^{NINDA}*ụa-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.

ụātarnaḫḫ-^{i} (IIb) ‘to order, to instruct’: 1sg.pres.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi* ((KBo 11.1 obv. 20) (NH)), *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-mi* (KBo 18.76 rev. 8 (NH)), *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-mi* (KBo 18.76 rev. 13 (NH)), 2sg.pres.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ti* (NH), 3sg.pres.act. *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi* (KUB 2.2 iii 37 (OH/NS)), *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-zi* (VSNF 12.114 obv. 7 (NS)), *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-zi* (KUB 26.12 ii 26 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (MH/MS), 1sg.pret.act. *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*, *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*, 2sg.pret.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ta* (MH/MS), 3sg.pret.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš* (KBo 3.38 obv. 23 (OH/NS)), *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ta* (KBo 14.1 rev. 87 (NH)), 1pl.pret.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-en*, 2pl.pret.act. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-tén* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ḫe-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ* (MH/MS); part. *ụa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*, *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-t-*; verb.noun. gen.sg. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-ụa-aš*; inf.I *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-ụa-an-zi*, impf. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke/a-*, *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***ụatarnaḫḫa-*** ‘message, instruction’ (abl. *ụa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-az* (KBo 12.85 ++ i 27 (MH/NS))).

This verb shows forms both with *mi-* and *ḫi*-conjugation endings. Nevertheless, it is likely that just as the other verbs in *-aḫḫ-*, *ụatarnaḫḫ-* was *ḫi*-conjugated originally. The etymology of this word is unclear. Often (e.g. Eichner 1980: 126, 146[69]), 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 *ụātarnaḫḫ-*. Eichner states that *ụatarnaḫḫ-* is derived from a part. **ụadarnant-*, which is syncopated from **ụadarienant-*, itself a derivative in *-nant-* of a verb **ụadarịé-*, which is a denominative derivative of **ụaddar-*, the preform of *uttar* ‘word’. This account is incorrect, for several reasons: (1) I know of no derivatives in *-ịe/a-* that show a lenited stop vs. the fortited stop of the ground word; (2) I know of no

deverbal derivatives in *-nant-*; and (3) I know of no syncopes of *-i̯e-*. All in all, I see no possibility to etymologically connect *u̯ātarnaḫḫ-* with *uttar / uttan-* 'word, speech', although I am not able to offer an alternative solution.

u̯at(ta)ru- (n.) 'well, source' (Sum. TÚL): nom.-acc.sg. *u̯a-at-ta-ru* (KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 (StBoT 25: 188) iii 21 (OS), KUB 8.41 iii 14 (fr.) (OS)), *u̯a-at-ru* (KBo 40.34, 5 (MH/MS)), gen.sg. *u̯a-at-ru-aš* (KBo 8.41 ii 3 (OS)), *u̯a-at-ta-ru-aš* (KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 ii 11 (OS), Bo 4767 (StBoT 25: 180), 4 (OS)), [*u̯a-at-*]*ta-ru-u̯a-aš* (KBo 25.112 iii 8 (OS)), all.sg. *u̯a-at-tar-u̯a* (KBo 3.7 iv 12 (OH/NS), KUB 17.6 iv 9 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-at-tar-ú-i* (KBo 24.12 obv. 6 (NS)), TÚL-*i* (KUB 12.66 iv 15 (OH/NS)), nom.-acc.pl.(?) [*u̯a-at-ta*]*r*[?]-*u̯a*? (KUB 19.37 iii 54).

PIE **u̯ot(H)-ru-*

Already in OS texts, where the word is attested multiple times, we find a spelling *u̯attaru-* besides *u̯atru-*, probably indicating phonological /uatru-/.

Etymologically, it is tempting to connect this word with *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-* 'water' (thus e.g. Weitenberg 1984: 195), but this is impossible in view of the geminate spelling of *-tt-* in *u̯attaru-*, which points to an etymological **t*, which contrasts with the etymological **d* in *u̯ātar* < **uódr*. One could argue that *u̯attaru-* reflects Luw. **ued-ru-* (with Čop's Law causing geminate *-tt-*), but because of the abundant attestestations in OS texts already, a foreign origin of this word is not likely. Moreover, **ued-* would probably have yielded CLuw. ***u̯id-* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262). So, although I know of no IE cognates, I would reconstruct this word mechanically as **uot(H)-ru-*.

u̯atku-^{zi} (Ia4) 'to jump (out of), to flee': 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-at-ku-uz-zi* (often), *u̯a-at-ku-zi* (often), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-at-ku-u̯a-an-zi*, *u̯a-at-ku-an-zi*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-at-ku-ut-ta* (KBo 25.122 ii 5 (OS), HKM 64 rev. 15 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-at-ku-ut* (Güterbock 1952: first tablet i 17, iii 18, third tablet i 5, iv 21), 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-at-ku-e-er* (KBo 18.57 rev. 39), 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-at-ku* (KBo 47.7 obv. 13 (MS)), 3pl.imp.act. *u̯a-at*[*-ku-an-tu*] (KBo 25.122 ii 6 (OS)); 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *u̯a-at-ku-at-ta* (KBo 13.137, 11), *u̯a-at-ku-ut-ta* (KUB 31.111, 5), *u̯a-at-ku-it-ta* (KUB 30.67, 6), 2sg.imp.midd. *u̯a-at-ka$_4$-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (KBo 5.3+ iii 50), *u̯a-at-ga-aḫ-ḫ*[*u-ut*] (KUB 19.24 rev. 31); part. *u̯a-at-ku-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *u̯a-at-ku-u̯a-ar* (KUB 26.12 iv 40, KUB 21.43 iv 8); impf. *u̯a-at-ku-uš-ke/a-* (StBoT 14.16 iv 15 (MH/NS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯atkunu-***^{zi} (Ib2) ‘to make jump, to make flee’ (3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-at-ku-nu-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-at-ku-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-at-ku-nu-ut*, 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-at-ku-nu-e-er*, *u̯a-at-ku-nu-er*).

PIE **uétk^{w}-ti*

This verb is attested quite often, a few times in OS texts already. It shows a stem *u̯atku-* throughout its forms. Only the 2sg.imp.midd.-forms *u̯atkaḫḫut*, *u̯atgaḫḫut* (duplicates of each other) are aberrant, but according to Neu (1968: 195), these forms are modelled after the form *ušgaḫḫut* which precedes in the text. The 3sg.pres.midd. *u̯a-at-ku-it-ta* (or *u̯a-at-ku-et-ta*) is, according to Oettinger (1979a: 337[161]), a rebuilding in analogy to the *-ue*-class.

Oettinger (1979a: 237) convincingly suggests that *u̯atku-* has to be interpreted as /uatk^{w}-/, which is supported by 3sg.pret.act. *u̯atkutta* (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 *u̯a-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^{w}-/ reflects **u̯o-tk^{w}*-, of which the latter part is the zero-grade of the root **tek^{w}*- ‘to walk, to hurry’ (Skt. *tak-* etc.). Melchert (1994a: 95) reconstructs **u̯é/ótk^{w}*-, apparently assuming that **uetk^{w}*-, too, would yield *u̯atk^{w}*- (similarly *takš-*^{zi} ‘to undertake, to unify’ < **teks-*). If so, then *u̯atku-* could reflect **ue-tk^{w}*-, of which the prefix **ue-* possibly is identical to the prefix found in *u̯ete-*^{zi} / *u̯et-* ‘to build’. If *u̯atku-* does not reflect a univerbated verb, however, we have to reckon with a root **uetk^{w}*-, which is structurally comparable to e.g. **h$_2$ed^{h}ǵ^{h}-* (see at *ḫatk-*^{i}) or **tetḱ-* ‘to create’ (although the latter probably goes back to an old reduplication of **teḱ-* ‘to procreate’).

^{GIŠ}***u̯au̯arkima-*** (c.) object in which the door-ax is fixed and turns: nom.sg. *u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-ma-aš*, acc.sg. *u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-ma-an*, dat.-loc.sg. *u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-mi*, abl. *u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-ma-za* (KUB 32.120, 3); uninfl.? *u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-ma* (KUB 17.10 iv 10).

IE cognates: Gr. εἴργω, ἐέργω ‘to enclose, to encompass’, Skt. *vr̥jána-* ‘community, enclosure of a community’.

PIE **h$_1$uorǵ-* ?

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.? 3f.)

(1) [EGIR-*a*]*n-da=ma-a=z* [^{GIŠ}]*u̯a-u̯a-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) [^{MUNUS}]ŠU.GI=*ma ki-iš-ša-an ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi*

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(4) [^{GIŠ}*u̯a-u̯a-*]*ar-ki-ma-aš ta-me-tar-u̯a-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*]

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(6) [*ma-*]*aḫ-ḫa-an=ma-a=š-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}IG ^{GIŠ}*u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-mi ú-e-*[*eḫ-zi i-da-a-lu-uš*]
(7) [U]D-*az ma-ni-in-ku-u̯a-an-za* MU-*za* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-aš kar-pí-iš pa-an-*[*ga-u-u̯a-aš* EME-*aš*]
(8) KASKAL-*az* EGIR-*pa ne-*[*i̯a-ru*]

'She takes a *u̯*. of clay and holds it on his head. The Old Woman conjures as follows. "The powerful[?] *u̯*. [...-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 *u̯*., 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 *u̯au̯arkima-* is added, however:

KBo 12.112 rev.
(11) ... *nu=u̯a-a=š-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}IG GIM-*an*
(12) [^{GIŠ}*u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-mi ú-e-ḫ*]*a-ḳt-ta* DUMU-*la-aš-š=a=u̯a-a=š-ša-an an-ni-i=š-ši*
(13) [*an-da-an QA-TAM-MA*] *ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ru*

'Just as a door turns [in a *u̯*.], [likewise] the child must turn [inside] his mother'.

She also cites

KBo 24.71
(11) [... *ša-*]*ra-a-az-zi u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-mi kat-te-r*[*i* DINGI]R$^{?MEŠ}$ *dan-ku-i da-ga-an-z*[*i-pí* ...]

which would indicate that there was an 'upper' *u̯*.

In my view, we have to interpret *u̯au̯arkima-* 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* ^{d}*Te-li-pí-nu-u̯a-aš kar-pí-iš kar-di-mi-i̯a-az u̯a-aš-du-ul*

(9) *ša-a-u-ar pár-na-an-z=a-at tar-na-ú iš-tar-ni-i̯a-š=a-at an-na-aš-na-an-za*

(10) *tar-na-ú* ^{GIŠ}*lu-ut-ta-an-z=a-at tar-na-ú u̯a-u̯a-ar-ki-ma iš-tar-ni-i̯a-š=a-at*

(11) *ḫi-la-aš tar-na-ú* KÁ.GAL*=at tar-na-ú ḫi-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. *u̯*.. The inner courtyard must let them go. The big gate must let them go. The gatehouse must let them go'.

It is remarkable that *u̯au̯arkima*, 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 *$*h_2$uerg-* (Hitt. *ḫurki-* 'wheel', Skt. *vā́vṛj-*). The assumption is then that the *$*h_2$* is lost in *u̯au̯arkima-* because of the *o*-grade: *$*h_2$uorg-* > **u̯org-* > *u̯ark-*. This connection is not that likely on semantic grounds, however: the *u̯au̯arkima-* did not turn itself, but the door was turning in the *u̯au̯arkima-*.

In my view, other connections are possible as well, e.g. with Gr. ἐέργω, εἴργω 'to enclose, to encompass' (*$*h_1$uerǵ-*): the *u̯au̯arkima-* is, of course, the object in which the door-ax is fixed. Note that a development *$*h_1$uo-* > Hitt. *u̯a-* is supported by e.g. *$*h_1$uorso-* > Hitt. *u̯arša-* 'fog, mist' (cf. § 1.4.5.a).

See Oettinger 2001 for the suffix *-ima-*.

u̯e- ^{zi} ***/ uu̯a-*** (Ic4) 'to come': 1sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-mi* (OS), *ú-u̯a-am-mi* (2x), *ú-u̯a-a-mi* (1x), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-ši* (OS), *ú-u̯a-a-ši* (1x), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ez-zi* (OS, 6x), *ú-ez-zi* (OS, often), *ú-u̯a-az-zi* (rare), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-u-e-ni* (OS), 2pl.pres.act. *ú-u̯a-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), *ú-u̯a-at-te-e-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-en-zi* (OS, later rare), *ú-u̯a-an-zi* (OS, later often), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-nu-un* (MH/MS), *ú-u̯a-a-nu-un* (1x), 2sg.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-aš*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-et* (OS), *ú-et* (OS), *ú-i-it* (KBo 25.123, 4), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-u-en* (OS), 2pl.pret.act. *ú-u̯a-at-tén*, *ú-u̯a-tén*, 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-er* (OS), 2sg.imp.act. *e-ḫu* (q.v.), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-ed-du*, *ú-u̯a-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-at-te-en* (OS), *ú-u̯a-at-tén*, *ú-u̯a-tén*, *ú-et-te-en* (KBo 3.41, 22 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-u̯a-an-du*; part. *ú-u̯a-an-t-*; inf.I *ú-u̯a-u-an-zi* (MH/MS); impf. *ú-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-iš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-iš-ke/a-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***au̯i-*** 'to come' (2sg.pres.act. *a-ú-i-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. *a-ú-i-ti*, *a-u̯i*$_5$*-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-u̯i*$_5$, 3sg.imp.act. *a-ú-i-du*, *a-u̯i*$_5$*-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. ***áwi-*** 'to come' (3sg.pres.act. /ʔawidi/ *á-wa/i-ti* (KARKAMIŠ A5*a* §11, KÜRTÜL §3), *á-wa/i+ra/i* (PALANGA §11), 3sg.pret.act. /ʔawida/ *á-wa/i-tà-´* (SULTANHAN §5), 3sg.(?)pret. "PES"*á-wa/i-tà*, 3pl.imp.act. /ʔawintu/ *á-wa/i-i-tu* (KULULU 1 §13)).

PIE *$*h_2ou$* + *$*h_1$éi-ti / *$*h_1$i-énti*

All forms of this verb are spelled with initial Ú-. Beckman (1983: 34) cites a form *u-u̯a-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-*^{i} / *u-* 'to see' (q.v.), which occasionally is spelled with initial U-. Note that the imperfective of *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-*, 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 *uie-*^{zi} / *uie-* '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 /ʔuɨské/á-/, whereas the latter represents /ʔoiɨské/á-/ > /ʔoɨské/á-/ and, with analogical introduction of the strong stem, /ʔoieske/a-/. Some of the forms of the paradigm of *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* are identical to forms of the paradigm *au-*^{i} / *u-* 'to see' (q.v.). The hapax *ú-i-it* (KBo 25.123, 4) with *-i-* instead of normal *u̯et* is found in a text that contains the equally aberrant *ḫa-an-ti-iz-zi-an* instead of normal *ḫantezzian* (cf. Melchert 1984a: 93).

Synchronically, *u̯e- / uu̯a-* inflects according to class Ic4, verbs in *-uu̯e/a-* (note that the occasional spellings *ú-u̯a-a-mi* and *ú-u̯a-a-ši* may have to be regarded as inflecting according to the *ḫatrae*-class). Usually, these verbs are denominatives in *$*$-i̯e/o-* that are derived from *u*-stem nouns. It is clear that this is not the origin of *u̯e- / uu̯a-*, however. From a semantic point of view, it is obvious that *u̯e- / uu̯a-* is the *u*-counterpart of *pai̯i-*^{zi} / *pai-* 'to go' (q.v.). Just as this latter verb is a compound of the preverb *pe-* (*$*h_1$poi-*) and the root *$*h_1$ei-*, *u̯e-*^{zi} / *uu̯a-* must originally have been a univerbation of the preverb *u-* (*$*h_2$ou-*) and the root *$*h_1$ei-*. Exactly when this univerbation was created is not fully clear. Apparently, it happened at the time that *$*h_2$ou* had already monophthongized to /ʔu/. Moreover, because in *ḫui̯anzi* 'they run' < *$*h_2$uh$_1$iénti* the cluster *$*h_1$i* intervocalically yielded OH *-i̯-*, we must assume that the initial laryngeal of *$*h_1$iénti* 'they go' had already been lost. So, in 3pl.pres.act. the univerbation took place between the elements */ʔu/ and */iánt^{s}i/, which yielded pre-Hitt. */ʔuiánt^{s}i/, which regularly developed into OH /ʔuánt^{s}i/, spelled *ú-u̯a-an-zi*. In 3sg.pres.act. and 3sg.pret.act.,

which were *h_1*éi-ti* and *h_1*éi-t* in PIE, we are dealing with the univerbation of the elements */ʔu/ and */ʔét^{s}i/ and */ʔét/, which formed pre-Hitt. */ʔuʔét^{s}i/ and /ʔuʔét/, which regularly yielded OH /ʔuét^{s}i/, spelled *ú-e-ez-zi* and /ʔuét/, spelled *ú-e-et*. On the basis of /ʔuét^{s}i/ : /ʔuánt^{s}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-u̯a-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_2*ou* and *h_1*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 *au̯i-*, the HLuwian verb *áwa/i-*, which is spelled with the ambiguous sign *wa/i*, must be read *áwi-* as well.

u̯eḫ-^{zi} / u̯aḫ- (Ia3; IIIa > IIIb, IIIh) ‘to turn (oneself); to patrol’: 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-eḫ-mi* (KBo 12.103 i 16 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-eḫ-zi* (OS, very often), *u̯a-aḫ-zi* (KUB 1.13 i 49 (MH/NS)), *u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-zi* (KBo 3.5 iii 4 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-ḫa-an-zi* (OS, very often), *ú-e-ḫa-an-zi* (KBo 11.1 i 33 (NH), KUB 25.37 ii 22 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ḫu-un* (KUB 23.11 ii 13 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-eḫ-ta* (KUB 33.106 iii 46 (NS)), 3sg.imp.act. *ú-e-ḫa-ad-du* (KUB 12.17, 10 (NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *ú-e-ḫa-an-du* (KUB 7.1 ii 34 (OH/NS)); 1sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-aḫ-ḫ*[*a*] (KUB 36.75 iii 18 (OH/MS) (cited by HW: 250 as *u̯eḫaḫḫa*[*ri*], but there is no indication for the sign RI), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-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-ḫa-at-ta-ri* (KUB 33.103 iii 6 (MH/NS), KUB 9.31+ i 12 (NS)), *ú-e-eḫ-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-ḫa-an-ta* (OS), *ú-e-ḫa-an-ta-ri*, *ú-e-ḫa-an-da(-ri)*, 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-at* (KUB 4.1 i 14 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-eḫ-ta-at* (KUB 26.1 iii 18 (NH)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-an-da-at* (KUB 32.68 ii 7 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ru* (KBo 12.112 rev. 10, 13 (NS), KBo 4.6 obv. 15 (NH)), 3pl.imp.midd. *ú-e-ḫa-an-da-ru*; part.nom.sg.c. *u̯a-ḫa-an-za* (KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 iii 62), nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯a-ḫa-a-an* (KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 ii 28); verb.noun *ú-e-ḫu-u̯a-ar*, gen. *ú-e-ḫu-u̯a-aš*; inf.II *ú-e-ḫa-an-na* (KUB 4.1 i 40, KUB 24.2 i 9); impf. *ú-e-ḫe-eš-ke/a-*, *ú-e-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***u̯aḫātar / u̯aḫann-***, ***u̯eḫātar / u̯eḫann-*** (n.) ‘turning’ (gen.sg. *u̯a-ḫa-an-n*[*a-aš*] (KBo 6.29 iii 23, HKM 26 obv. 8 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ḫa-an-na-aš* (KBo 6.28 ii 25)), ***u̯aḫnu-^{zi}*** (Ib2) ‘to make turn, to turn (someone)’ (1sg.pres.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-mi* (OS), *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ú-mi* (OS), 2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ši*, 3sg.pres.act.

u̯a-aḫ-nu-uz-zi (OS), *u̯a-aḫ-nu-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-me-ni* (OS), *u̯a-aḫ-nu-um-me-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ut-te-ni*, 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-u̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *u̯a-aḫ-nu-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ut*, 1pl.pret.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-um-me-en*, 3pl.pret.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-e-er*, *u̯a-aḫ-nu-er*, 2sg.imp.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ut*, 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ud-du*, 2pl.imp.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ut*[*-tén*], 3pl.imp.act. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-u̯a-an-du*; part. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-an-t-*, *u̯a-aḫ-nu-u̯a-an-t-*; verb.noun *u̯a-aḫ-nu-mar*; [*u̯a-*]*aḫ-nu-u̯a-u-u̯a-ar*, *ú-u̯a-aḫ-nu-u̯a-ar* (KBo 3.2 i 66 *passim*); verb.noun *u̯a-aḫ-nu-eš-šar*; inf.I *u̯a-aḫ-nu-ma-an-zi*; impf. *u̯a-aḫ-nu-uš-ke/a-*), ^{LÚ}***u̯eḫešgattalla-*** (c.) 'patrol' (dat.-loc.pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ú-e-ḫe-eš-ga-at-tal-la-aš* (KUB 13.4 iii 12)).

PIE **uéih₂-o* ?

The active forms of this verb show an ablaut *u̯eḫ-*^{zi} */ u̯aḫ-*. Sometimes the verb is cited as *u̯eḫ-/u̯aḫ(ḫ)-* as well, which would imply that there are also forms with *u̯aḫḫ-*. This is not the case, however. The form 1pl.pres. *u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni* (189/v, 3 = KBo 19.110, 3), cited in Oettinger 1979a: 99, has to be read as [*ku-u*]*t-ru-u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-n*[*i*] 'we summon as witness' (cf. Oettinger 2002: XIX). To my knowledge, only the opaque 3sg.pres. *u̯a-aḫ-ḫu-zi* (KBo 3.25 iii 4, in the same context where ibid. iv 18 has *ú-e-eḫ-zi*) and the one attestation *u̯ạ-ạḫ-ḫa-an-na* (KUB 36.80 i 7 (MH/NS), but note that the crucial signs are damaged) (versus many attestations *u̯a-ḫa-an-na*) show a geminate *-ḫḫ-*. These cannot nullify the dozens of attestations of *u̯aḫ-* (many in OS) that are spelled with a single *-ḫ-*.

Consensus has it that *u̯eḫ-*^{zi} */ u̯aḫ-* reflects a Narten-inflected verb **u̯ēh₂- / u̯eh₂-*. E.g. Oettinger (1979a: 99) states: "*ú-e-ih-zi* [..] : *u̯a-ah-hu-u-ẹ-ni* [..] geht auf **u̯é́h₂-ti* : **u̯ǎ́h₂-u̯ene-i* [..] zurück. Schon in der älteren Sprache dringt die Lenierung des *h* (*u̯a-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 *u̯aḫḫ-* attested. We find *u̯aḫanzi* from OS onwards, which contrasts with the fact that the preform **u̯éh₂nti* should regularly have given ***u̯aḫḫanzi*. It therefore is often stated that 3pl. *u̯aḫanzi* took over the lenited *-ḫ-* from the singular (as also Oettinger l.c.), but this is impossible. First, the **h₂* of the singular forms **u̯é́h₂-mi*, **u̯é́h₂-si* and **u̯é́h₂-ti* would not get lenited as it is part of a cluster. Moreover, the **h₂* 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 **u̯eh₂-* would have been ****u̯ēmi*, ***u̯ēḫsi*, ***u̯ēzzi*, ***u̯aḫḫuu̯eni*, ***u̯ātteni*, ***u̯aḫḫanzi* (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 *-ḫ-* could have been generalized in order to yield attested *u̯aḫanzi*.

Moreover, the reconstructed root *$\underline{u}eh_2$- 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 $\underline{u}eḫ$-^{zi} / $\underline{u}aḫ$- can be explained as the outcome of a Narten-inflected paradigm of a PIE root *ueh_2-.

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 $\underline{u}eḫatta(ri)$ as well as $\underline{u}eḫtari$ (compare e.g. *šuppari*, *šuptari* and *šuppattari* 'he sleeps'). On the basis of 1sg.pres.midd. $\underline{u}eḫaḫḫa$ and 3sg.pres.midd. $\underline{u}eḫatta(ri)$ it is certainly possible that the original form was *$\underline{u}eḫa(ri)$. If so, this form could in principle go back to a preform *$ué ih_2$-*o*. Note that in this form the lenited /h/ would be regular. When on the basis of the middle stem *$ueih_2$- > Hitt. $\underline{u}eḫ$- an active paradigm was created, it is in my view quite credible that in analogy to e.g. *eš*-^{zi} / *aš*- 'to be' and the other *e/a*-ablauting *mi*-verbs this paradigm received a secondary ablaut $\underline{u}eḫ$-^{zi} / $\underline{u}aḫ$-.

If this scenario is correct, we should connect the root *$ueih_2$- to Skt. *véti* 'to pursue, to strife after' (compare expecially *vītá*- '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 *$ueih_1$-, with a *h_1 that is based on Gk. ἵεμαι 'to pursue' (< *ϝίεμαι). The exact construction of ἵεμαι 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').

$\underline{u}ekk$-^{zi} (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-*]*ẹ-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-*]*ẹ-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-u̯a-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. ἑκών 'voluntary'.

PIE **ueḱ-ti / *uḱ-énti*

See Oettinger 1979a: 17f. for an overview of forms. Already since Hrozný (1919: 180[6]), this verb is generally regarded as derived from the root **ueḱ-*, also visible in Skt. *vaś-*, Av. *vas-* 'to wish, to want' and Gr. ἑκών (ϝεκών) 'voluntary'. In his description of the leniting rules, Eichner (1973a: 81) assumed that the single *-k-* as visible in forms like 1sg.pret. *u̯ekun* and 3pl.pret *u̯eker* must be the result of a lenition due to a preceding accentuated long vowel: **u̯ḗḱ-*. He therefore reconstructs an acrostatic root present **u̯ḗḱ-ti / *u̯éḱ-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 /u̯ēgzi/ and *ú-e-ek-kán-zi* as /u̯ĕkanzi/ 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 **ueḱ-* has been preserved do not show any traces of an acrostatic inflection (Skt. 3sg. *váṣṭi* : 1pl. *uśmási* and GAv. 3sg. *vaštī* : 1pl. *usəmahī* reflect an ordinary root-present **uéḱ-ti* : **uḱ-mé*), the occurrence of a lenited velar in the paradigm of Hitt. *u̯ekk-*^{zi} is difficult to explain. In the singular forms, where **-ḱ-* allegedly has been lenited due to the preceding long vowel, **ḱ* is always part of a cluster, and clusters do not get lenited: the preforms **uḗḱmi*, **uḗḱsi*, **uḗḱti* therefore would not yield Hitt. /uēg-/, but rather /uēk-/. The only form for which one could argue that **ḱ* could have undergone lenition is 1sg.pret. **uḗḱ-m̥*, 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 *u̯ekk-*.

As we saw above, the other IE languages in which this verb is attested show a normal root-present **uéḱ-ti / *uḱ-énti*. The question is what this paradigm would yield in Hittite. The answer for the singular form is straightforward: PIE **uéḱti* would yield Hitt. /uékt^{s}i/, spelled *ú-e-ek-zi*, which is exactly the form we find in

the texts. The expected outcome of PIE **uḱénti* is more problematic, however. Taken in isolation, the phonetically regular outcome of PIE **uḱénti* 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 *u̯* never alternates with vocalic *u*. I therefore assume that original paradigms in which a full grade **u̯e/oC-* alternated with the zero-grade **uC-*, first the consonantal **u̯-* was generalized, yielding a zero-grade **u̯C-*. The cluster **u̯C-* then was solved in different ways: through the anaptyctic vowel /i̯/ (spelled *-e/i-*) when the following consonant was a stop (cf. also *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-*) or through the anaptyctic vowel /ə/ (spelled *-a-*) when the following consonant was **R*, **ḫ* and **s* (cf. also *u̯ēšš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}). In the case of **uḱénti*, I therefore believe that on the basis of the singular stem **u̯éḱ-*, the original 3pl.pres. **uḱ-énti* was altered to **u̯ḱénti*, the initial cluster of which then was solved as /uɨkánt^{s}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 /uékant^{s}i/, a secondary 3pl.-form in which the full-grade stem of the singular has been generalized. All in all, I assume that Hitt. *u̯ekzi / u̯ekkanzi* ultimately goes back to **uéḱ-ti / *uḱ-énti*.

u̯ēlku- (n.) ‘grass, vegetation’ (Sum. Ú$^{(ḪI.A)}$): nom.-acc.sg. *ú-el-ku* (often), *ú-e-el-ku* (often), *ú-i-el-ku* (KUB 30.53+ ii 7), *ú-el-ku-u̯a-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-u̯a* (KBo 17.61 rev. 19), abl. Ú-*u̯a-az* (KBo 20.19+ i 8, 12), instr. *ú-el-ku-it* (KBo 19.130 i 10); unclear *ú-e-el-ku-u̯a* (KUB 34.60, 9).

IE cognates: Skt. *valśa-* ‘sprout’, OCS *vlasъ* ‘hair’, Russ. *vólos* ‘hair’.

PIE **uélḱ-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 *u̯elku-* and nom.-acc.sg.n. *u̯elkuu̯an* which either is from *u̯elkuu̯a-* (n.) or *u̯elkuu̯ant-*. Eichner (1975b: 158[4]) connects this word with Skt. *valśa-* ‘sprout’, OCS *vlasъ* ‘hair’, Russ. *vólos* ‘hair’, all from **uolḱo-*. If the Hittite word indeed is cognate, it would show **uélḱ-u-*.

u̯ellu- (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.? 7 (OS)), *ú-e-el-lu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 21.47 iii 17, KBo 24.110 iv 7, KBo 23.49 iv 8, KBo 25.109 iii 20), *ú-e-el-u̯a-aš* (KBo 25.109 iii 10), *ú-el-lu-u̯a-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-*u̯a* (KUB 30.19 iv 8), abl. *ú-e-el-lu-u̯a-az* (KBo 23.50 ii 12, KUB 29.4 iii 46), *ú-el-lu-u̯a-az* (KBo 15.29 iii 14), *ú-e̯l-lu̯-u-u̯a-az* (KUB 15.34 i 1), instr. Ú.SAL-*it* (KUB 36.18 iii 27), nom.-acc.pl.n. *ú-e-el-lu-u̯a*[...] (KUB 8.41 ii 16 (OS)).

IE cognates: ?ON *vǫllr* 'meadow, pasture'.

PIE **uélnu-* ?

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-u̯a*[...] (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-u̯a-aš* may have to be emended to *ú-e-el-‹lu-›u̯a-aš*.

The geminate *-ll-* must be the result of an assimilation proces and go back to either **-ln-* or **-lH-*. This means that in principle, *u̯ēllu* only can reflect **uélnu* or **uélHu*.

A possible connection could be made with ON *vǫllr* 'meadow, pasture', which could reflect **uolnu-*. The latter word is usually reconstructed as **u̯alþu-*, 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 *u̯ellu-* reflects **uelnu-*.

u̯emiḭe/a-^{zi} (Ic1) 'to find' (Sum. KAR): 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-az-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-e-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a‹-zi›* (KBo 6.3 iv 27 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-u-e-ni* (HHCTO 4, 7 (MH/MS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-an-zi* (MH/MS), *ú-mi-i̯a-an-zi* (KUB 30.42 iv 23), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-et* (OS), *ú-e-mi-i̯a-at* (MH/MS), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-du*; 3sg.pres.midd.(?) *ú-e-mi-i̯a-at-ta* (KBo 18.50 obv. 11), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-mi-i̯a-at-ta-ru*; inf.I *u̯emiu̯anzi* (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 A15*b* §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. **u̯emi̯e/o-*

This verb is cited by Friedrich (HW: 252) as *u̯emiu̯a-*, *u̯imiu̯a-*, *umiu̯a-*. The stem *u̯imiu̯a-*, however, is found only once in *ú-i-mi-i̯a* (KBo 6.3 iv 27), which is likely to be a spelling mistake (cf. the absence of the ending *-zi*). The stem *umiu̯a-* is found only once as well, in KUB 30.42 iv 23, which form is likely to be emended to *ú-‹e-›mi-i̯a-an-zi*. This form therefore cannot be used as proof for an ablauting stem *u̯em-*, *um-*.

The verb lacks a good etymology. It has been suggested that it consists of a *u-* preverb attached to the root **h$_1$em-* 'to take' (e.g. LIV^2 following Melchert 1994a: 66). Semantically, however, this connection is not very appealing, and formally, we then would expect the existence of a verb **pemi̯e-* 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. *u̯emiu̯e/a-*, it would provide a formal argument against a reconstruction **u* + **h$_1$em-*. The only known Luwian cognate of the Hitt. preverb *u-* is found in HLuw. *awi-* 'to come' and CLuw. *au̯i-* 'id.', showing that Hitt. *u-* ~ Luw. *au̯-*. The HLuw. form *wami-* therefore would not fit a reconstruction **u+h$_1$em-*. We are rather dealing with a genuine PAnat. stem **u̯emi̯e/o-*. A structure **CeC-i̯e/o-* is remarkable in Hittite, and either reflects a verb that is derived from a noun (e.g. *u̯ešiu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to pasture' from *u̯eši- / u̯ešai-* 'pasture' or $^{A.ŠÀ}$*tere/ippiu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to plough' from $^{A.ŠÀ}$*tere/ippi-* 'ploughed field') or a secondary *-i̯e/a*-presens of an original root aorist (e.g. *u̯eriu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to call' from *u̯er-*^{zi}) . 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.

u̯en-^{zi} / uu̯an- (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-u̯a-an-ši-ke-u-en* (KBo 3.60 iii 13 (but cf. Weitenberg 1984: 407-8 who doubts whether this form belongs here)), *ú-u̯a-an-ši-kán-zi* (KUB 31.64 i 7).

IE cognates: Skt. *van^{i}*- ‘to love, to desire’, OHG *wunsc(h)* ‘wish’, OHG *wunsken* ‘to wish’, Lat. *uenus* ‘love, charm’, TochA *wañi* ‘joy’, TochB *wīna* ‘joy’, TochA *winās*- ‘to honour’.

PIE *$*h_{1/3}$uénh$_1$-ti$; *$h_{1/3}unh_1$-sḱé/o-*

Often, this verb is cited as *u̯en(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 *u̯entier* belongs with the other forms of *u̯en-^{zi} / uu̯an-*. I interpret it as a separate verb *u̯entiie/a-^{zi}*.

The verb *u̯en-^{zi} / uu̯an-* is generally connected with Skt. *van^{i}*- ‘to love, to desire’ etc., from a root **uenH-*. If the root-final laryngeal was *$*h_2$ or *$*h_3$, it would have been preserved in a paradigm *$*uenh_{2/3}$-ti$, *$*unh_{2/3}$-enti* (cf. e.g. *u̯alḫzi / u̯alḫanzi* from *$*uélh_3$ti / *$*ulh_3$énti*). I therefore reconstruct *$*uenh_1$-*.

The imperfective should go back to a preform *$*u̯n̥H-sḱé/ó-$ (cf. Skt. *vā́ñchati*). This latter form should regularly give **$**u̯aššike/a-$ (cf. *ḫaššike/a-*, impf. of *ḫanna-^{i} / ḫann-* ‘to sue’ from *$*h_3$nh$_3$-sḱe/o-$), in which form the *-n-* was analogically restored, giving *uu̯anšike/a-*. The spelling with initial *ú-* may indicate that we have to interpret this form phonologically as /ʔuənske/a-/ (cf. *ú-u̯a-a-tar* ‘inspection’ /ʔuā́dr/ < **Hu-ó-tr* vs. *u̯a-a-tar* ‘water’ /uā́dr/ < **uódr*), which would mean that we have to reconstruct *$*h_{1/3}$uenh$_1$-$ (cf. Kloekhorst fthc.c for the view that initial *$*h_3$* merges with the reflex of *$*h_1$-* before consonants in PAnat.). An initial laryngeal would fit the Skt. perfect *vāvan-* < **Hu̯e-Hu̯onH-* perfectly.

-u̯eni / -u̯ani*; *-u̯en (1pl.act.-ending)

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***-unni*** (1pl.pres.act.-ending) Lyd. ***-wv*** (1pl.pres.act.-ending).

In the present, the ending *-u̯eni* 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 *-uu̯- > -um-. Also when the preceding stem consists

of **CH-*, we find *-mēni* (e.g. *tu-me-e-ni* < **dh₃-uéni*). This is not a "Sievers-Edgerton Variant" (Oettinger 1979a: 566[12]; Melchert 1984a: 25), but the regular outcome due to the development **CHuV* > *CumV*. In the oldest texts, we occasionally find a variant *-u̯ani* (e.g. *pa-i-u̯a-ni* (OS), *ḫar-u̯a-ni* (OS), *ak-ku-uš-ke-e-u̯a-ni* (OS)). Melchert (1994a: 138) plausibly argues that *-u̯ani* in origin is the variant of *-u̯eni* that is found when the verbal stem is acentuated and therefore is unaccentuated itself (in these cases /páiuani/, /Háruani/ and /ʔk^{w}skéuani/), whereas *-u̯eni* is the accentuated variant (e.g. *a-tu-e-ni* = /ʔduéni/, *a-ku-e-ni* = /ʔg^{w}uéni/, cf. the plene spelling in e.g. *tu-me-e-ni* (OS), *ú-me-e-ni* (OS)). On the basis of this alternation Melchert assumes a sound law "posttonic **-e-* in open syllable > *-a-*" (cf. § 1.4.9.1.b).

In the preterite, the 1pl.act.-ending is *-u̯en*, which is spelled °*Cu-en* (OS), °*V-u-en* (OS), °*V-ú-en* (MH/MS), °*Cu-e-en* (MH/MS), °*V-u-e-en* (MH/MS), °*Cu-ú-en*, °*Cu-u-en* and °*Cu-u-e-en*. This ending turns up as *-men* after stems in *-u-* as well, spelled *-me-en* (OS) and occasionally *-mé-en* (OS). This ending shows no difference in form when accentuated or not (e.g. *pí-ú-en* = /piuén/ vs. *a-ú-me-en* = /ʔáumen/).

It is difficult to establish the origin of *-u̯eni*. In all other IE languages, the 1pl.act.-endings start in *-m-* (e.g. Skt. *-mas(i)*, *-ma*, Gr. -μεν, -μες, Lat. *-mus*, OCS *-mъ*, Lith. *-me*, Goth. *-m*, *-ma*). Nevertheless, the *-u̯-* of Hittite is supported by CLuw. *-unni* and Lyd. *-wv*. It has been suggested that formally we should rather compare *-u̯eni* with the 1dualis-ending as found in some other IE languages: Skt. *-vas*, *-va*, Av. *-uuahi*, *-uua*, OCS *-vě*, Lith. *-va*, Goth. *-u*, *-wa*.

u̯entiḭe/a-^{zi} (Ic1) '?': 3pl.pret.act. *ú-e-en-ti-er*.

This verb is hapax in the following context:

KUB 5.9 ii

(40) *n=a-aš nam-ma u̯a*[- x - x - x - x - x - x -]*ma A+NA* ^{LÚ}SANGA$^{UT\text{-}TI}$[$^{M?}$]

(41) [.]x-*ru* BA.ÚŠ *nu=u̯a=za* x[- x - x - x - x - x -]x-*at nu=u̯a-r=a-aš=kán* ŠÀ É ^{d}[x]

(42) [x-]*i-i̯a-at-ta nu=u̯a* UD.KA[M x - x -]x *pí-eš-ke-er*

(43) [*n*]*u*$^{?}$ MUNUS$^{TUM?}$-*u̯a-at* EN^{TIM} *ú-e-en-ti-er*

The context is too unclear to translate, and the meaning of *ú-e-en-ti-er* therefore remains unclear as well. Often, it is regarded as belonging with the verb *u̯en-*^{zi} / *uu̯an-* 'to copulate', but I do not see any semantical reason for it. Formally, *ú-e-en-ti-er* rather seems to belong to a further unattested verb *u̯entiḭe/a-*^{zi}.

u̯ep-^{zi} (Ib1) ‘to weave(?)’: 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-ep-ta* (NS).

Derivatives: ***u̯epa-*** (c.) ‘woven fabric (?)’ (acc.pl. *ú-e-pu-uš*).

IE cognates: Skt. *vabh-* ‘to bind, to fetter’, Gr. ὑφαίνω ‘to weave’, Myc. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = ἐϝεψησόμενα (fut.part.) ‘which will be woven’, OHG *weban* ‘to weave’, TochA *wäp-*, TochB *wāp-* ‘to weave’.

PIE **(h$_1$)ueb^h-ti* ?

Hapax in the following context:

KBo 42.6 obv.?

(9) [...]x-*ni ú-e-pu-uš ú-e-ep-ta nu=mu* TÚG-*an=mi-i*[*t* ...]

‘[...] he *u̯ep*-ed *u̯ep*-s and [...] me my clothing’.

According to Neu (1998: 59[17]), it is possible that this figura etymologica has to be interpreted as “Webstücke webte er / sie” and reflects PIE **ueb^h-* ‘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* = ἐϝεψησόμενα points to a present *ἐϝέψω < **h$_1$ueb^h-s-*, which would show that the root in fact was **h$_1$ueb^h-*.

GIŠ***u̯era-***, ***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 GIŠ*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^{MEŠ} É.GAL=*ma=kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az QA-DU* GIŠ*ú-e-ra-an*

(15) 1 DUG*KU-KU-UB* GEŠTIN=*i̯a ú-da-an-zi* GIŠ*ú-e-ri=ma-a=š-ša-an*

(16) *še-er* 7 NINDA.ḪUR(sic).RA SIG *me-ma-al ip-pí-i̯a-an-za* GIŠ*te-pa-aš-š=a*[ ]

(17) [*k*]*i-it-ta-ri n=a-at* GIŠAB-*i̯a-aš pé-ra-an da-a-i*

‘The palace servants bring down from the roof a *u̯era-* together with a jug of wine. Upon the *u̯era-*, 7 thin thickbreads, meal, a vine and a spoon? 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.

u̯er(iḭe/a)-^{zi} (Ib1 / Ic1) 'to call, to name, to summon': 2sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-ši* (KUB 21.5 + KBo 19.74 iii 11), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-az-zi*, *ú-e-ri-az-zi*, *ú-e-ri-e*[*z*]-*zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-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-i̯a-at-tén* (KUB 17.31, 17); 2sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-at-ta-ti* (KUB 6.41 iii 61), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-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-i̯a-at-ta-at* (KUB 23.1+ iii 7), 2sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-ri-i̯a-ḫu-ut* (KUB 31.68, 46); part. *ú-e-ra-an-za* (HKM 7 obv. 10 (MH/MS)), *ú-e-ri-i̯a-an-t-*; impf. *ú-e-ri-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***u̯eriḭanna-***^{i} **/ *u̯eriḭanni-*** (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 *=u̯a(r)=* and *u̯erite-*^{zi} */ u̯erit-*.

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***u̯er-*** 'to say, to call' (3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-er-ti*).

IE cognates: Gr. εἴρω 'to speak'.

PIE **uérh$_1$-t*, **urh$_1$-i̯é-ti*

This verb is virtually consistantly spelled *ú-e-ri-* and is a clear example of the *-i̯e/a*-inflection. It is remarkable, however, that we once find a participle *u̯erant-* without the *-i̯e/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 *-i̯e/a-* is found in a participle fits will 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 *-i̯e/a*-stem in present-forms. According to Melchert, this reflects the original opposition between an old root-aorist vs. *-i̯e/o*-present (see at *karp(iḭe/a)-*^{zi} for a more detailed treatment of this view).

According to Oettinger (1979a: 344), *u̯eriḭe/a-*^{zi} must be connected with Gr. εἴρω 'to speak' and reconstructed as **u̯erh$_1$-i̯e/o-*, a view which is generally accepted. This means that we must assume that originally we are dealing with a root-aorist **uérh$_1$-t / *urh$_1$-ént* besides a *-i̯e/o*-present **urh$_1$-i̯é-ti*. Because of the tendency to avoid an ablaut pair *u̯e- / u-*, the full-grade was generalized throughout the paradigm of the aorist (attested as *u̯erant-*) and also taken over into the *-i̯e/a*-present (*u̯eriḭe/a-*). The only Anatolian cognate, Pal. 3sg.pres.act. *u̯erti*, may show that here the aorist-stem was generalized in disfavour of the *-i̯e/o*-present.

Note that the impf. *u̯eriške/a-* does not reflect **u̯eriu̯e-ske/a-* vel sim., but rather /ueriské/á-/, the regular outcome of **uerh$_1$-ské/ó-* (of course replacing original **urh$_1$-ské/ó-*).

u̯erite-*^{zi} / *u̯erit- (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. *u̯a-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: ***u̯eritema-*** (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*), ***u̯eritēšš-*^{zi}** (Ib2) 'to fear, to be frightened' (part. *ú-e-ri-te-iš-ša-an-t-* (KUB 14.7 i 11)), ***u̯eritanu-*^{zi}**, ***u̯eritenu-*^{zi}** (Ib2) 'to scare' (3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-ri-da-nu-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 **u̯(e)rh$_1$-i-* + **d^{h}eh$_1$-* ?

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 *u̯a-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 *u̯erite-* (*ú-e-ri-ti-iz*[*-zi*], *ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta* and *u̯eritema-*) besides a stem *u̯e/arit-* (*ú-e-ri-iz-za-aš-ti* /ueritsti/, *u̯aritanzi*, *ú-e-ri-ta*[*-an-zi*] and *u̯eridanu-*) reminds of verbs like *peḫute-*^{zi} */ peḫut-*, *uu̯ate-*^{zi} */ uu̯at-* and *u̯ete-*^{zi} */ u̯et-*. These verbs all can probably be traced back to the root **d^{h}eh$_1$-* 'to put' preceded by several univerbated elements. Therefore, it is likely that *u̯e/arite-*^{zi} */ u̯e/arit-* also consists of *u̯e/ari-* + **d^{h}eh$_1$-*. This view is also advocated by Oettinger (2001: 467), who analyses the verb as **u̯eri-dē-* 'zur Verehrung setzen', apparently connecting the first element with *u̯er(iu̯e/a)-*^{zi} '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 *u̯ari-* may show a zero-grade formation **u̯rh$_1$-i-* besides the *e*-grade in *u̯eriu̯e/a-* < **uerh$_1$-i̯e/o-*, in analogy to which *e*-grade was introduced in *u̯arit(e)-* >> *u̯erit(e)-* after the OH period.

u̯ēš / 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. ***ānza*** ‘we, us’ (dat.-acc. *an-za*, *a-an-za*, *an-za-aš*); HLuw. ***anz-*** ‘we, us’ (nom. /ant^{s}unt^{s}/(?) (*a-zu$^{?}$-za*, *a-zu$^{?}$-´-za*, *á-zu$^{?}$-´-za*), gen.adj.dat.-loc.sg. *á-zu$^{?}$-sa$_{7}$-na*), /ant^{s}-/ ‘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*, *əhma-* Goth. *weis*, *uns-* ‘we, us’, TochA *was*, TochB *wes* ‘we’, Gr. ἄμμε ‘us’, etc.

PIE **uei-(e)s*, **n̥s-*

See chapter 2.1 for a treatment of these words.

u̯ešš-^{tta}*; *u̯ašše/a-^{zi} (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-eš-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)), *u̯a-aš-ša-an-da* (?) (KBo 39.8 i 27 (MH/MS)), 1sg.pret.midd. *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ḫa-at* (KUB 24.5+ rev. 15 (NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-at-ta-ru* (KUB 33.98 iii 19 (NS)); 2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-ạš-ša-ši* (KUB 33.54, 14 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-ša-a-ši* (KUB 12.58 iii 36 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-ši* (KUB 31.69 obv. 5 (fr.), 6 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *u̯a-aš-še-e*[*z-zi*] (KBo 20.18 + KBo 25.65 rev. 3 (OS)), *u̯a-aš-še-ez-zi* (KBo 13.137, 9 (OH/NS), KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 i 54 (NS)), [*u̯a-aš-š*]*e-ez-zi* (KUB 20.4 i 10 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-ez-zi* (KBo 17.61 obv. 21 (MH/MS), KUB 34.76 i 2 (OH/NS), KUB 15.3 iv 8 (NH)), *u̯a-aš-ši-e-ez-zi* (KUB 2.6 iv 5 (OH/NS), KBo 6.26 iv 13 (OH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-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)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-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)), [*u̯a-aš-*]*šạ-iz-zi* (KUB 29.57, 2 (MH/NS)), [*u̯*]*a-aš-ši-i̯a-iz-zi* (KBo 15.7, 13 (NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *u̯a-aš-ša-u-e-ni* (KBo 32.15 ii 12 (MS)), *u̯a-aš-šu-ú-e-ni* (KUB 9.17,

20 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-šu-u-e-ni* (KUB 15.3 iv 12 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *u̯a-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. *u̯a-aš-ša-an-ti* (KUB 1.11 iii 3 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯*[*a-an-zi*] (KBo 8.52 i 45 (MH/MS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-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.? 19 (NS)), *ú-e-eš-ša-an-zi* (KUB 29.44 iii 13 (MH/MS), IBoT 2.92, 6 (NS)), *ú-e-eš-ši-i̯a-an-zi* (KBo 12.114 obv. 13 (NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-nu-un* (KUB 24.5 i 21 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-nu-un* (NH, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 300), 3sg.pret.act. *u̯a-aš-ta* (KUB 13.9+ ii 4 (MH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-at* (KBo 4.6 rev. 13 (NH)), *u̯a-aš-ši-*[*e-*]*et* (NH, cf. Oettinger 1979a: 300), 2sg.imp.act. *ú-e-eš-ši-i̯a* (KBo 2.9 i 29 (MH/NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯*[*a*] (KUB 26.25 ii 7 (NH)), 3sg.imp.act. *u̯a-aš-ši-i̯a-a*[*d-d*]*u*? (KUB 17.8 iv 18 (NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-e-eš-tén* (KUB 13.5 iii 32 (OH/NS)), 3pl.imp.act. *u̯a-aš-ša-an-du* (KBo 6.34 ii 50 (MH/NS), KUB 7.59 ii 14 (fr.) (MH/NS)); part. *u̯a-aš-ša-an-t-* (MH/MS), *u̯a-ša-a-an-t-* (KUB 7.53+ iv 15, 17 (NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *u̯a-aš-šu-u̯a-aš* (KBo 34.64, 5 (NS)); inf.I *u̯a-aš-šu-an-zi* (KUB 12.19 iii 21 (OH/MS)), *u̯a-aš-šu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB 2.5 ii 22 (NS), KUB 31.69 obv.? 8 (NS), KUB 55.54 obv. 12 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-šu-u̯a-an-ti* (KUB 25.1 iii 46 (NS)); sup. *u̯a-aš-šu-u-u̯a-an* (KUB 31.69 obv.? 9, 10); impf. *u̯a-aš-še-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 24.7 ii 9 (NS)), *u̯a-aš-ši-iš-ke/a-* (KUB 26.25 ii 7 (NH), KUB 22.70 rev. 31 (fr.) (NH)), [*u̯*]*a-aš-ši-ke/a-* (KUB 36.10 iii 11 (NS)).

Derivatives: see *u̯ašpa-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯aššˉ*** 'to wear' (3pl.pres.midd. *u̯a-aš-ša-an-ta-ri*).

IE cognates: Skt. *váste* 'to be clothed', GAv. *vastē* 'to be clothed', Gr. εἵται 'to wear', Goth. *wasjan* 'to clothe', Lat. *vestis* 'garment'.

PIE **ués-to*; **us-i̯é-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. *u̯ešta* (OH/NS), 3pl. *u̯ešša̯nda* (OS). The forms *u̯aššiia̯ha̯ha̯at* and *u̯aššiiattaru* (both NS) must be secondary rebuildings in analogy to the active stem *u̯aššiie/a-*^{zi}, whereas *u̯aššanda*, according to Eichner (1969: 14), is influenced by CLuw. *u̯aššandari*.

The active paradigm shows quite a lot of different stems. The only OS form is found in 3sg. *u̯a-aš-še-e*[*z-zi*] that shows a stem *u̯ašše-*. 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 *u̯aššiu̯e/a-*^{zi}. In the plural, the oldest forms are 1pl. *u̯aššau̯eni* (MS) and 3pl. *u̯aššanzi* (MH/MS and OH/NS). The latter form turns up as *u̯aššiu̯anzi* in younger texts (once in a (hippological) MH/MS-text, further in NS texts). In NS texts, we occasionally find a stem *u̯aššae-*^{zi} (2sg.pres.act. *u̯a-aš-ša(-a)-ši*, 3sg.pres.act. [*u̯aš*]*šaizzi* and possibly some of the NS instances of *u̯aššanzi*) and *u̯aššiu̯ae-*^{zi} ([*u̯*]*aššiu̯aizzi*), both according to the productive *ḫatrae*-class. The NS forms *u̯aššuu̯eni* probably are back-formed on 3pl.pres.act. *u̯aššanzi*, which was re-analysed as *u̯ašš-anzi*. The occasional usage of the *e*-vowel in the active (*u̯eššanzi* once in a (hippological) MH/MS-text, further only in NS texts (*u̯eššiu̯a-*)), are clearly secondary formations in analogy to the middle paradigm. All in all, we have to conclude that the oldest inflection was middle *u̯ešš-*^{tta} besides active *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}.

Eichner shows that the middle forms virtually always denote '(intr.) to be dressed; (trans.) to wear (something)'. With this meaning, *u̯ešta* has to be equated with Skt. *váste* 'wears', GAv. *vastē* 'wears' and Gr. εἶται, ἕσται 'wears' that reflect **ués-to*. In 3pl.pres.midd. *u̯eššanta* ~ Skt. *vásate*, Gr. εἶνται < **ués-nto*, the **s* probably was geminated due to contact with *-n-* (cf. *keššar* 'hand' < **ǵ*^{h}*és-r*).

The interpretation of the active forms has caused much debate, however. Eichner (l.c.: 31f.) points to the semantic correspondence between *u̯aššezzi*, *u̯aššiu̯ezzi* 'he dresses someone' and the causative building **uos-éie-ti* as visible in Skt. *vāsáyati* 'he clothes (someone)', Goth *wasjan* 'to dress' and assumes that *u̯aššiu̯ezzi* directly reflects **uos-éie-ti* and *u̯aššiu̯anzi* < **uos-éio-nti*. Oettinger (1979a: 304) points to the fact that the oldest active forms are *u̯aššezzi*, *u̯aššanzi* 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 *u̯aššezzi* and *u̯aššanzi* 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. *u̯ēš*), I am not sure if **-eionti* would yield Hitt. *-anzi*. When we compare ^{LÚ}*patte(i)ant-* 'fugitive' < **pth*$_1$*-ei-ent-* (see under *pattai-*^{i} */ 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[64]). 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-*$^{a(ri)}$

besides *eš-*^{zi} / *aš-*; *nē-*^{ari} besides *nai-*^{i} / **ni-*. In other cases, we find that the middle shows an unextended form, but the active is *-i̯e/o-*derived: *ḫuett-*$^{(tt)a(ri)}$ besides *ḫuttii̯e/a-*^{zi}; *ḫatt-*^{a} besides *ḫazzii̯e/a-*^{zi}. These last verb show a formation **CéC-(t)o* besides *CC-i̯é-ti*. For the root **ues-*, we could therefore expect a system in which the middle uses the unextended root, **ués-to*, whereas the active shows the *-i̯e/o-*extended stem **us-i̯é-ti*. As I have argued in Kloekhorst fthc.b, Hittite did not allow an alternation *#u̯V-* vs. *#uC*. In these cases, **#uC-* was analogically altered to **u̯C-* and this initial cluster then had to be solved by an epenthetic vowel. If the following consonant was a stop, the epenthetic vowel was /ɨ/ (e.g. *u̯iden-* 'water' /uɨdén-/ << **ud-én-*; *u̯ekkanzi* /uɨkántˢi/ << **uḱénti*). In this case, I think that on the basis of **u̯esto*, **usi̯e/o-* was altered to **u̯si̯e/o-*, which was realized as /uəsie/a-/. In my view, this /uəsie/o-/ then underwent the sound law **VsiV* > *VššV* (for this development, cf. § 1.4.4.2 and the suffix *-ašša-* < **-osi̯o-*). So, in my view, **usiéti*, **usiónti* first became */uəsiéti/, /uəsiónti/, which then regularly yielded /uəSétˢi/, /uəSántˢi/, spelled *u̯aššezzi*, *u̯aššanzi*. Already in MH times, the *-i̯e/a-* suffix was restored, yielding secondary *u̯aššii̯ezzi*, *u̯aššii̯anzi*.

GIŠ***u̯eššar***: see GIŠ*u̯ieššar*

u̯eši- / u̯ešai- (c.) 'pasture': nom.sg. *ú-e-ši-iš* (KBo 1.45 rev.! 13), acc.sg. *ú-e-ši-in* (KUB 29.29, 8 (OS)), KUB 7.60 iii 29 (NS)), *ú-e-še-in* (KUB 7.60 iii 24 (NS)), gen.sg. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-ša-i* (KBo 12.3 iv 6 (OH/NS)), *ú-e-ši* (KBo 12.73, 3 (NS)), abl. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-az*, nom.pl. *ú-e-še-eš* (KBo 32.14 ii 27, 28 (MS)), *ú-e-ša-e-eš* (KUB 17.10 i 17 (OH/MS)), acc.pl. *ú-e-ša-uš* (KUB 31.64 iv 7 (OH/NS)), dat.-loc.pl. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-aš* (KBo 32.14 ii 29 (MS)).

Derivatives: ***u̯ešii̯e/a-***$^{tta(ri)}$ (IIIg) 'to pasture (trans.); to pasture (intr.), to graze' (1sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (KBo 32.14 ii 6 (MS)), 2sg.pres.midd. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-at-ta* (KUB 31.84 iii 56 (MH/NS)), 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-ši-e-et-ta* (KBo 17.23 obv. 4 (OS)), *ú-e-ši-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (KUB 26.19 ii 33 (MH/MS), KBo 32.14 ii 27 (MS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *ú-e-ši-i̯a-an-da-ri* (KUB 26.19 ii 18 (MH/MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-še-i̯a-at-ta* (KUB 29.1 i 33 (OH/NS)), *ú-e-ši-et-ta-at* (KUB 29.1 i 32 (OH/NS)), 3sg.imp.midd. *ú-e-ši-et-ta-ru* (KUB 57.63 ii 14 (NS)); 3sg.imp.act. *ú-‹e-›še-ed-du* (KUB 30.24 ii 4 (OH/NS)); verb.noun gen.sg. *ú-e-ši-i̯*[*a-u*]*-u̯a-aš* (KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33 i 6 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-ši-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš* (KBo 3.4 iii 72 (NH)); impf. *ú-e-še-eš-ke/a-*), see also *u̯ēštara-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *fess* 'food' < **ues-teh₂-*, ON *vist* 'nutricion' < **ues-ti-*, TochA *wäsri* 'pasture' < **ues-ri-*, Av. *vāstra-* n. 'pasture', *vāstar-* m. 'herd', Lat. *vēscor* 'to feed oneself'.

PIE **ues-i- / *us-ei-*

Friedrich (HW: 253) states that this noun actually reflects a diphthong stem **u̯ešai-* (apparently because of e.g. nom.pl. *u̯ešaēš* and acc.pl. *u̯ešauš*), but this is not necessary if one compares e.g. the noun *ḫeu̯-* / *ḫeu̯au-* 'rain', in the paradigm of which an ablauting stem *ḫeu̯au-* can be encountered as well. This means that we have to assume an ablauting paradigm **ués-i- / *us-éi-*, in which the full grade was generalized. The verb *u̯ešiu̯e/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 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 *-u̯e/o-*derived verb (that go back to PIE **CC-u̯é/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^2 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[3]) derives *u̯eši-* from **ueis-* 'to flourish' (Lat. *vireō* 'to flourish'), but the inner-Hittite connection with *u̯ešiu̯e/a-* 'to pasture' and *u̯ēštara-* 'herd' in my view clearly point to the root **ues-* 'to pasture, to feed'.

u̯ešši̯u̯e/a-^{zi}: see *u̯ešš-*^{tta}; *u̯aššе/a-*^{zi}

u̯ēštara- (c.) 'herd' (Sum. ^{LÚ}SIPA): nom.sg. *ú-e-eš-ta-ra-aš* (KUB 6.46 iii 52).

Derivatives: see also *u̯eši-* / *u̯ešai-*.

IE cognates: Av. *vāstar-* 'herd'.

PIE **ues-tr-*

This word is hapax in the following context:

KUB 6.46 iii
(52) ^{d}UTU *ŠA-ME-E* EN=*Ia ŠA* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU-*ut-ti ú-e-eš-ta-ra-aš*

//
KUB 6.45 iii
(13) ^{d}[(UT)]U *ŠA-ME-E* EN=*Ia ŠA* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU ^{LÚ}SIPA-*aš*

'Sun-god of Heaven, My Lord, you are the herd of mankind'.

It clearly belongs with *u̯eši- / u̯ešai-* 'pasture' (q.v.), and has a direct cognate in Av. *vāstar-* 'herd' < **ues-ter-*. The Hittite form probably shows a thematization **ués-tro-*.

u̯ešurii̯e/a-^{zi}: see *u̯išurii̯e/a-*^{zi}

u̯ešuu̯ae-^{zi} (Ic2) '?': 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-šu-u̯a-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*$_{17}$ *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* ^{d}UTU-*i*]

(13) *an-da ú-e-šu-u̯a-a-an-zi ši-i-na-aš=m=a-an ṬUP-PA*$^{\text{I}\underline{\text{I}}\text{I.A}}$ GIM-*an* [(*ki-it-ta-ri*)]

(14) *ši-e-na-aš=kán tup-pí-aš me-mi-i̯a-nu-uš an-da me-mi-i̯a-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 u̯*. 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 *u̯ešuu̯ānzi* cannot be determined. Formally, the form seems to belong with a stem *u̯ešuu̯ae-*^{zi}. Tischler (HH: 201) translates this verb as "mit Kleidern versehen(?)", but this is clearly based on the supposed formal connection with *u̯ešš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi} 'to clothe' (q.v.). In my vies, such a connection cannot be proven semantically and is formally unlikely because of the single *-š-* in *u̯ešuu̯ae-* vs. the consistent geminate *-šš-* of *u̯ešš-*^{tta}, *u̯ašše/a-*^{zi}.

u̯ett-: see *u̯itt-*

u̯eda-^{i}: 'to bring (here)': see *u̯edae-*^{zi}

u̯eda-^{i}: 'to build': see *u̯ete-*^{zi} / *u̯et-*

u̯edae-^{zi} (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-aḫ-ḫu-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 *u̯et(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^{h}-o-i̯e/o-*

The oldest forms of this verb show that it originally inflected according to the *ḫatrae*-class: 1sg.pres.act. *u̯idāmi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *u̯edāši* (OH/NS), 3sg.pres.act. *u̯idāezzi* (OH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *u̯edāu̯eni* (MH/NS), 2pl.pres.act. *u̯itatteni* (MH/MS) and 3pl.pres.act. *u̯edanzi* (OH/NS), and I therefore cite the verb as *u̯edae-^{zi}*. It is almost identical in meaning to the *ḫi*-verb *uda-^{i} / ud-* 'to bring (here)' (*udaḫḫi*, *udatti*, *udai*, *udumēni*, *udatteni*, *udanzi*, q.v.), which it formally resembles as well. This explains the rise of *ḫi*-inflected forms within the paradigm of *u̯edae-* in NH times (e.g. 3sg.pres.act. *u̯edai* (NS), 1sg.pret.act. *u̯edaḫḫun* (NH), inf.I *u̯idumanzi* in analogy to *udai*, *udaḫḫun* and *utumanzi*).

Verbs that belong to the *ḫatrae*-class are derived from **o*-stem nouns. In this case, *u̯edae-^{zi}* must be derived from a further unattested noun **u̯eda-*. Oettinger (1979a: 374) connects this form to the PIE root **ued^{h}-* 'to carry', which is satisfactory from a formal as well as semantical side. We therefore have to reconstruct **u̯ed^{h}-o-i̯e/o-*. The occasional spellings with *-i-* are probably due to the development **u̯eT* > *u̯iT* (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262 and § 1.4.9.1).

u̯ete-^{zi} / u̯et- (Ia1 > IIa1γ) 'to build': 1sg.pres.act. *ú-i-te-mi* (Oettinger 1979a: 129), *ú-e-da-aḫ-ḫi* (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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 12.38 ii 17 (NH)), *ú-e-tu$_{4}$-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 *u̯edae-*)), 1pl.pret.act. *ú-e-tu$_{4}$-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$_{4}$-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: ***u̯etumeššar / u̯etumešn-*** (n.) 'building' (abl. *ú-e-tu$_4$-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 **u̯e+ d^{h}eh$_1$- / d^{h}h$_1$-*

In the older texts we find the forms *u̯etezzi*, *u̯edanzi*, *u̯etenun*, *u̯etet*, *u̯edant-*, *u̯edumanzi*, which all point to an ablauting stem *u̯ete-^{zi} / u̯et-*, comparable to *tē-^{zi}* and especially *peḫute-^{zi} / peḫut-*. 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 *u̯eda-^{i} / u̯et-* (e.g. *u̯edaḫḫun*). These were secondarily created in analogy to the verb *u̯edae-^{zi}* 'to bring (here)' (which itself by that time had undergone secondary alteration to *u̯eda-^{i} / u̯et-* in analogy to the verb *uda-^{i} / ud-* 'to bring here') on the basis of the identical form for 3pl.pres.act., which is *u̯edanzi* in both the paradigm of *u̯ete-/u̯et-* and *u̯edae-*.

Within Anatolian, the verb *u̯ete-/u̯et-* has been compared with the Palaic verb *u̯ite/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 **u̯edē-*. If so, then we are dealing with a PAnat. verb **u̯ed(ē)-*.

It is very likely that **u̯ed(ē)-* is the result of a univerbation of the verb **d^{h}eh$_1$-* 'to put' with an element **u̯e-*. The origin and meaning of this element **u̯e-* remain unclear, however.

u̯eu̯akk-^{i} (IIb) 'to demand, to ask': 1sg.pres.act. *ú-e-u̯a-ak-mi* (KBo 53.19, 6 (MS?)), 3sg.pres.act. *ú-e-u̯a-ak-ki* (KBo 5.2 i 52 (MH/NS), KBo 10.7 i 9 (fr.) (OH/NS)), *ú-e-u̯a-ak-k*[*i* (?)] (KUB 14.1 rev. 88 (MH/MS), cited by Oettinger 1979a: 432 as *ú-e-u̯a-ak-ta*), *ú-‹e-›u̯a-ak-ki-ez-zi* (KUB 14.4 iii 20 (NH)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-u̯a-ag-ga-an-zi* (KUB 9.34 ii 37 (MH/NS)), *ú-e-u̯a-kán-zi* (KUB 9.34 ii 37 (MH/NS)), 1sg.pret.act. *ú-e-u̯a-ak-ki-nu-un* (KBo 3.4 ii 11 (NH)), 3sg.pret.act. *ú-e-u̯a-ak-ta* (KUB 43.23 rev. 12 (OH/MS)), *ú-e-u̯a-ki-et* (KUB 12.60 i 20 (OH?/NS)), 2pl.imp.act. *ú-i-u̯a-ak-‹‹te-››-tén* (KUB 15.34 iii 40 (MH/MS)); unclear: *ú-e-u̯a-ak-u-i* (KBo 4.2 iii 39 (NH), to be read as *ú-e-u̯a-ak-ki*$^{!}$?).

PIE **ué-uoḱ-ei*

This verb clearly functions as a sort of iterative/intensive of the verb *u̯ekk-*^{zi} 'to wish, to desire, to ask for'. This is especially indicated by the fact that 1sg.pret.act. *u̯eu̯akkinun* (KBo 3.4 ii 11) is duplicated by the impf. *u̯ekiškenun* (KBo 16.1 iii 9).

Already in older texts we find *mi*-forms besides *ḫi*-forms (e.g. 1sg.pres.act. *u̯eu̯akmi* (MS) besides 3sg.pres.act. *u̯eu̯akki* (MH/NS, OH/NS)). It is nevertheless likely that the verb originally was *ḫi*-conjugated, which would better explain the *-a*-vocalism (*ué-uok-e-i*). Compare e.g. *āk-*^{i} / *akk-* 'to die', which also shows *mi*-inflected forms in MS texts already. In younger times we find a *mi*-conjugated stem *u̯eu̯akkiie/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-uoḱ-e-i* looks like the PIE perfect of **ueḱ-*, but semantically, it does not function as such. The verb *u̯eu̯akk-* 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 *u̯eu̯akk-* is seen as reflecting a PIE perfect (or the 3sg.pret.-form *u̯eu̯akta* as reflecting a PIE pluperfect, cf. e.g. Jassanoff 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 **ué-uoḱ-* / **ué-uḱ-* was *u̯eu̯akk-* / ***u̯ūk-*, which showed an alternation that was too aberrant to be preserved. The strong stem then was generalized throughout the paradigm.

See *u̯ekk-*^{zi} for further etymology.

u̯ez(za)pant-: see *u̯izzapant-*

u̯i (interjection) 'whee': *ú-i* (e.g. KUB 55.38 ii 19).

An onomatopoetic interjection, e.g. in KUB 55.38 ii (19) *ú-i ú-i ḫal-zi-eš-ša-an-zi* 'they cry *u̯i u̯i*', which may be the source of the verb *u̯ai-*^{i} / *u̯i-* 'to cry' (q.v.).

u̯iia-^{zi} 'to cry (out)': see *u̯ai-*^{i} / *u̯i-*

u̯iia̯n- (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. *u̯i*$_5$-*ia̯-na-aš* (KUB 56.50 ii 5), GEŠTIN-*aš* (OS), instr. GEŠTIN-*it*.

Derivatives: $^{(d)}$***Ú̯iniia̯nt-*** (c.) ‘wine (deified)’ (acc.sg. *ú-i-ni-ia̯-an-ta-an* (KUB 55.56 iv 16), *ú-i-ni-ia̯-an-da-an* (KUB 25.37 iii 17, 19)).

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯iniia̯-*** (adj.) ‘of wine’ (coll.pl. *ú-i-ni-ia̯*); HLuw. ***wiia̯na/i-***, ***wina/i-*** (c.) ‘vine’ (nom.sg.c. /wianis/ $^{\text{“VITIS”}}$*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/ ^{VITIS}*wa/i-ni-na* (KÖRKÜN §11), case? *wa/i-ia-ni-*[x]-*i* (KULULU 1 §8)).

IE cognates: Gr. οἶνος, ϝοῖνος ‘wine’, Lat. *vīnum* ‘wine’, *vītis* ‘vine’, Arm. *gini* ‘wine’, Alb. *vẽnë* ‘wine’

PIE **uih$_1$-on-*

This word is usually written with the sumerogram GEŠTIN, which sign can be read phonetically as *u̯i*$_5$ as well, however. This makes it difficult to decide whether we should read the form GEŠTIN-*ia̯-na-aš* (KUB 56.50 ii 5) sumerographically or phonetically as *u̯i*$_5$-*ia̯-na-aš*. The latter reading is attractive in view of HLuw. *wiia̯na/i-* ‘vine’. Moreover, it is likely that the sign GEŠTIN only received the phonetic value *u̯i*$_5$ because of the fact that the ‘wine’-word started in *u̯i-*.

See Beekes (1987) for an extensive treatment of the IE cognates of this word and for the reconstruction **uih$_1$-on-o-*. Note, however, that in the oldest stages of Hittite there is no proof of a thematicized stem *uih$_1$-on-o-* (unlike in HLuwian), on the basis of which I assume that in Hittite we are dealing with an *-n-*stem **uih$_1$-on-* > *u̯iia̯n-*. The nom.sg.-form GEŠTIN-*iš*, which is found in a NS text, could easily be influenced by the Luwian stem *u̯iia̯na/i-*.

u̯iia̯e/a-^{zi} ‘to cry (out)’: see *u̯ai-*^{i} / *u̯i-*

u̯iia̯e/a-^{zi} ‘to send (here)’: see *ui̯e-*^{zi} / *ui̯-*

^{GIŠ}***u̯ieššar*** (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 ^{GIŠ}*ueššar*, but the spelling actually points to *u̯ieššar*. The meaning cannot be determined. Formally, it could be regarded as a derivative in *-ēššar* of *u̯ai-*^{i} /

u̯i- ‘to cry’ (q.v.), but a meaning ‘crying; cry’ does not make much sense, unless we have to assume ‘weeper’ (cf. the *weeping-willow*).

u̯il(a/i)n- (c.) ‘clay’ (Sum. IM): gen.sg. *ú-il-na-a-aš* (OS), *ú-i-il-na-aš* (OS), dat.-loc.sg. *ú-li-ni-i* (KBo 3.46 + KUB 26.75 obv. 13 (OH/NS)), IM-*ni*, instr. *ú-i-la-ni-it* (KUB 13.2 ii 15), acc.pl. *ú-i-la-a-nu-uš* (OS).

This word is attested in OS texts several times and shows different spellings (*ú-il-n°*, *ú-i-il-n°*, *ú-li-n°*, *ú-i-la-n°*, *ú-i-la-a-n°*), which are hard to explain from an IE point of view. I therefore assume that the word is of foreign origin.

u̯imiie/a-^{zi}: see *u̯emiie/a-*^{zi}

^{NINDA}***u̯īšta-*** some kind of bread: case? *ú-i-iš-ta-aš* (KUB 9.17, 16).

Anat. cognates: Pal. ***u̯īšta-*** (c.) a kind of bread (nom.sg. *ú-iš-ta-aš*, *ú-i-iš-ta*[*-aš*]); CLuw. ^{NINDA}***u̯ištatnimma/i-*** (c.) a kind of bread (nom.sg. *u̯i*$_5$*-iš-ta-at-ni‹-im›-mi-iš*, acc.sg. *u̯i*$_5$*-iš-ta-at-ni-im-mi-en*), ^{d}***Ū̯ištašša/i-*** (c.) ‘god of the *u̯išta-*bread’ (acc.sg. *u̯i*$_5$*-i-iš-ta-aš-ši-in*).

This word occurs only once, in KUB 9.17, (15) ... *nu* LÚ ^{GIŠ}T[IR] (16) ^{NINDA}*ú-i-iš-ta-aš* NINDA-*an ú-un-ga-na-an-ta-an ḫar-zi pal-ú-i*[*š-ke-ez-zi=ia* (?)] ‘The man of the forest holds a *u̯unganant-* bread of$^{?}$ *u̯īšta-* and cr[ies]’. The word can be compared to (or is a loan from) Pal. *u̯īštaš* (some kind of bread). Compare also Luw. ^{NINDA}*u̯ištatnimma/i-*, derived from **u̯ištattar* / *u̯ištatn-*, and ^{d}*Ū̯ištašša/i-*.

Starke (1990: 73) suggests a connection with PIE **ueis-* ‘to turn’, which would imply that *u̯īšta-* means ‘circle-bread’. Although in principle possible, this assumption is not supported by any semantic evidence.

u̯išuriie/a-^{zi} (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. *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ez-zi* (154/w, 3 (NS)), *ú-i-šu-ri-ia-iz-zi* (KBo 27.136 ii 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *ú-e-šu-ri-ia-an-zi* (KUB 9.6 iii 23 (MH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-at-ta-ri* (KBo 32.14 ii 49 (MS)), 3sg.pret.midd. *ú-e-šu-ri-ia-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.11 iii 9 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-šu-ri-ia-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.46 i 11 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-at-ta-ti* (KUB 33.15, 13 (OH/NS), KUB 33.51 ii 5 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-ta-ti* (KUB 17.10 iii 14 (OH/MS)), *ú-i-šu-ri-ia-ad-da-at* (KUB 33.45 + 33.53+ ii 8 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-e-šu-ri-ia-an-ta-ti* (KUB 33.48 i 8 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-šu-ri-ia-an-ta-ti* (KUB 33.37+39 iv 1, 2 (OH/NS)), *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-*

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-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-t-* (KBo 31.76 l.col. 9 (OH/NS), KUB 30.65 iii 2 (NS)), *ú-e-šu-ri-i̯a-an-t-* (KBo 1.42 ii 39 (NS)); verb.noun *ú-e-šu-ri-i̯a-u-u̯a-ar* (KBo 1.42 ii 26 (NS)); impf. *ú-i-šu-ri-eš-ke/a-*, *ú-i-šu-ri-iš-ke/a-*.

Derivatives: ***u̯ešuriškattala-*** (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 *u̯ešurii̯e/a-*, the MS attestations *u̯išurii̯e/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 *-i̯e/a*-derivative of a verbal noun **u̯isur-*, of an unattested verbal root **u̯is-* (although Carruba talks about **u̯esur-*). 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. **vixъrъ* 'whirlwind' < **uéisuro-* does not make much sense to me semantically.

***u̯it-*:** see *u̯ida-* 'water'

u̯itt- (c.) 'year' (Sum. MU$^{(KAM)}$): nom.sg. MU$^{(KAM)}$*-za*, acc.sg. MU-*an*, gen.sg. MU^{KAM}*-za*, MU^{KAM}*-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$^{?}$ 9, Bo 69/465, 1 (NH)), MU$^{(KAM)}$*-ti*, abl. MU^{KAM}*-za*, nom.pl. MU$^{ḪI.A}$*-uš*, acc.pl. MU.KAM$^{ḪI.A}$*-uš*, gen.pl. *ú-i̯*[(*-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$^{KAM.ḪI.A}$*-aš*, dat.-loc.pl. MU$^{KAM.ḪI.A}$*-aš*.

Derivatives: ****u̯ittant-*** (c.) 'year' (dat.-loc.sg. MU-*an-ti* (KBo 12.2 obv. 1 (OS)), ***u̯ettandātar / u̯ettandann-*** (n.) 'period of a year' (dat.-loc.sg. *ú-e-et-t*[(*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$^{(KAM)}$*-an-ni*), ****u̯ittili*** (adv.) 'annually' (MU-*ti-li*, MU^{KAM}*-li*), see also *u̯iz(za)pant-*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***ušša/i-*** (c.) 'year' (nom.sg. MU^{KAM}*-iš*, acc.sg. MU^{KAM}*-in*, abl.-instr. *uš-ša-a-ti*, MU$^{ḪI.A}$*-ti*, MU^{KAM}*-ti*); HLuw. ***usa/i-*** (c.) 'year' (acc.sg. /usin/ (ANNUS-*si-na* (SHEIZAR §2), $^{\text{"ANNUS"}}$*u-si-na* (KULULU 1 §6 (2x))), dat.-loc.sg. /usi/ (e.g. ^{ANNUS}*u-si* (KARATEPE 1 §48), ^{ANNUS}*u-si-i* (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*

§7)), /usa/? (^{ANNUS}*u-sà*$^{?}$ (PALANGA §12)), acc.pl. /usint^{s}i/ (^{ANNUS}*u-si-zi* (KARATEPE 1 §51)), dat.-loc.pl. /usant^{s}/ ($^{\text{“ANNUS”}}$*u-sá-za* (AKSARAY §4a)); unclear (but perhaps nom.sg.?) /usis/ (ANNUS-*si*‹-*sa*› (KARKAMIŠ A17*b* §6)); gen.adj. /usasa/i-/ (nom.sg.c. ANNUS-*sa*$_4$-*si-sá-´* (HİSARCIK 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 A11*b* §18a), acc.sg. $^{\text{“ANNUS”}}$*u-sa-li-za-ná* (KARKAMIŠ A13*d* §10), ANNUS-*sa-li-za-n*[*a*] (KARKAMIŠ A4*d* §1)), ***usali-*** (adj.) ‘annual’ (nom.-acc.pl.n. $^{\text{“ANNUS”}}$*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, ϝέτος ‘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^{KAM}-*za* in the phrase MU^{KAM}-*za mēḫur* ‘the time of the year’, Rieken assumes an acrostatic root noun **u̯ot-s*, **u̯ot-m*, **u̯et-s*, **u̯et-i*. According to her, the **e*-grade stem generalized throughout the paradigm. This *-e-* was phonetically raised to *i* between **u̯* and a dental consonant (cf. Melchert 1994a: 262). The older form *u̯ett-* 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 *u̯iz(za)pant-*, *u̯ez(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 ***usiia̯nz*). 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, ϝέτος ‘year’, Lat. *vetus* ‘old’). Hitt. *u̯itt-*, however, probably reflects the old root noun.

u̯ida- (gender unclear) ‘water’: dat.-loc.sg. *ú-i-ti*, abl. *u̯i*$_5$*-ta-az*, dat.-loc.pl. ≺ *u̯i*$_5$*-ta-aš*.

Anat. cognates: CLuw. ***u̯ida-*** ‘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 ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az-zi=ši-it ḫa-mi-i*[*k-ta*]

(2) *n=a-aš-ta an-da* KU$_6$*-un I-NA ḫa-an-ti-i̯a-ra ú-i-ti*
(3) *ḫa-mi-ik-ta* ḪUR.SAG$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ *pár-ga-mu-uš ḫa-mi-ik-ta*

'The great river bound its flow. And he bound the fish in the *ḫ*. *u̯*.. And he bound the high mountains';

ibid.
(18) *... nu ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi* ^{d}*Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš*
(19) GAL*-in* ÍD*-an n=a-aš-ta an-da ḫa-an-ti-i̯a-ra* KU$_6$*-an ú-i-ti*
(20) *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi* GAL*-iš* ÍD *ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az=ši-it*
(21) EGIR*-pa la-a-at-ta-at an-da* KU$_6$*-uš ḫa-an-ti-i̯a-ra-aš la-at-ta-at*

'Kamrušepa conjures the great river. She conjures the fish in the *ḫ*. *u̯*.. The great river, its flow, was released again. The fish in the *ḫ*.'s was released';

KUB 21.19 +1303/u + 338/v (+) KUB 14.7 iii (NH) (see Sürenhagen 1981: 94)
(11) ... KUR ^{URU}*Ne-ri-i*[*k*]
(12) *ḫu-u-da-ak=pát ka-ru-ú-i-li-i̯a-aš A-NA* LUGAL^{MEŠ} x[...]
(13) *ḫar-kán-za e-eš-ta nu* KASKAL^{MEŠ} *an-da u̯a-ar-ḫu-e-e*[*š-šar e-eš-ta*]
(14) *nu=kán* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-ka$_4$-aš* URU*-aš* $^{\text{NA}_4}$*a-ku-uš* GIM*-an* [*u̯i$_5$-ti*(?)]
(15) *an-da e-eš-ta nu=kán ḫal-lu-ú-u̯a-aš ≺ u̯i$_5$-ta-aš kat*[*-ta-an e-eš-ta*]
(16) *nu=kán* ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-ka$_4$-an* URU*-an* $^{\text{NA}_4}$*a*$^{!}$*-ku-un* GIM[*-an*]
(17) *ḫal-lu-u̯a-az u̯i$_5$-ta-az ša-ra-a ú-da-aḫ-ḫu-u*[*n nu=kán* KUR ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*]
(18) *A-NA* ^{d}U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* DUMU*=KA ḫa-an-da-aš še-er d*[*a-aḫ-ḫu-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 [*u̯*.(?)], and was down in the deep *u̯*.. And I lifted the city of Nerik like a pebble out of the deep *u̯*., 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 *u̯id-* or a stem *u̯ida-*. 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 *u̯*.'. It therefore is generally agreed that in one way or another the word has a connetion 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$^{ḪI.A}$-*an-za ú-i-da-an-za* (KUB 35.45 ii 6), which he translates as "den feuchten Wiesen". In his view, CLuw. *u̯ida/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 *u̯* 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 *u̯id(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 *u̯ida-* and are borrowings from the CLuw. adjective *u̯ida-* 'wet' that reflects **ued-o-*.

u̯ida- 'to bring (here)': see *u̯edae-*^{zi}

u̯ida- 'to build': see *u̯ete-*^{zi} */ u̯et-*

u̯ite- 'to build': see *u̯ete-*^{zi} */ u̯et-*

***u̯itēn-*:** see *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-*

u̯itriš- (n.) a disease of bone and skin$^{?}$: 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 Tunnau̯iia:

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-i̯a-aš*
(39) *ma-a-lu-li-i̯a-aš ú-it-ri-iš-š=a* KI.MIN

'Let it remove the *ḫ*.-sickness of the head! .... Likewise the *u̯*.-sickness of bone and skin$^{?}$!'.

It is not clear what kind of disease the word denotes.

u̯iu̯a- ^{i} ***/ u̯iu̯i-*** ‘to cry (out)’: see *u̯ai-* ^{i} */ u̯i-*

u̯izzapant-, ***u̯ez(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 *h₁poi-h₁i-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^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-aš iš-ta-an-z*[*a-n*]*i-it še-ek-te-n*[*i*]

...

(14) *nam-ma š*[*u*]*-me-en-za-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-aš ku-e* ALAM$^{LÚ.A}$*=KU-NU ŠA* KÚ.BABBAR GUŠKIN

(15) *nu-u=š-ša-an* [*k*]*u-e-da-ni* DINGIR^{LIM}*-ni ku-it tu-e-ek-ki-i=š-ši*

(16) *an-da ú-iz-z*[*a-p*]*a-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-š=a ku-e Ú-NU-TE*^{MEŠ} *ú-iz-za-pa-an-ta*

(17) *n=a-at an-z*[*e-*]*el i-u̯a-ar* EGIR*-pa Ú-UL ku-iš-ki* (18) *ne-u-u̯a-aḫ-ḫa-a*[*n ḫar-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^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-en UM-MA ŠU-NU-U=M-MA*

(3) *BI-IB-RU* GUŠKIN*=u̯a-a=z zi-in-za-pu-uš-ši-aš‹‹=u̯a-a=z››* ^{LÚ}NAR *da-a-i-i̯a-at*

(4) EGIR*-pa=ma=ua-r=a-aš na-ú-i* DÙ*-an-za* TÚG.GÚ.È.A *ḪUR-RI* GUŠKIN*=u̯a ku-e*

(5) DINGIR^{LUM} *u̯a-aš-ša-an ḫar-zi nu=u̯a-r=a-at ú-e-ez-pa-a-an-ta*$^{?}$ ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-eš-š=a=u̯a*

(6) *ar-ḫa du-u̯a-ar-na-an-za* ^{KUŠ}NÍG.BÀR*=u̯a IŠ-TU* É.GAL^{LIM} *pé-eš-ke-er*

(7) *nu=u̯a-r=a-at na-ú-i pí-i̯a-an* ^{EZEN_4}*aš-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-in=u̯a ku-ua-pí i-i̯a-an-zi*

(8) *nu=u̯a A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM} *IŠ-TU* É.GAL^{LIM} 1 KUŠ KÙ.BABBAR SÍG SA_5 SÍG

ZA.GÌN 1$^{NU\text{-}TUM}$ ^{KUŠ}NÍG.BÀR$^{Ḫ.A}$=*i̯a*

(9) *pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na=u̯a* ^{EZEN_4}*aš-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-in i-e-er* KÙ.BABBAR=*ma=u̯a* SÍG SA$_5$ SÍG ZA.GÌN ^{KUŠ}NÍG.BÀR$^{Ḫ.A}$=*i̯a*

(10) *Ú-UL pí-i-e-er* ^{SÍG}*šu-ri-ta=u̯a 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 *u̯izza* and *pān*. On the basis of this attestation, Güterbock (1955: 64f.) suggested that the word is a univerbation of *u̯itt-* ‘year’ (q.v.) and *pānt-* ‘having gone’ (see *pai̯i-*^{zi} */ pai-*) and that it originally meant ‘the year has gone’. Rieken (1999a: 26) states that therefore *u̯e/izza* must be interpreted as the original nom.sg. of *u̯itt-* ‘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 **u̯e/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 *u̯itt-* ‘year’ and *pai̯i-*^{zi} */ pai-* ‘to go’.

Z

-z (abl.-ending): see *-(ā)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. ***=ti***=? (reflexive particle?); CLuw. ***=ti*** (reflexive particle); HLuw. ***=ti***, ***=ri*** /=di/ (reflexive pron. 3sg.); Lyc. ***=ti*** (reflexive particle).

PAnat. **=ti*

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 *-(ā)z*

-za (3sg.pres.act.-ending of the *mi*-flection): see *-zi*

zāḫ-*^{i} / *zaḫḫ- (IIa2) ‘to hit, to beat’: 1sg.pres.act. *za-aḫ-mi* (KUB 43.71 rev. 3 (NS), KUB 26.91 i 8 (NS)), 3sg.pres.act. *za-a-ḫi* (KBo 6.25+ iii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 26.12 ii 16 (NH)), *za-aḫ-zi* (KUB 13.4 iii 38 (OH/NS)), 1pl.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-ni* (KBo 3.60 ii 17 (OH/NS)), 3pl.pres.act. *za-ḫa-an-zi* (KUB 5.7 i 32, 35 (NS)), 3sg.pret.act. *za-aḫ-ta* (KUB 33.110 ii 6 (MH/NS)), 3pl.pret.act. *za-aḫ-ḫe-er* (KUB 17.21 iv 2f. (MH/MS)), 3sg.imp.act. *za-aḫ-du* (KUB 43.35, 10 (OS?, MH/MS?)), 3pl.imp.act. *za-ḫa-an-d*[*u*] (KUB 13.4 iii 39 (OH/NS)); 3sg.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ta-ri* (KUB 5.1 iv 72 (NH), KUB 5.18 rev. 6 (NS), KUB 50.79 obv.$^{?}$ 4 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* (KBo 23.92 ii 14 (OH/NS)).

Derivatives: see also *zaḫḫai- / zaḫḫi-*, *zaḫrai-* and *zaḫḫurae-*.

IE cognates: Gr. σῆμα ‘sign, mark’, Gr. σῶμα ‘corpse’, σῖτος ‘grain, food’.

PIE **tióh$_2$-ei / *tih$_2$-énti* ?

It is not easy to determine whether this verb originally was *ḫi-* or *mi*-conjugated since we find forms of both conjugations in older texts (e.g. *zāḫi* (OH/NS) vs. *zaḫdu* (MH/MS)). Nevertheless, it is likely that the *ḫi*-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 *-ḫ-* was retained, as **h$_2$* was regularly lost before most consonants (e.g. **Ceh$_2$-ti* should have yielded ***Cāzi*). This means that we have to reckon with an original ablaut *zāḫ-*^{i} */ zaḫḫ-* (the stem *zaḫḫ-* is still visible in 1pl.pres.act. *zaḫḫuu̯eni* and 3pl.pret. *zaḫḫer*: in younger Hittite, the lenited variant *-ḫ-* from the 3sg.pres. *zāḫi* is spreading through the paradigm, yielding forms like 3pl.pres.act. *zaḫanzi*).

Phonologically, *zāḫ-* represents /t^{s}āh-/, which can go back to either **Tsoh$_2$-* or **tioh$_2$-*. Oettinger (1979a: 447 with reference to Schindler) suggests a reconstruction **ds-eh$_2$-* on the basis of a connection with Gr. δαΐ ‘in battle’ < **das-*. This is quite improbable as the *a* of *das-* requires **h$_2$* or a vocalized nasal.

In my view, we should rather reconstruct a root **tieh$_2$-* (structurally like **pieh$_2$-* or **ḱieh$_2$-*): a reconstrucion **tióh$_2$-ei* would perfectly account for Hitt. *zāḫi*. The weak stem **tih$_2$-énti* probably should have given ***ziḫḫanzi*, however (although *zaḫḫanzi* could be possible if we assume an intermediate stage **ti̯h$_2$-enti*, cf. *zanu-* ‘to make cook’ < **ti̯ḫ$_1$-neu-*), which implies that an analogical rebuilding to *zaḫḫanzi* has taken place on the basis of verbs like *ḫāši / ḫaššanzi*, *aki / akkanzi*, *u̯āki / u̯akkanzi*. Janda (2005) also assumes that *zāḫ- / zaḫḫ-* reflects a root **tieh$_2$-* ‘to strike’ and adduces Gr. σῆμα ‘sign, mark’ < **tiéh$_2$-mn* “the beaten one”, Gr.

σῆμα ‘corpse’ < *$tióh_2$-*mn* “the killed one” and σῖτος ‘grain, food’ < *tih_2-*tó*- “threshed” as IE cognates.

zaḫa- (n.) object of silver or gold, used in cultus: nom.-acc.pl. *za-ḫa* (KUB 2.3 i 42, KUB 20.28 i 4, 11).

This word occurs a few times only:

KUB 2.3 i
(41) GAL *ME-ŠE-DI pa-iz-zi*
(42) *nu* LUGAL-*i ta-pu-uš-za za-ḫa* KÙ.BABBAR *da-a-i*

‘The head of the bodyguards goes and places silver *zaḫa*’s to the side of the king’;

KUB 20.28 i
(3) LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-š=a a-ra-an-da*
(4) GAL $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*ME-ŠE-DI za-ḫa* GUŠKIN *ḫar-zi*
(5) *tá=k-kán an-da ú-da-a-i*

‘The king and the queen stand. The head of the bodyguards holds the golden *zaḫa*’s and brings (them) inside’;

KUB 20.28 i
(9) [ ]-*an pa-iz-zi* ^{NINDA}*ḫa-a-li-in*
(10) [*a*]*n-da da-ga-a-an da-a-i*
(11) [*nu*? GAL *ME-Š*]*E-DI za-ḫa* GUŠKIN *pé-e-da-i*
(12) [ ]x ^{NINDA}*ḫa-a-li-in še-er da-a-i*

‘[...] goes. The *ḫāli*-bread [...] he places on the ground. The head of the bodyguards brings away the golden *zaḫa*’s. [...] places the *ḫāli*-bread on top’.

Apparently, the word denotes some kind of silver or golden objects which are brought and taken away by the head of the bodyguards. Possibly it is used to lay bread upon, if we are allowed to deduce that from the last cited context.

The presence of a single *-ḫ-*, which is difficult to explain from an IE point of view, may indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

zaḫḫai- / zaḫḫi- (c.) ‘battle, war’ (Sum. MÈ): nom.sg. *za-aḫ-ḫa-iš* (KBo 2.5 iii 31 (NH)), acc.sg. *za-aḫ-ḫa-in* (KBo 3.7 iii 23 (OH/NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫa-en* (KBo 3.9 obv.

3 (OH/NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫi-in* (KBo 5.6 iii 29 (NH), KUB 4.1 iii 14 (MH/NS)), gen.sg. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aš* (MH/MS), dat.-loc.sg. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a* (OS), abl. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-az* (MH/MS), *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-za*, *za-aḫ-ḫa-i̯a-az* (KUB 34.23 ii 2 (NH)), instr. *za-aḫ-ḫa-it* (KUB 19.36 iv 10 (NH)), acc.pl. *za-aḫ-ḫa-uš* (KUB 36.7b+ iv 16 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***zaḫḫiu̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to battle (someone)' (1sg.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-mi* (MH/MS), 2sg.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-ši* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-e-ez-zi* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-e-ni*, 2pl.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-te-ni* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-zi*, 1sg.pret.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-nu-un*, 3sg.pret.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at* (MH/MS), 3pl.pret.act. *za-aḫ-ḫi-er*; 1sg.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa* (MH/MS), *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-ri* (MH/MS), 3sg.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ta-ri* (MH/MS), 1pl.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta-ti*, *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-aš-ta*, 2pl.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-ad-du-ma* (MH/MS), 3pl.pres.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-da*, 1sg.pret.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫa-at*, 3sg.pret.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ta* (OH/NS), *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-at-ta-at*, 1sg.imp.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫ*[*a-ru*] (OH/NS), 2sg.imp.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-ut* (MH/MS), 2pl.imp.midd. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-ad-du-ma-at*; part. *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-an-t-*; inf.I *za-aḫ-ḫi-i̯a-u-u̯a-an-zi*; impf. *za-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke/a-*), ***zaḫzaḫḫiu̯e/a-***^{zi} (Ic1) 'to battle fiercely' (impf. *za-aḫ-za-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* (KUB 46.45 rev.$^{?}$ 9)).

PIE **tieh*$_2$*-oi-* / **tieh*$_2$*-i-* ?

The noun *zaḫḫai-* clearly is a derivative of the verb *zāḫ-*^{i} */ zaḫḫ-* 'to hit, to beat' (q.v.). The verb *zaḫḫiu̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to battle', however, is a derivative of *zaḫḫai-*.

The etymology of both words depends on the interpretation of *zāḫ-/zaḫḫ-*, which I have reconstructed as reflecting a root **tieh*$_2$*-*. If this is correct, then *zaḫḫai-* reflects **tiéh*$_2$*-oi-*. We have to assume that the full-grade generalized through the paradigm, which is a common phenomena in diphthong-stems. Note that *zaḫḫiu̯e/a-*, which reflects virtual **tieh*$_2$*-i̯e/o-* (or **tieh*$_2$*-i-i̯e/o-*?) shows a different development than **teh*$_2$*-i̯e/o-* > *tā-u̯e/a-*^{zi} 'to steal' (q.v.).

zaḫanettienna- (adj.?) '?': abl. *za-ḫa-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 ḫé-e-eš* ^{MUNUS}ŠU)].GI *te-ez-z*[*i ... le-e*?]

(2) *ú-u̯a-at-te-ni UM-M*[(*A* DUMU É.GAL *š*)]*u-up-pa-i̯a-za=u̯a pi*$^{?}$-x[... *UM-MA*? ^{MUNUS}Š(U.GI)]

(3) *nu=u̯a ku-e-ez-za šu-up-pa-i̯*[*a-az*] *UM-MA* DUMU É.GAL *za-ḫa-n*[*e-et-ti-en-*

na-za=u̯a .... UM-MA ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI]

(4) *nu=u̯a ku-e-ez-za za-ḫa-ne-et-ti-en-na-za UM-MA* [(DUMU É.GAL *ap*)- ...]

(5) ^{d}UTU-*aš=u̯a an-na-az* [(*U*)]*M-MA* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *nu=u̯a-r=a-aš* G[(IM-*an* ^{d}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 *zaḫanettienna-* one [...]'. [Thus the Old Woman]: 'From which *zaḫanettienna-* 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 *zaḫanettiennaza* functions on a par with *šuppai̯aza*, 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.

^{GIŠ}***zaḫarti-***: see ^{GIŠ}*zaḫurti-*

zaḫḫel(i)- (n.) 'weeds': nom.-acc.sg. or pl. *za-aḫ-ḫé-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=u̯a=kán ke-e*

(40) *li-in-ga-uš šar-ri-ez-zi nu-u=š-ši* ^{d}IM-*aš*

(41) ^{GIŠ}APIN *ar-ḫa du-u̯a-ar-na-a-ú*

(42) [*n=a*]-*aš-ta IŠ-TU* IM.ŠU.NÍG.RIN.NA GIM-*an=ma*$^{!}$ *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^{AM} *ša-ra-a le-e*

(45) *ú-ez-zi n=*[*a*]-*aš-ta* UGU *za-aḫ-ḫé-li i-i̯a-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) *zaḫḫeli* must go up'.

It is possible that *zaḫḫeli* means something like 'weeds'. The word either must be interpreted as a nom.-acc.sg. of a stem *zaḫḫeli-*, or as a nom.-acc.pl. in *-i* of a stem *zaḫḫel-*.

Tischler (HH: 204) states that *zaḫḫeli* is "möglicherweise bloß Verschreibung für *hahheli-* ds.", apparently assuming that *za-aḫ-ḫé-li* is wrong for *ḫa*$^{!}$*-aḫ-ḫé-li*, writing ZA (𒍣) for ḪA (𒄩). Problematic for this idea, however, is the fact that *ḫaḫḫal-* 'greenery, vegetation' (q.v.) never shows a form *ḫaḫḫel-*, and that the oblique cases of *ḫaḫḫal-* always show geminate *-ll-* (e.g. nom.-acc.pl. *ḫaḫḫalli*).

^{GIŠ}***zaḫrai-*** (c.) 'knocker(??)': acc.sg. *za-aḫ-ra-in* (KBo 6.10 ii 11 and duplicates).
PIE **tieh*$_2$*-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 ^{GIŠ}*za-aḫ-ra-in ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi*
(12) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

'If someone steals the *zaḫrai-* 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 *zaḫrai-* refers to. Formally, one could think of a connection with the verb *zāḫ-*^{i} / *zaḫḫ-* 'to beat, to hit' (q.v.), which possibly could indicate that *zaḫrai-* denotes 'knocker (on a door)'. If this is true and if *zāḫ-/zaḫḫ-* indeed goes back to a root **tieh*$_2$-, *zaḫrai-* could reflect **tieh*$_2$*-r-oi-*. Note that this word then would show that **Vh*$_2$*RV* > Hitt. *VḫRV* (cf. also ^{GIŠ}*māḫla-* and ^{UZU}*muḫrai-/maḫrai-*).

zaḫḫurae-^{zi} (Ic2) 'to break, to crush': 3sg.imp.act. *za-aḫ-ḫur-ra-id-du* (KBo 10.45 iii 38 (MH/NS)), *za-aḫ-ḫu-ra-id-du* (KUB 41.8 iii 29 (MH/NS)); impf. *za-aḫ-ḫu-ra-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 33.120 ii 31 (MH/NS)), *z*[*a-a*]*ḫ*-[*ḫ*]*u-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 36.7a iii 36 (NS)), *za-aḫ-ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (KUB 33.93 iii 34 = 23 (NS)); broken: *za-aḫ-ḫu-r*[*a-...*] (VSNF 12.131 i 4 (NS)).
PIE **tieh*$_2$*-ur-o-i̯e/o-* ?

This verb occurs in a few contexts only. For instance,

KUB 33.93 ii
(23) ^{d}*Ta-aš-mi-šu-un=ma=u̯a ḫa-aḫ-ḫa*[*-ri-in* G]I-*an ma-a-an ar-ḫa*
za-aḫ-ri-eš-ke-ed-du

'Let him break Tašmišu off like a *ḫ*. reed';

KUB 36.7a+ iii
(35) [*n*]*u*=*u̯a-r*=*a-an ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-ri-in* GI-*an* G[I]M-*an ar-ḫa le-e*
(36) *z*[*a-a*]*ḫ*-[*ḫ*]*u-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi*

'Let her not break him off like a *ḫ*. reed';

KUB 41.8 iii (with additions from dupl. KBo 10.45)
(27) ... *nu-u*=*š-ma-aš* [(GAM-*an*)] KI-*aš*
(28) GUL-*u̯a-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-aḫ-ḫu-ra-id-du*

'May the earth below you become the GUL-*u̯anna*- 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 *zaḫḫurae*-. The one attestation showing a stem *zaḫrae*- (KUB 33.93 iii 34 = 23) may have to be emended to *za-aḫ-‹ḫu-›ri-eš-ke-ed-du* (a sort of haplography of ḪU (𒄿) and RI (𒄿𒄿)?). The verb belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which are denominative verbs derived from **o*-stem nouns, which indicates that *zaḫḫurae*- is built on a unattested noun **zaḫḫura*- 'crusher, breaker' (cf. Rieken 1999a: 356[1759]). This noun easily can be seen as a derivative of the verb *zāḫ-*^{i} / *zaḫḫ*- 'to beat, to hit' (q.v.). If this latter verb indeed reflects a root **tieh*$_2$-, *zaḫḫurae*- goes back to virtual **tieh*$_2$*-ur-o-i̯e/o-*.

(GIŠ)***zaḫurti-*** (c./n.) some chair or couch: nom.sg.c. *za-ḫur-ti-iš*, acc.sg.c. *za-ḫur-ti-in*, nom.-acc.sg.n. *za-ḫur-ti*, gen.sg. *za-ḫur-ti-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *za-ḫur-ti* (OS), *za-ḫur-ti-i̯a*, acc.pl. *za-ḫur-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 $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAM.ZU$_9$ (9) ^{GIŠ}*za-ḫur-ti-i̯a e-ša* 'the head of the clowns sits down on the *z*.' or KUB 36.104 rev. (5) *za-ḫur-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 ḪAR/ḪUR, the word could be read *zaḫarti*- as well. Consensus has it, however, to cite *zaḫurti*-.

The single spelling of -*ḫ*- is indicative for a foreign origin of this word, because PIE **h*$_2$ yields fortis -*ḫḫ*- unless it stands in leniting position. One could suggests that we have to interpret the word as /tshurti-/ and that the single spelling of -*ḫ*- 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 *zašḫ*-,

however, namely in *za-aš-ḫa-i-* 'dream' /tsHai-/ < *$*d^{h}h_{1}sh_{2}oi$-. This indicates that *zaḫurti-* stands for /t^{s}ahurti-/ (or /t^{s}aharti-/), having a real single *-ḫ-*, 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-^{i} / 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)), *zạ-ạ-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.$^{?}$ 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-eḫ-ḫu-un* (KBo 16.10, 5 (NH)), *zi-iḫ-ḫu-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: ***zinu-^{zi}***, ***zainu-^{zi}*** (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. *áti* 'beyond, over', Lat. *et* 'and', Goth. *iþ* 'and, but' ??

PIE *$h_{1}t$-oi- *$h_{1}t$-i- ??

The oldest forms of this verb clearly belong to the *dāi/tiịanzi-*class: *zāitti*, *zāi*, *zištēni*, *zeḫḫun*. In younger Hittite, we find forms that inflect according to the *ḫatrae-*class (*zāši*, *zānzi*, *zait*, *zatten*). Despite its archaic formation (the *dāi/tiịanzi-*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/tiḭanzi*-class consists of two types of verbs. Firstly, we find one verb that reflects a root that ends in *-i-*, namely *nai-^{i}* / **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-*, than 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 zerograde of the root. This means that the root could be **Tes-*. Another possibility arises, however, if we look at the prehistory of *ḫalzai-^{i}* / *ḫalzi-* 'to shout'. This verb reflects a formation **$h_2$lt-oi-* / **$h_2$lt-i-* of which the assibilated variant of the root-final **t* of the weak stem (**$h_2$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' < **$h_2$et-no-*, implying a reconstruction **$h_2$et-*. Such a reconstruction is impossible for Hittite, however, as *h_2t-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 **$h_{1/3}$et-*, which makes a connection with lat. *annus* and Goth. *aþna-* impossible. I am wondering to what extant the root **$h_{1/3}$et-* is further connectible with the adverb **$h_1$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 **$h_1$et-* (visible in Skt. *at-* 'to roam, to wonder') of which the *-oi-/-i-*suffixed formation (**h_1t-oi-/*h_1t-i-*) yielded Hitt. *zai-/zi-*.

The causative of this verb is attested with several stems: *zǐnu-*, *zanu-*, *zainu-*, *zāinu-*. The stem *zǐnu-* (with OS attestations) is clearly the original one, reflecting **h_1t-i-neu-*. Note that in this form the *-i-* is retained, in contrast to *zanu-* 'to make cook' < **tih$_1$-neu-*. The stem *zainu-* is clearly a younger form, built on the 3sg.pres. *zāi*. The one NH attestation *zanu-* is likely to be emended *za-‹i-›nu-*.

zakkar: see *šakkar*, *zakkar / šakn-*

(URUDU/GIŠ)***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-i̯a-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).

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. *zakkitt̆* 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. ***zallauu̯ar*** (n.) 'gait, driving' (nom.-acc.pl. ≺ *za-al-la-u-u̯a-ra* (KUB 44.4+ rev. 5)).

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 uu̯a-* '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 uu̯a-*. 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 *zallauu̯ar* (n.) 'gait, driving' (attested with gloss wedge in Hittite context: KUB 44.4+ rev. 5) as well. No further etymology.

(DUG)***zalḫāi-*** (n.) vessel used in rituals: nom.-acc.sg. *za-al-ḫa-a-i* (e.g. IBoT 2.14 i 4), *za-al-ḫa-i*, abl. *za-al-ḫa-i̯a-az*, instr. *za-al-ḫa-a-it*, *za-al-ḫa-it*.

PIE *tlh_2-ōi- ??

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-*^{zi} 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 *zalḫāi-* to the root **tleh₂-* 'to carry'. Semantically a meaning 'carrier' would fit well for *zalḫāi-*, and formally a reconstruction **tlh₂-ōi-* (with generalized zero-grade out of the oblique stems) would regularly yield Hitt. /tˢlHāi-/, spelled *zalḫāi-*.

zaluknu-^{zi} (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-ka₄-nu-me-en* (KUB 18.36, 12 (NS)); 3pl.pres.midd. *za-al-ka₄-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-ši*] (KUB 21.38 obv. 25 (NH)).

Derivatives: ***zalukēšš-***^{zi} (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^{h}-*

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-*^{zi} 'to lengthen' and *dalukēšš-*^{zi} '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[11]) reconstructs *daluki-* as **dlh̥₁g^{h}ó-* and **zaluki-* as **slh̥₁gó-*; Melchert (1994a: 67) similarly reconstructs **dl-(e)ug^{h}-* 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^{h}-néu-* and **dlug^{h}-éh₁sh₁-*. If we assume that in Hittite an initial dental assibilated before **l* (**#Tl-* > Hitt. *#zl-* as in

zalḫāi- < **tlh₂-ōi-*), then **dlug-néu-* and **dlug^{h}-éh₁sh₁-* regularly would yield Hitt. *zluknu-* and *zlukēšš-*. The verbs *daluknu-* and *dalukēšš-* probably are to be interpreted as /talugnṹ-/ and /talugéS-/ (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.

^{GIŠ}*zaluu̯ani-* (c.) 'plate (vel sim.)': nom.sg. [^{GIŠ}]*zạ-lụ-u̯ạ-nị-iš* (KBo 3.34 iii 19), [^{GI}]^{Š}*za-lu-u̯ạ-nị-iš* (KBo 3.34 iii 22), ^{GIŠ}*za-lu-u̯a-ni-iš* (KBo 3.34 iii 25), dat.-loc.sg. ^{GIŠ}*za-lu*[*-u̯a-n*]*i* (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* ^{m}[*Am*]*-mu-na*
(16) DUMU ^{URU}*Šu-uk-z*[*i-iạ*]*a-ap-pa-an-n=a* ^{m}*Pí-im-pí-ri-it* [DUMU ^{UR}]^{U}*Ni-na-aš-ša*
(17) *ki-i kar-di-i*[*a-aš=ša-a*]*š* DUMU^{MEŠ} *e-še-er nu-u=š-ma-aš* [^{GIŠ}Š]Ú.A
(18) *ki-it-ta* ^{G}[^{IŠ}BANŠ]UR-*u(š)=š-ma-aš ki-it-ta*
(19) [^{GIŠ}]*zạ-lụ-u̯ạ-nị-iš*[*=(š)-ma-aš*] *ki-it-ta ḫa-pa-šu-uš* ^{GIŠ}*za-lu*[*-u̯a-n*]*i zi-kán-zi*

'Those who sit as brothers before the father of the king, Ammuna the son from Šukziia 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 *zaluu̯ani-* is placed before them. They put *ḫapaša-*'s on the *zaluu̯ani*'.

It is possible that *ḫapaša-* denotes 'dish' (cf. HW^{2} Ḫ: 218), so *zaluu̯ani-* 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: ***šamankuru̯ant-*** (adj.) 'bearded' (nom.pl.c. *ša-ma-an-ku-úr-u̯a-an-te-eš* (KBo 3.8 iii 25 (NH)), acc.pl.c. [*ša-m*]*a-an-ku-úr-u̯a-du-uš* (KBo 3.8 iii 7 (NH))).

IE cognates: Skt. *śmáśru-* 'beard', Arm. *mawrow-k'* 'beard', Lith. *smãkras, smakrà* 'chin', Alb. *mjekër* 'chin, beard'.

PIE **smóḱ-ur*

It is remarkable that all attestations with *-n-* are found in NS texts (including the derivative *šamankuru̯ant-*), 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. < **smóḱ-ru-*).

The other IE languages show a preform **smóḱ-ru-*, whereas Hittite points to **smóḱ-ur* (note that if *za-ma-kur* is the original form, it shows lenition of **ḱ* to Hitt. single *-k-* due to the preceding **ó*, cf. § 1.4.1). This indicates that the PIE form **smóḱ-ur* only after the split-off of Anatolian was metathesized to **smoḱru*.

The word *zama(n)kur* is consistently spelled with *za-*, whereas the derivative *šamankuru̯ant-* 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 *šamankuru̯ant-*. 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 smóḱur* and **tod sḱṓr* (or whatever preceding pronoun) as **tod ˈsmóḱur* and **tod ˈsḱṓr* respectively. Note that this only happened when we are dealing with **sC-* (cf. *šakkar* < **soḱr*, but also e.g. *šaḫḫan* 'corvée' < **séh₂n*, *šākan* 'oil' < **sóǵ$^{(\prime)\gamma(h)}$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 pár-ga-u-e-i*
(11) *ḫa-mi-ik-ta* UR.MAḪ *za-am-ni-ša-an*
(12) *ḫa-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.

(ꓘ) zammurae-^{zi} (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-u̯a-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. ꓘ *za-am-mu-ra-at-ti*).

This verb is attested from MH times onwards. It clearly belongs to the *ḫatrae*-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-^{i} ***/ zankil-*** (IIa1γ) 'to fine, to punish': 3sg.pres.act. *za-an-ki-la-i* (KBo 2.4 l.edge 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*$^{ḪI.A}$ (KUB 5.6 ii 48), *za-an-ki-la-tar-ri*$^{ḪI.A}$ (KUB 5.6 iii 34)).

PIE **sh*$_2$*nk-i* + **l(o)h*$_1$- ??

This verb on the one hand shows the *tarn(a)*-inflection in 3sg.pres.act. *zankilai* and on the other the *ḫatrae*-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 *ḫatrae*-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[78]) 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-*^{i} to *lā-*^{i} */ l-* 'to let go' and assume an old univerbation of a noun **zanki* + *lāi / lanzi*. Oettinger (1979a: 152[40]) suggests as a root etymology a connection with Lat. *sanciō* 'to make holy, inviolable' and *sacrāmentum* 'security, deposit', which words probably reflect **sh₂nk-* and **sh₂k-* (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 **sh₂nk-*. 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-*^{zi}, *zalugnu-*^{zi} and *zinni-*^{zi} */ zinn-* in 1994: 323-4, have to be explained otherwise (see their respective lemmas).

zanu-^{zi} 'to cook (trans.)': see *zē-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ z-*

zanu-^{zi} 'to make cross': see *zai-*^{i} */ zi-*

zappiḫe/a-^{zi} (Ic1) '(act.) to drop, to drip; (midd.) to leak': 3sg.pres.act. *za-ap-pí-ḫa-zi* (KUB 9.15+39.52 iii 29, 30), 3pl.pret.act. *za-ap-pí-e-er* (KUB 48.7 iii 3, 12), *za-ap-pí-i-e-er* (KUB 48.7 iii 8), 3sg.pres.midd. *za-ap-pí-ḫa-at-ta* (KBo 3.23 i 11, KUB 13.2 ii 38), *za-ap-pí-ḫa-at-ta-ri* (KUB 31.86 ii 18, KUB 31.89 ii 7); impf. *za-ap-pí-iš-ke-ez-zi* (KUB 30.10 ii 15).

Derivatives: ***zappi-*** 'leak' (abl. *za-ap-pí-ḫa-az* (KUB 9.15 iii 8, 13)), ***zapnu-***^{zi} (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-ṷa-an-zi*; impf. *za-ap-pa-nu-uš-ke-ši* (HKM 10 rev. 31 (MH/MS))).

Oettinger (1979a: 528) suggests to connect *zappiḫe/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 *zappiḫe/a-*^{zi} 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-^{zi}*. All other examples that Oettinger adduces in favour of this development, *zakkar*, *zalugnu-^{zi}*, *zamankur*, *zankila-^{i} / zankil-*, *zena-*, and *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-*, must be explained otherwise, however (see their respective lemmas).

Mechanically, *zappiie/a-* should be reconstructed as **tiop-ie/o-*, which in my view could easily be onomatopoetic (cf. e.g. ModEng. *drip*).

≺ *zaršiia-* (c.) ‘safeconduct, warranty’: acc.sg. ≺ *za-ar-ši-ia-an* (KUB 14.3 ii 61), gen.sg. ≺ *za-ar-ši-ia-aš* (KUB 14.3 ii 62), dat.-loc.sg. ≺ *za-ar-ši-ia* (KUB 14.3 ii 64).

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)).

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 occurance of *z* before dark vowels. This is not imperative however (cf. *zāḫ-^{i} / zaḫḫ-*, *zalḫāi-* and *zaluknu-^{zi}*). Rieken suggests a connection with the root **ḱerh$_2$-* ‘to mix’ and unconvincingly reconstructs **ḱorh$_2$-ḱr̥h$_2$*, with loss of the first laryngeal in *o*-grade form and of the second one in Auslaut, and with syllabification of **r̥* to *-ur* as supposedly in Luw. *gurta-* < **ǵ^{h}r̥d^{h}-o-* and HLuw. *zura/in-* ‘horn’ < **ḱr̥n-*. I can offer no alternative, however.

zašḫai-: see *tešḫa-*

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$_1$eh$_3$-es-*

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.

$^{(GIŠ)}$***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: ^{GIŠ}*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-ḫa-u* 'sweat' (q.v.): in all other cases we find °*a-ú*. If this spelling is to be interpreted as /t^{s}āo/, it is likely that the word is not of IE origin.

zazḫai-: see *tešḫa-*

zē-$^{a(ri)}$ **/ *z-*** (IIIa) 'to cook (intr.), to be cooked': 3sg.pres.midd. *ze-e-i̯a* (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-i̯a-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-i̯a-ri* (KUB 7.13 rev. 17 (NS)), [*z*]*é-i-e-ri* (KBo 18.201 rev. 8 (NS)), 3pl.pres.midd. *zé-i̯a-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-i̯a-an-t-*, *zé-e-i̯a-an-t-*, *ze-i̯a-an-t-*.

Derivatives: ***zanu-***^{zi} (Ib2) 'to cook (trans.)' (3sg.pres.act. *za-nu-uz-zi* (OS), *za-nu-zi*, 3pl.pres.act. *za-nu-an-zi* (OS), *za-nu-u̯a-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$_1$-o*, **tih$_1$-neu-*

This verb is usally cited as *zei̯a-*, *zea-* or *zii̯a-*. 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 *zei̯e-* besides *zei̯a-*, is to be interpreted as *zé-i-i̯a$_x$-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-*^{zi} (probably /t^{s}nu-/), we find a stem *z-*. I therefore cite the verb as *zē-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ z-*.

An ablaut *zē- / z-* can only be explained if we assume a 'preform' **zeh$_1$- / *zh$_1$-*. The origin of *z-* is difficult, however, and opinions differ. For instance, Oettinger (1979a: 515) reconstructs **seih$_1$-* (Lat. *sinere* 'to let'), whereas Melchert (1994a: 118) reconstructs **teih$_{1/3}$-* (Lat. *tītio* 'fire-brand'). LIV^2 also reconstructs **teih$_1$-* but connects this with OIr. *tinaid* 'to melt'. All reconstructions seem unlikely to

me, as I do not see how **seih$_1$-* 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$_1$- / *tih$_1$-* would be able to explain the outcome *zē- / z-* (note that **tih$_1$-neu-* probably phonetically became **ti$_{\text{ə}}$h$_1$-neu-*, yielding Hitt. /t^{s}ənu-/, spelled *zanu-*, which contrasts with **h$_1$ti-neu- > zinu-* 'to make cross').

Within Hittite, a connection with *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-* 'to stop, to finish' is likely on formal grounds as the latter verb probably reflects **ti-ne-h$_1$-*. 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. *tītio* 'fire-brand' or OIr. *tinaid* 'to melt' makes much sense.

ze(i̯)a-: see *zē-$^{a(ri)}$ / 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$_1$-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 *ḫamešḫant-* 'spring' beside *ḫamešḫa-* 'id.' and *gimmant-* 'winter' beside *gimm-* 'id.', we here find *zēnant-* beside *zēna-*.

Oettinger (1979a: 152[40]) 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-$^{a(ri)}$ / z-* 'to cook < *to bring to its end' and *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-* 'to stop, to finish' and reconstruct **tiéh$_1$-no-* '*the closening (season) > autumn'.

***zenna-*:** see *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-*

***zenni-*:** see *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-*

-zepa-: see at $^{(f)}$*tagānzepa-*

zēri- (n.) ‘cup’ (Sum. ^{DUG}GAL): nom.-acc.sg. *ze-e-ri* (KUB 17.3+ iv 31 (OS)), all.sg. *ze-e-ri-i̯a* (KBo 17.3+ iv 32, (OS)).

Derivatives: $^{(GIŠ)}$***zeriu̯alli-*** (n.) ‘cup-holder’ (nom.acc.sg. *zé-e-ri-i̯a-al-*[*li*] (KBo 27.42 ii 29), *zé-ri-i̯a-al-li* (KBo 4.9 v 18), *z*[*é-r*]*i-i̯a-al-li* (KUB 10.21 ii 7), ^{GIŠ}*ze-r*[*i-i̯a-al-li* (?)] (KBo 21.78 ii 1)), gen.sg. *zé-ri-i̯a-al-li-aš* (KUB 42.87 v 16)), *zé-ri-i̯a-li-i̯a-aš* (KUB 55.54 obv. 32)).

PIE **tiéh$_1$-ri-*

Although this word is attested in its phonetic form only twice (both in OS texts), its sumerogram ^{DUG}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-i̯a-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-*^{zi} / *aš-* ‘to be’, *ed-*^{zi} / *ad-* ‘to eat’ and *au-*^{i} / *u-* ‘to see’ respectively. In that case *zēri-* would be derived of the verb *zē-*$^{a(ri)}$ ‘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*

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^{s}/, to

which already in pre-Hittite times an extra *-i* was added in analogy to *-mi*, *-ši*, *-u̯eni* 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-*$^{a(ri)}$ */ 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*, *ti=*, acc.-dat.sg. *tu-ú*); CLuw. ***tī*** 'you (sg.)' (nom.sg. *ti-i*, *ti-i-i=ḫ-ḫa*, *ti-i=ḫ-ḫa*); HLuw. ***ti / 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. *tvā́m*, GAv. *tuuəm*, acc. *θβąm*, TochB *tuwe*, TochA *tu*, Gr. σέ, Dor. τύ, Lat. *tū*, Goth. *þu*, Lith. *tù*, OCS *ty*.

PIE **tih$_1$*, **tu-*

See chapter 2.1 for a detailed treatment of these forms.

zik(k)e/a-^{zi}, impf. of *dai-*^{i} */ ti-* (q.v.)

zinna-: see *zinni-*^{zi} */ zinn-*

zinail- (n.) a food-stuff: nom.-acc.sg. *zi-na-a-il* (Bo 3123 iv 6 (OS), KUB 42.107 iii$^{?}$ 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-^{zi} / 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-aḫ-ḫi* (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-aḫ-ḫu-un* (NH), *ze-en-na-aḫ-ḫu-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.$^{?}$ 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$_1$-*, **ti-n-h$_1$-*

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. *zinnaṷeni* (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 *zinnaḫḫi* and *zinnāi*.

The ablaut found in the oldest forms, *zinni-^{zi} / zinn-* is only explicable if we assume *°*Ceh$_1$-* / *°*Ch$_1$-* (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$_1$-* and **sineh$_1$-*. 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$_1$-* would yield *zi-*: there are many Hittite words starting in *ši-* < **si-*, also when containing nasals.

In my view, we therefore rather reconstruct **tinéh$_1$-ti*, *tinh$_1$-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$_1$-* is the same as the one visible in *zē-*$^{a(ri)}$ / *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$_1$-* 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-*$^{a(ri)}$) less likely.

Note that in **ti-n-eh$_1$-* the *t* is assibilated with retention of the *-i-* (so also *zinu-*^{zi} 'to make cross' < **h$_1$t-i-neu-*), which contrasts with *zanu-*^{zi} 'to make cook' < **tih$_1$-neu-*.

MUNUS*zintuḫi-* (c.) 'girl' (Sum. ^{MUNUS}KI.SIKIL): gen.sg.(?) *zi-in-tu-ḫi-i̯a-*[*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-i̯a-aš*.

According to Friedrich (HW, Erg. 3: 38), ^{MUNUS}*zintuḫi-* alternates with ^{MUNUS}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-^{zi} 'to make cross': see *zai-*^{i} / *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 ḫu-u-ma-an-da*

'I heard everything *zinnuk*'.

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 $^{(f)}$*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) ... ^{d}*Ḫé-pát=u̯a*
(16) *me-mi-iš-ke-ez-zi I*[*-NA*] KUR ^{URU}GIDRU-*ti=u̯a=mu*
(17) *zi-iz-za-ḫi-in i-i̯*[*a-an-d*]*u INA* KUR *Mu-kiš=ma=u̯a=mu*
(18) GEŠTIN *i-i̯a-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-^{SAR} (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}***zuḫri-***: see *uzuḫri-*

⮜ *zūu̯a-* (c.) 'bread, food' (Sum. NINDA): nom.sg. NINDA-*aš* (KUB 3.105 i 2), acc.sg. ⮜ *zu-u-u̯a-an* (KUB 36.5 i 4, KUB 13.4 iv 67, 71, KUB 13.4 ii 20, KUB 13.6 ii 8), *zu-u-u̯a-an* (KUB 41.25 obv. 7), gen.sg./dat.-loc.pl. ⮜ *zu-u-u̯a-aš* (KUB 13.17 iv 34).

Derivatives: see *zuu̯ae-*^{zi}.

See Otten (1971b: 14) for an extensive treatment. In KUB 36.5 i 4 we find KAxU-*aš* ⮜ *zūu̯an* as a parallel of KUB 33.112+ iii 9 NINDA-*an* KAxU-*i*, which indicates that ⮜ *zūu̯a-* is the word behind NINDA. The almost consistent use of gloss wedges with this word indicates foreign (Luwian?) origin. Unfortunately no further etymology.

zuu̯ae-^{zi} (Ic2) '?': 3sg.pres.act. *zu-u̯a-a-iz-zi* (KBo 12.89 iii 8), 3sg.pret.act. *zu-u̯a-a-it* (KBo 12.89 iii 17).

This verb occurs twice in one context only:

KBo 12.89 iii

(8) [*.t*]*úḫ-ḫu-in zu-u̯a-a-iz-zi*
(9) [-]*ti ti-u̯a-da-ni-in-ti n=a-aš-ta* ^{d}*Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš*
(10) [ ]*x a-uš-ta i-ni=ma=u̯a ku-it*

(11) [*(-)n*]*a*$^{?}$*-uš* EZEN$_4$*-an i-e-et nu=u̯a-a=z* GAL-*la-mu-uš*
(12) [DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-uš kal-l*]*i-iš-ta nu=u̯a-a=z a-mi-i̯a-an-du-uš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-mu-uš*
(13) [*kal-li-iš-ta*]x-*az šu-up-pa-uš* TI$_8$$^{\text{MUŠEN.ḪI.A}}$ *kal-li-eš-ta*

(14) [*-t*]*a-an Ú-UL a-aš-ta nu=u̯a-r=a-at=za-an A-NA pa-x*[..]
(15) [ ]*x=kán ar-ḫa ú-u̯a-an-zi nu=u̯a-a=š-ma-aš ḫu-u̯a-an-za*
(16) [ ]*x-an-zi nu=u̯a-a=š-ma-aš túḫ-ḫu-i-iš*

(17) [ ]*x túḫ-ḫu-in zu-u̯a-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 *zuu̯ae-* has *tuḫḫuu̯ai- / tuḫḫui-* 'smoke' as its object. An exact meaning is beyond our grasp.

Formally, the verb belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class, which consists of denominative verbs derived from **o*-stem nouns. In this case, *zuu̯ae-* seems to derived from a noun **zuu̯a-*. It is unclear whether this **zuu̯a-* can be equated with *(𒀭) zūu̯a-* 'bread, food' (q.v.). If so, then *zuu̯ae-* should mean something like 'to eat' or similar, but this is highly speculative, of course.