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Volume 3: Words beginning with H

by
Jaan Puhvel

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Volume 3

Words beginning with H

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Preface

Granted the glacial progression of this multi-volume opus, some perceptible slippage in format and coverage is inevitable, if merely because the passage of time leaves neither the field nor the author unaffected. As an example, volume 2 gradually moved towards fuller hyphenated transliteration of forms upon first citation, rather than so transliterating only difficult or ambiguous spellings; starting with volume 3 such transliteration has been made the rule. On the other hand, references to standard works like Kronasser's *Etymologie* have been curtailed, particularly in the wake of the issuance of its index volume.

A list of significant misprints in volumes 1–2 (1984) is included at the end of this volume, intermingled with selective author's corrigenda and addenda.

The critical reception has been generally positive, even gratifyingly so, encouraging perseverance with a complex and occasionally wearisome enterprise. Some reviewer or other may disagree with the treatment of such untractable items as the notorious sentence particles where ingenuity has tended to outrun plausibility, or with the evaluation of data from the minor Anatolian languages, on which Hittite still sheds infinitely more light than is refracted in return. The three-volume corpus of *Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age* by J. D. Hawkins will hopefully consolidate Luwological research, while Lycian, torn between the magnificent soundness of a Laroche and other, oftentimes more dubious ministrations, still cries out for basic tools of research.

This being the H volume (an initial which accounts for about one-sixth of the total Hittite vocabulary and the length of this instalment, unlike the relative slimness of the H volume of *CAD*), the "laryngeal matter" is likely to claim readers' attention. Critics have complained that *HED* tabulates an untraditional (or personal or idiosyncratic) set of symbols for postulated "Indo-European laryngeals" but fails to state equally systematically a set of precise correspondences between Hittite and other reconstructed Indo-European phonemes. There are sound reasons for this discrepancy. "Laryngeals" do not have the same confirmed epistemological standing in established Indo-European grammar as do the traditionally posited phonemes (in spite of the recent "glottalic" theorists bent on disrupting them). Those who have insisted on postulating a set (preferably low) number of "laryngeals" and hewing to them

religiously have lulled themselves into a false and premature circularity. As I stated in my own case in an earlier work (*LIEV* 62–3), "no definite number of laryngeals was ever postulated, only a reasonably consistent array of distinctive features and minimal pairs, subject to unsentimental amalgamation or bifurcation, should additional evidence so warrant". In *HED* 1–2:x, where my symbols for these laryngeals were given (harking back essentially to *LIEV* 56 [1960] and *Evidence for laryngeals*[2] 92 [1965]), I made clear that they would be used "minimally", i. e. only when their use benefited the understanding of the Hittite word at hand rather than some wider aims of Indo-European linguistic theory. If this amounts to operating outside the "mainstream" of Indo-European linguistics, this setup is purposely contrived for optimal exploitation of the inductive-deductional circle of historical reconstruction, to afford the Hittite material a maximal chance of reasoned confrontation with data from other Indo-European languages. Excesses are possible, but granted the flexibility and tentativeness of the framework, they are likely to collapse promptly of their own weight, rather than be cast in concrete and clog the "mainstream" even further.

Unlike this catch-net attempt to trap the Indo-European sources of Hittite *h*, the approach of this work is in general fairly "mainline" as regards the standard segmental phonology. "Sturtevant's law" is valued as a criterion, but its "converse" less so, allowance being made for the simple tendency of "scriptio facilior" as a cause of nongemination. Such late-fangled hypotheses as the existence of "lenition" in Hittite, and attempts to correlate plene-writing systematically with vowel length, are generally denied credence as criteria, but cautious use is made of plene-writing in determining the position of word (and especially paradigmatic) accent. Apart from this it is the task of a pioneering work to pile up pieces of cumulative evidence for potential combinatory or exceptional phoneme changes (e. g. assimilation, affrication, palatalization, delabialization), out of which cogent correspondences may ultimately be formulated. We are not yet at the point where induction can fully rebound to the comfort of deductive chart-making: anyone demanding it is asking to be prematurely short-changed.

Continued assistance from the University of California Committee on Research has helped defray mundane expenses of material gathering and manuscript preparation.

J. P.

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List of abbreviations (additional to Volumes 1–2)

Alp, *Beiträge:* Sedat Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, VI. Dizi-Sa. 23 [Ankara, 1983]).

AoF: *Altorientalische Forschungen.*

Beckman, *Birth Rituals:* Gary M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals.* Second Revised Edition (*StBoT* 29) (Wiesbaden, 1983).

CHS: *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Roma).

CIE: *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum.*

Daddi, *Mestieri:* Franca Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita* (= *Incunabula Graeca* 79) (Roma, 1982).

Documentum Otten: *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für H. Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

HED: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (= this work).

Hutter, *Behexung:* Manfred Hutter, *Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung. Das Ritual der Tunnawiya für ein Königspaar* (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 82) (Göttingen, 1988).

JANES: *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.*

Lebrun, *Hymnes:* René Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites* (Homo Religiosus, 4) (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980).

Lehmann, *GED:* Winfred P. Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden, 1986).

Otten, *Apologie:* Heinrich Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III.* (*StBoT* 24) (Wiesbaden, 1981).

Otten, *Bronzetafel:* Heinrich Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy* (*StBoT* Beiheft 1) (Wiesbaden, 1988).

Peters, *Untersuchungen:* Martin Peters, *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* (*Österreich. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte* 377 [1980]).

Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis:* Jana Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente* (Praha, 1986).

Singer, *Festival:* Itamar Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival. Part One* (*StBoT* 27) (Wiesbaden, 1983). *Part Two* (*StBoT* 28) (Wiesbaden, 1984).

Starke, *KLTU:* Frank Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (*StBoT* 30) (Wiesbaden, 1985).

TLE: M. Pallottino (ed.), *Testimonia linguae Etruscae.*

Weitenberg, *U-Stämme:* J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen u-Stämme* (Amsterdam, 1984).

hahhal- (n.) 'greenery, verdure, (wild) vegetation, brush, bush', nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) *ha-a-ah-ha-al* (*KBo* XVII 3 IV 24 *ug-a hāhhal harmi sīnann-a harmi* 'I hold h. and I hold a figurine'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38), *ha-ah-hal* (e. g. XX 64 Rs. 5 *ezzan* GIŠ-*ru hahhal* 'chaff, wood, brush'; *KUB* XV 34 I 43 – 44 *nu-smas-kan hahhal* ANA GÌR.MEŠ-*KUNU le tiyezzi nu-smas* NA_4.HI.A GÌR.MEŠ-*KUNU le tamassanzi* 'brush shall not get in the way of your feet, nor shall stones impede your feet'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 186, and the *lappina*-plants by which Huwawa makes the mountains impassable in *KBo* X 47g III 13 – 15; *KUB* IX 31 I 21 ^{GIŠ}KAK.HI.A-*ma katta*[*n har*]*ga* ^{GIŠ}*ha*[*hhal*] *paskan*, with dupl. *HT* 1 I 14]*harga* ^{GIŠ}*hahhal paskan* 'underneath the pegs bright [neut. pl.!] greenery [is] planted'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]; *KUB* XXXV 145 Vs. 12 *harki hahhal* 'bright greenery', or perhaps elliptic 'bush with white flowers'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230), gen. sg. (or pl.) *ha-ah-hal-la-as* (XXIV 14 I 8 *kuēl imma* GIŠ-*ruwas hahhallas alil* 'the bloom of whatever tree [or] bush'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ah-ha-li* (XXXVI 44 IV 9 ...-]*i-ku happeni-kku* GIŠ-*i-kku hahhali-kku* 'whether [the sun falls] into [...] or kiln or tree or bush'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]), instr. sg. *ha-a-ah-ha-al-li-it* (*KBo* XVII 3 IV 27 – 28 *ta hāhhallit gāpinan dāhhe kalulupi-smi hulalian kuit-a anda* 'with h. I take the thread and what is wound on their finger[s]'), *ha-ah-ha-al-li-it* (ibid. 30 *gāpinan kalulupizmit hahhallit mārkahhi* 'I divide the thread with their finger[s] [and] with h.'), *ha-ah-hal-li-it* (*KUB* XXXI 147 II 30), *ha-ah-ha-li-it* (XXXIII 42 II 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:160 [1965]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-ah-hal-li* (1087/z III 6 *s*]*arā hahhall*[*i* '[let] brush [grow] up', besides dupl. *KUB* XLVIII 76 + *KBo* VI 34 III 45 *n-asta* UGU *zahheli iyataru* 'let cress [i. e. weeds] grow up' [as opposed to grain]; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14, 138), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-ah-hal-la-as* (*KBo* III 67 II 7 *nu-us-san hahhallas parhir* 'they chased them into the bush').

hahhalant- (c.) 'id.', nom. sg. *ha-ah-hal-*[*la-an-za* (*KBo* XIX 145 Vs. 10; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 296), nom. pl. *ha-hal-la-an-*[*te-es* (XIV 86 I 4 – 5 *nu-tta namma* GÌR.MEŠ-*KA hahallan*[*tes le*] *tameskanzi* 'let not brush impede your feet' [partitive apposition; note transitive verb, vs. *KUB* XV 34 I 43 – 44 *hahhal ... le tiyezzi*, quoted above]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:132 [1965]).

hahli- 'green, yellow', nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-hal-li* (*KUB* XLI 19 IV 10 – 11 *n-at-si-kan hahall*[*i*] [*arha*] *dahhun ansun* 'I took it

from him, the yellow, [and] wiped it off'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 94–6).

hahhaluwant-, hahliwant-, hahlawant- 'green, yellow' (SIG$_7$[.SIG$_7$]; HAZERTI), nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-li-u-wa-an-za* (*KBo* XXI 19 I 10; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 36), SIG$_7$-*anza* (*KUB* VIII 6, 5 *takku* ^{D}SIN SIG$_7$-*anza* 'if the moon is yellow'), gen. sg. or pl. or dat.-loc. pl. *ha-hal-la-u-wa-an-da-as* (653/f Vs. 5 *hahallauwandas* KASKAL[), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ah-ha-lu-wa-an-ti* (*KUB* VI 15 II 7 [with gloss-wedges] *hahhaluwanti* [KASKAL-*si*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 190), nom. pl. c. *ha-ah-l*[*i-u-wa-an-te-es* (*VBoT* 111 III 15), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-ah-la-u-wa-an-da* (*KUB* XII 58 II 21–22 *paprannas uddanaz dankui hahlauwanda* 'the black and yellow of the pollution-case'), SIG$_7$.SIG$_7$-*ta* (XXIV 9 I 41 [see below sub *hahlahh-*]). For the *hahli-*, hahla- variation cf. e. g. *miti-, mita-* 'red'. *hahhaluwant-* is derived directly from *hahhal* (*hahhal-want-* 'possessed of verdure'; cf. *eshanuwant-, samankurwant-*), whereas *hahliwant-, hahlawant-* are deadjectival from *hahli-, hahla-* (cf. e. g. *lalukki-want-*).

hahlimma- (c.) **'jaundice'**, nom. sg. *ha-ah-li-im-ma-as* (*KUB* VIII 36 III 18 [*mān antuhsan*] *hahlimmas e*[*pzi* 'if jaundice seizes a person'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 40). For derivation cf. e. g. *ekunima-* 'cold(ness)' from *ekuna-* 'cold' (s. v. *eka-*), *lalukkima-* 'illumination' from *lalukki-* 'bright' (s. v. *luk*[*k*]-).

hahhales- **'become green (yellow)'**, iter. *hahhaleski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ah-ha-li-es-ki-it* (*KUB* XII 58 II 22–23 *paprannas-sas uddanī kuedani piran dankuiskit hahhaleskit* 'because of what pollution-case he became black and yellow' (cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14, 84–7, with incorrect rendering 'became stiff'). Cf. *harkes-* 'become white', and contrast *antariski-* 'make blue' (s. v. *antara-*), *asareski-* 'make white' (s. v. *asara-*), from *antariya-* and *asariya-*. C. Watkins (*TPS* 1971:76) postulated a stative verb **hahlē-* 'be yellow' underlying both *hahlimma-* (verbal noun) and *hahhales(k)-* (inchoative).

hahlahh- **'make yellow'**, iter. *hahlahhiski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ah-la-ah-hi-is-ki-it* (*KUB* XXIV 9 I 40–41 [*kuisa k*]*ūn* UKÙ-*an alwanzah-hiyit kuisa hahlahhisk*[*it*] [*kinun*]-*a-ssi-kan alwanzata* SIG$_7$.SIG$_7$-*ta daskimi* 'whoever has bewitched this person, whoever has made him yellow, now I take from him the hex·[and] the yellow'; ibid. II 5 *hahlahh*[*iskit*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 26, 32). Cf. *dankuwahheski-* 'make black'. SIG$_7$.SIG$_7$-ta is here taken as nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hahlauwanta* (parallel to *KUB* XII 58 II 22, above) but might also be an abstract noun **hahliyata(r)* 'yellowness' (cf. *an-*

niyatar 'motherhood', *dassiyatar* 'strength') or possibly **hahhaluwantata(r)*.

hahlana- **'make yellow'**, iter. *hahlaneski-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-ah-la-n*[*i-es-k*]*ir* (*KUB* XII 58 II 5–6 *kuyes-an dankuneskir hahlan*[*esk*]*ir paprah*⟨*h*⟩*ir* 'those who have made him black, made him yellow, made him polluted'). Parallel to this factitive suffix *-na-* there is *-nu-* in *dankunuski-* 'make black', *harganuski-* 'make white', SA$_5$-*nuski-* 'make red'.

hahhallalli- **(c.)**, nom. pl. SAL.MEŠ*ha-ah-ha-al-la-al-li-es* (*KBo* XX 68 I 7), apparently *hahhal-alli-* (for suffix, as in e. g. *arkammanalli-* 'tributary', see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:211–3).

Wattihahla (*KBo* XVI 83 II 4 ^{I}*Wa-at-ti-ha-ah-la* LÚSIPAD É.GAL 'W. the shepherd of the palace') may be literally *Watti-hahla-* 'Yellow-bird' (cf. *wattai-* 'bird', and for formation *pittar-palhi-* [s. v. *pittar*]; cf. Tischler, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 352 [1982]).

The meaning 'green/yellow', determined by Riemschneider (*MIO* 5:141–7 [1957]), is clearly derivative of the 'greenery' notion attaching to the noun *hahhal-*. The latter is more likely a botanical or dendrological term than an original color designation.

Wholly abortive are the attempts to connect *hahla-* with the group of Gk. *χλόη* 'green shoot', *χλοάζω* 'be bright green', *χλωρός* 'greenish-yellow', Lat. *holus* 'vegetable', Phryg. *ζέλκια·λάχανα* (Hes.), Lith. *žélti* 'sprout', OCS *zelije* 'vegetable' (V. Pisani, *Paideia* 13:322 [1958]; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:35 [1963]; rejected already by R. Ambrosini, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 28:300 [1959]).

hah(ha)r(a)- (c. or n.) 'rake' or the like (*KUB* VII 14, 14 GIŠ*hahra*[besides ibid. 13 GIŠ*intaluzis* 'shovel' and 15 GIŠMAR URUDU 'spade'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 57), nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-har-as* (*KUB* XII 51 I 11; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 26, *ZA* 67:62 [1977]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. GIŠ*ha-ah-har* (*KBo* XII 126 I 5; *KUB* XLI 2 I 2), *ha-ah-har* (*Bo* 4952, 13), *har-ha-ar* (sic! *KBo* XI 12 I 6; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 20, I 5; 60), acc. sg. c. GIŠ*ha-ah-ha-ra-an* (*KUB* XXXV 52, 5; cf. Otten, *LTU* 56; Starke, *KLTU* 63), instr. sg. *ha-ah-ha-ri-it* (XXIV 10 III 11 *hahharit* EGIR-*anda hahhariya*[*ddu* '[he] shall thereupon rake with a rake'; cf. ibid. 12 *intaluzzit* EGIR-*anda suwāi*[*ddu* '[he] shall thereupon fill with a shovel'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 44, III 23–24), XX 57, 5 *ha-ah-ha-ra*[.

hah(ha)riya- 'rake, scrape', 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ah-ri-ya-at* (*Bo* 5454 I 14), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-ah-ha-ri-ya-ad-du* (XXIV 11 III 9; XXIV 9 III 18; cf. XXIV 10 III 11 with context quoted above); partic. nom.-acc. sg. neut. in XXIV 8 I 13–14 + *Bo* 8510, 2–3 KÙ.BABB]AR-*ma-ssi* GUŠKIN-*as* [^{NA_4}ZA.GÌ]N-*as uddani* [*pa*]*nku huuigatar mān hahhariyan* 'as regards silver, gold, and lapislazuli, he has like an entire grain-pile (?) raked together' (cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:214 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4); iter. 3 sg. *ha-ah-ri-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXIV 7 III 63 and IV 29–31; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228, 230 [1950]); but see also s. v. *hahhars-*.

EZEN.MEŠ *hahrannas*, name of a seasonal festival (XIII 4 I 44; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:368 [1934]), *hahrannanza* EZEN (XXX 54 II 13), *hahrannas anda* (XXXIV 7 r. 18), *hahrannass-a* ^{GIŠ}TIR.HI.A ^{GIŠ}ŠAR['... woods (and) orchard(s)' (XXXI 100 Rs. 3). *hahrannas* is the genitive of *ha-ah-ra-tar* (XXX 54 II 10 and 11), yielding a further derivative *hahrannant-*.

The name of the (harvest?) festival, combined with probable threshing-field imagery in *KUB* XXIV 8 I 13-14 (quoted above), may warrant a comparison of *hahr(iya)-* with Lat. *ārea* (< *$A_1eA_1riyeA_2$) 'threshing-floor', secondarily 'open space, vacant lot'; cf. Horace, *Odes* 1.1.10 *quicquid de Libycis verritur areis* (cf. *verrō* 'scrape, sweep, scour' with Hitt. *wars*[*iya*]- 'strip, pluck, harvest' [q.v.]). Judging from dat.-loc. KISLAH-*ni* (XX 19 III 4), the word for 'threshing-field' may have been *hahrannas*, originally '(place) of raking'; EZEN *hahrannas* could then contain a new genitive, 'festival of the threshing-field'.

Rosenkranz's assumption of a reduplicated form of **har-*, allegedly seen in *hars-* 'till' (*JEOL* 19:505 [1965–6]), is implausible. The hapax spelling *harhar* (quoted above) seems to be a scribal lapsus (an etymological **harhar* should have remained; cf. ^{DUG}*harhara-*, name of a vessel [q. v.]). The attempt by F. R. Adrados (*Homenaje a Antonio Tovar* 39–45 [1972]) to compare Gk. *κάρχαρος* 'jagged' founders on the improbability of an occlusive origin of *h*.

Cf. Puhvel, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 9:197–202 (1976) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 246–51 (1981).

hahhari-, acc. sg. c. *ha-ah-ha-ri-in*, epithet of GI 'reed' twice in the Ullikummi-epic: *KUB* XXXIII 93 III 23 ^{D}*Tasmisun-ma-wa hahha*[*rin* G]I-*an mān arha zahreskiddu* 'but Tasmisu like a h. reed let him break off'; XXXVI 7a III 35–36 *nu-war-an hahharin* GI-*an* GIM-*an arha le zahhureskizzi* 'like a h. reed let her not break him off' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]).

Both meaning and etymology remain conjectural.

hah(ha)ri- (c., n.) 'lung(s), midriff' or the like, also *hahressar* (n.), nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-ri-is* and dat. sg. *ha-ah-ri-is-ni* in *KUB* XLIII 53 I 9 *hahris-set-a hahrisni dākki* 'and his lung matches the lung' (following GAB 'breast', ŠÀ 'heart', and ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG 'entrails'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 219; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:415 [1971]), I 16 II 48 ^{UZU}*hahris* (following ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8), nom. sg. neut. ^{UZU}*hahri* (VII 1 III 4, following ^{UZU}GAB and preceding ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]; H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 67:58–9 [1977]), *hahri* (*KBo* XXVI 34 I 4; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 40), ^{UZU}*ha-ah-ha-ri* (*KUB* VII 1 III 16 and 24). Cf. Sommer, *HAB* 83–4; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:21 (1957); Goetze, *JCS* 11:111 (1957); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290.

Etymology obscure. If *hahr-* contains a reduplication, cf. for word-type e. g. Skt. *phupphusa-*, Pāli *papphāsa-* 'lung'.

hahhars- 'laugh', 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ah-har-as-ta* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 27 *n-as-za duskatta n-as-za hahharasta* 'he rejoiced and he laughed'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:112 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:40 [1968]); iter. *hahharaski-*, *hahreski-*, *hahriski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. in XXXVI 47, 3]IGI-*anda hahriskizzi* 'he keeps laughing in (my) face', 3 pl. pres. act. in XXXI 71 III 5–6 *nu-mu-kan ... parā hahreskanzi* (with gloss-wedges) '(they) ridicule me' (unless from *hahriya-* 'rake, scrape', q. v. s. v. *hah*[*ha*]*r*[*a*]-), 3 sg. pret. act. in XIV 1 Vs. 72 *parā ha-ah-har-as-ki-it* 'was gleeful' (cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18).

hahharsna- 'ridicule', partic. nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-har-sa-na-an-za* (*KUB* III 99 II 8; cf. *MSL* 17:121 [1985]; *KBo* XXVI 20 II 33; cf. *MSL* 17:108 [1985]; verbal noun *hahharasnata(r)* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. in *Bo* 4952 I 13 ANA ^{LÚ}AZU *ha-ah-har-as-na-ta* 'ridicule for the magician'.

Cf. Sommer, *HAB* 83–4; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:395, 561, 258.

Onomatopoeic word, cf. e.g. Lat. *hahae*, *cachinno*, Gk. *καχάζω*, Skt. *kákhati*, Arm. *xaxank'*, etc. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:121.

F. R. Adrados's attempt (*Homenaje a Antonio Tovar* 39–45 [1972]) to make a precise connection with words like Gk. *κάρχαρος* 'jagged, rugged, harsh' is (apart from semantics) phonologically unlikely, since *h* does not derive from a guttural occlusive.

hahhasitti- (c.), name of a herb or plant, acc. sg. *ha-ah-ha-si-it-ti-in* (*KUB* XXIV 14 I 7–8 *hahhasittin*^{SAR} *euwan* ^{GIŠ}*hasduer kuēl imma* GIŠ-*ruwas hahhallas alil* 'h., grain, twigs, the bloom of whatever tree [or] bush').

Perhaps a compound botanical name, *hahha-sitti-*. The nearest homophonous echoes are *hahhal-*, *hahhima-*, and *sittar(i)-* (q. v.).

hahhima- (c.), personification of the withering of vegetation caused by summer drought, passim in *VBoT* 58 I (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83–4 [1965]), nom. sg. *ha-ah-hi-ma-as* (e. g. 7–8: *ha[hhimas] udnē hūman tinut uidār hatnut* 'h. made the whole land wither [and] dried up the waters'; 9: *hahhimas* GAL-*is huwanti ANA* ŠEŠ-*ŠU taraskizzi* 'great h. says to his brother the wind'; 17: *asi hahhimas atti-ssi anni-ssi tezzi* 'the aforementioned h. says to his father [and] his mother'; 28: *nu apūnn-a-wa hahhimas IṢBAT* 'him, too, h. seized'; 31: *nu apūnn-a hahhimas harzi* 'him, too, h. holds'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ah-hi-im-mi* (38–39: ^{D}IM-*as hahhimmi* [*taraskiz*]*zi* 'the storm-god says to h.').

Despite the theomorphization, the lack of the divine determinative and the use of the pronoun *asi* point to a common word, most probably a verbal noun in *-ima-* (of the type *tuhhima-* 'travail', from *tuhhai-* 'gasp, agonize', or *tethima-* 'thunder'; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:178). **hahh(ai)-* may have had a meaning 'wither' (vel sim.), supplanted in living usage by *hat-* 'dry up'; the marginal verb *tinu-* 'make wither' (only in *VBoT* 58 I, like *hahhima-*), has likewise yielded to *hatnu-* 'cause to dry up' (co-occurrent in *VBoT* 58 I 7–8, quoted above). Such a verb may actually be attested in iter. 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ah-hi-es-ki-iz-zi* (*Bo* 1427 Rs. 4–5 *katta dānkuin* [*da-ganzi*]*pan hahheskizzi* 'keeps withering the dark earth' [?]).

Of uncertain appurtenance are the neuter noun or adjective *hahhu* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 38 *hahhu isdammassazi* 'they hear h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154) and the infinitive *ha-ah-hu-u-wa-an-zi* (ibid. Vs. 30 [*ke*]*dani-wa* UD.KAM-*ti hahhūwanzi* ^{URU}*Ner*[*ik*] *ehu* 'to-day come to Nerik in order to h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146, 167).

hahuuisa(ya?)- name of a medicinal herb, in *KBo* XXI 17, 11]*GAPANU ha-hu-u-i-sa-ya*^{SAR} 'a lump of h.' (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 36).

A reduplicative relationship to *hues-* 'live' (Tischler, *Glossar* 125) is only remotely conjectural.

hai- 'believe, trust, be convinced', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-mi* (*VBoT* 2, 4 ^{I}*Kalbayan ŪL hāmi* 'I do not trust K.' [i. e. the oral report of a messenger]; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4.328 [1956]; *KUB* XIX 23 Rs. 9 *nu-za apūn memiyan apizza ŪL hām*[*i* 'for that reason I do not trust that report'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]; XIX 55 Rs. 40 + XLVIII 90 Rs. 8 *tuēl-za* SILIM-*an* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hāmi* 'I the king trust your goodwill'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *AfO*, Beiheft 19:131 [1982]), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-si* (e. g. XXXI 79 Vs. 24 *nu-war-at hāsi*; XXXI 68 I 17 *kinun-aya-wa-za ŪL hāsi* 'aren't you convinced even now?'; ibid. 21 *Ū*]*L hāsi*; cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:23 [1962]; XLVIII 118 I 9 *kinunn-a-wa-za ŪL hāsi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-nu-un* (XXVI 92, 12 *mān-za a*[*pū*]*n* UKÙ-*an ŪL hānun* I would not have trusted that man'; ibid. 13 *nu-za memian hānun* 'I believed the story'; ibid. 15–16 *tuppiyas-ma duwarnumas memian kezz-iya hānun* 'but for this reason I believed the story of tablet-breaking'; cf. Laroche, *Syria* 31:105 [1954]; dupl. VIII 79 Vs. 28 -]*ma-za ŪL hānun*; ibid. Rs. 5]INIM.MEŠ *apiz hānun*), 2 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-is* (XXVI 89, 14 *n-an-zan hāis-pat kuwat* 'why did you trust him?'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:87 [1975–6]), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-tin* (*KBo* XXII 42 Vs. 8 -]*an-za ŪL hattin*), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-ir* (*KUB* XLIII 66, 2 -]*za ŪL hāir*), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-a* (VI 7 III 2 DINGIR-*LUM-mu hā* 'god, believe me!'; ibid. 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24 *nu-mu* DINGIR-*LUM hā*; ibid. IV 3 and 9 [bis]; cf. Laroche, *Bi. Or.* 18:254 [1961]); partic. *hānt-*, acc. sg. c. *ha-a-an-da-an* (*KBo* XVIII 24 IV 11–12 *tuēl-wa hāndan* UKÙ-*an uiya* 'send a trusted person of yours'), *ha-ad-da-an* (sic, with assimilation 1256/1969 I 9–10 DUMU-*KA nasma* ÌR-*KA haddan uiya* 'send your son or your trusted servant'; cf. Otten, *Orientalia* 52: 134 [1983]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-a-an* (*KUB* XXVII 59 I 10 *nu-mu-za* BELÍ-*YA hān harak* 'have faith in me, lord!'; XXXI 84 III 73 *hān ēstu*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50).

hai- follows the conjugation type of *lai-*, *sai-*; the forms showing *ha-* reflect **haya-*. The probable reconstruction is **hay-āye-* from a root *$*H_2$*ey-* perhaps seen also in the Germanic and Celtic words for

'oath' (Gothic *áiþs*, OIr. *óeth*); the latter have never been conclusively etymologized (cf. e. g. *IEW* 11, 295) and admit of a proto-meaning 'trust, faith' in combination with legal uses of the verb **swer-* (ON *svara* 'give security', *and-svar* 'court decree'; Engl. *swear, answer* 'be liable'; Wulfila [*Matthew* 26:72] translated *ἠρνήσατο μετ' ὅρκου* 'denied under oath' as *afaiaik miþ aiþa swarands*); thus 'swear under oath' means literally 'make oneself answerable in good faith' (under the penalties of perjury). **H_2ey-* belongs in the same semantic sphere as IE **ḱred-dhē-* 'place trust, put faith in', IE **bheydh-* 'be convinced, have faith, be confident, wait for' (Gk. *πέποιθα*, Lat. *fīdō* 'trust', *fidēs* 'faith', *foedus* 'compact', Alb. *bē* 'oath', Goth. *beidan* 'bide'; causatival 'convince, constrain' in Gk. *πείθω* 'persuade', Goth. *baidjan*, OCS *bĕditi* 'force'), and Gmc. **trew-* (ON *trū* 'faith, belief', Engl. *trust*; *IEW* 215–6).

Benveniste (*Hittite* 10–11) compared *hā-* with Lat. *ōmen*, with special reference to the implication of 'belief' in the expression *ōmen accipere* in augural language; but *ōmen* has many other possible explanations (cf. also Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 361). Čop (*Ling.* 9:192–5 [1969]) posited *hā-* < **Howo-*, adducing the old connection of Gk. *ὀΐω* (< **owisyō*?) 'think, suppose, believe' with Lat. *ōmen* (OLat. *osmen* in Varro) < **owismen* (cf. e. g. Frisk, *GEW* 2:366), also comparing Hitt. *huski-* 'wait' (q. v.) as **Hu-ske-* (cf. the 'bide' meaning of **bheydh-* cited above, IE **men-* 'think' and 'linger', Goth *ahjan* 'mean, believe' beside Gk. *ὄκνος* 'hesitation'); but he had to postulate one-time Hittite phonological loss of **-w-* between like vowels (matching that of **-y-*) and its almost universal analogical restoration (except the stray form *idālaz* beside normal *idālawaz*, and ex hypothesi in the paradigm of *hā-*); moreover, Hittite did not form primary thematic presents of the type **How-o-*.

Cf. *hantai-*, *hantalliya-*.

hakkun(n)ai- (c. and n.), term for both an oil-flask and something that a coppersmith is to build inside a fort, nom. sg. c. *ha-ak-ku-na-a-is* (*KUB* VII 20 Vs. 8 1 ^{DUG}*hakkunāis* YÀ DÙG.GA 'one flask of good oil'), acc. sg. *ha-a}k-ku-un-na-i-in* (XXXI 89, 9), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ak-ku-un-na-i* (dupl. XXXI 86 II 19–20 *nu* ^{LÚ}URUDU.NAGAR [...] [...] *hakkunnai weteddu* 'the coppersmith shall build a h.'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43; Goetze, *JCS* 13:70 [1959]), acc. pl. *ha-ak-ku-un-na-us* (*KBo* V 2 I 49–50 *namma* YÀ DÙG.GA 2 ^{DUG}*hak-*

kunnaus dāi n-asta ID-*i* [*a*]*nd*[*a*] *tepu zappanuzzi* 'he also takes two flasks of good oil and lets a little trickle into the river'), *ha-ak-ku-un-na-e-es* (ibid. 10–12 *nu kī dāhhi* ... 54 ^{DUG}*KUKUBBI* GEŠTIN 14 ^{DUG}*hakkunnaēs* YÀ DÙG.GA 'now I take the following: ... 54 jars of wine, 14 flasks of good oil'; ibid. 44–45 2 ^{DUG}*hakkunnaēs* YÀ DÙG.GA ... *dāi*).

hakkun(n)ai- is reminiscent of other vessel names such as *hupuwai-*. H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:71, 96 [1973]) hypothesized a paradigm **hēkur/*hakkun-* for *hekur* 'rock(-sanctuary)' (q. v.) and derived *hakkun(n)ai-* from the oblique stem, postulating (ad hoc) a tapering shape for both the architectural object and the vessel, such as is seen in the globular Gk. *ἀλάβαστρον* used for unguent oils and perfumes. N. Boysan-Dietrich (*Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 129–31 [1987]) interpreted the fortificational term as referring to metal encasements for turn-sockets. Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:310–1 [1987]) equated *hakkunai-* with the Homeric hapax *ἀμνίον* 'bowl (for sacrificial blood)' (*Odyssey* 3:444; also 'fetal membrane') as **A_1eg^wn-* (cf. *ἀμνός* 'lamb' = Lat. *agnus*); but the consistent spelling *-kk-* points to a voiceless stop.

hala- (c.) 'head, skull' (SAG.DU), nom. sg. *ha-la-as* (*VBoT* 58 IV 6 *ayis-mit halas-mis* 'my mouth [and] my head'; cf. ibid. 7 ^{UZU}*hars*[*a-* 'head'; Laroche, *RHA* 23:85 [1965]), *ha-la* (*KUB* VII 17, 17 1 ^{UZU}*hala* 1 *hūpparas* 'one skull, one bowl'), acc. sg. *ha-la-an* (*KBo* VIII 73 II 5 SAG.DU-*ZU halassan* [= *halan-san*] *tākki* 'his head matches its head'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:422 [1971]).

halanta, hapax glossed by Akk. *rēšu* 'head' in *KBo* I 42 II 11 (cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:135 [1971]). Unclear form (perhaps error for nom. sg. **halanza*; cf. e. g. *tapuwassant-* besides *tapuwa*[*s*]- 'rib[cage], flank').

Cf. the synonyms for 'head' (*harsar, harsan-*) and 'skull' (*hupallas-*); the latter's affinity to *huppar(a)-* 'bowl' elucidates the collocation of *hala-* with *hūpparas* in *KUB* VII 17, 17.

Abortive etymologies for *halanta* range from Lat. *collum* 'neck', Lith. *kálnas* 'hill' (H. Holma, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33.1:38 [1916]; "reinvented" by Pedersen, *Lyk. u. Hitt.* 28, and J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946:87) to lat. *calva* 'skull', Lith. *galvà* 'head' (first in Hrozný, *SH* 43) to Lat. *altus* 'high' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 19) to a connection with *halentu-* (q. v.; Hrozný, *BoSt*

5:26 [1920], most implausibly resurrected by Van Windekens, *Orbis* 27:317–8 [1978]).

If the initial of Arm. *xalam* 'animal skull' is of laryngeal rather than guttural origin (cf. e.g. T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:220 [1961]; J. Greppin, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 3:70 [1982]), a tie-in with Hitt. *hala-* is possible.

Lyc. *qla* was connected with *halanta* as meaning figuratively 'head, chief(tain)' by Pedersen (*Lyk. u. Hitt.* 28), but the meaning is rather 'precinct' (see s.v. *hila-*).

halai- 'set in motion, thrust', *arha halai-* 'dismiss, desert', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-mi* (479/w, 3), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-si* (*KBo* V 9 III 9 *nu-za* LUGAL-*un arha halāsi* 'you leave the king in the lurch'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-i* (*KUB* IX 1 II 32 *nu* ^{GIŠ}DUBBIN *halāi* 'he starts the wheel turning'; XXXVI 51 IV 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:155 [1965]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-la-a-an-zi* (XV 27 II 3), *ha-li-en-zi* (< **haliyanzi*; *Code* 2:98; cf. context and discussion s.v. *hurki-*), 3 sg. pret. act. *ḫa-la-is* (XXIV 8 + III 11 'she thrust [the baby on Appu's knees]'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:220 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), *ha-a-la-es* (XXXVI 55 II 38), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-la-a-ir* (XXXIII 93 III 11–12 'they thrust [the baby on Kumarbi's knees]'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]; V 25 IV 35; XXVI 65 III 5). Cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 (1954); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:545.

Cf. Gk. *ἰάλλω* 'send off, stretch forth' (< **H*$_1$-*H*$_1$*l̥y-*); the usual connection of *ἰάλλω* with Skt. *iyarti* 'set in motion' is abortive, since *iyarti* belongs with *ṛṇóti* (Gk. *ὄρνῡμι*). Equally questionable is M. Leumann's adduction of *ἄλλομαι* 'leap' (*Homerische Wörter* 80–1 [1950]), or J. Narten, *MSS* 26:97–9 (1969), who compared RV *sisarti* 'stretch out', citing earlier literature. *halāi* is based on **H*$_1$*(l̥)lóye* (IE 3 sg. perfect). Cf. R.S.P. Beekes, *The development of the PIE laryngeals in Greek* 129 (1969); Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:43–4 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 217–8 (1981), *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6:221–30 (1973) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 252–61.

Oettinger's comparison of *halai-* with Gk. *ἀλέω* 'grind' (*Stammbildung* 480) makes no sense.

Cf. *halanza-*, *halenzu-*.

halali- 'clean' (Luwianism), semantically closer to Hitt. *parkui-* 'clean' than to *suppi-* 'pure', abl. sg. *ha-la-la-za* (*KBo* XI 5 VI 20 SISKUR *halalaza-kan arha* UD.5.KAM *QATI* '[counting] from the clean rite, day five is finished'; cf. abl. *suppa[ya]za* from *suppi-*), acc. pl. (Luwoid) *halalenzi* (XI 2 I 9–10 *nu-za* LUGAL-*us* SISKUR *halalenzi iyazzi* 'the king performs the clean rites'; cf. *KUB* XXIV 5 + IX 13 Vs. 28–29 *nu-za* LUGAL-*us* UGU *appatar* DÙ-*zi* [EGIR-*an*]*da-ma-z parnas* KIN-*ur parkuui* KIN-*ur* DÙ-*zi lukkatti-ma-za* LUGAL-*us* SISKUR [*halale*]*nzi* DÙ-*zi* 'the king does lifting, but afterwards he performs the house rite, the clean rite, but at daybreak the king performs the clean rites'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 10, 33–4).

Luw. *halali-* 'clean', nom. sg. c. *halalis* (e.g. *KUB* XXXV 58 II 5 *halalis-an taluppis*, besides XXXV 29 I 9 [Hitt.] *parkuin taluppin*; XXXV 58 II 6 *halalis āsdu*, matching the common Hittite *parkuis ēsdu* 'may [he] be clean!'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *halāl* (XXXV 54 III 26 and 30 *halāl āsdu* 'may [it] be clean'; Starke, *KLTU* 69; cf. neut. *adduwal* besides nom. sg. c. *adduwalis*); *halalan(n)u-* 'make clean', iter. *halalannussa-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *halalannussanda* (XXXV 39 II 23), 3 pl. imp. act. *halalannussandu* (ibid. 25; Otten, *LTU* 39; cf. Hitt. *parkunuski-*).

A (West) Semitic source, akin to Akk. *ellum* (Proto-Semitic **ḥll*) 'clean' (Laroche, *Dict. louv.* 38, *RHA* 23:45 [1965]) or Hebrew *hll* 'shine' (Otten, *Bestimmung* 110–1), is probable, despite the rejection by Goetze, *JCS* 17:61–2 (1963); for the semantics cf. e.g. Goth. *bairhts* 'bright', Skt. *bhárgas-* 'sheen, radiance' besides Hitt. *parkui-* 'clean'.

hallanniya- 'lay waste, ruin, savage, ravage' (vel sim.), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hal-la-an-ni-ya-at-ta-ri* (*KUB* IV 3 Vs. 8–10 *nu-za-kan* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*as* GÌR-*ŠU anda tarnatti nu* A.ŠÀ-*as-tis hallanniyattari istalkiyattari* 'you let the enemy's foot in, and your field will be laid waste [and] levelled'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]; Neu, *Interpretation* 32-3), 3 pl. pres. act. *hallannianzi* (*Bo* 3276 Vs. 6 *welku harsani-ssi hallannianzi* 'they ruin the grass on his head'; cf. ibid. 2 *INA* SAG.DU-*ŠU* and expressions like 'bring down destruction on someone's head'); iter. *hallanneski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. in *KBo* XIX 112, 17 *ar-ha hal-la-an-ni-es-k*[*i-iz-zi*, describing the depredations of Hedammu (cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44, 73).

Iterative-"durative" stem from *hall(a)-* perhaps identical with Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* (< **ὀλ-νυ-*) 'destroy', *ὄλεθρος* 'destruction, ruin', Lat. *ab-oleō* 'destroy'; a root **A_2^wel-A_1^w-* may have formed an original infixed present **A_2^wl-n-éA_1^w-* > **halna-* > *halla-*, whereas in Greek **ὄλνωμι* was supplanted by **ὄλνῡμι* (cf. *στόρνῡμι* beside Skt. *stṛṇáti*). For stem, cf. e.g. *tarna-* (Puhvel, *LIEV* 26); for **ln* > *ll*, *wellu-* (Puhvel, *KZ* 83:65–6 [1969] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 211–2 [1981]); for derivation, *walhanniya-*, *walhanniski-* from *walh-*.

For the possibility that **A_2^wl-n-A_1^w-* > *hallu-* lurks in *halluwai-* see s. v. A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüistica* 3:435–6 [1973]) indiscriminately compared with Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* not only *hallanniya-* and *halluwai-* but the unpertaining *hallu-* 'deep' (sic) and even the vessel names *hal(i)wani-* and *halwattalla-*. For the failed attempts to connect with *ὄλλῡμι* Hitt. "*hallu-* 'deep' " and *hulla-* 'strike', see s. v. *halluwa-* 'hollow, pit' and *hulla-*.

halanza-, 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-la-an-za-at-ta* in *KUB* XXXVI 35 I 11. The context (9–15) involves Ašertu's attempted seduction of Baal (^{D}U) as recounted by the latter to Ašertu's husband El(kunirsa): *mān-wa-ta-kkan* ŠÀ É-KA-*ya uwanun* [*kāsa-w*]*a-mu* ^{D}*Aserdus* DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *uiyat ehu-wa-mu-za katta sēs* [*ūk-ma ū*]*L memmahhun apās-wa-mu-za-kan halanzatta* [*nu kiss*]*an* IQBI *appan-wa-mu-za-kan ēs* [*namma-wa-d*]*du-za tuk* EGIR-*pa ēsmi nu-wa-ta-kkan ammitaz* [*memiyanaz*] *katta tamasmi ammedaza-ma-wa-ta* [GÍR(?).TUR-*az hattar*]*āmi* 'when I came to you and inside your house, lo and behold, Ašertu sent (her) maids to me (with the message): "Come, sleep with me!", but (when) I did not decline (outright), she threw herself at me (?) and said thus: "Get behind me, and I'll back you up as well! With my command I shall overpower you, and with my stiletto (?) I shall prick you".'

H. A. Hoffner's translation 'she threatened me' (*RHA* 23:8 [1965]) was based on the idea that the outburst followed Baal's summary rejection (*memmahhun*) of Ašertu's relayed sexual overture, and that *halanzatta* therefore conveys the reaction of a woman scorned. But the plausible restoration *ū*]*L memmahhun* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:26 [1968]) reveals more subtlety: when the guest politely and tactfully was not firm enough to turn her down by return message, the seductress was encouraged to rush him personally. It is possible that an obscene, literal meaning lurks in *appan-wa-mu-za-kan ēs*

'get behind me' (cf. *iskisa pai-*), playing on the following, more figurative *-za appa ēs-* 'be behind, back up, support'.

The probable meaning 'thrust oneself, rush' (at: dat. *-mu*) argues for a cognate relationship of *-za-kan halanza-* to *halai-* 'set in motion, thrust' (q. v.; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:357 [1967], who connected *halai-* and suggested 'incite'). The derivational details are opaque: the *-tta* ending looks Luwoid; possibly a durative stem **halan(n)a-* + Luwoid iterative *-s-*, thus **halan(na)sa-* > *halanza-* rather than Hittite **halanneski-* (cf. e. g. *walhanna-*, *walhanniya-*, *walhanniski-*).

Cf. *halenzu-*.

halassar (n.), name of tree, nom. sg. *ha-la-as-sar* (*KBo* XXII 6 IV 20–22 GIŠ*halassar-ma-war-asta kuit* ^{É}*hilamni-set arta* [*nu-w*]*ar-asta karsanta* (sic, for *karsandu*) *s-an* GIŠ.GUD.SI.AŠ *iyandu ta* BÀD-*essar* [*wal*]*his-kiddu* 'the h.-tree which stands at his gatehouse, they shall cut it and make it into a battering ram, and he shall keep pounding the fortifications'; ibid. 29 GIŠ*halassar-ma-asta karasser* 'they cut the h.-tree'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21–2 [1969]).

Obviously the tree had to have a hefty hardwood trunk; H. A. Hoffner (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 113–4 [1974]) speculated about cedar, walnut, or cypress. Otherwise obscure.

halent(i)u-, hali(n)tu-, halant(i)u- (n.) 'palace (compound), (royal) residence' (*KBo* XXXII 13 II 3 ^{É}*ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-as* matching ibid. I 2 [Hurr.] [*h*]*i-i-kal-li*; cf. Ugar. *hkl*, Hebr. *hēkal* 'palace'), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-li-en-tu-u* (*KUB* VII 25 I 1–2 ^{É}*ha*[*lent*]*ū hassanzi* 'they open the h.'; *KBo* XX 77 I 1), ^{É}*ha-li-in-tu-u* (XI 3 I 2), ^{É}*ha-li-en-ti-u* (XXIII 59 IV 3), normally nom.-acc. pl. *ha-li-en-tu-wa* (e. g. *KUB* XX 79, 3 ^{É}*halentuwa h*[*assanzi*; 253/s + 437/s I 10 ^{É}*halentuwa hassanzi*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 318), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa* (e. g. *KBo* XIX 128 I 1–2 and *KUB* II 13 I 1–2 *mān* ^{É}*halentūwa hassanzi*; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 20; XXV 16 I 1–2 *mān-apa* ^{É}*halentūwa hassanzi*; *KBo* X 23 I 3–4 [^{É}]*halentūwa* [*h*]*assanzi*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:9; *KUB* XIII 24, 6–7 [^{É}*ha*]*lentūwa-ya-ta-kkan* É.GAL.HI.[A...] [*arh*]*a punuski* 'explore well the h. and palaces...', besides dupl. XIII 2 IV 13–14 [*m*]*aniyahhi-ya-ta-kkan kue* É.GAL.*LIM*.HI.A-*TIM* É.HI.A *BELUTI-ya* [*an-d*]*a n-asta* EGIR-*an arha punuski* 'explore well the palaces and lordly

houses which are under your administration'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51), *ha-li-in-tu-wa* (e. g. *VAT* 7474 II 7 URU*Zi-palanta* É*halintuwa hassanzi*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 286), É*ha-li-en-du-wa* (*Bo* 6102 IV 21; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 15), *ha-li-in-du-wa* (e. g. *KUB* XIX 9 II 19–20 *INA* URU*Hissa*[*shapa...*] *ŠA ABU-YA* É*halinduwa ser ēsta* 'at H. on the acropolis there was the h. of my father'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:7), gen. sg. or pl. *ha-li-en-tu-u-as* (e. g. *KBo* X 23 II 12–13 1 LÚ*MEŠEDI-ma-kan hantezzi* É*halentuuas* É*arkiui menahhanda arta* 'one bodyguard stations himself facing the front anteroom of the h.'; *KUB* XI 34 VI 51–52 *INA* É DIM URU*halen*[*tu*]*uas* É DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya hūmandas* 'in the temple of the storm-god and all the temples of the h.'; for the unusual determinative URU cf. *KBo* XXII 185 I 4 LUGAL URU*Ha-li-en-tu-u-wa*), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-as* (e. g. X 24 IV 7–9 SAL.LUGAL-*ass-a* GIŠ*hūlugannin* É*halentūwa* KÁ-*as piran wahnuwanzi* 'they turn the queen's coach before the gate of the h.', with *-wa* haplographic for *-wa-as*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:19), *ha-li-in-tu-wa-as* (*IBoT* I 36 I 5–6 *nu-za-kan* É*hal*[*int*]*uwas* 1 É*hīlan* EGIR-*pa tamessanzi* 'they block off one courtyard of the h.'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174 [1966]; V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24:8, 13 [1973–4]), *ha-li-in-du-wa-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 34 IV 4–5 *kinun-a* É*halinduwas* [dupl. 691/z Rs. 7 É*ha-li-tu-wa*] É DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya parkunut* 'and now he has cleansed also the temples of the h.'; ibid. 7–8 *nu ēshananza linkiyaza* É*halinduwa* [dupl. 691/z Rs. 11 É*ha-li-in-tu-u-wa*] É.DINGIR.MEŠ *le epzi* 'may bloodshed [and] perjury not seize the temples of the h.!', with *-wa* haplographic for *-wa-as*), dat.-loc. sg. É*ha-li-en-tu-u-i* (*KBo* XX 88 IV 4), *ha-li-en-tu-u* (sic *KUB* LVIII 27 I 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 45), É*ha-li-in-tu-u-i* (LV 39 I 13; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 228), É*ha-li-in-tu-i* (202/r III 3; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 314), É*ha-li-tu-u-i* (570/t, 4; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 320), É*ha-li-tu*[*-i* (*IBoT* II 2, 4), *ha-li-en-ti-u-i* (*Bo* 6271 r. K. 7 *ta* É*halentiui halziya* 'one is called to the h.'; *KUB* XX 4 I 19 É*halentiui tiezzi* 'walks to the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:77), *h*]*a-li-ti-u-i* (*KBo* IV 13 V 19–20 É*h*]*alitiui halziya*), OHitt. *ha-li-en-ti-u* (e. g. XVII 74 II 33 LUGAL-*us āppa* É*halentiu paizzi* 'the king goes back to the h.'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 20, 56; XVII 11+ I 35 *t*]*-as* É[*h*]*alentiu paizzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 65; XVII 28, 11 É]*halentiu paizzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 153; XVII 74 I 23 É*halentiu tuhhusta* 'at the h. it is finished'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 12; *KUB* XLIII 26 I 5 É*halentiu*; *KBo* XXV 92 r. K. 6 *halentiu*[; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 171), *ha-li-en-tu-wa* (unless haplographic for dat.-loc. pl. *-wa-as*; cf. Kammenhuber, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 123

[1979]; e. g. X 27 V 23 *ta* É*halentuwa uizzi* 'comes to the h.'), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa* (e. g. *KUB* X 18 I 28–29 *ta andan* É*halentūwa uizzi*), *ha-li-in-tu-u-wa* (*KUB* XXV 14 I 19 *t-as* É*halintūwa pai*[*zzi* 'she goes to the h.'), É*ha-in-tu-u-wa* (sic XI 27 VI 6), *ha-li-in-du-wa* (*KBo* V 11 IV 9 *mahhan-ma halinduwa taranzi* 'when they say "to the h." '), É*ha-la-an-tu-wa* (*VAT* 7683 IV 51), *ha-la-an-tu-wa* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 25 IV 12 *nu halantuwa halziya* 'there is a call "to the h." '), *ha-la-an-tu-u-wa* (e. g. dupl. XXXIX 5 Rs. 14 *nu halantūwa halzi*[; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 28), *ha-la-tu-u-wa* (XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 III 44 *nu halatūwa halziya*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 78), *ha-la-an-ti-u-wa* (*IBoT* I 29 I 30 and XXX 41 VI 36 *halantiuwa halziya*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 128; cf. above *Bo* 6271 r. K. 7 *ta* É*halentiui halziya*; Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:188 [1936]; Neu, *IF* 82:274 [1977]), *a-la-an-du-wa* (sic *KUB* XVII 24 II 11 *INA* É*alanduwa* (cf. *Dict. louv.* 135, 176; perhaps Luwoid, cf. ibid. *INA* É*tūmantiyatti* and other adjacent luwianisms denoting edifices), abl. sg. (or pl.) *ha-li-en-ti-u-az* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 11+ I 33 É]*halenti*[*ua*]*z kursan dāi* 'takes from the h. the shield'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 65; XXIII 59 IV 5 É*halentiuaz uez*[*zi* 'comes from the h.'), *ha-li-en-tu-az* (XXVII 42 I 1–2 LUGAL-*us* É*halentuaz* [*u*]*i*[*zz*]*i*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 352), *ha-li-en-tu-u-az* (e. g. *IBoT* III 1, 8 LUGAL-*us* É*halentuuaz uizzi*; *KUB* VII 25 I 4–5 LUGAL-*us-ta* É*halentuuaz uizzi*; *IBoT* I 36 I 64–65 *mahhan-ma* LUGAL-*us arahza paizzi n-asta* 1 DUMU É.GAL É*halentuuaz parā uizzi* 'but when the king goes outside, one page comes forth from the h.'), *ha-li-en-tu-wa-az* (e. g. *VAT* 7470 I 17–18 LUGAL-*us* É*halentuwaz uizzi*; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:390 [1955]; Alp, *Beiträge* 284; *KBo* XX 88 IV 5), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-az* (e. g. IV 9 I 33–34 *t-asta* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL É*halentūwaz uwanzi*; *KUB* XI 35 I 16–17 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL-*kan* É*halentūwaz uwanzi*; XX 87 I 1 LUGAL-*us* É*halentūwaz uizzi ta* É*arkiuiya tiyezzi* 'the king comes from the h. and steps into the anteroom'), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-za* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 I 10 *nu* É*halentūwaza kuis andurza kuzza* 'what from [the vantage of] the h. is the inside wall'), É*ha-li-in-tu-az* (e. g. *KUB* LVI 52 Vs. 8), É*ha-li-in-tu-wa-az* (e. g. X 88 VI 4; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 270; 139/r, 5; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 314), É*ha-li-in-tu-u-wa-az* (e. g. *KUB* XI 20 II 15), É*ha-li-in-tu-wa-za* (*Bo* 5926 Vs. 1), É*ha*]*-li-tu-wa-za* (ibid. 4; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 304), *ha-li-en-du-u-wa-za* (*KUB* XXVIII 91 IV 7 LUGAL-*us-kan* É*halendūwaza uizzi*), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-li-en-tu-u-as* (e. g. VII 25 I 8–10 *nu-kan* LUGAL-*us* É*hilamni anda* IŠTU ANŠU.KUR.RA *katta tiyazi n-as-kan* É*halentuuas anda paizzi* 'the king in the gatehouse steps down from the horse, and he goes inside the

h.'; *KBo* X 23 I 20–21 *n-as-kan* ^{É}*halentuuas* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti tiyezi* 'he walks into the h. to the throne'; *KUB* X 21 I 14–15 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{É}*halentuuas anda paizzi*; *KBo* XV 68 III 4 *PANI* ^{É}*halentuuas* 'facing the h.'), *ha-li-en-tu-wa-as* (e. g. *KUB* X 48 II 20–21 *nu* ^{URU}*Hattusi* ^{É}*halentuwas salli as*[*sar*] ^{URU}*Hattusas esari* 'at H. in the h. the grand assembly [takes place]; the [whole] town of H. is in session'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 54; *KBo* IV 9 I 6–7 LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*halentuwas paizzi*), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-as* (e. g. ibid. 26–27 *nu-za* LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*halentūwas* KIN-*ta dāi* 'the king in the h. dons the vestments'; *KUB* XXV 14 I 10–11 ^{LÚ}HAL-*ma-kan* 8 ^{D}UTU.HI.A ^{URU}*Arinna* ^{É}*halentūwas anda pedai* 'the seer brings eight sun-goddesses of Arinna [i. e. icons] into the h.'; II 13 I 6 *t-as* ^{É}*halentūwas paizzi*; X 3 I 19–20 *n-as-kan anda* ^{É}*halentūwas paizzi*; X 61 II 6 *ta* ^{É}*halentūwas paizzi*; *IBoT* I 36 IV 25 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{É}*halentūwas* [*anda p*]*aizzi*; *KBo* X 20 I 17–18 *ta* ^{É}*halentūwas salli asessar*; ibid. 23 *nu* ^{É}*halentūwa salli asessar* [haplography for *-wa-as*]; ibid. II 9–10 *nu* ^{É}*halentūwas salli ase*[*ssar*]; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80–1 [1960]; *KUB* X 18 VI 17–18 *ta* ^{É}*halentūwa salli asessar* [haplography for *-wa-as*]), *ha-li-tu-as* (e. g. *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 17 ŠÀ ^{É}*halituas-kan* ^{GIŠ}AB-*i anda tianzi* 'in the h. in the window they place [it]'; XX 87 I 9 LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*halituas* [*paizzi*]; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 256), *ha-li-in-tu-u-as* (*KUB* XI 20 II 11–12 *ta-kkan* ^{É}*halintuuas anda paizzi*; XI 34 VI 38–39 *asessar* [...] ^{É}*halintuuas*), *ha-li-in-tu-wa-as* (e. g. XX 94 VI 6), *ha-li-in-tu-u-wa-as* (e. g. II 6 III 29 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{É}*halintūwas uwanzi* 'king and queen come to the h.'; XXV 14 I 5–6 [*lukkatta-m*]*a-kan namma* LÚ ^{D}U ^{É}*halintūwas anda tarnanz*[*i*] 'but in the morning they again let the man of the storm-god into the h.'; XXV 15 Rs. 7 ^{É}*halintūwas-ma-as-kan parā* $ŪL$ *uiz*[*zi*] 'but to the h. he does not come forth'; XXXI 57 I 26; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114), *ha-li-tu-u-wa-as* (*IBoT* I 36 III 71 *nu* ^{GIŠ}*hulukānnaz* ^{É}*halitūwas paizzi* 'by coach he goes to the h.'), *ha-li-en-du-wa-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXXI 71 IV 22–24 *parā-ma-wa-mu-kan imma namma damēdas kuedasqa* ^{É}*halenduwas anda pehutet* 'furthermore indeed he also brought me [the queen] to another h.', besides ibid. 5 ŠÀ É-*TI-KA* 'in your [i. e. the queen's] house', pointing to *halendu-* as the royal residence), *ha-li-en-du-u-wa-as* (XXVIII 91 IV 6 LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*halendūwas paizzi*), *ha-li-in-du-wa-as* (e. g. XXX 34 IV 2–4 *n-as-za nassu* ^{É}*halinduwas* [dupl. 691/z Rs. 5 ^{É}*halinduwa*] *suhhi ēstat nasma-zan* INA É DINGIR.MEŠ *suhhi ēstat* 'he sat down either on the roof in the h., or he sat down on the roof in the temples'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Anṭiquus* 16:229 [1977]; *KBo* V 11 IV 11; *KUB* XLII 98 I 9 ^{I}É*halinduwas*), *ha-li-in-du-u-wa-as* (e. g. ibid. 20 ŠÀ ^{É}*halindūwas* 'within the h.'), ^{É}*ha-la-an-tu-u-as* (*VAT* 7683 IV 6; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 122), *ha-la-an-tu-u-wa-as* (315/t I 4 ^{É}*halantūwas-pat halz*[*iya*]; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 228).

Despite much study (e. g. Friedrich, *ZA* 37:177–8 [1927]; Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:204–5 [1966]; V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24:1–31 [1973–4]; Otten, *Festritual* 20, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 26:13–7 [1976]; Alp, *Beiträge* 1–323; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 239–45) the exact meaning of this term has remained somewhat elusive. Such renderings as 'Rasthaus' (Goetze apud Otten, *Totenrituale* 128) or 'Wohnpalast' (Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:205 [1966]) or 'Hauptkultraum, Cella' (Alp, *Beiträge* 17–9) fail to do justice to all textual environments. That a king could have a *halentu* in several cities beside Hattusas and that the 'grand assembly' was held there indicates some such more comprehensive sense as 'palace compound' or 'royal residence' (the habitual plural deserves notice; cf. also Singer, *ZA* 65:84 [1975], *Festival* 1:111–2).

The phonetic variations and inflectional oddities (such as OHitt. dat.-loc. sg. *halentiu*) point to non-Hittite, probably Hattic origin. Güterbock (in P. Garelli [ed.], *Le palais et la royauté* 308–9 [1972]) may have been on the right track in postulating Hattic "loc. pl." prefixes *ha-le-*, with *halentiu* meaning something like 'in the chambers'.

Neither the connection with *hali-* 'pen, corral' (Tischler, *Glossar* 128) nor with *haliya-* 'kneel' (Alp, *Beiträge* 33) nor Van Windekens' comparison with Lat. *lentus* 'at ease' (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 334–5 [1981], fastening on the alleged 'rest' notion) have any merit.

halenzu- (n.) 'overgrowth' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-li-en-zu* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 12–14 *Telipinus-a pait marmarri andan ulista sēr-a-sse-ssan halenzu huwayis nu namma halkis* ZÍZ-*tar* $ŪL$ *māi* 'T. went [and] slipped into the marsh; above him spread overgrowth, and grain [and] spelt grow no more'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]; *KBo* XIII 58 III 18–23 *namma ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM kuis lulis kungaliyas nu-kan* ^{LÚ}NIMGIR *halenzu ser arha daskizzi mān-ma-kan* ^{LÚ}*HAZANNU* [*ANA l*]*uli kungaliya halenzu tepu an*[*da daliy*]*anzi nasma-kan* ^{D}*Halki*[*n* 'furthermore what pond of the deity is overhung [?], the warden [regularly] clears the overgrowth from it; but if the mayor ... leave

a little overgrowth on an overhung [?] pond, or the grain(-goddess) ...'; ibid. 24 *anda ārri* 'washes within', ibid. 25 *wastul* 'fault' [fragmentary]; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:104 [1975]).

Besides surface growth in stationary water (algae, duckweed, and the like; cf. Otten, *BMitt.* 3:94–5 [1964]), *halenzu-* may refer to waterlogged vegetation (reeds, trees) of an overhanging kind (with *kungaliya-* cf. ^{GIŠ}GAM-*kangali-* 'willow' [?], q. v. s. v. *kank-*). Cf. *KBo* XII 59 I 4 *Halenzuwa* ID-*i* 'at the river H'.

Perhaps *halenzu-* is related to *halai- and halanza-* (q. v.) as 'that which keeps thrusting itself', originally a *u*-stem adjective derived from **haliyan(na)sa- beside **halan(na)sa-* in *halanza-*; cf. the alliterative figura semantica *halenzu huwayis* quoted above, with *huwai-* 'grow, spread', literally 'run'.

Güterbock (in P. Garelli [ed.], *Le palais et la royauté* 309–10 [1972]), translating as 'foliage', postulated Hattic prefixes *ha-le-*, same as in *halent(i)u-* (q. v.).

V. Pisani (*Paideia* 22:403 [1967]), fastening on Otten's gloss 'Wasserlinse' (cf. French *lentille d'eau*, Italian *lenticchia palustre*), adduced OHG *linsīn* and Lat. *lēns* 'lentil' (cf. also OCS *lęšta*), a culture word of uncertain provenance. The corresponding English rendering 'duckweed' (for Otten's postulated *Lemna minor*) would have provoked no such unwarranted associations.

Alp (*Beiträge* 33–4) suggested 'sediment' and implausibly derived *halenzu-* from *haliya-* 'kneel'.

halhaltumar (n.), *halhaltumari-* (c.) 'corner', dat.-loc. sg. (sometimes ad sensum plural) *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri* (*KBo* IV 1 Vs. 19 4 *halhaltummariyas-ma kuedani* ANA *halhaltumari kattan* 'of the four corners, under each corner'; dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 21; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 78; XXX 40 II 6–7 *ŠA* GUNNI *ANA* 4 *halhaltumariyas ser kuedaniya ANA* 1 *halhaltumari* 'on the four corners of the hearth, on each corner'), 4 *hal-hal-du-ma-ri* (XXX 34 IV 11; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]), *hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri* (e. g. *KBo* XIII 217 V 17 and 21 ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni halhaltūmari-kan anda* 'in the corner of the altar'; XIX 128 III 28 EGIR-*anda-ma* GUNNI-*as halhaltūmari* 'behind the corner[s] of the hearth'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8, 39; XV 9 IV 1 *ha]lhaltūmari ŠA* É.MEŠ 'in the corner[s] of houses'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64; 222/e, 10 *kuedaniya ANA* 1 *halhaltūmari* 'in each corner'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:200 [1963]), *hal-hal-du-um-ma-ri-ya*

(*KUB* VII 41 I 7 *ANA* 4 *halhaldummariya* 'at the four corner[s]'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), nom. pl. c. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-i-e-es* (1177/v + *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 14–15 *nu-wa-ssan ŠA* É.MEŠ *mahhan* 4 *halhaltumariyē[s dag]anzipi ser uktūriyēs* 'as the four corners of houses [are] firm upon the earth'; cf. H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 62:106 [1972]), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-e-es* (dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 14), *hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri-i-e-es* (ibid. 26), *hal-hal-tu-um-ma-ri-i-e-es* (dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 23), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri* (*ABoT* 44 I 23 4 *halhaltumari tuk-pat kisri-tti tiya[n harzi* '[he] has placed the four corners in your hand'; cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78:239 [1958]), *hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri* (ibid. 58–59 ^{D}UTU-*i sarku* LUGAL-*ue* 4 *halhaltūmari ukturi istarna arha iyattari* 'sun-god, lofty king, you traverse the four firm corners'), *hal-hal-tu-u-mar* (*KUB* XXXI 130 Vs. 6), gen. pl. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ra-as* (XXVIII 92 I 2 4-*as halhaltumaras* 'of the four corners'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 302), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-ya-as* (XXX 40 II 15–16 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *ŠA* 4 *halhaltumariyas* 'the loaves of the four corners'; II 2 I 21), *hal-hal-tu-um-ma-ri-ya-as* (dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 19, quoted above), dat.-loc. pl. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ra-as* (*KUB* XXXV 54 II 46]MÁŠ.GAL *parni halhaltumaras-kan [and]a wahnuzi* 'makes a he-goat turn in the corners in the house'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 68; XXXV 53, 6 *ha]lhaltumaras-kan and[a*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 64), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri--ya-as* (XXX 40 II 6–8 *namma-ssan ŠA* GUNNI *ANA* 4 *halhaltumariyas ser kuedaniya ANA* 1 *halhaltumari* 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *IMZA* BABBAR ½ *UPNI tianzi* 'they further place on the four corners of the hearth, on each corner, one white sour breadloaf of one-half handful'; *KBo* IV 2 I 29 and 42 4 *halhaltumariyas*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90–1 [1962]), abl. pl. in *KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 27 4 *hal-hal-tu-ma--ra-za* 'from the four corners' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146, 165), XXXVI 90 Vs. 40 *IŠTU* 4 *hal-hal-tu-ma[r-r]a-as* (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 178).

From 'corner' in the literal sense (of house, hearth, etc.) *halhaltumar(i)-* has come to denote also 'four corners of the universe', i. e. cardinal points in terms of movements of the sun and the winds. The origins of the word are to be sought in such rectangularity (and by extension quadrangularity). Much as Gk. *γωνίᾱ* 'corner, angle' is palpably derived with an abstract suffix from *γόνυ* 'knee', or OHG *ancha* 'nape, shank', *anchal* 'heel, knuckle, ankle' are cognate with Lat. *angulus*, OCS *ǫglŭ*, Arm. *ankiun* 'angle, corner, nook', *halhaltumar(i)-* is an offshoot of *halhalzana-/halhaldana-* probably meaning 'shoulder(s)' (q. v.). The suffix may

be the abstract-forming *-*wr̥* which became allophonically *-*uwar* and thence *-umar* (denominative as in e. g. *miumar*; cf. e. g. *arrumas* besides *arruwas* s. v. *arr-*). *halhalzana-* has Luwian affinities (Luw. *halhalzani-*), and *halhaltumar(i)-* may likewise show Luwoid paralysis of *r/n* heteroclisis (transfer to pure *r*-stems) on the one hand and a trend to secondary *-i*-stem derivation on the other. Thus, while Greek picked the bent knee, Anatolian chose square shoulders as the image of angularity.

H. C. Melchert (*Die Sprache* 29:13–4 [1983]) postulated a deverbative reduplicate *hal-hal-t-umar* 'the place where something bends' > 'corner', from **hal-* 'bow' < 'bend oneself' (better: 'kneel, genuflect'; cf. s. v. *haliya-*).

halhalzana-, halhanzana-, halhaldana- (c.), name of a body part, acc. sg. *hal-hal-za-na-an* (*KUB* XXIV 12 III 5–6 *hastāi halhalzanan innirī laplipi* 'bone[s], h., eyebrows, eyelashes'), *hal-ha-an-za-na-an* (ibid. II 31–32 *hastariyatar hastāi* [*halh*]*anzanan ēnnaren laplappipan* 'heroic bearing, bone[s] [= sturdiness], h., eyebrow[s], eyelash[es]'), dat.-loc. sg. *hal-hal-da-a-ni(-is-si)* (XXXVI 44 I 7–8 *nu-za arunas* ^{DUG}HAB.HAB [...] [...] *halhaldāni-ssi dais* 'the Sea placed the container on his h.'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]), instr. sg. [*hal-*]*ha-al-za-ni-it* (?; VII 55 Vs. 6–7 *ŠA* ŠAH *pankunit euwas* [*hal?*]*halzanit tuikkus war*[- 'of a barley-with-milk [= barley-and-milk-fed?] pig they burn [?] limbs along with h.').

Luw. *(hal)halzani-*, acc. sg. *hal-hal-za-ni-in* (*KUB* XXXV 12 III 2 *hāssa halhalzanin* 'bone[s] [and] h.'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 164; XXXV 45 II 23 *hassa halhalzanin*; cf. Starke *KLTU* 153; XXXV 33 III 4–5 *hāssa* [...] *halhalzani*[*n*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 95), *hal-hal-za-a-ni-in* (XXXV 73, 10 *hassa ha*]*lhalzānin*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 101), *hal-za-a-ni-in* (XXXV 48 II 16 ^{UZU}GÌR.PAD.DU *halzānin* 'bone[s] and h.'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 155).

Reduplicated anatomical term reminiscent of e. g. *pappassala-* 'esophagus' and *gakkartan(n)i-* 'shoulder-blade' (vel sim.). From the contexts 'shoulder(s)' seems most probable, even sharing the suffix with the synonymous *paltana-* 'shoulder, (upper) arm' (q. v.). Perhaps *halhalzana-*/*halhaldana-* is the Luwoid term for 'shoulder', having made some inroads in Hittite. The reduplication may well be etymologically secondary, as in the semantically related *gakkartani-* (q. v.; cognate with OHG *herti* 'shoulder-blade'). Cf.

perhaps Skt. *aratní-*, Avest. *arəθna-* 'elbow', Skt. *ártnī* 'bow-tip', for a proto-form *H_1*eltno-*. Cf. Puhvel, *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz* 255–8 (1988).

Cf. *halhaltumar*.

hali- (c.) 'ration, portion, share' (HA.LA), nom. sg. *ha-a-li-is* (e. g. *KUB* VII 17, 16–18 1 *saramnas hālis* 1 UZU HA.LA 1 *hūpparas* [...] KU_6.HI.A-*an hāli*[*s* 'one portion of palace[-bread], one portion of meat, one jar, a fish-ration'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 24; ibid. 9 *saramnas hālis*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 122; *KBo* XI 36 IV 6 1 1/2 NINDA *saramnas hālis* 'a loaf and a half of palace-bread as ration'; XX 21 Vs. 6–7 5 *ME* NINDA *saramnas hālis* 20-*is* [...-*l*]*i* 5 *ME* ERÍN.MEŠ-*as hālis* 20-*is* 'five hundred palace loaves, ration times twenty..., five hundred army loaves, ration times twenty'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 51; XX 7 + XXV 16 Rs. 5 5 1/2 NINDA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*as hāli*[*s* 'five and a half loaves of table-bread as ration'; ibid. 7 9 NINDA *hālis*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 49; *KUB* XXXI 57 IV 8–11 1 *ME* NINDA.HI.A ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*as* NINDA *hālis* 14-*is* 1 *LIM* NINDA.HI.A *saramnas* NINDA *hālis* 16-*is* 1 *LIM* NINDA.HI.A NINDA *hālis ŠA* ERÍN.MEŠ 20-*is* 'one hundred table-loaves, bread-ration times fourteen, one thousand palace-loaves, bread-ration times sixteen, one thousand loaves, bread ration of the army times twenty'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 118; H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 88:534 [1968], *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 153–4 [1974; the latter a throwback to the interpretation of *hali-* as 'a kind of bread']; *KBo* X 28 V 15 6 NINDA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR NINDA *hālis* 'six table-loaves as bread-ration'; ibid. 16 1/2 NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ NINDA *hālis* 'half an army-loaf as bread-ration'; X 33 VI 1 1 NINDA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR NINDA *hālis*; XVI 81 I 6 5 NINDA *hālis seppittas* 20-*is* 'five loaves ration of wheat[bread], times twenty'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 308; XX 8 IV 7 1 NINDA *hālis hastiyas* 'one loaf ration of bone[meal?]'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70; XXV 91 Rs. 5]NINDA *hālis* BABBAR['loaf ration of white [bread]'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 170; XXV 174 Rs. 5].MEŠ-*as* NINDA *hālis*; XVI 72 + 73 III 4 1 NINDA *hālis* 30-*is*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 27; XXV 13 II 5 30 NINDA *hālis*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; X 30 III 7 and 11 20 NINDA *hālis*; ibid. 2 20] NINDA *hālis*), *ha-li-is* (e. g. XXII 186 V 12 4 1/2 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*as hali*[*s*; *KUB* XX 33 I 8 20 NINDA *halis* ŠÀ 3 BABBAR 'twenty loaves as ration, including three white ones'; ibid. 9 15 NINDA *halis* IMZA BABBAR['fifteen loaves as ration, sour-[dough] white'; XLI 27 IV 2 13 NINDA *halis*; *KBo* X 25 II 35 3

NINDA *halis*; *Bo* 6002 Vs. 16 10 NINDA *halis*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 187), acc. sg. *ha-a-li-in* (*KBo* XXV 84 I 9 *nu* 12 NINDA *hālin parsiy[a* 'breaks twelve loaves as ration'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 164; XXX 13 Vs. 4 NINDA *hālin*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:81; *KUB* XX 28 I 7, 9, 12 NINDA *hālin*; dupl. XXV 2 I 8 NINDA *hālin*, ibid. 11 *ha-]a-li* [sic]; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:127 [1975–6]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-li* (*KBo* X 31 IV 22–23 KU_6.HI.A *hāli ser* MUŠEN.HI.A $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUŠEN.DÙ *pianzi* 'on top of the fish ration the augurs give birds'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:104).

Behind 'ration, portion' may lurk a term for measurement, such as is etymologically transparent in the Greek dry measure *μέδιμνος* or the liquid measure *μετρητής*. Such measures as *χοῖνιξ* amounted to a person's daily grain allowance and came to mean metonymically 'ration'. Often names for measures were based on terms for vessels, e.g. *κοτύλη* or *ἀμφορεύς*, and hence it is tempting to near-identify *hali-* (c.) with *hali-* (n.) '(night)watch' (q.v.), the latter on the basis of vessel-names in clepsydra-type situations for time-span measurement.

Cf. *haliyami-*.

hali- (n.) '(night)watch' (EN.NU.UN), the Hittite night being divided into three (first, middle, last) 'watches', unlike the four 3-hour *vigiliae* of the Romans, *hāli uski-* 'keep watch' (inner accusative with iter. of *au[s]-* 'see'), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-a-li* (e.g. *KUB* XVIII 11 Rs. 4 and 7 IGI-*zi hāli* 'the first watch'; XXIX 52 IV 2–3 *mahhan-ma istarniya hāli tiyezzi* 'but when the middle watch comes on'; similarly XXIX 46 + 53 I 18 *istarniya hāli*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 192, 196; XLII 98 I 22 *āppazzi hāli* 'the last watch'; XVII 31 I 25 *nu-ssi* GE_6-*az hāli ser uskanz[i* '[they] keep watch over him at night'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 62; *IBoT* I 36 I 19 *nu* UD-*az hāli uskanzi* 'they keep watch by day'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174 [1966]; *KUB* XXVI 9 I 4 *h]āli* SIG_5-*in uskandu* 'let them keep watch well'; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:100 [1975]; Otten, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:134 [1983]; XIII 1 I 28 *nu hāli* SIG_5-*in*[; XXXI 108, 4]-*at hāli* SIG_5-*in*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60–1), EN.NU.UN (I 11 I 1 *mahhan-ma* EN.NU.UN MÚRUB *kisari* 'but when the middle watch occurs'; ibid. II 31 *mahhan-ma* EN.NU.UN MÚRUB *tiyezzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 106, 112), gen. sg. *ha-a-li-ya-as* (XXIX 55 I 2 *ispandan appizziyas hāliyas* 'the night of the last watch', i.e. the

part of night just before daylight; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; *KBo* XXVI 79, 6 *hāliyas uttar* 'matter of watch'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68), *ha-li-ya-as* (XXVI 20 III 22; cf. *MSL* 17:111 [1985]; *KUB* XIII 4 II 73-74 *nu-za haliy[as] uddanī mekki pahhas-sanuwantes ēstin* 'in the matter of watch be very much on your guard'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380 [1934]), *ŠA* EN.NU.UN (I 11 I 4 2 *wahnuwauar ŠA* EN.NU.UN MÚRUB 'two turns of the middle watch'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-li* (e.g. XIII 4 III 18–20 *namma-smas hāli arha sarran ēsdu n-asta kuedani hāli wastul anda kīsa n-as aku* 'let the watch be divided among you; then during whose watch offence occurs, he shall die'; *KBo* XIII 58 III 15 *hantezzi hāli* 'at the first watch'; ibid. 16–17 *istarniya-ya-kan hāli* 'at the middle watch'; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:104 [1975]; *KUB* VIII 27 I.R. 3 *takku* ^{D}*SIN* EGIR-*izzi hāli pu*[- 'if the moon during the last watch ...'), *INA* EN.NU.UN MÚRUB (I 11 II 37 and IV 13; *KBo* III 2 Rs. 20; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 114, 120, 138), abl. sg. *h]aliyaz* (*KUB* XXXI 108, 3), dat-loc. pl. *ha-a-li-ya-as* (IV 47 Rs. 29 3 *hāliyas* GE_6-*andas* 'for the three watches of the night').

haliya- 'to watch', iter. *haliyeski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-e-es-ki-mi* (*KBo* IX 114 III 8–9 -]*si auriyalas ūk ispanti-ma-ssi* [*usk*]*imi haliēs-kimi* 'I [am] his warder, and at night I guard him [and] watch over him').

haliyat(t)alla- (c.) 'watcher, watchman', nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-li-ya-at--tal-la-as* (*KUB* XIII 4 III 29; ibid. 23–24 *mān* ^{LÚ}*haliyattal*[*las*] *kuedanikki ēszi n-as hāli paiddu-pat* 'if someone has a watchman, let him go to the watch'), nom. pl. *ha-li-ya-at-tal-lis* (ibid. 9 *nu arahza hāli* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*haliyattallis uskandu* 'outside let the watchmen keep watch'), *ha-li-ya-at-tal-lu-us* (*KBo* IV 14 III 10–11 *ANA* TI LUGAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*uskiskattallus* $^{[LÚ.MEŠ]}$*hāliyattallus ēsten* 'for the king's life be guards [and] watchmen'), *ha-li-ya-tal-lu-us* (ibid. 16–18 *āssaw*[*ēs*] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*haliyatallus asand*[*u*] HUL-*uwas-ma-kan* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hali-yatallus* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*parā uwatalluss-a le* 'good people shall be watchmen, but bad ones [and] inattentive ones shall not [be] watchmen'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:44 [1965]), acc. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-li-ya-at-tal-li-e--es* (*KUB* XIII 4 III 22).

Luw. *halli-* 'day', dat.-loc. sg. *hal-li-ya* (with gloss-wedges) in Hittite context in the expression *halliya weh-* (*KUB* XXVI 1 III 18 *lenganut-wa-mu kuis nu-wa karū halliya wehtat* 'he that made me swear has long since turned to the day', i.e. has met his day of death; cf. ibid. 22 *apēl* UD.KAM-*za kuitman-as aki* 'his day, until he

dies'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 13, 19; Bossert, *AfO* 18: 366 [1958]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:31–2 [1964]; Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 202 [1981]). Also *halliyatt-* in acc. pl. (?) *hal-li-ya-at-ta-an-za* (XXXV 33 IV 4 SISKUR.SISKUR *halliyattanza* 'days of sacrifice'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 96; *Dict. louv.* 39; Carruba, *Kratylos* 7:63 [1962]).

Hier. *hali-* 'day, time', dat. pl. *ami(ā)i haliāī* = Phoen. *b-ymty* 'in my days' (Karatepe 160–161, 183–184, 189–190), *arā haliā* = Phoen. *'rk ymm* 'long days', i. e. 'length of days' (Karatepe 291–292; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:80–5). Cf. Laroche, *HH* 186; Meriggi, *HHG* 48, *Manuale* 1:38.

The common denominator for '(night)watch' and 'day' is patent in the probable clepsydra shape of the Hier. pictogram for DAY (cf. Laroche, *HH* 186). Just as e. g. Hitt. *waksur-* (q. v.) denotes both a vessel and a time measure, even so a container name **hali-* may have been specialized in such 'hourglass' sense and metonymically transplanted to denote the measure of either night or day. Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 328–30 [1981]) compared such a **hali-* with the Hittite vessel names *hal(u)wani-/haliwani-* and *halwat(t)alla-* (q. v.) and also Gk. *ἄλεισον* 'goblet', positing an IE root **H₂el-(ey-)* 'pour'. The homonym *hali-* (c.) 'ration, portion' (q. v.) may represent a divergent metonymic offshoot of the same term, this time as a dry measure for foods rather than a trickling timepiece.

hali- (n.) 'pen, corral; lunar halo (in omina)', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-a-li* (*KBo* VI 26 II 21 [= *Code* 2:76] *takku* GUD.MAH-*as hāli kuiski samenuzzi* DIN LUGAL *happarranzi* 'if anyone demolishes a bullpen, they dispense the king's justice'; *KUB* VI 14 Rs. 19 IGI-*zis* UDU-*is* IGI-*zi hāli* 'the first sheep, the first pen'; VI 27, 8 IGI-*zi*]*s* UDU-*is* IGI-*zi hāli*; VIII 3 Rs. 5 *h*]*āli* 'halo'), gen. sg. *ha-li-ya-as* (ibid. 10), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-li* (XIII 5 II 21 *hāli anda* 'into the corral'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]; *KBo* VI 34 IV 14 *hāli-ssi asauni-ssi* 'in his corral, in his [sheep]fold'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14), *ha-a-li-ya* (*KUB* XII 58 IV 14 *nam*[*ma*] GUD EGIR-*pa hāliya pennianzi* 'then they drive the cow back to the pen'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 22), *ha-li-ya* and instr. sg. *ha-a-li-it* (ibid. 9–10 *n-as-kan usantari haliya anda nu-za-kan hālit* GUD.NITÁ-*it* GUD.ÁB-*it sunneskizzi* '[the cow] [is] in a breeding pen, and from the pen she keeps getting pregnant with [lit. filling herself

with] bull- and cow-calves'), abl. sg. *ha-a-li-ya-az* (XXX 13 Vs. 6 *hāliyaz a*[*saunaz*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26), *ha-a-li-az* (XXX 10 Vs. 15 [OHitt.] GUD-*un-asta hāliaz appa* ŪL *kussanka karsun* UDU-*un-asta asaunaz* EGIR-*pa* KI.MIN 'an ox from a corral I never made off with; a sheep from the fold off, ditto'), *ha-li-ya-az* (XIII 4 IV 59 *n-at-san haliyaz asaunaz mahhan karsan* 'when it [has been] removed from the corral [or] fold'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:396 [1934]), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-a-li-ya* (XXX 13 Vs. 7 *hāliya asāuw*[*ar* 'corrals [and] folds'; dupl. XXIV 3 II 13 *hāliya*[), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-a-li-e-as* (*KBo* VI 2 + XIX 1 III 48 [= *Code* 1:66] *hāleas harapta* '[if a bovine or equine] strays to corrals', besides ibid. 48–49 *asauni harapta* '[if a caprine or ovine] strays to a fold'; cf. Otten–Souček, *AfO* 21:6 [1966]), *ha-a-li-ya-as* (dupl. VI 3 III 52 *hāliy*]*as harapta*), *ha-a-li-as* (dupl. VI 8, 7 *hālias harapta*).

When juxtaposed to *asau(w)ar* (q. v. s. v. *es-*, *as-*), *hali-* thus denotes a corral for cattle and horses, as opposed to a fold for sheep and goats. The comparison made by Juret (*Vocabulaire* 19) and J. Duchesne-Guillemin (*TPS* 1946:74) with Gk. *ἀλωή* and *ἅλως* 'threshing-floor' and 'halo' is suggestive in the cultural parallelism of the secondary astronomical meaning. *ἀλωή* (cf. Cypr. *ἀλϝο-* and Hes. *ἄλοια· κῆποι*) also has the wider sense of 'garden, orchard, vineyard', and plausibly had early reference to cleared ground around a homestead, thus to a circumscribed area surrounding a centerpiece; *ἅλως* likewise implies circularity in its secondary meanings other than 'halo' (round disk, circular piazza [at Delphi]). Hitt. *hali-*, on the other hand, signifies an enclosure, with emphasis on confinement rather than openness; but that such a sense can equally well be transferred to the ring around the moon is seen in the parallel term *hila-* 'yard; lunar or solar halo' (cf. also e. g. German *mond-hof*, Swedish *mån-gård*). For the entirely different Hittite designation of the threshing-floor (cognate with Lat. *ārea*) see s. v. *hah(ha)r(a)-*.

The Greek forms point to **ἀλϝο-* secondarily reshaped to **ἀλωϝ-*, much as e. g. IE **pH₂tr̥wyo-* (Skt. *pitr̥vyà-*, Avest. *tūiryō-*, Lat. *patruus* 'paternal uncle', OHG *fatureo* 'cousin') appears in Gk. as *πάτρως* (stem *πάτρωϝ-*). The relation of such **ἀλϝο-* to Hitt. *hali-* is uncertain, but Indo-European root etymology (Juret, Duchesne-Guillemin, loc. cit.) is more probable than some kind of areal borrowing (Tischler, *Glossar* 128–9). A **A₁el-y-* : **A₁el-w-* variation is conceivable (cf. e. g. **kal-y-* : **kal-w-* in Skt. *kalya-*, Gk. *καλλ-/*

καλός), and ultimate affinity to the root *al- (*IEW* 26–7) not out of the question; OIr. *alt* 'hill, bluff', Lat. *altus* 'high' would then be cognate. In that case 'threshing-floor' may be the primary meaning (cf. Varro, *De re rustica* 1:51: *aream esse oportet in agro sublimiori loco*), and the Hittite sense of 'corral' result via a more general 'barnyard' notion, once a new technical term had been introduced for 'threshing-floor' (cattle still occupy the threshing-floor at times at present-day Boğazköy; cf. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 248–9 [1981]).

Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 327–8 [1981]) postulated for *hali-* a primary sense of 'wall' and connected *halina-* 'clay' and Gk. *ἀλίνειν* 'smear', comparing Gk. *τεῖχος* 'wall' and IE **dheygh-* 'smear, mold'. For 'wall' in Hittite and such semantic ramifications see rather s. v. *kutt-* and *sah-*.

Cf. *halissiya-*, *hila-*.

haliya- 'kneel, genuflect', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-ya-zi* (*KUB* VIII 62 I 4; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:28 [1930]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:23 [1968]; XVI 72, 7 *AN*]*A* DINGIR-*LIM* GAM-*an haliyazi* 'kneels down before the god'), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-a-li-ya* (X 11 II 16–17 *n-as ANA* DINGIR-*LIM UŠKEN ta hāliya* 'before the god he prostrates himself and kneels'; XX 46 III 11–12 *nu ANA* DINGIR-*LIM aruwāizzi t-as hāliya* 'id.'), *ha-a-li-ya-ri* (XX 99 II 5 *n-as 2-ŠU UŠKEN hāliyari-ma-as ŪL* 'he prostrates himself twice but does not kneel'; XXVIII 82 I 6; *KBo* XVII 75 I 27; cf. Neu, *Mediopassiv* 190), *ha-li-ya-ri* (*KUB* XII 11 IV 33 *tagān katta haliyari* 'he kneels down on the ground'; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:310), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-li-ya-at* (*KBo* III 3 I 12–13 *n-as-mu* GÌR.MEŠ-*as kattan haliyat* 'he knelt down at my feet'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 138; H. Klengel, *Orientalia* N.S. 32:33 [1963]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-li-ya-at-ta-at* (*KUB* XIV 15 IV 28–29 *n-as-mu uit* GÌR.MEŠ-*as kattan haliyattat* 'she came and knelt down at my feet'; similarly ibid. 31–32, XIX 30 I 18, *KBo* V 5 II 1; cf. Götze, *AM* 70, 92, 152; X 12 I 25; X 13 I 24–25; cf. H. Freydank, *MIO* 7:360 [1960]; *KUB* XXXIII 106 IV 5; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:28 [1952]), *ha-li-at-ta-at* (XIX 49 I 39; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:8), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-li-i-e-ir* (*KBo* III 4 III 16 *nu-mu* SAL.MEŠ *kuit* GÌR.MEŠ-*as* GAM-*an hāliyer* 'because the women knelt down at my feet'; IV 4 IV 19–20 and 32; cf. Götze, *AM* 70, 134–8), *ha*]*-a-li-e-ir* (*KUB* XIX 13 I 51; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:110 [1956]), 3 pl. pret. midd.

ha-a-li-ya-an-da-at (*KBo* IV 4 III 46–47 *n-at-mu* GÌR.MEŠ-*as kattan hāliyandat* 'they knelt down at my feet'; *KUB* XIV 15 III 46–47; cf. Götze, *AM* 128, 56); partic. *haliyant-*, nom. pl. c. in XXIX 1 II 3–4 *hāliantes asanzi* '(they) remain kneeling' (cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]); verbal noun *haliyatar* (III 95, 6; cf. *MSL* 3:79 [1955]; *Maşat* 75/45 Vs. 4; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:38 [1980]); iter. *haliski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-a-li-is-kat-ta-ri* (*KUB* V 6 II 51; cf. Sommer, *AU* 282).

Caus. *halinu-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-li-nu-an-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 45 I 14; XXIX 40 III 47; XXIX 50 I 13 and 28; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 172, 182, 208–10), *ha-li-nu-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* VIII 49, 7; cf. Kammenhuber, op. cit. 206).

Cf. Ehelolf, *Studia Orientalia* 1:9–13 (Helsinki, 1925); Neu, *Interpretation* 34–5. 'Kneel, genuflect' is the best translation of *haliya-*, as is 'bow (reverentially)' for *henk-* (cf. also *ginussariya-* 'kneel' [s. v. *genu-*], *kanenai-* 'bow down, crouch, squat'); 'prostrate oneself' is *aruwai-* (*ŠUKĒNU*). There may be some plausibility in Van Windekens' comparison of *haliya-* with Gk. *λιάζομαι* 'sink, shrink, recoil, swerve' (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 335 [1981]), although one would have expected some trace of a prothetic vowel in Greek (cf. e. g. *halina-* [s. v.]).

Pedersen's comparison of *haliya-* with Lith. *kēlias* 'knee' (*Hitt.* 177) rested on an unacceptable premise *h* < **k*, as did L. L. Hammerich's connection with IE **ĥley-* 'lean' (*Laryngeal before sonant* 56 [1948]). More plausible is the adduction of Arm. *olok'* 'shinbone', Skt. *āṇí-* 'lower thigh' (< **arní-* < **elni-*), and the many terms for 'elbow' and 'ell' (Lat. *ulna*, Gk. *ὠλένη*, Goth. *aleina*, OIr. *uile*, etc.; cf. E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:451 [1952]; Čop, *Ling.* 6:71 [1964]). A connection with *halluwa-* 'deep' (V. M. Illič-Svityč, *Etimologija 1965* 351 [1967]; V. Ševoroškin, *Orbis* 17:467 [1968]) is unlikely.

Cf. *halihla(i)-*. For the phrase *hurkin halenzi* see s. v. *hurki-*, *halai-*.

halliya- (c.), nom. sg. *hal-li-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXIV 22 IV 5–6 *takku halliyas-ma* MI [...] *anda uwanzi nu* [... 'if a dark h. ..., they see within...'), acc. sg. *hal-li-ya-an* (ibid. 3–4 *takku halliyan-ma* KAL *uwanzi parnas assul kisa* 'but if they see a strong h., there is well-being of the house').

In this fragment dealing with the ominous appearance of tiny creatures, the other side of the tablet mentions the sinister jumpy

emergence of *āskuēs*, probably 'moles' (q. v.). Here the observation of a single *halliya-* is characterized as a good omen, but what precedes (IV 1–2) is still calamitous: É-*ri anda uizzi parnas sakkuriyauwar* 'comes inside the house, subjugation of the house'.

haliyami- (c.), a cult official, nom. sg. LÚ*ha-li-ya-mi-is* (*KBo* XXII 201 II 2; XXVII 42 VI 15; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:61), LÚ*ha-a-li-ya-mi-is* (*KUB* XXV 1 VI 7–10 *n-asta* LÚ*hāliyamis* NINDA *saramma* [LÚ]*MURIDI* UZUYÀ *zēanda* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *anda udanzi ta* LUGAL-*i parā appanzi* 'the h. and the waiter respectively bring in palace-bread and breadloaves cooked in fat and serve the king'), nom. pl. LÚ.MEŠ*ha-li-ya-mi-e-es* (*KBo* IV 9 I 21–22 LÚ.MEŠ*haliyamiēs* NINDA *saramma isgaranzi* 'the h. skewer palace-bread'; *KUB* XX 40, 2–4 LÚ.MEŠ*haliyamiēs* NINDA*taparwasun hassī tapusza tianzi* 'the h. place t.-bread beside the hearth'; XX 78 IV 22–24 LÚ.MEŠ*haliyamiēs* NINDA*taparw*[*a*]*sun hassī tapusza* [*i*]*sgaran*[*zi* 'the h. skewer t.-bread beside the hearth'), LÚ.MEŠ*haliyamis* (*KBo* XXV 47 IV 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 85), gen. pl. uninflected LÚ.MEŠ*ha-li-ya-mi* (*KUB* XI 28 IV 4 *INA* É LÚ.MEŠ*haliyami* 'in the house of the h.'), uncertain LÚ.MEŠ*ha-li-mi-ya-as* (sic XI 34 III 11).

Considering the almost constant association of the *haliyami-* with the ritual manipulation and dispensation of various kinds of bread, it is tempting to connect it with *hali-* 'ration, portion' (q. v.) which often occurs with bread and especially with the same NINDA *saramnas*. *haliyami-* might be derived from *hali-* as 'apportioner' as e. g. *hilammi-* 'courtier' is from *hila-* 'court' (q. v.), with the same type of appurtenance suffix.

halli(ya)ri- (c.) 'cult-singer, cantor' (vel sim.) (LÚGALA, which also matches the Hattic LÚ*sa-ah-ta-ri-i-il* in *KBo* V 11 I 12, hittitized as LÚ*sahtarili-* [q. v.]), nom. sg. LÚ*hal-li-ya-ri-as* (sic *KUB* II 5 II 5; cf. e. g. *tuzzias* [*KBo* II 5 II 13] beside normal *tuzzis*, perhaps also *hariyas* [see s. v. *hariya-*]; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:340), *hal-li-ya-ra* (sic *KBo* XXX 12 VI 6; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:41), dat. sg. LÚ*ha-a*]*l-li-ya-ri* (*KUB* XXXIV 50, 3 *ha*]*lliyari tezz*[*i* 'says to the cantor'), nom. pl. LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ri-es* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 9 + XVII 20 + XX 5 + XXV 12 + *ABoT* 5 passim LÚ.MEŠ*halliries* SÌR-*RU* 'the cantors sing'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 30–6; *KBo* XVII 74 II 37 GIŠ DINANNA TUR LÚ.MEŠ*hall*[*ir*]*ies ishamianzi*

'the cantors sing [to the accompaniment of] the small "Ištar-woods" '; ibid. III 21 G]IŠ DINANNA GAL.GAL LÚ.MEŠ*hallirie*[*s is*]*hamianzi*; cf. ibid. IV 20 LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ya-ri-es* SÌR-*RU*, beside dupl. *Bo* 3116 IV 13 LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ri-es*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 22, 26, 32, 54; *KBo* XXI 25 IV 16 LÚ.MEŠ*halliries* SÌR-*RU*; XXII 195 II 9, III 11, IV 13; XXIII 61, 10; XXV 61 Rs. 10; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 136; XXV 143 II 7; *KUB* XX 76 IV 4), LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-e-ri-es* (e. g. *KBo* XXV 171 VI 5 GI]Š DINANNA TUR LÚ.MEŠ*hallieries* SÌR-*RU*; cf. ibid. 8 LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-e-ya-ri* [sic] SÌR-*RU*; *KUB* II 3 I 30 GI]Š DINANNA GAL LÚ.MEŠ*hallieries* SÌR-*RU*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:62), LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ya-ri-es* (profuse, e. g. *KBo* XI 28 III–IV passim; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 153–6; XIX 128 IV 50; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 12; XXIII 76 II 1 and 15; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 220; *I*(raq) *M*(useum) 63682, 14 LÚ.MEŠ*halliyaries* SÌR-*RU*; cf. von Schuler, *BMitt.* 5:47, 49 [1970]), LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ya-ri-e-es* (e. g. *KBo* IV 9 III 24 [syntactically acc. pl.] and V 42; *KUB* X 21 II 13; XI 13 II 6 and 13), LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ya-ri-is* (e. g. XX 76 I 7; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 48 [1982]; XXX 41 V 3 and VI 6, 13, 31), LÚ.MEŠGALA (e. g. *KBo* X 24 IV 13–18 LÚ.MEŠGALA SAL.MEŠ*arkammiyales* LUGAL-*i piran* EGIR-*ann-a huuiyantes* GIŠ*arkammi galgaltūri walhanniskanzi* SÌR-*RU*-*ma ŪL* 'the cantors [and] harpists, running in front and back of the king, keep striking harps and tambourines but do not sing'), dat. pl. LÚ.MEŠ*hal-li-ya-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* X 26 III 8). Cf. Alp, *Beamtennamen* 60–5; Daddi, *Mestieri* 222–7, 301–3.

The cultic context points to Hattic affinities, as does the near-synonym LÚ*sahtarili-*; attestation in early texts also favors Hattic (rather than Luwian-Hurrian) as a possible source. The Old Hittite predilection for *halliri-* and the transition to *hallieri-* to *halliyari-* is reminiscent of OHitt. *īzzi*, *tizzi* beside later *iezzi*, *tiezzi*, and normal late *iyazzi*, *tiyazzi* (see s. v. *iya-*, *ie-*, *i-*). Further speculation seems futile; there is no reason to adduce LÚ*haliyami-* (q. v.). Unlikely comparison with Arm. *xal* 'play, song' by T. Schultheiss (*KZ* 77:220 [1961]) and J. Greppin (e. g. *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 3:70 [1982]).

halihla(i)- 'genuflect', (transitive) 'make obeisance to', 2 sg. pres. act. in *KBo* III 34 II 20–21 *marsanza-wa-zik* LUGAL-*un-wa-z mekki halihlatti* 'you are a hypocrite, you forever make obeisance to the king', 2 sg. pres. midd. *ha-li-ih-li-is-ta-ri* (VII 28, 5 + VIII 92, 4; cf. Laroche, *RA* 62:88 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-ih-la-i* (*KUB* XIV 1

Rs. 10; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 22), 2 pl. pres. act. *hal]ihlatteni* (*KBo* III 23 Rs. 13; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]), 3 pl. pres. midd. in *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 1 *n-at-san hassī halihliyandāri* 'they genuflect at the hearth' (cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:500 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:160 [1982]), 3 pl. imp. midd. *hal]ihliyandaru* (*Bo* 3417 Rs. 9); iter. *halihliski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-ih-li-is-ki-mi* (*KUB* XXVI 86 III 4–5 *nu-tta halihliskimi nu duddu hal[zihhi* 'I shall genuflect before you and call for pardon'; with *-za*, 203/f, 6; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:194 [1977]), 3 sg. pres. act. *halihl[iskizzi* (with *-za*, ibid. 7), 1 pl. pres. act. *halihliskiuwani* (with *-za*, ibid. 8), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-li-ih-li-es-kán-zi* (*KUB* LVII 1 Vs. 14–15 *-za ... arha halihleskanzi*). Cf. N. Van Brock, *RHA* 22:141 (1964); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:545, 379; Neu, *Interpretation* 33–4; Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 24.

Full redupl. of *haliya-* 'kneel' (q. v.).

halina- (c.?) 'clay' (vel sim.), gen. sg. *ha-li-i-na-as* in *KBo* XVII 1 I 26 *halīnas tessummius* 'clay cups' (cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20), XVII 1 III 31 *tiss]umminn-a halīnas pehh[e* 'I give a clay cup' (ibid. 32), XVII 3 IV 31–32 *halīnas zeri harmi t-an anda* 3-*is* LUGAL-*us* SAL.LUGAL-*sa zeriya allapahhanzi* 'I hold a clay goblet and into the goblet the king and queen spit three times' (ibid. 38).

Etymology uncertain. The connection with IE **gley-* (*IEW* 362–3) seen in Russ. *glína* 'clay', Gk. *γλίνη* (*EM*), *γλοιός* 'gum, gluten', OE *clǣg* 'clay' (Otten–Souček, op. cit. 95), founders on the unacceptable derivation of *h-* from a guttural stop. More plausible is Neumann's adduction (*IF* 76:265 [1971]) of Gk. (Hes.) *ἀλίνειν · ἀλείφειν* 'anoint, daub, smear', *ἄλινσις* (Epidaurus) = *ἄλειψις*; the nasal is due to a present stem (cf. Lat. *linō* : perf. *lēvī* 'rub, smear'), much as in *γλίνη* (cf. OIr. *glenim*, OHG *klenan* 'glue, smear'). Since the Greek *ἀ-* is "prothetic", *halina-* < **A*$_1$*lino-*?

halipi- (c.), title occurring especially with names of members of scribal families, nom. sg. in *KUB* XXXI 64 II 7 [^{I}*H*]*a-ni-i-is* ^{LÚ}*ha-li-pí*[, *KBo* VI 4 I.R. 3 ^{LÚ}*ha-a-li-pí* (ibid. 1–4 ^{I}*Hanikui*DINGIR-*LIM-is* DUB.SAR DUMU ^{I}NU.GIŠ.[SAR] DUMU.DUMU-*ŠÚ ŠA* ^{I} ^{LÚ}GAL.DUB.SAR.MEŠ *Ù* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-[*ŠU*] *ŠA* ^{I}*Karunuwa* ^{LÚ}*halipi ŠA* KUR UGU *Ù* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU-MA ŠA* ^{I}*Hanikui*DINGIR-*LIM* GAL NA.KAD 'Hanikuilis the

scribe, son of "Gardener", grandson of "Head Scribe", and the grandsons of Karunuwa the *halipi* of the Upper Country, and also the grandsons of Hanikuilis the Head Shepherd'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 58–60), acc. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-li-pí-en* (IV 12 Rs. 5–8 *nu* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* GIM-*an* ^{I}*Hattusilis* ^{SAL}*Puduhepass-a* S[AL.LUG]AL GAL ^{I}*Alihhesnin* ^{LÚ} *halipen* ^{I}UR.MAH.LÚ-*in* GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ ^{I}*Adduwan* ^{I}ŠEŠ-*zin-a* DUMU.MEŠ ^{I}*Mittanna*A.A *kanesta* 'even as my majesty Hattusilis and queen Puduhepas favored Alihhesnis the *halipi*, UR.MAH-zitis the Head Scribe, Adduwas, and Naninzis, sons of Mittannamuwas' [who was himself the head scribe of Hattusilis III]; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 44; Laroche, *Noms* 119; Daddi, *Mestieri* 110).

The uninflected nominative points to a title poorly integrated into Hittite grammar and thus presumably of non-Hittite origin.

Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:224) connected *halipi-* with *hali-* 'watch'. Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 335–6 [1981]) made a poorly motivated quantum leap to Lith. *liẽpti* 'command' (postulating IE **p* despite constant Hitt. *-p-* spelled single). A. Archi (*SMEA* 6:77 [1968]) mysteriously rendered ^{LÚ}*halipi ŠA* KUR UGU as 'l'accusatore del paese superiore'.

halissa- (c.) 'casing, overlay', abl. sg. *ha-li-is-sa-az* (*KUB* V 7 Rs. 22–23 *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM kuit ŠAMU ser nu-wa halissaz arha ishūwan harzi* 'what baldachin the god had over him he has stripped of its casing').

haliessiya-, *halissiya-* 'encase, overlay, plate', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-is-si-ya-mi* (*KUB* XV 1 II 3–4 *nu-tta* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN ZAG.GAR.RA-*ya halissiyami* 'I plate for thee a baitylos and altar'; ibid. III 37 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A-*ya-ssi halissiyami* 'I plate weapons for him'), *ha-lis-si-ya-mi* (XV 19 Vs. 8 *n-an halissiyami*, viz. the deity['s icon]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-lis-si-ya-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIX 7 II 9 *n-us ištu* KÙ.BABBAR *halissiyanzi* 'they plate them with silver'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; XV 5 I 5 ^{NA_4}*y]aspun halissiyanzi* 'they overlay jasper'; *KBo* VIII 103, 4), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-li-is-si-ya-nu-un* (III 6 II 27–28 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-*ma kuin apiya harkun n-an halissiyanun n-an ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN-*YA piran tehhi* 'but the weapon which I had there I plated and present it to my lady goddess'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KUB* XIII 35 II 34–35 *nu-wa* GUŠKIN *ŠA* AMA-*YA dahhun nu-war-at apez* [...] *halissiyanun* 'I took gold from my mother and [re]plated them [viz. the stripped royal spears] with it'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; *KBo* X 2 II 29–31 [2] *hamrita IGĀRU* EGIR[-*izziyan ... i*]*ŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR

GUŠKIN *halissiya[nun* ^{GI}^{Š}IG-*ya IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN *h[alissiyanun]* 'in two shrines, the[ir] back wall I plated with silver [and] gold, and the[ir] door I plated with silver [and] gold'; cf. X 1 Vs. 39–40 [Akk.] *u igari* ... GUŠKIN *utahhiz u* ^{GI}^{Š}IG [GUŠKI]N *utahhiz* 'and the wall ... with gold I covered, and the door with gold I covered'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:48, 78 [1965]; X 2 III 23–24 *kuttann-a kattan sara* É-*se-ya IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR *halissiyanun* 'and the wall from bottom to top in her temple I plated with silver'; cf. X 1 Rs. 15 [Akk.] *igara ... ina* KÙ.BABBAR *utahhiz* 'I covered the wall in silver'), *ha-lis-si-ya-nu-un* (*KUB* XXVI 71 I 7 *apedanda halissiyanun* 'therewith [i.e. with spoils from campaigns] I plated [viz. temples]'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-li-is-si-ir* (*Alalah* 454 II 18–19 ^{D}U-*wa araranza ēsta nu-war-an* EGIR-*pa halissir* 'the stormgod['s image] had been scraped; they replated it [with silver]'; cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 27:16 [1970]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-lis-si-an-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 12 III 5 *ŠA* ^{GUD}*Tella-ma* KUN-*an IŠTU* GUŠKIN *halissiandu* 'let them gold plate T.'s tail'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]), *ha-lis-si-ya-an-du* (XV 5 II 22); partic. *haliessi(y)ant-, halissi(y)ant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-li-e]s-si-ya-an-za* (XXXIX 71 IV 11–12 IGI.HI.A-*ŠU-ya IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR [...*hal]iessiyanza* 'and its eyes silver-plated' [partitive apposition]), acc. sg. c. *ha-li-is-si-ya-an-da-an* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 49–50 *namma-kan* ^{GI}^{Š}MÁ.TUR *IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN *tepu haliss[iyan]dan anda tarnanzi* 'then they launch a small boat lightly plated with silver [and] gold'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 124), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-lis-si-an* (*KBo* XVIII 172 Vs. 7), *ha-li-is-si-an* (XXIII 52 III 4–5 KÙ.BABBAR-*it halissian* 'plated with silver'), *ha-lis-si-ya-an* (*KUB* XXXVIII 1 IV 4 2 UDU.KUR.RA GIŠ NAGGA *halissiyan* 'two mountain sheep of wood, tin-plated'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 14; *IBoT* II 129 Vs. 5–9 ^{GI}^{Š}*arimpuss-a-wa* ^{GI}^{Š}KUN$_4$ ^{GI}$^{Š(I)}$*tiyarit-a halissiyan ēsta kinun-ma-war-at ŪL halissiyan* ^{GI}^{Š}*tapri-ya-kan piran arha IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR *halissiyan ēsta kinun-ma-at ŪL halissiyan* 'the stands, staircase, and cart had been plated, but now they [are] not plated; the seat had been fully silver-plated, but now it [is] not plated'), *ha-li(s)-es-si-ya-an* (dupl. *KUB* XVI 35, 4–5] ^{GI}^{Š}*tiyarit-a haliessiyan ēsta* [... *hali]essiyan*), *ha-li-es-si-an* (*KBo* XXIII 52 II 18), nom. pl. c. *ha-li-is-si-ya-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXXVIII 22 Rs. 4; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:211 [1961]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-li-es-si-an-ta* (*KBo* XXIII 52 II 13; cf. ibid. 16 *ha-li-es-si-a[n-), ha-li-es-si-ya-an-ta* (*KUB* LVII 30, 6; cf. ibid. 13 *ha-li-es-si[-), ha-lis-si-an-da* (XV 19 Vs. 10); verbal

noun *ha-li-is-[si-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 42 III 56, matching Akk. *uhhuzzu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:139 [1971]), *ha-li-es-si-ya-⟨u-⟩ar* (I 53, 11, matching Akk. *uhhu]zu*; cf. *MSL* 3:87 [1955]); inf. *ha-li-is-su-u-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* LVI 23 Vs. 11), *ha-lis-su-an-zi* (XXVI 66 III 12–13 1 *MANA* KÙ.BABBAR-*ma ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Urikina halissuanzi* EGIR-*anda pier* 'but afterwards they gave a mina of silver for plating the gods of U.'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 67 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 106; *VBoT* 13, 8 *IŠTU* GUŠKIN *ha-li-e[s-*; *KBo* III 43 Vs. 14 GUŠKIN-*it ha-li-is-s[i-* (cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 178 [1987]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:492, 328; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 85–6.

Čop (*Ling.* 6:69 [1964]) declared **halis(s)-* 'enclosure' identical with *hali-* 'corral' (q.v.), "except for *-ss-*", but never explained the "exception". The variation *ha-li-es-/ha-li-is-/ha-lis-* points rather to **haliessa-* as the noun underlying the denominative verb *hali(e)ssiya-*. Such **haliessa-* might parallel ^{DUG}*ha-ni-es-sa-* as a derivative of *han(iya)-* (q.v.), a secondary thematization of the verbal noun *hanessar*. The verb underlying **haliessa-* might then be a denominative **haliya-* from *hali-* 'pen, corral', with a sense of 'enclose, encase'.

hali(e)ssiya- as a technical term thus largely replicates the meaning of a **haliya-* a whole deverbative-denominative derivation cycle later; cf. e.g. *hantantai-* beside *hantai-*.

halkestaru- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hal-ki-es-ta-ru* in *KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 55 *nu-wa* DUMU.LÚ.MEŠ-*LUTTI* SIG$_5$-*ru ANA* DUMU.MEŠ.LÚ.MEŠ-*LUTTI-wa hattulatar halkestaru* DÙ-*ru* 'let mankind thrive, for mankind let there be health (and) h.' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 156).

Haas (*Nerik* 174) suggested a compound with *taru-* 'tree', as in e.g. *allantaru-* (q.v.). In view of the obvious semantic range of 'prosperity', perhaps **halkiyas taru* 'grain-tree' (cf. 'money-tree') was a metaphor for *halkiyas miyatar* 'grain-growth' (q.v. s.v. *halki-*).

halki- (c.) 'grain, corn, grain-crop; (specifically) barley' (ŠE; cf. *e[u]wa[n]-*; contrasts with zíz[*-tar*], *karas* 'wheat'; cf. *kant-*, *seppit[t]-*, all probably varieties of the genus *Triticum* [*vulgare*, emmer, einkorn, spelt]; for the generic > specific sense cf. Engl. > Amer. *corn* [etymolog-

ically equalling Lat. *grānum*]), nom. sg. *hal-ki-is* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 10 I 13–14 *nu namma halkis* ZÍZ-*tar* ŪL *māi* 'barley [and] wheat grows no more'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]; *KBo* VI 34 + *KUB* XLVIII 76 III 43–44 *n-asta appell-a* IŠTU A.ŠÀ-*ŠU* ZÍZ-*tar* ŠE-*AM sarā le uizzi* 'thus shall in his field wheat [and] barley not come up'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14; *KUB* I 13 III 14 *arranza halkis* 'washed barley'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 64; *KBo* IV 2 I 58–60 *halkis-wa mahhan* NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU GUD UDU *huitarr-a hūman huisnuskizzi* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *kī-ya* É-*ir kās halkis kallarit uddanaz* QATAMMA *huisnuddu* 'even as grain keeps alive mankind, ox, sheep, and all wildlife, may this grain likewise preserve from the demon[ic] king, queen, and this house'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]; *KUB* VII 53 III 9–11 *namma-za-kan* NINDA SIG EGIR-*pa siyezzi nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *memai idalu-ssi papra*⟨*tar*⟩ EGIR-*an arha halkis nāu* 'then she throws flatbread in her wake and the old woman says "may the grain utterly remove from him evil defilement!" '; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20), acc. sg. *hal-ki-in* (e. g. XXVII 67 + IX 25 I 3 and 8, II 4, III 13 *halkin karas* 'barley [and] wheat'; XXIV 9 II 44 *karas halkin*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 38; XIII 4 IV 12 *halkin aniyatteni* 'you plant corn'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390 [1934]; I 13 III 58 *halkinn-a* ŠA HALA-*ŠU*[*NU az*]*zikanzi* 'they eat their corn-ration' [lit. 'the corn of their ration']; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 68, 327; *KBo* V 8 I 39–40 *nu* KARAS.HI.A *sārui tamēdaz pān ēsta* [*nu*]-*za halkin* GEŠTIN-*ya daskit* 'the army had gone elsewhere for booty and kept taking grain and wine'; cf. Götze, *AM* 150; *KUB* VIII 63 IV 15–16 *nu-wa* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ *penni nu-wa*[*r-at*...] *penni nu-wa-za halkin dā*[... 'bring the wagons, bring it..., take the grain'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:76 [1968]; VIII 1 III 10 *n-apa halkin karapanzi* 'they will devour the grain'; *KBo* VI 11 I 21 [= *Code* 2:12] A.ŠÀ-*LAM ŠA* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *halkin pian*[*zi* 'they give the land of an artisan [and] grain'; dupl. VI 10 I 24 *Š*]*A* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *hal-ki-im pi-an-zi* [sic, with sandhi *-im pi-*]), ŠE.HI.A-*in* (*KUB* XIII 1 IV 8; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62), gen. sg. *hal-ki-ya-as* (e. g. XV 34 II 23–24 DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*as* GUD.HI.A-*as* UDU.HI.A-*as halkiyas* GEŠTIN-*as miyatar piskattin* 'grant increase of man, cattle, sheep, grain, and vine'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190–2; XXIV 1 III 11–12 *nu-smas halkiyas* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*as ŠA* GUD UDU DUMU.LÙ.ULÙ.LU-*ya mīyata peski* 'grant them growth of grain, of vine, of cattle, sheep, and man'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22; XXI 17 II 12–13 *halkiyas-si* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli tehhun* 'a grain-jar I have set for her'; ibid. III 15–16 *nu-kan* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli halkiyass-a*

sunna[*nzi* 'they fill a jar with grain'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:22, 26; Lebrun, *Samuha* 145–6; *KBo* VI 3 IV 48 and 50 [= *Code* 1:96–7] *halkiyas* ARÀH-*an tāizzi* 'steals a grain-bin', with dupl. VI 2 IV 49 and 51 *halkias* ARÀH-*an*; XVII 3 IV 29 *halkiyas-a* [spelled *hal-ki-ya-sa*] ZÍZ.HI.A-*s-a harsārr-a* 'and the "heads" [= ears?] of barley and of wheat'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; ibid. 15–16 *halkiyas harsār ishiyanda* ZÍZ.HI.A-*s-a harsār ishiyanda* 'the "heads" of barley [are] tied, and the "heads" of wheat [are] tied'), *hal-ki-as* (e. g. dupl. XVII 1 IV 19–20 *halkias harsār ishiyanda* ZÍZ.HI.A-*ass*[*-a*] *harsār ishiyanda*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36; *KUB* XVII 10 IV 29–30 *n-asta anda halkias* ^{D}SUMUQAN-*as* GEŠTIN-*as kitta* 'inside is [a deposit] of grain, vegetation, and wine'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]), instr. sg. *hal-ki-it* (e. g. *KBo* II 3 I 57–58 *kāsa-war-as* Ú-*it halkit warkanza* 'look, [the piglet] [is] fatted with grass [and] grain'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 72; L. Rost, *MIO* 1:356 [1953]; VI 2 IV 50 and 51–52 [= *Code* 1:96–7] ARÀH-*an halkit sunnai* 'fills the bin with grain'; dupl. VI 3 IV 49 and 51 [ARÀH]-*an halkit sunnai*; *KUB* XXX 26 I 8–10 2 ^{GIŠ}MA.SÁ.AB *halk*[*it*] *sūwantes* ŠÀ-*BA* 1 ^{GIŠ}MA.SÁ.AB ZÍZ *suuanza* [...] ŠE *suuanza* 'two baskets filled with grain, among them one basket filled with wheat [and one basket] filled with barley'), abl. sg. *hal-ki-ya-za* (e. g. XXIII 1b, 10; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 18), nom. pl. *hal-ki-e-es* (e. g. *Maşat* 75/13 Rs. 15–17 *nu-ssan mān halkiēs arantes n-as-kan arha warastin* 'when grain has reached ripeness [lit. arrived], harvest it!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:46 [1980]; *KUB* XXVI 77 I 5 and 8 *halkiēs* GEŠTIN.HI.A-*ess-a* 'grain and wine'; cf. S. R. Bin-Nun, *JCS* 26:117 [1974]), *hal-ki-us* (*KBo* X 37 II 15–17 *ANA* ANŠU.KUR.RA *halkius ... etre-smit* 'for horses grain ... is their food'; IV 4 II 5–6 *nu-smas halki*HI.A-*us namma* [*tepaw*]*ēszi* 'and further their grain is getting scarce'; cf. Götze, *AM* 112), *hal-ki-as* (*Maşat* 75/15 Vs. 5–6 *kāsa-wa-ssan halki*HI.A-*as karū arantes* 'behold, grain [has] long since reached ripeness'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:42 [1980]), acc. pl. *hal-ki-us* (e. g. *Maşat* 75/13 Vs. 9–10 *nu-wa-kan halkius arha waraskizzi* 'harvests the grain'; *KUB* XIII 4 IV 22–23 *sumel-ma-as-kan halkius hūmandus arha danzi* 'they will take away all your grain'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:392 [1934]; *VBoT* 58 I 13 *halkius* [*ū*]*L tinnuzi* 'he does not make the crops wither'; cf. Laroche *RHA* 23:83 [1965]; *Maşat* 75/15 Vs. 7–8 *INA* ^{URU}*Qasqa-ma-wa halki*HI.A-*us* BURU$_6$.HI.A *ezzasta* 'in Gasga-town a locust-swarm has eaten the grain'; *KUB* XIV 15 I 11 *ŠA* ^{URU}*Palhuissa halki*HI.A-*us sar*[*ā dahhun* 'I took up the grains of P.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 34; *KBo*

IV 4 I 41–42 *nu-wa-smas īt halki*HI.A*-us arha harnik* 'go and destroy their crops!'; ibid. II 64 *halki*HI.A*-us harninkuwanzi* 'to destroy the crops'; cf. Götze, *AM* 110, 120), *hal-ki-ya-as* (*KUB* XVII 8 IV 11 *nu-ssi halkiyas piyer nu-ssi* GIG*-an piyer* 'they gave him grain, they gave him illness'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:167 [1965]; G. Kellerman, *Hethitica VIII* 217 [1987]), *hal-ki-as* (*Maşat* 75/15 Vs. 9–10 *nu-wa-smas-kan ŠA* URU*Gasipūra halki*HI.A*-as zigganzi* 'now [the locust-swarms] keep putting away your grain of G.'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 60–5 (1974).

Halki- (DNISABA), theonym, nom. sg. D*Hal-ki-is* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 10 III 31–32 D*Halkis* D*Miya*[*tanzipas*] D*Telipinus*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:95 [1965]; XLIII 30 III 7 D*Halkis*, followed [ibid. 8] by D*Ispanzasepas* and [ibid. 9] by D*Hilassis*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77; XVI 11, 5; XXVII 68 IV 6), *Hal-ki-is* (*KBo* XVII 89 III 8 *ŠA* GIŠGEŠTIN *Halkis* 'H. of the vine', preceded [ibid. 5] by D*Miyadanzipas*), D*Hal-kis* (XI 32 Vs. 33), *Hal-kis* (ibid. Rs. 52), acc. sg. D*Hal-ki-in* (e. g. XVII 21 + 46 + XX 33 + XXV 19 Vs. 40 D*Halkin ekuzi* 'toasts H.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 55; XX 13 I 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 141; XV 33 II 23 and 31; XVII 46, 16; *KUB* XII 21, 8), D*Hal-ki-en* (*KBo* IV 11, 61; cf. *Dict. louv.* 164), gen. sg. D*Hal-ki-ya-as* (X 27 IV 15 É D*Halkiyas ari* 'arrives at the shrine of H.'; *IBoT* II 80 VI 1–4 *n-asta taknas* DUTU*-as hattiessar* D*Halkiyass-a hattessar ser galissanzi* 'they invoke the pit of the solar deity of the earth and the pit of Halkis'), D*Hal-ki-as* (*KBo* IV 9 V 26 D*Halkias piran* 'before H.'; *IBoT* III 1, 92 D*Halkias āski* 'at the gate of H.'), *Hal-ki-as* (*IBoT* I 29 Vs. 20 LÚSANGA *Halkias*), dat.-loc. D*Hal-ki* (e. g. *HT* 79, 5; *KUB* XXXIV 102 II 4 *ANA* D*Halki* besides ibid. III 19 DNISABA; *KBo* IV 13 II 19 *ANA* D*Telipinu* D*Halki* DSUMUQAN; *KUB* XXV 32 I 12 *ANA* D*Halki*; *IBoT* II 80 I 5 *ANA* D*Halki*), D*Hal-ki-ya* (e. g. ibid. 9 *ANA* D*Halkiya*; *KBo* IX 137 II 21; *IBoT* II 80 I 9 *ANA* D*Halkiya*), *Hal-ki-ya* (*KUB* XXVIII 75 III 25–27 *mān ANA Halkiya huekzi* LÚGUDÚ*-s-a memai udhurū Kayit hapipunān Kayit hawashawipi hāyamma* DINGIR*-ap kāttah* 'when he conjures Halkis, the anointee says [in Hattic] "... Kayit ... Kayit [= Grain], among the gods ..., goddess, queen!" '). For details of cultic stratification (the divinized Hittite word for 'grain' and the sumerogram DNISABA applied to both the Hattic grain-goddess and the Luwian-Hurrian grain-god [cf. Hurr. *kateni* 'grain'?]), see e. g. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 82–4 (1974). Cf. also Lyc. **χad(a)*- 'grain' (Neumann, *Die Sprache* 20:113–4 [1974])?

The search for the origin of *halki-* has been dominated by two persistent "myths": on the one hand Hrozný's durable first-hunch invocation of Gk. *χλόη* 'grass', Phrygian *ζέλκια · λάχανα* 'vegetables' (Hes.), OCS *zlakŭ* 'grass', thus IE **ĝhel-* 'green, yellow' (with **ĝh* > *h*; perpetuated down to Pedersen [*Hitt.* 177], J. Duchesne-Guillemin [*TPhS* 1946:86], and Hammerich [*Laryngeal before sonant* 56], but rejected already by Couvreur, *Hett.* 59), on the other Sommer's suggestion of Hurrian origin (*Hethiter und Hethitisch* 95 [1947]; cf. e. g. *HW* 47; Gusmani, *Lessico* 29–30). That the cereal designation *halki-*, which occurs from Old Hittite onward and may be anthroponymically present already in the Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe (*Halkiasu*; cf. Laroche, *Noms* 55), is some kind of local areal culture word was, however, surmised by Kronasser (*Die Sprache* 5:60 [1959], *Etym.* 1:211) and Rosenkranz (*JEOL* 19:506 [1965–6]). While its etymological sources remain obscure, it may have lingered on in Anatolian Gk. *ἄλιξ* 'spelt' (Chrysippus Tyanensis apud Athenaeum 14:647d), borrowed into Lat. *(h)alica* 'spelt' (from acc. sg. *ἄλικα*; Neumann apud Tischler, *Glossar* 133), and is perhaps attested also in Etr. *halχ*, *halχza*, *halχze*, possibly 'beer' (made with barley; cf. V. Georgiev, *Linguistique balkanique* 5.1:41 [1962]; A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Iguvina* 77 [1964]).

Indo-European root connections are improbable, e. g. Lat. *legūmen* or *alica* (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 20; E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:451 [1952]); Gk. *ἄλφι(τα)* 'barley-groats' (E. P. Hamp, in *Evidence for laryngeals* 132 [1965]); IE **al-* 'grind' (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:54 [1972]); Lat. *legere* 'gather, glean' (Van Windekens, *IF* 94:90-1 [1989]).

Cf. *halkestaru-*.

halkuessar (n.) 'produce, supplies (for cultic use)' (*MELKITU*), nom.-acc. sg. *hal-ku-es-sar* (e. g. *KUB* XXXI 79, 4–5 [GIŠ]MÁ.HI.A URU*Patteyarigaza halkuessar* URU*Samūh*[*a*] [...] 1-*ŠU peter* 'ships once brought supplies from P. to S.'; *ABoT* 14 III 16–19 2 GUD *IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM pianzi* 40 UDU.HI.A*-ma halkuessarr-a ŠA* É.MEŠ*-ŠUNU-pat annalaz tuppianza QATAMMA iyan* 'two oxen they give from the palace, but forty sheep and produce of their own houses are likewise made [= provided] in accord with the old tablet'; *KUB* XXXII 123 II 14 *halkuessar ke handan* 'the following supplies [are] arranged' [viz. bread, cheese, fats, vessels]; ibid. 38–39 *nu kī halkuessar kuit handan nu kuit adannas halkuessar* 'these are the supplies which [are] ar-

ranged; and what eating supplies...' [viz. bread, butter, honey, vessels, animals]), *hal-ku-e-es-sar* (ibid. 32–33 *nu kī halkuēssar hūman ŠA* UD.2.KAM *kuitman-kan aniūr karaptari ŠA* 1 NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*ma-as* MELKIZU [i.e. MELKIT-*ŠU*] 'these [are] all the supplies for day two; while the ritual is concluded, this [is] one person's supply'; cf. ibid. 37 MELKITA and III 8–9 *mahhan-ma-ssan* MELKITA *hūman pedi handanzi* 'when they have arranged on the spot all the supplies'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 307-9; XXV 27 I 24 *halkuēssar ŠA É-ŠU-pat* 'produce of his own house'; 365/i, 4 *halkuēssar* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.MEŠ['produce, breadloaves'), *hal-ku-i-es-sar* (XII 66 IV 5 *halkuyessar mekki* 'much produce'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]), MELKIT (MELKIT $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$... of various groups of men in *KBo* XVI 67 I 1, 5, 11; XVI 68 II 1 and III 8, 14, 20; XVI 69 I 3 and 6; XVI 74, 5; XXV 13 II 1 MELKIT [... ^{LÚ}]*akuta*[; ibid. 4 MELKIT ^{LÚ}[*arka*]*miyalas* 'of the harpist'; ibid. 7 MELKIT $^{SAL.MEŠ}$[...; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; V 1 I 50 MELKIZU *kissan* 'its supplies [are] as follows'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*), gen. sg. *hal-ku-e-es-na-as(-sa)* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 1 IV 3 *halkuēsnass-a* IGI.HI.A-*wa hardu* 'and for produce let him have eyes'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62), *hal-ku-is-sa-na-s(a)* (XIII 2 IV 12 *halkuissanas-a* IGI.HI.A-*wa harak* 'and for produce have eyes!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51), dat.-loc. sg. *hal-ku-es-ni* (e.g. XXVII 59 I 21 *kāsa ŠA* EZEN *uitassa halkuesni* 'here's [a libation] to the produce of the year-festival!'; cf. ibid. 22 *nu-za halkuessar handāmi* 'I arrange the produce'; ibid. 23–24 *nu-za halkuessar handāizzi mahhan-ma-za halkuessar handāuwanzi zinnāi...* 'he arranges the produce; but when he finishes arranging the produce...'; LIII I 1 I 6; LIII 2 I 6; cf. *AoF* 11:49, 47 [1984]), nom.-acc. pl. *hal-ku-es-sar*HI.A (XVIII 14 III 3).

Laroche (*RHA* 11:39–40 [1950]) connected *halkuessar* etymologically with *halki-* (presumably as a denominal abstract of the type *ispantuzziyassar, ispatuzzessar* from *ispantuzzi-*; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290), but the *-u-* has remained unexplained (Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19:503 [1965–6], tried Indo-European stem variation *-i-* : *-u-*). Laroche postulated a dubious base-meaning '(grain-)harvest', thence 'first-fruits' and 'provisioning, catering' for cultic festivals (rejected by Kammenhuber, *Orientalia* N.S. 39:563–4 [1970]). The akkadogram MELKITU, first adduced by Friedrich (*AfO* 14:349 [1944]), derived from *leqū* 'take (one's due), receive' and meaning 'revenue, income' (cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:147–8), would seem to indicate for *halkuessar* a primary verbal sense 'yield, produce, supply', readily connectible with IE **A*$_1$*elgh*^{w}- (*IEW* 32–3) seen in Gk. *ἀλφάνω, ἀλφεῖν* 'bring in, produce, yield, gain' (livelihood, cattle, price, rent), *ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί* 'profiteers, traders', *ἀλφεσίβοιος* 'producing cattle', *ἀλφή* 'gain' = Lith. *algà* 'wages', Skt. *árhati* = Avest. *arəʒaiti* 'be worth', Skt. *arghá-* 'price, prize', Avest. *arəʒah-* 'value, price' (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 31–2).

The Hittite verb underlying *halkuessar* cannot be the thematic one seen in Gk. *ἀλφεῖν* and Skt. *árhati* (no such Hittite stem-class exists; wrongly Čop, op. cit. 32), and hence *ἀλφεῖν* < **A*$_1$*elgh*^{w}*e-sen* is no even match for *halkuesni* (rather **A*$_1$*elgh*^{w}*-esni*), although both contain the heteroclitic suffix **-sr̥/-sn-* in the locative case. *halkuessar* is a verbal noun derived from either a root verb **halku-* < *A*$_1$*elgh*^{w}- (of the type *eku-* < **egh*^{w}-; cf. e.g. *istappessar* from *istapp-*) or from a denominative **halkuwai-* (from a noun **halkuwa-* equalling Skt. *arghá-*; cf. e.g. *hatressar* from *hatrai-*).

Carruba (*Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 130 [1976]) silently adopted Čop's etymology but postulated an unnecessary "metathesis of aspiration" in *halku-* < **algh*^{w}-, rather than acknowledging the laryngeal.

halmasuitt- (c.) 'throne' (talismanic or deified embodiment of the bestowal of sovereignty, rather than mere palace furniture, ^{GIŠ}DAG, ^{D}DAG, as opposed to ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A, ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA 'seat, throne' on which royalty normally sat), nom. sg. *hal-ma-as-su-iz* (*KUB* XXX 29 Vs. 9–10 *nu-za* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}Arinna [*e*]*sat* ^{D}*Halmassuizz-a-ma-az* ^{URU}*Hārpisa* KI.MIN 'the sun-goddess of Arinna sat down, and Throne of H. likewise' [thus sits down rather than being sat on]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 22, 27–8; *KBo* XXI 22 Rs. 49 ^{D}*Halmassuiz*), *hal-ma-as-su-i-iz* (*KUB* XXIX 3 I 3–4 LUGAL-*i-mu man*[*i-...*] ^{D}*Halmassuyiz ar*[*u-*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3), DAG-*iz* (later dupl. XXIX 1 I 23–24 LUGAL-*ue-mu maniyahhawen* ^{GIŠ}*hulugannien* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*iz arunaza udas* 'for me the king Throne has brought from the sea sway [and] chariot'; ibid. I 50, II 11, III 30 ^{GIŠ}DAG-*iz*, ibid. I 36 ^{D}DAG-*iz*; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:26–34 [1947]), ^{GIŠ}DAG *-za* (*KBo* I 42 II 14, matching ibid. GÚ and [Akk.] *šubdu* 'seat, base'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:135 [1971]; I 53, 3, matching [Akk.] *šubdu*), ^{D}DAG-*tis* (e.g. *KUB* XVIII 51 + *KBo* II 6 II 34 ^{D}DAG-*tis* GUB-*is* 'Throne rose'; *KUB* VI 46 II 17; presumably a Luwoid stem-innovation, cf. XXXV 67 II 2–3 [Luw.] *hal-ma-as-su-ú-it-*[*ti-is*] *gangataimmis āsdu* 'let

Throne be propitiated!'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 182; *Dict. louv.* 39), ^{D}DAG-*is* (VI 45 I 52; V 4 I 9 and 53; V 11 I 60; XXII 57 Vs. 9), ^{GIŠ}DAG-*is* (VI 23 Vs. 5; XXII 64 II 6), ^{D}DAG-*es* (V 5 III 9), acc. sg. *hal-ma-as-su-it-ta-an* (II 2 III 17–18 KÁ-*as-ma-za-kan* ^{D}*Zilipuras* LUGAL-*us t*-[*as*] ^{GIŠ}*Halmassuittan iet* 'in the gate[way] Z. the king, and he celebrated Throne'; ibid. 22 *n-as-san dāis* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti* 'he placed them on the throne'; ibid. 25 *n-at-san dāis* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti* 'he placed it on the throne'; matching ibid. 16 [Hattic] *ka-a-ha-a-an wa$_a$-su-it-tu-un*, ibid. 20 *ka-a-ha-an wa$_a$-su-id-du-ú-un*, ibid. 24 *ka-a-ha-an wa$_a$-su-id-du-un*; no space break in the duplicate spellings of *KBo* XXI 110 Vs. 5 and 8; cf. Schuster, *Bilinguen* 70–1, 89), ^{GIŠ}DAG-*an* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 34 *nu* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*an aramman halzihhu*[*n*] 'I invoked Throne as my friend'), ^{D}DAG (XXV 27 III 10 ^{D}DAG *iyanzi* '[they] celebrate Throne'; ibid. III 14 and I 16 ^{D}DAG-*ti* [sic, with dative case] *iyanzi*), ^{GIŠ}DAG-*tin* (XV 42 III 22 *nu* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*tin gangataizzi* 'propitiates Throne'), ^{D}DAG-*in* (V 1 IV 45; *IBoT* II 8 IV 7 ^{D}DA]G-*in* DÙ-*anzi* 'they celebrate Throne'), ^{D}*Hal-ma-as-su-ut-tu$_4$* (sic *KUB* IV 9 III 16–17 LUGAL-*us* GUB-*as* 2-*e ekuzi* ^{D}*Halmassuttu* ^{D}ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ 'the king standing toasts jointly Throne and the war-god'), gen. sg. *hal-ma-su-it-ta-as* (e. g. *KBo* III 22 I 57 É ^{D}*Halmasuittas* É ^{D}IM-*nas* 'temple of Throne [and] temple of the storm-god'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14), ^{D}*Hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti* (sic *IBoT* I 29 Vs. 21 ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{D}*Halmassuyitti* 'priest of Throne'), dat.-loc. *hal-ma-su-it-ti* (e. g. *KUB* XLIII 30 II 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76; *KBo* XVII 74 II 17 *halmasuit*[*ti lu*]*ttiya dāi* 'he puts [it] at the throne [and] at the window'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18), *hal-ma-as-su-it-ti* (e. g. ibid. 13 LUGAL-*us aruw*[*aizzi t*]-*as halmassuitti pa*[*rā tiy*]*ezzi* 'the king prostrates himself and steps forth to the throne'; similarly ibid. III 7; *KUB* XXXIV 123 I 13; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14; XLIII 26 I 11; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16, *Altheth.* 66; *KBo* XXI 49 II 3 and III 13, XXI 72 II 10 ^{D}*Halmassuitti*), *hal-ma-as-su-ú-it-ti* (XXI 85 I 40 *n-as halmassuuitti tapusza tiyezzi* 'he steps beside the throne'; *KUB* XXXII 135 IV 4–6 *halmassuuitti* 1-*šU luttiya* 1-*šU* ... *suhhāi* 'pours at the throne once, at the window once'), DAG-*ti* (e. g. X 21 I 16 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti esanda* 'king and queen sit at the throne' [thus, rather than on?]; XXIX 1 I 10 ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti tezzi* 'says to Throne'; *KBo* IV 9 II 45 *PANI* ^{D}DAG-*ti* 'before Throne'), abl. sg. *hal-ma-su-it-ta-az* (XVII 19 + XXV 52 II 8–9 LUGAL-*us halmasuittaz katta u*[*izzi*] *aruwaizzi t-as tiezzi* ['the king comes down from the throne, he prostrates himself, and he steps...'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 117), *hal-ma-as-su-it-ta-az*

(XVII 1 II 25 *halmassuittaz hass*[*az* 'from throne [and] hearth'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 26). Cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:83–120 (1966); M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 59–65 (1978); Starke, *ZA* 69:47–120 (1979).

Evidence for Hattic affinity (Laroche, *Recherches* 21–2, wrongly positing a Hittite stem *halmasuitta-*; *RA* 41:89 [1947]) is overwhelming. Besides the above-quoted Hattic *(ka-)hanwasuittun* there is Hattic ^{D}*Ha-an-wa$_a$-su-ú-i-it* (*KUB* I 17 VI 32), ^{D}*Hal-ma-as-su-ú-id-du-ú-un* (*KBo* XXI 85 I 21), ^{D}*Hal-ma-as-su-id-du-un* (dupl. XXI 88 II 2; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 31:84 [1973]), and in Hittite context such oddities as ^{D}*Hal-ma-as-su-id-du-ú* (*KUB* I 14 I 7, probable direct object of *ekuzi* 'toasts'), syntactic acc. sg. ^{D}*Halmassuttu* and gen. sg. *Halmassuitti* quoted above. Laroche's analysis *ha-n(i)was(u)-it-* (locative prefix + 'sit' + feminine suffix *-it*) has gained wide currency (cf. e. g. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:119 [1966]; Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 432, 444) and is reminiscent of IE **o-sdo-* 'perch, branch' or **ni-sdo-* 'place to alight, nest'. Such a deified feminine-gender bestower of sovereignty may have been in origin a coronation chair or stone, perhaps a combination of the two (cf. e. g. the Stone of Scone and the various Irish conveyors of dominion [Great Fál, Ériu]).

Starke (*ZA* 69:87, 104–12 [1979]) unconvincingly tried to overturn Laroche's approach: ^{GIŠ}DAG might rather mean 'base, pedestal'; the deity may be male, rendering a Hattic feminine suffix moot; the *nw* > *lm* shift is unmatched; Hittite would have turned a borrowed consonant stem into an *a*-stem; while Hitt. *halmasuitt-* is early [Old Hittite], Hattic *hanwasuitt-* is obscure and its tie to *halmasuitt-* may be a late folk-etymological construct. In refutation, the deity's sex could be ambivalent in Hittite, granted that it is a deified object and Hittite lacked feminine gender; it does not preclude a Hattic feminine suffix. The *nw* : *lm* variation is present in Hattic itself (*hanwasuittun* : ^{D}*Halmassuiddun*), perhaps under Hittite influence, and the Hittite predilection for *lm* may be related to the *n-m* > *l-m* development in inherited words (*laman* < **nomn̥*, *lammar* < **nomr̥*; cf. Neumann, *Untersuchungen* 34; see also s. v. *halputi-*). As an early borrowing from Hattic, *halmasuitt-* may well have escaped the trend to *a*-stem adaptation, *t*-stems being a well-attested native Hittite stem-class. An appeal to obscurity is pointless; *halmasuitt-* bears comparison with other regal vocabulary of Hattic origin such as *halent(i)u-* (q. v.).

halputi-, halmuti- (c.), wooden object(s) exhibited in cult, acc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*hal-pu-ti-in* (*KUB* LIV 64 Vs. 26; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 306–7, who also quoted ^{GIŠ}*halmuti-* from 1425/u), ^{GIŠ}*hal-pu-u-ti-in* (2076/g Vs. 17 -]*was* ^{GIŠ}*halpūtin hashassanzi* 'they [openly] display the h.'), dat.-loc. sg. *hal-pu-ti* (*KUB* LI 54 Rs. 11 and 12 ^{GIŠ}*halputi*; XXV 31, 19 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}*halputi*[), *hal-pu-u-ti* (*KBo* XXV 112 II 14 *ANA* [*hal*]*pūti*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191; *KUB* XXVIII 75 II 24 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}*halpūti*), ^{GIŠ}*ha-al-pu-u-ti* (ibid. 1; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 193–4), acc. pl. ^{GIŠ}*hal-pu-u-ti-us* (LVII 84 III 6–7 *kuitman* ^{GIŠ}*halpūtius hashaskanzi* 'while they are displaying the h.').

halputili-, halmutili-, nom. sg. c. ^{D}*Hal-pu-ti-li-is* (*KUB* XII 4 IV 7; XXV 27 III 9 ^{D}*Halputilis paizzi*, curiously besides ibid. 13 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Hal-pa*; *IBoT* II 8 IV 4 ^{D}]*Halputilis pa*[*izzi*, besides ibid. 6 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ha-al-pa*), acc. sg. c. ^{D}U.GUR ^{URU}*Hal-pu-ti-li-in* (sic *KUB* XXII 51 Rs. 14), ^{D}*Hal-pu-u-ti-li-in* (*KBo* XX 101 Rs. 9), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hal-pu-ti-el* (sic *KUB* LIV 64 Vs. 21 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*aras* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ari* ^{GIŠ} *halputel halziyanzi* 'they shout "h." to each other'; cf. e.g. *ēsharuīl* from **esharuili-* s.v. *eshar*), dat.-loc. sg. in *PANI* ^{D}*Hal-pu-ti-li* (*IBoT* II 82, 9), ^{GIŠ}*hal-pu-u-ti-li piran* 'before the h.' (*KUB* XX 88 VI 9, 14, 17; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:115 [1966]), *ANA* ^{D}*Hal-mu-ti-li* (LVI 51 II 6). Literally 'pertaining to the *halputi-*', as either theonym or some sort of wooden icon or idol. Cf. H. Klengel, *JCS* 19:88 (1965); M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 131 (1978).

Both *halputi-* and *halputili-* (with Hattic-origin appurtenance suffix) have immediate attested Hattic antecedents: *ka-a-ha-al-pu-u-ut-ti* (*KUB* XXVIII 15 Rs. 34b), *hal-wu$_u$-ut-te(-)la-as-ha-a-wi$_i$* (XXVIII 83 Vs. 4; i.e. *halwuttel-ashawi* 'god of the *halwutī*'), *ka-hal-wu$_u$-uz-zi-el* DINGIR-*ap katte* (XXVIII 75 II 3–4; i.e. *ka-halwuzzel ashap katte* 'god-king who is at the h.'; cf. Laroche, *Noms* 248). Cf. further Pal. (-)*hal-pu-ú-ta* (XXXV 165 Rs. 6; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 19, 53). The *p* : *m* : *w* variation is characteristic of Hattic (cf. e.g. *ashap* : *ashawi* above, or *halmasuitt-* [s.v.] from Hattic *hanwasuitt-*).

haluka- (c.) 'message, announcement, tidings, news', *halukan iya-* 'send (lit. make) a message', *halukan tarna-* 'deliver (lit. leave) a message', *haluki piya-* (*uiya-*, *nai-*) 'send on a mission', nom. sg. *ha-lu-ga-as* (e.g. *KBo* V 11 I 2–4 ^{LÚ}NI.DUH-*kan IŠTU* KÁ.GAL *katta tiyezi nu nāsili kissan tezzi halugas halugas* 'the gateman steps down from the gate and says in Hittite as follows: "announcement, announcement" '; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 16; *KUB* XXXIII 67 IV 15 ^{D}UTU-*i halugas pait* 'the message reached the sun-god' [followed by text]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:138 [1965]; VII 57 I 3 ^{D}U-*ni halugas*[; XVII 10 IV 32 *n-asta anda* SILÁ-*as miyus halugas kitta* 'inside [the sheepskin] is stored the lamb's gentle tidings [= *εὐαγγελία*]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]; VII 58 I 6–8 *tuēll-a ŠA* ERÍN.MEŠ-*KA* LÚ-*natar-tet zahhāis-mis halugas-mis apinessan egattaru* 'even so let my battle-message [hendiadys] cool the machismo of your troops'), acc. sg. *ha-lu-ka-an* (XXXVI 49 IV 7 *āssun halukan* 'good news'; ibid. 3 ^{D}UTU-*i halukan pe*[*da-* 'bring the news to the sun-god'), *ha-lu-qa-an* (XXXVI 89 Rs. 62 $^{[l]}$*Hūzziyas* LÚ ^{D}U *nepisi haluqan tarnai* 'H. the man of the storm-god delivers to heaven the message "..." '; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 156), *ha-lu-ga-an* (e.g. XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 12 *sanizzin halugan* 'pleasant news'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:69 [1968]; XXXIII 106 I 23 *nu namma* ^{D}*Hepadus* [DINGIR.M]EŠ-*as halugan* ^{ŪL} *istam*[*asta*] 'and Hebat heard no more news of the gods'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:18 [1952]; VII 57 I 6), *ha-lu-kán* (e.g. XXXIII 52 II 5 *halugan iya* ^{D}KAL *halukan iyat* 'send a message! Inaras sent a message'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:148 [1965]; XXXVI 51 Rs. 7 ^{D}KAL *halukan iyat*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:155 [1965]; *KBo* XXV 31 II–III [OHitt.] and later dupl. and par. XXV 41 Vs., XXV 42 l.K., *Bo* 2599 + *KBo* XVII 42 II, *Bo* 7521, *KBo* XXV 47 Rs. passim [^{D}*Inaras*] *halukan tarna*[*nz*]*i* 'deliver[s] [Inaras'] message'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 79–85; XXV 36 III 11 [OHitt.] and later dupl. XXV 43 I 4 *halukan tarnai*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 95; *KUB* XVII 10 I 27–28 *nu* EGIR-*pa* ^{D}UTU-*i halukan pedas* ^{ŪL}-*war-an wemiyanun* '[the eagle] brought back to the sun-god the message "I did not find him" '; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; XXXIII 88 Rs. 15 -]*nas halukan kuwatqa istama*[*szi* 'somehow hears the news'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:58 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54; *KBo* XIX 53 III 6; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 287 [1977]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-lu-ki* (e.g. IV 4 II 68–69 *nu-kan* ^{I}*Nana*LÚ-*in kuin* DUMU.LUGAL *ANA* ^{I}*Nuwanza* GAL. GEŠTIN *haluki parā nehhun* 'prince Nanazitis, whom I had sent forth on a mission to N. the wine-chief'; cf. Götze, *AM* 120; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 32 *ANA* K[UR-*e-y*]*a-wa haluki* [ZI-*i*]*t le kuedaniki piyesi* 'don't on your own send [anyone] on mission to any country'; ibid. 39–40 *mān-wa-tta* ^{I}*Attarsiyas-a haluki ui*[*yazi*] [*zig-a-wa*] LÚ *TEMI ep* 'if A. sends [anyone] on a mission to you, seize the messenger!'; ibid. Rs. 55 *ANA* ^{I}*Ma*[*dduwa*]*tta* ^{I}*Mulliyaran* LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA *haluki AŠPUR* 'I sent M. the staff-man on a mission to Madduwattas'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 8,

9, 32; XXXI 103, 20 [z]I-*it haluki le*[; XXIII 68 Vs. 5 *h*]*aluki le kuiski piy*[-; cf. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 17), instr. sg. *ha-lu-ki-it* (e. g. XXIV 13 II 25 *ansun*-[*a-ta-kk*]*an alwanzatar issas halukit* 'I wiped the hex off you by message of mouth' [from such verbal massage the hex got the message]; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 104), acc. pl. *ha-lu-ku-us* (XIII 27 + XXVI 40 Vs. 95–96 *A*]*NA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti parā halukus piddātten* 'to Hatti deliver messages!'; similarly ibid. 96–97).

halugi- (adjective) 'message-', nom. pl. c. *ha-lu-ga-e-es* (*KBo* XIV 4 I 1 *ŠA* ^{URU}*Peta*[...] ERÍN.MEŠ *halugaēs* 'message-troops, military heralds'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:79 [1956]).

haluganili (adverb) in *KUB* XVII 16 IV 4 *nu* KARAŠ.HI.A *haluganili arha tianzi* 'the troops march off in messenger-fashion' (cf. the Homeric *κήρυκες* 'heralds, messengers, envoys'). For derivation see under *haluganna(i)-* below.

halukat(t)alla- (c.) 'messenger, envoy' (LÚ *TEMI*), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-as* (*VBoT* 1, 23–24 ^{LÚ}*halugatalas-mis* [sic] ^{LÚ}*halugatallas-a kuis tuel uit* 'my envoy and the envoy who came from you'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:335 [1956]), acc. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-kat-tal-la-an* (*KBo* XXVI 80, 7; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68), ^{LÚ}*ha-lu-ga-tal-la-an* (*VBoT* 1, 11–12 *kāsma-tta uienun* ^{I}*Irsappa* ^{LÚ}*halugatallan-min* 'lo, I have sent you l. as my envoy'; ibid. 19–21 *n-asta* ^{LÚ}*halugatalla-ttin ammell-a* ^{LÚ}*halugatallan* EGIR-*pa parā hūdāk nai* 'send back quickly your envoy and that envoy of mine'). Either denominative agent noun from *haluka-* or (less probably) deverbative via **halugai-* (see below; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:176–7).

haluganna(i)- 'make announcement, bring news', iter. *halugan-niski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-lu-ga-an-ni-is-ki-i*[*z-zi* (*KUB* XXVII 29 III 17; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 144). Either an iterative-"durative" of a denominative verb **halugai-* from *haluka-* (cf. e. g. *impana*[*i*]- from *impai-* s. v. [*a*]*impa-*) or (less probably) a denominative factitive verb from *haluka-* (cf. *iskuna-* [s. v.], iter. *iskuneski-*, from **isku-*). A third possibility would be simple denominative derivation *halugan(n)iya-* from an erstwhile alternative *n*-stem **halugan-* (glimpsable in *haluganili*; cf. *haranili* 'in eagle-fashion', nom. sg. *haras* 'eagle'), or from derivatives **halugana-* (also possible in *haluganili*, cf. *parsanili* 'in panther-fashion', from *parsana-* 'panther') or **haluganni-* (related to *haluka-* as e. g. *armanni-* is to *arma-*). Cf. also *hulukan(n)i-* (s. v.).

haluka- : *halugi-* is formally reminiscent of e. g. *hatuka-*/*hatuki-*, with *a* : *i* stem variation. The adjectival sense is probably primary,

'announcing, proclaiming' or the like, and the noun meaning a secondary development (from *halukas* [*memiyas*] 'word of announcement' [vel sim.]). Such an adjective is strongly suspect as deverbative (cf. under *hatuk-* again), and IE character of *haluk-* is possible (despite such agnostic doubts as those of E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:451 [1952]). Early suggestions, such as a relationship to *halzai-* 'call' (Marstrander, *Caractère* 148), or to Gothic *liugan* 'lie' and 'marry' (IE **leugh-*; Sturtevant, *JAOS* 52:8 [1932], *Comp. Gr.*^{1} 82), or to Gk. *κελεύω* 'order, bid' (with *h* < **k*; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 177), were all abortive. More plausible is Van Windekens' adduction of Gk. *ὀλολυγή* 'outcry, loud shout', *ὀλολύζω* 'cry out', abstracting a non-reduplicated **ὀλυγή* closely matching *haluka-* (IE **Aǯelug-*) and comparing for the semantics Skt. *kārú-* 'poet-reciter' besides Gk. *κήρυξ* 'herald, messenger' (*IF* 83:121–2 [1978]). But *ὀλολύζω* is firmly anchored in onomatopoeia, resembling *ἀλαλάζω* 'cry aloud', Lat. *ululāre* 'howl', and similar items (see s. v. *alalamniya-*), and Anatolian is more prone to secondary expressive reduplication than Greek (cf. e. g. Hitt. *halhalzana-*, *gakkartani-*). Therefore this comparison, too, falls short of certitude, and an IE **Aǯelug-* would raise the same problems of root structure as does *hatuk-* (q. v.). Perhaps, rather, Gk. *ὀλολυγή* (first in *Iliad* 6:301, describing Trojan women's mission to the idol of Athena) is a loanword from some form of Anatolian (matching a reduplicated Hitt. **halhaluga-*), and *ὀλολύζω* (first in the *Odyssey*) is an innovation in line with *ἀλαλάζω* and other productive onomatopoeia. This would leave Hitt. **haluk-* isolated etymologically but not typologically (cf. *hatuk-*, *tarup*[*p*]-).

halup-, partic. *halupant-*, nom. pl. c. in *KUB* XII 58 I 20 12 EME IM EGIR-*an ha-lu-pa-an-te-es* 'clay tongues h. back' (cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8).

Goetze's rendering of *halupantes* as 'bent' was inferential. *halup-* resembles in make-up such verbs as *tarup(p)-* and *garup-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:410) but has single-spelled intervocalic *-p-* perhaps pointing to IE **bh*.

halluwa- (c. or n.?) 'hollow, pit', gen. sg. *hal-lu-u-wa-as* in *KUB* XVIII 11 Rs. 11 *temmes hallūwas petan IŠBAT* and *hal-lu-wa-as* in XXII 31 Vs. 6 *temes halluwas AŠAR harzi* 'the *temmis* takes the place of the pit' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 12:38 [1952]). Town name ^{URU}*Halluwa*

(XXIII 11 II 15; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:78 [1961]); cf. e. g. Engl. *Sleepy Hollow*.

halluwa- 'hollow, deep', gen. sg. *hal-lu-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXI 19 + 338/v III 15 *hallūwas witas kat*[*tan* 'in deep water'), abl. sg. *hal-lu--wa-az* (ibid. 17 *halluwaz witaz*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 314; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:94 [1981]), *hal-lu-u-wa-za* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 28 *ha*[*ll*]*ūwaza h*[*ū*]*nhuēsnaza*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146), nom. pl. c. *hal-lu-u--e-es* (*KBo* III 8 III 22), *hal-lu-us* (*KUB* XXXI 71 IV 9 'hollow [sheds]', cf. ibid. 11 *sannapilahhantes* 'vacated'; cf. Goetze, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:295 [1949]; Werner, *Festschrift H. Otten* 327 [1973]), acc. pl. c. *ha-al-lu-ú-wa-u-us* (*KBo* III 8 III 4), *hal-lu-wa-u-us* (XXVI 135, 2), *hal-lu-u-wa-a-us* (XXIV 56B, 8), *hal-lu-wa-mu-us* (XIII 86 Vs. 19; *KUB* XVII 10 I 26; XXXIII 24 I 24), *hal-lu-u-wa-mu-us* (ibid. 28; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:113–4 [1965]), adverbial nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hal-lu-wa* (VIII 54 I 3 *n-an halluwa hark*[*anzi* 'they hold him deep'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:21 [1968]), dat.-loc. pl. *hal-lu-wa-as* (XXXIII 86 II 5 A.HI.A-*as halluwas* 'in[to] deep waters'; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:240 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:58 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu--Hedammu* 54), *hal-lu-u-wa-as* (*KBo* X 45 II 56 *hallūwas al*[*dannas* 'to the deep springs'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126 [1961]; XXIV 17 Vs. 5 *hallūwas hāri*[*yas*; XIII 131 Vs. 17), *hal-lu-u-wa-a-as* (*KUB* XXVII 67 II 40 and III 43), *hal-lu-u-wa-s(a)* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 5 *hallūwas-as--kan hāriyas*). Found esp. as qualifier of *hariya-* 'valley' (see further contexts s. v.); antonym *parku-* 'high' (mountains). Cf. e. g. "hollow sea" (Byron); "hollow lands and hilly lands", "hillside and hollow", "hill or hollow" (Yeats).

halluwanu- 'put down (deep), lower, let deteriorate' (denom. like e. g. *aimpa-nu-* 'burden, beset'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hal-lu-wa-nu-ut* (*KUB* XXIV 7 III 25–26 GUD-*us-za* ... [...] *hūwanhuesar mān halluwanut* 'the [charging] cow put [its head?] down deep like a [breaking] wave'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]), 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-lu-wa-nu--e-ir* (ibid. I 31–32 *nu namma* A.ŠÀ-*an* [IKU-*li* UL] [*h*]*arsiya*[*n*]*zi halluwanuer-m*[*a-an* 'they do not till the field by IKU [an area measure] but have let it deteriorate'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:306 [1977], with wrong translation ibid. 308; likewise Lebrun, *Hymnes* 403, 405, and Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:157, 160 [1983]). Cf. Sommer, *HAB* 76; Friedrich, *ZA* 49:251 (1950); Benveniste, *Hitt.* 25. Goetze (*JAOS* 74:188 [1954]) and Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:457) wrongly derived *halluwanu-* from *halluwai-* 'quarrel, fight' (q. v.).

The postulation of a *u*-stem *hallu-* (e. g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:85, 251) is unsupported by the evidence; the attested forms point rather to *halluwa-* and (secondary) *halluwu-* (cf. Sommer, *HAB* 76; Čop, *Ling.* 6:61 [1964]). Equally unlikely is Weitenberg's *hallui-* (*U-Stämme* 271–2).

The noun meaning is primary, as seen in the declension (no oblique stem **hallaw-*) and the frequent position following *hariya-* (collateral or appositional rather than epithetical); thus *hārius hallūwawus* 'valleys (that are) hollow(s)' (cf. Lat. *valles cavae*). The appearance of the *u*-stem *halluwu-* may be a partial attempt at marking the secondary adjectivization. For meaning, cf. also Lith. *duobẽ* 'hole', *daubà* 'ravine' : *dubùs* 'deep, hollow'.

halluwa- matches Lat. *alvus* 'bowels, womb', *alveus* 'hollow, cavity', and shows the same (perhaps already IE dialectal) metathesis vs. Gk. *αὐλός* 'pipe', *αὐλών* 'hollow, defile' as is also seen in Lat. *nervus* vs. Gk. *νεῦρον*. Cf. also Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 32–3; Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36:57 (1979).

Unlikely comparison with Lat. *altus* 'high; deep' (as in *altum mare* 'deep sea') by Gusmani (*Lessico* 97). Equally improbable is H. J. Koch's adduction (*Glotta* 46:216–22 [1976]) of Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* (< **ὀλ-νυ-*) 'destroy' as a denominatively infixed verb (cf. e. g. Hitt. *tepnu-* from *tepu-*) from an IE equivalent of Hitt. *hallu-*, with reference to the Homeric formula *αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος* 'steep destruction' and death from headlong falling. For cognates of Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* see rather s. v. *hallanniya-* and *halluwai-*.

Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:309–10 [1987]) implausibly compared *hallu(i)-* (sic) with Gk. *ἀλωή* 'threshing-floor' (q. v. rather s. v. *hali-* 'pen, corral').

halluwai- (c.) 'violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel', nom. sg. *hal-lu-wa-is* (*KUB* XXXIII 96 IV 10–11 + XXXVI 7a IV 47–48 *dassus-war-as halluwais dassus*[*-ma-war-as*] *zahhāis nepisas-ma-war-as harnamniyashas ŠA* [KUR-*TI-ma*]*-war-as kasza aqqatarr-a* 'strong [is] the violence, strong [is] the battle, heaven's commotion it [is], earth's hunger and death it [is]'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:158 [1951]), acc. sg. *hal-lu-wa-in* (XXXIII 113+ I 31–34 *kuis-war-an* [*nam*]*ma uskizzi uniyas halluwain nu-wa kuis namma* [*za*]*hhiskizzi nu-war-as kuis namma uskizzi* [*uni*]*yas nahsaraddus* 'who will any longer face up to it, this one's violence? Who will any longer wage battle? Who will

any longer face up to it, this one's fearsomeness?'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:12 [1952]), *hal-lu-u-wa-a-in* (XIII 4 III 37–39 *n-as-kan mān* ŠÀ É DINGIR-*LIM niniktari nu hal[l]ūwāin iyazi n-asta* EZEN *zahzi n-an zahandu* 'if he gets drunk inside the shrine and starts a brawl and beats up an observance, they shall beat him'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:384 [1934]), abl. sg. *hal-lu-wa-ya-za* (ibid. 43 *nu-za halluwayaza mekki nahhantes ēstin* 'be very much afraid of a brawl').

halluwai- 'resort to violence, brawl, quarrel; (transitive) savage, fight', 3 pl. pres. act. *hal-lu-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* VIII 51 II 22 *nu* ^{D}*Huwawain halluwa[nzi*] 'they fight H.'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:14 [1968]; XII 34 I 3; dupl. *KBo* II 3 I 3 *halluw[anzi*; ibid. IV 16; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 62, 88), *hal-lu-u-wa-an-zi* (dupl. 1112/c+ IV 33–34 *mān-kan ABU* DUMU-*RU-ya nasma MUDU* DAM-*ZU-ya nassu-ma* ŠEŠ NIN-*ya hallūwanzi* 'if father and son, or husband and wife, or brother and sister quarrel'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:366 [1953]), 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-lu-wa-ir* (*KUB* V 6 II 49 *halluwairr-a kuyēs n-as PANI* DINGIR-*LIM zaha[nzi* 'and those who have brawled, shall one beat them before the deity?'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 282); iter. *halluuiski-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-lu-u-is-ki-ir* (V 22, 23); verbal noun *halluwātar* (n.), nom-acc. sg. *hal-lu-wa-a-tar* (XIX 20 Rs. 22), dat.-loc. sg. *hal-lu-wa-an-ni* (ibid. 21 *man-wa halluwanni uwasi* 'you might come in quarrel[some fashion]'); *hal-lu-wa-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 42 III 23; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:138 [1971]). Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 36:57 (1979).

Luwoid *halwat-*, dat. sg. *hal-wa-ti-ya* (with gloss-wedges) in *KBo* IV 14 III 30–31 *zik-ma-za-kan* ZI-*ni* GAM-*an galgaltūri anda le niyasi nu-za* ZI-*ni* GAM-*an halwatiya le* DÙ-*si* 'be not minded to bring in a tambourine [= make commotion?], nor be minded to act in quarrel[some fashion]' (cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]); *halwatnalli-* 'quarrelsome', acc. sg. c. in *KUB* XXVI 89 Vs. 31–32 *halwatnallin-wa-za* [...]-*an piran arha epdu* 'may (so-and-so) remove quarrelsome (spirit?)' (cf. Luw. *kattawatnalli-* beside Hitt. *kattawanalli-* 'vengeful' from *kattawatar* 'revenge'; thus Luw. **halwatna-* vs. Hitt. *halluwātar*); *halwatnazza-* 'be quarrelsome' (?), 3 sg. pres. act. ibid. Rs. 39 [...-*s*]*i-kan anda halwatnazzai* (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146, 154, 167; Laroche, *RHA* 23:46 [1965]).

There is no merit in Čop's (*Ling.* 8:55 [1966–8]) reconstruction **hadlu-* < **Hod-lu-*, comparing *hatuki-* 'terrible' (q. v. s. v. *hatuk-*). Benveniste's comparison of *halluwai-* (and a ghost noun *hallu-* 'quarrel' first seen in Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 227) with Gk. *ἀλύω* 'be distraught, be beside oneself' (*Athenaeum* N.S. 47:30–1 [1969])

is possible (cf. also *halwammar*, s. v.) but not too convincing; *ἀλύω* basically implies loss of self-possession under extreme affective strain, a state of delirium which points to incapacitation rather than the fighting fury or conscious confrontation evident in *halluwa-* (even the inebriated Hittite temple-brawler is "high" rather than distraught). Typically *halluwai-* co-occurs with *zahhai-* 'battle' and contains a base-meaning of physical violence, 'brawl' rather than 'quarrel'. Besides, *ἀλύω* has a possible alternative Hittite cognate (*alwanza-*, q. v.).

Nor is the gemination of *-l-* in *halluwa-* necessarily devoid of phonetic significance (as claimed by e. g. Benveniste, *Athenaeum* N. S. 47:31 [1969]); it can represent a cluster such as **-ln-*. The most plausible inner-Hittite cognate is therefore *hallanniya-* 'lay waste, ravage' (q. v.). It is indeed possible that *halla-* (underlying *hallanniya-*) and *hallu-* (whence the noun *halluwai-*) are basically the same verb, with e. g. 3 sg. pres. act. $*A_2^w[$*-n-é*A_1^w*-ti* > **halnāzi* > **hallazi*, but 1 pl. pres. act. $*A_2^w[$*-n*A_1^w*-wéni* > **halnuweni* > **hallumeni* (cf. *tarnai* : *tarnummeni*, and analogically via juncture shift e. g. *ardumeni* [s. v. *ard-*]). From the preconsonantal weak-grade variant **hallu-* was derived the noun *halluwai-*, and from the latter the verb *halluwai-* (*halluwai-* + *-ye-*) which can be used transitively like *hallanniya-* (*KUB* VIII 51 II 22, quoted above). The string **halla-/hallu-* 'lay waste, ruin, savage' : *halluwai-* 'violence, brawl, quarrel' : *halluwai-* 'resort to violence, to brawl, quarrel; to savage, fight' thus matches e. g. *zah(h)-* 'to beat' : *zahhai-* 'battle' : *zahhiya-* (*zahhi-* + *-ye-*) 'do battle, fight'. For the root-connection with Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* 'destroy' cf. Hom. *οὐλόμενος* 'ruinous' applied to Achilles's wrath and quarrel with Agamemnon.

For semi-synonyms cf. also *hulla-*, *kuen-*, *sulla-*, *walh-*.

hal(u)wani-, haliwani- (c.), a drinking vessel, nom. sg. *hal-wa-ni-is* (*KUB* XX 35 III 22 *halwanis* KÙ.BABBAR 'silver vessel' besides dupl. *KBo* VII 44 Rs. 8 ZA.HUM KÙ.BABBAR), *ha-li-wa-ni-is* (bilingual *RS* 25:421 Recto 20, matching ibid. [Akk.] *bibru* 'rhyton'; cf. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5:313, 444 [1968]; Laroche, ibid. 773, 776), acc. sg. ^{DUG}*hal-wa-ni-in* (*KBo* XXIV 41 Rs. 2 and 12; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:416–7), acc. pl. ^{DUG}*hal-wa-ni-us* (XXI 33 I 3; XXIII 44 I 2; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:39,72), *ha-lu-wa-na-as* (XII 3 III 14–15 [OHitt.] *nu* GUŠKIN-*as haluwanas*

[...] *sunnas* 'he filled gold rhyta'), *ha-lu-w*[*a-* (VII 46 I 9; cf. ibid. 11 BIBRU).

For the vowel variation cf. e. g. ^{D}*Lil(i)wanis.* ZA.HUM and BIBRU also cover *assuzeri-* (q. v.). Cf. Güterbock, *RHA* 22:111 (1964); Kammenhuber, *SMEA* 14:159 (1971). A Hurrian or Hattic source is the easy per obscurius assumption; yet the plausibly related vessel name *halwat(t)alla-, helwatalla-* (q. v.) raises the possibility of Indo-European origin.

halwammar (n.) 'eagerness, zeal, élan, enthusiasm' (vel sim.), abl. sg. *hal-wa-am-na-az* (*KUB* XXIV 7 I 16–19 *nu* KIN-*an kuit anniskanzi* [*n*]-*at halwamnaz anniskanzi* É-*ir-ma kuit* [*a*]*nniskanzi n-at duskaratta-zza* [*a*]*nniskanzi* 'what task they work at, that they work at with enthusiasm, and what house they work on, it they work on with joy'; the sense of *halwammar* is defined not only by the parallelism of *duskaratt-* but antonymously ibid. 26–27 *nu* É-*ir tuhh*[*imaz*]*a pidduliyazz-a ēssanzi* 'they do the housework with travail and anxiety'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:305 [1977]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 402–3; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156 [1983]; *KBo* XII 96 I 9–11 *ais-za-kan* YÀ-*it sūwanza ēs* ^{UZU}*hurhurta-ma-za-kan halwamnaz sūwanza ēs* [partitive apposition] 'have your mouth filled with fat, let your throat be full of eagerness!'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239 [1964]).

For formation cf. *harnammar, hilammar, miumar*, making denominative derivation plausible. A **halwa-* can be compared with Goth. *aljan* (neut.) 'ζῆλος', *aljanon* 'ζηλοῦν', *in aljana briggan* or *inaljanon* 'παραζηλοῦν, provoke to jealousy', with suffix variation as in e. g. Gk. *καλ(ϝ)ός* : Skt. *kalya-* 'fair' (cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:69 [1978]). But just as the 'zeal' notion of *ζῆλος* can shade over into 'jealousy' or 'indignation', an *in bonam partem* development can turn raving into positive enthusiasm, and hence an alternative comparison of **halwa-* with Gk. *ἀλύω* 'be distraught, be beside oneself' is not to be completely ruled out (cf. *Odyssey* 18:333 *ἦ ἀλύεις ὅτι Ἶρον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλήτην* 'do you exult that you prevailed over the vagrant Iros?'; but for *ἀλύω* see alternatively s. v. *alwanza-*). Cf. *halluwai-*, which has also been connected with *ἀλύω* but, like *halwammar*, more probably has an entirely different explanation.

halwassi- (c.), ornithomantic name or epithet, nom. sg. *hal-wa-as-si-is* (e. g. *KBo* II 6 IV 20; *KUB* V 22, 16 and 19; XVI 48 Vs. 6; XVI 53 Rs. 13; XVIII 2 II 26), acc. sg. *hal-wa-as-si-in* (e. g. XVI 46 I 12 and IV 19), nom. pl. *hal-wa-as-si-is* (XVIII 57 III 4 2 *halwassis*), *hal-wa-as-si-ya-as* (ibid. 17 2 *halwassiyas*). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 212.

halwassi- shares the (Luwoid appurtenance?) suffix *-assi-* with several other mantic bird-words such as *ipa(r)wassi-, marsanassi-, tapassi-* (q. v.). The meaning of the first part is unknown.

halwat(t)alla-, helwatalla-, name of a vessel, nom. sg. *hal-wa-at-tal-la* (*KUB* XX 50, 5 ^{DUG}*halwattalla*; ibid. 12 *halw*]*attalla*), *hal-wa-tal-la* (ibid. 9 ^{DUG}*halwatalla*; XXV 14 III 16]*halwatalla*; XI 30 V 12 *halw*]*atalla*), *hi-el-wa-ta-al-la* (XII 37 I 6; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 173 [1982]).

Recalls the drinking vessels *hal(u)wani-, haliwani-* 'rhyton' on the one hand, and *akutalla-* 'goblet' on the other (q. v.); the root part remains obscure, but the presence in *-t(t)alla-* of the Indo-European suffix **-tlo-* or **dhlo-* (as in *akutalla-*) is conceivable (cf. also nouns such as Gk. *ἔλυτρον* 'cover, container'). Native origin is the alternative, unenlightening possibility.

halzai-, halziya- 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, enumerate, read aloud; call, summon, invoke, invite; call (by name)' (range of meanings parallels Akk. *šasū*), 1 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-ih-hi* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 27 Vs. [really Rs.] 19 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ERÍN.MEŠ *kuwapi halzihhi* 'when I the king call up the troops'; XXVI 12 III 29]*ANA PUHRI halzihhi* 'I call to assembly'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 27; XIII 3 II 15 *sumess-a* EN.MEŠ UTÚL *hūmandus halzihhi* 'I summon all of you in charge of food-preparation'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46; XXXI 68 II 38 ^{LÚ}*ABUBITI-wa-za halzihhi* 'I summon the housefather'; cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* 40:28 [1962]; XV 18 III 8 DINGIR-*LIM-ya-za halzihhi* 'I invoke the deity'; *KBo* VIII 63 IV 5–6 DINGIR-*LUM*... [...] *halzihhi*; *KUB* XXIX 55 I 5–6 *nu* ^{D}*Pirin*[*kar* ^{D}*IŠTAR*] *halzihhi* 'I invoke P. [and] I.'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; XLIII 123 + XV 28 III 4 'I invoke [Ištar]'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 192; XII 63 Vs. 28 *nu anniskimi kuin n-an-kan* ŠUM-*ŠU halzihhi* 'him whom I treat I call his name' [partitive apposition]; ibid. 34 [*nu*] *anniskimi kuin nu-kan* ŠUM-*ŠU halzihhi*; ibid.

13]*ŠUM-ŠU halzihhi*; ibid. 18 *nu-kan antuhsas* ZI-*ŠU halzihhi* 'I call the person's soul' [ZI 'soul' in place of *ŠUM* 'name']; I 16 III 25 *uga-an-za* DUMU.SAL-*TI ŪL halzihhi* 'I do not call her [my] daughter'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; XV 27 II 8]*INA* ^{URU}PA-*ti halzihhi* 'I call in Hatti'; XV 28 III 4; XXIII 72 Rs. 67; Teddy Kollek's tablet, line 3 *h*]*alzihhi*[; cf. A. Kempinski, *Tel Aviv* 2:92 [1975]), *hal-zi-ya-mi* (XV 23, 19 *nu-za* DINGIR-*LUM halziyami* 'I shall invoke the god'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:62 [1972]), 2 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-ti* (XXVI 88 Vs. 8 *nu-mu* ŠEŠ-*YA annai le halzesti* 'do not shout *annai* at me, my brother!'; XXXI 136 II 3 SIG_5 GAM-*an le halzesti* 'do not call down [= revoke?] the well-being!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 196), *hal-za-it-ti* (XIII 3 IV 28]*ser tamai ŠUM-an halzaitti* 'you call another name'), *hal-za-i-it-t*[*i* (*KBo* XVII 23 Vs. 2), *hal-zi-ya-at-ti* (V 4 Rs. 26 [*nu*] ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *apedani wekti nasma-an apāsila halziyatti nu kissan memat*t[*i*] 'you request of him troops [and] chariotry, or call him yourself and say thus'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:64), *hal-zi-ya-ti* (III 34 III 13 *halziyati-w*[*a*, unless 3 sg. pret. midd. [q. v.]!), *hal-zi-ya-si* (*KUB* XXVI 12 III 21–23 *n*[*asma*] ^{D}UTU-*ši kuinki* SIG_5-*ahmi ziqqa-an-zan tuel assulan* [*hal*]*ziyasi* 'or I the king favor someone, and you call it your favor'), 2 sg. pres. midd. *hal-zi-ya-at-ta-ri* (ibid. 18 *nu-wa-za zik āssus hal-ziyattari* 'you are called good'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 26), 3 sg. pres. act. *hal-za-a-i* (frequent, e. g. *VBoT* 24 I 28 *nu* DUMU.SAL *halzāi parā-wa-kan ehu* 'the girl exclaims "go forth!" '; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]; *VBoT* 74, 7 *ishar halzāi* 'cries "blood" '; *KUB* X 3 I 14 and 16, X 9, 6, X 17 I 25, X 28 II 3, XI 20 I 17, XI 25 III 11 *ahā halzāi* 'calls out *ahā*'; XX 28 II 22–23 *nu* LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA *ANA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NAR *zinir halzāi* 'the staff-man cries "music!" to the singers'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:129 [1975–6]; similarly X 21 II 12; XXV 3 III 7–8; XXV 9 II 11–12; cf. e. g. *KBo* IV 9 V 35 *nu ANA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NAR *tezzi zinir zinir* 'says to the singers "music, music!" '; *KUB* X 17 II 17–18 and X 54 II 4–5 *nu kās missā halzāi* 'this one shouts *missā*'; X 3 I 30 and XXV 3 II 13 *nu kās misā halzāi*; *KBo* IV 9 IV 22 *nu missa halzāi*; *KUB* XVII 12 III 19–21 *namma-an ... PANI* DINGIR-*LIM zāhanzi* [*n*]*u duddu halzāi* 'then they beat him before the god, and he cries for pardon'; XXII 70 Rs. 45 *nu apadda ser zankilatar* SIXSÁ-*at n-at pianzi* ^{D}UTU-*ši-ma apaddan ser duddu halzāi* 'on that account expiation was determined, and they give it; but his majesty on that account craves pardon'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 92; XV 32 I 43 *nu* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *hūmanda anda*

halzāi 'he enumerates all the lands'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; VII 2 I 29 *kisan halzāi* 'recites thus' [prayer follows]; *KBo* V 1 III 47 and IV 26 *nu keldi halzāi* 'he recites *keldi*'; frequent ^{LÚ}*kītas halzāi* 'the k.-priest recites'; *VBoT* 2, 14–15 *kī-kan tuppi kuis* DUB.SAR-*a*[*s*] *halzāi* 'the scribe who reads aloud this tablet'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *VBoT* 68 II 16 *nu* LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA *telipūri kissan halzāi* 'the herald reads out the districts as follows' [+ list]; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 15 *mān-an-za halzāi-ya kuiski* 'and if someone summons her'; *IBoT* I 36 III 36 *kuin-an imma kuin* ERÍN.MEŠ LUGAL-*us halzāi* 'whatever troop the king summons'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:194 [1966]; *KUB* XVI 83 Vs. 32 *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM sipanduuanzi halzāi* 'summons to libate to the deity'; XXIX 1 I 50–51 ^{GIŠ}DAG-*iz* $^{A^{MUŠEN}}$*-an halzāi* 'Throne calls the eagle'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]; *KBo* II 4 I 25–26 LÚ ^{D}U ^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik* ^{GIŠ}*muknaza andan halzāi* 'the man of the storm-god invokes the storm-god of Nerik with the *mukar*'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 280; XXV 21 IV 6–7 ^{GIŠ}*mukar dāi kattan-ma* [*tiyazi*] *nu* DINGIR-*LUM andan halzāi* 'he takes the *mukar*, steps down, and invokes the deity'; V 6 III 34 *namma-as-si* DINGIR-*LUM ser halzāi* 'he invokes the god upon him'; *KBo* V 1 III 48–49 *nu-za* ^{SAL}*katras* ^{GIŠ}BALAG *dāi n-asta* DINGIR.MEŠ *anda halzāi* 'the priestess takes a harp and invokes the gods'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 10*; *KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 29 GIDIM-*ma-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'she calls the dead person's name' [partitive apposition]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68; *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 11 EN SISKUR.SISKUR-*ya-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'he calls the name of the offerant'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 78; *KUB* II 2 I 34 DINGIR-*LIM-ya-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'he calls the god's name'; dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 28–29 DINGIR-*LIM-ya-kan ŠUM-ŠU halzāi*; *KUB* XXIX 8 IV 10 *n-asta* EN SISKUR.SISKUR *ŠUM-ŠU halzāi*; *KBo* XIX 139 II 2]EN SISKUR.SISKUR *ŠUM-ŠU an*[!]*-za-a-i* [sic]; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 268; *KUB* XXVI 23 II 15 ^{LÚ}DUGUD-*ya-kan ŠUM-ŠU halzāi* 'the official calls his name'; *KBo* XIX 128 III 10–12 *n-us-kan sippanduwanzi* ŠUM.HI.A-*ŠUNU hūmandus-pat halzāi* 'he calls them all [by] their names to libate'; ibid. IV 4–5 *n-asta* DINGIR-MEŠ *hūmandu*[*s*] *lamnit halzāi* 'he calls all the gods by name'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8–10; *KUB* XV 34 III 49–50 *n-asta* HUR.SAG.ME[Š] *lamnit halzāi* 'he calls the mountains by name'; cf. Zuntz, *ARIV* 96.2:514 [1936–7]; Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; XXXII 52 IV 4]*lamnit halzāi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 252), *hal-za-i* (e. g. XXIV 3 III 43–44 *nu panku*[*s*] [*apāt ēsd*]*u halzai* 'the congregation cries "amen" ', besides XXIV 2

Rs. 18–19 *nu panku[s apāt] ēsdu halzāi*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34–6; IV 47 Vs. 8 *nu wasduli duddu halzai* 'for his transgression he craves pardon'; *KBo* III 23 I 3 and IV 5 *nu* LÚŠU.I-*an halzai* 'summons the barber'; cf. A. Archi in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]; XXII 1, 16' [OHitt.] *mān* ŠMEŠ *ABI tuliyas halzai* 'when the father calls to assembly'; cf. A. Archi, op. cit. 46; XVII 1 I 35 SAL.LUGAL-*ann-a sāwātaras halzai* 'and the hornblower calls the queen'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; XIII 175 Vs. 9 LÚSANGA-*an halzai*['calls the priest'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 112; *KUB* IX 4 III 20 -]*kan* ŠUM-*an halzai* 'calls the name'; *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 30 DINGIR.MEŠ-*kan ku-us-us* [sic] ŠUM-*it hal-za-i* 'he calls these deities by name'), *hal-ta-at-ti* (Luwoid *KUB* XXXV 145 Rs. 4 *lamnī haltatti* 'he will call at [this] hour' [= right now; cf. Italian *ora*]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hal-za-it-ta* (I 16 II 60; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8, 104–5), *hal-zi-ya-at-ta-ri* (XXV 41 V 11 *nu halziyattari* 'there is a recitation'; *IBoT* I 29 Vs. 54 *adanna-ma* INA É LÚMUHALDIM *halziyattari* 'one is called to eat in the house of the cook'), *hal-zi-ya-ta-ri* (*KUB* XXV 32 + XXVII 70 + 1628/u II 43 *nu* INA UDUN *halziyatari* 'there is a shout "in the oven!" '), *hal-zi-ya-ri* (e. g. ibid. III 8 INA UDUN *halziyari*; ibid. III 23 AŠ UDUN *halziyari*; ibid. III 41 *ta* AŠ UDUN *halziyari*; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:104–8 [1969–70]; XVII 37 I 13 AŠRI.HI.A *irhānzi halziyari* 'there is a cry "they tour the places" '; X 91 III 18 *nu halziyari* 'there is a recitation'; similarly X 92 II 18; XXV 22 III 12; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 7, 9, 17, Rs. 7; *VBoT* 95 I 4; *KUB* XXV 24 II 13 *nu wakanna halziyari* 'there is an invitation to [have a] bite'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244), *hal-zi-ri* (sic XLIV 1 Rs. 11), *hal-zi-ya* (frequent, e. g. II 6 III 17–18 KUŠNÍG.BÀR-*an halziya ta hatkanzi* 'there is a shout "curtain!", and they close'; XXV 32 + XXVII 70 + 1628/u II 12 *ta* INA UDUN *halziya* [cf. under *halziyari* above]; ibid. I 25 *wagāta halziya* 'there is an invitation "[have] a bite!" '; ibid. II 35 *ta wagata halziya*; X 25, 3 *nu waganna halziya* [cf. under *halziyari* above]; *KBo* X 27 III 31 *ta waganna halziya*; *KBo* IV 9 I 1 *waganna halziya*; *KUB* XX 47 I 7]*waganna halziya*; XI 32 + XX 17 V 15 *adanna halziya* 'one is called to eat'; XXX 24 II 17 *nu* UD.KAM-*as* NAPTANU GAL *halziya* 'the day's big meal is called'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; *KBo* II 15 V 5–6 SAL.LUGAL *esa ta* É*hal*[*entuw*]*as halziya* 'the queen sits; there is a call to the palace'; *KUB* X 17 I 17 *nu tunnakisna halziya* 'one is summoned to the inner chamber'; XX 28 I 2 *t*]*unnankisna halziya*; *KBo* XX 87 Vs. 1 LUGAL-*us esa salli halziya* 'the king sits; there is a call to the plenum'

[short for *salli asesni* 'to the grand assembly']; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 256; *KUB* X 3 I 21 *salli halziya*; *KBo* X 20 I 15 and *KUB* X 45 III 15 *salli* ŪL *halziya*; XXX 39 Vs. 11 *salliya* ŪL *halziya*; XX 99 II 27 *nu āsgaz salli halziya* 'outdoors there is a call to the plenum'; XXV 15 Rs. 4 *nu tunnakessar āskaz* GAL *halziya* 'outside the inner chamber there is a call to the plenum'; similarly ibid. 15 and 22), 1 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-ya-u-e*[*-ni* (XII 50, 6), *hal-zi-wa-ni* (XVII 21 IV 11–12 LÚ.MEŠ U[RU]*Gasga-ma halziwani nu-smas* NÍG.BA.HI.A *piueni* 'we invite the Gasgas and give them presents'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 160), 2 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-ya-at-te-ni* (XIII 4 IV 16–17 *nu-za* A.ŠÀ DINGIR-*LIM sumēl halziyatteni sumel-ma-za* A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ DINGIR-*LIM halziyatteni* 'you call the god's field yours, and call your field the god's field'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390 [1934]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-ya-an-zi* (e. g. XX 83 IV 4–5 *ahā* [*ha*]*lziyanzi* 'they shout *ahā*', as passim in mortuary texts; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 26, 28, 30; XXVIII 113 Rs. 2, 6, 10 and XXVIII 116 II 3 'they recite' [prayer follows]; XXXVI 89 Vs. 1–2 *n-an … kisan andan halziyanz*[*i* 'they invoke him as follows'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; XVI 37 IV 2]*pian halziyanzi*; XXXIII 112 + 114 + XXXVI 2 I 26 [*ha*]*lziyanzi*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:32 [1968]), *hal-zi-an-zi* (e. g. X 11 I 14, *KBo* XXV 32, 10 and 16, XXV 36 III 2 and 10, XXV 43 I 3 *ahā halzianzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 92–5; *KUB* XIII 4 I 32 *n-asta parranda halzianzi-pat n-an* ŪL *kuitki* DÙ-*anzi* 'then moreover they merely make an outcry and do nothing to him'; *KBo* XIII 175 Rs. 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 112), 1 sg. pret. act. *hal-zi-ih-hu-un* (e. g. VIII 42 Vs. 7 [OHitt.] 'I summoned'; *KUB* XLI 8 III 7 *kedani-smas uddanī halzihhun* 'in this matter I have summoned you'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]; XXI 1 III 82 'I have summoned' [viz. the gods to witness]; ibid. IV 30; ibid. IV 39–40 *tūliya halzihhun* 'I have called to assembly'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 76, 80, 82; *KBo* III 1 II 34 *nu* ᴵ*Telipinus* URU*Hattusi tuliyan halzihhun* 'I, T., have called an assembly at Hattusas'; *KUB* XXIX 1 I 34 *nu* GIŠDAG-*an aramman halzihhu*[*n* 'I have invoked Throne as my friend'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]; I 16 II 4 DUMU-*la-ma-an halzihhun* = ibid. I 4 [Akk.] [*al*]*si-šu-ma* DUMU?-*am* [verb *šasū*] 'I have called him my son'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2–3, 33; VI 45 III 34; ibid. 21–22 *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *kuyēs kedani* UD-*ti kuedani arkuwēsni* IŠTU EME-*YA halzihhun* 'what deities on this day for what prayer with my tongue I have summoned'), *hal-zi-ih-hu-u-un* (dupl. VI 46 III 62), 2 sg. pret. act. *hal-za-it* (XXX 10 Vs. 8–9 [*nu-mu-za*]

ammel DINGIR-*YA* ... *halzait* 'you, my god, have summoned me'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hal-za-a-is* (e. g. *KBo* III 7 III 27–28 *nu sarā nepisi atti-ssi halzāis* 'up to heaven to his father he cried'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]; *KUB* XXXI 68 Vs. 16–17 *nu-wa-mu-za-kan ANA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *katta halzāis* 'he called me down to the chariot'; *KBo* XIX 76 II 17; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 303 [1977]; V 6 III 17 *nu-za* LÚ.MEŠ GAL-*TI memiyani parā halzāis* 'he summoned forth his chiefs in the matter', besides dupl. XIV 9 III 6 *hal-za-is*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:94 [1956]; III 6 II 14 ^{D}*IŠTAR-mu-kan* GAŠAN-*YA* IGI-*zi palsi* ŠUM^{UM} *kedani* KASKAL-*si halzāis* 'my lady Ištar for the first time on this campaign called my name'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KUB* XXXIII 24 I 16 *L*]*IM* DINGIR.MEŠ *halzāis* 'invited the thousand gods'), *hal-za-i-is* (XVII 10 I 19–20 GAL-*is-za* ^{D}UTU-*us* EZEN-*an iet nu-za* 1 *LIM* DINGIR.MEŠ *halzayis* 'the great sun-god gave a party and invited the thousand gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), *hal-za-is* (e. g. *KBo* XI 1 Rs. 13 *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* ... *halzais* 'he cried out to the deity'; *KUB* XXXVI 44 IV 6–7 *arunas-a* DUMU.SAL-*as* [*nepis*]*az halzais n-an arunas istamasta* 'the sea's daughter called from heaven, and the sea heard her'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]; *KBo* III 41 + *KUB* XXXI 4 Vs. 3 *nu uwārra halzais* 'he has called for help', besides dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 3 *w*]*arri halzāis*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:159 [1962]; *KUB* XXXIII 36 II 11 *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL *halzais* 'invited the great gods'; XXIII 72 Vs. 38 *nu-za-kan ABU-ŠU ŠUM-an halzais* 'he called his father's name' [partitive apposition]; *KBo* IX 27 + *KUB* XXXVI 41 I 17, 18, 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:173 [1965]), *hal-zi-ya-at* (*KUB* XXI 16 I 18 *halziyat-ma-w*[*a*), 3 sg. pret. midd. (?) *hal-zi-ya-ti* (*KBo* III 34 III 13; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 464; or 2 sg. pres. act. ? [q. v.]), 1 pl. pret. act. *hal-zi-ya-u-en* (XI 1 Vs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 'we have summoned' [various deities]; cf. Houwink Ten Cate and Josephson, *RHA* 25:105 [1967]), *hal-zi-ya-ú-en* (*KUB* IV 1 II 1–2 *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Kasga* DINGIR.MEŠ *kāsa-smas tuliya halziyawen* 'ye gods of Gasga-land, lo we have called you to assembly'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170), *hal-zi-ú-en* (*KBo* V 3 I 39–40 *nu kāsa kedani uddanī LIM* DINGIR.MEŠ *tuliya halziwen* 'lo, for this matter we have summoned the thousand gods to assembly'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:110), *hal-zi-e-u-en* (*KUB* XXIII 77a Vs. 11 *tuliya halziew*[*en*] 'we have called to assembly'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-zi-i-e-ir* (XXIX 1 I 24–25 *nu-mu-za* LUGAL-*un Labarnan halziyer* 'me they have called king, Labarnas'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3), *hal-zi-e-ir* (XVIII 56 III 35 'cried' [said of oracular birds]; XVIII 24 Rs. 22 *ŪL halzier*),

hal-zi-ir (*KBo* XIV 12 IV 33 [*n*]*u-smas-kan mahhan tuppi piran halzir* 'when they had read aloud the tablet before them'; cf. Güterbock, *IF* 60:204 [1950], *JCS* 10:98 [1956]), 2 sg. imp. act. *hal-za-a-i* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 2 III 29–30 *kuedani-ma-ssan* URU-*ri* EGIR-*pa ārti nu* LÚ.MEŠ URU-*LIM hūmandus parā halzāi* 'to whatever town you come back, call forth all the men of the town!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 48; XXXI 115, 7 *nu* ^{LÚ}ŠU.I-*an halzāi* 'call the barber!'), *hal-za-i* (e. g. *Maşat* 75/14 Rs. 12–14 *PANI* ^{I}*Pullī-kan ammel assul halzai* 'before P. read my letter!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:44–5 [1980]), 3 sg. imp. act. *hal-za-a-ú* (*KUB* XXXVI 90 Vs. 3–5 *nu-kan ANA* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik* [...] *anda* MUŠEN GIM-*an sanizzin* [*halu*]*gan halzāu* 'to the storm-god of Nerik within ... like a bird let him cry sweet tidings!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 176), 2 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-is-tin* (*KBo* III 1 II 51 *nu tuliyan halzistin* 'call the assembly!'; *KUB* XXVIII 82 I 18 LÚ ^{D}U-*an-wa halzistin* 'summon the man of the storm-god!'; *VBoT* 58 I 27, 29, 32 [*īt*]*tin-wa* ... *halzistin* 'go summon [so-and-so]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-ya-an-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 12 III 8–9 *harsiharsi-ma parā halziyandu* 'let them call forth thunderstorms!'; ibid. 10–11 *hēus* IM.MEŠ-*us halziyandu* 'let them call the rains [and] the winds!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; *KBo* XXII 6 I 8 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.SAG-*is-wa-mu halziyandu* 'let them call the warriors for me!'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]); partic. *halziyant-*, nom. sg. c. *hal-zi-ya-an-za* (*KUB* XXVII 1 I 18–19 *-kan anda assuli halziyanza* '[the deity is] kindly invited'; similarly ibid. 4–5; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hal-zi-ya-an* (XXIV 13 II 4 *alwanzatar tinnisan kuit halziyan* 'sorcery that is called t.'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 104), *hal-zi-an* (VII 53 I 3 *nasma-zan-kan tamais kuiski papranni ser halzian harzi* 'or someone else has made an outcry on account of defilement'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 4), nom. pl. c. *hal-zi-ya-an-te-es* (*KBo* IV 10 Vs. 50 *nu kāsa apedani memini LIM* DINGIR.MEŠ *tuliya halziyantes* 'lo, for this matter the thousand gods [are] called to assembly'; similarly 299/1986 III 79–80; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 24; *KUB* XXV 22 II 10 *kuyēs halziyantes* 'who [are] summoned'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238); verbal noun *hal-zi-ya-u-wa-ar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *halziyauwar* (*KBo* IX 96 I 12; *KUB* XXX 55, 10–11 1 *ṬUPPI QATI nu-ssan* UKÙ-*as* ŠUM-*ŠU halziyauwa*[*r*] ... *ăniyan* 'one table finished, [on it is] written the calling of a person's name'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 174), gen. sg. *hal-zi-ya-wa-as* (V 10, 11 EZEN *halziyawas ŪL iyanza* 'the feast of invocation [has] not [been] observed'), *hal-zi-ya-u-as* (XXVIII 92 I 4–6 *nu* LÚ ^{D}U DINGIR-*LAM*

andan halzai ... INIM.MEŠ *andan halziyauas talliya[zi]* 'the man of the storm-god invokes the deity ... he recites the words of invocation'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 302; XXVII 13 I 16 ^{D}*Hepat halziyauas*), *hal-zi-ya-u--wa-as* (e. g. ibid. 3 *ANA* ^{D}U *halziyauwas* 'to the storm-god of invocation'; ibid. 14 *ANA* ^{D}*Hepat halziyauwas*; XXV 25 I 5 ALAM *halziyauwas* 'icon of invocation'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; *KBo* XXIII 7 I 13 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as halziyauwas* SÌR 'song of invocation of the gods'; *KUB* XIV 4 III 23–25 *mān-ma INA* KUR ^{URU}*Kummanni-ma pāun ABU-YA ANA* ^{D}*Hepat* ^{URU}*Kummanni* EZEN *halziyauwas tarān harta pesta-ma--an-si nāui n-as ammuk nakkēstat* 'but when I went to Comana, my father had promised Hepat of Comana a feast of invocation but had not yet given it to her, and it became incumbent on me'), *hal-zi-i-ya-u-wa-as* (XIX 30 IV 12–13 *kezza-ma-mu* ^{D}*Hepat* ^{URU} *Kummanni ANA* EZEN *halzīyauwas nakkēsta* 'but hereupon it became pressing for me to [observe] the feast of invocation of Hepat of Comana'; cf. Götze, *AM* 104); inf. *hal-zi-ya-u-an-*[*zi* (*KBo* XVII 65 l.R. 6), *hal-zi-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 6 IZKIM-*si* ^{MUŠEN} *surassuras halziyauwanz*[*i uiddu*] 'let the s.-bird come to cry a sign for her'; ibid. 53 ^{MUŠEN}*surassuras halziyauwanzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 150, 156, 173; XXII 70 Rs. 45–46 *duddu-ma ariyanzi mān duddus halziyauwanzi kinun-pat* SIXSÁ-*ri mān-as hattulēszi kuwapi nu duddun QATAMMA halzāi* 'they submit the pardon to the oracle, whether it is determined that pardon be craved now, or he gets well at some time and likewise craves pardon [then]'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 92); iter. ***halzeski-, halziski-***, 3 sg. pres. midd. *hal-zi-is-kat-ta-ri* (X 45 III 10–11 *salliya INA* UD.5.KAM *halziskattari* 'on day five one is being called to the plenum'; cf. ibid. 15 *INA* UD.4.KAM *mān lukkatta salli ŪL halziya* 'for four days, as it gets light, there is no call to the plenum'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 46), 3 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-kán--zi* (*KBo* II 8 II 9), *hal-zi-is-kán-zi* (*KUB* XXVI 15, 12), *hal-zi-es-ki-it* (XV 12 I 6 *annāi ŪL halzeskit* 'did not keep shouting *annāi*'; VI 1, 4), 3 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-is-kán-du* (XIX 52 IV 2 'let them keep reciting'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:150).

Iter. ***halzessa-, halzissa-***, 1 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-is-sa-ah-hi* (*KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 22 *kinun-a siuni-mi piran tuwaddu halzissahhi nu-mu* DINGIR-*YA istamas* 'now before my god I crave pardon; my god, hear me!'; XXX 11 Rs. 21]*duddu halzissahhi nu-mu* DINGIR-*LIM-YA istamas*[), *hal-zi-is-sa-hi* (XXXI 127 III 12–13 *kinun* DINGIR-*LIM-ni piran duddu halzissahi*), 2 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-is-sa-at-ti* (XIV 1 Rs. 13 *nu-wa-mu kuwapi* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI BELI-YA lāhha halzissatti* 'when you the

king my lord summon me to war'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 24), 3 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-sa-i* (e. g. XVII 7 III 15 [INIM-*n*]*i-ma-wa-smas kuedani halzessai* 'in what matter he is summoning you'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:154 [1951]; XXXVI 89 Vs. 24 *kāsa-wa-ta halzessai halziyau*[*wanzi uid*]*du-as* ^{MUŠEN}*surassuras* 'lo, he is calling you; to call let it come, the s.-bird!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144), *hal-zi-is-sa-a-i* (*KBo* XVII 43 I 11 *ī halzissāi* 'cries ī'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 105; *KUB* XXX 28 Rs. 1–2 [*nam*]*ma-kan* ^{LÚ}*pāti*⟨*li*⟩*s kuis suhhi ser nu-kan* É-*ri katta*[*nda*] *halzāi akkanza kuis n-an-kan* ŠUM-*ŠU halzissāi* 'then the p.-priest who [is] up on the roof calls down into the house; he who [is] dead, he keeps calling his name' [partitive apposition]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 96; XXV 37 II 21 *hal*]*zissāi*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 345), *hal-zi-is-sa-i* (e. g. IX 31 II 12 *nu* UR.BAR.RA-*ili halzissai* 'he howls like a wolf'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:340 [1938]; Starke, *KLTU* 52; XXVIII 98 IV 5 *nu halzissai*; XII 65 III 6 *ehu halzissai-wa-tta* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as attas* ^{D}*Kumarbis* 'come, Kumarbi father of the gods is summoning you'; ibid. 7 *halzissai*; dupl. XXXIII 122 III 2 *ehu halzessai-tta*; dupl. XXXIII 116 III 10 *ehu halzis*[-; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:50 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; *KBo* II 3 III 40 *n-at-za ... halzissai* 'calls it...'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:364 [1953]; *KUB* XX 24 IV 3 *ŠUM-an halzissai* 'calls the name'; *KBo* V 11 I 6–7 ^{LÚ}NI.DUH-*ma-as-kan ha*[*tti*]*li lamnit halzissai* 'the gateman calls them by name in Hattic'; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 16; XXI 85 I 11 + VIII 109 I 6 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma* GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠÀ.ŠU.DU$_8$ *lamnit halzissai* 'the chief of the cupbearers calls the gods by name' [followed by list]; *VBoT* 25 I 3; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 199), *hal-zi-sa-i* (*KUB* X 72 II 19–20 [*n*]-*asta kī kue* HUR.SAG.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ [*n*]*epis tekan* ŠUM-*it halzisai* 'these mountains, rivers, heaven, [and] earth which he calls by name'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-sa-an-zi*, *hal-zi-sa-an-zi* (*KBo* XXI 76 r.K. 3 *halzessa*[*nzi*; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 24; *KUB* XVII 35 III 9–10 *n-as lamniyanzi nu-smas taksan sarran* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}PA-*ti halzessanzi taksan sarra-ma-smas* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Māsa halzisanzi* 'they give them names: half of them they call men of Hatti, but [the other] half of them they call men of Māsa'; XXX 56 III 8 *halzisanzi*; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 181), *hal-zi-is-sa-an-zi* (frequent, e. g. XX 48 I 6 and *KBo* XXV 154, 2, 3, 6 *ahā halzissanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 91; ibid. 9 and XVII 18 II 4 *hūu halzissanz*[*i*]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 100; *KUB* XXVIII 96, 5]*halzissanzi*, besides dupl. I 14 II 4 *wa-ú-ya* 3-*ŠU hal-zi-an*-[*zi* 'and they shout *wau* three times'; *KBo* III 34 II 27 *ta ispanti halzissanzi* 'they call out in the night'; *KUB* IV 1 II 19–20

nu ŠA KUR ^{URU}*Hatti* DINGIR.MEŠ *antuhsuss-a ēshar iyauwanna halzissanzi* 'they call the gods and men of Hatti to shed blood'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 172; *IBoT* I 36 I 65–66 *nu hattili tahaya halzai tahayan-ma-za hattili* ^{LÚ}ŠU.I *halzissanzi* 'he calls in Hattic *tahaya*; but *tahaya* they call in Hattic a barber'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:180 [1966]; *KUB* XXV 36 V 28 *n-an-za* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *tahalāin* [...] *halzissanzi* 'entrails they call *tahalāi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 208; VII 53 I 9 *ŠA* ÍD-*at-za* SISKUR.SISKUR *halzissanzi* 'they call it the ritual of the river'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 4; *IBoT* I 36 III 39–40 *n-at-za hūlaliyauwar halzissanzi* 'this they call enwrapment'; *KBo* III 5 I 45 and 48, II 39 'they call [it] ...'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 82, 84, 90; *KUB* I 11 I 3–4 *halzissanzi-ma* 2 *wahnuwauar ŠA* EN.NU.UN MÚRUB 'they call [it] two turns of the middle watch'; ibid. 9 *wahnūwar-ma* 6 *halzis*[*s*]*anzi* 'six turns they call [it]'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 106; similarly ibid. II 25, 34, 44, 55; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 112–4; similarly ibid. IV 9, 15–6; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 120; similarly *KBo* III 2 Vs. 19, 58–59, 66, Rs. 9 and 62; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 128–42; *KUB* XII 15 V 14–15 *n-an-za* [...] *halzissanzi* 'they call him...'; XXV 36 V 38–39 *n-an-za ... halzissanzi*; XII 15 VI 15 and XII 34 I 6 *n-at-za ... halzissanzi* 'they call it...'; XV 1 I 9 and 11 *nu-war-at-za halzissanzi*; XXVII 38 I 23 *n-us-za halzissanzi* 'they call them...'; XXV 37 III 18; cf. *Dict. louv.* 173; *KBo* V 1 II 47; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 8*; *KUB* XXVIII 96, 1, 3, 5; *KBo* XVII 18 II 4), 2 sg. pret. act. *hal-zi-es-se-es-ta* (III 4 II 12–13 *nu-wa-mu-za* DUMU-*lan halzessesta nu-wa-mu-za tepnuskit* 'you have called me "boy" and belittled me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 46), 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-zi-es-sir* (ibid. I 23–24 *arahzenas-wa-mu-za* KUR.KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuyēs* DUMU-*lan halzessir nu-wa-mu-za tepnuskir* 'the outlying enemy countries which called me "boy" and belittled me'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hal-zi-is-du* (IX 107 Rs. 9; for formation, rather than **halzissau*, see sub 2 pl. pres. *īstenī* s. v. *essa-*), 3 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-es-sa-an-du* (*KUB* I 16 III 56–57 *nu kī* [*tupp*]*i* ITU-*mi* ITU-*mi piran-tit halzessandu* 'this tablet they shall read before thee every month'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14; XXIV 8 III 14 [*nu-ssi-s*]*san* NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an* ŠUM-*an halzessandu* 'let them call him Righteous by name!'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:220 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), *hal-zi-is-sa-an-du* (XXXIII 120 II 59 and 62; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *4; Laroche, *RHA* 26:43 [1968]). Cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 31–41; Neu, *Interpretation* 36–8.

Besides the Luwoid 3 sg. pres. act. *haltatti* (q. v. supra), there is Luw. 3 sg. pres. midd. *hal-ti-it-ta-ri* (*KBo* IV 11, 49) and the genitival adjective acc. sg. ^{D}*Hal-da-at-ta-as-si-in* (ibid. 62; cf. *Dict. louv.* 164–5; *haltattassi-*, from a noun **haltatt-* 'call', matches Hitt. gen. *halziyawas*).

Basic to this verb is PAnat. **halt(i)ya-* < **H*$_1$*l*[*tyé/ó-*, a primary formation with **-ye-/-yo-* suffix like e. g. *assiya-* (< **A*$_2$*n̥syó-* 'be favored', q. v. s. v. *ass-*) or *parkiya-* (< **bhr̥ghyó-* 'be high', q. v. s. v. *park-*). Its mediopassive diathesis is seen in Hitt. *halziya*[*tta*]*(ri)*, Luw. *haltittari* (< **haltiyattari*), and the original active 3 sg. in the Luwoid *haltatti* (< **haltyati*; cf. e. g. *Tiwat-* < **Dyewot-*). Much of the active-voice inventory has been transformed already in Old Hittite under the stimulus of *-hi* conjugation verbs such as *nai-*, *pai-*, and *dai-* (cf. *neya*[*ri*] like *halziya*[*ri*], *piyaweni*, *piyanzi* and *tiyaweni*, *tiyanzi* like *halziyaweni*, *halziyanzi*, yielding the present singular paradigm *halzihhi*, *halzaitti*, *halzai*, also pret. sg., imp. 2 pl. *halzistin*; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 69–70). The alternative set *halziyami*, *halziyasi*, **halziyazi* (*halziya*, *haltatti*), *halziyaweni*, *halziyatteni*, *halziyanzi* cannot be entirely passed off as merely late and analogical (wrongly Čop, *Ling.* 10:96 [1970], and Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 464; nothing similar happens in *nai-*, *pai-*, or *dai-*; more correctly H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 97 [1975]); it harbors remnants of the proto-paradigm which originally conditioned the shift *t* > *z* before *i* and transmitted it analogically to the secondary stem *halzai-*. The iterative stems *halzeski-* (*halziski-*) and *halzessa-* (*halzissa-*) represent either **halziya-s-* or **halzai-s-* (not **halte-* > *halze-*, pace C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 103 [1969]).

The etymon is Goth. *laþōn*, ON *laða*, OE *laðian*, OHG *ladōn* 'call, summon, invite', first connected with *halzai-* by Juret (*Vocabulaire* 20), credited (albeit alternatively and in passing) by E. Polomé (*Lg.* 28:451 [1952]), and restated by Puhvel (in *Evidence for laryngeals* 88 [1965]). The Germanic verb is denominative from a noun (Runic *laþu*, OE *laðu* 'call, summons, invitation') which reflects IE **H*$_1$*lotā* and along with PAnat. **halt(i)ya-* (**H*$_1$*l*[*tyó-*) points to a root **H*$_1$*él-t-* : *H*$_1$*l-ét-*. The Germanic noun (cf. Luw. *haltatt-*) has imposed a certain semantic specificity on its denominative verbal offshoot (vs. e. g. Goth. *wopjan*, ON *kalla*, German *rufen*), whereas the Anatolian primary verbal derivation allows for all the nuances

of meaning associated with a verb denoting an outcry. A further trace of this root may be seen in OLat. *lessus*, acc. sg. *lessum* 'wailing, lamentation' (< *H_1let-tu-?; quoted from XII Tables by Cicero, *De legibus* 2:59, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2:55), literally 'outcry', which Čop (*Ling.* 10:96–7 [1970]) compared with Hitt. *halzai-* (< *Hlt-ē-, but on general grounds of onomatopoeic origin, and leaving aside Goth. *laþōn*).

Onomatopoeia was assumed also by Couvreur (*Hett.* 59) and E. Polomé (*Lg.* 28:451 [1952]). Tie-ins partly operating with onomatopoeia and postulating an Indo-European guttural as the source of *h-* range from Hrozný (*SH* 40: OCS *glasŭ* 'voice', Czech *hlásati* 'call out') and Marstrander (*Caractère* 146: OHG *gellan* 'sound, cry'; cf. ON *gelta* 'bark', OHG *gelzōn* 'cry out'; *IEW* 428) to Pedersen (*Hitt.* 121, 177: Gk. *καλέω*) and beyond (L. L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before sonant* 56 [1948]: OIr. *gáir* 'cry', ON *kalla* 'call'; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 105: Arm. *cicaṙn* 'swallow').

Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:307–8 [1987]) connected with *halzai-* Gk. *ἀλαζών* 'braggart, quack' (literally 'crier'?) via a formula *A_1ldy-.

Cf. Puhvel, *Studies in Honor of E. C. Polomé* 525–7 (1988).

ham(m)a(n)k-, ham(m)enk-, hami(n)k- 'tie (often with preverb *anda*; literal and figurative magical meanings); betroth'; *katta(n) hamank-* 'tie down, mandate' (*KBo* I 38 Rs. 6 *ha-me-en-ku-wa-a*[*r* = [Akk.] *kuṣṣuru* 'to tie together' [*kaṣāru*]), 1 sg. pres. act. *h*]*a-ma-an-ga-ah-hi* (XII 96 I 20; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239 [1964]), *ha-ma-an-ak-mi* (XXIII 113 III 20–21 GAM-*an hamanakmi n-a*[*t*...] *ishiyami* 'I shall tie down and it ... I shall bind'; XXXIII 216 Vs. 9 *katta hamanakmi*; cf. J. de Roos, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 4:44 [1989]), *ha-ma-an-ga-mi* (*KUB* IX 31 III 24; dupl. *HT* 1 III 14 has 3 sg. *hamanki*), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ma-an-ki* (e. g. *KUB* IX 22 II 27 *ANA QATI-ŠU-ya-ssi-ssan* SÍG SA_5 *hamanki* 'and to her hand he binds red wool'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 90; *KBo* V 1 IV 6–7 *nu-ssan* SÍG SA_5 *ANA* GÌR.MEŠ-*ŠU hamanki* 'he ties red wool to its feet'; cf. Sommer-Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*; V 2 III 21–22 *nu* 2 MUŠEN *dāi n-asta* 1-*EN* MUŠEN-*in* ZAG-*az anda hamanki* 1 MUŠEN-*ma-kan* GÙB-*laz anda hamanki* 'he takes two birds; one bird he ties up to the right, but the other bird he ties up on the left'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 108; XII 112 Vs. 6 *a*]*nda sepikusti hamanki* 'she ties to the pin'; ibid. 7]*anda* ^{GIŠ}*niniyalas hamanki* 'she ties to the cradle'; ibid. 9 *n-an-si-kan*

anda *INA* ^{TÚG}GÚ.É.A *hamanki* 'she ties it to the shirt'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 66), *ha-ma-ak-*[*ki* or *ha-ma-ak-*[*zi* (*KUB* XXIV 9 II 47, beside dupl. XXIV 10 II 4 *ha-ma-an-k*[*i*, XXIV 11 II 26 *ha-ma-an-ki*, *KBo* X 41, 5 *ha-ma-an-*[*ki*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 38), *ha-ma-an-*⟨*ak-*⟩*zi* (*IBoT* II 122, 7), *ha-ma-an-ga-zi* (*KUB* IV 47 Vs. 20 *anda hamangazi*, ibid. 19 *hamanga*[*zi*]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ma-an-kán-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XXI 34 IV 13 [OHitt.] *anda hamankanzi*; *KUB* I 13 III 4–5 *anda hama*[*nk*]*anzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 62; XXXIX 24 Rs. 5 *hamankanz*[*i*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 135; X 91 II 4; *HT* 1 III 15), *ha-ma-an-ga-an-zi* (dupl. *KUB* IX 31 III 25; XLI 18 II 13), *ha-am-ma-an-kán-zi* XXXVIII 26, 21 EZEN *zenas katta hammankanzi* 'they mandate the fall festival'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:182 [1963]), *ha-me-en-kán-zi* (58/u, 5), *ha-me-in-kán-zi* (XXXIX 8 I 51 and 52; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 38; XXXIX 7 II 18–19 *huiswandus-ma-ssan lahhan*[*zanus halissiyan*]*das lahhanzanus*$^{MUŠEN.HI.A}$ *anda hamenkan*[*zi* 'live l.-birds they tie to [silver-]plated l.-birds'; dupl. XXXIX 8 I 16; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36), *ha-mi-in-kán-zi* (II 3 II 24), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-ma-an-ku-un* LVIII 108 IV 12), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ma-na-ak-ta* (XIV 4 II 10 *apās-ma* KAxU.HI.A-*us anda hamanakta* 'that one tied the mouths'), *ha-ma-an-kat-ta* (XXXVIII 32 Vs. 6–7 2 EZEN-*si* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhawas hēsu*[*was*] *katta hamankatta* 'for him he mandated two feasts, of filling [and] opening the pithos'; XXXII 133 I 4–5 *nu-za hazziwita ishiuli*HI.A-*ya kue INA* É DINGIR GE_6 *kattan hamankatta* 'the ceremonies and obligations which he had mandated for the temple of the black goddess'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 165), *ha-ma-ak-ta* (e. g. XXVI 91 Vs. 9 *piran hamakta*; cf. Sommer, *AU* 268, 274), *ha-am-ma-ak-ta* (XXXVIII 23, 6 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ EZEN.MEŠ *katta hammakt*[*a* '[he?] mandated feasts for the gods'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:175 [1963]), *ha-am-mi-in-ga-as* (*Bo* 3463 II 10), *ha-mi-ik-ta* (passim *KBo* III 8 III 1–13, e. g. *sallis* ÍD-*as* ... HUR.SAG.HI.A *pargamus hamikta hārius* [*hal*]*lūwawus hamikta* 'the great river ... tied [viz. magically, vs. ibid. 21–31 *lā-* 'loose, untie'] the high mountains, tied the deep valleys'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-mi-ik-ta* and *ha-mi-ik-ta-at* (*KBo* III 8 + *KUB* VII 1 III 32–42, with "acc. of respect" [= partitive apposition in passive voice] of 15 body parts + clothing [9 *hamikta*, 6 *hamiktat*, 1 broken], typically 32–33 *n-as suppis tētanus hamiktat* 'his pure hair [he] was tied' and 37 *n-as* ^{UZU}*pappassalan hamikta* 'his esophagus was tied'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157–8, 161–2 [1961]; dupl. [to 38–42] *KBo* XXII 45

+ 128 III 2–6 [5 *hamikta*, 1 *hamiktat*, 1 *hamik* (sic)]; dupl. [to 36] *IBoT* III 107, 3 *hamiktat*; cf. *ZA* 67:58 [1977]), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-me-en-kán-ta-at* (*KBo* XII 100 Vs. 9), *ha-me-in-kán-ta-at* (ibid. 10; ibid. 4 [*M*]*āla-kan* ÍD-*i* MUŠ.HI.A *IŠTU* KUN.HI.A-*ŠUNU hamenkantat* 'in the M. river snakes were tied by their tails'), *ha-mi-en-kán-ta-at* (ibid. 19 and 20), *ha-me-en-ga-an-ta-at* (ibid. 5–6 and 6–7 *anda ... hamengantat*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 244), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-ma-an-ku* (*Bo* 3936, 11), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-ma-an-kán-du* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 63–64 *nu ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA kuin* DUMU.SAL *pihhi nu-ssi-kan ŠA* SAL.LUGAL *annān* [...] GAM *hamankandu* 'the daughter whom I give to My Brother, for her let them mandate the ? of a queen'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:92 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:13 [1964]), *ha-me-in-kad-du* (*KBo* X 45 IV 26–27 *wastuli ishanī hurtiya happutri hamenkaddu n-at ape parā huuittiyaddu* 'to sin, bloodshed, curse let them tie a halter, and let them drag them forth!'), *ha-mi-in-kán-du* (dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 25; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), *ha-am-mi-in-kán-du* (Maşat; cf. Güterbock, *Anadolu Araştirmalari* 10:208 [1986]); partic. nom. sg. c. *ha-ma-an-kán-za* (*KBo* XVII 105 III 17 and 20 *anda hamankanza*), *ha-me-in-kán-za* (VI 3 II 11 [= *Code* 1:29] *takku* DUMU.SAL-*as* LÚ-*ni hamenkanza* 'if a girl [is] betrothed to a man'), *ha-am-me-en-kán-za* (dupl. VI 5 III 6 *takku* SAL-*TUM* LÚ-*ni hammenkanza* 'if a woman...'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ma-an-kán* (e. g. *KUB* XV 31 II 21 ^{TÚG}*kuressar hamankan* 'a width of fabric [is] tied'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; XLII 12 VI 2; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 173 [1982]; XXXIII 67 I 15; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72), *ha-mi-in-kán* (*KBo* XVII 15 Rs. 12 [OHitt.] *ANA* UDU *Ù* SILÁ *haminkan* 'tied to a sheep and lamb'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73; *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingani haminkan hingan-a-ma-pa anda huiswanni-ya haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death, and death [is] tied to life'; cf. XXXVI 79 II 43–44 TI-*tar-ma-pa handa*[*n anda hingani*] *hantan hinkan* [*anda* TI-*anni*] 'life [is] wedded to death, wedded [is] death to life'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 113, 98; XV 34 I 30 SÍG SA_5 *AN*[*A* ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*a-ssan kuit piran haminkan* 'the red wool that is tied in front of the cedarwood'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 186; IX 28 IV 3), nom. pl. c. *ha-ma-an-kán-te-es* (*KBo* XXIV 63 III 3 + XXIII 43 III 10 MUŠEN.HI.A-*ya-ssan anda hamankantes* 'birds [are] tied'; par. *KUB* XLVIII 70 Rs. 9 *ham*]*ankant*[*es*]), *ha-ma-an-ga-an-te-es* (par. *KUB* XLV 26 + *KBo* XXVII 159 II 12–13 MUŠEN.HI.A-*ya-ssan* [*anda ha*]*mangantes*; cf. *ZA* 71:132 [1981]), *ha-mi-in-kán-te-es* (*KBo*

XXIII 74 II 13; dupl. *KUB* II 3 II 24; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:64); verbal noun *ha-me-en-ku-wa-ar* (n.; quoted above near beginning), gen. sg. *ha-ma-an-ku-wa-as* (XX 66 III 4; cf. ibid. 3 *nininkuwas*), *ha-me-en-ku-as* (XLII 64 Rs. 5 1 UGU *hamenkuas* 'one suspender' [lit. 'of tying above'; cf. e. g. 1 GAM *tiyawas* 'one depositional tray', lit. 'of putting down'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 149 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426; XLII 73 Vs. 10 [UG]U *hamenkuas* DÙ-*anzi* 'they make a suspender'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 92 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 298-9), *ha-me-en-ku-wa-as* (XXX 48, 12–14 *AWAT man-kan* EME.HI.A *kuedaniki uwantes ŠIPAT hamenkuwas* 'if word[s of] calumny [have] come upon someone, [this is a] spell against being tied [i. e. magic incapacitation]'), *ha-mi-en-ku-(wa-)as* (XLII 58 Vs. 1 1 UGU *hamenku*[*(w)as*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 185 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 350), *ha-mi-in-ku-wa-as* (*KBo* XIII 61 Rs. 7 *sarā haminkuwa*[*s*; *KUB* VII 1 III 28 *ŠIPAT hami*[*nkuwas* 'spell against tying'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]); iter. 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-me-in-ki-es-ki-mi* (*KBo* XI 11 I 4–5 *n-us-san hamenkeskimi* 'I keep tying them'), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-mi-in-ki-is-ki-ir* (III 1 III 48 'they would tie up'; context s. v. *ilessar*).

hamank- has the looks of a *-hi* conjugation verb (*hamangahhi, hamanki, hammingas, hamanku*), but this is counterbalanced by *-mi* forms (*hamangami, haman*⟨*ak*⟩*zi* or *hamangazi, hamankun*). What gives it most of a *-hi* conjugation look is rather the seeming *a* : *e* ablaut on the lines of *ak(k)-, ar-, asas-, han-, has(s)-* 'open', *karap-, sak(k)-, sarap-* (*hamank-* : *hamenk-*/*hamink-*).

hamank- is more restricted and specific in usage than *ishiya-* 'bind'. The root is **A*$_1$*em-ĝh-*, seen in Gk. *ἄγχω*, Lat. *angō* 'tie up, make tight, constrict, strangle', Ved. *áṁhas-* constriction' (*IEW* 42–3), with an infixed paradigm **A*$_1$*ṃ-n-éĝh-ti* > **hamnekzi* and weak forms in **A*$_1$*ṃm-ṇ-ĝh-'*, e. g. 3 pl. pres. act. *hamankanzi*. From the latter type were formed new analogical paradigms (cf. Skt. *yuñjáti* and Lat. *iungō* from **yu-n-g-'*), thus *hamangahhi* after the model of *gangahhi* (from *gank-*) and *hamankun* following e. g. *linkun* (from *link-*). After the restoration of the weak grade in the form **-nen-* (**hamnekzi* : **hamnenkanzi*, like e. g. *sarnikzi* : *sarninkanzi*), phonetic change (**mn* > *m*[*m*]) once more ruined the paradigm, yielding **ham(m)ekzi* : **ham(m)enkanzi*; the strong form is seen in *hamikta*, and weak ones remained as alternatives to *hamank-* (as in

e. g. *hamankanzi* : *hamenkanzi*, *hamankant-* : *ham[m]enkant-*), creating the illusion of *a* : *e* ablaut. Cf. Puhvel, *KZ* 100:239–40 (1987).

This etymology and reconstruction (though not the details of morphological adjustments posited above) were recognized by N. Van Brock-Mac Gregor (*RHA* 20:32, 35–6 [1962]) and accepted by Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 148); cf. the similar verbs *tamenk-* and *galank-* (s. v.). They effectively remove IE **anĝh-* as an etymon s. v. *asusa-*.

IE **anĝh-* was adduced for *hamank-* already by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 197), but via postulating for Hittite a variant **Hwanĝh-* comparable to OCS *vęzati* 'bind'. Tischler (*Glossar* 142) thought rather of Skt. *váñcati* 'walk crookedly, totter', also implying *hmenk-* < **hwenk-* but with poor semantic fit. While R. S. P. Beekes operated with an etymologically agnostic reconstruct **HmonK-* (*KZ* 88:181–4 [1974]), F. Bader (*RHA* 33:24 [1975]) and V. I. Georgiev (*Linguistique balkanique* 25.4.15 [1982]) tried to collate the infixed *hamangahhi/hamanki/hamankanzi* directly with the thematic verb type of Gk. *ἄγχω/ἄγχει/ἄγχουσι* (**Hn̥ngh-* vel sim. acc. to Georgiev), preferring Indo-European quantum comparisons to patient inner-Hittite reconstruction.

Schmitt-Brandt (*Entwicklung* 108) and H. C. Melchert (*Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 167–8 [1984]) abortively compared German *mengen* 'mingle, meddle', reconstructing **Ho-menk-*. Van Windekens (*Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 913–4 [1979]) saw a loanword from Hitt. *hamank-*, with assimilation of nasal, in Gk. *ἀνάγκη* 'constraint; blood tie' (base meaning 'tie, bond' acc. to Chantraine, *DELG* 83; also H. Schreckenberg, *Ananke* [1964], who sought Semitic origin for both *ἀνάγκη* and [incidentally] *hamank-*).

hammasa- (c.) 'grandchild', gen. pl. *ha-am-ma-sa-as* (*KBo* X 10 IV 9 É.GAL *hammasas* 'palace of grandchildren'; cf. the frequent É.GAL *huhhas* 'palace of grandparents' in e. g. *KUB* LII 99, 10; V 9 I 25; *HT* 2 I 3).

Pal. *ha-am-su-*[? (cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 22).

Luw. *hamsa-* (c.) 'grandchild', instr.-abl. *ha-am-sa-a-ti ha-am-su-uk-kal-la-a-ti* (*KBo* IX 143 III 13), *ha-am-sa-a-ti ham[sukallāti* (XXIX 6 Vs. 29), *hamsāt]i ha-am-su-kal-la-a-t[i* (*KUB* XXXII 10 Vs. 14). Cf. Starke, *KLTU* 122, 129 (incorrect), 162.

Hier. *hamasa-* 'grandchild', CHILD.OFFSPRING-*masukala-*. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 50–1; Laroche, *HH* 155.

ham(ma)sa- is a luwianism (vs. Hitt. *hassa-* 'progeny' [q.v.]), both reflecting PAnat. **hamsa-*, with Luwoid preservation of **-ms-*. Luwian and Hieroglyphic *hamsu-kal(l)a-* may be a comprehensive compound, 'offspring-clan' (vel sim.), with a *u*-stem variant noun (cf. e. g. *arma-* : *armu-*) followed by a cognate of Vedic *kúlam* 'family (circle), tribe'. *hamsāti hamsukal(l)āti* is thus an alliterative, quasi-iterative pleonastic term for 'along with posterity', evocative of Hitt. *hassa hanzassa* (q.v. s.v. *hassa-*).

O. Szemerényi (*Acta Iranica* 16:49–50 [1977]) offered an unlikely protoform **h(a)naptya-*, comparing IE **nep(o)t-* 'grandson'.

ham(m)esha(nt)- (c.) 'spring(-summer)' (Ú.EBUR 'plant-harvest' matching *ha-me-es-ha-an-za* in 1026/u + *KUB* XXIX 11 Vs. 6 and 8; cf. Güterbock, *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* 163 [1988]; TEŠI [= Akk. *dīšī* 'spring grass; spring', pl. of *dīšu*]), gen. sg. *ha-me-es-ha-as* (*KUB* XII 2 II 10 EZEN *hameshas-kan* 'festival of spring', besides ibid. II and III passim EZEN TEŠI, and vs. ibid. 9 EZEN *zēni* 'festival in fall'), *ha-me-is-ha-as* (XXXVIII 32 Rs. 21 2 EZEN *zēnas hameshas* 'two feasts, of fall [and] spring'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:194 [1963]), *ha-mi-es-ha-as* (*KBo* XIII 231 Vs. 2 EZEN *hameshas*; ibid. Rs. 5]*hameshas*), Ú.EBUR (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 II 9 and 34, 3 EZEN Ú.EBUR), TEŠI (e. g. XII 3 passim EZEN TEŠI [= Akk. *isinni dīši* 'festival of spring']; *KBo* II 1 I–III passim EZEN *zenas* ... EZEN TEŠI; similarly *KUB* XVII 37 I 18; XXXVIII 26 Vs. 22 EZEN.HI.A TEŠI '[for] the spring festivals'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:182 [1963]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-me-es-hi* (e. g. X 18 I 1–2 *hameshi* ... *ANA* EZEN AN.TAH.ŠUM 'in the spring, for the a.-festival'; ibid. VI 12–13 *hameshi INA* EZEN AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} 'in spring, at the festival of the a.-plant'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:232–3 [1977]; *KBo* XV 32 I 3–4 *mān hameshi mān* EBUR-*i mān* [...?] *gimmi* 'whether in spring or "at harvest" or in winter' [see commentary]; *KUB* XXX 37 I 9–10 1 EZEN *INA gemi* [...] [1 EZE]N-*ma-ssi hameshi* 'one feast in winter, but one feast for him in spring'; XXXVIII 2 II and III passim 2 EZEN(-ŠU) *zēni hameshi* 'two festivals, in fall [and] spring'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 6–8; XXV 30 I 10 *ANA zeni hameshi-ya* 'for fall and spring'; XLII 100 I 10 1 EZEN *zēni* 1 EZEN *hameshi*; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:182 [1978]; *KBo*

XIV 21 III 67 EZEN *hameshi*, vs. ibid. 68 EZEN *zēni*; *KUB* XXII 56 Rs. 8 *parā hameshi* 'next spring' [cf. e. g. *parā siwatti* 'next day', s.v. *appasiwatt-*, and *parā hameshanda* below]; XXX 37 I 10, vs. ibid. 9 EZEN *INA gemi*; XX 33 Vs. 1; XX 42 I 9; X 5 VI 9; XI 22 I 5; *HT* 83, 3), *ha-me-is-hi* (e. g. *KUB* IV 3 Vs. 12 *hameshi-za* GUD-*un le wasti* 'in spring do not buy a head of cattle'; ibid. 13–14 *marsanza* GUD-*us hameshi-pat* SIG$_5$-*ri* 'even lousy cattle looks [deceptively] good in spring' [viz. by putting on (ibid. 17) *kussaniyan* YÀ-*an* 'temporary sleekness']; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 17 [1974]; XXXII 123 III 14–15 *m*]*ā*[*n ha*]*meshi* EBUR *mān zeni* [... *ŪL kuí*]*tki tuqqāri* 'whether in spring [at] harvest or in fall ... it does not matter'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 309; XI 13 VI 11), *ha-am-me-is-hi* (*VAT* 7458 [colophon] *mān* LUGAL-*us INA* URU*Ānkui hammeshi ANA* EZEN *ZUNNI paizzi* 'when the king goes to A. in spring for the rain festival'), *ha-me-hi* (sic *KUB* XX 63 I 10), *ha-mi-es-hi* (*IBoT* II 1 VI 10 *hameshi INA* EZEN AN.TAH.ŠUM$^{SI[AR]}$ 'in spring, at the festival of the a.-plant'; *KUB* XXXIII 54, 13–14 *ziga-z* GIŠ*hatalkisnas hameshi-ya-az* BABBAR-*TIM* [*wassasi*] EBUR-*ma-z isharwand*[*a w*]*assasi* 'you, hawthorn, in spring put on white [viz. blossoms], but "at harvest" you put on red [viz. berries]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]; XLII 100 IV 22–23 *kinun-ma-ssi* 12 EZEN ITU.KAM 1 EZEN *zēni* EZEN *hameshi* LÚSANGA *IŠTU* É-*ŠÚ ēssai* 'but now the priest celebrates for him from his temple twelve monthly festivals, one festival in fall [and] a festival in spring'), *ha-mi-is-hi* (e. g. XIII 32 Vs. 7 GIM-*an hamishi* DÙ-*ri tet*[*hai* 'when in spring it happens [that] it thunders'; XXV 23 I 8 GIM-*an-ma hamishi* DÙ-*ri tethai*; ibid. 38 GIM-*an-ma hamishi tethai*; ibid. IV 8 GIM-*an-ma hamishi*[; XXV 18 I 2), Ú.EBUR (XXVII 68 I 2 1 EZEN *zēni* 1 EZEN Ú.EBUR 'one festival in fall, one festival in spring'), *TEŠI* (e. g. XVII 35 II 12 GIM-*an-ma TEŠI* DÙ-*ri tethiman istamassanzi* 'but when in spring it happens [that] they hear thunder'; *KBo* II 7 Vs. 9 GIM-*an-ma TEŠI* DÙ-*ri tethai*; *KUB* XXV 23 IV 51 and *VBoT* 26, 9 GIM-*an TEŠI* DÙ-*ri tethai*; *KUB* XXXVIII 19 Vs. 12–13 *ANA* EZEN *zēni* EZEN *TEŠI-ya-kan* 'for the festival in fall and the festival in spring'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:203 [1961]; XXXVIII 10 IV 2 and 22, XVII 35 II 34 and III 22, *KBo* II 1 III 30 1 EZEN *zeni* 1 EZEN *TEŠI* 'one festival in spring [and] one festival in fall'; similarly *KUB* XVII 35 III 20, *KBo* II 1 IV 7–8).

Nom. sg. *ha-me-es-ha-an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XXVII 16 I 10–12 *nu mān hameshanza ... mān gimmanza-ma nasma zēnanza* 'if [it is]

spring ... but if [it is] winter or fall'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:69 [1939]; VIII 70 I 11 *hameshanza kisari* 'spring comes'; XIII 1 IV 28 *mahhann-a hameshanza* [*zinattari* 'and when spring ends'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62; *KBo* II 5 II 1 *nu mahhan hameshanza kisat* 'when spring came'; cf. Götze, *AM* 182; XIV 12 III 24 *mahhan-ma hameshanza kisat*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96 [1956]; same in *KUB* XIV 15 I 23, *KBo* III 4 II 50, IV 4 III 57, IV 42 and 56, *KUB* XIX 37 II 46; cf. Götze, *AM* 36, 60, 130, 138, 140, 170), *ha-mes-ha-an-za* (*KBo* II 7 Rs. 16 GIM-*an hameshanza* DÙ-*ri tethai* 'when spring comes [and] it thunders'), *ha-me-is-ha-an-za* (ibid. 4 and *KUB* VII 24 Vs. 11 GIM-*an-ma hameshanza* DÙ-*ri*; VIII 6 Vs. 6 and 8 *hameshanza* SIG$_5$-*atta* 'there is a good spring'), *ha-mi-es-ha-an-za* (*KBo* II 5 III 38 *mahhan-ma hameshanza kisat*; cf. Götze, *AM* 188), *ha-mi-es-kán-zi* (sic *KUB* XXXVIII 26 Rs. 19 *mān hameskanzi* DÙ-[), *ha-mi-is-kán-za* (sic ibid. 1 *mān hamiskanza* DÙ-[), Ú.EBUR-*anza* (XXX 39 Vs. 7 *mahhan-ma* Ú.EBUR-*anza kisari*), acc. sg. *ha-mi-es-ha-an-tin* (sic IV 4 Vs. 5; context below), gen. sg. *ha-am-me-es-ha-an-ta-as* (*KBo* XIX 128 VI 32–33 DUB 2.KAM *QATI ŠA* É-*TIM* GAL *hammeshantas* 'tablet two is finished of the palace, of the spring [festival]'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 18, 48), *ha-me-es-ha-an-da-as* (e. g. XI 39 VI 1–3 DUB 1.KAM *ŪL QATI ŠA* EZEN HUR.SAG*Pisku-runuwa hameshandas* 'tablet one not finished of the Mt. P. festival of the spring'; *KUB* XLII 100 III 23 EZEN *hameshandas-ma UL* DÙ-*anza* 'the festival of spring [had] not been celebrated'; XIII 4 I 39–40 EZEN *zen*[*and*]*as* EZEN *hameshandas* EZEN *tethesnas* 'feast of fall, feast of spring, feast of thunder'; ibid. II 53–55 *nu* EZEN *hamesha*[*ndas*] [*I*]*NA zēni iyatteni* EZEN *zenandas-ma hameshi ēssatteni* 'you celebrate the feast of spring in the fall, and you celebrate the feast of fall in the spring'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]; *KBo* XI 50 VI 18 *zēnandas hameshandas*; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:139 [1975–6]; *KUB* VIII 69 III 10 *ŠA* EZEN *hameshandas* 'of the festival of spring'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 186; XXV 26 III 12; *KBo* IX 131 I 2), *ha-me-es-ha-da-as-sa* (*KUB* XXI 11 Rs. 11 EZEN *hameshadass-a*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:144), *ha-me-is-ha-an-da-as* (XXV 2 VI 24), *ha-mi-is-ha-an-ta-as* (XV 21, 14 EZEN] *zēnantas* EZEN *hamishantas*), *ha-am-mi-is-ha-an-ta-as-sa* (*KBo* XXIV 118 VI 6–7 EZEN.HI.A *zēnandas hammishantass-a*, dupl. *KUB* XXII 27 IV 24 EZEN.HI.A *zēnandas hameshanda*[*ss-a*), *ha-mi-is-ha-an-da-as* (XXIV 1 II 4–5 *gimmantas hamishandas zenandas aulius* 'sacrificials of winter, spring, and fall'; dupl. XXIV 3 I 7 *hameshandas*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 18; IV

4 Vs. 3–9 *kimmantin armahhanni hameshantin sullanni hamishandas--ma-za alel āssiyanni handas ēssa[tti* 'winter for impregnation, spring for strife, but the flower of spring for the sake of love thou makest'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 16 [1974]), Ú.EBUR (XII 4 IV 6 EZEN Ú.EBUR-*ya-kan*, vs. ibid. 3 EZEN *zēnandas*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-m]i-is-ha-an-ti* (*KBo* XIX 5, 5 [= *Code* 100]; cf. Otten and Souček, *AfO* 21:10 [1966]), *ha-me-es-ha-an-da* (dupl. VI 2 IV 60 and VI 3 IV 60 *parā hameshanda* 'until next spring'; cf. *parā hameshi* above).

The doublets *hamesha(nt)-*, *gim(ant)-* 'winter', *zena(nt)-* 'fall', *wit(ant)-* 'year', *siwatt(ant)-* 'day', while matching such other lexemes with "collective" extension as *tuzzi(yant)-* 'army' in the productive derivation schemes of Hittite, reflect an archaic formal distinction (for details see s.v. *ispant-*) with lingering semantic relevance: *hameshi kisari* means 'it happens in spring' (thunderstorm or whatever), vs. *hameshanza kisari* 'spring is here' (for the duration). Sometime during spring (*hameshi*) the festival wholly devoted to the season of spring (EZEN *hameshandas*) normally takes place. The difference recalls Engl. *eventide* or *September morn* (a part of day), vs. *(this) evening* or *(Monday) morning*. Similarly French *jour de l'an* is 'new year's day', and Ital. *un dì* or *un giorno* means 'one day', but *Année philologique* details a full year's work in philology, and *Giornata del francobollo* is a day devoted to philately. The marking and remarking of this distinction by **-(n)t(o)-* has ancient roots (cf. Vedic *héman* 'in winter' : *hemantá-* 'winter'; OE *ǣfen*, OHG *ābend* [< **ēponto-*] : OE *ǣfn-ung* 'evening').

gim- (ŠE_{12}), *hamesha-* (Ú.EBUR), *zena-* were the three seasons of the Hittite year, listed in e.g. *KUB* XXIV 1 II 4–5 *gimmantas hamishandas zenandas*, or in XXVII 16 I 10–12 *hameshanza ... gimmanza ... zenanza*. Little can be concluded from such varied sequences about the inception of the year, but *zena-* arrived in the eighth month (XXXVIII 32 Vs. 8 GIM-*an zēnas kisari* ANA MU.KAM-*ti* ITU 8.KA[M 'when z. comes, of the year the eighth month ...'), and various other circumstantial indicators (cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:11–2 [1973]) place the beginning in the winter (unlike the vernal equinox as in e.g. aboriginal Anatolia [Hattic *purulli-*], Mesopotamia, early Israel, and Iran, or the early fall as in NW Semitic cultures generally, or the start of the canicular season with the Nile flood as in Egypt). The calendaric divisions in Anatolia clearly had climatological and lunar, rather than solstitial or equi-

noctial relevance. *Gim-* was the snowy season (November–March), *hamesha-* was spring and early summer (time of rains, electrical storms, greenery, grass, fruits and vegetables, thus April–June), while *zena-* (July–October) was the harvest time for cereal and later for grapes and other fall fruit. Grain harvest took place in July–August on the plateau, but earlier in places like Kizzuwatna (in May in Mesopotamia), cutting across the inherited terms *hamesha-* and *zena-*, which led to EBUR 'harvest (time), summer' being occasionally intercalated between *hamesha-* and *zena-* (as quoted above, *KUB* XXXII 123 III 14–15 *m]ā[n ha]meshi* EBUR *mān zeni*) or used as impinging on *zena-* (XXXIII 54, 13–14 *hameshi-ya-az ...* EBUR-*ma-z*; *KBo* XV 32 I 3–4 *mān hameshi mān* EBUR-*i mān* [...?] *gimmi*; questionably emended to [*zeni mān*], to yield four regular seasons, by Güterbock, *RHA* 25:142 [1967], and H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 13–4 [1974]). A movable short interseason of EBUR, transitional between *hamesha-* and *zena-*, and coterminous with the grain harvest, would be an adopted and adapted intrusion from Mesopotamia, where in Akkadian the year comprised *kuṣṣu* 'winter' (lit. 'cold', Sum. EN.TE.NA; cf. Hitt. EZEN ŠE_{12} = EZEN *KUṢṢI* = EZEN *gimmantas*), *dīšu* or *pān šatti* 'spring' (the latter lit. 'front of the year' following *rēš šatti* 'Newyear'; cf. German *frühjahr*), and *ebūru* 'summer' (lit. 'harvest'; also *ummātum*; also *umšu* 'heat'; Sum. EBUR, É.MEŠ) or (specifically Assyr.) *harpū* 'summer' (pl. tantum; cf. Sargon's 8th Campaign, line 209: *dīš pān šatti šammu u rītu la ipparakkū kūṣu harpu* 'the vegetation of spring, fodder and pasture, fail not winter [or] summer'; cf. the borrowed Hitt. *harp[iy]a-* [s.v.]); there was no expression for 'fall, autumn'.

Greece likewise had three seasons with inherited names, *χεῖμα* 'winter', *ἔαρ* 'spring', and *ὀπώρᾱ* 'late summer + fall', whereas *θέρος* 'summer', meaning literally 'heat', was an intrusive designation of harvest-time (cf. *θερίζω* 'to harvest', *θερισμός* 'harvesting') which blended into and tended to form a singular-verb merism with *ὀπώρᾱ* (cf. *Odyssey* 11:192 *αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν ἔλθῃσι θέρος τεθαλυῖά τ' ὀπώρη*).

The Greek : Hittite pairs *χεῖμα* : *gim-* and *ὀπώρᾱ* (Doric *ὀπάρᾱ* < **ὀπ-οσάρ-ᾱ*, from **osr̥* : *osen-*) : *zena-* being cognate, and the realia in close accordance (*ὀπώρᾱ* and *zena-* both starting with the rising of Sirius around July 20 and stretching into fall, cognate with Goth. *asans* '*θέρος*, *θερισμός*', *OHG aran*, German *ernte* 'harvest', and Russian *osen'* 'fall'), the expectation would be that *ἔαρ*

(< *ϝέσαρ) and *hamesha-* are likewise related. In reality the etymology of *hamesha-* remains opaque:

Of various comparands, the most persistent set has been Sturtevant's perennial (from *Lg.* 4:163–4 [1928] to *Comp. Gr.*² 80) Gk. ἀμάω, OE *māwan*, lat. *metō* 'mow, harvest' (**mē-, met-* in *IEW* 703), which Benveniste (*Origines* 157) organized into a root **A₁ém-(t-), A₁m-ét-*, and which commanded assent via Lehmann (*PIEP* 25) down to Gusmani (*KZ* 86:257 [1972], who assumed for *ham[m]esha-* a verbal abstract noun 'harvesting' parallel to *dam[m]esha-* 'forcing' from **dem-H₂-* seen in *damas-*; similarly Starke, *KZ* 93:249–50 [1979]). Grass-mowing and plant-plucking would indeed have occurred during *ham(m)esha-* on the Anatolian plateau, whereas (unlike lowlands) grain-harvest started only with the *zena-* in July. But *ham(m)esha-* from a nonattested verb remains dubious, as does a fortiori its occasional root-connection with IE **sem-* (in e. g. Avest. *ham-* and Engl. *summer*: *IEW* 905; already in Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 190), whether by the device of *s*-mobile (**Aem-* > **[h]am-* vs. **sAem-* > **sem-*; H. M. Hoenigswald, *Lg.* 28:183 [1952]) or via some kind of metathesis (E. P. Hamp, *IF* 66:26 [1961]). Further far-fetched were Čop's comparison of OHG *amaro* 'emmer (wheat)', alleged root-meaning 'warm' (*Ling.* 1:29–31 [1955], *Indogermanica minora* 62–3; but cf. Van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 634), and Van Windekens' adduction of IE **mēs-* 'month, time' (cf. Hitt. *mehur*; *Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 914–6 [1979]).

The connections with IE **wesr-, wesn-* 'spring' (Skt. *vasantá-*, Gk. ἔαρ, Lat. *vēr*, ON *vār*, Russian *vesná*, etc.; *IEW* 1174) are not unclouded either and impose a reconstruct **wesH₁-*. Kuryłowicz's derivation of *hamesha-* from **hwesha-* (*Symbolae grammaticae in honorem J. Rozwadowski* 101 [1927]) was improved on by Goetze's compound reconstruction **hant-wesha-* 'front-spring' (> **han-wesha-* > **hamwesha-* > *ham[m]esha-*; cf. *hant-* [s.v.], and Akk. *pān šatti*, Ital. *primavera*; *Lg.* 27:471 [1951]); as an alternative H. A. Hoffner (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 15 [1974]) suggested **hant-miyasha-* (*mai-/miya-* 'grow').

Perhaps *ham(m)eshant-* has primacy as **hant-weshan-t-*, with the short forms gen. *hameshas*, dat.-loc. *hameshi* secondarily patterned by analogy on *gemi, zeni*. The underlying *r/n*-system **weshar, *weshan-* may survive with *a*-coloration in *suppi-washar*SAR 'onion' (q.v.) and its derivative *suppiwashanalli-* (or *suppa washanalli-*), a compound copied (presumably via Akkadian) from Sum. *sum.sikil*

'pure leek' (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:318–20 [1947]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 108–9 [1974]). Curiously the main occurrences (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 37 and 39; Lebrun, *Samuha* 123) read *kās-wa ... suppiwashar*SAR and *kūn sup[piw]ashar*SAR (i. e. qualified by an animate nom. and acc. sg. pronoun) and hence reflect in origin a triple compound *suppi-washar-*SAR 'pure spring-vegetable', with *washar* itself subsequently shading over into 'spring green, green leek' or the like (the converse of Akk. *dīšu* 'grass' becoming 'spring'), and in the process taking on at least ad sensum animate gender.

hamina-, hamena- (c.), name of a functionary, nom. sg. LÚ*ha-mi-na-as* (e. g. *KBo* XI 49 I 2–6 *āszi-ma-kan kuis* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *n-an paizzi* LÚ*haminas* LUGAL-*i parā epzi nu-ssan* LUGAL-*us QATAM dāi namma-as* LÚ*haminas taknas* DUTU-*i dāi* 'what breadloaf is left, the h. goes and proffers it to the king, the king places his hand, further he, the h., gives [it] to the solar deity of the earth'; ibid. 7 UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR LÚ*haminass-a pānzi* 'the head waiter and the h. go'; in the same vein ibid. 9 and 11; XI 30 I 15–16 LÚ*haminas paizzi* NA₄*hūwasiya piran* 3-*šU sipanti* 'the h. goes and before the baitylos libates three times'; *KUB* XXVIII 9 I 2, 12, 14; XLI 29 III 10 LÚ*haminas* SAL DU LÚ DU['the h., the woman of the storm-god, the man of the storm-god ...'), LÚ*ha-a-mi-na-as* (*KBo* XXIII 59 III 6), LÚ*ha-a-mi-na-sa* (ibid. 10), LÚ*ha-mi-i-na-as* (XX 16 Rs. 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 38), LÚ*ha-me-na-as* (*KUB* XLI 30 III 4 and 13; XLII 86, 7; X 78 II 10; *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 18; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:94; *IBoT* III 44 obv. 3, rev. 5), dat.-loc. sg. LÚ*ha-mi-ni* (*KBo* II 12 II 28, 32, 38, 41; XXII 205, 4), LÚ*ha-mi-i-ni* (XX 16 Rs. 9, 11, 12; XX 2 + XXV 15 I 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47), LÚ*ha-mi-na* (XXV 176 Rs. 10), LÚ*ha-mi-na-a-i* (dupl. *KUB* X 13 III 7; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:93), nom. pl. LÚ*ha-mi-ni-es* (*KBo* XX 13 I 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 141; XX 24 II 4 LÚ*ha-mi-ni-*[*es*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 41), LÚ*ha-mi-i-ni-es* (XX 16 Vs. 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 43).

Goetze (*JCS* 1:84 [1947]) sought an identification of LÚ*hamina-* with LÚŠÀ.TAM 'chamberlain', but many of the attestations describe cultic actions, and the most frequent collocations involve terms for 'priest' (LÚGUDÚ, LÚSANGA). Cf. Daddi, *Mestieri* 111–3.

han-, haniya- 'draw (liquids)', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-ni-ya-mi* (*KUB* XXX 26 I 18), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-ni* (e. g. *KBo* II 8 I 23 *watar hāni* 'draws water'; *KUB* IX 1 I 6 *wātar hāni*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126 [1961]; X 11 V 9–11 GEŠTIN-*an sarā ... hāni* '[he] draws up wine'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-a-na-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XXIII 27 II 29–30 *nu wātar apedani pidi* ŪL *hānanzi* 'on that spot they do not draw water'; *KUB* XXXI 57 I 25; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114; XXXII 72 Vs. 10), *ha-na-an-zi* (*KBo* X 31 II 14; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102), *ha-a-ni-ya-an-zi* (XXIII 27 III 12), *ha-ni-ya-an-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 4 I 60; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 54, IV 31; Neu, *IF* 79:266 [1974]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-nu-un* (*KUB* XXVI 92, lines 12, 13, 16), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-ni-e-ir* (XXXIII 106 I 10; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:18 [1952]), *ha-ni-ir* (XLIV 56 Rs. 1 *ha-ni-ir-ra-at*), *hi-e-ni-r(a-at)* (XXXIII 34 Vs. 6), *hi-ni-ir* (ibid. 7; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:127 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-an, ha-a-ni* (*KBo* X 45 II 36–38 + *IBoT* II 128 II 3–7 *hāni wātar* 7-ŠU *nas*[*ma*] *hān wātar* 8(?)-ŠU *lāh* 9-*anti-ma* KASKAL-*si wekti kuit* A-*tar nu apāt wātar hāni n-at-za dā* 'draw water seven times or draw water eight times; pour it out; but the water that you demand the ninth time, draw that water and take it'; cf. Meriggi, *RHA* 18:101-2 [1960]; Otten, *ZA* 54:124, 157 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-a-an-du* (*KUB* XXXI 86 II 12; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43); partic. *hant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-a-an-za* (IX 28 II 12); inf. *ha-nu-wa-an-zi* (XXXIX 71 I 24), *ha-nu-ma-an-zi* (XXIX 4 I 59; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 12), *ha-na-an-na* (XXXII 72 Vs. 5); iter. *haniski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* XV 37 V 9). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:513, 316; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:66 (1954).

haniya- (c.), gen. sg. *ha-ni-ya-as* (*KUB* XXX 32 I 16 *haniyas* KÁ.GAL), *ha-a-ni-ya-as* (XXXIV 69+70 I 19 *hāniyas* KÁ-*as*; *KBo* X 35 I 3 *hāniyas* KÁ.GAL). In *KUB* XXX 32 I 14–17 there is a well (*wattaru*) at the gate of the *hista-* house (q.v.), and nearby the doors of *haniyas* KÁ.GAL and *tūriyas* KÁ.GAL are shut or opened to regulate the water flow. These seem to be wellgates for 'drawing' and 'harnessing' water (e. g. to run a water-wheel), with gen. sg. of thematic action nouns *haniya-* (c.) and *turiya-* (c.) from the verbs *han(iya)-* and *turiya-* 'harness' (cf. e. g. *tapariya-* [c.] 'command' from *tapariya-* 'be in charge, command'). In *KUB* XXXIV 69+70 I 18–19 the priest and four men of the *hista-* house are mentioned before *hāniyas* KÁ-*as ari* 'arrives at the drawgate'. See also Singer, *Festival* 1:113–4.

hanessar (n.), vessel name, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-n*]*e-es-sar* (*KBo* XI 41 I 10; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 160), *ha-ne-es-sa* (e. g. *Bo* 3123 IV 8),

ha-ne-e-es-sa (e. g. *KUB* XLII 107 III 12; cf. Neu, ibidem; for lack of *-r* cf. e. g. *hannessa*[*r*] s. v. *hanna-* or *ishessa*[*r*] s. v. *ishiya-*), *ha-ni-sa* (e. g. *KBo* II 13 Vs. 6 DUG*hanisa*), gen. sg. *ha-n*]*e-is-na-as* (XI 41 I 11), *ha-ne-es-na*[- (*IBoT* II 93 Vs. 17; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 158), instr. sg. DUG*ha-ni-is-ni-it* (*KUB* LIV 64 Vs. 7; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 306); thence new secondary thematization *hanessa-* (c.), nom. sg. DUG*ha-ni-es-sa-as* (e. g. *KBo* II 7 Rs. 14; *KUB* XII 2 III 9), DUG*ha-ni-is-sa-as* (e. g. VII 53 I 23 1 DUG*hanissas* GEŠTIN 'one h. of wine'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; X 78 I 12; XX 25 I 2), DUG*ha-a-ni-is-sa-as* (*VBoT* 24 III 20; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:12 [1927]), DUG*ha-ni-sa-as* (e. g. *KBo* II 13 Vs. 8 and 16; IV 13 II 2; *KUB* VII 24 Vs. 8; XVII 35 I 14 and IV 16), acc. sg. DUG*ha-ni-es-sa-an* (e. g. *KBo* XII 96 IV 23; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:241 [1964]), DUG*ha-ni-is-sa-an* (*KUB* VII 41 Vs. 28; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:118 [1961]; *KBo* XVII 13 + XXV 68 I 5 DUG*h*]*anissan* GEŠTIN; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 143), DUG*ha-ni-is-sa-a-an* (XV 52 I 2; cf. Otten, *ZA* 59:248 [1969]; XXV 190 Vs. 28; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:425), abl. sg. DUG*ha-a-ni-es-sa-az* (*KUB* XVI 2, 6), nom. pl. 2 DUG*ha-ni-is-sa-a-as* (*KBo* XVI 71 + I 30; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40), dat-loc. pl. (?) DUG*ha-ni-es-sa-a-as* (*KUB* XX 74 I 23). There is also nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. (?) DUG*hanissanni* (*KBo* XI 11 III 6), DUG*hanissānni* (XX 3 II 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 45), with suffix *-(a)nni-*. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:188, 221-2.

The *a* : *e* ablaut is confined in attestation to 3 pl. pret. act. *henir, hinir* beside *hanir*; cf. *ak(k)-*, with 3 pl. pret. act. *ekir* beside *akir*. *han-* is related to Gk. *ἄντλον* 'bilge-water' as e. g. Gk. *χευ-* 'pour' is to *χύτλον* 'poured liquid': cf. *ἀντλέω* 'bale (out)' (> Lat. *anclō*). A further cognate may be Arm. *hanem* 'draw out, remove' (cf. e. g. G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniaca* 96 [1931-3], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 80, 372–3 [1956]; W. M. Austin, *Lg.* 18:23 [1942]; Sturtevant, *IHL* 30; T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:225 [1961]). For meaning, cf. also Lit. *sémti* 'draw (water)' with Lat. *sentīna* 'bilge'. Cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 29; Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1:39 (1954); Gusmani, *SMEA* 6:22–8 (1968), *Lessico* 86. Unfounded agnosticism in Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 438.

hann(a)- 'contend (against), contest, take legal action (against), be a plaintiff, sue' (+ dat.); *(-za) hann(a)-* 'litigate, contend, quarrel; judge, adjudicate', often in a figura etymologica *hannessar hann(a)-* 'render judgment, judge a case', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-na-ah-hi* (*KBo*

XIX 70, 3; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 294 [1977]), 2 sg. pres. midd. *ha-an-na-at-ta* (*KUB* XXXI 135 Vs. 10 + XXX 11 Vs. 3 *nu ŠA* UR.ZÍR [*Š*]*A* ŠAH *hannessar zik* [*ha*]*nnatta* 'judgment on dog [and] on pig thou passest'; cf. *ZA* 71:124 [1981]), *ha-an-na-at-ta-ri* (ibid. 11–13 + 4–6 *suppalann-*[*a* ^{D}U]TU *hannessa issit kuy*[*ēs*] *ŪL memiskanz*[*i*] *apatt-a hannattari idālauwass-a huwappas antuhsa*[*s h*]*annessa zik-pat* ^{D}UTU-*us hannatta* 'judgment on cattle that do not speak with mouth that too thou sun-god passest, and on bad [and] evil men thou sun-god alone passest judgment'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 123; par. XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79 I 42–46 *nu* UR.ZÍR-*as* ŠAH-*ass-a hannessar hannattari suppalann-a hannessar issit kuyēs ŪL memiskanzi appātt-a hannattari idalauwass-a hūwappass-a antuhsas hannessar zik-pat hannattari*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 95–6), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-na-i* (e. g. XXI 17 III 37–38 *kedas* [*A*WATE.MEŠ-*Y*]*A le kuiski* [*hanna*]*i kuis-kan hannai-ma* 'let no one contest these my words; but he that contests ...'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:28; Lebrun, *Samuha* 147), *ha-an-na-a-i* (e. g. *KBo* III 3 II 10–13 *nu mān* ^{I}DU-^{D}U-*as ITTI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI Ù ITTI* KUR KÙ.BABBAR-*TI ŪL kuitki wastāi nu-kan ANA* ^{I}DU-^{D}U ŠEŠ-*ŠU ŠA* MÁŠ-*ŠU ANA* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA LUGAL-*UTTI* É-*ŠU Ù* KUR-*ŠU le kuiski hannāi* 'if DU-Tesupas does not fail in any way vis-à-vis my majesty and the land of Hatti, let no one sue DU-Tesupas [or] his natural brother, for [his] throne of kingship, his house and his land'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 142–4), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-an-na-ri* (IV 10 Rs. 22–23 *n-at arha le kuiski dāi hannari-ya-ssi-kan le* 'let no one take it away, and let him not sue him'; 299/1986 IV 25 *hannari-ya-ssi-ssan le kuiski*; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 26; *KUB* XXX 24 II 1–3 *kunn-a-wa-ssi* Ú.SAL-*LAM* ^{D}UTU-*us āra iyan harak nu-war-a-ssi-ssan sarrizzi hannari le kuiski* 'this meadow, sun-god, have rightfully made for him; and let no one sequester it from him [nor] sue him!'; similarly fragmentary XXX 19 I 29, XXX 24a + XXXIV 65, 11, XXXIX 14 IV 2, XXXIX 17 II 3; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60, 34, 58, 82, 86; *KBo* XVI 24 II 23 *hannari ŪL* [*kuiski*; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 528 [1979]), 2 pl. pres. midd. *ha-an-na-du-ma-at* (X 45 III 35–36 *mān-ma sum*[*ēs k*]*ēl parnas hannessar han*[*dān*] *ŪL hannad*[*uma*]*t* 'but if you do not properly adjudicate the matter of this house'), *ha-an-na-tum-ma-at* (dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 III 26–27 *mān-ma sum*[*ēs kē*]*l parnas* DI-*essar handān* [*ŪL hannat*]*ummat*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-na-an-zi* (e. g. I 4 III 38–39 *nu-wa-nnas* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Samuha* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*[*ka-ya*] [*h*]*annessar hannanzi* 'Ištar of Samuha and the

Storm-god of Nerik will render judgment for us'; dupl. XIX 67 + 1102/v II 23–24 *hannessar h*[*a*]*nnanzi*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; XIX 20 Rs. 15), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-na-nu-un* (XIV 4 II 9 *apaddan-kan ser assuli hannanun* 'on that account I judged favorably'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-an-na-at* (XII 63 Vs. 33 *hannessa-set hannat ŪL* 'judgment was not passed on him'), *ha-an-na-ta-at* (78/e Rs. 4 *hannessar hannata*[*t*]), *ha-an-na-ad-da-at* (XXXIV 51, 5 *hann*]*essar hannadda*[*t*]), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-an-na-ta-ti* (cf. e. g. *ki-ya-ta* beside dupl. *ki-an-ta* s. v. *ki-*; XII 26 II 2–3 *nu-war-at-za-kan hannatati nu-war-at-za-kan sāntati* 'they were in contention, and they were enraged at each other'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:168 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-ni* (XIII 2 III 30–31 *nu kuedani* DINAM *ēszi n-at-si hanni n-an-kan asnut* 'who has a legal case, judge it for him and set him aright'; ibid. 32 *nu-smas-at hanni n-as-kan asnut*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 48), *ha-an-ne* (XIX 14, 6 *h*]*annessar hanne*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-na-ú* (XIII 2 III 22–23 *nu auriyas* EN-*as* DINAM SIG$_5$-*in hannau n-at-kan assanuddu* 'the borderlord shall well judge the case and dispose of it'), *ha-an-na-a-ú* (*KBo* III 4 II 13–14 *kinun-a-wa ehu nu-wa zahhiyauwastati nu-wa-nnas* ^{D}U *BELI-YA DINAM hannāu* 'now come, let us fight; let the storm-god my lord judge our case!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; *ABoT* 48, 7–9 [emended from dupl. *KBo* XIX 108, 6–8] [*ŪL-war-a-ssamas-at ammuk hannah*]*hi* DI-*essar paiddu-wa-sm*[*as-at* ^{D}*IŠTAR-is* ^{URU}*Ninu*]*was* SAL.LUGAL-*as hannā*[*u* 'I will not judge this case for you; let Ištar queen of Nineveh come [and] judge it for you'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16), 3 sg. imp. midd. *ha-an-na-r*[*u* (*KBo* III 46 Vs. 3; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-na-at-te-en* (*KUB* IV 1 I 21–22 *nu-smas-(s)an* DINAM *arnuskizzi nu-ssi* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmantes DINAM hannatten* 'he brings suit before you; judge his case, all ye gods!'; ibid. 33–34 [*nu*]*-za sumenzann-a DINAM hannatten* [*nu AN*]*A* ^{D}*Zithariya DINAM hannatten* 'judge your own case, and judge the case of Z.!'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 168–70), 2 pl. imp. midd. *ha-an-na-du-ma-ti* (XLI 8 III 8 *ne kēl parnas* DI-*essar hannadumati* 'judge the case of this house'), *ha-an-na-ad-du-ma-ti* (dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 16–17 *nu kel parnas* DI-*essar hannaddumati*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-na-an-du* (*KUB* XIV 17 III 18–19 *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *a*[*nmēda*]*z tiandu* [...] *hannandu* 'let the gods step to my side ... let them judge'; cf. Götze, *AM* 98); partic. *hannant-*, nom.-acc. sg. n.

ha-an-na-an (XIII 9 III 19 *mān hannan* DI-*sar kuiski* EGIR-*pa dāi* 'if someone takes up again an adjudicated case'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 448 [1959]; dupl. *KBo* XXVII 16 Rs. 17 *hannan*; cf. Otten, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 275 [1979]); verbal noun *hannessa(r)* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-an-ne-es-sar* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 34 III 8 *nu kī hannessar apiya han*[-; XXXI 135 Vs. 10; 78/e Rs. 4; XIX 14, 6 [all quoted above]; XIII 20 I 34–35 *nu sarāzzi* DI-*sar le katterrahtēni katterra-ma hannessar le sarāzziyahteni* 'do not disparage a superior case, nor make an inferior case prevail'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:394 [1947]), *ha-an-ne-(m)es-sar* (XIX 67 I 1–2 *mahhan-ma uit* IŠTU É.LUGAL *hannessar kuitki appa huittiyattat* 'but when it came to pass [that] the trial was somewhat protracted by the palace', with dupl. I 1 III 14 DI-*essar*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 18), *ha-an-ne-es-sa* (XXXI 135 Vs. 11 and 13; XII 63 Vs. 33 [all quoted above]; cf. e. g. *ishessa*[*r*] s. v. *ishiya-*), *ha-an-ni-es-sar* (XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79 I 42, 43, 45; *KBo* X 45 III 35, with dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 III 26 DI-*essar*; I 4 III 38; dupl. XIX 67 + 1102/v II 23; XXXIV 51, 5 [all quoted above]; XVII 30, 5 *hannessar han*[-), *ha-an-ni-is-sar* (LIV I I 7 and 18, II 49; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:53, 56 [1985]), DI-*es-sar* (also e. g. *ABoT* 48, 8; *KBo* X 45 III 17; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 III 8 [all quoted above], with dupl. XII 56 IV 4 *DINAM*; XIX 67 I 5 [quoted below], DI-*as-sar* (XXI 29 II 14–15 [quoted below], DI-*sar* (e. g. XIII 9 III 19, XIII 20 I 34 [quoted above]; VI 46 III 55 [quoted below]), *DI-NAM* (also e. g. dupl. VI 45 III 16 [quoted below]; XIII 2 III 30 and 22; *KBo* III 4 II 14; *KUB* IV 1 I 21, 22, 33, 34 [all quoted above]), *DI-NU* (e. g. XXXI 66 III 11 and *KBo* V 4 Rs. 19 [quoted below]), gen. sg. *ha-an-ne-es-na-as* (VI 2 II 14 [= *Code* 1:38] *hannesnas ishās* 'legal adversary', with dupl. VI 3 II 32 *hanne*]*talwas*, q. v. s. v. *hannetalwana-*; cf. *KUB* I 1 I 54 *ANA* EN *DINI-YA*; ibid. 56 EN *DINI*; IV 84 EN *DINI-ŠU*; IV 45 *BELU*.HI.A *DINI-YA* [Otten, *Apologie* 8, 30, 26]), *ha-an-ni-es-na-as* (XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79 I 24 *hannesnas ishās zik nu hannesnas pedi dariyashas-tis* NU.GÁL 'lord of judgment [art] thou, and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of thine'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 94–5; XXIV 3 I 34–35 *hantandas-az* [*ha*]*nnesnas* EN-*as zik* 'of righteous judgment thou art lord'; *ibid.* 47–48 *hannesnas-az parā handanza* EN-*as zik nu-tta hannesnas pidi tarriyashas* NU.GÁL 'of judgment thou art the righteous lord, and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of thine'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22–4), *ha-an-ni-is-sa-na-s(a)* (XXX 11 Rs. 22 *hannissanas-a pedi*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 125),

dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a*]*n-ne-es-ni* (*KBo* VI 3 II 31 [= *Code* 1:38]), *ha-an-ne-is-ni* (dupl. VI 2 II 13 *takku* LÚ.ULÙ.LU.MEŠ *hannesni appa*[*ntes* 'if persons [are] under arrest for trial'), *ha-an-na-as-sa-ni* (III 6 I 34 *hūwappi hannassani* 'to an evil judgment'), DI-*es-ni* (dupl. *KUB* I 1 I 40; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6; I 1 IV 12 *huwappi* DI-*esni*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24; XXI 29 II 14–15 DI-*esni-ma-as-kan* GAM *iyattaru nu* DI-*assar arahza punuskiddu* 'but he shall go down for the trial and look into the case on the outside'; *KBo* XIX 108, 3 *n-at-z*]*a* ^{D}UTU-*i* DI-*esni tiyer* 'they stepped before the sun-god for judgment'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16), instr. sg. *ha-an-ne-es-ni-it* (*KUB* XIV 8 Vs. 25 *nu apiya-ya* ^{D}IM ^{URU}*Hatti* BELI-*YA* ABA-*YA hannesnit sarlā*[*it* 'then too the storm-god of Hatti my lord made my father prevail by judgment'; *ha-an-ni-is-ni-it* (dupl. XIV 11 II 21–23 *nu apiya-ya* ^{D}IM ^{URU}*Hatti attas-min hannisnit sarlāit*; cf. Götze, *KlF* 210; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 205), abl. sg. *ha-an-ne-es-na-az* (*KBo* V 4 Rs. 18 *nu-smas-kan hannesnaz* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* KASKAL-*si tehhi* 'I the king will put you by adjudication on the [right] path'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:62), [*ha-a*]*n-ne-(m)es-na-az* (*KUB* I 10 III 15 'by trial'), DI-*es-na-az* (dupl. I 9 III 8; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22, 75), IŠTU *DINI* (e. g. *KBo* V 4 Rs. 19–20 *nu-smas kuit* DINU *nu-smas-at* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* [*punu*]*smi nu-smas-kan* IŠTU *DINI* KASKAL-*si tehhi* 'whatever legal case you have, I the king will look into it for you, and by adjudication will put you on the [right] path'), nom.-acc. pl. DI.HI.A (*KUB* XXXI 66 III 9 [quoted below]), *DI-NAM*.HI.A (XIII 20 I 32 [quoted below]), *DI-NA-TIM* (XIII 2 III 9 [quoted below]), [*D*]*I-NA-A-TIM* (dupl. XL 56 II 14); verbal noun *hannesnant-* (c.) as subject of transitive verb, nom. sg. *ha-an-ni-is-na-an-za* (XIX 67 I 5–6 *nu hannisnanza* DI-*essar* EGIR-*pa pehutet* 'the trial brought in a verdict'; cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:38–9 [1962]; Otten, *Apologie* 18); denominative noun *hannesnatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-ni-es-na-an-ni*, and inf. *hannuwanzi* in XL 62 + XIII 9 I 7–8 *nu-wa-ssa*[*n*] *hannesnanni* [*h*]*annuwanzi* ŪL *tarratta* 'in dispensing justice you were not able to render judgment' (cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 446 [1959]); supine *ha-an-nu-an* (XXIX 39 IV 7–8 *sumess-a attas-mas* [...] *hannuan dāis*[*ten* 'you began to contest my father's ...; cf. S. Košak, *Documentum Otten* 197, 200; iter. *hanneski-*, *hannaski-*, *hassiki-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ne-is-ki-si* (VI 45 III 15–17 *ŠA* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*TI* UR.ZÍR-*mas* ŠAH-*as gimrass-a huidnas* DINAM UD-*tili zik* ^{D}UTU-*us hanneskisi* 'on humankind, dog, pig, and beasts of the field you the sun-god daily pass judgment'), *ha-an-ni-is-ki-si* (dupl. VI 46 III 55–56 DI-*sar* ... *hanniskisi*),

ha-an-na-as-ki-si (XXXVI 83 I 14 *zik* LUGAL *ŠAMĒ hannaskisi* 'thou king of heaven judgest'), 2 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-ne-is-kat-te-e-ni* and 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-ni-is-ki-it-tin* (XIII 20 I 32 *DINAM*.HI.A KUR-*TI kue hanneskattēni n-at* SIG_5*-in hanniskittin* 'the legal cases of the land which you adjudicate, adjudicate them well!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:392 [1947]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-ne-is-ki-nu-un* (XXXI 66 III 8–11 *ammuk-man ape* DI.HI.A *kuwat hanneskinun apāt ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM DINU ē[szi* 'why should I be judging those cases? That is a case for the deity'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130; XXI 19 II 6; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:92 [1981]), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-si-ik-ki-it-te-en* (1112/c + II 18–19 *hassikkitten kuedani* [UD-*ti nu-wa kāsa*] *apel* UD-*as* EME.HI.A-*es* 'the day when you quarreled, behold these [are] the tongues of that day'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354 [1953]), 2 pl. pret. midd. *ha-as-si-ik-ki-du-ma-at* (ibid. I 32–35 *apidani-wa-smas-kan* UD-*ti kuit ha[ss]ikkidumat kinun-a-wa--smas-kan kāsa apidas* UD-*as* EME.HI.A ^{D}*Āndaliyas IŠTU* GÍR *karasta* 'as for the matter that on that day you quarreled, now behold, A. has with a knife cut out the tongues of those days'; cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 28:9–11 [1970]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-as-si-kán-du* (XIII 2 III 9–10 *namma ...* *DINATIM* SIG_5*-in hassikandu nu-ssan katta arnus-kandu* 'furthermore [they] shall well adjudicate legal matters and bring [them] to conclusion'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47).

Lyc. 3 sg. pres. *qãti* (*TLy* 89.3), 3 pl. pres. *qãñti* (*TLy* 90.5, 94.2, 134.4, 149.10, N306.4, N309c.10), *qastti* (*TLy* 150.6), 3 sg. imp. *qasttu* (*TLy* 56.4). The subjects are deities in sepulchral imprecation formulas, and the inferential meaning is 'call to account, judge (guilty), punish' (for *q* matching Hittite and Luwian *h* cf. Lyc. *qla* s. v. *hila-*, and *trqqñt-* < *Tarhunt-*). Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 71, 78–9, 81, 85–7; Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* 20, 24 (1979); Pedersen, *Lyk. u. Hitt.* 26–8, 46; Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:196 (1958), 62.1:55, 62 (1967).

The Lycian forms (*qãti* < **hanti*, *qãñti* < **hananti*, *qastti* < **hansketi* < **Hŋ-ské-ti*; cf. Hitt. *hassiki-*) intimate a PAnat. active paradigm **han(n)-*, midd. **hanna-* (cf. the Old and Middle Hittite forms *hannaru, hannari, hannat*). It is not probable that *hassiki-* reflects a syncopational **hanski-*, besides "restored" *hanneski-*, *hannaski-* (pace H. Eichner, *MSS* 28:11–2 [1970]). The active *hanna-* with its mixture of conjugations (*hannahhi* but *hannanun*) seems to be a secondary creation which in turn spawned newer medial forms like *hannatta(ri)*. The original paradigm of *hann(a)-*

resembles *es(a)-* 'sit; beset, occupy', with a rudimentary set of active forms (*ēszi, asanzi, esi, ēsten*) besides the inherited media tantum. The passive usage of the middle is confined to the figura etymologica *hannessar hannat(at)* and is a reverberation of the participial turn *hannan hannessar* 'adjudicated case' (cf., correctis corrigendis, Oettinger, *MSS* 34:122–3 [1976]).

hannessar hann(a)- closely resembles Akk. *dīnam dānu* 'judge a case, render a legal decision'. But while *dānu* only rarely means 'start a lawsuit', and *dīnu* but occasionally denotes a '(just) claim', *hann(a)-* in its most archaic semantic shape occurs in the formula *hannari-ssi-kan le kuiski* 'let no one sue him!', with intransitive medium tantum. 'Suit' is the basic sense of *hannessar*, and 'bring suit, raise complaint' is *DINAM* (i. e. *hannessar*) *arnu-* (see examples s. v. *arnu-*). The approximation *dīnu* : *hannessar* has shifted *hannessar* from 'suit' to 'judgment' and favored the imitative inner accusative *hannessar hann(a)-* 'try a case' (on the lines of e. g. *asātar ēshut* 'set up residence!' or *ishiūl ishiyat* 'concluded a treaty'; see *HED* 1–2:296, 400); this transitive sense of *hanna-* is thus a semantic back-formation from *hannessar*. Similarly Old Irish *brith* was literally 'a bearing' (incl. childbearing), thus a 'charge' which was 'brought' (*berid brith*), but a verdict was likewise 'brought' (*berid mess*), and hence *berid brith* has also come to signify 'pass judgment'. Equally revealing are the two usages of *hannesnas ishās*: as a technical legal term it meant 'party to a lawsuit', written EN *DINI* and equalling LÚ DI-*ŠU* (*KBo* I 28 Rs. 12), just as *ēshanas ishās* was the aggrieved party in an extrajudicial murder case; but as a religious appellation in sun-hymns he was 'lord of judgment', the divine dispenser of justice, showing the semantic shift of *hannessar*.

A proto-meaning 'lay on, charge' in *hann(a)-* points to Lat. *onus* 'load', Skt. *ánas-* 'cart' as possible cognates (cf. *charge* < Lat. *carricāre* 'load a wagon', German *einem etwas zur last legen* 'charge someone with something', and conversely Lat. *exonerāre*). A further possibility for attachment is the Homeric (and rare Herodotean) medium tantum verb *ὄνομαι* 'impugn, quarrel with' (cf. Čop, *Ling.* 8:59 [1966–8]), either with direct object (e. g. *Iliad* 13:287 *οὐδέ κεν ἔνθα τεόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας ὄνοιτο* 'nor would anyone there impugn your vim and brawn') or with genitive construction (*Odyssey* 5:379 *ὀνόσσεσθαι κακότητος* 'quarrel with bad luck'). A form like *κατ-ώνοντο* (Herodotus 2:172) recalls Hitt. *hanna(n)ta-ti*. The Greek

verb (stem *ὀνο-*, also *ὀνα-* in aor. *ὤνατο* [*Iliad* 17:25]) may point to *$*A_2^{w}en$-H_2- as the underlying root form. Perhaps the gemination in *hann-* (and the concomitant absence of plene vowel spellings) is an index of *$*-nH_2$-.

An abortive derivation of *hann(a)-* from *$*ĝenA_1^{w}$- 'know' was undertaken by the "Danish school" (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 201; Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 25, 45, 48; L. L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before sonant* 56 [1948], comparing Goth. *kann* 'can'; also e. g. G. Devoto, *Origini indeuropee* 373 [1962]). The semantics involved (such as German *er-kenntnis* 'verdict, finding, sentence, judgment') also fueled Kronasser's interpretation of *hanna-* as a causative to *ha-* 'believe, trust', thus 'make believe, convince' (cf. 'convict'; *Etym.* 1:562); but the stem is rather *hai-* (q. v.), thus **hayanna-* (> **hānna-*) would have to be postulated. Variations of this approach were provided by C. Watkins (*Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 75–6 [1969]), who reconstructed IE **Hō-ne/o-* expanded from **Hō-* seen in Hitt. *hā-* and Lat. *ō-men*, and H. Eichner (in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 97 [1975]) who assumed nasal infixation of a root in a (lost) laryngeal, presumably *$*A_1^{w}$ (in *MSS* 28:15 [1970], Eichner endorsed Kronasser's connection of *hanna-* with *hā-*).

Other unconvincing interpretations and connections involve a prefix *ha-* and *nai-*, literally 'lead to, assign' (Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 213, *Lg.* 15:152 [1939], *IHL* 52, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 51), and Gk. *αἶνος* 'tale, praise' (allegedly from **an-yo-*; E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:452–3 [1952]; G. Michelini, *Studi italiani di linguistica* 3:459 [1975]) along with Toch. *en-* 'instruct, enjoin' (Čop, *KZ* 85:26–30 [1971]), q. v. rather s. v. *enant-*.

O. Szemerényi (*SMEA* 20:217–20 [1979]) saw in Gk. *αἰσυμνήτης* 'judge, magistrate' an Aeolic derivative of a syncopated Luwian **hann(e)sumna-* 'judgment', and emboldened thereby took *αἶσα* 'lot, share' to be a borrowed Anatolian **hann(e)ssa*.

Cf. *hannetalwa(na)-*, *hanhaniya-*.

hanna- (c.) 'grandmother', dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-ni* (*KUB* XXI 27 IV 8–10 *m]ān* ^{D}*Zintuhi*[*s* G]AŠAN-*YA AWATE*.MEŠ [*ist*]*amasti n-at ANA* ^{D}IM *tuel huhhi* [*ù A*]*NA* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na tuel hanni parā arnusi* 'if you, Z., hear these words and pass them along to the storm-god your grandfather and to the sun-goddess of Arinna your grandmother'; ibid. 4–5 *]nu-kan* ^{D}IM-*ni tuel huhhi* [*ù ANA* ^{D}]UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na tuel*

hanni; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 334; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:116 [1981]), nom. pl. *ha-an-ni-is* (XVII 29 II 6–7 *huhha hannis attēs annis* 'grandfather[s]-grandmother[s], father[s] [and] mother[s]'; cf. Friedrich, *AfO* 4:95 [1927]), acc. pl. *ha-an-ni-is* (XXX 24 II 23 [EGIR-]*anda-ma huhhis hannis ekuz*[*i* 'but afterward he toasts grandfathers [and] grandmothers'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60), gen. pl. *ha-an-na-as* (VII 10 I 9–10 *tarpallis-ma hannas huhhas parā tiyandu* 'let them store away the likenesses of grandmothers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 130), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-an-na-as* (XXXIX 1 III 9 and XXXIX 6 Rs. 22 *huhhas hannas*, XXX 20 + XXXIX 7 I 3 *huhha*[*s h*]*annas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 22, 50, 32; XXXIX 4 Vs. 4 *hannas huhhas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 24).

^{D}*Ha-an-na-ha-an-na-as*, maieutic goddess in the Hattic-based myths around Inaras (*KUB* XXXIII 58–61 passim; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:149–54 [1965], and see also s. v. *ippi*[*y*]a-). Cf. also ^{URU}*Ha-an-na-ha-an-na* (*KBo* I 4 IV 15), ^{URU}*Ha-an-ha-na* (I 1 Rs. 45).

Lyc. *χ̃ña-* or *χ̃ñi-* 'grandmother', gen. adj. *χ̃ñahi* (= Luw. **hannassi-*) in *TLy* 44a.29 *ẽnehi se-χ̃ñah*[*i* 'mother's and grandmother's', *TLy* 44b.58 *χugaha se-χ̃ñaha* 'grandfather's and grandmother's'; obscure Lyc. B *χ̃ñiye* (*TLy* 44d.18). Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 63, 65, 68; Sturtevant, *TAPA* 59:52 (1928); Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:191 (1957–58).

hanna- differs from *anna-* 'mother' in pan-Anatolian terms, down to Lyc. *χ̃ñi* vs. *ẽni*. Phonemic distribution by initial *h-* is a carrier of semantic differentiation (cf. e. g. *hark-* : *ark-*), but in this instance only mildly (the notions being closely related). Dialectal transitions or overlaps via loss of *h* seem possible, as in the "Soldier's dirge" about the "clothes of Nesa" (*KBo* III 40, 14–15), where the donning of ancestral garb (*annas-mas ... uwas-mas*) with its shroud-like implications recalls the mortuary attestations of *hannas huhhas* above (*uwas* < *huhhas*), rather than the expression *annas* (*attas*) *siwatt-* 'day of death' (cf. Oettinger, *KZ* 92:74–5 [1978]).

hanna- belongs to the same group of words as *anna-* (q. v.) and is hence to a point "cognate" with Arm. *han*, OHG *ana* 'grandmother', Lat. *anus* 'old woman', etc. It is even possible to credit the *h-* as an IE *$*A_1$-, as has been commonly done since Sturtevant (*Lg.* 4:163 [1928] et passim) and Kuryłowicz (*Études* 74; see Tischler, *Glossar* 145–6); but the baby-talk nature of this lexeme detracts from its diagnostic phonological value. Clearly *atta-* : *anna-* and *huhha-* : *hanna-* shared alliterative properties that may have affected

their respective pairings (cf. W. Petersen, *Arch. Or.* 9:203 [1937]). Further Indo-European reconstructions, such as **(s-)A_2en-* 'old' involving *s*-mobile (H. M. Hoeningswald, *Lg.* 28:183 [1952]; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 63), are not called for.

han(n)es(s)-, hanis(iya)- 'plaster; wipe (tears)', sometimes with preverb *anda*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ne-es-zi* (*KUB* X 99 VI 6–7 *ANA* 2 $^{SAL.MEŠ}$SANGA IM-*an arha dā*[*i*] *n-an* EGIR ^{GIŠ}PISÀN *hanes*[*zi*] 'he takes clay away from two priestesses and [with] it again plasters the drain-pipe'), *ha-ni-es-zi* (similarly ibid. 9–10; cf. A. M. Jasink Ticchioni, *Studi classici e orientali* 27:165 [1977]; *KBo* XXIX 65 I 5 *anda haneszi*), *ha-ni-is-zi* (XIX 142 III 30–31]*iskizzi nu* SAL *IŠTU* GAB. LÀL [... *a*]*nda haniszi* 'salves, and the woman plasters with wax'; *KUB* XLI 4 II 21), *ha-ni-se-iz-zi* (*KBo* XXI 74 III 9–11 *nu* UKÙ-*an kuit* [*AŠRA*] *aulis harzi n-an apāt AŠRA* [...] *anda hanisezzi* 'the place where it [i. e. illness] holds a person's inner organs [partitive apposition], that place of his he plasters'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 26–8), 2 pl. pres. act. *ha-ni-es-te-ni*, *ha-ni-is-te-ni* (*KUB* XXIX 1 III 31–34 *mān-wa-za* É-*ir andurza hanesteni nu-wa* MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA *hanesteni āssu hanisteni mānn-at arahza-ma hanesteni nu nahsaraddan hane*⟨*s*⟩*ten nu ishassarwātar hanesten* 'if you plaster the house within, you plaster long years, you plaster wealth; but if you plaster it outside, plaster fearsomeness, plaster lordliness!'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:34 [1947]; Starke, *ZA* 69:99 [1979]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:158 [1982]; M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:498 [1982]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ni-es-sa-an-zi* (*IBoT* III 148 III 15 ^{GIŠ}AB-*yas-ma anda hanessanzi* 'at the windows they plaster'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ni-es-se-ir* (*KUB* XL 83 Vs. 14–15 3 ALAM.MEŠ GAB.LÀL ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU DÙ-*ir* [... *IŠ*]*TU* IM *hanesser* 'three pictures of wax [and] sheepfat they made, with clay they plastered [them]'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 64), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-ni-is* (XXIX 1 I 5–9 [*mān* É.MEŠ GIBIL *wedauw*]*anzi zinnisi* [*mān andurza hāni*]*ssi* MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA [*hānis āssu hāni*]*s arahza-ma* [*mān hānissi na*]*hsarattan hānis* [*ishassarwāt*]*ar hānis* 'when thou finishest building new houses, if thou plasterest within, plaster long years, plaster wealth! But if thou plasterest outside, plaster fearsomeness, plaster lordliness!'), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-ni-es-te-en*, *ha-ni-*⟨*es-*⟩*te-en*, *ha-an-ni-es-tin* (XXIX 1 III 34, quoted under 2 pl. pres. act. above; LIV 1 II 42–43 *nu-wa ammel-pat isha*[*hru*] *hannestin* 'wipe my tears!'; cf. ibid. IV 3 *i*]*shahru sanhand*[*u* 'let them flush

tears', and *ishahru ... arha ānaszi* 'wipes away tears' s. v. *ishahru-*; perhaps patterned after double meaning 'plaster; wipe [tears]' of Akk. *kapāru*; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:56, 57, 63 [1985]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-ni-es-sa-an-du* (XXXI 91, 6), *ha-ni-is-sa-an-du* (dupl. XIII 2 II 14–15 *n-at arha arrirrandu n-at dān* EGIR-*pa nēuit uilanit hanissandu n-at tān* EGIR-*pa newahhandu* 'let them scrape them clean, let them plaster them once again with clay, let them make them new once again'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 44–5), *ha-a-*[*ni-*]*is-sa-an-du* (dupl. XXXI 86 II 43); partic. *hanis-sant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ni-is-sa-a-an* (*KBo* XXI 22 Rs. 41–42 *nu-wa wattaru māhhan iyan kunnanit-at wedan arzilit-at hanissān* 'How is the water-tank made? It is built of copper, it is plastered with *arzila-* [mortar?]'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200 [1978]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-ni-is-sa-an-ta* (XVII 65 Rs. 10 *h*]*anissanta hurnuanta anda-ya-at karū istappanta* 'plastered [and] sprayed, and in addition [the premises] have already been shut'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 140); verbal noun *ha-ni-is-su-wa-ar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. in *KUB* XIII 2 II 16–17 *hanissuwar-ma-kan kuit awan katta mum-miyetta n-at kuttas awan arha daskandu* 'but the plaster which keeps falling off they shall remove from the walls' (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 45), *ha-a-ni-is-su-u-wa-ar* (dupl. XXXI 86 III 1–3 *hānissūwar-ma-kan ku*[*it ...*] *mauskittari n-at* [...] *daiskandu*), *ha-ni-su-mar* (*KBo* I 36 + XXVI 24 IV 4 [^{NA_4}]ARÀ-*as hanisumar* 'plastering of the millstone'; cf. *MSL* 17:119 [1985]), abl. sg. *ha-ni-es-su-wa-az* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 11 *IŠTU* BÀD *hanessuwaz* 'from wall-plastering', viz. *arawahhan* 'exempted' [ibid. 13]; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-ni-is-su-u-wa-ar* (VII 13 Vs. 11 *kuttas hanissūwar kue arha arrir*[*rir* 'the plasterings which they have scraped from the walls'); inf. *ha-ni-es-su-u-wa-an-zi* (XXIX 1 III 29 *mān-za* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KISAL.LUH É.MEŠ GIBIL *hanessūwanzi appanzi* 'when the yard-washers start plastering the new houses').

Unlike the semantically akin *halissiya-* 'encase, overlay', also used of covering walls (q. v. s. v. *halissa-*), *han(n)es-* has the looks of a primary verb like *kanes-* 'recognize' or *kalles-* 'elicit'. Despite the "technical" aura, there is no reason to assume a foreignism (pace Tischler, *Glossar* 148). Just as a wall was something 'poured' (*kutt-*; cf. Gk. *χυτὴ γαῖα* 'earth-heap'), and a fortress or stronghold was literally a 'jamming' (*sahessar*), *haneswar* may have denoted originally the piling of mortar on earth buttresses and thus be cognate with Gk. *νῆσις* 'a heaping', *νήω* 'heap, pile up'. The individual

obscurities of *hanes(iya)-* and *νηέω* can be alleviated by a reconstruction *$*H_1nes(e)(ye)$-*, and Hom. *ἐνήνεον* (*Iliad* 7:428 *νεκροὺς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον* 'they heaped corpses on the pyre'; *Odyssey* 1:147 *σῖτον παρενήνεον* 'they piled up food') admits of a formula **en-e--Hnesont* corresponding (mutatis mutandis, like augment and desinential allomorphism) to Hitt. *anda hanesser*; the constructional variation ('ply a wall with mortar' : 'pile corpses on a pyre') parallels e. g. Lat. *mactare deum victima* 'ply a god with sacrifice' and *mactare victimam deo* 'impose an offering on a god' (cf. s. v. *eku-*). Cf. Puhvel, *Hanǰamana* (I.J.S. Taraporewala Centennial Tribute) 31–2 (1989).

hannetalwa(na)- (c.) 'legal adversary, litigator', nom. sg. *ha-an-n]e-tal--wa-as* (*KBo* VI 3 II 32 [= *Code* 1:38] *hann]etalwas kartimmiyantari* [sic] 'the legal adversary gets angry', corresponding to dupl. VI 2 II 14 *hannesnas ishās le[l]aniatta* 'the legal adversary becomes enraged'; cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 [1954]; *CHD* 3.1:58–9), *ha-an-ni-tal-wa--na-as* (*KUB* VII 50 III 31 *nu-war-as ANA* ^{D}U EN-*YA hannitalwanas ēsdu* 'let him be legal adversary to the storm-god my lord' [i. e. answer to him in court]; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 238), nom. pl. *ha-an-ne-tal-wa-ni-e-es* (XXXI 66 III 5–6 *ABU-YA-man-wa-kan* SAL.LUGAL-*ya le hannetalwanēs* 'would that my father and the queen not [become] legal adversaries!' [*man* + *le* in the sense of Lat. *utinam ne*]; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130).

hannetalwanes- 'become legal adversaries', 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ni--tal-wa-⟨ni-⟩es-sir* (*KUB* XXI 17 I 3 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ^{ID}*SIN*-^{D}U-*ass-a hannitalwanessir* 'his majesty and Armadattas became legal adversaries'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:18; Lebrun, *Samuha* 144; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 21:163–4 [1975]).

hannitalwa(na)- is a complete semantic match for *hannesnas ishās*, EN *DINI*, LÚ DI-*ŠU*, and the like. Mortals could be so involved with each other, and also be defendants in cases involving gods (with *ANA* ^{D}U EN-*YA hannitalwanas* [above] cf. e. g. *KUB* I 1 IV 84 *ANA* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Samuha* EN *DINI-ŠU*).

The derivation of *hannetalwa(na)-* from *hann(a)-* is unclear. Some suffix agglomeration may be suspected (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:193), perhaps involving an agent noun **hannatalla-* (cf.

arsanatalla-, *ishamatalla-*). On the other hand there is similarity to the obscure denominative derivative *annit(t)alwatar* 'motherhood' (q. v.).

hanhaniya- 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ha-ni-ya-i* with gloss-wedges (*KUB* XIII 4 I 26–28 [if a servant keeps his master happy] *n-as* ZI-*an arha lānza* '[the master] is relaxed in disposition', [but otherwise] *n-as-kan* UL *hanhaniyai* ZI-*an-si-ma tamāis kuiski* 'is he not h.-ing, and in disposition towards [the servant] a different person?'; ibid. III 63 *nu-smas-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as* ZI-*anza le hanhaniyai* 'let not, mark you, the gods' disposition h.'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:366, 386 [1934]; N. Van Brock, *RHA* 22:139–41 [1964]). The obscure, gloss-wedged *ha-an-ha-ma-an* (XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21, 7) may be an abstract noun or Luwoid participle (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:568).

hanhaniya- as a probable luwianism clearly expresses some form of displeased temper but does not seem to be a transitive verb (no object in one instance, while *-smas* is more probably an "ethical dative"). Segmentation is opaque (*hanh-aniya-* or *han-han-iya-*?). Either way the morphology is difficult (Luwian has no "duratives" in *-an(n)iya-* and no *-hi* conjugation 3 sg. in *-i*, nor should Hittite *-iya-* verbs have *-hi* conjugation; but cf. 3 sg. *wi-ú-i-da-a-i* and *ú-i-wi-ta-*[, both with gloss-wedge [*KBo* V 4 Rs. 29, 36], and Van Brock, op. cit. 161). Van Brock (op. cit. 141) compared Gk. *ὄνομαι* 'blame, find fault with' (q. v. rather s. v. *hann[a]-*), seeing in the stem-variant *ὀνα-* either **HonH-* or **Hen-Hn̥-*. Čop (*KZ* 85:30 [1971]), connecting *hanna-* (< **Hono-*) with Gk. *αἶνος* 'praise, assent', compared *(han)haniya-* (< **Hn̥yo-*) specifically with Gk. **αἴνομαι* in *ἀν-αίνομαι* 'dis-sent, spurn' (reduplication with in malam partem meaning shift in Hittite, reversative prefix in Greek). A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüística* 3:440 [1973]) tried to put into one basket *hann(a)-*, *hanhaniya-*, *αἶνος*, *ἀναίνομαι*, and *ὄνομαι*, under a root **A$_2$̯en-H$_2$-*, with *hann-* representing **-nH$_2$-* (plausible for *hann[a]-* [q. v.] and *ὄνομαι*, uncertain for *hanhaniya-*, wrong for *αἶν-* [see s. v. *enant-*]).

hant- (c. and n.) 'forehead, front(age), frontlet' (SAG.KI; *KUB* III 95, 13 *ha-an-za* = [Akk.] [*pu-*]*ú-dum*, i. e. *pūtum* 'forehead, front'; cf. *MSL* 3:79 [1955]; *KBo* I 42 II 12 and IV 30 SAG.KI-*an-za* = [Akk.] *pu-du*;

cf. *MSL* 13:135, 141 [1971]), nom.-acc. sg. neut.(!) *ha-an-za* (VIII 73 II 6 [SAG].KI-*sa-ssan hanza* [*tākki* 'the forehead matches the forehead'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:422 [1971]; *KUB* XX 96 IV 11–12 *siunas hanza-tit sarā kāsa-wa-tta kartimmiya*[- 'thy the god's brow up, lo thee anger ...'; ibid. 14 *siunas hanza-ttit arha* [), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-te(-es-si)* (*KUB* XXXII 123 + *KBo* XXIX 206 I 14–15 *nu kuedaniya* 1-*edani* [*an*]*tuhsi* 1 GUNNI 1 ^{NA_4}*hūwasi-ya hante-ssi* 'for each one person one fire-altar and one baitylos per head' [lit. 'for his forehead'; cf. German *pro Nase*]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 305), *ha-an-ti(-is-si)* (*KUB* XXXIII 66 II 19 'on his forehead'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]), *ha-an-di(-is-si)* (*KBo* XIII 31 II 6 'on his forehead'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 74; X 23 IV 5–6 *handi-ssi-ma-smas-kan armannis* GUŠKIN 'but on the forehead they have a golden lunula'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:13), SAG.KI-*is-si* (*KUB* XXXIII 93 IV 33 ^{D}UTU-*za* ŠU-*an* SAG.KI-*i-ssi pian epta* 'the sun-god held his hand before his forehead'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:158 [1951]), SAG.KI-*si* (*KBo* X 37 I 27 SAG.KI-*si piran* DIB-*zi*), abl. sg. *ha-an-ta-az*, *ha-an-da-az* (*KUB* XIII 2 II 5–9 *auwariyass-a-kan* EN-*as* ANA URU.DIDLI.HI.A BÀD *anda warnumas* GIŠ-*ru*HI.A *kissan hantaiddu hantaz-at-kan* 12 *galulupas ē*[*s*]*tu* GÍD.DA-*asti-ma-at* 1 *gipessar* 4 *sekann-a ēstu* [...] *handaz* 3 *galulupas ēstu* GÍD.DA-*asti-ma-at* [...] *ēstu* 'a watch commander shall procure for the fortress towns firewood as follows: in frontage it [i. e. the woodpile] shall be twelve fingers, but lengthwise [i. e. in depth] it shall be one cubit and four spans; ... in frontage it shall be three fingers, but in length it shall be ...' [oblong woodpile, where *hant-* 'frontage' equals *palhasti-* 'width', vs. *dalugasti-* 'length'; cf. Akk. *pūtu* 'frontage, width' vs. *šiddu* 'side, length']; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 44), *ha-an-ta-a-az* (*KBo* XVII 22 III 19; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 208), nom. pl. *ha-an-ti-is* (*KUB* XLII 78 II 18 12 *hantis* 'twelve frontlets'; cf. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 462).

^{D}*Hantassas* (*KUB* LV 39 III 28), in a list of deities (or deifications) of body parts with Luwoid suffix *-assa/i-* (see s. v. *istanza*[*n*]-).

^{D}*Hantasepa-* (*KBo* XVII 1 I 28 ^{D}*Ha-an-ta-se-pa-an*, ibid. 23 ^{D}*Ha-an-ta-se-pí-es*, ibid. 22 and 38 ^{D}*Ha-an-ta-se-pu-us*; Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20–2), multiple wooden icons holding human heads and spears, with bloodshot eyes and blood-red garments. Cf. e. g. ^{D}*Ispanzasepa-* (s. v. *ispant-*).

hantiya- 'face, countenance, entertain, sustain, maintain, cultivate', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ti-ya-iz-zi* (*KUB* XIV 3 III 58 *n-an-kan*

tuel KUR-*eanza hantiyai*[*zz*]*i* 'your country will sustain him'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 14; Güterbock, *Oriens* 10:352 [1957]; 299/1986 III 62 *kuin* AWAT DINGIR-*LIM INA* URU ^{D}U-*tassa hantiyaizzi* 'what religious ordinance [he] maintains at Tarhuntassas'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 24), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-ti-ya-nu-un* (*KBo* VI 29 I 15–16 *nu-mu* É-*ir kuit ēsta nu-kan* IŠTU É-*YA* ^{D}IŠTAR URU*Samuha hantiyanun* 'the estate that I had, out of my estate I cultivated Ištar of Samuha'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 46), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-ti-ya-it* (IV 10 Vs. 40–41 *annisan-za kuwapi* URU ^{D}U-*tassan* DINGIR.MEŠ URU ^{D}U-*tassa-ya* ^{I}NIR.GÁL *iyat n-as-kan* URU*Hattusas hūmanza hantiyait* 'formerly when Muwatallis made Tarhuntassas [his capital] and worshiped [zeugma of the two meanings of *iya-*!] the gods of Tarhuntassas, all Hattusas cultivated them'; cf. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10:352 [1957]; 299/1986 II 21–22 DINGIR.MEŠ URU ^{D}U-*tassa-ya-kan kuit hūmantes* URU*Hattusas hantiyait* 'whereas Hattusas as a whole cultivated the gods of Tarhuntassas'), *ha-an-te-ya-at* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 25 *ŪL anda hanteyat*; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:36 [1974]).

hanza (*ha-an-za*, *ha-a-an-za*) 'in front', nom. sg. (c. and/or n.) used adverbially as an embedded sentence formula (cf. e. g. *ispanza*, *lammar*, *nekuz mehur*, and see already Benveniste, *Origines* 98): *KUB* IX 28 II 12–13 *nu hānza kuis arta* 'he who stands in front'; ibid. 24 *nu hanza aruwaizzi* 'he prostrates himself in front'; ibid. IV 2–3 *hanza* [*is*]*tarna paizzi* 'he passes in front'; ibid. 16 *hanza anda* URU-*ya paizzi* 'in front he goes inside the city'. For abortive attempts to find this *hanza* in *hassa hanzassa* see s. v. *hassa-*, at the end.

hanza(n) hark- 'keep front, keep watch (over), watch out (for), have respect (for)' (*hanzan* analogical acc. sg. c. for **hantan*; cf. e. g. *ekzan* s. v. *ekt-*) : *KUB* XXXII 130, 31–32 *ammel-za* ANA SAG.DU-*YA assuli* TI-*anni hanza harsi* 'over my person will you keep watch for life and limb?' (cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 14:42 [1956]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 168); *KBo* XII 39 Vs. 10 TI-*anni hanza harkan*[*du*] 'for life they shall keep watch' (cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:11 [1963]); *KUB* XVII 21 IV 12–14 ANA ^{D}IM URU*Nerik-wa* [*ku*]*it* SISKUR.SISKUR *uppiweni nu-wa-az hanzan sumes harten nu-war-at* KASKAL-*si le kuiski walahzi* 'as for the offering which we send to the storm-god of Nerik, watch out (= leave well alone), you (Gasgas), and let none attack it en route!' (cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 160); V 1 III 53–54 BE-*an-ma-mu-za* ^{D}U URU*Nerik* SAG.DU DINGIR-*LIM-is duwān parā* GIM-*an* SAG.KI-*za harta kinun-a-ya* QATAMMA 'but as you, storm-god of Nerik, are my personal god, even as all this while you have kept watch

over me, (do) now likewise!'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:72; *KBo* VI 26 I 32–33 [= *Code* 2:65] *kuitman* MU.KAM-*za mehuni ari ta* É-*i-ssi* SAG.KI-*za harzi* 'until a year in time comes around, he (viz. the creditor who has caused a disturbance) watches out for (i.e. stays away from) his (viz. the debtor's) house'. The expression *hanza(n) hark-* resembles Akk. *rēšam kullum* 'hold the head, be ready, look after, care about' and *pūt-ka šullim* 'guard your brow, watch out!' (cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 [1954]; H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:185 [1967], *JCS* 23:21–2 [1970]).

hanza(n) ep(p)-, notably verbal noun *hanza(n) appatar*, denotes some sort of frontal reception (open welcome?), often preceded by *menahhanda* 'facing, towards', mostly in oracular context, once 'in joy' (*dusqarati*): *KUB* XIV 3 III 1 ŠEŠ-*YA-ya-an-zan hanza ep* 'and you, my brother, welcome him!' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 12, 140–1); V 6 I 28 *hanza appannas*; XVI 49, 8 *hanza* DIB-*annas* MUŠEN.HI.A; V 4 I 11 SAG.KI-*anza appannas*; V 9 Vs. 8 IGI-*anda* SAG.KI-*an* DIB-*anna* IR-*wen* 'we asked to ...'; ibid. 23 IGI-*anda* SAG.KI-*anza* DIB-*as* KUŠ.MEŠ IR-*wen*; XVI 44 Vs. 18 IGI-*anda* SAG.KI-*anza* DI[B; XVIII 18, 14 *nu* IGI-*anda* SAG.KI-*anza* DIB-*annas nu* MUŠEN.HI.[A; XVIII 26 III 12 IGI-*anda* SAG.KI-*za*[; XXII 42 Vs. 6]*dusqarati* SAG.KI DIB-*nas-ma*[; ibid. 11 *nu* SAG.KI DIB-*nas* DINGIR.MEŠ-*a*[*s*. Contrast perhaps XLIV 16 IV 17 EGIR-*pa* DIB-*annas* = *appa appannas* '(god so-and-so) of pullback, of refuge'. *hanza(n) appatar* is literally 'seizing the front' (cf. e.g. *kurur appatar* 'taking to hostility', and *hanza*[*n*] *hark-* above), subsequently adverbialized ('seizing frontally').

hanti (*ha-an-ti, ha-an-ti-i, ha-an-te-i, ha-an-di, ha-an-di-i*), dat.-loc. sg. used adverbally, preverbally, and adnominally, 'facing, frontally, opposite, against; instead, in (re)turn, matching, copy; apart, asunder, in two'; *hanti hanti* 'in equal parts, individually': *KBo* II 4 I 17 *INA* É ^{D}*Ashaluga hantī* 'in the temple of A., opposite' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 278); XIV 6, 5–6 $^{HUR.SAG}$*Kuriwanda*[...] [*h*]*anti harta n-at* 3 BÀD K[I.KAL.BAD *iyat* 'he held his ground at Mt. K. and made it three fortress-camps' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:80 [1956]); IV 14 II 7–8 *nu ammuk-ma* GIM-*an nakkēsta nu-mu-za hantī kuwapiki ēsta ŪL-mu-za* GAM-*an ēsta* 'but when the going got rough for me, you were sometimes against me, you were not for me' (cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:40 [1965]); *KUB* XXXII 133 I 3–4 *n-an-zan INA* ^{URU}*Samuha* É.DINGIR-*LIM hantī iyat* 'he worshiped her instead in a temple in Samuha' (viz. after the goddess had been relocated in Kizzuwatna; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 165); XXIX 4 I 4 and 52–53

hantī asasi 'relocates'; ibid. IV 43 *hantī asāsi* (cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 6, 12, 32); XXX 64 Rs. 3 *hantī asās*[*i*; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 11–12 *nu-tta-kkan apadda kanessūwar hanti tekkussesta* 'to you he showed there favor in return' (cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 40); XXVI 20 II 20 *hantī hāsi* 'you reciprocate trust' (cf. *MSL* 17:106 [1985]); *KUB* XIV 8 Rs. 34–35 *nasma-kan mān* [*amm*]*uk-ma kuitki sarnikzel hanti ishiyatteni* 'or if on me you (gods) impose some matching restitution' (to duplicate that required of my father; cf. Götze, *KlF* 216); XXV 25 I 6–7 ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR.HI.A *ANA* ^{D}U ^{URU}TÚL-[*na*] [*AN*]*A* ^{D}*Zahpunā-ya hantī* 'matching tents for the storm-god of Arinna and for Z.' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248); I 1 I 74 *n-at ṭUPPU hantī* DÙ-*mi* 'I will copy it on a tablet' (cf. Otten, *Apologie* 8); X 88 I 15 *ṭUPPU hantī* 'tablet copy' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 268); XXIV 3 IV 7–8 *mūgauwas-ma arhayan hanti tuppi* 'but of the supplication (there is) a copy tablet separately' (cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 38); *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 13 and 45 *n-at hanti tuppi* 'this is a copy tablet'; ibid. 46 *nu apātt-a hanti tuppi* 'that too is a copy tablet' (cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 132, 136, 138); *KUB* XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 50 *n-at hanti* DUB.2.KAM 'that (is) a second copy tablet' (cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 96); XLI 21 IV 18 *ha-an-te-i ṭUPPU* (cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 278); *KBo* XXII 6 IV 23 [^{URU}*Pu*]*rushandas* BÀD-*essar* KÁ.GAL *hanti pippandu* 'let them raze asunder the walling (and) gate of P.!' (cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]); *KUB* XVII 10 I 39 *namma-war-as hanti tuhsanzi* 'they also cut them in two' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:92 [1965]); XXXIII 5 II 14 *namma-war-as hanti tuhsa*[*nzi* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:100 [1965]); *KBo* XXV 37 Rs. 8 *ta-z handi sa*[*rra-*; XXV 38, 7 *ta-z handi sar*[*ra-* 'split in two' (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 96, 97); VI 2 II 8 (= *Code* 1:33 [OHitt.]) *āssu-ssemet hanti ha*[*nti sarranzi* 'they divide their goods in equal halves'; *KUB* XXVII 16 IV 28–29 [*nu*]*-ssi āssu-ma nu hanti hanti* DINGIR-*LAM* [*akku*]*skizzi* '(if) it please her, she toasts deity individually' (as opposed to collectively; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:92 [1957]); par. X 27 V 10–12 *nu mān ANA* SAL.LUGAL *āssu nu* DINGIR.MEŠ [*han*]*di handi-pat akk*[*uski*]*zzi* 'if it please the queen, she toasts the gods individually' (cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:87 [1957]); *KBo* XXIV 45 Vs. 16 *nu kuinna hanti ekuzi* 'he toasts each one separately' (cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:104 [1983]); *KUB* XXVI 66 III 14 and dupl. *KBo* XVIII 153 Rs. 18 *handī* (cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 67 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 106).

hanti tiya- 'take a stand against, confront, turn on, inform on, denounce, accuse': *KUB* XXVI 12 II 6–8 EGIR-*a*[*n-wa-tta*] *ŪL tiyami*

hanti-ya-wa-ssi ŪL *tiyami* 'I shall not back you up, nor shall I turn on him' (*hanti tiya-* antonymic to *appa[n] tiya-, appa[n] es-, appan iya[ttari], appan huwai-* 'get behind, back up'); XXVI 1 IV 7–10 *nasma-kan* LÚ*aras* LÚ*ari anda ša* DUTU-*ši* [*k*]*uinki* HUL-*lun memian isdammaszi n-an-kan hantī* ŪL *tiyazi* [GAM] *NI-EŠ* DINGIR-*LIM* GAR-*ru* 'or (if) one person hears from another a bad word about my majesty and does not denounce him, it shall be put under oath'; dupl. XXXI 97 IV 3 *-k]an hantī* ŪL *tiyazi* [; similarly XXVI 1 IV 44–45 *hantī* [ŪL] *tiyazi* (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 15–6); XXVI 12 III 9–12 *kuiski* EME-*an* BAL-*nuzi* HUL-*uesta nu-wa-kan ehu tamēdani anda tiyaweni memai-ma-at* [*ku*]*edani n-an-kan hantī* ŪL *tiyazi* [GAM *NI-EŠ* D]INGIR-*LIM* GAR-*ru* '(if) someone advocates sedition (and) has turned bad (saying) "Come let us join up with another!", and the one he says it to does not denounce him, it shall be put under oath' (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 26); *KBo* XIV 19 II 17–18 *n-as-kan* LÚ.MEŠ-*ŠU*[*NU*] *hantī tiyer* 'their people denounced them'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25: 174 [1966]; *KUB* XIII 35 II 35–37 *apiya-ma-war-at kuit* ŪL AQBI UMMA ^{I}*Pallā* LÚKÙ.DÍM SAG.KI-*i-wa-mu-kan le tiyasi nu apaddan* ASKUT 'that I did not then tell it, (it is because) P. the goldsmith said "Don't squeal on me!"; that's why I kept mum' (cf. XXII 70 Vs. 37 ^{I}*Pallānn-a-wa-kan* EGIR-*an iyahhut* 'go easy on P.!'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 185–7; Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 97–8; Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 21:164 [1975]). For the partial holophrastic transitivization of *hanti tiya-* (+ acc.), cf. e. g. Lat. *te manum iniciam* 'I shall lay hands on you' (Plautus, *Truculentus* 762), *quempiam iniexit manum* (Plautus, *Persa* 70). Agent noun *hantitiyatalla-* (c.) 'denouncer, informer' (Lat. *delator*), nom. sg. *ha-an-ti-ti-ya-tal-la-as* (XXXVI 112, 5 LÚ*hant*]*iti-yatallas aku* 'let the informer die'), acc. sg. LÚ*ha-an-ti-ti-tal-an* (ibid. 6; cf. XXXVI 116, 3 LÚ*hanti*[-, ibid. 4 LÚ*hantitiya*[-; Carruba, *SMEA* 18:187–8 [1977]), nom. pl. *ha-an-ti-ti-ya-tal-li-es* (XIV 1 Rs. 27–28 *nu-ssi kedani uddanī* ^{I}*Antahittās-pat* G[AL ...] ^{I}*Mazlauwass-a* LÚ URU *Kuwaliya hantitiyatalles* 'in this matter A. the chief [...] and M. of Kuwaliya [were] informers against him'; cf. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 24).

handa, frozen directive dat.-loc. sg., lit. '(to the) fore', seen in *menahhanda* 'facing, towards, vis-à-vis' (lit. 'face-to-fore', q. v.), OHitt. *mān handa* > *mānhanda* > *māhhanda* (later *māhhan*, q. v.) '(according) as', *kuit handa* 'what for, wherefore?' (*KBo* III 41 + *KUB* XXXI 4 Vs. 16; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:160 [1962]; *VBoT* 58 I 23;

cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]), *apadda handa* 'therefore' (*KUB* XXV 37 I 28). Thence postposition *handa* or *hantas, handas* (dat.-loc. pl.) with dat.-loc., 'in view of, with a view to, for the sake of' (cf. English *for*, or Lat. *ob* 'facing' [*ob-versus*], thence also 'on account of'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 28:37 [1970]): *KBo* III 4 III 16–17 *nu-mu* SAL.MEŠ *kuit* GÌR.MEŠ-*as* GAM-*an hāliyer* [*nu* ANA SAL.MEŠ] *hānda kāri tiyanun* 'because the women knelt down at my feet, for the women's sake I acceded' (cf. Götze, *AM* 70); III 21 II 12 *sargawanni handa* 'in view of (thy) exaltedness' (cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]); *KUB* XXXVI 83 I 5 *suppiyasni handa* 'in view of the hallowing'; XXI 19 I 12–13 *ša* D*U... nakkiyanni handa* 'in view of the storm-god's clout' (cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 310); I 1 IV 61 (et alibi) *ša* ŠE]Š-YA *nakkiyanni handas* UL *manqa* DÙ-*nun* 'out of regard for my brother's eminence I did not act in any way' (cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28, 86); XIX 64, 10]*hantas* ŪL *ma*[*nqa* (cf. Otten, *Apologie* 20); XXI 15 I 8 *nakkianni hand*[*as* (with gloss-wedge; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 46); XIV 3 II 56 ANA ŠEŠ-*YA handas* 'out of consideration for my brother' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 10); ibid. I 59 [*k*]*edan*[*i-ya*] *memini handas* 'with a view to the following pronouncement' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 4); IV 4 Vs. 9 *āssiyanni handas* 'for the sake of love' (cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]); XXI 38 Vs. 52 *ŠUM-ni handas* 'for (my) name's sake' (cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:333 [1956]; W. Helck, *JCS* 17:91 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:12 [1964]); XXXVI 74, 2 KIN-*ti handas* 'on account of the task' (cf. Siegelová, *Arch. Or.* 38:136 [1970]).

hanti- 'special' (vel. sim.), postulated by Goetze (*JAOS* 74:188 [1954]) in nom. sg. c. *ha-an-ti-is* (*KUB* XVII 10 II 30; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93 [1965]), nom. pl. c. *ha-an-te-es* (XXXI 127 III 38; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 100), remains dubious as a possible adjectivization of the adnominal use of *hanti*, as in *hanti tuppi* 'copy tablet' (cf. Gk. *ἀντίγραφον* 'copy', *ἀντίος* 'opposite').

Hittite alone preserves a paradigmatic root noun from IE **A*$_1$*ent-* 'to face, confront' (Gk. *ἄντομαι* 'face, entreat'), besides using its case forms as petrifacts (*hanza*[*n*], *hanti, hanta*[*s*]). The construction of nom. sg. *hanza* /hant-s/ as a nom.-acc. neuter may have to do with the "frozen" embedded usage of *hanza* (cf. *nekuz mehur*). Other languages have derivatives or debris of this root (e. g. Skt. *ánta-* 'end', *ánti* 'before'; Lat. *ante* 'in front of', *antēs* 'front rows', *antiae* 'forelock'; OIr. *ētan* 'forehead' (< **antono-*); Lith. *añtis* 'breast, bosom'; Toch. B *ānte* 'brow'; cf. *IEW* 48–50; R. Eckert, *Baltistica*

6:33–41 [1970]), notably Greek with the fossilized locative *ἀντί* and accusative *ἄντα* 'face to face' (also in *ἔναντι, ἔναντα, ἐσάντα* 'facing, opposite'; distinct from *ἄναντα, κάταντα, πάραντα, *ἔπαντα*, for which see under *appanda* s. v. *appa*), and the denominative verb *ἀντάω* 'face, meet' (cf. *hantiya-*). Despite possible formal variation (loc. *ἀντί* vs. dat.-loc. *ha-an-te-i*; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 41) and discrepancy of usage (acc. sg. vs. "embedded" nominative), there are parallelisms between Hittite and Greek usages: *hanti hark-* 'hold one's ground' and *hanzan hark-* 'stay away from' : *ἀντέχω* 'withstand, resist'; *hanti tiya-* : *ἀνθίσταμαι* 'stand up to'; *hantī iya-* : *ἀντιποιέω* 'do in return'; *hanti ishiya-* : *ἀντιδέω* 'bind in turn'.

Earlier discussions are recorded in Tischler, *Glossar* 149–53, 156–7; see esp. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:160–1. O. Szemerényi (*Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 215–34 [1982]) not only reviewed much former literature but put forward a series of "fanciful" and "bizarre" (his own adjectives applied to others) interpretations: *hanti* reflects **handhe(i)* 'elsewhere' from the root of IE **anyos* 'other', whereas *hanti tiya-* is syncopated from **hanati tiya-* 'go to court' (**hanat-* 'legal proceeding', from *hanna-* 'judge'); *hanza* represents **hantyō* (cf. Gk. *ἀντίον*); *handa* in *kuit handa* is "somehow shortened" from *handan* 'truly, indeed' (neuter of *handant-*, participle of *handai-* [q. v.]). Equally implausibly Gusmani (*IF* 68:294 [1963]) explained *handa(s)* 'according to' (sic) as dat.-loc. sg. or pl. or nom. sg. of an abstract noun **handa-* 'order' from *handai-*.

Cf. *hantalliya-*, *hantezzi(ya)-*.

hantai- (trans.) '(en)trust; betroth, marry off; match, fix, set aright, fit, determine, diagnose, assure; arrange, ready (also *katta[n] hantai-*)'; (intrans.) 'plight troth, marry, get married; get ready (also *katta[n] hantai-*)'; ***anda hantai-*** 'join (up with)' (+ dat.); (midd.) 'get fixed, fit, be in line (with) (+ dat.), be loyal, turn alright, compose oneself'; ***anda hantai-*** 'join (up with), make common cause (with)' (+ dat.), opp. ***arahza hantai-*** 'stay away, be secreted' ([NÍG.]SIXSÁ), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ta-a-mi* (*KUB* XXI 36, 8–10 *nu-war-an-kan* ANA [...] [...] KUR ^{URU}*Zulapi hantāmi* 'shall I betroth him to [a daughter of] Zulapi[-land]?'), *ha-an-da-a-mi* (e. g. XXX 26 I 14 *kī hūman handāmi* 'all this I ready'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 102; LV 20 + IX 4 I 2 12 ^{UZU}ÚR.HI.A-*ya anda handāmi* 'and I match the twelve body parts' [viz. those of the patient and his anatomical substitute-model]; cf.

ZA 71:130 [1981]), *ha-an-da-mi* (dupl. *KBo* XXVII 81, 2; *KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 13 *n-an-kan kuedani handami* ANA DUMU.SAL KUR ^{URU}*Karanduniya[s* KUR] ^{URU}*Zulapi* KUR ^{URU}*Āssur handami* 'to whom shall I betroth him? Shall I betroth [him] to a daughter of Babylonia, Zulapi, Assur?'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:88 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti la Colombaria* 29:6 [1964]), *ha-a-an-da-mi* (VII 54 I 10), SIXSÁ-*mi* (LII 51 Vs. 6), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-da-a-si* (e. g. VII 57 I 11; *KBo* IV 14 II 75 *zik-ma-smas-kan anda handāsi* 'but you join up with them' [viz. defectors, claiming duress]; similarly ibid. 49; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:42–3 [1965]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ta-a-iz-zi* (e. g. XX 33 Vs. 9 LÚ ^{GIŠ}B]ANŠUR ^{NINDA}*zippulasne* ^{GIŠ}*arimpi hantāizzi* 'the waiter readies z.-bread on the stand'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53), *ha-an-ta-iz-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXVIII 99, 5 *mān* LUGAL-*us* ^{NA4}*hūwasiya hantaizzi* 'while the king gets ready at the baitylos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 219; XVII 24 II 18; XXXIX 73, 3), *ha-an-te-iz-zi* (*HT* 1 III 7), *ha-an-da-iz-zi* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* IX 32 Vs. 6; VII 53 I 24 *kī hūman handaizzi* 'all this she readies'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XII 58 I 27 *nu-ssan kī hūman* ^{GI}*paddanī katta handaizzi* 'all this she readies on a reed tray'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; *IBoT* III 148 IV 23–24 EGIR-*pa uppiyauwas* SISKUR ... *handaizzi* 'he arranges the ritual of sending back'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 230), *ha-an-da-a-iz-zi* (e. g. *KBo* V 2 I 41 *kī hūman pedi-ssi handāizzi* 'all this [he] arranges on the spot'), *ha-an-da-zi* (XVIII 133, 5), *ha-an-da-a-i* (V 2 IV 15–16 *nu-ssan namma ... katta kisan handāi* 'he also gets ready as follows'), SIXSÁ-*iz-zi* (e. g. *IBoT* I 32 Vs. 29), SIXSÁ-*zi* (e. g. *KUB* XVI 13 II 7; VI 2 I 3), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-an-ta-it-ta* (e. g. *KUB* LVI 46 II 8–9 *mān-asta hantezzias-(s)mis* LUGAL-*i hantaitta* 'when the first of them is in line with the king' [viz. in a procession]; ibid. 16–17 *mān hantezzias-semes* LUGAL-[*i*] *hantaitta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86, 84; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:48 [1987]; XXVIII 97 II 6), *ha-an-da-it-ta* (e. g. II 7 I 19), *ha-an-da-a-it-ta* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 IV 20–21 *mān tamais-ma kuiski* BELU^{LUM} *handāitta kuis hantezzi* PANI *arta nu apas* UŠGEN 'if some other lord is in line, the one who stands first in front, that one prostrates himself'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:200 [1966]; *KBo* XXV 42 I.K. 9 NI]N.DINGIR-*as* LUGAL-*i handāitta* 'the sister divine is in line with the king'), *ha-an-da-a-e-it-ta* (OHitt. dupl. XXV 31 II 11 *mān-asta* NIN.DINGIR-*as* LUGAL-*ī handāetta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 81, 79), *ha-an-ta-it-ta-ri* (e. g. *IBoT* III 148 IV 26–27 *namma mān piran parā* SISKUR ... *iyauwanzi hantaittari* 'further if it has been arranged beforehand to have the rite performed'; *KUB* XLVIII 123

+ XV 28 + *IBoT* III 125, III 23 *aulis hantaittari* 'sacrifice is fixed'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 191; *ZA* 68:156 [1978]), *ha-a]n-ta-a-it-ta-ri* (*KBo* XXX 102 IV 3), *ha-an-da-it-ta-ri* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 8 *masiwan-san hassī anda handaittari* 'as much as is fitted inside the fireplace'; *IBoT* I 36 I 39–40 *mān* UGULA 10 *MEŠEDI-ya handaittari* 'when the decemvir of the bodyguard has assured himself'; *KUB* XXIII 79 Rs. 12; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:176 [1965]; LIV 52 Vs. 3), *ha-an-da-a-it-ta-ri* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 IV 22–23 *mān* BELU GAL-*ma* ŪL *kuiski handāittari nu kuis* LÚ*MEŠEDI-ma arta nu apas* UŠGEN 'but if no great lord is in line, the bodyguard who is standing, that one prostrates himself'; *KBo* XVI 97 Rs. 38–39 *n-at mahhan* IŠTU [DINGIR]-*LIM handāittari n-at* QATAMMA *iyami* 'as it has been fixed by the deity, thus I shall perform it'; similarly ibid. 42; *KUB* XXXII 105, 11 *IŠTU*] DINGIR-*LIM handāittari*), *ha-an-da-i-it-ta-ri* (*KBo* XIII 58 II 23–24 *kuis imma* BELU *handayittari* 'whatever lord is entrusted' [viz. to check the seal on the city gate]), *ha-an-da-it-ta-a-ri* (IV 4 II 29 and 32 ŪL *handaittāri* 'will there not be a[n oracular] determination?'; cf. Götze, *AM* 116), *ha-an-da-a-ta-r*[*i*] (XV 33 III 23), *ha-an-da-a-at-ta-ri* (XVII 78 I 9–10 UNUTE.MEŠ-*ya-ssi kue kattan* [*ha*]*ndāttari n-at-za* LÚ ^{D}U-*pat dāi* 'the gear that has been readied for him, those the man of the storm-god takes for himself'), SIXSÁ-*ta-ri* (*KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 50; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 70), SIXSÁ-*ri* (frequent, e. g. *KBo* VI 4 I 12–13 *nu-kan kuis kuis* URU-*as anda* SIXSÁ-*ri* 'whatever town is fixed [as being] within' [viz. the perimeter]; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 50), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-da-a-u-ni* (1691/u II 15; cf. e. g. *hatrāuni* s. v. *hatrai-*), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-ta-a-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXIX 102 I 3; *KUB* LII 102 + *IBoT* II 9 I 15), *ha-an-ta-an-zi* (*IBoT* II 87 I 2), *ha-an-da-a-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* X 88 I 14 *n-at* QATAMMA *handānzi* 'they arrange it likewise'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 268; XV 31 I 12 *nu mahhan kī hūman handānzi* 'when they arrange all this'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; *IBoT* I 36 III 47–48 *nu-smas-kan ape handānzi* 'those get ready for them'; *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 15 DUMU-*an piran karū handānzi* 'they have already diagnosed the baby' [viz. as about to be born]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32), *ha-an-da-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XII 58 III 28; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 18), SIXSÁ-*da-an-zi* (XVI 68, 21), SIXSÁ-*an-zi* (e. g. XXX 56 III 10–11 *mān* UKÙ-*si* ÌR.MEŠ-*ŠÚ* GEME.ME[Š-*ŠÚ-ya* ŪL] SIXSÁ-*anzi nasma* LÚ-*LUM* SAL-*TUM-ya* ŪL *handanzi* 'if a man's male and female slaves do not marry, or a man and a woman do not marry'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 181), 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-an-da-a-an-ta-ri* (e. g. XII 19 III 10; *KBo*

XVII 78 I 11 *kattan handāntari* 'have been readied'), *ha-an-da-an-ta-ri* (*KUB* XLVI 57 I 12), *ha-an-da-an-da-a-*[*ri* (*KBo* XV 34 III 20), *ha-an-da-an-da* (XXIV 93 III 21–22 *masiyēs ī*[*mma* U]D.*KAM*.HI.A *anda handanda* 'however many days are fixed'), SIXSÁ-*an-ta-ri* (*KUB* LVI 23 Vs. 11), SIXSÁ-*ri* (V 1 III 19–20 *eni kue* HUL-*uwa* SIXSÁ-*ri* 'those [things] that are [oracularly] fixed [as] bad'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:68), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-ta-nu-un* (XXI 36 Vs. 5 'I married off'), *ha-an-da-nu-un* (IX 4 I 18; *KBo* X 12 I 26 *n-an-kan* ANA ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ŠÚ handanun* 'I entrusted him to his brothers'), *ha-an-da-a-nu-un* (XII 110, 3; *KUB* LVII 3 Vs. 8 *ug-as anda handānun* 'I joined up with them'), 2 sg. pret. midd. *ha-an-da-a-it-ta-at* (XIV 1 Rs. 90 *ap*[*ed*]*as-za anda kuwat handāittat* 'why did you join up with those?'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 338, 348–9; Neu, *Interpretation* 43–4), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-da-a-it* (e. g. XVII 8 IV 29 *wel*]*lu istarna arha handāit* 'he transfixed the field'; cf. ibid. 27]*wellu pe harkanzi nu* Ú.SAL *wara*[*sta* 'they proffer[ed] the field, he denuded the field'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:167–8 [1965]), *ha-an-da-it* (e. g. XXI 38 Vs. 58 *nu-mu ITTI* ŠEŠ-*KA handait* '[the deity] married me off to your brother'; *KBo* III 7 I 15 *nu human mekki handait* 'she readied everything in quantity'; cf. Beckman, *JANES* 14:13 [1982]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-an-ta-it-ta-at* (e. g. *KUB* XIV 11 II 46 and XIV 14 Rs. 3 and 5 '[it] was [oracularly] determined'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 212, 172; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 196; V 11 I 25 *hantaittat-wa* 'there was a[n oracular] determination'; XVIII 67 Vs. 7; LVII 111, 6; *KBo* X 20 II 39 *IŠTU* DINGIR-*LIM kissan hantaittat* 'thus it was fixed by the deity'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:82 [1960]), *ha-an-da-it-ta-at* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 18 III 22 *IŠ*]*TU* DINGIR-*LIM kissan handaittat*; XV 31 I 7; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 148; XXXIII 19 III 3 ZAG.GAR.RA-*as handaittat* 'the altar got fixed'; *KBo* IV 4 II 50–51 *nu* ANA ^{I}*Nuwanza* GAL.GEŠTIN *IŠTU* MUŠEN.HI.A *IŠTU* SU.MEŠ-*ya piran ariyanun nu-ssi* ... *handaittat* 'I arranged for N. the wine-chief an oracle with birds and with flesh, and he got a fix' [lit. 'it was determined for him']; similarly ibid. 54–55; cf. Götze, *AM* 118; XXIII 106 Rs. 11; VIII 82 Rs. 11 ŪL *handait*[*tat*), *ha-an-da-a-it-ta-at* (e. g. ibid. 12; XXI 37 Rs. 15; *KUB* XXXII 130, 1–2 ^{D}*IŠTAR ṢERI* URU*Samūha kardimiatti handāittat* 'I. of the field of Samuha had been determined [as being] in anger'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 14:42 [1956]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 168; XIV 14 Vs. 12 *nu-za*] AWAT ^{I}*Duthaliya* DUMU-*RI IŠTU* DINGIR-*LIM-ya handāittat* 'the matter of Tuthaliyas the Younger was also determined by the deity'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 164; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 194; XIV 8 Vs. 39–40 *nu-mu-kan apiya-ya* ^{D}I[M

^{URU}*Hatti*] EN-*YA piran tiyauanzi handāittat* 'then too the [oracular] determination was for me to step before the storm-god of Hatti my lord'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 212; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 206; *KBo* XXIII 7 I 10 *nu āpi kinumanzi handāittat* 'it was determined to open the pits'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 56 *nu ... AHITI-ŠU arahza handāittat* '[he] was secreted by himself'), *ha-an-da-a-ta-a*[*t*] (*KBo* XV 33 III 23), *ha-an-da-at-t*[*a-at*] (VIII 69, 14), SIXSÁ-*ta-at* (XXIII 114 Vs. 7; *KUB* L 91 IV 13), SIXSÁ-*at* (profuse, e. g. *KBo* IV 2 III 48 *nu* ^{D}U ... SIXSÁ-*at* 'the storm-god was pinpointed [by oracle]'; cf. Götze-Pedersen, *MS* 4; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 104 [1985]), 1 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-da-a-u-en* (*KUB* XIX 71, 6 *nu handāwen* 'we got married'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 16), *ha-an-da-u-e-*[*en* (XXIII 107, 4), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ta-ir*, *ha-an-da-ir* (XXIV 7 I 19–21 *hantair-ma* $^{SAL.MEŠ}$É.GE$_4$.A-*us nu* TÚG-*an sariskanzi handair-ma* DUMU.MEŠ É-*TI nu* A.ŠÀ-*an* IKU-*li harsiskanzi* 'they have married off the brides [or: the brides have married], and they keep weaving cloth; they have married off the sons of the house [or: the sons ... have married], and they keep tilling the field by parcel'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 403; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156 [1983]; XIX 5 Vs. 10 *nu-ssi h*]*ūmandus-pat anda handair* 'they all have joined up with him'; ibid. 11 *n-at-kan hūmandus-pat anda handair* 'they all have joined up'), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-an-ta-an-ta-at* (XXXIII 34 Vs. 14 ÌR.MEŠ GEME.MEŠ *hantantat* 'male [and] female servants turned alright'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:127 [1965]), *ha-an-ta-an-ta-ti* (XXXIII 19 III 6–7 É *hili-kan anda* UDU.HI.A *hantantati* [*INA* É.GU]D-*ma* GUD.HI.A *hantantati* 'in the yard the sheep turned alright, and in the barn the cattle turned alright'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123 [1965]), *ha-an-ta-an-da-ti* (ibid. 4 DINGIR].MEŠ *hantandati* 'the gods turned alright'), *ha-an-da-a-an-ta-at* (KBo XXI 37 Rs. 19), *ha-an-da-an-da-at* (e. g. *ABoT* 14 V 11; *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 3), *ha-an-da-an-ta-ti* (*KUB* XVII 10 IV 22 *istananis* DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas handantati* 'the altars were set aright for the gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]), *ha-an-da-an-da-ti* (XXXIII 40 IV 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:165 [1965]), SIXSÁ-*an-ta-at* (e. g. LIV 1 I 44–45 *nu-war-at kuedani* [*mem*]*iyani ser* SIXSÁ-*antat* 'for what matter they [viz. the oracles] were determined'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:54 [1985]; V 6 II 41 and 58; cf. Sommer, *AU* 280, 282), SIXSÁ-*an-da-at* (e. g. *KBo* IV 2 IV 10), SIXSÁ-*at* (*KUB* XIX 5 Vs. 13 *apūss-a anda* SIXSÁ-*at* 'they too have joined'), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-da-a-i* (e. g. XXXVI 12 III 13–14 *nu-kan* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA.HI.A *parā tiandu namma-at handāi* 'let them set out the wagons, and you ready them!'; cf. Güterbock,

JCS 6:16 [1952]; *KBo* V 2 IV 16), 2 sg. imp. midd. *ha-an-da-ah-hu-ut* (*KUB* XVII 10 II 31–32 GI-*az lazzais māhhan handānza zik* ^{D}*Teli-pinus QATAMMA handahhut* 'even as a good arrow is firm, be thou T. likewise loyal!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93 [1965]; 1873/u, 7–8 *nu sānza* EGIR-*pa handahhut* 'when enraged, compose yourself!'; XXXIII 11 II 14; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:109 [1965]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-ta-id-du* (XIII 2 II 5–6 *auwariyass-a-kan* EN-*as ANA* URU.DIDLI.HI.A BÀD *anda warnumas* GIŠ-*ru*HI.A *kissan hantaiddu* 'a watch commander shall lay in firewood for the fortress towns as follows'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 44), *ha-an-da-id-du* (dupl. XXXI 87 II 6 *warnumas* GIŠ.HI.A *handa*[*iddu*; *KBo* XVIII 36 I 11), 3 sg. imp. midd. *ha-an*]*-da-it-ta-ru* (XXII 263, 9), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-ta-an-du* (*KUB* XVIII 30, 2 and 17), *ha-an-da-an-du* (XLIX 6, 7 and L 1 III 11 *nu* MUŠEN.HI.A *handandu* 'let them determine the [oracle] birds'; XXXVI 25 I 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:73 [1968]), *ha-an-da-a-an-du* (XXXII 130, 34–35 *nu* MUŠEN.HI.A *handāndu*; XIII 1 I 26 *lustaniyas* ERÍN.MEŠ EGIR-*an handā*[*ndu* 'let them station soldiers behind the postern'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60), SIXSÁ-*an-du* (frequent, e. g. XVI 51 Vs. 15 and XVI 60 III 7 *nu* MUŠEN.HI.A SIXSÁ-*andu*), SIXSÁ-*du* (*IBoT* I 32 Vs. 23 and 29); partic. *hantant-* 'trusted, true, loyal, just, right(eous) (opp. *marsant-* 'false' in *KBo* III 23 IV 14 and *KUB* XXXI 115, 20; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41–3 [1979]); betrothed, married; matched, fit(ted), fixed, firm', *parā hantant-* 'pro-trusted', i. e. 'endowed with providence, providential', hence 'caring, providing' (deity) or 'blessed, provided for' (mortal), nom. sg. c. *ha-an-ta-a-an-za* (e. g. *KBo* XX 75 Rs. 7; *KUB* II 8 V 25–26 and I 26 *tepu pedan* EME-*as hantānza* 'little place, tongue fit'), *ha-an-da-a-an-za* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 19–20 *kuis handānza mān armauwa*[*nza*] *mān san-napilis* '[a ewe] that has been diagnosed as either pregnant or devoid of foetus'; *KUB* I 1 I 46–47 *ammuk-ma-za parā handānza kuit* UKÙ-*as esun* 'whereas I was a blessed person'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6), *ha-an-da-an-za* (e. g. dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 39 *parā handanza*; *KUB* II 8 II 12 *tepu pedan* EME-*as handanza*; *KUB* LV 20 + IX 4 I 3 SAG.DU-*as-kan* SAG.DU-*i handanza* 'head [is] matched to head'; cf. e. g. *KUB* XLIII 53 I 8 ŠÀ-*ŠU ANA* ŠÀ-*ŠU dākki* 'its [viz. the substitute-model's] heart matches his heart'; *HT* 99, 3 *handanza* UKÙ-*as* 'just man'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 397; *KUB* XXXIII 8 III 19–22 GI.DÙG.GA *mahhan handanza z*[*ig-a i*]*TTI* LUGAL SAL.LU[GAL] *ANA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti QATAMM*[*A*] *handanza ē*[*s*] 'as a good arrow is firm, be thou likewise

with king [and] queen loyal to Hatti!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]; XXIV 3 I 47 *hannesnas-az parā handanza* EN-*as zik* 'of judgment thou art the providential lord'; ibid. 40–41 *parā handanzas-a-kan antuhwahhas tuk-pat ... assiyanza* 'the providential man is dear to thee'; for *ha-an-da-an-za-sa* = *handanza* + *a* 'and' cf. e. g. ^{LÚ}NÍG.SI.SÁ-*ass*-[*a* [below] or *appanzass-a* = *appanza* + *a* [*HED* 1–2:279], and see Friedrich, *HE* 31), *ha-an-da-za* (*KBo* XXVI 190 II 5), SIXSÁ-*an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XXVI I III 42 'righteous'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14), NÍG.SI.SÁ-*za* (XXIV 8 IV 6 NÍG.SI.SÁ-*za* ŠEŠ-*as* 'Brother Just'; ibid. 21 *nu-za* ^{LÚ}HUL-*as* ^{LÚ}NÍG.SI.SÁ-*ass*-[*a*, i. e. *Huwappas Handanzass-a* 'Bad and Just'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12, 18, 24), acc. sg. c. *ha-an-ta-an-ta-an* (e. g. XXXI 127 I 51 *hantantan* ÌR-*KA* 'your true servant'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 96; *KBo* XXX 45 Rs. 6 EME-*an hantantan*), *ha-an-da-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XIX 128 VI 22–24 *tepu pedan* EME-*an handantan lammar* TAR-*tan* ^{D}UD.SIG$_5$ 'little place, tongue fit, hour severed, Good Day'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 16, 46–7; Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25:135–6 [1980]), NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an* (*KUB* XXIV 8 III 8–9 and 15 NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an* KASKAL-*an* 'right path'), nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. *ha-an-ta-a-an* (e. g. II 8 VI 7; XXXI 47 Rs. 7), *ha-a-an-ta-an* (431/s Rs. 6; cf. L. Mascheroni, *Hethitica V* 98 [1983]), *ha-a-an-ta-a-an* (XX 29 VI 4), *ha-an-ta-an* (e. g. X 18 I 25–26 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*ma tamai tūriyan hantan* 'another harnessed chariot [is] readied'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–4:19 [1973–4]), *ha-an-da-a-an* (e. g. *KBo* III 23 IV 12 *handān memian* 'true word'; XXXI 143a II 5 *ANA AWAT handān* 'true to the word'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 188; XXXI 143 II 17 ^{D}*Inaras maltesnas handān* 'true to Inaras' ritual'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186; *KBo* XIX 128 VI 34–35 *ANA* GIŠ.HUR-*han handān ṬUPPU* ^{URU}*Hatti* 'true to wooden original, tablet [for] city [archive] of H.'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 18, 48; *KUB* II 6 VI 3–4, *KUB* XI 34 VI 54, *KBo* XI 39 VI 4 *ANA* GIŠ.HUR-*kan handān*; XVII 61 Rs. 11 IGI.HI.A-*kan ANA* IGI.HI.A-*ŠU handān* 'eyes [are] matched to his eyes'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; *KUB* XV 31 I 10 *ANA* 1 ^{GIŠ}*irhui-ma-ssan kattan kissan handān* 'for the other basket [it is] readied as follows'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; XV 34 I 4 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}MA.SÁ.AB-*ma kissan handān* 'for the basket [it is] readied as follows'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 182; ibid. 20 *ser-a-ssan* ^{GIŠ}MA.SÁ.AB *handān tianzi* 'above they place the readied basket'; *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 17 *n-an piran karū handān harkanzi* 'they have it already diagnosed' [viz. the baby as about to be delivered']; *KUB* XLII 42 I 12 AL]AM SAL-*TI* GUŠKIN *ŠUM-an UL*

handān 'statue of woman, of gold, name not affixed'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 57 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 470; I 16 II 51 *kusduwāta le handān-pat ēsdu* 'may defamation never sit right [with you]'; ibid. 55 *k]usduwāta le le handān-pat ēsdu*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8, 91–2; XLI 8 III 26–27 *mān-ma sum*[*ēs kē*]*l parnas* DI-*essar handān* [*ŪL hannat*]*ummat* 'but if you do not justly adjudicate the case of this house'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]; XVII 21+ I 1–2 *nu sumās* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as* ^{URU}*Hattusas-pat handān parkui* KUR-*e* 'for you gods H. is a truly pure land'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 152; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 133; *VBoT* 2, 7–8 *nu mān handān ammel* DUMU.SAL-*ya sanhiskisi* 'if you truly woo my daughter'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB* I 4 III 44 *mān handān* LUGAL.GAL *ANA* LUGAL.TUR [*katterrahhir* 'would [the gods] truly have brought down a great king before a petty-king?'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; dupl. I 9 III 6 *man hantan* LUGAL.GAL *ANA*[), *ha-an-da-an* (e. g. XIII 2 III 28 *kuit handan apāt īssa* 'what [is] right, do that!'; *IBoT* II 1 VI 12–14 *k]ī parkui ṬUPPU ANA* GIŠ.HUR.*TE-kan handan* 'this [is] a clean tablet, true to wooden original'; *KUB* II 9 VI 9–10 [*k*]*ī parkui ṬUPPU* [*A*]*NA* GIŠ.HUR-*kan handan*; VI 45 III 50, 57, 73 *handan* 'truly, verily'), *ha-a-da-an* (*KBo* XXX 15 IV 5), SIXSÁ-*an* (e. g. *KUB* XLII 91 II 4), NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an* (XXIV 8 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan* NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an ŠUM-an dais* 'he gave him the name Righteous'; ibid. 14 [*nu-ssi-s*]*san* NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an ŠUM-an halzessandu* 'let them call him Righteous by name!'; ibid. 16 NÍG.SI.SÁ-*an ŠUM-an ēsdu* 'let [his] name be Righteous'), gen. sg. *ha-an-ta-an-da-s(a-)* (XXIV 3 I 34–35 *hantandas-az* [*h*]*annesnas* 'of righteous judgment'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-ta-a-an-ti* (XV 34 II 6 [emended from XIII 29, 13] *n-asta anda ANA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hantān*[*ti parkuwai*] SIG$_5$-*anti misriwanti uwattin* 'come to the true, pure, favored, splendid Hatti-land!'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190), *ha-an-da-a-an-ti* (ibid. 45–46 *n-ast*[*a anda A*]*NA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti handānti* SIG$_5$-*anti mis*[*riwanti u*]*wattin*), *ha-an-da-an-ti* (e. g. *KBo* XXX 125 III 11 EME *handanti*; XXI 22 Vs. 33), nom. pl. c. *ha-an-ta-an-te-es* (*KUB* I 16 II 48 [OHitt.]; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8; XXIV 12 III 27), *ha-an-da-a-an-te-es* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 II 35 *n-at-kan* 3-*ēs taksan handāntes* 'the three of them [are] in joint formation'; *KBo* XVI 78 IV 15), *ha-an-da-an-te-es* (e. g. I 35, 18 'betrothed ones, married folk' [?]; cf. *MSL* 17:118 [1985]; IV 1 Vs. 23 'fixed, set' [corners]; IV 6 Vs. 30 s]AG.DU-*i kuyēs handantes* 'which are fitted on the head'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 14), *ha-an-da-a-an-te-es* (*KUB* XLIX 6, 5; *KBo* XVI 97 Rs. 47), SIXSÁ-*an*-

-te-es (e. g. *KUB* XVII 35 I 11; LVII 102 IV 7), acc. pl. c. *ha-an-da-an-du-us* (XXIV 8 I 2–3 *h]an[dan]dus* LÚ.MEŠ-*us kuis* [*sarl]iskizzi* 'he who elevates righteous men'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4), SIXSÁ-[*an-*]*du-us* (XXII 65 III 29); verbal noun *handawar* (n.), nom.-acc. *ha-an-da-a-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 35, 10, matching Akk. *kunnū* 'fix'; cf. *MSL* 17:117 [1985]; *KUB* XV 31 I 11–12 *nu-kan kī handāuwar karuuiliyaz tuppiaz ienzi* 'they make this determination from an ancient tablet'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150), *ha-an-da-u-wa-ar* (XLI 21 IV 17; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 278), *ha-an-da-u-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 30, 3 *uttar handauar* 'fixing a thing'; cf. e. g. *arkuwar tiyawar* 'plea-presentation' [*HED* 1–2:149]; *MSL* 17:127 [1985]), gen. *ha-an-da-a-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XLV 22 III 12); inf. *ha-an-da-a-u-wa-an-zi* (e. g. XXVII 59 I 24 and 29), *ha-an-da-a-u-an-zi* (*KBo* XXIX 65 I 9); verbal noun *hantatar* (n.), nom.-acc. *parā ha-an-ta-tar* (VI 29 II 29–30 ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Samuha-ma-za* GAŠAN-*YA apiya-ya parā hantatar tikkussanut* 'Ištar of Samuha then also betokened providence'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 50), *parā ha-an-da-a-tar* (II 5 IV 14–15 *nu-smas* DINGIR.MEŠ *MAMITI* [*par*]*ā handātar tikkusnuir n-as* DINGIR.ME[Š *MAMITI*] [*e*]*ppir* 'the oath-gods betokened to them [viz. the oath-breakers] providence [i. e. that they cared about the sanctity of oaths], and the oath-gods seized them'; cf. Götze, *AM* 192; III 6 III 50, besides dupl. *parā handandatar*, q. v. infra sub *hantantai-*), gen. sg. *ha-an-ta-na-as* (XVIII 23 Vs. 2), dat.-loc. sg. *para ha-an-da-an-ni* (*KUB* XV 32 I 50 'for blessing'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; *KBo* V 1 I 43 *nasma-wa zik kā parā handanni nasma zashit kuitki wastanuwan harta* 'or you [viz. deity] here in providence, or by a dream had caused some sin to occur'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*; *KUB* XII 29, 4 *par*]*ā handanni*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 352), *parā ha-an-da-a-an-ni* (XXVI 41 Vs. 13; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Die Welt des Orients* 5:192 [1970]); inf. *ha-an-da-a-u-wa-an-zi* (XXVII 59 I 24; context s. v. *halkuessar*); iter. *hantaiski-*, *hanteski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-da-a-is-qa-mi* (*KBo* XVII 32 Vs. 10), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-te-is-ki-si* (*KUB* XXXI 127 I 16 *udniyandas saklain ishiūl zik-pat hanteskisi* 'you fix the custom [and] covenant of the land'), *ha-an-te-es-ki-*[*si* (dupl. XXXI 129 Vs. 6; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 94), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-te-es-ki-zi* (XIV 1 Vs. 81 *nu-wa-s*]*si* EGIR-[*an h*]*inkan hanteskizi* 'he afterwards fixes death for him'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20), *ha-an-te-es-ki-iz-zi* (IV 47 Vs. 3–4 UD.KAM-*az ispanti idālaui anda hanteskizzi* 'day joins up with evil night'), 3 sg. pres. midd. SIXSÁ-*kat-ta-ri* (XXII 13, 2–3 *kuit* LUGAL-*iznani asātar* SIXSÁ-

-at [...] [...]KÁ-*ya ariyasesnaz* SIXSÁ-*kattari* 'the seat that was determined for kingship ... the gate by oracle is being determined'), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ta-is-kir* (XXIII 59 I 5), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-te-es-ki-id-du* (*KBo* XIII 204, 3), 3 pl. imp. act. *kattan ha-an-te-es-ká*[*n-d*]*u* (*KUB* XIII 1 IV 27; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62); supine *ha-an-te-es-ki-u-an* (*KBo* XXIX 76 I 12).

hantantai- (denominative verb from *hantant-*), notably *parā hantantai-* 'act providential, show providence, provide for' (for derivation cf. *tiyantai-* from *tiyant-*, participle of *dai-* 'place', 3 pl. pres. act. *tiyantiyanzi* 'they set up' [XXIX 1 IV 17]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-da-an-da-i*[*z-zi* (XL I Vs. 39), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-da-an-da-a-a*[*n-zi* (*KBo* XV 34 III 20), 3 sg. pret. act. *parā ha-an-ta-an-te-es-ta* (III 6 I 18 and *KUB* I 2 I 19 *n-as-mu-kan parā hantantesta*), *parā ha-an-da-an-te-es-ta* (dupl. I 1 I 21 *nu-mu* ^{D}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA* ŠU-*za ḫ*[*ṢBA*]*T n-as-mu-kan parā handantesta* 'Ištar my lady took me by the hand, and she provided for me'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4); partic. *handandant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-an-da-an-da-an-za* (*KBo* XIII 176 Vs. 10 EME-[*as*] *handandanza*); verbal noun *parā hantantatar* (n.), occasionally *ha-an-ta-an-ta-tar* (*KUB* XVII 20 II 9) or *ha-an-da-an-ta-tar* (XVII 9 I 10) or *ha-an-da-an-da-tar* without preverb (I 1 I 44–45 *nu-za-kan ... ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM handandatar ser uskinun* ' I saw watching over me the deity's providence', with dupl. *ABoT* 62, 38 *ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM* NÍG.SI.SÁ-*tar*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6; cf. for meaning also German *fügung* 'fitting, dispensation, providence'), nom.-acc. *parā*?] *ha-an-ta-an-ta-tar* (*KUB* XL 3 II 6), *parā ha-an-ta-an-da-tar* (XIV 15 II 2 *parā hantandatar tikkusnut* 'betokened providence'; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; *KBo* III 6 I 5 *ŠA* ^{D}*IŠTAR parā hantandatar memahhi* 'I speak of Ištar's providence'), *parā ha-an-da-an-da-tar* (e. g. dupl. I 1 I 5 and I 2 I 5; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; XIX 67 I 3–4 *nu-za* ^{D}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA parā handandatar apedani mēhuni tikkusnut* 'Ištar my lady at that time betokened providence'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 18; I 1 IV 18, with dupl. *KBo* III 6 III 50 *parā handātar* [quoted above]; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24), *parā ha-a-an-da-an-da-tar* (dupl. I 10 III 38 + 511/v, 1), *parā ha-an-da-a-an-ta-tar* (dupl. I 8 IV 6; XIV 10 IV 15; cf. Götze, *KlF* 218), *parā ha-an-da-an-ta-a-tar* (*KBo* IV 4 II 76–77 *nu-za* ^{D}U EN-*YA parā handantātar ma*[*hhan* ...] *tetkusnut*; cf. Götze, *AM* 122), *parā ha-an-da-an-da-a-tar* (III 4 II 16 *nu-za* ^{D}U NIR.GÁL EN-*YA parā handandātar tekkussanut*; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; III 6 III 54, with dupl. *KUB* I 8 IV 10 *parā*

handandatar; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24; XIV II IV 19; cf. Götze, *KlF* 218), NÍG.SI.SÁ-*tar* (e.g. VIII 35 Vs. 2), gen. sg. *par]ā ha-an-ta-an-ta-an-na-as* (II I IV 7), *parā ha-an-da-an-ta-an-na-as* (LVI 19 I 32 EZEN *parā handantannas* 'feast of providence'), *parā ha-an-da-an-da-an-na-as* (II I II 20; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:108 [1975]; XL 108 V 2; [without preverb] XX 60 I 6 ^{D}U *ha-an-da-an-da-a[n-na-as*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 184), dat.-loc. sg. *parā ha-an-da-an-da-an-ni* (I 1 I 48 *ANA PANI* DINGIR.MEŠ *kuit parā handandanni iyahhahat* 'whereas I walked before the gods in blessedness'; dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 40 *par]ā handandanni*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6). Cf. A. Kammenhuber (P. Cotticelli), *MHT* 11, Nr. 8 (1988), marred by many errors.

handatt- (c.) 'trust; determination' (?), gen. sg. *ha-an-da-at-ta-as* (*KUB* II 1 II 45 *ŠA L[aba]rna handattas* ^{D}LAMA-*i* 'to the ruler's tutelary god of trust'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:109 [1975]); cf. *KBo* II 38, 8 *ha-an-da-at-ta-as-si-is* (with gloss-wedges); further *KUB* II 1 II 40 [^{D}LA]MA *tepauwas pe⟨d⟩as la-mar-ha-an-da-at-ti-es* (sic) 'tutelary god of little place, of hour-fixing'; ibid. III 46 ^{D}*Ālas la-mar-ha-an-da-at-ta-as-[si-is]* 'of hour-fixing', with Luwoid adjective of appurtenance (dupl. XLIV 16 IV 1 *-d]a-at-ta-as-si-is*).

hantantiyala- (c.) 'fixer, repairman' (vel sim.), dat.-loc. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-an-ta-an-ti-ya-li-kán* (*KUB* V 6 II 72; cf. Sommer, *AU* 285, *HAB* 133). Agental formation of the type *lahhiyala-* (from *lahhiya-* 'wage war'), from *hantantai-* (see *parā hantantai-* above).

Other Anatolian evidence is scant. Lyd. *ãntẽ-* 'arrange, determine' (vel sim.; cf. Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 73) is by itself a brittle reed. The Luwoid *handattassi-* has a possible "southern" cognate in Hier. *hahatayata* (redupl. 3 sg. or pl.; cf. Neumann, *Festschrift H. Otten* 251 [1973]).

Such paucity is plausible, in view of the secondary, derivative nature of *hantai-*. It is denominative from a *hant-*, in the manner of *istantai-* (q.v.). This *hant-*, however, has no truck with *hant-* 'front' (pace Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 367) or its derivative *handa* 'with a view to' (ditto Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:476, repeated by Tischler, *Glossar* 153). The base-meaning is not 'arrange', nor 'carry out, accomplish' (wrongly Neumann, *IF* 90:289–90 [1985]), but rather '(en)trust', thence 'betroth' (in this latter sense semi-synonymous with *hamank-*), and by extension 'fix, fit' (the reverse semantic development is seen in Engl. 'hitch' > 'marry' and in German *fügung* 'providence'). A close parallel is German

betreuen from *treu* 'true, faithful', which has come to mean 'take care of, tend to'. As such, *hantai-* is derived from *hānt-*, participle of *hai-* 'trust' (q.v.), much as *(parā) hantantai-* merely repeats the derivation once more from the participle *hantant-* (cf. e.g. [*KBo* XVIII 24 IV 11–12] *tuēl-wa hāndan* UKÙ-*an* 'a trusted person of yours' with [*KUB* XXXI 127 I 51] *hantantan* ÌR-*KA* 'your true servant'). Occasional plene-forms like *ha-a-an-da-mi* (*KUB* VII 54 I 10) or *ha-a-an-ta-a-an* (XX 29 VI 4) still betray this origin *(hānt- < *hayant-)*, while the short spellings *hantai-* and *hantā-* (< **hāntáya-* < **hayant-áya-*) prevail in derivation (cf. e.g. *pittai-* 'render' < **piyattáye-*; Puhvel, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 213–4 = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 360–1 [1981]). Cf. Puhvel, *The Anatolian Connexion. Studies ... in Memory of Charles Carter.*

Cf. *hantalliya-*.

hantais- (n.) 'heat', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-an-da-is* (*KBo* III 23 Vs. 5–6 *mān-[an] handais walahzi zig-an ekunimi dai* 'if heat strikes him, place him in the cold'; ibid. Rs. 9 *[t]akkuw-an handais walahzi*[], *ha-an-da-a-[is* (*KUB* XXXI 115, 9 *mān-an handā*[*is walahzi*; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41–2 [1979]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-ta-i-si* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 17 and 19 *hantaisi mēhu*[*ni* 'in the time [of] heat', i.e. 'in the heat of the day', vs. ibid. 18 *ispandi* 'at night'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10, 98–9; Neumann, *Indogermanica. Festschrift für W. Krause* 141 [1960]), [*ha-a*]*n-da-is-si-kán mē*[*huni* (1554/u, 8), *ha-an-da-si* (III 23 Vs. 7–8 *takkuw-an ekunimas walahzi n-an handasi dai* 'if cold strikes him, place him in the heat').

This rare *s*-stem neuter noun was plausibly connected by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 48) with OIr. *and-* 'kindle' (e.g. participle *andithe* 'accensus'; for another Anatolian-Celtic isogloss see s.v. *allaniya-*); for the semantics cf. e.g. Gk. *αἴθω* 'kindle'; Lat. *aestus* 'midday heat'. *hantais* has no etymological connection with *wantai-* 'be warm', *ā-* 'be hot', or *hat-* 'dry up' (see s.v.).

Pal. *hā-* 'be hot' (?) (3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-a-ri*, 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-a-an-ta, ha-an-da*; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 22–4) seems to imitate the conjugation of Hitt. *ā- (a-a-ri, a-a-an-ta)* in true rhyme-word fashion (cf. Hitt. *āant-* 'hot', *hantais-* 'heat', *wantai-* 'be warm'); it may be back-formed on the stem **hant-* misperceived as being participial from a **hā-*.

hantal(l)iya-, 3 sg. pret. act. in *KUB* XXIII 57, 4 *ŪL ha-an-da-li-ya-it*, 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-da-al-li-i-e-ir* (*KBo* IV 4 III 62–63 *nu-mu-za namma* UD.KAM.HI.A *zahhiyauwanzi ŪL* [...] *handalliyer* [after previous defeats] 'they no longer ? to wage battle against me in daytime' [preferring night raids instead]; cf. Götze, *AM* 132).

hantalliya- seems to be denominative from *hant-* (cf. e. g. *arantalliya-* 'be insurgent' from the participle *arant-* s. v. *arai-* 'rise'), be it *hant-* 'front' (thus 'had the effrontery') or *hānt-* 'trusted' (from *hai-*; then 'had the confidence'). In the former case cf. *hantiya-* 'countenance, sustain' s. v. *hant-*, in the latter cf. *hantai-* 'entrust; fit'.

hantezzi(ya)- 'forward, front, first; first-born (= oldest, eldest), earliest; foremost, first-rank', adverbial 'forward, in front; first, forthwith' (IGI-*zi*[*ya*]-), nom. sg. c. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-is* (e. g. *KBo* X 24 III 27–30 NÍG.GUL AN.BAR-*ma-kan ŠA* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR *ANA* DUMU É.GAL *appizzi hantezzis* DUMU É.GAL *arha dāi* 'but the first page takes the iron hammer away from the last page of the spear'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:19; *KUB* XXIII 1 III 10–11 *nasma* EGIR-*izz*[*is*] *hantezzis* UKÙ-*as* 'whether a man of last [or] first rank'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 12; XIX 29 IV 8 *hantezzis* ŠEŠ-*as* 'oldest brother'; cf. Götze, *AM* 16; *KBo* III 1 II 38 DUMU.SAL *hantezzis* 'eldest daughter'; ibid. 36–37 *takku* DUMU.LU[GAL] *hantezzis* NÚ.GAL 'if there is no first-rank prince royal' [i. e. born of the queen, rather than morganatically *tān pedas* 'second-place']), IGI-*zi-is* (e. g. *KUB* XXVI 79 I 15 IGI-*zis auris* 'forward watch, first-line guard, border post'; *KBo* VI 5 II 12 [= *Code* 1:28] IGI-*zis* LÚ-*as* 'the first fellow'), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-as* (e. g. dupl. VI 3 II 6 *hantezziyas* LÚ-*as*; III 1 II 36 LUGAL-*us-san hantezziyas-pat* DUMU.LUGAL DUMU-*RU kikki*[*s*]*taru* 'king shall become a son, specifically a first-rank prince royal'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 32 [1984]; *KUB* XXXIII 120 I 9 ^{D}*Anus* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hantezziyas-(s)mes* 'Anu, of the gods their foremost one'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *1), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-as* (e. g. LVI 46 II 8–10 *mān-asta hantezzias-(s)mis* LUGAL-*i hantaitta pedi-s*[*mi-pat*] *kunni* 1-*ŠU wahanzi* 'when the first of them is in line with the king, on their place[s] they turn once to the right'; ibid. 16–18 *mān hantezzias-semes* LUGAL[-*i*] *hantaitta pedi-smi-pat* [...] [*wa*]*hanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86, 84), acc. sg. c. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-in* (e. g. *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 8 1 TÚG *hantezzin* 'one first-rank vestment' for priest, vs.

ibid. 9 1 TÚG *dān* [*pedan*, ibid. 10 1 TÚG *dān ped*[*an* 'second-rank', for lower clergy; similarly ibid. 4–5; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:93), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-an* (e. g. III 1 II 10 *hantezziyan* NIN-*ZU* 'his oldest sister'), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-an* (e. g. XVII 43 IV 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 105), IGI-*zi-an* (e. g. XI 14 II 22–23 IGI-*zian* GIM-*an* ^{GIŠ}*hurkin* EGIR-*zis anda ŪL wemiyazi* 'as the rear wheel does not catch up with the front wheel'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-an-te-iz-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 67 I 30–31 *nu-ssi* ^{TÚG}*hūpiki āppizzi* [*piran huinut*] *hantezzi-ma-za appizziaz* [*huinut* 'she let the back of her veil fall forward, but the front she let fall behind'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 74; XXI 29 II 4–5 *hantezzi-ya-smas-kan* ^{I}*Labarnas* ^{I}*Hattusilis* ^{ID}*Kumesmahan parian ŪL tarneskir* 'and L. [and] H. would not let their van across the river K.'), adverbial *hantezzi* (e. g. *KBo* X 23 IV 15–17 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ass-a hilamni* ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{D}KAL *suppin* ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{D}KAL *hantezzi harzi* 'in the gods' gateway the priest of K. has in front the holy priest of K.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:13; XXVII 42 II 19–20, 46, 48–49 *hantezzi ti(y)anzi* '[they] step forward'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:57–8; *KUB* XXII 70 Rs. 61–62 *nu-kan hantezzi parā tiskanzi* 'they step forth in front'; ibid. 48 *UNUTE*.MEŠ-*ya-kan hantezzi parā tiskanzi* 'they set forth the implements out front'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 94; *KBo* XIX 128 IV 11 *nu* LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *hantezzi tianzi* 'the waiters step forward'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 10, 40–1; *KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 15–16 *namma* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *hantezzi* UTÚL.HI.A *tiyanzi hantezzi-ma sarā daskanzi* 'then the cooks [and] the waiters set forth the dishes, but forthwith they keep taking them up'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; XXI 1 III 58–59 *zi*[*gg-a-m*]*a-an hantezzi ANA* ^{LÚ}KÚR GAM-*an pest*[*i* 'but you forthwith hand it over to the enemy'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:74; *KBo* VIII 88 Vs. 11 *hantezzi ANA* ^{D}U 'first to the storm-god'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 260), *ha-an-te-e-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXXVI 55 II 21), IGI-*zi* (e. g. XXII 70 Vs. 33 *nu* IGI-*zi* MUŠEN *HURRI* NU.SIG$_5$ EGIR-*zi-ma* SIG$_5$ 'the first oracle bird [is] inauspicious, but the last [is] auspicious'; XVIII 11 Rs. 4 and 7 IGI-*zi hāli* 'the first watch'), *ha-an-ti-iz-zi-an* (*KBo* XXV 123, 8 *hantizzian-tet happaru* 'may thy first one succeed' [?]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 206), gen. sg. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-as* (XXVII 42 II 44 *n-as ŠA* ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM *hantezziyas piran huwāi* 'he runs before the first cook'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:57), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-te-iz-zi* (e. g. X 23 II 12–14 1 ^{LÚ}*MEŠEDI-ma-kan hantezzi* ^{É}*halentuuas* ^{É}*arkiui menahhanda arta* 'one bodyguard stations himself facing the front anteroom of the palace'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:11, XXIII 103 IV 18

hantezzi UD-*ti* 'on the first day'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 44; frequent *hantezzi palsi* '[for] the first time'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 30, 32, 34; *Dict. louv.* 172; Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 80, 328; XIII 58 III 15 *hantezzi hāli* 'at the first watch'; *KUB* XIII 28, 9 *hantezzi auriya* 'at the forward watch-position'; cf. S. Rosi, *SMEA* 24:113 [1984]; XXXI 79, 5 *hantezzi* KASKAL-*si* 'on the first voyage'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 217; XV 31 I 15 *hantezzi* KASKAL-*si* 'on the first path'; ibid. II 17–18, 19, 26 *hantezzi āpiti* 'in the first pit'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150, 156–8), IGI-*zi* (e. g. XII 41, 4 IGI-*zi* UD-*ti* 'on the first day'; *KBo* X 27 III 33 IGI-*zi* UD.KAM-*ti*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:52; III 6 II 14 IGI-*zi palsi*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya* (e. g. XIX 128 I 8–9 *hantezziya-ssan tuppiya kuyēs* DINGIR.MEŠ *kiyanta* 'the deities who have been set down on the obverse of the tablet'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 6, 38–9; XXI 33 IV 16, 30–31, 33 *hantezziya* UD-*at* 'on the first day'; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:69; *KUB* XX 4 VI 1 *han]tezziya sīwat* 'on the first day'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:79), abl. sg. adverbial *ha-an-te-iz-zi--ya-az* 'in front; beforehand' (e. g. XXX 38 l.Rd. 1–2 *kī ṬUPPU hantezziyaz* ... EGIR-*az-ma-at* ... 'this tablet on the obverse ... but on the reverse it ...'; *KBo* V 2 III 46–47 *nu* 1 ^{LÚ}AZU *hantezziyaz* ANA KÁ.GAL ZAG-*za artari* 'one medicine man stands in front of the gate to the right'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:126 [1973]; ibid. 18–19 *nu* GI.HI.A *ANA* ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A *hantezziyaz piran* KÁ.GAL *iezzi* 'he makes the reeds into a gate in front of the throne'), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-az* (e. g. *KUB* II 4 III 18–20 *hassī hantezziaz* GÙB-*laz* 'in front of the hearth to the left'; *KBo* XIX 128 I 7–8 *hantezziaz-ma* ... *karū arantari* '[they] already stand in front'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 23–4, *ZA* 71:141 [1981]), IGI-*zi-az* (II 9 IV 28 'beforehand'), nom. pl. c. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-e-es* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 2 I 8–9 and 23–24 *hantezziēs-ma kuēs* MADGALATI 'the forward watch-positions'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 41, 42; *KBo* XXV 61 II 1; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 134), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-us* (*KUB* XXI 27 I 16–17 *hantezzius--ma-at* LUGAL.MEŠ *mahhan arha pittalāir* 'but how the earliest kings neglected it [viz. Nerik]'; ibid. 18; cf. D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:108–10 [1981]), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-as-sa* (*KBo* III 1 II 22 'and leading figures' [followed by list of titled worthies]), acc. pl. c. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-us* (e. g. *KUB* X 63 I 30 *hantezzius* GÌR.MEŠ-*us* 'the fore feet'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]; XII 66 IV 3 [EGI]R-*izziuss-a hantezzius* 'and last [ones] first'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]; XXIV 7 I 12 *ŠA* ^{D}GAŠAN *hantezzius* ^{SAL}SUHUR.LAL.HI.A 'the top-ranked hierodules of the Lady'; cf. ibid. 22 *ŠA* ^{D}GAŠAN *appizzius* ^{SAL}SUHUR.LAL.HI.A 'the

bottom-ranked ...' [Lebrun, *Hymnes* 402–3]; XL 60, 2 *hantezzius auriu[s]*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 61), *ha-an-te-zi* (sic XXVI 12 II 13 *hantezi aurius*), *ha-an-te-iz-zi-as* (X 88 I 17–18 *[h]antezzias* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.HI.A-*as* *[tia]nz[i]* '[they] set out the front tables'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 268), gen. pl. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-s(a-at)* (XXXIII 68 III 7–10 *]sarāzzi zik* [...-]*saz hantezzis zik* [... *s]arāzzias sarāzzis* [... *hant]ezzias-at hantezzis*, something like Lat. *summus summorum primus primorum*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:129 [1965]), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-as* (e. g. *KBo* IV 9 V 22–23 *n-as ŠA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM *hantezzias piran huwāi* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM *hantezzi tianzi* 'he runs before the first cooks; the cooks step forward').

hantezzili 'for the first time' (*KUB* XXX 39 Rs. 4 EZEN.HI.A AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} *mahhan hantezzili aniyantes* 'when performing the a. festivals for the first time').

hantezziyahh- 'make foremost, put in front', 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-an--te-iz-zi-ya-ah-ha-as* (*KUB* XXXI 147 II 21). For formation cf. e. g. *sarazziyahh-* 'elevate' from *sarazzi-* 'upper'.

hantezumna- (n.?) 'forecourt' (vel. sim.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-te-zum--ni* (*KBo* XX 77 Vs. 7–8 LUGAL-*us INA* É ^{D}ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ *pa[izzi] t-as hantezumni t[iyezzi]* 'the king goes to the war-god's temple, he steps into the forecourt'; XVII 1 I 21 *apūs hantezumni tēhhi* 'I put those in the forecourt'), *ha-an-di-zu-um-ni* (dupl. XVII 3 I 16 *h]andizumni tēhhe*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20, 95). Derivation with the *-umna-* suffix of appurtenance is more probable than an abstract noun **hantezzuman-* (pace H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:11 [1983]; cf. s. v. *harsumna-*).

Cf. Luw. *hantili-* 'first' and *hantawa-*, Lyc. *χñtawa-* 'foremost, leader, princeps' (Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:104–6 [1979]). Unlike those inner-Anatolian derivatives from **hant-*, *hantezzi(ya)-* (with its antonym *appezzi[ya]-*, q. v. s. v. *appa*) represents an ancient Indo-European type with suffix **-tyo-* (**A$_1$ntéy-tyo-*; cf. *hante*, dat.-loc. of *hant-* [s. v.], and Neu, *Anitta-Text* 41) seen in e. g. Skt. *nítya-* 'one's own' and Goth. *niþjis* 'relative' (lit. 'insider'), or Gk. *ὀπίσσω* 'hereafter', Hitt. *appezziya-* 'later, last', and Skt. *ápatyam* 'offspring'. Such an adjective (*hantezziya-* literally 'front-oriented') was in competition with the **-(e)ro-* type seen in e. g. Skt. *ádhara-* (from *adhā́ḥ* 'below'), Lat. *inferus*, Gaulish *anderos* 'lower'; Hitt. *kattera-* 'lower' (from *katta*) still reflects this fact in antonymy with *sarāzzi-* 'upper' (already Hrozný, *SH* 21, compared *hantezzi-* to Gk.

ἀντίος and Lat. *antīcus, anterior*; later cogent treatments by J. Lohmann, *IF* 51:322–5 [1933], and Benveniste, *Hittite* 102–5, who stressed the archaism of the Hittite situation).

hanzana- (c.) 'strand, thread, yarn, web', nom. sg. *ha-an-za-na-as* (*KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 I 50 *auwawas hanzanas* 'spider's web, cobweb' matching ibid. [Akk.] *qū ettuti*; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 11), nom. pl. *ha-an-za-na-as* (*KUB* XXIX 8 I 33–34 SÍG SA_5 SÍG ZA.GÌN ^{SÍG}*hanzanas* SÍG $SIG_7.SIG_7$ 'strands [of] red wool [and] blue wool, [and] yellow wool'), acc. pl. *ha-an-za-na-as* (XXIX 4 I 32 SÍG SA_5 SÍG ZA.GÌN ^{SÍG}*hanzanas* SÍG $SIG_7.SIG_7$ SÍG BABBAR *danzi* 'strands [of] red wool [and] blue wool, yellow wool [and] white wool they take'; similarly ibid. 32–33; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 8).

hanzana- is a near-synonym of *kapina-* 'thread, yarn' (q. v.). There may be some connection with ^{GIŠ}*hanza* (*KUB* VII 13 Vs. 6, in a list of wooden objects), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*hanzani* (XXXIV 78, 7, fragmentary; in *KBo* VI 10 III 11 [= *Code* 2.44] ^{GIŠ}*hanzan*[*i* figures in the context of a garment being cut [*tuhsari*]).

Wrongly interpreted as a color adjective (Goetze, *JCS* 1:312 [1947]), specifically 'black' (Laroche, *RA* 47:41 [1953]; Otten, *Vokabular* 16), and connected etymologically by Čop (*Ling.* 10:95–6 [1970]) with Gk. *ἄσις* (< **n̥si-*) 'mud, filth', Skt. *ásita-* 'dark, black'.

Cf. Puhvel, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 237–40 (1981), *Bi. Or.* 38:353 (1981).

hap(p)- 'join, attach'; (impersonal or midd.) 'arrange itself, work out, succeed', 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-ti* (*KUB* XXXI 79, 26), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-zi* (*KBo* XI 34 I 4–5 *takku-smas* ŪL-*ma hapzi* 'but if it does not work out for them'), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ab-da-ri* (XVIII 54 Rs. 21 *kuezza-wa-kan* ŪL *habdari* 'why does it not succeed?'; ibid. 19 and l.R. 1; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:204 [1978–9]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-ap-ta-at* (*KUB* XXI 27 I 11–12 *nu-kan apāss-a ... ANA* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik* DUMU-*KA āssiyanti haptat* 'he too attached himself to the storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 330; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:108 [1981]; *KUB* I 1 + 1304/u II 76 *nu-smas-kan* ŪL *kuezqa kuit haptat* 'nothing in any way worked out for them'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 16), *ha-ab-da-at* (*KBo* XVIII 54 Rs. 14–15 *nu-mmas epurawanzi* ŪL *habdat* 'our siege did not succeed'), 3 sg. imp. midd. *ha-ap-pa-ru* (XXV 123, 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 206). Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 44–6.

happessar (n.) 'joint, limb, member, body part' (^{UZU}ÚR), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-ap-pí-es-sar* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 15 9 ^{UZU}*happessar-set* 'his nine body parts'; XLVIII 7 III 5; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:100), 3 ^{UZU}*ha-ap-pí-es-sa* (*KBo* XVI 78 IV 19; cf. *hannessa*[*r*] s. v. *han-*), 1 ^{UZU}*ha-pí-es-sir* (sic II 8 III 9 and 18), gen. sg. or pl. *ha-ap-pí-es-na-as* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 17), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pí-es-ni* (VIII 40, 13; XVII 28 I 17–19 *nu-kan kuwapitta happesni tepu dahhi nu taknas* ^{D}UTU-*i* BAL-*andahhi* 'I take a little of every limb and sacrifice [it] to the solar deity of the earth'), abl. sg. *ha-ap-pí-es-na-az* (XXX 40 I 17 *hūmandaza happesnaz* 'from every limb'), ^{UZU}ÚR-*na-az* (XXIV 9 I 50 *hūmandaz* ^{UZU}ÚR-*naz*), nom. pl. c. (!) ^{UZU}ÚR-*ni-es* (XLI 1 III 17, perhaps from a thematized **happesna-*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 70), nom.-acc. pl. ^{UZU}*h*[*a-pí-es-s*]*a-ra* (*KBo* X 31 II 17; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102), 12 ^{UZU}ÚR (*KUB* VII 53 IV 2; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20), 9 ^{UZU}ÚR.HI.A (*KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 8; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 176), gen. pl. *ha-ap-pí-is-na-as* (*KUB* IX 4 I 20; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:38 [1957]), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-ap-pí-es-na-as* (XLIII 60 I 23 8-*andas happesnas ser* 'on the basis of eight limbs'; cf. partic. *hassant-* s. v. *has*[*s*]-), *INA* 9 ^{UZU}ÚR (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 10 'at the nine body parts'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44).

happesnant- (c.) 'id.', nom. sg. ^{UZU}ÚR-*za* (*KBo* IV 2 II 10; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:92 [1962]), acc. sg. ^{UZU}ÚR-*da-an* (*KUB* I 16 III 40; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12), nom. pl. *ha-ap-pí-is-na-an-te-es* (IX 4 I 19). Cf. e. g. *eshanant-* s. v. *eshar.*

arha happesnai- 'dismember', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pi-is-na-mi* (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 22]MAŠ.GAL-*ma arha happisnami* 'I dismember the he-goat'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ap-pí-es-na-a-an-zi* (1112/c + II 40; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:356 [1953]), *ha-ap-pí-es-sa-na-an-zi* (dupl. II 3 I 52 *nu* UDU *haddanzi namma-an arha* [*hap*]*pessa*[*nanzi*] 'they stick the sheep, then they dismember it'), *ha-ap-pí-es-na-an-zi* (*VBoT* 24 II 3; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]), *ha-ap-pí-is-na-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXII 123 III 48; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 23:91 [1970]).

Cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 42–4; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:405 (1954); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:282, 476.

Luw. *happisa-* 'limb', instr. pl. *ha-ap-pí-sa-a-ti* (*KUB* XXXV 24, 10; XXXV 51 III 11), also (misspelled?) ^{UZU}*za-ap-pí-sa-a-ti* (XXXV 43 II 15). Cf. Otten, *LTU* 33, 53, 43, *Bestimmung* 100; *Dict. louv.* 41; Starke, *KLTU* 83, 177, 144.

happessar is probably original verbal noun 'joining, joint' (cf. Lat. *artus* 'joint, limb'); Luw. *happisa-* shows elimination of the heteroclitic stem by loss of *-r*; *happesnai-* is denominatively derived from *happessar*.

Cf. Lat. *apere* 'comprehendere vinculo', *aptus* 'joined, fit(ted)', *cōpula* (< **co-apula*) 'bond', *co-ēpī* 'took hold, began' (cf. *agere* : *ēgī*), *apīscor* 'attain' (lit. 'cleave to', perf. *aptus*). Thus IE **A_1ep-* 'join, attach' must be postulated, distinct from Indo-Iranian *āp-* 'reach, obtain' (wrongly Oettinger, *MSS* 34:124 [1976], who postulated a root 'be fitting' for *happ-* and Lat. *aptus*, and connected *apere* with Hitt. *ep[p]-* 'seize' [q. v.]).

Cf. *happu-*, *hapus-*.

hapa- (c.) 'river', nom. sg. ÍD-*as* (e. g. 2413/c III 13 ÍD-*as pedai* 'the river carries away'), gen. sg. *ha-pa-as* (*KUB* LVIII 104 II 24 *hapas* MUŠEN 'river-bird'; or *hapas*^{MUŠEN}?), dat. sg. ÍD-*pa* (2413/c III 12 ÍD-*pa ishuai* 'scatters into the river'; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:393 [1955]; *KBo* X 11 I 3 ÍD-*pa pānzi* 'they go to the river'), *ha-pa-a* (*KUB* XIII 3 III 29 *hapā paiddu* '[he] shall go to the river'; ibid. 32 *hapā pait* '[he] went to the river [and flunked the water-ordeal]'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 48), Luw. nom. pl. (?) *ha-pa-an-zi* (acc. object in XXXIII 66 II 12 *hapanzi d[ais*, in a repetitional list of many items, where e. g. *ēshar* 'blood' and *kammara[n* 'fog' are other objects of 'he took'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]).

Perhaps present in hydronymic and toponymic compounds, e. g. ÍD*Parmasha[pas* (XXXVIII 6 I 15), URU*Parmashapas* (ibid. 13; XXXVIII 10 IV 28; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:186, 196 [1961]), URU*Suranhapas* (*KBo* II 16, 1), URU*Harashapas* (III 54, 13). Cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 8; Rosenkranz, *BzN* N.F. 1:125–6 (1966); Otten, *ZA* 59:257–8 (1969); reservations in Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 182 (1973).

The dat. sg. DÍD-*ya* (VIII 42 Rs. 9 DÍD-*ya pait* 'went to the river[-god]'; III 28 II 12, 17, 18) was interpreted by C. Watkins (*Ériu* 24:85 [1973]) as from D*Hapaliyas*, a deity attested in XII 63 Rs. 14; Neumann (*Die Sprache* 20:109 [1974]) added the Lycian theonym *qebelija*.

For the dat.-loc. sg. ÍD-*ni* (*KUB* XVII 8 IV 23; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:167 [1965]), cf. perhaps Pal. *hāpna-* (c.), nom. sg. in *KBo* XIX 152 I 11 *hāpnas-ta*, XIX 153 III 7 and 18 ÍD-*anas-ta*. Cf. Carruba,

Das Palaische 22–4, 54; *Beiträge* 33–5, 38, 42–3. Other extra-Hittite Anatolian variant formations are seen in Luw. *hapi-* 'river' (*KUB* XXXV 108, 22 *hāpis Mālas*; Otten, *LTU* 99; cf. *KBo* XII 100 Vs. 4 *Māla-kan* ÍD-*i* and see Laroche, *RA* 62:89 [1968]) and Hier. RIVER-*pi(a)-* 'river', *hapat(i)-* 'river-land' (cf. H. Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 8:285 [1962]; Meriggi, *HHG* 211; C. Watkins, *Ériu* 24:85–6 [1973]; Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 181–3 [1973]), *hapari-* (Karatepe 264; cf. Hawkins, *Hethitica VIII* 270–2 [1987]).

hapai- 'wet, moisten' (?), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-pa-a-iz-zi* (2087/c; 10–11 *nu namma* LÚŠÀ.TAM *MĒ QĀTI ANA* SAL.LUGAL *par[ā epzi] nu-za* SAL.LUGAL *hapāizzi* 'then the chamberlain holds forth the hand-water to the queen, and the queen wets herself'), 3 pl. *ha-a-pa-a-an-zi* (?; 1858/c I 17). Cf. Otten, *Bi. Or.* 8:225 (1951). Cf. *hapati-* (s. v.). Laroche (*Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:58, 68 [1979]) adduced the Lycian hapax *χbaitẽ* (3 pl. pret.) as '(they) irrigated' (Xanthos trilingual, *Lyc.* 14).

hapa- matches Celtic (Old British) *"Αβος* (name of the Humber river in Ptolemy's *Geography*); with *hapna-*, cf. Old British *Abona* (> *Avon*), We. *afon* 'river', OIr. *aub* (gen. *abae*), and especially Lat. *amnis* (< **abnis*). Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 5:24 (1964); C. Watkins, *Ériu* 24:80–9 (1973); Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 183–4 (1973).

Thus IE **A_1ebh-* > PAnat. **hab-* must be recognized, rather than a mere Celtic-Italic variant **ab-* of IE **āp-* (as in *IEW* 1, 51–2). The attempt by E. Hamp (*MSS* 30:35–7 [1972]) to join the two roots with the help of a voicing suffix-initial laryngeal *(*Hap-Hon-)* is unnecessary.

The parallel attestation of IE **āp-* in Hittite was postulated by C. Watkins (*BSL* 67.1:41–3 [1972]) on the basis of *KUB* XXXI 74 II 9 *happa anda sesten* 'remain in the water' and the vessel name DUG*happāssan* (*HT* 95, 4 and 10; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 156); but of the latter there are also acc. pl. c. *hap[a]ssus* (*KUB* XXXVI 104 Rs. 9 [OHitt.]) and *hapasus* (*KBo* III 34 III 19) besides *happass[us* (dupl. XII 11, 9; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 73, *IF* 82:274 [1977]).

Cf. *hapatiya-*.

hapallasai- 'injure, wound' (in the head), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-pal-la-sa-iz-zi* (*KBo* VI 4 I 22–24 *takku* LÚ *ELLUM* SAG.DU-*ZU kuiski hapallasaizzi saktaizziy-an pidi-ssi-ma* UKÙ-*an pāi nu* É-*ir-si anniskizzi kuitman-as* SIG_5-*tari* 'if someone injures a freeman in the head [partitive appos-

ition], he nurses him [to health], and in his place he gives a man, and this one labors in his house until he gets well'; cf. ibid. (preceding) 20–21 *takku* LÚ-*an* SAG.DU-*an kuiski hūnikzi nu-za hūninkanza* 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *dāi* 'if someone batters a man's head, the battery victim receives three shekels of silver'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 50).

In place of this late parallel version, the regular laws (*Code* 1:9–10) have an escalation from mere *hūnikzi* to *hūnikzi t-an istarnikzi* 'batters so as to make him ailing', which latter also calls for healing care and a proxy laborer. Thus *hapallasai-* describes aggravated assault resulting in an incapacitating head-injury.

The stem formation is unclear (hardly iter. **hapallasa-* of **hapallai-* [cf. e. g. *arpasa-* from *arpai-* s. v. *arp-*], because that normally has *-hi* conjugation); **hapallai-* is, however, inferrable from the noun *ha-pal-li-ya-tar* (*KUB* VII 16, 5 and 7; 330/u, 11 *hullanzatar hapalli*[*yatar* 'infliction [and] injury'). Assuming a scriptio facilior of *-p-* (rather than *-pp-*) in this hapax legomenon, Van Windekens' comparison with the Greek hapax *ἄπελος* '(open) wound' (Callimachus, *Fragmenta* 343) and by extension Toch. A *päl* 'wound' affords tantalizing obscura per obscuriora (*Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 916 [1979]).

A more plausible connection is with *hupallas-* (n.) 'skull' or 'scalp' (q. v.), with *a* : *u* vacillation (cf. e. g. ^{D}*Hapaliya* : ^{I}*Hupaliya*, ^{I}*Ashapala* : ^{I}*Ashūpala*, and examples s. v. *hulukanni-*), thus a denominative **hapallas-ai-* 'to crown' or 'to scalp' (for formation, e. g. *harsanallai-* 'wreathe' from *harsanalli-* 'wreath'; see H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:34 [1963], *JAOS* 87:184 [1967]). In this instance, however, the expression SAG.DU *hapallasai-* would appear pleonastic.

(h)apalki- (n.) 'iron' (usually AN.BAR), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-pal-ki* (*KBo* XXIV 52, 6 [OHitt.] *hapalki līpi*[*r* 'they licked the iron'; cf. ibid. 4 *ēshanas* UR.ZÍR.HI.A-*es uer* 'the hounds of blood came'; dupl. XXIV 51 Vs. 5 *hap*]*alki līpir*), gen. sg. *ha-pal-ki-ya-as* (*KUB* XVI 34 I 1–2 *mān-za-kan* ^{D}U ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti* ^{D}LAMA ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti* DINGIR.MEŠ *hapalkiyas* [ŠÀ] É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ŪL kuezqa marsanuantes* 'if you, storm-god of Hatti, tutelary deity of Hatti, deities of iron in the shrines [are] not desecrated in any way'; *KBo* XXX 71 III 17–18 DINGIR.MEŠ *hapalkiyas*; *KUB* XII 1 IV 31–32 2 *mallitallenzi* ŠÀ-*BA* 1 *hunta*[...] GUŠKIN NA_4 1 *hapal*⟨*ki*⟩*yas* 'two honey-pots, among

them one a hunta[-?] of gold [and] stone, the other of iron'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:102 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 450), *HAPALKI* (XXXIX 76 Vs. 3 É *HAPALKI piran* 'before the house of iron'; ibid. 15]É *HAPALKI*[; XXXIX 73, 12 É *HAPAL*[*KI*], *HA-PAL-KI-NI* (XXXI 24, 4 SA]G.DU [UR.MAH *HA*]*PALKINI*; ibid. 6 SA]G.DU UR.MAH *HAPALK*[*INI* 'lion's head of iron'), dat.-loc. sg. *a-pal-ki-ti* (XXX 40 I 5–6 *nu PANI apalkiti arahza ANA* ^{D}ZA.BA_4.BA_4 SISKUR *kissan handān* 'before the iron [viz. idol] outside, the ritual of the war-god [is] readied as follows'; similarly ibid. 26 *PANI apalkitī*), instr. sg. *ha-pal-ki-it* (LI 56, 2; *HT* 38 Rev. 12).

Cf. *KUB* XXIX 8 IV 13 (Hurr.) *ha-pal-ki*, ibid. 20 *a-pal-ki*. The akkadogram *HAPALKINI* is also Hurroid, as is *hapalkinnu* in Mitanni-Akkadian from Amarna (cf. *habalginnu* in Neo-Babylonian sources; *CAD* Ḫ 3; *AHW* 301). For the toponym (with Hattic-type *p* : *w* variation as in e. g. *tūpi* : *tūwi* 'fear') ^{URU}*Hawalkina* "Iron City' (VII 24 Rs. 9) see H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:184 (1967).

Hatt. gen. sg. *ha-pal-ki-ya-an* (e. g. 412/b+ I 13 = ibid. II 12 [Hitt.] *ŠA* AN.BAR; ibid. I 15 and 23 = ibid. II 15 and 23 [Hitt.] AN.BAR-*as* [describing iron objects: pegs, stove]; *KUB* XXVIII 71 Rs. 6; XXVIII 87 Vs. 7; XXVIII 116 III 6), *ha-pal-ki-a-an* (XXVIII 77 I 8), *ha-pal-ki-an* (XXVIII 75 II 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 193; XXVIII 74 Rs. 3), AN.BAR-*an* (XXVIII 72 Vs. 6 ^{D}IB-*mama* AN.BAR-*an* '[idol of] Kammama of iron').

ahlipaki- (*IBoT* I 31 I 10 GAD *ah-li-pa-ki*; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 10:10, 36 [1956]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80), *ahlipak(k)iyas* (*KUB* XLII 75 Vs. 3 1 *piran pedunas ahlipakkiyas* 'one proffering platter of a.'; ibid. 6 2-*e-ma* GAM-*an tiyawas ahlipakiyas* 'two depositional trays of a.'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 189 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 64) was taken by Neu (*Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 140–1 [1982]) as a variant of *hapalki-* (cf. e. g. XLII 11 Vs. 3 *pi*]*ran pedumas* AN.BAR GE_6 'proffering platter of black [i. e. meteoric] iron'), rather than some kind of semi-precious stone; GAD *ahlipaki* would then be 'steel-grey linen' besides (ibid.) TÚG ZA.GÌN 'blue cloth'. For the Hurrian-type metathesis cf. e. g. s. v. *apisi-*.

hapalki- as a metal word seems centered on Anatolia (first attested in Hattic), chiming with the early intimations of the Iron Age in the region (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 15:9–15 [1957], 24:180 [1966]; Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 436–7; S. Košak, in *Kaniššuwar* 125–35 [1986]).

More remote cognates (or borrowed reflexes) may be present metathetically in Gk. *χάλυψ, χάλυβος* 'steel' and its eponymous steelworkers of the Pontus region, Aeschylus' *σιδηροτέκτονες Χάλυβες* (*Prometheus* 715; cf. Laroche, *Revue des études grecques* 86:xix [1973]), and possibly in the "internally compressed" Gk. *χαλκός*, Cretan *καυχός* 'metal', esp. copper or bronze (cf. V. Pisani, *AION-L* 7:46–7 [1966] = *Lingue e culture* 196–7 [1969]). A Ancillotti (*Acme* 28:27–48 [1975]) adventurously analyzed *hapalki-* as a Hattic prefix *ha-* (see s. v. *halmasuitt-*) + **palki-* somehow cognate (assuming *l/r* variation) with Akk. *parzillu* and assorted 'iron' terms in various languages all the way to Lat. *ferrum*.

hapalzil- (n.) name of a pot-dish, 'stew', 'soup' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-pal-zi-el* (*KUB* II 13 II 44–45 UGULA ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM *hapalzel udai* 'the chief cook brings stew'; ibid. 47–48 *nu-kan* ^{UTÚL}*hapalzel dāi n-at* LUGAL-*i parā epzi* 'he takes the [pot of] stew and proffers it to the king'), *ha-pal-zi-il* (*Bo* 1291 II 16; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 109), ^{UTÚL}*ha-pal-zi-ir* (*KUB* XXVII 69 VI 15), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-pal-zi-li* (ibid. 10–12 *n-an-kan* ^{UTÚL}*hapalzili anda wahnuzzi* 'she stirs it into the stew'), ^{UTÚL}*ha-pal-zi-ri* (*HT* 12, 7), instr. sg. *ha-pal-zi-li-it* (*KUB* XII 8 II 2–3 1 ^{DUG}*hariulli* [*ha*]*palzilit suuan tianzi* 'a container filled with stew they place'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 24:35 [1971]).

The *l/r* variation seems dissimilatory in nature. This obscure culinary term resembles the equally opaque pot-dish ^{UTÚL}*ha-pát-tu-ul-li* (n.) in *KUB* XVII 23 I 8.

hapanzuwai- 'be trusted, be dependable', verbal noun **hapanzuwawar*, haplotic in *KBo* I 42 I 13 ^{ŪL} *ha-pa-an-zu-a*[*r*] 'not to be trusted, not being dependable, non-dependability' glossing ibid. (Akk.) *lā taklu* 'not trustworthy, not dependable' (cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:133 [1971]).

**hapanzuwala-* 'dependable' (cf. e. g. *genzuwala-* 'kind' from *genzuwai-* 'be kind'), with denominative abstract noun *hapa(n)zuwalatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-pa-zu-wa-la-an-ni* (*KUB* XXIV 7 IV 51–52 SAL-*as-ma hapazuwalanni* [with gloss-wedges] *aranza nu-kan* LÚ-*as* [*mem*]*iyan* ^{ŪL} *wahnuzzi* 'a wife [who is] steadfast in dependability does not gainsay her husband's word'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:232 [1950]). Cf. for the derivational chain e. g. *kup-* 'conspire',

(redupl.) **kukupala-* 'conspiratorial', *kukupalātar* 'conspiratorialness' (with gloss-wedges).

hapanzuwai- is denominative from **hapanzu-*, *u*-stem adjective derived from **hapann(a)sa-* (durative stem **hapanna-* + Luwoid iterative *-s-*; cf. s. v. *halanza-* and *halenzu-*). The underlying verb **hap-* is **A*$_1$*ebh-* seen in Gk. *(ἐπ)αφάω* 'touch, handle', *ἁφή* 'touch, grip', with preaspiration transferred from *ἅπτω* < **ἄφιω* 'touch, fasten, grasp, engage' (Hom. *ἄαπτος* is formulaic corruption for *ἄεπτος*); perhaps *ἀπαφίσκω, ἀπαφεῖν* 'deceive' contains the reversive *ἀπο-* (like e. g. *ἀπο-κοσμέω* 'dis-array'), obscured and re-prefixed in *ἐξήπαφε* (*Od* 14:379), literally 'dis-engage, be undependable', like *natta hap-* in ^{ŪL} *hapanzuwai-*. Inconclusive Hier. cognates were suggested by H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 101:236–40 (1988).

happarnuwasha- (c.) 'light emanation, beam' (vel sim.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pár-nu-wa-as-hi* (47/e, 8), nom. pl. *ha-ap-pár-nu-wa-as-hi-es* (*KUB* LVII 63 II 16–19 *nepisas* ^{D}UTU-*ui ī*[*sta*]*nzas-tis kuēl misri-w*[*a*]*nza happarnuwashes kuēl lalukkiuwantes* 'sun-god of heaven, whose soul [is] radiant, whose beams [are] luminous'), *ha-ap-pár-nu-wa-as-hi-is* (dupl. LVII 60 II 11–13 *nepisas* ^{D}UTU-*ui istazas-tis kuēl misriwanza happarnuwashis kuēl lalukkiuantes*; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 18, 27); cf. XLVI 44 Rs. 23 -]*as-ha-as mi-is-ri-wa*[-. Cf. Starke, *KZ* 93:257 (1979).

happarnuwatar (n.) 'id.', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ap-pár-nu-wa-tar* (*KUB* VIII 16+24 III 8–10 *takku-kan* MUL *lessallas uizzi nu-ssi-kan happarnuwatar-set parā mekki lalukeszi* 'if a meteor-swarm [lit. star-collection?] comes and its emanation gleams forth greatly'; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:143 [1956]).

For formation cf. *nuntarnu-* 'hurry', *nuntariyasha-, nuntarnumar* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:167, 458; Starke, *KZ* 93:253–4 [1979]). An underlying denominative verb **happariya-* presupposes a noun **happar(a)-* which Čop (*Indogermanica minora* 33–4) connected with Lat. *aprīcus* 'sunny' and Arm. *arph* 'star' (with metathesis); together these cognates match the solar associations of *happarnuwasha-* and the stellar implications of *happarnuwatar*.

hapati- (c.), acc. sg. *ha-pa-a-ti-in* in *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 20 *tamāin hapātin tamai* KUR-*e* 'other h. (and) other land'; ibid. 44 and Rs. 19 *tamāi* KUR-*e tamāinn-a hapātin*. Cf. Götze, *Madd.* 105–6.

Riemschneider (*Geburtsomina* 66) suggested 'wasteland, desert' (with reference to *hapatiya-*, q. v.), vs. *udne* '(inhabited or cultivated) land'.

Neumann (*IF* 76:270 [1971]) and Laroche (*Festschrift H. Otten* 182–3 [1973]) compared Hier. *hapatasa*, gen. pl. adj. of *hapat(i)-* (q. v. s. v. *hapa-*) 'river-land', thus 'riparian or riverine country, river valley'. Laroche assumed an *-at-* derivative 'inundation' from *hapai-* 'to wet' (like e. g. *nahsaratt-* from *nahsariya-*), "concretized" by *-i-*; but the spelling *-t-* (rather than *-tt-*) makes difficulty.

Early interpretation involved the erroneous meaning 'obedient, vassal' (Götze, loc. cit.), thus the direct comparison of *hapati-* with Gk. *ὀπηδός* 'retainer' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:164 [1928], *Comp. Gr.*[1] 75), the assumption that both are interrelated borrowings from a West Semitic **'abad-īm* 'servants' (E. Sapir, *Lg.* 10:274–9 [1934]), the rejection of any tie between the two (e. g. P. Reichert, *RHA* 14:137 [1956]; Frisk, *GEW* 2:402–3; cf. rather *ὀπάων*, Myc. *o-qa-wo-ni*), the postulation that *ὀπηδός* is a thematized cross between *ὀπάων* and an Asianic equivalent of *hapati-* of whatever (e. g. Semitic) origin (R. Lazzeroni, *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* 627–30 [1969]), and the adduction of Lat. *oboediō* 'obey' (V. Machek, *LPosn* 7:80–1 [1959]).

For anthroponymic *Hapati-* see Laroche, *Noms* 59.

hapatiya-, verbal noun *anda ha-pa-ti-ya-wa-ar* in *KBo* I 42 II 30 (cf. *MSL* 13:136 [1971]), glossed by Akk. *mutikkū*, probably equalling *mudīku* 'killing' (rather than *muteqqū* 'obeying'); this sense is reinforced by the context (cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 65–6); partic. nom. pl. c. *ha-pa-a-ti-an-te-es* (XIII 13 Rs. 3, referring to birth-injuries; cf. Riemschneider, op. cit. 62).

Meaning uncertain; for incorrect interpretation as 'obey' see s. v. *hapati-*. Carruba's alternative reading *ha-hat-ti-ya-wa-ar* (*Kratylos* 18:37 [1973]) foundered on the unequivocal spelling of *hapātiantes* (cf. Tischler, *Glossar* 164). Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 330 [1981]) suggested etymological affinity with Gk. *ἀπάτη* 'fraud, deceit'.

Assuming a compound *hapa-tiya-* (cf. e. g. *argatiya-* [*HED* 1–2:147–8] and Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 14), the literal meaning

might be akin to *hapā pai-* 'go to the river'; while the latter is used of a water ordeal (see s. v. *hapa-*), 'step into the river' could be idiomatic for 'get lost, be wasted, get killed' (cf. "jump in the lake").

happena- (c.) 'baking kiln, fire-pit, broiler (oven)' (vel sim.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pí-e-ni* (*KUB* XXXVI 44 IV 8–9 *nu kuwapi* ^{D}UTU-*us mumiezzi* [...-]*i-ku happeni-kku* GIŠ-*i-kku hahhali-kku mumiezzi* 'where[ver] the sun falls, whether it falls into [...] or kiln or tree or bush'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]; *KBo* XIII 216 I 6–7 LUGAL-*us happeni pessiyaizzi* 'the king throws [it] into the fire-pit'; *KUB* LVIII 50 III 9, 12, 15, 19 *happeni pessiezzi* '[king or priest] throws [it] into the fire-pit'; cf. e. g. XXXIV 69+70 I 6 ŠÀ IZI *pessiyazi* 'throws into the fire'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9:98 [1977]; *KBo* XVII 5 II 7 *happeni-ma-an*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 22), *ha-ap-pí-ni* (XI 11 I 6 *n-an-san happini pessieskimi* 'I keep throwing it into the fire-pit'), *ha-ap-pí-na* (VI 34 I 42 *n-asta happina pessiyazzi* 'throws [viz. wax and tallow] into the fire-pit'; ibid. II 6 *n-at happina pessiyazi* 'throws them [viz. sinew and salt] into the fire-pit'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8; *KUB* XXXIX 101 II 7]*happina pessiyazi*; IX 28 II 15–16 *n-an-kan kuinzi n-an anda happina pissiyaizzi* '[the magician] kills it [viz. the goat] and throws it into the broiler'; ibid. 7 *n-an happina suhhai* 'pours it into the broiler'; ibid. 22 *happina*[...] *siyezzi* 'shoves [lit. shoots] into the broiler'), instr. sg. *ha-ap-pí-ni-it* (e. g. *KBo* XV 10 III 69–70 *nu suppa* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG.HI.A ^{UZU}ZAG.LU.HI.A *happinit zanuir* 'they roasted sacrificial meats, entrails, and shoulders by broiler'; ibid. 59 *nu* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ZAG.LU *happinit zanuzi*; ibid. II 63 ^{UZU}ZAG.LU *happinit zanuanzi*; ibid. 23 *nu tūruppus happinit zanuzi* 'he toasts t. [baked goods?] by broiler'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 46, 44, 30, 22; *KUB* XX 88 VI 11 ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ *happinit zanuwanzi* 'entrails [and] heart they roast by broiler'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:115 [1966]; XLI 48 IV 29 ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG-*ma* ^{UZU}ŠÀ *happinit zanuwanzi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 258; LI 1 + LIII 14 II 20–21 ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG.HI.A ^{UZU}ŠÀ.HI.A *hūmanda happinit zanuanzi* 'all entrails [and] hearts they roast by broiler'; ibid. I 22; LIII 4 IV 12 *hūmanda happinit zanuwanzi*; IX 3 I 24 *n-at happinit zanuanzi*; cf. Haas–Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:42, 40, 74, 60 [1984]; XXIV 9 IV 13 *n-at happinit zanuwanzi*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 52; cf. XXXII 128 II 25 *n-at ... pahhuenit zanuwanzi* 'they roast them by fire'; II 13 III 7 *n-at* IZI-*it zanuwanzi*; *KBo* XIII 101

I 10 ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG-*ma* ^{UZU}ŠÀ IZI-*it zanuwanzi*), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-ap-pí-na-as* (*KUB* LVIII 33 IV 22–23 *h]upparan happinas* [*dā*]*i* 'he places the bowl in the broiler'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 264).

There is a plausibly related (nom. pl. c.?) *ha-ap-pí-e-es* (*KBo* IX 126, 11 *happiēs pahhueni ser* [; IV 2 II 56 *ha-ap-pí-e*[-; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:93 [1962]).

The current translation of *happena-* as 'flame, open fire' is contraindicated by the attestations; *happena-* is a concrete spot or object into or onto which the sun can mythically fall and whereby foodstuffs are subjected to *zanu-* 'cook, bake, toast, roast, broil' (cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 54–7); ŠÀ IZI 'into fire' or *pahhuenit* = IZI-*it* 'by fire' are the more general expressions, including open fires.

zanu- is close in meaning to Gk. *ὀπτάω* 'roast, broil, bake', derived from *ὀπτός* 'roasted, broiled', which also supplies the etymon for *happena-* < **A*$_2^{w}$*openo-*, similar to the revamped Gk. *ὀπτάνιον* 'kitchen' (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 34–5), conversely drawing *ὀπτός* out of its obscure isolation. The connection of *happena-* with Gk. *ἰπνός* 'oven' (and by implication the group of OE *ofen* < **úpnos*, Goth. *aúhns* < **úknos*, Swedish *ugn* < **uknós*), advocated by Ivanov (*Etimologija 1977* 145 [1979], *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija 1982* 143 [1983]), is dubious, unless *ἰπνός* can be explained instead as a reduplicate of the root **A*$_2^{w}$*ep-* (**A*$_2^{w}$*i-A*$_2^{w}$*p-nó-*); a better etymon for *oven* is found s. v. *huppar-*.

The adduction of Gk. *ἅπτω* in the sense of 'kindle, set on fire' was advocated by Gusmani (*Incontri linguistici* 4:242–3 [1978]) and Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 330–1 [1981]) but founders on the consistent *-pp-* of *happena-* in the face of Gk. *ἀφή* 'touch; kindling' pointing to IE **bh*. It is still best not do separate *ἅπτω* 'kindle' (as 'touch fire to') etymologically from 'touch'; for a possible cognate in Hittite see rather *hapanzuwai-*.

hapiya- (c.), mostly multiple cultic functionaries, nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-pí-ya-as* (*KUB* XII 7 I 9; *KBo* XXII 218 Rs. 4), ^{LÚ}*ha-a-pí-as* (XII 65 II 5; XXV 169 l.K. 1; XVII 31, 10; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 113), ^{LÚ}*ha-a-pí-ya-as* (*KBo* XVII 42 + *KUB* LVI 46 VI 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 102), ^{LÚ}*ha-a-pi-ya-s(a)* (*IBoT* II 43 III 5), ^{LÚ}*ha-a-pí-es* (sic *KBo* XVII 43 I 16 1 ^{LÚ}*hāpies* ^{LÚ}*hartagass-a* 'one h. and a bear-man'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 105), acc. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-pí-ya-an* (XIX 163 I 20, text with Hattic passages),]*ha-a-pí-an* (*KUB* XXVIII 97 II 10), ^{LÚ}*ha-a-pí-ya-an* (X

66 VI 8 LÚ ^{D}IM-*as* ^{LÚ}*hāpiyan* [...] *pehutezzi* 'the man of the storm-god brings the h.'), nom. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-es* (*KBo* XVII 46 Vs. 11; Neu, *Altheth.* 55; X 31 III 5; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:103; II 12 II 26; cf. ibid. 27 LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA 'wolf-men'; XXI 90 Vs. 15),]*ha-pí-e-s(a)* (XIX 163 I 24), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-e-es* (e. g. XXI 95 I 22), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-i-e-es* (*KUB* VIII 69 III 5–9 *ANA* EZEN *pūruliyas-za mahhan* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hapiyēs unuwashus danzi halkuessarr-a mahhan handanzi* SAL.MEŠ *zintūhiyēss-a mahhan* SÌR GAL SÌR-*RU* 'at the p.-festival how the h. put on their ornaments, and how they ready the supplies, and how the z.-women sing the great song'), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-es* (frequent, e. g. *KBo* XX 16 Rs. 8–9 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpies* LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR[.RA] ŠAH *ANA* ^{LÚ}*hamīni pianzi* 'the h. [and] the wolf-men give the pig to the *haminas*'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 38; similarly e. g. II 12 II 23, 29, 34; II 12 V 5, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 39; XXV 154, 9 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpies hūu halzissa*[*nzi* 'the h. shout *hūu*'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 91), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-e-es* (frequent, e. g. ibid. 33; *Bo* 1291 II 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 109; *KBo* X 27 III 5 and 13; *KUB* XXVIII 97 II 4, text with Hattic passages), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-as* (*KBo* II 12 II 31), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-ya-as* (e. g. XI 44 III 6–7 EGIR-*ŠU-ma* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hapiyas* 2-*ŠU tarkuiskanzi* 'afterwards the h. dance twice'; *KUB* XX 90 IV 6–7 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hapiyas* $^{[TÚG]}$*siknus pessiyanzi* 'the h. doff cloaks'), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-as* (e. g. *KBo* X 27 III 24), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-ya-as* (e. g. XX 32 II 14; ibid. III 12 ^{LÚ}*hāpiyas* [sic] *tarkuwanzi* 'the h. dance'; XXI 100 Rs. 11 and 15; *KUB* XLIV 4 Vs. 6; *IBoT* II 43 III 3), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-ya-s(a)* (ibid. 9 and 10), gen. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pi-an* (*KBo* XXV 31 II 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 79), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-ya-an* (X 31 IV 29–32 *hūmandan* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpiyan unuwashus-(s)mus* KÙ.BABBAR-*as* GUŠKIN-*as* 'the silver and gold ornaments of all the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:105; XXV 47 IV 16), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-pí-ya-as* (e. g. X 21, 5 É $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hapiya*[*s* 'house of the h.'), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-as* (X 27 III 25 *INA* É $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hā*[*pí*]*as*; ibid. 32 *INA* É $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpí*[*as*]), dat.-loc. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-a-pí-as* (e. g. XXV 31 II 17]$^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpias peran huwāi* 'runs before the h.'; XXV 46, 7 *ta-as* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpias piran huw*[*āi*). Cf. Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 5:263–7 (1977); Daddi, *Mestieri* 227–33; Singer, *Festival* 1:150, 164–5.

Frequency in Old Hittite texts and in Hittite-Hattic bilinguals places these somewhat subservient cultic performers in the Hattic religious sphere. The references to their being ornate (*unuwant*[*es* in *KBo* X 27 III 5 and 13) and doffing garments, and their proximity to 'wolf-men' and 'bear-men' point to dressed-up ritual actors of Hattic origin.

happina- 'rich', dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pí-ni* in *KUB* XXXIV 23 I 5 *happini* UR[U-*ri* 'in a rich town' (?). Cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:83, 122 (1956).

happinant- 'rich', [redacted] (*KUB* XXIV 8 I 10–12 KUR-*e-kan istarna apās happinanza* GUD.HI.A-*us-sis* UDU-*us mekkis* 'in the midst of the land he [is] rich, his cattle [and] sheep [are] many'; *KBo* XXIX 76 Vs. 13 [*mā*]*n* BEL SISKUR *happinan*[*za* 'if the offerant [is] wealthy'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:214 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4; XVI 24+25 III 17; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 532 [1979]; *KUB* XVII 24 II 17 [with gloss-wedge] and XXVII 59 I 26 [opp. ibid. 16 and 28 respectively ^{LÚ}MAŠDÁ 'poor man, pauper']; III 95, 7; *IBoT* III 94, 9; *KBo* IX 139 Vs. 4), [redacted] (XXII 1, 27 [OHitt.] *ta* ^{LÚ}*happinandas īstēni* 'you do the rich man's [bidding]'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), [redacted] (IV 14 II 52; context s. v. *asiwant-*). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:270.

happinahh- 'enrich', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pí-na-ah-ha-ah-hi* (*KUB* XLI 32 Rs. 10), 3 sg. pres. act. *happinah*[*zi* or *happinah*[*hi* (XLVIII 99, 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:174 [1965]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-ap-pí-na-ah-hu-un* (*KBo* XIX 51 IV 11; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 290 [1977]), 2 sg. imp. act. in *KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 35 *n-at luluwāi happinahhi-ya-at* 'make them prosper and enrich them' (cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:100 [1921]; A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]), with par. *KBo* XXI 48 Vs. 8]*luluwāi happinahhi-ya*[-. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:430.

happines- 'become rich' (NÍG.TUKU), 2 sg. pres. act. NÍG.TUKU-*ti* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 16 'you get rich'; cf. R. Stefanini, *Atti la Colombaria* 29:7 [1964]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pí-ni-es-zi* (XLIII 4 I 5; XXVI 43 Vs. 56; cf. contexts s. v. *asiwant-*), *ha-ap-pí-ni-es-si* (sic 274/p, 5; cf. ibid. 6 *asiwante*[-).

Luw. *happinatt-* (c.) 'wealth', acc. pl. *ha-ap-pí-na-at-ta-an-za* 'riches' (XXXVI 49 IV 9). Cf. *Dict. louv.* 71.

happina(nt)- < IE *H_1op-en-o-(nt-)*; cf. Lat. *ops* 'wealth', *opulentus* (<**openont-* by dissimilation; cf. O. Szemerényi, *Glotta* 33:275–82 [1954]), Skt. *ápnas-* 'wealth', Avest. *afnahvant-* 'wealthy' (<**opnes-*), ON *efni* 'substance' (<**opniyom*), perhaps Gk. ὄμπνη 'nourishment' (with anticipation of nasal), possibly Gk. ἄφενος 'wealth' (borrowed from Anatolian according to O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European* 146–7 [1964]; "Pelasgian" interpretations summarized in A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* 70 [1961]).

Cf. also *IEW* 780; Laroche, *RHA* 11:41–2 (1950); Benveniste, *Hitt.* 13; O. Masson, *RPh* 39:235 (1965). Laroche (*BSL* 58.1:71–3 [1963]) implausibly postulated an underlying verb *hap-* in *KBo* XI 34 I 4–5 *takku-smas ŪL-ma hapzi* (not 'if there is no wealth for them' but rather 'if it does not work out for them'; cf. s. v. *hap*[*p*]- and see also Neu, *Interpretation* 45).

Oettinger (*MSS* 40:143–53, esp. 148–9 [1981]) set up a "Proto-Hittite" heteroclitic **hapḗr*/**hapén-* supposedly underlying both *happir-* (q. v.) and *happin-ant-*, neglecting the early semantic and derivational differentiation into 'work, business' and 'wealth' which is paralleled by Skt. *ápas-* vs. *ápnas-* and Lat. *opus* vs. *ops*, *opulentus* (<*openont-*). Claiming similar unity, S. Kimball (*Festschrift for H. Hoenigswald* 185–92 [1987]) argued inconclusively for overall original nonapophonic *o*-vocalism (*hap-* < **A_2^wep-*).

happir-, happar- (n.) 'business, trade; compensation, payment, price' (ŠÁM; *KUB* XIII 6 II 8 *nu-za-kan* ŠÁM *ser datteni* 'you take payment' corresponds to XIII 4 IV 63–64 *nu-za-kan happar sarā dāi* 'he takes payment'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372, 396 [1934]), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ap-pí-ir* (*KBo* XII 70 Rs. 14 and 15; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:780, 782 [1968]), *ha-ap-pár*, *ha-a-ap-pár* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 27 Vs. 16–17 + XXIII 77, 87–88 *mān taksulas* ^{URU}*Hatt*[*usi* ...]*izzi nu-za kuin* URU-*an* ^{LÚ}*BEL MADGALTI maniyahzi nu-za happar apiya ie*[*ddu* ... *dame*]*dani* URU-*ri happar-zit le iezzi* 'if an ally comes [?] to Hattusas, whatever town the watch commander assigns, there let him engage in trade, ... in another town he shall not engage in his trade'; *KBo* VI 4 IV 37 *happar le kuiski iyazi* 'let no one ply trade'; par. VI 2 II 49–50 [= *Code* 1:48, OHitt.] *hāppar le* [*ku*]*iski īzzi*; *KUB* XXVI 19 II 9 *happar le iyat*[*teni*; XIII 4 IV 74 *nu-wa-nnas happar dāwēn* 'we took compensation'; ibid. I 48–49 *nu-smas sumes* ... *happar daskatteni* 'you accept compensation'; similarly ibid. II 65 and 66; XXVI 19 I 15 *happar pāi* 'gives compensation, makes payment'; XXIII 77a Rs. 4 and 5), [redacted] (*KBo* VI 10 III 19 [= *Code* 2:46]; *KUB* XXIX 29 Vs. 11 [= *Code* 2.46] *hant*]*ezziyas-pat happari-us wāsi* 'he buys them at the first one's price'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 70; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 107), [redacted] (*KBo* VI 2 II 51), *ha-ap-pár-ra-az* (par. VI 4 IV 39). Cf. Goetze, *Lg.* 11:268–9 (1935).

happarai-, happirai-, haprai-, happariya-, hapriya- 'trade, sell, deliver, dispense' (*KUB* XXXIV 14, 13 *happiraiz*[*zi* matches IV 63 III 27 [Akk.] *ipaššaru* [from *pašāru*]), [redacted] (XVII 28 I 24), [redacted] (XXIII 77, 64), [redacted] (*KBo* XIX I II 17 [OHitt.] and VI 3 II 36 [= *Code* 1:39]; cf. Otten–Souček, *AfO* 21:1 [1966]; VI 10 III 28 [= *Code* 2:49]), *ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi* (e. g. VI 4 IV 40 [= *Code* 1:48] *kuí*]*t happiraizzi n-at-za* EGIR-*pa* [*dāi* 'what [he] trades that he shall take back'; *KUB* XIII 4 II 45 *mān-at-za* ZI-*azza-ma happiraizzi n-at-si* SAG.DU-*as* UG_6-*tar* 'but if he sells it as he pleases, there [is] capital punishment for him'), *ha-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi* (ibid. 46, 48), *ha-ap-ra-iz-zi* (XXVI 56 II 5 [= *Code* 1:26b]; VIII 35 Vs. 14 *kasza kisari nu-za attas* DUMU-*an* KÙ.BABBAR-*i hapr*[*aizzi* 'famine occurs and a father sells his son for silver'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RHR* 116:139 [1937]), *h*]*a-ap-ri-iz-zi* (*KBo* XVI 24+25 III 19; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 532, 551 [1979]), [redacted] (*KUB* XXIII 72 Rs. 58), [redacted] (*KBo* VI 26 II 21–22 [= *Code* 2:76] *DIN* LUGAL *happarranzi* 'they dispense the king's justice'), *ha-ap-pí-ra-a-an-zi* (V 4 Rs. 40 *nasma-an-zan parā happirānzi* 'or they sell him off'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:66), [redacted] (III 22 Vs. 20 [OHitt.] ^{D}IM-*ni happariénun* 'I delivered to the storm-god'; cf. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 1:276 [1929]; Otten, *MDOG* 83:40 [1951]; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10, 40), [redacted] (VI 2 II 52 [= *Code* 1:48, OHitt.] *kuit happarāit ta-z āppa dā*[*i*] 'what [he] traded he shall take back'); [redacted], nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ap-pí-ra-an* (*KUB* XIII 2 IV 16 *nasma-za happiran kuiski kuitki harzi* 'or anyone has sold anything'; similarly XIII 1 IV 6; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51, 62); iter. 2 pl. pres. act. in XXVI 19 II 7 *li-e ha-ap-pí-ri-is-kat-te-ni* 'do not trade!'. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:501; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 80–2, *Die Welt des Orients* 11:76–89 (1980); Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 352-3.

Lyc. *epirijeti* (*TLy* 111:6–7 *tise tise prñnawati se-de-tti epirijeti* 'to whoever inhabits and also sells [it]'), with *-tti epirijeti* matching Hitt. *-za happiriyazi*. Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 82; Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:171–2 (1958).

Lyd. *afariś* (Sardis 23:6) 'sale deed' or the like. Cf. Carruba, *Istituto di Glottologia, Quaderni* 4:35 (Bologna 1960), *MIO* 8:396 (1963); Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 52; V. V. Ševoroškin, *Etimologija 1964* 157 (1965), *Lidijskij jazyk* 47 (1967).

The variation *happir-* : *happar-* : *hapr-* reflects stem-ablaut, as in e. g. *pir-* : *parn-*; on graphic parallels cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 108. The base-meaning being 'business' or 'prestation', there is reason to compare (cf. already E. Sapir, *Lg.* 12:179 [1936]) Ved. *ápas-* 'work, deed', Lat. *opus* 'work, task', ON *efna* 'do, accomplish', IE $*A_2^{e}ep$- (*IEW* 780). In Indic (Ved. *ápas-* 'cult-act') and Latin (*operor* > OHG *opfarōn* 'sacrifice') there has been some religious specialization of meaning, and in Hittite either legal (*Code* 2:76 *DIN* LUGAL *happarranzi*) or mercantile specification. Cf. also Goetze, *Lg.* 30:403 (1954).

An analysis *ha-* (prefix) + a cognate of Gk. *πέρνημι* 'sell' (Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 108) is implausible. Allegations of non-Indo-European origin (e. g. P. Fronzaroli, *Parola del Passato* 14:278 [1959]; Gusmani, *Lessico* 27) are unfounded.

V. Pisani (*Paideia* 19:282 [1964]) connected with *happar-* Gk. *κάπηλος*, Lat. *caupō* 'shopkeeper, huckster, innkeeper', which latter would have to be "Mediterranean" loans from Anatolian (with *k-* < *h-* as in proper names of the type *Κάσιος*, *Κασμῖλος*; cf. Puhvel, in *Evidence for Laryngeals* 84 [1965]).

Cf. *happina-, happir(iy)a-, hippara-*.

happir(iy)a- (c.) 'town' (URU), nom. sg. URU-*pí-ra-as* (*KUB* XXVI 62, 8; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:238 [1950]), URU-*ri-as* (*KBo* X 2 I 26; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46 [1965]; *IBoT* III 94, 6), acc. sg. URU-*pí-ra-an* (*ABoT* 32 I 4), URU-*ya-an* (*KUB* XXV 135 Rs. 19; *KBo* V 6 I 46), gen. sg. URU-*ya-s*(*a-an*) (XXXII 14 II 21), (OHitt.) URU-*ri-ya*-[*an* (III 22 Rs. 70), URU-*ya-an* (III 22 Vs. 55; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 12, 57), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-ap-pí-ri* (V 6 I 17 *kuyēs-ma-kan hāppiri* EGIR-*pa pantes* 'but some had gone back to town'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]), URU-*ri-ya* (e. g. *VBoT* 24 II 23 *namma-at anda* URU-*riya iyannianzi* 'then they go into the town'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:10 [1927]), abl. sg. URU-*ri-az* (*KUB* IX 15 II 18; XXXV 16, 7).

URU-*ri-a-se-es-sar* (*KBo* IV 4 IV 6; cf. Götze, *AM* 134; *KUB* XXIII 116 I 6), URU-*ya-se-es-sar* (*KBo* VI 34 III 29) may be *happiriya-* + *asessar* 'town-settlement' (v. s. v. *asas-*); cf. e. g. *tuzziyasessar* 'army-camp' (s. v. *tuzzi-*), *ari*(*ya*)*sessar* 'oracular site' (s. v. *ariya-*). Cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 46. Kammenhuber (*MIO* 2:406, 416 [1954], *KZ* 77:183 [1961]) improbably analyzed **happiri-* as

locative, thus 'assembly in a town' > 'town population', rather than taking the whole as a straight determinative compound.

Originally denom. adj. **happiriya-* from *happir-* (q.v.), thus '(place) of trade', hence 'trading-post, market-town'. The form *happira-* is probably not of Indo-European standing (on the lines of e.g. **koryos* : **koros* 'host, army') but rather a Hittite back-formational variant from oblique cases like dat.-loc. sg. *happiri*. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:186; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 106–9.

V. Machek (*LPosn* 7:79–80 [1959]) improbably compared Lat. *oppidum* 'town'.

hapsal(l)i-, hassalli- (n.) '(foot)stool; trivet' (GÌR.GUB; *GANNUM*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. ^{GIŠ}*ha-as-sa-al-li* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 102 I 22–23 *ANA* ^{D}*Kumarbi-wa* ^{GIŠ}*hassalli* [*a*]*sanna tiyandu* 'for K. a stool to sit on let them set!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:150 [1951]; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 24 ^{GIŠ}*ha*]*ssalli* ^{GIŠ}NÁ.HI.A 'stool [and] bed'; dupl. *KUB* XLIV 59 Vs. 8 ^{GIŠ}*hassall*[*i*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134; *İBoT* II 121 Rs. 4 SAL.LUGAL-*as* ^{GIŠ}*hassall*[*i* 'the queen's stool'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 136; *KBo* V 2 I 35 *mān* EN SISKUR.SISKUR SAL-*za nu-ssi* ^{GIŠ}*hassalli* 'if the offerant [is] a woman, [there is] for her a stool'; *KUB* X 54 V 7), ^{GIŠ}*ha-ap-sa-al-li* (dupl. X 24 I 24; KBo VIII 121, 9; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 56 [1982]), *ha-ap-sa-a-al-li* (XXV 72, 13; XX 83 I 10; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:82), ^{GIŠ}*ha-ap-sa-li* (*KUB* I 17 II 9 3 *TAPAL* ^{GIŠ}*hapsali* 'three pairs of stools'), ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB-*is* (sic *KBo* XX 8 I 19 *patān-a* ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB-*is danzi* 'they take a foot-stool'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70), gen. sg. or pl. ^{GIŠ}*ha-as-sa-al-li-as* (*KUB* XII 5 I 11–13 *mān* DINGIR-*LUM asesanzi n-an-san* ^{GIŠ}*hassall*[*iyas*] *kuedas asesanzi nu* 4 NINDA *LAPKU* ^{LÚ}A[ZU *dāi*] *n-as* ^{GIŠ}*hassallias* GÌR.MEŠ *kuwapi*[*tta* 'when they seat the deity, on what stool they seat her, the magician takes four *lapku*-bread and [places them] about the legs of the stool'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 20:51, 57–8 [1962]), *ha-ap-sa-al-li-as* (XLII 59 Rs. 22 GAD ^{GIŠ}*hapsallias* 'footstool-cloth'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 134 [182]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 342), dat.-loc. *ANA* ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB (XXIX 8 I 58–60 *nu* EN SISKUR.SISKUR *mān* LÚ *n-as-zan ŠA* ^{D}IM ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A *esari* [*m*]*ān-as* SAL-*ma n-as-zan ŠA* ^{D}*Hepat ANA* ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB *esari* 'the offerant, if a man, seats himself on the storm-god's chair, but if a woman, seats herself on Hebat's stool'), dat.-loc. pl. ^{GIŠ}*ha-as-sa-al-li-ya-as* (XXX 24 II 16 *n-an-san* ^{GIŠ}*hassalliyas* GUŠKIN *asesanzi* 'they set it [viz. a dead woman's likeness] upon a golden stool'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60), ^{GIŠ}*ha-ap-sa-al-li-ya-as* (XXXIX 14 IV 7–8 *n-an-san* ^{GIŠ}*hapsalliyas asesanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 82), ^{GIŠ}*ha-ap-sa-li-ya-as* (XXX 15 Vs. 9 *n-at-san* ^{GIŠ}*hapsaliyas tianzi* 'they place them [viz. a dead woman's bones] upon a stool'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:82 [1966]).

Like the largely synonymous ^{GIŠ}*kuppissar* (q.v.; Luw. ^{GIŠ}*kuppessa*, ^{GIŠ}kuppissa = ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB), ^{GIŠ}*hassalli* is found in maieutic and obstetric context (cf. Otten, *Bestimmung* 42–3; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 25–6); it was quintessentially a woman's seat, in life and death (Kumarbi is the only attested male to be offered one, and he was capable of pregnancy). The cluster *-ps-* being stable in Hittite (*lipsai-*, *Apzuwa*), *hapsalli-* is not likely as the etymological prototype. If the original meaning is rather 'birth-stool' (supplanted by the standard *harnau-*), *hassalli-* and *hapsalli-* may both be dialectal outcomes of **ham(p)salli-*, i.e. **hams-alli-* 'birther' (see s.v. *hammasa-*, *has*[*s*]*-*, *hassa-*; cf. e.g. *tapariy-alli-* 'commander'). An intermediate sense between 'birth support' and 'footstool' may be 'support-stand, trivet' (^{GIŠ}*GA-AN-NU-UM*; e.g. *KBo* XXX 147 Rs. 3 *hapsalli*; dupl. *KUB* XXV 3 III 26 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM ^{GIŠ}*GANNUM danzi* 'the cooks take a trivet'; cf. E. Badalì, *Vicino Oriente* 6:52–3 [1986]; *KBo* XXX 69 III 19 [*n*]*u* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM ^{GIŠ}*hapsalli danzi*; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:84 [1988]; *KUB* XX 76 I 18–19 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM ^{GIŠ}*GANNUM*.HI.A *tianzi* 'the cooks set out trivets'; cf. Laroche, *OLZ* 52:137 [1967]; H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 48, 56, 67 [1982]).

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 331–3 [1981]) suggested a connection with Old Prussian *abse*, OHG *aspa* 'aspen', allegedly a woodstuff for making stools.

happu- dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pu-i* (*KUB* XXX 34 III 13–14 *hal*[*iyas*] *happui* 'into the h. of a corral'), *ha-ap-pu-ú-i* (par. XXX 36 II 5–6 GUD-*un mān happuui* EGIR-*an pissier* '[they] have thrown [me] like an ox into a h.'), *ha-ap-pu-u-i* (par. *KBo* XIII 131 Vs. 12 KALAG.GA-*i happuui* 'into a strong h.').

happutri- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-(ap-)pu-ut-ri* (*IBoT* I 29 Vs. 37–38 *nu* 1 *haputri* GUD *suppiyahhandan turiyanzi* 'they harness one purified ox to a h.'; *KBo* VI 10 II 33 [= *Code* 2.31] *takku* ^{KUŠ}*happut*['if [anyone steals] a [leather] h.'; X 45 IV 26–27 [with dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 25–26] *wasduli ishanī hurtiya happutri hamenkaddu n-at*

ape parā huuittiyaddu 'let them tie a h. to the sin, bloodshed, and curse, and let them drag them forth'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-ap-pu-ut-ri* (*KBo* XVI 61 Rs. 8 2 KUŠ*happutri* GUD.HI.A *ADDIN* 'I gave two cattle-h.'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 60–3; *Bo* 1782, 4 3 KUŠ*happutri*).

hapui- (= *happuwai-*?), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-pu-ú[-it-t]a-ri* (*KBo* XX 82 II 17), *ha-pu-it-ta-ri* and 3 sg. imp. midd. ibid. 21–22 *nu* GUD-*us mahhan hapuittari* DUMU-*tarr-a ANA* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *QAT-AMMA hapuittaru* 'even as the ox is corralled (?), even so let the sonship be attached to king and queen'.

Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 46–7.

happu- probably denotes a means of attaching cattle within a pen or corral (cf. Lat. *cōpula* < **co-apula* s. v. *happ-*); *happutri-* is a derivative denoting some leather part of harness; *hap(p)u(wa)i-* may be denominatively derived from *happu-*.

hapupi-, hapupu-, hapupa- (c.), name of a bird, probably 'owl', nom. sg. *ha-pu-pí-es* (*KUB* XXXVI 37 II 4–6 [emended from dupl. XII 61 III 6–8] [D*IŠTAR eni* INIM.ME]Š *IŠME n-as-za-kan ANA* D*Elkuni*[*rsa*] [ŠU-*i anda* GAL-*is*] DÙ-*at hapupes-ma-za kisat* [*n-as-za-kan kutti-ssi*] *esat* 'I. heard those words, and at E.'s hand she became a GAL, an owl she became and upon his wall she perched'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 1:142–3 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:27 [1968]), *ha-p*]*u-pa-as*MUŠEN (?; XII 13, 2), acc. sg. *ha-pu-pí-in* (*KBo* XVII 103 Rs. 22 *nu* 1 SÚR. DÙ.AMUŠEN 1 *hapupin*MUŠEN 1 ['one falcon, one owl, one ...'; *KUB* XLVI 48 Rs. 17 *hapupin*MUŠEN EGIR-*ŠU-ma* MUŠEN *HURRI* EGIR-*ŠU-ma kipritin* 'an owl, thereupon a sheldrake, thereupon a *kipriti*'; cf. ibid. 12 and 14 SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN; *KBo* IX 119 IV 9–11 1 Á[MUŠEN] 1 SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN 1 *IRIBU*MUŠEN [1 *ha*]*pupin* 1 M[UŠEN *HURRI*] 1 *surasuran*MUŠEN [1 *k*]*ipritin*M[UŠEN 'one eagle, one falcon, one crow, one owl, one sheldrake, one *surasura*, one *kipriti*'), *ha-pu-pu-un* (XV 37 I 4–5 *nu hapupun*MUŠEN *danzi* 'they take an owl'; XXIII 85 Rs. 2 *nu hapupu*[*n*MUŠEN *danzi*), instr. sg. *ha-pu-pí-it* (XXII 108 II 6–7 *IŠTU* ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN *hapupit*MUŠEN MUŠEN *HURRI* 'with eagle, falcon, owl, and sheldrake'; *KUB* XXX 31 + XXXII 114 IV 37–38 *IŠTU* ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN *hapupit* MUŠEN *HURRI*; XXIX 8 II 6–7 *IŠTU* ÁMUŠEN SÚ[R.DÙ.AMUŠEN] *hapupit*; 87/e Vs. 3 *hapupit* MUŠEN *HURRI*).

The interpretation 'owl' is likely, because in the crucial attestation in the Canaanite myth of Elkunirsa and Asertu (*KUB* XXXVI 37 II 4–6, quoted above) the parallelistic structure repeats GAL-*is* DÙ-*at* with *hapupes-ma-za kisat*, where GAL-*is* (= *zeris* 'cup') has been deflected from its sumerographic equivalence to the akkadogram GAL-*ZU*, DUG*GĀZI* (i. e. Akk. *kāsu*; cf. Ugar. *ks*, Hebr. *kōs* 'cup') to a rebus-like representation of a Semitic homophone meaning 'owl' (cf. Güterbock, *RHA* 22:97–8 [1964]; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 23:10–14 [1965], who thought that a translator of the original had confused the homophones; this resembles rather GIŠPA-*ti* for *Hatti*, on the basis of Akk. *haṭṭu* 'staff'). For repetition of sumerogram by phonetic spelling in parallelistic iteration in translation poetry cf. e. g. *KUB* XXXVI 7a III 38–39 + XVII 7 III 9–10 INIM.MEŠ-*ar*-[*ta*] *kue memiskimi nu-mu uddanas* GEŠTUG-*an pa*[*rā*] *lagān harak* 'what words to thee I speak, to my words hold thy ear bent', or XXXIII 106 II 21–22 *nu* D*É-A-as* GIŠIG-*as* [5-*anki nu namma*] D*É-A-as* GIŠ*arasiyas* 5-*anki hinkueni* 'at Ea's doors five times, and again at Ea's doors five times let us bow'.

The general phonesthetic resemblance of *hapupi-* to Lat. *būbō* 'owl' (Friedrich in *HW Erg.* 3:14) is well taken; similar onomatopoeia obtains in such ornithonymy as Arm. *yopop*, Gk. ἔποψ (Hes. ἄπαφος), Lat. *upupa* 'hoopoe', which has also been adduced (B. Landsberger, *Die Welt des Orients* 3:264 [1966]; V. Pisani, *Paideia* 22:403 [1967]; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:22 [1967], *JAOS* 87:354 [1967]; M. Vieyra, *RA* 75:176–9 [1981]).

hapuri- (c.) 'prepuce, foreskin' (?), acc. sg. *ha-pu-ri-in* (*KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 24–26 *n-as mān passaris n-an* [...] [...] ŪL *passaris n-an hapurin* EGIR-*pa damaszi* [...] [...] *iskizzi namma-an hapurin parā huittiy*[*azi* 'if he [is] circumcised [?], ... him ...; [if he is] not circumcised [?], he forces back his h. [partitive apposition, literally 'him, his h.'?], salves ..., and then draws his h. [partitive apposition?] forward'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20, 24–5).

Plausibly cognate with *hapus-* 'penis' (cf. Neu, *IF* 82:275 [1977]; M. Poetto, *Paideia* 32:321 [1977]), resembling in formation *ukturi-* 'permanent, everlasting; cremation place'. Perhaps originally adjectival 'having a foreskin' (Lat. *praeputiatus*), from a **hapur-* (cf. e. g. *henkur-*), antonymously parallel to *passari-* 'circumcised' (?, q. v.; possibly from **pósr̥* 'prepuce', cf. Gk. πόσθη 'prepuce' beside πέος

'penis'); the meaning 'prepuce' would then be a secondary nominalization of the adjective, arising in partitive apposition ('him, having prepuce' > 'him, prepuce' = 'his prepuce').

Van Windekens (*Orbis* 27:318–9 [1978]) separated *hapuri-* from *hapusa-* (sic) (for which he postulated the proto-meaning 'stalk', with secondary *hapusas-* [sic] 'penis') and compared Lat. *operīre* 'cover' (**op-wer-i-*, with weak grade **A*$_2^w$*ep-ur-i-* in *hapuri-*).

hapus- (n.), *hapusant-* (c., used as subject of transitive verb; see *HED* 1–2:476–7) 'penis', nom. sg. c. *ha-a-pu-sa-an-za*, gen. sg. n. *ha-a-pu-ú-sa-as* (*KUB* IX 4 I 30–31 *hāp]usanza hāpūsas* GIG-[*an kar*]*apzi* 'penis lifts ailment of penis'; cf. ibid. 27 *tāpūwasanza tāpūwassas* GIG-*an* KI.MIN 'rib ailment of rib likewise'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-a-pu-ú-s(a)*, dat.-loc. sg. neut. *ha-a-pu-ú-sa-as-si*, *ha-pu-sa-si* (sic, for *hapussi*; ibid. 13 *h]āpūs-a-kan hāpūsassi handan* 'penis [is] matched to penis'; cf. ibid. 9 *t]āpūwass-a-kan tāpūwas⟨si⟩* KI.MIN 'rib to rib likewise'; par. IX 34 II 31 -*]kan hapusasi* KI.MIN; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:38–40 [1957]).

hapusessar, hapusassar (n.), *hapusas(n)ant-* (c., as subject of transitive verb) '(arrow-)shaft', denominative noun like e. g. *ispatuzzessar, ispantuzziassar* from *ispantuzzi-* 'libation-vessel' (q. v. s. v. *ispant-*), nom. sg. c. *ha-pu-sa-as-sa-an-za*, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-pu-ú-se-es-sar* (*KUB* VII 1 II 16 *ŠA* GI *hapūsessar* 'arrow-shaft[s]'; wrongly Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *ha-pu-sa-as-sa* (cf. e. g. *hannessa*[*r*], DI-*assar* s. v. *hann*[*a*]-; ibid. 35–36 *ŠA* GI-*ma-wa hapusassanza mahhan hapusassa* EGIR-*anda* ÚL *wemiazzi* 'even as the shaft of an arrow does not catch up from behind with [another] shaft'), *ha-a-pu-sa-as-sa* (XVII 8 IV 4–5 *ŠA* G]I-*as hāpusassa datten* 'take arrow-shafts'; cf. Götze, *Arch. Or.* 5:11 [1933]; G. Kellerman, *Hethitica VIII* 217 [1987]; wrongly Laroche, *RHA* 23:166 [1965], and Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 436).

The stem was wrongly posited as *hapusas-* by Goetze (*JAOS* 74:188 [1954]; cf. C. Watkins, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 456 [1982]). Unlike several synonyms which relate to babytalk (*lalu-*), maleness (*pisnatar*), begetting (*hassumar*), or anatomical euphemism (*genu-*), *hapus-* seems to be a basic term for 'penis'. Stems in *-us-* being rare in Hittite (*kalmus-* 'lituus'), *hapus-* may be a formational relic (cf. Gk. *δελφύς* 'womb') with a possible cognate in *hapuri-* (q. v.) and

in Pal. *ha-pí-it-ta-la-* (*KUB* XXXII 18 I 11 *hapittalan-kuwar-an sittan* 'sting him in the h.!', besides ibid. 13 *s]āuittiran-kuwar-an sīttan* 'sting him in the horn!'; cf. Oettinger, *KZ* 99:48 [1986]). Despite the scriptio facilior *hap-* (rather than *happ-*), the plausible attachment is with *hap(p)essar* 'member, limb' (literally 'attachment', q. v. s. v. *hap[p]-*), as membrum virile and metonymically 'stick, shaft', root-related with Lat. *aptus* 'joined', *cōpula* 'bond'.

Other extra-Anatolian comparisons are dubious, thus Gk. *ὀπυίω* 'penetrate sexually, wed' (and indirectly Etr. *puia* 'wife'; Van Windekens, *Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 916–8 [1979] [< **A*$_2^w$*epus-yo-*, comparing Skt. *púṣyati* 'nourish']; C. Watkins, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 457 [1982] [< **A*$_2^w$*pus-yo-*]; H. Rix, *Kratylos* 30:72 [1985]), or Skt. *ápsas-* 'protruding body part, breast, forehead, tusk', Toch. A *āpsā* 'limbs' (H. W. Bailey, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* 1:137–45 [1969]); at best *ápsas-* may go back to the same root **A*$_1$*ep-* 'join, attach' as Hitt. *hap(p)-*.

hap(p)us(s)- 'reclaim, resume, reschedule, make up for' (regularly with particle *-kán*), 1 sg. pres. act. (Luwoid) *ha-pu-us-wí* (342/f Vs. 8 *n-as-kan* 2-*ŠU hapuswi* 'I make up for them twofold'), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-pu-us-zi* (*KUB* XVII 25 I 8–10 [emended from XVII 26 I 8–10] *nu-ssi-ssan suē*[*l* INA SI-*ŠU*] *hamanki suēl-ma-kan ŠA* [... *alpuemar*] EGIR-*pa hapuszi* 'ties a thread to its horn, but a thread of ... makes up for the trimming'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-pu-sa-an-zi* (e. g. XXVII 1 I 1–4 *nu-kan ANA* ^{D}*IŠ*[*TAR*] *annalli annallan* SISKUR *hapusanzi ANA* ^{D}*IŠTAR*] *walliwalli-ma ŠA* ^{I}*Mursili annalla*[*n*] SISKUR ÚL *hapusanzi* 'for I. of old they resume the old ritual, but for I. the mighty of Mursilis they do not resume the old ritual'; ibid. 13 *hapusanzi-ma-an-kan* 'they resume it'; ibid. 22 MU.KAM.HI.A-*pat-kan mēnas* SISKUR *hapusanzi* 'they resume the ritual of the years involved'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75; V 7 Vs. 34–35 NINDA KUR.RA UD-*MI-ma-kan* 2-*ŠU hapusanzi* 'they will make up for the daily breadloaves twofold'; *KBo* IV 13 IV 6 *mān-kan* MU.KAM.HI.A *sakuwantariyan ta-kkan* GUD.HI.A UDU.HI.A *hapusanzi* 'if years [have] been overlooked, they make up the cattle [and] sheep'; ibid. II 25 EGIR-*anda tiyan natta-kan hapusanzi* '[what was] put off they do not make up for'; ibid. III 17 EGIR-*anda tiyanza* [sic] *natta-kan hapusanzi*; *KUB* II 8 I 33 *natta-kan hapusanzi*; XXV 18 III 12 ÚL-*at-kan hapusanzi* 'they do not make up for it'; XVI 66, 5 and 6 [with gloss-wedges]), *ha-pu-us-sa-an-zi* (V 7 Vs. 11 EZEN]TU *kuit karasnuir*

n-as-kan 2-*ŠU hapussanzi* 'because they neglected the monthly festival, they make up for them [viz. the offerings] twofold'; XVIII 51 II 18 *n-as*] 2-*ŠU hapussanzi*), *h]a-ap-pu-us-sa-an-zi* (XVI 2 IV 11), *ha-pu-sa-zi* (XX 26 VI 9 *nu-kan* EZEN *UL hapusaz[i]* 'they do not resume the festival'), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-pu-us-du* (XIII 4 III 43 *n-asta-[kan]* EZEN-*an hapusdu* 'let him reschedule the festival'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:384 [1934]); partic. *hap(p)usant-* 'reclaimed, previously used', gen. sg. *ha-ap-pu-sa-an-da-as* (*KBo* VI 26 II 48 [= *Code* 2:82] *ŠA* TÚG *happusandas* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR '[the price] of a second-hand dress [is] twelve shekels silver' [vs. ibid. 48–49 thirty shekels for a TÚG SIG 'fine dress' and twenty shekels for a TÚG SÍG ZA.GÌN 'blue wool dress']), *ha-pu-sa-an-da-as* (dupl. *KUB* XIII 14 Vs. 7 *ŠA* TÚG *hapusandas* 12[]); Luwoid partic. in TÚG *ha-pu-sa-am[-* (*KBo* VII 25, 3); verbal noun *ha-ap-pu-us-su-wa-ar* (XXVI 9 + VIII 10 I 5), gen. sg. *ha-pu-us-su-u-w[a-as* (*KUB* V 7 Vs. 16 ^{DUG}*hūppar hapussūw[as* 'bowl for recovering [viz. the poured libamen]').

The base-meaning may be 'reclaim' (in the sense of 'recover', distinct from *sarnik-* 'repair'), developed from 'cry out for', like Lat. *reclamāre*. With the scriptio difficilior *ha-ap-pu-us-* pointing to etymological **p*, cf. perhaps Gk. *ἠπύω*, Doric and Arcadian *ἀπύω* 'call out to, invoke, summon' (< **āpus-*), also 'call to account' (Arc. *απυεσθω ο αδικημενος τον αδικεντα* 'let the wronged party call the wrongdoer to account'); cf. *βριήπυος* 'loud-shouting' (*Iliad* 13:521). Cf. Puhvel, *Hanǰamana* (I.J.S. Taraporewala Centennial Tribute) 30–1 (1989).

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 336 [1981]) compared Gk. *παύω* 'stop', positing a proto-meaning 'put off, tarry'; but *hapus-* in its attestations is the very semantic opposite of 'put off, omit, overlook, neglect'. Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 189) saw Luwian origin and essayed a reconstruction **A*$_1$*bhew-s-* or **A*$_1$*pew-s-*, without etymology.

haputi- (n.) 'lounging chair' (^{GIŠ}GU.ZA GÍD.DA 'chaise longue'), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-pu-u-ti* (*KBo* IX 128, 8 3 ^{GIŠ}*hapūti* 3 ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB 'three lounging chairs [and] three footstools'), ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA GÍD.DA (XXI 85 I 42 GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM 2 ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA GÍD.DA *hassī piran katta dāi* 'the chef de cuisine sets down two lounging chairs before the fireplace'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-pu-u-ti-ya* (ibid. 46–47 NINDA KUR.RA *parsiyanzi*

n-an-san ^{GIŠ}*hapūtiya hassī piran tianzi* '[they] break a breadloaf and place it on the lounging chair before the fireplace'.

Origin unknown. Van Windekens (*Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 1:39–40 [1980]) improbably reconstructed a compound **hapa-uti-*, comparing *hap(p)-* (allegedly 'make pliable'; really 'join, attach' [q. v.]) and Arm. *awt'* 'resting place'.

happu(t)riya- (c. and n.), arboreal greenery spread as cushioning or bedding, nom. sg. *ha-ap-pu-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XVII 10 II 30–31, as emended by Goetze, *JCS* 17:62 [1963], ^{GIŠ}*sāhis* ^{GIŠ}*happuriyas sasza-tis ēstu* 'let s. and h. be your bedding'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93 [1965]), acc. sg. c. or n. *ha-ap-pu-ut-ri-ya-a[n* (XVII 29 II 15–16 *m]ān* ^{GIŠ}ŠENNUR-*az happutriya[n* 'if from a pear-tree h.'), *ha-ap-pu-ur-ri-ya-an* (XX 46 III 5–8 *nu* GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *ilanas piran happurriyan ispāri* 'the chief of pages spreads h. before the staircase' [where the king performs proskynesis]), *ha-ap-pu-ri-ya-an* (*IBoT* II 39 II 22–23 *happuriyan alil hūm[an d]āi n-a[t-ka]n hūprushiti katta ispāri* 'h. and flowers, he takes all and scatters them into the tureen' [preceded ibid. 20–22 by various tree names, e. g. ^{GIŠ}ERIN 'cedar' and ^{GIŠ}*eyan* 'yew']; *KBo* XII 89 II 13 *happuriyan-ma suppin* 'clean h.'; ibid. 4]*happuriyan dandu* 'let them take h.'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 242), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ap-pu-ri-ya-an* (*KUB* XXIV 7 II 58 *huelpi happuriyan* 'fresh greenery'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:226, 247–8 [1950]).

Nom. sg. *happuriyas* contradicts the assumption of a neuter noun *happu(t)riyant-*. Leaves or verdant twigs seem to be involved. The partial homophony of *happutri-* (leather harness gear, 'halter' vel sim., q. v. s. v. *happu-*) may have undetermined etymological or interferential relevance. Von Brandenstein (*Orientalia* N.S. 8:74–5 [1939]) suggested a loan source in Akk. *habbūru* 'sprout, shoot'.

harra- 'crush, pound, ruin, spoil, destroy'; midd. 'get spoiled, go to waste', 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ra-i* (*KUB* XXV 23 IV 52 *mallai harrai* 'grinds [and] pounds'), 3 sg. pres. midd. *har-ra-at-ta-ri* 'is spoiled' (XXIII 77 Vs. 38; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 120), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-ra-an-zi* (e. g. XX 89, 7; *Bo* 3315 Vs. 8; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 277a; mostly with *mallanzi*; examples s. v. *malla-*), 3 sg. pret. midd. *har-ra-at-ta* (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 32 *n-at harratta ŪL* 'it had not been crushed');

partic. *harrant-*, nom. sg. c. *har-ra-an-za* (e. g. IX 31 II 40 MU.KAM-*za harranza* 'the year[ly crop is] ruined'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 16), *har-ra-a--an-za* (e. g. dupl. *HT* 1 II 14; *KUB* IX 31 I 2), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ra-a-an* (e. g. ibid. 3), *har-ra-an* (e. g. XIV 13 I 56, *KBo* V 3 II 15–16 'defaced, illegible', scribal notation about copy original; cf. Götze, *KlF* 246; Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:114, 144; *KUB* XIII 7 IV 3, XXVIII 7, 3 *kī* ṬUPPU *arha harran ēsta* 'this tablet had been defaced'; cf. Akk. *hipi*, and *KBo* I 30 Vs. 17 *harranza* = Akk. *zabru*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 12:214–5 [1969]; *KUB* XIII 3 II 30 *kuis-wa papratar iyazi nu-wa* LUGAL-*i harran wātar pāi* ... 'whoever commits impurity and gives to the king spoiled water ...'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47; *KUB* XXXI 71 IV 15 'crushed' [raisins]; cf. Goetze, *Arch. Or.* 17.1.295 [1949]), nom. pl. c. *har-ra-an-te-es* (*Alalah* 125, 11–12 *nu-mu* MUŠEN.HI.A *kue uppesta n-at arha harrantes esir* 'the birds which you sent me were all rotten'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 45:73 [1939]; L. Rost, *MIO* 4:340 [1956]); inf. *har-ru-u-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* XXV 24 II 6).

Also *harranu-*, iter. *harranuski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *har-ra-nu-us-kán-zi* (*KBo* VI 34 II 23), 3 sg. imp. midd. *har-ra-⟨nu-⟩us-ki-it-ta* (ibid. 28); for context and references see s. v. *malla-*.

On the asyndeton *mallai harrai* cf. s. v. *malla-*. Etymology uncertain. Borrowing from Akkadian (or other Semitic) is conceivable (cf. e. g. Puhvel, *JAOS* 74:86–8 [1954] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 1–3 [1981], *Bi. Or.* 36:57 [1979]); cf. ^{NA_4}*hararazi* (s. v.), perhaps from Akk. *harāru* 'grind'. The connection of *harra-* with Hitt. *har(a)s-* (q. v.) and IE **ar(ā)-* 'plow' (Goetze, *Tunnawi* 70; Sturtevant, *IHL* 40–1) operated with an ad-hoc root-suffix *-s-* and was semantically flawed, since *harra-* has no demonstrable connection with plowing but is supposedly closer in form to IE **ar(ā)-* than is *har(a)s-*. J. Duchesne-Guillemin's adduction (*TPhS* 1946:87) of IE **ḱer-H-* (*IEW* 578; Skt. *śṛṇáti* 'destroy', etc.) was a function of the unacceptable hypothesis *h* < **ḱ*.

Most plausible is V. Machek's comparison (*Arch. Or.* 17.2:132-3 [1949]) of *harra-* with OCS *oriti*, Russian *raz-orit'* 'destroy'. A. Vaillant's and E. Polomé's objections (*Revue des études slaves* 26:141 [1950]; *Lg.* 28:455 [1952]) that Lith. *irti* 'dissolve, go asunder' (cf. factitive *ardýti* 'separate') points to a laryngeal root suffix and vitiates the collocation are invalid; IE **E₂er(-E₁)-* (*IEW* 332–3) is seen also in Skt. *árma-* 'ruins'; Polomé himself next unhesitatingly (and unconvincingly) connected *harra-* with *hark-* 'be destroyed' at

the drop of a suffix. *harr-* may reflect **E₂orE₁-* (*o*-grade of the IE perfect), vs. causatival **o* in *oriti*.

N. Mkrtschjan (*Acta Antiqua* 22:316 [1974]) compared *harra-* with Arm. *harul* 'strike down, crush' (e. g. *harul zsrov* 'cut down with the sword').

Cf. *haratar*.

hara(n)- (c.), 'eagle' (Á^{MUŠEN}; Akk. *erū*, *arū*), nom. sg. *ha-ra-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 8 II 15–16 *haras[s-an] partaunit arnuddu* 'let the eagle with its wing make him move'; ibid. 17 *harass-an partaun[it*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]), *ha-ra-as*^{MUŠEN} (XLIII 60 I 17), *ha-a-ra-as* (XXXIII 24 I 26 *hāras liliwaz* 'swift eagle'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:113 [1965]); XXXIII 15, 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:120 [1965]; *KBo* XVII 1 II 41 and dupl. XVII 3 II 12; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 28; Neu, *Altheth.* 8, 14; XXI 22 Vs. 9 *ehu hāras īt* 'come, eagle, go!'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:199 [1978]; *KUB* XXXIII 4 + *IBoT* III 141 I 13 *hāras pa[it]* 'the eagle went'), *ha-a-ra-as*^{MUŠEN} (par. *KUB* XVII 10 I 27 *hāras*^{MUŠEN} *pait*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:99, 91 [1965]; *KBo* III 8 III 6 *hāras*[^{MUŠEN}?]; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; XIV 132 III 4), ^{MUŠEN}*ha-ra-a-as* (XII 86, 7), Á^{MUŠEN} (e. g. *KUB* XXII 33 Vs. 9 Á^{MUŠEN}*-ma sēhur tarnas* 'the eagle let fall droppings'; XXIX 1 II 39 *ehu zik* Á^{MUŠEN} *īt* 'come, thou eagle, go!'), acc. sg. *ha-ra-an* (XXX 35 IV 4; XLVIII 99, 6–8 *kuis-war-an haran* ^{D}*Pirwa[n]* ^{URU}*Hassuwaza uwatez[zi] ā-ssi mekki āssu piyaweni* 'he that brings him, P., [as] an eagle [i. e. ornithomorphously?] from H., to him we give much good'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:174 [1965]), *ha-a-ra-an* (XXX 34 IV 12–13 *nu hāran kallikallinn-a arha tarnatta* 'the eagle and the falcon thou settest free'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]), ^{MUŠEN}*ha-ra-na-an* (*KBo* XVII 4 II 14 *m]ān* ^{MUŠEN}*haranan husuwandan appanzi* 'when they capture a live eagle', with dupl. XVII 1 II 5 ^{MUŠEN}*hāranan*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 23; Neu, *Altheth.* 14, 7), *ha-a-ra-na-an* (*KUB* XXIII 13, 7 *hegur Hāranan-kan katta dahhun* 'I occupied Eagle Rock'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314, 317–8; the potentially ornithomorphous ^{D}Pirwa [*KUB* XLVIII 99, 6–8, quoted above] was associated with *hekur* [*KBo* VI 28 Rs. 30 ^{NA_4}*hekur Pirwa*]; *KBo* XVII 3 III 3 *ta namma hāranan nēpisa tarnahhi* 'I then launch the eagle to the sky'), ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an* (e. g. dupl. XVII 1 III 3 *ta namma* ^{MUŠEN} *hāranan nēpisa tarnahhi*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu,

Altheth. 15, 9; XVII 1 II 37–38 *mān* ^{MUŠEN}*hāranan* ERÍN.MEŠ-*ann-a* 3-*ŠU wahnumi hāranan-asta parā petanzi* 'when I make the eagle and the troop turn the third time, they carry forth the eagle'; ibid. 23 ^{MUŠEN}*hāranan-asta* [*parā pe*]*tanzi*; ibid. 28–29 + XXV 3 ^{MUŠEN}*hāranann-a parā hilam*[*na*] *petumeni* 'we carry the eagle forth to the portal'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 8; ibid. 16 and 33; XVII 6 II 5; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 19), *ha-a-ra-na-an*^{MUŠEN} (*KUB* XVII 10 I 23–24 ^{D}UTU-*us hāranan*^{MUŠEN} *leliwandan išpur* 'the storm-god sent the swift eagle'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]), ^{MUŠEN}*ha-ra-na-a-an* (*KBo* XIII 86 Vs. 16 ^{MUŠEN}*haranān pittiyalin* 'fleet eagle'), gen. sg. *ha-ra-na-as* (*KUB* XV 31 I 59 *haranas partauar* 'eagle wing'; ibid. II 40 *h*]*aranas partāunit* 'with an eagle wing'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 154, 158; *KBo* XXI 95 I 23]*haranas*), *ha-ra-na-as*^{MUŠEN} (*KUB* XVII 10 II 35 *haranas*^{MUŠEN} *partauwa*[*r*]), *ha-a-ra-na-as* (e. g. XV 34 I 12 *hāranas partauwar*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 184), *har-ra-na-as* (see under *hāranili* below), Á^{MUŠEN}*-as* (e. g. *KBo* XVIII 193 Vs. 9 Á^{MUŠEN}*-as pardāuar*; XXVII 163, 7 Á^{MUŠEN}*-as pardaunaz* 'with an eagle wing'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 41; *KUB* XLV 57 Vs. 3 Á^{MUŠEN}*-ass-a partāuar*; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 29), *ŠA* Á^{MUŠEN} (XV 31 I 35 *ŠA* Á^{MUŠEN}*-ya partāunit*), nom. pl. *ha-a-ra-ni-is*^{MUŠEN} (XXXIII 62 II 3 *hāranis*^{MUŠEN} *pittiyaliēs* 'fleet eagles'),]*ha-a-ra-ni-e-e*[*s* (XLI 33 Vs. 12), *ha-ra-a-ni-is* (*Bo* 6472, 13).

hāranili 'in eagle-fashion' (Akk. *arāniš*; *KUB* XX 54 + *KBo* XIII 122 Rs. 8–9 *sakuwa-set-wa harrana*[*s*] *nu-wa hāranili sākuiskizzi* 'its eyes [are those] of an eagle, and its gaze is eagle-like' [lit. 'it gazes in eagle-fashion']; par. *KBo* XXI 22 Vs. 27–28 IG[I.HI.A-*ŠU-wa h*]*ārana*[*s*] [*nu-wa h*]*āranili sa*⟨*ku*⟩*is*[*kizzi*; cf. Neu and Otten, *IF* 77:182 [1972]; G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200–1 [1978]). For formation cf. *parsanili* 'in panther-fashion' (*parsana-*), *haluganili* 'in messenger-fashion' (s. v. *haluka-*), *hilammili* 'in courtier-fashion' (sub *hilammi-* s. v. *hila-*).

Pal. nom. sg. c. *ha-ra-a-as(-)* (*KUB* XXXII 18 I 10), gen. sg. *ha*]*-a-ra-na-as* (XXXV 168, 7)? Cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 8–9.

Luw. acc. pl. c. Á^{MUŠEN}.MEŠ-*in-za* (*KUB* XXXV 111 III 6). Cf. Starke, *KLTU* 249.

hara(n)- is an animate *n*-stem of the type *alanza(n)-* (q. v.), with nom. sg. *haras* generating an analogical acc. sg. *haran* besides *haranan* (cf. e. g. *alkistān* besides *alkistanan*; for speculations on the morphological make-up of *haras* [*-ōn-s* or *-ō+s*] see e. g. Oettinger, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 167–8 [1982]; H. C. Melchert, *Die*

Sprache 28:8–9 [1983]). As an item of fauna, *hara(n)-* resembles in type *aliya(n)-* 'roe(buck)' (cognate with OCS *jelenĭ*, Lith. *élnis*, Welsh *elain*, Gk. *ἔλαφος* 'stag', Engl. *elk*, etc.; matching Hurr. *nāli* from Akk. *nālu* 'deer, roe' in *KBo* XXXII 14), nom. sg. *aliyas* (*KBo* XXXII 14 II 3 and 31), acc. sg. *aliyanan* (ibid. II 1, 11, 12, 14), gen. sg. *aliyanas* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 I 32; XLVIII 106, 12), secondary nom. sg. *aliyanas* (*KBo* XXXII 14 II 17 and 26; cf. nom. sg. *alkistanas* beside *alkistas*, the converse analogy to acc. sg. *alkistān* beside *alkistanan*).

hara(n)- is conspicuous among Hittite *n*-stems for its clear IE origins (first stated by C. L. Mudge, *Lg.* 7:252–3 [1931]), resembling most closely Gmc. **ar(a)n-* (exemplified by Goth. *ara* 'eagle', nom. pl. *arans* translating *ἀετοί* in *Luke* 17:37, matching Hitt. *hāranis* < **H*$_1$*órones*), and further ON *örn* < **arnu-* 'eagle' and Gk. *ὄρνεον*, *ὄρν-ῑθ-* (Doric *ὄρν-ῑχ-*) 'bird'. Other cognates (OCS *orĭlŭ* 'eagle', Old Prussian *arelis*, Lith. *arẽlis* or *erẽlis* 'eagle', OIr. *irar* or *ilar*, Welsh *eryr* 'eagle', Arm. *oror* 'gull') are variously dissimilated *r* (or *l*) stems; they strengthen the overall impression of primary non-ablauting *o*-vocalism, thus **A*$_2^{\text{u}}$- (the Baltic and Celtic *e*-vocalisms being assimilatory or metathetic).

harrani- or *hurrani-* (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *har-ra-ni-is* (e. g. *KUB* XVIII 15 Vs. 19; XXII 68, 8; V 22, 27), *har-ra-ni-i-is* (e. g. ibid. 28 *iparwassi tīyawen nu-kan harraniyis* ^{D}UTU-*un* EGIR UGU SIG$_5$ *u*[*it* 'we stepped northwest [?], and a h. in turn came up auspiciously toward the sun'; XVIII 5 I 29, 43, 46, 49; ibid. II 36, 44; XXII 7 Vs. 5), *har-ra-ni-es* (e. g. *KBo* II 6 IV 18; *KUB* XVI 67 III 14; XVI 76, 4; XVIII 12 I 8, 14, 27, 33, 55), acc. sg. *har-ra-ni-in* (ibid. 18), *har-ra-ni-i-in(-na)* (XVIII 5 I 28).

Typically such designations have no ^{MUŠEN} determinative (cf. e. g. *alila-*, *aramnant-*, *arsintathi-*, *halwassi-*, *hastapi-*, *husa-*, *huwa*[*r*]*a-*). Despite the hapax spelling *har-ra-na-as* of *hara(n)-* 'eagle' (q. v.) a tie-in is very dubious. The alternative reading *hurrani-* may point to a (Hurrian-type?) derivative of ^{MUŠEN} *HURRI* 'Tadorna, sheldrake' (cf. B. Landsberger, *Die Welt des Orients* 3:262–7 [1966]), literally 'pit-bird', with suffix as in e. g. *urayanni-* (another oracle-bird). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:222.

hararazi- (n.) '(upper) millstone' (^{NA_4}*hararazi*, ^{NA_4}ARÀ *hararazi*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ra-ra-zi* (*KBo* X 45 III 2–5 *nu* NUMUN.HI.A *hūman* [*dāi*] *n-at* IŠTU ^{NA_4}ARÀ *mallizzi* ŠA ^{NA_4}ARÀ-*ma hararazi* ^{NA_4}*kunku*[*nuzit*] *walhannai* 'he takes all manner of seeds and grinds them with the mill; with the basalt-rock of the millstone he strikes [them]'; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 II 37–39 *nu* MU.KAM [sic] *dapian dāi n-at* ^{NA_4}ARÀ *mallizzi* ŠA ^{NA_4}*hararazi* ^{NA_4}*kunkunuzit walahhanai*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126–8, 153 [1961]).

The expressions IŠTU ^{NA_4}ARÀ *mallizzi* and ŠA ^{NA_4}*hararazi* ^{NA_4}*kunkunuzit walhannai* seem to be elaborations on the asyndetic binomial expression *mallai harrai* 'grinds (and) pounds', distinguishing two separate but apparently complementary milling techniques (cf. the two disparate plowing methods *haraszi teripzi* s. v. *har*[*a*]*s*-). Both the grinding and stamping procedures involve ^{NA_4}HAR.HAR = ^{NA_4}ARÀ = Akk. *erū* (often *ša adbari* 'of basalt') which denoted the handmill as such but especially its lower grindstone or base-slab; the Hittite equivalent is hidden under ^{NA_4}ARÀ-*as* = Akk. [*e-ru*]-*ú* in *KBo* I 45 Rs. 7 (cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]). ^{NA_4}ARÀ *hararazi* shows that *hararazi* was a part of the total ARÀ, probably the upper stone which could be either slab-shaped for grinding or rock-like (^{NA_4}*kunkunuzi*-) for stamping.

While the verb *malla*- is inherited Indo-European (Lat. *molō*, etc.), and ^{NA_4}ARÀ-*as* may hide a cognate of Skt. *grā́van*- 'pressing-stone', Arm. *erkan*, OCS *žrŭny*, Lith. *gìrna*, Goth. *qairnus*, OIr. *brō* 'mill(stone), quern', *hararazi* seems derived from Akk. *harāru* 'grind', perhaps with Hurrian mediation (suffix?); cf. also Akk. *ararru* 'miller'. An etymological (as distinct from assonantal) tie-in with *harra*- 'crush, pound, spoil, destroy' (q. v.) is unlikely except on the remote chance that *harra*- itself would be a borrowing from Akk. *harāru* (*harrai mallai* like *haraszi teripzi*, Akkadian-origin terminus technicus juxtaposed to old IE base-verb); there is also Luw. (instr. sg.?) ^{NA_4}*har-ra-a-ti*[(*KUB* XXXV 75, 11; cf. Otten, *LTU* 73).

haratar (n.) 'offense, outrage, scandal', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ra-(a-)tar* in e. g. *KBo* XI 1 Vs. 1 *harātar wastull-a* 'offense and sin' (cf. *RHA* 25:105 [1976]), *KUB* XXXI 66 I 26–28 *mān* ... [*harā*]*tar kuitki iyat* [...] *apāt harātar lāi* 'if [he] has committed some offense ... remit that offense!', and especially in ŪL *haratar* or ŪL *harātar* '[there is]

no offense' (*Code* 2:90, 91, 93, 94, 99; 200A), *harātar-set* NU.GÁL 'his offense is none' (*Code* 2:97), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ra-at-ni* (Friedrich, *HE* 34) in *KBo* V 1 II 2 *nu* 2 MUŠEN *haratni wasduli warnuwanzi* 'they burn two birds for the outrage [and] sin' (cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 6*), abl. sg. *ha-ra-at-na-za* (*KUB* XXXVI 39 II 9).

haratnant- (c.), nom. sg. in 2083/g, 8–9 *nu kūn* EN.SISKUR *nam*[*ma esh*]*ahruwanza haratnanza le* [*epdu* 'may weeping (and) scandal no further overtake this officiator'.

Luw. (case?) *ha-a-ra-tar-sa* (*KUB* XXXV 16 I 5; Starke, *KLTU* 93), genitival adj. acc. pl. *ha-ra-at-na-as-si-in-za* (XXXV 65 III 3; Starke, *KLTU* 180), nom. sg. *ha-ra-at-na-an-ti-is* (ibid. 14). Cf. Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:439 (1954); *Dict. louv.* 41–2.

To *haratar wastul* may correspond Hurr. *par(i)liya arniya* (cf. Laroche, *RA* 54:196–7 [1960]).

The non-assimilation of *-tn-* to *-nn-* may be an early luwianism (cf. Neu, in *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* 167 [*IBS* 52, 1987]), but the persistence of *r*/*n* heteroclisis is strictly Hittite (cf. Puhvel, *AIED* 241). J. Holt (*Arch. Or.* 17.1:317 [1949]) compared ŪL *harātar* with Hom. *οὐ νέμεσις (τινί)*; but the basic sense of the latter is '(there is) no attribution to one'; i. e. 'you cannot hold it against one', hence *νέμεσις* 'imputation' > 'indignation' and 'retribution', whereas *haratar* clearly denotes 'offense', not the reaction to it.

The most plausible connection is with *harra*- (q. v.), thus literally 'ruination, despoilment'. *haratar* < **E*$_2$*r*$_{\text{ə}}$*E*$_1$-*t*$_{\text{ə}}$, vs. **E*$_2$*orE*$_1$- in *harr*-.

harau- (n.) 'poplar' (*KBo* I 42 II 9 Á.SAL = [Akk.] *šar-pa-tum*, i. e. *ṣarbatum* 'Populus euphratica' = [Hitt.] *ha-ra-a-ú*; cf. Güterbock, *RHA* 22:97 [1964], *MSL* 13:135 [1971]), gen. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ha-ra-u-wa-as* (XIX 142 II 16–17 ^{GIŠ}*harauwas* ^{GIŠ}*lahhurnuzi* 'foliage of poplar'; cf. Ertem, *Flora* 78, 91–2), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ha-ra-u-i* (*KUB* XXV 23 I 14–16 KAŠ-*ya sippanzi mān* IŠTU ^{LÚ}KÚR ŪL *katta kitta n-an* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN ^{GIŠ}*haraui ka*[*tt*]*an* ÍD-*an-kan tapusa taninuwanzi* 'and they libate with beer; if there is no occupation by the enemy, they carry it out by the baitylos beneath the poplar by the river'), ^{GIŠ}*ha-a-ra-u-i* (ibid. 13 ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN-*ya* ^{GIŠ}*hāraui kattan artari* 'the baitylos stands beneath a poplar'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:22 [1973]), ^{GIŠ}*ha-ra-a-ú-i* (XVIII 5 II 2 *n-as-za-kan* ^{GIŠ}*harāui esa*[*t*] 'it [viz. the oracle bird *ālliyas*, by a river] set down on a poplar'; ibid. 7–8

GIŠ*harāui-ma-ssan kuis ālliyas ēsta n-as-kan arha arais* 'the a. who was in the poplar lifted off'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:128 [1975]).

harau- is the well-known riverine Near Eastern variety of the genus *Pōpulus*, distinct from GIŠILDÁG, Akk. *ildakku* 'Populus alba (or: nigra)' (*VBoT* 24 I 6 14 GIŠKAK GIŠILDÁG 'fourteen sticks of poplar-wood'; ibid. II 17 *nu* GIŠKAK.HI.A GIŠILDÁG *danzi* 'they take the sticks of poplar-wood'; *KUB* XXXVIII 11 Vs. 9). *harau-* resembles in type *tanau-* 'fir' but, unlike the latter, has no visible claim on IE etymology. "Areal" comparisons (with *h* : *k* : ∅ variation) are unenlightening: Gk. *ἄρυα* 'walnuts', *κάρυον* 'nut' (Tischler, *Glossar* 172; cf. P. Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European trees* 78 [1970]); Lat. *cerrus* 'turkey oak' (*Quercus cerris*; M. Poetto, *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere* 107:30–2 [1973]).

harharā- (c.), a container for liquids, acc. sg. DUG*har-ha-ra-a-an* (*KBo* III 34 II 1–2 *ABI* LUGAL DUG*harharān* GEŠTIN-*it ANA* SAL*Histaiyara* I*Marattiya maniyahhis* 'the king's father consigned a h. with wine to H. and M.'), dat.-loc. sg. DUG*har-ha-ra-i* (*KUB* XI 34 I 6 DUG *harharai piran* 'before the h.'), *ha-ar-ha-ra-a-e* (X 60, 3–6 LÚ.MEŠ *walahhiyalis harharāe* KÙ.BABBAR [*w*]*alhi udanzi* [*n-at*] *pesseskanzi* 'the *walhi*-servers bring *walhi* in a silver h., and they keep throwing it').

Vessel name with full reduplication, of the type of DUG*purpuri-*, used for wine and ceremonial liquid. No further etymology. J. A. Kerns and B. Schwartz (*JAOS* 60:185 [1940]) assumed root-connection with *har(k)-* as 'holder'.

hariulli- (n.), a type of container, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. DUG*ha-ri-ul-li* (*KBo* XVI 71 + I 29, preceded ibid. 28 by 2 DUG*isnūres* 'two dough-bowls'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; XX 2 + XXV 15 I 9 10 DUGUTÚL.HI.A 10 DUG*hariull*[*i* 'ten pots [and] ten h.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47), DUG*ha-a-ri-ul-li* (*IBoT* II 91 III 2–3 DUG*hāriulli-ma apā*[*s*] *harzi* 'he holds a h.'), dat.-loc. sg. DUG*ha-a-ri-ul-li-ya* (ibid. 8–9 *ta* DUG*hāriulliya lāhui* 'he pours into the h.'; cf. ibid. 7 and 9 *hāni* 'draws').

With deverbative suffix *-ulli-* (as in e. g. *istappulli-* 'stopper, lid', TÚGkariulli- 'covering, hooded gown'; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213), *hariulli-* is most simply interpreted as derived from *hariya-* 'bury', thus 'interment jar, burial urn', such as contain ashes in the necropolis for commoners among the rocky outcrops between Boğazköy and Yazilikaya. Pre-need, everyday use of this type of jar is entirely possible.

V. Pisani (*Paideia* 7:323 [1952]) compared Gk. *ἀρύβαλλος* 'purse' or 'globular flask'.

hariuzzi- (n.?) 'wickerwork table', nom.-acc. sg. GIŠ*ha-ri-uz-zi* (69/d III 6 1)-*EN* GIŠ*hariuzzi kit*[*t*]*a*, matching dupl. *Bo* 4999 IV, 9 1-*EN* GIŠBANŠUR AD.KID *kitta*; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:172 [1936]).

Besides deverbative instrument nouns with *-uzzi-* (e. g. *annanuzzi-*, *ishuzzi-*, *isgapuzzi-*, *ispanduzzi-*, *isparuzzi-*, *kuruzzi-*, *warpuzi-*), there are those of obscure (denominative?) derivation (*intaluzzi-*, *kataluzzi-*, *kunkunuzzi-*), among them *hariuzzi-*. Čop (*Ling.* 9:187 [1969]) compared Gk. *ἄρον*, *ἀρίσαρον* 'arum, lords-and-ladies, cuckoopint', Lat. *(h)arundō* 'reed', one of the weakest reeds in Pokorny's compendium (*IEW* 68).

hariya- (c.) 'valley, vale, dale', nom. sg. *ha-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XII 62 Rs. 5), gen. sg. *ha-ri-ya-as* (*KBo* XIV 86 I 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:132 [1965]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-ri-ya* (*KUB* XII 62 Rs. 3; VII 5 I 14; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]), abl. sg. *ha-a-ri-ya-az* (XXIX 4 III 46 *arunaz hāriyaz wēlluwaz* 'from sea, valley, meadow'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 26), nom. pl. *ha-ri-e-es* (*KBo* XV 25 Vs. 14; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2), *ha-a-ri-i-e-es* (III 8 III 22 *halluwēs hāriyēs* 'deep valleys'), *ha-a-ri-us* (*KUB* XXXVI 2b II 19; cf. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:136 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:33 [1968]), acc. pl. *ha-a-ri-us* (*KBo* III 8 III 4 *hārius h*[*a*]*llūwawus*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:169–70 [1965]; *KUB* XXXIII 24 I 24 *hārius-kan halluw*[*am*]*us*; cf. Laroche, ibid. 113; *KBo* IX 109 I 12; III 13 Rs. 5 HUR.SAG.MEŠ-*us hārius* 'mountains [and] valleys'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:70 [1938]; *KUB* VIII 41 II 16; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 184), *ha-a-ri-i-us* (XVII 10 I 24–26 *pargamus* HUR.SAG.AS.AS.HI.A *sāh hāriyus-kan hallu*[*wam*]*us sāh* 'search the high mountains, search the valleys deep!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-ri-ya-as* (IX 34 I 16 *halluwas hariyas*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 26), *ha-a-ri-ya-as* (XXVII 67 II 40 *hallūwās hāriyas*; XXX 36 II 4 *hāriyas nakkīyas kuit uwanun* 'why

have I come to the steep vales?'; X 72 II 9 *hāriyas* Ú.SAL-*as* 'to vales [and] meadows'). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:340.

The original stem may be *hari-*, in case the hapax nom. sg. *hariyas* is secondary like e. g. *tuzzias* besides *tuzzi-*. Cf. Arm. *ayr* 'cave', previously (cf. *IEW* 50) unacceptably (see Čop, *Die Sprache* 3:135–8 [1956]) compared with Gk. *ἄντρον*. For the semantic connection vale : cave cf. e. g. Lat. *vallesque cavae saltusque profundi* (Vergil, *Georgics* 2:391), *cavum* 'hollow, hole'; OCS *dĭbrĭ* 'valley', Lith. *duobẽ* 'hollow, hole'; OE *denu* 'vale', *denn* 'hollow, lair'. IE **A*$_1$*er-y-* or perhaps **A*$_1$*ɛy-*, in view of Arm. *ayr* (cf. J. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 50 [1973]).

Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:152 [1988]) improbably compared the rare Gk. *οἰρών* 'incision of plow, boundary trace' (< *ὀρι̯ών*), glossed by *χάραξις τοῦ ἀρότρου* (cf. *χαράδρα* 'gully, ravine').

Borrowing from Akkadian (*harru* 'ditch', *hurru* 'hollow, hole') was assumed by M. L. Mayer, *Acme* 15:242 (1962).

Cf. *hariya-* 'bury'.

hariya- 'bury', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-ri-ya-mi* (*KUB* VII 58 II 4), *ha-ri-e-mi* (*KBo* XVII 5 II 2, XVII 1 III 9; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 22, 30), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ri-ya-zi* (XVII 78 I 7–8 *ap]ūn antuḫsan* LÚ ^{D}U *sarā dāi n-an arahza [pe]dai n-an paizzi hariyazi* 'that person [viz. the victim of lightning] the man of the storm-god takes up, removes him, and goes [and] buries him'), *ha-ri-ya-az-zi* (*KUB* IX 31 I 24; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]), *ha-ri-e-iz-zi* (XXXV 10 I 9), *ha-a-ri-e-iz-zi* (*IBoT* II 125 II 7), *ha-ri-iz-zi* (*KBo* III 8 II 12; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ri-ya-an-zi* (1112/c + III 19 *nu-kan* [UR.TUR *kunanz]i namma-an hariyanzi* 'they kill the small dog and thereupon bury him'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]; XX 64 Rs. 12), *ha-a-ri-ya-an-zi* (*KUB* XVII 18 III 18 *huswandus anda hāriyanzi* 'they bury live ones within'; IX 7 Vs. 5 KÁ-*as* ZAG-*az hāriyanzi* 'they bury to the right of the gate'), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-ri-e-nu-un* (*KBo* XVII 3 III 12); partic. *hariyant-*, acc. sg. c. *ha-ri-ya-an-da-an* (*KUB* XLV 5 III 10 1/2 NINDA KU$_7$ *hassī hariyandan* 'half a sweetbread buried in the fireplace'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. in *KBo* II 9 IV 14 *harīyan harzi* 'has buried', *KUB* IX 7 Vs. 7 *hāriyan ēsdu* 'let it be buried', XXIV 10 I 12 *hāriyan*.

Luw. (?) *hariyanti-* (meaning?), gen. *hariyanteyas*, *hariyantiyas* in *KUB* IX 31 I 16, 19 *ḫ. kuggullan* 'a pot of ḫ.'?

Cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 (1954); Otten, *ZA* 51:127–9 (1955); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:492.

Probably denominative from *hariya-* 'valley', originally 'cave, hollow'; cf. e. g. German *grab* : *begraben*. Rosenkranz's comparison (*JEOL* 19:501 [1965–6]) with *hars-* 'till, plow' (q. v.) is to be rejected.

Cf. *hariulli-*.

har(a)k-, har- (spelled *har-*, never *ha-ar-*) 'hold, keep, have', *-za har(k)-* 'possess, have as wife', *anda har(k)-* 'hold in, restrain', *appa(n) har(k)-* 'hold back, hold down, occupy', *arha (pe) har(k)-* 'withhold', *hanza(n) har(k)-* (SAG.KI-*za har*[*k*]-) 'keep front, keep watch (+ dat.-loc. 'over')' (examples s. v. *hant-*), *parā har(k)-* 'hold forth (to), consign (to)', *pe har(k)-* (written *pí-e*) 'have along, bring along, have ready, tender, deliver', *piran (pe) har(k)-* 'hold in front, proffer, hand', *sarā (pe) har(k)-* 'offer up' (Akk. *kalū* 'hold'; *KUB* IV 4 Vs. 14–15 *iyada dammeda harti* 'thou hast growth [and] abundance' matching ibid. 13–14 [Akk.] *enbu hengalli takil* 'thou hast fruit in abundance'; IV 8 Vs. 4 *kuis harzi* 'who holds' matching ibid. 3 *mukel* 'holding'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73, 71 [1974]), 1 sg. pres. act. *har-mi* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 105 I 11 and 14 *harmi-at* 'I have it'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:77 [1968]; *KBo* XV 25 Rs. 28 *kuit* ANA SISKUR.SISKUR *harmi* 'which I have for sacrifice'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 6; *KUB* XLI 1 I 17 SIG *dankuin harmi* 'I hold the black wool'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 30; *KBo* XVII 3 IV 24 *ug-a hāḫḫal harmi sēnann-a harmi* 'I hold greenery and I hold a figurine'; ibid. 31 *ḫalīnas zeri harmi* 'I hold a clay goblet'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 17–8; *KUB* XXXIV 58 l. 5 *genzu harmi* 'I have kindness, I feel friendly'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:194 [1977]; XIV 8 Rs. 14–16 *n-at-za-kan kāsa ... piran tarnan harmi ēszi-ya-at iyawen-at nu-za-kan* ŠA ABI-*YA kuit wastul tarnan harmi* 'lo, I have admitted it: it is so, we did it; and because I have admitted the sin of my father ...'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 214; VI 22 III 10–11 ANA DINGIR-*LIM* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI meman harmi* 'I my majesty have promised to the god'; XXXVI 96, 4 *kui*]*tki* TUKU.TUKU-*nuwan harmi* 'I have angered somehow'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 396; *KBo* V 3 III 18 URU-*a*]*n kuinki āssu parā huu*[*itt*]*iyan harmi* 'I have singled out some town in favored fashion'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124; *KUB* XXI 27 IV 35–36 *ḫarnauas-za kuit* SAL-*za* ANA DINGIR-*LIM*

EN-*YA ser* SAG.DU-*za sarninkan harmi* 'because I, a woman of birthing, have personally made restitution to the deity on my lord's behalf'), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-si* (e. g. XXXIII 13 II 21 ŠÀ-*it* LÀL-*it harsi* 'thou hast honey in thy heart'; cf. Otten, *Überlieferungen* 45; Laroche, *RHA* 23:159 [1965]; XXXI 143 II 21 *nepis tēkann-a harsi* 'you [Telipinus] hold heaven and earth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186; *KBo* V 3 III 27 *nu ap]pattat ape-ya zig-a-smas-za* NIN-[*ZU ku]it harsi* 'you have taken those too because you have their sister'; ibid. 63–64 *karū-za kuin harsi* ^{SAL}*NAPTER⟨TA⟩-ma-tta āra ēskanzi* 'the one whom you already have in marriage they shall rightfully treat as your concubine'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124, 128; ibid. I 22–26 *nu-za mān tuel mahhan ANA* SAG.DU-*KA* ZI-*KA Ù ANA RAMANI-KA genzu harsi* ŠU.HI.A-*us-za arahzanda harsi nu mān ANA* SAG.DU ^{D}UTU-*-ŠI* ZI ^{D}UTU-*ŠI RAMĀN* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI gimzu QATAMMA ŪL harsi* ŠU.HI.A-*KA-ya-mu arahzanda QATAMMA ŪL harsi pirann-a-tta ŠA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI ŪL wahnuwan harzi* 'if, as you have fondness for your own person, your soul, and your self, and embrace yourself, you do not likewise have fondness for my majesty's person, soul, and self, and do not likewise hold your arms around me, and if my majesty's business does not have priority with you'; III 1 II 42–43 *nu-za uwasi* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*an utne kuttanī[t] tarahhan harsi* 'you come and hold the enemy land in subjection by force'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 32 [1984]), *har-ti* (e. g. *KUB* XV 1 I 5 *mān-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN-*YA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* TI-*nuan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive'; XV 17 + XXXI 61 I 3–4 *mān-*[*w*]*a* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN-*YA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI IŠTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA TI-*nuan ha*[*d*]*dulahhan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive [and] healthy for long years'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 16; *KBo* XX 60 V 7–11 *tuqq-a-*[*wa*] *ANA* LUGAL TI-*tar hattulatar ... uktūri piyan harzi nu le nahti hūman nu-wa-za zik tarahhan harti* 'to thee the king he has given in perpetuity life [and] health: do not fear, you will have everything under control'; *HT* 1 II 36 ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*wa tūriyan harti* 'thou hast the horses harnessed'; ibid. 29 [with dupl. *KUB* IX 31 II 57] *ziqq-a kuis* DINGIR-*LUM kī henkan iyan harti* 'thou god that hast made this plague'; *IBoT* III 148 IV 40 *parā piyan harti* 'thou hast given forth'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 230; *KBo* XXII 264 I 2 and 16, *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 50, Rs. 5, 47, 49 *malān harti* 'thou approvest'; ibid. 53 and 62 *malan harti*; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 70, 82, 94, 98), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 1 I 32–33 DUMU.É.GAL-*sa pera-sset* ^{GIŠ}*zupāri harzi* 'the page holds a torch in front of him'; cf. Otten–

Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; Neu, *Altheth.* 6; *KUB* VII 50, 19 *n-at apās harzi* 'that one holds it'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 236; *VBoT* 58 I 31 *nu apūnn-a-wa hahhimas harzi* 'him, too, drought holds'; *har*[*k*]- is resultative of *ep*[*p*]- 'seize', cf. ibid. 28 *nu apūnn-a-wa hahhimas IŠBA*[*T*] 'him, too, drought seized'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]; *KUB* XIII 9 + XL 62 II 11 *n-an taiazzilanni harzi* 'he has him for theft'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 447 [1959]; *KBo* XXI 74 III 9–10 *nu* UKÙ-*an kuit* [*AŠRA*] *aulis harzi* 'the place where [illness] holds a person's innards'; cf. ibid. 6 [*mā*]*n* UKÙ-*an aulis kuitki AŠRA e*[*pzi*] 'if it seizes some person's innards some place'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 26–8; V 8 III 41–42 *nu-mu* ^{D}U NIR.GÁL *kuit* EN-*YA* ŠU-*an harzi* 'whereas the mighty storm-god my lord holds my hand'; cf. Götze, *AM* 160; VI 4 IV 21 *takku* URU-*ri* A.ŠÀ.HI.A-*an sahhann-a iwaru kuiski harzi* 'if in a town someone holds field and fief as an inheritance-grant'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 58, and par. *Code* 1:46 [*HED* 1–2:502]; VI 26 III 40–41 [= *Code* 2:93] *takku* LÚ-*is* SAL-*an harzi ta* LÚ-*is aki* DAM-*ZU* ŠE[Š-*Š*]*U dāi* 'if a man has a woman [as wife] and the man dies, his brother takes his wife'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 80 *nu-wa-s*]*si ŠA* ŠÀ-*ŠU* [DUMU.SA]L-*ZU ANA* DAM-*ŠU harzi* 'his very own daughter he has for his wife'; cf. Götze, *Madd*, 20; XXXIII 98 + XXXVI 8 I 16–17 *katta-kan kuit harzi nu-kan* [...] ZI-*anza parā watkut* 'what she has below, ... his mind sprang forth' [viz. in sexual arousal]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146–8 [1951]; *ABoT* 65 Rs. 12 *ŪL-ma-wa-mu apās kuitki harzi* 'he has nothing [i. e. no claim] on me' [i. e. 'I owe him nothing'], calque on Akk. *mimma elī-ya ul īšu*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:346 [1956]; von Schuler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3:227–8 [1971]; *KUB* XV 42 II 15–16 *nu wātar kuis* BA.BA.ZA-*ya piran harzi* 'he who holds forth water and mush'; *KBo* IV 9 VI 20–21 GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL GAD-*an* EGIR-*an-samet pe harzi* 'the chief of the pages has a towel ready behind them'; IV 2 II 25 UR.TUR-*ma appuzziyas* ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ *pe harzi* 'but the auspex brings along the puppy [made] of tallow'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:93 [1962]; VI 4 I 6 [*mān*] *āssu-ma ŪL pe harzi* 'if he has no goods along with him'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 50; XII 126 I 15 *n-at iskisaz karpan harzi* 'holds it [viz. the figurine] with the back raised'; similarly ibid. 14; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22; *KUB* IX 28 I 15 TÚG-*an wēsta ispāta* KÙ.BABBAR TUR *isparran harzi* 'she wears a dress [and] holds a small silver spit outstretched'; XXII 70 Vs. 9 DUMU ^{SAL}[*Am*]*matallas-(a)za kuit* TÚG.MEŠ *ŠA* ŠU AMA-*ŠU wassan harzi* 'because A.'s son has [put] on [= wears] his mother's clothes';

ibid. 78 TÚG.MEŠ-*ma ŠA* ŠU AMA-*ŠU wassan harta* ['wore']; *KBo* V 1 I 52–53 *n-at ser BEL* SISKUR.SISKUR *siyan harzi* 'these the offerant wears [on his head]'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*; *KUB* XLV 22 III 3–11 2 *sēness-a ŠA* GAB.LÀL *iyantes* 1 LÚ *nu* ^{TÚG}GÚ.È.A *wassan harzi* ^{TÚG}ÍB.LAL *putalliya⟨n⟩ harzi nu-ssan TAHAPŠI ishuzziyan harzi* ^{KUŠ}E.SIR.HI.A-*ya* ^{TÚG}GAD.DAM *sarkuwan harzi* SAL-*ma* 1 TÚG *wassan harzi* ^{TÚG}*kariulli-ya-ssan sīyan harzi namma-ssan IŠTU TAHAPŠI ishuzziyanza* ^{KUŠ}E.SIR.HI.A ^{TÚG}GAD.DAM *sarkuwan harzi* 'two images made of wax: one a man, he wears a shirt, has a tunic hitched up, and has a belt girt and has shoes [and] gaiters shod; the woman wears a dress and has a headcover on; she also [is] girt by a belt, has shoes [and] gaiters shod'; *KBo* IV 2 I 51–53 *nu-war-at-za* É-*TIM* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*ya ŪL tarahzi n-at-za kās wappuwas* IM-*as tarahhan harzi* 'the house and mortal man cannot conquer it, but this clay of the bank has it conquered'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]; V 8 I 13–14 *nu-mu idālaui parā ŪL tarnāi āssaui-ma-mu parā tarnan harzi* 'he does not consign me to evil but has me consigned to the good'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148; *IBoT* I 36 II 60–61 *nu taksulān tapusa isgarān harzi* 'he is joined up [and] hewing to one flank'; ibid. 61 and 62 *iskarān harzi* 'cleaves to'; cf. *HED* 1–2:417; *KUB* XXV 1 VI 11–13 *kuis hassī tapusza parasnan harzi* '[he] who squats beside the hearth'; *KBo* XVII 15 Vs. 16 [OHitt.] and later dupl. XVII 40 IV 10 *hassās katta edi parsanān harzi* '[he] squats yonder by the hearth'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:82, 88 [1976]; Neu, *Altheth.* 74; *KUB* V 7 Rs. 22–23 *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM kuit ŠAMU ser nu-wa halissaz arha ishūwan harzi* 'what baldachin the god had over him he has stripped of [its] casing'; *KBo* XVII 105 II 35–36 *nasma-du-kan kardiminuwan kuiski harzi* 'or someone has angered you'; *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 14 UG.TUR *kuit kunan harzi* 'because he has killed a panther'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; XIII 2 IV 14–20 *nassu dammishān kuiski kuitki harzi nasma-za dān kuiski kuitki harzi nasma-za happiran kuiski kuitki harzi nasma* ARÀH *kuiski kinuwan harzi nasma-za-kan* GUD LUGAL *kuiski kunan harzi nasma-kan* ARÀH.HI.A *kuiski sarā adān harzi nu-za* GIŠ.HUR.HI.A GÙB-*las-ma harninkan harzi n-at-za* EGIR-*an kappuui* 'whether someone has damaged something, or someone has taken something, or someone has sold something, or someone has broken into a granary, or someone has slaughtered a royal ox, or someone has eaten up granaries and has wrongfully destroyed written records, you keep tabs on it!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; XXVII 1 I 7–9

LUGAL-*us-ma kuyēs gimrius lahhieskit nu masiēs gimrus lahhiyan harzi istarna-kan kuyēs* MU.HI.A *pantes kuitman-za* DINGIR-*LIM iyanzi* 'what campaigns the king would wage, as many campaigns as he has waged [in the] years which have gone by since they worship the deity'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75; *KBo* II 9 IV 13–15 *mān* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL-*ya kuiski kuitki iyan harzi n-as harīyan harzi n-as-kan kāsa taknaz* SUD-*annahhi* 'if anyone has done anything to king, queen, and princes and has buried them, behold I draw them from the earth'; ibid. 20–21 *n-at waranti pahhuni piyan harzi n-at-kan kāsa pahhunaz huittiyannahhi* 'he has given it to burning fire, and lo I pull it from the fire'; *KUB* XV 32 I 46–47 *nasma-wa-smas-kan arha kuiski huittiyan tallian mugān harzi* 'or someone has drawn, conjured, and impetrated you off'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152), *har-za* (sic *KBo* IX 73 Vs. 12 [OHitt.] *karpan harza* 'holds aloft'; cf. e.g. *ēsza* s.v. *es-* 'be'; *HED* 1–2:285), **1 pl. pres. act.** *har-u-e-ni* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 16 III 33; cf. Götze, *AM* 58; XIII 35 III 48 *kue harwe[ni* 'which we have'; ibid. IV 2–3 *nasma-wa* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *tūriyan harweni* 'or we have a chariot hitched'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 12), *har-ú-e-ni* (e.g. *KBo* VI 34 II 45 *nu-war-as linkiya harweni* 'we have them [viz. women's garments] for oath-taking'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB* XXXIV 58 r. 2 *genzu harweni* 'we have kindness'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:194 [1977]; XXXII 121 II 22 -]*kan āppa tuk-pat asān harweni* 'we are seated behind you'; cf. ibid. 20 EGIR-*pa ANA* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *ēszi* 'sits behind the sorceress', 21 *āppa ANA* ^{LÚ}AZU *ēszi* 'sits behind the magician'), *har-wa-ni* (*KBo* XVII 3 I 17–18 [with dupl. XVII 1 I 22–23] 2 ^{D}]*Hantasepus harwani* GIŠ-*as harkanzi-ma-an* [^{D}*Hantasepes*] *anduhsas harsarr-a* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.HI.A[-*ya*] 'we hold two Hantasepa-icons of wood; but the icons hold both human heads and spears'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; Neu, *Altheth.* 13, 6; *KUB* XXXVI 109, 14 *natta harwani* 'we do not have'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 14:89 [1971]), **2 pl. pres. act.** *har-te-ni* (e.g. XIII 4 III 64 *mān ... kue harteni* 'if you have any'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]; XXIV 3 II 15–17 [*nu-nnas*] *uwatteni* DINGIR.MEŠ *ape[dani-ya uddani] wasduli harteni* 'you gods come and for this matter hold us in sin'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26; XIII 4 IV 36–38 *nu-ssi ...* AMAR *... pe harteni n-at le istantanuskatteni mēhunas-at mēhūni pe hartin* [spelled *har-tin*] '[if] you tender him a calf, do not put it off; tender it at the proper time'; ibid. I 51–52 *nu-smas-at arha INA* É.MEŠ-*KUNU pe harteni* 'you withhold it from them in your houses'; LIV 1 I 21–22 *nu-wa-smas anmuk*

tarahhan harteni ^{D}UTU-*ši-ma-wa-za* UL *tarahteni* 'you have me beaten, but his majesty you will not overcome'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:53 [1985]; *KBo* XVIII 144, 4–6 *mān-ma-s⟨mas⟩* DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Ankuwa* URU-*an malān harteni* 'if you gods approve for them the city of Ankuwa'; similarly *malān harteni* in *KUB* XVIII 12 Vs. 5; cf. Ünal, *RHA* 31:43 [1973]; *KBo* II 6 III 33; *KUB* XIII 4 II 14 *sumas-ma-az kuin maklandan markan harteni* 'but what lean [animal] you have cut up for yourselves'), *har-te-e-ni* (XIV 12 Rs. 10 *nu-mu uwatteni* DINGIR.[MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*YA*] *wastul hartēni* 'you gods my lords come and hold me in sin'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 238), *har-te-ni-i* (*KBo* XXII 1, 30–31 [OHitt.] *nu kissan AWĀT ABI-YA arhān hartenī* 'this is how you have carried out the mandate of my father'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-kán-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XVI 32 II 6 *nu* URU.DIDLI.HI.A-*ma kuyēs harkanzi* 'the cities which they hold'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:104; *ABoT* 9 I 4 *pe*]*da-s*[*me*]*t harkanzi* '[they] hold their places'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 10, *Altheth.* 63; *KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 5 *n-at* DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa harkanzi* 'the sons of Tarhumanawa have it'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]; *KBo* III 2 Rs. 36 *n-as nāwartanna harkanzi* 'they hold the nine-turn' [hippodromic term; cf. *aikawartanna* s. v.]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 130–2; XXIV 5, 11 *nu* SAL.GAL *anda harkanzi* 'they restrain the great-woman'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 224; *KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 3 and 14 *UNUT* LUGAL-*ma* EGIR-*an* UL *kuwatqa harkanzi* 'but the king's gear they do not hold back in any way'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118; IV 1 II 7–10 *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ *sumas ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Gasga arha* UL *kuitki harkanzi dammishann-a-smas* UL *kuitki harkanzi* 'the gods of Hatti withhold nothing from you gods of Gasgaland, nor have they done you any damage'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170; XXV 25 I 7–8 ^{D}*Zahpunan* [^{D}U UR]U *Neriqqa pe harkanzi* 'Z. and the storm-god of N. [i. e. their idols] they have along' [viz. for the outdoor rite]; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; *KBo* XII 119, 10 *dapian pe harka*[*nzi* 'they have everything along'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 135; XVII 65 Vs. 48 EGIR.KASKAL-*ya-as pe-pat harkanzi* 'and on the way back they bring them along'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138, 166; *KUB* LIV 10 II 8–9 *BIBRA* GUŠKIN-*ya-smas auwauwas* KAŠ-*it sūwandan piran pe harkanzi* 'they hand them a gold rhyton of spiderware, filled with beer'; V 1 II 8–9 *n-an* HUL-*uanza* GIG GAL-*ya anda dammassan harkanzi* 'evil and great ailment hold him in oppression'; repeated ibid. III 31 with *har-zi* [sic]; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:52, 70; *KBo* V 6 II 25 *nu-war-as-kan*

LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hurri anda wahnuwan harkanzi* 'the Hurrians have them surrounded'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:93 [1956]; XVII 62+63 I 17 *n-an piran karū handān harkanzi* 'they have it already diagnosed'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32; IV 9 VI 7 and 10 *parasnan harkanzi* '[they] squat'; cf. *KUB* XXV 1 II 8 *kuez parassanantes* 'on which side [they] [are] squatting'; XVII 21 IV 6–7 KUR ^{URU}*Nerigga-ma-az* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Gasga kuit dān harkanzi* 'but because the Gasgas have taken the land of N.'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 160; XXXVIII 26, 21 and 22 *pitin harkanzi* 'they have brought'; XIV 1 Rs. 53 *lingan harkanzi* 'they have sworn'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 32; XXX 51+ II 23–24 *nasma linkan harzi nasma-an ABU* AMA-[*ŠU*] *PANI* DINGIR.MEŠ *hurtan harkanzi* 'or he has [for]sworn, or his parents have cursed him before the gods'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 160), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-ku-un* (e. g. *KBo* III 6 II 27 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-*ma kuin apiya harkun* 'but the weapon which I had there'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KUB* XLII 100 III 31]-*wa annalaza* UL *ūk harkun* 'from way back I did not have ...'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:184 [1978]; XIV 3 I 62 *n-an ANA AWATE*.MEŠ *kuedas harkun* 'the words to which I treated [lit. held] him'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 4; XXVI 92, 8 *ANA* ^{I}ZAG.ŠEŠ-*ma kuit ṬUPPU INA* É.GAL-*LIM pe harkun* 'the tablet which I kept ready for Bentesina at the palace'; cf. Laroche, *Syria* 31:105 [1954]; *KBo* IV 4 II 20 and III 4 IV 16 *dāliyan harkun* 'I had [them] left [behind]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 114, 120; II 2 III 26–27 *duwan-ta kuit parā sallakartan harkun* 'because hitherto I had treated you haughtily'; ibid. IV 2 DINGIR-*LUM-ya kuit duwan parā sallakartan harkun* 'because hitherto I had treated the deity haughtily'; *KUB* XIX 23 Vs. 7 EN-*YA* ZI-*an* UL *warsiyanuwan harkun* 'I had not placated the spirit of my lord'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 311 [1977]), 2 sg. pret. act. *har-ta* (V 1 III 54 *duwān parā* GIM-*an* SAG.KI-*za harta* 'as all this while thou hast kept watch [over me]'), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ta* (e. g. *KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 4 ŠU-*za wariwaran pahhur harta* 'in his hand he held blazing fire'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 176; *KBo* V 8 III 5 EGIR-*pa-ma* $^{HUR.SAG}$*Ellurian harta* 'but in the rear he had Mt. Elluriya'; cf. Götze, *AM* 156; *KUB* XIV 15 I 27 ^{URU}*Impān harta* '[he] held I.' [militarily]; cf. Götze, *AM* 38; I 1 I 39 *nu-mu* DINGIR-*LUM kuit* GAŠAN-*YA* ŠU-*za harta* 'whereas the goddess my lady held me by the hand'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6; *KBo* III 1 I 30–31 *nu-za* ^{SAL}*Har*[*ap*]*sekin* [NIN *Mur*]*sīli* DAM-*anni harta* 'he had H., M.'s sister, as wife'; ibid. II 9–10 ^{I}*Telipinuss-az* ^{SAL}*Istapariyan hantezziyan* NIN-*ZU harta* 'T. had [as wife] I., his oldest sister';

ibid. 28 *nu-us pankus parā hingani harta* 'the assembly sentenced them to death'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 18, 26, 30 [1984]; *RS* 17:109 Recto 2–3 ^{I}*Attallis-wa-mu* ^{LÚ}*MAKISSU* 8 *ME* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *harta* 'A. the tax-collector had on me [a claim of] eight hundred shekels silver', calque on Akk. *kaspam elī-ya īšu* 'he had on me [a claim of] silver'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:769 [1968]; von Schuler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3:226–8 [1971]; *KUB* XIX 9 II 12 IGI-*anda harta* 'kept in view, noted'; *KBo* III 6 II 10 ^{URU}*Hattusan-ma kuin pe harta* 'the Hattusans whom he had along'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KBo* XIV 3 III 19–21 *kuit-ma pe harta n-at-si-kan* ABU-*YA arha daskit n-at* EGIR-*pa* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hatti peskit* 'but whatever he had with him, it my father would take away and give it back to the Hittites'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:67 [1956]; *KUB* XI 1 I 29–30 [emended from dupl. *KBo* III 1 I 29–30] *nu* ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA-*as* [NAM.RA.MEŠ *āssu-sset* ^{URU}*Hattusi*] *pe harta* 'he brought along deportees of Babylon and its goods to Hattusas'; *KUB* XIX 18 I 15–16 *n-an āssauwaz ... pe harta* 'along with goods he delivered it' [viz. the city to Suppiluliumas]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:76 [1956]; I 1 I 28–30 *nu-mu* ^{D}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA kuit kanissan harta* ŠEŠ-*YA-ya-mu* ^{I}NIR.GÁL *āssu harta* 'because Ištar my lady held me in favor, my brother Muwatallis also held me in esteem'; *KBo* III 4 I 11 *nu-wa-za* KUR.KUR.MEŠ ^{LÚ}KÚR *tarahhan harta* 'he held the enemy lands in subjection'; ibid. III 48–49 *n-at mekki tamassan harta* 'he held it greatly in oppression'; ibid. 39–40 *nu-za* $^{HUR.SAG}$*Asharpayan kuis* ^{URU}*Gasgas esan harta nu ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Palā* KASKAL.MEŠ *karassan harta* 'what Gasga-town held Mt. A. occupied and kept the roads to Palā-land cut'; cf. Götze, *AM* 16, 78, 76; V 6 III 28 *n-an-kan* INA UD.7.KAM *anda wahnuwan harta* 'he kept it under siege for seven days'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:95 [1956]; III 4 I 49 *nu-mu* KUR ^{URU}*Tipiya kuit kururiyahha⟨n⟩ harta* 'because T. was at war with me'; III 28 II 22 *addas-mis-a-mu kedani ara iyan harta* 'my father had me duly betrothed [lit. made] to her'; *KUB* XXVII 1 I 5–6 ^{I}*Mursilis-at* ABI ^{D}UTU-*ŠI kissan iyan harta* 'Mursilis, my majesty's father, had it done thus'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75; *KBo* V 8 I 17 *nu-mu* MUŠEN *arān harta* 'a[n oracular] bird was on the wing [lit. risen] for me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148; *KBo* XIX 76 + *KUB* XIV 20 I 32–33 *nu-z]a* ^{LÚ}KÚR *halkius warsūwanzi arha tarnan harta* 'the enemy had gone off to harvest the crops'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 161 [1979]; *KBo* IV 4 II 63–64 KARAS.HI.A ... *halki*HI.A-*us harninkuwanzi pehudan harta* 'what troops [he] had

led to destroy the crops'; ibid. III 33–35 *nu-mu-kan ...* ^{D}*Hasammilin* BELĪ-*YA weriyan harta nu-mu munnanda harta*; par. *KUB* XIV 18, 5 *weri]yat nu-mu munnan harta* ['for me [he] had summoned my lord H., and he kept me hidden'; cf. Götze, *AM* 120, 126; *KBo* XVI 8 II 32–33 *nu-m[u]* [^{URU}*G]asgas kuit isdammassan harta* 'because the Gasga-town had heard of me'), *har-da* (XVIII 54 Vs. 9 *nu* TUPPU *kuit* MAHAR EN-*YA pe harda* 'and the tablet which he tendered to my lord'; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:203 [1978–9]), 1 pl. pret. act. *har-u-en* (*KUB* XXI 14, 9; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:113), 2 pl. pret. act. *har-te-en* (XXVI 20, 5; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 140), *har-tin* (XIV 13 + XXIII 124 I 22 *nu antuhsatar* [ŪL] *tarnan hartin* 'you had not abandoned mankind'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 244; XXI 8 III 7; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 18), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ki-ir* (e.g. *KBo* V 8 II 12–14 *nu kuit* KUR-*TUM harninkir kuit-ma-za esantat-pat n-at harkir-pat* 'some land they destroyed, but some they occupied and held'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; *KUB* XXIV 8 III 9]^{LÚ}HUL-*lu* KASKAL-*an harkir* '[they] held to the bad road'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10; *KBo* V 8 I 23–24 *nu-mu istamassan kuit harkir* 'because they had heard of me'), *har-kir* (e.g. V 6 I 23 *nu* BELU.MEŠ *kue* BÀD KARAŠ *harkir* 'the fortress camps which the commanders were holding'; ibid. 15–16 *nu-kan ... kuyēs* É *arzanan harkir* 'some were put up in hostels'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:91, 90 [1956]; IV 4 IV 29–31 *nu* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Azzi kuyēs* URU.DIDLI.HI.A BÀD ^{NA_4}*perunus* HUR.SAG.MEŠ-*us pargawēs nakkī* AŠRI.HI.A EGIR-*pa harkir* 'the men of Azzi who occupied fortress cities and high rocky mountains, steep places'; cf. Götze, *AM* 138; *KUB* XIX 37 III 48 *nu* ^{URU}*Hattusi* GEŠTIN-*an arkammananni pe harkir* 'to Hattusas they brought along wine as tribute'; cf. Götze, *AM* 176; *KBo* V 8 I 11 *IŠTU* ERÍN.MEŠ-*ya-at-mu-kan menahhanda esan harkir* 'with troops they held it occupied facing me'; *KUB* XIV 16 Vs. 24 *nu* KUR-*e pahhasnuwan harkir* 'they kept the land protected'; cf. Götze, *AM* 28; *KBo* XIV 19 II 15–17 *nu ... kuit ...* BAL *daparriyan harkir* 'whereas [they] were masterminds of rebellion'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:174 [1966]), 2 sg. imp. act. *har-ak* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 16 *nu-wa-kan* KUR.KUR.HI.A ^{LÚ}KÚR *menahhanta harak* 'hold the lands in the face of the enemy!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 24; XXXIII 68 II 16 ŠÀ-*it harak* 'hold in thy heart'; ibid. 4 *nu* GEŠTUG-*an lagān harak* 'hold your ear bent!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:128 [1965]; XIII 2 III 34-35 *nu-smas-san hūmadaz* IGI.HI.A-*wa harak* 'and for them in every way have eyes'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 48; *KBo* VIII 68

IV 8 *nu-war-an* TI-*an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well!'; *KUB* XXX 24 II 1 *kunn-a-wa-ssi* Ú.SAL-*LAM* ^{D}UTU-*us āra iyan harak* 'and this meadow, o sun-god, have duly made for him!'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; XIV 4 IV 11 *nu-wa karussiyan harak* 'keep quiet!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *har-tu* (XXXI 81 Vs. 3), *har-du* (e. g. XXIV 9 II 25 *n-at dankuīs daganzipas hardu* 'let the dark earth hold it!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 34; *KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 21 *takn]as* ^{D}UTU-*i* ^{GIŠ}*zuppari lukkan hardu* 'to the sun-goddess of the earth let him hold a lighted torch'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; *KUB* XIII 1 IV 3 *halkuēsnass-a* IGI.HI.A-*wa hardu* 'and for produce let him have eyes'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62; XIII 2 IV 23–24 *gimmi-ya-as-san ANA* GUD.MEŠ LUGAL IGI.HI.A-*wa hardu* 'in winter let him have eyes for the king's cattle'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; XXVI 43 Vs. 57 *pedan-pat hardu* 'let it take place' [cf. French *avoir lieu*]; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:30, 94–5 [1974]; XXXVI 110 Rs. 9–10 *nu-za-pa utniyanza hūmanza iski(s)-smet anda* ^{URU}*Hattusa lagan hardu* 'let all the land have its back bent to Hattusas'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 227; *KBo* XII 126 I 17 *[n-a]t* ^{TÚG}*kuressar ēsdu n-at-san INA* SAG.DU-*ŠU siyan hardu* 'let it be a hood, and let her wear it on her head'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22; 1112/c + III 26–27 *nu-was-smas āssui* TI-*anni parā ta[rn]an hardu* 'may it hold you exposed to well-being [and] life'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; *KUB* XIII 2 I 9–10 *nu ŠA* ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuyēs* KASKAL.HI.A *n-as-za BEL MADKALTI kappūwan hardu n-as-za gulassan hardu* 'what the routes of the enemy [are], the watch commander shall have them counted and he shall have them written down'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 41), 2 pl. imp. act. *har-te-en* (e. g. XVII 21 IV 13 *nu-wa-az hanzan sumes harten* 'watch out!'; XXIV 9 II 32–33 *kī* HUL-*lu alwanzata sumes [tarn]an harten* 'hold this evil hex pinned down!'), *har-tin* (e. g. XXIV 10 III 32 *[n-an]* TI-*nuan hartin* 'keep him alive!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 48; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 6 TI-*an hartin* 'keep alive!'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34; *KUB* XIII 4 IV 3–4 *n-asta* [...] *kuit ... sumās ...* DINGIR.MEŠ-*[as] pe ha[rt]eni n-at hūdāk mēhūnas mēhuni pe hartin* 'what you tender to the gods, tender it promptly at the proper time!'; ibid. I 60 *IŠTU* NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN *INA* É DINGIR-*LIM hūman sarā pe hartin* 'of bread, beer, and wine in the temple offer up everything!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390, 370 [1934]; ibid. III 58–59 *nahsarattan mekki tiyan hartin* 'keep respect very much in place!'; cf. XIII 2 II 36–37 *namma-ssan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as nahsaraz tiyan ēsdu ANA* ^{D}U-*ma-ssan nah-*

saraz mekki kittaru 'furthermore let respect for the gods be in place; but towards the storm-god let respect be very much in place'; XIII 20 I 29 *nu-ssan sakuwassarit* ZI-*it kattan tiyan hartin* 'hold firm with loyal soul!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:392 [1947]; *KBo* XIX 88, 5 *]hatiuidān hartin* 'have inventoried!'), 3 pl. imp. act. *har-kán-du* (e. g. XV 10 I 24 *ser* SAG.DU-*ZU harkandu* 'above let them hold her head'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16; *VBoT* 2, 19–20 *nu-tta* ŠU.HI.A-*us arahzanda assūli harkandu* 'may [the gods] graciously hold their hands around you'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB* XXXIII 68 III 11 *kissarta harkandu* 'let them hold by the hand'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:129 [1965]; XIII 2 I 11 *namma* 1 KASKAL 3 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NÍ.ZU-*TIM harkandu* 'moreover three scouts shall cover [lit. hold] one route'; XIII 4 I 16 *parkuwa-ya* TÚG.HI.A *wassan harkandu* 'and let them wear clean clothes').

The sense 'hold, keep, have (in a certain way)' involves adverbs (e. g. IGI-*anda* [= *menahhanda*] *hark-* 'have face-to-front, keep in view', *arahzanda hark-* 'hold [arms] around, embrace', *āssu hark-* 'regard well, hold in esteem'), including adverbially used neuter participles, sometimes in the plural (*munnanda hark-* 'keep in hiding'), normally in the singular (e. g. *munnan hark-*, *kanissan hark-* 'hold in favor', *tarahhan hark-* 'hold in subjection', *tamassan hark-* 'keep in oppression'). The participle is thus not predicative with secondary loss of congruence and freezing of neuter form, but a nom.-acc. neuter used adverbially. In semantic circumstances where the subject's control of the situation does not linger but ends with the initial act, this turn of phrase amounts to a compound past tense, with subtle shift of *hark-* to auxiliary verb status: contrast e. g. *kunn-a-wa-ssi āra iyan harak* 'have it duly made for him!' (so that it stays his), with *kī henkan iyan harti* 'thou hast made this plague' (but we have to pick up the pieces). The finite verb can even be elliptically suppressed (as in "she done him wrong"), e. g. *KUB* XXI 42 IV 24 *[me]mian* GÙB-*tar kuiski* DÙ-*an* MUD *nasma* BAL '(if) someone done a wrongful thing, bloodshed or revolt' (vs. ibid. 28 *[iy]an harzi*). The occasional construction of *hark-* with intransitive verbs (e. g. *iskarān harzi* 'cleaves to', *parasnan harzi* 'squats', *asān harweni* 'we are seated', *arān harta* 'was on the wing', *karussiyan harak* 'keep quiet!') is a phraseological twist reminiscent of the Greek use of ἔχω 'hold, have' intransitively with adverbs, e. g. ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν 'stay clear', ὡς ἔχω 'how I am'. For earlier discussion

of such usages see esp. Benveniste, *Hittite* 41–65, and J. Boley, *The Hittite* hark-*construction* (*IBS* 44, 1984).

hark- is convincingly connected (at least since Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:215 [1930], and Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 50; already S. Bugge in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe* 94 [1902]!) with Lat. *arceō* 'hold in, shut up; hold off, keep at a distance, hinder' (stative verb like *habeō, teneō*, OHG *habēn*, Lith. *turėti* 'have'), *abarceō* '*prohibeō*' (cf. *appa hark-*), *exerceō* 'keep after, keep busy, impel', *arx* 'stronghold, fortress' (cf. *nu* ... URU.DIDLI.HI.A BÀD EGIR-*pa harkir* '[they] occupied fortress towns, *arces tenebant*'), *arcula* (prohibitory augural bird, *quae in auspiciis vetabat aliquid fieri* [*Festus*]), *arca* 'chest, box', *arcānus* 'hidden', *Orcus* 'Confiner' (cf. *Styx ... coercet* [Vergil]), Gk. *ἀρκέω* 'ward off', *τὸ ἄρκος* 'defence', Arm. *argel* 'hindrance'; the root *$*A_1$er-k-* parallels **Ael-k-* 'ward off, defend' (Arm. *argel* vs. OHG *rigil* 'bolt, bar' as Gk. *ἄλκαρ* vs. Skt. *rakṣ-* [cf. Benveniste, *Origines* 151–2]; lat. *arx* as Gk. **ἄλξ* 'defence' [in dat. *ἄλκί*]; Lat. *arca* as Gk. *ἀλκή*); *pe hark-* is matched by Lat. *porceō* (< **po-arceō*) 'hold off' (cf. C. Watkins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74:67–74 [1970]; F. Bader, *BSL* 68.1:55 [1973]); for the formulaic similarity of *KUB* XXXI 143 II 21 *nepis tēkann-a harsi* 'you (Telipinus) hold heaven and earth', or *KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 12 *hūman kuis harzi natta ūk* 'who but I holds all?' with Ennius, *Annales* 543 *omnia per sonitus arcet terram mare caelum* '(Jupiter who) holds all by thunder, earth, sea, heaven', see J. Catsanicos, *BSL* 81.1:139–43 (1986). The primary verb *har(k)-* is notable for nonattestation of nonfinite forms (including participles) and derivatives, and for dearth of extra-Hittite Anatolian cognates. The loss of stem-final *-k-* before consonantal endings is due not to stem variation (pace Watkins, op. cit. 71) nor to mere "wear" in an auxiliary verb (as in German *hat* vs. *lebt*; wrongly H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 89–90 [1975], and Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 190), but to paradigmatic preconsonantal generalization of the loss of *k* in the normal assimilation of **kt* to *t* (*harzi* < **harti* < **harkti*; cf. e.g. *luttai, uttar*; contrast the inhibitory action of "Bartholomae's law" in *harakzi* s.v. *har*[*a*]*k-* [next entry]).

Despite this excellent etymology, there have been numerous abortive alternatives; to the litany in Tischler (*Glossar* 174–5), notably Laroche's adduction (*BSL* 52.2:29–30 [1956]) of Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'stretch' (q.v. rather s.v. *harganau-*), add attempted connections of *har(k)-* with both Gk. *ἄρχω* 'be first, begin, rule' (unexplained) and Skt.

árhati 'be worth' (q.v. rather s.v. *halkuessar*; S. S. Misra, *Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta* 7:38–40 [1966]), and with a root **ar-* 'get, gain' (as allegedly in Indo-Iranian **arya-mán-* 'wealth-minder', q.v. rather s.v. *ara-*; cf. L. R. Palmer, in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Gedenkschrift für H. Güntert* 17 [1974], and earlier O. Szemerényi, *KZ* 73:183 [1956]).

har(a)k-, harkiya- 'get lost, lose oneself, abscond, lapse, expire, disappear, vanish, be ruined, perish' (ZÁH; Akk. *halāqu*), 1 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-mi* (*KUB* LIV 1 II 48–50 *nu-wa ammuk* GIM-*an innarā harakmi zik-ma-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* EN-*YA ammel hanni*[*ssar*] *punuski* 'as I am purposely ruined, do thou, god my lord, inquire into my case!'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:56 [1985]), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-ti* (XXXVI 57 III 8 *nu akti harakti* 'you die, you perish'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 62; XXI 19 + 1303/u III 30 *anda harakti* 'you will perish'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 314; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:94 [1981]), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-zi* (e.g. IV 1 III 20 É LÚ *harakzi*, matching ibid. 17–18 [Akk.] É LÚ *i*-ZÁH [= *ihalliq*] 'the man's house will perish'; VIII 1 III 12 *arunas āssu harakzi* 'the sea's bounty will be undone', matching Akk. *hiṣib tāmti ihalliq* of similar astrological omina; XXXIV 18 II 10 URU-*ŠU-ma harakzi* 'his town will perish', paralleling IV 67 II 4–5 [Akk.] *āl*^{KI}*-šu innaqqar* 'his town will be razed' [passive of *naqāru* 'raze, destroy', q.v. infra sub *harni(n)k-*]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 68, 70, 71; *KBo* XIII 13 Vs. 10 É ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ŠU harakzi* 'his enemy's house will perish'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60; *KUB* XIII 4 III 50–51 *nu* É.DINGIR-*LIM-ma imma* 1-*an harakzi* ^{URU}*Hattusas-ma* LUGAL-*was āssu* ÚL *harakzi* 'the temple alone will indeed perish, but Hattusas, the king's possession, will not perish'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]; XVII 10 IV 16–17 *kuit andan paizzi n-asta namma sarā* ÚL *uizzi anda-d-an harakzi* 'what goes inside does not come up any more; it perishes within'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; par. XXXIII 8 III 8–10 *kuit-kan anda paizzi n-at-kan namma sarā* UL *uizzi anda-pat-kan harakzi*, with dupl. *IBoT* III 141 IV 13 *a*]*nda-at-san harak*[*zi*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]; XXX 34 IV 16 *kī wātar* GIM-*an arha harakzi* 'as this water disappears' [viz. down the drain]; *KBo* VI 3 III 73–74 [= *Code* 1:75] *n-as aki nasma-an* UR.BAR.RA-*as karāpi nasma-as harakzi* 'it [viz. a harnessed animal] dies, or a wolf devours it, or it disappears'; ibid. IV 53 [= *Code* 1:98] *andan-a* É-*ri kuit harakzi*

LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*ku* GUD-*ku* UDU-*ku ēszi* 'what perishes inside the [burnt-down] house, whether it be a man, cattle, or sheep'; VI 10 II 18 [= *Code* 2:27] *kuit kuit harakzi ta-at sarnikzi* 'whatever is lost, that he restores'; VI 4 IV 2–3 *kuitta-ya-ssi-kan kuit harakzi n-at* EGIR-*pa* 1-*ŠU sarnikzi* 'and whatever he loses [lit.: is lost to him], this he compensates onefold'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 56; VI 2 + XIX 1 II 23 [= *Code* 1:41, OHitt.] *takku* LÚ *ILKI harakzi Ù* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *tittianza* 'if a liegeman absconds and an artisan [is] installed'; ibid. 26 *sahhan-a harakz*[*i*] 'and the fief lapses'; cf. Otten and Souček, *AfO* 21:3 [1966]; VI 4 IV 16 EN A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-*ma-kan harakzi* 'but the owner of the fieldland absconds'; *KUB* XXXI 89 II 5 *n-asta arha le kuiski harakzi* 'let none be ruined', with dupl. XXXI 86 II 15 *n-asta arha le kuitki harak*[*zi*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43; *KBo* III 27 Vs. 31 ^{URU}*Halpass-a harakzi* 'Aleppo too will perish'), 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ku-e-ni* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 29–30 *māhhan iyaweni kistantit harkueni* 'what shall we do? we shall perish from hunger'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]), 2 pl. pres. act. *har-ak-te-ni* (I 16 III 37 -]*ssan ŪL huyisteni nu harakteni* 'you will not live, you will perish'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; XIII 4 IV 54–55 and dupl. XIII 17 IV 16 *n-asta QADU* DAM.MEŠ-*KUNU* DUMU.MEŠ-*KUNU harakteni* 'you will perish with your wives [and] your children'), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-kán-zi* (e. g. XXIV 3 II 55–56 *n-asta l*[*e*] *āssawēs idālauwas anda harkanzi* 'let not the good perish among the bad'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 30; *KBo* XV 10 III 55–58 and II 13–16 *ke māhhan harkanzi ... alwanzatar-set idālu uddār-set QATAMMA harakdu* 'even as these [magic objects] vanish, let her hex and evil words likewise vanish'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 42–4, 22), *har-ki-ya-an-zi* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 17–18 *nu* KUR-*ya andan kāsza kīsati* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*s-a kistantit harkiyanzi* 'in the land famine has come about, men and gods perish from hunger'), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ak-ta* (e. g. *KBo* V 3 III 58 *antuhsas harakta* 'a man perished'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128; *KUB* XIV 14 Vs. 32 *n-at luluwandat ŪL kuitki harakta* 'they throve, nothing perished'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 168; XIV 7 I 18–19 *BELU*.MEŠ-[*ya*] EGIR-*izziuss-a* UKÙ.MEŠ-*tar kuwapi harakta* 'whereas lords and lowly folk had perished'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 311; XIX 9 I 6 *nu* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *hūman*[*da*] *arha harakta* 'all the lands were ruined'; *VBoT* 58 I 25; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]; *KUB* XXXIII 24 I 40; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:115 [1965]; V 1 III 52; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:72), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ki-e-ir* (I 16 III 45 *ŠA* ^{LÚ}GAL.GAL-*TIM* É-*ŠUNU kuwapi ŪL-at harkier* 'the houses of

grandees, where [are they]? have they not vanished?'), *har-kir* (XIII 35 IV 48 [ANŠU].GÌR.NUN.NA.HI.A-*wa kuyēs memir harkir-war-at* 'the mules they spoke of, they have perished'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 14), 3 sg. imp. act. *har-ak-tu* (XXXVI 106 Rs. 7; cf. Otten, *ZA* 52:218 [1957]), *har-ak-du* (e. g. XXXIII 8 III 13–14 *n-at-kan namma sarā le uizzi anda-at-kan harakdu* 'let it not come up any more, let it perish within'; XXXIII 54 II 9 *n-at-kan anda harakdu*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]; *KBo* VI 34 II 16–18 MUN-*ya* GIM-*an* NUMUN-*ŠÚ* NU.GÁL *apedani-ya-kan* UKÙ-*si ŠUM-ŠU* NUMUN.HI.A-*ŠU* É-*ŠU* GUD.HI.A-*ŠU* UDU.HI.A-*ŠU QATAMMA harakdu* 'even as salt has no progeny, let likewise this man's name, progeny, house, herds and flocks perish'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 46 KUR.KUR.HI.A ^{LÚ}KÚR-*wa harakdu* 'let the enemy lands perish'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 376), *har-ki-e-id-du* (XLIII 75, 7 *har*]*kieddu* 'shall perish'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 16), 3 sg. imp. midd. *har-ki-ya-it-ta-ru* (LVII 63 II 6–8 *arahzenan-wa ŠA* ^{LÚ}KÚR KUR.KUR-*TIM Labarnas kissaraz harkiyaittaru* 'the adjoining enemy lands shall perish at Labarnas' hands'), *har-ki-it-ta-ru* (dupl. LVII 60 Vs. 2–4 [*a*]*rahzenan-wa ŠA* ^{LÚ}KÚR KUR.[KUR-*TIM*] *Labarnas kissaraz harkittaru*; cf. Starke, *ZA* 69:81 [1979]; A. Archi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 49–50 [1979], *Documentum Otten* 18); partic. *harkant-*, nom. sg. c. *har-ga-an-za* (1194/v + XIX 65 +, 15 *arha harganza ēsta* '[Nerik] had been in ruins'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 20), *har-kán-za* (e. g. XXI 19 + 338/v III 11–13 KUR ^{URU}*Nerik hūdak-pat karuuiliyas ANA* LUGAL.MEŠ *karū harkanza ēsta* 'N. had suddenly under the early kings in olden days gone to ruin'; XIII 4 IV 15–16 *nasma* A.ŠÀ DINGIR-*LIM miyanza* A.ŠÀ ^{LÚ}APIN.LAL-*ma-kan anda harkanza* 'or [if] the god's field is growing but the plowman's field is ruined'; *KBo* VI 4 IV 25 *takku iwaruwas* EN-*as* A.ŠÀ A.GÀR *harkanza* 'if the grantor's fieldland [i. e. its legal standing] has lapsed'; ibid. 34 *takku* A.ŠÀ A.GÀR *harkanza*), acc. sg. c. *har-kán-ta-*[*an* (ibid. III 19), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ga-an* (*KUB* XIX 11 I 12 *kuit IŠTU* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ŠU hargan ēsta* 'which had been ruined by its enemy'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:63 [1956]; *KBo* XVI 32 IV 12 *hargan* KUR-*e* 'the land ruined'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:89 [1975–6]), *har-kán* (e. g. *KUB* XXIV 8 II 16–7 KUR-*e-wa ni-kku kuwapikki harkan man-wa* URU.DIDLI.HI.A *ni-kku kūwapikki dannatessantes* '[has] either the land somewhere been ruined, or perhaps towns somewhere been devastated?'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:218 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu*

8; both with wrong translation of *ni-kku* as 'not'; cf. s. v. *ne-, ni-*; XIII 2 II 30–31 *kinun-at katta mutān n-at arha harkan* 'now it [viz. the shrine] [is] neglected and gone to ruin'; dupl. XXXI 90 II 12 *arha har-ak* [sic]; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 45; XIII 2 II 40 *nasma-kan tamēdas* DINGIR-*LIM kuedani* UNUTUM *harkan* 'or a utensil of some other deity [has] gotten lost'; dupl. XXXI 90 III 10 correctly *d]amēdani* ANA DINGIR-*LIM kue[dani*; *KBo* VI 4 IV 8 *nu-ssi-kan kuit harkan* 'what he [has] lost'; *KUB* XIX 29 IV 17 *kez-ma-wa-tta* KUR-*KA arha harkan* 'at this time your land [is] ruined'; cf. Götze, *AM* 18), gen. sg. *har-kán-ta-as* (XVII 8 IV 34 *harkantas parna[s* 'of the ruined house'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:168 [1965]; XXXI 84 III 66–67 *harkantass-a* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *kuis* A.ŠÀ.HI.A *sannātta-ya kue pietta ne-tta hūman gulassan ēstu* 'that which [is] of a missing artisan, and vacated fields which [are] a grant, let all be written down for you'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50), nom. pl. c. *har-kán-te-es* (V 7 Rs. 25, besides ibid. 24 *har-kán-za*), gen. pl. *har-kán-ta-as* (XVI 83 I 46–47 *IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM-ma-mu kuit* INIM *UNUT harkantas ŠA* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Ninuwa hatrāir* 'but as to the matter of the lost implements of Ištar of Ninive which they wrote to me from the palace'), dat.-loc. pl. *har-kán-ta-as* (ibid. 47–48 *harkantas* UNUTE.HI.A *ser* 'on account of the lost implements'); verbal noun *harkatar* (n.), gen. sg. *har-kán-na-as* (*KBo* IV 10 Vs. 10 *mān-as harkannas-ma n-as harakdu* 'if he is [deserving] of perdition, let him perish'; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:332), dat.-loc. sg. *har-ga-an-ni* (*KUB* XXIII 71, 5), abl. sg. *har-kán-na-za* (*IBoT* I 33, 72 *harkannaza akkannaza* 'from destruction-and-death'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:154 [1958]); inf. *har-kán-na* (*KUB* I 6 III 9–10 *apās-ma-mu harkanna* [...] ... *sanahta* 'but he sought to have me ruined'), *har-ga-an-na* (dupl. 995/1969 + *KUB* XIX 67 II 8–10 *apās-m]a-mu harganna* ... [...] ... *sanahta*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; 299/1986 III 27 *n-at harganna tepnummanzi-ya le tarnai* 'he shall not let them be ruined and humiliated'; similarly ibid. II 71 and 77; ibid. III 72; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 22, 24, 50); iter. *harkiski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *har-ki-is-kán-ta-ri* (*KBo* III 1 II 56–57 DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ma kuedani* [*se*]*r harkiskantari* 'on whatever account sons of kings perish'; dupl. *KUB* XI 6 II 3 *ser harkiskan*[-; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 34 [1984]).

harka- (c.) 'loss, perdition, destruction, bane, ruin' (ZÁH-*TI* = ŠAHLUQTI [*halāqu*]), nom. sg. *har-ga-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIV 18 II 9 KUR-*yas hargas* 'destruction of the land', paralleling IV 67 II 2

[Akk.] *šahluqt*[*i*; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 68, 70, 71; VIII 1 III 2 KUR-*eas hargas*; VIII 14 Rs. 14 KUR-*eas harga*[*s*]; ibid. 9 *utniyas harga*[*s*]; XIV 7 I 20–21 *ŠA* ^{SAL}*Danuhepa-ma hargas* ANA ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na mān* ZI-*anza ēsta* 'whether D.'s perdition was the will of the sungoddess of Arinna'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 311; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:90 [1981]; *KBo* III 4 III 59 *namma-as-za* ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*si hargas kisat* 'it [viz. the Gasga-town] became a bane for Hattusas'; cf. Götze, *AM* 80; XVI 99 I 5 *hargas hingan* ŪL DÙ-*ri* 'destruction [and] death do not occur'), ZÁH-*TI* (*KUB* VII 3 I 12 ^{NA_4}KIŠIB ZÁH-*TI* 'destruction of the seal'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 85), acc. sg. *ha-ar-ka-an* (*KBo* XVIII 151 Vs. 12–13 [OHitt.] *istarnikayin tas henkan tas harkan tas assu bayis* 'she took ailment, she took doom, she took ruin, she gave good'; ibid. 9 *harkan tas*; cf. Ünal and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 88:164 [1974]), *har-kán* (*IBoT* I 33, 101 SAG.DU-*as harkan uskisi* 'do you see destruction on [his majesty's] head?'; *KUB* V 1 II 51 2 LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ma-as* GÙB-*tar* KASKAL-*NU ŠA* LUGAL IGI-*was uwatar ŠA* MÈ-*ya harkan* ME-*ir* 'two men of Hattusas took wrongness, campaign, the king's eyesight, and the destruction of battle'; ibid. III 27 ^{LÚ}KÚR *ŠA* MÈ-*ya harkan* ME-*as* '[he] took the enemy and the destruction of battle'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:58, 69), *har-ga-an* (XIX 23 Rs. 15 *kinun-ma* GIM-*an ŠA* EN-*YA hargan isdammassir* 'but now that they have heard of my lord's perdition'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]; XXI 27 I 46–47 *apās-ma apēl harga*[*n*] [*ap*]*ēll-a hinkan* ŪL *kapp*[*uwāit*] 'but that man [viz. Urhi-Tesupas] did not give a hoot about its [viz. Nerik's] destruction and its doom'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 13; A. Archi, *SMEA* 14:192 [1971]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 331; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:110 [1981]; XIV 24, 22 *tuel hargan* 'your ruin'; cf. Götze, *AM* 146), dat.-loc. sg. *har-ki* (*IBoT* I 33, 7 *harki akkanni* 'to destruction-and-death'; *KUB* V 1 I 84 *n-as-kan* ANA ^{LÚ}KÚR *harki* GAR-*ri* 'it [i. e. the oracular outcome] is set for ruin for the enemy'; V 17 II 12 *n-at-za-kan harki* ME-*is* 'he set it for ruin').

harni(n)k- 'make disappear, ruin, wipe out, destroy' (ZÁH; *HUL-LUQU*; Akk. *hulluqu* 'make disappear, destroy' [*halāqu*], *naqāru* 'demolish, raze, destroy'), 1 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-mi* (*KBo* V 13 I 8–9 *nu-wa uwami nu-wa-smas* QADU KUR-*KUNU arha harnikmi* 'I shall come and destroy you along with your land'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:112; *KUB* XXI 5 II 10 KUR-*e-ya-ssi-ssan anda harnikmi* 'and I shall destroy his land'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:58; *KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 9 [*ta-a*] *udnē harnikmi* 'these

lands I shall destroy'; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 174 [1987]), *har-ni-ik-ki-mi* (dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 9 *ta-a* KUR-*e harnikkimi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-si* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 III 8 D]*Kumarbin harniksi*[; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *5; Laroche, *RHA* 26:44 [1968]), *har-ni-ik-ti* (XIV 16 III 17, XIV 15 IV 29–30, *KBo* III 4 III 47–48 *BELI-NI-wa-nnas le harnikti* 'our lord, do not destroy us'; cf. Götze, *AM* 56, 70, 128; ibid. IV 33 *BELI-NI-wa-nnas le kuitki harnikti* 'our lord, in no way destroy us'; cf. Götze, *AM* 138), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-zi* (e. g. *KUB* IV 1 III 16 LUGAL-*was* [sic] LÚ.MEŠ *taparias-sēs harnikzi* 'the king will destroy his men of command', matching ibid. 15 [Akk.] LUGAL-*ru maliki u*-ZÁH [= *uhalliq*] 'the king will destroy [his] counselors'; *KBo* VI 11 I 8–9 [= *Code* 2:7] *takku* LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*as iyatniyandas* GIŠŠAR.GEŠTIN UDU.HI.A *tarnāi ta-a harnikzi* 'if a man lets sheep into growing vineyards and causes these to be ruined'; dupl. *KUB* XXIX 23, 6 [*t*]*a harnikzi*; *KBo* VI 10 III 10 [= *Code* 2:44] *t-us harnikzi* 'and he ruins them' [viz. scissors]; *KUB* XXIV 8 I 6 *t-us harnikzi* '[he] destroys them' [viz. evil men]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4), 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ku-*[*e-ni* (XXXIII 120 III 3), 2 pl. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-te-ni* (XIV 1 Vs. 68 *nu-wa-za* UR]U*Hinduwan harnikteni* 'you will destroy H.'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16; XXXIII 103 II 4 [*man-m*]*a* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*UTTI har-te-ik-te-ni* [sic, for correct dupl. XXXIII 100, 12 -]*ni-ik-te-ni*] 'were you to destroy mankind'; XXXIII 103 II 2 *har-ni-ik-t*[*e-ni*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46; XIII 4 I 13 *le harni*[*k*]*teni* 'do not destroy!'), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ku-un* (e. g. *KBo* X 2 I 10 and 16 *n-an harninkun*, matching X 1 Vs. 4 and 7 [Akk.] *uhalliq-šu* 'I destroyed it' [viz. the city]; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:44, 77 [1965]; X 2 I 19 *nu ke* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *harninkun* 'these lands I destroyed', beside X 1 Vs. 9 [Akk.] *ú-hal-liq*; X 2 I 36 *nu* KUR URU*Ulman harninkun*, matching X 1 Vs. 17 [Akk.] URU*Ulumma uhalliq-šu-ma* 'and I destroyed U.'; similarly X 2 I 48, II 10, 12, III 3, 8, 38, matching X 1 Vs. 24, 30, 31, Rs. 3, 5, 23 [Akk.]; III 46 Vs. 9 URU*Purush*]*andan harninkun* 'I destroyed P.'; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; XII 8 IV 14–15 LUGAL.GAL URU*Hassūw*[*a* ...] *harninkun* 'I the great king destroyed H.'; cf. Carruba, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 77; III 1 II 17 *nu* URU*Hassuwan harninkun*; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 28 [1984]; *KUB* XIII 9 + XL 62 I 2 *mān* URU*Āssuwa harninkun* 'when I had destroyed A.'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 446 [1959]; XXIII 11 II 33 *mā*]*n* KUR URU*Āssuwa harninkun*; cf. Carruba, *SMEA*

18:158 [1977]; *KBo* XVI 17 + II 5a III 19–21 *nu pāun nu* KUR URU*Widduwasina harninkun parā-ma* KUR URU*Astimahussa Ú-HAL-LIQ* 'I went and destroyed W., and further I destroyed A.'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:172 [1955]; *KUB* XIV 25 I 5 KUR URU*Sunu*]*passi harninkun*; ibid. 4 *harn*]*inkun*; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:176 [1966]; XIX 37 III 41–42 *nu* KUR URU*Hurna* URU*Hurnann-a harninkun* 'I destroyed the land and city of H.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 176; *KBo* II 5 II 5–6 *nu paun* KUR URU*Taggasta harninkun* 'I went and destroyed T.'; further trail of destruction ibid. 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, III 52; cf. Götze, *AM* 182; *KUB* VI 41 I 43 *n-an arha harninkun* 'and I wiped it out'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:112; XIV 15 IV 27–28 *mān-an arha harninkun nu-mu-kan* AMA-*ŠU menahha*[*nda par*]*ā naista* 'I would have rubbed him out, but he sent his mother to face me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 70; XIX 49 I 38 [*man t*]*uqq-a* QATAMMA *harninku*[*n* 'I would have destroyed you too'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:6; *KBo* IV 4 IV 36–37 *n-as namma* DUTU-*ŠI ŪL harninkun* 'as a result I my majesty did not destroy them'; cf. Götze, *AM* 138; *VBoT* 58 IV 8 [DING]IR.MEŠ-*as uddār ŪL kuitki harninkun* 'in no way did I wipe out the gods' words'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:85 [1965]), *har-ni-en-ku-un* (*KBo* XIV 19 III 28 KUR-*e-ma harnenku*[*n*]; ibid. II 28; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:175–6 [1966]), *har-ni-ku-un* (II 5a II 6 *a*]*rha harnikun*; cf. Götze, *AM* 184), 2 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-ik-ta* (IV 4 IV 45–46 *BELI-wa-nnas karū* [*ku*]*it harnikta nu-wa BELI-NI le namma uwasi* 'as you lord destroyed us once before, do not come again, our lord'; cf. Götze, *AM* 138–40; *KUB* XXIV 7 II 4 *kuin-ma-za* LÚ-*an* LÚGURUŠ-*an-pat harnikta* 'but another man you destroyed even in his prime'; ibid. 8 *n-as-kan arha harnikta* 'and you utterly destroyed them'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:307 [1977]; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:158 [1983]), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-ik-ta* (e. g. *KBo* X 2 I 4–5 *s-an natta* [*harnikt*]*a nu utne-sset harnikta*, with dupl. X 3 I 3]*ŪL har-ni*[-, matching X 1 Vs. 2 [Akk.] *ūl uhalliq u* KUR.HI.A-*šu uh*[*alliq*] 'he did not destroy it [viz. the city] and he destroyed its land'; XXII 2 Rs. 15 *nu* URU-*an harnikta* 'and he destroyed the city'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12; III 1 I 27 *nu* URU*Halpan harnikta* 'he destroyed Aleppo'; ibid. 28 *nu* URUKÁ.DINGIR.[RA-*an*] *harnikta* 'he destroyed Babylon'; *KUB* IX 16 IV 5–6 *nu* DUTU-*ŠI* I*Mursi*DINGIR-*LIM* KUR URU[...] *harnikta* 'his majesty Mursilis destroyed the land of ...'; *KBo* V 8 II 17 *n-as* LÚKÚR URU*Gasgas harnikta* 'the Gasga enemy destroyed them'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; IV 4 I 43–44 *nu ŠA* KUR URU*Nuhassi* [*halk*]*i*HI.A-*us arha harnikta* 'he

destroyed the crops of N.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 112; XII 26 IV 13 *mān-at harnikta* 'he would have destroyed it'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 284 [1977]; *KUB* XXVI 71 IV 17 *man-an harnikta* 'he would have destroyed it'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 185; XIX 13 I 49 [*man-an*] *harnikta*; ibid. 51 *n-an*] *namma* $\bar{U}L$ *harnikta* 'as a result he did not destroy it'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:110 [1956]; *KBo* XII 3 III 5 *harnikta 3-šu harnikta* 'destroyed three times'; XIV 16, 4 URU-*an harnikta* 'destroyed the town'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:115 [1956]; *KUB* XXXI 5, 4 U]RU-*an harnikta*; XXI 9 I 4]*harnikta*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:8; XXVI 74 I 8]*harnikta*; *KBo* IV 4 II 17 *arha harnikta*; cf. Götze, *AM* 114; XVI 32 IV 13 *arha harnikta*; *KUB* XIX 30 I 11 *arha har-ni-ik-sa* [sic]; cf. Götze, *AM* 92), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ki-ir* (*KBo* V 8 II 12–14 *nu kuit* KUR-*TUM harninkir kuit-ma-za esantat-pat n-at harkir-pat* 'some land they destroyed, but some they occupied and held'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; II 5 II 61; cf. Götze, *AM* 186; *KUB* XIII 9 + XL 62 I 10 and XXIV 7 I 37 *arha harninkir*), *har-ni-in-kir* (*KBo* XVI 17 + II 5a III 10 *k*]*e* KUR.KUR.HI.A [...] *harninkir* 'these lands they destroyed'; III 46 Rs. 35; XVIII 115 Vs. 6), 2 sg. imp. act. *har-ni-ik* (IV 4 I 41–42 *nu-wa-smas īt halki*HI.A-*us arha harnik* 'go and destroy their crops'; cf. Götze, *AM* 110), 3 sg. imp. act. *har-ni-ik-du* (*IBoT* I 30 Vs. 8]^{D}U-*as harnikdu* 'let the storm-god destroy'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 98; *KUB* XXVI 25, 14), 2 pl. imp. act. *har-ni-ik-te-en* (*KBo* XV 10 II 33 *nu idālu harnikten* 'destroy evil!'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 25; *KUB* IV 1 I 35 [*nu*] DINGIR.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}*Gasga harnikten* 'gods, destroy Gasga-land!'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170), *har-ni-ik-tin* (e. g. XV 34 III 53 KUR.KUR $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KÚR-*ma harni*[*ktin*] 'destroy the enemy lands!'; dupl. XV 33b III 18 *harniktin*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; *KBo* VIII 70, 8–11 [emended from dupl. *KUB* XV 34 II 46–48] [*n-asta idālu*] *idālun* GIG-*an tapas*[*san idālu hingan* ...] *huwappanatar duddum*[*ili* ... *ištu* KUR ^{URU}*Hattī*] *arha harniktin* 'wipe out from Hatti quietly [?] badness, bad illness, fever, bad death, and evilness!'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), 3 pl. imp. act. *har-ni-en-kán-du* (XXVI 25, 9–11 *apidani-ta-kkan mehuni LIM* DINGIR.MEŠ *MAMIT* ^{D}UTU-*as wantenmas harnenkandu* 'at that time may the thousand oath-gods [and] the sun-god's radiation ruin you'), *har-ni-in-kán-du* (e. g. XXVI 1 III 44 *nu-tta-kkan kūs* DINGIR.MEŠ *harninkandu* 'may these gods destroy you'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14; *KBo* VI 34 II 37–38 *nu apedani-ya NIŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR.UD-*MI-ŠÚ QATAMMA harninkandu* 'for him let the oaths likewise

ruin his future'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; V 3 II 7 *nu-smas kī uttar NIŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR-*an le tarnanzi nu-smas-at* [misspelled *nu-us-ma-at-sa*!] *le āra ienzi nu-smas taksan harninkandu* 'the oaths shall not forgive you this matter, they shall not make it right for you, but shall jointly destroy you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:114; ibid. 31 *nu-tta ke NIŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *harninkandu* 'let these oaths destroy you'; similarly ibid. 43, 49; ibid. IV 16–17 *n-an-kan keas* [sic, for *ke*] *NIŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *QADU* DAM.MEŠ-*KUNU* DUMU.MEŠ-*KUNU* É.MEŠ-*KUNU* KUR-*KUNU harninkandu* 'him shall these oaths destroy along with your [sic!] wives, your children, your houses, and your land'; *KUB* XXVI 50 Rs. 9–11 *n-an-kan* ... *ŠUM-ŠU* NUMUN-*ŠU harninkandu* 'may [various gods] ruin his name [and] his progeny' [partitive apposition]; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:36 [1974]; XXI 42 II 4 *n-an-kan kūs* DINGIR.MEŠ *harninkandu* 'may these gods destroy him'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 25; XXVI 12 II 22 *n-an-kan kūs* DINGIR.MEŠ *arha harninkandu*; XIX 49 IV 35–39 *nu-tta-kkan kī* [*NEŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ] ... *dankuwaz* [*dag*]*anzipaz a*[*r*]*ha harninkandu* 'may these oaths destroy you from the dark earth'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:18; XXI 1 IV 33–37 *nu-tta kū*[*s NEŠ* DINGIR-*LIM*] ... *arha harninkandu nu-tta-kkan* NUMUN-*KA dankuyaz taknaz arha harninkandu* 'may these oaths destroy you, and may they destroy your seed from the dark earth'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:82; *KBo* XVI 27 II 15; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 136; partic. *harninkant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ni-in-kán* (*KUB* XIII 2 IV 19 *nu-za* GIŠ.HUR.HI.A GÙB-*las-ma harninkan harzi* 'he has wrongfully destroyed [written] records'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; *KBo* XIV 20 I 13 *harninkan harkun* 'I had destroyed'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:168 [1966]), ZÁH-*an* (*KUB* XXVII 59 I 10 *nu-mu-za* UG_6-*niya* ZÁH-*an harak* 'and have me destroyed to death!'); verbal noun *harninkuuar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *har-ni-in-ku-u-ar* (*KBo* III 4 I 36–37 [*mahh*]*an-ma* KUR ^{URU}*Gasga ŠA* ^{URU}*Halila ŠA* ^{URU}*Dudduska harninkuuar* [*ist*]*amasta* 'but when the Gasga-land heard the destruction of H. and D.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 22); inf. *har-ni-in-ku-wa-an-zi* (IV 4 II 63–64 *kue* KARAS.HI.A ... *halki*HI.A-*us harninkuwanzi pehudan harta* 'what troops [he] had led to destroy the crops'; cf. Götze, *AM* 120); iter. *harninkiski-*, *harninkeski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-mi* (*KUB* XXXII 130, 33–34 *n-us harninkiskimi* 'I keep destroying them'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 168), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ki-es-ki-si* (XXIV 7 II 59 *n*]*u-kan* Ú.SAL *arha harninkeskisi* 'you keep ruining the meadow'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:226 [1950]), 1 sg. pret. act.

ha]r-ni-in-ki-is-ki-nu-un (XIV 16 II 12; cf. Götze, *AM* 42), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-it* (*KBo* III 1 I 16 [emended from dupl. *KUB* XI 1 I 16] *nu utnē harnin[kis]kit*, matching *KBo* III 85 I 7 [Akk.] KUR.KUR.MEŠ *ihtanalliq* 'he kept destroying countries'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 16, 58 [1984]; *KUB* XI 1 I 6 [emended from *KBo* III 1 I 6] *nu utnē harninki[skit*; *KUB* XIV 3 II 46 *nu parā* URU*Halpan* URU KÁ.DINGIR.RA-*an kuius harninkiskit*, with dupl. XXIV 4 Rs. 4 URU*Halp]an kuius* URU KÁ.DINGIR.RA *kuius harninkiski[t* 'and the likes of Aleppo and Babylon that it kept destroying'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 30), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ki-es-ki-ir* (XXIII 11 III 12 *nu* KUR-*e harninkeskir* 'they kept destroying the land'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:160 [1977]), *[har]-ni-in-ki-is-ki-ir* (XXVI 74, 4), *har-ni-in-ki-is-kir* (XIX 11 IV 31; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1956], with wrong transliteration); supine *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-u-an* (XLVIII 89 Vs. 8 *]ta* KUR-*e harninkiskiuan dais* 'he began destroying the land').

harkanu- 'ruin, destroy', 1 sg. pres. act. *har-qa-nu-mi* (*KUB* V 1 I 92 URU*Tanizilan kuwapi harqanumi* 'when I destroy T.'; similarly ibid. 95; ibid. III 56 *harqanumi-an* 'I shall destroy it'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:48, 74, with wrong transliteration), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ga-nu-si* (XXIII 95, 16; cf. Sommer, *AU* 262), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-qa-nu-zi* (V 1 I 74 *nu* URU*Hurnan harqanuzi* 'he destroys H.'; ibid. II 46 ERÍN.MEŠ *ŠA* HUR.SAG*Haharwa-ya harqanuzi* 'he destroys the troops of Mt. H.'), *har-ga-nu-zi* (XXII 25 Vs. 28 *lukkatti-ma* URU*Sūnupassin* URU*Pittalahsinn-a harganuzi* 'on the morrow he destroys S. and P.'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 178), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-nu-un* (XXVI 80, 2 and 3; XXXI 20 IV 6; XIII 59, 5), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-ut* (XIII 35 II 43 5 ANŠU.HI.A-*ma-wa* ^{I}AMAR^{MUŠEN}-*is* LÚ *KARTABBU harga[n]ut* 'five asses has A. the equerry let go to ruin'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 27; Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; XIX 9 I 14 'he [viz. Suppiluliumas I] destroyed' [cities]; XXI 6a, 11 *hūmanta harganut* 'he [viz. Hattusilis III] destroyed all' [viz. the towns listed ibid. 5–10]; *KBo* VI 28 Vs. 7 *nu* LÚKÚR URU*Gasgas uit nu* [KUR]. KUR.MEŠ URU*Hatti harganut* 'the Gasga enemy came and destroyed the lands of Hatti'; similarly ibid. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; *KUB* XXIII 1 I 37–38 KUR URU*Amurri-ya IŠTU* GIŠTUKUL *arha harganut* 'he destroyed Amurru by arms'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 8; XXI 8 II 5 *]katta arha harganut* 'he destroyed utterly'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 10; XXII 65 II 34 *sarā harganut*), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-ir* (LIV 1 I 36 *innara-uwa-mu-kan kuyēs harganuir* 'who have purposely

ruined me?'; ibid. 6 and 17; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:53–4 [1985]; *KBo* III 6 II 4 *nu* KUR URU*Sadduppa* KUR URU *Dankuwa-ya arha harganuir* 'they destroyed S. and D.'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 10; *KUB* XIX 22, 3 *n-at-kan pidi harganuir* 'they destroyed them [viz. the enemy] on the spot'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:28 [1966]; XXI 31, 6), 3 pl. imp. act. *har-kán-nu-an-du* (XXVI 43 Rs. 38–39 *n-an-kan* DU URUKÙ.BABBAR-*ti* DUTU URU*Arin[na] ù* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmantes QADU* NUMUN-*ŠU arha harkannu[andu* 'him may the storm-god of Hatti, the sun-goddess of Arinna, and all the gods destroy along with his progeny'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:38 [1974]), *har-ga-nu-an-du* (XXVI 12 II 11 *[n]-an-kan kūs* DINGIR.MEŠ *harganua[ndu]* 'may these gods destroy him'; cf. ibid. 22 *n-an-kan kūs* DINGIR.MEŠ *arha harninkandu*; von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 24), *har-ga-nu-wa-an-du* (*KBo* VI 28 Rs. 41 *n-an-kan dankuwayaza taknaza harganuwandu* 'may they destroy him from the dark earth'); partic. *harganuwant-*, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *har-ga-nu-wa-an* (ibid. Vs. 6 *karū* KUR.KUR.MEŠ URU*Hatti IŠTU* LÚKÚR *arha harganuwan ēsta* 'formerly the lands of Hatti had been destroyed by the enemy').

hark(iya)- is basically an intransitive verb, 'get lost', and *harnik-* is its archaic transitive-causative infixed derivative. The semantic parallel of *istark-* : *istarnik-* (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 146) is not wholly apposite, for *istark-* is itself basically impersonal transitive ('it ails') and only secondarily 'be ailing', with *istarnik-* as its reinforcing personal causative 'make ail', whereas there is no evidence for an original impersonal *hark-* in the sense of 'it destroys one'. The archaic sense 'lose oneself, lapse' of *hark(iya)-* is still alive in legal language, while *har(ni)k-* 'do away with' became early on a somewhat mitigated, euphemistic military verbum delendi for 'take out, eliminate' (unlike such unminced terms as *hallanniya-* 'lay waste' but resembling *hasp-* 'dispose of'); it sometimes occurs strengthened to *arha har(ni)k-* starting with Mursilis II, and was joined by *(arha) harganu-* (productive causative like e. g. *ars-* 'flow' : *arsanu-* 'make flow') from the time of Hattusilis III onward (cf. Ünal, *SMEA* 24:77–8 [1984]).

Accordingly all etymologizing beginning from 'strike, smite, slay' has been flawed (Hittite has plenty of other verbs for that, e. g. *hullai-*, *walh-*, *zah-*, *kuen-*), including the standard connection with OIr. *org(a)id* 'smite, slay' and Arm. *harkanem* 'smite, smash' (down the line since A. Cuny, *RHA* 2:205 [1934], Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 50, Benveniste, *Origines* 162, and Couvreur, *Hett.* 141–2; salutary

doubts by Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:46 [1961]; Toch. B *erkau* 'cemetery' was added as a suggested cognate by Van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 150). It is best to leave IE **per(g)-* (*IEW* 818–9) untouched as the source of OIr. *org-* and Arm. *harkanem* with its aorist *hari*, rather than further mixing in with them and *hark(iya)-* the quite unpertaining Hitt. *harra-* 'crush, pound, ruin' (q. v.: unconvincingly E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:455–6 [1952]; Kronasser, *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 121–2 [1957]; N. Mkrtschjan, *Acta Antiqua* 22:316 [1974]).

For *hark-* the postulate should be rather IE **H_1ergh-* 'go away, lose oneself', with **H_1ergh-ti* > *harkzi* under "Bartholomae's law" (nonassimilation of *gh* + *t* to *t*; cf. Puhvel, *KZ* 86:113 [1972] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 222 [1981]; contrast *harzi* < **A_1erk-ti* s. v. *har[a]k-* 'have'); for the Hittite *a*-coloration of paradigmatic *e*-vocalism before *r* cf. e. g. *istark-*, *tarh-*, *wars-*. The formal etymon may be Gk. *ἔρχομαι* 'go' (thus **E_2ergh-*), with a semantic parallel in *(ϝ)ἔρρω*, where 'go' has shaded over into 'be gone, get lost, disappear, perish' (3 sg. imp. act. *ἐρρέτω* 'let perish', like *har-ak-tu*).

harganau- (c., n.), *harganawant-* (c., used as subject of transitive verb; see *HED* 1–2:476–7), flat of hand or foot, thus 'palm' or 'sole', nom. sg. c. *har-ga-na-us*, *har-ga-na-u-wa-an-za*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ga-na-ú*, gen. sg. *har-ga-na-u-wa-as*, dat.-loc. sg. *har-ga-na-ú-i* (*KUB* IX 4 I 13–15 *h]āpūs-a-kan hāpūsassi handan* [GÌR-*í*]*s-kan* GÌR-*i* KI.MIN *harganu-kan harganaui* [KI.MIN *h]astai-kan hastai handan* 'penis [is] matched to penis, foot to foot likewise, sole to sole likewise, bone [is] matched to bone'; par. IX 34 II 31–32 [*hapus-a*]*-kan hapusasi* KI.MIN GÌR-*kan* GÌR-*i* KI.MIN [*harganau*]*s-kan hargana*[*ui*] KI.MIN DUB[BIN-*as-kan ANA* DUBBI]N.HI.A KI.MIN 'penis to penis likewise, foot to foot likewise, sole to sole likewise, nails to nails likewise'; IX 4 I 30–35 *hāp*]*usanza hāpūsas* GIG-[*an kar*]*apzi harganauwanza hargan*[*auwas* G]IG-*an* [*karapzi*] GÌR-*is* GÌR-*an* GIG-*an* [*karapzi*] *kalulūpanza kalulup*[*as* GIG-*an karapzi*] *sankuwayanza sank*[*uwayas* GIG-*an karapzi*] 'penis lifts ailment of penis, sole lifts ailment of sole, foot lifts ailment of foot, toe lifts ailment of toe, nail lifts ailment of nail'; par. IX 34 II 43–44 *har*]*ganauwanza harganauwas* KI.MIN [GÌR-*is* GÌR-*an* KI.MIN] *kalulupes* ŠU.HI.A-*as handan* 'sole of sole likewise, foot of foot likewise, toes [are] matched

to toes'; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:38–40 [1957]; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40: 413–4 [1971]; Hutter, *Behexung* 32–4), nom. pl. c. *har-ga-na-u-i-s(a)* (XXXIII 66 II 3–6 *harganauis-at kalul*[*upas piyer*] *kalulupis-at sankuwaya*[*s piyer*] *sankuwais-at dankuwai ta*[*ganzipí*] *piyer* 'the palms gave it to the fingers, the fingers gave it to the nails, the nails gave it to the dark earth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]).

Even as *kalulupa-* (q. v.) means either 'finger' or 'toe' (like Gk. *δάκτυλος* or Lat. *digitus*), *harganau-* is the 'flat' of either hand or foot (cf. Lat. *palma* 'palm' vs. *planta* 'sole', both cognate with *plānus* 'flat', *plōtus* '*planipes*, flatfooted'). The root involved in *harganau-* is that of Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'stretch', *ὄργυια* 'arm-width, fathom', Lat. *por-rigere manum* 'stretch out the hand', Skt. *ṛjú-* 'straight', Avest. *ərəzu-* 'straight; finger'. A protoform **H_1ṛ̥ĝnu-* is reminiscent of Gk. *χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς* 'stretching out the hands' (*Iliad* 1:351, 22:37), and the nasal suffixes of such semantic parallels as OCS *plesna* 'sole', Gk. *παλάμη* 'palm', OIr. *lām* 'hand', OE *folm* 'flat of the hand'. Cf. also Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 223–4; H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 33:21–2 (1987). For the diphthongal stem form cf. *harnau-*.

harki- 'white, bright' (BABBAR), nom. sg. c. *har-ki-is* (*KUB* X 52 VI 8–9 *harkiss-a* ^{NINDA}*harsis karū parsiyanza* 'the white breadloaf [is] already broken'; LVI 46 + XLIII 48 I 1 *harkiss-a* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *karū*[; cf. Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:38 [1987]; XXXI 71 III 31–34 *nu-wa ANA* ^{SAL}*Uwā kuyēs* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *piyer nu-wa* 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA *arrus-kan* EGIR-*anda harkis* '[as for] the horses which they gave to U., one horse [was distinguished by] white croup in the rear'), *har-ki-s(a)* (*KBo* IV 6 Vs. 13 *parkuis-as apās misriwanza apās harkis-as apās* 'pure [is] she, radiant [is] she, white [is] she'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 12; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 149), *har-kis* (*KUB* XVI 6, 12), acc. sg. c. *har-ki-in* (XXIV 8 I 39 *nu-za harkin* SILÁ-*an dā*[*s*] '[Appu] took a white lamb'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 6; *KBo* XV 10 II 8–9 *qāsa-smas-kan parkuin misriwantan harkin* ^{GIŠ}PA *ŪL walhantan* UDU-*un sipantahhun* 'behold, I have sacrificed to you a pure, radiant, white sheep not struck with a staff'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 20; XV 33 II 24 *harkin* NINDA 'white bread'), nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. *har-ki* (e. g. *KUB* VII 3, 13–14 *nu-ssan* 1 ^{SIG}*suwīl* SA$_5$ *harki-ya anda taruppan* 'a woolen thread, red [and] white, [is] intertwined'; XLIV 61 Vs. 8 ½ Ú *harki-ma menahhanda-pat dāi* 'he adds a half [dose of] white herb[al medicament]'; ibid. 14 ½ Ú *harki dāi n-at* IŠTU

GEŠTIN ['he takes a half [dose of] white herb[al medicament] and it with wine ...'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18; XXXIII 66 II 18 IGI.HI.A-*as harki*['the white of eyes'; cf. ibid. 19 *hanti-ssi* 'on his forehead', *ene*[*ras* 'eyebrow', ibid. 20 *laplipass-a* 'and eyelash[es]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]; VIII 36 II 18–19 *m*]*ān-kan antuhsi* IGI.HI.A-*was* [...] [KALA]G.GA *harki kisa* 'if in a person's eyes the whites become strongly ...'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38; *KBo* XXIV 51 Vs. 5 [OHitt.] *harki līpi*[*r* 'they [viz. the dogs] licked the white'; *KUB* XXXV 145 Vs. 12 *harki hahhal* 'bright greenery', or perhaps elliptic 'bush with white flowers'; XXXIV 76 I 1–2 *kāsa* ^{GIŠ}*hatalki*[*snas* ...] *harki wassizzi* 'behold, the hawthorn puts on white' [viz. blossoms]; XXXIII 19 II 14 *ham*]*eshi harki* 'in spring white'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123 [1965]), BABBAR-*TIM* (XXXIII 54, 13–14 *ziga-z* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnas hameshi-ya-az* BABBAR-*TIM* [*wassasi*] 'you, hawthorn, in spring put on white'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]), nom. pl. c. *har-ga-e-es* (*HT* 1 III 8–9 *mān hargaēs mān dankuwaēs* $\bar{U}_L$ *kuitki duqqari* 'whether [the rams are] white or black does not matter'; dupl. *KUB* IX 31 III 19–20 *mān hargaēs mān tankuēs* $\bar{U}_L$ *kuitki duqqari*; dupl. IX 32 I 6–7 *mān hargaēs mān dankuwaēs* $\bar{U}_L$ *kuitki duqqāri*), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-ga* (*HT* 1 I 14 [emended from dupl. *KUB* IX 31 I 21] ^{GIŠ}KAK.HI.A-*ma kattan*] *harga* ^{GIŠ}*hahhal paskan* 'underneath the pegs bright greenery [is] planted').

hark(i)es- 'become white', 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ki-es-zi* (*KBo* IV 2 I 44–45 *kā-wa* GIM-*an hās* GAD.HI.A *iskunanta parkunuzzi nu-war-at harkeszi* 'as this soap cleanses stained linen and they become white'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]), *har-ki-e-es-zi* (*KUB* XV 39 + XII 59 II 16 *kappani-ma-wa harkiēszi* $\bar{U}_L$ 'cumin does not become white'), *har-ki-i-e-es-zi* (dupl. 1112/c + III 4 *kappani-ya-wa harki-yēszi* $\bar{U}_L$; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]), *har-ki-is-zi* (XXVII 67 II 28]*parkunuwanzi n-at harkiszi* 'they cleanse [it] and it becomes white'). For derivation cf. e.g. *nakkes-* 'become heavy' (*nakki-*), *salles-* 'become big' (*salli-*), *suppes-* 'become pure' (*suppi-*), *talukis-* 'become long' (*taluki-*), *dankues-* 'become black' (*dankui-*).

harganu- 'make white, whiten', 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-ut* (*KBo* X 37 I 46; cf. ibid. *parkunu*[-, ibid. 47 *parku*[*n*]*uddu*); iter. *harganuski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-us-ki-it* (*KUB* XLI 1 I 12 *kuis-war-an har-ga-nu-us-ki-it* 'he who made him white'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 30). For derivation cf. e.g. *palhanu-* 'widen' (*palhi-*), *sallanu-* 'make big, bring up' (*salli-*), *taluganu-* 'lengthen' (*taluki-*),

dankunu- 'blacken' (*dankui-*). *harganu-* is nearly synonymous with *asariya-* (q.v. s.v. *asara-*, *HED* 1–2:207).

harki- is routinely connected (at least since Kuryłowicz, *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem J. Rozwadowski* 101 [1927], and Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:151 [1930]) with IE $*A_1erĝ- > *arĝ-$ 'be white, gleam, dart, be quick' (*IEW* 64–5), with an archaic *i*-stem $*A_1rĝi-$ seen compositionally in Gk. *ἀργι-όδων* 'white-toothed', *ἀργίπους* 'fleet-footed' besides *ἀργός* 'gleaming, swift' (< **ἀργρός*), matching Skt. *ṛji-pyá-* ('swift-darting', epithet of *śyená-* 'falcon'; cf. Avest. *ərəzifya-*, Arm. *arciv* 'eagle', folk-etymologically transformed Gk. *αἰγυπιός* 'vulture' [after *αἴξ* 'goat' and *γύψ* 'vulture'] < **ἀργι-πιός*) besides *ṛjrá-* 'gleaming, swift' (cf. the man's names *Ṛji-śvan-* and *Ṛjrāśva-* with 'dog' and 'horse' respectively). Cf. further Gk. *ἀργής, ἀργῆεις, ἀργινόεις*, Skt. *árjuna-* 'shiny white', Toch. A *ārki*, B *arkwi* 'white'. In view of the cognate 'silver' words (Gk. *ἄργυρος*, Skt. *rajatám*, OPers. *ardatam*, Lat. *argentum*, OIr. *argat*, etc.) it is possible that KÙ.BABBAR-*i* (*KBo* I 42 IV 9; *IBoT* II 121 Vs. 16 KÙ.BABBAR-*i* GUŠKIN-*an* 'silver [and] gold') is to be read *harki* 'silver' (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:80–1 [1967], *JCS* 22:41–2 [1968]), and under the complementation of KÙ.BABBAR-*ant-* (e.g. *KUB* XVII 4, 2 and 8, XXXVI 19 IV 11 KÙ.BABBAR-*anza*, XXXVI 18 II 7 KÙ.BABBAR-*anti*) lurks a Hittite cognate **harkant-* (c.) 'silver', with a Luwian nom.-acc. sg. neut. **harkan(t)* perhaps seen in XXXV 52, 8 KÙ.BABBAR-*an* (Starke, *KLTU* 63; cf. J. Mallory and M. Huld, *KZ* 97:4 [1984]; G. G. Giorgadze, *AoF* 15:69–75 [1988]).

harna- 'stir, churn, ferment, agitate, foment', partic. *harnant-*, acc. sg. neut. *har-na-an-ta-an* (*KUB* XXXIX 9 Vs. 9]LUGAL-*i harnantan pianzi* 'they give to the king fermented ...'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 52), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-na-a-an* (see VII 1 I 25–27 below); verbal noun *harnamma(r)* (n.) 'agitation, ferment; leaven(ing), yeast', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ar-na-am-ma* (*Bo* 5872 I 9; ibid. 7 *ha-ar-na-*]*a*[*m-*; cf. Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 217–8 [1982]), *har-nam-ma* (dupl. *KUB* VII 1 I 25–27 ŠAR.HI.A-*ma hūman kuaskuaszi serr-a-ssan harnamma* BAPPIR *IŠTU* KAŠ *harnān lāhūwāi n-at anda immiyazi* 'he squashes all vegetables, pours over [them] the yeast [and] barm [that has been] fermented from the beer, and mixes it in'), *har-nam-mar* (ibid. 25 *nu harnammar* BAPPIR *IŠTU* KAŠ *arha tarnanzi* 'they let yeast [and] barm out of the beer'; cf. Kronasser,

Die Sprache 7:143 [1961]; *KBo* VI 34 I 29–33 *harnammar* INA *QATI-ŠUNU dāi n-at lipānzi nu* KI.MIN *kī-wa kuit ŪL-wa harnammar nu kī harnammar mahhan tepu danzi n-at isnūri immiyanzi nu isnūran* UD.1.KAM *tianzi n-as putkietta* 'he puts leavening in their hands, and they lick it, and [he says] likewise: "What [is] this? [Is it] not leaven?" Even as they take a little of this leaven and mix it into the dough-bowl, and let the bowl stand for one day, and it swells ...'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8).

harnamniya- (denominative from *harnammar*) 'stir (up), churn, cause to ferment, incite', 2 sg. pres. act. *har-nam-ni-ya-si* (*KBo* IV 14 III 65–66 *nu-za-kan ANA* ZI LUGAL *āssu ilaliski harnamniyasi-ma-at-kan le* 'desire good for the king's soul and do not cause ferment against him!'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:47 [1965]), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-nam-ni-ya-az-zi* (*KUB* VIII 38 + XLIV 63 III 14–17 *nu-k[a]n ANA* GAL ZABAR GEŠTIN [...] *lāhuwāi uni-ya marruwashan menahhanda pessiazzi n-an anda harnamniyazzi* 'he pours [it] into a bronze goblet with wine, and injects that red stuff, and stirs it in'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30; XLII 98 I 24 -]*ŠU Ù* NÍ.TE.MEŠ-*ŠÚ harnamniyazzi* 'stirs his [soul?] and his body'), *har-nam-ni-ya-zi* (XLI 8 II 34–35 *parnas pūrut* É*hilamnas pūrut harnamniyazi* 'he stirs clay of the house [and] clay of the gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126 [1961]), *har-nam-ni-iz-zi* (XLVIII 75, 9 *-a]n* IM-*an anda harnamnizzi* 'stirs in clay'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 16), 2 pl. pres. act. *har-nam-ni-ya-at-[te-ni* (XXVI 81 IV 4–5 *nu-ssan ziladuwa* [...] *le harnamniyat[teni* 'in the future do not stir up ...'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:186 [1977]), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-nam-ni-ya-at* (VI 41 I 32–33 *nu-mu* ÌR.MEŠ-*YA kattan harnamniyat* 'he stirred up my subjects against me'; similarly ibid. 47; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:110, 112), *har-na]m-ni-e-it* (I 16 II 74 'he stirred up'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 10), *har-nam-ni-it* (XXXVI 41 I 13–14 *nu-wa arunan* [...] [*and*]*an harnamnit* 'he churned the sea'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:173 [1965]); partic. *harnamniyant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-nam-ni-ya-an* (XLVIII 75, 10 *-a]n anda harnamniyan*); iter. *harnamniski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *har-nam-ni-is-kán-zi* (XXXIII 115 IV 6–7]É-*ŠU sarā* [... *harn]amniskanzi* 'they keep stirring up his house'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:66 [1968]), 3 pl. pres. or pret. midd. *har-nam-ni-es-kán-ta*[(-) (XXIV 7 III 57 and 58; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]).

harnu- 'in ferment, stirred up' (cf. e.g. *hatku-* 'shut, tight', from *hatk-* 'shut'), nom. pl. c. *har-nu-es* (*KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 43–45 *hūmandas hūrdiyas uddanī kuyēs idālauēs* DINGIR-*LAM harnues*

tapusa-kan kuyēs arahzeni KUR-*ya* [*u*]*dantes attass-a dān attass-a uddanī* 'in the case of all imprecations, whatever evil men [are] worked up at the deity, and those who have been rusticated to an alien land in a matter involving their father and grandfather'.

har-nam-ni-ya-as-ha- (c.) 'stir, commotion, turmoil', nom. sg. *har-nam-ni-ya-as-ha-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 96 IV 11 + XXXVI 7a IV 48 *nepisas-ma-war-as harnamniyashas ŠA* [KUR-*TI-ma*]*-war-as kasza aqqatarr-a* 'heaven's commotion it [is], earth's hunger and death it [is]'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:158 [1951]), acc. sg. *har-nam-ni-ya-as-ha-an* (*KBo* XVIII 38 Rs. 3 [*harnam*]*niyashan iyami* 'I make commotion'). For the verbal abstract type see Starke, *KZ* 93:254–5 (1979).

harnantassi- (c.), a type of leavened bread, with Luwian appurtenance suffix, nom. sg. or pl. NINDA*har-na-an-ta-as-si-is* (*KBo* XXI I 1 3 and II 8; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 14; *KUB* XXXV 146 II 7), acc. sg. NINDA*har-na-an-ta-as-si-in* (ibid. 13; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 268), [NINDA*ha*]*r-na-an-da-as-si-in* (X 13 IV 29). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 155–6 (1974).

From denominative parallels such as *halwammar*, *hilammar*, *miumar*, *harnammar* too would seem to be derivative from some adjectival **harna(nt)-* (cf. H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:14 [1983]). Yet a verbal base *harna-* is intrinsically more plausible, with a basic meaning 'stir, churn' and a secondary one of 'ferment' (replacing IE **yes-* still seen in *is(sa)na-*, *essana-* 'dough' [*HED* 1–2:384]). Assuming a nasal present *harna-* < E_2*r-n-*$\acute{E}_1$-, the root **E_2*ér-E_1-*, E_2*r-éE_1-* may be seen in Gk. *ἐρωή* 'stir, motion, rush' < **$\acute{E}_2$*roE_1-s-éA_2* beside **E_2*réE_1-s-o-* in OE *rās* 'movement, rush' (separate from the homophone *ἐρω(ϝ)ή* 'respite, rest', cognate with OE *row* 'rest').

harnasal(l)a- or *hurnasal(l)a-* (n.) 'box' (with lid), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *har-na-sal-la* (*KUB* XLII 34, 6 1-*NU harnasalla* KAXUD SI 'one ivory box'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 54 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 56), *har-na-sa-al-la* (XLII 65 Rs. 3 1 GIŠ*harnasalla* KAXUD[; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 159 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80; XV 30 II 6–7]*harnasalla u*[-...] [...] *anda istappū*[*lli-* 'box ... within lid ...'), *har-na-sa-la* (XLII 33, 10 1 *harnasala* KAXUD AM.[SI; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 177 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 68), gen. sg. *har-na-sa-al-la-as* (XLII 75 Vs. 6–7 2-*e-ma* GAM-*an tiyawas ahlipakiyas* ŠÀ GIŠ*harnasallas* KAXUD AM.SI GIŠESI GAR.RA GAR-*ri* 'but two depositional plates

of iron [?] are deposited inside an ivory box inlaid with ebony'; cf. Güterbock, *Anadolu* 15:5–6 [1971]; S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 188 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 64).

Ambiguity of initial vocalism precludes cogent etymology. Either derivation with *-al(l)a-* (cf. e.g. *huppala-* 'net' s.v. *huppai-*) from an *s*-stem, or a compound with *salli-* (cf. e.g. *antuwasalli-* [*HED* 1–2:84–5]) seems possible.

harnau- (possibly *hurnau-*, always spelled with *har/hur-* sign) (c., n.) 'birthing seat', nom. sg. c. *har-na-a-us* (*KBo* V 1 I 44–45 *nu harnāus hūniktat* ^{GIŠ}KAK.HI.A-*ma-wa duwarnaddat* 'the birthing seat cracked, the pegs broke'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*), acc. sg. c. *har-na-ú-un* (*ABoT* 17 II 9, preceded in dupl. *KUB* IX 22 II 13 by ^{GIŠ}*GANNUM*, i.e. *hapsalli/hassalli* 'support-stand, stool' [q.v.]), *har-na-a-in* (sic *ABoT* 17 II 15 *harnāin* ^{GIŠ}KAK.HI.A-*ya* 'the birthing seat and the pegs'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 90), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-na-a-ú* (e.g. *KBo* V 1 I 7 *nu* ^{LÚ}*patilis harnāu sarā dāi* 'the priest takes up the birthing seat'; ibid. 12, 26 [see below], 31, 39), gen. sg. *har-nu-wa-as* (XVII 65 Vs. 15; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 132), *har-na-wa-as* (*KUB* XXVI 66 III 10–11 *nu* 1 MANA KÙ.BABBAR *ANA* SAL *harnawas* ^{I}*Lullus* ^{LÚ}*patilis pedas* 'L. the priest sent one mina of silver to a woman of birthing'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 66, 70–1 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 106), *har-na-u-wa-as* (dupl. *KBo* XVIII 153 Rs. 16]*MANA* KÙ.BABBAR *ANA* SAL *harnauwas INA* ^{URU}; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 238), *har-na-a-u-as* (*KUB* XXI 27 IV 34–36 DINGIR-*LUM-mu* EN-*YA kedani memini kāri tiya harnāuas-za kuit* SAL-*za ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* EN-*YA ser* S[AG.D]U-*za sarninkan harmi* 'god my lord, be gracious to me in this matter, because I, a woman of birthing, have personally made restitution to the deity on my lord's behalf'), *har-na-a-wa-as* (ibid. II 17 *ammuqq-a-za* ^{I}*Puduhepas harnāwas* SAL-*za* 'I, P., [am] a woman of birthing'), *har-na-a-u-wa-as* (ibid. II 16 *harnāuwas-wa* SAL-*nī* DINGIR-*LUM kāri tiy*[*azi*] '[as they say] to a woman of birthing a deity is gracious'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 335, 332; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:118, 112 [1981]; *Bo* 7953 III 11 *harnāuwas-ma memian*; ibid. 16 INIM *harnāuwas*; with dat.-loc. sg. *har-na-a-ú-i*, *KBo* V 1 I 2–4 *mān* SAL-*za harnāui ēszi nu* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *harnāuwas huniktari nasma* ^{GIŠ}KAK *duwarnattari* 'if a woman sits down on the birthing seat and the pan of the chair cracks, or a peg breaks'), *har-na-a-ú-wa-as* (ibid. 19–20 *namma* 2

^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *harnāuwas iyazi* 'he makes two pans of a birthing seat'; ibid. IV 38, where the colophon [37–40] repeats I 2–4 verbatim), dat.-loc. sg. *har-na-a-ú-i* (e.g. ibid. IV 37; ibid. I 23 and 24 1 ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *harnāui* 2 ^{GIŠ}KAK-*ya* 'one pan for a birthing seat and two pegs'; ibid. 25–27 *namma IŠTU* 2 MUŠEN *harnāui* ^{GIŠ}KAK.HI.A-*ya kuiussa arhayan isharnumaizzi* BURÙ-*uzziya-ya harnāu* [nom.-acc. sg. neut.!] *piran* 2-*ŠÚ IŠTU* 2 UDU 4 MUŠEN-*ya sipanti* 'then he bloodies also one by one the pegs on the birthing seat with two birds, and in the pit in front sacrifices to the seat twice two sheep and four birds'; XXI 45 I 5 *nu harnāui papparsanzi* 'at the birthing chair they sprinkle'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 206; XXVII 67 Rs. 1 *mān* SAL-*za-ma harnāui ēszi*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 218; *KUB* IX 22 II 33, 34, 38 [with dupl. *KBo* XXX 1, 11], III 2, 31, 33, 37, 39, 40; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 92–6), *har-na-ú-i* (dupl. *ABoT* 17 II 12, III 8 and 11), *har-na-u-*[*i*] (ibid. III 6), *har-nu-u-i* (*KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 1 *harnuui-ma-as-za ŪL esari* 'she does not sit down on the birthing seat'; ibid. 31; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138, 142). Weitenberg's attempt (*U-Stämme* 265–7) to take some of these attestations as a nom.-acc. sg. neut. *harnaui* is not compelling.

harnuwas(s)i-, Luwoid adjective of appurtenance, dat.-loc. pl. *har-nu-wa-si-as* (*KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 49 *n-as-kan harnuwasias* É-*as anda asesanzi* 'they install them in the house of the birthing seat').

Unlike the other rare *-au-* stem *harganau-*, *harnau-* has alternative paradigmatic gradation (*harnuwas*, *harnuui*) in line with the nouns in *-ai-* (*lingai-*, *hastai-*, gen. sg. *linkiyas*, *hastiyas*). The hapax acc. sg. *har-na-a-in* is due merely to scribal confusion over the proximate near-homographic *i*-stem *hur-na-i-* denoting an arboreal substance in ritual maieutic use (conversely hapax nom. sg. *hur-na-a-ú-us* for *hur-na-a-i-is* s.v. *hurnai-* [c.]).

harnau- as an obstetric contraption was distinct from *hapsalli/hassalli-* (*GANNUM*) which also served as a support-stool (etymologically **hams-alli-* 'birther'), the two being listed in succession (sub acc. sg. c. *har-na-ú-un* above). Similarly SAL *harnawas*, rather than meaning 'woman in labor', was apparently another maieutic functionary in addition to *has(sa)nup(p)alla-* (^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU) 'midwife' and *hasawa-* (^{SAL}ŠU.GI) 'hag' (q.v.; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 232–5). For the realia of *harnau-*, involving a pan or basin and a pair of "pegs" (handles or possibly stirrups), see Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 3–4; G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:117–9 (1973); Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 102 (cf. *Exodus* 1:16 "When ye do the office

of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the stools ...").

Unlike its morphological and gender match *harganau-* (both c. and n.), *harnau-* is etymologically obscure. Its lack of a determinative (e. g. GIŠ 'wood', or some metal) suggests that it is not so much a piece of hospital furniture as a functional technical term. The obscurity is compounded by the rare metathetic-looking *harauni-* (c.), acc. sg. *ha-ra-ú-ni-in(-na)* (*Bo* 4951 Rs. 8, with dupl. *KBo* XVII 68, 6 *ha-ra-ú-⟨ni-⟩i[n-na* and *VAT* 6212 Rs. 2 *ha-ra-ú-⟨ni-⟩in-na*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ra-a-ú-ni* (*Bo* 4951 Rs. 6]DUMU-*as* [?] *harāuni anda aki* 'the baby [?] dies in the h.'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 124).

har(a)p-, harapp-, harpiya-, harpai- (trans.) 'take to, begin (+ supine, like *dai-/tiya-*); take in hand, set (up), assemble, add (up), stash, pile up, stack, heap'; (intrans. and midd.) 'betake oneself to, rally to, hew to, join (up with), side with, stand by (+ dat.-loc.); take a stand, stack up, join up, act together, (make a) settle(ment)', 1 sg. pres. act. *har-pa-a-mi* (*KUB* LII 14 II 29), *har-pí-ya-mi* (XXVI 12 IV 46–47 [*ās*]*suwanni* UL *harpiyanun* [...] [*U*]L *harpiyami*; dupl. XXI 43, 15–16 *āssuwa*]*nni* UL *harpiyanun* [...] [... UL *har*]*piyami* 'in friendship I did not join up ... nor am I joining up [now]'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 29), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ap-si* (*KBo* XI 72 II 38–40 *mān-at-kan taknas* DUTU-*us sarratta-ma nu-ssan* LUGAL-*i* SAL.LUGAL-*i harapsi nu-tta uittu kēl ŠA* SISKUR.SISKUR *linkiyanza epdu* 'but if you, sun of the earth, break it and side with the king [and] queen, may the oath of this ritual come and seize you'), *ha-ar-ap-si* (dupl. XI 10 II 36), *har-pí-ya-si* (*KUB* XVII 9 I 5), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ap-zi* (e. g. *KBo* VI 10 I 26 [= *Code* 2:12] *IT*]*TI* LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL *harapzi*, with dupl. VI 11 I 22–23 *sa*[*hhan*] [*ēssūwan IT*]*TI* LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL *dā*[*i* 'he starts doing feudal duty with the artisans'; *KUB* X 54 IV 13–16 *nu* UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR NINDA KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *hūmandus parsiya n-as-kan* LÚ GIŠBANŠUR GIŠBANŠUR-*i harapzi* 'the head-waiter breaks all the breadloaves, and a waiter piles them on a table'; VII 13 Rs. 6 9 NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ *harapzi* 'piles up nine army loaves'), *har-pa-a-iz-zi* (XVII 27 II 25 *nu-kan* SALŠU.GI DUTU-*i* IGI-*anda* 3 GIR$_4$.HI.A *anda harpāizzi* 'the sorceress piles three pieces of bitumen facing the sun'), 3 sg. pres. midd. *har-ap-ta* (*KBo* VI 2 +

XIX 1 III 48 [= *Code* 1:66] *hāleas harapta* '[if a bovine or equine] strays to corrals'; ibid. 48–49 *asauni harapta* '[if a caprine nor ovine] strays to a fold'; dupl. VI 3 III 52 and 53; dupl. VI 8, 7; cf. Otten and Souček, *AfO* 21:6 [1966]), 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ap-pu-u-e-ni* (*KUB* XXX 36 II 7–9 *nu-mu-ssan sumess-a* HUR.SAG.MEŠ *harapten* UMMA HUR.SAG.MEŠ *le-ta nāhi wēs-ta harappuweni* '"Rally to me, ye mountains!" The mountains said "Fear not, we shall rally to thee"'), *har-pu-u-e-ni* (par. *KBo* XIII 131 Vs. 4 *w*]*ēs-ta harpuweni*), *har-pí-ya-*[*u-e-ni* (or 1 pl. pres. midd. *har-pí-ya-*[*wa-as-ta-ti*?) (par. *KUB* XXX 33 I 15 [*UM*]*MA* HUR.SAG.MEŠ *le-ta nāhi wēs-ta harpiya*[*weni*), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-pa-an-zi* (e. g. IX 16 I 13–14 [emended from dupl. *KBo* III 25, 10 *har*]*-pu-us*] *nu* [*harpus*] ÍD-*i-san piran harpanzi* 'they stack the heaps before the river'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:60 [1976]; *KUB* LVI 49 Vs. 8 *nu INA* NA$_4$*dahanga am-sin harpanzi* 'on the d.-stone they assemble the fire-altar'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 292; XXX 41 I 37 NA$_4$]*huwasiya piran harpanzi* 'they pile [them] before the baitylos'; XI 8+9 II 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, III 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, inventorying wickerwork tables of royalty, typically III 6 GIŠBANŠUR AD.KID SALWallanni QAT[AM]MA *harpanzi* 'they likewise add the wickerwork table of [queen] W.'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9:110 [1977]; *KBo* II 4 III 2; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 284), *har-pa-a-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* X 88 I 3–4 UZU*MAŠKU harpan ... harpānzi* '[they] stack a pile of hides'; ibid. 9–13 43 GIŠBANŠUR.HI.A *ŠA* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *harpānzi* 'forty-three tables of the lands they set', vs. ibid. 7 18 GIŠBANŠUR *tianzi* 'they set eighteen tables'; X 15 III 17–19 *nu-kan* ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* 3 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *harpānzi* GUNNI-*i* 2 NINDA KUR$_4$.RA *harpānzi* 'on the altar they stack three loaves, on the hearth they stack two loaves'; XVII 14 Rs. 8 7 NINDA*harpanussa harpānzi* 'they stack seven h.-bread'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 56; VII 22 Vs. 16 *ta* NINDA.HI.A *harpus harpānzi* 'they stack bread in heaps'; cf. ibid. 13–14 *n-at* NINDA.HI.[A ...] *harpi kattan dāi* 'deposits bread in a heap'; X 48 II 18–19 *nu-kan ŠA* LÚ.MEŠ DU *harpus INA* URU*Nirhanta* PANI ÍD *harpānzi* 'they stack the heaps of the men of the storm-god at N. before the river'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:60 [1976]), *har-ap-pa-an-zi* (XVII 28 III 39–40 *n-asta* GIŠZA.LAM.GAR-*as andurza* 3 GUNNI.HI.A GIŠ.HI.A-*as harappanzi* 'inside the tent they set up three wood[-burning] fireplaces'; XXXII 123 III 33–34 *n-an* NA$_4$*huwasiya piran katta harappanzi* 'they pile it before the baitylos'; *KBo* XI 52 V 8 *har*]*pali*HI.A *kuyēs harap-*

pan[*zi* 'who stack up heaps'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *har-pa-an-ta-ri* (VI 3 II 18–19 [= *Code* 1:31] *appizziann-at-kan nassu idālawēssanzi nasma-at-kan harpantari nu-za* É-*ir taksan sarranzi* '[if] afterwards they either become estranged or they make a [divorce] settlement and split up the household'), *har-pa-an-da-ri* (*KUB* XXX 34 III 7 *nu-smas-(s)an ape harpandari* 'they will join you'), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-pí-ya-nu-un* (XXVI 12 IV 46 and dupl. XXI 43, 15, quoted sub 1 sg. pres. act. *harpiyami* above; XXI 8 III 17 *parā harpiya*[*nun*; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 18), 2 sg. pret. act. *har-ap-ta* (XXX 10 Vs. 7–8 *nu-mu-kan āssauas antuhsas anda zik-pat* [...] *harapta* 'thou settest me among good men'), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ap-ta* (XXVI 65 III 8 *parā harapta*[), *ha-ra-ap-ta* (XXXI 64a + *KBo* III 55 Vs. 3]*harapta*[), *har-pí-ya-at* (*Bo* 6404 + *KUB* XXXIII 84 + *KBo* XIX 109a, 17 *harpus* SAG.DU-*as* [...] *harpiya*[*t* 'piled heaps upon head[s]' [?]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 60), *har-ap-ta-ti* (*KBo* XIX 90 + III 53 Vs. 11 [OHitt.] *nu-ssan haraptati ta kū*[*ttar-set kisati* '[the combined force] banded together and became its [viz. the garrison's] mainstay'; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:90 [1982]), 2 sg. imp. midd. *har-ap-hu-ut* (III 7 I 23 *nu-wa-mu-ssan ziqq-a haraphut* 'stand by me!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:66 [1965]), *har-pí-ya-ah-hu-ut* (*KUB* XXI 27 IV 43 *nu-kan ziqq-a* DINGIR-*LUM ANA* ^{I}*Hattusili* ÌR-*KA assuli harpiyahhut* 'you, o god, rally in favor to your servant H.!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 336; VI 46 IV 39–40 *nu-mu-kan* GUD-*i mahhan huit*[*tiyauwas harp*]*iyahhut*; dupl. VI 45 III 71–72 *nu-mu-kan* GUD-*i* [*mahhan huittiyauwas*] *harpiyahhut* 'hew to me as to an ox of drawing!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 269), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-ra-ap-*[*te-en* (*KUB* XXX 34 + *Bo* 1509 III 16), *har-ap-te-en* (par. *KUB* XXX 36 II 7, quoted sub 1 pl. pres. act. *harappuweni* above), *har-ap-tin* (par. *KBo* XIII 131 Vs. 14), *har-pí-ya-at-tin* (X 45 II 12 *nu-za uwattin izzattin ekuttin nu-mu-kan har*[*pí*]*yattin* 'come, eat, drink, join me!'), 2 pl. imp. midd. *har-ap-du-ma-ti* (dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 10–11 *nu-za uwattin ekuttin nu-mu-ssan harapdumati* 'come, drink, join me!'), *har-ap-tum-ma-ti* (dupl. 1112/u, 6 *har-apt*]*ummati*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), uncertain (act. or midd.?) *ha-ra-ap*[- (XXX 34 III 16]*sumess-a harap*[-); partic. *harpant-*, nom. sg. c. *har-pa-an-za* (IX 27 Vs. 6 1 NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ *harpanza* 'one army loaf stashed'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272 [1987]; XXV 18 II 5 ^{É}*arkiui kattan harpanza* 'stashed along the foyer'), *har-pa-a-an-za* (XI 26 V 4 1 *ME* NINDA.ŠE ...

harpānza 'one hundred cornbread stacked'), acc. sg. c. *har-pa-an-da-an* (sic XXXIII 32 III 3 *nu* 9 NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ *harpanda*[*n* 'nine army loaves stacked'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-pa-an* (e. g. 1142/z + *KUB* XXV 31 Vs. 5–6 [...] É.GAL-*LIM* ^{GIŠ}*eyan* ^{GIŠ}ZAG. GAR.RA-*as kuit harpan ēsta* [^{LÚ}SA]NGA ^{D}*Telipinu dāi* 'in [?] the palace what yew-wood had been piled on the altar the priest of T. takes'; cf. *ZA* 62:234 [1972]; par. *KBo* XXIII 63, 5–6 [OHitt.] [*k*]*uit harpan ēsta nu* ^{LÚ}SA[NGA; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 314; X 24 IV 21–23 *nu* ^{É}*arkiui kattan* IŠTU É ^{URU}*Ankuwa harpan* DUG.KAŠ-*ya arta* 'alongside the foyer stands also stashed the beer-keg from Ankuwa'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20; *KUB* II 10d, 5), *har-pa-a-an* (XLII 64 Rs. 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 149 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426), nom. pl. c. *har-pa-an-te-es* (*KBo* XIX 90 + III 5 Vs. 9–10 [OHitt.] 3 *LIM* ERÍN.MEŠ $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hapi*[*ris*] [LÚ-*ann-a* ÍR.M]EŠ *harpantes* LUGAL-*us kuius taruppun s-us* [*asandulas* ...] 'three thousand troops, a grab-bag of mercenaries and freemen's slaves, whom I the king combined and garrisoned'; II 12 II 17 3-*šU harpantes* 'stacked threefold'; 243/v, 14–15]*harpas* IN.NU.DA.HI.A [...] [...] SIG$_5$-*in harpantes* 'heap of straw ... well stacked'), *har-pa-a-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXIX 8 I 4–5 *nu* IŠTU *ŠA* ^{D}IM *kuyēs* GUNNI.MEŠ *harpāntes n-as* EGIR GUNNI.MEŠ *apāsila tiskizzi* 'what fire-altars [have] been set up outside the storm-god's [temple], he himself keeps going to the fire-altars'; similarly ibid. 8–9 and 11), acc. pl. c. *har-pa-an-du-us* (XXVII 16 IV 25–27 *nu mān ANA* SAL.LUGAL ZI-*anza nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *anda harpiskizzi n-us* DINGIR.MEŠ *harpandus* [*ak*]*kuskizzi* 'if the queen is so minded, she will combine deities and toast these deities in combination [lit. as combined ones]', vs. ibid. 28 *hanti hanti* 'individually'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:92 [1957]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-pa-an-da* (XXX 19+20 + XXXIX 7 IV 19 *ANA* GUNNI *kue harpali harpanda* 'by the fireplace what piles [are] stacked'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 46; adverbially 'in combination, jointly, collectively', XXVII 1 IV 11 *nu mān* LUGAL-*i āssu nu* 3 DINGIR.MEŠ 45 DINGIR.MEŠ *anda harpanda akkuskizzi* 'if it please the king, he will toast jointly three gods out of forty-five gods'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84); verbal noun *harpuwar* (n.), gen. sg. *har-pu-u-wa-as* (LII 14 Vs. 26 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*as harpūwas* INIM-*ni* 'in the matter of setting of tables'); iter. *harpiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *har-pí-is-ki-iz-zi* (XXVII 16 IV 26, quoted sub acc. pl. c. *harpandus* above).

harpu-, adjective of inferential meaning in the idiomatic expression *harpu sarupa*, perhaps nom.-acc. sg. neut. *harpu saru-pa* (with particle -[*a*]*pa*?) 'piled spoils, heaped-up booty', figuratively adverbial for something like 'helter-skelter' (of the jingle-like type *aru suwaru* 'high-and-mighty'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ar-pu* (*KBo* V 4 Vs. 31–32 *zig-a le nuntarnusi nu harpu saru-pa le iyasi* [*nu* ITT]*I* ^{D}UTU-*Šī idālu le iyasi* 'be not hasty, do not act helter-skelter, and do not do evil against my majesty'; ibid. Rs. 16–17 [*nasm*]*a--smas* DINU-*ma kuitki nu le nuntarnutteni nu harpu sarū-pa le iyatteni nu-kan le idalāwēsteni* 'or [if] you have some legal case, be not hasty, do not act helter-skelter, and do not resort to evil'; similarly ibid. 20–21; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56, 62–4), *har-pu* (V 13 IV 15–16 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 IV 23 *zig-a le nuntarnusi nu harpu sarū-pa le iyasi*; dupl. VI 44 IV 25 *nuntarn*]*usi nu harpu saru-pa le iyasi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:134; XXI 1 III 23]*harpu sarupa le iyasi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:70).

harpa- (c., pl. also n.) 'heap(ing), pile, mound', nom. sg. *har-pa--as* (243/v, 14, quoted above sub nom. pl. c. *harpantes*; *IBoT* III 47 Rs. 3 and 6; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 307; *KUB* VII 22 Vs. 17 6 LIM *harpas ha*[- 'six thousand, a pile ...'), *har-pa-a-as* (VIII 62 I 22 UZU.YÀ *harpās-pat* 'heap of meatfat'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:23 [1968]), acc. sg. c. *har-pa-an* (X 88 I 3, quoted sub 3 pl. pres. act. *harpānzi* above), dat.-loc. sg. *har-pí* (VII 22 Vs. 14, quoted sub 3 pl. pres. act. *harpānzi* above; ibid. 18 *harpi-ma*; LI 53 Rs. 5 *harpi-us harpanza* [sic, for *harpanzi*?] 'they pile them in a heap'; XXIV 5 + IX 13 Vs. 6 *n-as ŠA* ^{D}*SIN harpi paizzi* 'he goes to the moon-god's mound'; ibid. 11 *n*]*u-kan* GUD.MAH TI-*an harpi* UGU *penniyanzi* 'they drive a live bull up on the mound'; ibid. 12 LUGAL-*us-ma-kan harpi* UGU *paizzi* 'the king goes up on the mound'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 8, 16; *IBoT* II 131 II 14–16 ^{D}*Pirwan sarā* ME-*anzi n-an-kan parā pedanzi n-an-kan harpi* [with gloss-wedges] MUN *sarā piyanzi* 'they take P.['s statue], carry it forth, and consign it upon a mound of salt'), acc. pl. *har-pu-us* (*KUB* VII 22 Vs. 16 and X 48 II 18, quoted sub 3 pl. pres. act. *harpānzi* above; *Bo* 6404 + *KUB* XXXIII 84 + *KBo* XIX 109a, 17, quoted sub 3 sg. pret. act. *harpiyat* above; *KBo* III 25, 10 *har*]*pas*, quoted sub 3 pl. pres. act. *harpanzi* above; VI 34 I 25–28 *nu* GIM-*an ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Arzauwa tuzius linkiyas* DINGIR.MEŠ ŠU.MEŠ-*ŠU* GÌR.MEŠ-*ŠU ishiyer n-us harpus dāyer apell-a tuzius* QATAMMA *ishiyandu n-us harpus tiandu* 'and as the oath-gods bound

the armies of Arzawa hand and foot and put them in heaps, let them likewise bind his armies and put them in heaps'; dupl. *KUB* XL 13 Vs. 9–10 *n-u*]*s harpus daye*[*r* ...] [... *n-u*]*s harpus tian*[*du*; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8; XXV 13 + XLIV 8 + LVIII 22 I 25–26 LUGAL-*us-kan ŠA* LÚ ^{D}IM GIŠ *harpus istarna arha paizzi* 'the king passes between the woodpiles of the man of the storm-god'; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:220 [1986]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-pa* (*KBo* XVII 3 IV 25–26 GIŠ *harpa-ma* 1-*anta* LUGAL-*as* GÌR-*si kitta* SAL.LUGAL-*s-a* 1-*anta kitta* 'but [as for] woodpiles, one lies at the king's feet, and one lies at the queen's'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 17, *StBoT* 26:56 [1983]; for the variation acc. pl. c. *harpus* : nom.-acc. pl. neut. ["collective"] *harpa*, cf. s. v. *alpa* [*HED* 1–2:37–8]). *harpa-* is a thematic action noun; cf. e. g. *kuera-* 'slice of territory, field parcel' from *kuer-* 'cut'. Contrast the partly homophonous *harp(iy)a-* (following entry), borrowed from Akk. *harpū*/*harpi* 'summer'.

harpali- (n.) 'heap, stack, pile', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *har-pa-li* (*KUB* XXX 19+20 + XXXIX 7 IV 19 ANA GUNNI *kue harpali harpanda* 'by the fireplace what piles are stacked'; *KBo* XI 52 V 8 *har*]*pali*HI.A *kuyēs harappan*[*zi* 'who stack up heaps'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 54 [1982]; *KUB* XXXIX 7 II 60 [bis] and 61 2 *harpali*; ibid. 63 4 *harpali-ma piran katta*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 40, 135, 140), dat.-loc. sg. *har-pa-li* (XXX 46, 8–9 *nasma*]*-kan* Á^{MUŠEN}*-as sēli esari* [*nasma-kan* Á]^{MUŠEN}*-as harpali esari* 'whether an eagle lights upon a grainpile or an eagle lights upon a stack'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 175; XXX 47 I 5–6 Á^{MUŠEN}*-y*[*a*] *mahhan harpali esari* 'when an eagle lights upon a stack'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 183). For formation cf. e. g. *hulali-* s. v. *hul-*, and Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:212.

harpanussa-, a type of bread, nom.-acc. pl. neut. ^{NINDA}*har-pa--nu-us-sa* (*KUB* XVII 14 Rs. 8 7 ^{NINDA}*harpanussa harpānzi* 'they stack seven h.-bread'), dat.-loc. pl. *har-pa-nu-us-sa-as* (35/g, 9 PANI *harpanussas anda* [). *harpanussa harp-* has the looks of a figura etymologica rather than a folk-etymological jingle (cf. *harpus harp-* and *harpali harp-* sub *harpa-* and *harpali-* above). Not to be analyzed as **harpana-* (acc. pl. c. **harpanuss-a*; thus still H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 156 [1974], who also adduced the theonym ^{D}*Har-pa-a* [*KBo* XXIX 194, 5] and ^{URU}*Har-pa-an-na* [*KUB* LI 33 I 9]). Cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 78–9, and 147/v,

13 6 NINDA*har-pu-na-as-[si-in* (emendation by Neu, *IF* 82:275 [1977]).

harpanalli(ya)- 'adversarial, hostile, enemy', nom. sg. c. *har-pa--na-al-li-[is]* (*KBo* I 30 I 19, matching ibid. [Akk.] *ayabu* 'enemy'; cf. *MSL* 12:14–5 [1969]; XVII 54 IV 13 *idālus-a harpanalli[s]* 'evil adversary'), acc. sg. c. *har-pa-na-al-li-ya-an* (XXI 12, 15), *har-pa-na-al-li-in* (*HT* 6 Reverse 14 *idālun harpanallī[n]*), gen. sg. c. *har-pa-na-al-la-as* (par. *KBo* XXIV 3 I 9 *[i]dālun harpanallas* EME-*an kuraskimi* 'I cut the evil tongue of an adversary'; cf. *ZA* 72:147 [1982]), nom. pl. c.]*har-pa-na-li-e-es* (II 9 IV 33), acc. pl. c. *har-pa-na-al-li-us* (*KUB* I 8 IV 24–26 *namma-mu-kan* DIŠTAR GAŠAN-*YA* [LÚ.MEŠ*ar*]*sanattalus* LÚ.MEŠ*harpanallius* BELU.HI.A *DINI-YA* [ŠU-*i d*]*āis* 'then Ištar my lady placed in my hands enviers, adversaries, and my opponents in court'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 26), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-pa-na-al-la* (adverbial in XIII 35 I 11–13 *UNUT* LUGAL-*wa kuit kuit harkun nu-wa ANA UNUT* LUGAL *harpanalla* [with gloss-wedges] *ŪL kuwapikki iyanniyanun nu-wa-za ŪL kuitki dahhun* 'whatever royal equipment I had, I never went at it hostilely, and did not take anything for myself'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 4). For derivation cf. e. g. *duyanalli-, tarpanalli-*, and see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213. The base-meaning may be 'coming to grips, joining, engaging' (in melee or fray; cf. e. g. German *raufen* 'pluck; tussle, fight').

harp(iya)- is analogous to e. g. *hark(iya)-, karp(iya)-*; the stem *harpiya-* is not secondarily denominative from *harpa-* (cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188–9 [1954]; wrongly Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:492). While *harpai-* might be denominative from *harpa-* (cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 525; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 414), it is more probably likewise deverbative from *harp-*, paralleling *harpiya-*, on the lines of *kis(ai)-* or *lis(ai)-*.

The basic sense of *harp-* (with its conspicuous lack of sumerography) is approximately 'take in hand and translocate', but with primary semantic thrust of goal-direction rather than removal. The intransitive meaning is hence not 'set oneself apart' but 'rally to' (wrongly Starke, *Funktionen* 51–2, followed by Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 524), and the transitive emphasis is 'relocate in one place', hence 'concentrate, stash' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 11:61–4 [1951]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 156 [1974]).

The spelling *harapp-* points to a root $*H_1er$-*p-* (for the root vocalism *a* before *r* cf. e. g. *hark-* 'get lost'). The etymon that fits

is Lat. *rapiō* 'seize and remove, snatch' ($*H_1rep$-*y-*), *raptus* 'abduction', *rapīna* 'booty', *raptim* 'hurriedly', Gk. *ἑρέπτομαι* ($*H_1repyo$-) 'snatch, grab, put away, consume', Doric (Aegina) *Ἀρεπνια* 'Harpy' (the standard *Ἅρπνια* is influenced by *ἅρπη, ἁρπάζω*), Lith. *ap-rëpti* 'grab, grasp'. As usual, Hittite prefers the root-shape $*H_1ér$-*p-* to $*H_1r$-*ép-* (see e. g. *HED* 1–2:175). The Greek prothetic vowel is no sure guide to laryngeal color, but *Ἀρεπνια* (vs. the "assimilatory" *ἑρέπτομαι*) may point to A_1 (cf. *Odyssey* 1:241, 14:371 *Ἅρπνιαι ἀνηρέψαντο* 'Harpies snatched [him] away'). This comparison eliminates any tie-in of Lat. *rapiō* with Ved. *rápas* 'infirmity' (already doubted s. v. *arp-* [*HED* 1–2:169]).

Abortive connections of *harp-* were made with Skt. *arpáyati* 'throw, place' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:164 [1928], *Comp. Gr.*[1] 213, who assumed a prefix *ha-*, since the root **er-* 'stir' of this Sanskrit causative of *ṛṇóti* is attested in Hittite as *ar-*) and with the homophonous *arpáyati* 'fix, fasten' from **ar-* 'fit' (T. Milewski, *L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 49 [1936]; Couvreur, *Hett.* 114–9), both with specific Old Indic causatival *-p-*. More recent and tenacious but equally doomed is the comparison with IE **orbho-* 'bereft, orphan' (*IEW* 781–2), based on the erroneous interpretation of *harp-* as 'separate' (e. g. E. Polomé, *Ogam* 6:159–60 [1954]; Benveniste, *Hitt.* 11–2; Gusmani, *Lessico* 20; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 524; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 100–1, perpetuating the mistranslation of *harpu-* as 'separate, hostile').

harp(iy)a-, in EZEN *har-pa-as* (*KBo* II 8 I 14 and 17; *IBoT* II 103 IV 5; II 131 Vs. 11), EZEN *har-pí-ya-as* (e. g. *KUB* V 6 I 21; XVIII 63 I 11; XXII 14 Vs. 3 and 6), *har-pi-ya-as* EZEN (e. g. LIII 21 Rs. 2; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 310), *ANA* EZEN *harpiya-ya-ssan* (XXV 30 I 13, besides ibid. 10 *ANA zeni hameshi-ya* 'for fall and spring').

KBo II 8 I distinguishes (line 14) EZEN *harpas* from EZEN $ŠE_{12}$ *har-pí-ya* and proceeds to name and describe the two individually (line 17+, 31+). The latter can be interpreted as EZEN $ŠE_{12}$ *HARPI-ya* 'feast of winter and summer', with *HARPI* from Assyr. *harpū* 'summer' (cf. Hitt. EZEN *KUṢṢÍ*, Assyr. *kuṣṣi harpi* 'winter [and] summer', and see s. v. *ham[m]esha[nt]-*). As in Assyrian *harpū* supplanted Akk. *ebūru* 'harvest; summer', *HARPI* in Hittite equals EBUR which designated the intrusive interseason of

hamesha- and *zena-* (cf. OAssyr. *ana/ina harpe*[*-šu*] at Kültepe as a commercial term for repayment of loans, 'in season, at maturity', perhaps from a base-meaning 'precocious, ripe'). *harpū* and *harpi* have undergone nonce hittitization as *harpas* and *harpiyas* in festival names, matching EZEN EBUR (with *KUB* LIII 21 Rs. 2 *harpiyas* EZEN cf. ibid. 5 and 7 EZEN EBUR EZEN *zenass-a*). There may have been homophonic interference from the noun *harpa-* 'mound, heap' (q.v. s.v. *harp-*), also found in cultic usage (cf. discussions by Laroche, *RHA* 11:62 [1951]; Otten, *Totenrituale* 140–1; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:168; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:12–3 [1973]).

har(a)s-, harsiya- 'till (the soil)' or the like, 3 sg. pres. act. *har-as-zi* (*VBoT* 58 I 29–30 ^{D}*Telipinun halzisten apās-wa* DUMU-*YA* [*na*]*kkis haraszi teripzi wātar nāi halkinn-a* 'summon Telipinus; that son of mine [is] mighty; he tills, plows, brings in water, and grain ...'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), *har-si-*[*i-e-*]*lz-zi* (*KBo* XV 9 III 5; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-si-ya-an-zi* (*KUB* XXIV 7 I 31–32 *nu namma* A.ŠÀ-*an* [... *ŪL*] [*h*]*arsiya*[*nz*]*i* 'they do [not] till the field'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:306 [1977]; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156–7 [1983]), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-ra-as-ta* (214/b, 7); inf. *har-su-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* VI 28 Rs. 22–23 *harsuwanzi te*[*ri*]*ppūwanzi*; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 54; Imparati, *SMEA* 18:40 [1977]); verbal noun *har-sa-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* XII 58 I 17 *kuwapi harsauwar maninkuwan* NU.GÁL 'where there is no tilling close by'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; *Bo* 4474 I 6 A.ŠÀ *harsauwar*['tilling-field'; *KUB* XXXV 54 III 47 *harsauwarr-a*, or nom.-acc. pl. *harsauwarra*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 69), dat.-loc. pl. A.ŠÀ *har-sa-ú-na-as* (*KBo* VI 34 II 39; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:164 [1924]; Neu, *IF* 77:288 [1972]; Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 36); iter. *haraski-*, *harsiski-*, 1 pl. pres. or pret. act. *har-as-ki-u-e*[*-ni/en* (XIX 104, 7; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 14), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-si-is-kán-zi* (*KUB* XXIV 7 I 21 *nu* A.ŠÀ-*an* IKU-*li harsiskanzi* 'they keep tilling the field by IKU [an area measure]'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 403), *har-si-es-kán-*[*zi* (LI 74 Vs. 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:118). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:395, 298; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3:367, 370 (1955), *Sommer Corolla* 102.

With *haraszi teripzi* cf. the asyndetic binomials *mallai harrai* 'grinds (and) pounds' or *māi seszi* 'grows (and) thrives', reversibly

harranzi mallanzi, *sesdu māu*. Suggestions: *hars-* is part of a stylistic pleonasm (cf. e.g. Akk. *urhu padanu* 'way [and] road') or a somewhat technical foreignism glossed by *teripp-* (Puhvel, *JAOS* 74:86–8 [1954] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 1–3 [1981]), or a general term more closely defined by *teripp-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:410), or a word denoting breaking up the clods after plowing (A. Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica* 245 [1968]) or the sod before plowing (*teripp-*; H.A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 42–3 [1974]), or *hars-* and *teripp-* distinguish separate procedures of plowing, known from Mesopotamia (Puhvel, *Technology and Culture* 5:183–4 [1964] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 117–8 [1981], *Bi. Or.* 36:57 [1979]). According to the last view *teripp-* denoted ground-breaking, while *hars-* involved the use of a seeder-plow (cf. the two divergent milling techniques, *mallai harrai*). Just as the adoption of this Mesopotamian-based technological improvement led to the disuse of IE **ar(ā)-* 'to plow' in Indo-Iranian, there is little reason to retain the formally very questionable and uncompelling connection of Hitt. *hars-* (and the semantically quite irrelevant *harra-* 'crush, pound', q.v.) with IE **ar(ā)-* (e.g. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 70; Sturtevant, *IHL* 40–1; L.L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before sonant* 25–6, 56, 69 [1948]; E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:450–1 [1952]; T.V. Gamkrelidze, *Peredneaziatskij sbornik* 241–2 [1961]; Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19:501 [1965–6]; Kammenhuber, *MSS* 24:85 [1968]; Gusmani, *Lessico* 67). Oettinger's adduction of Skt. *ṛṣáti* 'push, thrust' (*Stammbildung* 193), allegedly root-related to **ar(ā)-* (**A*$_1$*er-A-*), is no improvement. Even less probable was the attempt by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 177) to connect *hars-* with Skt. *kárṣ-* 'plough' (cf. Polomé, op. cit. 445–6; Puhvel, opera cit.).

Since *teripp-* (q.v.) is plausibly of Indo-European origin, *hars-* is the likely "new" word, much as is *plovum* in Lat. *aut plovum aut aratrum* (Langobardian *Edictus Rothari*) in terms of European technological improvements. The probable source of *hars-* is Akk. *ḫarāšu* 'plant', or *ḫarāṣu* 'dig a furrow', or WSem. *ḫaraš-* 'plow' (PSem. **ḥ r þ*, Akk. *erēšu*) found as a gloss in Akkadian texts (*CAD* Ḫ 96: *irrišu aḫrišu*).

harsal(l)ant- 'at odds, enraged' (*KBo* I 42 II 37 and III 10, 11 *har-sa-al-la-an-za* matching ibid. [Akk.] *šabzu*; cf. *MSL* 13:136–7 [1971]), nom. sg. c. *har-sa-al-la-an-za* (*KUB* XLIII 64, 4; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-*

Hedammu 66), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-sal-la-an-ta* (XXIV 1 III 18–19 *nu* KUR.KUR.HI.A ^{LÚ}KÚR *kue sullanta harsallanta* 'the enemy lands which [are] quarrelling [and] at odds'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 32), *har-sa-la-an-ta* (*KBo* XXVI 74, 4; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 56).

Hier. ANGER-*i*-, iter. ANGER-*(sa)lasa*- 'be angry (at)'. Cf. Laroche, *HH* 18; Hawkins – Morpurgo – Neumann, *HHL* 184–5.

Either participle of a (denominative?) verb *harsal(l)ai*- or a denominative *-nt*- derivative (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:266). A relationship to *harsar/harsan*- 'head' is conceivable (dissimilatory from **harsan-ant*-?); cf. Engl. 'at loggerheads'.

harsanalli- (n.) 'crown, wreath, garland' (GILIM; *KILILU*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *har-sa-na-al-li* (*KUB* II 3 II 45–53 DUMU É.GAL *anuwas harsanalli ANA* GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *pāi n-at* LUGAL-*i* SAL.LUGAL-*ya sarā ANA* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ya-ssan siyanzi* GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-*kan ANA* DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL LÚ.MEŠ *MEŠEDI harsanalli siyaizzi* 'a page gives wreaths of *anu*-plant to the head page, and they set them upon the heads of king, queen, and their children; the head page sets wreaths upon the heads of pages and members of the guard'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:65), GILIM (e.g. par. Izmir 1275, 6 GILIM ^{Ú}*anu*[*was*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:72; *KBo* X 27 V 9 GILIM GURUN-*as* 'garland of fruit'; *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 14 2 GILIM KÙ.BABBAR 'two silver crowns'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 58; ibid. 17 GILIM GUŠKIN 'gold crown'; ibid. 22 2 GILIM GUŠKIN; ibid. 22–23 *nu-wa* 1-*EN* GILIM GUŠKIN *wemir* 'one gold crown they found'; ibid. 23 1 GILIM GUŠKIN-*ma-wa ŪL wemir* 'but the other gold crown they did not find'), *KILILU* (e.g. ibid. 12 and XV 23 I 14 *KILILU* GUŠKIN; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:62 [1972]), gen. sg. *ŠA* GILIM (XXII 70 Vs. 71 *ŠA* GILIM GUŠKIN-*pat*), uncertain *har-sa-na-al-*[*li(-)* (*KBo* XXX 16 Rs. 6; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:98).

harsanal(l)ai- 'wreathe', 3 sg. act. GILIM-*a-iz-zi*, 3 pl. pres. act. *har-sa-na-la-an-zi*, GILIM-*an-zi* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 18 DINGIR.MEŠ GILIM-*anzi* UKÙ.HI.A-*za* GILIM-*aizzi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma-as-kan duskiskanzi* 'they wreathe the deities, the people wreathe themselves, and they entertain the deities'; *HT* 1 II 20–22 1 UDU NITÁ *unniyanzi nu* SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG SA_5 SÍG SIG_7 SÍG GE_6 SÍG BABBAR-*ya anda tarnanzi n-at* ^{SÍG}*KILĪLU iyanzi nu* 1 UDU NITÁ *harsanalanzi* 'they bring one ram, interlace blue wool, red wool, yellow wool, black wool, and white

wool, make it into a wreath, and wreathe the one ram'; dupl. *KUB* IX 31 II 46–49, esp. 48–49 [*n*]-*at* ^{SÍG}*KILULI* [sic] *iyanzi nu* 1 UDU NITÁ [*hars*]*analanzi*; XVII 35 II 25–26 DINGIR-*LUM* GILIM-*anzi* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ya* GILIM-*anzi* DINGIR-*LUM-ma-as-kan duskanzi hulhuliya tianzi* NA_4-*an siyanzi* 'they wreathe the deity and they wreathe the priest; they entertain the deity, they proceed to wrestling, they throw the stone').

harsanalli-, literally 'headpiece', is derived from the oblique stem *harsan*- of *harsar* 'head' (q.v.); precise parallels are e.g. *kuttanalli*- 'necklace' from *kuttar* 'neck' and *pahhu(i)nalli*- 'brazier' from *pahhur* 'fire' (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:212).

harsanili- (c.), a vegetal item from which meal could be made, nom. sg. *har-s*]*a-ni-li-is* (*KBo* X 34 I 23), gen. sg. *har-sa-ni-la-as* (ibid. 13 *harsanilas euwanas* 'of h. [and] barley'), *har-sa-ni-li-ya-as* (*KUB* LIV 94, 5; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 312), *har-sa-ni-i-li-ya-as* (XXXV 142 IV 11–12 1 *PA* ZÍD.DA *seppittas* 1 *PA* ZÍD.DA *harsanīliyas* 'one half-measure of wheat flour, one half-measure of h.-flour'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 323).

In the absence of precise meaning, etymological speculation is otiose (such as a derivation from *harsan*-, i.e. *harsar* 'head'; cf., however, *KBo* XVII 3 IV 15–16 *halkiyas harsār* ... [ZÍZ.H]I.A-*s-a harsār* 'heads of barley ... heads of wheat').

harsar (n.) 'head' (SAG[.DU]), nom.-acc. sg. SAG.DU (e.g. *KUB* I 16 II 65 *attas-tas-wa* SAG.DU-*set* 'your father's head'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8), gen. sg. *har-as-sa-na-as* (XXIX 1 II 20 *harassanas* GIG-*an* 'head-ailment'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:154 [1982]), *har-sa-na-as* (XVII 8 IV 7 *nu-wa harsanas-san* GIG-*as kammarās kisaru n-at nepisa paiddu* 'may the headache evaporate and may it go to the sky'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:167 [1965]; G. Kellerman, *Hethitica VIII* 217 [1987]; *IBoT* I 33, 17 *ANA* ^{D}U *harsanas* 'to the storm-god of the head'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:152 [1958]), *har-sa-an-na-as* (ibid. 20, *ABoT* 1 I 6, *KUB* XXXIII 21 III 15, LIX 25 Rs. 14 ^{D}U *harsannas*), SAG.DU (X 50, 3, XVII 14 Vs. 8 ^{D}U SAG.DU; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60), SAG.DU-*as* (e.g. XIX 55 Vs. 32 *kās* INIM-*as* SAG.DU-*as* 'this matter of the head' [i.e. 'capital issue']; cf. Sommer, *AU* 200; XIII 5 II 16 SAG.DU-*as aggatar*

'capital penalty'; ibid. IV 66 SAG.DU-*as wastul* 'capital offence'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372, 376 [1934]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ar-as-ni* (*KBo* II 19 = *KUB* VIII 2 Rs. 13), *har-sa-ni* (*KBo* XVII 3 I 7–8 *irma(n)-smas-kan dāhhun* [*kardi-smi-ya-at-kan dāhhun*] *harsani-smi-ya-at-kan dāhh*[*un* 'I have taken illness from you, both from your heart have I taken it and from your head have I taken it'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18; Neu, *Altheth.* 12; *KUB* XX 38 Vs. 6 *h*]*arsani-smi genzu d*[*a-* 'have mercy on their head'; *Bo* 3276 Vs. 6 *harsani-ssi* 'on his head', besides ibid. 2 *INA* SAG.DU-*ŠU*; *KUB* XXXIII 66 II 17 *harsani-s*⟨*si*⟩ KI.MIN 'on his head likewise', paralleling ibid. 16 *tuikki-ssi* 'on his body', ibid. 18 *hanti-ssi* 'on his forehead'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 47), *har-sa-ni-i* (*KBo* III 28 II 17 *attas-mas harsanī* ^{D}ÍD-*ya mekkies papreskir* 'against my father's head many have incriminated themselves with the river-god' [viz. by flunking a water ordeal]), *ANA* SAG (ibid. 18 ^{I}*Kizzuwas-pat ANA* SAG *ABI-YA* ^{D}ÍD-*ya papritta* 'K. in particular incriminated himself against my father's head with the river-god'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]), *ANA* SAG.DU (*KUB* XIV 16 IV 18 *A*]*NA* SAG.DU-*ŠU uskiskitallanni* 'for his bodyguard'), SAG.DU-*i* (ibid. 20 SAG.DU-*i uskisgatallas* 'bodyguard'; cf. Götze, *AM* 74), *har-as-sa-na-a* and abl. sg. SAG.DU-*na-az* (*KBo* III 1 II 50–52 *kuis* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*na* NIN.MEŠ-*na istarna idālu iyazi nu* LUGAL-*was harassanā suwāyezzi nu tūliyan halzistin mān-apa uttar-set paizzi nu* SAG.DU-*naz sarnikdu* 'who among brothers and sisters alike does evil and has designs on the king's head, call the assembly; when its verdict is handed down, he shall atone with his head'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 34, 123, 133–4 [1984]), SAG.DU-*az* (ibid. 55 and 59 *nu* SAG.DU-*az-pat sarnikdu*; *KUB* XXIV 13 III 16 *n-an-zan namma ser katta* SAG.DU-*az epzi* 'she grabs him once more by the head'), *har-sa-an-na-az* (dupl. *KBo* XXIII 23 Vs. 78 *n-an*]*-za namma ser katta harsann*[*az epzi*]; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 106, 212), *har-sa-na-za* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 3 *harsanaza-at-kan kattan parkunun* 'from the head I cleansed it' [viz. ibid. 2 *alwanzatar* 'hex']), SAG.DU-*za* (XXI 27 IV 36 SAG.DU-*za sarninkan harmi* 'I have personally made restitution'), nom.-acc. pl. *har-sa-ar* (*KBo* XVII 3 I 18 *anduhsas harsarr-a* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.HI.A-[*ya*] 'both human heads and spears'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 13), *har-sa-a-ar* (dupl. XVII 1 I 23 *anduhsas harsārr-a* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.⟨HI.⟩A-*ya*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; Neu, *Altheth.* 6; XVII 3 IV 15–16 *halkiyas harsār ishiyanda* [ZÍZ.H]I.A-*s-a harsār ishiyanda* 'the heads of barley [are] tied, and the heads of wheat [are] tied'; dupl. XVII 1 IV 19–20; cf. Otten–

Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36; Neu, *Altheth.* 17, 11; XVII 3 IV 29 *halkiyas-a* ZÍZ.HI.A-*s-a harsārr-a* 'and the heads of both barley and wheat').

For the toponym *Harsan-hila* 'Head-court' see s. v. *hila-*. For the fountain ^{TÚL}*Harsaniya* see s. v. *harsumna-* 'headwaters'.

Luw. *harmahi-* (c.) 'head', acc. sg. *har-ma-hi-in* (*KUB* XXXV 107 II 14]*harmahin hupal*[*l*]*is* ['head [and] skull', besides ibid. 6 SAG.DU-*SÚ* and ibid. III 18 SAG.DU-*in*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 237–8; XXXV 24+ Vs. 11; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 83), instr.-abl. sg. *har-ma-ha-ti* (XXXV 43 III 6; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 145), *har-ma-ha-a-ti* (XXXV 25, 7; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 86), *har-ma-a-ha-ti(-)* (XXXII 8 III 11; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 118); genitival adj. *harmahassi-*, nom. sg. c. *har-ma-ha-as-si-is* (XXXV 71 II 3; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 186; XXXV 24+ Vs. 15 *harmahass*[*is*), SAG.DU-*as-si-is* (XXXV 107 III 17), acc. pl. SAG.DU-*as-sa-an-za* (ibid. 16 SAG.D]U-*assanza*), SAG.DU-*za* (XXXV 88 III 15; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 227). Cf. Otten, *Bestimmung* 74–7.

Hier. *harmahi-*, genitival adj. *harmahasa-*. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 51–2.

There is no firm evidence that the ancient heteroclitic *r/n* stem *harsar* had yielded secondary stems like *harsana-* or *harsani-* (wrongly e. g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:281; Tischler, *Glossar* 184–5). Occasional complementations like nom. sg. SAG.DU-*as* (*KBo* III 4 II 77 1-*as* SAG.DU-*as isparzasta* 'he alone escaped' [lit. 'single-headed']; cf. Götze, *AM* 64), acc. sg. SAG.DU-*an* (e. g. VI 4 I 20 *takku* LÚ-*an* SAG.DU-*an kuiski hūnikzi* 'if anyone injures a man in the head') can reflect *hala-* 'head, skull' (q. v.) or some further synonym. SAG.DU-*is* (*KUB* IX 4 I 22) and SAG.DU-*in* (*KBo* III 21 II 28; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]) may stand for Luwoid *harmahi-*, or possibly for the gloss-wedged (acc. sg.) *har-sa-a-ni-in* (*KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 12), if correctly interpreted as 'head' by Beckman (*Birth Rituals* 176, 188–9: *karsikarsi harsānin* ME-*an*⟨*du*⟩ 'let [the midwives] take the ointment for the head'; but this rendering should hardly involve an accusative case; *harsāni-* may be rather related to the vegetal substance *harsanili-* [q. v.] from which flour [and ointment?] was made).

While Luw. *harmahi-* remains obscure, the archaic similarity of *harsar* : *har(a)sanas* to the synonymous Ved. *śīrṣán-*, gen. *śīrṣṇás* and Hom. (*Iliad* 14:177) gen. sg. κράατος (< **kr̥Hsn̥-t-os*), Myc. instr. pl. *ka-ra-a-pi* (= *krāatphi*) is striking and overrides any scruples about the initial consonant (cf. e. g. V. Pisani, *Paideia*

19:282 [1964]; Gusmani, *Lessico* 23). An assumption Hitt. *h* < IE **ḱ* (first in Pedersen, *Hitt.* 176) will not do, but there are other means of accounting for the discrepancy. Better than assuming "influence" of the synonym *hala-* (cf. W. Petersen, *Arch. Or.* 9:203 [1937]; Kronasser, *VLFH* 83–4), an inner-Hittite regressive assimilation of the outcome of **ḱ(e)rH₁sr̥* to **harhsar* is conceivable (with subsequent dissimilatory loss of interconsonantal *h*; cf. Peters, *Untersuchungen* 230); the same developments (*k* – *h* > *h* – *h* > *h* – ∅) are observed in *harwant-* and *harwasi-* (q. v.).

The unadulterated IE **ḱer-* 'head, horn' (*IEW* 574) may be present in *kitkar* (q. v.).

A comparison of *harsanas* (sic) with Gk. *ὄρος* 'mountain', Skt. *ṛṣvá-* 'high' was made by Goetze (*Mélanges ... H. Pedersen* 492 [1937]) and occasionally endorsed (e. g. by Polomé, *Lg.* 28:449 [1952]; Kammenhuber, *Sommer Corolla* 104); the latter words are better derived from IE **er-* 'stir, raise', attested inter alia in Hitt. *aru-* 'high'.

Cf. *harsal(l)ant-*, *harsanalli-*, *harsanili-*, *harsi-*, *harsumna-*.

harsi- (c.) '(bread)loaf' (NINDA.KUR₄.RA, literally 'thick bread', distinct from NINDA.SIG 'flatbread'), nom. sg. *har-si-is* (e. g. *KUB* XX 78 III 5 ^{D}U-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsis* 'the storm-god's breadloaf'; *KBo* IX 136 I 8 ^{NINDA}*harsis anda paizzi* 'the breadloaf enters'; *KUB* X 52 VI 8–9 *harkiss-a* ^{NINDA} *harsis karū parsiyanza* 'the white breadloaf [is] already broken'; XI 23 VI 2–3 ^{NINDA}*harsiss-a apinissan parkuis ēsdu* 'and let the breadloaf be thus clean'; *KBo* XVI 71 Rs. 6 + XX 24 II 3 ½ ^{NINDA}*harsis* SA₅ GAL *anda-ma* GUD-*as* UDU-*as sup*[*pa* 'half a big red breadloaf, and in addition kosher beef and mutton'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 41; XVII 74 I 36 *harsiya*[*ll*]*i-ma* 2-*e apiya* 15 *harsis* GE₆ [*kitta*] 'two breadboxes, here [in one] are stored fifteen black loaves' [ad sensum plural after numeral]; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, 37–8; XVII 11 I 21 *apiya* 15 *harsis* GE₆ *kitta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 65), acc. sg. *har-si-in* (e. g. XV 10 II 19–20 *qāsa-smas kardimiyattas harsin pihhun* 'lo, to you I have given the loaf of wrath'; ibid. 39–40 [*q*]*āsa-smas taksulas harsin parsiyanun* 'lo, for you I have broken the loaf of peace'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 22, 26; *KUB* LVIII 54 IV 5 ^{LÚ}NAR ^{NINDA}*harsin parsiya* 'the singer breaks the breadloaf'; dupl. *KBo* XXV 33 Vs. 21 ^{LÚ}]NAR-*as* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *par*[*siya*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 88; XVII 74 I 25 ^{NINDA}*harsin parsiya*; ibid. IV 25

^{NINDA}*harsinn-a parsiya*; ibid. II 48 and 51 ^{NINDA}*harsin* GE₆ *arahza udai* 'brings from the outside a black breadloaf'; ibid. 54 ^{NINDA}*harsi*[*n*; ibid. III 27, 39, 44, 49 ^{NINDA}*harsin* IMZA GE₆ 'sour black breadloaf', vs. ibid. 29 ^{NINDA}*harsin* KU₇.KU₇ 'sweet breadloaf'; *KUB* XXXIV 123 I 23 ^{NINDA}*harsin* GE₆; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16; XLIII 30 III 14 ½ ^{NINDA}*harsin*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 78; *KBo* XX 13 I 6 ^{NINDA}*harsin*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 141; XVII 4 III 12 10 ^{NINDA}*harsin tumēni* 'we take ten breadloaves'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34; Neu, *Altheth.* 16; XVII 1 II 43 and dupl. XVII 3 II 14 ^{NINDA}*harsin ispantuzzi-ya*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 28; Neu, *Altheth.* 8, 14; *KUB* XXIV 3 II 4–6 *namm*[*a-smas*] ^{NINDA}*harsin* [^{DUG}*isp*]*anduzi-ya* ^{ŪL} *k*[*uiski*] *iyazi* 'no one any longer readies the breadloaf and libation-vessel for you', besides ibid. III 42 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.[HI.A-*KUN*]*U ispantuzi*['your breadloaves [and] libations'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26, 36; XIV 14 Rs. 23 ^{NINDA}*harsin* ^{DUG}*ispanduzzin*, besides ibid. 27 NINDA KUR₄.RA *ispantuz*[*zin*], ibid. 29 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *ispantuzziya ser*; cf. Götze, *KlF* 174; XXIII 124 I 25–26 *nu* ANA DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ[-*YA*] ^{NINDA}*harsin* ^{DUG}*ispan*[*tuzzi*] *sarā tittanu*[*ski*]*r* 'to the gods my lords they would offer up bread[loaf] and libation'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 244; *KBo* VI 26 I 29–30 [= *Code* 2:64] *nassu* ^{NINDA}*harsin nasma* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *ispanduzi kinuzi* 'he breaks out either a breadloaf or a wine jar'; XI 11 II 3–4 ^{NINDA}*harsin* KAŠ GEŠTIN ^{DUG}*ispanduzzi harmi* 'I hold a breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of beer [and] wine'; ibid. 6–7 ^{NINDA}*harsin* KAŠ GEŠTIN *ispanduzzi-ya kez kezz-iya tehhi* 'breadloaf and libation-vessels of beer [and] wine I place on either side'; XVII 1 IV 10 [^{NIND}]^{A}*harsin par*[*a*]*shari ispantahhi-ya* 'I break the breadloaf and I libate'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36; Neu, *Altheth.* 10; XV 33 III 29 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NINDA.DÙ.DÙ-*ma ŠA* DING[IR-*LIM* É].ŠÀ-*ni anda* ^{NINDA}*harsin zanu*⟨*s*⟩*kanzi* 'the bakers bake a loaf in the inner chamber of the deity'; III 7 II 22–24 *mān* INA ^{URU}*Nerik hewus hinikta nu* ^{URU}*Neriqqaz* LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA ^{NINDA}*harsin pedāi* 'if rain pours at Nerik, from Nerik the staff-man will carry a breadloaf'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68–9 [1965]; VI 13 I 7 [= *Code* 2:69] ^{NINDA}*harsin dāi t-an* ^{D}UTU-*i parsiya* 'he takes a breadloaf and breaks it to the sun-god'), NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*in* (*KUB* XIV 12 Rs. 11 *kuwat-wa-nnas* NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*in ispantu*[*zzi* ^{ŪL} *peskatteni* 'why don't you give us breadloaf [and] libation?'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 238), gen. sg. *har-si-ya-as* (XXV 23 I 18 and 44 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *harsiyas*, ibid. 49 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ^{NINDA}*harsiyas* 'bread of loaf[-shape]'), *har-si-as* (*KBo* XXVI 156 Rs. 6 *h*]*arsias*

NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA), *har-sa-as* (*KUB* XV 34 III 58 UDUN *harsas* 'bread-oven'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 200), dat.-loc. sg. *har-si* (e. g. *KBo* IX 106 II 18 *isnas-ma-wa-kan kās* DINGIR].MEŠ-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsi* ^{ÚL} *paizzi* 'this dough does not go into a breadloaf for the gods'; dupl. *KUB* XII 59 II 18 – 19 DINGIR.MEŠ]-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsi* ^{ÚL} [; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]; *KBo* IX 136 Rs. 7 ^{NINDA}*harsi ser* 'on the breadloaf'; *KUB* XIII 4 III 58 – 59 *n-asta* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsi* ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi nahsarattan mekki tiyan ha*[*rtin*] 'for the breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of the gods keep your respect very much in place'; ibid. 79 – 80 *warapzi-ma-za nāui n-as* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsi* ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi maninkuwan saknuanza sāliqa* 'he has not yet bathed and goes filthy near the breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 – 8 [1934]), *har-sa-i* (*KBo* XXV 149 Vs. 6 – 7 *memal dāi* [... *-a*]*s piran* ^{NINDA}*harsai suhāi* 'takes meal ... pours forth onto the loaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 234; XXV 88, 5 [*AN*]*A* ^{NINDA}*harsai* 3-*ŠU paizzi* 'goes thrice to the breadloaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 167; *KUB* VII 1 II 26 ^{NINDA}*harsai-ma-at-san kuedani kitta n-an ANA* ^{D}UTU *parsiya* 'on what breadloaf it is laid, that [s]he breaks to the sun-god'; cf. ibid. 18 *ANA* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *dāi* 'lays on a breadloaf'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 – 50 [1961]), instr. sg. (or pl.) *har-si-it* (XXIV 2 Vs. 12 *nu-tta kāsa mukiskimi* ^{NINDA}*harsit* ^{DUG}*ispanduzit* 'lo, I am entreating you with breadloaf [and] libation'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16; dupl. XXIV 1 I 13 – 14 *nu-tta kāsa mukiskimi* ^{NINDA}*harsit* [^{DUG}*ispa*]*nduzit*; XXXIII 8 24 [^{NI}]^{NINDA}*harsit ispa*[*nduzzit*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]; XXXIII 121 II 7 *nu-za namma* ^{I}*Kessis* DINGIR.MEŠ-*us* ^{NINDA}*harsit ispanduzzi*⟨*t*⟩ ^{ÚL} *kappuizzi* 'K. no longer looks after the gods with breadloaves and libations'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]), abl. sg. *har-si-ya-az* (XIII 4 I 64 – 65 *kuis-wa-kan tuēl* DINGIR-*LIM-az* ^{NINDA}*harsiyaz* [^{DUG}*i*]*sp*[*a*]*nduzziyaz dās* 'whoever has taken from thy breadloaf [or] libation-vessel, o god'), nom. pl. *har-si-is* (X 39 III 4 – 8 3 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *sarrisnilies udanzi n-asta* ^{NINDA}*harsis* UDU.HI.A $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SANGA-*ya hassan huuiyanzi* 'they bring three s.-loaves; thereupon the loaves, sheep, and priests hie to the fireplace'), *har-sa-es* (*KBo* XVII 3 IV 20 3 ^{NINDA}*harsaes ispantuzzi-ya marnuan kitta* 'three breadloaves and the m.-libamen lie [in readiness]'), *har-sa*-[*a*-]*es* or *har-sa*-[*e*-]*es* (dupl. XVII 1 IV 23; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 17, 11), *har-sa-a-e-es* (*IBoT* III 113 Rs. 6 *hūmandas* ^{NINDA}*harsāēs*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 355), acc. pl. ^{NINDA}*har-si-us* (e. g. *KBo* XX 67 II 50; *VBoT* 28 II 3), *har-sa-us* (e. g. *KBo* XI 25 II 5 – 6 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠÌL.A.ŠU.DU$_8$.A

^{NINDA}*harsaus* LUGAL-*i* SAL.LUGAL-*ri-ya pianzi* 'the cupbearers give breadloaves to king and queen'; repeated ibid. 11 – 12; XVII 74 II 35 LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *suppaz* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*az* 2 *tu*[*ni*]*ngas* ^{NINDA}*harsaus dāi* 'the waiter takes from the clean table two t.-loaves'; XVII 1 IV 5 ^{NINDA}*harsaus para*[*sha* 'I break breadloaves'; *KUB* XXXIV 123 I 22 ^{NINDA}*harsaus* GE$_6$-*TIM parsiyanda* 'they break black breadloaves'; *KBo* XVII 11 IV 3 2 ^{NINDA}*harsaus* GE$_6$ *parsi*[- 'break[s?] two black breadloaves'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32, *Altheth.* 68; *KUB* XXV 88, 7 *h*]*arsaus parsiyanda* 'they break loaves'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 167; *KUB* XVII 21 II 16 – 17 ^{NINDA}*harsaus* ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi-ya kuez arha piddāir* 'whence they have brought off breadloaves [and] libation-vessels'; ibid. III 25 ^{NINDA}*harsaus* ^{DUG}*ispa*[*ntuzzi-ya*; cf. ibid. IV 10 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi*; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 156, 158, 160), *har-sa-ú-s(a)* (*KBo* XVII 30 III 6 *ù* ^{NINDA}*harsaus-a par*[*si-*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 149), *har-sa-ú-us* (*KUB* VII 8 II 11 – 13 *nu-tta* SISKUR.SISKUR.HI.A-*TIM* ^{NINDA}*harsaūs memal* ^{DUG}*ispanduzziyassar ape peskanzi* 'those will always give you offerings, breadloaves, groats, and libation-vessels'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]; *KBo* XVII 4 II 17 *ha*]*rs*[*a*]*ūs siwaē*[*s*; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24 – 5; Neu, *Altheth.* 14), NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*us* (dupl. XVII 1 II 9 4 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*us IMZUTIM ie*[*mi* 'I make four sour breadloaves'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 7), NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A-*us* (*KUB* XXXI 117 II 3; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154), gen. pl. *har-sa-ya-as* (XVII 21 II 8 – 9 *sumenzan nepisas* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as kue* KUR.KUR.HI.A ^{NINDA}*harsayas* ^{DUG}*ispantuzziyas argamanass-a ēsta* 'your lands, gods of heaven, which were [purveyors] of breadloaves, libation-vessels, and tribute'; XXXI 124 II 20 A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-*KUNU-ma-za* ^{NINDA}*harsayas* 'your fieldlands, [purveyors] of breadloaves'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 158), dat.-loc. pl. *har-si-ya-as* (XIII 6 III 9 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as* ^{NINDA}*harsiyas* 'for the gods' breadloaves'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]), *har-sa-ya-as* (*KBo* XX 67 II 41 – 43 *n-an-san ... parsiyantas* ^{NINDA}*harsayas* IGI.HI.A-*wa ka*[*tta*] *ser dāi* 'he puts it [viz. the loaf] upside down upon the frittered loaves'), *har-sa-as* (XXV 112 II 8 – 9 ^{NINDA}*harsas-(s)mas ispantuzzias-(s)mas tuwā*[*ttu* 'for our loaves ... for our libation-vessels grace!'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191; XI 39 I 8 – 9 ^{NINDA}*harsas* EGIR-*an iyanta* '[they] walk behind the loaves'; III 63 II 14 *n-at harsas ser* [*dāi* 'he puts them upon loaves'; 329/d IV 9 – 10 *n-at-san* ^{NINDA}*harsas ser arha*[; XV 10 I 5 *n-at harsas dāi* 'he puts them on loaves'; ibid. III 64 – 65 *nu-ssan ēshar harsas ser tarnas* 'he let blood upon the loaves'; repeated ibid. 66 – 67,

68–69; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12, 44–6, 57–9), NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*as* (XVII 105 IV 13 GÍR-*it ēshar* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*as ser tarnai* 'with a knife he lets blood upon the loaves').

harsiyala-, harsiyalli- (c.) 'bread-server', nom. sg. *har-si-ya-la-as* (*KUB* XIII 3 II 24–26 [end of a long list of kitchen personnel] ^{LÚ}*harsiyalas* ^{LÚ}*zuppālas* LUGAL-*was* ZI-*ni ser* ITU-*mi* ITU-*mi linkiskitin* 'bread-server and z.-man, swear monthly by the king's soul!'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47), nom. pl. *har-si-ya-al-li-ya-as* (XIV 12 Rs. 8 *harsiyalliyas-kan ispantuzziyal*[-; cf. Götze, *KlF* 238), LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*us* (XIV 8 Rs. 18 LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*us* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ *ispantuzziyalius* 'bread-servers [and] libation-bearers'; cf. dupl. XIV 11 III 41 LÚ.MEŠ NINDA SI.SÁ 'men in charge of bread'; Götze, *KlF* 214–5). For formation cf. *ispantuzziyala-, auriyala-, arkammanalli-*.

harsiyal(l)i- (n.) 'breadbox, storage jar, pithos', sometimes of wood (*KBo* XI 50 V 17 ^{GIŠ}*har-si-ya-al-li*[; shorthand *har-si*, e. g. *Bo* 3315 Vs. 5–7 *kuedani* UD.KAM-*ti* [...] [... ^{DUG}*ha*]*rsiyalli apedani ge*[*nuw*]*anzi* [...]-*si genuwas* ^{DUG}*harsi* 'on the day when ..., on that [day] they open the pithos ... of opening the pithos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 277a), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *har-si-ya-li* (*KUB* VII 24 Vs. 6 GIM-*an zenas* DÙ-*ri* ^{DUG}*harsiyali-kan ishūwanzi* 'when fall comes, they pour [= fill] the pithos'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:23, 14–15 [1973]; I 1 IV 72–73 *n-an-kan hūmanti-ya-pat* EGIR-*an* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN [*t*]*ittanuskanzi* ^{DUG}*harsiyali-ya-kan ishuiskanzi* 'at each [location] once again they are setting her up a baitylos and are pouring pithoi'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28), *har-si-ya-al-li* (e. g. VII 5 IV 12–16 *namma-ssi mān* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli āssu n-an-zan* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli tittanuzi mān ŪL-ma n-an-za* ^{NA_4}*hūwasi tittanuzi nasma-an-za* ALAM-*ma iyazi* 'if a pithos [is] pleasing to [the deity], he sets her up a pithos, but if not, he sets her up a baitylos or worships her as an icon'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:276 [1987]; *KBo* XVII 74 I 36 [OHitt.] *harsiya*[*ll*]*i-ma* 2-*e apiya* 15 *harsis* GE$_6$ [*kitta*] 'two breadboxes, here [in one] are stored fifteen black loaves'; *KUB* XXI 17 II 11–14 *nu-za-kan* DINGIR-*LUM* ŠÀ URU.MEŠ ^{DUG}*harsiyalli tehhun halkiyas-si* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli tehhun* ŠA GEŠTIN-*ya-ssi* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli iyanun* 'for the goddess inside cities I set pithoi; a pithos of grain I set for her, and a pithos of wine I made for her'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:22; Lebrun, *Samuha* 145; ibid. III 2–3 [*nu-za-kan* ^{D}LI]Š ^{URU}*Samuhi* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli tehhun* 'for Ištar at Samuha I have set pithoi'; ibid. 13–17 *nu* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli hēsanzi selius-ma sunnan*[*zi*] *nu-kan* ^{DUG}*harsiyal*[*li*] *halkiyass-a sunna*[*nzi* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli*] ŠA GEŠTIN-*ya-kan sunn*[*anzi*] 'they

open the pithoi, and they fill the granaries; they fill a pithos with grain, and they fill a pithos with wine'; XV 1 III 14–16 *nu-wa ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* 3 ^{DUG}*harsiyalli* 1-*EN ŠA* YÀ 1-*EN ŠA* LÀL 1-*EN ŠA INBI tehhi* 'for the god I set three pithoi – one of oil, one of honey, and one of fruit'; XV 11 II 8–11 [*nu*] *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli INA* ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti Ù INA* ^{URU}*Hakmis ishuwahhi* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli-ma-wa-za-kan* ZI-*za dahhi* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli-ma mān ŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM hēsanzi mān BELU kuinki uiyanzi* 'to thee, goddess, I shall pour a pithos at Hattusas and Hakmis, and I shall take the pithos to heart, whether they open the pithos out of the palace or send some bigwig'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:16 [1973]; XII 2 IV 3 GIM-*an tethai nu-kan* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli hēsanzi* 'when it thunders, they open the pithos'; XXV 23 I 38–39 GIM-*an-ma hamishi tethai nu-kan* ^{DUG}*harsiyalli ginuwanzi n-at* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Urista harranzi mallanzi* 'but when in spring it thunders, they open the pithos, and the men of U. pound and grind it'), *har-si-al-li* (VII 12 Vs. 4 1 ^{DUG}*harsialli*[), *har-si* (e. g. *KBo* II 1 IV 13 4 *PA* ZÍZ 2 *PA* GEŠTIN ^{DUG}*harsi* ŠÀ-*BA* 2½ ['pithoi, four half-measures wheat, two half-measures wine, included two-and-a-half ...'; ibid. I 21–22 6 *PA* ZÍZ ^{DUG}*harsi* 11 *PA* [...] ^{DUG}*harsi* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ME-*is* 'pithos, six half-measures wheat, pithos eleven half-measures ... his majesty set'; ibid. II 3 23 *PA* ZÍZ ^{DUG}*harsi* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ME-*is* 'pithos, twenty-three half-measures wheat, his majesty set'; similarly ibid. II 18, 29, 44, III 4–5, 10–11, 18–19, 24, 31, 40; II 7 Vs. 19 1 *PA* ZÍZ ^{DUG}*harsi*; *KUB* XVII 35 II 8 3½ ZÍZ ^{DUG}*harsi* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ME-*is*; VII 24 Vs. 5 1 *PA* ZÍZ 1 *PA* GEŠTIN ^{DUG}*harsi* ŠÀ É $^{HUR.SAG}$*Kukumisa ishūwanzi* 'pithoi, one half-measure wheat, one half-measure wine, inside temple of Mt. K. they pour'; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 25 *zeni ... ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *dapias* ^{DUG}*harsi* EBUR *suhhan*[*zi* 'in the fall ... to all the gods they pour [= fill] a harvest jar'; II 7 Vs. 6 *zēni* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhānzi*; ibid. 20 *zēni* ^{DUG}*harsi* 1 *PA suhhānzi*; *KUB* XVII 35 II 10 *ANA* ^{D}UTU *MĒ-ya-kan* ^{DUG}*harsi* TA NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *suhhanzi* 'and for the sun-god-in-water they fill a pithos with breadloaves'; ibid. 13–14 *kuedani-kan* UD.KAM-*ti* EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi hēsuwas karaptari* ŠA ^{D}UTU *MĒ-kan* ^{DUG}*harsi apedani* UD.KAM-*ti ŠTU* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hēsanz*[*i*] 'on the day when the feast of pithos-opening is concluded, the sun-god's-in-water pithos on that day along with the breadloaves [in it] they open' [cf. Gk. *πιθοίγια*, festival of jar-opening at the Anthesteria]; XXV 23 I 37 and *VBoT* 26, 8 ^{DUG}*hanissas* KAŠ ^{DUG}*harsi suhhauwas* 'jug beer for pithos-pouring'; *KUB* XLII 105 III 7–8 *ANA* EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi suhhauwas* 'for the feast of pithos-pouring'; XVII

35 IV 1 EZEN *zeni* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhuwas* 'feast of pithos-pouring in the fall'; XXXVIII 32 Vs. 6–7 2 EZEN-*si* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhawas hēsu*[*was*] *katta hamankatta* 'for him he mandated two feasts, of pouring and of opening the pithos'; *KBo* II 7 Rs. 16 GIM-*an hameshanza* DÙ-*ri tethai* ^{DUG}*harsi-kan genuanzi* 'when spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos'; ibid. Vs. 9 GIM-*an-ma TEŠI* DÙ-*ri tethai* ^{DUG}*harsi genuanzi* 'but when spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos'; ibid. 23]*harsi-kan genuanzi*; *KUB* XVII 37 I 4]*harsi-ya-kan IŠTU* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *ginuwanz*[*i* 'the pithos along with the bread-loaves they open'; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 8 ^{DUG}*harsi gi*]*nuwanzi* 3 NINDA.KU$_7$ 1 ^{DUG}*hanisas* KAŠ ^{DUG}*harsi* '[when] they open the pithos, pithos [has] three sweetbreads [and] one jug beer'; *KUB* XLII 105 III 10 EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi genuwas* 'feast of pithos-opening'), gen. sg. *har-si-ya-li-as* (*KBo* XIII 234 Rs. 13 EZEN *harsiyalias ke*[*nuwas* 'feast of pithos-opening'), *har-si-ya-la-as* (*KUB* XXVII 15 IV 23 EZEN *harsiyalas hesuwas*, with dupl. *KBo* XIII 242, 6]EZEN ^{DUG}*har-si-ya-al-la*[), *har-si-ya-al-la-as* (*KUB* XXVII 15 IV 10 ^{DUG}*harsiyallas* ZÍZ NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA DÙ-*anzi* 'the wheat of the pithos they make into bread'), *har-si-as* (e. g. XVII 37 I 10 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA ^{DUG}*harsias parsianzi* 'pithos bread they break'; *KBo* II 7 Vs. 11, Rs. 7, 19, 21 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA ^{DUG}*harsias*), *har-si-ya-as* (e. g. II 13 Vs. 11, 12, 13, 15 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA ^{DUG}*harsiyas*), ^{DUG}*har-si* (e. g. *KUB* XXXVIII 26 Vs. 12 and 18 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA ^{DUG}*harsi*; perhaps also in the construction EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi hēsuwas* [or *genuwas* or *suhhawas*], if construed genitivally like EZEN *harsiyalas hesuwas*), dat.-loc. sg. *har-si-ya-li(-s)* (XXVII 70 II 20 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *LABKU parsiya n-an-kan ANA* ^{DUG}*harsiyali* ZÍZ ME-*i* 'he breaks a moist breadloaf and puts it in the pithos for wheat'; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:104 [1969–70]), *har-si-ya-al-li* (XXV 18 III 35 ^{DUG}*harsiyalli* 1-*šU sipanti* '[he] libates to the pithos once' [surrounded by other datives, e. g. 29 and 37 *hassī* 'to the fireplace', 31 ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti* 'to the throne']), *har-si-ya-al-li-ya* (XXXII 108 Vs. 13 ^{DUG}*harsiyalliya piran* 'before the pithos'), abl. sg. *har-si-ya-al-la-az* (X 11 V 1–4 *IŠTU* GAL KÙ.BABBAR ^{DUG}*harsiyallaz* GEŠTIN *sarā* 3-*šU karapzi katta-ya* 3-*šU lāhui* 'with a silver goblet he takes up wine from the pithos three times and pours it down three times'), *IŠTU harsi* (*VBoT* 3 VI 8–9 *IŠTU* 2 *harsi* GIM-*an QATAMMA lāhūwanzi* 'as they likewise pour from two jars'), gen. pl. *har-si-ya-al-li-ya-as* (*KUB* X 11 IV 25–26 LUGAL-*us* ^{DUG}*harsiyalliyas* É.ŠÀ-*na* [= *tunnakesna*] *paizzi* 'the king goes to

the inner chamber of jars'), *har-si-ya-as* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 24 É.ŠÀ ^{DUG}*harsiyas*; *KUB* XXXVIII 32 Vs. 3 É.ŠÀ-*kan* ^{DUG}*harsiya*[*s*), dat.-loc. pl. *har-si-ya-al-li-ya-as* (XXV 23 I 35–36 1 *PA* ZÍZ ^{DUG}*harsiyalliyas ... ishūwanzi* 'one half-measure of wheat into pithoi [they] pour'; XVI 48 Vs. 17 ^{DUG}*harsiyalliyas*[), *har-si-al-li-as* (XXV 26 II 15 *ANA* 2 ^{DUG}*harsiallias*).

^{DUG}*har-si-ya-al-la-an-ni*[*(-)* is conceivably a diminutive like Gk. *πιθίσκος*; cf. ^{NINDA}*harsupanni-* 'loaflet' (s. v.), itself derived from a diminutive **hars(u)pa-* from ^{NINDA}*harsi-*.

The forms nom.-acc. and gen. *har-si*, gen. *har-si-(ya-)as*, abl. *IŠTU har-si* are most probably scribal shorthand for *harsiyalli, harsiyalli(y)as, harsiyallaz*, recalling *am, am-is, am-si-in, am-ya* for *ambassis, ambassin, ambassiya*. It is possible to view them alternatively as late-model attestations of OHitt. *harsi-* 'jar' (q. v.), with a change to neuter gender influenced by *harsiyal(l)i-*; gen. *harsi* and abl. *IŠTU harsi*, however, hardly make sense except as abbreviations (hardly pseudo-akkadograms; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 120).

For the derivation of *harsiyal(l)i-* from ^{NINDA}*harsi-* see Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 124, and Neu, *Gewitterritual* 38. The formations *harsan-alli-* and *harsiy-alli-* are hence parallel, from *r/n-* and *i*-stems respectively, as 'headpiece' and 'breadbox'; OHitt. ^{DUG}*harsi-* as '(wine-)jar' was a semantic near-match of ^{DUG}*harsanalli-* (which in jar-shape could also store cereal, wine, oil, honey, and fruits) but had no part in its formation.

^{NINDA}*harsi-*, like ^{DUG}*harsi-* (q. v.), is a variant *i*-stem noun akin to *harsar/harsan-* 'head' (cf. e. g. *sakki-*[*ganiyauwanza*] besides *sakkar/sakn-*, or *hasti-* besides Skt. *ásthi/asthan-*, or *harki-*, Skt. *ŕji-*, Gk. *ἀργι-* besides Skt. *ŕjrá-*). The range of meanings ('head', 'loaf', 'jar') resembles that of French *boule* 'bowl, ball, head, military ration loaf' (cf. NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ 'army bread' which was *harpanza* 'piled up' like NINDA.KUR$_4$RA [see s. v. *harp-*]).

An adjectival interpretation of *harsi-*, fueled by the seemingly largely adjectival declension pattern, whether 'proper, normal' (Goetze, *KlF* 199–200, *JAOS* 74:189 [1954]) or 'thick' (Güterbock apud *HW*, *Oriens* 10:352–3 [1957]), was flawed; if *harsi-* were an ordinary adjective, common sense boggles at its restriction as qualifier to only two nouns, NINDA and DUG. The "adjectival" oblique-case declension forms with full-grade stem suffix are actually archaisms of *i*-stem declension (innovated gen. sg. *harsiyas* like *halkiyas*, but *harsas* like *hulugannas*), mostly lost in nouns but syste-

matically preserved in adjectives (e. g. gen. sg. *sallayas* > *sallas*); their survival in *harsi-* may have been abetted by the adjectival feel of the profuse sumerogram NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA 'thick bread' for ^{NINDA}*harsi-* perceived as NINDA *harsi-*.

Cf. *harsiharsi-*, *harsupanni-*, *harzazu-*.

harsi- (c.) 'bowl, jar' (for liquids), nom. sg. *har-si-is* (*KBo* XVI 72 + 73 II 6 1 ^{DUG}*harsis* GEŠTIN 1 ^{DUG}*harsi*[*s* 'one jar wine, one jar ...'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 27; XXV 13 II 8 10 ^{DUG}*harsis marnuan* ŠA 1 *huppar* 'ten jars m. of one *huppar*'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; *KUB* XXXI 57 I 21 5 ^{DUG}*harsis marnuwan*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114), acc. sg. *har-si-in* (XI 21a I 10 ^{DUG}*harsin* GEŠTIN *pian*[*zi* 'they give a jar of wine'), nom. pl. $^{DUG.HI.A}$*har-si-is* (XXXIV 88, 7).

^{DUG}*harsi-* is akin to *harsar*/*harsan-* 'head' (for detail see s. v. $^{(NINDA)}$*harsi-* [preceding entry]; cf. also e. g. Engl. *hogshead* as a large cask for wine and other liquid storage). This mainly Old Hittite word was supplanted by *harsiyal(l)i-*, derived from the homophone ^{NINDA}*harsi-*.

For probable abbreviated or telescoped shorthand spellings nom.-acc. and gen. neut. ^{DUG}*har-si*, gen. ^{DUG}*har-si-(ya-)as*, abl. *IŠTU harsi*, see sub *harsiyalli-* s. v. $^{(NINDA)}$*harsi-*.

Cf. *harsiharsi-*.

harsiharsi- (n.) '(thunder)storm (HI.HI); jar, pithos', nom.-acc. *har-si-har-si* (*KUB* XXXII 117 Rs. 3–4 + *KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 11 *na*]*ssu sarāuwar n*[*a*]*ssu-ma harsiharsi* [...] *hēyawes-a* 'whether rage or storm ... and rains'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221; *KBo* XXV 139 + *KUB* XXXV 164 Rs. 4–5]-*ni sarāuwar* [...] *harsiharsi nasma*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 226; *KBo* IV 2 III 41–42 *nu harsiharsi udas namma* ^{D}U *hatuga tethiskit* 'a thunderstorm broke, and the storm-god thundered terribly'; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 4, 16–17, 50; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 104 [1985]; *KUB* V 1 IV 71 BE-*an-ma anzas* KALAG-*i* KAXIM-*mi harsiharsi warsas* 'if us, in violent thunder, storm [and] rain ...'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:88; XXXVI 12 III 8–9 *harsiharsi-ma parā halziyandu* 'let them call forth thunderstorms'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; *KUB* XXXII 117 Vs. 11–13 + *KBo* XIX 156 Rs. 4–6 + *KBo* VIII 74 Rs. 1 *harsiharsi* 2-*šu hattaran* 3-*šu hattaran ist*[*an*]*anas kitt-a kett-a dāi* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*ya-ssan dāi* 'a twice-engraved [and] a thrice-

engraved jar he sets hither and yon upon altars, and he sets a table'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; *KUB* XXV 23 IV 43 1 ^{DUG}*PURZITUM harsiharsi*['one sacrificial bowl h.'), gen. sg. *har-si-har-si-ya-as* (ibid. 45 ^{D}U *harsiharsiyas* EN-*YA* ^{DUG}*harsiharsi*['god of thunderstorm, my lord, a jar ...'), *har-si-har-si* (e. g. XII 2 I 14 and IV 16, XXXVIII 6 IV 23, *HT* 14, 14 ^{D}U *harsiharsi*, *KUB* VII 24 Rs. 2 ^{D}U *harsiha*[*rsi*; cf. ^{D}U *tethesnas* 'of thunder', ^{D}U HI.HI-*assis* 'of thunderstorm').

This iterational formation, matched by e. g. *(wante)wantema-* 'lightning', Sum. *hi-hi*, Hawaiian *mau-mau* 'fire', may be an "intensive" derivate from ^{DUG}*harsi-* (q. v.) or ^{DUG}*harsiyalli* (q. v. s. v. ^{NINDA}*harsi-*). Perhaps the "barreling" sound of a thunderstorm was associated with stone jars, even as in Slavic myth Perun produced thunder by grinding millstones (cf. Thor's hammer Mjöllnir, etymologically a 'grinder', like Russian *mólnija* and Welsh *mellt* 'lightning'). Ritual mimicry of thunder may be implicit in such contexts as *KUB* XXV 23 I 38–39: GIM-*an-ma hamishi tethai nu-kan* ^{DUG} *harsiyalli ginuwanzi n-at ... harranzi mallanzi* 'but when in spring it thunders, (they) open the jar and pound and grind it' (not merely the cereal within!).

harsumna- (n.) 'headwaters, wellspring, watery depths', gen. (pl.?) *har-sum-na-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 II 5 and III 15 *hattannas harsumnas* EN-*as* 'lord of wisdom [and] watery depths'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3, *5; addressed to Ea, lord of wisdom and the *apsū*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 48:220 [1954], *RHA* 26:41, 45 [1968]), dat.-loc. pl. *har-sum-na-as* (XXXVI 35 I 5 *n-as ŠA* ^{ID}*Māla harsumnas ār*[*as* 'he came to the headwaters of the Mala river'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 1:126 [1953]); in broken context *KBo* XXIII 27 III 9 *har-sum-na-as* 1 TÚL-*ma*, and ibid. 17 *har-sum-ma-na-as*. Cf. also Goetze, *JAOS* 74:189 (1954), *JCS* 22:19 (1968); M. Vieyra, *RA* 68:124 (1974), who wrongly equated KAXNUN 'bank, edge'.

Town name ^{URU}*Harsumna* (*HT* 2 VI 4; *KUB* XXX 45 II 11; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 160); cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:79 (1961). Cappadocian man's name *Harsumn-uman* (Laroche, *Noms* 62; cf. e. g. *Suppiluli-uma-*).

Harsumna proves nothing about the stem of the common noun, since it shows the typical toponomastic nominative form in *-a*. It is possible to postulate (with Laroche, *RHA* 19:79) a nom.-acc. sg. neut. *harsum(m)ar* (type of *harnammar*, *halwammar*, *hilammar*,

miumar, q. v.); Tischler (*Glossar* 188) compared the river name $^{\text{ID}}$TÚL-*mar*; but the further connection with *harsar* 'head' remains derivationally opaque, and the same is true of H. C. Melchert's **harsuman-* (*Die Sprache* 29:10 [1983]). Cf. more plausibly the appurtenance suffix *-umna-* as in *hestumna-*, *kuenzumna-*, *arunumana-* (q. v. s. v. *hista-*, *kui-*, *aruna-*), thus *harsumna-* < **harsn-umna-* (cf. dat.-loc. sg. *harasni* besides *harsani*), lit. 'head-related', originally neuter adjectival with some implied noun like *widār* 'waters'; cf. Engl. 'headwaters', Akk. *rēš ēni* 'fountainhead', and $^{\text{TÚL}}$*Harsaniya-* (*KUB* XXXVIII 10 IV 5, preceded by *aldannis* 'spring'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:196 [1961]).

For semi-synonyms see s. v. *altanni-*.

harsupanni- (c.), a kind of bread or cake often made from mush (BA.BA.ZA), nom. sg. (and pl.) $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-su-pa-an-ni-is* (e. g. *KUB* LV 51 IV 18; *KBo* XXI 37 Rs. 12; XVII 98 V 2; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 265; *KUB* XXXII 103 II 11–12 2 $^{\text{NINDA}}$*harsupannis* ... [...] *n-as* ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *parsiyanzi* 'two h. ... , and they break them for the gods'), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-su-pa-ni-is* (XXXII 128 I 7), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-su-pa-an-ni-i-is* (163/x IV 19), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-su-pa-ni-i-is* (*KBo* XXI 38, 3), acc. sg. $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-su-pa-an-ni-e*[*n*] (*KUB* XXV 50 II 1).

harsupanni- resembles *haraspawant-* (c.), also made from mush or meal (ZÍD.DA), nom. sg. $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-u-an-za* (643/z, 7), acc. sg. $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-a-u-wa-an-ta-an-n(a)* (*KUB* XLV 47 III 17), nom. pl. $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-u-an-te-*[*es*] (XLIV 52, 7), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-u-wa-an-te-es* (e. g. XXIX 4 II 49 and IV 16; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 18, 28; XXIX 6 + II 8; cf. *ZA* 71:127 [1981]; *KBo* X 34 I 11; XV 37 I 15; XXVII 130 I 7), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-u-wa-an-te-(m)es* (XIII 114 II 19), $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-a-u-wa-an-te-es* (e. g. V 2 I 30 and IV 17), acc. pl. $^{\text{NINDA}}$*har-as-pa-u-wa-an-du-us* (e. g. V 1 III 11, 17, 30, 33; XXX 52, 8).

harsupanni- and *haraspawant-* recall in formation *armanni-* and *armawant-* (see s. v. *arma-* and *armai-*), representing a (diminutival?) noun derivative and a denominative (or denominative – deverbative) adjective in *-want-* (of the type *saknuwant-* 'shitty', *kartimmiyawant-* 'angry'), secondarily nominalized. An underlying *hars(u)pa-* (syncopational spelling *har-as-pa-*) may be a diminutive of $^{\text{NINDA}}$*harsi-* 'breadloaf' (q. v.; cf. *kalulupa-* s. v.), thus 'loaflet', rederived in *harsupanni-* 'little loaflet' and adjectivized in *hars(u)pa-want-* 'having dumplings' (*Bo* 3648, 19 UTÚL *har-as-pa-wa-an*[- 'dumpling soup') or 'loaflet-like' (bread). Cf. also Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:222, 266; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 157, 154–5 (1974).

hartak(k)a- (c.) 'bear', nom. sg. *har-tág-ga-as* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 28–30 [address to trees] UR.MAH-*as kattan seskit* UG.TUR-*as-(s)mas kattan seskit hartaggas-ma-smas sarā arkiskitta* 'the lion would pair, the panther would pair by you, but the bear would couple up against you'; cf. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 416 [1981], *JAOS* 102:179 [1982]; M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]; XLVIII 80 I 3; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 43:322 [1936]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 210), acc. sg. *har-tág-ga-an* (XXXVI 67 II 10; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:84 [1938]), *har-ták-kán* (*KBo* VII 14 Vs. 5), gen. sg. *har-tág-ga-as* (*KUB* IX 31 I 8 *hartaggas sisai* 'bear's fang'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:334 [1938], and XXIX 1 II 42–43 *ŠA* UR.MAH *sesai parsanas* $^{\text{UZU}}$*sisai* 'lion's fang [and] panther's fang').

$^{\text{LÚ}}$*hartak(k)a-*, kind of priest or cult official, nom. sg. $^{\text{LÚ}}$*har-tág-ga-as* (*Bo* 2604a, 2; 6724, 4), $^{\text{LÚ}}$*har-ta-ga-as* (*KBo* XVII 99 I 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 101; XVII 100 I 9 $^{\text{LÚ}}$*hartaga*[*s*; XVII 43 I 16 1 $^{\text{LÚ}}$*hāpies* $^{\text{LÚ}}$*hartagass-a* 'one *hāpiya*-man and a bear-man'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 105), $^{\text{LÚ}}$*har-ta-ka-as* (dupl. XVII 99 I 9 $^{\text{LÚ}}$*hartakass-a*; *KUB* LVIII 14 Rs. 7), acc. sg. $^{\text{LÚ}}$*har-ta-ag-ga-an* (ibid. 24–25 SAL $^{\text{GIŠ}}$BAN $^{\text{LÚ}}$*hartaggan* GI-*it* 1-*ŠU siezzi* 'the archeress shoots at the bear-man once with an arrow'), dat.-loc. sg. $^{\text{LÚ}}$*har-ták-ki* (*IBoT* II 88, 15; *Bo* 3202, 17). Cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:87 (1938); Jakob-Rost, *Orientalia* N.S. 35:419 (1966). For comparison with other theriomorphic or bestiovestite functionaries ($^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$UR.ZÍR, UR.BAR.RA, UR.MAH 'dog-, wolf-, lion-men') cf. ibid. 417–22. Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 163–4; Daddi, *Mestieri* 233–4.

Town name $^{\text{URU}}$*Ha-ar-táq-qa-an* (acc. in *KUB* XVI 43 Rs. 3). Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:80 (1961).

That this large predator whose mating posture differed from that of the Felidae is the bear need not be doubted (despite e. g. Neu, *Interpretation* 14, *Anitta-Text* 103; Otten, *Die Welt des Orients* 5:95 [1969], *ZA* 71:143 [1981], who assumed 'wolf'); cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 95:263 (1975) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 291 (1981).

/hartka-/ < IE *$A_1r̥tḱo$- 'bear', seen also in Skt. *ṛ́kṣa-*, Avest. *arəša-*, Gk. *ἄρκτος*, Lat. *ursus*, OIr. *art*; perhaps connectible with Skt. *rákṣas-*, Avest. *rašah-* 'destruction' (cf. e. g. Benveniste, *BSL* 38:146 [1937]; W. Merlingen, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* 2:50 [1957]; T. Burrow, *JAOS* 79:86–7 [1959]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:170–1; F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 40 [1970]).

hardu- (n.) 'brood, descendance, posterity', nom.-acc. pl. *ha-ar-du-wa* and gen. *ha-ar-du-wa-as* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Vs. 65–67 DUMU.MEŠ *hassus hanzassus harduwas harduwa harduwa⟨s⟩* [haplography of *-as*!] *ha[rduwa]* [*nu*] *apat* É-*ir* ANA DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa hāssi hanzassi hardu[was]* NUMUN ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa piandu* 'children, progeny of progeny, brood of brood [emphatic iteration]; let them give that house to the children of Tarhumanawas, to progeny of progeny, seed of posterity'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:32 [1974]), Luwoid instr.-abl. *har-tu-wa-ti* in *har-tu-u-wa⟨-as⟩-har-tu-wa-ti* (XII 58 IV 11–13 *nu-za-kan* É-*ir* IŠTU DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hasset hanzassit* [...] *hartūwa⟨s⟩hartuwati* QATAMMA *sunniddu* 'let him likewise fill the house with sons [and] daugthers, with progeny of progeny ... with brood of brood'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20–2); *har-du-wa⟨-as⟩-har-du-wa*[- (XLIII 23 Vs. 14–15 *h]anzassa harduwa⟨s⟩ harduwa*[-).

Hier. *hartu-* 'descendant'. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 53; Laroche, *HH* 31–2. Luwian has the obscure nom. pl. c. *h]ar-du-wa-at-ti-in-zi* (*KBo* XXIX 49 Vs. 7; Starke, *KLTU* 386), perhaps from an abstract noun **harduwatt-* 'descendance'; with *hartuwati* above cf. Luw. instr.-abl. *hamsāti* s. v. *hammasa-*.

hardu- has possibilities of extra-Anatolian connection, e. g. with OCS *rodŭ* 'gender, kin, kind' (< **ord*[*h*]-?) or Arm. *ordi* 'son, offspring' (cf. O. N. Trubačev, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1957:2, 88; Ivanov, *Etimologija 1979* 135–6 [1981]). Van Windekens' adduction of Lat. *artus* 'joint', was, however, far-fetched (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 332 [1981]). Carruba (*OLZ* 60:557 [1965]) also compared with *hardu-* the name of the Lydian ruler *Ἄρδυς* (q. v. rather s. v. *arta-*), contrasting with his predecessor *Γύγης* whose name was connected with Hitt. *huhha-* 'grandfather'. Cf. also Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 234–5.

Cf. *warwalan-*.

hardup(p)i-, adjective of inferential meaning ('high'?), nom. sg. or pl. c. *har-du-up-pí-is* (*KUB* XIII 2 II 9–10 ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA-*sa* GIŠ.HI.A *mekki ēstu* [...] *harduppis nu hūman mekki ēstu* 'let wood for seats be plentiful, ... h.; let everything be plentiful'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 44), acc. sg. c. *har-du-pí-in* (XLVI 18 Vs. 9 *nu* ^{D}*Imrallin hardupin* GUB-*as* IŠ[*TU ... ekuzi* 'Imralli the h., standing, from a ... he toasts'), *har-du-up-pí-in* (*KBo* XX 48 Vs. 10 DINGIR *harduppin* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*Lamma* 'the h. god, the sun-god of Lamma'; *KUB* XXXV 145 II 7 -]*san wēlwas harduppin ar*[- [*wēlwas* = *welluwas* 'of the meadow'?; or *wēl-wa-as*?; cf. ibid. 9 -]*za wēl kistanunun*]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230), gen. sg. c. *har-du-up-pí-as* (XXXV 7 IV 1 *n-at-za* ŠA DINGIR *hardupp*[*ias* 'of the h. god'), nom. pl. c. *har-du-up-pí-e-es* (XVII 17, 9 ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *harduppiēs* 'h. seats').

Because of lack of determinative and congruent adjacency to a noun or name, *hardup(p)i-* has the looks of an adjective qualifying either a deity or 'seat, throne'. A nominal interpretation as a piece of furniture (Laroche, *RA* 47:41 [1953]), partially idolized or divinized (read ^{D}*Harduppi-*; Otten, *ZA* 66:299 [1976]; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 133 [1978]), is unlikely, whether connected etymologically with Lat. *artus* 'joint', Arm. *ard* 'structure, ornament' (Van Windekens, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 1:41 [1980]) or compared with Gk. *κάρδοπος* 'trough, basin' as an "areal" term (Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 257). The nearest derivational parallel would be *dampupi-* from *dampu-* (both 'rough'). Perhaps the base-etymon is a **hardu-* 'high' (as in 'high-god', 'high seat'), cognate with Gaulish *Arduenna* (name of a mountain-forest), OIr. *ard* 'high', Lat. *arduus* 'high, steep', Avest. *ərədva-* 'high'. As a divine epithet, *hardupi-* would then resemble *sarlaimmi-* 'exalted' (cf. *KUB* XLVI 18 Rs. 6 ^{D}LAMA *sarlaimmin*, besides ibid. Vs. 9 ^{D}*Imrallin hardupin*).

haruwa- (c.?) 'road', abl. sg. or pl. *ha-ru-wa-az* (*KBo* XXVII 202, 32 [emended from dupl. XXIV 45 Rs. 23] [EGIR-*ŠU-ma* DINGIR-*LAM* 7] *ha-ru-wa-az huittī*[*anzi* 'but afterwards they draw the deity from the seven paths'; cf. e. g. XXIII 1 I 17–18 *nu* DINGIR-*LUM ... IŠTU* 7 KASKAL.MEŠ-*ya huuittiyazzi* 'he draws the deity ... from the seven paths'; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:107, 111 [1983]).

Cf. Hier. *harwa-* 'road', *harwana-* 'send, despatch' (Meriggi, *HHG* 53–4; Laroche, *HH* 121–2; cf. Lat. *via* 'road', *viāre* 'travel',

**in-viāre* > French *envoyer* 'send'). The partially readable *ha* sign after "7" in *KBo* XXIV 45 Rs. 23 indicates that *haruwa-* was not gloss-wedged and may thus be a genuine Hittite reading of KASKAL besides *itar* (*HED* 1—2:493—4) and *palsa-*. Possibly Hitt. *harwanai-* (q. v.), which is construed with acc. *ispandan* 'night', might mean 'routs the night' rather than 'lights up the night' (impersonal reference to daybreak), with the rare usage without *ispandan* an ellipticism (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:568); *harwanai-* would then be semantically close to KASKAL-*siah-* (= *palsiahh-* ?) 'despatch' (for formation cf. e. g. *iskuna-* [*HED* 1—2:427]).

A possible cognate might be Gk. *οὖρος* 'fair wind', i. e. 'good sailing' as a nautical term (cf. *πόντος* 'sea[lane]' < 'road'); a reconstruct **H*$_1$*orwo-* would, however, sever *οὖρος* from *ὄρνυμι* 'stir' (see s. v. *arnu-* [*HED* 1—2:167]).

harwanai-, harunai- 'get light, light up' (?) (impersonal verb referring to daybreak), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-wa-na-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 51 IV 11 *mahhan-ma harwanaizzi* 'but when it gets light'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 204), *ha-ru-wa-na-a-iz-zi* (XXIX 55 I 1—3 *mān lukkatta nu nūwa ispandan appizziyas hāliyas naui anku haruwanāizzi* 'when it dawns but does not yet quite light up the night of the last watch'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150, 272), *ha-ru-na-iz-zi* (XLIII 19, 3—4 *takku ispandan* [...] *harunaiz*[*zi* 'when it lights up the night').

harwanai- might be denominative from a noun **harw(a)na-* < **H*$_1$*erw(o)no-* 'daylight', of the type *is(sa)na-* 'dough' < **yes(o)no-* (*HED* 1—2:384), with cognates in Skt. *ravi-* 'sun' (**H*$_1$*rewi-*) and Arm. *arew* 'sun' (**H*$_1$*rewu-*; cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:144—62 [1968]), *arewagal* 'daybreak'. While **H*$_1$*r̥w(o)no-* is also possible, Hittite has a predilection for the shape **Hér-w-* rather than **Hr-éw-* (see e. g. *HED* 1—2:175). The color of *H*$_1$ cannot be determined (for the Hittite root vocalism *a* before *r* cf. e. g. s. v. *harp-* < **H*$_1$*érp-*).

For a possible different interpretation of *harwanai-* as 'rout (the night)' see s. v. *haruwa-*.

harwant- (c.) 'keeper, caretaker, nurse' (of either sex) (UMMEDA), nom. sg. *har-wa-an-za* (*KUB* XXXIII 61 I 7 ^{SAL}*harwanza kishut* 'become

a h.!; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:153 [1965]; XXXIII 63 Vs. 9 ^{SAL}*harwanza-sis kis*[-; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:155 [1965]), acc. sg. ^{SAL}*ha-ru-wa-an-da-an* (XXXIII 59 II 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:149 [1965]), gen. sg. ^{LÚ}*har-wa-an-ta-as-s(a)* (*KBo* XXII 205, 5; cf. ibid. 4 ^{LÚ}*hamini*, ibid. 3 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI), *har-wa-an-da-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 63 Rs. 7—8 *nu-wa* ^{SAL}*harwanda*[*s*] [URU-*an*] *harnik*[- 'destroy the nurse's town'), *ŠA* ^{SAL}UMMEDA (dupl. XXXVI 51 Rs. 10 *ŠA* ^{SAL}UMMEDA URU-*an harn*[*ik-*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:156 [1965]), nom. pl. $^{SAL.MEŠ}$*har-wa-an-te-es* (LVII 84 IV 6; cf. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:257 [1984]).

^{SAL}*harwant-* is attested in connection with the maieutic goddess Hannahannas, while ^{LÚ}*harwant-* is grouped with the religious functionary ^{LÚ}*hamina-* and 'old men'. Probably a cult attendant is involved, in the context of Hannahannas perhaps a nurse (see further *HED* 1—2:378—9).

Even as *harsar* (q. v.) may result from **harhsar* < **ḱ(e)rH*$_1$*sr̥*, with regressive assimilation followed by interconsonantal loss of *h*, *harwant-* can reflect **harhwant-* < **ḱ(o)rH*$_1$*wont-* or **ḱ(e)rH*$_1$*wn̥t-* from the root seen in Gk. *κορε-*, Lith. *šérti* 'feed'. It is thus cognate with Gk. *κούρη* and *κοῦρος* (**κορϝο-*), whether an *-nt-* extension or a quasi-participle in *-want-* (like *kartimmiyawant-*). For use of the Greek cognates in maieutic and childcare contexts, cf. e. g. the *Κουρῆτες* at the cradle of the infant Cretan Zeus, and *Ἴπτα*, known as *εὐάς κούρη*, as the divine nurse of the Asianic Dionysus in the Orphic Hymns. For the inner-Hittite development *k* — *h* > *h* — *h* > *h* — ∅ see further also s. v. *harwasi-*.

harwasi- 'hidden, secret' (*KBo* I 42 I 37 *harwāsi pedan* 'hidden place' matching ibid. [Akk.] *puzru* 'concealment, secrecy'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:134 [1971]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-wa-si* (adverbial in V 9 II 49 — III 1 *nasma-tta mān* ^{D}UTU-*ši kueqa memiyanus harwasi memai* 'or if his majesty says some words to you in secret'; ibid. 9—10 *nasma-tta* LUGAL-*us kuin harwasi memiyan memai* 'or a word in secret that the king says to you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:18—20), gen. sg. *har-wa-si-as* (*IBoT* I 31 Rs. 5 É *harwasias* 'of the secret house'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 5 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 84), dat.-loc. sg. *har-wa-si* (*KUB* XVII 27 II 24 *n-at-kan* URU-*ri* ŠÀ É.ŠÀ *harwasi pidi dāi* 'she places it in town within the inner chamber at a secret spot'; XIII 6 II 30—31 *ussaniyazi-ma-at-za kuwapi n-at harwasi pidi le ussaniyazi* 'but when he sells it, let him not sell it in a secret place'; dupl. XIII 4 II 40 *n-at harwasi*

le usniyazi; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:376 [1934]), *har-wa-a-si* (*KBo* V 2 III 54 *harwāsi pidi*; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 112), *har-wa-si-ya* (XXIII 23 Vs. 28 *harwasiya pidi tiyezzi* 'she steps to a hidden spot'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 206; *KUB* XV 32 I 48–49 *nu-wa-smas apās idalus huwappas harwasiya pidi mukiskit* 'that bad, evil one would pray to you in a secret place'), *har-wa-a-si-ya* (dupl. XV 31 I 46; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152).

Even as *harsar* (q.v.) may result from **harhsar* < **ḱ(e)rH₁sr̥* (regressive assimilation of *k* – *h* to *h* – *h*, followed by loss of interconsonantal *h*), and *harwant-* (q.v.) similarly go back to **harhwant-* < **ḱ(o)rH₁wont-* or **ḱ(e)rH₁wn̥t-*, *harwasi-* points to **harhwas-* < **ḱ(e)rH₁w-s-* cognate with OCS *kryti* 'hide', *krovŭ* 'cover, roof', *za-krovŭ* '*ἀποκρυφή*, hiding place', Russ. *kr'ýša* 'cover, roof', ON *hreysi* 'cairn' (*IEW* 616–7). This comparison, made already by J. Duchesne-Guillemin (*TPS* 1946:86–7) as part of a wider, unacceptable derivation of Hittite *h* from IE gutturals, is thus valid only on the basis of inner-Hittite *k* – *h* > *h* – *h* > *h* – ∅ (unlike e.g. *arh-*, *irh-*, *marh-*, *parh-*, *sarh-*, *tarh-*, *warh-*, no **karh-* is attested in Hittite).

Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:152–3 [1988]) detached *-as(s)i-* and adduced OIr. *rūn*, Goth. *rūna* 'secret, mystery', postulating **Hrū-*.

E. Polomé (*Lg.* 28:454–5 [1952]) suggested derivation by Luwian appurtenance suffix *-assi-* from a verbal noun **har(k)war* of *har(k)-* 'have, hold', comparing semantically its etymon Lat. *arceō* 'hold in': *arcānus* 'hidden'; but *har(k)-* is notable for its nonattestation of nonfinite forms.

Čop (*Ling.* 7:112 [1965]) compared *harwasi-* with Luw. *hirut-* 'oath'.

harzazu- 'breadmash', acc. sg. *har-za-zu-un* (e.g. *KUB* X 11 III 6–7 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*ma* NINDA*harzazun iyanzi* 'they make one breadloaf into breadmash'; *KBo* XXI 52 II 13–14 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*ma* [...] NINDA*harzazun iyanz*[*i*] [probably along with ibid. 10 9 GA.KIN.AG *parsiyanta* 'nine cheese fragments']; *KUB* LVIII 11 Vs. 12–13 3 NINDA *dannas ANA* DZA.BA₄.BA₄ *parsiya* 1 NINDA *dannas-ma* NINDA *harzazun iyanzi* 'three d.-bread he breaks to the war-god, but one d.-bread they make into breadmash'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 214, 219; X 11 III 17–18 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *parsiya n-an* 6 NINDA*harzazun iyanzi* 'he breaks a breadloaf and they make it into six breadmashes' [ad

sensum plural after numeral]; XI 35 II 16–17 UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM 3 NINDA*harzazun* ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni dāi* 'the chef de cuisine places three breadmashes on the altar'; XXV 18 III 16–21 *ta* UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR 3 NINDA*harzazun istanani dāi hassī* 3 NINDA*harzazun dāi* KUŠ*kursi* 3 NINDA*harzazun dāi* GIŠDAG-*ti* 3 NINDA*harzazun dāi* [...] 3 NINDA*harzazun dāi* 'the headwaiter puts three breadmashes on the altar, on the hearth he puts three breadmashes, on the fleece he puts three breadmashes, on the throne he puts three breadmashes, on the ... he puts three breadmashes'; X 99 I 28 *ANA* LUGAL GEŠTIN NINDA*harzazun* 'for the king wine [and] breadmash'; XX 70 I 6 LÚGUDÚ NINDA*harzazun* LUGAL['the priest breadmash to [?] the king ...'; XI 18 II 3 1 NINDA*harzazun namma hassī*['one breadmash also at the hearth'; ibid. 2 1 NINDA*harzazun*[; ibid. 1 1 NINDA*harza*[*zun*; ibid. 43 1 NINDA*harzazun*[; XI 21 V 6–7 1 NINDA*harzazun* [...] *tapusza dāi* 'he puts aside a breadmash'; ibid. IV 10–11 NINDA*harzazun namma tapusza dāi*; ibid. 6, 7, 8, 9 1 NINDA*harzazun*; XX 99 I 28, LI 2 Rs. 2 and 5, *KBo* XXV 70 Vs. 4 NINDA*harzazun*), *har-za-su-un* (XXI 49 I 5), *har-za-su-ú-un* (*KUB* LIX 22 III 15), instr. sg. NINDA*har-za-zu-it* (XXXIV 69 Vs. 16; 949/u, 3), *IŠTU* NINDA*harzazun* (sic *KBo* XXX 58 II 8).

harzazuta-, same meaning, nom.-acc. *har-za-zu-ta* (e.g. *IBoT* III 1 Rs. 47 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*ma harzazuta* DÙ-*anzi* 'but one breadloaf they make into breadmash'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:92 [1976]; *KUB* XX 59 V 17 *nu* 1 NINDA *āan harzazuta* DÙ-*anzi* 'they make one hotcake into breadmash'; II 8 I 30–31 1 NINDA *dannas-ma* NINDA*harzazuta iyanzi* 'they make one d.-bread into breadmash'; XXV 18 III 7 and *KBo* IV 13 II 24 2 NINDA *dannas-ma* NINDA*harzazuta iyanzi*; ibid. III 14–16 1 NINDA.KU₇ BA.BA.ZA 1 NINDA *punikis* BA.BA.ZA AN.TAH.ŠUMSAR NINDA*harzazuta iyanzi* 'one sweetbread mush, one p.-bread mush, and crocus-plant they make into breadmash'; *KUB* XI 35 II 12–13 2 NINDA *dannas parsiya t-at* NINDA*harzazuta iyanzi* 'he breaks two d.-bread and they make them into breadmash'; ibid. 14–15 UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM NINDA*harzazuta* LUGAL-*i parā epzi* 'the chef de cuisine proffers breadmash to the king'; similarly LI 2 Vs. 12 and 14 respectively; *KBo* XIX 128 III 16–17 EGIR-*anda-ma* UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM NINDA *harzazuta udai* 'but afterwards the chef de cuisine brings the breadmash'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8; VII 42 IV 7–9 *nu ANA* SAL*Ammama* GEŠTIN 2 NINDA*harzazuta-ya-ssan ANA* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *kitta* 'for A., wine and two breadmashes are in place in addition to a breadloaf';

KUB XXV 22 III 6 ^{NINDA}*harzazuta išTU* KAŠ GEŠTIN 'breadmash along with beer [and] wine'), ^{NINDA}*har-za-zu-u-ta* (*KBo* XXIV 95 Vs. 15), *har-za-zu-ú-ta* (*KUB* XX 12, 3–5 [...] LUGAL-*us parsiya n-*[*at* ...] ^{NINDA}*harzazūta ien*[*zi*]), *har-za-zu-ú-ta-an* (XX 99 II 16–19 *išTU* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN ^{D}IM-*ya-kan kuit* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *harzazūtan memal āssan n-at-kan ... udanzi* 'what viscera, breadmash, and groats [are] remaining from the baitylos of the storm-god, them they bring'), dat.-loc. sg. ^{NINDA}*har-za-zu-u-ti* (XXVII 69 III 6), instr. sg. *har-za-zu-ti-it* (*KBo* IV 13 II 26 *ta* ^{NINDA}*harzazutit memalit* ['with breadmash [and] groats'; *IBoT* II 4 I 2–3 ^{NINDA}*harzazutit* [...] [...]-*it* GEŠTIN-*it* 'with breadmash ..., with ..., with wine').

Textual semantics do not favor Sommer's identification of *harzazu-* with NINDA.YÀ.E.DÉ.A 'bread infused with fat' (*HAB* 172–3) nor Güterbock's rendering 'breadcrumb' (apud *HW* 340); H. A. Hoffner's 'soupy dish' is more on target (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 157–8 [1974]; cf. also Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 27–8, 55), *harzazu-* being an apparently mushy (BÀ.BA.ZA) mixture of bread pieces, vegetal matter, and perhaps cheese.

The stem variation *harzazu(ta)-*, reminiscent of e. g. *arkiui(ta)*, *hazziwi(ta)* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:192), has led to assumptions of foreign origin, usually Hurrian (Friedrich, *RHA* 8:16 [1947], followed by others), occasionally Luwian (Carruba, *RHA* 25:154 [1967]) or Hattic (Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 245–6). But Laroche (*BSL* 55.1:164 [1960]) correctly drew a distinction, reconstructing rather **harzazu(n)t-*. Spellings like *har-za-su-ú-un*, *har-za-zu-ú-ta* may point to original nom.-acc. neut. sg. **harzasuwan(t)*, pl. **harzazuwa(n)ta* beside nom.-acc. sg. **harzasu*, with **har-za-su-un*/*har-za-zu-un* and *har-za-zu-ú-ta-an* as hybrid adaptations deceptively looking like animate-gender accusatives. The element *-su(want)-* is suspiciously evocative of *su(want)-* 'full, filled', with the whole a neuter compound **harsan-su(want)-* 'bread-fill' (perhaps such as was used to plug sacrificial pits; cf. *HED* 1–2:415), where *harsan-* is a historic heteroclitic stem-variant of *harsi-* '(bread)loaf' (q. v.). The second *z* is the outcome of a secondary *(n-)s* cluster, while the first (if not purely assimilatory to the second) recalls such variations as *marzastarri-* beside *marsastarri-* or *arziya-* beside *arsi-*.

V. Georgiev (*MIO* 11:227–9 [1966]) in his own way adumbrated elements of this explanation by postulating a compound

**harsa-zuwa-* 'bread-bite' (vel sim.), boldly adducing Gk. *ἄρτος* 'bread' and the rare gloss-word *zuwa-* 'dish, meal' (Otten, *Materialien* 14), allegedly from **gyu-* seen in Engl. *chew* (*IEW* 400).

harziyal(l)a- (c.) 'snail', nom. sg. *ha-ar-zi-ya-al-la-as* (1744/c, 4), *har-zi-ya-al-la-as* (*KUB* XXX 34 + *Bo* 1509 III 19–21 NE.ZA.ZA-*at issi*[*t dāi* ...] *katta paszi harziyallass-a-at sappuit* [*dāi* 'the frog takes it with its mouth [and] swallows [it] down; the snail takes it with its tentacles'; par. *KBo* XIII 131 Vs. 16 *harziyallass-a-at*; par. 1066/u, 7 *har-zi*]*-ya-lu-sa-at* [sic]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 72), acc. sg. *ha-ar-zi-ya-al-la-an* (1112/c+ III 8 *nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *harz*[*iyallan d*]*āi*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]), *har-zi-ya-al-la-an* (par. *KUB* XV 39 = *IBoT* II 109 II 21 *nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *harziyallan dā*[*i* 'the old woman takes a snail' [viz. for ritual manipulation, addressing it ibid. 25 as *pit-ti-ya-li-is* GIŠ*-as* 'fleetfoot'; but par. *KBo* IX 106 II 24 *pè-da-al-li-is* may point to a more appropriately snailpaced arthropodic 'scoopfoot', derived from *peda-* 'dig', confounded in later versions with the semantically paradoxic lectio facilior *pittiyali-*, as in *KUB* XXXIII 62 II 3 *hāranis*^{MUŠEN} *pittiyaliēs* 'fleet eagles']), acc. pl. *har-zi-ya-lu-us* (*KUB* VIII 67, 14 *idā*]*lamūs harziyalus* NE.ZA.ZA.HI.A 'noisome snails [and] frogs'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 40; *KUB* XXXIII 84, 8 + *KBo* XIX 109, 10 *ŪL ku*]*itki kaniszi nu* NE.ZA.ZA *harziyaluss-a* KÚ-*izzi* '[the easily inebriated Hedammu] does not discern anything and eats frogs and snails'; dupl. *KBo* XIX 111, 8 *ŪL kuitk*]*i kaneszi nu-za* NE.ZA.ZA *harziy*[*aluss-a*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 59; 5/i, 9).

The meaning 'snail', vs. Friedrich's 'lizard' (*Arch. Or.* 17.1:247 [1949]), was rendered plausible by C. Watkins, *Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 345–8 (1981). In formation *harziyal(l)a-* resembles such denominative agent nouns as *asusala-*, *asusatalla-* 'ring-wearer' or *irhuitalla-* 'basket-bearer'. Hence *harziyal(l)a-* is '*harzi*-carrier', even as *irhuitalla-* translates into Greek as *καλαθηφόρος* and 'snail' is *φερέοικος* 'house-carrier'. This *harzi-* is probably identical with ^{DUG}*harsi-* 'bowl, jar', and the arthropod hauling his spiral container is thus parallel in formation to *harsiyala-* 'loaf-carrier, bread-server' (containing the homophone and ultimate homonym ^{NINDA}*harsi-* 'loaf'). For the phonetic *hars-* : *harz-* variation see s. v. *harzazu-*.

has(s)- (c.) 'ashes (in plural); soda ash; potash; soap' (SAHAR; ŠE+NÁG), nom. sg. *ha-a-as* (*KBo* XXI 22 Vs. 22 *hās nu kuez uwasi suppaz-wa uwami* 'Soap, whence comest thou? From clean[sing supply] I come'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200 [1978]; IV 2 I 44–45 *kās-wa* GIM-*an hās* GAD.HI.A *iskunanta parkunuzzi* 'as this soap cleanses stained linen'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]), *ha-as-sa-as* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 35 [quoted sub *hasuwai-* below]; back-formation from acc. sg. *hassan*), acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an* (*KBo* IV 2 I 39–41 *nu hassan* ^{GIŠ}*karassaniyas dāi n-an-kan pūwati n-an-kan istalgaizzi n-an purpuran* 1-*EN* DÙ-*anzi* '[s]he takes ash of soapwort, pounds it, pastes it, and they make it into a lump'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91, 104 [1962]; further examples sub *hasuwai-* below), instr. sg. *ha-as-si-it* (*KUB* XLIII 74 Vs. 4 'with soda ash' or 'with potash', in a context of glassmaking; cf. ibid. 6 and 9 *UHALTU* 'plant ashes', ibid. 3 *ANZAH*[*HI*, perhaps 'saltpeter' [potassium nitrate], and Hitt. *nitri-*, either saltpeter or soda ash [sodium carbonate]; cf. Riemschneider, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 269, 277, with wrong translation 'hearth' ibid. 272), *IŠTU* ŠE+NÁG (VII 1 I 32–33 *nu-za* DUMU-*as ārri IŠTU* ŠE+NÁG-*ma-za peszi* 'the child washes himself, and rubs himself with soap'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]), acc. pl. *ha-as-us* (XXXIX 14 I 12–15 *nu* ^{GIŠ}APIN *arha kissanzi n-an apedani-pat pidi arha warnuwanzi hasus-ma* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *sarā dāi ... n-us apiya ishūwai* 'they dismantle a plow and burn it on the spot; the old woman takes up the ashes and ... she pours them into a pit'; cf. XXX 24a I 21–22 [*arha w*]*arnūwanzi* SAHAR.HI.A-*us-ma sarā danzi ... n-as apiya ishūw*[*anzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 78, 58), *ha-as-su-us* (XXXI 100 Rs. 9–10 [*nam*]*ma-kan* ^{URU}*Hattusi ser hassus le* [...] [*n-*]*asta* [*has*]*sus katta sallai hussili-pat* [...] 'furthermore up in Hattusas do not [pour] ashes, [pour] ashes only into the main dump below'; *KBo* XXIV 57 I 7–8 É-*r-a-kan PANI* DINGIR-*LIM sanhanzi nu hassus INA hussulli ishuwa*[*nzi* 'the house before the deity they flush and pour the ashes into the pit'; dupl. XXIII 42 I 8 *nu hassus INA AŠRI*[; *KUB* IX 1 III 23–24 *hassus-kan kuez arha arrir* 'whence they washed off the ashes'), *ha-a-as-su-us* (*KBo* XV 34 II 11–12 *hāssus-ma sarā dānzi ... n-as arha ishuwānzi* 'they take up the ashes ... and pour them away'; XII 112 Rs. 11 [*paiddu-wa-*]*z hāssus dāu* 'let her go take soaps', viz. to lubricate doorsockets for easy turning in an action of analogic magic, to induce a baby to turn in utero; cf. ibid. 9 *g*]*imras tarpatarpan dāu* 'let her take a

t.-plant of the field' [something like a sunflower noted for its turning?]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 68–71 [with wrong translation 'braziers']).

hasuwai- (n.) 'alkali plant, soapwort', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-su-wa-a-i*^{SAR}, *ha-a-su-wa-a-i*^{SAR}, gen. sg. *ha-a-su-wa-a-ya-as*$^{(SAR)}$ (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 24 *nu-ssi hasuwā*[*i*]^{SAR} *pianzi n-at anda pussaizzi* 'they give her a soapwort, and she pounds it'; ibid. 26–28 *paiddu-wa-kan edani* DINGIR-*LIM-as parni an*[*da nu-wa* INIM?]-*an hurtais lingais paprātarr-a hāsuwāyas iwar kisaru nu-war-at hāsu*[*wāy*]*as*^{SAR} *iwar miyān ēsdu nu-war-at-za namma iyatnuwan hāsuwāi*^{SAR} [*le?*]*ssuwanzi le kuiski tarahzi* 'let him go inside this temple, and may the [evil] word, curse, perjury, and defilement become like the soapwort, and may it be sturdy like the soapwort, and further nobody have strength to pluck it, [like] the luxuriant soapwort'; ibid. 29–32 ^{LÚ}ŠE.KIN.KUD-*as māhhan miyān iyatnuwan hāsuwāi*^{SAR} [...] *warasta namma-at anda pussāit idālu-ya uttar NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM hur*[*tais*] *paprātar hasuwāi*^{SAR}*māhhan pussaiddu n-at hassan* [*iya*]*ddu* 'as the harvester mows the growing, luxuriant soapwort and further pounds it, let her pound too the evil word, perjury, curse, and defilement like soapwort, and let her make soap of them'; ibid. 33–35 *kī-ya hāsuwāi*^{SAR} *māhhan anda* [*pussā*]*it n-at hassan iyat idalu-ya uttar NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM hurtais pap*[*ratarr-a*] *QATAMMA hassas iyanza ēsdu* 'as she pounded this soapwort and made it soap, let evil word, perjury, curse, and defilement too likewise be made soap'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 123). Cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:315–8 (1947); Ertem, *Flora* 123–4.

Distinct botanical species with alkalinity (such as *Saponaria officinalis* 'soapwort' and *Peganum harmali* 'soda plant') may be denoted by *hasuwāi*^{SAR} (with plant-determinative) and ^{GIŠ}*kar(as)-sani-* (with arboreal marker). Soapmaking involved burning the plant or wood substance, powderizing the causticized ashes, turning them into a smooth paste by mixing in tallow, and compressing it into lump form.

has(s)- denotes 'ash(es)' in general, technically also alkaline plant ashes (carbonates of sodium and potassium used for glass- and soapmaking), and by extension the finished (pounded, pasted, lumped) soap product. The obvious comparison of this ancient root noun is with Skt. *ā́sa-* 'ash', and further with *hassa-* 'fireplace' (q. v. for further discussion), Lat. *āra* 'fire-altar' (*IEW* 68). For ash-related terms in similar semantic context cf. e. g. German *Aschensalz* 'alkali',

or Arabic *al-qalīy* 'saltwort ashes', or Estonian *leelis* 'lye, alkali' from *lee* 'ash-pit, fireplace'. Cf. Puhvel, *Iranian and Indoeuropean studies in memory of Otakar Klima* (1991).

hasuwai- is conceivably a plant-name related by derivation or folk etymology to *has(s)-* (cf. English *soapwort*); but the formation is obscure (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:207), and the single-spelled *-s-* (unless a mere scriptio facilior) is a contraindication (cf. perhaps the plant-name *hasussara-* beside *hassu-* s. v.).

Bossert (*Forschungen und Fortschritte* 29:211–2 [1955]) wrongly tied in *has(s)-* etymologically with *has(s)-* 'beget, give birth', because of alleged labor-inducing (and aphrodisiac) properties of soap-plants (Akk. *mastakal*, Gk.-Lat. *struthium*); for an example of *has(s)-* being used in analogic maieutic magic see under acc. pl. *hāssus* above.

Čop (*Ling.* 10:90–2 [1970]) adduced for *has(s)-* a motley group of alleged cognates including Lat. *arista* 'ear of grain' and Gk. *ἤϊα* 'chaff' (for the latter see rather s. v. *ezzan* [*HED* 1–2:321–3]).

has(s)-, hans- 'beget, procreate, engender, produce, bear, give birth (to), be delivered (of); bring to birth (= *hassanu-*)' (often with *-za*), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-si* (e. g. *KBo* VI 26 II 22 and 23 [= *Code* 2:76] *INA* MU.3.KAM *hāsi* 'procreates in the third year' [said of domestic animals]; VI 34 II 41 GUD.HI.A-*ŠU* UDU.HI.A-*ŠÚ* AMAR SILÁ *le hāsi* '[of] his cows and sheep none shall calve or lamb'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; XVII 62+63 IV 19, XVII 60 Rs. 12 SAL-*za hāsi* 'a woman gives birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34, 60; *KUB* XXX 29 Vs. 1]SAL-*anza hāsi* 'a woman gives birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 22; *KBo* XIII 34 III–IV passim *takku* SAL-*za hāsi* 'if a woman gives birth'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 26–8; *An Ar* 10753 I.K. 1 *takku* SAL-*za hāsi*, vs. ibid. 5 *takku-za* SAL-*za hāsi*; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 39, 109; *KBo* V 1 I 5–6 *nu-za mān* SAL-*TUM nāui hāsi* 'when the woman does not yet give birth'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 2*; XVII 65 Vs. 51 *nu-za hāsi kuedani* UD-*ti* 'on the day when she gives birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138; XIII 31 I 4 *i]ZBU hāsi* 'aborts'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 74), *ha-as-si* (XVII 65 Vs. 37 *hassi-za kuwapi* 'when she gives birth'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-sa-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 10 I 15 *armauwantes-a kuyes nu-za apiya ŪL hassanzi* 'those pregnant do not then give birth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]; XXXVIII 25 I 12]UDU.HI.A *hassanzi* 'the sheep are lambing'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 276; *KBo* XIII 34 IV 23–24

INA É LÚ-*kan hatta[nt]an hassanzi* 'in the man's house they will give birth to a smart [child]'; parallel ibid. 17–19 with *marlandan* 'stupid'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-as-hu-un* (XXII 2 Vs. 2 *[k]ī-wa kuit walkuan hāshun* 'what [is] this w. I have borne?'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6; XVII 61 Vs. 11 -]*wa-az* SAL*hasnuppallas hāshun* 'I the midwife have brought to birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42), *ha-a-su-un* (*KUB* XXIV 7 III 23–24 *kūn-ma-wa-za ŠA* 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ŠU kuwat hāsun* 'why have I borne this [calf] with two feet?'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]), *ha-su-un* (588/v Vs. 10), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-ta* (e. g. *KBo* III 7 III 4–5 *nu-za* DUMU.SAL *ŠA* LÚ*asiwandas ANA* DAM-*ŠU dās nu-za* DUMU.NITA *hasta* 'he took the daughter of a poor man for his wife and begot a son'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:69 [1965]; *KUB* I 1 I 9–11 [with dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 8–9] *ABU-YA-annas-za* ^{I}*Mursilis* 4 DUMU.HI.A ... *hasta* 'my father M. begot us four children'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; *KUB* XXXVI 60 + XXIV 8 III 4 *nu-za* DAM ^{I}*Appu* DUMU.NITA-*an hasta* 'A.'s wife bore a son'; ibid. 13 *nu-za* SAL-*za* DUMU.NITA-*an hasta* 'the woman bore a son'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), *ha-a-as-ta* (e. g. XXXIII 118, 22 *ŪL-ma-an-mu-ssan* AMA-*YA ser hāsta* 'nor has my mother borne it on my behalf', vs. ibid. 19 *hasta*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:75 [1968]; *KBo* XXII 2 Vs. 1 30 DUMU.MEŠ 1-*EN* MU-*anti hāsta* '[she] bore thirty children in one year'; similarly ibid. 12 *nu-zza anzas* 1-*ŠU hāsta* 'she bore us all at once'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6; *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 6 *kuit-mu-za* AMA-*YA hāsta* 'whereas my mother bore me'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 112), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-se-ir* (IV 8 Vs. 10–12 *n-an-zan hāser kuwa[pi] n-asta sallatar annaza* ŠÀ-*taza katta udas* 'when they gave birth to him, he brought along greatness from his mother's womb'), *ha-a-si-ir* (XXI 38 I 60 DUMU.SAL.MEŠ LUGAL *kuyēs* ŠÀ É-*TI wemiyanun nu-mu-[za-k]an* ŠU-*i hāsir* 'the daughters of the king whom I found in the house, they gave birth in my hand'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:92 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:13 [1964]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-su* (*KBo* X 45 IV 34–35 GIM-*an-ma-za* SAL-*za* UDU-*uss-a armahhantes hassanzi kāss-a-za parnanza* HUL-*lu ēshar QATAMMA hāsu* 'even as a pregnant woman and ewe give birth, may this house likewise be delivered of evil bloodshed!'; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 32–33 G]IM-*an-ma* SAL-*za* UDU-*uss-a armahhuwanza hāsi kā[ss-a-z]a* URU-*as parnanzass-a* HUL-*lu ēshar QATAMMA hāsu*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:138 [1961]; XVII 28 III 2), *ha-as-du* (*KBo* XII 39 Vs. 9 UDU SIG_5-*in hasdu* 'the sheep shall lamb well'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:11 [1963]; *KUB* XXIV 8 IV 33

'may [the cow] calve'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12); partic. *hassant-*, also nominalized 'begotten issue, one's own flesh and blood', nom. sg. c. *ha-as-sa-an-za* (e. g. XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79a IV 24 *nu karū mahhan annaza* ŠÀ-*za hassanza esun* 'as I was once born from my mother's womb'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 101; XXI 42 I 15–16 ŠEŠ ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hassanza nasma* DUMU ^{SAL}*NAPTARTI kuiski* 'a brother of his majesty, [properly] begotten [viz. upon the queen], or some son of a concubine'; similarly ibid. 20–22; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 23; XII 62 Vs. 16 UR.MAH *hassanza* '[new]born lion'), acc. sg. c. *hassanza* (sic IX 28 II 4 *hassanza anna-ssa dāi* 'he places the newborn with its mother'), *ha-as-sa-an-da-an* (XI 5 Vs. 9–10 *nu-ssi* ^{I}*Ammunan] hassandan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* [^{LÚ}KÚR-*ŠU ier*] 'the gods [sic!] made his own son A. his enemy'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 24 [1984]), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut. *ha-a-as--sa-an* (XLIII 60 I 22–23 *nu-ssi-ssan kue āssū 8-andas happesnas ser hāssan* 'what good things [are] born to her on the basis of eight limbs' [i. e. baby and mother both doing fine, one being well formed and the other "in one piece"]; cf. the Vedic *aṣṭāpadī* 'eight-footed', i. e. cow with calf), gen. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-ta-as* (*KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 38 'of the newborn'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 142), *ha-as-sa-an-da-as* (*KUB* XLIV 59 Vs. 13; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134), nom. pl. c. *ha-as-sa-an-te-es* (XXVI 12 I 12–13 ŠEŠ.MEŠ ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ya kuyēs IŠTU* SAL.LUGAL *hassantes* 'brothers of his majesty begotten upon the queen'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 23; XXI 42 IV 16–17 ŠEŠ.MEŠ ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ya kuyēs sakuwassaras-a* SAL.LUGAL *awan* GAM *hassantes* 'brothers of his majesty begotten upon the lawful queen'; ibid. 23; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 28; I 16 II 47; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8; XXIII 102 I 15), acc. pl. c. *hassantes* (sic XXI 38 I 61 *karū-ma kuyēs hassantes wemiyanun* 'but those whom I found already born'), gen. pl. *ha-as-sa-an-da-as* (*KBo* XIV 74, 6 *a]nnas-mas hassandas-mas* 'of my mother [and] my children'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 101); verbal noun *hassatar, hansatar* (n.) 'procreation, (power of) begetting, (giving) birth'; metonymically 'birth organ, womb'; also 'progeny, kin, family' (MÁŠ); in the royal family this comprehensive term included morganatic blood-relatives (born of hierodules or prostitutes) barred from succession under the Edict of Telipinus (restricted to descendants who were *hantezzi-* 'first-line' [via the queen] or *dān pedas* 'second-rank' [through a concubine]), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-tar* (e. g. *KBo* VI 34 II 31 *kedani-ma* ANA BULÙG GIM-*an hassatar-set* NU.GÁL 'even as this malt has no germination'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB* IX 27 + VII 5+8 I 2 *mān* LÚ-*ni kuedani has[s]atar* NU.GÁL 'if some man has no reproductive ability'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:271, 282–3 [1987]; *KBo* III 1 II 7 *nu-za-kan* ^{I}*]Tittiyas hassatar QADU* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU kuenta* 'he killed Tittis' family along with his sons'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 26 [1984]), *ha-sa-a-tar* (*KUB* I 16 II 69 'progeny'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 10), gen. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-as* (e. g. XIII 4 IV 35 *hassannas m[e]hūni* 'at the time of giving birth'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:392 [1934]; *KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 45 *hassannas-ma mahha[n* EZEN *h]āsi-za kuwapi* 'but when the feast of birth [takes place], at the time when she gives birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 144; VII 74 II 4 EZEN *hassanna[s*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 222; cf. the hapax XVII 65 Vs. 52 EZEN *ha-sa-an-ta-ra-al-li-ya-as* 'feast of induction of the newborn' [?], perhaps partic. *hasant-* + *arallai-* 'associate, join' [q. v. s. v. *ara-*]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138; *KUB* XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79a IV 27 *a]ttas-mas annas hassannas* 'of my father, mother, family'; XI 1 II 12 [emended from *KBo* III 1 II 6] *hassannas-[sas* DUMU-*ŠU Tahurwailin* 'his natural son, T.', literally 'a son of his begetting', not a male heir in line of succession [DUMU.LUGAL DUMU.NITA] but Ammunas' son by a prostitute [*KUB* XXVI 77 I 18: DUMU ^{SAL}KAR.KID] and hence a ^{LÚ}*pahhursi-* [q. v.]; cf. S. R. Bin-Nun, *RHA* 31:8 [1973], *JCS* 26:115–6 [1974]; *KBo* III 1 II 31 *nu sallas-pat hassannas ēshar pangariyattati* 'bloodshed of the royal family became prevalent'; ibid. 35 *hassannas* DUMU-*an* 'a son of the [royal] family'), *ha-an-sa-an-na-as* (*HT* 6 Obv. 17 [emended from *KUB* IX 4 IV 9] *pa]ngauwas hansannas* EM[E-*an* 'the tongue of the entire family', besides dupl. IX 34 IV 13 *pangauwas* MÁŠ.HI.A EME-*an*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-i* (*KBo* III 1 II 49 *nu-war-at-apa* DINGIR.MEŠ-*is sallai hassannai dāir* 'the gods have laid it upon the royal family'), *ha-as-sa-an-na* (III 67 IV 11–12 *kuis-za hassanna istarna alwanza[tar sakki sumēs-an] hassannaz eptin* 'who within the family knows sorcery, take him out of the family!'), instr. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-ni--it* (XII 126 I 20 *n-an hassannit dāu* 'let [the hex] take him along with [his] family!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22), abl. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-za* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 14–16 *arha-ta-kkan ansan ēsdu alwanzatar* SAL-*annaza hassannaza* ^{UZU}SU-*za ginuwaz* 'let the hex be wiped off thee, from the womb of womanhood [= female birth organs] and from the knee of the flesh [= penis]'; for case attraction cf. e. g. *armahhuwazza wassiyaz* s. v. *armai-*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale*

104; XII 44 II 29; cf. Haas, *Documentum Otten* 138), *ha-as-sa-an-na--az* (*KBo* III 67 IV 12, context under dat.-loc. sg. *hassanna* above), *ha-as-sa-an-na-an-za* (dupl. *KUB* XI 1 IV 24, context under gen. pl. *hassannan* below).

The genitive *hassannas*, starting from expressions such as EZEN *hassannas* and *hassannas-sas* DUMU-*ŠU*, was hypostasized as nominative *a*-stems *hassanna-(ssi-)*, *hassannas(s)a-* '(one's) blood-relative, family member' (cf. e. g. EZEN *hahrannas* from *hahratar* s. v. *hahhara-*, and *pankunassa-* s. v. *pankur*): nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-as--si-is* (*KUB* XXXIX 35 IV 9), acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-sa-an* (*KBo* III 1 II 45 *hassannasan-za-kan le kuinki kuenti* 'thou shalt not kill any family member'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-as-si* (*KUB* XIII 20 I 32–33 *apēl ŠA* É-*ŠU ŠA* ŠEŠ-*ŠU* NIN-*ŠU hassannassi pankunassi* LÚ *kaenanti* LÚ*are-ssi* 'for his household's, his brother's [and] sister's blood-relative, clansman, [or] in-law, [or] for a friend of his'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:394 [1947]; 827/z I 1–2 *mān* UKÙ-*as ITTI* AMA[-*ŠU*] *nasma hassannassi* ['if a man with his mother or blood-relative ...'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 43), nom. pl. *ha-as-sa-na-as-si-s(a)* (*KBo* III 1 I 13 LÚ.MEŠ*gaen*[*as-se*]*s* LÚ.MEŠ*hassanassis-a* 'his in-laws and relatives', the latter including his morganatic sons and brothers in addition to the preceding DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU* and ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ŠU* of the blood royal), *ha-as-sa-an-na-as-sa-as* (dupl. *KUB* XI 1 I 13 LÚ.MEŠ*gainas-ses* LÚ.MEŠ*hassannassas*; *KBo* III 67 I 3 LÚ.MEŠ*gaenas-sess-a* LÚ.MEŠ*hassannassas*, with Akk. version *KUB* III 85, 3 LÚ.MEŠ*hatni-šu* LÚ.MEŠ*kimt*[*i-šu*; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 12 [1984]; *KBo* III 1 I 24 and II 41 LÚ.MEŠ*gaenas-sis* LÚ.MEŠ*hassannassas*), *ha-as-sa-an--na-sa-as* (dupl. XII 4 II 11 *gae*]*nas-ses* LÚ.MEŠ*hassannasas*), gen. pl. *ha-as-sa-an-na-an* (*KUB* XI 1 IV 23–24 [dupl. of *KBo* III 67 IV 11–12 quoted under dat.-loc. sg. *hassanna* of *hassatar* above] *kui*]*s--za hassannan istarna alwanzatar sakki sumēs-an* [*h*]*assa*[*n*]*nanza eptin* 'who among family members knows sorcery, take him out of the family!'); verbal noun *hassumar* (n.) '(act of) begetting'; metonymically '(male) sex organs' (contrast *hassatar* 'womb' above), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-as-su-mar* (*Bo* 6464 II 18 DUMU.MEŠ-*tar hassumar pes*[- 'begettal of sons ...'; *KUB* LIX 52, 9 *hassumar parkunumar* 'lustration of genitalia'; for the construction [similar to Ved. *dā́tā vásu* 'wealth-giver', or a kind of hendiadys by case assimilation] cf. e. g. *arkuwar tiyauwar* 'plea-presentation', *ishunauwar siyauwar* 'bow-shot'; cf. Otten and Siegelová, *AfO* 23:37 [1970]), gen. sg. *ha-as-su-ma-as* (*IBoT* I 29 II 57 EZEN *hassumas* 'feast of h.', where

the young prince [DUMU.LUGAL] consorted with twelve prostitutes in a consecrational initiation; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 119–20; Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 [1983]; less plausibly V. G. Ardzinba, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 158:87–96 [1981] [not primarily puberty rite]; improbably I. Hoffmann, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:98–101 [1983] [*hassuma-* < **hassu-umna-* 'king-descended' = DUMU.LUGAL]; for the juncture shift **ha*[*n*]*s-uwas* > **hassu-was* > **hassumas* cf. e. g. *arrumas* s. v. *arr-*); iter. *haski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. and 3 sg. imp. act. in *KUB* XLIII 23 Rs. 19–22 *nu-za* 1 ŠAH *māhhan* ŠAH.TUR.HI.A *mekkus haskizzi kēll-a-z ŠA* GIŠSAR.G[EŠTIN] 1-*ass-a* GIŠ*māhlas* ŠAH-*as iwar mūrius mekkus haskiddu* 'even as one sow produces many piglets, may each vine of this vineyard in the manner of the sow produce many grapes' (cf. A. Archi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 34 [1979]; Haas, *Documentum Otten* 134); caus. *hassanu-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-sa-nu-e-r(a-an)* (XXXIII 120 II 79; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *4; Laroche, *RHA* 26:44 [1968]; XXXIII 93+ III 10 *hassanuer-an* SAL.M[EŠ '[the midwives] brought him to birth'); iter. *hassanuski-* (ibid. 7 *n-an hassanus*[-; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:150–2 [1951]).

Hier. *has(a)-* 'beget'; partic. *hasmi-* 'progeny, issue'. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 54–5; Laroche, *HH* 119.

Milyan *qezm̃mi* = Hier. *hasmi-* (V. Ševoroškin, *MSS* 36:131–2 [1977])?

Lyc. *esedennewe* < Luw. **hassatanna-* 'progeny' (cf. Hitt. *hassatar*; Neumann in *HOAKS* 378)?

hansatar and **hamsa-* (s. v. *hammasa-*) point to an etymological **hams-* (cf. s. v. *hassa-*) 'procreate', with the semantic male : female contrast seen in e. g. Lat. *gigno* : *pario* (as 'beget' vs. 'bear') neutralized in Hittite, as in e. g. Gk. *τίκτω*. The root, meaning roughly 'to create carnally', is **E₂éms-*, **E₂m-és-*, the *a*-vocalism of Hittite being due to the *o*-grade or zero-grade of *hāsi*, *hassi* < **E₂oms-ey*, *hassa-* (q. v.) < **E₂omso-*, *haski-* < **E₂mske-*. A reduplicated root-noun **E₂me-E₂ms-* > **mē(m)s-* (thematized **mēmso-*) underlies Skt. *mā́s*, *māṁsá-*, Arm. *mis*, Alb. *mish*, Goth. *mimz*, OPr. *mensa*, OCS *męso*, Toch. B *misa* 'flesh'. A heteroclitic **E₂me-E₂ms-r/n-* is reflected in thematized variants **mē(m)sro-* (Gk. *μηρός* 'thigh', pl. *μηροί*, *μῆρα*, Lat. *membrum* 'limb, member, penis', OIr. *mīr* 'piece, bite', Russian *mezdrá* 'fatty underlayer of skin') and **mē(m)sno-* (Gk. *μῆνιγξ* 'membrane'). A zero-grade **E₂mE₂(m)s-* appears in Lat. *mas-* (*mas-culus*, gen. sg. *maris*, with monosyllabic lengthening

in *māš* 'male'), literally 'carnal agent'. As frequently (see e. g. s. v. *ard-*), Hittite exhibits the first form of the suffixed root, even when other languages favor the form *$*E_2$m-es-* (cf. s. v. *hasp-*). Cf. Puhvel, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 41:159–63 (1987).

There is no etymological connection with *has-* 'open' (pace e. g. Laroche, *Noms* 302) or with *hassa-* 'fireplace' (as unconvincingly argued by G. Nagy, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78:72-82, 96–100 [1974]).

No credence accrues to H. C. Melchert's attempt (*KZ* 101:212–4 [1988]) to separate *has(s)-* from *hammasa-* by plumping for Hitt. *ss* < **ns*, vs. *ns* < **ms*.

Cf. *hammasa-*, *hapsalli-*, *hassa-*, *hassanupalla-*, *hasawa-*, *hastanuri-*, *hassu-*.

has(s)-, hes(s)- 'open' (often with *appa*; Akk. *petū*: with *KBo* X 2 I 32 *nu* EGIR-*pa hessir* 'they opened' cf. X 1 Vs. 15 [Akk.] *ina pani-šu iptatu* 'before him they opened'; with X 2 II 7 *nu* KÁ.GAL.HI.A EGIR-*pa heser* 'they opened the gates' cf. X 1 Vs. 29 ^{GIŠ}KÁ.GAL-*šu ana pani-ya iptate* '[it] opened its gate before me'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 48, 77, 78 [1965]), 3 sg. pres. act. *hé-e-es-zi* (e. g. XVII 94 III 23 *IŠTU* GÍR *hēszi* 'opens with a knife', *ha-as-zi* (*IBoT* III 148 III 13 ^{GIŠ}IG ... *haszi* 'opens the door'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222), *ha-a-si* (e. g. *KBo* XIII 35 III 6 *a]yis arha hāsi* 'opens his mouth'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 22; *KUB* VII 41 Vs. 4 *karuwariwar* ^{LÚ}AZU É-*ir hāsi* 'in the morning the medicine man opens the house'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; XVII 10 I 33; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; XVII 28 I 12), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-su-e-ni* (*KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 9; cf. ibid. 8 *hatkueni* 'we close'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221), *ha-as-su-ú-e-ni* (XXV 139 + *KUB* XXXV 164 Rs. 1; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 226), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-sa-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XX 10 I 1; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 131; XX 23 Vs. 5; Neu, *Altheth.* 161; V 1 I 6; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* *2; *KUB* II 6 III 21; II 13 I 2; VII 25 I 2; XI 22 I 14; XI 35 I 8; XX 8 I 2; XX 18, 13; XXV 16 I 2; *IBoT* I 36 I 20 and 68; cf. Alp, *Beamtennamen* 7; Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174, 180 [1966]), *he-é-sa-an-zi* (e. g. XII 2 IV 3; XV 11 II 11; XXI 17 III 13; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:26), *hé-sa-an[-zi* (XXVII 15 IV 8), *hi-sa-an-zi* (*KBo* XXI 34 II 3; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 119), *hi-is-sa-an-zi* (*Bo* 6871 Rs. 33; cf. Otten, *BMitt* 7:139–40 [1974]), 3 pl. pres. midd. (?) *ha-a-sa-an-ta[* (*KBo* X 7 II 25), 3 sg.

pret. act. *ha-as-si-it* (*KUB* IX 39 I 6 KAXU-*is hassit* 'opened the mouth'), *ha-as-ta* (XXXIII 52 II 10 *luddāi hasta* 'opened the window'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:248 [1965]), *ha-a-as-ta* (XVII 10 IV 14 *hāsta* ^{LÚ}NI.DUH 7 ^{GIŠ}IG 'the doorkeeper has opened the seven doors'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hé-es-ta-at* (XIII 34 IV 3), 1 pl. pret. act. *hé-e-su-u-en* (*KBo* XXII 116 Vs. 14), 3 pl. pret. act. *hé-es-sir* (X 2 I 32 [OHitt.], quoted above), *hé-se-ir* (X 2 II 7, quoted above), *hi-e-se-ir* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 24 DINGIR-*nas-(s)mas* KUR-*e heser* 'the gods have opened the country for you'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hé-e-se-ir* (XXIX 3 I 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3; XVI 48 Vs. 16), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-as* (*KBo* XI 14 III 27; XXI 22 Vs. 22), *hé-e-es* (59/g + 103/g Vs. 17), 3 sg. imp. act. *hé-es-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 19; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144), *hé-e-es-du* (ibid. 39), *ha-a-su* (*KBo* X 45 I 39 *nu taknas* ^{D}UTU-*us* KÁ.GAL-*as hāsu* 'may the solar deity of the earth open the gate[s]'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]; *KUB* XXIX 1 III 2), 2 pl. imp. act. *hé-e-es-tin* (XXXIII 106 III 50–51 EGIR-*pa-at hēstin* ... [É.]^{NA_4}KIŠIB.HI.A 'open up the storehouses!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:28 [1952]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hé-e-sa-an-du* (*KBo* XIII 58 II 26; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:102 [1975]); partic. *hassant-*, *hēsant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-as-sa-an-za* (IV 9 I 29; *KUB* II 6 III 35; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24:15 [1973–4]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-as-sa-an* (XI 20 II 19–20 KÁ.GAL EGIR-*pa hassan* 'the gate [is] open'), nom. pl. c. *hé-e-sa-te-is* (XXXI 136 III 5 KASKAL.HI.A *tuk hēsate[s* 'the roads [are] open for you'; cf. Friedrich, *AfO* 17:99 [1954–5]; Haas, *Nerik* 196); verbal noun *hé-e-su-u-ar* (III 94 I 25), gen. *hé-e-su-wa-as* (XVII 35 II 3 and 13; XVII 35 IV 19), *hé-su-wa-as* (XXVII 15 IV 23; there is no connection [pace Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 440] with the feast name EZEN *[h]isuwas* with probably Hurroid theo- or toponymic second part [cf. e. g. Tischler, *Glossar* 438–9]); iter. *haski-*, *heski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-ki-si* (*KBo* XI 14 III 26), 3 sg. pres. act. *hé-es-ki-iz-zi* (XIII 109 III 8 ^{GIŠ}IG-*ya* EGIR-*pa heskizzi*), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-kán-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXIV 3 I 53 *nep]isas-as* ^{GIŠ}IG EGIR-*pa tuk-pat haskanzi* 'for you they open the door of heaven'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 24; XXX 32 I 17 *n-at hatgaskanzi* EGIR-*pa-ya-at haskan[zi* 'they close it and again open it'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:391, 517, 301; Neu, *Interpretation* 54; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 49–50, 440.

hashas- 'open up, pry loose (often with *arha*); expose, display', 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-ha-as-sa-an-zi* (*KUB* VII 13 Vs. 8 ^{GIŠ}AB.HI.A-*ya arha hashassanzi* 'they pry open the windows'; ibid. 7 *arha* [*has*]-*hassanzi*; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 122, 125 [1987]; XLVIII 13 Vs. 6 ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB *hashassanzi* 'they display a footstool'; 2076/g Vs. 17 -]*was* ^{GIŠ}*halpūtin hashassanzi* 'they display a h.' [q. v. s. v.]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-ha-su-un* (XLI 19 Rs. 7 *arha hashasun*; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 94), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-ha-as-si-ir* (VII 13 Vs. 12 *kutti arha hashassir* 'they had pried loose [plaster] from the wall'); partic. *hashas(s)ant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-as-ha-as-sa-an* (e. g. II 5 II 30 – 31 and XXV 1 III 54 GA.KIN.AG *hashassan* 'an opened cheese'; cf. Götze, *Arch. Or.* 5:36 [1933]; N. Van Brock, *RHA* 22:161 [1964]; XXV 23 I 34 ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN *hashassan* 'an open[ly displayed] stele'), *ha-as-h*[*a-sa*]-*a-an* (XLII 42 I 18; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 57 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 470), nom. pl. c. *ha-as-ha-sa-an-te-es* (XLII 69 Rs. 22; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:118 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 460; XLII 64 Rs. 9; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 149 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426); verbal noun *ha-as-ha-as-su-ar* (*KBo* III 34 II 29 GI-*an* ^{GIŠ}UMBIN *hashassuar* ^{GIŠ}KU *appatar* 'shaft[-and-]wheel display [and] resort to arms'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 29 – 30); iter. *has-haski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-ha-as-kán-zi* (*KUB* LVII 84 III 6 – 7 *kuitman* ^{GIŠ}*halpūtius hashaskanzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 307; wrongly 'polish': S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 212 [1982]; M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:255 – 7 [1984]; Ch. Carter, *JNES* 44:139 – 41 [1985]; also wrongly 'scrape': Haas, *OLZ* 81:31 [1986]).

hiswa(i)- 'be open' (deadjectival from a **hes-u-* 'open'?), 3 pl. pres. midd. in *ABoT* 60 Vs. 17 *nu-wa-smas* KASKAL.HI.A ŪL EGIR-*pa hiswandari* 'the roads will not lie open for you'. Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 18:82 (1960); Neu, *Interpretation* 56; Čop, *Ling.* 6:58 (1964); Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 103.

Laroche (*BSL* 58.1:58 – 9 [1963]) rightly compared the intransitive nuance of *has(s)-*, *hes(s)-* vs. *kenu-* (q. v.) to that of Lat. *patēre* 'stand or lie open' vs. *hiāre* 'stand ajar or agape'. The transitive *has(s)-* is the common term for normal opening, whereas *kenu-* has the implicit notion of forced entry or aperture. Thus *hēsten* is used of legitimately opening up an ancient storehouse, but *kinuzzi* of breaking into the king's granary; *arha hāsi* denotes opening one's mouth, but *arha kinut* signifies unnatural gaping. Both are used, however, in the sense of 'open a container'.

The mixture of conjugations complicates reconstruction of root vocalism. If chronological primacy is accorded to the *-hi* conjugation paradigm as *hāsi* : *hēsanzi*, the *a*-vocalism would reflect the *o*-grade of the IE perfect, and the *a* : *e* ablaut would match that of *ak(k)-*, *ar-*, *asas-*, *han-*, *karap-*, *sak(k)-*, *sarap-* (cf. e. g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:516 – 8; R. S. P. Beekes, *KZ* 87:97 – 8 [1973]). In the *-mi* conjugation paradigm *e*-vocalism seems to be primary, in view of forms such as *hēszi, hēs, hesdu, hestat* (therefore original *heszi* : *hassanzi*?).

Kronasser's (*VLFH* 222) tie-in with *has-* 'beget, give birth' and Toch. B *ās-* 'bring (forth)' is valueless. Possible cognates might be rather Toch. A *āsuk* 'widely, beyond' and Skt. *ásyati* 'throw' (in the sense of 'throw open, put apart'; cf. *RV* 1.32.7 *vy-àstah* describing the dismembered Vṛtra, or Vidar's killing of Fenrir in Norse myth by forcing the monster's maw apart).

W. Petersen's (*Arch. Or.* 9:203 [1937]) and Juret's (*Vocabulaire* 47) adduction of Lat. *ōs* 'mouth' etc. was abortive (see s. v. *a*[*y*]*is*[*s*]-) but surfaced again in A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüistica* 3:425 – 6 (1973), and J. Manessy-Guitton, *Études indo-européennes* 21 – 24:28 – 9 (1987). Cf. also Čop, *Ling.* 6:51 (1964).

hassa- 'fireplace, hearth, fire-altar' (GUNNI), nom. (voc.) sg. *ha-as-sa-a-as* (*KBo* XVII 105 II 19 *n-asta zigg-a hassās* 'thou, hearth'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]), acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an* (e. g. *KUB* X 28 I 6 *nu-kan hassan* 1-*ŠU hūyanzi* 'they run once to the fire-altar'; LVI 46 II 15 *hassan-kan* 1-*ŠU huua*[*nzi*; ibid. 24 *hassan-kan hūy*[*anzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 84; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:48 – 9 [1987]; *KBo* XXV 31 II 10 *hassan-kan* 1-*ŠU* [*huwāi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 79; XX 14 + XXV 33 Vs. 15 *hassan-kan*[; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 87; XXV 51 I 3 *ta-kkan hassan* 1-*ŠU*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 114), *ha-a-as-sa-an* (e. g. *KUB* LIII 14 II 7 *n-asta hāssan huyanzi* 'they run to the fire-altar'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:41 [1984]; *KBo* XXV 31 III 8 *hāssan-kan huyanzi*; XX 26 + XXV 34 Vs. 21 *hāssan-kan* 1-*ŠU huyanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 90; *KUB* XLIII 28 II 4 *hāssan-kan* [; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 154; *KBo* XX 9, 13 *h*]*āssan-k*[*an*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86; XVII 1 IV 8 *hāssann-a umeni* 'and the hearth we inspect'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36; Neu, *Altheth.* 10; XVII 105 II 17 *tug-a hāssan* ... *hūlaliskizzi* 'surrounds thee, hearth'), *ha-as-sa-a-an* (e. g. ibid. 23 – 24 *nu-wa tuk hassān* ... *hūlaliskandu* 'and may [they] surround thee, hearth'; XXV 31 II 17 *hassān-k*[*an*), GUNNI-*an* (e. g. XI 32

Vs. 9 GUNNI-*an-kan huuiyanzi*; *KUB* LV 39 I 10 *ta-kkan* GUNNI-*an hūyanzi*), gen. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* (e. g. II 2 II 35 *p]ahhunas hassas* 'of hearthfire'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:97, 109 [1975]; XX 24 III 9 and 12 DINGIR *hassas* 'deity of the hearth'; *KBo* XVII 36 III 10 *n-e hassas katta esanta* 'they sit beside the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 123; *KUB* LVI 46 + XLIII 48 I 31 *hassas āppan* 'behind the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 82; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:38 [1987]), *ha-as-sa-a-as* (e. g. XLIII 26 I 12 *parsulli hassās tapu[sza* 'breadcrumbs alongside the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16, *Altheth.* 66; *KBo* XVII 15 Vs. 15 and 16 and later copy XVII 40 IV 9 and 10 *hassās katta*; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:82, 88 [1976]; Neu, *Altheth.* 73–4; XVII 18 II 8 *t-an hassās piran tianzi* 'they place it before the fire-altar'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 100), *ha-as-sa-an* (dupl. XVII 43 I 7 *t-an hassan pir[an*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 104), *ha-a-as-sa-an* (XXV 147 Rs. 6 *]hāssan peran dā[i*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 233), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-si* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 40 IV 5–6 *hassi-ssan* [GIŠ*kalmisa]nes handandati* 'in the fireplace the logs turned alright'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:165 [1965]; XXV 32 + XXVII 70 II 5 *hassi anda sipandanzi* 'they libate into the fireplace'; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:102 [1969–70]; *KBo* XXV 36 III 12 and later dupl. XXV 43 I 5 *hassi* 1-*šU* 'to the fireplace once' [viz. libates]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 95; IV 13 V 6 *hassi istarna pidi* [cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 42] besides XIX 128 III 17–18 GUNNI *istarna pedi* 'in the midst of the hearth' [cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8]), *ha-as-si-i* (profuse, e. g. ibid. 10 and 31 respectively *hassī tapusza* 'alongside the hearth'; *KUB* V 1 III 66 *mān-as kan* TA KARAŠ *hassī* ID-*i paizzi* 'if he [viz. his majesty] with the army goes to fire-altar [and] river' [obscure, perhaps a merism *hassī hapi* for a set of fire-and-water lustrations; cf. *hapa pai-* 'go to the river' denoting ordeal by water]; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:74; XXXII 117 Vs. 6 + XXXV 93 Vs. 11 GIŠ*paddar-a-ssan hassī tehhe* 'I put the tray on the hearth'; ibid. 7 *hassī tehhe*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; Starke, *KLTU* 41; *KBo* II 3 I 37 *nu-kan issanan hassī dāi* 'she puts the dough in the fireplace'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 66; L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354 [1953]; cf. ibid. 350, 352, 356 *n-an-kan* [or *n-at-kan*] *hassī pessiyazzi* 'throws it into the fireplace'; XVII 105 II 39–40 *n-an-kan anda hassī pessiezzi*; ibid. 41–42 *n-an-kan anda hassī pessiyanzi*; *KUB* VII 60 II 12–13 *nu sanezzi kinanta hassī pisyazzi* 'collected sweets she throws into the fireplace'; *KBo* XV 25 Vs. 29–30 *n-as-san hassī pessiyami*; ibid. Rs. 18 *nu hastāe* [*sarā*] *lissanzi n-at hassī awan katta tianzi* 'they gather up the bones and deposit them in the

fireplace'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 4, 6; I 13 II 26 *hassī-ma-kan* MUN *marr[i]attari* 'salt is dissolved in the fireplace'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 60; VI 34 II 8 and 9 *hassī anda* 'in the fireplace'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8; XI 30 I 12 *hassī ser* 'over the fireplace'; *KUB* LIII 14 II 10–11 *n-an* INA É.DINGIR-*LIM hassī* ANA D*Telipinu huekzi* '[he] slaughters it [viz. the sheep] in the temple at the fire-altar to T.'; *KBo* XXV 120, 11 *mān* DUMU-*as* ... [...] *hassī huekzi* 'if a child conjures by the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 201; VI 2 I 54 [= *Code* 1:24] *takku* ÌR-*as nasma* GEME-*as huwāi ishas-sis-an kuel hassī wemiyazi* 'if a male or female slave runs away, at whose hearth his master finds him ...'; XVII 19 + XXV 52 II 11 LUGAL-*sa hassī sipānti* 'the king libates to the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 117; *KUB* XLIII 30 II 11 and 15 *hassī* 1-*šU sipanti*; *hassī* also ibid. 2 and 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76), ANA *ha-as-si-i* (*KBo* XVII 6 II 8–9 1-*EN* ANA *hassī* [*pehhi* 'one [viz. cup] I give to the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 19), *ha-as-sa-a-i* (XXV 36 III 8 *h]assāi tapusza* 'alongside the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 94), *ha-a-as-si-i* (*KUB* XLIII 26 I 10 NINDA*harsī]n* GE_6 *parsiya ta hāssī dā[i* '[he] breaks a black breadloaf and puts [it] on the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16, *Altheth.* 66), GUNNI-*si* (XX 45 I 10 GUNNI-*si andurza* 'inside the fireplace'), *ha-as-sa* (*KBo* XVII 36 III 8 *n-an hassa pissiska[nzi* 'they throw it into the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 123), *ha-as-sa-a* (ibid. II 15 *talupusan hassā pis*[- 'throw the t. into the fireplace'; ibid. I 4, with dupl. XX 22, 2; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 121–2, 126), abl. sg. *ha-as-sa-az* (*KUB* VII 1 II 4–5 *n-us hassaz* EGIR-*pa ispannit ... daskizzi* 'he takes them from the fireplace with the spit'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]; *KBo* XVII 36 II 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 122), *ha-as-sa-a-az* (*KUB* XXXIV 123 I 9 [emended from OHitt. version *KBo* XVII 11 I 23] *nu hassāz* [*hullis dāi*] 'he takes fir-cones from the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), nom. and acc. pl. GUNNI.MEŠ (*KUB* XXIX 8 I 4 and 5), GUNNI.HI.A (ibid. 6, 7, 9).

Luw. *hassanitti-* (c.), nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-ni-it-ti-is* (*KUB* XXXV 133 III 20; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 282; XXXV 54 II 50), GUNNI-*ti-is* (ibid. III 29 [GU]NNI-*tis*, ibid. III 36 GUNNI-[*tis*]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 68–9), acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-ni-it-ti-in* (XXXV 94 III 6; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 406); unclear *ha-as-sa-ni-it-ta*[- (XXV 37 + XXXV 131+132 IV 17; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 349). Cf. Laroche, *Bi. Or.* 11:123 (1954), *RHA* 15:23, 28 (1957).

hassa- has been routinely connected with Oscan-Umbrian and OLat. *āsa*, Lat. *āra* 'sacrificial fireplace, fire-altar' (*IED* 68) since

Pedersen, *Hitt.* 27, 164. For various unconvincing attempts to account for the phonology and spellings (such as a postulated **HaHs-*) see e. g. Čop, *Ling.* 6:49–50 (1964); F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 41 (1970); A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüistica* 3:426–7 (1973). The proper departure point for an understanding of *hassa-* is rather the root noun *has(s)-* 'ash(es)' (q. v.). Its paradigm (nom. sg. *ha-a-as*, acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an*, instr. sg. *ha-as-si-it*, acc. pl. *ha-as-su-us*) reflects IE nom. sg. **A_1ēs*, acc. sg. **A_1ésm̥*, gen. sg. **A_1(e)sós*, matching in type **pēd(s)*, **pédm̥*, **p(e)dós* 'foot'. Just as Vedic *pā́da-* (m.) 'foot' is back-formed from acc. sg. *pā́dam* (cf. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 2:249), a secondary nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* crops up beside *ha-as-sa-an*. Similar thematizations are Hitt. and Luw. *pata-* (c.) 'foot' (with tendency towards plene-spellings *pa-a-ta-* and *pa-ta-a-*) and Skt. *ā́sa-* (m.) 'ash'; Italic *āsa* may be in origin a neuter plural (> feminine singular) related to Skt. *āsa-* like e. g. Lat. *loca* to *locus*. The paradigm of *hassa-*, from Old Hittite onward, is notable for the preponderance of the plene-spellings acc. sg. *ha-a-as-sa-an* vs. gen. sgt. *ha-as-sa-a-as* and dat.-loc. *ha-as-si-i*, which seem to reflect paradigmatic accent variation (rather than vowel length; cf. G. Hart, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43:14–5 [1980]; J. Catsanicos, *BSL* 69.2:148–50 [1984]). It is notable that, in lieu of the nearly nonattested nom. sg., GUNNI-*anza* occurs as the subject of a transitive verb, as if *hassa-* were a neuter that needed to be "animated" into *hassanza* (*KUB* VII 41 I 20; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:31 [1962]). Perhaps *ha-(a-)as-sa-* is an adjective derived from *has(s)-*, and with an implied neuter noun like *pedan* came to mean 'ash-place, ash-pit, fireplace', even as Lat. *āra* is in origin a collective of 'ash'. The graphic gemination of *-s-* is a phenomenon comparable to e. g. *ais* : gen. *issas* (*HED* 1–2:17).

An ultimately unilluminating attempt by G. Nagy (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78:71–100 [1974]) combined *hassa-* (and Italic *āsa*), *has-* 'beget', and *hassu-* 'king' (literally 'one who is lit up') as reflecting a root **A_1es-* 'light up, kindle'.

hassa- (c.) 'progeny, issue, offspring, descendant'; *hassa- hanzassa-* 'progeny of progeny, all (future) generations', nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* (*KUB* XXI 27 III 43–44 ^{D}*Zintuhīs* GAŠAN-*YA ŠA* ^{D}IM ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*-na-ya āssiyanza hassas* 'Z. my lady, beloved progeny of the storm-god and the sun-goddess of Arinna'; cf. ibid. IV 4–5 ^{D}IM-*ni tuel huhhi* [*Ù ANA* ^{D}]UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na tuel hanni* 'to the storm-god your grandfather [and] to the sun-goddess of Arinna your grandmother'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 334; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:116 [1981]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-si-i ha-an-za-a[s-si* (XXVI 43 Vs. 60–61 *n-asta kī* É-*ir ANA* ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa ANA* DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa hassī hanza[ssi harduwas]* NUMUN-*ni ziladuwa arha le kuiski dā[i]* 'this house from Tarhumanawas, from the children of T., from [her] progeny of progeny [and] seed of posterity in the future let no one take away'), *ha-a-as-si ha-an-za-as-si* (ibid. 66–67 *[nu] apat* É-*ir ANA* DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa hāssi hanzassi hardu[was]* NUMUN ^{SAL} ^{D}U-*manawa piandu dammēdani-[ma-]at* UKÙ-*si le* SUM-*anzi* 'let them give that house to the children of T., to progeny of progeny, seed of posterity, but to another person let them not give it'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:30–2 [1974]), *ha-as-sa ha-an-za-as-sa* (e. g. *KBo* IV 3 I 42–44 *nu zik* ^{I}*Kupanta-*^{D}KAL-*as zilatiya* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI AŠŠUM BELUTTIM [p]ahsi katta-ma* DUMU.MEŠ ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hassa hanzassa zilatiya [AŠŠU]M BELUTTIM pahsi* 'you, K., protect in the future my majesty for the sake of lordship, and protect my majesty's children down all generations in the future for the sake of lordship'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:118–20; *KUB* XXI 1 I 69–70 *zik* ^{I}*Alaksandus* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI assuli pahsi katta-ma ammel* DUMU-*YA* DUMU.DUMU-*YA hassa hanzassa pahsi* 'you, A., protect in favor my majesty, and protect my son and grandson, down all generations'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:56; XXVI 1 I 35 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-wa* [...] *[p]ahsuweni katta-ma-wa* DUMU.MEŠ [^{D}UTU-*ŠI*] *hassa hanzassa AŠŠUM* EN-*UTTI [pahsuweni]* 'we protect his majesty ..., and we protect the children of his majesty down all generations, for the sake of lordship'; ibid. 15–16 *AŠŠUM* EN-*UTTI katta hassa hanzass[a]* NUMUN ^{I}*Tuthaliya-pat pahast[in]* 'for the sake of lordship protect down all generations the seed of T.'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 8–9; *KBo* V 13 II 11–12 *katta-ma tuel ŠA* ^{I}*Kupanta-*^{D}KAL DUMU.MEŠ-*KA hassa hanzassa NARARU* GEŠPÚ-*-as sardiyass-a asandu* 'and may your children, K., be down all generations helpers and allies against force'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:122; III 38 Vs. 29 *katta hassa hanzassa*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8; *KUB* XXI 37 Vs. 51 *]katta hassa hanzassa*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:124; XXI 12 III 11 *hass]a hanzassa*[, besides ibid. 14 *hass]a hanzassan* [sic]), *ha-a-as-sa ha-an-za-as-sa* (XLIII 23 Vs. 7; cf. Haas, *Documentum Otten* 132; XXXIV 58 II 4 *katta hāssa hanzassa QAT-*

AMMA[; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:194 [1977]), instr. sg. *ha-as-se-it ha-an-za-as-si-it* (XII 58 IV 11–13 *nu-za-kan* É-*ir* IŠTU DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hasset hanzassit* [...] *hartūwa⟨s⟩hartuwati* QAT-AMMA *sunniddu* 'let him likewise fill the house with sons [and] daughters, with progeny of progeny ... with brood of brood'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20–2), nom. pl. *ha-as-se-es ha-an-za-as-se-es* (XXIX 1 IV 2 *nu* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hasses hanzasses makessandu* 'may the sons, daughters, progeny of progeny become many!'; ibid. 23–25 *ke-wa mahhan arseskanzi nu* LUGAL-*un* SAL.LUGAL-*unn-a hasses hanzasses anda* QATAMMA *arsiyandu* 'as these keep up the nurture [viz. of trees], let all generations within [the family] likewise cherish [their] king and queen'; wrongly translated in *HED* 1:174), *ha-a-as-se-es ha-an-za-a-[as-se-]es* (*KBo* XXV 122 II 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 204), *ha-as-se-es ha-a-an-za-as-se-es* (XVII 105 II 23–24 *nu-wa tuk hassān uktūri-pat* LUGAL-*was* SAL.LUGAL-*as* DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL *hasses hānzasses anda hūlaliskandu* 'and thee, hearth, may ever the king-and-queen's children [and] progeny of progeny surround!'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]), acc. pl. *ha-as-su-us ha-an-za-as-su-us* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Vs. 65 DUMU.MEŠ *has-sus hanzassus harduwas harduwa* 'children, progeny of progeny, brood of brood'; XV 32 I 58 DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hassus hanza[ss]uss-a piskattin* 'give sons, daughters, progeny of progeny!', with dupl. XV 31 I 56 *ha-as-sa-as ha-an-za-as-sa-as*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 154), *ha-a-as-su-us ha-an-za-as-su-us* (*KBo* XV 10 + XX 42 I 37 [*nu-*]*za hāssus hanzassus karapdu nu-za-kan* KUR-*e hassikdu* 'he shall raise for himself progeny of progeny, and the land shall be saturated'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 18; *KUB* XV 34 II 18 DUMU-*latar* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hāssus hanzassus* 'children : sons, daughters, progeny of progeny'), *ha-a-su-us ha-an-za-as-su-us* (ibid. III 40; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190, 198), *ha-as-su-us ha-an-za-su-us* (XXIV 1 III 9 [*nu-sm*]*as* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *hassus hanzasus peski* 'give them sons [and] daughters, progeny of progeny!'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-as-sa-as ha-an-za-as-sa-as* (LVII 63 II 3 *katta has[s]as hanzassas* 'down the generations'; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 18), *ha-as-sa-as-sa-as ha-an-za-as-sa-as-sa-as* (XXXVI 110 Rs. 13–16 *Labarnas* É-*ir-set tuskarattas hassas-sas hanzassas-sas ne-ssan* ^{NA_4}*peruni wetan* 'the house of L. [is a house] of joy for the progeny of his progeny; it is built upon a rock'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 228; A. Archi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 50 [1979]).

Lyd. *eśa-* 'grandchild' (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 103–4)?

Lyc. *qeh-* (and Milyan *qzze, qñza*, allegedly 'posterity'; V. Ševoroškin, *MSS* 36:131–44 [1977])?

hassa- hanzassa- contains a verbal noun from *has(s)-* 'beget' (q.v.; PAnat. **hamsa-* < **E₂omso-* 'progeny'; cf. the Luwoid *ham[ma]sa-* 'grandchild' [s.v.], and for type e.g. *harga-* 'destruction' or Gk. *γόνος*), followed by a hittitized Luwoid genitival adjective **hamsassa/i-* > *hanzassa-*, **hamsa- hamsassa-* being an iterational hyperbole of the 'vanity of vanities' type. *hassa-* reflects the normal Hittite treatment of **ams* or **ans* (whether from **ons* or **ŋs*, as in e.g. *hassu-, assu-, dassu-, haski-* [s.v. *hass-*] < **E₂ŋské-, kuwaski-* [s.v. *kuen-*] < **gʰʷŋské-*), whereas *nz* resulted from secondary ablaut or syncope (e.g. *anzās* [s.v. *wēs*] < **ŋsó-* < **nos-ó-*), belated juncture (e.g. **-n-s*), or external borrowing (*hanzassa*). The phrase with directional dative *(katta) hassa hanzassa* (cf. e.g. *appasiwatta*) resembles Lat. *in saecula saeculorum* 'for all generations'.

The connection of *hassa- hanzassa-* with the root *hass-* goes back to Friedrich (*Staatsverträge* 1:166) and Götze (*Arch. Or.* 2:162–3 [1930]), as do the renderings 'kith and kin' and 'full and collateral progeny' respectively. E. Forrer's interpretation of *hassa-* as 'grandchild' (2 *BoTU* 22*) and of *hassa- hanzassa-* as 'grandchild and great-grandchild' (*Meissner AOS* 31–2) became standard (already in Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:36–7), with few demurrers (e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:156–8, who preferred 'kith and kin'). Since Sturtevant (*Comp. Gr.*[1] 165) *hassa hanzassa* was commonly interpreted as a fossilized double dual of the Vedic *Mitrā́-Váruṇā* kind (or as an *s*-less nom. sg.), until corrected by H.C. Melchert into a directional dative (*RHA* 31:57–70 [1973]), but with improbable semantic rendering ('to the first [and] second generation'). *hanzassa-* was reconstructed as *hanza* '(be)fore' (q.v. s.v. *hant-*) and *hassa-* 'grandchild' by T. Milewski (*L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 32 [1936]; cf. e.g. Lat. *pro-nepos*), and as a **hantya-* with an obscure suffix *-sa-* by F. Mezger (*Lg.* 15.188–9 [1939]). Closer to plausibility was Laroche's construct **ham(a)sa-* 'grandchild' syncopated to Hitt. *hanza-* upon the addition of a suffix *-s(s)a-* (*BSL* 53.1:189 [1957–8]; cf. H.C. Melchert, *RHA* 31:65 [1973], who took the suffix to be a "directive possessive"). Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 439, *KZ* 94:45 [1980]) postulated *hanzassa-* 'great-grandchild' < **hamsa--s(s)a-* 'belonging to the grandchild', with an appurtenance suffix (cf. H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 57–8 [1979]; H.C.

Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:6–8 [1983]; id., *KZ* 101:212–4 [1988], who unjustifiably separated *hanzassa-* and *hamsa-* etymologically from *hass-*).

Cf. *hardu-*, *warwalan-*.

has(sa)nup(p)alla- (c.) 'midwife' (^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU), nom. sg. *ha-as-nu-pa-al-la-as* (*KUB* XXX 29 Vs. 1 [*mān-za*] SAL-*anza hāsi nu hasnupallas kī handāi*[*z*]*zi* 'when a woman gives birth, the midwife arranges the following'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 22; XXX 30 Rs. 4 ^{SAL}*hasnupall*[*as*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 200), *ha-as-nu-pa-al-la-s(a)* (XXX 29 Vs. 5–7 DUMU-*as-san kuwapi katta mauszi nu-zan* SAL-*za* ^{GIŠ}*kuppisnas ser esa* ^{SAL}*hasnupallas-a* [*kis*]*sarta* ^{TÚG}*huwammaliyan harzi* 'when the baby drops down, the woman seats herself on the stools, and the midwife holds with her hand the h.-cloth'), *ha-as-nu-up-pa-al-la-as* (*KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 10 ^{SAL}*hasnuppallas*; ibid. 11 -]*wa-az* ^{SAL}*hasnuppallas hāshun* 'I the midwife have brought to birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42), ^{SAL}*ha-as-sa-nu-p*[*al-la-* (XVII 72, 2; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 215), ^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU (e. g. XVII 62+63 IV 13 *nu mān* DUMU.NI[TA *k*]*uwapi miyari nu* ^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU *k*[*issan*] *tezzi* 'if a male child is then born, the midwife speaks as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34), nom. pl. $^{SAL.MEŠ}$ŠÀ.ZU-*TIM* (e. g. ibid. I 8).

has(sa)nu- is the causative stem of *has(s)-* 'bear, give birth (to)' (q. v.), not in the sense of 'make give birth' but 'cause to be born' (*has*[*s*]- itself can on occasion have this latter meaning; cf. Akk. *alādu* 'give birth to' : *ulludu* 'help to birth, act as midwife'). *-palla-* has been inconclusively compared with Hurr. *pal-* 'know' (Laroche, *RHA* 35:194 [1977]), allegedly also seen in *tarsipala-* 'coachman, wagoner' (vel sim.; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:160–1 [1961], *Etym.* 1:173–4), but there is no plausibility of overall Hurrian origin (pace Kammenhuber, *Die Arier* 107, *Orakelpraxis* 127). N. Van Brock (*RHA* 20:95 [1962]) was reminded of the otherwise obscure *-p-* in Sanskrit causatives like *sthā-p-áya*, assuming an agent noun *hassanu-p-alla-* (**hassanu*[*w*]*al*[*l*]*a-* would rather have had a passive meaning, like *arnuwala-* 'deportee'); perhaps, indeed, *has(sa)nupalla-* is allomorphic for **hassanutalla-* (cf. e. g. *arsanatalla-*, *ishamatalla-*, *uwatalla-*, *uskiskatalla-* [s. v. *aus-*], *isiyahhiskatalla-*).

Cf. *harnau-*, *hasawa-*.

hasawa- (c.), female magical operative, a match of ^{SAL}ŠU.GI 'old woman, hag, sorceress', nom. sg. *ha-a-sa-u-wa-as* (*KUB* VII 1 IV 5 *AWAT* ^{SAL}*Susummaniga* ^{SAL}*hāsauwas* 'words of S. the h.', with dupl. XXX 48, 15 *AWAT* ^{SAL}*Susumanniga* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI; *KBo* III 8 II 30 *nu* ^{SAL}*hāsauwas pa*[*it nu-ssi*] EME-*ŠU sahta* 'the h. went and plugged his tongue'; ibid. 31; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:155 [1961]; XXX 43 III 20–22 *mān hāsauwas* DUMU-*an armahhuwazza wassiyaz iskizzi* 'when the h. daubs the baby with the medicament of pregnancy'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 177), *ha-sa-u-wa-as* (*KBo* XXIV 17 Rs. 1–2 *m*]*ān* ^{SAL}*hasauwas* [DUMU-*an a*]*rmahhuwas wassiyaz* [*isk*]*izzi*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 204), *ha-a-sa-ú-wa-as* (XVII 61 Rs. 9–10 *uga* ^{SAL}*hāsauwas ŠTU* 10 ŠU.SI *parā* [*epmi nu* MÁŠ.GAL-*a*]*n anda ANA* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU *INA* 9 ^{UZU}ÚR *appiskimi* 'I the h. with ten fingers reach forth and hold fast the he-goat at the individual's nine body parts' [followed by enumeration of thirteen parts]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; ibid. Vs. 20 [*nu* ^{SAL}*hās*]*auwas* SAG.DU-*ZU warapmi* 'I the h. scrub his head'), acc. sg. *ha-sa-wa-an* (III 8 II 29 ^{SAL}*hasawan pehutetin* 'bring the h.!'), *ha-a-sa-wa-an* (*KUB* VII 1 III 10–11 *īt-wa* ^{SAL}*hāsawan pehute* 'go, bring the h.!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; dupl. *KBo* XXII 128 +, 8 ^{SAL}*hāsa*[*wan*; cf. *ZA* 67:58 [1977]).

Pal. *hasāu(w)anza*, epithet of the deity Kamama (Carruba, *Das Palaische* 55) offers a homophonal analogue.

This woman was not the midwife (*has*[*sa*]*nupalla-*, q. v.) but was (inter alia) in charge of magico-legal and pediatric post-partum procedures (determining viability, ritual lustration, ceremonial placing of baby on parents' knees, medication). While Hurrian attribution (Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis* 119, 127–8) is strictly per obscurius, there are problems also with the assumption (Sturtevant, *TAPA* 71:574 [1940]; Otten, *ZA* 50:233 [1952]; Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:160–1 [1961], *Etym.* 1:338; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 232–3) that ^{SAL}*hasawa-* is a hypostatic *a*-stem noun from ^{SAL}*hasawas* 'woman of birth', with the genitive of a verbal noun **hasawar* from *has(s)-*, thus parallel to *hassanna-* (q. v. sub *hassatar* s. v. *has*[*s*]-). Even if a third verbal noun were probable (besides *hassatar* and *hassumar*), it ought to have been **hassuwar* which underlies *hassumar*. If there is an etymological connection to *has(s)-*, *hasawa-* as 'birth-woman' can hardly have been the one or the main Hittite equivalent of the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI with her varied and multiple ritual activities.

> *h(a)sekti* vs. *H_1sA_2-ónti* > *h(a)santi*, with different paradigmatic generalizations in Hittite and Palaic.

Čop (*Ling.* 9:195–6 [1969]) unconvincingly connected Lat. *ēbrius* 'drunk' as **ēsrios* (q. v. rather s. v. *eku-* [*HED* 1–2:267–8]).

hasik(ka)-, hassika-, hassikka- (c. and n.), a tree and its fruit, nom. sg. c. *ha-as-si-qa-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 56 II 7; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 48), *ha-si-iq-qa-as* (*KBo* XXVI 75, 2; cf. Siegelová, op. cit. 66), acc. sg. c. *ha-as-si-ik-ka-an* (*KUB* XII 26 III 12–13 ^{GIŠ}*ZERTUM* ^{GIŠ}MA ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN HÁD.DU.A ^{GIŠ}*hassikkan* ^{GIŠ}*sammama* 'olives, figs, dried grapes, h., sesame'), nom.(-acc.) sg. neut. $^{[GI]Š}$*ha-si-ik* (950/c IV 1), *ha-as-si-ik-ka-an* (*KBo* XXI 34 II 19 ^{GIŠ}*hassikkan imian* 'h. [is] mixed'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 120), gen. sg. or pl. *ha-as-si-ig-ga-as* (X 34 I 14; *KUB* LV 51 IV 15), ^{GIŠ}*ha-si-iq-qa-as* (XXVII 19 III 3), instr. sg. or pl. ^{GIŠ}*ha-as-si-ik-ki-it* (XII 5 I 20), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-si-ig-ga* (XXIX 1 II 16 *nu* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.È.A ^{GIŠ}*hasigga-ya suhhai* 'strew grapes and h.!'; cf. ibid. 14 *nu* ^{GIŠ}MA *suhhai* 'strew figs!'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]; 110/e Vs. 5 GEŠ]TIN HÁD.DU.A ^{GIŠ}*ZERTUM* ^{GIŠ}*samama* ^{GIŠ}*hasigga*). Cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 134; Ertem, *Flora* 16–9. There is also a toponym ^{URU}*Has(s)iqqas(a)nauwanda* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:58–9 [1961]; Lebrun, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 199–200 [1979]).

H. A. Hoffner (*RHA* 25:43 [1967]) suggested a kind of fig, like *marsikka-* (q. v.), despite the fact that in enumerations ^{GIŠ}*hasikka-* is distinct from ^{GIŠ}MA 'fig'. Any "culture-word" relationship to Gk. *σῦκον, τῦκον* 'fig', Lat. *fīcus*, Arm. *t'uz* 'fig' (see e. g. Hoffner, loc. cit.) is at best conjectural.

hasp- 'handle, come to grips with, take care of, dispose of' (with particle *-asta* or *-kan*), Luwoid 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-pa-ti* (*KBo* XVI 22 Vs. 9 *-k]an arha haspati* [with gloss-wedges]; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 43:322 [1936]), Luwoid 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-pa-ha* (*KUB* XIV 3 I 41 *nu-kan* KUR-*TUM hūma[n kuwapi arha] haspaha* [with gloss-wedges] 'when I disposed of the whole land', referring back to ibid. 36 *nu* KUR-*TUM kuit hūman arha harg[anun* 'as I destroyed the whole land'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 4), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-pu-un* (*KBo* XII 38 III 5–9 *nu-mu-kan* ^{GIŠ}MÁ.HI.A *ŠA* ^{KUR}*Alasiya* ŠÀ A.AB.BA 3-*ŠÚ zahhiya tīyat*

n-as-kan haspun ^{GIŠ}MÁ.HI.A-*ma eppun n-as-kan* ŠÀ A.AB.BA *lukkun* 'ships of Alasiya engaged me thrice in sea-battle; I took care of them by seizing the ships and burning them at sea'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:167 [1962], *MDOG* 94:20 [1963]), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-pí-ir* (*KUB* XXIII 11 III 7–8 *n-as-mu* DINGIR.MEŠ *parā piyer nu-smas-(s)ta uttar arha isduwati n-us-kan haspir* ^{I}*Kukkulinn-a-kan kuinnir* 'the gods handed them over to me, and the plot was exposed on them, and they disposed of them, and they slew K.'; cf. R. Ranoszek, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny* 9:58 [1934]; Carruba, *SMEA* 18:160 [1977]; XIV 1 Vs. 47 *n-asta* ERÍN.MEŠ ^{I}*Madduwatta* [*h*]*ūmantan-pat arha haspir* 'they disposed of M.'s entire army'; ibid. 48 KA]RAŠ-*za-kan kuyēs tepawes ī[spar]ter apāt-ma-kan hūman a[rha h]aspir-pat* 'and the few army units that got away, them too they took care of to the last man'; ibid. 52 *kappū[wantes-pa]t antuhses isparter* [*ap*]*āt-ma-kan* [*hūm*]*an arha haspir* 'only a few stray men got away, but those too they took care of to the last one'; similarly ibid. 57 *ke-kan* [*h*]*ūman arha has*[*p*]*ir*; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 12–4; *IBoT* II 131 Rs. 29); partic. *haspant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-as-pa-an* (*Bo* 7863 I 5, with gloss-wedges).

hasp- (Luwoid stem *haspa-*) is not a primary verbum delendi, tending to be either anticipatory or resumptive of true destruction-terms (destroy, burn, slay). Like *harnik-* (s. v. *hark-*) 'do away with, take out, eliminate' (literally 'make disappear') it is a euphemistic military term sometimes secondarily strengthened by *arha*.

The probable etymology is IE *$*A_1$és-p-*, *$*A_1$s-ép-* (rather than **sep-* still in B. Vine, *IF* 93:52–61 [1988]) seen in Vedic *sápati* 'take care of' (*ṛta-sā́p-* 'truth-practicing'), Avestan *hap-* (*Yasna* 31.22 *ašəm ... haptī* 'practices truth'), Gk. *ἕπω* 'handle, engage', *ἐφ-έπω* (aor. inf. act. *ἐπισπεῖν*) 'ply, wield, practice; come upon, go at, beset' (Achilles pursuing Hektor in *Iliad* 22:188). For the military use of *hasp-* cf. also *Iliad* 11:177–8 *ὣς τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδης ἔφεπε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων, αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων τὸν ὀπίστατον* 'thus A. would go at them [viz. as they were fleeing], always slaying the hindmost'. Hittite typically prefers the root form *hasp-* < *$*A_1$esp-* (cf. e. g. *HED* 1–2:175 and s. v. *has*[*s*]-). Cf. Puhvel, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 21 (1990).

hastai, hasti- (n.) 'bone, (collectively) bones; (resistant) sturdiness, (defensive) strength'; a length measure (GÌR.PAD.DU), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-as-ta-i* (e. g. *KBo* XXV 24 Vs. 9]*hastai zanuanzī*['they cook the

bones'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 62; *KUB* VII 13 Rs. 16 ^{UZU}*wallas hastai zanuwanz*[*i* 'they cook a thighbone'; *KBo* XIX 128 III 42 *ŠA* GUD.MAH ŠE ^{UZU}[*wal*]*las hastai* 'thighbone of the fatted bull'; *KUB* XX 1 III 7, XX 13 IV 7 *wallas hastai*; XII 11 III 22, XXVII 1 III 18, 23, 25–26 ^{UZU}*wallas hastai*; ibid. 20 ^{UZU}*walan hastai*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 81–2; XII 58 I 22 *hastai tepu* 'a bit of bone'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; VII 53 II 9 ALAM-*ŠU hastai mīluli* 'his form, bone, and soft tissue'; similarly ibid. 11; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10; *KBo* VI 34 II 26–27 *nu hastai-sitit QATAMMA mallandu* 'let them likewise grind his bones'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB* XXX 65 II 12 *mān-kan ŠA* GIDIM *hastai pedi n*[*ininkanzi* 'when they take up the bones of the dead on the spot'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 170; XXX 15 Vs. 4 *nu hastai IŠTU lappa* KÙ.BABBAR *daskanzi* 'they take the bones with a silver l.'; ibid. 7 *nu mahhan hastai lessūwanzi zinnanzi* 'when they are finished gathering the bones'; ibid. 13 *hastai kittari* 'the bones lie'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; XXX 27 Vs. 7 *hastai-ma tuwaza kuit* KUR-*az udan* 'the bones which [have] been brought from a far country'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 99; *KBo* XXI 21 III 12; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 37; *KUB* IV 1 I 17–18 *nu-za apenzan* GEŠPÚ *hastai walliskanzi* 'they keep extolling their [aggressive] force [and] [defensive] strength' [lit. fist (and) bone]; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 168), *ha-as-ta-i-i* (V 1 I 75 LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ma-as* ZAG-*tar* GEŠPÚ *hastayi parnass-a* SIG_5 ME-*ir* 'but the men of Hattusas took for themselves rightness, force, strength, and the weal of the house'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:44; ibid. IV 6 *hastayi*[), *ha-as-ta-a-i* (e. g. ibid. II 18–19 LUGAL-*us-za* ZAG-*tar* GEŠPÚ *hastāi* SILIM-*ul* MÈ-*ya* ME-*as* 'the king took for himself rightness, force, strength, weal, and battle'; ibid. 64 2 LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ma-as* ZAG-*tar* GEŠPÚ *hastāi* KASKAL LUGAL SILIM-*la* ME-*ir* 'two men of Hattusas took for themselves rightness, force, strength, and the king's campaign and weal'; *KBo* XII 70 Vs. 11 *palhasti-ma-at* 9-*an hastāi* DÙ-*at* 'but in width thou hast made it nine "bones"'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:782–3 [1968]; N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 115–6 [1987]; *KUB* XXIV 12 II 31 *hastariyatar hastāi* [*halh*]*anzanan* 'heroic bearing, sturdiness, shoulder[s]'; cf. ibid. III 5–6 *hastai halhalzanan*), *ha-as-da-i* (e. g. 2413/c III 11, besides ibid. 13 *hastai*; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:393 [1955]), *ha-as-da-a-i* (XX 48 I 12 *wallas hasdāi*), *ha-as-ta-e* (XVII 28 I 23–24 *hastae-ma ANA* É MUHALDIM *pedanzi n-at happariyami* 'but the bones they take to the cook's house, and I sell them'), *ha-as-ta-a-e* (*KBo* XV 25 Rs. 18 *nu hastāe* [*sarā*] *lissanzi n-at hassī awan katta tianzi*

'they gather up the bones and deposit them in the fireplace'; ibid. 19 *nu hastāe warnuwanzi* 'they burn the bones'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 6), gen. sg. *ha-as-ti-as* (*KUB* XXX 15 Vs. 1–2 *nu* SAL.MEŠ *uktū*[*riy*]*a hastias lessūwanzi pānzi* 'the women go to the cremation spot for gathering of bones'), *ha-as-ti-ya-as* (e. g. ibid. 17–18 *nu kuyēs kuyēs hastiyas lessūwanzi uwantes* 'whoever [are] come for gathering of bones'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; XXXIX 11 Vs. 50 *hastiyas piran* 'before the bones'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68; I 1 IV 75 *kuit hastiyas* É-*ir* DÙ-*nunn-at ANA* DINGIR-*LIM parā pihhun* 'what bone-house [= ossuary] I made, it I consigned to the deity'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28; *Bo* 3826 III 6 É.ŠÀ *hastiyas* 'interior of ossuary'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 112; *KUB* IX 4 III 38–39 *hastiyas māluliyas* 'of bone [and] soft tissue'; IX 34 I 23 *hastiyas melu*[*liyas*; *KBo* XVII 54 I 11 *hastiyas mīluliyas*), *ha-as-ti-i-as* (XX 8 IV 7), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-ta-i* (e. g. *KUB* IX 4 I 15 *h*]*astai-kan hastai handan* 'bone [is] matched to bone'), instr. sg. *ha-as-ti-it* (XIX 37 II 6–7 *namma-at warhuuis hastitt*-[*a*] [*pahhast*]*at* 'it [is] further rough [of terrain] and was sturdily defended'; cf. Götze, *AM* 166; XXXI 10, 4 *n-as-kan hasti*[*t*; cf. Götze, *AM* 76), *ha-as-ti-i-it* (XIII 27 + XXVI 40 Vs. 93–95 *anda-ma* ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuwapi* ^{URU}*Hattusi panga*[*rit uizzi nu-kan mā*]*n sumenzan* A.ŠÀ *kueran istarna ar*[*ha*] *uizzi sumes-an-za hastiyit ŪL* [*pahhasteni nu-ssi* IGI-*and*]*a ŪL naisteni nu-ssi-kan tapusza neyantes ēsten* 'moreover when the enemy comes to Hatti in force, if he comes right through your fieldland, and you do not sturdily defend it, and do not confront him, and turn aside from him...').

hastiyant- (c.), replacing the neuter *hastai-* as the subject of a transitive verb, nom. sg. *ha-as-ti-an-za* (*KUB* IX 4 I 37 *hastianza hastiyas* [GIG-*an karapzi* 'bone lifts ailment of bone'). See e. g. *eshanant-* s. v. *eshar* (*HED* 1–2:308).

hasteli(ya)-, *hastili-*, *hastali-* 'sturdy, stout, brave, heroic; (noun) brave warrior, champion, hero' (UR.SAG), nom. sg. c. UR.SAG-*li-is* (*KBo* XXVI 79, 11 UR.SAG-*lis* LUGAL-*us* 'heroic king'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68; *KUB* XVII 7 III 3 UR.SAG-*lis* LUGAL-*us* [-*lis* misspelled -*li-us*]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]; XXXVI 17 + XXXIII 107 I 8 UR.SAG-*li*[*s*] LUGAL-*us* [*li* corrupted into *hi* + *a*]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:24 [1952]), UR.SAG-*is* (e. g. *KBo* III 4 I 10 *ABU-ŠU-wa-ssi kuis* LUGAL KUR *Hatti ēsta nu-war-as* UR.SAG-*is* LUGAL-*us ēsta* 'his father who was king of Hatti, he was a heroic king'; cf. Götze, *AM* 16; *KUB* XXXIII 100 + XXXVI 16 III 14 ^{URU}*Kummiyas* UR.SAG-*is* LUGAL-*us* 'heroic king of K.'; dupl. XXXIII 103 II 6

[misspelled UR.SAG-*us*; in view of sign similarity of *is* and *us* a genuine *u*-stem is improbable]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46; IV 4 Vs. 2–3 *dammetarwanza* LUGAL-*us* UR.SAG-*is* 'superabundant king, hero!'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]), acc. sg. c. *ha-as-te-li-ya-an* (*KBo* XIX 114, 17), *ha-as-ti-li-y*[*a-* (*KUB* XLIV 56 Rs. 10; case ending uncertain), UR.SAG-*an* (*KBo* V 3 I 2 *tuk* ^{I}*Huqqanān appizzin* UR.SAG-*an* 'you, H., the lowest form of heroic life'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106), acc. pl. c. UR.SAG-*is* (XXII 6 I 8 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.SAG-*is-wa-mu halziyandu* 'let them call the warriors for me' [-*is* possible misspelling for -*us*]), nom. (voc.) pl. c. UR.SAG-*as* and dat.-loc. pl. UR.SAG-*li-ya-as* (ibid. 10–11 LUGAL-*ginas* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.SAG-*liyas uddanimit t*[*et*] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.SAG-*as istamasten-mu* 'Šarrukin said by word to the warriors: "Hear me, warriors!"'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]).

hasteliyant-, nom. sg. c. *ha-as-te-li-an-za* (*KBo* I 44 + 451/s Vs. 26, matching ibid. [Akk.] *šubbulu*; cf. *MSL* 17:102 [1985]).

hastiliyatar, hastaliyatar (n.) 'heroic bearing, heroism, bravery', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-as-t*[*i-* (*KBo* XV 10 + XX 42 I 35 TI-*tar hast*[*iliyatar*] *mayandatar* 'life, bravery, adulthood'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 18), *ha-as-ta-li-ya-tar* (X 37 II 28–29 *nu-ssi innarāwatar* [...] *hastaliyatar peski*[*ttin* 'give him strength [and] bravery'; ibid. 14–15 TI-*tar haddulatar* MU.[HI.A GÍD.DA] EGIR.UD-*MI mayandatar* UR.SAG-*tar* [= near-synonym *tarhuilatar*?] *hastaliyata*[*r* 'life, health, long years for the future, adulthood, heroism, bravery'; *KUB* XXXIII 105 I 14 *harmi-ma-at hastaliyatar* GALGA-*tarr-*[*a* 'I have it, bravery and intelligence'), UR.SAG-*li-ya-tar* (XXXIII 120 II 8 AN-*as-mu* UR.SAG-*liyata*[*r-se*]*t p*[*āi* 'heaven gives me his heroism'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3), UR.SAG-*tar* (e. g. XXXIII 105 I 13 UR.SAG-*tar* GALGA-*tarr-a harmi*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:77 [1968]; XXXIII 113 I 23 + XXXVI 12 I 36 UR.SAG-*tar-ma-ssi* 10-*pa piyan* 'but bravery to him [has] been given tenfold'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:12 [1952]), *ha-as-ta-ri-ya-tar* (sic, with *l* > *r* in XXIV 12 II 31 *hastariyatar hastāi* [*halh*]*anzanan* 'heroic bearing, sturdiness, shoulder[s]'), abl. sg. UR.SAG-*an-na-az* (XXXVI 12 I 17 + XXXIII 113 I 5]^{D}*IŠTAR-is-ma-kan* AN-*az* UR.SAG-*annaz arha u*[*it* 'Ištar from heaven with bravery came'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:10 [1952]).

hastales- 'become brave, turn warlike', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-ta-li-e-es-zi* (*KBo* IV 14 II 68 *nu-mu mān* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-*za hastalēszi* 'if by weapon he turns warlike'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:43 [1965]), *ha-as-ta-li-is-zi* (*KUB* XXXVI 12 II 15 *kuitman-war-as nāwi hastaliszi* 'as long as he does not yet turn warlike'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]).

Luw. *hassa* (n.) 'bone; sturdiness', nom.-acc. pl. (tantum, conversely to sg. in Hittite?) *ha-as-sa* (*KUB* XXV 45 II 23 *hassa halhalzanin* 'sturdiness [and] shoulder[s]'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 153; XXXV 11 II 9 *hassa h*[*alhalzanin*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 163), *ha-a-as-sa* (XXXV 12 III 2 *hāssa halhalzanin*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 164; XXXV 33 III 4–5 *hāssa* [...] *halhalzani*[*n*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 95), ^{UZU}GÌR.PAD.DU (XXXV 48 II 16 ^{UZU}GÌR.PAD.DU *halzanin*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 155).

hasteli- is derived from *hastai-* like e. g. *tameli-* 'different, alien' from *tamai-* 'other'; for the vocalism of *hastali-* cf. *āppazzi-* besides *appezzi-, appizzi-* (*HED* 1–2:92). The figurative sense 'sturdiness' of *hastai* and Luw. *hassa* resembles Avest. *asti-aojah-* 'bone-might' and *astəntāt* 'vigor', and further Hebrew *'ṣm* with the double meaning 'bone' and 'strong'. The use of *hastai* as a length measure seems to be copied from Akk. *eṣemtu* 'bone; body frame' which also denoted a fraction of a cubit (about a foot). For *Hastali* as a man's name in Anatolia see L. A. Gindin, *Etimologija 1965* 225–8 (1967); V. V. Ševoroškin, ibid. 230; Laroche, *Noms* 63, 336.

The etymon (universally recognized since Benveniste, *BSL* 33:139 [1932], and Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*^{1} 93) is Skt. *ásthi*, Avest. *ast(i)-*, Gk. *ὀστέον*, Lat. *os(s)*, Arm. *oskr*, Alb. *asht* 'bone' (*IEW* 783). The Avestan root noun *ast-* (gen. sg. *astō*, instr. pl. *azdbīš*) and the Latin *oss-* (< **ost-*) point to **A_2^{u}es-t-* with a neuter plural "collective" **A_2^{u}estA_2* (> Avest. *asti*, Lat. *ossa*), potentially further extended by *i/n* heteroclisis which persists in Indo-Iranian (Skt. *ásthi*, gen. *asthnáḥ*). The Greek and Hittite derivatives (*ὀστέον* < **ὀστεϱιον*; *hastai*, also *tanhasti* [n.] 'twinbone', q. v. s. v. *ta*[*n*]) resemble each other, and Luw. *hassa* may reflect a neuter plural **hastya* (cf. N. Van Brock, *Glotta* 46:119 [1968]; Weitenberg, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 295 [1979], *U-Stämme* 389). Attempts to find a root noun **has(t)-* in Anatolian, via *hassa* or *hastali-* (e. g. Oettinger, *ZDMG* 131:387 [1981]; E. P. Hamp, *KZ* 97:199 [1984]) have not been successful.

O. Szemerényi (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94:153–4 [1974]) improbably saw in Hitt. *hastali-* the source of Gk. *ἐσθλός* 'brave, noble'.

Cf. *hista-*.

hastanuri- (c.), a Hittite royal (?) dignitary in *RS* 17:251 Ro. 4 (Akk.) *ha-as-ta-nu-ri*, perhaps matching (ibid.) Akk. ^{I}*šag-ga-bu-r[u]* 'very mighty'. Cf. the similar titles *pitt(a)uri-* 'grant-chief' (?), *tuppanuri-* 'tablets-head' (?), *tuppalanuri-* 'scribes-boss' (?), *huburtanuri-*, perhaps containing (rather than a suffix *-uri-*: Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:226–7) a stem variant of *ura-* 'big, grand'. Laroche (*RHA* 14:27–8 [1956], 23:37 [1965], *Ugaritica* 3:137, 139 [1956], *Noms* 302) saw in *hastan-* a collapsed gen. pl. *hassantan* of the participle *hassant-*, the *hassantes* being the royal princes of the first rank (see s. v. *has*[*s*]- and *hassu-*); thus *hastanuri-* would be 'grand des princes'. But non-Hittite explanations are possible, as with the obscure *huburtanuri-* (e. g. Ugar. *ḫšt* 'property'; cf. Tischler, *IBK* Sonderheft 50:217 [1982]).

hastapi- (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *ha-as-ta-pí-is* (e. g. *KUB* XVIII 57 I 68; XVI 48 Vs. 7; XXII 33 Vs. 10; XXII 65 II 17), *ha-as-ta-pí-i-is* (ibid. III 7), acc. sg. *ha-as-ta-pí-in* (e. g. *KBo* II 6 IV 12; *KUB* XVI 46 IV 3; XVI 71, 3; XXII 30 Vs. 17), nom. sg. or pl. *ha-as-ta-pí-es*[(*KBo* XVI 99 V 8), nom. pl. *ha-as-da-pí-us* (*IBoT* I 32, 6 and 27), acc. pl. *ha-as-ta-pí-us* (*KUB* XXII 30 Rs. 8). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 213; A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:142 (1975).

For characteristics of oracular bird names of obscure etymology (such as lack of 'bird' determinative) see also s. v. *harrani-*. Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:153–4 [1988]) fancied a connection with *hastai, hastali-* as 'strong bird', with animal suffix resembling Gk. ἔριφος 'kid' or κάλαφος 'owl'.

haster- (c.) 'star' (*KBo* XXVI 34 IV 9 *ha-as-te-ir-za* = Akk. *kakkabu*; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 40), nom. sg. *hasterza* /haster-s/, with either Indo-European or specifically Hittite nominatival *-s* (cf. Friedrich, *Athenaeum* N.S. 47:116–8 [1969]; Laroche, *RHA* 28:74 [1970]; C. Watkins, *Die Sprache* 20:10–4 [1974]), acc. sg. (toponymic) ^{URU}*Hastiran* (*KUB* XIX 65 + XXXI 13, 9), ^{URU}*Hasteran* (XIX 64, 24), gen. sg. ^{URU}*Hastiras* (*KBo* XIX 10 + *KUB* VIII 75 I 22), ^{URU}MUL-*-(r)as* (e. g. *KUB* VIII 75 III 11 and 49–55), dat.-loc. sg. ^{URU}MUL-*ra* (cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 32). Cf. Souček, *Arch. Or.* 27:8, 14, 18 (1959); Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:189; Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:202 (1980).

The interpretation of *hasterza* as /hsters/ (e. g. J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15:144 [1969]; F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 70 [1970]; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:161 [1978]; Mayrhofer, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 187 [1982]; Tischler, in A. Bammesberger [ed.], *Das etymologische Wörterbuch* 278–9 [1983]) is to be rejected. Gk. ἀστήρ, ἄστρα, and Arm. *astl* militate against a mere 'prothetic' *a-* (from $*A_2$) and point, like *haster-*, to full grade $*A_1est(e)r/l-$ beside $*A_1ster/l-$ in Avest. *stārəm*, Ved. *stṛ́bhiḥ, tā́raḥ*, Lat. *stella*, Bret. *sterenn*, Goth. *stairnō*, Toch. B *śćirye*, etc. Cf. also O. Szemerényi, *Kratylos* 28:56 (1983).

hasduer- (n.) 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-as-du-e-ir* (*KUB* XVII 28 IV 44 *āszi-ma-kan kuit hasduer n-at arha warnuwanzi* 'what brush is left, it they burn'; XXIV 14 I 7–8 *euwan* ^{GIŠ}*hasduer kuēl imma* GIŠ-*ruwas hahhallas alil* 'barley, twigs, the bloom of whatever tree [or] bush'), *ha-as-du-ir* (*KBo* III 63 II 18; *VBoT* 24 III 14 A.ŠÀ *terippias* ^{GIŠ}*sarpas hasduir* 'brush of s.-wood of a plowed field'; ibid. 26–31 *nu* A.ŠÀ *terippiyaz* 9 ^{NA_4}*passilan merranda-ya hasduir udanzi nu-ssan* ^{NA_4}*passilus* ANA GUNNI *ishuwāi ser-a-ssan* ^{GIŠ}*sarpas hasduir merranda warnuzi* 'they bring the nine pebbles and the discarded brush from the plowed field; he pours the pebbles onto the hearth and upon them burns the discarded brush of s.-wood'; ibid. 42–45 *ke-ma-kan hasduir mahhan* ^{LÚ}APIN.LAL-*li arha merta tug-a-kan* ANA ^{D}LAMA ^{KUŠ}*kursas karpis kartimmiaz sāuwar arha* QATAMMA *mertu* 'as this brush was discarded by the plowman, so may anger, wrath, and fury likewise vanish from you, tutelary god of the fleece!'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:14 [1927], *Chrest.* 112–4; *KUB* LVIII 109 Vs. 13 *hasduir tepu* 'a bit of brush'), abl. *ha-as-du-ir-ra-za* (XLVI 39 III 9 *hasduirraza puruddaza* 'with sticks [and] clay').

Sturtevant's connection of *hasduer-* with Gk. ὄζος, Goth. *asts*, Arm. *ost* 'branch, twig' (passim from *Lg.* 4:163 [1928] to *Comp. Gr.*^{2} 32) has enjoyed limited assent, but can be bolstered as reflecting $*A_2^{w}esd$-*wer-* parallel to the $*A_2^{w}est$-*wer-* that underlies Arm. *oskr* 'bone' (cf. Hitt. *hastai*), vs. $*A_2^{w}esdo-$ in Arm. *ost* (cf. C. Watkins, *Die Sprache* 20:10–11 [1974]; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 158). If $*A_2^{w}e$-*sd-wer-* contains the root **sed-* 'sit', the (deverbative) suffix would resemble rather that of Toch. B *malkwer* 'milk', *arwāre*

'ready', and perhaps Lat. *cadāver*, *papāver* (assuming non-rhotacistic *r*). Cf. also H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25:204–5 (1979).

Čop (*Indogermanica minora* 59–60) suggested a reconstruction **Has-two-* 'dry stuff', in line with his untenable reconstruction of Hitt. *hat-* 'dry up' (q. v.) from **Haz-d-*.

hassu- (c.) 'king' (LUGAL; Akk. *šarru*; also *rubū* 'prince' matching LUGAL-*-us* in *KBo* I 45 Vs. 6; cf. *MSL* 3:59 [1955]), nom. sg. LUGAL-*us* (passim), LUGAL.GAL-*us* (XVI 45 Rs. 5), acc. sg. LUGAL-*un* (passim), voc. sg. LUGAL-*u-i* (XXV 122 II 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 205), LUGAL-*u-e* (*KUB* XXXI 127 I 2 *nepisas dāgazipass-a* LUGAL-*ue* 'king of heaven and earth!'; dupl. XXXI 128 I 2 *nep]isas taknass-a* LUGAL-*ue*; XXXI 127 I 15 *sarkui* LUGAL-*ue* 'lofty king!'; dupl. XXXI 129 Vs. 4 *sarku* LUGAL-*ue*; XXXI 127 I 18 and 58 *sarku* LUGAL-*ue*; ibid. 22 ^{D}UTU-*i* GAL-*li* LUGAL-*ue* 'sun-god, great king!'), gen. sg. LUGAL-*was* (frequent, e. g. XII 63 Vs. 27 LUGAL-*was āska* 'to the king's gate'), gen. sg. (or pl.) LUGAL-*an* (in the synonymous LUGAL-*an āska*, e. g. XIII 4 II 56 *n-an* LUGAL-*an āska* ^{UL} *uwatezzi* 'does not bring it to the king's gate'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:376 [1934]; other attestations s. v. *aska-*; also e. g. *KBo* XVII 15 Rs. 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73), LUGAL-*as* (frequent), LUGAL-*RI* (e. g. VI 12 I 10 [= *Code* 2:2] *DIN* LUGAL-*RI* = *DIN ŠARRI* = **hassuwas hannessar* 'king's judgment'), dat.-loc. sg.]*ha-as-su-u-ú-i* (possible, though potentially acephalic in *KUB* VII 7, 8]*hassūui tian*[*zi* 'they step to the king' [?]; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 132), LUGAL-*u-e-mu* (XXIX 1 I 23 'to me, the king'), LUGAL-*e-mu* (ibid. 21), LUGAL-*i* (OHitt. dupl. XXIX 3 I 3 [Neu, *Altheth.* 3], and passim), abl. sg. LUGAL-*wa-az* (XXVIII 1 III 18; *KBo* III 7 IV 23 LUGAL-*waz piyanza* 'given by the king'), LUGAL-*wa-za* (dupl. *KUB* XII 66 IV 25; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:72 [1965]), nom. pl. LUGAL-*u-e-es* (XXXVI 55 III 10), gen. or dat.-loc. pl. LUGAL.MEŠ-*as* (*KBo* IX 137 III 15).

**hassussara-* (c.) 'queen' (SAL.LUGAL), nom. sg. SAL.LUGAL-*as* (passim), SAL.LUGAL-*TUM* (= *ŠARRATUM*, *IBoT* III 82, 6), acc. sg. SAL.LUGAL-*an* (frequent, e. g. *KUB* XXVI 11 I 13), gen. sg. SAL.LUGAL-*as* (frequent), SAL.LUGAL-*TI* (VI 45 III 5 *ŠA* LUGAL-*RI Ù ŠA* SAL.LUGAL-*TI* 'of king and queen'), dat.-loc. sg. SAL.LUGAL-*ri* (e. g. *KBo* IV 9 II 29–30 DUMU É.GAL-*ma tuhhuessar* SAL.LUGAL-*ri parā epzi* 'the page proffers incense to the queen'; *KBo* XVII 1 III 10 and dupl. XVII 3 III 10 LUGAL-*i* SAL.LUGAL-*ri*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual*

30; Neu, *Altheth.* 9, 15; IV 13 VI 9–11 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ... ^{D}*Askasipan* ^{D}SAL.LUGAL-*ri* ... *akuwanzi* 'king and queen drink to A. [and] to the Queen'; for accusative-dative fluctuation with *eku-* see *HED* 1–2:267), SAL.LUGAL-*TI* (*KUB* XII 28, 9). But to *KBo* XVII 5 II 5 ^{URU}*Kātapas* SAL.LUGAL-*ri* corresponds nom. sg. ^{URU}*Kātapas* SAL.LUGAL-*is* (IV 10 Rs. 2), and *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 2 has acc. sg. LUGAL-*un* SAL.LUGAL-*unn-a*. The latter might be an "attractional" misspelling, but SAL.LUGAL-*is* itself is perhaps a scribal error for SAL.LUGAL-*us* (with an extra vertical wedge at the end, like *KUB* XIX 37 II 46 LUGAL-*is* for LUGAL-*us*). This would indicate that *hassu-* may have been basically nonspecific as to sex (like *isha-* 'lord; lady', q. v.) and developed a marked feminine derivative in contrastive fashion (cf. *ishassara-*, also theonym ^{D}*Ishassara-*, like ^{D}SAL.LUGAL [Laroche, *Recherches* 104]). Perhaps LUGAL-*un* SAL.LUGAL-*unn-a* hints at an alternative procedure of differentiating king and queen, such as *hassus* : SAL-*za hassus* (= **kuanz-hassus*), in the manner of Sum. *sal-lugal* or Hindi *mem-sāhib*.

hasussara- (*KUB* VII 1 I 21 *hazzuwanis* ['lettuce'] *hasussarān lakkarwan* in a list of garden vegetables; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]; *KBo* XXIV 7 IV 19]*hasussarān*; XIII 248 I 5 *hasussaran*[] may be a plant name (cf. queen-cup, queen-of-the-meadow) or a qualifier of an adjacent botanical term (cf. queen olive, queen palm).

hassuwai- 'become king', 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-su-u-e-it* (*KBo* III 1 I 12 EGIR]-*pa* ^{I}*Hattus*[*il*]*is hassuuet* 'thereafter H. became king'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 14 [1984]; *KUB* XI 1 I 23 *ha-as-s*]*u-u-e-it*), LUGAL-*u-e-it* (dupl. *KBo* III 1 I 23 *mān* ^{I}*Mursilis* ^{URU} *Hattusi* LU[GAL-*u*]*et* 'when M. became king in Hattusas'; III 67 II 1 ^{I}*Zidantass-a* LUGAL-[*uet*] 'and Z. became king'; *KUB* XI 1 II 4 ^{I}*Ammunass-a* LUGAL-*uet*; *KBo* III 1 II 9 *nu* ^{I}*Huzziyas* LUGAL-*uet*), LUGAL-*u-it* (*KUB* XIX 8 I 19). The nuance 'became king' (rather than 'was') for royal successors is suggested by the beginning of the same text with its different phraseology: [*ka*]*rū* ^{I}*Labarnas* LUGAL.GAL *ēsta* 'once upon a time L. was great king' (*KBo* III 67 I 2). For the denominative formation cf. e. g. *huiswai-* 'stay alive' from *huisu-* 'alive'.

**hassuizzi-* 'kingly, royal' (cf. **ishizzi-* 'lordly' s. v. *isha-*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. LUGAL-*u-iz-zi* 'kingly privileges, royal standing, regal station' (cf. Gk. *τὰ βασιλικά*; *KUB* XXXIV 15, 7), LUGAL-*iz-zi* (*KBo* XIII 34 III 4; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina*

26, 32), LUGAL-*u-e-iz-zi* (*KUB* VIII 12, 6 *wannumiyas* SAL-*za* LUGAL-*u[ezzi uemiyazzi* 'a single woman will attain regal station', with dupl. XXXIV 16 III 16 SAL-*z]a* LUGAL-*uezzi uemiyazzi*), LUGAL]-*u-e-zi-se-it* 'his kingly privileges' (cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 76); denom. verb **hassuizziya-*, 1 sg. pres. midd. LUGAL-*iz-zi-ah-ha-ri* (299/1986 II 52 'I become king'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18), 1 sg. pret. midd. LUGAL-*iz-zi-ah-ha-at* 'I became king' (ibid. I 99, II 31 and 57; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 31; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 42; *KUB* XXIII 112 I 1 LUGAL-*izziahhat-wa*), LUGAL-*iz-zi-ya-ah-ha-ha-at* (XXIII 99 Vs. 3), 3 sg. pret. act. LUGAL-*iz-zi-at* (XXIII 1 I 28–29 GIM-*an-ma* ^{I}NIR.GÁL-*is* ŠEŠ *ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*izziat* 'but when Muwatallis, my majesty's father's brother, became king'; ibid. 41–42 *nu ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ^{I}*Hattusilis* LUGAL-*izziat* 'my majesty's father H. became king'; ibid. II 21 + XXXI 43 Vs. 3 *nu* ^{I}*Urhi*^{D}⟨U⟩-*upas* DUMU ^{I}NIR.GÁL LUGAL-*izziat* 'Urhitesupas, son of Muwatallis, became king'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 6, 8, 10), 3 sg. pret. midd. LUGAL-*iz-zi-ya-at-ta-(-at?)* (*IBoT* II 131 I 9 *kuit-wa ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*izziyatta[t?]* [with erasure marks at end] 'as for my majesty's father becoming king'), LUGAL-*u-iz-zi-it-ta-at* (*KUB* XXXIII 115 III 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:65 [1968]; for the active : middle fluctuation cf. *ishizziya-* sub **ishizzi-* s. v. *isha-*); denom. factitive **hassuizna-* 'act regal, be king', 1 sg. pret. act. LUGAL-*u-iz-na-nu-un* (*KBo* III 4 IV 44–45 *nu karū* MU.10.KAM LUGAL-*uiznanun* 'I was already king for ten years'; cf. Götze, *AM* 136); verbal noun **hassuiznatar* (n.) 'kingship' (*ŠAR-RUTU[M]*), nom.-acc. sg. LUGAL-*uiznatar* (*KUB* XXIV 3 I 35–36 *nepisass-a takna]ss-a* LUGAL-*uiznatar zik-pat dudduskisi* 'the kingship of heaven and earth thou alone gracest'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 158; XXXVI 32, 13 *nepisi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as uktūri* LUGAL-*ui[znatar* 'in heaven the everlasting kingship of the gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:78 [1968]), LUGAL-*iz-na-tar* (e. g. XXXI 47 Vs. 11 *nu-ssi* LUGAL-*iznatar peskit* 'gave him the kingship'; XXIII 1 II 22 *ANA* ^{I}*Urhi*^{D}U-*up* LUGAL-*iznatar arha* ME-*a[s* 'he took the kingship away from Urhitesupas'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 10; XXI 5 II 6 *nu Š]A* KUR ^{URU}*Ulusa* LUGAL-*iznatar sanhanzi* 'they seek the kingship of Wilusa'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:56), LUGAL-*i]z-za-na-tar* (XXXIII 1 III 20), gen. sg. LUGAL-*u-e-iz-na-as* (sic, haplologic for **hassueznan[n]as*: VII 60 III 7–8 *nu-za* LUGAL-*us* LUGAL-*ueznas iwar wassiyazi* 'the king dresses in the manner of royalty'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 236; cf. XLII 38 Vs. 21 *ŠA* LUGAL-*UTTI iwar*), LUGAL-*u-iz-na-as* (*KBo* XIV 34 IV 4–5 LUGAL-*ma-za*

SAL.LUGAL LUGAL-*uiznas iw[ar wassiyanzi*; cf. XV 15 Rs. 9 LUGAL-*as iwar wa[ssiyanzi*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 136–8), LUGAL-*iz-na-as* (IV 14 I 57; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:49 [1965]; XIII 126 Rs. 10), dat.-loc. sg. LUGAL-*u-e-iz-na-an-ni* (V 6 III 49–50 *nu-wa-mu* DUMU-*YA* LUGAL-*ueznanni ŪL uekiskanzi* 'they do not want a son of mine for kingship'; cf. ibid. IV 20–21 *nu-wa* DUMU ... *AŠŠUM* LUGAL-*UTTIM uekiskiueni* 'we are asking for a son for kingship'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96–8 [1956]; *KUB* XIV 14 Vs. 28 *namma-ya-za damāi arahzena* KUR.KUR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ueznann[i* 'and also other alien lands in [his] kingship ...'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 168), LUGAL-*u-iz-na-an-ni* (XIV 8 Vs. 21 *nu ANA ABI-YA* DUMU-*ŠÚ* LUGAL]-*uiznanni anku uekir* 'they asked of my father a son of his for kingship'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 210; dupl. XIV 11 II 12–13 *nu A[NA ABI-YA]* DUMU-*ŠU* LUGAL-*iznani anku uekī[r)*, LUGAL-*u-iz-na-ni* (XVI 20 Vs. 10–11 *nu-za-kan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*uiznani esari* [...] *ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI INA* ITU.12.KAM LUGAL-*iznani* [... 'his majesty seats himself in kingship ... for his majesty in twelve months in kingship ...'; XVIII 59 II 12–13 ^{D}UTU]-*ŠI-kan kuit* LUGAL-*uiznani* [...] [...] *parā arha zalukista* 'that his majesty in kingship ... was long deferred'; ibid. 24 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*uizna*[-; XXXVI 32, 11), LUGAL-*u-iz-za-na-ni* (ibid. 12 and 15), LUGAL-*iz-na-an-ni* (e. g. XXI 1 I 65–66 [DUMU]-*KA-ma kuin* LUGAL-*iznanni zik taparriyasi* [*Š*]*A* DAM-*KA mān-as-ta ŠA* ^{SAL}*NAP⟨TAR⟩TI-GA* 'the son whom you authorize for the kingship, whether [he be] of your wife [or] your concubine'; cf. ibid. 62 [*I*]*NA* KUR ^{URU}*Wilusa AŠŠUM* LUGAL-*UTTI ŪL k[uinki* 'in W. for the kingship nobody ...'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:54–6; VI 45 III 31 *ANA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti-ma-mu* LUGAL-*iznanni dāis* 'over Hatti you placed me in kingship'; par. VI 46 III 72; XXI 27 I 39–40 ^{I}*Urhi*^{D}IM-*upan* [...] *datta n-an* LUGAL-*iznanni tit[tanut* 'he took Urhitesupas and installed him in the kingship'; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 14 LUGAL-*iznanni esat* '[he] seated himself in kingship'; ibid. 21 *n-an* LUGAL-*iznanni tittanunun* 'I installed him in the kingship'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 42; *KUB* XXXIII 106 IV 26–27 LUGAL-*iznanni pāimi* 'to kingship I shall go'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:30 [1952]; XLII 23 Vs. 10 [*k*]*uwapi* LUGAL-*iznanni esat* 'when he seated himself in kingship'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 48–52; *KBo* II 2 I 31–32 *kuitman-za-as-kan* LUGAL-*iznanni nāwi esari* 'while he does not yet seat himself in kingship'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 34; *KUB* XIX 8 I 14; I 4 III 41 LUGA]L-*iznanni*; I 8 IV 29 LUGAL-*iznanni anda* 'in kingship'; I 1

IV 64 LUGAL-*i*]*znanni*; dupl. XIX 70 IV 24 LUGAL-*iznan*[*ni*; ibid. 26 LU]GAL-*iznann*[*i*), LUGAL-*iznani* (e. g. dupl. I 1 IV 65–66 *nu-mu sallai pidi* ANA KUR ^{URU}*Hatti* LUGAL-*iznani* [*ti*]*ttanut* '[she] installed me in high station in kingship over Hatti'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22–8; XIX 55 Rs. 42 LUGAL-*iznani tihhi* 'I shall install [him] in the kingship'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *AfO* Beiheft 19:131 [1982]; *IBoT* II 131 I 32]^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*iznani esat* 'his majesty seated himself in kingship'; *KUB* XXXVI 2d III 38 *nu-war-an nepisi* LUGAL-*-iznani* [*ar*]*ha tittanunun* 'I deposed him from kingship in heaven'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:35 [1968]; XVIII 36, 11–12 *kuí*]*tman-za-kan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*iznani esa*[*ri* ...] [*nu* L]UGAL-*iznani asātar kuit za-luqanumen* [... 'while the king seats himself in kingship ... the seat which we deferred for kingship ...'; ibid. 14 LUGAL-*í*]*znani*; XXII 13, 2–5]*kuit* LUGAL-*iznani asātar* SIXSÁ-*at* [...] [...]KA-*ya ariyasesnaz* SIXSÁ-*kattari* [...] [...] ANA ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*iznani asā*[-*tar* ...] [...]*ŪL pessiyazi* 'the seat that was determined for kingship ... the gate by oracle is being determined ... for his majesty for kingship the seat ... does not reject'), LUGÀL-*u-iz-ni* (sic XXIII 124 + XIV 3 I 36 *mahha*[*n-ma ABU*]-*YA* LUGAL-*uizni esa*[*t*] 'when my father seated himself in the kingship'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 244; *KBo* X 34 I 1 *mā*]*n-san* LUGAL-*us* LUGAL-*uizni esa* 'when the king seats himself in kingship'; *KUB* XXXVI 114, 22]LUGAL LUGAL-*-uizni tittianz*[*i* 'they install the king in kingship'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 14:91 [1971]; XXXVI 119, 5 *n*]*-an-kan* LUGAL-*uizni iskí*[*r* 'they anointed him to kingship'; cf. Gurney, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 222–3 [1979]), LUGAL-*an-ni* (XXVI 43 Rs. 10 LUGAL GAL UR.SAG ^{SAL}*Puduhepass-a* SAL.LUGAL GAL LUGAL-*anni esantat* 'the great king, the hero, and P. the great queen seated themselves in the kingship'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]; XXI 33 IV 14, 16, 17 'in [or: 'from', with dat. of reference] the kingship'; cf. R. Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]), abl. sg. LUGAL]*-u-iz-na-az* (sic *KBo* XXV 12 I 13 [OHitt.]; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:33). For the derivational chain see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:293; there is no noun **hassuizna-* (pace Götze, *AM* 253; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:431 [1954], *HOAKS* 189; Starke, *KZ* 94:76 [1980]); nor is (unlike a possible **ishatar*) a **hassuwatar* probable as underlying LUGAL-*-anni* (= **hassuwiznanni*). Influence on **hassuizzi-* by Hurrian **ewrissi* 'lordship' (from *ewri* 'lord, king'; Laroche, *RHA* 34:86 [1976]) was implausibly claimed by Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis* 83.

hassu(ssara)- is formally matched by Hier. *hasu-* 'progeny' (= Phoen. *šrš* in Karatepe 76; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:74–5) and *hasusara-* 'queen' (cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 55), the latter formally a hittitism (vs. e. g. Luw. *nanasri-* 'sister'). In the etymological sense 'born', a syncopated **has(s)u(-sar)* appears as a second element of compounds *-hsu(-sar)* in Kanesite anthroponymy on the Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe (as does ^{SAL}*Hasusar*): e. g. *Taru-hsu* 'Son of Storm-god, *Διο-γενής*', ^{SAL}*Lihsusar* (< **Lihsa-hsusar* 'Born of Mt. Lihsa'; cf. e. g. Gk. *κελαινεφής* from **κελαινο-νεφής*), *Arzana-hsu* 'Brothel-born' (cf. Lat. *fornice natus*), *Apizia-hsu* 'Latter-born' (cf. Gk. *ἔπισσος* = *ἐπιγινόμενος, ὕστερον γενόμενος*), *Niwa-hsusar* 'Newborn'. For the phonetic decay of name-elements cf. e. g. Scandinavian *Johanneson* > *Johansen* (> *Jensen*). Cf. Laroche, *Noms* 297–305.

Thus *hassu-*, first determined as the reading of LUGAL by Hrozný (*Heth. KB* 99, on the basis of *hassuet*), had a Proto-Anatolian sense of 'Born One' or 'Begotten One', as a nominal *u*-stem derivative from *has(s)-* (< **hamsu-* reflecting either **E₂ŋsú-* or *E₂omsu-*). The parallelism of the Germanic words for 'king' derived from the root **ĝenE-* (first seen by Sommer, *Heth. I* 9–10, variously argued from e. g. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 57, to Laroche, *Noms* 301–2), seen in e. g. ON *konr* 'prince' (< **ĝŋyos*; *IEW* 375), is reinforced by inner-Hittite data: just as *hassatar* was privileged terminology for *salli hassatar*, and *hassant-* would be elliptic for *IŠTU* SAL.LUGAL *hassanza* (as opposed to a concubine's son), even so *hassu-* was not just 'born' but 'best-born', 'summo loco natus', with an emphatic meaning reminiscent of *asant-* (not merely 'being' but 'truly being, true'). Or perhaps, granted the ambiguity of the diathesis, the proto-sense was alternatively related to that of Lat. *genius* (< **ĝenyos* or **ĝŋyos*) 'numen of potency', with the king as the embodiment and epitome of male procreative powers at the apex of the socioreligious order.

Since *u*-stems are productively derived in Anatolian (cf. e. g. *hatku-* 'tight' from *hatk-* 'shut'), *hassu-* is directly explainable from *has(s)-*, and various past attempts at Indo-European nominal comparisons ranging from Skt. *ásu-*, Avest. *ahu-* 'life (force)', and Skt. *ásura-*, Avest. *ahu(ra)-* 'lord', to Germanic **ansu-* in ON *āss* 'god' (summarized by Tischler, *Glossar* 193; cf. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 163) lose their immediate relevance. Whatever their respective root-

etymologies, these words have no clear relationship to *has(s)-*, and none principally means 'king'.

Implausible root-etymology and ad-hoc suffix postulation underlay O. Szemerényi's derivation (in *Tractata Mycenaea* 354 [1987]) of *hassu-* from a **$A_2^?$omsu-* 'strongman' (root seen in e. g. Skt. *ámīti* 'beset'; *IEW* 778).

hassu(wa)nka- (c.?) 'sorting, sifting' (vel sim.), gen. sg. *ha-as-su-un-qa-as* (*KBo* XII 91 I 8–10 BULÙG BAPPIR INBI.HI.A *hūman* NUMUN.HI.A *hūman kuitt-a hassunqas nu-smas-at piran ishūwāi* 'malt, barm, all fruits, all grains, everything [that is] sorted [literally: of sorting], that he pours in front of them'), *ha-as-su-un-ga-as* (*KUB* XXIX 44 II 16 *me]qqas memal hassungas* 'groats of much sifting'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 160; XXIX 48 Rs. 12a *meqqas memal hassun[gas]*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 158).

hassu(wa)ngai- '(do) sort(ing), sift' (vel sim.), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-su-un-ga-am-mi* (*KBo* XI 19 Vs. 11–13 *nu* ZÍD.DA ŠE *kuit wetenit ... imiyan* [...] *kissarit hassungammi* 'barley groats [and several kinds of obscure vegetables] which [are] mixed with water with the hand I sort'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 316), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-su-wa-an-ga-az-zi* (*KUB* XLIV 63 II 18–19 IM.SAHAR.KUR.RA *kinantan [h]assuwangazzi n-at-kan kattanta ishūwāi* 'sifts frittered alum and pours it down'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30, 33; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 162), *ha-as-su-un-ga-a-iz-zi* (LIII 11 II 16–18 *nu-kan* GIŠ*erhuyaz memal hassungāizzi nu-ssan istanāni 3-šu suhhāi* 'from the basket he sifts the meal and pours it on the altar three times'), *ha-as-su-un-ga-iz-zi* (830/z, 8–9 *kue* NUMUN.HI.A *PANI* DINGIR.MEŠ [...*ha*]*ssungaizzi n-at-za-ka*[*n* 'what grains before the gods ... he sorts, those ...'), *ha-as-su-ga-iz-zi* (*IBoT* III 1 I 37 *memall-a hassugaizzi ta kuwa⟨s⟩zi* 'and he sifts the meal and pounds [it]' [viz. ibid. 34 *ŠA* GU.GAL.GAL *memal* TA GIŠMA.SÁ.AB 'meal of big beans from a basket']; cf. Laroche, *RA* 56:49 [1962]). Cf. *CHD* 3.3:265–6.

hassuwanka- has the looks of a compound noun, but no **(w)anka-* is attested. It recalls rather autochthonous words like *illuyanka-* 'snake'; perhaps an indigenous term semantically akin to *pattar* 'sieve' (also 'dish, bucket, hamper, basket'; cf. 'from a basket' above) and *sesarul* 'strainer, filter'.

hat- 'dry up, become parched', 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-a-da-an-ta-ri* (*KBo* X 7 IV 6–8 *ANA* ÍD.HI.A-*kan* [*widā*]*r anda tepaweszi nu* ÍD-*as*HI.A [...] *hādantari* 'in rivers water diminishes, and rivers dry up'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 51), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-az-ta* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 16 GIŠ.HI.A-*ru hāzta* 'trees dried up'; ibid. 17 TÚL.HI.A *hāzta* 'springs dried up'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), *ha-a-az-za-as-ta* (XXIX 40 IV 20; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 186), *ha-za-as-ta* (XII 62 Vs. 8), *ha-az-za-as-ta* (ibid. 17 and Rs. 1–2), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-te-ir* (XVII 10 I 17 *wesaēs hāter* 'pastures dried up'), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-du* (XVII 28 II 44), *ha-az-za-du* (*Bo* 2153 I 6); partic. *hatant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-ta-an-za* (*KUB* XVII 28 II 43), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *ha-a-ta-an* (e. g. *KBo* XVI 78 I 8 ZÍD.DA-*as hātan mallan* 'of meal, dried [and] ground'), *ha-da-an* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 32 IV 7; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8.98 [1976]; XIII 5 III 19 *hadan-ma* GIŠ-*ru* 'dry wood'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:384 [1934]), *ha-a-da-an* (e. g. *KBo* XXI 33 I 12 GIŠ.HI.A *hādan*; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 35; *CHS* 1.2.1:39; *KUB* XXIX 50 I 31 *welku hādan* 'dried grass, hay'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 188–212, 328; XXVII 16 IV 6 *IN.BÍ*.HI.A-*ya hūman hādan huēlpi* 'and all fruits, dried [and] fresh'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:91 [1957]; XLIV 63 II 12 *hādan harrānn-a-ya anda ŪL dālai* 'what is dried and spoiled he does not leave inside'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 28), gen. sg. *ha-a-ta-an-ta-as* (XLII 107 III 8 and 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 160), *ha-a-ta-an-da-as* (*IBoT* II 93 Vs. 12; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 158), *ha-a-da-an-ta-as* (e. g. ibid. 11), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-ta-an-ti* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 46 I 14), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-da-a-an-da* (*KBo* XXIII 44 I 11 GIŠ.HI.A *hadānda*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:72).

hates- 'become dry, shrivel up', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-te-es-zi* (*KUB* XLV 58 III 13 *n-at hateszi apedani-ma* UD.KAM-*ti* 'it [i. e. the fruit] dries up on the same day'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:74–6 [1939]).

hatnu- 'cause to dry up', 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-nu-ut* (*VBoT* 58 I 8; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]), *arha ha-da-nu-ut* (*KUB* XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 21; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:70 [1968]).

Presumably related are the nouns *ha-at-tar* (*KBo* XI 14 I 6, in a list of grains; *KUB* XLII 107 III 10–11 *hattar-ku zināil-ku*), *ha-a-tar* (*KBo* XIII 119 III 21; *Bo* 3123 IV 6 *hātar-ku zināil-ku*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 159), *ha-a-at-tar* (*IBoT* II 93 Vs. 13 *hāttar-ku*), *hatahi-* (nom. sg. *ha-ta-a-hi-is* in *KBo* X 7 II 32, nom. pl. *ha-ta-a-hi-e-es*

ibid. III 10; perhaps Luwoid abstract suffix -[*a*]*hi*[*t*]-, hence 'dryness, parched appearance' of the liver in hepatoscopy).

For Lyc. *χθ0ase* 'hay, fodder' (?) see Carruba, *Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere, Rendiconti* 108:582, 594 (1974).

For *hāzta, haz(z)asta* /hatsta/, *hazzadu* /hatstu/ from *hat-* + *-t-*, cf. e.g. *akta, akdu* from *ak(k)-* (besides *aku*, like *hādu*). Cf. Gk. *ἄζω* 'cause to dry up' (*Iliad* 4:487 *ἀζομένη κεῖται* '[the poplar] lies withered'; Hesiod, *Aspis* 397 and *Erga* 587 *Σείριος ἄζει* 'the dog-star parches'; *Alcaeus* 39.8 *Σείριος ἄσδει*) < **ἀδ-ɟω*, a primary verb (IE **A_1ed-ye-*) like e.g. *χέζω* (**ĝhed-ye-*); cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1:39 (1954). A further plausible cognate is Lat. *ador* 'emmer wheat, spelt' (and perhaps Goth. *atisk* 'cornfield', Toch. A *āti* 'grass'), IE **A_1od-(o)r* 'dry matter, dried stuff' as opposed to **wod(o)r* 'wet substance, water' (root **wed-* in Skt. *unátti* 'moisten'). According to Festus (3:19–21) *ador* was a type of spelt (*farris genus*) parched (*tostum*) to make salted meal (*mola salsa*) for sacrificial sprinkling (97:22–3 *mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare*); similarly *KBo* XVI 78 I 8 ZÍD.DA-*as hātan mallan* 'of meal, dried (and) ground'; XI 14 I 20 ZÍD.DA ZÍZ MUN-*ya suhhai* 'he sprinkles spelt meal and salt'; cf. C. Watkins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77:187–93 (1973), 79:181–7 (1975); M. Poetto, *ANLR* 31:151–63 (1976). J.A.C. Greppin (*Revue des études arméniennes* 4:13–7 [1983]) has further adduced Arm. *hačar* 'spelt' (**A_1ed-y-*).

J. Duchesne-Guillemin (*TPhS* 1946:89) compared *hat-* with an *IE *āt-* (Avest. *ātar-* 'fire', Arm. *at'ar* 'dried manure'), which is unlikely because of the consistent single spelling of *-t-* or *-d-*. Tischler's (*Glossar* 213) connection of *hat-* with *handais* 'warmth, heat' (q.v.) played fast and loose with alleged "nasal reduction" and semantics alike (cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203 [1980]). Kammenhuber's derivation (*KZ* 77:65 [1961]) of both *ἄζω* and *hat-* from **az-d-* (*hat-* < **Had-z-* < **Haz-d-*) is wrong, as is Čop's formula **Haz-d-* (*Indogermanica minora* 58–61). The old etymologies for *ἄζω* (*IEW* 68–9) should be abandoned.

Cf. *hatantiya-, hatestanti(ya)-*.

hat(t)-, hatta-, hazziya- (act. and midd.) 'make a hole (in), pierce, prick, stab, slash, perforate, penetrate, stick (as a means of killing; cf. "stuck pig"), hit (a target), strike (esp. a musical instrument, alternating with RA and *walh-* 'hit, strike'; cf. S. de Martino, *Hethitica*

IX 10–3 [1988]), engrave (a tablet)' (*KUB* IV 1 IV 23 *takku* KALÁM BURÙ *kisa namma-at-kan hattante[s* 'if [in] kidney hole is made, they [viz. the kidneys] being perforated', matching ibid. 22 [Akk.] BE KALÁM BURÙ *pulluš* = *šumma kalītu pilšu pulluš* [verb *palāšu*] 'if [in] kidney hole is perforated'), 1 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ad-da-ah-ha-ri* (*KUB* XVII 28 I 6 [*nu-kan a*]*nda* ŠAH.TUR *haddahhari* 'and inside [viz. the hole] I stick a piglet'; cf. G.F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:121 [1973]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-zi* (LIII 12 III 23–24 1 UDU TI-*an epzi n-an-kan* ANA AŠAR ^{D}*Kattahha anda hatzi* '[he] takes one live sheep and sticks it into K.'s pit'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:51, 53 [1984]; par. *KBo* XXVI 185 Rs. 11 [*an*]*da hatta*[- ; cf. e.g. *kiszi* : *kisāizzi*), *ha-at-ta-i* (e.g. XI 17 II 13–15 *namma-an-kan wappui katta hattai nu ēshar* ^{UZU}YÀ-*i katta tarnai* 'he sticks it [viz. the victim] along the bank and lets the blood flow down upon the fat'; *KUB* XXVII 67 II 48–49 *n-an* PANI NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *hattai n-asta* ZAG-*an* ^{UZU}ZAG.LU-*an arha kuerzi* 'before the loaves she sticks it [viz. the goat] and cuts off the right shoulder'), *ha-at-ta-a-i* (V 12 Rs. 4; ibid. 2 and 5 *hattā*[*i*; ibid. 7 *hatt*[*āi*), *ha-ad-da-i* (*KBo* II 9 IV 17 1 NINDA.SIG-*kan istarna haddai nu-ssan ser hulli dāi* 'he makes a hole in the center of a flatbread and poses a fir-cone'), *ha-ad-da-a-i* (*KUB* X 63 I 20 *n-an-kan* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ANA* ^{D}*Āpi kattanda haddāi* 'the priest sticks it [viz. the sheep] downwards into the pit'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]), *ha-az-zi-az-zi* (*Bo* 2740a, 7–10 SAL ^{GIŠ}BAN ^{LÚ}*hartaggan* GI-*it* 1-*ŠU siezzi t-an wastai tān-a siezzi t-an hazziazzi* 'the archeress shoots at the bear-man once with an arrow, and misses him; she shoots a second time and hits him'), *ha-az-zi-iz-zi* (*KBo* III 34 II 33 *mān* LUGAL-*was piran sieskanzi kuis hazzizzi nu-sse* GEŠTIN-*an akuwanna pianzi* 'when they vie in shooting before the king, who scores a hit, to him they give wine to drink'; ibid. 34 *kuis natta hazzizzi* 'who does not score'), *ha-az-zi-zi* (III 60 II 12–16 ^{I}*Kaniwas* UZU.ŠAH *zeandan dās t-an* ^{I}DUMU.MAH.LÍL-*as piran dāis takku-wa-ssan kī hazzizi ta-wa* DINGIR-*L*[*UM*] *takku-wa-ssan natta-ma ha*[*zzizi*] *ta-wa antuwahhes* 'K. took cooked pork and placed it before D.: "If he hits it [i.e. gets it right that it is pork rather than a cannibal meal], he [is] a god, but if he does not hit the mark, he is a man"' ['and we shall fight': ibid. 17 *zahhuweni*]; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:106, 110–1 [1938]; O. Soysal, *Vicino Oriente* 7:119–20 [1988]; XII 3 IV 12), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-at-ta* (*KUB* XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 19–20 *nu-za* ^{LÚ}AZU-*as* 2 ^{URUDU}*sepikkustus dāi nu-za-kan hatta* 'the medicine man takes two copper pins and pricks himself';

ibid. 22 *pirasset kuyēs asanzi nu-kkan apuss-a hatta* 'those who sit before him, them too he pricks'; ibid. 22–23 *kuis aniyaezzi n-an-kan hatta* 'he who officiates, him he pricks'; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984]; I 14 II 9–12 *nu-za* 6-*šU walhanzi* 1-*as-za-kan* [š]U-*ZU hatta* 1--*as-ma-za-kan* [GI]R-*šU hatta* 'they strike themselves six times; one hits his hand, the other hits his foot'; dupl. XXVIII 96, 12–15 *nu-za* 6-*šU* [*wal*]*hanzi* 1-*as-za-kan* [...] *hatta* 1-*as-ma-az-kan* [...] *hatta*), *ha-at-ta-ri* (e. g. *KBo* XI 14 III 9 *n-an-kan hattesna* GAM-*anta hattari* 'he sticks it [viz. the piglet] downwards into the pit' [cf. ibid. 8 *tekan pedai* 'digs the earth']; 352/v, 4 *nu* SILÁ *hattari* 'sticks the lamb'; *KBo* XXV 30, 11; XXIX 205, 11; XXV 29 II 4 *hat*⟨*ta*⟩*ri*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *ha-ad-da-ri* (109/u, 3), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 40–41 *n-asta hattanzi zahhanzi-ya* [*UL kuinki*] 'then they do not stab or fight anyone'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 136; *KUB* II 13 II 55–56 [*n-as*]*ta* 1 UDU *parā pennianzi* [*n*]-*an hattanzi* 'they drive up a sheep and stick it'; similarly ibid. III 5–6; XLI 48 IV 18–19 *n-as-kan parā pennianzi n-as hattanzi* 'they drive them [viz. the sheep] up and stick them'; IX 31 III 61 *n-as tagān hattanzi* and dupl. IX 32 Vs. 37 *n-as dagan hattanzi* 'they stick them on the ground'; XX 88 VI 7 *n*]-*as-kan* É.GAL-*ni anda hattanzi* 'they stick them inside the palace'; XLI 8 III 4–5 *n-an hattanzi nu-ssan ēshar* IM-*as hūpri tarnāi* 'they stick it [viz. the lamb] and one lets the blood flow into a clay bowl'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]; 1112/c + II 32 *nu tēkan pedanzi nu-kan* UDU *kattanda hattanzi* 'they dig the earth and stick the sheep downwards'; ibid. 39–40 *nu* UDU *hattanzi namma-an arha happesnānzi* 'they stick the sheep, then they dismember it'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354–6 [1953]), *ha-ad-da-an-zi* (e. g. dupl. *KBo* II 3 I 43]UDU *kattanta haddanzi*; ibid. 52 *nu* UDU *haddanzi*; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 68, 70; *KUB* IX 2 I 9 1 UDU *haddanzi*; XXXIX 4 Vs. 13 *namma* 1 GUD 8 [?] UDU.HI.A-*ya awan katta haddanzi* 'then they stick dead the one ox and the eight [?] sheep'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 26; XXIX 4 IV 36 [*n-a*]*n-kan hattesni kattanda haddanzi* 'they stick it downwards into the pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 30; LV 45 II 8–9 *n-an-kan ... kattanda haddanzi*, besides ibid. 5–6 *n-an-kan ... kattanta hattanzi*; XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 III 5 *kat-t*]*anda haddan*[*zi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 40), *ha-at-ta-a-an-zi* (*KBo* XV 34 II 28 *n-an* INA É LÚMUHALDIM *pennianzi n-an hattānzi* 'they drive it [viz. the ram] to the cook's house and stick it'), *ha-at-tin-zi* (IV 11, 9 2 ŠAH *aski apinissan hattinzi* 'two pigs for the [deified] gate in the same way they stick'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 339), *ha-az-zi-an-zi*

(e. g. XI 34 I 1–6 [*m*]*ān* URU*Hattusaz* [UR]U*Dammelha pānzi* INA URU*Tuggastuwa* 1 ŠAH *hazzianzi takku-smas ŪL-ma hapzi ta natta hazzianzi* 'when they go from H. to D., they stick a pig at T.; but if it does not work out for them, they do not stick [it]'; XX 14 + XXV 33 Vs. 19 GIŠ DINANNA.HI.A *hazzianzi* 'they strike "Ištar-woods"'; ibid. 8 [*h*]*azzianzi*[; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 87–8; XX 32 III 11 GIŠ DINANNA.HI.A *hazzianzi*; *KUB* XLIII 60 IV 15 *galgaltūri hazzianzi* 'they strike tambourines'), *ha-az-zi-ya-an-zi* (*KBo* XX 40 V 10–11 GI]Š DINANNA.HI.A *hazziyanzi* [GIŠ*a*]*rgami walhanzi* 'they strike "Ištar-woods", they hit the harp'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-at-ta-an-ta* (*HT* 1 I 36 *nu* MÁŠ.GAL *hattanta* 'they stick the he-goat'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:388 [1938]; *KUB* LVIII 14, 4–6 LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM-*uss-a* UDU.HI.A-*us hattanta t-us-(s)an lūliya pessianzi* GUD.HI.A-*s-a hattanta* 'the cooks stick the sheep and throw them into the vat; and they stick the cattle'; *KBo* XXV 29 II 6 LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM *hattanta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *ha-an-da-an-da* (sic *KUB* XXIV 9 IV 12 *n-an handanda n-asta suppa danzi* 'they stick it [viz. the sheep] and take sacrificial meat'; like *hantesnaz* sub verbal noun *hattessar* below, "hypercorrect" reverse writing of the type of Lat. *thensaurus*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 98; wrongly Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 52–3), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-ya-nu-un* (*KBo* IV 10 Rs. 22 *n-at-kan* AN.BAR-*as tuppi hazziyanun* 'this I engraved on an iron tablet'), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-e-it* (*KBo* VII 14 + *KUB* XXXVI 100 Vs. 31 [OHitt.] *n-a*]*n* GIŠŠUKUR ZABAR-*it hazziet* 'he hit him with a bronze spear'; *KUB* XXXI 64 III 4), *ha-az-zi-it* (ibid. I 18), *ha-zi-it* (*KBo* III 36 Vs. 8]GI-*it kuiski hazit* 'someone hit with an arrow', 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-az-zi-ya-at-ta-at* (XIII 111, 7), *ha-a*]*z-zi-at-ta-at* (ibid. 14), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ta-u* (*KUB* XXXVI 55 III 20), *ha-az-zi-e-id-du* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 51 *n-an nepisas* DIM-*as hazzie*[*ddu* 'may the storm-god of heaven hit him' [viz. with his bolt]; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 82–5), 3 pl. imp. midd. *ha-at-ta-an-ta-ru* (III 27, 9 [OHitt.] *kapru-sset hattantaru* 'they shall slash his throat'; ibid. 11–12 *kapru-s*[*set*] *hattantaru*; ibid. 20 *kapru-sse*]*t hatta*[*ntaru*; *KUB* I 16 III 40 [OHitt.] UZU]ÚR-*dan hattantaru* 'let them prick [his] member'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12); partic. *hattant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-za* (XXIX 7 Vs. 1 KAXKAK-*šU hattanza* 'Perforated Nose, Nez Percé' [name of a sorceress]; ibid. 48 KAXKAK-*šU hattanza parkuis* SAL-*za* 'P. N., clean woman'; also broken ibid. 38; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118–20, 133), *ha-ad-da-an-za* (1665/u, 11 KAXKAK *haddanza*), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-ta-an* (*KBo* XVI 97 Rs. 29 KÁ.GAL-*kan hattan* 'penetrated gate';

cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 198), *ha-az-zi-an* (XXII 1, 22–23 [OHitt.] *nu-smas mān handa hatreskizzi natta-samas* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$DUGUD-*as tuppi hazzian harzi* 'even as he regularly writes to you, has he not had a tablet engraved for you dignitaries?'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-ta-an-ti* (XVI 97 Rs. 12 *mān* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Ninuwa* KAXKAK *hattanti uddanī ser kartimmiyauanza* 'if Ištar of Ninive [is] angered over the Nez Percé affair'), nom. pl. c. *ha-at-ta-an-te-es* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 118 I 26 *-i]t hattantes* 'pricked with ...'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:75 [1968]; verbal noun *hattessar* (n.) 'perforation, hole, pit, lair' (cf. e. g. *petessar* 'dig , excavation, hole, cavity' from *pè-da-* 'dig'), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-te-es-sar* (*KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 IV 9, matching ibid. [Akk.] *hu-ur-ru* 'hole'; also XIII 2 Vs. 1; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 19; *KUB* XXXII 137 II 27 *nu-kan hattessar istāpi* 'he plugs the hole'; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 64 [1987]; XXXVI 91 Rs. 6; cf. *ZA* 64:243 [1975]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 393), *ha-at-te-es-sa* (*KBo* XIII 13 Vs. 3 *]hattessa-se[t]* 'its hole'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60; for loss of *-r* cf. e. g. *ishessa[r]* [*HED* 1–2:399], *hannessa[r]* [s. v. *haṅn(a)-*], and see Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 207–8 [1982]), *ha-at-ti-es-sar* (*KUB* XXVI 8 I 30; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen 10; IBoT* II 80 VI 1–4 *n-asta tagnas* ^{D}UTU-*as hattiessar* [!] ^{D}*Halkiyass-a hattessar* [!] *ser galissanzi* 'they invoke the pit of the solar deity of the earth and the pit of Halkis'; cf. the necromantic cavity *api-* [*HED* 1–2:99–102]), gen. sg. *ha-at-te-es-na-as* (*KUB* XVII 5 I 13 *hattesnas kattand[a]* and dupl. XVII 6 I 8 *hattesnas katta[nda* 'down into the hole'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:67 [1965]; Beckman, *JANES* 14:13 [1982]; XXXIII 66 III 17 *hattesnas katta[nda*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:131 [1965]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-te-es-ni* (e. g. LVIII 79 I 7–8 *akuwakuwas hattesni* 'to the lair of a tarantula'; *KBo* X 45 IV 6 *n-at-kan hattesni ser dāi* ANA GUNNI-*ya dāi* 'he puts them [viz. breadloaves] above the pit and at the fireplace'; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 4–5 *nu-kan hattesni [ser d]āi Ù* ANA GUNNI.MEŠ *dāi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:134 [1961]; XVII 28 I 4–5 *[nu-kan] hattesni anda* ŠAH-*as* ... [...] *sakkar dahhi* 'inside the hole a pig['s?] ... excrement I take'; XXXVI 89 Vs. 4, 8, 10, 12 *hattesni* GAM-*anda* 'down into the hole'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142–4; *KBo* XI 14 III 12 *hattesni* GAM-*anta*), *ha-at-te-es-na* (ibid. 9 *n-an-kan hattesna* GAM-*anta hattari* [quoted above]), abl. sg. *ha-an-te-es-na-az* (*KUB* XVII 5 I 5–6 *n-asta* ^{MUŠ} *Illuyanka[n] hantesnaz sarā kallista* '[Inaras] summoned I. up from the hole', vs. dupl. XVII 6 I 1 *ha-at[-*; for the reverse spelling cf. 3

pl. pres. midd. *handanda* above); verbal noun *hazziyassar* (n.) 'perforation, stabbing, wound' (also figurative), nom.-acc. *ha-az-zi-ya-as-sar* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 44 *takku hazziyassar* 'whether [it be] h.'; cf. ibid. 43 *kuit-ma-as-kan karde-smi* 'whatever [is] in your heart'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]), *ha-az-zi-i-sar* (XXXVI 49 I 3); inf. *ha-az-zi-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (XXXV 145 II 6; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230); iter. *hazzik(k)i-*/hat-ski-/, *hazziski-*, *hazzi(y)eski-* (cf. e. g. *ansiki*, *ansiski-* from *ans[iya]-*, or *azzik[k]i-* from *ed-*, or *zik[k]i-* from *dai-*), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-az-zi-ki-iz-zi* (e. g. *KBo* X 25 VI 13; *KUB* XI 8+9 IV 21), *ha-az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi* (e. g. XXXIII 97 I 13; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:70 [1968]; XXV 39 I 24), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-az-zi-ik-kán-zi* (e. g. *KBo* X 47g III 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:12 [1968]; *KUB* II 5 I 3–4 and X 12 III 9–10 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.GAL *hazzikkanzi* 'they strike the great "Ištar-wood"'; XXV 9 V 3 [^{GIŠ}*hu]hūpal hazzikkanzi* 'they strike cymbals'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 64 [1982]), *ha-zi-kán-zi* (*KBo* II 9 IV 29 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA *galgaltūri hazikanzi* 'they strike the "Ištar-wood" [and] tambourine'), *ha-az-zi-kán-zi* (e. g. *KUB* X 99 I 12–13 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA *hazzikanzi*; XI 16 IV 16 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.GAL *hazzikanzi*; *KBo* IV 9 I 39–41 ^{GIŠ}*arkammi* ^{GIŠ}*hūhupal galgaltūri* LUGAL-*i* EGIR-*an piran hazzikanzi* 'harp, cymbal, and tambourine behind [and] before the king they strike'; ibid. 44 ^{GIŠ}ŠÀ.A.TAR *hazzikanzi*; ibid. VI 31 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.GAL *hazzikanzi*; *KUB* XXV 1 VI 27–29 ^{GIŠ}*argami galgaltūri* ^{GIŠ}*huhupallitt-a hazzikanzi* 'harp [and] tambourine along with cymbal they strike'), *ha-az-zi-is-kán-zi* (e. g. ibid. V 15 *hazziskan[zi*; *KBo* X 23 III 13–15 *taruiskanzi paluyiskanzi hazziskanzi-ya* '[they] dance, clap, and strike'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; *KUB* XV 34 IV 43–44 *piran-ma* GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.HI.A *argāmi galgaltūri hazziskanzi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 206; *KBo* XV 33 III 6 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA *hazziskanzi*; *KUB* LVI 46 II 4–5 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.HI.A *hazziskanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:48 [1987]; *KBo* XXV 35 II 5 GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.GAL *hazzisk[anzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 93; XVII 75 II 40), *ha-az-zi-es-kán-zi* (XX 85 IV 12), RA-*an-zi* (*KUB* XX 19 IV 14 *arkammi galgaltūri* RA-*anzi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-ik-ki-nu-un* (XVII 4, 9–10 *piran āski-za* DUMU[.MEŠ *kuedas] kattan hazzikkinun* 'the boys whom I struck down before the gate'; cf. ibid. 11 DUMU-*an* ^{GIŠ}PA-*it* GUL-*ahhun* 'I hit a boy with a stick'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:68 [1968]; H. A. Hoffner, *Documentum Otten* 149), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-az-zi-is-ki-id-du* (*Bo* 5809, 9 *nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*-AM hazziskiddu* 'let him hit the enemy'), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-az-za-si-*

kán-du (sic *KUB* LV 15 II 1 ^{GIŠ}*huwarmis hazzasikandu*, besides *KBo* XXI 16 Rs. 4 ^{GIŠ}*huwarpis* GUL-*ahz*[*i*; cf. Ünal, *Bi. Or.* 44:479 [1987]); supine *ha-zi-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXI 127 III 39 *nu-mu-za hazikiuwan dayer* 'they started hitting me'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 100), *ha-az-zi-ki-u-an* (XXV 37 III 24–25 ^{GIŠ}*huhupal danzi n-at hazzikiuan tianzi* 'they take cymbals and start striking them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 347), *ha-az-zi-i-e-es-ki-u-wa-an* (XX 16 I 10–11 *nu* ^{GIŠ}*argami galgaltūri* [...] *hazziyēskiuwan tia*[*nzi* 'they begin striking harp [and] tambourine'; double iter. *hazkiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-az-ki-is-kán-zi* (LVII 84 III 7–8 *apūss-a-ssan hazkiskanzi* 'those too they strike' [viz. ibid. 6 ^{GIŠ}*halpūtius*]; cf. e. g. double iter. *zi-ki-is-kán-zi* from *dai-* 'place' [XX 1 II 29]); iterative-"durative" *hattanna-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-na-i* (*KBo* XIII 13 Vs. 4; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-n*[*i-an-zi* (XX 20 Vs. 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ta-an-ni-ir* (III 34 I 4), iter. 1 pl. pret. act. *ha-ad-da-an-ni-es-ki-u-en* (XVIII 54 Rs. 15–17 *nu-kan* BÀD [GIM]-*an kattan arha haddannieskiwen n-at* ŪL ZAG-*nahhuwen* 'when we tried to penetrate the fortress completely, we did not manage it'; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:204 [1978–9]).

For *hatt-/hazziya-* (< **hat*[*ti*]*ya-*) cf. e. g. *ans(iya)-*, *arr(iya)-*, *hark(iya)-*, *harp(iya)-*, *hars(iya)-*; *hatta-* (like e. g. *arra-*) seems to be a secondary active stem back-formed on the middle voice. 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-zi* (rather than **ha-az-zi*) shows an "etymological" spelling of the active root verb. Cf. also Oettinger, *MSS* 34:124–6, 146–7 (1976).

Lyc. 3 sg. pres. *χttadi* 'hurts, damages' < **hatayeti*? (Carruba, *OLZ* 60:558 [1965]; Neumann, *Incontri linguistici* 1:107 [1974]; Oettinger, *MSS* 34:147 [1976]).

The old comparison of *hatt(a)-* with Arm. *hat* 'pierce, cut, slice', *hatanem* 'I cut' (aor. *hati*) (N. Martirosyan, *Handes Amsorya* 1929:537, *PBH* 1972:2:174–5; G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniaca* 38, 86 [1931–3], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:80, 375–6 [1956]; W. M. Austin, *Lg.* 18:23 [1942]; H. Wittmann, *Die Sprache* 10:145 [1964]) is phonologically flawed (Hitt. *-tt-* points to IE **t* = Arm. *t'*; cf. Sturtevant, *IHL* 30), which led to the suggestion that *hat* is an Anatolian loanword in Armenian (J. A. C. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 53 [1973], *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3:88 [1975]). Martirosyan's and Kapancjan's further comparison of *hazziya-* with Arm. *xaz* 'sign, note, letter' is no

more confidence-inspiring; the relevance of Arm. *xayt'* 'stab, puncture', was doubted prophylactically by G. B. Jahukyan, *Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezunerə* 145 (1970).

Čop (*Ling.* 3:52–68 [1958], 5:30 [1964], 8:52–3, 173–4 [1966–8]) combined *hatt(a)-* and numerous derivatives (*hattalla-*, *hattalkesna-*, *hazzil-*, *hatrai-*) under the umbrella of a root **Ha(H)t-* allegedly seen in Avest. *āθi-*, *āθri-* 'ruin', *āθaiti* '(go to) ruin', OIr. *āith* 'slashing, pricking', and other more dubious cognates.

Starting from the stray form *hantessar* (rather than *hattessar*) as primary, M. Groselj (*Slavistična Revija* 5–7:124 [1954]) interpreted Slovenian *votel* 'hollow' as a cognate **ontlŭ*.

Cf. *hattalla-*, *hattalkesna-*, *hattalu-*, *hattant-*, *hattara-*, *hatrai-*, *hattul(a)-*, *haz(i)kara(i)-*, *haz(z)ila-*, *hazzizzi-*.

hattalla- (n.) 'club, mace', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-tal-la-an* (*KUB* I 17 II 27–29 GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-*ma-kan* ^{GIŠ}*hattallan* NA$_4$ ZA.GÌN *anda pedai* 'the head of the pages brings in the mace [with] lapis lazuli'; IX 18, 15 GAL DUMU É.GAL-*kan* ^{NA_4}*ha-at-*[, distinct from ibid. 19 *HAZZINNU* 'axe'), *hat-tal-la-an* (XXXVIII 2 II 8–9 ^{D}U AN-*E* ALAM LÚ GUŠKIN GAR.RA *asan* ZAG-*za* ŠU-*za* ^{GIŠ}*hattallan harzi* 'storm-god of heaven, seated likeness of a man, gold-plated, in his right hand he holds a club'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 6, 38–9), instr. sg. *ha-at-tal-li-it* (XXVI 25, 12, with gloss-wedges), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-at-tal-la* (XLII 36 Vs. 5 3 *hattalla* ŠÀ 2 GAL 'three clubs, including two big ones'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 178 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 493).

Hier. *hatalia-* 'overpower' may belong here (Laroche, *RHA* 13:83–4 [1955]; Meriggi, *HHG* 55); but the wrongly postulated Hitt. **hat-tal-li-ya-* is in reality *pa-tal-li-ya-* (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 26–7).

hattalla- is a neuter instrument noun from *hat(t)-* 'pierce, strike', similar to e. g. *ardala-* 'saw' (*HED* 1–2:175) or *hup(p)ala-* 'net' (s. v. *huppai-*). As such it refers also to the storm-god's thunder weapon, thus 'bolt', depicted as a club or mace in Hittite iconography and in many related traditions (e. g. the *gurz* of the Iranian Feridun and the *milna* of the Latvian Pērkōns). When it struck (cf. *KBo* III 22 Vs. 51 *n-an nepisas* ^{D}IM-*as hazzie*[*ddu* 'may the storm-god of heaven hit him!') it penetrated (cf. *KBo* III 4 II 20 *ginus-sus*

asesta 'lodged in his knees'), being thus faithful to the base-meaning of *hat(t)-*.

Cf. *hattalu-*.

hat(t)alkesna- (c.) 'thorn-bush' (hawthorn, firethorn, vel sim.), nom. sg. *ha-at-tal-ki-is-na-as* (*KBo* XIV 86 I 6 *nu hariyas kuis* ^{GIŠ}*hattalkisnas* 'the thorn-bush that [is] of the valley'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:132 [1965]), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-as* (XVIII 193 Vs. 9–11 Á^{MUŠEN}*-as pardāuar iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huttulis galaktar sanezzi* ^{GIŠ}*marsekkas* ^{GIŠ}*hastalkisnas* 'an eagle's wing, a wool-tuft of a sheep, mild nutriment, fig-tree [?] [and] thorn-bush'; cf. Werner, *Symbolae ... F. M. T. de L. Böhl dedicatae* 394 [1973]; *KUB* XXXIV 76 I 1–2 *kāsa* ^{GIŠ}*hatalki*[*snas ...*] *harki wassizzi* 'behold, the thorn-bush puts on white [viz. blossoms]'; cf. Otten, *AfO* 16:69–71 [1952–3]), *ha-tal-kis-na-as* (XXXIII 54, 13–14 *zig-a-z* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnas hameshi-ya-az* BABBAR-*TIM* [*wassasi*] EBUR-*ma-z isharwand*[*a w*]*assasi* 'you, thorn-bush, in spring put on white, but in summer you wear red [viz. berries]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]), gen. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-ki-es-na-as* (XII 58 III 20; cf. ibid. 25 ^{GIŠ}*alanzanas* KÁ.GAL-*as* 'gate of alderwood'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 18, 91), *ha-at-tal-ki-is-na-as* (XVII 28 IV 49 *piran-ma* ^{GIŠ}*hattalkisnas* KÁ.GAL-*as iyanzi* 'but in front they make a gate of thorn-bush'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 151), ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-kis-na-as* (*KBo* XXI 1 II 10; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 18), ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-ki-is-sa-na*[- (IV 2 III 2; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:94 [1962]), *ha-tal-ki-es-na-as* (*VBoT* 24 I 36 [*nu ar*]*ahza* KÁ.GAL ^{GIŠ}*hatalkesnas iyaweni* 'outside we make a gate of thorn-bush'; cf. Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 108; G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:124 [1973]), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-as* (*KBo* XXI 47 II 7 ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnas* KÁ.GAL; XXIV 63 III 2 + XXIII 43 III 9 ^{GIŠ}*hata*[*l*][*k*]*isnas* KÁ.GAL; cf. *ZA* 71:132 [1981]; XIV 132 II 10 ^{GIŠ}]*hatalkisnas* KÁ.GAL), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-s(a)* (*KUB* XVII 10 III 29 ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnas-a kattan talugay*[*a* 'and along the thorn-bush long...'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:95 [1965]), *ha-tal-kis-na-as* (XXVIII 102 IV 13–14 ^{GIŠ}*alanzanan* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnas galaktar* 'alderwood [and] nutriment of thorn-bush'; XII 58 III 33 ^{GI}]^{IŠ}*hatalkisnas* KÁ.GAL; XLVIII 70 Rs. 8 -]*talkisnas* KÁ[; cf. *ZA* 71:132 [1981]), *ha-tal-kis-sa-na-as* (*KBo* XXI 1 I 5–6 ^{GIŠ}*hatalkissanas* KÁ.GAL-*an iyami*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tal-ki-is-ni* (*KUB* XVII 10 III 28 DINGIR.MEŠ-*es-za* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisni kattan tuli*[*ya* 'the gods under the thorn-bush to assembly ...'; *KBo* XVII 47 Vs. 5 ^{GI}]^{IŠ}*hatalkisni marsiga*[-), instr. sg. *ha-tal-*

-ki-is-ni-it (*KUB* XII 44 III 6–8 *idālus-wa-ssan antūwahza idālus* EME-*as idālawa* IGI.HI.A-*wa* ^{GIŠ}*hatalkisnit katta tarmān ēsdu* 'may evil man, evil tongue, and evil eyes be pinned down by the thorn-bush'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:122 [1973]; Haas, *Documentum Otten* 138), acc. pl. *ha-tal-ki-is* ⟨?⟩ (sic ibid. 5 3 ^{GIŠ}*hatalkis tittanumi* 'I place three thorn-bushes'), dat.-loc. pl. ^{GIŠ}*ha-tal-ki-es-na-as* (*Bo* 4861 Vs. 5; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 76). Cf. Ertem, *Flora* 92–4.

The literal meaning 'prickly-twig, sting-bough' has been tolerably clear since Čop (*Ling.* 3:54–5 [1958], *Indogermanica minora* 30), who connected *hatt(a)-* 'to prick' and *alkista(n)-* 'branch' in a compound **hatta-alkestna-* with nominal (or adjectival) first element ('thorn[y]-bough'; cf. Tischler, *IBK* Sonderheft 50:218 [1982]), or with a verbal stem as initial component in the manner of German *Stechwaffe, Stech-ast* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Orientalia* N.S. 35:381–2 [1966], and for that matter 'throw-weapon, stingray'; but Čop wrongly adduced the old *ἀρχέ-κακος* [or *φερέ-οικος*] type where the verbal stem governs the nominal second part). The most probable analysis is **hatt(a)-alkes-na-* (cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 34:126 [1976]) beside *alkis-ta(n)-* paralleling Lat. *verbēna* < **Hwerbes-nā* beside Hitt. *hurpasta(n)-* (q. v.). Alternatively, assuming *alk-ista-* (cf. the plant-name *tap-alk-usta-na-*), one may conjecture a neuter noun **hatt(a)-alk-essar*, a denominal collective found mainly in oblique-case use (cf. e. g. *tantukesnas* DUMU-*as* 'son of mortaldom' like *hatalkisnas* KÁ.GAL 'gate of prickly shrub', from **tantukessar* derived from *tantuki-* 'mortal'), capable of secondary thematized "animation" into a nom. sg. *hattalkesnas* as a live arboreal agent (putting forth flower and fruit).

hattalu- (n.) 'bolt, lock' (SAG.KUL), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-at-ta-lu* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 10 IV 14 *hāsta* ^{LÚ}NI.DUH 7 ^{GIŠ}IG *āppa huittiyat* 7 ^{GIŠ}*hattalu* 'the doorkeeper opened the seven doors, back he drew [= unlocked] the seven bolts'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; XXXVI 55 III 20]HUR.SAG-*as hattalu* 'lock of the mountain' [figurative, describing a defendable pass?]; *KBo* XIII 109 III 1–2 EGIR-*ŠU-ma-kan* ^{GIŠ}*hattalu tarzuwan* ^{GI}*paddāni dāi* 'thereafter he puts the lock with a *tarzu* [?] in a hamper'; *KUB* XXVII 67 II 12 ^{GIŠ}*hattalu tarzuwān*; ibid. III 17 $^{[GIŠ]}$*hattalu tarzuwān*; cf. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 50), *ha-ad-da-lu* (*KBo* XX 82 III 19 ^{GIŠ}*haddalu-ma*), *ha-tal-lu* (XXIII 65, 7 *hatallu*

hatalluw[a-), SAG.GUL (XX 60 V 13 1 SAG.GUL ZABAR 'one bronze lock'), gen. sg. (frequent in the expression 'wood [GIŠ = *taru-*] of the doorbolt, lockwood', ritually installed and locus or recipient of offerings along with hearth, throne, and window; cf. M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 42–4 [1978]) *ha-at-ta-lu-as* (e.g. XXV 36 III 13, XXV 98, 8, XVII 16, 6, XVII 11 IV 13 *hattaluas* GIŠ-*i*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 95, 174, 138, 69; XXV 43 Rs. 9 *hattaluas* GIŠ-*rui*; XXI 72 II 11 ^{GIŠ}*hattaluas* GIŠ-*i*), *ha-at-ta-lu-wa-as* (XVII 74 II 5, 11, 18, *Bo* 5478 I 10 *hattaluwas* GIŠ[; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18, *Altheth.* 108; *KBo* XXV 45, 4 ^{GIŠ}*hattaluw[as*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 107; XXV 129 II 7 *hat]taluwas* GIŠ-*rui*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 213), *ha-at-ta-al-wa-as* (XXV 29 III 5 *hat]talwas* GIŠ-*i*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76; XXI 100 Vs. 6 *h]attalwas* GIŠ-*rui*), *ha-at-tal-wa-as* (frequent, e.g. XVII 74 II 23 and IV 39, *KUB* X 11 IV 19, X 15 III 9 and IV 8 *hattalwas* GIŠ-*i*; II 2 III 50, XV 42 III 27, *KBo* II 30 I 10 *hattalwas* GIŠ-*rui*; *KUB* XXV 18 III 36 and IV 31, *KBo* XIX 163 III 19, XIX 128 I 29 and III 29–30 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwas* GIŠ-*i*; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 8; IV 9 II 48 and III 8, IV 13 III 25, XI 14 III 20 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwas* GIŠ-*rui*; XIX 163 II 48 ^{GIŠ}*hattal⟨w⟩as* GIŠ-*rui*; IV 2 I 30 [AN]*A* ^{GIŠ}*kattaluzzi* ^{GIŠ}*hattalwas* GIŠ-*ru katteri sarazzi* 'to the threshold [and] the lockwood, lower [and] upper'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]; *KUB* II 2 II 37–38 *mān INA* É.GAL-*LIM* GIBIL ^{GIŠ}*hattalwas* GIŠ-*ru tittanuwanzi* 'when in the palace they install new lockwood'; similarly ibid. IV 12–13; *KBo* XI 14 III 25 GIŠ *hattalwas zik* 'wood of the lock [art] thou'; cf. ibid. 26 EGIR-*pa haskisi* 'thou openest up', ibid. 27 *īt zik* EGIR-*pa hās* 'go thou, open up!'), *ha-tal-wa-as* (e.g. *IBoT* I 2 III 7, III 1, 48, *KUB* XI 35 II 24 *hatalwas* GIŠ-*i*; ibid. 19, *KBo* XXV 184 III 55 *hatalwas* GIŠ-*rui*, besides ibid. 53 *hattalwas-ma* GIŠ-*rui*; *KUB* X 41, 5 *hatalwas* GIŠ-*ru*[; II 6 IV 31, LI 75, 6 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-*i*; II 8 II 29, *KBo* IV 13 V 9 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-*rui*; IV 2 I 22–23 [*nu* U]R.TUR.RA *appuzziyas ienzi n-an-san ŠA* É-*TIM* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-*rui tianzi* 'they make a small dog of tallow and place it on the lockwood of the house'; ibid. 35 [KÁ]-*as* ^{GIŠ}*kattaluzzi katteri sarāzzi* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-*ru* 'to the threshold of the gate [and] the lower [and] upper lockwood'; similarly ibid. 43; *KUB* XLI 40 IV 27 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas*[ ), *ha-at-tal-wa* (-*wa* haplographic for -*wa-as*; X 11 III 23 *hattalwa* GIŠ-*i*; X 21 V 21, *KBo* XXI 49 II 6 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwa* GIŠ-*rui*), *ha-tal-wa* (*KUB* XI 18 II 13 *hatalwa* GIŠ-*i*), ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL-*as* (*KBo* XXI 98 II 19 ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL-*as* GIŠ-*i*; cf. ibid. 14 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwa* GIŠ-*i*; *KUB* XX 90 III 19 ^{GIŠ}SAG.]KUL-*as* GIŠ-*i*), dat.-loc. sg. in XXVII 17

I 22 1 NINDA.KU$_7$ *ANA* ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL 'one sweetbread for the lock'; instr. sg. *ha-at-ta-lu-ut* (X 66 VI 2)? Cf. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 27–9.

hattal(u)wai- 'bolt, lock', 3 pl. pres. act. (?) *ha-tal(?)-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* XXIII 79 II 8), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a]t-tal-wa-ir* (*KUB* XXIII 79 Vs. 6; cf. ibid. 2 *tarmair* 'they made fast'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:175 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-tal-wa-i* (*KBo* XXVI 71 III 19–20 ^{GIŠ}IG *hatt[alwai* ...] ^{GIŠ}*zakkius-ma pessiya* ['bolt the door ... and throw [on] the bars'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-tal-wa-an-du* (*KUB* XIII 1 I 24–25 *nu* KÁ.GAL.HI.A-*TIM* [...] *hatalwandu* 'they shall lock the gates'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60); partic. *hattalwant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-at-tal-wa-an-za* (*KBo* XIII 109 III 6 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwanza* GIM-*an* ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL EGIR-*pa nannāi* ^{GIŠ}IG-*ya* EGIR-*pa heskizzi* 'even as a locked bolt travels back [= is pulled back] and opens up the door'; wrongly Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 27), *ha-at-tal-wa-za* (dupl. *KUB* LVII 122, 2 ^{GIŠ}*hattal-waza*), nom. pl. c. *ha-at-tal-wa-an-te-es* (XXXI 89 II 3–4 *namma* KÁ.GAL-*TIM lustaniēs* ^{GIŠ}*ilana*[*s* SAG.DU.MEŠ] BÀD.HI.A-*as* ^{GIŠ}AB.HI.A-*us* ^{GIŠ}IG-*antes hattalwant*[*es* 'also [let] gates, posterns, heads of staircases, and windows of fortifications [be] shuttered [and] bolted'; dupl. XXXI 86 II 13 ^{GIŠ}*hattalwantes*). Possible figura etymologica in *KBo* XXIII 65, 7 *hatallu hatalluw[a-*. Cf. for denominative verbal formation e.g. *hassuwai-* 'become king', *genzuwai-* 'show kindness', *kutruwai-* 'bear witness'.

hattalwala- (c.) 'lockman, doorguard', nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-at-ta-al-wa-la-as* (*KBo* XXV 166 Rs. 12), ^{LÚ}*ha-tal-wa-la-as* (*KUB* X 88 VI 9–11 ^{LÚ}*hatalwalas-kan* ^{GIŠ}*zupparu* KASKAL-*az* GÙB-*az arha pessiyazzi* 'the lockman throws away the torch to the left of the road'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 266), ^{GIŠ}*ha-tal-wa-la-as* (ibid. 6–7 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwalas* LUGAL-*i piran hūwāi* 'the lockman runs before the king'), dat.-loc. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-tal-wa-li* (ibid. 2–3]*piran āski* [^{LÚ}*h]atalwali pāi* 'gives to the lockman at the gate'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 270), nom. pl. *ha-at-tal-wa-al-li-is* (*KBo* XVI 54, 19]*hattalwallis marsantes* '[are] the lockmen corrupt?'; cf. Riemschneider, *Arch. Or.* 33:337 [1965]), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-at-tal-wa-la-as* (*KUB* XIII 9 + XL 62 III 6; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 447 [1959]), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ha-tal-wa-li-e-es* (XX 46 III 1–3 UDU.HI.A-*ma-z* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hatalwalēs danzi* 'the lockmen take the sheep'; *KBo* XXIII 88 VI 9]*hatalwalēs*; *KUB* X 15 II 3 *ha]talwalēs*). Cf. Daddi, *Mestieri* 145–6. For the agental suffix (if denominal) cf. e.g. *arkammiyala-* 'harpist', *auriyala-* 'warder', *harsiyala-* 'bread-

server'; if deverbative from *hattalwai-*, cf. *lahhiyala-* 'warrior' (from *lahhiya-* 'make war').

hattalu- is akin to *hattalla-* 'club, thunderbolt', both being derivatives of *hat(t)-* 'pierce, hit'. For stem formation cf. *idalu-*, **innaru-*. The base-form is **hattal-* (type of *ishiyal-* [*HED* 1—2:400]). Semantically English *bolt* matches both *hattalla-* and *hattalu-* (IE **bhl̥d-*, cognate with Lith. *beldù* 'knock, pound', *balda̰s* 'pounder, pestle').

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 336—7 [1981]) derived *hattalu-* from a **Hedel-* allegedly seen also in Middle High German *tol(le)* 'branch' and similar cognates (**Hdel-*), heedless of *-tt-* pointing to IE **t*.

hattant- 'intelligent, clever, wise', nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-za* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 39 *hattanza* LUGAL-*us* 'the wise king' [i.e. no fool, he, viz. Kumarbi spitting out Anu's sperm]; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; Laroche, *RHA* 26:41 [1968]), *ha-ad-da-an-za* (XXIV 7 IV 49 SAL-*as* ZI-*anza haddanza* 'woman's mind is clever'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:232 [1950]), acc. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XIII 34 III 23—24 *INA* É LÚ-*kan hatta*[*nt*]*an hassanzi* 'in the man's house a clever one will be born [lit. they will bear]'; opp. ibid. 18—19 *marlandan* 'an idiot'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28, 38—9), *ha-ad-da-an-da-an* (*KUB* IV 3 Vs. 21 *aran-za haddandan* 'a wise companion'; opp. ibid. 19 *mesriwandan-za* UKÙ-*an* 'a flashy fellow'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]), nom. pl. c. *ha-ad-da-an-te-es* (*HFAC* 12 I 8 *haddantes* LÚ.MEŠ-*us* 'wise men'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 37:23 [1985], *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* 144 [1988]), acc. pl. c. *ha-at-ta-an-du-us* (*KBo* XXVI 88 I 5—6 *nu-za hattandus* UKÙ.HI.A-*us* [*s*]*anhiski* 'always seek out intelligent folk!'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-at-ta-an-ta* (XVII 105 III 6—8 *idālauwa haduga kue uddār n-at-kan parā paiddu anda-ma-kan āssauwa miyauwa hattanta uid*[*du* 'words that are evil [and] fearsome shall go forth, in shall come the good, mild, and wise').

hattahh- 'make clever, instruct', iter. 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ta-ah-hi-is-ki-te-en* (*KUB* I 16 II 57 *nu* DUMU-*la-man hattahhiskiten* 'indoctrinate my son!'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8). For the denominative factitive formation cf. e. g. *dasuwahh-* 'to blind' (*dasuwant-* 'blind') or *duddumiyahh-* 'deafen' (*duddumi*[*yant*]- 'deaf') or *happinahh-* 'enrich' (*happina*[*nt*]- 'rich'). See Benveniste, *Hittite* 22, 24.

hattatar (n.) 'intelligence, (wise) counsel, wisdom' (GALGA-*tar*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-ta-tar* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 120 II 12 *nakkiyatar-set hattatar-*[*se*]*tt-a* 'his influence and his intelligence'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:42 [1968]; XXXIII 100 + XXXVI 16 III 24, besides dupl. XXXIII 103 II 15 GALGA-*tar*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 48; XXXIII 96 I 5 ^{D}*Kumarbis-za hat*⟨*ta*⟩*tar* ZI-*ni pian dà*[*skizzi*, besides dupl. XXXIII 98 I 4—5 *nu-za* ^{D}*Kumarbis* GALGA-*tar* ZI-*ni kattan daskizzi* 'K. takes counsel unto his mind'; ibid. 9—10 *nu-za* ^{D}*Kumarbis* ZI-*ni kattan hattatar* ^{NA4}NUNUZ *mān isgariskizzi* 'K. sticks counsel onto his mind like a bead'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]; XXIV 3 II 18 *hattatar-summit harak*[*ta* 'your [i. e. the gods'] wisdom has been lost' [viz. to mankind]), *ha-at-ta-ta* (dupl. XXIV 4 Vs. 8 *hattata-summit*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26, 88—9; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 160; for loss of *-r* see e. g. s. v. *iyatar* [*HED* 1—2:351]; XXX 10 Vs. 11 *kuita imma meshati nu-za-ta* ŠA DINGIR-*YA duddumar hattata hūmanta sakū*[*n*]*un* 'while I was growing up I gave proof of all the grace [and] wisdom of thee my lord'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 112; I 16 III 56—58 *nu kī* [*tupp*]*i* ITU-*mi* ITU-*mi piran-tit halzessandu nu-zan* [*udd*]*ār-met hatta*⟨*ta*⟩*-mett-a karta sisatti* 'this tablet they shall read before thee every month, and thou wilt impress my words and my wisdom upon thy heart'), *ha-at-ta-a-da* (ibid. II 56 *uddār-mit hattāda-mitt-a* 'my words and my wisdom'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14, 8), *ha-at-ta-a-tar* (XXXIII 105 I 10 *ha*[*tt*]*ātar*, besides ibid. 11 *hattatar*, 12, 13, 14 GALGA-*tarr-a*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:77 [1968]), *ha-ad-da-tar* (XXXVI 17 + XXXIII 107 I 3 ^{D}*É-A-as-za-kan haddatar* 'Ea wisdom ...'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:24 [1952]), *ha-ad-da-da* (XXXIX 101 II 9), gen. sg. *ha-at-ta-an-na-as* (e. g. *VBoT* 2, 14—18 *kī-kan tuppi kuis* DUB.SAR-*a*[*s*] *halzāi n-an* ^{D}*Nabū hattannas* LUGAL-*us hilamnass-a* ^{D}UTU-*us assūli pahsantaru* 'the scribe who reads aloud this tablet, may N., king of wisdom, and the sun-god of the portal in favor protect him!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB* XXXIII 119, 12 ^{D}*A-A-ass-a hattan*[*nas* EN-*as* 'Ea the lord of wisdom'; similarly ibid. 10; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XXXIII 120 II 5 and III 15 *hattannas harsumnas* EN-*as* 'lord of wisdom [and] watery depths'), *ha-at-an-na-as* (*HFAC* 12 I 4), *ha-ad-da-an-na-as* (*KUB* IX 33 Vs. 9 *haddannas* LUGAL-*us* [viz. Ea]; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 50 [1987]; XXXIII 110 II 7 *haddannas* LUGAL-*us* [viz. Ea]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 48), GALGA-*as* (XXXIII 103 II 1 and 9 GALGA-*as* LUGAL-*us* [viz. Ea]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46), abl. sg. *ha-ad-da-na-za* (*KBo* XII 128, 7—10 *nu*

DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ-*li kue* INIM.MEŠ-*ar pian* GAM GAR-*ri n-at-za-kan haddanaza arha austin* 'what matters are incumbent upon mankind, contemplate them intelligently!').

With *hattannas* EN-*as* cf. e. g. *KBo* I 2 Rs. 31 [Akk.] ^{D}*Ea* LUGAL EN *hasisi* 'Ea, king, lord of wisdom', or I 1 Rs. 55 ^{D}*Ea* LUGAL EN *hazi*[*zi*, or I 3 Rs. 23 ^{D}*Ea* EN *hašiši* (see further s. v. *hazzizzi-*). Akk. *bēl nimeqi* 'lord of wisdom' also refers to Ea, Marduk, and Nabū (cf. *CAD* N 2:160–2). In more mundane fashion GALGA covers Akk. *ṭēmu* 'right mind, intelligence' or *milku* '(good) counsel'. *hattatar* denotes basically simply good thinking rather than 'written document' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 14:208–9 [1938], who also thought that *hattant-* meant 'literate') or 'plot; advice' (Beckman, *JNES* 45:27–30 [1986]).

Sommer (*HAB* 97–100) saw in *hattatar* a figurative abstract noun from *hatta-* 'pierce, slash' (contrast the concretized verbal noun *hattessar* 'hole') in the sense of 'acuity, incisiveness, penetration', comparing for semantics lat. *scītus* 'clever', *scīre* 'know' (vs. Skt. *chyáti* 'slash') or German *gescheit* 'intelligent' from *scheiden* 'split'; Čop (*Ling.* 8:173–4 [1966–8]) reinforced this explanation with etymological reference to OIr. *āith* 'slashing, pricking', *ā(i)-thius* 'penetration, acuity, subtlety'. Cf. also Gk. *πόρος* 'perforation; incisiveness' (from *πείρω* 'pierce') and the occasional meaning 'hit the mark, get it right' of *hatt(a)-*, *hazziya-*. *hattant-* may be derived from a verbal adjectival base rather than being identical (with active diathesis) with the participle *hattant-* 'pierced'; *hattatar* (like *hattahh-*) can be likewise a denominal derivative (cf. e. g. *alwanzatar*, *alwanzahh-*).

However, **hatt(a)-* can also be explained as **hakt(a)-* (cf. e. g. *luttai-*, *uttar* with **-kt-*) and compared with Goth. *aha* 'mind, understanding' which translates Gk. *νοῦς* (e. g. *Epistle to Titus* 1:15 *ize jah aha jah miþwissei* 'both their mind and consciousness'; *Philippians* 4:7 *gawairþi gudis þatei ufar ist all ahane* 'the peace of god that passeth all understanding'), OHG *ahta*, OE *eaht* 'consideration, deliberation, council' (cf. G. T. Rikov, *Linguistique balkanique* 24.3.81–2 [1981]). Such a Hittite-Germanic isogloss recalls *halzai-* : Goth. *laþōn* (q. v.), with a root **H*$_1$*ek-(t-)*; but while *halzai-* has a tertium comparationis in OLat. *lessus*, there is none for *hatta-* (Gk. *ὄκνος* 'hesitation' hardly belongs here; if it did it might point to **A*$_2^{\text{e}}$*ek-*).

An abortive tie-in with Lat. *odor*, Gk. *ὀδμή*, Arm. *hot* 'smell', etc., comparing semantically Goth. *snutrs* '*σοφός*' vs. ON *snýta* 'blow one's nose' and Lat. *sapere* 'be wise' : *sapor* 'taste, flavor', but ignoring the constant geminate spelling *-tt-* or *-dd-* pointing to **t*, was made by Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 333–4 (1981).

hatantiya- 'dry land' (opp. *aruna-* 'sea'); 'dry soil' (opp. *udne* 'wetland, irrigated land'), gen. sg. (?) *ha-ta-an-ti-ya-as* (*KBo* V 7 Rs. 15–16 ^{GIŠ}ŠAR.GEŠTIN ŠÀ-*BA* 2 IKU ^{GIŠ}ŠAR.GEŠTIN [*h*]*antantiyas* 3½ IKU 8 *gi-p*[*essar* 'a vineyard two IKU in area; a vineyard [of?] dry soil three-and-a-half IKU and eight cubits'; *KUB* XLII 1 III 4 and 18 [final entry word describing field parcels in cadastral inventories, after measurements, yield, and ownership]; XLII 4A, 3), *ha-ta-an-ti-as* (XLII 1 III 7 and 11; XLII 4A, 6; XLII 5 Vs. 3), *ha-ta-ti-ya-as* (XLII 1 III 14; cf. V. Souček, *Arch. Or.* 27:38–42 [1959]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ta-an-ti-ya* (XXXVI 75 + 1226/u III 21–23 *nu* ^{GIŠ}MÁ *māhhan kuitman hatantiya ārhi* [*nu* ŪL] IDI 'like a ship, whether at all I arrive at land I know not'; par. XXXI 130 Rs. 6]*hatantiya ārhi nu* ŪL *saqqah*[*hi*]; cf. *ZA* 67:56 [1977]), *ha-da-an-te-ya* (*KBo* XII 38 III 10–11 [GI]M-*an-ma-kan hadanteya arha arhun* 'when I arrived on land' [viz. after a sea-battle]; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:20 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76–7 [1967]).

Probably a nominal derivative of *hatant-*, participle of *hat-* 'dry up'. Formation is reminiscent of *arziya-* 'cultivated land' (cf. e. g. *KBo* V 7 Vs. 44 A.ŠÀ *arziyas* 'field of cultivation'). For the semantics cf. Lat. *terra*, OIr. *tīr* vis-à-vis *torreō* 'scorch, parch', or conversely *udne* besides *watar/weten-* 'water' (Lyc. *wedri* 'land', Arm. *getin* 'soil'). Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203 (1980).

hattara- (n.) 'prick, awl' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-ta-ra-a*[*n* (*KUB* XXXIII 8 II 14; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]).

hattarai- 'prick, incise, engrave, inscribe', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-ra-a-mi* (*KUB* XXXVI 35 I 3 [*ammedaza-ma-wa-ta* GI]R(?).TUR-*az hattarāmi* 'with my stiletto [?] I shall prick you'; similarly ibid. 14–15; cf. s. v. *halanza-*; Otten, *MIO* 1:126 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:26 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ad-da-ri-i-e-it-ta-ri* (*KBo* X 7 III 13–16 *takku* ANA KI.GUB SAG.DU-*ŠU p*[*iran*] *haddariyettari anzel-za-*

-kan ERÍN.MEŠ-*an* ERÍN.MEŠ KÚR *walhūwanzi zikkizzi* 'if the subject's head is pricked in front, the enemy will take to striking at our army'), *ha-ad-da-ri-i-it-ta-ri* (ibid. 18, 22, 26); partic. *hattarant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-ta-ra-an* (XIX 156 Rs. 4–5, qualifying *harsiharsi* 'pithos' [q. v.]; *KUB* XXXII 117 Vs. 12; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223); verbal noun *hat(ta)riessar* (n.) 'incision', thence 'intersection, crossing', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ad-da-ri-es-sar* (VII 54 II 13–14 *n-at* KASKAL-*as haddaries⟨sar⟩ pariyan ishūwanzi* 'they dump them beyond the intersection'; cf. Neu, *Lokativ* 44–5), gen. sg. *ha-at-ta-ri-is-na-as* (XX 2 IV 19 *hatt]arisnas* ^{NA_4}*armizzi* 'crossbridge, crossover'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ad-da-ri-is-ni* (XXXV 145 II 10 *haddarisni-san* 12 DINGIR.MEŠ KI.MIN 'at the crossing the twelve gods likewise'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-at-ta-ri-es-na-as* (X 72 II 7–9 *nassu taknī nasma* HU[R.SAG]-*i* ÍD-*i nassu* KASKAL-*as hattariesnas hāriyas* Ú.SAL-*as* 'whether to earth or mountain, river, whether to crossroads [partitive apposition: "roads crossings"], vales, meadows'; *ABoT* 17 III 14 *hattariesnas par[ā*; *KUB* XXIV 9 II 37 + *KBo* XII 127 II 4 1 NINDA.SIG KASKAL-*as hattarie[sn]as parsiya* KASKAL-*si* GÙB-*za* [*dāi*] 'he breaks a flatbread at the crossroads [and] places [it] at the left of the road'), *ha-at-ta-ri-is-na-as* (dupl. *KUB* XXIV 11 II 16–17; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 36), *ha-at-ri-es-na-as* (IX 22 III 20–21 *n*]-*as-san mahhan* KASKAL-*sas hatriesnas* [*pa*]*rā ari* 'when he arrives at the crossroads'; ibid. 44 KASKAL-*si hatri*[*esn*]*as* 'at the crossroads' [partitive apposition: "on the road, at the crossings"]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 94–6, 112), *ha-at-ta-ri-sa-na-as* (*KBo* XVII 64, 7–8 KASKAL-*si* [*hattar*]*isanas parā pe-d*[*aí*] 'he takes [them] forth to the crossroads').

Luw. *hattara-*, acc. sg. *ha-at-ta-ra-an* (*KBo* XIII 260 II 1 *hattaram-san* [sic]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 260), instr. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ha-at-ta-ra-a-ti*, and 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ta-ri-it-ta* (*KUB* XXXV 54 II 32–33 *a-ta* [*B*]*EL* SISKUR.SISKUR ^{GIŠ}*hattarāti hattaritta* 'the offerant pricks with a prick'; XXXV 52 II 10]*hattari*[*tta*]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 67, 63). There is also Luwoid 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tar-ni-it-ti* (XXII 37 Rs. 7) and Hitt. dat.-loc. pl. *ha-tar-ni-ya-as-ha-as* (XVII 12 II 9 *n-as* KASKAL-*as hatarniyashas pedāi* 'he takes them to a roadfork' [?]; cf. Starke, *KZ* 93:253 [1979]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 112).

hatt-ara- is an instrument noun from *hatt-*, allomorphic with *hatt-alla-* 'club, bolt' (q. v.), like e. g. *aku-ttara-* 'drinker' beside the more common *-talla-* (*ishama-talla-* 'singer'). Cf. *hazzik-ara-* 'percussionist' from the iterative of the same verb. For the meaning

'engrave, inscribe' of *hattarai-*, cf. *tuppi hazziyan harzi* 'has engraved a tablet' (s. v. *hat[t]-*, partic. nom.-acc. sg. neut.), and the verb *guls-* 'scratch, incise, mark, write'.

Cf. *hatrai-*.

hat(a)waya- (c.), designation of a religious official, nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*ha-at-wa$_a$-ya-as* (*KUB* X 66 VI 5–7 ^{LÚ}*hatwayas pedassit epzi t-as tiyezzi a-wa$_a$-ya a-wa$_a$-ya halzāi* 'the h. takes his place, he stands [and] calls out *awaya awaya*'), *ha-ta-wa$_a$-a-ya* (par. *KBo* VII 48, 9 *hatawāya halza*[). Cf. Laroche, *RA* 56:49 (1962); Kammenhuber, *MSS* Beiheft 4:100 (1969; indices to *HOAKS*).

Spelling and context alike point to a loanword from Hattic, actually attested in *KUB* XXVIII 7 Vs. 2a *ha-at-we$_e$-is*. Cf. Kammenhuber, *OLZ* 54:29 (1959).

hatestanti(ya)-, nom. pl. c. *ha-te-es-ta-an-te-*[*es* (*KUB* XXXIII 65 II 12; ibid. III 10 *hate*[*s-*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:133–4 [1965]), *ha-te-is-da-a-an-te-es* (*KBo* XV 10 I 23–24 [*nu ke*] *idālawēs* EME.HI.A *hatesdāntes nu* EGIR-*pa* ^{SAL}*Zi* [*QAD*]*U* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU harkandu ser* SAG.DU-*ZU harkandu* 'these evil tongues [are] h., let them in turn hold [viz. in their grip] Ziplantawiyas with her sons; above [viz. as distinct from lower anatomy] let them hold her head'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16, 64–5), *ha-ti-is-ta-an-ti-ya-as* (XX 73 IV 7–8 *arha-ma-at tarnandu kiēl* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU 12 ^{UZU}ÚR.HI.A *kuyēs siwanniēs kuyēs hatistantiyas* 'they shall let go of them, the twelve body parts of this human being, those who [are] gods [and] those who [are] h.').

The semantics seem to include the idea of figuratively 'gripping' a person's anatomy in a maleficent sense, the perpetrators being *hatesdāntes* 'evil tongues' and *hatistantiyas* listed in coordination with 'gods'. Perhaps a compound, with first-part affinity to *hat-* 'dry up, become parched' (*s*-stem neuter **hates-* 'dryness', like **hatkes-* 'pressure' s. v. *hatk-* ?).

hatiwi- (c.) 'inventory', nom. sg. *ha-ti-ú-i-is* (*KUB* XII 1 IV 45 DUB.2.KAM *hatiuīs ŠA* ^{I}*Manninni ŪL QATI* 'second tablet, M.'s inventory, not finished'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:103 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 450), *ha-ti-wi-is* (*VBoT* 87 IV 5 *hatiwis* UNUT É ^{NA_4}KIŠIB

'inventory of implements of the seal-house'; cf. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 453).

hatiuitai- '(make) inventory', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-iz-zi* (*KBo* XII 140 l.R. 1), *ha-t]i-ú-i-da-iz-zi* (ibid. 4; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:51 [1977]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-an-zi* (*IBoT* I 31 I 11); partic. *hatiuitant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-a-an* (ibid. 18 and 24; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 4–5 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80–2), *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-an* (*KUB* XLII 100 II 13]GIŠ *hatiuitan*; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:183 [1978]), *ha-ti-ú-i-da-a-an* (*KBo* XIX 88, 5 *]hatiuidān hartin* 'have inventoried!').

The denominative verb is derived from a secondary stem *hatiuita-* based on a Hurroid case form in *-ta* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:476, 191–2). Hurrian origin is a priori probable, not merely formally but also semantically; cf. terms like *apuzzi-*, *arkiu(i)-*, *hazziui-*.

Laroche (apud T. Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* 116 [1971]) compared Hier. *a-ti-wa-mi-ā* as 'inventoried'.

hatk- 'shut, close', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki* (*VBoT* 58 IV 38 É DINGIR-*LIM hatki* 'shuts the temple'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB* IX 31 II 35–36 and dupl. *HT* 1 II 10–11 ^{GIŠ}IG-*ann-a hatki* 'and he shuts the door'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:342 [1938]; Starke, *KLTU* 53; *KUB* XX 87 I 17 *ta* KÁ.GAL *hatki* 'he shuts the city gate'), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ku-e-ni* (*KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-kán-zi* 'they close up'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32; XIX 128 VI 31 *ta hatkanzi ispanti* 'they close down for the night'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 16; *KUB* LVIII 33 III 10 [^{URU}*Ne*]*rikki-ma hatkanzi* 'but at N. they close up'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260; *IBoT* I 4 III 22 and *KBo* X 28 IV 5 *ta hatkanzi*; *KUB* VII 29 Vs. 23 *h*]*atkanzi*); partic. *hadgant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ad-ga-an* (*Bo* 5360, 17); iter. *hatkiski-*, *hadgaski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-kán-zi* (*KUB* XLVII 90 II 16]*-an-ma hatkiskanzi*), *ha-ad-ga-as-kán-zi* (XXX 32 I 17 *n-at hadgaskanzi* EGIR-*pa-ya-at haskan*[*zi* 'they close it and again open it').

hatku- 'tight, strait, pressed, under stress', nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ku-us* (*IBoT* I 36 II 63 *mān-a-si piran-ma kuwapi* KASKAL-*is hatkus* 'but if for him somewhere the forward path [is] strait'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:188 [1966]), acc. sg. c. *ha-at-ku-un* (*KBo* IV 14 III 19 [*m*]*ānn-a hatkun* UD.KAM-*an kuinki* LUGAL-*i* [*aut*]*ti* 'and if you see some stressful day for the king'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45

[1965]), abl. sg. *ha-ad-ga-u-wa-az* (*KUB* IV 72 Rs. 4–5 *nassu-ma-sta* LÚ-*as hadgauwaz petaz isparzizi* 'or the man will escape from a tight spot'), nom. pl. c. *h*]*a-ad-ga-u-e-es* (XLI 32 Rs. 4).

hadganu- 'make tight, confine, put pressure on, pester, beset, beleaguer', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ad-ga-nu-(uz-)zi* (*KBo* V 13 III 12–14 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 III 31–33 *mān* ^{D}UTU-*Šī-ma kuiski waggariyazi n-an hadganuzi nasma katta* DUMU.MEŠ ^{D}UTU-*Šī kuiski waggariyazi n-as hadganuzzi* 'if someone revolts against my majesty and besets him, or someone revolts against the sons of my majesty and besets them'; dupl. *KBo* IV 3 II 8 *n-an-kan zammurāizzi* 'assails him'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126). For derivation from *hatku-* cf. e. g. *tas(sa)nu-* 'make strong' from *dassu-*, *parganu-* 'make high' from *parku-*, *tepnu-* 'make small' from *tepu-*.

hatkesnu-, *hatkis(sa)nu-* (same meanings), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-mi* (*KBo* III 3 III 15–16 *mān-wa-kan* ^{D}UTU-*Šī* KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuitki anda hatkesnumi* 'when I the king beleaguer some enemy country'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 148), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-nu-si* (III 1 II 44 *parkunusi-ma-za* ŪL *kuit nu-za anda imma hatkisnusi* 'you pardon nothing, nay even order arrest'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 32 [1984]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-nu-uz-zi* (V 9 III 23–24 *nasma mān* KUR-*TUM kuitki zahhiyaza* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Hatti anda hatkisnuzzi* 'or if the king of Hatti beleaguers some country with battle'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-nu-un* (III 4 II 64–65 *nu pāun* ^{URU}*Purandan anda wahnunun* [*n-an-kan anda*] *hatkesnunun nu-ssi-kan uidār arha dahhun* 'I went and surrounded P., and I beleaguered it and cut off its water'; ibid. 66 and 79; cf. Götze, *AM* 62–4), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-ut* (IV 4 I 43–44 *nu* ŠA KUR ^{URU}*Nuhassi* [*halk*]*i*$^{HI.A}$*-us arha harnikta n-as-kan anda hatkesnut* 'he destroyed the crops of N. and beleaguered them'; cf. Götze, *AM* 112), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-*⟨*is-*⟩*nu-e-ir* (IV 7 I 3–4 *annisan* ^{I}*Mashu*]*iluwan* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ŠU anda hatki*⟨*s*⟩*nuer* [*n-an-kan ku*]*ennir n-an-kan* KUR-*az arha watkunuir* 'once his brothers pressured M., they smote him and made him jump the country'), *ha-at-k*]*i-is-nu-ir* (dupl. *KUB* VI 41 I 3), *ha-at-ki-is-sa-nu-ir* (dupl. VI 44 + XIX 53 I 3 *anda hatkissanuir*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:106), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-ut* (*KBo* IV 4 I 41–42 *nu-wa-smas īt halki*$^{HI.A}$*-us arha harnik nu-war-as-kan anda hatkesnut* 'go and destroy their crops and beleaguer them!'); partic. *hatkesnuwant-*, *hatkissanuant-*, nom. pl. c. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-wa-an-te-es* (ibid. II 4–6 *nu mahhan austa* [*anda*]*-kan kuit hatkesnu-*

*wantes nu-smas halki*HI.A-*us namma* [*tepau*]*eszi* 'when he saw that they [were] beleaguered and moreover their grain supply was getting scant'), *ha-at-kis-sa-nu-an-te-es* (XIV 7 I 9; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:81 [1956]); iter. *hatkissanuski-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-is-sa-nu-us-kir* (*KUB* XV 1 II 7–8 *kuyēs-an hatkissanuskir* 'who pestered her'), *ha-at-kis-sa-nu-us-kir* (ibid. 39–40 *kuyēs-an hatkissanuskir*). *hatkes--nu-* looks like a deverbative causative (of the type *hassik-nu-* 'satiate' or *hat-nu-* 'cause to dry up') from an inchoative stem **hatkes-* from *hatku-* (cf. e. g. *dasses-* 'become strong' from *dassu-*, *parkis-* 'become high' from *parku-*), thus literally 'cause to become tight'; but such a derivation is unparalleled; for another explanation see below.

hatkues- 'become tight', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ku-e-es-zi* (*KBo* IV 14 III 24–25 *man-wa-ssi tepu-ya kuitki hatkuēszi* 'would that even some small matter became tight for him!'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]). For this inchoative from *hatku-* cf. e. g. *tampuēs-* 'become pointed', *alpuēs-* 'become blunt' (vs. e. g. *pargawēs-* 'become tall', *tepawēs-* 'become small' with full grade *-aw-*).

For past discussions see Sommer, *Heth. II* 1–6; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:457; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 441, 244; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 101–3. The base-meaning of *hatk-* is 'press, make tight' (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 58.1:71 [1963]: "serrer"), close semantically to Lat. *premō* 'press, bear down on', *pressus* 'close, tight', *premere oculos* 'shut the eyes' (Vergil, *Aeneid* 9:487). This sense, coupled with the consistent spelling *ha-ad-ga-* (cf. e. g. *pár-ga-* from *parku-* < **bhṛgh-*), argues cogently for a connection with Gk. *ἄχθομαι* 'be loaded, be burdened, be depressed', *ἄχθος* 'load, burden, pressure', which was suggested in passing by E. Risch (*IF* 69:78 [1964]). The sequence *hatk-*/**ἄχθω* : *hatku-* : *ἄχθος* is formally and semantically analogous with *hamank-* 'tie'/*ἄγχω*, Lat. *angō* 'constrict' : Skt. *aṁhú-*, Goth. *aggwus* 'narrow' : Skt. *áṁhas-*, Lat. *angus-* 'tightness'. *ἄχθος* may be matched by a neuter *s*-stem **hatkes-* 'pressure' in Hittite (type of *nepis-*), seen in a denominative (rather than deverbative) *hatkes--nu-* 'to pressure' (type of *esharnu-* 'to bloody', *aimpanu-* 'to burden'). Hitt. *hadg-* < IE **A_1edhgh-* has medially the same cluster as the initial of Hitt. *dagan* < **dhĝhom* (Ved. *kṣámi*, Gk. *χθονί* 'on the ground'; for the corresponding medial **tk* see s. v. *hartakka-*); whether the simplified reflex in *χαμαί* 'on the ground' is paralleled by **A_1egh-* (Gk. *ἄχος* 'grief, pain', *ἄχομαι* 'grieve', Goth. *agis* 'fear', *unagands* 'fearless', *ōg* 'I fear', OIr. *-āgor* 'I fear') is a secondary

matter of no consequence for the excellence of the Hittite : Greek isogloss.

Dubious other suggested connections have involved Skt. *átka-* 'garment, cloak' (Benveniste, *Origines* 156; G. Redard, *Festschrift A. Debrunner* 360 [1954]), OE *eodor* 'fence' (< **edh-*; Kronasser, *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 124–5 [1957]), and Engl. *tack* 'nail' (**Hdek-*, vs. *Hedk-* in *hatk-*, comparing Lat. *clāvus* 'nail' : *claudere* 'shut, close'; Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 337 [1981]). Sturtevant's explanation of *hatk-* as containing a preverb *ha-* plus the zero grade of a cognate of Lat. *tegō* 'cover' was exhumed by H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 168 (1984).

Cf. *hutk-*.

hatrai- 'write, send written word (about); report, declare, order, despatch' (*ŠAPĀRU* 'send' [not *ŠAṬĀRU* 'write']), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra--mi* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 45 *ANA* NIN-*YA-war-at hatrami* 'this I write to my sister'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:90 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:10 [1964]), *ha-at-ra-a-mi* (e. g. ibid. Rs. 3–4 *nu-kan ANA* SAL.LUGAL *kuya AWATE.*MEŠ ZI-*ni n-at ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA apizza hatrāmi* 'what matters I the queen have at heart I shall write to my brother from there'; *KBo* V 13 II 29–30 *nu AWAT* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hūski nu-tta mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāmi* 'await my majesty's word, as I the king write to you'; similarly ibid. III 11; ibid. II 34 *tuk-ma mān* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāmi* 'but if I the king write to you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124–6; ibid. III 4 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 III 23–24 *mān tuk-ma* 1-*edani hatrāmi* 'but if I write to you alone'; ibid. 5–6 and dupl. 25–26 *mān-ma-tta* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ma kūn AWAT* BAL *ŪL hatrāmi* 'but if I the king do not write to you about this case of insurrection'; ibid. IV 14–15 *nu-tta mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāmi* 'when I the king write to you'; dupl. IV 22–23 *nu-tta* GIM-*an* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* [*h*]*atrāmi*; dupl. *KBo* IV 3 III 26]^{D}UTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*pa hatrāmi* 'I the king write back'; dupl. *KUB* VI 44 IV 3 *mah*]*han* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*pa hatr*[*āmi*; *KBo* V 4 Vs. 31 *nu*-[*tta*] *mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*pa hatrāmi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56; V 3 IV 18 *nu*-[*sm*]*as-ma kuit imma kuit hatrāmi* 'whatever I write to you'; ibid. 20, 22; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:132–4; *KUB* XIV 3 II 67 *nu-war-at ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA hatrāmi* 'this I will write to my brother'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 10; XIV 1 Vs. 77 *nu-wa-ssi kissa*[*n*] *hatrāmi* 'I shall write to him thus'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18; XIII 20 I

25 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI tūwaz mahhan hatrāmi* 'as I the king write from afar'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:392 [1947]; XXIII 102 I 9 ŠEŠ-*tar-ta kuedani memini hatrāmi* 'for what reason should I write to you as to a brother?'), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-si* (e. g. XXI 38 Rs. 1–2 ŠEŠ-*YA-ma-mu kuit kisan* TÀŠ-*PUR* GIM-*an-wa-mu* DUMU.SAL *parā* [*p*]*iesti nu-wa-ta-kkan* AWATE.MEŠ *kuye* ZI-*ni nu-war-at-mu mān hatrāsi-ya nu-war-at-mu api*[*y*]*a* ŠU-*PUR* 'as for you, my brother, having written me: "When you hand over the daughter to me, if you are going to write me what matters are on your mind, write them to me then!" '; cf. Sommer, *AU* 225; *KBo* V 13 III 26–27 *memian-ma ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI piran parā hūdāk* ŪL *hatrāsi* 'but you do not forthwith send written word to my majesty'; V 9 II 27 *zik-ma ANA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hatrāsi* 'you write to the king of Hatti'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:16; V 4 Rs. 22; IV 4 II 33; cf. Götze, *AM* 116), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-iz-zi* (V 6 III 50–52 *nu ANA* ABU-*YA* SAL.LUGAL ^{URU}*Mizri tuppiyaz* EGIR-*pa kissan hatraizzi* 'to my father the queen of Egypt by tablet writes back as follows'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96 [1956]), *ha-at-ra-a-iz-zi* (dupl. XIV 12 III 34]*hatrāizz*[*i*; *KUB* VIII 81 II 7 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI ŠULUM ŠA* ^{I}*Sunassura hatrāizzi* 'my majesty sends a letter to S.' [literally 'writes S.'s well-being'; *assul hatrai-* 'write favor, despatch greetings, send a letter'; cf. e. g. "Your favors of Jan. 10 & Feb. 10, came to hand" in Th. Jefferson's correspondence]; cf. Götze, *ZA* 36:11 [1925]; XIV 1 Vs. 40; cf. Sommer, *AU* 332–3; Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 14; XXXI 44 II 10), *ha-at-ra-a-i* (VIII 16+24 III 3 [*k*]*ūrur hatrāi* 'declares war'; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:143 [1956]), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-u-ni* (XIV 1 Rs. 36 *nu-t*]*ta mān* ... [... *h*]*atrāuni*; cf. e. g. *handāuni* s. v. *hantai-*; Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 26), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-zi* (e. g. XXIII 72 Rs. 24), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-nu-un* (*KBo* V 6 III 54 – IV 2 *ammuk-man-wa ammel* RAMANI-*YA ammell-a* KUR-*eas tepnumar tametani* KUR-*e hatranun* 'would I have written about my own and my country's humiliation to another country?'; dupl. XIV 12 III 39 *h*]*atranun*; XII 40 Vs. 3; *KUB* XIV 15 I 13; cf. Götze, *AM* 13; XIX 23 Vs. 13; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 312 [1977]; XXVI 88 Vs. 3), *ha-at-ra-a-nu-un* (e. g. XXVI 90 IV 4–6 *kī-ya kuit* TUPPU *ANA* LUGAL KUR *Mizrī hatrānun n-at tuel* LÚ *PITHALLUM pedau* 'and this letter which I have written to the pharaoh, let your horserider carry it'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:88 [1975–6]; *KBo* XVIII 54 Vs. 12–13 *n-at ANA* EN-*YA* ŪL *karū hatrānu*[*n*] 'I have not written it beforehand to my lord';

cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:203 [1978–9]; XVIII 44, 7; cf. Cornil and Lebrun, ibid. 95; *KUB* XXVI 91 Vs. 11 *ser hatrānun*; *KBo* IV 4 II 53 *nu-ssi hatrānun* 'I wrote to him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 118; *KUB* XIV 17 III 5; cf. Götze, *AM* 96; *KBo* III 4 II 10, III 77 and 94; cf. Götze, *AM* 46, 90, 96; *KUB* XXIII 101 II 17 *hatrānu*[*n*], 2 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-es* (e. g. XIV 1 Vs. 76 *kissan hatrāes* 'thou wrotest thus'; *Maşat* 75/15 Vs. 4–5 *kissan-mu kuit hatrāes* 'as for you having written me thus'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:42 [1980]; *Maşat* 75/14 Vs. 4–5 *ŠA* ERÍN.MEŠ-*mu kuit uttar hatrāes n-at* AŠME 'as for the matter of the army you wrote me about, I have taken cognizance of it'; *Maşat* 75/104 Vs. 3–4 *ŠA* ERÍN.MEŠ GIBIL-*mu kuit uttar hatrāes* 'as for you writing me in the matter of the new troops'; ibid. 13–18 *ŠA* É ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ma-mu kuit* ^{LÚ}*maniyahhiyas* EN-*as uttar hatrāes kā-wa* NU.GÁL *n-at kuedani pidi nu-smas hatrāi* 'as for you writing me in the matter of the lord governor of the house of my majesty: "There is none here", write to them in the place where they are'; *Maşat* 75/43 Vs. 3–4 [*Š*]*A* ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuit uttar hatrāes* 'as for you sending word about the enemy'; ibid. 13–14 *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*mu kuit ŠA* ANŠU.KUR.RA.HI.A-*ya uttar hatrāes* 'as for the word you sent me about the chariot and the horses'; *ABoT* 65 Vs. 6–7 *ANA* ^{I} ^{GIŠ}PA.DINGIR-*LIM kuit Ù ANA* ^{I} ^{D}*SIN*.LÚ *āssul hatrāes n-at* ŪL *kā* 'as for you having sent letters to Hattusilis and Armazitis, they are not here'; ibid. 11–12 *ammuq-a āssul* ŪL *kuit ha*[*tr*]*āes* [*nu*] *arha dāla* 'that you did not favor me with a letter, leave well alone [= who cares]'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:345 [1956]), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-it* (*KBo* III 34 I 14 'despatched' [viz. a substitute]; cf. ibid. 13 and 15 *IŠ-PUR*; cf. Starke, *Funktionen* 52), *ha-at-ra-a-it* (III 38 Rs. 17; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 10; *KUB* XXXVI 101 II 12 [OHitt.]; *Maşat* 75/13, 4–5 *kāsa-mu* ^{I}*Pisenis* ^{URU}*Kasepūraz hatrāi*[*t*] 'lo, P. has written me from K.'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:45 [1980]; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 66 *kissan hatrāit*; ibid. 69 *n-asta ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Dalauwa imma kattan arha hatrāit* 'rather he sent off a missive to the men of D.'; ibid. 78 *nu-mu mahhan* ^{I}*Madduwattas* QATAMMA *hatrāit* 'as [it stands], thus M. wrote to me'), *ha-at-ra-a-is* (*KBo* IV 4 Vs. 34 *en*]*issan hatrāis*; cf. Götze, *AM* 116), *ha-at-ra-a-es* (III 4 III 79 ^{I}*Pihhuniyas-ma-mu* EGIR-*pa kissan hatrāes* 'but P. wrote back to me as follows'; cf. ibid. 83–84 *nu-mu ma*[*h*]*han* ^{I}*Pihhuniyas enissan* EGIR-*pa IŠ-PUR* 'when P. had replied to me thus'; *KUB* VI 41 III 50 *nu-mu namma ūl kuitki hatrāes* 'he wrote me nothing further'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-te-en* (*Maşat* 75/47 Vs. 13; cf.

Alp, *Documentum Otten* 2), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-ir* (*KUB* V 10 Vs. 1 *IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM kuit kissan hatrāir* 'whereas they wrote thus from the palace'; ibid. 19 *IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM-ma-mu kuit* INIM *marsastarras hatrāir* 'whereas they reported to me from the palace an instance of fraud'; XVI 83 I 46–47 *IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM-ma-mu kuit* INIM *UNUT harkantas ŠA* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Ninuwa hatrāir* 'but as to the matter of the lost implements of Ištar of Ninive which they wrote to me from the palace'; XIX 30 IV 11–12 *nu-mu* GIM-*an* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hayasa enessa*[*n* EGIR-*pa*] *hatrāir* 'whereas the men of Hayasa wrote back to me thus'; cf. Götze, *AM* 104), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-i* (e. g. XIV 1 Vs. 38 *nu-wa memiyan ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāi* 'send written word to his majesty'; *KBo* V 4 Vs. 30 and V 13 IV 13–14 *zik-ma apūn memiyan ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI kuitman hatrāi* 'but meanwhile write about this matter to my majesty'; similarly dupl. *KUB* VI 41 IV 21–22; XIV 3 III 63 *nu-ssi* ŠEŠ-*YA apāt* 1-*an hatrāi* 'write him, my brother, this one thing!'; *VBoT* 2, 12–13 *kūnn-a-mu memian tuppiaz* EGIR-*pa hatrāi* 'and reply to me about this matter by tablet'; ibid. 21–23 *zik-mu* DUB.SAR-*as assūli hatrāi namma-za* ŠUM-*an* EGIR-*pa iya* 'you, scribe, kindly do my writing and also sign the name at the end', cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-u* (*Alalah* 125, 9 *nu-wa-mu* EN-*YA* [EGIR-*pa*] *hatrāu* 'may my lord write me in reply'), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-tin* (*KBo* XVIII 2 Rs. 10–12 *nu-mu appatar hatrāttin nu siggallu* 'acknowledge receipt in writing, so that I may know'; *KUB* XXI 111, 11 *ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāttin* 'write to my majesty!'), *ha-at-at-ra-at-tin* (sic XXXI 101 Vs. 9), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-du* (*Maşat* 75/64 Rs. 31–32 *namma-mu* EGIR-*pa assul hatrāndu* 'also may they favor me with a reply!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:52 [1980]); verbal noun *hatriessar* (n.) 'writing, written message, written order, decree', nom.-acc. *ha-at-ri-es-sar* (*KBo* I 42 I 15 and 16, matching ibid. [Akk.] *tertum* and *urdu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:133 [1971]; XVIII 24 I 4–6 *nu-tta hatriessar kue hatreskimi nu-tta mān assul hatrāmi* 'the messages I keep writing to you, if I write you a letter ...'), *ha-at-ri-ya*[*-sar* (*KUB* III 111, 19 and 20; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 94), *ha-at-ri-i-e-es-sa* (*KBo* III 21 II 8–9 ^{D}*É-A-as-kan huwanhuisni kuit hatriyēssa anda kidda* 'the decree of Ea which he has laid down in the waves'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; for loss of *-r* cf. e. g. *ishessa*[*r*] [*HED* 1–2:399] or *hannessa*[*r*] [s. v. *hann(a)-*]); iter. *hatreski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-mi* (*KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 25 *n*]*u-war-as-ta hatreskimi-pat* 'I shall report them to you in writing'; XIX 20 Rs. 30;

KBo XVIII 24 I 5 [quoted sub *hatriessar* above]), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-si* (*KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 37 *nu*]*-nnas* EGIR-*pa tamāi uddār hatreskī*[*si*] 'you keep writing back to us about other matters'; XXIII 102 I 16–18 [*ABU-YA*] *ABA ABI-YA* GIM-*an ANA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Assur* [ŠEŠ-*tar*] *ŪL hatreskir ziqq-a-mu* [*QATAMMA* ŠEŠ-*tar*] LUGAL.GAL-*UTTA-ya le hatreskisi* 'as my father and my grandfather did not write to the king of Assyria as to a brother, do not either write to me as a brother and as a great king!'; XIX 66 + I 1 III 76 *k*]*inun-a-wa-ssi kūrur kuwat hatreskisi* 'and now why do you declare war on him?'), *ha-at-ri-is-ki-si* (dupl. I 4 III 42; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* XXII 1, 22–23 [OHitt.] *nu-smas mān handa hatreskizzi natta-samas* LÚ.MEŠDUGUD-*as tuppi hazzian harzi* 'even as he regularly writes to you, has he not had a tablet engraved for you dignitaries?'; *KUB* XXIII 102 I 10 ŠEŠ-*tar kuis kuedani hatreskizzi* 'who writes to whom as to a brother?'; ibid. 12 ŠEŠ-*tar hatreskizzi*), *ha-at-ri-es-ki-zi* (XIV 1 Rs. 25 *kissan hatreskizi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-nu-un* (XIX 66 + I 1 III 73–74 *nu ANA* ^{I}*Urhi-*^{D}U-*up kuwapi* [*enissan ha*]*treskinun* 'whereas I wrote to U. thus'; cf. dupl. I 4 III 40 [*ha*]*trānun*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; XIV 1 Rs. 59–60 *nu*]*-ssi* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hantezzi pa*[*lsi*] EGIR-*anta hatreskinun* 'and I the king a first time sent a letter in his wake'), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-it* (ibid. 64–65 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ma-wa-tta* [*ha*]*treskit* 'his majesty has written you repeatedly'), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-ir* (ibid. 35 [*ABI* ^{D}]UTU-*ŠI-ma-tta* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ya* EGIR-*anta hatreskir* 'his majesty's father and his majesty kept sending letters after you'; XXIII 102 I 17 [quoted sub *hatreskisi* above]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki* (*Maşat* 75/43 Vs. 8–10 *n-asta apās* ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuwapi naiskittari nu-mu hatreski* 'wherever this enemy turns, keep me posted!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:47 [1980]; ibid. o. R. 23 *BELU-mu assul hatreski* 'my lord, keep sending me letters!' [cf. Akk. *šulma šapāru* 'send greetings', and see above sub *hatrāizzi*]; *VBoT* 2, 24–25 DUB.III.A-[*ka*]*n kue udanzi nu nes*[*u*]*mnili hatreski* 'the tablets which they bring, always write them in Hittite!'; *KUB* XXVI 90 IV 2–3 *n-at-mu* ... [...] *hatreski* 'write it to me!'; XIV 1 Rs. 17 *nu-wa-mu hūman hatreski* 'write me everything!'.

Hier. *hatur-* 'letter', *hatura(i)-* 'write' (cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 56, *Manuale* 2:132–9 [1967]).

hatrai- denotes using writing as a form of communication, not as the physical act of inscribing (the latter being expressed by *guls-*, *hazziya-* [s. v. *hat(t)-*], or *hattarai-* [s. v. *hattara-*]). It is denominative

from a prehistoric noun **hatra-* (cf. *tarmai-* 'to nail' from *tarma-* 'nail') meaning 'piece of writing', derived from *hat(t)-* (cf. e. g. *hupra-* 'woven garment' from **Hwebh-*). Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 3:59–60 (1958); Oettinger, *MSS* 34:126 (1976). Contrast *hattarai-*, derived from an attested agental noun *hattara-* (q. v.).

Abortive connections with Lat. *ātrāmentum* 'ink' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 59; Pisani, *Paideia* 7:323 [1952]; E. Peruzzi, *SMEA* 11:103–8 [1970]) and with Venetic *atraest* (M. Lejeune, *BSL* 69.1:66–8 [1974]).

hatuk- 'be terrible' (KAL-[*ga-*]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tu-uk-zi* (*KBo* XXIII 8 Vs. 3; *KUB* VIII 16+24 III 13; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:143 [1956]), 3 pl. pres. act. KAL-*ga-an-zi* (VIII 35 Rs. 17).

hatuka-, *hatuki-* 'terrible, baleful, fearsome, awesome', nom. sg. c. *ha-tu-ga-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 69 III 7; LIX 66 IV 5), *ha-du-ga-as* (*KBo* XXVI 96, 8), acc. sg. c. *ha-du-ga-an* (XXII 107 I 7 *hadugan* ^{D}IM-*an* 'the fearsome storm-god'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-tu-ga-an* (*KUB* XXXIII 68 II 19 *kuisa-tta hatugan uttar memai* 'whoever tells thee a terrible thing'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:129 [1965]), *ha-tu-ú-ga-an* (*KBo* XVII 6 III 1 *hatūgan ēshar* 'terrible blood'; XVII 1 III 19 *hat*]*ūgan ēshar*[; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 32; Neu, *Altheth.* 20, 9; ibid. IV 2 *ha*]*tūgan idālu erman paprātar* 'the terror, the evil, illness, pollution'), *ha-du-kán* (XX 88 IV 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70), *ha-tu-ka* (XVII 1 III 12 *hatuka-smet* 'their terrible [deed, vel sim.]'), *ha-tu-ga* (XVII 3 III 12 *hatuga-*[*sme*]*t*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu, *Altheth.* 9, 15; XIII 34 IV 12 *hatuga kuitki uttar* 'some terrible thing'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-i* (XXII 6 I 27 *salli hūwanti hatugai karī*[*tti* 'to a great wind [and] a terrible flood'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:20 [1969]), *ha-du-ga-ya* (XV 3, 7; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 155), abl. sg. *ha-tu-ga-ya-az* (V 6 III 30 *hatugayaz* MÈ-*az* 'by a terrible battle'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:95 [1956]), KAL-*ga-za* (adverbial in *KUB* VII 54 I 3 and IV 11 KAL-*gaza akkiskattari* 'dying is terribly rife'), KAL-*ga-az* (XVII 16 I 4 KAL-*gaz akkiskattari*), nom. pl. c. *ha-tu-ga-e-es* (*KBo* IV 2 II 32 *kuēs-wa hatugaēs wattaēs* 'what terrible birds'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8: 93 [1962]; *KUB* LIX 66 IV 7), *ha-du-ga-e-es* (*KBo* XVII 105 III 31 *hadugaēs-ma-kan* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN-*pí-es* 'baleful Pleiades'; cf. *KUB* XLVI 54 Vs. 11 ^{D}IMIN.IMIN-*pí hūwappaēs* 'evil Pleiades'), acc. pl. c. *ha-tu-ka-us* (*KBo* XVII 5 II 11 *hatukaus* EME-*us*

'terrible tongues'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 19), *ha-tu-ga-us* (XVII 4 II 6 *hatugaus lālus* 'terrible tongues'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 13; IV 2 I 16 *nu-wa īttin hatugaus* MUŠEN.HI.A *kistanutten* 'go exterminate the terrible birds!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-tu-ga* (III 21 II 24; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; XVII 78 I 1 ^{D}U-*as hatuga tethāi* 'the storm-god thunders terribly'; similarly IV 2 III 41 and IV 36, *KUB* XII 27, 5; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 4, 10; cf. *Iliad* 8:133 *βροντήσας ... δεινόν*, *Odyssey* 20:113 *μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας*), *ha-du-ga* (*KBo* XVII 105 III 6 *idālauwa haduga kue uddār* (what evil, terrible things'), *ha-tu-ga-ya* (e. g. *KUB* XIX 14, 11]*hatugaya tethit* 'thundered terribly'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]).

hatugatar (n.) 'terror, awesomeness' (either verbal noun of *hatuk-* or denominative abstract from *hatuka-*, *hatuki-*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-tar* (e. g. *KUB* XII 58 II 34 *aggantas hatugatar* 'terror of the dead'; similarly ibid. 12–13, III 5 and 10, VII 53 III 18; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14, 16, 20; IX 4 II 20–21 *idālu hatugatar*), *ha-du-ga-tar* (IX 34 IV 5 HUL-*lu hadugatar* 'evil terror'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 40), *ha-tu-ga-a-tar* (*KBo* III 21 II 14 *tarhuilātar-tet hatugātar-tet* 'your formidable potency' [hendiadys]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-an-ni* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 I 19).

hatukes- 'become terrible', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tu-ki-is-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXXVI 12 II 17; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; VII 58 I 18–19 *mān* ANA EN KARAŠ ... *hatukiszi* 'when for a field-commander [the situation] becomes terrible'), *ha-du-ki-is-zi* (VIII 1 III 11 *i*]NA KUR-*ŠU hadukiszi* 'in his land terror strikes', matching Akk. *urubātum iššakanā* 'devastations will take place'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:32), *ha-tu-ki-is-sa-iz-zi* (VIII 35 Rs. 15); iter. *hatukiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha*]*-tu-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (*Bo* 3617 I 15, besides dupl. *KBo* XIII 104 + *Bo* 6464 II 10 *ha-tu-ki-is-zi*; cf. Otten and Siegelová, *AfO* 23:33 [1970]).

hatuganu- 'terrify', 3 pl. pres. act. (?) *ha-tu-ga-nu-wa-an-*[*zi* (*KUB* VIII 79 Rs. 16); verbal noun gen. sg. *ha-tu-ga-nu-wa-wa-as* (ibid. 15 *hatuganuwawas memi*[- 'the cause of the frightening' [?]).

The most plausible connection for *hatuk-* (since Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 50–1) has been with Gk. (aor. inf.) *ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι* 'be wroth' and its probable cognates Lat. *odium* 'hatred', Arm. *ateam* 'I hate', *ateli* 'hateful, terrible', OE *atol*, ON *atall* 'fierce, terrible' (*IEW* 773), to which Tischler (*KZ* 92:108–11 [1978]) added Crimean Gothic *atochta* (glossed by Lat. *malum*) as a strong-declension nom.-acc.

sg. neut. from an **atugs* < IE **odu-kó-* (cf. **ὀδυ-* perhaps underlying Greek denom. present **ὀδύομαι*), ostensibly an exact formal match for adjectival *hatuka-* (despite *-k-* rather than *-kk-* in the latter). But the primary verb *hatuk-* tends to focus attention rather on a basic genetic relationship to the Homeric verb *ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι*; a present matching *hatuk-* would have been **Hodug-yo-* > **ὀδυζο-*, aor. **ὀδυξ-*, whence a secondary present **ὀδυσσο-* (cf. e. g. Ionic *σάσσω* after *σάξαι* [despite *σαγή*], besides Cretan Doric *σάδδω*), and an analogical aorist *ὀδυσ(σ)α-* (cf. *ἤρπασα* beside *ἥρπαξα* already in the *Iliad*, or Argolic *εϝανασσαντο* beside Hesiod's *ἄναξα* from *ἄνασσω*). The stem *ὀδυξ-* may be seen in Italic name forms based on West Greek dialectal variants, *Olyxes*, *Olixes*, *Ulyxes*, *Ulixes*, whereas epic tradition imposed a streamlined version increasingly devoid of *d* : *l* variation and with productive onomastic *-εύς* attached to the innovated stem (cf. *Ολυτευς*, *Ολυσευς*, *Ωλυσσευς*, *Οδυσ(σ)ευς* on vases). The original sense of the verb is thus 'be terrible', and the name Odysseus means 'Fearsome' (cf. e. g. *Hrozný* besides Russian *Ivan Groznyj* 'Ivan the Terrible', or German *Ungeheuer*). The Gothic *atochta* is then better analyzed as **atukata* from a thematic adjective (**atuks* < **Hodug-o-*) from the same verbal stem **Hodug-*, like *hatuka-* (OE *atol* and ON *atall* might represent PGmc. **atuk-l-*). If this IE **Hodug-* is root-related to Lat. *ōdī* 'hate', *odium* and Arm. *ateam*, *ateli*, the proto-form is presumably **A_2^{u}ed-*; for **Hodug-* to function as a primary verb it must be a compound, possibly **A_2^{u}ed-Aug-* (**Aéw-g-*, **Aw-ég-* 'increase, grow'); with its frequent *-s-* determinative, the same weak grade is seen in Skt. *úkṣati*, and with a further primary *-y-* suffix in Avest. *uxšyeiti* 'grow'; thus **A_2^{u}ed-A_2ug-* 'grow in terror' > Hitt. *hatuk-*, but **od-ug-yo-* > Gk. **ὀδυζο-*, and possibly also **od-ug-s-o-* > Gk. **ὀδυξο-* (cf. *αὔξω*, *ἀέξω*), in which case the sigmatic element is in origin root-determinative rather than aoristic. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203 (1980).

Wholly improbable is the connection of *hatuk-* with Gk. *ἀτύζομαι* 'be distraught', either via root-etymology (**A_1tug-*; Benveniste, *Mélanges ... H. Pedersen* 596–9 [1937]) or by assuming an old Anatolian loanword in Greek (E. Sapir, *Lg.* 12:175–80 [1936]); it was rejected by Couvreur (*Hett.* 147) who compared *ἀτύζομαι* with Skt. *tuñjáti* 'thrust' (*tujyáte* 'be routed, be confounded'; see Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1:509), but still rated favor with R. Lazzeroni, *Studi linguistici in onore di V. Pisani* 625–7 (1969). Couvreur also found the connection with Gk. *ὀδυσ(σ)-* wanting, while others have been

hard put to choose (e. g. I. Sordi, *Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Rendiconti* 93:213 [1959]). V. Georgiev (*Linguistique balkanique* 23.2:50–1, 23.3:6 [1980]) saw in *ἀτύζομαι* a "Pelasgian" equivalent of "genuine Greek" *ὀδύσσομαι* and tied in *hatuk-* with both. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 332–3 [1981]) persisted in connecting *hatuk-* with *ἀτύζομαι*, Toch. A *ātukek* 'suddenly (?)', and Skt. *tuj-*.

hattul(a)- 'well, healthy', acc. pl. c. (?) *ha-ad-du-lis* (*KUB* XLVIII 119 Rs. 8–9 *]haddulis* DÙ-*zi* IGI.ZAG-*yas* GIM-*an* *QATAMMA* [*h*]*adduliszi* 'makes [them] well, as the right eye likewise gets well'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:180 [1978]).

hattulatar (n.) 'wellness, (good) health', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-tar* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 55 *ANA* DUMU.MEŠ.LÚ.MEŠ-*LUTTI-wa* *hattulatar halkestaru* DÙ-*ru* 'for mankind let there be health [and] prosperity'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 156; *KBo* XX 60 V 7–10 *tuqq-a-*[*wa*] *ANA* LUGAL TI-*tar* *hattulatar ... uktūri piyan harzi* 'to thee the king he has given in perpetuity life [and] health'; II 32 Rs. 1–2 SILIM-*ulan* TI-*tar* *hattulat*[*ar*] MU.HI.A GÍD.DA 'well-being, life, health, long years'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 284; *KUB* XII 58 IV 19 TI-*tar* *hattulatar inn*[*arawatar*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 22; XVII 20 II 12, amid a welter of gloss-wedged Luwo-Hurroid abstractions; XXIV 3 III 18 TI-*tar* *hattul*[*atar*; XXIV 2 Rs. 12–13 TI-*tar* *hattulatar innarawatar* MU.KAM GÍD.DA 'life, health, strength, long years'), *ha-at-tu-la-a-tar* (e. g. *KBo* XV 33 I 17 *inna*]*rauwatar* *hattulātar*), *ha-ad-du-la-tar* (*KUB* XXIV 1 IV 10 TI-*tar* *haddulatar inna*[*rawatar*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 32; *Maşat* 75/64 Vs. 9–10 TI-*tar* *haddulatar innarauwatar* MU.HI.A G[ÍD.DA]; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:51 [1980]; similarly *KBo* II 9 I 20–21; *KUB* XXIV 1 III 5 *haddulatar* MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA; *FHG* 4, 1 TI-*t*]*ar* *haddulatar*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 240), *ha-ad-du-la-a-tar* (*KBo* XXI 34 I 65 – II 1 TI-*tar-wa-mu* *haddulātar* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *ŠA* EGIR.UD-*MI* *peski* 'give me life, health, sons and daughters for the future'; cf. Otten, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7:139 [1974]; *KUB* XV 32 I 55–56 TI-*tar*] *haddulātar* *innarauwātar* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 154; XV 34 II 8, 17, 40, III 39 TI-*tar* *haddulātar* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190, 192, 198; *KBo* XV 25 Vs. 10 and 23–24 TI-*tar* *haddulātar*; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-ni* (*KUB* XXXIII 62 II 9–10 *assuli* TI-*anni* *innarauwanni*

hattulanni MU.HI.A GÍD.DA 'for well-being, life, strength, health, long years'; *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 18 TI-*anni hattulanni i[nnar]auwanni hassigdu* 'may [this temple] be steeped in life, health, and strength'), *ha-ad-du-la-an-ni* (dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 19 TI-*anni haddulanni innarauwanni hassigdu*; *KBo* II 9 I 33–34 *assuli* TI-*anni haddulanni innarauwanni* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA), instr. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-ni-it* (*KUB* XVII 14 I 18–19 *IŠTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-*MI* TI-*annit* [*h*]*attulannit innarauwannit* 'with long years in the future, life, health, strength'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60).

hattulannant- (c.) 'state of health', nom. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-na-za* (*KBo* XVIII 54 Vs. 3–6 *MAHAR* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* SAL.LUGAL *assul kuit mahhan* ŠÀ ERÍN.MEŠ *sarikuwa-ya-kan ú* ŠÀ ERÍN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ *hattulannaza kuit mahhan nu-mu* EN-*YA* EGIR-*pa ŠU-PUR* 'as regards [lit. what how] the well-being of your majesty [and] the queen, and as regards the state of wellness among the peltasts [?] and the hoplites, write me back, my lord!'; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:203 [1978–79]). For formation cf. e. g. *antuhsannant-* 'mankind', nom. sg. UKÙ.MEŠ-*annaza*, from *antu(wa)hha-*, *antuhsa-* 'man'.

hattulahh- 'make well', 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an-zi* (*KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 13–14 [*m*]*ann-a* DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*anzi namma mann-a* [...] *hattulahhanzi* [with gloss-wedges] *namma* 'may the gods spare [his] life and may they make [him] well again'), 3 pl. pres. imp. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an-du* (ibid. 6 *nu-tta hattulahhandu* [with gloss-wedges] 'let them make you well'); partic. *hattulahhant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an* (VIII 68 IV 8 *nu-war-an* TI-*an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well!'), *ha-ad-du-la-ah-ha-an* (*KUB* XV 17 + XXXI 61 I 3–4 *mān*-[*w*]*a* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN-*YA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI IŠTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA TI-*nuan haddulahhan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive [and] healthy for long years'; dupl. XV 16 I 5; cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 16).

hattules- 'get well', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-tu-li-e-es-zi* (*KUB* XXII 70 Rs. 46 *mān-as hattulēszi kuwapi* 'if he ever gets well'; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:33 [1977]; Ünal, *Orakeltext* 92), *ha-at-tu-lis-zi* (XLVIII 123 III 15–16 *mān* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hattuliszi* 'if his majesty gets well'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica IV* 98; V 6 III 5–6 *mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hattuliszi* 'when my majesty gets well'), [*ha*]-*ad-du-lis-zi* (XLVIII 119 Rs. 9, quoted above), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ad-du-li-is-ta* (*KBo* XIV 3 III 22 and dupl. *KUB* XIX 10 I 7 *ABI ABI-YA-ma haddulista namma* 'but my grandfather again became well'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:67 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-tu-li-es-du* (*KBo* IV 6 Rs. 23 *n-as*

hattulesdu 'and may she get well'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 251; Tischler, *Gebet* 16), *ha-ad-du-li-es-du* (ibid. Vs. 18 *n-as haddulesdu*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 204, *Hymnes* 249; Tischler, *Gebet* 13).

Luw. *hattulahi(t)-* 'wellness, health', instr.-abl. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-hi-*⟨*ta-*⟩*ti* (*KUB* XXXV 43 II 39]*ārāti hattulahi*⟨*ta*⟩*ti* 'for long health'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 145), *ha-at-tu-u-la-a-hi-ta-ti* (*KBo* IX 143 Vs. 14 *āppar*]*antati ārati hattūlāhitati* 'for future long health'), (case?) *ha-ad-du-la-hi-sa* (XIII 260 III 19–20 *haddulahisa annarumāhisa* 'health [and] strength'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 262). For the denominative abstract suffix *-ahi(t)-* see e. g. *HED* 1–2:58.

hattul(a)- reflects a deverbative abstract noun **hattul-* (of the type *asandul-*, *assul-*, *imiul-*, *ishiul-*, *taksul-*, *wastul-*); for the adjectivized use cf. e. g. *taksul* 'peace (treaty); friendship; friend(ly)' (cf. Ved. *mitrá-* 'treaty; friendship; friend') or $^{(LÚ)}$*taksula-* 'friend' (< LÚ *taksulas* 'man of friendship'; similarly *kurur* and *kururа-* 'enemy'; cf. Neu, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 417–9 [1979]), *asandula-* 'garrison-' (*HED* 1–2:298–9), *wastula-* 'sinner'; *hattulatar* paralleles *taksulatar* 'friendliness', or *assulatar* from *assul(a)-* 'well-being' (*HED* 1–2:202–4).

Like *innarawatar* which often adjoins it on the "lists of blessings", *hattulatar* denotes physical health and vitality; *innar-* being 'force (fulness)', *hattul-* is 'keenness, sharpness', from *hat(t)-* 'slash, penetrate, hit home' (q. v.). Cf. *hattatar* (s. v. *hattant-*) which may be another abstract noun from the same root, specialized as '(mental) acuity, incisiveness, intelligence'.

haui- (c.) 'sheep' (UDU), nom. sg. UDU-*is* (*KUB* VI 9, 5 and 6 IGI-*zis* UDU-*is* 'the first sheep'), nom. sg. or pl. (?) *ha-a-u-e-es* (*KBo* XXIV 26 III 3–4]*hāwēs lazzandatin hasta* [... *laz*]*zandatis* ^{D}*Ayindupinzu hasta* 'sheep bore [sg.!] l. [hapax!], l. bore A. [hapax!]').

hawiassi- 'sheep-shape, ovine', acc. sg. c. *ha-ú-i-as-si-in* (*KUB* XXXII 1 III 2 *nu* 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hauiassin dāi* 'takes a sheep-shape breadloaf'), *ha-ú-i-ya-as-si-in* (ibid. 10 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hauiyassin-ma dāi*; XXXIX 70 VI 5 NINDA.KUR$_4$.]RA *hauiyassin dāi*), undeclined acc. *ha-wi-ya-as-si* (*KBo* XXI 42 I 11 3 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hawiyassi*; cf. Güterbock, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 138 [1979]). *hawi-assi-* is properly the Luwian genitival adjective ('sheep's, pertaining to a sheep'; cf. *KUB* X 21 IV 13–14 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *ŠA* GUD UDU-*ya* 'breadloaves [in the shape] of bovines and sheep'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner,

RHA 25:28 (1967), *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 159 (1974). For the rare, unpertaining 4 NINDA*ha-wa-at-ta-ni-is* (*KUB* XXXII 129 I 22) see ibid. 158.

Luw. *haui-* (c.), nom. sg. *ha-a-ú-i-is* (*KUB* XXXV 43 II 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 144), UDU-*is* (XXXV 8 I 8 UDU-*is* GUD-*is* 'sheep [and] bovine'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 43), acc. pl. UDU-*inza* (IX 31 II 27 UDU-*inza* GUD-*inza*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 53).

Hier. *hawi-* (c.), nom. sg. *ha-wì-(i-)ś* co-occurring with *wa-wa-s* 'bovine' and matching Phoen. *š* 'sheep' at Karatepe (cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:83–3; Hawkins–Morpurgo–Neumann, *HHL* 168), instr.-abl. sg. *hawati* following *wa-wa-ti-a* at Kululu (cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:50, *HHG* 58–9).

Lyc. *χava-*, acc. sg. *χavã* preceded by *vavã* (*TLy* 149.9–10 *vavã se-k* [...] *χavã*). Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 87; Laroche, *BSL* 62.1:59–60 (1967); Neumann, *Die Sprache* 20:109 (1974).

haui- is the basic IE word for 'sheep' (Skt. *ávi-*, Gk. *ὄϊς*, Lat. *ovis*, OIr *ōi*, *OHG ouwi*, Lith. *avìs*, OCS *ovĭca* [*IEW* 784]), pointing to **A*$_2^w$*éwi-* or *H*$_1$*ówi-* (cf. also Arm. *hoviw* 'shepherd' < **H*$_1$*owi-pā-*, with probable trace of laryngeal). In Hittite it had competition from a *u*-stem (nom. sg. UDU-*us*, acc. sg. UDU-*un*, possibly a hidden cognate of IE **peku-*) and was largely supplanted (like *ὄϊς* by *πρόβατον* in later Greek) by (UDU)*iyant-* (*HED* 1–2:347–9). For an abortive attempt to see IE **owi-* in *awiti-* see *HED* 1–2:247.

haz(i)kara(i)- (c.) 'woman percussionist, female musician' (vel sim.), nom. pl. SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-qa-ra* (e. g. *KBo* II 8 III 23), SAL.MEŠ*ha-zi-qa-ra* (*KUB* XVII 35 I 29 and 33, II 17, 24, 27, III 8 and 32, IV 13, 24, 35), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-zi-qa-ra* (XLVI 27 Vs. 13 SAL.MEŠ*hazziqara-za duskan*[*zi* 'the h.-women play'), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-zi-qa-ra-a* (XLIV 21 III 15 SAL.]MEŠ*hazziqarā iyandu*), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-qa-ra-i* (e. g. *KBo* II 8 III 26; *KUB* X 78 Vs. 13–14 SAL.MEŠ*hazqarai* EGIR-*an arta ta* SÍR-*RU* 'the h.-women stand behind and sing'; XXV 25 I 8 and 15; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ga-ra-i* (*KBo* XXV 182 I 11; *IBoT* II 21 I 5; *Bo* 3649 III 9; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 80), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ga-ra-a-i* (*KUB* IX 17, 22; *VAT* 7448 III 2; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 31), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ha-ra-a-i* (*KUB* XLII 92 II 7]*hazharāi*[; ibid. IV 6 SAL.MEŠ*hazhara*[), SAL.]MEŠ*ha-az-ka-ra-a-ya* (*KBo* II 7 Vs. 26), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-qa-ra-ya* (e. g. II 8 II 12; *KUB* XV 24 I 6 and IV 5), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ga-ra-ya* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 10; *HT* 90, 3), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ha-ra-ya* (XII 2 I 4 SAL.

MEŠ*hazha*⟨*ra*⟩*ya-za*; ibid. 7 SAL.MEŠ*hazharaya*[), SAL.MEŠ*ha-zi-qa-ra-ya* (XVII 35 I 25), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-qa-ra-i-ya* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 19 and Rs. 3), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-qa-ra-a-i-ya* (*KUB* XLIV 42 Rs. 13), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ga-ra-i-ya* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 11; XXVI 189, 9), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ga-ra-i-i-ya* (XXVI 182 I 8), SAL.MEŠ*ha-az-ka-ra-ri* (sic 1461/u, 2), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-az-qa-ra-ya-as* (*KUB* XXV 36 II 10; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 202). Cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 14:222 (1971); Daddi, *Mestieri* 385–8.

These female temple servants are often grouped with multiple male religious functionaries (cf. Otten, *Die Welt des Orients* 5:94 [1969]). Grammatical paucity may be a reflection of the meager syntax of the attestations; the accompanying finite verb is often in the singular, as if denoting a group or collectivity (e. g. *arta* in *KUB* X 78 Vs. 13 above). The final *i*-variations are peculiar and may in some instances conceal *-(y)a* 'and'. For *hazkara-* : *hazhara-* (after *s*, never **hazihara-*) cf. e. g. *iskis(a)-* : *ishisaza* or *iskuna(hh)-* : *ishuna(hh)-* (*HED* 1–2:427). For the hypertrophy of *r* in *hazkarari* cf. e. g. *a(r)impa-* (*HED* 1–2:15).

Despite the lure of a per obscurius appeal to "foreignism" or Hattic origin, *hazzikara-* is plausibly connectible with *hazziki-*, iterative of *hat(t)-* 'strike', in the sense of playing various percussion instruments (tambourine, etc.; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:186, echoed by Carruba, *Partikeln* 37). Rather than positing a **hatsk-tara-*, however, *hazzik-ara-* compares with e. g. *hatt-ara-* 'prick, inciser' as an agental derivative of an earlier derivational level than a potential productive **hazzikatalla-* on the pattern of *uskiskatalla-*.

haz(z)ila- (c.) 'double fistful, measure of cupped hands' (vs. *UPNU* 'handful'), nom. sg. *ha-az-zi-e-la-as* (*KBo* V 2 I 14 MUN *hazzelas* 'h. [of] salt'), *ha-az-zi-la-as* (e. g. XXVI 155 II 5 1 *hazzilas*; XXII 246 III 15 *hazzilas* ZÍD.DA.A 'h. [of] flour'; similarly ibid. 3 and 16; ibid. 18 *hazzilas* BA.BA.ZA 1/2 *hazz*[*ilas* 'h. [of] mush, one-half h. ...'), *ha-az-zi-la* (ibid. II 11–12 *ŠA* ITU.1.KAM-*ma* ZÍD.DA *kissan* 1 *hazzila* 1 *UPNI-ya* ZÍD.D[A.A 'flour for one month [is] as follows: one h. and 1 *UPNU* [of] flour ...'), *ha-zi-la-as* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* XLII 103 IV 8–9 *ŠA* ITU.1.K[AM-*ma*] ZÍD.DA *kisan* 1 *hazilas* 1 *UPNU-y*[*a*; cf. Souček and Siegelová, *Arch. Or.* 42:46–9 [1974]; XI 33 IV 6 *hazilas ARZANU* 'h. [of] groats', besides ibid. 10, 15, 19, 24, III 10 and 17 2 *UPNU ARZANU*; XII 4 I 8 1 *hazilas memal* 'one h. [of] flour'; *KBo* XIII 1 I 52 *parkuyas* [sic] *hazilas* 'shiny [= brass?] h.-measure', matching

ibid. [Akk.] *qā* ZABAR 'bronze *qū*' [about a liter]; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 11, 17; Güterbock, *MSL* 17:104 [1985]), acc. sg. *ha-az-zi-la-an* (*KUB* I 13 IV 36 *wātar-samas* 3 *ha*[*zz*]*ilan pian*[*zi*] 'they give them three h. [of] water'; similarly ibid. 75; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 72, 74), gen. sg. or pl. *ha-az-zi-la-as* (e. g. XII 12 V 24 BA.BA.ZA *ŠA* 3 *hazzilas* 'mush [made] of three h.'; VII 53 I 22 3 NINDA *ān hazzilas* 'three hotcakes of a h.' [viz. of flour]; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XXVIII 5, 5b; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:74 [1965]; *KBo* XXI 1 II 14; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 20; XXII 246 II 8 2 NINDA.GÚG *hazzilas*), *ha-zi-la-as* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* XLII 103 IV 5 2 NINDA.GÚG *hazilas*).

Occasionally used as a pseudo-akkadogram *HAZZILU* (*KUB* XII 63 Rs. 1 ...]-*war-at HAZZILU kisa nu-wa-smas pisga*[- '... it gets to be a h., ... give it to them'), *HAZZILI* (*KBo* III 5 III 24 and III 2 Vs. 32 *wātar-ma-as* KASKAL-*si* KASKAL-*si-pat IŠTU* 1 *HAZZILI peskizzi* 'but on each lap he gives them water of one h.'; similarly III 5 III 59–60, IV 37–38; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 94, 130, 96, 100, 310–1; besides ibid. I 54 *wātar-ma* KASKAL-*si* KASKAL-*si-pat IŠTU* 1 *UPNI akkuskanzi* 'but on each lap they drink water of one handful'; similarly ibid. 27, III 3 and 45–6; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 84, 80, 86, 90). *UPNI* used with water in alternation with *HAZZILI* is unique to the second tablet of the Kikkulis manual and probably reflects a confusion of terms (a palmful of water would hardly slake a racehorse).

hazzilas is probably a petrified gen. pl. of **hazzel-*, reinterpreted as nom. sg. ('[measure of] h.'; cf. Goetze, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:294 [1949]). **hazzel-* (whether type of *hurk-el* or *sarnik-zel*) is plausibly a concretized abstract derivative from *hat(t)-* (as either **hatt-el* or **hat-tel*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 53), with a base-meaning 'fist' (vel sim.); for such a derivative from a root 'stick, jab' cf. e. g. Lat. *pugil* 'boxer', *pugnus* 'fist' from *pungō* 'prick, sting'. Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 3:56–7 (1958).

hazziu(i)- (n.) 'ceremony, ritual, (religious) pageant(ry), (cultic) entertainment', nom.-acc. sg. and pl. *ha-az-zi-wi* (e. g. *KBo* II 8 I 30 KÚ-*zi* NAG-*zi hazziwi* NÚ.GAL 'they eat [and] drink; there is no entertainment'; ibid. IV 20–21 KÚ-*zi* NAG-*zi* GAL.HI.A-*kan assanuwanzi hazziwi* NÚ.GAL 'they eat [and] drink, they dispose goblets; there is no entertainment'; ibid. III 3 *hazziwi* NÚ.GAL; ibid. IV 6 *nu-kan hazziwi* EZEN É-*as*['ceremony [and] festival of the house'; *KUB* XVI 77

Vs. 33 EZEN *nasma hazziwi* [with gloss-wedges] 'feast or ceremony'; ibid. 39 EZEN *nasma hazziwi* [with gloss-wedges] *kuitki*; XII 50, 9; XVIII 18, 25), *ha-az-zi-ú-i* (e. g. XXV 24 II 4 KÚ-*zi* NAG-*zi hazziui*[; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; XLII 100 III 6; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:183 [1978]; LV 5 IV 19; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 20; *Bo* 6002 Rs. 13 *hazziui ianzi*, ibid. 11 *ha*]*zziui ianzi* 'they perform a ceremony'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 188; 299/1986 III 65–66 *nu-ssi ŠA* DINGIR.MEŠ *kuit hazziui*HI.A *saklauss-a dassawēs* 'because the gods' ceremonies and rites [are] heavy on him'; ibid. II 24 and 26; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 24, 16; *KBo* X 20 I 12 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hazziui* NU.GÁL *kuitki* 'there is no ritual of gods'), *ha-az-zi-i-ú* (dupl. *KUB* XXX 39 Vs. 9 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hazziyu* EZEN [NU.G]ÁL *kuiski* 'there is no ritual or feast of the gods'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80 [1960]; XXXI 124 II 27 *hazziyu-ya*), *ha-az-zi-ú* (dupl. XVII 21 III 15–16 EZEN.HI.A-*a-smas hazzi*[*u-y*]*a ŪL kuiski iyazzi* 'nobody celebrates feasts and pageants for you'; ibid. II 12 DINGIR.MEŠ-*s-a-kan arga-manus hazziu-ya* 'tributes and pageants of the gods'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 158, 154; XII 63 Rs. 1 *hazziu kisa* 'ceremony takes place'), *ha-az-i-ú* (*KBo* XX 51 IV 6), *ha-az-zi-ú-e* (*KUB* XXVII 66 II 14 *apedani* UD-*ti hazziwe* NU.GÁL *kuitki* 'on that day there is no ceremony'), *ha-zi-ú-i* (XLII 100 III 26 *annal*]*aza-ma tuppiza* EZEN.MEŠ *haziui UL kuitki* KAR-*wen* 'but on the old tablet we have not found any feasts or pageant[s]'), gen. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-as* (XXX 41 l.R. 6 *hazziwias* EN.MEŠ; LV 54 IV 11 LÚ.MEŠ *hazziwias*), *ha-az-zi-wi-ya-as* (*KBo* II 8 III 10 and IV 19 LÚ.MEŠ *hazziwiyas*; ibid. IV 22 SAL.MEŠ *hazziwiyas*; ibid. I 19 SAL.MEŠ *hazziwiya* [sic]; *KUB* XVI 26 Rs. 1), *ha-zi-wi-as* (ibid. Vs. 4), *ha-az-zi-ú-i-ya-as* (XX 19 III 12 LÚ *haz*]*ziuiyas*), *ha-az-zi-ú-i-as* (ibid. 1–2 LÚ ^{D}U SAL ^{D}U ^{SAL}*palwatallas* LÚ.MEŠ *ZITTI* LÚ.MEŠ *hazziuias* 'the man of the storm-god, the woman of the storm-god, the acclaimeresses, the men of parts, the men of the pageant'), *ha-az-zi-ú-wa-as* (670/z IV 8 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hazziuwas ishes* 'masters of ceremony'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:71 [1984]; Neu, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 109–10 [1986]; *KBo* XXII 242 II 9 1 MAŠ.GAL-*ma hazziuwas* 'one he-goat of the pageant'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 18), *ha-az-zi-wa-as* (ibid. III 7; 867/c, 5 *hazziwas* E[N.MEŠ), *ha-zi-ú-as* (*KUB* LIII 17 II 35), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-ti* (XVIII 25 I 9), abl. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-ya-za* (*KBo* II 7 Rs. 23 EZEN-*ŠU hazziwiyaza duskarattaza tarrāuwan*[*za*] 'his festival replete with pageantry [and] merrymaking'), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-zi-wi*HI.A (*KUB* XVIII 26 II 8, for the storm-god of Hatti), *ha-az-zi-wi-ta* (XXXII

133 I 4–5 *nu-za hazziwita ishiuli*HI.A-*ya kue* INA É DINGIR-*LUM kattan hamankatta* 'the ceremonies and obligations which he had mandated for the temple'; ibid. 9–10 *nu ke hazziwita ēssandu* 'they shall perform these ceremonies'), *h]a-az-zi-ú-e-da* (XIV 3 I 34; cf. Götze, *KlF* 244), gen. pl. *ha-az-zi-ú-i-as* (XXVII 68 I 10–11 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*ma parsiyazi n-a[n* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as] hazziuias pedas sarrai* 'he breaks a bread-loaf and distributes it at the places of the gods' pageants'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 300), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-az-zi-ú-i-ya-as* (XLII 100 IV 17–18 *nu-wa-kan* ANA ṬUPPA.HI.A EZEN *purulliy[as]* ^{D}*Telipinun hazziuiyas anda* KAR-*ir* 'on the tablets of the *purulli*-festival they found T. in[cluded in] the ceremonies'), uncertain plural case *ha-az-zi-wi-as* (*KBo* XX 87 Rs. 10 [DINGI]R.MEŠ *hazziwias pianzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 258), *ha-zi-wi-ya-as* (*KUB* XVIII 26 II 9), *ha-zi-wi-as* (ibid. 12).

LÚ.MEŠ *hazziwitassis* (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 II 3) shows nom. pl. c. of *hazziwitassi-*, adjective derived with the Luwoid appurtenance suffix *-assi-* from a secondary stem *hazziwita-* based on Hurroid case forms in *-ta* (cf. e. g. *hatiwita-* s. v. *hatiwi-*, or *arkiuita* s. v. *arkiu[i]-* [*HED* 1–2:148]).

Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 165–6; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:25 (1973); Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 246–7; Neu, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 111–2 (1986).

Occasional gloss-wedges, the suffix *-assi-*, and the case forms and secondary stem with *-t-* point to the orbit of Luwo-Hurrian religious vocabulary. Alp (*Beiträge* 330) partly equated *hazziwi-* with SISKUR 'ritual, offering' and unconvincingly connected *hat-, hazziya-* 'stab, strike'.

hazzizzi-, hazzizzu- (n.) 'ear; wit(s), wisdom', nom.-acc. sg. (akkadianizing) *ha-az-zi-iz-zu* (571/u, 6), *ha-az-zi-zu*, gen. sg. *ha-az-zi-iz-zi-ya-as* (*KUB* LV 20 + IX 4 I 24 *hazzizu hazzizziyas* GIG-*an* KI.MIN 'ear [lifts] ailment of ear likewise'; cf. ibid. 4–5 ^{UZU}*istamanas-kan* ^{UZU}*istamasni handanza* 'ear is fitted to ear'; *ZA* 71:130 [1981]), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-zi-zi* and gen. sg. or pl. *ha-zi-zi-ta-as, ha-zi-zi-da-as* (XV 31 II 17–21 *namma-kan* ^{GIŠ}KUN$_5$ KÙ.BABBAR *TUDITTUM* KÙ.BABBAR *hantezzi āpiti anda dāi* ANA *TUDITUM-ma-kan hazizi* KÙ.BABBAR *anda dāi n-at-kan hantezzi āpiti kattanta ganki hazizitas-ma-ssan* [dupl. XV 32 II 15 *ha-zi-zi-da-as-ma-as-sa-an*] *appizziaz* ^{TÚG}*kuressar hamankan* 'then he puts a silver ladder [and] a silver pectoral into the first pit; in addition to the pectoral he puts in silver ear(s?) and hangs it (or: them) down into the first pit; in back

of the ear(s?) is tied a width of fabric'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; *KBo* XXIV 45 Rs. 9 7 *hazizzi* KÙ.BABBAR; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:106 [1983]; XIII 114 II 21 and dupl. XXIV 109 + XV 24 III 3 10 *hazizi ŠA* NINDA *iyan* 'ten ears made of bread' [offered to ^{D}*É-A*]; ibid. 24 and 30, and dupl. 6 10 ^{NINDA}*hazizi* 'ten ear-bread'; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 68–70 [1987]), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-zi-zi-ta* (XXIII 3 Vs. 9 5 ^{NINDA}*hazizita*; II 9 IV 18 ^{NINDA}*hazizita*), *ha-zi-zi-da* (ibid. 23), dat.-loc. sg. (Hurroid) *ha-az-zi-iz-zi-ya* (*KUB* XV 34 IV 38 1 MUŠEN *hazzizziya* 'one bird for h.'; similarly ibid. 24; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 204–6), *ha-az-zi-zi-[ya* (dupl. XV 38 IV 25), *ha-zi-zi-ya* (e. g. XXX 47 IV 5 *mān-za* ANA ^{D}*A-A* [...] SISKUR.SISKUR *haziziya sipan[ti* 'when to Ea he performs the rite for h.'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 183; found especially in the Hurrian formula *hariya haziziya* 'for way [and] wit', e. g. XV 32 IV 13, *IBoT* III 48 I 22 and 41, II 39, besides ibid. I 25, II 38, IV 17 KASKAL-*ya haziziya*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 212, 214, 218, 228; *KUB* XXXII 50 Vs. 12, XV 31 II 3 *hāriya haziziya*; similarly ibid. III 55), *]ha-a-zi-zi-ya* (ibid. 30; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 154, 164, 162), abl. sg. or pl. *ha-az-zi-zi-ta-za* (*KBo* II 9 IV 11–12 *namma apidani pidi ape kinuwanzi n-as* ^{LÚ}HAL DINGIR-*LUM IŠTU* ^{NINDA}*hazzizitaza apiya sarā 7-ŠU* SUD-*anzi* 'then in that place they open the pit, and the diviner with ear-bread draws the deity up thence seven times'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86:396–7 (1967), *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 159–61 (1974); Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 69–72, 77–8; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 251–2.

Divinized ^{D}*Ha-az-zi-iz-zi* (*KUB* LI 79 Rs. 16; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:102 [1988]; similarly XX 59 I 26 ^{D}*Māti* ^{D}*Hazzizzi*), ^{D}*Ha-az-zi-zi* (e. g. ibid. 29 ^{D}*Māti* ^{D}*Hazzizi*; cf. ibid. 25 and 28 ANA ^{D}*É-A* ^{D}*Damkina*; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:88–9 [1988]; *KBo* XIII 128 II 3; cf. ibid. 1 ^{D}*É-A-an*), ^{D}*Ha-zi-iz*[*-zi* (XIII 151, 1).

Hurr. *ha-az-zi-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 8 III 30), *ha-zi-zi* (XXVII 42 Rs. 12; cf. ibid. 13 ^{D}*É-A-as Tabkinnas*), *ha-az-zi-za* (XII 44 II 14 *māta hazziza*; ibid. 16 and 17–18 *māta sinniha hazziza*), *ha-az-zi-za-i* (XXIX 8 III 6), *ha-a-zi-za-a-e* (ibid. 15 *matāe hāzizāe*), *ha-az-zi-zi-na* (XXVII 14 II 2). For other attestations, such as ^{D}*Ha-si-si* at Meskene and *hzz* at Ugarit, see Laroche, *RHA* 34:100 (1976).

This paradigm is laced with foreignisms, from *hazziz(z)u* to *haz(z)iz(z)iya* to the stem *haz(z)iz(z)i(t)-* (for the last-mentioned cf. such Hurroid vocables as *arkiu[i]-* [pl. *arkiuita*; *HED* 1–2:148] or *hazziwi* [pl. *hazziwita*]). The ultimate source is Akk. *hasīsu* 'think-

ing, intelligence, wisdom' (*hasāsu* 'think'), secondarily also 'hearing, ear' (beside *uznu* 'ear', secondarily also 'mind, wit[s]'; cf. e. g. Avest. *uši* 'ears', also 'understanding, wits'). ^{D}*Hasis(at)u* was used of the god of learning Nabū (cf. *AHW* 330), while *Uznu(m)* and Hasisu as deified abstractions were servants of Damkina (^{D}NIN.GAL), wife of Ea 'lord of wisdom' (*bēl hasisi*, also known as *bēl uzni hasisi* 'lord of wit [and] wisdom'; Hitt. *hattannas* EN-*as* [see s. v. *hattant-*]). The Hurrian theonymic sequence ^{D}*Māti* ^{D}*Hazzizzi*, associated with Ea and Damkina, seems comparable (cf. von Brandenstein, *AfO* 13:58–62 [1939–41]), although the interpretation of Hurr. *mati-* via Indo-Aryan *mati-* 'mind' is unconvincing (cf. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier* 131–40). Even the ritualistic ears of bread used to attract deities from the underworld have an Akkadian parallel (with Hitt. 5 ^{NINDA}*hazizita* cf. Akk. 7 ^{NINDA}*hasisāti* [*CAD* H 126]). The silver ear fetish sunk into a chthonian pit or well for communion with deity recalls Heimdal's *hljōð* in Norse myth which (like Odin's eye) was on deposit in a well under the world tree (cf. etymologically Avest. *sraotam*, Skt. *śrótram* 'hearing, ear').

The more hittitized forms and usages have the meaning 'ear', thus synonymous with *istaman(a)-* rather than *hattatar*; there is no folk-etymological interference from forms of *hazziya-* (s. v. *hatt-*), such as 3 sg. *kī hazzizzi* 'he hits it, he gets it right, he realizes'.

hazzuwanis (n.) 'lettuce', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-az-zu-wa-ni-is* (*KUB* VII 1 I 19–21 *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}SAR.SAR.HI.A *hūman* BABBAR *kappāni* GE_6 *kappāni ānkisas* NUMUN-*an tīyati* AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} *hazzuwanis hasussarān lakkarwan* 'of vegetable gardens everything, white cumin, black cumin, seed of *ankis* [*HED* 1–2:73] he puts in place, crocus, lettuce, *hasussara-* [q. v. s. v. *hassu-*], *lakkarwan* [*CHD* 3.1:19]'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]; *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 25]*dāhhi* AN.T[AH. ŠUM^{SAR}]^{AR} *hazzuw*[*an*]*is* 'takes crocus [and] lettuce'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42).

This "culture word" for lettuce most closely resembles OAkk. *hašuānum* or *hašiānum* (*AHW* 334) and Ugar. *ḫswn* or *ḫśwn*, and further Akk. *hassū*, Hebr. *ḥassā*, Sum. *hi.is*^{SAR}. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 25:234 (1973), *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 112 (1974); B. Pelzl, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9:368 (1977).

hekur (c.) 'rock-sanctuary, hierothesion, acropolis' (vel sim.), *hé-kur* (e. g. *KBo* XII 38 IV 3–4 *nu-ssin kūn* ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ [*ūk*] ^{I}KÙ.GA. TÚL-*as* LUGAL.GAL *wedahun* 'for him [viz. my father Tuthaliyas] this lasting hierothesion [Yazilikaya?] I, great king Suppiluliumas [viz. II], built'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:16–22 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76–7, 79 [1967]; *KUB* XXI 33, 23]^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ *dās* 'took the lasting rock-sanctuary'; cf. R. Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 383; 299/1986 II 64–66 ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ-*a-ssi* EGIR-*pa pihhun nu-kan zilatiya* ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ ... *arha le kuiski dāi* 'the lasting hierothesion I have given back to him, and in the future let no one take [it] away'; ibid. I 91, 94, 100 *AWAT* ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ 'the matter of the lasting hierothesion'; ibid. III 51 *ŠA* ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ; ibid. I 92 *ANA* ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ; ibid. I 96–97 and II 1–2 ^{NA_4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ ... *parkiyauwanzi ŪL kisari* 'to ascend to the lasting hierothesion is not allowed'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 22, 14, 42–4; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 7–8 ^{NA_4}*hekur*[-*wa-kan mahhan*] *huwanza hē*[*uss*]-*a pedi ŪL n*[*ininkanzi*] 'even as wind and rain do not lift a rock-sanctuary from its place'; ibid. 2 ^{NA_4}*hekur*; ibid. 4 ^{NA_4}*hekur* ⟨SAG⟩.UŠ; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34, 38–9; XIV 20 II 9–14 *nu INA* ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{NA_4}*Kur*[*usta* ...] EGIR-*anda pāun nu mahhan* ^{I}[^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{NA_4}*Kurusta*] *arhun nu-za-kan* ^{NA_4}*hekur Kur*[*ustan* ...] ^{NA_4}*Kurustas-ma mekki na*[*kkis* ...] *namma-as-kan kezza kezz*[*iya* ...] *nu-ssi-kan* KASKAL-*as* 1-*edaz-pat* [...] 'I went to the rock-sanctuary of K. after the ...; when I arrived at the rock of K., I ... the rock of K.; K. is very steep, and furthermore on this side and on that side it ...; and on only one side of it [is] a road ...'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:173–4 [1966]; II 5 Vs. 4–5 ^{NA_4}*hekur Pittalahsa-as-ma-kan IŠTU* ERÍN.MEŠ NAM.RA [*IṢ*]*BAT* 'it [viz. the city population] took [refuge in] the acropolis, P., along with troops [and] deportees'; ibid. 14 ^{N}]^{A_4}*hekur* ^{URU}*Pittalahsan*; cf. Götze, *AM* 180; *KUB* XII 63 Vs. 35 ^{NA_4}*hekur ēssari-ssit welkuwa* ['rock-sanctuary, its icon, grass ...'; X 81, 5 ^{NA_4}*hekur* DINGIR-*L*[*IM* 'the god's rock-sanctuary'; *KBo* XIII 176, 9 ^{NA_4}*hekur* DINGIR-*LIM*; X 35 I 4 ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}*Kammama*; VI 28 Rs. 30 LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA_4}*hekur Pirwa* 'men of P.'s rock-sanctuary' [P. was potentially aetomorphous or aquiline: cf. *KUB* XLVIII 99, 6 *haran* ^{D}*Pirwan*, and see *hegur Hāranan* below]; *KBo* VI 28 Rs. 19 *ANA* ^{NA_4}*hekur*[; ibid. 22 ^{NA_4}[*hek*]*ur Pirwa-ma-kan arauwahhun* 'P.'s rock-sanctuary I exempted' [viz. from all imposts]; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:46, 39–40 [1977]; XII 140 Rs. 12 ^{NA}]^{I}*hekur Pirwa* ^{I}*Tu*-[*thaliya* [?]; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:50 [1977]; X 10 II 14 ^{NA_4}*hekur*

Pirwa; *KUB* XVI 42 Rs. 1 ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}*Pirwa*; *KBo* XIV 142 IV 17 LÚ.MEŠ *hekur Pirwa*; *VBoT* 110, 11 LÚ].MEŠ *hekur Pirwa*; ibid. 5 *hekur Hatpinas*[; *KUB* XVI 27, 3 LÚ.MEŠ É *hekur Pirwa* 'men of P.'s rock-house'; cf. ibid. 5 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA$_4$ DINGIR-*LIM* 'men of the deity's stone-house'; LV 1 II 9 É.GAL *hekur Pirwa* 'P.'s rock-palace'; XLII 83 IV 2 É].GAL *hekur* ^{D}LAMA; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 100 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 158; XIV 4 II 3–5 *nu sumēs* DINGIR.MEŠ *ŪL uskattēni* É *ABI-YA-kan mahhan hūman INA* É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA *INA* É.NA$_4$ DINGIR-*LIM neyat* 'don't you gods see how she [viz. the Babylonian-origin queen] has turned over my [viz. Mursilis II's] father's [viz. Suppiluliumas I's] entire estate to the rock-house of L., the stone-house of the deity [= mortuary shrine?]?'; XXII 70 Vs. 12–13 SAL.LUGAL-*wa-za KILILU* GUŠKIN *INA* É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA *essesta* 'the queen has made a golden wreath in the rock-house of L.'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 56, 110; ibid. 20–21 and 26 *n-at-kan INA* É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA *ANA* ALAM SAL.LUGAL *anda peter* 'they have taken them [viz. various objects in precious materials] into the rock-house of L. for the icon of the queen'; ibid. 42 and Rs. 17 *INA* É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA; ibid. Vs. 45, 73, Rs. 38, 51, 54 *INA* ŠÀ É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA 'in the interior of the rock-house of L.'; ibid. Vs. 49 and 51 ŠÀ É ^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA; XVIII 54 III 76]^{NA_4}*hekur* ^{D}LAMA), *hé-gur* (*KBo* XII 38 II 17–21 ^{NA_4}*hegur* SAG.UŠ *wedahhun* ALAM DÙ-*nun n-an-kan* [*i*]*NA* ^{NA_4}*hegur* SAG.US *anda pedahhun n-an daninunun warsiyanun* 'a lasting hierothesion I built, an icon I made and took it to the lasting hierothesion, and I installed [and] propitiated it'; *KUB* XXIII 13, 7 *hegur Hāranan-kan katta dahhun* 'I occupied Eagle Rock'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314, 317–8; XXXVIII 2 III 21–24 ^{NA_4}*hegur Temmūwa ŠA* GEŠTIN-*pat hūtusīs andurza* KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 2 EZEN *zēni hame*[*shi*] LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Dālas ē*[*ssanzi* 'rock-sanctuary T.: a h. for wine, silver-plated on the inside; two feasts, in fall and spring; the men of D. are in charge'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8–10; XXVII 13 IV 17–18 ^{NA_4}*hegur annarin* ^{NA_4}*h*[*eg*]*ur mūwattinn-a* LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA_4}*hegur Pirwa* ÌR.MEŠ LUGAL ^{URU}*Isuwa-ya ēssa*[*nzi*] 'the men of P.'s rock-sanctuary and the king's subjects of I. operate rock-sanctuaries a. and m.'; ibid. 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA_4}*hegur* ^{D}[; ibid. 13–14 2 ^{NA_4}*hegur* ŠÀ-*BA* 1-*EN* EN-*as* SAL-*za* 1-*EN* ^{NA_4}*hegur allinalis* [...] LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL ^{I}*Arnuwanda* ... *ēssa*[*nzi* 'two rock-sanctuaries, of these one [is] run by a woman, the other rock-sanctuary [is] a.; the men of A.'s palace ... operate it'; LVI 37 I 7–8 2 ^{NA_4}*hegur* ^{D}*Ka*[*mmamas*] ^{D}*Piskuruwass-a* 'two rock-

sanctuaries, of K. and of P.'; XXXVIII 6 IV 4 ^{NA_4}*hegur*[), pl. (case?) ^{NA_4}*hé-kur*HI.A-*as* (*KBo* XVII 105 III 9). Cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:19–64 (1977).

The near-complete absence of declension (*kūn* ^{NA_4}*hekur*, *ŠA* ^{NA_4}*hekur*, LÚ.MEŠ *hekur*, *ANA* ^{NA_4}*hekur*, *INA* É ^{NA_4}*hekur*, etc.) points decisively to a foreignism ("behaves like a sumerogram": Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 154). The base-meaning is not 'rock' (that is *peruna-*, *pirwa-*). Just as Sum. *é.gal* 'big house, palace' (Akk. *ekallu*) appears in Hurrian as [*h*]*i-i-kal-li* (*KBo* XXXII 13 II 3) and in West Semitic as Ugar. *hkl*, Hebr. *hēkal*, Sum. *é.kur* 'mountain house' (name of elevated sanctuaries, such as Enlil's at Nippur; Akk. *ekurru* 'temple') seems to have been transmitted to Hittite (via Hurrian?) as *hé-kur* or *hé-gur* (cf. also *herin-*, *hiyara-* [s. v.]). The term is unattested in Old Hittite; its imperial nature may lend some credence to D. Silvestri's theory (*AION-L* 5:291–305 [1983]) that it was introduced by the extravagant Babylonian princess whom Suppiluliumas I installed as queen late in life and whom Mursilis II opposed and deposed (see *KUB* XIV 4 II 3–5, quoted above); against this argues the lingering notion of 'rocky height', vs. that of Akk. *ekurru*.

The attempts to find an Indo-European etymon for *hekur* (and to exploit it for laryngeal theory), stretching back to Pedersen and Sturtevant, were chronicled by Tischler, *Glossar* 235–7; add H. C. Melchert (*Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 142 [1984]), who adduced Gk. *αἰχμή* 'spear-point', and Van Windekens, *IF* 90:94–7 (1985), *KZ* 100:311 (1987), who sought a tie-in with Gk. *αἰπύς* 'steep'. The most promising connection was that with Skt. *ágra-* 'peak', *giri-* 'mountain', OCS *gora* 'mountain' under a formula **E*$_2$*ég*^{w}*-r-* : *E*$_2$*g*^{w}*-ér-*. For H. Eichner's attempt to connect *hakkun(n)ai-* see s. v.

henk-, hi(n)k- 'bestow, consign, commit, secure, assign, allot, provide, present, offer' (close in meaning and usage to *maniyahh-* 'ordain, assign' and *pai-* 'give'), 1 sg. pres. act. *hi-ik-mi* (*KUB* XXXIII 27, 12 *ūk-war-an-t*]*a hikmi* 'I consign him to thee'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:115 [1965]), *hi-in-ik-mi* (XXXIII 112 + XXXVI 2c III 10–12 KASKAL-*an-ma k*[*uin*] *iyantari nu* KASKAL-[*an kuin*] *uwanzi n*[*u ammu*]*k* ^{D}KAL-*as nepis*[*as* LUGAL-*us*] DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hinikm*[*i* 'what road they go, and what road they come, I, K., king of heaven, assign to the

gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:34 [1968]; similarly *HT* 25 + *KUB* XXXIII 111, 1–2; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:37 [1968]; XXXVI 5 I 2), *hi-in-ga-mi* (*KBo* XXIX 2 II 8 [*katta hi*]*ngami*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 63), 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-ik-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 18 I 21 1 GUD 2 UDU-*ya hikzi* 'he consigns one ox and two sheep'; *KBo* II 3 II 49 and dupl. 1112/c + III 40 *nu* UDU ^{D}UTU-*i hikzi* 'she consigns the sheep to the sun-god'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; *KUB* IX 28 II 23–24 *n-at* ^{D}UTU-*i hikzi nu hanza aruwaizzi* 'he presents it to the sun-god and prostrates himself in front'; XXXV 54 II 29 *katta hikzi*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 67; *IBoT* I 36 IV 18–20 *mahhan-ma-kan* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*huluganaz katta tiyezzi nu mān* GAL *MEŠEDI arta nu* GAL *MEŠEDI* EGIR-*anta UŠGEN nu* LUGAL-*un* EGIR-*pa ANA* GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *hikzi* 'but when the king steps down from the coach, if the head bodyguard stands by, the head bodyguard makes obeisance and commits the king to the head page'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:198–200 [1966]; similarly ibid. II 23–25, but with EGIR-*pa hingari* 'bows' in the slot of EGIR-*anta UŠGEN* [see s. v. *he(n)k-* 'bow']), *hi-in-ik-zi* (*HT* 39 Rev. 13–14 1 SILÁ-*ma ANA* [...] *hinikz*[*i* 'consigns a lamb to ...'; *KUB* VII 5 I 19–20 *nu-tta pedan hinikzi nu-tta* É-*ir pāi* 'he will provide a place for thee, he will give thee a house'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]), *hi-in-ga-zi* (*KBo* V 1 I 39–40 *n-as ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* EGIR-*pa hingazi harnauw-a ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* EGIR-*pa hingazi* 'them he consigns to the deity, and the birthing seat he consigns to the deity'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*), 1 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ku-wa-ni* (*KUB* XVII 28 I 10–11 NA_4-*ann-a āski tummeni nu* É.ŠÀ-*nas* ^{GIŠ}IG *hinkuwani* 'we take a stone in the gateway and secure the door of the inner house'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-kán-zi* (e. g. XVII 35 III 14–15 *nu* ŠU.DIB.BU *appanzi n-an ANA* DINGIR-*LIM hinkanzi* 'they seize a captive and consign him to the deity'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 160; XXII 70 Rs. 64 n-*an ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* EGIR-*pa hinkanzi* 'they consign him to the deity'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 98; *KBo* XXI 1 III 4–5 UDU-*ya-sma*[*s* ...] [*ta*]*knās* ^{D}UTU-*i hinkanzi* 'and a sheep on their behalf ... to the solar deity of the earth they consign'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 22; X 20 I 34–35 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GUDU [...] NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hinkanzi* 'the priests consign breadloaves'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:81 [1960]; XI 18 V 16; *KUB* XVII 27 II 9; *KBo* VI 3 III 64 [= *Code* 1:71] *n-an* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI-*as hinkanzi* 'the elders consign it' [viz. a stray animal to its finder]), *hi-in-ga-zi* (ibid. 67 *takkuw-an* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI-*as ŪL hingazi* 'if the elders do not consign it'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hi-in-ku-un* (III 6 II 13 *n-as ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA hinkun* 'I

consigned them to my brother'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12), 3 sg. pret. act. *hi-en-ik-ta* (VI 29 I 20–21 *IŠTU* INIM DINGIR-*LIM-za-an dahhun* DINGIR-*LIM-an-mu* Ù-*it henikta* 'at the deity's behest I took her [viz. Puduhepa as my wife]; the deity by a dream consigned her to me'), [*hi*]-*in-ik-ta* (XVI 83 III 5; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 88 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 264), *hi-in-kat-ta* (III 34 II 3–4 LUGAL-*i* SIG_5-*antan* GEŠTIN-*an hinkatta apedass-a tamain* GEŠTIN-*an piyer* 'to the king he allotted good wine, but to those they gave other wine'), 1 pl. pret. act. *hi-in-ku-u-e-en* (*KUB* XXXVI 82, 6), 3 pl. pret. act. *hi-in-kir* (*KBo* III 55 Vs. 3 -]*an hinkir*), 2 sg. imp. act. *hi-in-ga* (V 9 III 15–16 *n-as-kan* KASKAL-*si* SIG_5-*in dāi* KASKAL-*an-ma INA* KUR ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti hinga* 'put them well on the road, but assign the road to Hatti!'; cf. ibid. 18–19 *mān-as-kan* KASKAL-*si-ma ŪL daitti INA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti-ya-smas* KASKAL-*an ŪL maniyahti* 'but if you do not put them on the road, and do not ordain them the road to Hatti'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), 3 pl. imp. act. *hi-in-kán--du* (*KUB* XIII 2 III 41 *nu-ssi pitta hūdāk hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a land-grant'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 49; XXXI 84 III 68–69 *nu-ssi AŠRA hūdak hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a place'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50); verbal noun *hinkuwar, henku(wa)r* (n.) 'consignment, offering, oblation, gift, tribute' (IGI.DU$_8$.A), nom.-acc. sg. *hi-in-ku-wa-ar* (*KBo* XVII 88 II 16 *ŠA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.ZÍR *hinkuwar* 'the offering of the dogmen'; ibid. 21 *ŠA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.ZÍR IGI.DU$_8$.A; cf. ibid. 23 *hinkanzi*, ibid. 24 *ŪL hinkanzi*; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 115; *KUB* LIX 70 III 13 *kī hinkuwar*['this tribute'), *hi-in-ku-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 20 III 13; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 17:110 [1985]), *hé-en-gur* (*KUB* XXVI 71 I 17]AN.BAR *hengur udas* '[he] brought me as a gift an iron [sceptre]'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14), gen. sg. *hé-en-ku-wa-as* (*KBo* XXII 1, 13 [OHitt.] *ki-ma henkuwas-sas* 50 NINDA.HI.A ... 'but the following [is part] of his allotment: fifty bread ...'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *hi-en-ku-wa-as* (XXII 218 Vs. 9]^{LÚ}*henkuwas harzi* 'the offerant holds ...'; literally '[man] of oblation', cf. e. g. $^{(LÚ)}$*parasnauwas* '[man] of crouching, squatter'; Neu, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 118–20 [1982]), *hi-in-ku-wa-as* (*KUB* XX 123 IV 11 *hinkuwas pidi* 'at the place of oblation'; XXVII 69 VI 1 *hinkuwas memai* 'the offerant says'; XLV 3 I 2–3 *hinkuwas-ma ... memai*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:267), dat.-loc. sg. *hé-en-ku-ni* (XXVI 71 I 16 *katti-mi henkuni* 'to me for a gift'; wrongly Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 114–6), nom.-acc. pl. *hi-in-ku-wa-ri* (LIX 70 III 9 *kī-ma hinkuwari*), instr.

or abl. pl. in *VAT* 7698 I 9–12 *nu-kan* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}PA-*ti hūma[ntes* ...] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UGULA *LIMTIM* ... GAL LÚ.MEŠ KÁ.GAL UR.ZÍR *IŠTU* IGI.DU$_8$.A.HI.A-*TIM hinkanzi* 'all the men of Hatti ..., chiliarchs, ..., the chief of the men of the dog-gate, make offering with oblations' (figura etymologica); *hinkatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. IGI.DU$_8$.A-*an-ni* (*KUB* XVII 20 II 21); inf. *hi-in-ku-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* XI 73 Vs. 3–6 [LUGAL]-*i hinka[nzi]* [*ŠA*] MUN *kugullus* ^{URU}*Durmittaz hinkuwanzi* '[they] provide containers of salt from D. to be consigned to the king'); iter. *hinkiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-in-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXXV 54 II 17–18 [*n*]*u-ssan* UNUTE.MEŠ *hūman*[*da*] [*katt*]*a hinkiskizzi* 'he consigns all the implements'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 66).

hinkula- (c.) 'offerant, oblator' (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hi-in-ku-la-as* (*KUB* II 7 II 9–11 *ta* LUGAL-*was* ^{LÚ}*hinkulas paizzi ta* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *sarā epzi t-an parsiya* 'the king's h. goes, picks up the breadloaf, and breaks it'. Probably derived, similarly to $^{(LÚ)}$*henkuwas* above, from an abstract noun **hinkul-* 'oblation'. For further parallels see s. v. *hattul(a)-* and N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20:97 (1962).

henk- reflects IE **E$_2$én-ḱ-*, *E$_2$n-éḱ-* with a basic meaning 'reach, attain' and an extended one of 'carry, bring': Skt. *naś-*, *aś-* (< **E$_2$ŋḱ-*) 'attain', *áṁśa-* 'portion' matching Gk. *ὄγκος* 'bulk' (< **E$_2$onḱ-*), Gk. *ἐνεγκ-* (< **E$_2$ne-E$_2$ŋḱ-*) 'carry, bring', *ποδ-ηνεκής* 'reaching to the feet', Lat. *na(n)c-* 'attain', Goth. *ga-nah* 'suffices', Lith. *neš-*, OCS *nes-* 'carry' (*IEW* 316–8). The root shape **E$_2$énḱ-* normally preferred by Hittite (cf. e. g. *HED* 1–2:175, and *hasp-* s. v.) is found also in e. g. OIr. *ro-icc* 'reaches'.

The semantic shift from 'carry' to 'bestow' in *henk-* may have been abetted by the concretization of the verbal noun *henku(wa)r* from 'carrying' to 'offering, gift' (cf. Gk. *φόρος* 'tribute' and Skt. *áṁśa-* 'portion'). For history of discussions and abortive connections see Tischler, *Glossar* 246–50; add H. C. Melchert (*Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 23–4 [1984]), who operated with a compound reconstruct **h$_3$e-h$_1$enḱ-*.

Cf. *he(n)k-*, *henkan-*.

he(n)k-, hi(n)k-, hai(n)k- 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' ('to': dat., rarely acc.; often *appa*[*n*] *hink-*; alternates with *ŠUKĒNU* [= *ar(u)wai-*] 'make obeisance, prostrate oneself'), 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-ik-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XXII 189 II 11 NIN.DINGIR LUGAL-*i hikzi* 'the sister divine curtsies to the king'; cf. Singer, *ZA* 65:81 [1975]), *hi-ni-ik-zi* (*KUB*

LVIII 18 VI 14]*ANA* DINGIR-*LIM hinikzi* 'he bows to the god'; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 14:260 [1987]), *hi-in-ik-zi* (XX 1 II 28 *n-as iyattari nu* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*an hinikzi* 'he walks and bows to his majesty'; *KBo* V 6 II 53–54 *namma* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI saknuwantas ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *parkuwayass-a ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.HI.A EGIR-*an hinikzi* 'shall moreover my majesty bow to the filthy tables and to the clean tables?', besides ibid. 61–62 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.HI.A *saknuwandas-ma parkuyass-a mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* EGIR-*an UŠKEN* 'as my majesty has made obeisance to the filthy and the clean tables'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 282), *hi-in-ki-iz-*[*zi* (III 10, 3), *hi-in-ga-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXVII 16 I 20 *mahhan-ma* SAL.LUGAL *PANI* DINGIR-*LIM ari n-as hingazi* 'but when the queen arrives before the deity she curtsies'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:90 [1957]; X 89 I 7 *namma tamāis* EN.ERÍN.MEŠ *hingazi* 'then another army officer bows'; repeated ibid. 10 with *hi-in-ga-an-zi* [sic]; repeated ibid. 13 with *hi-in-ga-*~~*an*~~*-zi*, with erasure; XI 34 IV 7 *h*]*ingazi*), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-in-ga* (e. g. *KBo* XX 11 II 5 *n-as namma hinga* 'he again bows'; ibid. III 4 *n-as hinga*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 147; VIII 85 Vs. 7 *hinga n-as iyanna*[*i* 'bows, and he goes'; *Bo* 6594 I 13 NIN.DINGIR-*i* KASKAL-*si hinga*['to the sister divine on the road he bows'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 99; *KUB* XII 58 I 18 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hinga* 'bows to the gods'; XXXII 108 Vs. 11]^{DUG}*harsiyalli hinga* 'bows to the pithos'), *hi-in-ga-ri* (*IBoT* I 36 II 23–25 *māhhan-ma* ^{GIŠ}*hulugannis parā iyannai* GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-*ma* EGIR-[*pa*] *hingari* [besides parallel ibid. IV 18–20 with EGIR-*anta UŠGEN*] *nu* LUGAL EGIR-*pa ANA* GAL *MEŠEDI hikzi* 'but when the coach goes forth, the head page bows and commits the king to the head bodyguard'; cf. Jakob-Rost *MIO* 11:184 [1966]; *KUB* LVIII 79 IV 8 *n-as hingari* 'he bows'), *ha-ik-ta* (*KBo* XXIII 91 Rs. 6]LUGAL *haikta*; cf. ibid. 9 *hi-ik-zi*; ibid. 11 *h*]*i-ik-ta*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:29), *ha-ik-ta-ri* (*KUB* XXXVI 100 + *KBo* VII 14 Vs. 19 [LÚ] ^{URU}*Hassi-ma ammukk-a ha*[*iktari* 'the man from H. bows to me'; ibid. 20 *haik*[*tari*; dupl. *KUB* XXXVI 101 III 8 *hai*]*ktari*), *hé-ik-ta* (*KBo* XX 10 I 4–6 LÚ ^{D}IM-*an anta pehutezi* LÚ ^{D}IM *ANA* LUGAL *h*[*e*]*kta ta anizzi mān zinnizi-ma ANA* LUGAL *hekta āppa-ea hekta* LUGAL-*us tunna paizzi* '[the head page] introduces the "man of the storm-god" [= fulgurator?]; the fulgurator bows to the king; he performs; when he is finished, he bows to the king, and the king bows in return [and] goes to the inner chamber'; ibid. 10 *ANA* LUGAL *hekta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 131), *hi-ik-ta* (e. g. XVI 82, 2; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:27), *hi-in-kat-ta* (XVII 88 III 14 and 18 *namma tamais hinkatta* 'then another bows', besides dupl. *KUB* I

15 II 4 *namma tamais* EN.ERÍN.MEŠ *UŠKEN* 'then another army officer makes obeisance'; X 88 IV 3; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 272; XX 10 IV 3), 1 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ku-e-ni* (XXXIII 106 II 22]^{D}*É-A-as* ^{GIŠ}*arasiyas* 5-*anki hinkueni* 'at Ea's doors let us bow five times'; ibid. 23 *nu ANA* ^{D}*É-A* 15-*ŠU hinkueni* 'to Ea let us bow fifteen times'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-kán-zi* (*Bo* 2669 III 12 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GUDÚ LUGAL-*i hinkanzi* 'the priests bow to the king'; *KUB* IX 31 III 41–43 *nu* EN.MEŠ KARAŠ *ANA* UDU.ŠIR.HI.A EGIR-*an katta hinkanzi* LUGAL-*ya ANA* SAL-*TI unuwanti* EGIR-*an hingazi* 'the army officers bow down to the rams, and the king bows to the decked woman'; *HT* 1 IV 4–5 *n-at* EGIR-*an katta hinkanzi n-at-za arha uwanzi* 'they bow down, and they go home'; *KUB* XVII 18 II 8 *n-an* $^{SAL.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI EGIR-*an hinkanzi* 'the old women curtsy to him' [the occasional construction with the accusative recalls that with *sipand-*; cf. *HED* 1–2:267]), 3 pl. pres. or pret. midd. *ha-en-kán-t*[*a*(-) (1003/u, 7 LUGAL-*i haenkant*[*a* 'they bow[ed?] to the king'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-in-kán-ta* (*KBo* XVII 74 I 19 [OHitt.] LUGAL-*i hainkanta* '[they] bow to the king'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 12, 54), *hi-in-kán-ta* (XIII 175 Rs. 3 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ni hinkanta* 'they bow to the priest'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 112; *KUB* XXXIV 124 Vs. 5 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM LUGAL-*i hinkanta* 'the cooks bow to the king'; X 1 I 15–16 LUGAL-*i hinkanta* '[they] bow to the king', besides ibid. 8 *n-at* LUGAL-*i UŠKENNU* and dupl. *KBo* XXI 52 I 5 *hi-in-kat-ta*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:22; X 25 VI 10 LUGAL-*i hinkanta* '[the dog-men] bow to the king'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:53; *KUB* XXVIII 98 IV 10 *n-e hinkanta* 'they bow'; *KBo* XXV 176 Vs. 9 and *KUB* XXV 51 I 7 *n-at hinkanta* 'they bow'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:92; *IBoT* I 36 II 17 LÚ.MEŠ ŠUKUR.DUGUD-*ma hinkanta* 'the heavy lancers bow'), *hi-i-in-kán-ta* (*Bo* 2689 Rs. 19 LUGAL-*i hīnkanta*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 358), 3 sg. pret. act. *hi-en-ik-ta* (*KUB* VIII 59, 5–6 [*n*]-*as aruni henikta n-*[*as* ...] [T]I-*wa-za ēs sallis ar*[*unas* 'he [viz. Gilgameš] bowed to the sea, and he [said] "Hail to thee, great sea"'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:22 [1968]), *hi-in-ik-ta* (XXXIII 106 II 31 5-*šU hinikta* 'five times he bowed'), *hi-in-kat-ta* (XV 36 Vs. 9 ^{D}UTU-*ši-m*]*a* EGIR-*an hinkatta* 'my majesty bowed'; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 6, 33–8; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 105 [1985]; *KBo* V 6 III 38 *n-as*] *hinkatta imma* 'nay he even bowed to them' [viz. far from pillaging the holy places of the acropolis of Kargamis]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:95 [1956]; *KUB* XXXIII 120 II 39–40 *n-as mahhan iyattat n-as PANI* ^{D}*A-A tiyat* ^{D}*Kuma*[*rbis*] [*hi*]*nkatta n-as katta mausta* ^{D}*Kumarbis* 'when he went and he, Kumarbis, stepped before Ea, he bowed and he,

Kumarbis, fell down'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; Laroche, *RHA* 26:43 [1968]), 3 pl. pret. midd. *hi-in-kán-ta-ti* (XXXIII 91, 5 *n-at* KÙ.BABBAR-*i* [*h*]*inkantati* 'they bowed to the silver'), *hi-in-kán-ta-at* (XXXIII 66 III 8 *n-as-si hinkantat* 'they bowed to him'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:131 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *hi-in-ik* (*KBo* XXII 86 + *KUB* XXXVI 2c III 6–7 *nu-smas menahhanda ī*[*t*] *nu-smas hinī*[*k*] 'go to meet them and bow to them!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 33:67 [1975]); iter. *hinkiski-*, *hinkeski-*, *hingaski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-in-ki-is-ki-it-ta* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 17 GÌR.MEŠ-*as-sas* GAM-*an hinkiskitta* 'to his [viz. Anu's] feet he [viz. Kumarbi] keeps bowing down'; similarly ibid. 10), 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-as-kán-zi* (*KBo* XXV 54 I 13; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hi-in-ki-es-kán-ta-ri* (XII 96 IV 8 *n-at ANA* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A EGIR-*an hinkeskantari* 'they keep bowing to the breadloaves'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:240 [1964]).

hinganu- '(make) bow', 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-nu-zi* (*KUB* II 10d, 10]*hinganuzi*, besides dupl. *KBo* X 24 IV 28–29 LUGAL-*i hingazi*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20; *KUB* II 15 V 3 LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA 2 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GUDÚ LUGAL-*i hin*⟨*ga*⟩*nuzi* 'the herald makes two priests bow to the king'; *IBoT* IV 103 Rs. 1 LU]GAL-*i hinganuzi*; IV 86 Vs. 1), *hi-in-ga-nu-u*[*z-zi* (*KBo* X 54 IV 8 *nu* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GUDÚ *hinganu*[*zzi*).

he(n)k- is (unlike its transitive near-homophone *henk-*) intransitive or medial. For the morphological variation *hinga(ri)* : *haikta(ri)*, *hekta*, *hikta*, *hinkta* (spelled *hi-in-kat-ta*) cf. *suppari* : *suptari*, *tuhsa(ri)* : *tuhhusta*, *siyari* : *siyattari*, *parsiya(ri)* : *parsittari*, *lahuwāri* : *lahuwatari*. Forms like *hai(n)k-*, *haenk-* are reverse spellings, a kind of spurious diphthong notation for *e* like e. g. *appaizzi-* for *appezzi-* (*HED* 1–2:92).

he(n)k- 'bow' is root-related to *henk-* 'bestow, consign' (q. v.), from IE *E_2énḱ- 'reach, attain; carry, bring'. The intransitive meaning 'bow (to)' develops from 'reach out (to)', 'stretch oneself (towards)'; cf. e. g. Gk. *ποδηνεκής* 'reaching to the feet' with *patas-sas kattan hinkiskitta* 'to his (Anu's) feet he (Kumarbi) keeps bowing down' ('and places drinking goblets in his hand'; *KUB* XXXIII 120 I 17, quoted above). A good semantic parallel is IE **nem-* (*IEW* 763–4), where the basic meaning of stretching forth one's hand(s) has led to 'allot' on the one hand (Gk. *νέμω*), 'take' on the other (Goth. *niman*), and 'bow in greeting' as well (Skt. *námate*); the appertaining *s*-stem nouns mirror the same range: Gk. *νέμος* 'pas-

ture', Lat. *nemus* 'grove' (both literally 'allotment, grant, precinct'), Avest. *nəmah-* 'loan' and 'greeting', Skt. *námas-* 'greeting'.

Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 50, correctly suggested that the two verbs were etymologically related and that Gk. *ἐνεγκεῖν* was a plausible cognate. The subsequent connection of *he(n)k-* 'bow' with Gk. *ὄγκος* 'barb', Lat. *uncus* 'hook' (and consequently Skt. *añc-* 'bend', IE **ank-* [*IEW* 45 – 6]; first in Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 28) was abortive, even when trying to draw in *henk-* 'bestow' as well (e. g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 71); for a possible cognate of *ὄγκος* 'barb' see *HED* 1 – 2:73.

Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 176 – 7, crediting K. Hoffmann) sought to find separate etyma for the Hittite homophones *hēnk-* (sic) in the obscure Sanskrit pair of verbs *ac-* 'draw (water)' and *a(ñ)c-* 'bend'.

Cf. *hinkaniya-*.

henkan-, hinkan- (n.) 'death, doom, deadly disease, plague' (UG_6), nom.-acc. sg. *hé-en-kán* (*KBo* III 28 II 15 *idalu-ma-an le iyasi henkan-se le takkissi* 'do not treat him ill, do not plot death for him'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]; III 46 Vs. 33 *hurla-ma-ssan henkan siya[ir]* 'they shot the plague at the Hurrian', with dupl. III 53 Vs. 4 *hurli-ma-ssan hinkan si[yair*; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279 [1977]; A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; III 34 III 14), *hi-en-ka-an* (XVIII 151 Vs. 12 – 13 [OHitt.] *istarnikayin tas henkan tas harkan tas assu bayis* 'she took ailment, she took death, she took ruin, she gave good'; cf. Ünal and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 88:164 [1974]), *hi-en-kán* (*HT* 1 II 29 *ziqq-a kuis* DINGIR-*LUM kī henkan iyan harti* 'thou god who hast made this plague', with dupl. *KUB* IX 31 II 57 *h]ingan iyan harti*), *hi-in-kán* (e. g. *KBo* IV 14 II 28 – 29 *zik-ma apedani mēhuni* GE_6-*in* KI-*an wāga ep hinkan-ta* ZAG-*as ēsdu* 'at that time seize the dark earth bitingly [= bite the dust; cf. Hom. *ὀδὰξ ἕλον οὐδας* 'bit the dust'], let death be your limit'; ibid. 61 *hinkan-ta* ZAG-*as ēsdu*, besides ibid. 81 UG_6-*an-ta* ZAG-*as ēs[du]*; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:40 – 2, 44, 50 – 1 [1965]; cf. XII 30 II 5 – 6 *aqqatar irhas ēsdu* 'let death be the limit'; *KUB* XXI 27 I 46 – 48 *apās-ma apēl harga[n] [ap]ēll-a hinkan* ŪL *kapp[uwāit] [nu-kan* A]*NA* ^{URU}*Neriqqa ser aggatar ē[sta* 'but that man did not care a whit about its destruction and its doom; for Nerik

there was death'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 331; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:110 [1981]; Izmir 1277 + *KBo* IV 8 II 5 – 6 *n-a[t-m]u* SAG.DU-*as hinkan ēsta mān-as* ŪL BA.UG_6 'was it death penalty for me if she did not die?'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:188, 190 [1983]; for synonymous SAG.DU-*as aggatar*, and SAG.DU-*as wastul* 'capital crime', see *HED* 1 – 2:19; for *hinqanas wastul* 'capital crime', see below; IV 8 II 20 – 21 *nu ammel dammeshas* ŠA DAM-*YA hinkan* SIG_5-*yattat* 'has my punishment, my wife's death, become better [i. e. easier to bear]?'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 81 *nu-wa-s]si* EGIR-*[an h]inkan hanteskizi* 'he afterwards fixes death for him'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20; XIII 3 II 19 *QADU* DAM-*ŠU-si* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU* HUL-*lu hinkan peanzi* 'to him along with his wife [and] his children they will give a bad death'; ibid. III 19 – 20 *nu-smas QADU* DAM.MEŠ-*KUNU* DUMU.MEŠ-*-KUNU idālu hinkan piyanzi* 'to you along with your wives [and] your children they will give a bad death', besides ibid. 8 *nu-ssi QADU* NUMUN-*ŠU* HUL-*lu* UG_6-*an piyanzi* 'to him along with his offspring they will give a bad death'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46 – 7; *KBo* VI 34 I 39 *nu idālu hinkan pedau* 'may it bring a bad death', besides ibid. II 28 – 29 *nu* HUL-*lu* UG_6-*kan pedau*; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8 – 10; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 2 *nu tuēl* ŠA ^{I}*Ma[dduw]atta* [HUL-*lu*] *hinkan sanhiskit* 'he kept seeking your, Madduwattas', bad death'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 2; XXVI 42 III 6 *idālu hinkan[*; *KBo* III 1 III 49 HUL-*lu hinka[n*; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 46 [1984]; *KUB* IX 4 III 41 *markistauwas hinkan* 'disease of suddenness' [?]; par. IX 34 I 25 *[mark]isdauwas hinkan*; *KBo* XVII 54 I 13 *-w]as hinkan*; *KUB* XXIII 79 Rs. 10 – 11 *mā]n* KUR-*ya anda hinka[n] [k]īsa* 'if in the land plague occurs'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:175 [1965]; XIV 12 Vs. 2 *nu-kan* INA ŠÀ KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hinkan tarnattin* 'you have let plague into Hatti'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 236; XLV 79 Vs. 15 *]mān* ŠÀ KARAŠ *panku hinkan* 'if a plague epidemic in the army'; *KBo* V 6 I 9 – 10 EGIR-*ann-a-kan* INA ŠÀ KARAŠ *hinkan kisat* 'in the rear, amidst the army, plague broke out', besides ibid. 18 INA ŠÀ KARAŠ.HI.A-*ma-kan* UG_6-*as* [sic!] *kuit* 'that there [was] plague amongst the troops'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]; *KUB* XIV 11 II 28 – 29 *nu-kan* INA ŠÀ $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ *ZABDUTI hinkan kisat* 'among the prisoners plague broke out'; dupl. XIV 8 Vs. 28 *nu-kan* INA ŠÀ-*BI* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.DIB.BI.HI.A *hinkan kī[sat*; dupl. XIV 10 + XXVI 86 II 28 – 29 *nu-kan* [...] [...] *hinkan kisat*; cf. Götze, *KlF* 210; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 205; XIV 8 Vs. 4 *]Hatti hinkan* ŪL SIG_5-*a[ttat* '[in] Hatti the plague did not get well'; XIV 10 I 13 – 15 *kuit-kan* INA ŠÀ KUR ^{URU}*Hatti akkiskittari nu-kan* IŠTU KUR

URU*Hatti hinkan arha* ŪL-*pat taruptari* 'whereas in Hatti dying is rife and the plague is not unwinding from Hatti'; ibid. IV 21–22 *nu-kan hinkan* IŠTU KUR URU*Hatti arha namm[a taru]bdāru* 'let the plague now again unwind from Hatti!'; XXIV 1 III 16–17 IŠTU KUR URU*Hatti-ma-kan idalun ta[passan] hinkan kastan māsann-a a[rha uiya]* 'but from Hatti chase out ill fever, plague, famine, and locusts!'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22; XXIV 3 II 32–34 *nu-ssan hinkan kurur gastan idālun tapassan ANA* KUR URU*Mitanni Ù ANA* KUR URU*Arzauwa tarnattin* 'let the plague, hostility, famine, and ill fever loose in Mitanni and Arzawa!'; dupl. XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Vs. 21–22 *[n]u-ssan hinkan kūrur kāstan ANA* KUR URU*Mitanni [ANA]* KUR URU*Kizzuwatni Ù ANA* KUR URU*Arzauwa tarnatten*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28; XIV 12 Rs. 13 *hinkan arha namma uiyattin* 'chase the plague out again!'; similarly ibid. 5 and 7; cf. Götze, *KlF* 238; XIV 13 IV 21 *nu-kan hinkan* EGIR-*pa le paiz[zi]* 'let the plague not return', besides ibid. 18–19 *nu-kan* UG_6-*an* [KUR-*e]az arha namma uiyattin* 'chase the plague out of the land again!'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 248; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 223), *hi-in-kán*^{an} (XIV 11 III 23–24 *nu-kan INA* ŠÀ KUR URUPA-*ti hinkan* SIG_5-*yattaru* 'in Hatti may the plague get well'), *hi-in-ga-an* (dupl. XIV 8 Rs. 9 *nu-kan INA* [...] *hingan lazz[iya]ttaru*; ibid. Vs. 29–30 *nu-kan hingan INA* ŠÀ-*BI* KUR URU *Hat[ti]* LÚ.MEŠ*ZABTUTU utēr*, besides dupl. XIV 11 II 33–34 *nu-kan hinkan INA* KUR URU*Hatti* LÚ.MEŠ*ZABTU weter* 'the prisoners brought plague to Hatti'; *KBo* XVI 99 I 5 *hargas hingan* ŪL DÙ-*ri* 'destruction [and] death do not occur'; *KUB* XV 34 II 47; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), *hi-in-ga-n(a-)* (XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingani haminkan hingan-a-ma-pa anda huiswanni-ya haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death, and death [is] tied to life'; par. XXXVI 79 II 44 *hinkan*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 113, 98), UG_6-*kán* (e.g. *KBo* VI 34 II 28, quoted above; *KBo* XIV 20 + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34, 19 *[nu IN]A* ŠÀ URU*Hatti kuit* UG_6-*kan ēsta* 'because there was plague in Hatti'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:169–70 [1966]), UG_6-*an* (e.g. *KBo* XVIII 142, 5–6 *n-at-si mān* SAG.DU-*as* UG_6-*an* 'if it [is] the death penalty for him'; IV 14 III 37–38 *nu-kan* UG_6-*an ANA* LUGAL ÌR.MEŠ ZI *akkanzi* 'intimate servants lay down their lives [lit. die death] for the king'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:46, 69 [1965]; *HT* 1 II 24–25 *kuis-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* KUR-*TIM kī* UG_6-*an iyan harzi* 'the god who has made this plague of the land', besides ibid. 29 *hi-en-kán* [quoted above]; *KUB* VII 54 I 2 *mān-kan* ŠÀ KARAŠ.HI.A UG_6-*an kisari* 'if among troops plague occurs'; V 3 I 45–48 IŠTU 10

LÚ.MEŠ 20 LÚ.MEŠ *mān annas* UD-*za kuedas [arī] mān-ma-kan* URUKÙ.BABBAR-*si ser panku* UG_6-*an* ŪL DÙ-*ri* URUKÙ.BABBAR-*za-nas-kan* GAM *pankus markisdauwas* UG_6-*as* [sic!] ŪL *watkunuzzi* 'if out of ten or twenty men their last [lit. mother's, see *HED* 1–2:56] day is at hand for some, but if up in Hattusas a plague epidemic does not occur [and] a plague epidemic of sudden outbreak does not make us leap down from Hattusas'; ibid. 44 *panku* UG_6-*an* UL DÙ-*ri*), gen. sg. *hi-in-ga-na-as* (*KBo* III 21 II 25 *hēūn-ma hinganas* 'but the rain of death'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; *KUB* XIV 12 Vs. 8 *hinganas-ma-an-si-kan* [; XXXIV 58 I 2 *hinganas-ma*), *hi-in-qa-na-as* (XIII 8 Vs. 11–12 *mān* ŠA É.NA_4-*ma hinqanas wastul kuiski wastai n-as aki* 'if someone commits a capital crime against the house of stones, he is put to death'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106), dat.-loc. sg. *hé-en-ga-ni* (*KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 5 *su-wa* URU*Hattusa hengani pāun* 'I went to Hattusas to my death'), *hi-in-ga-ni* (e.g. dupl. III 38 Rs. 21 *su-wa* URU*Hattusi hingani pāu[n]*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 10; III 1 II 28 *n-us pankus parā hingani harta* 'the assembly sentenced them to death'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 30 [1984]; *KUB* IV 72 Rs. 7 ERÍN.MEŠ *ITTI* DINGIR *hingani wekzi* 'he will ask soldiers from the deity for death'; XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingani haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death'; *KBo* XVI 52 Vs. 9–10 *kāsa hingani* [...] SISKUR.SISKUR GIM-*an* SIXSÁ-*at* 'lo, for death [or: plague?] ... as a rite has been fixed'; IX 137 II 17 *nu-wa-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ *hingani nāh*[- '... fear the gods in [time of] plague'; *KBo* XIV 20 + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34, 20–21 *nu hingani kuit [pir]an arha tarnah[hun]* 'because I retreated before the plague'; *KUB* XIV 10 I 22–24 *nu-za hingani ser ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandās ārkūwar ēssahhun* 'on account of the plague I made a plea to all the gods'; XIV 8 Vs. 38 *hingani ser*; dupl. XIV 11 II 47 *hingani*; XIV 8 Rs. 20, XIV 11 III 21, XIV 14 Rs. 5 and 19 *hingani ser*), *hi-kán-ni* (*KBo* III 36 Vs. 9 ^{I}*Hakipuilin-a hikanni husnut* 'H. in plague he kept alive'), UG_6-*ni* (*KUB* V 3 II 19 DINGIR-*LUM* GIBIL *kuis* UG_6-*ni ser* SIXSÁ-*at* 'what new deity has been determined as cause of the plague'), abl. sg. *hi-in-ga-na-az* (XIV 1 Vs. 3–4 *nu-tta-kan ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hin[ga]naz huisnut* 'my majesty's father saved you from death'; XIV 10 I 6–8 *nu-wa-kan INA* ŠÀ-*BI* KUR URU*Hatti hinkan tarnatten nu-wa* KUR URU*Hatti hinganaz arumma mekki tamastat* 'you have let the plague into the land of Hatti, and Hatti has been very greatly oppressed by the plague'; XIV 14 + XIX 1 Vs. 8–9 ŠÀ] KUR URU*Hatti-kan* UG_6-*an kisat nu* KUR URU*Hatti hin⟨ga⟩naz tamast[at* 'inside Hatti

plague has broken out, and Hatti has been oppressed by the plague'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 164; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 193; XIV 12 Vs. 7 *nu* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hinganaz mekki tama[stat*; XIV 14 Vs. 38–39 *kinun-a hinkan parā namma da[sses]ta* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hinganaz [mekki] dammeshaittat n-at tepawe[sta* 'and now the plague has thickened, Hatti has been greatly overcome by the plague, and it has been decimated'; ibid. Rs. 24), *hi-in-ga-na-an-za* (XXIV 3 II 25–26 *kezz-at hinganan-anza tama[sta kezz-at] kururanza tamasta*; dupl. XXIV 4 Vs. 15–16 *kezz-at hinkananza tamāsta kez[z-at] kūruranza tamasta* 'on the one hand it has been oppressed by the plague, on the other hand it has been oppressed by war'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28–9, who translated *tamasta* as passive pres. midd.; Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:32–3 [1962], who saw transitive pret. midd. with "animate" nom. sg. c. of **hinkanant-*; Neu, *Interpretation* 163–4, who similarly saw pres. midd.; *tamasta* might with "nom. sg. c. *hinkananza*" also be pret. act.; a good illustration of the agental ablatival origin of such nouns [cf. *HED* 1–2:476–7]), UG_6*-za* (XXIII 124 + XIV 3 I 30; cf. Götze, *KlF* 244; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 221).

henkan- is the OHitt. word for 'death', later joined by *akkatar* (*HED* 1–2:19–20) and specialized as 'plague'. Besides the neuter *henkan-* there seems to have been an animate *a*-stem noun for 'plague', seen in nom. sg. *pankus* UG_6*-as* as subject of a transitive verb, vs. *panku* UG_6*-an* with *kisari* 'becomes' (*KUB* V 3 I 45–48, quoted above), and UG_6*-as* as subject in *KBo* V 6 I 18 (quoted above). Cf. also A. Archi, "La peste presso gli ittiti", *Parola del Passato* 33:81–9 (1978).

henkan- comes from IE **E₂én-k̂-*, *E₂n-ék̂-*, the latter seen in Lat. *nex* 'death', Skt. *naś-* 'perish', Avest. *nas-* 'calamity', *nasu-* 'corpse', Gk. *νέκῡς* 'corpse', with weak grade **n̥k̂(t)u-* in OIr. *ēc*, We. *angeu* 'death', OIr. *ēcht* 'killing', and *o*-grade in OE *ōht* 'hostile pursuit' (< **onk̂tā*), Lat. *noceō* 'damage' (*IEW* 762). Compared with Gk. *νεκρός* 'corpse', *νῶκαρ* 'coma', *henkan-* may point back to an original heteroclitic *r/n* stem.

These are the immediate comparands; whether this root can be ultimately identified with **E₂énk-*, *E₂nék-* seen in the two verbs *henk-* (q. v.) is highly questionable; in any event *henkan-* is not merely an abstract noun derived from *henk-* 'bestow' in the manner of *nahhan-* from *nah(h)-* 'fear' (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:269); it never means 'bestowal' in the sense of 'lot, fate' (vel sim.). Nor is it right to compare

henkan primarily with words like Gk. *ἀνάγκη* 'constraint, necessity', OIr. *ēcen*, We. *angen* 'need, distress' which are problematic in their own right (references in *IEW* 45; Tischler, *Glossar* 247–8).

herin(a)-, gen. sg. *hi-e-ri-na-as* (*KUB* XV 34 III 57–58 *mān-za* DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}ERIN*-as waranti pahhu[eni] mān-za* UDUN *harsas kalmannas herinas* ['whether the male deities of cedar into burning fire, or into an oven for bread, firewood [?], h.'), *hi-ri-na-as* (par. *KBo* XIII 126 Rs. 10–12 *mān-za* DINGIR.MEŠ SAL.MEŠ LUGAL*-iznas ŠA* KUR ^{URU}[...] IZI*-i piyantes mān-za* UDUN *hars[as ...] hirinas pedantes* 'whether the female deities of kingship of ... [have been] consigned to fire or taken to an oven for bread, ..., h.'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200–1).

In view of the context, *herin(a)-* looks like a possible term for 'cedarwood', from Sum. *erin* (> Akk. *erinnu*); the latter reached Hittite once via Hurrian mediation as *eripi-*, *irimpi-*, *irippi* (*HED* 1–2:284–5) but might also have been exported northward via a different channel; cf. for the initial *h-* Hurr. *hīkalli* < Sum. *é.gal* 'palace' (> Akk. *ekallu*), and Hitt. *hekur*, *hiyara-* (s. v.).

he(w)u-, he(y)aw- (c.) 'rain' (ZUNNU; with *KUB* VIII 1 III 8 *hé-e-u-e-es* 'rains', cf. Akk. *zunnu* 'rain' in the parallel omen text in Ch. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, Sin XXXIV, 38 [1908–12]; with XXV 23 IV 47 ^{D}U *hé-e-u-wa-as*, ibid. 52 ^{D}U *hé-e-ya-u-wa-as* 'storm-god of rain', cf. XXX 39 Rs. 3 ^{D}U ZUNNI; cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 110), nom. sg. *hé-u-us* (*KBo* III 7 II 22–23 *hewus hinikta* 'rain pours'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68 [1965]), *hé-e-ú-us* (*KUB* XIX 14, 9 *hēwus ēsta* 'there was rain'; contrast ibid. 8 *nepisi* $Ū_L$ *alpas* 'not a cloud in the sky', and see Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]), *hé-e-u-us* (VII 5 I 17–18 *nu-tta-kkan hūwante(m)es hēwus* IGI.HI.A*-wa le walhanniyanzi* 'let not your winds and rain strike your eyes'), *hé-e-us* (e. g. XVI 81 Rs. 4 *hēus kammarās* 'rain [and] shade'; XIX 50 IV 26–27 *sallis arunas* [...] IM.*TE*.MEŠ *hēus alpus* 'the great sea, ..., winds, rain, clouds' as treaty witnesses; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:16; V 1 IV 77 'heavy rain'; context s. v. *aimpa-*), *hé-us* (*RS* 25:421 Recto 32 *nu-mu annas-mis heus* 'rain is my mother'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:774 [1968]), acc. sg. *hé-e-u-un* (*KBo* III 21 II 25; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), *hé-e-un* (e. g. *ABoT* 5 II 12; cf.

Neu, *Altheth.* 33; Singer, *Festival* 2:35; *KUB* XVI 29 Rs. 3 *nu* KUR-*eas āssu hēun kammarann-a* 'rain and shade, good for the land'; XXVIII 5 Vs. 12; XXXIV 94, 8 *hēun tarnanzi* 'they let loose rain'; ibid. 2; LI 84 r. K. 15), *hé-ú-un* (*KBo* X 25 II 3; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:48; XXV 17 Vs. 12 and 14, Rs. 20; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:93–4), *hé-i-ú-un* (*KBo* III 7 II 25; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:69 [1965]), gen. sg. *hé-e-ya-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXV 23 IV 52, quoted above), *hé-e-u-wa-as* (ibid. 47; *Bo* 7247 r. K. 6), *hé-e-u-as* (*KBo* X 31 II 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102), instr. sg. *hé-e-a-u-it* (*KUB* XXXIV 16 III 4 *hēauit hinikta* 'it [or: the storm-god] is pouring with rain'), nom. pl. *hé-e-u-e-es* (e. g. VIII 1 III 8–9 *hēwēs* [*kī*]*sa* BURU.HI.A SIG$_5$-*anta* 'rains will occur, crops will thrive'; XLI 33 Vs. 17), *hé-e-ya-u-e-s(a)* (XXXII 117 Rs. 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221), *hé-e-a-u-e-es* (XXIX 3 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3), *hé-e-ya-u-e-es* (later dupl. XXIX 1 I 27; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hé-ya-u-e-es* (XXXIV 14 + 1429/c r. K. 6 and 10), *hé-e-mu-us-s(a)* (XXIV 1 IV 15; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34, 115), *hé-e-u-us* (XIX 50 IV 27; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:16), acc. pl. *hi-e-a-mu-us* (XXXIII 9 III 10–11 *āss*]*amus heamus āssamus* IM.HI.A-*us* 'good rains [and] good winds'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:106 [1965]), *hé-ya-mu-us* (76/g Vs. 9 *heyamus* DÙ-*zi* '[makes] rains'), *hi-e-mu-ú-us* (245/f, 7), *hé-mu-us* (LI 50 Vs. 14), *hé-e-ú-us* (e. g. XVI 37 IV 5–6 ^{D}U *warsas* [...-*m*]*a hēwus* DÙ-*zi* 'the storm-god of rain ... makes showers'), *hé-e-ú-us-s(a-as-si)* (XXVIII 4 Vs. 19), *hé-e-ú-s(a-as-si)* (XXVIII 5 Vs. 13), *hé-e-us* (e. g. XXVIII 4 Vs. 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:75–6 [1975]; XXXVI 12 III 10–11 *hēus* IM.MEŠ-*us halziyandu* 'let them call the rains [and] the winds'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; XXXVI 77, 2 and 5, XXXVI 89 Rs. 54 and 60 *mieus hēus* 'mild rains'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 140, 156; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 74; Neumann, *KZ* 85:300 [1971]); in *KBo* XIII 245 Rs. 7 *hé-e-u-us* is syntactically dat. pl. (context s. v. *alpa-*; correct *HED* 1–2:37, line 32 to 'to the storm-gods' clouds').

hewaniya- 'to rain' (with impersonal or divine subject [cf. Gk. *Ζεὺς ὕει*]; matching Akk. *zananu*, caus. *ušaznan*; see s. v. *iyatar*), 3 sg. pret. act. *hé-]e-wa-ni-ya-at* (685/z, 6; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 20); iter. *hewaneski-*, *heyawaneski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hé-ya-u-wa-ni-es-ki-iz*[*-zi* (*KUB* IV 5, 15–17 + *KBo* XII 73, 2 *n-asta* KUR-*e* [*a*]*nd*[*a*] *dammēda hū*[*man*] *heyauwaneskiz*[*zi*] 'in the land it [or: the storm-god] rains down abundance all over'; cf. *KUB* IV 5, 13–14 *nu nepisaza iy*[*ata*] *hūman heyauwani*[*skizzi*, and see Laroche, *RA*

58:72–3 [1964]), *hé-]ya-u-wa-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* VIII 96 Vs. 11), 3 sg. pret. act. *hé-e-u-wa-ni-es-ki-it* (*KBo* XIX 76 + *KUB* XIV 20 I 25–26 *nu* GE$_6$-*an hūmandan hēuwaneskit* IMBĀRU-*ya dāis nu-kan namma* ^{LÚ}KÚR *ŠA* KARAŠ *pahhur* ŪL *austa* '[the storm-god] rained all night and laid down a fog, and then the enemy did not see the army's [camp]fire'; cf. Götze, *AM* 194; Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 161 [1979]), *KUB* XIX 14, 12 *hé-e-ya-u-wa-n*[*i-es-ki-it* and ibid. 13 *hé-e-a-u-wa-ni-es-*[*ki-it* 'it (or: the storm-god) rained' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]). For the derivational stages of the verbal stem, cf. the "durative" *walhanna-*, *walhanniya-*, *walhanniski-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:559), although the *-na-* suffix in **hewana-* may rather be causative (ibid. 562; cf. Akk. *ušaznan*).

heyawalla- or *heyawalli-* 'rain-drain, gutter' (PISÀN), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIŠ}PISÀN-*l*[*i* (*KUB* XX 24 III 3), instr. sg. ^{URUDU}*hé-ya-wa-al-li-it* (XXXI 84 II 2; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 42). Cf. von Schuler, ibid. 53; N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20:97, 101, 110 (1962); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:173, 212; Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 28.

Cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:32–6, 166; Kronasser, *VLFH* 115; Neu, *Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 203–12 (1981); Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 29–31; Oettinger, *KZ* 97:49–52 (1984).

The basic stem is **hew(a)-* (whence *hewaniya-* and the iter. *hewaneski-*), yielding a *u*-stem noun *hewu-* (or **hewaw-* with seemingly "diphthongal" stem-suffix: *hēyauwas*, *hēauit*, *hēyawēs*, *heamus*). These latter forms have been described as "adjectivally inflected" (Friedrich, *HE* 50–1), but the true explanation is probably etymological (see below). In any event *he(y)aw-* seems to be dissimilatory from **hewaw-* (cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 69; Goetze, *JAOS* 74:189 [1954]). This new stem form *he(y)aw-* has secondarily invaded some deverbative stems as well (*heyawaneski-* beside *hewaneski-*), and acc. sg. *hé-i-ú-un* perhaps graphically represents *heyawun* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:78). Weitenberg, in *Hethitica* 33–6, 57–8, wrongly posited **heyaw(a)-* as the more basic stem.

**hew(a)-* < IE **E_2ew-H_2-* beside **s-E_2ew-H_2-* (with *s*-mobile); thus *hēwus* < **E_2ew-H_2-u-s*, *hēyauwas* < **hewawas* < **E_2ew-H_2-w-os*. Cognates are Toch. AB *su-*, *swā-s-* 'to rain', A *swase*, B *swese*, OPruss. *suge*, Alb. *shi* (< **sū-*) 'rain'. Gk. *ὕει* 'to rain' may represent either **sE_2uH_2-ye-* or **E_2uH_2-ye-* (spiritus asper being automatic on initial upsila), thus a *-ye/o-* derivative (stative like e. g. *χαίρω*?) from the zero grade of the root stem seen in Toch. A 3 pl. *swiñc* <

sE_2uH_2-énti. This etymology, rejected "prophylactically" already by H. Zimmern (*Streitberg Festgabe* 441 [1924]) in favor of a stillborn connection of *he(w)u-* with IE *ĝhew- 'pour', and still turned away by Tischler (*Glossar* 239–40), has been variously upheld by Juret, *Vocabulaire* 69; V. Pisani, *Paideia* 7:323 (1952); P. Kretschmer, *WZKM* 52:249 (1953); Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 67; V. Georgiev, *RHA* 30:91–3 (1972). Cf. also Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203–4 (1980).

A connection of *he(w)u-* with Avestan *aoda-* 'fountain' (G. Van Langenhove, *Linguistische studiën* 2:47 [1939], exhumed – or perhaps reinvented – by V. Ševoroškin, *Orbis* 17:467 [1968]) is implausible, as is that with Lettish *avuõts* 'fountain' and Skt. *avatá-* 'well'. Like Van Langenhove, Benveniste (apud K. Bergsland, *RHA* 4:273 [1938]) improbably implicated Hitt. *huwant-* 'wind' (q. v.). A. Cuny (*RHA* 6:101 [1942–3]) essayed a specific Hamitic-Hittite lexical match between *heyus* (sic) and Old Egyptian *ḥwj* 'rain'.

Cf. *hinik-*, *warsa-*.

hiyar(r)a-, hierra-, gen. sg. in EZEN *hi-ya-ra-as* (*KUB* XIII 4 I 40 EZEN *hameshandas* EZEN *tethesnas* [EZ]EN *hiyaras* 'festival of spring, festival of thunder, festival of h.'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:368 [1934]; *KBo* XXII 246 III 22; cf. Souček and Siegelová, *Arch. Or.* 42:49 [1974]; *KUB* XVIII 18, 17 and 19), EZEN *hi-ya-ar-ra-as* (ibid. 21; XVIII 23 IV 2; *KBo* XIV 142 III 7 EZEN *hiyar*[-; *KUB* XX 22 I 6 EZEN *hiya*[*r*-), EZEN *hi-e-ir-ra-as* (*KBo* XXI 31 I 2).

hiyara- is a hittitized form of the month name *hiyari* in Hurrian territory (Alalah, Nuzi, Ugarit), which in turn matches Akk. *ayari* (second month, April–May). For a possible source of the initial *h-* see s. v. *herin(a)-*. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:39 (1967).

hiqqar-, name of a tree, perhaps 'maple', nom. sg. *hi-iq-qa-ar-za* (*KBo* XXII 6 IV 16–19 ^{GIŠ}*hiqqarza-ma-wa-ta kuit* ^{É}*hilamni arta nu-war-at-ta karsandu n-ass-apa* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.MEŠ *iyandu t-as-za-kan* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$UR.SAG-*summis azzikkandu* 'the h.-tree which stands at the portal, they shall cut it and make tables out of it, and at these our warriors shall take their meals'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]).

Ibid. 14–16 a tamarisk (^{GIŠ}*pāini*) at the portal shall be made into weapons for Ištar of Agade, and ibid. 20–22 a ^{GIŠ}*halassar* (q. v.) at the portal shall be fashioned into a battering ram. Hardwood specimens seem to be involved (like ^{GIŠ}*e*[*y*]*a*[*n*]-, probably 'yew' [*HED* 1–2:253–7]).

hiqqarza reflects nom. sg. c. /hiqqar-s/ (cf. *hasterza* s. v. *haster-*) but is an ad sensum neuter like most Hittite tree names (e. g. *allantaru, eyan, harau, paini, tanau*). It can be compared with Lat. *acer*, Danish *aer* (German *ahorn*; cf. Lat. *acernus*) 'maple'. The connection of *acer* with the common root of Lat. *ācer* 'sharp' (*IEW* 20) is hardly compelling; *hiqqar-* can rather be reconstructed as *$E_2ēk(e)r$-, with *Ḫker-* in Lat. *acer* and Germanic **ahira-* (cf. Hitt. *haster-* : Lat. *stella*, Engl. *star* pointing to *A_1est[*e*]*r*- : A_1*ster-*). Among Romans maplewood was a favored material for sideboards of dinner-couches (Pliny, *Natural History* 33:146), even as *hiqqarza* served Hittite carpenters for table-making.

hila-, hela- (c.) '(court)yard; (lunar or solar) halo' (TÙR), nom. sg. *hi-la-as* (e. g. *KUB* XVII 10 IV 10–11 *istarniyas-at hilas tarnau* KÀ.GAL-*at tarnau hilamnanz-at tarnau* 'may the central courtyard let them go, may the gate let them go, may the gatehouse let them go!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; *KBo* X 45 I 12 ^{É}*hilas* KÁ.GAL.HI.A *tarna*[*ndu*] 'the yard [and] the gate shall let [it] go!'), *hi-i-la-as* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* VII 41 I 21 ^{É}*hīlas* KÁ.HI.A-*es arha tarnan*-[*du*]; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; *KBo* IV 9 I 27–29 and *KUB* II 6 III 33–35 *ŠA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠEDI-ma* ^{É}*hīlas karū* EGIR-*pa hassanza* 'the yard of the bodyguard [is] already reopened'; VIII 30 Rs. 19 ^{D}EN.ZU-*as hīlas* 'the moon's halo'), *hi-la-a-as* (XXXIV 13 Vs. 8 *hilās* ^{D}UTU-*as*, ibid. 11 *hī*]*lās* ^{D}UTU-*as* 'the sun's halo'), acc. sg. *hi-la-an* (e. g. *KBo* XXIII 23 Vs. 63 *nu* É-*ir* É.[Š]À.HI.A ^{È}*hilan hūman suppiahhi* 'she cleanses the house, the inner chambers, the yard, everything'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 210; *KUB* XXVII 29 I 21–22 *nu* É-*ir* É.ŠÀ-*ya* ^{É}*hilann-a* [*s*]*uppiyahhi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136), *hi-i-la-an* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 I 5–6 *nu-za-kan* ^{É}*hal*[*int*]*uwas* 1 ^{É}*hīlan* EGIR-*pa tamessanzi* 'they block off one courtyard of the palace compound'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174 [1966]), gen. sg. *hi-i-la-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 4 I 34–36 2 KAK ZABAR *n-as-kan ŠA* É DINGIR-*LIM* ^{É}*hīlas* KÁ-*as anda* 1-*EN kez* 1-*EN kez walahhanzi* 'two bronze nails, they drive them into the gate of the temple yard, one on each side'; cf.

Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 10; *IBoT* I 36 I 4 *n-at-san* ^{É}*hīlas* KÁ.G[AL ... -]*nzi* 'they go to the gate of the yard'; *KUB* XX 10 IV 8; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 272; IX 31 I 25), *hi-e-la-as* (dupl. *HT* 1 I 17–18 *INA* KÁ [EG]IR ^{GIŠ}IG ^{É}*helas* 'in the gateway behind the door of the courtyard'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-li* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 19 III 6 ^{É}*hili-kan anda* UDU.HI.A *hantantati* 'in the yard the sheep were normalized', besides e. g. XXXIII 37+39 IV 2 [Š]À TÙR-*ma-kan* UDU.HI.A *uisuriyantati* 'in the yard the sheep were stifled'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123, 165 [1965]; *IBoT* III 69 I 15–16 *na*]*mma-as* ^{É}*hili-ya-as* [...] *tiyazi* 'again he also steps into the yard'; *KBo* X 45 I 13 *n-as-kan parā* ^{É}*hili paizz*[*i* 'he goes forth to the yard'), *hi-i-li* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* VII 41 Vs. 22 *n-as-kan parā* ^{É}*hīli paizzi nu* ^{É}*hīli p*[*ūrut dāi*] 'he goes forth to the yard and takes clay in the yard'; *KBo* IV 9 V 32–33 *n-asta* GAL *MEŠEDI* ^{É}*hīli parā paizzi* 'the head of the bodyguard goes forth to the yard'; ibid. 18 ^{É}*hīli*; *IBoT* I 36 IV 31–32 *n-at-kan parā ŠA* ^{LÚ}*MEŠEDI* ^{É}*hīli pānzi* 'they go forth to the yard of the bodyguard'; *KUB* XXXIII 24 II 11 *n-as pait hīli*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:116 [1965]; XXXVI 17 + XXXIII 107 I 5 ^{É}*hīli pait*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:24 [1952]; *KBo* XXII 189 II 12 LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*hīli tiyezi* 'the king steps into the courtyard'; *KUB* XI 35 I 24 *ta-kkan* ^{É}*hīli tiyazi*; XX 35 III 15 *n-as mahhan* ^{É}*hīli ari* 'when he arrives in the courtyard'; *IBoT* I 36 IV 29–30 *n-at* ^{É}*hīli katta dāi* 'he puts them down in the yard'; ibid. I 9 *nu-za* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠEDI ŠA* ^{LÚ}*MEŠEDI hīli petan appanzi* 'the bodyguards take their places in the yard of the bodyguard'; *KUB* XXXV 163 III 17–18 *nu-kan* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *parā paizzi nu-kan* ^{É}*hīli sāwātar pariparāi* 'the old woman goes forth and in the yard blows the horn'; X 21 II 7–8 ^{É}*hīli-ma zeriyalli katta kariyanda* [*k*]*arū artari* 'in the yard the covered-over cup-holders are already in place'; *KBo* IV 9 II 11–12 *INA* É ^{D}ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ ^{É}*hīli* 'in the courtyard of the temple of the war-god' [partitive apposition]; XXV 56 IV 17 *hīli*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 128; *HT* 36 Obv. 2 ^{É}*hīli*), *hi-i-e*[*l-l*]*i* (*KBo* XIX 145 III 43–44 [*m*]*ān iyadduma n-asta hiye*[*ll*]*i ītten* 'when you go, then go to the courtyard!'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 304), *hi-i-la* (XXV 48 III 9–10 *n-asta namma* [*parā*] *hīla pān*[*zi*]; XXI 90 Vs. 14–15 *n-as-kan hīla* [...]; ibid. 21 *ne-es-ta* [sic!] *namma parā hīla paizzi* 'he also goes forth to the yard'), abl. sg. *hi-i-la-az* (e. g. *IBoT* I 36 I 74).

hilai- 'be haloed, have a halo', 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-la-iz-zi* (*KUB* VIII 17 II 11 *takku* ^{D}UTU-*us hilaizzi* 'if the sun has a halo'), *hi-la-a-iz-zi* (ibid. 5 and 8 *takku* ^{D}UTU-*us hilāizzi*; par. XXXIV 13

Vs. 2 and 4 *hilāizzi*); cf. IV 63 II 3 (Akk.) *šumma* ^{D}UTU TÙR *lawi-ma* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 15:15–8 [1957]).

hilanni- (c.) 'yard', gen. sg. *hi-la-an-na-as* (*KBo* VI 3 IV 13 [= *Code* 1:82] ŠAH *hilannas* 'yard pig', vs. VI 2 IV 16 [= *Code* 1:81] ŠAH ŠE 'fatted pig', VI 3 IV 26 [= *Code* 1:89] UR.ZÍR *hilannas* 'yard-dog', vs. ibid. 22 [= *Code* 1:87] UR.ZÍR ^{LÚ}SIPAD-*as* 'herdsman's dog' and ibid. 24 [= *Code* 1:88] LÚ UR.ZÍR-*as* UR.ZÍR-*an* 'huntsman's dog'). *hilanni-* is related to *hila-* as e. g. *armanni-* is to *arma-* 'moon' (q. v.; for gen. sg. *hilannas* cf. e. g. *hulugannas* from *hulukanni-*). Neither the assumption *hilannas* < *hilamnas* (from *hilammar* 'gate-house' [below]; cf. e. g. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 102) nor Laroche's **hilatar* (*RHA* 15:18–9 [1957]; cf. e. g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:282–3; Singer, *ZA* 65:77 [1975]) is convincing; 'yard-pig' (the rooting kind, vs. penned-up, grain-fed pig) is more appropriate than 'gatehouse pig', while **hilatar* is an unproductive ad-hoc postulate.

^{D}*Hilassi-*, theonym with (partly Luwoid) appurtenance suffix *-assi-*, e. g. *KUB* XLIII 30 III 9 ^{D}*Hilassis*, preceded (ibid. 8) by *Ispanzasepas* and (ibid. 7) by ^{D}*Halkis* (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77); *KBo* XVII 35 III 14 [*AN*]*A* ^{D}*Hilassis* (sic), preceded (ibid. 12) by [*AN*]*A* ^{D}*Hasammili* and (ibid. 11) by [*AN*]*A* ^{D}*Ilaliandas* (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 218). For further attestations see Laroche, *Recherches* 69. Cf. ^{D}*Hi-i-la* (*KBo* XX 5 Vs. 11), and Lyc. *qla(hi)* below.

^{D}*Hilanzipa-*, theonym with *-sepa-* like e. g. *Āska-sepa-*, attested chiefly in Palaic texts (*KUB* XXXV 165 Rs. 17 ^{D}*Hilanzipi*, ^{D}*Hilanzipas*; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 19) or in lists of Palaic deities (XLI 26 I 23 *ANA* ^{D}*Hilan*[-; *HT* 26, 5 ^{D}*Hi-el-la-zi-pa*). The seeming stem variant *hilan-* may be a palaicism (but cf. also *hilanni-* above). Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:185) implausibly tried either **hilamn-sipa-* (cf. *hilammar* below) or analogical interference from *Miyadanzipa-*, *Daganzipa-*.

hilammi- and *hilammatta-* (c.), frequently plural functionary, perhaps 'courtier', nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hi-lam-mi-is* (*KBo* XV 33 III 24 ^{LÚ}*hilammis kuiski*; XVII 55 I 11 ^{LÚ}*hilammis*; XVII 93 Vs. 6 ^{LÚ}]*hilammis*), nom. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hi-lam-mi-e-es* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 8 Vs. 5–6 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hilammiēss-a kuyēs karū ANA* É.NA$_4$ *piyantes n-at-kan sahhanaza luziyaza arauēs asandu* 'and the h. who [were] given to the mausoleum earlier, they shall be free from socage and corvée'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106; *KBo* XX 51 I 16 $^{ILÚ.MEŠ}$*hilammiēs kuyēs kuyēs warpantes* 'whatever h. [have] bathed'; XVI 65 IV 3), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hi-lam-ma-ti-es* (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 3, 6, 11; ibid. 4–5 *annallies-si* 9 $^{LÚ.}$

MEŠ*hilammates kinun-a-ssi-kan* 9 LÚ.MEŠ*hilammattin* [sic] 'former h. she had nine, and now she has nine h.'; ibid. IV 11 and 16), LÚ.MEŠ*hi-lam-ma-at-ti-es* (ibid. I 17), LÚ.MEŠ*hi-lam-ma-te-es* (LIV 67 Rs. 6), LÚ.MEŠ*hi-lam-ma-at-ti-is* (*KBo* II 1 I 23), LÚ.MEŠ*hi-lam-ma-dis* (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 II 19), LÚ.MEŠ*hi-lam-ma-at-ta-as* (ibid. 4; *KBo* II 1 II 4). Adverb *hi-lam-mi-li* in *IBoT* I 36 I 77 *namma hilammili uēssanta* 'they also dress in h. fashion'; ibid. II 49 TÚGNÍG.LÁM.HI.A-*ma-smas* KUŠE.SIR SIG$_5$-*TIM hilammili uēssanta* 'they put on raiments and fine shoes in h. fashion' (similarly ibid. 53 *hi-lam-me-li* and 57 *hi-lam-mi-li*).

hilammar (n.) 'gate building, gatehouse, portal (leading to a courtyard)' (KI.LAM), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hi-lam-mar* (e. g. *KBo* V 2 IV 3–6 [emended from dupl. *Bo* 3355 Rs. 11–13] [*mān* É*hilammar ēs*]*zi n-us-kan hilamni anda* [*iezi mān*] É*hilammar-ma* NU.GÁL *n-us-kan suhhi* [ser] *iezi* 'if there is a gatehouse, he makes them [viz. vessels] in the gatehouse, but if there is no gatehouse, he makes them up on the roof'; X 45 II 32–34 *parkunummas-w*[*a*] [*k*]*uis uitenanza ēshar* NEŠ DINGIR-*LIM parkunu*[*zi*] [*kui*]*s* É*hilammar parkunuzi* 'the cleansing-water which cleanses blood[shed] [and] perjury, which cleanses the gatehouse ...'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:124 [1961]; *IBoT* I 36 IV 15–16 *mān* 2 É*hil*[*ammar*] *n-at-kan kattera* KÁ.GAL-*TIM sarā uwanzi sarāzzi-ma-at-kan* KÁ.GAL *sarā* ÚL *uwanzi* 'if [there are] two gatehouses, they come up to the lower gate but do not come up to the upper gate'; 112/x Vs. 12 3 É*hilamma*[*r*], gen. sg. *hi-lam-na-as* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 2 II 21–22 *ŠA* É.⟨DU$_{10}$⟩.ÚS.SA-*ya* É LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU$_8$ É*hilamnass-a ārtāhius wehandaru* 'the sewers of the laundry-house, the house of cupbearers, and the gatehouse shall be kept functioning'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 45; XLI 8 II 34–35 *parnas pūrut* É*hilamnas pūrut harnamniyazi* 'he stirs clay of the house [and] clay of the gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126 [1961]; *KBo* XIX 128 I 9 LUGAL-*us* É*hilamnas* KÁ-*as ari* 'the king arrives at the gate of the portal'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2; *KUB* XXV 18 II 3–4 *mahhan-ma* LUGAL-*us* É*hilamnas* GIŠKÁ.GAL-*as piran ari* 'when the king arrives before the gate of the portal'; *IBoT* I 36 IV 3–4 *mahhan-ma-asta* ... É*hilamnas* [KÁ.GA]L-*as anda aranzi* 'but when [they] arrive within the gate of the portal'; *KBo* X 23 III 18–19 É*hilamnass-a* KÁ.GAL-*as*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; VIII 119 Vs. 5 *h*]*ilamnas* KÁ.GAL; 155/w, 6–8 *hil*]*amnas* KÁ.GAL-*as ar*[*i* ...] [...]*āski ari* AMA.DING[IR-*LIM* ...] [... *kuī*]*tman* LUGAL-*us* KI.L[AM ...; *VBoT* 2, 15–18 *n-an* D*NABŪ hattannas* LUGAL-*us hilamnass-a* DUTU-*us assūli pahsantaru* 'may N.,

king of wisdom, and the sun-god of the portal in favor protect him!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB* XXXV 84 II 10 É*hilamnas* DUTU-*us*; cf. Otten, *LTU* 84; XXV 37 IV 10 *hilamnas* D[; XLII 87 V 13 LÚ*hilamnas* EN-*as* 'gatehouse-master'; cf. XXXIV 102 III 12 GAL LÚ.MEŠ KI.LAM['chief of gatehouse-men'), *hi-lam-ma-na-as* (XXX 31 IV 30; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 102), KI.LAM-*as* (XXIII 11 III 2 *INA* É]KI.LAM KI.LAM-*as* DU-*ni pihhun* 'I gave [him] in the portal to the storm-god of the portal'; cf. DIŠU KÁ.GAL [XXV 32 I 21], DU GIŠKÁ [XXXVIII 6 I 25]), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-lam-ni* (e. g. XXXIV 23 I 8 *apel atti anni* É*hilamni-ya* 'to his father, mother, and gatehouse'; cf. ibid. 7 *ABI-ŠUNU* AMA-*ŠUNU* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ŠUNU* 'their father[s], their mother[s], their brothers'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:83 [1956]; *KBo* XXI 34 II 5–6 *mahhan-ma-kan* D*Hepat* É*hilamni parā arnuanzi* 'when they bring H. forth to the gatehouse' [besides ibid. 4 *n-an-kan mahhan* É*hīli arnuanzi* 'when they bring her to the courtyard', viz. from the temple]; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 119; *KUB* XXXV 43 II 32–33 [*namma-ka*]*n* UDU *parā hilamni pennai ŠA* GI [...] ZA.LAM.GAR.HI.A *kuit hilammar piran* [... 'she further leads a sheep forth to the portal; of reed ... tents, what portal before ...'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 43; *IBoT* I 36 III 62 GIŠŠUKUR.HI.A *ANA* LÚNI.DUH *pāi n-at-kan* É*hilamni sarā pedai* '[he] gives the spears to the gateman, and [the latter] takes them up to the gatehouse'; *KUB* XXXIX 48, 7 *n-at-kan parā* É*hilamni pe*[*da-*; *Bo* 3249 I 12 *hazqarāi-ma-kan hilamni anda tiyaz*[*zi* 'the h.-women step inside the gatehouse'; *IBoT* 36 I 48 LÚ*MEŠEDI-ma* É*hilamni anda innar*[*ā*] ÚL *tiyezzi* 'bodyguard does not on his own step into the gatehouse'; *KUB* V 10, 22 É*hilamni* UGU *pait* '[the dog] went up to the gatehouse'; *VAT* 7470 I 12–16 GIM-*an-ma-at* É*hilamni sarā aranzi nu-kan suppis* LÚSANGA *ŠA* É*hestā Ù* 3 LÚ.MEŠ É*hestā sarāzziya* É*hilamni istarni pidi anda tianzi* 'when they arrive up[stairs] in the gatehouse, the holy priest of the mausoleum and three mausoleum-personnel step into the center of the upper [story of the] gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:390 [1955]; *IBoT* III 1 Vs. 10–11 LÚ É*hēstī* LÚSANGA É*hēsti-ya sarazi* É*hilam*⟨*ni*⟩ *aranta* 'the mausoleum-worker and mausoleum-priest stand in the upper [story of the] gatehouse'; *KBo* XXII 189 II 10–11 É*hilamni aranda* 'they stand in the gatehouse'; *KUB* IV 9 II 8–9 LUGAL-*us* É*hilamni ari* 'the king arrives in the gatehouse'; XX 96 IV 19 [DIN]GIR-*LUM-kan* É*hilamni anda a*[*ri*; XLI 1 IV 10–11 *n-at-kan hilamni anda uwanzi nu* KIN-*-kanzi* [*k*]*uin* UKÙ-*an n-asta hilamni anda* 1 SÍLA DUTU AN BAL-*anti* 'they go inside the gatehouse; the person whom they treat sacrifices

inside the gatehouse one lamb to the sun-god of heaven'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 50; IX 6 + XXXV 39 II 18–19 EN SISKUR-*-ma*-[...] *apiya-pat hilamni pir*[*an*] *AŠAR-ŠU harzi* 'the offerant has his place there in front of the portal'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 39; *KBo* XXII 6 IV 14 *kuit* ^{É}*hilamni-sit arta* '[the tree] which stands at his portal'; similarly ibid. 17 and 20; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]; *KUB* VII 25 I 8–10 *nu-kan* LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*hilamni anda IŠTU* ANŠU.KUR.RA *katta tiyazi* 'the king inside the gatehouse steps down from the horse'; XXX 19 IV 25–26 ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR-*ma-kan kue* É-*ri anda siyanda n-a*[*t-kan*] *danzi* ^{É}*hilamni anda tarnan*[*zi*] 'the tents which are pitched inside the house they take and leave in the gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 46; XLI 48 III 13–15 GUD.MAH-*ma-kan ŠA* ^{D}IM ^{É}*hilamni anda warnuwanzi* 'but the bull they burn inside the gatehouse' [as opposed to the calf and sheep who are burned ibid. 12–13 *PANI* ^{D}IM, i.e. before the god's image in the adyton]; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 254; XXV 22 Rand 1–2 *n-as-kan ser hilamni anda* [...] *ambassis iyanza* 'up[stairs] in the gatehouse an a. has been made'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238; VII 41 Vs. 23 *hilamni pūrut dāi* 'takes clay in the gatehouse' [besides ibid. 22 ^{É}*hīli* 'in the courtyard']; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:118 [1961]; *KBo* XXI 37 Rs. 10 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hilamni anda* 'in the gods' portal'; X 23 IV 15 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ass-a hilamni*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:13; XVII 15 Vs. 12 [OHitt.] NA_4-*an parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the mausoleum'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73; XXV 29 II 5 [OHitt.] ^{É}*histās hilamni* 'in the portal of the mausoleum', with late dupl. XXV 30, 12 ^{É}*hestā hilamni*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75; *KUB* II 3 V 31 *tūriyas* ^{É}*hilamni* 'in the gatehouse for spears', with dupl. LVI 33 V 5 ^{É}*hilamnas* [besides XXX 32 I 16 *tūriyas* KÁ.GAL]; XXXVI 12 III 18 *arahzeni* ^{É}*hilamni anda* 'in the outer portal'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:16 [1952]; II 3 V 43 ^{É}*hilamni anda*; *KBo* III 9 Vs. 8 *t-as-kan* ^{É}*hilamni*[; *KUB* X 28 I 8–9 *n-at* ^{É}*hilamni* KÁ.GAL-*as* ZAG-*za tianzi* 'they step in the portal to the right of the gate'), KI.LAM-*ni* (XI 23 V 17–19 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠEDI-an* [...] ^{É}KI.LAM-*ni anda* ZAG-*za* [...] *tiyanzi* 'the bodyguards inside the portal step to the right'; XXVIII 5, 10b–11b [^{D}*SIN-as-kan nepi*]*saz mausta n-as-k*[*an ser* K]I.LAM-*ni mausta* 'the moon fell from heaven, and he landed on the portal'), *hi-lam-na* (*KBo* XX 88 IV 2 -]*san hilamna paizzi*; *KUB* X 3 I 15–16 *n-a*]*t-kan hilamna* [KÁ.G]AL *anda ari* 'arrives within the gate of the portal' [partitive apposition], besides dupl. *KBo* VIII 119 Vs. 4–5 -]*ma-as-kan* [^{É}*h*]*ilamnas* KÁ.GAL *anda ari*), KI.LAM-*na* (XXV 122 II

10–12 *katta āssū utir n-at katta* KI.L[AM-*na* ...] GAL.HI.A SIG_5-*anda* GUŠKIN-*an* SIG_5-*anda*[*n* ...] *n-at katta* KI.LAM-*na*[... 'they have brought down goods, and ... them down to the gatehouse, good cups [and] good gold, and ... them down to the gatehouse'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 205), abl. sg. *hi-lam-na-az* (*IBoT* I 36 I 50–52 *mān-k*[*an* ^{L}]^{Ú}*MEŠEDI-ma* ^{É}*hilamnaz parā paizzi n-asta* ^{É}*hilammar istarna arha* ^{GIŠ}ŠUK[UR-]*pat harzi lustaniya-ma-as ari* 'if the bodyguard goes forth from the gatehouse, he traverses the gatehouse holding his spear [lit. he holds his spear right through the gatehouse] and arrives at the postern'; *KUB* XX 4 VI 3–5]KI.LAM-*ni* 3-*ŠU esa* [...] LUGAL-*us hilamnaz katta* [...] 'seats himself three times in the gatehouse ... the king down from the gatehouse ...'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:79; *KBo* XVII 4 III 13 *hilamnaz*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34).

hilamnant- (c.) '(court)yard', nom. sg. *hi-lam-na-an-za* as subject of transitive verb (see context under nom. sg. *hilas* above; cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:30 [1962]).

hi-lam-mi-in-ni-is (*KUB* XXXI 147 II 23) and *hi-lam-ni-in* (XLI 4 II 16) occur in similar texts and may be nom. sg. c. and acc. sg. c. of a *hilam(min)ni-*.

For the toponyms ^{URU}*Hi-lam-ma-a*, ^{URU}*Hi-lam-ma-at-ti-ya*, ^{URU}KI.LAM, and the numerous town names with *-hila-* as second element of compound (*Harsanhila*, *Parsananhila*, *Kalpassanahila*, *Istuhila*, *Lahirhila*, *Lumanhila*, *Lumnahila*), see e.g. Laroche, *RHA* 19:81–2 (1961); Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 8; Ertem, *Coğrafya* s.v.; Singer, *ZA* 65:78 (1975). For personal names such as ^{I}*Hi-li-ya-as*, ^{I}*He-el-la-*^{D}KAL, cf. Laroche, *Noms* 67, 284; Tischler, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 443 (1982).

Hier. GATE-*(la)na-* = *hilana-*. Cf. Bossert, *AfO* 9:127 (1933); Meriggi, *HHG* 212–3; Laroche, *HH* 129; Singer, *ZA* 65:69–71, 96–103 (1975).

Lyc. *qla* 'enclosure, precinct, *τέμενος*', e.g. *qlã arñnas* 'citadel of Xanthos' (*TLy* 44c:12–13), *hri-qla* 'uptown, acropolis' (*Xanthos trilingual* 41), ibid. 38, *TLy* 56:4, 102:3, 131:3 and 4 *ẽni qlahi ebijehi* (epithet of *Λητώ* in the bilingual *TLy* 56) matching a Luwian **annis hilassis apiyassis* 'Mother of this (local) *τέμενος*' (cf. *TLy* 134:4 *ẽni mahanahi* = **annis massanassis* 'Mother of the gods'). Cf. ^{D}*Hilassi-* above, and Laroche, *BSL* 55.1:183 (1960), 62.1:55 (1967), *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:75–6 (1979), *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* 3 (1980).

The collateral use of KI.LAM (normally 'market') for *hilammar* in Hittite texts (first demonstrated by Goetze, *AM* 204–5) is presumably due to a combination of homophonic and semantic associations (market 'at the gate', resembling the *bāb mahīrim* 'market gate' of the Kültepe texts, and *ašar mahīri* 'on the market' equalling *ina bāb abullim* 'in the gate-entrance' at Nuzi; cf. Singer, *ZA* 65:91–5 [1975]; one may also compare Lat. *forum* = *emporium*, from **dhwor-* 'door' seen in *forīs* 'outdoors'). Conceivably KÁ.GAL 'gate' could also serve as occasional sumerogram for *hilammar* (cf. esp. the complementation in ^{GIŠ}KÁ.GAL-*nas* [*KBo* XX 101, 13], KÁ.GAL-*na* [*KUB* XX 96 IV 2; XI 26 V 2]), although normally the *hilammar* had its own KÁ(.GAL) (examples under gen. sg. *hilamnas* above).

hilammar is a denominative derivative of *hila-* (of the type *halwammar, harnammar* [q. v.]). The meaning 'gate building', first defined by Friedrich (*ZA* 37:179–80 [1927]) and later reinforced by Laroche (*RHA* 15:19–20 [1957]), has been generally accepted, the holdouts being Güterbock and Alp (*Beiträge* 325–32) with their adherence to R. Naumann's rendering 'portico, hall, colonnade' (cf. Singer, *ZA* 65:71–6 [1975]). The Anatolian derivation of 'portal' from 'yard' is the inverse of IE **dhwer-* ('door' > 'yard') exemplified by Lat. *forīs* : *forum* or Russian *dver'* 'door' : *dvor* 'courtyard'; but that the semantic associations flowed both ways is seen in the use of KI.LAM 'marketplace' for *hilammar*.

hilammi- (not *hilamma-*!) reflects neither **hilamn-* (considered by Laroche, *RHA* 15:20 [1957]) nor **hilamna-na-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:102); it is altogether not 'gatehouse-keeper, gateman' (^{LÚ}NI.DUH) but something like 'courtier' and is derived directly from *hila-* rather than being somehow either the offshoot (Kronasser) or the model (Laroche) of *hilammar*. For the semantics of 'court' : 'courtier' cf. Engl. *yard* and Lat. *co-hort-* (> 'court') both reflecting IE **ĝhor-t-*. Rather than assuming an "Indo-European **-mo-* suffix which indicates relationship" (Oettinger apud Singer, *ZA* 65:78 [1975]), the *-mmi-* may be a Luwoid denominative extension of the deverbative *-m(m)i-* (see s. v. *annin*[*n*]*iyami-*), expressing appurtenance or belonging. *hilammatta-* would then also reflect a further Luwian-type derivation.

The much-discussed North Syrian *bīt hilāni* (or *hilanni*) of Neo-Assyrian texts was connected with *hilammar* by Friedrich (*ZA* 37:180 [1927]). Bossert's reading *hilana-* for Hier. GATE-*(la)na-* (see above) offers a loan source for the Assyrian term which denotes a

two-storied, pillared gatehouse. Alternatively *bīt hilanni* might be a loan translation of a Hitt. **pir hilannas* 'yard-house' (cf. ŠAH *hilannas* sub *hilanni-* above), similar in meaning to *hilammar*.

hila- has no etymological truck with *hali-* 'pen, corral' (q. v.); the latter is strictly a barnyard term without a determinative ^{É} and with no derivatives; the only overlap is in the occasional transferred sense of '(lunar) halo'. The apparently pan-Anatolian term *hila-* resembles such other architectural vocables as *parn-* 'house' and *aska-* 'gate' in not having any visible cognates elsewhere. V. Georgiev (*Linguistique balkanique* 5.1:41 [1962]) compared Etr. *hil* (cf. *TLE* 676 *tular śpural hil puratum* 'boundaries of the city h. p.'; *TLE* 515 *tular hilar* 'boundaries of the h.'), while Ch. Rabin (*Orientalia* N.S. 32:120 [1963]) saw a borrowing from Hittite in Hebrew *ḥ(y)l* 'fortifications on a wall'.

Cf. *hilistarni-*.

hilipšiman ablor. hi-li see H. Berman JCS 30 1978 Hurrian

hilistarni- (c.), name of a kind of divine icon, acc. sg. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-in* (e. g. *KBo* XXIV 13 IV 8 *hilistarnin wassi*[*zzi* 'dresses the h.'; ibid. 10–13 *nu-ssan hilistarnin* ^{GIŠ}*irhuuiti tianzi n-an* ^{GIŠ}*irhuuiyaz* [...] *karpanzi* 'they place the h. in a basket and lift it with the basket'; ibid. 21–23 *nu-ssan kuella* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hilistarnin a*[*rhay*]*an* ^{GIŠ}*irhuui*[*ti tianzi*] 'they put each deity's h. separately in a basket'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-li-is-tar-ni* (e. g. ibid. 14 *ITTI* 1 *hilistarni* 'with one h.'; XX 116 Rs. 7–10 *namma ŠA* GAB.LÀL YÀ DÙG.GA *tepu iyan nu-ssan* [*ku*]*edaniya ANA hilis*⟨*tar*⟩*ni* [...] *tepu tamenikanzi*, with dupl. *KUB* XXV 48 + XLIV 49 II 26–28 *namma ŠA* GAB.L[ÀL YÀ DUG.GA *tepu iyan*] *nu-ssan kue*[*d*]*aniya ANA hili*[*starni*] *tepu tami*[*n*]*kan*[*zi*] 'also a little wax and good oil [is] prepared, and they smear a little on each h.'), acc. pl. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-us* (e. g. ibid. 25–26 *nu* [*hil*]*istarnius* $^{IŠTU\ GAD}$*kazzarnūlit*] *arha ānsan*[*z*]*i*, with dupl. *KBo* XX 116 Rs. 4–6 *nu hilis*[*tarnius*] $^{IŠTU\ GAD}$*kazzarnūlit arha ansanzi* 'they wipe off the h. with a cloth'; cf. *ZA* 71:129–30 [1981]; *KUB* XXV 48 IV 21–23 *nu-kan hilistarnius* EGIR-*pa sarā INA* É ^{DIM} ... *udanzi* 'they bring the h. back up to the temple of the storm-god'), dat.-loc. pl. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-as* (e. g. ibid. 12 *ANA PANI hilistarnias*), *hi-li-is-tar-ni-ya-as* (e. g. ibid. 24), *h*]*i-li-es-tar-ni-ya-as* (2023/g Vs. 8, dupl. of *KBo* XX 116 Rs. 3 *ANA PANI hilis*[*tarniyas*).

hilistarni- looks like a hypostatic noun derived from *hili istarna* 'in the middle of the yard' (see s. v. *hila-*), perhaps designating

portable open-air idols on display; cf. e. g. *KUB* XXV 14 I 10–11 ^{LÚ}HAL-*ma-kan* 8 ^{D}UTU.HI.A ^{URU}*Arinna* ^{É}*halentūwas anda pedai* 'the seer brings eight sun-goddesses of Arinna into the h.'. Cf. e. g. the hypostatic Lat. **profānus* 'before the shrine', hence 'set up, dedicated', whence OLat. *profānāre* 'consecrate' (Cato's *daps profanata* 'cult-meal' [*De agricultura* 50]), with the *in malam partem* sense of *profānus* as 'unholy' first in Plautus, and *profānāre* 'unhallow, desecrate' only starting with Ovid.

him(m)a- (c.) 'imitation, substitute, replica, model, toy', nom. sg. *hi-im-ma-as* (*KUB* XLIV 43 Rs. 3 *namma himmas* NU.GÁL 'moreover there is no substitute'), acc. sg. *hi-im-ma-an* (*HT* 1 I 40–41 *himman iyanzi* 'they make a replica'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]; *VBoT* 116, 13]*himman ien*[*zi*]), gen. sg. (of quality) *hi-im-ma-as* (e. g. *KBo* VI 34 III 37–38 ^{GIŠ}APIN-*ya* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *himmas piran katta daitti n-at arha duwarnanzi* 'and a model plow, wagon, and chariot you set forth, and they break them in pieces'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12; XXI 1 I 10–11 2-*šu* 9 ^{NINDA}UMBIN.HI.A ZÍD.DA ZÍZ TUR-*TIM himmas* 'twice nine small imitation wheels of wheatmeal bread'; ibid. II 16 *himmas*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 16, 20, 48, 59; *KUB* IV 1 III 11–12 *UNUT*.HI.A *himmas* KUŠ.UDU.HI.A *BEL* DINGIR-*LIM dāi* 'the model utensils and the sheepskins the "master of the deity" takes'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 172; XXVII 66 II 13 *ANA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$EN.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.HI.A *himmas ŪL dāi* 'he does not set the substitute tables for the "masters of the deity" '; dupl. XXVII 60 Rs. 13].HI.A *himmas ŪL dāi*; XII 18 Vs. 3 ^{GIŠ}BAN]-ŠUR.HI.A NINDA.HI.A *himmas udai* 'he brings substitute tables [and] loaves'; LIV 13 II 9]^{GIŠ}BANŠUR.HI.A *kue ŠA* NINDA.HI.A *himmas INA*['the tables of substitute loaves which in ...'; XXVII 49 IV 7]NINDA *himmas*[; XXV 37 IV 18 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA-*ma himm*[*as*; XLII 94 Vs. 10]AD.KID *himmas* TUR-*TIM* 'a small model wickerwork'; 348/b Vs. 4]*nasma* 1 TUKUL TUR *himm*[*as* 'or one small toy weapon'; *KBo* XV 19 I 8 1 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *himmas iyan* 'one model chariot [is] made'; *IBoT* III 93 + *KBo* XV 21 I 9 *weras*[*s-a š*]*A* IM *himmas iyanza* 'and a model w. of clay [is] made'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 139; *KUB* XLVI 35 Rs. 3 *himmas-ma*), nom. pl. *hi-im-mi-e-es* (*HT* 38 Rs. 6 *kī himmē*[*s* 'these models'), acc. pl. *hi-mu-us* (*KUB* XXXIX 7 II 7–8 *n-asta* É-*ri anda lahhanzanas*^{MUŠEN} *himus iyanzi nu ŠA* GIŠ.HI.A 10 *lahanza*^{MUŠEN} *iyanza* 'inside the house they make replicas of l.-birds;

of wood ten l.-birds [are] made'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; 806/z, 6 *himus issa*[-), *hi-im-mu-us* (e. g. *HT* 38 Rs. 8 *nu kūs himmus* 'these models'; *KUB* XXIV 3 I 23–25 *nu tuel ŠA* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*Arinna himmus* SISKUR.SISKUR.HI.A EZEN.HI.A *iyauwanzi sarā tittanuskanzi* 'they keep undertaking to perform substitute rites, [genuine] rituals, and feasts for thee, sun-goddess of Arinna'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 20, 62–70; XXXV 131 + XXV 37 IV 3 *himmus hazziui* ŠIR.HI.A-*ya* 'substitute rites, ceremonies, and songs'; LVIII 30 II 4–5 *kuitman-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ *ar*[*ranzi*] *kūs himmus issanz*[*i* 'but while they wash the deities they make these replicas'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:63, 88–9 [1984]; XXXIX 6 III 16 *nu-ssi himmus hūmantes sarā tittanūwanzi* 'they undertake for him/her [viz. the dead child] all substitute rites'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 50; XXXIX 12, 7 *i*]*NA* É.NA$_4$-*ŠU arnūwanzi nu himmus* EGIR-*izz*[*i*- 'they move [the body] to its mausoleum, and last[ly] replicas ...'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 70). Cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 61–4.

himmalli- (c.) nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hi-im-ma-al-li-is* (98/f, 4). Rather than meaning 'imitator, modelist' (type of *arkammanalli-* 'tributary'), *himmalli-* may be near-synonymous with the Luwoid *tarpa(na)lli-* as a 'human ritual substitute', vs. the replicas of abstract, inert, or animal entities expressed by *himma-*.

him(m)a- (< **A*$_1$*imo-*) is cognate with Lat. *imitor* 'take after, copy', *imāgō* 'depiction, copy', *aemulus* 'rival(ling)' (cf. Neumann apud Oettinger, *Eide* 64). Less plausible is a further adduction (H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]; Hutter, *Behexung* 59) of Ved. *yamá-* 'twin' and its cognates (*IEW* 505), although a root structure **A*$_1$*éy-m-* : *A*$_1$*y-ém-* is conceivable.

hinik- 'wet, moisten, sprinkle, pour' (vel sim.); midd. 'be wet, produce moisture, pour', 3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-ni-ik-ta* (*KBo* III 7 II 22–23 *hewus hinikta* 'rain pours'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68–9 [1965]; *KUB* XXXIV 16 III 4 *hēauit hinikta* 'it [or: the storm-god] is pouring with rain'; cf. e. g. Lat. *sanguine pluisse*).

hinik- < **(s)H*$_1$*i-né-k-*, nasal-infix verb closely matching Ved. *siñcáti* 'pour, sprinkle', Avest. *hinčaiti* (**sH*$_1$*i-n-k-*), from IE **(s)H*$_1$*ey-k*$^{(w)}$- seen also in Gk. *ἴξαι* 'strain, filter' (Hes.), *ἰκμάς* 'moisture', OHG *sīhan* 'strain, filter', *seihhen* 'urinate', OCS *sĭcati* 'urinate': for such middle-voice "reintransitivization" of a nasal-

infix verb cf. e. g. *KBo* III 34 II 39 *istarniktat* 'he turned ailing', V 1 I 3 *huniktari* '(it) cracks', VIII 47 Vs. 10 *karittiyas nininkanta* 'floods will rise'. The Hittite non-attestation of the infixless verb is paralleled by *sarnik-* vs. Lat. *sarciō*. Cf. G. R. Hart, *Studies ... offered to L. R. Palmer* 93–6 (1976); Peters, *Untersuchungen* 110–2.

hinik- has no etymological connection with *he(w)u-* 'rain' (pace H. Eichner, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 18 [1982], and Ch. Zinko, *Akten der 13. Österreichischen Linguistentagung* 319–38 [1988]); but there is a similarity in the presence of *s*-mobile in both Indo-European roots (cf. s. v. *he[w]u-*).

hinkaniya- 'dance, play, make merry', verbal noun *hinkaniyawar* (n.), nom.-acc. *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 42 III 13 *hinganiyawa[r]* matching ibid. [Akk.] *meluldu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:137 [1971]), *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 20 II 34, matching ibid. [Akk.] *milulu*; *KUB* III 99 II 9 *hinganiya* [sic] followed [ibid. 10] by *duskiyauwar* 'rejoicing'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 17:108, 121 [1985]), *hi-in-qa-ni-ya-u-wa-ar* (*RS* 25:421 Verso 60–61 *hinqaniyauwar-ma-as dusgariyanni ha[ndān* 'she [is] dancing wedded to merriment'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:774 [1968]); iter. *hinganiski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-ni-is-kán-zi* (*KBo* XV 52 V 3–6 LÚ.MEŠBALAG.DI *PANI* DINGIR-*LIM menahhanda zahhiyas iwar hinganiskanzi nu ITTI* ^{D}IM *zahhiyanda* 'the harpists dance in fighting fashion in front of the deity, and they fight before the storm-god').

hinkaniya-, *hinkaniski-* is semantically close to *duski(ski)-* 'rejoice, make merry' and *tar(ku)wai-*, *tar(k)uiski-* 'dance'; just as the latter is etymologically akin to Lat. *torqueō* 'twist', *hinkaniya-* is most plausibly a "durative" of *hi(n)k-* 'bow', in the manner of *walhan(n)iya-*, *walhanniski-* from *walh-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:559).

hippara- (c.) 'bondman, serf' (of a special restrictive kind; cf. Lat. *servus ascripticius*) (*ASIRUM* 'confinee, restrictee' [Akk. *esēru* 'confine']), nom. sg. LÚ*hi-ip-pár-as*, dat.-loc. sg. LÚ*hi-ip-pa-ri* (*KBo* VI 2 II 49–54 [= Code 1.48–9, OHitt.] LÚ*hipparas luzzi karpīzzi nu* LÚ*hippari hāppar le [ku]iski īzzi* DUMU-*ŠU* A.ŠÀ-*ŠU* GIŠŠAR.GEŠTIN-*ŠU le kuiski wāsi [kuí]s-za* LÚ*hippari hāppar īzzi n-as-kan hāpparaz [same]nzi* LÚ*hipparas kuit happarāit t-az āppa dā[i] [takku* LÚ*h]ipparas*

tāyizzi sarnikzil NU.GÁL [...] ... *nu tuikkanza-sis-pat sarnikzi* 'A bondman is subject to corvée, let no one ply trade with the bondman, let no one buy his child, his field, his vineyard; he that plies trade with the bondman, he shall withdraw from the bargain; what the bondman traded he shall take back. If a bondman steals, there is no restitution; his person alone constitutes restitution'), LÚ*hi-ip-pa-ra-as*, LÚ*A-SI-RUM* (par. VI 4 IV 36–41 *takku-za* LÚ*hipparas luzzi karpizzi* LÚ*ASIRUM-za happar le kuiski iyazi* DUMU-*ŠU* A.ŠÀ-*ŠU* GIŠŠAR.GEŠTIN-*ŠÚ le kuiski wāsi kuis-za* LÚ*ASIRUM-ma happar [iy]azi n-as-kan happarraz samenzi* LÚ*ASIRUM-[ma] [kuí]t happiraizzi n-at-za* EGIR-*pa [dāí] [takku* LÚ*AS]IRUM dāiyazi nu-ssi-s[san* 'If a bondman is subject to corvée, let no one ply trade with the bondman, let no one buy his child, his field, his vineyard; but he that plies trade with the bondman, he shall withdraw from the bargain; and what the bondman trades, that he shall take back. If a bondman steals, for him ...'), nom. and gen. pl. LÚ.MEŠ*A-SI-RU-TIM* (*VAT* 7698 I 9–12 *nu-kan* LÚ.MEŠ URU*PA-ti hūma[ntes ...]* LÚ.MEŠUGULA *LIMTIM* GAL LÚ.MEŠ*ASIRUTIM* GAL LÚ.MEŠ*sarmiyas* GAL LÚ.MEŠ KÁ.GAL UR.ZÍR *IŠTU* IGI.DU$_8$.A.HI.A-*TIM hinkanzi* 'all the men of Hatti ..., chiliarchs, the chief of bondmen, the chief of s.-men, the chief of the men of the dog-gate, make offering with oblations'; *ABoT* 6, 12]LÚ.MEŠ*ASIRUTIM pianzi*).

For the circumstances of the *hipparas* see e. g. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 98; Souček, *OLZ* 56:461–3 (1961); von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 9–10, 130; Haase, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 29–37 (1982); Imparati, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25:235–6 (1982). The patent etymological tie-in with *happir-*, *happar-* 'trade, business, payment' was first formulated by Güterbock (*XVIII. Rencontre assyriologique internationale, München, 1970* 96 [1972]). Rather than calling for a reconstruction **A_1ēp(o)ró-* (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973]), *hippara-* reflects **$A_2^{\underline{u}}$p(r̥)ró-* 'traded person, chattel' (not 'peddler', as suggested by H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 111 [1984]), an earlier derivative than *happir(iy)a-* 'trading-place, town'; cf. *hista-* < **$A_2^{\underline{u}}$stoyó-*, with the same anaptyctic *i*.

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 337–8 [1981]) abortively interpreted *hippara-* as an abusive term 'fututor', allegedly cognate with Gk. *οἴφω*, Skt. *yábhati*, despite consistent *-pp-* pointing to IE **p*; for a possible reflex of IE **($A_1^{\underline{u}}$)yebh-* see *HED* 1–2:272–3.

hiss(a)-, hess(a)- (c.?) 'pole, shaft, thill' (for harnessing draft animals to cart), acc. sg. *hi-is-sa-an* (*KBo* XIII 119 III 10 *n-an* ^{GIŠ}*hissan ienzi* 'they make it [some tree?] into a pole'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-is-si* (*KUB* XXXIV 16 II 7 ^{GIŠ}MA]R.GÍD.DA-*as* ^{GIŠ}*hissi* 'at the pole of the Wain [= Big Dipper; cf. Gk. *Ἄμαξα = Ἄρκτος*]'; cf. ibid. 10 ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA 4 *hurkius* 'four wheels of the Wain'; *Bo* 4929 V 17–20 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *ANA PANI* ^{D}UD.SIG$_5$ *ŠALMA* ^{GIŠ}*hissi piran ANA* DINGIR-*-LIM-kan* IGI-*anda tagān dāi* 'one breadloaf, unblemished in the face of Good Day, he places on the ground before the pole facing the deity'; cf. Otten, *JCS* 4:121 [1950]; *KUB* XXX 32 I 2–3]2 KAK KÙ.BABBAR [...] ^{GIŠ}*hissi* 'two pegs of silver ... at the pole'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]), *hi-es-si* (*KBo* XII 123, 15]^{GIŠ}*hessi ēsz*[*i* 'is at the pole'; cf. ibid. 9 ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA *unuwanda* 'decked wagons').

The etymon Ved. *īṣā́* 'pole, shaft(s)' was adduced by Sommer (*Die Sprache* 1:161 [1949]) and Laroche (*RPh* 23:37–8 [1949]); this isogloss neatly complements such other related harnessing vocables as Hitt. *iukan* : Ved. *yugám* 'yoke' (*HED* 1–2:495–6, with addenda at the end of *HED* 3) and Hitt. *turiya-* 'to harness' : Ved. *dhur-* 'harnessing pole'. As with *iukan* and *turiya-*, there is no probability of an Indo-Aryan (Mitannian) loan in Hittite, the contexts pointing to carts or wagons rather than war- or race-chariots (cf. esp. Benveniste, *Hittite* 13–4; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:50–1 [1961], *Die Arier* 190–4; for the discredited loanword idea e. g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 224, *Etym.* 1:49, 100, 144; Frisk, *GEW* 2:356, 3:159; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1:97, *Die Sprache* 10:185–6 [1964], retracted in *IF* 70:253–4 [1965], *KEWA* 3:646, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1:208 [1988]).

For past attempts to forge laryngealistic links between *hissa-* and *īṣā́* see Tischler, *Glossar* 253; add Peters, *Untersuchungen* 94–5; H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:116–22 (1983). In view of the parallelism of *has(s)-* 'ash(es)' (nom. sg. *ha-a-as*) it is possible that the stem was basically *his(s)-*, with nom. sg. **hi-i-is*, acc. sg. *hissan* (like *hassan*), and perhaps a back-formed secondary nom. sg. *hissa-* (like *hassa-*). Too much has been made of the *ā*-stem *īṣā́* in postulating a proto-stem including *hissa-*, even seeing in the latter a unique Hittite survival of an inherited *ā*-stem (P. Brosman, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4:144 [1976]); *īṣā́* may well be an inner-Indic formation (cf. e. g. *díśā* beside *diś-*, or Gk. *δίκη* beside Lat. **dix*). *hiss(a)-*, *hess(a)-* can reflect a diphthongal antecedent **heis(a)-* or

***hais(a)- < *hois(a)-**, thereby tying in formally more closely with such further cognates as Proto-Iranian **aiša-* (Avest. *aēša-* '[ple-]plow', and borrowed terms for 'pole, thill[s]' in various Finnic languages [Komi, Udmurt, Mordvin], esp. Finnish *aisa*, Estonian *ais*; the assumed borrowing of the latter from a nonattested Baltic cognate is possible but strictly per obscurius, pace H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:118 [1983]). More problematic is the relevance of Hom. *οἰήιον* 'tiller, helm, rudderpost' and *οἴαξ* with the same post-Homeric meaning but denoting something attached to a yoke-assembly of a mule-wagon (*ἄμαξαν ... ἡμιονείην*) in *Iliad* 24:268–9: *κὰδ δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι ζυγὸν ἧρεον ἡμιόνειον / πύξινον ὀμφαλόεν εὖ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρηρός* 'down from a peg they took a mule-yoke of boxwood, with studs, well fitted with *οἴηκες*' (cf. *KUB* XXX 32 I 2–3 2 KAK KÙ.BABBAR [...] ^{GIŠ}*hissi* 'two pegs of silver ... at the pole'). A proto-form **oysā-* is possible for *οἴη-*, but so is *oywā-* which allows an alternative etymological connection to *ζυγόν*, accounting for nonapophonic *o-* and *ζ-* alike (**A*$_1^{\underline{w}}$*éy-w-* beside **A*$_1^{\underline{w}}$*y-éw-* in Skt. *yaúti*, with *ζυγόν* = Hitt. *iukan* < **A*$_1^{\underline{w}}$*yu-g-óm*). The initial of *his(s)-* can therefore be determined only as H_1 (rather than $A_2^{\underline{x}}$ or A_1), although some possible further cognates such as Lith. *iena* 'pole' even point to E_2 (cf. *IEW* 298). It is doubtful that Ved. *īṣā́* alone justifies the postulation of a proto-form with a further laryngeal, whether **H*$_1$*iH*$_2$*s-* (cf. F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 40 [1970]; A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüistica* 3:427–8 [1973]; H. Eichner, in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie* 162 [1980]; H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:122 [1983]) or **H*$_1$*oyH*$_2$*s-* (see Peters, *Untersuchungen* 95).

hista-, hesta- (n.) 'mortuary shrine, ossuary, charnel, mausoleum', nom.-acc. *hé-es-ta-a* (*KUB* XXX 32 I 11 ^{É}*hestā sarazzi katter* [sic] 'the h., upper [and] lower'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]), gen. *hi-is-ta-a-as* (*KBo* XXV 29 II 5 [OHitt.] ^{É}*histās hilamni* 'in the portal of the h.'; later dupl. XXV 30, 12 ^{É}*hestā hilamni*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *hi-is-ta-as* (XX 76 Rs. 1 + XXIV 87 Rs. 7 ^{É}*histas āska ari* 'arrives at the gate of the h.'; *IBoT* II 1 I 16–17 LÚ *histass-an-kan* [...] *epzi* 'the man of the h. grabs it'; par. ibid. 8–9 *n-an-si-kan* LÚ ^{É}*hest*[*ā*] *cpzi*), *hé-es-ta-a-as* (*KUB* XX 4 V 12 ^{D}*Hestās ā*[*ski* 'at the gate of the [deified] H.'; ibid. 13 ^{LÚ}GUDÚ ^{D}*Hest*[*ā* 'the priest of the H.'; ibid. 17 LÚ.MEŠ ^{ÉD}*H*[*estā* 'the men of

the H.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:78–9; XXX 32 I 14 *wattaru kuit* ^{É}*hestās āski* 'the well which [is] at the gate of the h.'), *hé-es-ta-as* (*IBoT* III 1, 17 ^{É}]*hestas āski ari* 'arrives at the gate of the h.'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:90 [1976]), uninflected gen. *hi-is-ta-a* (*KBo* XXIII 99 I 23, XXV 28 III 3 [the latter OHitt.] LÚ.MEŠ *histā*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 74; XI 36 IV 8 LÚ.MEŠ ^{D}*Histā*; *KUB* XXX 68 Vs. 8 EZEN GAL ^{É}*histā* 'great feast of the h.'; *KBo* XVI 67 I 7 *INA* EZEN ^{É}*histā* 'at the festival of the h.'), *hi-is-da-a* (ibid. 3 *INA* EZEN ^{É}*hisdā*), *hé-es-ta(-a)* (e. g. XVII 40 IV 8 *katti-ssi-ma* LÚ *hestā arta* 'along with him stands a man of the h.', besides OHitt. dupl. XVII 15 Vs. 14 LÚ *histā arta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73; X 31 III 25 LÚ.MEŠ *hestā*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:103; XXI 80 I 22 LÚ.]MEŠ *hestā*; *KUB* XXXIV [69+]70 I 18 ^{LÚ}GUDÚ 4 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestā* 'the priest [and] four men of the h.'; *VAT* 7470 I 13–14 *suppis* ^{LÚ}SANGA *ŠA* ^{É}*hestā U* 3 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestā* 'the holy priest of the h. and three men of the h.'; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:390 [1955]; *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 14 LÚ ^{É}*hestā kuis kursan karappan* [*harzi*], with dupl. *KUB* X 13 III 16 LÚ.MEŠ [sic] ^{É}*hestā* ^{KUŠ}*kursan kuis karpan harzi* 'the man of the h. who holds the fleece uplifted'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:94; *IBoT* IV 298 Vs. 8, *KUB* XXXIV 69[+70] I 8 LÚ ^{É}*hestā*; X 13 III 16, XLI 27 IV 12 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestā*; X 100, 6 LÚ ^{É}*hest*[*ā*; XLVI 2 II 7 LÚ.MEŠ *hesta-ya*), *hé-es-da-a* (*IBoT* III 1, 43 LÚ ^{É}*hesdā*; *Bo* 3230 I 7–8]LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hesdā-ma* [...] LÚ.MEŠ É *huhhas* 'men of the h. ... men of the house of the grandfathers'), *hi-es-ti-i* (*KBo* XXIII 79 II 7 LÚ ^{É}*hestī*), *hé-es-ti-(i)* (ibid. 3 *ANA* LÚ ^{É}*hestī*; ibid. 6 LÚ ^{É}]*hesti-ma*; *KUB* XLI 40 II 11 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestī*[; XLVI 3 I 3 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hesti-ya*; 41/g I 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestī*; cf. ibid. 19 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA$_4$ 'men of the house of stone'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 40; *IBoT* III 1, 88 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*kan* LÚ *hestī* É.ŠÀ-*za*['the priest [and] the man of the h. from the interior ...'; cf. ibid. 89 LÚ.MEŠ *hestā* SIR-*RU* 'the men of the h. sing'; ibid. 10 LÚ ^{É}*hestī* ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{É}*hesti-ya* 'the man of the h. and the priest of the h.'; ibid. 30–31 LÚ ^{É}*hestī suppai* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*i hurniessar peskizzi* 'the man of the h. gives a spray to the holy priest'; ibid. 55–56 LÚ ^{É}*hestī* UDU *dāi* 'the man of the h. takes the sheep'; ibid. 71 ^{D}*Taurī* TUŠ-*as* 34 [with gloss-wedges] GAL.HI.A *ŠA* ^{É}*hestī* 'to T., sitting, thirty-four goblets of the h.'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-is-ti-i* (*KBo* XXV 17 I 4 [OHitt.] *IN*]*A* ^{É}*histī*; later dupl. XXV 18 I 6 *INA* ^{É}*hestī*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 50; Singer, *Festival* 2:87), *hé-is-ti-i* (XVI 52 Vs. 6]*hestī*; ibid. Rs. 5–7 IZI ^{É}*hes*[*tī*] [...]-*ma namma ukturiaz* [...] *kistan ēsta* 'fire in the h., ... moreover from the cremation place ... had been put out'), *hé-es-ti-(-i)* (e. g. VI 28

Vs. 14–15 ^{URU}*Hat*]*tusass-a* URU-*as arha warnuwanza ēsta nu-kan* [...-]*tas* ^{É}*hesti-ya isparzan ēsta* 'the city of H. had been burned down, but ... also in the h. had escaped'; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 22 [1940]; *KUB* XXXIV 71 I 5 ^{É}*hestī* UGU-*as* 'in the h., of the upper ...'; *IBoT* III 1, 13 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL-*as* ^{É}*hestī pānzi* 'king [and] queen go to the h.'; *KUB* XX 84 Vs. 1]*INA* ^{É}*hestī pedanzi* 'they bring into the h.'; *KBo* X 20 II 11 and *IBoT* III 1, 16 *INA* ^{É}*hestī*; *KBo* II 5 III 16–17 *INA* ^{É}*hestī-ma ANA* ^{D}*Lelwa*[*ni*] EZEN *puruliyas* GAL-*in* EZEN-*an ŪL iyanun* 'but in the h. I had not celebrated for L. the great *purulli*-festival'; similarly ibid. 19 and 21; cf. Götze, *AM* 188–90), *hi-is-ta-a* (XVII 15 Vs. 23 LUGAL-*us* ^{É}*histā iya*[*n*- 'the king goes to the h.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 74; XX 21 Rs. 4 *INA* ^{É}*histā*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 51), *hi-is-da-a* (XII 59 IV 6 -*an*] *hastai* ^{NINDA}*tuhurai-ya hisdā* [with gloss-wedges] 'bones and t.-bread to the h.'), *hé-es-ta-a* (XVII 40 IV 13 and *IBoT* I 29 Rs. 35 *INA* ^{É}*hestā paizzi* 'goes to the h.'; ibid. 40 *n-an* ^{É}*hestā pehudanzi* 'they take him to the h.'; *IBoT* II 1 VI 9 *INA* ^{É}*hestā*; *KUB* XXX 32 I 14 *INA* ^{É}*hest*[*ā*], with dupl. *KBo* XVIII 190 Vs. 1 *hes*]*tā*), abl. sg. *IŠTU* ^{É}*hé-es-ti-i* (X 20 I 42; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:81 [1960]), TA ^{É}*hé-es-ti-i* (*IBoT* III 1, 90 LUGAL-*us-kan* TA ^{É}*hestī uizzi* 'the king comes from the h.'). For attestations see also Daddi, *Mestieri* 214–6.

histum(n)a- 'pertaining to the h.', nom. sg. c. ^{LÚ}*hi-is-tu-um-ma-as* (*KBo* XXI 80 I 17), ^{LÚ}*hi-is-tu-u-ma-as* (XXIII 99 I 19), ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-um-na-as* (*Bo* 4363 Rs. 7), ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-u-ma-as-sa* (*KUB* LVIII 50 III 1, 10, 16), dat.-loc. sg. ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-u-um-ni* (ibid. IV 14), nom. pl. c. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hé-es-tu-u-um-ni-es* (*KBo* XXV 171 II 7). The suffix *-um(n)a-* is that of *kuenzumna-* 'coming from where?', *Hattusumna-* 'Hattusan', *Suppiluliuma-* 'Holywell'.

For the doubtfully relevant anthroponymic *Histahsu(sar)*, *Hastahsu(sar)*, ^{SAL}*Histaiyar(a)*, ^{SAL}*Hastayar(i)* see Laroche, *Noms* 69, 298.

hista-/*hesta-* was a focus for mortuary worship, ancestor cult, and chthonian ritual centered around the infernal goddess Lelwanis (cf. the elaborate study by V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:65–99 [1976], 9:87–122 [1977], esp. 8:67 [history of research] and 9:121–2 [conclusions]).

It has been connected since Götze (*Hattusilis* 104, *AM* 265; cf. Otten, *JCS* 4:130 [1950]) with the *hastiyas pir* 'house of bones' of Hattusilis III (*KUB* I 1 IV 75 *kuit hastiyas É-ir* DÙ-*nun n-at ANA* DINGIR-*LIM parā pihhun* 'the house of bones that I built I consigned to the deity';

cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28); cf. further *Bo* 3826 III 6 É.ŠÀ *hastiyas* 'inner house of bones' (Otten, *Totenrituale* 112), and the proximity of *hastai ... hisdā* in *KBo* XII 59 IV 6 (quoted above). Since Güterbock, *MDOG* 86:75–6 (1953), the obvious similarities (and possible discrepancies – mortuary shrine vs. actual burial place) of *histā-* and É.NA$_4$ 'house of stone(s)' have claimed attention (cf. e. g. 41/g I 19 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA$_4$ besides ibid. 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^{É}*hestī* [quoted above]; *KBo* XVII 15 Vs. 12 [OHitt.] NA$_4$-*an parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the house of stones' [Neu, *Altheth.* 73]; *KUB* XVI 39 II 24 É.NA$_4$ ^{D}UTU-*Šī addas* 'house of stones of his majesty's fathers'; ibid. 29 and 30 *ŠA* É.NA$_4$ DINGIR-*LIM addas* 'of the house of stones of the deified fathers' [Otten, *Totenrituale* 108]). A further quasi-synonym may be É.GIDIM in *KBo* XXI 35 I 4–5 *hurkel* IN[A ...] ŠÀ É.GIDIM *ēš*[- 'an abomination in ... the interior of the house of the dead'.

The basic interconnection of *hista-* with *hastai-* 'bone(s)' is inescapable and should not be shirked by foisting *hista-* per obscurius on Hattic, while ascribing *hastiyas pir* to a "folk etymology" (thus Kammenhuber, *Orientalia* N.S. 41:300 [1972], followed by Otten, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4:369 [1975]). The partial "freezing" of the stem form *histā* in genitival usage (e. g. LÚ *hestā*) is due to its treatment as a proper name for a landmark in Hattusas (cf. e. g. LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Hatti* 'king of Hatti'). The alleged alternative stem *histi-/hesti-* is illusory: while the inflected genitive *histās, histas, hestās, hestas* is attested from Old Hittite onward, there is no **histiyas, *hestiyas*, nor a "frozen" **histī*, only an uninflected genitival (and occasional ablatival) *hestī* in a limited number of mostly late texts where it may represent a sporadic petrifaction of the dative-locative of a place name, as in Latin *Aquis* > *Aix* besides *Aquae*.

On the formal side attempts to reconcile the vocalism and derivation of *hista-/hesta-* with *hast(a)i-* have been inconclusive, ranging from assumptions of *e* : *o* ablaut (e. g. Gamkrelidze, *Xettskij jazyk* 26–7) to postulation of inner-Hittite sound change *a* > *i* on the *arha-* : *irha-* model (F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 36–7 [1970]) to reconstruction of a "vṛddhi" derivative *A_1*ēstoyó-* 'pertaining to bones' (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973], *Die Sprache* 20:30 [1974]; cf. G. Darms, *Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn* 109–10 [1978], who compared Anatolian Greek epigraphic εἰσώστη, ὑπώστη 'ossuary'). But the vocalism militates against this construct, for non-ablaut **o-* (i. e. *A_2^we-*) is more probable in *hast(a)i-*, and the assumption that *A_1ē-* should result in uncolored **hē-* > *hi-/he-*

(Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973]) is strictly ad hoc (cf. also G. Schmidt, *Kratylos* 25:176–7 [1980]).

hista- is not derived from *hast(a)i-* but rather related to it. The root form **A_2^wes-t-* yielded an ablauting *i*-stem **A_2^west-i-* > *hast(a)i-*, while the zero grade derivative **A_2^wstoy-ó-* resulted in *histā-/hestā-*, with *i/e* (completely lacking in plene-spellings) simply anaptyctic in the cluster **hs-* (in the manner of Gk. πνυτός from **πνυτός*; cf. *hippara-* [s. v.]). From the plausible Old Hittite equation ^{É}*histās hilamni* (*KBo* XXV 29 II 5) = NA$_4$-*an parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the house of stones' (XVII 15 Vs. 12) it appears that *histā-* is the collective neuter for 'stone(s)', and we may adduce Goetze's bold comparison (*JAOS* 74:189 [1954]) with Germanic **staina-* (< **A_2^wstoy-nó-*?). This etymologically palpable affinity of stones to bones is underpinned by poetic expressions for stones as 'earth's bones' (Gk. γῆς ὀστέα in Khoirilos of Samos, fragment 11; ON *foldar beinom* in Thjodolf's *Ynglingatal* 26:10; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.393–4: *lapides in corpore terrae ossa reor dici* 'stones in the body of the earth I deem are called bones', by means of which Deucalion and Pyrrha were told to repopulate the world). Perhaps by virtue of the deposition in the mausoleum the return transition ([human] bones > [earth's] stones) was symbolically consummated, thus explaining how the *hastiyas pir* 'house of bones' was commonly known as the *histās pir* 'house of stones' (cf. *KUB* XIII 8 Vs. 2 ANA É.NA$_4$-*ni* = *histās parni* [Otten, *Totenrituale* 106]) or as ^{É}*Hestā* or ^{D}*Hestā* or even ^{ÉD}*Hestā* '([Deified] House of) Stones' for short (cf. Hattusilis I's last instruction to his wife: *KUB* I 16 IV 72 [Akk.] *ina irṣetim uṣrinni* [verb *naṣāru*] = ibid. III 72–73 [Hitt.] *nu-mu ... taknaz pahsi* 'protect me by means of earth' = 'consign me to the earth').

For the unlikely adduction of Akk. *haštu* 'hole, pit, grave' and Ugar. *hšt* as the source of *hista-* see J. C. de Moor, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 1:171 (1969), 14:181 (1982).

Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:312 [1987]) implausibly took Gk. ἑστία (Ionic ἰστίη) 'hearth' to be a borrowing from *hista-*.

huek- 'conjure, treat by incantation' (with either dat. or acc., like *sipand-* 'libate, sacrifice to'), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-mi* (*KBo* XXII 107 I 13–14 *pahhur hu*[-...] *huekmi*), *hu-ik-mi* (ibid. 11 *pahhur huikmi* 'I conjure the fire'; XVII 61 Rs. 7 *nu kissan huikmi* 'I conjure as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; *KUB* XVII 28 I 27–28

n-an-san luttiya ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *tihhi huikmi-ya-ssan ser* 'I place it in the window for the gods and I conjure over it'), *hu-uk-mi* (ibid. II 3 *hu-uk-mi*; ibid. 8 *n-an kisan hu*[*kmi* 'I conjure her as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84; *KBo* XXVII 134 I 19–20 and IV 8–9 EGIR-*pa* ŪL *lāuwas hūkmain kissan hukmi* 'I utter thus a conjuration of no release' [figura etymologica]); *hu-u-uk-mi* (XI 19 Vs. 1; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 314), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-*⟨*ik-*⟩*si* (*KUB* XLV 21, 1 [*nu k*]*ūn* ŠIPTA 3-*ŠU hui*⟨*k*⟩*si* 'thou utterest the following conjuration thrice'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 256), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-zi* (e. g. XXXI 143 II 19]^{D}*Telipinui huekzi* 'he conjures T.'; ibid. 29]*Tuhuleli huekzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186–7; XXVIII 75 III 25 *mān* ANA *Halkiya huekzi* 'when he conjures H.'; similarly ibid. 7, 11, 15, 20, 29; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 194–5; *KBo* XXV 121 I 10 *aruni huekzi* 'conjures the sea'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 203; XX 2 + XXV 15 I 5 L]UGAL-*us* KISLAH-*ni huekzi* 'the king conjures the threshing-floor'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47; II 12 II 20–21 *mān-san* LUGAL-*us* KISLAH-[*ni*] *huekzi*; XXV 120, 11 *mān* DUMU-*as* ... [...] *hassī huekzi* 'if a child conjures the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 201), *hu-ik-zi* (e. g. *KUB* VIII 41 II 1 *mān A*[NA D]AM-*ŠU huikzi* 'when he [viz. the conjurer] conjures his [viz. the god's] wife'; similarly ibid. 4, 7, 10, 14; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 183–4; similarly *KUB* XXXI 143a + *VBoT* 124 II 10, 14, 19; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 188–9), *hu-uk-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 18 2-*ŠÚ hukzi* 'twice she conjures'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 176; *KUB* XXIV 13 III 17 *hukzi-ma kissan* 'but she conjures as follows'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 108; *KUB* XII 58 II 29 *nu h*[*u*]*kzi* 'she conjures'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), *hu-u-uk-zi* (*KBo* XII 112 Vs. 13 *n-an kisan hūkzi*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 66), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-e-ku-wa-ni* (XV 28 Vs. 7; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:135 [1975]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-kán-zi* (e. g. II 12 II 33–34 *kuyus hukanzi* 'whom they conjure'), *hu-u-kán-zi* (*KUB* XVII 24 II 13 *nu apedani pedi hūkanzi* 'in that place they conjure'; ibid. 15 ŪL *hūkanz*[*i*; IX 3 IV 3 INA UD.2.KAM *hūkanzi* 'for two days they conjure'), 1 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ga-u-en* (XVIII 12 Vs. 13 *nu hūgawen nu-kan aliliyas pian* SIG$_5$-*za uit* 'we conjured, and an oracle-bird came forth auspiciously'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ik-du* (VII 1 III 11–12 *nu-wa-ssi-ssan ser* ^{UZU}*hupallas huikdu n-an suppaus tētanus huikdu* 'let her conjure his skull above, let her conjure his clean hair', continuing with *huikdu* ibid. 12–16 for other pieces of upper anatomy; then, 16–19, starting with 'breast' and heading down, lapsing into KI.MIN 'ditto'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]; dupl. *KBo*

XXII 128 + 145 + *KUB* XLIII 52 + 350/z III 9–16, with *huikdu* throughout, except possibly *hu-uk-du* in line 13; *ZA* 67:58–9 [1977]); partic. *hukant-*, acc. pl. c. *hu-u-kán-du-us* (*KUB* XXV 27 II 23), gen. or dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-ga-an-da-as* (VII 1 II 13 *kī-ma hūgandas dāi* 'this he takes for the conjured'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *hu-u-ga-an-ta-as* (dupl. *KBo* XXII 145 II 5 *kī-ma hūgantas d*[*āi*; cf. *ZA* 67:57 [1977]); verbal noun *hukatar* (n.), gen. sg. *hu-u-kán-na-as* (*KUB* XVI 47, 12 *hūkannas* MUŠEN.HI.A 'birds of conjuration'), *hu-u-ga-an-na-as* (XVIII 12 Vs. 7 *hūgannas* MUŠEN.HI.A); inf. *hu-u-kán-na* (XVII 24 II 14–15 *hūkanna* ... ŪL *āra* 'to conjure ... [is] unlawful'); iter. *hukkeski-*, *hukkiski-* /huk-ski-/, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-mi* (VII 1 I 7 *nu* DUMU-*an kuin hukkiskimi n-an* ŠUM-*ŠU tēmi* 'the child whom I conjure, I speak his name'), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-ki-mi* (VII 58 II 5), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-si* (XXX 29 Vs. 8 [*nu kis*]*san hukkiskisi* 'you keep conjuring as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 22), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-es-ki-iz-zi* (IX 34 I 10 *hukkes*[*kizzi*]; LIX 46 Rs. 9 *huk*]*keskizzi*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 24, 51), *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (e. g. IX 34 III 32 *nu hukkiskizzi kuin n-an-kan* ŠUM-*ŠU tezzi* 'whom she conjures, she speaks his name'; cf. dupl. LIX 46 Rs. 13 *nu* DÙ-*iskizzi* 'treats'; *KBo* III 8 III 18–20 *nu hukkiskizzi* ^{D}*Kamrusipas* GAL-*in* ÍD-*an n-asta* KU$_6$-*an uiti hukkiskizzi* 'K. conjures the great river, and she conjures the fish in the water'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; *KUB* VII 53 II 23 *nu hukkiskizzi* 'she keeps conjuring'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 12; *KBo* XXI 6 Vs. 3 ^{SAL}ŠU].GI-*ma kissan hukkiskizz*[*i*] 'but the old woman conjures as follows'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 44; XXV 193, 5]*kissan hukkiskizzi*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 52; *IBoT* I 36 II 46 *nu* ^{LÚ}AZU *hukkiskizzi* 'the magician conjures'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:186 [1966]; *KUB* XXXV 146 II 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 268; *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 10 and 12; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32; VIII 130 II 8; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 210), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXXII 8 III 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 118), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-id-du* (VII 1 II 23–24 *kattera-ma-at dankuwaz taknāz taknas* ^{D}UTU-*us hukkiskiddu* 'but from the dark earth below let the solar deity of the earth conjure it'); supine *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-wa-an* (IX 4 II 22–23 and dupl. IX 34 III 6–7 *nu-za namma kī hukmai epzi nu hukkiskiuwan dāi* 'then she takes this conjuration and begins to conjure'), *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-an* (XXXIII 120 II 71 *hukkiskiuan dayer* 'they began conjuring'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *4; Laroche, *RHA* 26:44 [1968]).

hukmai- (c. and n.) 'conjuration' (*ŠIPTU*), acc. sg. c. *hu-uk-ma-in* (e. g. *KUB* XII 58 I 33 *nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *ser appannas hukmain hukzi* 'the sorceress utters the conjuration of uplift' [figura etymologica]; ibid. 36–37 *nu ŠA* ŠAH.TUR *hu⟨k⟩main hukzi* 'she utters the conjuration of the pig'; ibid. 38 *nu ŠA* UR.TUR *hukmain hukzi* 'she utters the conjuration of the puppy'; similarly ibid. 39–40; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10; *KBo* XV 1 IV 40 [*mahha*]*n hukmain zennai* 'when she finishes the conjuration'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 144), *hu-u-uk-ma-in* (XXVII 134 I 19, quoted sub 1 sg. pres. act. *hukmi* above), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-uk-ma-i* (*KUB* IX 34 III 6, quoted above), gen. sg. *hu-uk-mi-ya-as* (*KBo* XVII 62+63 I 13 *nu hukmiyas* DUB.HI.A-*TIM arhay*[*an*] 'the tablets of conjuration [are] apart'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32), acc. pl. *hu-uk-ma-is* (sic *KUB* VII 53 II 6 *hukmais-ma hukkiskizzi* 'she keeps uttering the conjurations'), *hu-uk-ma-us* (XXVII 29 I 7; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 134), *hu-uk-ma-a-us* (*VBoT* 58 IV 37–38 *hukmāus hukzi* 'utters conjurations'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB* XXXVI 44 I 6 *hukmāus* 3-*šu irhāizzi* 'makes conjurations thrice in a row'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:88 [1965]).

hukmatalla- (c.) 'conjurer', nom. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hu-uk-ma-tal-li-*[*e-es* (*KUB* XII 61 II 7), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KAXLI (ibid. 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:29 [1968]). For formation cf. *ishamai-* and *ishamatalla-* (*HED* 1–2:394–5).

The consistent single spelling of *-k-* (except for gemination due to unvoicing before *-sk-* in the iterative *hukkiski-*) parallels that of e. g. *eku-* (iter. *akkuski-*) and emphatically points to an Indo-European voiced stop. This alone vitiates most current etymologies, such as the semantically unenlightening connection with Skt. *vak-*, Gk. *(ϝ)ἐπ-* 'speak', with dissimilatory loss of labiovelarity in *huek-* as in Lat. *voc-* (first in Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:226 [1930], *Comp. Gr.*[1] 96, 233, and down to Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:388), and the adduction of Goth. *weihan* 'consecrate', in tandem with *weihan* 'fight' (Lat. *vincō*, *victima*) for the homophone *huek-* 'slaughter' (the latter first in Goetze, *Lg.* 30:403 [1954]), requiring a secondary adjustment of Hittite ablaut from *$*H_1$weyk-* : *$*H_1$wik-* to *huek-* : *huk-* (advanced with reservations by Puhvel, *LIEV* 24–5; cf. *Lg.* 38:302 [1962]; fully embraced by J. Holt, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 216–9 [1959], and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:64–5, 73 [1961], who also adduced Ved. *vināk ti* 'separate' and believed in a single common denominator meaning 'consecrate by sacrificial slaughter'). The occasional tie-in

with Skt. *vaś-* 'wish', Gk. *(ϝ)ἑκών* 'willing' (e. g. W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59:177 [1939]) fares no better. Sturtevant later (*Lg.* 16:85–6 [1940], *IHL* 50, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 40, 50, 57, 126–7) translated *huek-* implausibly as 'set free from witchcraft' and suggested as a cognate Gk. *(ϝ)ἄγνῡμι* 'break' (a connection which may have merit for *huni*[*n*]*k-* instead [q. v.]). Further assorted vagaries were chronicled in Tischler, *Glossar* 255–7; add T. Burrow's comparison of *huek-*, *huk-* with Skt. *uśij-* (a kind of priest; *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* 97 [1970]).

The only plausible etymology is that of Čop (*RHA* 13:63–4 [1955]) who postulated *$*H_1$wégh^{w}-ti* : *H_1ugh^{w}-ónti* as antecedents of *huekzi* : *hukanzi* and compared Gk. *εὔκτο*, *εὔχομαι* 'profess, pray', Ved. *vāghát-* 'sacrificer', Lat. *voveō* 'vow' (root *$*E_2$ew-gh^{w}-*; IEW 348). The cultic meanings are tolerably close to 'conjure', and the delabialization of *gh^{w}* after *u* parallels that of Greek. The initial laryngeal *E_2* is the same as in e. g. *har(a)k-* 'get lost', *harna-*, *he(w)u-*. There is no need to adduce further or instead (with Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 87; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 103; Peters, *Untersuchungen* 18–20) the obscure Gk. *αὐχέω* 'boast, brag'.

huek- 'slaughter, butcher, slay', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-mi* (*KBo* XVII 3 III 14 1 UDU *huek*[*mi* 'I slaughter one sheep'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu, *Altheth.* 15), *hu-ik-mi* (XVII 1 I 41 GUD-*un huikmi* 'I slaughter the ox'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 22; Neu, *Altheth.* 7), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-e-ik-zi* (*KUB* XVII 24 III 3 *nu* ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM UDU *huwekzi* 'the cook butchers the sheep'), *hu-ik-zi* (e. g. LI 1 + LIII 14 II 10–11 *n*]*-an* *INA* É.DINGIR-*LIM hassī ANA* ^{D}*Telipinu huikzi* 'he slaughters it [viz. the sheep] in the temple at the hearth to T.'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:41 [1984]; *KBo* XI 45 + *IBoT* III 87 II 5 *ANA* ^{D}U *apāsila huikz*[*i*] 'he himself slaughters it to the storm-god'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 230; *KBo* XX 39 I.K. 12, 14, 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 219), *hu-uk-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XLI 8 I 18 *nu-ssan petesni kattanta hukzi* 'he slaughters down into the hole'), *hu-u-uk-zi* (dupl. *KBo* X 45 I 35 *nu-ssan petesni* GAM-*anta hūkzi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]; *KUB* LIII 12 III 20–21 *INA* É.DINGIR-*LIM hassī ANA* ^{D}*Telipinu hūkzi* 'slaughters [it] in the temple at the hearth to T.'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:50 [1984]), 1 pl. pres. act. (?)]*hu-e-ik-ku-*[*e-ni* (*KBo* XVII 4 III 19; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34; Neu, *Altheth.* 16), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-kán-zi* (frequent, e. g. XV 33

III 13 LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM-*ma-as istanāni hukanzi* 'the cooks slaughter on the altar'; XX 16 Rs. 10 GUD.HI.A-*us hukanzi* 'they slaughter oxen'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 38; *KUB* LI 1 + LIII 14 II 18 1 GUD 30 UDU.HI.A NA4*hūwasiya ANA* D*Telipinu hukanzi* 'one ox [and] thirty sheep they slaughter at the baitylos for T.'; XXX 19 + XXXIX 7 I 23–24 1 GUD 7 UDU.HI.A-*ya hukanzi* 'they slaughter one ox [and] seven sheep'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 32; *VBoT* 24 II 35–36 *namma-an-san* GIŠ*lahhurnuzias sarā hukanzi* 'they slaughter it [viz. the goat] on top of foliage'; *KBo* III 63 II 3 *nu* MÁŠ.GAL *hukanzi* 'they slaughter the he-goat'), *hu-u-kán-zi* (profuse, e. g. ibid. 7 *hūkanzi-ma-an*; *KUB* LVII 84 III 2–4 GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPAD *ŠUŠI* 4 [...]HI.A ŠÀ-*BA* 13 GUD.HI.A 51 UDU.HI.A *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūkanzi* 'the chief [of] shepherds slaughter[s] to the gods sixty-four ..., consisting of thirteen cattle [and] fifty-one sheep'; cf. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:256 [1984]; LIII 8 Vs. 8–9 12 UDU.HI.A ... *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūkanzi* 'twelve sheep they slaughter to the gods', detailed ibid. 10–19 with *hūkanzi* each time; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984]; *KUB* XXXIV 123 I 14 9 UDU.HI.A GE_6 *kutti hūkanzi* 'nine black sheep they slaughter at the wall'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65; LIII 12 IV 1–3 1 UDU *appanzi n-an* É*hilammas* DUTU-*i hūkanzi* 'they seize one sheep and slaughter it to the solar deity of the portal'; XXV 25 I 10–11 1 UDU EN KUR-*TI pāi ANA* D*Zahpuna-an-kan* [*INA*] NA4ZI.KIN-*si hūkanzi* 'the landlord gives one sheep, to Z. they slaughter it at the baitylos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 14–15 NA4*hūwasiyas hūkanzi suppa huesauwaza zeantaza tiyanzi* 'at the baitylos they do the slaughtering, they put sacrificial meat from the raw [and] from the cooked'; *KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 4 UDU.HI.A-*kan hattesni* GAM-*anda hūkanzi* 'they slaughter the sheep down into a hole'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; VII 5 III 2–3 *n-an* GIŠBANŠUR-*i piran katta hūkanzi* 'they slaughter it [viz. the sheep] before the table'; XXV 33 I 7–8 *istananni* GIŠ*eyani sarā hūkan*[*zi* 'they slaughter it up [= hoist it up for slaughter] on the altar by the *eya*-tree'; XVII 28 II 53–54 *n-asta* 1 UDU.NITÁ DUTU-*i* BAL-*anti n-an hūkanzi nu* KAŠ *sippanti* 'he sacrifices one ram to the solar deity; they slaughter it; he libates with beer'; *KBo* X 20 II 18, 31, 34, 43 UDU.HI.A *hūkanzi* 'they slaughter sheep'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:82 [1960]; *KUB* XLIV 58 II 9; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 271), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-u-kán-ta* (LV 28 II 12; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:99 [1988]), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-e-ik-ta* (*KBo* III 34 I 17–18 *s-an* I*Sarmāssuui* I*Nunnuui-ya sakuwas-ma huekta* 'he slew him before the eyes of S. and N.'; similarly *KUB* XXXVI 104 Vs. 16 [OHitt.]

huekta), *hu-u-e-ik-ta* (*KBo* XXII 6 I 18 GIŠ*armizziyas-ma* 2 UDU.ŠIR *huwekta* 'to the bridge he slaughtered two rams'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]), *hu-ik-ta* (*KBo* XI 45 + *IBoT* III 87 II 17); partic. *hukant-*, acc. sg. c. *hu-ga-a-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XX 11 II 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 147), acc. pl. c. *hu-ga-an-tu-us* (*Bo* 5478 I 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 108); verbal noun *hukessar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ki-es-sar* (*KUB* XXV 33 I 2; XLI 51 IV 3), *hu-u-ki-es-sar* (*Bo* 3366 II 9 *hūkessar assanuzi* 'is done slaughtering'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 267), *hu-gi-es-sar* (*KUB* XXVIII 45 VI 16), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-ki-es-ni* (XXX 32 IV 14 30 GUD.MAH 33 GUD.ÁB 3 *ME* UDU.HI.A *hūkesni* 'thirty bulls, thirty-three cows, three hundred sheep for slaughter'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:98 [1976]); verbal noun *hugatar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-ga-tar* (LIII 4 Rs. 15 UDU.HI.A GUD.HI.A *hūgatar QATAMMA sarranzi* 'they likewise divide up the slaughtering of sheep [and] cattle' [division of labor!]; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:74 [1984]); inf. *hu-ga-an-na* (XXXI 57 I 14–15 *terippūwanzi warsuwanzi* ARÀH-*anzi huganna arauwas* NU.GÁL 'free from plowing, harvesting, garnering, and butchering there is none'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114; LI 1 + LIII 14 I 27–28 1 UDU TI-[*an* ...] *huganna dan*[*zi* 'one live sheep they take for slaughter'), *hu-u-ga-an-na* (*KBo* XXIX 72 + XIV 96 Vs. 8 *nu-za mahhan* LÚMUHALDIM UDU *hūganna epzi* 'when the cook begins slaughtering a sheep'), *hu-u-kán-na* (*KUB* LIII 4 Rs. 10 *hūkanna kuis t*[*iyazi* 'he who proceeds to slaughter'); iter. *hukeski-*, *huk(k)iski-* /huk-ski-/, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (1470/u I 11; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:403), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-ki-es-kán-zi* (*KBo* II 4 IV 23 *nu* GÙB-*li kutti hukeskanzi* 'they slaughter at the left wall'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 230), *hu-u-ki-es-kán-zi* (*KUB* XXII 27 IV 7), *hu-u-ki-is-kán-zi* (XX 48 I 3–5 *nu* UDU.HI.A MÁŠ.GAL-*kan* [...] *hūman hūkanzi kuitman-ma hūkiskanzi* 'the sheep [and] the he-goat ... they butcher everything; but while they are butchering ...'; *KBo* XV 33 III 28 *nu apūss-a ist*[*anāni*] *hukanzi kuitman hūkiskanzi* 'those too they slaughter on the altar; while they are busy slaughtering ...'; *KUB* XXXII 82, 10 *kuitman* UDU.HI.A *hūkiskanzi* 'while they are slaughtering the sheep'; LIII 4 Rs. 10 *sarā hūkiskanzi* 'they hoist up for slaughter' [opp. ibid. Vs. 6 *kattanta hūkanzi* 'they slaughter downwards']), *hu-uk-ki-is-kán-zi* (IX 3 IV 6–7 [*nu* ŠU.NIGI]N 32 GUD.HI.A 6 *ME* UDU.HI.A *INA* URU*Kāsha k*[*uin*] *ANA* D*Telipinu* UD.3.KAM *hukkiskanzi* 'altogether thirty-two cattle [and] six hundred sheep at Kāsha that they slaughter for T. during three days'), *hu-uk-kis-kán-zi* (dupl. LIII 3 VI 4; cf. *ZA* 68:274 [1978]; Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF*

11:61 [1984]), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-kán-zi* (LVII 84 III 7–8 *apūss-a-ssan hūkkiskanzi* 'those too they slaughter'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-ki-is-ki-it* (1470/u I 10); supine *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-an* (LIII 4 Rs. 9 *nu hukkiskiuan tianzi* 'they begin to slaughter'); iterative – "durative" *huganna-*, supine *hu-ga-an-ni-wa-an* (*KBo* XXI 25 I 44 LÚ.MEŠMUHALDIM *huganniwan* [*t*]*ianzi* 'the cooks start butchering'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 65).

For failed attempts at etymology, such as interpreting *huek-* 'slaughter' in connection with Lat. *vincō* and jointly with its near-homophone *huek-* 'conjure' and in conjunction with the Gothic pair *weihan* 'fight' and 'consecrate', see s. v. *huek-* 'conjure', and Tischler, *Glossar* 258; add E. Seebold's preposterous attempt (*KZ* 96:48 [1982]) to combine *huek-* with Gk. *σφάζω* 'slaughter' as reflecting **s-ĝhw-əg-*, heedless of previous studies. *huek-* means originally 'stab, stick' and has (like *hat*[*t*]-, q. v.) come to be specialized as a term for sacrificial slaughter (unlike e. g. *kuen-* 'kill', which has the basic meaning 'smite'). A plausible cognate is OPers. *vaǰ-* in *Bīsitūn* 2.73–75 (similarly ibid. 88–89): *adam-šaiy utā nāham utā gaušā utā hazānam frāǰanam utā-šaiy 1 čašam avaǰam* 'I struck off (*fra-ǰan-*; cf. Hitt. *kuen-*) his nose and ears and tongue, and I stuck (*vaǰ-*) one of his eyes'. Further cognates may be Gk. *(ϝ)ὀφνίς*, Lat. *vōmis*, OHG *waganso* 'plowshare', OPruss. *wagnis* 'coulter' (*IEW* 1179; cf. Čop, *RHA* 13:64–9 [1955]; K. Strunk, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 241–56 [1979]), pointing to IE **H_1wegh^w-* with a meaning 'slash, pierce'.

Cf. *huni(n)k-*.

huellai- 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-i-el-la-a-it* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 22 *arha huellāit n-as piddāis* ^{D}*Anus* MUŠEN-*as nepisi iyannes* '[from Kumarbi's hand] Anu flew forth [?] and he fled, as a bird he went to heaven'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:112 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:40 [1968]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:472.

Attempts to connect *huellāi-* with *hul(a)-* 'wind, twist' (e. g. Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 88) are unconvincing, as is the effort of Čop (*Ling.* 6:44 [1964]) to reconstruct a **hwej-allā-* (sic; suffix?) related to *huwai-* 'flee'.

Possibly a denom. derivative from a lost cognate of Gk. *ἄελλα*, We. *awel* 'blast', thus IE **A_1éw-E_1-*, *A_1w-éE_1-* 'blow' (*IEW* 81–4). *huellai-* < **A_1weE_1-l-eA_2-ye-*, vs. **A_1ewE_1-l-yA_2* in *ἄελλα*?

Cf. *huwant-*.

huelpi- 'young, new, fresh, unripe; (neut. sg.) newborn animal (calf, lamb, kid)', nom. sg. c. *hu-el-pí-is* (*KBo* III 8 III 32 DUMU-*as huelpis* 'young child'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; *KUB* XXIV 9 III 25]GEŠTIN *mahlas huelpis* 'new grapewine'; dupl. XXIV 11 III 16 1 GAL GIR$_4$ GEŠTIN *mahlas huelpis* 'one clay goblet new grapewine'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46; *KBo* XXV 106, 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 181), acc. sg. c. *hu-el-pí-in* (*KUB* XI 22 II 2–3 LÚAZU 1 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA [...] *huelpin parsi*[*ya* 'the magician breaks one fresh breadloaf'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-el-pí* (XXIV 7 II 5 *nu-z*]*a* LÚ.MEŠ *huelpi* GA.RAŠ^{SAR} *iwar arha kari*[*pta* 'thou [viz. Ištar] hast devoured men like fresh leek'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:307 [1977]; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:158 [1983]; ibid. 58 *huelpi happuriyan* 'fresh greenery'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:226 [1950]), *hu-e-el-pí* (XXVII 16 IV 6–7 INBI.HI.A-*ya hūman hādan huēlpi kuitta parā* 'and all fruits, dried [and] fresh, each by itself'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:91 [1957]), *hu-u-el-pí* (XIII 4 IV 3–4 *kuit huwelpi sumās* LÚ.MEŠAPIN.LAL DINGIR.MEŠ-[*as*] *pe ha*[*rt*]*e*[*ni* 'what newborn you farmers tender to the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390 [1934]; ibid. 39–40 *kuitman* UKÙ-*as huwelpi nāui ezzazzi n-at* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hūdāk udattin* 'while a man does not yet eat the newborn, bring it promptly to the gods'; ibid. 43–44 *mān huwelpi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hūdāk* UL *udatteni* 'if you do not bring the newborn promptly to the gods'; ibid. 49–50 *mān-wa-za kī huwelpi anzel* ZI-*ni hūdāk piyawēn* 'if we promptly gave this newborn to ourselves'), instr. sg. *hu-el-pí-it* (X 27 I 22–26 *mān z*[*enanti*]-*ma nasma* [*gim*]-*manti nu* GIŠ*alkistānus huelpit* IŠTU INBI *miyanuzi* 'but if [it is] in fall or in winter, he lets boughs with unripe fruit ripen'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:70 [1939]; M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:86 [1957]), *hu-e-el-pí-it* (XXVII 16 I 9–13 *namma* GIŠ*INBI*.HI.A *kar*[!]*appiyan*[*zi*] *nu mān hameshanza n-at miyan* [*parā*] *karsanda mān gimmanza-ma nassu zēnanza n-at* IŠTU GIŠ[*INBI*] *huēlpit* GEŠTIN-*it* GIŠHASHUR-*it miya*[*nuanzi*] 'they further pick fruits; if [it is] spring-summer, they cut them off ripe; but if [it is] winter or fall, they let them ripen from unripe fruit, grape [and] apple'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:69 [1939]), nom. pl. c. *hu-el-pí-is*, neut. *hu-el-pí* (XXX 32 IV 11–12 6 *ME* 82 UZUÚR.UDU *huelpi* 80 *ARNABU ŠABULU* 3 [...] MUŠEN.HI.A *ŠABULU* 6 *ME* 80 MUŠEN.HI.A *huelpis* 'six hundred and eighty two fresh legs of lamb, eighty dried hares, three [...] dried birds, six hundred and eighty fresh birds'; cf. Friedrich, *JCS* 1:277–8 [1947];

V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:98 [1976]; XVIII 14 III 8 SILÁ.HI.A *huelpi*[-? 'young lambs').

The connection of *huelpi-* with IE **g^{w}elbh-* 'womb; embryo' (Skt. *gárbha-*, Avest. *garəwa-*, Gk. *δελφύς*), also 'young animal' (Avest. *gərəbuš-*; Gk. *δέλφαξ* 'piglet') has tempted scholars from Hrozný (*SH* 111) to von Brandenstein (*Orientalia* N.S. 8:81 [1939]) to Hendriksen (*Untersuchungen* 26) to Carruba (*Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 130 [1976]) to E. Seebold (*KZ* 96:41 [1982]). While a regular derivation of *h* (or *hu*) from an IE guttural stop must be rejected, the etymon in question has variants which merit special consideration: Gk. *βρέφος* 'foetus, newborn' (**g^{w}rebh-*), OCS *žrěbę* 'foal' (**g^{w}erbh-*), Arm. *koriun* 'young animal'; Goth. *kalbō* 'heifer', ON *kalfr* 'calf', Lat. (Gaulish) *galba* 'paunch, belly' (**golbh-*), OHG *kilbur* 'ewe' (**gelbhes-*); OE *colt* 'young animal' (**geld-*), Goth. *kilþei* 'womb' (**gelt-*); ON *hvelpr*, OHG *welf* 'young animal, whelp' (**k^{w}elbh-*). These words, all clearly related, have a degree of initial (**g^{w}/g/k^{w}*), medial (**l/r*), and root-final (**bh/d/t*) variation which defies strict one-on-one correspondences. A further possible cognate is Lat. *vulva, volva, volba* 'womb' which, besides the possible tie-in with *volvō* (cf. Gk. *[ϝ]ἕλυτρον* 'wrap'), may be connected as **g^{w}elbh-* with Skt. *gárbha-*, or as **(H$_1$)welb(h)-* with Hitt. *huelpi-*. The tertium of this latter comparison is Skt. *úlbam, úlvam* 'uterus'. In this instance the neuter *huelpi* 'neonate' is primary (of the type *hali-* 'watch', *lesi-* 'liver', *meni-* 'face'; cf. the neuter gender of e. g. Avest. *gərəbuš*, Gk. *βρέφος*), and the adjectival use 'young, new, fresh' results from appositional juxtaposition (cf. e. g. *halluwa-* 'hollow, pit' > 'hollow, deep', or Lat. **vetus* 'year' [cf. *vetustus*], *über* 'udder' used adjectivally for 'old' and 'fertile').

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 339–40 [1981]) improbably connected *huelpi-* with Gk. *(ϝ)ἔλπω* 'cause to hope', Lat. *volup* 'agreeably' (**welp-*), *lepos* 'grace, charm' (**wlep-*), *lepidus* 'pleasant, charming', pejoratively 'nice, effete' (thence semantically akin to 'tender'). M. Furlan (*Ling.* 24:455–66 [1984]) adduced the same root, seeing it also in various "cute" animal terms such as Lat. *volpēs*, Lith. *lãpė* 'fox' or Lat. *lupus*, Engl. *wolf*.

hues-, huis-, hus- 'live, be alive, stay alive, survive, recover' (TI-*es-*), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-zi* (*KBo* XII 81 II 5 *natta huiszi* 'lives not'), *hu-i-is-zi* (*KUB* VI 46 IV 9–11 MUŠEN-*za* ^{GIŠ}*taptappan* EGIR-*pa epzi*

n-as huyiszi ammuk-ma-kan ^{D}U … EN-*YA* EGIR-*pa AṢBAT nu-mu* TI-*nut* 'a bird repairs to its nest and stays alive; I have taken refuge with the storm-god my lord, and he has kept me alive'), TI-*is-zi* (dupl. VI 45 III 40–42 MUŠEN-*is* ^{GIŠ}*taptappan* EGIR-*pa epzi n-as* TI-*iszi ūk-ma-za-kan* ^{D}U … EN-*YA* EGIR-*pa AṢBAT nu*-[*mu* TI]-*nut*), TI-*es-zi* (XV 30 III 5 *man-wa* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* TI-*eszi* 'if my majesty lives'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 193; LVII 116 Vs. 18]^{D}UTU-*ŠI* TI-*anni ser* TI-*eszi-war-as* ['on account of my majesty's life; he lives…'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 19; XVII 12 II 26 *mān-wa asi antuhsas* TI-*eszi* 'if that person survives'; XV 1 III 49–50 *mān* DUMU.NITA [*ediz*] GIG-*za* TI-*eszi* 'if the boy recovers from this illness'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 32:139 [1973]; *KBo* XXIII 117 Rs. 14 *apizza* TI-*eszi* 'recovers from that'), 2 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-is-te-ni* (*KUB* I 16 III 37 -]*ssan* ^{ŪL} *huyisteni nu harakteni* 'you will not live, you will perish'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-e-es* (*ABoT* 44 I 55–56 *ziga* ^{D}UTU-*us huēs* 'hail to thee, sun-god' [lit. 'thou, sun-god, live!']); partic. nom. sg. c. TI-*es-sa-an-za* (*KUB* XXXI 77 I 8–9 *nu-wa zashiya* ABU-*YA mān* EGIR-*pa* TI-*essanza* 'as in the dream my father [was] again alive'; cf. Otten, *Puduhepa* 14 [1975]); iter. *hueski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-es-ki-iz-zi* (XLIX 1 IV 17).

Caus. *huesnu-, huisnu-, husnu-* 'revive, make recover, restore, rescue, save; keep alive, sustain; let live, spare' (TI-[*nu*-]; Akk. *bulluṭu*, factitive of *balāṭu*, with the same range of meanings), 2 sg. pres. act. TI-*nu-si* (*KUB* LVII 116 Vs. 10 *zi*]*gga-war-an* TI-*nusi* 'you spare his life'), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-zi* (*KBo* VI 26 II 9–10 [= *Code* 2:72] *takku* ^{LÚ}*ELLAM kisduwanti* MU.KAM-*ti kuiski huisnuzi ta* PUH-*ŠU pāi* 'if someone sustains a free man in a hunger year, the latter makes restitution for himself'; VI 26 IV 11–12 [= *Code* 2:98] *nu* DAM-*ZU huisnuzi* ^{LÚ}*pupunn-a huisnuzi* 'he spares his wife, and also spares the paramour'; ibid. 17–18 [= *Code* 2:99] *kuenzi-us* LUGAL-*-us huisnuzi-ya-as* LUGAL-*us* 'the king either has them killed, or the king spares them'; VI 26 III 21–22 [= *Code* 2:87] *kuenzi-ma-an* LUGAL-*us huisnuzi-y*[*a-an* LUGAL]-*us*), *hu-u-is-nu-zi* (dupl. *KUB* XXIX 33 II 6–7 *huuis*[*nuzi-ma-an* LUGAL-*us*] *kuenz*[*i-ya-an* LUGAL-*-us*]; *KBo* VI 26 IV 14–15 [= *Code* 2:98] *kuenzi-us* LUGAL-*us huuisnuzi-ya-as* LUGAL-*us*; *KUB* XIV 8 Rs. 22 MUŠEN-*is-za-kan* ^{GIŠ}*taptappan* EGIR-*pa epzi n-an* ^{GIŠ}*taptappas huu*[*isnuzi* 'a bird repairs to its nest, and the nest keeps it alive'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 216), *hu-is-nu-uz-zi* (*KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 25]*huisnuzzi* ^{ŪL} *kuiski* 'no one saves [me]'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 115), *ha-is-nu-uz-zi* (sic *KBo* XI 10 II 20–21

antuhsas-a-z antuwahhan tan haisnuzzi 'one man revives another', lit. 'makes live a second time' [?]; for the *ha-* : *hu-* variation [whether or not a scribal slip], cf. e. g. *hūlalizzi* : *halalizzi, Hupaliya* : *Hapaliya, hupallas-* : *hapallasai-*), TI-*nu-zi* (e. g. *VBoT* 58 I 27 *apūnn-a-wa* TI-*nuzi* 'him he lets live'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-e-ni* (*KUB* XXXVI 32, 15]LUGAL-*uizzanani huisnueni* ['in the kingship we let live'; cf. *RHA* 26:78 [1968]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-an-zi* (*VBoT* 58 I 6 [*takku* G]UD-*us* UDU-*us kunanza n-an āppa huisnu*[*anzi*] 'if an ox or sheep [is] killed, they revive it'), TI-*an-zi* (*KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 13–14 [*m*]*ann-a* DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*anzi namma mann-a* [...] *hattulahhanzi* [with gloss-wedges] *namma* 'may the gods revive him, and may they make [him] well again'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-is-nu--nu-un* (*KUB* XXVI 34, 3 [...] KUR-*e* EGIR-*pa huisnunun*, matching *KBo* I 1 Rs. 22 [Akk.] KUR ^{URU}*Mittanni mita uballazu* 'I revived the dead land of Mitanni'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 6:369–70 [1969]; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 14 *kāsa-wa-kan* [*tuk*] ^{I}*Madduwattan* [*išTU* GÍR] ^{I}*Attarsiya huisnunun* 'lo, I have saved thee, M., from the sword of A.'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 4), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-e-*⟨*es-*⟩*nu-û-ut* (*KBo* III 28 II 19 *s-an attas-mis* ^{I}*Kizzuwan nat*⟨*ta*⟩ *hue*⟨*s*⟩*nūt* 'him, K., my father did not save'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]), *hu-is-nu--ut* (*KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 3–4 *nu-tta-kkan ABI* ^{D}UTU-*Šī hin*[*ga*]*naz huisnut* 'my majesty's father saved you from death'; ibid. 10 *nu-tta-kkan ABI* ^{D}UTU-*Šī išTU* GÍR ^{I}*Attarsiya ar*[*ha*] *huisnut* 'my majesty's father saved you from the sword of A.'; ibid. 10–11 *tugg-a* ^{I}*Maddu*[*watt*]*an ... ABI* ^{D}UTU-*Šī huisnut* 'and you, M., my majesty's father saved'; *VBoT* 58 I 44), *hu-us-nu-ut* (*KBo* III 36 Vs. 9 ^{I}*Hakipuilin-a hikanni husnut* 'and H. in plague he kept alive' or 'H. he saved from the plague'), TI-*nu-ut* (e. g. IV 12 Vs. 8 and 10 GIG-*az* TI-*nut* 'made [me] recover from the illness'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-is-nu-e-ir* (*KUB* XXXIV 40, 15; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:184 [1977]), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-is-nu-ut*, TI-*nu-ut* (e. g. XXXVI 75 III 9 *nu-mu* DINGIR-*YA huisnut* 'my god, save me!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 125; XIV 10 IV 20–21 *nu-mu* ^{D}IM ^{URU}*Hatti* EN-*YA huisnut* 'storm-god of Hatti, my lord, save me!'; dupl. XIV 11 IV 25]TI-*nut*; cf. Götze, *KlF* 218; XIV 8 Rs. 21 *nu-mu* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Hatti* EN-*YA istamas nu-mu huisnut* 'hear me, storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and save me!'; ibid. 37 *nu-mu* TI-*nut*), *hu-u-is-nu-ut* (ibid. 45 *nu-mu* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Hatti*] EN-*YA huuisnut*; dupl. XIV 11 IV 18 TI-*nut*; dupl. XIV 10 IV 15 [TI]-*nut*; *KBo* IV 6 Vs. 16–17 *n-an kez* GIG-*za* TI-*nut* 'make her recover from this illness!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-is-nu-ud-du* (IV 2 I 58–60 *halkis-wa mahhan* NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU GUD

UDU *huitarr-a hūman huisnuskizzi* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *kī-ya* É-*ir kās halkis kallarit uddanaz QATAMMA huisnuddu* 'even as grain sustains mankind, ox, sheep, and all wildlife, may this grain likewise save from the demon king, queen, and this house!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]; *KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 3), TI-*ud-du* (XXIV 9 III 7–9 [GIM-*an* ...] *huisnuiskizzi kū*[*n* UKÙ-*an* ...] ^{UZU}UR.HI.A *QATAMMA* TI-*uddu* 'as he keeps alive ..., may he likewise keep alive the limbs of this ... person'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 42), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-us-nu-ut-tin* (XXXI 64 II 14); partic. *huisnuant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. TI-*nu-an* (XXIV 10 III 32]TI-*nuan hartin* 'keep alive!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 48; XV 1 I 5 *mān-wa* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN-*YA* ^{D}UTU-*Šī* TI-*nuan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive'; XV 17 + XXXI 61 I 3–4 *mān-*[*w*]*a* DINGIR-*LUM* GAŠAN-*YA* ^{D}UTU-*Šī IŠTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA TI-*nuan haddulahhan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive [and] healthy for long years'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 16), TI-*an* (*KBo* VIII 68 IV 8 *nu-war-an* TI-*an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well!'; *KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 5 and *KUB* XLVIII 88 Rs. 2]DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*an harkandu* 'may the gods keep [...] alive'; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 6 TI-*an* [= *huisnuan*] *hartin* 'keep alive!', vs. ibid. 12 *n-at ukturi* TI-*an* [= *huiswan*] *ēstu* 'may it be living forever!'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34); iter. *huisnuski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-mi* (XVI 24+25 I 58 *hūm*]*andan huisnuskimi* 'I let everyone live'; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-si* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 I 15 *n-an zik-pat* ^{D}UTU LUGAL *ŠAMĒ huisnuskī*[*si* 'thou sun-god, king of heaven, sustainest him'; XXXI 128 I 4 *anda huisnuskisi* 'thou [sun-god] sustainest life'; cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78:239 [1958]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 94), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-iz-zi*, *hu-is-nu-is-ki-iz-zi* (quoted under 3 sg. imp. act. above), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-e-it* (*KBo* III 28 II 17–18 *s-us ABI* LUGAL *natta huisnusket* 'the king's father did not save them').

huesu-, huisu-, husu- '*live; fresh, raw' (opp. *zeyant-* 'cooked'; similarly Akk. *balṭu* 'living; raw' [*balāṭu* 'to live'] vs. *bašlu* 'cooked'), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut. *hu-e-su* (*KUB* XLIV 42 Vs. 11 and Rs. 16 *suppa huesu zeyan* 'sacrificial meat, raw [and] cooked'; XXV 23 IV 40 *huesu ze*[-), *hu-e-sú* (LI 47 I 10 *s*]*uppa huesu zeanda*), *hu-u-e-su* (XXV 23 IV 53 *suppa huwesu zeyan*; *KBo* IV 9 I 12–14 *suppa huwesu ŠA* GUD.MAH *ŠA* GUD.ÁB.HI.A *ŠA* UDU.HI.A *Ù ŠA* MÁŠ.GAL.HI.A 'raw meat of bull, cows, sheep, and he-goats'; *KUB* XX

48 I 11 *suppa huwesu*; *KBo* XXVI 159, 7 *s]uppa huwesu*; *KUB* XLIII 54 V 6 *suppa-ya-kan huwesu*), *hu-i-su* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 23 *nu-ssi huisu wassi karū pihhi* 'to him I have already given fresh [herbal] medicine'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42; XXIII 8 Vs. 16–17 *zēyan huisu-ya* UZUYÀ *anda immiyazi* 'mixes cooked and raw with fat'; XII 96 IV 15–16 *namma-kan* UDU.HI.A *arkanzi nu-ssan huisu* UZU*suppa ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* EGIR-*pa tianzi* 'they parcel the sheep and put back the raw sacrificial meat for the deity'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:240 [1964]; *KUB* VII 1 I 9 UZU*huisu suppa*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:142 [1961]; XX 88 VI 8 UZU*suppa huisu*; XLI 48 IV 20 and 27 UZU*suppa huisu*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 256, 258; *KBo* XIII 114 III 4 *suppa huisu*; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 72 [1987]; IX 140 III 4 *suppa-ya huisu* $\bar{U}_L$ *tianzi* 'and raw meat they do not place'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:97 [1988]; *VBoT* 58 IV 46; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB* XLV 47 III 16), *hu-u-i-su* (e. g. *HT* 1 I 38–39 UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ *huuisu udanzi* 'they bring raw entrails [and] heart'; *KUB* X 63 I 22–23 *nu-kan* LÚSANGA *ANA* UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠÀ *huuisu nu tepu kuirzi* 'the priest cuts a little off raw entrails [and] heart'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]; XXV 36 V 34 LÚGUDÚ UZUNÍG.GIG *huuisu* LUGAL-*i parā* [*epzi*] 'the priest proffers raw entrails to the king'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 209; XXXV 78 I 3 and 10 UZUŠÀ *huuisu* 'raw heart'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 134; XXXII 123 III 49 UZUNÍG.GIG *suppi huuisu* 'entrails for sacrifice, raw'; XVII 24 II 7 UZU*suppaz huuisu arha sarranzi* 'from sacrificial meat they separate the raw'; XXVII 59 IV 16 *ŠA* GUD *Ù ŠA* UDU UZU*suppa huuisu* 'raw sacrificial meat of cattle and of sheep'; *KBo* III 63 II 11 and XXII 180 I 9 UZU*suppa huuisu*; *KUB* XI 18 III 18 *suppa huuisu*), *hu-u-i-sú* (*Bo* 3673, 10; cf. Sommer, *AU* 106), *hu-su* (*KBo* III 8 II 5–6 + *KUB* VII 1 II 40 *nu-kan anda* UZU *husu-y*[*a*] *isgāri* 'and in addition he also skewers raw meat'; wrongly Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961], 8:111 [1962]; misspelled *KBo* III 8 II 12 *nu-kan* UZU *hu-it-ya*[; wrongly Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150, 154 [1961]), abl. sg. *hu-e-su-wa-za* (*KUB* XXXVI 94 Rs. 14 *sup*]*pa huesuwaza zeyant*[*aza* 'sacrificial meat[s], [from the] raw [and] [from the] cooked'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 13; LI 65 Rs. 3–4 *sup*]*pa huesuwaza zēyadaza*), *hu-e-sa-wa-az* (*KBo* XI 45 IV 4 *ŠA* DU *suppa huesawaz* 'sacrificial meat for the storm-god, [of the] raw [kind]'; ibid. 8 UZU*suppa huesawaz*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 234), *hu-e-sa-wa-za* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 7 *suppa zeyandaza huesawaza*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; XXV 24 II 11 *suppa*

huesawaza zeyantaza; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; *KBo* II 8 III 7–8 *suppa huesawaza zeyasa* [sic]; IX 108, 4 *hu*]*esawaza zey*[-], *hu-e-sa-u-wa-az* (*KUB* XXV 23 I 17 and l.R. 5 *suppa huesauwaz zēantaz tiyanzi* 'they place sacrificial meats, raw [and] cooked'; *KBo* XXVI 227 III 12 *hu*]*esauwaz zeyanaz* [sic] *tian*[*zi*; VIII 91 Vs. 9 *n-asta* GAL.HI.A *huesauwa*[*z* 'cups with raw [meat]'), *hu-e-sa-u-wa-za* (IV 13 IV 30 UZU*suppa huesauwaza zēyataza*; II 13 Vs. 14–15 *suppa huesauwaza zeantaza*), *hu-u-e-sa-wa-az* (*KUB* XXXII 128 I 1–2 *nu-kan mahhan huwesawaz* UZU*su*[*ppa*] *sipandanzi* 'when they offer up sacrificial meat raw'), *hu-u-e-sa-wa-za* (X 92 II 9 *suppa huwesawaza zēandaz*[*a*), *hu-u-e-sa-u-wa-az* (XXV 23 I 27–28 *suppa huwesauwaz zeantaz tiyanzi*; VII 13 Vs. 41 *suppa huwesauwaz zeyantaz*), *hu-u-e-sa-u-wa-za* (VII 24 Vs. 7 *suppa huwesauwaza zeyantaza*; similarly XXV 22 II 16 and III 5; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238, 240; *IBoT* I 6 I 8 *suppa huwesauwaza ze*[-], *hu-u-i-e-sa-u-wa-az* (*KBo* XXII 116 Vs. 9]*huuiesauwaz zeyandaz*), *hu-i-sa-wa-az* (XV 49 I 8 *namma-ssi-kan* GAL-*is huisawaz* [*sunnanzi*] 'also they fill a cup for him with raw [meat]'; dupl. *KUB* XXXII 128 II 20–21 *namma-ssi-kan* GAL-*is huwesa*[-...] *sunnanzi*), *hu-u-i-sa-u-az* (*KBo* XXIII 39, 11].HI.A *huuisauaz sunnianzi* 'they fill cups [?] with raw [meat]'), *hu-u-i-sa-wa-az* (*KUB* XXXIX 71 III 36 UZU*suppa huuisawaz zeyandaz*; *HT* 1 I 44 *n-asta IŠTU* UZUNÍG.GIG *huuisawaz wākuēn* 'we have bitten of the raw entrails'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]), *hu-u-i-sa-wa-za* (*KUB* XXIV 5 Rs. 8–9 and 18–19 *suppa huuisawaza zeyandaza*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 12; XXVII 1 I 15 *suppa huuisawaza*; ibid. 35–36 *huuisawaza zeyandaz-iya sipanti* 'sacrifices with raw [and] cooked'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75–6; LVI 49 Vs. 16–17 *suppa* UZUGAB UZUZAG.LU *huuisawaza tianzi* 'the sacrificial meat, breast [and] shoulder, they place raw'), *hu-u-i-sa-u-wa-za* (dupl. *KBo* II 4 III 13–14 *suppa* UZUGAB UZUZAG.LU *huuisauwaza tiyanzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 284), *hu-u-i-sa-u-wa-az* (*IBoT* III 16 + 8 + *KUB* LVIII 62 I 14 *huuisauwaz zeantaz*; ibid. IV 2–3 *huuisauwaz zeyantaz*; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 14:253–4 [1987]; *KBo* XXVI 227 II 18 *suppa huuisauw*[*a*-), *hu-su-wa-za* (XXV 183, 11 *suppa husuwaza zeya*[-), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-e-sa-u-e-es* (XXIX 191 I 9 2 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *huwesawēs* 'two fresh breadloaves'; *KUB* LIV 34 I 11 *huw*]*esawēs*), *hu-u-wi-sa-u-e-es* (XVII 12 II 9 'fresh' [breadloaves]), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-i-su-wa-as* (XX 88 VI 14–15 *n-at* GIŠ *halpūtili piran katta huisuwas-san* UZU*suppayas ser dāi* 'puts them down before the h. on raw sacrificial meats'), *hu-u-i-sa-as* (sic VII

1 I 13 *n-at huuisas suppas ser dāi* 'he puts it on raw meats'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]).

huiswai-, huswai- 'stay alive, be alive, survive' (TI), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-ú-e-iz-zi* (*KUB* XLVIII 106, 11; cf. Beckman, *Documentum Otten* 37), *hu-is-ú-iz-zi* (XXXVI 75 IV 3), *hu-is-su-iz-zi* (*KBo* XIX 44 Rs. 19–20 *n-as* URU*Hatt*[*usi* UL] *huissuizzi aki*['he does not stay alive at Hattusas, he is put to death'), *hu-u-is-su-u-iz-zi* (dupl. V 3 III 31 *n-as* URU*Hattusi* UL *huuissuuizzi aki-pa*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124), 1 pl. pres. act. *h*]*u-su-e-wa-ni* (III 46 Rs. 39; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:91 [1982]), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-is-wa-it* (III 64 I 4), *hu-is-wa-a-is* (dupl. III 63 I 2), 2 pl. pret. act. *hu-is-ú-e-te-en(-na)* (*KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 12 *man-kan mān* ANA *Attarsiya huiswetenn-a kāstit-a-man ākten* 'if you had escaped with your lives from A., you would have died from hunger'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 4), 3 pl. pret. act.]*hu-u-i-su-ir* (XXXI 64 I 17), *hu-su-e-ir* (*KBo* III 60 III 4 *isparzasta s-e husue*[*r* '[he] escaped, and they survived'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:106 [1938]); participle *hu(i)swant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-is-wa-an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 34, 13 [= *Code* 2:90] *takku addas-ses-a huiswanza* 'and if his father [is] living', besides dupl. *KBo* VI 26 III 31 *takku addas-siss-a* TI-*anza*; *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 21 *dandukisnas-a* DUMU-*as uktūri natta huiswanza* 'son of mortaldom lives not forever'; ibid. 22 *uktūri huiswanza*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 113; *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 5; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42; *KUB* XXIX 35 IV 9 [= *Code* 2:95]), *hu-u-is-wa-an-za* (dupl. *KBo* VI 26 III 49–50 ŠEŠ-*ŠU-ma huuiswanza*), *hu-i-su-wa-an-za* (XVII 22 II 16 *hu*]*isuwanza*; cf. ibid. 8 *huisw*[*a-*, ibid. 13 *hu-is-s*[*u-* [sic], ibid. 15 *hu-is-su-wa-a*[*n-* [sic]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 207), *hu-su-wa-an-za* (XXV 112 II 4 [LU]GAL-*us husuwanza ēstu* 'long live the king!' [lit. 'may the king be living']; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191), TI-*an-za* (frequent, e. g. *KUB* XLIII 72 III 3 *mān-as agganza mān-as* TI-*anza* 'whether he [be] dead or alive'; XXXIII 106 III 7 and 27 TI-*anza-wa-za ēs* D*É-A* 'all hail, Ea' [lit. 'be alive, Ea']; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:26 [1952]; XXXIII 120 II 5 *zik-wa-za* TI-*anza ēs hattannas harsumnas* EN-*as* 'hail to thee, lord of wisdom [and] watery depths'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3), TI-*za* (e. g. XVI 32 II 16 *n-as nūwa kuit* TI-*za* 'because he [is] still alive'; similarly ibid. 21–22; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:106), acc. sg. c. *hu-is-wa-an-ta-an* (IX 28 IV 13), *hu-is-wa-an-da-an* (*KBo* VI 3 III 69 [= *Code* 1:73] *takku* GUD *huiswandan kuiski ārki* 'if anyone sequesters a live head of cattle'), *hu-u-is-wa-an-da-an* (*KUB* LIII 12 IV 4 1 UDU *huuiswandan appanzi* 'they take one live sheep'; cf. Haas

and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:51 [1984]), *hu-i-su-an-da-an* (LIII 3 VI 5–6 and IX 3 IV 8–9 *āsta-ma-kan* 12 GUD.HI.A 3 *ME* UDU.HI.A *n-an huisuandan sarranzi* 'also twelve cattle [and] three hundred sheep; it [i. e. this contingent] they divide up alive'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:57, 61 [1984]), *hu-u-i-is-wa-an-da-an* (*KBo* III 38 Rs. 25 [*D*]*amnassunn-a huuīswandan* [IŠB]*ADU* 'and D. they caught alive'), *hu-su-wa-an-ta-an* (OHitt. dupl. XXII 2 Rs. 9 *Tamnassun-a husuwantan* IŠBATU; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12), *hu-su-wa-an-da-an* (XVII 4 II 14 *m*]*ān* MUŠEN*haranan husuwandan appanzi* 'when they catch a live eagle'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 14), *hu-us-wa-an-da-an* (*KUB* XXXI 64 III 14), TI-*an-da-an* (e. g. IX 34 III 25 and dupl. LIX 46 Rs. 6 TI-*andan* ŠAH.TUR 'a live pig'; ibid. 24 and dupl. 5 *issanas* ŠAH.TUR TI-*andann-a* 'a pig of dough and a live one'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 38, 51, 81–2), TI-*an* (*KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 14 TI-*an* NA_4-*an* 'living rock'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 176), nom.-acc. sg. neut. TI-*an* (= *huiswan*; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 12 *n-at ukturi* TI-*an ēstu* 'may it be living forever'), gen. sg. or pl. TI-*an-da-as* (*KUB* IX 34 II 8 and IV 14 GIDIM-*as* TI-*andas* 'of the dead [and] the living'), dat. sg. *hu-is-wa-an-ti* (e. g. I 16 II 15; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 5), nom. pl. c. *hu-is-wa-an-te-es* (XII 43, 5 LUGAL-*us* SAL.LUGAL-*ass-a huiswantes asandu* 'long live king and queen'; ibid. 7 *huiswantes asandu*; cf. ibid. 6 SAL.LUGAL-*s-a* TI-*anza ēs*[*du*), *h*]*u-i-su-wa-an-t*[*e-es* (*KBo* XXV 117 Rs. 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 199), TI-*an-te-es* (1506/u, 5 [LUGAL SA]L.LUGAL-*ya* TI-*antes*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 215), acc. pl. c. *hu-is-wa-an-du-us* (*KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 20 and 27; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118–9; XVII 18 III 18; XXXIX 7 II 18), *hu-u-i-is-wa-an-*[*du-us* (dupl. XXXIX 8 I 14), *hu-u-i-is-wa-an-te-is-s(a)* (sic XXXIX 7 II 12 '[they take] live [birds]' vs. various fake bird replicas ibid. 7–12), *hu-u-is-wa-an-du-s(a-kán)* (ibid. 38; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36–8), *hu-u-is-wa-an-du-us* (XVII 18 II 17), *hu-i-is-wa-an-du-us* (ibid. III 10), *hu-us-wa-an-du-us* (ibid. III 18 *huswandus anda hāriyanzi* 'they bury live ones within'; *KBo* III 55 Vs. 8), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-su-wa-an-da* (*KUB* III 110, 4); verbal noun *hueswatar, huiswatar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-is-wa-tar* (e. g. XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingani haminkan hingan-a-ma-pa anda huiswanni-ya haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death, and death is tied to life'; XLIII 23 Rs. 18–19 *taknāss-a* D*UTU-us* ANA LUGAL *āssu huiswatar tarhuili* GIŠ*tūri piskiddu* 'may the solar deity of the earth give to the king weal, life, and a mighty spear'; similarly ibid. 15–16; cf. A. Archi, *Studia mediter-*

ranea P. Meriggi dicata 34 [1979]; Haas, *Documentum Otten* 134), *hu-u-is-wa-tar* (VIII 35 Vs. 2), TI-*tar* (profuse, e. g. XXXVI 89 Rs. 45 *āssu-wa-smas* TI-*tar tēt* 'weal [and] life he has spoken to you'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154; VI 3, 6 DINGIR-*LUM* TI-*tar* 'the deity's life' [partitive apposition]; *KBo* XVII 60 Rs. 10–11 *ANA* DUMU-*ma* TI-*tar innarahhuar* [...] MU.HI.A GÍD.DA *piski* 'to the child grant life, strength, ..., long years'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 60; frequent on such lists of blessings [examples s. v. *hattul(a)*-]; passim in *KUB* V 1; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:32–92, 197), gen. sg. *hu-e-es-wa-an-na-as* (II 1 III 28; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:110 [1975]), *hu-is-wa-an-na-as* (e. g. XXX 10 Vs. 21 *huiswannas* UD.HI.A-*ŠU kappuuantes* 'the days of his life [are] numbered'; *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 14 *mān-as* ŪL-*ma huiswannas* 'but if he [is] not viable' [lit. 'of life']; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42), TI-*an-na-as* (e. g. IV 14 III 9 *ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-za aggannas* TI-*annas* UKÙ-*as ēs* 'to my majesty be a man of death [and] life', i. e. show life-and-death devotion; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:44 [1965]; III 6 I 13–14 [and dupl. *KUB* I 2 I 14–15, I 1 I 15–17] ŪL-*war-as* TI-*annas* ... *nu-war-as* TI-*anza* 'he [is] not viable ... he [is] going to live'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4), TI-*an-na-s(a)*- (*KBo* IV 8 II 18–20 *kinun-a apel* TI-*tar idalauēsta* TI-*anza kuit nu nepisas* ^{D}UTU-*un* IGI.HI.A-*it uskizzi* TI-*annas-a-za* NINDA-*an azzikkizzi* 'Has now her life gone bad? Because she [is] alive, she sees the sun of heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of livelihood [= *ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον*]'; similarly ibid. 10–12; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:188 [1983]), TI-*as* (*KUB* II 1 II 21 [*ŠA Labarn*]*a* TI-*as* ^{D}LAMA-*ri* 'to the tutelary deity of the ruler's life', with par. *KBo* XI 40 II 15 TI-*annas* ^{D}LAMA-*ri*; *KUB* VIII 62 IV 15–16 TI-*as ēsdu* ^{D}*Kumarbi* [...] *kinunn-as* TI-*za ēsdu*['may K. be alive ... now let him be living'; cf. ibid. 11 TI-*za ēs* ^{D}*Ullu*, ibid. 13 and 14 TI-*tar*; similarly ibid. 3–7; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:24 [1968]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-is-wa-an-ni* (XVII 10 IV 25–26 *n-us-za huiswanni innarauwanni* EGIR.UD-*MI kappuwet* 'he provided them for their life [and] strength in the future'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]; XXXIII 38 IV 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:144 [1965]), TI-*an-ni* ('for life', frequent on lists of blessings, along with weal, health, strength, etc. [examples s. v. *hattul(a)*-]), instr. sg. TI-*an-ni-it* (XVII 14 I 18–19 *IŠTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-*MI* TI-*annit* [*h*]*attulannit innarauwannit* 'with long years in the future, life, health, strength'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60).

Lyd. *veśfa*- 'living'? (cf. Gusmani, *Incontri linguistici* 10:110–2 [1985]).

For the denominative origin of *huiswai*- cf. e. g. *genzuwai*- 'be kind', *hassuwai*- 'become king', *kutruwai*- 'bear witness'. The spelling *hu-is-ú-i/e*- reflects *huiswai-*, *huiswae*- (cf. e. g. *hatrāi-*, *hatrāe-*). A denominative stative stem *husue*- based on OHitt. *hus(u)want*- with alleged gradational zero grade in oblique cases (and assumed later generalization of the strong form *huiswant*-, spreading analogically to *huisue*-) was improbably postulated by C. Watkins, *MSS* 45:249–9 (1985); similarly H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 42–3 (1984). For the *huesu-*, *huisu-*, *husu*- variation cf. rather e. g. *huesa-*, *huisa-*, *husa*- (s. v.), *huenu-*, *huinu-*, *hunu*- (s. v. *huwai*-), *hu(i)ttiyanna*- (s. v. *huet*-). The case of *hu(wa)rt*- is similar, with the curtailed spelling typical of OHitt. orthography.

The etymology has been clear since Kuryłowicz (*Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* 102 [1927], *Études* 74) and Benveniste (*Origines* 156); needless doubts in Tischler, *Glossar* 265–6. The root is **A*$_1$*éw-s-*, *A*$_1$*w-és-* meaning 'be, live, dwell' (Gk. *ἰαύω* [*νύκτας*] and [aor.] *ἄεσα* [*νύκτα*] 'rest, spend the night' reflecting **A*$_1$*i-A*$_1$*ew-s-* and **Ą*$_1$*wes-s-ŋ* respectively; Skt. *vásati* 'dwell', Toch. B. *wäs*- 'rest, reside' [Toch. A *wṣe* 'night'], Goth. *wisan* 'be', Arm. *gom* 'I am'); Hittite has *hues-* < **A*$_1$*wes-* (iter. *hueski*- matching Gk. *ἀέσκω* < **Ą*$_1$*wes-sko-*), but it is conceivable that some of the OHitt. forms spelled *hus*- reflect **A*$_1$*éws-* or **A*$_1$*us-*. Hittite, like Germanic and Armenian, stresses the meaning 'be (alive)' (cf. German *Lebewesen*), while 'dwell' is *es*- (literally 'sit') or *es*- 'be'. It is possible that with root-suffix variation **A*$_1$*w-éd-* might be present in *huedar* 'creature(s)' (q. v.), and **A*$_1$*éw-l-* in Gk. *αὐλις* 'night quarters' (cf. also Arm. *awt'* 'night quarters', *aganim* 'spend the night'). The perennial confusion of this root with **Aéws-*, *Awés*- 'be bright' (*IEW* 86–7) was reflected once again by G. Nagy (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78:98 [1974]) to whom Hitt. *huis*- 'live' somehow resulted from 'be lit up'.

Weitenberg (*U-Stämme* 103–12) abortively started from **huid-*, deriving *huisu*- from a postulated **huidyu*- and considering *huis*- a belated back-formation from *huisnu*- (allegedly denominative from *huisu*-).

Cf. *huesa-*, *huski-*.

huesa-, huisa-, husa- (c.) 'spindle' (^{GIŠ}BAL[.TUR]), nom. sg. *hu-e-sa-as* (164/d, 10 ^{GIŠ}*hula*]*li* ^{GIŠ}*huesas* ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM 'distaff, spindle, comb'), acc. sg. *hu-e-sa-an* (*KBo* VI 34 II 42–43 *nu* TÚG.NÍG SAL ^{GIŠ}*hulāli*

GIŠ*huesann-a udanzi nu* GI-*an duwarnanzi* 'they bring feminine attire, distaff and spindle, and break an arrow'), *hu-u-e-sa-an* (ibid. 53 GIŠ*hulāli* GIŠ*huwesann-a*; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 64–6; *KUB* IX 27 Vs. 23–27 *nu-ssi-ssan* GIŠ*huwesa*[*n*] [GIŠ]*hūlali-ya arha dahhi nu-ssi* GIŠBAN [...] [*p*]*ihhi n-asta anda kissan memahhi* [*k*]*āsa-wa-ta-kkan* SAL-*tar arha dahhun nu-wa-tta* EGIR-*pa* LÚ-*tar pihhun* 'I take away from him spindle and distaff, and give him bow [and arrow?], and say to him thus: "Lo, womanliness I have taken from thee, manliness I have given back to thee" '; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 64), *hu-i-sa-an* (*KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 27–29 *apidas-ma-kan* ŠU-*i ŠA* SAL-*TI* GIŠ*hūlali* GIŠ*huisann-a dāi n-us* SAL-*nili wessiya nu-smas-kan* TÚG*kuressar sāi* 'in their hands put woman's distaff and spindle, clothe them like women, and put headdress on them!'; cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]; A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]), *hu-u-i-sa-an* (*KUB* IX 27 Vs. 20–21 [*nu ANA*] EN SISKUR.SISKUR GIŠ*huuisan* GIŠ*hūlali-y*[*a*] [ŠU-*i*] *anda tehhi* 'in the offerant's hand I put spindle and distaff'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272, 283 [1987]; *ABoT* 26, 8–9 *kuit* TÚG*kures*[*sar* ...] [... GIŠ*hūlal*]*i* GIŠ *huuisan UNUT* AD.KID 'what headdress ... distaff, spindle, reed implements ...'), GIŠBAL (*KUB* XLIII 60 IV 6 GIŠ*hūlali* 1 GIŠBAL), gen. sg. *hu-i-sa-as* (VII 1 II 32–34 *huisas-wa panzakittis* GIM-*an wehatta* DUMU-*li-ya idālawes karātes kattan arha apinessan wahandu* 'even as the whorl of a spindle turns, thus may bad innards utterly turn away from the child!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961], 8:111 [1962], *Studi linguistici in onore di V. Pisani* 2:609–11 [1969]; cf. ibid. 16–17 [emended from dupl. *KBo* XXII 145 II 24] *ŠA* GI *hapūsessar Ù* [*ŠA* GIŠTÚG *panzaki*]*ttin warapzi* 'the arrow-shaft and the boxwood whorl he scrubs' [*ZA* 67:58 (1977)]; H. A. Hoffner, *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 108–9 [1977], implausibly took boxwood as metonymic for *huesa-* and translated both as 'distaff'), acc. pl. *hu-u-su-us* (*KUB* XXIX 1 II 6–8 GIŠ*hulāli harzi* GIŠ*hūsus sūwadus harkanzi nu* LUGAL-*was* MU.KAM.HI.A-*us malkiyanzi* 'one holds a distaff, they [both] hold spindles filled [i. e. covered with spun yarn], and they spin the king's years'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]).

Hier. instr. sg. SPINDLE-*sá-tar-ti* = Phoen. *l-plkm* (Karatepe 186: 'in my days even women with spindle would walk [freely]'). Cf. Laroche, *HH* 157; Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:80.

The lingering erroneous interpretation 'mirror' (first in H. Zimmern, *ZA* 35:183 [1924]; Ehelolf, *KUB* XXIX, p. III, who collocated

huesa- with *hues-* 'live' as a calque based on Egypt. *ʿnḫ* 'live' and 'mirror') is superseded in favor of spinning-gear (cf. especially Oettinger, *Eide* 64–6). Most plausibly *hulali-* (q. v. s. v. *hul-*) is 'distaff', *huesa-* means 'spindle', and *panzakitti-* denotes '(spindle-) whorl, flywheel' (quintessentially turning in *KUB* VII 1 II 32–34, quoted above). A root-meaning 'wind' (*hul-*) may seem inapposite for 'distaff', but cf. Lat. *colus* 'distaff' from **kʷolos*, etymologically matching Gk. *πόλος* 'pivot' from the root **kʷel-* 'rotate'; thus there may have been slippages or ambiguities of technical spinning terminology (Goetze apud Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:111 [1962], saw in *hulali-* and *huesa-* 'spindle' and 'whorl' respectively, and Hoffner [*Essays ... in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 108–9] took *hulali-* as 'spindle' and *huesa-* as 'distaff').

The spelling conventions of *huesa-* (including acc. pl. *hu-u-su-us*) resemble those of *hues-* 'live', but an etymological derivation is unlikely (cf. Lat. *fūsus* 'spindle', where a relationship to *fundō* 'pour' is equally vague). Other root-etymologies are also uncertain, e. g. a poorly attested **H*$_1$*wes-* (*IEW* 1173) perhaps seen in Skt. *uṣṇihā* 'nape' (cf. Lat. *colus* 'distaff' : *collum* 'neck'), *uṣṇīṣa-* 'headband, turban', or **hu-sā-* from **A*$_1$*ew-* 'weave' (*IEW* 75; Oettinger, *Eide* 66). Most plausible seems a noun **H*$_1$*woyso-* from a stem **H*$_1$*weys-* 'wind, twist' (*IEW* 1133–4; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:263–4; Tischler, *Glossar* 269), matching in form Russian *věxa* 'stake, signpost', Arm. *gi* 'juniper' (cf. GIŠTÚG 'boxwood' as spindle-whorl material).

Cf. *husa-*.

huet-, huit-, hut(t)-, hu(i)ttiya- 'draw, pull, pluck, drag, stretch, string, attract, adduce, move along, (make) march', *anda huet-* 'draw in, curtail', *appa huet-* 'draw back; unlock; draw out, protract (in time; cf. *appasiwatt-* 'future'); (midd.) recede', *arha huet-* 'draw away, withdraw, distort', *parā huet-* 'draw forward, drag forth; pull shut (opp. *appa huet-*); single out (for special treatment), promote; string along, cheat; (intrans.) tarry, temporize' (SUD; *KBo* I 42 V 3 SUD-*u-wa-ar* matching ibid. [Akk.] *ša-ta-du*, i. e. *šadādu* 'draw'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:142 [1971]), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-it-ti-ya-mi* (*VBoT* 24 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan* SIG*huttulli huuittiyami* 'from it [viz. the sheep] I pluck a wool-tuft'; ibid. IV 10]-*ma-kan anda huuittiyami*), 1 sg. pres. midd. *hu-it-tah-ha-ri* (*KBo* XI 11 I 3–4 *n-asta* ÚZUSA *ANA* GI *anda huittahhari* 'I pull the sinew inside a reed'), 2 sg. pres. act.

hu-it-ti-ya-si (*KUB* VII 53 III 4 *nu-ssi-kan suksuqan huittiyasi* 'you pluck its [viz. the bovine's] tuft'; ibid. 2 *huit⟨ti⟩yasi*; *KBo* V 3 II 28–29 *nu-ma-ssan mān* ERÍN.MEŠ-*it* ANŠU.KUR.RA.[HI.]A-*it lammar* ÚL *ārti nu-zan parā imma huittiyasi* 'if you do not come to me instantly with troops [and] chariotry, nay even temporize'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:116), 2 sg. pres. midd. *hu-e-iz-ta* (*KUB* XVII 10 IV 1–2 UDU-*us-ta-kkan katti-ti arha* [*paizz*]*i nu-ssi-sta* SÍG*ēsri huezta* 'the sheep passes beneath you, and you pluck its fleece'; also ibid. 1; similarly XXXIII 54 + 47 II 15 *huez*[*ta*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:96, 139 [1965]; for form cf. e. g. *hāzta* s. v. *hat-* and see Neu, *Interpretation* 56–7, *Anitta-Text* 94), *hu-iz-ta* (*IBoT* IV 8 Vs. 2]*ēsri huiz*[*ta*), *hu-it-ti-at-ta* (*KUB* XXI 19 + 1303/u II 16–18 *nu* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*Arin*[*na* GAŠAN]-*YA ŠA Danuhepa uttar ammel* UD.HI.A-*as ammuk ANA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti-ya meñahhanda* EGIR-*pa le huittiat*[*ta*] 'sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, do not protract in my days, in my face and that of Hatti, the affair of Danuhepa!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-zi* (e. g. XV 34 III 56 EGIR-*ŠU-ma pahhuenaz QATAMMA huittiyazi* 'thereupon he likewise draws from the fire'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; *KBo* XXI 10, 4–5 GUD-*us-ma-wa-ssi-kan aw*[*an arha paizzi*] [*nu-wa-ssi* (...)] *pankur huittiyazi* 'the cow goes along by him, and he draws its milk'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14, 39; *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 26 *namma-an hapurin parā huittiy*[*azi* 'he then draws his prepuce forward' [partitive apposition]; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; *KBo* III 2 Rs. 58–59 *namma-as* ^{GIŠ}KAK-*it* [*sar*]*ā huittiyazi* 'then he pulls them [viz. the horses] up with the peg'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 142; *KUB* I 13 I 45 and *KBo* III 5 IV 26 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}KAK *sarā huittiyazi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 56, 100), *hu-it-ti-ya-az-zi* (XXII 102 Rs. 10; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 47; *KUB* XXIX 4 II 19–21 *n-asta* ^{LÚ}SANGA DINGIR-*LAM āpitaz sarā* 7-*ŠU huittiyazzi* EN SISKUR.SISKUR-*ya-kan* 7-*ŠU sarā huittiyazzi* 'the priest draws the deity up from the pit seven times, and the offerant draws up seven times'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-zi* (dupl. *KBo* VIII 90 II 9; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 16; *KUB* XV 31 I 28 KASKAL.MEŠ *huuittiyazi* 'he draws paths'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-az-zi* (*KBo* XXIII 1 I 17–18 *nu* DINGIR-*LUM* HUR.SAG.HI.A-*az* ÍD.MEŠ-*az arunaz IŠTU* 7 KASKAL.MEŠ-*ya huuittiyazzi* 'he draws the deity from the mountains, rivers, sea, and from the seven paths'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica III* 141), *hu-it-ti-e-iz-zi* (*KUB* I 13 I 12 *n-as-kan ANA* ^{GIŠ}KAK *sarā huittiezzi*), *hu-it-ya-az-zi* (XXXIII 43 II 57 *sarā huityazzi*), *hu-it-ti-ya-i* (XXVII 67 II 15–17 *nu-za* SÍG *asaran dāi n-an-san* ...

huittiyai 'she takes white wool and strings it'; ibid. 18; similarly ibid. III 21 *sarā huittiyai*; ibid. 22; *KBo* V 2 III 19–20 *n-asta* SÍG *āndaran ser arha huittiyai* 'strings across blue wool'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:126 [1973]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-it-ti-ya-ri* (XVII 92, 15 *katta* SÍG *tepu huittiyari* 'strings along a bit of wool'), 2 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni* (*KUB* XIII 5 II 25–26 *n-asta* DINGIR-*LIM-ni* [...]-*at* KAXU-*it parā huuittiatteni* 'you cheat [that food] from the deity's mouth'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-at-te-ni* (dupl. XIII 6 II 9 KAXU-*it parā huuittiyatteni*), SUD-*at-te-ni* (dupl. XIII 4 II 16]KAXU-*it parā* SUD-*atteni*; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 6 *pahhuenaz arha huittianzi* 'they pull out of the fire'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 122; *KUB* IX 3 I 16–17 *taknī katta huittianzi* 'they pull along the ground'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:60 [1984]; I 13 III 59 *INA* UD.11.KAM-*ma-as-kan ANA* [^{GIŠ}K]AK *sarā huittianzi* 'but on the eleventh day they pull them up at the peg'; similarly *KBo* III 5 III 5–6, 13; III 2 Vs. 8 and 16; XV 33 II 14 *nu-smas-san ser arha* GAD-*an huittianzi* 'over them they draw a cloth'), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (profuse, e. g. *KUB* XXIX 4 III 36–38 DINGIR-*LAM* GIBIL-*ya apedani* UD-*ti ANA* É.HI.A GIBIL-*kan andan huittiyanzi mān-si* ÚL-*ma āssu n-an INA* UD.2.KAM *huittiyanzi* 'the new deity too on that day they pull inside the new shrine; but if it [is] not propitious for [the offerant], they pull it the next day'; dupl. *KBo* XV 29 III 6–7 *hu-u-it-ti-ya-zi* ... *hu-u-*[*it-*]*ti-an-zi*; *KUB* XXIX 4 I 67–68 *apedani* UD-*ti huittiyanzi n-an-kan karuuilias ANA* É DINGIR-*LIM anda huittiyanzi* 'on that day they pull, and they pull it inside the shrine of the ancient gods'; ibid. III 29–30 *namma-kan* DINGIR-*LAM kuttaz arha IŠTU* SÍG SA_5 7-*ŠU huittiyanzi* 'then they draw the deity away from the wall with red wool seven times'; VII 54 III 19–20 EGIR-*anda-ma-kan* ^{GIŠ}BAN *huittiyanzi nu-kan* GI.Ú.TAG.GA *tiyanzi* 'afterwards they stretch the bow and place the arrow'; VII 46 Rs. 6–8 *namma-kan* GI.HI.A [*sarā*] *huittiyanzi* [dupl. LIX 47 I 10 *sarā tittiyanzi*] *n-as* IGI.HI.A-*wa* [*katta w*]*ahnuwandus tarnanzi* 'then they string [dupl.: place] arrows and with points turned down let them fly'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 43; XV 34 I 21–24 *n-asta* ^{TÚG}*kuressar IŠTU* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.KID *katta huittiyanzi n-an* KASKAL-*an ienzi namma PANI* ^{TÚG}*kuresni ŠA* BA.BA.ZA KASKAL-*an huittiyanzi ŠA* BA.BA.ZA-*ma* KASKAL-*si kez ŠA* LÀL KASKAL-*an huittiyanzi kez-ma ŠA* GEŠTIN YÀ.DÙG.GA *anda immiyanda* KASKAL-*an huittiyanzi* 'they draw a length of cloth down from the reed table and make it a path; then before the cloth they draw a

path of mush; on one side of the path of mush they draw a path of honey, but on the other side they draw a path of wine with good oil mixed in'; similarly ibid. III 28–31, but more concisely and with *katta tarnai* 'lets down' instead of *katta huittiyanzi*; XXIX 40 II 11 *mahhan-ma* UD-*az wahnuzi n-us-kan parā huittiyanzi* 'but when the day turns they draw them forth' [viz. horses from stable]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 178; *KBo* II 4 I 21–22 *nu-kan* É DINGIR-*LIM parā huittiyanzi n-at anda siyanzi* 'they pull shut the temple and seal it within'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 278; *KUB* I 13 I 50–51 and *KBo* III 5 II 64–65 *namma-as ANA* ^{GIŠ}KAK *sarā huittiyanzi*; similarly e. g. *KBo* III 5 I 13–14, 64–65, III 49–50, IV 52–53, 70, 75–76; *KUB* I 11 II 17–18, IV 3–4; *KBo* III 2 Vs. 55–56; III 5 I 34–35 *INA* UD.9.KAM-*ma INA* ^{GIŠ}KAK *sarā huittiyanzi* 'but on the ninth day they pull up at the peg'; ibid. 41–42 *n-at-kan* ^{GIŠ}KAK *sarā huittiyanzi*; ibid. II 19–20 and 30 *namma-as* ^{GIŠ}KAK-*it sarā huittiyanzi*; similarly ibid. I 72; *KUB* XV 31 IV 37–38 ^{D}*Anzilin* ^{D}*Zunkin* KASKAL.MEŠ-*az huittiyanzi* 'Z. and A. they attract by paths'), *hu-u-it-ti-an-zi* (e. g. VII 56 I 10 KASKAL-*az huuittianzi*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:446), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (e. g. XV 31 I 2 ^{D}*Zukkin Anzilin* KASKAL-*az kisan huuittiyanzi*; ibid. III 64–65 *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ-*az huuittiyanzi* 'they draw the gods from the rivers'; XLI 51 IV 3–4 *ta hukessar* 10 UDU.HI.A *huuittiyanzi* 'they drag ten sheep to slaughter'; *KBo* XI 45 + *IBoT* III 87 IV 6–7 *arha-ma-kan* ^{UZU}YÀ.UDU *huuittiyanzi* 'they pull off the [layer of] tallow'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 234; *KUB* XX 59 III 14 and 23; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:90 [1988]), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (II 5 I 7–9 *asessar* [*hū*]*man sarā huuittiyanzi* [*t*]*a aranta* '[they] pull up [i. e. bring to their feet] the entire congregation, and they stand'), SUD-*an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* II 9 IV 19 *n-asta* DINGIR-*LUM pahhunaza* 14-*ŠU* SUD-*anzi* 'they draw the deity from the fire fourteen times'; *IBoT* III 148 I 40 KASKAL-*az* SUD-*anzi* 'they draw by the path'; similarly ibid. II 52, III 57, IV 6; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 214, 220, 226, 228; ibid. II 34 [*n-ast*]*a* DINGIR.MEŠ *IŠTU* É DINGIR-*LIM parā* SUD-*anzi* 'they draw the gods forth from the shrine'; *KUB* XXXI 113, 15–16 *nu-kan* É DINGIR-*LIM parā* SUD-*anzi* 'they pull the temple shut'; *IBoT* III 148 III 14 *n-an-kan sarā* SUD-*anzi* 'they pull it up'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-e-it-ti-an-ta*, *hu-it-ti-an-ta*, *hu-u-it-ti-an-ta* (*KUB* XXIX 30 III 6 [= *Code* 2:67] *huettianta*; dupl. *KBo* VI 26 I 41–42 *kinun-a* 1 UDU LÚ-*nas kassas-sas huittianta* 2 UDU.HI.A GUD.HI.A *kassas-sas huuittianta* 'now they adduce one sheep instead of the man, they adduce two sheep instead of the cattle'), *hu-it-ti-ya-*

-an-ta (XIX 152 I 6 *aulius huittiyanta* 'they adduce sacrificial contingents'; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 20; *KUB* XXIX 35 IV 15 [= *Code* 2:96]; dupl. XXIX 37, 8 *huittiyan*[*ta*], *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ta* (dupl. *KBo* VI 26 IV 4–5 *kel* 1 UDU *kēll-a* 1 UDU *kassas* [erased] *huuittiyanta* 'in lieu of the one and in lieu of the other they adduce one sheep each'; ibid. 20–21 [= *Code* 2:99] 1 UDU LÚ-*nas kāssas huuittiya*[*nt*]*a*; *KUB* XXXIV 14, 10 [*heyau*]*ēs garittess-a* EGIR-*pa huuit*[*tiyanta*] 'rains and floods will recede', matching IV 63 III 26 [Akk.] *zunnu u mi*[*lum*] *ipparrasu* [*parāsu* 'cease']), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-nu-un* (e. g. *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Vs. 65 *arha huittiyanun*; *KBo* IV 4 III 31–32 *nu* KARAS.HI.A *parhesni huittiyanun* 'I moved the troops in a chase', i. e. 'led them [= *piran huyanun*] on a fast march'; cf. Götze, *AM* 126; II 5 III 49–50 *nu namma tuzziyas-mis huittiyanun* 'then I marched my troops'), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-nu-un* (ibid. II 3 *namma tuzziyas-mis huuittiyanun-pat*; cf. Götze, *AM* 190, 182), SUD-*nu-un* (e. g. *KUB* XXIII 11 II 22 ^{I}*Tuthaliyas ispandaz tuzzi-man* SUD-*nun* 'I, T., made my army move at night'), 1 sg. pret. midd. *hu-it-tah-ha-at* (*KBo* XI 11 I 9 *kāsa-asta katta huittahhat idalawas lalān alwanzinas* EME-*an* 'lo, I have pulled down the tongue of evil [and] the tongue of sorcery'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-it-ti-at* (299/1986 I 23 *nu-ssi* ABU-YA ZAG *anda huittiat* 'my father curtailed his boundary'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 10), *hu-it-ti-ya-at* (*KBo* III 64 I 9–10 *nu-kan tuzzin* ^{I}*Hantilis* [...] *huittiyat* 'H. marched the army ...'; III 66, 6; *KUB* XVII 10 IV 14 *āppa huittiyat* 7 ^{GIŠ}*hattalu* 'back he drew [= unlocked] the seven [door]bolts'; opp. *parā huittiya-* 'pull shut'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 16–17 *n-an parā huittiyat* 'he promoted him'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 42; XIX 90 + III 53 Vs. 6 ^{URU}*Hu*]*rmaz kattan arha huittiyat* 'he pulled out of H.'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279 [1977]; S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:90 [1982]), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-at* (*KUB* XIV 4 IV 15 *nu* GIG-*an antuhsan ais arha huuittiyat* '[she] distorted the mouth of the sick man'), *hu-it-ti-it* (XXXIII 120 I 24 *n-an-kan nepisaz katta huittit* 'he pulled him down from heaven'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; Laroche, *RHA* 26:40 [1968]), SUD-*at* (V 24 II 13–14 *kī-wa* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na ŠA* [...] *kuwatqa uttar* EGIR-*pa* SUD-*at* 'that the sun-goddess of Arinna has somehow protracted the case of ...'; ibid. 19–20 *uttar* [...] *kuitki* SUD-*at*; *KBo* II 6 II 37 *uttar* EGIR-*pa* SUD-*at*), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-iz-za-as-ta-ti* (*KUB* XLIII 74 Vs. 11; cf. Riemschneider, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 269), *hu-it-ti-ya-ti* (XLIII 75 Vs. 19 GÍR-*ŠU huittiyati* 'drew his sword'; *KBo* III 22, 54

[URU-*ri-a*]*z* ERÍN.MEŠ-*ŠU huittiyati* 'pulled its troops from the town'; dupl. *KUB* XXVI 71 I 3), *hu-it-ti-it-ti* (ibid. 15]*apass-a huittitti s-as iyannes* 'that one had pulled, and he had gone off'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 14), *hu-it-ti-ya-at-ta-at* (XIX 67 I 1–2 *mahhan-ma uit* IŠTU É.LUGAL *hannessar kuitki appa huittiyattat* 'but when it came to pass [that] the trial was somewhat protracted by the palace'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-at-ta-at* (dupl. I 7 II 10 *ku*]*itki* EGIR-*pa huuittiyattat*), 1 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-en* (XIII 4 IV 71–72 *mān-wa-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as sanezzin zūwan* [with gloss wedges] KAXU-*az parā anzās huuittiyawen* 'if we cheated choice food from the mouth of the gods'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-it-ti-ir* (XXIX 54 IV 15; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 228), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-it-ti* (XXIX 1 II 11–12 *huitti-wa namma-ma* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU* LUGAL-*was parna luttiya* 'draw then his descendants to the window of the king's house'; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]; M.F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; XXXVI 75 + 1226/u III 12–13 *nu-m-asta arusaz sarā huitti* 'draw me up from schism!'; XVII 10 IV 2–3 ^{D}*Telipini-ya-kan* [*ka*]*rpin kardimiyattan wa*⟨*s*⟩*dul sāuar huitti* 'pluck from T. wrath, anger, despoliation, and rage!'), *hu-it-ti-ya* (par. XXXIII 54 + 47 II 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:96, 139 [1965]; VII 53 III 5–8 *kedani-ya-kan ANA* EN.SISKUR *idalu papratar alwazatar āstayaratar* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as karpin* NIŠ DINGIR-*LIM pangauwas* EME-*an maninkūwandan* MU-*an arha QATAMMA huittiya* 'likewise pluck off this offerant evil defilement, hex, deceit, divine wrath, curse, public obloquy, and impending demise!'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 18), 3 sg. imp. midd. *hu-it-ti-ya-ru* (*Bo* 6472, 10 'let be drawn'; cf. ibid. 7 *huittiyazi*), SUD-*ru* (*KBo* XIII 109 II 1–3 *papra*[*tar* ...] SUD-*ru* IGI.HI.A-*wa-za* SUD-*ru* ŠU.ME[Š-*az*] SUD-*ru* 9-*za* ^{UZU}ÚR-*za* SUD-*ru* 'let defilement ... be drawn, from the eyes let be drawn, from the hands let be drawn, from the nine body parts let be drawn'), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-e-za-at-tin* (*KUB* LVIII 77 Vs. 27–28 EN DINGIR-*LIM huwezattin-wa* [...] *dattin* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*BELU huwezattin-wa* ['attract the lord of the gods, take..., attract the lords'; cf. 2 sg. pres. midd. *hu-e-iz-ta* above, and Neu, *Anitta-Text* 77), *hu-it-ti-ya-at-tin* (*Maşat* 75/13, 11–14 [*nu*]-*smas mahhan kās* [*tupp*]*ianza anda wemizzi nu* INA ^{URU}*Kasepūra huittiyattin* 'when this letter reaches you, move along to K.'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:46 [1980]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-it-ti-ya-ad-du* (*KBo* X 45 IV 27 *n-at ape parā huuittiyaddu* 'let them drag them forth'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]); partic. *huittiyant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-za* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 55 I 17 KASKAL-*is-mu kuis huittiyanza* 'the path that is drawn for me';

cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; XXVII 67 II 10), SUD-*an-za* (XLII 31 Vs. 3 UGU SUD-*anza*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 143 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 204), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-it-ti-ya-an* (e.g. IX 31 I 29 and dupl. *HT* 1 I 21–22 ^{GIŠ}BAN *huittiyan* 'strung bow'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]; *KBo* V 8 II 28–30 *antuhsatarr-a-za-kan kuit tēpauwaz anda* [*hu*]*ittiyan harta* 'and the contingent whom he had moved in[to the mountain lairs] in small numbers'; cf. Götze, *AM* 154; *KUB* XV 32 I 46–47 *man-wa-za sāntes nasma-wa-smas-kan arha kuiski huittiyan ... harzi* 'whether you [are] enraged, or someone has drawn you away'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; XIX 23 Vs. 9 *nu-za ANA PANI* EN-*YA kuit sarā huittiyan harku*[*n* 'whereas before my lord I had drawn up ...'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 312; *KBo* V 3 III 21–22 *ap*]*āt* KUR-*e nasma* URU-*an assu*[*li*] *nasm*[*a* ...] *parā huittiyan harmi*; dupl. XIX 44 Rs. 10–11 *nasma-za mān apāt* [...] *assuli nasma idālu parā huitt*[*i-* 'whether I have singled out that land or town for good or bad treatment'; ibid. 8 *huitti*[*y*]*an harmi*), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an* (dupl. V 3 III 18 URU-*a*]*n kuinki āssu parā huu*[*itt*]*iyan harmi* 'I have singled out some town in favored fashion'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124), SUD-*an* (e.g. XVIII 179 V 6; cf. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 40; *KUB* XLII 22 II 3; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 50 [1982]; XLII 56, 11; cf. S. Košak, op. cit. 131; Siegelová, op. cit. 522), nom. pl. c. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-te-es* (XV 34 IV 12 *hui*]*ttiyantes ēsten* 'you have been drawn'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ta* (*HT* 1 I 33–34 ^{GIŠ}BAN.HI.A-*a-ssan kuyēs huittiyanta* ^{GIŠ}KAK.Ú.TAG.GA.HI.A-*ya harkanzi* 'who hold strung bows and arrows'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ta* (dupl. *KUB* IX 31 I 40; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 51); verbal noun *huittessar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-it-te-es-sar* (XXVII 67 I 19 *idālu huittessar*; ibid. III 25 *idālu huittes*⟨*sar*⟩ *huitti*[- [figura etymologica]), *hu-it-ti-ya-as-sar* (ibid. II 20 *idālu huitti*[*y*]*assar*; a medical symptom?); *huittiyauwar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-ar* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Vs. 60, Rs. 4 and 16 *sarā huittiyauar*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 120, 122), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* X 92 I 18 KASKAL-*as huuittiyauwar* 'drawing of the path'; cf. ibid. 17 KASKAL-*NI huuittiyanzi*), SUD-*u-wa-ar* (e.g. *IBoT* III 148 II 33, *KUB* XV 37 II 7 and 9 KASKAL-*as* SUD-*uwar*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 218, 232), gen. sg. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-as* (XXIX 4 II 18 SISKUR *sarā huittiyauas* 'ritual of drawing up'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-as* (ibid. I 73 *sarā huuittiyauwas ANA* SISKUR.SISKUR 'for the ritual of drawing up'; XLII 106 Rs. 10 *arha huuittiyauwas*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 138; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspra-*

xis 382), SUD-*u-wa-as* (XV 37 II 13 KASKAL-*as* SUD-*uwas*), SUD-*u-as* (e. g. *KBo* XVIII 181 Rs. 5 GAM-*an* SUD-*uas*, ibid. 25 EGIR *arha* SUD-*uas*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 120 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 374–6; *IBoT* III 148 I 28, 29, 42, 43, 44 KASKAL-*as* SUD-*uas*), SUD-*as* (e. g. ibid. II 40, 41, 52, 53, 54, III 39 und 41, IV 20 KASKAL-*as* SUD-*as*), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-ni* (*KUB* XV 34 IV 61 KASKAL-*sas huittiyauni* 'for the drawing of the path', besides dupl. XV 33b IV 21–22 KASKAL-*sas huittiyauw*[*as*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 208), SUD-*u-ni* (*KBo* XVIII 48 Rs. 13); inf. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* XXI 19 + 1303/u II 20; XXIX 4 III 38; also ibid. 49), *hu-it-ti-ya-u-an-zi* (dupl. XII 23, 20), *hu*]*-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (dupl. *KBo* XV 29 III 8), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-an-zi* (*KUB* XV 31 I 33 *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ *huuittiyauanzi appanzi*; ibid. II 41; ibid. III 48–49 *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ *huuittiyauanzi appanzi n-as arunaza huuittiyanzi* 'they begin to draw the deities; they draw them from the sea'; iter. *huittieski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-es-ki-mi* (*KBo* XIII 64 Vs. 12 ^{GI}*ummiyaz-iya-wa kuez* KAŠ-*essar huittieskimi* 'the straw with which I draw beer'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 20–1); iterative-"durative" *hu(i)tti(y)anna-, huittiyanniya-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-na-ah-hi* (II 9 IV 21 *n-at-kan kāsa pahhunaz huittiyannahhi* 'lo, I pull it from fire'), SUD-*an-na-ah-hi* (ibid. 14–15 *n-as-kan kāsa tagnaz* SUD-*annahhi* 'lo, I pull them from the earth'), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-na-i* (XXII 42 Vs. 10), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-na-i* (*KUB* XXXII 8 III 6–8 *kuitman-ma-zan* BEL SISKUR.SISKUR *IŠTU* SAG.DU-*ŠU tētan la-ple*[*pan*] *enerann-a huuīttiyannai* 'while the sacrificer pulls from his head a hair, an eyelash, and an eyebrow hair'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 118), *hu-ut-ti-an-na-i* (*KBo* XVII 18 II 12 GI-*an huttiannai tarnai-ma-an* 'strings an arrow and lets it fly'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 100), *hu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i* (similarly XVII 43 I 3 and 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 104–5; 1711/c Vs. 11), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-it*]*-ti-ya-an-ni-ú-e-ni* (XV 10 III 15; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 36), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu*]*-it-ti-ya-an-na-ú* (*KUB* XXXVI 55 II 18); iter. *huittiyanneski-, huittiyanniski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-mi* (X 72 II 13–15 *kinun-a-tta kāsa hūmandaza* [EGI]R-*pa huittiyanneskimi* 'but now, lo I draw thee back altogether'), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-mi* (XXIV 14 I 26 *kinun-a-ta-kkan arha huittiyanniskimi* 'now I draw thee away'; XV 35 I 22 *huitt*]*-iyanniskimi*; XXXVI 96, 7), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (XXX 28 + XXXIX 23 Vs. 34–35 *nu* ^{TÚG}*kuressar IŠTU* ŠU.HI.A-*ŠU e*[*pz*]*i* [...] *huittiyanniskizzi katta-ya-at tarnaskizzi* 'a length of cloth with his hands he takes, draws..., and lets it hang down'; cf. Otten,

Totenrituale 96), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-an-ni-es-ga-u-e-ni* (1897/u, 13), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-u-e-ni* (dupl. *KUB* XV 34 III 35–36 *kinun-a-smas-kan kāsa IŠTU* 7 TÚL.MEŠ *sarā huittiyanniskiweni* 'now behold we draw you up from the seven wells'; ibid. 15 *hu*[*ittiya*]*nniskiweni*; ibid. IV 9 *huittiyannis*[*kiweni*]), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-u-wa-ni* (ibid. 30–31 *kinun-a-smas k*[*ās*]*a nepisaz huittiyanniskiuwani* 'now behold we draw you from heaven'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-u-wa-ni* (XV 32 I 49–50 *kinun-a-wa-smas kāsa anzās parā handanni* ^{D}UTU-*i kattan assuli huuittiyanneskiuwani* 'now behold we shall for blessing draw you, along with the sun-god for favor'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-*[*i*]*t-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-it* (XIII 29, 3; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 352), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-ti(!)-is-ki-id-du* (sic erroneously for *ni*; XXVII 29 II 20–21 *ŪL-a-ssi kuis annas n-an* ^{TÚG}*seknun* EGIR-*pa huuittiyanniskiddu* 'she who [is] not his mother shall draw back his tunic' [partitive apposition]).

huttul(l)i- (n.) 'strand (of wool), (wool-)tuft', nom.-acc. *hu-ut-tu-ul-li* (*VBoT* 24 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan* ^{SÍG}*huttulli huuittiyami* 'from it [viz. the sheep] I pluck a wool-tuft'; *KUB* IX 27 Vs. 10 *iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huttulli* 'wool-tuft of a sheep'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272 [1987]; VII 60 II 14 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SÍG}*hu*[*ttul*]*li*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 234), *hu-ut-tu-li* (XXX 15 Vs. 24 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huttuli*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66), *hu-ut-tu-li(s)* (*KBo* XVIII 193 Vs. 9 *iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huttuli*), *hu-ud-du-ul-li* (*VBoT* 24 IV 20 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huddulli*; *KUB* XV 34 I 12 ^{UDU}*iyantas* ^{S}[^{IG}*h*]*uddulli*), instr. sg. *hu-ut-tu-ul-li-it* (XV 31 I 33–34 *n-as IŠTU* SÍG SA$_5$ *huttullit* ^{TÚG}*kurisnitt-a huittiyazi* 'one draws them with a strand of red wool and a length of fabric'), *hu-ud-du-ul-li-it* (dupl. 1321/u Vs. 11; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; *VBoT* 24 III 32–33 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SÍG}*huddullit anda ishāi* 'wraps it up in strands of sheep-wool'), abl. sg. ^{SÍG}*hu-ud-du-ul-li-ya-az* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 12; cf. Imparati, RHA 32:34 [1974]). For formation cf. e. g. *kariulli-* 'head-dress' from *kariya-* 'cover'. Ch. Rabin (*Orientalia* N.S. 32:120–1 [1963]) considered Ugar. *ḥtl*, Hebrew *ḥittul* 'wool-flock, swaddling material' as loanwords from Hittite.

Unlike the treatment of the dental in *huezta, huizzastati, huwezattin* (**huet-t-*), *huittiya-* is notable for nonaffrication before *-iya-* (glaringly unlike e. g. *hat*[*t*]*-, hazziya-*). It resembles that of the 2 sg. pres. act. ending *-tti* < **-tA*$_1$*e* + *i* (cf. Skt. *-tha*) and points to **H*$_1$*wedA*$_1$- (if base-meaning is 'draw' rather than 'lead; marry', as in **dewk-*; cf. H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 88 [1984] or **H*$_1$*weytA*$_1$- cognate with Vedic *vithurá-* 'tottering,

staggering', *vyáthate* 'reel, stagger', Goth. *wiþondans haubida seina* '*κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν*' (*Mark* 15:29). Čop's formula **Hwithū-yé-* (*Ling.* 8:54–5 [1966–8], *Indogermanica minora* 39–40) was however morphophonemically ad hoc and hard to maintain. For the variation *huet-/hut(t)-* see s. v. *hues-*.

huedar, huitar (n.) '(wild) animals, beasts, creatures, critters, wildlife, fauna, game, menagerie, wolf(pack)' (*KUB* IV 4 I 11a LÍL-*as hu*[*idni* 'to beasts of the field' matches ibid. 12b [Akk.] *buli* 'wild animals' [collectively]; III 94 II 18 *hu-u-i-tar(-za)* corresponds to ibid. [Akk.] *šīru* emendable to *šīhu* 'critters, vermin'), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-e-da-ar* (XXXVI 67 II 9), [*hu-i*]-*ta-ar* (*KBo* XX 33 Vs. 14 and 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53–4), *hu-i-ta-ar-r(a)* (IV 2 I 59 *huitarr-a hūman* 'and all wildlife'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]), *hu-u-i-ta-ar* (*IBoT* II 9 + *KUB* LII 102 I 8–11 *arunass-a* [*hu-u-*]*i-ta-*[*ar*] *hūman* 6 KU$_6$.HI.A [.] NE.ZA.ZA.HI.A 1 MUŠ 'and all sea-creatures, six fish, x frogs, one snake'; cf. *ZA* 74:301 [1984]), *hu-u-i-tar* (VIII 62 I 2 *gi*]*mras huuitar* 'beasts of the field', matching Akk. *būl ṣēri*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:23 [1968]; *CAD* B 315–6; XXXVIII 3 II 8–9 *ŠUM ŠA* LUGAL-*kan kimrass-a huuitar andan gulassan* 'the king's name and beasts of the field engraved on it'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 18; XXXVI 2d, 43 *taknas huuitar* [*hūman*] 'all critters of the soil'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:35 [1968]; XXXIII 121 II 12–14 DINGIR.MEŠ-*es-kan* [1]*Kessiya ispanduzzi ser kartimmiyauwantes nu-ssi huuitar hūman piran arha munnāir* 'the gods [were] angered at Kessis over libation, and hid away all game from him'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; *KBo* X 25 VI 4–5 DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas* [*huu*]*itar* 'gods' creatures'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:52), *hu-u-i-it-t*[*ar* (*KUB* XXXVIII 38 Vs. 9; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:209 [1961]), perhaps *hu-u-tar* (XXXVIII 31 Vs. 8; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:190–1 [1963]), gen. sg. (or pl.) *hu-id-na-as* (VI 45 III 15–17 *ŠA* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*TI* UR.ZÍR-*mas* ŠAH-*as gimrass-a huidnas DINAM* UD-*tili zik* ^{D}UTU-*us hanneskisi* 'on humankind, dog, pig, and beasts of the field you the sun-god daily render judgment', with the somewhat scrambled dupl. VI 46 III 55–56 ... *gimras* DI-*sar huittas* [sic] UD.KAM-*li zik* ^{D}UTU-*us hanniskisi*; II 1 II 16 *h*]*uidnas* ^{D}LAMA-*as* 'tutelary god of wildlife'), *hu-u-id-na-as* (dupl. *KBo* XI 40 II 5; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:108 [1975]; *KUB* XXXIII 57 II 11 *kuēlla huuidnas* 'of every kind of beast'; *KBo* XXV 180 Rs. 10 *huuidnas dapias* 'of all wildlife'; cf. Singer, *Festival*

2:98), *hu-ú-e-id-na-as* (*KUB* I 16 II 46 [OHitt.] *hu*]*uednas mān pankur-seme*[*t* 1-*EN*] *ēsdu* 'like [of] a wolf[pack], let your family be united!; cf. *KBo* III 27 Vs. 15–16 ÌR.MEŠ-*a-mman* UR.BAR.RA-*as mān pangu*[*r*] 1-*EN ēstu* 'let my subjects, like a wolf's family, be united!'), instr. sg. *hu-u-id-ni-it* (*KUB* XXIV 2 II 15 *gimras huuidnit* 'along with the beasts of the field'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-i-ta-a-ar* (*ABoT* 5 + II 17 [OHitt.] *huitārr-a*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 32; Singer, *Festival* 2:34), *hu-i-da-a-ar* (later dupl. *KBo* XXII 224 Vs. 3 *huidā*[*r*; XXI 70 I 3; *KUB* VIII 1 III 8–10 *hēwēs* [*kī*]*sa* BURU.HI.A SIG$_5$-*anta daganzipas* [*hu*]*idār parāi n-apa halkin karapanzi* 'rains will occur, crops will thrive, [but] critters of the soil will blow in and devour the grain'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 87 [1974], and see for *parāi* s. v. *arai-* [*HED* 1–2:123]), *hu-u-i-ta-a-ar* (*KBo* X 23 III 9–10 *huuitār hūmanda* 'all beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; X 24 I 10–11 *ke huuitār* 'these beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:16; for such likenesses of wild animals [panther, lion, wolf, boar, bear, stag] in precious materials [silver, gold, lapis lazuli] cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:92–4).

huidnant- (c.), nom. sg. in *KBo* IX 114, 7 *-w*]*ar-an ammel huidnanza aniyaddu* 'let my menagerie deal with him!' (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:34–5 [1962]).

huidnaima- (c.?), gen. sg. *hu-i-id-na-i-ma-as* in *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 17 ^{UZU}SA *huyidnaimas* 'sinew of the h.', after previous mention of a killed panther (UG.TUR; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20).

DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas* (= *siunas*) *huitar* may be simply votive (iconographies of) animals; but Ivanov (*Problemy slavjanskoj etnografii* 152–3 [1979]) compared Latvian *dieva vērši* 'god's bulls', *dieva zuosis* 'god's geese', *dieva suns* 'wolf' (literally 'god's son'), or Old Russian *zvěri divii* 'wild beasts' (etymologically cognate with *siu-* < **dyew-*), where 'god's' implies 'not belonging to any man', thus 'wild'.

The non-assimilation of *-tn-* to *-nn-* has been claimed as a luwianism (cf. *Bo* 4143 I 3 *hu-u-i-tar-sa* in Hittite context, resembling Luw. [case?] *ha-a-ra-tar-sa* beside Hitt. *haratar*, dat.-loc. sg. *haratni* [q. v.]; cf. Neu, in *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* 167, 182–3 [*IBS* 85, 1987]); but this is unnecessary, since *huitar* has etymological **dn* (see below) which is regularly unassimilated (e. g. *udne*). The form *huuitarsa* (like *KUB* III 94 II 18 *huuitarza* quoted above) may reflect a secondary transfer to genus commune (to the

type of *haster-*, nom. sg. *hasterza* [q. v.]), as an alternative to the "animated" *huidnant-*.

Cognate derivatives occur in Luwian with the meaning 'life', from a root *hued-* distinct from Hitt. *hues-*:

huidumar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. in Hitt. context *hu-u-i-du-mar* (*Bo* 3078 II 12 DUMU-*annas huuidumar* 'life of progeny'; dupl. *Bo* 3617 I 13 DUMU-*lannas hu*[-; cf. Otten and Siegelová, *AfO* 23:33–5 [1970]), (case?) *hu-i-du-mar-sa* (*KBo* XIII 260 III 18; cf. ibid. 19–20 *haddulahisa annarumāhisa* 'health [and] strength'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 262), [*hu-i*]-*tu-mar-sa* (XIX 155, 13; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 25–6, 56). For formation cf. e. g. Hitt. *ardumar* from *ard-* (*HED* 1–2:175); it is not derived from a **huidu-* 'alive' (wrongly H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:17 [1983]) and may actually be a Hittite formation borrowed into Luwian and rederived:

huidumnahit- 'vitality', instr. sg. *hu-i-tum-ma-na-hi-ta-ti* (*KUB* XXV 45 II 8–10 *huuidwalahiti ānnarummahiti* MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-*MI*.HI.A-*ti* DINGIR.MEŠ-*assazati wassarahitati huitummanahitati* 'for life, strength, long years for the future, through the gods' favor and vitality'; Starke, *KLTU* 152), *hu-i-tum-na-a-hi-ta-ti* (XXXV 21 Rs. 14; Starke, *KLTU* 89; *KBo* IX 143 III 15; Starke, *KLTU* 122), [*h*]*u-u-tum-um-na-hi-ta-ti* (*KUB* XXXII 8 IV 16; Starke, *KLTU* 119).

huidwali- 'living, alive', nom. sg. c. *hu-i-du-wa-li-is* (*KUB* XXXV 45 II 25 *mān-as huiduwalis* 'if he [is] living', vs. ibid. 26 *mān-as ulantis* 'if he [is] dead'), *h*]*u-u-id-wa-li-is* (dupl. XXXV 48 II 19; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 153, 155), *hu-id-wa-li-is* (XXXV 46 IV 5; Starke, *KLTU* 159), *hu*]*-i-id-wa-a-li-i-is* (XXXV 49 IV 13; Starke, *KLTU* 151), acc. sg. c. *hu-i*]*-du-wa-la-li-ya-an* (sic XXXV 43 II 3, vs. ibid. 2 *ulantalliyan* 'dead'; Starke, *KLTU* 143), *hu-u-i-id-wa-li-ya-an* (XXXV 43 III 30; Starke, *KLTU* 147), *hu-u-i-id-wa-a-li-ya-an* (XXXII 14 + XXXIV 62 III 11; Starke, *KLTU* 149), [*hu-u-i-id*]*-wa-al-li-ya-an* (XXXV 51 II 29; Starke, *KLTU* 177).

huidwalahit- 'life', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-id-wa-la-hi-ti* (*KBo* XXIX 31 IV 8 *huidwalahiti annarum*[*mahiti* 'for life [and] strength'; *KUB* XXXII 8 IV 14), *hu-u-id-wa-la-hi-ti* (XXXV 45 II 8, quoted above), instr. sg. *hu-u-i-du-wa-la-a-hi-ta-ti* (XXXV 43 II 38 *huuiduwalāhitati annarummahitati* 'through life [and] strength'), (case?) *hu-u-id-wa-la-a-hi-sa(-ha)* (XXXV 133 II 29–30 URU*Hattusaya apparantien arin annarumāhi huuidwalāhisa-ha* 'for Hattusas long future, strength, and life!'; Starke, *KLTU* 280).

For the derivational string **huidwal* : *huidwali-* : *huidwalahit-* cf. e. g. *adduwal-* (n.) 'evil', adjective *adduwali-* 'evil', abstract noun *adduwalahit-* 'malice' (*HED* 1–2:492). **huidwal-* may have been rederived as **huidwal-war* in *hu-u-i-du-u-wa-lu-wa-ra* with gloss-wedge (*KBo* V 9 I 12–13 *ABU-KA-mu kuit* [*tuel*] [...]-*an huuidūwaluwar-a piran memiskit* 'because your father used to commend to me your ... and mode of living'; with *piran mema-* cf. German *befürworten*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:10).

In view of the archaic Hittite heteroclitic *huedar/huedn-* it is unreasonable to view Luw. *huid-* as a phonetic variant of Hitt. *hues-*, somehow parallel to *siwat-/tiwat-*, *sakuwassara-/sahuidara-*, and the like. There must have been a root **H*$_1$*wed-* semantically akin to **A*$_1$*wes-*, attested in an archaic word in Hittite but surviving a little better in Luwian; for its possible ultimate root-affinity via suffix-variation with **A*$_1$*wes-* see s. v. *hues-*.

huedar/huedn- reflects **H*$_1$*wedr̥/H*$_1$*wedn-* and closely resembles ON *vitnir* 'creature' (< **Hwedniyos*) referring to the wolf Fenrir in Eddic poetry (*vitni at vega* 'to fight the creature', *vitnis vīgi at* 'at the killing of the creature') and occurring in compounds and kennings: *hrōðvitnir* 'slaver-creature' for 'wolf' (cf. the chained Fenrir's slaver forming the river Vōn), *grafvitnir* 'grave-creature' for 'snake'. These attestations match the Hittite nuances of *huedar* as 'wolf(-pack)' ('wolf' is normally ON *úlfr* or *vargr*, Hitt. *ulip*[*pa*]*na-*) and 'soil critters'; others include e. g. *sporvitnir* 'track-creature' for 'horse' and *mjöðvitnir* 'mead-creature' for 'dwarf' (cf. dwarfs brewing mead from the blood of Kvasir).

Cf. Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 32:54–7 (1986).

huh(h)a- (c.) 'grandfather' (*AB*[*B*]*A AB*[*B*]*A*, *ABI ABI*), nom. sg. *hu-uh-ha-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 24 I 34–35 *huhhas-sis-a tet* 'his grandfather said'; ibid. 46 *huhhas-sis*; ibid. 32 *huhhas-sas tet*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:114–5 [1965]; I 16 III 41–42 *huhhas-mis* [*Laba*]*rnan* DUMU-*san* URU*Sanahuitti iskunahhis* 'my grandfather rusticated his son L. to Sanahuittas'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12–4), acc. sg. *hu-uh-ha-an* (ibid. 40–41 *huhha-man* [... *u*]*ddār-set* 'my father's words' [partitive apposition: 'my father, his words']), gen. sg. or pl. *hu-uh-ha-as* (e. g. XLIII 55 V 9–10 *INA* É *huhhas teshan austa* 'in the house of the grandfathers [= dynastic mausoleum?] he saw a dream'; XX 52 IV 17 *INA* É *huhhas-kan*[; *Bo* 3230 I 8 LÚ.MEŠ É

'the men of the house of the grandfathers'; *KUB* V 9 I 25, VI 37 Vs. 11, LII 99, 10 LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL *huhhas* 'the men of the grandfather's palace'; VI 45 I 42 DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA* É.GAL *huhhas* 'the gods of the grandfather's palace'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 203; XVI 35, 15 É.GAL *huhhas*; X 68, 3 É].GAL *huhhas*; Montserrat 2, 3 É.GA]L *huhhas*; cf. Güterbock, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 137, 139 [1979]), *hu-u-uh-ha-as* (*HT* 2 I 3 *ŠA* É.GAL *hūhhas*), *hu-ha-as* (*KUB* XIX 5 Vs. 12), *hu-u-ha-as* (XI 10, 7 *IŠTU* É *hūh*[*as*), *ABI ABI* (e. g. XII 5 I 2 *INA* É *ABI ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* 'in his majesty's grandfather's house'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 20:51 [1962]; ibid. IV 17–18 *INA* ^{URU}*Samūha* É *ABI ABI* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* 'at S., in his majesty's grandfather's house'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-uh-hi* (XXI 27 IV 9–10 *ANA* ^{D}IM *tuel huhhi* [*Ù A*]*NA* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na tuel hanni* 'to the storm-god your grandfather and to the sun-goddess of Arinna your grandmother'; similarly ibid. 4–5; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 334; XXXIII 24 I 30 *huhhi-ssi pait* 'went to his grandfather'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:173 [1977]), abl. sg. *hu-uh-ha-az* (*KBo* XX 31 Vs. 1 *attaz huh*[-*haz*), nom. pl. *hu-uh-hi-is* (*KBo* XXII 86 + *KUB* XXXVI 2c III 4–6 *āsma-wa*-[*za*] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL-*TIM* LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI *tuēl* [...] *huhhis* 'lo, the great gods, the old men your grandfathers'; *KUB* XVII 29 II 6–8 *sumenzan huhha hannis attēs annis ... nahhantes esir* 'your grandparents and parents were apprehensive' [dual-dvandva with partial pluralization]; cf. Puhvel, *AJP* 98:398–9 [1977] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 381–2 [1981]; Tischler, *IBK* Sonderheft 50:218 [1982]), acc. pl. *hu-uh-hi-is* (XXX 24 II 23 *huhhis hannis ekuz*[*i* 'he drinks to grandfathers [and] grandmothers'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60), *hu-uh-hi-es* (XXXIX 7 I 42 *hanne*]*s huhhes pianzi* (sic, pro *akuwanzi*; cf. *akuwanna pianzi*; Otten, *Totenrituale* 34), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-uh-ha-as* (VII 10 I 9–10 *tarpallis-ma hannas huhhas* '[substitute] figures for grandmothers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 130; XXXIX 4 Vs. 4 *hannas huhhas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 24; XXXIX 1 III 9 and XXXIX 6 Rs. 22 *huhhas hannas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 22, 50; *ABoT* 56 III 7–8 *ANA* É.MEŠ GIDIM.HI.A *kue*[(-)...] *addas huhhas kue*[(-) 'for the houses of the dead, for the fathers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 104), *ANA ABBA ABBA*.HI.A (e. g. *KUB* I 8 IV 33 *ANA ABB*]*A*.HI.A *Ù ANA ABBA ABBA*.HI.A-*YA* 'to my fathers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 26), undetermined case e. g. XXI 19 + 1303/u + 338/v II 34 *nu attas huhhas* (cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312).

huhhant- (c.) '(great)grandfather', nom. pl. *hu-uh-ha-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXI 5 I 14; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:52), *hu-u-ha-an-te-is* (XXXVI 87 IV 27; ibid. 26 *tu*]*el hūhan*[-; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 192). Cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:35 (1962). Derived adjective *huhhant-alla-*, nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-u-ha-da-al-la* (XXXIII 106 III 50–51 *annalla attalla hūhadalla* [É.]^{NA_4}KIŠIB.HI.A 'old fatherly-grandfatherly [Lat. *patrīta et avīta*] storehouses'; cf. *HED* 1–2:54), *hu-ha-da-al-la* (*KBo* XXVI 65 II 17 *dadalla huhadall*[*a*, with Luwoid *dadalla*). A jingle derivation from *huhha-*, based on *attalla-*/*tatalla-*, is also conceivable; cf. Oettinger, *KZ* 99:46 (1986).

Luw. *huh(h)a-*, instr. sg. *hu-u-ha-ti* (*KBo* IX 141 I 3; cf. ibid. 4 *nāniyat*[*i* 'brother'; Starke, *KLTU* 126). Also in Luwoid anthroponymy, e. g. *Huhhazitis*, *Hūhananis* (cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG* 139–40; Laroche, *Noms* 70).

Hier. *huha-* 'grandfather' (*tati- huha-*), *huhati-* '(great)grandfather' (*tatin huhan huhatin*); *huhatali-* 'grandfatherly, atavistic' (*tatalis huhatalis*). *huha(n)ti-* recalls **anna(n)ti-* 'mother (*HED* 1–2:57; *huha* + *tti-* was implausibly posited by Starke, *KZ* 94:77 [1980]). Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 60; Laroche, *HH* 174–5.

Lyc. *χuga-* in *TLy* 44b.58 *χugaha se-χñnaha* 'grandfather's and grandmother's'; *TLy* 44d.66–67 *ẽnesi-ke tedesi-ke χugasi* 'of both maternal and paternal grandfathers' (see references s. v. *hanna-* and *anna-* [*HED* 1–2:57]). Also in Lycian anthroponyms *epñχuχa* (*TLy* 127.1; cf. Friedrich, *KS* 84; Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG* 142) and *Κουγας* (L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 252 [1964]), but not in Lydian *Γύγης* (cf. Neumann, *Untersuch.* 69–71; *HED* 1–2:176, with ref.). Anatolian glossal matches for Gk. *πάππος* are Hes. *γυγαί* and *κουκᾶ*.

For the possibility that *annas-mas ... uwas-mas* in the "Soldier's dirge" (*KBo* III 40, 14–15) reflects a dialectally delaryngealized *hannas huhhas* (as in the dat.-loc. pl. mortuary attestations above), see s. v. *hanna-*. For the quasi-synonym *dān attas* (literally 'second [= father's] father') see Puhvel, *KZ* 92:100–1 (1978) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 391–2 (1981).

Unlike *hanna-* or *atta-*, the baby-talk explanation does not play well with *huhha-*. The identification of *huh(h)as* with Lat. *avus* 'grandfather' as $*A_1ewA_1os$ (first in Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:163 [1928]) remains unassailable; no gradational fine-tuning (Kuryłowicz, *Études* 74: $*A_1uA_1o$-) is called for, in view of Hittite monophthongization. Together with Arm. *hav* 'grandfather', Anatolian upholds

the eastern attestation of this term, otherwise found mainly in Italic, Germanic (Goth. *awō* 'grandmother'), and Celtic (OIr. *áue* 'grandson').

huh(h)upa- 'evil' (?), nom. sg. c. *hu-uh-hu-pa-as*, with gloss wedges (*KUB* XXVI 12 II 5–9 *nu kī memai* EGIR-*an-wa-mu tī[ya] apās-ma apāt memai* EGIR-*a[n-wa-tta] ŪL tiyami hanti-ya-wa-ssi ŪL tiyami huhhupass-a-[ssi] kishahari* 'he says this: "Back me up!", but that one says thus: "I shall not back you up, nor shall I turn on him and become evil towards him" '), *hu-hu-pa-*[(XXVI 13 IV 12, with gloss-wedges).

huhhupas kis- (+ dat.) seems synonymous with *idalawes-* (+ dat.) 'turn bad, become evil (towards)'; *huh(h)upa-* may be a reduplicated Luwoid dialect form of *huwappa-* (q. v. s. v. *huwapp-*; cf. the gloss-wedged dat.-loc. sg. *hūwappi*; further *huipi-* [s. v.]; Hier. *hupasanu-* 'cause to be harmed' [?]: Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 502; Hawkins, *KZ* 94:115–6 [1980]). Cf. Th. van den Hout, *Bi. Or.* 41:434 (1984).

huhupal- (n.) 'cymbal', also used as a vessel in ritual, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-hu-pa-al* (e. g. *KUB* XXV 37 I 34 *mahhan-ma-kan* ^{GIŠ}*huhupal IŠTU* GEŠTIN *sunnanzi* 'but when they fill a cymbal with wine'; ibid. 10 ^{GIŠ}*huhupal harzi ŪL-at* GUL-*ahhiskizzi* 'he holds a cymbal but does not strike it'; ibid. 11–12 *kue* ^{GIŠ}*huhupal harkanzi n-at* GUL-*-ahhiskanzi* 'what cymbals they hold, them they strike'; ibid. III 24–25 ^{GIŠ}*huhupal danzi n-at hazzikiuan tianzi* 'they take cymbals and start striking them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 343–7; *KBo* XX 20 Vs. 4 + XXV 54 I 10 *sāuītran huhupall-a harkanzi* 'they hold horn and cymbal'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285; XX 56 Vs. 9 ^{GIŠ}*huhupall-a walhan[zi* 'and cymbal they strike'; *KUB* XXV 39 I 23–24]*huhupal dāi n-at hazzikkizzi* 'takes a cymbal and strikes it'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 329; *KBo* XXI 67 I 12 ^{GIŠ}*huhupal hazzi[-*), *hu-u-hu-pa-al* (e. g. IV 9 I 39–41 ^{GIŠ}*arkammi* ^{GIŠ}*hūhupal galgaltūri* LUGAL-*i* EGIR-*an piran hazzikanzi* 'harp, cymbal, and tambourine behind [and] before the king they strike'; *KUB* XXIX 4 I 24 1-*NUTIM* ^{GIŠ}*hūhupal* 'one set [= pair?] of cymbals'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 8), *hu-u-hu-u-pa-al* (XXV 9 V 3 [^{GIŠ}*hū]hūpal hazzikkanzi* 'they strike cymbals'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 64 [1982]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-hu-pa-li* (e. g. XXV 37 I 26–27 *n-at-kan katta api[z kat]terri*

^{GIŠ}*huhupali lahūwāri* 'it is poured down thence into the lower cymbal'), instr. sg. *hu-hu-pa-al-li-it* (XXV 1 VI 27–29 ^{GIŠ}*argami galgaltūri* ^{GIŠ}*huhupallitt-a hazzikanzi* 'harp [and] tambourine along with cymbal they strike'), *hu-u-hu-pa-li-it* (XI 35 V 11 ^{GIŠ}*hūhupalit* SÌR-*RU* '[they] sing to cymbal accompaniment'), abl. sg. *hu-hu-pa-al-za* (LV 65 IV 5–6 ^{GIŠ}*huhupalza akuwanzi* ^{GIŠ}*huhupal* DINGIR-*LIM* [*wa*]*lhanneskanzi* 'they drink from the cymbal, they strike the deity's cymbal'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 312), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-hu-pa-a-la* (XV 5 III 11 *kue* ^{GIŠ}*huhupāla* 'what cymbals'), ^{GIŠ}*hu-hu-pa-la* (ibid. 13), *hu-hu-pa-al-li* (XXXII 117 Vs. 8 + XXXV 93 Vs. 13 *nu-za ūk* ^{GIŠ}*huhupalli dā[hhe]* 'I take cymbals'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; Starke, *KLTU* 41; XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 18 ^{GIŠ}*huhupa[l]li walhannai ishamiskizzi-ya* 'strikes cymbals and sings'; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984]; *KBo* XXX 81 I 6 *h]uhupalli walh[a-*; XVII 25 Rs. 7 *h]uhupalli*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 225). Cf. the expression *iyatnas ... [huhu]pal* 'cymbal of plenty', i. e. 'cornucopia' (*KUB* XIII 33 II 5–6; *HED* 1–2:350). Cf. A. M. Polvani, *Hethitica IX* 171–9 (1988). H. C. Melchert's emendation (*KZ* 101:230 [1988]) [^{GIŠ}*hu-]u-wa-hur-pa-al* (*KBo* XII 123, 10) is improbable.

There is a definite culture-word relationship to the vessel name ^{DUG}*kukupalla-* (q. v.) and to Gk. *κύπελλον* 'goblet', *κύμβαλον* 'cymbal', Skt. *kimpala-* (a musical instrument); cf. also Gk. *κύμβη* 'bowl', Skt. *kumbhá-*, Avest. *xumba-* 'jar'. The cymbal was drunk from in the initiation formula of the Asianic cult of Cybele (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2: *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον* 'I have eaten from the drum, I have drunk from the cymbal'). The reduplication and *h* : *k* alternation have onomatopoeic or phonesthetic implications. Cf. Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 284.

huimpa-, huimma- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-im-pa-as* (*KUB* VII 41 Vs. 19–21 *tagā[nzipas] huimpas* É.ŠÀ-*nanza* GUNNI-*anza* 4 *halhaldumma[rias]* ^{É}*hīlas* KÁ.HI.A-*es arha tarnan[du]* 'may the floor, h., interior, fireplace, four corners, and gate of the yard let go!'; dupl. *KBo* X 45 I 11; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116, 143 [1961]), *hu-im-ma-as* (*KUB* VII 13 Vs. 19 *huimmas tarnāu*), acc. sg. *hu-im-pa-an* (II 2 III 1–2 *idalun* ^{GIŠ}ÙR *idalun* [^{GIŠ}*hittassa] idalu* [sic] *huimpan mun[nandu* 'let them hide bad roofbeam, bad h., bad h.'; ibid. 8 ^{GIŠ}*h[uimpan*; matching ibid. II 59 and III 5 [Hattic] *ta-al-wi-i-it*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 41:86–7 [1947]; Schuster, *Bilinguen* 68–9, 104–5), ^{GIŠ}*hu-in-pa-an* (XXXIII 36 III 4; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 74), gen. sg. *hu-im-pa-as* (V 6 IV 4

waskuyēs ŠA MUN *ŠA* GIŠ.RÍN *ZIPANITI huimpas* 'deficiencies of salt and of h. of scales [scale-beam, vel sim.?]'), abl. sg. *hu-im-pa-az* (*KBo* XXIV 45 Vs. 22 *namma* É DINGIR-*LIM ser katta* ^{GIŠ}*huimpaz hurnuwanzi* 'further they spray the temple top to bottom from the h.'; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:105 [1983]; XXIV 93 III 27]^{GIŠ}*huimpaz hurnuwan*[-), ^{GIŠ}*hu-im-pa-za* (dupl. *HT* 40 Vs. 5), *hu-im-ma-za* (*KBo* XXIV 93 III 17–18 *namma ape* É.MEŠ *ser kat*[*ta*] ^{GIŠ}*huimmaza karipanzi* 'further they consume those houses top to bottom from the h.'; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 31–6 [1987]).

huimpant- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-im-pa-an-za* (*KBo* XXV 184 III 67]*huimpanza pedan hardu* 'let the h. hold the spot').

Wooden piece of (ceiling?) construction like e. g. ^{GIŠ}*iskissana-* 'joist', ^{GIŠ}*isparuzzi-* 'spar, rafter' (see at end of *HED* 3 addenda to *HED* 1–2, sub 424), ^{GIŠ}ÙR 'roofbeam', ^{GIŠ}*hittassa* (*KUB* II 2 III 8). Laroche (*Bi. Or.* 11:123 [1954]) compared Luw. *hum(ma)ti-* (*Dict. louv.* 48) which he later (*RHA* 15:23–4 [1957]) equated with Hier. *humati* 'base, stand, pedestal' (Meriggi, *HHG* 216). Cf. also *humma-* (s. v.).

huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless' (vel sim.), acc. sg. c. *hu-i-pí-in* and nom. pl. c. *hu-i-pí-i*[*-e-es*?] (*KBo* XXIII 57 IV 15–20 *ANA* KUR.KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ma idālauwas* [...] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*harpanalliēs huipiy*[*ēs*?] *tarpīn huipin piskī*[*ttin*?] *QADU* KUR-*ŠUNU* É.HI.A-*ŠUNU* DAM.MEŠ-*ŠU*[*NU* ...] [...]HI.A-*ŠUNU* A.ŠÀ.HI.A-*ŠUNU* ^{GIŠ}ŠAR.GEŠTIN[*-ŠUNU*] [*harn*]*inkūwanzi* 'to the evil enemy lands may you ruthless adversaries dish out ruthless fortune, to destroy along with their land their houses, their wives, ..., their ..., their fields, and their vineyards'.

huipayat- (c.) 'ruthlessness, cruelty', acc. sg. *hu-i-pa-ya-ta-an* (*KUB* XII 58 II 33–35 *idalu papratar alwanzatar āstayaratar* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as karpin aggantas hatugatar* DUMU-*lannas huipayatan n-at arha tarna* 'evil defilement, sorcery, trickery, wrath of the gods, terror of the dead, the cruelty of mankind, banish them!'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14, 87–8), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-i-pa-ya-ti* (XXXVI 83 I 18; cf. ibid. 17 *alwanzanni hullanzanni* 'for sorcery [and] infliction', ibid. 19 *ha-tu-ga-an-ni* 'for terror'), *hu-u-i-pa-*[(886/u, 4). Cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 31.

The scriptio facilior (non-gemination of *-t-*) is unusual in an abstract noun of this type but does not invalidate the formation,

nor is a relationship to *huwap(p)-* ruled out a priori (pace Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:254). In view of the Luwoid forms in the paradigms of abstract nouns like *irhat(t)-* (*HED* 1–2:130) it is conceivable that *huipi-* is a dialectal cognate of Hitt. *huwappa-* 'evil', in a manner reminiscent of Hitt. *idalu-* : Luw. *adduwali-* 'bad, evil'.

Cf. *huh(h)upa-*.

hul(a)- 'wind, twist, twine', attested in derivatives:

River name ^{ID}*Hūlanna-* (*KUB* XXVI 71 I 12; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 33–4), ^{ID}*Hulana-* (XXVI 43 Vs. 31) = ^{ID}SÍG-*na* (XXVI 50 Vs. 25), ^{ID}SÍG (e. g. XIX 10 I 9), by a kind of rebus association with the homophone *hulana-* (SÍG) 'wool' (q. v.); earlier erroneously interpreted as SIG_7 'yellow, green', thus 'Green River' (e. g. E. Forrer, *SPAW* 1919:1039; Götze, *Hattusilis* 21); ^{ID}*Hulaya-* (*KBo* IX 99, 3), ^{ID}*Hūlaya-* (e. g. IV 10 Vs. passim; 299/1986 I–III passim; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 10–22, 46, 93), apparently referring to the "meandering" nature of many Anatolian rivers (cf. Rosenkranz, *BzN* N.F. 1:131 [1966]); toponym *Hūlassa-* (cf. Laroche, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* 2:3 [1957]). Cf. Ertem, *Coğrafya* 50.

hulali- (n.) 'wrap; distaff', nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*hu-la-li* (see below sub *hulaliya-*) , ^{GIŠ}*hu-u-la-li* (e. g. *KUB* 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 28; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]; *KUB* XXIX 1 II 6 [context s. v. *huesa-*]), ^{GIŠ}*hu-la-a-li* (e. g. *KBo* VI 34 II 42 and 53 'distaff', coupled with *huesa-* 'spindle' [q. v.]; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 65–6); *akkantas hūlali*[(*KUB* III 94 II 21), name of an insect (lit. 'dead-wrap, winding-sheet'; cf. perhaps Akk. *nappillu* 'caterpillar; corpse', Lat. *larva*). Cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 72; Goetze, *JAOS* 65:237 (1945); *MSL* 2:112–5 (1951); N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20:118 (1962). For formation cf. *harpali-* 'heap, stack' (s. v. *harp-*).

hulaliya- 'wind around; enwrap, entwine, encircle, surround', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-la-a-li-ya-mi* (*KBo* XVII 6 III 14), *hu-la-a-li-e-mi* (XVII 3 IV 23; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 32, 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 21, 17), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-la-li-ya-az-zi* (e. g. *KUB* LIX 2 II 8 ^{GIŠ}*hulali hulaliyazzi*), *hu-la-a-li-az-zi* (*KBo* III 27 Vs. 27 MUŠ-*as hulāliazzi* 'the serpent will entwine'), *hu-u-la-li-ya-zi* (e. g. *KBo* II 3 I 5 and dupl. *KUB* XII 34 I 5), *hu-u-la-a-li-ya-zi* (XXXIV 7 III 5), *hu-u*]*-ul-la-li-ya-az-zi* (sic dupl. *KBo* XIII 15, 8), *hu-u-la-li-e-iz-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXIV 9 I 42 and 47; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5:142 [1957]), *h*]*u-la-a-li-e-z*[*i* (*KBo* XXV 100 Rs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 176),

hu-la-a-li-iz-zi (*KUB* XXXVII 223 Rs. 3 ^{LÚ}KÚR-*as* URU-*an hulālizzi* 'the enemy encircles the town'), *hu-u-la-li-zi* (1112/c + I 42; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:350 [1953]), *hu-u-la-li-iz-zi* (*KBo* IX 106 II 22; *KUB* XXXIV 16 III 5), *ha-la-li-iz-zi* (sic ibid. 3; see s.v. *hulukanni-*), *hu-u-la-a-li-iz-zi* (224/g, 2), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-la-li-ya-at-ta-ri* (*KBo* X 7 II 35), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-la-li-an-zi* (XII 131, 3; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:79), *hu-u-la-li-an-zi* (110/e Rs. 23 *-k]an* ^{SIG}*ēsri anda hūlalianzi* 'they wrap in a fleece'), *hu-u-la-li-ya-an-zi* (e.g. V I IV 8; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*; XIII 119 III 13), *hu-u-la-a-li-ya-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXIV 16 III 1), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-la-li-ya-nu-un* (XXIII 11 II 23 *ŠA*] ERÍN.MEŠ ^{LÚ}KÚR *tuzzin anda hulaliyanun* 'I encircled the army of enemy troops'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-u-la-li-it-ta-at* (*IBoT* I 36 III 54; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:196 [1966]; Neu, *Interpretation* 59), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-la-li-ya-at-ti* (sic *VBoT* 111 III 11; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5:146 [1957]); partic. *hulaliyant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-la-li-ya-an-za* (see s.v. *hurpasta-*), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-la-li-an* (*KBo* XVII 3 IV 28); verbal noun *hu-u-la-li-ya-u-wa-ar* (*IBoT* I 36 III 39), *hu-la-li-es-sar* (*KUB* XXVI 71 I 14 'encirclement'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14; *KBo* X 50 II 3), dat.-loc. sg. in *KUB* XXIV 3 I 43 *nepisass-az taknass-a hūlalēsni* 'within the compass of heaven and earth' (also XXXI 127 I 14 *hu-u-la-li-es-ni*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 24, 78; Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:49, *JAOS* 65:251 [1945]); iter. *hūlāleski-*, *hūlaliski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-la-li-is-ki-iz-zi* and 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-la-a-li-es-kán-zi* (*KBo* XVII 105 II 15–16 *tug-a hāssan mahhan* [UD-*a*]*z* DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU *anda hūlaliskizz*[*i*] *ispandaz-ma-t*⟨*ta*⟩ *anda* DINGIR.MEŠ-*es hūlāleskanzi* 'even as by day man surrounds thee, hearth, by night the gods surround thee'), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-la-li-is-kán-du* (ibid. 24 'may [they] surround [thee]'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]).

hahliliya- 'wind around', 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ah-li-li-ya-at-ta* 'it is wound around' (*KBo* X 7 II 16; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 32).

hulhuliya- 'entwine, embrace (often with *anda*); wrestle, struggle (bodily; cf. French *lutter*)', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-zi* (*KUB* L 84 II 21 *anda hulhuliyazi*; ibid. 10 *nu-za-kan* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na ginuwa anda hulhuli*[- '[the queen] embraces the knees of the sun-goddess of Arinna'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-at* (XXIII 97 III 1–2 *nu-mu-za-kan* ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-*YA anda hulhuliyat* 'my dear brother embraced me'; XXVI 65 II 9–10 *n-an patalhus* 3-*šU kuwasta* [...] *hulhuliyat* 'he kissed his ankles three times ... he embraced'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-an-du* (*KBo* XVII 105 IV 6 *nu-smas-zan anda*

hulhuliandu 'let them embrace!'), *hu-ul-hu-u-li-*[(XIII 119 III 7; cf. ibid. 13 *anda hūlaliyanzi*); partic. *hulhuliyant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-an-te-es* (III 40 Vs. 12 2 LÚ.MEŠ *hulhuliyantes* 'two body-fighters'); verbal noun *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-wa-ar* (I 42 II 29, matching ibid. GÚ.GILIM and [Akk.] *mu-un-tah-zu* 'fighting' [*mahāṣu*]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 65–6; Güterbock, *MSL* 13:136 [1971]).

hulhuli(ya)-, *hulhula-* (c.?) 'wrestling' (*KITPALU*, i.e. *kitpulu* [*kapālu*]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya* (*KUB* XXV 23 I 21–22 *PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* GEŠPÚ *hulhuliya tieskanzi duskiskanzi* 'before the deity they go in for boxing [and] wrestling, they entertain'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:26 [1973]), *hu-ul-hu-li(s)-ya* (XVII 35 II 26 DINGIR-*LUM-ma-as-kan duskanzi hulhuliya tianzi* NA$_4$-*an siyanzi* 'they entertain the deity, they proceed to wrestle, they throw the stone'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 58; ibid. IV 34 -]*anzi hulhuliya tianzi*), *hu-ul-hu-la* (XLIV 42 Vs. 16 .]MEŠ *hulhula* GEŠPÚ *tianzi*), *KITPALU* (*KBo* XXIII 55 I 20–21 *nu namma-at KITPALU ti*[*anzi* 'then they proceed to wrestle'; ibid. 18 *nu* LÚ.MEŠ *KITPA*[*LU* ...] *parā tittanuanzi* 'they put on the wrestlers'; cf. Puhvel, in *The Archaeology of the Olympics* 29–30 [1988]).

Cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 78 (rectifying the erroneous connection of *hulhuliya-* with *hulla-* found in e.g. N. Van Brock, *RHA* 22:135 [1964]; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:26 [1973]; [with vacillation] Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 265; G. Dunkel, *KZ* 95:222 [1981]).

hul- reflects IE **H*$_1$*wel(-H*$_2$*)-* 'wind, twist', seen in Skt. *válati*, Arm. *gelum*, Gk. *εἰλέω*, etc. (*IEW* 1140–3; cf. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:164 [1928]).

For Armenian comparisons see T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:227 (1961), who opposed G. Kapancjan's adduction of Arm. *xul* 'thread', and N. A. Mkrtčyan's (*LHG* 1970:7, 68–9) assumption of a borrowing from Hittite in Arm. *hol* 'spinning top', *holel* 'turn'. Kapancjan's comparison of Arm. *(xol)xolel* 'split, crush' with *hulhuliya-* was inconclusively discussed further by Mkrtčyan in *Acta Antiqua* 22:318 (1974), *Drevnij Vostok* 2:76–85 (1976).

Cf. *hu(wa)lli(s)-*.

hulla-, hulliya- 'smash, quash, defeat', 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-si* (*KUB* XXXVII 223 Rs. 5 *n-an hullasi*), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-az-zi* (ibid. Vs. 3–4 ^{LÚ}KÚR LÚ-*an hullazzi* 'the enemy defeats the man'), *hu-u-ul-la-az-zi* (*KBo* VI 26 II 11 [= *Code* 2:73] *takku* DIN LUGAL *kuiski*

hūllazzi 'if someone quashes a royal verdict', besides dupl. *KUB* XXIX 32, 4]*hu-ul-li-iz-z*[*i*), *hu-u-ul-li-ya-az-zi* (*KBo* VI 26 II 12 *takku* DIN ^{LÚ}DUGUD *kuiski hūlliyazzi* SAG.DU-*ZU INAKKIZU* 'if someone quashes a dignitary's verdict, they cut off his head', besides dupl. *KUB* XXIX 32, 5 *hu-ul-li-iz-*[), *hu-ul-li-ya-az-zi* (*KBo* IV 10 Vs. 46 *nu ziladuwa kūn memian le kuiski hulliyazzi* 'in the future let no one quash this ordinance'; *KUB* XVII 28 IV 58 *mānn-a* ERÍN.MEŠ ^{LÚ}KÚR-*as hulliyazzi* 'if the enemy defeats the troops'), *hu-ul-li-e-iz-zi* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 34–35 [emended from dupl. *KUB* XXXVI 98a Vs. 5] *k*[*ī tuppi le*] *kuiski hul*[*liezzi*] *kuis-at hulli*[*zzi*] 'let no one quash this tablet; who[ever] quashes it ...'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 76), *hu-ul-li-iz-zi* (*IBoT* III 131, 5 *t*]*uppi hullizz*[*i*; *KUB* XL 54 Rs. 2 *kuis-at hullizzi*; XXXIV 53 Rs. 8–9 *kinun-a-wa-smas kuit wekmi* [...] *le kuiski hullizzi* 'what I now demand of you, let no one quash'), *hu-ul-li-zi* (*KBo* XX 82 II 27), *hu-ul-la-i* (VI 28 Rs. 29 *kuis-ma-an hullai* 'but whoever quashes it'; *KUB* XXXI 59 III 26 *hullai-ma*), *hu-ul-la-a-i* (*KBo* VI 29 III 40–42 *kuis-ma* ... ^{LÚ}SANGA-*UTTA ŠA* ^{D}[*IŠTAR*] ^{URU}*Samuha hullāi* 'but who[ever] quashes the priesthood of Ištar of Samuha'; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 50; *KUB* XXVI 50 Rs. 8–9 *kuis-ma AMAT Taba*[*rna* ...] *hullāi* 'but who[ever] quashes the king's ordinance'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:36 [1974]), acephalic 2 pl. pres. act. *hu*]*-ul-la-at-te-ni* (unless the near-synonym *sullatteni* 'dispute, fight'; XXVI 34 Rs. 5 *le h*]*ullatteni* 'do not quash!' matching *KBo* I 1 II 23 [Akk.] *lā tašallaṭa* 'do not split!' [*šalāṭu*]; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 6:369 [1969]; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 76; equally ambiguous XVI 98 I 6 *-u*]*llatteni*), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-an-zi* (*KUB* XVII 21 IV 18–19 *nu ŠA* ^{D}IM *linkiyas* ^{NA_4}KIŠIB *arha hullanzi* 'they smash the seal of the storm-god of swearing'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 160; XXXV 148 IV 7; *KBo* VI 3 II 12 [= *Code* 1:29] *appizzin-at attas annas hullanzi* 'subsequently the parents quash it' [viz. a marital compact]), *hu-u-ul-la-an-zi* (dupl. VI 5 III 7–8 EGIR-*zi*[-...] *attas annas hūllanzi*), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-ul-la-an-ta-ri* (*KUB* XVII 28 IV 45 *mān* ERÍN.MEŠ *IŠTU* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hullantari* 'if the troops are defeated by the enemy'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-la-nu-un* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 11 *h*]*ullanzan hullanun* 'I inflicted a defeat' [figura etymologica]; ibid. 15 *hullanun*[; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10; II 5 II 10–11 *nu-mu* DINGIR.MEŠ *piran huuier nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hullanun n-an-kan kuenun* 'the gods furthered me, I defeated the enemy, and I slew him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 182; V 8 III 29–31 *nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hullanun n-an-kan INA* $^{HUR.SAG}$*Elluriya sarā uiyanun n-an-kan kuwaskinun* 'I defeated the enemy, chased

him up to Mt. Elluriya, and kept slaying him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KUB* XXXIII 106 IV 13–14 *āsma-an hullanun* [...] ... *n-an ītten zahheskittin namma* 'lo, I have defeated him, go and beat up on him further'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:30 [1952]; XXXI 64 III 10), *hu-ul-la-a-nu-*[*un* (XXIII 21 III 28; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:168 [1977]), *hu-ul-li-ya-nu-un* (*KBo* X 2 I 35 *n-as 2-ŠU-pat hulliyanun* 'and twice I defeated them', matching X 1 Vs. 16 [Akk.] *u 2-šu-ma tawata-šu aduk* 'and twice I brought about its defeat [= *dawida*]'; ibid. II 16 *n-an hulliy*[*anun*]; *KUB* XXIII 33, 5; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 48, 57, 88 [1965]; I 1 II 25 and dupl. *KBo* III 6 II 9 *n-an hulliyanun*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 10; *KUB* XIV 3 I 25 ^{LÚ}KÚR *hulliyanun*; cf. Sommer, *AU* 2), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-ya-at* (*KBo* II 5 + XVI 17 III 39–40 *nu* ^{I}*Aparrun QADU* 3 *LI*[*M* ERÍN.ME]Š-*ŠU* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ŠU hulliyat n-at-kan ku*[*enta* 'he defeated A. with three thousand troops [and] chariotry of his, and slew them'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:173 [1955]; XIV 3 IV 33 *nu unin* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hulliyat* 'he defeated that enemy'; dupl. *KUB* XIX 18 I 28 *nu ABU-YA* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hulliyat* 'my father defeated the enemy'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:76 [1956]; XIV 22 I 6; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:60 [1956]), *hu-u-ul-li-ya-at* (XIX 8 III 30 *n-as hūlliyat*), *hu-ul-li-i-e-it* (XIV 15 I 29 *n-an hulliyet*; cf. Götze, *AM* 38), *hu-ul-li-it* (XXXVI 99 Rs. 4 [OHitt.] *n-an namma hullit*; *KBo* III 38 Vs. 31; ibid. 15 [*hu*]*llit*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8; III 46 Vs. 25 *s-an hullit*; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; III 1 I 29 *Hurluss-a hullit* 'he defeated the Hurrians'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 18 [1984]; *KUB* XIX 11 IV 38–39 *nu* ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}*Gasg*[*an*] *hullit* 'he defeated the Gasga army'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1956]; XII 26 II 23; *KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 7–8 [OHitt.] *ù* ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}*Zalpa menahhanda uit s-an* LUGAL-*us hullit* 'the army of Z. came in confrontation, and the king defeated it'), *hu-ul-li-is* (dupl. III 38 Rs. 24 *s-an* LUGAL-*us hullis*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12, 47–8), *hu-ul-la-as* (299/1986 I 98 *nu memiyan ABU-YA-pat hullas* 'my father himself quashed the stipulation'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 14), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-la-at-ta-ti* (*KBo* III 29, 14 *hu*]*lattati* 'was defeated'; dupl. VIII 41, 4 *hu*[*lattati*), *hu-ul-la-ta-at* (*KUB* XIV 17 II 29 ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}*Mizri-wa-za arha hullatat* 'the army of Egypt was utterly defeated'), 1 pl. pret. act. *hu-ul-lu-mi-en* (XXIII 21 Vs. 29 ^{LÚ}KÚR *hullumen* 'we defeated the enemy'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:168 [1977]), *hu-ul-lu-um-me-*[(*KBo* III 15, 6), *hu-u-ul-li-ya-u-en* (*KUB* XXIII 16 III 8–9 *nu ŠA* ^{I}*Mūwā* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*Hurlass-a tuzzi*[*n* ...] *hūlliyawen* 'we defeated the army of M.

and the Hurrians'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:162 [1977]), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-e-ir* (*KBo* III 16 Rs. 1–4 *hante]zzi palsi* 19-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ *pehutenun* [*s*]-*an hullier tān* 12-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ *pehutenun* [*s*]-*an namma hullier* 3-*na* 6-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ [*p*]*ehutenun s-an namma hullier* 'the first time I dispatched nineteen infantry, and they defeated it; secondly I dispatched twelve infantry, and they also defeated it; thirdly I dispatched six infantry, and they also defeated it'), *hu-ul-li-ir* (III 38 Vs. 32; III 18 Rs. 8]-*an namma hullir*; *KUB* XXXI 124 II 12 *nu sumenzan ŠA* DINGIR.MEŠ ALAM.MEŠ *arha hullir* 'they have smashed your, the gods', icons'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 156), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ul-la-ad-du* (XXXV 148 IV 8), 3 sg. imp. midd. *hu-la-da-ru* (*KBo* III 29, 15 and dupl. VIII 41, 5 'shall be defeated'); partic. *hullant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-la-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXIV 8 II 18 *mān-wa* ^{LÚ}ERÍN.MEŠ *nikku kuwapiki hullantes* 'or whether troops have been somewhere defeated'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 8); verbal noun *hullatar* (n.) 'smashingness, infliction', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-tar* (XXIX 1 II 36–37 *mihuntatar-se-kan dās mayatatar-ma-ssi* EGIR-*pa pais hullatar-ma-ssi* EGIR-*pa pāis* 'old age he has taken from him, but prime of life he has given back to him, smashingness he has given back to him'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:30 [1947]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:154 [1982]), *hu-ul-la-a-tar* (*KBo* XXI 8 III 15 *alwanzatar hullātar* 'sorcery [and] infliction'; par. *KUB* XXIV 10 III 26 HU]L *hūllanzatar* HUL UH$_4$-*tar* 'evil infliction [and] evil sorcery'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46); verbal noun *hullumar* (n.) 'defeat', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-ul-lu-mar* (*KBo* XIV 4 I 28 *mahhan ABU-YA ŠA* ^{I}*Himu*-D]INGIR-*LIM hūllumar* [*istamasta*] 'when my father heard of the defeat of Himuilis'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:80 [1956]); iter. *hulliski-*, 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-is-ki-nu-un* (IV 4 III 59–60 LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Azzi-ma* ^{D}UTU-*Šī kuit karū hulliskinun* 'because I the king had earlier defeated the men of A.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 130); supine *hu-ul-li-is-ki-u-wa-an* (III 6 II 25 *nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR *hulliskiuwan tiyer* 'they set out to defeat the enemy'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12).

hullanza- (c.) 'defeat', acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 11 *h*]*ullanzan hullanun* 'I inflicted a defeat' [quoted above]).

hullanzai- (c.) 'infliction, defeat', nom. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-is* (*KUB* XII 39, 5–6 HU]L-*lu papratar alwanzatar* [*lingai*]*s hullanzais* 'evil defilement, sorcery, perjury, and infliction'; *KBo* III 1 II 19 *nu* ^{URU}*Zizzilippi hullanzais kisat* 'at Z. a defeat was sustained'), *hul-la-an-za-is* (IV 14 III 29–30 *nasma* INIM GIG *nasma-za hullanzais* DÙ-*ri*

'or a case of illness or a defeat occurs'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]), acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-in* (*KUB* XXIII 16 III 15).

hullanzatar (n.) 'infliction, defeat', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-tar* (*KUB* IX 34 IV 4 UH$_4$-*tar hullanzatar* 'sorcery [and] infliction'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 40; *IBoT* III 102 + *Bo* 3436, 5 *h*]*ullanzatar*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 50; 330/u, 11, besides ibid. 10 *alwanzatar*), *hu-u-ul-la-an-za-tar* (*KUB* XXIV 10 III 26 HU]L *hūllanzatar* HUL UH$_4$-*tar*, quoted under *hullatar* above), *hu-ul-la-a-an-za-tar* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 15–16 *paprātar lingain* [*hull*]*ānzatar* 'defilement, perjury, and infliction'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:419 [1971]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an-ni* (III 38 Vs. 14 *hu*]*llanzanni-pat* BA.UG$_6$ 'in defeat he was killed'; *KUB* XXXVI 83 I 17 *alwanzanni hullanzanni* 'for sorcery [and] infliction').

hullanzessar (n.) 'infliction', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-es-ni* (*KUB* IX 34 II 18 [*papr*]*esni* UH$_4$-*esni hullanzesni* 'for defilement, sorcery, and infliction'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 30), abl. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-es-na-az* (XXXVI 83 I 29–30 *papparan*[*naz*] [*alwanzesn*]*az hullanzesnaz*).

hullanza- is of unclear derivation. The variation with *hullanzai-* recalls *hurta(i)-* (s. v. *huwart-*) and *istagga(i)-* (*HED* 1–2: 451; cf. Weitenberg, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 293 [1979]). Noteworthy is the resemblance to **alwanza-* in the denominative derivatives *alwanzatar* (UH$_4$-*tar*) and *alwanzessar* (UH$_4$-*essar*) which are used in tandem with *hullanzatar* and *hullanzessar*, so that parallel derivations are patent (*hullatar* innovated to *hullanzatar* next to *alwanzatar*, with back-formed *hullanza-*?). Cf. Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:428 (1954); Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 38; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 77–8; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 265, *KZ* 94:56–7 (1980).

hulla- has been root-connected with *walh-* 'strike, attack' since W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:176 [1939]) and Sturtevant (*IHL* 38) to e. g. Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 45), J. Schindler (*Kratylos* 15:149 [1970]), A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüistica* 3:434 [1973]), and R. Normier (*KZ* 92:133–4 [1978]). Such a démarche, assuming **Hwel-H-* or **wel-H-*, presupposes an ad-hoc dissimilatory loss of an initial laryngeal in *walh-* or an equally unsatisfactory metathesis of laryngeal in *hull(a)-*. It may be preferable to posit two semantically similiar but formally distinct roots, **wel-(A$_1$-)* for *walh-* (cf. *walli-* 'plucked, shorn') and **H$_1$wel-A$_1^w$-* for *hulla-*. The usually alleged crop of cognates (Lat. *vellō* 'pluck, tear', *volnus* 'wound', Gk. *οὐλή* 'wound', Goth. *wilwan* 'rob', ON *valr* 'carnage', etc.: *IEW* 1144–5)

admits of attachment to either one. *hulla-* is best analyzed as $*H_1w\underline{l}$-*n-é-*A_1^w- > **hulnā-* > *hulla-*, thus not as "thematic" but rather as covertly infixed on the lines of *halla(nniya)-* (q. v.). For the outcome *hul-* of $*H_1wl$- see s. v. *hurki-*. Thus are also explained the forms *hullumen* and *hullumar* (cf. e. g. *tarnummeni* and *tarnummar* from *tarna-*) as resulting from $*H_1w\underline{l}nA_1^w$- > **hulnu-* (cf. s. v. *halluwai-* and Puhvel, *KZ* 100:241 [1987]). A particularly close cognate of *hulla-* is Gk. *ἀνᾱλίσκω* (< **ἀνα-ϝαλίσκω*) 'waste, spend' (cf. *hulliski-*), *(ϝ)ἁλίσκομαι* 'be captured, be defeated, be convicted', aorist *(ϝ)ἅλω-* < $*H_1w\underline{l}lé A_1^w$- (e. g. *Iliad* 12:172 *πρίν γ' ἠὲ κατακτάμεν ἠὲ ἁλῶναι* '[not] before either slaying or being defeated'; *Iliad* 2:374 *ἁλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε* '[city] captured and razed'; cf. the sequence *hulla- ... kuen-* in Hittite usage; with ^{LÚ}ERÍN.MEŠ ... *hullantes* 'troops defeated' cf. Arc. [*IG* 5.2:351.7] *ιμ πολε]μοι ϝαλοντοις* 'captured in war'). For *hulla-* : *hulliya-* cf. e. g. *arra-* : *arriya-* or *hatta-* : *hazziya-*.

For failed attempts (ranging from Couvreur [*Hett.* 143–4] to O. Szemerényi [*KZ* 73:73–4 (1956)] and W. Cowgill [in *Evidence for Laryngeals* 146–7 (1965)]) to connect *hulla-* with Gk. *ὄλλῡμι* 'destroy' see Tischler, *Glossar* 275; the proper cognates of *ὄλλῡμι* are *hallanniya-* and *halluwai-* (q. v.).

hulali- (n.?) (^{NA_4}NÍR), a semi-precious quartz, judging from the cognate Akk. *hulalu* probably a striped or variegated variety of chalcedony such as (sard)onyx or agate, nom.-acc. sg. (?) *hu-u-la-li* (*KUB* XLII 43 Vs. 6 ŠÀ 1-*EN* GUŠKIN ^{NA_4}*hūlali* 'including one [of] gold [and] onyx'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 111–2 [1982]), gen. sg. ^{NA_4}NÍR-*as* (*RS* 25:421 Recto 19 ^{NA_4}NÍR-*as-ma-as hamm*[*i-* matching ibid. [Akk.] *kiṣir hulali* 'crystal of onyx'; cf. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5:313, 444 [1968]; Laroche, ibid. 773, *RHA* 24:179 [1966]), *ŠA* ^{NA_4}NÍR (*HT* 1 III 12; *KUB* XXIX 4 I 9–10 and 16–17 *ŠA* KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN ... ^{NA_4}NÍR 'of silver, gold, lapis, ... onyx'; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:309 [1947]; Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 6–8), ^{NA_4}NÍR (*KBo* XVIII 176 I 9 ^{NA_4}NÍR *sū* 'onyx-filled'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 61 [1982]; XVIII 161 Vs. 1, 2, 7, 10, 14; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 103 [1982]), nom.-acc. pl. (?) *hu-u-la-la* (XV 24 II 19 ^{NA_4}*hūlala* ^{NA_4}.HI.A *hūmantes* 'onyxes [and] all stones').

Wrongly taken as an akkadogram by e. g. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:354 (1967), and N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus*

66 (1987). Akk. *hulalu* (*CAD* H 226–7; *AHW* 353) is the plausible borrowing source of *hulali-*, but ^{NA_4}NÍR-*as* clearly shows Hittite grammaticalization. Cf. A. M. Polvani, *La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti* 16–8, 148–9 (1988).

hulana- (c.) 'wool' (SÍG), acc. sg. SÍG-*an* (*KUB* XXIV 9 I 43), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-la-*[*ni* (*KBo* III 8 III 8), instr. sg. SÍG-*ni-it* (*KUB* XXIV 10 III 13; XXIV 11 III 11). Luw. nom. sg. SÍG-*la-ni-is* = **hulanis* (XXV 39 IV 6; cf. *Dict. louv.* 124). Cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 118; Laroche, *Arch. Or.* 17.2:13 (1949); Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 (1961), *Etym.* 1:182.

huliya- (c.) 'wool' (SÍG), nom. sg. UDU.HI.A-*as hu-li-ya-as* (*KBo* XI 10 II 29) = UDU.HI.A-*as* SÍG-*as* (XI 72 II 33) 'wool of sheep'. Cf. Otten, *KBo* XI, p. 4; Friedrich, *KZ* 77:257 (1961).

hulana- probably represents $*H_1w\underline{l}H_2no$- (cf. s. v. *hurki-*), as do words for 'wool' (with suffix *-A*$_2$) in other IE languages (Skt. *ūrṇā*, Avest. *varənā*, lat. *lāna*, Goth. *wulla*, Lith. *vilna*, OCS *vlŭna*; cf. Gk. *λῆνος* 'wool', Lat. *vellus* 'fleece'; *huliya-* goes back to $*H_1w\underline{l}H_2$-*y*-. Root-connection to either *hul(a)-* 'wind' or *hulla-* (cf. Lat. *vellō* 'pluck, tear') is conceivable (cf. *IEW* 1139; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 264). See also Čop, *Ling.* 6:47, 71 (1964); F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 56 (1970), *Studies in Honor of E. C. Polomé* 399 (1988); Carruba, *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante* 142–3 (1976); Peters, *Die Sprache* 33:114–5 (1987).

Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 45) suspected in *hulana-* (and *huliya-*) a Hurrian **hul(a)-* 'wool' (?), as seen in Akk. *hul(l)ānu* 'blanket or wrap of linen or wool' at Nuzi and Alalah, yet without ruling out a cognate relationship to *hulali(ya)-*.

hultai-, 3 sg. pres. iter. *hu-ul-te-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 1 II 30–31 LUGAL-*us* HUR.SAG-*i paizzi* GAL-*in* ^{D}UTU-*un karapzi* [*nu huk*]*kiskizzi hulteskizzi* 'the king goes to the mountain, raises the great sun-god, and conjures [and] officiates'[?]; cf. e. g. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:154 [1982]).

hultala-, huwantala- (< **huwaltala-*) (c.), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hu-ul-da-a-la-s(a)* (*KBo* XVII 74 I 32 ^{L}]^{LÚ}*huldālas-a* ^{É}*ha*[*lentiuaz kur*]*san dāi* 'the officiator [?] takes the shield from the palace'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), nom. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hu-wa-an-ta-lu-us* (299/1986 I 83; cf.

Otten, *Bronzetafel* 14, 41), Luwoid acc. pl. LÚ.MEŠ*hu-u-wa-da-a-la-an-zi* (*KBo* XII 53 + *KUB* XLVIII 105 Rs. 32 10 NAM.RA LÚ.MEŠ*hū-wadālanzi* 'ten deportees [and] overseers'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 7:146 [1980]). For deverbative agent-noun formation cf. e. g. *lahhiyala-* 'warrior', *tarwesgala-* 'dancer'.

For the unrelated *hultalai-* see s. v. *huwantalai-*. Improbable connections for LÚ*huldāla-* (discounting or ignoring *hultai-*) have involved inter alia Engl. *wild* (as 'huntsman': Neu, *Gewitterritual* 39–40, suggesting equation with LÚ UR.TUR 'dog-man') and Toch. B *walo* 'king' (as 'keeper'; Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 340–1 [1981]). If the meaning of *hu(wa)lt-* is 'be in charge, officiate' (which remains to be proven), an etymology might as well consider Goth. *waldan* 'be in charge' (cf. Ved. *puróhita-* 'prefect' as priestly title).

Cf. *hu(wa)ltaramma-*.

hulukan(n)i- (c.) 'coach, carriage', nom. sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-is* (e. g. *KUB* X 91 II 2–3 GIŠ*hulugannis-ma unuwanza* PANI É DINGIR-*LIM karū arta* 'the coach, decked, already stands before the temple'; *IBoT* I 36 II 23–24 *māhhan-m*[*a* ...] GIŠ*hulugannis parā iyannai* 'when the coach goes forward'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:184 [1966]; ibid. III 61 *māhhan* GIŠ*hulugannis parna-ssa paizzi* 'when the coach goes to his house'), acc. sg. GIŠ*hu-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (e. g. *KUB* II 3 V 44; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:69), *hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni-in* (ibid. III 22–24 LUGAL-*us* ANA NA$_4$.HI.A *haya hayaya kattan* GIŠ*hūlukannin arienzi* [sic, for *araizzi*] 'the king stops the coach alongside the h. h. stones'), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (e. g. dupl. *KBo* XXV 66 I 4–5 [LUGAL-*u*]*s* ANA NA$_4$.HI.A *haiya haiya* [*katta*]*n* GIŠ *hulugannin epzi* 'the king holds the coach alongside the h. h. stones'; cf. XXX 12 I 10 NA$_4$ *hāyas* NA$_4$ *hāyaya* EGIR[, and Singer, *Festival* 1:79, 2:66, 40; *KUB* LIII 3 I 18–20 *nu* DINGIR-*LIM-as* GIŠ*hulugannin* GUD.HI.A LÚ*BEL* É URU*Hanhana turizzi* 'the lord of the house of H. harnesses the oxen to the coach of the deity'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:55 [1984]; *IBoT* I 36 IV 12 *māhhan-ma* GIŠ*hulugannin wahnuwanzi* 'but when they turn the coach'; ibid. I 69 GIŠ*huluganni*[*n w*]*ahnuanzi*), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-en* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 23–24 LUGAL-*ue-mu maniyahhaen* GIŠ*hulugannien* GIŠDAG-*-iz arunaza udas* 'to me, the king, Throne has brought from the sea sway [and] coach'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-in* (e. g. *KBo*

X 24 IV 7–11 SAL.LUGAL-*ass-a* GIŠ*hūlugannin* É*halentūwa* KÁ-*as piran wahnuwanzi nu-zan* SAL.LUGAL-*as* GIŠ*hūluganniya esa* 'the queen's coach they turn in front of the palace gate, and the queen seats herself in the coach'; ibid. III 18–22 *nu* GIŠ*hūlugannin* É*katapuzni-pat manninkuwan wahnuwanzi* LUGAL-*us-kan* É*katapuznaz uizzi* 'they turn the coach close to the k.; the king comes from the k.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:18–9; X 27 V 20 GIŠ*hūlugannin*), gen. sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-na-as* (*IBoT* I 36 II 12 GIŠ*IŠTUHHA* GIŠ*hulugannass-a* GIŠ*mukar harzi* '[the page] holds the whip and the sistrum of the coach'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-lu-ka-an-ni* (e. g. *KUB* LI + LIII 14 III 18 [*nu-ss*]*an* DINGIR-*LAM āppa* GIŠ*hulukanni titnuanzi* 'they put the deity back in the coach'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:43 [1984]), *hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni* (e. g. II 3 V 33]GIŠ*hūlukanni ēszi*), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni* (e. g. *KBo* XI 32 IV 5–6 *n-as-za-kan* GIŠ*huluganni esari* 'he takes his seat in the coach'; *KUB* X 61 II 5 *t-as-san* GIŠ*huluganni es*[*ari*; X 17 I 21 GIŠ*huluganni esa*; X 91 II 4 *n-at-kan* GIŠ*huluganni hamankanzi* 'they tie them to the coach'; ibid. 6 *n-an-kan* GIŠ*huluganni asesanzi* 'they seat it [viz. the deity] in the coach'; *IBoT* I 36 II 42–43 *n-as paizzi* TA GIŠ*huluganni* GIŠDUBBIN GÙB-*laz tiyazzi* 'he goes and steps to the left of the coach wheel'; ibid. 13–14 *n-as paizzi* GIŠ*huluganni* LÚ ŠUKUR [...] GIŠDUBBIN *kattan tiyazzi* 'he the spearman goes to the coach [and] steps alongside the wheel'; ibid. 26 GIŠ*huluganni* GIŠDUBBIN G[ÙB-*l*]*i*; ibid. 38 *ANA* GIŠ*huluganni-ma-at* EGIR-*pa* 1-*kan iyanta* 'but [they] walk singly behind the coach'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni* (e. g. *IBoT* III 1, 9 GIŠ*hūluganni pittalwati* 'in a light chariot'; *KUB* X 88 VI 6 GIŠ*hūluganni esa*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 270), *hu-lu-ka-an-ni-ya* (*KBo* XVII 15 Vs. 19–20 LUGAL-*uss-a* ... GIŠ*hulukanniya esa* 'the king seats himself in the carriage'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:82 [1976]; Neu, *Altheth.* 74), *hu-lu-ga-ni-ya* (XXX 54 I 20 *nu-za-kan* LUGAL-*us* GIŠ*huluganiya esa n-as* URU*Arinna paizzi* 'the king seats himself in the carriage and goes to Arinna'), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ya* (e. g. ibid. 16–17 LUGAL-*us* GIŠ*huluganniya esa t-as* URU*Arinna iyannai*; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:178–9 [1986]; *KUB* X 21 I 7–8 LUGAL-*us-san* GIŠ*huluganniya esa*; *KBo* XX 18 + XXV 65 Rs. 7 *n-as-san* GIŠ*huluganniya e*[*sa*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 140; *IBoT* I 36 II 22 GIŠ*huluganniya piran* 'before the coach'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-ya* (*KBo* XXI 78 III 13 GIŠ*huluganniya e*[*sa*; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 145; Alp, *Beiträge* 132), instr. sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (e. g. XIX 128 I 2–5 LUGAL-*us uizzi nassu* GIŠGIGIR-*it nasma* GIŠ*hulugannit* INA É-*TIM* GAL *paizzi* 'the king comes [and] goes to the palace either by chariot

or by coach'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 20–2), *hu-u-lu-ga-ni-it* (XI 73 Vs. 21–23 *t-asta* ^{GIŠ}*hūluganit* [*s*]*arā* ^{É}*hilamni* [*pa*]*izzi* 'by carriage he goes up to the portal'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (X 20 I 22–23 *n-as*[*t*]*a* ^{URU}*Hattusi sarā* ^{GIŠ}*hūluganit paizzi* 'he goes up to Hattusas by coach', besides ibid. 16–17 *n-asta* LUGAL-*us* ^{URU}*Tahurpi sarā* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*az paizzi* 'the king goes up to T. by chariot'), abl. sg. *hu-lu-ga-an-na-az* (e. g. dupl. *KUB* XXX 39 Vs. 16 LUGAL]-*us* ^{URU} *Hattusi sarā* ^{GIŠ}*hulugannaz paizzi*, besides ibid. 12–13 LUGAL-*us* ^{URU}*Tahurpi* [...] ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*it paizzi*; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80 [1960]; X 21 I 10–11 LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*hulugannaz katta uizzi* 'the king descends from the coach'), *ha-lu-ga-an-na-az* (sic *KBo* XXII 181 Rs. 4 LUGAL-*u*]*s* ^{GIŠ}*haluganna*[*z*), *hu-lu-ga-na-az* (*IBoT* I 36 IV 18 *māhhan-ma-kan* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*huluganaz katta tiyezzi* 'but when the king steps down from the coach'; *KUB* X 17 I 21–23 *ta-kkan* LUGAL-*us* ^{URU}*Hattusi* ^{GIŠ}*huluganaz* [*p*]*arā uizzi* 'at Hattusas the king emerges from the coach'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az* (XX 96 III 19–21 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{GIŠ}*hūlugannaz katta uizzi t-as-kan* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*ni tiyazi t-as* ^{URU}*Ankuwas paizzi* 'the king descends from the coach and mounts the chariot and goes to A.'), *hu-lu-ka-a-an-na-az* (*IBoT* I 36 III 71 *nu* ^{GIŠ}*hulukānnaz* ^{É}*halitūwas paizzi* 'by coach he goes to the residence'), ^{GIŠ}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-za* (*KUB* XI 32 V 10), ^{GIŠ}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-az-za* (ibid. IV 18), *hu-lu-ga-a-an-na-za* (*IBoT* I 36 III 63 *mān* ^{GIŠ}*hulugānnaza-ma nēari* 'as he turns from the coach'), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ya-az* (*KUB* IX 3 I 14–15 *n-an* ^{GIŠ}*huluganniyaz katta tittanuanzi* 'they set it [viz. the deity] down from the coach'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:60 [1984]), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (*KBo* XVII 11 I 12 LU]GAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*hu-luga*[*nnia*]*z katta u*[*izzi*]; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (*KUB* LVIII 40 V 3–5 *n-asta* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*hū-luganniaz katta uizzi*; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:177 [1986]).

For the seeming intrusion of *a*-stem forms (*hulugannas*, *hulugan-naz*) cf. e. g. *harsi-* and Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:246.

hulukanni- is distinct from both ^{GIŠ}GIGIR 'chariot' and ^{GIŠ}MAR. GÍD.DA = *tiyarit-* 'wagon' (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 30; J. Danmanville, *RA* 62:61 [1968]). The Anatolian antiquity of the word is evident from the OHitt. attestations and OAss. (Kültepe) *hu/ilukanu(m)* (pl. *hu-la-kà-ni*, gen. sg. *hi-lu-kà-ni-im*; see e. g. *CAD* H 232; *AHW* 354; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:138; K. Balkan, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 49 [1979]).

Neither knee-jerk assumptions of "foreign" origin (Tischler, *Glos-sar* 283) nor root-etymologies like IE **wolg-* (Otten, *Festritual* 22)

make much sense. In view of other instances of possible *hu-* : *ha-* vacillation (*hupallas-* : *hapallasai-*, *hupuwai-* : *hapuwai-*, *hulālizzi* : *halalizzi*, *hurniya-* : *harniya-*, *hatk-* : *hutk-*, *har/hur* sign values), much speaks for Laroche's derivation (*Hommages à G. Dumézil* 124–5 [1960]) of *hulukan(n)i-* from *haluka-* 'message', in the manner of *armanni-* 'crescent' from *arma-* 'moon' or *sakuni-* 'fountain' from *sakui-* 'eye' (unlike the Hurroid *sankunni-* 'priest' or *altanni-* 'source'), thus literally 'postal coach, stagecoach', a light dispatch conveyance for swiftly covering distances (cf. French *diligence*), as opposed to war machinery and load-carriers (cf. *haluganili* 'in messenger-fashion').

G. Kapancjan's comparison of *hulukanni-* with Arm. *hulkahar* 'highwayman' (literally 'cart-striker'; cf. Weitenberg, *Kratylos* 24:73 [1979]) was fruitlessly repeated by T. Schultheiss (*KZ* 77:225 [1961]) and J. Greppin (*Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 3:70 [1982]).

humma- (c.) 'stable, stall, sty' (vel sim.), nom. sg. *hu-um-ma-as* (*KBo* I 36 + XXVI 24 IV 7 [ŠA]H-*as hummas* 'pigsty'; cf. *MSL* 17:120 [1985]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-um-mi* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 42, with traces of possible gloss-wedges), *hu-u-um-ma* (*KBo* III 6 III 56–57 *n-an-kan* INA ^{URU}*Samuha* ŠAH GIM-*an hūmma* [with gloss-wedge] EGIR-*pa istappas* 'she shut him up at S. like a pig in a sty'; dupl. *KUB* I 8 IV 12]*hūmma* EGIR-*pa istappas*; dupl. I 1 IV 26 ŠAH GIM-*an hu-*[[with gloss-wedges]; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24).

Perhaps akin to Luw. *hum(ma)ti-* which Meriggi hesitantly rendered by 'stable' (*Athenaeum* N.S. 35:71–2 [1957]) but which Laroche interpreted as 'base, stand' (see s. v. *huimpa-*). G. A. Kapancjan (*Chetto-Armeniaca* 45 [1931–3], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:338–9 [1956]) compared Arm. *gom* 'stable'.

hūmant- 'every, each, both, all, total, (as a) whole, entire', **nom. sg. c.** *hu-u-ma-an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XIX 69 I 6–7 *n*]-*at hūmanza is*[*tamasdu* 'let everyone hear it', besides dupl. I 1 I 6 and *KBo* III 6 I 5–6 *n-at* DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*as istamasdu* 'let [every]man hear it'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; III 21 II 21 *dandukis hūmanza* 'every mortal'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; V 3 I 9 *kūn-wa-za hūmanza sāgdu* 'let everyone acknowledge him!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106; *KUB* XXIV 3 II 28 *nu hūmanza sulliet* 'each [of the two] has

been quarrelsome'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28; XXXVI 110 Rs. 9 and 12 *utniyanza hūmanza* 'the whole land'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 227–8; *KBo* III 4 IV 36 *nu* KUR-*eanza hūmanza* URU.DIDLI.HI.A BÀD EGIR-*pa eppir* 'the whole country withdrew to the fortress towns'; cf. Götze, *AM* 132; IV 10 Vs. 41 *n-as-kan* ^{URU}*Hattusas hūmanza hantiyait* 'all Hattusas cultivated them' [viz. the deities]; V 3 I 6–7 ^{URU}*Hatti hūmanza* KUR ^{URU}[*Hay*]*asa* KUR.KUR.MEŠ-*ya hūmantes* 'all Hatti, Hayasa, and all the lands'; V 6 I 14 ^{URU}*Gasgas-ma hūmanza kuit taksūl ēsta* 'because all Gasga was at peace'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]; *KUB* XIX 11 IV 37 ERÍN.MEŠ ^{URU}*Gasgas hūmanza* 'all the Gasga army'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1966]; *KBo* VI 4 IV 22 *takku-ssi* A.ŠÀ.HI.A-*us hūmanza pianza* 'if the field [is] given to him entire' [as opposed to ibid. 23 *tepu* 'a small portion'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 58; XI 45 III 26 *arkanza-ma hūmanza kittari* 'marked off, it [viz. the animal carcass] is stored in one piece'), acc. sg. c. *hu-u-ma-an-ta-an* (e. g. *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 47 *n-asta* ERÍN.MEŠ ^{I}*Madduwatta* [*h*]*ūmantan-pat arha haspir* 'they disposed of M.'s entire army'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 12; *HT* 1 I 48 MÁŠ.GAL-*kan hūmantan pittalwan markanzi* 'they cut up all the rest of the he-goat' [lit. 'the whole basic he-goat', viz. minus the entrails and heart that were cooked ibid. 47]; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]; *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 35 *IŠTU RET* UDU *lapanann-a hūmantan* 'with sheep pasture, and every grazing ground'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (e. g. 299/1986 II 10–11 Ú.SAL *RET* UDU *lapanan* [with gloss-wedges] *hūmandan likin* [with gloss-wedges] *hūmandan* 'meadow, sheep pasture, every grazing ground, every salt lick [?]'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16, 46–7; *KBo* II I 15–16 *nu-kan* NAM.RA.HI.A *kuis* GUD UDU [...] *n-an hūmandan epta* 'captives and any cattle or sheep, he took every single one'; cf. Götze, *AM* 180; *KUB* XIX 49 I 53–54 *nu* NAM.RA.MEŠ *hūmandan anda ep* 'round up the captives, every one!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:8; I 1 I 63–64 *nu-mu-kan* KARAŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti hūmandan* ŠU-*i dāis* 'he placed the entire army [and] chariotry of Hatti in my hand'; *KBo* VI 4 IV 30–31 *takku* LÚ ^{GIŠ}TUKUL A.ŠÀ-*ŠU hūmandan kuiski wāsi* 'if anyone buys the entire field of a laborer'; similarly ibid. 15; V 8 III 21 *nu ispandan hūmandan iyahhat* 'I marched all night'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KBo* XIX 76 + *KUB* XIV 20 I 25 *nu* GE_6-*an hūmandan hēuwaneskit* 'it rained all night'; *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 22 GE_6-*an hūmandan kittari* 'he lies the whole night'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; I 13 III 60 UD.KAM-*an hūmandan* 'all day'; ibid. I 56, II 10 and 58, III 46, *KBo* III 2 Vs. 12 GE_6-*an hūmandan*;

ibid. Vs. 20, 63, Rs. 55 GE_6-*an hūman* [sic], ibid. Vs. 46 GE_6-*an hūmanda* [sic], ibid. Rs. 31 UD.KAM-*an hūman* [sic]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 329–30 and passim), **nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut.** *hu-u-ma-an* (e. g. *KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 12 *hūman kuis harzi natta ūk* 'who holds all but I?'; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 175 [1987]; *KBo* V 3 II 21 *ANA* ^{D}UTU-*Šī-ma-wa hūman* SIG_5-*in ēsdu* 'may all be well with his majesty'; V 13 II 28 *ITTI* ^{D}UTU-*Šī-ma hūman* SIG_5-*in* 'all [is] well with his majesty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124; *VBoT* 1, 7 *duqq-a katta hūman* SIG_5-*in ēstu* 'with you also may all be well'; ibid. 6 and 10; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:334 [1956]; *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 17 *nu-wa-mu hūman hatreski* 'write me everything!'; 1142/z + *KUB* XXV 31 Vs. 8 *nu hūman* GIBIL-*an pianzi* 'they give everything new'; cf. Haas, *ZA* 78:288 [1988]; *KBo* V 8 III 32–33 ERÍN.MEŠ-*ma-ssi-kan* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *hūman arha dahhun* 'but I took away his troops, chariotry, everything'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; XXIII 23 Vs. 63 *nu* É-*ir* É.[Š]À.HI.A ^{É}*hilan hūman suppiahhi* 'she cleanses the house, the inner chambers, the yard, everything'; *KUB* XIII 4 I 60 *IŠTU* NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN *INA* É DINGIR-*LIM hūman sarā pe hartin* 'of bread, beer, and wine in the temple offer up everything!'; ibid. 63 *hūman-pat* DINGIR-*LIM-ni* EGIR-*pa maniyahtin* 'consign everything to the deity!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:370 [1934]; XV 31 I 12 *kī hūman handānzi* 'all this they arrange'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; *KBo* XV 16 II 8, *KUB* VII 53 I 24, XII 58 I 27 *kī hūman*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6, 8; XXIX 1 IV 26 *ke hūman* 'all these things'; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:160 [1982]; XXXII 123 II 32 *kī halkuēssar hūman* 'this [is] all the supply'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308; XIV 1 Vs. 48 *apāt-ma-kan hūman a*[*rha h*]*aspir-pat* 'them they did away with to the last man'; similarly ibid. 52 and 57; *KBo* III 4 I 37 KUR ^{URU}*Gasga hūman* 'all Gasga-land'; ibid. III 36 KUR ^{URU}*Arzauwa hūman*; XIV 1 Rs. 20 *nu-za* KUR ^{URU}*Arzauwa hūman dās* 'he took the whole country of A.'; *KBo* IV 4 IV 7–8 *nu-kan* KUR-*e kuit hūman sarā pā*[*n*] *ēsta* 'whereas all the country had gone up' [viz. to the mountains]; cf. Götze, *AM* 134; 299/1986 III 43–44 KUR-*TUM-ya-ssi kuit hūman n-at-si hūman-pat kuit hantezzius aurius* 'as for the land [being] his in its entirety, and [being] altogether his frontier zone'; *KUB* XVII 10 I 22 *hūman āssu* 'all well-being'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 24 *hūman* GIBIL-*TIM* 'all [that is] new'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134; *KUB* XXXIII 121 II 13–14 *huuitar hūman* 'all wildlife'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; *KBo* X 45 III 50 NUMUN.[HI.]A *hūman* 'all [kinds of] seeds'), *hu-ma-an* (ibid.

54 *kī human* 'all this'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:132 [1961]; V 1 III 14–16 *n-asta ANA* MUŠEN ^{UZU}ŠÀ *sarā dāi n-at-san* IZI *pessiyazi huma-ssan* EGIR-*pa ANA* ^{D}IM *dāi* 'he takes the heart from the bird and throws it in the fire; the [bird as a] whole he presents to the storm-god'; similarly ibid. 28–30, with ibid. 29 *hūma-ssan*; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* *9–10; III 7 I 15 *nu human mekki handait* 'she readied everything in quantity'; cf. Beckman, *JANES* 14:13 [1982]), gen. sg. *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXI 27 I 3 KUR-*eas hūmandas* SAL.LUGAL-*as* 'queen of the whole land'; XXIV 3 I 46 and II 47 KUR-*eas hūmandas*), *h*]*u-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (dupl. XXIV 4 Rs. 5), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (e. g. 299/1986 IV 42 *ANA* MÁŠ.LUGAL *hūmanti* 'for the whole royal family'; *KUB* I 17 III 42 *asesni-ya hūmanti* 'and to the entire congregation'; *KBo* VI 2 II 59 [= *Code* 1:50] *INA* URU.DIDLI *hūmanti* 'in each city'), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-i* (IV 4 IV 13 *n-an* ^{URU}*Hattusi hūmantī sāruui maniyahhun* 'I consigned it to all Hattusas for pillage'; *VBoT* 120 II 22 *nu-za hūmantī piran ishas-s*[*arwanza ēsdu*] 'before everyone let him be lordly'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 140), *hu-u-ma-an-te* (*KUB* XXIV 9 II 31–32 KAŠ-*ya hūmante ANA* NINDA.SIG *p*[*ir*]*an sipanti* 'and she libates with beer before every flatbread'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 36; XIII 2 IV 10 *h*]*ūmante-ya* IGI.HI.A-*wa harak* 'and have eyes for everything'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; XIII 1 IV 14 *hūmante-y*[*a*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-ya* (XXVII 1 IV 7 *kalutiya hūmantiya* 'in a circle all around'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84; *KBo* VI 6 I 31–32 [= *Code* 1:56] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GIŠ.NU.SAR *hūmantiya-pat luzzi karpiyanzi* 'gardeners undertake corvée in every case'), instr. sg. *hu-u-ma-an-te-it* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 24 and 27 *hūmantet kardit* 'wholeheartedly'), abl. sg. and pl. *hu-u-ma-an-ta-az* (VI 50, 13]NAM.RA GUD UDU *hūmantaz* 'captive, cattle, sheep altogether'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 311 [1977]; XXXI 124 I 10 *hūmantaz-pat* 'in every way'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-za* (299/1986 II 60–61 *nu apūs* URU.DIDLI.HI.A *IŠTU* A.ŠÀ A.GÀR NAM.RA *hūmantaza* ... ÌR-*anni ADDIN* '[those towns along with fieldlands [and] serfs altogether I gave in servitude ...'), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-az-zi-ya* (*KUB* XXIX 4 I 5 *nu-kan kuitman wetummanzi hūmantazziya asnuzi* 'meanwhile he is altogether done with building'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 6), *hu-u-ma-an-da-az* (e. g. XXIV 9 I 45 *hūmandaz tuiggaz* 'from the whole body', with dupl. XLI 1 I 5 NÍ.TE.MEŠ-*za hu-u-ma-da-za*; XXIV 9 I 50 *hūmandaz* ^{UZU}ÚR-*naz* 'from every limb', with dupl. XLI 1 I 9 *hu-u-ma-an-da-za* NÍ.TE.MEŠ-*za*; cf.

Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 28; XIII 4 I 46–47 *n-as*⟨*ta*⟩ *mān IŠTU* GUD.HI.A UDU.HI.A NINDA KAŠ *Ù IŠTU* GEŠTIN *hūmandaz sarā tiyanta UL ēssatteni* 'if from all the beef, mutton, bread, beer, and wine you do not prepare a serving'; XXXVI 90 Vs. 39 *hūmand*[*az* K]UR.KUR.MEŠ-*za ehu* 'from all lands, come!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 178; XII 40 II 9–10 *mahhan-ma* É.HI.A *hūmandaz zinnanzi* 'but when they finish the houses completely'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 68; *KBo* IV 6 Vs. 14 *n-as-kan hūmandaz asanuwanza* 'it [is] in every way well turned out'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 12; *KUB* V 24 I 58 *hūmandaz human* SIG$_5$-*in* 'all [is] well in every respect'; *KBo* V 3 II 22 *nu-mu-ssan hūmandaz pahsi* 'protect me always'; *KUB* XIII 4 I 37–38 *n-an-kan h*[*ūm*]*andaz harnikzi* 'and [does he not] destroy him altogether?'), *hu-u-ma-da-az* (*KUB* XIII 2 III 34–35 *nu-smas-san hūmadaz* IGI.HI.A-*wa harak* 'always keep an eye on them!'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-za* (e. g. XXX 40 I 17 *hūmandaza happesnaz* 'from every limb'; X 72 II 13–15 *kinun-a-tta kāsa hūmandaza* [EGI]R-*pa huittiyanneskimi* 'but now, lo, I draw thee back altogether'; I 1 I 46 DINGIR-*LUM-mu* GAŠAN-*YA hūmandaza-pat* ŠU-*za harta* 'my mistress deity always held me by the hand'; similarly ibid. 43, 50, 57, 58), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-ma-an-te-es* (e. g. *VBoT* 58 I 35 *nu-wa hūmantes akir* 'all died'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]; *KBo* VI 2 II 55–56 [= *Code* 1:49] *man hūmantes-pat marsēr* [*n*]*asma* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NÍ.ZU *kīsantati* 'all would be fraudulent or would become thieves'; V 6 II 6–7 *nu-ssi* KUR ^{URU}*Arz*[*iy*]*a* KUR ^{URU}*Kargamis-ya hūmantes taksulāir* 'A. and K. both made peace with him'; *KUB* XIII 3 II 20 *sumēs* BELU.MEŠ UTÚL *hūmantes* 'all of you in charge of food preparation'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47; *KBo* XV 1 I 9 EN.MEŠ-*TI-ya-ssi kattan hūmantes tiyanzi* 'and all the lords step up to him'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 112; 299/1986 II 21–22 DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU} ^{D}U-*tassa-ya-kan kuit hūmantes* ^{URU}*Hattusas hantiyait* 'whereas Hattusas in corpore cultivated the gods of Tarhuntassas'; *KUB* XXI 11 Vs. 8 ^{URU}*Gasga*HI.A *hūmantes* 'all the Gasga towns'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:14; XV 34 III 50 HUR.SAG.MEŠ *hūmantes* 'all ye mountains'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; V 3 I 57 DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA* ^{URU}*Hatti hūmantes* 'all the gods of Hatti'; XXIX 1 III 3 DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmantes*; similarly *KBo* III 4 passim; cf. Götze, *AM* 22–134; *KUB* LVI 19 I 35 DINGIR.MEŠ-*za hūmantes*; XVII 14 Vs. 9 ^{D}U.HI.A *hūmantes* 'all storm-gods'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60), *hu-u-ma-an-te-(m)es* (e. g. *KBo* IV 3 IV 27 *n-as hūmantes za*[*hhis-kittin* 'you all fight them!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:146; *KUB* XXI 1 IV 21 DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ SAL.MEŠ *hūmantes* 'male

deities, female deities all'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:80), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-is* (XXXI 113, 25 *h]ūmantis warp*[- 'all wash themselves'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 132), *hu-u-ma-an-du-us* (e. g. XXXII 123 II 36–37 *mān* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ma hūmandus katti-smi aniyanzi* 'but if all the royal sons perform along with them', besides ibid. 47–48 *mān aniūr* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ya hūmantes katti-smi tianzi* 'if all the royal sons proceed to the ritual along with them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308; V 6 II 40–41 *hūmandus-pat* SIXSÀ-*antat* 'all were determined'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 280), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-ma-an-du-us* (e. g. *KBo* XIX 128 III 10–12 *n-us-kan sippanduwanzi* ŠUM.HI.A-*ŠUNU hūmandus-pat halzai* 'he calls them all by their names to receive libations'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8; *KUB* XIII 3 II 15 *sumess-a* EN.MEŠ UTÚL *hūmandus halzihhi* 'I summon all of you in charge of food preparation'; *KBo* V 6 I 27 *n-as-za hūmandus tarahhir* 'they defeated them all'; *KUB* XIII 2 III 29–30 *nu* LÚ.MEŠ URU-*LIM hūmandus parā halzāi* 'summon forth all the men of the town!'; XXXIII 93 + III 24 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma-wa-kan hūmandus ... ishuwāu* 'let him scatter all the gods ...'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]; XIII 4 IV 23 *halkius hūmandus* 'all grain'), *hu-u-ma-an-te-es* (e. g. *KBo* III 6 IV 6–7 *n-as-za hūmantes-p*[*at* GAM-*an arha*] *zinnahhun* 'I finished them all off utterly'; *KUB* XXVII 1 IV 27 EGIR-*ŠU-ma* LUGAL-*us* DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ *hūmantes* GUB-*as* 1-*ŠU ekuzi* 'but afterwards the king standing toasts once all the gods [and] men'; IX 32 Rs. 30–31 *nu* ^{D}UTU *ŠAMĒ* ^{D}IM DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya hūmantes* 3-*ŠU ekuzi* 'the sun-god of heaven, the storm-god, and all the gods he toasts three times'; *KBo* IV 13 VI 13–15 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ... DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hatti hūmantes* DINGIR.MEŠ KUR-*TI hūmantes ... akuwanzi* 'king and queen toast all the gods of Hatti, all the gods of the land'), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-is* (*KUB* XX 59 V 2–3 *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmantī*[*s*] *kalutitti* 'he celebrates as a group all the deities'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:90 [1988], with wrong reading *hu-u-ma-an-ti-u*[*s*]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-u-ma-an-ta* (XXXII 117 Vs. 5 + XXXV 93 Vs. 10 *nu-ssan ke hūmanta* ^{GIŠ}*padda*[- 'all these into [?] a basket'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; XIV 1 Vs. 50 *āssū-ya hūmanta-pat* 'and all goods'; *IBoT* IV 337 Rs. 3 TÚL.MEŠ-*ya hūmanta* 'and all springs'; *KUB* XXXIII 112 IV 5; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:35 [1968]), *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (XXXII 123 II 41–42 *nu hūmanti arha sarranzi* 'they separate all' [viz. the various supplies just listed]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308), *hu-u-ma-an-da* (e. g. *VBoT* 1, 25–26 *istamassun zinnuk hūmanda* 'have I heard everything at last?'; *KUB* XXXIII 67 I 8 *hūmanda anda ishuw*[*āi* 'all [of them]

she pours in'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72; *KBo* XVII 3 IV 16–17 *kē-ssan hūmanda* [*pa*]*ttanī tēhhe* 'all these [viz. tied *harsār* 'heads' of cereals] I put in a basket'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 17; *KUB* XIX 49 I 58–59 *nu mān kī* INIM.MEŠ *hūmanda iyasi* 'if you do all these things'; XLIII 64, 6 *AWATE*.MEŠ *hūmanda* 'all words'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 66; XII 58 III 2 NÍ.TE *hūmanda* 'all limbs'; *KBo* X 23 III 9–10 *huuitār hūmanda* 'all beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; *KUB* XXXIII 113 II 23 *hūmanda AŠRI*.HI.A *irhāizzi* 'tours all places'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:159 [1965]; *KBo* III 22 Vs. 38 *utnē hūmanda* 'all lands'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12; X 2 I 25 *nu-mu* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *hūmanda menahhanda kururiahhir* matching X 1 Vs. 12 [Akk.] KUR.HI.A *kalu-šunu itti-ya ittakru* 'all the lands became hostile to me'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 77 [1965]; XXII 11 I 8 KUR.KUR.HI.A *hūmanda*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 206; *KUB* XV 31 I 40 KUR.KUR.MEŠ *hūmanda*; *KBo* V 8 I 33 KUR.KUR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Gasga-ya hūmanda* 'all the Gasga lands'; cf. Götze, *AM* 150), gen. pl. *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (X 31 IV 29–31 *hūmandan* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*hāpiyan unuwashus-(s)mus* 'the ornaments of all the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:105), *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e. g. III 7 II 21 *hūmandas han*[*tezzis* 'first of all'; *KUB* I 1 I 11 *nu-za hūmandas-pat* EGIR-*izzis* DUMU-*as esun* 'I was of all the youngest child'; XIII 4 IV 78 *ŠA* LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR-*LIM hūmandas* 'of all the men of the house of the deity'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 I 2, 7, 43, 49, 51, 55 *hūmandās hūrdiyas uddanī* 'in the matter of all curses'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118, 120 [with misprints]), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-ma-an-ta-as* (*IBoT* III 148 III 20 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmantas* 'to all deities'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222; *KUB* LI 74 Rs. 24]*hūmantas sipan*[- 'libate to all' [?]), *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e. g. *KBo* V 6 I 24 *n-at hūmandas ANA* BÀD.KARAŠ MÈ-*ya panzi* 'they went for battle to all the army forts'; *KUB* IV 1 I 3 and 6 DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas hūmandas* 'to all deities'; ibid. 28 and 31 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandas*; ibid. 7 *ANA* SAG.HUR.HI.A [sic] ÍD.MEŠ *hūmandas* 'to all mountains [and] rivers'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 168; XV 32 IV 34 *hūmandas* HUR.SAG.MEŠ-[*as*] 'to all mountains'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 166), *hu-ma-an-da-as* (IX 32 Rs. 25–26 3 UDU-*ma-kan humandas* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as sipandanzi* 'but three sheep they sacrifice to all the deities'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (e. g. *KBo* V 4 Rs. 12 *hūmandās kūrur asandu n-as hūmante(m)es taksan zahhiskittin* 'let them be hostile to all [of you], and you all fight them together!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:62; 1112/c + II 36–37 SAG.HI.A-*as-(s)mas tuiggas*

hūmandās tarpallis UDU GE_6 'for your heads [and] entire bodies the black sheep [is] a substitute'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354 [1953]; *KUB* XIV 10 I 20 and 23 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandās*, besides dupl. XIV 11 I 14 *hūman]das*, ibid. 16 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandas*; cf. Götze, *KlF* 206; *KBo* XIX 128 IV 8–9 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hūmandās*, besides ibid. III 5–6 DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas hūmandas*; XVII 105 II 20 *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandās*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]; ibid. III 5 *ANA* $LÚ.MEŠ_{MUŠEN}$.DÙ.HI.A-*ya-kan hūmandās ser arha* 'over all the augurs'; *KUB* XV 32 II 17–18 *nu* 1 MUŠEN *hūmandās āpiyas ... sipanti* 'he sacrifices a bird to all the pits'; dupl. XV 31 II 21; XV 32 II 23 *hūmandās āpiya[s]* 'in all the pits'; dupl. XV 31 II 27 *hūmandās āpiti*; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 21).

hūmant- is a near-synonym of *dapi(ant)-* (e.g. *KUB* I 1 IV 22 *hūmanda* matches dupl. I 8 IV 9 *dapianta*); the parallel of Lat. *omnis* vs. *tōtus* is striking, down to the fact that *dapiya-* (abl. sg. *dapidaz*) has partial pronominal declension like *tōtus* (Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 3.16.1 *totius orae maritimae*, vs. 3.8.1 *omnis orae maritimae*). Dat.-loc. sg. *hūmantiya* and abl. sg. *hūmantazziya* seem to contain the same *-(y)a* as is seen in *kuis(s)a* 'every' (*kuedaniya*, *kuezziya*). The nearly constant shape *hu-u-ma-an-t/d-* (which may have abetted *dapi[ant]-*) resembles in its *-nt-* suffix Ved. *śáśvant-* 'frequent, every, all', Gk. *παντ-*, Toch. AB *pont-* 'all' (cf. e.g. W. Petersen, *American Journal of Philology* 56:59 [1935], or Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:266), but without any etymological root relationship, despite the labored efforts of F. Mezger (*KZ* 77:82–3 [1961]) and E. Seebold (*KZ* 96:45–7 [1982/3]).

There are no visible Anatolian cognates of *hūmant-*; Laroche (*CRAI* 1974:123) adduced Lyc. *kñmēt-* 'as many as' (cf. also Carruba, *Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 193 [1979]) but wisely retracted it in *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:70 (1979). Etymology remains unclear. Little speaks for the hoary comparison with Lat. *omnis* (first in H. Holma, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33.1:54–5 [1916], subsequently bolstered by Couvreur [*Hett.* 144–6, 250] and repeated by e.g. Pedersen [*Hitt.* 165] and Kronasser [*VLFH* 41] down to F. Bader, *BSL* 77.1:118 [1982], despite the effective refutation by K. Bergsland, *RHA* 4:275 [1938]); *omnis* itself needs to be explained, most plausibly as **opnis* (in that case cognate with Hitt. *happina-* 'rich'). Equally unlikely is J. Knobloch's adduction (*Festschrift für V. Christian* 66–8 [1956], *Kratylos* 4:35 [1959]; endorsed by Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 45; Tischler, *Glossar* 284) of the Gothic hapax

iumjons managos '*ὄχλοι πολλοί*, large throngs' (*Matthew* 8:1), allegedly cognate with German *wimmeln* 'teem', which appears to be rather a variant of *hiu(h)ma* '*ὄχλος*, multitude' (thus already F. Mossé apud S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 298 [1939]; Lehmann, *GED* 208). *hūmant-* resembles in formation Skt. *tāvant-*, Lat. *tantus* 'this big'; whereas productive derivatives in Hittite have *-want-* rather than *-mant-* even after *u* (*akuwant-* 'stony' besides *masi[want]-* 'quantus, quot'), **hūmant-* is a petrifact. The nearest cognate may be Vedic *ubhá-* 'both', Indo-Iranian **u-bhá-* besides the forms for 'both' reflected by Gk. *ἄμφω*, Lat. *ambō*, Toch. A *āmpi*, OCS *oba*, Goth. *bai*, etc. **H_1u-went-* may have been a parallel formation to **H_1u-bho-* (or allomorphic **Aṃ-bho-*); in Hittite 'both' and 'all' coalesced upon the formal disappearance of the dual; the semantic specificity of 'both' was taken over by derivatives of the numeral 'two' (*2-el*) or adverbs meaning 'jointly' (*taksan*).

huni(n)k- 'batter, bash, crack', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ú-ni-ik-zi* (*KBo* VI 2 I 16 [= *Code* 1:10, OHitt.] *takku* LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*an kuiski hūnikzi t-an istarnikzi* 'if someone batters a man and makes him ailing'), *hu-u-ni-ik-zi* (dupl. VI 3 I 25; ibid. 21 [= *Code* 1:9] *takku* LÚ.ULÙ.LU SAG.DU-*ZU kuiski hūnikzi* 'if someone bashes a man's head'; dupl. VI 2 I 13]LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*as* SAG.DU-*ZU kuiski hūnikzi*; par. VI 4 I 20 *takku* LÚ-*an* SAG.DU-*an kuiski hūnikzi*), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-ni-ik-ta-ri* (V 1 I 2–4 *mān* SAL-*za harnāui ēszi nu* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *harnāuwas huniktari nasma* ^{GIŠ}KAK *duwarnattari* 'if a woman sits down on the birthing seat and the pan cracks or a peg breaks'), *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-ri* (repeated ibid. IV 37–40 with *hūniktari*; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 3*, 12*), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-at* (ibid. I 44 *nu harnāus hūniktat* 'the birthing seat cracked'), *hu-ni-ik-ta-at* (*KUB* LIX 40 Rs. 6); partic. *hūni(n)kant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ni-kán-za* 'battery victim' (*KBo* VI 2 I 15; VI 5 I 3), *hu-u-ni-in-kán-za* (VI 2 I 14; dupl. VI 3 I 22; par. VI 4 I 21); verbal noun *hu-[u-]ni-ki-is-sa-[ar]* (I 51 Rs. 15, matching ibid. [Akk.] *[ṭ]i-bi-ih-du* from *ṭabāhu* 'slaughter').

Despite a palpable semantic discrepancy, *huni(n)k-* can be construed as an infixed version of *huek-* 'slaughter'; the glossing of *hūnikissar* by Akk. *ṭibihdu* 'slaughter' would seem to strengthen the case. Favoring such derivation, while refuting H. Eichner's defense

of the connection with Lat. *vincō* (*MSS* 31:82 [1973], and in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 84 [1975]), K. Strunk (in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 241–56 [1979]; *E. Benveniste aujourd'hui* 2:158 [1984]) endorsed Čop's comparison with OPers. *vaj-* 'stick, pierce'. Yet against this derivation stands the fact that in verbs of this type the infix is a transitivizing device for an intransitive verbal stem: *hark-* 'be lost': *harnik-* 'waste, destroy'; *istark-* 'ail' : *istarnik-* 'make ill'; even *sarnik-* 'restore' presupposes a **sark-* 'be in one piece' which would better match Lat. **sarceō* (cf. *sarcina* 'bundle') than its transitive pendant *sarciō* 'repair' (cf. *iaceō* : *iaciō*). By this token *hunik-* may be cognate with Gk. *(ϝ)ἄγνῡμι* 'break', somewhat as Ved. *yunak-* 'join' (Lat. *iungō*) is matched in Greek by *ζεύγνῡμι*. The original intransitive nature of the root (*IEW* 1110) is not in doubt (cf. Gk. *[ϝ]ἄγη* '[it] broke', Toch. AB *wāk-* 'open up, burst, split, rupture'). A trace of the internal *a*-vocalism (cf. also Lat. *vāgīna* 'womb, sheath') may be glimpsed in the OHitt. spelling *hu-ú-ni-ik-* which points to **huwa-ni-k-*). The connection of *hunik-* with Gk. *ἄγνῡμι* was adumbrated by Sturtevant (*Comp. Gr.*² 126–7: 'cause to break') and embraced especially by Kronasser (*VLFH* 172; *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 126 [1957]; *Pokorny BIK* 45; *Etym.* 1:436). For the intrinsically intransitive Gk. *ϝαγ-*, Toch. *wāk-*, and lat. *vāgīna* a **huwak-* transitivized into *hu-ú-ni-ik-* is a more likely etymon than the starkly transitive Hitt. *wak-* 'bite'. Those who interpret Ved. *vájra-*, Avest. *vazra-* 'thunderbolt' as 'breaker' or 'biter', parallel to **bheyd-* 'cleave' : **bhidró-* > OE *biter* 'biting' ("bitter", viz. weapon; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:126; C. Watkins, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 327 [1986]) can still claim Hitt. *wak-* as a cognate (but *vájra-* is better connected with Ved. *vā́ja-* 'vigor' and Lat. *vegeō* 'quicken'; cf. Thor's hammer hallowing brides and reviving the dead).

huntariya- 'break wind, fart', 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-un-ta-ri-ya-it-ta* (*KUB* XVII 28 II 7–8 *ŠIPAT huwandas mān-za hāsi n-as Ū[L] huntariyaitta n-an kisan hu[kmi* 'conjuration of flatus: if [a woman] gives birth and does not pass gas, I conjure her as follows'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 60; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84, 86; wrongly ibid. 84 on II 2 *ēshar aritta*: not 'her bleeding is inhibited' but 'her blood rises' [*HED* 1–2:123]; retention of gas and hemorrhaging respectively are the medical complications at issue; cf. further XLIV 64 III 8–10

*mān-kan antuhsas paripariittari nu ke wassi*HI.A *dāi* 'if a person is flatulent [lit. blows, is bloated], he takes the following medicines'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 72; Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 49–50); verbal noun *hu-un-tar-ri-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 IV 29, matching ibid. [Akk.] *erešu* 'smell, odor'; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 20, 26; *MSL* 17:115 [1985]; evidently the verb could also refer to the olfactory aspect of the action).

huntari- (c.), acc. sg. *hu-un-ta-ri-in* (143/r, 4, besides ibid. 2 Á[MUŠEN 'eagle', ibid. 3 *artan*MUŠEN 'teal, heron' [vel sim.; *HED* 1–2:175–6]). Perhaps 'partridge', paralleling Gk. *πέρδιξ* derived from *πέρδομαι* 'fart' (cf. e. g. Frisk, *GEW* 511), or 'buzzard'.

huntarnu- 'grunt', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-un-tar-nu-uz-zi* (*KBo* XII 96 I 2 [UR.ZÍ]R-*as wappiyazi* ŠAH-*as huntarnuzzi* 'the dog barks, the pig grunts'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* 33:239, 246 [1964]). There is also the Luwoid partic. acc. pl. c. (?) ŠAH-*za hu-un-t[ar-r]i-am-ma-za* 'grunting pigs' (*KUB* IX 34 II 48; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 34, 78), seemingly from *huntariya-*. Grunting was apparently perceived as allophonic to farting.

The meaning 'fart' for *huntariya-* was suggested by Goetze apud Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary*² 52 (1936). The etymological tie-in with *huwant-* goes back to J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946, 89. The derivational variation *huntariya-* : *huntarnu-* resembles e. g. *nahsariya-* : *nahsarnu-* (cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 27:34 [1970]); at issue is whether an actual intermediate abstract noun **hu(wa)ntar-* needs to be postulated (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:441, 526) or whether there is back-formation from a **huwantariya-* paralleling e. g. *gimmantariya-* 'spend the winter' or *nikumandariya-* 'denude' (cf. H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 56 [1979]).

V. Pisani's comparison (*Paideia* 22:404 [1967]) of *huntarnu-* with Lat. *grundiō* (and English *grunt*) was abortive and would work only on a general phonesthetic level (cf. Gk. *γρῦ* as a swinish interjection, *γρύζω* 'grunt', *γρῦλος* 'piglet').

hunzinar-, a musical instrument, instr. sg. *hu-un-zi-na-ri-it* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 24 II 9–10 LÚNAR GIŠ*hunzinarit* SÌR-*RU* 'the cantor sings to the accompaniment of the h.'; cf. ibid. 20–21 LÚN[AR] GIŠ DINANNA.GAL SÌR-*RU* 'the cantor sings [to the accompaniment of] the great "Ištar-wood" '; XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 8–9 LÚ.MEŠNAR *hunzinarit* [SÌR-*RU*; similarly ibid. II 18 and 27, III 6, 13, 20, 27, 33; ibid. II 30

hu-z[i-na-ri-it]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60, 74–6, 140, who equated *hunzinarit* with *IŠTU* ^{GIŠ}SÀ.A.TAR; cf. Kümmel, *Festschrift H. Otten* 172–5 [1973]; 701/z, 6]*hunzinarit* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *parsiya* 'to the accompaniment of the h. he breaks a breadloaf'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 48).

Hattic term, also found in Hattic utterances in Hittite text (*KUB* XXVIII 110 III 14 *hu-u-un-zi-na-ar-nu* besides ibid. 15 *i-ip-pí-zi-i-na-ar*, both containing Hatt. *zinar* 'music'; perhaps corresponding to GIŠ ^{D}INANNA GAL/TUR respectively, thus 'great' [*hun-*] vs. 'small' [*ippi-*]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 13:73–4 [1955]; Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 437–8). Ivanov (in *Šulmu* 134 [1988]) identified *ippi-zinar* as 'finger instrument' with Adygh *epe-pšine* 'harp'. Probably *zinar* reflects an areal culture word, also found in Akk. *zannaru* 'lyre' (*CAD* Z 46; also used as an epithet of Ištar), and perhaps in Arm. *jnar* 'lyre' (cf. N. A. Mkrtčyan, *LHG* 1970:7, 58, 69, *Acta Antiqua* 22:316 [1974]).

hup(p)ai-, huppiya- 'interlace, entangle, ensnare, commingle, (make a) blend (of); (intrans.) mingle, mix', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-up-pí-e-mi* (*KUB* XXXII 117 Vs. 8–9 + XXXV 93 Vs. 13–14 *nu-za ūk* ^{GIŠ}*huhupalli dā[hhe] nu huppiemi* 'I take cymbals and make a blend'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; Starke, *KLTU* 41), *hu-u-up-am-mi* (XXXIII 67 IV 17–18 *kinun-za etmi ekumi* [...] *kinun-za hūpammi* 'now I shall eat [and] drink, ... now I shall mingle'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 76), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-up-pa-iz-zi* (*KBo* XXIV 115 I 20 UGULA] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM *huppaizzi*; XXV 98, 12), *hu-up-pa-a-iz-zi* (*KUB* LIX 22 III 25–29 UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM *memal huppāizzi* ^{NA_4}*huwasiyas piran* 3-*ŠU sipanti namma huppāizzi hassī* 1-*ŠU sipanti* 'the chef de cuisine blends groats; before the h. he libates thrice; again he blends; to the fireplace he libates once'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 81), *hu-u-pa-a-iz-zi* (*VBoT* 58 IV 32–33 3 DUG.HI.A GEŠTIN-*m[a] marnuan* KAŠ.LÀL 3 ^{DUG}KUKUB.HI.A *wetenas QAD[U]* GAL YÀ.DUG.GA GAL LÀL GAL YÀ.NUN *sanezzi kinanda kī hūpaī[zzi]* 'three jars of wine, beer, and mead [lit. honey-beer] [and] three jugs of water along with a cup of oil, a cup of honey, and a cup of sweet butter are assembled; he blends these'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:86 [1985]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 82), *hu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXVII 29 III 8–9 *nu* EN SISKUR 7-*ŠU hūppāizzi* [...] *sarapi nu pāsi* 'the offerant makes a blend seven times, ... he sips and swallows'; cf.

Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 142; 819/u, 4 *zíz memal hūppāizzi* 'he blends spelt groats'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-up-pa-an-zi* (*KBo* X 27 IV 32 *parā-ma anda hūppanzi* 'but further they make a blend'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-up-pí-ir* (III 34 I 3 ŠE ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÙ.DÙ *hūppir* 'they blended baker's grain'; partic. *huppant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-u-up-pa-an* (III 21 II 15–16 *liliwanza-ma-ssan ikza-tes* KUR-*e katta hūppan harzi* 'your swift net holds the land ensnared' [cf. Gk. *καθυφαίνω* 'interweave']; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Essays ... in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 105–6 [1977]; A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-up-pa-an-du-us* (*VBoT* 24 II 20 *nu kuwapi anda hūppandus* NA$_4$.HI.A *wemiyanzi* 'where they find stones commingled'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:10, 21 [1927], *Chrest.* 110); iter. *hupiski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-pí-is-kán-zi* (*KBo* XV 59 III 5–6 LÚ.MEŠ BALAG.DI *hūpiskanzi-pat* 'the harpists merely mingle'; XV 69 I 10–12 *nu* LÚ.MEŠ BALAG.DI *sāuwatar* 2-*ŠU par[anzi] namma* LÚ.MEŠ BALAG.DI *hūpiskanzi* ^{GIŠ}BALAG.DI-*ma ŪL walhanniyanzi* 'the harpists blow the horn twice; further the harpists mingle but do not strike the harp'; similarly *KUB* XL 97 III 3–4 *s]awātar* 2-*ŠU para[nzi ...] ape-ma hūpis[kanzi*; XXX 40 I 35 *hūpiskan[zi*), *hu-u-pí-es-kán-zi* (similarly *KBo* XV 58 V 4–5; *KUB* XL 97 III 16–17; wrongly 'shake [cymbal]': S. de Martino, *Hethitica IX* 8–10 [1988]).

huppa- 'blending, mixing', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-up-pí(-is-si)* (*KUB* XLIII 30 III 17 *hūppi-ssi suhhanzi* 'they pour for his mix'), *hu-u-up-pí-e(s-si)* (XXVII 29 III 7 *n-at-kan ANA* EN SISKUR *hūppe-ss[i suhhāi* 'she pours them [viz. the meat and water remnants of the sacrifice] for the offerant for his mixing'). For formation cf. e.g. *kuera-* (c.) 'parcel, field' (lit. 'cut[ting]') or *iuka-* (n.) 'yoking, yoke'.

hup(p)ala- (n.) 'net' (literally 'instrument of entangling', near-synonym of *ekt-* 'net'; cf. e.g. *ardala-* 'saw' [*HED* 1–2:175] or *appala-* 'trap' [*HED* 1–2:95]), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-up-pa-la-an* (*KUB* VIII 1 III 12–13 *arunas āssu harakzi* [... *h*]*uppalan tepauēszi* 'the sea's bounty will disappear, ... the net [i.e. netting, catch] will be small'), abl sg. *hu-u-pa-la-za* (*KBo* VI 29 II 33–35 *apūn-ma-kan* ^{D}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Samuha* GAŠAN-*YA* KU$_6$-*un* GIM-*an hūpalaza* [with gloss-wedge] EGIR-*pa istapta n-an ishiyat* 'my lady Ištar of Samuha caught him like a fish with a net, and bound him'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 50).

huppar (n.?), *hup(p)ara-, hupra-* (c.), a type of cloth, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-pa-ra-as* (*KUB* XXIX 4 I 38 1 ^{GAD}*hūparas* 1 ^{TÚG}*kuressar* SA$_5$ 'one h. [and] a length of red fabric'), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-as* (dupl. XXIX

5 I 22 1 GAD*hūpparas* 1 TÚG*kure*[-; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 10; XV 33b I 5 *h]ūppara[s)*, *hu-up-pa-ra-as* (dupl. XV 34 I 4–5 1 GAD*hupparas kitta* 'one h. is laid' [viz. in the basket]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-u-up-pár* (XXXIX 56 Vs. 5 1 GAD*hūppar*), acc. pl. c. *hu-up-ru-us* (*HT* 1 I 31 and dupl. *KUB* IX 31 I 38 *huprus kuyēs ishiyantis* matching IX 31 II 24 [Luw.] *hūpparaza kuinzi hishiyanti* 'who bind on h. [as wraps]'; cf. IX 31 I 37 *ēsha[nuwan]ta kuēs wēssanta* matching IX 31 II 23 [Luw.] *ashanuwanta kuinzi wassantari* 'who wear bloody [garments]'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 51, 53).

Despite the slow and troubled determination of the sense and integrity of the verb (lumped up with *huwapp-* [q. v.] by Tischler, *Glossar* 290, following *HW Erg.* 1:7), the plausible etymological tie-in of this group of words with Skt. *ubhnā́ti* 'lace up, constrict', Gk. *ὑφή* 'weaving, web', and English *weave* was suggested already by W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:178 [1939]) and has later cropped up sporadically (Čop, *Ling.* 5:44 [1964]; Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 46; Peters, *Untersuchungen* 72). Sturtevant's strictures (*IHL* 64) concerning *-pp-* pointing to **p* rather than **bh* are not compelling (cf. L. Zgusta, *Arch. Or.* 19:458 [1951]), especially because the basic root is **A₁ew-* (Ved. *ótum* 'to weave', *váyati* < **A₁w-éye-* 'weave'), with an extension **A₁éw-dh-* (Lith. *áusti* 'weave'), **A₁u-dh-* (Lith. *ūdis* 'web'), **A₁w-édh-* (ON *vāð* 'web'), and an alternative extension **A₁éw-bh-*, **A₁ubh-* (Skt. *ubhnā́ti*, Gk. *ὑφή*, *ὑφαίνω* 'weave'), **A₁w--ébh-* (Ved. *u-n-ap* 'confine', Skt. *úrṇā-vábhi-* 'wool-spinner, spider', OHG *weban* 'weave', Toch. A *wäp-*, B *wāp-* 'weave'); a further alternative **A₁éw-p-*, *A₁up-* is perfectly possible in the case of *hup(p)-* (cf. **step-* beside **steb[h]-* s. v. *istap[p]-* [*HED* 1–2:474]).

Cf. *hupallas-*, *hupiga-*, *huppulli-*, *huwapp-*.

hupallas- (n.) 'skull' or 'scalp', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-pal-la-as* (*KBo* III 8 III 32–34 *n-as suppis tētanus hamiktat kattan-ma-as hupallas hamiktat* 'his pure hair was tied, but beneath his h. was tied' ["acc. of respect" = partitive apposition in passive voice]; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157–8, 161–2 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; *KUB* VII 1 III 10–12 *īt-wa* SAL*hāsawan pehute nu-wa-ssi-ssan ser* UZU*hupallas huikdu n-an suppaus tētanus huikdu* 'go get the hag! Let her conjure his h. above, and let her conjure his pure hair'; ibid. 20–21 *sēr-an* UZU*hupallas lāwun n-an suppaus tetanus lāwun* 'I have untied his h. above and I have untied his pure hair'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]).

hupallasant- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-pal-la-sa-an-za* (258/u, 8)?

'Skull' (Alp, *Anatolia* 2:6–7 [1957]) and 'scalp' (Güterbock, *Oriens* 10:353, 362 [1957]) are equally possible from the context; *hapallasai-* (q. v.) seems to be a denominative derivative ('to crown' or 'to scalp') from this strange neuter *s*-stem, with *a* : *u* vacillation. Depending on exact meaning, cognates may include *huppar(a)-* 'bowl' (q. v.; cf. Lat. *testa* 'pot', but French *tête* and *boule* for 'head'), *hup(p)ala-* (n.) 'net' (q. v. s. v. *hup[p]ai-*; cf. Lat. *membrāna*), and Gk. *κύπελλον* 'goblet' (if originating on the culture-word circuit; see s. v. *huhupal-*). But it is intrinsically wrong to posit an etymological guttural stop as the unconditional source of *h-* in *hupallas-*, whether comparing Goth. *gibla* 'gable, summit' and Gk. *κεφαλή* (E. Forrer apud S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 214 [1939]; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:34 [1963]) or Gk. *κύπελλον* (V. Pisani, *Paideia* 19:282 [1964]; M. Poetto, *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere* 107:31–2 [1973]).

huppar- (n.), *huppara-* (c.) 'bowl, pot, keg', also a liquid or dry measure, nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. *hu-up-pár* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 3 *nu* 1 *huppar* KÙ.BABBAR *ŠA* ½ MA.NA 20-*ya* [*IŠ*]*TU* YÀ.DÙG.GA *suwan* 'one silver bowl of a half mina and twenty [is] filled with good oil'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 46:214–5 [1940], *Totenrituale* 66; *KBo* XXV 23 Rs. 8 ½ *huppar marnuan* 'half a keg of ale'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 61; XX 4 I 1, XX 27 Rs. 8 *huppar marnuan*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 42, 111; II 1 I 20 and II 28 1 DUG*huppar* KAŠ 'one keg of beer'; *KUB* XXV 6 V 12, XXV 17 VI 7 DUG*huppar* GEŠTIN 'bowl of wine'; *KBo* XXV 31 III 11 [OHitt.] 1 *huppar* KAŠ.GEŠTIN 1 *huppar* [*marnuan*, besides later dupl. XX 32 II 5 1 *hūpparas* KAŠ.GEŠTIN 1 *hūpparas marnuan pian[zi* 'they give a keg of wine--beer [and] a keg of ale' [nom. for acc.]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 80; XXV 83, 4 2 *huppar* GEŠTIN; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 163; XX 5 Vs. 5 2 *huppar* KAŠ.GEŠTIN 2 *hu[ppar*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 34; Singer, *Festival* 2:36; IV 9 I 16 2 *huppar* KÙ.BABBAR *ispanduzzias* GEŠTIN-*it sūwantes* [c. for n.] 'two silver bowls filled with wine of libation'), *hu-pár* (XX 33 Vs. 14 *huí]tar* KÙ.BABBAR *udanzi* 1 *hupar* GEŠTIN *ANA* UG.TUR 1 *hupar* GEŠTIN *ANA* ŠAH.NITA *lahuanzi* 'they bring

silver [likenesses of] beasts: they pour one bowl of wine for the panther [and] one bowl of wine for the boar'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53; Singer, *Festival* 2:89), *hu-up-pa* (sic *KUB* XLI 44 VI 7 *huppa* GEŠTIN, besides ibid. 9 *hu-up-pár* GEŠTIN; cf. Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 219 [1982]), *hu-up-pa-pár* (sic *KBo* XX 44 Vs. 13), *hu-u-up-pár* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 67 I 7–8 *n-asta* DUG*hūppar su[n-nai ...] hūmanda anda ishūw[āi* 'she fills the bowl ..., all things she throws in'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72; *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 23 *[nu-s]mas* NINDA*wagatan hūppar* GEŠTIN-*ya pianzi* 'they give them w.-bread and a bowl of wine'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:94; *KUB* V 7 Vs. 16 DUG*hūppar* GEŠTIN DUG *hūppar hapussūw[as* 'bowl of wine, bowl for recovering' [viz. the poured libamen]; *KBo* XXI 78 I 22 *]hūppar* GEŠTIN *pāi*; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 144; X 32 Vs. 3 *hūppar* GEŠ[TIN; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:105; *KUB* VII 53 I 22 1 *hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XLI 17 IV 8 1 DUG*hūppar* KAŠ; XXV 22 III 8 1 DUG*hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 240; XXIX 4 II 65 and dupl. XXIX 6 + II 11 DUG*hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 20; *ZA* 71:128 [1981]; I 14 II 6 2 DUG*hūppar* GEŠTIN-*ya pianzi*; *KBo* V 1 I 55 2 DUG*hūppar* GEŠTIN; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*, 40–1), *hu-u-pár* (*KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 4, vs. ibid. 3 *hu-up-pár*; *KBo* XII 123, 13), nom. sg. c. *hu-up-pa-ra-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 59 III 7–8 *kedani* GIŠ*īppias ser arta kedani-ma* GIŠ*hupparas katta kitta* 'above one [well] stands a vine, but by the other lies a [wooden] bowl'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]; Haas, *ZA* 78:297 [1988]; XXXVIII 25 I 22 1 DUG*hupparas* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 276; XXVII 15 IV 7 1 DUG*hupparas*), *hu-up-pár-as* (e. g. XXV 24 III 5 2 DUG KAŠ 1 DUG*hupparas* KAŠ 'two jugs of beer, one keg of beer'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 246), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-as* (e. g. *KBo* XX 8 IV 4 *semēnas hūpparas sūs*['bowl full of s.'; cf. ibid. 6 *semehunit sūs* 'full with s.'; Neu, *Altheth.* 70), *hu-u-up-pár-as* (e. g. II 7 Vs. 7, 13, 28 1 DUG*hūpparas* KAŠ; *KUB* VII 17, 17 1 *hūpparas*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 122), *hu-u-pár-as* (XXV 22 Rd. 5 1 DUG*hūparas* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238), acc. sg. c. *hu-up-pa-ra-an* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 1 II 10 *[ma]rnuan hupparan* UDU-*un* 'ale, a keg, a sheep'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 7; XXV 40, 4 *h]upparan* KÙ.BABBAR *ped[a-* 'bring a silver bowl'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 98; XVII 6 II 3 GEŠTIN-*an hupparan*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 19; XXV 62, 13; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 137), *hu-up-pár-an* (e. g. *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 12 *hup-paran danzi* 'they take a pot'; ibid. 22–23 *h]upparan happinas*

[dā]i 'he places the pot in the oven'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 264), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-an* (e. g. XXIX 43 III 21 [1 GIŠ*h]ūpparan* ME 'one keg of water'; ibid. 12–13, XXIX 40 III 17–18, 21–22, 26, 30 *n-asta* 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA 1 GIŠ*hūpparan ekuzi* 'each horse drinks one keg'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 174, 182–4, 330; XV 31 II 14 GIŠ*hūpparann-a dāi* 'and a bowl he takes'; cf. ibid. 15 *namma-kan* GEŠTIN YÀ *anda sipanti* 'he further libates in[to it] with wine [and] oil'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-a-[an?* (*KBo* XVII 29 + XX 1 II 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 152), *hu-u-up-pár-an* (X 30 + XVI 77 II 6; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:106), gen. sg. (or pl.) *hu-up-pa-ra-as* (XI 38 I 16–18 *ŠA* GIŠŠUKUR GUŠKIN-*ma* DUMU É.GAL *hupparas ANA* 2 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL GÙB-*laz iyattari* 'the page of the gold spear of the bowl walks on the left of two pages'), *hu-u-up-pár-as* (dupl. XXVII 42 I 29–31; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55; XI 36 III 7 1½ NINDA *hūpparas* 'one and a half loaf of [one] h.'; ibid. V 11 NINDA.YÀ.E.DÉ.A *hūpparas* 'fatted bread of [one] h.' [measure of flour?]; X 31 IV 9 1 DUG *marnuan ŠA* 2 *hūpparas* 'one jug ale of two h.' [liquid measure?]; similarly ibid. II 7; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102–4), *ŠA* x *hu-up-pár* (e. g. XXV 13 II 8 10 DUG*harsis marnuan ŠA* 1 *huppar* 'ten jars ale of one h.'; ibid. 3 2 DUG *marnuan [ŠA* 1] *huppar*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; XX 3 Rs. 15 *]ŠA* 1 *huppar*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 45; XVII 31, 6 G]EŠTIN *ŠA* 3 *huppar* 1 DUG *marnuan*['... wine of three h., one jug ale ...'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 113), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-up-pa-ri* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 59 III 11–12 *uet* NIM.LÁL-*as* GIŠ*huppari a[nda]* KUŠ*kursa(sa)n dais* 'the bee came [and] put the fleece inside the bowl'; II 13 IV 12–14 LUGAL-*us* GAL-*az* D*Āsgasepan* DSAL.LUGAL D*Pirwan huppari sipanti ta ekuzi* 'the king with a goblet libates to Askasepas, Queen, and Pirwas into a bowl, and offers a toast'; *KBo* XXV 82 I 2; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 162; X 25 I 17–18 LUGAL-*us huppari [si]panti* 'the king libates into a bowl'; II 5 I 13–14 LUGAL-*us huppari [si]p-panti*; XVII 74 II 15 and III 53 *huppari sipanti*), *hu-u-up-pa-ri* (e. g. ibid. III 26, 33, 38, 43, 48 LUGAL-*us hūppari sipanti*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18–30; *KUB* XLIII 26 IV 7 [OHitt.] LUGAL-*us hūppari si[panti]*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32, *Altheth.* 67; *KBo* XXV 61 Rs. 9 LUGAL-*us hūppari sipanti*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 136 [wrongly Starke, *Funktionen* 57–8]; *KUB* II 3 I 27–28 LUGAL-*us hūppari sipanti*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:62; I 17 I 6, *KBo* XI 51 III 12 LUGAL-*us hūppari sipanti*; *KUB* X 99 I 16 *hūppari sipan[ti]*; II 13 IV 13 and 20; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 40; *KBo* XXX 69 III

22–26 LUGAL-*us* GUB-*as andurza ... hūppari sippanti* 'the king, standing within, libates into a bowl to ...'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:84 [1988]; II 9 IV 9–10 [*h*]*ūppari* [*s*]*ippanti*; *KUB* XLIII 30 II 18; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77; *KBo* X 45 III 13 *nu-ssan ēshar* IM-*as hūppari tarnāi* 'one lets the blood flow into a clay bowl'), *hu-u-up-ri* (dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 III 4–5 *nu-ssan ēshar* IM-*as hūpri tarnai*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]; *KBo* XXX 14 I 9–10 LUGAL-*us hūpri sipanti*, besides dupl. X 25 I 17–18 LUGAL-*us huppari* [*sī*]*panti*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:47), *hu-u-pa-ri* (XXVII 42 IV 12 LUGAL-*us hūpari sipanti*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:49), suffixless loc. sg. *hu-up-pár* (IV 9 III 18 LUGAL-*us huppar sipanti*), *hu-u-up-pár* (*KUB* XXVII 1 I 46 LUGAL-*us hūppar* GUŠKIN *sipanti* 'the king libates in a gold h.'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 76), *hu-u-pár* (XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 4–5 *n-at-kan ANA* YÀ.DUG.GA *hūpar* KÙ.BABBAR *anda zikkanzi* 'they place them [viz. the bones] in oil inside the silver bowl'), instr. sg. *hu-up-pa-ri-it* (*KBo* XI 38 I 12–15 *nu* 2 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *ANA* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *MĒ QATI hupparit* GUŠKIN *pedanzi* 'two pages bring for the king and queen handwater with a gold bowl'), *hu-u-pa-ri-it* (dupl. XXVII 42 I 26–28; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55), *hu-u-up-pa-ri-it* (*KUB* XXIX 40 III 21 and 29–30 *nu-smas wātar* ^{GIŠ}*hūpparit parā appanzi* 'they proffer them water with a bowl'; similarly ibid. 25; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 182–4), *IŠTU hu-u-pár* (*KBo* IV 9 VI 19, X 26 I 26 *IŠTU huppar* GUŠKIN 'with a gold bowl'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:42), *IŠTU hu-u-up-pár* (*KUB* II 15 I 11 *IŠTU hūppar* GUŠKIN), abl. sg. *hu-u-up-pa-ra-az* (112/c + IV 21 *nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI *wātar* GAL-*az nasma hūpparaz ANA* 2 *BEL* SISKUR.SISKUR *parā epzi* 'the old woman from a goblet or a bowl proffers water to the two offerants'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:364 [1953]), [*hu*]*-u-up-pa-ra-za* (dupl. *KBo* II 3 IV 1–2), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-up-pár-ri* (*KUB* LVIII 33 IV 8, 16, 18 *hupparri dāi* 'takes the bowls'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 262–4), *hu-up-pa-a-ri*HI.A (XXVII 1 III 14 *n-asta* ^{DUG}*huppāri*HI.A *IŠTU* GEŠTIN *sunnai* 'he fills the bowls with wine'), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-up-pár-as* (XLII 30, 4 3 *hūpparas*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 175 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 530), acc. pl. c. *hu-up-pa-ru-us* (1142/z + *KUB* XXV 31 Vs. 6–7 ^{KUŠ}*kursus ù* 2 ^{GIŠ}*hupp*[*ar*]*us warnuanzi* 'fleeces and two bowls they burn'; dupl. *KBo* XXIII 63, 6]*kursus ù* 2 *hupparu*[*s*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 314, *ZA* 78:288–90 [1988]; *ZA* 62:234–5 [1972]; XVII 74 II 32 2 *huppa-rus*).

hupparalli- (c. or n.?), nom. sg. *h*]*u-up-pár-al-li(s)* (*KUB* XLII 14 I 4; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 19, 21 [1982]), *hu-u-up-pár-al-li(s)* (XLII 18 II 16 1 ^{DUG}*hūpparalli(s)*; dupl. XLII 20, 7 ^{DU}]^{G}*hūpparalli(s)*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 30 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 50; XLII 11 V 28 1 ^{GIŠ}*hūpparalli(s)* KÙ.BABBAR; ibid. 27 1 ^{GIŠ}*hūpparalli(s)* 2 *ME ŠUL*[*PAT* 'one h., two hundred straws'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 34 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 406). Since *lis* can also be read *li*, gender is uncertain. In form ^{DUG}*hupparalli-* seems to be a synonymous derivative from ^{DUG}*huppar(a)-* on the analogy of ^{DUG}*harsi-* 'jar' : ^{DUG}*harsiyalli-* 'pithos'.

hupparanni- (n.), "gen. sg." *ŠA* X *hu-up-pa-ra-an-ni* (*KUB* LVI 46 VI 15–16 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTIN *ŠA* 2 *hupparanni* 1 DUG *marnuwan ŠA* 2 *hupparanni* 'one jug wine-beer of two h., one jug ale of two h.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 103; *KBo* XX 2 + XXV 15 I 8 *ma*]*rnuan ŠA* 1 *hupparanni*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-an-ni* (XI 36 III 17–19 3 DUG *marnuwan ŠA* 2-ÀM *hūpparanni* ^{D}U-*as* ^{NA_4}*hūwa-siya* 'three jugs ale of two h. to the baitylos of the storm-god'. Here *hupparanni-* functions as a liquid measure and may be derivationally diminutival (cf. ^{DUG}*harsiyallanni-* from *harsiyalli-* s. v. *harsi-*, and Gk. *σταμνίσκος*).

huprala- (c.) 'potter' (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hu-up-ra-la-as* (*KBo* III 34 II 15; III 36 Vs. 21; *KUB* XXV 28 I 3–4 ^{LÚ}*hupralass-a katti-smi paizzi* 'the potter goes along with them'). For formation cf. e. g. *harsiyala-* s. v. *harsi-* or *hattalwala-* s. v. *hattalu-*.

On the realia of this vessel, its possible iconographic presence in libation scenes, its potential similarity to the Greek *στάμνος*, and conceivable acrophonic pictorial rendering as Hier. *hú* (Laroche, *HH* 182), cf. Otten, *ZA* 46:215 (1940); S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 21 (1982); Singer, *Festival* 1:162–3.

The preponderance of *-pp-* in *huppar(a)-* points to /p/, which undermines any comparison with the Hurroid *huprushi-* (q. v.) from *hub(u)r-*. Culture-word echoes from other areal terms for containers (e. g. Akk. *huppu*) are at best vague. In view of the clear-cut *r*-stem (cf. *kessar-*, *kessera-*), Čop (*Živa Antika* 8:262 [1958], *Ling.* 5:30 [1964], *Indogermanica minora* 37–9) was right in looking for an IE etymology. A heteroclitic reconstruction *$*A_1$ép-r/n-*, gen. *$*A_1$up-n-ós* accounts for *huppar(a)-* as well as ON *ofn* and OE *ofen* 'oven' (< *$*A_1$úpnos*; *ofnet* 'pot'), and also Myc. *i-po-no* 'cooking bowl' and Gk. *ἰπνός* 'oven' (< *$*ἰπνός$ < *$*ὑπ-$

vóς); cf. Frisk, *GEW* 732–3. That the *huppar* was also a cooking vessel was seen above in *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 22–23: *ḫ]upparan happinas [dā]i* 'he places the pot in the oven'.

Cf. *hupparatt-*.

hupparatt- (c.) 'pelvis', nom. pl. *hu-up-pár-⟨at-⟩ti-is* (*KUB* IX 34 II 42).

hupparattiyat- (c.) 'pelvis', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-up-pár-ra-at-ti-ya-ti, hu-u-up-pa-⟨ra-⟩at-ti-ya-ti*, nom. pl. *hu-up-pár-ra-at-ti-ya-t[i-is], [hu-u-up-p]a-ra-at-ti-ya-ti-is*, ^{UZU}*hu-up-pa-ra-ti-ya-⟨ti-⟩is* (*KUB* IX 4 I 29–30 *hupparrattiyat[is] hupparrattiyati* GIG-*an karapzi* 'pelvis lifts ailment of pelvis'; ibid. 11–12 *[hūpp]arattiyatis-kan hūppa⟨ra⟩attiyati handan* 'pelvis [is] matched to pelvis'; par. IX 34 II 29 ^{UZU}*hupparatiya⟨t⟩is-ma-kan* [...] KI.MIN 'pelvis [to pelvis] likewise'; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:25, 38–40 [1957]; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:413–4 [1971]; Hutter, *Behexung* 32–4).

Derived from *huppar(a)-* 'bowl' (cf. Lat. *pēlvis* 'bowl, basin'), with suffix as *kallaratt-* from *kallar(a)-* 'baleful' (nom. pl. *kallarattes* 'monstrous beings' [*KBo* I 30 I 11]) and partial idiomatic plural like Engl. 'loins'. The rederivation *hupparattiyat-* may be deverbative (like e. g. *aniyatt-*, *handatt-*) from **hupparattiya-* 'serve as basin, be pelvis-like'.

hupiga-, hupiki- (n.) 'veil, mantilla, wrap', perhaps like the Gk. *κρήδεμνον* hanging down from the *πόλος* or head-dress, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-pí-ga-an* (315/t I 10–11 *nu-za* SÍG ZA.GÌN-*az HŪPPI* GUŠ-KIN [...] ^{TÚG}*hūpigann-a dāi* 'along with blue wool [the queen] puts on gold earring[s] ... and a mantilla'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 230; cf. *Iliad* 14:182–4: *ἐν δ'ἄρα ἕρματα ἦκεν ἐϋτρήτοισι λοβοῖσι ... κρηδέμνῳ δ'ἐφύπερθε καλύψατο* '[Hera] hung earrings from her well-pierced lobes ... and covered herself at the top with a mantilla'), *hu-u-pí-ki* (*KUB* XXXIII 67 I 29–31 [emended from XXXIII 36 II 1–3] TÚG.DINGIR-*LIM-wa-as-za-kan TUDITTI*.HI.A EGIR-*[pa paskit] nu-ssi* ^{TÚG}*hūpiki appizzi [piran huinut] hantezzi-ma-za appizziaz [huinut* 'she [viz. the distraught and furious goddess] pinned breastplates to the back of her divine raiment, she trailed the back of her mantilla in front, but the front she trailed in

back'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:26 [1961], 23:136 [1965]; Güterbock, *Festschrift für K. Bittel* 206 [1983]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 74).

hupigala- (c.) 'veil-wearer' (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^{SAL}*hu-u-pí-ga-la-as* (*KBo* XXII 251 Vs. 6; ibid. 1 *]is-hu-u-pí-ga-la-as* [sic]), acc. pl. $^{SAL.MEŠ}$*hu-u-pí-ga-lu-u[s]* (*KUB* LIX 41 III 2). For formation cf. e. g. *auriyala-*, *asusala-* (*HED* 1–2:234, 221).

hupigauwant- 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-pí-ga-u-wa-an-za* (*KUB* XV 5 II 48 and 50 ALAM SAL-*TI hūpigauwanza* 'female icon, veiled' [syntactically acc. sg. c.]).

hupitant- 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-pí-da-an-za* (*KUB* XXXVIII 2 III 12–13 ^{D}*Ḫatepunas* ALAM SAL-*TI* KAR.KI[D] *[ḫ]ūpidanza* IGI.HI.A-*ŠU* GUŠKIN GAR.R[A] 'female icon of H. as a harlot, veiled, her eyes inlaid with gold'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-pí-ta-an* (*KBo* II 8 I 1 and 3 'veiled', viz. ALAM [= *ēsri-*] 'icon'; *VBoT* 38, 1), *hu-u-pí-da-a-an* (*KUB* XXXVIII 14 Vs. 1–2 ALAM SAL-*TI* AN.BAR TUŠ-*an hūpidān* [with gloss-wedges] 'female icon of iron, seated, veiled'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:201 [1961]).

hupitauwant- 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-pí-ta-u-wa-an-za* (*KBo* XXVI 147, 2; *KUB* XXXVIII 1 IV 9, with gloss-wedge; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 14), *hu-u-pí-ta-u-wa-an-za* (similarly XXXVIII 3 III 14, with gloss-wedge; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 20; XXXVIII 26 Vs. 31 1 ALAM AN.BAR SAL TUŠ-*as hūpitauwanza* 1 *sekan* DÙ-*anzi* 'one female icon of iron, seated, veiled, one span [in size], they make' [syntactically acc. sg.; c. rather than neut. by sense attraction to SAL rather than ALAM]; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:183, 185, 209 [1963]), *hu-u-pí-ta-a-u-wa-an-za* (XXXVIII 1 I 11 DINGIR-*LIM-tar* 1 ALAM SAL GIŠ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA *hūpitāuwanza* [with gloss-wedge] TUŠ-*an* 'the deity [is] one wooden female icon inlaid with silver, veiled, seated'; similarly ibid. IV 2 and XXXVIII 3 III 13, with gloss-wedge).

Frequency of attestation and the spelling *hūpidān* rule out an erroneous scribal vacillation in *hupita-* due to the similarity of *ga* and *ta* (cf. *akutalla-* [*HED* 1–2:25]). A random *k* : *t* fluctuation being improbable, *hupitant-* may be explained as a syncopated or haplologic **hupigatant-*, participle of a denominative verb **hupigatai-* from a secondary stem **hupigata-* based on a Hurroid case form in *-ta* (cf. *hatiuitai-* 'make inventory', from *hatiwi-* 'inventory'); *hupitauwant-* is a deverbative adjective like e. g. *armawant-*

'pregnant' (*HED* 1–2:155) or *kartimmiyawant-* 'angry'; the variant *hupigauwant-* may reflect a parallel verb **hupigai-* from **hupiga-*. The implications of the postulated stem **hupigata-* and the consistent single spelling *-p-* argue against a cognate relationship to *hup(p)ala-* or *huppar(a)-*, *hup(a)ra-* (q.v. s.v. *huppai-*) and a consequent Indo-European derivative source, as suggested by Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 46) and asserted by Peters (*Untersuchungen* 72). Unknown areal origin of this sporadically gloss-wedged fashion term is much more plausible. For fluctuation of *a-* and *i*-stems cf. e.g. *antaka-*, *arasa-* (*HED* 1–2:77, 128) and Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:246.

huprushi- (c.), a vessel used in ritual, nom. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-is* (*KBo* V 2 III 26 *nu* ZAG-*as kuis huprushis* 'the h. which [is] to the right'; ibid. 28 GÙB-*laz-ma kuis huprushis* 'but the h. which [is] to the left'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 110), acc. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-in* (e.g. *KUB* IV 47 II 29; *KBo* V 2 II 57 *hantezzin huprushin* 'the first h.'; ibid. III 23 2 *huprushin* ŠA GIŠ *iezzi* 'he makes a second h. for wood[-burning?]'; ibid. II 60 3-*ann-a huprushin*; ibid. II 32–33 7 *huprushin handāizzi* 'he readies the seventh h.'; ibid. II 10), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-in* (e.g. ibid. II 4–5 1 *hūp⟨r⟩ushin* ŠA GIŠ *iezzi*; XXI 34 II 66 *hūprushinn-a sarā danzi* 'and the h. they remove'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 121; *ABoT* 34, 19 *hūprushinn-a*), *hu-u-pu-u-ru-us-hi-in* (*KUB* XXXII 137 II 15 ^{DUG}*hūpūrushinn-a ekuzi* 'and to the h. [he] drinks'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi* (e.g. *KBo* V 2 II 5, 33, 48, 55; *KUB* XI 31 I 22–23 *namma* ^{LÚ}AZU *anahita dāi huprushi parā suhhāi* 'the medicine man takes the morsels and scatters them forth into the h.'; XII 11 III 19 *n-at-san huprushi hassī dāi* 'he puts them in a h. in the fireplace'; XXVII 6 I 33 *huprushi ambassiya* 'in a h. at the fire-altar'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 83, 95; XXVII 1 III 7 ^{DUG}*ahrushi huprushi* '[to] censer [and] h.'), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi* (e.g. dupl. XXVII 3 IV 16 ^{DUG}*ahru]shi hūpru⟨s⟩hi*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 81; *ABoT* 34, 20; *KBo* V 2 IV 6 1-*edani* ANA *hūprushi* EGIR-*an* 'behind the first h.'; ibid. 7 1-*dani-ya hūprushi*; *KUB* XXVII 1 I 39 and 43–44 *hūprushi dāi* 'places [it] in the h.'; XXV 44 II 18 *āhrushi hūprushi*; *Bo* 4999 IV 3–4 ^{DUG}*hūprushi-ma* EGIR-*anda* 'behind the h.'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:171 [1936]; *KBo* XXI 33 I 12 *namma-ssan* ^{DUG}*hūprushi* GIŠ.HI.A *hādan warn[uzi]* 'then he burns dry wood in the h.'; cf. ibid. 14 ^{DUG}*āhrushiyaz*; Otten, *Materialien* 35; *CHS* 1.2.1.39), *hu-up-ru-u-us-hi*

(ibid. III 7 *n-at-san huprūshi hassī pissiyezzi* 'he throws them into a h. in the fireplace'; cf. ibid. 6 ^{DUG}*āhrūshiyaz*), *hu-u-up-ru-u-us-hi* (e.g. XXIII 12 Rs. 4, 12, 14; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:43), *hu-up-ru-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KUB* XXIV 13 I 14; cf. ibid. 16 [Hurr.] *hu-u-ub-ru-us-hi-ni*; Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 102; *IBoT* III 148 II 66 ^{DUG}*huprushiya*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222, 105), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KBo* V 1 I 33 *n-as hūprushiya* ZAG-*az dapusa dāi* 'he places them to the right alongside the h.'; ibid. III 8 *n-at hūprushiya dāi* 'he places them in the h.'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*, 8*; *KUB* X 63 I 32 *hūprushiya warnuanzi* 'they burn in the h.'; XII 12 V 2–3 *namma-kan anāhita* ^{DUG}*āhrushiaz dāi n-at-san* ^{DUG}*hūprushiya hassī parā dāi* 'then he takes the morsels from the censer and places them in the h. by the fireplace'; XXXII 53 I 4 ^{DUG}*hūprushiya*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:324; XLV 6, 7; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:341), *hu-u-up-ru-u-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KBo* XXI 33 IV 2; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:67), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-ti* (*IBoT* II 39 II 22–23 *n*[*-at-san*] *hūprushiti katta ispāri* 'scatters them along the h.'), nom. pl. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-e-es KBo* V 2 IV 28–29 *nu namma* 2 *huprushiēs handānzi* 'they further ready two h.'), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-e-es* (*KUB* XXXII 110, 10; ibid. 7 *-u]s-hi-e-es*).

The Hurrian origin of *huprushi-* has been patent since Hrozný (*SH* 12); the word occurs in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy (e.g. *KUB* XXIV 13 I 16, quoted above), Ugarit (*RS* 24:274, 15 *ḫbršḫnd*), and Meskene, and also as Akk. *hubrušhu* (Alalah) and *hurbušhu* (Nuzi; cf. *CAD* H 241, 249; *AHW* 357). For its frequent collocation with *ahrushi-* 'censer' in both Hittite and Hurrian contexts see *HED* 1–2:12–13. There is parallel derivation with suffix *-ushi-* from *ah(a)r-* 'incense' and *hub(u)r-* of unknown meaning (distinct from *hawurni-*, *haburni-* 'earth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 34:99, 109 [1976]; rather, 'heaven': Neu, *Das Hurritische* 26–7 [1988]; the earlier confusion colored the earthenware-oriented rendering 'terrine, tureen' by von Brandenstein, *ZA* 47:88 [1940], and Laroche, *JCS* 2:118 [1948]). Parallelism with *ahrushi-* indicates that *hub(u)r-* is something the vessel was used for rather than made of.

Benveniste's suggestion (*RPh* 27:122–6 [1953], *Hitt.* 126–31) that Gk. *ὄβρυζα* 'assay of gold' (borrowed as Lat. *obrussa* 'assay, test, touchstone') goes back metonymically to Hurr. *hubrushi-* has nudged the renderings towards 'assaying pot, crucible, cupel'. In Hittite rituals the *huprushi-* is a vessel that can be fired in a

hearth and used for wood-burning but has no visible truck with metals either in its makeup or its contents.

The same Hurr. *hub(u)r-* may lurk in Hitt. *hupurni-* (*KBo* V 1 II 44 2 ^{DUG}*hu-pur-ni-is*; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 8*), reflected also in Akk. *huburnu* (container for oil or grain at Nuzi and Mari; *AHW* 352, 344).

huppulli- (n.), wooden item of household goods or furniture like *iskissana-* (*HED* 1–2:426) with which it co-occurs in *Code* 2:71, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-up-pu-ul-li* (*KBo* VI 26 II 5–6 ^{GIŠ}*iskissana-ssit* ^{GIŠ}*hūppulli-ssit* 'her i. [and] her h.'), *hu-u-up-pu-li* (VI 13 I 16–17 ^{GIŠ}*iskistani-set* ^{GIŠ}*hūppuli*).

Preceded by ^{GIŠ}IG(-*ŠU*) '(her) door', these items need not have a housewifely semantic slant; *iskissana-* may mean 'joist' (vel sim.); H. Eichner's 'wicker basket' (*Die Sprache* 21:163 [1975]) was wide of the mark, but the suggestion 'baking trough' for *huppulli-* (cf. *huppai-*) may have merit (type of *istappulli-* 'stopper') in the sense of 'blender, mixing bowl'.

hupuwai- (n.) 'pot', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-pu-wa-i*, *hu-pu-wa-ya*, *hu-u-pu-wa-ya* (1112/c + III 29 ^{DUG}*hupuwai dāi* 'she takes the pot'; ibid. 31–33 *nu-kan* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI ^{DUG}*hup[uw]aya hassī anda lahuskizzi* ^{DUG}*hupuwaya-ma tuwa[r]niskizzi* 'the old woman pours the [contents of the] pot into the fireplace, but the pot she breaks'; ibid. 35 ^{DUG}*hupuwaya* [bis]; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; dupl. *KBo* II 3 II 40–41 ^{DUG}*hu]puwai hassī anda* [...] ^{DUG}*hūpuwaya-ma du-war[nis]kizzi*; ibid. 44 ^{DUG}*h]upuwai*; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 78; *KUB* LII 105 II 10 $^{TU?}$*hupuwai*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:361), *hu-u-pu-wa-i-ya* (XII 58 II 29–30 *namma-ssi* GÌR.MEŠ *kattan* ^{DUG}*[h]ūpuwaiya isgāri* 'then beneath his feet she sticks the pot'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), *hu-pu-wa-a-i* (e.g. 1112/c + II 55–56 *nu* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI IM-[*as* ^{DUG}]*hu-pu-wa-a-i iyazzi nu-kan isnan te[pu] anda dāi* 'the old woman makes a clay pot and puts in a little dough [dupl. have ^{DUG}*isnūran* 'dough-bowl'; see *HED* 1–2:383]; *KBo* V 2 II 36–38 32 ^{DUG}*hupuwāi nu* 16 ^{DUG}*hupuwāi IŠTU* KAŠ.GEŠTIN *sūwan* 16 ^{DUG}*hupuwāi-ma IŠTU* LÀL YÀ ^{GIŠ}*ZERTUM* ^{GIŠ}MA ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.HÁD.DU.A ^{GIŠ}*ZERTUM sūwan* 'thirty-two pots: sixteen pots filled with wine-beer, sixteen pots filled with honey, olive oil, figs, raisins, and olives'; ibid. I

22 5 ME *hupuwāi* 'five hundred h.'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 106, 100; XI 19 Vs. 7 ^{DUG}*hupuwāi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 316), ^{DUG}*ha-pu-wa-a-i* (sic 1776/u Vs. 8), *hu-u-pu-wa-a-i* (XXII 142 I 8 ^{LÚ}AZU-*ma* ^{DUG}*hūpuwāi handā[izzi]* 'the medicine man readies a pot'; XIII 248 I 24 *hūpuwāi udanzi* '[they] bring a pot'; *KUB* XII 47 I 7 ^{DUG}*h]ūpuwāi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 329; *KBo* XIX 145 Vs. 1 *[n]u-ssi-kan* ^{DUG}*hūp[uw]āi s[ē]r arha wahnumi* 'over him I swing a pot'; cf. Haas, *SMEA* 14:141 [1971]; Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 296).

Hurrian origin is patent from ibid. 2 and 5 (Hurr.) *hu-ú-bu-wa-as-se-ni-en-na* or *KUB* XLV 6, 11 *hu-u-bu-wa-as-si* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 28:58 [1970], 34:110 [1976]).

hurai-, huwarai-, perhaps (Luwoid?) parallel formation to *hurnai-, hurniya-, hurnuwai-* 'spray, sprinkle' (q.v.), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ra-an-zi* (*KUB* VI 24 Vs. 6 DINGIR-*n]i-ma-za-pat* ^{NA_4}*kuwannan-aza hūwaranzi* [with gloss-wedge] 'for the deity they sprinkle [i.e. decorate in scattered fashion] with bluestone'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ra-i-ir* (XXXIX 1 III 39–40 DINGIR.MEŠ-*wa* GUNNI *dāir nu-war-an* [*ku*]*nnanit hūrayir n-an* AN.BAR-*it san*[*ahh*]*ir* 'the gods have placed the altar, they have "sprayed" it with copper, they have "flushed" it with iron' [technical terms of metallurgy]; cf. Puhvel, *Florilegium Anatolicum* 300 [1979]); partic. *hūrant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ra-an-za* (XXXIX 61 III 9–10 *hūranza ēs* EME [...] *hūranza ēsdu* 'be sprayed tongue ... let be sprayed'); Luwoid partic. *hurammi-*, abl. sg. *hu-ra-am-ma-ti* (XXVI 43 Vs. 12 *RĪTI* ANŠU.KUR.RA *hurammati gimraz* 'horse pasture from watered rangeland'), *hu-ra-am-ma-az* (ibid. 17 *hura*[- with dupl. XXVI 50 Vs. 7 *-r]ammaz gimraz*; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:24, 50 [1974]).

Of unclear relevance is acc. sg. *hu-u-ra-at-ti-sa-an* in the ritual *KBo* III 8 III 12–13, belonging to a lactating animal: *sāsan hūrattisan hamikta sasas* GA *hamikta* 'he tied s.'s h. (partitive apposition), he tied s.'s milk' (similarly ibid. 30–31 with *lāttat* 'he loosed'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]). Equally opaque are nom. pl. c. ^{LÚ}*huriēs* (*KUB* II 3 V 35) and the bread name $^{(NINDA)}$*huri(ya)-* (q.v. s.v.).

This attempt at interpretation seems preferable to B. Schwartz's (*Orientalia* N.S. 16:36 [1947]) and Laroche's (*RHA* 15:14 [1957]) 'adorn', H. Eichner's 'besetzen/verzieren' (*MSS* 31:88 [1973]), and H. A. Hoffner's (Güterbock-inspired) 'pierce, perforate, encircle'

(*Orientalia* N.S. 35:389 [1966], *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 162 [1974]). If *hūrai-* is older, and *hūwarai-* a late variant (cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 44), it may show the ablaut grade of ON *ūr* 'light rain, drizzle' or Lat. *ūrīnor* 'dive into water', vs. *A₁wr̥-n(y)-* in Gk. *ῥαίνω* 'sprinkle' and Hitt. *hurn-*. Cf. also the theonyms ^{D}*Hu-u-ri-ya-an-zi-pa-as* (*KUB* V 7 Vs. 17), ^{D}*Hu-ri-ya-an-zi-e-pa-an* (XX 4 I 13), ^{D}*Ishashuriyas* (XXXVIII 3 I 9; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 16), ^{D}*Ishashuriyas aldannis* 'spring (of) I.' (XXXVIII 1 I 10; cf. von Brandenstein, op. cit. 10), from which Čop (*Die Sprache* 6:1–2 [1960]) postulated a **huriya(n)-* 'spring, fountain', comparing ON *ūr* and Lith. *versmẽ* 'spring'.

Cf. *istamahura-*.

huri-, epithet of bread, nom. sg. or pl. c. *hu-u-ri-is* (*KUB* XLIII 55 IV 3 NINDA *hūris*), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-ri-i-es* (*KBo* IV 2 I 62 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *hūriyes*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:92 [1962]), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-ri-us* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 IV 5 NINDA *hūrius*), *hu-ri-ya-as* (XLVI 44 Rs. 1 3 NINDA.KUR$_4$RA *huriyas*), *hu-u-ri-ya-as* (XLIII 55 III 15 9 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.A *hūriyas*; *KBo* IV 2 I 19–20 *nu* 12 NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *hūriyas* 2 ^{NINDA}*purpurus* DÙ-*anzi n-as-kan* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI ^{GI}*paddani katta ishūwai* 'they make twelve h.-loaves [and] two round bread, and the old woman pours them down into a basket').

Seemingly unpertaining acc. sg. *hu-ri-in* (*KUB* XII 63 Rs. 11 *nu-wa-za hurin dāi* 'takes h.'), abl. sg. *hu-u-ri-ya-az* (XLI 19 Rs. 13–14 *n*]*-at-kan hūriyaz* NÍ.TE-*sit-kan* [*a*]*rha ānsun* 'with h. I wiped it off his body'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 96).

Meaning and etymology unknown. The suggestion 'perforated bread, doughnut' (H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 162–3 [1974]) was based on an improbable sense assigned to *hurai-* (q. v.).

huripta- 'desert', dat.-loc. pl. *hu-ri-ip-ta-as* (*KUB* XXXI 118, 5–7 + XXXVI 37 II 10–11 ^{D}*IŠTAR-is-ma-kan* MUŠEN-*is iwar huripta*[*s*] *parranta pí*[*dd*]*ait nu-kan* ^{D}U-*an hurip*[*tas*] *anda wemiyat* 'I. like a bird flew across the deserts, and found the storm-god in the deserts'; dupl. XII 61 III 12–13 -]*kan* MUŠEN-*is iwar* [...] [... *h*]*uriptas*[; cf. Laroche, *RA* 48:220 [1954], *RHA* 28:27 [1968]).

huriptai- 'devastate, lay waste' (?), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ri-ip-te-ir* (*KUB* XLV 46, 9).

Borrowing from Akk. *huribtu*, pl. *hurbātu* 'desert' (*AHW* 359; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 23:10 [1965]).

hurki- (c.) 'wheel' (^{GIŠ}DUBBIN = ^{GIŠ}UMBIN), acc. sg. *hur-ki-in* (*KUB* XXXVI 91 + XLIII 68 Rs. 10–11 *appizziss*[*a* ^{GIŠ}*hūrkis mahhan hant*]*ezzin* ^{GIŠ}*hurkin* ŪL *wemiz*[*zi* 'as the rear wheel does not catch up with the front wheel', with dupl. *Bo* 2477 Rs. 13]*hu-u-ur-ki-in*, 871/z Rs. 9 -*z*]*in* ^{GIŠ}*hurkin mahhan*; cf. H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 64:243 [1975]; *KBo* XI 14 II 22–23 IGI-*zian* GIM-*an* ^{GIŠ}*hurkin* EGIR-*zis anda* ŪL *wemiyazi*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:219 [1962]), gen. sg. *hur-ki-as* (*IBoT* I 31 Vs. 16; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 10:32 [1956]), dat.-loc. sg. *hur-ki* (*KUB* V 9 Vs. 12–13 1 GUD-*ma-wa-kan* ^{GIŠ}*hurki ser watkut* 'one bovine leaped on a wheel' (cf. G. F. Del Monte, *AION* 35:339 [1975]), acc. pl. *hu-ur-ki-us* (XXXIV 16 II 10 4 ^{GIŠ}*hurkius* 'four wheels' of the constellation ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA 'Big Dipper').

Acc. sg. *hu-ur-ki-in* also in *KBo* VI 26 IV 14 *ta hurkin halenzi* (*Code* 2:98; *-in* in *hurkin* is superscript on an erasure of *-il*; cf. Haase, *Fragmente* 91). In this paragraph the king has discretion to decide whether an adulterous wife and her paramour shall die or be spared, after the wronged husband has demanded their death. Before the royal verdict, *hurkin halenzi*. A whole literature has grown up around this expression: e. g., 'they (i. e. the defendants) kneel (down) at the wheel' (Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 87; rare acc. of direction), perhaps involving some torturous interrogation in capital cases (ibid. 115); similarly Alp (*JCS* 6:95–8 [1952]), who anachronistically assumed the (medieval European) penalty of breaking on the wheel; rare transitive use of *haliya-*, thus 'they kneel down before the wheel (= court?)', i. e. beg its mercy (Neu, *Interpretation* 34); *hurki-* = either 'sun-disk' or more probably 'throne circle', thus 'they kneel at the royal seat of judgment' (Imparati, *Parola del Passato* 14:117–23 [1959], *Leggi ittite* 321–4).

In view of *KUB* IX 1 II 32 *nu* ^{GIŠ}DUBBIN *halāi* 'he starts the wheel turning', *halenzi* is from *halai-* 'set in motion' (q. v.), rather than from *haliya-* 'kneel' (cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 [1954]). It is by no means certain that the accused are the subject of *halenzi*

(cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:545). Much rather it is 'they', i.e. 'the authorities', as is often the case in the Code: 'they set in motion the h.', i.e. they crank up the legal machinery of the king's court. Rather than part of a mere metaphor for 'start the wheels of justice turning', *hurki-* is probably the actual term for the tribunal (cf. the Sacred Roman *Rota* as the ecclesiastical court of final appeal), whatever its emblematic or locational source may be. Cf. also *KUB* I 1 I 36 *ANA* ^{GIŠ}DUBBIN *lamniyat* '(my brother Muwatallis) called me to the h.' (Götze, *Hattusilis* 10), with the duplicate reading *KBo* III 6 I 31 + *ABoT* 62 *ANA* ^{D}DUBBIN *lamniyat* (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 29; Hattusilis' misadventure was a calumniously instigated treason-trial; the probable sacral symbolism of *hurki-* is underlined by the divine determinative). Von Schuler (*Festschrift J. Friedrich* 470–1 [1959]) compared expressions like *KUB* XXXI 68 Vs. 16–17 *nu-wa-mu-za-kan ANA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *katta halzāis* 'he called me down to the chariot' (cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:23 [1962]) and suggested for ^{GIŠ}DUBBIN a metonymous sense 'chariot'; one may compare Skt. *ratha-* 'chariot' beside Lat. *rota* 'wheel' and imagine that in field-conditions the king or a commander could hold court-martial from his war-chariot; perhaps as an extension thereof a specific "sacred" chariot was employed 'at the king's gate' (see s.v. *aska-*) and 'moved up' (*halai-*) to set the stage for judgment. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:204 (1980), *Kratylos* 25:138 (1980).

hurki- is from IE **H*$_1$*wer-g-* 'turn, twirl, rotate' (*IEW* 1154), perhaps the regular outcome of **H*$_1$*wṛ̥gi-* (cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:74 [1973]); cf. Ved. *vṛj-* 'twist', *vṛjiná-* 'curved, crooked', OE *wrencan* 'turn, wind'. Kronasser (*Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough* 112 [1957], *Pokorny BIK* 47, *Etym.* 1:211) and Schmitt-Brandt (*Entwicklung* 85) suggested the same root-connection but untenably discounted the etymological value of the laryngeal and tied in Hitt. *wawarkima-* 'door-hinge' (q.v.) as well. Cf. Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:42–5 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 216–9 (1981). Ivanov (*Etimologija 1977* 146–7 [1979]) adduced Toch. A *wärkänt-* 'wheel' which had been previously connected with Skt. *vṛj-* (cf. Van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 559).

O. Szemerényi (*KZ* 73:75 [1955]), positing an improbable *ur* < **r̥*, derived *hurki-* from **Hr̥ghi-* (IE **ergh-* 'run' in *IEW* 328).

hurkil- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hur-ki-el* (*KUB* XIII 30, 3 and 7), *hu-u-ur-ki-el*, *hu-ur-ki-il*, *hu-u-ur-ki-il* in *Code* 2:87–91, 95–96, denoting severe sexual offences such as bestiality and incest; *hur-ki-il* in *IBoT* II 117 IV 2–3 (emended from dupl. *KBo* XII 115 Rs. 2–3) *mān* UKÙ-*as hurkil iyazi* [*nu-za* DUMU.SAL-*ŠU* NIN-*ŠU*] AMA-*ŠU dāi* 'if a man commits h. (in that) he takes his daughter, his sister, or his mother'; *hur-ki-el* in *KUB* XXX 67, 9 *nasma hurkel iyan harzi* 'or he has committed h.' (cf. Laroche, *CTH* 171); *hu-ur-ki-il* in LVIII 78 III 8–10 HUL-*lu alwanzatar ēs*[*har* ...] [*l*]*ingāen hurkil* [...] [GAM]-*an arha zennesdu* 'let put an end to evil sorcery, bloodshed, perjury, and h.'; *hu-ur-ki-el* in *KBo* XXI 35 I 4 (cf. ibid. 8 *wentas* 'raped'); *hur-ki-il* in XIII 109 III 10 (immediately preceded [ibid. 9] by *ANZELLU* 'tabu' and followed by *papratar* 'defilement'); *hu-u-ur-ki-il* in *KUB* XXX 34 IV 18 (ibid. 17 *inan ēshar* 'disease [and] bloodshed'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]); gen. sg. *hu-ur-ki-la-as* (XIII 2 III 11–14 *karūliyaz-ya mahhan* KUR.KUR-*kan anda hurkilas ishiūl iyan kuedani-as-kan* URU-*ri kuaskir n-as-kan kuwaskandu kuedani-ma-as-kan* URU-*ri arha parhiskir n-as-kan arha parhiskandu* 'and as from old times in the countries the statute covering h. is laid down: in a town where they used to put to death, let them keep on putting to death, but in a town where they used to banish, let them keep on banishing'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47; XII 63 Vs. 21 *hurkilas* LÚ.MEŠ, ibid. 22 LÚ.MEŠ *hurkilas* 'men of h.', who are told to undertake but who fail to execute fantastic tasks; cf. Friedrich, *Orientalia* N.S. 13:208–9 [1944]; Pedersen, *JCS* 1:60–1 [1947]), abl. sg. *hur-ki-la-za* (*KBo* XIII 109 II 11, preceded [ibid. 10] by *ANZELLU* and followed by *paprannaza*), *hu-úr-ki-la-za* (XXII 166 Rs. 11, with gloss-wedges). Cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 112–3; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:324; H. A. Hoffner, *Orient and Occident. Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon* 81–90 (1973).

Friedrich's rendering 'abomination, enormity' is unsatisfactory, since *hurkel* was essentially a sexually based capital crime (cf. Goetze, *ANET* 196); exceptions are either attenuations (e.g. *Code* 2:96) or concessions to foreign tradition (as in *KUB* XIII 2 III 11–14 above). Cf. OE *wyrgan*, OHG *wurgen* 'strangle, throttle', ON *virgill*, OE *wurgil* 'rope', MiHG *würgel* 'strangler', Lith. *veržiù* 'constrict', IE **H*$_1$*wer-ĝh-* (*IEW* 1154), with *hurkel* thus meaning approximately 'hanging matter' (**H*$_1$*wṛ̥ĝh-* perhaps regularly yielding *hurk-*; cf. s.v. *hurki-*). The *hurkilas* LÚ.MEŠ (= *pesnes*) in

the sense of 'men of strangulation' are matched by Luw. acc. pl. *hur-ki-la-as-si-in-za* LÚ.MEŠ-*in-za* (*KUB* XXXV 148 IV 13) and paralleled by ON *vargr*, OE *wearg*, OHG *warg* 'robber, criminal' (lit. 'strangler', also 'wolf' in ON); their assigned exploits include (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 26–27) catching a wolf with their hands and a lion with their knees, and bringing a snake to the king's gate for judgment. Cf. W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59:179 (1939); Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85; Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:42–5 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 216–9 (1981), *Festschrift für E. Risch* 151–5 (1986); M. R. Gerstein in G. J. Larson et al. (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* 134–5 (1974); M. Jacoby, *wargus, vargr 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf'* 95 (1974); A. R. Bomhard, *RHA* 31:111 (1973 [1976]). For the possibility that the *hurkilas pesnes* were passive homosexuals fit to be strangled, but potentially decriminalized and rehabilitated by substitute strangling of wild beasts, and Old Germanic parallels, see Puhvel, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 154–5.

Neither Götze's old meaning 'death penalty' and oft-repeated connection with *har(a)k-* 'be destroyed' (*ZA* 36:255–6 [1925]; despite *KUB* XXX 34 IV 18 *hūrkil arha ... harakdu*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 9:15 [1948–9]) nor Alp's anachronistic tie-in with *hurki-* (q. v.) as 'breaking on the wheel' (*JCS* 6:95–8 [1952]) is probable, nor is the similar attempt by Imparati (*Parola del Passato* 14:123 [1959], *Leggi ittite* 322) to explain *hurkel* as a Hittite derivative from *hurki-*. H. Eichner's comparison of *hurkel* (< **Awr̥g-él*) as 'crookedness' with Ved. *vr̥jiná-* 'crooked' (*MSS* 31:73–4 [1973]) also tied it in with the root of *hurki-*.

O. Szemerényi (*KZ* 73:72, 79 [1955]), assuming an improbable *hur-* < **Hr̥-* (as an alternative to *hur-* < **Hwur-* < **Hwr̥-*), hesitantly compared "Iranian *argant-* 'disgusting'," i.e. Avest. *ərəyant-*.

hurnai-, hurniya- 'spray, sprinkle', 1 sg. pres. ct. *hur-na-mi* (1808/c, 5), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-ni-ya-zi* (*KBo* X 45 II 15 [*nu*] *wappuwas* IM-*an* YÀ-*it* LÀL-*it hurniyazi* 'he sprays the mud of the bank with oil [and] honey'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:122 [1961]), *hur-ni-e-iz-zi* (*VBoT* 58 IV 24 *n-at* IŠTU YÀ DÙG.GA *hurniezzi* 'sprays them [viz. items of furniture] with perfume'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:86 [1965]), *hur-ni-ya-iz-*[*zi* (*KBo* XXII 125 II 4), 1 pl. pres. act. *hur-na-u-e-ni* (*KUB* XXXII 117 Rs. 9–10 + *KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 17–18 *anda*

^{DUG}GÌR.KIŠ-*ya hurnaweni akūss-a* [... ^{DU}]^{G}GÌR.KIŠ-*ya ish*[*uwa*]*wāni* 'we spray into the bowl and pour stones into the bowl'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222), 3 pl. pres. act. *hur-na-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXVIII 32 Vs. 9–10 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*kan sanhanzi hurnanzi* DINGIR-*LUM war*[*panzi* '[they] flush [and] spray the temples [and] bathe the deity'; *KBo* XXIV 46 I 6), *hur-ni-ya-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XLI 30 III 9 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*kan parā sanhanzi hurniyanzi*; XXV 24 II 8 *lukatti-ma-kan* É DINGIR-*LIM sanhanzi hurniyan*[*zi*] 'but in the morning they flush [and] spray the temple'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; IX 15 III 5–7 *nu-kan* É DINGIR-*LIM parā sanhanzi daganzipus tattarānzi nu* É DINGIR-*LIM andurza arahza hurniyanzi* 'they flush out the temple, scrub the floors, and spray the temple inside [and] outside'; similarly ibid. 14–15 *arahza andurza hurniyanzi*; 254/d, 2 *pappar*]*sanzi hurniyanzi* 'they sprinkle [and] spray'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 189), 3 sg. pret. act. *hur-ni-it* (1808/c, 7), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-ar-ni-ya-ad-du* (sic *KUB* LVI 48 I 18 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya-kan parā sana*[*hd*]*u harniyaddu* 'let him flush out [and] sprinkle the temples'; for variation see s. v. *hulukanni-*; perhaps a "reverse resolution" of the *har/hur* sign into its lectio frequentior, rather than cause for scrapping *hurnai-* for *harnai-*; wrongly Neu, *Altheth.* 2:55 [*StBoT* 26, 1983]; S. Košak, *ZA* 78:148 [1988]); verbal noun nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hur-ni-e-es-sar* (*IBoT* III 1, 28–30 UGULA ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM *hurniēssar peskizzi* LUGAL-*us* GUNNI-*i* 3-*ŠU pes-sezzi* 'the head chef gives a spray, the king throws three times into the fireplace'), *hur-ni-es-sar* (ibid. 31, 39), *hur-na-i-sar* (*KUB* LVIII 50 III 8 and 14), *hur-na-a-i-sar* (ibid. 11; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:90–2, 98 [1976]).

hurnuwai- 'spray', 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-nu-ú-i-iz-zi* (*KUB* XVII 24 II 4 É-*TIM hurnuuizzi* 'sprays the house'), *hur-nu-zi* (XLVII 39 Vs. 12; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:461), 3 pl. pres. act. *hur-nu-wa-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XIII 179 II 9–10 *n-at-kan sanhanzi namma-at hurnuwanzi* 'they flush [the houses], and also spray them'; XXIV 45 Vs. 22 *namma* É DINGIR-*LIM ser katta* ^{GIŠ}*huimpaz hurnuwanzi* 'further they spray the temple up and down from the h.'; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:105 [1983]), *hur-nu-an-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 7 I 36, 46, 56 *nu-za warpanzi* É DINGIR-*LIM-ya-kan hurnuanzi* 'they bathe, and spray the temple'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 119–20); partic. *hurnu(w)ant-*, nom. sg. c. *hur-nu-u-wa-an-za* (XXX 19 I 9–10 + XXXIX 7 I 15–16 ^{GIŠ}*tarses-ma karū udan*[*za ...* KÙ.BAB]BAR GAR.RA *namma-as hurnūwanza namma-*[*as ... and*]*a* GUL-*ahhantes*

'a table is already brought, inlaid with ... silver, it [is] further "sprayed" and also ... struck in'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 32), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hur-nu-wa-an* (XIII 4 I 19–20 *n-at-kan sanhan hurnuwan ēsdu* 'let [these houses] be flushed [and] sprayed'; ibid. 59–60 *nu-smas-kan ... pedan sanhan hurnuwan ēsdu* 'let the place be flushed [and] sprayed by you'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:364, 386 [1934]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hur-nu-an-ta* (*KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 10 *h]anissanta hurnuanta anda-ya-at karū istappanta* 'plastered [and] sprayed, and in addition [the premises] have already been shut'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 140); verbal noun gen. sg. *hu-u-ur-nu-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXXIX 6 II 14 [*INA* UD.1]1.KAM *hūrnūwas* 'on the eleventh day of spraying'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 48). *hurnuwai-* is denominative from a nominalized *u*-stem adjective **hurnu-* 'sprayer' (cf. e. g. *hassuwai-* from *hassu-*).

Pal. 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-ar-ni-na-i* (*KUB* XXXV 165 Vs. 10 *kiyat tabarnas huwarninai* 'here the ruler sprinkles' [?]). Cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 14, *Beiträge* 19–20.

Like the probable cognate *hurai-/huwarai-* (q. v.), *hurnai-/hurniya-* denotes a wet procedure among many (cf. esp. *papparš-* 'sprinkle'), and likewise has a technical sense of applying metal or stone inlays to furniture. The comparison with Vedic *vā́r-*, Toch. A *wär* 'water' (since W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59:178–9 [1939], and Sturtevant, *IHL* 41) is made more specific for *hurnai-/hurniya-* by the adduction of Gk. *ῥαίνω* 'sprinkle' as **wr̥nyō* from **A*$_1$*wr-n-* (cf. O. Szemerényi, *KZ* 73:74 [1955]; *IEW* 80–1, 1182); for *hur-* (besides *huwar-*) as a regular outcome of *H*$_1$*wr-* see s. v. *hurki-*, *hurkil-*, *hu(wa)rna-*. Cf. *hurnai-* (c.).

hurnai- (c.), non-solid arboreal substance used in maieutic ritual, nom. sg. *hur-na-is* (*KUB* XV 1 I 27), *hur-na-a-is* (VII 39, 5; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 88), *hur-na-a-i-is* (*KBo* XVII 73 II 8), *hur-na-a-ú-us* (sic *KUB* IX 22 II 39–40 *kuis hurnāwus lahuanzi* [sic; dupl. *KBo* XXX 1, 13 *lah]uanza*] 'what h. was poured'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 92, 110; commentary s. v. *harnau-* above), acc. sg. *hur-na-in* (*KUB* XII 49 I 17 *wātar hurnainn-a papparsiskanzi* 'they keep sprinkling water and h.'; *KBo* XVII 93 Rs. 6 *parkui wātar hurnainn-a da[nzi]* 'pure water [and] h. they take'; *KUB* IX 22 II 31–32 *nu-ssan* LÚ*patilis* DUG LIŠ.GAL *hurnain ANA* GIŠ KAK.HI.A *ser dāi* 'the priest places the pan [and] the h. on the pegs'; XV 1 I

26; *VBoT* 133 Rs. 2), *hur-na-a-in* (XLII 98 I 23 GIŠ*uraddazza* GIŠ*bāiniyazz-a hurnāinn-a da[nzi]* 'they take h. from the u.-tree and from tamarisk'; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 11 *and]a-ma-kan hurnāin pessizzi* GIŠERIN*-ya-kan* GIŠ*ZERT[UM ... and]a dāi* 'he throws in[to a cup] h., and puts in cedar and olive' [viz. to make a mouthwash]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 132; *KUB* LI 85 Rs. 2; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:377), *hur-na-a-i-in* (IX 22 II 28–29 *namma-kan* LÚ*patilis hurnāyin IŠTU* DUG LIŠ.GAL *IŠTU* GIŠ GIŠERIN GIŠ*paini* GIŠ*ZERTUM dāi* 'then the priest takes h. from the pan, along with wood of cedar, tamarisk, and olive').

This poured and sprinkled substance was probably tree-sap or resin. The obvious etymological connection (as 'spray stuff') would be with *hurnai-*, *hurniya-* 'spray, sprinkle' (q. v.), which argues for the reading *hur-* (rather than *har-*; cf. already Sturtevant, *IHL* 41). For the deverbative noun type cf. e. g. *hukmai-* 'conjuration', *istarningai-* 'ailment', *lingai-* 'oath'.

There was also a plant (nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut.) *har/hur-na-(a-)i*SAR (*KBo* XVII 15 Rs. 15 and 16; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73–4).

hurnapista- (c.?) 'hauntedness' (vel sim.), acc. sg. *[h]u-ur-na-pí-is-ta-an* (*KUB* XXXVI 49 I 3–6 *hazzīsar kara[pta ...] [kar]apta hutkisnas kara[pta ...] [h]urnapistan karapta lappiya[n karapta] dammishantan [lāl]an karapta* 'lifted [if *ka-ra-ap-ta* from *karp-* instead of normal *kar-ap-ta*] [or: 'devoured', if from *karap-* besides *ka-ri-ip-ta*] trauma, lifted ..., lifted [feelings] of stress, ..., lifted h., lifted fever, lifted suppressed tongue'), *hur-na-pí-is-ta-a(s-si-kán)* (XXIX 1 II 17–22 LUGAL*-un-wa liliskittin sākuwa-sset lileskittin irman-si-kan dattin we⟨ri⟩tman-si-kan dattin hurnapista-ssi-kan dattin harassanas* GIG*-an dāttin antuhsas idālu* INIM.MEŠ*-ar dattin kattawātar dattin ginuwas* GIG*-an dattin* ŠÀ*-as* GIG*-an dattin* 'soothe the king, soothe his eyes, take sickness from him, take apprehension from him, take h. from him, take headache, take evil words of men, take retribution, take knee-ailment, take heart-ailment'; cf. e. g. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152–4 [1982]).

The semantic environment fairly well circumscribes *hurnapista-* as a psychic or psychosomatic affliction., Despite the assured reading *hurna-* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:35 [1967], *JAOS* 87:357 [1967]), *harnapista-* wrongly figured in M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492, 505–6 (1982), with a connection to *harna-* 'stir,

agitate'. Probably a compound *hurna-pista-*; the first part bears comparison with *hu(wa)rna-* 'hunt, chase', the latter may have root affinity to *pessiya-*, *piss(iy)a-* 'throw'; perhaps a hunting term in figurative use.

hurpasta(n)-, hurpusta- (c.) 'leaf, peel', abl. sg. *hu-ur-pa-as-ta-az* (*KBo* XXI + *KUB* XXIX 7 Rs. 37 *kās-wa mahhan suppiwashar*^{SAR} *hurpastaz anda hūlaliyanza* 'as this onion (is) wrapped in its skin'; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:318–9 [1947]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 123), acc. pl. *hur-pa-as-ta-nu-us* (*KUB* XXIX 1 IV 17–19 ^{GIŠ}*eyan mahhan uktūri iyatniyan nu hurpastanus arha* ^{ŪL} *ishuwai* 'as the *eya*-tree is evergreen and does not shed its leaves' (cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:502 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:160 [1982]), *hurpāstānus* (dupl. *Bo* 5621 IV 13), dat.-loc. pl. *hur-pu-us--ta-as* (*KUB* XVII 35 IV 5, 8, 14, 31, with gloss-wedges [except 14]).

Plausible cognates are Lat. *verbēna* (< **werbes-nā*) 'leaves and saplings for sacral use', *-verbustus* 'beaten with twigs' (cf. *verbera* < **werbes-*), Lith. *vir̃bas* 'twig, sprig, switch', Russ. *vérba* 'osier', Gk. *ῥάβδος* 'twig, rod', *ῥάμνος* 'thorn-bush' (*IEW* 1153). Cf. Neumann, *KZ* 77:79 (1961); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:43, 197, *Pokorny BIK* 46; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85; H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:75 (1973). **H*$_1$*wr̥b-*, seen in Baltic, Slavic, and Greek, may regularly yield Hitt. *hurp-* (cf. s. v. *hurki-*); Eichner's (loc. cit.) reconstruct **Hwr̥bhos-to-* (> *hurpasta-*) may fit Latin, but not Greek, and *verbēna* has other possible explanations (e. g. **werdhes-no-*; cf. O. Szemerényi, *Festschrift für F. Altheim* 1:180–1 [1969]). For the suffix part cf. *alkista(n)-* 'bough', *hattalkesna-* 'thorn-bush', *tapalkustana-* (a plant).

Meriggi (*WZKM* 53:201 [1957]) compared the obscure Luw. ^{GIŠ}*huwarpann*[*a* of *KUB* XXXV 132 II 3 (cf. *Dict. louv.* 173).

hursakniya- 'stew, bake, roast, be parched', 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-ur-sa--ak-ni-e-it-ta* (*KBo* VI 34 II 8), 3 sg. imp. midd. *hu-ur-sa-ak-ni-ya--ad-da-ru* (ibid. 15). Context: *kī-wa-kan* ^{UZU}SA *mahhan hassī anda hursaknietta ... n-as* ^{UZU}SA*-as iwar hursakniyaddaru* 'even as this sinew stews on the hearth, he shall stew like the sinew'. Cf.

Friedrich, *ZA* 35:164 (1924); Neu, *Interpretation* 61; Oettinger, *Eide* 8, 30.

Perhaps denominative from a **hursakna-* or **hursakni-* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:497). Čop's analysis **hur-sk-n-* and connection with *harra-* (*Ling.* 8:59 [1966–8]) are otiose, as are H. Wittmann's speculations about *(pa)hhur* and Arm. *hur* 'fire' (*Die Sprache* 19:41–2 [1973]).

Possibly borrowed in Arm. *xoršak* 'sunstroke, sunburn'. Cf. T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:219 (1961); J. A. C. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 53 (1973), *Handes Amsorya* 87:71 (1973).

hu(r)uppi- (c.), a kind of dish or bowl, in plural also a kind of bread, nom. sg. *hu-ur-ru-pí-is* (*Bo* 4999 IV 5 *n-asta* ^{DUG}*hurrupis anda tarnanza* 'an h. [is] introduced'), *hu-u-up-pí-is* (dupl. 69/d III 2 *-]ta* ^{DUG}*hūppis* [...*-a*]*anza*; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:172 [1936]), acc. sg. *hu-u-ru-up-pí-in* (*KUB* XLVI 47 Vs. 13 and Rs. 17 *ŠA* ^{D}U *hūruppin* $^{BIBRI.HI.A}$*-ya hūmandus* 'the storm-god's h. and all rhyta'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-up-pí* (XLIII 30 III 17 *ANA* UGULA ^{L}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$Ú.HÚB *hūppi-ssi suhhanz*[*i* 'they pour [them] into the h. of the chief of the deaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 78; *KBo* XXI 33 III 9 *ANA hūppi*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 54:191 [1960]), nom. pl. *hu-u-ru-pí-us* (*KUB* XLI 41 V 18 ^{NINDA}*hūrupiuss-a kiyanta* 'and h.-bread have been placed'), acc. pl. *hu-u-ru-pí-us* (ibid. 20–21 ^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR-*LIM* ^{NINDA}*hūrupius* LUGAL-*i kattan ish*[*uw*]*āi* 'the mother divine strews h.-bread before the king'), *hu-ru-pí-us* (XX 80 III 7–8 *ta-ssi* $^{SAL.MEŠ}$*ha*[*z-garāi*] *menahhanda tiyanzi* ^{NINDA}*hurupius-si kattan ishuwānzi* 'the women percussionists step towards him and strew h.-bread before him'; similarly XX 81 I 10 ^{NINDA}*huru*]*pius kattan ishūwai*; XX 7 Vs. 5]^{NINDA}*hurupius katta*[*n*]). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 163 (1974).

For the instability of intervocalic *r* cf. e. g. *pi(r)an*, *pu(r)ut* (*KBo* VI 16, 3 [= *Code* 2:10] *pu-u-ut*), *huwa(r)a-*, or conversely its parasitic hiatic appearance in e. g. *a(r)impa-*, *sa(r)āuwar* (cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 31). The semantic range 'bowl' : 'bread' recalls that of *harsi-* (q. v.) or French *boule*.

Patent loanword from Akk. *huruppu* (a metal dish; *CAD* H 256; *AHW* 360) via Hurrian (with *KUB* XLVI 47 Vs. 13 and

Rs. 17 *šA* ^{D}U *hūruppin* [quoted above] cf. XXVII 1 III 41 [Hurr.] ^{D}]U-*up hu-ru-up-pí*, XXVII 6 I 10 [Hurr.] ^{D}U-*uppi hu-u-ru-up-pí*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 34:115 [1976]). The bread name or epithet *huppassi-* (*KBo* XXIX 172, 10 1 NINDA *hu-up-pa-as-si*, ibid. 9 *hu-u-up-pa-as-si-us*; XXIX 173, 5 NINDA.HI.A *hu-u-up-pa-as-si-i*[-) may reflect **hu(r)uppassi-* (cf. e. g. ^{NINDA}*harnantassi-* [s. v. *harna-*], NINDA KUR$_4$.RA *hauiassi-* [s. v. *haui-*]).

hurutil- (n.), name of a dish, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ru-ti-el* (e. g. *KBo* IV 13 III 13 and 14 ^{UTÚL}*hurutel*, ibid. 8]*hurutel*; *KUB* II 8 II 3, 9, 15, 19, 22 ^{UTÚL}*hurutel*), *hu-ru-ut-ti-el* (ibid. 6), gen. sg. *h*]*u-ru-ti-li-ya-as* (sic *KBo* XXV 79 IV 14, in a list of vases; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 157), instr. sg. ^{UTÚL}*hu-ru-ti-li-it* (IV 13 III 18).

Possibly derived from the obscure verb seen in 3 sg. pret. act. *ar-ha hu-ru-ta-it* (*KUB* XVI 34 I 14; perhaps 'tip over' [vel sim.]), iter. 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-ru-te-es-kán-zi* (XXXI 100 Vs. 24). Recalls other opaque terms for dishes such as *hapalzil-*. Speculation about affinities to *hu(r)uppi-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:224) or *hu(wa)rti-* (Lebrun, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 112 [1979]) is otiose.

husa- (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *hu-u-sa-as* (*KUB* V 11 I 51), acc. sg. *hu-u-sa-an* (V 17 II 14). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 214.

Recalls Akk. *husū* (a kind of owl; *CAD* H 258; *AHW* 360). For other oracular bird names lacking the 'bird' determinative see also s. v. *harrani-*.

husa- (c. or n.), a leather object installed upon an ox, acc. sg. *hu-sa-an* (*KBo* VI 2 IV 10–11 [= *Code* 1:78] *takku* GUD-*an kuiski kussanizzi nu-sse-an* ^{KUŠ}*husan nasma* ^{KUŠ}*tarusha anda dāi ishas-(s)is-an wemizzi* 1 *PARISI* ŠE *pāi* 'if someone hires an ox and installs on it a leather h. or t., and its owner finds it, he gives 1 p. of grain'), *hu-u-sa-an* (dupl. VI 3 IV 3–4 *kuis*]*ki kusanizzi nu-ssi-kan* ^{KUŠ}*hūsan* [... *ta*]*rusha anda dāi ishas-sis-an wemiyazi*; VI 10 II 9–10 [= *Code* 2:25] *takku* ^{KUŠ}*hūsan nasma* ^{KUŠ}*tarush*[*a*] *kuiski tayezzi* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* 'if someone steals a leather h. or t., he gives one shekel of silver').

Perhaps ^{KUŠ}*husa-* is fundamentally the same word as ^{GIŠ}*huesa-*, *husa-* 'spindle' (q. v.), thus even tying in alternatively with Van

Windekens' hesitant comparison of ^{KUŠ}*husa-* with Skt. *uṣṇīṣa-* 'headband' and *uṣṇihā* 'nape' (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 341–2 [1981]); some twined or twisted piece of harness may be involved.

hussil(i)-, husselli-, hussulli- 'pit, dump' (*AŠRU*; cf. *api-* 'pit' = *AŠRU* [*HED* 1–2:100]), nom. sg. (?) *hu-us-si-i-il* (*KUB* XXXV 146 II 3 *pa*]*ngauwas hussīl* 'public dump' [?]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 268), gen. sg. *hu-u-us-si-li-ya-as* (*KBo* XXXII 19 II 29–31 *sarāzzi*[*yas-a wahnuēs-sa*]*r arha hū*[*ssiliyas iwa*]*r sakkurī*[*yemi*] 'the walling of the acropolis I shall lay low like a pit'; cf. Neu, *Documentum Otten* 237), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-us-si-li* (*KUB* XXXI 100 Rs. 8–10 *nu k*]*amarsuwas uddanī mekki nahh*[*antes ēsten*] [*nam*]*ma-kan* ^{URU}*Hattusi ser hassus le* [...] [*n*-]*asta* [*has*]*sus katta sallai hussili-pat* [...] 'in the matter of defecation be very concerned; furthermore up in Hattusas do not [pour] ashes, [pour] ashes only into the main dump below'), *hu-us-si-li-ya* (*KBo* III 8 II 13 *hussiliya-wa*; ibid. 12 *hussil*]*iya harizzi* 'buries in a pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961]), *hu-u-us*[- (XXV 105 I 6 *anda salli hūs*[- 'inside the main dump'), *hu-us-su-ul-li* (*KBo* XXIV 57 I 7–8 É-*r-a-kan PANI* DINGIR-*LIM sanhanzi nu hassus INA hussulli ishuwa*[*nzi* 'the house before the deity they flush and pour the ashes into the pit'), *INA AŠRI* (dupl. XXIII 42 I 8 *nu hassus INA AŠRI*[; cf. *nu-us apiya ishūwai* [s. v. *hass-* 'ashes']), abl. sg. *hu-us-si-li-az* (*KUB* XXIX 23, 13 [= *Code* 2:10]]*hussiliaz purut kuī*[*s-*), *hu-u-us-si-el-li-ya-az* (dupl. *KBo* VI 11 I 18 *takku hūsselliyaz pu*[*r*]*ut kuiski dāiyazi* 'if someone steals clay from a pit'), dat.-loc. pl. (or gen. sg.?) *hu-u-us-si-li-ya-as* (*KUB* XII 39, 3), [*hu*]-*u-us-si-li-as* (ibid. 10), *hu-us-su-ul-li-ya-as* (*IBoT* I 12 I 4–5 *anda sallayas hussulliyas*; *ABoT* 6, 23 *salla*]*yas hussulliy*[*as*). For the man's name ^{I}*Hu-si-li-ú-ma-an* see Laroche, *Noms* 258. Cf. also F. Gentili Pieri, *Atti La Colombaria* 47:24–33 (1982), for ritual implications of this pit.

Recalls in formation Hurroid words like *sehelli-* (cf. Čop, *Ling.* 6:44 [1964]; Neu, *Documentum Otten* 237). Furnée (*Erscheinungen* 252, 257) saw a Greek borrowing in Hes. *κυσέρη* 'open hole, bottom'.

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 342 [1981]) improbably compared German *wasen* 'sod,

turf' (OHG *waso*). No better was H. Eichner's connection with IE **aws-* 'draw (up)' (Gk. *αὕω*, Lat. *hauriō*, ON *ausa*) in the sense of 'source of clay' (in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie* 127 [1980]).

huski- 'wait (for), linger, procrastinate', 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-us-ki-si* (*KBo* V 13 III 17–18 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 III 36 *nu* AWAT ^{D}UTU-*ŠI le hūskisi* 'do not wait for word from my majesty'; dupl. *KBo* IV 3 II 13]^{D}UTU-*ŠI hu-u-us-ki* [sic]; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-us-ki-iz-zi* (*Bo* 4951 Rs. 21 -]*san parā huskizzi*[; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 126), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-us-kán-zi* (*KUB* XXXI 101 Vs. 14 *n-an* ŪL *apiya-pat huskanzi* 'do they not wait for it [viz. the bird] right there?'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:137 [1975]), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-us-ki-it* (XII 31 I 16–17 *istantait kuit nu* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* ŪL *kuitki huskit* 'because he had [already] tarried, my majesty did not wait any [longer]'; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 6; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 105 [1985]), 2 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-us-ki-it-tin* (XXXI 101 Vs. 15 *sumes-a* Á^{MUŠEN} *k[uw]at* ŪL *hūskittin* 'and why did you not wait for the eagle?'), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-us-ki* (*KBo* V 13 II 29–30 *nu* AWAT ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hūski nu-tta mahhan* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hatrāmi* 'await my majesty's word, as I the king write to you'; similarly ibid. III 11); verbal noun *hu-us-ki-u-wa-ar* (I 44 Vs. 20, matching ibid. [Akk.] *qa-ma-ú* [i.e. *qawū, qu'u* 'wait']; cf. *MSL* 17:102 [1985]); deverbative adj. *huskiwant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-us-ki-wa-an-te-es* (I 11 Rs. 14 [*Lariyas huskiwantes* 'the procrastinators of L.'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:122, 129 [1938], and for formation e.g. *armawant-* [*HED* 1–2:155], *kartimmiyawant-*, *nahsariyawant-*).

huski- is clearly a hidden iterative of the type seen in *iski-* (**is-ske-*; *HED* 1–2:423) or *duski-* (**tus-ske-*). The semantic thrust is not '(be) expect(ant), look forward (to)' but rather 'stick around (for), stay (for)', akin to *istantai-* with which it is paired. Hence the comparison with Skt. *ávati* 'help', Lat. *avē-* 'be eager' and their cognates (from Götze–Pedersen [*MS* 51] via Sturtevant [*IHL* 41, 62] to Kronasser [*Pokorny BIK* 46]) was flawed; IE **A_2éw-A_2-* is seen rather in *iyawa-* (*HED* 1–2:353–4). No better were Čop's tie-in with *hai-* 'believe' (see s. v.) or H. Eichner's adduction of the IE 'ear' word (*MSS* 31:87 [1973]; endorsed by Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 328), let alone the combinations with *au(s)-* 'see' which ignored the laryngeal (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 71; still in Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 46).

This leaves as the most plausible etymology the interpretation of *huski-* as an old iterative **A_1us-ske-* of *hues-* 'live' (e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[1] 54, 109; Kuryłowicz, *Études* 74; Kronasser, *VLFH* 46), semantically specialized as 'stay, linger' (like Skt. *vásati* and Toch. *wäs-*), vs. the stress on 'be alive' in *hues-* (with its innovated iterative *hueski-*). The secondary potential transitivization inheres in the marked semantics (cf. Engl. 'wait' but 'await, outwait').

huski- has been dubiously compared to Arm. *hskem* 'watch, go sleepless' (T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:221 [1961]; G. B. Jahukyan, *Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezownerə* 155 [1970]; J. Greppin, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3:88–9 [1975]). For earlier attempts by G. Kapancjan to explain *hskem* via *skem* 'see' (tying the latter in with Hitt. *uski-*, iter. of *au[s]-* 'see') see Weitenberg, *Kratylos* 23:88 [1978]).

hust(i)- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-u-us-za* (78/e Rs. 18 *hūsza-ma-at parkunuma[s]* 'but it [is] h. of cleansing'; *KBo* XI 14 I 19 *nu* ^{GIŠ}ERIN YÀ.NUN LÀL *hūszas[-a?] samesiyazi* 'cedar, butter, honey, and h. is burning'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 150), *hu-us-ti-is* (XII 85 II 7–9 *nu-k[an] hustis* GIM-*an* KALAG.G[A] KALAG.GA-*as ēsdu* 'even as h. [is] strong, may he be strong!'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 138), *hu-u-us-ti-is* (V 2 I 37–38 ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN *tepu* ^{NA_4}GUG ^{NA_4}AŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL *tepu hūstiss-a tepu* 'a little bluestone, a little carnelian, a little alabaster, and a little h.'), acc. sg. *hu-us-ta-an* (*KUB* X 63 Rs. 10–11 *nu-ssi-sta* ^{LÚ}SANGA *hustan ser arha wahnuzzi* 'the priest swings h. above her'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88, 100 [1957]; *KUB* XXIII 23 Vs. 31 *huppannin hustann-a dahhu[n* 'I took *huppanni* [obscure] and h.'; ibid. 65 *hupp]annin hustann-[a se]r arha wahnuzi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 206–10), *hu-us-da-an* (*KUB* XXVII 29 I 18–19 *n-asta anda* ^{NA_4}*huppannin husdann-a wahnuwanzi*), *hu-u-us-ta-an* (ibid. 25 [^{NA_4}*huppann]in hūstann-a ser arha wahnuwanzi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136; *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 9 *hūstan ser arha wahnuskizzi* 'keeps swinging h. above'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42, 50–1), *hu-us-ti-in* (V 2 IV 20–23 ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN ^{NA_4}GUG ^{NA_4}AŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL *tepu dāi hustin* ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}SINIG *tepu dāi n-at-san* ANA ^{DUG}*kuskussulli katta kūskuzzi* 'takes a little bluestone, carnelian, and alabaster, takes a little h., cedar, and tamarisk, and pounds them with a pestle'), instr. sg. *hu-us-ti-it* (XXIII 1 II 2–5 *n[u]* DINGIR-*LAM IŠTU* Á^{MUŠEN} SÚR.DÙ.A^{MUŠEN} 1 MAŠ.TUR MUŠEN *HURRI* ^{NA_4}*hustit wahnuwanzi* EGIR-*anda-ma* DINGIR-*LAM sehilliyas uitenit*

suppiyahhanzi 'they swing at the deity with an eagle, a falcon, one kid, a sheldrake, and h., but afterwards they cleanse the deity with purification water'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 45; *KUB* XXXI 31 + XXXII 14 IV 37–39 É.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ya hūmanda IŠTU* Á^MUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.A^MUŠEN *hapupit* MUŠEN *HURRI hustitt-a wahnuwanzi sehelliyaz uitenaz suppiyahhanzi* 'and all temples they swing at with eagle, falcon, owl, sheldrake, and h., [and] they cleanse with purification water'; *IBoT* III 52, 3–4 *n-an* LÚAZU *IŠTU* MUŠEN *HURRI* [*h*]*ustit wetenazz-iya* [*wa*]*hnuzi* 'the medicine man swings at him with sheldrake, h., and water'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 250; *KBo* XXII 161 Rs. 3–4 *IŠTU* MÁŠ.GAL *nasma* UDU *wahnuzi* EGIR-*anda-ma hustit wahnuzi* 'swings with a goat or sheep, but afterwards swings with h.'; *KUB* XXIX 8 II 7–8 *hustitt-a ... wahnuanzi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 43; XVII 8 III 1 *hustit wahnuwanzi*; *KBo* XIX 140, 11 *h*]*ustit wahnuanz*[*i*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 42), *hu-u-us-ti-it* (*KUB* XXIX 4 III 65 *namma* DINGIR-*LAM hūstit arha wahnuanzi* 'then they swing at the deity with h.'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 28). For the syntactic transformation 'swings a bird at him' : 'swings (at) him with a bird' see H. C. Melchert, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9:247–8 [1981]).

Hurr. nom. sg. *hu-us-ti* (*KUB* XLVII 10, 13 *hup*]*panni husti āhra zuppa*[*ri* 'huppanni, h., incense, torch'; *KBo* II 21, 12–13 *assuhhinase anti itki*[-...] *husti siyena* DINGIR.MEŠ 'fir, clean[se] ..., h., water, gods'), *hu-u-us-ti* (*KUB* XLV 18 Vs. 15 *tisi-yas hūsti* [with gloss-wedge] 'their heart, h.'; XLVII 12 III 9 *hu-u-us-ti-wu$_u$-wa-a-an*), dat. pl. *hu-us-te-na-a-sa* (XXVII 38 II 24).

hust(i)- with its very occasional 'stone' determinative was hard ('strong') but could be crushed in a mortar along with quartz-like minerals and various woods, and burned together with wood, butter, and honey; it was ritually manipulated in swinging fashion along with assorted birds and animals, accompanied by purification with water. There is merit in A. M. Polvani's hypothesis (*La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti* 18–27 [1988]) that *hust(i)*- was amber, with reference to Pliny's discussion of the manifold medical uses of highly flammable amber (*chryselectrum*) either tied to the patient or pulverized and ingested with honey and water (*Natural History* 37.51). The therapeutic combination of *hust(i)*- with animal matter further reminded her of the amber-like gemstone called *lyncurium* (crystallized lynx urine according to Pliny, *Natural History* 8.137); the confusion came easy, even as amber is a vegetal fossil resin,

whereas ambergris (the original meaning of Arabic *'anbar*) is of animal origin (flotsam consisting of intestinal sperm whale secretion).

Because of the root noun *hust-*, chances are that it is a native Hittite term, with *husti-* a hurrianized stem variant. If the meaning is indeed 'amber', it joins such various amber terms as Gk. *ἤλεκτρον* (cf. the solar epithet *ἠλέκτωρ*), Lith. *giñtaras*, Balto-Finnic *helmi*, Germano-Latin *glēsum* (OE *glǣr*), and Latin *sūcinum*.

hustisk- 'whisper', 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-us-ti-is-kán-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 20), *hu-us-te-is-kán-zi* (e. g. ibid. III 27–28 LÚ.MEŠALAM.KAXUD [*ah*]*ā halzissanzi memian-ma husteskanzi* 'the actors shout the exclamation but whisper the word'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 74–6; XXX 19 I 40 + XXX 22, 5 LÚALAM.KAXUD *ah*[*ā h*]*alzianzi memian husteskanz*[*i*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 34; XXX 24 II 10–11 and 21–22 LÚ.MEŠALAM.KAXUD *ahā halzianzi memian-ma husteskanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 III 34–35 LÚ.MEŠALAM.KAXUD *ahā QATAMMA halzianzi memian QATAMMA husteskanzi*), *hu-es-te-es-kán-zi* (e. g. ibid. 49–50 *memian-ma husteskanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 42–4; XXX 25 + XXXIV 68 + XXXIX 4 Vs. 26 *ahā halziyanzi memian-ma husteskanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 26; XXXIX 7 II 43 *halz*]*iyanzi memian-ma husteskanzi*), *hu-u-us-ti-is-kán-zi* (e. g. dupl. XXXIX 8 I 46 *me*]*mian-ma hūstiskanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 38; XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 10; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 74), *hu-u-us-te-es-kán-zi* (XXXIX 17 III 8–10 LÚ.MEŠALAM.KAXUD [...] *ahā halziyanzi memian-ma hūsteskanzi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 86).

Rather than an iterative of a **hustiya-*, the invariant *hustisk-* may be a phonesthetic formation recalling English *whisper* or Finnish *kuiskata* 'whisper'. The near-synonym *tastasiya-* shows blatant onomatopoeic reduplication, like e. g. Lat. *susurrō*, Italian *bisbigliare*, Spanish *cuchichear*, French *chuchoter*.

A relationship to Skt. *óṣṭha-*, Avest. *aošta-*, Khotanese *auṣṭä* 'lip' (Tischler, *KZ* 86:276 [1972], *Glossar* 317), even keeping apart Hitt. *ais-* 'mouth', is unlikely ('lip' is Hitt. *puri-*). Even less probable was Oettinger's adduction (*Stammbildung* 328) of *A_1ews-* 'ear' (Lat. *auris*, etc.), assuming a sense of 'harken' for *hust-* (sic) and erroneously including *huski-* 'wait, linger'.

huta- (c. and n.) 'readiness, ability to act swiftly', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ta-as* (*KUB* XXIII 1 IV 20–21 *ANA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-ya-as* GIM-*an hūtas upahiless-a* [both with gloss-wedges] *tuqq-a-as QATAM[MA] hūtas upahiless-a* [both with gloss-wedges] *ēsdu* 'as for my majesty it [viz. military positioning] [matters in terms of] readiness [and] preparation [?], let it likewise be to you [a matter of] readiness and preparation [?]'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 324–5; Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 16, 47–8), *hu-u-da-as* (XXVI 17 I 5 *apiya-ya hūdas ēstu* 'there too let there be readiness'; *KBo* XVI 25 I 46 *hūmanti-ya hūdas ēstu* 'and let everyone have readiness'; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]; *KUB* XIII 20 I 7 *hūmandas hūdas ēsdu* 'let all have readiness!'), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-u-da* (ibid. 19 *nu hūmanza hūda hardu* 'let everyone have readiness!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:388–92 [1947]; XXI 47 + XXIII 82 Vs. 18 *nu hūmanza hūda hardu*; unclear *KBo* XXII 105 Vs. 9–10 *hūda-ya-war-a-smas* [...]-*nan ēstu*).

hutak 'straightway, forthwith, downright, readily, right away, at once, promptly, quickly, suddenly', spelled *hu-u-ta-ak* (e.g. *KUB* XVII 7 III 16 *n]u-wa hūtak uwattin* 'come at once!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:154 [1951]; XLIV 63 II 6–8 *n-an-kan hūtak* SAG.DU-*an* [...] *mān* 1-*ŠU mān* 2-*ŠU* GUL-*ahzi nu-ssi-kan ishar arha tarnai* 'he forthwith strikes his head either once or twice and lets blood from him'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 28; *KBo* XXI 76 r. K. 8; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 24), *hu-u-ta-a-ak* (XXVI 73, 6; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52), *hu-da-a-ak* (*KBo* XXV 139 + *KUB* XXXV 164 Rs. 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 226), *hu-u-da-ak* (e.g. *KUB* XXXI 84 III 68–69 *nu-ssi AŠRA hūdak hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a place'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50; XXVI 1 III 45–46 *summes-(s)mas kuyēs* LÚ.MEŠ$_{SAG}$ *hūdak kā ēstin* 'you chiefs who were here right away'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14; *KUB* XII 65 + *KBo* XXVI 71 III 7 *nu-wa hūdak ehu* 'come at once!'; ibid. 10 *n-as-kan sarā hūdak arāis* 'he rose up forthwith'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; *KUB* V 1 I 23 *nu* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI* INIM ^{URU}*Taptenaya Ù* INIM ^{URU}*Hursama hūdak* DÙ-*zi* 'his majesty forthwith deals with the business of T. and of H.'; ibid. II 34 ^{D}UTU-*ŠI hūdak-pat* ^{URU}*Hurnan* ^{URU}*Tasmahan* RA-*zi* 'his majesty strikes H. [and] T. at once'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:36, 56; XXII 25 Vs. 19–21 *parā-ma-za-kan* ^{URU}*Neriggaz arha ariyami mān kurur*HI.A *hūdak* RA-*mi mān-za* EZEN *wuruliyas hūdak* DÙ-*mi* 'further I shall get an oracle from Nerik whether I should forthwith strike the enemy or

whether I should right away celebrate the *purulli* festival'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 176; XXI 19 + 338/v III 12–13 KUR ^{URU}*Nerik hūdak-pat karuuiliyas ANA* LUGAL.MEŠ *karū harkanza ēsta* 'once under the ancient kings Nerik had gone down to sudden ruin'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 314; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:94 [1981]; XXVII 29 I 23 [*nu-za* ^{SAL}Š]U.GI *hūdak ārri* 'the old woman quickly washes herself'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136; *KUB* XIV 20 + *KBo* XIX 76 I 28 *karūwariwar-ma hūdak* IMBA[*RU katt*]*a udās* 'at dawn [the storm-god] suddenly brought down a fog'; cf. Götze, *AM* 194; Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 162 [1979]; *KBo* XIV 12 IV 2 [*nu-wa-mu s*]*umās hūdak idalu iyattin* 'you suddenly did me evil'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:97 [1956]; IV 7 III 7 *memi*]*an hūdak IŠPUR* 'he forthwith sent word'), *hu-u-da-a-ak* (e.g. dupl. IV 3 II 24, *KUB* VI 41 III 48; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128; XV 31 II 12 *hūdāk-ma-za* GIŠ$_{AL}$ *dāi nu pedāi* 'he forthwith takes a mattock and digs', besides dupl. XV 32 II 6–7 *hūdak-za* GIŠ$_{AL}$ *dāi*[; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; XIII 2 I 6 *nu memian hūdāk udanzi* 'they bring word at once'; ibid. II 46 *n-an* EGIR-*pa hūdāk iyandu* 'they shall forthwith reappoint him'; ibid. III 41 *nu-ssi pitta hūdāk hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a land-grant'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 41, 46, 49; *VBoT* 1, 19–21 *n-asta* LÚ*halugatalla-ttin ammell-a* LÚ*halugatallan* EGIR-*pa parā hūdāk nai* 'send back quickly your envoy and that envoy of mine'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:335 [1956]; *KBo* V 3 IV 20–21 *nu-mu-ssan mān hūdāk ŪL erteni* 'if you do not come to me at once'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:134; *KBo* III 2 Vs. 22 *lukkatta-ma-as karū ārriwar hūdāk tūriyazzi* 'in the morning at daybreak he promptly harnesses them'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 128; *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 18 *nu-wa-za QATE*.MEŠ-*KA zik hūdāk ēsharnut* 'bloody thy hands forthwith!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 24; LVII 63 I 6–8 *nu-wa-za mahhan hūdāk ārrahhi nu-wa-mu* TÚG$_{NÍG.LÁM}$-*ya parā hūdāk pāi* 'as soon as I have washed myself, give me my raiment right away!'; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16; XIII 4 II 75 *nu nekuz mēhūni hūdāk* GAM *paittin* 'at night go down promptly'; ibid. III 72–73 *n-as-kan lukkatti* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as adannas mēhūni hūdāk aru* 'in the morning, at the gods' eating time, let him arrive promptly'; ibid. IV 4 *n-a*]*t hūdāk mēhūnas mēhuni pe hartin* 'tender them promptly at the proper time'; ibid. IV 40 *n-at* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hūdāk udattin* 'bring it promptly to the gods!'; ibid. 43–44 *mān huelpi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hūdāk UL udatteni n-at suma*[*s*] *hūdāk izzatteni* 'if you do not bring the newborn promptly to the gods and you

promptly eat them'; ibid. 49–50 *mān-wa-za kī huwelpi anzel* ZI-*ni hūdāk piyawēn* 'if we promptly gave this newborn to ourselves'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380–94 [1934]).

The adverbial formation *hutak* was juxtaposed with *zinnuk* 'finally, at last' already by Hrozný, *SH* 180; adverbial *-k* has been compared with Gk. *πέριξ* 'all aroung', *πόκα* 'when', *αὐτίκα* 'forthwith' (Josephson, *RHA* 24:148–9 [1966]) and further recalls adverbs of the type *γνύξ*, *πύξ*, *λάξ*, *ὀδάξ*.

huta- (**E*$_2$*ewdho-*, with *E*$_2$- as in e. g. *hark-* 'get lost', *harna-*, *henk-*, *hewu-*) is the etymon of the hitherto isolated Gk. *εὐθύς* 'straight', adverbially 'straightway, forthwith, at once'. *εὐθύς* has a Greek semi-homophone and near-synonym in *ἰθύς* 'straight' (cognate with Ved. *sādhati, sídhyati* 'go straight, succeed', *sādhú-*, *sidhrá-* 'successful'), where, however, adverbial *ἰθύ(ς)* means predominantly 'straight' in a directional rather than temporal sense. The problematic *εἴθαρ* 'at once, forthwith' may reflect **E*$_2$*ewdhwr̥* similar in development to *ἰπνός* < **ὑπνός* (see s. v. *huppar-*) or *εἶπον* (**wewkʷom*) or *ἀείδω* (**Ạwewd-*).

iutanni- (c.), acc. sg. in *KUB* XV 11 III 16 *nu* 1 *hu-ga-an-ni-in* (sic) KÙ.BABBAR 1 *hu-u-ta-an-ni-in* GU[ŠKIN] 'one silver h. (and) one gold h.' (cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:51 [1972]), dat.-loc. sg. (mostly Hurroid) *hu-da-an-ni* (X 91 III 2), *hu-ta-ni-ya* (*KBo* VIII 89 Vs. 2; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 264), *hu-u-ta-an-ni* (*IBoT* III 148 II 28 and 31), *hu-u-ta-an-ni-ya* (ibid. 23 and 27; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 218; *KUB* XV 37 II 2; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 232), *hu-u-da-an-ni* (*IBoT* III 148 II 24), *hu-u-da-ni-ya* (ibid. IV 10), *hu-u-da-an-ni-ya* (ibid. II 65 and IV 14).

Lacking the DUG determinative, *hutanni-* is not a container (wrongly Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:221; Tischler, *Glossar* 319) but a cult object, even deified (cf. *KBo* XI 1 Vs. 4 ^{D}*Huzzi* ^{D}*Hutanni halziyawen* 'we have invoked H. [and] H.'), in Hurrian or Hurroid contexts (cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 80–1; Laroche, *RHA* 34:110–1 [1976]).

uthutal-, name or epithet of bread, nom.-acc. sg. neut. (?) *hu-ut-hu-ta-al* (*KUB* XLIV 52, 7 2 NINDA *huthutal*), nom.-acc. pl. neut. (?) *hu-ut-hu-u-ta-la* (LVI 55 I 30 2 NINDA *huthūtala*; ibid. 23 2 NINDA *huthut*[-), *hu-ut-hu-u-ta-al-la* (XXIX 4 II 60 2 NINDA *huthūtalla*), *hu-u-ut-hu-ud-da-a-la* (dupl. XXIX 6, 7 2 NINDA *hūthuddāla*; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 20; *ZA* 71:127 [1981]).

Perhaps derived from Akk. (Hurr.?) *huthutu*, a commodity designation at Alalah which was bartered with emmer wheat (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 163–4 [1974]).

hutk-, variant of *hatk-*, verbal noun *hutkessar*, gen. sg. *hu-ut-ki-is-na-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 49 I 3 *hutkisnas karapta* 'lifted [or: devoured] [feelings] of stress'; for further context see s. v. *hurnapista-*); iter. *hutekkiski-* (cf. *hatkiski-*), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-te-ik-ki-is-kán-du* (XXXI 100 Vs. 9), *hu-u-te-ik-ki-is-kán-du* (ibid. 11).

For the *hatk-* : *hutk-* variation see s. v. *hapallasai-*, *hulukanni-*; perhaps *hutkessar* and *hut(ek)kiski-* reflect **hatkuessar* and **hatkueski-*, with anticipation of labiality, from a denominative **hatkuwai-* from *hatku-* 'tight, strait, stressed'.

hutnikki- (c.), a container for honey, nom. sg. *hu-u-ut-ni-ik-ki-is* (*KBo* V 1 II 45 1 ^{DUG}*hūtnikkis* LÀL 'one h. of honey'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 8*), acc. sg. *hu-ut-ni-ik-ki-in*, dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ut-ni-ik-ki* (*KUB* XXXIX 12 Rs. 15–16 *tekan pedanzi nu* 1-*EN* ^{DUG}*hutnikkin* [...] [...] ^{DUG}*hutnikki anda lahūwanzi* LÀ[L 'they dig the earth and one h. ...; they pour into the h.; honey ...'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 70).

Areal culture term, reminiscent of Akk. *huttu* (storage jar for cereals or oil; *AHW* 362), perhaps of Hurrian derivation. Cf. *hutusi-*.

hutusi- (c.), a container for wine, nom. sg. *hu-u-tu-si-is* (*KUB* XII 1 IV 25 ^{DUG}]*hūtusis* GUŠKIN GAR.RA 'wine-jar inlaid with gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:102 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 448), *hu-u-tu-si-i-is* (XXXVIII 2 III 21–22 *ŠA* GEŠTIN-*pat hūtusīs andurza* KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 'wine-jar inlaid with silver on the inside'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8, 45).

Culture term reminiscent of *hutnikki-* (q. v.) and Akk. *huttu* (a storage jar). For the woman's name ^{SAL}*Hudusis* (Laroche, *Noms* 340) cf. *RS* 25:421 Recto 20 *haliwanis-ma-as* SI[G_5-*anza*] 'she (is) a good vessel' (cf. *HED* 1–2:224).

hu(wa)hhurti- (c.), *hurhurta-* (n.) 'windpipe, throat', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *hur-hur-ta* (*KBo* XII 96 I 9–11 *ais-za-kan* YÀ-*it sūwanza ēs* ^{UZU}*hurhurta-ma-za-kan halwamnaz sūwanza ēs* [partitive apposition] 'have your mouth filled with fat, may your throat swell with enthusiasm!'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239, 245 [1964]), acc. sg. c. *hu-uh-hur-ti-in* (*KUB* VII 1 III 14–16 *n-an* EME-*ŠU huikdu n-an* ^{UZU}*huhhurtin huikdu n-an* ^{UZU}*pappassalin huikdu n-an* ^{UZU}GAB KI.MIN *n-an* ^{UZU}*hahhari* KI.MIN 'let her conjure his tongue, let her conjure his windpipe, let her conjure his esophagus, his breast likewise, his lung[s] likewise'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ah-hur-ti* (VII 18, 1 *hūwahhurti-si* 'to [?] his [?] throat'); uncertain case *hu-uh-hu-ur-ti*[- (*KBo* XXI 6 Rs. 9 EME-*as apel huhhurti*[- 'tongue, his throat ...'), *hu-u-wa-ah-h*[*u-* (*KUB* VIII 36 III 1 *hūwahh*[*u-*; cf. ibid. 2 and 6 *SUHALU* 'cough'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38).

hu(wa)hhu(wa)rtalla- (n.) 'necklace', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-uh-hu-ur-tal-la* (*KUB* LVIII 59 I 8 1-*NUTUM huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN NA_4 'a set of necklaces of gold [and] stones'), *hu-uh-hur-ta-al-la* (*RS* 25:421 Recto 24 *huhhurtalla-a*[*s*] 'she [is] a necklace', matching ibid. [Akk.] *šurhullu* 'necklace'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:773, 777 [1968]), *hu-uh-hur-tal-la* (*KBo* XVIII 170 Vs. 4 1-*NUTUM huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN NA_4; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109 [1982]; *KUB* XLII 43 Vs. 7 1-*NU huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN[; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 112; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 484; XLII 69 Vs. 20 1-*NUTUM huhurtalla*; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 458), *hu-wa-ah-hu-wa-ar-ta-al-la* (XV 23 Vs. 14–15 *KILILU* GUŠKIN [...] *huwahhuwartalla* [with gloss-wedge] 'a gold wreath [as?] necklace'; cf. Güterbock, *Orientalia* N.S. 25:129 [1956]; P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:62–3 [1972]). Cf. the semi-synonym *kuttanalli-* from *kuttar*.

Luw. genitival adjective acc. pl. in *KUB* XXXV 88 III 16–17 ^{UZU}*hu-hur-ta-a*[*s-sa-an-za*] GIG-*za* 'throat-ailments' (cf. Starke, *KLTU* 227).

**hu(wa)r-hu(wa)rt-* is a typical reduplicative body part designation, similar to *pappassala/i-* 'esophagus' or *hahhari-* 'lung', with close areal matches in Skt. *phupphusa-* 'lung' or Arm. *xaxurt'* 'windpipe'; sometimes these can be traced to nonreduplicated stems (e. g. Hitt. *pas-* 'swallow' or Gk. *φῡσάω* 'puff', even as Hitt. *gakkartani-* 'shoulderblade' matches the nonreduplicated OHG *herti*); possibly

**hu(wa)rhu(wa)rt-* is derived from *hu(wa)rt-* (q. v.) as 'voice organ' (vel sim.); cf. *KBo* XII 96 I 10–11 ^{UZU}*hurhurta-ma-za-kan halwamnaz sūwanza ēs* 'may your throat swell with enthusiasm!'.

huwai-, huya- 'run, hurry; grow, spread (of vegetation)', *-kan huwai-* 'escape', *appan huwai-* 'run behind; back up, sustain' (cf. *appa*[*n*] *es-, appan iya*[*ttari*], *appa*[*n*] *tiya-*; *KUB* I 16 II 5 *nu-ssi āppan huwaisk*[*inun* = I 15 I 4–5 [Akk.] *ina kutalli-šu* [*as*]*anahhar-šu* [from *sahāru*] 'I have constantly backed him up'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2–3, 35, 205), very frequent *pi(r)an huwai-* 'run ahead, lead the way, help along' (with dative; cf. Zuntz, *Ortsadverbien* 100–2), *ser huwai-* 'run over, observe' (of eyes), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-ih-hi* (*KBo* XI 19 Vs. 14; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 316), *hu-u-i-ya-mi* (256/1969, 5; dupl. *KUB* I 1 IV 10, with gloss-wedges; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-si* (V 1 III 55; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 16; Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:72), *hu-u-e-ya-si* (XV 23, 9; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:61 [1972]), *hu-u-ya-si* (*Bo* 2828 I 21; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 216), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-i* (*KBo* XXVII 42 I 24; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55), *hu-u-wa-i* (e. g. ibid, II 17; *KUB* II 3 I 43; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:63; *KBo* IV 9 IV 14 and 33 *piran hūwai*; VI 3 I 56 [= *Code* 1:22]), *hu-wa-a-i* (e. g. VI 34 II 40–41 *wel*[*luw*]*as anda welkuwa le huwāi* 'in the meadows grass shall not grow'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:164 [1924]; Oettinger, *Eide* 10), *hu-u-wa-a-i* (e. g. *KUB* XXIV 13 III 13 *na-as-si* EGIR-*an namma* ^{UZU}*iskisaz hūwāi* 'she then runs behind his back'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 106; XXV 9 IV 17; *KBo* III 40a, 8; V 4 Vs. 40; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:58), *hu-u-wa-iz-zi* (V 9 II 40; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:18), *hu-u-ya-zi* (*KUB* XIV 3 III 51; cf. Sommer, *AU* 14), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-u-i-ya-at-ta*[? (XXI 1 III 65; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:76), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-u-e-ni* (XXIII 83 Vs. 4–5 *ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hatti piran huuiyaweni* 'we will [take the lead in] help[ing] the people of Hatti'), 2 pl. pres. midd. in XXIII 72 Rs. 20 *warras udda*[*nī*] *sumes mahhan parā huyadduma* 'as you take the initiative in a matter of assistance', 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 9; V 6 II 3), *hu-ya-an-zi* (e. g. ibid. 34; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:92–3 [1956]), *hu-u-ya-an-zi* (e. g. XI 48 Vs. 4 and 7), *hu-u-i-an-zi* (XI 32 Vs. 15), *hu-u-wa-an-zi* (e. g. IV 2 II 26), *hu-u-wa-ya-an-zi* (*Bo* 6570 II 4; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 65; *KUB* LVII 84 III 16; cf. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:256 [1984]), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-wa-ya-an-da-ri* (XXXIII 88, 11 [with

dupl. *IBoT* II 135, 9–10] *āssiyatar-ma-ssi*] UR.TUR.MEŠ GIM-*an* EGIR-*an huwayanda*[*ri* 'but loves run like puppies behind her'; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:238 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:57 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54), *hu-ya-an-da* (*KBo* VIII 102, 11 SAL.LUGAL-*ri piran huyanda* 'they lead the way for the queen'), *hu-ya-an-ta* (*Bo* 4767, 3 and 8), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-e-eh-hu-un* (*KUB* XXXIII 57 II 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]), *hu-u-i-ya-nu-un* (e. g. XIV 15 III 43–44 *ANA* KARAŠ.HI.A GÌR-*it piran huuiyanun* 'I marched on foot before my armies'; similarly XIX 39 II 4 *hu-ya-nu-un*); cf. Götze, *AM* 54, 162), *h*]*u-u-e-nu-un* (*KBo* XXII 5 Vs. 9; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 7), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-is* (e. g. III 4 II 31 *n-as-mu-kan hūwais* [with gloss-wedges] 'he escaped from me'; *KUB* XIX 39 II 11 *nu-mu* ^{D}U *BELI*-YA] *piran hūwais* 'the storm-god my lord led the way for me [= helped me to victory]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 50, 164), *hu-u-wa-a-is* (e. g. *KBo* X 2 I 30 *piran hūwāis*, matching X 1 Vs. 14 [Akk.] *irṭub alakam* 'went steadily'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 76 [1965]; III 6 II 9, 21–22; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 10–2), *hu-wa-i-is* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 13 *sēr-a-sse-ssan halenzu huwayis* 'above him spread overgrowth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), *hu-wa-is* (XIV 1 Rs. 60; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 32), *hu-wa-as* (*KBo* II 6 III 56), *hu-wa-it* (*KUB* XXIII 72 I 17), 2 pl. pret. act. [*hu*]-*u-i-ya-at-tin* (XXXVI 6 I 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:38 [1968]), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-wa-a-ir* (e. g. I 16 III 45 *mases*]-*a-kan huwāir* 'and how many escaped?'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14), *hu-u-wa-ir* (e. g. XIX 39 II 5; cf. Götze, *AM* 162), *hu-u-wa-a-ir* (e. g. XXIII 21 Vs. 28; *KBo* V 6 I 27; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:91 [1956]), *hu-i-e-ir* (e. g. passim in *AM*), *hu-u-i-e-ir* (e. g. passim in *AM*), *hu-u-e-ir* (*KUB* XIX 18 I 4 and 27), 2 sg. imp. act. (?) *hu-u-i-ya* (*KBo* X 24 III 16), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-a-ú* (*KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 22; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20); partic. *huuiyant-*, *huuiant-*, *huiyant-*, *hūyant-*, *huyant-*, *hūwayant-*, *hūwant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-i-ya-an-za* (e. g. I 1 II 39 *piran huuiyanza*; *KBo* V 8 I 12–13; cf. Götze, *AM* 148), *hu-u-ya-an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XIII 4 III 13; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380 [1934]), *hu-ya-an-za* (e. g. XXXI 84 III 61 *hūm*]*andass-a* IGI.HI.A-*ŠU ser huyanza ēstu* 'let everyone's eyes be trained'; cf. Alp, *JKF* 1:121 [1950]; von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 49), nominalized ^{LÚ}*huyanza* 'fugitive, refugee, escapee' (e. g. XXIII 72 Rs. 13 and 56; XIV 1 Vs. 34; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 8), *hu-u-wa-an-za* (e. g. VIII 65 I 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:60 [1968]), acc. sg. c. ^{LÚ}*hu-ya-an-da-an* (e. g. XXVI 17 II 4 *nu kuis* ^{LÚ}*huyandan wemiskizzi n-an appiskiddu* 'whoever finds a fugitive

shall seize him'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:394 [1947]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-ya-an* (e. g. *KBo* XXV 23 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 61), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-i-ya-an-te-es* (e. g. *KUB* II 6 III 32), *hu-u-i-an-te-es* (e. g. LVIII 33 III 36; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 262), *hu-i-ya-an-te-es* (e. g. XXX 41 I 25), *hu-u-ya-an-te-es* (e. g. XXVIII 91 IV 9), *hu-ya-an-te-es* (e. g. *KBo* XXII 189 II 7), *hu-u-wa-ya-an-te-es* (IV 9 I 6 and 36; ibid. IV 37), *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* (*KUB* XI 20 II 18), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-an-du-us* (XXXIII 117 I 13; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:79 [1968]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-ya-an-ta* (e. g. *KBo* X 11 I 5); inf. *hu-i-ma-an-zi* (XV 33 III 13); verbal noun gen. sg. *hu-u-i-ya-u-wa-as* in *KUB* II 1 II 25 (cf. IV 27) *ŠA Labar*]*na piran huuiyauwas* ^{D}LAMA-*ri* 'to L.'s tutelary god of forerunning (= help)' (cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:96, 109 [1975]); iter. 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-is-ki-iz-zi* (X 52 I 2), *hu-u-e-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* XI 51 III 9; cf. E. Badali, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 2:69 [1985]), *hu-es-ki-iz-zi* (III 34 II 23), *piran hu-wa-a-i-is-ki-wa-an dāi* 'begins to help' (III 40a, 9; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 176 [1987]).

Caus. *hu(u)inu-*, *hu(w)enu-*, *hunu-* 'make run', *piran huinu-* 'send ahead (troops), dispatch (auxiliaries)', *ser huinu-* 'cause to be raised, dispel', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-mi* (*KUB* XXXV. 148 III 20; *KBo* VII 14 Vs. 18), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-zi* (e. g. *KUB* V 1 I 19; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:34), *hu-u-i-nu-zi* (e. g. IX 4 II 12), *hu-u-i-nu-uz-zi* (XXIX 1 I 41; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hu-u-e-nu-uz-zi* (IV 47 Vs. 34 *ser huwenuzzi*), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-um-me-ni* (XVII 28 I 15), *hu-i-nu-me-ni* (*VBoT* 24 I 31; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* LIII 14 II 8; cf. *AoF* 11:41 [1984]), *hu-i-nu-wa-an-zi* (e. g. X 91 II 7), *hu-u-i-nu-wa-an-zi* (e. g. LIII 6 II 12; cf. *AoF* 11:81 [1984]), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-i-nu-nu-un* (e. g. IX 4 II 18 and 20), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-i-nu-ut* (e. g. *KBo* III 6 II 32 and dupl. *KUB* I 1 II 51; *KBo* III 4 II 69; cf. Götze, *AM* 62), *hu-i-nu-ut* (e. g. *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 63; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16), *hu-e-nu-ú-ut* (*KBo* III 28, 19), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-i-nu-ut* (e. g. V 4 Vs. 19, 20, 22; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:54–6), *hu-u-e-nu-ut* (IV 3 III 7; cf. Friedrich, op. cit. 1:132), *hu-u-nu-ut* (*KUB* XXI 1 II 66), *hu-nu-ut* (ibid. 72; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:64), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-i-nu-ut-tin* (VII 41 IV 20; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:140 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-e-nu-wa-an-du* (XL 57 I 6 *piran huwenuwandu*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60); verbal noun gen. sg. *hu-u-e-nu-ma-as* (*KBo* XXIV 14 V 7); iter. *hu(u)inuski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *sarā hu-i-nu-us-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB*

XXXIII 115 II 7; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *22), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-nu-us-kán-zi* (XXVII 1 IV 14 *piran-ma* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$NAR ... *huuinuskanzi* 'they make the singers move up'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84).

piran huuiyatalla- (c.) 'head marcher, helper', nom. sg. *hu-u-i-ya--tal-la-as* (e. g. *KUB* XIX 18 I 13 *piran huuiyatallas-ma* ... [... *pira*]*n huuiyanza ēsta* 'as helper [so-and-so] had rendered aid'), acc. pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*piran hu-u-i-ya-tal-lu-*[*us* (I 1 II 28), $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*piran hu-u-i-ya-at-tal--lu-us* (dupl. *KBo* III 6 II 12; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12). For Hom. *προθέω* 'run ahead' as a semantic calque on Anatolian ('abet, expedite' in *Iliad* 1:290–1) see Puhvel, *AJPh* 109:591–3 (1988).

**huwatt-* 'course' in the divine hypostasis *Huwattassi-*. Cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 69, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste* 342 (1975).

There is nothing visibly Luwian about the gloss-marked *hūwais*, rather the reverse, since *-hi* conjugation forms are problematic in Luwian. The gloss-form *huuiyami* may be either Luwian or Hittite, as may the hapax gloss-wedged dat. sg. *hūwayalli* ^{D}UTU-*i* 'to the fleet (?) sun-god' (*KUB* VI 46 IV 53), where, however, the duplicate (VI 45 IV 56) has *kutrui* ^{D}UTU-*i* 'to the sun-god as witness' (for the suffix *-alli-* see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:212). Luw. 3 sg. pret. *hu-u-i-ya--ad-da* (XXV 39 IV 8); redupl. 3 pl. pret. *hu-u-hu-i-ya-an-da* (ibid. 2), 2 sg. imp. *hu-u-e-hu-u-i-ya, hu-i-hu-i-ya* (XII 58 I 34, 35; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10, 76); caus. 1 sg. pret. *hu-i-nu-wa-ah-ha* (XXXV 43 II 16 and 17; XXXV 20 Vs. 6 and 7; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 330, 144, 85). Cf. Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:195–6 (1957–8); *Dict. louv.* 46.

Hier. FOOT *hwaya(n)ta* or *hu(i)ya(n)ta* 'they ran' (?; cf. M. Kalaç, *Belleten* 32:329 [1968]; Neumann, *Festschrift H. Otten* 250–1 [1973]; Hawkins–Morpurgo–Neumann, *HHL* 152). Cf. also Oettinger, *MSS* 34:103–4 (1976).

The variant spellings point to /hway-/ and /hweya-/ as the basic stems. For various attempts to connect *huwai-* with *huwant-* 'wind' (q. v.) and IE *A_1w-$éE_1$- 'blow', see e. g. Couvreur, *Hett.* 119–20; Puhvel, *LIEV* 55–6; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:67–8 (1961); Ivanov, *Obščeindoevropejskaja* 91–2; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85–8; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 480–1. If there had been even a residual sense of 'blow' in *huwai-* (instead 'blow' is *parai-*, q. v.), a figura etymologica **huwanza huwāi* would have been as idiomatically irresistible as *RV* 4.7.10, 10.142.4 *vā́to anuvā́ti* or OCS *vŭzvěašę větri* (*Zogr. Matth.* 7:25–27) or Goth. *waiwoun windos*. Cf. F. O. Lindeman, *IF* 73:161–2 (1968).

The most plausible etymology of *huwai-* was suggested by Sturtevant in *JAOS* 50:128 (1930) but soon abandoned in *Comp. Gr.*[1] 94: IE *A_1w-*éy(-H_2)-* (*IEW* 1123–4), seen in RV *véti* 'set out for', *pada-ví-* 'fore-runner, leader', intens. *vevīyate* (*RV* 10.33.2 *vér ná vevīyate matíḥ* 'my mind takes flight like a bird'; cf. Luw. *huwehuuiya*), Lat. *via* 'way', Gk. *ἴεμαι* 'rush', etc. Thus e. g. *huwai* < *A_1wóye* (IE "perfect stem") and *huweyasi* < *A_1wéy-*. Cf. also E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:454 (1952); Laroche, *RPh* 42:245–6 (1968); J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15:159 (1969).

Unrelated to this root is *uiya-* 'send, chase', the antonym of *piya-* (compounds with *u-* : *pe-*); wrongly Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*[2] 38. For numerous other wayward and preposterous etymologies see Tischler, *Glossar* 324.

Cf. *huwantar(a)-*.

hu(wa)llis- (n.) 'cone' (of fir, pine, or other conifer), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-al-lis* (*KBo* XI 32 Vs. 22 *ta* ^{GIŠ}*huallis* GAM 3-*šU* RA-*zi* 'he strikes down the cones thrice'), *hu-u-wa-al-lis* (ibid. 20 ^{LÚ}Ú.HÚB ^{GIŠ} *irhu*⟨*y*⟩*az* ^{GIŠ}*hūwallis* ME-*i* 'the deaf man takes cones from the basket'), *hu-u-wa-al-li-is* (*KUB* VII 53 II 25–26 + XII 58 II 1 *kattan-ma-ssi hūwallis* ^{DUG}*pahhunaliaz harkanzi* 'they hand down to her cones from a brazier'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 12, 79–84), *hu-wa-al--lis* (XXII 40 III 17 *PANI* ^{D}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-*na huwallis* [with gloss-wedges] *kistanuanzi* 'before the sun-goddess of Arinna they extinguish cones'), *hu-wa-al-li-is* (XXXII 117 Rs. 11 + XXXV 93 Rs. 3 *h*]*uwallis* NA_4.HI.A['cones [and] stones' [cf. ^{NA_4}*passilus āandus* 'hot pebbles' preceding *hūwallis* in VII 53 II 22]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222; XLV 20 I 18 *huwallis-wa-kan*; dupl. VII 58 I 1 *hu*]*wallī*[*s*; IX 25 + XXVII 67 Vs. 2–5 *nu-ssan ANA* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL SA_5 [*huw*]*allis ishuwahhi ser-a-ssan halkin karas ishuwahhi n-at-kan sanhuwanzi namma* ^{GIŠ}*huwallis witenit kistanumi* 'I throw cones onto a red[-hot?] plate, I throw on barley [and] wheat, and they roast them; then I put out the cones with water'), *hu-ul-li-is* (par. XXVII 67 II 3–6 *nu-ss*[*an*] *hullis ANA* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL SA_5 *dā*[*i*] *ser-a-ssan halkin karas ishūwāi n-at--kan sanhuwanzi n-asta hullis witenit kistanuzi*; par. ibid. III 7–10 *h*]*ullis suhhāi* [... *halk*]*in karas ishuwāi* [... *sa*]*nhuwanzi namma-kan hullis* [*witen*]*it kistanuzi*; *KBo* XVII 11 I 23 *nu hass*]*āz hullis dāi* 'he takes cones from the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65; V 1 III 43–45 *nu-za* ... 1 NINDA.SIG *dāi serr-a-ssan hullis dāi*

serr-a-ssan ^{GIŠ}ERIN YÀ *INBI-ya dāi* '[he] takes a flatbread, he puts on a cone, and he puts on cedar, oil, and fruit'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 10*; XXI 23 I 20 – 21 *ANA* NINDA.SIG-*ma-ssan* 1 [...] GÍN.GÍN GUŠKIN 1 ^{SÍG}*ēsri hulliss-a dāi* 'on a flatbread he puts one ... shekel of gold, one fleece, and cones'), *hu-u-ul-li-is* (XXI 33 IV 18; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:69), *hu-wa-li* (*KUB* XV 35 IV 40 – 41 *huwali-ya-kan* [...] [...] ^{GIŠ}ERIN IZI-*anzi* 'and cones ... they burn cedarwood'), *hu-ul-li* (*KBo* II 9 IV 17 1 NINDA.SIG-*kan istarna haddai nu-ssan ser hulli dāi* 'he makes a hole in the center of a flatbread and poses a cone'). The rare *i*-stem forms are secondary developments; the basic neuter *s*-stem matches e. g. *nepis-*.

huwallissar (n.) 'cone-collection' (vel sim.), gen. sg. (?) *hu-wa-al-li-is-na-as* (*KBo* XVII 25 Vs. 10 *huwallisnas* NA_4.[HI.A-*as*]*s-a* 'of cones and stones'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 224), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-li-es-ni* (*KUB* XLV 5 III 15; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:111). For formation cf. e. g. *ispantuzzessar, lalakuessar, tantukessar* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290).

huwallissanant- (c.), animate derivative of the preceding, nom. sg. *hu-wa-al-li-is-sa-na-an-za* (*KUB* VII 58 I 2 – 5 [emended from dupl. XLV 20 I 19 – 21] *nu āanza* NA_4*-as*] [*huw*]*allissananzass-a* [GIM-*an*] *weteni anda taskupāizzi namma-as igaetta n-as karussiyazi* 'even as a hot stone and cone-pile hisses in water and then cools down and falls silent').

Even as e. g. Gk. *στρόβῑλος* (= *κῶνος* 'cone') is derived from *στρέφω* 'turn, twist', *hu(wa)llis-* is connectible with IE **H*$_1$*wel-* 'wind, twist' seen in *hul(a)-* (q. v.; cf. Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 88; Tischler, *Glossar* 326); it formally reflects the same *s*-stem **H*$_1$*wl̥nes-* as is found in Gk. *ἁλής*, Aeolic *ἀολλής*, Elean *αϝλανης* 'gathered together, in a throng' (**sm̥-wl̥nés*, literally 'constituting a roll-up'); for *ll* < **ln* cf. e. g. *wellu-* 'meadow' (< **welnu-*), *hulla-* (s. v.).

huwalpant- (c.) 'humpback, hunchback', nom. sg. *hu-wa-al-pa-an-za* (*KBo* XIII 34 IV 3 – 5 [*t*]*akku* SAL-*za hāsi n-as* [...] *huwalpanza* [...] É LÚ-*LIM asiwante*[*szi*] 'if a woman gives birth and [the baby] [is] a hunchback, the man's house becomes impoverished' [the sequel of the teratology in column IV targets abnormalities of the ears]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28; 224/b I 9; cf. ibid. 10 *hadukis*[- 'become terrible').

hu(wa)lpa(n)zina-, hulpa(n)zena-, hulpanzana- (c.) 'hump, protuberance, embossment', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-pa-an-za-ni* (*KBo* XIII 31 I 6 *h*]*ulpanzani kitta* 'is located at the hump'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 74, 79 – 80), nom. pl. *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-ni-es(-si-es)* (XVI 68 I 9 *hulpanzines-ses* KÙ.BABBAR 'its embossments [are] of silver'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:113), *hu-ul-pa-zi-e-ni-es(-mi-sa)* (XXX 20 III 6 – 7 *hulpazenes-(s)mis-a* [...] *ù* ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN *imiyan* 'and their embossments ..., and lapis lazuli mixed'), *hu-ul-pa-zé-ni-es(-mi-sa)* (ibid. 12 *hulpazenes-(s)mis-a* GUŠKIN *ù ŠA* KÙ.BABBAR 'and their enbossments [are of] gold and of silver'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:116), *hu-wa-al-pa-zi-nu-us* (XVIII 159 III 5 – 6 30 MANA KÙ.BABBAR *IŠT*[*U* ...] *huwalpazinus*['thirty minas silver from ..., embossments'; ibid. 3 – 4 21 MANA KÙ.BABBAR *IŠ*[*TU* ...] *huwalpazinu*[*s*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 101 – 2 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 300), *hu-ul-pa-an-zé-na-as* (KUB XII 1 III 28 *anda* 38 *hulpanzenas* GUŠKIN 'therein thirty-eight embossments of gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:100 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 444), *hu-ul-pa-an-za-na-as* (XLII 69 Vs. 25 – 26]GÍR ^{URU}*Hatta arahzan*[*da* ...] [...] 30 *hulpanzanas* GUŠ[KIN 'swords of Hatti, all around ... thirty embossments of gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 458; cf. *ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον* [*Iliad* 2:45], *φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον* 'silver-studded sword' [*Iliad* 23:807]).

hu(wa)lpa(n)zinai- 'emboss', partic. nom. sg. c. Luwoid *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-i-ma-an* (*KUB* XLII 69 Rs. 16]-*un* GUŠKIN *hulpanzinaiman* 'embossed with gold'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-u-wa-al-*⟨*pa-*⟩*zi-na-an* (*KBo* II 1 I 38 1 ^{URUDU}GÍR TA GUŠKIN *hūwal*⟨*pa*⟩*zinan* 'one bronze dagger embossed with gold'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:165), *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-an* (*KUB* XLII 39, 10; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 152 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 72), *hu-u-ul-pa-zi-na-an* (XLII 78 I 2; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:112 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 462), nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-pa-zi-na-an-te-es* (XII 1 IV 35 1-*NU*]*TUM* GUŠKIN *hulpazinantes* 'one unit embossed with gold'), Luwoid *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-i-me-es* (ibid. 34 6 ^{KUŠ}E.SIR.HI.A ŠÀ-*BA* 2 *T*[*ABAL* GU]ŠKIN *hulpanzinaimes* 'six [pairs of] shoes, among them two pairs embossed with gold'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-an-da* (*KBo* XX 47, 11 – 12 *nu-za* LUGAL-*us kuw*[*a* ...] [*hu*]*lpanzinanda wasiyazi* 'the king dons embossed regalia'); *KUB* XVIII 29 IV 5 GUŠKIN *hu-ul-pa-an*[-.

Luw. *hu-wa-al-pa-na-ti-a-ar* (*KBo* IV 11, 41; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 340); *KUB* XXV 108, 21 HUR.SAG.HI.A-*inzi hu-wa-al-pa*[- (cf. Starke, *KLTU* 240).

Starting with a **H*$_1$*wl̥b(h)o-* 'protuberance, boss, hump' (perhaps root-related to Skt. *úlbam*, lat. *volba* 'uterus, womb', Hitt. *huelpi-* 'newborn' [q. v.]), *huwalpant-* is either an "animate" *-nt-* derivative (cf. e. g. *nepis-ant-* heaven') or the participle of a denominative verbal derivate (like e. g. *arzanant-* from *arzana-* [*HED* 1–2:186]). Granted the Luwoid elements in further derivation (participle *hulpanzinaima/i-*), **huwalpanti-* (cf. e. g. Luw. *tappasanti-* 'heaven') could underlie the further derivative *hu(wa)lpanzina-*. An extra-Anatolian cognate of *huwalpant(i)-* 'humpback' may be the Gothic *u*-stem *ulbandus*, ON *ulfalde*, OE *olfend* 'camel', whose traditional connection with the etyma of 'elephant' leaves a lot to be desired; cf. further OCS *velĭbǫdŭ*, Russian *verbljúd*, Polish *wielbląd* 'camel' (an Anatolian borrowing source for *ulbandus* was suggested by O. Schrader; cf. S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 515 [1939]; Lehmann, *GED* 375). Cf. Puhvel, *Ling.* 33 (1993).

hu(wa)ltaramma- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-wa-al-ta-ra-am-ma-an* (*KBo* XX 73 IV 2 *inan* SAG.DU-*as huwaltaramman* 'ailment, h. of the head'), *hu-wa-al-ta-ra-ma-an* (XVII 54 I 9 SAG.DU-*as huwaltaraman lāu* 'let him alleviate h. of the head'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:419 [1971]), *hu-u-ul-ta-ra-am-ma-an* (*KUB* IX 4 III 35 SAG.DU-*as hūltaramman mūdaiddu* 'let [the pig] flush away h. of the head'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 56), *hu-ul-da-ra-ma-an* (*Bo* 4664 Rs. 4).

The nearest connection for this term for a head ailment seems to be the verb *hultai-* (q. v.), with *huwaltarai-* a denominative verb from a noun **huwaltara-* 'dominator, oppressor' (vel sim.), and *huwaltaramma-* a nominalized Luwian-type participle.

hu(wa)nhuessar, hunhu(wa)nessar (n.) 'wave(s), seas, flow', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-wa-an-hu-es-sar* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 24–26 *īt-war-asta pargamus* HUR.SAG.DIDLI.HI.A *sāh hārius-kan halluwamus sāh huwanhuessar-kan kuwāliu sāh* 'go search the high mountains, search the deep dales, search the azure [?] seas!'; cf. Ehelolf, *KlF* 396; Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; XXXIII 10 Vs. 2 *huwanhue*[*ssar*), *hu-u-wa-an-hu-es-sar*

(dupl. XXXIII 9 II 8 *hūwanhue*[*ssar*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:105 [1965]), *hu-u-wa-an-hu-e-sar* (XXIV 7 III 25–26 GUD-*us-za* ... [...] *hūwanhuesar mān halluwanut* 'the [charging] cow put [its head] down deep like a [breaking] wave'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]), *hu-(u-)wa-an-hu-is-sar* (XXXIII 33, 4 [*huwa*]*nhuissar-kan kuw*[*aliu*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:125 [1965]), *hu-wa-hu-es-sar* (XXXIII 24 I 28 *huwahuessar-kan kuwalie*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:114 [1965]), *hu-un-hu-wa-na-as-sa* (*KBo* III 7 II 16 and 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68 [1965]; Beckman, *JANES* 14:14 [1982]; for suffix cf. e. g. *hatriyasar* [s. v. *hatrai-*], *hazziyassar* [s. v. *hatt-*], *huittiyassar* [s. v. *huet-*]; for loss of *-r* cf. e. g. *hatriyēssa* [s. v. *hatrai-*]), *hu-un-hu-ni-es-sar* (*KUB* LIII 50 I 1–2 *mān-za-kan* NIM.LÀL [*antuh*]*san epzi nasma-za-kan hunhunessar e*[*pz*]*i* 'if a bee seizes [= stings?] a man, or a wave [= swarm?] seizes [him]'; XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 16 and 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:69–70 [1968]; XXXIII 33, 6 *hu*]*nhunessar-kan kul*[*iu*), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-an-hu-is-ni* (*KBo* III 21 II 8–9 ^{D}*É-A-as-kan huwanhuisni kuit hatriyēssa anda kidda* 'the decree of Ea which he has laid down in the seas'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), *hu-un-hu-es-ni* (*KUB* IV 8 Rs. 3–4 [KU$_6$-*us*]*s-a-kan hunhuesni* [*and*]*a werites*⟨*k*⟩*izzi* 'the fish moves fretfully in the waves'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:72, 76 [1964]), abl. sg. *hu-u-wa-hu-es-na-az* (XXXIII 86 II 7–10 *nu-kan* ^{MUŠ}*Hedammus* [...] *hūwahuesnaz* SAG.DU-*an* [...] *nu* ^{D}*IŠTAR-in austa* ^{D}*IŠTAR-is* [...] NÍ.TE.MEŠ *nekumanta sarā* [*epta* 'H. [raised] his head from the waves and saw Ištar; Ištar displayed her naked limbs'), *hu-u-wa*]*-hu-e-es-na-a*[*z* (dupl. XXXVI 56 III 3; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54), *hu-u-un-hu-e-es-na-za* (XXXVI 89 Vs. 28 *ha*[*ll*]*uwaza hūnhuēsnaza* UGU *ehu* 'come up from the deep wave!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146), *hu-un-hu-ni-es-na-an-za* (XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 17).

hunhuesna- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-un-hu-es-na-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 12 II 7–8 *nu-kan arunaz arha sallis hunhuesna*[*s*] GAL-*is hunhuesnas ANA* ^{D}*IŠTAR memiskizzi* 'out of the sea a great wave; the great wave says unto Ištar:'; cf. Ehelolf, *KlF* 395; Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]).

hunhumant- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-un-hu-ma-az-(zi-)si-it* (i. e. *hunhuman + sit*; *KBo* III 8 III 1 *sallis* ÍD-*as hunhumazzisit hami*[*kta*] 'the great river restricted its flow'; ibid. 20–21 GAL-*is* ÍD *hunhumazsit* EGIR-*pa lāttat* 'the great river loosed its flow'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:169–70 [1965]).

The underlying derivational source seems to be a (probably neuter) reduplicated noun **hu(wa)nhu(wa)na-* possibly connectible

with water-words such as the name of the largest lake in Sweden, *Vänern* (ON *Vānir* < **Wēnjaz*; cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 35–37). At the basis of phonetic deformations is a tendency to eliminate the second of three successive *n* sounds, either by suppression starting in *hunhu(n)esn-* (oblique stem or secondary thematization of *huwanhuwanessar*, *hunhunessar* [cf. e. g. *huwallissar* s. v. *huwallis-*]) or by dissimilation as in *hunhumant-* < **hu(wa)nhu-(wa)na-nt-* (cf. e. g. *nekumant-* 'naked' < **neg^{w}no-nt-* beside Skt. *nagná-*).

Arm. *xoxom* 'torrent' was inconclusively adduced by T. Schultheiss (*KZ* 77:220–1 [1961]) and G. B. Jahukyan (*Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezownerə* 150 [1970]).

Of unlikely relevance is *KUB* XXXVI 25 IV 10 *hu-u-wa-hu-wa-na-la-as*[(with gloss-wedges), apparent subject of (ibid. 11) 3 sg. pret. act. *wākit* 'bit', not to be separated from XXXV 165 Rs. 12 (Palaic) *hu-wa-an-hu-wa-ni-kat*, preceded by 3 pl. pret. act. *wa-aq-(qa-)kán-ta* (cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 19); most probably anatomical terms are involved.

huwant- (c.) 'wind; flatus' (IM; *KUB* VI 46 III 49 *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* matches dupl. VI 45 III 10 IM.HI.A-*us*), nom. sg. *hu-wa-an-za* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 8 *huwanza hē*[*uss*]*-a* 'wind and rain'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34), *hu-u-wa-an-za* (e. g. *KUB* VIII 65, 4; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:242 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:60 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 42), IM-*an-za* (e. g. XLI 8 II 5; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:82 [1961]), IM-*za* (dupl. XII 56 III 8), gen. sg. *hu-wa-an-da-as* (XVII 28 II 7; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84), *hu-u-wa-an-da-as* (*KBo* X 37 II 31; cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 35:93 [1976]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-an-ti* (*VBoT* 58 I 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]), *hu-u-wa-an-ti* (*KBo* XXII 6 I 27 *salli hūwanti* 'to a great wind'), nom. pl. *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* (*KUB* VII 5 I 17 *hu-u-wa-an-te-(m)es*; see context s. v. *he*[*w*]*u-* and H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]), IM-*an-te-es* (XXIV 3 III 39–40 *nu sesduwas* IM-*antes iyandaru* 'may the winds of thriving come!'), *hu-u-wa-du-us* (XXIV 2 Rs. 17), IM.HI.A-*us* (dupl. XXIV 1 IV 16; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34–6), acc. pl. *hu-wa-an-du-us* (XXIV 3 III 38), *hūwatass-a-ssi* (XXVIII 4 Vs. 20b; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:76 [1965]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:263.

IE **A_1w-éE$_1$-* 'blow' (*IEW* 81–4), Skt. *vā́ti*, Avest. *vāiti*, Gk. *ἄησι*, participle **A_1weE$_1$-nt-* (Skt. *vā́nt-*, Gk. *ἀέντ-*), thematized in nominalizations Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, We. *gwynt*, Toch. A *want*, etc. *huwant-* < **A_1wE$_1$-nt-* or **A_1uE$_1$-ent-*? Of the many treatments, cf. e. g. C. L. Mudge, *Lg.* 7:253 (1931); Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*^{1} 97, *Comp. Gr.*^{2} 49; Kuryłowicz, *Études* 74; E. Sapir, *Lg.* 14:270 (1938); Kronasser, *VLFH* 43, *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* 611–5 (1969); Gamkrelidze, *Khettskij jazyk* 34; H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:54 (1973); A. Bammesberger, *Studien zur Laryngaltheorie* 135 (1984).

Cf. *huellai-*, *huntariya-*, *huwantalai-*, *huwantar(a)-*.

huwantalai-, hultalai- 'let off, allow to escape, spare', 1 sg. pret. *hu-ul-da-la-a-nu-un* (*KUB* XIX 37 III 36–38 *nu-ssan* INA ^{URU}*Kappieri kuit* É DINGIR-*LIM ŠA* ^{D}*Hatipunā* EGIR-*an n-at huldalānun n-at* ŪL *saruwāir* 'at K. what temple of H. [is] in the rear, it I spared, and they did not sack it'; similarly ibid. 42–44; cf. Götze, *AM* 176), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-an-ta-la-*[*a-it* (with gloss-wedges); XXI 8 II 3–4 H]UL-*lu* ŪL *takkēsta* [... ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.HI.]A ^{GIŠ}ŠAR.HI.A-*ya hūwantalā*[*it* 'did not commit evil ... spared vineyards and gardens'), *hu-u-w*]*a-an-ta la-a-it* (ibid. 8–10 HUL-*lu* [ŪL *takk*]*ēsta* ... ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.HI.A [^{GIŠ}ŠAR.HI.A-*ya hūw*]*anta lāit*; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 17).

Semantically close to *arha taliya-* 'let off', the gloss-word *hūwanta-lai-* is a quasi-compound similar to *arga-tiya-* (*HED* 1–2:147–8), with *hultalai-* assimilatory from *hu(wa)ntalai-* (cf. e. g. *armaliya-* : *armaniya-* [*HED* 1–2:158–9]). Neumann (*KZ* 85:301 [1971], *Gedenkschrift für H. Güntert* 280 [1974]) recognized the connection but not the compound; Tischler (*Glossar* 282) followed Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:480) and Neu (*Gewitterritual* 39–40) in plumping for denominative derivation of *huldalai-* from the unpertaining ^{LÚ}*huldāla-*, allegedly 'keeper' (q. v. s. v. *hultai-*). H. Eichner (*Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]) saw in *hūwanta* (+ *lai-* 'let loose') the (neuter plural?) participle of *huwai-* 'run' in a compound sense of 'let escape'; but *hūwanta* is perhaps rather the directive dative case of *huwant-* 'wind', with *hūwanta-lai-* originally expressive of setting birds free (MUŠEN *lai-*), literally 'set loose to the wind'.

W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:179 [1939]) tied in *huld-* in *huldalai-* (allegedly 'respect, preserve') with Gk. *ἔλδομαι* 'hope'.

huwantar(a)- (n.?), a linen cloth or garment, nom.-acc. sg. (?) ^{GAD}*hu-u-wa-an-tar* [(*KUB* XLII 60, 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 186 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 525), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. (?) *hu-u-wa-an-ta-ra* (*KBo* XVIII 170 Vs. 7 ^{TÚ}]^{G}PAD.MEŠ 1-*EN* ^{GAD} *hūwantara* 1-*NUTUM* ^{TÚG}L[UM.ZA] 'undergarments [?], one linen h., one robe'), *hu-u-wa-an-da-ra* (dupl. *KUB* XLII 43 Vs. 11]1-*EN* [^{GAD}]*hūwandara* 1-*NU* ^{TÚG}LUM.ZA; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109, 112 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 484; XLII 34 Rd. 1 ^{GAD}*hūwandara*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 55–6 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 58).

No clear etymology. Homophonous echoes suggest some tie-in with *huwant-* 'wind' or the verb *huwai-* 'run' (q. v.).

huwapp- 'ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-ap-mi* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 42), *hu-wa-ap-pa-ah-hi* (VII 57 I 6–7 ^{D}IM-*as-wa* ^{URU}*Lihzinan* [...] [IGI.HI.A-*wa*] *katta huwappahhi* 'I the storm-god shall harrow L. into abjection [lit. eyes down]'), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-ap-ti* (XXVI 1 III 42–43 *zik-ma-an-kan innarā laknusi nu-ssi-kan huwapti kuitki* 'you of your own accord trip him and spoil something for him'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-ap-zi* (XXVI 43 Vs. 62 *nasma-smas-kan huwapzi kuiski ku[itki* 'or someone spoils something for you'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:30 [1974]), *hu-wa-ap-pí* (*KBo* XX 67 II 60–61 *n-an ... pāi n-an-san ... ANA* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA.HI.[A *ser* I]GI.HI.A-*wa katta huwappi* 'he gives it [viz. the loaf] and he disfigures it downright [lit. eyes down] on top of the [other] loaves'; XVII 88 II 8–9 *n-an-san istanāni piran* [...] *sākuwa katta huwappi* 'he disfigures it [viz. the loaf] downright before the altar'), *hu-wa-ap-pa-a-i* (VI 34 III 24–25 *n-an* IGI.HI.A-*wa katt[a huwapp]āi n-an* GÌR-*it isparranzi* 'he disfigures it [viz. the figurine] downright and they shatter it with their feet'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12, 43–5), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ap-ta* (*KUB* XIII 34 + XL 84 I 13–14 *ANA* ^{I}*Ammi*-ŠEŠ-*ma*-[*ka*]*n* ^{I}*Sahhis* ^{LÚ}DAM.GÀ[R ...] *huwapta* 'for A. the merchant S. spoiled ...'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 38), *hu-u-wa-ap-pí-is* (XLIII 75 Vs. 19 [KU]R-*e hūwappis* 'harrowed the land'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-pí-ir* (*KBo* III 6 I 30 *nu-mu-ka*]*n hūwa[p]pir* 'they harassed me'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-tin* (*KUB* IX 1 III 27–28 *sumes* 7 DINGIR.MEŠ [...-]*kan pedattin hūwaptin* 'you seven gods, bring [and] harrow ...'), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-an-du*

(VII 46 Rs. 11–12 *nu-war-ān* DINGIR.MEŠ *QATAMMA* [IGI.HI.A-*wa ka-t]ta hūwappandu* 'him may the gods likewise harrow into abjection'), *hu-u-up-pa-an-du* (dupl. *IBoT* III 114 Rs. 3 IGI.HI.A-*wa katta hūp[-pandu*]); iter. *huwappiski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ap-pí-is-ki-it* (*KUB* XXI 17 I 9 *namma-mu-kan huwappiskit* 'he kept harassing me further'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:18; Lebrun, *Samuha* 144).

huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad' (HUL; *KBo* I 30 I 15 *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* matches Akk. *limnu*, just as ibid. 16 the near-synonym *idalus* [*HED* 1–2:487–93] is glossed by Akk. *mašku*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 12:214–5 [1969]), nom. sg. c. *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* (*KUB* XV 32 I 48 *apās idālus huwappas* 'that bad [and] evil one'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152), ^{LÚ}HUL-*pa-as* (*KBo* XIX 101, 2; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12; XIX 102, 3 ^{LÚ}HU]L-*pas* ŠEŠ-*as* 'Brother Evil'), ^{LÚ}HUL-*as* (dupl. *KUB* XXIV 8 IV 24 ^{LÚ}HUL-*as* ŠEŠ-*as*; ibid. 21 ^{LÚ}HUL-*as* ^{LÚ}NÍG.SI.SÁ-*ass*-[*a* 'Evil and Just'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12; *KBo* XXVI 86, 2–3 ^{L}]^{Ú}HUL-*as* [ŠEŠ-*as* ...] *idālus* 'Brother Evil ... bad'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 14), acc. sg. c. *hu-wa-ap-pa-an* (III 21 II 9–10 *āssu* ^{UZU}YÀ *huwappann-a* ^{UZU}YÀ *uwanna* 'to inspect the good fat and the bad fat'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), ^{LÚ}HUL-*an* (*KUB* XXXIII 96 I 6 *nu* HUL-*lun* UD.KAM-*an* ^{LÚ}HUL-*an salla*[*nuskizzi*] '[Kumarbi] in the course of a bad day breeds an evil one'; dupl. XXXIII 98 I 5–6 UD.KAM-*an kuis* ^{LÚ}HUL-*an sallanuskizzi* 'who in a day breeds an evil one'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-wa-ap-pa-an* (*KBo* III 6 I 41 *huwapp]an uttar* 'evil deed', besides dupl. *KUB* I 1 I 49 HUL-*lu uttar*), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-an* (dupl. I 5 I 21 *hūwapp[an uttar*; Otten, *Apologie* 6), HUL-*pa-an* (XXXVI 59 II 7, besides dupl. XXIV 8 III 10 ^{LÚ}HUL-*lu* KASKAL-*an harkir* 'they held to the evil path'; cf. ibid. 8 *laman* ^{LÚ}HUL-*lu* 'the name "Evil" '; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-ap-pí* (I 1 IV 12 *huwappi* DI-*esni huwappi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni* 'to an evil doom, to an evil deity'), *hu-u-wa-ap-pí* (dupl. I 10 III 31 DI]-*esni hūwappi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni*; dupl. *KBo* III 6 + 832/v + 256/1969 III 56 *hūwappi* DI-*esni hūwappi* INIM DINGIR-*LIM* 'to an evil doom, to an evil word of a deity'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24; *KUB* I 1 I 40 *hūwappi* [with gloss-wedges] DINGIR-*LIM-ni hūwappi* [with gloss-wedges] DI-*esni*; dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 34 *h*]*ūwappi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni hūwappi hannassani*; dupl. *KUB* I 5 I 14 *h*]*ūwappi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni hu*[-), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-e-es* (XLVI 54 Vs. 11 ^{D}IMIN.IMIN-*pí hūwappaēs* 'evil Pleiades'; cf. *KBo* XVII 105 III 31 *hadugaēs-ma-kan* ^{D}IMIN.IMIN-*pí-es* 'baleful Pleiades', and Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*

46), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-ap-pu-s(a)* (*KUB* XXIV 8 I 4 *hūwappus-a-kan* LÚ.MEŠ-*us* 'evil men' (partitive apposition; wrongly taken as dat.-loc. by Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 18), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-s(a)* (ibid. 3 *hūwappas-a-kan* LÚ.MEŠ-*us*, vs. ibid. 2 *h]an[dan]dus* LÚ.MEŠ-*us* 'just men'), gen. pl. *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* (XXXI 135 Vs. 12–13 + XXX 11 Vs. 5–6 *idālauwass-a huwappas antuhsa[s h]annessa* 'judgment on bad and evil men'), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-as* (par. XXI 127 + XXXVI 79 I 45 *idalauwass-a hūwappass-a antuhsas hannessar*).

huwappanatar (n.) 'evilness', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-wa-ap-pa-na-tar* (*KBo* VIII 70, 10; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-na-an-ni* (*KUB* XXXVI 86 Vs. 4).

Juret's adduction (*Vocabulaire* 71) of Gothic *ubils*, OE *yfel* 'evil', occasionally repeated by others (e. g. Peters, *Untersuchungen* 263), provides a somewhat isolated secundum comparationis (**H*$_1$*upélo-* besides **H*$_1$*wopono-* underlying *huwappanatar*?), while the ultimate affinity of *huwapp-* remains opaque (perhaps a semantic offshoot of the same root as is found in *huppai-* [q. v.] 'interlace'; cf. Engl. *warp* in figurative use as 'distort, disfigure'). H. C. Melchert (*KZ* 101:233 [1988]) connected *(sākuwa) katta hu(wa)pp-* with Skt. *vápati* 'throw, strew', specifically Ved. *ní-vapati* 'throw down, shatter', as a separate verb.

O. Szemerényi (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94:154 [1974]) improbably saw in Gk. *ὕβρις* 'insolence, outrage' a borrowing from **hu(wa)ppar* 'maltreatment' with Luwoid *i*-stem declension.

Cf. *huh(h)upa-*, *huipi-*.

huwa(r)a- (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *hu-wa-as* (*IBoT* I 32 Vs. 23), *hu-u-wa-as* (*KBo* II 6 III 56; *KUB* V 11 II 13; XVI 77 Vs. 12), *hu-u-wa-a-as* (XVI 52, 6), *hu-u-wa-ra-as* (XVIII 12 Rs. 16 and 17). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 214–5. For the instability of intervocalic *r* see s. v. *hu(r)uppi-*.

Recalls Akk. *hū'a* (a kind of owl; *AHW* 350; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:22 [1967]), perhaps as a matter of common onomatopoeia. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 339 [1981]) compared Gk. *αὔω, ἀϋτή* 'shout' (cf. e. g. Gk. *ἴυγξ* as a bird name besides *ἰύζω* 'shriek'). For other oracular bird names lacking the 'bird' determinative see also s. v. *harrani-*.

hu(wa)rna- 'hunt', inf. *hu-ur-nu-wa-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXIII 121 II 8 HUR.SAG.MEŠ-*s-as namma hurnuwanzi* ŪL *paizzi* 'he no longer goes to the mountains to hunt'; similarly ibid. 10, 12; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; for the formation, cf. e. g. *hanna-* : *hannuwanzi*, and see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:83); iter. *huwarniski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* XII 59 I 4–7 *Halenzuwa* ÍD-*i* ^{I}*Tuthali*[*yas*] [*kuí*]*n lahhiskizzi Kumra* ÍD-*i Ke*[*lla* ÍD-*í*] [^{I}*T*]*uthaliyas* LUGAL-*us kuyēs siyatallí*[*sk*]*izzi* [*h*]*ūwarniskizzi* 'at the H. river which T. frequents travelling, at the K. and K. rivers which T. the king frequents shooting and hunting'), *hu-ur-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (ibid. 2 *kuin siyatalliskizzi hur*[*niskizzi*]; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:116 [1975]).

hu(wa)rna- is of the type of *tarna-*, *tuwarna-* (cf. verbal nouns *tarnumar*, *duwarnumar*). The etymology (first suggested by Čop, *Slavistična Revija* 5–7:230–3, 237 [1954], *Die Sprache* 6:2 [1960]; cf. Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 46) involves IE **A*$_1$*ew-r-* (Gk. *αὐρι-βάτης* 'fast-going', Serbo-Croatian *júriti* 'rush after, chase'), **A*$_1$*w-er-* (Latvian *vert* 'run'), **A*$_1$*wor-* (Lith. *varýti* 'drive, chase'), with *hu(wa)rna-* reflecting **A*$_1$*wr-n-*.

Cf. *hurnapista-*.

hu(wa)rt- 'curse', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-tah-hi* (*KUB* XXXIII 117 IV 8; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:80 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-da-a-i* (IX 15 II 15 *walahzi hurdāi le kuinki* 'he shall not strike [or] curse anyone'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-tah-hu-un* (XXVI 71 I 7 *nu maldahhun nu hūwar*[*tahhun* 'I vowed and I cursed'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 44, 86–9), *hur-ta-ah-hu-un* (XXIII 45, 15; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:132), *hur-da-ah-hu-un* (XXXVI 47, 5 *nu-war-an hurdahhun*), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ar-ta-as* (XXII 70 Vs. 86 *huwartas-ma-an* [with gloss-wedge] ŪL 'but [she] did not curse her'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 80), *hur-ta-as* (ibid. 7–8 *eni kuit* SAL.LUGAL ^{SAL}*Ammatallan* ANA DINGIR-*LIM* ^{URU}*Arusna hurtas* 'this [matter] that the queen cursed A. before the deity of A.'), *hur-za-as-ta* (*KBo* X 45 I 4 *nasma hurzasta kuiski* 'or someone has made a curse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; for /hurtsta/ cf. *hazzasta* s. v. *hat-*), *hur-za-ta* (*KUB* V 6 IV 22 *linikta namma-wa hurzata* 'swore, and further cursed'; for /hurtsta/ cf. *hazzadu* /hatstu/ s. v. *hat-*), 3 sg. imp. act. *hur-za-as-du* /hurtstu/ (XVII 27 III 18 and 20), 3 pl. imp. act. *hur-ta-an-du* (*KBo* VI 34 IV 11–12 *n-an lenkias* DINGIR.MEŠ HUL-*lu hurtandu* 'him let the oath-gods evilly curse'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:168, 189 [1924]; Oettinger,

Eide 14); partic. *hu(wa)rtant-*, nom. sg. c. *hur-ta-an-za* (*KUB* XXII 70 Rs. 14 ^{SAL}*Pattiyas-wa hurtanza* 'P. [has been] cursed'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-wa-ar-ta-an* (*KBo* XXXII 14 II 21 URU-*yas-an* DINGIR.MEŠ *huwartan harkanzi* 'the town's deities hold him accursed'; *KBo* XXI 41 + *KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 61; cf. ibid. *hu-u-ur-*[*di-ya-*]*as uttar* 'matter of curse[s]'), *hur-ta-an* (*KUB* XXX 45 III 16–17 *nasma-an ABU* AM[A-*ŠU*] *PANI* DINGIR.MEŠ *hurtan harkanzi* 'or they have cursed him [and] his father [and] mother before the gods'; XXX 44, 12–13 *nasma-an ABU* [...] *kuiski hurtan harz*[*i* 'or someone has cursed ...'), nom. pl. c. *hur-ta-an-te-es* (XIV 17 II 12 *hurtantes esir* 'they were cursed'; cf. Götze, *AM* 84); iter. *hu(wa)rzaki-*/hurtski-/, 2 sg. pres. act. *hur-za-ki-si* (XXXIII 120 III 71 *nu-mu zik hurzakisi* 'thou cursest me'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XXXVI 1, 7 EN-*mi kuwatt-as hurzak*[*isi* 'my lord, why dost thou curse them?'; ibid. 9 *kuwat hurzakis*[*i*; cf. Otten, *Kumarbi* 5; Laroche, *RHA* 26:45 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-za-ki-iz-zi* (XIV 4 III 19 *nu* DAM-*YA* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as piran hurzakizzi* 'she keeps cursing my wife before the gods'; *KBo* IV 8 III 16 *ŪL hurzakizzi* 'does she not keep cursing?'; ibid. 24; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:189 [1983]; *KUB* XXXIII 120 III 70), 2 and 3 sg. pret. act. *hur-za-ki-it* (ibid. 69 *hurzakit-mu kuis* 'he who cursed me'; *KBo* XVIII 28 Vs. 6 [*z*]*ik-ma-mu ANA P*[*ANI*] DUMU.KIN-*YA hurzakit* 'but you have cursed me before my messenger'; *VBoT* 30 Vs. 8), 2 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ur-za-ki-it-te-en* (2308/c Vs. 1–2 *kui*[*t-wa-za-kan*] *kuit istarna hūrzakitten* 'whatever cursing you have done amongst you'), *hur-za-ki-it-tin* (dupl. *KUB* XII 34 I 17; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:352 [1953]; verbal noun *hu-u-wa-ar-za-ki-u-wa-ar* (n.) (*KBo* I 45 II 2), *hur-za-ki-u-wa-ar* (ibid. 6; both matching ibid. Akk. [*ar*]*arum* 'miller', misunderstood in Hittite as *arāru(m)* 'to curse'; cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]); supine *hur-za-ki-u-wa-an* (*ABoT* 48, 6 [*nu* ^{LÚ}HUL-*as hur*]*zakiuwan dāis* '"Bad" started cursing'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16).

hurtai- (c.) 'curse', nom. sg. *hur-ta-is* (e.g. *KBo* I 42 II 25, matching ibid. [Akk.] *irridu*; *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Vs. 65 and Rs. 38; ibid. Rs. 26 *hurtais lingais paprātarr-a* 'curse, [false] oath, and defilement'; ibid. 50 *ling*[*ais*]*-ma hurtaiss-a*), *hu-u-ur-ta-is* (ibid. 68; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 121–5), *hur-da-a-is* (*KBo* XII 70 Rs. 11), *hur-ta-as* (sic *KUB* XXIX 1 I 45; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]; M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]), acc. sg. *hu-ur-ta-in* (e.g. *KBo* XIX 145 III 8 *l*]*ingain hurtain*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 300; *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 43,

46, 55), *hur-ta-in* (*KUB* XLI 8 II 14–15 *parkunuddu suppis* A-*anza* HUL-*lun* EME-*an papratar ēshar wastul hurtain* 'may the holy water cleanse evil tongue, defilement, blood, despoliation, and curse!'; ibid. IV 12 HUL-*lu papratar ēshar NEŠ* DINGIR-*LIM wastul hurtain* 'evil defilement, bloodshed, perjury, despoliation, and curse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:124, 136 [1961]), *hur-da-a-in* (dupl. *KBo* X 45 IV 14; ibid. I 9 *NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM ēshar hurdāin*, with dupl. *KUB* VII 41 I 18 *hu-ur-ta-in*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), gen. sg. (or pl.) *hur-ti-ya-as* (e.g. *KBo* X 45 IV 10 *hurtiyas* UG_6-*as* DINGIR.MEŠ 'gods of curse [and] death'; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 9 *hurtiyas ēshanas* DINGIR.MEŠ 'gods of curse [and] blood'; XXII 70 Rs. 14 ^{SAL}*Pattiyas hurtiyas* '[the matter] of P.'s curse'; ibid. 21; ibid. 24 *hurtiyas uttar* 'the matter of the curse'; ibid. 26 *hurtiyas-pat uttar*; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 84–8; V 6 IV 27), *hu-ur-di-ya-as* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Vs. 64, 69, 71, Rs. 22; ibid. Vs. 53 *hūmandas hurdiyas* 'of all curses'), *hu-u-ur-di-ya-as* (ibid. 2, 7, 43, 49, 51, 55 *hūmandās hūrdiyas uddanī* 'in the matter of all curses'), dat.-loc. sg. *hur-ta-a-i* (*KBo* XI 1 Vs. 45 *idala*]*ui hurtāi ēshanī ishahruui* 'for evil curse, bloodshed, tears'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate and Josephson, *RHA* 25:108 [1967]), *hur-da-i* (XII 70 Rs. 7), *hur-ti-ya* (X 45 IV 26 *wasduli ishani hurtiya*; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 25 *wastulli ēshani hurtiya*; VII 57 I 10), abl. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-az* (e.g. XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 16–17 *apez idālauwaz uddanaz linkiaz hurtiyaz ish*[*an*]*az ishahruwaz parkuwāes asandu* 'let [them] be clean of that evil business, perjury, curse, blood[shed], [and] tears'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 95), *hu-ur-di-ya-az* (XV 42 II 9–11 *idālaz uddānaz linkiyaz hurdiyaz ēsha*⟨*na*⟩*z ishahruwaz QATAMMA parkuwaēs ēstin* 'be likewise clean of ...'), nom. pl. *hur-da-a-e-es* (*KBo* II 3 II 1–2 *nu kūs* EN.MEŠ SISKUR *idālawēs hurdāēs QATAMMA le uwanzi* 'may the evil curses likewise not see these offerants'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 72), *hu-ur-ta-us* (dupl. 1112c + II 47–48 *nu kūs-a BEL* SISKUR.SISKUR *idā*[*lawēs*] *hurtaus QATAMMA le uw*[*an*]*zi*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:356 [1953]), *hu-ur-ta-a-us* (ibid. IV 15–16 *tuwarnattaru-war-at* [*hūm*]*anda u*[*dd*]*ār hurtāuss-a* 'let them be crushed, all words and curses!'), *hu-u-ur-ta-a-us* (ibid. II 14 *udd*[*ār h*]*ūrtāus*), acc. pl. *hur-ta-us* (e.g. *KUB* V 6 III 17 *nu-za-kan hurtaus meqqaus tarnas* 'he flung many curses'; cf. A. Archi, *AoF* 6:87 [1979]; *KBo* I 36 + XXVI 24 IV 9), *hur-ta-a-us* (XIX 108, 7 ^{D}UTU-*us hurtāus IŠME* 'the sun-god heard the curses'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16), *hu-u-ur-ta-a-us* (1112/c + I 39–40

kinun-a tuhsandu [ap]idas UD-*as* EME.[HI.]A *hūrtāus* 'now let them cut off the calumnies [and] curses of those days'; ibid. II 29 KAXU-*i* EME-*i hūrtāus* 'for mouth [and] tongue, curses'; ibid. II 31 *idālawēs-wa-kan hūrtāus parā allapahten* 'the evil curses you have spat out'), *hur-da-a-us* (dupl. *KBo* II 3 I 42 *idālawēs-wa-kan hurdāus*; *KUB* XXXVI 31, 7 + XXXIII 120 III 69 *hurdāus-mu le memiskisi* 'do not utter curses at me!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XV 39 I 17 *apūs hurdāus*), *hu-u-ur-ta-us* (dupl. 1112/c + II 3 *apus hūrtaus*; ibid. 37 KAXU-*i* EME-*an hūrtauss-a* EGIR-*an* 'for the mouth, tongue and curses thereafter'), *hur-ti-ya-as* (dupl. *KBo* II 3 I 49–50 EME-*i hurtiyass-a* EME-*an* 'for the tongue, curses too [and] tongue' [sic]; 1112/c + III 18 *apel* UD-*as hurtiyas* 'curses of those days'; dupl. *IBoT* II 110, 4 U]D.KAM-*as hurtiyas*).

The standard etymology (since Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50:128 [1930], *Lg.* 7:118 [1931], *Comp. Gr.*[1] 106, 128) involves Lat. *verbum* 'word', Lith. *vařdas* 'name', OPr. *wirds*, Goth. *waúrd* 'word', thus *wer/wor/wr̥-dho-* usually considered a nominal derivative of **wer-* (Gk. *εἴρω* 'speak' < **ϝέρϳω*, but also **wr-éE-* in *ῥῆμα* 'word', etc.) seen in Hitt. *weriya-* 'call' (*IEW* 1162–3). Conjoining *hurd-* and *weriya-* under the same root (e.g. Sturtevant, *IHL* 49–50, 64; Lehmann, *PIEP* 25; Tischler, *Glossar* 310–1, with "chronicle") is highly questionable (cf. already Couvreur, *Hett.* 156; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 39), in view of the utter stability of the laryngeal in *hurd-* and its complete absence in *weriya-*; a formula **(H)werdh-* merely begs the issue. The case of *hulla-* (q.v.) vs. *walh-* is similar.

The verb is a primary *hu(wa)rt-*, which presupposes an IE verbal stem **H₁wer(t)-* (vs. **wer-*[*E-*] in *weriya-*) with a more specific meaning than the overworked 'feierlich sprechen'. Plausible cognates are Skt. *vratá-* 'vow', OCS *rota* 'oath', OPr. *wertemmai* 'we swear', and perhaps (in malam partem) Russ. *vrat'* 'lie', OCS *vračĭ* 'conjurer, magician, physician' (like LÚAZU; cf. Neu, *Kratylos* 12:165 [1967], *Anitta-Text* 87; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 442). For the semantic range cf. the above-cited collocations *hurtais lingais paprātarr-a* 'curse, (false) oath (= perjury), and defilement', *nu maldahhun nu hūwar*[*tahhun* 'I vowed and I cursed'.

Attempts to connect *hurt(a)-* with an IE **(H)wer-* 'bind' (E. Polomé, *Mélanges H. Grégoire* 2:568–9 [1950], *Études germaniques* 8:40–1 [1953]), or with Lith. *vérdu, vìrti* 'boil, concoct'

(G. Jucquois, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 113–4 [1979]) fail to carry conviction.

N. Mkrtčyan (*Acta Antiqua* 22:315 [1974]) suggested an affinity of Arm. *yurut'* 'curse', allegedly alternative for **xurut'*, citing cases of initial *y* : *h* variation.

Cf. *hu(wa)hhurti-*.

huwarti- (c.) 'concoction, infusion, decoction, extract', nom. sg. *hu-u-wa-ar-ti-i*[*s*] (*KUB* XLII 30, 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 175 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 530), acc. sg. *hu-wa-ar-ti-in* (XXXVII 1 Vs. 6 *huwartin* [with gloss-wedges] GIM-*an zanuzzi* 'as one boils an extract', matching ibid. 5 [Akk.] *rabiki* 'decoction' [*AHW* 935]; cf. F. Köcher, *AfO* 16:48, 53 [1952]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ar-ti* (XXVII 67 IV 5).

hurtiyalla-, hurtiyalli- (c.) 'infusion-vessel, decoction-bowl' (vel sim.), acc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-al-la-an*, dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-li* (*KBo* XVII 1 I 7–8 *nu hurtiyallan harmi hurtiyali-ma* [AN.B]AR-*as nēpis* 1-*EN kitta* 'I hold a h.; but in the h. lies a "heaven" of iron'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18, 96; Neu, *Altheth.* 5), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-li-ya* (ibid. 17 *n-at hurtiyaliya lāhui* 'she pours it into the h.'; dupl. XVII 3 I 12 *n-at hurtiyal*[*i-*; ibid. 11 *t-at hurtiyaliya lāhui*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 12). Derived from *hu(wa)rti-* like e.g. *harsiyal(l)i-* from *harsi-*.

hurtal(l)i- (c.) 'concoction, mass, blob' (vel sim.), also some kind of religious icon, gen. sg. D*Hu-ur-ta-li-as* (*KBo* XXI 49 I 3]NINDA D*Hurtalias*), D*Hu-ur-ta-li-ya-as* (ibid. III 11 D*Hurtaliyas piran*, followed ibid. 12–16 by *hassī piran* 'before the hearth', D*Halmassuitti* 'to Throne', GIŠ*luttiya* 'to the window', GIŠPA.HI.A-*as piran* 'before the staffs', GIŠ*hattalw*[*as* 'door-bolt'; XX 38 Vs. 5 D*Hurtali*[*y*]*as piran*; XX 100 Rs. 3 D*H*]*urtaliyas* 1-*šu*), *hu-u-ur-ta-li-ya-as* (*IBoT* I 4 III 5–6 PA LÚ.M]EŠMUHALDIM *hūrtaliyas piran* 1-*šU sipanti* 'the chef de cuisine libates once before the h.'), nom. pl. *hu-ur-ta-li-is(-sa)* (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 17; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44), *hu-u-ur-tal-li-is(-sa)* (*KUB* XXVII 67 III 14 [*p*]*ūrpūriyas hūrtalliss-a isnās* 'lumps and blobs of dough'), Luwoid *hu-u-ur-ta-al-li-en-zi* (ibid. II 9 *isnās pūrpūrēs hūrtallenzi*).

hurtal(l)iya- 'concoct, commingle; confound, subvert', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ur-ta-li-iz-zi* (*KUB* I 16 III 38 [*kuis-ma-ka*]*n* LUGAL-*as uddār hurtalizzi* 'but who[ever] subverts the king's ordinance'; cf. Sommer,

HAB 12, 156–7; cf. [s. v. *hulla-*] *kuis-ma* AMAT *Taba[rna ...] hullāi* 'but who[ever] quashes the king's ordinance'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-ur--ta-li-an-zi* (*KBo* III 27 Vs. 16–17 *nu kuyes-a hurtalianzi* AWĀT LUGAL; ibid. 18; ibid. 20 *hurtali*[-; XX 20 Vs. 10 + XXV 54 I 16 *k]alulupus-(s)mus hurtalianzi* 'they cross [?] their fingers'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120, *StBoT* 26:72 [1985]; Starke, *KLTU* 285; XVII 36 I 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 121; Starke, *KLTU* 286), *hu-ur-tal-li-an-zi* (*KUB* XX 11 II 4 and 19 *namma-kan hurtallianzi* [viz. the preceding bread and wine]), *hur-tal-li-an-zi* (LVI 54 Rs. 25 GIM-*an-ma* 3-*šU irhanzi nu* GAL.HI.A *hurtallianz[i* 'when they make the rounds thrice, they commingle the cups'; X 40 IV 5 *namma-kan hurtallianz[i*; *Bo* 3338 V 10 *namma-kan hurtallianzi*), *hur-tal-li-ya-an-zi* (*VBoT* 3 VI 10 *namma-kan hurtalliyanzi*), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-ur-tal-li-e-ir* (*KUB* I 16 III 43 *-m]a-kan* ÌR.MEŠ-*šU* LÚ.MEŠGAL.GAL *uddār-set hurtallier* 'his servants [and] the grandees subverted his ordinance').

hurtalim(m)a- (c.) 'confounding, subversion', acc. sg. *hu-ur-ta-li--im-ma-an* (*KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 10 *A]rinna*KI *kuin pehutetten uni hurtalimman* 'what is this subversion you have brought to A.?'), *hu]r-ta-li-ma-an* (dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 11; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1963]; O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 174 [1987] [both with wrong rendering]). For formation cf. e. g. *katkattima-* from *katkattiya-*, *tuhhima-* from *tuhhai-*.

huwarti- (with Luwoid *i*-stem?) : *hurtali-* are reminiscent of such pairs as *harpa-* : *harpali-* (both 'heap') from *harp-*. For the semantic range of *hurtaliya-* cf. Gk. *συγχέω* 'commingle, confound, overthrow, obliterate', *σύγχυσις* 'confusion, commotion, subversion, ruin'.

Neumann's suggestion (*Kratylos* 8:41 [1963]) that these words reflect IE **wert-* 'turn' would imply **H*$_1$*wert-* and mean that *nai-* and *weh-* (both 'turn') have relegated *hu(wa)rt-* to a semantic periphery ('stir, mix'; cf. Lat. *terram vertere* 'plow' and figuratively *sub-vertō* 'upset, overturn'). A more plausible etymon might be Lith. *vérdu* 'boil, seethe'.

R. Lebrun and G. Jucquois (in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 105–14 [1979]) implausibly confounded these words with *hu(wa)rt-* 'curse' (q. v.).

huwasi- (n.), stone or wood pillar, occasionally with metal (silver, iron), serving as outdoors or sheltered cult object, or as boundary marker (ZI.KIN), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-wa-si* (e. g. *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 20–21 URU*Kursawantas-ma-kan* EGIR UGU UR.ZÍR-*as* NA4*hūwasi* ZAG-*as* 'up

above K. the h. "of the dog" [is] the boundary'; par. 299/1986 I 31 URU*Kuwarsauwantaz-ma-ssi-kan* EGIR-*an sarā* UR.ZÍR-*as* NA4*hūwasi* ZAG-*as*; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 12, 34–5; *KUB* XLIV 58 II 7–8 *namma* ANA DINGIR.MAH.MEŠ *me[nahhanda]* GIŠ*hūwasi tittanuwa[nzi* 'facing the mother goddesses they set up a h.'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 216), gen. sg. *hu-wa-si-as* (*KBo* XXV 12 I 11 *]huwasias* DIM[; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 30; Singer, *Festival* 2:33), *hu-wa-si-ya-as* (e. g. XX 4 I 2 *huwasiyas piran*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 42; XX 99 + XXI 52 II 15–16 9 GA.KIN.AG *parsiyanta* NA4*huwasiyas piran dāi* 'nine frittered cheeses he places before the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:25), *hu-u-wa-si--ya-as* (e. g. *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 5–6 GIBIL-*ma* GIŠ*eyan* NA4*hūwasiyas* [*kattan*] *tittanuanzi* 'they plant a new *eya*-tree alongside the h.'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-se* (275/f Vs. 9 NA4*huwase anta*; cf. Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:50), *hu-u-wa-si* (e. g. LVIII 33 III 21 N]A4*hūwasi ari* 'arrives at the h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260; X 90 Rs. 1 DUTU-*as* GIŠ*hūwasi piran* 'before the h. of the sun-god'), *hu-wa-a-si* (e. g. XXV 32 + XXVII 70 + 1628/u III 18 NA4*huwāsi hūkanzi* 'they slaughter at the h.'; ibid. 27 *n-as-kan* NA4*huwāsi* EGIR-*pa tianzi* 'they put them back at the h.'; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:108 [1969–70]), *hu-wa-si-ya* (e. g. XXVIII 75 III 19–20 *mān* DUMU-*as* INA URU*Kāksat huwasiya* ANA DUTU *huekzi* 'when the son at K. slaughters at the h. to the sun-god'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 195; X 17 I 8–9 *nu* NA4*huwasiya piran* NINDA. KUR4.RA.HI.A *parsiya sipanti-ya* 'before the h. he breaks bread-loaves and sacrifices'; XXVII 75 III 19; XX 48 I 13), *hu-u-wa-si-ya* (frequent, e. g. ibid. 2 and 8; II 3 II 32–34 LUGAL-*us-san* DU-*as* NA4*hūwasiya anda paizzi* NA4*hūwasiya* UŠKEN 'the king goes in to the storm-god's h. and prostrates himself to the h.', besides dupl. *KBo* XXIII 74 II 16 *]huwasiya*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:64; *KUB* X 1 I 22–24 *kuitman-ma* LUGAL-*us* DU NA4*hūwasiya anda nāui paizzi* 'but while the king does not yet go in to the h. of the storm-god'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:23; VII 25 I 6–7 *ta-ssan* ANA ANŠU.KUR.RA *tiyazzi nu sarā* D*Anziliyas* NA4*hūwasiya paizzi* 'he mounts a horse and goes up to the h. of A.'; LVIII 40 V 6–7 *t-as* NA4*hūwasiya piran tiyazi* 'he steps forth to the h.'; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:177 [1986]; XXVIII 99, 5 *mān* LUGAL-*us* NA4*hūwasiya hantai[zz]i* 'while the king gets ready at the h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 219a); LI 1 + LIII 14 II 18 1 GUD 30 UDU.HI.A NA4*hūwasiya* ANA D*Telipinu hukanzi* 'one ox [and] thirty sheep they slaughter at the h. for T.'; ibid. 20 and 22 NA4*hūwasiya piran*, besides ibid. 17 NA4*hūwasi*; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF*

11:42 [1984]; *KBo* XXX 69 III 14–15 *n-at-san* ^{LÚ}AZU EGIR-*pa* ^{NA_4}*hūwasiya dāi*; ibid. 29–30 *n-at-kan* ^{LÚ}AZU ^{NA_4}*hūwasiya* EGIR-*pa dāi* 'the magician puts it back at the h.'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:84 [1988]), *hu-wa-a-si-ya* (e.g. XX 11 II 4 ^{N}]^{A_4}*huwāsiya āri* 'he arrives at the h.'), ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN-*si* (e.g. *KUB* XXV 25 I 11), ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN (e.g. ibid. 9 *PANI* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN 'before the h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; X 18 I 17–18 *nu* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN *piran* NINDA.KUR$_4$.RA *parsiya sipanti-ya*), abl. sg. *hu-wa-si-az* (2064/g Vs. 15–16 ^{NA_4}*huwasiaz anda* NILQI *āppa-ma* ... ^{NA_4}*huwasiaz arahza* NIDDI 'we had included [them] within the boundary-marker, but afterwards we left [them] outside the demarkation'; similarly ibid. 18–20; cf. Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:50; Riemschneider, *MIO* 6:362–3 [1958]), *hu-wa-si-ya-az* (*KBo* XXX 12 I 6 LUGAL-*us* ^{NA_4}*huwasiyaz uizzi* 'the king comes from the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:40; XX 76 + XXIV 87 IV 10 [LUG]AL-*us* ^{NA_4}*huwasiyaz uizzi*), *hu-u-wa-si-ya-az* (*KUB* X 61 II 3–4 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{D}U-*as* ^{NA_4}*hūwasiya*[*z*] *parā uizzi*; X 17 I 13–15 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*ni tiyazi t-as-kan* ^{NA_4}*hūwasiyaz arha uizzi* 'the king steps in a chariot and comes away from the h.'), ZI.KIN-*az* (par. X 18 I 22–23 *namma-ssan* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *tiyazi t-as-kan* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN-*az arha uizzi*), ZI.KIN (XX 99 II 25–26 *n-as-kan* IŠTU ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN ^{D}LA[MA] [*par*]*ā uizzi* 'he comes forth from the h. of L.'), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-wa-si* (e.g. *KBo* II 3 III 11 [*is*]*tarna-ma-kan* 7 ^{NA_4}*huwasi isgaranzi* 'in between they set seven h.'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 82; L. Rost, *MIO* 1:362 [1953]), *hu-u-wa-si* (e.g. *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 15 3 ^{NA_4}*hūwasi*; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 60 [1940]; XII 59 III 13 ^{NA_4}*hūwasi*HI.A), *hu-wa-a-si* (dupl. *KBo* II 3 III 23 ^{NA_4}*huwāsi*HI.A), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-wa-si-ya-as* (e.g. *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 9 [*n-an* ^{NA_4}]*hūwasiyas ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūkanzi* 'they slaughter it at the h. to the deities').

On the attestations and much-discussed realia of the *huwasi-* (which has been compared with the Hebrew *maṣṣēbāh* and the Greek *βαίτυλος*) see e.g. M. Darga, *Belleten* 33:493–504 (1969), *RHA* 27:5–24 (1969); Imparati, *RHA* 32:119–37 (1974). The unlikely idea that *huwasi-* may refer to an entire cultic monument complex such as Yazilikaya, originating with Güterbock (*MDOG* 86:76 [1953]) and dismissed by Gurney (*Some aspects of Hittite religion* 40–1 [1977]), still enlisted the support of Singer (*Festival* 1:101); *hekur* (q.v.) is a more likely designation for places like Yazilikaya.

Vague inner-Anatolian affinity with Hier. *wanai-* 'stela, monument' (Meriggi, *HHG* 148–9) was suggested by Bossert (*Belleten*

16:495–545 [1952]) and endorsed by Laroche (*HH* 138–9), extending via Luw. *(u)wanni-* 'stone-block, stela' (*Dict. louv.* 106) to Lyd. *vãna-* 'tomb' (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 222) but not expanding our formal understanding of *huwasi-*. No better was H. Eichner's suggestion **huwayasi-*, comparing a Hier. *hui-*, *hu(i)zi/a-*, allegedly 'carve' (*Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]).

huuigatar (n.), nom. sg. *hu-u-i-ga-tar* in *KUB* XXIV 8 I 13–14 [*pa*]*nku huuigatar mān hahhariyan* 'like an entire h. raked together' (simile for a multitude of riches; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:214 [1950]); also 685/z, 7 (cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4, 20). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:296.

Apparent neuter action noun in *-atar*, referring perhaps to grain accumulation on a threshing field. An underlying verb **hu(w)ig(a)-* might have denoted the procedure of separating the grain from the husks and chaff, thus threshing and winnowing as distinct from raking. Cf. perhaps Goth. *ga-wigan*, *ga-wagjan* 'shake down', ON *vega* 'shake, swing, sway'; it is by no means certain that this root is identical with **weĝh-* seen in Skt. *váhati*, Lat. *vehō*, etc. (pace *IEW* 1118–20). Cf. Puhvel, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 9:201 (1976) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 250 (1981).

H. A. Hoffner (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 21–2 [1974]) attempted to connect *huuigatar* with the infinitive *huganna*, postulating a third homograph *huek-* 'thresh, winnow' (beside 'slaughter' and 'conjure') in *KUB* XXXI 57 I 14–15 *terippūwanzi warsuwanzi* ARÀH-*anzi huganna arauwas* NU.GÁL 'free from plowing, harvesting, garnering, and "threshing" there is none'; but surely threshing would not be listed as an activity subsequent to grain-storage; *huganna* may refer rather to sacrificial or other slaughter in the context of post-harvest activity.

Corrections and Additions to Volumes 1–2

Page

xviii, line 16: correct to *Lingua Posnaniensis*.
3, line 3: *KUB* IX 3 IV 8 and LIII 3 VI 5 *a-as-ta-ma-kán* (cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:57, 61 [1984]).
4, line 13: *e-ti-iz* (*KUB* XLIX 7 I.R. 2 *etiz* INIM-*za*).
10, line 3 from end: correct S-*az* to A-*az*.
12, line 31: correct to *KUB* XXX 40 II 11.
12, line 5 from end: nom. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrushis* (*KUB* XXXII 43 IV 5; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:236).
12, line 3 from end: acc. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrūshin* (*KBo* XXI 33 I 8; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:39).
12, line 2 from end: dat.-loc. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrūshi* (e.g. *KBo* XXIII 12 I 25; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:65), ^{DUG}*ahrushiya* (e.g. XXIII 34 I 6; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:287), ^{DUG}*āhrūshiya* (e.g. *KUB* XXXII 49a II 13; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:47).
13, line 3: acc. pl. *ahrushius* (*KBo* XXIV 57 I 10; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:149).
13, line 13: correct to *ağršḫng ḫbršḫnd*.
14, line 16: correct 21 to 22.
15, line 3: *Bo* 2073 is *KUB* LIV 1; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:57 [1985].
15, line 23: initial Greek circumflex omitted (tiny raised cue sign "G" printed instead); read *ἳπος*. Also 63, line 25; 108, line 1; 138, line 2 from end; 204, line 19; 335, line 27; 336, line 12; 364, line 2 from end; 386, line 21; 395, lines 18, 19, 20, 24, 25; 412, line 30; 427, lines 22 and 32; 493, line 19.
16, line 11: correct '[he] withdrew' to '[she] distorted'.
17, line 20: correct to 1188–90.
17, line 4 from end: Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:149–51 [1988]) adduced Gk. *οἰσο-φάγος*.
17, line 3 from end: correct to *ἀποθνήσκω*.
18, line 18: 1 sg. pret. act. *a-ku-un* (*KUB* LIV 1 II 22).
18, line 24: correct to *kāstit-a man*.
20, last line: correct sÀ to šÀ.
24, line 13: *KBo* XXVI 98, 4 ^{NA_4}*akun*.

24, line 17: strike the line from "Cf." onward.
25, after line 15: Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:307 [1987]) took Gk. *ἄβυσσος* to be borrowed from *akkus(s)a-*; but the standard explanation *ἀ* + *βυσσός* 'bottomless' stands.
26, lines 1 and 4: *Bo* 2738 is *KUB* LVIII 79.
26, lines 3 and 6: *Bo* 2499 *is KUB* LV 67.
27, line 13: correct *allala* to *allallā*.
27, line 14: correct to "*KBo* XIII 260 III 37 *alallā*.".
29, line 15: nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) ^{GIŠ}*al-la-an-da*-GIŠ-*ru* (*KBo* XXV 184 II 75 and III 4).
31, line 16: 2 pl. pret. act. *al-la-pa-ah-tin* (*KUB* VII 18, 2).
33, line 13: correct Alb. to *lule*.
33, line 20: ^{SAL}*al-hu-i-it-ra-as* (*KBo* XIV 96 III 18).
36, line 19: *Bo* 2967 is *KUB* LVIII 100.
37, line 8: *KUB* LVII 63 I 3 *alpas* NU.GÁL 'there is no cloud'; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16.
39, line 5: *IBoT* IV 84 V 3 GA.K]IN.AG *alpān*.
40, line 18: cf. Akk. *ṣapāru* 'trim'; H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:15 (1983).
40, line 2 from end: Güterbock again defended *alpu-* as 'pointed' in *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* 168–70 (1988).
41, after line 32: Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:308–9 [1987]) compared Gk. *ἄλσος* 'sacred grove, precinct', with reference to *ἕρκος* 'enclosure' : *ὅρκος* 'oath'.
43, line 13: correct to *altiwr, eltiwr*.
44, line 32: correct to *hūmandas*.
49, lines 3–4: *Bo* 2033a is *KUB* XLV 75.
49, line 16: add "*KUB* LIV 1 I 33 *ambassin warnunun* 'I lit the a.'".
49, line 19: *Bo* 3481 is *KUB* LVI 49.
51, line 5: 513/i is *KBo* XXIX 34; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 378.
52, line 3: *a-ni*-UD.KAM-*ti* (*KBo* XXIV 126 Vs. 27).
53, line 6: correct to EZEN.HI.A.
53, line 17: *an-na-li* (*KUB* XXVII 1 I 28).
57, lines 3–4: correct XXXV 92 I 29 to *KBo* IX 146 Vs. 29; cf. Otten, *LTU* 88; Starke, *KLTU* 403.
57, line 13: gen. adj. *ẽnehi* (*TLy* 44a.29); also Lyc. B *ẽnesi-* ...
58, line 29: nom. pl. *an-na-ni-ki-e-*[*es* (*KBo* XXII 178 + *KUB* XLVIII 109 II 5; cf. ibid. 6 *pappa* ŠE[Š.MEŠ 'brothers by the same father', and H. A. Hoffner, *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* 191–2, 194–7 [1988]).

59, line 12: correct to YÀ DÙG.GA.
60, line 4 from end: correct to *Code* 2:19.
65, line 3: *an-na-ú-li-is* also 299/1986 III 39; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 22.
66, lines 26–27: correct XLI 15 Vs. 13 to XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 23; cf. *ZA* 74:303 (1984).
70, line 14: strike *aniur* (e. g.).
70, line 15: correct to *aniūr*.
71, line 23: correct to ^{D}UTU-*ši*-.
72, line 24: correct to SAL-*nātar*.
72, line 33: correct *hassumar* to *hassatar*.
73, line 4: correct to *hannetalwa(na)-* (s. v.).
73, line 9: Cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25:77 (1979).
74, line 11: correct to *weuiskiuan*.
74, lines 26–27: correct to *namma-an āandaz* A-*az ishahru ... arha ānaszi* 'then he wipes off his tears with warm water'.
74, line 28: *an-sa-an-zi* (*KBo* XX 116 Rs. 6).
75, line 3 from end: Possibly from **am(a)s-* (cf. *anassa-* [s. v.], and H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 101:211–2 [1988]).
83, line 27: add *andura-*.
83, last line: nom. sg. c. *an-dur-as* (*KUB* L 48 III 2 *anduras-ma* BAL 'internal rebellion', vs. ibid. 3 *arahzenas-ma* BAL; L 22, 6).
84, line 3: nom. pl. c. *an-dur-as* (*KUB* XLII 49 Vs. 7 2 TÚG.MEŠ BABBAR *anduras* 'two white native cloths'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 127 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 348), acc. pl. c. *an-tu-u-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XXVI 9 + 1256/1969+ 13 *antūriyas* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$EN.NU.UN 'inside watchmen'; cf. Otten, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:134 [1983]).
84, line 29. dat. sg. ^{LÚ}*an-du-wa-sal-li* (299/1986 IV 33; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 26).
85, line 3: *Bo* 2489 + 4008 is *KUB* LVII 63; cf. ibid. 31 and dupl. LVII 60 II 21 *an-tu-(u-)us-me-it-ta*; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20.
95, lines 10–11: strike "*handai-* 'arrange' from *handa(s)* 'according to' (q. v.), or".
96, line 23: correct *arka* to *arga*.
96, line 5 from end: abl. sg. *ap-pa-si-wa-at-ta-az* (*KUB* LVII 63 II 24 and dupl. LVII 60 II 16; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20).
98, line 20: correct to 66–87.
99, line 20: correct to *apidani*.

99, line 4 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *a-pí-ya* (see s. v. *hass-* 'ashes').
102, line 5 from end: EN É *apuzzi* also 299/1986 IV 40 (cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 28).
103, line 18: *Bo* 2839 IV 3 is *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 4.
109, line 19: spell out *ar-ah-hu-un*.
109, line 20: spell out *a-ar-ah-hu-un*.
110, line 31: correct to *kāsa-*.
112, line 2: *Bo* 2489 is *KUB* LVII 63; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16.
126, line 22: Another sense 'raising, levy' may be found in instr.-abl. *a-ri-ya-ta-ti* (*KBo* XIII 231 Vs. 6 1 GUD 2 UDU.HI.A *ariyatati* [with gloss-wedges] 'one head of cattle [and] two sheep by levy'; misspelled ibid. 10 *a-ri-ya-ga-ti*, ibid. Rs. 12]*a-ir-ya-ta-ti*); hittitized abl. *a-ri-ya-at-ta-za* (299/1986 II 29 *ariyattaza* 2 ME GUD 1 LIM UDU.HI.A 'by levy two hundred cattle [and] one thousand sheep'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16, 48).
128, line 25: correct to *JCS* 6:22, 41.
128, line 3 from end: Hurr. *asar* was doubted by N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 114–5 (1987).
129, line 22: gen. sg. *ir-ha-as* (*KUB* XVII 29 II 7 *irhass-a* KASKAL-*ass-a uddani* 'in the matter of the border and the road').
131, line 4: partic. *arhant-*, *irhant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ar-ha-a-an* (*KBo* XXII 1, 30–31 [OHitt.] *nu kissan* AWĀT ABI-YA *arhān hartenī* 'thus you have carried out the mandate of my father').
131, line 7: acc. pl. c. *ir-ha-a-du-*[*us*] (*IBoT* II 19, 5).
132, line 9: correct to *kuinna*.
132, line 2 from end: correct to *assūli*.
134, line 4: correct to Riemschneider; contract lines 4 and 5.
136, line 14: correct to DINGIR-*LIM*.
136, line 24: strike "*arienzi* (II 3 III 24),".
136, line 31: *a-ri-ya-an-nu-un* (*KUB* XLIII 50 Vs. 13 + XV 36 Vs. 5; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 105, 123 [1985]).
136, last line: GAM.MÁŠ-*u-en* (Meskene; cf. *CHD* 3:253).
137, line 15: *KUB* LII 41 Rs. 2 *a-ri-is-kat-ta-ri*.
139, line 6: correct to *art'un*.
139, line 17: abl. sg. ^{GIŠ}*a-ri-im-pa-a-az* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 3).
141, line 19: correct 'slits open' to 'sticks'.
142, line 11: correct 30 to 29.
142, line 29: Uncertain 3 sg. pres. in *ishi*[*man*]*an ar-ki-y*[*a-*? (*KUB* LV 28 III 4), *ishamanan ar-k*[*i-*? (ibid. 7); hardly 'climbs up (the

rope)' (Ünal, *JCS* 40:99, 101, 106 [1988]) which is ibid. 5–6 *sarā ... paizzi* (vs. ibid. 6 and 18 *katta uizzi* 'descends'); perhaps a different verb, 'extends (the rope ladder)', cognate with Ved. *rjyate* 'stretch'.
142, line 30: (ŠIR), nom. sg. (?) *ar-k*[*i-y*]*a-as* (*KBo* XXVI 34 I 2).
144, line 13: acc. pl. *ar-kam-mu-us* also 299/1986 II 23; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16.
147, line 29: correct to *jërzajet, jërgajet*.
147, last line: correct to *Linguistique balkanique*.
148, line 10: gen. sg. (?) ^{É}*ar-ki-ú-ya-as* (*KUB* LV 5 IV 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:110).
148, line 20: *ar-ka-u-i* (*KBo* XI 47 I 4).
148, line 22: [*a*]*r-ki-ú-az*[(*KBo* XIII 227 I 2).
148, line 25: Cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 333–48.
151, line 26: correct to *walliēs*.
152, line 11: correct to "*arma* 'gear'"; cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 [1983])".
152, line 30: correct to *armannaima*.
152, line 32: add "perhaps Luwoid and normal participles of a denominative verb *armannai-* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Bi. Or.* 40:411 [1983])".
153, line 29: correct to *armta-*.
155, lines 7–10: strike "and" and read "G. T. Rikov (*Linguistique balkanique* 24:3:78–80 [1981]) adduced Hes. *ἄρμη·λεικὴ* (allegedly pro *λεύκη*). Kammenhuber (*Orakelpraxis* 55–6) pronounced *armuwalasha-* a loanword from Hurrian."
156, line 19: deities; cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 [1983]).
156, line 24: *armahhanza* also *KUB* LVI 19 II 9.
156, line 33: correct to *armahhu(w)ar*.
156, last line: strike [...]; correct "midwife" to "old woman".
158, line 23: correct to *ZA* 49:234.
159, line 12: correct to *KUB* VIII.
160, line 21: H. C. Melchert (*Die Sprache* 29:20–1 [1983]) compared Alb. *jerm* 'daze, delirium', as a reflex of IE **er-* 'move, stir'.
160, line 3 from end: *Maşat* 75/67 ^{GIŠ}*armizzi* 'building the bridge with stone is already finished'.
161, line 1: *ar-me-iz-zi-ya-as* (*Bo* 2689 Rs. 10 *mān* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIŠ}*ar-mezziyas āri* 'when the king arrives at the bridge'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 358).
161, line 15: Cf. Otten, *Festschrift für K. Bittel* 433–4 (1983).

165, lines 29–30: strike "nom.-acc. pl. neut. *arnuwanda* (*KUB* XXVII 13 IV 14)".
166, line 22: 3 pl. imp. act. *ar-nu-us-kán-du* (*KUB* XIII 2 III 10; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47).
171, line 30: *KUB* LIV 1 IV 21 *arsanzi.*
171, line 3 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *a-ar-sa-an-ti* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 5 ID *ārsanti-ya* 'and to the flowing river').
172, line 2 from end: Maşat *ar-sa-na-an-ta* (cf. Güterbock, *Anadolu Araştirmalari* 10:207 [1986]).
174, line 4: correct to "let all generations likewise cherish the king and queen".
175, last line: correct to "I 15 5 *arduss-a*".
176, line 1: *KUB* XXXIX 35 I 9 *arduss-a* MUŠEN.HI.A.
176, line 28: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 (1983).
182, line 21: Van Windekens (*Festgabe für W. Thomas* 118–9 [1988]) derived *aruna-* from *aru-* 'high', comparing Lat. *altum* for 'sea'.
183, lines 18–19: correct to "G. T. Rikov (*Linguistique balkanique* 25.2:22–3 [1982])".
183, line 20: cf. also *ārsa tiyat* (299/1986 II 54; Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 49).
184, line 9: strike ZI.
186, line 10: *Bo* 2965 is *KUB* LVIII 5 I 3 É *ar-sa-na-za.*
186, line 11: 3 sg. pres. act. (?) *ar-za-na-i* (*IBoT* IV 18 Vs. 9).
186, line 12: correct to *Die Kaškäer.*
186, line 29: correct to "1 LÚ 1 SAL".
187, line 9: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 (1983).
187, line 20: cf. *marzastarri-* beside *marsastarri-.*
188, line 21: correct to 'a place did not remain'.
192, line 30: *Bo* 2813 II 10 is *KUB* LVIII 83 II 11.
193, lines 14 and 33: correct to *BIBRI.*HI.A.
194, lines 2 and 3: correct to *BIBRI.*HI.A.
196, line 26: correct to *buššū.*
198, line 4: *a-as-sa-u-wa-za* (*KUB* XXXIV 53 Rs. 14).
199, line 17: *Bo* 2489 + 4008 is *KUB* LVII 63; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20.
200, line 22: strike *t-as.*
200, line 4 from end: correct to ŠÀ.
201, line 22: correct to *BIBRI.*HI.A.
202, line 2: correct to 8-*andas.*
202, line 3: correct to "born to her on the basis of eight".

205, line 23: strike "*harpu-* 'hostile' from *harp-* 'separate' ".
207, line 22: cf. Ivanov, *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija 1980* 168 (1981), who also adduced Toch. B *yesan* 'clear'.
208, line 2 from end: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479–80 (1983).
209, line 17: *a-se-es-sar* (e. g. *KUB* XX 76 I 14 *asessar asesanzi* 'they seat the congregation'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 48 [1982]; *KBo* XXVII 42 II 67 [*as*]*essarr-a hūman asesanzi*;).
212, line 30: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:671 (1983).
213, line 5 from end: *KUB* XIII 4 II 56 *n-an* LUGAL-*an āska* UL *uwatezzi* 'does not bring it to the king's gate'.
213, line 2 from end: *KUB* XVII 12 II 25 *n-as āsga parā paizzi.*
215, line 30: *Bo* 2476 is *KUB* LIII 50.
215, line 32: dupl. *Bo* 3471, 4–5 *askus ... watkuzzi*; cf. *ZA* 74:304 [1984].
216, line 14: R. Stefanini, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 252–3 (1988), identified *asku-* as 'gecko'.
217, line 7: change *KUB* XXXIII 106 to *KBo* XXVI 65.
218, line 2: correct to *Analecta.*
219, line 9: correct to Georgiev.
220, line 1: correct to *mediterranea.*
220, line 16: correct to ŠÀ.
220, line 3 from end: *Bo* 2393 + 5138 is *KUB* LV 43.
223, line 4 from end: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:671–2 (1983).
225, line 4: correct to *uddanī.*
225, line 13: abl. sg. *at-ta-az* (*KBo* IX 146 Vs. 49; XX 31, 1) , *at-ta-za* (*KUB* LVI 17 Rs. 2 *attaza-ma annaza*; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 103 [1988]).
226, line 25: correct to *ddedi, tedesi-.*
227, line 12: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:672 (1983).
227, line 27: 97/b is *KBo* XXIX 199.
228, line 21: correct to DINGIR-*LIM.*
229, line 2: *KBo* XVIII 181 Vs. 2 and Rs. 14 *adupli.*
229, line 23: correct to "(c., also n.)".
229, line 4 from end: *KUB* XLIX 19 III 26 *mān aulis kuedani imma pidi* EGIR['if the a. in whatever place again...'.
230, line 5: *KUB* XLIII 63 Vs. 5 and 15.
230, line 6: *a-ú-li-en* also *KUB* XLVIII 123 I 8 *aulen* GUL-*ahta* 'struck the spleen'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica IV* 96), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-ú-li* (*KUB* XXXV 133 II 31–33 *n-asta ANA* UDU ^{UZU}*suppa* ^{UZU}GAD ^{UZU}ZAG.LU ^{UZU}*auli parku hastāi* ^{UZU}*HĀSĪ* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *n-at-*

-kan ANA ^{DUG}UTÚL *pissiyazzi* 'from the sheep [he takes] clean meat, breast, shoulder, spleen, high bone, lung, entrails, and throws them into the pot'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 110; Starke, *KLTU* 280), gen. sg. *a-ú-li-ya-as* (*KBo* XX 73 IV 4 *auliyas inan* 'ailment of the spleen').

232, line 24: Cf. Puhvel, *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* 433–7 (1984). C. Kühne (*ZA* 76:85–117 [1986]) essayed an alternative interpretation 'throat, bronchial tubes and/or arteries' and unconvincingly connected Gk. *αὐλός* 'pipe', Toch. B *auloñ* 'body ducts', OCS *ulica* 'alley', Lat. *alv(e)us* 'hollow, cavity' (*IEW* 88–9), the true cognate of which is Hitt. *halluwa-* 'hollow' (q. v.).

232, line 25: correct to "(c., OHitt. n.)".

232, line 4 from end: acc. sg. c. *a-ú-ri-in* (*KBo* XII 69, 5), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-ú-ri* (*KUB* XXXI 110, 8 *auri-smit* 'your [or: their] fort').

233, line 4: gen. sg. *a-wa-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 49 I 9).

233, line 31: *KUB* XL 60 I 2 *hantezzius aurius*; so also 299/1986 III 44; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 22.

237, lines 6–7: *Bo* 1850 Rs. is *KUB* LVII 116 Vs.; *Bo* 2498 is *KUB* XLIX 2.

239, line 31: correct to "nom. pl.".

240, line 2: 1 sg. pres. act. *us-ki-mi* (*KBo* XIV 75 I 14), *ú-us-ki-mi* (*KBo* XVIII 136, 17).

240, line 12: *u-us-ki-si* (*KUB* VI 7 III 18).

240, line 14: strike "*us-kat-ti* (XVIII 56 II 25),".

240, line 4 from end: *KUB* LIV 1 I 20 *us-kat-te-ni*.

241, line 29: *us-kir* (*KBo* XVIII 69 Rs. 13).

241, line 3 from end: *ú-us-ki* (*KBo* III 29 I 6 [OHitt.]).

242, line 2: correct to *VBoT*. 3 sg. imp. act. *u-us-ki-id-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 55 II 24), *u-us-kad-du* (*HT* 48, 3), 2 pl. imp. act. *a-us-kat-tin* (*KBo* XVII 73, 8).

242, line 14: correct to "(XII 1 IV 11; cf. S.".

242, line 23: supine *us-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXIX 61 I 5 and 6 *uskiuwan dāi* 'begins to see').

243, line 17: cf. *muhhi* 'I fall' (*KUB* XLIII 60 I 34), 3 sg. *mauszi*, 1 sg. pret. midd. *maushahat* (cf. Otten, *Apologie* 18).

245, line 3 from end: add "with dupl. *KUB* IX 34 I 33 LÚ *ausiyas*".

246, line 16: correct to "*KUB* XXXVIII 2 I 12".

246, line 19: *a-ú-wi-ti-is* (*KUB* XLII 69 Vs. 11; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]).

246, last line: *a-ú-i-ti* (sic *KUB* XLII 10 Rs. 6).

247, line 12: correct to *hawi-*.

251, line 3: correct *ehu-si* to *ehu-wa*.

253, line 22: correct to *iyatniantes*.

254, line 8: *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 3 *karuuili* ^{GIŠ}*eyan* 'old *eya*-tree', vs. ibid. 5 GIBIL-*ma* ^{GIŠ}*eyan* 'new'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984].

254, line 25: *Bo* 2967 is *KUB* LVIII 100.

254, line 26: *Bo* 2839 is *KUB* LVIII 33; so also 255, line 29.

254, line 26: *KUB* LIII 4 Rs. 38 ^{GIŠ}*eyas pir*[*an*; cf. *AoF* 11:76 [1984]; LIII 16 VI 15; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 21.

254, line 27: *KUB* LIV 69 Vs. 12 ^{GIŠ}*eyanas* (or dat.-loc. pl.).

254, line 33: instr. sg. ^{GIŠ}*e-ya-ni-it* (*Bo* 5549, 6; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 108 [1988]).

254, line 3 from end: *KUB* LIV 69 Vs. 10 3 ^{GIŠ}*eyan*.

255, line 31: *Bo* 2710 is *KUB* LVIII 11.

258, line 16: Also *ekunant-*, nom.-acc. sg. and pl. neut. in UZU *i-ku-na-an* (*KBo* X 36 Rs. 3), UZU *e-ku-na-an-ta* (XXVII 42 II 47), UZU *e-ku-na-an-n*[*a* (XI 38 V 3) 'cold meat(s)' (cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:57).

258, line 17: *ekunimas* (*KUB* III 110, 9), *ikunimmas* (XLIII 62 II 11 *ikunimmas* NU.GÁL 'there is no cold').

258, line 5 from end: An example may be seen in *KUB* LVIII 58 I 10 *kuedani mēhuni ekunizzi hass*[*i* 'at what time it is cold, at the hearth ...' (cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 292).

260, line 20: Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:311–2 [1987]) implausibly took *δίκτυον* as borrowed from Hitt. *ikt-*, with initial "contamination" by *δικεῖν*.

267, line 27: correct to "[1974] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 265 [1981])".

268, line 17: Cf. Puhvel, in *Studia linguistica diachronica et synchronica* 693–6 (1985).

269, line 4 from end: dat.-loc. pl. *il-zi-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXII 129 Vs. 14 *n-at-kan* ^{GIŠ}*ilziyas tianzi* 'they place it on scales').

272, line 17: nom.-acc. pl. *i-ni-ri* (*KUB* LVII 105 II 4 *iniri-ssit* IGI.HI.A-*it* 'its eyebrows with the eyes').

272, line 18: instr. sg. *i-ne-ri-d(a)* (*KBo* XXX 30 Rs. 4 *inerid-at-kan* [*dāu* 'with the eyebrow he shall take it').

272, line 22: acc. pl. c. *e-ne-ru-us* (*IBoT* III 72, 10).
275, line 20: 1 pl. pres. act. DIB-*u-e-ni* (*KBo* XXIII 110 Rs. 7).
276, line 2: 3 pl. pres. act. DIB-*an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* II 8 IV 27).
277, line 25: 3 sg. pret. midd. *e-ip-ta-at* (*KUB* LII 83 I 5 *arha* ŪL *eptat*), DIB-*ta-at* (XLIX 103 Vs. 9 *arha* DIB-*tat*), DIB-*at* (XLVI 37 Vs. 11 *arha* DIB-*at*).
277, line 28: 1 pl. pret. act. *NIŠBAT* (*KBo* VII 53 Vs. 7).
277, line 28: 2 pl. pret. act. *e-ip-te-en* (*KUB* I 16 + XL 65 III 9; cf. Kühne, *ZA* 62:257 [1972]).
278, line 17: 3 pl. pret. act. DIB-*ir* (e. g. *KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 6 and 11), *IŠBATU* (*KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 9).
279, line 2: *e-ip-te-en* (*KBo* XVI 27 I 5; *KUB* XXIII 68 Vs. 6 *e-ip-te-na-an* 'seize him!').
279, line 15: 3 pl. imp. act. DIB-*an-du* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 33).
279, line 26: DIB-*an-za* (e. g. *KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 18 *anda* DIB-*anza*).
279, line 26: acc. sg. c. *appandan* (*KBo* XX 107 + XXIII 50 II 22 *appandan antuhsann-a* 'captive person').
280, line 13: DIB-*an-ta* (*KUB* XXVI 69 VII 12; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 46).
280, last line: *e-ip-pu-u-wa-an-zi* also *KUB* XIII 4 II 22.
281, line 6: DIB-*an-na* (e. g. *KUB* V 9 Vs. 8; LII 41 Rs. 3).
281, line 28: 1 pl. pret. act. *ap-pí-es-ki-u-en* (*KUB* XVIII 24 III 11).
281, line 28: 3 pl. pret. act. *ap-pí-es-ki-ir* (*IBoT* II 129 Vs. 19; ibid. ŪL *ap-pí-es-kán-zi*), *ap-pí-es-kir* (*KUB* XX 13 I 6), *ap-pí-is-ki-ir* (*KBo* XX 57 Rs. 12 KASKAL-*an appiskir*), *ap-pí-is-kir* (XVI 86 Vs. 6; *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 32 ...).
281, line 30: 3 sg. imp. act. *ap-pí-is-ki-id-du* (*KUB* XXVI 17 II 4), 2 pl. imp. act. *ap-pí-is-ki-it-tin* (XXIII 72 + XL 10 Rs. 57), 3 pl. imp. act. *ap-pí-es-kán-du* (XXVIII 1 III 16).
282, line 27: 3 pl. pres. act. *i-pu-ra-*[*a*]*n-zi* (*KBo* XV 24 II 10–11 + *KUB* XXXII 137 II 31 *a*]*pāt pedan ipuranzi n-asta sarā* [...] [*is*]*huwanzi* 'they dam that spot and pile up ...'); verbal noun *ipurauar* (?), gen. sg. *i-pu-ra-u-as* (*KBo* XVIII 181 Vs. 15 *ANA LI-U*$_5$ *ipurau*[*as* 'on the tablet of the i.'; ibid. Rs. 30 *LI*]-*U*$_5$ *ipura*[*u*]*as*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 119, 121 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 372, 376).
282, line 30: add "also ibid. 10".
282, line 31: correct to "ibid. 25 and l.R. 3".
282, line 31: correct "pres." to "pret.".
282, line 2 from end: correct "demolish" to "penetrate".

282, last line: Cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:204 (1978–9).
283, line 19: N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 76 (1987), mistranslated *epurai-* as 'smooth over'.
283, line 22: ^{GIŠ}*e-ir-hu-i* (*KBo* XX 4 IV 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 39; *KUB* LIV 59, 5), *e-ir-hu-i* (XLII 107 IV 13 1 *ME erhui INBI* 'a hundred baskets of fruit').
283, line 23: ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-u-i* (e. g. *KBo* IX 99, 5).
283, lines 23–24: the "gen. sg." examples are rather dat.-loc. pl. and belong on p. 284, line 5.
283, line 25: dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIŠ}*irhui* (e. g. *KUB* XV 31 I 10 [not nom.-acc.; correct at line 23]).
283, line 26: XXXII 128 II 29 reads *ir-hu-u-i-ti* and belongs in line 5 from end.
283, line 4 from end: ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-ú-i-ti* (*KUB* XII 12 V 15), ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-i-ti-i* (XLI 17 I 28), ^{GI}*ir-hu-i-ti-i* (LV 23, 4, with 'reed' determinative).
284, line 3: ^{GIŠ}*e-ir-hu-ya-za* (*KUB* LVII 110 II 12), ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-ya-az* (*KBo* XIV 96 III 9), ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-u-e-az* (*KUB* LV 39 I 21).
284, line 4: ^{GIŠ}MA.ŠÁ.AB-*ya-za* (*KBo* XXVII 54 I 11).
284, line 7: nom. sg. ^{GIŠ}*ir-hu-i-ta-al-la-as* (*KBo* VIII 68 IV 4 *kās* SAL-*as* ^{GIŠ}*irhuital*[*las*.
284, line 4 from end: ^{GIŠ}*e-ri-ip-pí-da* (*KBo* XXIII 27 I 25), ^{GIŠ}*e-ri-pí-it* (sic ibid. 27).
285, line 5 from end: *KUB* XXVI 83 III 18 *kā esuwan*[*i* 'here we are'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:165 [1977].
287, line 5: 299/1986 II 33–34 *nu-nnas annisan-pat nakkiēs āssawēs esuwen nu-nnas lenkiyas esuwen* 'we were from way back mutually dear and beloved, and we were oath partners'; ibid. 48–49 *anzāss-a-nnas hanti lenkiyas* UKÙ.MEŠ *esuwen*; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16–8.
287, line 5: *e-es-su-u-en* (*KUB* XVIII 24 III 6 *anzās ēssuwen* 'we were').
287, line 18: *e-es-sir* also *KUB* XVIII 24 III 5; XVIII 67 Vs. 5; *KBo* XIV 21 I 30.
288, line 19: 2 pl. imp. act. *i-is-te-e*[*n*] (*KBo* VI 2 III 20 [= *Code* 1:55, OHitt.]).
289, line 21: acc. sg. c. *a-sa-an-da-an* (*KUB* XIV 4 II 21).
289, line 28: *asanda* also *KUB* XL 1 Vs. 34.
290, line 2: correct to "[1971], *Kadmos* 11:47–54 [1972], 22:59–60 [1983])."
291, line 32: 2 sg. pres. midd. *e-es-ta-ri* also *KUB* LVII 24, 5.

291, last line: 3 sg. pres. act. TUŠ-*zi* (e. g. *KUB* XII 1 IV 16).
292, line 18: 3 sg. pres. midd. TUŠ-*ri* (*KUB* V 1 IV 9).
294, line 4: correct to "3 sg. pret. midd.".
294, line 7: 3 sg. pret. midd. *e-sa-ti* also *KBo* XIII 99 Rs. 4.
294, line 30: 3 sg. pret. midd. TUŠ-*at* (e. g. *KUB* XV 12 IV 6 and 7).
295, line 18: correct to *e]-es-tu-ma-ti*.
295, line 19: nom. sg. c. TUŠ-*za* (*KUB* XVII 35 III 23 ALAM SAL TUŠ-*za* AN.BAR 'seated likeness of woman, of iron').
295, line 28: *a-sa-an-ta-as* (*KBo* XXV 171 VI 7).
295, line 33: *KBo* XIII 10 Vs. 9 EGIR-*pa esanza*.
296, line 18: dat.-loc. sg. *a-sa-an-ni* (*KBo* XVI 53 Rs. 46).
296, line 33: 3 pl. pres. midd. *e-es-kán-ta* (*KBo* XXX 172 Vs. 7), *e-es-kán-ta-ri* (XIX 163 I 24).
298, line 5 from end: correct to *birdu*.
298, line 4 from end: cf. *MSL* 17:110 [1985].
305, line 3: *e-es-si-is-[ki-* (*KUB* LIV 1 I 60).
306, line 4: *KBo* XXVI 20 III 15 [Akk.] *tamu* = [Hitt.] *ēshar*; cf. *MSL* 17:110 [1985].
307, line 2 from end: *is-ha-ni* (*KUB* LV 28 II 6; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:99 [1988]).
308, line 1: *e-es-ha-ni-it* (*Bo* 3696 I 7 and 10).
308, line 8: J. Catsanicos (*BSL* 77.2:94 [1982]) wrongly interpreted forms such as *(i)ēssar*, *(i)ēsnas* as a verbal noun 'deed, crime' from *iya-* 'do' (besides *iyauwar*), with reference to Laroche (*RPh* 67:121 [1973]) who tried to separate *iēssar* from *ēshar*.
308, line 26: *KUB* LIV 1 IV 19 *is-ha-na-an-za*.
308, line 2 from end: nom. sg. c. *is-ha-nu-wa-an-za* (*KBo* XIII 131 III 14).
309, line 23: acc. sg. c. *e-es-ha-as-ga-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XXV 127+147 III 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 212, 232, *StBoT* 26:367).
310, line 3 from end: *KBo* XIII 114 III 3 *is-har-nu-ma-a-iz-zi*.
311, line 3: inf. *e-es-har-nu-ma-a-u-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* XXIV 45 Rs. 11; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:106 [1983]).
311, line 17: *is-har-wa-an-ta* (*KBo* XXX 39 Rs. 17 *isharwanta* ^{SIG}*is-meri* 'blood-red reins').
311, line 2 from end: *is-har-ú-i-il* also *KBo* XXIV 42 Rs. 11.
314, line 17: correct to *ēssari-ssit*.
315, line 27: In *IF* 90:97–8 (1985) Van Windekens implausibly connected *esri-* (and *asara-*) with Gk. *εἴρων* 'dissembler'.
316, line 11: 3 sg. pres. act. *i-iz-za-az-zi* (*KBo* XXVII 130 Rs. 6).

316, line 22: *Bo* 5709 Vs. 10 *aduwani akuwani*.
316, line 25: 2 pl. pres. act. *e-iz-za-te-ni* (*KUB* XXXI 114 III 7).
316, line 28: correct *akuenzi* to *akuanzi*.
316, line 31: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-da-zi* also *KBo* IV 11, 35; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 340.
316, line 32: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-ta-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XVII 36 III 13 *atanzi akuanz*[*i*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 123; *IBoT* I 36 IV 39 *n-at-za atanzi* 'they eat'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:202 [1966]).
316, line 5 from end: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-tin-zi* (*KBo* XXVI 203, 3), KÚ-*an-zi* (e. g. XXIII 95 Rs. 10).
317, line 15: 3 sg. imp. act. *e-iz-za-du* (*KUB* LVII 79 IV 23 *ezzadu ekuddu*).
317, line 19: 2 pl. imp. act. *e-iz-za-at-te-en* (*KUB* IX 1 IV 6).
317, line 29: 3 pl. imp. act. *iz-za-an-du* (*KUB* LIV 34 II 3 *izzandu akuwa*[*ndu*]).
317, line 32: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-da-a-an* (*KUB* XIII 2 IV 19 *adān harzi* 'has eaten up'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51).
317, line 2 from end: also e. g. *KUB* XLVIII 109 III 4 *adatar* $\bar{U}_L$ *adanzi* 'eating they do not do'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 154.
318, line 3: dat.-loc. sg. *a-da-an-ni* (*KUB* VI 4 III 11 *adanni ser* 'on account of eating').
318, line 12: inf. KÚ-*na* (e. g. *KUB* XLIII 49 Rs. 34 KÚ-*na* NAG-*na*).
318, line 12: 1 sg. pres. act. *az-zi-ki-mi* (*KBo* XIII 64 Vs. 19), 2 sg. pres. act. *az-zi-ki-si* (*KUB* IV 3 Vs. 3b; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:780 [1968]).
318, line 15: 3 sg. pres. act. KÚ-*iz-zi* (context s. v. *harziyala-*).
318, line 18: 3 pl. pres. act. *az-za-as-kán-zi* (*KBo* X 9 Rs. 2).
318, line 20: 3 pl. pret. act. *az-zi-ki-ir* (*KUB* XVI 1 Vs. 25 NINDA-*ya-wa* KAŠ *ŠA* GIDIM *azzikir* 'they would eat mortuary bread and beer').
318, line 24: 2 sg. imp. act. *az-zi-ki-i* (*KBo* III 24, 17).
319, line 3: supine *az-zi-ik-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 II 51 ^{D}*Kumarbis azzikkiuwan dāis* 'K. began to eat').
319, line 28: *edriyanu-*, iter. *edriyanuski*[- (*KUB* XXXIX 41 Rs. 15).
319, line 2 from end: correct to "inf.".
320, line 2: for possible further Luw. and Hier. attestations see Starke, *Die Sprache* 31:249–55 (1985).
321, line 1: *e-wa-an* also *IBoT* III 96 I 12; *FHL* [= *Fragments hittites du Louvre*] 4, 12 UTÚL *ewan* 'barley-soup'; cf. *Mémorial Atatürk* 79 [1982].

321, line 9: gen. sg. *e-u-wa-as* also *KBo* XIII 227 I 13.
321, line 10: instr. sg. *e-u-wa-ni-it* (*KUB* LI 48, 14).
321, line 2 from end: *KBo* XXVI 91 II 3 *nu-tta izzan* GIM-*an*[.
323, line 14: correct to *huṣābu*.
326, line 12: acc. sg. c. *i-ya-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XX 73 I 2 *iyantan ginun*).
327, line 32: 3 pl. pret. act. *i-ya-an-nir* (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 29 *āppa iyannir*).
332, line 21: correct to *Belleten*.
338, line 2: correct to DÙ-*yazi*.
339, line 7: correct to *karuuiliyaz*.
342, line 30: correct to *UL*.
347, line 31: nom. pl. *i-ya-an-te-es* (*KUB* LVIII 30 II 23 9 *iukan iyantes* 'nine pair sheep'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64 [1984]).
351, line 28: nom. sg. c. *i-ya-at-ni-ya-an-za* (*KUB* XLIII 60 I 24).
352, line 12: correct to *welkuwa*.
352, line 25: Cf. Luw. *a-ya-tar ... da-me-it-ta* (*KBo* IV 11, 54–55) and *a-a-ya-at-ra* (*KUB* XXXV 135 Rs. 22; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 341, 323).
353, line 14: correct to *kartimmiyawant-*.
353, line 4 from end: strike one "the".
355, line 26: 3 pl. pres. act. *i-la-li-ya-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XI 6 II 10 É.MEŠ LUGAL *danna ilal*[*iyanzi* 'they desire to take the royal houses'; dupl. *KBo* III 1 II 63 *i-da-la-li-ya-an-zi* [sic]).
356, line 2: *ilaliskisi* also 299/1986 IV 13; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 26.
357, line 19: *KBo* XVIII 170a Rs. 5 [*Suppiluliuma* SAG.DU É *ilanas* 'S., head of the stairwell'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 110 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 486.
357, lines 20–21: *KBo* XVIII 181 Vs. 3 and 21 read *i-du-na-as* (S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 118–9 [1982]) or *i-at-na-as* (Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 370–2).
357, line 28: Cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 98–102 (1984).
358, line 18: *KBo* XXIX 92 Rs. 6 *elasni mēhueni*.
359, line 4: *KUB* XLIII 37 II 14 ^{MUŠ}*il-lu-ya-an-ku* (case?).
361, line 7: Hier. *i-ma* (cf. Hawkins–Morpurgo–Neumann, *HHL* 187).
361, line 28: Cf. H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 98:184–205 (1985).
363, line 19: nom. sg. c. *i-im-mi-ya-an-z*[*a*] (*KUB* III 95, 11; cf. *MSL* 3:79 [1955]).
364, line 5: nom. pl. c. *immiyantes* (e. g. *KUB* XVIII 67 Vs. 5).

364, line 10: verbal noun *im-mi-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 20 II 13, 14, 15; cf. *MSL* 17:106 [1985]).
366, line 4 from end: *Bo* 2073 is *KUB* LIV 1.
366, line 3 from end: correct to *innara-uwa-mu-kan*.
367, line 2: cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:54, 56 (1985).
367, line 12: cf. H. Nowicki, *KZ* 98:26–35 (1985).
372, line 3 from end: correct to *vīrá-karmam*.
373, line 27: H. C. Melchert (*Die Sprache* 29:17 [1983], *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 103–4 [1984]) suggested *innara-* < **en-A*$_2$*nr-o-* 'having strength inside', comparing Gk. *ἔνυδρος*. For such possible **en-* cf. s. v. *antu(wa)hha-* and *istarna*. Similarly H. Eichner, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 20 (1982), who posited *innaru-* < **en-A*$_2$*noru-*.
374, line 15: Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:155–6 [1988]) suggested **en-tal-* 'having leverage within'.
375, line 16: Cf. p. 364, lines 11–14, and Laroche, *Hethitica VI* 97–8 (1985).
378, line 17: *Bo* 884 is *KUB* LVII 110.
379, line 31: ^{TÚG}*i-pu-li* (*KUB* XLII 59 Vs. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 [*i-*⟨*pu-*⟩*li*], 12, 15, 16; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 132–3 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 338–40).
381, line 27: correct to NIND[A.
383, line 33: for 'takes' read 'makes'.
383, line 5 from end: gen. sg. *isnuras* (*KBo* XI 44 IV 5–6 ^{DUG}*isnuras kattan* 'by the dough-bowl').
383, last line: abl. sg. *is-nu-ra-az* (*KBo* XXIX 70 + XXIV 28 I 24–25 *n-asta isnan* ^{DUG}*isnuraz sarā das*[*kanzi* 'they take up the dough from the bowl').
384, line 11: correct to *is-nu-ra-s(a-kán)*.
385, line 11: strike H at beginning of line.
386, line 6: acc. pl. *is-hu-us* (*KBo* XXVII 42 II 66; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:58).
387, line 4: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-ha-sar-wa-an* (*KUB* LVI 17 Vs. 7 *ishasarwan* ^{GIŠ}*eān* 'lordly *eya*-tree'; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 103 [1988]).
387, line 18: correct to *mān-wa-za*.
387, line 26: correct to ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A.
391, line 20: *KBo* XXIV 4 Vs. 8 and 13 *e-es-ha-ah-ru*.
391, line 28: correct to *idālaz*.
391, line 31: correct to 15–17 and 40–42.

391, line 32: *KUB* XLIII 58 I 47 *ēshanaz is-ha-ah-ru-wa-az.*
391, line 32: *is-ha-ah-ru-az* (*KUB* XLIII 58 II 41 *ēshanaz ishahruaz*).
393, line 1: similarly to Oettinger H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 55 (1979).
394, line 23: *KUB* XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 18 *ishamiskizzi*; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984].
394, line 29: 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ha-me-is-ki* (*KUB* XLV 3 I 6–7 ^{D}IM-*an-wa ishameski*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:267).
398, line 20: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-hi-ya-mi* (*KBo* XXIII 113 III 21).
398, line 27: 2 pl. pres. act. *is-hi-ya-at-te-e-ni* (*KUB* XIV 8 Rs. 35; cf. Götze, *KlF* 216).
399, line 3 from end: add *ishimin(a)-, ishaman(a)-.*
400, line 3: nom. sg. *is-hi-mi-na-as* (*KUB* LVIII 109 Vs. 14 and dupl. LII 107 I 3).
400, line 6: acc. sg. *is-ha-ma-na-an* (*KUB* LV 28 III 5 and 7), abl. sg. *is-ha-ma-na-az* (ibid. 17–18 *n-asta* ^{LÚ}NAGAR *ishamanaz katta uizzi* 'the carpenter descends by the rope'; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40: 99–100 [1988]).
401, line 8: abl. sg. *is-hi-ú-la-za* (*KBo* XII 128, 11).
401, line 28: *Bo* 2839 is *KUB* LVIII 33.
401, lines 33–34: *Bo* 2721 II 6 is *KUB* XLV 22 III 6.
405, line 30: 3 sg. pres. act. *is-hu-u-a-i* (*KBo* X 24 V 6; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20), *is-hu-a-i* (2413/c III 12; see s.v. *hapa-*).
408, line 1: correct "[leaf-]shedding [?]" to "pouring [= filling storage jars]".
408, line 3: *is-hu-u-wa-u-wa-a-as* (560/t Rs. 14; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 364).
408, line 27: 3 pl. pres. act. *is-hu-u-wa-is-kán-zi* (*KUB* XXXVIII 24, 7).
408, line 29: *KUB* LVIII 30 II 22 *ishuiskanzi*; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64 [1984].
408, line 29: *is-hu-is-hu-is-kán-zi* (sic, with dittography, *KUB* LIII 3 V 5), *is-hu-es-hu-an-zi* (sic LIII 14 III 20; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:56, 43 [1984]).
409, line 30: 3 sg. pres. act. *i-si-ya-ah-zi* (*KUB* LIV 1 IV 15).
409, last line: 1 sg. pret. act. *i-si-ya-ah-hu-un* (*KUB* LIV 1 IV 16).
411, line 6: correct to *Mit]tanni.*
413, line 5 from end: strike "him".
414, line 1: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iskallan* (*IBoT* II 39 Rs. 20 ^{GIŠ}ERIN *iskallan* 'split cedarwood').

414, lines 21 and 25: correct to *c'elum.*
416, line 9: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-ga-ra-a-mi* (*KUB* XLVIII 123 IV 9; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 99).
416, line 24: *Bo* 2813 is *KUB* LVIII 83.
418, line 10: *isgaratar* also 'pierced attachment, brooch'.
418, line 10: correct "only" to "e. g.".
418, line 15: nom.-acc. pl. *is-ga-ra-tar* e. g. *KUB* XLII 64 Rs. 3; XLII 43 Vs. 4; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 148, 111 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426, 484.
422, line 9: 1 sg. pret. act. *is-ki-nu-un* (*KUB* XXXII 137 II 23).
422, line 16: 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ki-ya* (*KUB* LIV 1 I 59).
423, line 2: nom pl. c. *iskiyantes* (e. g. *KBo* XIV 21 I 29).
424, lines 30–31 (and 444, line 22): correct to ^{GIŠ}*iskissanas* ^{GIŠ}*is-paruzzi.*
426, line 1: correct to "*iskissana-* (n.) 'ridgepole, joist' (vel sim.)".
426, line 23: correct to "factitive".
428, last line: nom.-acc. pl. *ismeri* (*KBo* XXX 39 Rs. 17 *isharwanta* ^{SÍG}*ismeri* 'blood-red reins').
430, line 13: correct "127" to "126".
431, lines 27–28: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB* LV 39.
432, line 26: *Bo* 2562 is *KUB* LVI 39.
432, line 30: gen. sg. *is-pa-an-da-as* (*KUB* XLII 59 Rs. 19 GAD *ispandas* 'night-garment'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 134 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 342).
432, line 2 from end: *KUB* XXXIX 61 I 5 and 6 *ispanti ispanti* 'every night'.
433, line 2: *is-pa-an-te* (*KUB* XXXVI 79a III 22 + XXXI 127 III 5).
437, line 19: correct to NINDA *harsas-(s)mas ... ispantuzzias-(s)mas* as dat.-loc. pl. and move attestation to p. 438, line 3 from end.
438, lines 22 and 23: correct to *ispanduzit.*
440, line 29: correct to "acc. sg.".
443, line 7: 3 sg. pret. act. *is-pár-ri-is* (*KUB* XLIII 75 Vs. 18).
443, line 28: *KUB* XXXVIII 36 Vs. 6 ZABAR *isparran harzi*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:197 [1963].
443, line 3 from end: verbal noun *i]s-pa-ru-mar* (*KUB* LV 21 VI 5; cf. ibid. 1–2 ^{GIŠ}NÁ ... *isparranzi*).
444, line 29: Cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:105 (1988): 'roof battens'. See also under 424 above.

452, line 15: acc. pl. *is-ta-ma-hu-u-ru-us* (*KBo* XVIII 170 Rs. 3; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 488).
458, lines 21–23: correct to "nom. sg. c. *is-ta-ma-na-as* (*KUB* LV 20 + IX 4 I 4–5 ^{UZU}*istamanas-kan* ^{UZU}*istamasni* 'ear to ear'; cf. *ZA* 71:130 [1981])" and transpose to line 4.
459, line 9: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB* LV 39.
462, line 3 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *is-da-na-ni* (e. g. *KUB* XX 59 VI 2).
463, line 3: dat.-loc. pl. *is-ta-na-na-as* (Neu, *StBoT* 26:84–5).
463, line 12: correct to *is-tah-te-e-ni*.
464, line 6: 3 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-an-ta-iz-zi* (*KUB* XLIX 77 III 2 and 6).
465, line 1: *HT* 101, 3 *istantanunun*; cf. H. Berman, *JCS* 34:94 [1982], *Hethitica V* 3 [1983].
467, lines 29–30: correct to "(XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 15 *isha]miskizzi* ^{URU}*istanumnili* 'says in Istanuwan'; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984])".
470, line 19: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB* LV 39.
471, line 24: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-tap-pu-mi* (sic *KUB* XV 30 II 7).
472, line 12: *KBo* VIII 56, 6 KAXU-*yis istappanzi* 'they shut the mouth'; cf. H. Berman, *JCS* 34:95 [1982], *Hethitica V* 4 [1983].
473, line 23: *KUB* LIV 1 I 24 *istappantes*.
473, line 29: correct to *KBo* XXI 41 + *KUB* XXIX 7.
473, line 5 from end: correct to ÍD-*kan anda pedai*.
474, line 11: dat.-loc. pl. *is-tap-pu-ul-li-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXII 137 + *KBo* XV 24 II 54).
476, line 6: *KUB* LIV 1 I 19 *istarakkiyat-wa-mu*.
479, line 14: correct to "*KUB* XXXI".
481, line 24: *KBo* VIII 56, 2 GE_6-*anza istarniya hāl*[*i* 'at night in the middle watch'.
483, line 28: correct to *is-du-u-wa-hu*.
483, after line 17: An alternative analysis might be *isdu-sdu-ski-*, reduplicated iter. of *istuwa-*; cf. Luw. *dusdumi-*.
487, line 14: correct to "XXVI 86".
488, line 16: gen. sg. *i-da-la-wa-as* (*KBo* XI 11 I 8), *i-da-la-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXXI 127 I 45 *idalauwass-a hūwappass-a antuhsas* 'of a bad and evil person'), *i-da-a-la-u-as* (*KBo* XVI 56, 4 and 16), *i-da-a-la-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXXI 135 Vs. 12), HUL-*u-wa-as* (XII 62 Rs. 2).
488, line 19: dat.-loc. sg. *i-da-la-u-e* (*KUB* XXIX 1 III 11).

488, line 22: dat.-loc. sg. *i-ta-a-la-ú-i* (*KBo* XXV 103 Rs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 178).
488, line 25: dat.-loc. sg. HUL-*lu-u-i* (*KUB* XL 33 Vs. 18).
488, line 25: instr. sg. *i-da-a-la-ú-it* (*KUB* XXXVI 75 III 2).
488, line 5 from end: nom. pl. c. *i-da-la-u-i-es* (*KUB* XIII 9 I 9).
488, line 3 from end: nom. pl. c. *i-da-a-la-u-es* (*KUB* VII 1 II 33).
489, line 12: acc. pl. c. *i-ta-a-la-mu*-[*us*] (*KUB* XXVI 77 I 16; cf. S. R. Bin-Nun, *JCS* 26:117 [1974]).
489, line 22: correct to *haduga*.
489, line 27: dat.-loc. pl. *i-da-la-u-as* (*VBoT* 121 Vs. 2).
489, line 33: nom. sg. *i-da-la-u-wa-an-za* (*KUB* XXXI 127 III 43).
490, line 2: nom.-acc. sg. *i-da-la-wa-tar* (e. g. *KUB* XXXIII 96 I 7, besides dupl. XXXIII 98 I 7 HUL-*tar*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]).
490, line 29: 1 sg. pres. act. HUL-*u-wa-ah-hi* (*KUB* LIV 1 I 9).
493, line 6: cf. e. g. *ta-* < **dwo-* s. v. *ta(n)-*.
495, line 24: correct to 'yoke; couple, pair'.
495, line 4: acc. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-tu-ri-in* (e. g. *KBo* XXIII 46 Rs. 3; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:159).
495, line 8: acc. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-du-ri-i-in* (*KBo* XXIII 15 II 16), gen. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-du-ri-ya-as* (ibid. III 8; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:44–7).
495, line 27: e. g. *KUB* LVIII 30 II 23 9 *iukan iyantes* 'nine pair sheep'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64, 43, 68 [1984]; *KBo* XII 131, 5 and 10 1 *iukan* 'one pair' [of men]; XX 83 I 3 3 *iukan*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:83, 2:79, 81.
495, line 4 from end: correct ——— to ⊢⊢⊢.
496, line 6: Cf. *i-ú-uk* (*KBo* XXV 72, 11; Neu, *IF* 89:305 [1984]); a measure?
498, line 21: Cf. B. Oguibénine, *BSL* 79.1:147–9 (1984).
498, line 29: correct to "implausibly".
500, line 23: correct to "hast devoured".
502, line 22: correct to "*KBo* VI 5 II 9".
502, line 24: *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 39 *iwaru*.
502, line 27: abl. sg. *i-wa-ru-wa-za* (*KUB* XLI 11 Rs. 23; cf. ibid. 18 *iwarwanni*[-).
503, line 28: Cf. Hurr. *iwāru* at Mari (Laroche, *RHA* 34:87 [1976]).
504, line 4 from end: H. C. Melchert (*JCS* 35:137–8 [1983]) thought of 'cries yai' in the course of painful evacuation (*katta tarna-*).
504, last line: correct to ἴασπις.