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## Hittite nasal presents

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## Hittite *nu*-verbs

**4.1** In this chapter, I have collected all Hittite *nu*-verbs known to me. The Hittite verbal suffix *-nu*<sup>125</sup> goes back to PIE suffix *\*-néu-/-nu-*. LIV reconstructs such a stem as certain for 35 roots in PIE and as possible for 17 more, so these formations must have been fairly numerous already in the proto-language. The suffix ablaut is preserved in Indo-Iranian (e.g., ved. 3sg. pres. act. *kr̥ṇóti* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>r-néu-ti* : 3pl. pres. act. *kr̥ṇvanti* < *\*\*k<sup>w</sup>r-nu-énti* from *kr̥-* ‘to make’); in Greek the ablaut is *-vō-/-vū-*, likely reshaped in analogy *-vā-/-va-* of infixed verbs, cf. Schwyzler 1939: 695.

The relationship between the PIE infix and the suffix *\*-néu-/-nu-* is not entirely clear, even though many scholars believe that they are connected in one way or another. The suffix *\*-néu-/-nu-* is often considered to have resulted from reanalysis of infixed *\*-né-u-/-n-u-* stems, cf. e.g., Szemerényi 1996: 271, Beekes 2011: 258. On the contrary, Steer (2013-14) has recently suggested that it was the suffix *\*-neu-/-nu-* that was reanalyzed as *\*-n(e)-u-* next to a cognate *u*-adjective, which gave rise to infixation in PIE. In a yet different way, Milizia (2004) argued that the infix *\*-né-/-n-* was originally a suffix that stood in a complementary distribution with the suffix *\*-néu-/-nu-*. The suffix *\*-néu-/-nu-*, in turn, was formed by adding the athematic present suffix *\*-u-* to *\*-né-/-n-*. While there is no *communis opinio* regarding the origin of *\*-néu-/-nu-* and its original relation to the infix, these affixes are generally believed to be related.

In Hittite, the suffix *-nu-* and the infix *-nin-* are clearly separate morphemes. Yet, Koch (1980) suggested that *tepnu-* ‘to diminish, humiliate’ was derived from *tēpu-* ‘small’ with an insertion of *-n-* into the stem. This is unlikely, see the entry for *tepnu-* and 4.9 below; nevertheless, the replacement of *harnink-* ‘to destroy’ by *harganu-* ‘id.’ in the history of Hittite (see Ünal 1984: 76ff.) shows that infixed stems and *nu*-stems enjoyed a high degree of functional similarity in Hittite.

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<sup>125</sup> Note that there is a partially homonymous nominal suffix *-nau/nu-*, e.g., in *arsanu-* n. ‘flow’ or <sup>(RÚG)</sup>*seknu-* c./n. ‘cloak’, on which see Weitenberg 1984: 221ff.

Since the suffix *-nu-* became very productive in the history of Hittite, one of the aims of this chapter is to establish whether there are direct cognates of Hittite *nu-*stems in other Indo-European languages. In other words, how many Hittite *nu-*verbs are inherited from PIE? I will also look into the formal features of this verbal type and specifically into the semantic relations between the base verb and the *nu-*verb in order to establish the function/grammatical meaning of this suffix in Hittite.

**aimpanu-** ‘to beset’

**3sg. pret.act.** *a-im-pa-nu-zi* KUB 5.1 IV 78 Hatt. III

The verb *aimpanu-* is derived from a denominative verb *impai-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘be burdened, depressed’ or rather directly from *(a)impa-* ‘weight, burden’. It is related to Gr. ἴπος ‘weight, press’; these words could have been borrowed to Greek and Hittite from an unknown source (HED 1/2: 15).

**annanu-** ‘to train’

**3pl. pres.act.** *an-na-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 30.42 I 2 Hatt. III/ Tudh. IV

**3sg. pret.act.** *an-na-nu-ut* KBo 3.34 II 29, 30 OH/NS, KUB 23.108 rev. 8 NS

**part. n. sg. c.** *an-na-nu-wa-a[n-za]* KBo 1.30 obv. 20 NH

**part. acc. sg. c.** *an-na-nu-wa-an-ta-an* KBo 6.26 II 27 OH/NS

**verb.noun gen.sg.** *an-na-nu-ma-aš* KUB 13.16 3 OH/NS, KUB 31.53+ obv. 9 NH; *an-na-nu-um-ma-aš* KUB 26.64 I 4 NH

**inf.I** *an-na-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 13.16 1 OH/NS, KUB 43.29 II 7 OH/MS

**impf. 3sg. pret.act.** *an-na-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 40.80 obv. 4 NS

The meaning of this verb is ‘to train’ in most instances; however, in the wordlist KBo 1.30 obv. 20 *annanuwa[nza]* corresponds to Akk. *gullubu* ‘shaven’, cf. Otten 1976: 103, Maier 2013: 18.

One would expect *annanu-* to be derived from a verb *\*ann(a)-*, but no such verb is attested. *Annanu-* is often connected with *aniye/a-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to work’, cf., e.g., HED 1/2: 61.

While *annanu-* is always written with a double *-n-* in the root, *aniye-* and its imperfective *anniske-* show some variation in spelling, mostly in New Hittite texts, cf. *a-ni-eš-kán-[zi]* KUB 9.15 III 22, *a-ni-eš-ke-er* KUB 1.6 II 10 besides dupl. *an-ni-eš-ke-er* KBo 3.6 II 1 but already in HKM 54: *an-ni-ya-an* in line 13 and *an-ni-ya* in line 26 vs. *a-ni-i-er* in line 17. Nevertheless, in Old Hittite texts *aniye-* is always spelled with a single *-n-*, while *anniske-* is spelled with double *-nn-*.

Within Anatolian, we have Pal. *anie/a-* ‘to do, work’ and CLuw. *annī-* ‘to carry out, treat’. These verbs are usually compared to Skt. *ánas-* ‘cart’, Lat. *onus* ‘load’, PIE *h<sub>3</sub>en(H)-*<sup>126</sup>, see Kloekhorst 2008: 180, de Vaan 2008: 428.

Alternatively, Yakubovich (2010b) argued that *aniye/a-*<sup>zi</sup> is in fact the verb *iyē/a-* ‘to make’ with a comitative prefix *an-* < \**en(i)* ‘with, con-’. If this is correct, *annanu-* does not belong here. Still, the meaning of *annanu-* is interpretable as a causative from that of *aniye/a-*; there are also other reasons, albeit none of them is decisive, against derivation of *aniye/a-* from \**an-iyē/a-*. First, the verbal prefix/preverb *an-* ‘with’ is otherwise unattested in Hittite. Second, for a prefixed verb with the root of *iyē/a-* one would expect to find an imperfective stem \**ane/issa-* rather than attested *anniske-*. Due to a rather consistent spelling *anie/a-* with a single *-n-*, it is hardly a borrowing from Luwian. For these reasons I still prefer to see this verb as a \**-ye/o* extension stem to the root *an(n)-*, same as in *annanu-*.

The geminated *-nn-* of *annanu-* and *anniske-*<sup>127</sup> is difficult to account for. Kloekhorst (2008: 181) argues that \**h<sub>3</sub>nske-* should have regularly yielded \*\**aske-*<sup>128</sup> in Hittite, but due to opacity of this form it was remodeled into *anniske-* just as *kuwaske-* (<\**g<sup>wh</sup>n-ske-*) was changed to *kuwanniske-*. The gemination precluded the dropping of /n/ before a consonantal cluster. According to Kloekhorst, a similar gemination is assumed for *annanu-* (ibid. 177), as /n/ was fortified to /N/ before the

<sup>126</sup> If Skt. *ánas-* goes back to \**h<sub>3</sub>enos-* (see Lubotsky 1990: 132f.), the Indic data do not require the reconstruction of a laryngeal in the auslaut of the root to close the first syllable; \**h<sub>3</sub>onos-* would have yielded \**ānas-* according to the Brugmann’s law, while \**h<sub>3</sub>enos-*, \**h<sub>3</sub>enHos-* and \**h<sub>3</sub>onHos-* would have yielded the attested *ánas-*.

<sup>127</sup> Gemination of the final consonant in the imperfective stem is found also in, e.g., *akkuske/a-* from *eku/aku-* ‘to drink’, *lakkiske/a-* from *lāk-* ‘to knock out’. It is often explained as rendering the devoicing in front of the voiceless /s/ in the suffix *-ske/a-*, but this explanation does not seem to work if we assume that the opposition in Hittite stops was fortis – lenis rather than voiceless – voiced. Nevertheless, I do not know of any plausible common solution for geminates in both *akkuske-* and *anniske-*.

<sup>128</sup> Or \**assike-*, cf. Melchert 2013: 179.

following /n/ of the suffix. I think this explanation is rather implausible, as we would rather expect some kind of assimilation in the alleged \*/ʔNnu-/ > \*/aNnu-/. Besides, pace Kloekhorst, I believe that the consistent spelling of -a- between the root and the suffix points to a real vowel between the root and the suffix -nu-.

Melchert (1994: 85) started with the root \*enH- and argued that in \*enH-ye/o- the laryngeal was lost between the consonants, while in the imperfective stem \*enH-ye-ske/o-<sup>129</sup> there was a pretonic syncope in the second syllable and then the laryngeal was assimilated to the preceding nasal (cf. also Melchert 1984: 58 and criticism by Kloekhorst (2008: 180)). Whether due to syncope or not<sup>130</sup>, the ye/a-stems show a plain -i- before the imperfective suffix in OS texts, cf., e.g., [(e-et-r)]i-iš-ke-ez-zi KBo 6.2 IV 59 or ḥa-az-zi-iš-k[án-zi] KBo 25.35+ II 5. In later periods, the spelling -Ci-eš-ke/a- is at least as common as -Ci-iš-ke/a-. In the imperfective stem \*enH-i-ske/a- with the allomorph -i- the laryngeal was assimilated to -n-, while in the basic stem it was lost between /n/ and /j/, as suggested by Melchert. The causative *annanu-* was derived from the stem \*anna- from the root \*h<sub>3</sub>enH-<sup>131</sup>, just as *harra-* ‘to grind’ and *harranu-* from \*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>- and perhaps *tarra-* ‘to be able’ and *tarranu-* ‘to make strong?’ from \*terh<sub>2</sub>-<sup>132</sup>. Already in proto-Hittite \*anna- was replaced by *aniye-* < \*h<sub>3</sub>nH-ye/o-.

The scenario presented above is based on the assumption that there was a laryngeal in the auslaut of this root. If this is not the case, one has to assume some kind of lengthening (fortition?) of /n/ in *anniske-* and *annanu-*. However, both the validity and the conditions for such a sound change are disputed, cf. further 5.9.

**arnu-** ‘to make go, stir, remove, deliver’.

**1sg. pres.act.** *ar-nu-mi* KBo 16.47 obv. 10 MH/MS, KUB 5.1 III 29 Hatt. III,

KUB 14.1 rev. 22 MH/MS, KUB 23.72 + obv. 11 MH/MS, KUB 36.64 III 8 NH,

<sup>129</sup> Note that we have full grade \*-ye/o-stems in Hittite, e.g., *wemiye-* ‘to find’ and *weriye-* ‘to call’, whether or not these full grades result from morphological levelling after a full grade aorist (so Kloekhorst op. cit. 1003). For full grade \*-ye/o- presents cf. LIV: 19.

<sup>130</sup> There are some *ske*-forms with what seems to be a full grade of the suffix, cf. *ir-ḥa-’i’-iš-ke-ez-zi* (or *ir-ḥa-’a’-iš-ke-ez-zi*) KBo 25.84 I 5’ OS, *a-ru-wa-iš-k[e-]* KBo 17.30+ obv. 9 OS as compared with, e.g., *iš-ḥi-iš-kán-zi* KBo 25.54 III 5’ OS.

<sup>131</sup> The initial \*h<sub>3</sub> was regularly lost in the stem \*h<sub>3</sub>nH-ye/o-, and the anlaut without the laryngeal was generalized in *annanu-* as well.

<sup>132</sup> A good parallel to *aniye-* could be *tarye-* in KUB 12.63+ obv. 9 *nu-za-pa* KASKAL-ši *ku-u-un* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḤ-an *tar-ya-an-da-an wa-a[(r-kán-ta-an) e-ep-pir]*, if *tar-ya-an-da-an* actually means ‘strong’ here as per HEG T: 147.

HKM 10 obv. 9 MH/MS, HKM 27 rev. 16 MH/MS, HKM 52 rev. 46 MH/MS, HT 10 4 NS; *a-ar-nu-mi* KUB 31.127 III 29 OH/NS; *ar-nu-um-mi* KBo 18.127 6 k.A., KUB 12.44 III 13 NS

**2sg. pres.act.** *ar-nu-ši* e.g., KBo 5.4 obv. 23 LNS, KUB 8.63 I 10 NS, KUB 21.27 IV 10 Hatt. III, HKM 24 obv. 27 MH/MS; *[ar]-nu-ut-ti* KBo 4.3 III 11 NS

**3sg. pres.act.** *ar-nu-uz-zi* e.g., KBo 6.2 I 2, 6, 38 OS, KBo 10.37 I 28 OH/NS, KBo 13.145 rev. 10 MH/NS, KUB 18.8 rev. 10 NS, KUB 24.7 I 42 NS; *ar-nu-zi* KBo 5.1 I 9 MH/NS, KBo 6.2 IV 5 OS, KBo 6.3 IV 61 OH/NS, KBo 22.42 obv. 13 MS, KBo 23.10 I 23(?) MS, KBo 23.118 II 6 NS, KUB 4.3 obv. 5b NH, KUB 5.1 I 15 Hatt. III, KUB 23.72 + obv. 24, 25 MH/MS, KUB 23.121 I 5 NS

**1pl. pres.act.** *ar-nu-me-ni* e.g., HKM 10 obv. 12 MH/MS ; *ar-nu-um-me-ni* KUB 4.1 II 5 MH/NS, KUB 19.30 IV 5 Murš. II, KUB 33.106 II 16 MH/NS

**2pl. pres.act.** *ar-nu-ut-te-ni* e.g., KUB 13.4 I 51, 56 MH/NS, KUB 26.40+ rev. 50 MH/MS, HKM 43 obv. 12 MH/MS

**3pl. pres.act.** *ar-nu-an-zi* e.g., KUB 1.13 III 27, 35 et pass. MH/NS, KUB 5.1 II 48 Hatt. III, KUB 15.31 II 11 MH/NS, KUB 23.72+ rev. 8 MH/MS, KUB 30.17 obv. 2 OH?/NS; *ar-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KBo 4.2 IV 41 Murš. II, KBo 5.1 II 9 NH, IBoT 3.148 III 47 MH?/NS; *a-ar-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 6.26 IV 2 OH/NS; *ar-nu-u-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 39.12 7 OH ?/NS; *a-ar-nu-an-zi* KBo 13.72 obv. 8 NS

**1sg. pret.act.** *ar-nu-nu-un* e.g., KBo 5.9 II 39 Murš. II, KBo 10.2 II 52 OH/NS, KBo 19.53 III 5 NH, KUB 14.3 II 65 NH, KUB 23.13 9 NS, KUB 31.68 I 4 NS, KUB 33.120+ III 28 MH/NS, HKM 68 rev. 21 MH/MS, HT 10 6, 9 NS

**3sg. pret.act.** *ar-nu-ut* e.g., KBo 3.34 II 10 OH/NS, KUB 18.11 rev. 8 NS, KUB 23.105 3 NS, KUB 34.23 I 10 NH, KUB 40.92 rev. 15 NS; *a-ar-nu-ut* KUB 19.8 I 24 Hatt. III

**1pl. pret.act.** *ar-nu-um-me-en* KUB 20.96 V 10 OH/NS, *ar-nu-um-me-en* KBo 13.62 obv. 18 NS

**3pl. pret.act.** *ar-nu-er* e.g., KBo 5.8 III 35 NH, KBo 9.144 4 NS, KBo 16.8 III 39 NH, KUB 14.11 II 32 NH, HKM 43 obv. 7 MH/MS; *ar-nu-e-er* e.g., KUB 14.3 I 4 NH, KUB 14.8 obv. 29 NH, KUB 19.14 20 Murš. II

**2sg. imp.act.** e.g., *ar-nu-ut* KBo 3.40a 14 OH/NS, KBo 4.4 IV 22 NH, KBo 5.13 III 2 NH, KUB 14.1 rev. 26 MH/MS, KUB 31.68 I 4 NS, KBo 18.140 16 NS, HKM 31 obv. 28 MH/MS, HKM 65 I 12 MH/MS, HKM 71 rev. 31 MH/MS; *a-ar-nu-ut* KBo 5.13 III 3, 15 NH

**3sg. imp.act.** *ar-nu-ud-du* HKM 45 obv. 5, 7 MH/MS

**2pl.imp.act.** *ar-nu-ut-te-en* HKM 75 rev. 26 MH/MS; *ar-nu-ut-ten* KUB 23.72 + obv. 41 , HKM 15 13 MH/MS, HKM 25 19 MH/MS

**3pl. imp.act.** *ar-nu-an-du* KBo 5.3 II 9 Supp. I; *ar-nu-wa-an-du* KUB 33.89+ obv. 14 NS;

**part. nom. sg. c.** *a-ar-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 23.92 rev. 15 Tudh. IV

**part. acc. sg. c.** *ar-nu-an-da-an* KBo 6.2 IV 6, 7, 19, 21 OS

**part. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *ar-nu-wa-an* KUB 21.33 IV 24 NH; *ar-nu-an* KBo 11.1 obv. 22 Muw. II

**verb.noun n.sg.** *ar-nu-mar* KBo 1.44 I 13 NS; *a-ar-nu-mar* KUB 14.17 II 7 Murš. II; *ar-nu-um-mar* KUB 43.55 II 19 pre-NH/NS

**verb.noun gen.sg.** *ar-nu-ma-aš* KUB 2.1 II 50 Tudh. IV, VSNF 12.33 IV 8 NS; *ar-nu-um-ma-aš* KBo 5.9 II 34 Murš. II, KUB 2.1 II 28 Tudh. IV, KUB 18.49 rev. 11 NS, KUB 58.15 I 3 NS

**inf.I** *ar-nu-ma-an-zi* KBo 16.97 obv. 7 MH/MS, KUB 14.17 II 15 Murš. II, HKM 43 obv. 5 MH/MS; *ar-nu-ma-zi* KBo 23.110 rev. 10 NS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** [*a*]*r-nu-uš-ke-mi* KBo 18.24 I 18 NH

**impf. 2sg. pres. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-ši* KUB 26.15 10 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 4.1 I 32 MH/NS

**impf. 1pl. pres. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-ú-wa-ni* KUB 17.21 II 7 MH/MS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ka-an-zi* KUB 32.123 IV 29 MH/MS

**impf. 1sg. pret. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-nu-un* KBo 16.9 1 Murš. II

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** [*a*]*r-nu-uš-ke-et* KBo 13.74 11 NS

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-er* KBo 4.12 obv. 24, 28 Hatt. III; *ar-nu-uš-ker* KUB 19.14 17 Murš. II

**impf. 2sg. imp. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ki* KUB 40.102 VI 5 NS

**impf. 3 sg. imp. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-ed-du* KUB 30.40 III 8 NS

**impf. 2pl. imp. act.** *ar-nu-uš-ke-tén* FHG 5 7 OS?/MS?; *ar-nu-uš-ke-et-tén* KUB 13.4 IV 6 MH/NS

**impf. 3pl. imp. act.** *ar-nu-uš-kán-du* KUB 13.2 III 10 MH/NS

*Arnu-* is usually compared to Gr. ὀρνυμι ‘to stir up, make to arise, incite’, Lat. *orior* ‘to arise’ and Skt. *ṛṇóti* ‘to move, put in motion’, cf. HED 1/2: 167, Kloekhorst 2008: 208. This connection implies that *arnu-* < *\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-*. According to Rix 1970: 92f., besides PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* (Hitt. *ar-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to stand’, Lat. *orior* ‘to arise’, s. LIV: 299f.), there was also a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>er-* (Hitt. *ār-/ar-<sup>i</sup>* ‘to arrive’, Gr. ἔρχομαι ‘to set out, come to’, Skt. *ṛcháti* ‘to go at, attain’, s. LIV: 238). While the semantic connection of *arnu-* to any of these roots is not apparent, *ār-* ‘to arrive’ seems a better comparandum (cf. Kloekhorst op. cit.). Moreover, the meaning of Gr. ὀρνυμι (<*\*h<sub>3</sub>r-nu-*) does not seem to fit well with that of *arnu-*. However, Kümmel (2000) has shown that reflexes of *\*h<sub>3</sub>er-* in Sanskrit mean ‘to put oneself to move’, which is semantically close to *arnu-*, so the Hittite verb is likely to belong to this root as well. The difference in meaning between *ar-* ‘to stand’ and *arnu-* is perhaps due to a long period of independent development of the two stems.

**ar(as)sanu-** ‘to make/let flow’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ar-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 30.32 I 15 MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ar-ša-nu-ut* KUB 4.5+ 22 NH, KUB 36.89 rev. 13, 14 NH

Typical objects of this verb are water, rivers or floods. The parent verb *ārs/ars-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to flow’ is intransitive. It is compared to CLuw. *ārsiya-* ‘to flow’, Skt. *árṣati* ‘flows’ etc., PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ers-* ‘to flow’ (LIV: 241, HED 1/2: 172). The ablaut *ā/a* is unusual for a *mi-*verb and at first sight implies *\*ó/ø*. Since verbs with a secondary *\*ó/ø* shifted to the *hi-*conjugation (e.g., *sunna-* ‘to fill’ and *tarna-* ‘to let’, see the respective entries), *ārs/ars-<sup>zi</sup>* is unlikely to have originally had this type of ablaut. I prefer Kloekhorst’s

explanation (2014: 332f., 337f.) that *a-ar-aš-zi* stands for a full grade /ʔarstsi/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>érs-ti*, whereas *ar-ša-an-zi* stands for a zero grade stem /ʔarsantsi/ < \**h<sub>1</sub>rs-énti*.

**asnu-, assanu-** ‘to provide, take care of’

**1sg. pres. act.** *aš-nu-mi* KBo 3.5 I 5, 9 MH/NS; *aš-ša-nu-mi* KUB 43.75 rev. 8 OH/NS, FHG 13 II 3 NH

**2sg. pres. act.** *aš-nu-ši* KBo 11.10 III 20 MH?/NS with dupl. KBo 11.72 III 7 MS?; *aš-ša-nu-ši* KBo 8.63 I 11 NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *aš-nu-zi* KBo 3.5 I 32, IV 25 MH/NS, KBo 8.35 I 19 MH/MS, KBo 17.65 rev. 8, 11 MH/MS, KBo 21.41+ obv. 68, rev. 13 MH/MS, KUB 1.13 I 7 MH/NS, KUB 17.23 I 2 NS, KUB 29.4 I 5 MH?/NS; *a-aš-nu-zi* KUB 50.1 IV 11 MS; *aš-nu-uz-zi* KBo 17.65 rev. 13 MH/MS; *aš-ša-nu-zi* KBo 11.6 rev. 20 NS; *aš-ša-nu-uz-zi* KUB 7.13 obv. 33 NS; *a-aš-ša-nu-zi* KUB 58.83 II 11 NS; *aš-ša-nu-nu-zi* KUB 43.54 V 10 NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *aš-nu-me-ni* KUB 35.18 I 5 MS; [*aš-*]š*a-nu-um-me-ni* KUB 22.11 I 11 NS

**2pl. pres. act.** *aš-nu-ut-te-ni* KBo 20.75 rev. 11 NS, KUB 23.68 obv. 8 MH/NS; *aš-ša-nu-ut-te-ni* KBo 23.113 III 9 NS, KUB 26.29+ obv. 22 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *aš-nu-an-zi* KBo 3.5 I 18 MH/NS, KUB 1.13 IV 9 MH/NS, KUB 29.4 III 4, 49 NH, KUB 29.8 II 12, 14 MH/MS, IBoT 3.148 I 5 NS; *aš-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 29.51 I 11 MH/MS, IBoT 3.148 III 17, 19 NS; *aš-ša-nu-an-zi* KBo 13.13 rev. 10 MS? or NS?, KUB 15.31 II 6 MH/NS, KUB 17.35 I 28 Tudh. IV, KUB 27.49 III 23 NS, IBoT 3.148 II 60 NS; *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.8 II 15, IV, 20, 26 NH, KUB 7.24 obv. 10 Tudh. IV, KUB 7.54 II 3, III 10 NH, KUB 10.91 III 18 NH?, KUB 17.18 II 16 NS, IBoT 3.148 II 51 NS; *a-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 32.103 II 15 NS; *aš-ša-nu-u-wa-an-zi* KUB 25.41 V 12 NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *aš-ša-nu-nu-un* KBo 2.5+ III 47 Murš. II, KBo 4.4 II 37 Murš. II, KUB 13.9+ I 4 MH/NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *aš-nu-ut* KBo 18.74 18 NS; *aš-ša-nu-ut* KUB 6.45 III 53 Muw. II, KUB 50.50 11 NS

**1pl. pret. act.** *aš-ša-nu-um-me-en* KBo 10.37 IV 35 OH/NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *aš-ša-nu-er* KBo 2.20 2 NS, KBo 10.20 II 23 NS; *aš-ša-nu-e-er* KBo 10.20 III 18 NS; *aš-nu-er* HKM 43 8 MH/MS

**1sg. imp. act.** *aš-nu-ul-lu* KUB 14.8 rev. 7 Murš. II ; *aš-ša-nu-ul-lu* KUB 14.11 III 20 Murš. II, LS

**2sg. imp. act.** *aš-nu-ut* KBo 11.72 II 37 MH/MS?, KUB 13.2 III 31, 32, 38 MH/NS; *aš-ša-nu-ut* KBo 13.153 3 NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *aš-ša-nu-ud-du* KUB 13.2 III 23 MH/NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *aš-nu-ut-tén* HKM 60 9 MH/MS; *aš-ša-nu-ut-te-en* KBo 20.34 rev. 9 OH/MS

**3pl. imp. act.** *aš-nu-an-du* KUB 13.2 II 23 with dupl. KUB 31.86 IV 9 both MH/NS

**3sg. pres. med.** *aš-nu-ut-ta-ri* KUB 32.130 11 MH/MS, KBo 50.268+ II 21 (dupl. to KBo 13.20 I 10) MH/MS?; *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ri* KBo 9.96 II 3 NH; *aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri* KUB 13.20 I 10 MH/NS; *a-aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri* KUB 13.20 I 22 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. med.** *aš-nu-wa-an-ta-ri* KUB 29.40 II 7 MH/MS, KUB 29.44 III 5 MH/MS

**3sg. pret. med.** *aš-nu-ut-ta-at* KUB 15.34 IV 41 MH/MS; *aš-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 17.95 II 11 MH/MS

**3sg. imp. med.** *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ru* KUB 36.30 5 NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *aš-nu-an-za* KUB 31.127 I 19 OH/NS; *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 13.2 rev. 18 NH, KUB 24.3 I 45, 50 Murš. II, KUB 33.121 II 6 NH; *a-ša-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 4.6 obv. 14 Murš. II

**part. acc. sg. c.** *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-da-an* KUB 30.10 rev. 23 MH/MS, KUB 31.127+ III 34 NS

**part. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *aš-nu-an* KBo 3.21 III 3 OH?/MS?; *aš-ša-nu-wa-an* KBo 2.13 rev. 8 NH

**part. gen. sg. (?)** *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-da-aš* KBo 13.215 rev. 3 NS

**part. nom. pl. c.** *aš-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 60.157 II 16 MS; *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 36.30 4 NS

**verbal noun nom.sg.** *aš-nu-wa-u-wa-[ar]* KUB 29.50 IV 6 MH/MS; *aš-nu-mar* KUB 50.33 I 3 NH; *aš-ša-nu-w[a-w]a-ar* KBo 2.8 I 29 NH; *aš-ša-nu-mar* KBo 26.18 IV 3 NH

**verbal noun gen. sg.** *aš-nu-wa-aš* KUB 43.55 V 1 pre-NH/NS; *aš-nu-ma-aš* KBo 2.7 obv. 8, 10, 14, 15, 28 NH, KUB 17.28 IV 42 MH/NS; *aš-nu-um-ma-aš* KBo 26.152 rev. 5 NS; *aš-ša-nu-ma-aš* KUB 17.35 II 23, III 7 Tudh. IV, KUB 38.25 I 23 NH; *aš-ša-nu-ma-a-aš* KUB 41.34 rev. 11 NS, KUB 46.22 obv. 11, 23, rev. 5, 19 NS; *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-aš* KBo 2.13 rev. 7 NH, KBo 14.142 I 58 NH, KUB 7.24 obv. 8 Tudh. IV, KUB 25.23 I 29 Tudh. IV

**inf. I** *aš-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 21.37+ OBV. 21 MS; *aš-nu-u-wa-an-zi* KBo 23.17 NS; *aš-nu-u-wa-u-wa-an-zi* KUB 41.31 obv. 11 MS?; *aš-nu-ma-an-zi* KBo 13.237 obv. 5, 10 LNS, ABoT 1.14 V 10 NH; *aš-nu-u-ma-an-zi* KBo 23.41+ obv. 16 NS; *aš-ša-nu-um-ma-an-zi* KUB 25.23 I 45 Tudh. IV

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *aš-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 31.141 obv. 2 NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *aš-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 8.91+ obv. 22' MS ; *aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 21.11 rev. 3 Hatt. III, HT 1 IV 5 MH/NS

**impf. 2sg. imp. act.** *aš-ša-nu-uš-ki* KUB 40.47 obv. 9 NS

I follow Kloekhorst 2008: 217ff. and HW<sup>2</sup> I: 372 contra HED 1/2: 192ff. that *as(sa)nu-* is to be separated from *āssiye/a-* ‘to be dear.’ The meaning seems to be ‘to take care of (gods, horses), finish’. There are, however, several indications that at some moment *as(sa)nu-* was reanalyzed by some speakers as a derivative of *āssu-* ‘good’.

First, while there are essential differences in their spelling (in contrast with *as(sa)nu-*, *āssu-* and *āssiya-* are generally spelled with a plene on the first syllable), we have *a-aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri* in KUB 13.20 I 22 and *a-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* in KUB 32.103 II 15. These are NS forms, and their spelling is likely to have been influenced by that of *a-aš-šu*.

Secondly, there are still a few instances where *as(sa)nu-* may in fact be rendered as ‘to be dear, favourable’. Schwemer (2015) translated KUB 30.10 rev. 22f. *[nu]-mu LUGAL-an (23) a-aš-ki DINGIR-IA Ú-UL aš-ša-nu-wa-an-da-an an-du-uḫ-ša-an le-e*

*iš-ša-at-ti* (A Middle Hittite prayer to Sun God, CTH 373) as “My god, do not make me an unfavoured person at the king’s gate”<sup>133</sup>. CHD P: 298 gives the following translation: “O my god, don’t make me (like) a person who does not receive just treatment at the King’s Gate”. Cf. also a similar passage in KUB 31.127+ III 34. Another example is a Hittite expression in the KBo 13.2 rev. 18 *antuhsani*<sup>(sic!)</sup>=*kan kuis assanuwanza* for which unfortunately no Akkadian counterpart is preserved, but which is most likely to be understood “who is dear to the population”, cf. HED 1/2: 195. This contamination between *asnu-* and *āssiye/a-* must be rather late, since in most contexts their meaning is different.

There are no OS forms attested, but the vast majority of the MS forms points to original *asnu-*; the variant *aš-ša-nu-* is also attested already in MS but most forms come from New Hittite copies or originals. Therefore, this verb seems to be based on the stem *as-*, inviting a formal comparison with either *es/as-* ‘to be’ or *es/as-* ‘to sit’, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 218. The semantic connection to either of these roots is not obvious, as one would expect *as(sa)nu-* to mean \*‘to cause to be’ > \*‘to create’ or \*‘to make sit’ > \*‘to set’ respectively. Nevertheless, it has often been suggested that *as(sa)nu-* is a causative to *es/as-* ‘to sit’, see, e.g., Kronasser 1966: 443 who compared Lat. *sēdō* ‘to mitigate, calm down’ and assumed the following semantic development: ‘to calm down, appease’ > ‘to finish’. Cf. also Eng. ‘to set’ and ‘to settle’ ultimately from the same root as Lat. *sēdō*.

If *as(sa)nu-* is derived from *es/as-* ‘to sit’, it can be compared to HLuw. *isanu-* ‘to settle’. Nevertheless, semantically *isanu-* is closer to Hitt. *ases-* ‘to settle, install’ and, given the productivity of *nu-*verbs in Hittite and Luwian, they are rather independent formations.

There is an alternative, which is less likely. Semantically, all attested meanings of *asnu-* can be derived from ‘good’. If one postulates a kind of a Caland system functioning already at an early stage of Hittite (see 4.9), a derivation of *asnu-* from \**asu-*, the Hittite reflex of PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>su-* ‘good’ is conceivable. (For the discussion whether Hitt. *assu-* is related, see below under *assiyanu-*).

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133 In other contexts in the prayers to Sun God, Schwemer translates *as(sa)nu-* as ‘widely worshipped’.

**asesanu-** ‘to install, settle’

**1sg. pres. act.** *a-ši-ša-nu-mi* KUB 14.3 III 69 Hatt. III?

**3sg. pres. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-zi* KUB 22.59 obv. 5 NH

**3pl. pres. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.6 III 45 Tudh. IV; *a-še-ša-nu-an-zi*  
KUB 32.128 II 4 MH/NS; *a-ši-ša-nu-an-zi* KUB 43.49 rev. 10 NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-nu-un* KBo 3.6 II 12, 47, 50 Hatt. III, KUB 21.19+ III  
19 Hatt. III

**3sg. pret. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-ut* KBo 6.28 obv. 18 Hatt. III, KUB 8.53 9 NH, KUB  
21.29 I 13, 14 Hatt. III, KUB 23.97 III 3 NS; *a-ši-ša-nu-ut* KBo 13.50 12’ NS

**inf. I** *a-še-ša-nu-ma-an-zi* KBo 22.246 III 24 NS, KBo 26.156 rev. 5 NS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-uš-ke-mi* KBo 11.1 obv. 24, 26 Muw. II

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *a-še-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 31.99 11 NS; *a-še-ša-nu-uš-ke-*  
*zi* KUB 31.99 13 NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *a-ši-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 3.3 III 3Murš. II

According to HW<sup>2</sup> A: 395, *asesanu-* is attested since the times of Mursili II. The difference between *asesanu-* and *asās/ases-*, which both mean ‘to settle, install’, is often hard to detect, cf. [GIDIM=ya] *sarā a-še-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.6 III 44-5 and GIDIM= *ya sarā a-še-ša-an-zi* ibid. 61 “they will set up (an effigy of the) deceased” in Tudhaliya IV’s oracle inquiry (van den Hout 1998: 210f.).

Even though these verbs may be used interchangeably (cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 395 for a list of such contexts), there still seems to be a certain difference in their semantics: *asesanu-* usually means ‘to settle’, while *ases-* often means simply ‘to set up’ or ‘to install’. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 391f. notes that during the reign of Hattusili III *asās/ases-* virtually ceased to be used with the meaning ‘to settle’, which was relegated to *asesanu-*. There are also a few contexts where *asās/ases-* is semantically equivalent to *es/as-* ‘to sit, sit down’, as in KBo 15.2 IV 27 [(*namma* LUGAL-*uš kued*)*as (kued)as*] (28) [(AN)A AŠRI<sup>HL.A</sup> *a-še-eš-kat-ta-ri nu=za apa[sa apedas ANA AŠRI<sup>HL.A</sup>?*] (29) [*a-š*]e-eš-kat-ta-ri “An diejenigen Plätze, an die sich der (wahre) König zu setzen pflegt, [da setz]t sich

[auch] jene[r] [hin].” (Kümmel 1967: 62f.); for other examples see HW<sup>2</sup> A: 391. Thus, the motivation for the derivation of the *asesanu-* was likely to reinforce the causative meaning of *asās/ases-*, which seems to have bleached over time.

Surprisingly, *asesanu-* is never spelled as *\*a-še-eš-nu-*, so the vowel before the suffix *-nu-* must be real. Usually *-nu-* is attached immediately to the last consonant of the root, cf., e.g., *sasnu-* ‘to make lie down, put to bed’, *warnu-* ‘to burn’, see further 4.10 below.

The verb *asās/ases-* is a reduplicated stem, and it goes back to the same root as Hitt. *ēs<sup>-ari</sup>* ‘to sit down’ and *es/as<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to sit’ and, ultimately, as Skt. *āste* ‘to sit, live, settle’, YAv. *āh-* ‘to sit’, Gr. *ἵσται* ‘sits’, PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* or *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* (LIV: 232 with footnote 0). In the singular, the stem is *asās-*, cf. numerous OS attestations of 3sg. *a-ša-a-ši*. It is less clear what the original shape of the plural stem was. There is one OS attestation of the imperfective stem, *a-ša-aš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 17.1 I 6. However, the most frequent spelling for the weak stem is *a-še-šV-/a-še-eš-C*, although there are also variants *a-še-e-š<sup>o</sup>* and *a-ši-š<sup>o</sup>*. This set of spellings can be compared to the NS spelling of the inchoative suffix *-ēss-* in, e.g., *parkuess-* ‘to be/become pure’, 3Sg. pres. act. *pár-ku-e-eš-zi* KUB 13.3 II 16, III 30 (MH<sup>?</sup>/NS), KBo 12.49 II 5; *pár-ku-eš-zi* KBo 3.28 II 11 (OH/NS), *pár-ku-iš-zi* Bo 4951 rev. 5 (NS), s. CHD P: 168.

Of the two attested weak stems, either *asas-* or *asēs-* must be secondary. Kloekhorst (2014b: 60<sup>9</sup>) argued that *\*asasanzi* /*\*asāser* was replaced by *\*asasanzi* /*aseser* in analogy to *asanzi/eser* ‘to be’, and subsequently the stem *ases-* spread throughout the paradigm. A less likely alternative is that *ašaškezzi* and some other weak stem forms reflect a zero grade with an anaptyctic vowel *-a-*; this stem arose in analogy to the weak stems of *hi-*verbs with *-a-/ø* ablaut, e.g., *sākk-/sakk-* ‘to know’.

The derivation of *asās/ases-* from either *ēs<sup>-ari</sup>* ‘to sit down’ or *es/as<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to sit’ is generally accepted, but the causative meaning of *asās/ases-* is not typical for a reduplicated verb, since most reduplicated verbs in Hittite are imperfective, sound-imitative or intensive; in Hittite there are only two reduplicated verbs with a causative function, namely *asās/ases-* and *titta-* ‘to install, cause to stand’, see Dempsey 2015:

331ff. nevertheless, in the languages of the world quite a few markers have both a causative and an intensive function, see 7.3 and Oettinger 1979: 431<sup>77</sup>.

If the original ablaut was *asās/asēs-*, the origin of this verb and its relationship to the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* (or *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-*) is not clear. It can hardly be a Hittite formation, since, in my view, such an ablaut would be unique in an Anatolian reduplicated verb; cf. the overview of reduplication types in Dempsey 2015: 333ff. The only stem type with a full reduplication reconstructed for PIE is the intensive *\*C<sub>1</sub>éC<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>1</sub>oC<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV: 24). However, hypothetical *\*h<sub>1</sub>é(h<sub>1</sub>)s-h<sub>1</sub>o(h<sub>1</sub>)s/h<sub>1</sub>é(h<sub>1</sub>)s-h<sub>1</sub>(h<sub>1</sub>)s-* could not yield Hitt. *asās/asēs-*. Rasmussen (2010: 224) proposed that the intensive stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>ós-/h<sub>1</sub>és-h<sub>1</sub>s-* yielded Hitt. *\*asās/ēs-* that was then analogically leveled to *asās/asēs-*, but this is formally impossible as well, since the initial *\*h<sub>1</sub>* before *\*s* does not yield Hitt. *a-*, see the entry for *āssiyanu-* below.

The ablaut *asās-/asas-*, on the other hand, is expected in a *hi*-conjugation verb. Instances of a reduplicated *hi*-verb derived from a *mi*-verb are well known, e.g., *lip<sup>-zi</sup>* and *lilipa<sup>-i</sup>* (or *lelipa<sup>-i</sup>*) ‘to lick’. However, *asās-/asas-* can hardly go back to *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>os/h<sub>1</sub>s-* (or *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>1</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>s/h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>s-*). Theoretically, *asās-* could be a renewed reduplication, similar to Gr. ἐδηδώς ‘having eaten’, presumably based on the stem *\*ḡδ < \*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>d-*, (cf. Oettinger 1979: 431f., LIV: 231<sup>12</sup>). However, most plausible is an Anatolian/proto-Hittite copy vowel reduplication of the verb *es-/as<sup>-zi</sup>* ‘to sit’, similar to *ararkiske/a-* from *ark<sup>-a</sup>* ‘to mount, copulate’.

**āssiyanu-** ‘to love, make loved’

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *a-aš-ši-ya-nu-uš-[ke-ši]* KBo 13.55 rev. 4 MS?

**impf. 1pl. pres. act.** *a-aš-ši-ya-nu-uš-ga-u-e-ni* KUB 31.42 II 23 MH/NS

For the contexts s. HW<sup>2</sup> A: 404.

The verb *āssiyanu-* is derived from *āss-*, *āssiya-* ‘to be loved’. Puhvel (HED 1/2: 204, 206) and Weitenberg (1984: 96) connect this verb and *āssu-* ‘good, dear’ with Goth. *ansts* ‘favour, grace’, ON *āst* ‘favor, love’. There are several problems with this etymology. First, the meaning of the noun *āssū* is ‘good, goods’ rather than ‘favour’ or

‘love’. Second, Kroonen (2013: 30) has convincingly argued that Goth. *ansts* and its Germanic cognates are related to ON *unna* ‘to grant, love’ and reflect *\*an-sti-* from the root *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>2</sub>-*, for which see LIV: 302f. Therefore, the connection of the Germanic forms to Hitt. *āss-* is implausible.

Under a different view *āss-* can be regarded as an old backformation to *āssu-*, which is often compared to Gr. *εὖς*, Skt. *su-* ‘good’, reflecting PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-* or *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésu-*. Even though *āss-* is not attested in OH texts, a Hieroglyphic Luwian cognate *aza-* ‘to love’ (< *\*as-ske-*, cf. Yakubovich 2002: 199; for the reconstruction *\*-ske-* instead of *\*-ské-*, see Lubotsky 2001) shows that the verbal stem *\*as(s)-* ‘to love’<sup>3</sup> is common Anatolian. Therefore, one has to assume that the semantic development ‘good’ > ‘favourable, loved’ took place at the common Anatolian stage and that the stem *\*as(s)-* was also a common Anatolian backformation. This is possible, but there are some formal difficulties with this etymology as well.

First, there is the issue of vocalization of *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* before a consonant. The laryngeal left no trace in *siye/a-* ‘to shoot, hurl’ < *\*h<sub>1</sub>sye-*<sup>134</sup> (Kimball 1999: 390f. with literature). Another possible example is a Hieroglyphic Luwian hapax *su-ḫa-pa-na-ti* ‘very rich?’, where, according to Rieken (2003: 40ff.), *su-* reflects *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-* and *-ḫa-pa-na-ti* reflects *happanant-* ‘rich’, cognate with Hitt. *happinant-* ‘id.’; this interpretation of the Luwian form is, however, not universally accepted. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the evidence rather suggests that *\*h<sub>1</sub>-* was not vocalized before /s/ in Anatolian. If so, *āssu-* cannot reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>su-*<sup>135</sup>. Secondly, even if we start with the stem *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésu-*, which was suggested for Greek by, e.g., Hoffmann (1976: 603), the gemination of *\*-s-* is still to be explained. The development *\*éC-* > *áCC-* (“Limited Čop’s Law”) that had been suggested in the literature is not plausible, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 224.

Kloekhorst addresses these issues arguing that *āssu-* goes back to a reduplicated formation *\*h<sub>1</sub>óh<sub>1</sub>s-u-/h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>séu-*, which yielded the attested form after several levellings. If so, *āssu-* is no longer a parallel formation to Gr. *εὖς* and Skt. *su-*, which has been a major advantage of this etymology. Kloekhorst addresses this problem suggesting that

<sup>134</sup> Melchert (1989: 37f.) derives *sie-* from *\*sh<sub>1</sub>-ye-*.

<sup>135</sup> Initial *a-* in, e.g., 3pl. *asanzi* may well be analogical, as, e.g., per Melchert 1994: 66f., cf. also Wodtko 2008: 242<sup>15</sup>.

Gr. ἤϋς, which has been considered to be a lengthened variant of ἐϋς, in fact reflects a full grade *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-*, while ἐϋς reflects a zero grade. That would make the Greek adjective a perfect match of the Hittite one. Beekes (2010: 484), however, maintains that such an ablaut is highly improbable and sticks to the traditional analysis of ἤϋς, cf. also Wodtko 2008: 242<sup>14</sup>, Dunkel 2014 II: 305<sup>34</sup>.

Watkins (1982: 261) suggested that the adjective *āssu-* was derived from the noun *āssu-* ‘good, goods; according to Nussbaum (1998: 151f.), this derivation took place already in PIE. Melchert (1994b: 300f.) argued that the noun *āssu-* goes back to an *\*āsu* < *\*h<sub>1</sub>ósu-*, and the derived adjective *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésu-* yields *\*assu-* via Limited Cop’s Law. After levelling, both the noun and the adjective took the form *āssu-*. However, later Melchert (forthc.c: 7) states that existence of the Limited Cop’s Law is unlikely; another counterargument put forward by Kloekhorst (2008: 224) is that in other IE families only *u*-stem adjectives are attested.

Formally, *āssu-* can also be a regular *u*-stem adjective derived from *āss-* ‘to remain, stay’. This connection is not apparent semantically, but still not unthinkable. The meanings of *āss-* and *āssu-* might have drifted apart with time, as those of *hues-* ‘to live, survive’ and *huesu-* ‘raw’. The etymology of *āss-* is, however, not clear, cf. HED 1/2: 189, Kloekhorst 2008: 214f.

Summing up, *āss-* ‘to be loved’ does not have a compelling etymology. As *āss-* is related to HLuw. *aza-*, it does not have to be a backformation from *āssu-*, but it has no reliable cognates outside Anatolian. In turn, *āssu-* ‘good’ cannot be directly compared to Gr. ἐϋς and Skt. *su-*.

**esharnu-** ‘to make bloody, make red’

**1sg. pres. act.** *e-eš-ḫar-nu-mi* KUB 14.1 rev. 47 MH/MS

**3sg. pres. act.** *e-eš-ḫar-nu-zi* KUB 23.72 rev. 30 MH/MS

**3pl. pres. act.** *iš-ḫar-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 6.34+ 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 23.72 rev. 29 MH/MS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *iš-ḫar-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 35.145 obv. 3 NH;

**part. acc. sg. c.** *iš-ḥar-nu-wa-an-da-an* KUB 9.34 IV 2 NS, KUB 35.145 obv. 15 NH; *iš-ḥar-nu-wa-an-da<-an>* KUB 9.4 III 42 MH/NS, KUB 17.15 II 10 NS;

**part. gen. sg.** *iš-ḥar-nu-wa-an-da-aš* KBo 17.54 I 14 MS,

**part. nom. pl. c.** *iš-ḥar-nu-wa-an-te-eš* VBoT 111 III 15 NS;

**part. nom.-acc. pl. neut.** *iš-ḥar-nu-wa-an-da* KBo 12.126 I 39 MH/NS, VBoT 111 III 9 NS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *iš-ḥar-nu-uš-ke-mi* KUB 30.36 III 1 MH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. med.** *e-eš-ḥar-nu-uš-ke-et-ta* KUB 58.82 II 8 NS

*Esharnu-* is a denominative verb, derived from *ēšhar* ‘blood’. It must reflect a common Anatolian formation, since it has a Luwian cognate, *asharnu-* (*āsharnummainzi* KUB 35.18 I 13).

*Ešhar* is related to Skt. *ásyḥ* and Gr. *ἔαρ* ‘blood’, PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésh<sub>2</sub>r*, G.Sg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>sh<sub>2</sub>én-s*, see HED 1/2: 312f., Kloekhorst 2008: 259f.

There is also an *ahh*-factitive (KBo 15.1 I 28 *e-eš-ḥar-wa-aḥ[-ḥi-eš-ke-et-ta]* NS) derived from the adjective *isharwant-* ‘bloody red’.

**ēdriyanu-** ‘to feed’

**impf. 3sg. imper. act.?** *e-et-ri-ya-nu-uš-ke-e[d-du]* KUB 39.41 rev. OH/NS

The parent verb *ēdriya-* ‘to feed’ is transitive, as is seen from the only attested finite form in KBo 6.3 IV 60 [G]U<sub>4</sub>?<sup>Hl.A</sup>-ŠU *e-et-re-eš-ke-ez-zi* ‘(If anyone sets fire to a shed), he shall feed his (sc. the owner's) cattle’, s. Hoffner 1997: 97f. The context of *e-et-ri-ya-nu-uš-ke-e[d-du]* in KUB 39.41 is unfortunately broken (s. Kassian, Korolev, Sideltsev 2002: 650), so we cannot say whether there was any syntactic or semantic difference between *ēdriya-* and *ēdriyanu-*.

The verb *ēdriya-* is derived from *edri-* ‘food’, which is based on *ed/ad-* ‘to eat’ (PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>ed-*, LIV: 230). Its Anatolian cognates are HLuw. *ad(a)ri-* and CLuw. *ad(a)ri(ya)-* ‘to feed(?)’.

**halinu-** ‘to make kneel’ or ‘to make fall down’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ḫa-li-nu-an-zi* KUB 29.45 I 14 MH/MS, KUB 29.40 III 47  
MH/MS, KUB 29.50 I 13, 28 MH/MS; *ḫa-li-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 8.49 7 MH/MS

*Halinu-* is attested only in the Hittite horse-training texts (all of them belong to CTH 286). The verb is derived from *haliya-*, which has often been interpreted as ‘to kneel, genuflect’, but rather means ‘to fall down, throw oneself to the ground’, according to Beal 1998: 85.

A widely accepted etymology connects *haliya-* with IE words for elbow: Lat. *ulna* ‘forearm’, Gr. ὠλένη ‘elbow’, Goth. *aleina* ‘cubit’, s. HED 3: 29. The reconstructed PIE root for these words is *\*Heh<sub>3</sub>l-en-*, s. de Vaan 2008: 638, Beekes 2010: 1678, Kroonen 2013: 22. For the Hittite verb that would mean that the stem was *\*Hh<sub>3</sub>l-ye/o-*. However, if *haliya-* does mean ‘to fall down’, this connection does not work; perhaps, *haliya-* could then be compared to *hallana/i-* ‘to trample down’ (see the respective entry in 3.1) and PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to perish’ (e.g., LIV: 298). *Haliya-* would then reflect *\*h<sub>3</sub>lh<sub>1</sub>-ye/o-* just as *aniye/a-* reflects *\*h<sub>3</sub>nH-ye/o-*; another possible parallel is *sallanna/i-* ‘to pull, drag’ and *ša-li-i-an-zi* (KUB 58.14 Rs. 1. col. 24, s. CHD Š: 85)<sup>136</sup>.

**halluwanu-** ‘to put down (deep), lower, let deteriorate’

**3sg. pret. act.** *ḫal-lu-wa-nu-ut* KUB 24.7 III 26 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *ḫal-lu-wa-nu-e-er* KUB 24.7 I 32 NS

*Halluwanu-* is derived from *halluwa-* ‘hollow, empty’. Puhvel compares *halluwa-* to Lat. *alvus* ‘belly’, both with metathesis *\*h<sub>2</sub>elwo-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>eulo-* (compare Gr. αὐλός ‘hollow pipe’ (HED 3: 49, de Vaan 2008: 36).

**harranu-** ‘to grind’

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<sup>136</sup> The etymology of *sallanna/i-* is not clear. It has been compared to PIE *\*sel-* ‘to jump, leap’ (cf. HEG S: 758); however, both semantically and formally PIE *\*selh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to take’ (LIV: 529) is a better connection.

**3sg. pret. act.** *ḫar-ra-nu-ut* Bo 5249 4 NS

**impf. 3 pl. pres. act.** *ḫar-ra-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 6.34 II 23 MH/NS

**impf. 3 sg. imp. med.** *ḫar-ra-<nu->uš-ke-ed-du*<sup>137</sup> KBo 6.34 II 28 MH/NS

On the form *harra<n>uskeddu* s. Oettinger 1976: 34. There seems to be no difference in meaning between *harranu-* and *harra-* ‘to grind, ruin’.

There are several possible etymologies for *harra-* and its Anatolian cognates CLuw. *harra-* and HLuw. *harra-* ‘to crush’. According to Puhvel (HED 3: 136), a comparison to Gr. ἄρῶ, Lat. *arō* ‘to plough’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-* is most plausible, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 301; for the root, see LIV: 272; however, Puhvel admits that the Hittite verb could also be a borrowing from Akk. *harāru* ‘to grind’. According to Peters (1986: 374<sup>34</sup>), the Hittite verb is related to Slav. *oriti* ‘destroy’ and the name of the Greek god of war, Ἄρης (< *\*h<sub>2</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-*); for this etymology, cf. also Barnes 2009.

**harganu-** ‘to ruin, destroy’

**1sg. pres. act.** *ḫar-qa-nu-mi* KUB 5.1 I 92, 95; III 56 Hatt. III

**2sg. pres. act.** *ḫar-ga-nu-ši* KUB 23.95, 16 NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḫar-qa-nu-zi* KUB 5.1 I 74, II 46, *ḫar-ga-nu-zi* KUB 22.25 obv. 28 NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *ḫar-qa-nu-me-ni* KBo 18.27 obv. 6 NS; *ḫar-ga-nu-e-ni* KBo 18.27 rev. 29 NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *ḫar-ga-nu-nu-un* KUB 26.80 2, 3 Hatt. III; KUB 21.20 IV 6 Hatt. III; KBo 13.59 5 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ḫar-ga-nu-ut* KUB 13.35 II 43 5 NS, KUB 19.9 I 14 Hatt. III, KUB 21.6a 11 Hatt. III, KBo 6.28 obv. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 Hatt. III; KUB 23.1 I 38 Tudh. IV, KUB 21.8 II 5 NS, KUB 22.65 II 34 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *ḫar-ga-nu-er* KUB 44.1 I 6, 17, 36 NS, KBo 3.6 II 4 Hatt. III, KUB 19.22 3 NS, KUB 21.31 6 NS; *ḫar-qa-nu-er* KBo 31.69 obv. 6 NS

<sup>137</sup> In fact *-ta*, s. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 272.

**3pl. imp. act.** *ḥar-kán-nu[-an-du]* KUB 26.43 rev. 39 Tudh. IV, *ḥar-ga-nu-an-du* KUB 26.12 II 11, 22 Tudh. IV; *ḥar-ga-nu-wa-an-du* KBo 6.28 rev. 41 Hatt. III  
**part. nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut.** *ḥar-ga-nu-wa-an* KBo 6.28 obv. 6 Hatt. III.

This verb is a synonym of *harnink-* ‘to destroy’, both being causatives to *hark-* ‘to perish’. *Harganu-* started to replace *harnink-* since the time of Hattusili III (cf. Ünal 1984: 76ff.). This dating is not put in doubt by *harganuer* in KUB 19.22, a text belonging to the Deeds of Suppiluliuma, since the ductus of the text is Late New Script, according to the dating at the HPM website; therefore, KUB 19.22 is a very late copy, and *harganu-* here must have replaced an original *harnink-*. On the consistency of *ḥar-ga-nu-* and *ḥar-qa-nu-* and absence of *\*ḥar-ak-nu-*, cf. further 4.10.

**harganu-** ‘to make white, whiten’

**3sg. pret. act.** *ḥar-ga-nu-ut* KBo 10.37 I 46 OH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *ḥar-ga-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 41.1 I 12 MH/NS

*Harganu-* is derived from *harki-* ‘white’, which is traditionally connected with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>erǵ-*, Toch.A *ārki*, B *arkwi* ‘white’, Skt. *árjuna-* ‘shiny white’ etc., see HED 3: 171. Cf. further 4.10.

**harnu-** ‘to spray, sprinkle’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḥar-nu-ú-i-iz-zi* KUB 17.24 II 4 NS, *ḥar-nu-zi* KUB 47.39  
obv. 12 NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *ḥar-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 13.179 II 10 NS, KBo 24.45 obv. 22 MS;  
*ḥar-nu-an-zi* KUB 29.7 I 36, 46, 56 MH/MS; *ḥar-nu-u-wa-an-zi* KBo 9.111 7 NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *ḥar-nu-u-wa-an-za* KUB 30.19+ I 16 MH/NS

**part. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *ḥar-nu-wa-an* KUB 13.4 I 20, 60 MH/NS

**part. nom.-acc. pl. neut.** *ḥar-nu-an-ta* KBo 17.65 rev. 10 MH/MS

**?verbal noun gen. sg.** *ḥu-u-ur-nu-u-wa-as* KUB 39.6 II 14 NS

For the etymology and the reading, see *harna-* ‘to spray, sprinkle’ in 3.1.

There is no discernible semantic difference between *harna-* and *harnu-*. The form *ḥar-nu-ú-i-iz-zi* in KUB 17.24 II 4 belongs to a derivative stem *harnuye/a-*.

**harpanu-** ‘to pile up’

**2sg. imp. act.** *ḥar-pa-nu-ut* HKM 65 o.Rd. 26 MS

The only secure attestation<sup>138</sup> is HKM 65 o.Rd. 26: [Z]ÍD.DA-ya *harpanut* ‘pile up flour as well’ (s. Hoffner 2009: 218). The oldest forms of the parent verb *harp-* ‘to change sides, add, join’ show middle inflection, though starting from MS active forms become common. *Harpanu-* may well have been built to the original middle forms.

The etymology of this verb depends on how seriously one takes the few spellings with a geminated *-pp-* (*ḥar-ap-p°*). Kloekhorst (2008: 312) argues that they are irrelevant; he accepts Melchert’s etymology (published in Melchert 2010) that *harp-* is related to Gr. ὀρφανός ‘orphan’ and OIr. *orb(b)* ‘heir; inheritance’ (PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-*). Puhvel’s connection to Lat. *rapiō* ‘to snatch’ and Gr. ἐρέπτομαι ‘to snatch, grab’, PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>rep-* is formally impossible.

**hassanu-** ‘to bring to birth’

**3pl. pret. act.** *ḥa-aš-ša-nu-e-r(a-an)* KUB 33.120 II 79 NS, KUB 33.93+ III 10 NS; *ḥa-aš-nu-*[ KBo 26.100 IV 15 MS

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *ḥa-aš-ša-nu-uš-[ke-er]* KUB 33.93+ III 7 NS

The verb is attested in the texts of the Kumarbi cycle. It has two arguments, just as its parent verb *hass-* ‘to give birth’. They differ in that the subject of *hass-* is usually the mother (rarely father), and the verb can be used intransitively, for the contexts see HW<sup>2</sup> H: 391ff., while the subject of *hassanu-* is usually a midwife, who helps to deliver a child, e.g., KUB 33.93+ III 10 *ḥa-aš-ša-nu-e-r=a-an* MUNUS<sup>M[EŠ]</sup> «They

<sup>138</sup> The form *harpanuanda* in KUB 26.32 I 32 may also belong here, but it was analyzed in Starke 1990: 232 as a *want-* adjective from *harpan-* ‘rebellion’.

brought him to birth, the wome[n] ...», cf. HED 3: 217. However, there is at least one example where a midwife is the subject of *hass-* – KBo 17.61 obv. 11 (MS) [ ]*wa=z*<sup>MUNUS</sup> *hasnuppallas ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un* “[Ich], die Hebamme, habe [das Kin]d zur Welt gebracht” (see the electronic edition by Rieken at the HPM website). Therefore, the bare stem *hass-* could already convey what seems to be the quasi-causative meaning ‘to help to give birth’ besides the basic ‘to give birth’, and the derived stem *hassanu-* specializes in the former. As *hassanu-* is only attested in NS copies, it may be a relatively late formation that replaced *hass-* in the meaning ‘to help to give birth’. See further 7.2.3 and cf. Aikhenvald 2011: 136f. for a discussion of causatives made to labile verbs.

There is a cognate verb in Hieroglyphic Luwian, *has(a)-* ‘beget’. Hittite *hanzassa-* ‘offspring’, *hassu-* ‘king’, CLuw. *hamsa/i-* ‘grandchild’ are also commonly believed to belong to this root. Puhvel compares further Skt. *māṅśá-*, Goth. *mimz*, OCS *męso*, TochB *mīsa* ‘flesh, meat’ (allegedly going back to a reduplicated root noun *\*h<sub>2</sub>me-h<sub>2</sub>ms-* from the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ems-*), see HED 3: 217f.; this connection is neither semantically convincing nor formally possible.

**hassik(ka)nu-** ‘to satiate, quench one’s thirst’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ḫa-aš-ši-ik-nu-an-zi* KBo 14.63a+ I 46 MS, KUB 29.40 II 5 MS;  
*ḫa-aš-ši-i[g-g]a-nu-an-z[i]* KBo 14.63+ IV 35 MS, *ḫa-aš-ši-ig-ga-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB  
 29.48 rev. 17 MS, KUB 29.44 III 38 MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *ḫa-aš-ši-iq-qa-nu-ut* KUB 25.23 IV 59 NH

There are no Hittite cognates, but in Palaic there is a related verb *has-* ‘to be satiated of drinking’:

KUB 32.18 obv. 7 *a-ta-a-an-ti ni-ip-pa-ši mu-ša-a-an-ti a-ḫu-wa-an-ti ni-ip-pa-aš ḫa-ša-a-an-ti* (similarly obv. 9, 18).

‘They eat, (but) do not have enough, they drink but do not quench their thirst’.

(Carruba 1970: 8, most recently Yakubovich 2009: 177).

The Palaic cognate *has-* makes it clear that *-ikk-* in *hassik-* is a suffix. Already Oettinger (1979: 194) analyzed *hassik-* as *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-K-*. HED 3: 231 further compares Pal. *has-* and Hitt. *hassikk-* to Greek ἄω ‘to satiate, take one’s fill’, but Beekes 2010: 146 connects the Greek verb with *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV: 520f.), which hardly had any initial laryngeal. The root *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-* still could be envisaged if *has-* and *hassik-* are related to Lat. *inānis* ‘empty, hollow’ <*\*ṇ-h<sub>2</sub>es-ni-* as suggested by Klingenschmitt (1994: 242f., s. also LIV: 273). However, a crucial point for all the etymological attempts is the geminated spelling *-ss-* in Hitt. *hassik-*. It can hardly go back to PIE /s/, for initial /hs-/ would have been spelled *ḫa-ši-*, *ḫe-ši-* or *ḫi-ši-*, s. Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 12f.

Since the root cannot be just *\*h<sub>2</sub>es-*, *-ss-* must reflect some kind of assimilation. The assimilated sound could have been a laryngeal, e.g., *hāssā-* ‘fireplace’ < PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s-eh<sub>2</sub>-*, Skt. *āsa-* ‘ashes’, Lat. *āra* ‘altar’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 322). Alternatively, *-ss-* could go back to a sequence of a nasal and sibilant. The sequence *\*-VnsV-* was assimilated to Hitt. *-ss-*, see Melchert 1994: 163. The outcome of *\*-ms-* is less clear, see, e.g., the detailed discussion in Kimball 1999: 331f.; Melchert (1994: 164f.) suggests assimilation of *\*-ms-* to *\*-ns-*, while Kloekhorst 2008: 319f. argues that *\*VmsV* yields Hitt. *-ss-*, as in *hassu-* ‘king’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>emsu-*, while *\*CṃsV* yields Hitt. *-anz-* as in *hanzassa-* ‘offspring’. Note, however, that the data on the basis of which any of these scenarios can be confirmed or refuted is very limited. It appears that a stem of the type *\*h<sub>2</sub>eNs-k-* or *\*h<sub>2</sub>Ṇs-k-* with a suffix *\*-k-* would regularly yield *hassikk-* with an anaptyctic *-i-* (see, e.g., Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 43), as in, e.g., *hassikke-* < *\*hann-ske/a-*, imperfective stem of *hanna-* ‘to judge’.

Further etymology is not clear. Assuming that the Hittite and Palaic verbs go back to the stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>Ṇs-*, one may analyze it as *h<sub>2</sub>em(H)-s-* and the root *\*h<sub>2</sub>em(H)-*<sup>139</sup> ‘to pour’ (Klingenschmitt 1982: 118f., LIV: 265, Arm. *aman* ‘pot, vessel’, *amana-* ‘to fill’). The suffix *\*-s-* is relatively rare in Hittite, but it is assumed, e.g., for *tamass/tamess-* ‘to oppress’ from PIE root *\*demh<sub>2</sub>-* and a half a dozen of other verbs (see, e.g., Kloekhorst 2008: 823 and 2009). The Anatolian stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>m-s-* added another

<sup>139</sup> The laryngeal in the Auslaut is reconstructed in LIV because Arm. *amana-* is believed to go back to an infixed stem, but this is in fact not required as the *ana-* type was productive, s. Kocharov 2011: 272f.

suffix, *\*-k-*, in the prehistory of Hittite and developed into *\*hamsk-*, then to *\*hansk-* and finally to *hassik-*<sup>140</sup>. As for Palaic verb, one has to assume that *has-* reflects the zero grade *\*h<sub>2</sub>ms-*, with the syllabic nasal yielding just *-a-*. Such a development is also attested in Hittite, e.g., in *katta* ‘down’ < *\*k<sub>ṃ</sub>to*, but its conditioning is clear neither for Hittite nor for Palaic. Summing up, even though the proposed root etymology is only tentative, I believe that *hassik-* goes back to an extended root of the type *\*h<sub>2</sub>Ns-k-*.

### **hatenu- ?**

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḫa-te-nu-zi* KBo 14.102 I’ 8 NS, KBo 21.76 4 NS, KBo 44.235 5 NS; [*ḫ*]*a-a-te-nu-zi* KUB 51.18 rev. 6 NS

All the contexts for this verb are damaged, see HW<sup>2</sup> H: 503. The phrase *n=at hatenuzi* is at least partially preserved in three of them, but in all instances it is not clear what the pronoun *at* refers to.

Neither meaning nor etymology of this verb can be established. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 503 suggests that *hatenu-* may be a variant of *hatnu-* ‘to dry up’, but the connecting vowel *-e-* is difficult to explain; cf. *-e-* in some forms of *pittinu-* ‘to run off with, carry off quickly’, derived from *piddai-* ‘to run, race’.

### **hatnu-** ‘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+ III 21 NS

The spelling *ḫa-da-nu-ut* is likely to be a spelling variant for /hadnut/, but one cannot exclude the possibility that this spelling indicates a real vowel between the root

<sup>140</sup> Alternatively the development could have been *\*h<sub>2</sub>m-s-k-* > *\*hamsk-* > *\*hamsik-* > *\*hassik-* if we accept the rule *\*VmsV* > *VssV*; since the reflex of accented *\*é* in closed syllables was generally spelled without plene in post-OH texts (Kloekhorst 2014: 171), *hassik-* can also go back to the accented full-grade stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>ém-s-k-*. Given the scarcity of reliable examples for the development of the cluster *C(e)Ns-* in Hittite it is difficult to identify the correct scenario. A root-final laryngeal for this root does not fit in for this scenario. The stem *\*h<sub>2</sub>ṃh<sub>2</sub>-s-k-* would yield *\*\*hame/isk-*, as *\*d<sub>ṃ</sub>h<sub>2</sub>s-ent-* > Hitt. *da<sub>x</sub>-mi-eš-ša-an-t-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 823f.

and the suffix *-nu-*, i.e. we find here a secondary suffix *-anu-*, for which see 4.10 below.

It is uncertain whether *hatnu-* is a transitive or an intransitive verb, since both readings are possible in both passages, cf. VBoT 58 I 8 *widār ḥatnut* “waters dried up” or “he dried up the waters” and KUB 33.89 + III 21 *n=aš=kan arḥa ḥadanut*. The second passage is in fact translated as “und sie trocknete aus” by Rieken in the online edition at the HPM website. However, since the previous line is badly damaged, it may also be translated “he made them dry out”.

The base verb *hāt/hat<sup>hi</sup>* ‘to dry up (intr.)’ is related to Gr. ἄζω ‘to cause to dry up’, PIE *h<sub>2</sub>ed-*, s. HED 3: 248, LIV: 255.

**hatganu-** ‘to put pressure on, beset, beleaguer’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḥa-at-ga-nu-zi* KBo 5.13 III 12 NH with dupl. KUB 6.41 III 34 NH, *ḥa-at-ga-nu-uz-zi* KBo 5.13 III 14 with dupl. KUB 6.41 III 36.

*Hatganu-* is derived either from *hatk<sup>hi</sup>* ‘to close, shut’ or from *hatku-* ‘tight, straight’. In KBo 4.3 II 8, dupl. to KBo 5.13 III 12 and KUB 6.41 III 34, *hatganu-* is replaced with *zamuraizzi* ‘assails’. For the etymology see *hatkesnu-*

**hatkesnu-, hatkis(sa)nu-** ‘to put pressure on, beleaguer’

**1sg. pres. act.** *ḥa-at-ke-eš-nu-mi* KBo 3.3 III 16 Murš. II

**2sg. pres. act.** *ḥa-at-ki-iš-nu-ši* KBo 3.1 II 44 OH/NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḥa-at-ki-iš-nu-uz-zi* KBo 5.9 III 24 Murš. II; *ḥa-at-kiš-nu-zi* KUB 31.86+ II 10 MH/NS, *ḥa-at-ki-<iš->nu-zi* KUB 52.75 obv. 1 NH, *ha[-at-g]i-<iš->nu-zi* KUB 52.75 obv. 11 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *ḥa-at-ke-eš-nu-nu-un* KBo 3.4 II 65 Murš. II

**3sg. pret. act.** *ḥa-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* KBo 4.4 I 44 Murš. II

**3pl. pret. act.** *ḥa-at-ki-<iš->nu-e-er* KBo 4.7 I 3 Murš. II with dupl. [*ḥa-at-k*]i-iš-nu-er KUB 6.41 I 3; *ḥa-at-ki-iš-š[a-nu-er]* KUB 6.44 + I 3 Murš. II

**2sg. imp. act.** *ḥa-at-ke-eš-nu-ut* KBo 4.4 I 42 Murš. II; *ḥa-at-ki-iš-nu-ut* KUB

21.48 I 6 OH?/NS

**part. nom. pl. c.** *ḥa-at-ke-eš-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KBo 4.4 II 5 Murš. II; *ḥa-at-kiš-ša-nu-an-te-eš* KBo 14.7 I 9 Murš. II

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *ḥa-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ker* KUB 15.1 II 8 Hatt. III<sup>141</sup>; *ḥa-at-kiš-ša-nu-uš-ker* KUB 15.1 II 40 Hatt. III

Since the base verb *hatk-* means ‘to shut (doors, temples)’, both *hatkesnu-* and *hatganu-* ‘to put pressure on’ cannot be analyzed as its proper causatives. The stem *hatkes(sa)nu-* looks as if it is derived from an inchoative stem *\*hatkess-*, but such a derivation would be unparalleled, and a derivation from a nominal *s*-stem, *\*hatkes-*, is more plausible (so Rieken 1999: 228<sup>1077</sup>).

The verb *hatk-* has been plausibly compared to Gr. ἄχθομαι ‘be loaded, burdened’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-* (HED 3: 268, LIV: 255).

**hatuganu-** ‘to terrify’

**3pl. pres. act.** (?) *ḥa-tu-ga-nu-wa-an-[zi* KUB 8.79 rev. 16 NS

**verbal noun gen. sg.** *ḥa-tu-ga-nu-wa-<<wa>>-as* KUB 8.79 rev. 15 NS

For the contexts s. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 529. *Hatuganu-* is derived either from adjective *hatuga-* ‘terrible’ or, less likely, from *hatuk-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to be terrible’. *Hatuk-* is often connected with Gr. ἀτύζομαι ‘to be distraught from fear, bewildered’ and further Skt. *tujyáte* ‘be routed’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>teuǵ-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 336f., LIV: 286.

**?hatugatarnu-** ‘to make formiddable’

**impf. 3 pl. pres. act.** *KAL-tar-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 12.109 7 NS

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<sup>141</sup> For the dating see de Roos 2007: 37.

This verb is attested in a single fragmentary context; Puhvel (HED 1/2: 370) and HW<sup>2</sup> I: 64 attribute this form to the otherwise unattested verb *hatugatarnu-*. For the root etymology see the entry for *hatuganu-* above.

**?hatunūt**

*ha-tu-nu-ú-u[t]* KUB 28.98 IV 6 NS

The context is as follows:

KUB 28.98 IV

5 *nu ḥal-zi-iš-ša-i*

6 *ḥa-tu-nu-ú-u[t]*<sup>142</sup>

7 *wu<sub>u</sub>-ru-un ta-[...<sup>?</sup>-z]e<sup>?</sup>-e*

8 *nam-ma(-)ṛe-a<sup>?</sup>(-)[...<sup>?</sup>]*

According to Soysal (2004: 457), *hatunūt* is a Hattic word. This is very likely, as *halzissai* in the line 5 appears to introduce direct speech and the words in the line 7 (*wu<sub>u</sub>r* ‘land’) are Hattic (Soysal 2004: 651, 775, 920).

**hinganu-** ‘to grant, consign’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ḥi-in-ga-nu-zi* KBo 20.28 obv. 18, 20 OH/NS?, KBo 23.39 13, 14 MS?

**3pl. pres. act.** *ḥi-in-ga-nu-an-zi* KUB 43.29 III 10 MS, IBoT 2.6 obv. III 5 NS; *ḥi-in-ga-nu-w[a-an-zi]* KUB 59.17+ obv. 13 NS, *ḥi-in-ga-nu-wa-[an-zi]* ibid. 21<sup>143</sup>.

**inf. I** [*ḥ*] *i-in-ga-nu-an-zi[i]* KBo 21.108+ V 5 OH/NS<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Alternatively it can be read *ḥa-tu-nu-ú-wa<sub>x</sub>* (Soysal 2004: 457)

<sup>143</sup> Contra HW<sup>2</sup> H: 608, which lists this form under *hinganu-* ‘make bow’. The line 21 *n=as ANA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> hinganuwa[nzi]* is ambiguous, however, the line 13 [*INA É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> pēhutanzi n=as ANA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> hinganuw[anzi]*] makes the attribution of these forms to *hinganu-* ‘to hand over’ more likely, cf. Popko 2004: 245ff.

<sup>144</sup> In dupl. KBo 11.73 obv. III? 6 we find *ḥi-in-ku-wa-an-zi* (for the context see Nakamura 2002: 151f.).

The forms of this verb are often assigned to *hinganu-* ‘to make bow’. Since all the contexts are partially damaged, it is not easy to establish the correct meaning. Here I mostly follow HW<sup>2</sup> H: 608ff. The difficulty may be illustrated with KBo 20.28 obv. 18 [x x LÚGUD]U<sub>12</sub>? Ì-an *hinganuzi n=an=kan PANI LUGAL* (19) [ŠUM-an ki]ssan *halzianzi kantuwa<sub>a</sub>šu* (20) [x x x ]x GIŠTIR=ma *partawa hinganuzi* translated in HW<sup>2</sup> H: 608 as “[Der Gesalb]te? lässt [x x] Fett/Öl darbieten. Und man nennt ihn vor dem König [fol]gendermassen [beim Namen]: *kantuwa<sub>a</sub>šu*. Den/Die Flügel des [x x x ]x des Waldes? lässt er darbieten”, while Klinger (1996: 249) translates *hinganuzi* in l. 18 as ‘darbieten’ and *hinganuzi* in l. 20 as ‘verbeugen’. CHD Š: 37 translates l. 18 as ‘he makes oil bow [to ]’. Another example is *hinganuzi* in KBo 23.39

13 GAD a-]la!-a-lu SA<sub>5</sub> A-NA D Hé-pát *hi-in-ga-nu-z[i*

14 ]an KÙ.BABBAR A-NA D Ta!-ki-<du> *hi-in-ga-n[u-zi*

This passage is translated by Tremouille (1997: 116f.) as “il fait faire une reverence” in contrast to ‘anbieten’ in HW<sup>2</sup>.

I do not see any difference between *hink-* and *hinganu-* ‘to grant, hand over’; *hinganu-* is always used in the context of a ceremonial offering, which is also a typical, though not the only, context for the base verb *hink-*.

For the etymology see *hink-* in 2.3.

### **hinganu-** ‘to (make) bow’

**3sg. pres. act.** *hi-in-ga-nu-zi* KBo 8.126 VI? 5 NS, KBo 20.113+ II 4 MH/NS, KBo 30.56 V 18 NS, KUB 2.10a 10 OH/NS, KUB 2.15 V 3 NS, KUB 57.20 4 MH/NS with dupl. KBo 34.39 I 4 MS, IBoT 4.86 obv. 1 NS, IBoT 4.103 rev. 1 NS; *hi-in-ga-nu-uz-zi* KBo 8.126 VI? 2 NS

Note that *hinganuzi* in KUB 2.10d 10 corresponds to *hingazi*<sup>145</sup> in dupl. KBo 10.24 IV 29 and is used intransitively (cf. Singer 1984: 20). It may also be intransitive in KBo 8.126 VI? 2[ URUT]ahurpa LUGAL-i *hinganzuz[i* (3) [X halz]ai

<sup>145</sup> Emendation to *hi-in-ga<-nu>zi* is possible but not necessary, as the verb is intransitive in this passage and *hinganuzi* seems to have the same meaning as *hingazi* ‘to bow’

<sup>URU</sup>Tahurpanni (4) [X EGIR-]anda=ma UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIDRU (5) [X IN]A É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup> LUGAL-*i hinganuzi*, cf. HW<sup>2</sup> H: 609.

In other contexts it seems to be transitive, cf. KUB 2.15 V 3 LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>PA 2 LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GUDÚ</sup> LUGAL-*i hin<ga>nuzi* “the herald makes two priests bow to the king”, sim. KBo 30.56 V 18 (s. Yoshida 1996: 307), KUB 10.54 IV 8 nu<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>GUDÚ *hi-in-ga-nu-u[z-zi]*.

The contexts in IBoT 4.103 rev. 1, IBoT 4.86 obv. 1, and KBo 20.113+ II 4 (for which see Wegner 2002: 124), are damaged, so it is not clear whether the verb is transitive in these passages.

Many scholars believe that *hink-* ‘to bow’ and *hink-* ‘to hand over’ belong to the same original root, and the meaning ‘to bow’ is a middle voice development of ‘to grant, hand over’ (see, e.g., Kloekhorst 2008: 269f.). If, however, *hink-* ‘to bow’ is not related to *hink-* ‘to grant, bestow’, it is likely to be cognate to Skt. *añc-* ‘to bend; draw water’, Lat. *uncus* ‘hook’, Gr. ἄγκών ‘elbow’, PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>enk-* ‘to bend’ (Oettinger 1979: 176, EWAia I: 53, LIV: 268).

**huinu-, huenu-** ‘to make run, send (troops), dispatch’

**1sg. pres. act.** *hu-i-nu-mi* KBo 7.14 obv. 18 OS or MS, KUB 35.148 III 20

MH/NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *hu-i-nu-zi* e.g., KUB 5.1 I 19 NH; *hu-u-i-nu-zi* e.g., KUB 9.4 II 12 NH; *hu-u-i-nu-uz-zi* KUB 29.1 I 41 OH/NS; *hu-u-e-nu-uz-zi* KUB 4.47 obv. 34 NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *hu-i-nu-um-me-ni* KUB 17.28 I 15 NS; *hu-i-nu-me-ni* VBoT 24 I 31 MH/NS

**3pl. pres.act.** *hu-i-nu-an-zi* e.g., KUB 53.14 II 8 OH/MS; *hu-i-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 10.91 II 7 NH?; *hu-u-i-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 53.6 II 12 OH/NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *hu-u-i-nu-nu-un* e.g., KUB 9.4 II 18, 20 NH; *hu-i-nu-nu-un* HKM 89 obv. 10 MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *hu-u-i-nu-ut* e.g., KBo 3.4 II 69 Murš. II, KBo 3.6 II 32 Hatt. III with dupl. KUB 1.1 II 51 Hatt. III; *hu-i-nu-ut* e.g., KUB 14.1 obv. 63 MS, HKM 89 obv. 13 MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *ḫu-u-i-nu-ut* e.g., KBo 5.4 obv. 19, 20, 22 LNS, HKM 13 obv. 10 MS; *ḫu-u-e-nu-ut* KBo 4.3 III 7 LNS; *ḫu-u-nu-ut* KUB 21.1 II 66 Muw. II; *ḫu-nu-ut* KUB 21.1 II 72 Muw. II

**2pl. imp. act.** *ḫu-i-nu-ut-tén* KUB 7.41 IV 20 MH/MS?; *ḫu-i-nu-ut-tén* HKM 41 obv. 14 MS

**3pl. imp. act.** *ḫu-u-e-nu-wa-an-du* KUB 40.57 I 6 MH/NS

**part. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *ḫu-u-i-nu-wa-an* KUB 60.46 9, 10 LNS

**verbal noun gen. sg.** *ḫu-u-e-nu-ma-as* KBo 24.14 V 7 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *ḫu-i-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 33.115 II 7 MH/NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *ḫu-u-i-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 27.1 IV 14 NH

The stem *hunu-* is attested only in KUB 21.1 (CTH 76, Treaty with Alakšandu of Wilusa) and is likely to be a scribal mistake, cf. also *mu-un-na-a-zi* in IV 2 of the same text instead of expected *mu-un-na-a-iz-zi*.

*Huinu-* is derived from *huwai-/hui-* ‘to run’; it appears, however, that the original causative meaning has blackened, and in some contexts *huinu-* means simply ‘to move’, see Beal 1998: 86.

Puhvel (HED 3: 423) follows Sturtevant’s connection to Skt. *vay<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to to set out for, seek’; according to LIV: 668f., however, the root is *\*weih<sub>1</sub>-*, so this etymology is formally impossible. Kloekhorst (2008: 367) accepts Couvreur’s comparison to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>weh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to blow’ (LIV: 287). The most plausible, however, is the connection of *huwai-* with Lat. *iuvō* ‘to help’, Skt. *av<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to help, protect’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>-* ‘to help’ (García Ramón 2016). At first sight, the meanings ‘to run’ and ‘to help’ are quite distant from each other. However, Hitt. *huwai-*, when used with the preverb *peran*, actually means ‘to help’ (< ‘to run ahead’?), which shows that the semantic development ‘to run’ > ‘to help’ is possible.

**huisnu-, husnu-** ‘to rescue, keep alive, spare’

**1sg. pres. act.** *ḫu-iš-nu[-mi]* KBo 39.223 3’ NH

**2sg. pres. act.** *TI-nu-ši* KUB 57.116 obv. 10 NH

**3sg. pres. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-zi* KBo 6.26 II 10, III 22, IV 12, 18 OH/NS; *ħu-u-iš-nu-zi* e.g., KBo 6.26 IV 14 OH/NS, KBo 31.95+ II 5', 7' MS, KUB 14.8 rev. 22 Murš. II, KUB 29.33 II 6 OH/NS; *ħu-iš-nu-uz-zi* KUB 30.10 rev. 25 OH/MS; *ħa-iš-nu-uz-zi* KBo 11.10 II 21 MH?/NS; *TI-nu-zi* e.g., VBoT 58 I 27<sup>146</sup> OH/NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-mi-ni* KBo 32.15 II 18 MH/MS

**3pl. pres. act.** *ħu-iš-n[u-an-zi]* VBoT 58 I 6 OH/NS; *TI-an-zi* KBo 13.62 obv. 13 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-nu-un* KUB 14.1 obv. 14 MH/MS, KUB 26.34 3 Supp. I

**3sg. pret. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-ut* KUB 14.1 obv. 4, 10, 11 MH/MS, VBoT 58 I 44 OH/NS; *ħu-uš-nu-ut* KBo 3.36 obv. 9 OH/NS; *TI-nu-ut* e.g., KBo 4.12 obv. 8, 10 Hatt. III; *ħu-iš'-nu-ú-ut*<sup>147</sup> KBo 3.28 II 19 OH/NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-e-er* KBo 31.95+ III 15 MS, KUB 34.40 15 MH/MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-ut* e.g., KUB 14.8 rev. 21 Murš. II, KUB 14.10 IV 21, KUB 36.75 III 9 OH/MS; *TI-nu-ut* KBo 4.6 obv. 17 Murš. II, KBo 4.12 I 8 Hatt. III, KUB 14.8 rev. 37 Murš. II, KUB 14.11 IV 18, 25 Murš. II, KUB 36.83 obv. I 10 NS; *ħu-u-iš-nu-ut* KUB 14.8 rev. 45 Murš. II

**3sg. imp. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-ud-du* KBo 4.2 I 60 pre-NH/NS, KUB 30.10 rev. 3 OH?/MS; *TI-ud-du* KUB 24.9 III 9 MH/NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *ħu-uš-nu-ut-tén* KUB 31.64 II 14 OH/NS; *ħu-iš-nu-ut-tén* KBo 15.28 rev. 10 MS

**partic. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *TI-nu-an* KUB 15.1 I 5 NH, KUB 15.17+ I 4 NH, KUB 24.10 III 32 MH/NS; *TI-an* KBo 8.68 IV 8 NS, KBo 13.62 obv. 5 NH, KBo 17.62+ IV 6 MH/MS?; *ħu-iš-nu-wa-an* KBo 24.24 III 23 MS

**verbal noun gen. sg.** *TI-nu-ma-aš* e.g., KUB 13.4 III 53 MH/NS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-uš-ke-mi* KBo 16.24+ I 58 MH/NS

**impf. 2sg. pres. act.** *ħu-iš-nu-uš-ke-ši* KUB 36.128 I 4 OH/NS, KUB 36.83 obv. I 15 NS

<sup>146</sup> This form is interpreted as *ti-nu-zi* by Rieken in the electronic edition of this text at the HPM website. If so, it belongs to *tin(n)u-* 'to paralyze', see the respective entry. The phrase *apunn=a=wa TI/ti-nuzi* may be translated as both "he will spare him" and "will he paralyze him?"

<sup>147</sup> On this reading see Kloekhorst 2014: 497<sup>1931</sup>.

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 4.2 I 59 pre-NH/NS, *ḫu-iš-nu-iš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 24.9 III 8 MH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ke-e-et* KBo 3.28 II 18 OH/NS

Just like *tepnu-*, *huisnu-* shows the full grade of the root. In the New Hittite copies of the Old Hittite texts, we occasionally find a zero grade in the root of this verb (*ḫu-uš-nu-ut-tén* KUB 31.64 II 14, *ḫu-uš-nu-ut* KBo 3.36 obv. 9).

The verb *huisnu-* is derived from *hues-* ‘to live, survive’, which goes back to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>wes-* (Skt. *vásati* ‘to dwell’, TochB *wäs-* ‘to rest, reside’, Goth. *wisan* ‘to be’, Gr. aor. ἄεσα ‘spent the night’), s. LIV: 293f.

Besides *huisnu-* there is also an *u*-stem adjective *huesu-* that, however, means ‘fresh’ rather than ‘alive’, which shows that *huesu-* and *huisnu-* were derived independently.

Surprisingly, in this verb, *-s-* is never geminated before *-n-*, in contrast to other *nu*-verbs, e.g., *as(sa)nu-* ‘to provide, take care of’ or *sas(sa)nu-* ‘to make lie down, put to bed’, where *-s-* is doubled as expected (for the gemination of /s/ next to resonants already in Proto-Anatolian see, e.g., Melchert 1994: 150f., Kimball 1999: 428)<sup>148</sup>. Therefore, the consistent single *-s-* in *huisnu-* is problematic. *Huisnu-* once shows a plene in the suffix (*ḫu-iš<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú-ut* KBo 3.28 II 19 OH/NS); in this respect it resembles <sup>DUG</sup>*isnūra/i-* ‘dough-bowl’, which is also consistently spelled with a single *-s-* and often with a plene in the second syllable (see HW<sup>2</sup> I: 201). In contrast, *is(sa)na-* ‘dough’ is often spelled with a geminated *-ss-*; its only form with a plene in the syllable following *-sn-* is G.Sg. *iš-na-a-aš*, which is spelled with a single *-s-* in all the four attestations, cf. HW<sup>2</sup> I: 96. One way of reconciling these facts with each other would be to suppose that *-s-* was not geminated before *-n-* if the following vowel was long (or accented?).

**huntarnu-** ‘to grunt’

<sup>148</sup> Note, however, that in at least in *as(sa)nu-* and *sas(sa)nu-* the geminated *-s-* occurs usually in late texts and copies and in any event not earlier than MS texts.

**3sg. pres. act.** *hu-un-tar-nu-uz-zi* KBo 12.96 I 12 MH/NS

HED 3: 383 gives the following sole attestation: [UR.ZÍ]R *wappiyazi* ŠAH-as *huntarnuzzi* “the dog barks, the pig grunts”. Both in both formation and intransitive usage it is parallel to *nuntarnu-* ‘to hurry’.

According to Eichner (1979b: 56), the base verb *huntariye/a-* ‘to grunt’ ultimately goes back to *huwant-* ‘wind’ and further to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>weh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to blow’ (LIV: 287). However, the syncope of *-iya-* implicit in Eichner’s solution is not regular, since the sequence is preserved in, e.g., *parkiyanu-* ‘to raise’, *edtriyanu-* ‘to feed’ or *kartimmiyanu-* ‘to make angry’. Therefore, a derivation from a noun *\*huntar* is preferable. Other examples for deriving *nu-*verbs from nouns are *esharnu-* ‘to make bloody, red’ from *eshar* ‘blood’, *\*hatugatarnu-* (KAL-*tarnu-*) ‘to make formidable’ and, likely, *nahsarnu-* ‘to make (someone) afraid’ and *nuntarnu-* ‘to hurry’. On the derivation of *nu-*verbs from *iye/a-*stems, see further 4.6.

**inu-, enu-** ‘to make hot’.

**3sg. pres.act.** *i-nu-uz-zi* VSNF 12.79 obv. 9 MS, *e-nu-zi* KUB 44.61 rev. 20 NS

**3pl. pres.act.** *i-nu-wa-an-zi* HW<sup>2</sup> 43, *i-nu-an-zi* KBo 21.21 III 9 MS

**2pl. imp.act.** *i-nu-ut-te-en* KBo 22.2 obv. 9 OH/MS

**part.** *e-nu-wa-an-d[a-an]* ? KUB 10.21 V 5 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. med.** *i-nu-uš-ke-et-ta-ri* KBo 13.119 I 7 OH/NS

**impf. 3sg. imper. act.** *i-nu-uš-ke-ed-du* KBo 6.34 II 27 MH/NS

The forms *enuzi* and *enuwand[an]* may or may not belong here, since the meaning of these forms cannot be established; as for *-e-* in the anlaut, the alternation of *-e-* and *-i-* next to a nasal sometimes occurs in NS texts, e.g., in *ne-ni-ik-ta-ri* (KBo 1.12 II 30), see 2.4. In fact, Kloekhorst (2008: 241) takes *e-nu-zi* and *e-nu-wa-an-d[a-an]* as forms of an independent verb.

The verb *inu-* is derived from *ā(i)-* ‘to be hot’. The frequent spelling *a-a-* of *āi-* vs. *i-* in the *inu-* point to a contraction of the original *\*aya-* in the anlaut, cf. HED 1/2:

12, Kloekhorst 2008: 165. One may therefore compare the Hittite verb with Gr. αἶθω and Skt. Aor. *idhīmahī*, nasal Pres. *inddhé*. Due to the vocalism of the Greek forms LIV: 259 reconstructs the root as *\*h<sub>2</sub>eid<sup>h</sup>-*. The *\*-d<sup>h</sup>-* could be a root extension, but the initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>-* should have been preserved in Hittite. Tentatively one can think of a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>ai-* with an extended variant *\*h<sub>1</sub>ai-d<sup>h</sup>-*, though this is far from certain.

There is a derivative verb *enumai-* ‘to make warm or hot’ (*e-nu-ma-at-ta-ri* KUB 1.13 II 37 MH/NS). In view of the parallel formation *esharnumai-* ‘to become bloody’, the skepticism of Kloekhorst (2008: 242), who analyzes this form as an unrelated verb with an unclear meaning, is unwarranted. The extension in *-mai-* is likely to have developed from the stems of the type *\*enuwai-* and *\*esharnuwai-*, cf. a secondary stem *unuwai-* from *unu-* ‘to decorate’ with occasional *ú-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 27.49 III 23 (Kloekhorst 2008: 309). The stem *unuwai-* is attested in NS texts only and therefore is likely to be a late formation, created at the time when the change *\*-uw- > -um-* no longer applied, which could mean that this sound change ceased to operate in NH.

**isparnu-** ‘to spread out, sprinkle, strew’

**1sg. pres.act.** *iš-pár-nu-mi* KUB 7.57 I 8 MH/NS

**3sg. pres.act.** *iš-pár-nu-zi* KBo 20.10 + I 12, II 9 OS or MS; *iš-pár-nu-uz-zi* KBo 8.102 6’NS; KBo 58.185 lk’ Kol. 5’ NS

**1sg. pret.act.** *iš-pár-nu-nu-un* KUB 41.19 rev. 9 MH/NS

**3sg. pret.act.** *iš-pár-nu-ut* KUB 19.9 IV 12 Hatt. III

**impf. 3sg. pres.act.** *iš-pár-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 12.29 I 5 NS

I follow Watkins (1975: 377) and Kloekhorst (2008: 407) in distinguishing between *ispar(r)-* ‘to trample’ and *ispār/ispar-* ‘to spread out’; on this topic, see most recently Melchert 2014. The stem *isparnu-* ‘to spread out, sprinkle’ is derived from the latter verb.

The typical object of *isparnu-* is ‘water’, see the examples collected by Alp (1983: 19<sup>7</sup>) and Melchert (2014: 500):

KBo 20.10+ obv. II 8: *ta LUGAL-un suppiyahhi w[a]tar III-ŠU (9) isparnuzi* “he purifies the king and sprinkles water 3 times”,

KUB 12.29 I 4 : [ ] LÚ <sup>d</sup>U *wātar ANA EN SISKUR (5) [ i]š-pár-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* “the Man of Stormgod sprinkles water on the ritual client”

KBo 8.102 6: *wātar iš-pár-nu-u[z-zi] (7) [LUGAL-u]n šuppiyahhi* “he sprinkles water, purifies the king”

and perhaps

KBo 58.185 left col. 5 [ ] III?-ŠU *iš-pár-nu-uz-zi* “s/he sprinkles 3<sup>?</sup> times”

In some contexts, however, the meaning of *isparnu-* is similar to that of the base verb, ‘to spread (out)’, cf. KUB 41.19 rev. 8’ *a]rha duwarninun n=at=kan awa[n] (9) [ p]arā iš<sup>l</sup>-par-nu-nu-un* “zerbrach ich und sie ganz [b]reitete ich aus?” (Haas and Wegner 1988: 104) or KUB 7.57 I 7-8 *nu=wa=ssan paimi [ ]hūmanni<sup>149</sup> iš-pár-ra-aḥ-ḥi* <sup>MUNUS.MES</sup>ŠU.GI *iš-pár-nu-mi*, ‘and I shall go [...] shatter [it and] make the sorceress scatter’ (HED 1/2: 441). Therefore, it is safe to restore *isparnu-* in KUB 48.76 + KBo 6.4 I 2-3 2 *ektan (3) [ iš-pár-]nu-zi* and in KBo 55.52 left. col. 13-15’ *[iš-pár-]nu-wa-an-zi nu ARNABU ektet [appanzi]* pace Hoffner (1977a: 107), who argued against this restoration on the grounds that *isparnu-* requires ‘water’ as its object.

The fragment KUB 19.9 IV 12 is so badly damaged that the meaning of *iš-pár-nu-ut* in this context cannot be established.

Summing up, in some contexts the meaning of *isparnu-* is essentially the same as that of *ispar-* ‘to spread out’; the difference is that the parent verb, to my knowledge, never takes water as its object, in contrast to *isparnu-*, where water is the most common object. One may think perhaps of some kind of intensive or iterative meaning of *isparnu-*, see further 4.14-5 and 7.2.3.

Hitt. *ispār/ispar-* is cognate with CLuw. *parri-* ‘to spread, smear’, Gr. *σπείρω* ‘to spread out’, both going back to PIE *\*sper-* (LIV: 580).

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<sup>149</sup> *Humanna/i-* is a hapax, and its meaning is not clear, see HW<sup>2</sup> H: 712.

**ispiyanu-** ‘to satiate’

**verbal noun n.sg.** *iš-pi-ya-nu-mar* ‘satiation’ KBo 11.1 rev. 21 NH

The verb *ispai/i-* ‘to get full, be filled’ is related to OCS *spěti* ‘be successful’, Skt. *sphāyate* ‘grow fat’, Lat. *spēs* ‘hope’, PIE *\*sp<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* or *\*speh<sub>1</sub>-*, cf. HED 1/2: 431, Kloekhorst 2008: 404, LIV: 584.

The weak stem of *ispai/i-* ‘to get full, be filled’ is *ispi-*, so one would expect *\*ispinu-* instead of actual *ispiyanu-*; see further 4.6.

**istantanu-** ‘to put off, delay’

**2sg. pres. act.** *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-ši* KUB 48.122 I 3 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-nu-un* KUB 22.67 6 NS

**impf. 2pl. pres. act.** *iš-ta-an-ta-nu-uš-kat-te-ni* KUB 13.4 IV 7, 37 MH/NS

For the context cf. *mān[=ma]=at istantanuskatteni* ‘if you keep putting it off’, *ibid.* 37 *n=at lē istantanuskatteni* ‘do not put it off!’ (HED 1/2: 465) and KUB 15.5 + KUB 48.122 I 46 *[nu=w]ar=at mān istantanusi=ya* ‘and if you ... hesitate about that’ (de Roos 2007: 72, 80).

The parent verb *istantāye-* ‘to linger, stay put’ is intransitive and is usually connected with Goth. *standan* ‘to stand’, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 414. They both go ultimately to PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* and may possibly be parallel developments, cf. LIV: 591<sup>1</sup>.

Note that *istantāye-* had shifted to the *hatrāi-* class by the New Hittite period (Kloekhorst 2008: 414), and *istantanu-* is clearly based on the later variant *istantāi-*.

**istappinu-** ‘to shut off?’

**3pl. pret. act.** *iš-tap-pi-nu-er* KUB 8.52 6 NS

The verb *ištappinu-* is derived from *istap(p)-* ‘to shut, close’; however, the origin of medial *-i-* is not clear – one would expect the suffix *-nu-* to be attached immediately to the stem, resulting in *\*istapnu-* or *\*istappanu-* with the graphic *-a-* before *-nu-*; see

further 4.6. Deriving *ištappinu-* from *\*ištappiē/a-* would be regular, but such a stem is not attested.

The passage containing *ištappinu-* is partly damaged, so the context of *pa-ra-a-ta-za iš-tap-pi-nu-e[r]* is not entirely clear. HED 1/2: 474 translates it as “they shut you out”, which is followed by Rieken in her electronic edition at the HPM website. Under this translation, the meaning of *ištappinu-* is similar to that of *ištap(p)-*, i.e. ‘to shut, close’. The usual objects of *ištap(p)-* are gates or holes as well as people, cf. *nu URU<sup>DIDL.HI.A</sup> anda ištappandu* “they shall shut in the towns[people]” KUB 13.2 I 7 or *n=an=kan INA<sup>URU</sup> Samuha ŠAḪ GIM-an hūmma EGIR-pa ištappas* “She shut him up at Samuha like a pig in the sty” KBo 3.6 III 56-57, cf. HED 1/2: 472f. There seems to be little, if any, semantic difference between these verbs. The only divergence is that *ištappinu-* is used with the reflexive particle *-za* while *ištap(p)-* is used without it, at least in the passages given in HED.

Melchert (2012: 180) connects *ištap(p)-* with PIE *\*stembh(H)-*, Skt. *stabhnāti* ‘to fasten, fix (in place)’, cf. also HED 1/2: 474.

### **kanganu-** ‘?’

1sg. pres. act. *kán-ga-nu-mi* KUB 21.27 III 42 Hatt. III

3sg. pres. act. *kán-ga-nu-u[z-zi]* IBoT 1.6 VI 13 NS

3sg. pret. act. *kán-ga-nu-ut* KUB 22.51 obv.6 NH; *kán-qa-nu-ut* KUB 22.51

obv.9 NH

HED 4: 50 gives the following context for KUB 21.27 III 42 (CTH 384, Puduhepa's Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna): ALAM KÙ.BABBAR ŠA <sup>1</sup>Hattusili <sup>1</sup>Hattusilis masiwanza SAG.DU-ZU ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU GÌR.MEŠ-ŠU ŠA GUŠKIN *iyami arha=ya=an=ma=kan kanganumi* “a life-size silver statue of Hattusilis with head, hands, and feet of gold I shall make and shall have it weighed”. In the electronic edition of CTH 384 at the HPM website *kanganu-* is translated as ‘abwiegen’. Note that the sequence *ar-ḫa-ya-an-ma-kán* may also be analyzed as *arhayan=ma=kan*, with

*arhayan* meaning ‘separately’. The verb may mean ‘to weigh’ here<sup>150</sup>, but it may also mean something different, e.g., ‘to mount, attach’ < ‘to make hang’.

In KUB 22.51 (CTH 577, an oracle inquiry) the object of *kanganu-* is GÌR<sup>HLA</sup> ‘feet, legs’, cf. obv. 5 *na-aš-kán pí-an SIG<sub>5</sub>-an ú-et na-aš GUN-li<sub>12</sub> zi-la-an ú-et x[ ]* (6) GÌR<sup>HLA</sup> *kán-ga-nu-ut* and obv. 9 *šū-lu-pé-eš-ma ku-iš GUN-li<sub>12</sub> TI<sub>8</sub><sup>[MUŠ]EN</sup>-ma tar-li<sub>12</sub>-an GÌR<sup>HLA</sup> kán-qa-nu-ut*. Tischler (HEG I-K: 1148) translates these lines as follows: “Er (*sulupi*-bird) ist vorne aus dem günstigen (Gebiet) gekommen und er ist von diese Seite GUN-*li* gekommen. [...] (6) ließ er die Füße hängen” and “Der *sulupi* aber, welcher GUN-*li* (gekommen ist und) der Alder ließ *tar(wiyal)lian* die Füße hängen”, but it is not clear what *kanganu-* means here. Nevertheless, since it describes either birds’ behavior or an action involving birds’ legs, the meaning is hardly ‘to weigh’.

For the alleged [*ká*]*n-ga-nu-uš-kán* (KUB 42.83 IV 5, misspelled as KUB 42.83 VI 5 in HED 4: 50), see Hoffner 2000: 71 who doubts that the first sign should be read as KÁN.

The putative base verb *kank-* belongs to PIE \**kenk-* ‘to hang’, Goth. *hāhan* ‘to hang’, Skt. *śāṅkate*, Lat. *cunctor* ‘to waver, hesitate’, cf. LIV: 325.

**kari(ya)nu-** ‘to cause to stop, make cease, cut short, silence’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ka-ri-nu-an-zi* KBo 20.9 12 OS, KBo 20.14 + obv. 14 OS, KBo 30.154 I 4 OH/MS; *ga-ri-nu-an-zi* KBo 25.31 III 7 OS; *ka-ri-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 1.17 VI 31 OH/NS, KUB 12.8 II 21 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ka-ri-ya-nu-ut* KUB 14.3 I 11 NH

In Old Hittite texts, the objects of *karinu-* are lyres (GIŠ<sup>D</sup> INNARA) and drums (<sup>(GIŠ)</sup> *arkammi-*), but in KUB 14.3 (Tawagalawa-letter) the object is the crown prince. Puhvel (HED 4: 82f.) derives *karinu-* from *kariye/a-* ‘to make a pause, stop’, allegedly attested in KUB 25.22 obv. 26, rev. 20, 30, KUB 17.10 I 34 and KUB 8.48 I 1.

<sup>150</sup> The meaning of the sentence is then that the sculptor is going to weigh the parts made of different precious metals separately, perhaps for reasons of accounting.

Kloekhorst (2008: 450) correctly notes that Puhvel’s interpretation of *kariya-* is ad hoc; he assigns these forms to *kariye/a-* ‘to cover, hide’. The examples of the latter are as follows: KUB 30.15 + obv. 7 *nu mahhan hastai lessuwanzi zinnanzi n=at QADU GAD* (8) *IŠTU TÚG.SIG-ya anda kariyanzi* ‘When they finish to gather the bones, they wrap them in the linen and fine cloths’ (Kassian, Korolev, Sideltsev 2002: 260f.) or KUB 2.13 I 49 *n=asta* <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR GADA-*it kariyanzi* ‘Dann bedeckt man den Tisch mit einen Tuch’ (Klinger 1996: 548f.). The context of KUB 19.37 III 11-12 [*nu t*]uzzius UD-*az kāriskinun [isp]andaz=ma iyahhat* “in daytime I had my troops take cover, but at night I marched” (HED 4: 82) is especially close to KUB 25.22, e.g., obv. 25 <sup>URU</sup>Hanhanaz=*kan arha* <sup>URU</sup>Hattena *andan nu INA URU.DU*<sub>6</sub><sup>HLA</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Katruma (26) *kariyazi* “Out of the city Hanhana, towards the city Hattena. In the ruins of Katruma he k.-s.” (translation by Kloekhorst 2008: 450). Semantical development ‘to cover’ > ‘to stop’ or ‘to silence’ is trivial, cf. ModE. *wrap up* or *shut up*. In this case, *kariya-* is a labile verb, i.e. it can be both transitive and intransitive, which is not very common for Hittite verbs.

According to Puhvel (HED 4: 82), *kariye/a-* ‘to cover, hide’ is related to Skt. *cārman-*, Av. *carəman-* ‘skin, hide’, Lat. *corium* ‘leather’, OHG *skirm* ‘cover, shelter’, PIE \*(s)*ker-*. He claims this root is not related to PIE \*(s)*ker-* ‘to cut off, shave’, but this is unlikely; words for ‘leather’, ‘skin’ are often made from the roots meaning ‘to cut off’, cf. Gr. δέριμα ‘skin’ derived from δέρω ‘to skin, flay’ and ultimately from PIE \**der-* ‘to tear’, Skt. *dar-* ‘to split’, OHG *gatairan* ‘to tear up’, OCS *dbrati* ‘tear’ (Beekes 2010: 318f., LIV: 119).

**karpanu-** ‘to pick up, take away?’

**3sg. pres. act.** *kar-pa-nu-zi* KBo 10.45 IV 43-44 MH/NS with dupl. KUB 7.41 IV 11 MH/MS?

**3pl. pres. act.** *kar-pa-nu-wa-an-z[i]* KUB 36.83 I 28 NS

Puhvel (HED 4: 97) gives the following context: *n=at karpanuzi n=at LÍL-ri pedāi*; dupl. KUB 7.41 IV 11 *n=at karpanuzi n=at gimra pēda[i* ‘he picks it up and

takes it to the range'). The context in KUB 36.83 is severely damaged. Bawanypeck (2005: 268) renders it as follows [..]-*ar-ša-an-ta-an kar-pa-nu-wa-an-zi* “(und [man] gibt ihn frei.) Den [...] lässt man wegbringen.”; cf. also obv. I 25 [..]-*ar-ša-an-da-an tu-u-ri-ya-an-zi* “they yoke?”. Regretfully, we cannot say if there is any semantic difference between *karpanuwanzī* in obv. 28 and *karpuwanzī* in obv. 23 *n=at=za namma karpuwanzī d[āis?* in obv. 23. Fuscagni translates the latter context in the electronic edition at the HPM website as “(und) er wird bereit sein, um es/sie nochmals aufzuheben” noting that the exact sense of this phrase remains unclear.

*Karpanu-* in KUB 7.41 is used similarly to the active forms of *karp-*, which also often means ‘to lift, pick up, remove’, cf. KBo 17.74 IV 23 <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANSUR<sup>HI.A</sup> *karpanzi t=us[=ta] parā pedanzi* “they pick up the tables and take them forth” (HED 4: 95). The middle forms mean rather ‘to come to an end’. In this respect, *karpanu-* is different from *karsanu-* ‘to stop, cancel’, which was derived from the middle stem meaning ‘to stop, cease’ rather than from the active stem meaning ‘to cut, separate’.

The base verb *karp-* has been compared to Lat. *carpō* ‘to pick’ and thus to PIE *\*(s)kerp-* ‘to pick, pluck’, see HED 4: 97f. The comparison with Skt. *grabh<sup>i</sup>-* ‘to grab’ and PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>rebh<sub>2</sub>-* (Oettinger 1979: 345, LIV: 201) is flawed formally, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 453.

**karsanu-** ‘to stop, cancel, withhold’

**2sg. pres. act.** *kar-ša-nu-ši* KUB 19.55 rev. 46 NH

**3sg. pres. act.** *kar-ša-nu-zi* KUB 21.17 III 23 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *kar-ša-nu-nu-un* KBo 12.58 + obv. 3 NS; *kar-aš-nu-nu-un* KBo 14.75 I 15 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *kar-aš-nu-er* KUB 5.7 obv. 4, 11, 33 NS; *kar-ša-nu-er* KUB 6.37 obv. 12 NS, KUB 16.35 13 NS, IBoT 2.129 obv. 15 NS; *kar-aš-ša-nu-er* IBoT 2.129 13 NS, KUB 18.63 IV 7, 16 NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *kar-aš-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 5.7 obv. 6 NS

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *kar-ša-nu-uš-ker* KUB 5.7 obv. 25 NS

Most attestations for *karsanu-* come from MUŠEN *HURRI* oracles and prayers. While active forms of *kars-* mean mostly ‘to cut, separate’, *karsanu-* means ‘to stop doing smth., withhold, cease’, and must have been derived from the middle stem of *kars-*, which could also mean ‘to stop’, e.g., KUB 14.12 rev. 9-10 *nu mān apūss=a arha akkanzi nu ANA DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> BE[LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA<sup>NINDA</sup>harsis] ispantuzzi karastari* ‘when those too die off, bread and libation to the gods my lords will stop’ (HED 4: 100f.).

The etymology of *kars-* is securely established. It is an *s*-extension of PIE *\*(s)ker-* ‘to cut (off)’ (LIV: 556f.). For the extended root *s*. Toch. AB *kärs-* ‘to know’ with a Class VI nasal present A *kärsnām*, B *kärs(a)naṃ* and also TochA *käršt-*, B *kärst-* ‘to cut off’, LIV: 355f., Malzahn 2010: 579f., 582f., Adams 2013: 176ff.

**kartim(miya)nu-** ‘to make angry, anger’

**3sg. pres. act.** *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-zi* KUB 36.89 rev. 15 Tudh. IV; *kar-tim-nu-uz-zi* KUB 26.43 obv. 62 NH; TUKU.TUKU-*nu-zi* e.g., KUB 13.4 I 29 MH/NS; TUKU.TUKU-*ya-nu-zi* KUB 13.4 I 34 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** (?) *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-wa[-* KUB 12.24 I 20 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-ut* e.g., KUB 12.24 I 5 NS, KUB 21.49 I 7 Murš.

II

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *kar-di-mi-nu-wa-an* KBo 17.105 II 35-36 MH/MS

TUKU.TUKU-*nu-wa-an* KUB 36.96 4 NS; *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-wa-an* KUB 60.109 obv. 7 LNS

*Kartimmiyanu-* is derived from *kartimmiya-* ‘to become angry’ and ultimately from *ker*, *kard-* ‘heart’ (PIE *\*kerd-*). There is another causative made to the same verb, *kartimmiyahh-*, with the same meaning (s. HED 4: 111). Both causatives are attested already in Middle Hittite originals, and *kartimmiyanu-* is also attested in a New Hittite copy of an Old Hittite text.

The form *kar-tim-nu-uz-zi* in KUB 26.43 obv. 62 is unexpected, as the suffix *-nu-* is usually added to *-ye/a-* rather than replaces it, cf. e.g., *parkiyanu-* ‘to raise’ and 4.6. Therefore, this form is to be emended to *kar-tim-<mi->nu-uz-zi*.

**karūssiyanu-** ‘to silence’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ka-ru-uš-ši-ya-nu-u-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 39.7 III 39 OH?/NS; *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši-ya-nu-wa-an-zi* e. g. KUB 2.10 III 12, V 33 OH/NS; *ka-ru-uš-ši-ya-nu-an-zi* e.g., KUB 10.24 I 20 OH/NS, KUB 11.25 III 24 NS

The objects of this verb are people and musical instruments. The parent verb *karūssiya-* ‘to be quiet, fall silent’ has been compared by Eichner (1975b: 164) to OSwed. *krysta*, Goth. *kriustan* ‘to gnash’, OHG *chrosōn*, MHG *krosen* ‘to gnash’, PIE *\*greus-*. This comparison is not convincing semantically, see HED 4: 117. *Karūssiya-* may be cognate to *kariya-* ‘to cover’ (s. u. *kari(ya)nu-*). The suffix *-ussiye/a-* is found, according to Rieken 1999: 210f., in *nakkussiye/a-* ‘to be a scapegoat’ and *tekussiye/a-* ‘to show up’, but both cases are not certain, cf. the entry for *tekkusanu-* below and Kloekhorst 2008: 594 for *nakkussiye/a-*. In my opinion, *karūssiya-* goes back to the PIE root *\*kreuH-* ‘to cover’ (LIV: 371, OCS *kryti* ‘to cover’, Lith. *kráuti* ‘to load, pile’) and contains the suffixes *\*-s-* and *\*-ye/o-*. The semantic development remains essentially the same, and the root final laryngeal explains the plene spelling in *karūššiye/a-*.

**katkattinu-** ‘to shake, make shrug’

**3sg. pres. act.** *kat-kat-ti-nu-zi* KBo 3.5 I 33, III 20 MH/NS; KUB 1.13 II 64 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi* e.g., KUB 1.11 I 6 MH/MS, KUB 1.13 + KBo 8.48 III 52 MH/NS, KUB 29.40 III 20 MH/MS; *kat-kat-ti-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 8.52 + I 8, 16 MH/MS, KUB 29.48 rev. 19 MH?MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *kat-kat-ti-nu-ut* KUB 33.106 I 15 NS; *kat-kat-te-nu-ut* KBo 6.29 II 13 Hatt. III

**part. nom. pl. c.** *kat-kat-ti-nu-an-te-es* KUB 1.11 II 45 MH/MS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *kat-kat-ti-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 1.13 III 4, 6 MH/NS

The verb *katkattinu-* is almost exclusively used in hippological texts. It is derived from the intransitive verb *katkattiya-* ‘to shake, shrug’. The full reduplication in *katkattiya-* is a widespread phenomenon in Hitite, cf. some examples in HED 4: 135. There is no apparent etymology.

**genusrinu-** ‘to make kneel?’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ge-nu-uš-ri-nu-zi* KBo 31.144 rev. 8<sup>151</sup> MH/MS

The context is not preserved. It is a *nu*-causative to *genussariye/a-* ‘to kneel’, derived from \**genussar* and ultimately from *genu-* ‘knee’.

**kinganu- ?**

**3sg. pres. act.** *ki-in-ga-nu-zi* KBo 19.129 obv. 32 NS

The verb *kink-* and its derivative *kinganu-* are scarcely attested and their meanings are not firmly established. *Kink-* is used several times in a text on glassmaking (KBo 8.65 obv. 7, 11, 16, rev. 5 and KBo 18.201 III 10) and seems to be a technical term (Riemschneider 1974: 268ff., 274). The best preserved context is for *kinganu-* – KBo 19.129 obv. 31-32: [... -]ma 1 GA.KIN.AG TUR<sup>DUG</sup>isnuri kinganuzi ‘... but one small cheese at the dough-bowl he *k.*’ (HED 4: 182f.) Oettinger (1979: 178f.) suggested the meaning ‘to smother, smear’, while Puhvel (HED 4: 183) believes the verb to belong to metallurgical or glassmaking terminology, along the lines of ‘to spray’ or ‘to flush’. He further considers meaning ‘to attach, fasten’ possible and tentatively adds Lat. *cingō* ‘to gird, equip’, Skt. *kāncate* ‘to bind’ as possible cognates. However, if one assumes a suffix *-k(k)-* (for details see the entries for *hassik(ka)nu-*, *harnink-*, *maliskunu-* and *nink-*), the root \**gem-* ‘to press, grasp’ may also pass here.

<sup>151</sup> In KBo 31.144 it is rev. 8 contra 822/f rev. 7 in Kümmel 1967: 91 and Neu 1968: 159.

If so, Hitt. *kink-* goes back to \**gem-k-*, though this of course remains a mere speculation.

**gīnu-** ‘to open, break open’

**1 sg. pres. act.** *ki-i-nu-mi* KBo 38.237 11 NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *ki-i-nu-zi* KBo 19.146 III 25 MS; *ki-nu-uz-zi* KUB 4.47 obv. 41 NS, KUB 9.22 II 49 MS, KUB 13.9+ III 5, 7, 8 MH/NS; *ki-nu-zi* e.g., KBo 6.26 I 30 OH/NS; *gi-nu-uz-zi* KBo 10.45 III 22 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *gi-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 13.32 obv. 9 Tudh. IV, KUB 17.37 I 4 NH, KUB 25.23 I 3MH/MS, IBoT 1.36 I 7 MH/MS; *ki-nu-an-zi* e. g. KBo 24.45 rev. 11 MS, KUB 15.31 II 10 MH/NS, KUB 29.4 IV 23MS?; *ki-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KBo 10.20 I 39 NS, KBo 27.202 8 MH/NS, KUB 15.31 II 9 MH/NS; *ke-e-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 25.23 IV 51 NS; *ge-e-nu-an-zi* KBo 2.7 obv. 9, 23, rev. 16 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *gi-nu-ut* KUB 13.9+ III 11 MH/NS; *ki-nu-ut* KUB 24.7 III 25 NS, KUB 44.56 rev. 11 NS

**2sg. imp. act.** *gi-nu-ut* KBo 21.22 rev. 49 OH/MS

**3sg. imp. act.** *ki-i-nu-ud-du* KUB 30.10 obv. 25 OH/MS; *ki-nu-ud-du* KUB 13.9+ III 6 MH/NS, KUB 30.10 obv. 25 OH/MS

**3sg. pret. midd.** *ki-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 49.11 rev. 11 NS

**3sg. imp. midd.** *ki-nu-ut-ta-ru* KBo 2.3 IV 13 MH/NS

**part. acc. sg. c.** *gi-nu-wa-an-ta-an* KUB 35.145 III 8 NH; *gi-nu-wa-an-da<-an>* KUB 44.4+ rev. 31 NH; nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ki-nu-wa-an* KUB 13.2 IV 17 MH/NS

**inf. I** *ki-nu-ma-an-zi* KBo 23.7 I 10 MS?, KBo 24.45 rev. 8 MS, KUB 7.22 8 NS, IBoT 1.7+ IV 41 MH/NS; *ki-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 27.202 rev. III MH/NS

**verbal noun g.sg.** *gi-nu-ma-a-aš* KUB 41.34 rev. 6 LNS; *ge-e-nu-wa-aš* KUB 17.37 I 5 LNS, KUB 42.105 III 10 Tudh. IV

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *gi-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 57.79 IV 38 Hatt. III

*Kīnu-* is likely to be a *nu*-causative, though the base verb is not attested. Already in the MS texts and copies, we find the verb spelled with both initial KI/E and GI/E.

This is rather unusual as these signs virtually never alternate in initial position in many other words, s. Kloekhorst 2010: 211ff., who also argued that the sign choice is indicative of the etymology. *Kīnu-* is usually compared to OCS *zijati* ‘yawn’, Lat. *hiscō* ‘to yawn’, Lith. *žióti*, ON *gína* ‘to yawn’ (HED 4: 152f., Kloekhorst 2008: 478). The root is *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>i-* (LIV: 173) or rather *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* with an *i*-present *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ei/i-* (Lubotsky 2011: 107ff.). Apart from secondary infixes in Germanic (see Kroonen 2013: 178), there are Slavic forms with a nasal suffix (OCS *zinǫti*) that may point to a common PIE source for Slavic and Anatolian nasal stems (cf. Lubotsky op. cit. 109).

**kis(sa)nu-** ‘to comb’

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *ki-iš-nu-u[š-ke-ez-zi]* KBo 24.51 rev. 1 MS?; *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 24.51 rev. 3- 10 MS?; *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-e[z-z]i* KBo 24.52 2 NS

(for *ki-iš-nu-uz-zi* KBo 17.54+ IV 9’ and *kissanuske[-* KBo 2.36 rev. 3 see *kistanu-*)

All attestations of *kissanu-* come from the Ritual of Zuwi, CTH 412, cf. KBo 24.51 + rev. III

x+1 ]*ki-iš-nu-u[š-ke-ez-zi]*

2 ] [

---

3 [*ha-pal-ki ki-iš*]-*ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* []

4 [*kam-ma-ra-a-a*]n *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-[zi]*

5 [*ha-ra-r*]a-a-an *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-[zi]*

6 [*iš-ḥa-a*]ḥ-ru *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-[zi]*

7 ]x-za-pa-tar *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-[zi]*

---

8 [x-]x-ga-a-ru *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* []

9 ]x-tar *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* []

10 *la-ap-pí-ya-a*[n] *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi*

11 *e-eš-ḥar* [*ki-iš-ša-nu-u*]š-ke-ez-zi

12 *ma-am-ma-ar* [*ki-iš-*]š-ke-ez-zi

13 *ḥa-ap-pa-an-zi* *ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi*

14 EGIR-*an ú-wa-an ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi*

15 *pé-ra-an ga-an-kán ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi*

(Groddek 2001: 111)

Haas (2003: 730f.) gives several parallels for the use of combs in rituals, so there is no reason to doubt that *kissanu-* in ritual texts means ‘to comb’ just as its base verb *kis-*. Based on the available contexts, there seems to be no semantic difference between *kis-* and *kissanu-*, but note that in almost all cases *kissanu-* has the imperfective suffix *-ske/a-*.

The etymology of *kis-* ‘to comb’ is quite clear: PIE *\*kes-*, CLuw. *kisa-* ‘to comb’, OCS *česati* ‘to comb’, OIr. *cír* ‘comb’, ON *haddr* ‘long hair’, etc., cf. HED 4: 159, Kloekhorst 2008: 481ff.

**kistanu-** ‘to put out, stamp out, exterminate’

**1sg. pret. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-mi* KUB 9.25+ KUB 27.67 I 5 MH/NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *ki-iš-<ta->nu-uz-zi* KBo 17.54+ IV 9<sup>152</sup> MS; *ki-iš-ta-nu-zi* e.g., KBo 15.48 III 6 MH/NS, KUB 25.42 II 12 MH/NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-me-[ni* KBo 10.37 obv. II 6’ OH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-an-zi* KBo 4.2 I 12 pre-NH/NS , KUB 43.38 obv. 17 MS; *ki-iš-ta-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 30.15 obv. 2 MH/NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-nu-un* KUB 17.15 II 14 NS, KUB 24.14 I 21 NH, KUB 9.25+ KUB 27.67 II 7 MH/MS, KUB 35.146 II 2, 5 MS; *ki-iš-ta-<nu->nu-un*<sup>153</sup> KUB 9.25+ KUB 27.67 III 11 MH/MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut* KUB 36.12+ II 27 NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-te-en* KBo 4.2 I 16 pre-NH/NS; *ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-tén* KBo 13.58 III 16 MH/NS; *ke-eš-ta-nu-ut-tén* KUB 13.4 III 47 MH/NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-an-du* KBo 44.97 6 NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-wa-an* KUB 30.15 obv. 13 MH/NS

**inf. I** *ki-iš-ta-nu-um-ma-an-zi* KUB 19.12 II 10 Murš. II

<sup>152</sup> *ke-eš-ta[* in dupl. Bo 2567c, s. the online edition of CTH 458.1.1 by F. Fuscagni at the HPM website.

<sup>153</sup> The base verb *kist-* has no active forms, and *ki-iš-ta-nu-un* in KUB 9.25+ KUB 27.67 III 11 is attested virtually in the same context as *ki-iš-ta-nu-nu-un* in II 7, so the emendation is justified, sim. CHD Š: 130.

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *ki-iš-ta-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 19.12 II 11 Murš. II

*ki-iš-ta-nu-nu[-* KBo 2.36 rev. 3 NS

*Kistanu-* is derived from *kist-* ‘to perish’, the etymology of which is unclear. Puhvel (HED 4: 168) compares *kist-* to PIE  $*(s)g^{w}esh_2-$  ‘to die out, cease’ (LIV: 541, e.g., Gr. aor. ἔσβην, Skt. pres. *jasyata*, OCS *u-gasati*)<sup>154</sup>. Semantically it is attractive, but the lack of a labiovelar in the anlaut of the Hittite word makes this comparison difficult. Kloekhorst (2008: 483) derives it from Hitt. *kast-* ‘hunger’, which has further cognates Toch A *kašt*, B *kest* ‘hunger, famine’ and possibly Toch B *käs-* ‘to come to extinction, go out’ (Adams 2013: 188, 213). If HLuw. *asta-* ‘hunger?’ (Melchert 1987: 185f., cf. also *asti(ya)-* ‘hungry?’ in ACLT) is related, the root-initial consonant was a voiced or voiced aspirated velar in PIE which was lost in Luwian before back vowels as well as before front vowels (contra Melchert 1994: 255).

**kumarnu-** ?

**3pl. pres. act.** *ku-mar-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 35.146 II 16 MS

CHD P: 210 gives the following attestation:

*Pastarnuwanzi=an kuiēs nu=za* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ḪAŠḪUR [*d*]*andu kumarnuwanzi=an kuiēs nu=za kunkumān* [*d*]*andu* “those who p. him, let them take apple(s), those who *kumarnu-* him, let them take *kunkuma-*”.

The etymology is unclear.

**kuwasnu-** ‘to kiss’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ku-wa-aš-nu-an-zi* KUB 29.7+ obv. 35 MH/MS

The meaning of *kuwasnu-* does not seem to differ from that of *kuwass-* ‘to kiss’, cf. the only existing context KUB 29.7+ obv. 35-37: *namma* [LUGAL MUNUS].LUGAL *gangati*<sup>SAR</sup> *anda taksan kuwasnuanzi nu=za warpanzi*

<sup>154</sup> According to Jasanoff 2008, the root is  $*g^{w}es-$  ‘to extinguish, die out’.

[E.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>=ya]=*kán harnuanzi* “Ferner küssen [König (und) Kön]igin die *kankati*-Pflanze gemeinsam. Nun waschen sie sich [und den Tempel] besprengen sie” (Haas 2003: 230, 232). There is no need to translate *kuwasnu-* as “they make kiss” as in HED 4: 312.

The verb *kuwass-* has been long compared to Gr. κυνέω ‘to prostrate, kiss ground’. The *a*-vocalism of the root is unusual for a *mi*-conjugation verb, and LIV: 373 reconstructs *\*kwas-* for PIE. Kloekhorst (2008: 506f.) rejects it and suggests *kwass* < *\*kwens-*, *\*kw-en-s-* being an infixed stem along with *\*ku-ne-s-* that we see in Greek. This is, however, unlikely, since the alleged infixed stem *\*kwens-* has an unexpected full grade of the infix in Hittite *\*-en-*, which does not correspond to the *\*-ne-* in Greek. In fact, in all the cases where one may reasonably assume a reflex of the full grade of the infix in Hittite, it goes back to *\*-ne-*<sup>155</sup>. Besides, the geminate *-ss-* in 3pl. sg. *kuwassanzi* does not necessarily indicate the assimilation of intervocalic *\*-ns-*; we find the geminate *-ss-* in the plural of those verbs that certainly did not contain such a cluster, e.g., 3pl. pres. mid. *wessanta* (Hitt. *wess-* ‘to be dressed’, PIE *\*wes-*, Skt. *váste* etc.).

While the genetic relation between *kwass-* and κυνέω is likely, it may well be onomatopoetic, cf. HED 4: 312.

**lahlahhinu-** ‘to perturb, make scurry’

**3pl. pret. act.** *la-aḥ-la-aḥ-ḥi-nu-e-<<nu-e->>er* KUB 9.34 III 31 NS

**impf. 3 pl. pret. act.** *la-aḥ-la-aḥ-ḥi-nu-uš-ke-er* KUB 35.146 II 16 MS

This verb is derived from *lahlahhiya-* ‘to be perturbed, scurry’, which has no clear etymology. Puhvel (HED 5: 11f.) states that *lahlahhiya-* and *lahlahinu-* are similar in formation to *katkatiya-* ‘to shrug’ and *katkatinu-* ‘to make shrug’, also used in hippological texts and specifically in Kikkulli. He suggests that it may contain the same root as *lahhanza(n)-*, a migratory waterfowl; the common meaning for both words is some kind of noisy agitation. This connection is, however, hardly valid: Katz

<sup>155</sup> The origin of *-n-* in *hamank-/hamink-* is obscure, see the respective entry in 2.3.

(2004: 199ff.) convincingly argued that *lahhanza(n)-* means ‘duck’ and goes back to the root *\*(s)neh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to swim’ with the dissimilation of the initial nasal, which we also see in, e.g., *lāman* ‘name’ < PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>neh<sub>3</sub>mn*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 517ff.

**lah(hi)lahheskenu-** ‘to agitate (horses), cause (horses) to run’

**3sg. pres. act.** *la-aḥ-la-aḥ-ḥe-eš-ke-nu-zi* KUB 1.13+ I 16, IV 8 MH/NS; *la-aḥ-ḥi-la-aḥ-ḥe-eš-k[e-nu-zi]* KUB 1.13+ IV 42 MH/NS

It occurs only in Tablet I of Kikkuli: [*n=a*]š *tūriyanzi n=aš* 1 DANNA *pennai [la-aḥ-l]a-aḥ-ḥe-eš-ke-nu-zi-ma-aš* ANA 7 IKU<sup>H.A</sup> “They harness them and he drives them (at a moderate pace) one DANNA, but he makes them run over seven IKU's” KUB 1.13 I 15f. It is an unusual formation with inverted suffixation, we would rather expect *lahlahhinuske/a-*, cf. HED 5: 10.

**laknu-** ‘to knock over, fell; pass (a night) sleepless’

**2sg. pres. act.** *la-ak-nu-ši* KUB 26.1 III 41, 43 Tudh. IV

**3sg. pres. act.** *la-ak-nu-uz-zi* KUB 29.9 IV 11 OH/NS; *la-ak-nu-zi* KBo 23.55 I 22 NS;

**3pl. pres. act.** *la-ak-nu-an-zi* KUB 44.32 14 NS, KUB 56.57 II 16 NS; *la-ak-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 43.55 IV 8 pre-NH/NS; *la-ak-nu-u-wa-an-zi* KUB 39.7 I 14 NS, KUB 39.1 II 13 NS.

**3sg. pret. act.** *la-ak-nu-ut* KBo 11.1 obv. 40 Muw. II, KBo 26.102 4 NS, KUB 5.7 obv. 24 NH, KUB 14.3 IV 9 NH, KUB 16.29 obv. 25 NS

**2sg. imp. act.** *la-ak-nu-ut* KUB 26.1 III 40 Tudh. IV

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *la-ak-nu-u[š-ke-]mi* KUB 36.75 III 8 OH/MS

*Laknu-* is mostly attested in NH texts, where it seems to have replaced active forms of *lāk-/lak-* ‘to knock out, lie, recline’ that otherwise remain in use only in the fixed expressions with *lagan hark-* (s. CHD L-N: 20). Thus, in New Hittite, the transitive stem *laknu-* ‘to knock over’ was in opposition to intransitive middle forms of *lāk-* ‘to

lie, recline’, which is the expected semantics for a *nu*-stem. At the same time, already in Middle Hittite we find the meaning ‘to pass (a night) sleepless’, cf. KUB 36.75 III 6 ‘*kinu*’[*n?*] (7) *pittuli*[*yaya*]*s peran* UD<sup>HLA</sup>-*us* GE<sub>6</sub><sup>HL</sup>[-*us*] (8) *laknu*[*ske*]*mi* “N[ow] I go sleepless (all) days (and) nights from angu[ish]” (Schwemer 2011: 19, 22). Its semantic relationship to active ‘to knock out’ or middle ‘to lie, recline’ is not obvious: this usage of *laknu*- is likely to be metaphorical in origin in this expression.

The root etymology of *lāk*- is clear: it belongs to PIE *\*leg<sup>h</sup>*- ‘to lie’ (LIV: 398f.). It is the development of this root in Hittite that remains problematic. Since Eichner (1973: 99<sup>83</sup>) *lāk*- is believed to continue the PIE causative *\*logh-éye-*, which would explain the vocalism of the root. However, the difference in the stem type and conjugation between *lāk*-/*lak*- and *wasse/a-* ‘to dress’, another alleged reflex of the PIE causative *\*-éye-* formation, is problematic. Schulze-Thulin (2001) argued that PIE causatives and iteratives in R(o)-*éye-* generally shifted to the *hi*-conjugation due to the *o*-grade of the root; the verb *wasse/a-* is an exception, which retained its original stem either due to its high frequency or in order to avoid near-homonymy with *wās<sup>i</sup>*- ‘to buy’. Under this theory, *lāk*- goes back to the causative stem *\*logh-éye-* and shifted to the *hi*-conjugation in the prehistory of Hittite.

**lalukkešnu-** ‘to give light, illuminate’

**3sg. pret. act.** *la-a-lu-ki-iš-nu-ut* KBo 32.14 II 45 MH/MS

**3sg. imp. act.** *la-lu-uk-k[i-iš-nu-ud-du]* KUB 34.77 obv.? 6 NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *la-lu-ki-iš-nu-wa-an* KUB 34.77 obv.? 5 NS

**impf. 3sg. imp. act.** *la-lu-uk-ke-eš-nu-uš-ke-ed-du* KBo 18.133 20' NH

Most contexts for this verb are only partially preserved. Still, with a possible exception in KBo 32.14 II 45<sup>156</sup>, *lalukkesnu-* seems to be intransitive, ‘bring light to’, usually with a dative.

<sup>156</sup> Neu (1996: 148f.) analyzed *nu-uš-ši-eš-ta* in KBo 32.14 II 44-45 *na-an gul-aš-ta nu-uš-ši-eš-ta ma-iš-ti an-da la-a-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut* as *n=us=si=sta*, where *-uš-* is acc. pl. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person enclitic pronoun and translated it as follows: ‘ihn (=den Becher) ziselerte er und er liess sie ihm in (jedem) Detail erstrahlen’. Note that the object in the second clause

Watkins (1985: 252) argues that *lalukess-* cannot be an *-ēss-* fientive from *lalukki-*, as such fientive stems never have derivatives in *-nu-*, and it rather contains a suffix *-s-*, which is seen also in *nana(n)kuss-* ‘to become dark’, cf. also Kloekhorst 2008: 517. However, *lalukess-* is more likely to contain a productive suffix *-ēss-*, which is often found combined with nominal stems, rather than a rare suffix *-s-*, which in all its occurrences is added to verbal stems. Besides, there actually is another example of *-nu-* being added to another suffix in *lah(hi)lahheskenu-* ‘to agitate (horses)’. Such a derivation is clearly quite unusual, but not impossible if one keeps in mind a very high productivity of the suffix *-nu-* in the history of Hittite. Therefore, I believe that *lalukkesnu-* contains a fientive suffix *-ēss-* combined with *-nu-*.

The root etymology is PIE *\*leuk-* ‘become bright’, LIV: 418f.

**lapnu-, lappanu-** ‘to kindle, make glow’

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *la-ap-pa-nu-wa-an* KUB 42.69 obv. 14 NH, Bo 3778 2 NS; *la-ap-pa-nu-an* KUB 32.76 20 NS

**impf. supine** *la-ap-nu-uš-ke-u-wa-an* KUB 17.1 II 8 NH

The participle *lappanu(w)an* is used to refer to gold or a gem and is translated as ‘shining’ or ‘glowing’. The construction *pahhur lapnuskewan dais* ‘“(the god) started to make fire”’ makes clear that this is a transitive verb.

The base verb *lapp-* ‘to catch fire, flash’ has been compared to Gr. λάμπω ‘to shine’, Lith. *lópė* ‘torch’, PIE *\*leh<sub>2</sub>p-*, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 520.

**linganu-** ‘to make someone swear or take an oath’

**1sg pres. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-mi* KBo 16.24 I 11 MH/MS

**3sg. pres. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-zi* KUB 21.42 IV 20 Tudh. IV

**1pl. pres. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-ma-ni* KUB 17.21 IV 12 MH/MS

**3pl. pres. act.** *li-in-qa-nu-an-zi* KUB 5.4 I 52 NH

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differs in number from the object of the first clause. Anyway, we can read it simply as *nu=ssi=sta*, without direct object, which corresponds better to the other passages with *lalukkisnu-*.

**1sg. pret. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-nu-un* KBo 4.4 III 14, 16 Murš. II, KBo 5.9 I 18, 22 Murš. II, KBo 5.12 IV 5 Šupp. I, KBo 15.24 II 2 MH/NS, KBo 16.17 III 28 Murš. II, KUB 14.3 I 66, II 34 Hatt. III, KUB 23.72 obv. 35 MH/MS, KUB 31.55 7 MH/NS; *le-en-ga-nu-nu-un* KUB 26.1 III 47 Tudh. IV

**3sg. pret. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-ut* KBo 4.4 IV 60 Murš. II, KBo 16.27 III 12, IV 32 MH/MS, KUB 14.1 obv. 13, 43, 74 MH/MS; *le-en-ga-nu-ut* KUB 26.1 III 17 Tudh. IV

**1pl. pret. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-me-en* KBo 52.6 2 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *li-in-qa-nu-e-er* KUB 40.88 IV 10 Hatt. III?

**part. sg. nom. c.** *l[i-i]n-ga-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 5.3 II 36 Šupp. I; *li-in-qa-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 4.14 II 47 Šupp. II; *le-en-qa-nu-an-za* ibid. II 47

**part. pl. nom. c.** *li-in-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 14.8 obv. 17 Murš. II, KUB 14.11 II 2, 41 Murš. II; *li-in!-ga!-nu-an-te-eš* KUB 14.8 obv. 34 Murš. II

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 21.42 I 10 Tudh. IV

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 6.41 III 53 Murš. II

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *li-in-ga-nu-uš-ke-er* KBo 16.25 IV 9 MH/MS, KUB 21.42 I 9 Tudh. IV

*Linganu-* is a causative to *link-* ‘to swear, take an oath’; the usage of the verb can be illustrated with KUB 26.1 III 46-47 *nu=smas* <sup>D</sup>UTU-ŠI *kuit lenganunun* ‘“whereas I my majesty have made you swear” (HED 5: 94). For the etymology, see *link-* in 2.3.

**lukkanu-** ‘to pass the night’ or ‘to make it light’

3pl. pres. act. *lu-uq-qa-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 46.27 obv. 22 NS, KUB 56.39 IV 22; *lu-ug-ga-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 58.39 I 12 LNS

*Lukkanu-* is always used with *ispant-* ‘night’ and seems to have replaced the older construction *ispantan laknu-* ‘to spend the night sleepless’ (HED 5: 105, CHD L-N: 76), probably since the original expression was no longer clear to Hittite scribes, and ‘to make (the night) bright’ was considered to be a more appropriate way of expressing the idea of sleeplessness. In KUB 46.27, *ispant-* is in the ablative (GE<sub>6</sub>-za): even

though the context is lost, this syntactic construction seems to indicate that this verb was not always used transitively. For the root etymology see *lalukesnu-*.

**luššanu- ?**

**3pl. pres. act.** *lu-uš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 44.61 rev. 15 NS, *lu-uš-ša-nu-an-zi* IBoT 2.131 rev. 12 Tudh. IV

The meaning of this verb is not known. The contexts are as follows (s. CHD L-N: 87ff. and HED 5: 123): [...] *dai n=at=kan lu-uš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* (long break) *n=at papparšanzi* “He takes [...] They *l.* it ... They sprinkle it” KUB 44.61 rev. 15-16; *nu*<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> *lapanallie[š]* 1 UDU *hūkanzi*<sup>LÚ</sup> SANGA ŠA DUMU.NITA<sup>LÚ.M</sup> [EŠ] *lap*] *analli*<sup>HI.A</sup> -*ša?* [Š]A DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup> *nu lu-uš-ša-nu-an-zi* “Salt-lick guards slaughter one ship. The priest of a son, the salt-lick guards of daughters, they *l.*” IBoT 2.131 rev. 10-12, cf. CHD L-N: 88. Puhvel assumes that *lussanu-* could be related to Goth. *laus* ‘loose’ (HED 5: 123).

**maknu-** ‘to make abundant, increase’

**1sg. pret. act.** *ma-ak-nu-nu-[u]n* KUB 31.17 5 OH/NS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *ma-a-ak-nu-uš-ke-mi* KUB 41.20 obv. 6 NH?

**impf. 2sg. imp. act.** *ma-ak-nu-uš-ki* KUB 31.64 IV 8 OH/NS

**impf. 3pl. imp. act.** <sup>1</sup>*ma-ak*<sup>1</sup> -*nu-uš-kán-[du]* KUB 31.100 obv.? 12 pre-NH/MS

The verb *maknu-* is derived from *mekk(i)-* ‘many, numerous’, which has forms both with and without *-i-* in the stem. Hittite *mekki-* (< \**meġh<sub>2</sub>-i-*) is cognate with Skt. *mahi*, Gr. μέγα, Lat. *magnus*, TochA *māk* ‘many’ etc. (cf. HED 6: 123f.). The *a-* vocalism in *maknu-* and *makess-* ‘become numerous’ is explained as reflecting the zero grade of the root (Kloekhorst 2008: 573).

**maliskunu-** ‘to make weak, weaken’

**2pl. pres. act.** *ma-li-iš-ku-nu-ut-ta-n[i]* KUB 23.72 rev. 54 MH/MS

**2pl. pret. act. *ma-li-iš-ku-nu-ut-tén* KUB 21.42 II 8 NH**

The verb *maliskunu-* is derived from *malisku-* ‘weak’. According to Puhvel (HED 6: 30), these words are related to *malikk-* ‘to weaken, become weak’, which is attested once in KUB 30.10 rev. 4 *ma-li-ik-ṛku-ṛ-un*<sup>157</sup>. Puhvel further follows Pisani’s comparison of *malisku-* (*\*malik-sku-*) to Gr. μαλακός ‘soft’, βλάξ ‘weak, soft’, ‘stupid’, Goth. *-malks* in *untilamalks* ‘rash, reckless’, Lith. *mùlkis* ‘fool, simpleton’ and reconstructs PIE *\*mleh<sub>2</sub>k-*. However, he does not comment on the shape of the suffix *-sku-* in *malisku-*. Rieken (2013: 275f.) prefers to connect *malisku-* immediately with Goth. *-malks* and reconstructs the stem as *\*molh<sub>2</sub>-sko-* with the subsequent loss of the laryngeal due to Saussure’s effect. According to her, in Hittite the final *\*-o-* of the stem was further replaced with *-u-*, which also attracted the accent. Such a derivational history may explain why the stem-final *-u-* is retained before the suffix *-nu-* in *maliskunu-*, even though usually the stem-final *-u-* is replaced by *-nu-*, see further 4.8-9. The final *-ikk-* of *malikk-*, however, remains unexplained; in my opinion, we deal here with the suffix *-k(k)-*, attested also in *hassik-* ‘to satiate’, *hark-* ‘to perish’. See further the entries for *hassikkanu-* above, *harnink-* in 2.2 and Shatskov 2015.

**maninkuwanu-** ‘to bring near?’

**3sg. pret. act. or 2sg.imper. act. *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-nu-ut* Bo 6238 7 NS**

The fragment Bo 6238 has not yet been published, and this form is cited by Neu without context (s. CHD L-N: 174). It must belong to the same root as *maninkuwan* (adv.) ‘close, near’, *maninkuwant-* ‘short, low, close’. There is another factitive formation from this stem, *maninkuwahh-* ‘draw near’, which is much more frequent.

*Maninkuwa(nt)-* is generally believed to contain a suffix *-inkuwa-* (*\*-ink<sup>w</sup>o-*), seen also in Lat. *propinquus* ‘near’, *longinquus* ‘far’ and Skt. *pratyáñc-* ‘turned against’.

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<sup>157</sup> For the translation cf. also Schwemer 2015: 4\*.

The root may be that of Arm. *manr* ‘small’, Lat. *mancus* ‘maimed’ or of Lat. *comminus* ‘at close range’, *manus* ‘hand’, see Neu 1980b, HED 6: 57.

**marnu-** ‘to steep, dissolve’

**2sg. pres. act.** *mar-nu-ši* KBo 12.124 III 20 NS

CHD L-N: 295 connects this form with *mernu-* ‘to cause to disappear’, but Puhvel (HED 6: 63) correctly takes it as a derivative from *marr(ya)-* ‘to stew, steep, melt, dissolve’, which is intransitive and mainly middle. He reconstructs the stem as *\*(s)mṛ-ye/o-* and further compares it to OE *smorian* ‘to smother, steep’. If so, the PIE root is *\*(s)mer-* or *\*(s)merh<sub>2</sub>-*.

**marsanu-** ‘to desecrate, falsify’

**3sg. pres. act.** *mar-ša-nu-zi* KUB 7.52 obv. 5 NS, KUB 30.11 rev. 9 MS; *mar-ša-nu-uz-zi* KUB 30.10 rev. 13 MH/MS, KUB 36.75 II 19 OH/MS

**part. nom. sg. com.** *mar-ša-nu-an-za* KUB 16.39 II 12 NH

**part. nom.-acc. sg. neut.** *mar-ša-nu-an* KUB 16.27 obv. 4 NH, KUB 16.39 II 7 NH; *mar-ša-nu-wa-an* KBo 11.1 obv. 35 Muw. II, KUB 16.38 IV 3, KUB 16.39 II 25 NH, KUB 18.27 obv.? 17 NH

**part. nom. pl. c.** *mar-ša-nu-an-te-eš* KUB 16.34 I 2 NH, KUB 16.39 II 2, 19, III 7 NH, *mar-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 16.27 obv. 2 NH, KUB 16.39 II 31 NH

*Marsanu-* is derived either from *marsa-* ‘unholy, treacherous’ or from *marse-* ‘to become corrupted, deceitful’. This is one of few cases where causatives in *-ahh-* and *-nu-* are derived from the same root. *Marsahh-* is attested only as a participle three times in New Hittite texts and once in a Middle Hittite text, KUB 29.8. It is always found as a participle in Neut.N.-Acc. Sg., used either predicatively or with *hark-*. There seems to be no difference in meaning, cf. CHD L-N: 195f., 197f.

The words *marsanu-*, *marsahh-*, *marsant-* ‘flawed, spoiled’ etc. are generally compared to Skt. *mṛṣā-* ‘in vain, falsely’ and ultimately to *\*mers-* ‘to forget’ (LIV: 440f., e.g., Toch. A *märs*, B *marsa*, Lith. *mīṛsti*), s. Kloekhorst 2008: 562, HED 6: 87.

**mēmanu-**, **mēmiyanu-** ‘to have (someone) say, recite, make (someone) talk’

**3sg. pres. act.** *me-mi-ya-nu-uz-zi* KUB 4.47 II 20 NS

**2pl. pret. act.** *me-ma-nu-ut-te-en* KUB 33.10 obv. 8 OH/MS

**impf. 2sg. pres. act.** *mé-e-ma-nu-uš-ga!-ši* KUB 33.34 obv. 2 OH/NS

*Mēmanu-* is derived from *mēma/i-* ‘to speak’. Formally one would rather expect *\*\*mēminu-*, based on the weak stem *mēmi-*; cf. 4.5-6.

There is no convincing etymology for this verb. A connection to PIE *\*men-* ‘think’ (e.g., HED 6: 139) is formally impossible, since the alleged *\*memnV-* would have yielded *\*\*memmV-* with double *-mm-*, see Kloekhorst 2008: 575.

**mernu-** ‘to make disappear’

**1sg. pret. act.** *me-er-nu-<nu->un* KUB 13.35 I 28 NH

**3sg. imp. act.** *me-er-nu-u[d]-du* Bo 3995 II 10 NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *mi-ir-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 13.101 rev. 14 NS

This verb is derived from *mer(r)/mar-* ‘to perish, disappear’, which has a secure etymology, PIE *\*mer-* ‘to perish, die’, Ved. *maráte*, Arm. *meṛanim*, OCS *u-mrěťь*, Lat. *morior* etc. (LIV: 439f., HED 6: 150). Note the nasal stem in Armenian which according to Klingenschmitt (1982: 220f.) has replaced the original *nu-*formation.

**miyanu-** ‘to make (branches) fruit-bearing’

**3sg. pres. act.** *mi-ya-nu-zi* KUB 10.27 I 26 NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *mi-ya[-nu-an-zi]* KUB 27.16 I 13 NS

*Miyanu-* is derived from *mai/mi-* ‘to grow’. The connection to Hitt. *miu-* ‘mild’, Lat. *mītis* etc. (Oettinger 1979: 471) is improbable both semantically and formally (s. Kloekhorst 2008: 541). Alternatively, the Hittite verb has been compared to PIE *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* (LIV *\*meh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to measure’, e.g., Skt. *ámāsi*, Lat. *metior*) or PIE *\*meh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘big’ (OIr. *mór* ‘big’, Goth. *mais* ‘more’) , see HED 6: 10. The most plausible connection is that of Yakubovich (2010: 483ff.) who compared *mai/mi-* ‘to grow’ to Iranian *\*maH-* ‘to be, become’, Latin *mātūrus* ‘ripe, fully grown’ and Slavic *\*matorъ* ‘old, adult’. While he rejects the further connection of these words to OIr. *mór* ‘big’, Goth. *mais* ‘more’ etc. (ibid 484<sup>8</sup>), Nikolaev (2014: 132) argues that this connection is still possible.

**minu- , mienu-** ‘to make mild, make pleasant, heal’

**2sg. pres. act.** *mi-nu-ši* KUB 48.123 I 10 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *mi-i-nu-nu-un* KBo 14.105 2 NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *mi-e-nu-u-e-er* KUB 19.22 r. Kol. 3 Murš. II and dupl. *mi-e-nu-er* KBo 14.42 obv. 11 Murš. II

**2sg. imp. act.** *mi-nu-ut* KBo 11.72 III 38 NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *mi-e-nu-ud-du* KUB 17.12 II 14 NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *mi-nu-wa-an-du* KBo 3.21 III 10, 16, 22, 26 OH?/MS; *mi-nu-an-du* KBo 3.21 III 12 OH?/MS

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg.** *mi-i-nu-mar* KBo 17.105 III 32 MH/MS, KUB 15.31 I 55 MH/NS, *mi-nu-mar* e.g., KBo 3.21 III 11, 13, 17, 23, 27 OH/NS, KBo 15.52 V 20 NS, KUB 5.1 I 37, 97 NH, KUB 17.20 III 12 NS, KUB 17.33 IV? 15, 19 NS; *mi<-nu>-mar* KUB 22.4 8 NH, IBoT 1.32 obv. 3, 30 NH, *mi-nu-mar-r=a* KUB 5.1 II 9, III 42 NH, KBo 2.2 I 28 NH, *me-nu-mar-r=a* KUB 16.66 obv. 32 NH

**verbal noun g.sg.** *mi-nu-um-ma-aš* KUB 2.1 III 32 NH

**verbal noun n.-acc. pl.** *mi-nu-mar*<sup>HLA</sup> e.g., KBo 2.6 II 1, IV 6 NH, KBo 14.21 I 46, 59 NH, KUB 5.1 I 104, 107 NH; *mi-nu-mar-ri*<sup>HLA</sup> KUB 5.5 II 3, 14 NH, KUB 16.66 obv. 13 NH, KUB 22.64 II 4 NH, KUB 50.59b 5 NH, KUB 50.89 II 12 NH

**impf.** *mi-i-nu-u[š-]k[e- ... ]* KUB 24.6 obv. 2 MS

Weitenberg (2004: 42f.) argued that forms with *-e-*, i.e. *mi-e-nu-u-e-er* KUB 19.22 rt. col. 3, *mi-e-nu-er* KBo 14.42 obv. 11, *mi-e-nu-ud-du* KUB 17.12 II 14 and adjective *mienu-* are not related to this verb (cf. also Kloekhorst 2008: 579), but he did not provide a new meaning. I tentatively assign these forms to *minu-* ‘to make mild’.

*Minu-* is be derived from *miu-* ‘mild’ (HED 6: 172, Kloekhorst 2008: 594), which was compared by Knobloch (1959: 38) to Lat. *mītis* ‘mild’, OIr. *mōith* ‘soft’, Lith. *mýlas* ‘tender’, PIE *\*meih<sub>1</sub>-*, cf. Schrijver 1991: 240, Kloekhorst 2008: 594.

**nahšarnu-** ‘to make (someone) afraid, command respect’

**2sg. pres. act.** [*n*]a-aḥ-šar-nu-ši KBo 45.205 4, 5 MS?

**2sg. pret. act.** na-aḥ-šar-nu-ut KUB 19.29 IV 10 Murš. II

**3sg. pret. act.** na-aḥ-šar-nu-ut KUB 19.29 IV 7 Murš. II, HKM 75 rev. 13 MS

na-aḥ-šar-nu-ut[(-) ... ] KBo 18.31 l.e. 5 NH

**part. nom. pl. c.** na-aḥ-šar-nu-an-te-es KUB 57.112 rev. 3 NS

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** na-aḥ-šar-nu-uš-ke-er KUB 60.157 III 7 MS

*Nahsarnu-* is likely to be derived from *\*nahsar* ‘fear’, seen also in *nahsaratt-* (for the pattern cf. *eshar* ‘blood’ : *esharnu-* ‘to make red’) and *nahsariya-* ‘to be afraid, have respect for’. Puhvel (HED 7: 9) notes that it could also have been derived from *nahsariya-*, just as *kartim(miya)nu-* is derived from *kartimmiya-* ‘to be angry’. This is unlikely, as *kartimnu-* is not a reliable parallel<sup>158</sup>, and in other cases *-nu-* is added to *-iya-* rather than replaces it, see further 4.6.

The reconstructed noun *\*nahsar* is derived from *nah(h)-* ‘to be(come) afraid, fear’, which is traditionally connected with OIr. *nār* (< *\*nasro-*) ‘shy, modest’, PIE *\*neh<sub>2</sub>(sr-)*, cf. e.g., Kloekhorst 2008: 592.

**ninganu-** ‘to make drink to satisfaction, drench, make someone drunk’

<sup>158</sup> *Kartimnu-* is attested only once in KUB 26.43 obv. 62 and is perhaps to be amended to *kartim<mi>nu-* (see the respective entry), whereas *-i(ya)-* is preserved in all the other forms of this verb.

**3pl. pres. act.** *ni-in-ga-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 33.5 III 12, KUB 33.7 III? 10, 12  
OH/MS

**1sg. pret. act.** [*n*]i-in-ga-nu-nu-u[n] KBo 15.24 II 2 MH/NS

**1pl. pret. act.** *ni-<sup>1</sup>in-ga<sup>1</sup>-n[u-me?-en?]* KBo 13.101 I 29 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *ni-in-ga-n[u-er?]* KBo 16.34 7 MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *ni-in-ga-nu-ut* KBo 16.22 obv. 8 NH

**3sg. imp. act.** *ni-in-ga-nu-ud-du* KUB 33.7 III? 14 OH/MS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *ni-in-<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš-ke-m[i]* KBo 46.131 rev. 4 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *ni-in-ga-nu-uš!-ke-ez-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>* KUB 8.66:8+ KUB 33.86 III 7.

*Ninganu-* is derived from *ning-* ‘to quench one’s thirst, get drunk’. Various attempts to connect this verb with Hitt. *nakki-* ‘heavy, important’ or *ninink-* ‘to set in motion’ (see e.g., HED 7: 116f.) have not been successful. Melchert (1994: 165) suggested that *nink-* contains the same *-k(k)-* as *hassik-*, so that the root is *\*nem-* ‘to take’<sup>159</sup>; he pointed to Spanish *tomar* ‘to take’ > ‘to drink’ as the semantic parallel. For the suffix *-k(k)-* see further the entries for *harnink-* ‘to destroy’, *hassikanu-* ‘to quench one’s thirst’ and *maliskunu-* ‘to make weak, weaken’ as well as Shatskov 2015. Kloekhorst (2008: 607) argues that the root *\*nem-* means ‘to allot’ rather than ‘to take’, as seen in Gr. *véμω* ‘to allot, distribute’, cf. also LIV: 453, where the meaning ‘to take’ of Germanic and Baltic forms is explained as stemming from the middle forms. Nevertheless, in my opinion Melchert’s etymology stands, as we sometimes see similar semantic developments in other verbs, e.g., Hitt. *dā-* ‘to take’ and PIE *\*deh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to give’.

**nu(n)tarnu-** ‘to hurry, hasten, rush into something, act rashly, precipitously’

**2sg. pres. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-ši* KBo 5.4 obv. 31, 32 LNS, KBo 5.13 IV 15 Murš. II, KBo 19.73a III 23 Muw. II, KUB 6.41 IV 23 Murš. II, KUB 6.44 IV 30 Murš. II, KUB 21.1 III 28 Muw. II, KUB 21.5 III 43 Muw. II, KUB 40.49 rev. 4 NS; *nu-tar-nu-ši* KBo 5.13 IV 34 Murš. II

<sup>159</sup> Or rather *\*nemh<sub>1</sub>-*, see Nikolaev 2011: 84f.

**3sg. pres. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-zi* KUB 13.4 II 22 MH/NS, KUB 13.5 II 31 MH/NS, KUB 52.4 obv.? 5 NS

**2pl. pres. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-te-e-ni* KBo 5.4 rev. 20 LNS; *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-te-ni* KBo 5.4 rev. 16 LNS

**1sg. pret. act.** *nu-un-tar-<sup>Γ</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-nu-un* KBo 14.20 II 6 Murš. II

**3sg. pret. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-ut* KBo 18.132 4 MS, KUB 7.58 I 15 LNS, KUB 12.26 II 15, 16 NS, KUB 26.21 III 15 NS, KUB 33.89 3 NS, KUB 33.106 I 34 NS, KUB 36.12 III 15 NS; *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-ta* (Luw. form) KUB 33.106 II 27 NS

**1sg. imp. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-wa-a[l-lu]* KUB 21.38 obv. 37 NH

**2pl. imp. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-ut-tén* KBo 26.61 III 22 NS, KUB 33.102 III 13 NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *nu-un-tar-nu-wa-an-du* KUB 45.20 II 15 NS

**verbal subst. nom.sg.** *nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar* KUB 21.38 I 36 NH

Further Anatolian cognates include Hitt. *nuntaras* ‘soon’, *nuntariya-* ‘hasty’, *nuntariya-* ‘to hasten’ or ‘to be ready, at hand’, *nuntariasha-* ‘haste, speed (?)’<sup>160</sup>, CLuw. *nanuntarrit-* ‘the present’, *nanuntarri(ya)-* (adj.) ‘of the present’, *nānuntarriyal(i)-* (adj.) ‘present’.

Surprisingly, *nuntarnu-* is always intransitive (cf. *huntarnu*, *wahnu-*). See, e.g., *nu=wa=šši* EGIR-*an nu-un-tar-nu-ut* IGI-*anda* <sup>d</sup>*Kamrušipaš nu-un-tar-nu-ut* “and he hurried after him (i.e., the client), Kamrušipa hurried toward him, (and they restored him as a son to his mother)” KUB 12.26 II 14-17, or (If the king writes to you, Targašnalli, denying rumors that he acted against you) *ziga lē nu-un-tar-nu-ši...* [*nu ITTI*] <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *idālu lē iyaši mān nu-un-tar-nu-ši=ma nu ITTI* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *idālu iyaši* “you must not act rashly, ... do nothing evil [again]st His Majesty. If you do act rashly and do evil against His Majesty, (... you transgress the oath to the god)” KBo 5.4 obv. 31-33 (examples from CHD L-N: 474).

*Nuntarnu-* is likely to be derived from *\*nuntar* < PIE *\*nun-tro-* or *\*num-tro-*, though it can also be an adjective *\*nuntara-*<sup>161</sup> < PIE *\*nun-téro-* (for these stems see

<sup>160</sup> For the underlying meaning of this root ‘to be ready’ rather than ‘to haste’ s. Puhvel HED 7: 130.

<sup>161</sup> PIE *\*nun-téro-* should have yielded Hitt. *\*nuntera-*. Oettinger explains *-a-* in *nuntariya-* ‘swift’ as analogical after adv. *nuntaras* ‘promptly, soon’, a fossilized genitive of the noun *\*nuntar-* < *\*nun-tro-*.

Oettinger 2012: 206ff). These words are commonly considered to have the same root as *kinun* ‘now’ and are compared to Lat. *num*, Gr. *vūv* ‘now’ etc. (s. HED 7: 129f., Kloekhorst 2008: 610).

**pahsanu-, pahhasanu-, pahhasnu-** ‘to protect, take care of, obey’

**1sg. pres. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-mi* KUB 19.23 l.e. 2 Tudh. IV

**2pl. pres. act.** *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni* KUB 1.16 III 36 OH/NS; [p]a-aḥ-ša-nu-ut-te-ni KBo 3.27 obv. 22 OH/NS, KUB 23.68 obv. 19 MH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-te-n[i]* KUB 26.10 IV 4 NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 9.15 III 8, 14, 25 NH; *pa-aḥ-ḥa[-aš-]ša-nu-an-zi* KBo 16.50 18 MH/MS

**1sg. pret. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-[n]u-[un]* KBo 3.20 I 8 OH/NS

**2sg. pret. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-uš* KUB 36.100 rev. 11 OS

**3sg. pret. act.** *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ut* Bronze Tablet II 37 Tudh. IV

**3pl. pret. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-[er]* KBo 3.53 obv. 3 OH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-[nu-er]* KUB 19.49 I 18 Murš. II; PAP-aḥ-ša-nu-er KBo 3.46 rev.!? 32 OH/NS; PAP-nu-[er] KUB 19.49 I 13 Murš. II

**2sg. imp. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ut* KBo 16.20 left col. 5; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ut* KUB 29.1 I 16 OH/NS; PAP-nu-[ut] KBo 13.6 1 LNS; PAP-nu-d(a)? KUB 48.124 obv.? 5 NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ud-du* KBo 52.26 5 MH/NS, KUB 24.9 III 17 MH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-ud-du* KBo 11.11 II 2 NS, KUB 13.2 I 27 MH/NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ut-te-en* KBo 7.14 obv. 13 OS or MS, KBo 22.1 obv. 5 OS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-ut-te-en* KUB 1.16 III 46 OH/NS, *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-[ut-te-en]* KBo 12.18 IV 10 OH/NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an-du* KBo 21.22 39 OH/MS, *pa-aḥ-ḥa-<aš>-nu-an-du* KUB 13.2 I 8 MH/NS; PAP-nu-an-du KBo 4.14 I 18, 20 NH

**part. nom. sg. c.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 3.57 rev. 9 OH/NS, KBo 10.12 II 38 NH, KBo 13.58 II 4 MH/NS, KUB 2.2 I 6 NH; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 4.1 obv. 8 NH, KBo 10.5 II 2 MH/LNS, KUB 13.1 I 35 MS, HKM 17 29 MS, HKM 89 23

MS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an-za* HKM 1 12 MS, HKM 6 16, left edge 1 MS, HKM 8 19 MS, HKM 22 6 MS, HKM 30 obv. 6 MS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an* KBo 3.7 I 6 OH/NS, KBo 5.11I r. col. 24 MH?/NS, KBo 13.58 III 18 MH/NS, KBo 16.17 III 33 Murš. II; *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-an* KBo 34.34 10 NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-wa-an* KBo 5.11 I left col. 24 MH?/NS, KUB 14.16 I 24 Murš. II; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an* KBo 17.63 rev. 6 MH?/NS, KBo 18.59 obv. 3 MS, KBo 19.42 rev.? 8 NS, KUB 13.20 I 21 MH/NS, KUB 33.68 III 6 OH/MS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-wa-an* KUB 5.8 II 23 Murš. II, KUB 13.20 I 9 MH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-a[n]* KBo 50.268 II 19 MS?

**part. nom. pl. c.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 13.5 III 25 NS, [*pa-aḥ-š*]a-nu-wa-an-te-eš KBo 5.9 II 11 Murš. II; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-wa-an-te-eš*<sub>17</sub> KBo 12.4 III 10 OH/MS?, HKM 7 26 MS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an-te-eš* KBo 17.88 III 23 OH?/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 13.4 II 74 MH/NS, KUB 23.68 obv. 19 MH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-an-t[e-eš]* KUB 13.4 III 54 MH/NS

**part. n.-acc. pl. neut.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an-da* KUB 2.2 I 8 NH; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-wa-an-da* KBo 4.1 obv. 9 NH

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg.** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-mar* KUB 16.77 II 69 NH, KUB 52.37 II 3 NS; PAP-aḥ-<ša->nu-mar KBo 22.264 III 5 NH; PAP-nu-mar KBo 1.44 I 21 NS, KBo 13.69 2 NS, KBo 14.21 I 65!, 77 NH, KUB 5.1 I 4, 31, 98, II 71, III 7, IV 54, 91 NH, KUB 5.3 IV 14 NH, KUB 5.5 II 33 NH, KUB 6.30 5 NS, KUB 16.14 rev. 3 NS, KUB 16.66 obv. 13 NH, KUB 16.81 rev. 11 NH, KUB 22.25 rev. 28 NH, KUB 22.37 obv. 4, 8 NH, KUB 49.79 I 18, 20 NH; PAP-mar KBo 13.76 obv. 17 NH, KUB 6.7 III 3, 7, 25, IV 22 NH, KUB 16.36 6 NH, KUB 18.58 II 3, III 30 NH, KUB 50.108 4 NH;

**verbal noun g.sg.** *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-ma-aš* HKM 44 9 MS

**inf. I** *pa-aḥ-ša-nu-um-[m]a-an-zi* KUB 23.68 obv. 20 MH/NS; *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 25.37 I 23, 29 NS; PAP-nu-ma-an-zi KUB 26.32 I 3 Šupp. II

**impf. 2sg. pres. act.** PAP-nu-uš-ke-ši KUB 23.1 + 720/v 1.e. 1 Tudh. IV

**impf. 2 sg. imp. act.** PAP-nu-uš-ki KUB 23.1 1.e. 1 Tudh. IV

The verbs *pahsanu-* and *pahs-* are used in similar contexts, sometimes in the same text, cf. the following examples:

KBo 21.22 38-40: *n=at parsanes pāhsanta wātar=sed=a=kan x[...] lūliaz arszī*  
*n=an pahhašnuandu l[a]b[arn]an [LUG]AL-un passiles*

“and leopards are guarding it (the fountain); its water flows out of a basin of [...], and may the pebbles protect him, the Labarna, the king” (CHD P: 8)

The Bronze tablet II 35 <sup>m.D</sup>LAMMA-*as=ma=mu apēdani mehuni pahhassanut*

“(Mein Vater hatte mich zu jener Zeit noch nicht zur Königswürde bestimmt.)  
Aber Kurunta zeigte mir zu jener Zeit (schon seine) Treue.”

and

II 49 *nu=mu* <sup>m.D</sup>LAMMA *pahhasta MAMETE<sup>MEŠ</sup>=mu kue peran (50) lenqan*  
*harta nu=kan ŪL kuitki wahnūt*

“Und Kurunta hielt mir die Treue; die Eide, die er vor mir geschworen hatte, (davon) brach er keinen einzigen” (Otten 1988: 16ff.)

HKM 80 obv. 3 [*nu=tt*]a DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> TI-*an ḫark[andu]* (4) [*nu=t*]ta *assuli*  
*paḫšandaru*

“may the gods keep you alive and lovingly protect you”

and

rev. 7 *nu[=z]a uwa[ndu=y]a* (8) [KUR-*e PAN*]I LÚ.KÚR *pahhasnuandu [...]*

“(I have sent elders ...) Let them begin to guard the land against the enemy.”  
(Hoffner 2009: 239)

KUB 19.49+ IV (40) [*mān=*]ma *zik* <sup>m</sup>Man[*ap*]a-DU-*as kī tuppiyas* (41) [INIM<sup>MEŠ</sup>  
*p]ahhasti*

“[Wenn] du [ab]er, Man[ap]a-Tarḫunta, diese [Wörter] der Tafel [s]chützt”

and

KUB 19.49+ I (12) *nu=tta* LÚ<sup>M</sup>[<sup>EŠ</sup> URU *Karkisa*] (13) *anze[d]az memiyanaz PAP-nu[er]*

“Auf un[se]r Geheiß hin [haben] dich die Leut[e von Karkiša] geschützt”

(G. Wilhelm, Electronic edition of CTH 69 at the HPM website)

The difference between *pahs-* and *pahsanu-* seems to be that *pahsanu-* usually describes specific actions, while *pahs-* is used to describe some general, perhaps continuous action in an unspecified context. If *pahhasnu-* is used to refer to specific actions or situations, the suffix *-nu-* in *pahsanu-* would have to have a singulative/momentary or perhaps telic function and refers to a completed action. That would explain why there are no participles and deverbal nouns made from the stem *pahs-* (cf. CHD P: 3), while they make about 2/3 of all attestations for *pahsanu-*. Since Hittite participles usually denote a state resulted from the action, it is reasonable to assume that they were formed from stems that expressed a completed action. The virtual absence of imperfective forms for both *pahs-* (only *pahhaskeddu* in KUB 39.101 II 12 NS) and *pahsanu-* (twice in KUB 23.1 + 720/v 1.e. 1 (Tudh. IV) squares nicely with the proposed aspectual distinction between inherently imperfective *pahs-* and perfective/singulative *pahsanu-*. See further 4.14-5.

*Pahs-* has a well established etymology: it is connected with Lat. *pāscō* ‘to pasture’ and OCS *pasti* ‘to pasture’, PIE *\*peh<sub>2</sub>(i)*, ‘to guard, pasture’ (LIV: 460).

**paknu-** ‘to defame?’

**3pl. pret. act.** *pa-ak-nu-er* KBo 3.34 II 10 OH/NS, *pa-ak-nu-e-er* KBo 3.36 obv. 17 OH/NS, VBoT 33 9 OH/NS

? *pa-a[k-nu-an-zi?]* KUB 26.87 3 OH?/NS

This verb has no known Hittite or Anatolian cognates. This meaning is also unclear. CHD P: 58 gives the following attestations: (Aškaliya was the lord in Hurma and was a man in every respect) *s=an=asta atti=mi pa-ak-nu-er* (var. *pa-ak-nu[-e-]er*) *s=an arnut s=an* <sup>URU</sup> *Ankui IRDI s=an* <sup>URU</sup> *Ankui=pat* <sup>LÚ</sup> *AGRIG-an iēt sarkuš LÚ-es!*

(text: MEŠ) *ēsta akis=ma=as tepsauwanni* “They defamed him to my father; so he transferred him, brought him to Ankuwa, and made him an <sup>LÚ</sup> AGRIG in Ankuwa; he was a prominent man, but he died in disgrace/obscurity” KBo 3.34 II 9-12 (OH/NS), w. dupl. KBo 3.36 obv. 17-19; [...]x-an *apē pa-ak-nu-e-er* “They defamed [...]” VBoT 33 9 (OH/NS); [... <sup>m</sup>Kar]ruwan LUGAL-i *pa-a[k-nu-an-zi? ... <sup>m</sup>K]arruwan idalu iya[nzi(?)]* “[They] def[ame Kar]ruwa before the king ... they treat Karruwa badly” KUB 26.87 3-4 (OH?/NS). Etymology is not certain. Puhvel (2010: 212) translates *paknuer* in KBo 3.34 II 10 as “they arraigned? him” and views it as a some kind of legal term, cf. also HED 8: 59. He compares it to Goth. *fāgan*, Lat. *pangō*, Gr. πῆγνυμι ‘to catch’, PIE *\*peh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* and *\*peh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-* (LIV: 461).

**palhanu-** ‘to broaden?’

**3sg. pret. act.** *pal-ḫa-nu-ut* KUB 23.92 obv. 6 Tudh IV

The context of this verb’s only attestation is broken (see CHD P: 64), so the exact meaning cannot be established. However, it is likely derived from *palhi-* ‘wide’.

*Palhi-* is traditionally connected with Lat. *plānus* ‘wide’ (*pleh<sub>2</sub>-no-*), etc. There is also a Cuneiform Luwian cognate, *palha-* ‘to make flat’. Since the root shape was *\*pleh<sub>2</sub>-* and not *\*pelh<sub>2</sub>-*, *palhi-* can only reflect the zero grade of the root, *\*pl̥h<sub>2</sub>-i-*. The *i*-stem adjective must be an Anatolian development.

**parāsanu-** ?

**1sg. pret. act.** *pa-ra-a-ša-nu-nu-un* KBo 18.55 9 ?

CHD P: 139 gives the following context: [...] *pa-ra-a(-)ša-nu-nu-un* “I ...-ed” KBo 18.55 9.

This form is likely to be related to the adjective (participle?) *parasant-*, used to refer to troops (CHD P: 138f.) and the verb *parasess-* ‘to disperse?’. Kronasser (1966: 404) considered the latter to be derivative in *-ess-* from *pars-* ‘to flee’. The connection of *parāsanu-* to *pars-* is unlikely, the actual *nu*-derivative from this verb is 1.*parsanu-*

‘to make flee, chase away’. CHD P: 139 notes that this form can in fact be *parā sanun*, a *nu*-causative of the verb *šā-* ‘to become angry’ with the preverb *parā*. The verb *šā-* is connected with Lat. *saevus* ‘wild’, OHG *sēr* ‘pain’, s. HEG Š: 686, Kloekhorst 2008: 692f.

**parhanu-** ‘to make gallop’

**3sg. pres. act.** *pár-ḫa-nu-zi* KBo 3.5 I 8, II 56 MH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *pár-ḫa-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 3.5 II 6 MH/NS; *pár-aḫ-ḫa-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 3.5 I 32 MH/NS

CHD P: 147 states that there is no difference in meaning between *parh-* and *parhanu-*, both are used in the same contexts.

Cf. KBo 3.5 (Kammenhuber 1961: 78ff.)

obv. I 8 [A-NA 7 IKU-*m*]a *pár-ḫa-nu-zi* “[über] 7 Feld] lässt er galoppieren”

32 ... I-NA MU-ŠI MU-ŠI-ya 7 IKU *pár-ḫa-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* “lässt er sie Gespann??? für Gespann??? 7 Feld galoppieren”

II 5 ... *nam-ma-aš tu-u-ri-ya-wa* [?] (6) *tu-u-ri-ya-wa* 7 IKU *pár-ḫa-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* ‘Ferner lässt er sie Gespann??? Für Gespann??? 7 Feld galoppieren”

II 56 *pár-ḫa-nu-zi-ma-aš* A-NA 8 IKU “galoppieren aber lässt er sie (über) 8 Feld.”

Cf. KUB 1.13 + obv. I 5 *pár-aḫ-zi-ma-aš* A-NA 7 IKU<sup>H.A</sup> “galoppieren aber lässt er sie (über) 7 Feld”; KBo 3.5 II 59 *pár-aḫ-zi-ma-aš* 8 IKU “galoppieren aber lässt er sie (über) 8 Feld”, where *parh-* is used exactly in the same context.

It is indicative that *parhanu-* is used only in the second tablet of the Kikkuli-text, KBo 3.5. This text shows various spellings of the 3sg. pres. act. of *parh-*: *pár-aḫ-zi*, *pár-ḫa-zi*, *pár-ḫa-i*, *pár-ḫa-a-zi*, *pár-aḫ-ḫa-i*, *pár-aḫ-ḫa-a-i*, as well as imperfective forms *parhannai* and *parhiskezzi*. The whole text was composed by Kikkuli, a Hurrian, which may explain a large amount of mistakes with which the second tablet is especially abundant (cf. Kamenhuber 1961: 42). Thus, *parhanu-* is better explained as an occasional form, likely made up by a person with a poor command of Hittite.

Oettinger (1979: 213f.) compared *parh-* with Skt. *bhur-* ‘to hurry’, PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV: 81). CLuw. *para-*, which is often connected with to Hitt. *parh-*, is not related, according to Melchert (2016)<sup>162</sup>.

**parganu-** ‘to raise, make high’

**1sg. pres. act.** *pár-ga-nu-mi* KBo 12.54 6 LNS

**2sg. pres. act.** *pár-ga-nu-ši* KUB 24.7 II 11 NH

**3sg. pres. act.** *pár-ga-nu-zi* KBo 24.67 I 3 MS

**2sg. pret. act.** *pár-qa-nu-ut* KBo 12.70 rev.! 11 NS; *pár-ga-nu-ut* KBo 34.260 5 NS (without context; could also be pret. sg. 3 or imp. sg. 2), *pár-ak-nu-ut* KBo 32.13 II 8 MH/MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *[p]ár-ga-nu-ut* KUB 60.143 rev. 5 NS

**impf.** *pár-ga-nu-uš-kán-<sup>ˀ</sup>ta<sup>ˀ</sup>-[ri]* or *pár-ga-nu-uš-kán-<sup>ˀ</sup>du<sup>ˀ</sup>* KUB 31.91 9 MH/NS

Rieken (1999: 465f.) correctly treated *pár-ga-nu-la*<sup>163</sup> in KUB 12.63 obv. 31 as an allative from a noun *parganul*, cf. parallel formations *daluknula* in KUB 12.63+ obv. 30 and *warsanul*.

The verb *parkanu-* is derived from *parku-* ‘high, tall’ (not from *park(iya)-* ‘to rise, raise’, from which a true causative *parkiyanu-* is formed). On the regularity of the spelling *pár-ga-nu-* with an *-a-* between *park-* and *-nu-* see 4.10.

The etymology is clear – *park-* and its derivatives as well as CLuw. *parraya-* ‘high’ are descendants of PIE *\*bherǵ<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to rise’ (LIV: 78f.). There are direct parallels for both the unextended stem *park-* (Toch. AB *pärk-* ‘to rise’, Arm. *barj-* ‘to raise’) and the adjective *parku-* (Arm. *barjr* ‘high’), see HED 8: 133. In Armenian, there is a nasal present to this root, *bařnam* that must have been an early Armenian development, s. Klingenschmitt 1982: 107ff.

**parkiyanu-** ‘to raise, make to rise’

<sup>162</sup> He interprets CLuw. *para-* as ‘to carry (off)’ and traces it back to PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘to carry’.

<sup>163</sup> CHD P: 157 and esp. 158 gives it as *pár-ga-nu-úr!*

**3pl. pres. act.** *pár-ki-ya-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 8.48 I 20 NH, *pár-ki-y[a]-nu-an-zi* KBo 1.28 rev. 4 NH

This verb is derived from *park(iya)-* ‘to lift (smth.), rise, grow, remove’

According to CHD P: 160 *parkiyanu-* means ‘to make rise from a chair’ and ‘to let rise (from the dead)’, which makes it a causative to intransitive *park(iya)-* ‘to rise’, as opposed to transitive *park(iya)-* ‘to lift, make high’ used with the objects like heads, bird and statues. The etymology is clear, it is PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>erǵ<sup>h</sup>-* ‘high’, e.g., Toch. B *park-* ‘to arise’, Skt. *bṛhánt-* ‘high’, etc.

The forms *par-ak-ki-ia-aḥ-ḥa*[...] KBo 18.115 rev. 4 (NH) and *par-ki-ia-aḥ*[...] KUB 57.123 obv. 7 (NS) may indicate that there was a parallel causative formation *parkiyahh-*, cf. CHD P: 160.

**parkunu-** ‘to cleanse’

**1sg. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-mi* KBo 17.61 obv. 18 MH/MS, KUB 1.16 II 54 OH/NS; *pár-ku-nu-um-mi* KBo 3.1 II 43 OH/NS, KBo 14.69 III 6! NH, IBoT 2.116 5 NS; *pár-ku-nu-uḥ-ḥi* KBo 55.42 obv. 12 NS

**2sg. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-ši* KBo 3.1 II 44 OH/NS, KUB 56.19 I 21 NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi* KBo 2.6 I 34 NH, KBo 4.2 I 45 pre-NH/NS, KBo 6.2 III 33, 35 OS, KBo 6.3 II 55 OH/NS, KUB 30.47 IV 8 NH, KUB 41.11 rev. 34 LNS; *pár-ku-nu-zi* KBo 6.3 III 37, 40, 43 OH/NS, KBo 10.45 II 33, 34, 35 MH/NS, KUB 16.41 III 5 NS, KUB 16.77 III 12, 21, 40 NH, KUB 50.6 II 41 NH; *pár-ku-<nu->uz-zi* KBo 13.109 II 8 MH/NS, Bo 7787 4 NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-um-me-ni* KUB 21.27 II 1 Hatt. III

**3pl. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.6 I 33 NS, KUB 5.6 II 47 NH, KUB 7.41 I 2 MH/NS, KUB 8.27 rev. 4 NS, KUB 16.77 III 40 NH, KUB 22.70 obv. 85 NH, KUB 27.67 II 28, III 32 MH/NS, KUB 32.35 III 3 NH, KUB 43.58 I 42, 43 MH/MS; *pár-ku-nu-an-zi* KUB 16.39 II 15 NH, KUB 50.6 II 40, III 5, 49 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *pár-ku-nu-nu-un* KBo 15.25 obv. 8 MH/NS, KBo 26.132 2 ?, KUB 17.10 III 34 OH/MS, KUB 23.45 16 NH, KUB 24.13 II 3 MH/NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *pár-ku-nu-ut* KBo 3.63 I 5 OH/NS, KBo 10.37 I 46 OH/NS, KUB 30.34 IV 5 MH/NS, KUB 39.103 rev. 1 MH/NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *pár-ku-nu-e-er* KUB 12.58 IV 38 NH, KUB 23.79 obv. 5 MH/NS; *pár-ku-nu-er* KBo 11.1 rev. 11 Muw. II

**2sg. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-ut* KBo 11.1 obv. 42 Muw. II, KUB 12.58 I 9 NH, KUB 33.5 II 8 OH/MS, KUB 33.9 II 6 NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-ud-du* KBo 4.2 I 46 pre-NH/NS, KBo 10.37 I 47 OH/NS, KBo 10.45 IV 41 MH/NS, KUB 24.9 II 11 MH/NS, KUB 28.82 I 20 OH?/NS, KUB 41.8 II 14 MH/NS, KUB 43.58 I 45 MH/MS, HT 44 obv. 15 NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-ut-tén* KBo 10.45 II 7 MH/NS, KUB 41.8 IV 13 MH/NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-wa-an-du* KBo 19.134 18 NS, KUB 27.67 II 30 MH/NS; *pár-ku-nu-wa-an-<sup>h</sup>du*? KUB 31.71 IV 20 NH?; *pár-ku-nu-an-du* KBo 19.134 19, 20 NS

**3sg. pret. med.** *pár-ku-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 3.63 I 10 OH/NS; *pár-ku-nu-ta-ti* KBo 3.66 9 pre-NH/NS

**part. sg. nom. c.** *pár-ku-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 5.6 III 32 NH, KUB 12.58 IV 3, 6 NH

**part. sg n.-acc. sg. neut.** *pár-ku-nu-wa-an* KUB 43.58 I 16 MH/MS with dupl. *pár-ku-nu!(copy:-u)-an* KUB 15.42 I 14 MH/NS

**part. sg nom. pl. c.** *pár-ku-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KBo 23.8 8 MS?, KUB 46.39 III 20 NH

**verbal noun nom. sg.** *pár-ku-nu-mar* KBo 1.35 IV 9 NS, KBo 21.22 rev. 47 OH/MS, KUB 27.67 III 2 MH/NS, Bo 3078 II 12 NS, Bo 3617 I 13 NS

**verbal noun g.sg.** *pár-ku-nu-um-ma-aš* KBo 10.45 II 32 MH/NS, KUB 33.24 II 5 OH/NS; *pár-ku-nu-ma-aš* KUB 41.8 III 17 MH/NS, KUB 30.50 rev. 11 NH; *pár-ku-nu-ma[-aš]* KBo 31.143 rev.? 18 MS

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** [*pár-k*]u-nu-uš-ke-mi(?) KBo 18.24 I 18 NH

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 13.106 I 10, 11 NS, KUB 7.53 III 14 NH, KUB 12.63 obv. 14 OH/MS, KUB 28.82 I 10 OH?/NS, KUB 41.7 I 3, 4, 7

pre-NH/NS, KUB 43.58 I 44 MH/MS, IBoT 2.128 rev. 1 NS

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uš-k[e-et(?)]* KBo 27.68 5 NS

**impf. 3sg. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uš[-ke-e]d-du* KBo 9.146 obv. 44 NH; *pár-ku-nu[-u]š-ke-du* KBo 9.146 obv. 50 NH

**impf. 2pl. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uš-kat-tén* KUB 11.1 IV 22 OH/NS

**impf. 3pl. imp. act.** *pár-ku-nu-uš-kán-d[u]* VBoT 111 III 17 NS

The parent adjective *parkui-* has traditionally been analyzed (along with *dankui-* ‘dark’ and *warhui-* ‘rough’) as a secondary *i*-stem made to an original *u*-stem in the manner of Latin adjectives *tenuis*, *levis* etc.<sup>164</sup>, s. HEG P: 477f., T: 109, Rieken 1999: 258. The Hittite words along with CLuw. *parkuwai-* ‘to purify’ and Pal. *parkui-* ‘to purify’ have been connected with Skt. *bhrāja-* ‘shining, glittering’, Av. *brāza-* ‘glitter’, Goth. *bairhts*, OE *beorht* ‘bright’ (cf. HEG P: 478). Both Kloekhorst (2008: 639) and Puhvel (HED 8: 146) argue that the root of these words in Anatolian ended in a labiovelar. Puhvel nevertheless sticks to the traditional etymology: besides *\*bhrǵ-* he reconstructs a variant *\*b<sup>h</sup>erg<sup>w</sup>-* seen also in Skt. *bhārgas-* ‘radiance, splendor’, which is usually compared to Lat. *fulgur* ‘flash of lightning’, *fulgō* ‘to shine brightly’, PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>leg-* (EWAia II: 252, de Vaan 2008: 247). This is unlikely since *\*g<sup>w</sup>* is usually reflected as /w/ in Luwian (cf. Melchert 1994: 254)<sup>165</sup>. Maier (2013: 123f.) suggests yet another root variant, *\*b<sup>h</sup>rék<sup>w</sup>-*<sup>166</sup>, attested also in Goth. *brahv-* (*brahva augins* ‘in the twinkling of an eye’). Kloekhorst reconstructs a different root *\*p(e)rk<sup>w</sup>-*, which he compares to OHG *furben* ‘to clean’, with a development *\*k<sup>w</sup>* > *\*p* after resonant following Kortlandt 1997. This seems to be a sound alternative to the traditional etymology. Morphologically both etymologies are possible, as the combination of nominal suffixes *-u-* and *-i-* is assumed independently for *warhui-* ‘rough, leafy’; semantically the connection to OHG *furben* ‘to clean’ is preferable. If so, in this verb the suffix *-nu-* is attached immediately to the stem /park<sup>w</sup>/.

<sup>164</sup> The Latin adjectives in *-ui-* are most likely to have developed from adjectives in *-u-* in the prehistory of Latin, see Balles 2009: 1f.

<sup>165</sup> See the entry for *dankunu-* below for an exception: CLuw. *dakkui-* ‘dark’ < *\*d<sup>h</sup>ng<sup>w</sup>i-*.

<sup>166</sup> Note that the roots containing both a voiceless stop and a voiced aspirated stop were very rare in PIE, see Fortson 2010: 78, Clackson 2007: 68.

**1. parsanu-** ‘to make flee, chase away’

**3sg. pret. act.** *pár-aš-ša-nu-ut* KUB 23.91 6 NS, (?) *pa-ar-ša-nu-ut* KUB 32.121 II 31 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *pár-ša-nu-er* KBo 19.76 I 22 Murš. II

For the contexts s. CHD P: 186. The verb is derived from *pars-* ‘to flee’. The connection of *pars-* to *parh-* ‘to drive’, implying something like *\*perh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, is unlikely, cf. the development of a similar sequence in *tamass-/tamess-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 640). The alternative is to connect it with Lat. *festināre* ‘to hurry’, see, e.g., Oettinger 1979: 214. Further connections could be We. *brys* ‘haste’, OIr. *bras* ‘quickly’, PIE *b<sup>h</sup>res-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 640, de Vaan 2008: 216. Note that Puhvel (HED 8: 164) argues that *pars-* ‘to flee’ is in fact to be translated ‘to break up, scatter’ and that therefore its forms are to be attributed to *pars-* ‘to break.’

**2. parsanu-** ‘to break up, (w. *arha*) break open’

**3sg. pret. act.** *pár-ša-nu-ut* KUB 33.120 II 36 NS; ?*pa-ar-ša-nu-ut* KUB 32.121 II 31

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 36.12 III 10 NS

While there seems to be no ostensible semantic difference between *parsanu-* and the base verb *pars-* ‘to break’, the objects are different. The usual object of *pars-* is bread, and when it is said about a country, an analogy to bread is implied: “As I crumble this thick bread, so may they crumble the land of the enemy” KUB 40.110 rev. 7-8, s. CHD P: 182 for this quote and 181f. for all the examples. It may also mean ‘to violate (a border)’. On the contrary, the objects of *parsanu-* are stones and the earth, cf. CHD P: 187: “May they call forth the thunderstorms” *kueus=kan* ANA 90 IKU <sup>NA></sup> *peruni[s] pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi* 8 *ME=ma wassanzi heus* IM<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*us halziyandu* “May they call forth the rains and winds that break up the rocks for ninety

IKU-measures and (that) cover (them) for eight hundred (IKU-measures)” KUB 36.12 III 9-11 (NH); *sarā=aš=kan uit / [...] -uš nu taganzipan arha / [...] mahhan pa-ar-ša-nu-ut* “(Someone or -thing) came up, [...-ed], and broke the earth open like a [...]” KUB 32.121 II 29-31; NA<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>-*an-war-an GIM?-an pár-ša-nu-ut* “He split him like a stone” KUB 33.120 II 36 (tr. by Hoffner 1998: 43).

Since the objects of *pars-* and *parsanu-* are different, their meanings are likely to be slightly different as well: ‘to break’ and ‘to split’ respectively, the latter perhaps having an intensive semantics. Alternatively, *parsnu-* may have a singulative or telic meaning similarly to *pahsnu-*, but this does not seem to fit the context at KUB 36.12 III 9-11.

The form [...] *pár-ši-ya(-?)nu-uš* [KBo 24.88 4] may also belong here.

*Pars-* has often been connected with Gr. *φάρσος* ‘quarter, part’ and further OHG *brestan*, ON *bresta* ‘to burst’, thus PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>res-*, cf. HEG P: 493, Beekes 2010: 1555, HED 8: 164.

**parsantinu- ?**

**2sg. pres. act.** *pár-ša-an-ti-nu-ši* KUB 4.47 rev. 31 NS

CHD P: 186 gives the following context: *nu GEŠTIN passūilass=a wātar sippanti [nu=kan? ap]ūn antuhsan pár-ša-an-ti-nu-ši nu kissan memai* “He/she libates wine and *passuilaš*-water. You will *p.* that person. He/she speaks as follows” KUB 4.47 rev. 30-31 (OH/NS). This verb is likely to be related to another hapax, *parsantai-* (*pár-ša-an-ta-iz-zi* KBo 21.20 rev. 13). Further etymology is unclear.

**pastarnu- ?,**

**3pl. pres. act.** *pa-aš-tar-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 35.146 II 14 MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *:pa-aš-ta-ar-nu-wa-at-ta* KUB 5.24 II 47 NS

CHD P: 210f. gives two contexts:

*pa-aš-tar-nu-wa-an-zi=an kuiēs nu=za* <sup>GIŠ</sup> ḪAŠḪUR [d]andu kumarnuwanzī=an

*kuiēs nu=za kunkumān [d]andu* “(Those who make him angry, let them take *harnantassi*-bread), those who *p.* him, let them take apple(s), those who *kumarnu*- him, let them take *kunkuma*-, (those who worried him, let them take [...])” KUB 35.146 II 14-17 (MS)

and,

*nu MUŠEN<sup>HI.A</sup> SIxSÁ-andu pattarpalhis=kan pi.-an SIG<sub>5</sub>-za n=as 2-an arha pait urayannis=ma tarlian :pa-aš-ta-ar-nu-wa-at-ta* KUB 5.24 II 45-47 (NS)

CHD states that the meaning of *pastarnu*- must be close to *kartimmiyahh*- ‘to make angry’ and *lahlahhinuske*- ‘to agitate (horses), cause (the horses) to run’, something like ‘to be mentally or physically upset’. This meaning could fit the second passage, which describes a behavior of a bird, as well. Gloss wedges and the unusual ending of the 3sg. pret. point to a Luwian origin of this verb. Tischler (HEG P: 526) links it to Luw. 3sg. pres. *pastaritta* in KUB 5.24 + KUB 18.57 II 67, found next to *:pa-aš-ta-ar-nu-wa-at-ta* KUB 5.24+ II 47. Further etymology is unclear. Puhvel (HED 8: 193) argues that *pastarnu*- means ‘to spurn, repel’ and is a Luwoid formation made of the prefix *pa*- (Hitt. *pe*-) and *\*ster*- ‘to spread’ (*\*sterh<sub>3</sub>*- in LIV: 599), but this etymology does not look plausible.

**pirnu**- ‘to embezzle’

**1sg. pret. act.** *pí-i[r]-nu-nu-un* KUB 13.35 I 14 NS

CHD P: 313 gives the following context: *nu=wa=kan arha UL kuitki pí-i[r]-nu-nu-un* “(I have never handled any property of the king carelessly and I took nothing for myself. Whatever the queen handed over to me), I embezzled(?) nothing” KUB 13.35 I 14.

HEG P: 618 follows Luraghi 1992: 159, 174 in connecting *pirnu*- to *pir* ‘house’; further etymology is unclear. However, *pirnu*- may well be a misspelling (or a mishearing?) for *mirnu*-, s. CHD P: 313 and HED 9: 91.

**pittinu-, pittenu-** ‘to run off with, carry off quickly’

**3sg. pres. act.** *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* KBo 6.2 II 10 OS; *pít-ti-nu-zi* KUB 13.5 II 29 pre-NH/NS, KUB 13.6 II 13 pre-NH/NS; *pít-te-nu-uz-zi* KBo 6.3 II 29 OH/NS, KBo 6.5 III 4 OH/NS, KUB 41.8 II 16 pre-NH/NS; *pít-te-nu-zi* KBo 6.3 II 25 OH/NS, KBo 6.5 II 11 OH/NS, KBo 10.45 II 52 pre-NH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *pít-ti-nu-an-zi* KBo 17.36 IV 2 OS, KBo 25.56 IV 11 OS

**3sg. pret. act.** *pít-te-nu-ut* KBo 32.14 III 9 MH/MS

**3pl. pret. act.** *pít-te-nu-er* KUB 36.69 11 NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *pít-te-nu-ud-du* KBo 10.45 II 54 MH/NS, KUB 41.8 II 18 MH/NS

**impf.** *pít-te-nu-u[š-...]* KBo 34.269 6 MS?, *pít-te-nu-uš-k[e-...]* KUB 60.4 3 NS

? *pít-ti-nu-u[t]* or *-u[d-du]* KBo 27.18 11 OH/NS; *pít-te-n[u-...]* KUB 16.6: 9 NH

This verb is derived from *piddai-* ‘to run, race’, which is generally intransitive, though it may have one transitive form (s. CHD P: 354). Kloekhorst (2008: 655ff.) gives this verb as *pattai-*. This verb is traditionally connected with Skt. *pátati* ‘to fly’ etc., \**peth<sub>2</sub>*- s. LIV: 479, s. HEG P: 625, Kloekhorst 2008: 657.

The development of /i/ to /e/ before /n/ is often attested in New Hittite texts and copies, e.g., in *link-* ‘to swear’ and *hink-* ‘to grant’, see 2.4. However, in this verb the *-e-* is found already in Middle Hittite, cf. *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* KBo 6.2 II 10 OS vs. *pít-te-nu-ut* KBo 32.14 III 9 MH/MS.

**puqqanu-, pugganu-, pukunu-** ‘to cause (someone) to be hated’

**3sg. pres. act.** *pu-uq-qa-nu-zi* KUB 26.12 III 27 NH

**2pl. pres. act.** [*p*]*u-ug-ga-nu-ut-te-ni* KUB 13.3 IV 34 MH?/NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *pu-uq-qa-nu-wa-an* KUB 24.7 I 49 NH

**verbal noun n.-acc.sg.** *pu-uk-ku-nu-mar* KUB 43.72 III 4 NS; gen. *pu-uq-qa-nu-ma-aš* KUB 30.56 III 13 NH

**impf. 2pl. pres. act.** [*pu-*]*uq-qa-nu-uš-kat-te-ni* KUB 23.68 obv.17 MH/NS, [*pu-uq-qa-nu-uš-k*]*a-at-te-ni* KUB 23.72 rev. 61 MH/MS

It is derived from a middle verb *pukk-*, *pugga-* ‘to be hateful, repulsive, unpleasant’. No convincing etymology has been found for this verb so far, cf. HEG P: 641f. Puhvel (HED 9: 116) suggests that the Hittite verb reflects *\*b<sup>h</sup>eu-k-*, a variant of the root *\*bheu-g-* ‘to flee’ (Lat. *fugiō* ‘to flee’ etc., s. LIV: 84).

**saku(wa)ntar(r)iyanu-** ‘to neglect’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ša-ku-un-tar-ri-ya-nu-zi* KUB 21.17 III 28 NH

**2pl. pres. act.** *ša-ku-wa-an-ta-ri-ya-nu-te-ni* KUB 13.4 IV 42 MH/NS

**part. nom. pl. c.** [*š*]*a-ku-wa-an-ta-ri-ya-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 18.51 II 17 NH

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *IGI-wa-an-ta-ri-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 13.2 III 7 MH/NS

**impf. part. nom. pl. c.** *ša-ku-wa-an-ta-ri-ya-nu-uš-kán-te-eš* KUB 22.35 II 5 NH; *ša-ku-wa-an-da-ri-ya-[...]* KUB 49.93 II 11 NH

The structure of the underlying verb, *sakuwantariye/a-* ‘to rest, remain; be neglected’ resembles that of *gimmantariye/a-* ‘to spend a winter’ < *gimmant-* ‘winter’, or *nekumantariye/a-* ‘to undress’ from *nekumant-* ‘naked’. Therefore, it must go back to *\*sakuwant-*, an adjective or participle made from *sakuwa-*, for which there are several entries in CHD. *Sakuwantariye/a-* is often connected with *sakuwa-* ‘eyes’ and further to PIE *sek<sup>v</sup>-* ‘to follow’, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 704ff., 706f., HEG Š: 748. The semantic development of *sakuwantariye/a-* ‘to remain, be neglected’ from *sakuwa-* ‘eyes’ is, however, questionable. CHD Š: 53 points to a possible connection with *sakuwa-* A, which denotes some kind of punishment, perhaps detention. Further etymology remains unknown.

**sallanu-** ‘to raise, bring up’

**1sg. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-mi* KBo 20.75 rev. 2 NH

**3sg. pres. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-zi* KUB 14.7 IV 12 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *šal-la-nu-nu-un* KUB 1.1 IV 11 Hatt. III

**2sg. pret. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-uš* KUB 30.10 obv. 6 OH/MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *šal-la-nu-ut* KBo 12.85 + VBoT 120 II 8 MH/NS, KUB 6.45 III 29 NH, KUB 33.95 IV 18 NS, KUB 36.7b II 19 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *šal-la-nu-e-er* KUB 33.93+ IV 9 NS

**2sg. imp. act.** *šal-la-nu-ut* KUB 12.21 9 OH/NS; *ša-al-la-nu-ut* KBo 20.31 obv. 17, 19 OS; *šal-la-nu-ut* KBo 32.37 16 MH/MS

**2pl. imp. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-ut-te-en* KUB 1.16 II 44 OH/NS; *šal-la-nu-ut-tén* KUB 34.53 rev. 16 MS

**3pl. pret. med.** *šal-la-nu-wa-an-ta-ti* KUB 8.51 III 11 NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *šal-la-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 6.45 III 33 NH

**inf. I** *šal-la-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 31.53 obv. 12, 15 Hatt. III, KUB 31.61 II 5 Hatt. III; *šal-la-nu-um-ma-an-zi* KUB 31.53 obv. 16 Hatt. III, ABoT 1.51 + 585/u obv. 5 Hatt. III, Bronze Tablet I 13 Tudh. IV; *šal-la-nu-u[m?]-ma-an-zi* KUB 60.61 4 LNS

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg.** *šal-la-nu-mar* KBo 39.23 6 MS, KBo 12.118 7 NS, abl.(?) *šal-la-nu-mar-ra-za* KUB 26.32 I 12 NH

**impf. 1sg. pres. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-uš-ke-mi* KBo 17.61 obv. 7 MH/MS

**impf. 2sg. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-uš-ke-ši* KBo 20.49 8 MS, FHG 1 II 17 OH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 33.98 I 6, 8 NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 10.47c+e I 8 NS, KUB 8.67 6 MH/NS

**impf. 1sg. pret. act.** *šal-la-nu-uš-ke-nu-un* KUB 8.53 24 NH

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-uš-ke<sub>9</sub>* KBo 22.2 obv. 7 OS; *šal-la-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 33.117 IV 9 NS, KUB 56.14 IV 2 NH, Bronze Tablet I 13 Tudh. IV

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *ša-al-la-nu-uš-ker* KBo 22.2 obv. 5 OS, KUB 29.3 I 9, 10 OS; *šal-la-nu-uš-ke-er* KUB 29.1 I 27 OH/NS

The verb *sallanu-* is derived from *salli-* ‘big, large’, which has been traditionally compared to the adjectives meaning ‘complete, whole’, e.g., Gr. ὅλος, Lat. *salvus*, Osc. *sullus*, Skt. *sárva-*. The geminated *-ll-* is likely to go back to intervocalic *\*-lH-*. For the existence of a laryngeal in this root see Nussbaum 1997: 186ff. However, OIr. *slán* ‘safe, healthy’ may belong to another root, PIE *\*selH-* ‘favourable’, Lat. *sōlor*

‘comfort’, Goth. *sēls* ‘good, kind’, s. Adams, Mallory 1997: 236, Matasović 2009: 345. The quality of the root vowel remains disputed: Melchert (1994: 51) reconstructs *\*selH-i-*, while Kloekhorst (2008: 711) posits *\*solH-i-*. Note that the meaning of CLuw. *salhāti* cannot be established, so it may be not related to *salli-*.

The verb is consistently spelled *šal-la-nu-* or *ša-al-la-nu-*, but never *\*šal-nu-* or *\*ša-al-nu-*. This is hardly a coincidence, and there was likely a connecting vowel *-a-* before *-nu-*, see further 4.10.

**sallanu-** ‘to melt down, vanish’

**3sg. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-uz-zi* KUB 7.53 II 18 NH, KUB 41.4 II 20 NS

**2pl. imp. act.** [*šal-la-n*] *u-ut-tén* KUB 58.106 III 14 NS; pl. 3 *šal-la-nu-wa-an-du* KUB 59.64 II 12 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *šal-la-n[u-u]š-ke-zi* VS NF 12.66 rev. 15 NS

**impf. 2pl. pres. act.** *šal-la-nu-uš-kat-te-e-ni* KUB 17.27 II 15 MH?/NS; [*šal-l*] *a-nu-uš-kat-te-ni* KUB 58.106 III 13 NS

This verb is derived from *salla(i)-<sup>ta</sup>*, *salliya-<sup>ta</sup>*. CHD Š: 82f, 88 translates *salla(i)-*, *salliya-* as ‘to melt down (intr.)’ and *sallanu-* as ‘1. to melt down, 2. to flatten’. Goetze (1938: 78) rejected the meaning ‘to melt down’, because there was no mention of a fire or a pot in the ritual of Tunnawi, and assumed the meanings ‘to become flat’ for *salla(i)-* and *salliya-* and ‘to make flat’ for *sallanu-*. This suggestion has been widely followed, cf., e.g., Oettinger 1979: 249 and HEG Š: 761f. However, in KBo 6.4+ I 47-50 wax is thrown into the fire-pit, where it melts rather than is flattened (*salliyaitta* in line 50).

The meaning ‘to melt, make disappear’ is appropriate in most contexts of *sallanu-*. CHD Š: 89 translates *n=aš harkdu* [... URU-*aš* E]N-*aš* DAM=*SU* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*ŠU* [*mahhan arha p*]eššiyami [*nu ape*]l=*a* URU-*an* URU-*aš*=*a* EN-*aš* [DAM=*SU* DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*ŠU*] QATAMMA *šal-la-nu-wa-an-du* [... ...-]ti šardiyanni uwandu (KUB 59.64 II 8-13) as follows: “May he perish. [Just as] I expel the wife (and) children of the lord [of the city ...,] may they (the gods?) similarly flatten his

city and [the wife and children] of the lord of the city. May they [...] come to help”. However, the meaning ‘to make disappear’ fits here no less than ‘to flatten’. The only passage where the interpretation ‘to flatten’ is more likely than ‘to melt down’ or ‘to vanish’ is as follows: *nu=ssan*  $\acute{U}^{\text{HLA}}$  *TI-an* (var. *TI-ann=a*) *IM-an* <sup>NINDA</sup> *āntet parstuhhit dāi n=an šal-la-nu-uz-zi* “He/She places the herbs and living clay with the hot bread (and) the *parstuhhi*, and he/she flattens it” KUB 41.4 II 19-20 (CHD Š: 88). Nevertheless, the meaning ‘to melt down, vanish’ for *sallanu-* is virtually certain, cf. HW<sup>2</sup> I: 282.

The etymology is not clear. It could be an unextended variant *\*sleh<sub>1</sub>-* of the root *\*sleh<sub>1</sub>g-* ‘to end’, Gr. λήγω (for the root s. LIV: 565).

### **samenqanu-**

**3sg. pres. act.** *ša-me-en-qa-nu-ši* KBo 27.60 7 NS

This verb is a hapax, and its meaning is not known. The context is as follows: (“[...] in] Utruna in a dream to *IŠTAR* ... [...]when you] sh[ow] divine guidance)” [...<sup>H</sup>] <sup>I<sup>2</sup>.A</sup>-*us ANA* <sup>d</sup>*UTU-ŠI* *ša-me-en-qa-nu-ši* “and you s. [...]s for His Majesty” KBo 27.60 7, s. CHD Š: 121. According to CHD, a scribal error for *ta<sup>!</sup>menqanusu* cannot be excluded. De Roos (2007: 146f.) also interprets this form as a misspelling for *tamenganu-* ‘to attach’; see the respective entry below.

**samenu-** , **saminu-** ‘to bypass, let withdraw’

**2sg. pres. act.** *ša-me-nu-ši* KBo 5.3 II 35 Šupp. I

**3sg. pres. act.** *ša-me-nu-uz-zi* KBo 6.26 II 21 OH/NS

**2pl. pres. act.** *ša-me-nu-ut-te-ni* KBo 5.3 IV 11 Šupp. I, *ša-mi-nu-u[t-te]-ni* KBo 5.3 IV 24 Šupp. I

**3pl. pres. act.** *ša-mi-nu-an-zi* KBo 20.33 obv. 15 (2x), 16 OS

**?2sg. pret. act.** *ša-me-nu-uš<sup>167</sup>* KUB 31.112 21 MH/NS

<sup>167</sup> A nominal form according to Pecchioli Daddi 1975: 108f. A verbal form according to CHD Š: 122, Miller 2013: 265<sup>230</sup>.

**3pl. pret. act.** *ša-mi-[nu?-er?]* KBo 3.34 I 4 OH/NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *ša-me-nu-an* KBo 1.39 I 5 NH

The verb *samenu-* is derived from *samen-* ‘to pass by, withdraw, disappear’. Oettinger (1976b: 100) connected it to Arm. *manr* ‘little’, Gr. μάνος ‘scarce, scanty’, OIr. *menb* ‘little’, PIE *\*(s)menH-(u-)*. He also argued that *saminu-* ‘to burn’ is the same verb as *samenu-* ‘to bypass, make pass by’, suggesting a development ‘to disappear’ > ‘to burn’. In my opinion, it is better to separate these words, see further *saminu-* ‘to burn’ and Kloekhorst 2008: 715f.

In KBo 5.3 IV 24: *nu=z=(s)an p[arā] im[ma] ša-me-nu-u[t-te]-ni* “(if some enemy comes for battle against me, and I write to you, if you do not immediately arrive with help), but you even make yourselves scarce, (it is under the oath)” (s. CHD Š: 122, ‘make yourselves scarce’ is literally ‘make yourselves disappear’), *samenu-* could be intransitive. This is an obscure passage; note that in other instances *samenu-* does not require neither reflexive *-za*, nor *-san*. Alternatively, the initial sequence could be interpreted as *nu=z=an*, as is implied in Beckman’s translation (1999: 33): “allow him to make his escape(?)”.

Note that we would expect a double *-nn-* in *samenu-*, but it is always spelled with a single *-n-*. Oettinger (1976b: 99) argued that *-nu-* was simplified after other *-nu-* verbs, but the single *-n-* may also be compared to a loss of /n/ before /m/ in the forms like *ku-e-mi* ‘to strike, kill’ < \**kuenmi* (Kloekhorst p.c.).

**saminu-** ‘to burn (something), make (something) into smoke/incense’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ša-mi-nu-zi* KBo 21.20 I 26 NH

**3pl. pres. act.** *ša-mi-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.4 IV 26 NH; *ša-me-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 9.15 III 16 NS, IBoT 1.13 V 13 OH/NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *ša-am-mi-nu-uš-kán-zi* KUB 33.100 + KUB 36.16 III 11 NS

For a discussion of the semantics of this verb see Güterbock 1946: 73f. and CHD Š: 123. It is often assumed that *saminu-* ‘to burn’ and *samenu-* ‘to bypass, dispense

with’ are the same verb, see, e.g., Oettinger 1976b: 100, HEG Š: 798. Still, I prefer to take these as separate words, since *saminu-* ‘to burn’ is certainly related to *samesiya-* ‘to burn for fumigation’ and likely to *sami-*, a hapax with a tentative meaning ‘smoke’, cf. CHD Š: 118, whereas *samenu-* ‘to bypass, dispense with’ is derived from *samen-* ‘to pass by, withdraw, disappear’. There is no apparent etymology for *saminu-* ‘to burn’, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 716f.

**samesanu-** ‘to burn something into smoke’

**3pl. pres. act.** *ša-me-ša-nu-an-zi* KBo 44.44 rev. 5 NH

The only preserved context [...]x ŠEM<sup>HI.A</sup> *ša-me-ša-nu-an-zi* “they burn aromatics”. This verb is derived from *samesiya-* ‘to burn’ (see CHD Š: 123); the meaning of *samesanu-* seems to be identical to that of the parent verb.

*Samesiya-* is certainly related to *saminu-* ‘to burn’. The interchange in the first syllable *samesiya-/simesiya-* points to an underlying form /smesie-/. It could be a denominative *ye*-verb from a noun with an *-s-* suffix (s. Rieken 1999: 200ff.), in turn derived from *sami-*, preserved also in *saminu-* ‘to burn (something)’.

**sarganu-** ?

**part. nom. sg. c.** *šar-ga-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 52.73 obv. 7 NH

Neither the meaning nor the etymology of *šarganuwanza* are known. It may be a participle from *sarganu-* (which in turn might be derived from *\*sark-* ‘to be good’) or a *want*-adjective form *\*sargan-*, see CHD Š: 266.

**sarnu-** ?

**3sg. pret. act.** *šar-nu-ut* KUB 57.66 III 17 NS

The verb *sarnu-* is used next to with another hapax, *harapasun*. The meanings of both these words are unclear. Due to proximity of *sargamus*, acc. pl. c. of *sarku-* ‘eminent’, *sarnut* may be a scribal error for *\*sarganut*, see CHD Š: 286.

**sasnu-, sassanu-** ‘to make lie down, put to bed, cause to have sexual intercourse’

**2sg. pres. act.** *ša-aš-nu-ši* KUB 48.123 III 20 Hatt. III

**3pl. pres. act.** *ša-aš-nu-an-zi* KBo 17.36 rev. rt. col. 2 OS, KBo 13.120 14 MS;  
*ša-aš-ša-nu-an-zi* KUB 25.37 IV 19 OH/ENS, IBoT 1.29 rev. 51 MH?/MS?; *ša-aš-nu-wa-an-z[i]* IBoT 4.15 obv. 5 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ša-aš-nu-ut* KUB 33.118 24 NS

**verbal noun g.sg.** *ša-aš-nu-ma-aš* KBo 57.55 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/ENS; *ša-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-z[i]* KUB 51.50 III? 13 LNS

*ša-aš-nu-[...]* KBo 9.139 obv. 6 MS

The verb *sas(sa)nu-* is derived from *ses-/sas-* ‘to sleep, rest’, which has a good etymology: PIE *\*ses-* ‘to sleep’, Skt. *sás-*, Av. *hah-* ‘to sleep’. There could be a possible parallel formation with the suffix *-nu-* in Armenian, namely, *y-enowm* ‘stütze sich ab’, cf. LIV: 537<sup>4</sup>.

**daluganu-** ‘to lengthen’,

**2pl. imper. act.** *ta-lu-ga-nu-ut-tén* KUB 12.63+ obv. 25 OH/MS

The verb *daluganu-* is derived from *daluka-*, *daluki-* ‘long’. Originally it was an *i*-stem adjective, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 820. There is also a derivative from *daluganu-*, a noun *daluknul-* (n.) ‘lengthening’, (all.sg. *da-lu-uk-nu-la* KUB 12.63+ obv. 30 (OH/MS)), to which there is a parallel formation *parganula* in l. 31.

The adjective *daluki-* has been compared to Skt. *dīrghá-*, OCS *dlъgъ*, Gr. *δολιχός*, Goth. *laggs* etc., all meaning ‘long’. Gr. *ἐνδεδλεχής* ‘lasting long’ points to a *\*-h<sub>1</sub>-* in the root (*\*delh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*), cf. HEG T: 62f., Kloekhorst 2008: 820. The Hittite form must go back to *\*d(o)lug<sup>h</sup>i-*; its relation to *zaluknu-* ‘to make long’ and *zalukess-* ‘to be(come) long’ remains unclear.

**tamenganu-** ‘to attach’

**2sg. pres.act.** *ta!-me-en-qa-nu-ši* KBo 27.60 7 NS<sup>168</sup>

**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

*ta-me-en-ga-nu[-...]* KUB 13.35 I 26 NH; *ta-me-en-ga-nu-x[-...]* KUB 31.99 22

NS

The verb *tamenganu-* is derived from *tamink-* ‘to attach’, which already contains an infix, see the corresponding entry in 2.3.

For the meaning of *damenganu-* cf. following context:

VSNF 12.57 IV (similar KBo 35.94 IV 6):

26’ [(*nu-uš-ša-an še-er ar*)]*ha* 1<sup>EN</sup> GIŠ<sup>SÚ</sup> *da-a-i na-at IŠ-TU SÍG* [(SA<sub>5</sub>)]

27’ [(*an-da iš-ḫi-ya-an*)] *A-NA* 1 GIŠ<sup>SÍ</sup> EGIR-*an ta-me-in!-ga!-nu-uz-zi*

28’ [(*pé-ra-an*)-*ma ta*]-*ru-up-pa-an ḫa-ma-an-ki!* [ x ]

26’ Und sie nimmt dort oben den einen Stock weg; und er ist mit roter Wolle

27’ umwickelt. [ ] an den (anderen) Strock heftet sie (rote Wolle)? hinten

(=unten)? an;

28’ vorn [aber] bindet sie das [Zu]sammengedrehte an.

(Haas-Wegner 1988: 82).

Note that there is no overt object here.

Less clear is KUB 13.35 + KUB 23.80 I 26 LUGAL-*ya=wa=kán memiy[anu]š parā ŪL kuitki ta-me-en-ga-nu?-uš?-k[e?-mi?]* “Und des Königs Worte [werde<sup>?</sup> ich<sup>?</sup>] mitnichten ‘betrügerisch umdeuten’ (und derartiges sagte ich nicht)” (Werner 1967: 4, 16). Cf. translation by Hoffner (2003: 58): “I [have] not been misrepresenting(?) the king’s words”, literally “I do not add/attach anything to king’s words”. The meaning ‘to (make) attach’ seems to fit here, even though this interpretation is prompted by the meaning of the base verb. For the etymology see *tamink-* in 2.3.

<sup>168</sup> This form may belong to a different verb, see the entry for *samenqanu-* above.

**dammeshanu-** ‘to make punish’

**1sg. pret. act.** *dam-me-eš-ḥa-nu-nu-un* KBo 4.8 II 13 NH

**impf.** *dam-mi-eš-ḥa-nu-u[š-ke/a-]* KBo 18.109 rev. 4 NS

Hoffner (1983: 188, 190) considers *dammeshanunun* in KBo 4.8 II 13 *ki-i-ya-an 1-an dam-me-eš-ḥa-nu-<<nu->>un* ‘I punished her with this one thing’ to be an erroneous spelling for *dammeshai-* ‘to damage’. However, *dam-mi-eš-ḥa-nu-u[š- ]* in KBo 18.109 rev. 4 clearly shows that the *nu*-verb exists (cf. HEG T: 80). Hoffner (l.cit.) notes that in KBo 4.8 II 13 *dammeshanu-* governs two objects, *kī* ... *1-an* ‘this one’ and *-an* ‘her’. This makes it different from *dammeshai-*, which is otherwise very close in meaning.

*Dammeshanu-* is derived from *dammeshai-* ‘to damage’, which in turn is derived from *dammesha-* ‘damaging’, derived from *tamass-/tames-* ‘to oppress’. The latter is related to Gr. δάμνημι ‘to tame’, PIE \**dem(h<sub>2</sub>)-* (LIV: 116).

**dannanu-** ‘?’,

**part. nom. sg. c.** *dan-na-nu-wa-an-za* KBo 4.1 obv. 3’ NH with dupl. KUB 2.2 I 1’ NH [*dan-*] *na-nu-wa-an-za*

The only attested form *dannanuwanza* describes a quality of copper. Kronasser 1966: 455 considers it to be derived from \**danna-* ‘empty’, to which also belong *dannarant-* and *dannara-* ‘empty’, cf. HEG T: 97. The root is compared to Skt. *dhānus-*, *dhānvan-* ‘desert’, Gr. θέναρ ‘palm’ (< \*‘empty hand’). Janda (1998: 1f.) reconstructs the root as \**dhen-* ‘hollow’.

**taninu-** ‘to install’, sometimes with gloss-wedges

**1sg.pres.act.** *ta-a-ni-nu-mi* KUB 14.13 IV 3 NH; *ta-ni-nu-mi* KUB 14.13 IV 5, 16 Murš. II, *ta-ni-nu-um-mi*,

**3sg.pres.act.** *da-ni-nu-uz-zi* KUB 25.22 Rand 4 LNS, *ta-ni-nu-iz-zi* KBo 17.94 III  
19 NS

**3pl.pres.act.** *ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 2.13 rev. 5 NH, KUB 20.1 III 8 NS; *:ta-ni-nu-an-zi* KUB 56.39 obv. I 12 NS, *da-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* IBoT 2.131 rev. 10 Tudh. IV, *:ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 56.39 obv. II 7', rev. IV 27' NS; *ta-ni-nu-wa-zi* KBo 2.13 rev. 8 NH

**1sg.pret.act.** *ta-ni-nu-nu-un* KBo 4.4 III 17' Murš. II

**3sg.pret.act.** *ta-ni-nu-ut* KBo 6.29 I 33 NH, *da-ni-nu-ut* KBo 4.4. II 48 Murš. II,  
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-wa-an-t-*

**verb.noun gen.sg.** *ta-ni-nu-ma-aš* KBo 9.91 l. Rd. 2 NH

**inf. I** *ta-ni-nu-ma-an-zi, ta-ni-nu-um-ma-an-zi*

The parent verb is not attested. Kloekhorst (2008: 827f.) connects *taninu-* with Hitt./CLuw. *dānit-* 'cult object, stele' and reconstructs it as going back to PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>-ni-neu-* and ultimately with PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to put'. According to Melchert (1997b: 48ff.), *dānit-* is derived from Luw. *tāna-* 'sanctified', reflecting *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>s-no-*; *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>s-* is an extended variant of the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to put'. Summing up, *taninu-* goes back to PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, but its derivational history is not clear.

**dankunu-** 'to make black'

**part. nom.-acc. pl. n.** *da-an-ku-nu-wa-a[n-da]* VBoT 111 9 NS, nom.-acc.pl.c.  
*da-an-ku-nu-wa-an-te-eš* VBoT 111 15 NS

**impf. 3sg. pret.** *da-an-ku-wa-nu-uš-[ke-et]* KBo 47.4 3 MS, *ta-an-ku-nu[-uš-ke/a-]*,

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *da-an-ku-nu-uš-k[e-er]* IBoT 3.99 7 NS

For the contexts see Maier 2013: 154f.

*Dankunu-* is derived from *dankui-* ‘dark’. Since Benveniste *dankui-* has been compared to OHG *tunkal*, OFr. *diunk*, ON *døkk* and PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>w</sup>-*. Hitt. *dankui-* reflects *\*d<sup>h</sup>ŋg<sup>w</sup>-i-* and is a primary *i*-stem, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 829, HEG T: 109, Kroonen 2013: 96. Note that *\*g<sup>w</sup>* is preserved in CLuw. *dakkui-* ‘dark’ as a labiovelar<sup>169</sup>; the gemination *-kku-* must have resulted from assimilation of *\*-ang<sup>w</sup>i-< \*-ŋg<sup>w</sup>i-*.

There is a parallel formation in *-ahh-*, attested once in a NS copy of an earlier text, KBo 15.1 I 28 [*da*]nkuwahhesketta.

### **dankuyanu-**

**impf. 3sg. pret.** [*da-an-ku-y*]a-nu-uš-ke-et KUB 41.1 I 18 MH/NS

**impf.** *da-an-ku-ya-nu-uš[-ke/a-]*

The form [*dankuy*]anuškit is a duplicate to *da-an-ku-wa-nu-uš-[ke-et]* KBo 47.4 3. It must have been derived from a secondary stem *dankuya-* made from *dankui-* ‘dark’, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 829. For the etymology see *dankunu-*.

### **tarranu-** ‘to make strong’?

**3pl. pres. act.** *tar-ra-nu-an-zi* KUB 22.37 II 10 NH

**3sg. pret. act.** *tar-ra-nu-ut* KBo 3.21 II 4 OH?/MS, KBo 3.1 I 7, 17, 27 OH/NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *tar-ra-nu-ud-du* KUB 33.9 III 12 OH/NS

Tischler (HEG T: 149ff.) suggests a meaning ‘to make strong’. In preserved contexts, the object is twice ‘lands’ and once ‘writ, decree’. In KBo 3.1 I 7, the context is “he destroyed lands and he ‘t.-ed’ lands, he made them to the borders of sea”, and in KUB 22.37 rev. 10 it is “kings make peace and they *tarranuanzi* lands for them”. The meaning ‘to enlarge’ also fits here; however, it does not fit KBo 3.21 II 3-4 *tuel=pat*

<sup>169</sup> The retention of the velar element is likely to be conditioned by the preceding nasal, similar to retention of word-internal *\*g<sup>w</sup>* after *\*n* in Latin (Yakubovich, p.c.).

*gulassa tarranut*, which is translated by Puhvel in HED 4: 242 as “he validated your writ”. In general, the translation ‘to make strong’ seems preferable.

This verb seems to be derived from *tarra-* ‘to be able’, which has a good etymology – Skt. *táрати* ‘to overcome’, PIE *\*terh<sub>2</sub>-* (LIV: 633). Note that Hitt. *tar hu-* is a parallel formation from this root, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 964f.

**1. dariyanu-** ‘to make tired?’

**3sg.pres.act.** *da-ri-ya-nu-zi* KUB 17.29 II 11, 12 NS

**?3sg.pret.act.** *ta-ri-ya-nu-ut* KUB 31.67 IV 17 NS (in a broken context)

The etymology of the parent *darai/i-* ‘to become tired’ is not quite clear. There seems to be no connection to *dariya-* ‘to call to gods’. There is no reliable etymology. Semantically a connection to ON *þrióta* ‘to fail, become exhausted’, OCS *trudъ* ‘labour, tiredness’, *\*treud-* (cf. Kroonen 2013: 546) is attractive, but the comparison is based on initial *tr-* only.

**2. dariyanu-** ‘to call to gods’

**1sg.pret.act.** *da-ri-ya-nu-nu-un* KUB 7.60 III 13 NS

**2sg.pret.act.** *da-ri-ya-nu-ut* KBo 3.16 III 13 OH/NS

**2sg.imp.act.** *[(da-r)]i-ya-nu-ut* KBo 3.16 III 10 OH/NS

Despite Kloekhorst’s reservation (Kloekhorst 2008: 840f.), the meaning ‘to call to gods’ is plausible in, e.g., *da-ri-ya-nu-nu-un* in KUB 7.60 III 13 *nu-<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>’</sup> <sup>d</sup>U BE-LÍ-YA da-ri-ya-nu-nu-un* “I call to the Stormgod, my lord” , cf. Fuscagni’s edition of CTH 423 at the HPM website. See also HEG T: 171 for the passage KBo 3.16 III 9-13, where this verb is used next to *mūgai-* ‘to invoke’.

The base verb *dariya-* in KBo 4.12 obv. 7 also seems to be transitive, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 841f., though the verb has human beings as its object, so the meaning could be ‘to make a plea (to a god) on behalf of’.

This verb is derived from *ter-* ‘to speak’, which has a good etymology: HLuw. *tatarya-* ‘to curse’, Pal. *tarta-* ‘curse’, CLuw. *tatariyamman-* ‘curse’, Lith. *taryti* ‘to say’, PIE \**ter-* (LIV: 630f.).

**taruppiyanu-** ‘to bring together, collect’

**3sg.pres.act.** *da-ru-up-pí-ya-nu-zi* IBoT 2.129 I 22 NH

The context is as follows: IBoT 2.129 I 21 <sup>LÚ</sup>DAM.GÀR-*ma-za-kán ku-in e-ep-ta nu KÙ.BABBAR* (22) *na-wi<sub>5</sub> da-ru-up-pí-ya-nu-zi* ‘but (as for) the merchant who took it for himself, he has not yet collected the silver’ (Taggar-Cohen 2006: 286, 288)

Besides *taruppiyanu-* there is also a parallel *-ahh-* formation, *taruppiyahh-*: cf. KUB 9.11 I 16 (NS) [(*la-ḫu-ut-ta-at* G)]U<sub>4</sub>-*un* UDU-*an* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>[.L]U *ta-ru-up-pí-aḫ-ḫa-aš* (17) [ ...EGIR-*p*]a *ta-ru-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi-iš*<sup>170</sup>. The meaning seems to be similar to that of *taruppiyanu-*.

The active forms of the parent verb *tarupp-* are generally translated as ‘to unite, collect, bring together’, cf. HEG T: 241f., Kloekhorst 2008: 982. The most common object is wool, though it can also be sinews, troops and even lion’s paws. However, the meaning ‘unite, bring together’ is not always applicable, cf. IBoT 2.96 V 10 GAL DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>É.GAL 1-ŠU *tarupzi* which is translated by Melchert as “the chief of the palace officials twists it once” (Melchert 2001: 405). There also some middle forms that usually mean ‘to come to an end’. The difference between active forms of *tarupp-* and *taruppiyanu-* is slight if any.

There has been no convincing etymology so far. For forms with *-l-* instead of *-r-* (*talupp-*) s. Kloekhorst 2008: 983f.

**dassanu-** ‘to make strong’

**3sg. pret. act.** ]x<+>*ta-aš-ša-nu-ut* ? KBo 13.52 I 7 OS?

**3sg. pret. act.** *da-aš-ša-nu-ut* KUB 33.102 obv. II 6 NS

<sup>170</sup> *ta-ru-up-pa-aḫ-ḫi-iš* in the dupl. Bo 3947 13’ NS.

**1sg. imp. med.** *ta-aš-ša-nu-uḫ-ḫu-ut=wa=(a)z* KUB 23.77 + obv. 35 MH/NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *ta-aš-nu-wa-an* KUB 14.2 I 16 NS

**impf. 3pl. pret. act.** *ta-aš-nu-uš-ke-er* KUB 29.1 obv. 27 OH/NS

The verb *dassanu-* may be derived from an unattested stem *\*dass-* (so Weitenberg 1984: 146), but more likely is the derivation from *dassu-* ‘strong’ with a deletion of the *-u-*, see further 4.9. For Anatolian cognates s. HEG T: 260f. Hitt. *dassu-* has been compared either to Gr. δασύς ‘hairy’ and Lat. *densus* ‘dense’ or to Skt. *dāmsas-* ‘miraculous power’. While possible formally, semantically both etymologies are not compelling.

**tekussanu-** ‘to reveal, point out’

**1sg. pres. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-ša<-nu>-mi* KBo 5.3 I 10 Šupp. I/NS

**2sg. pres. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ši* KBo 5.3 I 29 Šupp. I/NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *ti-ik-ku-uš-nu-um-me-e-ni* KUB 31.44 II 5 MH/NS, *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ma-ni* KUB 31.42 II 8 MH/NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-nu-un* KBo 5.3+ I 5 Šupp. I/NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* KUB 14.20 I 19 NS; *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ut* KBo 3.5+ II 16 MH/NS; *te-ek-ku-<<nu->>-uš-š[a-nu-ut]* KBo 16.1 III 17 NS; *te-ek-ku-uš[-ša-nu-ut]* KUB 1.1+ IV 19 Hatt. III; *te-ek!-ku-uš!-nu!-ut* (text: *te-et-ku-nu-uš-ut*) KBo 4.4 II 77 NS; *ti-ik-ku-uš-nu-ut* KUB 14.15 II 2 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-er* KBo 2.5 IV 15 NS

**2sg. imp. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* KUB 7.8 II 21, III 10 MH/NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-ud-du* KUB 13.20 I 5’ MH/NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *ti-ik-ku-uš-ša-nu-an-za* KUB 8.75 IV 9 NS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-an* KUB 8.78+ VI 13 NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KUB 7.5 IV 8 MH/NS

**impf. 3pl. imp. act.** *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-uš-kán-du* KUB 13.2 II 18 MH/NS

*te-ek-ku-uš-nu-an[(-)..]* KUB 19.29 I 11 NS

Approximately half of the attestations come from CTH 61, Annals of Mursili II. In KBo 5.3 *tekkusunun* I 5 is used in the same context as the parent *tekussami* I 10, cf.: (4) *nu-ut-ták-kán* <sup>URU</sup> *Ḫa-at-tu-ši A-NA LU* <sup>MEŠ URU</sup> *Ḫa-ya-ša-ya aš-šu-li iš-tar-na* (5) *te-ek-ku-ša-nu-un* “In Hattusa I have distinguished you among the men of Hayasa” and (10) *na-an-kán iš-tar-na te-ek-ku-uš-ša-mi* “I have distinguished you” (transl. by Beckman 1996: 23). However, in all the other remaining contexts *tekussiye/a-* is intransitive, cf. HKM 46 obv. (12) *nu-u-ši EGIR-an* (13) *na-ú-i ku-it-ki* (14) *te-ek-ku-uš-ši-ya-iz-zi* ‘no trace of him has shown up yet.’ (Hoffner 2009: 174), s. further HEG T: 303. Therefore, *tekkuššami* in KBo 5.3 I 10 is better to be emended to *te-ek-ku-uš-ša<-nu>-mi*.

Since Götze *tekkussiye/a-* has been compared to Av. *daxš-* ‘to teach’, implying PIE *\*dek<sup>w</sup>s-* (LIV: 112). This is followed by, e.g., HEG T: 304 and Kloekhorst 2008: 865. Note that the origin of Av. *daxš-* is disputed, see Cheung 2007: 70f. Alternatively, Rieken (1999: 210f.) assumes that *tekkussiye/a-* is related to Hitt. *tekri-*, which she interprets as ‘mark’, and argues that *tekkussiye/a-* cannot have a labiovelar since the labial element is missing in *tekri-*. She compares *tekkussiye/a-* and *tekri-* to Gr. τέκμαρ ‘sign’. However, *tekri-* rather means ‘slander’, ‘insult’ (see recently Alexandrov, Sideltsev 2009: 63ff.) and therefore is not related. As for τέκμαρ, it is generally connected with Skt. *cáṣṭe, cákṣate* ‘to see’, PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek-* ‘to see, appear’ (e.g., Beekes 2010: 1459, Nussbaum 2014). Summing up, the connection with Av. *daxš-* seems preferable.

*Tekus(sa)nu-* and *tekkussēss-* ‘to become visible’ seem to derive from the stem *tekkuss-*, which is not directly attested (on *tekkuššami* in KBo 5.3 I 10 see above).

**tepnu-** ‘to diminish, humiliate’

**1sg.pres.act.** *te-ep-nu-um-mi* KUB 21.37 obv. 21 NH

**3sg.pres.act.** *te-ep-nu-zi* the Bronze tablet III 72, IV 18 NH; *te-ep-nu-uz-zi* KBo 4.10 rev. 13 NH

**3pl.pres.act.** *te-ep-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 3.3 II 27 NH

**1sg.pret.act.** *te-ep-nu-nu-un*

**3sg.pret.act.** *te-ep-nu-ut* KBo 3.6+ III 26 Hatt. III, KBo 4.8 III 14 Murš. II, KUB 21.19 I 22 Hatt. III

**1pl. pret. act.** *te-ep-nu-mi-n=a-an* KUB 14.4. I 6 Murš. II

**3pl.pret.act.** *te-ep-nu-er* KUB 4.1 I 18 MH/NS, KUB 5.6+ III 69 NH

**?3sg.pret.med.** *te-ep-nu-ut-ta=ma*<sup>171</sup> KUB 14.4 III 22 Murš. II

**part. nom.-acc.sg. neut.** *te-pa-nu-wa-an* KUB 16.16 rev. 2 Tudh. IV

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg.** *te-ep-nu-mar* KBo 5.6 IV 1 NH; *te-ep-nu-um-mar* IBoT 1.33 91 NH

**inf.I** *te-ep-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 21.15 I 14 Hatt. III; *te-ep-nu-um-ma-an-zi* KUB 21.37 obv. 20 Hatt. III, the Bronze tablet II 77, III 27 Tudh. IV; *te-ep-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 17.21 IV 18 MH/MS

**impf. 2sg.pres.act.** *te-ep-nu-uš-ke-ši* KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 II 9 MS

**impf. 2pl.pres.act.** [*te-*]*ep-nu-uš-ke-te-ni* KUB 23.72+ obv. 62 MH/MS

**impf. 3sg.pret.act.** *te-ep-nu-uš-ke-et* KBo 3.4 II 13 Murš. II

**impf. 3pl.pret.act.** *te-ep-nu-uš-ker* KBo 3.4 I 24 Murš. II

*Tepnu-* is related to *tēpu-* ‘small’. For a survey of contexts and semantic nuances of using *tepnu-* with and without *-za* s. Hoffner 1977: 154ff.

There seem to be immediate cognates in Vedic for both *tēpu-* and *tepnu-*, *ádbhuta-* ‘unerring’ besides *dabhra-* ‘little’ and *dabhnóti* ‘deceives’ respectively, so both formations are believed to be of PIE age. The root is *\*d<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>*- ‘to diminish’, s. LIV: 132. Surprisingly, *tepnu-* is mostly found in NH texts as well as in a few Middle Hittite texts. It is to my knowledge missing in OS and OH texts. Given the very high productivity of this verbal class *tepnu-* is likely to be a Hittite innovation rather than a PIE formation, which could also explain the full grade of the root. The formal correspondence between Hitt. *tepnu-* and Skt. *dabhnóti* ‘deceives, hurts’ (< *\*d<sup>h</sup>b<sup>h</sup>néuti*) is then a coincidence; note that the meaning of *tepnu-* ‘to diminish’ is based on *tēpu-* and is quite distant from ‘to deceive, hurt’ of the Sanskrit verb.

<sup>171</sup> Miller (2014: 521<sup>25</sup>) notes that this form is “Likely yet another scribal error”.

Koch (1980) suggested that *tepnu-* was derived from *tēpu-* with an insertion of *-n-* into the stem (contra Weitenberg 1984: 148f.). In my opinion, the adjectival suffix *-u-* was rather replaced with the suffix *-nu-* (a Caland system derivation); for the details see 4.9 and 4.13 below.

A parallel formation *tepawahh-* is attested in KUB 14.3 I 13 NH, KBo 13.74 6, 7 NS<sup>172</sup>.

**tepsanu-** ‘to make *tepsu-*’

**2sg.pres.act.** *te-ep-ša-nu-ši* KUB 24.3 II 53 MH/NS

? *te-ep-ša-[nu-zi* KBo 3.1+ III 70 OH/NS

The meaning of *tepsu-* and its derivatives is elusive. Traditionally it has been translated as ‘dry’. Note that *tepšanuši* (KUB 24.3 ii 53) has *tepnuškeši* in dupl. KUB 24.4 + II 9, so it must mean ‘to diminish’ in that passage. Kloekhorst (2008: 866ff.) argues that *tepsu-* means ‘something little; some kind of (by-product of) grain (comparable to malt) that does not yield any plant’. Etymologically it may belong to the same root as *tēpu-* ‘small’ and contain a suffix *-su-*, seen also in *genzu-* ‘abdomen’ (cf. Kronasser 1966: 252).

**ti(n)nu-** ‘to paralyze’

**3sg.pres. act.** *ti-nu-zi* VBoT 58 I 27 OH/NS, *ti-in-nu-zi* VBoT 58 I 11, 13, 15 OH/NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *ti-nu-ut* VBoT 58 I 8 OH/NS

**3sg. imp. act.** *ti-in-nu-ut* VBoT 58 I 20 OH/NS

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<sup>172</sup> KUB 14.3 (CTH 181, Tawagalawa letter) I 12 *nu=šši=za EGIR-an* (13) *ŪL memaš n=an ANA PANI KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> te-pa-wa-[a]h-ta’* ‘(The crown prince held him by the hand), but he said “no” to him and demeaned him in the presence of the lands.’ (Hoffner 2009: 302. For uses of *tepnu-* in similar contexts see Hoffner 2009: 390, note 267. The context of *tepawah(h)-* in KBo 13.74 is unfortunately too fragmentary.

This verb is attested only in VBoT 58 (OH/NS). The forms *ti-nu-ut* in line I 8 and *ti-nu-zi* in line I 27 may alternatively be read as *TI-nu-ut* and *TI-nu-zi* and, which would make them forms of *huisnu-* ‘to rescue, keep alive, spare’.

In the lines I 27-28 [*itt*]en=wa <sup>D</sup>LAMMA-an *halzisten apunn=a=wa* *TI/ti-nuzi* (28) [*Ū*]L=war=as *gimras DUMU-as* “[Ge]ht (und) ruft die Schutzgottheit! Wird sie auch sie lähmen? Ist sie [nic]ht ein Kind des Feldes?”, trans. by Rieken at the HPM website) the phrase *apunn=a=wa* *TI/ti-nuzi* may be translated as either “he will spare him” or “will he paralyze him?”

However, in the line 8 the meaning of *ti-nu-ut* must be ‘to paralyze’ and definitely not ‘to spare, rescue’, since the form is used parallel to *hatnut* ‘dried up (waters)’:

(7) [*twē*]ll[=a] *DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KA* *kuin sagain iyanzi ha[hhimas]* (8) *utnē hūman ti-nu-ut widār hatnut* (9) *hahhimas GAL-is*

“[Und] welches Wunder vollbringen [dei]ne Söhne?” *St[arre]* lähmte das ganze Land. Die Gewässer ließ sie vertrocknen. Die Starre (ist) mächtig!” (trans. by Rieken at the HPM website).

So at least *ti-nu-ut* in the line I 8 of VBoT 58 belongs to *tinnu-*. I can only assume a simplified spelling of a geminate here even though the spelling of *-nn-* is usually very consistent, and I do not know of any simplified spelling for, e.g., *zinni-* or *sunna-*.

Götze (1930: 403<sup>3</sup>) suggested that *tinnu-* may be a causative from *tiya-* ‘to step, place oneself’ (PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-*, cf. HEG T: 375). However, geminated *-nn-* here would be difficult to explain, cf. 5.9 with note 177. The syncopation of *-iya-* to *-i-* (for examples see Melchert 1984: 58) is also unlikely here, as there are several examples of *nu-*verbs derived without the loss *-iya-*: *edriyanu-* ‘to feed’ from *edriya-* ‘id.’, *kartimmiyanu-* ‘to make angry’ < *kartimmiya-* ‘to become angry’, *karūssiyanu-* ‘to silence’ from *karūssiya-* ‘to be quiet’, *parkiyanu-* ‘to make to rise’ from *parkiya-* ‘to rise’. A possible solution could be deriving *tinnu-* from *\*tit-nu-*, where *\*tit-* would be a reduplicated stem to the root *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to step’. The formal and semantic difference between *tinnu-* and *tittanu-* ‘to cause to stand, erect’, which, according to Melchert forthc. b., is derived from *tiye/a-* ‘to stand’ and thus also from *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* (see the entry for *tittanu-* below) could be explained if one assumes that *tinnu-* is an older and *tittanu-* is

a more recent formation. Alternatively, one may disagree with Melchert and derive *tittanu-* exclusively from *titta-* ‘to place’ and ultimately from *dai-* ‘to place’.

**tittanu-** ‘to install’

**1sg.pres.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-mi* e.g., KUB 1.1.+ IV 15 NH; *ti-it-ta-nu-um-me* KUB 16.31 IV 18 LNS

**3sg.pres.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi* KBo 31.103 obv. 4 OS?, *ti-it-ta-nu-zi*,

**1pl.pres.act.** *ti-it[(-nu-um-me-e-ni)]* KUB 12.50 + KUB 17.27 II 9 NS // [(*ti-it-*)]*nu!*-*um-me-e-ni* KUB 58.74 obv. 9 NS

**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 5 OS; *ti-it-ta-nu-an-zi*; *ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 13.161 III 9 NS, KUB 8.79 17 NS, KUB 29.44+ III 36 MS, KUB 59.17 obv. 18 NS; *ti-it-nu-an-zi* KBo 19.150 obv. 5 OH/NS; *ti-it-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 55.38 II 3 NS

**1sg.pret.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un* e.g., KUB 24.14 I 18 NH, *ti-it-nu-nu-un* KUB 19.27 obv. 4 NH

**3sg.pret.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* the Bronze tablet I 8 NH; *ti-it-nu-ut* KBo 32.14 lower edge 70 MH/MS, KUB 14.1+ rev. 40, 43 MH/MS, KUB 30.10 II 7 OH/MS

**1pl.pret.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-um-me-en* KUB 17.18 III 5 NS, KUB 60.161 II 8 NS

**3pl.pret.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-e-er* KUB 13.3 III 34 OH/NS, HKM 52 rev. 37 MH/MS; *ti-it-ta-nu-er* KBo 16.10 6 Murš. II/LNS, KBo 18.49 rev. 10 MS

**3sg.imp.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-ud-du* the Bronze tablet II 93 NH

**2pl.imp.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te-en* KUB 23.68 rev. 26 MH/NS, KUB 23.77 rev. 63 MH/MS ; *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-ten* HKM 65 obv. 9 MH/MS

**3pl.imp.act.** *ti-it-ta-nu-an-du*, *ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-du*;

**part.** *ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-t-*;

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg.** *ti-it-ta-nu-mar* KUB 16.31 IV 19 LNS

**inf.I** *ti-it-ta-nu-ma-an-zi* KBo 5.9 II 36 Murš. II, KBo 19.66 I 37 Murš. II

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** [*ti-*]*it-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 14.1+ rev. 33 MH/MS

**impf. supine** *ti-it-nu-uš-ke-wa-an* HKM 47 obv. 11 MH/MS

The forms in this entry are usually attributed to a single verb, *tittanu-*, which is derived from *titta/i-* ‘to install’ or ‘to place’, mostly attested as a participle; *titta-* in turn seems to be a reduplicated stem of either *dai-/ti-* ‘to put’, PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* (so, e.g., Oettinger 1979: 350, Jasanoff 2010: 148f.) or *\*(s)teh<sub>2</sub>-* (HED 3: 465). Kloekhorst (2008: 884) derives *tit(ta)nu-* directly from *\*d<sup>h</sup>i-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-neu-*.

However, Melchert (forthc. b) argues that there are two homonymous verb *tittanu-*; one means ‘to cause to stand, erect’ and is derived from *tiye/a-* ‘to step’, ultimately from *\*(s)teh<sub>2</sub>-*, and the other means ‘to place’, from *dai-* ‘to put’ < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*. Accordingly, there are also two distinct verbs *titta/i-*<sup>173</sup>.

In both cases the meanings of *titta/i-* and *tittanu-* seem to be identical, cf. the following contexts for *titta/i-* and *tittanu-* ‘to place’:

KUB 2.2 II 37 8 *mān INA É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup> GIBIL<sup>GIŠ</sup> hattalwaš GIŠ-ru tittanuwanzi*

“When they install the wood of the door bolt in a new palace...”

and the colophon to this tablet:

KUB 2.2 IV 12-13 (with dupl KBo 19.162 IV 11-12)

IV 12 DUB 1.KAM *QATI mān ANA É.[GAL<sup>LIM</sup> GIBIL]* (13) *hattalwaš GIŠ-ru*

*tittai*

“First tablet: finished. When one installs the wood of the doorbolt...”

(for the translation see Melchert forthc.b and the online edition by G. Torri and C. Corti at the HPM website).

There are several nasal formations made from reflexes of both *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* and *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* in other languages. In Hieroglyphic Luwian, there is a likely cognate *tanuwa-* ‘to erect, establish’. Tischler (HEG T: 388) also adduces as a structural parallel Russ. *denu* ‘I place’, which is a late formation according to Vasmer 1964-73 I: 509. Nevertheless, none of them is parallel to *tittanu-* ‘to erect’ and *tittanu-* ‘to place’.

### **dusganu-** ‘to make happy’

<sup>173</sup> Hitt. *tinnu-* ‘to paralyze’ is likely to go back to *\*tit-nu-* and further to Hitt. *tiye/a-* ‘to stand’ and PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-*; if so, *tinnu-* essentially mirrors the formation of *tittanu-* ‘to cause to stand, erect’, but the semantics is different. See the respective entry.

**2pl.imp.act.** *du-uš-ga-nu-ut-te-en* KBo 12.18 I 12 OH/NS

This verb is preserved in a broken context, but appears to be transitive, cf. HEG T: 467. The parent verb *dusk-* ‘to rejoice’ has since Petersen been connected with Skt. *túšya-* ‘to be satisfied’ etc., PIE *\*teus-* ‘to be still, satisfied’ (LIV: 641f.). Alternatively, Neumann analyzed the stem of the base verb *dusk-* as *\*tu-ske-* and compared it to Got. *þiuþ* ‘das Gute’, Lat. *tueor* ‘to protect, observe’, PIE *\*teu-*, cf. HEG T: 466. Kloekhorst (2008: 901f.) points out that the actual stem is *dusk-* rather than *duske/a-*, so it cannot be a *-ske/a-* stem. I assume that the root is *\*teus-* and this is yet another instance of the suffix *\*-k-* in Hittite; for this suffix see the entries for *harnink-*, *hassikkanu-*, *maliskunu-*, *ninganu-* and Shatskov 2015.

**duddunu-** ‘to pardon, amnesty’,

**3pl. pres. act.** *du-ud-du-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 22.64 II 5, *du-ud-du-nu-an-zi* KUB 5.5 II 29 NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *du-ud-du-nu-nu-un* KUB 60.2 12’ NS

**3pl. imp. act.** *du-ud-du-nu-an-du* KUB 26.43 obv. 63 Tudh IV

**part. n.-acc.** sg. *tu-ut-tu-nu-an* KUB 6.2 I 31 NS

**verbal noun** *du-ud-du-nu-ma-aš* KUB 26.58 I 16 NH Hatt. III

**impf.** [*d*] *u-ud-du-nu-uš-kat[-]* KUB 43.72 rev. III 15 NS

The parent verb is *duddu-* ‘to pity, have mercy’<sup>174</sup>. While it is often used in imperative, ‘have mercy!’ (e.g., KBo 25.112 obv. II 11’), its active indicative forms are usually transitive, cf. KUB 36.99 5’ (OS): *s=an tutut* ‘Er begnadigte ihn’ (HEG T: 476, see there for more contexts). A different translation has been proposed for *dudduskezzi* in IBoT 1.36 B-C 1’ and *dud[duske]zzi* in IBoT 1.36 D-E 2’ by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 7), namely, ‘is in command of them’. As for the context, the beginning of the line B-C 1’ is missing, but in the previous line guards’ faults are

<sup>174</sup> Kronasser (1966: 456) and Melchert (1999: 245) derive *duddunu-* from *du(wa)ddu-* ‘mercy’. The noun itself, however, is derived from *duddu-* ‘to ask for mercy, be merciful’ and is mostly used in the phrase *du(wa)ddu halzai-* ‘to call for mercy, cry ‘mercy!’’, s. HEG T: 497, so it is hardly the source for *duddunu-*.

mentioned, and the general sense may well be that only a commander-of-ten of the gold spears may ‘show mercy’ on them, cf. Miller’s translation ‘excuses’ (2013: 341<sup>110</sup>). *Duddunu-* has no apparent semantic difference from *duddu-*.

There is CLuw. *duddu-* ‘to show mercy’, e.g., KUB 22.20 20 obv. 4 *duddunti*. The etymology of *duddu-* is unclear, see HEG T: 477f.

**unu-** ‘to decorate, clean up’

**1sg. pres. act.** *ú-nu-wa-mi* KBo 55.223 14 NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *ú-nu-uz-zi* KBo 18.108 upper edge 9 NS, KBo 38.265 I 11 MS; *ú-nu-u[z-z]i* KBo 40.46 + KBo 35.156 III! 4 NS; *ú-nu-u-wa-iz-zi* KUB 10.91 II 16 OH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *ú-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KBo 2.13 obv. 13 NH, KBo 5.1 IV 16 MH/NS, KUB 17.35 I 32 Tudh. IV, KUB 58.100 III 4 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *ú-nu-e-er* KBo 19.112 6 MH/NS, KUB 15.36 obv. 7, 10 NH, KUB 33.96 IV 16 NS; *ú-nu-er* KBo 39.290 III 10 NS; *ú-nu-wa-a-er* KUB 36.67 II 19 NH

**?2sg. imp. act.** *ú-nu-ut* KBo 25.119 3 OS, KUB 31.143 II 23 OS

**3pl. imp. act.** *ú-nu-wa-[an]-du* KUB 33.96 IV 13 + KUB 36.7a IV 50 NS, KUB 36.25 I 4 NS

**1sg. pres. med.** *ú-nu-wa-aḥ-ḥa-ri* KUB 17.9 I 32 NS

**3sg. pres. med.** *ú-nu-ud-da* KUB 4.4 II 15 NH

**3sg. pret. med.** *ú-nu-ut-ta-at* KUB 17.5 I 5 OH/NS

**3pl. pret. med.** *ú-nu-wa-an-ta-at* KUB 46.30 31 NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** *ú-nu-an-za(-pát)* KBo 25.61+ rev. 4 OS, KBo 25.62+ I 11 OS

**inf. I** *ú-nu-ma-an-zi* KUB 27.49 III 23 NS

**inf. II** *ú-nu-wa-an-na* KUB 17.35 I 28 Tudh. IV

**impf. part. nom. sg. c.** *ú-nu-uš-kán-za* KUB 8.41 III 15 OS, [*ú-n*]u-uš-kán-za KUB 31.143a + III 22 OS

For the contexts of the this see HEG U: 62ff. Active forms of *unu-* are generally used without the reflexive participle *-za* and mean ‘to decorate someone’, while middle

forms are used with *-za* and mean ‘to decorate oneself’. The only exception seems to be *-za unuwami* in KBo 55.223 14, but the context is too fragmentary (see de Roos 2007: 299f.).

*Unu-* looks like a *nu-*verb. The parent verb should then be *\*u-*, and the connection to *au(s)/u-* ‘to see, look’ cannot be completely excluded<sup>175</sup>. Nevertheless, since Petersen *unu-* has been related to Lith. *aūti* ‘to put on’, Lat. *induō* ‘to put on’, Arm. *(h)aganim* ‘to put on’ (cf. HEG U: 64). However, the Armenian forms point to an initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>*, which should have been preserved in Hittite, yielding *\*\*hunu-*. Kloekhorst (2008: 919) amends this etymology arguing that the PIE root was actually *\*h<sub>3</sub>eu-*. Alternative comparison with Lat. *aveō* ‘to be eager’, Skt. *avasá-* ‘food, refreshment’, Arm. *aviwn* ‘lust’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-*<sup>176</sup> ‘to enjoy, consume’ (de Vaan 2008: 65) is less attractive semantically and also leaves unexplained the missing laryngeal in the anlaut.

**uskenu-** ‘to carry auguries’?

**1pl. act.** *uš-ke-nu-mi<-en>/<-ni>* HKM 46 12 MS

The only attestation of this verb comes from HKM 46 12 *nu EGIR-pa*<sup>URU</sup> *Ta-pí-ig-ga u-un-nu-me-en na-aš-ta ka-a-ša* (13) <sup>URU</sup> *Ta-pí-ig-ga-az-za? ar-ḫa uš-ke-nu-mi<-en?>*

(After several failures) “Then we came back to Tapikka and from (the base of) Tapikka have now carried out the auguries!” (Hoffner 2009: 180).

*Uskenu-* is derived from *uske/a-* ‘to see’ which is in turn derived from *au(s)-* ‘to see’. The PIE root is *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* (so, e.g., Kloekhorst 2008: 229) or *\*h<sub>1</sub>eu-* (LIV: 243), cf. also HEG U: 118f. *Uskenu-* is a *\*-ske/a-* stem and in this respect resembles *lahlahheskenu-* ‘to agitate (horses), cause (the horses) to run’. The difference is that *uske/a-* must have been perceived as a separate verb, since it could form an imperfective stem of its own, *uskiske/a-* (for the forms see HEG U: 120).

<sup>175</sup> Semantically it is rather unlikely, as *uskenu-*, another *nu-*verb derived from *uske-* ‘to see’ (and ultimately from *au(s)/u-*), shows quite a different meaning ‘to carry auguries?’. On the other hand, rare middle forms of *au(s)/u-* mean ‘to be(come) visible’, and they could theoretically have served as the derivational base for *unu-*.

<sup>176</sup> Mallory, Adams (2006: 337) give this root as *\*h<sub>a</sub>eu-* ‘favour’.

**uwainu-** ‘to intercede, petition’

**?2sg. pres. act.** *u-wa-a[-i-nu-ši]* KUB 21.27 IV 26 NH

**2sg. imp. act.** *u-wa-ya-nu-ut* KUB 6.45 III 35 NH, *u-wa-a-i-nu-ut* KUB 21.27 IV 39 NH

For the contexts see HEG U: 172. *Uwainu-* is derived from *uwaya-* and *uwai-* (mid.) ‘to feel sorry’ or similar (for the translation see, e.g., Neu 1968: 185 and HEG U: 191), which in turn is related to *(u)wai-* ‘woe, sorrow’, believed to be onomatopoeic by Kloekhorst (2008: 939). Note though that *(u)wai-* is very similar to Lat. *vae* ‘alas’, Goth. *wai* ‘woe’, Av. *vaiiōi* ‘alas’ and is likely to be of PIE origin (cf. de Vaan 2008: 650).

**wahnu-** ‘to make turn, encircle, swing’

**1sg. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-mi* KBo 17.1+ II 37' OS, KBo 17.3+ II 45 OS

*wa-aḥ-nu-ú-mi* KBo 17.1+ II 18' OS, *wa-aḥ-nu-um-mi* KBo 12.58 obv. 8 NS

**2sg. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ši*

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-uz-zi* KBo 5.2 I 54 MH/NS, KBo 10.41 II 8 MH/NS, KBo 17.1 + II 32' OS, KBo 52.26+ II 42 MH/NS; *wa-aḥ-nu-zi* e.g., KBo 5.1 II 57, III 1 NH

**1pl. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-me-ni* KBo 17.1+ II 21 OS, *wa-aḥ-nu-um-me-e-ni*,

**2pl. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ut-te-ni*,

**3pl. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KBo 23.1 + II 3 NH; *wa-aḥ-nu-an-zi* KUB 29.4 III 66 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-nu-un*

**3sg. pret. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ut* KUB 36.89 rev. 13 NH

**1pl. pret. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-um-me-en*

**3pl. pret. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-e-er*, *wa-aḥ-nu-er*,

**2sg. imp. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ut* KUB 44.4 rev. 29 NH

**3sg. imp. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ud-du* KUB 12.24+ I 18 NS

**2pl. imp. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-ut[-ten]*,

**3pl.imp.act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-wa-an-du*

**part.** *wa-aḥ-nu-an-t-, wa-aḥ-nu-wa-an-t-;*

**verbal noun** *wa-aḥ-nu-mar* KBo 1.42 III 46 NS; [*wa-*]*aḥ-nu-wa-u-wa-ar, u-wa-aḥ-nu-wa-ar* KBo 3.2 I 66 and passim MH/NS

**verbal noun** *wa-aḥ-nu-eš-šar* KUB 32.82 12 NS; *wa-aḥ-nu-eš-ni* KUB 29.55 I 16 MS

**inf.I** *wa-aḥ-nu-ma-an-zi;*

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *wa-aḥ-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 5.2 IV 49 MH/NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *wa-a[h-nu-uš-k]án-zi* KBo 17.1+ II 33 OS, *wa-aḥ-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 24.5 II 12' NS

The meaning of this verb and the objects with which it is used vary substantially, ranging from carts (IBoT 1.36 IV 12 “But when they turn the cart”, Güterbock – van den Hout 1991: 33) to gods (KBo 23.1 II 2-3 “umkreist mann die Gottheit mit einem Adler, einem Falk, einem Lamm, einem Zicklein, einem Hurri-Vogel (und) einem *hušt*-Schwefel”, Strauss 2006: 268) and cities (KBo 3.4 II 64 “ich ging hin (und) schloss Puranda ein”, Götze 1967: 63). However, there are some intransitive attestations as well, e.g., KBo 5.2 IV 49: *IŠ-TU MUŠEN-ya I-NA UD<sup>7KAM</sup> QA-TAM-MA wahnuskezzi* “Auch mit einem Vogel schwenkt er ebenso an 7 Tagen” (Strauss 2006: 244)<sup>177</sup>, KBo 5.8 III 20 *nu=ssan pedi wahnunun* ‘machte ich kehrt’ (Götze 1967: 157), KUB 33.67 IV 19 <sup>d</sup>*Anzilis wahnut* “Anzilis turned” (Beckman 1983: 77) etc., s. Kronasser 1966: 450. The meaning of the majority of intransitive forms of *wahnu-* is identical to that of underlying verb, *weh-* ‘to turn’. In fact, it seems that *wahnu-* began to replace *weh-* ‘to turn’ at least in certain texts. In CTH 61 (Annals of Mursili), *wahnu-* is used both transitively and intransitively, in the meaning ‘to turn’, see, e.g., KBo 5.8 III 20 above, while there is not a single attestation of *weh-*.

The basic verb *weh-* may well be related to Skt. *véti*, Lith. *výti* ‘to pursue’, PIE *\*weih<sub>2</sub>-* (Eichner 1973: 77, Kloekhorst 2008: 995f.); *wahnu-* is based on the weak stem

<sup>177</sup> Though it may well be a case of ellipsis here.

*wah-*, with the *-a-* in the root analogical to *e/a-*ablauting *mi-*verbs, e.g., *es/as-* ‘to be’ (Kloekhorst op. cit.).

**waggasnu-** ‘to leave out’

**3pl. pres. act.** *wa-ag-ga-aš-nu-an-zi* VBoT 24 I 9 MH/NS

See *waksiyanu-*

**waksiyanu-** ‘to leave out, fall short’

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-zi* KUB 13.4 III 40 MH/NS

**2pl. pres. act.** *wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-ut-te-ni* KUB 13.4 I 49 MH/NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-nu-un* KBo 12.38 II 15 Supp. II

**3pl. pret. act.** *wa-ak-ši-nu-er* AT 454 II 19 NS

For the usage see, e.g., AT 454 II 19 *nu=wa* KÙ.BABBAR I ZU *wa-ak-ši-nu-er* ‘but they were short by one shekel of silver’ (Gurney in Wiseman 1953: 116f).

Both *waggasnu-* and *waksiyanu-* are derived from *waksiya-* ‘to be lacking’, which in turn seems to be an *s-*enlargement of *wakk-* ‘to be lacking’. This verb is likely to be related to Lat. *vacuus* ‘empty’, PIE *\*(H)uh<sub>2</sub>k-* (cf., e.g., de Vaan 2008: 649), though the exact phonetic development for Hittite is not clear (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 940). For another possible reflex of this root in Hittite see the entry for *unh-* ‘to empty’ in 3.1.

**wallanu-** ‘to erase?’

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-al-la-nu-u[z-zi]* KUB 26.43 rev. 37 Tudh. IV

**part. n. sg. c.** *wa-al-la-nu-an-za* KUB 34.19 IV 9 OH or MH/NS

The only well preserved context is KUB 26.43 rev. 37 (CTH 225, Landgrant of Tuthalia IV): *našma ŠUM-an wa-al-la-nu-u[z-zi]*, which both Kloekhorst (2008: 945) and Imparati (1974: 39) interpret as ‘or erases the name’. This precludes any relationship with *walla-* ‘to praise’; therefore the parent verb is not attested.

Further etymology is not clear as well. Maier (2013: 185) derives *wallanu-* from *walh-* ‘to strike’ via an hypothetical intermediate stem *\*walla-* or *\*walle-*.

**warhunu-** ‘to plant densely’

**2sg.pret.act.** *wa-ar-ḥu-wa-nu-ut* KBo 12.59 IV 5 OH/NS

**part. nom. pl. c.** *wa-ar-ḥu-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 13.24 16 MH/NS

**impf. 3sg.pres.act.** *wa-ar-ḥu-u-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 10.47g III 13 NS

*Warhunu-* is derived from an *i*-stem adjective *warhui-* ‘rough, leafy’. For a recent discussion of semantics of this adjective see Maier 2011. *Warhui-* is in turn build to *\*war ḥu-* < PIE *\*wrh<sub>2/3</sub>u-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 961) or *\*werh<sub>2/3</sub>u-* (so Melchert 1984: 13). A different etymology was defended by Yakubovich (2011: 173) who, following Lehrman, argued that *warhui-* is a Luwianism and goes back to PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>2</sub>u-* ‘heavy, difficult, important’.

**walganu-** ‘?’

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-al-ga-nu-uz-zi* KBo 13.31 I 11 OH/MS

**3sg. pret. act.** *wa-al-ga-nu-ut* KUB 33.10 obv. 11 OH/MS

The verb is derived from *walk(iye)-*. The contexts for these verbs, collected by Neu 1968: 187f., are damaged, so their meaning cannot be established. Oettinger (1979: 234) and Kimball (1992: 81f.) tentatively suggest that it denotes an action with unpleasant consequences and compare it to OHG *walkan* ‘to roll, press’, Skt. *vālgati* ‘to jump’, PIE *\*welg-* (LIV: 676). This holds on purely formal grounds as the meaning of the Hittite verbs is still unknown. The phrase *n=uš wa-al-ga-nu-ut* (KUB 33.10 obv. 9) shows that *walganu-* is transitive.

**warganu-** ‘to make fat’

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-ar-ga-nu-nu-un* KBo 32.14 II 12 MS

**impf.** [*wa-a*]r-ga-nu-uš-[ ] KBo 32.113 5 MS

Along with *warkess-* ‘to become fat’ *warganu-* is derived from *warkant-* ‘fat’.

The etymology of this root is well established, it is cognate with Skt. *urj-* ‘food, strength’, OIr. *ferc* ‘anger’, Gr. *ὀργάω* ‘to swell, overflow’, PIE *\*werHǵ-*. (Kloekhorst 2008: 964).

**warnu-** ‘to set fire to, burn (tr.)’

**1sg. pres. act.** *wa-ar-nu-mi* KBo 17.61 obv. 19’, rev. 24’ MS

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-ar-nu-zi* e.g., KBo 5.1 I 10, 11 NS; *IZI-nu-zi* KUB 17.8 III 7 NS; *wa-ar-nu-uz-zi* e.g., KBo 19.137 IV 6’ NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *wa-ar-nu-an-zi* e.g., KBo 24.45 rev. 21’ MS with dupl. KBo 27.202+ III 27 *wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi* MH/NS; *wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KBo 5.2 II 10 MH/NS, KBo 19.136 obv. I 12’ NS, *wa-ar-nu-u-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 39.7 II 36 OH/NS

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-ar-nu-nu-un*

**3sg. pret. act.** *wa-ar-nu-ut* e.g., KUB 33.10 II 20 OH/MS

**1pl. pret. act.** *wa-ar-nu-me-en*; *wa-ar-nu-um-me-en* KUB 20.96 IV 13 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** *wa-ar-nu-er* KUB 14.1 rev. 41 Madd.; *wa-ar-nu-e-er*; *wa-ar-nu-ú-e-er* KUB 17.10 III 15 OS or OH/MS

**2sg. imp. act.** *wa-ar-nu-ut* KBo 4.2. IV 1 Murš. II

**2pl. imp. act.** *wa-ar-nu-ut-tén*

**3sg. pres. med.** *wa-ar-nu-ta-ri* KUB 8.25 I 3, 9 OH?/NS

**part. nom. sg. c.** [*wa-a*]r-nu-wa-an-za KUB 12.48 obv. II? 3 OH?/NS

**verbal noun g.sg.** *wa-ar-nu-wa-aš* KUB 12.22 16 OH/NS; *wa-ar-nu-ma-aš* KUB 13.2 II 5 MH/NS, KUB 15.31 IV 32 MH/NS, *wa-ar-nu-um-ma-aš*

**inf. I** *wa-ar-nu-ma-an-zi*; *wa-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi*

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *wa-ar-nu-uš-kán-z[i]* VSNF 12.76 obv. 5’ NS; *wa-ar-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 27.202+ III 31 MH?/NS

The verb *warnu-* is derived from *ur-<sup>ari</sup>*, *war-<sup>ari</sup>* ‘to burn (intr.)’. It has a secure etymology – OCS *vъrěti* ‘to boil’, Lith *virti* ‘to boil’, PIE *\*werH-* (LIV: 689) or

\**werh<sub>1</sub>*- (Kloekhorst 2008: 924). Usually *-nu-* is added to a zero-grade of the root, cf., e.g., *sasnu-* ‘to make lie down, put to bed’. The derivative at the zero grade of this root would be *\*\*urnu-*, which is not attested. Kloekhorst argues that OH *\*urnu-* developed regularly to *warnu-* in Middle Hittite.

**warsanu-, warsiyanu-** ‘to appease (tr.)’?

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-ar-ša-nu-uz-zi* KUB 12.21 6 NS

**1pl. pres. act.** *wa-ar-ša-nu-mi-ni* KUB 16.39 II 16, 44 NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *wa-ar-ša-nu-an-zi* KUB 13.4 IV 11 MH/NS with dupl. KUB 40.63

IV 5 *wa-ar-ši(-)*

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-ar-ši-ya-nu-nu-un* KBo 12.38 II 21 Supp. II

**2sg. imp. act.** *warsanut* Friedrich

**3sg. imp. act.** *warsanuddu* Friedrich

**3pl. imp. act.** *wa-ar-aš-nu-an-du* KBo 3.21 III 10 OH?/MS; *wa-ar-ša-nu-wa-an-du* KBo 3.21 III 23 OH?/MS

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *wa-ar-ši-ya-nu-wa-an* KUB 19.23 obv. 7 NS

The verbs *warsanu-* and *warsiyanu-* are derived from *wars-<sup>ta</sup>* and its later variant *warsiya-*, which are both transitive. Melchert (1994: 163) and Rieken (1999: 470<sup>2313</sup>) translate *wars(iy)anu-* ‘to soothe’ or ‘beruhigen’. Puhvel (HED 6: 43) interprets this verb as ‘to dissolve, run smooth’. Kloekhorst (2008: 969ff.) suggests an original meaning ‘to lift oneself, refresh’ for *wars(iya)-* with a subsequent development to ‘to appease’.

However, there are two contexts where neither the meaning ‘to soothe’, nor ‘to appease’ seem to work.

Miller (2013: 219) translates *warsiyandu* in KUB 13.1 I 36 as ‘they must patrol’:

35 [(*a-ú-ri*)]-*ya-aš-za ku-is ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḫar-zi na-aš pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-wa-[an-za e-eš-du (nam-ma-kán)]* (36) [(KASKAL<sup>HLA</sup>)]-*TI SIG<sub>5</sub>-in wa-ar-ši-ya-an-du nu<sup>LÚ</sup> KÚR-aš [(u-ur-k)i-i(n uš-kán-du)]*

“(whatever post has a garrison, it shall thereby be protected.) [(Further)], they must patrol the [(roads)] well, (and they must watch for sign of the enemy)”.

The second context is KBo 12.38 II:

20 *na-an da-ni-nu-un*

21 *wa-ar-ši-ya-nu-nu-un*

Güterbock (1997: 195) leaves *warsiyanu-* here without translation: “(l. 17-21) I built an Everlasting Peak. I made the image and carried it into the (building called) Everlasting Peak; I installed it and ...-ed it.” A meaning like ‘to patrol’ or ‘to guard’ fits better here than ‘to appease’. In fact, *warsiya-* in these two fragments may belong to yet another verb.

The etymology of *wars(iya)-* depends on its meaning. Kloekhorst (2008: 969ff.) assumes ‘to lift oneself, refresh’ as the original meaning and compares the verb to Skt. *várṣman-* ‘hight’, OCS *vrъxbъ* ‘top’, PIE *\*wers-*. But if we assume that ‘to soothe, appease’ or ‘to liquify’ is the original meaning, I see no other option rather than to follow Melchert’s comparison with Hitt. *warsa-* ‘mist’?, ‘dew’ or ‘rain’, related to Skt. *várṣa-* ‘rain’. If so, the root must be PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>wers-* (Beekes 2010: 465) rather than *\*h<sub>2</sub>wers-* (LIV: 291f.), since *\*h<sub>2</sub>* would have been preserved initially, cf. *hues-* ‘to live, survive’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>wes-*.

**wastanu-** ‘to sin’

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-aš-da-nu-zi* KUB 13.3 I 6’ OH?/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *wa-aš-ta-nu-an-zi* KBo 12.25 7’ NH (cf. dupl. KBo 12.26 I 18’  
*wa-aš-t[a]*)

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-aš-ta-nu-nu-un* KUB 26.33 I 11 Supp. II

**part. n.-acc. sg. neut.** *wa-aš-ta-nu-wa-an* KBo 5.1 obv. I 42, 44 NH

**part. abl. sg.** *wa-aš-ta-nu-wa-an-da-za* KUB 16.16 rev. 15 NH

Both finite forms of *wastanu-* in preserved contexts are intransitive – *man wa-aš-ta-nu-nu-un* ‘I would have sinned!’ in KUB 26.33+ II 11 (d’Alfonso 2007: 212), and in KBo 12.26+ I 18 *nu KASKAL-ši* (KASKAL-*an* in KUB 12.25 7) *wa-aš-t[(a-nu-an-*

zi)] “Auf dem Weg machten Sie (zur) Sünde” (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 285). The verb is derived from *wasta-* ‘to sin’ which is usually intransitive, though may be considered transitive in examples like KUB 14.11 III 28-29 *am-mu-uk-ma Ú-UL [(ku-it-ki)] wa-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un* “I did not sin anything”, if *kuitki* is analyzed as a pronoun in n.-acc. sg. neut. here rather than an adverb. There is also a parallel *ahh-*factitive *wa-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ku-x-x?* KUB 36.86 obv. 8 NS.

The difference between *wasta-* and *wastanu-* may also be that the latter refers to specific situations and has a terminative or telic function. *Wasta-* on the other hand refers rather to general situations, cf.

KUB 33.24 I 34’ *UMMA ABI* <sup>D</sup>IM *ŪL=wa ūk wastahhun* “Folgendermassen (sprach) der vater des Wettergottes: Ich habe nicht gesündigt” (Klinger 1996: 149)

or

KUB 6.44 IV 31 *zik* <sup>m</sup>*Kupanda-*<sup>D</sup>*KAL-as* (32) [*ANA PANI DINGIR*<sup>MEŠ</sup>] *wastatti* “(If someone speaks an evil word concerning My Majesty before you, Kupanta-Kurunta, and you conceal it from My Majesty ...) you, Kupanta-Kurunta, will offend [before the gods]” (Beckman 1996: 75)

Note also that similarly to *pahs-* and *pahsanu-*, only *wastanu-*, but not *wasta-*, has participles. See further 4.14-15.

There is no plausible etymology for *wasta-*. It has been compared by Castanicos to Gr. ἄατη ‘error, sin’, PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>wmst-* (or *\*h<sub>2</sub>wen-*, so Rieken 1999: 460ff.), but the Greek word is rather related to ἄάω ‘to damage’ and hardly belongs here, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 986, Beekes 2010: 3. Within Anatolian *wasta-* can perhaps be connected with Hitt. *waskui-* ‘sin’, CLuw. *waskui-* ‘sin’, but further etymology is not clear.

**watkunu-** ‘to drive off’

**3sg. pres. act.** *wa-at-ku-nu-zi* KBo 27.203 obv. II 7 NS, *wa-at-ku-nu-uz-z[i]* KUB 45.3(+)*47.43* obv. I 35 MS, KUB 47.89+ obv. II 9 NH

**1sg. pret. act.** *wa-at-ku-nu-n[u-u]n* KUB 19.9 II 35 NH

**3sg. pret. act.** *wa-at-ku-nu-ut*

**3pl. pret. act.** *wa-at-ku-nu-e-er*; *wa-at-ku-nu-er* KBo 5.8 I 43 Murš. II, KUB 14.15 IV 23 Murš. II

This verb is derived from *watku-* ‘to jump, flee’. It can go back to a root *\*wetk<sup>w</sup>-*, which may be further analyzed as the root *\*tek<sup>w</sup>-* ‘to walk, hurry’ with the prefix *we-*, also found in Hitt. *wete-* ‘to build’, s. Oettinger 1979: 237, Kloekhorst 2008: 990, and also Dunkel (2014: 839ff.) on the prefix *\*ye-* in PIE.

**weritenu-** ‘to scare’

**3sg. pres. act.** *ú-e-ri-da-nu-zi* KBo 12.106+ I 3 OH or MH/NS

**3pl. pret. 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

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg. neut.** *ú-e-ri-te-nu-m[ar]* KBo 1.31 I 13 NS

**impf. 3sg. pret. act.** *ú-e-ri-ti-ya-nu-uš-ke-et* KUB 52.44 I 15 NS

The verb *weritenu-* is derived from *werite-/werit-* ‘to fear, be frightened’ (KUB 14.7 I 11). In turn, *werite-* may be plausibly analyzed as a compound verb *weri-* + *te-*, the second part of which can be compared to *-te-* in *wete-/wet-* ‘to build’ and *pehute-/pehut-* ‘to lead, bring (there)’, while the first part *weri-* is likely to be related to *weriye-* ‘to call’ (Oettinger 2001: 467, Kloekhorst 2008: 1003).

**\*zahhiyanu-**

If *MĒ-ya-nu-nu-un* in KBo 3.4 II 60 (Murš. II) is to be read as *zahhiyanunun*, the form is likely to be a derivative of *zahhiya-* ‘to campaign, wage war’, which itself is derived from *zāhh-* ‘to hit’. Schindler apud Oettinger (1979: 447) compares the latter verb to Gr. *δαῖ* ‘in battle’, while Kloekhorst (2008: 1020) prefers to trace it back to the root *\*tjeh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to strike’, from which he also derives Gr. *σημα* ‘mark’, *σῶμα* ‘living or dead body’.

**zainu-, zinu-** ‘to make cross’

**3sg. pres. act.** [z]i-nu-uz-zi KBo 10.11 I 7 OH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** za-nu-ma-an-z[i] KUB 23.101 III 8 NH, za-a-i-nu-an-zi IBoT 3.148 III 42 MH/NS, za-a-i-nu-wa-an-zi KBo 10.44 obv. 19 NS

**3pl. pret. act.** za-i-nu-er KUB 1.1 + IV 37, KUB 1.8 IV 19 NH; za-a-i-nu-er KBo 3.6+ III 78 (KBo 3.6 III 67) NH; zi-nu-e-er KBo 3.46 I 19 OH/NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** zi-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi KBo 6.3 II 52 OH/NS; zi-i-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi KBo 6.2 + II 30 OS; zi-e-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi KBo 6.5 IV 12 ON/NS; [za]-a-i-nu-uš-ker KUB 33.124 IV 4' NS

**inf. I** za-nu-ma-an-zi KBo 22.6 I 20 OH/NS

za-i-nu-x[ IBoT 4.242 5 832 NS br.

za-i-nu-wa-a[n- KBo 35.227 obv. 9 NS

*Zainu-* is a ‘true’ causative to an already transitive *zai-* ‘to cross’ and as such it often takes two objects, cf., e.g.,

KBo 6.2. II

30 takku LÚ-as GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU ÍD-an zi-i-nu-uš-ke-ez-zi “If a man makes his ox to cross a river, ...”<sup>178</sup>.

IBoT 3.148 III:

42 nu=kan DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> KASKAL-an za-a-i-nu-an-zi

“man lässt die Gottheiten den Weg beschreiten/überschreiten.” (Haas 1998: 121)

There can be only one object as well:

In KUB 33.124 IV 3-4 ammuk=wa apūs 2 ALAM NA<sub>4</sub> [z]āinusker “those two stone statues made/helped me cross (the water)” (cf. Rieken’s translation at the HPM website – “Die zwei Statuen aus Stein [b]rachten mich hinüber”.)

*Zai-* ‘to cross’ has no clear etymology. Kloekhorst (2008: 1026) connects it with Skt. *at-* ‘to roam’, PIE *\*h<sub>1/3</sub>et-*. The Sanskrit verb is usually compared to Lat. *annus* ‘year’ and PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>et-* (LIV: 273), but the connection to Hitt. *zai-* is more attractive semantically.

<sup>178</sup> Hoffner’s translation of this passage (1997: 51) “If a man is crossing a river with his ox ...” does not convey the causative aspect of the meaning of *zainu-*.

**zaluganu-** ‘to postpone’

**1sg. pres. act.** *za-lu-ga-nu-mi* KUB 21.38 obv. 37 OH/NS

**3sg. pres. act.** *za-lu-ga-nu-zi* KUB 13.20 MH/NS obv. I 12, KUB 26.17 I 9  
MH/MS, *za-lu-uk-nu-zi* 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

**2pl. pret. act.** *za-lu-qa-nu-me-en* KUB 18.36 12 NS

**3pl. pres. med.** *za-al-qa-nu-an-ta-ri* KUB 13.1 IV 22 MH/MS

**verbal noun n.-acc. sg. neut.** *za-lu-ga-nu-mar* KUB 21.38 obv. 34, 36 NH

**impf.** *za-lu-ga-nu-u[š-ke-ši?]* KUB 21.38 obv. 25 NH

*Zaluganu-* is usually transitive and means ‘to delay’. When it is used along with *nuntarnu-* (KUB 21.38 obv. 37 as opposed to obv. 25 in the same text), it is intransitive (cf. CHD L-N: 474). One more example where *zaluganu-* is intransitive, is KUB 13.20 I 12 *mān* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR=*ma kuwatka za-lu-ga-nu-zi* ‘If the enemy for some reason takes long...’.

There is a related verb *zalukess-* ‘to take long’ (*za-lu-ki-iš-ta* KUB 18.59+ II 13, *za-lu-keš[-ta]* KUB 50.77+ r.col. 5). While the comparison of the underlying stem *zaluk-* with Gr. λήγω ‘to end’ (PIE *\*sleh<sub>1</sub>g-*) is possible, *zaluk-* can also be connected with Hitt. *daluki-* ‘long’ and its derivatives *daluknu-* ‘to lengthen’ and *dalukess-* ‘to become long’ (PIE *dleh<sub>1</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-*, Gr. δολιχός etc.). The latter solution requires assibilation of Proto-Anatolian or Pre-Hittite *\*tl-*<sup>179</sup> to *\*tsl-*. If so, *zaluknu-* goes back to a zero-grade form, while *daluknu-* would go back to a full grade *\*dol-*, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 1027f.

**zanu-** ‘to cook’

**3sg. pres. act.** *za-nu-uz-zi* KBo 25.106 7'OS, *za-nu-u[z-zi]* KBo 17.29 + KBo 20.1 I 3' OS; *za-nu-zi*

<sup>179</sup> On devoicing of word-initial stops in Anatolian see, e.g., Melchert 1994: 18ff.

**3pl. pres. act.** *za-nu-an-zi* KBo 25.24 obv. 9 OS, KBo 13.175 rev. 6 OS; *za-nu-wa-an-zi* e.g., KUB 2.13 obv. II 57, III 7, 8 OH/NS; [*za-n*]u-u-wa-an-zi e.g., KUB 34.66+ rev. III 6; *zé-nu-wa-an-zi* KUB 38.25 I 14 NS

**3sg. pret. act.** *za-nu-ut*

**3pl. pret. act.** *za-nu-er*

**part. n.-acc. pl. neut.** *za-nu-wa-an-ta* KUB 2.13 obv. II 61'', III 12' OH/NS

**inf. I** *za-nu-ma-an-zi* e.g., KBo 15.33+ III 30 MS, IBoT 1.31 II 3 NS

**impf. 3pl. pres. act.** *za-nu-uš-kán-zi* KBo 2.29 rev. 16 NS, KUB 7.1 II 6 OH/NS; *za-nu<-uš>-kán-zi* KBo 15.33+ III 29 MS

*Zanu-* is derived from *zē-* 'to be ready', which does not have a secure etymology. Melchert (1994: 118) compares it with Latin *tītio* 'fire-brand', and reconstructed PIE *\*tejh<sub>1</sub>-*. Kloekhorst (2008: 1033f.) reconstructs *\*tjeh<sub>1</sub>-* on formal grounds, but he objected that the semantic side of this etymology is not beyond doubt. The common notion shared by Latin *tītio* 'fire-brand' and Hitt. *zē-* 'to be cooked, ready' is likely 'to be(come) hot' (thus LIV: 617); if so, one has to assume that *zinne-* 'to finish', which is generally believed to have been derived from *zē-* as well, originally had the meaning 'to make (food) ready'.

The formal aspects of deriving *zanu-* from *zē-* are also problematic. Proto-Indo-European *\*tih<sub>1</sub>-neu-* should have yielded *\*zīnu-* (cf. *kīnu-* 'to open'); *zanu-* is to be analyzed as *z-nu-*, based on the stem *z-* (cf. Kloekhorst op. cit.). This stem, however, must be different from the middle stem *zē-*. Perhaps, it is yet another type of a Caland system derivation whereby one suffix (*-nu-*) replaces another (*-ē-*) in *zē-* rather than being added to it. While there are no other examples for such derivation, stative verbs in *-ē-* are part of the Caland system, e.g., *paprē-* 'to be proven guilty by ordeal, do something impure', related to *paprant-* 'impure, unclean', *paprahh-* 'to defile'. See further 4.9 on the Caland system and *nu-*verbs in Hittite. Etymologically, *zē-* is not a stative verb, but it may well have been perceived as such, due to a similar auslaut and semantics. Statives in *-ē-* usually have factitives in *-ahh-* as their

counterparts, but, according to Oettinger 1979: 238, this relationship was not yet firmly established in Old Hittite.

**zappanu-** ‘to pour drop by drop’

**3sg. pres. act.** *za-ap-pa-nu-uz-zi* KBo 5.2 I 51 MH/NS, KBo 13.142 I 9’ OH/NS, KBo 33.23 11’ NS, KBo 34.92 obv. I 16’MH/NS, KBo 39.156 III 16’’ NS, KUB 7.1 I 28 OH/NS, IBoT 2.124 obv. I 12’ (-p)a-nu-uz-zi), KBo 23.15 obv. I 7’ NS (*za-ap-p[a-]*); *za-ap-pa-nu-zi* KBo 21.28 obv. I 5’ NS [*za*]-ap<sup>1</sup>-pa-nu-zi), KUB 32.58 obv. I 4’ MH/MS ([*za-a*]p-pa-nu-zi), KUB 43.58 II 36’ MS with dupl. KUB 15.42 II 25; *za-ap-nu-zi* KBo 8.152 11’ NS, KBo 19.136 obv. I 15 NS, KBo 21.33+ obv. I 19 MS, KBo 27.143 12’’ MS?, KUB 32.43 obv. I? 4’NS, KUB 32.44 III 8’ NS; *za-ap-nu-uz-zi* KUB 9.6 I 38 MH/NS, KUB 39.71 I 28 MH/NS

**3pl. pres. act.** *za-ap-pa-nu-wa-an-zi* KBo 23.1+ III 33 NH; *za-pa-nu-wa[-an-zi]* KUB 30.25+ obv. 2 OH?/NS

**2sg. imp. act.** *za-ap-nu* KBo 22.49 rev. III 3’ NS

**impf. 3sg. pres. act.** *za-ap-pa-nu-uš-ke-ši* HKM 10 rev. 31 MS

The usual object is oil, with a rare exception in HKM 10 Rs. 30 *zig=a=mu=ssan p[ar]ā?* (31) *zappanuskesi*, which is translated by Hoffner as follows “you are causing me (my strength) to drip away” (Hoffner 2009: 378<sup>49</sup>, cf. CHD P: 117). The middle forms of the base verb *zappie-* mean ‘to leak’ (s. Kloekhorst 2008: 1031), while the active imperfective form *zappiskezzi* in KUB 30.10 II 15 is translated by Singer (2002: 33) “and because of the anguish my soul **drips away** from me to another place”. *Zappiyazi* in KUB 9.15+ III 29 is found in broken context, and *ú-te-er=ma nu za-ap-pí-e-er* in KUB 48.7 III 3, 8, along with *ú-e-er=ma nu za-ap-pí-e-er* in l. 12 are in rather unclear KILAM fragments; whatever the exact analysis of these forms is (cf. the translation in HW<sup>2</sup> III: 224 “Sie brachten aber und schwitzten”), they seem to be intransitive. Etymology is unclear.

## Conclusions

In the following sections I will discuss the peculiarities in conjugation and derivation of the *nu*-verbs and their semantics.

**4.2** The conjugation of the *nu*-verbs is similar to that of other *mi*-verbs with the exception of the 2sg. imper. act. Instead of a zero ending, typical for other verbal stems ending in a vowel (e.g., *iya* ‘make!’, *peske* ‘give!’), *nu*-verbs show the ending  $-t^{180}$ , cf., e.g., *ar-nu-ut* in HKM 31 obv. 27 *n=an=kan* (28) *parā arnut* (29) *n=an=mu uppi* ‘Expedite it and send it to me’ (Hoffner 2009: 158) or *pár-ku-nu-ut* in KBo 11.1 obv. 42 *nu=mu DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> kūn memian teshit parkunut* ‘may you, O god, clarify this matter to me in a dream’ (CTH P: 173). There may be one exception to it, namely, the form *arha zapnu*. It is attested in KBo 22.49 rev. III 3’ at the beginning of the line: *ar-ḥa za-ap-nu na-an x[* (s. Otten 1971: 44). The context is badly damaged, so it is not possible to determine the syntactic function of *zapnu* with certainty, but the form resembles an otherwise unattested imperative form with the zero ending.

The origin of the ending  $-t$  is not exactly clear. The imperative  $\bar{u}t$  from  $i\text{-}z\bar{i}$  ‘to go’, PIE  $*h_1ei-$ , has been compared with Gr.  $\bar{i}\theta\iota$ , Skt. *ihí*, which contain a reflex of  $*-d^hi$  that could originally be an optional particle (so Clackson 2007: 128). Reflexes of the ending  $*-d^hi$  are widely attested as 2sg. imp. ending for athematic stems in some IE languages like Indo-Iranian and Greek, see Sihler 1995: 601ff. The ending  $-t$  in the 2sg. imp. act. of Hittite *nu*-verbs is likely to be of the same origin. However, it is not clear what should have happened to the final  $*-i$  of this ending/particle in the prehistory of Hittite. It could have been lost after a dental (or perhaps merged with it and resulted in assibilation), as is suggested for the 3sg. pres. act.  $-zi < \text{PIE } *-ti$ , which is sometimes spelled in OS texts and copies of OH texts as  $-za$  (s. Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 182f.). Under this analysis,  $*d^hi$  was not assibilated in front of  $-i$ ; note that assibilation should have taken place before the loss of the final  $*-i$  since  $*t$  in 3Sg.

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<sup>180</sup> There are some exceptions. Besides *nu*-verbs the ending  $-t$  is also attested in  $\bar{u}t$  ‘go!’, *uwatet* ‘bring here!’ (along with expected *uwate*, *uwati*), *tēt* ‘speak!’ and *warput* VBoT 120 III 7 (cf. Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 182<sup>19</sup>).

pres. was assimilated; see also the discussion in Kimball 1999: 292, Kloekhorst 2008: 68.

**4.3** There are only a few cases of *nu*-verbs inflected medially. Below are listed all the forms I know of: 3sg. pres. med. *aš-nu-ut-ta-ri* KUB 32.130 11 MS, KBo 50.268+ II 21 MS?; *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ri* KBo 9.96 II 3 NS; *aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri* KUB 13.20 I 10 MH/NS; *a-aš-ša-nu-ud-da-a-ri* KUB 13.20 I 12 MH/NS; 3pl. pres. med. *aš-nu-wa-an-ta-ri* KUB 29.40 II 7 MS, KUB 29.44 III 5 MS; 3sg. pret. med. *aš-nu-ut-ta-at* KUB 15.34 IV 41 MS; *aš-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 17.95 II 11 MS; 3sg. imp. med. *aš-ša-nu-ut-ta-ru* KUB 36.30 5 NS; impf. 3sg. pres. med. *i-nu-uš-ke-et-ta-ri* KBo 13.119 I 7 MH?/NS; *ki-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 49.11 rev. 11 NS; 3sg. imp. med. *ki-nu-ut-ta-ru* KBo 2.3 IV 13 MH/NS; 3sg. pret. med. *pár-ku-nu-ut-ta-ti* KBo 3.63 I 10 OH/NS with dupl. *pár-ku-nu-ta-ti* KBo 3.66 9 OH/NS, 3pl. pret. med. *šal-la-nu-wa-an-ta-ti* KUB 8.51 II 11 NS; 1sg. imp. med. *ta-aš-ša-nu-uḫ-ḫu-ut* KUB 23.77 + obv. 35 MS; 1sg.pres.midd. *ú-nu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ri* KUB 17.9 I 32 NS; 3sg.pres.midd. *ú-nu-ud-da* KUB 4.4 II 15 NH; 3pl.pret.midd. *ú-nu-ut-ta-at* KUB 17.5 I 5 OH/NS; *ú-nu-wa-an-ta-at* KUB 46.30, 31 NS; 3sg. pres. med. *wa-ar-nu-ta-ri* KUB 8.25 I 3, 9 OH/NS; 3pl. pres. med. *za-al-qa-nu-an-ta-ri* KUB 13.1 IV 22 MH/MS. There may also be a middle form made from an imperfective stem in KUB 31.91 9 (MH/NS) *pár-ga-nu-uš-kán-<sup>˘</sup>ta<sup>˘</sup>-[ri]*, unless it is to be read *pár-ga-nu-uš-kán-<sup>˘</sup>du<sup>˘</sup>*. Some of these forms are syntactically passives, like KUB 8.25 I 8 or KUB 29.44 III 5 *asnuwantari=ya=at=kán* “and they (horses) are taken care of” (cf. Kammenhuber 1961: 162f.) or *wa-ar-nu-ta-ri* (see below). The form *sallanu-* in KUB 8.51 III 11 [*kuies*] *ammel sallanuwantati* is translated as inchoative in CHD Š: 88: “(cedars), which, as mine, have grown up”. However, it is better to translate this phrase as “(cedars) that have been grown up by me”, with *ammel* denoting the agent.

These middle forms are not numerous, and most of the examples are either in Middle Hittite originals or in late copies of Old and Middle Hittite texts. This is not surprising, as there was a tendency in New Hittite for transitive verbs to be active (cf. Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 233). Note that there are no or almost no middle forms made

from imperfective stems. One could also note that middle forms are mostly found with verbs that do not have an attested basic stem (*asnu-*, *kīnu-*, *unu-*) or, occasionally, from frequent *nu*-verbs. On the whole, middle forms are rather uncharacteristic for *nu*-verbs.

Luraghi (2010: 148) argued that middle forms of *nu*-verbs denoted controlled events. This is difficult to either prove or refute. There are only two verbs that have middle forms both in a basic stem and in a *nu*-stem. These are: 1) *a(i)-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to be hot’ and *inuskettari* KBo 13.119 I 7 in a rather broken context *n=as=za inuskettari*; 2) *ur-<sup>a(ri)</sup>* ‘to burn (intr.)’ and *warnutari* KUB 8.25 I 8 KUR-*yas* (9) A.ŠÀ *kuras IZI-it warnutari* “(When in the sixth month a star falls from heaven) the land’s field will be burned by fire” (CHD P: 13). An idea of control may perhaps be seen in some of the inchoative and intransitive middle forms, like KBo 3.63 I 10 [<sup>URU</sup>*Kalas(mas)a*]z EGIR-*anda parkunuttati* “Afterwards [Kalas]masa purified itself” (Beckman 2001: 53, 56). On the other hand, in some passages it is difficult to see any notion of control, as in KUB 13.1 IV 22 *māhhann=a GU<sub>4</sub><sup>HI.A</sup> zalqanuantari* “and when the cattle are late” (Miller 2013: 235). Nevertheless, since many *nu*-verbs are also derived from adjectives, the notion of control is hardly the main function for *-nu-*.

**4.4** In Proto-Indo-European, the shape of the suffix should have been *\*-néu-* in the singular and *\*-nu-* in the plural, s. LIV: 17f. and 4.1 above. The shape of this suffix in Hittite seems to be just /nu/. There are only two forms that may point to an /ū/ in the singular: an Old Hittite *wa-aḥ-nu-ú-mi* KBo 17.1+ II 18’ as well as a late copy of an Old Hittite original *ḥu-iš<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú-ut* KBo 3.28 II 19. There are also some plene spellings in the infinitive (*aš-nu-u-ma-an-zi* KBo 23.41 rev. 13) and. Pres. Act. (e.g., *aš-ša-nu-u-wa-an-zi* KUB 25.41 V 12, cf. also an unusual inf. *aš-nu-u-wa-u-wa-an-zi* KUB 41.31 obv. 11), but they have nothing to do with a vowel length and rather deal with the transmission of the glide /w/ between vowels. Moreover, we would not expect a full grade of the suffix in an infinitive. On the contrary, the forms *wa-aḥ-nu-ú-mi* and *ḥu-iš<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú-ut* show that there may have been /nū/ in the singular in Old Hittite, and the ablaut Sg. *-nū-* (< PIE *\*-neu-*) : Pl. *-nu-* still existed at some moment in the prehistory of Hittite.

**4.5** Some *nu*-stems have a zero grade of the root, e.g., *huinu-* (*huwai-*) and *inu-* (*ā(i)-*) as well as *maknu-* < *mekki-* and *sasnu-* < *ses-*, where *-a-* seems to be a reflex of an epenthetic vowel, s. Kloekhorst 2008: 747. However, there are verbs of the same structure that show an *e*-grade of the root like *tepnu-*, *tepsanu-* or *huisnu-*, though for the latter there are several NS forms with the zero grade. The full grade of the root instead of the expected zero grade makes deadjectival origin of these verbs quite likely, cf. further 4.13. A problematic case is the *nu*-verb derived from *mēma/mēmi-*, which shows reflexes of both the strong stem, *memanu-* (in an OH/MS and an OH/NS texts), and the weak stem, *mēmīyanu-* (in KUB 4.47 NS, CTH 432, Ritual against depression).

The expected *nu*-derivatives form *ispai/i-* ‘to get full, be filled’ and *mai/i-* ‘to grow’ would be *\*ispinu-* and *\*minu-*, similar to *pittinu-* from *piddai/piddi-* ‘to run, race’ and *huinu-* from *huwai-* ‘to run’, but actual verbs are *ispianu-* and *miyanu-*, with *-anu-* instead of *-nu-*. These verbs are attested only in NS and NH texts, and the stems *mēmīyanu-*, *ispianu-* and *miyanu-* must be analogical, see further 4.6 below.

**4.6** Some *nu*-verbs are derived from secondary verbal stems. This is the case of the stem *tamanganu-*, made from the infixed stem *tamank-*, and the same analysis is very likely for inchoative *-ess-* stem *hatkes(sa)nu-* and *lalukkešnu-*, though the former was alternatively explained as derived from an *s*-stem noun *\*hatkes-*. The form *lah(hi)lahheskenu-* in KUB 1.13+ I 16, IV 8, 42 is probably an ad hoc formation, though there is another verb, *uskenu-*, which appears to have been derived from a *-ske/a-* stem. However, synchronically *uske-* was no longer perceived as an imperfective from *au(s)/u-* ‘to see’, as it formed its own imperfective stem in *-ske/a-* – *uskiske-*. *Asisanu-* and *tittanu-* are built to already transitive reduplicated stems *asas/ases-* and *titta-* with virtually the same meanings.

Quite a few *nu*-verbs were formed from a secondary *ye/a*-stem; these are: *assīyanu-*, *ētrīyanu-*, *halīnu-*, *kari(ya)nu-*, *kartim(miya)nu-*, *karūssiyanu-*, *katkattīnu-*, *genusrīnu-*, *lahlahhinu-*, *parkīyanu-*, *šaku(wa)ntar(r)īyanu-*, *tariyanu-* (x2),

*waksiyanu-* (besides *waggasnu-*) and *warsiyanu-* (besides *warsanu-*). In some verbs, we see just *-i-* instead of *-iya-* or both *-i-* and *-iya-*. For instance, in *kari(ya)nu-* the distribution is as follows: *ka-ri-nu-* and *ga-ri-nu-* are attested in OS texts as well as in OH/NS and NS texts, whereas *ka-ri-ya-nu-* occurs in a NH text. As for the *nu-* derivative from *karti(m)miye/a-* ‘to become angry’, the stem *kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-* is found in NH and NS texts, but we have *kar-di-mi-nu-* as the only MS attestation, and there is also an obscure *kar-tim-nu-* in an NH text. All the four attestations of *ḫa-li-nu-* and the only attestation of *ge-nu-uš-ri-nu-* are likewise in MH/MS texts. Summing up, in Old Hittite and Middle Hittite we find *-i-* (perhaps, a morphological variant?<sup>181</sup>) instead of *-iye/a-* in derived *nu-* stems. In New Hittite, this *-i-* was replaced, likely in analogy to unextended forms of *ye/a-* stems, by *-iya-*<sup>182</sup>. The stems *ispiyanu-* and *miyanu-* (instead of expected *\*ispinu-* and *\*minu-* from *ispai/i-* and *mai/i-*) are likely to have been formed in analogy to the new stems like *kartimmiyanu-*.

*Istappinu-* may be derived from an unattested *\*\*istappiya-*, cf. the presence of *-iya-* in *taruppiyanu-* from *tarupp-* (impf. *tarrupiesk-*, also *taruppiyahh-*). On the other hand, *-i/-iya-* seems sometimes to have been dropped in derivation, cf. *tekkussanu-* from *tekkussiye/a-*, *samesanu-* from *samesiye/a-* or *zappanu-* from *zappiye/a-*. However, these can hardly be explained by syncope, as *-i/-iya-* is preserved in many other verbs. More likely, the parent verbs had bare stems besides *ye/a-* stems, of which only the latter is attested, while the former was the derivational basis for the *nu-* verbs.

**4.7** The amount of *nu-* verbs derived from nouns is limited. Besides hapax *\*hatugatarnu-* ‘to make formidable’ (KAL-*tarnuskanzi* in KBo 12.109 7), there is *esharnu-* ‘to make bloody, red’; the latter, however, must be of Proto-Anatolian age since this stem is also reflected in CLuw. *āsharnummainzi*. Possible denominatives are

<sup>181</sup> A plain *-i-* is sometimes found in the imperfective stems of the *ye/a-* verbs: *ḫa-az-zi-iš-k[án-zi]* KBo 25.35+ II 5 OS (*hazziye/a-* ‘to pierce’) vs. *ḫa-at-ri-eš-ke-ez-zi* KBo 22.1 Rs. 23 OS (*hatrai-* ‘to write’). Is it the same morphological variant?

<sup>182</sup> In this group *katkattinu-* and *lahlahhinu-* are the only verbs never show *-iya-* even in the NS copies; both words have a full reduplication of the root and are used in hippological texts, which were generally compiled in Middle Hittite. Both of these factors could contribute to the retention of *-i-*.

also *huntarnu-*, *nahsarnu-* and *nuntarnu-*, though these stems may be deverbal as well. Note that *nu*-verbs are derived from the strong stem of the nouns.

**4.8** Many more *nu*-verbs have been derived from adjectives. Typically, those were *i*-stem adjectives (e.g., *sallanu-* ‘to bring up’ from *salli-* ‘big’) and *u*-stem adjectives (e.g., *dassanu-* ‘to make strong’ from *dassu-* ‘strong’), but also *a*-stem adjectives (*halluwanu-* ‘to put down (deep), lower’ from *halluwa-* ‘hollow, empty’, *marsanu-* ‘to desecrate’ from *marsa-* ‘unholy’ and perhaps *maninkuwanu-* ‘to bring near?’ from *maninkuwa-* ‘near’ and *hatuganu-* ‘to terrify’ from *hatuga-* ‘terrible’) and even *ant*-stem adjectives (*warganu-* ‘to make fat’ from *wargant-* ‘fat’). It is not always possible to tell whether a *nu*-verb has been derived from an adjective or a verb. For instance, *parganu-* may have been derived either from *parku-* ‘high’ or from *park-* ‘to rise, raise’, *hatuganu-* – from *hatuga-* ‘terrible’ or from *hatuk-* ‘to be terrible’ and *hadganu-* – either from *hatk-* ‘to close, shut’ or from *hatku-* ‘tight, straight’. But at least in the case of *parganu-* and *hadganu-*, adjectival derivational basis appears more plausible semantically, see the respective entries.

**4.9** It is sometimes claimed that Hittite *nu*-verbs derived from *u*-stem adjectives are in fact formed via the insertion of *-n-* before the final *-u-* of the stem (e.g., Koch 1980). However, *i*-stem adjectives also dropped the stem final *-i-*, cf. *sallanu-* ‘to raise, bring up’ < *salli-* ‘big’ or *parkunu-* ‘to cleanse’ < *parkui-* ‘clean’. Theoretically, verbs like *sallanu-* or *palhanu-* ‘to broaden?’ could go back to *\*sallayanu-* and *\*palhayanu-*, since intervocalic *-y-* was regularly lost (see Melchert 1984: 31ff.); nevertheless, we do not see this *-i-* in the *nu*-verbs derived from *dankui-* (e.g., *da-an-ku-wa-nu-uš[-ke-et]* KBo 47.4 3 MS), *parkui-* (e.g., *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi* KBo 6.2 III 33, 35 OS) or *warhui-* (e.g., *wa-ar-ḫu-nu-wa-an-te-eš* KUB 13.24 16 MH/NS), though *-i-* in this environment should have been preserved, cf. *huinu-*. Therefore, *-nu-* replaced the final *-i-* of the adjective rather than was added to it, and it is preferable to view the derivation of *nu*-verbs from *u*-stem adjectives in similar terms – *-nu-* replaced the final *-u-* of the adjective. This replacement, however, did not involve *a*-stem adjectives, as the final

*-a-* is preserved in *halluwanu-*, *maninkuwanu-* and *hatuganu-*. On the consistent spellings like *sal-la-nu-* with an *-a-* between the root and the suffix *-nu-* see 4.10 below.

Derivation involving replacement of the final vowel makes *nu-*verbs a part of the Hittite Caland system, which includes also factitives in *-ahh-*, statives in *-ē-*, fientives in *-ēss-*, as well as adjectives in *-i-*, *-u-* and *-ant-* among others, see further Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 51 and Oettinger 2014. This peculiar type of derivation was well established already in PIE, see the discussion in Rau 2009. However, the Hittite set of morphemes involved in the Caland system differs partially from those of other Indo-European languages; e.g., Hittite factitives were derived with suffixes *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-*<sup>183</sup> and *-nu-*, whereas Sanskrit for that purpose employs the suffix *-áya-*, nasal infix or full grade thematic stems, cf. Rau 2009: 141ff. Rau (ibid. 157ff.) assumes that nasal infixes were part of the Caland system in PIE; *-nu-* seems to have replaced the infix in the Hittite Caland system just as *harganu-* ‘to perish’ replaced *harnink-* ‘id.’ after the infixation ceased to be productive. See further 4.14.

**4.10** It is not clear whether the *-a-* between the root and the suffix in some *nu-*verbs is phonetically real. When *-nu-* is attached to a root ending in a consonant, *-a-* between the root and *-nu-* must be graphic, as in *assanu-* besides *asnu-*, *za-lu-uk-nu-* besides *za-lu-ga-nu-* or in *hassiganu-* besides *hassiknu-*. Cf. also rare *pa-ah-ḫa-aš-nu-* besides common *pa-ah-ša-nu-* and *pa-ah-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-*. Still, there are verbs where there is always a vowel between the root and the suffix, e.g., *asisanu-* ‘to settle’, *sallanu-* ‘to bring up’ or *harganu-* ‘to destroy’. In these verbs, the *-a-* is likely to be phonetic, otherwise we would expect at least a few spellings like *\*\*a-ši-iš-nu-*, *\*\*sal-nu-* and *\*\*ḫar-ak-nu-* (cf. consistent *ḫar-ak-mi* and *ḫar-ak-zi* of the parent verb *hark-* ‘to perish’). The only exception is *pár-ak-nu-ut* from *parganu-* ‘to make high’ in KBo 32.13 II 8 (MH/MS, Song of Release, cf. Neu 1996: 4). In the case of *harganu-*, *linganu-* etc., this *-a-* likely prevented the loss of velar in such a cluster, cf. *tarna-* ‘to release’ < *\*tarKna-* (see the respective entry). In *sallanu-*, the epenthetic vowel was

<sup>183</sup> This suffix is also a part of the Latin Caland system, cf. Rau 2009: 138.

probably used to break up the cluster /ln/. However, *-anu-* in *asisanu-* is difficult to account for; perhaps, *-anu-* is the result of reanalysis of epenthetic *-a-* + *-nu-* in verbs like *sallanu-* and *linganu-*.

**4.11** Besides abstract nouns in *-mar*, the number of derivatives from *nu-*verbs is very limited. There are two unclear formations in *-(u)la:* in KUB 12.63+ (OH/MS)) we have *da-lu-uk-nu-la* obv. 30 and *pár-ga-nu-la* obv. 31, which are discussed in detail in Rieken 1999: 465ff., who suggests three possible explanations for these forms. She also adds to this group <sup>GADA</sup>*kazzarnul-* n., a kind of cloth, which seems to be derived from a verb *\*kazzarnu-* <*\*kser-nu-l-*, cf. Gr. ξερών ‘dry land (acc.)’ (ibid. 467), but cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 466 who argues that this is phonetically improbable. There are also an extended stem *harnuwai-* and two deverbatives in *-ma(i)-*, *enumai-* ‘to make warm or hot?’ and *esharnumai-* ‘to make bloody’. The name of a beverage *marnuwa(nt)-* and adjective *marnuwala-* ‘(?)’ may have to be derived from *marnu-* ‘to steep, melt, dissolve’ (so HED 6: 43). Beside these forms, there is a derivative noun *hasnupalla-* ‘midwife’ in KUB 30.29 2, 6, see Güterbock 1946: 60. Otherwise, derivatives are only attested for those stand-alone *nu-*verbs that have no clear parent verb, e.g., *annanuhha-* (adj.) ‘trained (?)’ and <sup>(KUS)</sup>*annanuzzi-* (c.) ‘halter (?)’ for *annanu-* ‘to train’, <sup>LU</sup>*arnuwala-* (c.) ‘deportee’ for *arnu-* ‘to make go, deliver’ and *unuwasha-* c. ‘adornment’ for *unu-* ‘to adorn, lay the table’.

**4.12** Beside *-nu-*, there is another factitive/causative suffix in Hittite, namely, *-ahh-*. It is also of PIE origin, as can be seen from the comparison of Hitt. *newahh-* ‘to renew’ with Lat. *novāre* ‘to renew’ and Gr. νεάω ‘to plough up’; this suffix was used to form denominative verbs (Sihler 1995: 513ff.)<sup>184</sup>. There are several roots that have causatives/factitives both in *-nu-* and *-ahh-* with little difference in meaning (where it can be established at all), e.g., *kartimiyanu-* ‘to anger’ and *kartimiahh-* ‘id.’ from *kartimiya-* ‘to be angry’, *maninkuwahh-* ‘to come near; make short’, *maninkuwantahh-* ‘to make short’ and *maninkuwanu-* ‘to bring near?’ from *maninkuwant-* ‘near’,

<sup>184</sup> According to Sasseville (2015), this suffix resulted from reinterpretation of nominal stems in *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*.

*dankuwanu-* ‘to make black’ and *dankuwahh-* ‘id.’ from *dankui-* ‘dark’, *taruppiyanu-* ‘to bring together, collect’ and *taruppiyahh-*, *tarupahh-* ‘id.’ from *tarupp-* ‘to collect’, *wastanu-* ‘to sin’ and *wastahh-* ‘id.’ from *wasta-* ‘to sin’ or *wastai-* ‘sin’. Finally, besides *tepnu-* there is also *tepawahh-* derived from *tēpu-*. For the meaning, cf. the following contexts: *ma-a-an-ma-aš-ta* ZI<sup>TUM</sup> DINGIR<sup>LI</sup>[<sup>M</sup> *ku-i*]š TUKU.TUKU-*ya-nu-zi* ‘‘If [som]eone angers the soul of go[d]’’ KUB 13.4 I 34 MH/NS (s. Taggar-Cohen 2006: 44, 71) and *ka]rdimiyahhanzi=an=kan kuyes* ‘‘those who anger him’’ KUB 35.146 II 13 MS (HED 4: 111). In most other cases, one (or both) stems are attested once or twice, often in a damaged context, so it is difficult to see a semantic difference between them even if there is any. As for their chronological distribution, sometimes it is the *ahh-* stem which is the older and better attested one (*maninkuwahh-*), sometimes it is the *nu-* stem (*wastanu-*, *tepnu-*), and there are cases in which both verbs seem to be of the same age and frequency (e.g., *kartimiyanu-* and *kartimiahh-*), see the respective entries.

Factitives in *-ahh-* may be derived from nouns, adjectives or verbs. Contrary to what is stated in Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 175f. and Kloekhorst 2008: 164, deverbal formations do exist. The verbs *kartimmiahh-* ‘to anger’ and *kururiyahh-* ‘to wage war on’ are based on *ye/a-* verbal stems *kartimmiya-* ‘to be angry’ and *kururiya-* ‘to be hostile’, respectively. *Taruppahh-* and *taruppiyahh-* seem to be based on *tarupp-* ‘to collect, unite’, and there is no indication that there was a nominal stem *\*tarupp(iy)a-*. The verbs *armahh-* ‘to make pregnant’, *kappilahh-* ‘to get in a fight(?)’ and *markistahh-* ‘to take by surprise(?), make a surprise attack(?)’ may have been derived from unattested nominal stems *\*arma-*, *\*kappila-* and *\*markista-*, but they may also be based on the attested verbs *armae-* ‘to be pregnant’, *kappilae-* ‘to pick a fight’ and *markistae-* ‘to take by surprise(?)’. Finally, *sakiahh-* ‘to indicate, signal’ may be derived either from *sakiya/e-* ‘to give a sign, omen’ or from *sagai-* ‘omen’ c., *sallakartahh-* ‘to offend someone through presumptuous behaviour’ – either from *sallakartai-* ‘to offend someone through presumptuous behaviour’ or from *sallakarta-* ‘presumptuousness’ n.(?), *siuniyahh-*<sup>ttari</sup> ‘to be hit by disease (through divine agency)’ – either from *siuniye-*<sup>?</sup> and *wastahh-* ‘to sin, offend’ – either from *wasta-* ‘to sin’ or

from *wastai-* ‘sin’. The *ahh*-stems became very productive in Hittite (cf., e.g., occurrence of parallel *ahh*-stems next to established *nu*-stems, as in the case of *tepawahh-* and *tepnu-* ‘to diminish’), and it is not surprising that *ahh*-stems, which originally had been derived from adjectives, started to be derived from verbs as well.

There is a significant distinction in derivation of *-ahh-* and *-nu-*verbs from nominal *i-* and *u-*stems. *Ahh*-factitives usually preserve the stem vowel, cf. *suppiahh-*, *idalawahh-* etc., while *nu*-verbs usually delete it, cf. *sallanu-* from *salli-* ‘big’, *parkunu-* from *parkui-* ‘clean’.

What was the original distribution of *-ahh-* and *-nu-* suffixes? Factitives in *-ahh-* are commonly made to adjectives in *-a-*, *-ant-* and *-i-*. They are less frequent with adjectives in *-u-*. The *ahh*-factitives made to verbs are rather late. In the OS texts, we find *allappahh-* ‘to spit’, *inarahh-* ‘to make strong’, *isiyahh-* ‘to announce’, *kuleyawahh-* ‘to calm down (mid.)’, *maniyahh-* ‘to instruct’, *suppiyahh-* ‘to make clean’ and *dasuwahh-* ‘to blind’. When the underlying stem is known, it is usually an *i*-stem adjective (*suppi-*), *ant*-stem adjective (*dasuwant-*) or an *a*-stem adjective or noun (*\*innara-*).

On the other hand, *nu*-verbs attested in the OS texts are usually made to verbs (*arnu-*, *huinu-*, *inu-*, *isparnu-*, *karinu-*, *pahsanu-*, *pittinu-*, *saminu-*, *sasnu-*, *tittanu-*, *wahnu-*, *zainu-*, *zanu-*). Nevertheless, there are also a few derivatives from *i-* and *u-*stem adjectives (*parkunu-*, *sallanu-*, *tassanu-*); therefore, the suffix *-nu-* was added to *u-* and *i-*stem adjectives as well as nouns (cf. *esharnu-* and CLuw. *asharnu-*) already in Old Hittite.

**4.13** In Old Hittite, *nu*-verbs were still mostly deverbative, while *ahh*-verbs were still denominative. This observation matches well their distribution in other ancient Indo-European languages. However, already in Proto-Anatolian, *-nu-* started to be added to nouns, with *esharnu-* being the most illustrative example. The derivation of *nu*-verbs from adjectives is also likely of Proto-Anatolian date, since there are deadjectival *nu*-verbs in Luwian as well, see 4.17. Therefore, the suffix *-nu-* must have joined the Hittite Caland system (for which cf. 4.9 and Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 51)

not later than at that period. The verbal stems in *-nu-* may have replaced PIE infixed stems that were part of the Caland system in PIE (Rau 2009: 157ff.). The starting point of this process could be that in Proto-Anatolian *nu-*verbs were often made from the verbal roots that also had an adjective in *-u-* beside them. At some moment<sup>185</sup>, *nu-*verbs were reanalyzed as built to *u-*stem adjectives, and since *nu-*verbs became very productive, this derivation soon expanded to *i-*stem adjectives (with the replacement of the stem-final *-i-*, just as with *-u-*) and later to other stems<sup>186</sup>. The problem with this scenario is that there are not too many reliable examples of a verb having both a *u-*stem adjective and a *nu-*stem deverbative. A likely template could be *\*ar-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘to rise, move’ (Hitt. *ar-<sup>ta</sup>* ‘to stand’, *arai/i-* ‘to rise, lift’), *\*ar-u-* ‘high’ (Hitt. *aru-* ‘high?’, CLuw. *aru-* ‘high’), and *\*ar-nu-* ‘to move’ (Hitt. *arnu-* ‘to move (tr.)’). As for other possible cases, *tepnu-* is likely to be a Middle Hittite formation (see the respective entry), while *parganu-* is derived from *parku-* ‘high’ rather than from *park-* ‘to lift’ (to which a true causative *parkiyanu-* is built). A possible example could be *huisu-* ‘raw’ and *huisnu-* ‘to rescue, keep alive, spare’ that both seem to have been independently derived from *huis-* ‘to live, survive’; due to the semantic difference, *huisnu-* is hardly derived from *huisu-*. However, the derivational history of *huisnu-* is not exactly clear. The verb *huis-* is attested only in NS copies of Old Hittite texts, and is likely to be a back-formation from *huisnu-*, according to Weitenberg 1984: 109, cf. also the respective entry.

Steer (2013-14) assumes that in PIE the suffix *\*-neu/-nu-* was reanalyzed as *\*-n(e)-u-* when a cognate *u-*adjective was available and argues that other infixed stems were created by analogy to original roots that had derivatives in *\*-u-* and *\*-neu-* next to them. However, PIE *u-*stem adjectives show no specific affinity to verbal *nu-*stems. In Sanskrit, *u-*adjectives often occur along with the following factitive or causative

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<sup>185</sup> Yakubovich (“The genesis of the Indo-European verbal suffix *-neu/-nu-*” forthc.) argues that *\*-neu/-nu-* presents are likely to have been deadjectival factitives already in PIE. However, in Old Hittite, deverbative *nu-*verbs significantly outnumber the denominal ones; in Luwian we have a similar distribution, see 4.17. Therefore, I doubt the original factitive nature of *\*-neu/nu-*; *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>-* is a better candidate to be employed for this function. Furthermore, PIE *u-*stem adjectives show no specific affinity to verbal *nu-*stems, see below.

<sup>186</sup> Similarly, Oettinger 2014; I doubt, however, that *-n-* in, e.g., PA *\*arnu-* was reanalyzed as an infix inserted into *\*aru-* ‘high’, since in case of adjectives in *-i-* one would expect *\*\*sall(a)ni-* instead of actual *sallanu-*.

formations: causatives in *-áya-*, full-grade thematic stems and infixes stems<sup>187</sup>. In Anatolian, *nu*-factitives were a very productive type, so they often occurred beside *u*-adjectives, made from the same root.

Both *nu*-verbs and *ahh*-verbs became very productive and started to expand to the roots that originally lacked them. I think that the pairs like *kartimiyanu-* and *kartimiahh-* are the result of this expansion. Cf. for a similar situation verbs that have both *-wanzi* and *-anna* as infinitives, e.g., *ses/sas-* ‘to sleep’ (*sasanna* HKM 46 rev. 21 MH/MS, KBo 10.20 IV 10 OH/NS; *sesuwanzu* KUB 5.1 I 38, 61 NH, KUB 13.4 III 2, 6, 30 pre-NH/NS).

**4.14** The function of the *nu*-verbs is generally described as causative/factitive, but while this definition suits many deadjectival *nu*-verbs and *nu*-verbs made to intransitive verbs, it is not universally applicable. First of all, there are several *nu*-verbs that are intransitive<sup>188</sup>. These are the following: *huntarnu-* ‘to grunt’, *nuntarnu-* ‘to hurry’, and *wastanu-* ‘to sin’. *Hinganu-* ‘to make someone bow, bow’, *wahnu-* ‘to turn, wave’ and *zaluganu-* ‘to postpone, delay’ are also sometimes intransitive, the latter only when used along with *nuntarnu-*. Both attested forms of *hatnu-* ‘to dry out’ may be intransitive. *Lalukkesnu-* ‘to give light to’ is generally used with a dative, and *lukkanu-* ‘to pass a night’ is once used with an ablative (GE<sub>6</sub>-za). The majority of these verbs are deverbatives, but *nuntarnu-* and *huntarnu-* could have been derived from nouns, *\*nuntar* and *\*huntar* respectively.

Another problem with the putative causative/factitive function of the suffix *-nu-* is that there are many *nu*-verbs derived from already transitive verbs, and only a handful of them are in fact causative in a strict sense: these are *zainu-* ‘to make cross’,

<sup>187</sup> E.g., Skt. *svādú-* ‘sweet’ and Skt. *svadáyati* ‘to season sweeten’ or Skt. *pr̥thú-* ‘broad wide’ and Skt. *pratháyati* ‘to make spread out’. For more examples of *u*-stem adjectives paired with *\*-éye-*causatives or infixes stems in Indo-Iranian and PIE, see Rau 2009: 170ff. and 183f.

<sup>188</sup> Note that there are also possible intransitive factitives in *-ahh-* – *kururiyahh-* ‘to become hostile (towards (dat.))’, *lilwāhh-* ‘to make haste’, perhaps *sakiyahh-* ‘to give a sign’ (in some contexts, e.g., KUB 14.4 IV 24-25 *nu* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*us sakiyahta* MUNUS.LUGAL=*ma* [...] *memisket* ‘The Sun(god) gave a sign. The queen was saying [...]’, s. CHD Š: 43), *kappilahh-* ‘to get into fight’ (the only finite form is attested in a fragmentary context) and *nakkiahh-* ‘to become a concern for someone (dat.), bother (dat.)’ (the intransitivity of the attested finite form, 3sg. pret. midd. [*n*]akkiyahtat in KBo 4.6 obv. 26, may well be conditioned by the middle voice).

*parkiyanu-* ‘to make/let rise’, *dammeshanu-* ‘to punish’ and *hassanu-* ‘to bring to birth’.

Often we do not see any difference between the meaning of the derived *nu*-verb and of the original verb, e.g., *hink-* and *hinkanu-* ‘to give, grant’, *karp-* and *karpanu-* ‘to pick, collect’. It does not mean, however, that there was no difference; rather we are not able to determine it, due to scarce attestation and/or poorly preserved contexts of certain *nu*-verbs. In some cases, the meaning of the *nu*-verb slightly differs from the meaning of the original verb. This is the case when the objects of the *nu*-verb differ from those of the parent verb, cf. *ispar-* ‘to spread (cloth, nets)’ and *isparnu-* ‘to spread out, sprinkle (water)’, *pars(iya)-* ‘to break, crumble (bread)’ and *parsanu-* ‘to break up, split (earth)’. This situation resembles the semantic relations between *huek-* ‘to stab, slaughter’ and *hunink-* ‘to break’.

While in many of these cases it is difficult to establish the semantics of the suffix *-nu-*, in some verbs it is likely to have a function different from causative/factitive. The difference between *pars(iya)-* ‘to break, crumble (bread)’ and *parsanu-* ‘to break up, split (earth)’ may lie in the intensity of the action. In *pahsanu-* ‘to protect, take care of, obey’ and *wastanu-* ‘to sin’, *-nu-* is likely to have a terminative or telic function, as these verbs refer to specific situations while their basic verbs usually refer to general situations<sup>189</sup>.

A terminative function for *-nu-* has already been suggested by several scholars. The terminative-perfective character of *arnuzi* in KBo 3.6 IV 60 [GU]<sub>4</sub><sup>HL.A</sup>=ŠU *ētreskezzi n=us=san parā hameshanda* (61) *arnuzi* ‘he must feed his cattle, and bring them through to the following spring’, is assumed by Hoffner and Melchert (2002: 380) who argue that *arnuzi* marks ‘the end of the period during which the action *ētreske-* transpires’. Independently, in her study of transitivity strategies in Hittite,

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<sup>189</sup> The most convincing example comes, in my opinion, from the Bronze tablet, where *pahsanu-* is used in line II 35 in the context of a specific situation, whereas *pahs-* refers to a continuous action.

II 36 <sup>m.D</sup>LAMMA-as=ma=mu *apēdani mehuni pahhassanut* ‘(Mein Vater hate mich zu jener Zeit noch nicht zur Königswürde bestimmt.) Aber Kurunta zeigte mir zu jener Zeit (schon seine) Treue.’ (Otten 1988: 16f.)

Cf. II 49 *nu=mu* <sup>m.D</sup>LAMMA *pahhasta MAMETE*<sup>MES</sup>=mu *kue peran* (50) *lenqan harta nu=kan ŪL kuitki wahnut* ‘Und Kurunta hielt mir die Treue; die Eide, die er vor mir geschworen hatte, (davon) brach er keinen einzigen’ (Otten 1988: 18f.) For more contexts see the respective entries in 4.1.

Luraghi (2012: 10f., 16) argued that adding telicity as well as transitivity was the original function of derivational causatives (including *nu*-verbs).

If the suffix *-nu-* could express intensity or telicity alone, this could explain the intransitivity of certain *nu*-verbs like *huntarnu-* ‘to grunt’ or *nuntarnu-* ‘to hurry’.

**4.15** As we have seen, the suffix *-nu-* cannot be described as purely causative/factitive. It can also be telic, and for some verbs we may assume an intensive meaning. It is not easy to grasp, but an intensive meaning may be present in *kissanu-*, describing ritual combing, or in *isparnu-* ‘to spread out, sprinkle?’. The latter is derived from *ispar-* ‘to spread out’, but unlike its basic verb, *isparnu-* often uses water as its object. Crosslinguistically, causative formations often have parallel functions, and often one of these is intensive, see, e.g., Nedjalkov, Silnickij 1973: 19f., Kouwenberg 1997: 256f., Kulikov 1999: 24ff. and Kulikov 2001: 894, who gives the following example from Arabic: ‘*alima* ‘learn’ – ‘*allama* ‘teach’ but *daraba* ‘hit’ – *darraba* ‘hit strongly’<sup>190</sup>, which shows that in Arabic the exact function of the derived stem is lexically conditioned. A crosslinguistic survey of non-causative usages of causatives by Aikhenvald (2011) shows that causative markers occasionally have other functions as well, the first of which is intensive. Cf. further 7.2.3.

**4.16** Summing up, *nu*-verbs form one of the largest verbal classes in Hittite. The suffix *-nu-* was very productive throughout the history of Hittite, and *nu*-verbs could be derived from both verbs and adjectives. The suffix is of PIE origin, and is well attested also in other Anatolian languages, but there is only one verb in Hittite that certainly goes back to a PIE formation: *arnu-* ‘to move’ (as for *tepnu-*, see the respective entry). *Esharnu-* and *huinu-* have common Anatolian status. There may also be some other *nu*-verbs of Anatolian or even Proto-Indo-European age, but there are no securely established counterparts for them in other IE languages. The vast majority of *nu*-verbs were formed only within Hittite.

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<sup>190</sup> Cf. also early Vedic, where both causatives and iteratives could be formed with the suffix *-áya-*. Note that Jamison (1983: 213) and Lubotsky (1989: 112) assume different origin for causatives and iteratives in *-áya-*; Kulikov (2008: 339f.) argues for an original polysemy of this morpheme.

**4.17** There are quite a few *nu*-verbs in Luwian as well. What follows is a list of *nu*-verbs in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian texts which I have collected from Melchert's 1993 *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*, a vocabulary in Payne's 2010 *Hieroglyphic Luwian* as well as vocabularies from the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (ACLT) at <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>. When translations of Luwian verbs given by these sources differ, I give both variants.

Cuneiform corpus:

*anzanu*- '?'<sup>191</sup>, *arannu(wa)*- either 'to grant, bestow' (Melchert 1999) or 'to remove' (ACLT); *ārlanuwa*- 'to grant, bestow' (Poetto 1997, Melchert 1999) or 'to relocate' (ACLT); *asharnu*- 'to bloody', *halalannussa*- 'to purify'; *hapanussa*- 'to sprinkle?' (ACLT); *huinuwa*- 'to cause to run', *kūnuwa*- '?'; *marhanuwa*- '?' ('brewed' in CHD L-N: 182); *palassarinuwa*- '?' (cf. CHD P: 62), *pastarnuwa*- (cf. *pastarnu*- in this chapter and CHD P: 210f.); *sarhanuwa*- '?' (cf. CHD Š: 251f.); *tarwanu*- '?'; *tumminuwa*- (cf. HEG T: 434); *urannu*- 'to make great'; *zantalanu*- 'to diminish' (used in the Bronze tablet as a synonym to *tepnu*-).

Hieroglyphic corpus:

\**ar(a)nuwa*- (CRUS+RA/I-*nuwa*-) 'to remove' (ACLT); *asunu*- '?' (ACLT); \**azzanu*- (AMPLECTI-*nu*-) 'to cause to embrace'; *hapanzanuwa*- 'to restrain?' (ACLT); \**happarinuwa*- 'to deliver', *haranu*- (Payne) or *hadinu*- (ACLT) 'to make speak'; *hazanusa*- '?'; *hinu(wa)*- 'to cause to pass' (Payne) or 'to move' (ACLT); *hwapasanu*- 'to cause harm'; *hwinuwa*- 'to make run'; *isanu(wa)*- 'to make sit; settle'; *kinuwa*- 'to burn up'; *laranu*- 'to cause to prosper'; *luhanuwa*- 'to burn down'; *marnuwa*- (DELERE-*nuwa*-) 'to destroy'; \**musnuwa*- 'to satisfy' in *musnuwant(i)*- 'satisfying'; *panuwa*- 'to make drink' (Payne) or 'to let in' (ACLT); *parinuwa*- 'to send forward'; *sarnuwa*- 'to lay waste'; *s(a)tinuwa*- 'to extinguish'; *tanuwa*- 'to make stand, set up'; \**tarhuwanuwa*- (TONITRUS-*wanuwa*-) 'to treat like Tarhunt-'; *tarzanuwa*- 'to turn (trans.)'; *unanu*- 'to teach'; *ununu*- '?'; \**uranuwa*- (MAGNUS-*ranuwa*-) 'to make great'; *usanuwa*- 'to bless'; \**walanu*- (MORI-*nu*-) 'to kill';

<sup>191</sup> Ph. Houwink ten Cate suggested the translation 'launched', see Hoffner 2009: 394<sup>335</sup>.

*waliyanu-* ‘to redeem’; *wasarnu-* ‘to treat favourably’; *wa-\*336-nu-* ‘to wish’; *zahanuwa-* ‘to make attack’; PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*lanu(wa)-* ‘to uphold’.

While many Luwian verbs still lack a reliable interpretation, it is clear that most of them have no cognates in Hittite. Only CLuw. *asharnu-* ‘to make red, bloody’, CLuw. and HLuw. *huinu-* ‘to make run’ and perhaps CLuw. and HLuw. *aran(n)nu-*, if it means ‘to remove’, have Hittite counterparts, namely, *esharnu-*, *huinu-* and *arnu-* respectively. HLuw. *isanuwa-* and *tanuwa-* are made to the same roots as *asesanu-* ‘to settle, install’ and *tittanu-* ‘to install’, but different stem formation makes it clear that these verbs have been derived independently. Also of interest is *zahanuwa-* ‘to make attack’ that is built to a verbal root attested also in Hitt. (*zahh-* ‘to hit’, *zahhai-* ‘battle, war’). The verb *pastarnu-* was evidently borrowed in Hittite. The low number of correspondences between Luwian and Hittite *nu-*verbs prompts the conclusion that the majority of these verbs were formed after the split of Hittite and Luwian.

Similar to the situation in Hittite, Luwian *nu-*verbs are derived from both verbs and adjectives, and there seems to be at least two denominal verbs, CLuw. *asharnu-* ‘to make bloody’ from *āšhar* ‘blood’ (cf. Hitt. *isharnu-*) and *wassarnu-* ‘to treat favourably’ from *wassar-* ‘favour, goodness’.

While the meaning of many Luwian *nu-*verbs is disputed and their derivational history is still unclear, they seem to be derived from other verbs more often than from adjectives, cf. the following deverbal stems: CLuw. and HLuw. *hwinuwa-* from *hwi(ya)-* ‘to run’ (cf. Hitt. *huinu-*), HLuw. *haranu-* (*hadinu-* in ACLT) from *hadi-* ‘to speak, proclaim’, HLuw. *hwapasanu-* from *hwapasa-* ‘to harm’, HLuw. *isanu(wa)-* ‘to make sit; settle’ from *asa-* ‘to sit, dwell’, HLuw. *laranu-* ‘to cause to prosper’ from *lara-* ‘to prosper’, perhaps HLuw. *marnuwa-* ‘to destroy’ from *\*mar-* (cf. Hitt. *mer/mar-* ‘to perish’, *mernu-* ‘to cause to disappear’), HLuw. *panuwa-*, if the meaning is ‘to let in’, from *pa-* ‘to go’, HLuw. *s(a)tinuwa-* ‘to extinguish’ from *s(a)ti-* ‘to quench’, HLuw. *tanuwa-* from *ta-* ‘to stand’, HLuw. *tarzanuwa-* ‘to turn (trans.)’ from *tarza-* ‘to turn (intrans.)’, HLuw. *unanu-* ‘to teach’ from *un(a)i-* ‘to know’, HLuw. *walanu-* ‘to kill’ from *wala-* ‘to die’;

Deadjectival *nu*-stems in Luwian are the following: CLuw. *arannu(wa)*- from *aru*- ‘high’, *ārlanuwa*- from \**arla*- ‘owned, one’s own’<sup>192</sup>, CLuw. *halalannu*- from *halal(i)*- ‘pure’, CLuw. *urannu*- and HLuw. *uranuwa*- from *ura*- ‘great’, perhaps CLuw. *zantalanu*- from \**zantal(i)*- ‘lower’ (ultimately from *zanta* ‘down’).

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<sup>192</sup> So Melchert 1999: 243. According to ACLT, *arlanuwa*- means ‘to relocate’; if so, it is related to HLuw. *arla*- ‘place’ and is a denominative formation.