

 Trends in Linguistics
Documentation 1

Editor

Werner Winter

K. J. S. 1/1
Hittite Etymological
Dictionary

by

Jaan Puhvel

Vol. 1 Words beginning with A

Vol. 2 Words beginning with E and I

WHOLESALE BOOK DEALERS
Quality Service Supplied by
INTERNATIONAL SERVICE COMPANY
333 FOURTH AVENUE
INDIALANTIC, FLORIDA 32903, U.S.A.
Tel. (305) 724-1443 Cable: INATSERVE

Mouton Publishers
Berlin · New York · Amsterdam

⇒
New // ZA 82/1, '92, 119-156
Melchert // JAOS 106/3, '86, 337-9

Mouton Publishers
Berlin · New York · Amsterdam

1984

Kacsh A.

Volume 2

Words beginning with E and I

ehu 'come!', alone or with preverbs *anda*, *arha*, *kattan*, *parā*, e.g.: *KUB* XIV 3 II 65 *ehu-wa* 'come!' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 10); I 6 III 17 *ehu* (cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 28); I 1 IV 2 *ehu-x* '(when I sent word) "come!" to him' (cf. Götze, *ibid.* 30); *KBo* III 4 II 13 *kinun-a-wa ehu nu-wa zahhiyawastati* 'now come, we shall fight!' (cf. Götze, *AM* 46); *KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 18 *nu apiaz* (sic, for *apiz*) *ehu* 'come thence!' (cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]); *KBo* XXIII 1 I 24 and XXIII 2 III 5 *arunaz ehu* 'come from the sea!' (cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica III* 141, 145); *KUB* XIX 49 I 71 *anda ehu* 'come in!' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:10); XIV 3 I 49 *anda-wa-mu-kan ehu* (cf. Sommer, *AU* 4); XXIV 2 Vs. 11 *n-asta EGIR-pa⁶ karimni-tti anda ehu* 'come back again into your temple' (cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16); *KBo* XVII 32 Vs. 7 *nu arha ehu* 'come away!'; *KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 16 *nu-smas-kan istarna arha ehu* 'come away from their midst!'; *ibid.* 19 *n-asta kizza iŠTU KUR.KUR.HI.A arha ehu* 'come away from these lands!' (cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]; A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]); *KUB* VII 8 II 2–3 *nu kedani antuhsi kattan ehu* 'come down to this man!'; XIV 1 Vs. 77 *katti-mi-wa ehu* 'come down to me!' (cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18); *KBo* XVI 22 Vs. 5 *parā ehu* 'come forth!' (cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 43:323 [1936]); *KUB* XXXIII 120 II 3 *sig₅-uazz-a pedaz parā ehu* 'from the good place come forth!' (cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* 36); XXIX 1 I 10 *ehu pāiwani* 'come, let us go!' (cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia N.S.* 16:24 [1947]); *ibid.* II 39 *ehu zik ā^{MUŠEN} īt* 'come, eagle, go!'.

Much as *īt(tin)* (q.v. s.v. *i-*) serves suppletively as the 2 sg. (pl.) imp. of *pai-* 'go', even so *ehu* is the de facto 2 sg. imp. of *uwa-*, *ui-* 'come' (cf. e.g. *HT* 1 I 29–30 *ehu ... uwadu* 'come! ... let [them] come'). The opposition is clear in *KUB* XIV 3 III 65 vs. 67–68: *nu-wa INA KUR Hatti arha īt* 'go off to H.!'; *mān-ma-wa ŪL nu-wa INA KUR Ahhiyawā arha ehu* 'but if not, come home to A.!' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 14, 166); for *arha uwa-* 'come home', *arha uda-* 'bring home' see *arha* s.v. *arha-*.

The original verbal (rather than interjectional) character of

ehu is not in doubt (cf. V. Čiháček, *Arch. Or.* 23:349–50 [1955]), but there is little reason to postulate (with e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 100, *Comp. Gr.*² 35) a full-grade active form of IE *ey- (> Hitt. *e*-; cf. Lat. *ī* 'go!') vs. the weak-grade parallel relic *īl* 'go!'. Already Pedersen (*Hitt.* 110) realized that *ehu* is to be explained rather from the middle voice stem *iya-* 'go'. In fact *ehu* sometimes functions paradigmatically with *iya-* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 4 III 27–28 *nu edass-a ANA É.HI.A GIBIL.HI.A ehu ... nu mahhan iyattari* 'come to these new houses! ... when thou comest'), and *iya-* can have the sense of 'come' in 2 sg. imp. *iyahhut* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 8 III 18–19 *nu-ssan iyahhut ... nu-za-kan seski* 'come! ... sleep!'; *KBo* XIII 86 Rs. 3 ^DUTU-us *iyahhut* 'sun-god, come!'). It is probable that *ehu* is an early, interjectionalized form of this imperative, i.e. **eychu(t)* > *ehu* (phonologically regular, unlike the paradigmatically innovated *iyahhut* or *iehut*, q.v. s.v. *iya-*, *ie-* 'go').

Carruba (*Das Palaische* 58, *Beiträge* 8–9, *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 129 [1976]) inconclusively adduced the obscure Palaic *i-ū* (allegedly 'komm her!') and Luwian (*a-*)*a-wa*, seeing in Hitt. *ehu* and Pal. *in* IE **ey* 'go!' + *u* (same as preverbally in *uwa-*, *uda-*, etc.), and considering *h* a hiatus breaker (as did Kronasser, *UFLH* 209, who, however, took *-u* as an imperativ morpheme and saw in the standard 2 sg. imp. middle ending *-hut* a contamination of the endings of *ehu* and *īl*). Neumann (apud Gusmani, *Lyd. Wh.* 273) even compared with *ehu* the allegedly Lydian Hes. *ιβύ·τινὲς τὸ βοᾶν*, thus an interjection **i(w)u*. C. Watkins (*Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 69 [1969]) compared *e-hu* with the mid-segment of *pe-hu-te-* 'bring forth', while V. I. Georgiev (*Arch. Or.* 39:430 [1971]) and H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:55, 76 [1973], followed by Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 125, 348, 544) came out for a reconstruct *ehu* 'come!' < **E₁éy-A₁aw* 'go away (from there)!', comparing Lat. *au-ferō*, OCS *u-* (for possible cognates of Lat. *au-* etc. see rather Hitt. *awan* [s.v.] and the preverb *u-* mentioned above in *uwa-*, *uda-*, pointing to *A₂*).

The alleged OHitt. *e-hu-ut* (*KUB* XXXVI 99 I 4; Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 69 [1969]) is in reality *e-ip-pir* (cf. Starke, *Funktionen* 137).

ehurati- (c.) '(woollen) plug', acc. pl. in *KUB* XII 58 II 19–20 *īšTU GEŠTUG.HI.A-ŠU-ta-si-san* ^{SiG}*ehuratius* *GE₆-Tī arha dāi* 'from her ears she takes away the black wool-plugs' (cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14).

ehuradai- 'plug, stop up', 3 sg. pres. act. in *KUB* VII 53 I 16 *SAL-za-ma-kan GEŠTUG.HI.A-ŠU īšTU SiG GE₆ ehuradāizzi* 'the woman plugs her ears with black wool' (similarly *ibid.* 18 *ehuradāizzi*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 4).

Obscure. Various abortive attempts at Indo-European reconstruction have started from 'close, cover' (**wer-*; Goetze, *Tunnawi* 51–2), 'wool' (Gk. *εἶπος* 'wool': A. Cuny, *RHA* 6:86, 91–2 [1942–3]; Gk. *φῶα* 'fleece': E. Polomé, *RPhH* 30:460–1 [1952]), or 'ear' (alleged **ehur* 'ear' cognate with Gk. *οὐς* + something akin to OE *e[ō]dor* 'fence': Sturtevant, *IHL* 47, repeated by others along the laryngealist trail; cf. Tischler, *Glossar* 102). One may adduce rather the bread name ^{NINDA}*hūrius* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 IV 5) and *istamahura-* 'earring' (q.v.); cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:55–6, 87–8 (1973).

e(y)a(n)- (n.), an evergreen tree, nom.-acc. sg. ^{GiS}*eyan* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 17–20 *nu* ^{GiS}*eyan tiyantiyanzi* *KL.MIN* ^{GiS}*eyan mahhan uktūri iyatniyan nu hurpastanus arha ŪL ishuwai LUGAL-s-a SAL.LUGAL-s-a QATAMMA iyatniyantes asandu* 'they set up an *eya*-tree, (saying) likewise: "As the *eya*-tree is ever verdant and does not shed its leaves, even so may king and queen be thriving"; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:38 [1947]; XIII 8 Vs. 9 *nu-smas-kan piran* ^{GiS}*eyan artaru* 'before them shall stand an *eya*-tree', as token of their being [*ibid.* 6, 11] *arawēs* 'free' [*ibid.* 6] *sahhanaza luziyaza* 'from socage [and] from corvée', and [*ibid.* 11] *hūmantaza* 'from everything'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106; *KBo* VI 2 II 62 [= *Code* 1:50] *kuel-a* ^{GiS}*eyan āski-ssi sakuwān* 'at whose gate the *eya*-tree is visible [his house is free from imposts]; *KUB* XII 20, 9 [with dupl. VII 44 Vs. 13] ^{GiS}*HAŠHUR.KUR.JA* ^{GiS}*ŠENNUR* ^{GiS}*eyan* 'mountain apple-tree, pear-tree, *eya*-tree'; 1142/z+ *KUB* XXV 31 Vs. 5–6 ^{GiS}*eyan* ^{GiS}*ZAG.GAR.RA-as kuit harpan ēsta* [^{LI}SA]NGA ^D*Telipinu dāi* 'the *eya*-tree which had been placed apart on the altars, the priest of T. sets [it] up'; cf. H.

Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 62:234 [1972]; *ibid.* 21 ^{GIS}sig₅-an ^{GIS}eyan 'a good *eya*-tree'; *KBo* XXIII 49 IV 5–6 i]sdananaz ... ^{GIS}eyan [...-]anzi 'from the altar they ... the *eya*-tree'; 245/v Rs. 8 nu ANA ^{GIS}šUKUR.HILA ^{GIS}eyan GAM-an isparr[a- 'fell an *eya*-tree for spears'; *KUB* XII 19 III 20 kī ^{GIS}eyan; *ibid.* 24; XII 49 I 13; XXVI 21 III 2; *KBo* VIII 118, 3; XII 86, 14; *IBoT* II 39 Rs. 20; III 37 Vs. 8; II 121 Rs. 10–11 ta 8 ^{GIS}eyan [...] n-at lukki[zzī 'eight [pieces of] *eya*-tree ... and he kindles them'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 136), ^{GIS}e-a-an (e.g. *Bo* 5621 IV 11 [dupl. of *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 17 above]; XXVII 67 III 67 68 nu ^{GIS}eān dāi ser-at warhuui kattann-at alpu 'he takes an *eya*-tree; it [is] rough at the top [but] smooth below'; *ibid.* IV 9–10 nu-]mu-kan ^{GIS}eān dāi nu-mu-kan arauwa[h 'set up the *eya*-tree for me and make me free!' [viz. from *inan* 'disease']; *KBo* XXII 236, 9–11 hassī hukki[zzī [1 ^{GIS}e]ān ZAG-ni šu-it 1 ^{GIS}eān-ma [GUB-i] t šu-it harzi 'he] kindles on the hearth; one [piece of] *eya*-tree he holds with his right hand and one with his left hand'; *KUB* VII 18, 4 ^{GIS}eān kittari 'an *eya*-tree lies'), ^{GIS}eya (XVII 10 IV 27–28 ^PTelipinuwas piran ^{GIS}eya arta ^{GIS}eyaz-kan UDU-as ^{KUŠ}kursas kankanza 'before T. stands an *eya*-tree; from the *eya*-tree is hung a sheepskin'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]; Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:31; Carruba, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:406–7 [1964]; M. Popko, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2:69 [1975]; *KBo* VI 3 III 2 [= *Code* 1:50, dupl.]; *KUB* VII 23, 2), ^{GIS}eyanan (117/r, 4 ^{GIS}eyanan isparr[a- 'fell an *eya*-tree'), gen. sg. ^{GIS}eyas (*Bo* 2967 III 2 ^{GIS}eyas ^{GIS}alkistamus 'branches of *eya*-tree'; *Bo* 2839 III 14; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260), ^{GIS}eyanas (*KBo* XVII 93 Vs. 3 ^{GIS}eyanas ^{GIS}alkis(), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIS}eya (III 8 III 9 ^{SEG}o.BAR-an katta ^{GIS}eya hamikta 'he tied a wild sheep under an *eya*-tree'; *ibid.* 27 kattān ^{GIS}eya lāttat 'set [it] free under the *eya*-tree'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]), ^{GIS}eyani (*KUB* XXV 33 I 7–8 istananni ^{GIS}eyani sarā hūkan[zi] 'on the altar above an *eya*-tree they slaughter'; XII 19 III 17), ^{GIS}e-a-ni (XXVII 67 III 70), abl. sg. ^{GIS}eyaz (XVII 10 IV 28, quoted above; XXXIII 12 IV 14; XXXIII 24 IV 17; XXXIII 38 IV 7; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:107, 119, 145 [1965]), nom.-acc. pl. ^{GIS}eyan (*IBoT* II 121 Rs. 10 8 ^{GIS}eyan), ^{GIS}e-i-e (*Bo* 2689 II 30 ta ^{GIS}eye šimas parna petanzi 'they bring *eya*-trees to the god's house'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:173 [1936]).

Ku 53.8 Rs. 3
karunili ^{GIS}eyan
'old tree' vs. *ibid.* 5
gisil-ma ^{GIS}eyan 'new tree',
cf. Haas – Jank-Rost 11AOF
11:67, '84

Ku 53.4 Rs. 38
^{GIS}eyas pir[un, d. Po F II:76;
Ku 53.16 v. 16, d. Ott. Materialien
34 Ku 54.69 Vs. 12
gen. sg. // dat. pl. ^{GIS}eyanas

instr. sg. ^{GIS}e-ga-ni-it
(Bo 5549, 6; d. Kienzel //
cf. Caratelli 108)

yo; Ku 54.69 v. 10 3 ^{GIS}eyan

For the secondary *n*-stem acc. sg. *eyanan*, gen. sg. *eyanas*, dat.-loc. sg. *e(y)ani*, starting from nom.-acc. sg. *e(y)an*, cf. gen. sg. *euwanas* s.v. *e(u)wa(n)-*.

The *eya*-tree was a symbol of verdant lastingness and a planted marker of tax-exemption. It also figures ritually as conducive to freedom from disease and as having hung on it a sheepskin which in the Telipinus myth constitutes a sort of magic cornucopia laden (or implicit) with sheep-fat, cereal, field-fruits, wine, cattle and sheep, long years and progeny (*KUB* XVII 10 IV 28–31). Arboreal identification has proved arduous. Von Brandenstein (*Orientalia* N.S. 8:76 [1939]) suggested some valuable fruit-tree, co-occurring with apple and pear (*KUB* XII 20, 9); this was rightly doubted by Otten (*Überlieferungen* 43). Goetze's (*ANET* 348) and Güterböck's (*RHA* 22:100 [1964]) 'fir' was echoed by H.A. Hoffner (*RHA* 25:41 [1967]) and Ertem (*Flora* 110–6), and underlies V. Pisani's etymological connection with OCS *jela*, Russian *jel* 'fir, spruce' (*AION-L* 7:47 [1966] = *Lingue e culture* 197 [1969]), but was justly rejected by Szabó (*Bi. Or.* 30:76 [1973]); 'fir' is rather Hitt. *tanau-* (q.v.). Fastening on *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 17–20 (quoted above), Ivanov (*Problemy indoevropskogo jazykoznanija* 40–4 [1964]) essayed an implausible tie-in with 'eternity' words exemplified by Ved. *āyu-* 'life-force', while H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:77 [1973]) saw a figura etymologica *eyan* ... *iyatniyan* in the same passage (cf. s.v. *iyatar*).

More cogently, Haas (*Altorientalische Forschungen* 5:269–70 [1977]) tried to make a case for 'oak': *KUB* XXIX 1 IV 18 *hurpastanus* means 'leaves' and can hardly refer to conifer needles; *eya(n)-* is a large tree, judging from *Bo* 2839 III 14–15 ^{GIS}eyas GAM-an [aruwa]izzi paralleling *ibid.* 37–38 ANA ^{GIS}GAL [...] aruwaizzi; cf. *Bo* 2710 Vs. 11 ^{GIS}ši RABī 'great tree' (Haas, *Nerik* 66–7, 260, 262, 214); it must have been sturdy, being used for spears; evergreen varieties of oak are found in Anatolia; considering parallels between the Greek Golden Fleece and Jason-Medea saga and the Telipinus and Illuyankas (Hupasiyas-Inaras) myths (Haas, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7:227–33 [1975]), the detail that the Golden Fleece was hung on an oak tree in Kolkhis was to Haas a fine confirmation of *eya(n)-* as 'oak'.

Since 'oak' is attested as *allantaru* (q.v.), it is better to connect *e(y)a(n)-* rather with a group of Indo-European tree names centering around the etymon and kind of English 'yew', as has been done by Ivanov (*Trudy po znakovym sistemam* 4:66 [Tartu 1969]; *Etimologija* 1971 298–302 [1973]) and P. Friedrich (in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* 23–4 [1970], *Proto-Indo-European trees* 121–9 [1970]). These include ON *ȳr*, OE *īw*, OHG *īwa*, Gaulish *īvo-*, OIr. *ēo*, Old Prussian *iūwis* 'yew', and with semantic variation Lith. *ievà* 'buckthorn', Russian *īva* 'willow', Gk. *ōx*, *ōñ* 'rowan', Arm. *aygi* 'grapevine', Lat. *ūva* 'grape' (*IEW* 297). The meaning 'yew' is clearly basic and can be postulated for Hitt. *e(y)a-* as well, with a proto-form **ey-o-* or possibly **ey-ro-*, besides **ey-wo-* or **oy-wo-* in other languages (unnecessary laryngealistic formulations in H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:77 [1973], *Die Sprache* 24:151 [1978]).

The yew is an evergreen with flattened leaves that resemble conifer needles and would probably qualify as *hurpastamus*. It can exceed 15 meters in height, several meters in trunk circumference, and three millennia in age; this would certainly qualify its giant specimens as 'great trees'. The wood is hard, fine-grained, heavy, non-resinous, pliable, and durable, used for making bows (cf. Lat. *taxus*, Russian *tis* 'yew'; Gk. *τόξον* 'bow', *τοξικόν* [φάρμακον] 'arrow poison') and attested as material for spears both among Hittites (245/v Rs. 8 quoted above) and Romans (Silius Italicus 13:210 *letum triste ferens auras secut Italia taxus*). The poisonous alkaloid in its leaves and berries occasioned the yew's "deadly" reputation in antiquity, and especially in Rome and Germania reinforced its occult, magical, ritual, and talismanic significance (infernal and graveyard associations, warding off witchcraft, judicial staff symbolism, etc.); in Celtic lands it may occur in names of gods and kings (OIr. *Eochu* [= Dagda], *Eochaid* < **Ivo-catus*?). The yew grew and still grows in northern Anatolia and the Caucasus, and among the Hittites seems to have had more "positive" legal and religious connotations. Greek lost the primary meanings of both inherited 'yew' terms (*ōx*, *τόξον*) and had instead an obscure term *σμίλαξ*; this dislocation may account for the appearance of the oak rather than the yew in the

saga of the Golden Fleece. Cf. Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25:136–7 (1980).

2. *eka(n)* 'Tod' → *ak-ek-* (*Sogsal* 4:14:112)

1. *eka-* (c. and n.) 'cold, frost, ice', ^{figuratively chill} nom. sg. c. (?) *egas* in the fragmentary *KUB XXI* 18 Rs. 19, matched by *eršetu lū šuripu-ma* 'may the earth freeze over' in the Akkadian version *KBo I* 1 Rs. 67 (cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 6:372–3 [1969]), nom. sg. neut. *e-kán* (*KUB XIII* 2 IV 25–26 *ekan dān ēstu É ŠURIPU wedan ēstu* 'let ice be taken, let an ice-house be built'; cf. H.A. Hoffner, *JCS* 24:31–6 [1971]), acc. sg. (c. or n.) *e-ka-an* (*KUB XXXI* 4 + *KBo III* 41 Vs. 8 *kīdanda pattanit ekan utiskimi* 'I keep bringing ice with this bucket'), *e-kán* (dupl. *KBo XIII* 78 Vs. 8; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), gen. sg. *ekas* in *Bo* 6980, 11 *ekas hariulli dāi* 'he takes a container of ice', dat.-loc. sg. *eki* (*KBo XXII* 62 III 24–25 [= *Code* 1:56] *eki Bād-[ni LUGAL-as] KASKAL-s-a taksuanzi ...*) *natta k[uiski arawas* 'from ice[-procurement], fortification[-building], and joining royal campaigns ... none is exempt'; cf. H. C. Melchert, *JCS* 31:57–9 [1979]). Carruba (*Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 197–8, 204 [1979]) improbably saw in the last instance and perhaps in *e-ka-an* (above) the numeral 'one', cognate with Skt. *ēka-* (cf. s.v. *aikawartanna-*); similarly Josephson, *Kratylos* 26:99 (1981).

egai-, *igai-* 'cool down, freeze, become paralyzed', 3 sg. pres. midd. *igaetta* (*KUB VII* 58 I 3–5 *GIM-an*) *weteni anda tasku-pāizzi namma-as igaetta n-as karussiyazi* 'as [it] cries out [= hisses] in water and then cools down and falls silent'; *XXXV* 79 I 7 *n-at māhhan igaitta* 'when it cools down'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 75), 3 sg. pret. act. *igait* (*VBoT* 1, 27 *nu Haddusass-a KUR-e igait* 'the land of H. is paralyzed'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:335 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. midd. *igattaru* (*KUB VII* 58 I 11–12 *ishunāu-smit GI-za ... kittaru n-as igattaru* 'may their bowstring [and] arrow be put down and may it be paralyzed'), *egattaru* (ibid. 8), *egaddaru* (dupl. *XLV* 20 I 23). Cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 400; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:23–4 (1957); Laroche, *OLZ* 57:30 (1962); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:473; von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 36–7; Neu, *Interpretation* 68–9: all of these except Laroche mistranslated *egai-* as 'burst, crack'; J.

Knobloch (*Kratylos* 4:32 [1959]) and Čop (*Ling.* 5:24 [1964]) consequently compared Lith. *ižti* 'spring open' (said of pods, buds, etc.); Kronasser (*Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough* 125 [1957]) suggested an equally improbable meaning 'go to ruin', connecting IE **ey-gh-* (see s.v. *egdu-*).

ekuna-, *ikuna-* 'cold', figuratively 'unfeeling' (*KUB* I 16 II 7 *ekumas* = ibid. I 6 [Akk.] *kašši*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2-3), acc. sg. *ikuman* (*KBo* IV 9 V 47 *ikuman* ^{UZU} *ya* 'cold fat'), dat.-loc. sg. *ekuni* (e.g. *KUB* VIII 35 Rs. 11 and 14 *ekuni im-anti* 'to the cold wind'), *ikuni* (XXIX 41, 4 *ikuni pidi* 'in a cold place'; ibid. 7 *ikuni pedi*; ibid. 10 *ikuni wit[eni]* 'in cold water'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 168), instr. sg. *ikunit* (XXIX 50 IV 18 *ikunit wit[eni]* 'with cold water'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 212); possible Luwianism (dat.-loc.) *ikunta luli* (XXXIII 96 I 16 without, XXXIII 98, 12 with gloss-wedge) 'Cool Pond' (vel sim.; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951], 6:34 [1952]).

ekunima- (c.) 'cold(ness)', nom. sg. *ekunimas* (see below), dat.-loc. sg. *ekunimi* (*KBo* III 23 Vs. 5-8 [OHitt.] *mān-[an]* *handais walahzi zig-an ekunimi dai takkuw-an ekunimas walahzi n-an handasi dai* 'if heat strikes him, place him in the cold; if cold strikes him, place him in the heat' [similarly ibid. IV 9-10 and *KUB* XXXI 115, 9-11]; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41-2 [1979]; VIII 67, 9 ^{GIS} *HAŠHUR mān ekunimi pi[ran]* 'like an apple-tree from cold'; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:232 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:169 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 40; VIII 35 Vs. 4 *apedani DUMU-li attas annas ekunimi kattan pū-anzi* 'the parents treat that child with coldness'. Cf. Götz, *KIF* 186; Laroche, *BSL* 52.1:74 (1956). For derivation cf. *hahlinma-* 'jaundice' from *hahli-*, **hahla-* 'green, yellow' (s.v. *hahhal-*).

ikunes- 'become cold', 3 sg. pres. act. *i-ku-ni-es-zi* (1214/z, 6). For the possibility that a one-time stative verbal stem **ekunē-* 'be cold' underlies both *ekunima-* and *ikunes-* cf. C. Watkins, *TPS* 1971: 76.

An example may be seen in *ku 58.58* [10 *kuedani mēhuni* *ekunizgi* *hassu*] 'at what time it is cold, at the hearth ...' (cf. Alp, *Seitige* 292).

ikunahh- 'make cold', *KUB* XXXIX 41 Vs. 6 *ikunahhu* [-*ah*]. *eka-* is from IE **yeg-* (*IEW* 503) seen in *Mitr. aig* 'ice' (<**yegis*), *MiCorn. yeyn* 'cold', *ON jaki* 'ice-floe', *jökull* 'glacier'; *ekuna-* may be based on **yegu-* (Pedersen's [*Hitt.* 171])

**yeg^wno-* is contradicted by the absence of labiovelarity in *ON jaki*. In view of Hittite, Pokorny's idea (*Celtica* 5:236 [1960], approved by Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:67 [1961]) of a Germanic-Celtic borrowing from Finno-Ugric (Finnish and Estonian *jää*, Mordvin *jej*, Hungarian *jég* 'ice') is untenable; besides, the Lappish (*jiekŋa*) and Ugric forms (Vogul *jöäŋk*) point rather to Finno-Ugric **jäŋe* (cf. e.g. H. Jacobsohn, *Arier und Ugrofinnen* 11-2 [1922]; B. Collinder, *An introduction to the Uralic languages* 137 [1965]; Čop, *KZ* 84:158 [1970]). For Hittite *e-* < **yē-* see s.v. *ewa-*, *is(sa)na-*.

Cf. *ikniyant-*, *iksai-*.

ekt-, ikt- (c.) '(catch-)net', nom. sg. c. *e-ik-za* (*KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 17 *ekza isparanza* 'the net [is] spread'; cf. H. Berman, *JAOS* 92:466 [1972]; *KUB* XXXIX 61 I 11, in a ritual list, immediately preceded by 'dried sheep-thigh', followed ibid. 12 inter alia by 'iron anklet'; 1067/u, 5 *KUR* ^{URU} *Hatt[i]-ma-kan ekza hu[ppan harzi]* 'the net holds Hatti ensnared'(?]), *ik-za* (*KBo* III 21 II 15-18 *liliwanza-ma-ssan ikza-tes KUR-e katta hüppan harzi iktas-ma-ddu-ssan irhaz ŪL nahsariyawanza arha ŪL uizzi* 'your swift net holds the land ensnared; from the confine of your net not even the unafraid escapes'), acc. sg. *e-ik-ta-an* (*KUB* XXXI 68 Vs. 27 *[na]mma-wa kuin ektan* [with gloss-wedge] *hama* 'also what net bind ...'; cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:23 [1962]; XLVIII 76 I 2-3 *nu ektan [ispar]nuzi* 'spreads the net'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 6), *e-ik-za-an* (XLV 26 II 2 *ekzan sarā epzi* 'takes up the net'; *KBo* XIII 101 Rs. 6), gen. sg. *iktas* (III 21 II 17; see above), instr. sg. *e-ik-te-it* (473/t Vs. 13-15 *GIM-an ektan ispar[muwanzi nu ARNABU ektet [appanzi ...] ... [nu ... QATA]mma appandu n-at harninkandu* 'even as they spread the net and catch the hare with the net ..., let them likewise catch ... and destroy it').

Correctly distinguished from *egdu-* 'leg' (q.v.) by Oettinger (*Eide* 22) and interpreted as 'net' by H. A. Hoffner (*Essays on the Ancient Near East in memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 105-7 [1977]). Earlier, superseded renderings as 'leg' by Güterbock, *Kumarbi* 43, *9; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:27-32 (1957).

Luwoid *aggati-* (c.) 'catch-net', acc. pl. *aggatius*, gloss-wedged hapax legomenon in the Hittite *Gilgamesh* (*KUB* VIII 56. 12), matching Akk. *nuballu* 'catch-net'; context s.v. *akkus-(s)a-*. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Essays on the Ancient Near East in memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 107 (1977).

Hoffner (+ H. Berman apud Hoffner) derived *ekt-* and *aggati-* from IE **yē-k-* seen in Lat. *iaciō, iēcī* 'throw'; but in the latter the guttural suffix is in the nature of a strictly verbal stem formant and unlikely to crop up in an isolated root noun. Cf. perhaps rather Lat. *ictus* 'thrust, stroke', root **ayk-* 'aim sharply' (*IEW* 15), with *ekt-* < **ayk-t-*; a parallel formation is Gk. *δίκτρον* 'catch-net', from *δίκειν* 'throw' (cf. E. Tichy, *MSS* 38:198-217, 224-7 [1979]). For the Hittite phonetic development *e/i* < **ai* see s.v. *asara-*, *esara-*. *ekza* /ekt-s/ has preserved the **kt* cluster unassimilated (unlike its regular outcome *tt* in e.g. *lutta*[i]-, *uttar*), perhaps under the impetus of an anaptyctic tendency (**ekat-*) actually realized in Luw. *aggati-* (which has in addition the typical Luwian marks of *a* coloration and gravitation to *i*-stem declension); *ekzan* is an analogical accusative (spread of affricate from nom. sg., vs. normal *ektan*).

Wholly improbable is E. P. Hamp's comparison of *ekt-* (< **yek-t-*) with OHG *jagōn*, postulating an Indo-European root **yek-* 'hunt' (*IF* 83:119-20 [1978]). H. Berman (ibid. 123) implausibly explained the internal *a* in Luw. *aggati-* as either a thematic vowel or a morphophonemic insert in deverbative noun derivation. Von Windtke (Z 100:311-2, '87) implausibly took *δίκτρον* as borrowed from Hitt. *ikt-*, with initial contamination. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:204 (1980), *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 414 by *δίκειν*. (1981), M. Poetto (*MSS* 53:159-74, '92) suggested as etymon the unclear Ved. *ákṣu-* 'net(s)'.


egdu-, igdu- (n.) 'leg', nom.-acc. sg. *egdu* (*KUB* XXVII 1 III 20-21 LUGAL-us-za GÍR ZABAR dāi mu-kan^{U2U} walan hastai^{U2U} egdu awan arha kuirzi namma-kan awan arha wāki 'the king takes a bronze knife and cuts off a thigh, a bone, and a leg, and then bites off'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 82), *igdu* (XXXIII 112 IV 15; XXXIII 114 IV 13-15 nu-ssi-kan^{U2U} iskisaza [...] markir^{U2U} igdu-ma-k[an...] marke[r 'from his back ... they cut up, and his leg ... they cut up'; cf. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:144-6 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:35-6 [1968]).

This word is unrelated to *ekt-*, *ikt-* 'catch-net' (q.v.); thus all interpretations of *ekt-*, *ikt-* as 'leg' have been flawed; the alleged nom. pl. *ikun-šu* (*Bo* 2839-11) 13-14 GEŠTUG.HLA-ŠU *ikun-šu* [arha k]ue kuranta 'his ears and his "legs" which are cut off') does not even exist (read rather KUN-ŠU 'his tail'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 22).

A possible etymology is IE **ey-gh-* (*IEW* 296), Lith. *eigà* 'a going', Gk. *οἴχομαι* 'go off, be gone', *ἵχνος* 'footstep, track', also 'foot', Toch. B *yku* 'gone'; thus *egdu-* < **eygh-tu-* 'a going', metonymically 'leg'. For treatment of **g(h) + t*, as opposed to **k + t* in *lutta*(i)-, *uttar*, see also s.v. *ukturi-* and Puhvel, *KZ* 86:111-5 (1972) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 220-4 (1981). Cf. Kronasser, *Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough* 125 (1957), *Etym.* 1:252; Frisk, *GEW* 2:372.

J. J. S. Weitenberg (*Mnemosyne* 29:225-32 [1976]) did not distinguish *ekt-* 'net' from *egdu-* 'leg', considered the *i* vocalism primary, and connected *ikt-* (sic) improbably with the rare and dubious Gk. *ἱκταρ* 'female genital' (alleged proto-meaning 'leg'), implausibly deriving the adverb *ἱκταρ* from this noun (for *ἱκταρ* 'close to' see rather s.v. *kitkar*); he also considered *iktu-* (sic) analogical to *genu-* 'knee'.

eku-, aku- 'drink; drink to (+ dat.), toast (+ acc.)' (rarely NAG), 1 sg. pres. act. *e-ku-mi* (*KUB* XXXIII 67 IV 17 kinun-za edmi ekumi 'now I eat [and] drink'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:138 [1965]; *IBOT* II 73, 4-5 nu akuanna wekz[i ...] [...] an ekumi 'asks to drink ... I drink ...'; *ABOT* 32 II 14; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 45), 2 sg. pres. act. *e-ku-us-si* (*KUB* I 16 III 29 wātarr-a ekussi 'and water you will drink', cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12), *e-uk-si* (*KBo* XXII 1 Rs. 28 [OHitt.] parna-ssa paisi ezsi euksi 'you go to his house, eat [and] drink'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *ekutti* (XIX 112, 8-10 kuwat-za ūl ez[atti] [kuwat] ūl ekutti ammel ishā-mi [...] [...] adātar nu kuīt akuwatar ūl [...] 'why do you not eat, why do you not drink, my lord? ... eating, and because drinking not ...'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44), 3 sg. pres. act. *ekuzi* (profuse, e.g. *KUB* XLIII 60 IV 4 [OHitt.] arha ekuzi 'drinks up [lit. off]' (like Lat.

ē-pōtat); *KBo* XIX 128 V 50 LUGAL-us GUB-as ^DLAMA ^{KUŠ}kursan ekuzi 'the king toasts standing the tutelary god [of] the fleece'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 14; *KUB* XXXIX 15 I 7 EGIR-šū-ma akkandas zi-ni 3-šū ekuzi 'but afterwards one drinks to the deceased's soul three times', besides *ibid.* 7-8 mahh[an ...] apel zi-an ekuzi 'when one toasts his soul'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 82; *KBo* XV 25 Rs. 15-16 nu hantezzi [pa]l¹si ^DUTU ŠAMē ekuzi EGIR-šū-ma ANA ^DIM ekuzi 'the first time he toasts the sun-god of heaven, but afterwards he drinks to the storm-god'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 4-6, 40), ekuzzi (e.g. *KUB* VIII 65, 3 'drinks'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 42; *KBo* XIX 128 V 47 and VI 17 'toasts'; XXI 36, 4 nu ANA ^DUTU ekuzzi, *ibid.* 7 ANA ^DU ekuzzi 'drinks to'), e-uk-zi (*KBo* XVII 30 III 4 and 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 149; *KUB* XX 53 V 6 and 10 'toasts'; *Bo* 2623 Vs. 10; *Bo* 3456, 2; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 143), e-ū-uk-zi (*Bo* 2692 V 23), NAG-zi (e.g. *KUB* XVII 35 I 27 nu-smas KŪ-zi NAG-zi '[the priest] eats [and] drinks to them'), 1 pl. pres. act. akueni (*KBo* XVII 4 II 8 adueni akueni 'we eat [and] drink'; XVII 1 III 15 and IV 6 atueni akueni, cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24, 30, 36; *KUB* XXXVI 110 Rs. 5-7 LUGAL-as NINDA-san adue[ni] [GEŠTIN]-set-a akueni n-asta GAL GUŠKIN-as GEŠTIN-nan parkuin akkuskiwani 'the king's bread we eat, and his wine we drink; from a gold goblet pure wine we keep drinking'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 227; Starke, *ZA* 69:82 [1979]; A. Archi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 50 [1979]; *KBo* III 29 I 19 atueni mān akueni-zza), akuwani (*Bo* 5709 Vs. 10), ekueni (412/b + Vs. 37b NINDA-an ekueni [sic]), ekiwani (*KBo* XV 26, 7; cf. *ibid.* 4 a)duwani nu akuwani[a 'we eat, and to drink ...'; Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 46), 2 pl. pres. act. ekuteni (XIV 41 IV 17 [OHitt.]), ekutteni (*KUB* I 16 III 34 and 48 NINDA-an azzasteni wātarr-a ekutteni 'bread you will eat and water you will drink'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12-4; XIII 4 II 70 nu NINDA-an ezzasteni wātarr-a ekutteni; *ibid.* IV 52-53 n-asta BIBRU DINGIR-LIM ZI-as arha ekutteni 'you drink up the rhyton of the soul of the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOs* 54:378, 394 [1934]), 3 pl. pres. act. akuanzi (frequent, e.g. *KBo* XVII 9 IV 4 and 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 35; X 30 III 6 adanzi akuanzi 'they eat [and] drink'), akuwanzi (profuse, e.g. XIX 128 IV-V passim; cf. Otten, *Festritual*

10-4), akūwanzi (*KUB* XXX 15 Vs. 19 nu akūwanna 3-šū pianzi nu 3-šū-pat apel zi-šū akūwanzi 'they give to drink three times, and three times they toast his soul'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; XX 48 VI 8 and 10), ekuanzi (*KBo* XV 34 II 3), ekiwanzi (*KUB* XX 1 II 20), NAG-anzi (e.g. XVII 24 III 16 n-at-kan arha NAG-anzi 'they drink it up'), NAG-zi (e.g. XVII 35 I 33 LŪ.MEŠ ŠU.GI warsuli NAG-zi 'the old men drink by drops'), 1 sg. pret. act. ekun (XXX 10 Vs. 16-17 NINDA-an-za wemiyanun n-an-za AHITI-YA natta kuwapikki edun wātarr-ma-z wemiya<nun> n-at AHITI-YA ūl kuwapikki ekun 'bread I found, and never ate it by myself; water I found, and never drank it by myself'), 2 sg. pret. act. ekutta (XXXIII 96 IV 21 nu ūl ekutta 'you did not drink'; *ibid.* 20 nu-za ūl ezatta 'you did not eat'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:160 [1951]; *KBo* XIX 104, 12 [probably]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 14), 3 sg. pret. act. ekutta (*KUB* I 16 III 17 ūl)har-simit ekutta 'she has drunk their blood'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; *KBo* XII 3 III 16 [OHitt.] t-at ekutta 'he drank it'; *KUB* XXXVI 2 II 4 e]zzatta ek[ut]ta 'he ate and drank'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:33 [1968]; XXXVI 12 I 12 sanizzesta nu e[ku]tta '[it] turned appetizing, and he drank'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:10 [1952]), e-uk-ta (XXXVI 104 Vs. 6 [OHitt.] MUN-an suhhair s-an-asta eukta 'they sprinkled salt, and he drank it'), 1 pl. pret. act. e-ku-e-en (*HT* I I 44-45 n-asta ištū ^{UZU}NIG.GIG huwisawaz wākuēn nanna-kan ^GA.DA.GUR-az ekuēn 'we have taken a bite from the raw liver, also we have drunk with the straw'), 3 pl. pret. act. e-ku-ir (e.g. *KBo* XIII 86 Vs. 15 ekuir-a hassikkir-at[-za ūl] 'they drank, but they were not satiated'; *KUB* XXXIII 32 III 5; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:126 [1965]), e-ku-i-e-ir (XVII 10 I 19-20 eter n-e ūl ispiyer ekuyer-ma n-e-za ūl hassikkir 'they ate but they were not filled; and they drank but they were not satiated'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. e-ku (e.g. *KBo* XIII 114 I 23 et-za eku 'eat [and] drink!'; *KUB* XX 92 VI 8-9 ezza-zza nu-za ispiya eku-ma nu-za nik 'eat and get full, drink and get your fill!'; *KBo* XXII 178 IV 3 wātarr eku 'drink water!'; *KUB* XXXIII 70 II 6 eku-ma GEŠTIN-an 'drink wine!'; XXXIII 8 III 15 nu-za et sanezzi eku-ma sanezzi 'eat sweet and drink sweet!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]), inverted spelling ku-e (*KBo* IV 6 Rs. 9 apāt

L i ē

"kue" nu-za ninga 'drink that and get your fill!'), 3 sg. pres. imp. *ekuddu* (KUB XLIII 23 Vs. 3 *jezdu ekuddu* 'may he eat [and] drink'; XXXVI 25 I 5 *nu-za ezzaddu eku{ddu}*, 2 pl. imp. act. *e-ku-ut-te-en* (KBo VII 28 Vs. 26 *ezzasten ekutten*; cf. Friedrich, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 32:219 [1957]; KUB IV 1 II 4 *nu izzatten ekutten*; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170; XLIII 23 Rs. 11 and 14-15 [OHitt.] *nu-za ezten ekutten*), *e-ku-te-en* (XXXIII 62 III 10-11 *sumes ezzastin nu-za ispittin ekuten-ma nu-za nikten*), *e-ku-ut-tin* (KBo V 3 III 37 *nu-za ezattin ekuttin daskiskittin* 'eat, drink, make merry!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:126; XVII 105 III 30 *nu-za ezzatin ekuttin*; KUB XIII 4 II 76 *nu ezzatin ekuttin*; XIII 5 II 7 *n-at ezzatin ekuttin*; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380, 370 [1934]; XVII 30 III 3 *jezzattin ekuttin*; KBo X 45 IV 12 *nu-za uwattin izzattin ekuttin* 'come, eat, drink!'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), NAG-tin (KUB XLI 4 II 14 *kū-tin NAG-tin*), 3 pl. imp. act. *akuwandu* (XV 34 I 48-49 *ad[and]ju akuwandu n-at-za ispiyandu ninkandu*; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 186); partic. *akuwant-* (active in meaning, like Lat. *pōtus* or Engl. *drunk*; cf. *adant-* s.v. *ed-*), gen. sg. c. in the expression *adandas akuwandas* FMF-an 'the tongue of him that has eaten and drunk' (e.g. IX 34 IV 15); verbal noun *akuwatar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *akuwatar* (KBo XIX 112, 10 *jadatar nu kuit akuwatar ūL saqa[hhi* '... eating, because drinking I do not know'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44; KUB XXXIII 71 III 12 *adatar akuwatar*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:161 [1965]; KBo X 20 II 47 *adatar akuwatar*; XXII 178 III 5 *ässu akuwatar-mi* 'my good drinking'), gen. sg. *akuwannas* (e.g. KUB XLIII 58 I 21 *GEŠTIN akuwannas* 'wine for drinking'), NAG-nas (XXXIII 120 I 10 *NAG-nas-a-ssi-kan* GAL, IIIA-us ŠU-i-ssi *zikkizzi* 'and drinking goblets he places in his hand'; ibid. 17 *NAG-nas-si-kan*; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *1-2), NAG (e.g. KBo X 45 III 49 and 56, IV 7 *DUG KA.DU NAG* 'light beer for drinking'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:132-4 [1961]); inf. *akuanna* (frequent, e.g. XX 8 Vs. 17 [OHitt.] *LUGAL-us akuanna wekzi* 'the king asks to drink'), *akuwanna* (profuse, e.g. KUB XVII 5 I 8 [OHitt.] *nu-wa adanna akuwanna ehu* 'come to eat [and] drink'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:67 [1965]; KBo III 34 II 33 [OHitt.] *mān LUGAL-was piran sieskanzi kuis hazzizzi nu-sse GEŠTIN-an*

akuwanna pianzi 'when they hold a shooting match before the king, who scores a hit, to him they give wine to drink'), *akūwanna* (see e.g. above, sub 3 pl. pres. act. *akūwanzi*), *akuwana* (KUB XXXV 4 II 9, vs. ibid. III 9 *akuwana*; KBo XV 58 V 3, vs. ibid. 12 <a>*kuwannaakuna* (XIX 161 I 8 *akuna pianzi* [cramped spelling on tablet-edge], vs. ibid. 26 *akuwanna pianzi*), *akuanzi* (XV 36+XXI 61 III 6 *akuanzi pianzi* 'they give to drink'), NAG-na (e.g. KUB XVII 24 III 22, vs. ibid. 5 *akuwanna*); iter. *akkuski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *akkuskisi* (XXVI 25 II 3 ^{KAS A}*kuwanna* ^{ana water}*akkuskisi* 'and beer that you drink'; XXXI 143 II 9 [OHitt.]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186), *akkuskesi* (ibid. 16), 3 sg. pres. act. *akkuskizzi* (e.g. XIX 28 IV 14 *azzikizzi akkuskizzi* 'keeps eating [and] drinking'), *akkuskizi* (KBo XVII 11 IV 7 [OHitt.]; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 34), 1 pl. pres. act. *akkuskiwani* (quoted sub 1 pl. pres. act. *akueni* above), *akkuskiwani* (XV 25 Rs. 17; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 6), 2 pl. pres. act. *akkuskittani* (VBoT 58 I 18 *kī azzikkittani akkuskittani* 'this you keep eating [and] drinking'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]), 3 pl. pres. act. *akkuskanzi* (e.g. KBo XVII 74 IV 41-42 [OHitt.] *suwāru kue GAL.IIIA akkuskanzi [ta] apūs-pat akuanzi* 'what cups they are used to drinking heavily, those very ones they drink'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 34; KUB XII 65 III 21 *nu-za azzikkanzi akkuskanzi*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52; KBo V 1 III 50-51 *nu-za azzikkanzi akkuskanzi*; cf. Sommer - Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 10*), *akkuiskanzi* (XV 37 V 31 *nu warsuli akkuiskanzi* 'they keep drinking by drops'), 1 sg. pret. act. *akkuskinun* (IV 2 IV 28-30 *īšTU GISBANŠUR-ma-za-kan kuezza azzikkimin īšTU GAL-ya-kan kuezza akkuskinun* 'but from what table I used to eat, and from what cup I used to drink'; cf. Götte - Pedersen, *MS* 10), 3 sg. pret. act. *akkuskīt* (XV 30 III 4-5 *wā[tar] akkuskīt* 'he would drink water'; KUB XX 2 IV 28), 3 pl. pret. act. *akkuskir* (XXVI 89, 13 *azzikkir wātarr-a-ssi piran akkuskir* 'they ate, and water before her they drank'; cf. R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:63 [1964]), 2 sg. imp. act. *akkuski* (VII 1 I 15 *inanas PUTU-i zik azzikki akkuski* 'to the sun-god of sickness eat [and] drink thou!'; KBo X 37 III 10 [zi] *qq-a azzikki akkuski*; KUB XLI 4 II 14), *akkuskī* (KBo VII 28 Vs. 18, 23, 28 *azzikkī akkuskī*), 3 sg. imp. act. *akkuskiddu*

(KUB I 16 II 33 *nu azzikkiddu akkuskiddu*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 7; XLI 17 IV 12 *azzikkiddu akkuskiddu*, with dupl. HT 1 IV 26 *azziskiddu akkuskiddu*, KUB IX 31 IV 22 [az]ikkiddu [ak]-kuskiddu, IX 32 Rs. 17 *akkuskiddu*), 2 pl. imp. act. *ak-ku-us-kat-te-en* (KBo III 28 II 8 [OHitt.] *ūten azzikatten akkuskatten* 'go, eat [and] drink!'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 186 [1973]; KUB XXXI 64a. 7 [OHitt.] *ak[kuskatten]*, *ak-ku-us-ki-it-tin* (e.g. KBo X 37 III 9 *azzikkittin akkuskittin*), 3 pl. imp. act. *ak-ku-us-kān-du* (III 1 II 14 [OHitt.] *nu-wa-za azzikkandu akkuskandu*; XX 73 IV 10 *nu ēšhar akkuskandu* UZU YÀ UDU *āzzakuwandu* 'let them drink blood, let them eat meat fat of sheep!'; KUB XXV 37 IV 8).

akuttara- (c.) 'drinker, toaster' (priestly title in Hittic-based rituals), nom. sg. ^{LU}*a-ku-ut-tar-ra[-as]* (KBo V 11 I 14, matching ibid. Hittic ^{LU}*haggazuūē*; cf. ^{LU}*haggazuwasses* in IBoT I 36 IV 37), ^{LU}*a-ku-ut-tar-as* (HT 40 Oby. 3 and 7; 2030/c + 1703/ĉ + ^{KBo 37.1} (Klingensiefel, *Wattase*)), Vs. 28, ^{LU}*a-ku-tar-as* (ibid. Rs. 13 and 20), acc. pl. (?) ^{LUMES}*a-ku-ut-ta-ru-us* (Bo 2257.5c), ^{LUMES}*a-ku-ud-da-ru-us* (ibid. 12), pl. ^{LUMES}*akudda[-]* (KBo XX 7, 8 [OHitt.]). Agent noun with suffix *-tara-* (cf. *wēstara-* s.v. *wesi-*), besides usual *-talla-*, thematization of IE **-ter/-tor* seen in Lat. *pō-tor* 'drinker'.

Pal. *ahu-* 'drink', 3 pl. pres. act. *ahuwanti* (KUB XXXV 168, 6; XXXII 18 I 7 and 18), *ahuwānti* (ibid. 9); infin. *ahūna* (XXXV 165 Rs. 22). Cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 8–9, 19, 49.

Luw. *akuwa-* (?), 3 sg. pret. act. *akuwatta* (KBo VII 68 III 13 and 18); *akuwan* (KUB XXXV 128 III 10; cf. Otten, *LTU* 107). But the acc. sg. c. participle (?) *āhhuwāhhuwāmin*, following and qualifying [*dagan*] *zipan* 'earth' in XXXV 145 Rs. 10, is a reduplicated jingle formation of unknown meaning; 'inundated' (Carruba, *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 143 [1976]) is sheer guesswork.

Except for the second tablet of Kikkulis, where *akuwanzi* once barbarously occurs in the sense of *sakruwanzi* 'they water' (viz. racehorses; KBo III 5 IV 18–19) and possibly for *akuwanna pianzi* (ibid. 60; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 100, 102, 308–9, 325–6), *eku-* never has a causative side-meaning 'make (or: let) drink', such as Skt. *pāyāyati*, Goth. *dragkjan*, German *tränken*, Engl. *drench* (wrongly assumed from Hrozný,

SH 213, to Otten, *Totenrituale* 132); *eku-* + animate or abstract accusative is simply the commoner construction, vs. *eku-* + dat., in the sense of 'drink to, toast', much as conversely *sipand-* 'libate' is mostly construed with a dative of the recipient, but occasionally with the accusative (cf. Puhvel, *MIO* 5:31–3 [1957], *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 411–2 [1981]; C. W. Carter, *Oriens* 15:449 [1962]; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:66 [1978], 26:81 [1980]; already M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:93, 95, 96 [1957], rendered *ekuzi* in this sense as 'porte un toast'). The syntactic variation 'have a drink (for the god)' : 'toast the god (with a drink)' has parallels in e.g. Lat. *mactāre victimam deō* : *mactāre deum* (*victimā*), or in the two constructions of Gmc. **blōtan* 'sacrifice; worship', or conversely in those of Ved. *saparyāti* and *dāsati* 'honor; offer', or in the meaning shift of OCS *žrūti* 'sacrifice' (+ acc. of victim) vs. Lith. *girti* 'praise' (cf. Skt *yājati* + instr., and H. C. Melchert, *Journal of Indo-European studies* 9:245–54 [1981]). ^{KBo 37.1} (Klingensiefel, *Wattase*)

For Pal. *ahu-* cf. e.g. Luw. *mannahunna-* besides Hitt. *maninkuant-*. The forms *e-ku-zi* and *e-uk-zi* (cf. e.g. *tar-ku-zi* and *tar-uk-zi*, s.v.) point to [ek^wi] as the phonetic realization (cf. F. O. Lindeman, *RHA* 23:29–32 [1965]), while the constant *-k-* outside of the iterative indicates that [k^w] is a mere conditioned paradigmatic variant of [g^w] (*akuwanzi* = /ag^wantⁱ/), whereas in *akkuski-* (= /ak^wski-/) the double spelling *-kk-* is a mark of morphophonemic unvoicing before *-s-* in a new derivative conjugation stem (cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 94:294 [1974]) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 265 [1981].

/eg^w-/ : /ag^w-/ has an ablaut pattern like *ed-* : *ad-* 'eat', *es-* : *as-* 'be', or *ep(p)-* : *ap(p)-* 'seize'; there is no reason to assume /ēg^w-/ (wrongly e.g. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 87–8). Toch. AB *yok-* 'drink', connected with *eku-* since Pedersen, *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* 40 (1925), can reflect in its vocalism either **e-* or **ē-* (> **ya-* > *yo-* via "labiovelar umlaut"), and the *k* can go back to any order of labiovelar. The most compelling tertium of this comparison is Lat. *ēbrius* 'drunk' (Juret, *RHA* 2:251–2 [1934], *Revue des études latines* 15:79 [1937]; Friedrich, *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* 20:321 [1936]; Otten, *AfO* 15:81 [1945–51]; W. Winter, *KZ* 72:173–5

[1955]; Puhvel, *JAOS* 94:294 [1974]), but it needs to be refined and elaborated. *ēbrius* does not mean primarily 'intoxicated' but rather 'having drunk one's fill' (cf. Terence, *Heeyra* 5.2.3: *quom tu satura atque ebria eris* 'when you have had enough to eat and drink', and *ekuten-ma nu-za nikten* [quoted above]); a noun **egh*ri-* 'drink(ing)' (cf. Hitt. *edri-* 'food, meal') would yield Lat. **ebri-* (cf. *febris* < **dhegh*ri-*), which appears privatively in the thematized hypostatic compound *sōbrius* 'without drinking, not (having) drunk' (**sē + egh*ris*, like e.g. *sēcūrus* from **sē + kōysā*; for vocalism cf. *socors* besides *secordis*, or *extorris* besides *exterrāneus*); *ēbrius* is probably abstracted from **sēgh*riyas*, much as the adjectives *decor(is)* and *decōrus* are secondary to *indecor(is)* and *indecōrus* (compounds with *samāsānta* suffixes from *decus*, *decor*). Juret's (*Revue des études latines* 15:79 [1937]) and Winter's (*KZ* 72:173–5 [1955]) analysis of Gk. *νήφω* 'be sober' as **ne + egh** 'not drink' may also be strengthened by this interpretation.

The discreditable tie-in of *eku-* with Lat. *aqua* 'water' and some cognates stretches from Hrozný (*MDOG* 56:28 [1915], *SH* 42 3) via Sturtevant (*Lg.* 6:219–20 [1930] et passim) and many others down to e.g. Kronasser (*Acta Baltico-Slavica* 3:77–8 [1966]), H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:82 [1973]), and van Windekens (*Le tokharien* 601–2). It was consistently rejected by Benveniste (*BSL* 33:142 [1932], *Hittite* 96–7) in favor of the binary Hittite-Tocharian isogloss *eku-:yok-*, and later by Kammenhuber as well (e.g. *MHT* 3, Nr. 5, 6–11 [1975], in the course of the 371-page treatment of *eku-* by her and A. Archi in *MHT* 3–7 [1975–6]), who, however, joined the chorus in excluding Lat. *ēbrius*.

Equally untenable connections for *eku-* are Skt. *asnāti* 'eat, consume' (Mayrhofer, *KZ* 71:45–8 [1953]) and an alleged Sanskrit verbal root *ac-* 'draw (water)' (V. Pisani, *Pratidānam* ... presented to F. B. J. Kuiper 102 [1968]).

Cf. *akutalla-*.

elaniya- 'drive (to extremities), assail, plague', iter. *elaneski-*, *elaneski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *e-la-ni-es-ki-mi* and 3 pl. pret. act.

ELASSAR-
(MS.) -
see New Rev.

e-la-ni-es-kir in *KUB VII 53 II 9–12 kuyēss-an ALAM-ŠU hastai mīlūli kiez paprannaz tiyaneskir elaneskir kinun-a paprannas alwanzenas ALAM-ŠU hastai mīlūli kāsa EGIR-pa tiyaneskimi elaneskimi* 'as for those who have been besetting (and) plaguing his form, bone, and soft tissue with this defilement, now I, behold, once more (viz. as substitute magic) beset (and) plague the form, bone, and soft tissue of (the victim of) sorcerous defilement'; ibid. 17 *nu kāsa kūn tiyaneskimi elaneskimi* (cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10–2, 77), dupl. XXXIX 65, 3 *e-li-ni-es-kir*. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:507. *e-la-ni-es-kir* 10.48.149

tiyaniya- *elaniya-* are best interpreted as denominative (**tiyatn-iya-* and **elatn-iya-*) from the *r/n*-stems *tiyatar* and **elatar*, action nouns of verbs *dai-* 'place, set' and **el(a)-*. *tiyaniya-* (q.v. s.v.) thus means 'perform setting', transitively and figuratively 'beset'; **el(a)-* can be tied in etymologically with the isolated Gk. *ἐλάω*, *ἐλαύνω* 'drive', also 'harass, persecute, plague' (*ἐλαύνεσθαι τὴν γνώμην* 'be driven out of one's mind'). Just as *tiyatar* has beside it *tiyauwar* (*kattan tiyannas* and *GAM-an tiyauwas* 'depositional tray', lit. 'of setting down'), **elatar* is matched allomorphically by the heteroclitic **ēlapap* which underlies the denominative *ἐλαύνω* (cf. Benveniste, *Origines* 112). If the basic sense of *elaniya-* is 'escalate', perhaps denominative from *ila(n)-*, *elan-ya-* (cf. *WED* 1–2:357).

denom. 'and hōu [en] - Sturtevant 11.4.10 16, 195:102

elzi- (n.) '(pair of) scale(s)' (GIŠ.RÍN, GIŠ.RÍN *ZIBANA*, GIŠ.RÍN *ZIPANITUM* [*KUB VII 37, 10*], GIŠ.NUNUZ *ZIBANA*; Akk. *gisrinnu*, *zibānītu*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. GIŠ^{elzi} (*KBo VI 13 I 6–8* [= *Code* 2:69] *takku A.ŠA-LAM kuiski wāsi ta ZAG-an parsiya NINDA harsin dāi i-an DUTU-i parsiya GIŠ^{elzi} mit-wa taknā arsikkīt* 'if someone buys a field and breaches the boundary, he [viz. the wronged party] takes bread and breaks it to the sun-god [and says]: "He has planted my scale in the earth"'), GIŠ^{elzi} (dupl. VI 26 I 52 GIŠ^{e-el}[-; *KUB XXX 10 Rs. 12–13* LU^{DAM.GAR-sa} [...] DUTU-i GIŠ^{elzi} harzi nu GIŠ^{elzi} marsanuzzi 'the merchant holds the scales before the sun-god and [yet] falsifies the scales'); cf. e.g. *KBo XXI 22 Vs. 18–19 kāsa GIŠ.RÍN karpiyemi nu Labarnas taluqaus MU.HLA-us usneskimi* 'behold, I pick up scales and I put up for weighing the long years of L.'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv*

NS

26 pl.
il-zi-ja-as
(KUB 32.129 v. 14)
n-at-kan 35:121 as
kianzi 'they place
it on the scales'

5:199–200 (1978); XVII 95 III 6–10 ^{LÚ}AZU-ma-z GIŠ.RÍN ZIBANA *dāi n-as* ANA LUGAL *manninkuwan tiyezi nu* ANA LUGAL A.BÁR *pāi nu-ssan* LUGAL-us A.BÁR ANA GIŠ.RÍN ZIBANA *dāi* ^{LÚ}AZU-ma-kan GIŠ.RÍN ZIBANA ^{PUTU-i} *menahhanda epzi* ‘the medicine man takes the scales, he steps close to the king, and gives lead to the king; the king places the lead on the scales, and the medicine man takes the scales before the sun-god’; XV 10 I 9–10 *i-NUTUM* GIŠ.RÍN ZIBANA ŠA GIŠ *dāi* ‘he takes a set of scales (made) of wood’; *ibid.* II 41–42 [*nu-ss*]an ANA GIŠ.RÍN KÙ. BABBAR GUŠKIN NA₄.HILA XX.MEŠ <*is*> *huwāi nu* [^{PUTU-i}] [*menahh*]anta 6-ŠU *gankir* ‘on scales he scatters silver, gold, (gem)-stones, and ...; before the sun-god they weighed (them) six times’ (cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12, 26); KUB XXX 15+XXXIX 19 Vs. 26–28 *nu* ^{SAI}ŠU.GI GIŠNUN[UZ] ZIBANA [*dāi*] *nu-ssan* 1-eaz KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NA₄.HILA-ya *hūmandus dāi* [1-]edaz-ma-ssan *saluinan dāi* ‘the old woman takes a pair of scales; on one (scale) she places silver, gold, and all (manner of gem)stones, but on the other she places clay-mortar’ (cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68); XXX 19+I 32 ANA ^{GIŠ}NUNUZ ZEPANA-assa [*ā*] ‘on scales’ (cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 32). Cf. Otten, *ZA* 46:218–9 (1940), *Totenrituale* 131–2.

Formal weighing was apparently performed preferentially in sight of the all-seeing sun-god. ‘Plant someone’s scale in the earth’ in the *Code* must mean roughly ‘tip the scales against one, give one a raw deal’ (cf. the loser’s scale dipping to the earth [or all the way to Hades] at Zeus’s symbolic weighing of fate-lots in *Iliad* 8:69–74, 22:209–13). Since a twin-scale instrument like the Greek *τάλαντα* is involved, *elzi* can be interpreted as originating in an Indo-European neuter dual root-noun **E₁elt-ī* matched by the Italic-Celtic isogloss **(E₁)let-* seen in OIr. *leth*, Welsh *lled* ‘half’ (<**letom*), OIr. *leth*, Lat. *latus* ‘side’ (<**letes-*). *elzi* thus means literally ‘(instrument with) two bilateral halves’; cf. Lat. *bilanx* ‘having two (scale)plates’ (*lances*) in *bilanx libra* ‘pair of scales, balance’, Italian *bilancia* ‘scales’; for a unit-dual type involving the same etymon, cf. OIr. *leth-sūil* ‘(one) eye’ (literally ‘half-eye’), singular back-formation from the dual (*dī*) *sūil* ‘eyes’; similarly a neuter singular “i-stem” *elzi*- may have come about. For the frequency of the root

shape **E₁él-t-* in Hittite, vs. **E₁l-ét-* in other languages, see e.g. s.v. *ard-*. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38:352–3 (1981), *Folklorica: Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas* 193–6 (1982), *AJPh* 104:221–3 (1983).

Cf. *gangala-* (s.v. *kank-*);

enant- ‘tame(d)’, nom. sg. c. *enanza* (KBo VI 2+XIX 1 III 48) [= *Code* 1:66, OHitt.] MĀŠ.GAL *enanza* ‘tamed he-goat’; cf. Otten – Souček, *AfO* 21:6 [1966]), acc. sg. c. *enandan* (*Code* 1:65; cf. context s.v. *annanu-*; Haase, *Fragmente* 37). Cf. A. Walther, *The Hittite Code* 258 (Appendix IV of J. M. Powis Smith, *The origin and history of Hebrew law* [1931]); Goetze, *ANET* 192; Güterbock, *JCS* 15:77 (1961); Otten – Souček, *Gelübde* 22.

Perhaps intransitive participle in *-ant-* ‘agreeable, compliant, docile’) from a root *en-* <**ain-* ‘be agreeable’, comparable with Gk. *αἶνος* ‘agreement, consensus; praise; tale’, *αἰνέω* ‘approve, praise; tell’, possibly also **αἰνομαι* ‘be agreeable’ seen in *ἀναίνομαι* ‘spurn, reject’ (similarly transitive *ἀναβαίω* ‘refuse’ vs. *βαίω* ‘nod, assent’; for the secondary aorist *ἀνέφατο* cf. e.g. M. Peters, *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* 80 [1980]). Toch. AB *en-* (<**ain-*), allegedly ‘instruct, enjoin’, is also compared with Gk. *αἶνος* as ‘(edifying) tale’ (cf. van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 177–8); but the Tocharian attestations are all causative (A *enäs-*, B *enäsk-*; exceptional A *eñhune* <**enāñ-hune*) and thus do not preclude an intransitive base-meaning ‘be agreeable’.

For the improbable connection of Gk. *αἶν-* and Toch. *en-* with Hitt. *hanna-*, and of Toch. *en-* with *annanu-*, see s.v.

enera-, enira-, inira-, innari- (c.), **inniri-** (n.) ‘eyebrow’ (ŠUR IGI, ŠU-ÚR *E-NI*), nom. sg. c. (?) *ene[ras]* (KUB XXXIII 66 II 19; cf. *ibid.* 18 IGLHILA-as *harki* [‘the white of eyes’, *ibid.* 20 *laplipass-a* ‘and eyelash[es]’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]), *iniras* (KBo XVII 61 Rs. 11 IGLHILA-kan ANA IGLHILA-ŠU *handūn iniras-kan*), *iniri* KL.MIN ‘eyes [are] fitted to his eyes, eyebrow to eyebrow’

likewise'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:417 [1971]; H. Berman, *JAOS* 92:466 [1972]; *KUB* XXXVI 31, 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]), *ŠUR* IGI (V 7 Rs. 27 ANA DINGIR-LIM-wa-kan 1 *ŠUR* IGI *arha mauissan* 'one of the god's eyebrows has fallen off'), *ŠUR* ENI (XXII 70 Vs. 20, 25, 71 *ŠUR* ENI *KAPPI* ENI *ŠA* NA₄ 'eyebrow [and] eyelid of [gem]stone'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:192 [1936]), acc. sg. c. *e-ni-e-ra-an-na* (XXXII 8 III 6-8 *kuitman-ma-zan* *BEH* *SISKUR*.*SISKUR* *IŠTU* *SAG*.DU-*ŠU* *iētan laple[pan]* *enerann-a huūittiyannai* 'while the sacrificer pulls from his head a hair, an eyelash, and an eyebrow [hair]'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 21), *eniran* (IX 34 III 40 *eniran aumen laplipanzan aumen* 'we have seen the eyebrow, we have seen the eyelashes' [Luw. acc. pl.; or -an-san 'his eyelash'?]), *i-in-na-ri-en* (XXIV 12 II 32 *innaren laplappipan* 'eyebrow [and] eyelash'), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *inniri* (ibid. 20-21 -[wa-kan ANA *Tuthaliya* ALAM LÜKAL [...] *inniri laplapi zamankur* 'for T., his heroic statue, ... eyebrow[s], eyelash[es], beard ...'), *inniri* (ibid. III 6 *inniri laplipi*), dat.-loc. sg. c. *iniri* (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 11, quoted above), abl. sg. c. *eniraz* (*HT* 55, 6; cf. ibid. 7 *lapl* *ipaz*), *eniraza* (*KUB* IX 34 III 46; cf. ibid. *laplapaza*), nom. pl. c. *inirus* (XXXVIII 3 II 10 *IGI.HLA inirus* NA₄ KÁ.DINGIR.RA 'eyes [and] eyebrows [of] Babylon-stone'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 18, 57). Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 9:16-7 (1948-9).

The stem and gender variation *enera-*, *inira-* (c.): *innari-* (c.): *inniri-* (n.) resembles that of the semantically contiguous *lap-lapa-*, *laplipa-* (c.): *laplapi-* (n.): *laplipi-* (n.) 'eyelash' (q.v.). *enera-* stands alone, in contrast to the Indo-European word for 'brow' seen in Skt. *bhrū-*, Gk. *ὀφρῆς*, OIr. *for-bru*, OE *brū*, OCS *brŭvŭ*, Lith. *brūvė*, Toch. B *pärwāne* ('paral' dual); as in the case of *laplapa-*, Luwian-tinged indigenous origin is possible. Hittite clearly distinguishes 'eyebrow', 'eyelid' (*KAPPI* ENI), and 'eyelash', whereas e.g. OE *brū* can denote any of these (and Engl. *brow* can by extension also mean 'forehead').

instr. sg. *in-ri-d(a)*
(*ka 30.10 Rs. 4 in-ri-d-at-kan*
[*dān* 'with the eyebrow
he shall take it'])
napl. n.
in-ri (*ka 57.105 B4*
in-ri-ssit 161 *in-ri*
[*its eyebrows with
the eyes*]).
instr. sg.
acc. pl. c.
e-ne-ru-uc (180 T 3.72, 10)

subject to] the king's judgment'; cf. dupl. *KUB* XXIX 23, 15 -[*ni purut k[u-], e-ip-t]a-ri* (dupl. *KBo* VI 10 I 23 [?]). Cf. Goetze, *Tinnawi* 68; Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 62-3, 105; Güterbock, *JCS* 15:70 (1961); Imparati, *Leggi ittite* 124, 275-6; Kronasser, *Etym.* I:526.

Hrozný's connection (*Code hittite* 109 [1922]) of *epāri* with *ep(p)-* 'seize' was incorrect (it should have been **appattari* [cf. *appattat*] or possibly **appari*, **eppari* [cf. *hinkatta*, *hingari* from *hink-*]). Neu (*Interpretation* 24) unconvincingly posited a 3 sg. pres. act. *epār-i* (like *ispāri*, *isgāri*) from a verb *epar-*. Von Schuler's 'mold, fashion' (apud Friedrich, *Hethitische Gesetze* 62-3, 105, accepted by Güterbock, Imparati, and Kronasser) was on the right track semantically, as was Friedrich's postulation of a verb *epa-* (*Heth. Ges.* 119). For the possible variation *epāri*: *eptari* cf. e.g. *hingari*: *haiktari* from *hink-*. A primary verb *ep-* /*eb-*/ of Indo-European origin can hardly be other than *(*A*₁^u)*eybh-*, *(*A*₁^u)*oybh-*, or *(*A*₁^u)*yebh-* (for *e* < **ye* cf. s.v. *eka-*, *e[u]wa[n]*-), perhaps showing a more general meaning 'smear' > 'mold, fashion' (cf. IE **dheyǵh-* in Skt. *dih-* 'smear', Lat. *figūra*) than the sexual sense 'smear' > 'defile, pollute' seen in Gk. *οἶστρο*, Skt. *vābhati*, Russ. *jebú*. The verb *ep-* may be legalistically archaic and peculiarly suited for use with *purut*- 'clay' (q.v.), which itself is derived from the verbal root seen in Gk. *φύρω* 'mix (dry with wet), sully, defile'.

ep(p)-, ap(p)- 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture', -za *ep(p)-* 'take to, resort to, begin' (cf. Lat. *in-cipiō*), *anda ep(p)-* 'take in, hold in, round up, wrap around, include, inlay, inset', *appa ep(p)-* 'pull back, withdraw', *appan ep(p)-* 'seize behind, pursue', *arha ep(p)-* 'take away, dispose of, do away with; receive' (cf. Lat. *re-cipiō*), *katta ep(p)-* 'take down; (intrans.) take (root), be conceived' (cf. Lat. *con-cipiō*), *kattan ep(p)-* 'take down, take along, come to grips with, undertake', *parā ep(p)-* 'hold forth, proffer', *piran ep(p)-* 'hold in front, block', *sarā ep(p)-* 'raise, lift', *ser ep(p)-* 'lift', *kattan sarā ep(p)-* 'turn upside down', *piran sarā ep(p)-* 'take (auspices)', *ser katta ep(p)-* 'grab from top to bottom' (DIB; *ŠABATU*; *KUB* I 16 II 8 *LUGAL-s-an*

-za *appa ep-*
-zu take refuge in,
seek protection in
'to rely on'
Gut 11 KAp 92:
240-41

EP- d. *uw 3.2: 88 b.*
pe 'smear, mold' (?), 3 sg. pres. midd. *e-pa-a-ri* (*KBo* VI 11 I 20 [= *Code* 2:11] *takku sēni pur]ut kuiski epāri alwanzatar* DIN LUGAL 'if anyone molds clay into a figurine, [it is] sorcery [and

eppun = *ibid.* I 8 [Akk.] LUGAL *ašbat-šu-ma* 'I, the king, seized him'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2-3), 1 sg. pres. act. *e-ip-mi* (e.g. *KBo* V 13 II 33-34 *nu apūn antuhšan nasma apāt* ERIN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR. RA.MEŠ *epmi* 'I shall seize that man or those troops [and] horses'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124; *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 9 *nu-war-an epmi* 'I shall seize him'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 22; XIX 49 I 72 *epmi-ta ūl* HUL-*u*u[*anni* 'I shall not seize you in malice'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:10; XXIII 127 III 7 *arkamman sarā epmi* 'I raise tribute'; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 48; *KBo* IV 14 IV 56 *šu-za epmi* 'I take by the hand'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:49 [1965]; XVII 1 I 14; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18), DIB-*mi* (*KUB* XXII 39 III 18 GAM-*an* DIB-*mi* 'I undertake'), 2 sg. pres. act. *e-ip-si* (e.g. XXVI 29 + XXXI 55, 18 *ūl epsi*; *VBoT* 58 I 41 *le epsi*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]; *KBo* V 13 III 18-19 *ša MUŠEN-ya-an-za-kan memian piran sarā le epsi* 'and do not take auspices!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126; V 3 III 39-40 *n-at zik tuel zi-it le epsi* 'do not [even] conceive it with your mind!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:126), *e-ip-ti* (e.g. X 12 III 32 *ūl epti*; cf. H. Freydank, *MIO* 7:364 [1960]; *KUB* XIV 4 IV 19-22 *nu-wa DINGIR-LUM apūn ūl epti* [*ūl-wa DAM-*] *ZU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU epti nu-wa ammuḫ niwallin epti* [...] *a ep nasma-wa DAM-ZU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU ep ammuḫ-ma-wa le epti* 'you, goddess, do not seize him, his wife [and] children you do not seize, but you seize innocent me; seize [him] or seize his wife [and] children, but me do not seize!'; *KBo* V 13 II 19-20 *epti-ma-an ūl n-an-mu parā ūl pesti* 'but you do not seize him and do not hand him over to me'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124; *KUB* XXI 1 II 73-74 *ša MUŠEN-ma-za-kan uttar piran s[arā] [le kuit]ki epti* 'but do not take any auspices!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:64; *KBo* IV 14 III 38-40 *zik-ma-za* [LUGAL-] *ji karsis īr-is ēs GÚ UGU le epti karū kuwapi* 'PUL LUGAL-as BA.UG₆ *zik-ma GÚ UGU* *īšbat* 'be to the king a true servant, do not raise your neck; once when P. was put to death you did raise your neck'; cf. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:46 [1965]; *IBoT* III 148 IV 44 *awan parā le epti* 'do not proffer!'; cf. Haas-Wilhelm, *Riten* 230), DIB-*ti* (*KUB* XV 22, 10 *pian* DIB-*ti*), 3 sg. pres. act. *e-ip-zi* (profuse, e.g. VIII 83, 6 LUGAL KUR ^{LU}KUR *epzi* 'the king will capture the enemy country'; cf. Riemschneider,

Geburtsomina 57; *KBo* VI 3 III 66 [= Code 1:71] ^{LU}Ni.ZU-*an natta epzi* 'he does not arrest [him as] a thief'; *KUB* I 1 IV 85 *sahhani-ya-as luzzi le kuiski epzi* 'and nobody shall draft them for socage [or] corvée'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 40; VIII 36 III 6 *nasma-an SUHALU epzi* 'or coughing seizes him'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38; XII 58 IV 7 *namma-za-kan GUD usantarin si epzi* 'she grabs the fertile cow by the horn'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20; XIX 18 I 17-18 *nu-za* ^{URU}Tūwa[*naw*] *an zahhi-yauwanzi epzi* 'he takes to fighting Tyana'; similarly *ibid.* 26; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:76 [1956]; *KBo* XVII 1 I 14 *suppi watar parā epzi* '[he] proffers clean water'; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18; *KUB* XII 58 I 36 EGIR-*anda-ma-ssi-ssan* *šAH.TUR ser epzi* 'but afterwards she lifts a piglet to him'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10), DIB-*zi* (e.g. XXIV 5 Vs. 13 *s]ēnann-a GAM-an DIB-zi* 'he takes down the figure'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 10; XI 18 III 12 *parā DIB-zi*), 1 pl. pres. act. *e-ip-pu-u-e-ni* (e.g. XXII 57 Vs. 13 *parā eppuweni*), *ip-pu-u-e-ni* (XXXI 44 II 10 *n-an ippuweni* ū[L] 'we do not arrest him'; cf. von Schuler, *Orientalia* N.S. 25:226 [1956]), *ap-pu-ū-e-ni* (XXXV 18 I 7; cf. Otten, *LTU* 25), 2 pl. pres. act. *e-ip-te-ni* (XIII 5 II 18 *sumas-ma-kan n]assu GUD.ŠE nasma UDU.ŠE arha epteni* 'but you take away either a fat ox or a fat sheep'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]; *KBo* IV 7 I 54), *e-ip-te-e-ni* (dupl. V 13 I 6-7 *nu-war-an eptin nu-war-an-mu parā pestin mān-war-an ūl-ma eptēni* 'seize him and hand him over to me; but if you do not seize him ...'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:112), *ap-te-ni* (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 15), 3 pl. pres. act. *appanzi* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* XV 1 I 7 I ^{LU}ŠU.DIB 1 SAL-TUM-*ya appanzi* 'they seize one captive and one woman'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 112; *KUB* XXI 29 III 43 and 48 *n-an wastulli appanzi* 'they seize him in delicto'; *KBo* XVII 74 + *ABoT* 9 I 12 [OHitt.] *ta-z peda-smet appanzi* 'they take their places'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 11; *KBo* XXV 31 II 12 *ta AŠAR-ŠUNU appanzi* 'they take their places'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 79; *KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 25 EGIR-*an]-ma-ssan* *NA₄ šu-it katta appanzi* 'but afterwards they take the stone down by hand'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20; *KBo* XVII 74 II 39 [OHitt.] *t-us LUGAL-i parā appanzi* 'they hold them forth to the king'; *KUB* XV 31 I 33 *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ huuittiyauwanzi appanzi* 'they begin

attracting the gods'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 152), *appānzi* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 27+ Rs. 105), *ap-an-zi* (*KBo* XI 32 Rs. 57), 1 sg. pret. act. *e-ip-pu-un* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 15 IV 36 and 44 45 ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulaz eppun* 'I occupied [towns] with garrison troops'; cf. Götze, *AM* 72; *KBo* XII 38 III 7–9 G¹⁸MA.III.A-*ma eppun n-as-kan šā A.AB.BA lukkun* 'I seized the ships and set fire to them at sea'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:20 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76 [1967]; *KUB* XXXVI 108 Vs. 5 [OHitt.]; cf. Otten, *JCS* 5:129 [1951]; VIII 53 II 11 *nu KASKAL-an eppun* 'I took [to] the road'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:12, 46 [1930]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:14 [1968]; cf. *KASKAL-an iyat* s.v. *iya-*, and *itar ... daskizzi* s.v. *itar*; *KBo* XIV 20 II 22 *anda eppun*; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:174 [1966]; VI 29 II 10 *nu ANA D¹⁸STAR ... šu-an sarā eppun* 'to Ištar I lifted up my hand'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 48; III 4 I 22 *šu-an sarā eppun*; cf. Götze, *AM* 20), *e-ip-pu-u-un* (e.g. III 13 Rs. 14 *šu-mit eppūn* 'I seized with my hand'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:72 [1938]; III 6 II 7 *nu-za ERÍN.MEŠ NARĀRU šā KUR-TI tepauwaza GAM-an eppūn* 'I took along auxiliaries of the land in small numbers'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 16; *ibid.* 12; *KUB* I 8 IV 18 *n-an eppūn* 'I seized him'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 34), *AŠBAT* (e.g. *KBo* III 4 III 89 'Pihhuniyann-a *AŠBAT* 'and I seized P.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 94; *ibid.* II 28 *namma-an EGIR-an-pat AŠBAT* 'then I went in pursuit of him' [lit. 'seized him behind']; cf. Götze, *AM* 50), 2 sg. pret. act. *e-ip-ta* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 23–24 *namma-ma-kan KUR URU Hapalla kuenta-ya ūl epta-ya-at ūl ... n-at-za* 'Madduwattas dās 'but furthermore you did not smite Hapalla, and you did not seize it ..., and M. took it for himself'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 26), *İSBAT* (see above sub 2 sg. pres. act. *epi*), 3 sg. pret. act. *e-ip-ta* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* IV 4 II 15 *URU-an epta* 'he occupied the town'; cf. Götze, *AM* 114; II 5 I 16 *n-an hūmandan epta* 'it all he seized'; cf. Götze, *AM* 180; *KUB* I 1 II 53 *nu URU D¹⁸U-assan epta* 'he picked Dattassas' [as his residence]; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 20; XXXIII 84, 6–7 *nu-kan [...]* *teshas epta* 'sleep overcame [him]'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 58; XXVIII 5 Vs. 21b *epta-an nahsaraz epta-an werite-nas* 'Fear seized her, Fright seized her', matching *ibid.* 18a [Hattic] *tūpi tauwa sehkuwat*; similarly *ibid.* 14b and 15a; cf. Puhvel, *American journal of philology* 98:397 [1977] = *Analecta*

D¹⁸-an-zi
(e.g. K² 2.9.27)

3 sg. pret. med.
e-ip-ta-att
(K² 52.83.15 arha ūl
ēptat), D¹⁸-ta-att
(K² 49.105 Vs. 9 arha
D¹⁸-tat), D¹⁸-at
(K² 46.33 Vs. 11
arha D¹⁸-at).

1 pl. pret. act.
nišbat (K² 53 Vs. 7)
2 pl. pret. act.
e-ip-te-en (K² 1.16
+ 40.65 III 9; cf. Kühnle
ZA 62:157, 192)

Indoeuropaea 380 [1981]; *KBo* VI 29 II 40 *nu-mu ...* ... *šu-an epta* 'took me by the hand'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 50; *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 8 ^{SAL} *Ammat[tal]lass-a-za-kan kuit DINGIR-LIM IGLI.III.A-wa epta* 'because A. seized the deity's eyes', i.e. pulled the wool over the deity's eyes; similarly *ibid.* 78; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 56, 78, 105–6; XXIII 13 Vs. 5 *nu-za-kan LUGAL KUR Ahhiyawawa EGIR-pa epta* 'the king of Ahhiyawa pulled back'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314, 317; XXIV 8 I 28–29 and 33–34 *ūl-wa kussanqa katta epta [nu]-wa kinun katta epta* 'never was there conception, now has there been conception?', lit. 'it [viz. the insemination] took' [cf. Lat. *con-cipere* 'become pregnant, conceive']; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:216 [1950], and Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 6, both with wrong translation ['it clicked', 'has embraced']), *a-ip-ta* (*KBo* V 6 I 10–11 *nu-kan ABU-YA šā HUR.SAG Kuntīyan aipta* 'my father seized the middle of Mt. K.'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]), *İSBAT* (e.g. II 5 III 52–53 *nu NAM.RA GUD UDU tuzziyanza İSBAT* 'the army seized deportees, cattle and sheep'; cf. Götze, *AM* 190; V 8 IV 19 *İSTU NAM.RA-ma-at GUD UDU anda İSBAT* 'along with deportees, cattle and sheep he rounded it up'; cf. Götze, *AM* 162; V 6 IV 15 *nu šā DUMU-RI kattan İSBAT* 'he came to grips with the matter of [dispatching] a son'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:97 [1956]; *ibid.* I 9 *nu-za pait URU Alminan wetummanzi İSBAT* 'he went and took to fortifying A.'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *appattat* (II 2 II 42 *ūl arha appattat* 'there was no reception' [viz. of oracle]), 1 pl. pret. act. *e-ip-pu-en* (III 60 III 5–6 [OHitt.] *DUMU.MEŠ ŠIPRI-ŠU šā LUGAL URU Hala[p ...] eppuen* 'the messengers of the king of Halpa we seized'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:106 [1938]), *ap-pu-en* (*KUB* XXXIV 77 Vs. 2), 2 pl. pret. act. *e-ip-tin* (e.g. XII 63 Vs. 10 and 19), 3 pl. pret. act. *e-ip-pi-ir* (*KBo* III 60 III 7–9 *AMA-ŠU šā 'Zūppa INA URU Tirisipa eppir s-an-kan kuenir s-an-ap eter* 'Z.'s mother they seized at T., they killed her, and they ate her'), *e-ip-pir* (e.g. V 13 I 10 *nu 'pis.TUR-an eppir n-an-mu parā pier* 'they seized Mashuiluwas and handed him over to me'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:112; V 8 III 37–39 *nu sāru kuit NAM.RA GUD UDU AKŠUD LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.DIB-ya kuin eppir n-an INA URU Altanna arha dalahhun* 'the booty in deportees, cattle and sheep which I found, and the prisoners whom they had captured, these I left at A.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; II 5 + XVI

17 III 36 *nu eppirr-a mekki kuennir[r]-a mekki* 'and they captured many and slew many'; cf. Götze, *AM* 188; Otten, *MIO* 3:173 [1955]; *KUB* I 16 II 64 *ape-ma-an eppir* 'but they pounced on him'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8; XIX 49 I 36 [*n-an* I] *inkias DINGIR.MEŠ eppir* 'the oath-gods seized him'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:6; similarly *ibid.* 15; *KBo* VI 34 III 16–17 *n-an linkiantes eppir n-as-san šā-šu suttati* 'the oath-gods seized him, and his innards swelled up' [partitive apposition]; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12; *KUB* XXIV 8 III 15 *DINGIR.MEŠ NIG.SI.SĀ-an KASKAL-an eppir* 'the gods picked the right path [for him]'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10; XIV 1 Vs. 71 *nu uer anz[el] FRIN.MEŠ KASKAL-an eppir* 'they came [and] blocked the path of our troops'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18; *KBo* III 4 IV 36 *nu KUR-eanza hūmanza URU.DIDLIHLA BĀD EGIR-pa eppir* 'the whole country withdrew to the fortress towns'; cf. Götze, *AM* 132; *KUB* I 1 + 1304/u II 77–78 *nu-mu-za alwanzahhuwanzi ... eppir* 'they took to hexing me'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 22), 3 pl. pret. midd. *appantat* (*KBo* II 2 I 21–22 *kūš MUŠEN ITURRI kallaramni arha appantat* 'these bird-oracles were received inauspiciously'; *KUB* XXXIII 106 II 29 *šu-za appantat* '[they] took each other by the hand'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:22 [1952]; XXXIII 115 III 13 *šu-az-ma-at-kan appanta[t]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:65 [1968]), *appandat* (XXXVI 12 + XXXIII 113 I 15–16 *n]u-smas-kan ... šu-za appandat*; *ibid.* 22 *nu-smas-kan šu-az appandat*; XXXIII 92 IV 4 *a]ppandar*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:10–2 [1952]), 2 sg. imp. act. *e-ip* (e.g. *KBo* V 9 III 31 *n-an ep* 'seize him!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:22; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 38 *antuhšann-a-wa ep* 'seize the man!'; *ibid.* 40 LÚ *TEM ep* 'seize the messenger!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 10; *KUB* XXIV 9 II 36 + *KBo* XII 127 II 3 *ki idalu zik ep* 'this evil seize thou!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 36; *KUB* XIX 49 I 53–54 *nu NAM.RA.MEŠ hūmandan anda ep n-as-m[u par]ā pāi* 'arrest all the deportees and hand them over to me!'; similarly *ibid.* 57–58; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:8 10; XXIX 4 III 29 *nu-za eni-pat pedan ep* 'occupy that very place!'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 24; XXXVI 75 III 12), 3 sg. imp. act. *e-ip-du* (e.g. XIII 5 II 5 *nu-wa-za-kan apel é-ir kattā sarā epdu* 'may he turn his house upside down!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:370 [1934]; *VBoT* 132 III 11; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale*

282; *KUB* XII 22 Vs. 3; *KBo* XI 10 III 21), *e-ip-tu* (*KUB* VIII 81 II 12; cf. Götze, *ZA* 36:11 [1925]), 2 pl. imp. act. *e-ip-tin* (e.g. XIV 15 Vs. 14 *nu-war-as eptin* 'seize them!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 34; XI 1 IV 23–24 [OHitt.] *sumēs-an hassannanza eptin* 'take him out of the family!'; dupl. *KBo* III 67 IV 12 *hassannaz eptin*; III 38 Vs. 28 *nu kurur eptin* 'take to hostilities!'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 70 *nu-wa-smas KASKAL-an piran eptin* 'block their path!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18; XXXIII 88 Rs. 13; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54), 3 pl. imp. act. *appandu* (e.g. *KBo* VI 34 III 20–21 *n-an ke niš DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n-as-san šā-šu suttaru* 'let these oaths seize him, and let his innards swell up!'), *appāndu* (e.g. III 1 II 39 [OHitt.] *nu-ssi-ssan LÚ antiyantān appāndu* 'let them pick an in-house husband for her'), *appantu* (*KUB* XXXVI 106 Vs. 10 *niš DINGIR.MEŠ appantu*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 52:217 [1957]); partic. *appant-*, also nominalized LÚ *appant-* 'captive, prisoner' (LÚ *ŠU.DIB[.BI]*, LÚ *ZABDU*), nom. sg. c. *appanza* (e.g. XXI 1 III 68 'captured'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:76; *KBo* IV 4 II 75 *nu-wa kunanzass-a mekki LÚ appanzass-a-wa m[ekki]* 'many a one [was] killed, and many a one [was made] prisoner'; cf. Götze, *AM* 122; *KUB* XIX 37 II 22 *sipanduanzi anda appanza* 'included for sacrificing'; cf. Götze, *AM* 168), *appānza* (e.g. *KBo* XVI 27 IV 9 LÚ *appānza*, besides *ibid.* 25 LÚ *appanza*; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 138; *KUB* XII 1 III 41 *anda appā[nza]* 'inclusive, elaborate, outfitted with accessories' [garments], vs. *ibid.* 40 *pittalwanza* 'plain, basic') acc. sg. c. *appantan* (e.g. XIV 11 II 25–29 *nu LÚ.MEŠ appan[tan] kuin eppir ... nu-kan ina šā LÚ.MEŠ ZABDUTi hinkan kisat* 'the prisoner[s] whom they captured ..., among the prisoners plague broke out'; dupl. XIV 8 Vs. 28 *nu-kan ina šā-bi LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.DIB.BI.HI.A*; cf. Götze, *KIF* 210), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *appan* (e.g. XXII 70 Rs. 53 *UZU šā appan* = *ibid.* Vs. 30 *UZU šā DIB-an* 'the heart [is] seized, there [is] heart-seizure'; cf. ŠA.DIB.BA, Akk. *šibit libbi* 'heart-seizure', i.e. offense, outrage; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 94, 62; XIII 33 II 8 *nu-w]ar-at anda ūt sig,-in appan ēsta* 'it was not well inlaid'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 34), *appān* (e.g. XII 1 III 25 *GUŠKIN NA-NUNUZ anda appān* '[of] gold, [with] inset gemstone'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:100, 108 [1978]), dat.-loc. sg. *appanti* (*KBo* III 4 IV 20 *appanti kunanti-ya*

e-ip-te-en
(*Ko* 16.23.15; *Ku*
23.68 Vs. 6
e-ip-te-na-an
'seize him!')

DIB-an-du
(*Ku* 21.38.11.35)

3 pl. pret. act.
DIB-ir (e.g. *Ku* 38.12.16, 11),
ISBATU (*Ku* 22.2 Rs. 9)

DIB-an-za
(e.g. *Ku* 38.12.18)

appandan
(*Ku* 20.107 + 23.50 II 22
appandan antuhšann-a
'captive person')

'to the captured and killed'; cf. Götze, *AM* 122), nom. pl. c. *appantes* (e.g. VI 3 II 31 [= Code 1:38] *takku LÚ.ŪLÚ.LU.MEŠ* [h]annesni *appantes* 'if persons [have been] arrested for trial'; dupl. VI 2 II 13 *appānmes*; XXVI 82 Vs. 10 *anda appantes asandu* 'let them be included'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 70; *KUB* XV 31 I 8-9 *antuhsas NÍ.TE.MEŠ-ass-a anda appantes* 'and human body parts inclusive'; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 148), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *appanta* (*KBo* IV 2 IV 39 *ke TUG.NIG.LAM.MEŠ anda appanta* 'these elaborate raiments'; cf. Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 10; wrongly taken adverbially by e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:355), *appanda* (e.g. VI 14 I 15 [= Code 2:22] *takku anda appanda* ^{G18}MAR.GÍD.ID *kuiski tāyez*[zi] 'if anyone steals "inclusive" wagons' [i.e. complete with harnessing]); verbal noun *appatar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *appatar* (I 42 II 35 = Akk. *šapādu*, i.e. *šabātu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:136 [1971]; I 45 Vs. 11 = Akk. *šabadu*; cf. *MSL* 3:59 [1955]; I 45 Rs. 4 *kurur appatar* = Akk. *zārum* 'inception of] hostility'; cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]; III 34 II 29 ^{G18}KU *appatar* 'resort[ing] to arms'; *KUB* XXXVII 190 Rs. 6 *irmananza appatar-set* 'seizure by illness' [hendiadys]; cf. *ibid.* Vs. 6 [Akk.] *šibit* 'seizure'; XXIV 5 + IX 13 Vs. 5 *nu-za UGU appatar DÙ-zi* '[the king] does lifting' [ritual act]; similarly *ibid.* 26 and 28; cf. M. Vieyra, *RIHR* 119:126-8 [1939]; Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 8-10, 14-5), *appātar* (*KBo* XV 25 Vs. 11 and 24 *GU-tar sarā appātarr-a* 'and neck-lift [i.e. self-assurance; hendiadys]; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2, 19; H. C. Melchert, *JCS* 31:58-9 [1979]), gen. sg. *appannas* (e.g. *KUB* XLV 28 Vs. 2 ^{dat.loc.}DINGIR.MEŠ ^{UZU}GEŠTUG-as *appannas* SISKUR 'ritual of capturing the ear of deities'; II 1 II 26 *šU-an appannas* 'of handclasping'; *ibid.* IV 12 *sar*[ā] *appannas* 'of lift'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:109, 111, 95 [1975]; XII 58 I 32-33 *namma I UDU GE₆ dāi n-an-si-san ser epzi nu^{SAL}šU.GI ser appannas hukmain hukzi* 'then she takes one black sheep and lifts it to him, and the old woman recites the spell of lifting'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10; *KBo* V 8 II 24 URU.BAID EGIR-pa *appannas AŠRU NU.GÁL kuiski* 'a fortress city, a place of withdrawal, there was none'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152), *DIB-annas* (*KUB* XLIV 16 IV 17 EGIR-pa *DIB-annas* '[god A.] "di rifugio"'); wrongly A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:95, 112 [1975]); inf. *e-ip-pu-u-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* III 3 III 29-33 *mān DINU-ma kuitki* ^{Ku 13.4 g 22});

salleszi n-at arha eppūwanzi ŪL tarahteni ... n-at^{DUTU}-ši arha epzi 'if some legal matter gets big and you are not able to dispose of it ..., my majesty will dispose of it'), *appanna* (e.g. III 21 II 5 *appanna kisri-tti dais* '[he] placed in your hand for taking'; *KUB* XVII 18 III 19; XII 62 Rs. 3), *appānna* (*ibid.* 5; XXXV 43 II 19; cf. *Dict. louv.* 148); iter. *appeski-*, *appiski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *appiskimi* (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 10), 3 sg. pres. act. *appeskizzi* (e.g. *KUB* XLI 1 III 15 *n-at-si-pa anda appeskiz*[zi] 'she holds it within for him'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 42-3; XXIV 13 II 14-16 *n-an-zan namma ser katta SAG.DU-az epzi n-an-si-pa namma^{UZU}ŪR^{UZU}ŪR anda appeskizzi n-an arha ānsiskizzi* 'then she grabs him from top to bottom, starting with the head, and then she wraps him around limb for limb and wipes him off thoroughly'; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 106), *appiskizzi* (e.g. dupl. *KBo* XXIII 23 Vs. 77; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 212; XXI 20 I 16 *mān UKU-an^{DIM}NUN.ME appiskizzi* 'if [the demoness] D. possesses a man'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 42; similarly *KUB* XLIII 55 III 10-11; XXXIII 84 IV 12; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 60; IX 34 III 27 *anda appiskizzi*; X 11 VI 5-6 *nu UDU.HI.A-as ēshani kattan appiskizzi* 'he occupies himself with the blood of the sheep'; XX 90 IV 9 *parā appiskizzi*), 3 pl. pres. act. *appeskanzi* (XIX 37 IV 7; cf. Götze, *AM* 178), *appiskanzi* (*Bo* 3752 II 17; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 179), 3 sg. pret. act. *appeskit* (e.g. *VBoT* 132 II 7; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 280), *appiskit* (*KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 29 *parā appiskit*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 119; *KBo* IV 14 III 25-26 *ša SAL-ya-mu-kan kuit GIG parā appiskit* 'and whereas woman's sickness afflicted me'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]), 3 pl. pret. act. *appiskir* (*KUB* ~~XXII 70 Vs. 32~~ ^{ANA}IR-ma-kan *anda ŪL appiskir* 'they have not included [it] in the request'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltex* 62); supine in *KBo* XII 58 + XIII 162 Vs. 3 EZE]N-an *arha appeskiuwan tehun* 'I began doing away with the festival'.

ep(p)- is semantically akin to *da-* 'take' and *har(k)-* 'have, hold' but has stronger nuances of seizing and grabbing. Hittology has with touching unanimity *ab ovo* (H. Holma, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33:1:43 [1916]; Hrozný, *SH* 75, 170) connected *ep(p)-* with Skt. *āpnōti*, Avest. *apayeiti* 'attain, obtain', Lat. *apiscor* 'attain', *co-ēpi* 'began' (*IEW*

50-1), and thus an etymological basis of *ēp-; *E₁p- has become standard for ep(p)-: ap(p)- (e.g. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 88). In reality these connections are a house of cards: even apart from such dubious items as Gk. ἄπτο 'attach, touch', the rest hardly bears scrutiny. Indo-Iranian āp- has a base-meaning 'reach', not 'seize', and is best kept aside. Lat. apīscor (perfect aptus) is cognate with apere 'comprehendere vinculo', aptus 'joined, fit(ted)', cōpula (<*co-apula) 'bond', and thus contains an original notion of 'attachment' rather than 'reaching'; co-ēpī may also well mean literally 'I have taken hold' and be to apere what ēgī is to agere. The semantic similarity between Skt. āptā- 'skilled' and Lat. aptus 'fit' is thus fortuitous, due to a convergence of secondary meanings of 'attainment' and 'application' respectively. Now the IE *A₁ep- underlying Lat. apere is firmly attested by Hitt. hap(p)- 'join, attach' (q.v.; also impersonal and mediopassive 'arrange itself, succeed', e.g. KBo XI 34 I 4-5 takku-smas ūl-ma hapzi 'but if it does not click for them'); thus -za ep(p)- is a semantic match for both Lat. in-cipiō and co-ēpī but an etymological cognate of neither. All this means that Hitt. ep(p)-: ap(p)- is most probably simply from an IE *ep- 'seize, grab' (cf. *es-, *ed-), and so far no credible cognate has been found; curiously there are no visible extra-Hittite Anatolian attestations either. Cf. Lee Barton/KZ 28, '85: 1619.

Cf. appala-, appat(a)riya-.

Puhvel (*IF* 81:60-6 [1976] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 293-9 [1981]) assumed denominative derivation from an *epura-comparable to Gk. Ἐφύρη (old name of Corinth and other towns; *Odyssey* 1:259 with Scholia) and *ἐφύριζ > *ἐφύριζ 'securement, fortification, siege, dam, dyke', seen in the Homeric line-end formula πολέμοιο γέφυραι 'siege-works', originally *γ'ἐφύριζ with particle γε, hence commingled with and yielding Ionic grammatic initial of γέφυρα < *γ'ἐφύριζ (Doric δέφυρα, Aeolic βέφυρα) 'dam, dyke, causeway, bridge' (an international 'culture word' seen also in Armen. kamurj, Turkic köpür 'bridge'). Similarly *ἐφύριζ 'dam up' (= Hitt. epurai-) has lost out to the denominative verb γεφύρωω (*Iliad* 21:245, where a fallen elm dams up the river). The Greek-Hittite accordance epura(i)-: *ἐφύριζ(1)α- may point formally to an IE (E₁)ebh-ur-, but may also originate in the 'culture word' orbit.

H. Eichner's denominative derivation from an *epur-, verbal noun of epp- 'seize' (*MSS* 31:79 [1973], echoed by Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 88, 367), has a problematic -p- and is incorrect semantically. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das Heth. Lehnhaut* 76 (1982), mistranslated

Cf. istap(p)-. epurai- as 'smooth over'.

eruhi?
erhui-, irhui- (n.) 'basket' (MA.SÁ.AB), nom.-acc. sg. GIS e-ir-hu-u-i

KBo 21.37 +
38.260 vs. 2,5

(KBo XXI 37 vs. 4), GIS e-ir-hu-i (XX 4 IV 5), GIS irhui (KUB XV

31 I 3-5 (and 10) cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 148-50), gen. sg.

GIS irhuiyas (XXV 42 III 9) GIS ir-hu-u-i-ya-as (XXXII 128 I 3; cf.

A. M. Dinçol, *RHA* 27:27 [1969]), dat.-loc. sg. GIS irhuiti (XII 12

I 22, IV 9, V 1; XXXII 128 II 24, KBo XXI 34 II 55 and 64, III

38, IV 8), ir-hu-u-i-ti (e.g. ibid. II 33 GIS INBL.HI.A-ya-kan GIS irhu-

uiti kattan ishūwanzi 'and fruits they pour down into the

basket'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* II 120; cf. V I II 34-35 ser-ma-

-ssan 7 GIS MA.SÁ.AB kitta nu-ssan GIS INBL.HI.A ishūwan 'but seven

baskets are placed thereon, and fruits are poured'; cf. Som-

mer - Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 6*-8*; KUB XXXII 54, 11), GIS ir-<hu-

->u-i-ti (XXXVIII 25 I 16 and 21; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 276), instr.

sg. erhuit (KBo XVII 15 Rs. 14 mēmal GIS erhuit 'groats by

basket'; cf. dupl. XVII 40 IV 8 mema] GIS MA.SÁ.AB-it har[zi 'he

has groats by basket'; cf. V. Haas - M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-*

283

283

urui- 'besiege, dam up', 3 sg. pres. act. epuraizzi (KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 41 id-as arsamuwa le epuraizzi 'let him not dam up the courses of the river'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154); inf. epurawanzi (KBo XVIII 54 Rs. 18-19 nu mām bād kuwapi arha ūl pippanzi epurawanzi-ma-kan ūl hapdari 'if they never overthrow the fortress, and besieging it does not succeed'), verbal noun epuressar (ibid. 25); iter. epureski-, 1 pl. pres. act. ibid. 13-17 mahhan epuresgawen nu-mas-kan epurawanzi ūl hapdat nu-kan bād [GIM]-an kattan arha haddanneskiwen n-at ūl ZAG-nahhuwen 'whenever we besieged, our siege did not succeed; and whenever we tried to demolish the fortress completely, we did not manage it'. Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 45-6.

Cf. Baddi & Mesopotamia 13-14: 201, 29-29

3 pl. pres.

i-pu-ra-[a]n-zi

(KBo 15.24. II 10-11 +

Ku 22.132 II 34 apāt

pedan ipuranzi

n-arta sarā [...]

ishūwanzi 'they

dam that spot and

pile down up...')

verb. noun

ipurawar(?) , gen. sg.

i-pu-ra-ur-as (KBo 18.181

vs. 15 ANA 44-45 ipurawar-as

on the table of i') idid.

Rs. 30 11]-45 ipurawar-as;

Cf. Košak, *Hitt. invent.* 19, 121,

Siegelová *Verbaltheorie* 222, 326.

kuitman-m)a-za ^{URU} *Palhuissa esun* 'but as long as I was in P.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 42; XIX 29 I 10 *amm]uk-ma-za nūwa* DUMU-as *esun* 'I was still a child'; cf. Götze, *AM* 16; *KBo* IV 4 I 34 *pānza esun* 'I had gone'; cf. Götze, *AM* 110), *e-sū-un* (*KUB* XXIII 86, 9; XXVI 32 I 10), 2 sg. pret. act. *e-es-ta* (*KBo* V 13 I 19 *kuit* DUMU-ŠU *ēsta* 'because you were his son'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:114), 3 sg. pret. act. *e-es-ta* (frequent, e.g. III 4 II 32 *n-as-kan apiya anda ēsta* 'he was in there'; cf. Götze, *AM* 50; *KUB* XL 1 Rs. 19 *karū ēsta* 'it was early'; *KBo* V 3 III 53 *1Mariyas kuis ēsta* 'who was M.?'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128; 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 hero-king'; cf. Götze, *AM* 16; *KUB* I 1 I 51 *ūl ēsta* 'was [it] not [so]?', i.e. 'didn't you?'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 10; XXX 10 Vs. 22 *māmmān dandukisnas-a* DUMU-as *uktūri* *huiswanza ēsta* 'if mortal man were to be living forever', vs. ibid. 21 *dandukisnas-a* DUMU-as *uktūri natta huiswanza* 'mortal man [is] not living forever'; *KBo* III 4 III 19–20 *nu-mu* NAM.RA *kuin parā piyer n-as* 4 LIM NAM.RA *ēsta* 'the deportees whom they handed over to me, that was four thousand deportees'; cf. Götze, *AM* 70; V 8 II 24–25 *NU.GÁL* *kuiski ēsta* 'there was no one'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152–4; III 4 II 43–44 and III 35 *nu-ssan* *kappūwauwar* *NU.GÁL ēsta* 'there was no counting'; ibid. III 54 *nu-kan* *kappūwauwar* *NU.GÁL ēsta*; cf. Götze, *AM* 56, 76, 80; IV 4 III 23 *nu-za* MU.KAM-*za* *ser tēpawessanza ēsta* 'the year had been getting short'; cf. Götze, *AM* 124; *KUB* XIV 16 I 21 *ūl arān ēsta* 'had not risen'; cf. Götze, *AM* 28; XXIII 1 I 14 *tarahha[n] ēsta* 'had been conquered'; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 6; I 8 IV 34 [emended from *KBo* III 6 IV 15–16] *nahhūwa]s-ma-mu* *kuis* LUGAL-us *ēsta n-as-mu-kan nahta* 'what-ever king owed me deference [lit. was of deference to me], he deferred to me'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 36; VI 29 I 15 *nu-mu ē-ir* *kuit ēsta* 'what house I had'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 46; *KUB* I 1 I 70 *kanissūwar-wa-mu* ŠA *PiSTAR-pat* GAŠAN-YA *ēsta* 'I had my lady Ištar's favor'; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 31–32 *ammug* [...] [...] ... *šā-ta ēsta* 'I had at heart'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 42), 1 pl. pret. act. *e-su-en* (*KUB* XXIII 1 I 31–32 *āssiyannas-wa-nnas* *ir*.MEŠ *esuen kinun-ma-wa-tu-za* *ūl* *ir*.MEŠ 'of our own accord we have

e-su-ū-en
(*UM* 18.24 II 6 *anzās*
ēssawen 'we
were')

e-su-en
also *Mst*

been subjects; but now we [are] your subjects no more'; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 6), *e-su-u-en* (XIV 3 IV 7–9 LUGAL KUR *Hatti-wa-nnas-kan* *ūk* ... *kurur esuwen* 'the king of Hatti [and] I were enemies'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 16; XXXI 47 Vs. 9), 2 pl. pret. act. *e-es-te-en* (e.g. XV 34 IV 12 *hui]ttiyanates ēsten* 'you have been drawn'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 202), 3 pl. pret. act. *e-se-ir* (e.g. *KBo* V 8 II 16–17 *namma-ya* *kuyēs* URU.DIDLL.HLA BĀD *wedantes eser* 'and further what fortress cities had been built'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; III 6 II 24–25 URU.DIDLL.HLA-ma *kuyēs* ŠA KUR ^{URU} *Hatti istappantes eser* 'the towns of Hatti which had been blockaded'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 18; III 1 I 19 [OHitt.] *tittiyanates eser* 'had been placed'), *e-sir* (e.g. ibid. 11 *tittiyanates esir*; *KUB* XIX 37 III 45–46 *kuyēs* EGIR-an *esir n-as arha dalahhun n-at esir-pat* 'those who were [left] behind, I left them alone, and they stayed right [there]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 176; *KBo* III 4 II 51 *n-as-kan aruni anda ēsta* DUMU.MEŠ-ŠUNU-ya-ssi *kattan esir* 'he was on the island, and his sons were with him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 60), *e-es-sir* (sic *KUB* XXIV 3 II 39 *n-at* LÜ.MEŠ *SIPAD* ŠAH *ū* LÜ.MEŠ *E-PIŠ* GAD *ēssir* 'they were swineherds and linen-makers', besides dupl. XXIV 4 Vs. 26 *je-se-ir* *ū* LÜ.MEŠ *E-PI-Š* GAD.HLA *e-se-ir*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28 9), *is-sir* (XXXIV 53 Rs. 11), 1 sg. imp. act. *a-sa-al-lu* (*KBo* IV 14 I 43; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:48 [1965]), *e-es-lu-ut* (e.g. *KUB* VII 2 II 23; VIII 53 II 23 *ammuk-ma-ddu-za* *ir-is* *ēslut* 'let me be your slave!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:15 [1968]), *e-es-li-it* (e.g. *KBo* V 3 IV 32–33 *nu-za* ^{URU} *utū-ši* *apez linkiyaz* ... *parkuis* *ēslit* 'and I, my majesty, shall be free of that oath'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:134; *KUB* XXI 47 + XXIII 82, 16; XXVI 35, 6 *zi]k attas-mis* *ēs* *ug-a* DUMU-as-tis *ēslit* 'be thou my father, and let me be thy son'), 2 sg. imp. act. *e-es* (e.g. XXIII 1 III 22 *zik-za* LUGAL ^{URU} KÜ.BABBAR-ti *ēs* 'be thou king of Hatti!'; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 12; *KBo* V 4 Rs. 7 *zik-ma-mu-za* *kūrur* *ēs* 'thou shalt be my enemy'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:60; XV 1 I 18–19 *nu-wa-kan* ... *galangaza* *ēs* 'be soothed!'; ibid. 37 *galanganza* *ēs*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 112–4; *KUB* XXIV 2 I 13 *nu-ssan* *parā kalānkanza* *ēs*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16), 3 sg. imp. act. *e-es-tu* (e.g. *VBoT* 1, 7 *duqq-a* *katta* *hūman* *siG₅-in*

299/1986 p. 33–34
nu-nnas annisan-pat
nakkiēs āssawēs
esawen nu-nnas
lenkiyas esawen
'we were from way
back mutually
dear and beloved,
and we were oath
partners';
ibid. 49–49 *anzās-a*
-nnas hanti
lenkiyas *ūku*
esawen;
OCC. R. 16–8

e-es-sir also
Ku 18.24 II 5;
Ku 18.67. Vs. 5;
Ku 14.21 I 30.

ēstu 'and may all be well with you'; cf. L., Rost, *MIO* 4:334 [1956]; *KBo* III 28 II 14 *n-as ē-i-ssi-pat ēstu* 'let him stay at home!'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]; *XV* 10 II 27 *n-at arha tuhsan ēstu* 'let it be cut off', cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 24), *e-es-du* (e.g. *VI* 34 I 39–40, II 4 and 29–30 *apāt ēsdu* 'let that be, be it so, amen'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8–10; *KUB* XXIV 8 III 16 *niG.SI.SÁ-an ŠUM-an ēsdu* 'let [his] name be Righteous!'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10; *XIX* 49 I 64 *nu-tta apāt KUR-e ēsdu* 'that shall be your land'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:10; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 292 [1977]; *KBo* XII 126 I 29 [ANA A]NŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *imiul ēsdu* 'let horses have a [food] mix'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 24), 2 pl. imp. act. *e-es-te-en* (e.g. *KUB* I 16 II 41; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 7; *KBo* XV 10 I 32 *galankantes ēste[n* 'be soothed!'; *ibid.* II 44 *galankantes [ē]sten*; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16, 26), *e-es-tin* (e.g. *V* 4 Rs. 9 *1-NUTUM-ya-smas ēstin* 'be a oneness unto yourselves' [i.e. be united]; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:60; *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 40 *ammel-wa-z ēstin* 'be mine!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 28; *I* 16 III 50 *nahhantes ēstin* 'be deferential!'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14), 3 pl. imp. act. *a-sa-an-tu* (e.g. *KBo* XVII 1 III 6–7 ^{UTU-us} ^{IM-as} *mān uktūres LUGAL-us SAL.LUGAL-ass-a QATAMMA uktūres asantu* 'as the sun-god [and] the storm-god [are] everlasting, may king and queen likewise be everlasting!'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; *KUB* XXXVI 106 Rs. 10 [OHitt.]; cf. Otten, *ZA* 52:218 [1957]), *a-sa-an-du* (e.g. *KBo* XV 1 II 6 *QATAMMA uktūres asandu*; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 20; *V* 13 I 27–28 *ZAG.HI.A-as-ma ... mahhan esir kinun-aya-at tuk QATAMMA asandu* 'as the borders were ..., now too they shall be likewise for you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:116; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 21 *nu-wa-za am[mel] īr-TUM ēS FRIN.MEŠ.HI.A-KA-ya-wa ammel ERIN.MEŠ.HI.A asandu* 'be my servant, and let your troops be my troops'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 6; *XV* 34 II 31 *āssiyantes asandu* 'may [they] be dear'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 192; *ibid.* III 42 *ispiyantes ninkante[s] asandu* 'let them be sated [with food] and filled [with drink]' [Lat. *saturi atque ebrii sunt*]; XXXI 106 + XXIII 44 + XXVI 32 III 8–9 *nu-kan ammel MU.HI.A-u[s] UD.KAM-us ANA 'KUG.GA.TÚL-[ma] parā asandu* 'may my years [and] days be [offered up] to Suppiluliumas' [de facto passive of *parā ep[p]*-

i-is-te-ep
(*U6.2 II 20 = Cate 1:55*)

a-sa-an-da-an
(*Ku 14.9 II 21*)

'proffer', like Lat. *praestō esse* for *praebēre*]; cf. Laroche, *RA* 47:72–3 [1953]); partic. *asant* 'being, existing, real, true', nom. sg. c. *asanza* (e.g. *KBo* V 4 Vs. 30 and *KUB* VI 41 IV 22 *nu mān memias asanza* 'if the matter [is] true'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56, 134; *KUB* V 25 III 10 *mān asi memias asanza*; XXXIII 109 I 5 *asanza memias* 'the matter [is] true'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:51 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 38; *RS* 17:109 Recto 8 *asanza-war-as memias*; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:769 [1968]; Haase, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3:71 [1971]; *KUB* XXXI 66 IV 4–5 *ūt-as-za kuit asanza memias* 'because it is not a true word'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 131; XXII 70 Vs. 31 *mān memias asanza mān mahhan* 'whether what she says is true or how [else it might be]'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 62; *KBo* XII 38 II 12 *asanza LUGAL-us* 'true king'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:16 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76 [1967]), *asānza* (e.g. *KUB* XXI 5 III 36 *mān memiyas asānza*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:70), acc. sg. c. *asantan* (e.g. *XV* 30 III 6 *kūn GAB kissan asantan* 'this bust which is as described'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 193; *XV* 23, 7 *INIM-an asantan iyaun* 'I made a true speech'; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:61 [1972]; *XIV* 3 III 3; cf. Sommer, *AU* 12), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *asan* (XXXIII 108 II 9 *asan iyat* 'truly did' [?]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:72 [1968]), *asān* (*XIV* 8 Rs. 29 *asān-at iyanun-at* 'it [is] true, I did it'; cf. *ibid.* 15 *ēszīy-at iyawen-at* 'it is [so], we did it'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 214–6; *KBo* IV 14 II 58; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:42 [1965]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *asanta* (*KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 29 *ša ^{UTU-ŠI} *namma asanta KUR.KUR-TIM dās* 'he also took lands belonging to my majesty' [lit. being my majesty's]; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 26), *asanda* (*KBo* XII 38 II 13–14 *asanda LU-natarHI.A* '[his] truly manly deeds'); verbal noun *esuwar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. in *KBo* I 42 I 7 and 8 *EGIR-pa* *esūwar* matching Akk. *dukuldu* 'strength, support' (cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:133 [1971]), literally 'being behind, back-up, (physical) support', gen. sg. *esuwas* (*KUB* XXVI 43 Vs. 11; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:24 [1974]).*

Pal. as-, 2 sg. imp. *ās* (*KUB* XXXV 163 III 10), 3 sg. imp. *āsdu* (XXXV 165 Vs. 28), 3 pl. imp. *asandu* (*ibid.* Rs. 6, 7, 8), *a-se-en-du* (*KBo* XIX 153 III 13). Cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 28, 16, 19, 23.

U6.2 II 20 = Cate 1:55

Lyd. 1 sg. pres. *-im* (?; cf. Gusmani, *Die Sprache* 17:1–7 [1971]), 3 sg. or pl. pret. *el* (?; cf. Gusmani, *Lyd. Wh.* 100). ^{cf. Knudtzon 11: 47–54, 72, 22: 57–60, 73}

Luw. *as-*, 1 sg. pret. *asha* (*KUB XXXV* 113, 4 and 5; cf. Otten, *LTU* 102), 3 sg. pret. *āsta* (e.g. *XXXV* 15 III 3; *XXXV* 65 III 7; *XXXV* 101 Rs. 5; *KBo IX* 141 Rs. 4), 3 sg. imp. *āsdu* (e.g. *KUB XXXV* 15 II 5; *XXXV* 21 II 31; *XXXV* 54 III 26; *XXXV* 58 II 6; *XXXV* 70 II 17; *XXXV* 85, 4; *XXXV* 88 III 15 *kisamman āsdu* ‘let be combed’; cf. Otten, *LTU* 86; *XXXV* 103 III 6–7 *pa-as pūwa [kuw]ati āsta nanun-ha-as apati āsdu* ‘but as he formerly was, now also may he be thus’; cf. Otten, *LTU* 95; *XXXV* 101 Vs. 9 *nanun-ha-wa-as apatin āsd[u]*; *KBo IX* 145, 5, 12, 13), 3 pl. imp. *asandu* (e.g. *KUB XXXV* 13, 11; *XXXV* 78, 15; *XXXII* 7, 6; *XXXII* 79, 5; *KBo VII* 66 II 7).

Hier. *as-*, 3 sg. pres. *asti*, 1 sg. pret. act. (*a*)*sha*, 3 sg. pret. act. (*a*)*sta*, 3 sg. imp. act. *astu*. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 34–5.

Lyc. 3 sg. pres. *esi* (Xanthos trilingual 12 *ehbiyē esi-ti* ‘what is his’), 3 pl. pres. *hāti* (ibid. 21 *arawa hāti* ‘are free’), 3 pl. imp. *esu* (*TLy* 39:5 *nijesu* ‘let it not be!’; cf. A. Torp, *Lykische Beiträge* 1:14 [1898]; Pedersen, *Lyk. u. Hitt.* 18); partic. *ahñt-*, gen. pl. neut. *ahñtāi* ‘goods, possessions’ (Xanthos trilingual 17; cf. Gk. *τὰ ὄντα* ‘goods’ or Akk. *bušū* ‘goods’ [*bašū* ‘be’], vs. Hitt. *assū*). Cf. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:66–9 (1979). *esi*, *hāti*, *esu*, *ahñt-* reflect Luw. **āsti*, **asanti*, *āsdu*, **asant-*.

es- has been identified with IE **es-* ‘be’ (*IEW* 340–2) since J. A. Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe* 45, 61 (1902), who compared *ēstu* with Lat. *estō*; he was followed by H. Holma (*Journal de la société finno-ougrienne* 33.1:18–19 [1916]) and by Hrozný (*MDOG* 56:28, 33 [1915], *SH* 78, 169–70). The ablaut pattern *es-*: *as-* parallels verbs like *ep(p)-*: *ap(p)-* ‘seize’, *ed-*: *ad-* ‘eat’, and *eku-*: *aku-* ‘drink’.

The sg. pres. *ēsmi*, *ēssi*, *ēszi* matches Skt. *āsmi*, *āsi*, *āsti* and OLith. *esmi*, *esi*, *esti*, and 3 sg. imp. *ēstu* equals Skt. *āstu*, while 2 sg. imp. *ēs* agrees with Lat. *es*. The weak grade *as-* appears practically only in 3 pl. pres. *asanzi*, 3 pl. imp. *asantu*, and partic. *asant-*, corresponding to Skt. *sānti*, *sāntu*, *sānt-*. 3 pl. pret. *eser* has Hittite innovational full grade (cf. *eppir*, *eter*, *ekuir*, *kuenir*). The full grade may on the other hand be basic in the 2 pl. imp. *ēsten* (cf. *eptin*, *ešten*, *ekuten*), whence it extends to 2 pl. pret.

ēsten (cf. *eptin*) and 2 pl. pres. **ēsteni* (cf. *eptēni* [beside *apteni*], *ekuteni*); Gk. *ἔστε*, *ἔστέ*, Lat. *este*, *estis*, and OLith. *este* display the same trait (vs. Skt. *st[h]á*). A spread of full grade to 1 pl. is seen in *esuwani* (cf. *eppuweni*, *edueni*, *ekueni*) and *esuwen* (cf. *eppuen*, *ekuēn*), but is more sporadic (beside *appuweni*, *adueni*, *akueni*; *appuen*) and not matched by either Latin or Sanskrit (*sumus*, *smās*, vs. OLith. *esme*, Gk. *εἰμὲν*). Cf. C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 32–4 (1969). Other possible, but hardly compelling paradigmatic parallels can be seen in 2 sg. pret. *ēsta* beside Gk. *ἦσθα* (vs. 3 sg. pret. *ēsta* /*est*/ corresponding to Ved. *ās*, Gk. *ἦς*), and in Luw. 1 sg. pret. *asha* beside Skt. 1 sg. perf. *āsa*.

For the “emphatic” meaning ‘truly be, be real, be true’, seen especially in *asant-* and matching Skt. *sānt-* (and by extension ON *sannr*, Lat. *sōns* ‘guilty’), cf. e.g. Sommer, *AU* 69; Ivanov, *Obščeeindoevropskaja* 56, 266–8; C. Watkins, *Studies in historical linguistics in honor of G. S. Lane* 186–94 (1967).

Cf. *es(sa)ri-*.

es-, as- ‘sit, remain (seated), reside; (esp. OHitt.) sit down, seat oneself, be seated; (transitive) settle, inhabit, occupy’, *-za es-* ‘sit down, seat oneself, settle down, install oneself’, *-za appa(n) es-* ‘seat oneself behind, take a back seat, be uncooperative, resist’, *katta es-* ‘subside, abate’ (said of flame, evil, etc.), *-za katta es-* ‘sit down’ (rarely *tuš*), 1 sg. pres. midd. *ēshahari* (*KBo XVI* 98 II 12 *nu-za-kan LUGAL-iznanni ēshahari* ‘I install myself in the kingship’; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 3; *KUB VIII* 48 I 21 *nu-[wa-z]a-kan ANA GIDIM.[HIL.A] ēshahari* ‘among the dead I shall make my abode’; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:18 [1930]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:18 [1968]), 2 sg. pres. midd. *ēstari* (XIV 1 Vs. 44 *nam[ma]-ma-wa-z parā tamāi KUR-e [tamāi]nn-a hapā[tin zi-i]t le ēstari* ‘but further do not willfully occupy another country and other river-land’; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 10), 3 sg. pres. act. *ēszi* (e.g. *ABOT 9 I 5* [OHitt.] *LUGA]L-was piran ēszi* ‘sits before the king’; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 10; *KUB XVII* 20 II 1 *EGIR-šU-ma Ḫūmmunis ēszi* ‘behind him sits H.’; similarly passim ibid. 2–16, in a description of iconographic positionings; cf. Bossert, *MIO* 4:201–3 [1956]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *esa* (frequent, e.g. *KBo*

XIX 128 V 38 LUGAL-us *esa* 'the queen [sic!] remains seated', vs. ibid. 36–37 LUGAL-us *sarā tiya[=]zi* 'the king stands up'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 14; XVII 74 IV 33 [OHitt.] LUGAL-us *esa* 'the king sits down'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 34; KUB XXX 41 I 20 LUGAL-us-za *esa*; XXX 29 Vs. 6 [mu]-zan SAL-za ^{GIS}kuppisnas *ser esa* 'the woman seats herself on the stool', *esari* (frequent, e.g. KBo III 22 Rs. 79 [OHitt.] *perammit kunnaz esari* 'he will sit down before me on the right'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14; XIX 128 I 17 LUGAL-us *esari* 'the king sits down'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2; XII 126 I 9–10 *nu-za* ^{UTU}-i *menahhanda esari* '[he] seats himself facing the sun-god'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Mali* 98; XVII 65 Rs. 1 *harmui-ma-as-za* ^{UT}. *esari* 'she does not seat herself on the obstetrical stool'; KUB XIX 37 II 18–19 *n-an-zan DUMU AMILUTI* [U]t. *kuiski esari* 'no son of mankind will inhabit it'; cf. Götze, *AM* 168; XII 66 IV 16 *n-as-san apiya esari* 'he sits down there'; cf. Laroche, *RIIA* 23:71 [1965]), *esāri* (dupl. KBo III 7 IV 13), *isari* (XV 25 Vs. 30 *pah*) *hur katta isari* 'the fire subsides'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 4), 1 pl. pres. midd. *e-su-as-ta* (XVI 25 I 71), *esuwasta* (KUB XXXI 143 II 36 [OHitt.] *pāiwani esuwasta* 'let us go sit'; XII 66 IV 9–10 *mān-wa* ANA ^{URU}Neriqqa *paiuwani nu-wa-ssan kuwapi esuwasta* 'if we go to N., where shall we sit down?'), *esuwastati* (dupl. KBo III 7 IV 5–7 *mān-wa* ANA ^{IM} ^{URU}Nerik *pāiwani nu-wa-ssan kuwapit esuwastati*; KUB XXIV 8 IV 5 6 *wes*]-a-wa-za *sarraweni nu-wa-nas a[rhayan]* [e]suwas-tati 'let us split up and settle apart'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12; XXXIII 106 II 13 and 14 *INA* ^{HUR.SAG}Kandurna *ser esuwastati* 'we sit down on Mt. K.', vs. ibid. 15 *ēszi* '[he] sits'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:22 [1952]), 2 pl. pres. act. *e-es-tum-ma-at* (XII 66 IV 12 *mān-wa-ssan* ... *ēstummat* 'if you sit down'; dupl. KBo III 7 IV 9), 3 pl. pres. act. *asanzi* (e.g. KUB XXIV 8 I 18 *piran-sit adanna asanzi* '[they] sit before him to eat'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4; KBo XVII 3 IV 22 LUGAL-us SAL.LUGAL-s-a *asanzi* 'king and queen are seated'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 50; KUB XVII 20 II 2, 12, 16; cf. Bossert, *MIO* 4:202–3 [1956]), *esanzi* (XX 76 III 14 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *esanzi*), 3 pl. pres. midd. *esanta* (e.g. dupl. KBo XI 52 I 20 *es*]anta; KUB II 5 I 28 *ta* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *esanta*; X 3 I 22 LUGAL-us SAL.LUGAL-ass-a *esanta*), *esanda* (e.g. dupl. KBo VIII

119 Vs. 9; XVII 74 I 18 and 19 [OHitt.] *ta esanda* 'and they sit down'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 12), *asanta* (IV 9 III 26 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIS}DAG-ti *asanta* 'king [and] queen sit on the throne'), *asanda* (KUB X 17 II 9 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIS}DAG-ti *asanda*), *esantari* (e.g. X 45 III 23–26 *hantezzi-ma-z-kan kuedani UD-ti LUGAL-us ANA* ^{GIS}SU.A LUGAL-UTTI SAL.LUGAL-ma-zza-kan ANA ^{GIS}SU.A SAL[.LUGAL-UTTI] *esantari* 'but on the first day when king and queen seat themselves on the thrones of king- and queenship respectively'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 46; IBoT III 148 III 18 *namma-at-za adanna esantari* 'then they sit down to eat'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 222; KUB XXIX 1 III 41 *nu-ssan DINGIR.MEŠ esantari* 'the gods are seated'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:36 [1947]; IBoT I 29 Vs. 36 [n]u-ssi 12 LÜ.MEŠ APIN.LAL *piran esantari* 'twelve plowmen are seated before him'; cf. ibid. Rs. 48–49 *nu-ssi* 12 ^{SAL}.MEŠ KAR.KID [pir]an *esanta* 'twelve prostitutes are seated before him'), *esandari* (e.g. ibid. Vs. 53 *nu* ANA DUMU.LUGAL LÜ.MEŠ SANGA *hūmantēs piran-set esandari* 'all the priests are seated before the prince'; cf. ibid. 18–19 *nu-ssi pir*]an 12 LÜ SANGA *esanda* 'twelve priests are seated before him'; KBo V 1 III 49–50 *nu-za* ... *adanna esandari*; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 10*; VIII 88 Vs. 9–10 *nu mahhan GUNNI.MEŠ katta esandari* 'when the hearth[fire]s subside'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 260), *ēsantari* (dupl. VIII 86 Vs. 6; II 14 IV 10–12 *n-at-za adanna ANA PANI DINGIR-LIM ēssantari* 'they sit down to eat before the god'), *esandāri* (KUB XXXIV 128 Rs. 9, besides dupl. IBoT III 25, 3 *esandari*), 1 sg. pret. midd. *ēshati* (KBo III 55 Rs. 6 [OHitt.] *man EGIR-pa ēshati* 'had I resisted'), *ēshahati* (KUB XXXVI 98b Rs. 8 [OHitt.] *apiya ēshahati* 'I resided there'), [e-e]s-ha-ha-at-ti (dupl. XXVI 71 I 21), *ēshat* (e.g. KBo III 1 I 16 [OHitt.] *mān-san* ¹Telipinus *INA* ^{GIS}GU.ZA ABI-YA *ēshat* 'when I, Telipinus, seated myself on my father's throne'; III 4 I 19 *mahhan-ma-za-kan* ^{UTU}-ši ANA ^{GIS}GU.ZA ABI-YA *ēshat*; cf. Götze, *AM* 20), *ēshahat* (dupl. XVI 1 I 30; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:162 [1955]; XVI 8 II 14; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:166; KUB XXI 1 I 44; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:54; KBo XIX 78, 7; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 308 [1977]), *ishahat* (XVI 8 II 10; KUB XXXI 71 III 2–3 *nu-za* SAL.LUGAL *katta ishahat* 'I, the queen, sat down'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 122), 2 sg. pret. midd. *esat*

(XXXIII 96 IV 56 *nu-za ūl esat* 'thou didst not sit down'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:160 [1951]), *ēstat* (XIV 1 Rs. 34 ^{URU}*Upnihuwalan-ma-z URU-an zi-it [ēs]tat* 'you willfully occupied U.'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 28), 3 sg. pret. ^{mid.}*esati* (*KBo* XII 3 III 4 [OHitt.]; *KUB* XXXI 64 III 12 [OHitt.] *kattan esati*; XII 43, 3; *KBo* XV 34 III 15; *KUB* XVII 10 I 34 *nu-za-kan anda kariyat s-as esati* 'he paused and sat down'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]), *esadi* (XXXIII 59 III 13 *kat[t]an esadi* 'sat down'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]), *esat* (frequent, e.g. XXXIII 120 I 15–16 ^{GIŠ}*ŠU.A-ki-ma-ssan* ^D*Anus esat* ^D*Anus-san* ^{GIŠ}*ŠU.A-i-ssi ēszi* 'but Anu seated himself on the throne; Anu sits on his throne'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; *KBo* XIX 112 Rs. 5 ^{GIŠ}*ŠU.A-an tiyir ūl-as-za-kan esat* 'they placed a chair, [but] she did not sit down'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44; III 4 I 14 *kinun-ma-wa-za-kan kuis ANA* ^{GIŠ}*GU.ZA ABI-ŠU esat nu-war-as DUMU-las* 'but he who has now seated himself on his father's throne, he [is but] a child'; cf. Götze, *AM* 20; ibid. 57–58 *nu-za ANA PANI ABI ABI-YA kuis* ^{URU}*Gasgas* ^{HUR.SAG}*Tarikarimun* ^{GIŠ}*PŪ-az esat* 'the Gasga-town which in my grandfather's day had occupied Mt. T. by force'; cf. Götze, *AM* 80; *KUB* XIX 37 III 28 *nu-za KUR* ^{URU}*Tapāpanuwa kuit dān EGIR-pa esat* 'because the land of T. resisted a second time'; cf. Götze, *AM* 174), *ēssat* (412/b + II 27), *estat* (1490/u, 11 *n-as-mu ishanallis estat* 'he remained me an i.'), *ēstat* (*KBo* V 8 II 14–15 *nu KUR* ^{URU}*Tūmmanna kuit PANI ABI-YA ēstat* 'because the land of T. remained [loyal] before my father'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; *KUB* XXX 34 IV 2–4 *n-as-za nassu* ^ē*halinduwas suhhi ēstat nasma-az-zan INA ē DINGIR.MEŠ suhhi ēstat* 'he sat down either on the roof of the h.-house, or he sat down on the roof in the house of the gods'; cf. V. Haas – M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:229 [1977]), 1 pl. pret. midd. *ēssuwastati* (1490/u, 14), 3 pl. pret. midd. *esantat* (*KBo* V 8 II 12–14 *nu kuit KUR-TUM harninkir kuit-ma-za esantat-pat n-at harkir-pat* 'some land they ravaged, but some they occupied, and they held it'; ibid. 18 and 25; cf. Götze, *AM* 152–4; *KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 10; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]), *esandat* (XIX 29 IV 14–15 *n-at-za-kan apezz-īya EGIR-an* [...] *esandat* 'for that reason too they put up resistance'; cf. Götze, *AM* 18; XIX 37 III 5; cf. Götze, *AM* 172), 2 sg. imp. act. *e-es* (e.g. XIV 3 IV 3 *dam*) *edani*

pidi *GAM ēs* 'settle down in another place'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 16; XIV 1 Vs. 16 *INA KUR* ^{HUR.SAG}*Zippaslā ēs* 'reside in the mountain-land of Z.', vs. ibid. 15 *nu-wa-za ŠA ABI* ^D*UTU-ŠI Ū ŠA KUR* ^{URU}*Hatti ēs* 'be of [loyalty to] my majesty's father and the land of Hatti!'), *e-si* (ibid. 19 *nu-wa-za apūn-pat esi* 'inhabit it!'), 2 sg. imp. midd. *ēshut* (e.g. ibid. 17 *ehu-wa-za INA KUR* ^{HUR.SAG}*[Har]i-yati ēshut* 'come, reside in the mountain-land of H.!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 4; *KBo* III 21 III 14–15 ^{URU}*Zippiri-ma-z* ^D*UTU-was uktūri URU-ri* ... *andan ēshut* 'in Sippar, the eternal city of the sun-god, take up residence!'; ibid. 21 and 25), 3 sg. imp. midd. *esaru* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 3 II 76 *nu-ssi apās pede-ssi esaru* 'let that one sit for him in his place'; ibid. 28, 72; cf. Sommer, *AU* 8–10; XXX 10 Rs. 6 *[n-a]t katta namma esaru* 'let it [viz. the ill] subside again'), 2 pl. imp. act. *e-es-te-en* (XV 34 II 15–16 *nu-zan katta sumenzan parkuwai* ^{SIG}*5-anti misri[wanti]* ^{GIŠ}*ŠU.A ēsten* 'sit down on your pure, good, radiant throne!'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 190; XIV 16 I 17 *nu-wa-kan KUR-e piran ēsten* 'occupy the land!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 28), 2 pl. imp. midd. *e]-es-tu-ma-ti* (XXXI 64 II 3 [OHitt.]), *ēsdumat* (XIV 1 Rs. 40 'occupy!'); partic. *as(s)ant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-sa-an* (e.g. XXXVIII 2 II 8 *ALAM LÚ GUŠKIN GAR.RA asan* 'seated likeness of a man, gold-plated'; ibid. III 5 *ALAM LÚ KŪ.BABBAR asan* 'seated likeness of a man, of silver'), *a-sa-a-an* (ibid. I 8; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 6, 8, 4), *a-as-sa-an* (XXXIX 6 Rs. 18–19 *ALAM āssan* ... *ēszi* 'the seated likeness sits'), *tuš-an* (e.g. XXXVIII 1 IV 2 1 *ALAM GIŠ SAI-TITUŠ-an* 'one seated wooden likeness of a woman'; ibid. 9 and I 11 and 16; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 14, 10, 12), profusely attested sg. or pl. *asandus* '(in a) sitting (position)' (e.g. *KBo* XVII 74 II–III passim [OHitt.], ibid. II 46 *asadas*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 20–30), *tuš-as* (e.g. XIX 128 IV–VI passim; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 10–6, 44; opp. *GUB-as* 'standing'), nom. pl. c. *asandus* (XI 1 Vs. 33 *URU.DIDIL.HILA asandus kuyēs* 'towns that are inhabited'; cf. *RHA* 25:107 [1967]); also *esant-*, nom. sg. c. *esanza*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *esan* (e.g. V 8 I 4–5 *ERIN.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Taggastas-ma parā esanza KUR* ^{URU}*Sadduppa* ... *esan harta* 'the enemy from T., positioned forward, had occupied S.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 146; III 4 III 39–40, 43, 60–61 *nu-za* ... *kuis* ^{URU}*Gasgas esan harta* 'what Gasga-town had occupied ...'; cf. Götze, *AM* 76–80; X 17 IV 5

esan harta); verbal noun asatar (n.), nom.-acc. *asatar* (e.g. *KUB* XX1 29 II 3 *nu-smas parā asatar* 'Hantilis iyat 'H. established a forward position against them'), *asātar* (e.g. *KBo* I 53, 4, matching Akk. *ašabu* 'seat oneself, settle down'; cf. *MSL* 3:87 [1955]; III 21 III 25 *asātar ēshut* 'set up residence!' [figura etymologica with inner accusative]), gen. sg. *asannas* (*KUB* XXIX 4 I 29–30 1-NUTIM ^{GIS}*kishita asannas* 'one set [of] chairs for sitting'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 8; XXX 24 II 8 ^{GIS}*GIGIR asannas ser* 'on the sitting-chariot'; ibid. 12 *ištu* ^{GIS}*GIGIR asannas katta* 'down from the sitting-chariot'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60, 58; *KBo* XV 10 I 10 4 ^{GIS}*GIGIR TUR 6* ^{GIS}*asannas 1* ^{GIS}*āsnatey-anwas* 'four small chariots, six sitting[-chariots], one sit-stand [chariot]'; cf. *KUB* XIII 3 III 11 ^{GIS}*GIGIR.HI.A tiyauwas* 'standing-chariots'; cf. Szabó, *Entsöhnungsritual* 12, 61; XVIII 36, 19 and 20 ANA EZEN *asannas* 'for the feast of settlement'; *KBo* II 1 II 44 *ša L[ab]arna EGIR-pa asanna* <s> ^DLAMA-i 'to L.'s tutelary god of resistance'; II 38, 7 EGIR-pa *asannas KI.MIN*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:109, 95 [1975]); [inf. *asanna*] (e.g. *KUB* XII 65 + XXVI 71 III 12–13 *asanna-ssi* ^{GIS}*ŠU.A-an aruni tiyer nu-za-kan sallis* [arunas] ^{GIS}*ŠU.A-si esat* 'they placed a chair for the sea to sit on, and the great sea sat down on his chair'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; XIV 1 Vs. 22 'to inhabit'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 6), *asānna* (ibid. 18 *Madhūwattas-az KUR* ^{HUR SAG}*Hāriyati asānna minmas* 'M. refused to inhabit the mountain country of H.'; ibid. Rs. 11 and 14); *asanna* occasionally appears cross-diathetically as a quasi "mediopassive" infinitive of *asas-* (= 'be seated, be set'; examples sub *asas-*); [iter. *eski-*] 1 sg. pres. midd. *ēskahha* (*KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 11 [OHitt.] *nu-sse-ssan ēskahha* 'I shall resist'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), *ēskahhari* (*KBo* VII 14 + *KUB* XXXVI 100 Vs. 17 [OHitt.] *ē[skahhari]*, 3 pl. pres. midd. *ēskanta* (*KBo* III 34 III 15 [OHitt.] *AHI LUGAL ANA P[ANI ABI] LUGAL kuyēs ēskanta* 'those who sit as brothers before the father of the king'), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ēskantati* (*KBo* VII 14 + *KUB* XXXVI 100 Vs. 2 [OHitt.] *piran ēskantati*), 2 pl. imp. act. *ēskidumat* (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 5). Cf. Götze, *Arch. Or.* 5:4–5 (1933); Neu, *Interpretation* 25–31; Oettinger, *MSS* 34:121–2 (1976).

asau(w)ar (n.) '(sheep)fold, pen' (*KUB* III 94 II 14–15

DAG.KISIM₅ x A.MAŠ and MA.AZ.ZA match Akk. *mazzū* and Hitt. *a-sa-a-u-ar*; cf. B. Landsberger, *MSL* 2:103 [1951]), dat.-loc. sg. *a-sa-ū-ni* (*KBo* VI 2 + XIX 1 III 47–49 [= Code 1:66, OHitt.] *takku GUD.APIN.LAL takku A[NŠU.KUR.R]A tūriyauas takku GUD.ĀB takku ANŠU.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LAL hāleas harapta* [takku] *u māš.GAL enanza takku UDU.SIG + SAL takku UDU.NITÁ āsauni harapta* 'if a plowox or a harness horse or a cow or a mare strays to corrals, or a tamed he-goat or a ewe or a ram strays to a fold ...'; cf. Otten – Souček, *A/O* 21:6 [1966]; dupl. VI 3 III 51–53; VI 34 IV 13–15 *nu-ssi-ssan wēllus hāli-ssi asauni-ssi suple-ssi le lu-luwaitta* 'let meadow not thrive in his corral, in his sheepfold, for his livestock!'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14), *a-sa-u-ni* (*KUB* XIII 5 II 22 *nasma-za-kan UDU asauni anda tarnatteni* 'or you place the sheep in your fold', vs. ibid. 21 [*nasma-an-zan-kan*] *hāli anda tarnatteni* 'or you place it [viz. ibid. 20 GUD 'ox'] in your corral'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]), *a-sa-u-na-i* (*Bo* 6002 Vs. 7 I UDU *asaunai appanzi* 'they seize one sheep in the fold'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 187), abl. sg. *a-sa-ū-na-az* (*KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 15 GUD-un-asta *hāliaz appa ŪL kussanka karsun UDU-un-asta asau-naz EGIR-pa KI.MIN* 'an ox from the corral I never cut off; a sheep off from the fold, likewise'), *a-sa-u-na-az* (XXIV 3 II 11–12 UDU *auliūs-kan GUD.HI.A UDU.HI.A h[āli]yaz asaunaz kuezas karask* [ir 'from what[ever] corral [or] fold they would sever sacrificial contingents of cattle [and] sheep'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26; 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. *a-sa-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* X 2 I 7–8 [*nu kue k*] *ue asauwar ēsta* [*n-at-kan A*] NA ERÍN.MEŠ *asanduli pihhun* 'whatever sheepfolds there were, those I gave to the garrison troops', corresponding to X 1 Vs. 3 [Akk.] *minam dumqam addin-šunuti* 'all goods I gave to them', where Akk. has either rendered *asauwar* metonymically [cf. Lat. *pecua* 'livestock' > 'possessions, money'] or mistaken it for **āssauwa* 'goods' [normally *āssū*]; for *asauwar*: **āssauwa* cf. ibid. 4 ^{URU}*Zalpar* vs. X 2 I 9 ^{URU}*Zalpa*, and *a-sa-u-wa* below; cf. F. Imparati – C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:44, 77 [1965]; Goetze, *JCS* 16:24 [1962]; H. C. Melchert, *JNES* 37:4 [1978]), *a-sa-u-wa* (XVII 92 Vs. 6–7 *nekuz mehur mān UDU.HI.A-was*

asauwa anda [...] *n-as-kan* UDU.HI.A-was *menahhanda paizzi* 'at night if sheepfolds ... [..], he goes to meet the sheep'; for lack of -r cf. e.g. -[a]ta[r] in *iyata, tameta*), *a-sa-a-u-wa-ar* (KUB XXX 13 Vs. 7 [dupl. of XXIV 3 II 1' 13] [nu LÚ.MEŠ SIPAD.GUD LÚ.MEŠ SIPAD.UDU e]kir *hāliya asāuw[ar* 'the neatherds [and] shepherds have died, corrals [and] folds ...'). *asauwar* is an archaic heteroclitic verbal noun from *es-*, entirely parallel to *harsauwar* (dat.-loc. pl. *harsaunas*) from *hars-* (q.v.); unlike the productive *asatar* it has become semantically detached from the verbal paradigm and has therefore not joined the innovational productive type in -war (gen. -was). Other terms for animal habitat derived from 'sit' are e.g. Engl. *nest* (IE **ni-sdo-*) and Goth. *sittls* 'seat, nest'; cf. also Skt. *āsanam* 'encampment'. Wrong connections with *es-* 'be' (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:298) and *as(s)-* 'remain' (Tischler, *Glossar* 79, thinking of Lat. *mānsiō*); but *ass-* always has intervocalic -ss-).

[*asandul-* (n.) 'occupation (force), garrison', gen. sg. *asandulas*, dat.-loc. sg. *asanduli* (KUB XIII 20 I 10–11 nu *kuis* ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulas n-an-kan* ^{DU}UT[U-šr] *asanduli anda talahhi* 'which [is] garrison troops, it I, my majesty, leave in garrison'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:390 [1947]; KBo IX 91 Vs. 3–4 ANA LÚ.MEŠ *Araunna* ^{URU}Nerik *asandulas* 'to the men of A. of the garrison at N.'; ibid. 8 and 13–14 ANA LÚ.MEŠ *Araunna asandulas* ^{URU}Nerik; ibid. 17–18 and [mutilated] 20–21 LÚ.MEŠ *Araunna asandulas* ^{URU}Nerik; KUB XIV 16 I 11 [*asanduli anda dālista*; cf. Götze, *AM* 26), dat.-loc. sg. *asandula* and pl. *asandulas* (XXVI 17 I 6–7 nu *kuis* ERÍN.MEŠ *asandula n-as-kan anda asandulas dalahti* 'what troops [are] in garrison those I leave for garrisons'; KBo III 46 Vs. 40 *s-us asandulas*; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 280 [1977]).

[*asandula-, asandul-*] 'occupation-related, garrison-', adjectivization originating in appositional uses of oblique cases of *asandul-* with ERÍN.MEŠ (= *tuzzi[yant]-*), nom. sg. c. *a-sa-an-du-lis* (KBo XXVI 20 III 18 *asandulis* ERÍN.MEŠ-za 'occupation force', matching ibid. Akk. *birdu* 'fortress', vs. ibid. 17 *warris* ERÍN.MEŠ-za = Akk. *nararu* 'auxiliaries'), acc. sg. c. *asandulan* (KUB VI 41 IV 10–11 ^{DU}UTU-šr-ya-tta [kuin] ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulan kattan daliyanun* 'what occupation force I, my majesty, have left with you'; dupl. KBo IV 3 III 13–14 ^{DU}UTU-šr-ya-tta *kuin*

ERÍN.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ *a[sandulan kattan] arha* [; dupl. V 13 IV 3 ^{DU}UTU-šr-ya-tta *kuin* ERÍN.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ *asandulan kattan daliyanun*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:132–3; XVI 32 IV 7 ER]ÍN.MEŠ *asandulan*; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:89 [1975–6]), *asandulin* (V 4 Vs. 25 ^{DU}UTU-šr-ya-tta *kuin* ERÍN.MEŠ *a[sand]ulin katta dāliyanun*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56), dat.-loc. sg. *asanduli* (X 2 I 8 [*n-at-kan* A]NA ERÍN.MEŠ *asanduli pihhun* 'those I gave to the garrison troops'), abl. sg. *asandulaz* (KUB XIV 15 IV 36 *n-as* ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulaz eppun* 'I manned [lit. seized] them with occupation troops'; similarly ibid. 42 and KBo IV 4 II 62; cf. Götze, *AM* 72, 120), *asandulaza* (KUB XIX 8 III 31 *n-an ša* ^{URU}Hatti ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulaza e[pta* 'and he manned it with a Hittite occupation force'; cf. Riemschneider, *JCS* 16:117 [1962]).

[*asandulai-*] 'serve as occupier, be on garrison duty', 3 pl. pres. act. *asandulanzi* (KBo VI 28 Rs. 26 *mān* LÚ.MEŠ NA<RA>^{RI} *asandulanzi* 'if auxiliaries are on garrison duty'; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:40 [1977]; IBoT I 32 Vs. 20 *kedani* MU-ti KARAŠ.HI.A *asandula[n]zi* 'in what year the armies are on garrison duty'); verbal noun *asandulatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. *asandulanni* (KBo X 2 I 6 [ERÍN.MEŠ] 2 AŠRA *asandulanni da<la>hhun* 'I left troops in two places for garrisoning'; KUB XIII 20 I 24 *kuiss-a* ERÍN.MEŠ *asandulas-ma n-an-kan* ^{DU}UTU-šr *asandulanni dālahhi* 'and which [is] garrison troops, it I, my majesty, leave in garrisoning'; KBo V 4 Rs. 33 *namma-tta* ^{DU}UTU-šr *kuyēs* ERÍN.MEŠ.HI.A *asandulanni peskimi warri-ya-asta uyiski[mi]* 'further what troops I, my majesty, give you for garrisoning and send you as auxiliaries'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:64); iter. *asanduleski-*, *asanduliski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *asanduleskit* (III 4 I 16–17 ABU-YA-ma-kan INA KUR ^{URU}Mitanni *kuit anda asanduleskit n-as-kan asanduli anda istandait* 'but because my father was garrisoned in the interior of Mitanni and lingered in garrison'; cf. Götze, *AM* 20), *asanduliskit* (IV 4 IV 62 *nu-kan anda asanduliskit*; cf. Götze, *AM* 142).

Unlike most derivatives in -ul (e.g. deverbative *imiul-*, *ishiul-*, *wastul-*), *asand-ul-* is a denominative offshoot of the participle *asant-* (besides *esant-* 'occupied'); a parallel may be seen in

kahulupa- (< **kand-ul-*; cf. Puhvel, *IF* 81:27–8 [1976] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 351 2 [1981]). Cf. Götze, *AM* 199–201; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:336. The connection with *es-* ‘be’, suggested by Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 168 (‘be’ = ‘linger’), was abortively revived by G. Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie occidentale (1600–1200 av. J. C.)* 597–9 (1974).

Hier. *as-* ‘sit’, *asa-* ‘seat’; *as(a)nu(wa)-* or *isanuwa-* ‘set down, establish, install’. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 35, 37–8; Laroche, *HII* 154; Hawkins – Morpurgo – Neumann, *HHL* 187–8.

es- has been connected with IE **ēs-* ‘sit’ (Ved. *āste*, Avest. *āste*, Gk. *ἵσταναι*; 3 pl. *āsate*, *ānhantē*, *ἵπταναι*; *IEW* 342–3) since Hrozný, *SH* XIII, 14. The etymological vowel length of **ēs-* is not in doubt, and not much further is illumined by a reconstruction *E₁eE₁s-* (Oettinger, *MSS* 34:112 [1976]), let alone a reduplicated *E₁e-E₁s-* (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:54 [1973]). The non-gradational medium tantum paradigm of Indo-Iranian and Greek is largely matched by Hittite *ēs-*, while the very defective (and probably secondary) active forms (*ēszi*, *asanzi*, *ēs[i]*, *ēsten*) take their cue from verbs of the type *es-*: *as-* ‘be’; exceptions are very rare (occasional *asanta*, *esanzi*). But unlike Indo-Iranian and Greek, Hittite preserves old ablauting non-finite forms (*asant-* [rarely *esant-*], *asatar*, *asanuwar*) which reflect a genuine extraparadigmatic **ē*: *ē₁* alternation. The reduplicated causative *asas-*, *ases-* ‘make sit’ (q.v.) may have secondarily expanded *a-* as part of the consolidation of a causative sense (like that of its own derivative *asesanu-*); cf. *esesir* ‘they sat’ and OHitt. *aseshut* besides *ēshut* ‘sit!’.

ssa-, issa-, iter. of *iya-* ‘do, make’ (q.v.; *KUB* I 16 II 24–25 [*ēšhar*] *īssuwan dāi* = ibid. I 24–25 [Akk.] *dāmi ana epešim* [*īšakkan*] ‘he will go about shedding blood’; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 4, 56; IV 4 Vs. 9 and 12 *ēssa[tti]* ‘thou makest’ = Akk. *tapanni* [from *banū*] ‘thou begettest’; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]), 1 sg. pres. act. *ēssahhi* (e.g. *KBo* XI 1 Vs. 24 and 27 *n-at ēssahhi-pat* ‘I shall carry it out’; cf. *RIHA* 25:107 [1967]; *KUB* XXI 27 IV 44–45 *nu-za ke kue AWATEMEŠ ANA^{DIM} ABI-KA Ū ANA^{DUTU} URU^{TUL}-na AMA-KA arkuwar ēssahhi* ‘these words which I make as a plea to the storm-god thy father and to the sun-goddess of Arinna thy

mother’; XIV 8 Rs. 20 *nu-za ... arkuwar ēssahhi* ‘I make a plea’; cf. Götze, *KIF* 216; *KBo* IV 8 III 7 *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ ēssahhi* ‘I celebrate the gods’), *issahhi* (e.g. *KUB* XXVII 38 I 19 *n-us sēnus issahhi* ‘I make them into figures’; VII 5 II 5 *nu SISKUR.SISKUR kuedani parni issahhi* ‘in the house where I perform the ritual’), *īssahhi* (I 16 II 43; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8), 2 sg. pres. act. *ēssatti* (e.g. II 11 Rs. 6 *kuit-wa ēssatti* ‘what are you doing?’; cf. Sommer, *AU* 245; VI 41 IV 10 and *KBo* V 13 IV 2 *mahhan ēssatti* ‘as you treat’; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:132), *issatti* (e.g. V 3 I 35 *nu mān SIG₅-in kuwapi issatti* ‘if you ever act well’; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:110; *KUB* XXVI 22 II 5 *SIG₅-in issatti*; XXX 10 Rs. 22–23 *nu-]mu ... ŪL assanuwandan anduh-san le issatti* ‘do not make me a persona non grata!’; XIV 1 Vs. 86 *le issatti*; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20), 3 sg. pres. act. *ēssai* (e.g. *KBo* V 13 III 24 *nasma LÚ^{URU} Arzawa kuiski BAL ēssai* ‘or some Arzawan is making insurrection’; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128; *KUB* XXIV 1 IV 21 *UD.KAM-tili arkuwar ēssai* ‘[he] daily makes a plea’; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 36; XLII 100 IV 22–23 *kinun-ma-ssi 12 EZEN ITU.KAM 1 EZEN zeni EZEN hameshi LÚ^{SANGA} iŠTU ē-ŠU ēssai* ‘but nowadays the priest celebrates for him out of his house twelve monthly feasts, one feast in fall [and one] feast in spring’; cf. ibid. 15–17 *nu-wa-za ... EZEN ... iyat* ‘celebrated the feast’; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:185 [1978]; *KBo* VI 5 IV 4 [= *Code* 1:41] *sahhann-a ēssai* ‘he does feudal duty’), *ēssāi* (e.g. VI 4 IV 12–13 [= *Code* 1:41] *luzzi ēssāi* ‘does corvée’; cf. ibid. 14 *nu luzzi ŪL iyazzi* ‘he does not do corvée’), *īssai* (e.g. VI 2 II 25 [= *Code* 1:41, OHitt.] *sahhann-a īssai*; XXII 1 Rs. 32 [OHitt.] *kinun kās kissan īssai* ‘now this one will do thus’; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *issai* (e.g. VI 3 II 45–46 [= *Code* 1:41] *sahhan issai*; *KUB* I 11 I 42 *QATAMMA-pat issai* ‘he does likewise’; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 110; *KBo* V 2 IV 45–46 *SISKUR.SISKUR mahhan INA UD.KAM MAHRī issai n-at UD.7.KAM QATAMMA issai* ‘as he performs the ritual on the first day, he likewise performs it for seven days’; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 116; *KBo* XIX 44 Rs. 1 *SIG₅-in issai* ‘treats well’; ibid. 8 *SIG₅-in-wa issai*), *issāi* (dupl. XIX 43a III 19 *SIG₅-in-wa issāi*), *ēsseszi* (*KUB* IX 16 IV 9 *EZEN.MEŠ ēsseszi* ‘celebrates festivals’; analogical from 3 sg. pret. *ēssesta*).

1 pl. pres. act. *e-es-su-u-e-ni* (XXX 27 Rs. 1–2 [kuit-w]a-ssi kuit *ēssuweni* [mu-war-a]t-si āra ēsdu 'whatever we do for him, let it be his duel!'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 98), *is-su-ū-e-ni* (XXIII 115, 5 wēs *issuwe[ni]*), 2 pl. pres. act. *ēssatteni* (XIII 4 II 53–55 *nu EZEN hamesha[ndas]* [t]NA zēni iyatteni EZEN zēnandas-ma ham-eshi *ēssatteni* 'you celebrate the spring festival in the fall, and you celebrate the fall festival in the spring'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]), *issatteni* (*KBo* V 3 IV 29–30 *nu mār sumes SIG₅-in issatteni* ... ^DUTU-us-ya-smas SIG₅-in issahhi 'if you act well ..., I, my majesty, shall also treat you well'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:134), *īstēni* (XXII 1 Rs. 27 [OHitt.] *ta* ^{LÜ}*happinandas īstēni* 'you do the rich man's [bidding]'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *īstenī* (ibid. 33; like 1 pl. pres. *issuweni*, 1 pl. pret. *issuwen*, and 2 pl. imp. *īsten*, analogical from 3 pl. *issanzi*, falsely segmented as **iss-anzi* rather than **issa-anzi*), 3 pl. pres. act. *essanzi* (e.g. *IBoT* III 148 I 69, besides ibid. 70 *annianzi* 'they perform'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 216), *ēssanzi* (e.g. *KUB* XXIII 92 Vs. 7 -ma-smas DUMU.MEŠ *kuwattin ēssanzi* 'where they make sons for themselves'; cf. Otten, *AJO* 19:40 [1959–60]; *KBo* III 1 II 61 [OHitt.] *kī-ma idālanwa uddār kuyēs ēssanzi* 'who[ever] do these evil things'; *KUB* XII 26 II 12–13 *nu-war-an EGIR-pa AMA-ni DUMU-an ēssanzi* 'they make him again a child to [his] mother'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:169 [1965]; XIII 2 III 17 DINGIR.MEŠ-ya *kuwapi ēssanzi* 'when they celebrate the gods'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47; XXIV 3 I 19 and 20, XXIV 1 II 8 'they celebrate [festivals]'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 18), *issanzi* (e.g. XXIX 1 II 5 *kuit issanzi* 'what are they doing?'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:28 [1947]; XXXI 101 Vs. 11 *nu LUMES¹ MUŠEN.DU-TIM QATAMMA issanzi* 'the augurs do likewise'; cf. Ünal, *RHA* 31:49 [1973]; A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:137 [1975]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ēssahhun* (XXXI 66 III 17–18 *kūn memian ANA zi-YA ser ēssahhun* 'this remark for my soul's sake I made'; cf. ibid. I 24 a) *pūn memian iyanun* 'I made that speech'; Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 129–30; XIV 10 Vs. 19 *namma-za EZEN.HI.A-ya kuwapi ēssahhun* 'also, when[ever] I celebrated festivals'; ibid. 22–24 *nu-za ... ārkūwar ēssahhun* 'I made a plea'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 206), 3 sg. pret. act. *e-es-se-es-ta*

(e.g. *KBo* V 8 II 28 *nu-za-kan HUR.SAG.MEŠ-as anda sāsdu ēssesta* 'he made himself lairs in the mountains'; cf. Götze, *AM* 154; *KUB* XXIV 13 II 9 *alwanzinas kuit HUL-lu uttar ēssesta* 'what evil thing the sorcerer did'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Ritualet* 104; XXI 40 III 11 *n-an-zan* ^{LÜ}*HADANU ēssesta* 'he made him his son-in-law'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:128; *KBo* VI 4 II 29), *e-se-es-ta* (e.g. V 6 II 14 *nu EZEN.HI.A esesta* 'he celebrated festivals'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:92 [1956]; *KUB* XXII 7 Vs. 3), *e-es-se-is-ta* (e.g. XVII 27 II 29 *kue essesta* 'what he has wrought'; XLI 19 Rs. 3; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Ritualet* 94), *e-es-si-es-ta* (e.g. XXI 33 IV 18 *SISKUR.MEŠ INA* ^{URU}*Perana ēssesta* 'he performed rituals at P.'; cf. R. Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]; XXII 70 Vs. 13, 15, 22; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:27–9 [1977]; Ünal, *Orakeltext* 56–60), *e-es-si-is-ta* (e.g. XXIV 13 II 28 *alwanzenas kuit HUL-lu uttar essista*), *issista* (e.g. *KBo* XV 10 I 14 and 31, II 14, III 56; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 14, 16, 18, 22, 44), 1 pl. pret. act. *e-es-su-u-en* (*KUB* XIX 71, 10 [nu-nnas ē-ir kuit] *ēssuwen* 'the house which we made for ourselves'; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 12), *is-su-u-en* (*KBo* XII 126 I 23 *issuwen-wa kue* 'those which we have made'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 24), 2 pl. pret. act. *e-es-sa-at-te-in* (*KUB* XXI 42 II 5 *namma apāt kuit ēssatten* 'also that which you have done'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 25), 3 pl. pret. act. *e-es-se-ir* (e.g. XXXI 66 II 23–24 *EGIR-pa-ya-mu a[pāt] EME apūs-pat ēsser* 'afterwards those very ones committed that calumny against me'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130; *KBo* VI 6 I 23 [= Code 1:54] *sah]han ŪL ēsser* 'they did not do feudal duty'), *e-se-ir* (dupl. VI 3 III 18 *sahhan ŪL eser*), *e-es-si-ir* (*KUB* XXIV 11 III 3 *alwan]zata ēssir* 'have practised sorcery'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 42), *e-es-sir* (e.g. *KBo* VI 26 I 40 [= Code 2:66] *karū kissan ēssir* 'formerly they did thus'), *i-is-se-ir* (VI 2 III 15 [OHitt.] *sahhan natta īsser*), *i-e-es-sir* (XVII 105 II 17–18 *ki-wa kuit iēssir* 'why did they do this?'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]), *DÜ-es-se-ir* (*Bo* 5088 Rs. 11–12 *EZEN DÜ-esser kinun-as ŪL ier* 'they [usually] observed the feast, but now they have not observed [it]'), 2 sg. imp. act. *e-is-si* (*KUB* I 16 III 63 [OHitt.] *kuit kardi nu-za apāt essi* 'what [has been impressed] upon [your] heart, do that!'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 17, 187–8), *ēssa*

(KBo V 4 Vs. 26 *n-an* sig₅-in *ēssa* 'treat it well!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56; VI 41 IV 12 *n-an-zan* sig₅-in *ēssa*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:134), *issa* (KUB XXVI 22 II 6 sig₅-in *issa*; cf. ibid. 5 sig₅-in *issatti*), *īssa* (XIII 2 III 28 *kuit handan apāt īssa* 'what [is] right, do that!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 48), 3 sg. imp. act. *e-es-sa-ū* (I I IV 80; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 38), 2 pl. imp. act. *is-sa-at-tin* (XIII 20 I 19 'fulfill [obligation]!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:390–2 [1947]), *i-is-te-en* (KBo XXII 62 + VI 2 III 19–20 [= Code 1:55, OHitt.] *īten māhhandā ar[i-...] sumes-a apinissan īste[n]* 'go, as your peers, even so you shall do'; cf. H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 62:231 [1972], and see under 2 pl. pres. *īstenī* above), *e-es-te-en* (dupl. VI 3 III 22 *īten mahhan ares-(s)mes sume[s] apinissan ēsten*; perhaps misunderstood here, in the later version of the Code, as *ēsten* 'you shall be'; cf. also Starke, *Funktionen* 144), 3 pl. imp. act. *ēssandu* (e.g. IV 4 II 11; cf. Götze, *AM* 112; KUB XXVI 43 Vs. 58 *kī-pat sahhan ēssandu* 'let them do this feudal duty'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:30 [1974]; XIII 2 III 4–5 *nu-ssan ANA TUL SISKUR.SISKUR kittari n-at-si ēssandu* 'a rite is on the books for the fountain; they shall perform it for it'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47; ibid. II 44 *kuedaniya DINGIR-TIM-ni kuit mehur n-an apedani mehuni ēssandu* 'what time for every god [is proper], at that time they shall celebrate him'), *issandu* (ibid. 43 *namma DINGIR.MEŠ mehunās issandu* 'furthermore they shall celebrate the gods at the [right] times'; IV 1 I 41 *EZEN GAL-TIM issandu* 'let them celebrate the great festivals'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170); partic. *essant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ēssan* (XVIII 20, 9 *kuit arha ēssan* 'which [has been] carried out [= completed]'; XXXI 66 II 28–29 *man-wa ANA PAN ABU-YA k[i] ammel EME ēssan* 'if this calumny against me [were] committed before my father'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130); verbal noun *e-es-su-mar* (KBo I 35, 14 *kuwapitta* [with gloss-wedges] *parā ēssumar* matching Akk. *mašāru* 'let loose', thus literally 'making [someone] move forth somewhere'), **ēssuwar*, **ēssūwar*, **īssuwar* inferrable from the supine (e.g. III 1 I 22 [OHitt.] *nu ēšhar-summit ēssuwan tiyer* 'they began to shed their blood'; KUB XV 3 I 12 *ēssūwan tehhi* 'I begin to make'; XXIX 24, 2 [= Code 2:12] *sahhan*] *ēssūwan*

dāi 'begins to do feudal duty', vs. ibid. I *sahhan*] *ūl iyaz[i]*; KBo VIII 42 Rs. 2 [OHitt.] *īssuwan dāisten*; KUB I 16 II 24–25, quoted at the beginning above); iter. *eseki-*, *essiki-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *e-se-es-ki-ir* (V 22, 21), *e-es-si-kir* (KBo III 34 II 6–7 *s-an-asta arha pehuter s-an ēssikir s-as BA.UG₆* 'then they took him away, and they kept working hīm over, and he died'); *eseki-*, *essiki-* match e.g. *arseski-*, *arsikki-* from *arsai-*, *arsiya-* (q.v.); *essiki-* should not be confused with *eski-* from *iya-* (q.v.); rather it, like *arsikki-*, is a secondary, awkward spelling variant brought on chiastically by the likes of *ānsiki-*, *ānsiski-* (besides *ānsaski-*, *ānaski-*) as attempts to express /ans-ski-/.
 3 sg. pret. act. *e-es-si-ig-ki-it* (Msk. 73 (107, 20))

After a false start connecting *es-* 'sit' (Götze, *Madd.* 105; Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 50; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 85, 246; Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs* 77), Sommer's recognition (*AU* 303–4, *HAB* 56–7) has prevailed that *essa-*, *issa-* is iteratival from *iya-*, *ie-* 'do' (cf. e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*² 135; Kammenhuber, *RHA* 17:35 [1959]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:553); parallels are *halzessa-* from *halzai-* and *warressa-* from *warrai-*. Here, as with *iya-*, OHitt. forms diverge from the relative regularity of the classical paradigm (e.g. *īssahhi*, *īssai*, *issuweni*, *īstenī*, *issuwen*, *īsten*, *īsser*, *īssuwan*). Unlike Neu (*KZ* 93:71 [1979]) one may hesitate to claim primacy for the nonthematic forms, seeing in them rather an analogical aberration (cf. sub 2 pl. pres. *īstenī* above); but *is-* has claim to relative antiquity (cf. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 24), and *īs-* may be a phonetic outcome of **eye-s-* (> *ēs-* > *īs-*), whereas the standard spelling *ēssa-* is perhaps influenced by the type of *halzessa-* (< **halzai-s-*). Postulating *iesa-* or /*yessa-*/ as the basic reading (e.g. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 63:2–3 [1943]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:554) was a direct, unnecessary consequence of seeing /*ye-*/ in *ie-*; Rosenkranz's assumption (*ZA* 54:112–3 [1961]) of an "abstracted" *i-* from *iya-* as the basis of *issa-* or *essa-* was simply unnecessary.

eshar, ishar (n.) 'blood', specifically 'dark (venous) blood' (cf. *αἷμα κελευνόν*; MUD; BAD: KBo X 45 IV 10 *BAD-as* DINGIR.MEŠ = KUB XLI 8 IV 9 *ēshanas* DINGIR.MEŠ 'deities of blood'; ADAMMU: KBo I 51 Rs. 17 [Akk.] *ad]ammu* = Hitt. *ishar*, vs.

ibid. 18 [Akk.] *šarku* = Hitt. *manis* 'bright [arterial] blood' [BAD.UD VS. BAD.GE₆]; ibid. 16 [Akk.] *bubu'du* 'pus' = [Hitt.] *muwas* 'body fluid'; cf. Güterbock, *Arch. Or.* 18.1-2:228-9 [1950]; R. Stefanini, *AGI* 43:18-20 [1958]; 'bloodshed, bloody deed, murder' (*eshar iya-*, iter. *eshar essa-*, pass. *eshar kis-*, lit. 'make blood', i.e. 'shed blood, do bloody deeds, commit murder', copied occasionally in Hittite-influenced Akkadian [Boğazköy, Kültepe, Ugarit] as *dāmi epēšu*; see also s.v. *iya-* and cf. Kronasser, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 275-6, 286 [1959], *Etym.* 1:125; Gk. εἰργασθαι ... αἷμα, συνδρῶν αἷμα, αἷμα ἐκπράττειν [Euripides, *Orestes* 284-5, 406, 1139]; 'lifeblood, vital juices, sap', nom.-acc. sg. *e-es-har* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* III 1 I 22 [OHitt.] *nu ēshar-summit ēssuwan tiyer* 'they began to shed their blood'; ibid. 33 [nu] *ēshar ier* 'they shed blood'; ibid. II 33 ^{URI} *Hattusi ēshar pangariyattati* 'at Hattusas bloodshed has multiplied'; VIII 35 II 3 *nu ēshar kisari* 'blood is shed'; XVII 1 I 27 *tarueni-ma-at ēshar* 'but we call it blood'; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; XIII 31 I 8 *ēshar araszi* 'blood flows'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 74; *KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 14 [*kī-wa*] *ūt. G[EŠTIN] sumenzan-wa ēshar* 'this [is] not wine, [it is] your blood'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20; *KBo* III 23 I 9 *zig-a SAG.GEME.İR. MEŠ ēshar-semit sanha* 'but you, exact the blood of servants!'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]; XXII 1 Rs. 24 25 [OHitt.] *nu ša* ^{LU} *MAŠDÁ ēshar-set natta sanhiskatteni* 'you do not exact the blood [= avenge the death] of the poor man'; cf. A. Archi, ibid. 46; frequent on the "calamity lists" [examples s.v. *ishahru-*]; *KUB* XI 1 III 13 [*n-*] *asta udnē ēshar akku[skir* 'they quaffed the sap of the land' [partitive apposition]), *is-har* (e.g. *KBo* III 67 II 11-12 *n-apa* DINGIR.MEŠ ^P *iseniyas ishar sanhir* 'then the gods avenged the blood of Pisenis'; *HT* 1 I 37 *nu ishar dāi* 'he takes blood', besides dupl. *KUB* IX 31 I 45 *nu ēshar dāi*; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]; XLIV 63 II 7-8 *nu-ssi-kan ishar arha tarnai* 'lets off blood from him'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 28), *e-es-sar* (XI.1 8 III 9 *nu-kan kuit HUL-lu ēssar anda* 'what evil blood[-shed] [is] therein', besides dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 17-18 *nu-kan kuit HUL-lu ēshar anda*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]), *i-e-es-sar* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 23-24 *ansun-ta-kkan NÍ.TE-za HUL-lu uddār*

alwanzatar iēssarr-a 'I have wiped from your body evil words, sorcery, and bloodshed'; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 104; XLI 21 IV 4 *HUL-lu U[H₄-tar papr]atar iēssar* 'evil sorcery, defilement, bloodshed'; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 278; *KBo* XIX 145 III 7 *alw]anzatar iēssar paprātar*; ibid. 15; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 300; *KUB* IX 39 II 2; VIII 39, 2, 4, 9), *A-DAM-MA* (*KUB* XVIII 51 + *KBo* II 6 II 34-35 ^D *DAG-tis GUB-is nu ša LUGAL ADAMMA muann-a ME-as n-an* ^D *MAH-ni pais* 'Throne rose, took the king's blood and [seminal?] fluid, and gave it to the Mother-goddess'; *VBoT* 121 Vs. 11 *ADAMMA-ya ME-as*), *A-TAM-MA* (*KUB* XVI 29 Rs. 9 *ša LUGAL ATAMMA A.A-n-a ME-as*; VI 7 III 8), gen. sg. *e-es-ha-na-as* (e.g. XLI 8 III 10 *n-at sumes datten n-at ēshanas* DINGIR-LIM-ni *pestin* 'you, take it and give it to the deity of blood!'; XIII 9 + XL 62 II 3-4 *mān ēshanass-a kuiski sarnikzil piyan harzi* 'also if someone has paid wergeld [lit. given restitution for blood]'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 446 [1959]), *ishanas* (e.g. dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 19; *KUB* XI 1 IV 19-20 *ishanas-ta uttar kissan kuis ēshar iezzi nu kuit ēshanas-pat ishās tezzi* 'a case of murder is as follows: who commits murder, whatever the one in charge of the murder [i.e. the kinsman entitled to extrajudicial settlement] says ...'; *KUB* XIX 67 + 1513/u I 17-18 *nu-mu* ^{Arma-D} *U-as [ku]it ishanas antuhsas ēsta* 'because Armadattas was my blood-relative'; *KBo* XV 10 I 22 *ishanas* ^{UTU-un} 'the sun-god of blood'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16), *ishānas* (*KUB* XVII 18 II 29), *ishanās* (*KBo* XVII 1 IV 8; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36; XV 10 I 1 and 32, ibid. II 39 *ishanās* ^{UTU-us}), *e-es-na-as* (*KUB* XLI 8 II 36 *ēsnas* DINGIR-LIM 'the deity of blood', besides dupl. *KBo* X 45 III 1 *ēshanas* DINGIR-LUM; III 1 II 47-48 ^N [OHitt.] *kī-wa ēsnas uttar tuppiāz au* 'read from the tablet this' business of blood[shed]'), *i-e-es-na-as* (*KUB* XVII 18 II 31 [*pap*] *rannas iēsnas*, besides ibid. 29 *ishānas* [see above]), dat.-loc. sg. *ēshani* (*KBo* XI 1 Vs. 45 [in "calamity list" s.v. *ishahru-*]; XI 45 III 22; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 232), *ēshani* (e.g. *KUB* X 11 VI 5; XLI 8 IV 25 *wastulli ēshani hurtiya* 'sin, bloodshed, curse'), *ishani* (e.g. dupl. *KBo* X 45 IV 26; XI 49 VI 18; *KUB* XI 26 II 11), instr. sg. *ēshanta* (*HT* 1 I 38 *n-an ēshanta iskiyaizzi* 'he daubs it with the blood'), *ishanda* (*KBo* XVII 4 III 15; cf. *e-es-ha-ni-it* (*Bo* 3696 I 7, 10) *e-es-ha-an-te-it* (*Peu V Reth* 14, 19, 68) 307 *is-ha-ni-it* (*Ko* 29, 89 II 27)

Ko 26, 28 II 15
[Akk.] *šarku* =
[Hitt.] *ēshar*; cf.
MSL 17:110, 85.

Adi)
Ko 3, 275
e-es-ha-na-as
1w2 119b

Ko 133
III 3
dupl. =
e-es-ha-ni-it
Ko 3, 275 15:3

is-ha-ni (Ko 55, 29
II 6; cf. *Unal* 1/
JCS 40:39, 288).

note: ~~so is-ha-ni-it~~
 Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34), abl. sg. *e-es-ha-na-az* (e.g. *KUB XVI 77 Rs. 19 ēshanaz sarnikzel* 'wergeld', lit. 'restitution because of blood[shed]'), *e-es-ha-na-za* (XIX 20 Rs. 9), *e-es-ha-na-az* (XV 42 II 10 [in "calamity list" s.v. *ishahru-*]), *is-ha-na-az* (ibid. 30; XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 42 [similar lists]), *is-ha-na-za* (XXX 33 I 10 [another such list; see s.v. *ishahru-*]), *e-es-na-za* (IBOT 1 33, 52 *ēsnaza uit* 'came from the blood'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:153 [1958]).

J. Catsanias (BSL 77.2:94, '92) wrongly interpreted forms such as (i) *ēssar*, (ii) *ēsnas* as a verbal noun 'deed, crime' from *ija-* 'do' (besides *iyauwar*), with reference to Laroche (RPh 67:121, '73) who tried to separate *iēssar* from *ēssar*.
[ēshanant-, ishanant-] (c.) 'blood', nom. sg. *ēshananza* (*KUB XXX 34 IV 7-8 nu ēshananza linkiyaz* ^E*halinduwa ē DINGIR*. MEŠ *le epzi* 'may bloodshed and perjury not seize the temples of the palace!'; cf. V. Haas - M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]; IV 1 II 19-23 *nu ša KUR URU Hatti DINGIR*. MEŠ *antuhuss-a ēssar iyauwanna halzissanzi nu ša KUR URU Hatti DINGIR*. MEŠ *nas iyauwas* [...] *ēshananzass-a antu[hs]a[s* ...] *iyauwass-a* 'they summon the gods and men of Hatti to shed blood: by the gods of Hatti [blood is] to be shed, and also by the men [of Hatti] blood [is] to be shed'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer* 172; IX 4 I 38 *ēshananza ē[sh]anas* [GIG-an *karapzi*] 'blood relieves blood-disease'; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:40 [1957]; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:414 [1971]), *ishanaza* (dupl. IX 34 II 46 47 *ishanaza* [*ishanas* KL.MIN] 'blood of blood likewise'), *ishananza* (XIV 14 + XIX 2 Rs. 23 *nu KUR URU Hatti-ya apās ishananza arha namma zinne[sta]* 'that bloodshed has furthermore finished off Hatti as well'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 172; XLIV 63 II 3; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 28). Cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:26 (1962). On the ablative origin of such "animate" nominatives to neuter nouns see s.v. *istark(iya)-*. ^{MS} *MS K 10 75 ēshan* ^{is-ha-na-na-za (K 54.1 19)}

[eshassi-], divine epithet with Luwoid derivation suffix, nom. sg. *ēshassis* (*KUB XLI 8 III 21 kuit-san ēshassis tet* 'what the bloody one said'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130, 154 [1961]); probably to be identified with ibid. 10 *ēshanas* DINGIR-LIM 'deity of blood'. Derivation makes some difficulty (cf. also Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:228), since **esh(a)n-assi-* might rather have yielded **esnassi-*. On similar divine epithets (e.g. *hilassi-*, *lalassi-*, *wasdulassi-*) see Laroche, *Recherches* 68-70.

[eshanuwant-], *ishanuwant-* 'bloody', nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ēshanuwanta* (*HT 1 I 30 ēshanuwanta kuyēs wēstata*, with dupl. ^{nom.-sg.c. is-ha-nu-wa-ni-it (K 43.131 14)}

KUB IX 31 I 37 ēsha[nuwan]ta kuēs wēssanta 'who wear bloody things'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]), dat.-loc. sg. *ishanuwanti* (XXXVI 89 Vs. 13-14 ANA DUMU.MEŠ-MELUTTI *ishanuwanti isharwa[ni]* 'bloody, blood-red mankind'; ibid. Rs. 1 i] *ishanuwanti isharwanti*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144, 150). **eshn-want->eshan-want-* (spelled *eshanuwant-*); cf. e.g. *iyatnuwant-* from *iyatar* (s.v.; analyzable as *iyatn-uwant-*, allophonically regular after light syllable; similarly *saknuwant-* 'shitty' from *sakkar* 'shit'), or *samankurwant-* 'bearded' from *zamangur* 'beard'. Wrongly taken as participle of *esharnu-* 'make bloody' (with loss of *r*) by Haas, *Nerik* 162, even as Laroche (*Dict. louv.* 33) interpreted the matching Luw. *ashanuwant-* as being from *asharnu-* (q.v. infra). For denom. *-want-* cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:266-7.

[eshaniya-] 'bloody', nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ēshaniya* (*KUB XLIV 4 + KBo XIII 241 Rs. 2* ^D*SIN-as-ma ēshaniya wassiya* 'the moon-god wears bloody things'. Cf. e.g. *ispant-iya-* 'nocturnal' from *ispant-* 'night').

**eshaniya-* 'to bloody', iter. **eshaneski-*, syncopational partic. **eshan(i)skant->eshaskant-, ishaskant-*, nom. sg. c. *e-es-ha-as-kán-za* (*KUB VII 41 Vs. 15 ēshaskanza linkanza* 'one who has bloodied [and] forsworn himself'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), acc. pl. c. *is-ha-as-kán-tu-us* (*KBo XVII 4 II 6-7 hatugaus lālus* [...] *ishaskantus dāhhun* 'I have taken the terrible bloodied tongues'; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *es-ha-as-kán-ta* (III 34 I 20 TUG-ZUNU ^{TUG}*ishial-semett-a kuit natta esha[s]kanta* 'how come their garment[s] and their belt[s] are not bloodied?'), *is-ha-as-kán-ta* (XVII 1 I 24 *sākuwa-smet ishaskanta* 'their eyes [are] blood-shot'; cf. Otten - Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20). **eshaniya-* parallels *sakniya-* 'to shit' from *sakkar* 'shit'. Cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 28:12, 18 (1970).

eshariya-, *issariya-* 'to bloody', 3 sg. pret. act. *issariat* (*KUB XLI 8 III 24*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]); iter. *eshar(r)eski-*, 3 sg. imp. act. *es-har-ri-es-ki-id-du* (*KUB XVII 27 III 12-13 n-at-kan ANŠU-as esharreskiddu* [*n-at-kan* GUD-us *kammar-si-eskiddu* 'let the ass bloody them, let the ox defecate on them!']). **eshariya-* parallels *sehuriya-* 'urinate' from *sehur* 'urine'.

acc. sg. c.
 e-es-ha-as-ga-
 -an-ta-an
 (K 25.127 + 147 18,
 1760 25)

esharnu-, *isharnu-* '(make) bloody, dye blood-red', 1 sg. pres. act. *ēsharnumi* (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 47 *nu-wa-za QAT* E.HI.A-ya *ammuk hūdāk ēsharnu[m]i* 'and I shall forthwith bloody my hands'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 30), 3 sg. pres. act. *ēsharnuzi* (XXIII 72 Rs. 29–30 [*k*]uis-a-za ITTI LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} *Pahhuwa* [QAT.HI.A-ŠU] *ūL ēsharnuzi* 'but he that does not bloody his hands with the people of P.'). 3 pl. pres. act. *isharnuwanzi* (KBo VI 34 + KUB XLVIII 76 III 47–IV 1 *kī KUŠ SA₅ m[a]hhan isharnuwanzi nu-ssi-kan i[sha]rwātar arha ūL paizzi* 'as they dye this skin blood-red, and its blood-coloredness does not go away'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14), 2 sg. imp. act. *ēsharnut* (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 18 *nu-wa-za QATE.MEŠ-KA zik hūdāk ēsharnut* 'bloody thy hands forthwith!'), 2 pl. imp. act. *e-es-har-nu-ut-tin* (XXIII 72 Rs. 29 ITTI LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} *Pahhuwa-ma-za QAT.HI.A-KUNU sumes hūdāk ēsharnuttin*); partic. *isharnuwant-*, nom. sg. *isharnuwanza* (XXXV 145 Vs. 3 *isharnuwanza* D^U.GUR 'bloody war-god'; acc. sg. c. *isharnuwandan* (ibid. 15; dupl. XVII 15 II 10 *isharnuwanda* <n> D^U.GUR; IX 4 III 42–43 *isharnuwanda* <n> D^U.GUR; dupl. IX 34 IV 2 *ishar*]nuwandan D^U.GUR), gen. sg. *isharnuwandas* (KBo XVII 54 I 14 *isharnuwandas* D^U.GUR), nom. pl. c. *isharnuwantes* (VBoT 111 III 15 *isharnuwantes dankumuwantes hahl[-i]uwantes* 'reddened, blackened, verdant'; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5:146 [1957]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *isharnuwanda* (VBoT 111 III 9; KBo XII 126 I 39 [*isha*]rnuwanda; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 26); iter. *esharnuski-*, *isharnuski-* (ibid. 38 *isharnusk[i-]*), 1 sg. pres. act. *isharnuskimi* (KUB XXX 36 III 1), 3 sg. pres. midd. (?) *ēsharnuskitta* (Bo 2709 II 8). *esharnu-* as a denominative verb parallels e.g. *aiṃpa-mu-* 'to burden'.

esharnumai-, *isharnumai-* '(make) bloody, smear with blood', 3 sg. pres. act. *isharnumaizzi* (KBo V 1 I 25–26 *nanna iŠTU 2 MUŠEN harnāui* G¹⁵ KAK.HI.A-ya *kuiussa arhayan isharnumaizzi* 'then he bloodies also one by one the pegs of the birth stool with [the blood of] two birds'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 2*, 18; KUB XV 31 II 23 *nu 9 āpi isharnumaizzi* 'he smears with blood nine pits'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 156), *isharnumāizzi* (dupl. XV 32 II 18), 3 pl. pres. act. *ēsharnumanzi* (XXIX 4 IV 39 ŠA [DINGIR-LI] M GIBIL. *hūman ēsharnumanzi* 'they smear with blood everything of the new deity'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung*

inf. e-es-har-
-nu-ma-a-u-wa-
-an-bi (Kozh.45
Rs.14; d. Lebrun //
Orient. Lovan. Per.
19:106, '83).

is-har-wa-an-ta
(Kozh.39 Rs.13
isharnumta šisimēri
'blood-red reins')

is-har-nu-ma-a-i-t-bi
(Kozh.114 123)

is-har-ū-i-il
also Kozh.72 Rs.14

32), *isharnumanzi* (KBo V 1 III 41 *n-an iŠTU MUŠEN isharnumanzi* 'they bloody it with a bird[']s blood'); *isharnum*[anzi in XXI 45 II 2). Denom. from **esharnuma-*, either verbal noun in *-(i)ma-* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:178) or a Luwoid participle (cf. Luw. *āsharnumma-* below).

**esharu-*, **isharu-* (n.) 'bloodiness, blood-red color', denom. *isharwai-*, *isharwiya-* 'have bloodiness, bleed, be blood-colored', partic. *isharwant-*, nom. sg. c. *isharwanza* (259/s Rs. 9 *isharwanza* SAL.LUGAL-as 'bloody queen'), acc. sg. c. *isharwandan* (KUB IX 34 I 26 *isharwandan* D^U.GUR; XVII 15 III 2 *isharwand*[an?], dat.-loc. sg. *isharwanti* (XXXVI 89 Vs. 14, Rs. 1, quoted under *esharnuwant-* above), instr. sg. *is*]harwante[*t* (KBo XVII 25 Rs. 14; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 225), nom. pl. c. *isharwantes* (KUB XXX 93 Vs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222), acc. pl. c. *isharwantus* (KBo XVII 1 I 24–25 *wessanda-ma isharnwantus* TUG.HI.A-us 'they wear blood-red garments'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *isharwanda* (KUB XXXIII 54, 13–14 *hameshi-ya-z BABBAR-TIM* [wassasi] EBUR-ma-z *isharwand*[a w]assasi 'in the spring you wear white, but at harvest you wear red'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]; similarly XXXIV 76 I 3 *isharwanda wassizzi*, besides ibid. 2 *harki wassizzi*; cf. Otten, *Afo* 16:69 [1952–3]); verbal noun *isharwātar* (n.) 'blood-coloredness' (KBo VI 34 + KUB XLVIII 76 III 48, quoted under *esharnu-* above); iter. *isharuieski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *is-har-ū-i-es-ki-iz-zi* (KUB XXVIII 6 Vs. 10b–11b G¹⁵ H¹⁵ŠHUR TUL-i *ser artari n-at isharuieskizzi* 'an apple-tree stands over a well, and it keeps "bleeding"' [cf. Akk. *dam erini* 'cedar-blood', i.e. resin; thus perhaps 'its sap flows']); also factitive *ēsharwahh-*, iter. 3 sg. pres. midd. in KBo XV 1 I 27 [LUGAL]-us-wa *kuit ēsharwah*[heskitta 'wherewith the king has been made blood-red' (cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 112, 124; Neu, *Interpretation* 32). Cf. J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Anatolica* 4:160–3 (1971–2).

e-es-har-ū-i-il, *is-har-ū-i-il* 'of a blood-red kind' (?), attested as qualifier of *KUŠ* 'skin, hide' (KUB IX 4 II 5 *e-es-har-ū-i-il KUŠ-an*; VII 13 I 14 *KUŠ.UDU-ya e-es-har-ū-i-il*; ibid. 25 *KUŠ.UDU-ya is-har-ū-i-il* 'blood-red sheepskin'; Bo 5969 I 3 *KUŠ is-har-ū-i-il*). The noun underlying *KUŠ* can hardly be *kursa-*

(c.), because *KUB IX 4 II 5 kuš-an* seems to be nominative (4–6: *kāsa-tta ēsharuil kuš-an kāsa-tta suppis* ^{UDU} 'yanza 'lo, for you a blood-red skin, lo, for you a pure sheep'); thus *ēsharuil* is probably nom.-acc. sg. neut., perhaps exceptional for **esharu-ili*, like e.g. *suwaru-ili* 'of a weighty sort' from *suwaru-* 'weighty, hefty' (q.v.). *KBo VI 34 + KUB XLVIII 76 III 46* and *47 KUŠ.SA₅* 'red skin' may stand for *KUŠ isharuul* (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 48–9), with *ibid.* III 47–IV 1 (quoted under *esharnu-* above) thus a figura etymologica (*isharuil ... isharnuwanzi* 'they dye blood-red', with proleptic predicate complement, followed by *isharwatar* 'blood-coloredness').

Luw. *ashanuwant-* 'bloody', nom. sg. c. *āshanuwantis* (*KUB XXXV 108, 15 āshanuwantis* ^PU.GUR-as 'bloody war-god'; cf. Hitt. *isharnuwanza* ^PU.GUR, quoted above), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ashanuwanta* (*IX 31 II 23 ashanuwanta kuinzi wassantari* 'who wear bloody things'; cf. *ibid.* I 37 [Hitt.] *ēsha[nuwan]ta kuēs wēssanta*, quoted above); *asharnu-* '(make) bloody', partic. nom. pl. c. *āsharnummainzi* (*XXXV 18 I 13 GİR.MEŠ-ŠUNU āsharnummainzi* 'their feet [are] bloodied'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 25). Cf. Otten, *Bestimmung* 36–41.

Hier. *asharmi-* 'bloody' (?). Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 36; Laroche, *HH* 184.

eshar has been connected with the old heteroclitic IE base word for 'blood' since F. Ribezzo, *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 4:128 (1920). The nearest apparent parallel to *eshar*: gen. *eshanas* is Vedic *āsr̥g*: gen. *asnās* 'blood' (post-Vedic *asram*), but a reconstruction **ēsH₁(-g)*: *esH₁gnós* would have been expected to yield Ved. **asanās* (cf. also F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 47 [1970]). However, *eshar*: *eshanas* can be interpreted also as reflecting rather **ēsH₁r̥*: *ēsH₁-n-s* (> **eshans* reshaped to regular *eshanas*; cf. Puhvel, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 212 [1979]), which allows an alternative comparison with Gk. (Hes.) *ἔαρ, εἶαρ, ἦαρ, ἱαρ* 'blood', also *εἶαρποότης, ἥεαρποότης, ἱαρποότης* 'blood-drinker' (corrupted in Homer into *ἡεαρφοῖτις* ['aerobatic'] *Ἐπινός* [*Iliad* 9.571, 19.87]; cf. *Schol. Iliad* 19.87 *εἶαρποῶτις, εἶαρ = αἶμα*, and *KUB I 16 III 17* [OHitt.] *ēs*]har-simit ekutta 'she has drunk their blood'); *ἦαρ* (< **ēsH₁r̥*) has the long grade like e.g. *ἦαρ*

'liver', and gen. **ἔατος* (< **ēsH₁-t-*; replaced by *εἶαρτος* in Alexandrian poetic usage, on the basis of compositional *εἶαρτο-*; cf. *ὑδρο-* driving out *ὑδατο-*) may have alternatively generalized the same grade (cf. *ἦπατος*). Ved. *āsr̥g*, on the contrary, has the same normal grade as *yákr̥t* 'liver' (gen. *yaknās*), and *asnās* can be explained as back-formed secondarily on the basis of a suffixless locative **āsan* < **esH₁* (cf. *āhar*, gen. *āhnas*, loc. *āhan*). The Hittite forms without *h* (*ēssar*, *ēsnas*) are also clearly secondary, probably originating in new allomorphic environments such as /eshnas/, with *h* secondarily trapped and lost in nonvocalic surroundings. Thus a combined consideration of the Vedic and Greek cognates affords a fairly full understanding of the Hittite paradigm, whether *ēshar*, *ishar* be interpreted as having long or normal vowel grade in the first syllable. The other cognates (Toch. A *ysār*, B *yasar* [< **esHōr*?], Arm. *ariwn* [< **esH₁yon*?], Lettish *asins* [< **esH₁*?], Lat. *aser*, *assar-*) hardly militate against the assumption of initial **e-* or *ē-*, granted the amount of secondary sources of *a* in all those languages (cf. e.g. Lat. *magnus*, *salvus*). Cf. also Benveniste, *Origines* 8, 26; R. Stefanini, *AGI* 43:18–41 (1958).

That Gk. *ἰχὼρ* (gen. *ἰχῶρος*) 'serum' (also denoting what gods have in lieu of normal blood, e.g. *Iliad* 5:340) may be a loanword from Hitt. *ishar* has been sporadically alleged since A. H. Sayce, *Classical review* 36:19 (1922); thus e.g. P. Kretschmer, *KIF* 10–1, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1947, 19–20; cf. Puhvel, in *Evidence for laryngeals* 85 (1965).

es(sa)ri- (n.) 'shape, form, (body-)frame, likeness, image, icon, statue' (ALAM; *KBo III 94 II 10* ALAM = [Akk.] *šalmu* = *ēsri*; I 44 + XIII 1 IV 31 [Akk.] *šalmu* = *ēssari*; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 20, 26), ^{sig}*es(sa)ri-* (n. and c.) 'fleece' (literally 'woolshape, wool-skin', besides *UDU-as* ^{KUŠ}*kursas* 'sheepskin' [with 'hide' determinative]), nom. sg. c. ^{sig}*ēsris* (*KUB XXXII 133 I 12*), acc. sg. c. ^{sig}*ēsrin* (*KUB XLI 1 I 16* ^{sig}*ēsrin* GE₆ *dāi* '[she] takes a black fleece'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ēsri* (e.g. dupl. *KBo XXI 8 II 6 dankui* ^{sig}*ēsri* *dāi*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 30; *KUB IX*

28 I 11 *nu* DINGIR-LIM-as *ēsri iyazi* 'one is to make a likeness of the deity'; XII 50, 7 UKÙ-as *ēsri-set* 'a likeness of a man'; KBo XIII 2 Vs. 2 *ēsri-met* 'my likeness', besides *ibid.* 3 *sēnas-mes* 'my [substitute] figure'; KUB XX 54 + KBo XIII 122 Rs. 6 *ēsri-sset-wa nēuwan* 'his [viz. the icon's] frame [is] new' [besides details like breast, head, penis]; cf. Neu – Otten, *IF* 77:182 [1972]; KBo XXI 22 Vs. 25 *ēsri-set-wa GIBIL-an*; cf. also G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200–1 [1978]; Starke, *ZA* 69:92 [1979]; KUB XLIII 63 Vs. 12–13 *nu labarnan ... ēsri-sset newāh* 'renovate the ruler's statue!'; XXXIII 54, 16–17 UDU-us-ma-ta-kkan *katti-ti* [*arha paizzi*] [*mu-ss*]e-sta *ēsri* [*huezta* 'the sheep goes off beneath you [viz. the hawthorn], and you pluck[ed] its fleece'; cf. Otten, *AfO* 16:69–70 [1952–3]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]; similarly XVII 10 IV 2, but with ^{sig}*ēsri*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:96 [1965]; 110/e Vs. 21 UDU*iyantas* ^{sig}*ēsri* 'sheep's fleece'; 110/e Rs. 23 -k]an ^{sig}*ēsri anda hūlalianzi* 'they wrap in a fleece'), *ēssari* (e.g. KUB XII 63 Vs. 35 *ēssari-ḫit*; XVII 28 II 43), ^{sig}*ēssarri* (XXXIV 76 I 5), ALAM-ri (*HT* 96 obv. 7), ALAM-i (KUB XXIX 1 II 52–53 ALAM-i-ssi NAGGA-as ier SAG.DU-ZU AN.BAR-as ier 'they have made his frame of lead; they have made his head of iron'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:32 [1947]), dat.-loc. sg. in *e-es-ri-es-si* (KBo III 7 III 20–21 *mān ēsre-ssi āppa karuuliatta sig-s-atta* 'as in his own shape he had been restored to his former state'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]), *ēsri* (KUB XXXIII 34 Vs. 12 *ēsri-tti* 'for thy icon'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:127 [1965]), *ēssari* (XLIII 53 I 19 *ēssari-sett-a ēssari GAL-li* 'and his frame [is] bigger than the [other's] frame'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:416 [1971]; Neu, *Altheth.* 26; XXIV 13 II 7 *ēssari-ta-at-kan dandu* 'for your likeness let them take it'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 340), *ēsriya* (IX 28 IV 5–8 *wātar* DINGIR. MEŠ-as *ēsriya kuit kittati n-at dāi n-at-san tuikki-ssi lāhūwāi* 'the water which had been placed by the image of the gods, that he takes and pours it on his body').

The metonymous variation 'shape, body': 'skin, hide' is matched by e.g. Hitt. *tuekka*- 'body' besides Skt. *tvác*- 'skin; body' (cf. *RV* 10.171.2 *śīro* 'va *tvacó bharaḥ* 'you have severed the head from the body'), OPruss. *kērmens* 'body' besides Skt. *cārman*- 'skin', or Gk. *χρῶς* 'skin (complexion), flesh, frame,

body', or the sumerogram SU 'flesh' = KUŠ 'skin, hide'. The plausible common denominator is '(physical) being', thence '(concrete) shape, (external) form', and the likeliest interpretation is *es-ri*- from *es*- 'to be' (cf. *esuwar* 'being, existence'; thus already Alp, *Anatolia* 2:32 [1957]), formed like e.g. *edri*- 'eating, food', *auri*- 'looking, lookout', *kis(sa)ri*- 'carding, skein of carded wool'. Neither Kronasser's tie-in with *essa*- 'make' (*Etym.* 1:225; cf. Lat. *figō*: *figūra*) nor Neumann's posited *es*- 'create' (*KZ* 75:88–90 [1957], comparing *is[sa]na*- 'dough' [the English gloss being cognate with Lat. *figūra*, from IE **dheyǵh-*]), nor H. Eichner's adduction of *es*- 'sit' ('seated image' in *Die Sprache* 21:157–8 [1975]) is plausible (*esri*- being the primary form and *essa*- [q.v.] iterative from *iya*-, and *is[sa]na*- [q.v.] perhaps cognate with Engl. *yeast*); but Neumann was right in insisting on the etymological unity of *esri*- and ^{sig}*esri*- and in rejecting Benveniste's (*BSL* 50.1:42–3 [1954]) comparison of the latter with Attic Gk. *ἐπιον*, Homeric *εἶπος* 'wool' (the latter's proto-form **werwos* being vindicated by Myc. *we-we-e-a* 'woollen', i.e. *werwe[h]ea* = Attic *ἐπεᾶ*, from **werwes*-).

Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:225) abortively compared *es(sa)ri*- 'fleece' with Hitt. *kis(sa)ri*- ('skein of carded wool') as a Luwianism on the lines of Luw. *issari* : Hitt. *kessar* 'hand'; the source verb *kis(s)*- 'card' (q.v.) is attested also in Luwian.

Van Windekens (*Annual of Armenian linguistics* 1:41–2 [1980]) explained Arm. *asr* 'sheep's wool, fleece' as borrowed from Hitt. *es(sa)ri*, with "obscure" (Luwoid?) *a*-coloration.

In 1990:97–8, 85 van Windekens implausibly connected *esri*- (and *asara*-) with Gk. *εἶπον* 'dissembler'.

esri- c. 12) = *ed- ad- ezza-* 345.

ed-, ad-, ezza- 'eat' (KÚ), 1 sg. pres. act. *e-id-mi* (e.g. *edmi ekumi* 'I eat [and] drink', q.v. sub *eku*-; KBo III 34 III 9; XXVI 74 II 3 *nu-tta arha edmi* 'I eat you up'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 56; KUB XXXIII 120 II 42–43 DUMU-an-mu *pāi* [...] *arha edmi* 'give me the child ... I shall eat up'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3), 2 sg. pres. act. *e-iz-si* ([OHitt.] *ezsi euksi*, q.v. sub *eku*-), *e-iz-za-as-si* (I 16 III 29 [OHitt.], followed by *ekussi*, q.v. sub *eku*-), *e-z[ā-at-ti]* (KBo XIX 112, 8, followed *ibid.* 9 by *ekutti*, q.v. sub *eku*-), 3 sg. pres. act. *e-za-az-zi* (e.g. KUB VII 1 II 10

n-us ezazzi 'he eats them'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *e-iz-za-zi* (e.g. XLIV 61 Vs. 2 *nu NINDA-an ūl ezzazi* 'does not eat bread'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 19 and 23 *SAL-za ūl ezzazi* 'the woman does not eat'; VIII 88 Vs. 19 *ūl-as kuiski ezzazi* 'none eats them'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 262), *e-iz-za-az-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 4 IV 40 *nāui ezzazzi* 'does not yet eat'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:394 [1934]; VIII 16 + 24 II 4; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:142, 144 [1956]; XXIX 46 + 53 I 17–18 *nu kuissa* [...] 4 *UPNU ezzazzi* 'each [horse] eats four handfuls'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 192; *VBoT* 15, 5; 97 Vs. 4), *e-iz-za-i* (e.g. *KBo* XIII 130 IV 3 *nu-za ezzai ekuzzi*, with dupl. XIII 93 Rs. 13 *jezzai ekuzzi*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 41; H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 68:272 [1978]; *KUB* VIII 65, 6 *ūl na]mma ezzai ekuzzi* 'eats [and] drinks [nothing] more'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 42), *e-iz-za-a-i* (e.g. XLIV 64 II 4 *NINDA-an namma ezzāi*; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 49; XIII 4 IV 5 *nāui ezzāi*; ibid. I 53 *arha ezzāi*; XXXIII 114 I 28 *le ezzāi* 'shall not eat'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:32 [1968]), *KŪ-zi* (e.g. *KŪ-zi NAG-zi*, q.v. sub *eku-*), (1 pl. pres.) act. *atueni* (e.g. [OHitt.] *atueni akueni*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *adueni* (e.g. [OHitt.] *adueni akueni*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *a]duwani* (*KBo* XV 26, 4, followed ibid. 7 by *ekuwani*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *edue[ni]* (*Bo* 5621 I 6), *eduwāni* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 15; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:24 [1947]), (2 pl. pres.) act. *ezzatteni* (e.g. XIII 4 II 70, followed by *ekutteni*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *izzatteni* (ibid. IV 44 *n-at suma[s] hūdāk izzatteni* 'you promptly eat it'), *azzasteni* (I 16 III 34 and 48 [OHitt.], followed by *ekutteni*, q.v. sub *eku-*), (3 pl. pres.) act. *adanzi* (frequent, e.g. *adanzi akuenzi*, q.v. sub *eku-*; *IBoT* III 148 III 18–19 *namma-at-za adanna esantari nu-za adanzi akuwanzi* 'then they sit down to eat, and eat [and] drink'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 222), *adazi* (*KUB* I 13 I 11; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 54), *atānzi* (*KBo* III 60 II 4–5 [OHitt.], *n-an-kan kumanzi s-an-ap atānzi* 'they kill him and they eat him'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:104 [1938]), (1 sg. pret.) act. *edun* (e.g. *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 16, followed ibid. 17 by *ekun*, q.v. sub *eku-*; XXXIII 36 II 12; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:137 [1965]), (2 sg. pret.) act. *e-za-at-ta* (XXXIII 96 IV 20, followed ibid. 21 by *ekutta*, q.v. sub *eku-*), (3 sg. pret.) act. *e-iz-ta* (*KBo* III

e-iz-za-az-zi
(*Ko* 23.130 Rs. 6)

e-iz-za-du (*ku*
57.79 12.23 *ezzadu*
ekuddu)

e-iz-za-at-te-en
(*ku* 9.1 10.6)

Bo 5709 Vs. 10
aduwani *akuwani*

e-iz-za-te-ni
(*ku* 31.144 17.7)

iz-za-an-du
(*ku* 54.34 11.3)

3 pl. pres.
a-da-zi also
ko 4.14.35; cf.
KLTU 340.

a-ta-an-zi
(e.g. *ko* 13.36 11.13;
160.1.3.19 *n-at-za*
atanzi 'they eat')

a-tin-zi (*ko* 26.203, 3)
ku-an-zi (e.g.
ko 23.95 Rs. 10)

60 II 18 *s-an-ap ezta*), *ezzatta* (*e]zzatta ek[ut]ta*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *ezzaz* (*IBoT* I 33, 18; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:152 [1958]), *ezzasta* (*Mašat* 75/15 Vs. 7–8 *halki.H.A-us BURU₆.H.A* *ezzasta* 'a locust swarm has eaten the grain'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:42 [1980]), 1 pl. pret. act. *eduwen* (477/u, 13), 3 pl. pret. act. *e-te-ir* (e.g. *KBo* III 60 III 3 *s-us-ap eter*; ibid. 9 *s-an-ap eter*; *KUB* XVII 10 I 19, followed ibid. 20 by *ekuyer*, q.v. sub *eku-*; *Bo* 8691, 4 *arha-ma-an eter* 'but they ate him up'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 38), 2 sg. imp. act. *e-it* (e.g. *KUB* I 16 III 30; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; *KBo* IV 6 Vs. 8–9 and Rs. 7–8 *nu-za ... UZU_Y et* 'eat fat!'; *et-za eku* 'eat [and] drink!', q.v. sub *eku-*), *e-iz-za* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 87, 5 *nu-wa-za ezza* 'now eat!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:10 [1952]; XX 92 VI 8 *ezza-za*, followed ibid. 9 by *eku-ma*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 3 sg. imp. act. *e-iz-du* (XXXI 104 I 8; *jezdu ekuddu*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *ezzaddu* (*nu-za ezzaddu eku[ddu]*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *ezzazdu* (*KBo* VIII 35 II 20), 2 pl. imp. act. *e-iz-te-en* ([OHitt.] *ezten ekutten*, q.v. sub *eku-*; XI 14 III 16), *e-iz-za-te-en* (XVI 24 + 25 I 36; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea* P. Meriggi dicata 520 [1979]), *e-za-at-tin* (*nu-za ezattin ekuttin*, q.v. sub *eku-*; *KUB* XXXVI 97 IV 4), *e-iz-za-tin* (*nu-za ezzatin ekuttin*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *e-iz-za-at-tin* (XXXI 64 III 21 [OHitt.]; XVII 27 II 14 and 20; *jezzattin ekuttin*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *iz-za-at-te-en* (*izzatten ekutten*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *iz-za-at-tin* (*izzattin ekuttin*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *e-iz-za-as-te-en* (*ezzasten ekutten*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *e-iz-za-as-tin* (XXXIII 62 III 10, followed ibid. 11 by *ekuten*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *KŪ-tin* (*KŪ-tin NAG-tin*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 3 pl. imp. act. *adandu* (XXIV 14 IV 25; cf. Laroche, *JKF* 1:175 [1950]; *ad[and]u akuwandu*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *ezzandu* (IX 31 III 2 and dupl. *HT* 1 II 37); partic. *atant-*, *adant-* (partly active in meaning, like Lat. *pransus*; cf. *akuwant-* s.v. *eku-*), nom. sg. c. *adanza* (*KBo* V 2 IV 42 *n-at adanza ekuzi* 'having eaten he drinks it'), gen. sg. c. in *adandas akuwandas* (q.v. sub *eku-*), nom. pl. c. *atantes* (*KUB* VII 1 II 3 *nu-kan ... karātis atantes* 'entrails [are] eaten'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *adantes* (e.g. ibid. I 2 *garātis adantes* 'innards [are] consumed'); verbal noun *adatar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *adatar* (*adatar akuwatar*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *adātar* (*KBo* XIX 112, 10, followed ibid. by *akuwatar*, q.v. sub *eku-*), gen. sg. *adannas* (e.g. also *Ku* 18.103 11.4 *adātar ūl adanzi* 'eating they do not do'; d. Lebrun *Hymnes* 154.

3 sg. imp.
e-iz-za-ū (*ku* 58.94 I 15
ūned, hant.)

nom.-acc. sg. n.
a-da-a-an
(*ku* 13.2 11.19
adān harzi
'has eaten up')

KUB XXXII 123 II 39 *adannas halkuessar* 'eating supplies'; XIII 4 III 72-73 DINGIR.MEŠ-as *adannas mēhūni* 'at the gods' mealtime'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:388 [1934]), dat.-loc. sg. *adanna* (e.g. dupl. XIII 5 III 42 DINGIR.MEŠ-as *adanna mēhu[ni]*; IV 4 Vs. 12 'for eating' = ibid. 11 [Akk.] *ana kurummat*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]); inf. *adanna* (profuse, e.g. *adanna akuwanna* 'to eat [and] drink', q.v. sub *eku-*; XLIV 61 Vs. 20 *n-at-si adanna pā[i]* 'gives it to him to eat'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18; KBo XXVI 71 III 13 ^{GIS}BANŠUR-un-si *unuwandan adanna zikkizzi* 'a laid table for eating he sets up for him'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50), *adānna* (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 53 *adānna akuanna*; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 32); iter. *azzik(k)i-*, *azzaki-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *azzikizzi* (e.g. *azzikizzi akkuskizzi*, q.v. s.v. *aku-*; VII 1 II 5), *azzikizi* (ibid. 6), *azzikkizzi* (e.g. VIII 67 IV 18; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 40), 2 pl. pres. act. *azzikkītani* (*azzikkītani akkuskītani*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 3 pl. pres. act. *azzikanzi* (e.g. *azzikanzi akkuskanzi*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *azzikkanzi* (e.g. *azzikkanzi akkuskanzi*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 1 sg. pret. act. *azzikkīnun* (KBo IV 2 IV 29, followed ibid. 30 by *akkuskinun*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 3 pl. pret. act. *azzikkir* (KUB XXVI 89, 13, followed ibid. by *akkusk[ir]*, q.v. sub *eku-*), [a]z-zi-ik-ki-e[-ir] (XXIX 54 I 8), *az-za-ki[-ir]* (ibid. IV 2 *nu welku azzakir* 'they ate grass'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 226-8), 2 sg. imp. act. *azziki* (e.g. *HT* 1 I 55; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]), *azzikki* (e.g. *azzikki akkuski*, q.v. sub *eku-*; KUB XII 58 IV 26 and 35; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 22-4), *azzikkī* (*azzikkī akkuskī*, q.v. sub *eku-*; KBo XXI 60 Rs. 15), 3 sg. imp. act. *azzikidu* (KUB XII 58 IV 36), *azzikkiddu* (e.g. *azzikkiddu akkuskiddu*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *azziskiddu* (*azziskiddu akkuskiddu*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *kū-kiddu* (XIII 5 II 14 *kū-kiddu akkus[kiddu]*; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]), 2 pl. imp. act. *az-zi-kat-te-en* ([OHitt.] *azzikat-ten akkuskatten*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *az-zi-ki-te-en* (KBo XV 10 III 50; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 42), *az-zi-ki-it-tin* (KUB XV 34 III 51 *sumes azzikittin akkuskit[tin]*; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 200), *az-zi-ik-ki-tin* (XXIV 9 IV 16 *sumes azzikkittin akkuskit-tin*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 52), *az-zi-ik-ki-it-tin* (*azzikkittin akkuskittin*, q.v. sub *eku-*), 3 pl. imp. act. *az-zi-kān-du* (VBoT 132 III 8; *HT* 1 I 55), *az-zi-ik-kān-du* (KBo XXII 6

a-da-an-ni (Ku 6.4
11 adanni ser
'on account of eating')

kū-na (e.g. Ku 43.19
Rs. 34 kū-na JAQ-na)

1 sg. pres. az-zi-ki-mi
(Ko 13.64 Vs. 19)

2 sg. pres. az-zi-ki-si (Ku
4.3 Vs. 36; cf. Laroche II
Ugar. 5:980 '68)

3 sg. pres. kū-iz-zi
(context see Harsija)

3 pl. pres. az-za-as-kān-zi
(Ko 10.9 Rs. 2)

az-zi-ki-ir (Ku 16.1
Vs. 25 ND-jā-wa KAŠ-
ša gidim azzikir 'they
would eat mortuaries
bread and beer')

az-zi-ki-i (Ko 3.24, 19)
azzikir (KBo 7.28 Vs. 19)

az-za-ki-it-tin
(MST)

IV 19; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]; *azzikkandu akkus-kandu*, q.v. sub *eku-*), *a-az-za-ku-wa-an-du* (sic XX 73 IV 10, garbled after preceding ibid. *akkuskandu*, q.v. sub *eku-*). *Supine edri-, idri-* (n.) 'food, meal, dish', nom.-acc. sg. *e-id-ri* (KUB XLI 17 I 22 *ANA UR.ZIR.HIA-ma-wa-ttu edri udahhun* 'to your dogs I have brought food'; cf. Souček, *MIO* 9:168-71 [1963]; XXXIII 68 III 3 *edri-ti* [t 'thy meal'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:129 [1965]), *e-id-ri-es-mi-it* in KBo X 37 II 16-17 *ANA UR.ZIR.HIA ŠAH.HIA-ma mūdān-a edre-smīt* 'but for dogs (and) pigs refuse (is) their food' (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 16:30, 33-4 [1962]), nom.-acc. pl. *e-id-ri* (KUB XXXIII 81 I 7 8 *edri*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:80 [1965]; KBo XVIII 193 Vs. 6 9 ^{NINDA} *edriHIA* 'nine bread-dishes'; cf. Werner, *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae F.M.T. de L. Böhl dedicatae* 394 [1973]; VBoT 24 IV 11-12 9 *edri KAŠ-ya sarā danzi n-at arha adanzi akuwanzi* 'they take the nine dishes and the beer, and they eat and drink them up'; ibid. 7 and 15, III 16 9 *edri*; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:12-6, 22 [1927]; KBo XV 9 I 7 2-ŠU 9 *edri UD-ti* [li 'twice nine dishes daily'], *id-ri* (KUB XVII 14 IV 9 *nu-si* 2-ŠU 7 *idriHIA UD-tili tiskanzi* 'twice seven dishes they set for him daily'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 56). *Denom. edriya- (?)*, verbal noun gen. sg. in KBo XXIII 65, 11 *e-id-ri-wa-as EZEN* 'feast of feeding'; iter. 3 sg. pres. act. *e-id-ri-es-ki-iz-zi* (VI 3 IV 60-61 [=Code 100] GUD.HIA-ŠU *edreskizzi n-us-san parā hameshanda arnuzi* 'he [viz. the barn-burner] keeps feeding his [viz. the victim's] cattle and tides them over till next spring'), *e]driskizzi* (dupl. XIX 4 IV 8; cf. Otten - Souček, *A/O* 21:10 [1966]), *edr]iskizzi* (dupl. VI 2 IV 59, VI 21 IV 4). Suffix *-ri-* as in e.g. *auri-* 'lookout', *es(sa)ri-* 'shape', *kis(sa)ri-* 'skein of carded wool'.

Pal. *ad-* 'eat', 3 pl. pres. act. *atānti* (KUB XXXII 18 I 7 and 8), *adān[ti]* (KBo XIX 159, 7); iter. 2 sg. imp. act. *azzikī* (KUB XXXV 165 Vs. 15 and 20, unless Hitt. in Pal. context). Cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 8, 37, 14-6, 52.

Luw. *ad-, azza-*, 2 pl. pres. midd. *az-tu-u-wa-ri* (KUB IX 31 II 28 *nis azzūwari* 'do not eat!'), 2 pl. imp. act. *āzzastan* (ibid. 26; cf. Otten, *LTU* 16), 3 pl. imp. act. *adandu* (KBo XIII 260 III 10 and 12); inf. *aduna* (VII 68 II 5).

Hier. *ad-, ar-*, 3 sg. or pl. imp. act. *EAT-tu*, 3 pl. imp. act.

az-zi-ik-ki-
-wa-an (Ku 33.120
II 51 2 kumarbis
azzikkīnwan
dāis 'K. began
to eat').

etrijanu-
etrijanuski-
(Ku 39.41 Rs. 15)

atatū; infin. *aruna* (EAT *aruna* DRINK-na-ha). Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 41, 34; Laroche, *HH* 4. For possible further Luw. and Hier. attestations see Starke, *Sprache* 31: 249-55, '85.

An aberrant causative side-meaning 'feed' is found only in the substandard Hittite of Kikkulis (tablets 2-4; cf. the similar case of *eku-* [s.v.] and Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 82, 88-9, 309-10, 326-7).

Connected since Hrozný (*MDOG* 56:33 [1915], *SH* 61) with IE **ed-* 'eat' (*IEW* 287-9). The basic paradigm (pres. *edmi*, *ezsi*, *atueni*, *adanzi*; pret. *edum*, *ezta*, *eter*; imp. *et*, *ezdu*, *ezten*, *adandu*; partic. *adant-*) closely matches the Rig-Vedic (pres. *ádmi*, *átsi*, *átti*, *adanti*; imp. *addhi*, *attu*, *attá*, *adantu*; partic. *adánt-*) and parallels verbs like *es-*: *as-* 'be', *eku*: *aku-* 'drink', *ep(p)-*: *ap(p)-* 'seize'; there is no reason to assume /ēd-/ for Hittite, despite Lat. *ēst*, Lith. *ėsti*, OCS *jastŭ* < **ěstŭ* (wrongly e.g. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 89). Forms like *ezzaz(z)i*, *ezzatteni*, *ezatta*, *ezzaddu*, *ezzatin* are probably at least partly in origin graphic representations of **ed+t* > /et't/, even as *azzik(k)i*- and *azzaki-* reflect /atski-/. But they coexist with *ezzassi*, *ezzai*, *azzasteni* (OHitt.!), *ezzaz*, *ezza*, *ezzazdu*, *ezzasten*, *ezzandu* which look rather like "Luwoid" iteratives of the type *essa-*, *halzessa-* (cf. Luw. *āzzastan*, above), i.e. **ed-sa-*, **ad-sa-* beside the normal iterative **ad-ske-*. Thus e.g. *ezzaddu* and *ezzatin* may be interpreted either as graphic for *ezdu* and *ezten* or as morphological variants of *ezzazdu* and *ezzasten* (cf. e.g. *issattin* from *essa-*). A secondary stem *ezz(a)-* might finally also have arisen via false abstraction, /et'ten/ being conceived as *ez-ten* and spawning *ezz-andu* to replace *adandu*. A parallel may be seen in Gk. *ἐσθω*, *ἐσθίω* (beside *ἐδμεναι*) originating in the imperative *ἐσθί* (= Vedic *addhi*). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:392, 552. The suffix of *edri-* has parallels in Hes. *ἐδᾶρ·βρωμα* (besides Gk. *εἰδᾶρ* < **edwr*, pl. *εἰδᾶτα*; cf. Luw. *aduna*) and Lith. *ėdrà* 'fodder' (cf. Ivanov, *Studia linguistica in honorem acad. S. Mladenov* 480 [1957]). A stronger semi-synonym is *karap-* 'devour, consume' (q.v.).

Cf. *idalu-*.

e(u)wa(n)- (n.), name of a cereal, probably 'barley' (ŠE), nom.-acc. sg. *ewan* (*KBo* IV 2 I 10, in a list of grains and seeds; cf.

320 *e-wa-an* also 18.5.10.26 I 42; FHL 4, 12 *utūl ewan* 'barley-soup'; d. *Mémorial Atatürk* 79, '82.

Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]; similarly XI 14 I 6), *e-u-wa-an* (XXI 74 III 8 ŠE *ewan*; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 26; *KUB* XXX 32 IV 6 ŠE <*e*>*uwan*; XXIX 1 III 9 *nu seppit euwann-a suhhair* 'they poured wheat and barley'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:32 [1947]; XXIX 4 II 51 and 63, also IV 17 *utūl ewan* 'barley-soup'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedlung* 18, 20, 30; XXIV 14 I 7; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 91; *KBo* X 34 I 23), gen. sg. *euwaz* (*KUB* XXIX 6 + 102/f II 9 *utūl ewaz*; cf. *ZA* 71:123, 127 [1981]; VII 55 Vs. 6), *euwanas* (*KBo* X 34 I 13; ibid. 21 *euwanas memal* 'barley-meal'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 78-82 (1974); H. Berman, *JCS* 28: 245-6 (1976).

Cf. *halki-* (s.v.).

The gen. *euwanas* is probably secondary, starting from nom.-acc. *ewan* by analogy with the *n*-stem type *sahhan-*. The etymon is IE **yewo-* 'grain, corn' (*IEW* 512), Ved. *yáva-* 'grain, barley', Avest. *yava-* 'grain', Pers. *jav* 'barley', Lith. *javai* 'grain', Gk. *ζεαί*, *ζεώνπων* 'spelt', *ζειδωρος* 'grain-giving', *φασίζοος* 'grain-growing'. If there was a laryngeal before the **y-*, as indicated by Gk. ζ- and perhaps by Vedic lengthenings like *sū-yávasa-* (cf. Lehmann, *PIEP* 77), Hittite gives no evidence of it; *ewa-* shows rather that **ye-* appears as Hitt. *e-* (cf. s.v. *eka-*). Note also Finnish *jyvä*, Estonian *iva* 'grain'. Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 11:68 (1951); Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:67 (1961); Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:10; Gusmani, *Lessico* 45.

ezzan, izzan (n.) 'chaff'; alone or in asyndetic *ezzan* *GIS-ru* 'chaff (and) wood' also symbolic of or idiomatic for '(stored) holdings, (material) goods,' nom.-acc. sg. *e-iz-za-an*, *iz-za-an* (*KUB* XLI 8 II 15-17 *izzan GIM-an IM-anza pittenuzzi n-at-kan aruni parranta pedai* 'even as the wind makes chaff fly and carries it over the sea ...'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:124-6 [1961]; XXXIII 93 + III 21 *U-an-ma-wa GUL-ahdu nu-wa[r-an iz]zan GIM-an arha pussaiddu* 'let him smite the storm-god, let him keep pounding away at him like chaff'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951], 6:36-7 [1952]; XXXIX 4 Vs. 10-11 *nu-kan ezza[n] hi[...] anda warnuwa[nz]i* 'they burn chaff inside the h.-house'; cf. Otten,

Totenrituale 24, 127; XXXIV 68 Rs. 7 1 IM.GID.DA ezzan warnuma NU.[Til.] 'one long tablet concerning chaff-burning, incomplete'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 28; XXXIX 6 II 6 e]zzān warn[uwanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 48; KBo XX 64 Rs. 5–6 ezzan GIŠ-ru hahhal [...]YĀ.NUN LĀL KASKAL-as 'chaff, wood, brush ... butter, honey for the journey'; KUB I 1 IV 82–83 ša ʔgarupahiyas-za [ez]zan GIŠ-ru KISLAH ša ʔIŠTAR URU Samuha ilaliyazi 'who] covets the chaff [and] wood of the storehouse [and] the threshing floor of Ištar of Samuha'; dupl. I 3 IV 3 e-iz-za-an, KBo III 6 IV 44 iz-za-an; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 38–40, 104–5; KUB XI 6 II 6–7 [piyani-ma] ša DUMU.LUGAL izzan GIŠ-ru ŪL ā[ra 'to give away the "chaff and wood" of a prince is not right'; VIII 50 II 4–7 INA HUR.SAG arha piddāit n-as-kan [...] [t]askupiskizzi izzan-wa-kan ku[wapi ... arha] [pidd]anzi SAL-as-ma-wa-kan ē-irza parā [...] [nu-za ʔ]GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-us QAT-AMMA DÙ-at 'off he ran to the mountain, and he ... keeps wailing; [as the saying goes:] when they bring off the "chaff", from a woman's house forth [wailing comes?]; Gilgamesh did likewise'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:22, 54, 78 [1930]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:19 [1968]). Cf. Laroche, *Bi.Or.* 18:83 (1961); H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 32–3, 37 (1974).

For the use of chaff and wood in the sense of 'material holdings', cf. e.g. the expression IN.NU.DA-as iwar 'like straw' = 'amply, profusely' (see Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 59), or Gk. ὄλη 'wood' > 'stuff, material, matter', or 'scratch' denoting both poultry food and money in American English. The earlier posited meaning 'property, possessions' (Götze, *Hattusilis*; still maintained in *American journal of archaeology* 64:378 [1960]) is thus indirectly vindicated, while Güterbock's 'salt' (*JCS* 6:36–7 [1952], adopted by Otten in *Totenrituale*) is superseded.

ezzan is probably an *a*-stem like e.g. *pedan*, rather than an *n*-stem of the type *henkan*, *sahhan* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:165). Etymology obscure, vs. e.g. Gk. ἄχυρα, ἄχυνη, Goth. *ahana*, ON *agnar* 'chaff', Lat. *agna* 'ear of corn'. There may be some hope of connecting ezza- with Gk. neut. pl. ἡῖα 'chaff', also 'provisions' (with KUB XLI 8 II 15–17 [quoted above] cf. *Odyssey* 5:368–9 ὥς δ' ἄνεμος ζαῆς ἡῖων θημῶνα τινάξῃ καρφαλέων 'as a

gale wind scatters a heap of dry chaff ...'), if we reconstruct ἡῖα as *ēsiyo- and explicate the -zz- of ezza- as either a product of *-sy- in *esyo- or as matching IE *s in *eso-, in the manner of e.g. zena- 'autumn' beside Russian *osen* or in variants like zama(n)kur 'beard': samankurwant- 'bearded' (cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1:29–43 [1954]). In view of ancient winnowing practices (see e.g. Puhvel, *California studies in classical antiquity* 9:199–200 [1976] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 248–9 [1981]), a root-connection with Skt. *āsyati*, Avest. *anhyeiti* 'throw' is possible (chaff being literally what is tossed [into the wind]); but for a possible alternative Hittite cognate of Skt. *āsyati* see s.v. *has(s)*- 'open.' Cf. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104:223–4 (1983).

Von Schuler (*Orientalia* N.S. 52:161–3 [1983]) compared with ezzan GIŠ-ru Akk. *hāmū u huṣābu* 'straw or splinter' in the sense of 'the least bit, anything at all', but the latter is mainly post-negative ('not a whit'), while ezzan (*taru* [hahhal]), like Gk. ἡῖα, denotes 'wherewithal, resources, (journey) provisions'.

huṣābu

synonym to ezzan
is tuzanzi-

(MS)
 35, appa [-eē-z] KUB 33.66 12.6 - d. Grodd // ZA 87, '99:76 (cont. red.)

i-, (i)y- 'go'. 3 pl. pres. act. *yanzi* (KBo XXII 2 Vs. 7 [OHitt.] DUMU.NITA.MEŠ *a[pp]a* ^{URU}*Nēsa yanzi* 'the sons go back to Nesa'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6, 25, who translated 'make for Nesa', from *iya-*, perhaps an idiomatic ellipticism for KASKAL-*an iya-* 'make [their] way, hit the road'; but a literal 'they go' is more plausible and ties in with other relic forms; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 349), 2 sg. imp. act. *i-it* (e.g. XVII 3 III 5 *nu it* ^{DUTU-i} ^{DIM-ya} *mēmiski* 'go, say to the sun-god and the storm-god'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; IV 4 II 56 *nu-wa it* 'go ahead!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 118; *ibid.* I 41–42 *nu-wa-smas it halki* ^{III.A-us} *arha harnik* 'go and destroy their grain!'; XVI 17 III 33 *it-wa-ssi* KUR-KA *piran pahsanuwan harak* 'go and keep your land protected before him!'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:173 [1955]; V 4 Rs. 48 *it-wa walah* 'go [and] strike!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:68; KUB XIV 1 Rs. 26 *nu-wa-kan it* KUR ^{URU}*Hapālla-wa-kan kueni* 'go and smite H.!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 26; XVII 10 I 24–25 *it-war-asta pargamus* HUR.SAG.AS. ^{AS.III.A} *sāh* 'go search the high mountains!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; KBo III 23 I 10 *andan it* 'go inside!'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]; KUB XIV 3 III 65 *nu-wa ina* KUR *Hatti arha it* 'go off to Hatti!'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 14; KBo XV 9 I 25 *parā it* 'go forth!'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 58; KUB XXIX 1 II 39 *ehu zik* ^{AMUSEN} *it* 'come, thou eagle, go!'; KBo XXI 22 Vs. 9 *ehu hāras it* 'come, eagle, go!'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:199 [1978]; V 9 II 43–44 *eh[u-wa it]* *kuwapi-wa paissi* 'come, go where you are going!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:18; KUB XXIV 8 II 6 *it-[za] eku nu-za ninqa* 'go, drink, get your fill!'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 6; KBo V 13 II 22–23 *it-wa-z zi-an kuwapikki* TI-nut 'go, keep yourself alive somewhere!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124), 2 pl. imp. act. *i-it-te-en* (e.g. III 28 II 8 *itten azzikatten akkuskatten* 'go, eat [and] drink'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 186 [1973]; VI 2 III 19 [= *Code* 1:55, OHitt.]), *i-it-tin* (e.g. KUB XXXIII 106 IV 14 *n-an ittin zahheskittin namma* 'go keep

fighting him further'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:48 [1952]; XV 34 IV 30 *sarā nepisi ittin* 'go up to heaven'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 204; XIV 1 Vs. 66–67 *ūk-wa walhuuanzi* ^{URU}*Dalauwa paimi* [*sumes-ma*]-*wa* ^{URU}*Hinduwa ittin* 'I shall go strike at D., but you, go to H.!''; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16; *KBo* XIX 145 III 44; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 304), *it-ti-in* (*KUB* XXXI 64 II 22 [OHitt.]), *it-tin* (e.g. *KBo* IV 2 I 15 *ittin-wa-kan iṣTU É.GAL-LIM kallar INIM-tar parā sūwattin* 'go and drive the demon forth from the palace!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]); (*partic.*) *iyant-*, nom. sg. c. *ianza* (e.g. X 24 IV 3 '[has] gone inside'; might be equally from mediopassive *iya-* 'go' [q.v.]), acc. sg. c. *iyandan* (*KUB* IX 34 III 34 *iyandan kinun* 'the walking knee'); iter. (*i*)*yanna-*, *iyana-*, (*i*)*yanniya-*, *iyaniya-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *i-ya-an-na-ah-hé* (*KBo* XVII 4 II 8–9 *adueni akueni nu* ^{URU}*Hattusa iyannahh[e]* LUGAL-*s-a* ^{URU}*Arinna paizzi* 'we eat and drink, and I am on my way to Hattusas, but the king goes to Arinna'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24), 3 sg. pres. act. *yannai* (XX 48 Rs. 9 *URU-ya yannai n-as ina É.SAL.LUGAL anda pai[zzi]* 'travels to the town, and he goes inside the queen's house'), *iyannai* (e.g. *KUB* IX 17, 19 *n-as iyannai n-as-kan auriya ser tiyezz[i]* 'he goes and he steps up to a watchtower'; XVII 140 I 23 *katta iyannai* 'goes down'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatz-rituale* 60; 644/b I 18 *t-as* ^{URU}*Arinna iyannai* 'he travels to Arinna', vs. ibid. 19 *mān LUGAL-us zēni* ^{URU}*Arinna paizzi* 'as the king goes to Arinna in the fall'), *iyanniyazi* (VIII 68 I 7), *yaniazzi* (V I I 24 EGIR UGU *yaniazzi* 'goes back up'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:36), *iyannizi* (*VBoT* 111 III 4), 3 pl. pres. act. *iyanniyanzi* (e.g. *KUB* XX 87 I 13–14 *n-as iyannai ape EGIR-ŠU iyanniyanzi nu KASKAL-an parā sir-RU* 'he moves along; they go after him and sing along the way'), 1 sg. pret. act. *iyanniyānun* (e.g. *KBo* III 4 II 8–9 *namma apedani MU-TI ina KUR Arzauwa iyanniyānun-pat* 'also in that same year I marched to Arzawa'; cf. Götze, *AM* 44–6; *KUB* XIV 15 I 8 *zahhiya anda iyanniyānun* 'I marched into battle'; cf. Götze, *AM* 34; *KBo* IV 4 IV 17 *lukkatta-ma ina* ^{URU}*Dukkamma andan zahhiya iyanniyānun* 'but at daylight I marched into D. for battle'; cf. Götze, *AM* 134; V 8 III 23–24 *mahhan-ma-kan* ^{URU}*utū-us ūpta nu-ssi-kan zahhiya anda iyanniyānun* 'but when the sun rose I marched into battle against him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; ibid. I 14–15 *nu-kan mahhan*

acc. sg. c. also
i-ja-an-ta-an
(K 20.73 I 2 i-jan-tan
ginun)

i-ja-an-nir
(K 12.63 Vs. 29)
Appa i-jannir)

ANA KASKAL ^{URU}*Taggasta tiyanun man iyanniyānun* 'when I set out on the road to T., I would have marched along, [but ...]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148; XXIII 13, 6 LUGAL GAL-*ma iyanniyānun* 'I, the great king, marched along'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314), 3 sg. pret. act. *yannis* (*KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 7 [OHitt.] *s-as yannis* 'he marched along'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12, 25; dupl. III 38 Rs. 22 *i-ya-an-ni-es*), *iyannis* (e.g. III 46 Vs. 42 ^{URU}*Arzauya-as utniya iyannis* 'he marched to the land of Arzawa'; *KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 5 [n]-*as-kan andan* ... *iyannis* 'he went inside'; *KUB* XXIV 8 I 24–25 *n-as-za parna-ssa* [*iyannis*] 'and he went to his house'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4; ibid. 40 *n-as* ^{URU}*utū-i kattan iyannis* 'he went along to the sun-god'; ibid. 43 *n-as-si-pa anda iyann[is]* 'he went in to him'; ibid. II 10–12 *n-as-za EGIR-pa parna-ssa iyannis* ^{URU}*utū-us-ma-ssan sar[ā nep]isi iyannis* 'he went back to his house, but the sun-god went up to heaven'; XII 63 Rs. 16 EGIR-*anda iyannis* 'went after'; Teddy Kollek's tablet, line 5; cf. A. Kempinski, *Tel Aviv* 2:92 [1975]), *i-ya-an-ni-es* (e.g. ibid. 11 É.ŠA-*na iyannes* 'went to the inner chamber'; XXXIII 106 II 11 *n-as-kan auriyaza katta iyannes* 'he went down from the watchtower'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:20 [1952]; XXVI 71 I 15 [OHitt.] *s-as iyannes* 'and he was gone'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14; *KBo* XXVI 79, 8–9 *nu-kan* ^{URU}*Kumarb[is ...]* *sarā iyannes* 'K. went up'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68; *KUB* XIV 14 I 30 *nu-ssi KUR* ^{URU}*Hatti hūman piran sig₅-in iyannes* 'and before him all the land of Hatti fared well'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 168), *yanis* (XXXIII 67 I 32 *n-as-kan yanis iṣTU É.ŠA* 'she went from the inner chamber'), *iyanniyat* (XXXIII 102 I 20 *n-as iyanniya[t]* 'he went'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:150 [1951]), *iyanniat* (*KBo* XII 26 IV 10 *n-as* ^{URU}*KU.BABBAR-si iyannia[t]* 'he went to Hattusas'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 284 [1977]), 3 pl. pret. act. *i-ya-an-ni-ir* (e.g. *KUB* XIX 9 II 28 EGIR-*pa iyannir*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:7), 2 sg. imp. act. *iyanni* (XXXVI 59 I 5 *nu-za parna-]tta iyanni* 'go to your house!', besides dupl. XXIV 8 II 7 *nu-za parna-ssa iyannis*, erroneously copied from ibid. 10 [q.v. supra]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 6–7; XVII 10 II 30 KASKAL-*s-a iyanni* 'and go the ways!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93 [1965]), 2 pl. imp. act. *i-ya-an-ni-ya-at-tin* (VIII 51 II 16; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:13

[1968]) *i-ya-an-ni-ya-tin* (VII 60 II 29 *nu-kan kedas ser arha iyanniyatin* 'over those [roads] go off!'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 236); partic. *iyanniyant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iyanniyān* (IX 34 III 37 *iyanniyān ginun* 'the walking knee', with wrong gender [cf. *ibid.* 34 *iyandan kinun*]); inf. *i-ya-an-ni-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (VIII 53 II 18 *nu-ssi ūl parā iyanniyauwa[nzi]* [erased *ūl*] *kisari* 'it is not possible for him to go forward'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:15 [1968]); supine in XIV 1 Vs. 73–74 *n-at ... kattan apedani iyanniwan [dāi]r* 'they took to marching along with him' (cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18).

yan(n)a-, *yan(n)iya-* supplied an original iterative-“durative” for *i-*, *(i)y-*, in the manner of *piyan(n)a-* from *pai-* ‘give’ or *hewaniya-* from **heu-* ‘to rain’ (cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203–4 [1980]); the functional similarity of such verbs to the iteratives in *-ski-* is patent from their use in supines (beside the near-exclusivity in the latter of *-ski-* verbs and their functional peers such as *essa-*), e.g. *iyanniwan*, *piyanniwan*, *piddānniwan*, *walhanniuwan* (cf. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 23). Being a residual category, verbs in *-anna-* tended to lose their distinctive sense and to blend in meaning with their underlying simplicia, whether the latter survived (e.g. *walh-*; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 74) or were lost (**hew-*), being consequently potentially subject to iterational rederivation (*piyaniski-*, *walhanniski-*, *hewaneski-*). With *yan(n)a-* the situation was even more complicated: the near-loss of *i-* neutralized any contrastive “durative” sense, the medial *iya-* (q.v.) had a competing statival nuance built into its voice, while the compounds *pai-*, *ui-* (q.v.) preempted “goal-direction”; *yan(n)a-* was thus adrift, staying rather in the vague slot largely vacated by *i-* itself (cf. also Neu, *Mediopassiv* 87, who followed Bechtel, *Hittite verbs* 84, in unnecessarily plumping for a “punctual” sense).

Luw. *i-* ‘go’, 3 sg. pres. act. *i-ti* (*KUB XXXII 9 + XXXV 21* Vs. 5, 6, 24, Rs. 19; cf. Otten, *LTU* 28–30; XXXV 54 III 20; cf. Otten, *LTU* 60; XXXV 117, 6; cf. Otten, *LTU* 103; XXXII 8 + 5 IV 24; cf. Otten, *LTU* 22), 3 sg. pret. act. (?) *i-i-ta* (XXXV 109 III 1; cf. Otten, *LTU* 100), 2 sg. imp. act. (?) *i-ya-a* (XXV 39 I 27), 3 sg. imp. act. *i-du* (*KBo VII 66*, 6; cf. Otten, *LTU* 115), 3

pl. imp. act. *iyandu* (*KUB XXXII 15*, 4; cf. Otten, *LTU* 96; XXXV 103 II 13; *ibid.* III 1 [*p*] *a-wa iyandu* ^{DEN.ZU-inzi} ‘let the months pass!’; cf. Otten, *LTU* 95; *VBoT* 60 I 5; cf. Otten, *LTU* 108); partic. *iyant-* (?), perhaps ‘going, convenient, passable’ in Hittite gloss-words (*KBo V 13 III 8 = KUB VI 41 III 27 mān-ta iyanta-ya* [with gloss-wedge] ‘if [it is] convenient for you’; vs. negated *ibid.* 10 = 29 *mān-ta ūl-ma iyanta* [with gloss-wedge]; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126, 171; *KUB VI 5* Vs. 15 and XXII 42 Vs. 13 *iyandas*, each with gloss-wedges). Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 16:99–101 (1958).

Hier. readings depend on the new values proposed by Hawkins – Morpurgo – Neumann, *HHL* 189: 1 sg. pres. *iwi*, 1 sg. pret. *iha*, 3 pl. imp. *yatu* (Hawkins, *Anatolian studies* 25:130 [1975]); inf. *foot*₂ *iuna*; with the last-mentioned can be compared Luw. *i-ū-na-(a-)hi-sa* (*Dict. louv.* 53), i.e. an abstract *iunahi(t)-* ‘ability to go’, and perhaps the military commander’s name *Pa-ra-a-i-ū-na-as* (*KBo III 46* Vs. 37) or *Pa-ra-i-ū-na-as* (dupl. III 53 + XIX 90, 8; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279), fit for a go-go general (cf. Laroche, *Noms* 136; Neumann, *KZ* 90:143 [1976]).

Luw. 3 sg. pres. *iti*, OHitt. 3 pl. pres. *yanzi*, Luw. 3 sg. imp. *idu*, 3 pl. imp. *iyandu*, Hitt. partic. *iyant-* closely mirror the IE paradigm of **ey-* ‘go’ (*IEW* 293–4) and are matched by e.g. Skt. *éti*, *yānti*, *étu*, *yāntu*, *yānt-*. Other forms, notably the Hittite 2 sg. and pl. imp. *īt* and *itten*, have long (since Hrozný, *SH* 4, 173) been compared with Skt. *ihī*, *itā* or Gk. *ἴῃ*, *ἴτε*, but must above all be appraised on inner-Hittite terms; thus it is idle to speculate why the postulated incremental IE **-dhi* in *īt* and similar imperatives (e.g. *arnut*) “has lost the IE *-i*” and to find various secondary and incidental causes (those of Pederesen, Sommer, Kronasser, and Kammenhuber were listed by Tischler, *Glossar* 335–6, 441); either Indo-European variation, or inner-Hittite allomorphy (cf. *-i[i]* appended to mediopassive endings), or mere apocopation (cf. e.g. *-[k]ku < IE *k^we*) is reason enough.

In Luwian the active paradigm of *i-* is quite alive, whereas in Hittite it has been largely supplanted by the medial *iya-* (q.v.). Luwian also attests a marked compound *a-ū-i-*, *a-wi-* ‘come’,

while Hittite has the antonymical pair of compounds *ui-* (*uwa-*) 'come': *pai-* 'go' (q.v.) which still mirror in some forms the paradigm of *i-* (e.g. 3 sg. pres. *uizzi*, *paizzi*: cf. Luw. *iti*; 3 sg. imp. *uiddu*, *paiddu*: cf. Luw. *idu*). *it* and *itten* function as 2 sg. and pl. imp. of *pai-*, much as *ehu* (q.v.) does for the 2 sg. imp. of *ui-* (but in the 2 pl. imp. there is OHitt. *ú-it-te-en* [*KBo* III 41 + *KUB* XXXI 4 Vs. 23] and reshaped *uwatten*). The Hittite pair *ui-*: *pai-* has a parallel in Slavic (e.g. Russian *ujti*, *pojti* besides simple *itti* 'go'; cf. also V. Georgiev, *Arch. Or.* 39:425–31 [1971]; R. L. Fisher, *KZ* 91:223 [1977]).

Cf. *antiyant-*; *iyant-*; *itar*; *ivar*.

iya-, ie- (deponential) 'go, come, walk, proceed, stride, march; grow (of vegetation)' (DU = GIN, occasionally wrongly DÜ; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 106–7), 1 sg. pres. midd. *iyahhari* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 11 III 16 [ANA ^{1D} *Mā*] *la kuit iyahhari* 'because I am on my way to the Māla river'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 214; XXI 10, 8 'I shall march'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:117 [1956]), 2 sg. pres. midd. *iyattati* (*KBo* XVIII 28 IV 15–16 *wetumman[zi] iyattati* 'are you proceeding to build?'; V 3 III 61 [*mā*] *n-ma-kan ina É.GAL-LIM-ya sarā iy[atta]ti* 'but even if you go up to the palace'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128), *iyattari* (dupl. *KUB* XIX 24 + XIV 6 Rs. 41; *KUB* XXXI 127 + I 58–59 4 *halhaltūmari ukturi istarna arha iyattari* 'you traverse the four firm corners'; XXIX 4 III 28 *nu mahhan iyattari* 'when thou comest'; cf. *ibid.* 27 *ehu* 'come!'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 24), 3 sg. pres. midd. *iyatta* (frequent, e.g. IX 31 II 11–12 *nu piran apās iyatta nu UR.BAR.RA-ili halzissai* 'that one strides forth and howls like a wolf'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:340 [1938]; II 7 I 13 *ta LUGAL-us iyatta* 'the king proceeds'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:62 [1976]; XIII 20 I 6 *nu mān DUTU-ši lahi apasila iyatta* 'if my majesty goes himself on the campaign'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:388 [1947]; XXXI 127 + I 66 *kunnaz-tit iyatta* '[he] strides on your right'; cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78:241 [1958]; XXXVI 75 + 1226/u II 4–5 *kunnaz-tet iyatta*; cf. H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 67:56 [1977]), *yatta* (XXXVI 106 Vs. 2 [OHitt.] *ERJIN.MEŠ URU Hatti yatta* 'the army of Hatti is on the march'; cf.

Otten, *ZA* 52:217 [1957]), *iyadda* (XXXIX 54 Vs. 13 *pian iyadda* 'strides forth'), *iyata* (*KBo* II 8 I 34 *parni anda iyata* 'goes inside the house'), *iyattari* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* V 4 Rs. 47 *nasma-kan KUR-ma tuel KUR-KA istarna arha iyattari* 'or an enemy marches right through your country'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:68; *KUB* XXIX 4 III 48 *EN SISKUR.SISKUR EGIR-an iyattari* 'the sacrificer walks behind'; *VBoT* 120 III 15 *kutti-kan k[ui]s UKÜ-as anda iyattari* 'what man goes inside the wall'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 146; *KUB* XXVII 29 II 17–18 *uddar-ma-kan kue KAXU-az parā iyattari* 'the words which come[s] forth from the mouth'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 142; XIV 3 IV 37–38 *apenisuuanza-kan me[mias ...] KAXU-za iyattari* 'such a word comes from the mouth'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 18; XXXVI 67 II 20–22 *siyaiskizzi GUR-pāranzaha[s n]ū-ssi-kan GI-as İSTU GISBAN pariyan MUŠEN-is mān iyattari* 'G. keeps shooting, and the arrow goes forth from his bow like a bird'; XLIV 61 Vs. 6 *UD.KAM-ma-kan istarna iyattari* 'the day goes by'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18), *iattari* (XLIII 38 Rs. 24 [*le ...*] ... *uwanna iattari* 'he shall [not] come to be seen'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20), *iyattāri* (II 5 V 4–5 *iskisaz EGIR-pa iyattāri* '[he] retreats backwards'), *iyaddari* (XIX 23 Rs. 8–9 *nu-kan kuit AŠRU paizzi-ya kuit-ma-kan AŠRU nūwa ser ar[ha] iyaddari* 'what place he goes to, and what place he does not yet march up to'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]; *KBo* V 9 II 31–33 *n-at-kan ANA URU.DIDLI.HI.A kuit sarā iyaddari nu-smas Duppi-^DU-upas adanna akuwanna piskizzi* 'whereas they are on the march up to the cities, Duppi-Tesupas keeps them provided with food [and] drink'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:16–8; *KUB* XVII 12 II 12), *iyaddāri* (*KBo* V 1 IV 22 *EGIR-an iyaddāri*; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*), *iyatari* (*KUB* XXI 1 III 52–53, besides dupl. XXI 5 III 70 *iyattari*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:74; *KBo* II 8 III 11 *piran iyatari*; *ibid.* 12 *EGIR iyatari*; *ibid.* IV 3 *pirān iyatari*; *ibid.* 4 *EGIR-pan iyatari*; *KUB* X 17 II 24; XVII 35 I 25; XX 10 IV 14 *LUGAL-us EGIR sarā iyatari* 'the king walks back up'; *KBo* XVIII 62 1.Rd. 1), *DU-ri* (IX 82 Rs. 2 *GAM-an DU-ri* 'goes down'), *DÜ-attari* (XV 9 IV 28; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 66, 106–7), 1 pl. pres. midd. *i-ya-u-wa-as-ta* (XVII 48 Vs. 6), 2 pl. pres. midd. *iyadduma* (*KUB* XXIII

i-e-it-ta
XVI 17.43.110



72 Vs. 55 'you march'; *KBo* XIX 145 III 43–44 [*m*]ān iyadduma n-asta hiye[ll]i itten 'when you go, then go to the courtyard'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 304). (3 pl. pres. midd.) *iyanta* (frequent, e.g. *KUB* X 91 II 8 *piran iyanta* '[they] go before'; *KBo* IV 9 IV 38 *ZAG-naz iyanta* '[they] walk to the right'; *IBoT* I 36 II 51–52 *katta iyanta* '[they] go down'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:186 [1966]; *KUB* IX 1 I 17; *KBo* X 27 III 14, IV 10, V 30), *ienta* (*IBoT* II 12 I 6), *iēnta* (*KBo* XXII 1 Vs. 14 [OHitt.]) I LÚ I SAL *katti-ssi iēnta* 'one man [and] one woman go along with him'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *iyanda* (*KUB* XXV 17 I 13–14 *ZAG-az iyanda*), *iyantari* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* IV 9 IV 28–29 and *KUB* X 3 II 27 *ZAG-naz iyantari*; *KUB* II 6 III 39–41 *LUGAL-us paizzi nu-ssi DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI EGIR-an iyantari* 'the king goes; the palace sons [and] the bodyguards walk behind him'), *ientari* (*KBo* XIV 129 Rs. 11), *iyandari* (*KUB* I 13 III 36 *te]pu iyandari* 'they walk little'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 66; XXXVI 5 I 5 *KAS]KAL-an-ma kuin iyandari* 'but the way which they go'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:36 [1968]; cf. also under *iyahhat* below, and *KASKAL-an iyat* 'made [his] way', s.v. *iya-* 'do, make'), *iyandāri* (*Mašat* 75/43 l.R. 2; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:48 [1980]), *DÜ-tari* (*KUB* XXVII 70 II 24 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR *pian DÜ-tari* 'the singers go before'), (1 sg. pret.) midd. *iyahhat* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* III 4 II 15 *mahhan-ma iyahhat* 'but when I was on the march'; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; IV 4 III 33 *mumanda iyahhat* 'I marched in secret'; ibid. 43 *parā iyahhat* 'I marched forth'; cf. Götze, *AM* 126–8; V 8 I 25 *nu GE₆-az iyahhat* 'I marched at night'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148; ibid. III 21 *nu ispandan hūmandan iyahhat* 'I marched the whole night'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KUB* XIV 20+ *KBo* XIX 76 I 29 *nu-kan kuitma(n) ina [KUR URU Mal]azziya kattanda iyahhat* 'while I was marching down to M.'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 162; *KUB* XVII 28 II 59–60 *ūk-za ammel SIG₅-andan KASKAL-an iyahhat* 'I went on my good way'; cf. also under *iyandari* above; XIV 10 I 20–21 *nu ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūmandās piran EGIR-pa iyahhat* 'to all gods I walked forth [and] back' [i.e. I made an ambitus of all cult sites]; cf. Götze, *KIF* 206; *KBo* III 6+ *ABoT* 62 I 40), *iyahhahat* (dupl. *KUB* I 1 I 48 *ANA PANI DINGIR.MEŠ kuit parā handandanni iyahhahat*

'because I walked in providentiality before the gods'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 10; ibid. II 80 *EGIR-pa iyahhahat* 'I came back'), *iyahat* (XIV 19, II 1 'I marched'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:173 [1966]), 2 sg. pret. midd. *iyattati* (VIII 48 I 15–16 *zik-wa-smas kuit iwar* ^{LÚ}TAPPI-ŠU UD.KAM-tili *kattan iyattati* 'because you did go along with them daily like their comrade'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:18 [1968]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *iyattat* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* III 4 III 68 '[he] had come'; cf. Götze, *AM* 88; V 3 III 54 *UL SAL.SUHUR.LAL iyattat* 'did not a hierodule come?'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128; *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 77 and Rs. 36 *sarā iyattat* 'has gone up'; ibid. Vs. 8–9 and 78–79 *n-as ANA DINGIR-LIM piran EGIR-pa UL iyattat* 'she did not walk forth and back to all the gods'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 78, 90, 56; XXXIII 120 II 39 *n-as mahhan iyattat n-as PANI* ^{PA.A} *tiyat* 'as he went and stepped before Ea'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; XIX 10 I 11 *apedas walahhūwanzi iyattat* '[he] went to attack them'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:65 [1956]; *KBo* IV 2 III 43–44 *nu-mu-kan memias tepu kuitki sarā iyattat* 'my speech emerged somehow faltering'; cf. Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 4; *KBo* XVI 14 II 11; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:170 [1966]; *KUB* V 6 II 29; cf. Sommer, *AU* 278). (3 pl. pret. midd.) *iyantat* (e.g. *ABoT* 60 Rs. 5–6 *LÚ.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Qasga-ya-mu-ssan kuyēs anda iyantat* '[as for] the Gasgas who had come in to me'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 18:82 [1960]; *KUB* XVII 21 II 10–12 *arha-kan ... iyantat* 'have come away'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154; *KBo* V 8 IV 8 *ammug-at kattan lahhi iyantat-pat* 'for me they likewise went to war'; cf. Götze, *AM* 160), *iyandat* (dupl. XVI 8 IV 5 *i]yandat*), 2 sg. imp. midd. *iyahhut* (e.g. *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 37 *nu-war-at-za DINGIR-LIM sāk* ¹*Pallānn-a-wa-kan EGIR-an iyahhut* 'know it, god, and go easy on P.' [lit. 'go behind', like *EGIR-pa tiya-*, vs. *hanti tiya-* 'confront, accuse'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 186; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:463; wrongly Ünal, *Orakeltext* 65, 115; XXXIII 8 III 18 *nu-ssan iyahhut* 'come!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]; *KBo* XIII 86 Rs. 3; VIII 42 Vs. 16 [OHitt.]), *iehut* (VIII 66 Vs. 8), 3 sg. imp. midd. *iyattaru* (e.g. XIX 145 III 19 *i]yattaru n-an parhiskiddu* 'he shall go and chase him'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 300; IX 82 Vs. 11–12 *nu-wa-mu UKÜ-as INA* ^{URU}*Taparuqa GAM-an iyattaru* 'let a man

come down to me at T.'; *KUB XXI 29 II 14* DI-esni-ma-as-kan GAM *iyattaru* 'but he shall go down for a trial'; XXIII 68 Rs. 2 *iyattaru-ma* DUMU.MEŠ *ELLUTIM* *kuy[ēs]* 'but [only those] who [are] freeborn shall march'; cf. A. Kempinski – S. Košak, *Die Welt des Orients* 5:196 [1970]; XXIII 72 Rs. 19 'shall march'; *KBo XIII 161* Vs. 16; IV 10 Vs. 44). *iyaddaru* (dupl. *ABoT 57* Vs. 18), *iyataru* (*KBo VI 34+* *KUB XLVIII 76 III 43–45* *n-asta apell-a iŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU ziz-tar ŠE-AM sarā le uizzi n-asta UGU zahheli iyataru* 'thus shall in his field wheat [and] barley not come up, but let cress [i.e. weed] grow up!'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14), 2 pl. imp. midd. *iyaddumat* (*KUB XV 34 I 42 nu-ssan apiya iyaddumat* 'go therel'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 186), 3 pl. imp. midd. *iyantaru* (e.g. XIII 4 IV 58 'let [them] go'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOs* 54:396 [1934]; *KBo X 12 III 10* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-as *iwar piran iyantaru* 'like brothers they shall go before [you]' [= help you; cf. *piran huwai-* 'run before' = 'help'; cf. H. Freydank, *MIO* 7:363 [1960]; *KUB XXIV 2* Rs. 17 *hūwaduš iyantaru* 'may the winds come!'), *iyandaru* (XXIV 3 III 40 IM-antes *iyandaru* 'may the winds come!'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34–6); partic. *iyant-* (indistinguishable from *i-* [q.v.]). Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 62–7.

The spelling *yatta* (3 sg. pres., quoted above) is an early unregulated "converse" way of rendering *iyatta*, due to the ambiguity of such as the participle *iyant-* which is derivable from either *iya-* or *i-* and can therefore reflect either /iyant-/ or /yant-/ (cf. 3 sg. pres. act. *yanzi*, iter. 3 sg. pres. *yannai*, 3 sg. pret. *yannis* [beside usual *iyann-*], s.v. *i-*). 3 pl. pres. *iēnta*, *iēnta(ri)*, 2 sg. imp. *iehut* resemble comparable forms of *iya-* 'do' (q.v.) and are similarly explainable (*eye- > *ē- [> *ī], but *eyo- > *iya-*, with *ie-* as a phonetic variant, perhaps [iä], especially in Old Hittite; contrast the isolated *ehu* < *eyehu[t], s.v.).

There is no probability that *iya-* reflects IE *yā- (*IEW* 296) as an extension of *ey- 'go', and hence the much-repeated comparison with Skt. *yāti* 'go', Toch. A *yā-* 'go, travel', Lith. *jōti* 'ride', repeated from Hrozný (*SH* 39) to van Windekens (*Le tokharien* 589; cf. Tischler, *Glossar* 343–4) is not plausible. In case of /yā-/ at least an occasional spelling *i-ya-a-* would have been expected; positing /ya-/ from *yA₂- (i.e. weak grade of

stem vowel in middle voice; e.g. Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 46, 75) raises the very issue that a medium tantum from IE *yā- is unparalleled and implausible; a reduplicated *yi-yA₂- (suggested in passing by H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 77 [1975]) suffers the same stricture.

Couvreux (*Hett.* 101) first opposed the connection with *yā- and advocated a thematic *eyo- > *iya-*. Neu (*Mediopassiv* 86–7) started from the weak-grade stem *i-* and arrived at a secondary *iya-* via false division (*iya-nta* for *i(y)-anta*). Oettinger (*Stamm-bildung* 348–9) also saw a late, inner-Hittite origin for *i(a)tari and preemptively disassociated Ved. *áyate* 'goes' as equally "einzelsprachlich". Yet unlike such dubious comparisons as that between *iyatta* and Ved. *áyate* 'speeds' (< *E₁i-E₁y-e-to, mentioned by H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 77 [1975]), or mismatches of the type *iyahha*: Skt. *iyē*, and *iyatta*: Lat. *itur* (V. Georgiev, *Arch. Or.* 39:431–3 [1971], postulating *iya* < *ay, *oy, *ey alike), the combination of *iyatta* with Rig-Vedic 3 sg. pres. *ayate* (3 pl. *ayante*, 3 sg. impf. *āyata*, partic. *āyamānas*) is plausible (IE *eyeto) in view of the Indo-Iranian antiquity of the opposition RV 3 sg. act. *éti*: midd. *ayate* (like e.g. RV 2 sg. *stoši*: *stávase*; cf. e.g. C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 65 [1969]). A corresponding Anatolian pair, Luw. *iti* (< *eiti): Hitt. *iyatta* (replacing *ēta < *eyeto) is suggestive of the same kind of voice-opposition, realized as nonthematic active(-intransitive) and thematic medial-deponential respectively, in this instance reminiscent of other, suppletive active-middle combinations such as Gk. *εἶσι*: *ἔρχεται*, *οἴχεται* or Lat. *it*: *graditur*; but there is little need to turn it into a glottogonic pawn in rarefied theoretical discussions on the origins of IE verb inflection, in the manner of C. Watkins (*TPhS* 1971: 80–1) and W. Cowgill (*Proceedings of the Eleventh Int. Congr. of Linguists* 2:564 [1975]).

Cf. *iyatar*.

iya-, ie-, i- 'do, make, treat, beget, perform (duty, ritual), celebrate (deity, feast); (intrans.) do, act, signal (with eyes or spear)';

eshar iya- 'shed blood' (q.v. sub *eshar*), *ishahru* iya- 'shed tears' (q.v. sub *ishahru*), *kuelqa* zi-ni iya- 'humor someone' (lit. 'do [something] for someone's soul'), *appa* iya- 'do over, repeat; do back, requite', *appan* iya- 'sign' (one's name), *sarā* iya- 'make high, exalt, extol', *ser* iya- 'erect; exalt' (DÜ; *KBo* I 31 Rs. 13 and 14 *iyauwa[r]* = Akk. *ibišu*, i.e. *epēšu* 'make'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:145 [1971]; X 2 III 34 *ūL* *kuitki* iya[zi matching X 1 Rs. 21 [Akk.] *mimma* *ūL* *ipuš* 'did nothing'; cf. F. Imparati – C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:52, 79 [1965]), 1 sg. pres. act. *iyami* (e.g. XI 19 Vs. 5 *sēnus* *iyami* 'I make icons'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 314; V 12 III 11–12 *nu-war-an* ^DUTU-*ši-ya* *sīg-in* *iyami* 'I, my majesty, shall also treat him well'; cf. Gk. *ἐὶ ποιῆν τινα*; Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:122; III 7 I 25–26 *nu-wa uwami* *kardias-tas* *iyami* 'I will come [and] do your heart's [desire]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:67 [1965]; *KUB* XXIII 103 Rs. 14 *man-wa-za* *šUM-an* *kuitki* *iyami* 'I would make a certain name for myself'; cf. Otten, *AfO* 19:42 [1959–60]; XIII 35 I 29 *kūnn-a-wa* *memian* *ūL* *iyami* 'I do not make this [kind of] speech'; cf. ibid. 27 *nu-wa apāt* *ūL* *memahhun* 'I did not say that'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 4; XIII 4 II 63 *nu-wa* *EZEN* *QATAMMA* *iyami* 'I shall celebrate the festival just so'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOs* 54:378 [1934]; XLVIII 119 Vs. 5, 6, 8 'I shall celebrate [festival]'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:179 [1978]), *iyammi* (I 16 III 24 [OHitt.] *ūL* *iyammi* 'I shall not do [evil]'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12), *iemi* (e.g. *KBo* XVII 1 III 21 and 23; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 32; *KUB* XXXII 130, 19 *namma-an-za* ^DUTU-*ši* *iemi* 'furthermore I, my majesty, shall celebrate her'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 14:42 [1956]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 168), *DÜ-mi* (e.g. V 1 III 87 *nu* *ūL* *DÜ-mi* *iwar* 'Temeti 'I shall not do like T.'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:78), 2 sg. pres. act. *iyasi* (e.g. XXIII 1 II 15 *š[A¹M]* *asturi* *iwar* *le* *iyasi* 'do not do like M.'; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 10; XXXI 68 II 21 *nu-war-at* *le* *iyasi* 'do not do it!'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 130; XIV 1 Vs. 33 *zi-it* *menahhanta* *le* *kuedan-iki* *iyasi* 'do not act willfully towards anyone!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 8; *KBo* V 3 III 65 *DAM-an-ma-an-zan* *le* *iyasi* 'but do not make her your wife!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128; V 9 I 24–25 *mahhann-a* *DAM-KA* *tatti* *nu-za* *mān* *DUMU.NITA* *iyasi* 'and

when you take yourself a wife, if you beget a son ...'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:12; *KUB* XIX 49 I 58–59 *nu mān kī* *INIM.MEŠ* *hūmanda* *iyasi* 'if you do all these things'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:10; *KBo* V 4 Vs. 32 *nu* *ITTI* ^DUTU-*ši* *idālu* *iyasi* 'you do ill against my majesty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56), *yasi* (*Bo* 6109, 4 *tamēuman* *yasi* 'you make alien'), *iesi* (e.g. *KBo* V 3 II 48–49 *apini* *suwann-a* *uttar* *iesi* 'you do such a thing'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:118), *DÜ-si* (e.g. *KUB* XXI 5 III 39 *I* *e* *DÜ-si* 'do not do!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:70), 3 sg. pres. act. *iyazi* (frequent, e.g. *KBo* V 13 II 32 *ITTI* ^DUTU-*ši* *BAL* *iyazi* 'makes insurrection against my majesty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124; *KUB* XI 13 VI 12 *ser* *iyazi* 'extols [deities]'; *KBo* VI 4 IV 29 and 35 *luzzi* *iyazi* 'performs corvée'), *iyazzi* (e.g. ibid. 14 *nu* *luzzi* *ūL* *iyazzi*; V 4 Rs. 14 [*kuis*] *kūn-ma* *memian* *iyazzi* 'but he who does this thing'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:62; *KUB* XIV 8 Rs. 24 *nu-za* *ANA* *EN-ŠU* *arkuwar* *iyazzi* 'he makes a plea to his master'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 216), *yazzi* (XXXVI 108 Vs. 12 [OHitt.]; cf. Otten, *JCS* 5:129 [1951]; XXXVI 106 Vs. 9 [OHitt.]; cf. Otten, *ZA* 52:217 [1957]), *iyaizzi* (*KBo* II 3 II 7; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:356 [1953]), *iezi* (e.g. VI 2 I 60 [= *Code* 1:26, OHitt.] *idalus* *iezi*; III 27 Vs. 5; V 3 III 30 *kuis-ma-at* *iezi* 'but he who does it'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124), *iezzi* (e.g. VI 26 I 29 [= *Code* 2:64] *ta* *sullatar* *iezzi* 'makes a quarrel'; VI 3 III 20 [= *Code* 1:55] *kūsanna* *ūL* *kuiski* *iezzi* 'nobody makes a payroll'; VI 26 II 8 [= *Code* 2:11] *nu-za* *DUMU.NITA-ŠU* *EGIR-pa* *DUMU.NITA* *iezzi* 'she makes her son her son again' [i.e. rescinds disowning him], with dupl. VI 13 I 18 *DUMU-ŠU* *EGIR-pa* *DUMU-ŠU* *iyazi*; XXI 8 II 1 *k* *āpinan* *QATAMMA* *iezzi*, with dupl. *KUB* XXIV 9 I 48 *sīg* *BABBAR* *kāpinan* *QATAMMA* *iyazi* 'she likewise makes white wool into thread'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 28; XXXII 130, 8 *namma-ssi* *EZEN-an* *iezzi* 'also he will celebrate a feast for her'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 168; X 3 II 19 *namma* *IGL.HI.A-it* *iezzi* 'he also signals with the eyes', besides XXV 16 I 52 *namma* *IGL.HI.A-it* *iyazzi*; XXV 3 II 11–12 *ištu* ^{GIŠ}*ŠUKUR* *iezzi* 'signals with a spear', besides *KBo* IV 9 IV 21 ^{GIŠ}*ŠUKUR-it* *iyazi*), *izzi* (VI 2 II 49–50 [= *Code* 1:48, OHitt.] *hāppar* *le* [*ku*] *iski* *izzi* 'let no one do business'; ibid. 51 [*kuis*]-*za* ... *hāppar* *izzi*; par. VI 4 IV 36–37

-za *happar le kuiski iyazi*), DÜ-yazi (e.g. *KUB V 4 I 33* BAL ... DÜ-yazi 'makes rebellion'), DÜ-zi (e.g. *ibid.* 35; *KBo III 3 IV 10-11 nu-za kuis kuit arkuwar DÜ-zi* 'what plea each makes'; *KUB V 1 IV 47-48* ^{LU}KUR-kan ANA KARAS.HLA MÈ-za wastul ÛL DÜ-zi 'the enemy in battle does no grievous harm to the army'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:84; XVIII 12+XXII 15 I 1 *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ DÜ-zi* 'he celebrates the gods'; cf. Ünal, *RHA* 31:43 [1973]; XX 26 VI 4-5 *mān-za LUGAL-us zenī* ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}Samuha DÜ-zi 'when the king celebrates Ištar of Samuha in the fall'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 158), 1 pl. pres. act. *i-ya-u-e-ni* (e.g. *KBo III 7 II 18-19 ha[nt]ezziyan purull[i] kuit iyaweni* 'since we celebrate the first p.-festival'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68 [1965]; *VBoT* 2, 2-3 *man-wa-nnas ishanittarātār iyaweni* 'let us make a marital alliance!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:328 [1956]; *ABoT* 60 Vs. 19 *nu-wa mahhan iyaweni* 'how shall we do?'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 18:82 [1960]; *KUB XIX 20 Rs. 18*), *i-ya-u-wa-ni* (*KBo III 8 II 24*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:155 [1961]), *i-ya-e-ni* (*KUB XXIV 4 Vs. 9 nu kumman kuit iyaeni n-at NU.GAL* 'there is nothing that we do right'), DÜ-u-e-ni (VII 1 III 9-10 *GIM-an-wa DÜ-weni mān-wa iyaweni* 'how shall we act, if we do act?'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; *ZA* 67:58 [1977]; V 1 II 86; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:64), 2 pl. pres. act. *iyatteni* (e.g. *KBo V 3 IV 31 mān sumes-ma kuwatqa idālu iyatteni* 'but if you in any way do evil'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:134; *KUB XIII 4 II 71 É-irr-a-za iyatteni* 'you shall make a house[hold]'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]; I 16 III 23 *I/e iyatteni* 'don't do!'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; *KBo V 4 Rs. 16 le iyatteni*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:62; *KUB XIII 4 II 63-64 n-asta UKÜ-as zī-ni le-pat iyatteni* 'do not humor the man!' [Lat. *homini morem ne gesseritis*]; *ibid.* 71 *UKÜ-as-ma-at-kan zī-ni le-[pat iy]atteni* 'do not humor the man in this!'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ianzi* (frequent, e.g. XV 34 III 25 7 *TÚL.MEŠ iyanzi n-at uitenit sunnanzi* 'they make seven wells and fill them with water'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 196; *KBo VI 11 I 22 [= Code 2:12] sahhan*) ÛL *ianzi* 'they do not do feudal duty'), *ianzi* (e.g. *KUB XXXII 130, 24 nu-ssi apiya-ya EZEN ianzi* 'there too, they celebrate a feast for her'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 14:42 [1956]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 168), *yanzi* (XXXVI 106 Vs. 1 [OHitt.]; cf. Otten, *ZA* 52:217 [1957];

but for *KBo XXII 2 Vs. 7* see rather under *i- 'go'*), *iyaenzi* (*IBoT* II 115+*KBo XV 22+KUB XLI 3 I 9*), *ienzi* (frequent, e.g. *ibid.* 11; *KBo VI 3 II 17 [= Code 1:31] nu-za É-ir Û DUMU.MEŠ ienzi* 'they make for themselves a house[hold] and children'; VI 34 II 33 *ÛL-ma-an NINDA-an ienzi* 'they do not make it into bread'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB XV 31 I 11-12 nu-kan kī handāuwar karuulil²³ tuppiāz ienzi* 'they make this arrangement from an ancient tablet'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; *KBo V 3 II 8 nu-smas-at le āra ienzi* 'they shall not make it right for you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:114; *KUB XXIV 4 Vs. 18 nu-zan DINGIR.MEŠ sarā ÛL ienzi* 'they do not extol the gods'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28), *iēnzi* (e.g. XI 1 IV 11 *kuit-za iēnzi-ma* 'but what they do'; *KBo III 40a, 18*), DÜ-anzi (e.g. *KUB V 1 III 4 kī kisan DÜ-anzi* 'this they do thus'; *ibid.* 90 *iwar* ¹*Temetti-pat DÜ-anzi* 'they will do exactly like T.'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:66, 78), 1 sg. pret. act. *īyanun* (e.g. *KBo XV 2 IV 14 kuit iyanun* 'what have I done?'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 62; *KUB XXXI 66 III 20-1 iyanun-ma-at-kan damēdaz IŠTU EME* 'I did it on the instigation of another' [lit. 'because of another tongue']; *ibid.* II 9 *kī-wa-smas ishiūl iyanun* 'I have made you this injunction'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130; XXI 17 II 7-8 *nu-ssi É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ INA* ^{URU}*Urikina iyanun* 'I have made temples for her at U.'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:22; Lebrun, *Samuha* 145; *KBo IV 4 III 28 nu-za ANA KARAŠ uwātar apiya iyanun* 'I made there inspection of the troops'; *ibid.* 31 *nu-za UD.KAM.HLA ispantius iyanun* 'I made days nights' [i.e. marched around the clock]; cf. Götze, *AM* 126; III 4 III 92 *n-at EGIR-pa ŠA KUR* ^{URU}*Hatti KUR-e iyanun* 'I made it again a land of Hatti'; cf. Götze, *AM* 94; V 3 I 3 *nu-tta SIG₅-in iyanun* 'I have treated you well'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106; *KUB I 1 II 82 nu-za DINGIR-LUM iyanun* 'I celebrated the deity'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 22; *KBo III 4 II 48-49 nu-za EZEN MU-TI apiya iyanun nu kī INA MU.1.KAM iyanun* 'I celebrated there the year-festival; this I did in one year'; cf. Götze, *AM* 60; *KUB I 8 IV 14 ÛL manqa iyanun* 'I did not act in any way'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 34), *i-ya-un* (XV 23, 7 *INIM-an asantan iyaun* 'I made a true speech'; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:61 [1972]), *i-ya-u-un* (*KBo IV 10 Vs. 50 nu-tta kī kuit DUB-PU*

ishiulas iyawun 'whereas I have made you this tablet of the treaty'), DÙ-nun (*KUB XXI 5 II 15 ishi*) ullaš DUB-PA DÙ-nun 'I have made [this] tablet of the treaty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:58; XXIII 1 II 3 *mu-tta ina kur* ^{URU}Amurri LUGAL-un DÙ-nun 'in Amurru I have made you king'; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 8), 2 sg. pret. act. *iyas* (XXX 10 Rs. 12 *zik-]mu iyas zik-mu sammāes* 'you made me, you created me'), *iēs* (XXIII 117, 2 [OHitt.]; XXXI 110, 12 [OHitt.]; XXXVI 103, 6 [OHitt.]), *iyat* (VII 54 III 15–16 *zik-wa* ¹⁰Iyarris *kedani kur-e karaš.hla-ya idalu iyat* 'you, Iyarris, have done ill to this land and army'), 3 sg. pret. act. *iyat* (e.g. *KBo III 38 Vs. 8 taksul iyat* 'made peace'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8; *KUB XII 65+XXVI 71 III 3 KASKAL-an iyat* 'made [his] way'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:50 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; cf. *KASKAL-an eppun* s.v. *ep[p]-, itar ... daskizzi* s.v. *itar*, *KASKAL-an ... iyandari (iyahhat)* s.v. *iya-* 'go'; XXII 70 Vs. 68 *nu mān sal.lugal kuitki EME-an EGIR-anda iyat* 'if the queen in any way afterwards has spoken out [lit. made a tongue]'; *ibid.* 83 *UNUTE.MEŠ-wa kueqa tepauwa DUMU.SAL GAL ANA UNUTE.MEŠ menahhanda iyat* 'some implements, few in number, the great daughter has substituted for [lit. done vis-à-vis] the [original] implements'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 76, 80), *i-e-it* (e.g. I 16 III 23 *apās idālu iet* 'she has done evil'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; *KBo III 22 Vs. 9* [OHitt.] *annus attus iet* 'he made [them] mothers [and] fathers'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10; III 1 I 7, 16, 26 [OHitt.] *n-us arunas irhus iet* 'he made them boundaries of the sea'; *KUB XIV 1 Vs. 13 tuk ... linkiyas-sas iet* '[he] made you oath-bound [lit. of his oath]'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 4; *ibid.* Rs. 50 *Madduwattas-ma-at EGIR-an* [HUL-uw] *janni iet* 'but M. afterwards treated it with malice'; XXIV 9 II 11–12 *nassu-wa-an ...* [...] *kuiski idalu iet* 'whether ... someone has treated him badly'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 32), *e-it* (XXXVI 41 I 5 *EZEN-an e-it* 'celebrated the festival'), DÙ-at (e.g. VI 45 III 28 *nu-mu-za ABU-YA DÙ-at* 'my father begot me', besides *dupl. VI 46 III 68 nu-mu-za ABU-YA iyat*; XXIII 1 I 39 *nu ina kur* ^{URU}Amurri *Sapilin LUGAL-un DÙ-at* 'he made S. king in A.' [cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 8], besides XXI 33 IV 15 [*nu* *Sapi-DINGIR-LIM-in*] *ina kur* ^{URU}Amurri LUGAL-un *iyat*; cf. R.

Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]; *KUB XLIV 4+KBo XIII 241 Rs. 8 n-an-zan* SAG.DU DÙ-at 'she treated her head' [partitive apposition]), 1 pl. pret. act. *i-ya-u-en* (e.g. *KUB XIV 8 Rs. 15 ēsziy-at iyawen-at* 'it is [so], we did it'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 214; I 1 III 4 [*nu-n*] *nas DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ iyawe[n* 'we made ourselves sons [and] daughters'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 22, *Neue Bruchstücke* 12; VII 7, 4–5 [*k*] *āsa-wa tuēl taknas* ¹⁰[UTU-as] [*mem*] *iyān iyawen* 'lo, to thee, sun of the earth, we have made a speech'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 131; *KBo VIII 35 II 8 nu kāsa lingain iyawen* 'behold, we have made an oath'), *i-ya-u-e-en* (e.g. *KUB XIV 8 Vs. 12 ūL kuwapikki iyawēn* 'we never performed [the rite]'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 208), 2 pl. pret. act. *i-ya-at-te-en* (e.g. *KBo III 41+KUB XXXI 4 Vs. 7 kissan iyatten* 'you have done thus'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), *i-ya-at-tin* (e.g. *dupl. KBo XIII 78 Vs. 7; KUB XIV 10 I 5 kī-wa kuit iyattin* 'this [is] what you have done'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 206), 3 pl. pret. act. *i-e-ir* (e.g. XXXVI 108 Vs. 2 [OHitt.] *taksul ier* '[they] have made peace'; cf. Otten, *JCS* 5:129 [1951]; *KBo III 1 I 33* [OHitt.] [*nu*] *ēšhar ier* 'they shed blood'; *KUB XLII 100 III 34 kuit-ma-wa ammuk* ¹⁰SANGA *ier* 'but because they have made me priest'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:184 [1978]; XXIV 9 III 13 *kinun-at ier* 'now they have treated them'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 44), *i-ya-ir* (XXXIV 90, 7), 1 sg. imp. act. *iyallu* (XIV 11 III 19–20 *nu siskur ša* ¹⁰[Māla] *iyallu n-at-kan āss[an]ullu* 'the ritual of the Mala river I will do and carry out'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 214), 2 sg. imp. act. *iya* (e.g. XIV 1 Vs. 83 *mahhan-wa-tta āssu nu-wa QATAMMA iya* 'as [is] agreeable to you, thus do!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20; *KBo V 9 III 1–2 kūs-wa memiyas nasma-wa kūn memiyan iya* 'do these things or this thing!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:18; IV 4 III 49 *nu-wa-nnas-za ERIN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.HLA iya* 'make us your troops and horse[men]!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 130; *VBoT* 2, 22–23 *namma-za šUM-an EGIR-an iya* 'also sign your name!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB XIV 3 II 65–66 ehu-wa nu-wa-mu-za arkuw[ar] iya* 'come, make your plea to me!'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 10), DÙ-ya (e.g. *KBo V 9 III 4–5 n-an-zan apiya-pat pidi-ssi arkuwar DÙ-ya* 'then, in its place, offer an explanation!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *iyadu* (*KUB VII 60 III 13–14*

nu-mu ^DU EN-YA ZI-a[s] *iyadu* 'may the storm-god my lord do my soul's [desire]'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 238), *iyaddu* (e.g. VII 8 II 9 and III 9; *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 10), *iaddu* (*KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 23; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20), *i-e-id-du* (*KBo* XVII 61 Rs. 5 *taknas-at-za* ^DUTU-us ^{NA}*passilus ieddu* 'may the solar deity of the earth make them into pebbles'; V 3 II 38; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:118), 2 pl. imp. act. *i-ya-at-tin* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 4 II 69–70 *n-asta* DINGIR.MEŠ-as-pat zi-ni *iyattin* 'humor the gods!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]), *dū-attin* (*KBo* X 37 III 44), 3 pl. imp. act. *iyandu* (e.g. VI 34 III 29 *da*nnatta URU-yasessar *iyandu* 'let them make empty [=lay waste] the town settlements'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12; *KUB* VII 7, 7 SISKUR *iyandu* 'let them perform a rite'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 132; *KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 15 *nu-kan* ANA DUMU.NITA *dumantiyalas* [with gloss-wedges] *anda iyandu* 'let them treat [viz. with the salve mixed ibid. 14] the insides of the ears [see s.v. *istamas*-] of the male child'), *iendu* (*KBo* VI 34 II 48–49 *n-an ke* NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ-an SAL-an *iendu tuz* <zi>us-sus SAL.. MEŠ-us *iendu* 'let these oaths make him from a man into a woman, and let them make his armies into women'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10); partic. *iyanti-* nom. sg. c. *iyanza* (e.g. *KUB* XII 58 I 18 *nu* ^{GIS}ZA.LAM.GAR *apiya iyanza* 'there the tent [is] made'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; XLII 100 IV 34 ŠUM-an *iyanza* 'the name [is] celebrated'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:185 [1978]; IX 28 I 19 *n-as* ^DIŠTAR-is *iyanza* 'it [viz. the figurine] [is] made into [a likeness of] Ištar'), *ianza* (e.g. *KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 45 *nu* EZEN *mahha*[n ien]zi *n-as* ^{GIS}kurtas *ianza* 'when they celebrate the festival, it [is] done according to a [wooden] tablet'), *dū-anza* (e.g. *KUB* XLII 100 III 23 EZEN *hameshandas-ma* ŪL' *dū-anza* 'the spring festival [was] not celebrated'; ibid. 33 *nu-war-as* ... ^{LÚ}SANGA *dū-anza* 'he [was] made priest'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iyān* (e.g. VII 41 I 17 *nasma-kan* ē-ri *anda ēšhar iyan* 'or inside the house blood [is] shed'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; VII 53 II 6–7 *n-at* *duppiza karū iyan* 'this [has] already [been] treated in a tablet'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10; *KBo* XII 126 I 13 *nu kūn* UKÜ-an *mān* LÚ-is *iyān* h[arzi] 'if a man has treated this person'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22), nom. pl. c. *iyantes* (e.g. *KUB* IX 22 III

i-an-te-es (Ko 12.62 Rs. 13–14 *anduhsus*
tāwan sipandandat [nu] siḡ-in iantessa
'people were duly consecrated and well treated').

9–10 ^DSIN ^DUTU Ū MUL *iyantes* '[images of] the moon, the sun, and a star [are] made'; XLII 100 IV 6), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *iyanta* (e.g. XII 58 I 15–17 EGIR-an-ma-ssan id-i *piran* ^{GIS}ZA..LAM.GAR.HLA ŠA GI *karū iyanza iyanzi-ma kuwapi* 'but in her wake by the river tents of reed [have] already [been] made; but where do they make [them]?'), *iyanda* (XXXII 123 II 12–13 6 *KŪ.LU-ya* ... *iyanda* 'six wreaths [are] made'); verbal noun *i-ya-u-wa-ar* (n.), nom.-acc. *iyauwar* (*KBo* I 31 Rs. 13 and 14, quoted at the beginning above; *FHG* 1, 11; cf. Laroche, *RA* 45:132 [1951]), *iyauwa* (*KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 8 *iyauwa zik-pat* DINGIR-YA *maniyahṭa* 'you alone, my god, directed my doings'; for lack of -r cf. e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:68–9; Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 219 [1982]), *i-ya-wa-ar* (*FHG* 1, 20 *iyawar zik-pat* DINGIR-YA *maniya*[hta]), gen. sg. *iyauwas* 'of doing, to be done' (e.g. *KBo* V 9 III 7–8 *mān memiyas-ma kuis iyauwas zig*-[an] ŪL *iyasi* 'but if you do not do a thing which [is] to be done'; ibid. 3 *kuis ŪL iyauwas* 'which [is] not to be done'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20; *KUB* IV 1 II 21 and 23 '[is] to be shed' [viz. blood; context sub *eshanant*- s.v. *eshar*]); inf. *i-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (XXIV 3 I 24–25 SISKUR.SISKUR.HLA EZEN.HLA *iyauwanzi sarā tittanuskanzi* 'they keep undertaking to perform rites and feasts'; *IBoT* III 148 IV 26–27 *namma mān piran parā* SISKUR ... *iyauwanzi hantaittari* 'further if it has been determined beforehand that the ritual be performed'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 230), *i-ya-u-an-zi* (*KUB* XIII 4 II 55 EZEN *iyauwanzi me*[h]una[s] 'at the time of celebrating the festival'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]; XIX 20 Rs. 9 *iyauwanzi ŪL āra* 'to do [is] not right'), *dū-u-an-zi* (XLVIII 119 Vs. 7 'to celebrate [festival]'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:179 [1978]), *i-ya-u-wa-an-na* (IV 1 II 20 *ēšhar iyauwanna* 'to shed blood'; cross between *iyauwanzi* and **iyanna*?), *iyauwan* (supine form used as infinitive, in *ishahru iyauwan* 'to shed tears' [examples s.v. *ishahru*-]); iter. *essa*-, *issa*- (q.v. separately, with its own iter. *eseki*-, *essiki*-), but also rarely normal *eski*-, *iski*- (cf. *teski*-, *tiski*- from *tiya*-, *ueski*-, *uiski*- from *uiya*-, *peski*- from *piya*-), 3 pl. pres. act. *e-es-kān-zi* (*KBo* V 3 III 64 *āra ēskanzi* 'they shall duly treat [her as ...]'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128), 3 pl. pret. act. *is-ki-ir* (*KUB* IV 1 I 14–15 EZEN.HLA

GAL-TIM-si *kuwapi iskir* 'where they used to celebrate great festivals for him': cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškar* 168), 3 sg. imp. act. *ēskidu* (XII 63 Vs. 5).

No finite passive is formed from *iya-*, but suppletively *kis-* 'become' (q.v.) steps in; cf. e.g. *KBo* VIII 35 II 3 *nu ēšhar kisari* 'blood is shed' with *KUB* VII 41 I 17 *nasma-kan ... ēšhar iyan* 'or blood [is] shed', or XVI 43 Vs. 10 *zi-as kisat* 'soul's (desire) was done' with VII 60 III 13–14 *nu-mu ... zi-a[s] iyadu* 'may (he) do my soul's (desire)'. The probable etymon of *kis-* is Lat. *gerō* (cf. *zi-ni iya-*, *zi-as iya-* with Lat. *morem gerere alicui*, or *bellum gerere* 'make war').

Lyd. *i-* 'make', 3 sg. or pl. pret. *il?* Cf. Gusmani, *Lyd. Wh.* 128–9.

Luw. *a(y)a-* 'make', midd. *-ti aya-* 'be made, become' (Hitt. *-za kis-*), 2 sg. pres. act. *āyasi* (*KBo* IX 141 Vs. 16), 3 sg. pres. act. *ati* (*KUB* XXXII 8+5 IV 25 *KIN-an nāwa ati* 'does not perform the rite'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 22), 3 sg. pres. midd. *āyari* (XXXV 54 II 42–44 *pā-ti kuwātin [tappi]ssa tiyammis nāwa āyari [tiy]ammis-pa-ti tappissa nāwa āyari zā-ha SISKUR.SISKUR-assa [...] ap[at]i nis āyari* 'but even as heaven does not become earth and earth does not become heaven, even so this ritual shall not come to pass'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 59), 1 sg. pret. act. *aha* (*KBo* XXIX 49 Vs. 6), 2 sg. pret. act. *āyas* (*KUB* XXXV 65 III 5), 3 sg. pret. act. *ayata* (*KBo* XIII 260 II 2, 3, 4), *āta* (*KUB* XXXV 107 III 11 *EZEN-in āta* 'celebrated the festival'; cf. Otten *LTU* 98), *ata* (*KBo* XIII 260 II 10, 12, 14), *ada* (ibid. 16, 18, 20, 22), 3 pl. pret. act. *āyanta* (IX 141 Vs. 20), *aiyanda* (*KUB* XXXV 132 II 8), 3 sg. imp. act. *ādu* (XXXV 125, 5), 3 sg. imp. midd. *āyaru* (XXXII 8 III 26 and 27; cf. Otten, *LTU* 22), *ayaru* (*KBo* VIII 130 III 5), *aiyaru* (*KUB* XXXV 39 II 12, 15, 16, 28, 29; cf. Otten, *LTU* 39); partic. *aiyammī-*, nom. pl. c. *aiyaminzi* (*KBo* IX 145, 6).

Hier. *a(i)a-* 'make', 1 sg. pres. act. *aiawi*, 3 sg. pres. act. *aiati*, 1 sg. pret. act. *aiaha*, *aiha*, 3 sg. pret. act. *aiata*, *aita*, *ata*, 3 pl. pret. act. *aiāta*, 2 sg. imp. act. *aiā*, 3 sg. imp. act. *aiātu*, 3 sg. imp. midd. *aiāru*; partic. (?) *aiāmin*. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 15–6; Laroche, *HH* 227. The need to "demolish" these readings (*a-i[-ā]-*) in Hawkins – Morpurgo – Neumann, *HHL* 158,

186–7, in favor of *i-zi(-ya)-* allegedly comparable with Hitt. *essa-* (with a possible concession for *ata*; cf. Hawkins – Morpurgo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1975:128; Hawkins, *Anatolian studies* 25:141 [1975]) is mainly an indication of the residual brittleness of the proposed new readings. This dubious *izi-* has been compared by H. Eichner (*Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]) rather with ON *ið* 'deed', *iðja* 'do', OE *īdig* 'assiduous'.

Lyc. *a-* 'make', 3 sg. pres. *adi* (<**ayati*), 3 pl. pres. *aiti* (<**ayanti*), 1 sg. pret. *axā*, *agā* (<**ayaha*), 3 sg. pret. *adē*, *ade* (<**ayata*), 3 pl. pret. *aitē* (<**ayanta*; Xanthos trilingual: Lyc. 9; cf. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:64–5 [1979]).

iya- has been connected with Toch. AB *yām-* 'make' (also *ya-* and suppletively *yp-* in A) from H. Holma (*Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33.1:23–4 [1916]) to van Windekens (*Le tokharien* 586). This binary comparison might still have some merit, if it were kept free of further entanglements such as Skt. *yam-* 'hold' (from Holma onward) and especially IE **yē-* 'throw' (Gk. *ῥῆμι*, Lat. *iēcī*; first compared with Hitt. *iya-* by Marstrand, *Caractère* 120, assuming 'throw' > 'do' parallel to **dhē-* 'place' > 'do' in Italic, Germanic, and Slavic). Pokorny (*IEW* 502) tied the postulated Hitt.-Toch. isogloss firmly in with **yē-*, and C. Watkins (*Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 71 [1969]) tried to quadrangulate Skt. *yam-* as well (IE **yem-*: *yē-* like **g^wem-*: *g^wā-* 'come'); this much-repeated derivation of Hitt. *iya-* from IE **yē-* (see e.g. Tischler, *Glossar* 341–2) lives on in e.g. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 87, 107, and V. Georgiev, *KZ* 85:38–42 (1971), who equated Hitt. *iezzi* with Gk. *ῥῆσι* as **yiyeṭi*; it is semantically wretched and formally implausible (cf. already Couvreur, *Hett.* 331, and see below).

OHitt. spellings such as *iemi*, *izzi*, *iēzi*, *iēs*, *iet* on the one hand, and *yasi*, *yazzi*, *yanzi* on the other (besides the regular *iyami*, *iyasi*, *iyazi*, *yanzi*, *iyas*, *iyat*) have fueled much philological and chronological speculation and abetted either the postulation of /ye-/ as the primary variant (<IE **yē-*; e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:74), with /ye/ > /ya/ due to some combinatory sound change (see e.g. C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 71 [1969]), or alternatively the intermingled coexis-

tence of a basic *ya-/ye- and a reduplicated *yiya- (cf. Rosenkranz, *ZA* 54:111 [1961]). Neither approach is satisfactory. *iya-* is not a nonthematic root verb *yē- (which should have yielded *e-; cf. *eka-*, *e[u]wa[n]-* s.v.) but a thematic *eye- (> *ē- [> ī- in OHitt. *izzi* < **eyeti*)), *eyo- (> *iya-*; *ie-* being a phonetic variant, perhaps [iyä-]); this is clear from Luw. *aya-* (cf. already Kronasser, *VLFH* 181) and from the general parallelism of verbs in *-iya-* (e.g. OHitt. *tizzi* < **tiyēti* beside *tiyazzi*, *tiezzi*; OHitt. *aniemi*, *hariemi* like *iemi*; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 75–6). The forms in *ya-* are early unregulated ways of rendering /iya-/ after the manner of e.g. *yatta* for *iyatta* (3 sg. pres. midd. of *iya-* ‘go’ [q.v.]). **eyo-* cannot be segmented **ey-o-*, since Hittite has no thematic forms of active root verbs, and hence Oettinger’s attempted **ey-* ‘do’ (*Eide* 34–5, drawing in Skt. *énaś-* as ‘evil deed’ [q.v. s.v. *inan-*]) was abortive. An **e-yo-*, on the other hand, cannot be a primary verb, since **e-* is not a verbal root. What we have here is perhaps a “verbum vicarium” derived from the pronominal stem **e-/o-* (q.v. s.v. *a-*) in the same manner as the quasi-synonymous *an(n)iya-* (q.v.) may be denominative from *anna-*, *an(n)i-* ‘that’. This idea of V. Machek (*Die Sprache* 4:79 [1958]) is not so strange if we reflect on the equivalents in modern languages such as the all-purpose English *do* (*it*), only it is realized by a grammatical device of denominative verbalization. Just as Hittite could make a synthetic **eshaniya-* ‘to bloody’ besides the expression *eshar iya-* ‘to shed blood’, Anatolian was apparently capable of an **eya-* ‘to do it’ besides Hitt. *-at iya-*.

No credence accrues to attempts to find root-identity with *iya-* ‘go’ (Hrozný, *SH* 153; W. Petersen, *Lg.* 9:32 [1933]; N. Holmer, *Årshok 1955/56 utgiven av Seminarierna i slaviska språk* 5–8 (Lund 1960); P. Hollifield, *Journal of Indo-European studies* 6:177–8 [1978]). A related meaning is found only secondarily in compounds like *parā iya-* (iter. verbal noun *parā ēssumar*, q.v. sub *essa-*; cf. Lat. *proficisco*[r] ‘set out, go’), *u-ia-*, *p-ia-* (q.v.), which have a sense of ‘make someone move’, hence ‘send’, sometimes with shadings of ‘chase, pursue’; with KASKAL-*an iya-* above (‘made [his] way’) cf. e.g. *IBoT* I 36 I 12 KASKAL-*an pi-e-ya-an-za* ‘sent on (his) way’. Alterna-

tively, IE *yē- ‘throw’ may lurk in *uiya-*, *piya-* (cf. Gusmani, *Parola del passato* 16:107–12 [1961]).

Cf. *essa-*, *iwar*.

22 [Anatol. *INDEX* 48/4, 190:359: „nyant- ‘sheep’ is not sure. see Hoffner // *AulOr* 5:27 forthcoming (pashuvatti)?] Nohl, *iyant-sheep*

iyant- (c.) ‘sheep’ (UDU), nom. sg. ^{UDU}*iyanza* (KUB IX 4 II 5–6 *kāsa-tta suppis* ^{UDU}*iyanza* ‘lo, for you a pure sheep!’; *VBoT* 24 III 11–13 *namma ANA UDU.HI.A istarna paimi nu-kan kuis* ^{UDU}*iyanza* IGI.[HI.]A-wa ^{UDU}*UTU-i neanza nu-ssi-kan* ^{SIG}*huttulli huittiyami* ‘I also go among the sheep; what sheep [is] turned [with] its eyes [partitive apposition] to the sun, from it I pluck a wool-tuft’; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:12 [1927], *Chrest.* 112), *iyanza* (KUB XXXV 148 III 38 *iyanza iyanza*; cf. *ibid.* 40 GUD-us ‘ox’; unless participle from *iya-* ‘do, make’ [cf. *ibid.* 39 *iyanzi*]), acc. sg. ^{UDU}*iyantan* (KBo VII 1 I 4 *hantezzi-kan* UD-ti ^{UDU}*iyantan inanas* ^{UDU}*UTU-i sipantahhi* ‘on the first day I offer a sheep to the sun-god of sickness’; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:142 [1961]; *ibid.* 9 *nu-kan* ^{UDU}*iyantan arkanzi n-asta* ^{UZU}*huisu suppa danzi* ‘they trace off a sheep[s] carcass] and take clean fresh meat’), gen. sg. ^{UDU}*iyantas* (110/e Vs. 21 ^{UDU}*iyantas* ^{SIG}*ēsri* ‘sheep’s fleece’; KUB XV 34 I 12 ^{UDU}*iyantas* ^{SIG}*h* ^{UDU}*huddulli* ‘wool-tuft of a sheep’; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 184), ^{UDU}*iyandas* (e.g. XXX 15 Vs. 24 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SIG}*huttulli*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; VII 60 II 14 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SIG}*hu* ^{UDU}*huttulli*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 234; *VBoT* 24 IV 20 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SIG}*huddulli*; *ibid.* III 32–33 ^{UDU}*iyandas* ^{SIG}*huddullit anda ishāi* ‘wraps it up in the wool-tuft of a sheep’), *iyandas* (KUB XV 32 I 35 *īSTU* ^{SIG}*SA₅* *iyandas* ^{UDU}*huttulli* ‘with a tuft of red sheep’s wool’; KBo XVIII 193 Vs. 9 ^{AMUSEN}*-as pardāuar iyandas* ^{SIG}*huttulli* [spelled -lis] ‘an eagle’s wing, a wool-tuft of a sheep’; cf. Werner, *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae F.M.T. de L. Böhl dedicatae* 394 [1973]; KUB IX 27 Vs. 10 [.]*iyandas* ^{SIG}*huttulli* [no room in lacuna for UDU]).

iyant- was certainly not the only Hittite word for ‘sheep’, and perhaps not the principal one (in view of countless UDU.HI.A it is strange not to find any plural forms); cf. UDU-*is* (see s.v. *hau-*), UDU-*us*. The reading ^{UDU}*iyant-* (rather than UDU-*iyant-*) has been secure since Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:179 (1936), so that H.

nom. pl. c.
i-ja-an-te-es
(KUB 52.30 II 23
g i-kan i-antes
‘nine pair sheep’;
cf. Hurst-Jak-Roth //
AOF 11:64, 194)

Wittmann's (*RHA* 22:117–8 [1964]) and O. Szemerényi's (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27:158 [1964], *Kratylos* 11:218 [1966]) *UDU-iyant-* = *hauiyant-* was merely an aberration (cf. e.g. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 52; H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:354 [1967]; Neu, *Mediopassiv* 118; Kronasser, *WZKM* 62:312 [1969]). Pedersen's (*Hitt.* 148) identification of *iyant-* as in origin the participle of *i-* or *iya-* 'go', and his comparisons with Gk. πρόβατον 'sheep' and ON *ganganda fē* 'walking wealth, livestock (on the hoof)' (vs. *liggjanda fē* 'inert goods'), have been strengthened by the investigations of Benveniste (*BSL* 45:91–100 [1949]; cf. *Hitt.* 12–3) on πρόβατα, dat. pl. πρόβασι 'livestock' and the Homeric collective abstract πρόβασις as 'animate chattels' (vs. κειμήλια 'depositional goods' in *Odyssey* 2:75 κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε): the semantics start not with 'walking cattle' (or 'flocks going in front [of herds]') but rather as 'possessions that go forwards', vs. holdings that just 'lie there', even as the Roman legal house search for stolen goods was conducted *lance et licio* 'with platter and tether' for symbolic removal of the two main categories of larcenous items (cf. C. Watkins, in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* 336 [1970]). Either term could metonymically shade over into a comprehensive word for wealth, and hence e.g. Oscan *eitiuvam* 'pecuniam' is in origin a collective abstract **ey-tu-* etymologically cognate with Lat. *itus* 'a going' but semantically (as 'that which goes') akin to Hom. πρόβασις, whereas Toch. A *šemäl* '(small) cattle', rather than derived from *kām-* 'come', may conversely be related to Gk. κειμήλια (cf. van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 477–8), with neutralization of the live : inert opposition, thus the reverse semantic development from that seen in e.g. **peku* > Goth. *faihu* 'κτήματα, χρήματα, ἀργύριον' (cf. e.g. Gk. κτήνεια 'flocks' < 'possessions', or OCS *skotŭ* 'cattle' < 'money' [Goth. *skatts*]).

C. Watkins (in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 282–3 [1979]) also compared *iyant-* with Hitt. *iyatar* in the sense of 'moveable wealth' (*iyant-* : *iyatar* as πρόβατα : πρόβασις), and further saw in the second member of the asyndetic *iyata tameta* a term for 'inert wealth', matching κειμήλια. But *tameta* (q.v.) means rather 'fat of the land, abundance', and *iyatar* is better

interpreted as '(vegetal) growth', thence 'plenty, prosperity' (see s.v.); despite such Vedic analogues as *gávām pśam* 'prosperity of cattle', or *rayīm gómantam* 'wealth in cattle', or *gómat* 'cattle-laden(ness)', *iyatar* is not likely to have meant 'that which goes' > 'mobile chattels' > 'plenty, prosperity'. Organic (animate and vegetal) possessions are rather listed under the binomial heading *iyata tameta* (*KBo* XII 42 Rs. 4–9, quoted s.v. *iyatar*), whereas metal and mineral wealth (ibid. 10–12) is introduced as 'goods' (*āssū-ya*). Thus the live : inert opposition is not lost in Hittite but has been reformulated in a way which sidetracks the isolated *iyant-* into the specific sense of 'sheep', somewhat as Classical Greek has the secondary singular πρόβατον 'sheep' besides oppositions such as χρήματα και κτήματα 'goods and (live) chattels'. Cf. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104:226–7 (1983).

(i)yasha-, 2 sg. pret. act. in *KBo* V 6 IV 3 *nu-wa-mu-kan parā ūl iyashatta nu-wa-mu enessan imma TAQBI* 'you did not trust (?) me, nay even spoke to me thus' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96 [1956]). This inferred meaning rests on the context (widow of Tutankhamen writing to Suppiluliumas, after the latter had expressed skepticism about her previous request for S's son as her new husband).

The form *iyashatta* is "Luwian" (cf. Güterbock, *Orientalia* N.S. 25:121 [1956]), as are the grammatically opaque (*kuin*) *yashantin* (*KUB* XIX 23 Vs. 11; acc. sg. of pres. partic.?), (*ANA GAŠAN-YA*) *yashanduwaṭi* (ibid. 13, with gloss-wedges; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 312 [1977]), *yashanduwaṭi* šā-ta sāi 'impress upon your ? heart' (XIV 7 IV 8, with gloss-wedge; dat. of adj. in -(u)want-?; or abl.-instr. -ati?).

Sturtevant (*IHL* 51, *Comp. Gr.*² 51) connected *iyasha-* with *ishiya-* 'bind' (his inexact translation 'you are bound to' was colored thereby), and both (wrongly) with Avest. *yāsta-* 'girt', etc. (cf. s.v. *ishiya-*). Since *ishiya-* (Luw. redupl. *hishiya-*) reflects IE **sE₂y-*, *iyasha-* does not belong, nor is the meaning close. Etymology unknown. Rikov (*Ling. Enlk.* 36/3:245ff., '93) connected *iyasha-* with hair 'trust'.

56.44:251

iyatar (n.) '(vegetal) growth, fertility, fecundity; plenty, prosperity', ^{SG}iyatar 'wool-growth, thick wool', nom.-acc. sg. *iyatar* (*KBo* XI 1 Vs. 15 *nu-kan šā KUR-ti āssu taksul assu[ī miya]tar iyatar* 'in the land concord, well-being, growth, prosperity'; cf. *RHA* 25:106 [1967]; *KUB* XLIII 60 I 11-13 *n-apa iyatar-mit udamdu takku arunaz-ma n-at lahanza udu n-at-san pedi-ssi dāu* 'let them bring my plenty; but if from the sea, let the l.-bird bring it and put it in its place'; XXIII 40 Vs. 3), *iyata* (*Bo* 2727 I 4 *LIM UDU.HIA iyata LAM* 'prosperity [of] a thousand sheep, a thousand ...'; *KUB* II 2 III 28-29 *nu piyer iyata tamēta* '[the gods] gave fecundity [and] abundance' [followed by prayer for progeny down through generations for the royal couple]; dupl. XLVIII 6, 6 [OHitt.] *iyatada*[-], binomial rendering of Hattic ^D*Wa_a-su-ū-ul* = ^D*Hingallu* 'Abundance'; cf. Schuster, *Bilinguen* 72-3, 122-3; *KBo* XII 42 Rs. 4-5 *nu-wa iyata tamēta pe harweni* 'we purvey growth [and] abundance [= what grows and is abundant]', detailed [ibid. 6-9] as deliveries aplenty [ibid. 6, 8, 9 *mekki*] of human chattels, livestock, and agri- and viticultural products, as opposed to metal and mineral goods [*āssū-ya*, ibid. 10-12]; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 22:35 [1968]; *KUB* VIII 22 III 3 *i[yata tamēta kīsa* 'growth and abundance will be'; IV 5, 13-14 *nu nepisaza i[yata] hūman heyauwani[sk-izzi]* 'from heaven growth rains down all over', matching ibid. [Sum.] *hingal* and *KBo* XII 72, 13-14 [Akk.] *ištu šamē higalla ušazna[n]*; cf. *KUB* IV 5, 15-17 + *KBo* XII 73, 2 *n-asta KUR-e i[yata] dammēda hū[man] heyauwaneskiz[zi]* 'in the land growth and abundance rains down all over', matching *KBo* XII 72, 15 [Akk.] *higalli*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:72-3 [1964]), *iyada* (*KUB* IV 4 Vs. 13-14 *iyada dammēda harti* 'you have growth [and] abundance', matching ibid. [Akk.] *enbu hengalli* 'fruit in abundance'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]; XII 63 Rs. 16), *iyāta* (ibid. 29), *iyāda* (*KBo* III 7 I 17-18 [*nu DU*] *G palhas an[d]an iyāda i[et]* 'inside the cauldrons he made plenty' [i.e. filled them to the brim]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:66 [1965]), gen. sg. *iyatnas* (*KUB* XIII 33 II 5-6 *iyatnas-wa-ssi [huhu]pal SUM-an ēsta* 'a vessel of plenty had been given to him'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 34; *huhupal* may denote a container for liquids [cf. XXV 37 I 34 *mahhan-ma-kan* ^{GIS}*huhupal ištu GEŠTIN*

secondary gen.
i-ja-ta-as
(KBo 18.133 Vs.
2 & 8)

H. 22. c.
i-ja-at-ni-ja-an-
(KBo 43.60 I 24)

GURUN-as
iyatnas
KUB 2.1 I 38
'of plenty of fruit'

sunnanzi 'but when they fill a h. with wine'], in addition to a wooden percussion-instrument [cf. ibid. 10 ^{GIS}*huhupal harzi ūl-at GUL-ahhiskizzi* 'he has a h. but does not strike it']; XXXIX 7 II 10-11 ^{SG}*iyatnass-a* 10 *lahanza* ^{MUSEN}*ianza* 'and of thick wool ten l.-birds [are] made' [in addition to birds of wood and dough, on top of live specimens, ibid. 7-14]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; ibid. 20 ^{SG}*iyatna<s> lappinan i[yanzi* 'of thick wool they make a l.-plant'; XXX 19 I 5-6 + XXXIX 7 I 11-12 *namma-an ištu* ^{GIS}*GEŠTIN* ^{GIS}*INBI mūrinit* ^{SG}*iyatnas mūrinit unūwanzi* 'then they deck [the vine] with natural grapes [and] with grapes of thick wool'; XXXIX 7 I 22 + XXX 19 I 17 ^{SG}*i[yatnass[-a] mūriyanus*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 32, 130), abl. sg. ^{SG}*iyatnaza* (XXXI 71 IV 29-30 *nu-wa-kan ANA I ARĀH* ^{DUG}*agannis mān anda nu-war-as* ^{SG}*iyatnaza sūwanza* 'in one storehouse [there is something] like a bowl, and it [is] filled with thick wool'; cf. Werner, *Festschrift H. Otten* 328 [1973]). For frequent lack of -r in *iyata(r)* (as consistently in *tamēta*, *dammēda* vs. *dammētarwant*), cf. e.g. Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3:356 (1955); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:68-9; Schuster, *Bilinguen* 123; Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 212-3, 216-7 (1982).

iyatnuwant- 'growing, luxuriant', nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iyatnuwan* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 29-30 ^{LÜ}*ŠE.KIN.KUD-as māhhan miyān iyatnuwan hāsuwāi* ^{SAR} [...] *warasta* 'as the harvester mows [gnomic preterite] the growing, luxuriant soapwort'; ibid. 27-28 *iyatnuwan hāsuwāi* ^{SAR}; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 123). For denominative formation, cf. e.g. *saknuwant*- 'shitty' from *sakkar* 'shit' (**iyatn-[u]want*).

iyatniya- 'be in growth', partic. *iyatniyant*-, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iyatniyan* (*KUB* XXIX 1 IV 18 *uktūri iyatniyan* 'ever-green' (tree; see s.v. *e[y]a[n]*-), dat.-loc. pl. *iyatniyandas* (*KBo* VI 11 I 8 [= *Code* 2:7] *takku LÚ.ULÙ.IU-as iyatniyandas* ^{GIS}*SAR.GEŠTIN UDU.HIA tarnai* 'if a person lets sheep into growing vineyards').

^{SG}*iyatar* resembles ^{SG}*es(sa)ri*- 'fleece' (lit. 'woolshape, wool-skin'; cf. 132/x, 3 ^{TUG}*iyatnas* 'garment of thick wool' [for lack of ^{SG} cf. occasional *ēsri* 'fleece' rather than ^{SG}*ēsri*]); the basic sense of *iyatar* shines through in the symbolism of ^{SG}*iyatar*: the latter is used to fashion imitation grapes (cf. *iyatniyant*-

^{GIS}*iyatar* (?) KBo 40.372

referring to vineyards, *KBo* VI 11 I 8 above); from it are also fabricated fake *lahanza*-birds, the same kind as is conjured to bring *iyatar* from the sea (*KUB* XLIII 60 I 11–13, above); the third item made from ^{SG}*iyatar* is *lappina*-plant(s) which are notorious for their thick growth (the mountains are '[over]flowing' [*arsantes*] with them when the ogre Huwawa throws up vegetal roadblocks to human passage [*KBo* X 47g III 14]).

Thus *iyatar* is in origin literally 'growth', a petrified verbal noun from *iya*- 'go, walk' in the special sense of 'grow, sprout', used particularly of the spread of vegetation (cf. 3 sg. imp. midd. *iyataru* s.v. *iya*-), in a manner similar to *huwai*- 'run' (*KBo* VI 34 II 40–41 *welluwas anda welkuwak le huwāi* 'in the meadows grass shall not grow'). Its detachment from the living paradigm of *iya*- (**iya-tar*, not **iya-atar*) is marked by the nonassimilation of *-in-* (cf. e.g. *haratar*, *huitar*, s.v.), thus gen. sg. *iyatnas*, not **iyannas*.

The irreversible asyndetic binomial *iyata(-)tameta* 'growth (and) abundance' is clearly a set expression reminiscent of a verbal biblical turn in *Genesis* 1.28 (LXX αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε, Vulgate *crescite et multiplicamini*); it idiomatically and pleonastically renders in tandem what is expressed by Hattic *wasil* 'abundance', Akk. *enbu hengalli* 'fruit in abundance', even as its parts can occur singly (*iyatar* = Sum. *hingal*, Akk. *higalla*; *dammatarwant*- matching Akkadian terms for 'abundance' [*nihšu*, *kuzbu*]).

C. Watkins's attempt to see in *iyatar* a collective abstract 'moveable wealth' (lit. 'that which goes') is criticized and rejected s.v. *iyant*-; Rosenkranz's connection of *iyatar* with *iya*- 'do, make' (*JEOL* 19:501 [1965–6]) has no merit, nor does H. Eichner's attempt (*MSS* 31:77 [1973]) to see a figura etymologica in ^{GIS}*eyan* ... *ukturi iyatniyan* (see s.v. *e[y]a[n]*-). Cf. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104:226–7 (1983).

iyatti- (c.), a type of bread or cake, acc. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-ya-at-ti-in* (*KBo* XXII 173, 8), acc. pl. *iyattius* (*KUB* X 91 III 15–16 *nu-kan* 3 ^{NINDA}*iyattius ištū inbi ga.kin.ag teyantes* ... ME-i 'he takes three i. decorated [lit. placed] with fruit [and] cheese').

iyatti- makes no sense in terms of Hittite historical phonology, since *-tti-* stands for /ti/ which, if inherited, should have yielded *-zzi-*. Otherwise opaque. *i*-stem may indicate Luwian or Hurrian origin.

Also: *iyatti-* ist wohl ein (Hurr?) Lehnwort des Mondgottes: Popko // *AsF* 18/2, 31:244.

iyawa- 'be healed, recover', 3 sg. pres. midd. *i-ya-u-wa-at-ta(-u-wa-ar)* (*Bo* 139¹ Vs. 8 *iyauwatta-uwar āssu* 'is well healed' [?]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *i-ya-u-wa-at-ta-at* (ibid. 4–5 *iyauwatta[ri] āssu*; ibid. 7 [*iyauwattat āssu*; cf. Otten, *JKF* 2:65 [1951]); iterative ("durative") *iyawan(n)a-*, *iyawan(n)iya-*, deverbative adj. *i-ya-u-wa-ni-ya-u-an-za* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 42–43 [^DKumarbi]-*a-kan iyauwaniyauanza* ^{URU}*Nipp[ur ...]* [...] *pait* 'and K., recovering [viz. from his oral abortion], went to Nippur'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3, 36; Dressler, *Studien* 235; for formation, cf. e.g. *āssiyauwant-* 'favorite, lover', *kartimmiyawant-* 'angry', *nahsariyawant-* 'fearful'); double iter. *iyawaneski-*, *iyawaniski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *i-[ya-w]a-ni-es-ki-si* (XVII 8 IV 15), 3 sg. pres. act. *i-ya-wa-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (ibid. 14 *nu-ssi lappiyas merta nu iyawaniskizzi* 'his fever has disappeared and he is recovering'), *i-ya-u-wa-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (ibid. 31; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:167–8 [1965]).

iyauwatta relates to the active *iyauwaniya-* much as e.g. the medial *iyatta* (q.v. s.v. *iya*- 'go') stands vis-à-vis *iyaniazzi* (q.v. s.v. *i*- 'go'). The root is IE **A₂ew-A₂-* (*IEW* 77) seen in Skt. *āvati* 'helps, expedites', *avitar-* 'helper', *ūtī-*, *āvas-* 'help', Avest. *avaiti* 'helps', *avah-* 'help', Gk. *ἐνής* 'helpful, kind', Lat. *avārus* 'greedy', *avidus* 'eager', *avē-* 'be eager', *audē-* 'be eager, dare'. A reduplicated verbal stem from this root explains Hitt. *iyawa-* as **A₂i-A₂ewA₂-*. A Latin cognate may be *iuvā-* 'help, gratify' (< **A₂i-A₂uweA₂-*; cf. F. Specht, *KZ* 65:207–8 [1938], 68:52–7 [1944], who compared *iuvā-* with Skt. *āvati*), and from Greek one might adduce the epic-lyric verb *ἰαίω* 'soothe, warm, heal' (< **iαφα-νιω* < **A₂i-A₂ewA₂-*; for loss of digamma between two alphas cf. Hom. *ἄτη* < **ἀπάτᾱ*, early enough for the the contractional *ā* to appear in formulaic metrical arsis [*Iliad* 6:356, 24:28 *Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνεκ' ἄτης*]; the old connection with Ved. *iṣanyāti* 'drive, impel' has semantically little in its favor). An additional

comparison with Gk. $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ - (Hom. $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\eta}$ -), $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ - 'heal' is, however, ruled out (* $\dot{\iota}\alpha\phi\alpha$ - should have yielded Hom. $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ -; the digamma is contradicted by Myc. $i\text{-}ja\text{-}te$ and Cypr. $\dot{\iota}\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$; $\dot{\iota}$ - must be attributed to unmotivated metrical lengthening); besides, $\dot{\iota}\alpha\dot{\iota}\nu\omega$ and $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ - are very disparate in their range of usages and plausibly not root-related (cf. N. van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien* 255–8 [1961]; for $\dot{\iota}\tilde{\alpha}$ - see further s.v. $\dot{\iota}\dot{\sigma}\kappa\iota[\gamma a]$ -).

ikniyant- 'lame, paralytic, crippled', KUB XII 62 Rs. 9 *ikniyanza piddai le* 'a lame (person) shall not run'. Cf. Ehelolf, KIF 393–4; H. A. Hoffner, JCS 29:151 (1977).

Benveniste (BSL 35:102–3 [1934]) compared the isolated Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (*Iliad*+) 'shrinking, hesitation' ($\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'unhesitating, resolute'), thus seeing in **ikn(i)*- or **ikna*- a corresponding e-grade *ekn*-. Cf. e.g. Neumann, *Untersuch.* 20; Frisk, GEW 2:374.

More probably *ikniyant*- is related to *eka*- 'cold, ice' (q.v.), thus a participle of a denominative verb formed from **yeg-no*- or **ig-no*- 'frozen, paralyzed'. Carruba (apud Neu, *Interpretation* 68) also collated *egai*- with *ikniyant*-, but postulated the wrong meaning 'burst, crack' for *egai*- (adducing as semantic parallel *duwarnai*- 'break': *duddhwarant*- 'lame') and assigned it to IE **ayg*- 'move, vibrate' (IEW 13–14).

Alp's adduction (*Anatolia* 2:29–30 [1957]) of *ekt*-, *ikt*- (q.v.) was abortive, due to the incorrect meaning 'leg'; nor is it clear how in the absence of privativity 'legless' could be derived from 'leg'; hence Oettinger's (*Eide* 22) connection with *egdu*-, *igdu*- 'leg' also fails to save the day.

iksai- haplog. iter. 3 sg. pres. midd. *ik-sa-a-i-is-ki-it-ta* in KUB XXXVI 44 IV 8–10 *nu kuwapi* ^{DUTU-us} *mumiezzi* [...] *i-ku happeni-kku* $\dot{\iota}\dot{\varsigma}$ -*i-kku hahhali-kku mumiezzi* [...] *iksāyiskitta* 'where(ver) the sun falls, whether into ? or flame or a tree or a bush' (cf. Laroche, RHA 23:82 [1965]). 3sg. pres. *ik-ša-a-i* (KUB 58.93 Vs. r.x. 7)

H. Eichner (MSS 29:30, 39 [1971]) suggested a meaning

'burst, crack' akin to *igai*- (q.v. s.v. *eka*-); but the latter means rather 'cool down, freeze, become paralyzed', a sense not necessarily inappropriate either for a fallen sun; thus a relationship of *ig-ai*- and *ig-s-ai*- remains possible.

ila- 'weakness' (vel. sim.), nom. sg. *i-la-as* (KUB XXIX 1 I 46–48 [t]akku *ilas kardi-smi nassu-ma* ^{DUTU} *was istarningais kardi-smi n-at sarā sāhten* 'if weakness [is] in your heart, or the ailment of the sun [is] in your heart, flush it out!'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:28 [1947]), acc. sg. *i-la-a-an* (KBo XXI 20 I 15; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 42). *ven. sg. in* ^{DUTU} *i-la-as* (16.7 3.12 Rs. 5)
No etymology. *ila-sa-kán an* [d]a *kitto* KUB 43.58 I 8 (New Reg.)

ilaliya- 'desire, want', 1 sg. pres. act. *ilāliyami* (e.g. KUB XIII 3 II 18 *n-an-zan* LUGAL-us $\dot{U}$ L *ilāliyami* 'I the king do not want him'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46), 2 sg. pres. act. *ilaliyasi* (e.g. KBo V 3 III 38 *danna-ma-za le ilaliyasi* 'but do not desire to take [sexually]'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:126; V 13 II 16–17 *nu damētani AŠŠUM BELLUTIM ilaliyasi* 'you desire for another for lordship'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:122; KUB XXIII 1 II 13–14 *nu-za apiya AŠŠUM EN-UTTI le kuinki ilaliyasi* 'there [i.e. from those] do not desire anyone for lordship!'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 8–10), 3 sg. pres. act. *ilaliyazi* (e.g. XXI 42 I 32 [ku]is-ma-za *ilaliyazi* 'but he who desires' [viz. another lordship]), 2 pl. pres. act. *ilaliyatteni* (ibid. 30–31 *dammēda-ma le autteni tamāi-ma-⟨sm⟩as EN-UTTA le ilaliyatteni* 'but do not look elsewhere and do not wish for another lordship'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 24), partic. *ilali-*
yant-, nom. sg. c. *ilaliyanza* (RS 25:421 Ro. 36 $\dot{\iota}\dot{\varsigma}$ - $\dot{\varsigma}$ AR-as-ma-as }
GIM-an *ilaliyan[za]* 'she [is] like a desired garden'); verbal noun }
ilaliyawatar (cross between **ilaliyawar* and **ilaliyatar*?; cf. inf. }
iyauwanna s.v. *iya*- 'do'), instr. sg. *ilaliyauwannit* (ibid. Vo. }
62–63 *āssiyauwanzas-ma-as* [...] GIM-an *ilaliyauwannit* $\dot{U}$ L ha[s- }
sikanza 'she [is] like a lover not satiated with desire', matching }
ibid. [Akk.] *rām murtamim ša lālū-šu lā išabū* 'love of a lover }
whose desire is not satiated'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:774,

Pres. 3 pl.
i-la-li-ja-an-zi
(e.g. KUB 44.6 II 10 $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\dot{\varsigma}$
Lā danna ilal[i]jantzi
'they desire to take the
royal houses'; dupl.
KUB 3.1 I 63
i-da-la-li-ja-an-zi [sic])

i-la-li-an-za
KUB 43.60 I 17

444-5, 314 [1968]); iter. *ilaliski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *i-la-li-is-ki-si* (KBo IV 10 Rs. 9), 3 sg. pres. act. *i-la-li-is-ki-iz-zi* (KUB XIX 28 IV 7), *i-la-lis-ki-iz-zi* (KBo II 11 Rs. 8; cf. Sommer, *AU* 245-7), *i-la-a-li-is-ki-iz-zi* (XXI 22 Vs. 14-15 *nu-za kuit Labarnas LUGAL-us istanzanas-sas* [šā-as-s] *as ilāliskizzi n-at-si anda arān ēstu* 'what L. the king desires in his soul and heart, let it come to him'), *i-la-li-is-ki-zi* (ibid. 16, repeated for the queen; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:199 [1978]), 1 pl. pres. act. *i-la-li-is-qa-u-e-[ni]* (KUB XXXI 44 II 27; cf. von Schuler, *Orientalia* N.S. 25:227 [1956]), *i-la-a-li-is-ga-u-e-ni* (XL 15+XXVI 24+583/u II 7; cf. H. Otten - C. Rüster, *ZA* 68:270 [1978]), 3 pl. pres. act. *i-la-li-is-kān-zi* (XXIV 1 III 21-22 *kuedas-ma-z* [sic] *sumenzan ē.HI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-KUNU arha warnummanzi ilaliskanzi* 'and who desire to burn up your temples'; dupl. XXIV 2 Rs. 5-6 *kuyēs-ma-z* [...] *ilaliskanzi*), 2 sg. imp. act. *i-la-li-is-ki* (KBo IV 14 II 20-21 *ziqq-a-za* [QATAMMA] *ishassarwatar* [...] *ilaliski* 'you, too, likewise desire lordship!'; ibid. 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* 20:40, 47 [1965]), 2 pl. imp. act. *i-la-li-is-ki-it-te-en* (XVI 24+25 I 64; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]).

Attested in Anatolian anthroponymy (*Ilalia* (hsu); cf. La-roche, *Noms* 77-8) and theonymy (KUB II 4 IV 27 ^D*Ilaliyantas*; IX 34 III 35 ^D*Ilaliyandus*; Pal. ^D*Ilaliyant* (ik) *es*; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 57); perhaps also in Lyc. *Eliyāna* (dat. pl. on Xanthos trilingual [Lyc. 40], matching Gk. *Νυμφών*; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:315 [1977], who compared such seeming "Attic reduplications" as Luw. *elelha-*, *ililha-* beside *elha-*, *ilha-*).

Hier. *alana-* 'cove' (Karatepe 351) has been adduced by F. Steinherr, *MSS* 32:108 (1974); cf. Hawkins - Morpurgo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1975:125-8. Perhaps dissimilarity for **alala-*.

The comparison of *ilaliya-* with Gk. *λilαίωμα* 'desire' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 22; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946:74-5) must be confined to a general phonesthetic level, since **λilασ-ιο-* is matched etymologically by Hes. *λάσται·πόρναι*, Skt. *lālasa-* 'desirous', and Lat. *lascivus*. The origins of *ilaliya-* are better

sought in home-grown Anatolian expressive (perhaps onomatopoeic) reduplicates, possibly denominatively based on interjectional material like Gk. *ἐλελίξω*, *ἀλαλάξω*, *ὀλολύξω*.

ila(n)- 'stair(case), step(ladder)' (^{GIŠ}KUN₄, ^{GIŠ}KUN₅), nom. sg. ^{GIŠ}*i-la-as* (KBo XXII 194, 9; 347/z, 3), gen. sg. *i-la-na-as* (e.g. KUB XX 46 III 4-16 [*ilanas* in 6, 9, 15] *LUGAL-us INA ē^D Mezzulla paizzi nu GAL DUMU.MEŠ ē.GAL ilanas piran happurriyan ispāri nu LUGAL-us ilanas piran tiyezzi nu ANA DINGIR-LIM aruwāizzi t-as hāliya ta namma aruwāizzi n-as-kan kuitman ilanas sarā ari ta aruiskizzi-pat* 'the king goes into the temple of M.; the chief of palace sons spreads h. before the staircase; the king steps before the staircase and prostrates himself to the deity; he kneels; he prostrates himself further; and while he makes his way up the staircase he keeps prostrating himself'; XXXI 89 II 3-4 *namma KÁ.GAL-TIM lustaniēs^{GIŠ} ilana[s SAG.DU.MEŠ] BĀD.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 *lustaniyas ilanas SAG.DU.MEŠ-us*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43; KBo XXV 187 II 8 *ilanas*; unclear XVIII 181 Vs. 21 5 *túG GÚ hurri ilanas*; cf. *túG GÚ.Ē.A* ['shirt'] *hurri* [e.g. V 2 I 32, KUB XV 23, 10?], dat.-loc. sg. *i-la-ni* (XL 53 IV 7-8 *n-at ... sarā^{GIŠ} ilani dai* 'places it up on the staircase', vs. ibid. 9-10 *n-at ... EGIR-an katta dai* 'puts it back down'; KBo III 6 III 69-70 ^D*IŠTAR-ma-mu-kan GAŠAN-YA ilani ilani namma teskit* 'but Ištar my lady also kept placing me [if from *dai-*; or: attending on me, if from *tiya-*] at every step' [viz. of my career ladder]; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 34; *VBoT* 44, 8 *il[ani] ilani?*). *Q. Hoffmann Erläss 78-102, 84*.

For epanadiplotic *ilani ilani* cf. e.g. *ITU-mi ITU-mi* 'every month' (s.v. *arma-*). Gender and stem class remain in doubt. Like other architectural vocables (e.g. *parn-* 'house', *aska-* 'gate', *hila-* 'court[yard]'), *ila(n)-* may well be a native Anatolian term. *Q. elanija*; Karla-

ILMANI- 'acc. sg. 12 *il-ma-ni-in* (KUB 33.34 Vs. 4') *Nam res.*

illessar, ilissar, ilassar, elassar (n.) 'sign' (IZKIM), dat.-loc. sg. *i-li-es-ni* (KUB VI 3, 6-8 *DINGIR-LUM TI-tar kuedani ilesni uskisi* semant.)

karū-ssi kuēs MU.HI.A ariyasesnaza memantes apedass-a MU.HI.A-as parā TI-anza 'in what sign you watch the deity's life [partitive apposition], what years have been spoken for him of old by oracle, in those years [he shall be] living', *i-li-is-ni* (XXI 38 I 55-56 *mān tesi* LUGAL KUR^{URU} Karandunias-wa ŪL LUGAL GAL nu-za ŠEŠ-YA KUR^{URU} Karandunias ŪL DINGIR-LIM^{URU} kuedaniy-at ilisni 'if you say that the king of Babylonia [is] not a great king, then my brother [= you] does not know how significant Babylonia [is]' [Lat. *quantum id insigne*, lit. "in quo id signo"]; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:91 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:12-3 [1964], *i-la-as-ni* (KBo III 1 III 46-48 [OHitt.] marsa-tar ēssanzi nu-ssan ilasni parā n[assu 1 gipessar] nasma 2 gipessar haminkiskir n-asta u[dnē ēšhar akkusk]ir 'they practise fraud; glaringly [Lat. *insigniter*, lit. "in signo"] they would tie up either one or two cubits and then quaff the sap of the land'), *e-la-as-ni* (KUB X 17 II 2-4 n-at karū i[-...] ŪL elasni [...] n-at ištū DINGIR-LIM [...] 'it of old ... not signally ... it from the deity ...'), nom.-acc. pl. *i-li-es-sar* (XXXVI 89 Rs. 40 āssauwa ilessar^{HI.A} pestin 'give good signs!'; ibid. 43 ilessar^{HI.A} SIG₅.MEŠ pāi 'give good signs!', vs. ibid. 46 HUL-lauwa IZKIM^{HI.A} 'bad signs'; XXXVI 77, 6 SIG₅-uwa ilessa[r^{HI.A}; cf. Haās, *Nerik* 154, 140).

The usual equivalent of IZKIM is *sagai-* (c.) 'sign, omen, portent' (q.v.), but there is also the heteroclitic *sakiassar* (KUB XVII 28 I 1-2 [mā]n^D sin-as sakiyazzi nu-kan sakiassni [...] u]KUR-an GUL-ahzi 'if the moon gives a sign and in the signaling strikes a man' (i.e. renders him σελήνὸπληκτον 'moon-struck'). *ilessar*, *elassar* seems to resemble *sakiassar* in formation and meaning, down to partial -assar rather than normal -essar (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:288); the nature of an underlying **ela(i)-* or **eli(ya)-* remains to be discovered. If the base-meaning is 'escalation, apex, top mark', cf. perhaps *ila(n)-*; see also Neu/ZA 82:154, '92.

illuyanka-, elliyanku- 'snake, serpent', nom. sg. ^{MUS}illuyankas (e.g. KBo III 7 I 11; KUB XVII 5 I 9), also ^{MUS}illuiy[ankas (XVII 6 I 4), *arunas* ^{MUS}illuiyankas 'sea-serpent' (KUB XXXVI 5 II 28; cf. Laroche, *OLZ* 51:422 [1956]), ^{MUS}ill[iunk[is? (KBo XII 83 I 7), acc. sg. ^{MUS}illuyankan (KUB XVII 5 I 15), ^{MUS}illiya[nkan (KBo

III 7 III 31), *elliyankun* (XXVI 79, 17; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68), gen. sg. ^{MUS}illuyankas (III 7 III 7), acc. pl. *elliyankus* (KUB XXIV 7 III 70; cf. ibid. IV 28 ^{MUS}ŠA.TUR-^{US} 'venomous snakes'; Friedrich, *ZA* 49:230, 238 [1950]). Ku 43.39 II 14

Autochthonous term, used especially of the serpent or dragon fought by the storm-god in the etiological myths of the Hattic-origin EZEN *purulliyas* (q.v.). Cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23: 65-72 (1965). ~~MS: il-lu-jar-an-ku (case?)~~ See Voltenberg

imma, rarely **immakku** (q.v. s.v. -k[k]u), adverb in several distinctive uses:

'Moreover': e.g. KBo V 3 III 55 ABI^DUTU-Št-ma-kan imma GIS^{AB}-za arha ausz[i 'but moreover my majesty's father looked out of the window' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128); KUB XIX 29 I 9 ŠEŠ-YA BA.UG₆ imma 'moreover (i.e. to top off antecedent calamities) my brother died' (cf. Götze, *AM* 14); KBo V 6 III 7-8 nu-smas-kan EN-ŠUNU kuit 'Piphururiyas immakku BA.UG₆ 'because on top of everything their lord Tutankhamon had died on them' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:94 [1956]).

'Indeed': e.g. KUB XIII 4 III 50-51 nu É.DINGIR-LIM-ma imma 1-an harakzi^{URU} Hattusas-ma LUGAL-was āssu ŪL harakzi 'the temple alone will indeed perish, but Hattusas, the king's possession, will not perish' (cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]); ibid. IV 21-22 n-an-kan UKU-si imma taitteni ŪL-an-kan DINGIR-LIM-ni tayatteni 'you (may) indeed steal it from a man, but you cannot steal it from a god'; KBo IV 14 III 23-24 tuk-ma karū kuit ke INIM.MEŠ piran GAM tiyan DÜ-nun zikila-ya-at memiskit imma 'because I have long since had these words laid down before you, and indeed you yourself have kept saying them'; KUB XIV 1 Rs. 88-89 mān^DUTU-Ši NAM.RA.HI.A^{URU} Alasiya imma āppa wewakki[zi] nu-war-an-si āppa pi[hh]i 'if his majesty does indeed demand back the deportees of A., I shall give them back' (cf. Götze, *Madd.* 38); X I 1 20-21 aranta imma UŠKENNU-ma ŪL '(they) do just stand but do not prostrate themselves'.

'(Nay) even': e.g. KBo III 1 II 44 (OHitt.) parkunusi-ma-za

Ūl kuit nu-za anda imma hatkismusi 'you pardon nothing, nay even cause confinement' (i.e. far from pardoning you actually order arrest); V 3 I 29–30 apūm-a-mu antuhsan Ūl tekkussanusi n-an anda imma munnāsi 'you do not point out that person to me, nay you even conceal him' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:108).

'Nevertheless': e.g. KUB XIII 2 III 6–7 kuedani-ma ANA TUL SISKUR.SISKUR NU.GÁL n-at-kan sarā imma araskandu 'but the fountain for which there is no rite, let them nevertheless visit it!' (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47).

'Really', or merely emphatic, in negative rhetorical questions: e.g. VBoT 2, 7–9 nu māt handān ammel DUMU.SAL-ya sanhiskisi nu-tta Ūl imma pihhi pihhi-tta 'if you truly woo my daughter, won't I really give her to you? (Of course) I will give (her) to you' (cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329, 332–3 [1956]); KUB XIV 3 II 75 n-as-mu Ūl imma ^{LU}HA<DA>NU '(is) he not my in-law?' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 10, 138–9); XIV 7 IV 11–13 māt UKU-as-pat atti anni DUMU-an sallamuzi nu-ssi attas annas ŠA ^{SAL}UMMEDA Ūl imma pāi 'if a person rears a child for the parents, don't the parents give him what is due a nurse?'; XXI 38 Vs. 48 n-at-mu ANA LÚ.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Hatti piran Ūl imma walliyatar Ūl kuit ēsta 'were they not a discredit (lit. not any renown) to me before the men of Hatti?' (cf. Sommer, *AU* 106, 253, and R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:11–2 [1964], who failed to grasp the rhetorical question; L. Rost, *MIO* 4:333 [1956], and W. Helck, *JCS* 17:91 [1963], who mistranslated as 'were they not a [source of] renown for me?'; ibid. 15 ANA ŠEŠ-YA-ma NÚ.GÁL imma kuitki 'does my brother really have nothing?').

As generalizer of relative pronouns and adverbs (following, rarely preceding, or intercalated into iteration): e.g. KUB XXVI 8 I 12–13 kui]n-wa-nnas imma sarā tummēni [nu-w]a-nnas apās Ūl imma DUMU EN-NI 'whomever (viz. of numerous brothers of the king) we elevate over ourselves, is not that one (equally) a son of our (previous) lord?' (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 9); KBo XXII 101 Rs. 6 ku]it imma AŠRA 'whatever place' (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 47); KUB XV 3 I 15–16 māt ^{URU}Urikina māt imma kuwapi 'whether at U. or wherever'; V 1 I 79 and 88 nu-kan masiēs imma UD.HIA UGU

pedai 'however many days he spends (in the) up(lands)' (cf. Ünal, *Hitt.* 2:46); ibid. III 55 kuwatin imma kuwatin neyahhari 'wherever I turn'; KBo V 4 Vs. 39 kuis-as imma kuis EN QATI '(or) whatever manual worker he (is)' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:58); KUB XV 34 II 33–34 nu-za kuwapi imma kuwapi nu u[wat]tin 'wherever you (may be), come!' (cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 192). Hier. i-ma (cf. *Hawke-Morp.-Nenn. HIL* 187).

imma was first connected with Lat. immo by Götze – Pederesen, *MS* 77–9, and remarkably resembles it in some usages, e.g. Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 9.7.4 causa igitur non bona est? immo optima 'so the case is not good? not only that, (it is) excellent'; Cicero, *Catiline* 1.1.2 vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit 'he is alive? not just (alive), he even comes to the senate'; Horace, *Sermones* 1.3.20 nullane habes vitia? immo alia 'have you no faults? yes indeed, (but) different ones'. By itself Lat. immo is obscure, and reconstruction remains uncertain. Hitt. imma has been connected with namma 'further' (q.v.) by Marstrander (*Caractère* 27) and Neumann (*MSS* 16:48 [1964]), whereas namma was analyzed as nu + *(a)sma by Puhvel (*KZ* 92:104 [1978] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 395 [1981]); thus a cluster origin of -mm- is possible for imma also. Marstrander (*Caractère* 27) and E. A. Hahn (*Lg.* 18:101–3 [1942]) tried to see -ma 'but' in Hitt. imma (assuming for the first part 'the IE pronominal stem *i/e' and i 'go!' respectively), and Hahn unconvincingly extended similar reasoning to Lat. immo as well (-mo related to Gk. μέν). Until the erstwhile shapes of Hitt. imma and Lat. immo are independently established, their etymological confrontation is best left in abeyance. cf. Melchert 1982 28: 184–205, 185. For new argument connecting H. imma and Lat. immo see HEP 6, Adm. 203

im(m)iya-, imme(y)a- 'mix, mingle', anda immiya- 'mix in, mingle together; (intrans. and midd.) mingle (with), get involved (with)', menahhanda immiya- 'mix in, mingle together', 1 sg. pres. act. immiyami (KUB XXIV 14 I 9–10 nu kī hūman ANA ZID.DA ŠE isni menahhanda immiyami 'all this I mix together with barley meal into dough'), immiyami (dupl. XXIV 15 Vs. 10), imiyami (XXIV 14 I 3–4 nu ŠA ZID.DA ŠE isnan dahhi nu UR.ZIR-as salpan menahhanda imiyami 'I take dough of barley

meal and mix in[to it] dog shit'). 2 sg. pres. act. *im-me-ya-si* (KBo XXI 20 Rs. 17; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 44), *im-me-at-ti* (KUB XXI 5 III 15 *nu-kan apeda*)]ni UKÙ-si *anda immeatti* 'you get involved with that person'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:66), 3 sg. pres. act. *immiyazi* (e.g. XI 20 I 9–10 GAL LÚ MEŠ UŠ.BAR SÍG BABBAR SÍG SA₅ *anda immiyazi* 'the chief of the weavers mingles together white wool [and] red wool'), *immiyazzi* (e.g. VII 1 I 25–27 ŠAR.HLA-*ma hūman kuaskuaszi serr-a-ssan harnamma* BAPPIR IŠTU KAŠ *harnān lāhūwāi n-at anda immiyazzi* 'he squashes all vegetables, pours over [it] the yeast [and] barm [that has been] fermented from the beer, and mixes it up'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]; VBoT 120 II 2–3 nu^{SAL}ŠU.GI SAHAR.HLA-*us ANA ŠE + NÁG ZÍD.DA BA[.BA. .ZA]* *anda immiyazzi* 'the old woman mixes powder into soapwort [and] meal [to make] a paste'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 138), 3 sg. pres. midd. *immiyaddari* (KUB XXIX 8 II 21 ANA UNUTE.MEŠ *anda immiyaddari* 'is mixed in with the implements'), *imiyattari* (XXXII 135 IV 7–8 DUB 1 KAMEZEN^{DEN}.ZU EZEN *tethuwas-a kuwapi anda imiyattari ŪL QATI* 'tablet one, where the feast of the moon and the feast of thunder are mingled, is not finished'; *ibid.* I 8–9 [nu] EZEN^DSIN EZEN *tēthuwas-a anda [imi]yattari n-at taksan kisantari* 'the feast of the moon and the feast of thunder are mingled, and they take place jointly'), *im-me-ya-ta-r[i]* (KBo XVIII 62 Rs. 10), 3 pl. pres. act. *immiyanzi* (e.g. VI 34 I 31–32 nu *kī harnammar mahhan tepu danzi n-at isnūri immiyanzi* 'as they take a little of this yeast and mix it into the dough-bowl'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8; KUB I 11 IV 11–12 nu-*smas* 3 UPNU *kanza* [2 UP] NU ŠE 5 UPNU *uzuhrinn-a anda immiyanzi* 'they mix together for them three handfuls of wheat, two handfuls of barley, and five handfuls of hay'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 120), *immianzi* (e.g. KBo III 5 + IBoT II 136 IV 65 *namma* 1/2 UPNA *kanza* 1 UPNA *uzuhrin anda immianzi* 'they also mix together one-half handful of wheat [and] one handful of hay'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 102), *immianzi* (KUB XXIX 48 Rs. 16 [a]nda *immianzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 164), *imiyanzi* (XXIX 4 IV IV 24–26 [ē DINGI]R-LIM *kuttan kuez uitenaza arranzi* [nu-ss]i *apāt karuuli* ^{GIS}tallayas YÀ DUG.GA [and]a *imiyanzi* 'with what water

they wash the temple wall, into it they mix that old-time quality oil of the t.-flask'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 30; KBo VI 34 II 21–22 *kī-wa* BAPPIR GIM-an IŠTU^{NA}ARÀ *mallanzi n-at wetenit imiyanzi* 'as they crush this barm with the grindstone and mix it with water'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; XIV 63 IV 14 [and]a *imiyani*[zi]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 222), 3 pl. pres. midd. *i-[im-mi-y)a-an-ta-ri* (XX 63 I 7 *anda i[mmiy]antari*), 1 sg. pret. act. *i-mi-e-nu-un* (III 46 Vs. 13 [OHitt.]*man warkan ulinī anda imienun* 'had I mixed fat into clay'), 1 pl. pret. act. *i-mi-ya-u-en* (KUB XLIII 74 Vs. 13; cf. Riemschneider, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 269), 3 pl. pret. midd. *immiyandat* (KBo XIV 50 Vs. 5–6 LÚ.MEŠ [...] *anda namma immiyandat* 'the men ... then mingled'), 3 pl. imp. act. *immiyandu* (KUB XXXVI 12 III 3), 3 pl. imp. midd. *immeattaru* (XLIII 38 Rs. 18–20 *kī-wa wātar GEŠTIN-ya mahhan [immeattati]* [EGIR-and]a-wa *kī NIŠ DINGIR-LIM ina[n-n-a] RAMANL.MEŠ-[KU]NU [QATAMM]A immeattaru* 'as this water and wine were mixed, hereafter let this oath and disease of your bodies be likewise mixed'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20); partic. *im(m)iyant-*, *immiant-*, *immeyant-*, nom. sg. c. *im-me-ya-an-za* (XXVIII 102 IV 12 *anda immeyanza* 'mixed in'), acc. sg. c. *immiyandan* (e.g. I 13 IV 38–39 *anda immiyan-dan*; *ibid.* II 58 *menahhanda immiyan-dan*), *immiandan* (*ibid.* I 10 *anda immiandan*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 72, 62, 54, 331), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *immiyan* (e.g. XXXIII 120 I 40; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; XXIV 14 I 14–15 ŠA ZÍD.DA ŠE-*ma isni kuedani menahhanda wassi*HLA *immiyan* 'but into what dough of barley meal the medicaments are mixed'; dupl. XXIV 15 Vs. 15 *im-me-ya-[an]*, *imiyani* (e.g. KBo XI 19 Vs. 12; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 316; XXI 34 II 19 nu ANA NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HLA ŠE *menahhanda* ^{GIS}hassikkan *imian* 'h. [a fruit] [is] mixed into heavy cornbread'; *ibid.* 53–54 ANA^DHebat 4 GA.KIN.AG *parsān* ^{GIS}INBL.HLA-*ya menahhanda imian* 'four cheeses [are] divided up for Hebat, and fruits are mingled with them'; *ibid.* 55–56 GEŠTIN YÀ DUG.GA-*ya anda imian* 'wine and good oil, mixed'; *ibid.* III 34 and 51 ^{GIS}GEŠTIN HAD.DU.A *anda imian* 'raisins [are] mixed in'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 120–3), instr. sg. *immiyantit* (KUB XV 34 I 14–15 IŠTU GEŠTIN LĀL YÀ DUG.GA *anda immiyantit suuan* 'filled with wine mixed with honey and good

oil'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 184), *im-mi-an-te-it* (1897/u, 8 ŠA GEŠTIN YÀ *anda immiantet* 'of wine mixed with oil'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 196–7), *immiyanzi* (sic dupl. XV 34 III 30), *immiyanda* (ibid. I 24–25 ŠA GEŠTIN YÀ DUG.GA *anda immiyanda* 'of wine mixed with good oil'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *immiyanta* (ibid. II 42 *anda immiyanta-ya lāhuwanzi* 'and they pour what is mixed together'), *immiyanda* (e.g. I 11 I 35, II 30, III 37 *anda immiyanda*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 108, 112, 118), *imiyanda* (e.g. XV 31 III 53, with dupl. XV 32 IV 11 *anda immiya[nda]*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 164); iter. *immiski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *immiskittari* (*KBo* XXIII 27 II 28–30 *nu id SA₅ ANA^{1D} Marassanda kuedani pedi anda imm[i]skittari nu wātar apedani pidi ūl hānanzi* 'at what spot the Red River mingles with the Halys, on that spot they do not draw water').

im(m)iul- (n.) 'mix(ture)', always in the technical sense 'grain mix, horse feed', nom.-acc. sg. *im-mi-ū-ul* (*KBo* IV 2 II 33 *ANA ANŠU.KUR.RA.HILA immiul* '[as] mix for horses'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:93 [1962]), *im-mi-i-ū-ul* (X 37 II 15 *ANA ANŠU.KUR.RA halkis immiyul* 'for horses grain mix' [hendiadys]), *im-mi-ū* (*KUB* VII 54 II 16–17 *nu-wa ke immiu ANA ANŠU.KUR.RA piyandu* 'let them give this mix to the horse'; either *im-mi-ū(-ul)* shooting over line end, or stray dropping of -l comparable to e.g. *iyata* [q.v. s.v. *iyatar*]), *i-mi-ū-ul* (*KBo* XII 126 I 29 [*ANA A*]NŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *imiul ēsdu* 'for horses let there be mix'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 24, 63), *i-mi-ū-l(a-as-ma-as)* (*KUB* XXIX 41, 8 [*imiul-a-smas wēlku-ya ūl pi[skanzi]* 'but mix and grass they do not give to them'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 168), [*i-mi*]-*ū-ul-l(a-as-ma-as)* (XXIX 50 IV 5 [*imi*]ūll-a-smas; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 212).

immiya- covers roughly the same semantic ground, both active and mediopassive, as Gk. *μειννῶμι* and Lat. *misceō*, with the notable discrepancy that the sense 'to have carnal intercourse' is not attested in Hittite. *immiya-* is accompanied by the preverb *anda* (sometimes *menahhanda*), which makes for even more precise comparison with Gk. *ἐμμείννῶμι* and Lat. *immisceō*; here the Hittite intransitive meaning 'to mingle, have encounters' is paralleled in Greek: *ἐνθ' οἶμαι Θησέα καὶ τὰς ... ἄδμητας ἀδελφὰς ... τὰχ' ἐμμείξεν* 'there I think Theseus and

instr. sg.
im-mi-ya-a
KUB 50.57

nom. pl.
immiyantes
(e.g. KUB 18.67 vs. 5)

verb. noun
im-mi-ja-u-ya-ar
(KUB 26.20 II 13, 15;
d. MSL 19:106, 185)

the unwed sisters will soon get together' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1054–7). The technical sense 'grain mix' appears in Lat. *mixtus* and *mixtile* (> French *méteil* 'maslin, wheat-rye mix'). see Hout (1810r 44, 39:732).

Forms spelled *im-me-(y)a-* may point to etymological *e (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 56) and hence strengthen Sturtevant's old proposal *en-mey- (cf. Skt. *māyate* 'exchange', IE *mey-ǵ- 'mix'; *Comp. Gr.*¹ 133, 224); but the fossilized survival of *en-as *i(m)-, vs. the living cognate *anda* (with *η-?), would be isolated and remains doubtful (cf., however, s.v. *istarna*). Another possible origin of *i-* might be a kind of incomplete or irregular reduplication of *mey- (cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946:74–5). In any event a Hittite primary thematic 3 sg. pres. act. *immiyazi* must be secondary for *immezzi < *-mey-ti, analogic after 3 pl. pres. act. *immiyanzi* (< *-miy-nti?) and thematic mediopassive forms (*immeyatari*, *immiyantari*).

Unenlightening connection with Skt. *yamā-* 'twin' by H. Eichner apud Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 345.

IMPA- see AIMPA-

inan- (n.) 'sickness, illness, disease, ailment' (GIG), nom. sg. *inan* (e.g. *KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 27–28 *niš DINGIR-LIM inann-a ... dassisdu* 'may the oath and the sickness become heavy'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20; XXX 10 Vs. 23 *inan arta* 'illness came about'), acc. sg. *inan* (e.g. XXX 34 IV 5, 17, 28 *inan ēšhar niš DINGIR-LIM* 'illness, blood[shed], [false] oath'; VII 1 I 8 and 16 *DUMU-li inan EGIR-an arha karas* 'from the child remove the illness!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:142–3 [1961]); IX 4 I 20–21 *happisnas inan* 'ailment[s] of the body parts'; cf. ibid. 22–36 passim GIG-an with the individual parts; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:38 [1957]; XXXV 148 III 17–35 with many body parts, e.g. 25 *arras-sas inan* 'ailment of his anus'), GIG-an (e.g. XXIX 1 II 20 *harassanas GIG-an* 'head-ailment'; ibid. 35 *kardiyas GIG-an* 'heart-disease'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:30 [1947]), gen. sg. *inanas* (e.g. VII 1 I 3 *inanas^DUTU-un* 'solar deity of sickness', ibid. 4, 6, 7–8, 12, 15 *inanas^DUTU-i*; cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 107; XLIV 61 Vs. 1; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18), dat.-loc. sg. *inani* (e.g. XXX 10 Rs. 14 *inani piran* 'from

illness'), dat.-loc. pl. *inanas* (*KBo* VI 34 I 38 *inanas ser* 'on account of ailments'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8). Cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:39 (1957); Oettinger, *Eide* 29.

inan- seems to be largely in complementary distribution with *erma(n)-* (q.v. s.v. *arma[n]-*) and thus quasi-synonymous with it, both being listed along with *ēšhar* 'blood(shed)' and other assorted afflictions and enormities; but it also has a more focussed sense of 'disease, ailment' of a specific body part.

With *inan-* may be compared a set of Indo-Iranian terms, Ved. *ēnas-* 'sin, guilt', Skt. *īti-* 'plague, disease', Avest. *aēnah-* 'violence, damage', *iti-* 'injury, offense'; Indo-Iranian derivation is very doubtful (see Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:645, 656, 784), which raises the possibility of Indo-European nominal cognates from a root meaning 'assail, afflict' (cf. *IEW* 10), perhaps seen also in Ved. *yātār-* 'avenger', Hes. ζῆτρος 'executioner' (cf. Puhvel, *LIEV* 71). Thus IE **A₂éy-(A)-*, **A₂y-éA-*, with Hitt. *inan-* and Indo-Iranian **aynos-* < **A₂éy-no-*, literally 'affliction'; Gk. αἰνός 'dread, terrible' may be a further cognate (lit. 'afflicting'). For Hitt. *e/i* < **ai* see s.v. *asara-*, *esara-*. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:204–5 (1980).

innar-, found in derivatives:

innarā 'explicitly, willfully, purposely, on one's own (account), of one's own accord', e.g.: *KUB* XIII 7 I 17–18 *nu-za apās kattawatar sanahzi nu apūn UKU-an ANA LUGAL innarā kunanna pāi* 'he seeks revenge and hands that person over to the king explicitly to be killed'; XXXI 68 Rs. 44 *zik-ma-wa-kan innarā hūri anda tiyasi* 'but you willfully step into disgrace'; ibid. 32 *innara-wa-kan hūrin* (cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:28 [1962]); XXVI 32 I 14–16 *mān-ma-ssi LÚ.MEŠ URU Hatti innarā-ma uwāi uter UL-man-ta anda tāliyamun auwan UGU-man-si tiyamun* 'if the men of Hatti had purposely aggrieved him, I would not have forsaken thee (sic), I would have stood up for him' (cf. Laroche, *RA* 47:74 [1953]); *Bo* 2073¹ 36 *punusdu innarā-wa-mu-kan kuyēs hargamuir* 'let him ask: "Who have purposely ruined me?"'; ibid. II 48–50 *nu-wa ammuK GIM-an innarā harakmi zik-ma-wa DINGIR-LUM EN-YA ammel hanni[s-*

(cf. Archi-
Klenz 11/10/11
12:54, 56, '85)

35g prs.
P. H. Nowicki
KZ 98:26–35, '85
*innarawae-
aufrichten, er-
nichten

in-na-ra-wa-as
(335/v. 718) - keine
finite verb. form
neu reg.

sar] *punuski* 'when I am purposely ruined, do thou, god my lord, inquire into my case!'; *IBOT* I 36 I 48–50 ^{LÚ}MEŠEDI-ma *ēhilamni anda innar[ā] ŪL tiyezzi mān-as innara-ma tiyezzi nu-ssi-kan* ^{LÚ}NL.DUH *ka[rtimmi]yaitta nassu-wa-kan sarā ūl nasma-wa-kan katta-ma ūl* 'a bodyguard does not on his own step into the gatehouse; but if he does step on his own, the gateman is angry at him: "Either go up, or else go down!"' (cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:178 [1966]); *KUB* I 8 IV 8–9 *innara-uwa-smas dariyantes* [KUR.KUR.MEŠ ^{URU}KÜ.BABBA]R-ti-ma-wa *dapi-anta* ^DIŠTAR ^IISTU ^IGIŠPA-si-DINGIR-LIM *ne[hhun* 'on your own you (have) labored (viz. to little avail); but I, Ištar, have turned all the Hittite lands to Hattusilis' (cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 32); *KBo* X 45 I 45–47 *DUMU.LÚ.UL.LU ŪL innarā uwanun ŪL-ma sullanni uwanun* 'I, mortal man, have not come on my own account, nor have I come for strife' (cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]); *KUB* XXVI I III 41–43 *nasma tuk kuiski HUL-lus PANI* ^DUTU-ŠI-ma-as *šixšá-[a]nza zik-ma-an-kan innarā laknusi nu-ssi-kan huwapti kuitki* 'or (if) somebody is bad as far as you are concerned, but righteous in the eyes of my majesty, and you of your own accord (viz. as opposed to another's instigation, ibid. 38–41) trip him and do him ill in any manner ...' (cf. von Schuler, *Dienstamweisungen* 13–4); XXI 33 IV 20 *innarā-as memian* ^IISTU ^{EME} ['of his own accord word from the tongue he ...' (cf. R. Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]).

in(n)arah(h)- 'make strong, strengthen', 3 sg. pres. act. *inarahhi* (*KUB* XXXVI 110 Rs. 11–12 *labarnas LUGAL-us inarauanza nu-sse-pa utniyanza hūmanza anda inarahhi* 'L. the king [is] strong, and him the whole land makes additionally strong'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 228; Starke, *ZA* 69:82 [1979]; A. Archi, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 50 [1979]), 1 sg. pret. midd. *innarahhat* (XXX 10 Vs. 18–19 *māmmān innarahhat-ma nu tuēl šiunaš idanta ŪL innarahhat* 'if I had gained strength, would I not have gained it at thy word, o god?'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 70); verbal noun *in-na-ra-ah-hu-ar* (*KBo* XVII 60 Rs. 10 *ANA DUMU-ma TI-tar innarahhuar MU.HI.A GÍD.DA piski* 'to the child grant life, strength, long years!').

innarai- (?) or *innarawai-* (?) 'be strong', verbal noun *in-na-ra-ah-hu-ar* or *in-na-ra-wa-hu-ar* in *KUB* XXX 10 Rs. ^Iin-na-ra-ah-hu-ar by Neu reg. (contra Oettl
Fs Oettl: 278²⁶

19 20 *kinun-a-ma-pa* [DINGIR-Y]A *innarawa(u)ār* Û^DLAMA *anda tūriya* 'but now, my god, harness together (your) strength and (that of) the tutelary deity' (par. XXXI 127 III 8 *innarawatar-ma-mu* and XXX 11 Rs. 18]^DLAMA ^D*Annariss-a* [cf. s.v. *annari-*]).

in(n)arawant- 'strong, forceful, vigorous', nom. sg. c. *i-na-ra-u-an-za* (KUB XXXVI 110 Rs. 11 [OHitt.], quoted above), *innarauwanza* (XVII 20 II 3 EGIR-ŠU-ma *in-na-ra-u-wa-an-za* DINGIR-LIM *ēszi* 'but behind him sits the strong god'; cf. Bossert, *MIO* 4:202 [1956]; *Bo* 6044, 4 ^D*Innarauwanza*; *Bo* 2372 III 30 ^D*Innarauwanza*, besides ibid. 26 ^D*Innara-smis*, ibid. 32 ^D*Innara-smis*; cf. Otten, *JCS* 4:125 [1950]; concerning the secondary associative tie-ins between *innar-* and the Hattic tutelary deity ^D*Inar[a]-*, ^DLAMA, see also s.v. *annari-*; *VBoT* 24 I 28–29 *parā-wa-kan ehu* ^DLAMA *lulimes anda-wa-kan* ^DLAMA *innarauwanza uizzi* 'go forth, effeminate [vel sim.] L.; potent L. will come in'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]), acc. sg. c. *in-na-ra-u-wa-an-da-an* (ibid. II 30), *in-ra-u-wa-an-da-an* (sic; ibid. IV 35–36 *mān* ^DLAMA *lulimin* ^DLAMA *inrauwandann-a sipanti* 'when one sacrifices to effeminate [vel sim.] L. and potent L.'), dat.-loc. sg. *imarawanti* (*FHG* 1, 19–20 [i]nnarawanti-mu-kan *haharrannis* [...] [i]yawar *zik-pat* DINGIR-YA *maniya* [hta] 'to a strong ? you alone, my god, directed my doings'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 45:133 [1951]), *in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ti* (*VBoT* 24 II 34), *in-na-ra-a-u-wa-an-ti* (KUB XXX 10 Vs. 8 *innarāuwanti-ma-mu pedi iyauwa zik-pat* DINGIR-YA *maniyahta* 'to a position of strength you alone, my god, directed my doings'), nom. pl. c. *innarauwantes* (KBo XVII 88 III 22 *paiddu-wa innarauwantes inna-*; KUB XV 34 I 48 DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIS}ERIN-as *innarauwantes* 'the strong male cedar-gods'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 186; *HT* I I 43 and 46 ^DAMAR.UD ^D*Innarauwantess-a*, ^D*Innarawantas* (ibid. 29), ^D*In-na-ra-u-wa-an-ta-as* (dupl. KUB IX 31 I 36), ^D*In-na-ra-u-wa-an-da-as* (*HT* I I 59), ^D*In-na-ra-ū-wa-an-da-as* (KUB IX 31 II 6); cf. ibid. II 22 [Luw.] ^D*An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi*; B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336–40 [1938]).

innarawatar (n.) 'strength, force, vigor', nom.-acc. sg. *innarawatar* (e.g. KUB XXIV 2 Rs. 12–13 ANA LUGAL-ma SAL.

.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL Û ANA KUR^{URU} *Hatti ti-tar hattulatar innarawatar* MU.KAM GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI *dusgarattann-a peski* 'but to king, queen, their children, and to Hatti grant life, health, strength, long years in the future, and joy!'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 32; XXVII 67 II 23 [T]i-tar *innarawatar* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA *piski*; V I I 28 MU.HI.A GÍD.DA *innarawatar*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:36; ibid. 83 ZAG-tar *innarawatar* 'rightness [and] strength'; ibid. II 70–71 and III 73 GÜB-tar *innarawatar* 'leftness [and] force'), *innarāwatar* (KBo X 37 II 28–29 *nu-ssi innarāwatar* [...] *hastaliyatar peski* [ttin 'give him strength [and] heroism'; cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 35:93 [1976]), *innarawātar* (KUB XVII 33 IV 14), *innarāwātar* (XV 31 I 54), *in-na-ra-u-wa-a-tar* (dupl. XV 32 I 55–56 *nu-ssi pist* [in ti-tar] *haddulātar innarawātar* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 154), *in-na-a-ra-u-wa-tar* (KBo XVII 105 II 22 *nu-wa-smas ti-tar innārauwater piskitin*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]), *in-na-ra-u-wa-tar* (e.g. XV 25 Vs. 10–11 ANA EN SISKUR.S[ISKUR E]GIR-pa *ti-tar haddulātar in* [na] *rauwater* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA [IG]I. HI.A-wa us[kiu]ar GÜ-tar *sarā appātarr-a piski* 'to the sacrificer give back life, health, strength, long years, eyesight, muscle, lift!'; similarly ibid. 23–25; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2; KUB XXXIV 53 Rs. 17 *innarauwater* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA; VI 3, 19–20 MU.HI.A GÍD.DA *innarauwater*; XVI 82 Vs. 4 *dapiān zi-an innarauwater* 'entire soul [and] strength'; XXII 26 Vs. 4 *inn* [a-^{MU-ann-a} ^{TCF} *rauwater* ^{TCF} *muann-a* 'strength and [seminal] fluid'; V 4 I 43 *innarauwater sallī-ya wastul* 'force and great transgression'; KBo II 9 I 20–21 ŠA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL *ti-tar haddulatar innarauwata[r]* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA; cf. ibid. 21 *tarhuilatar* 'potency'; cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]; Bossert, *MIO* 4:206 [1956]; A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]), dat.-loc. sg. *innarauwanni* (e.g. ibid. 33–34 *nu-za* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL EGIR-an *assuli ti-anni haddulanni innarauwanni* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI *kappūwai* 'provide king, queen, their sons and grandsons for [their] weal, life, health, strength, long years in the future'; KUB XXXIII 62 II 8–10 ANA^{LÚ} BEL É-TIM^{SAL} BELDI É-TIM DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-as *assuli ti-anni innarauwanni hattulanni* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI DINGIR.MEŠ-as *āssiunit* DINGIR.MEŠ-nas *miūmnit*

kardimiyattan-ma arha tarna 'for the well-being, life, strength, health, long years in the future of the lord and lady of the house and their children remove wrath, through the favor and kindness of the gods!'; *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 18 *ti-anni hattulanni i[nnar]auwanni*; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 78; dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 19 *ti-anni haddulanni innarauwanni*; XXXIV 77 Vs. 7 *ti-ni innarauwanni*), *innarauwani* (XVII 10 IV 25–26 *n-us-za huiswanni innarauwani* EGIR.UD-MI *kappuwet* 'he [i.e. Telipinus] provided them [viz. the royal couple] for their life [and] strength in the future'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]), instr. sg. *innarauwan-nit* (XVII 14 I 18–20 [*nu-z*]an *išTU* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI *ti-annit* [*h*]attulannit *innarauwannit* [*ass*]uli *kappūwandu* 'may they provide for [my] weal with long years in the future, life, health, strength!'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60). Note also nom.-acc. sg. *in-nir-tar* (XXII 62, 17 and 20) and *in-tar* (*IBoT* I 32, 14, 21, 22) as abbreviated spellings (cf. Laroche, *RA* 46:161 [1952]).

innarawah(h)- 'make strong, strengthen', verbal noun gen. sg. *in-na-ra-u-wa-ah-hu-u-wa-as* in *KUB* II 1 II 17 šA *Labarna inn[arawahhūwas]* ^DLAMA-as 'tutelary deity of strengthening the ruler', with par. *KBo* XI 40 II 7 *in-na-ra-u-wa[-* (cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:96, 108 [1975]).

innarawes- 'become strong', 3 sg. pres. act. *in-na-ra-u-e-es-zi* (*KUB* VIII 35 Vs. 9 *apās DUMU-as innarawēszī* 'that child will become strong').

KAL-tar (^DKAL = ^DLAMA!) may occasionally reflect *innarawatar*, e.g. in ^{LÜ}KAL-tar = ^{LÜ}GURUŠ-tar 'manly strength, vigor' (*KBo* VI 34 IV 9–11 *apell-a ti-tar-set* ^{LÜ}KAL-tar-set *lulu-sset ina* EGIR.UD-MI *QADU* DAM.MEŠ-ŠŪ *DUMU*.MEŠ-ŠŪ 'his life, his vigor, his prosperity for the future, along with his wives [and] children'); but *KBo* XII 109, 7 *KAL-tar-nu-us-kán-zi*, which Dressler (*Studien* 235) read **innara(wa)tarnuski* 'make strong' (liter. of denom. -nu- verb from *innarawatar*), can represent instead **hatugatarnuski* 'make formidable' (cf. *hatugatar* s.v. *hatuk*-, e.g. III 21 II 14 *tarhuilātar-tet hatugātar-tet* 'your formidable potency' [hendiadys]).

In addition to the Luwoid *annari*- 'strength, force, vigor', ^DAnnari-, *annari annari* (epanadiplosis matching Hitt. *innarā*,

both with original sense 'a fortiori, downright?'), *annaru*- 'strong, forceful', and the divine epithet *annarumahitassi*- 'of forcefulness' (q.v. s.v. *annari*-), there is Luwian proper: *annarummi*- 'strong, forceful', nom. pl. c. *annarumminzi* (*VBoT* 60 I 8; cf. Otten, *LTU* 108), *an-na-ru-um-me-en-zi* (*KBo* XIII 260 III 9), ^D*An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi* (*KUB* IX 31 II 22; cf. Otten, *LTU* 16, and see sub *innarawant*- above); *annarum(m)ahit*- 'strength, forcefulness', acc. sg. *annarumāhi* (XXXV 133 II 29–30 ^{URU}*Hattusaya apparantien arin annarumāhi huuitwalāhisa-ha* 'for Hattusas long future, strength, and life!', cf. Otten, *LTU* 110), dat. sg. *ānnarummahiti* (e.g. XXXV 45 II 8–10 *huuitwalahiti 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 favor and kindness of the gods'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 46), instr.-abl. *annarummahitati* (XXXV 43 II 38 *huuiduwalāhitati annarummahitati* 'through life [and] strength'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 43).

Luwoid *annaru*- (adjective) and *annari*- (noun) point to corresponding Hitt. **innaru*- and **innar(a)*- respectively; **innaru*- may in fact underlie *innarawant*-, *innarawatar*-, *innarawah(h)*-, *innarawes*- (cf. e.g. *idalawant*-, *idalawatar*-, *idalawah(h)*-, *idalawes*-, from *idalu*-), and *innarā*-, *in(n)arah(h)*-, *innarai*- can possibly be explained via loss of -w- from **innarawa* (nom.-acc. pl. neut.), *innarawah(h)*-, *innarawai*- (cf. occasional *idālaz* < *idalawaz*); yet it is strange that no trace of e.g. **innaru* or **innaruwatar* is found (cf. *idalawa*-, *idaluwatar*). An **innara*- beside **innaru*- is well conceivable (cf. *arpa*- 'bad luck' beside *arpuwai*- 'be unlucky'), and an adjectival **innarawa*- (cf. *arawa*- from *ara*-) would also be a plausible base for *innarawant*- (cf. e.g. *andara-nt*-, *irmala-nt*-, *pittalwa-nt*-) and most other derivatives with -w- (*innarawai*- would in fact be better explained from **innarawa*- than from **innaru*-). *innarā* can be an adverbialization starting from **innara*- or an underlying **innar*-, *in(n)arah(h)*- as a denominative factitive from either would match e.g. *kutruwah(h)*- 'summon as witness' or *siuniyah(h)*- 'imbue with evil divinity, make possessed', and *innarai*- would be a regular denominative verb. It is not advisable to derive *innarawant*- as participle from *innarawai*- (the latter

being itself dubious), nor to segment **innara-want-*, because such derivatives from *-a-* stems are hard to match (cf., on the contrary, *samankur-want-*, *tametar-want-*). Cf. for earlier discussions Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3:27–44 (1953); J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Anatolica* 4:173–6 (1971–2).

Although *innarawant-* seems to mean 'sexually potent' in the Ritual of Anniwiyānis (*VBoT* 24, quoted above), and *innarawatar* is occasionally coupled with a term like *mu(w)a-* '(seminal) fluid' (e.g. *KUB XXII 26 Vs. 4*, quoted above; *IBoT* 32, 21 ^{2AG-tar KASHAL} ~~in-tar~~ *mu-u-wa-an-na*), they are distinct in usage from such starkly male terms as *LÚ-(na)tar* 'manhood, penis, sperm' (= *pisnatar*) and *tarhuilatar* 'potency'. The last-mentioned occurs occasionally in close succession to the typical list of which *innarawatar* forms part (e.g. *KBo* II 9 I 21 quoted above; *KUB* XV 34 II 19 [cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 190]) but is never present on such lists detailing 'life, health, *innarawatar*, long years'. Thus *innarawatar* is basically sexually neutral, being craved for royalty and land at large without reference to gender (thus already Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3:30, 32, 38–9 [1953]). Although it sometimes occurs coupled with *hastaliyatar* 'heroism' (*KBo* X 37 II 28–29, quoted above), 'heroic strength' is not the central nuance either. Squeezed in between 'life', 'health', and 'long years', the basic sense must be 'vital strength, life-force, vigor, élan'.

Hrozný's connection of *innarawatar* with Gk. ἀνὴρ 'man', ἡνροπή 'manliness, prowess' (*SH* 74, *Heth. KB* VIII), frequently ignored (e.g. by Sturtevant) or doubted (e.g. by F. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 70 [1970]), but occasionally upheld (e.g. by Laroche, *RHA* 9:23 [1948–9]; Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3:38–9 [1953]; A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3:440 [1973]), deserves a new and more enlightened hearing, with special attention to Indo-Iranian cognates. The meaning 'man' in Gk. ἀνὴρ, Ved. *nar-*, Arm. *ayr*, Oscan *ner-* is clearly a dialectal IE phenomenon, related to complementary distribution vis-à-vis **wīro-*; in Vedic, where the two co-exist, *vīrā-* tends to preempt the sexual nuance (*vīrā-karmaṇ-* 'penis') and the 'maleness' notion in general (including the 'heroic' aspects), whereas *nar-* denotes 'man, male' almost secondarily and has

beside it a feminine *nārī* 'woman, wife' (similarly Avest. *nar-*, *nārī-*). The still palpable base-meaning of *nr-* is in the area of 'keen(ness), force(ful)' (Ved. *nṛtama-* 'keenest, most forceful', *nṛmnām* 'keenness, forcefulness', *nṛvāt* 'keenly, forcefully', *nṛcākṣas-* 'keen-eyed', *nṛmánas-* 'keen-spirited'), and the same base can be extracted from RV *sūnāra-* 'rich in vital strength', *sūnītā-* 'vitality' (applied most to the youthful dawn-goddess Uṣas; cf. Avest. *hunara-*, *hunarātāt-* 'vigor'), *viśvānara-* 'having total vitality' (= *viśvāyu-*; cf. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:493, 227). In other branches of Indo-European, e.g. Gk. εὐήνορ 'rich in vital strength' (cf. *IEW* 765) and the Germanic gender-ambivalent theonym *Nerthus-Njörðr* underscore the same basic sexual neutrality of **Hner-* as was observed in Hitt. *innar-*, Luw. *annar-*.

Mutatis mutandis, Hitt. *innarā* and *innarawatar* resemble in their semantic aspects Ved. *nṛvāt* and *sūnītā*. Postulating PANat. **enar-* 'strength' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:42 [1965]), and matching it with F. B. J. Kuiper's Greek reconstruct **ἄνερ* or **ἄναρ* 'vital strength' (*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. 14:210–27 [1951]), PANat. **enar* can be taken back to IE **E₁énr*, and **ἄναρ* to **E₁ṇnr*; the 'man' words are accentually polarized animate nominative counterparts to those neuters, thus *E₁ṇér* > Gk. ἀνὴρ, or **E₁ṇér* > Ved. *nā*, literally 'vitality personified'; the quality of the Greek and Armenian prothetic vowel vouchsafes no clue to the color of the laryngeal, *a* being the "neutral" outcome of *H*.

Melchert (Sprache 29:17, '83; SHUPh 103-4) suggested *innara-* < **en-Aznro-* 'having strength inside', comparing Gk. ἔνδορος. For such possible **en-* d. s. v. *ant(u)kha-* and *istarna-* similar; Eichner // Gk. Kronasser 20, '82, who posited *innaru-* < **en-Aznoru-*.

Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 343 [1981]) adduced Gk. ἔναρα 'armor stripped from a slain foe', comparing German *rüstung*:*rüstig*.

INNAŠŠA- 'beam' *TAMU* 11:25 40/1, '88, 104-5; CHD. 24b (b₂ *mal* = *u⁶šar?*)

intaluz(z)i- (c. or n.) 'shovel' or the like (of wood, metal, etc.),

nom. sg. c. ^{GIS}*intaluzis* (*KUB* VII 14, 13; cf. *ibid.* 15 ^{GIS}*MAR* URUDU 'spade'; Otten, *LTU* 57), nom.-acc. sg. neut. ^{GIS}*intaluzi* (e.g. XXXV 54 II 28; *KBo* XII 126 I 5; XXV 184 III 58), *intaluzi* (VII 22, 5), ^{GIS}*intaluzzi* (e.g. XI 12 I 6; *KUB* IX 4 II 2; XLI 2 I 2), acc. sg. c. ^{GIS}*intaluzin* (XLI 43, 5), *intaluzin* (*KBo* XII 111,

5). *indaluzzin* (KUB XXXIX 35 IV 11), instr. sg. *intaluzzit* (KBo III 38 Rs. 16-17 ^{GIS}*intaluzzit sunnahhi* 'I fill with a shovel'; cf. Otten, *Altelh. Erzählung* 10; KUB XXIV 10 III 12 *intaluzzit EGIR-anda suwāi[dū]* '[he] shall thereupon fill with a shovel'). Cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 20, 44, 59-60.

For the suffix, cf. e.g. *ishuz(z)i-* 'band' (*ishiya-* 'bind'), *warpuzi-* (a bathing utensil; *warp-* 'bathe'), *kaṭaluzzi-* 'threshold', etc. (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:241; Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 22-3). Otherwise obscure. Cf. possibly Gk. ἔντεα 'implements'. "Substratal" origin is assumed, per obscurius, by Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19:505 (1965-6), and A. Salonen, *Die Fussbekleidung der alten Mesopotamier* 114 (1969). Of the same order is H. A. Hoffner's adduction of a possibly Hurrian *in-te-la-am* on a list of implements from Mari (*JAOS* 88:533 [1968]). Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:155-6, '88) suggested *en-tal 'having leverage within'.

ipa(r)wassi-, ornithomantic adjective describing a direction or reference point, possibly 'northwest(ern)', because when the augur steps (and presumably faces) *iparwassi*, the bird in its turn (EGIR) comes (*uit*) up (UGU) auspiciously (SIG₅) towards the sun (^DUTU-*un*) and implicitly towards the observer, thus from a direction away from the sun; nom. sg. *i-pār-wa-as-si-is* (frequent, e.g. KUB V 17 II 26-28 *iparwassis-ma-kan [arsi]ntathis* ^DUTU-*un* EGIR UGU SIG₅-za *uit* [*n-as-kan*] *arha pait* 'a northwest-erly [?] a-bird in its turn came up auspiciously towards the sun, and it went on its way'), *i-pār-wa-as-si-es* (e.g. V 11 III 20), acc. sg. *i-pa-wa-as-si-i* [*n* (XVI 73, 10), nom.-acc. pl. neut. or dat.-loc. sg. (adverbial) *i-pār-wa-as-si* (e.g. V 22, 18 *iparwassi tīyawen* 'we stepped northwest' [?]; cf. ibid. 21 *iparwassiss-a izkim-aht* [a 'and the northwesterly [?] [bird] gave a sign'; ibid. 28 *iparwassi tīyawen nu-kan harraniyis* ^DUTU-*un* EGIR UGU SIG₅ *u* [*i*; XVIII 12 Vs. 21 *iparwassi-ma-kan pittarpalhis* 'in the northwest[?] a "broad-wing"'), *i-pār-wa-as-sa* (KBo XI 68 I 21 *iparwassa ālilis-kan*). For more attestation references see Ertem, *Fauna* 215-6; A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:163-5 (1975), who showed that *iparwassi-* cannot be a bird-name.

iparwasha- (c.), with gloss-wedges in KUB XV 26, 8 *i-pār-wa-*

-as[-, ibid. 10 *i-pār-wa-as-ha-as* 1 KÙ.BABBAR 1 GUŠKIN 'i., one (of) gold, one (of) silver', seems to point to objects in precious metal, possibly bird-images (cf. *aramni-* KÙ.BABBAR or GUŠKIN, beside *aramnant-* as an oracular bird (s.v.)); not impossible to reconcile with 'northwest(ern)' as a metonymous bird-designation (cf. Engl. 'southwester' for a type of nautical headgear).

For etymology, cf. *ipa-* extracted from *ipat(t)arma(yan)* '(north)westward' (s.v.) and connected with Gk. ζόφος 'dusk, (north)west', ζέφωρος '(north)west wind'. Perhaps an adverb **ipar* 'at dusk' can be postulated (cf. *kariwariwar* 'at day-break'), whence a derivative **ipar-wa-* (cf. e.g. *pittal-wa-*) outfitted with either the Luwoid appurtenance suffix -*assi-* or the abstract noun suffix -(a)*sha-*. Cf. *mar(r)uwasha-* '(dark) redness' formed on a Luwoid and Luwian *mar(r)uwa-* 'red-den', besides ^{ID}*Marassanta-* = ^{ID} SA₅ 'Red River, Kızıl Irmak', i.e. the Halys. Cf. p. 364, lines 11-14, and *Laroche/Heth* 3: 97-8, '85.

ipat(t)arma(yan) '(north)west(ward)', *i-pa-at-tar-ma-ya-an* in KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 12-14 ^{ID}*Marassantas-wa annallaza ipattarma-yan ārsas* ^DU-as-ma-war-an *wahnut nu-war-an* ^DUTU-i DINGIR-*-LIM-an arsanut* ^{URU}*Ner*[*ikki-war-an*] *manninkuwan arsanut* 'the Halys river in illo tempore flowed westward (or: northwest), but the storm-god turned it and made it flow eastward (lit. toward the sun of the gods), and made it flow close to Nerik' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 152, who ~~wrongly~~ transcribed gloss-wedges); other attestations, with gloss-wedges, describe ornithomantic directions: XVI 57 Vs. 6 p] *i-an* GAM *i-pa-tar-ma-ya-an*; ibid. 4 *i-pa-tar-ma*; XXII 17 I 3 *i-pa-tar-ma* TUŠ-at (cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:166 [1975]). KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 12-14 (quoted above) contains an aetiological mythologem of direction reversal by the Halys river near Nerik, probably relating to the 140° turn from northwest to east that the lower course of the Kızıl Irmak still makes at its confluence with the Devrek near the town of Kargi, thus placing Nerik squarely in Gasga-land (Paphlagonia; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 20:92-3 [1961]; Haas, *Nerik* 5).

ipatarma(yan) 'westward' and *istanui siunan* 'eastward' (cf. e.g. KUB XLI 23 II 18 *siunan* ^DUTU-*ui* 'o gods' sun!'; Laroche, ^v

RHA 23:34 [1965]) are matched by ŠÚ.A ^DUTU-as 'west' (lit. 'seat [=setting] of the sun') and ŠĒT ^DUTU-as 'east' (lit. 'start[ing point] of the sun'; perhaps Hitt. *marri-* [see s.v.]) in V XXXVI 90 Vs. 9–10 *ehu-wa* ^DU ^{URU}Nerik ŠĒT ^DUTU-as ŠÚ.A ^DUTU-as 'come, storm-god of Nerik, from east [and] west!' (similarly *ibid.* Rs. 35 *ehu ištū* ŠĒT ^DUTU-as *ehu* ŠÚ.A [^DUTU-as]; V cf. Haas, *Nerik* 176–8). ^{cf. J. de Vries, *IIAC* 5:172, 150}

In addition to such solar east-west designations there are wind-related terms for cardinal points: IM KUR.RA (Akk. IM Šadū) 'east wind', IM MAR.TU (Akk. IM amurrū) 'west wind', IM SI(SA) (IM ELTANU) 'north wind', IM GAL or IM GĀL(LU) (Akk. IM šūtu) 'south wind'; cf. XXXVI 90 Rs. 39–40 *ehu* IM MAR.TU [IM SI IM GĀ[L.LU IM KUR.RA] *ištū* 4 *halhaltuma*[rr]as 'come from west, north, south, east, from the four corners (i.e. cardinal points)'. To two of these logograms may correspond Hitt. IM *tarasmeni* '(the horn [of the moon] is turned to the)?' (XXIX 11 II 16; cf. *ibid.* 14 *takku* ^DSIN *autti nu* SI-ŠÚ ANA IM GAL *neiyan* 'if you see the moon and its horn is turned south'; thus *tarasmeni-* not 'south') and ŠĀRU *udumeni* 'the ? wind (will come)' (VIII 34 Rs. 12; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 12:21–2 [1952]).

ipatarma(yan) (cf. e.g. *arha*[yan] 'apart') can be analyzed as a compound *ipa-tarma-*, where the second part is *tarma-* 'nail, peg, stake' (q.v.), often in ritual and magical uses and here apparently metaphorically for cardinal 'point' (cf. the usual *halhaltumari-*, lit. 'corner'); Luwian has *tarmi-* with the same meaning. *ipa-* may then be the 'west' word proper; in view of the ~~partial~~ gloss-wedges one might apply the new reading *i* to Hier. *a* (cf. e.g. J. D. Hawkins, *Anatolian studies* 25:151 [1975]) and compare Hier. *ipami-* 'west' (formerly *apami-*; cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 28, and see s.v. *appa*). As /iba-/, an Anatolian *ipa-* may go back to *A₂ibho- in apophonic relationship with Gk. ζόφος 'dusk, gloom, (north)west' (*A₂yobho-; antonymic to ἠώς 'dawn' and/or ἡέλιος 'sun' in e.g. *Iliad* 12:239–40 εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιῇ ἴωσι πρὸς ἠὼ τ' ἡέλιόν τε, εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα 'whether [the ornithomantic birds] go to the right eastward, or to the left westward', or *Odyssey* 10:190 οὐ γὰρ ἴδμεν ὅπῃ ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἠώς 'we don't know in which direction either west or east is'). Another cognate would be

Ζέφυρος (ἄνεμος) 'west wind', sometimes 'northwest (wind)' (blowing from Thrace along with Βορέης in *Iliad* 9:5; cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1290a, 19), just as indicated by the direction of the Halys for Hitt. *ipattarmayan*. Cf. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104:224–6 (1983). ^{cf. *ibid.* 11:152:49–50, 76 compared Luw. ipāt(i): 'left' and Gk. ἀνατολή 'left, west'}

Güterbock (*JNES* 20:93 [1961]) suggested something like 'astray' for *ipāt(t)armayan*, with reference to the Luwian iter. 3 sg. pret. *ip-pa-tar-ri-sa-at-ta* (*KUB* XXXV 45 II 21–22 *kuis-an sahanissatta* *kuis-an ippatarrisatta*) or *i-ip-pa-tar-ri-es-sa-ta* (XXXV 48 II 14–15 *kuis-an sahaniessata* [*kuis-a*]n *ippatarris-sata*; *LTU* 46, 49), rendering the whole as 'whoever contaminated him, whoever led him astray (?)' and concluding that Laroche's suggestion of a cardinal point (*OLZ* 51:423 [1956]) "seems not to fit the Luwian verb, unless one would assume that to lead a person west(?)ward had a symbolic implication like 'to the grave' or the like, or that the basic meaning of **ipatar* was 'down', from which 'sundown' and, for the verb, a meaning like that of Hittite *katterahh-* could be derived." Any semantic connection between *ipāt(t)arma(yan)* and the Luwian verb *ippatarr-* (of whatever precise meaning) is suspect, both on account of spelling differences and because Luwian lacks suffixal derivatives in *-(a)tar* (which have been replaced by *-ahit-* or survive as relics in *-atna-*). Even the exclusive Luwian or Luwoid nature of *ipāt(t)arma(yan)* is not secure ~~since gloss-wedges occur only in *KUB* XVI 57 Vs. 4 and 6~~

Neumann (*KZ* 85:300 [1971]) also implausibly postulated **ipatar* 'bend, curvature' + Luw. *may(a)-* 'big'; the Nerik reference is not to the great bend of the Halys but to a directional oddity much farther downstream. ^{similarly *Stark* 50:31:504–9.}

Cf. *iparwass-*.

ippi(y)a-, eppiya- (c.) '(grape)vine', sometimes with alternating or combined determinatives GIŠ 'tree' and U 'plant', nom. sg. ^{See Morph. Div. // *Keth* 2, 17:282.} GIŠ¹ippiyas (*KUB* II 13 II 21), GIŠ¹ippias (XXXIII 59 III 6–9) ^DHannahannas-[a] 3 *wattaru iet kedani* GIŠ¹ipp[i]as *ser arta kedani-ma* GIŠ¹hupparas *katta kitta kedani-ma pahhur urāni* 'H. made three wells: above one stands a vine; down by another lies

an earthen jar; at the third a fire burns'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]), acc. sg. *ippiyan* (XVII 35 I 8 and II 21 *ippiyan marhan tianzi* 'they place a vine-dish'), *ippian* (ibid. IV 28 *ippian marhan tianzi*), *Uppiyan* 'vine-plant' (XXV 32 I 29; cf. A. M. Dinçol – M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:102 [1969–70]), Giš *Ue-ip-pi-ya[-an]* (*IBoT* II 131 I 22), Giš *Ue-ip-pi[-ya-an]* (ibid. 25), *ippiya* (*KBo* II 13 Vs. 15 ^{UTU} *marhan²⁶¹⁸² ippiya tianzi*, with unclear traces of sumerogram or gloss wedges), gen. sg. *ippiyas* (*KUB* XII 2 IV 4 *nu-ssi EZEN ippiyas iyanzi* 'they celebrate the vine-festival for him'), ^{GIS} *ippiyas* (*KBo* X 24 III 6–7 ^{GIS} *ippiyas kapnuēsni āssawēs pūriēs* 'on a *kapnuessar* of vine [are] good lips [= rims]'), *ippias* (*VBoT* 58 IV 17 I ^{GIS} *alkistas ip[p]ias* 'one vine-branch'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:86 [1965]), ^{GIS} *ippias* (*KBo* XI 32 Vs. 21 ^{GIS} *ippias murin* 'grape of the vine'), ^{GIS} *ippias* (*KUB* XXXIII 59 III 12–13 *uet²⁶¹⁸² Miyadan[zipas]* ^{GIS} *ippias kat[t]an esadi* 'M. came and sat down beneath the vine'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]), *e-ip-pi-ya-as* (*Bo* 884 II 8 *eppiayas mūris*), unclear *ippiya[-]* (*KUB* XXXIII 13 II 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:158 [1965]), *ippian[-]* (*KBo* XIII 137, 3).

ippi(y)anza(n)- (c.), nom. sg. *ippiyanza* (*Bo* 2372 I 16), *ippianzas* (*KBo* XIII 77 Rs. 6, with gloss-wedge), nom. or gen. sg. *ippianzanas* (*KUB* VII 1 I 22, in a long jumble of obscure terms, preceded ibid. 19–21 by a list of 'all' garden plants; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]; Ertem, *Flora* 38), *ippian-za* (*KBo* XXV 54 IV II; XXV 56 IV 19; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 124, 128), nom. pl. *ippiyantes* (*IBoT* III 88, 5). Cf. Ertem, *Flora* 129–30.

While 'wine' is *wiyana-* (GEŠTIN), *ippi(y)a-*, like ^{GIS} *mahla-* (q.v.), may well cover (^{GIS} GEŠTIN 'grapevine'; with *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 21 ^{GIS} *ippias murin* cf. e.g. *KUB* XXXVI 89 Rs. 58 GEŠTIN-as *mu-ri-es* 'grape of the vine'. The hesitation between the determinatives 'tree' and 'plant' fits the vine well. ^{GIS} *ippias* figures in native Anatolian myth in the company of the maieutic goddess Hannahannas and the vegetation spirit Miyadanzipas (*KUB* XXXIII 59 III 6–9 and 12–13, quoted above); chances are that it is a native Anatolian term for 'grapevine' (cf. the likewise isolated, "native" Gk. ἄμπελος 'grapevine').

ippi(y)a-/ipy-a-/ or *eppiya-/epya-/* would have yielded Gk.

**ιπτα* or **επτα* and may be seen as the divine name *Ιπτα* or *Ειπτα* in inscriptions from Maeonia (*Μητρι Ιπτα και Διει Σα[βαζιω]*, *Διει Σαβαζιω και Μητρι Ειπτα*, *Μελτινη Μητρα Μητρι Ιπτα ευχην*), comparable to the *Ιπτα* or *Ιππα* who appears in Orphic Hymns 48 and 49 as the divine nurse of Dionysus (with Sabazios as father), at home on Phrygian Mt. Ida and Lydian Mt. Tmolus, with epithets like *εὐχας κοῦρη*, *χθονίη μήτηρ*, *βασιλεια*. P. Kretschmer's attempt (*Glotta* 15:76–8 [1926]) to connect *Ιπτα* and *Ιππα* with Hurrian-Hittite *Hepit*, *Hipit*, *Hepa*, *Hipa* (i.e. Hebat as the hurrianized Hittite consort of the storm-god) founders both on geographic polarity (NW vs. SE) and on the fact that *H-* yields *K-* in Anatolian Greek (*Hasammilis*: *Κασμῖλος*, *Harran*: *Καρραι*, etc.). Whatever the source of the spiritus asper in the Orphic manuscripts, *Μητηρ Ιπτα* is part of the Bacchic folk-cults of Western Anatolia and may well represent the deified grapevine as nurse of the wine-god (lit. 'Mother Vine'; cf. the botanical expression *annas* ^{GIS} GEŠTIN-as [s.v. *anna-*]); she may be close in kind to the maieutic Hannahannas who plants the vine over her sacred well, or to the daimon Miyadanzipas who sits beneath it.

ipul(li)- (c.) 'wrap, encasement, chasuble, surplice' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. *i-pu-ul* (*KBo* X 23 IV 2 *ipul-set*), nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.?) *i-pu-ul-li* (*KUB* IX 28 I 16–18 ^{SIG} ZA.GIN *ishuzziyanza* ^{SIG} SA₅ *ipulli-set* ^{INA} ^{UZU} GAB-ŠU ^{SIG} SA₅ *kitta* '[she is] girt [with] blue wool, red wool [is] her wrap, red wool is placed on her breast'; XVI 83 Vs. 51 ^{ŠA} ^{GIS} TUKUL GUŠKIN-ya-wa-kan *ipulli* ^{ISTU} N[⁴ 7,9,9,10,11 *ipul*]-li, ZA.GIN?]) *arha pippa[n]* 'the gold weapon's encasement of lapis lazuli' [?] [has been] knocked off'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 65; *Bo* 2923 IV 1–2 ^D *Halmasuittas* ^{LÜ} SANGA-as *ipulli-set harzi* 'he holds the chasuble [?] of the priest of H.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 88), instr. sg. *ipullit* (*KBo* X 24 II 4–6 ^{ANA} ^{LÜ} SANGA ^D U GÜ[B]-la-[za] *iyatta n-an* ^{SIG} *ipull[it harzi]* '[he] walks to the left of the priest of the storm-god and holds him by the [woollen] surplice [?]', dat.-loc. pl. (or gen. sg.?) *ipulliyas* (*KUB* IX 22 II 22–25 ^{nu} ^{GIS} ERIN ^{GIS} *paini* ^{GIS} ZERTUM ^{ISTU} ^{SIG} SA₅ *anda ishiyan n-at* ^{LÜ} *patilis dāi n-at-kan* ^{ANA} ^{SAL} *ipulliyas anda dāi* 'cedar,

tamarisk, and olive-wood [are] bound up with red wool; the priest takes them, and in [their] wrapping[s] sets them to the woman'; *ibid.* III 11-14 *kuu* ... ANA SAL *ipulliyas anda dais n-at-si-kan arha dāi* 'what he set in the wrapping[s] to the woman, those he takes away from her'; XLII 11 I 5; cf. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6-7:101 [1975-6]).

Parsing remains partly uncertain, since *ipulli* can also be neut. pl. of *ipul-* (cf. e.g. *ishulim* from *ishul-*). Alp's suggestion 'handle, hilt' (*Belleleten* 12:322-3 [1948]) was based solely on *KUB* XVI 83 Vs. 51 and squares ill with the now available dossier, although it has led to such abortive etymologies as the connection with *ep(p)-* 'take, seize' (J. Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4:33 [1959]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213; H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:80 [1973]; Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung* 540), which founders on vocalism and consonantism alike (*i-* never appears in the paradigm of *ep[p]-*, *ap[p]-*; cf. N. van Brock, *RHA* 20:114 [1962]; *ep[p]-* has constant intervocalic *-pp-*). Even more premature was the attempt by C. H. Carruthers (*Lg.* 9:160-1 [1933], based solely on *KUB* IX 22 II 22-25) to read into ANA SAL *ipulliyas anda* the sense 'into the woman's vagina', connecting *ipulli-* with Gk. *oĩpō* 'fuck'.

-ul- and *-ulli-* can be abstract noun suffixes, either deverbative (e.g. *im[m]iul-*, *ishul-*, *sesarul[i]-*, *istapul[i]-*, *kariulli-*) or denominative (e.g. *assul-*, *asandul-*), but are also found in words of obscure derivation and probable non-IE origin (e.g. *kazzarnul-*, *huppulli-*, *namulli-*, *parnulli-*). In the absence of a wholly unequivocal base-meaning and obvious derivation it is best to assign *ipul[li]-* as a technical term to the last-mentioned category (including textiles, utensils, furnishings, trees, and the like); the generic sense of 'cover(ing)' may serve as a common denominator for the attested usages (all indicating something found or placed on ritual persons or objects, which are then 'inside' the *ipul[li]-* [*KUB* IX 22 II 24-25 *ipulliyas anda*]).

izba - an azba

issalli- (n.) 'spittle' (*KBo* I 45 Rs. 9 *issalli*, I 49, 2-5 [Akk.] *rūtum*; cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-sa-al-li* (e.g. *KUB*

XXIX 10 I 9-11 *takku-kan UKU-as* ^{GIS}*NĀ-as seszi nu-ssi-kan issaz issalli parā GÜB-li meni ārassizzi* 'if a man sleeps in bed and from his mouth spittle flows forth on his left cheek ...'; cf. Güterbock, *AfO* 18:79 [1957], with the 'right cheek' pendant *ibid.* 5-7, and the duplicate text XXIX 9 I 9-11 and 13-15; XLI 21 I 9 *KAXU-as* ... *issalli* 'spittle of the mouth'; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 276; XXXVI 55 III 16).

issallant- (c.), nom. sg. *issallanza* (*KBo* I 44 + XIII I IV 3; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 18, 21; I 45 Rs. 11 *is[sallanza]*; cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]). Perhaps participle of denom. *issallai-* 'salivate, drool, drivel, slaver', thus 'epileptic' vel sim. (cf. Riemschneider, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:476 [1971]). Neumann (apud Tischler, *Glossar* 404) also adduced ^{SAL}*isli-* (acc. sg. in *KUB* XXX 15 Vs. 34 ^{SAL}*islin*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68), possibly referring to some Pythia-type ecstatic priestess, foaming at the mouth.

issalli- is usually derived from *a(y)is(s)-*, *iss-* 'mouth' (q.v.), with the denom. suffix *-alli-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:211-3). Cf. Ehelolf, *OLZ* 36:6 (1933); Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.* 159; La-roche, *BSL* 57.1:28-9 (1962); N. van Brock, *RHA* 20:110 (1962). Despite the jingle *issaz issalli* the semantics of this derivation are not compelling. Cf. perhaps rather Lat. *salīva* 'spittle' (*issalli-* < **sH[li]-*?), although further root-connections (*IEW* 879) are doubtful. Cf. V. Pisani, *Paideia* 13:322 (1958); Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 102-3; A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3:424 (1973).

is(sa)na-, essana- (c.) 'dough', nom. sg. *isnas* (1112/c + III 5-6 *isnas-ma-wa-kan kās* DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA ^[A]*harsi ŪL* [*p*]aizzi 'this dough does not end up as a breadloaf for the gods'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]), *issanas* (dupl. *KUB* XV 39 + XII 59 II 18-19 *issanas-ma-wa-kan kās* DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA *harsi ŪL paizzi*), acc. sg. *isnan*, *issanan* (e.g. XXIV 14 I 3-4 *nu ša zid.da še isnan dahhi nu UR.ZIR-as salpan menahhanda immiyami* 'I take dough of barley meal and mix in dog shit'; *KBo* XXIII I I 32 EGIR-pa-ma-za ša BA.BA.ZA *isnan dāi* 'but afterwards she takes paste-dough'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* III 142; dupl. *KUB* XXX 38a, 1 *issana[n]*; 1112/c + II 21 *nu* ^{SAL}*šU.GI wātar* [*i*]snann-

-a dāi 'the old woman takes water and dough'; ibid. 22-23 na[mma-smas-kan] isnan ser arha wahnuzi 'then she also waves the dough over them'; ibid. 25 nu-kan isnan hassi dāi 'she puts the dough in the fireplace'; dupl. KBo II 3 I 35-36 namma-smas-kan issanann-a ser arha wahnuzi; ibid. 37 nu-kan issanan hassi dāi; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 66; 1112/c+ III 21 i]ssan-a-smas-kan ser arha wahnuzi; dupl. KBo II 3 II 29 issanann-a-smas-kan [s]er a[rha; KUB VII 53 II 3-5 issanan ... dāi 'takes the dough'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10), gen. sg. isnas, isnās, issanas, ēssanas (e.g. XV 31 III 39 isnas; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 164; XXXIX 7 II 11 issan-a 10 lahanza^{MUSEN} iyanza 'and of dough ten l.-birds [are] made'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; XVII 23 I 12 nu PANI ŠAH isnas kuis^{GIS} MĀ kittari 'the boat which is located facing the pig of dough'; similarly ibid. II 39-40 nu isnas kuis ŠAH nu-ssi^{GIS} MĀ kuis isnas piran kittari; 1112/c+ II 6-8 issan-a-sm[as k]uyēs 2 ALAM piran katta kianta ŠU.HLA isnas-a-smas-san EME.HLA isnas kue INA SAG.DU.HLA-ŠUNU kianda 'the two figures of dough which are set down in front of them, and the hands of dough [and] tongues of dough which are placed on their heads'; dupl. XII 34+ XV 39 I 20-22 isnas-ma-smas kue 2 ALAM piran katta kitta [is]nas-ma-smas QADU EME.HLA-ya kue INA SAG.DU-ZUNU kianda; KBo IV 2 I 56 nu isnas pūrpuran iyanzi 'they make a lump of dough'; ibid. 63 pūrpūrēs isnas 'lumps of dough'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 2 [1962]; KUB XXVII 67 II 11 isnas pūrpūrēs; ibid. III 14 [p]ūrpūriyas hūrtalliss-a isnās 'lumps and blobs of dough'; ibid. II 9 isnās pūrpūrēs hūrtallenzi 'lumps [and] blobs of dough'; KBo XV 10 I 22 kurdāli isnas 'two containers of dough'; ibid. 3 and 4 7 EME isnas 'seven tongues of dough'; ibid. 6 7 qalulupus isnas 7 ishahru isnas 'seven fingers of dough [and] seven tears of dough'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12; ibid. II 2 nu isnas kurtāli YĀ LĀL kuwapi lāhuwan 'when into the container of dough oil [and] honey [is] poured'; ibid. I 12 1 kurdāli isnās; 1112/c+ II 10 i[s]nas-a ŠU.HLA EME.HLA 'hands [and] tongues of dough'; dupl. KBo II 3 I 24 issanas-a; XI 19 Vs. 2 isnās patalhan TUR INA^{UZU} GÜ-ŠU 'a small gyve of dough around his neck'; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 314; XXIV 8, 4 isnās patalhan; KUB XII 47 I 6 i]ssanas pata[lhan; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale*

329; VBoT 24 I 27 nu ŠU-it issanas MUŠEN harzi 'she holds a bird of dough in her hand'; ibid. 33 issanas MUŠEN; cf. Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 108; KUB XII 58 I 24 issanas ŠAH.TUR 'a small pig of dough'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; IX 34 III 24 issanas ŠAH.TUR TI-andann-a 'a small pig of dough and a live one'; ibid. 26-27 ēssanas-ma ... ŠAH.TUR), dat.-loc. sg. isni (XXIV 14 I 9-10 nu kī hūman ANA ZID.DA ŠE isni menahhanda immiyami 'all this I mix together with barley meal into dough'; ibid. 14), instr. sg. isnit (KUB XXIX 7+ KBo XXI 41 Vs. 39, 40, 42, 45, 49, 52, 54, 56 ŠA BA.BA.ZA isnit 'with paste-dough'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 119-20), acc. pl. istanas (sic, with -ta- for -sa-, KUB XXIV 9 III (6 EGIR-anda istanas dāi 'thereafter she takes kinds of dough'), ēssanas (dupl. XLI 1 III 21 [EGIR]-anda-ma ēssanas [...]; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 42-3).

issanauwant- 'doughy, pasty', nom.-acc. pl. neut. is-sa-na-u-wa-an-ta (KBo XV 33 II 19-20 LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.DÙ.DÙ-ma kuedani uiteni QATE.MEŠ-ŠUNU issanauwanta anda salikianta n-at-kan parā Ūl-pat pidanzi 'in what water the bakers immerse their doughy hands, that they do not carry forth').

isnura-, isnuri- (c.) 'dough-bowl', nom. sg. isnuras (KBo II 3 II 34-35]ŠA^D IŠTAR isnuras; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 76), is-nu-u-ri-is (dupl. 1112/c+ III 26 kāsa-wa ŠA^D IŠTAR isnūris 'lo, [this is] Ištār's dough-bowl'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]), acc. sg. isnūrin (ibid. 22 EGIR-anda-ma i[M]-as isnūrin iyazzi 'but afterwards she makes a dough-bowl of clay'), isnuran (dupl. II 3 II 30 EGIR-anda IM-[as]^{DUG} isnuran i[ya]zi), isnūran (e.g. dupl. 2486/c, 11 isnūran iezzi; II 3 II 7-8 nu^{SAL} ŠU.GI IM-[as]^{DUG} isnūran iyaizzi nu-kan issanan tepu anda dāi 'the old woman makes a dough-bowl of clay and puts in a little dough'), isnūrān (dupl. KUB XV 39+ XII 59 II 10-11 nu^{SAL} ŠU.GI IM-[as]^{DUG} isnūrān iezzi nu-kan issan[a]n tepu anda dāi; cf. also dupl. 1112/c+ II 55-56 nu^{SAL} ŠU.GI IM-[as]^{DUG} hupuwāi iyazzi nu-kan isnan te[pu] anda dāi 'the old woman takes a clay pot and puts in a little dough'), dat.-loc. sg. isnūri (KBo VI 34 I 31-33 nu kī harnam-mar mahhan tepu danzi n-at isnūri immiyanzi nu isnūran UD.I .KAM tianzi n-as putkiyetta 'as they take a little of this yeast and mix it into the dough-bowl, and let the bowl stand for one day, and it rises ...'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8), nom. pl. is-nu-u-ri-es

gen. sg.
isnuras (Koll. 44
105-6 DUG isnuras
certain 'by the
dough-bowl')
abl. sg.
is-nu-ra-a 2 (K 29, 30
+ 24, 29 I 14-25 n-asta isnan DUG isnuraz sarā dān[kanzi
'they take up the dough from the bowl']

(XVI 71 + I 28 2 ^{DUG}isnūres; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40), acc. pl. *ismurus* (XV 33 II 32–34 *n-asta* ^{DUG}isnūr[es] *kueaz* [sic] *IŠTUGAD DINGIR-LIM kariyantes n-at, PANI* ^{LUG}EN.Ē-TIM *sarā appanzi nu* ^{DUG}isnurus *auszi mān-kan-tum* ^{is TAG}DUBBIN [S] *sarā uwan* ‘the dough-bowls which [are] covered with the deity’s cloth, before the housemaster they lift them up, and he inspects the dough-bowls, whether the ?[has] come up’), *isnūrus* (ibid. 13–14 *nu* ^{DUG}isnūrus *PANID[INGI]R-LIM istanāni piran* [...] *nu-smas-san ser arha GAD-an huittianzi* ‘they [set] the dough-bowls facing the deity in front of the altar, and over them they draw a cloth’), *is-nu-ra-s(a-kán)* (*VBoT* 24 III 7 ^{DUG}isnuras-*a-kan sūniyanzi* ‘and they fill dough-bowls’; cf. Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 112), dat.-loc. pl. *isnūras* (*KBo* XV 33 II 30 *is}nūras piran*; ibid. 5 *isn}ūras anda*).

That *isnura-* or *isnuri-* is derived from *is(sa)na-* is not in doubt (unnecessary hesitation in Neumann, *Untersuchungen* 30). Nor is "foreign" origin of the suffix plausible (despite Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:187–8, 226–7), as there are enough inner-Hittite and other IE parallels (cf. e.g. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 53, and such denominative Sanskrit parallels as *danturā-* 'buck-toothed' from *dānt-* 'tooth' or *aṅgūri-* 'finger' from *āṅga-* 'limb'); it is quite unnecessary to assume (with Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 51) a compound of *isna-* and ^{DUG}*urā-* (poorly attested name of a receptacle, q.v.).

is(sa)na-, *ēssana-* reflects IE **yes(o)no-* 'ferment(ation)', metonymically '(rising) dough', even as the newer term *har-
nammar* means literally 'ferment(ation)' and thence 'fermenta-
tion-substance, yeast': the nearest cognate is the Germanic
infinitive from IE **yes-* (*IEW* 506), seen in OHG *jesan* 'fer-
ment'. For **ye-* > *e-*, *i-* see s.v. *eka-*.

Unconvincing connections with *essa-* 'make' (Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 120, 122–3), *es(sa)ri-* 'shape' (Neumann, KZ 75:89 [1957]; Gusmani, *IF* 68:293 [1963]), and Gk. *ἰαίvo* 'soothe, warm', Skt. *iṣanyāti* 'drive, impel' (Goetze, *Mélanges ... Pedersen* 492 [1937], comparing German *heben* 'lift', *hefe* 'yeast'; for *ἰαίvo* see s.v. *iyawa-*, whereas *iṣanyāti* is secondary to *iṣyati*). Čop (*Živa Antika* 6:42, 49 [1956], *Ling.* 6:55 [1964]) was briefly on the right track of IE **ves-* but soon (*Indogermanica minora*

40–1, 51) recanted in favor of a tie-in with Skt. *iṣṭakā*- ‘brick’, Toch. B. *iścem* ‘clay(-brick)’, allegedly from an IE **is*- ‘knead, mold’, synonymous with **dheyǵh-* (as in Lat. *figūra*: English *dough*). A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüística* 3:424 [1973]) reconstructed *is(sa)na-* as **sHn-*, cognate with **sHl-* in *issalli-* ‘spittle’.

isha-, **esha-**, (c.) 'master, lord, owner, person in charge; mistress, lady' (EN; *BELU*, *BELTU*: e.g. *KBo* VI 3 IV 20 *ishās ... ishi-ssi* matching dupl. VI 7, 2-3 EN-*as ... EN-si* [*Code* 1:86]; *KUB* XXXIII 62 II 18 *parnas ishī parnas ishassari* besides *ibid.* 8 *ANA* ^{LU}*BEL É-TIM* ^{SAL}*BELDI É-TIM* 'for the lord of the house, for the lady of the house'), nom. sg. *ishas* (e.g. XXXVI 51 Vs. 6 *ishas-sis-wa*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:154 [1965]; frequent in the Code, e.g. *KBo* VI 3 III 65 [= *Code* 1:71] *mān-an ishas-sis-a wemiyazi* 'but if its owner finds it'; *ibid.* IV 55 [= *Code* 1:99] *ishas-ses-a*), *ishās* (e.g. dupl. VI 2 IV 56 *ishās-sis-a*, besides dupl. XIX 4 IV 2 EN-*s[es-a]*; cf. Otten – Souček, *AfO* 21:10 [1966]; V 4 Rs. 1 *zik-pat-ma-za ishās* 'you alone [shall be] lord'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:60; VIII 35 II 10 ^D*Isharas linkias ishās* 'I., mistress of the oath'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* 110, 115; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:106-7), acc. sg. *ishān* (e.g. XIII 31 III 9 *uttanās ishān* 'the owner of the thing'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 76), voc. sg. *isha* (*KUB* XXXI 127 I 1-2 ^D*UTU-e isha-mi handanza hannesnas ishas* 'sun-god, my lord, righteous lord of judgment!'), *ishā* (XXX 10 Rs. 10 ^D*UTU-i ishā-mi*; likewise XXXI 128 I 1; XXXI 147 II 17 and 34; *KBo* XIX 112, 9 [*kuwat*] *Ūl. ekutti ammel ishā-mi* 'why do you not drink, my lady?'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44; H. Berman, *JNES* 33:422 [1974]), gen. sg. *ishās* (VI 2 II 41 [= *Code* 1:46] *iwaruas ishās A.ŠÀ* 'the field of the grantor'; cf. par. VI 4 IV 25 *iwaruwas* EN-*as A.ŠÀ*), dat.-loc. sg. *es-hé* (III 34 I 25 [OHitt.] 'to the lord'), *ishe* (e.g. *KUB* XLI 1 I 6, 10, 14 *is-hi-es-si* 'to its master'), *isha* (dupl. XXIV 9 I 51 *isha-ssi*), *ishi* (e.g. *ibid.* 46 *ishi-ssi*; cf. dupl. *KBo* XII 126 I 21 *BELI-ŠU*, and Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 28-30, 22; VI 26 II 14 [= *Code* 2:73] *takku ir-as ishi-ssi arazzi* 'if a slave rises up against his master'), *ishī* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVI 17

II 5 *auwariyas ishi* 'to the watch commander'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:394 [1947]), EN-*i-ssi* (*KBo* VI 4 IV 5 [= *Code* 1:45]; cf. *ibid.* 6 [acc. sg.] EN-*issin-ma* [sic]), nom. pl. *is-hi-e-es* (e.g. *KUB* XXX 68 Vs. 6; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 173), *is-hé-es* (e.g. *KBo* III 46 Vs. 38 *i]uzziyas ishes akir* 'the lords of the host were killed'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279 [1977]), dat.-loc. pl. *ishas* (e.g. III 1 I 21 [OHitt.]).

^D*Ishashuriyas* (*KUB* XXXVIII 3 I 9) who has (or is) a fountain (*aldannis*) in XXXVIII 1 I 10 (cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 16. 10), may well mean 'lord of spray' (vel sim.); cf. ^D*Hüriyanzipas* and see s.v. *hurai*-, at end.

For *ēshanas ishās* 'person in charge of (settling a) murder (case)' see s.v. *eshar*. For EN *DINI* or BEL *DINI* 'legal adversary' see sub *hannessar* s.v. *hanna*-.

ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (GAŠAN; *BELTU*) is a feminine derivative from *isha*- (which latter is basically nonspecific as to sex; when a Šamaš-hymn has been adapted to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, she is still referred to as *hannesnas* EN-*as* in *KUB* XXIV 3 I 35 and 47; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 10, 22–4); -(a)s(s)ar(a)- thus creates the "marked" member of a male : female pair, somewhat in the manner of **sems* 'one' (Gk. *εἷς*) : **smteros* 'the other' (Myc. *a₂-te-ro*, Doric *ἄτερος*, Ionic *ἔτερος*); for other examples (^{DUMU.SAL}*suppassara*- 'pure girl, virgin', **hussussara*- [SAL.LUGAL-ra-] 'queen', **GEME-nassara*- 'female slave', Luw. *nanasri*[ya]- 'sister' beside *nani*[ya]- 'brother') see e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:109–12 (who wrongly connected *isha*- with ^D*Ishara*-); implausible speculations on the origin of the suffix in e.g. O. Szemerényi, *Kratylos* 11:206–21 (1966), who assumed compounds with an **asar*- (cf. Hom. *ὄαρ* 'wife'); either indigenous suffixal origin or IE **-sro*- (as in Skt. fem. *tisrās* 'three', *catasrās* 'four') remains more plausible. Attested in dat.-loc. sg. *ishassari* (*KUB* XXXIII 62 II 18, quoted above) and theonymically as ^D*Ishassara*- 'Lady' (cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 67).

**ishassar* (n.) 'lordship' (cf. e.g. *ilassar* beside *ilessar*; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:288) underlies **ishassaru*- (n.) 'lordly quality, lordliness' (cf. **esharu*- 'bloodiness' from *eshar* 'blood'), whence a denom. verb *ishassarwai*-, *ishassarwiya*- 'practise

lordliness' (cf. *isharwai*-, *isharwiya*- 'be bloody'), partic. *ishassarwant*- (cf. *isharwant*-), nom. sg. c. *ishassarwanza* (*VBoT* 120 II 18 *sargauwas-ma-za piran ishassarwanza ēsdu* 'before the exalted let him be lordly'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 140), dat.-loc. sg. *ishassarwanti* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 I 42–44 [^D*Kuma*]rbis-a-kan iyauwaniyauanza ^{URU}Nipp[ur...] [...] pait ishassarwanti-ya-an-zan [...] [...] esat 'and K., recovering, went to Nippur and installed himself in a lordly [station?]; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3); verbal noun *ishassarwatar* (n.) (cf. *isharwatar*), nom.-acc. sg. *is-ha-as-sar-wa-tar* (XXI 38 Vs. 16 ŠEŠ-YA-*ma ammēdaza NIG.TUKU-ti kuitki ŪL-at ŠUM-an ishassarwatarr-a* '[that] you, my brother, in any way enrich yourself on my account, this [is] not [conducive to] lordly repute', lit. '[good] name and lordliness' [hendiadys]; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:88 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:7, 25 [1964]; *ibid.* 46; *KBo* IV 14 II 21 *ishassarwatar* [...] *ilaliski* 'desire lordship!'; *ibid.* 20 *i]shassarwatar*; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:40 [1965]), *ishassarwatar* (*KUB* XXIX 1 III 31–34 *mā²wa-za é-ir andurza hanesteni nu-wa MU.KAM.HLA GID.DA hanesteni āssu hanisteni mānn-at arahza-ma hanesteni nu nahsaraddan hani(s)ten nu ishassarwatar 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]), *ishasarwatar* (*KBo* II 32 Rs. 1–3 SILIM-ulan TI-tar hattulat[ar...] MU.HLA GID.DA *ishasarwatar* [...] ^{GIS}TUKUL.HLA NIR.GAL āssiyatarr-a [...] 'well-being, life, health, long years, lordship, strong weapons, and love'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 284), gen. sg. *ishasarwannas* (*KUB* II 1 II 46 ŠA *Laba[r]na is[ha]sarwan[na]s* ^DLAMA-i 'to the tutelary deity of the ruler's lordliness'), *ishasarwanas* (dupl. *KBo* II 38, 11 *ishasarwanas* KIM[IN]; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:98, 109 [1975]), instr. sg. *is-ha-as-sar-wa-an-ni-t(a-at-kán)* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 11–13 *ishassarwannit-at-kan āssiyauwannit alwanzatar arha ansan ēsdu* 'through lordliness and love let the hex be wiped off!'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 104); iter. *is-ha-as-sar-u-e-e[s-ki]* (XV 12 I 12; cf. *isharuiieski*-, unless denom. inchoative *ishassaruēs*- from **ishassaru*-); also factitive *ishassarwaih*- (cf. *ēsharwaih*-),

iter. 3 sg. imp. act. in *KBo* X 12 III 9–10 *pa]hsi n-as ishassarwahheski* [...] ŠEŠ.MEŠ-as *iwar piran iyan taru* 'protect [them] and make them lordly; like brothers they shall go before [you]'; cf. H. Freydank, *MIO* 7:363 [1960]). It is preferable to posit a denominative verbal intermediary for *ishassarwant-* and *ishassarwatar-*, rather than assume (with e.g. Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 190) direct deadjectival derivatives like e.g. *dassuwant-* or *idaluwatar-*; the latter are parallel forms (besides *dassu-* and *idaluwatar-*), whereas *ishassarwant-* and *ishassarwatar* stand alone; it is easier to postulate the interim obsolescence of the intermediate finite denominative verb than to explain the absence of side-by-side **ishassaru-* and **ishassarawatar-*.

ishizzi-* 'lordly' (cf. **hassuizzi-* 'kingly' s.v. *hassu-*), denom. verb *ishizziya-* 'be lordly, dominate, prevail', 3 sg. pres. act. *ishizziyazi* (*KUB* XIII 3 II 14 *kuwapi UD-at LUGAL-was zi-za ishizziyazi* 'on a day when the king's animus gets the upper hand'), 3 sg. pret. act. (Luwoid?) or midd. (?) *ishizzita* (ibid. III 26–27 *nu LUGAL-as zi-anza ishizzita nu-kan ... kartimmiyanun* 'the king's [=my] animus took over, and I was angry'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46–7; for possible act. : midd. fluctuation cf. *LUGAL-izziat* : *LUGAL-izziyatta* 'ruled as king' sub **hassuizzi-* s.v. *hassu-*); wrongly derived by H. Eichner (*Die Sprache* 24:160 [1978], *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 61 [1979]) from an **ishizzi-* 'rage' (<sA₁ityo-*, comparing Lat. *saevus*, q.v. s.v. *sai-*), which would yield improbable anticlimactic semantics in *KUB* XIII 3 III 26–27 (*zi-anza ishizzita nu-kan ... kartimmiyanun* '[my] mind flew into a rage ... and I got angry'); denom. factitive **ishizna-* 'make lordly', verbal noun **ishiznatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. EN-*iznanni* (e.g. *XIV* 15 IV 37 *namma [IN]_A URU Mirā Mashuiliwan EN-iznanni tittanunum* 'I installed M. in lordship at M.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 72; *KBo* V 13 I 26 *nu ANA KUR-TI EN-iznanni tuk-pat tittanunum* 'I have installed you in lordship over the land', with dupl. *IV* 3 I 14 and *KUB* VI 41 II 1), [EN-*i*]znani (dupl. *KBo* IV 7 II 4; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:114), EN-*izni* (sic *KUB* XIV 24, 11; cf. Götze, *AM* 144), EN-*manni* (sic XXVI 1 IV 4–5 [*nu-z*]a ŠA^D UTU-ŠI EN-*manni* EGIR-an arha tamel UKÜ-as EN-UTTA ilaliyazi 'instead of my majesty's lordship it desires for itself the lordship of

388

Lu^uatnigasha-

< utne + isha-

580 32: 182

(Neu) F. Risch (1986): 114 f.

1185 52 (197): 175 f.

addanas
ishas-
Neu 1185 Risch
1185 f.
= addanalla
K. Tang Komposowa
u. Zaskaraliss
Luz Eidseesser (HEG)

another person'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 15), EN-*-anni* (e.g. *XIV* 15 IV 45; cf. Götze, *AM* 72); the frequent EN-*anni*, EN-UTTI(M), EN-UTTA (cf. e.g. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušga-muwa* 30–1) may also hide a denom. abstract **ishatar*.

The etymology of *isha-*, *esha-* has been endlessly and inconclusively debated. After Hrozný's preemptive "wohl nicht" comparison with Gk. *ισχυρός* 'strong' (*SH* 34), Indo-European origin and connection with Lat. *erus* 'master' (**esH₁o-*) was first suggested by F. Ribezzo, *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 4:128 (1920); this much-repeated isogloss (e.g. C. H. Carruthers, *Lg.* 6:161 [1930]; Sturtevant passim; W. Petersen, *Lg.* 10:317 [1934]; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 184; Goetze, *Lg.* 30:355 [1954]; Lehmann, *PIEP* 26) still commanded the adherence of e.g. Čop (*Indogermanica minora* 62) but has ultimately little in its favor, because an irreducible thematic root-noun would be odd and an underlying common verbal root is not visible as a basis for derivation; T. Milewski's **es-Ho-* 'he that is' (*L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 18 [1936]) does not make much sense, and Lat. *erus* can be and has been otherwise, albeit inconclusively, explicated (cf. e.g. *IEW* 342). Assuming an independent inner-Hittite derivation for *isha-* and tying it in with *ishiya-* 'bind', *sahhan-* 'feudal duty', or *sesha-* 'ordain' (e.g. E. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76:217 [1922]; Juret, *Vocabulaire* 50, 52; Neumann, *OLZ* 52:425 [1957]; H. Eichner, *Untersuchungen zur hethitischen Deklination* 57–60 [1974] [**sH₁oyó-*]; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 499 [**sH₁óH₂s*]) is equally implausible.

Arm. *išxan* 'ruler, prince', *išxel* 'to rule' have been compared with Hitt. *isha-* since P. Jensen, *ZA* 36:82 (1925); cf. e.g. N. Martirosyan, *Handes Amsorya* 43:537 (1929); J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Kratylos* 24:73 (1979). Either a borrowing from Hittite into Armenian or into both from some common "culture word" source is theoretically conceivable. Borrowed Indo-Aryan origin (via Hurrian; cf. Skt. *išvarā-* 'master, lord') was suggested for both by V. Bănăţeanu, *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice* 14:405 (1963), *Die Sprache* 10:201 (1964), while regular derivation from an underlying IE **(e)ik(w)-* was preposterously proposed for Hittite (and Armenian) by H. Wittmann, *Glossa* 3:24 (1969). Čop (*Indogermanica minora* 79–80) recon-

Li salasba-s

389

structed Arm. *išxan* alone as **išu-x-* from IE **ēik-* 'own, possess', comparing Skt. *iśvarā-*, Avest. *isvan-* 'capable, in charge'. Most probably Arm. *išxan* is a loanword from Iranian **xšān-* (vel sim.; cf. Benveniste, *RPh* 59:195 [1933]), with a metathesis paralleled by *bde(a)šx* 'great prince' (cf. Pahlavi *pātaxšāh*; J. A. C. Greppin, *Annual of Armenian linguistics* 3:57-9 [1982]); it has thus no truck whatever with Hitt. *isha-*.

There remains an inner-Anatolian approach to *isha-*. Apart from a very doubtful Lyd. *iša-* (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 138, *Die Sprache* 17:6 [1971], *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1975:138), the extra-Hittite equivalents are Luw. *washai-*, *washa(n)t-* 'master' (*Dict. louv.* 109), Hier. *washa-* 'master' (Meriggi, *HHG* 151), and perhaps Pal. *pashullasas* (epithet or attribute of the sun-god Tiyaz), *washullatīyas* (perhaps containing -*Tīyas*; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 67, 78). The Palaic forms especially reek of Hattic (cf. *KUB* XXVIII 67, 7 *wa-as-hu-ú-li* and see Kammenhuber, *RHA* 17:89 [1959]), and there is Hatt. *(a)shap/w-* 'god', "collective" *washap/w-* (= DINGIR.MEŠ) which may have yielded the Hittite(-Lydian) and Palaic-Luwian-Hieroglyphic variants respectively (cf. Laroche, *RA* 41:77-8 [1947]; Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 441, 473; Tischler, *Glossar* 374). The absence of initial plene-spellings (*i-is-*) on the one hand, and conversely the frequent length-marking of the stem vowel (*ishā-*) may indicate that the source of *isha-* or *esha-* had less than full-grade vocalism in the initial syllable. Such assumption of substratal origin would imply that the term originated in religious language rather than as a secular title (cf. voc. sg. *isha-mi* addressed to deities of both sexes).

ishahru-, eshahru- (n.) 'tear(s), weeping', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ishahru* (e.g. *KUB* XVII 9 I 20-22 *kuwat-wa wēskisi nu-wa-ta-kkan suppayaza* [IGL.HI.]A-wa-za *ishahru parā āras[zi]* 'why do you keep wailing and tears flow from your pure eyes?'; XXXVI 25 IV 4-5 *nu wēskizzi ishahru-ma-ssi-kan* P[A₅.HIA-us] *mān arsanzi* 'he keeps wailing, and his tears flow like channels'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:73 [1968]; XXXIII 113 + I 29-30 *nu-ssi-kan ishahru* [par]ā PA₅.HIA-us *mān arsanzi*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS*

6:12 [1952]; similarly VIII 48 I 18; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:18, 45-6, 77 [1930]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:18 [1968]; *KBo* XV 10 I 6 7 *ishahru isnas* 'seven tears of dough'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12; *KUB* VIII 38 + XLIV 63 III 20-21 *namma-an āandaz A-az ishahru ... arha ānaszi* 'he wipes off his tears with warm water'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30; XL 65 + I 16 III 7 [OHitt.] *ishahru-smi[t ... sa]nhun* 'I sought your tears'; cf. Kühne, *ZA* 62:257 [1972]; XXXIII 66 II 13 *ishahru dais* 'tears he put' [into submarine copper cauldrons with leaden lids, besides ibid. 12 *ēshar dais* 'bloodshed he put', and a number of other bad things ibid. 10-15]; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JNES* 27:65 [1968]; XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 49-50 ANA DINGIR.MEŠ-ma-kan *mahhan ishahru danzi n-at hanti* DUB.2.KAM 'how they take tears from the gods, that [is written] separately [on] a second tablet'; cf. ibid. 12-13, 20-21, 28-29; Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 95-6; *KBo* XII 8 IV 32 *i]shar ishahru* 'blood [and] tears'; cf. Carruba, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 78), *ēshahru* (*KUB* VII 41 Vs. 18-19 *idālu papratar niš* DINGIR-LIM *ēshar hurtain* [kurkurain] *ēshahru wastain* 'evil defilement, perjury, blood[shed], curse, mutilation [?], tears, [and] despoliation'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), gen. sg. *ishahruwas* (XXXI 77 I 7 SISKUR *ishahruwas* 'ritual of weeping'; cf. Otten, *Puduhepa* 14 [1975]), *ēshahruwas* (254/d, 11; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 189), dat.-loc. sg. *is-ha-ah-ru-ú-i* (*KBo* XI 1 Vs. 45 *idala]ui hurtai ēshanī ishahruui*; cf. Houwink Ten Cate - Josephson, *RHA* 25:108 [1967]), instr. sg. *ishahruit* (*KUB* XLIII 60 I 21-22 *n-as ishahruit walhanza* 'she [was] hit by [a fit of] weeping'), abl. sg. *ishahruwaz* (XV 42 II 9-11 *sumes-a* DINGIR.MEŠ-as *idāla[wa]z uddānaz linkiyaz hurdiyaz ēsha[na]z ishahruwaz* QATAMMA *parkuwaēs ēstin* 'you gods, too, be likewise clean of evil business, perjury, curse, blood [-shed], [and] tears'; similarly XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 15-17 and 40-42; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 95), *ishahruwaza* (XXX 33 I 10 EME-za *ishanaza ishahruwaza linkiy[aza]* 'from obloquy, blood[shed], tears, [and] perjury').

ishahruwant- (c.), nom. sg. in 2083/g, 8-9 *nu kūn* EN.SISKUR *namma* [ish]ahruwanza *haratnanza le* [epdu 'may weeping (and) scandal no further seize this sacrificer' (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:29 [1962]).

Ko24.4.Vs.8, 13
e-es-ha-ah-ru

Ku43.58 I 77
ēshana2
is-ha-ah-ru-wa-az
ibid. II 44
ēshana2
is-ha-ah-ru-az

S.V. ishahruwaz

ishahru(w)ai- 'weep', (denom. like Gk. *δακρῶω* or Lat. *lacrimā-*), 3 sg. pret. midd. in *KUB I 16 II 6 ūl ishahruwattat* 'he did not weep', matching *ibid. I 6 (Akk.) [dim]āti-šu ūl išpuk* 'his tears he did not shed' (cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2–3, 36–7; Neu, *Interpretation* 74); partic. *ishahruwant-*, nom. sg. c. *ishahruwanza* (XXXIII 87+ I 30–31 *nu^DU-as IGI.HLA-wa ishahruwanza* 'the storm-god, weeping his eyes [out]'), *ishahruanza* (XLIII 60 I 21 *annas DINGIR-LIM-as ishahruanza* 'the mother of the god [was] weeping'). Formed like e.g. *genzuwai-* from *genzu-* or *saruwai-* from *saru-* (cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:22–3 [1957]).

There is uncertainty about *KUB XXX 33 I 9 apās-ma LUGAL-i iyauwan* (with gloss-wedges) *ishahru halz[āi]* 'that one calls on the king to shed tears' (?); cf. VIII 38+XLIV 63 III 10 *nasma-as ishahru iya[uw]an maruwasha[n dāi?]* 'or he (applies?) ^{dark ittt} to induce lacrimation' (?; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30); possibly supine of *iya-* 'do, make' (cf. verbal noun *iyauwar*, inf. *iyauwanzi*), thus *ishahru iya-* 'shed tears', like *ēshar iya-* 'shed blood'? Here may be another supine not formed from an iterative (cf. *karīpuwan*, *tarahhūwan*, *parhuwan*, *hannuan*, *wassūwan*, *ninkuwan*; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3:40 [1955]), and at last one not used in inchoative periphrasis with *dai-* or *tiya-*.

Indo-European 'tear' words are mostly (except Slavic [Russian *slezá*] and Albanian [*lot*]) traceable to **dakru-* (<**drākru-*; Gk. *δακρῶν*, Lat. *lacruma*, OIr. *dēr*, Goth. *tagr*, OHG *zahar*), **drakur* (Arm. *artawsr*), **draknu-* (OHG *trahan*), **akru* (Ved. *ásru*, Avest. *asrū-*, Toch. A *ākār* [pl. A *ākrun*, B *akrūna*], Lith. *ašarà*). E. P. Hamp, who in a series of studies examined these words (cf. *Glotta* 50:291–9 [1972], with back references), explained **akru* via false sandhi division from **tod dākru* (*Studies in historical linguistics in honor of G. S. Lane* 152–3 [1967]; in reality this is an old idea, among other abortive explanations [cf. Walde – Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wb.* 746]).

ishahru is clearly the basic spelling, with the occasional *ēshahru* influenced by the proximity of *ēshar* on the "calamity lists" (e.g. *KUB VII 41 Vs. 18–19*, quoted above); hence the *i*-may be phonetically and/or orthographically prothetic (cf. e.g. *ishiya-*), and a possible reconstruction is **sH₁aH₁ru-* (cf. E. P.

Hamp, *Glotta* 50:298–9 [1972]). Oettinger (*Stamm-bildung* 367) posited *ishahru* < **sA₁akru* (*s*-mobile + [*A₁]**akru*, with *h* < *k* as in occasional *hazhara-* < *hazgara-*), where the attestation of *s*-mobile before laryngeal would be chastically proportionate to Hitt. *he(w)u-*: Toch. A *swase*, OPruss. *suge* 'rain' (**[s]E₂ew-H₂-*). In that case **A₁akru* can hardly be a secondary aberration from **dakru* (the *a*-vocalism of the latter being also unexplained); there is rather **(s-)A₁akru-* besides **(d-)A₁akru* > **dakru-*, but with occasional **A₁* > **r* in some forms of Indo-European (Arm. *artawsr* < **drakur*, OHG *trahan* < **draknu-*), comparable to the Hittite alternation *wahnu-*: *warnu-*; another trace of such "d-mobile" may be seen in Lith. *ilgas* 'long' besides the more usual *d*-forms (Skt. *dirgha-*, etc.), or in Ved. *āhar* 'day' beside OE *dōgor*. **A₁akru-* conceivably has basic truck with **akri-*, **akro-* (Skt. *āsri-* 'edge', Gk. *ἄκρις* 'point, peak', Lat. *ācer*, Lith. *ašrūs*, OCS *ostrŭ* 'sharp'), in the sense of 'bitter, acrid (fluid)' (cf. the universal cliché 'bitter tears').

Implausibly Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*¹ 143: **esHru-*, perhaps reflected in Hitt. *ishahru*, "contaminated" with **dakru*, yielded **akru-*; W. Petersen, *Lg.* 10:319 (1934): *eshahru* < **esharhu*, comparing Lith. *ašarà*; E. Sapir, *Lg.* 15:181 (1939): **ēsxṇ-xkru* 'blood' + 'acrid', with **xākru* 'tear' < 'acrid', ***dr-xākru* 'water-acrid' > IE **d(r)akru* (rejected by E. P. Hamp, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* [= PBB] 81:265 [Tübingen 1959]); V. Georgiev, *Acta Antiqua* 16:13–4 (1968): **esHr akru* 'bitter blood', besides **udr akru* 'bitter water' in **d(r)akru-*, with loss of *u-* due to association with **drk-* seen in e.g. Gk. *δράκος* 'eye' (rejected by E. P. Hamp, *Glotta* 50:298 [1972]); Ivanov, *Studia linguistica in honorem acad. S. Mladenov* 477–83 (1957), adduced alleged Skt. *asram* 'tear' beside *ásru* (cf. *asram* 'blood' beside *ásrg-*; but *asram* means rather 'pain, suffering', cognate with Avest. *angra-* 'evil'; cf. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:638), while trying to justify *ishahru* = /eshru-/ (cf. *túh-uh-s* besides *túh-s-*, *e-es-ha-ha-at* besides *e-es-ha-at*, and the like) and Sapir's tie-in with 'blood'.

G. A. Kapancjan (*Chetto-Armeniaca* 84 [1931–3], *Khettskie bogi u armjan* 15 [1940], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:348

similarly to
Oettinger
M. Eichner //
Mol 55, '99

[1956]) and G. B. Ĭahukyan (*Hayerenā ev hndevropakan hin lezownera* 152 [1970]) compared *ishahru* with Arm. *ašxar* (Luwian-tinged loanword from Anatolian, besides inherited *artawsr?*); but the meaning of *ašxar* is 'grief, mourning' rather than 'tear'.

ishamai- (c.) 'song, melody' (sīr), acc. sg. *ishamain* (KUB XII 11 III 30-31 ^{LÜ} sīr-ma artari nu ša DINGIR-LIM *ishamain* sīr-RU 'the singer stands and they sing the song of the god'), acc. pl. in X 7, 14-15 *mān ishamai[us z]innanzi* 'when they finish the songs'.

ishamiya-, *ishamai-* 'sing; sing of' (sīr-RU, ZAMARU), 1 sg. pres. act. *ishamihhi* (XXXIII 96 I 4 ^D Kum[arb]in *ishamihhi* 'of Kumarbi I sing'; cf. Güterbock, JCS 5:146 [1951]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ishamai* (Bo 2879 II 6 *ishamai hatili* 'sings in Hattic'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ishamiyanzi* (e.g. KUB XX 28 IV 11, V 14 and 25; cf. ibid. III 5 sīr-RU=IZAMMARU 'they sing'; X 7, 13 sīr-RU *ishami[yanzi-ya]* '[they] play and sing'), *ishamianzi* (e.g. XXV 37 II 30; cf. Bossert, Asia 109 [1946]; also passim in KBo XVII 74; cf. Neu, Gewitterritual 85); inf. *ishamiyauanzi* (KUB XXV 37 I 40; cf. Dict. louv. 172), *ishamiyauwanzi* (XXVII 1 IV 12; cf. Lebrun, Samuha 84); iter. *ishameski-*, *ishamiski-*, *ishamaiski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ishamiskimi* (XXVII 38 I 18), 2 sg. pres. act. *ishamiskisi* (XXXVI 12 II 9; cf. Güterbock, JCS 6:14 [1952]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ishamiskizzi* (ibid. 5), *ishamaiskizzi* (KBo III 40 I 13), 3 pl. pres. act. *ishameskanzi* (Bo 3143, 5), *ishamiskanzi* (e.g. KUB XII 5 I 10; cf. J. Danmanville, RHA 20:51 [1962]; XI 32 IV 14; XXV 37 II 19 and 27; KBo XXI 34 II 27; cf. Lebrun, Hethitica II 120), *ishamisganzi* (Bo 3316 VI 2), *ishamaiskanzi* (KBo XXIII 103 IV 16, vs. ibid. 19 *ishamiskanzi*; cf. Haas, Nerik 44); partic. *ishamiskant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-ha-mi-is-kān* (KUB XXV 37 I 39). ^{Sup. n} *is-ha-mi-is-ki-u-an* (KUB 25.37 I 36 + s(9) v. 2; cf. St6v.31.004)

Cf. Götze, Madd. 98; Ose, Supinum 34; Kammenhuber, MIO 2:54 (1954); Kronasser, Etym. 1:541, 314; Kümmel, Festschrift H. Otten 172-6 (1973).

ishamatalla- (c.) 'singer' (^{LÜ} sīr, Akk. *zammaru*), nom. pl. ^{LÜ.MES} *is-ha-ma-tal-li-es* (KUB XVII 21 II 11 and III 19; cf. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer 154), acc. pl. ^{LÜ.MES} *ishamātallus* (XXXI

124 II 17; cf. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer 156), *is-ha-ma-tal-li-lu-us* (sic XVII 21 III 5). Cf. Kronasser, Etym. 1:176.

ishamai- goes back to **ishama-* (Kronasser, Etym. 1:178, 206; cf. e.g. *hukmā-* vs. *hukma-talla-*). *ishamiya-* has intrusive stem variant *ishamai-* based on the noun, leading to contamination by *-hi* conjugation (3 pl. *ishamiyanzi* > 3 sg. *ishamai* > 1 sg. *ishamihhi* like *tiyanzi*, *dāi*, *tehhi*).

ishama-* is connectible with the root of *ishiya-* 'tie, bind', *ishima(n)-* 'line, cord' (q.v.; c.f. e.g. Kronasser, VLFH 87, Etym. 1:178; Čop, Die Sprache 6:4-6 [1960]; R. Lazzeroni, Studi e saggi linguistici 7:53-55 [1967]). The semantic tie-in would be "rhapsodic" in the literal sense (cf. for the meaning Gk. ὕμνος in Hesiod, Fragm. 265 [Rzach] = 357 [Merkelbach-West] ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες αἰοδῶν; Skt. *sūtra-* 'thread' > 'canon', etc.). It must be of IE date, since it presupposes the root **seE₂-* 'bind' (Vedic *sā-*) in a suffixed form **séE₂-m-* (Ved. *sām-an-* 'song'), **sE₂-ém-*, **sE₂-om-*, **sE₂-ṇm-* (> Hitt. *isham-*). From the same root is derivable Gk. οἶμη 'song, lay', οἶμος 'id.' (Hom. Hymn 4.451 οἶμος αἰοδῆς), also 'stripe, strip, path', psilotic for οἶμος (cf. φοοῖμιον = προ-οἶμιον), if we posit **sE₂om-y-* (cf. Benveniste, BSL 50.1:39-40 [1954], Hittite 10, 88; invalid objections in H. Wittmann, Die Sprache 19:41 [1973]; more cogent is the observation by R. S. P. Beekes, Die Sprache 18:127 [1972], that the outcome would be **oivos*, like βαῖνω < **gʷn̥i-y-*). Yet οἶμος may also be from the same root in its other suffixed form (séE₂-y-*, **sE₂-éy-*, **sE₂-y-*, seen in Ved. *syāti* 'bind', Hitt. *ishiya-*, etc.), in which case we should posit **sE₂oy-mo-* and compare ON *seidr* 'line, rope; magic' (**sE₂oy-to-*). Cf. also Ivanov, Obščeeindoevropskaja 16; Gusmani, Lessico 49; Oettinger, Stambildung 465.

ishanittarātār (n.), (nom.)-acc. sg. in VBoT 2, 2-3 *man-wa-nnas ishanittarātār iyaweni* 'let us make i.!' (quoting a marriage proposal made to the writer concerning the writer's daughter; cf. L. Rost, MIO 4:328 [1956]).

Perhaps erroneous diplography for *ishani(ya)t(t)ar* (cf. Hrozný, SH 74), verbal noun from **ishanai-* or **ishaniya-*, related to *ishiya-*, *ishai-* 'bind' (q.v.) as an iterative (cf. e.g.

piddannai- from *pittai-*, s.v. *pi[y]ett-*), thus 'binding, bond, (marital) alliance' (cf. *ishiu* 'binding; treaty'; Skt. *bāndhu-* 'relative, kinsman'; Gk. *πνθερός* 'wife's father'). Cf. Tischler, *Glossar* 382. Cf. perhaps *is-ha-ni-tar* (*KUB XLIV* 15 I 14), *is-ha-ni-it-ta-ra-as* (*Bo* 4952 I 19), *ishanittari-mi* (*Bo* 2850, 11).

Misrendered as 'blood-tie' since Hrozný, *Journal asiatique* 218:314 (1931), especially by Benveniste (*Hittite* 101-2) who saw a denom. abstract (type of *uskiskitallatar*) from an **eshanittara-* 'blood relative' containing *eshar* 'blood' and IE **-ter-* of terms or relationship (cf. rare Hitt. *-tara-* in agent nouns, besides *-talla-*). Not only is *ishani-* unexplained as to form; there is simply no question of blood ties to the writer, merely of in-law relations extraneous to the writer's family (the bridegroom would be the writer's ^{1U}*kaena-* 'in-law', not even his *LÚ hassannas-sas* 'clansman').

ishanattalla- (c.), nom. sg. *is-ha-na-at-tal-la-as* (*KUB XXI* 19 III 8) may be the productive agent noun from the same verb **ishanai-* (cf. e.g. *ishamatalla-* 'singer' from *ishamai-* 'sing'). Literally 'binder', possibly 'the one who marries off a daughter' (vel sim.; cf. *ibid.* 7 *DAM-YA* 'my wife'). *ishanalli-* (c.), nom. sg. *is-ha-na-al-lis* (1490/u, 11 *n-as-mu ishanallis estat*; cf. *ibid.* 12: *ishanattallas*) must have similar yet distinct meaning.

^{1UW-2.114} connected *ishanattalla-* (denom. agent noun) and *ishanalle-* (inchoative from **ishanala-* 'murderer') with *eshar* 'blood'.

isharisk(i)-, isharesk(i)-, 3 sg. pres. midd. *is-ha-ri-is-kat-ta-ri*, *is-ha-ri-es-kat-ta-ri* (*KBo XXII* 114, 5-6 U) *KÜ-an* ^D*Ishara*[z...] [...]*as ishariskattar*[i; *ibid.* 8-9] ^D*Ishara mān* *UKÜ*[-...] [...]*ishariskat*[tari; *ibid.* 11-12] *UKÜ-an* ^D*Ishar*[az ...] [... *is*] *hareskattari*).

Interpretation hinges on *KUB XXX* 26 I 1-2 *mān UKÜ-an* ^D*Isharaz* *GIG-zī n-as isharishari namma-as aki* 'if it ails a man from the goddess Isharas, and he ?, (but) then he dies ...' (cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 100; Neu, *Interpretation* 75; Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 15), where *isharishari* is preceded by what looks like an erasure for the determinative *D(INGIR)*. Such a 3 sg. pres. midd. from a stem *isharish-* is strange, whether based on a denominal abstract noun **isharesha-* from *Ishara-* (Laroche, *JCS* 21:177 [1967]), or a deverbative **isharisha-* from a denom-

inal verb **ishariy(a)-* (Oettinger, *MSS* 34:135, 148 [1976]), or an **isharesha-* from an inchoative **ishares-(ski-)* (Tischler, *Glossar* 383-4), or haploglogically on an iterational **ishar-ishar-ari* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:548). More probably *isharishari* is a product of scribal absent-mindedness, i.e. rote repetition of signs *is-ha-ri-is-ha-ri* in lieu of the intended *is-ha-ri-is-kat-ta-ri*.

But a denominative mediopassive verb *ishariya-* (iter. *ishariski-*) 'be Ishara-ized' is itself odd and pleonastic; it has to mean something more and other than 'be zapped by Isharas' (which is already expressed by *UKÜ-an* ^D*Isharaz* *GIG-zī*). Possibly *ishariskattari*, *ishareskattari*, rather than being denominative, is a compound of ^(D)*Ishara-* and 3 sg. pres. midd. *iskattari* of *iski(ya)-* 'smear, daub' (as in *IBoT III* 148 I 67 and 68), meaning thus 'is administered the (antidotal) Ishara-salving', on the ethnomedical principle *ὁ τρόπος ἰάσεται*; the ministrant of such (apparently often futile) countermeasures may have been the *is-ha-ra-al-li-is* of *KUB XXX* 28 + *XXXIX* 23 Vs. 13 and 16 (cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 94, 144, and e.g. *parnalli-* 'houseboy' from *parn-* 'house'). On Isharas see Laroche, *Recherches* 51, and Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 12-6; she was a destroyer-healer of Sumerian-Hurrian provenance, ambivalent in the manner of the Greek Apollo or the Vedic Rudra-Śiva, neither 'goddess of medicine' (Laroche) nor necessarily exclusively baleful (Burde).

^{1aeschivv} ¹ *CLs-E1*
ishawar, ishaur (n.), nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIS}*is-ha-a-u-wa-ar* (fragmentary *KUB XXXIII* 81 I 3, followed *ibid.* 4 by 1 ^{GIS}*šUDUN* 1 ^{GIS}*APIN* 'one yoke [and] one plow'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:80 [1965]), ^{GIS}*is-ha-a-u-wa-ar* (*XLIII* 34,5, and in 702/z, 3 *ishauwar-samit*), nom.-acc. pl. ^{GIS}*is-ha-a-ur-ra* or ^{GIS}*ishāurr-a* with 'and' (*KBo XXIII* 52 III 3-6 *nu kuissa* ^{LÚ}*ALAM K[axUD ishā]ur harzi* ^{GIS}*ishāurra* [...] *K]Ü.BABBAR-it halissian* 1 *GÍN.GÍN* [*K.L.LAL A*]^{MUSEN} *šUNU laksenis-(s)mis-a Z[ABA]R* 'each actor holds an i.; the i.'s [are] plated with silver; their eagle-weight is one shekel, and their 1. [is] of bronze').

Judging from the contexts, the object may have been a mythically conceived or ritually displayed and manipulated

(miniature) yoke-plow set, intrinsically wooden but ornamentally encased or elaborated with metals, thus perhaps literally 'tie-in, combination', detailed as '1 yoke + 1 plow'. Such a dual contraption is reminiscent of the talismanic golden plough-yoke combination (ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγόν) which fell from the heavens in the Scythian legend of origins (Herodotus 4:5).

Conceivably isolated verbal noun from *isha- 'bind' beside *ishiya-*, *ishai-*; just as the latter two stems match Ved. present *śvāti* and perfect (*si*)*śāya* respectively, *isha- represents a thematization of the non-suffixed root *seE₂- 'bind', thus *sE₂-é/ô-, besides the nonthematic Vedic aorist stem *sā-* (see s.v. *ishiya-*). A parallel verbal noun *ishatar may underlie the possible infinitive *ishanna* in KUB XXI 38 Vs. 14 *apedas-an-kan kuwapi UL GAM-an isha[nm]a tarahmi* 'whereas I cannot join him to those [in marriage]' (cf. W. Helck, JCS 17:88 [1963]; R. Stefanini, Atti ... La Colombaria 29:6-7 [1964]).

ishiya-, ishai- 'bind, wrap; obligate with, impose upon' (Akk. *rukkušu* [rakāsu] in KBo I 38 Rs. 5 and 7; also Akk. *emēdu*, KUB III 119 Vs. 10 *ishiyān harta*=III 14 Vs. 9 *immidu* 'had imposed'; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:6), 1 sg. pres. act. *ishihhi* (KBo XVIII 74, 2), 3 sg. pres. act. *ishāi* (e.g. KUB XIII 15 Rs. 4 [= Code 2:58] *sēpan ishāi* 'he binds sheaves'; XII 58 III 26 *ser anda*] ... *ishāi* 'she wraps up'; cf. Goetze, Tunnawi 18; KBo X 45 II 12 *anda ishāi*; cf. Otten, ZA 54:122, 148 [1961]), *ishiyazi* (XXI 34 I 58; cf. Lebrun, Hethitica II 119), *ishiyazzi* (KUB XXXIV 26, 16), *ishivezzi* (XXXIII 67 I 5; cf. Laroche, RHA 23:135 [1965]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ishianzi* (e.g. XVII 12 III 18 *šU.HI.A ishianzi* 'they tie the hands'), *ishianzi* (e.g. KBo VI 2 IV 43 [= Code 1:94] *tepu-ssi ishianzi* 'they impose little on him'), *ishanzi* (e.g. VI 2 IV 42 [= Code 1:94]), also misspelled *ishianza* (VI 26 II 6 [= Code 2:58]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ishiyānūn* (e.g. III 3 I 18 *nu-ssi* ... *ishiul* ... *ishiyānūn* 'I placed an obligation on him'; cf. H. Klengel, Orientalia N.S. 32:34 [1963]), *ishihhun* (III 4 III 26 and 31 *nu-smas-kan ERIN.MEŠ ishihhun* 'I imposed troop-levy on them'; cf. V 8 II 3; Götze, AM 74, 76, 152), *ishihun* (KUB XXI 48 Rs. 7), 3 sg. pret. act. *ishiyat* (e.g. KBo VI 29 II 35 *n-an ishiyat n-an-mu parā pesta* 'she

bound him and handed him over to me'; cf. Götze, Hattusilis, 50), 2 pl. pret. act. *is-ha-is-te-en* (XII 22, 11 *nu-mu]-ssan kē- iukan ishaiste[n* 'you have bound this yoke on me'; cf. Otten, ZA 55:158, 163 [1962]), 3 pl. pret. act. *ishiyer* (VI 34 I 26), 2 pl. imp. act. *is-hi-ya-at-tin* (X 45 II 8 GİR.M]EŠ-ŠU ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU *ishiyat-tin* 'bind [its] feet and hands'; cf. Otten, ZA 54:122 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ishiandū* (VI 34 I 24 ŠU.MEŠ-ŠUNU *ishiandū* 'they shall bind their hands'; cf. Friedrich, ZA 35:162 [1924]; Oettinger, Eide 6), *ishiyandū* (ibid. 28); partic. *ishiyant-*, nom. sg. c. in V 9 I 29-30 *arkammass-a-kan kuis* ... *ishiyanza ēsdu* 'the tribute which shall be imposed' (cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:12, 35), acc. sg. c. *ishiyantan* (e.g. XIX 145 III 39; cf. Haas - Thiel, Rituale 302), *ishiyandan* (e.g. ibid. 45; cf. Laroche, RHA 28:59-60 [1970]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. in e.g. V I II 30 *īšTU šīG anda ishiyan* 'wrapped in wool' (cf. ibid. 15 and Sommer - Ehelolf, Pāpanikri 6*), nom. pl. c. *ishiyantis* (HT I I 31; dupl. KUB IX 31 I 38; cf. B. Schwartz, JAOS 58:336 [1938]), *ishiyantes* (e.g. XV 11 II 6), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ishiyanta* (IX 28 IV 2), *ishiyanda* (KBo XIV 23, 4; XV 48 II 13; XVII I IV 20; cf. Otten - Souček, Altheth. Ritual 36); verbal noun *ishiya(u)war* (I 38 Rs. 5 and 7; I 42 II 3), *is-hi-es-sa(r)* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *ishessa-mitt-a* (KUB XXX 10 Vs. 7; KBo XXI 22 Rs. 45 *ishessa-ssit*; cf. G. Kellerman, Tel Aviv 5:200 [1978]; for dropping of -r cf. e.g. *hanessa[r]* s.v. *han-* and see s.v. *iyatar*), instr. sg. *ishesnit* (473/t Vs. 14; cf. H. A. Hoffner, Essays on the Ancient Near East in memory of J. J. Finkelstein 105 [1977]), *ishesnant-* (c.), nom. pl. *ishesnantes* (473/t Vs. 11 SA)G.DU-ann-a *ishesnantes appanzi* 'the bindings clasp the head'; iter. *ishiski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *ishiskimi* (KUB IX 27+ VII 8 I 19; KBo XVI 24+25 I 51 *nu-s]mas ke* ^{PUTU-Šr} *kue ishiul ishiskimi* 'the obligations which I the king am placing on you'), 3 pl. pres. act. *ishiskan[zi* (XVII 36 III 5; cf. Neu, Altheth. 123), 3 pl. pres. midd. in KUB XXV 17 I 5 UR.MAH.HI.A *kuedani pidi ishiskanta* 'to the spot where the lions are bound ...' (cf. Neu, Interpretation 74). Cf. Kronasser, Etym. 1:486, 302, 289. *ishimin(a)-, isham(a)-* *ishima(n)-, ishiman(a)-, ishimen(a)-, ishamin(a)-* (c.) 'string, line, cord, rope, strap' (*ishimanas*=Akk. *eblu* in KBo I 45 Vs. 1), nom. sg. ^{KUŠ}*ishimās* (XVII 15 Rs. 11 I ^{KUŠ}*ishimās ina*

SAG.DU-ŠU *nēanza* 'one [leather] strap [is] placed around [the cow's] head'; cf. V. Haas – M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:82 [1976]; Neu, *Altheth.* 73), acc. sg. *ishimanan* (XX 40 V 9), *i|shimenan* (988/u, 7), *ishaminan* (KUB XVII 27 II 31–32 *n-an* *ishaminan* GIM-an anda taruppeskit 'he folded it up like a rope'; cf. *ibid.* 34 and Götze, *KIF* 222), instr. sg. *ishimanit* (KBo XVII 60 Vs. 3), *ishimanda* (KUB XVII 28 I 31), *ishimanta* (XVII 5, 15; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:67 [1965]), abl. sg. *ishimanaz* (XXXVI 55 II 16), nom. pl. ^{KUS}*ishimānes* (KBo XVII 15 Rs. 10 [OHitt.]). For the declension, cf. e.g. nom. sg. *haras*, gen. sg. *haranas*, nom. pl. *hāranis*; that the word is basically an *-n-* stem is proved by the instr. sg. *ishimant/da* (cf. KUB XII 21, 11 *istamanta*, XIII 4 III 47 *wedanda*; see e.g. Ehelolf, *IF* 43:316–7 [1926]; Friedrich, *HE* 57–8, 45). Possible deriv. adj. *ishammenas*[-si- 'rope-related, line-shaped, funiform, restiform' (VIII 75 I 49), cf. *ibid.* 56 the gloss-wedged (Luroid) form *ashaimmattanassis* (but contrast Luw. *hishiya-* 'bind'). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:182, 195–7, 228; Laroche, *RHA* 9:20 (1948); Souček, *Arch. Or.* 27:8, 10, 380 (1959); Oettinger, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 165–8 (1982).

ishiyani- (c.) '(body-)hair', nom. pl. *ishiyanius* (KUB XIII 19, 5), *is-hi-e-ni-us* (XIII 4 III 62). Cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 150–1; Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:364, 386 (1934); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:222.

ishiyal- (n.) 'bond, band, belt', nom.-acc. sg. (also pl.?) neut. *ishiyal* (KUB VII 53 I 13; KBo III 34 I 20 TUG-ZUNU TUG^{ishiyal}-semett-a kuit natta esha[s]kanta 'how come their garment[s] and their belt[s] [are] not bloodied?'), abl. sg. *ishiyalaz* (e.g. I BoT 120 III 2–3 *ishiyantan-ma-an-kan ishiyalaz arha lāwen* 'we freed him who was bound from the bond'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 144). Especially 'head-band', = TUGBAR.SI, cf. KUB IX 15 III 2–3 *nu-smas* SAG.DU.MEŠ IŠTU TUGBAR.SI BABBAR anda *ishiyanzi* 'they wrap their heads with a white band'. Cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 4, 49–50, *Sommer Corolla* 50, 61–2; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:323.

ishiul- (n.) 'binding; obligation, injunction; statute; treaty', nom.-acc. sg. (also pl.) neut. *is-hi-ū-ul* (e.g. XIV 12 IV 29–31 *nu-kan* ... [ish]iūl istarni-summi *ishiyat* '[he] concluded a treaty between them'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:98 [1956]; KUB XIX 29

IV 9 ŠA ABI-ŠU-ya-wa-za *ishiul* 1101 'he knew his father's injunction'; cf. Götze, *AM* 18; VI 44 IV 23 *ishiul-a ēs* [du 'let [it] be [your] injunction'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:138; XIX 49 I 60–61 *nu-tta*] *zilatya kī ishiul ēsdu* 'let this in the future be your treaty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:10), gen. sg. *is-hi-ū-la-as* (e.g. XIX 49 IV 52; XXI 1 II 8; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 24–5, on *ishiulas tuppi* 'treaty-tablet'), *ishi*ullas (XXI 5 II 15; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:18, 58), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *is-hi-ū-lihla* (XXXII 133 I 4). Perhaps borrowed in OAssyr. *ishiul(l)um* (Kultepe) 'wage-agreement' (cf. e.g. Landsberger, *Arch. Or.* 18.1–2:342 [1950]; N. van Brock, *RHA* 20:114 [1962]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:138). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:325; V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* 21–35 (1931).

ishiulahh- 'bind by treaty; enjoin, instruct', 3 pl. pres. act. *ishiul(l)ahhanzi* (e.g. KBo II 2 IV 35 *asi INIM SUM-annas kissan ishiulahhanzi* 'the aforementioned matter of giving they enjoin thus'; KUB V 3 I 9, 34, etc.; cf. Götze, *AM* 249–50), 1 sg. pret. act. in KBo IV 4 III 68 *nu-za* DUTU-ŠI KARAŠ.HLA *ishiullahhun* 'I, my majesty, enjoined the armies' (cf. Götze, *AM* 132); partic. in KUB XIII 35 I 31 *apedani-ya memini ishiulahhanza* 'instructed in this matter'. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:428.

ishuz(z)i- (c.) 'band, belt, girdle', nom. sg. *ishuzis* (KBo XII 126 I 18; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22), acc. sg. *ishuzzin* (e.g. KUB II 6 IV 6 *nu-za ishuzzin* KÜ.BABBAR ... *dāi* 'he takes a silver belt'), gen. sg. (?) *ishuzziass-a* (KBo XVI 78 IV 11), *ishuzziyas* (VI 26 II 19–20 [= Code 2:75] *ishuzziyass-a* Ūl. *kuiski epzi* 'and none will seize by the belt', lit. '[what is] of the belt'), *ishuzziya-* 'to gird', 3 sg. pres. act. *ishuzziyaizzi* (Bo 283³ III 27–28 *ishuzzin-a-za-kan ishuzziyaizzi* 'girds himself with a belt'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260), 3 sg. imp. act. *ishuziddu* (KBo XII 126 I 19); partic. *ishuzziyant-* (e.g. KUB IX 28 I 16 *šig za.gin ishuzziyanza* '[she is] girt with blue wool'; HT 1 I 32 *ištu* GIR-ya-ssan *kuyēs ishuzziyantes* 'those girt with sword'; Bo 272⁴ II 6 *TAHAPŠi ishuzziyan harzi* 'he has girded himself with a t.'; cf. Goetze, *Sommer Corolla* 48, 58). Cf. J. Holt, *Bi. Or.* 15:149 (1958); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:241. For an alternative postulation of a verbal noun *ishuzzi(y)assa(r)* see Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 208–9 (1982).

Luw. 3 pl. pres. act. *hishiyanti* (*KUB IX 31 II 24*; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:340 [1938]), matching Hitt. partic. nom. pl. c. *ishiyantis* (*IX 31 I 38*; *ibid.* 336). Cf. Otten, *LTU* 16, *Bestimmung* 44–5; *Dict. louv.* 46. Also Hier. *hishimin* (1 pl.?; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 1:61, 64; Laroche, *HH* 22).

The *i-* in *ish-* is either phonetically or orthographically prothetic (cf. e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:48). Cf. IE **seE₂-* 'bind' (*IEW* 891–2; Ved. *ásāt* 'he bound', *sātum* 'to bind', RV *ava-sātār-* 'unbinder'), suffixed **séE₂-y-* (Avest. *hāy-* 'bind'), **sE₂-é/óy-* (Ved. *sayatvám* 'binding', RV *setár-* 'binder', *setu-* 'bond', Lat. *saeta* 'coarse hair, bristle', ON *seiðr* 'line, rope; magic', *seil* 'cord, rope, fetter', Lith. *siėti* 'bind', *saĩtas* 'band, string'), **sE₂-y-* (Ved. *syāti* 'bind'), **sE₂-ī-* (Ved. *sitá-* 'bound' [unless from **sE₂-tó-*], Gk. *ἰμᾶς* 'strap', Avest. *himu-* 'bond, fetter', OE *sinu* 'sinew'; Skt. *simán-* 'parting of the hair; boundary', ON *sīmi*, OE *sīma* 'string, band, bond'). Speculations on further root extensions and cognates in Puhvel, *Lg.* 35:649–50 (1959) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 59–60 (1981), *LIEV* 39; cf. Cowgill, *Lg.* 39:256 (1963). See also s.v. *ishamai-*.

3 sg. *ishiyazzi* matches Ved. *syāti*; *ishāi* < **sE₂óye* (cf. RV perf. *siṣāya*); Luw. 3 pl. *hishiyanti* shows an intensive reduplication characteristic of Luwian verbs (cf. e.g. *pipissa-*, *wiwidai-*; cf. *Dict. louv.* 143), repeating the second consonant of an initial cluster with *s-* (cf. Skt. *tiṣṭhati*); *ishima(n)-* < **sE₂ī-me/on-* (cf. Skt. *simán-*); for *ishiyani-*, cf. Lat. *saeta* 'bristly hair' (cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 35:101 [1976]); in *ishuzzi-* the non-suffixed zero-grade **sE₂-* > *ish-* may appear before the suffix *-uzzi-*, unless it be "reductional" for **ishi-uzzi-*.

Of the many discussions of this etymology, cf. e.g. Kuryłowicz, *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* 101 (1927), *Études* 74; P. Kretschmer, *KIF* 10; Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.* 1 246–7; Couvreur, *Hett.* 197–8; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 114–5; Zgusta, *Arch. Or.* 19:453 (1951); Lehmann, *PIEP* 26; E. Risch, *Sommer Corolla* 194; Čop, *Die Sprache* 6:5–6 (1960); Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:52–3 (1961); Mayrhofer, *IF* 70:248 (1965); G. Jucquois, *Orbis* 16:173–5 (1967).

Sturtevant's connection (*IHL* 51, *Comp. Gr.* 2 51) of *ishai-* with Avest. *yāsta-*, Gk. *ζωστός*, Lith. *jūostas* 'girt', etc. (*IEW*

513), involving an "Indo-Hittite" metathesis of laryngeal and accepted by Lehmann, *PIEP* 77, and E. Polomé, *RPhH* 30:468 (1952), is unlikely.

Ivanov's suggestion (*Obščeeindoevropskaja* 89–90) that *ish-iul* may be analyzed *ishiu-l* and compared with RV+ *syūman-* 'band, thong, suture', *sūtra-* 'thread', Gk. *ὑμῖν*, etc., is improbable, since the suffix *-ul* is productive in Hittite (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:325–6) and there is no evidence of any Hittite verbal derivative of IE **sīw-*, *syū-* (*IEW* 915–6); for possible nominal cognates, see s.v. *suwel-* and *sum(m)anza(n)-*.

Cf. *sesha-*; *iyasha-*; *ishamai-*; *ishanittarātār*; *ishawar*; *ishunawar*.

ishuna- verb. – see *iskuna-*

ishunāi- – see *ishida-*

ishunawar (n.) 'sinew, bowstring' (*UZUSA?*), nom.-acc. sg. *ishu-*

nauwar (*KBo X 37 II 32–33 nu-ssi ishunauwar siyauwar pesten* NS

nu-ssi suhmilin give him bowshot [lit. 'bowstring-shooting';

cf. *arkuwar tiyauwar* 'plea-presentation'], [give] him *arrow*),

ISHUNAU-(E.) *ishunāu* (secondary stem patterned on oblique cases, if correct)

in *KUB VII 58 I 11 is-hu-na-a-us-mi-it Gi-za* 'their bowstring

[and] arrow'), gen. sg. or pl. *ishunauwas* (571/u, 8 *ishunauwas*

Gi[G-an 'illness of sinew[s]'), *ishunauwas* (*Bo 2351 IV 5; 125/r II*

7; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 93:76 [1962]; *KUB IX 4 I 25*), *ishunas* (*IX*

34 II 25; perhaps "compressed" or erroneous spelling), dat.-

loc. sg. *is-hu-na-u-i* (*XXV 37 II 8*), *is-|hu-na-ú* (*Bo 2139 + KUB*

IX 4 I 6; cf. *ZA* 71:130 [1981]). Deriv. noun (with "animate"

-nt- extension) *ishunauwant-* (c.) 'sinew', nom. sg. in *IX 4 I 25*

ishunauwanza ishūnauwas GiG-an 'sinew (will take away) illness

of sinew'. Cf. Laroche, *OLZ* 57:30–1 (1962), *BSL* 57:1:28

(1962). Alp (*Anatolia* 2:21–4 [1957]) wrongly posited 'abdo-

men, trunk'. Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:251, 260, 429, *WZKM* 62:312

[1969]) persisted in translating by 'upper arm'. *GA 6.//HALP: 237–40* still plumped

ishunawar follows the declension pattern of the great mass of

neuters in *-war* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:297–308) but has no truck

with the verb *ishuna(hh)-* or *iskuna(hh)-* (q.v.; wrongly Kro-

nasser, *Etym.* 1:302). Laroche (*OLZ* 57:31 [1962]) first sug-

gested a connection with IE 'sinew' seen in Ved. *snāvan-*, Avest.

snāvarā, Toch. B *ṣñaura*, Arm. *neard*, Gk. *νερά*, Lat. *nervus*.

Perhaps *ishunawar* < **ishnawar* (with *u* anaptyxis in cluster before labial *w*) < IE **sH₁nówr* (as conceivably in Vedic and Avestan under “Brugmann’s law” [*ā* < **o*], as an alternative to **sH₁něwr* or **sH₁nēwr*-. IE **snēw*- (IEW 977) as an extension of **snē*- (IEW 973; Skt. *snāyu*- ‘sinew’, Lat. *neō* ‘spin’, etc.) must give way to **sH₁new*-, or possibly **snew*- if **snawar* < IE **snówr* was “contaminated” with forms of *ishiya*- ‘bind’ (q.v.; *ish*- < **sE₂*-), e.g. *ishuzzi*- ‘band’ (IEW 891; cf. OE *sinu* ‘sinew’, Skt. *syāti* ‘bind’, etc.); such folk-etymological interference would then also account for the *u* of *ishunawar*. Gusmani’s assumption (KZ 86:266 [1972]) of “laryngeal metathesis” in /*ishnau*/ < **snoH*-w- is improbable. Cf. Oettinger, MSS 35:93–7 (1976); Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 38:351 (1981). L. Isebaert (KZ 96:59–60 [1982/3]) wrongly compared Skt. *sānu*- : Gk. *vȏtov* ‘back’.

Cf. *istagga*-.

ishu- (MS, see 563 L. 134)

ishuwa(i)- ‘shed, throw, scatter, pour’, *arha ishuwa(i)-* ‘throw away, dump, discard, jettison’. 1 sg. pres. act. *ishuwahhi* (KUB XV 11 II 8–9 [nu] ANA DINGIR-LIM DUG^{harsiyalli} INA URU^{KU}. BABBAR-ti Ū INA URU^{Hakmis} *ishuwahhi* ‘to the(e) goddess, I shall pour into a pithos at Hattusas and Hakmis’; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:49 [1972]; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:16 [1973]; IX 25 + XXVII 67 I 3 [bis]), *ishuhhi* (e.g. XXXI 84 III 62–63 NUMUN-wa^{MS} -nu pai nu-war-at-za-kan ammel A.ŠA-ni-mi [an]da aniyami 2 sg. pres. act. *ishuwahhi* ‘give me seed[grain], and I shall plant it in my field, and further scatter[-sow] it copiously’ [figura etymologica, see sub verbal noun *ishuessar* below; cf. Laroche, RA 43:73 [1949]; von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 49, 57), 3 sg. pres. act. *ishuwai* (e.g. KBo II 9 IV 5 EGIR-ŠU-ma-kan memal ANA TUL^{and} *ishuwai* ‘thereafter he throws groats into the well’; KUB XXIX 1 IV 18–19 nu hurpastanus *arha Ūl ishuwai* ‘[the tree] does not shed its leaves’; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia N.S.* 16:38 [1947]; XXIV 9 II 19–20 pūrut *ser ishuwai* nu istalakzi ‘she pours on clay and smoothes [it]’; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 34), *ishuwāi* (e.g. KBo V 2 II 19–20 memall-a *arha ishuwāi*

‘pours away groats’; cf. *ibid.* 20 *ser suhhai* ‘pours on’; IBoT II 39 Rs. 26 and 27 *ser ishuwāi*; KBo XXIII 10 IV 22 *ser ishuwāi*; *ibid.* 18 *hūmanta ishuwāi* ‘pours all things’; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 38], *is-hu-u-wa-i* (e.g. KUB II 7 I 12 *t-as-kan id-i anda ishuwai* ‘he throws them [viz. *ibid.* 4 *passilus* ‘pebbles’] into the river’; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:62 [1976]; XLIV 61 Rs. 10–11 *petesni-ma-ka[n ...] ser anda ishuwai* ‘but into the hole he pours in above’; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; VII 54 III 19–21 EGIR-*anda-ma-kan* ^{GIS}BAN *huittiyanzi nu-kan* GL.Ū.TAG.GA *ti-yanzi* GL.Ū.TAG.GA.HI.A-*ma piran katta ishuwai* ‘afterwards they stretch the bow and place the arrow, and it sheds forth arrows’), *is-hu-u-wa-a-i* (e.g. XLIV 63 II 19 *n-at-kan kattanta ishuwāi* ‘pours it underneath’; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30; XXXVI 89 Vs. 9 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*kan* KAŠ GEŠTIN NIG.GIG *tepanwaza hattesni* GAM-*anda ishuwāi* ‘thick bread, beer, wine, liver in small amounts he pours down into the hole’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; KBo XIX 128 I 14–16 *purpurus* GA.KIN.AG ^{GIS}INBI.HI.A NINDA-*ya šapal* LUGAL *ishuwāi* ‘one scatters lumps [of] cheese, fruits, and bread under the king’; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 25, and X 24 IV 26–28 nu LÚ ^{GIS}PA *paizzi* NINDA *purpurus* LUGAL-*i kattann suhhai* ‘the staff-man goes and scatters bread-lumps under the king’; XXI 17, 14–15 *anda lāhui [...i] shuwāi* ‘pours in [a liquid] ... pours’; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 36; KUB XXVII 29 I 12–14 *n-at-kan dampūpi* UKÜ-si ^{TUG}seknus *ishuwāi auszi-ma-at Ūl kuiski n-at-kan id-i anda ishuwāi* ‘then she throws a cloak on the bumpkin; but nobody sees it, and he [?] throws it into the river’; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 134–6), *is-hu-ū-a-i* (dupl. KBo XXIII 23 Vs. 59 [n-at-kan] *id-i pidai n-at id-i* EGIR-*an* [ish]uui ‘takes it to the river and throws it back of the river’), *is-hu-i* (II 3 II 31–32 sig ZA.GIN-[y]a-*kan pessiyazi karsann-a-kan anda ishui* ‘she tosses [away] the blue wool and throws the cut [portion] in [to the doughbowl]’), *is-hu-u-wa-a-iz-* -zi (HT 5, 6 -*kan* IZI-*i ishuwāizzi* ‘throws into the fire’), 1 pl. pres. act. *is-hu-wa-i-wa-a-ni* (KUB XXXII 117 Rs. 10 + KBo XIX 156 Vs. 18; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222), 3 pl. pres. act. *ishuwanzi* (e.g. KUB XV 34 IV 45 *kattan ishuwanzi*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 206; IBoT III 148 III 9 GAM-*anda ishuwanzi*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 222; KUB XXIX 1 III 21 *mān-kan saman-us-ma*

is-hu-u-a-i
(KUB 24 V 6; cf. Singer
Festival 2:20)
is-hu-a-i
(2413/12; see s.v. *hapa*-)

ishuwanzi 'but when they pour the foundations'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:34 [1947], and the synonymous Akk. *uššē nadū*, *is-hu-u-wa-an-zi* (e.g. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 2 [n-]asta *mahhan samanushishuwanzi*; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 76; *HT* I IV 9 [weteni anda MUN *ishuwanzi* 'they pour salt into the water'; *KBo* XXI 34 II 33 ^{GIS}INBL.HI.A-ya-kan ^{GIS}irhuuiti kattan *ishuwanzi* 'and fruits they pour down into the basket'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* II 120; *KUB* XIII 4 IV 22–24 *sumel-ma-as-kan halkius hūmandus arha danzi n-as-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ-as KISLAH. MEŠ-as anda *ishuwanzi* 'they will take away all your grains and pour them into the granaries of the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:392 [1934]; VII 24 Vs. 6 GIM-an zenas DÜ-ri ^{DUG}harsiyali-kan *ishuwanzi* 'when fall comes, they pour into the pithos'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:23 [1973]; XXV 44 II 29–32 *nu SAHAR.HI.A-us sarā danzi n-as arha ishuwanzi kuedani-ma-as pidi ishuwanzi n-at ŪL kuitki tuqqāri* 'they take up the cremains and dump them; but on what spot they dump them, that is of no account'), *ishuwānzi* (e.g. VII 49, 3 -]asta SAHAR.HI.A-us parā *ishuwānzi*; XV 31 III 52 kattan *ishuwānzi*, with dupl. XV 32 IV 11 i]shuwanzi; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 164–5), *ishuwānzi* (*KBo* XV 34 II 11–12 *n-as dammili-ya p[edi] pedanzi n-as arha ishuwānzi* 'they take them to another place and throw them away'), 1 sg. pret. act. *ishuhhun* (VIII 70, 6 INBU-ya *ishuhhun*^{ms} 'and fruit I poured'; dupl. *KUB* XV 34 II 44 *ishuhhun*; cf.^{ms} Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), *is-hu-u-uh-hu-un* (XVII 10 III 7 ŠA^{ms} ^DKamrusepa UDU.NITA.HI.A-šur *ishuhhun* 'I have thrown the rams of K.', viz. into the 'sieve of a thousand holes' [ibid. 6]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:94 [1965]), 3 sg. pret. act. *ishuwais* (*KUB* XXXIV 26 Rs. 10–11 = *KBo* XIV 3 IV 35–36 *n-an arha ishuwais* [...] ^{LU}KUR sārur[a...] *ishuwais* 'jettisoned them ... the enemy jettisoned the booty'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:76 [1956]; *KUB* XLIX 60 II 11 *nu pat]tar arha ishuwais* 'he discarded the dish'), *ishuwas* (2030/c + 1703/c + Vs. 3b–4b [OHitt.] ^DUTU-us-wa-a^{URU} ^{URU}Lihzini wetet mu-war-us-za-kan *ishuwas samānus* 'the sun-god, he built for himself at L.; for himself he poured them, the foundations'; cf. ibid. 1–2 *mān-asta samānus suhhanzi* 'when they pour the foundations'; Kammenhuber, *RHA* 20:2 [1962]), *is-hu-u-wa-as* (XXXIII 53, 13; cf. Laroche, *RHA*

23:141 [1965]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ishuwaittat* (*KBo* VIII 96 Vs. 1 *ishu]waittat*[t, ibid. 2 i]shuwaitt[at], 3 pl. pret. act. *ishuwāir* (*KUB* XXIX 54 IV 5 and 11; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 228; XXVI 84 II 9 *n-ah-kan arha ishuwāir* 'and they discarded it'), *is-hu-u-wa-a-ir* (dupl. *KBo* XIV 1 II 12–14 *nu-kan ABU-YA* [...] *arha*] *ishuwauw[an dāis n-an-kan arha]* *ishuwā[ir* 'my father began discarding ... and they discarded it'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:64 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *is-hu-wa-a-ū* (*KUB* XXXIII 93 + III 24 'let him scatter [gods down from heaven like birds]'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]); partic. *ishuwant-*, nom. sg. c. *ishuwanza* (e.g. *KBo* XXIII 10 IV 20 *nu-kan* 7 ^{NA}passilas anda *ishuwanza* 'seven pebbles [are] thrown in'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 38), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ishuwan* (e.g. *KUB* I 13 III 13–14 *nu-smas kez šā.GAL ishuwan kez-ma-as arranza halkis ishuwan* 'on one side feed is poured for them, but on the other washed barley is poured for them'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 64), *ishuwān* (e.g. *KBo* V 2 I 27–28 and 28–29 MUN ŪL *ishuwān* 'salt not added'; *KUB* XV 34 I 10; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 182), *is-hu-u-wa-an* (e.g. *KBo* V 1 II 23 *ziz ishuwan* 'spelt [is] poured'; ibid. 35 ^{GIS}INBL.HI.A *ishuwan* 'fruits [are] poured'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 6*, 8*; *KUB* XII 1 IV 22 ^{NA}4 *arha ishuwan* 'stone[work] discarded'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:102 [1978]), *is-hu-u-wa-a-an* (e.g. *HT* 5, 7 MUN *ishuwān*; *KUB* XLII 11 II 14 and 15 *anda ishuwān*; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:101 [1975–6]), nom. pl. c. *ishuwantes* (e.g. *KBo* XV 10 I 2–4 *nu-ssan kedani* 7 EME *isnas ishuwān kedani-ya-ssan* 7 EME *isnas ishuwantes* 'into one [is] thrown seven tongues of dough, and into the other [are] thrown seven tongues of dough'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12), *is-hu-u-wa-an-te-es* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVIII 12 III 10–11 *arha-at ishuwantes esir* 'they [viz. the old icons] had been discarded'; cf. M. Darga, *RHA* 27:7 [1969]; *KBo* II 6 I 11–12 *katta ishuwantes*; *KUB* IX 28 I 13 *anda KÙ.BABBAR TUR* 7 ^{NA}4.HI.A TUR *ishuwantes* 'thrown in [are] a small [piece of] silver [and] seven small stones'; verbal noun *ishuwawar* (n.), gen. sg. *is-hu-wa-wa-as* (*Bo* 2351 IV 12–13 GAM-an *ishuwawas* GAM-an *ishuwanzi* 'what' ^{Fener} is to be thrown down they throw down'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:191 ^{Krenn's Coll.} [1936]), *is-hu-wa-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XII 2 II 6 EZEN *zēni ishuwauwas*

pouring [= filling storage jars]
 'feast of leaf-shedding' in the fall'; misspelled ibid. IV 2
 is-hu-u-wa-u-hu-u-wa-as (!), is-hu-u-wa-u-wa-as (X 92 VI 13 is-hu-u-wa-u-wa-a-as
 (soft; d. 44 Beiträge 164)
 kat)tan ishūwauwas ishūwanzi); supine is-hu-u-wa-u-wa-an (KBo
 XIV 1 II 13, quoted sub 3 pl. pret. act. ishūwāir above); verbal
 noun [ishuēssar] (n.) '(out)pouring, heap', nom.-acc. sg. neut. we 58032:342
 ishūēssar (KUB XXXI 84 III 63, quoted sub 1 sg. pres. act. 'Fener'?
 above, in the figura etymologica ishūēssar ishuhhi 'pour a heap', Feuer schützt?
 i.e. 'scatter copiously'), is-hu-u-e-es-sar (119/w Rs. 5-6 ammel is-hu-es-sar
 A.ŠA A.GAR-as anda [...] [...] ish)uwēssar ishūwa[- 'in my field (KUB 32.15 15)
 [and] meadow ... scatter copiously'; cf. Otten, *Sprachliche
 Stellung* 10), dat.-loc. sg. ishuesni 'in a heap, copiously' (KBo
 XVI 60 Rs. 5 [SA]L.SUHUR.LÄL.HLA ishuesni 30 ... 'hierodules in
 a bunch, thirty'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 48; KUB XIV 1
 Vs. 7-8 nu-tta ^{GIS}GIGIR.HLA [...] ŠE.HLA NUMUN.HLA ishuesni
 pi[es]kit KAŠ GEŠTIN.HLA-ya-tta BULÙG BAPPUR.HLA IMZA [GA.
 .KIN.AG.HI.]A ishuesni pis[kit] 'he gave you chariots ... [and]
 seedgrains in a heap, and he gave you beer [and] wine, malt
 [and] barm, rennet [and] cheeses in a heap'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 2,
 62 4), instr. sg. ishūēsnit 'heapwise, copiously' (XIII 2 III
 36 38 nu-ssi-ssan ishūēsnit NUMUN.HLA-it GUD UDU IGL.HLA-wa
 harak namma-an-kan iŠTU GA.KIN.AG IMZI SIG.HLA asnut 'see to
 his needs copiously with seed[grain], cattle, sheep; also keep
 him happy with cheese, rennet, wool'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienst-
 anweisungen* 48, 57); iter. ishueski-, ishuisi-, ishūwaiski-, 3 sg.
 pres. act. ishueskizzi (XXIX 40 IV 22; cf. Kammenhuber,
Hippologia 188), is-hu-u-wa-is-ki-iz-zi (X 72 II 24; KBo X 47c,
 26; context s.v. akkus[s]a), 3 pl. pres. act. is-hu-is-kān-zi (KUB I
 1 IV 73 ^{DUG}harsiyali-ya-kan ishūiskanzi 'and they are pouring
 [into?] jar[s]'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 38); iterative-"durative"
 ishūwan(n)a-, 1 sg. pres. act. ishūwannahhi (e.g. VII 5 II 29-30
 memallass-a damāi ishūwannahhi 'of groats I pour another
 [portion]'; XII 44 III 17 ishūwannah[hi]), 3 pl. pres. act. in XII
 58 III 15-16 n-an id-i [ishūwa]nanzi 'they throw it into the river'
 (?; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 16, who read [ishū]nanzi).

ishuwa(i)- is close in meaning to suhha- (q.v.; used interchan-
 geably in e.g. KUB VI 46 IV 54 ser ishū[wai] and dupl. VI 45 IV
 54 ser suhhai) but distinct from lah(h)u(wai)- 'pour (liquids)',
 although some overlap occurs with e.g. wine and salt and with

reference to the emptying of vessels; it is also distinct from
 pessiya- 'throw, toss' and ispar- 'spread'.

ishuwa(i)- is plausibly a denominative verb from a noun
 *ishu(wa)- matching either Gk. ἰός (<*iōfōs) or Skt. ἰṣu-,
 Avest. iṣu- 'arrow' (note KUB VII 54 III 21 GL.Ú.TAG.GA.HLA-
 -ma piran katta ishūwai 'sheds forth arrows'); cf. Skt. ṣyati,
 ṣṇāti 'impel', and perhaps Gk. ἰνέω 'empty out, purge', IE
 *E₁ey-s- (A₁-) (the laryngeal is present in Ved. ṣ-ṇ-āti, ṣitá-).
 The original paradigm ishūwaizzi (cf. HT 5, 6 ishūwāizzi):
 ishūwanzi has been analogically revamped to ishūwai:
 ishūwanzi under -hi conjugation influence (co-occurrence of e.g.
 pittaizzi and piddāi beside piddanzi). Cf. Kretschmer, *KIF* 10;
 Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:160 (1928), *TAPA* 60:28 (1929), *Lg.* 6:151-2
 (1930); Couvreur, *Hett.* 222; Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 30,
 36.

The attempt by Kurylowicz (*Symbolae grammaticae in
 honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* 102 [1927]) to combine both
 ishūwa- and suhha- (via "laryngeal metathesis") with Skt. suvāti
 'set in motion' proved abortive (for Skt. suvāti see rather s.v.
 suwai-); yet efforts have persisted to join etymologically ishūwa-
 and suhha- (e.g. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 503). Schmitt-
 Brandt's (*Entwicklung* 67) hesitant adduction of IE *seu-
 'press, squeeze' (Skt. sunōti), even combining Gk. ὕει 'it rains'
 and Hitt. sishau- 'sweat', is best forgotten.

isiya(hh)- 'announce, betoken, reveal'; (appa) isiyahh- 'disclose,
 expose, denounce, inform on, "finger"'; isiya- is attested only
 in verbal noun isiyatar (n.) in KUB XVIII 61, 7 kuit isiyatar
 SIXŠA-at 'what revelation had been established'; 3 sg. pres. act.
 i-si-ya-ah-hi (HT 20, 4; KUB XLIII 77 Vs. 14; ibid. 15
 isiyah[hi]), 3 sg. pres. midd. isiyahtari (XIII 9 + XL 62 III 17-18
 appizziyann-a uttar isiyahtari 'and afterwards the matter is
 revealed'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 448 [1959];
 KBo XXVII 16 Rs. 8-9 a[ppi]zziann-a uttar isiyahtari; cf.
 Otten, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 275 [1979]; XV 11 IV 8 iŠTU
 M]UŠEN.HLA isiyahtari 'is revealed by birds'; cf. Kümmel, *1 sg. pres. act.*
Ersatzrituale 70; dupl. KUB XLI 24 Rs. 4 isiyahtari), 2 sg. pret. i-si-ja-ah-hu-un
 (KUB 54.1 12 16)

act. *isiyahta* (619/u, 3–5) *kuit* IZKIM-ahhuwar [...] *zik* ^DUTU AN EN-YA [...] HUL]-lu *isiyahta* ‘which omen-giving [...] thou, sun-god of heaven, my lord [...] hast betokened evil’; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 18), 3 sg. pret. act. *isiahhis* (KUB XXXVI 104 Vs. 11 [OHitt.] and dupl. KBo III 34 I 13 [later copy] *s-an* LÚ ^{URU}Huntarā *isiahhis* ‘a man from H. informed on him’; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 162), *isiyahta* (e.g. KUB XIV 4 IV 25–26 *eni-wa kuit* ^DUTU-us *sakiyahta* [ša SAL.LUGAL-war-at *isiy*]ahta ŪL-wa ša LUGAL-pat *isiyahta* ‘the omen which the sun-god gave betokened [something] for the queen, it did not betoken [anything] for the king’; V 9 Vs. 6 DINGIR-LUM *eni kuitki isiyahta* ‘has the deity in any way denounced this?’; ibid. 12–14 GUD-wa-kan UKÜ-si *ser watkut* 1 GUD-ma-wa-kan ^{GIS}hurki *ser watkut mān* DINGIR-LUM *kī-pat isiyahta nu* ^{MUŠEN}HURRI NU.SIG₅-du ‘a bovine leaped at a man, but one bovine leaped on a wheel; if the deity has denounced this, let the oracular bird be unfavorable!’; cf. ibid. 17–18 GUD.HI.A-wa *kuēs wasteskir nu-war-as-kan ŪL kuennir* DINGIR-LUM *eni kuitki sanahta* ‘the bovines who did abomination, they did not kill them; has the deity avenged that in any way?’; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *AION* 35:339 [1975]; XVI 34 I 9–10 DINGIR-LUM *asi marsastarin isiyahta* ‘the deity has exposed this fraud’; ibid. 16 DINGIR-LUM *asi marsastarrin isiyahta*; cf. Del Monte, *AION* 35:330, 346 [1975]; V 11 I 27, 30, 44; ibid. IV 50; V 24 II 18; VI 31 IV 12), *i-si-ah-ta* (XXIV 5 Vs. 9 [*zik-wa* ^DSIN EN-YA *kuit* IZKI]M-ah-ta *nu-wa mān ammel* HUL-lu *isiahta* ‘as for the fact that you, moon-god my lord, have given an omen, if you have betokened evil for me ...’; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 8; ibid. Rs. 13–14 ^DSIN EN-YA *isiahta-wa* (sic, pro correct dupl. XXXVI 94 Rs. 9 IZKIM-ah-ta-wa) *kuit nu-wa mān ammel* HUL-lu *isiahta*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 12; V 22, 19–22 *asi kuis halwassis* ANA IR-TI ša ^DUTU-ši [...] *kuitki isiahta nu-wa* ^{MUŠEN}.HI.A SIXŠA-andu *nu* ^{MUŠEN}.HI.A [...] *namma-smas-at eseskir iparwassiss-a* IZKIM-ah-ta [...] ša ^DUTU-ši-pat ša NĪ.TE-ŠU *kuinki piddulian isiyah*[ta ‘as for this oracular bird who at his majesty’s request ... revealed something, let the birds confirm it! And the birds ... then did it for them, and the northwesterly one (?) gave a sign ...; it revealed some anguish of his majesty’s being’], 3 sg. pret.

inf.
si-ja-ah-hu-
u-an-zi (632.14)
II (3, 32)

midd. *isiyahtat* (XVI 31 III 4–5 *kī-kan* GIM-an ša ^DUTU ^{URU}T(II.-[na] ša Ū-TI *isiyahtat* ‘as this was revealed by the sun-goddess of Arinna in a dream’), 3 pl. pret. act. *i-si-ya-ah-hi-ir* (V 20 I 3), *i-si-ya-ah-iš* (V 22, 33); verbal noun *i-si-ya-ah-hu-u-wa-ar* (V 11 I 57), gen. sg. *isiahhuwas* (XXXVI 127 Vs. 13–15 ^{KUR}URU ^{URU}Hatti *idālu takkiszi nassu* [KUR ^{URU}Mit] *tkanni* [...] ‘Sun]assuras-an *istamassi n-at-kan* [...] [...] *appa isiyahhu*[was] ‘[if someone] plots evil against Hatti or Mitanni, [and you,] S., hear of him ... it is [your duty] to inform [on him]’, lit. ‘it is [for you a matter] of informing’; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 75–6), dat.-loc. sg. *isiahhuwanni* (VI 4 II 10 ^DU ^{URU}Neriqqa *kuit isiyahhuwanni ser sixšā-at* ‘because the storm-god of Nerik had been singled out for purposes of revelation’); iter. *isi(y)ahhiski-*, *isiahheski-*, *iseahhiski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *isiyahhiskimi* (XIV I Rs. 45–46 *nu-wa-mu mā[n kururas] memian kuis* [memai u]g-a-wa-kan ANA ^DUTU-ši Ū[l. *kuitki sannaskimi namma-war-at*] *appa isiyahhiskimi* ‘if someone says a word to me about hostility, I shall not hide anything from his majesty, I shall moreover fully disclose it’; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 30), 2 sg. pres. act. *i-si-ah-hi-is-ki-si* (XLVIII 123 I 16), *i-si-ah-hi-es-ki-si* (V 22, 52; cf. ibid. 51 *i-si-ah-hi-es-ki[-]*), 3 pl. pres. act. *i-se-ah-hi-is-kān-zi* (IBOT I 33, 2–4 *kinun-ma-za namma kuit* IZKIM.HI.A H[UL].HI.A *kikkistari* ša SAG.DU ^DUTU-ši HUL *iseahhiskanzi* ‘now what further evil omens occur, for the head of my majesty do they betoken evil?’; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:152 [1958]).

isiyahhiskattalla- (c.) ‘denouncer, informer’, nom. sg. *i-si-ya-ah-hi-is-kat-tal-la-as* (KUB XIV 4 III 14 and 16 ANA SAL.LUGAL *isiyahhiskattallas* ‘informer against the queen’), *i-si-ya-ah-hi-es-kat-tal-la-as* (KBo I 30 I 12–13, matching ibid. [Akk.] ša *ina nirti māu* ‘who is full of assassination’; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 12:214–5 [1969]).

The transliterations *i-si-ah-*, *i-se-ah-* are used here rather than *i-si-ih-*, *i-se-eh-*; but the latter are also possible, and instead of a “glideless” spelling *i-si-ah-* one might alternatively have expected *i-si-a-ah-*; *isihhis*, *isihta*, *isihheski-*, *isehhisiki-* may thus have formal reality.

The base-meaning ‘seek (out), track down’, posited by Friedrich (*ZA* 37:197–9 [1927]), led to the tie-in with Skt. *iṣ-*,

V^o KUB 49.104
10

OCS *iskati* 'seek' (IEW 16) by Kurylowicz (*Actes du Premier Congrès international de linguistes* 113 [1928], *Études* 75), which has enjoyed moderate assent (cf. Couvreur, *Hett.* 298; O. Szemerényi, *Glotta* 38:232-8 [1960], but also *Mélanges ... offerts à P. Chantraine* 246 [1972]; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 457) but is effectively eliminated by the more precise semantics established by Kümmel (*Ersatzrituale* 18-9). The central sense is clearly 'announce' and in the mediopassive 'be revealed' (the latter similar in meaning to *istuwā-* 'be[come] manifest' [q.v.]).

The spelling is a notably uniform *i-si-*, where the constant *-s-* indicates [z] or [ž] or [dʰ] which in Hittite is the outcome of **d(h)y* (cf. *asiwant-*, *sakui-*, *sehur* [s.v.]) and quite probably likewise of **g(h)y* (cf. Greek ζ and σσ/ττ). Thus a connection may be made with the Indo-Iranian root **adh-* seen in Skt. *āha* (2 sg. *āttha*) 'spoke', Avest. *āda* 'spoke', OPers. *azdā* 'announcement' (< **adh-tā*), which O. Szemerényi (*Die Sprache* 12:206 [1966]) also tried abortively (as **edh-tu-* under "Bartholomae's law") on Hitt. *istuwā-*. An **edhyo-* 'announcement' would have yielded Hitt. **esa-* or **isa-*, whence a denominative verb *isiya(hh)-* 'make announcement' (cf. e.g. *lahhiyai-* 'go to war' from *lahha-* 'campaign', and *kururiya(hh)-* 'make war'). An *o*-grade parallel might be seen in Gk. *ᾠσα* '(divine or oracular) voice' from **odhyā₂*, usually reconstructed as **wok^wyā₂* but without firm digammatic evidence (Attic *ᾠτα* like *μέλιτα*); with the Hittite ornithomantic usages one might compare *ᾠρνιθοῦς* ... *ᾠσσαῖν* (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1:1087).

Yet the very absence of spellings with *e-* militates against **edh-*. It may therefore be advisable to postulate rather an **ēgyo->*isa-*, cognate with Gk. *ἦ* 'he said', *ἄνωγα* 'bid', Lat. *aiō* 'say (yes), affirm' < **E₁gyō* (IEW 290-1), *adagium* 'proverb', *prōdigium* 'prophetic sign, portent'; except for the vowel grade, Hitt. **isa-* would be identical with Lat. *Aius* (*Locūtius*), the divine Voice who warned the Romans about the impending Gaulish invasion. The semantically related verb *izkim-ah(h)-* = *sakiyah(h)-* 'give an omen' (cf. Lat. *sāgus* 'presaging, prophetic') shows the historically more expectable treatment of *g+y* after heavy syllable under "Sievers's law"; but quite

plausibly the allophonic system of /y/ was morphophonemically disrupted, in derivation layers, as conversely in Lat. *adagium* beside *Aius* after light syllable (*sakiyahh-* is a factitive formation with *-ahh-* from *sagai-* [gen. *sakiyas*] 'omen', whereas *isiya(hh)-* is a thematic denominative with suffix *-y-* from **isa-<*ēgyo-*).

Cf. *izziya-*.

iskalla(i)- 'slit, slash, split, crack, tear, rip, mangle', spelled *is-kal-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *iskallai* (KBo VI 4 I 38-39 *takku ir-an nasma GEME-an GEŠTUG-an kuiski iskallai* 'if someone slashes the ear of a male or female slave'), *is-gal-la-i* (ibid. 37 *takku LU ELLUM GEŠTUG-an kuiski isgallai* 'if someone slashes the ear of a free man'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 52), *iskallāi* (Bo 2981 III 6), *is-kal-la-i-iz-zi* (KUB XII 58 II 16-17 *namma TUG.GU.É.A GE₆-TI kue wassan harzi n-at-si-san^{SA1}ŠU.GI ser katta iskallayizzi* 'then what black shirt he has put on, it on him the old woman slits from top to bottom'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), 3 sg. pres. midd. *iskallari* (KBo VI 3 I 39 [= Code 1:16 [OHitt.] 'slashes', parallel to VI 4 I 39 above), *iskallāri* (dupl. VI 5 I 18; VI 3 I 37 [= Code 1:15, OHitt.], parallel to VI 4 I 37 above; dupl. VI 5 I 16), 3 pl. pres. act. *iskallanzi* (e.g. KUB XXX 19 I 43-44 + XXX 22, 8-9 *GIS¹tarsen-ma arha iskallanzi n-an-san hassi tianzi* 'but the tray they split in two and put it in the fireplace'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 34), 1 sg. pret. act. *iskallahun* (XIII 35 IV 24-25 *mān-ma-wa^{GIS}PISAN iskallahun nasma-wa^{NA4}KIŠIB duwarnahun nasma-wa-za dahhun kuitki* 'but if I have ripped the box or broken the seal or taken something for myself'; similarly ibid. 30-31; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 12), 3 sg. pret. midd. *iskallatta* (KBo VIII 37 Vs. 9 and dupl. KUB XXIII 7 II 2, in fragmentary context; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:99 [1956]), 2 sg. imp. act. *iskalli* (2030/c + 1703/c = Vs. 16b [OHitt.]), 3 sg. imp. act. *is-kal-la-ú* (XXX 36 II 9-10 *arha iskallau* 'let him split [wood]'), 3 pl. imp. act. *is-kal-la-an-du* (156/v, 7); partic. *iskallant-*, nom. sg. c. *iskallanza* (V 7 Rs. 6-8 3 *BIB[RU] istuna₄ arha ishūwan harkanzi* 1 *BIBR[U] arha iskallanza* 'three rhyta of stone they have thrown away, one rhyton [is] badly cracked'),

nom.-acc. sg. n. *iskallan* (1607 II 39 Rs. 20 *ERIN iskallan* 'split cedarwood'), and *iskallisan* (1607 II 11)

nom. pl. c. *iskallantis* (ibid. Vs. 28–29 *iskallantis-wa-kan antuhses* ŠA É DINGIR-LIM *iyantat* ‘slashed people came inside the shrine’), *is-kal-la-an-te-es* (ibid. 36 *-kan kukursantes iskallantes antuhses iyantat* ‘mutilated [and] slashed people came’); inf. *iskalliyawanzi* (615/f 1 13); iter. *iskalliski-*, *isgalleski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *iskalliskizzi* (KBo III 21 I 6), 3 pl. pres. act. *iskalliskanzi* (KUB XXXIX 15 I 9 10 nu ^{TUG}*kaparin za.GIN udanz[i n]-an ANA ALAM piran arha iskalliskanzi n-an arha pessieskanzi* ‘they bring a blue tunic [?] and before the picture tear it apart thoroughly and throw it away’; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 82), 2 sg. imp. act. *is-gal-li-es-ki* (IX 19, 6).

^{TUG}*iskallessar*, ^{TUG}*iskallissar* (n.), properly verbal noun ‘slitting’, hence ‘slit dress’, nom.-acc. sg. ^{TUG}*is-kal-li-es-sar* (e.g. KUB XII 8 I 18; XIII 14 Vs. 10 [= Code 2:82]), ^{TUG}*is-kal-li-is-sar* (dupl. KBo VI 26 II 50), *i[s-ga-al-li(s)-es-sar* (XVIII 187, 5). Cf. Hrozný, *SH* 71, *Code hittite* 139 (1922). For formation cf. ^{TUG}*kuressar* ‘headdress’ (vel sim.), lit. ‘cutting’ (from *kuer-*).

In an inspired hunch already Hrozný (*SH* 71) tentatively connected ^{TUG}*iskallissar* with IE **(s)kel-* ‘split’ (*IEW* 923–7), and Benveniste followed suit for the verb (*BSL* 33:139 [1932]), comparing Gk. *σκάλλω* ‘hoe’, Arm. *ṣelum* ‘split’, Middle Irish *sceilim* ‘slice’, ON *skilja* ‘separate’, Lith. *skėlti* ‘split’. In subsequent literature the only important addition was Frisk’s adduction of ^{GIS}*kalmi-* (q.v.) as ‘fire-log’ (*Indogerm.* 27 = *Kl. Schr.* 57). Besides Arm. *ṣelum* (which exceptionally presupposes **sk-*), *skalim* ‘split, be splintered’ has also been compared (e.g. G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniaca* 127 [1933], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:385 [1956]; T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:222, 225 [1961]). *iskalla-*, like Lith. *skėlti* and *skilti*, may point to **skel-H₂-* or **skl-H₂-* (cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 34:126–7 [1976]).

Relevance of the theonym *Iskali* (paredros or epithet of ^D*Ursui*; cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 52, 63) is uncertain (might be rather *Isk-alli-*); thus A. H. Sayce’s tie-in with Gk. *γάλλοι* ‘eunuch priests of Cybele’ as a Phrygian cognate (*Classical review* 42:161–3 [1928]) was highly speculative (by itself a Phrygian *γάλλος* might be cognate with Gk. *κόλος* ‘docked, cropped, stunted’, with some kind of voice confusion in borrowing [cf. Gk. *κυβερνάω* > Lat. *gubernā-*], ultimately from

**[s]kel-* like Gk. *σκόλος* ‘pointed stake’ or *σκάλη·μάχαιρα* *Θρακία*).

isgapuzzi- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. hapax in a list of cult objects (KUB XII 8 I 16 I *isgapuzzi*, besides ibid. 14 and 15 I *tapulli* ZABAR ‘one bronze cutter’, ibid. 17 I *warpuzi* ZABAR ‘one bronze bathing-utensil’, ibid. 18 I ^{TUG}*iskallessar* ‘one slit dress’).

Instrument noun in *-uzzi-* (cf. e.g. *warpuzi-*, *ispanduzzi-*) from a verbal root **isgap-* (cf. Laroche, *JKF* 1:181 [1950]). It is conceivable that such a root should be accepted as spelled (3 sg. pres. act. *is-ga-a-pi*) in KUB X 63 I 26 *n-asta* ^D*Āpin ser iŠTU NINDA KUR₄.RA isgāpi*, rather than correcting *is-ga-a-pi* into *is-ta-a-pi* (assuming erroneous omission of the final vertical wedge of *ta* [or its haplography next to the initial vertical wedge of *a*], as in *a-ku-ga-al-* [see s.v. *akutalla-*]) and translating ‘he stops up the pit with thick bread’ (cf. e.g. XXXII 137 II 27 *nu-kan hattessar istāpi* ‘he plugs the hole’, and M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88, 101 [1957]). Thereby a tie-in with the widespread IE **skep-* or **skebh-* (*IEW* 930–3) becomes possible, seen in Gk. *σκάπτω* ‘dig, delve’, Lat. *scabō*, OHG *scaban* ‘scrape, grate’, and we might translate ‘he digs (or: scoops) over the pit’ (using bread-fill). *isgapuzzi-* would then be the tool for such activity (cf. *kuruzzi-* ‘cutter’ from *kuer-* ‘cut’), reminiscent of Lat. *scapula* ‘scoop, shovel’ (> ‘shoulderblade’), *scāpus* ‘stick, shaft’, Gk. *σκαπάνη* ‘shovel’, *σκηπάνη*, *σκηπτ(ρ)ον* ‘stick, staff’; perhaps *isgapuzzi-* was (inter alia) the ritual utensil for filling in and smoothing over sacrificial pits, even as the rather heavy, knife-like *tapulli-* (q.v.) may have been a tool used to ‘dig’ or ‘open’ the same (cf. e.g. KUB XXVII 34 I 19 *GI_R ZABAR TUR dāi nu apez pedāli* ‘he takes a small bronze knife and with it he digs’; KBo X 45 III 22 ^D*Āpi GI_R-it ginuzzi* ‘he opens up a pit with a knife’).

Alternatively, a root *isgap-* can be compared with Ved. *skabh-* ‘make firm, support’, *skambhā-* ‘pillar’, besides *stabh-*, *stambha-* of similar meaning (q.v. s.v. *istap[p]-*); in this case Hitt. *istāpi*: *isgāpi* would match the Indic pair closely, and *isgapuzzi-* might resemble *istappulli-* ‘cover, lid, stopper’ in

meaning and function. For such rhyming roots cf. IE **ster-* and **sper-* s.v. *ispar(r)-*.

iskarai- 'to line up' Gt, b, d, g, n, r, l 53

iskar-, iskar(r)a-, iskar(r)iya- 'sting, prick, stab, pierce, skewer; stick, (af)fix, fasten, attach, set, post; (intransitive) stick, hew, cleave, cling (to)', 1 sg. pres. act. *is-kar-hi* (KUB XXXI 1 + KBo III 16 II 7 *ispannit iskarhi* 'I shall stab with a spit'; cf. Güterbock, ZA 44:52 [1938]), *is-ka-a-ar-hi* (KBo XVII 96 I 13–14 *nu-smas kattan NA₄.HIA iskārhi* 'I stick stones beneath them [viz. clay-images of deities]'), 3 sg. pres. act. *iskāri* (XVII 13 + XXV 68 Rs. II; cf. Neu, Altheth. 144), *is-ka-ri* (XII 126 I 8 [nu AL]AM IM *arahzanda iskari* 'she sticks the clay figures all around'), *is-ga-a-ri* (dupl. XI 12 I 9 ALAM.HIA *arahzanda isgāri*; dupl. IBoT II 123 I 9 a] *rahzanda isgār[i]*; dupl. KUB XLI 2 I 4 *isgāri*; cf. Jakob-Rost, Ritual der Malli 20; XII 58 II 29–30 *namma-ssi GİR.MEŠ kattan DUG[hū]puwaiya isgāri* 'then beneath his feet she sticks the pot'; cf. Goetze, Tunnawi 14; 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'; cf. Kronasser, Die Sprache 7:150 [1961]), *is-qa-a-ri* (VBoT 24 I 45–46 [kezz-iy]a 7 DUG^{GAL} *isqāri* [kezz-iy]a 7 DUG^{GAL} *isqāri* 'on one side she sets seven goblets, and on the other side she sets seven goblets'; cf. Sturtevant, TAPA 58:8 [1927]; KBo XV 10 + XX 42 I 38 ALAM.HIA [...] *isqāri*; ibid. III 28 i] *sgāri*; cf. Szabó, Entsühnungsritual 18, 38), *is-ga-ra-a-i* (Bo 2813 III 18 ar] *ahzanda isgarāi*; cf. Götze, KIF 409), i] *s-ga-ra-iz-zi* (KUB XLIX 94 III 14), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-ka-ra-an-zi* (XXXI 71 IV 26–27 ^{GIS}BANŠUR DINGIR-wa *kuwapi iskaranzi* 'where they set the table of the deity'; cf. Werner, Festschrift H. Otten 328 [1973]; KBo XVI 49 I 8–10 UDU.HIA-us ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM *appanz[i] t-us edi lūlias arhi LUGAL-i* [...] *iskaranzi* 'the cooks seize the sheep and post them on the far edge of the pond [in some relation to] the king'), *isgaranzi* (e.g. II 3 III 11 [is] *tarna-ma-kan 7 NA⁴huwasi isgaranzi* 'in between they set seven stone pillars'; cf. Hrozný, Heth. KB 82; L. Rost, MIO 1:362 [1953]; IV 9 I 22 NINDA *saramma isgaranzi* '[they] skewer palace-bread'; ibid. 23–24 ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM-ma-ssan ^{UZU}YÀ *zeyanta NINDA saramnas ser*

arha isgaranzi 'the cooks cook meat-fat [and] skewer it on top of the palace-bread'; XV 9 IV 14; cf. Kümmel, Ersatzrituale ?? 3, 196, 66), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-qa-ar-ri-it* (KUB XXXI 1 + KBo III 16 II 13 *ispannit isqarrit* 'stabbed with a spit'), 3 pl. pret. act. *is-ga-ri-ir* (KBo XXI 22 Vs. 6; cf. G. Kellerman, Tel Aviv 5:199 [1978]), *is-qa-ri-ir* (XV 10 II 1–2 nu ALAM.HIA [...] *p]edumen n-us dametani NA⁴p[ir]uni kattan isqarir* 'we brought the statues, and they fastened them down to another rock'; cf. Szabó, Entsühnungsritual 20); partic. *iskarant-*, nom. sg. c. *isgaranza* (KUB XV 5 IV 17 *istū NA⁴NUNUZ isgaranza* 'set with beads'), acc. sg. c. *isgarandan* (KBo XVII 1 III 28 *isgarandan uk kuin harmi* 'the attached which I hold'; cf. Otten – Souček, Altheth. Ritual 32), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iskarān, isgarān* (e.g. IBoT I 36 II 60–62 *ŠA LIM ŠERF-ma kuis ERİN.MEŠ-az nu taksulān tapusā isgarān harzi GÜB-las GÜB-laz iskarān harzi* [...] ZAG-s-a ZAG-az *iskarān harzi* 'but a soldier of the field-legion takes part [in the procession and] hews to one flank; one on the left cleaves to the left, and one on the right cleaves to the right'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, Symbolae... Böhl... 206 [1973]; KUB XLII 78 II 11–12 1-EN AŠ.ME NA⁴ZA.GIN *arahzanda* [...] NUNUZ GUŠKIN NA₄ *isgarān* 'one sun-disk, lapis lazuli all around ... set with beads, gold, [and] stone[s]'; ibid. 14 EGIR-an *isgarān* 'studded in back'; cf. Sommer, ZA 46:30 [1940]; S. Košak, Ling. 18:112 [1978]; XLII 11 I 8 *isgarān* 'set, studded'; cf. P. Cornil – R. Lebrun, Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 6–7:101 [1975–6]), nom. pl. c. *is-ka-ra-an-te-es* (XXXI 117 Vs. 4 [+ XXXV 93 Vs. 9]; cf. Neu, Altheth. 223), *is-ga-ra-an-te-es* (e.g. Bo 6594 I 10 EGIR-šū *isgarantes* 'hewing to [a position] behind her'; cf. Neu, Altheth. 99; KBo XXV 31 II 10; cf. Neu, Altheth. 79; XXV 42 I.Kol. 7; cf. Neu, Altheth. 81; X 27 V 15 *piran-set isgarantes* 'sticking to [a position] in front of him'; KUB XX 38 Vs. 10–11 SAL.MEŠ LUGAL-i *menahhan[da ...] [i]sgarantes* 'women cleaving to [a position] facing the king'; XXV 14 I 13 EGIR *isgarantes* '[sun-disks] studded in back'; cf. V. Haas – M. Wäfler, Istanbul Mitteilungen 23–24:24 [1973–4]; XVII 25 I 11 *isgarante[s]*, nom.-acc. pl. neut. *isgaranta* (e.g. KBo XI 45 IV 9–10 nu ^{GIS}PA *kue isgaranta* 'what [meats] are stuck on the staff'; cf. Haas, Nerik 234; KUB XI 23 V 5–7 DUMU É.GAL ^{GIS}SUKUR ANA DUMU

LUGAL pāi DUMU É.GAL ANA ^DZittahari SAG.DU-az NINDA.ERÍN.

MEŠ isgaranta-ya ser arha dāi 'a page gives a spear to the prince, and the page removes the army loaves which are stuck

on the [spear]head [as an offering] to Z.'; cf. A. M. Jasink

Ticchioni, *Studi classici e orientali* 27:159 [1977], with wrong

translation: XXIX 4 I 8 and 16 EGIR-an isgaranta '[objects]

studded in back' [with gemstones]; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung*

6, 41; KBo XVII 1 I 19 isgaranta dāi 'takes what is attached'),

isgaranda (dupl. XVII 3 I 14; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth.*

Ritual 20); verbal noun isgaratar (n.) 'stabbing, sting', only in

the expression DINGIR.MEŠ-as isgaratar describing a "station" in

ophio- or ichthyomantic tanks used for MUŠ ('snake', i.e.

probably eel) divination, probably a symbolic 'sting (i.e. wrath,

vengeance) of the gods', nom. sg. isgaratar (IBoT I 33, lines 41,

55, 74), gen. sg. or dat.-loc. pl. isgaranas (ibid. 28), abl. sg.

isgaranaza (ibid. 23, 76; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:152–4, 161 [1958]);

iter. iskarreski-, iskariski-, isgareski-, isgariski-, 3 sg. pres. act.

is-ga-ri-es-ki-iz-zi (IBoT III 98, 12 ^{NA}kunnan isgareskizzi

'attaches a bead'), is-ka-ri-es-ki-iz-zi (ibid. 13 apāt iskariskizzi),

is-ka-ri-es-ki-iz-zi (ibid. 14 apadd-a iskarreski[izzi]), is-ga-ri-is-

ki-iz-zi (KUB XXXIII 98 I 9–10 nu-za ^DKumarbis zi-ni kattan

hattatar ^{NA}NUNUZ mān isgariskizzi 'K. sticks wisdom onto his

mind like a bead'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]), 2 sg. imp.

act. isgariski (XXVI 9 + 1256/1969) 13–14 ^{LÜ}MES_{EN}.NU.UN [...

i]sgariski 'post the watchmen'; cf. Otten, *Orientalia* N.S.

52:134–6 [1983]); iterative-"durative" iskaranniya-, 3 pl. imp.

act. is-ka-ra-an-ni-an-du (KBo VIII 35 II 21 GLIILA-KUNU-ma-

-kan āppa [n]āu nu sumenzan-pat kir-semet iskarannian[du] 'he

shall deflect your arrows, and they shall be piercing your own

hearts'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 79).

The meaning 'sting, prick' is clearly basic and hence etymo-

logically crucial; in KUB XXXI 1 + KBo III 16 II 7 and 13

(quoted above sub 1 sg. pres. iskarhi and 3 sg. pret. isqarrit)

(iskar- is used of a spit (ispatar), next to kuer- 'cut' with some

knife-like tool, as a means of drawing blood.

The connection with IE *(s)ker- 'cut' (*IEW* 938–47) was

made already by Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 82; besides the general

meaning (OHG *sceran* 'cut', OIr. *scaraim* 'sever', Lith. *skirti*

'separate'), a nuance of tapered sharpness is found in e.g. ON

skera 'cut, prick', and in OE *scear*, OHG *scar* '(plow)share';

noteworthy is the simultaneous absence of the "moveable" s-

in Hitt. *kars-* and *kartai-* 'cut' (q.v.; cf. Gk. *κείρω* 'cut, shear',

κοῦρά < **κορῶ* 'haircut, shorn locks'; Skt. *kṛt-* 'cut'). The

meaning 'stick' is a secondary development, in Hittite and

Germanic alike; for the intransitive sense 'cling to' the English

glosses 'stick, hew, cleave' offer equally apposite semantic

parallels.

Čop's comparison of iskar- with Gk. *σκηπίτω* 'prop, plant'

(*Indogermanica minora* 41–2) is unenlightening and improbable.

Cf. iskaruh-.

iskaruh-, iskarih- (n.), a metal container used in libation (e.g. of

iron in KBo XVII 74 I 14, of gold in XVII 75 IV 22, of silver

and gold in 39/n, 5), employed especially to 'lift', i.e. retrieve

(*ser ep[p]-*) or 'take in', i.e. collect (*anda ep[p]-*) the previously

poured libamen, nom.-acc. sg. iskāruh (e.g. KUB XXVIII 104

IV 10–12 ANA ^{LÜ}SANGA GAL-ri pāi iskāruh dāi ta-sse-ssan [lā]hui

'[the cupbearer] gives a cup to the priest; he places an i., and he

pours into it'), isqaruh (e.g. XI 18 IV 30 isqaruh NU.GÁL 'there is

no i.' [while the king ibid. 29 toasts deities]), isgaruh (e.g. XXX

41 VI 17–18 and 21–22 ^DU ekuzi isgaruh RIKU '[the king] drinks

to the storm-god, the i. [is] empty'), is-ka-ri-u-uh (1008/c I 4),

iskārih (KBo XVII 74 I 15–16 LUGAL-i iskāri[h] [ep]zi 'takes the

i. from the king'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 12, 37; KUB XXVIII

104 V 15 iskārih dāi), isqārih (39/n, 5), dat.-loc. sg. isqaruih (e.g.

KBo XI 28 II 9, 20, 35, III 17, 35, 45, IV 5, 38 isqaruih-kan

lāhūwan 'there [is] pouring into the i.'; ibid. IV 16 isqaruih-kan

lāhūwan; dupl. KUB XX 26 I 4 [to KBo XI 28 III 45] isqaru-kan

lahūwan [sic]; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 152–6), isqaruh (e.g. KUB II

3 I 29 isqaruh RIGA anda epzi 'collects in an empty i.'), instr. sg.

iskaruhit (e.g. KBo XVII 75 IV 22 iskaruhit GUŠKIN ^{GIS}AB-ya

piran sipanti 'libates out the window with a golden i.'; cf. ibid.

29–30 ispanduit KÜ.BABBAR [...] sipanti), isqaruhit (e.g. KUB

XXV 6 III 14–15 isqaruhit 1-šU anda epzi 'collects once with the

i.'; dupl. XX 28 III 14), isgaruhit (e.g. ibid. 3–4; KBo X 25 I

20–21 *isgaruhit* GUŠKIN RIKUTI *ser epzi* ‘[the cupbearer] collects with an empty golden i.’ [viz. that which the king has libated into a *huppar* ‘στάμνος’ ibid. 17–18]; *KUB* XXX 41 V 4–5 *isgaruhit sannapilit 2-šu ser epzi* ‘retrieves twice with an empty i.’; ibid. 15–16 *isgaruhit sannapilit anda epzi*; ibid. VI 30 *isgaruhit GĒŠTIN 2-šu ser epzi* ‘recovers wine twice with an i.’), *isgaruhida* (IBOT III 23 III 9–10 *piran isgaruhida sipanti*), *iskaruh* (e.g. *KBo* XX 61 III 46–47 DUMU É.GAL-kan^{GIS} *huttiyaz arha iskaruh* GUŠKIN *sipanti* ‘the page libates out the window with a golden i.’). Cf. Goetze, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:292–3 (1949); Kammenhuber, *MHT* 7, Nr. 5, 352–7 (1976).

The sum total of external characteristics (the unique stem-final -h, the variation -uh-, -ih-, the imperfect paradigmatic integration [occasional reluctance to inflect in dat.-loc. and instr.]) points to a technical loanword from another language, most plausibly Hattic (thus E. Hovdhaugen, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 25:121 [1971]). The root-connection with *iskar-* ‘stick; sting’ (q.v.), first suggested by Güterbock (*ZA* 44:61 [1938]) and occasionally repeated (e.g. Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 286; Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 41, 51; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 416, 547; V. Georgiev, *Linguistique balkanique* 23.3:10–11 [1980]) as implying a pointed vessel ‘stuck’ into something to hold it upright (cf. e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:329) has nothing but homophony in its favor, and derivation remains opaque: the adduction of deverbative Skt. *tanūh* (very hesitantly by Pedersen, *Hitt.* 186, who favored loanword origin) and the more sanguine comparison with Skt. *camūh* (a vessel, from *cāmati* ‘sip’) by H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:89 [1973]) founder on the likelihood that Vedic -ūh (like -īh in e.g. *vrkīh*) contains -A₂ which disappears in Hittite (same as in thematic nom.-acc. pl. neut. -a < -eA₂); even if it were -A₁ (as in factitive *newahh-*: Lat. *novā-*), the outcome should be -hh- in oblique cases. Kronasser’s postulation of hybrid IE root and foreign suffix (loc. cit. and *VLFH* 131) is not helpful.

isk(i)α-

iski(ya)- ‘smear, daub, salve, oil, anoint’ (YĀ), 1 sg. pres. act. *iskimi* (*KUB* XXIX 55 I 13–14 *namma ištū YĀ UDU ANŠU.KUR.R[A.HI.A*

...] *tepu iskimi* ‘I also smear the horses a little with sheepfat’; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150), *isgāmi* (*KBo* III 8 II 19–20 [n-an EME-ŠU ištū YĀ.NUN] *isgāmi* ‘I smear his tongue with butter’; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:155 [1961]), *isgahhi* (*KUB* VII 1 I 40 *n-an tuikkus isgahhi* ‘I salve his limbs’; cf. Kronasser, ibid. 144), 3 sg. pres. act. *iskizzi* (e.g. *KBo* XIX 139 II 8–9 *mahhan-ma* [EN SISKU]R [war] *pūwaz uizzi nu-za iskizzi* ‘when the sacrificer comes from bathing he anoints himself’; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 268; ibid. III 8 *mān-za EN SISKUR.SISKUR-ma iskizzi*; XVI 24+25 I 66 [n-an] ANA LUGAL-TIM *iskizzi* ‘anoints him to kingship’; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]; V 1 III 5–6 *namma-an YĀ DÜG.GA-it iskizzi* ‘then he anoints [the lamb] with good oil’; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*; *KUB* XXX 19 IV 5 *n-at ištū YĀ DÜG.GA iskizzi*), *iskiyazi* (e.g. dupl. XXXIX 8 IV 3; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 44; *VBoT* 120 III 17 *mān-za EN SISKUR-ma iskiyazi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 146), *iskiayizzi* (*KUB* IX 31 II 36 *n-at ištū YĀ DÜG.GA iskiayizzi*, with dupl. *HT* 1 II 11 *iskizzi*; *HT* 1 I 38 *n-an ēshanta iskiayizzi* ‘he daubs it with blood’; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *is-kat-ta-ri* (IBOT III 148 I 67 and 68; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 216), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-kān-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVI 90-Vs. 15–18 *lukkatta-as-kan UD.KAM-ti* ‘Duthaliyan tuedas assiyantas pedas’^{URU} *Hakmis* ^{URU} *Nerik aššum* ^{LU} *SANGA-UTTIM iskanzi* ‘tomorrow they will anoint D. to priesthood in thy favorite places, H. [and] N.’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 176–8; XXV 14 I 16 *arranzi iskanzi* ‘they wash [and] anoint’; cf. V. Haas–M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24:24 [1973–4]; XLII 98 I 7–8 *warpanzi namma-as GIR.MEŠ-ŠUN[U...]* [... d] *āgan danzi n-as iskanzi* ‘they bathe, and then they ... their feet ... on the ground they take, and anoint them’; *KBo* XXIII 1 I 44 and III 34 *BIBRI.HI.A-ya iskanzi* ‘they oil rhyta’; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* III 142, 146; XXI 34 I 22 and 47 *EGIR-ŠU-ma YĀ DÜG.GA iskanzi* ‘but afterwards they smear good oil’; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* II 117–8; *KUB* I 13 III 8–9 *ina UD.5.KAM-ma ištū YĀ.NUN IN.NU.DA-as iwar iskanzi* ‘but on the fifth day they smear profusely with good oil’; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 64, 59; XXIX 51 I 3 *n-us iskanzi* ‘they smear them’; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 200; XXIX 40 II 7 *n-us*

2 sg. pres.
is-kat-te-e-ni
(xus 13.3 I 14)

Yas. 13.3 I 14

only is-

İSTU YĀ UDU iskanzi 'they smear them with sheepfat'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 178), *iskiyanzi* (e.g. XXIX 45 I 2 *n-us İSTU*) *YĀ [UDU] iskiyanzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 170; *KBo XXI 42 I 8 n-an arranzi iskiyanzi* 'they wash [and] anoint her' [viz. the icon of the goddess Isharas]; *KUB XXIV 5 + IX 13 Vs. 19 nu* ^{LU}*İSU.DIB İSTU YĀ DÜG.GA LUGAL-UTTI iskiyanzi* 'they anoint the captive with the good oil of kingship'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 10), *iskianzi* (e.g. *KBo XII 98 Rs. 5*), *YĀ-anzi* (e.g. *KUB XVII 35 II 18*), 3 sg. pret. act. *iskit* (XXXIII 88 Rs. 10 *YĀ DÜG.GA ma-za sanizzit iskit* 'she anointed herself with good oil'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54; IX 34 III 34 *karsikarsiya-za iskit* 'anointed himself with clear fat' [?]), 3 pl. pret. act. *is-ki-ir* (XXIX 54 IV 18; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 228), 2 sg. imp. act. *iski* (*KBo III 23 Vs. 4 namma-as iski* 'then anoint them!'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]), 3 sg. imp. act. *iskiddu* (III 8 II 32–33 *n-an-kan EME-ŠU sartāiddu UR-us-ma-an İSTU YĀ.NUN iskiddu* 'let her daub his tongue, and let her salve his limbs with butter'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:155 [1961]; *KUB XVII 10 II 22–23 kāsa* ^{GIS}*lūti kitta nu ŠA* ^D*Telipinu* [...] *iskiddu* 'lo, [the oily] 1.-plant is lying here; let it oil the ... of T.'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93 [1965]), 3 pl. imp. act. *iskiyandu* (XXXVI 12 III 4 *nu ŠA* ^{GUD}*Serisu SI.III.A-ar iskiyandu* 'let them anoint Serisu's horns'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]); (*partic*) *isk (iy)ant-*, nom. sg. c. *is-kán-an-* *-za* (*KBo XXI 41 + KUB XXIX 7 Rs. 58–59 kāsa-ma-as YĀ DÜG.GA LĀL-ya EGIR-anda lāhun nu-smas urkes EGIR-an İSTU YĀ DÜG.GA LĀL-ya iskanza* 'lo, I have poured good oil and honey behind, and the trail in their wake is smeared with good oil and honey'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 124), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *iskiyan* (e.g. *KUB IX 31 III 4–5* ^{GIS}*GIGIR-ya-wa-ta-kkan İSTU UZU YĀ UDU iskiyan ēsdu* 'let your chariot be oiled with sheepfat'; similarly dupl. *HT I II 38–39; KBo XXI 22 Rs. 41–43 nu-wa wattaru māhhan iyan kunnanit-at wedan arzilit-at hanis-san AN.BAR-at iskiyan* 'how [is] the well made? It [is] built with copper [?], it [is] plastered with ?, it [is] "smeared" with iron'; *iskiya-* is here a technical term of metal-working, similar in meaning to *AN.BAR-it sanh-* 'flush with iron' in *KUB XXIX I III 40*), nom. pl. c. *is-kán-ti-is* (XXXIX 15 IV 1–2 *urkis-tis-wa-tta* 422 *is-ki-ja-an-te-es* (e.g. *Ko 14.211 79*))

YĀ[-it] iskantis asan[du] 'your tracks shall be smeared with oil'; cf. ibid. 6 *LĀL* 'honey'; Otten, *Totenrituale* 82); verbal noun *iskiyauwar* (n.) in *IBOT II 120 Rs. 3 YĀ allassias iskiya[uwar]* 'unction with oil of the queenship'; iter. *iskiski-*, *iskeski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *iskiskisi* (*KUB XXVI 25 II 5–6 iskiskisi ke-ya-ta-kkan MAMIT.HIA Q[ATAMMA ...] katta iskiyan ēsdu* '[as] you keep anointing [yourself], let these oaths likewise be smeared on you'), 3 sg. pres. act. *iskiskizzi* (*KBo III 40a, 13 nu-za iskiskizzi* 'keeps anointing himself'), *iskeskizzi* (*KUB XLIV 61 Rs. 24–27 n-as mán passaris n-an [...] [...] UL passaris n-an hapurin EGIR-pa damaszi [...] [...] iskizzi namma-an hapurin parā huittiy[azi ...] [...] SI]G₅-ri n-an I[ŠT]U A.BAR-pat iskeskizzi* 'if he [is] circumcised [?], ... him ...; [if he is] not circumcised [?], he forces back his foreskin, salves ..., and then draws his foreskin forward ...; [until he] gets well, he keeps salving it with lead'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20).

iski(ya)- (determined already by Hrozný, *MDOG* 56:35 [1915], *SH* 12, 62) is similar in meaning to *sartai-* 'daub' but different from *sah-* which means rather 'plug, stop up' (cf. *KBo III 8 II 29–33 EME-ŠU sahdu ... n-an-kan EME-ŠU sartāiddu UR-us-ma-an ... iskiddu* 'let her plug his tongue ... daub his tongue ... salve his limbs'). In addition to practical smearing for grooming and medical purposes it also denotes ritual anointing, including priestly and regal consecration.

Oettinger's suggested analysis **is-ske-* (*Stammbildung* 327) is formally acceptable (cf. e.g. *duskizzi, duskiyazi, dugai* 'is glad' from **tus-ske-*, cognate with Skt. *tūṣyati* 'is glad'), but his further adduction of Ved. *iṣ-* 'refreshment, strength', esp. 'liquid refreshment', with appeal to a meaning 'squirt, pour vigorously' as a specialization of 'impel' in *iṣyati, iṣṇāti* (prefigured by Kronasser, *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 125 [1957]), is quite problematic semantically, despite the reference to blood-smearing under 3 sg. pres. act. *iskiyaizzi* above ('blood squirts forth' is expressed rather by *ēšhar siyari*, q.v. s.v. *sai-, siya-*). V. Georgiev's additional comparison with Gk. *ἰάομαι* 'heal' (i.e. *īā-*; *Linguistique balkanique* 22.2:14 [1979], 23.3:10 [1980]) is equally questionable: an **isā-yo-* ('practise invigoration' > 'heal') might be cognate with Skt. *iṣṇāti*, but

iski(ya)- has a very specific base-meaning (like Skt. *añj-*, Lat. *unguō*, Gk. *ἀλείφω* or *χρίω*, Goth. *salbōn*) and is therefore best kept isolated; the root of Skt. *is-* is probably present rather in *ishuwa(i)-* (q.v.). Perhaps **is-ske-* or **ish-ske-* shows the weak grade of a root **yes-(A₁-)* 'salve', seen as **isā-* (< **is-éA₁-*) in Gk. *ἰᾱ-*, *ἰᾱ-*, which latter would then mean originally 'salve' (distinct from *ἀκέομαι* 'cure, mend', *ἄκος* 'cure, remedy'; cf. the Homeric *ἱητροὶ πολυφάρμακοι ... ἔλκε' ἀκειόμενοι* 'healers laden with balms ... mending wounds' [*Iliad* 16:28–29], *ἔλκος δ' ἱητὴρ ἐπιμάσσειται ἢ δ' ἐπιθήσει φάρμακ' ἀσσεῖν* 'a healer will probe the wound and apply medicaments' [*Iliad* 4:190–1]; *ἱητρός γάρ ἄνθρωπος ... ἰούσ' τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν* 'a medical man ... when it comes to excising arrows and spreading on soothing drugs' [*Iliad* 11:514–5]). *ἰᾱ-*, *ἱη-* is etymologically separate from *ἰάω* 'soothe, warm, heal' (q.v. s.v. *iyawa-*); the initial shows metrical lengthening spreading from tribrach-elimination in forms like **ἰᾱετο* (> *ἰᾱτ'* in *Iliad* 12:2).

Cf. *isharisk(i)-*. 

iskis- (n.) 'back, backside, rear' (*KBo* I 42 II 24 *iskīsa* = Akk. *kutallu*; cf. *MSL* 13:135 [1971]), perhaps also 'ridge' (cf. *KUB* II 1 II 15 ^{HUR.SAG} *Iskisas*; Laroche, *RHA* 19:78–9 [1961]; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:60 [1967]; A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:108 [1975]), nom.-acc. sg. *iskis* (XXXVI 110 Rs. 9–10 *nu-za-pa udniyanza hūmanza iski(s)-smet anda* ^{URU} *Hattusa lagan hardu* 'every land shall bend its back to Hattusas'; cf. Forrer, *Meissner AOS* 31; Starke, *ZA* 69:82 [1979]; Neu, *Altheith.* 227; *XLIII* 53 I 6 *iski(s)-set-a iskisi dākki* 'his back matches the back'; ibid. 23 *iski(s)-set-asta iskisi GAL-li* 'his back [is] big [in relation] to the [other's] back'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 219; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:415–6 [1971]; XXIX 1 III 18–19 *mān* ^{LÜ} ^{NAGAR} ^{GIS} *iskisāsan* ^{GIS} *isparuzzi karsūwanzi paizzi* 'when the carpenter goes to cut the ridgepole and the rafters'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:34 [1947]; *IBoT* III 113 Rs. 3), gen. sg. (or dat.-loc. pl.?) *iskisas* (e.g. *KUB* X 27 I 17–18 *n-at ... ANA DINGIR-LIM iskisas EGIR-an* [*dāi* 'he] places it in back of the deity'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:70 [1939]; M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:85

[1957]; V 1 IV 49; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:84; IX 34 III 10 = IX 4 II 26), dat.-loc. sg. *iskiti* (e.g. II 3 II 26; *KBo* XXI 22 Rs. 46; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200 [1978]), *iskisa* (e.g. V 1 II 18 *iskisa-smas* 'in their rear'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 6*; *IBoT* III 148 III 44 *iskisa EGIR-an* 'behind the back'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 224; *KUB* XVII 28 III 26–29 3 GUD-MAH *kuēs-san ANA GUD.ĀB iskisa nāwi pāntes* 18 UDU.ŠIR *kuis-san ANA UDU.SIG + SAL iskisa nāwi pāntes* 'three bulls who have not yet mounted a cow, eighteen rams who have not yet mounted a ewe'; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6:377 [1958]; XVI 8 Vs. 6; XVIII 11 Rs. 6; XXI 38 Vs. 45; XXV 37 I 8 and II 17, 23; cf. *Dict. louv.* 172; *KBo* IV 14 III 74), instr.-sg. *iskisitt* (XII 33 III 8 *n-an iskisitti* ^{rather nom.-acc. sp. is kis-itt-i} *ISBAT* 'seized him by the back'), abl. sg. *iskisaz(a)* (e.g. XII 126 I ^{also his back! (partitive opposition), see HED 4 s.v. genu} 14 *iskisaz karpan* 'lifted by the back'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22; *KUB* XXXIII 114 IV 13–14 *nu-ssi-kan* ^{UZU} *iskisaza* [...] *markir* 'from his back they cut up'; cf. ibid. 9, and XXXIII 112 IV 14 ^{UZU} *ishisaza*; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *8–*9; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:144–6 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:35–6 [1968]; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:29 [1957]; XIV 16 II 14 'from the rear'; cf. Götze, *AM* 42; XV 39 II 26 'from behind'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953], III 12; *KUB* II 5 V 4–5 *iskisaz EGIR-pa iyattāri* '[he] retreats backwards'; XXIV 13 III 13 *n-as-si EGIR-an namma* ^{UZU} *iskisaz hūwāi* 'she then runs behind his back'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 72; Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 106), also *iskisānza* (XXX 45 II 18), unless denom. derivative in *-ant-* (nom. sg.; cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:37 [1962], *CTH* 160), nom.-acc. pl. *iskisa* or *iskīsa* (e.g. XIII 29, 8 *iskisa naistin* 'turn your back!'; XX 38 Vs. 15–16 *mēne-smit LUGAL-i ne[-...]* *iskīsa LUGAL-i na[-* 'turn their [?] face to the king ... turn their [?] back to the king'). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:189, 340; Laroche, *RHA* 28:30 (1971).

Judging from the sexual term *iskisa pai-*, the anatomical meaning of *iskis-* is more precisely 'the small of the back, the lumbar region'. Cf. Gk. *ἰσχίον* 'hip-joint, hip(s), haunches', Hes. *ἰσχι' ὀσφύς* 'lower part of back, loins'. Further connections are uncertain, but the accord of the Hittite and the otherwise obscure Greek terms is striking. Cf. also F. Ribezzo, *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 4:130 (1920); Juret, *Vocabulaire* 51; Čop, *Ling.* 8:170–2 (1966–8); Neu, *IF* 74:240 (1969).

iskissana- (n.), ^{ridge pole, joist' (vel sim.)} ^(joist - anal. 11 JNES 49/4, '90:360) ~~wooden item of household goods or furniture~~
 nom.-acc. pl. ^{GIS}is-ki-is-sa-na(-as-si-it) (KBo VI 26 II 5 [= Code 2:71], preceded by ^{GIS}IG-ŠU 'her door' and followed by ^{GIS}hūppulli-ssit [q.v. s.v.]), ^{GIS}is-ki-is-ta-ni(-se-it) (dupl. VI 13 I 16, with erasure strokes covering ta).

Connection with *iskis-* 'back' (q.v.), as **iskis-na-* 'dorsalis' (vel sim.), and translation as 'bed' (Hrozný, *Code hittite* 133 [1922]) or 'headrest' (cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 111) or 'back-pack' (H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 21:163 [1975]) is sheer conjecture. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:183.

iskit(t)ahh- 'signal (to), single out', 3 sg. pres. act. ^{not}is-~~kit~~₉-ta-ah-hi (KUB X 1 I 11 GAL MEŠEDI iskittahhi 'the chief of the guard signals'), ^{NS?}is-ki-da-a-ah-hi (IBoT I 36 III 63-64 nu 1 ^{LU}MEŠEDI ^{MS}iŠTU ^{GIS}[ŠU]KUR ANA ^{LU}MEŠ MEŠEDUTIM ANA DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-ya iskidāhhi 'one guard with a spear signals to the men of the guard and to the pages'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:196 [1966]), ^{MS}is-ki-ta-ah-hi (KBo XXI 85 I 31 [...] ^{DEN}ZU-as NINDA.KUR.RA. ^{HLA-i} ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-it iskittah[hi] 'singles out with the spear the thick loaves of the moon-god'). Cf. Alp, *Beamtennamen* 14.

The meaning is similar to *IZKIM-ah(h)-* = *sakiyah(h)-* 'give a sign'; but while the latter has ominous connotations (cf. Lat. *sāgus* 'presaging'), *iskittahh-* denotes mundane signalling and may be a denominative factitive verb from **iskit(t)a-*, which bears comparison with Lith. *skaistūs, skaidrūs* 'clear, bright' or OHG *ge-schide*, Lat. *scītus* 'clever, shrewd', *scītum* 'determination, decree' (with *iskittahh-* cf. Lat. *scītā-* 'try to determine, inquire', like *nawahh-* : Lat. *novā-* 'make new').

iskuna(hh)-, ishuna(hh)- 'stain; stigmatize, denounce; degrade, disgrace, demote', 3 pl. pres. act. *ishunānzi* (KBo VI 26 II 19 [= Code 2:75] ^UDUMU.MEŠ *ishunānzi* 'and they degrade the children' [of a marital misalliance by a free woman]; dupl. KUB XXIX 29 Rs. 3 misspelled *u[shunan]zi*), 3 sg. pret. act. *iskunahhis* (I 16 III 41-42 *huhhas-mis* [Labarnan DUMU-san ^{URU}Sana-huitti *iskunahhis* 'my grandfather demoted his son Labarnas to

Sanahuittas'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12-4, 164), 1 pl. pret. act. *ishunahhuwen* (XXIII 13 Vs. 3-4 *anzās-ma-wa-za iŠTU* ^{GIS}TUKUL [Ul. *tarahita* ...] ... *nu-wa-ssi wasdazza* [with gloss-wedges] *ishunahhuwen* 'he has not vanquished us with arms, ... and we have stigmatized his depredations'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314); partic. *iskunant-*, nom.-acc. pl. neut. *iskunanta* (KBo IV 2 I 44-45 *kās-wa GIM-an hās GAD.HLA iskunanta parkunuzzi* 'as this soap cleanses stained cloths'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]); iter. *iskuneski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *iskuneskanzi* (XII 19 I 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 231). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:480-1; Oettinger, *MSS* 35:93-4 (1976). For earlier proposed meanings see Sommer, *AU* 317 (*ishunahh-* 'defy'; so still Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:429); Sommer, *HAB* 164 (*iskunahh-* 'make a mark, designate'; so also Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:430; Oettinger, *MSS* 35:100 [1976], *Stammbildung* 156-7; S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite kingdom* 67-8 [1975]); Alp, *Anatolia* 2:23 (1957; *ishuna[i]-* related to *ishuwa[i]-* 'shed, throw'); Laroche, *OLZ* 57:30 (1962; *ishuna[i]-* 'draw [a bow]'; cf. s.v. *ishunawar*).

The phonetic variation *isk-* : *ish-* is matched by e.g. *iskis(a)-* (q.v.) besides KUB XXXIII 112 IV 4 ^{UZU}*ishisaza*. The plausible cognate of *iskuna-* is Gk. *αἰσχύνω* 'make ugly, disfigure, dishonor', *αἰσχύνη* 'shame, dishonor' (cf. *Αἰσχύλος*), *αἰσχος* 'shame, disgrace', *αἰσχρός* 'ugly, deformed, dishonoring, shameful'. Gk. *αἰσχ-* has no plausible etymology (only a tortured comparison with Goth. *aiwiski* 'shame' via **aygh^{sk}*; IEW 14), and a Gk.-Hitt. isolexeme **ays-gh-* (with Hitt. *i < *ai*; cf. s.v. *asara-*, *esara-*) is a welcome common denominator with a putative proto-meaning 'make ugly, stain'. *iskuna-* is probably a denominative factitive verb with *-na-* suffix from a *u*-stem base, like e.g. *sunna-* 'fill' from *su-* 'full', thus comparable to Gk. *αἰσχύνω* (< **αἰσχύνιω*) from **αἰσχύς* 'ugly' (supplanted by *αἰσχρός*); cf. e.g. *ταχύνω* from *ταχύς* (*τάχος* like *αἰσχος*). *iskunahh-* is a further deverbative derivative with *-ah(h)-* suffix, like e.g. *kururiyah(h)-* 'wage war' besides *kururiya-* 'be hostile' (cf. Gk. *ἰσχάω* besides *ἰσχάω*).

As an alternative to this uniform interpretation one might detach *iskunahh-* (in KUB I 16 III 41-42 quoted above) and translate 'my grandfather proclaimed his son L. (as his succes-

429

{ restrictive but used with drink when juxtaposed to *ispai-*, and *ni[n]k-*, exclusively with drink), 2 sg. pres. act. *ispāsi* (Bo 6180, 5), 3 sg. pres. act. *ispāi* (Bo 4491, 4-5 ū) *hasekzi* [... *n-*] *as-za ū* *ispāi* 'is not satiated ... and he is not filled'; ~~KUB XXXIII 11 H 11, cf. ibid. 12 ningu [3 sg. pres.]; Laroche, RHA 23:108 [1965]]~~, 3 pl. pres. act. *ispiyanzi* (KBo III 5 I 28 *wetenit ispiyanzi* '[the horses] satiate themselves with water'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 82, with incorrect transitive translation 'they saturate'), 3 pl. pret. act. *is-pi-i-e-ir* (KUB XVII 10 I 19-20 *eter n-e ū* *ispiyer ekuyer-ma n-e-za ū* *hassikkir* 'they ate but they were not filled, and they drank but they were not satiated'; XXXIII 24 II 13; XXXIII 19 III 8; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90, 116, 123 [1965]), *is-pi-ir* (XXXIII 32 III 5; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:126 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ispāi* (KBo IV 6 Vs. 8-9 *nu-za zik DINGIR-LUM ... ūzu yā et nu-za ispāi* 'thou, deity, eat the fat ... and be filled!'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 12), *ispiya* (KUB XX 92 VI 8-9 *ezza-za nu-za ispiya eku-ma nu-za nik* 'eat and get full, drink and get your fill!'), (2 pl. imp.) act. *is-pi-it-tin* (XXXIII 62 III 10-11 *sumes ezzastin nu-za ispittin ekuten-ma nu-za nikten* 'eat and be sated, drink and be filled!'), *is-pi-is-te-en* (XII 17, 6-7 *ezza]tten nu-za ispisten* [... *ekutt]en nu-za nikten*), 3 pl. imp. act. *ispiyandu* (XV 34 I 48-49 *ad[and]u akuwandu n-at-za ispiyandu ninkandu* 'let them eat and drink, and let them be sated and filled'; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 186); partic. *ispiyant-*, nom. sg. c. *ispiyanza* (IBoT III 148 III 10-11 *ispiyanza ninkanza ēs* 'be sated and filled!'; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 222), nom. pl. c. *ispiyantes* (ibid. 6 *ispiyantes asandu*; KUB XV 34 III 42 *ispiyantes ninkant[es] asandu*; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 198; IX 31 III 2-3 and dupl. HT I II 36-38 *nu-wa kī šā.GAL.HLA ezzandu nu-war-at ispiyantes asandu* 'let [the horses] eat this fodder and be sated'; KBo XI I Rs. 20 *ispiyantes-ma-nnas ANA ME QAZI mahhan* 'as we [are] having our fill of cold water'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate - Josephson, *RHA* 25:110 [1967]; for the construction cf. [with infinitive] *uwanna hassik-* 'satisfy oneself looking, see one's fill' [s.v. *au(s)-*]); verbal noun *ispiyatar* (n.) 'satiety', nom.-acc. *ispiyatarr-a* (KUB XVII 10 I 11; XXXIII 24 II 16).

ispiyamu- 'satisfy, saturate', verbal noun *ispiyanumar* (n.) in

430 *ispininkatar* n. 'fill of food and drink' < *ispai* + *nink-*. For formation cf. *ānatar* (KUB 196)

NA₂ *is-pi-ni-in-ga-tar* - (a-as-ta) K₁ 39.46 + 24.85 p = K₁ 70.96 + 29.68 R₄; PBH 2:135, 200; 27; Eichen, *Stammh.* 315

KBo XI I Rs. 21 *n-at DUMU.LÚ.UU.LU ispiyanumar ēsdu* 'may it be saturation for mankind'.

ispān (n.) 'satiation' (?), nom.-acc. sg. *ispān* (KBo VIII 42 Vs. 6), gen. sg. *ispānas* (KUB XXXVI 44 I 12 *ispānas NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HLAUZU.UTUL.HLA* 'loaves [and] meat-stews of satiation' (?)). Cf. Oettinger, *Stammhildung* 467-8.

The semantic distinction of 'sate (with food)' vs. 'fill (with drink)' is found also in e.g. Hebrew and Egyptian (cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 141; Friedrich, *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* 13:377 [1929]); cf. Latin *quom tu satura atque ebria eris* 'when you have had enough to eat and drink' (Terence, *Hecyra* 5.2.3), matching Hitt. *ispiyanza ninkanza ēs* (quoted above).

ispai- is convincingly connected since Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:2 (1928), *Comp. Gr.* 1 247, *Lg.* 14:72 (1938), with IE **speE₁-(y-)* 'be sated', seen in e.g. Skt. *sphāyate* 'grow fat', OE *spōwan* 'thrive', *spēd* 'prosperity, success, dispatch, speed', OCS *spēti* 'be successful', Lat. *spēs* 'hope', *pro-sperus* 'favorable' (cf. *IEW* 983). A full belly has remained an archetypal image of prosperity (wrongly Pedersen, *Hitt.* 113-4 who reversed the semantics to a basic 'thrive'). *ispāi* < **spōye* < **spoE₁ye* (stative perfect), with 3 pl. *ispiyanzi* < **spE₁y-onti*. For further morphological speculations see e.g. Puhvel, *LIEV* 55, *Evidence for laryngeals* 91-2 [1965] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 137-8 [1981]; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 66, 74; H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 86 (1975); Oettinger, *Stammhildung* 461, 466-7.

ispan- (c.) 'night' (GE₆[.KAM]; *MUŠU*), nom. sg. *ispanza* (KUB XXV 44 II 25 *mahhan-ma ispanza kisari* 'but when night comes'; Bo 2372 III 30 ^D*Ispanza*; cf. the deity ^D*Ispanzasepa-*, nom. sg. ^D*Ispanzasepas* [KUB XX 24 III 2; XLIII 30 III 8, besides ibid. 5 *annas Tagānzipas* 'Terra Mater'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77], which may reflect either **ispanz-sepa-* [determinative compound] or **ispants+sepas* [fused spelling of appositional 'Night, the Daimon'], hardly a "genitival" **ispants[-sepa-]*; cf. e.g. *Āsga-sepa-* s.v. *aska-*; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:185-6 [1961]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:185, who compared *siwanz-anna-* [q.v. s.v. *siu-*]), GE₆-anza (e.g. KBo III 5 III 73 *mahhan-ma GE₆-anza kisari*; cf.

Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 98; perhaps also adverbially as an embedded sentence formula [cf. *lammā* 'this very hour, right away', *nekuz mehur* 'in the evening', *kariwariwar* 'at daybreak', *siwaz* = UD-az 'in daytime'], e.g. *KUB* I 11 IV 45 GE₆-anza 'at night' [Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 124; alternatively abl. sg. in -anza, cf. GE₆-az below and UD-az, UD.KAM-anza]), *MUŠU* (I 13 IV 43 *mahhan-ma 5 MUŠU ki[sari]* 'but when the fifth night comes'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 72), acc. sg. *ispantan* (X 81, 10–11 ^{UD.SIG₅} *ispantan-a ekuzi* 'toasts the Good Day and the Night'; *Bo* 207, 12 ^{UD.SIG₅} *ispantan-a* also incorrect nom. sg. in *KBo* IV 13+ *KUB* X 82 VI 34 DINGIR.MEŠ MUL *ispanza* ^{Hasmāiūn} '[the king toasts] ... the star-gods, the Night, [the deity] H.'; cf. ibid. 37 EME-as *h[and]anza* instead of correct EME-an *handantan*; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 35, 51), *ispandan* (e.g. *KBo* V 8 III 21 *nu ispandan hūmandan iyahhat* 'I marched the whole night'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KUB* XXIX 55 I 1–3 *mān lakkatta nu nūwa ispandan appizziyas hāliyas nawi anku haruwanāizzi* 'when dawn comes but does not yet quite light up the night of the last watch'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; *KBo* XXIV 6 Vs. 7 i) *spandan laknuwa[nzi]* 'they pass the night' [lit. 'knock down the night'; cf. English 'kill time']), GE₆-an (e.g. dupl. XXIV 5 Vs. 13 *nu GE₆-an laknuwanzi*; *KUB* XXXIX 7 III 53 *nu kuitman GE₆-an lak[nuwanzi]* 'while they pass the night'; dupl. XXXIX 8 III 14 *nu kuitman isp[andan] luk[kanuwanzi]* [lit. 'light up the night', i.e. burn the midnight oil]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 44; *Bo* 2562 IV 22 GE₆-an *dapiān luqqanuwanzi* 'they light up the whole night'; also incorrectly nom. sg. in *KUB* XLVI 27 Vs. 22 GE₆-za *luqqanuwanzi*; I 13 IV 31 and 40 GE₆-an *hūmandan* 'the whole night'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 72), gen. sg. GE₆-andas (IV 47 Rs. 29 3 *hāliyas GE₆-andas* 'for the three watches of the night') dat.-loc. sg. *ispanti* (e.g. *KBo* XIX 128 VI 30–31 LUGAL.SAL.LUGAL *appiyanzi ta hatkanzi ispanti* 'king [and] queen are done; they close down for the night'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 16; *KUB* XX 18 VI 11 *ta hatkanzi ispanti*; XXX 10 Rs. 18 *ispanti-mu-ssan sasti-mi sānezzis teshas natta epzi* 'at night in my bed sweet sleep does not take [hold of] me'; *KBo* XVII 6 III 12, XVII 1 III 29, XVII 4 III 14 'at night'; cf. Otten – Souček,

is-pa-an-te
(KUB 36.23a II 22+
34.127 II 5).

is-pa-an-da-as
(KUB 42.59 Rs. 19
and ispanzas
'night-garment', cf.
Kojak Invent. 134;
Siegl. Verw. 342).

KUB 39.61 RS. 6
ispanti ispanti
'every night'

Altheth. Ritual 32–4; XXII 5 Vs. 5; XXIII 1 I 57; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica III* 143), *ispandi* (III 22 Vs. 6 and 18, Rs. 47 'at night'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10–12), GE₆.KAM-anti (*KUB* XXXV 145) Rs. 3–4 [*kedani m*]U.KAM-ti *kedani ITU.KAM-mi kedani UD.[KAM-ti]* [*ked*]ani GE₆.KAM-anti *lammā haltatti* 'he will call in this year, in this month, on this day, in this night, at [this] hour', GE₆-anti (*KBo* III 5 I 49 1-edani GE₆-anti 'in one night'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 84), GE₆-ti (e.g. ibid. 79 1-edani GE₆-ti; ibid. III 66 GE₆-ti-ma GE₆-ti 'night by night' [epanadiplosis]), GE₆ (ibid. 67 1-edani GE₆), *MUŠU* (e.g. ibid. I 32 *INA MUŠU MUŠU-ya* 'and night by night'; ibid. II 55 1-edani *MUŠU*; ibid. I 33 *INA 5 MUŠU* 'in the fifth night'; ibid. 31 *INA 8 MUŠU* 'for eight nights'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 267–72), abl. sg. *ispantaz* (e.g. *KUB* VII 1 II 18 *n-at ispantaz sarā suhha pedāi* 'takes it at night up to the roof'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]; *KBo* IV 2 I 21; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]; *KUB* XXIII 11 II 22; cf. R. Ránoszek, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 9:55 [1934]; Carruba, *SMEA* 18:158 [1977]), *ispandaz* (*Mašat* 75/13 Vs. 6–8 ^{LÜ}KÜR-*-wa pangarit ispandaz kuwapi 6 M[E^{LÜ}KÜR] kuwapi-ma 6 ME^{LÜ}KÜR ia[ttari]* 'the enemy is on the march in force at night, six hundred in one place, six hundred in another'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:45 [1980]; *KBo* XVII 105 II 15–16 *tug-a hāssan mahhan* [UD-a]z DUMU.LÜ.ULÜ.LU *anda hūlāliskizzi ispandaz-ma-t[ta]* *anda* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūlāleskanzi* 'as mortal man surrounds thee by day, o hearth, the gods surround thee by night'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]; *KUB* XIX 37 III 11–12 *nu t[uzzius] UD-az kāriskun [isp]andaz-ma iyahhat* 'in daytime I had my troops take cover, but at night I marched'; cf. Götze, *AM* 172–4), *is-pa-an-da-za* (e.g. ibid. 17–18 HUR.SAG-an *ispandaza istar[na arha iya]hhat* 'at night I marched along through the mountain[s]'; XXXI 115, 16; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 42 [1979]), GE₆-antaz (*KBo* IV 2 I 37; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962], GE₆-andaz (*KUB* IV 47 Vs. 3), GE₆-az (VIII 38+XLIV 63 III 17–18 *n-an-si-kan nassu UD-az nasma-si-kan GE₆-az anda tarneskizzi ūl kuitki tuqqāri* 'he instils it [viz. eye-drops] into him [i.e. his eyes] either by day or by night, it makes no difference'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30; I 11 III 9 and *KBo* III 2 Vs. 38 'by night'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 115, *is-pa-ta-za* (!) (KUB 35.13 II 3)

140), GE₆-za (V 6 II 2; cf. *ibid.* I 22 *ispandaza*; Güterbock, *JCS* 10:91–2 [1956]), acc. pl. *ispantius* (sic IV 4 III 31 *nu-za UD.KAM.HI.A isphantius iyanun* 'I made days nights' [i.e. marched around the clock]; cf. Götze, *AM* 126; possibly from a Luwoid **ispanti-*, cf. e.g. Luw. *apparanti-* 'the future' [q.v. s.v. *appa-siwatt-*]), GE₆.HI.A-us (*KUB XXXVI* 75 III 7–8 *pittuli[ya]s piran UD.HI.A-us GE₆.HI.[A-us] lakmus[ki]mi* 'from anxiety I keep killing time around the clock' [lit. 'knocking down days and nights']), *MUŠU* (*KBo* III 5 I 32 and 61 8 *MUŠU* 'eight nights'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 82, 84).

ispant- is clearly the basic term for 'night', the straight antonym of *siwat-* 'day', the animate noun capable of divinization, having relegated the rival *neku-* to the juxtapositional petrifact *nekuz mehur* 'eventide, evening', also 'nighttime' more generally (cf. *KUB* IV 47 Vs. 11 *nu nekuz mehur kuitman-kan* ¹*UTU-us nāwi ūpzi* 'in nighttime, while the sun is not yet rising', besides *ibid.* 3 GE₆-*andaz* 'at night'; wrongly J. Schindler, *KZ* 81:294 [1967]). Unlike Vedic, where *nākt-* (along with the innovational *rātrī* or *rāmī-*) fills the centerfield and the night-goddess slot alike at the expense of *kṣāp-*, the Hittite distribution is reminiscent of Iranian, where Avestan *upa-naxtar-* 'bordering on night' is an isolated form (not unlike the synonymous Vedic *api-śarvarā-* from the rare *śarvarī* 'night'), and the common term (from Avestan *xšap-* to Persian *šah* 'night') is cognate with Vedic *kṣāp-*.

ispant- (identified as 'night' by Sommer, *Heth.* II 30) has been combined with *kṣap-* since Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 60, with elaborations by Goetze, *Lg.* 27:475 (1951), 30:357 (1954), who postulated **ksep-* (Skt. *kṣāp-*), **ksep(e)r-* (Avest. *xšapar-* 'night', perhaps Gk. *ἑσπέρα*, Lat. *ve-sper* 'evening'), **ksep(e)n-* (Avest. *xšafn-* 'night'), **ks(e)pont-* (Hitt. *ispant-* < **[k]spant-*). Further discussions by E. P. Hamp (*JKF* 2:257–9 [1965]; *Revue des études arméniennes* N.S. 3:13–5 [1966]) tried to cement the relevance of such possible peripheral cognates as Lat. *vesper*, Arm. *gišer* 'night', Welsh *ucher* 'evening', OCS *večerŭ* 'evening', arriving finally at an embedded sentence formula **weiks ksep* 'the time (is) night', matching Hitt. *nekuz mehur* (*Papers from the Sixth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, 482–3

[1970]; a somewhat different tack by J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15:166–7 [1969], produced a prefixal compound **we-k^wsp-ero-*).

For *ispant-*, the main issue concerns the age, type, and composition of the suffix. Rather than comparing primarily (with e.g. Goetze, *Lg.* 27:475 [1951], or Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 294) the set of *gim(ant)-* 'winter', *zena(nt)-* 'fall', *hamesha(nt)-* 'spring/summer', *wit(ant)-* 'year', where the derivative with *-(a)nt-* coexists with an attested base-form, *ispant-* merits formal collocation with the semantically closer *neku-* 'evening', *lukat-* 'morning', and *siwat-* 'day'. In the absence of an unsuffixed parallel, *ispant-* is not marked in any way (e.g. as animate or divinized), and there is no reason to postulate a secondary transformation of an **ispat-* into *ispant-* (as suggested by Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:259). Perhaps *ispant-* reflects an original **ksepon-* (gen. **kspnós*; cf. *tekan* < **dhe-ghom*, gen. *taknas* < **dhghnós*) besides Avest. *xšapan-*, *xšafn-*, with the weak grade extended to **kspnt-* (> *ispant-*) on the pattern of **nek^wt-* (> *neku-*), **lewkot-* (> *lukat-*; cf. Goth. *liuhap* 'light'), and **dyewot-* (> *siwat-*; cf. Ved. *dyút-* 'brightness'). Alternatively it is possible to speculate that *ispant-* < **kspont-* is built on the locative **kspont-* (cf. *dagan* < **dhghom*) of an old *r/n*-stem seen in Avest. *xšapar-/xšapan-*, resembling Skt. *heman-tá-* 'winter' (cf. Gk. *χίμαρος* *χειμών*, or Gk. *ἔαρ*; Skt. *vasan-tá-* 'spring'; Mayrhofer, *IF* 70:247–8 [1965]), thus tying in with Hitt. *gimant-* after all (if *giman-t-* rather than **gim-ant-*). Cf. also Oettinger, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 239–40 (1982).

There is little plausibility in a comparison of *ispant-* with Goth. *spediza* 'later', OHG *spāti* 'late' (E. Forrer apud S. Feist, *Vgl. Wh. der gotischen Sprache* 444 [1939]); the Germanic words mean literally 'getting along' (cf. English *speed*).

ispatalu in the Cappadocian tablets, allegedly 'night quarters', has been interpreted as a Hittite **ispantalli-* (vel sim.) borrowed into local Old Assyrian (cf. e.g. N. van Brock, *RHA* 20:128–9 [1962]); but the meaning is uncertain, and the relevance doubtful (cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 5:61 [1959], *Etym.* 1:138–9).

ispant- 'pour (a libation), libate, sacrifice' (BAL), rare, mostly Old Hittite spelling for usual *sip(p)ant-* or *sip(p)and-* (q.v. for overall treatment). 1 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-an-tah-hé* (KBo XVII 3 IV 1 *ispantah*) he and dupl. XVII 1 IV 5 *ispant[ahhe]*, *is-pa-an-tah-hi* (XVII 3 IV 6 and dupl. XVII 1 IV 10; XVII 1 III 14 and dupl. XVII 6 III 6 GEŠTIN-an *ispantahhi* 'I pour wine'; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 36, 30, 97), 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-an-ti* (XI 45 IV 20–21 DUMU LUGAL ... [...] *ispan[ti]*), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-pa-an-ta-an-zi* (XVII 15 Rs. 18 *ispantanzi-ma na[ttā]* 'but they do not libate'; cf. V. Haas – M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:86 [1976]); iter. *ispanza(s)ki-* (beside normal *sip(p)anzaki-*, both /spantski-/), 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-an-za-ki-zi* (XX 34 Rs. 6), *is-pa-an-za-as-ki-i[zi-zi]* (XX 37 Vs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 140).

ispantuwa- (c.) 'libation-vessel', nom. sg. BAL-u-wa-as (KUB XXXVIII 1 I 31 1 BAL-u-was AN.BAR 'one libation-vessel of iron'), acc. sg. *ispantuwan* (Bo 181 II 13–16 LUGAL-i *ispantuwan* KÜ.BABBAR [p]āi LUGAL-us ... *lāhūwa[i]* 'gives a silver libation-vessel to the king, the king ... pours'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 53:176 [1959]; Alp, *Belleten* 31:535–6 [1967]; KUB XXXII 98, 4; 133/u Rs. 9), *ispanduwan* (KBo XVII 75 I 59–60 *ispanduwan* KÜ.BABBAR GEŠTIN *udai nu* ^{GIS}BANŠUR-i [pīra]n 3-ŠU *sipanti* 'brings a silver libation-vessel with wine and libates before the table three times'), instr. sg. *ispanduit* (ibid. IV 8–10 *iŠTU BIBRI GUŠKIN* [...] *ispanduit* KÜ.BABBAR [sipa]nti 'from a gold rhyton [...] libates with a silver libation-vessel'; ibid. 29–30 *ispanduit* KÜ.BABBAR [...] *sipanti*; ibid. III 13 *ispanduit* KÜ[BABBAR]), abl. sg. *ispanduwas* (KUB VII 60 III 8–11 *nu-kan URU-LIM* ^{LÜ}KÜR *nassu tapisanit* GEŠTIN *nasma* ^{DUG}*ispanduwas iŠTU GEŠTIN sipanti* 'he libates with wine to the enemy city either with a wine-jug or from a libation-vessel'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 236; 1526/u I 17; KBo XV 33 II 30–31 *nu* ^{DUG}*ispanduwa[zi]* ^{DUG}*is* ^{nū}*ras pīran* ^{DIM}URU *Kuliūisn[a]* ^DHalkinn-a mān KAŠ-[it] mān GEŠTIN-it *sipanti* 'from a libation-vessel before the dough-bowls he libates the storm-god of K. and the grain-god either with beer or with wine'), *ispanduz* (ibid. III 31–33 *nu* ^{LÜ}EN *ē-TIM ishanē EGIR-anda PANI ZAG.GAR.RA* [^DI]M ^{URU}*Kuliūisna* ^{DUG}*ispanduz* 3-ŠU *sipanti* 'the housemaster behind the blood facing the

altar libates the storm-god of K. three times from a libation-vessel'), nom. pl. *ispanduwas* (XXI 1 II 5 30 ^{DUG}*ispanduwas* TUR > nom. sg. 'thirty small libation-vessels').

ispantuwa- originates in the gen. sg. of the verbal noun *sippanduar* (KBo I 42 IV 44; *MSL* 13:141 [1971]) or BAL-u-wa-ar (KUB III 95, 9; *MSL* 3:79 [1955]), thus ^{DUG}*ispantuwas* 'vessel of libation' > (^{DUG})*ispantuwas* (nom. sg.; cf. KBo IV 13 III 33 1 UDU *sipanduwas* 1 MĀŠ.GAL 'one sheep of consecration [= sacrificial sheep], one he-goat'). Cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungs-ritual* 23; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 116, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 139 (1982).

ispantuz(z)i- (n.) 'libation-vessel, libation, libate, libamen', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi* (e.g. KUB XVII 21 II 16–17 NINDA *harsaus* ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi-ya kuez arha piddāir* 'whence they have brought off breadloaves [and] libation-vessels'; ibid. IV 10 NINDA KUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi* GUD.HLA UDU.HLA 'breadloaves, libation-vessels, cattle, sheep'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 156, 160, XXX 41 II 24), *ispantuzzi* (e.g. KBo XXV 112 II 8–9 ^{DUG}*ispantuzzi* ^{harsas-(s)mas} ^{ispantuzzi-(s)mas} *ispantuzzi-a-smas*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191; KUB XXXIII 103 II 5 NINDA.KUR₄.R]A-ya-sma<s> *ispantuzzi namma* ŪL *kuiski sipanti* 'breadloaves [and] libations nobody will offer you any more'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:49 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46; II 13 IV 9–11 ^{LÜ}SILA.ŠU.DU₈.A *ispantuzzi* GIBIL GEŠTIN-as *dāi nu* ... *sipanti* 'the cupbearer takes fresh libamen of wine and ... libates'), ^{DUG}*ispantuzi* (KBo XVII 74 I 26–27 [OHitt.] ^{DUG}*ispantuzi* [...] *sipanti*; cf. Neu, *Gewitter-ritual* 12, 38; KUB XXIV 3 III 42 and XXX 13, 2; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 36, 26), *ispatuzi* (V I I 38 GIG GAL NINDA.KUR₄.RA *ispatuzi* *parnas-a* SIG₅ ME-as 'the great ailment took breadloaves, libations, and the weal of the house'; cf. Ūnal, *Hatt.* 2:38), *ispanduzzi* (e.g. I 16 III 50–51 *nu* NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HLA-ŠU *ispanduzzi-sme[t]* [...] ... *sarā artaru* 'let their breadloaves [and] their libations ... stand ready'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14; XXXIII 121 II 7 *nu-za namma* ¹Kessis DINGIR.MEŠ-us NINDA *harsit* *ispanduzzi* ŪL *kappuizzi* 'K. no longer furnishes the gods libations along with breadloaves'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]), *ispanduzi* (e.g. KBo VI 26 I 29–30 [= Code 2:64] *nassu* NINDA *harsin* *nasma* ^{GIS}GEŠTIN *ispanduzi kinuzi* 'he breaks open

either a breadloaf or a wine-jar'; *KUB XXV 31* Vs. 14–15 ^{DUG}*palhi ispanduzi karuuli* ^{LÚ}GUDÚ *dāi EGIR-pa-ma* [...] [*is*] *pan-duzi nemus* [c. for n.!] ^{LÚ}ZABAR.DIB *pāi* 'the anointed one deposits in a cauldron old libamen, and in return ... the goblet-holder gives fresh libamina'), *ispanduzita* (XXXII 124 I 12 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *ispanduzita*, with Hurroid ending; cf. e.g. *aduplita* s.v. *adupli-*, and von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154, 165), (acc. sg. *ispanruz*[-in] (XIV 14 Rs. 27), ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi*[n] (ibid. 23; cf. Götze, *KIF* 174), (gen. sg. *ispanruzzi*as (e.g. *KBo IV 9 I 16–17 2 huppar KÙ.BABBAR ispanruzzi*as GEŠTIN-it *sūwantes* [c. for n.] 'two silver jars filled with wine of libation'), *ispanruzzi*as (XX 99 + XXI 52 II 14 *ispanruzzi*as *piran dāi* 'places before the libate'), (dat.-loc. sg. ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi* (*KUB XIII 4 III 58–59 n-asta DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA harsi* ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi nahsarattan mekki tiyan ha[rin]* 'for the breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of the gods keep your respect very much in place'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]), *ispanruzzi* (XXXIII 121 II 12–13 DINGIR.MEŠ-es-kan 'Kessiya *ispanruzzi* ser *kartimmiyawantes* 'the gods [were] angry at K. because of the libation'), *ispanruzziya* (XIV 14 Rs. 29 *ispanruzziya* ser), ^{DUG}*ispanruzziya* (X 11 V 6 [A]NA PANI ^{DUG}*ispanruzziya* 'facing the libation-vessel'), instr. sg. *ispanruzzi* (XXIV 2 Vs. 12 *nu-tta kasa mukiskimi NINDA harsit* ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi* 'lo, I am entreating you with breadloaf [and] libation'), *ispa*nduzit (dupl. XXIV 1 I 14; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16), (abl. sg. *ispanruzzi*az (X 11 V 8–11 *n-asta GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL ispanruzzi*az GEŠTIN-an *sarā ... hāni* 'the chief page draws up wine from the libation-vessel'), *ispanruzzi*az (XIII 4 I 64–65 *kuis-wa-kan tuēl DINGIR-LIM-az NINDA harsiyaz* [^{DUG}i] *sp[a]nduzzi*az *dās* 'whoever has taken from thy breadloaf [or] libation-vessel, o god'; for the case-attraction in DINGIR-LIM-az cf. e.g. *tuetaza memiyanaz* for *tuel memiyanaz* 'at thy behest' in VIII 48 I 12), (gen. pl. ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi*yas (XVII 21 II 8–9 *sumen-zan nepisas DINGIR.MEŠ-as kue KUR.KUR.III.A NINDA harsayas* ^{DUG}*ispanruzzi*yas *argamanass-a ēsta* 'your lands, gods of heaven, which were [purveyors] of breadloaves, libation-vessels, and tribute'). Instrument noun in -uzzi-. cf. e.g. s.v. *isgapuzzi*-.
ispanruzziyalā (c.) 'libation-bearer', nom. pl. *ispanruzziyalēs*

438 *ISPANTUZZILI* 'by way of libation' (K 21.70 I 18 *is-pa-n-tu-uz-ti-li* GEŠT hassi 3-šu *sipanta[nzi]* 'they pour wine thrice at the hearth in libation-fashion')

(*KUB XIV 11 III 42*), *ispanruzziyalis* (sic dupl. XIV 8 Rs. 18–19 *nu-kan keys kuyēs LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR₄.RA-us* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ispanruzziyalis tēpawēs āssantes n-at-m[u le akk]anzi* 'the few bread- and libation-bearers who [are] remaining, they shall not die on me'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 214), *ispanruzziyalas* (XIV 14 Rs. 26 ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ispanruzziyalass-a tēpawēs*; cf. Götze, *KIF* 174), *ispanruzzi*las (XIV 8 Rs. 39 *nu-kan šA DINGIR.MEŠ kuyēs LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR₄.RA* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ispanruzzi*lass-a [*āss*]antes *n-at le namma akkanzi* 'what bread- and libation-bearers of the gods [are] remaining, let them not also die'), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ispanruzzi*lass-a (dupl. XIV 11 IV 9). Denominative agent noun, cf. e.g. ^{LÚ}*harsiyala* = ^{LÚ}NINDA.KUR₄.RA, from (NINDA) *harsi*- 'thick bread, breadloaf', *asusala*- (s.v. *asusa*-), *auriyala*- (s.v. *auri*-), besides *asusata*lla-, *auriyatalla*-; *ispanruzziyalā*- is to Gk. σπονδοφόρος what e.g. *irhuitalla*- 'basket-bearer' (q.v. s.v. *erhui*-) is to κα-λαθφόρος.

ispanruz(z)i(y)assar (n.), *ispanruz(z)i(y)assara*- (c.) 'libation-vessel', acc. sg. c. (?) *is-pa-a*] *n-tu-zi-as-sa-ra-an* (*KUB XLIII 30 II 21*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *is-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ya-as-sar* (XLIII 28 II 8 and III 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 154–5), *ispanruzzi*as-sar (*KBo XX 88 IV 10–11 ispanruzzi*assar KÙ.BABBAR-as [...] *SAL.LUGAL-ri pāi SAL.LUGAL-s-a sipanti* 'gives a silver libation-vessel to the queen, and the queen libates'; *VBoT* 113, 6 *ispa*] *antuzzi*assar KÙ.BABBAR; *KUB X 23 IV 12 ispa*] *ntuzzi*assar GUŠKIN 'libation-vessel of gold'; *KBo XXV 147 Rs. 3*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 232; *KUB II 13 IV 17–19* ^{LÚ}ŠIL.A.ŠU.DU₈.A *ispanruzzi*as-sar GEŠTIN-as *dāi n-asta ... sipanti* 'the cupbearer takes a libation-vessel with wine, and he libates'; ibid. 23 *ispanruzzi*as-sar GEŠTIN), *ispa*] *antuzi*yassar (*KBo XVII 74 III 2* [OHitt.]), *ispanruzzi*assar (e.g. XVII 43 I 8 *ispanruzzi*assar KÙ.BABBAR *dāi*, with dupl. XVII 18 II 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 104, 100; *KUB XLIII 30 II 8* and 12 *ispanruzzi*assar LUGAL-i *parā epzi* 'proffers a libation-vessel to the king'; ibid. 20 *i*] *spanruzzi*assar *dāi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77), *ispanruzzi*isar (*KBo IV 9 II 51–52 UGULA* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MU-HALDIM *ispanruzzi*isar GEŠTIN LUGAL-i *parā epzi* 'the chef de cuisine proffers a libation-vessel with wine to the king'), *ispanruzzi*isar (XI 50 I 24 *ispanruzzi*isar KÙ.BABBAR), *is-pa-tu-uz-zi-es-sar* (*KUB XX 87 I 10–12* ù ^{LÚ}GUDÚ *ispanruzzi*assar šA

DINGIR-LIM ANA ^{LÜ}SANGA pāi ^{LÜ}SANGA-s-a GUD.MAH sipanti 'and the anointed one gives the god's libation-vessel to the priest, and the priest consecrates the bull'), ^{DUG}ispanduzziyassar (VII 8 II 11-12 NINDA harsawus memal ^{DUG}ispanduzziyassar 'breadloaves, groats, libation-vessels'), *ispanduziassar* (KBo XVII 74 II 7 [OHitt.] UGULA ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM GEŠTIN-as *ispanduziassar* G[₆ LUGAL-i par]ā epzi 'the chef de cuisine proffers a black libation-vessel with wine to the king'; ibid. IV 37-38] *ispanduziassar* G₆ ŠA GEŠTIN dāi kuttas piran [siuni 1]-is sipanti 'takes a black libation-vessel with wine; before the wall he libates once to the deity'), instr. sg. *is-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ya-as-sa-ri-it* (KUB XXV 36 V 5-8 ^{LÜ}GUDU ANA ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ *spanduwa[n]* 3-ŠU QATAMMA irhāizzi ^{LÜ}IM-as *ispanduzziyassarit* sarā 3-ŠU QATAMMA summai 'the anointed one likewise finishes libating three times to the war-god; the man of the storm-god likewise fills up three times with the libation-vessel'; for supine not formed from iterative and used for infinitive cf. *ishahru iyauwan* 'to shed tears' [s.v. *ishahru*], beside normal *ēšhar sipanduwanzi irhāizzi* 'finishes offering up the blood' [s.v. *arha*]), *is-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-as-sar-i[t]* (ibid. VI 30), acc. pl. *is-pa-an-tu-zi-as-sa-ru-us* (XLIII 30 II 6-7 ^{LÜ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM *ispantuzziassarus* ... [...] *pedanzi* 'the cooks carry the libation-vessels'; cf. Neu, *Altheil*. 77).

ispantuzziyassar, *ispantuzzessar* as a derivative of *ispantuzzi* resembles e.g. *alalešsar* 'meadow' from *alel*- 'flower, bloom', or **kuttessar* (BÄD-essar) 'walling' from *kutt*- 'wall' (for the form of the suffix cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:288). Curiously no heteroclitic oblique cases are found; instead there is evidence of occasional *a*-stem thematization already in Old Hittite (acc.sg. c. [?] *ispantuzziassaran*, acc. pl. c. *ispantuzziassarus*), with instr. sg. *ispanduzziyassarit* resembling dat.-loc. sg. ^{NA}**kuttassari* (KUB XXVI 92, 11) from **kuttassar* (perhaps Luwoid, cf. Hier. CHISEL *kutasaraji*- 'wall[s]').

Despite the tendency to declare *ispantuwa*-, *ispantuzzi*-, and *ispantuzziyassar* semantically identical (e.g. Alp, *Belleten* 31:540 [1967]; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 91 [1978]) there are significant differences: *ispantuwa*- and *ispantuzziyassar* are often qualified as to their material (iron,

silver, gold) and are clearly primarily terms for containers; *ispantuzzi*-, on the other hand, shades metonymically into the libational contents as well (or even primarily), as a result of which it is frequently collocated with NINDA harsi- in a combined formula for the bread-and-wine offerings to the deity.

For etymology (Gk. σπένδω 'libate', Lat. *spondeo* 'pledge, promise') see further s.v. *sip(p)ant*-, likewise for the question why the finite verb has regularized an unusual spelling variant for /sp-/, whereas noun derivatives consistently keep the normal *is-pa*-.

Because of clear derivational links to the verb *ispant*- there is no likelihood in G. B. Jähukyan's comparison of *ispandu(zzi)*- with Arm. *p'und* 'vessel', ON *spann* 'pail, bucket', OCS *spodū* 'peck', Lat. *sponda* 'couch, sofa', IE *(s)pondh- (*Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezunerə* 139 [1970]).

ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter, stretch, shatter, fell;

fly(?)', 1 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-ar-hi* (KUB XII 44 II 30 *parasdu isparhi* 'I strew plant-shoots'), *is-pār-ah-hi* (VII 57 I 6-8) ^DIM-as-wa ^{URU}Lihzinan [...] [IGI.HI.A-wa] *katta huwappahhi nu-wa-ssan paimi* [...] [...] *hūmanni isparahhi* ^{SAL.MEŠ}ŠU.GI *isparnumi* 'I, the storm-god, shall fling L. face down, and I shall go [...] ... shatter [it and] make the sorceresses scatter'), 2 sg. pres. act. *is-pār-ra-at-ti* (XXI 27 III 29-30 GİR.MEŠ-it *isparratti* 'you shatter with your feet'), 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-ri* (KBo IV 2 II 53; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:93 [1962]), *is-pa-a-ri* (e.g. KUB XX 46 III 6-8 *ilanas piran happurriyan ispāri* 'spreads h. before the staircase'; KBo X 45 II 19-20 *n-us GİR.MEŠ-as DÜ-zi n-us KI-an ispāri nu-ssan kūš* DINGIR.MEŠ *asasi* 'he makes [the idols] in dagger-form, spreads them on the ground, and sets up these deities'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:112 [1961]), *is-pār-ri-iz-zi* (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 91 *aliyas-wa ŪL wāi ŪL-ma-wa wāki ŪL-ma-wa isparrizzi* 'the a.[-bird] does not coo; does not bite, does not spread [viz. its wings, = 'fly?']'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 38, 143-4, and see the end of this entry), *is-pār-ri-ya-az-zi* (VII 60 II 8-10 *namma* 1 TUG BABBAR 1 TUG SA₅ 1 TUG ZA.GIN [dā]i *n-as ANA DINGIR.MEŠ* ^{LÜ}KUR KASKAL.MEŠ *kattan isparriyazzi* 'she also takes a white

cloth, a red cloth, [and] a blue cloth, and spreads them as paths for the enemy gods'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 234), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-pa-ra-an-zi* (e.g. XXX 29 Vs. 4–5 [1]-EN^{KUS} *sarpassis-a-ka[n]* ^{GIS}*kuppishas istarna* [t]agān *isparanzi* 'one cushion between the stools on the ground they spread'; *VAT 7448* III 3–5 *nu iṣTU É^{LU} GUDÚ KASKAL-an menahhanda iṣTU TUG isparanzi* NINDA *purpurus-si kattan ishūwanzi* 'out of the house of the anointed one they lay a cloth-spread on the road and pour bread-lumps down upon it'; *VBoT* 24 II 31–33 *ša^{GIS} HASHUR. KUR.RA^{GIS} lahhurnuzi isparanzi ser-a-ssan* 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *parsianthus tianzi* 'they spread foliage of mountain-apple and on it they place three broken breadloaves'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:10 [1927]; *KBo* XXV 31 III 10 [OHitt.] *isparanzi*, *is-pār-ra-an-zi* (frequent, e.g. dupl. [later copy] XX 32 II 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 80, 83; *KUB* IX 31 IV 17 *nu^{GIS} lahhurnuzzi isparranzi*, with dupl. *HT* I IV 22 *nu lahhurnuzzi isparanzi*; *KUB* IX 31 III 62–63 *nu^{GIS} lahhurnuzi kattan isparranzi*; dupl. *XLI* 17 III 11 *nu^{GIS} lahhurnuzi katta isparran[zi]*; dupl. *IX* 32 Vs. 38 *nu^{GIS} lahhurnuzzi kattan isparranzi*; *ibid.* Rs. 27 *nu^{GIS} lahhurnuzzi dagān isparranzi* 'they spread foliage on the ground'; *IBoT* III 148 I 31–32 *IGIS^{NA}-ma-kan parā udanzi n-at^{GIS} ZA.LAM.GAR-as É.ŠA-ni isparranzi* 'they bring forth the bed and spread it in the interior of the tent'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 212; *ABoT* 34, 6 and 16 *GIS^{NA} isparranzi*; *KUB* X 92 VI 14–15 *kuitman-ma-kan^{DUTU-us} nūwa sarā nu^{GIS} nathita isparranzi* 'but while the sun is still up they spread the couch[es]'; *XLIV*, 1 Rs. 20 *ŠA É.ŠA-kan^{GIS} NA-hi na[mulli is]parranzi* 'inside the inner chamber they cover the couch with a bedspread'; *VII* 8 III 14–15 *nu-ssi^{GIS} NA namma-ssi^{GIS} BANŠUR piran katta isparranzi* 'furthermore they spread a bed for him in front of the table'; *ibid.* 18–19 *nu-ssi ape-ya kattan isparranzi* 'those [viz. garments] too they spread for him'; *KBo* XXI 10, 12 *KUŠ.GUD isparranzi* 'they spread a cowhide'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 16; *KUB* XXIX 45 I 14 *jakattan isparranzi* 'they spread out'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 172; *KBo* XV 9 III 7 *ser isparranzi*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64), (1 sg. pret.) act. *is-pār-hu-un* (*KUB* XV 34 I 40–42 *kāsa-smas KASKAL.MEŠ^{TUG} kusisiyas^{TUG} kuresnit isparhun nu-smas-as BA. BA.ZA YÁ DUG.GA isparhun nu-ssan apiya iyaddumat* 'lo, for you

I have spread paths with a swath of gown-fabric, for you I have spread paste [and] good oil, now go there!'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 186), *is-pār-ra-ah-hu-un* (*VII* 60 II 26–27 *KASKAL.MEŠ-ya-wa-smas iṣTU TUG BABBAR ... kattan isparrahhun* 'paths I have spread for you with a white cloth'; *XVII* 27 III 11–12 -] *as-kan ser allapahhun n-at anda* [GIR-i] *t isparrahhun* 'I have spat on [...] and in addition shattered it with my foot'), (3 pl. pret.) act. *is-pār-ri-ir* XXXIII 114 IV 12; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:36 [1968]), 2 sg. imp. midd. *is-pār-hu-ut* (XXIII 77 I 4), 2 pl. imp. act. *is-pi-ir-te-en* (sic *KBo* XXI 14 Vs. 8), 3 pl. imp. act. *is-pār-ra-an-du* (*VI* 34 III 24–29 *n[u ...] parā epzi n-an IGI.HLA-wa katta huwapp*) *āi n-an GIR-it isparranzi nu-sma[s ki] san tezzi kuis-wa-kan kūs NIŠ* [DINGIR-LIM] *sarrizzi nu uwandu apel URU-a[n DINGIR.M]EŠ^{URU} Hatti QATAMMA GIR-it isparrandu n-[at da]n-natta URU-yassessar iyandu* 'he takes [the figurine] and flings it face down, and they shatter it with their feet, and he says as follows: "he who breaks these oaths, let the gods of Hatti come and likewise shatter his city with their feet and make it a desolate townsite"; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12); partic. *isparrant-*, nom. sg. c. *is-pār-ra-an-za* (e.g. *XVII* 61 Vs. 17 *ekza isparranza* 'the net [is] spread'; cf. H. Berman, *JAOS* 92:466 [1972]; *KUB* XVII 31 I 24 *MAYALU-ma-ssi sastas É.ŠA-ni isparranz[a* 'bedding [is] spread for him in the inner bedchamber'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 62; *ibid.* 4 *MAYA]LU isparranza*; *KBo* XV 2 IV 1–2 *sast[a- ...] ... [TUG MAYALU] isparranza* 'bed ... bedding [is] spread', cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *isparran* (*KUB* IX 28 I 15 *ispāta KÙ.BABBAR TUR isparran harzi* 'she holds a small silver spit outstretched'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *isparranda* (*KBo* XV 2 I 10–11, amended from dupl. *KUB* XVII 14 IV 3–4, [1-NUTUM ^{GIS}NA] *iṣTU TUG MAYALI isparran[da* 'one bed covered with a bedspread'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 56), dat.-abl. pl. *isparrandas* (XXX 15+XXXIX 11 Vs. 48–49 [^{GIS}NA.MEŠ^{GIS} isparranzi nu-kan hastai iṣTU ^{GIS}ŠU.A arha d[anzi] [n-a]t-san^{GIS} NA-as isparrandas tianzi 'they spread the bed, take the bones from the chair, and place them on the spread bed'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68); verbal noun *is-pār-ri-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 42 V 4 *DAG = [Akk.] meštū* [from *šeṭū* 'spread'] = *isparri-yauwar*; *ibid.* 5 *DAG = [Akk.] meltū = KI.MIN-pat* 'ditto'; cf.

Ku 38.36 v. 6
ZABAR isparran
harzi; d. Jak-R
MIO 9:197, '63

verb. noun.
is-pa-ru-mar
(Ku 55.21 v. 5; d.
ibid. 1+2
u^{GIS}NA ... isparranzi)

Götze, *Madd.* 144, 70; Güterbock, *MSL* 13:142 [1971]); inf. *is-pár-ru-um-ma-an-zi* (*IBoT* II 131 I 23); iter. *ispareski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-ri-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* VII 5 II 19 *n-[at]* *ispandaz katta ispareskizzi* 'he will spread it [viz. the garment] out at night'; iterative-"durative" *isparanna-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pa-ra-an-na-i* (*Bo* 404 IV 5).

isparnu- 'spread, spray, scatter', 1 sg. pres. act. *is-pár-nu-mi* (see above sub 1 sg. pres. act. *isparahhi*), 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pár-nu-zi* (*KBo* XX 10+XXV 59 I 11-12 and II 8-9 *ta LUGAL-un šuppiyahhi watar 3-šu isparnuzi* 'he purifies the king, sprays water three times'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 131-2; *KUB* XLVIII 76 I 2-3 *nu ektan [ispar]nuzi* 'spreads the net'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 6), *is-pár-nu-uz-zi* (1144/v, 4), 3 pl. pres. act. *isparnuwanzi* (473/t Vs. 13-15 *GIM-an ektan ispar]nuwanzi nu ARNABU ektet [appanzi]* 'even as they spread the net and catch the hare with the net ...'), 1 sg. pret. act. *is-pár-nu-nu-un* (XLI 19 Rs. 9), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-pár-nu-ut* (XIX 9 IV 12; cf. Riemschneider, *JCS* 16:115 [1962]); iter. *isparnuski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *i]s-pár-nu-us-ki-iz-zi* (XII 29 I 5).

^{roof battens} ^{ānall 1205} ^{149/4, 190, 310} ^{idem 121} ^{401/4, 88, 164-5} ^{MS} **[ispar(r)uzzi-]** (n.) 'rafter' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. or pl.
^{MS} ^{is-pa-ru-uz-zi} (*KUB XXIX 1 III 18-19 mān* ^{LU} ^{NAGAR} ^{NS}
^{is-kis-kan-ka} ^{isparuzzi} ^{karsūwanzi} ^{paizzi} 'when the carpenter goes to cut the ridgepole and the rafters'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:34 [1947]; Goetze, *ANET* 358), ^{MS} ^{is-pār-ru-uz-zi} (*KUB XL 55+1236/u. 16* ^{MS} ^{isparuzzi} 4 *sēk[an* 'the rafter[s] four spans' [viz. in length]; cf. Kühne, *ZA* 62:255-6 [1972], who compared Germanic **spar[r]an-* 'spar, rafter'). Literally 'stretcher' (instrument noun in -uzzi- like e.g. *ispan-tuzzi-*; cf. e.g. s.v. *isgapuzzi-*). Cf. ^{ānall 1205} ^{401/4, 88, 164-5} ^{MS} ^{is-pa-ru-uz-zi} ^{is-kis-kan-ka} ^{isparuzzi} ^{karsūwanzi} ^{paizzi} 'when the carpenter goes to cut the ridgepole and the rafters'. See also under 424 above.

Luwoid *par(r)iya-* 'spread' (herbal medicine in the eyes), 3 sg. pres. act. *pa-ar-ri-it-ti*, with gloss wedges (*KUB XXII 61 I 19* ŠÀ IGL.HI.A *apāt parritti* '[the medicine man] spreads that in my eyes'), 3 pl. pres. act. *pa-ar-ri-en-zi*, with gloss wedges (*ibid.* 6 ŠÀ IGL.HI.A *parrienzi*), 3 sg. pret. act. *pár-ri-ya-i*[t (*XXXV 111 II 2*; cf. Otten, *LTU* 101); verbal adj. *pariyawant-*, nom. sg. c. *pa-ri-ya-u-wa-an-za* (*XXII 61 I 14* Ú *pariyauwanza kuit* 'the herb[al medicine] which has been spread'). The initial of *parritti* is related to Hittite proper *isparrizzi* (quoted above) like e.g.

Luw. *tummant-* is to Hitt. *istaman(a)-* 'ear'. This medical usage is distinct from Hitt. *iski(ya)-* 'salve' (q.v.) and from *anda¹, tarna-* 'instil' (viz. eye-drops; e.g. XLIV 63 III 18; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30). Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 7:119 (1965).

ispāri goes back to **spōre(y)* (cf. Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs* 17), *ispārriya-* (if ancient) may come from **spṛ-yō-*, and *isparnu-* can reflect **spṛ-nēw-*. The outcomes of **sper-(H-)* have in Hittite supplanted those of the rhyme-word **ster-(H-)* 'strew, spread' (Skt. *stṛṇōti*, Avest. *stārənaoiti*, Gk. *στόρνῶμι*, Lat. *sternō*, OIr. *sernaid*, Goth. *straujan*), which typically yielded words for 'bedding' (Skt. *prastarā-* 'cushioning', Avest. *stairiš-* 'bed', Gk. *στρωμα* 'bedding', Lat. *strāmen* 'litter, bedding', OIr. *V. cossair* < **kom-stari-* 'bed', OE *strēaw* 'straw'); thus ^{G18}*ispār-* matches Gk. *λέχος στορέσαι* or Lat. *lectum sternere* (cf. Myc. *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* = *λεχεστροπήριον*, Lat. *lectisternium*). For a possible relic see s.v. *istarna*. IE **sper-(H-)* must have been richer in semantic shadings, not merely 'spread, strew, scatter' (cf. Gk. *σπείρω* 'scatter, sow', *σποράς* 'scattered', Arm. *sp'rem* 'scatter', *p'arat* 'scattered', OE *sprādan* [< **spr-éy-d-*] 'spread', OHG *spru* [German *spreu*] 'chaff') but also 'spray' (cf. Hitt. *isparnuzi* quoted above [beside usual *hurnai-* 'spray', *pappars-* 'sprinkle'], OHG *sprīzan* 'spray') and 'stretch (out), extend' (cf. Hitt. *ispāta ... isparran* 'spit outstretched' quoted above, *ispar[r]uzzi-* 'rafter' cognate with Engl. *spar* and *spear*, Lat. *sparus* 'hunting-spear'). From 'stretch, extend' as applied to body extremities developed another set of nuanced meanings attached to discrete stems, thus Rig-Vedic *sphurāti* 'dart, bound' or 'kick' (e.g. *RV* 1.84.8 *kadā mārtam arādhāsam padā kṣūmpam iva sphurat* 'when will he kick the stinging mortal like a mushroom with his foot?'; cf. *apa-sphūra-* 'spurning'), later Skt. 'twitch, quiver', as in Gk. (ἀ)σπαίρω 'jerk, be convulsive' (beside *σφυρόν* 'ankle'); in other languages the verbal sense is 'kick' (Lith. *spirti*) leading over to 'spurn' (OE *spurnan* 'kick, spurn'; Lat. *spernō* 'spurn', *asper* 'harsh' < **apo-speros* 'spurning'; perhaps Arm. *sparnam* 'threaten'), besides nominalizations such as OIr. *seir* 'heel' (< **speret-*), OE *spor* 'spoor, footstep, track'. G1R.MEŠ-*it isparratti*, G1R-*it isparrahhun*, G1R-*it isparrandu* (quoted above) resembles Vedic *padā sphurā-*, but

notarato
registrazioni
anelli

* - per 'spray'
x-uu na
cep. uuet
|
- m.
caus

unlike other languages Hittite has not reserved this special sense for a separate stem; rather Hittite shows overall nuances of **sper-* (*H-*) parallel to what e.g. Latin has for **ster-* (*H-*): not only *membra ... stratus* 'with limbs outstretched' (Horace, *Odes* 1.1.21–22), but also *moenia ... stravit* 'demolished the walls' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12:549–550), *sternit ... Troiam* 'lays low Troy' (Vergil, *Aeneid* 2:603), and *strāgēs* 'overthrow'; similarly *gir-it isparra-* may be simply an extended meaning in the same way as English *shatter* is a variant of *scatter* (both from OE *sceaterian*, cognate with Gk. *σκιδνῆμι* 'scatter'); cf. ^{G18}*eyanan isparra-* 'fell an *eya*-tree' (117/r, 4). Thus 'shatter with the foot' may well be strictly secondary; it is not even used in Kumarbi's rantings against the gods (*KUB XXXIII* 93 + *III* 21–25 *nu-wa[r-an iz]-an GIM-an arha pussaiddu ... GİR-it anda pasihaiddu ... arha zahreskiddu, ... GAM ... ishuwāu ... arha duwarneskiddu* 'let him pound him like chaff, crush (him) with the foot (like an ant), snap (him off like a reed), scatter down (all the gods from heaven like birds), break (them like empty vessels)').

The separation of the two roots **sper-* (despite suspicions of ultimate identity, e.g. *IEW* 993) has played the devil with the etymologizing of *ispar-*. Sturtevant (starting *Lg.* 4:2–3 [1928]) compared Gk. *σπείρω* exclusively (separating Skt. *sphurāti*; also *Comp. Gr.*¹ 130, *Lg.* 14:72 [1938], *Comp. Gr.*² 45); thus also e.g. Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs* 17; T. Milewski, *L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 43 (1936); Kronasser, *VLFH* 30; A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3:433 (1973). Benveniste (*BSL* 33:139 [1932]) opted for Skt. *sphurāti* as the comparandum and rejected Gk. *σπείρω* (thus also Couvreur, *Hett.* 198). In a mediating vein, W. Petersen (*Arch. Or.* 9:204–5 [1937]) suggested that both roots **sper-* (whatever their ultimate PIE relationship) had coalesced in Hittite.

Already Götze (*Madd.* 144) compared the two meanings of *ispar-* to those of e.g. Akk. *sapānu* ('cover over' and 'throw down'), and Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:446) adduced Lat. *sternere* 'scatter' and 'lay low, destroy'. Yet attempts to split the inventory have persisted: C. Watkins (in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 377 [1975]) tried to distinguish *ispar-* 'spread' from

isparra- 'tread on', comparing the first to *σπείρω* (IE **sper-*) and the second to *sphurāti* (IE **sperH-*); but despite admission of exceptions, the inventory simply overwhelms attempts at separation (cf. e.g. above *is-pār-ra-ah-hu-un* 'I have spread' or 'I have shattered'). Oettinger (*Eide* 45, *Stammbildung* 266–71) came out strongly but wholly unconvincingly for a base-meaning 'tread, ram' in *isparra-* (thus comparing Skt. *sphurāti*), explaining 'spread' from a rural habit of spreading straw and the like with the feet; but he, too, had to admit exceptions, tying in *isparnu-* as 'spray' with Gk. *σπείρω* instead. *cf. Lehmman // Brode 35:131–2*

A further cognate may be found in *partāuwar* 'wing' (q.v.); cf. Skt. *parṇā-* (n.) 'pinion, wing, feather', OCS *pero* 'feather', *pariti* 'fly', Lith. *spaṇas* 'wing', and the bird-names Lat. *parra*, Umbr. *parfa(m)* (<**sparsā*), Goth. *sparwa* 'sparrow', Hes. *σπαράσιον*, Toch. A *špār*. Cf. above 3 sg. pres. *isparrizzi* 'spreads (its wings?)'; possibly *isparrizzi*=OCS *paritū* 'flies' (*pittai-* having shifted in the direction of 'run, flee'; *partāuwar*=*pittar* 'wing')?

Cf. *ispart(iya)-*.

ispart(iya)-, isparz(a)- 'escape, get away, slip away', *sarā ispart-* 'leap up, emerge, accede, come of age', 3 sg. pres. act. *is-pār-ti-i-e-iz-zi* (*KBo* XI 14 II 20–21 ^{NA4}*ARÀ-za-kan GIM-an* ^V*kappis ispartiyezzi* EN.SISKUR-kan ^D*Ākni KAXU-za QATAMMA ispartiddu* 'even as a small grindstone slips away, may the sacrificer likewise escape from the jaws of Akni'), *is-pār-za-i* (*KUB* VI 7 IV 4; XL 33 Vs. 20), *is-pār-za-a-i* (*KBo* XII 38 II 2; *K6.22.46.45.15*; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76 [1967]), *is-pār-za-zi* (e.g. XVI 47 Vs. 10–11 *n-us-kan mān kuemi mān-us arnuuni mān-mu-kan arha-ma kuiski isparzazi* 'whether I slay them, or deport them, if someone escapes from me ...'; cf. Otten, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17:56 [1967]; *KUB* XXXI 66 II 6–7 *nu-wa-za mān* [LUGAL-*u*]s DINGIR-LIM-is *kisari sarā ku[is-kan] kuis LUGAL-us isparzazi* 'when the king becomes a god, whoever shall accede as king ...'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 130; I 1 IV 87–88 *sarā isparzazi* 'accedes [to the kingship] or 'comes of age'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 40; Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 23–4 [1940];

XXIII 1 II 43 *sarā isparzazi*; cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 10; *KBo* VII 20 II 6 *n]asma INIM BAL UGU isparzazi* 'or word of insurrection emerges'; V 9 II 14–16 *nu-kan māt ina kur* ^{URU}Hatti [*idalus*] *kuiski memiyas sarā isparzazi* 'if in Hatti some bad report emerges'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:16; V 13 II 26–27 *namma-kan māt ištū kur* ^{URU}Hatti *kuiski idalus memiyas ša bal sarā isparzazi* 'further if from Hatti some bad word of insurrection emerges'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124), *is-pār-za-az-zi* (the similar passage V 4 Vs. 10; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:52; IV 3 III 3–4 [*nasma-ka*] *n ištū kur* ^{URU}Hatti-ya *kuiski awat* ^{LÚ}KUR *sa[rā]* *isparzazzi nu* ^{LÚ}KUR *kuiski ana* ^{DU}UTU-*št arāi* 'or from Hatti some word of hostility emerges, and some enemy rises against my majesty'; dupl. IV 7 III 30; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:132; similarly V 4 Vs. 18; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:54), *is-pa-ar-zi-zi* (*KUB* IV 72 Rs. 4–5 *nassu-ma-sta iū-as hatgauwaz petaz isparzizi* 'or the man will escape from a tight spot'), *is-pār-za-iz-zi* (112/u, 6), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-pār-za-ah-hu-un* (XXV 21 III 13–16 *GIM-an-ma-kan ūk* ¹Tu[*thaliyas*] *sarā isparzahhu[n nu-mu]* ¹Hattusi-DINGIR-LIM-is LUGAL [*GAL sarā dās*] 'but when I, T., came of age, Hattusilis the great king took me up'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 186), 2 sg. pret. act. *is-pār-za-as-ta* (XIX 49 I 5–6 *man-ta-kkan kue[nmir nu zik]* *isparzasta* 'they would have killed you, but you escaped'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:4), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-pār-za-as* (XXIII 93 III 15 *sarā-pat isparzas*), *is-pār-za-as-ta* (e.g. XXIII 72 Rs. 17 *piran arha isparzas[ta* 'got away'; XIV 1 Vs. 57 *1-is isparzasta* 'alone escaped'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 14; *KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 8 ¹Hāppis-a *isparzasta* 'H. escaped', with dupl. III 38 Rs. 24 ¹Hāppis[s-a] *isparzasta*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12; III 60 III 4 [OHitt.] 'escaped'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:106 [1938]; V 8 III 31–32 *nu-mu-kan* ¹Pittagatallis-pat *1-as isparzasta* 'P. alone escaped from me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; III 4 II 77 *-k]an 1-as SAG.DU-as isparzasta* 'escaped as the only person'; cf. Götze, *AM* 64; II 5 III 37 ¹Aparrus-ma-kan *isparzasta* 'but A. got away'; cf. Götze, *AM* 188; *KUB* XIX 37 III 20 *nu-kan* ^{LÚ}KUR ^{URU}Timmuhalas *ūl isparzasta* 'the enemy from T. did not escape'; ibid. 22–23 *nu-mu-kan hantezzi palsi kuit* ^{URU}Timmuhalas *ištū NAM.RA.HI.A*

GUD UDU isparzasta 'because the first time around T. had escaped from me with deportees, cattle, and sheep'; cf. Götze, *AM* 174; XXXIII 108 II 7 *sarā isparzasta* '[Ištar] leaped up' [from bed]; cf. Friedrich, *JKF* 2:148 [1952]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:72 [1968]; *KBo* VI 28 Vs. 16–17 [*ma]hhan-ma ABA ABI-YA* ¹Su[*ppiluliuma* LUGAL GA] ¹L UR.SAG *sarā isparzasta [nu]-za-kan ANA* ^{GIS}SU.A LUGAL-UTTI *esa[t* 'but when my grandfather S., great king, hero, came of age and seated himself on the throne of kingship'), 3 pl. pret. act. ¹*is-pār-te-ir* (*KUB* XXIII 72+1684/u Vs. 43 *ša* ^{DU}UTU-*št-ya ANA* ^{GIS}TUKUL *kuyēs piran arha isparter* 'those who escaped from my majesty's weapons'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 28:61 [1976]; H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 67:54 [1977]; XIX 37 III 25 *kappūwantes-pat-mu-kan antuhšes isparter* 'few people escaped from me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 174; XIV 1 Vs. 52 *kappū[wantes-pa]t antuhšes isparter*; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 12; *KBo* II 5 IV 5–6 [*nu-m]u-kan URU.DIDLI.HI.A Bād kuit ša kur* ^{URU}Kalāšma [*ANA*] ^{LÚ}KUR *isparter* 'because the fortress cities of K. had gone over from me to the enemy'; cf. Götze, *AM* 190; III 4 I 55; cf. Götze, *AM* 30), *is-pār-zi-ir* (*KUB* I 6 II 8 *2-ēl isparzir* '[they] jointly escaped'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 16), 3 sg. imp. act. *is-pār-ti-id-du* (*KBo* XI 14 II 21, quoted above sub *3 sg. pres. act. is-pār-ti-i-e-iz-zi*), *is-pār-za-as-du* (XII 126 I 21 *nu-]smas-kan* ^{GIS}KAK-*az isparzasdu* 'let him escape from your peg'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22); partic. *isparzant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-pār-za-an* (VI 28 Vs. 14–15 ^{URU}Hat] *tusass-a URU-as arha warnuwanza ēsta nu-kan [akkan-]tas* ¹hesti-ya *isparzan ēsta* 'the city of H. had been burned down, and [only] the mausoleum of the dead had escaped'; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 22 [1940]).

The basic stem is *ispart-*, i.e. /spard-/; the variant *isparz-* originates at juncture-points with endings beginning in *-t-* (*isparzazi* /spart^ti/, *isparzasta* /spart^t/, *isparzasdu* /spart^ttu/); forms like *isparzai*, *isparzas* are of this secondary kind; cf. the similar phenomena with e.g. *hat-* and *ed-* (s.v.).

Hrozný (*Heth. KB* 234–5) compared *ispart-* with Lith. *spárdyti* 'kick' (and Gk. *σπαίρω*, Skt. *sphurāti*, Avest. *sparaiti*, which latter belong etymologically most closely with Lith. *spirti* 'kick' and Hitt. *ispar[r]-*, q.v.); further matches involve Arm.

sprdem 'slip away, escape' (G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniaca* 48 [1931-3]; T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:222 [1961]; G. B. Jahukyan, *Hayerena ev hndevropakan hin lezunerā* 139 [1970]), Skt. *spṛdh-* 'contention; competitor, rival', *spṛdhate* 'contend, compete, rival', Gk. *σπρρῖζειν* 'kick up', Goth. *spairds*, OE *spyrd* 'track, race(course)' (E. Forrer apud S. Feist, *Vgl. Wb. der gotischen Sprache* 444 [1939]; J. Knobloch, *Kratylos* 4:41 [1959]; H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 84 [1975]). The base-meaning clearly has to do with stretching, straining, or racing ('outrage' > 'escape'), being thus essentially an extension of **sper-* in the same special sense (q.v. s.v. *ispar[r]-*). A parallel extension to **sper-dh-*, **sper-gh-*, is seen in e.g. Skt. *spṛhāyati* 'be eager', Gk. *σπρρῖχεται* 'rush', OE *springan* 'leap', causative *sprengan* 'make jump, spring, sprinkle, spray'.

ispatar (n.) 'spit, skewer', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ispatar* (e.g. *KUB* XLII 78 II 6 16 *ispatar* GUŠKIN 'sixteen golden spits'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:112 [1978]), URUDU *ispātar* (e.g. VII 1 II 3-5 *nu-kan kuidani karātis atantes nu-za URUDU ispātar dāi n-us hassaz EGIR-pa ispannit* 1-EN-as <1>EN-as *daskizzi n-us azzikizzi* 'by whom entrails [are] eaten, he takes a spit and takes them from the fireplace with the spit one by one and eats them'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *ispāta* (IX 28 I 15 *ispāta* KÜ.BABBAR TUR *isparan harzi* 'she holds a small silver spit outstretched'; cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 21:157 [1975]; for lack of -r see s.v. *iyatar*), gen. sg. *ispannas* (IX 35 III 7; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 129), instr. sg. *ispannit* (VII 1 II 4, quoted above; *KUB* XXXI 1 + *KBo* III 16 II 7 *ispannit iskarhi* 'I shall stab with a spit'; ibid. 13 *ispannit isqarrit* 'he stabbed with a spit'), abl. sg. *ispannaza* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 31; cf. Haas-Thiel, *Rituale* 106).

The comparison with Gk. *σπάθη* 'blade, spatula', OE *spada* 'spade' (n-stem, cf. German *spaten*), initiated by Kammenhuber (*MIO* 3:354-5 [1955], *Sommer Corolla* 105), is formally appealing (heteroclitic **spE₁dh-ṛ*: **spE₁dh-n-*, the latter surviving in WGmc. **spadan*), but semantically the nearest parallels are dental extensions of the root form **speE₁-y-* (*IEW* 980-2)

such as OE *spitu* 'spit' or Lith. *spitnà*, *spitulē* 'buckle-pin'; *ispatar* (oblique stem *ispann-*) should reflect **spE₁tr* (rather than **spE₁dhr*) because **-tn-* normally yields *-nn-* but *-dn-* does not (cf. Puhvel, *KZ* 86:112 [1972] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 221 [1981]).

istagga(i)- (c.) 'bowstring', nom. sg. ^{slg}*istaggas* (*KUB* XXVII 67 II 10), acc. sg. ^{slg}*istaggan* (ibid. II 24 ^{slg}*istaggan-a* QATAMMA *iyazi* 'and she treats the bowstring in the same manner'; cf. I 24), ^{slg}*istaggain* (ibid. III 29), dat.-loc. sg. ^{slg}*istaggai* (e.g. ibid. I 34; *IBOT* II 122, 5).

IE **stāko-*? Cf. the neuter nouns ON *stag*, OE *stæg* 'cable, hawser' (*IEW* 1011). See Neumann, *KZ* 77:79 (1961); Gusmani, *Lessico* 69. A possible (Luwoi?) cognate might be borrowed in Hes. ἀσταγανά ἰμάς (cf. Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 377).

Cf. *ishunawar*.

istalk(iya)- '(make) level, flatten', 3 sg. pres. act. *is-tal-ak-zi* (*KUB* XXIV 9 II 19-20 *pūrut ser ishuwai nu istalakzi* 'she throws on loam and levels [it]'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 34), *is-tal-ga-iz-zi* (*KBo* IV 2 I 39-41 *nu hassan ^{sls}karassaniyas dāi n-an-kan pūwati n-an-kan istalgaizzi n-an purpuran* 1-EN DÜ-anzi '[s]he takes flakes of soapwort, pounds them, flattens them, and they make them into a lump'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91, 104 [1962]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *is-tal-ki-ya-at-ta-ri* (*KUB* IV 3 Vs. 9-10 *nu ḷ.ŠA-as-tis hallanniyattari istalkiyattari* 'your field will be laid waste [and] levelled'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]); partic. *istalgant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-tal-ga-an* (XXXI 86 II 16-17 *purut tiyauwanzi ... [...] [namma-a]t istalgan ēsdu* 'to put loam ... let it also be levelled'; dupl. XXXI 89, 6; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43); iter. *istalkiski-*, 3 pl. imp. act. *is-tal-ki-is-kān[-du]* (XXXI 100 Rs. 13). Cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:317 (1947).

Laroche (*Noms* 314, 335, *Athenaeum* N.S. 47:176 [1969]) compared the Kaneshite man's name *'Is-ta-al-ki-a-an* at Kül-tepe, literally 'flattened, flat-nosed', comparing French *Camus*.

Neumann (*Untersuchungen* 94–5) saw in *istalk-* the source of Gk. στελεγγίς, στελεγίς, στελεγγίς, στελέγγος (and further variants) 'scraper' (for oil removal from skin); cf. Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 331, 351, 377; Frisk, *GEW* 2:799–800.

**stel-g-* is related to OCS *stīlati* 'spread', Lat. *lātus* < **stlāto-* 'wide' (*IEW* 1018–9); cf. the similar -g- suffix with **ster(H)-* in Lat. *strāgēs* 'overthrow' beside *strātus* 'scattered'. Cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946:88–9; Kronasser, *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 122 (1957).

istamahura- (c.) 'earring', co-occurring in texts with **HUPPI** '(metal) ring' (q.v. s.v. *asusa-*), acc. pl. *istamahurus* (*KUB* XII 1 IV 37–38 4 *TABAL HUPPI GUŠKIN LÚ ŠĀ-BA* [...] ... 2 *istamahurus GUŠKIN* 'four pairs of men's gold rings, among them ... two gold earrings'; *XLII* 69 Vs. 16–17 [*istamahurus GUŠKIN* ... [*istamahurus GUŠKIN*; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:103, 115 [1978]], *isdam-mahurus* (*KBo* XVIII 192 Rs. 6). Cf. Alp, *Belleten* 12:324 (1948); Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 124.

Compound of *istaman(a)-* 'ear' and **hura-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:165) of unclear affinity with *ehurati-* '(ear-)plug' (q.v.) and the opaque verb *hurai-* (q.v.). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:38 (1963), *Orientalia* N.S. 35:388–9 (1966); H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:87–8 (1973). Van Windekens (*Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 338–9 [1981]) proposed for **hura-* a comparison with Gk. ἀείρω 'couple, suspend, lift' (**A₁wer-*), in the sense of 'pendant'.

istamas(s)-, isdammas(s)- 'hear, listen (to), obey; hear (of), hear (about); perceive' (GEŠTUG; ŠEMŪ), 1 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-ma-as-mi* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 3 II 15 *memian ūl istamasmi* 'I do not hear the word'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 6; XIV 1 Vs. 24 [*ūk*]-a-wa-kan ku[ru]ras *memian kuez KUR-yaz arha ista[mas]mi* 'out of what land I hear word of hostility'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 6; *KBo* III 3 IV 10–11 *nu-za kuis kuit arkuwar DÙ-zi n-at DUTU-Št istamasmi* 'what plea each makes, I the king shall hear it'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 152), *is-dam-ma-as-mi* (dupl. *KUB* XIX 44 IV 11 [*DUTU-Št isdamma-*

[*smi*]; *XXVI* 1 IV 39 *DUTU-Št-ma-at isdammasmi* 'but I the king hear it'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 16), 2 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-ma-as-si* (*XXXVI* 127 Vs. 14 [*Sun*] *assuras-an istamassi* 'you, S., hear of him'; *KBo* VII 28 Vs. 7, 8, 9, 10 *zig-an le istamassi* 'do not listen to him (or: her)'; cf. Friedrich, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 32:218 [1957]; *KUB* VIII 83, 10–11 *takku IZBU GEŠTUG.HLA-ŠU kappān[da ...]anza ūl istamasan uttar is[tam]assi* 'if the ears of an aborted fetus [are] small ..., you will hear something unheard of'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 57), *is-ta-ma-as-ti* (e.g. *KBo* V 13 III 16–17 *zik mān memian piran parā istamasti* 'if you hear of the matter beforehand'; similarly *ibid.* 22–23; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126; V 3 I 27 *nasma-kan mān DUTU-Št kuedani anda idālu istamasti* 'or if you hear in someone evil against my majesty'; *ibid.* II 29–30 *nasma-at zik-ma zikila istamasti* 'or you hear it yourself'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:108, 116; V 4 Vs. 11 *zig-an istamasti* 'you hear it'; *ibid.* Rs. 44 *zig-a istamasti*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:52, 66; *KUB* XLVIII 119 Vs. 15 [*DINGIR-LUM EN-YA istamasti* 'you, god my lord, hear'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:180 [1978]; *IBOT* III 148 IV 37 [*apel UKŪ-as le istama[st]i* '... of this man you shall not hear'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 230; *KBo* XII 96 I 13 [*nu DINGIR-LAM le kuēlqa istamasti* 'you, god, do not hear anything!'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239 [1964]; perhaps archaic construction with genitive, as with IE **klew-* [Hom. κλέω μιν]; *KUB* VI 41 III 26), *is-ta-ma-as-zi* (dupl. *KBo* V 13 III 7 *zig-an mān piran parā istamaszi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126; V 9 II 17 *zik-ma[-an] istamaszi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:16), *is-ta-ma-zi* (*KUB* XIX 26 I 24–25 *zi[k-ma-an] istamazi*; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 14 [1940]), 3 sg. pres. act. *istamaszi* (e.g. XII 62 Rs. 8–9 *taswanza auszi le duddumiyanza-ma istamaszi le ikniyanza piddai* 'no way shall a blind [man] see, [or] a deaf [man] hear, [or] a lame [person] run!'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 393–4; H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 29:151 [1977]; XIV 16 Vs. 18 *LÚ URU Assur-ma-za-kan mahhan pāriyan istamaszi* 'but as the Assyrian hears beyond [i.e. by transference, indirectly]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 28; XXI 37 Vs. 45; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:124; XL 15 + XXVI 24 + 583/u II 8; cf. H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 68:270 [1978]), *is-dam-ma-as-*

-zi (e.g. XXVI 12 III 17 *nu-wa-mu ŪL isdammaszi* 'he does not hear me'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 26; XXVI 1 IV 8 [*ku*] *inki hūl-lun memian isdammaszi* 'hears some bad word'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 15; *KBo* VI 34 I 20-22 *nu^{URU} ar[as] LÚ aran le auszi kās-a le [kūn] isdammaszi* 'one shall not see the other, nor shall this one hear the other'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 6), 3 sg. pres. midd. *isdammastari* (*KUB* XXI 29 III 30-32 *mān-ma-kan šā URU-LIM LÚ^{URU} Gasga kuiski sesz[i n-a[s] isdammastari šā ē KILI[...]* *pessiyanzi* 'but if in town some Gasga-man sleeps and he is heard of, they throw him in jail'), 1 pl. pres. act. *is-ta-ma-as-su-wa-ni* (*KBo* XVI 50 Vs. 11 *wes-a istamassuwani* 'but we hear [of it]'; cf. Otten, *RHA* 18:121 [1960]), 2 pl. pres. act. *istamasteni* (*Bo* 2490 III 10 *GEŠTUG-it istamasteni le* 'with the ear you shall not hear'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 396), *istamastani* (*KUB* XV 34 II 34 *nu mān 1-šū ŪL istamastani* 'if you do not hear the first time'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 192; *KBo* III 23 IV 15 [OHitt.] *kuit i[st]amastani*; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]), *is-dam-ma-as-te-ni* (*KUB* XXVI 1 III 49 and 56), 3 pl. pres. act. *istamassanzi* (e.g. *KBo* V 6 III 5-6 *LÚ.MEŠ KUR^{URU} Mizra-ma mahhan šā KUR^{URU} Amka GUL-ahhuwar istamassanzi n-at nahsariyanzi* 'but when the people of Egypt heard [historical present] of the attack on Amka, they were afraid'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:94 [1956]; XVII 22 II 10-11 [*k*] *uit DINGIR.MEŠ-es istamassa[nzi ...]* [*i*] *istamastu* 'what the gods hear, let him hear'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 207), *is-dam-ma-as-sa-an-zi* (*KUB* XXVI 1 IV 34), *is-dam-ma-as-sa-zi* (XXXVI 89 Rs. 38; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154), 1 sg. pret. act. *istamassun* (e.g. XXXI 66 IV 17 *GIM-an-ma-an istamassun* 'but when I heard it'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 131 [1974]; *KBo* III 4 II 71 [*mahhan-ma^{DUTU-ŠI} istamas-sun* 'but when I the king heard'; cf. Götze, *AM* 64; *KUB* XXIII 101 II 10; *VBoT* 1, 25; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:335 [1956]), *ašME* (e.g. *KBo* V 8 III 11 *nu GIM-an^{DUTU-ŠI} enissan ašME* 'when I the king thus heard'; cf. Götze, *AM* 156; *KUB* XXI 14, 6 *kūn memian ašME* 'I heard this word'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:113), *ašMI* (XIV 3 II 12-13 *mān-wa ... memian ašMI* 'I would have heard the word'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 6), 3 sg. pret. act. *istamasta* (e.g. *KBo* III 4 I 27 *nu-mu^{DUTU^{URU}} Arinna memian istamasta* 'the sun-goddess of

Arinna heard my word'; cf. Götze, *AM* 22; VI 29 II 18; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 49), *is-dam-ma-as-ta* (e.g. XIX 112, 16 *^DistAR-in isdammastu* 'heard I.'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 44; *KUB* XIX 55 Vs. 16; cf. Sommer, *AU* 198), *išME* (e.g. XXXIII 122 II 6 *udd[ār išME*, besides dupl. XXXIII 116 III 3 *ist]amasta*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; XXXIII 121 II 6 and 8 *parā ANA DAM-ŠU-pat išME* 'he had ears only for his wife'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; XIV 1 Vs. 61 *mahhan išME* 'when [he] heard'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16), 2 pl. pret. act. *is-ta-ma-as-tin* (XIV 4 III 2), *is-dam-ma-as-tin* (XXVI 1 III 51), 3 pl. pret. act. *is-ta-ma-as-sir* (e.g. XXII 70 Vs. 69 *kāsa-wa AQBI nu-wa-mu ŪL istamassir* 'lo, I spoke but they did not listen to me'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 76; *KBo* III 4 I 6-7 *mahhan-ma KUR.KUR.MEŠ^{LÚKUR} Arnundan šēš-YA irman istamassir* 'but when the enemy lands heard of my brother A.'s illness' [partitive apposition]; cf. Götze, *AM* 14; V 3 I 6-7 *nu-itta' ... hūmantēs ... arha istamassir* 'all have heard of you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106; V 13 I 9 *nu mahhan LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Māla enissan istamassir* 'when the men of M. heard thus'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:112), *is-dam-ma-as-si-ir* (*KBo* XVI 36 + *KUB* XXXI 20 + *Bo* 5768 II 9-11 *n-an-kan GIM-an LÚKUR.[MEŠ h] hūmantēs menahhanda isdammassir* 'when all the enemies heard of him [coming] to face [them]'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 41:644 [1977]), *is-dam-ma-as-sir* (*KUB* XIX 23 Rs. 13-14 *GIM-an-ma šā^{DUTU-ŠI} TI-tar isdammassir* 'but when they heard that the king was alive' [lit. of his majesty's life]; *ibid.* 15 *kinun-ma GIM-an šā EN-YA hargan isdammassir* 'but now that they have heard of my lord's perdition'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]), 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as* (e.g. *KBo* VII 28 Vs. 12-13 *GEŠTUG.HI.A-KA lāk nu āssu uttar [i]stamas* 'bend your ears and hear a good word!'; *KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 25 *nu-war-an is[t]amas* 'listen to him!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144; XVII 4, 13), *is-dam-ma-as* (XXIV 5 Vs. 8 *nu-mu^{DŠIN} EN-YA isdammas* 'hear me, moon-god my lord!'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 8), 3 sg. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as-tu* (*KBo* XVII 22 II 11 [see sub 3 pl. pres. *istamassanzi* above]), *is-ta-ma-as-du* (XI 1 Vs. 13 and 19; cf. *RHA* 25:106 [1967]; *KUB* I 1 I 6 *n-at DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-as istamasdu* 'let

mankind hear it'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 6), 2 pl. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as-te-en* (IV 1 II 6; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* 170), *is-ta-ma-as-ti-n(i-ya-at)* (VI 45 I 28 'and hear it!'), beside dupl. VI 46 I 29 *us-ta-ma-as-ti-ya-at* [sic]), *is-ta-ma-as-tin* (VI 45 I 26-27 *nu-mu ke arkuwarrin.A istamastin* 'hear these my pleadings!'), beside dupl. VI 46 I 28 *is-ta-as-tin* [sic]; XV 34 II 34-36 *nu mān 1-ŠU ŪL istamastani [nu 2]-ŠU-ma ista[mastin n]u mān 2-ŠU-ma ŪL istamastani nu 3-ŠU 4-ŠU [5-ŠU 6-Š]U 7-ŠU istamastin* 'if you do not hear the first time, hear the second time, and if you do not hear the second time, hear the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh time!'; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 192; *KBo* XXII 6 I 11 *istamastin-mu* 'hear me'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]), *GEŠTUG-tin* (XII 128, 6 *nu-kku karustin nu GEŠTUG-tin* 'be silent and listen!'), 3 pl. pret. act. *istamassandu* (*KUB* XIV 3 I 60-61 [kue] *AWATE.MEŠ memahhi nu-war-at ir.MEŠ ŠEŠ-YA-ya [ist]amassandu* 'the words which I speak, let the subjects of my brother also hear them!'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 4; VI 45 I 36, beside VI 46 I 39 *i-is-ta-ma-as-sa-du* [sic]); partic. *istamas(s)ant-*, *isdammassant-*, acc. sg. c. *istamassantan* (*KBo* XI 72 III 30 *is]amassantan GEŠTUG-an* 'a listening ear'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *istamassan* (e.g. V 8 I 23-24 *nu-mu istamassan kuit harkir* 'because they had heard of me'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148), *istamasan* (*KUB* VIII 83, 11 *ŪL istamasan uttar* 'something unheard of' [see sub 2 sg. pres. *istamassi* above] and cf. e.g. *KBo* XII 62 Rs. 14-15 *apinissuwanda [Ū]L sakkanta ŪL uwanda uddār* 'such things [are] unknown and unseen [=unheard of]'), *is-dam-ma-as-sa-an* (XVI 8 II 32-33 *nu-m[u] [URUG] asgas kuit isdammas-san harta* 'because the Gasga-town had heard of me'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Orientalia* N.S. 39:548 [1970]); verbal noun *istamassuwar*, *isdammassuwar* (n.) 'hearing, perception; attention, obedience', nom.-acc. sg. *istamassuwar* (*KUB* XV 34 II 10 and 25 'obedience'; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 190-2; XXXVI 35 IV 16; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:30 [1968]; *FHG* 4, 4 *istamassuw[ar]*; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 240), *is-ta-ma-as-su-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 45 I 5, matching ibid. Akk. *utekku* 'pay heed'; cf. *MSL* 3:59 [1955]), *is-dam-ma-as-su-wa-ar* (I 42 III 52, matching ibid. Akk. *šimū* 'hear'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:139 [1971]), *is-dam-ma-su-wa-ar* (*VBoT* 132 II 11 IGL.HI.A-as

kuiski isdammasuwar 'some perception of the eyes', besides dupl. *KUB* XLI 21 I 10 IGL.HI.A-as *kuiski istam[assuwar]*; cf. Haas - Thiel, *Rituale* 280, 276, and the normal IGL.HI.A-as *uwatar* 'eyesight' [s.v. *au[s]-*], *GEŠTUG-ar* (*KBo* I 53, 8, matching ibid. Akk. [še]mū 'hear'; cf. *MSL* 3:87 [1955]); inf. *istamas-suwanzi* (*KUB* VI 45 I 31-32 *n-at DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ istamas-suwanzi parā tarnistin* 'gods my lords, consign them [viz. my words] to hearing!'); iter. *istamaski-*, *isdammaski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *istamaskisi* (XXVI 90 IV 1-3 INIM ŠA KUR Mizri-ya *kuit GIM[-an] istamaskisi n-at-mu iya[-...]* *hatreski* 'when you also hear some matter concerning Egypt, ... write it to me'; cf. P. Cornil - R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6-7:88 [1975-6]; *KBo* V 12 III 6; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:122), 2 or 3 sg. pres. midd. *ist]amaskitta* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 III 33, with dupl. XXXVI 1, 10 *istamaszitta* [sic]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:45 [1968]), 2 pl. pres. act. *is-ta-ma-as-kat-te-ni* (*KBo* V 3 IV 18-19 *sumēs-a-mu mān ŪL istamaskatteni* 'but if you do not listen to me'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:132), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-dam-ma-as-kān-zi* (*KUB* XXXVI 88 Vs. 10), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-ta-ma-as-ki-it* and 3 pl. pret. act. *is-ta-ma-as-kir* (I 16 II 12 *uddār istamaski[t]*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 3; XIV 3 I 62-64 *n-an ANA AWATE.MEŠ kuedas harkun [n-a]t 'Aipass-a istamaskit 'Awayanass-a [is]tamaskir* 'the [reproachful] words to which I treated [lit. held] him, A. and A. also kept hearing them'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 4; the construction is the full-blown equivalent of such ellipses as *RV* 4.50.10 *Índraś ca sōmaṃ pibatam Bṛhaspate* 'drink Soma, I. and B.!', instead of **Bṛhaspate sōmaṃ piba Índraś ca pibatam*; cf. Puhvel, *American journal of philology* 98:400 [1977] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 383 [1981]), 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as-ki* (e.g. XXXIII 68 II 4-5 *nu GEŠTUG-an lagān harak nu-tta kuit LUGAL [SAL.LUGAL] memiskanzi n-us istamaski* 'hold your ear bent! What king [and] queen are saying to you, listen to them!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:128 [1965]), 3 sg. imp. act. *istamaskiddu* (XXXIII 120 I 3; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *1), 2 pl. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as-ki-tin* (*HT* 7 Reverse 5; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 131 [1974]), 3 pl. imp. act. *is-ta-ma-as-kān-du* (e.g. *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 51 *nu uskandu istamaskandu-ya* 'let them see and hear'; *KUB* XXXIII 120 I 2,

4, 5, 7; XIV 3 I 34; cf. Sommer, *AU* 4; XXI 1 III 83; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:76).

istaman(a)-, istamina-, istamasna- (?) (c.; also n.) 'ear' (GEŠTUG; UZNU), nom. sg. c. *is-ta-mi-na-as* (KBo I 51 Vs. 16 and 17), acc. sg. c. *is-ta-ma-na-an* (KUB XXIV 1 I 15–17 [with dupl. XXIV 2 Vs. 13–14] *nu-tta kuit memiskimi nu-mu* DINGIR-LUM *istamanan lagān harak n-at ist[am]aski* 'what I say to you, o god, hold your ear bent to me and hear it'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16; KBo VI 3 I 37 [= Code 1:15] *takku LÚ.ULÚ.LU-as FILAM istamanassan* [*< istamanan-san*] *kuisi iskallāri* 'if someone slashes the ear of a free man'; dupl. VI 4 I 37 and VI 5 I 16 GEŠTUG-an; cf. VI 3 I 39 [= Code 1:16] and dupl. VI 5 I 18 GEŠTUG-assan), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *istaman* (KUB XIV 13 I 18–20 *nu-smas arwā[nun] kuedani memiyani nu-mu istamas-[(s)mit]* [*< istaman-smit*] [*par*] *ā epten nu-mu istamas[tin]* 'in what matter I have prostrated myself before you, proffer your ear and hear me!'), GEŠTUG-an (VIII 83, 4 ZAG-an GEŠTUG-an NU.GÁL 'there is no right ear'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 57), GEŠTUG (KBo XIII 34 IV 14–15 and 26 ZAG-an GEŠTUG-ŠU 'his right ear'; ibid. 21 GÜB-lan GEŠTUG-ŠU 'his left ear'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28, 35–6), ^{nom.} gen. sg. *istamanas* (KBo 2139 + KUB IX 4 I 4–5 ^{UZU} *istamanas-kan* ^{UZU} *istamasni* 'ear to ear'; cf. ZA 71:130 [1981]), dat.-loc. sg. *istamasni* (sic just quoted; par. IX 34 II 24 ^{UZU} GEŠTUG-ni), *is-dam-ma-ni-e(s-si)* (KBo X 45 II 26 *isdammāne-ssi-ya-an asuses ... i[NA G]ÜB asiskanzi* 'and at her ear they install rings on the left'; cf. Otten, ZA 54:122 [1961]), instr. sg. *is-ta-ma-an-ta* (XX 93, 4; KUB XII 21, 10–11 *nu kuit IGI-it uskisi kuitt-aya istamanta ista[masti]* 'because you see with your eye[s], and because you hear with your ear[s]'), *is-ta-mi-ni-it* (XXXIII 120 II 33; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:43 [1968]), GEŠTUG-it (Bo 2490 III 8–10 *nu-wa-smas IGI.HLA-[wa dasuwandas] dattin* GEŠTUG.HLA-ma-wa-smas *dud-dumiyandas ta[tin]* GEŠTUG-it *istamasteni le IGI-it-ma-wa* 'take the eyes of a blind man, and take the ears of a deaf man; with the ear you shall not hear, and with the eye ...'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 396), nom. pl. c. *is-ta-ma-ni-es* (KBo XIII 31 II 10–11 *takku sakias 2 SAG.D[U-ŠU] 4 istamanes 8 G[IR.HLA-ŠU 2 KUN-ŠU* 'if of a prodigy two heads, four ears, eight feet, two tails ...'; cf.

Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 76), acc. pl. c. *is-ta-ma-nu-us* (Bo 3640 III 7–8 *sākuwa taswa[hhanzi] istamanuss-a kukkuraskanzi* 'they blind the eyes and mutilate the ears'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 397), *is-ta-a-ma-nu-us* (KBo VI 3 IV 43 [= Code 1:95] *ir-s-a KA×KAK-ŠU istāmanus[-sus kukkuriskizzi* 'he mutilates the slave's nose [and] ears'), UZNĀ (ibid. 56 [= Code 1:99] *ša ir KA×KAK-ŠU UZNĀ-ŠU kukkuraskanzi* 'they mutilate the slave's nose [and] ears'; dupl. VI 2 IV 57 UZNĀ-ŠU).

^{Ku55.39} *Istamanassas* (KUB XX 24 IV 31; Bo 2372 III 28), deity of hearing (i.e. who 'lends an ear', cf. *istamanan lagān hark-*, *istaman parā ep-* above), matches Akk. *Tašmetu* (hurrianized *Tasmisu*) and parallels ^P*Sakuwassas* from *sakuwa* 'eyes' (ibid. 27; KUB XX 24 IV 22). Cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 70, 61; Otten, *JCS* 4:124–5 (1950); Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 273.

Luw. *tummant-* 'ear' (n.), nom.-acc. sg. (?) *tum-ma-a-an* (KUB XXXV 4 II 5; cf. Otten, *LTU* 10; XXXV 43 II 9 *tu-um-ma-an-te-it-ta*, besides ibid. 8 *tawassati* from *taui-* 'eye'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 42). *tumma(n)tai-* or *tum(m)anti(ya)-* 'hear', 3 pl. imp. midd. [*tu*]-*u-ma-an-ti-in-ta-[ru]* possible in KBo XXII 254 Rs. 10–12 *tappassassin[zi] [tiyamm]assi[nz]i kuinzi* DINGIR. *meš-inz[i] [t]ūmantinta[ru]* 'may the gods who [are] celestial and terrestrial hear [it]' (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Bi. Or.* 33:337 [1976]); partic. nom. sg. c. *tu-u-um-ma-a-ta-i-im-mi-is* (KUB XXXV 34, 4; cf. Otten, *LTU* 55). Cf. also the following words with gloss-wedges in Hittite context: *du-um-ma-an-te-ya-as* (nom. sg. c. XVII 20 II 10, in a listing of deified abstractions; cf. Bossert, *MIO* 4:202 [1956]), ~~*du-um-ma-an-ti-ya-an*~~ (acc. sg. c. KUB XV 35 + KBo II 9 I 21, in a recitation of "blessings", matching KUB XV 34 II 10 *istamassuwar* 'obedience' in parallel context; cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]; Bossert, *MIO* 4:206 [1956]); in similar context without gloss-wedges there is *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ya-as* (XVII 10 IV 33; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]), *tu-um-ma-an-ti-ya-an* (XXIV 1 III 10; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22), *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ya-an* (XV 31 I 57), *tu-u-um-ma-an-ti[-ya-an]* (dupl. XV 32 I 59; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 154); *du-ma-an-ti-ya-la-as* (acc. pl. c. in KUB XLIV 4 + KBo XIII 241 Rs. 15 *nu-kan ANA DUMU.NITA dumantiyalas anda iyandu* 'let them treat on the inside the ears of the baby boy'

[instrument noun like e.g. *ariyala-* 'raiser, hanger', *appala-* 'trap', *ardala-* 'saw'; cf. e.g. RV *śrótram* 'ear']). For the phonetics of *istaman(a)-*: *tumman-* cf. the relationship of the Luwoid *par(r)iya-* to Hitt. *ispar(r)-*, *isparriya-* (s.v.).

Hier. EAR + TU + MI-, 3 pl. pret. EAR + TU + MI-ti-i-ta (< *tu-ma[n]tiyanta); partic. nom. sg. c. EAR + TU + MI-ma-ti-mi-i-sa, EAR + TU + MI-ti-mi-sa₄, EAR + TU-mi-sà (i.e. *tumatimis*; cf. Luw. *tūmmātayimmiš* above). Cf. J. D. Hawkins, *Anatolian studies* 25:151–2 (1975), KZ 92:115 (1978).

IE **k̑lew-* 'hear' and **ōws-* 'ear' have been supplanted in Anatolian by derivatives of a root **stem-*. Such a verbal stem must have denoted sensory activities or experiences on a somewhat indeterminate scale, for even in Hittite, in spite of preemption of the central semantic slots 'hear' and 'ear', there is occasional IGL.HLA-as *istamassuwar* rather than IGL.HLA-as *uwatar* for 'eyesight'; thus 'perception' might be a more comprehensive original gloss. A separate specialization is seen in Hitt. *istanh-* 'taste' (q.v.), thus showing the root to be **stem-H₁-*; *istamas-* reflects **stemH₁-s-* (cf. e.g. Hitt. *sanh-* vs. *damas-*) with a suffix *-s-*, an extension which also characterizes the supplanted **k̑lew-* in several branches (e.g. Skt. *śróṣati* 'heed, obey', OHG *hlosēn* 'listen to, obey', OCS *slyšati* 'hear', Toch. A *klyoṣ-* 'hear'; cf. Ivanov, *Obščeeindoevropskaja* 167–8). A neuter noun **stémH₁-n̄* or **stómH₁-n̄* is seen in Hitt. *istaman-* and Luw. *tummant-* 'ear' (replacing **ōws-* 'ear'), appears also in Gk. στόμα(τ-) 'mouth' (στόμαχος 'throat, gullet'), Avest. *staman-* 'maw', Welsh *safrn* 'maxilla' (replacing cognates of Hitt. *a[r]is-*; cf. Lat. *ōs* later supplanted by *bucca*), and underlies Germanic **stemma-* 'voice' (OHG *stimma*; cf. the Hittite thematization to *istamana-*, *istamina-*). These words for 'ear', 'mouth', and 'voice' were brought together already by Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:123 (1928); for the semantic variation 'ear': 'sound' cf. e.g. Ved. *śrótram* 'ear': Avest. *sraoθrām*, OHG *hliodar* 'singing, song'; for 'mouth': 'taste' cf. Hitt. *istanh-* 'taste': Gk. στομώδης 'tasty'. Perhaps OE *stincan* 'smell' (otherwise obscure) should also be adduced, adding a further, olfactory semantic component to **stem-H₁-*. A verbal base-meaning 'perceive with the senses' alone suffices as a common

denominator, and all noun formations are strictly secondary, even the most basic one, **stémH₁-n̄* or **stómH₁-n̄*, which must have meant roughly 'percept(ion)', thence '(organ of) hearing, sound, taste'.

Thus the worry whether 'ear' and 'mouth' are close enough semantically to share the same etymon (e.g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 222; C. Wennerberg, *Die Sprache* 18:30–1 [1972]) seems largely unnecessary, as do attempts to find a binary proto-meaning 'fissure, aperture' (A. Braun, *ARIV* 95.2:379–80 [1936]; C. Wennerberg, *Die Sprache* 18:30–1 [1972], who adduced IE **tem-* 'cut'). There is equally little merit in attempts to attribute primacy to the noun *istaman-* (cf. Tischler, *Glossar* 426) or to an **istama-* extracted from *istamahura-* (q.v.; cf. e.g. C. Wennerberg, *Die Sprache* 18:30–1 [1972]) and to account for *istamas-* denominatively (e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:182, 399) or in other secondary fashion (e.g. H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 83 [1975], saw in *istamas-* a back-formation from a syncopational iter. *istamaski-* < **istamaniski-* from a hypothetical **istamaniya-*; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 195–6, posited a denominal abstract **istamassar* < **istaman-sar*, reanalyzed as **istamass-ar* and spawning a denominative verb *istamas[s]-*). Excessive concern about finding some odd origin for the *-s-* of *istamas-*, whether "aoristic" (Čop, *Ling.* 6:53 [1964], 7:114–5 [1965]) or simply "later addition" (Frisk, *Kl. Schr.* 79–80), is likewise out of order.

Early attempts at comparison included Gk. αἰσθάνομαι 'perceive' (Hrozný, *SH* 77) and Germanic *stam(m)a-*, *stum(m)a-* 'mute' (Marstrander, *Caractère* 132). V. Machek's matching of *istamas-* with Gk. ἐπίσταμαι 'understand' (*Lingua Posnaniensis* 7:82–4 [1959]) was abortive, as were assorted stabs at non-IE connection: e.g. Akk. *istami* 'hears' from *šemū* (Hrozný, *SH* 77); Egypt. *šdm* 'hear' (E. Forrer, *JAOS* 207:243 [1930]).

istanana- (c.) 'altar' (ZAG.GAR.RA), nom. sg. *is-ta-na-na-as* (*KBo* I 42 IV 20 ^{GIS}*istananas*, matching *ibid.* 21 ^{GIS}*ZAG.GAR.RA-as*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:140 [1971]; *KBo* VIII 74 + III 17 *ist[an]a-nas ki-ta* 'an altar has been placed'; cf. Neu, *Altheim* 223), acc. *Non res.* → *dat. loc. pl.*

sg. *istananan* (e.g. *KUB XXIV 9 + JCS 24:37* [1971] III 11–12 *nu-ssi É-ZU ista[nana]n GUN[N]i QADU DAM[-ZU] LU MUDI-ŠU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU Q[ATAMMA] parkumuddu* ‘let it likewise purify his house, altar, hearth along with wife, husband, children!’), *ZAG.GAR.RA-an* (dupl. *XLI 1 III 19* ^{GIS}*ZAG.GAR.RA-a[n; IBoT III 100 + HT 71, 3 ZAG.GAR.RA-an GURUN-it unuwan[zi* ‘they deck the altar with fruit’), *ZAG.GAR.RA* (e.g. *KUB X 91 II 16 ZAG.GAR.RA IŠTU* ^{GIS}*ARTI unūwaizzi* ‘decks the altar with a branch’), dat.-loc. sg. *istanani* (frequent, e.g. *XV 42 III 19 n-at istanani EGIR-pa pessizzi* ‘throws it back on the altar’; *KBo XIX 128 II 29–30 n-at-san istanani ANA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa dāi* ‘he puts it back on the altar for the gods’; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 6; *XXIII 1 I 52 n-as-san istanani EGIR-pa tian[zi* ‘they put them back on the altar’; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica III* 143; *KUB LI 79 Vs. 16 EGIR-pa istanani*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 178; *XX 45 IV 14–15* and *22–23 nu-ssan DUM[U.LUGAL] istanani 3 AŠRA dāi* ‘the prince puts [it in] three places on the altar’; *ibid.* 18 and 26 *istanani piran*; cf. A. M. Jasink Ticchioni, *Studi classici e orientali* 27:153–4 [1977]; *KBo XIX 128 II 12–14 EGIR-anda-ma kedas ANA DINGIR.MEŠ kuedaniya KAŠ istanani piran 1-ŠU sippanti* ‘but afterwards he libates to these gods once each with beer before the altar’; *KUB X 15 IV 13 ta istanani piran 3-ŠU sipanti*, besides *ibid.* 4 *LUGAL-us ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 3-ŠU dāi* ‘the king puts on the altar three times’; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:93 [1966]), *istanāni* (e.g. *KBo XV 33 III 13* ^{LU.MEŠ}*MUHIALDIM-ma-as istanāni hukanzi* ‘the cooks slaughter on the altar’; *KUB XV 32 I 43–45 kinun-a-wa EGIR-pa uwattin sumenzan ŠA EN SISKUR.SISKUR É-ri istanāni* ^{GIS}*ŠU.A-kitti kedani SISKUR.SISKUR-ni* ‘and now come back to the house of your offerant, to the altar [and] throne, for this sacrifice!’; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; *KBo XV 33 II 13* and *41 istanāni piran*; *KBo XXI 34 + IBoT I 7 III 15*; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 122; *IBoT II 80 I 12 istanāni GÜB-laz* ‘to the left of the altar’, besides *ibid.* 7 *ZAG.GAR.RA-ni ZAG-az* ‘to the right of the altar’), *istananni* (*KUB XXV 33 I 7–8 istananni* ^{GIS}*eyani sarā hūkan[zi* ‘on the altar above the *eya*-tree they slaughter’), abl. sg. in e.g. *KBo XXIII 49 IV 5–6 i]sdananaz LU* ^{IM-as} ^{GIS}*eyan [...]* *anzi* ‘from the altar they ... the *eya*-tree of the man of the storm-god’, nom. pl. *is-ta-na-ni-is* (*KUB XVII*

10 IV 22 *istananis DINGIR.MEŠ-nas handantati GUNNI kalmin* ^{loc. pl.} *tarnas* ‘the altars were set aright for the gods, the fireplace let go of the log’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]). For further attestations, and discussion of realia, cf. M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 66–71 (1978).

A relationship to IE **stā-* ‘stand’ is probable (cf. *istantai-*, *tiya-*, *tittanu-*, s.v.), with notn suffix *-no-* as in Skt. *sthānam*, Lith. *stónas*, OCS *stanŭ* ‘a stand’ (*IEW* 1008); however, the form *istanana-* with no tendency to haplology must represent a rederivation from a lost nasal stem matching Arm. *stanam*, Lat. *-stinā-*, OCS *stanŭ* (*IEW* 1005).

ista(n)h- ‘taste, try (food or drink)’, 2 pl. pres. act. *is-tah-te-e-ni* (*KUB XLI 8 III 31* *li-ma* ^{GIS}*ER[IN wars]ulan istahṭēni* ‘do not taste the aroma of cedar!’), *istahṭeni* (dupl. *KBo X 45 III 40*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]), 3 pl. pres. act. *is-tah-ha-an-zi* (*KUB XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21, 14*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:69 [1968]), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-tah-ta* (*XXXIII 84, 6 wars]ulan KAŠ istahṭa* ‘tasted a drop of beer’; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:234 [1949]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 58; *KBo III 38 Vs. 4–5* ^{UTU-us} *memal issa-ssa su[hhas NINDA.K]UR₄.R[A ...] s-an istahṭa* ‘the sun-god poured porridge into her mouth, bread ... she tasted it’; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8); iter. 3 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-ah-hi-es-ki-iz-zi* (*701/z, 8*), 3 sg. pret. act. *is-ta-an-hi-is-ki-it* (*KBo VIII 41, 12*). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:423.

istahatal(i)i- (c.) ‘taster’, nom. sg. ^{SAI}*is-ta-ha-ta-al-li-is* (*KBo XVII 102 Rs. 17; XVII 103 Rs. 7*), dat. sg. *ANA* ^{SAI}*istahatali* (*ibid.* 17). Cf. *kupiyatalli-* ‘plotter’ (Luwoid *-i-* stem).

istanh- has the same configurations as verbs like *sanh-*, *tarh-*, pointing to an IE laryngeal root suffix, thus perhaps **stem-H₁-* (with *m* > Hittite *ḡ* before “guttural” *h*). *istanh-* is then related to *istamas(s)-* ‘hear’ (q.v. for further etymological discussion). Cf. also Puhvel, *California studies in classical antiquity* 6:229–30 (1973) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 261 (1981).

H.A. Hoffner (*RHA* 21:36 [1963]) implausibly adduced English *stink* and an alleged IE **stēg-* or **stāg-*, with reference to possible meaning fluctuations between sense-words (taste : smell; see further s.v. *istamas-*); but the assumption of regular *h*

from a guttural stop scuttles such a try.

Ivanov's (*Obščeeindoeuropejskaja* 85) attempted comparison with Cretan Doric $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\acute{o}$ 'set, place' or Arm. *stanam* 'procure' is wide of the mark semantically (allegedly 'take to oneself').

istantai- 'stay put, linger, tarry, be late, take one's time, temporize, procrastinate', 3 sg. pres. act. *istantāizzi* (~~KUB XXV 139~~ + KUB XXXV 164 Rs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 226), 1 sg. pret. act. *istantamun* (KBo V 8 I 18 *mahhan-ma istantanun* 'but when I stayed put' [as opposed to ibid. 15 *man iyanniyamun* 'I would have marched along'; cf. Götze, *AM* 148), 3 sg. pret. act. *istantait* (e.g. ibid. II 9–11 *nu kuitman KUR.KUR.MEŠ^{URU} Hurri zahhiskit n-as istantait EGIR-az-ma^{URU} Gasgaz kūrurūh.A mekki niniktat* 'while he was fighting the Hurrian countries he took his time, but in his rear from Gasga-town the enemy greatly levied war'; cf. Götze, *AM* 152; KUB XIX 9 I 20 *nu-kan ABI ABI-YA^{URU} Suppiluliumas INA KUR^{URU} Amurri anda istantait* 'my grandfather S. lingered in the interior of A.'; KBo IV 14 II 67 *ištu mu.kam.hla gid.da arha-ma-kan istantait* 'for long years [the enemy] has temporized'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:43 [1965]; KUB XII 31 Vs. 16; cf. Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 6), *istandāit* (KBo III 4 I 17 *n-as-kan asanduli anda istandāit* 'he lingered in garrison'; cf. Götze, *AM* 20), *istatāit* (KUB XXII 70 Vs. 44 *kuit INA É.GAL-LIM sarā istatāit* 'because [she] has been holed up in the palace'; similarly ibid. Rs. 4 and 6; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 66, 82); partic. *istantant-* 'delayed, postponed; outdated, obsolete, superannuated', nom. sg. c. *istantanza* (XXI 2 I 9; dupl. XXI 5 I 6 *nu memiyas kuit istan[tanza* 'because the issue was outdated'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:50, 86), nom-acc. sg. neut. *istantan* (V 7 Vs. 22–23 *nu-kan DINGIR-LIM-ya kuit istantan sipānter* [misspelled *si-pa-a-pa-an-te-ir*] *nu-za DINGIR-LUM apadda kuitki ser TUKU.TUKU-uwanza* 'that they libated to the deity in dilatory fashion, is the deity somehow on that account angered?'); verbal noun *is-ta-an-ta-u-ar* (KBo I 42 II 48, matching ibid. Akk. *uhhuru* 'hold back'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:136 [1971]); causative *istantamu-* 'put off, delay', 2 sg. pres. act. *istantamusi* (KUB XLVIII 122 I 3), 1 sg. pret. act.

istantanun
also HT 101, 3; d.
Berman // JCS 34:93
32; // Heth 3, 193

ista-an-ta-i-z-i
(KUB 49, 79 II 2, 6)

istantanun (XXII 67, 6); iter. 2 pl. pres. act. *is-ta-an-ta-nu-us-kat-te-ni* (KUB XIII 4 IV 7 *mān[-ma]-at istantanuskatteni* 'if you keep putting it off'; ibid. 37 *n-at le istantanuskatteni* 'do not put it off!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390, 394 [1934]).

istantai- is derived denominatively from a noun **istant-* < **stA₂-nt-* (root **stā-* 'stand'; cf. *istanana-*, *tiya-*, *tittanu-*, s.v.), identical in kind with OE and ON *stund* 'while' (cf. 'while away the time', German *stunden* 'grant a delay, afford a respite'; see Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 52, Couvreur, *Heth.* 199). For the derivation, cf. e.g. *hantai-* from *hant-*, or *handantai-* from the participle *handant-*. Cf. also Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:481, and Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 367, who implausibly assumed a participle **istant-* (matching Lat. *stans*, or from **stA₂ént-*; the living verbal outcome of the root **stā-* in Hittite is seen in *tiya-*, *tittanu-*, and *ista-* appears only in nominal petrifacts).

The direct comparison of **istant-* with Goth. *standan* 'stand' (Marstrander, *Caractère* 132; Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 169; Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:3 [1928], and down to e.g. P. Fronzaroli, *Atti La Colombaria* 22:155 [1958], and Tischler, *Glossar* 428) founders on the infixed character of the Germanic present stem (cf. Goth. pret. *stōþ*). Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:62–3 (1961), was especially wrong in taking *istandai-* as a primary verb like Goth. *standan*, while denying the presence of **stā-* in *tiya-*.

istanu-, astanu- (c.) 'sun, sun-god(dess), solar deity; majesty' (^DUTU; *šAMŠU*), nom. sg. ^DUTU(-us) (profuse, e.g. KUB XVII 1 II 14 *n[u GIM-an I]ukkatta^DUTU-us-kan kalmaraz uit* 'when it dawned and the sun came from the mountain'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:238 [1950]; VII 1 II 23–24 *kattera-ma-at dankuwaz taknāz taknas^DUTU-us hukkiskiddu* 'but from the dark earth below let the solar deity of the earth conjure it'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]; stereotyped ^DUTU-š(-mi-) = *šAMŠi* = *istanu- + -mi-* 'my majesty', i.e. 'I the king'; cf. e.g. Sommer, *HAB* 27, 72), acc. sg. ^DUTU(-un) (frequent, e.g. VII 1 I 3 *nu-ssi inanas^DUTU-un kissan sipantahhi* 'on his behalf I sacrifice to the solar deity of sickness as follows'), ^DUTU-AM (e.g. II 5 VI 6), ^DIstanun (XXV 1 II 42, besides dupl. II 5 I 12 ^DUTU), ^DIstanu

S.c.

(sic *IBoT* I 29 Vs. 63, beside *ibid.* ^D*Tārun*), ^D*As-ta-nu-un* (*KBo* XXI 85 I 12 *ANA* [sic] ^D*Astanun*, beside *ibid.* 13 ^D*Tappinūn*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 31:84–5 [1973]), ^D*As-ta-nu-ū-un* (2641/c Rs. 8 ^D*Astanūn* ^D*Tappinūn*), voc. sg. ^D*UTU-ū-i* (*KUB* XLI 23 II 18 *siunan* ^D*UTU-ūi* ‘o gods’ sun!’), ^D*UTU-e* (e.g. XXXI 127 I 1 ^D*UTU-e isha-mi* ‘sun-god, my lord’), ^D*UTU-i* (e.g. XXX 10 Rs. 10 ^D*UTU-i isha-mi*; VII I 1 6, 7–8, 15 *inanas* ^D*UTU-i* ‘solar deity of sickness’), ^D*UTU-us* (e.g. VI 45 III 14 *sarā-kan uwasi nepisas* ^D*UTU-us arunaz* ‘up you come, sun of heaven, from the sea’; *HT* I 1 54 *ser katta nepisas* ^D*UTU-us* ‘sun of heaven above and below’), gen. sg. ^D*UTU-was* (e.g. XXX 42 I 16), ^D*UTU-as* (e.g. *ibid.* 15; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 162; XXXVI 90 Vs. 9–10 *SET* ^D*UTU-as* ŠU.A ^D*UTU-as* ‘sunrise [and] sunset’, i.e. ‘east [and] west’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 176), dat.-loc. sg. ^D*UTU-i* (frequent, e.g. VII I 1 4–5 *hantezzi-kan UD-ti* ^{UDU}*iyantan inanas* ^D*UTU-i sipantahhi* ‘on the first day I sacrifice a sheep to the sun-god of sickness’; XXXVI 89 Rs. 13 ^D*UTU-i DINGIR-LIM-an* ‘toward the sun of the gods’, i.e. ‘eastward’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 152, and see s.v. *ipāt*[*t*]arma[*yan*]), abl. sg. ^D*UTU-az* (*KBo* III 22, 11–12 [OHitt.] ^D*UTU-az utnē* [*kuit k*]uit-pat arais ‘whatever land under the sun [?] made an uprising’; for this much-disputed passage cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10–1, 62–3, who read ^D*UTU-az* as ^D*Siunaz* ‘with the help of the god Sius’, or Starke, *Funktionen* 94–7, who postulated ‘on the sunny side’ = ‘in the south’; *id.*, *ZA* 69:50–54 [1979], subsequently preferred ‘wherever the sun shines’ = ‘everywhere’).

Istanu- is a hittitization of Hattic *Estan-*, *Astan-* (cf. e.g. *Es-ta-a-an* matching Hittite ^D*UTU-us* in the bilingual 412/b + Vs. 3 and 6; Kammenhuber, *RHA* 20:2–3, 5–8 [1962]), as was initially shown by Laroche (*JCS* 1:198 [1947], *Recherches* 25); the base-meaning is probably ‘day’ (cf. *KUB* XXVIII 80 I 8 [Hattic] *li-is-ta-a-an* [his?] days’). This autochthonous word has supplanted the old IE *l/n-* stem for ‘sun’ (Ved. *sūar*, Avest. *hvarə*, Goth. *saūil* and *sunnō*, etc.); a relic might survive in ^D*UTU-liya* ^{URU}*Lusna* (*KUB* XVII 19, 9; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 183), perhaps ^D*Saweliya-* (vel sim.) comparable to Hom. ἡλιος < ^D*sāweliyos* (*Lusna* matches classical *Lystra* in *Lycaonia* south of *Iconium*). In view of Luw. *Tiwat-* (nom. sg. ^D*UTU-az* in

IX 31 II 30) and Pal. *Tiyat-* (nom. sg. *Ti-ya-az*) as names of the sun-god (matching Hitt. *siwatt-* ‘day’, q.v. s.v. *siu-*) there is merit in Neu’s attempt (*Anitta-Text* 116–31) to interpret OHitt. ^D*Si-i-us* (*KBo* III 22; 47) as an older underlay of ^D*UTU-us* (despite the criticism of Starke, *ZA* 69:47–65 [1979]). In view of the etymon IE ^D*dyēws* ‘daylight, bright sky’, ^D*UTU-az* (III 22, 11, discussed above) might still mean ‘under the sun’, i.e. ‘anywhere, anytime’ (cf. for formation e.g. *ispantaz* ‘at night’, and for meaning Lat. *sub Iove* ‘out in the open’, *diū[s]* ‘in daytime’, Ved. *dyūbhis* ‘for a long time’). But the main conclusion would be that in Anatolian a derivative of ^D*dey-* (*H₂-*) (*w-*) ‘be bright, shine’ had come to denote ‘sun’ in addition to ‘day’ and ‘god’ (perhaps under Hattic influence, where *estan* meant both ‘day’ and ‘sun’), unlike Greek and Latin where the sky-god was merged with the thunder-god (*Ζεύς*, *diōs*; *Iov-*, *diēs*, *deus*), and Vedic where *Dyaus* atrophied into a *deus otiosus* (besides also meaning ‘day’, distinct from *devá-* ‘god’). The borrowed stem *Istanu-* may reflect Hattic antecedents (cf. 659/1969, 3 *e[s-ta-nu-ū]*) or show the influence of ^D*Siu-*. One reason for the supersession of ^D*Siu-* by ^D*Istanu-* could be that ^D*Siu-* was a sun-god, whereas much of the native Anatolian solar pantheon, such as ^D*UTU* ^{URU}*Arinna*, was female (cf. e.g. Laroche, *Recherches* 105–7); perhaps there existed a one-time contrast of *nepisas* ^D*Sius* (= ^D*UTU AN*) and *taknas* ^D*Istanus* (the Hattic solar deity being called *kattah* ‘queen’ in *KUB* XXVIII 75 II 22; cf. Laroche, *JCS* 1:197–8 [1947]).

There is also the town name ^{URU}*Istanuwa* (e.g. *KUB* XXX 42 I 2 and IV 14; Laroche, *CTH* 161–3); this Sun City (Heliopolis, Mehrabad) had its own dialect (*KUB* 15 Vs. 9 ^{URU}*miskizzi* ^{URU}*istanum* [nili ‘says in Istanuwan’]), was also known as ^{URU}*As-tanuwa*, and worshipped the solar deity in tandem with the storm-god (*KBo* IV 11, 38–39 [EGIR]-ŠU ^D*UTU* ^{URU}*Astanuwa* BAL-ti KILMIN [EGIR]-ŠU ^D*UTU* ^{URU}*Istanuwa* *ekuzi-pat* ‘afterwards he likewise libates to the storm-god of Astanuwa; afterwards he drinks to the solar deity of Istanuwa’; cf. *ibid.* 1–3 and *Dict. louv.* 163–4; *KUB* XXV 37 IV 39]ša ^D*UTU* ^{URU}*Istanuwa* ^D*UTU-i*); perhaps this common Anatolian collocation of the thunder-god with the solar deity finds an echo in Agamemnon’s

41.15+
+53.5 [15
Q. 2A 74:
203, 24

"Trojan oath" invoking jointly Idaean Zeus and Helios παν-
όπτης (*Iliad* 3:275-6 Ζεὺ πάτερ, Ἰδηθὲν μεδέων, κῦδιστε μέ-
γιστε, Ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις); cf.
auriyas 𐎠𐎢𐎴𐎠 'solar deity of watch' (s.v. auri-).

^DIzzistanu (e.g. *KUB* II 15 VI 2; *XXX* 23 III 12; cf. Otten,
Totenrituale 76-7) may be composed of a Hurrian first element
(see e.g. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 108-9) and *Istanu-*. Laroche
(*Recherches* 26, 106) equated ^DUD.SIG₅ 'Good Day'.

istanza(n)- (c.) 'soul, spirit, mind, will' (frequently *zi*; rarely
[*NAPIS*]-*TUM*); pl. also 'living things, live chattels, persons,
people' (*NAPŠATU*; for meaning cf. e.g. Russian *dūši* 'souls'
= 'persons'); *kuedani zi-as iya-* 'do someone's soul's (desire)',
kuelqa zi-ni iya- 'humor' (lit. 'do for someone's soul'); (nom. sg.)
is-ta-an-za-as-mi-is (*KUB* *XXX* 10 Rs. 14-15 *nu-mu pittuliyai*
piran istanzas-mis tamatta pedi zappiskizzi 'from anxiety my
spirit keeps dripping over and over [lit. 'in another place']
[rather than *warsiyazzi* 'runs smoothly', in terms of the humo-
ral soul-concept of the Hittites]), *is-ta-an-za-si-is* (*XXXIII* 5 III
6 *garaz-sis istanzas-(s)is* [or: *istanza-sis*?] 'his innards [and] his
soul', i.e. '[his] innermost soul' [hendiadys]; cf. Laroche, *RHA*
23:102 [1965]), *is-ta-an-za-as-me-it* (*XLI* 23 II 24 [OHitt.]
istanzas-(s)met [or: *istanza-smet*?] *karazz[a-(s)mess-a* 'their
innermost soul', with gender error in *-(s)met*, as *ibid.* 21, vs.
correct 23 and 19 [see below]; cf. Otten, *Alitheth. Erzählung*
27-8), *is-ta-an-za-na-as-mi-is* (*ibid.* 23 *istanzanas-(s)mis*
karazza-[s]mess-a), *is-ta-za-na-as-mi-is* (*ibid.* 19 *istazanas-*
-(s)mis karaz-(s)miss-a), *is-ta-za-na-as-mi-it* (sic *ibid.* 21
istazanas-(s)mit karazza-(s)miss-a; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:176
[1936]), *zi-as* (e.g. *XXIV* 7 II 53-54 ^DUTU-us-kan AN-za GAM
au[sta] [A]NA GUD *zi-as parā watk[u]* 'the sun-god saw down
from heaven; to the cow [his] mind sprang forth' [denoting
sexual arousal; cf. e.g. Gk. *μῆδεα* 'mental deliberations; geni-
tals']; Friedrich, *ZA* 49:224 [1950]), *zi-anza* (e.g. *XXXIII* 98 +
XXXVI 8 I 16-17 *katta-kan kuit harzi nu-kan* [...] *zi-anza parā*
watkut 'what she has below, [on this Kumarbi's] mind sprang
forward'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146-8 [1951]; *XIII* 3 III 26 *nu*

LUGAL-as zi-anza ishizzita 'the king's [=my] animus got the
better of me [and I got angry]'), *zi-za* (e.g. *ibid.* II 14
LUGAL-was zi-za ishizziyazi; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46-7),
(acc. sg.) *istanzanan* (*XLI* 23 II 15 *SILÁ-as istanzanan dā* 'take the
soul of the lamb!'; I 16 III 26-27 [OHitt.] *kinun instanzanaman*
[< *istanzanan-man*] *ūl kuiski dās* '[until] now nobody has taken
[i.e. accepted] my will'; cf. Sommer, *IAB* 12), *zi-an* (e.g. *XIII* 4
I 26 *n-as zi-an arha lānza* 'he [is] relaxed in spirit'), *zi-TUM* (e.g.
ibid. 34 *mān-ma-asta zi-TUM DINGIR-IL[M kui]s TUKU.TUKU-*
yanuzi 'but if someone angers the spirit of a deity'; cf.
Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:366 [1934]), (gen. sg.) *istanzanas* (e.g. *XXX*
10 Vs. 8-9 [*nu-mu-za*] *ammel DINGIR-YA* 'Kantuzilin tuggas-tas
istanzanas-tas ir-ka halzait 'you, my god, have summoned me,
K., as servant of your body [and] your soul'; *KBo* XXI 22 Vs.
14-15 *nu-za kuit Labarnas LUGAL-us istanzanas-sas* [*šā-as-s*] *as*
ilāiskizzi 'what L. the king desires in his innermost soul'; cf.
ibid. 16 [*nu-za kui*] ^{SAL} *Tawa[n]annas SAL.LUGAL šā zi-šū šā*
zi-šū [sic, for *šā-šū*] *ilaliskizi* 'what T. the queen ...'; cf. G.
Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:199 [1978]), *zi-as* (e.g. *KUB* VII 60 III
13-14 *nu-mu* ... *zi-a[s] iyadu* 'may [he] do my soul's [desire]';
XVI 43 Vs. 10 *zi-as kisat* 'soul's [desire] was done'), (dat.-loc. sg.)
zi-ni (profuse, e.g. *akkantas zi-ni* 'to the soul of the dead'; cf.
Otten, *Totenrituale* 146 et passim; *XIII* 4 II 63-64 *n-asta*
UKU-as zi-ni le-pat iyatteni 'do not humor the man!'), instr. sg.
istanzanit (*XVII* 10 II 21 *istanzanit šā-it* ... *āssu harak* 'keep
goodness in your innermost soul'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:93
[1965]; *XXXIII* 5 III 9 *ista[nzanit]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:102
[1965]; *XVII* 21 I 6 *nu sumes-pat DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-as*
istanz[an]it sekteni 'you, gods, know with your divine spirit';
cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 152), *zi-nit* (e.g. *XXXI* 71 III
18-19 *sakuwassarit zi-nit* 'with loyal spirit'; cf. Ünal, *Orakel-*
text 123), *zi-it* (e.g. *KBo* V 3 III 39-40 *n-at zik tuel zi-it le epsi*
'do not [even] conceive it with your mind!' or [possibly] 'do not
willfully undertake it!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:126;
KUB XIV 1 Vs. 41, Rs. 19 and 34 'willfully'; cf. Götze, *Madd.*
10, 24, 28), abl. sg. *istanzanaz* (*XXXIII* 120 II 2; cf. Laroche,
RHA 26:41 [1968]), *zi-az* (e.g. *KBo* III 3 III 11-12 *nu-smas*
sumel zi-az arha daskatteni 'you take [them] away of your own

volition'), *zi-za* (*KUB XXXI 99* Vs. 6 *zi-za le essa* [tteni 'don't act willfully!'], *zi-azza* (*XIII 4 II 45 mān-at-za zi-azza-ma happiraizzi* 'but if he sells it as he pleases'), acc. pl. *istanzanas* (*KBo III 21 II 4-5 n-asta utneyas istanzanas appanna kisri-iti dais* 'he placed the souls [= people] of the lands in your hand for taking'; cf. *ibid.* 10-11 *nu KUR-yas arūwauar DINGIR.MEŠ tuk iṽārṽār* 'the proskynesis of the lands [i.e. of their people] have the gods conferred upon thee'), *is-ta-za-na-as-me-es* (*XVIII 151* Rs. 14 *ita* [lu i] *stazanas-(s)mes tas* 'evil took hold of their souls'; cf. Ünal – Kammenhuber, *KZ* 88:164 [1974], with wrong interpretation [dat. pl.]), *NAPŠADU* (*KUB XIII 8* Vs. 15-16 *ša É.NA₄-ya-za A.ŠA^{GIŠ}TIR^{GIŠ}SAR.SAR^{GIŠ}SAR.GEŠTIN* *NAPŠADU-ya le kuiski wāsi* 'nobody shall buy the mausoleum's field, wood, orchard, vineyard, and live chattels'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106, 124; *KBo V 7* Vs. 11 *NAPŠADU* 'persons', matching *ibid.* Rs. 13 *SAG.DU* 'persons' [lit. 'heads']; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6:345, 348 [1958]), *NAPŠATE.MEŠ* (*KUB XXXVI 117*, 12).

^D*Istanzassas* (*KUB XX 24 IV 17*), ^D*Istanzassis* (*Bo 2372 III 27-29* ^D*Istanzassis* ^D*Sakuwassas* ^D*Hantassas* ^D*Istamanassas* ^D*Kissarassas* ^D*Gimuwassas*, listing deities [or deifications] of soul, eye, forehead, ear, hand, and knee). Cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 70; Otten, *JCS* 4:125 (1950).

The basic declension pattern of *istanza(n)-* resembles that of *alanza(n)-* (q.v.), thus nom. sg. *istanzas*, gen. sg. *istanzanas*; nom. sg. *ista(n)zanas*, confined to *KUB XLI 23 II 19*, 21, 23 (besides *ibid.* 24 *istanzas*), is secondary (cf. *alkistanas* beside *alkistas*, *ishimanas* beside *ishimās* [s.v. *ishiya*]). The frequent nom. sg. *zi-(an)za* of the imperial period is neither *istanzan* + *-s* (Kammenhuber, *ZA* 56:208 [1964], *HOAKS* 289) nor **istan-s* (Oettinger, *KZ* 94:58-9 [1980]), but rather the result of an analogical interaction of the developing paradigms of e.g. *sum(m)anza(n)-* (original **suman* + *s*) and *lahhanza(n)-* with *alanza(n)-* and *istanza(n)-*: nom. sg. *summanza* (analogical *summanzās*), *lahhanza*, vs. *alanzas*, *istanzas* (analogical *alanza*, *istanza*), acc. *summanz(an)an*, *lahhanz(an)us*, *alanz(an)an*, *istanzanan*; the common feature is the spread of *n*-declension in the oblique cases, which has reverberated on the nominatives.

istanza- is descended from an IE **s(t)ent-to-*, paralleling Lat. *sensus* 'feeling' < **sent-tu-*, OHG *sin(n)* 'sense, mind' < **sent-no-*, Lith. *sintėti* 'think' (*IEW* 908). The aberrant initial cluster *st-* vs. **s-* has a match in *istark-* (q.v.) vs. Lith. *sirgti* 'be ill', *sèrga*, OIr. *serg*, Toch. A *särk* 'illness', and seems to parallel both the **sw-* : **s-* variation (IE **s[w]ek̑s* 'six') and the problem of Hittite *z-* vs. **s-* in the rest of Indo-European (cf. e.g. s.v. *sakkar*); the Greek *π(τ)όλις* problem (vs. Lith. *pilis*) is also comparable.

No other proposed etymology merits serious consideration: Lat. *statua*, *statura* (Goetze, *Mélanges ... Pedersen* 491 [1937]); Gk. *σθένος* 'be strong' (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 44); Ved. *tanūh* 'body, self' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 52); Slavic **(j)istū* 'self' (V. Machek, *Die Sprache* 4:74-5 [1958]); IE **stA₂ént-* 'standing' (Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung* 548); IE **pstén* 'female breast, tit, nipple' (*IEW* 990; proposed by H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:98 [1973], endorsed by Oettinger, *KZ* 94:59 [1980]).

cf. Hur *istanì-* = *zi, šā* (Nen/Heth XI). 

istap(p)- 'shut, (en)close, catch, bar, block(ade), besiege, plug (up),

stop up, dam, 1 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-a-ap-hé* (*KBo XVII 3 IV 32-33 istappulli-set-a suliyas* [t] *a istāphe* 'its lid is of lead, and I close [it]'; dupl. *XVII 1 IV 37 su* *liyas ta istāphe*; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38), *is-tap-mi* (Yozgat; cf. T. G. Pinches, *Annals of archaeology and anthropology* 3, Plate XXVI, Text II, line 12 [1910]), 3 sg. pres. act. *is-tap-pi* (e.g. *KUB XL 102 VI 14 ser istappi* 'plugs up'; XII 16 II 14 *išTU NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ istappi* 'plugs with army bread'; *KBo XIX 129* Vs. 31 *iš* *TU NINDA āan istappi* 'plugs with hotcake'; VI 26 I 7-8 [= *Code* 2:58] *É.IN.N[U.DA] istappi* 'he shuts the straw-house'; dupl. *KUB XIII 15* Rs. 5 *É.IN.NU.DA istappi*), *is-ta-a-pi* (e.g. dupl. XXIX 30 II 17 *É.IN.N[U.DA i]stāpi*; XXIII 137 II 27 *nu-kan hattessar istāpi* 'he closes the hole'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:101 [1957], and *isgāpi* s.v. *isgapuzzi-*, which may be erroneous for *istāpi*; *KBo V 11 IV 14 nu* ^{LÜ.Ü.HÜB} ^{GIŠ} *AB.HIA anda istāpi* 'the deaf man shuts the windows'; *ibid.* 16 ^{GIŠ} *KUN₅ anda istāpi* 'bars the staircase'; cf. *KUB XXXI 89 II 3-4* ^{GIŠ} *ilana* [s

SAG.DU.MEŠ] BÂD.HI.A-as ^{GIS}AB.HI.A-us ^{GIS}IG-antes hattalwant[es
 '[let] heads of staircases [and] windows of fortifications [be]
 shuttered [and] bolted'), *istapi* (464/w, 6 *istap*{i}), *isdapi* (dupl.
 IX 22 II 33), *isdāpi* (ibid. 43 *ser-ma-an-kan isdāpi*, besides dupl.
 Bo 4876, 4 *istappi*) (3 pl. pres. act. *is-tap-pa-an-zi* (KBo XXI 34
 I 60-61 *n-an-kan mahhan parnas anda arnuanzi nu* ^{GIS}IG *istap-*
panzi 'when they bring her into the house they shut the door';
 cf. Otten, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7:139 [1974]; Lebrun, *Hethi-*
tica II 119; IV 2 I 7-8 *n-an-kan ANA* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL YÀ [katt]a tianzi
serr-a-sse-ssan ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL YÀ *istappanzi* 'they deposit it in a
 bowl of oil and plug up the bowl of oil'; cf. Kronasser, *Die*
Sprache 8:90 [1962]), *is-tab-ba-an-zi* (IBoT II 23, 4), 3 pl. pres.
 midd. *is-tap-pa-an-da-ri* (ABoT 60 Vs. 16-18 *mān-wa kūn*
BÂD-an wedanzi nu-wa-smas KASKAL.HI.A ŪL EGIR-pa hiswandari
anzas-ma-war-at-kan istappandari 'if they build this fortress,
 the roads will not lie open for you, and they will be closed to
 us'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 18:82 [1960]; Neu, *Interpretation* 77). (3
 sg. pret. act. *is-tap-pa-as* (KBo III 6 III 56-57 *n-an-kan INA*
^{URU}Samuha ŠAH GIM-an hūmma [with gloss-wedges] 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*; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis*
 32; XXXIII 106 III 37-38 *nu-kan nepis suppa É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ*
^DHebaddunn-a anda *istappas* 'he laid siege to heaven, the holy
 shrines, and Hebat'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:44 [1952]), *is-tap-ta*
 (KBo VI 29 II 33-35 *apūn-ma-kan* ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}Samuha GAŠAN-YA
 KU₆-un GIM-an hūpalaza [with gloss-wedges] EGIR-pa *istapta*
n-an ishiyat n-an-mu parā pesta 'My Lady Ištar of Samuha
 caught him like a fish with a net, bound him, and handed him
 over to me'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 50, and III 21 II 15-16
lilwanza-ma-ssan ikza-tes KUR-e katta huppan harzi 'your swift
 net holds the land ensnared'), 2 sg. imp. act. *istāpi* (KUB
 XXXIII 62 III 6 É-ri-ya ^{GIS}IG *istāpi* 'in the house close the
 door!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *istāpu* (XXVIII 82 I 23 *n-at-kan istāpu*
 'and let him close it [viz. the lid]'), *is-tab-du* (IX 31 II 38
idalu-kan parā istabdu āssuw-a-kan anda kuragdu 'let [the door]
 shut out evil and keep in good'; dupl. HT 1 II 12 *is-tab-du* *sarā*
istabdu ...; cf. ibid. 35-36 ^{GIS}IG-ann-a hatki 'closes the door'; B.
 Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:342 [1938]), 3 pl. imp. act. *is-tap-pa-an-du*

(KUB XIII 2 I 7 *nu URU.DIDLI.HI.A anda istappandu* 'they shall
 shut in the towns[people]'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen*
 41); partic. *istappant-*, nom. sg. c. *is-tap-pa-an-za* (IBoT III 148
 III 50-52 *n-as-kan KAXU-is kizza IŠTU KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN*
NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ya istappanza ēsdu 'let his mouth be plugged
 [partitive apposition] with this silver, gold, and thick bread'; cf.
 Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 226; KUB VII 54 III 25-27 *nu-wa-ta-*
-kkan ^{KIIS}MÁ.ŪRU.URU₆ *istappanza ēsdu* ^{GIS}BAN-ma-wa-ta-kkan
arha tarnān ēsdu 'may your quiver be shut, may your bow be
 unstrung'; thus *istappulli-* [q.v. infra] = Gk. πῶμα 'lid' [*φρ-*
έτης 'of quiver': *Iliad* 4:116, *Odyssey* 9:314]), nom.-acc. sg.
 neut. *is-tap-pa-an* (I 6 II 9 *istappan ēsta* '[the land] had been
 under siege'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 16; XXIX 4 III 32 *anda*
istappan '[the container is] closed'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung*
 24; KBo V 1 II 39-40 *n-at IŠTU LÂL sūwan ser-ma-at-kan IŠTU*
^{GIS}MA *istappan* 'they [viz. the containers] [are] filled with honey
 and plugged with figs'; similarly ibid. 41; cf. Sommer - Ehelolf,
Pāpanikri 8*), nom. pl. c. *is-tap-pa-an-te-es* (III 6 II 24-25
^{URU}URU.DIDLI.HI.A-ma kuyēs ŠA KUR ^{URU}Hatti *istappantes eser*
nu-kan GUL-heskir 'the towns of Hatti which had been block-
 aded, they struck out'; dupl. KUB I 1 II 42 *istappantes*; cf.
 Götze, *Hattusilis* 18; L 6 III 17; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 22:26
 [1980]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *istappanta* (KBo XVII 65 Rs. 10
anda-ya-at karū istappanta 'it [viz. the house] has already been
 shut'; as noun 'covereds, covered footwear, boots', VIII 95 Vs.
 10 ^{KU}IS^E.SIR *istappanta*; XXVI 34 IV 10 *istappanda* matching
 ibid. Akk. *šahupatum* 'boot'; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 41); verbal
 noun *istappessar* (n.), nom.-acc. *is-tap-pi-es-sar* and abl. sg.
is-tap-pi-es-na-az (KBo XXI 4 + KUB XXIX 7 Rs. 48-49
 EGIR-ŠU-ma-ssan ... *istappessar ienzi istappesnas-ma-kan PA₅-an*
 [...] *yan INA id-kan anda ienz[i* 'but afterwards they make a
 dam ..., and from the dam they make an outlet into the river'),
 gen. sg. *is-tap-pi-es-na-as* (ibid. 51-52 *n-asta* ^{GIS}MÁ *istappesnas*
 PA₅-as *istappes[naz] parā id-kan* ^{anda}*pedai* 'the outlet of the dam
 carries the boat forth from the dam into the river'; cf. Lebrun,
Samuha 124; KUB XXXVIII 3 III 11 *istappesnas SAL.LUGAL-as*
 'queen of enclosure' [?]; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 20).
istappinu- 'shut, close', 3 pl. pret. act. *is-tap-pi-nu-ir* (KUB

VIII 52, 6 *parā-ta-za istappinui*[r 'they shut you out'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:14 [1930]).

istappulli- (n.) 'cover, lid, plug, stopper', nom.-acc. sg. *is-tap-pu-ul-li* (see sub 1 sg. pres. act. *istāphe* above), instr. sg. *is-tap-pu-ul-li-it* (*KUB* XLIV 56 Rs. 13; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 45:200 [1976]), nom.-acc. pl. *istappulli* (XXXIII 8 III 7–8 *dankuwāi taknī AN.BAR-as* ^{DUG} *palhis kianda istappulli-smit* A. .BĀR-as 'in the dark earth lie iron cauldrons; their lids are of lead'; XXIII 66 II 10; par. XVII 10 IV 15 *istappulli-smet*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:103–4, 130, 97 [1965]), *istappuli* (dupl. XXXIII 3, 7 *istappuli-sme*[t]; denom. *istappulli-ya* 'use as stopper', partic. nom. sg. c. *istappullianza* (*KBo* XI 14 I 8 NINDA. .KUR₄.RA *ziz TUR istappullianza* 'small wheatloaf used as stopper'), acc. sg. c. *istappulliyantan* (ibid. IV 12–13 NINDA. .KUR₄.RA [*yo istap*] *pulliyantan*; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 165, 194 [1974]). For suffix *-ulli-* cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213.

The frequent gemination of *-pp-* as the marked spelling variant points to **p* and thus **step-*, e.g. *istāphe* < **stōpA₁ey*. The obvious etymon is the root (*IEW* 1011–3) appearing with occlusive-variation as **step-* (Lith. *stēpas* 'apoplexy', *stapinti* 'have an erection', OCS *stōpiti* 'tread [firmly]', *stopa* 'footstep'), **steb-* (Gk. *στέβω* 'kick around, abuse', OE *steppan* 'step, tread', pret. *stōp*, *stempan* 'stamp, stomp'), **stebh-* (Gk. *στέβω* 'put around, entwine', *ἄστεμπος* 'firm', Skt. *stabh-* 'make firm, support', *stambha-* 'post, pillar', *vī-ṣṭāp-* 'top, surface' [beside *skabh-* 'make firm, support', *skambhā-* 'pillar', q.v. s.v. *isga-puzzi-*], ON *steffa* 'curb, restrain', OE *staf* 'staff', *stefn* 'stem', Lith. *stābas* 'post', *staṁbas* 'stump'). It is conceivable that both variants **step-* and **steb(h)-* are represented in the Hittite paradigm, or even that a dominant **steb(h)-* has partly lost out to a secondary /step-/ created through unvoicing in forms like **stōb(h)-A₁ey*. The noun *istappulli-* has seeming parallels in e.g. Gk. *σταφύλη* 'plummet', OE *stapol* 'post, pillar' (> 'staple'). Cf. also Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung* 419–20.

A connection with Skt. *stabh-* was first suggested by Benveniste, *BSL* 33:139 (1932). The (rival) tie-in with the Sanskrit causative *sthāpāyati* 'make to stand, stop, arrest' (from *sthā-*

'stand'), championed by Sturtevant (*Lg.* 4:3–4 [1928], 6:156 [1930], *Comp. Gr.*¹ 76, *Lg.* 14:72 [1938], *Comp. Gr.*² 60), which others have echoed (e.g. T. Milewski, *L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 49 [1936]) or rejected (e.g. Couvreur, *Hett.* 199–200), may ultimately also be correct in that *sthāpāyati* can represent a **stopēyeti* secondarily associated with the root *sthā-* (cf. OLith. *stapýti*[s] 'stand still', ON *steffa* 'curb, restrain').

isturawanza (Thap. n) Kc 40 322 11

istark(ia)-, istarak(k)-, istarakkiya- '(turn) ail(ing), become sick; ail, afflict' (GIG; impersonal subject, or 'illness', or a deity; occasional impersonal construction with agent in abl.; patient in acc.), 3 sg. pres. act. *istarakzi* (e.g. *KUB* I 1 I 44 *mān-mu istarakzi kuwapi* 'if it ever ail me'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 10; V 6 I 45–46 *mān-wa DINGIR-LUM UKÜ-si menahhanda TUKU.TUKU-anza istarakzi-war-an* 'if a god [is] angry at a man and ails him'; VIII 36 II 12 *mān antuhsan SAG.DU-ŠU istara*[kzi] 'if it ails a man in the head', with partitive apposition; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38; Laroche, *CTH* 188), *istarzi* (VIII 38 + XLIV 63 III 8–9 *mān antuhsan IGI.HILA-Š[U...]* *apinessan istarzi* 'if it ails a man thus in the eyes'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 30), *istarkiyazzi* (*KBo* V 4 Rs. 38 *istarkiyazzi kuinki* 'it ails someone'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:66), *istarakkiyazi* (XXI 21 III 4; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 36), GIG-zi (e.g. *KUB* XVII 12 III 16 *nu GIG-zi kuin antuhsan* 'the man whom it ails'; *KBo* IV 14 II 57 *LUGAL-un GIG-zi* 'it ails the king'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:42 [1965]; ibid. III 13 *LUGAL-i kuinki nakkēszi nassu LUGAL GIG-zi* 'something becomes heavy for the king, or ails the king'; *KUB* XIX 5 Vs. 5 *istarakzi GIG-zi-ma-mu HUL-lu GIG-as-mu [...]* *t]amassan harzi* 'ails ..., but it ails me, illness has badly beset me'; XXX 26 I 1–2 *mān UKÜ-an* ^D *Isharaz GIG-zi* 'if it ails a man from the goddess I.'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 100; Neu, *Interpretation* 74–5), 3 sg. pret. act. *istarkit* (XIX 23 Rs. 12 *EN-YA-pat kuwapi* ^{URU} *Ankuwa istarkit* 'when my lord was ailing at A.'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]), *istarkiat* (*KBo* IV 6 Vs. 24–25 *tuēl GEME-TUM istarkiat n-an GIG-anza tamastat* 'your servant has become sick, illness has beset her'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 14), *istarakta* (*KUB* XIV 15 II 6 *n-an idalus GIG-as istarakta* 'a

bad illness afflicted him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 48; XIII 35 III 5 *istarakta-wa-mu* 'it ailed me'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; XXII 70 Vs. 1; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 54), *istarakkīt* (*KBo* V 9 I 14-15 *tuk-ma istarakkīt nu irmalliyattat* 'it ailed you, illness afflicted you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:10), *istarakkiyat* (*KUB* XIV 16 III 41; cf. Götze, *AM* 60), 3 sg. pret. midd. *istarakkiyattat* (XIV 15 II 13 *nu-war-an* [*idalus GIG-as*] *istarakkiyattat* 'a bad illness afflicted him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 48; Neu, *Interpretation* 77); iter. *istarkiski-* (VIII 36 III 20 *istarkiski* [zzi; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 40; Laroche, *CTH* 189).

istarni(n)k- 'make ail, afflict', 2 sg. pres. act. *istarniksi* (*KBo* III 28 II 16 *le nepisi* DINGIR.AŠ.AŠ *istarniksi* 'in heaven do not afflict the gods'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]), 3 sg. pres. act. *istarnikzi* (*Code* 1:10 *takku LÚ.ULÚ.LU-an kuiski hūnikzi t-an istarnikzi* 'if anyone beats up a man and makes him ailing'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *istarniktat* (III 34 II 39 [OHitt.] 'he turned ailing'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 78), 1 pl. pret. act. *istarninkuen* (III 45 Vs. 4 *n*] *episi* DINGIR.MEŠ *istarninkuen* 'in heaven we have afflicted the gods'), 2 sg. imp. act. *istarnik* (III 28 II 16 *taknā-ma menus istarnik* 'but on earth afflict countenances!'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]). For the causative type (like *har[a]k-*: *harni[n]k-*) cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:435-7.

istarningai- (c.) 'ailment, affliction', nom. sg. *istarningais* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 46-47 *DUTU-was istarningais* 'ailment of the sun'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:28 [1947]), acc. sg. *istarningain* (ibid. II 32 *kās kās istarningain* EGIR-*pa dās* 'so-and-so has taken away the ailment'), *is-tar-ni-ka-i-in* (*KBo* XVIII 151 Vs. 5 and 12; cf. Ünal - Kammenhuber, *KZ* 88:164 [1974]).

The meaning 'afflict' seems historically anterior, just as with Engl. *ail* < OE *eglan* 'cause pain'; for the trend to intransitivization see s.v. *arai-*. The impersonal construction recalls that of Lat. *me piget* 'it chagrins me'. The occasional agent construction with ablative (UKÜ-*an* ^D*Isharaz GIG-zi*) resembles Old Latin *hominem fulminibus occisit* 'it kills a man by bolts', Russian *otcá dérevom ubilo* 'it killed the father by a tree' (cf. Sommer, *ÖLZ* 42:681-2 [1939]; E. Schwyzer, *Rheinisches Museum* 76:433-9 [1927]); by the same token the *-nt-* deriva-

476 Púhlogo stúknulo po golové dérevátskói, póсле étoýo on stal písd't takói; comment. I takíxe étimológii tré.

tives of neuter nouns (predominantly nom. sg., serving as subjects of transitive verbs) are in origin agental ablatives in *-a(n)z(a)* (cf. abl. *luttanza* 'from the window', *nepisanza* 'from heaven', *hassannanza* 'from the family'), secondarily reinterpreted from paradigmatic to derivational status (collected by Laroche, *BSL* 57:1.23-43 [1962]); hence e.g. *KUB* XXX 34 IV 7-8 *nu ēshananza linkiyaza* ^{halinduwa} É DINGIR.MEŠ *le epzi* means originally literally 'may it not seize the temples of the palace by blood(shed) (and) perjury'.

istark- is most plausibly cognate with Lith. *sergù*, *sīgti* 'be ill', *sērga*, OCS *sraga*, Toch. A *särk*, Toch. B *sark*, OIr. *serg* 'illness' (cf. Puhvel, *LIEV* 25; Ivanov, *Obščeeindoevropskaja* 65); the initial cluster *st-* vs. **s-* is matched by *istanza-* vs. Lat. *sensus*, OHG *sin(n)*, Lith. *sintēti* and is thus part of a pattern (resembling **sw-* vs. *s-*; see further s.v. *istanza[n]-*); actually OIr. *serg* can also reflect **sterg-*.

A second possibility involves Gk. *σπργγάλη* 'cord, noose', Lat. *stringō* (< **strengō*) 'draw tight' (thus Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:5-6 [1928]); by including OE *stearc* 'stiff', *strec* 'firm', OHG *strang* 'cord', *strengi* 'stiff' (cf. Frisk, *GEW* 2:805), an IE **stér-g-*, **str-ég-* with nasal infix can be postulated. That the notion of tightness, constriction, and smothering may inhere in *istark-* is shown by the nosopoeic onslaughts of the demoness *Wisuriyanza* (cf. *wesuriya-* 'strangle'; Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 49-52). Semantic evolvment in *bonam partem* ('smother with love') might also explain Gk. *στέργω* 'be devoted, love' (to which Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 197, actually compared *istark-*).

Other suggested connections for *istark-* have been Gk. *σπρρῖσθαι* 'be exhausted, suffer pain' (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946:82); Goth. *ga-staúrknan* 'dry up', OE *stearc* 'stiff' (Goetze, *Lg.* 30:403 [1954]); Lat. *stercus* 'filth', Welsh *trwn* 'urine' (Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPS* 1946:82; similarly Puhvel, *LIEV* 25, in the sense of 'pollute'); Lat. *sternō* 'scatter, lay low' (Kronasser, *Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough* 122 [1957]); Ved. *trṇáh-*, *trṇháh-* 'crush' (besides *stṛhant-* 'damaging' with *s-*mobile; H. Eichner, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 16-21 [1982]).

Cf. *arma(n)-*, *inan-*.

istarna, istarni, always spelled **is-tar-**, 'between, mutually, in the midst, among(st), within, internally' (šā; e.g. *KUB I 1 I 7* DINGIR.MEŠ-as-kan *istarna* beside *ibid. IV 88 šā* DINGIR.MEŠ 'among the gods'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 6, 40), *istarna iya-* (or: *pai-*) 'go among; go by, pass (of time)', *istarna tiya-* 'step between; intervene, intercede', *istarna tekkussa(nu)-* 'single out (within a group), designate', *istarna arha* 'away from amongst; right through', *istarna pedi* 'at mid-point, centrally', *istarna siwatti* 'at mid-day', e.g.: *KUB XXX 29* Vs. 4 ^{G18}*kuppisnas istarna* 'between the stools'; *KBo II 3 III 10-11* [nu pa]hhur ZAG-az GÜB-lazz-*iya* BIL-an[zi] [is]tarna-ma-kan 7 ^{NA4}huwasi *isgaranzi* 'they light a fire to the right and left, and in between they set seven stone pillars'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:362 [1953]; *III 1 II 50* *kuis* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-n-a NIN.MEŠ-n-a *istarna idālu iyazi* 'who does evil among brothers and sisters'; *XXV 112 III 11* DINGIR.MEŠ-nan-a *istarna*, *ibid. II 12* and *19* DINGIR.MEŠ-nas-a *istarna* 'among the gods' (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191-2); *KUB VIII 41* passim DINGIR.MEŠ-nas-a *istarna* and *XXXI 143* passim DINGIR.MEŠ-nan-a *istarna*, matching Hattic *hawashawipi* (e.g. *XXVIII 75 III 6, 9, 13, 17, 22, 27*; cf. Laroche, *JCS* 1:187-96 [1947]); *XXIV 3 I 30-32* *nu-tta-kkan* ŠUM-an lamnas *istarna nakkī* DINGIR-LIM-yatar-ma-ta-kkan DINGIR.MEŠ-as *istarna nakkī* namma-za-kan DINGIR.MEŠ-as *istarna zik-pat* ^{DUTU} ^{URU} *Arinna nakkis* 'your name [is] important among names, and your godhead [is] important among the gods; furthermore among the gods you above all [are] important, sun-goddess of Arinna'; dupl. *XXIV 1 II 21* [nu-tta-kkan ŠUM]-an ŠUM.HLA-as *istarnas* [sic] *nakkī*; *XXIV 3 I 45* and *49* (cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 20-4); *XXIV 8 I 10-11* *KUR-e-kan istarna apās happinanza* 'within the land he [is] wealthy' (cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4); *KBo XXII 102 I 8* *mān šā-šu istarni* 'a [if within his heart] or [if his heart within]' (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 47); *KUB XV 34 II 20-24 istarna-kan āssiyauwar ... piskattin* 'within, grant love ...!' (cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 190); *KBo XIX 70, 17 nu-za-kan istarna* SIG₅-antes *ēsten* 'be well internally!' (cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 296 [1977]).

KUB XXIII 101 II 18 istarni-ma-w[ar]-an-wa-nnas-kan SIG₅-antes '(let) us (be) mutually dear'; *istarni-smi* 'among (or:

between) them (or: you, us), mutually', spelled *is-tar-ni-is-mi* (*KBo III 60 II 2-3* *kuis istarni-smi antuwahhis ak[i] s-an-ap azzikanzi* 'what person dies among them, him they eat'; *KUB XI 34 I 50*, *is-tar-ni-su-um-me* (XXVI 81 I 7 *istarni-summe āssi[y-antes* 'mutually dear'; *ibid. IV 9 istarni-summe-as-kan*; XXVI 43 Vs. 19 *kūs-ma-kan* URU.HLA *istarni-su[mme* 'but these towns mutually ...'; dupl. *KBo XXII 58* Vs. 9 -] *su-um-me*; cf. *Imparati, RHA* 32:26, 54 [1974]), *is-tar-ni-sum-mi* (*KUB XXXIII 120 III 4*; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *4; *KBo XIV 12 IV 29-31 nu-kan* [ish]iūl *istarni-summi ishiyat* '[he] concluded a treaty between them'; *ibid. 32, 36, 39 istarni-summi āssiyantes* 'mutually dear'; *ibid. 37-38 kinun-a-wa-nnas-kan kī-ya istarni-su[nmi]* [kis]at 'even though now this has taken place between us'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:98 [1956]; *XXXI 66 II 9-11 kī-wa-smas ishiūl iyanun* GIM-an-ma-nnas-kan HUL-uwa AWATE.MEŠ *istarni-summi wehtat* 'I have made you this injunction; but whereas bad words have been bandied between us ...'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 130).

KUB XLIV 61 Vs. 6 UD.KAM-ma-kan *istarna iyattari* 'but a day goes by' (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18); *KBo XXII 2* Vs. 6 *mān* MU.HLA *istarna pāir* 'as the years passed' (cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6, 23-4); *V 1 I 57 n-asta apās UD-az istarna paizzi* 'that day goes by'; *ibid. IV 34 UD-az-ma-kan istarna paizzi* 'the day goes by' (cf. Sommer - Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*, 12*, 42-3); *IV 14 III 4* [nu-k]an *mēhur istarna paizzi* 'time passes' (cf. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:44 [1965]); *KUB XVII 12 II 18-19 n-asta mahhan nassu* UD.2.KAM *nasma* UD.3.KAM *istarna paizzi* 'when either two or three days go by'; *XXVII 1 I 1* [nu]-kan *mān* MU.HLA *istarna pantes* 'if years [have] gone by'; similarly *ibid. 8-9* and *20* (cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75). Cf., without *istarna*, e.g. *XXIX 4 I 54 nu apās UD.KAM-as paizzi* 'that day goes by' (cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedlung* 12); *KBo IV 2 III 45 mahhan-ma uer* MU.HLA-us EGIR-anda *pāir* 'but as the years came and went by' (cf. Götze - Pedersen, *MS* 4); *III 20 I 3 mān 1 ME.KAM MU.KAM pait* 'as a hundred years had gone by' (cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:50 [1938]). The literal sense occurs in e.g. *VBoT 24 III 11 namma*

KUT 50 39

nu-za-kan UD.1.KAM

istarna tannu

we leave one day

in between

ANA UDU.HLA *istarna paimi* 'then I go among the sheep'.

KBo III 3 III 27-28 mān DINU-ma kuitki nu-smas-kan ^{LU}SANGA

ANA DI.HLA *istarna tieskiddu* 'but if (there is) some court proceeding, the priest shall intercede for you in legal matters' (cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 150). The literal rendering applies to *KUB* I 13 III 12–13 ANA GIŠ-ru-ma *istarna tianzi* 'they step between wood(en troughs?)' (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 64).

KBo V 3 I 10 *n-an-kan istarna tekkussami* 'I designate him'; *ibid.* 4–5 *nu-tta-kkan* URU *Hattusi* ANA LÚ.MEŠ URU *Hayasa-ya istarna tekkussamun* 'at Hattusas I have singled you out amongst the men of Hayasa' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106).

istarna arha 'right through', e.g. *KUB* XVII 28 IV 47 UKÜ-an MĀŠ.GAL UR.TUR ŠAH.TUR *istarna arha kuranzi* 'they cut in two a man, a he-goat, a puppy, and a piglet' (cf. O. Masson, *RHR* 137:5 [1950]); *KBo* V 4 Rs. 47 *nasma-kan* LÚ.KUR-ma *tuel KUR-ka istarna arha iyattari* 'or an enemy marches right through your country' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:68); *KUB* XXXI 127 + I 58–59 4 *halhaltūmari ukturi istarna arha iyattari* 'you traverse the four firm corners'; *KUB* XXIII 1 IV 17 KUR-ka-as-kan *istarna arha le paizzi* 'he shall not cross your country' (cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 16). The literal meaning 'away from between (amongst, within)', like Akk. *ištu libbi*, is seen in e.g. VII 31 I 20 *nu-mu-kan GIDIM-as istarna arha* [...] '[free] me from amongst the dead!' (cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 62); *KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 16 *nu-smas-kan istarna arha chu* 'come away from their midst!' (cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]); *KUB* V 1 I 48–49, II 57 HUL-iwaz-as-kan GIG-GAL-ya *istarna arha uit* 'it came away from between evil and great ailment', i.e. a rock and a hard place; similarly *ibid.* IV 75 (cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:40, 60, 88).

istarna pedi 'at mid-point, centrally', e.g. *KBo* XIX 128 III 17–18 GUNNI *istarna pedi* 'in the midst of the hearth' (cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8); *istarna pidi*, e.g. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 4 and dupl. II 2 I 2; *KUB* XX 59 V 20 and VI 4–5, 19; *VBoT* 24 I 12; *KBo* IV 2 I 33; *ibid.* 27 *is-tar-na pi-e-ti* (cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90–1 [1962]). For the construction cf. e.g. *tamatta pedi* 'in another place' beside *damēdani pidi* (s.v. *ta[n]*), or *apiya UD-ti* 'on that day' beside *apedani lamni* 'at that hour' (s.v. *apa-*).

UD.HLA-ti *istarna pidi*, lit. 'on the day at mid-point' (*KUB* VII 5 II 22) equals *ibid.* 26 *istarna* UD.HLA-ti 'at mid-day' (both

preceded by *karūwariwar* 'at daybreak' and followed by *nekuz mehur* 'at nightfall'; XXVII 29 II 14 *istarni* UD.KAM-ti has adjectival congruence (dat.-loc. sg. of *istarniya-*, q.v. *infra*; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 142), in the manner of Lat. *in medias res* 'into the middle of things' (cf. e.g. ZAG-ni^{GIS} *asari* 'at the right of the door' [s.v. *arasa-*]). The same transition is seen between *KUB* IX 31 I 32 [A] NA^{DUG} KA.[GAG.N]AG *istarna* and dupl. *HT* 1 I 25 ANA^{DUG} KA^{GIS}.GAG.NAG *istarni* 1^{GI} A.DA.GUR *tarnai* 'into the center of the goblet he lets drop a spoon'.

istarniya- 'middle, central', nom. sg. c. *istarniyas* (*KUB* XVII 10 IV 9–12 *paranz-at tarnau istarniyas-at annasanza tarnau* ^{GIS} *huttanz-at tarnau wawarkima istarniyas-at hilas tarnau* KĀ. GAL-at *tarnau hila* ^{GIS} *mannanz-at tarnau KASKAL.LUGAL-at tarnau* 'may the house let them go, may the central pillar [?] let them go, may the window let them go, to the gate-socket [?] may the central courtyard let them go, may the gate let them go, may the gateway let them go, may the royal road let them go'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]), acc. sg. c. *istarniyan* (XXXIII 62 II 5), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *istarniya* (XXIX 52 IV 2 and XXIX 46 + 53 I 18 *istarniya hāli* 'the middle watch'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 192, 196), dat.-loc. sg. *istarni* (quoted above), *istarniya* (*KBo* XIII 58 III 16–17 *istarniya-ya-kan hāli*; *KUB* VII 2 I 24–25 *nu-za EN SISKUR.SISKUR é-ri istarniya esari* 'the offerant seats himself in the center of the house'), dat.-loc. pl. *istarniyas* (*KBo* V 11 IV 18 *istarniyas* KĀ.GAL 'to the center gate'). For formation cf. e.g. *anturiya-* (s.v. *andurza*).

istarnarhana (*KUB* IX 3 I 9 *šum-šu istarnarhana šum-šu istarna*); cf. A. M. Jasink Ticchioni, *Studi classici e orientali* 27:161 [1977]; for an interpretation see below.

istarna was connected by Hrozný (*SH* 96) with Lat. *sternere* 'spread', OHG *stirna* 'forehead', OCS *strana* 'area', thus IE **ster-H₂* 'spread'; Sturtevant (*Lg.* 4:5 [1928]) specifically added Gk. *στέρον* 'breast', comparing šl and Akk. *libbu* 'heart' and 'middle', and affirming nominal origin. An underlying noun **sterno-* 'spread, space, extent' was postulated by T. Milewski, *L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 14 (1936), and by Laroche, *RHA* 28:38–9 (1970), *istarna* and *istarni(-)* thus being petrifacts of dat.-loc. (or "directive") origin. While on the one hand stressing

cf. *KB. 25. 152*
(05)
[i]i-tar-ne-e-i

Ko 8.56, 2
GAG-anta istarniya
hālī 'at night in
the middle watch'

semantic parallels such as OCS *srěda* 'middle' : *srūdīce* 'heart', Kronasser (*VLFH* 38, 221) also weighed the homophonous similarity of Hurr. *istani*- 'middle'. Yet further constructional parallels (such as Hurr. *istani-wwas-a*, Akk. *ina libbi-ni*, Hitt. *-mmas istarni-summi* 'in our midst') are merely that, and may not even be close, for *istarna* vs. *istarni-summi* resembles above all *katta* vs. *katti-mmi* (q.v.; cf. Starke, *Funktionen* 188–91) and is thus at best only remotely a noun phrase. Laroche's (*RHA* 28:38–9 [1970]) postulation of "double directives" in *istarna arha* as 'à l'espace vers le bord', implying a double reference to interiority and separation similar to Lat. *inter* (cf. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* 120–1 [1948]), errs in assuming the still-palpable existence of a noun *istarna*-. The semantics of 'expanse' > 'breast' (specifically Gk. *στέπρον*) > 'center, middle, interior' are also less than satisfactory.

Instead *istarna* and Lat. *inter* show close similarities in construction, meaning, and usage: *istarni-smi* vs. *inter se* 'mutually'; *istarna iya-* 'pass (away)' vs. *interire* 'perish'; *istarna tiya-* 'intercede' vs. *intervenire*; *istarna tekkussa(nu)-* 'single out, put on the spot' vs. *interdicere* 'interfere with, forbid'; *istarna arha kuer-* 'cut in two' vs. Lat. *intersecāre* 'cut asunder' + *rese-cāre* 'cut off'; *istarna siwatti* 'at mid-day' vs. *interdiu(s)* 'in daytime'. Parallel to *istarna iya-* 'pass (away)' one might also have expected **istarna iya-* 'do away with, make disappear, spend (time)' (like Ved. *antār dhā-* and Lat. *interficere*; cf. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 409–10 [1981]).

Perhaps the etymology of *istarna* should be sought in a similar direction. *istar-* can represent **ens-ter* parallel to Lat. *inter*, with the same variation as in Gk. *ἐν-, εἰς-* or *ἐκ-, ἐξ-*; *-na* is obscure (cf. Lat. *internus*?) but may be replicated over again in the combination *istarn(a)-arha-na* (see above). *istarna* would thus be cognate with *anda* '(with)in' (q.v.), being sometimes employed very much in the same sense (cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:141 [1924], and Lat. *intus*); its specific usages, however, like those of Lat. *inter*, spring from the suffix **-ter* which singles out the marked member of a binary pair ('separately within').

Carruba (*SMEA* 12:87 [1970], *Partikeln* 75) tried to derive the particle *-(a)sta* (q.v.) from *istarna* /starn/. Neumann (*Un-*

tersuchungen 96) saw in Hes. *στέπνιξ· ἐντεπρώνῃ* 'inmost part, pith' a borrowing from Hitt. *istarn-* (sic) 'middle, midst'.

Cf. *hilistarni*-.

isdusduski-, *KBo* XXIII 90 I 7 *du*]sgaraz isdusdus[-; dupl. *KUB* XL 23, 12 [*dusgaraz isd*]usdusk[-; dupl. *Bo* 3158 I 13 *dusgaraza* [*isdu*]; *KBo* XXII 126 Vs. 2–3 *uk*]tūriyas halugas isdusdu[-...] [*...LUGAL andan uktūri dusgara*[-].

The verb appears in a possible figura etymologica with *dusgaratt-* 'joy', perhaps as a reduplicated transitive counterpart 'gladden' to *duski-* < **tus-ske-* 'be glad', cognate with Skt. *tūsyati*. Since *duski-* is an old formation (of the type **pr̥kske-* > Skt. *pr̥cchāti*, Lat. *poscit*) rather than a "living" iterative, an analysis **tus-tuske-* rather than **stu-stu-(ske-)* seems indicated (wrongly Kühne, *ZA* 62:251–2 [1972]; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 27:65 [1981]); the "prothetic" *s-* may be merely anticipatory, in the sense that **tustuski-*, unlike *duski-*, was reinterpreted as a true iterative **tustu-ski-* and had "full" reduplication "restored".
An alternative analysis might be *isdu-sdu-ski*, redupl. iterative of *istuwa-*; cf. *Luw. dusdumi-*.

istuwa- 'be(come) manifest, be exposed, get out (in the open)', 3 sg. pres. midd. *isduwari* (e.g. *KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 19 *nu-mu-ssan ser assul natta isduwari* 'over me [divine] favor is not manifest'; similarly XXX 11 Rs. 17), *istuwāri* (XIII 3 III 7–8 EGIR-pizziya-ma-at istuwāri 'but it subsequently gets out'; ibid. 18–19 appiziyan-ma-at istuwāri; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47), *isduwāri* (XIII 4 III 82 [*ta*]kk[u] sannāi EGIR-zian-ma-at isduwāri 'if he conceals it, but it subsequently gets out'; ibid. IV 21 apzian-ma-as isduwāri; ibid. 30–31 EGIR-zian-ma-as isduwāri ... mān-ma-as ŪL-ma isduwāri; similarly ibid. 46–47, 66–68, dupl. XIII 17 IV 8–9), *is-du-u-wa-* (ibid. 25, misspelled *is-u-wa-hu*; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:388–96 [1934]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *isduwati* (XXIII 11 III 7–8 *n-as-mu* DINGIR.MEŠ *parā piyer nu-smas-(s)ta* *uttar arha isduwati n-us-kan haspir* 'Kukulinn-a-kan kuinnir' 'the gods handed them over to me, and the plot was exposed on them, and they destroyed them, and they slew K.'; cf. R. Radoszek, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 9:58 [1934]; *KBo* XIX 84, 9 *a*]rha isduwati), *isduwāti* (III 1 II 11 [OHitt.] mān-us-kan

¹*Huzziyas kuenta nu uttar isduwāti* 'H. would have killed them, but word [of the plot] got out'; *KUB XIV 4 I 3 i[sduwāti]*.

Luwoid *dusdumi-* (c.) 'evidence, manifest, voucher', nom. sg. *dusdumis* (*KUB XIII 35 I 4-6 [nu] UNUTUM kuit kuedani pieskit n-at ūl. siyaeskit nu-ssi dusdumis* (with gloss-wedges) *Ūl. ēsta lalamies-si* (with gloss-wedges) *Ūl. ēsta* 'what object he had given to whom, that he had never documented; he had neither voucher nor receipt'; *dusdumassi-* 'evidentiary', nom.-acc. pl. neut. *dusdumassa* (ibid. 15-16 *ANŠU.KUR.RA-wa ANŠU.GİR.NUN.NA kui[n h]arkun nu-wa-mu* ^{GIŠ}*L[EU]* *dusdumassa* [with gloss-wedges] *siyan ēsta* 'as for the horse and mule that I had, there were wooden voucher-tablets as documentation'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 4); there is also VII 56 III 10 *dusduma* (without gloss-wedges) in fragmentary context. *dusdumi-* is probably from a Luwian reduplicated verb **du-sdum(a)-* matching Hitt. *(i)sduwa-* (cf. Luw. *hishiya-*: Hitt. *ishiya-*). Cf. Carruba, *Oriens Antiquus* 9:85 (1970).

Sturtevant (*Lg.* 4:4-5 [1928], 6:31 [1930]) compared *istuwa-* with Gk. *στεῦται* in e.g. *στεῦται γάρ τι ἔπος ἐρπεῖν* '(he) looks as if he will say some word' (*Iliad* 3:83). Construed with a participle *στεῦται* means 'is manifest (doing something)', i.e. 'plainly does' (*Odyssey* 11:584 *στεῦτο δὲ διψῶν, πίνειν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἐλέσθαι* 'he was plainly thirsting but could not get to drink'), antonymical to the same construction with *λανθάνω* 'escape notice' (*λάθε βιώσας*); it is found also in expressions such as *στεῦτο γάρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν* 'he openly boasted that he would be victorious' (*Iliad* 2:597) and *στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων Τρωσὶ μαχήσεσθαι* 'he openly stated that he would fight the Trojans' (*Iliad* 5:832-3). From a reduction of such seemingly semi-pleonastic constructions rose the usage of *στεῦται* alone with the infinitive in the secondary sense 'claim, declare, promise, threaten', being thus a product of epic formula consolidation. The tertium comparationis, Indo-Iranian *stu-* 'praise, celebrate', offers RV 3 sg. pres. midd. *stáve* 'is celebrated' which as nonthematic not only closely matches *στεῦται* or *στεῦτο* (: Avest. *staota* vs. RV *stáve*, like e.g. *κεῖται*: Avest. *saēta* vs. RV *śáye*; cf. J. Narten, in *Pratidānam* 18-9 [1968]) but in thematic guise (RV also *stávate*) can be closely paired with Hitt. *istuwari* (cf. C. Watkins,

Indogermanische Grammatik III/1, 115-6; H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 99 [1975]; Oettinger, *MSS* 34:112 [1976]). It is conceivable that the original meaning of I.-Ir. *stu-* is likewise a medial-intransitive 'be(come) manifest', and that e.g. RV 10.22.2 *ihá śrutá Índro asmé adyá stáve* 'here Indra (is) heard of, by us to-day he is celebrated' means originally 'here Indra (is) heard of, to us to-day he is manifest', i.e. we nowadays fully appreciate Indra's renown (cf. the preceding verse, *kúha śrutá Índrah kásminn adyá jáne mitró ná śrūyate* 'where [is] Indra heard of, in what people to-day like a friend is he heard of?'). The development of a productive transitive paradigm of *stu-* in the sense of 'praise, celebrate' may have occurred in early Indo-Iranian hymnic-poetic diction via elliptic formula-reduction similar to the Homeric one described above. In a medial-intransitive Indo-Iranian construct **(šru- +) stu-* 'be (heard of and) manifest' **šru-* was incapable of secondary activization into 'celebrate' due to the pre-existent transitive meaning 'hear'; but *stu-*, denoting in statival fashion visual and by extension cognitive celebrity (cf. IE **weyd-* 'see' > 'know'), first acquired de facto diathetic passivity in contexts such as RV 6.26.7 *tváyā yát stávante ... vīrás* ('that through you heroes have visibility' > 'that by you heroes are celebrated'); from there the way was clear to an active paradigm (RV *stoṣi* 'thou praisest' [vs. *stavase nas* 'thou art celebrated by us'], *staut*; Avest. *staoiti*; new post-RV middle *stuté* patterned on the active). Thus the media tantum Hitt. *istuwa-* and Gk. *στεν-* may be more archaic than Indic and Iranian *stu-*; IE **stew-* would be in origin intransitive-stative rather than a verbum dicendi (J. Wackernagel's "feierliche öffentliche Kundgebung" [*Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* 202]), and e.g. RV *stuti-* 'hymn of praise' denotes originally 'celebrity' (> 'celebration'), vs. *śrúti-* 'auditory lore'. Cf. Puhvel, *AJPh* 104:218-21 (1983).

O. Szemerényi (*Die Sprache* 12:206 [1966]) implausibly connected *istuwa-* with OPers. *azdā* 'announcement' (< **adh-tā* under "Bartholomae's law", thus *isdu* < **edh-tu-*); a Hittite cognate of the Indo-Iranian root **adh-* may instead be present in *isiya(hh)-* 'announce, reveal' (q.v.).

Cf. *suppesduant-*, *suppistuwara-*.

isuwan- (n.) 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains', nom.-acc. sg. *i-su-wa-an* (KBo VI 26 I 22–27 [= Code 2:63] *takku suppala-sset kuēlqa sieumiahta t-at parkunuzi n-at arha pennāi isuwanalli-ma-kan isuwan dāi ari-ssi-ma-at ŪL tezzi*^{LU} *arass-a ŪL sakki suppala-sset pennāi n-at aki sarnikzil* 'if someone's cattle suffer demonic possession, and he cleanses them and drives them off, but dumps the refuse on a scrap-heap without telling his fellow [shepherd], so that the fellow unwittingly drives his cattle [there], and they die, restitution [is in order]'), instr. sg. *isuwanit* (I 45 Vs. 3 *isuwanit wātar* 'water with sediment' matching ibid. Akk. *liḫmu* [cf. *luḫummū* 'thick liquid, wet dirt, mire']; cf. *MSL* 3:59 [1955]).

Denom. *isuwanai-*, partic. nom. sg. c. *isuwananza* (KBo II 4 III 27–28 and IV 5 I NINDA KUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA ŠĀ-ir *isuwananza* 'bread-mash internally sedimental' [from fermentational liquefaction?], vs. ibid. III 25 I NINDA KUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA IŠTU A *sumnianza* 'water-logged bread-mash', *isunanza* (ibid. II 23 I NINDA KUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA ŠĀ-ir *isunanza*; XXIII 95 Vs. II ŠĀ-i]r *isunanza*), *isuwanza* (sic B⁷ 3481 IV¹² 14 I NINDA KUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA ŠĀ-ni *isuwanza*, vs. ibid. 12 I NINDA KUR₄.RA BA.BA.ZA IŠTU A *sumnanza*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 296).

(i)suwanalli- (n.) 'scrap-heap, refuse dump, midden', dat.-loc. sg. *isuwanalli* (KBo VI 26 I 24, quoted above), *suwanalli* (dupl. VI 18 IV 3). For formation cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:212.

For the many past attempts at interpretation see e.g. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 109–10; Imparati, *Leggi ittite* 288–92; Tischler, *Glossar* 439–40; most cogent are the discussions by Güterbock, *JCS* 15:70–1 (1961), and Meriggi, *WZKM* 58:99–100 (1962). The dim view taken by the law of careless or willful disposal of potentially lethal ritual waste-material is patent from Code 1:44 (KBo VI 3 II 55–56 *takku antuhsan kuiski parkunuzzi kuptarr-a uktūrias* [pedāi] *takku-at A.ŠĀ-ni nasma parni kuelga pedai alwanzatar* [DI.KUD LUGAL] 'if someone cleanses a person, he also takes the refuse to the incinerator; if he dumps it on someone's field or house[-lot], [this amounts to] sorcery [and is subject to] the king's judgment').

isuwan- is semantically somewhat akin to *mudan-* (n.) 'rinsed dirt, refuse, offal' (q.v. s.v. *mutai-*) which was given as

food to dogs and pigs. The fluctuation (i)suwanalli- and the etymology are opaque; a connection with *suwai-* 'fill; (midd.) be filled, swell' (e.g. Josephson, *Sentence particles* 286) is not obvious.

(i)suwanalli- (n.) 'scrap-heap, refuse dump, midden'

idalu- 'bad, evil' (HUL, rarely in KBo I 30 I 16 *idalus* matches Akk. *mašku*, just as ibid. 15 the near-synonymous *huwappas* [q.v.] is glossed by Akk. *liḫmu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 12:214–5 [1969]), nom. sg. c. *idalus* (e.g. KUB XIV 15 II 6 *n-an idalus GIG-as istarakta* 'a bad illness afflicted him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 48; KBo V 13 II 26–27 *kuiski idalus memiyas ŠA BAL* 'some bad word of insurrection'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124), *idālus* (e.g. V 4 Vs. 10 *idālus memia[s š]* A BAL; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:52; ibid. Rs. 10 [nu 1-as 1-ed] *ani menahhanda le idālus* 'one [shall] not [be] evil against the other'; XXVI 86, 2–3^{LU} HUL-as [šeš-as ...] *idālus* 'Brother Bad ... evil'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10, 14, 23), HUL-lus (e.g. KUB XLIV 4 + KBo XIII 241 Rs. 28 HUL-lus EME-as 'evil tongue'), acc. sg. c. *idalun* (e.g. KUB XII 58 II 14 *idalun EME-an*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), *idāhun* (e.g. KBo V 3 II 40–41 *idāhun antuhsan* 'evil person'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:118; XXI 8 III 16 *idāhun EME-an*), HUL-un (e.g. dupl. KUB XXIV 10 III 25 HUL-un EME[-an]; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46), HUL-lun (e.g. KUB V 13 III 22 *mānn-a HUL-lun memian kuinki ŠA BAL piran parā istamasti* 'and if you hear in advance some bad word of insurrection'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128), nom.-acc. sg. (also pl.) neut. *idalu* (e.g. XXIV 9 II 11–13 *nassu-wa-an AN[A PANI DINGIR.MEŠ] kuiski idalu iet nasma-an ANA PANI DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU[.MEŠ kuiski] HUL-lu iet* 'whether before the gods someone has treated him badly, or before men someone has treated him badly'; cf. Gk. κακὰ ποιεῖν τινα; Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 32; KUB XXIV 9 II 36 + KBo XII 127 II 3 *kī idalu zik ep* 'this evil take thou!', besides dupl. KUB XXIV 11 II 15–16 HUL-lu [zik] ep; IX 31 II 38 *idalu-kan parā istabdu āssuw-a-kan anda kuragdu* 'let [the door] shut out evil and keep in good', besides dupl. HT 1 II 12 *hē-lu-kan sarā istabdu* ...; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:342 [1938]), *italu* (KBo XVIII 151 Rs. 19 *italu-wa bayit* 'the bad is gone'; cf.

Ünal – Kammenhuber, KZ 88:164 [1974]), *idālu* (e.g. KUB VII 41 Vs. 18 *idālu papratar* 'evil defilement'; I 16 III 23 *apās idālu iet* 'she has done evil'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; ibid. II 16 LUGAL-*s-an idālu k[uitki iyanun* 'have I, the king, treated him badly in any way?', matching ibid. I 16 [Akk.] LUGAL *lemuttam mimma epuš*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 4–5; XXXIII 68 II 11–12 *zig-a^D idālu uddār arha pessiya nu-za āssu uddār dā* 'but you, storm-god, throw away evil words and take unto yourself good words!'; KBo XVII 90 II 14 *idālu-ya-kan uddār*; XV 10 I 18 *idālu kue* 'the evil things which'; ibid. II 15 and III 57 *idālu uddār-set* 'her evil words'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 14, 22, 44; KUB XXI 5 III 6 *eni*-*wa idālu kisaru* 'let this evil take place!'), HUL-*lu* (e.g. dupl. XXI 1 II 80 *eni-wa HUL-lu DÜ-ru*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:64; XXIV 9 II 32 *kī HUL-lu alwanzata* 'this evil sorcery'), HUL (e.g. XXIV 10 III 26 HUL *UH₄-tar* 'evil sorcery'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46), *(dat.-loc.)* sg. *i-da-la-u-i* (e.g. XIX 54, 19; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:142), *i-da-a-la-u-i* (e.g. XV 32 I 52–53 *nu-wa-kan apedani idālu antuhsi awan arha uwattin* 'come away from that evil person'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 152), *i-da-a-la-u-e* (e.g. KBo II 3 II 36; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]), *i-da-a-la-u-u-i* (e.g. V 4 Rs. 45 *nu-ssan idālu imma parā uskisi* 'you condone evil'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:66), HUL-*la-u-i* (e.g. KUB XXI 1 III 49–50 *nu-kan HUL-lau [p]arā uskisi*), HUL-*u-e* (dupl. XXI 5 III 66 *nu-kan HUL-ue parā usgisi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:74), *i-ta-lu-i* (KBo XVIII 151 Rs. 6), abl. sg. *idalauwaz* (e.g. KUB XII 58 III 7 *idāluwaz paprannaz* 'by means of evil pollution'; cf. ibid. 3–4 and 8–9 *idalu papratar*; Goetze, *Tunnawi* 16), *idāluwaz* (e.g. XV 34 II 5 *idāluwaz papran[naz]*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 190), *idalauwanza* (XXXI 127 III 43), HUL-*uwaz* (e.g. V 1 I 48 and II 57; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:40, 60), *idālaz* (sic XV 42 II 9 *idālaz uddānaz*), nom. pl. c. *i-da-la-u-e-s(a-an)* (VII 53 II 18–19 *idalawes-an kuyēs antuhsis paprahhis(k)ir* 'what evil persons were polluting him'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 12), *i-da-la-u-e-es* (e.g. XXIV 9 II 23 *alwanzata idalawēs teshus* 'sorcery [and] bad dreams'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 34), *i-da-a-la-u-e-es* (e.g. KBo XV 10 I 13, 15, 23, 27, 33 *idālawēs* 'evil [tongues]'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 14–8), HUL-*u-e-es* (e.g. KUB IX 34 III 45 HUL-*wēs* *siwannies* 'evil

gen. sg.
i-da-la-wa-as (Ko 11.11.18),
i-da-la-u-wa-as (Ku 31.12.145),
idalauwass-a hūwappass-a
antuhsos 'of a bad and
evil person',
i-da-la-u-as (Ko 16.56.16),
i-da-a-la-u-wa-as (Ku 31.
Vs. 12),
HUL-u-wa-as (Ku 12.62 Rs. 2)
dat.-loc. sg.
i-da-la-u-e (Ku 29.1 @ 11)
i-ta-a-la-u-i (Ko 25.103
Rs. 3; Steb 125)
HUL-lu-u-i (Ku 40.33 Vs. 18)

instr. sg.
i-da-a-la-u-i (Ku 36.75
@ 2)

i-da-la-u-i-es (Ku 13.9 I 9)
i-da-a-la-u-es (Ku 7.1.33)

gods'), *idāluwanzi* (Luwoid KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Rs. 38 *idāluwanzi-ya niš DINGIR-LIM* 'evil perjuries'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 123), acc. pl. c. *idalamus* (e.g. KUB VII 53 III 17 *idalamus zashimus* 'bad dreams'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 20; XXIV 9 II 42 *i-da-la-mu-s[a]*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 38), *idālamus* (e.g. XLIV 56 Rs. 12 *idālamus EME-us*; ibid. 16 *idālamus EME.HI.[A]*; cf. ibid. 14 *i-da-a-la-u-wa-as-sa* [dat.-loc. pl. ?]; KBo XV 10 I 30–31 *idālamus alwanzinnus EME.HI.A* 'evil, sorcerous tongues'; ibid. II 12 *idālamus EME.HI.A*; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16, 22), *idālamus* (ibid. III 54 [*idā*] *lamūs-a EME.HI.A*; KUB VIII 67 IV 14 *idā*] *lamūs harziyalus NE.ZA.ZA.HI.A* 'bad snails [and] frogs'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 40), HUL-*mus* (IX 34 I 28 HUL-*mus* *Ü.MEŠ-us* 'bad dreams'), *idalus* (IBoT III 102 + Bo 3436 I 6 *idalus M[UŠ]EN.HI.A-us* 'bad birds'; cf. H. Otten – C. Rüster, *ZA* 68:157 [1978]), HUL-*lus* (par. KUB IX 34 IV 6 HUL-*lus* *MUŠEN.HI.A-us*), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *idālawā* (XII 44 III 6–8 *idālus-wa-ssan antūwahza idālus EME-as idālawā IGI.HI.A-wa* 'evil person, evil tongue, evil eye[s]'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:122 [1973]), *idalauwa* (e.g. KBo V 9 III 21 *idalauwa INIM.MEŠ* 'evil words'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), *idā-lauwa* (e.g. ibid. II 46 *idā-lauwa A.WATE.MEŠ* 'evil words'; XVII 105 III 6 *idā-lauwa haṭuga kue uddār* 'words that [are] evil [and] fearsome', besides ibid. 7 *āssauwa mīyauwa* 'good [and] mild'; II 3 III 43 *idā-lauwa uddā[r]*, besides par. KUB XXXII 115 + IV 20 and KBo XXIV 1 I 19 *idālu uddār* [cf. sub nom.-acc. sg. neut. *idālu* above]; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 86; L. Rost, *MIO* 1:364 [1953]), dat.-loc. pl. *idālauwas* (e.g. KUB XXIV 3 II 55–56 *n-asta l[e] āssawēs idālauwas anda harkanzi* 'let not the good perish among the evil'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 30), HUL-*uwas* (e.g. IX 34 III 44 HUL-*uwas* *DINGIR.MEŠ-as*).

idalawant- (c.) 'bad(ness), evil', serving in place of *idalu-* (n.) as animate subject with transitive verbs (cf. *assuwant-* s.v. *ass-*), nom. sg. *idālawanza* XXXIII 121 II 17 *i]dālawanza GIG-anza* 'bad illness'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]), *i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-zā* (KBo XVII 62 + 63 IV 10 *idā-lauwanza uddananza* 'evil thing'), HUL-*u-an-za* (e.g. KUB XVI 41 III 16; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:112; XVI 29 Vs. 2), HUL-*uwanza* (e.g. XVIII 11 Vs. 8), HUL-*lūwanza* (L 71 Vs. 16).

i-ta-a-la-mu[us]
(Ku 26.77 I 16; cf.
Bin-Nun 1135 26:119, 2)

i-da-la-u-as
(VOT 121 Vs. 2)

i-da-la-u-wa-
-an-za (Ku 31.127
@ 43)

idalawatar, idaluwatar, idalutar (n.) 'badness, evil disposition, malice', nom.-acc. sg. *i-da-lu-wa-tar* (KUB XXIV 14 I 25), *i-da-lu-tar* (XXXIII 93 IV 12, besides dupl. XXXIII 92 III 4 HUL-tar; cf. Güterbock, JCS 5:22 [1951]), dat.-loc. sg. *i-da-la-u-an-ni* (e.g. KBo III 3 II 22, besides ibid. 16 HUL-anni; cf. Hrozný, Heth. KB 144), *i-da-la-wa-an-ni* (KUB VI 41 IV 18), *idālawanni* (dupl. KBo V 13 IV 10; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:134), *idalauwani* (KUB XXXIII 103 II 10 z) ^{ik} ^DKumarbis DUMU.LU.UL.Ü.LU-UTTI *idalauwani sanhis[kisi]* 'you, K., afflict mankind in malice'; cf. Laroche, RHA 26:49 [1968]; Siegelová, Appu-Hedammu 46), *idalauwanni* (e.g. XIV 4 II 12; KBo V 12 III 14; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 2:122; KUB XXI 5 III 53, besides dupl. XXI 1 III 18 HUL-la-u-wa-an-ni and ibid. 34 HUL-la-wa-ah-zi [sic]; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 2:70, 72; III 119 Vs. 8, besides dupl. XXI 49 Vs. 6 HUL-u-an-ni; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:6; HUL-u-an-ni also e.g. VI 41 I 35; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 2:110), *i-da-a-la-u-an-ni* (e.g. XIII 4 II 69; cf. Sturtevant, JAOS 54:378 [1934]), *idālawanni* (XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Vs. 19 nu KUR URU Hatti *idālawanni sanhiskanzi* 'they afflict Hatti in malice'; cf. Gurney, Hittite Prayers 28), *idālawanni* (KUB XIX 67 + 1513/u I 16–17 nu-ssi-kan *idālawanni EGIR-an ŪL[namma]* *maushahat* 'I no longer fell into malice with regard to him'; cf. Neu, Interpretation 114–5).

idalawahh- 'treat badly, maltreat' (thus synonymous with *idalu iya-*, rather than a factitive 'make bad'), 1 sg. pres. act. *i-da-la-u-wa-ah-mi* (e.g. KBo V 3 IV 31–32 *mān sumes-ma kuwatqa idālu iyatteni nu-smas* ^DUTU-ŠT-ya *idalauwahmi* 'but if you act badly somehow, I the king shall also treat you badly'; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 2:134), 2 sg. pres. act. *idalawahti* (e.g. KUB VI 41 IV 12–14 *n-an-zan SIG₅-in ēssa idalawahti-ma-an le kuitki mān-an idalawahti-ma kuitki* ... 'treat it well, and do not maltreat it in any way; but if you maltreat it ...'; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:134), *idalawatti* (sic dupl. KBo V 13 IV 5–6 *mān-an idalawatti-ma kuitki*), *idalauwahti* (dupl. IV 3 III 16 *ida-lauwahti-ma-as le kui[tki]*), *idālawuwahti* and *idālawuwahti* (V 4 Vs. 26–27 *n-an SIG₅-in ēssa idālawuwahti-m[a-an le kuitki]* *mān-an idālawuwahti-ma kuitki* ...; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:56), 3 sg. pres. act. *idalawahzi* (KUB VI 41 IV 20–21 and dupl. KBo V

13 IV 12–13 *nasma-wa-tta idalawahzi kuitki* 'or he maltreats you in any way'; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:134), HUL-ahzi (dupl. IV 3 III 24), HUL-lauwahzi (KUB XXI I III 20), HUL-wahzi (dupl. XXI 5 III 35; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 2:70), 3 pl. pres. act. *i-da-a-la-u-ah-ha-an-zi* (XIII 4 I 29–30 *n-an-kan nassu kunanzi nasma-kan* KAKKAK-ŠU IGLILA-ŠU GEŠTUG.HILA-ŠU *idalauahhanzi* 'they either kill him or they maltreat his nose, his eyes, and his ears'; cf. Sturtevant, JAOS 54:366 [1934]), 1 sg. pret. act. *idalawahhun* (KUB VI 41 II 34, with dupl. KBo IV 3 I 41 HUL-ahhun; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:118), *idālawahhun* (V 13 I 23 *tuk ... ŪL kuitki idālawahhun* 'I have not maltreated you in any way'; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:114), *idalauwahhun* (dupl. IV 3 I 12, with dupl. IV 7 II 1 HUL-u(-), *i-da-a-la-u-ah-hu-un* (KUB XXI 19 III 6), HUL-ahhun (e.g. VI 41 I 36; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:110), 3 sg. pret. act. *idalawahta* (KBo XIV 3 III 14 nu KUR-e mekki *idalawahta* '[he] had treated the land very badly'; cf. Güterbock, JCS 10:67 [1956]; KUB XIV 4 III 21 DAM-YA SALLUGAL *idalawahta kuitki* 'has my wife maltreated the queen in any way?'), 1 pl. pret. act. *i-da-la-u-wa-ah-hu-u-en* (ibid. I 6).

idalawes- 'become bad, go bad, become evil, have a falling out, become alienated', 2 sg. pres. act. *i-da-la-u-e-es-ti* (KBo IV 3 IV 32; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:146), HUL-u-e-es-ti (KUB XL 39 III 5; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Arzawa 294 [1977]), 3 sg. pres. act. *idalawēszi* (e.g. KBo IV 3 IV 23; V 4 Vs. 5), *idalawēszi* (ibid. Rs. 3 nu 1-as 1-edani le *idalawēszi* 'one shall not become evil towards the other'; ibid. 5 [nu 1-as 1-e]dani *menahhanda le idalawēszi*; cf. Friedrich, Staatsverträge 1:60), *idālawēszi* (VI 4 IV 1–2 [= Code 1:44] *mān ē-ri-ya kuitki idālawēszi* 'if something turns bad in the house'), [HUL]-u-e-es-zi (KUB XL 39 III 6), 2 pl. pres. act. *idalawēstēni* (KBo V 4 Rs. 17), *idālawēstēni* (ibid. 21), 3 pl. pres. act. *idalawēssanzi* (IV 3 IV 34), *idālawēssanzi* (V 4 Rs. 8), *idālawēssanzi* (VI 3 II 18–19 [= Code 1:31] *appizziann-at-kan nassu idālawēssanzi nasma-at-kan harpantari nu-za ē-ir taksan šarranzi* '[if] afterwards they become estranged or separate and split up the household'; VI 6 I 13 [= Code 1:53] *mān-i-za idālawēssanzi ta-za ē-ZUNU sarranzi* 'if their relationship goes sour and they divide their holdings'), *idalawesanz* [i (dupl. VI 9,

10). *idālawiss[anzi* (dupl. *KUB XIII 11 Vs. 2*), *it[a-* (dupl. *KBo VI 2 III 7*), (3 sg. pret. act. *i-da-la-u-e-es-ta* (IV 8 II 18 *kinun-a apēl* ^{i-da-la-u-e-es-ta} ^{int} ^{KUT 49 vs. 9} *ti-tar idalawēsta* 'has now her life become bad?'), *i-da-la-u-e-es-ta* (*KUB XXXVI 25 IV 2 nu-ssi-kan zi-za anda idalawēsta* 'his spirits fell'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:73 [1968]), *HUL-u-es-ta* (XXXVI 35 I 25 *nu-ssi-kan zi-za anda HUL-ues[ta* 'she became depressed'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 1:126 [1953]), *HUL-u-e-es-ta* (XXXVI 31. 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]), 3 pl. pret. act. *HUL-(m)es-sir* (XXI 17 I 4 *HUL-essir-ma-at kedani memiyani* 'they had a falling out in the following matter'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:18); iter. *idalaweski*, 3 sg. pres. act. *HUL-eskizzi* (*KBo I 30 Vs. 14*; cf. *MSL* 12:215 [1969]). 3 sg. pres. mod. *i-da-la-u-e-es-ki-i-ta* (*KUT 49 vs. 5*)

Luw. *adduwal-* (n.) 'evil', nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ādduwāl* (*KUB XXXV 88 II 1 ādduwāl ānni* 'does evil'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 86), *adduwal-za-pa-tta* (XXXV 54 III 22; cf. Otten, *LTU* 61), *attu[w]al-za* (ibid. II 38), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ādduwala* (XXXV 39 III 25–26 *kuis-tar malhassassanzan EN-ya ādduwala ānniti* 'whoever does evil to the offerant'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 40).

Luw. *adduwal-* 'evil', nom. sg. c. *adduwalis* (e.g. XXXV 21 Vs. 26 and Rs. 21 *adduwalis EME-is* 'evil tongue'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 29–30; ibid. Rs. 23 *adduwalis itU.KAM-as* 'bad month'; XXXV 28 I 3 *ad]duwalis issaris* 'evil hand'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 34), *ādduwālis* (e.g. XXXV 49 IV 4 *ādduwālis issaris*; cf. Otten, *LTU* 51), acc. sg. c. *adduwalin* (e.g. XXXV 45 III 17 *adduwalin EME-in*; cf. Otten, *LTU* 47), *attuwalin* (XXXV 43 II 18; cf. Otten, *LTU* 43), instr. sg. or pl. *adduwalati* (e.g. XXXV 21 Rs. 32 *a]dduwalati EM[E-ti ad]duwalati iss[arati* 'with evil tongue [and] evil hand'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 30), *ādduwalati* (e.g. XXXV 48 III 6 *ādduwalati šU.MEŠ-ti* 'with evil hands', cf. Otten, *LTU* 50).

Luw. *adduwalahit-* 'malice', corresponding to Hitt. *idalawatar*, dat. sg. *attuwalahiti* (IX 31 II 26; cf. Otten, *LTU* 16).

Hier. *atuwati-*, *atuwari-* 'bad', *BAD-tisatar-*, *BAD-hita-* 'badness, evil'. Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 44; Laroche, *HH* 194–5; J. D. Hawkins, *Anatolian studies* 20:88–9 (1970). For the phonetics, cf. Umbr. *fameṛias* < **famedias* beside Lat. *familias*.

Of very doubtful affinity is Lyd. *ḫitala-*, *ḫitolla-*, allegedly 'evil' (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 90–1), where Oettinger (*KZ* 92:85

[1978]) saw a kind of reduplicates (**ded[w]ala-*) of a PANat. **ed-(w)a-l-*.

A PANat. proto-form **edwal* was cogently postulated by Laroche (*RHA* 23:41–2 [1965]) on the basis of Luw. *adduwal* besides the adjectivizations seen in Luw. *adduwal-* and in Hitt. *idalu-*; the latter, from **edwal-u-*, parallels **innar-u-* from PANat. **enar* (q.v. s.v. *innar-*). **edwal* reflects an IE **edw* in probable heteroclitic relationship to **edwn-*, **edun-* seen variously in Arm. *erkn* '(birth)pangs', OIr. *idain* '(birth)pangs', Gk. *ōdúnai* 'pain, pangs, distress' (cf. J. Schindler, *KZ* 89:53–65 [1975]); **edw* : **edwn-* resembles in declension the *l:n* stem IE **sāwel-*, **s(u)wél-* : **swen-*, **sun-* 'sun' (*IEW* 881) and is in origin a petrified verbal noun of the root **ed-* 'eat', thus literally 'an eating (away), consumption, ill, pain' (for the semantics cf. e.g. *garātes adantes* 'innards are consumed' denoting acute enteric distress [s.v. *alpant-*], or Lat. *edax* 'gnawing, destructive'). The initial vocalism of Gk. *ōdúnai* matches that of *ōdovt-* 'tooth' from the same root; a different action noun **edw* : **edwn-* is seen in Gk. *eidap* 'food' and Luw. *aduma* 'to eat' (cf. also Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 540).

Implausible earlier comparisons include Lat. *odium* 'hate' (first coily in Hrozný, *SH* 5, down to Laroche, *RHA* 23:42 [1965]; for *odium* cf. rather s.v. *hatuk-*), OE *īdal*, OHG *ītal* 'idle' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:25 [1930]; V. Pisani, *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 16:90 [1932], down to *Paideia* 7:323 [1952]; G. Bonfante, *BSL* 69.1:69–71 [1974]), Gk. *αἰδῆλος* 'fierce, destructive' (W. Petersen, *Arch. Or.* 9:205 [1937], down to O. Szemerényi, *Gnomon* 43:651 [1971]; for *αἰδῆλος* cf. rather s.v. *awiti-*), Gk. *αἰσῆλος* 'criminal' (Čop, *Ling.* 1:59–66 [1955], 7:108 [1965]), Gk. *δειλός* 'wretched', *δεινός* 'fearsome' (Carruba, *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 132, 141 [1976]), Etruscan *iḡal*, *eḡl*, allegedly 'bad' (E. Vetter, *Zu den lydischen Inschriften* 60–1 [1959]; often repeated by V. I. Georgiev, e.g. *Linguistique balkanique* 5.1:40 [1962], 14.1:38 [1970], 16.2:17 [1973], 23.3:12 [1980]).

itar (n.) 'way', nom.-acc. sg. *i-tar* (*KUB XLI 8 I 20–22 kāsa DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU uwanun GIM an^D MAH-as itar wappui daskizzi ū*

DUMULÚ.ULÚ.LU wappus karuulias DINGIR.MEŠ kallessuwanzi uwanun 'lo, I, mortal man, am come; even as the mother goddess is wont to take the way to the riverbank, even so I, mortal man, am come to the banks to invoke the ancient gods'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]. Cf. E. Forrer, *RHA* 1:146 (1931); Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:65 (1954).

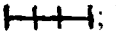
The meaning is contextually relatively secure, with *itar* paralleling KASKAL-*an ep(p)*- 'take the road' (q.v. sub *eppun* s.v. *ep[p]*); perhaps a loan translation from Akk. *urha* [or: *harrāna*, *girra*] *šabātu* 'take the road'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 39:46 [1930]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:281) and KASKAL-*an iya*- 'make (one's) way' (q.v. sub *iyat* s.v. *iya*-). The obvious comparison with Lat. *iter* 'way' (gen. *itineris*), Toch. A *ytār* (< **itōr*) 'way' (e.g. Benveniste, *Origines* 10, 104; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3:352 [1955], *Sommer Corolla* 100; van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 610) points to an ancient heteroclitic derivative from *i*- 'go', antedating the productive spread of Hittite verbal nouns in -*atar* but sharing with the latter the non-geminate spelling of /-t-/; in any case failure to geminate is in itself merely a scriptio faciliior and does not necessarily indicate voice (cf. Puhvel, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 211 [1979]). Thus *itar* is not a part of the non-finite verbal paradigm of Hitt. *i*- but rather a significant radical isogloss with Tocharian and Italic. Other formations with -*tar* (are *galaktar*, *kallistar*, and *iyatar* (q.v. s.v.; *iya-tar* from *iya*- 'go')).

ittaranni- (c.) 'runner, messenger' (LÚ KAŠ₄.E), acc. sg. in *KUB* XXIII 77 Rs. 68 [*mān-ma M*] AHAR DUTU-ŠI LÚ ittaranni uiskitteni 'but if you send a messenger before my majesty' (cf. *ibid.* 65 [*mān*] DUTU-ŠI-ma LÚ KAŠ₄.E INA KUR URU Kasga pīyami 'but if I, my majesty, send a messenger to Gasga-land'; cf. von Schuler, *RHA* 19:21-2 [1961], *Die Kaškäer* 129), gen. pl. ŠA LÚ MEŠ ittaranni (XXXI 102 IV 2). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:221.

Undeclined Hurrian agent noun in -*anni*-, from Hurr. *idd*- 'go' (vs. *un*- 'come'), synonymous with *izuri* 'runner' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 34:128 [1976]). There is no relationship to Hitt. *i*- 'go' or *itar* 'way'.

iduri- (c.), a type of bread or cake, nom. sg. *iduris* (e.g. *KBo* XV 37 I 8 I NINDA *iduris* zid.DA 'one i.-loaf of meal'; X 34 I 6 I NINDA *IMZU iduris* 'one sour-dough i.-loaf'; *KUB* XXXII 128 II 16 I NINDA *iduris*), acc. sg. *idurin* (*KBo* XIV 27 Rs. 15 and XXIII 83, 14-17 I NINDA *idurin*; *KUB* XI 31 I 19-20 NINDA *idurinn-a parsiyazzi* 'he breaks up an i.-loaf'; XII 15 VI 6-7 I NINDA *idurinn-a ... parsiya*), *i-du-ri-en* (*KBo* XXIII 15 II 4 and XXIII 83, 11 I NINDA *i-du-ri-en-na*), dat.-loc. sg. (?) NINDA *iduriya* (XXI 40 Rs. 6), uncertain sg. case 1 NINDA *ituri* (XXI 28 II 37), nom. or acc. pl. *i-du-ri-es* (IX 118 Vs. 2 18 NINDA *i-du-ri-es*), *i-du-ri-e-es* (XXIII 83, 6 2 NINDA *i-du-ri-e-es*), *iduris* (e.g. *KUB* XXXII 128 II 21-24 nu ŠA MÁŠ.GAL ēs[har] UZU YÀ.UDU-ya ANA 1 UPNU BA.BA.[ZA] menahanda immiyanzi n-as 2 NINDA *iduris* ienzi 'the blood of the goat and sheep-fat they mix with a handful of bread-mash and make them into two i.-loaves'; cf. A. M. Dinçol, *RHA* 27:29 [1969]; *KBo* XV 37 I 45-46 2 NINDA *iduris* zid.DA; VIII 89 Vs. 8 3 NINDA *iduris*; cf. Haas - Wilhelm, *Riten* 264; V I II 18 7 NINDA *iduris* kitta 'seven i.-loaves are set'; cf. Sommer - Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 6*), *idurius* (*KUB* XX 98 III 4 2 *idurius*; *KBo* XXIII 83, 5 and XXIV 59 IV 6 2 NINDA *idurius*).

Etymology obscure. According to Neumann (*Untersuchungen* 84-5) Gk. ἵτριον, a kind of cake, is a syncopated loanword from Anatolian.

iuka- (n.) 'yoke' (ŠUDUN), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl. ?) *i-ú-kán* (*KBo* XII 22 I 11 nu-mu]-ssan kī iukan ishaiste[n 'you have bound this yoke on me'; dupl. *KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 7 kī iukan; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), *i-ú-ga-an* (dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 7 ke iugan; XVII 65 Rs. 52-53 ANA GÚ-ŠU-ma-ssi-s[*san ser*] iugan [... dāi], 'but on her neck he places a yoke'; *KUB* VII 11 Vs. 2 3 G^{IS} iugan 'three yokes', besides *ibid.* 7 G^{IS} GIGIR-TI = NARKABTI '[war]-chariot', thus a [Lat.] *trīga*, or perhaps *quadrīga* employing three yoke-devices to harness four horses, schematically ; VII 8 II 7-8 nu-ssi GEME-KA maniyah n-as-za G^{IS} iugan kisari, besides [more correct gen. sg. ?] *ibid.* III 6 G^{IS} ŠU.DUN-as kisāri 'assign your maid to him [viz. the impotence-sufferer] and he shall become [of] the yoke', i.e. [capable of] coupling [cf.

ND i-tu-ri-in
(e.g. Ko 23.46 R3;
cf. CHS 1.2.1:159)

ND i-du-ri-in
(Ko 23.15 R 46)

gen. sg.

ND i-du-ri-ja-as
(Ko 23.15 R 8; cf.
CHS 1.2.1:44-7)

e.g. iukan
ignates wine
pair sheep (KUS 2.30
123; cf. Haas - Zak R//
AoF 11:69, 43, 68)
Ko 12.154 f. 10
1 iukan 'one pair'
(of men)
3 iukan (Ko 20.83 I 3;
cf. Singer Festival 1:93
2:79, 84)

; couple, pair?) o cunboruzme en kofl A-015/2, 'P72' (cf. ...)

Luw, not
Hurr.
Stb. 131:
500 f.
New, reg.

Shakespeare's 'making the beast with two backs'), dat.-loc. sg. *i-ú-ki* (XIII 5 II 20–22 [emended from XIII 6 II 4–5] *nu ap]ūn* GUD *nassu arha ezzatteni* [*nasma-an-zan-kan*] *hāli anda tarnatteni* *nasma-an-zan-kan iuki* [GAM-an *dāitt*] *eni* 'if you either eat that ox or let it into the corral or put it under the yoke'; cf. Sturtevant, *J.AOS* 54:372 [1934]). Cf. *i-ú-uk* (K 25.72 II; *New IF* 89:305, 324); a measure?

iuka- was first identified as 'yoke' by Götze, *IF* 42:327–8 (1924), who also launched the since discredited idea of a loanword from Indo-Aryan (Skt. *yugám*); *iuka-* is not a hippological terminus technicus of Mitannian provenance; the dossier indicates literal reference to the harnessing of oxen and horses alike and also symbolic and figurative application to human beings. *iukan* or *iugan* (with constant single spelling of the intervocalic stop) is from the IE *o*-stem neuter noun **yugóm* 'yoke' and matches Skt. *yugám*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *iugum*, Goth. *juk*; cf. Lith. *jūngas* 'yoke', OCS *igo* 'yoke', Toch. A *yokām* 'gate, door' (IEW 508–9); such is also the preponderant opinion of past scholarship (cf. e.g. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:19; Tischler, *Glossar* 448–9, with references). The absence of Hittite verbal reflexes of IE **yew(g)-* 'join, combine' is noteworthy (supplanted by *ishiya-* 'bind' and *taks-* 'join?') but matched by Slavic where *igo* is isolated; for the related *iuga-* 'yearling' see the following entry.

iuga- 'yearling', co-occurring with *tāiuga-* 'two-year-old' (q.v. s.v. *ta[n]*) in *Code* 1:57–58 (besides parallel MU.1 'one-year[-old]' and MU.2 'two-year[-old]' in *Code* 1:60–61, 63, 67), nom. sg. c. *i-ú-ga-as* (KBo VI 3 III 26–27 *takku* GUD.MAH *kuiski* *tayazzi* *takku* GUD *sauitisza* *ūl* GUD.M[AH] *takku* GUD *iugas* *ūl* GUD.MAH-as *takku* GUD *tāiugas* *apas* GUD.M[AH] 'if someone steals a breeding bull — if [it is] a suckling calf [it is] not a breeding bull; if [it is] a yearling bullock [it is] not a breeding bull; if [it is] a two-year-old bull, that [is] a breeding bull'; dupl. VI 6 I 34–35 GUD *i-ú-ga-as* ... GUD *da-a-i-ga-as*; VI 3 III 30–31 *takku* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH *kuiski* *dayezzi* *takku* *sauitisza* *ūl* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH *takku* *iugas* *ūl* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH [*tak*] *ku* *tāiugas* *apas* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MAH 'if someone steals a stud stallion — if [it is] a

suckling foal [it is] not a stud; if [it is] a yearling [it is] not a stud; if [it is] a two-year-old, that [is] a stud'; dupl. VI 6 I 41–42 *i-ú-ga-as* ... *da-a-i-ú-ga-as*), gen. sg. *i-ú-ga-as* (VI 26 II 40–41 [= *Code* 2:80] ŠA 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA NITÁ *iugas* 10 GIN KÙ.BABBAR ŠIM-ŠU ŠA 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA.SAL.LAL.LAL *iugas* 15 GIN KÙ.BABBAR ŠIM-ŠU 'the price of a yearling stallion [is] ten shekels silver; the price of a yearling breeding mare is fifteen shekels silver'), acc. pl. c. *i-ú-ga-as* (e.g. VI 3 III 28–29 5 *tāiugas* [...] 5 GUD *iugas* 5 GUD *sauitisza* *pāi* 'he gives five two-year-old [bulls], five yearling bullocks, five suckling bull-calves'; dupl. VI 6 I 36–37 5 GUD *dāiuga* [...] 5 GUD *iugas*; VI 3 III 32–33 5 ANŠU.KUR.RA.HI.A *tāiugas* 5 ANŠU.KUR.RA *iugas* 5 ANŠU.KUR.RA *sauitisza* *pāi*; dupl. VI 6 I 44 5 ANŠU.KUR.RA *dāiugas* 5 ANŠU.KUR.RA *iu* [...]; cf. e.g. par. VI 3 III 38 2 GUD MU.2 3 GUD MU.1 2 GUD *sauitisza* *pāi*).

iugassa- 'yearling', gen. pl. *i-ú-ga-as-sa-as* (KBo VI 26 III 16 [= *Code* 2:86] ŠA 2 GUD *iugassas* UZU-ŠUNU *kuis wāsi* 'he who buys the meat of two yearling cattle', *i-ú-ga-as-sa-an* (ibid. II 31–32 [= *Code* 2:78] 1 GUD APIN.LAL 1 GUD AB *iugassa*[*n*] 5 [?] GIN KÙ.BABBAR ŠIM-ŠU 'the price of a yearling plow-ox [and] cow [is] five [?] shekels silver'; dupl. KUB XXIX 29 Rs. 12 [*i-ú-ga-as-sa-a*](*n*)).

The sequence 'suckling' : 'yearling' : 'two-year-old' resembles the classification of stolen domestic animals in the Frankish *Lex Salica*: *si quis porcellum lactantem furaverit ... si quis porcellum anniculum furaverit ... si quis porcum himum furaverit* (matching OHG *sōhwersō sūganti farah forstilit ... sōhwersō farah iārīgaz forstilit ... sōhwersō zūiārī suīn forstilit*) 'if someone steals a suckling pig, ... a yearling pig, ... a two-year-old swine' (cf. Friedrich, *JCS* 1:292–3 [1947]).

iuga- and *tāiuga-* are seemingly adjectives; but the sole ending *-as* (even in "acc. pl. c.") points to adjectivization of qualitative genitives of a noun *iuga-* and a compound *tā-iuga-* < **dwoyo-yugo-* (thus GUD *tāiugas* is literally 'a bull of second *iuga-*', much as e.g. *tān pedas* DUMU-RU 'a second-string son' is basically 'a son of second place'; cf. Puhvel, *KZ* 92:99–100 [1978] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 390–1 [1981]). This *iuga-* is most plausibly identical with *iuka-*, *iuga-* 'yoke' (q.v.) in a qualified sense relating to the yoking age of domestic draft

animals, and its morphological (as opposed to syntactic) adjectivization is seen in *iugassa-*, comparable to *witassa-* 'year-related' (from *witt-* 'year'; cf. e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:189); *iugassa-* thus means 'pertaining to (first) yoking' and is derived from *iuga-* much as e.g. Lat. *anniculus* 'year-old' is from *annus* or Gk. *ἔτειος, ἐνιαύσιος* 'year-old' are from *ἔτος, ἐνιαυτός* (in the barnyard sphere cf. esp. Lat. *vitulus* 'bull-calf', Gk. *ἔταλον* 'yearling', Skt. *vatsá-* 'calf', all cognate with Hitt. *witt-* 'year'). *tāiuga-* signifies 'of second yoking', i.e. embarking on the second season of useful working life, in practice 'two-year-old' (cf. *KBo* VI 26 II 31–32 quoted above, where a yearling plow-ox rates five shekels, less than a full-grown plow-ox [ibid. 30; 12 shekels according to dupl. *KUB* XXIX 22 III 7]). **tāiuga-* (n.) 'second yoking' was a compound like e.g. **tāsiwatt-* 'second day' (*KUB* XXXII 123 III 5 *tā* UD-ti following *hantezzi* UD-ti 'on the first day'). secondarily adjectivized through use as a qualitative genitive; the adjectival *iugassa-* gained a competitor *iuga-* through similar adjectivization of the gen. sg. *iugas* (thus *tāiuga-* is not in origin a possessive compound adjective like Gk. *διετής* or Lat. *hūmus*, as wrongly suggested by e.g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 44, and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:193, 199 [1961]). *cf. B. Guibéline/KSL 79:1:147–5, 74*

Alternatively Hitt. *iuga-* might be reconstructed as **yewgo-* 'yoking', thus paralleling Skt. *yōga-*, besides *inika-* 'yoke' matching Skt. *yugām* (cf. W. M. Austin – H. L. Smith, Jr., *Lg.* 13:104–6 [1937]), but the general absence of **yewg-* in Hittite (see s.v. *inika-*) makes this alternation improbable, and there is further no likelihood in adducing *s-*stems (Gk. *ζεῖνος*, Lat. *iūgera*) to explain *iugassa-*. The whole question of a wide-ranging time-sense in *iuga-* was implausibly elaborated with reference to Skt. *yugām* 'age, generation, era', Lat. *iūgis* 'perpetual', by Austin and Smith (*Lg.* 13:104–6 [1937]; a first hint in Götze, *IF* 42:328 [1924]) who saw a semantic progression of time-spans from ON *eykt* < **jaukiþō* 'work-day' (lit. 'yoke-time', besides *eykr* < **yewgis* 'draft animal') to Hitt. *iuga-* 'of one year' to Skt. and Lat. 'long period', even drawing in solar mythology (yoking of sun-steeds) for support. Benveniste (*Hitt.* 78–80) admitted also a possible borrowing of Indo-Aryan **yuga-* as 'time-span' and its questionable Hittite adject-

tivization as 'year-old' in the alleged manner of Lat. *anniculus* 'year-old' or *vetus* 'old' (cf. further Tischler, *Glossar* 450–1). The very fact that Hitt. *iuga-* refers specifically to draft animals makes it likely that only inner-Hittite references to yoking stages are involved, rather than any more general time-designation. No cognate is afforded by Lith. *dveigys* 'two-year-old' (used of cattle), which was compared with *tāiuga-* by Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 68, because the correct segmentation *dvei-gys* (cf. *ketvérgis* 'four-year-old') points rather to a suffix *-gi-* (cf. Benveniste, *Hitt.* 78–9).

Implausible connection of *iuga-* with the root of Goth. *juggs* 'young', *ajukduþs* 'eternity' (Skt. *yuvan-* : *āyu-*, etc.) has been tried from Hrozný (*SH* 93) to Čop (*Ling.* 5:24–5 [1964], 9:44 [1969]). O. Szemerényi (*Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 622–5 [1979]) saw in Skt. *yuga-* 'age' a cognate of Goth. *ajuk-duþs* and extravagantly analyzed Hitt. *tāyuga-* as **day-uga-*, the last segment being **-ut-gho-* (with zero grade of **wet-* 'year'); the simplex *iuga-* as **i-uga-* he connected with Gk. *iōs* 'one'.

iwar 'in the manner of, after the fashion of, like, as':

Construed as a postposition with genitive, e.g.: *KUB* XIII 3 V II 29–III 2 *kuis-wa papratar iyazi nu-wa LUGAL-i harran watar pāi nu-wa-kan apel zi-an DINGIR.MEŠ uwitenas iwar arha lāh-huwatin* 'whoever commits defilement and gives spoiled water to the king, pour away his soul like water, o gods!' (cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47); *KBo* VI 34 III 7–9 *n-an LUGAL-NU.GA[L-as] iwar da[suwahha]ndu ša LUGAL-NU.GA[L-as] iwar [duddumiy]andu* 'they shall blind him like a blind man, and make him deaf like a deaf man' (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12); *KUB* XXXI 69 Vs. 5–6 *tuel-za waspan LUGAL-as iwar wassiy[asi] [SAL-s]a-za iwar wassiyasi* 'you put on your clothing like a man, and you put [it] on like a woman' (cf. ibid. 9 *SAL-nili* 'in female fashion' and *Bö* 60.118 1966, 13 *LUGAL-nili* 'in male fashion'; Otten, *Puduhepa* 13 [1975]); *XXI* 17 III 7–8 *URU Hattusas iwar É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ser iyanun* 'in the Hittite manner I have erected temples' (cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:24); V 6 II 55 and III 6 *URU KÜ.BABBAR-as iwar* 'in Hittite fashion'; ibid. II 62 *URU KÜ.BABBAR-sas-a-kan iwar* (cf. Sommer,

AU 282); KBo III 4 III 73 ūL ŠA^{URU} Gasga iwar taparta '(he) did not rule in Gasga-fashion'; ibid. 75–76 ŠA LUGAL-UTTI iwar taparta 'he ruled in the manner of royalty' (cf. Götze, *AM* 88 90); KUB VII 60 III 7–8 nu-za LUGAL-us LUGAL-weznas iwar wassiyazi 'the king dresses in regal style' (cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 236); KBo V 4 Rs. 15 [n-an] DUTU-ŠI LUKUR-as iwar zahhiskimi 'I, the king, fight him like an enemy' (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:62); KUB XIV 1 Rs. 93 nu-wa ū[g]g-a ŠAH-as iwar uiyami 'I shall squeal like a pig' (cf. Götze, *Madd.* 38); XXIII 1 II 15 š[A] Masturi iwar le iyasi 'do not act like M.!'; similarly ibid. 30 (cf. Kühne – Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 10); KBo III 1 II 52–53 (OHitt.) Zuruwas Dānuwas Tahurwailiyas Taruhsuss-a iwar 'in the manner of Z., T., T., and T.'; KUB XVII 21 I 12 anzel iwar 'like we (did)' (cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašköier* 152); I 13 I 57 and III 9, KBo III 5 I 11 and 68, II 26 IN.NU.DA-as iwar 'like straw', i.e. 'amply, profusely' (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 58–9, 64, 78, 86, 88).

Less commonly iwar is a conjunction following a noun, e.g.: KUB XXVII 29 II 17–19 uddar-ma-k[an] kue KAXU-az parā iyattari n-at LĀL-it iwar sanizzi ēsdu 'but the words which issue from the mouth shall be sweet as honey'; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituele* 142; XXIV 7 II 5 [nu-z]a LÚ.MEŠ huelpi GA.RAŠ^{SAR} iwar arha kari[pta 'has devoured men like fresh leek' (cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:307 [1977]); XXXVI 37 + XXXI 118 II 10 MUŠEN-is iwar 'like a bird' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:27 [1968]).

iwar as a conjunction can also be followed by a noun, e.g.: KUB VIII 48 I 15–16 iwar LUTAPPI-ŠU 'like (i.e. as if you were) their comrade' (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:18 [1968]); V 1 I 43 iwar Manini 'like M.' (cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:38); ibid. III 87 ūL DÜ-mi iwar Temeti 'I shall not do like T.'; ibid. 90 iwar Temetti-pat DÜ-anzi 'they will do like T.'; ibid. 93 iwar Temetti (cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:78–80).

The postpositional usage clearly antedates the conjunctive one; the transition was effected by attraction to conjunctions such as mān 'as, like', seen in contexts of the type KUB XII 65 + XXVI 71 III 21 [w]arsulas GIM-an 'like a drop' (nom. sg. c. + mān) besides dupl. KBo XXVI 73, 4 [wa]r[su]l[as] iwar (gen. sg. + iwar; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52).

That iwar may be a nominal petrifact was sensed already by Hrozný (*SH* 183), who suggested an action noun in -war from the root i- 'go'. Sommer (*Heth.* II 11–22) determined the true meaning of iwar, warned prophylactically against a facile identification with Skt. *iva* 'like, as' plus "adverbial -r" (which did not keep J. Przyluski, *RHA* 2:225 6 [1934], 3:15–7 [1934], from embracing *iva*; thus, too, Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1:93, and B. Joseph, *KZ* 95:95 [1981]; adverbial -r was advocated by Benveniste, *Origines* 89), assumed a nominal proto-sense 'giving' > 'compensation, equivalence' (because of Akk. *šar*āku 'make a gift' glossing *i-wa-ar* in KBo I 38 Rs. 9, besides ibid. 8 šir[igdu 'gift' for *iwaru*- 'gift, dowry' [q.v. s.v.]), and compared the form and usage of Lat. (gen. +) *instar* 'like' (for which see further Puhvel, *Glotta* 37:290–2 [1958] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 45–7 [1981], who posited a reconstruction **en-stA₂* resembling German *ein-stand* 'equivalence, tie [in a vote or game]'). The analysis *i-war* 'a going' was asserted again by Friedrich (*ZA* 36:48 [1925]) with reference to German *wegen* 'on account of', and has been subsequently entertained by Sommer (*AU* 256), Kammenhuber (*MIO* 2:65 [1954]), Kronasser (*VLFH* 155, *Etym.* 1:298), and Carruba (*Beschwörungssritual* 16, who distinguished *i-war* 'a going' from *i-war-u* 'a gift' containing the root of *p-ai-*, *p-iya-* 'give' [see s.v. *iwaru-*], whereas J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Anatolica* 4:167 [1971–2], still grouped *iwar* with *iwaru-*, following Sommer's original hunch [as had Couvreur, *Heth.* 158]).

A derivation of *iwar* from *i-* 'go' is not probable; no verbal noun formation from *i-* is otherwise found except the petrifact *itar* 'way' (q.v.; *i-tar* beside the equally fossilized *iya-tar* 'growth' from *iya-* 'go'). More likely is Gusmani's tie-in with the root *iya-* 'do, make' (*IF* 68:294 [1963]); the verbal noun *iya(u)war* is well attested, and one need not postulate a fossile, *iwar* being a "frozen" reduction form of *iyawar* (cf. e.g. OHitt. *izzi* for *iyazi*). The basic sense of gen. + *iwar* is '(in) somebody's (manner of) doing', and a figura etymologica can still be sensed in the expression 'so-and-so's *iwar iya-* 'do someone's doing', i.e. 'act in the manner of somebody'. For the productive construction cf. Lat. *instar* (*instar montis* 'like a mountain'

[Vergil, *Aeneid* 2:15]; *aequoris instar* 'like the surface of the sea' [Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4:135]) and Gk. δέμας (δέμας πυρὸς 'like fire' [*Iliad* 11:596, 17:366]).

G. Kapancjan (*Chetto-Armeniaca* 84-5 [1931-3]) inconclusively compared Arm. *ibr(u)* 'in the manner of, like', further adducing Georgian *ebr(i)* 'like' (thus also J. van Ginneken, *Zbornik u čast A. Beliča* 282 [1937]; V. Polák, *Studia linguistica* 4:102 [1950]).

aru- (n.) 'gift, inheritance-grant, dowry' (*KBo* I 38 Rs. 8 *i-wa-ru* matching Akk. *šir*[igdu, i.e. *šerigtu* 'gift'; ibid. 9 *i-wa-ar*[-corresponding to Akk. *šar*]āku 'give, make a gift'), nom.-acc. sg. *iwaru* and *iwāru* (*KBo* VI 4 IV 21 *takku URU-ri A.ŠA.HI.A-an sahhann-a iwaru kuiski harzi* 'if in a town someone holds field and fief as an inheritance-grant'; par. VI 3 II 59 [= *Code* 1:46; dupl. VI 2 II 38 *takku URU-ri A.ŠA.HI.A-an iwāru kuiski harzi*; dupl. VI 5 IV 24 *takku URU-ri sahhannas A.ŠA.HI.A iwa*[- 'if in a town [someone holds] fief-field[s] as an inheritance-grant'; ibid. II 4-6 [= *Code* 1:27] *takku LÚ-as DAM-ŠU dāi n-an [ANA É-ŠU] pēhutezzi iwaru-ssi[t-az] anda pedai* 'if a man takes his wife and brings her to his house, he brings along her dowry'; dupl. VI 3 II 1 *i-wa-ru-us-se-it-az*; ibid. 2 *i-wa-ru-se-ta-az*; dupl. *KUB XXVI* 56 II 7 *iwāru-az anda peda*]; *VI 5 II 9 iwaru-sit LÚ-as Ū[L dāi]* 'the man does not take her dowry'; dupl. VI 3 II 4 *iwaru-sset LÚ-as natta [dāi]*), gen. sg. *i-wa-ru-as* (VI 2 II 41 [OHitt.] *iwaruas ishās A.ŠA* 'the field of the grantor'), *i-wa-ru-wa-as* (dupl. VI 3 II 62 *iw*]ariwas ishās A.ŠA.HI.A; par. VI 4 IV 25 *iwaruwas EN-as A.ŠA*).

iwarwai- 'make a gift, bestow, confer', 3 pl. pret. act. *i-wa-a-ar-wa-a-i-ir* (*KBo* III 21 II 10-11 *nu KUR-yas arūwauar DINGIR.MEŠ tuk iwārūwār* 'the proskynesis of the lands have the gods conferred upon thee'); verbal noun *iwar*[*wauwar* (vel sim.) in I 38 Rs. 9 (quoted above; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:307).

iwarwalli-, nom. pl. c. *i-wa-ar-wa-al-li-i-e[-es* (*KBo* V 7 Vs. 25 4 *SAG.DU iwarwalliyēs* 'four *iwaru*-related persons'; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6:345 [1958]); for the suffix cf. e.g. *arkammanalli-*

'tributary' from *arkamma(n)-* 'tribute' (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:211-2).

Even as *šerigtu* means 'dowry' in the Code of Hammurabi, *iwaru-* as a technical legal term seems to denote possessions which a grantor (*iwaruwas ishās*; cf. *hannesnas ishās* 'litigator', *ēshannas ishās* 'claimant in a murder-case') bequeathed or at least consigned *ante diem*, either as an advance on inheritance upon a daughter's marriage (thus 'dowry') or as real property for an heir's use (with deferred transfer of title). Because entailed holdings could legally change hands only through inheritance, *iwaru-* may also have involved real estate deals disguised under fictitious adoption practices.

iwaru- has no plausible truck (other than chance homophony) with *iwar* 'in the manner of, like' (q.v.); attempts at a connection from Sommer (*Heth. II* 11-22) down to the survey by J. J. S. Weitenberg (*Anatolica* 4:165-7 [1971-2]) have been unconvincing. Sommer himself (*Hethiter und Hethitisch* 43 [1947]) later found *iwaru-* to be "foreign", and E. Speiser (*JAOS* 55:436 [1935]) first compared Hurr. *ewuru* 'appointed as opposed to natural) heir' at Nuzi and saw similarities between *iwaru-* practices and the Nuzi system of land tenure (cf. Nuzi Akk. *ewuru* 'heir', *ewurutu* 'right to inherit', *ewurunma epēšu* 'inherit'; *CAD* E 415); Kammenhuber's objection (*Gedenkschrift für W. Brandenstein* 255 [1968]) that Old Hittite attestation of *iwaru-* precludes a borrowing from Hurr. is not binding, for the term may well have travelled on a wider and earlier "culture word" orbit (hence also the phonetic discrepancies between *iwaru-* and *ewuru*). Cf. Hurr. *iwāru* at Mari (Laroche/RHA 34:87, '86).

Attempts at inner-Hittite and Indo-European derivation are brittle. A postulated adjectival or nominal **iwar-u-* (cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 16; H. Mittelberger, *Kratylos* 12:156-7 [1967]; J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Anatolica* 4:165-7 [1971-2]) may have parallels in e.g. **innar-u-* (s.v. *innar-*), *idal-u-* (s.v.), **eshar-u-* (s.v. *eshar*), **ishassar-u-* (s.v. *isha-*); Carruba's (*Beschwörungsritual* 16) suggested verbal noun **iwar* from **ai-*, **iya-*, besides compounded *p-ai-*, *p-iya-* 'give', would have to be a reduction form for the **iyawar* inferrable from *piyawar* (s.v. *pai-*, *piya-*), even as *iwar* 'in the manner of, like' (q.v.) may

stand for *iya(u)war* from *iya-* 'do, make' (cf. the similar land-grant term *pi[y]ett-*, *pitt-* from *pai-*, *piya-*, s.v. and Puhvel, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 213-4 [1979] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 360-1 [1981]).

G. Jucquois (*Orbis* 16:169-73 [1967]) implausibly reconstructed an **iwer-* with zero grade of IE **yewo-* 'grain, corn' (*IEW* 572), assuming that fiefs entailed grain-growing fields (**yewo-* is present rather in Hitt. *e[u]wa[n]-*, q.v.).

izziya-, hapax 3 sg. pres. midd. *izziattari* (*VBoT* 133 Vs. 7 [mā]n *gidim kuedani izziattari* 'if a ghost appears [?] to somebody').

Most plausible is a variant of *isiya-* 'announce, reveal' (q.v.), thus referring to what an apparition does. *isiya-* : *izziya-* would join other *s* : *z* variations (*sakkar* : *zakkār*, *samankurwant-* : *zamankur*; cf. also s.v. *ezzan*), but the probable origin **dy* or **gy* of the *-s-* in *isiya-* points to [z] or [ž] or [dʒ] at variance with the [tʰ] value of *z(z)*; still an alternative, irregular voiceless outcome [tʰ] besides [dʒ] cannot be ruled out, in the same way as τ(τ) and δ(δ) both appear instead of ζ in some dialectal forms of Greek as the outcome of **dy* or **gy* (e.g. Cretan Doric *T(τ)ηνα* for *Zḡνα*).

Carmina 102 CrAnt
13, 74:151
G15.KHUR? - izziattari
(= gulziattari)

yaya-, intransitive *-hi* conjugation verb, 3 sg. pres. act. *ya-ya-a-i* or *ya-ya-i*, either coordinated with *katta tarnai* in following clause or itself following it asyndetically: *KUB XLIV* 61 Vs. 9 *namma yayāi katta-ya-an-za-kan tarnai* 'he ? and lets him (viz. the patient) down' (viz. at the end of a treatment); *ibid.* 16 *nu yayāi katta-ya-an-za-k[an]* (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18); *KBo XXI* 76, 7] *ūL tarnāi yayai* 'does not let [and] ?'; *ibid.* 13]-*kan katta tarnai yaya[-* (cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 24). Unclear in meaning, let alone etymology. *Meiser* (JCS 35:132-8, '83) thought of 'cries yai' in the course of painful evacuation (*katta turna-*). Further on *yaya-* see Haas/OLZ 97.507 [2002]

yaspu- (c.) 'jasper' (*YAŠPU*), acc. sg. in *KUB XV* 5 I 4-5 ^{NA4y} *aspu* 'see Polvani/Eothen 3, '88' 31. *halissiyanzi* 'they overlay jasper' (cf. *ibid.* 4 ^{NA4} *YAŠPU*). Culture word: beside Akk. (*y*)*ašpu*, cf. Hebr. *yašpē*, Gk. *ἰάσπις*.