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Volume 3: Words beginning with H

by

Jaan Puhvel



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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. P.

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List of abbreviations (additional to Volumes 1–2)

- Alp, *Beiträge*: Sedat Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, VI. Dizi-Sa. 23 [Ankara, 1983]).
- AoF: *Altorientalische Forschungen*.
- Beckman, *Birth Rituals*: Gary M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*. Second Revised Edition (*StBoT* 29) (Wiesbaden, 1983).
- CHS: *Corpus der hethitischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Roma).
- CIE: *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum*.
- Daddi, *Mestieri*: Franca Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita* (= *Incurabula Graeca* 79) (Roma, 1982).
- Documentation Otten: *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für H. Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1988).
- HED: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (= this work).
- Hutter, *Behexung*: Manfred Hutter, *Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung. Das Ritual der Tinnawiyu für ein Königspaar* (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 82) (Göttingen, 1988).
- JANES: *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*.
- Lebrun, *Hymnes*: René Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites* (*Homo Religiosus*, 4) (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980).
- Lehmann, *GED*: Winfred P. Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden, 1986).
- Otten, *Apologie*: Heinrich Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III.* (*StBoT* 24) (Wiesbaden, 1981).
- Otten, *Bronzetafel*: Heinrich Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy* (*StBoT Beiheft* 1) (Wiesbaden, 1988).
- Peters, *Untersuchungen*: Martin Peters, *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* (*Österreich. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte* 377 [1980]).
- Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis*: Jana Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente* (Praha, 1986).
- Singer, *Festival*: Itamar Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival. Part One* (*StBoT* 27) (Wiesbaden, 1983). *Part Two* (*StBoT* 28) (Wiesbaden, 1984).
- Starke, *KLTU*: Frank Starke, *Die keilschrift-huwischen Texte in Umschrift* (*StBoT* 30) (Wiesbaden, 1985).
- TLE: M. Pallottino (ed.), *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*.
- Weitenberg, *U-Stämme*: J. J. F. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen u-Stämme* (Amsterdam, 1984).

ha-ah-ha-al
(KUB 39.61 II 12
kunkumān hahhal
karas 'cucumber'?,
greenery, wheat')

VBOT 114 III 12
hahhal(las sasti
'on a bed of greenery')

hahhal- (n.) 'greenery, verdure, (wild) vegetation, brush, bush', nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) *ha-a-ah-ha-al* (KBo XVII 3 IV 24 *ug-a hāhhal harmi sīnam-a harmi* 'I hold h. and I hold a figurine'; cf. Otten—Souček, *Altieth. Ritual* 38), *ha-ah-hal* (e.g. XX 64 Rs. 5 *ezzan Giš-ru hahhal* 'chaff, wood, brush'; KUB XV 34 I 43–44 *nu-smas-kan hahhal ANA GİR.MEŠ-KUNU le tiyezzi nu-smas NA₄.III.A GİR.MEŠ-KUNU le tamassanzi* 'brush shall not get in the way of your feet, nor shall stones impede your feet'; cf. Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 186, and the *lappina*-plants by which Huwawa makes the mountains impassable in KBo X 47g III 13–15; KUB IX 31 I 21 ^{Giš}ka.k.iii.a-ma katta[n har]ga ^{Giš}ha[hhal] paskan, with dupl. HT 1 I 14 *harga* ^{Giš}hahhal paskan 'underneath the pegs bright [neut. pl.!] greenery [is] planted'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]; KUB XXXV 145 Vs. 12 *harki hahhal* 'bright greenery', or perhaps elliptic 'bush with white flowers'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230), gen. sg. (or pl.) *ha-ah-hal-la-as* (XXIV 14 I 8 *kuēl imma Giš-ruwas hahhallas alil* 'the bloom of whatever tree [or] bush'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ah-ha-li* (XXXVI 44 IV 9 ...-*ji-ku happeni-kku Giš-i-kku hahhali-kku* 'whether [the sun falls] into [...] or kiln or tree or bush'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]), instr. sg. *ha-a-ah-ha-al-li-it* (KBo XVII 3 IV 27–28 *ta hāhhallit gāpinan dāhhe kalulupī-smi hulalian kuit-a anda* 'with h. I take the thread and what is wound on their finger[s]'), *ha-ah-ha-al-li-it* (ibid. 30 *gāpinan kalulupizmit hahhallit mārkaḥhi* 'I divide the thread with their finger[s] [and] with h.'), *ha-ah-hal-li-it* (KUB XXXI 147 II 30), *ha-ah-ha-li-it* (XXXIII 42 II 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:160 [1965]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-ah-hal-li* (1087/z III 5 *sarā hahhalli* '[let] brush [grow] up', besides dupl. KUB XLVIII 76 + KBo VI 34 III 45 *n-asta UGU zahheli iyataru* 'let cress [i.e. weeds] grow up' [as opposed to grain]; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14, 138), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-ah-hal-la-as* (KBo III 67 II 7 *nu-us-san hahhallas parhir* 'they chased them into the bush'). **hahhalant-** (c.) 'id.', nom. sg. *ha-ah-hal-[la-an-za* (KBo XIX 145 Vs. 10; cf. Haas—Thiel, *Rituale* 296), nom. pl. *ha-hal-la-an-[te-es* (XIV 86 I 4–5 *nu-tta namma GİR.MEŠ-KA hahallan[tes le] tameskanzi* 'let not brush impede your feet' [partitive apposition; note transitive verb, vs. KUB XV 34 I 43–44 *hahhal ... le tiyezzi*, quoted above]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:132 [1965]).

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

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

hahhahuwant-, *hahliwant-*, *hahlawant-* 'green, yellow' (SIG₇[SIG₇]; 4.5 HAZERTI), nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-li-u-wa-an-za* (KBo XXI 19 I 10; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 36), SIG₇-anza (KUB VIII 6, 5 takku^{dupl. KUB 29.11.15} ^{SIG₇-wanza} 'if the moon is yellow'), gen. sg. or pl. or dat.-loc. pl. *ha-hal-la-u-wa-an-da-as* (653/f Vs. 5 *hahallauwandas* KASKAL[]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ah-ha-lu-wa-an-ti* (KUB VI 15 II 7 [with gloss-wedges] *hahhahuwanti* [KASKAL-si; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 190]), nom. pl. c. *ha-ah-l[i-u-wa-an-te-es* (VBoT 111 III 15), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-ah-la-u-wa-an-da* (KUB XII 58 II 21 – 22 *paprannas uddanaz dankui* ^{hah-ah-li-u-wa-an-da} ^(KUB 57.65 Rs. 13) *hahlawanda* 'the black and yellow of the pollution-case'), SIG₇.SIG₇-ta (XXIV 9 I 41 [see below sub *hahlahh-*]). For the *hahli-*, *hahla-* variation cf. e.g. *miti-*, *mita-* 'red'. *hahhahuwant-* is derived directly from *hahhal* (*hahhal-want-* 'possessed of verdure'; cf. *eshanuwant-*, *samankurwant-*), whereas *hahliwant-*, *hahlawant-* are deadjectival from *hahli-*, *hahla-* (cf. e.g. *lalukki-want-*).

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

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

hahlahh- 'make yellow', iter. *hahlahhiski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ah-la-ah-hi-is-ki-it* (KUB XXIV 9 I 40 – 41 [*kuisa kjun UKÜ-an alwanzah-hiyit kuisa hahlahhiskit*] [*kinun*]-a-ssi-kan *alwanzata* SIG₇.SIG₇-ta *das-kimi* 'whoever has bewitched this person, whoever has made him yellow, now I take from him the hex [and] the yellow'; ibid. II 5 *hahlahh[iskit]*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 26, 32). Cf. *dankuwahheski-* 'make black'. SIG₇.SIG₇-ta is here taken as nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hahlawanta* (parallel to KUB XII 58 II 22, above) but might also be an abstract noun **hahliyata(r)* 'yellowness' (cf. *an-*

niyatar 'motherhood', *dassiyatar* 'strength') or possibly **hahhalu-wantata(r)*.

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

hahhallalli- (c.), nom. pl. ^{SAL.ME⁵} *ha-ah-ha-la-la-li-es* (KBo XX 68 I 7), apparently *hahhal-alli-* (for suffix, as in e.g. *arkammanalli-* 'tributary', see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:211 – 3).

Wattihahla (KBo XVI 83 II 4 ¹ *Wa-at-ti-ha-ah-la* ^{1.0} *SIPAD É.GAL* 'W. the shepherd of the palace') may be literally *Watti-hahla-* 'Yellow-bird' (cf. *wattai-* 'bird', and for formation *pittar-palhi-* [s.v. *pittar*]; cf. Tischler, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 352 [1982]).

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

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

hah(ha)r(a)- (c. or n.) 'rake' or the like (KUB VII 14, 14 ^{G1S} *hahra* besides ibid. 13 ^{G1S} *intaluzis* 'shovel' and 15 ^{G1S} *MAR URUDU* 'spade'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 57), nom. sg. c. *ha-ah-har-as* (KUB XII 51 I 11; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 26, *ZA* 67:62 [1977]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. ^{G1S} *ha-ah-har* (KBo XII 126 I 5; KUB XLI 2 I 2), *ha-ah-har* (Bo 4952, 13), *har-ha-ar* (sic! KBo XI 12 I 6; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 20, I 5; 60), acc. sg. c. ^{G1S} *ha-ah-ha-ra-an* (KUB XXXV 52, 5; cf. Otten, *LTU* 56; Starke, *KLTU* 63), instr. sg. *ha-ah-ha-ri-it* (XXIV 10 III 11 *hahharit EGIR-anda hahhariya[ddu]* '[he] shall thereupon rake with a rake'; cf. ibid. 12 *intaluzzit EGIR-anda suwā[ddu]* '[he] shall thereupon fill with a shovel'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 44, III 23 – 24), XX 57, 5 *ha-ah-ha-ra*].

hah(ha)r(a)- hahhari-

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

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

The name of the (harvest?) festival, combined with probable threshing-field imagery in KUB XXIV 8 I 13-14 (quoted above), may warrant a comparison of *hahr(iya)-* with Lat. *ārea* (< *A₁EA₁riyeA₂) 'threshing-floor', secondarily 'open space, vacant lot'; cf. Horace, Odes 1.1.10 *quicquid de Libycis verritur areis* (cf. *verrō* ^{DL5} 'scrape, sweep, scour' with Hitt. *warš[iya]-* 'strip, pluck, harvest' ^{ha-ah-ra-an-ni} [q.v.]). Judging from dat.-loc. KISLAH-ni (XX 19 III 4), the word for 'threshing-field' may have been *hahrannas*, originally '(place) of raking'; EZEN *hahrannas* could then contain a new genitive, 'festival of the threshing-field'.

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

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

hahhari-, acc. sg. c. *ha-ah-ha-ri-in*, epithet of GI 'reed' twice in the Ullikummi-epic: KUB XXXIII 93 III 23 ^D*Tasmisun-ma-wa hahha[rin GI]-an māt arha zahreskiddu* 'but Tasmisu like a h. reed let him

hahhari- hah(ha)ri- hahhars-

break off'; XXXVI 7a III 35-36 *nu-war-an hahharin GI-an GIM-an arha le zahhureskizzi* 'like a h. reed let her not break him off' (cf. Güterbock, JCS 5:152 [1951]).

Both meaning and etymology remain conjectural.

hah(ha)ri- (c., n.) 'lung(s), midriff' or the like, also *hahressar* (n.), nom. sg. ⁷*ha-ah-ri-~~ha~~* and dat. sg. *ha-ah-ri-is-ni* in KUB XLIII 53 I 9 *hahris³³set-a hahrisni dākki* 'and his lung matches the lung' (following GAB 'breast', ŠA 'heart', and ^{UZU}NIG.GIG 'entrails'; cf. Sommer, HAB 219; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:415 [1971]); ^{UZU}*hahris* (following ^{UZU}NIG.GIG; cf. Sommer, HAB 8), nom. sg. neut. ^{UZU}*hahri* (VII 1 III 4, following ^{UZU}GAB and preceding ^{UZU}NIG.GIG; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, RHA 23:171 [1965]; H. Otten and C. Rüster, ZA 67:58-9 [1977]), *hahri* (KBo XXVI 34 I 4; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 40), ^{UZU}*ha-ah-ha-ri* (KUB VII 1 III 16 and 24). Cf. Sommer, HAB 83-4; Alp, *Anatolia* 2:21 (1957); Goetze, JCS 11:111 (1957); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

hai- 'believe, trust, be convinced', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-mi* (*VBoT* 2, 4 'Kalbayan ūl. hāmi 'I do not trust K.' [i.e. the oral report of a messenger]; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4.328 [1956]; *KUB* XIX 23 Rs. 9 *nu-za apūn memiyan apizza ūl. hām[i]* 'for that reason I do not trust that report'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 313 [1977]; XIX 55 Rs. 40 + XLVIII 90 Rs. 8 *tuēl-za silim-an ḏutu-ši hāmi* 'I the king trust your goodwill'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *AfO*, Beiheft 19:131 [1982]), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-a-si* (e. g. XXXI 79 Vs. 24 *nu-war-at hāsi*; XXXI 68 I 17 *kinun-aya-wa-za ūl. hāsi* 'aren't you convinced even now?'; ibid. 21 ūl. hāsi; cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:23 [1962]; XLVIII 118 I 9 *kinunn-a-wa-za ūl. hāsi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-nu-un* (XXVI 92, 12 *mān-za a[pū]n UKŪ-an ūl. hānun* 'I would not have trusted that man'; ibid. 13 *nu-za memian hānun* 'I believed the story'; ibid. 15–16 *tuppiyas-ma duwarnumas memian kezz-ya hānun* 'but for this reason I believed the story of tablet-breaking'; cf. Laroche, *Syria* 31:105 [1954]; dupl. VIII 79 Vs. 28 *-jma-za ūl. hānun*; ibid. Rs. 5 *jinim-meš apiz hānun*), 2 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-is* (XXVI 89, 14 *n-an-zan hāis-pat kuwat* 'why did you trust him?'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:87 [1975–6]), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-tin* (*KBo* XXII 42 Vs. 8 *-jan-za ūl. hattin*), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-ir* (*KUB* XLIII 66, 2 *-jza ūl. hāir*), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-a* (VI 7. III 2 *DINGIR-LUM-mu hā* 'god, believe me!'; ibid. 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24 *nu-mu DINGIR-LUM hā*; ibid. IV 3 and 9 [bis]; cf. Laroche, *Bi. Or.* 18:254 [1964]); partic. *hānt-*, acc. sg. c. *ha-a-an-da-an* (*KBo* XVIII 24 IV 11–12 *tuēl-wa hāndan UKŪ-an uīya* 'send a trusted person of yours'), *ha-ad-da-an* (sic, with assimilation 1256/ *Ku* 26. 9 1969 I 9–10 *DUMU-KA nasma ir-KA haddan uīya* 'send your son or your trusted servant'; cf. Otten, *Orientalia* 52: 134 [1983]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-a-an* (*KUB* XXVII 59 I 10 *nu-mu-za BELÍ-YA hān harak* 'have faith in me, lord!'; XXXI 84 III 73 *hān ēstu*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50).

hai- follows the conjugation type of *lai-*, *sai-*; the forms showing *ha-* reflect **haya-*. The probable reconstruction is **hay-āye-* from a root **A₂ey-* perhaps seen also in the Germanic and Celtic words for

'oath' (Gothic *aiþs*, OIr. *óeth*); the latter have never been conclusively etymologized (cf. e.g. *IEW* 11, 295) and admit of a proto-meaning 'trust, faith' in combination with legal uses of the verb **swer-* (ON *svara* 'give security', and-*svar* 'court decree'; Engl. *swear*, *answer* 'be liable'; Wulfila [Matthew 26:72] translated ἡπνῆσαστο μεθ' ὀρκου 'denied under oath' as *afaiak miþ aiþa swarands*); thus 'swear under oath' means literally 'make oneself answerable in good faith' (under the penalties of perjury). **A₂ey-* belongs in the same semantic sphere as IE **kred-dhē-* 'place trust, put faith in', IE **bheydh-* 'be convinced, have faith, be confident, wait for' (Gk. *πέποιθα*, Lat. *fidō* 'trust', *fidēs* 'faith', *foedus* 'compact', Alb. *bē* 'oath', Goth. *beidan* 'bide'; causative 'convince, constrain' in Gk. *πειθω* 'persuade', Goth. *baidjan*, OCS *běditi* 'force'), and Gmc. **trew-* (ON *trū* 'faith, belief', Engl. *trust*; *IEW* 215–6).

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

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

LÚKAGGAZUWAŠŠI – see *badgumid* (waiter?)

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

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

hakkun(n)ai- is reminiscent of other vessel names such as *hupuwai-*. H. Eichner (*MSS* 31:71, 96 [1973]) hypothesized a paradigm **hēkur*/**hakkun-* for *hekur* 'rock(-sanctuary)' (q.v.) and derived *hakkun(n)ai-* from the oblique stem, postulating (ad hoc) a tapering shape for both the architectural object and the vessel, such as is seen in the globular Gk. *ἀλάβαστρον* used for unguent oils and perfumes. N. Boysan-Dietrich (*Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 129–31 [1987]) interpreted the fortificational term as referring to metal encasements for turn-sockets. Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:310–1 [1987]) equated *hakkunai-* with the Homeric hapax *ἀμνίον* 'bowl (for sacrificial blood)' (*Odyssey* 3:444; also 'fetal membrane') as **A₁egⁿ-* (cf. *ἀμνός* 'lamb' = Lat. *agnus*); but the consistent spelling -*kk-* points to a voiceless stop.

hala- (c.) 'head, skull' (SAG.DU), nom. sg. *ha-la-as* (*VBoT* 58 IV 6 *ayis-mit halas-mis* 'my mouth [and] my head'; cf. ibid. 7 ^{UZU}*hars[a-* 'head'; Laroche, *RHA* 23:85 [1965]), *ha-la* (*KUB* VII 17, 17-1 ^{UZU}*hala* ^{UZU}*happaras* 'one skull, one bowl'), acc. sg. *ha-la-an* (*KBo* VIII 73 II 5 SAG.DU-ZU *halassan* [= *halan-san*] *tākki* 'his head matches its head'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:422 [1971]). ^{and by sum. GÚ 'neck'} *halanta*, hapax glossed by Akk. *rēšu* 'head' in *KBo* I 42 II 11 (cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:135 [1971]). Unclear form (perhaps error for nom. sg. **halanza*; cf. e.g. *tapuwassant-* besides *tapuwa[s-]* 'rib[cage], flank'). ^(head)

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

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

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

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

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

halai- 'set in motion, thrust', *arha halai-* 'dismiss, desert', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-mi* (479/w, 3), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-si* (*KBo* V 9 III 9 *nu-za* LUGAL-un *arha halāsi* 'you leave the king in the lurch'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-la-a-i* (*KUB* IX 1 II 32 *nu* ^{G18}DUBBIN *halāi* 'he starts the wheel turning'; XXXVI 51 IV 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:155 [1965]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-la-a-an-zi* (XV 27 II 3), *ha-li-en-zi* (< **haliyanzi*; Code 2:98; cf. context and discussion s. v. *hurki-*), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-la-is* (XXIV 8 + III 11 'she thrust [the baby on Appu's knees]'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:220 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), *ha-a-la-es* (XXXVI 55 II 38), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-la-a-ir* (XXXIII 93 III 11–12 'they thrust [the baby on Kumarbi's knees]'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]; V 25 IV 35; XXVI 65 III 5). Cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 (1954); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:545.

ha-la-ir
(Kus0.37, 14)

Cf. Gk. *ιάλλω* 'send off, stretch forth' (< **H₁-H₁(y)-*); the usual connection of *ιάλλω* with Skt. *iyarti* 'set in motion' is abortive, since *iyarti* belongs with *ἰνότι* (Gk. *ῥνῶμι*). Equally questionable is M. Leumann's adduction of *ἄλλομαι* 'leap' (*Homerische Wörter* 80–1 [1950]), or J. Narten, *MSS* 26:97–9 (1969), who compared RV *sísarti* 'stretch out', citing earlier literature. *halāi* is based on **H₁(l)lóye* (IE 3 sg. perfect). Cf. R.S.P. Beekes, *The development of the PIE laryngeals in Greek* 129 (1969); Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:43–4 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 217–8 (1981), *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6:221–30 (1973) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 252–61.

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

Cf. *halanza-*, *halenzu-*, *halihlai* (p. 31, 32).

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

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

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

(w) 12ertreten, 'niedertreten' - агнѣ, т.е. сожго с тлѣю

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

Iterative-“durative” stem from *hall(a)-* perhaps identical with Gk. *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* (< *ῥῥῥῥῥ-) ‘destroy’, *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* ‘destruction, ruin’, Lat. *ab-oleō* ‘destroy’; a root **h₂el-A₁*- may have formed an original infixed present **h₂el-n-éA₁*- > **halna-* > *halla-*, whereas in Greek *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ was supplanted by *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ (cf. *σῥῥῥῥῥῥ* beside Skt. *stṛṇāti*). For stem, cf. e.g. *tarna-* (Puhvel, *LIEV* 26); for **h₂* > *h*, *wellu-* (Puhvel, *KZ* 83:65–6 [1969] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 211–2 [1981]); for derivation, *walhanniya-*, *walhanniski-* from *walh-*. *q. v. h. d. l. k. 100:1241, 27*

For the possibility that **h₂el-n-éA₁*- > *hallu-* lurks in *halluwai-* see s. v. A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüística* 3:435–6 [1973]) indiscriminately compared with Gk. *ῥῥῥῥῥῥ* not only *hallanniya-* and *halluwai-* but the unpertaining *hallu-* ‘deep’ (sic) and even the vessel names *hal(i)wani-* and *halwattalla-*. For the failed attempts to connect with ῥῥῥῥῥῥ Hitt. “*hallu-* ‘deep’” and *hulla-* ‘strike’, see s. v. *halluwa-* ‘hollow, pit’ and *hulla-*.

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

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

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

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

Cf. *halenzu-*.

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

Obviously the tree had to have a hefty hardwood trunk; H. A. Hoffner (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 113–4 [1974]) speculated about cedar, walnut, or cypress. Otherwise obscure. *q. v. h. d. l. k. 102:846, 29, postulated in halassar in original action noun from halai-, thus ‘thrust(er), batterer’.*

halent(i)u-, hali(n)tu-, halant(i)u- (n.) ‘palace (compound), (royal) residence’ (*KBo XXXII* 13 II 2 ^E*ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-as* matching *ibid.* I 2 [Hurr.] ^E*hali-kal-li*; cf. Ugar. *hkl*, Hebr. *hēkāl* ‘palace’), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-li-en-tu-u* (*KUB VII* 25 I 1–2 ^E*ha[lent]ū hassanzi* ‘they open the h.’; *KBo XX* 77 I 1), ^E*ha-li-in-tu-u* (XI 3 I 2), ^E*ha-li-en-ti-u* (XXIII 59 IV 3), normally nom.-acc. pl. *ha-li-en-tu-wa* (e.g. *KUB XX* 79, 3 ^E*halentuwa h[assanzi]*; 253/s + 437/s I 10 ^E*halentuwa hassanzi*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 318), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa* (e.g. *KBo XIX* 128 I 1–2 and *KUB II* 13 I 1–2 *mān ^Ehalentūwa hassanzi*; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 29; XXV 16 I 1–2 *mān-apa ^Ehalentūwa hassanzi*; *KBo X* 23 I 3–4 ^E*halentūwa h[assanzi]*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:9; *KUB XIII* 24, 6–7 ^E*ha[lent]ūwa-ya-ta-kkan É.GAL.HI.[A...] [arh]a punuski* ‘explore well the h. and palaces...’, besides dupl. XIII 2 IV 13–14 *[m]aniyahhi-ya-ta-kkan kue É.GAL.LIM.HI.A-TIM É.HI.A BELUTI-ya [an-d]a n-asta EGIR-an arha punuski* ‘explore well the palaces and lordly

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

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

h.'; *KBo* X 23 I 20–21 *n-as-kan* ^hhalentuwas ^{GIS}DAG-ti tiyezi 'he walks into the h. to the throne'; *KUB* X 21 I 14–15 LUGAL-us-kan ^hhalentuwas anda paizzi; *KBo* XV 68 III 4 PANI ^hhalentuwas 'facing the h.'). *ha-li-en-tu-wa-as* (e.g. *KUB* X 48 II 20–21 nu ^{URU}Hattusi ^hhalentuwas sallī as[essar] ^{URU}Hattusas esari 'at H. in the h. the grand assembly [takes place]; the [whole] town of H. is in session'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 54; *KBo* IV 9 I 6–7 LUGAL-us ^hhalentuwas paizzi), *ha-li-en-tu-u-wa-as* (e.g. ibid. 26–27 nu-za LUGAL-us ^hhalentūwas KIN-ta dāi 'the king in the h. dons the vestments'; *KUB* XXV 14 I 10–11 ^{LÜ}HAL-ma-kan 8 ^{DU}UTU.HILA ^{URU}Arinna ^hhalentūwas anda pe-dai 'the seer brings eight sun-goddesses of Arinna [i.e. icons] into the h.'). II 13 I 6 *t-as* ^hhalentūwas paizzi; X 3 I 19–20 *n-as-kan* anda ^hhalentūwas paizzi; X 61 II 6 *ta* ^hhalentūwas paizzi; *IBoT* I 36 IV 25 LUGAL-us-kan ^hhalentūwas [anda p]aizzi; *KBo* X 20 I 17–18 *ta* ^hhalentūwas sallī asessar; ibid. 23 nu ^hhalentūwa sallī asessar [haplography for -wa-as]; ibid. II 9–10 nu ^hhalentūwas sallī ase[ssar]; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80–1 [1960]; *KUB* X 18 VI 17–18 *ta* ^hhalentūwa sallī asessar [haplography for -wa-as]), *ha-li-tu-as* (e.g. *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 17 ŠA ^hhalituas-kan ^{GIS}AB-i anda tianzi 'in the h. in the window they place [it]'; XX 87 I 9 LUGAL-us ^hhalituas [paizzi]; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 256), *ha-li-in-tu-u-as* (*KUB* XI 20 II 11–12 *ta-kkan* ^hhalintuwas anda paizzi; XI 34 VI 38–39 asessar [...] ^hhalintuwas), *ha-li-in-tu-wa-as* (e.g. XX 94 VI 6), *ha-li-in-tu-u-wa-as* (e.g. II 6 III 29 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^hhalintūwas uwanzi 'king and queen come to the h.'). XXV 14 I 5–6 [lukkatta-m]a-kan namma ^{LÜ}DU ^hhalintūwas anda tarnanz[i] 'but in the morning they again let the man of the storm-god into the h.'). XXV 15 Rs. 7 ^hhalintūwas-ma-as-kan parā ŪL uiz[zī] 'but to the h. he does not come forth'; XXXI 57 I 26; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114), *ha-li-tu-u-wa-as* (*IBoT* I 36 III 71 nu ^{GIS}hulukānmaz ^hhalitūwas paizzi 'by coach he goes to the h.'). *ha-li-en-du-wa-as* (e.g. *KUB* XXXI 71 IV 22–24 parā-ma-wa-mu-kan inma namma damēdas kuedasqa ^hhalenduwas anda pehutet 'furthermore indeed he also brought me [the queen] to another h.', besides ibid. 5 ŠA É-TI-KA 'in your [i.e. the queen's] house', pointing to *halendu-* as the royal residence), *ha-li-en-du-u-wa-as* (XXVIII 91 IV 6 LUGAL-us ^hhalendūwas paizzi), *ha-li-in-du-wa-as* (e.g. XXX 34 IV 2–4 *n-as-za* nassu ^hhalinduwas [dupl. 691/z Rs. 5 ^hhalinduwa] suhhi ēstat nasma-zan INA É DINGIR.MEŠ suhhi ēstat 'he sat down either on the roof in the h., or he sat down on the roof in the temples'; cf. V. Haas and M.

Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:229 [1977]; *KBo* V 11 IV 11; *KUB* XLII 98 I 9 ^hhalinduwas), *ha-li-in-du-u-wa-as* (e.g. ibid. 20 ŠA ^hhalindūwas 'within the h.'). ^hha-la-an-tu-u-as (*VAT* 7683 IV 6; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 122), *ha-la-an-tu-u-wa-as* (315/t I 4 ^hhalantūwas-pat halz[iya]; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 228).

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

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

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

Hitt. *halentuwa-* = Hurr. *hekal* (LG 32:229)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(*KUB* VII 41 I 7 ANA 4 *halhaldumariya* 'at the four corner[s]'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), nom. pl. c. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-i-e-es* (1177/ v + *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 14–15 *nu-wa-ssan* ŠA É.MEŠ *mahhan* 4 *halhaltumariyē[s dag]anzipi ser uktūriyēs* 'as the four corners of houses [are] firm upon the earth'; cf. H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 62:106 [1972]), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-e-es* (dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 14), *hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri-i-e-es* (ibid. 26), *hal-hal-tu-um-ma-ri-i-e-es* (dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 23), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri* (*ABOT* 44 I 23 4 *halhaltumari tuk-pat kisri-iti tiya[n harzi* '[he] has placed the four corners in your hand'; cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78:239 [1958]), *hal-hal-tu-u-ma-ri* (ibid. 58–59 ¹UTU-i *sarku* LUGAL-ue 4 *halhaltūmari ukturi istarna arha iyattari* 'sun-god, lofty king, you traverse the four firm corners'), *hal-hal-tu-u-mar* (*KUB* XXXI 130 Vs. 6), gen. pl. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ra-as* (XXVIII 92 I 2 4-as *halhaltumaras* 'of the four corners'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 302), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-ya-as* (XXX 40 II 15–16 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.III.A ŠA 4 *halhaltumariyas* 'the loaves of the four corners'; II 2 I 21), *hal-hal-tu-um-ma-ri-ya-as* (dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 19, quoted above), dat.-loc. pl. *hal-hal-tu-ma-ra-as* (*KUB* XXXV 54 II 46]MÁŠ.GAL *parni halhaltumaras-kan* [and] *a wahnuzi* 'makes a he-goat turn in the corners in the house'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 68; XXXV 53, 6 *ha]lhaltumaras-kan* and[a; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 64), *hal-hal-tu-ma-ri-ya-as* (XXX 40 II 6–8 *namma-ssan* ŠA GUNNI ANA 4 *halhaltumariyas ser kuedaniya* ANA 1 *halhaltumari* 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA IMZA BABBAR $\frac{1}{2}$ UPNI *tianzi* 'they further place on the four corners of the hearth, on each corner, one white sour breadloaf of one-half handful'; *KBo* IV 2 I 29 and 42 4 *halhaltumariyas*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90–1 [1962]), abl. pl. in *KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 27 4 *hal-hal-tu-ma-ra-za* 'from the four corners' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146, 165), XXXVI 90 Vs. 40 *ištu* 4 *hal-hal-tu-ma[r-r]a-as* (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 178).

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

hal-hal-du-mar
(Ka 31.127 I 23)

be the abstract-forming *-w₁ which became allophonically *-uwar and thence -umar (denominative as in e.g. *mūmar*; cf. e.g. *arrumas* besides *arruwas* s.v. *arr-*). *halhalzana-* has Luwian affinities (Luw. *halhalzani-*), and *halhaltumar(i)-* may likewise show Luwoid paralysis of *r/n* heterocclisis (transfer to pure *r*-stems) on the one hand and a trend to secondary -i-stem derivation on the other. Thus, while Greek picked the bent knee, Anatolian chose square shoulders as the image of angularity.

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

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

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

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

perhaps Skt. *aratni-*, Avest. *arəθna-* 'elbow', Skt. *ārtnī* 'bow-tip', for a proto-form **H₁elino-*. Cf. Puhvel, *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz* 255–8 (1988). see Beal–Collins // ROLF 23, 396:311 (paukur). Cf. *halhaltumar*.

hali- (c.) 'ration, portion, share' (H.A.LA), nom. sg. *ha-a-li-is* (e.g. *KUB* VII 17, 16–18 1 *sarammas hālis* 1 *UZU H.A.LA* 1 *hūpparas [...]* *KU₆.H.A.LA-an hālīs* 'one portion of palace[-bread], one portion of meat, one jar, a fish-ration'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 24; ibid. 9 *sarammas hālis*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 122; *KBo* XI 36 IV 6 1 1/2 *NINDA sarammas hālis* 'a loaf and a half of palace-bread as ration'; XX 21 Vs. 6–7 5 *ME NINDA sarammas hālis* 20-is [...] 5 *ME ERIN.MEŠ-as hālis* 20-is 'five hundred palace loaves, ration times twenty... five hundred army loaves, ration times twenty'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 51; XX 7 + XXV 16 Rs. 5 5 1/2 *NINDA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR-as *hālīs* 'five and a half loaves of table-bread as ration'; ibid. 7 9 *NINDA hālīs*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 49; *KUB* XXXI 57 IV 8–11 1 *ME NINDA.H.A.LA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR-as *NINDA hālīs* 14-is 1 *LIM NINDA.H.A.LA sarammas NINDA hālīs* 16-is 1 *LIM NINDA.H.A.LA NINDA hālīs* *ša ERIN.MEŠ* 20-is 'one hundred table-loaves, bread-ration times fourteen, one thousand palace-loaves, bread-ration times sixteen, one thousand loaves, bread ration of the army times twenty'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 118; H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 88:534 [1968], *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 153–4 [1974; the latter a throwback to the interpretation of *hali-* as 'a kind of bread']; *KBo* X 28 V 15 6 *NINDA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR *NINDA hālīs* 'six table-loaves as bread-ration'; ibid. 16 1/2 *NINDA ERIN.MEŠ NINDA hālīs* 'half an army-loaf as bread-ration'; X 33 VI 1 1 *NINDA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR *NINDA hālīs*; XVI 81 I 6 5 *NINDA hālīs seppittas* 20-is 'five loaves ration of wheat[bread], times twenty'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 308; XX 8 IV 7 1 *NINDA hālīs hastiyas* 'one loaf ration of bone[meal?]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70; XXV 91 Rs. 5]*NINDA hālīs BABBAR* 'loaf ration of white [bread]'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 170; XXV 174 Rs. 5]*MEŠ-as NINDA hālīs*; XVI 72 + 73 III 4 1 *NINDA hālīs* 30-is; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 27; XXV 13 II 5 30 *NINDA hālīs*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; X 30 III 7 and 11 20 *NINDA hālīs*; ibid. 2 20] *NINDA hālīs*, *ha-li-is* (e.g. XXII 186 V 12 4 1/2 ^{GIS}BANŠUR-as *hālīs*; *KUB* XX 33 I 8 20 *NINDA hālīs* *ša* 3 *BABBAR* 'twenty loaves as ration, including three white ones'; ibid. 9 15 *NINDA hālīs imza BABBAR* 'fifteen loaves as ration, sour-[dough] white'; XLI 27 IV 2 13 *NINDA hālīs*; *KBo* X 25 II 35 3

NINDA *halis*; Bo 6002 Vs. 16 10 NINDA *halis*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 187), acc. sg. *ha-a-li-in* (KBo XXV 84 I 9 nu 12 NINDA *hālin* *parsiya* 'breaks twelve loaves as ration'; cf. Neu, *Altherh.* 164; XXX 13 Vs. 4 NINDA *hālin*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:81; KUB XX 28 I 7, 9, 12 NINDA *hālin*; dupl. XXV 2 I 8 NINDA *hālin*, ibid. 11 *ha-a-li* [sic]; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:127 [1975–6]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-li* (KBo X 31 IV 22–23 KU₆.HLA *hāli ser* MUŠEN.HLA ^{LÜ MES} MUŠEN.DÜ *pianzi* 'on top of the fish ration the augurs give birds'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:104).

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

Cf. *haliyami-*.

hali- (n.) '(night)watch' (EN.NU.UN), the Hittite night being divided into three (first, middle, last) 'watches', unlike the four 3-hour *vigiliae* of the Romans, *hāli uski-* 'keep watch' (inner accusative with iter. of *au[s]-* 'see'), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-a-li* (e.g. KUB XVIII 11 Rs. 4 and 7 IGI-zi *hāli* 'the first watch'; XXIX 52 IV 2–3 *mahhan-ma istarniya hāli tiyezzi* 'but when the middle watch comes on'; similarly XXIX 46 + 53 I 18 *istarniya hāli*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 192, 196; XLII 98 I 22 *āppazzi hāli* 'the last watch'; XVII 31 I 25 *nu-ssi* GE₆-az *hāli ser uskanzi* '[they] keep watch over him at night'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 62; IBoT I 36 I 19 *nu UD-az hāli uskanzi* 'they keep watch by day'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174 [1966]; KUB XXVI 9 I 4 *hāli* SIG₅-in *uskandu* 'let them keep watch well'; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:100 [1975]; Otten, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:134 [1983]; XIII 1 I 28 *nu hāli* SIG₅-in; XXXI 108, 4]-at *hāli* SIG₅-in; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60–1), EN.NU.UN (I 11 I 1 *mahhan-ma* EN.NU.UN MURUB *kisari* 'but when the middle watch occurs'; ibid. II 31 *mahhan-ma* EN.NU.UN MURUB *tiyezzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 106, 112), gen. sg. *ha-a-li-ya-as* (XXIX 55 I 2 *ispandan appizziyas hāliyas* 'the night of the last watch', i.e. the

part of night just before daylight; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; KBo XXVI 79, 6 *hāliyas uttar* 'matter of watch'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 68), *ha-li-ya-as* (XXVI 20 III 22; cf. MSL 17:111 [1985]; KUB XIII 4 II 73–74 *nu-za haliyas* *uddani mekki pahhas-sanuwanies ēstin* 'in the matter of watch be very much on your guard'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380 [1934]), *ša EN.NU.UN* (I 11 I 4 2 *wahmawauar ša EN.NU.UN MURUB* 'two turns of the middle watch'), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-a-li* (e.g. XIII 4 III 18–20 *namma-smas hāli arha sarran ēsdu n-asta kuedani hāli wastul anda kīsa n-as aku* 'let the watch be divided among you; then during whose watch offence occurs, he shall die'; KBo XIII 58 III 15 *hantezzi hāli* 'at the first watch'; ibid. 16–17 *istarniya-ya-kan hāli* 'at the middle watch'; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:104 [1975]; KUB VIII 27 I.R. 3 *takku* ^{P SIN} EGIR-izzi *hāli pa* 'if the moon during the last watch ...'), *ina EN.NU.UN MURUB* (I 11 II 37 and IV 13; KBo III 2 Rs. 20; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 114, 120, 138), abl. sg. *haliyaz* (KUB XXXI 108, 3), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-a-li-ya-as* (IV 47 Rs. 29 3 *hāliyas* GE₆-andas 'for the three watches of the night').

unless from
haliya-
'kneel' (1.25)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Greek forms point to **ἄλφο-* secondarily reshaped to **ἄλωφ-*, much as e.g. IE **p₁h₂trwyo-* (Skt. *pitṛvyā-*, Avest. *tūiryō-*, Lat. *patruus* 'paternal uncle', OHG *fatureo* 'cousin') appears in Gk. as *πάτρωζ* (stem *πάτρωφ-*). The relation of such **ἄλφο-* to Hitt. *hali-* is uncertain, but Indo-European root etymology (Juret, Duchesne-Guillemin, loc. cit.) is more probable than some kind of areal borrowing (Tischler, *Glossar* 128–9). A **A₁el-y-* : **A₁el-w-* variation is conceivable (cf. e.g. **kal-y-* : **kal-w-* in Skt. *kalya-*, Gk. *καλλ-*).

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

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

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

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

for semantics:
 KUB 33.108 v. K. 13–14 *n-as* *nakta* *maš* A [AN *AŠTAR*] *ginuwaš kattan* *UŠKEN* *GAM-an* *haliy* [st]
 28 '(Mē. Piṣaiša) was afraid and he fell down at Istar's knee like an apple' (KUB 33.108)

NS *ha-a-li-ya-an-da-at* (KBo IV 4 III 46–47 *n-at-mu* GİR.MEŠ-as *kattan hāliyandat* 'they knelt down at my feet'; KUB XIV 15 III 46–47; cf. Götze, *AM* 128, 56); partic. *haliyant-*, nom. pl. c. in XXIX I II 3–4 *hāliantes asanzi* '(they) remain kneeling' (cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicina Oriente* 5:152 [1982]); verbal noun *haliyatar* (III 95, 6; cf. MSL 3:79 [1955]; Mašat 75/45

Vs. 4; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:38 [1980]), iter. *haliski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-li-iš-ki-it* *ha-a-li-is-kat-ta-ri* (KUB V 6 II 51; cf. Sommer, *AU* 282); cf. *haliski-* (KUB 32.15 II 11)

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

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

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

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

halliya- 'bat' (Haas // FSwilhelm (2010))

halliya- (c.), nom. sg. *hal-li-ya-as* (KUB XXXIV 22 IV 5–6 *takku* *halliyas-ma* *mi* [...] *anda uwanzi* *nu* [...] 'if a dark h. ..., they see within...'), acc. sg. *hal-li-ya-an* (*ibid.* 3–4 *takku halliyan-ma* *KAL* *uwanzi* *parnas assul kisa* 'but if they see a strong h., there is well-being of the house'). gen. sg. *hal-li-ja-as* (KUB 10.6 I 14 *halli-ja-as* *sakijus* 'omen of h.')

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

emergence of *āskuēs*, probably 'moles' (q. v.). Here the observation of a single *halliya-* is characterized as a good omen, but what precedes (IV 1–2) is still calamitous: *É-ri anda uizzi parnas sakkuriyanwar* 'comes inside the house, subjugation of the house'. Similarly Ku 53.5017 has *hallija(s)*, besides *āskus* (ibid. 10) (cf. Hoffmann/Auf 19:186, 70). Haas // SNEA 29:99–101, 192 adduced the insect name *hallilājan* of similar Akkad. origin. For *halli-as* among ornithomantic birds see Wilhelm / MSOG 130 (Kugler).

haliyami- (c.), a cult official, nom. sg. ^{LU}*ha-li-ya-mi-is* (KBo XXII 201 II 2; XXVII 42 VI 15; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:61), ^{LU}*ha-a-li-ya-mi-is* (KUB XXV 1 VI 7–10 *n-asta* ^{LU}*haliyamiš* NINDA *saramma* [LÜ]MURIDI ^{UZU}*Yā zēanda* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *anda udanzi ta LUGAL-i parā appanzi* 'the h. and the waiter respectively bring in palace-bread and breadloaves cooked in fat and serve the king'), nom. pl. ^{LU}*ha-li-ya-mi-e-es* (KBo IV 9 I 21–22 ^{LU}*haliyamiš* NINDA *saramma isgaranzi* 'the h. skewer palace-bread'; KUB XX 40, 2–4 ^{LU}*haliyamiš* NINDA *taparwasun hassi tapusza tianzi* 'the h. place t.-bread beside the hearth'; XX 78 IV 22–24 ^{LU}*haliyamiš* NINDA *taparw[a]sun hassi tapusza [i]sgaranzi* 'the h. skewer t.-bread beside the hearth'), ^{LU}*haliyamiš* (KBo XXV 47 IV 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 85), gen. pl. uninflected ^{LU}*ha-li-ya-mi* (KUB XI 28 IV 4 *ina É* ^{LU}*haliyami* 'in the house of the h.'), uncertain ^{LU}*ha-li-mi-ya-as* (sic XI 34 III 11).

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

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

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

cf. Alp,
Temple 82

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

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

alternatives
'you are false, you greatly betray
the king' (see next edition)

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

Full redupl. of *haliya-* 'kneel' (q. v.). However, -za (*arha*) *halihlai-* may alternatively be a reduplicate of -za *arha halihlai-* 'dismiss, desert' (cf. Hagenbuchner *Korr.* 2:152–3, 214–6), q. v. *HEB* 3:12

halina- (c.?) 'clay' (vel sim.), gen. sg. *ha-li-i-na-as* in *KBo* XVII 1 I 26 *halinas tessummius* 'clay cups' (cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20), XVII 1 III 31 *tissummiun-a halinas pehlle* 'I give a clay cup' (*ibid.* 32), XVII 3 IV 31–32 *halinas zeri harmi i-an anda 3-is LUGAL-us SAL.LUGAL-sa zeriya allapahhanzi* 'I hold a clay goblet and into the goblet the king and queen spit three times' (*ibid.* 38).

Etymology uncertain. The connection with IE **gleys-* (*IEW* 362–3) seen in Russ. *glina* 'clay', Gk. *γλίη* (*EM*), *γλοιός* 'gum, gluten', OE *clæg* 'clay' (Otten–Souček, *op. cit.* 95), founders on the unacceptable derivation of *h-* from a guttural stop. More plausible is Neumann's adduction (*IF* 76:265 [1971]) of Gk. (Hes.) *ἀλίνειν* · *ἀλείφειν* 'anoint, daub, smear', *ἄλινος* (Epidaurus) = *ἄλ-ειψις*; the nasal is due to a present stem (cf. Lat. *linō* : perf. *lēvī* 'rub, smear'), much as in *γλίη* (cf. OIr. *glenim*, OHG *ktenan* 'glue, smear'). Since the Greek *ā-* is "prothetic", *halina-* < **A₁glino-*?

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

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

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

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

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

haliessiya-, *halissiya-* 'encase, overlay, plate', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-li-is-si-ya-mi* (*KUB* XV 1 II 3–4 *nu-tta* ^{NA⁴ZI.KIN}ZAG.GAR.RA-ya *halissiyami* 'I plate for thee a baitylos and altar'; *ibid.* III 37 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A-ya-ssi *halissiyami* 'I plate weapons for him'), *ha-lis-si-ya-mi* (XV 19 Vs. 8 *n-an halissiyami*, viz. the deity[s] icon), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-lis-si-ya-an-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIX 7 II 9 *n-us* ^{ISTU}KÜ.BABBAR *halissiyanzi* 'they plate them with silver'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; XV 5 I 5 ^{NA⁴y}aspun *halissiyanzi* 'they overlay jasper'; *KBo* VIII 103, 4), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-li-is-si-ya-nu-un* (III 6 II 27–28 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-ma *kuin apiya harkun n-an halissiyannun n-an ANA DINGIR-LIM GAŠAN-YA piran tehhi* 'but the weapon which I had there I plated and present it to my lady goddess'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KUB* XIII 35 II 34–35 *nu-wa GUŠKIN ŠA AMA-YA dahhun nu-war-at apez* [...] *halissiyannun* 'I took gold from my mother and [re]plated them [viz. the stripped royal spears] with it'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; *KBo* X 2 II 29–31 [2] *hamrita IGĀRU EGIR*[-izzian ... *ī*]ŠTU KÜ.BABBAR

cf. *ermanenne* on SEB 9:59, Ann 11
Carini *Athenaeum* NS 60, 192:505
Beckman *JCS* 38, 193: 105 w. lit.

ku 56.34 19, 10
2 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A
ha-lis-si-ya-mi
'I gold plate two weapons'

ha-li-si-ya-an-zi
(HEA 35, 3-4 n-as
mān ^{ISTU}KÜ.BABBAR
[...] *halissiyannun*;
q. 25 39:45, 195)

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

halissiya
ha-li-is-si-ir
(KUB 59 Th
Eir-pa haliss-)

ha-li-is-si-ya-an-za
(KUB 59 Th
Eir-pa haliss-)

ha-li-es-si-an-la
(KUB 29, 3)

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

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

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

halkestaru- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hal-ki-es-ta-ru* in KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 55 *nu-wa DUMU.LÚ.MEŠ-LUTTI SIG₅-ru ANA DUMU.MEŠ.LÚ.MEŠ-LUTTI-wa hattulatar halkestaru DÙ-ru* 'let mankind thrive, for mankind let there be health (and) h.' (cf. Haas, *Nerik* 156).

Haas (*Nerik* 174) suggested a compound with *taru-* 'tree', as in e.g. *allantaru-* (q.v.). In view of the obvious semantic range of 'prosperity', perhaps **halkiyas taru* 'grain-tree' (cf. 'money-tree') was a metaphor for *halkiyas miyatar* 'grain-growth' (q.v. s.v. *halki-*). More likely, cramped line-end asyndeton *hal-ki-es-ta-ru* 'grains (and) wood', parallel to *ezzun taru* 'chaff (and) wood' (MED 1-2:114-5). Ghostword (*hw², kwl*)

halki- (c.) 'grain, corn, grain-crop; (specifically) barley' (ŠE; cf. *e[ta]wa[n]-*; contrasts with *ziz[-tar]*, *karas* 'wheat'; cf. *kant-*, *seppit[ti]-*, all probably varieties of the genus *Triticum* [vulgare, emmer, einkorn, spelt]; for the generic > specific sense cf. Engl. > Amer. *corn* [etymolog-

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

dat.-loc. sg.
hal-ki-in (e.g.
KBo 12.133 Rs. 3)
hal-ki-i (Mašat
75/13 Rs. 26)
pedani hal-ki

A better reading is
ŠA LÚ GIS.TUKUL
HAKIM 'if an
absconded artisan'
(cf. MED 3.160 har-
cantissa -a LÚ
GIS.TUKUL and
pbe/En 80:23, 90)

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

hal-ki-ja-as
(e.g. KBo 12.133
Vs. 19 Vs. 4)

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

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

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

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

Cf. *halkestaru-*.

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

ranged; and what eating supplies...' [viz. bread, butter, honey, vessels, animals]), *hal-ku-e-es-sar* (ibid. 32–33 *nu kī halkuēssar hūman ša UD.2.KAM kuitman-kan aniūr karaptari ša 1 NAM.1.Ü.ULÜ. LU-ma-as MELKIZU* [i.e. *MELKIT-šu*] 'these [are] all the supplies for day two; while the ritual is concluded, this [is] one person's supply'; cf. ibid. 37 *MELKITA* and III 8–9 *mahhan-ma-ssan MELKITA hūman pedi handanzi* 'when they have arranged on the spot all the supplies'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 307-9; XXV 27 I 24 *halkuēssar ša É-šu-pat* 'produce of his own house'; 365/i, 4 *halkuēssar NINDA.KUR₄.RA.MEŠ* 'produce, breadloaves'), *hal-ku-i-es-sar* (XII 66 IV 5 *halkuyessar mekki* 'much produce'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]), *MELKIT* (*MELKIT*^{LÜ.MEŠ}... of various groups of men in *KBo* XVI 67 I 1, 5, 11; XVI 68 II 1 and III 8, 14, 20; XVI 69 I 3 and 6; XVI 74, 5; XXV 13 II 1 *MELKIT* [...^{LÜ}]akuta]; ibid. 4 *MELKIT*^{LÜ}[arka]miyalas 'of the harpist'; ibid. 7 *MELKIT*^{SAL.MEŠ} [...; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; V 1 I 50 *MELKIZU kissan* 'its supplies [are] as follows'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*), gen. sg. *hal-ku-e-es-na-as(-sa)* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 1 IV 3 *halkuēsnass-a IGI.HI.A-wa hardu* 'and for produce let him have eyes'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62), *hal-ku-is-sa-na-s(a)* (XIII 2 IV 12 *halkuissanas-a IGI.HI.A-wa harak* 'and for produce have eyes!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51), dat.-loc. sg. *hal-ku-es-ni* (e.g. XXVII 59 I 21 *kāsa ša EZEN uitassa halkuesni* 'here's [a libation] to the produce of the year-festival!'; cf. ibid. 22 *nu-za halkuessar handāmi* 'I arrange the produce'; ibid. 23–24 *nu-za halkuessar handāizzi mahhan-ma-za halkuessar handāuwanzi zinnāi*... 'he arranges the produce; but when he finishes arranging the produce...'; LIII 1 I 1 6; LIII 2 I 6; cf. *AoF* 11:49, 47 [1984]), nom.-acc. pl. *hal-ku-es-sar* (XVIII 14 III 3).

Laroche (*RHA* 11:39–40 [1950]) connected *halkuessar* etymologically with *halki-* (presumably as a denominal abstract of the type *ispantuzziyassar*, *ispatuzzessar* from *ispantuzzi-*; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290), but the *-u-* has remained unexplained (Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19:503 [1965–6], tried Indo-European stem variation *-i-* : *-u-*). Laroche postulated a dubious base-meaning '(grain-)harvest', thence 'first-fruits' and 'provisioning, catering' for cultic festivals (rejected by Kammenhuber, *Orientalia* N.S. 39:563–4 [1970]). The akkadogram *MELKITU*, first adduced by Friedrich (*Afo* 14:349 [1944]), derived from *leqū* 'take (one's due), receive' and meaning 'revenue, income' (cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:147–8), would seem to indicate for *halkuessar* a primary verbal sense 'yield, produce, sup-

ply', readily connectible with IE **A₁elgh*⁻ (*IEW* 32–3) seen in Gk. ἀλφάνω, ἀλφεῖν 'bring in, produce, yield, gain' (livelihood, cattle, price, rent), ἀνέρας ἀλφισταί 'profiteers, traders', ἀλφειβόλος 'producing cattle', ἀλφή 'gain' = Lith. *algà* 'wages', Skt. *ārhati* = Avest. *arəjaiti* 'be worth', Skt. *arghā-* 'price, prize', Avest. *arəjah-* 'value, price' (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 31–2). cf. *Salati* 22. *Altheth.* 102. 104. 105, 31.

The Hittite verb underlying *halkuessar* cannot be the thematic one seen in Gk. ἀλφεῖν and Skt. *ārhati* (no such Hittite stem-class exists; wrongly Čop, op. cit. 32), and hence ἀλφεῖν < **A₁elgh*⁻**e-sen* is no even match for *halkuesni* (rather **A₁elgh*⁻**esni*), although both contain the heteroclitic suffix **-sg/-sn-* in the locative case. *halkuessar* is a verbal noun derived from either a root verb **halku-* < *A₁elgh*⁻ (of the type *eku-* < **egh*⁻; cf. e.g. *istappessar* from *istapp-*) or from a denominative **halkuwai-* (from a noun **halkuwa-* equalling Skt. *arghā-*; cf. e.g. *hatressar* from *hatrai-*).

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

... general see *Topkall* *Aof* 26/1, '99, 57–57

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

hal-ma-as-su-iz also *Ko* 19.134, 21

nom. s. *hal-ma-as-su-ti-is* (*Ku* 51.26 r. 17)

Throne be propitiated!'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 182; *Dict. louv.* 39), ^DDAG-is (VI 45 I 52; V 4 I 9 and 53; V 11 I 60; XXII 57 Vs. 9), ^{GIS}DAG-is (VI 23 Vs. 5; XXII 64 II 6), ^DDAG-es (V 5 III 9), acc. sg. *hal-ma-as-su-it-ta-an* (II 2 III 17–18 *kā-as-ma-za-kan* ^DZilipuras LUGAL-us *t-[as]* ^{GIS}*Halmassuittan iet* 'in the gate[way] Z. the king, and he celebrated Throne'; ibid. 22 *n-as-san dāis* ^{GIS}DAG-ti 'he placed them on the throne'; ibid. 25 *n-at-san dāis* ^{GIS}DAG-ti 'he placed it on the throne'; matching ibid. 16 [Hattic] *ka-a-ha-a-an wa_a-su-it-tu-un*, ibid. 20 *ka-a-ha-an wa_a-su-id-du-ū-un*, ibid. 24 *ka-a-ha-an wa_a-su-id-du-un*; no space break in the duplicate spellings of *KBo* XXI 110 Vs. 5 and 8; cf. Schuster, *Bilinguen* 70–1, 89), ^{GIS}DAG-an (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 34 *nu* ^{GIS}DAG-an *aramman halzihhu[n]* 'I invoked Throne as my friend'), ^DDAG (XXV 27 III 10 ^DDAG *iyanzi* '[they] celebrate Throne'; ibid. III 14 and I 16 ^DDAG-ti [sic, with dative case] *iyanzi*), ^{GIS}DAG-tin (XV 42 III 22 *nu* ^{GIS}DAG-tin *gangataizzi* 'propitiates Throne'), ^DDAG-in (V 1 IV 45; *IBoT* II 8 IV 7 ^DDA)G-in *DÜ-anzi* 'they celebrate Throne'), ^D*Hal-ma-as-su-ut-tu₄* (sic *KUB* IV 9 III 16–17 LUGAL-us GUB-as 2-e *ekuzi* ^D*Halmassuttu* ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ 'the king standing toasts jointly Throne and the war-god'), gen. sg. *hal-ma-su-it-ta-as* (e.g. *KBo* III 22 I 57 ē ^D*Halmasuittas* ē ^DIM-nas 'temple of Throne [and] temple of the storm-god'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14), ^D*Hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti* (sic *IBoT* I 29 Vs. 21 ^{LÜ}SANGA ^D*Hal-massuyitti* 'priest of Throne'), dat.-loc. *hal-ma-su-it-ti* (e.g. *KUB* XLIII 30 II 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76; *KBo* XVII 74 II 17 *halmasuit[ti] lu[ttiya] dāi* 'he puts [it] at the throne [and] at the window'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18), *hal-ma-as-su-it-ti* (e.g. ibid. 13 LUGAL-us *aru-w[aizzi t]-as halmassuitti pa[rā tiy]ezzi* 'the king prostrates himself and steps forth to the throne'; similarly ibid. III 7; *KUB* XXXIV 123 I 13; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14; XLIII 26 I 11; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16, *Altheth.* 66; *KBo* XXI 49 II 3 and III 13, XXI 72 II 10 ^D*Halmassuitti*), *hal-ma-as-su-ū-it-ti* (XXI 85 I 40 *n-as halmas-suiitti tapusza tiyeyzi* 'he steps beside the throne'; *KUB* XXXII 135 IV 4–6 *halmassuitti 1-šū luttiya 1-šū ... suhhāi* 'pours at the throne once, at the window once'), DAG-ti (e.g. X 21 I 16 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIS}DAG-ti *esanda* 'king and queen sit at the throne' [thus, rather than on?]; XXIX 1 I 10 ^{GIS}DAG-ti *tezzi* 'says to Throne'; *KBo* IV 9 II 45 *PANI* ^DDAG-ti 'before Throne'), abl. sg. *hal-ma-su-it-ta-az* (XVII 19 + XXV 52 II 8–9 LUGAL-us *halmasuittaz katta u[izzi] aruwaizzi t-as tiezzi* ['the king comes down from the throne, he prostrates himself, and he steps...'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 117), *hal-ma-as-su-it-ta-az*

^D*Hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti-i[n]* (*Ko* 30.82 vs. 5);

^D*Hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti-un* (*Ku* 60.41 vs. 4);
^D*Hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti-un* (*Ko* 30.156 vs. 8)

hal-ma-as-su-i-it-ti (*Ku* 53.15 vs. 35)

^{GIS}DAG-ti-az (*Ku* 16.89 vs. 3)
^{GIS}DAG-az (*e.g. Ko* 30.86 vs. 10)
^{GIS}DAG-za (*e.g. ibid.* 16)

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

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

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

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

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

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

+ 'renown' (beal)

haluka- (c.) 'message, announcement, tidings, news', halukan iya- 'send (lit. make) a message', halukan tarna- 'deliver (lit. leave) a message', haluki piya- (uiya-, nai-) 'send on a mission', nom. sg. ha-lu-ga-as (e.g. KBo V 11 I 2–4 ^{LÜ}NI.DUH-kan istu ká.GAL katta tiyezi nu nāsili kissan tezzi halugas halugas 'the gateman steps down from the gate and says in Hittite as follows: "announcement, announce-

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

beal: 'make your troops' manhood, your battle and your renown likewise grow cold and be extinguished'

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

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

haluganili (adverb) in KUB XVII 16 IV 4 nu KARAŠ.HILA *haluganili* *arha tianzi* 'the troops march off in messenger-fashion' (cf. the Homeric *κήρυκες* 'heralds, messengers, envoys'). For derivation see under *haluganna(i)*- below. ^(cf. LUG. 1:1286) ^{lead: 'the troops move in the manner of news', i.e. 'the tr. move as fast as news (travel)'}

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

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

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

'announcing, proclaiming' or the like, and the noun meaning a secondary development (from *halukas* [*memiyas*] 'word of announcement' [vel sim.]). Such an adjective is strongly suspect as deverbative (cf. under *hatuk-* again), and IE character of *haluk-* is possible (despite such agnostic doubts as those of E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:451 [1952]). Early suggestions, such as a relationship to *halzai-* 'call' (Marstrander, *Caractère* 148), or to Gothic *liugan* 'lie' and 'marry' (IE **leugh-*; Sturtevant, *JAOS* 52:8 [1932], *Comp. Gr.* 82), or to Gk. *καλέω* 'order, bid' (with *h* < **k*; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 177), were all abortive. More plausible is Van Windekens' adduction of Gk. *δολύω* 'outcry, loud shout', *δολύζω* 'cry out', abstracting a non-reduplicated **δλυγή* closely matching *haluka-* (IE **A₂elug-*) and comparing for the semantics Skt. *kāru-* 'poet-reciter' besides Gk. *κήρυξ* 'herald, messenger' (*IF* 83:121-2 [1978]). But *δολύζω* is firmly anchored in onomatopoeia, resembling *ἀλαλάζω* 'cry aloud', Lat. *ululāre* 'howl', and similar items (see s. v. *alalamniya-*), and Anatolian is more prone to secondary expressive reduplication than Greek (cf. e.g. Hitt. *halhalzana-*, *gakkartani-*). Therefore this comparison, too, falls short of certitude, and an IE **A₂elug-* would raise the same problems of root structure as does *hatuk-* (q. v.). Perhaps, rather, Gk. *δολύω* (first in *Iliad* 6:301, describing Trojan women's mission to the idol of Athena) is a loanword from some form of Anatolian (matching a reduplicated Hitt. **halhaluga-*), and *δολύζω* (first in the *Odyssey*) is an innovation in line with *ἀλαλάζω* and other productive onomatopoeia. This would leave Hitt. **haluk-* isolated etymologically but not typologically (cf. *hatuk-*, *tarup[p]-*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor is the gemination of -l- in *halluwa-* necessarily devoid of phonetic significance (as claimed by e. g. Benveniste, *Athenaeum* N. S. 47:31 [1969]); it can represent a cluster such as *-ln-. The most plausible inner-Hittite cognate is therefore *hallanniya-* 'lay waste, ravage' (q. v.). It is indeed possible that *halla-* (underlying *hallanniya-*) and *halhu-* (whence the noun *halluwai-*) are basically the same verb, with e. g. 3 sg. pres. act. **A₃[-n-éA₃-ti* > **halnāzi* > **hallazi*, but 1 pl. pres. act. **A₃[-nA₃-wēni* > **halnuweni* > **hal-lumeni* (cf. *tarnai* : *tarnummeni*, and analogically via juncture shift e. g. *ardumeni* [s. v. *ard-*]). From the preconsonantal weak-grade variant **hallu-* was derived the noun *halluwai-*, and from the latter the verb *halluwai-* (*halluwai-* + -ye-) which can be used transitively like *hallanniya-* (*KUB* VIII 51 II 22, quoted above). The string **halla-/hallu-* 'lay waste, ruin, savage' : *halluwai-* 'violence, brawl, quarrel' : *halluwai-* 'resort to violence, to brawl, quarrel; to savage, fight' thus matches e. g. *zah(h)-* 'to beat' : *zahhai-* 'battle' : *zahhiya-* (*zahhi-* + -ye-) 'do battle, fight'. For the root-connection with Gk. *ὀλλῶμι* 'destroy' cf. Hom. *ὀλλόμενος* 'ruinous' applied to Achilles's wrath and quarrel with Agamemnon.

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

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

hal(u)wani-, haliwani- halwammar

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

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

halwammar (n.) 'eagerness, zeal, élan, enthusiasm' (vel sim.), abl. sg. *hal-wa-am-na-az* (*KUB* XXIV 7 I 16–19 *nu* KIN-an *ku*it *anniskanzi* [n]-at *halwamnaz anniskanzi* É-ir-ma *ku*it [a]nniskanzi n-at *duskar-attaza* [a]nniskanzi 'what task they work at, that they work at with enthusiasm, and what house they work on, it they work on with joy'; the sense of *halwammar* is defined not only by the parallelism of *duskaratt-* but antonymously *ibid.* 26–27 *nu* É-ir *tuhh[imaz]a pidduliyazz-a* *ēssanzi* 'they do the housework with travail and anxiety'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:305 [1977]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 402–3; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156 [1983]; *KBo* XII 96 I 9–11 *ais-za-kan* YÀ-it *sūwanza* *ēs* ^{U2U}*hurhurta-ma-za-kan halwamnaz sūwanza* *ēs* [partitive apposition] 'have your mouth filled with fat, let your throat be full of eagerness!'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239 [1964]).

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

halwassi- halwat(t)alla-, helwatalla- halzai-, halziya-

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

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

helwantalla-,
halwat(t)alla-, helwatalla-, name of a vessel, nom. sg. *hal-wa-at-tal-la* (*KUB* XX 50, 5 ^{DUG}*halwattalla*; *ibid.* 12 *halwattalla*), *hal-wa-tal-la* (*ibid.* 9 ^{DUG}*halwatalla*; XXV 14 III 16 *halwatalla*; XI 30 V 12 *halwattalla*), *hi-el-wa-ta-al-la* (XII 37 I 6; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 173 [1982]).
hal-wa-at-tal-la
-ha-al-la
(KUB 50.51.3.12)
hi-el-wa-an-
-da-al-la
(*ibid.* 14)

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

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

13]ŠUM-ŠU halzihhi; *ibid.* 18 *nu-kan antuhsas zi-ŠU halzihhi* 'I call the person's soul' [zi 'soul' in place of ŠUM 'name']; I 16 III 25 *uga-an-za DUMU.SAL-TI ūL halzihhi* 'I do not call her [my] daughter'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; XV 27 II 8]INA^{URU}PA-ti halzihhi 'I call in Hatti'; XV 28 III 4; XXIII 72 Rs. 67; Teddy Kollek's tablet, line 3 *h]alzihihi*; cf. A. Kempinski, *Tel Aviv* 2:92 [1975]), *hal-zi-ya-mi* (XV 23, 19 *nu-za DINGIR-LUM halziyami* 'I shall invoke the god'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:62 [1972]), 2 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-ti* (XXVI 88 Vs. 8 *nu-mu šeš-ya annai le halzesti* 'do not shout *annai* at me, my brother!'; XXXI 136 II 3 SIG₅GAM-an *le halzesti* 'do not call down [= revoke?] the well-being!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 196), *hal-za-it-ti* (XIII 3 IV 28]ser *tamai ŠUM-an halzaitti* 'you call another name'), *hal-za-i-it-ti* (*KBo* XVII 23 Vs. 2), *hal-zi-ya-at-ti* (V 4 Rs. 26 [nu] ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ *apedani wekti nasma-an apāsila halziyatti nu kissan memati* [i] 'you request of him troops [and] chariotry, or call him yourself and say thus'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:64), *hal-zi-ya-ti* (III 34 III 13 *halziyati-w[a]*, unless 3 sg. pret. midd. [q.v.]), *hal-zi-ya-si* (*KUB* XXVI 12 III 21–23 *n[asma] DUTU-Šr kuinki SIG₅-ahmi ziqqa-an-zan tuel assulan* [*hal*]ziyasi 'or I the king favor someone, and you call it your favor'), 2 sg. pres. midd. *hal-zi-ya-at-ta-ri* (*ibid.* 18 *nu-wa-za zik āssus halziyattari* 'you are called good'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 26), 3 sg. pres. act. *hal-za-a-i* (frequent, e.g. *VBoT* 24 I 28 *nu DUMU.SAL halzāi parā-wa-kan ehu* 'the girl exclaims "go forth!"'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]; *VBoT* 74, 7 *ishar halzāi* 'cries "blood"'; *KUB* X 3 I 14 and 16, X 9, 6, X 17 I 25, X 28 II 3, XI 20 I 17, XI 25 III 11 *ahā halzāi* 'calls out *ahā*'; XX 28 II 22–23 *nu LÚ^{GIS}PA ANA LÚ.MEŠ^{NAR} zinir halzāi* 'the staff-man cries "music!" to the singers'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:129 [1975–6]; similarly X 21 II 12; XXV 3 III 7–8; XXV 9 II 11–12; cf. e.g. *KBo* IV 9 V 35 *nu ANA LÚ.MEŠ^{NAR} tezzi zinir zinir* 'says to the singers "music, music!"'; *KUB* X 17 II 17–18 and X 54 II 4–5 *nu kās missā halzāi* 'this one shouts *missā*'; X 3 I 30 and XXV 3 II 13 *nu kās misā halzāi*; *KBo* IV 9 IV 22 *nu missa halzāi*; *KUB* XVII 12 III 19–21 *namma-an ... PANI DINGIR-LIM zāhanzi* [n]u *duddu halzāi* 'then they beat him before the god, and he cries for pardon'; XXII 70 Rs. 45 *nu apadda ser zankilatar SIXSÁ-at n-at pianzi DUTU-Šr-ma apaddan ser duddu halzāi* 'on that account expiation was determined, and they give it; but his majesty on that account craves pardon'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 92; XV 32 I 43 *nu KUR.KUR.MEŠ hūmanda anda*

halzāi 'he enumerates all the lands'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; VII 2 I 29 *kisan halzāi* 'recites thus' [prayer follows]; *KBo* V 1 III 47 and IV 26 *nu keldi halzāi* 'he recites *keldi*'; frequent ^{LÚ}kītas *halzāi* 'the k.-priest recites'; *VBoT* 2, 14–15 *kī-kan tuppi kuis DUB.SAR-a[s]* *halzāi* 'the scribe who reads aloud this tablet'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *VBoT* 68 II 16 *nu LÚ^{GIS}PA telipūri kissan halzāi* 'the herald reads out the districts as follows' [+ list]; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 15 *mān-an-za halzāi-ya kuiski* 'and if someone summons her'; *IBoT* I 36 III 36 *kuin-an imma kuin ERÍN.MEŠ LUGAL-us halzāi* 'whatever troop the king summons'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:194 [1966]; *KUB* XVI 83 Vs. 32 *ANA DINGIR-LIM sipanduwanzi halzāi* 'summons to libate to the deity'; XXIX 1 I 50–51 ^{GIS}DAG-iz ^AMUSEN-an *halzāi* 'Throne calls the eagle'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]; *KBo* II 4 I 25–26 *LÚ^{DU} URU^{URU} Nerik^{GIS} muknaza andan halzāi* 'the man of the storm-god invokes the storm-god of Nerik with the *mukar*'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 280; XXV 21 IV 6–7 ^{GIS}mukar *dāi kattan-ma* [tiyazi] *nu DINGIR-LUM andan halzāi* 'he takes the *mukar*, steps down, and invokes the deity'; V 6 III 34 *namma-as-si DINGIR-LUM ser halzāi* 'he invokes the god upon him'; *KBo* V 1 III 48–49 *nu-za^{SAL} katras^{GIS} BALAG dāi n-asta DINGIR.MEŠ anda halzāi* 'the priestess takes a harp and invokes the gods'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 10*; *KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 29 *GIDIM-ma-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'she calls the dead person's name' [partitive apposition]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68; *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 11 *EN SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'he calls the name of the offerant'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 78; *KUB* II 2 I 34 *DINGIR-LIM-ya-kan ŠUM-an halzāi* 'he calls the god's name'; dupl. *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 28–29 *DINGIR-LIM-ya-kan ŠUM-ŠU halzāi*; *KUB* XXIX 8 IV 10 *n-asta EN SISKUR.SISKUR ŠUM-ŠU halzāi*; *KBo* XIX 139 II 2]IN SISKUR.SISKUR *ŠUM-ŠU an[!]-za-a-i* [sic]; cf. Haas – Thiel, *Rituale* 268; *KUB* XXVI 23 II 15 ^{LÚ}DUGUD-ya-kan *ŠUM-ŠU halzāi* 'the official calls his name'; *KBo* XIX 128 III 10–12 *n-us-kan sipanduwanzi ŠUM.HI.A-ŠUNU hūmandus-pat halzāi* 'he calls them all [by] their names to libate'; *ibid.* IV 4–5 *n-asta DINGIR.MEŠ hūmandu[s] lamnit halzāi* 'he calls all the gods by name'; cf. Otten, *Festrituale* 8–10; *KUB* XV 34 III 49–50 *n-asta HUR.SAG.ME[Š] lamnit halzāi* 'he calls the mountains by name'; cf. Zuntz, *ARIV* 96:2:514 [1936–7]; Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; XXXII 52 IV 4]*lamnit halzāi*; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 252), *hal-za-i* (e.g. XXIV 3 III 43–44 *nu panku[s]* [*apāi ēsd*] *u halzai* 'the congregation cries "amen"', besides XXIV 2

Rs. 18–19 *nu panku[s apāt] ēsdu halzāi*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34–6; IV 47 Vs. 8 *nu wasduli duddu halzai* ‘for his transgression he craves pardon’; *KBo* III 23 I 3 and IV 5 *nu* ^{LÜ}*ŠU.I-an halzai* ‘summons the barber’; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 41 [1979]; XXII 1, 16 [OHitt.] *mān ABI tuliyas halzai* ‘when the father calls to assembly’; cf. A. Archi, op. cit. 46; XVII 1 I 35 *SAL.LUGAL-ann-a sāvātaras halzai* ‘and the hornblower calls the queen’; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; XIII 175 Vs. 9 ^{LÜ}*ŠANGA-an halzai* ‘calls the priest’; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 112; *KUB* IX 4 III 20 *-[kan ŠUM-an halzai* ‘calls the name’; *KBo* XI 32 Vs. 30 *DINGIR.MEŠ-kan ku-us-us* [sic] *ŠUM-it hal-za-i* ‘he calls these deities by name’), *hal-ta-at-ti* (Luwoid *KUB* XXXV 145 Rs. 4 *lamni haliatti* ‘he will call at [this] hour’ [= right now; cf. Italian *ora*]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hal-za-it-ta* (I 16 II 60; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8, 104–5), *hal-zi-ya-at-ta-ri* (XXV 41 V 11 *nu halziyattari* ‘there is a recitation’; *IBoT* I 29 Vs. 54 *adanna-ma ina É* ^{LÜ}*MUHALDIM halziyattari* ‘one is called to eat in the house of the cook’), *hal-zi-ya-ta-ri* (*KUB* XXV 32 + XXVII 70 + 1628/u II 43 *nu ina UDUN halziyatari* ‘there is a shout “in the oven!”’), *hal-zi-ya-ri* (e.g. ibid. III 8 *ina UDUN halziyari*; ibid. III 23 *AŠ UDUN halziyari*; ibid. III 41 *ta AŠ UDUN halziyari*; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:104–8 [1969–70]; XVII 37 I 13 *AŠRI.HIA irhānzi halziyari* ‘there is a cry “they tour the places”’; X 91 III 18 *nu halziyari* ‘there is a recitation’; similarly X 92 II 18; XXV 22 III 12; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 7, 9, 17, Rs. 7; *VBoT* 95 I 4; *KUB* XXV 24 II 13 *nu wakanna halziyari* ‘there is an invitation to [have a] bite’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244), *hal-zi-ri* (sic XLIV 1 Rs. 11), *hal-zi-ya* (frequent, e.g. II 6 III 17–18 ^{KUS}*NIG.BAR-an halziya ta hatkanzi* ‘there is a shout “curtain!”’, and they close’; XXV 32 + XXVII 70 + 1628/u II 12 *ta ina UDUN halziya* [cf. under *halziyari* above]; ibid. I 25 *wagāta halziya* ‘there is an invitation “[have] a bite!”’; ibid. II 35 *ta wagata halziya*; X 25, 3 *nu waganna halziya* [cf. under *halziyari* above]; *KBo* X 27 III 31 *ta waganna halziya*; *KBo* IV 9 I 1 *waganna halziya*; *KUB* XX 47 I 7 *waganna halziya*; XI 32 + XX 17 V 15 *adanna halziya* ‘one is called to eat’; XXX 24 II 17 *nu UD.KAM-as NAPTANU GAL halziya* ‘the day’s big meal is called’; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; *KBo* II 15 V 5–6 *SAL.LUGAL esa ta* ^É*hal[en-tuw]as halziya* ‘the queen sits; there is a call to the palace’; *KUB* X 17 I 17 *nu tunnakisna halziya* ‘one is summoned to the inner chamber’; XX 28 I 2 *tunnankisna halziya*; *KBo* XX 87 Vs. 1 *LUGAL-us esa salli halziya* ‘the king sits; there is a call to the plenum’

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

ammēl DINGIR-YA ... *halzait* 'you, my god, have summoned me'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hal-za-a-is* (e.g. *KBo* III 7 III 27–28 *nu sarā nepisi atti-ssi halzāis* 'up to heaven to his father he cried'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:70 [1965]; *KUB* XXXI 68 Vs. 16–17 *nu-wa-mu-za-kan ANA GIS¹ GIGIR katta halzāis* 'he called me down to the chariot'; *KBo* XIX 76 II 17; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 303 [1977]; V 6 III 17 *nu-za LÚ.MEŠ GAL-TI memiyani parā halzāis* 'he summoned forth his chiefs in the matter', besides dupl. XIV 9 III 6 *hal-za-is*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:94 [1956]; III 6 II 14 *PiSTAR-mu-kan GAŠAN-YA IGI-zi palsi ŠUM^{UM} kedani KASKAL-si halzāis* 'my lady Ištar for the first time on this campaign called my name'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12; *KUB* XXXIII 24 I 16 *LIM DINGIR.MEŠ halzāis* 'invited the thousand gods'), *hal-za-i-is* (XVII 10 I 19–20 *GAL-is-za^{DU} UTU-us EZEN-an iet nu-za 1 LIM DINGIR.MEŠ halzayis* 'the great sun-god gave a party and invited the thousand gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), *hal-za-is* (e.g. *KBo* XI 1 Rs. 13 *ANA DINGIR-LIM ... halzais* 'he cried out to the deity'; *KUB* XXXVI 44 IV 6–7 *arunas-a DUMU.SAL-as [nepis]az halzais n-an arunas istamasta* 'the sea's daughter called from heaven, and the sea heard her'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:82 [1965]; *KBo* III 41 + *KUB* XXXI 4 Vs. 3 *nu uwārra halzais* 'he has called for help', besides dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 3 *wārri halzāis*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:159 [1962]; *KUB* XXXIII 36 II 11 *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ GAL halzais* 'invited the great gods'; XXIII 72 Vs. 38 *nu-za-kan ABU-ŠU ŠUM-an halzais* 'he called his father's name' [partitive apposition]; *KBo* IX 27 + *KUB* XXXVI 41 I 17, 18, 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:173 [1965]), *hal-zi-ya-at* (*KUB* XXI 16 I 18 *halziyat-ma-w[a]*), 3 sg. pret. midd. (?) *hal-zi-ya-ti* (*KBo* III 34 III 13; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 464; or 2 sg. pres. act. ? [q.v.]), 1 pl. pret. act. *hal-zi-ya-u-en* (XI 1 Vs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 'we have summoned' [various deities]; cf. Houwink Ten Cate and Josephson, *RHA* 25:105 [1967]), *hal-zi-ya-ū-en* (*KUB* IV 1 II 1–2 *ša KUR^{URU} Kasga DINGIR.MEŠ kāsa-smas tuliya halziyawen* 'ye gods of Gasga-land, lo we have called you to assembly'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170), *hal-zi-ū-en* (*KBo* V 3 I 39–40 *nu kāsa kedani uddanī LIM DINGIR.MEŠ tuliya halziwen* 'lo, for this matter we have summoned the thousand gods to assembly'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:110), *hal-zi-e-u-en* (*KUB* XXIII 77a Vs. 11 *tuliya halziew[en]* 'we have called to assembly'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hal-zi-i-e-ir* (XXIX 1 I 24–25 *nu-mu-za LUGAL-un Labarnan halziyer* 'me they have called king, Labarnas'; cf. Neu, *Altheith* 3), *hal-zi-e-ir* (XVIII 56 III 35 'cried' [said of oracular birds]; XVIII 24 Rs. 22 *ūl halzier*),

hal-zi-ir (*KBo* XIV 12 IV 33 *[n]u-smas-kan mahhan tuppi piran halzir* 'when they had read aloud the tablet before them'; cf. Güterbock, *IF* 60:204 [1950], *JCS* 10:98 [1956]), 2 sg. imp. act. *hal-za-a-i* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 2 III 29–30 *kuedani-ma-ssan URU-ri EGIR-pa ārti nu LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM hūmandus parā halzāi* 'to whatever town you come back, call forth all the men of the town!'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienst-anweisungen* 48; XXXI 115, 7 *nu^{LU} ŠU.L-an halzāi* 'call the barber!'), *hal-za-i* (e.g. *Mašat* 75/14 Rs. 12–14 *PANI¹ Pulli-kan ammel assul halzai* 'before P. read my letter!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:44–5 [1980]), 3 sg. imp. act. *hal-za-a-ū* (*KUB* XXXVI 90 Vs. 3–5 *nu-kan ANA^{DU} URU^{URU} Nerik [...] anda MUŠEN GIM-an sanizzin [halu]gan halzāu* 'to the storm-god of Nerik within ... like a bird let him cry sweet tidings!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 176), 2 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-is-tin* (*KBo* III 1 II 51 *nu tuliyan halzistin* 'call the assembly!'; *KUB* XXVIII 82 I 18 *LÚ^{DU} an-wa halzistin* 'summon the man of the storm-god!'; *VBoT* 58 I 27, 29, 32 *[ū]tin-wa ... halzistin* 'go summon [so-and-so]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hal-zi-ya-an-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 12 III 8–9 *harsiharsi-ma parā halziyandu* 'let them call forth thunderstorms!'; *ibid.* 10–11 *hēus IM.MEŠ-us halziyandu* 'let them call the rains [and] the winds!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; *KBo* XXII 6 I 8 *LÚ.MEŠ^{UR} SAG-is-wa-mu halziyandu* 'let them call the warriors for me!'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]); partic. *halziyant-*, nom. sg. c. *hal-zi-ya-an-za* (*KUB* XXVII 1 I 18–19 *kan anda assuli halziyanza* '[the deity is] kindly invited'; similarly *ibid.* 4–5; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hal-zi-ya-an* (XXIV 13 II 4 *alwanzatar tinnisan kuit halziyan* 'sorcery that is called t'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 104), *hal-zi-an* (VII 53 I 3 *nasma-zan-kan tamais kuiski papranni ser halzian harzi* 'or someone else has made an outcry on account of defilement'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 4), nom. pl. c. *hal-zi-ya-an-te-es* (*KBo* IV 10 Vs. 50 *nu kāsa apedani memini LIM DINGIR.MEŠ tuliya halziyantes* 'lo, for this matter the thousand gods [are] called to assembly'; similarly 299/1986 III 79–80; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 24; *KUB* XXV 22 II 10 *kuyēs halziyantes* 'who [are] summoned'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238); verbal noun *hal-zi-ya-u-* (*n.*), nom.-acc. sg. *halziyauwar* (*KBo* IX 96 I 12; *KUB* XXX 55, 10–11 1 *TUPPI QATI nu-ssan UKU-as ŠUM-ŠU halziyauwar* 'one table finished, [on it is] written the calling of a person's name'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 174), gen. sg. *hal-zi-ya-wa-as* (V 10, 11 *EZEN halziyawas ŪL iyanza* 'the feast of invocation [has] not [been] observed'), *hal-zi-ya-u-as* (XXVIII 92 I 4–6 *nu LÚ^{DU} DINGIR-LAM*

hal-zi-es-tin
(V 13 106 I 18)
hal-zi-is-te-en
(16 T 3.45 vs. 6)

hal-zi-an-za
KUB 49 vs. 25 (NEO 4:304)

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

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

[hal-] zi-ja-u-as
(Ks 44.43 v.7)

2 pl. pres. act.
[hal-] zi-es-sa-
at-te-ni
(Ks 20.21 v.6)
[hal-] zi-es-sa-
at-te-ni
(Ks 12.110.8)

hal-zi-es-sa-at-ti
(Ks 18.24 v.7); cf.
Hagenbuchner 2:241)

king my lord summon me to war'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 24), 3 sg. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-sa-i* (e.g. XVII 7 III 15 [INIM-n]i-ma-wa-smas *kuedani halzessai* 'in what matter he is summoning you'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:154 [1951]; XXXVI 89 Vs. 24 *kāsa-wa-ta halzessai halziyau[wanzi uid]du-as* ^{MUSEN} *surassuras* 'lo, he is calling you; to call let it come, the s.-bird!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144), *hal-zi-is-sa-a-i* (KBo XVII 43 I 11 *ī halzissāi* 'cries ī'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 105; KUB XXX 28 Rs. 1–2 [nam]ma-kan ^{LU} *pāti(ḫi)s kuis suhhi ser nu-kan ē-ri katta[nda] halzāi akkanza kuis n-an-kan šUM-ŠU halzissāi* 'then the p.-priest who [is] up on the roof calls down into the house; he who [is] dead, he keeps calling his name' [partitive apposition]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 96; XXV 37 II 21 *hal[zi]ssāi*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 345), *hal-zi-is-sa-i* (e.g. IX 31 II 12 *nu UR.BAR.RA-ili halzissai* 'he howls like a wolf'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:340 [1938]; Starke, *KLTU* 52; XXVIII 98 IV 5 *nu halzissai*; XII 65 III 6 *ehu halzissai-wa-tta DINGIR.MEŠ-as attas* ^D *Kumarbis* 'come, Kumarbi father of the gods is summoning you'; ibid. 7 *halzissai*; dupl. XXXIII 122 III 2 *ehu halzessai-tta*; dupl. XXXIII 116 III 10 *ehu halzis*[-]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:50 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; KBo II 3 III 40 *n-at-za ... halzissai* 'calls it...'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:364 [1953]; KUB XX 24 IV 3 *šUM-an halzissai* 'calls the name'; KBo V 11 I 6–7 ^{LU} *nLUDUH-ma-as-kan ha[tt]li lamnit halzissai* 'the gateman calls them by name in Hattic'; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 16; XXI 85 I 11 + VIII 109 I 6 DINGIR.MEŠ-ma GAL ^{LU.MEŠ} *SILA.ŠU.DU₈ lamnit halzissai* 'the chief of the cupbearers calls the gods by name' [followed by list]; VBoT 25 I 3; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 199), *hal-zi-sa-i* (KUB X 72 II 19–20 [n]-asta *kī kue HUR.SAG.MEŠ ID.MEŠ [n]epis tekan šUM-it halzissai* 'these mountains, rivers, heaven, [and] earth which he calls by name'), 3 pl. pres. act. *hal-zi-es-sa-an-zi*, *hal-zi-sa-an-zi* (KBo XXI 76 r.K. 3 *halzessa[nzi]*; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 24; KUB XVII 35 III 9–10 *n-as lamniyanzi nu-smas taksan sarran LÚ.MEŠ* ^{URU} *PA-ti halzessanzi taksan sarra-ma-smas LÚ.MEŠ* ^{URU} *Māsa halzisanzi* 'they give them names: half of them they call men of Hatti, but [the other] half of them they call men of Māsa'; XXX 56 III 8 *halzisanzi*; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 181), *hal-zi-is-sa-an-zi* (frequent, e.g. XX 48 I 6 and KBo XXV 154, 2, 3, 6 *ahā halzissanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 91; ibid. 9 and XVII 18 II 4 *hūu halzissanz[i]*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 100; KUB XXVIII 96, 5 *halzissanzi*, besides dupl. I 14 II 4 *wa-ū-ya 3-šū hal-zi-an-[zi]* 'and they shout wau three times'; KBo III 34 II 27 *ta ispanti halzissanzi* 'they call out in the night'; KUB IV 1 II 19–20

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

2 sg. imp.
hal-zi-is-du (k.
20.34 Vs. 5–6
H1-KA nekum
halzissau 'call
your brother
'brother')
3 sg. imp.
hal-zi-is-du
(k. 36.55 B 11)

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

Basic to this verb is PANat. *halt(i)ya- < *H₁[tyé]ó-, a primary
formation with *-ye-/yo- suffix like e.g. assiya- (< *A₂ysró- 'be
favored', q. v. s. v. ass-) or parkiya- (< *h₁rg_hyó- 'be high', q. v.
s. v. park-). Its mediopassive diathesis is seen in Hitt. halziya[ti]a(ri).
Luw. haltittari (< *haltiyattari), and the original active 3 sg. in the
Luwoid haltatti (< *haltyati; cf. e.g. Tiwat- < *Dyewot-). Much
of the active-voice inventory has been transformed already in Old
Hittite under the stimulus of -hi conjugation verbs such as nai-,
pai-, and dai- (cf. neya[rī] like halziya[rī], piyaweni, piyanzi and
tiyaweni, tiyanzi like halziyaweni, halziyanzi, yielding the present
singular paradigm halzihhi, halzaitti, halzai, also pret. sg., imp. 2
pl. halzistin; cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 69–70). The alternative
set halziyami, halziyasi, *halziyazi (halziya, haltatti), halziyaweni,
halziyatteni, halziyanzi cannot be entirely passed off as merely late
and analogical (wrongly Čop, *Ling.* 10:96 [1970], and Oettinger,
Stammbildung 464; nothing similar happens in nai-, pai-, or dai-;
more correctly H. Eichner, in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 97 [1975]);
it harbors remnants of the proto-paradigm which originally condi-
tioned the shift t > z before i and transmitted it analogically to the
secondary stem halzai-. The iterative stems halzeski- (halziski-) and
halzessa- (halzissa-) represent either *halziya-s- or *halzai-s- (not
*halte- > halze-, pace C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/
1, 103 [1969]).

The etymon is Goth. lapōn, ON laða, OE ladian, OHG ladōn
'call, summon, invite', first connected with halzai- by Juret
(*Vocabulaire* 20), credited (albeit alternatively and in passing) by E.
Polomé (*Lg.* 28:451 [1952]), and restated by Puhvel (in *Evidence for*
laryngeals 88 [1965]). The Germanic verb is denominative from a
noun (Runic lapu, OE laðu 'call, summons, invitation') which re-
flects IE *H₁lotā and along with PANat. *halt(i)ya- (*H₁[tyé]ó-) points
to a root *H₁él-t- : H₁l-ét-. The Germanic noun (cf. Luw. haltatt-) has
imposed a certain semantic specificity on its denominative verbal
offshoot (vs. e.g. Goth. wopjan, ON kalla, German rufen), whereas
the Anatolian primary verbal derivation allows for all the nuances

of meaning associated with a verb denoting an outcry. A further trace of this root may be seen in OLat. *lessus*, acc. sg. *lessum* 'wailing, lamentation' (< **H₁let-tu-*?; quoted from XII Tables by Cicero, *De legibus* 2:59, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2:55), literally 'outcry', which Čop (*Ling.* 10:96–7 [1970]) compared with Hitt. *halzai-* (< **H₁l₂-ē-*, but on general grounds of onomatopoeic origin, and leaving aside Goth. *lapōn*).

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

Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:307–8 [1987]) connected with *halzai-* Gk. *ἀλαζών* 'braggart, quack' (literally 'crier?') via a formula **A₁ldy-*.

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

ham(m)a(n)k-, ham(m)enk-, hami(n)k- 'tie (often with preverb *anda*; literal and figurative magical meanings); betroth'; *katta(n)* *hamank-* 'tie down, mandate' (*KBo* I 38 Rs. 6 *ha-me-en-ku-wa-a[r]* = [Akk.] *kuššuru* 'to tie together' [*kašāru*]), 1 sg. pres. act. *h₁a-ma-an-ga-ah-hi* (XII 96 I 20; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239 [1964]), *ha-ma-an-ak-mi* (XXIII 113 III 20–21 GAM-*an* *hamanakmi n-a[t...]* *ishiyami* 'I shall tie down and it ... I shall bind'; XXXIII 216 Vs. 9 *katta hamanakmi*; cf. J. de Roos, *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 4:44 [1989]), *ha-ma-an-ga-mi* (*KUB* IX 31 III 24; dupl. *HT* I III 14 has 3 sg. *hamanki*), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ma-an-ki* (e.g. *KUB* IX 22 II 27 *ANA QATI-ŠU-ya-ssi-ssan* SÍG SA₅ *hamanki* 'and to her hand he binds red wool'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 90; *KBo* V 1 IV 6–7 *nu-ssan* SÍG SA₅ *ANA GİR.MEŠ-ŠU hamanki* 'he ties red wool to its feet'; cf. Sommer-Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*; V 2 III 21–22 *nu* 2 MUŠEN *dāi n-asta* 1-EN MUŠEN-*in* ZAG-*az* *anda hamanki* 1 MUŠEN-*ma-kan* GÜB-*laz* *anda hamanki* 'he takes two birds; one bird he ties up to the right, but the other bird he ties up on the left'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 108: XII 112 Vs. 6 *a]nda sepikusti hamanki* 'she ties to the pin'; ibid. 7 *landa* ^{GiS} *niniyalas hamanki* 'she ties to the cradle'; ibid. 9 *n-an-si-kan*

ha-ma-an-kan-mi
(ko 13.32 Vs. 6)
ha-ma-ak-mi
(KUSO.85 B 18)

anda ^{INA} ^{TUG} ^{GÜ.É.A} *hamanki* 'she ties it to the shirt'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 66), *ha-ma-ak-[ki]* or *ha-ma-ak-[zi]* (*KUB* XXIV 9 II 47, beside dupl. XXIV 10 II 4 *ha-ma-an-k[i]*, XXIV 11 II 26 *ha-ma-an-ki*, *KBo* X 41, 5 *ha-ma-an-[ki]*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 38), *ha-ma-an-ak-zi* (*IBOT* II 122, 7), *ha-ma-an-ga-zi* (*KUB* IV 47 Vs. 20 *anda hamangazi*, ibid. 19 *hamanga[zi]*), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ma-an-kán-zi* (e.g. *KBo* XXI 34 IV 13 [OHitt.] *anda hamankanzi*; *KUB* I 13 III 4–5 *anda hama[nk]anzi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 62; XXXIX 24 Rs. 5 *hamankan[zi]*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 135; X 91 II 4; *HT* I III 15), *ha-ma-an-ga-an-zi* (dupl. *KUB* IX 31 III 25; XLI 18 II 13), *ha-am-ma-an-kán-zi* XXXVIII 26, 21 EZEN *zenas katta hamankanzi* 'they mandate the fall festival'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:182 [1963]), *ha-me-en-kán-zi* (58/u, 5), *ha-me-in-kán-zi* (XXXIX 8 I 51 and 52; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 38; XXXIX 7 II 18–19 *haiswandus-ma-ssan lahhan[zanus halissiyān]das lahhanzanus* MUŠEN ^{III.A} *anda hamenkan[zi]* 'live l.-birds they tie to [silver-]plated l.-birds'; dupl. XXXIX 8 I 16; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36), *ha-mi-in-kán-zi* (II 3 II 24), (1 sg. pret.) act. *ha-ma-an-ku-un* LVIII 108 IV 12), (3 sg. pret.) act. *ha-ma-na-ak-ta* (XIV 4 II 10 *apās-ma KAXU.HI.A-us* *anda hamanakta* 'that one tied the mouths'), *ha-ma-an-kat-ta* (XXXVIII 32 Vs. 6–7 2 EZEN-*si* ^{DUG} *harsi suhhawas hēsu[was]* *katta hamankatta* 'for him he mandated two feasts, of filling [and] opening the pithos'; XXXII 133 I 4–5 *nu-za hazziwita ishiulāti.A-ya kue* ^{INA} ^É ^{DINGIR} ^{GE₆} *kattan hamankatta* 'the ceremonies and obligations which he had mandated for the temple of the black goddess'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaššäer* 165), *ha-ma-ak-ta* (e.g. XXVI 91 Vs. 9 *piran hamakta*; cf. Sommer, *AU* 268, 274), *ha-am-ma-ak-ta* (XXXVIII 23, 6 ^{ANA} ^{DINGIR.MEŠ} ^{EZEN.MEŠ} *katta hamakt[a]* '[he?] mandated feasts for the gods'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:175 [1963]), *ha-am-mi-in-ga-as* (*Bo* 3463 II 10), *ha-mi-ik-ta* (passim *KBo* III 8 III 1–13, e.g. *sallis id-as* ... HUR.SAG.HI.A *pargamus hamikta hārius* [*hal*] *lūwawus hamikta* 'the great river ... tied [viz. magically, vs. ibid. 21–31 *lā*- 'loose, untie'] the high mountains, tied the deep valleys'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]), (3 sg. pret. midd.) *ha-mi-ik-ta* and *ha-mi-ik-ta-at* (*KBo* III 8 + *KUB* VII 1 III 32–42, with "acc. of respect" [= partitive apposition in passive voice] of 15 body parts + clothing [9 *hamikta*, 6 *hamiktat*, 1 broken], typically 32–33 *n-as suppis tētanus hamiktat* 'his pure hair [he] was tied' and 37 *n-as* ^{UZU} *pappassalan hamikta* 'his esophagus was tied'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157–8, 161–2 [1961]; dupl. [to 38–42] *KBo* XXII 145

+ 128 III 2–6 [5 *hamikta*, 1 *hamiktat*, 1 *hamik* (sic)]; dupl. [to 36] *IBoT* III 107, 3 *hamiktat*; cf. *ZA* 67:58 [1977]), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-me-en-kán-ta-at* (*KBo* XII 100 Vs. 9), *ha-me-in-kán-ta-at* (ibid. 10; ibid. 4 [M] *āla-kan* ID-I MUŠ.HI.A *īstū kun.HI.A-šunu* *hamenkantat* 'in the M. river snakes were tied by their tails'), *ha-mi-en-kán-ta-at* (ibid. 19 and 20), *ha-me-en-ga-an-ta-at* (ibid. 5–6 and 6–7 *anda* ... *hamengantat*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 244), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-ma-an-ku* (*Bo* 3936, 11), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-ma-an-kán-du* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 63–64 *nu ANA ŠEŠ-YA* *kuin DUMU.SAL pihhi nu-ssi-kan* *ša SAL.LUGAL annān* [...] *GAM hamankandu* 'the daughter whom I give to My Brother, for her let them mandate the ? of a queen'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:92 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:13 [1964]), *ha-me-in-kad-du* (*KBo* X 45 IV 26–27 *wastuli ishanī hurtiya happutri hamenkaddu n-at ape parā huūttiyaddu* 'to sin, bloodshed, curse let them tie a halter, and let them drag them forth!'), *ha-mi-in-kán-du* (dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 25; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), ~~*ha-am-mi-in-kán-du* (Mašat; cf. Güterbock, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10:208 [1986])~~, partic. nom. sg. c. *ha-ma-an-kán-za* (*KBo* XVII 105 III 17 and 20 *anda hamankanza*), *ha-me-in-kán-za* (VI 3 II 11 [= Code 1:29] *takku DUMU.SAL-as LÚ-ni hamenkanza* 'if a girl [is] betrothed to a man'), *ha-am-me-en-kán-za* (dupl. VI 5 III 6 *takku SAL-TUM LÚ-ni hammenkanza* 'if a woman...'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ma-an-kán* (e.g. *KUB* XV 31 II 21 ^{TUG}*kuressar hamankan* 'a width of fabric [is] tied'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; XLII 12 VI 2; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 173 [1982]; XXXIII 67 I 15; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72), *ha-mi-in-kán* (*KBo* XVII 15 Rs. 12 [OHitt.] *ANA UDU Ū SILÁ haminkan* 'tied to a sheep and lamb'; cf. Neu, *Alitheth.* 73; *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingani haminkan hingan-a-ma-pa anda huiswanni-ya haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death, and death [is] tied to life'; cf. XXXVI 79 II 43–44 *TI-tar-ma-pa handa[n anda hingani] hantan hinkan* [and *TI-anni*] 'life [is] wedded to death, wedded [is] death to life'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 113, 98; XV 34 I 30 *SIG SA₅ AN[A GI]^S ERIN-a-ssan kuit piran haminkan* 'the red wool that is tied in front of the cedarwood'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 186; IX 28 IV 3), nom. pl. c. *ha-ma-an-kán-te-es* (*KBo* XXIV 63 III 3 + XXIII 43 III 10 MUŠEN.HI.A-*ya-ssan anda hamankantes* 'birds [are] tied'; par. *KUB* XLVIII 70 Rs. 9 *ham[ankant[es]]*, *ha-ma-an-ga-an-te-es* (par. *KUB* XLV 26 + *KBo* XXVII 159 II 12–13 MUŠEN.HI.A-*ya-ssan* [and *ha*] *mangantes*; cf. *ZA* 71:132 [1981]), *ha-mi-in-kán-te-es* (*KBo* acc. pl. c. *ha-am-mi-in-kán* *du-us* (Mst)

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

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

hamank- is more restricted and specific in usage than *ishiya-* 'bind'. The root is **A₁em-gh-*, seen in Gk. *ἄγγω*, Lat. *angō* 'tie up, make tight, constrict, strangle', Ved. *āmhas-* 'constriction' (*IEW* 42–3), with an infixed paradigm **A₁ṇi-n-ēgh-ti* > **hamnekzi* and weak forms in **A₁ṇim-ṇ-ēgh-*, e.g. 3 pl. pres. act. *hamankanzi*. From the latter type were formed new analogical paradigms (cf. Skt. *yuñjāti* and Lat. *iungō* from **yu-n-g-*'), thus *hamangahhi* after the model of *gangahhi* (from *gank-*) and *hamankun* following e.g. *linkun* (from *link-*). After the restoration of the weak grade in the form **-nen-* (**hamnekzi* : **hamnenkanzi*, like e.g. *sarnikzi* : *sarninkanzi*), phonetic change (**mn* > *m[m]*) once more ruined the paradigm, yielding **ham(m)ekzi* : **ham(m)enkanzi*; the strong form is seen in *hamikta*, and weak ones remained as alternatives to *hamank-* (as in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(*Ko* 19.152 B2 + 27.79,5), cf. *StB* 34.523.

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

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

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

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

XIV 21 III 67 EZEN *hameshi*, vs. *ibid.* 68 EZEN *zēni*; KUB XXII 56 Rs. 8 *parā hameshi* 'next spring' [cf. e. g. *parā siwatti* 'next day', s.v. *appasiwatt-*, and *parā hameshanda* below]; ~~XXX 37 I 10, vs. *ibid.* 91~~ ~~EZEN *ina gemi*~~; XX 33 Vs. 1; XX 42 I 9; X 5 VI 9; XI 22 I 5; HT 83, 3), *ha-me-is-hi* (e. g. KUB IV 3 Vs. 12 *hameshi-za* GUD-un le *wasti* 'in spring do not buy a head of cattle'; *ibid.* 13–14 *marsanza* GUD-us *hameshi-pat* SIG₅-ri 'even lousy cattle looks [deceptively] good in spring' [viz. by putting on (*ibid.* 17) *kussaniyan* YÀ-an 'temporary sleekness']; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 17 [1974]; XXXII 123 III 14–15 m[ā]n *hameshi* EBUR *mān zeni* [... *ūl kuī*]tki *ū-qqāri* 'whether in spring [at] harvest or in fall ... it does not matter'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 309; XI 13 VI 11), *ha-am-me-is-hi* (~~VAT 7458 [colophon]~~ *mān* LUGAL-us *ina* URU *Ānkui hammeshi* ANA EZEN ZUNNI *paizzi* 'when the king goes to A. in spring for the rain festival'), *ha-me-hi* (sic KUB XX 63 I 10), *ha-mi-es-hi* (IBoT II 1 VI 10 *hameshi* INA EZEN AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} 'in spring, at the festival of the a.-plant'; KUB XXXIII 54, 13–14 *ziga-z* ^{GIS}*hataalkisnas hameshi-ya-az* BABBAR-TIM [wassasi] EBUR-ma-z *isharwand*[a w]assasi 'you, hawthorn, in spring put on white [viz. blossoms], but "at harvest" you put on red [viz. berries]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]; XLII 100 IV 22–23 *kinun-ma-ssi* 12 EZEN ITU.KAM 1 EZEN *zēni* EZEN *hameshi* ^{LU}SANGA *ištu ē-šū ēssai* 'but now the priest celebrates for him from his temple twelve monthly festivals, one festival in fall [and] a festival in spring'), *ha-mi-is-hi* (e. g. XIII 32 Vs. 7 GIM-an *hamishi* DÙ-ri *tet*[hai 'when in spring it happens [that] it thunders'; XXV 23 I 8 GIM-an-ma *hamishi* DÙ-ri *tethai*; *ibid.* 38 GIM-an-ma *hamishi tethai*; *ibid.* IV 8 GIM-an-ma *hamishi*; XXV 18 I 2), *ū.EBUR* (XXVII 68 I 2 1 EZEN *zēni* 1 EZEN *ū.EBUR* 'one festival in fall, one festival in spring'), *TEŠI* (e. g. XVII 35 II 12 GIM-an-ma *TEŠI* DÙ-ri *tethiman istamassanzi* 'but when in spring it happens [that] they hear thunder'; KBo II 7 Vs. 9 GIM-an-ma *TEŠI* DÙ-ri *tethai*; KUB XXV 2? IV 51 and VBoT 26, 9 GIM-an *TEŠI* DÙ-ri *tethai*; KUB XXXVIII 19 Vs. 12–13 ANA EZEN *zēni* EZEN *TEŠI-ya-kan* 'for the festival in fall and the festival in spring'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:203 [1961]; XXXVIII 10 IV 2 and 22, XVII 35 II 34 and III 22, KBo II 1 III 30 1 EZEN *zeni* 1 EZEN *TEŠI* 'one festival in spring [and] one festival in fall'; similarly KUB XVII 35 III 20, KBo II 1 IV 7–8).

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

spring ... but if [it is] winter or fall'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:69 [1939]; VIII 70 I 11 *hameshanza kisari* 'spring comes'; XIII 1 IV 28 *mahhann-a hameshanza* [*zinattari* 'and when spring ends'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62; KBo II 5 II 1 *nu mahhan hameshanza kisat* 'when spring came'; cf. Götze, *AM* 182; XIV 12 III 24 *mahhan-ma hameshanza kisat*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96 [1956], same in KUB XIV 15 I 23, KBo III 4 II 50, IV 4 III 57, IV 42 and 56, KUB XIX 37 II 46; cf. Götze, *AM* 36, 60, 130, 138, 140, 170), *ha-mes-ha-an-za* (KBo II 7 Rs. 16 GIM-an *hameshanza* DÙ-ri *tethai* 'when spring comes [and] it thunders'), *ha-me-is-ha-an-za* (*ibid.* 4 and KUB VII 24 Vs. 11 GIM-an-ma *hameshanza* DÙ-ri; VIII 6 Vs. 6 and 8 *hameshanza* SIG₅-atta 'there is a good spring'), *ha-mi-es-ha-an-za* (KBo II 5 III 38 *mahhan-ma hameshanza kisat*; cf. Götze, *AM* 188), *ha-mi-es-kán-zi* (sic KUB XXXVIII 26 Rs. 19 *mān hameskanzi* DÙ-[]), *ha-mi-is-kán-za* (sic *ibid.* 1 *mān hamiskanza* DÙ-[]), *ū.EBUR-anza* (XXX 39 Vs. 7 *mahhan-ma ū.EBUR-anza kisari*), acc. sg. *ha-mi-es-ha-an-tin* (sic IV 4 Vs. 5; context below), gen. sg. *ha-am-me-es-ha-an-ta-as* (KBo XIX 128 VI 32–33 DUB 2.KAM QATI ŠA É-TIM GAI *hammehshantas* 'tablet two is finished of the palace, of the spring [festival]'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 18, 48), *ha-me-es-ha-an-da-as* (e. g. XI 39 VI 1–3 DUB 1.KAM ŪL QATI ŠA EZEN ^{IIUR.SAG}*Piskuru-ruwa hameshandas* 'tablet one not finished of the Mt. P. festival of the spring'; KUB XLII 100 III 23 EZEN *hameshandas-ma* VI DÙ-anza 'the festival of spring [had] not been celebrated'; XIII 4 I 39–40 EZEN *zen*[and]as EZEN *hameshandas* EZEN *tethesnas* 'feast of fall, feast of spring, feast of thunder'; *ibid.* II 53–55 *nu* EZEN *hamesha*[ndas] [*ti*]NA *zēni iyatteni* EZEN *zenandas-ma hameshi ēssatteni* 'you celebrate the feast of spring in the fall, and you celebrate the feast of fall in the spring'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:378 [1934]; KBo XI 50 VI 18 *zēnandas hameshandas*; cf. H. Gonnet, *Anadolu* 19:139 [1975–6]; KUB VIII 69 III 10 ŠA EZEN *hameshandas* 'of the festival of spring'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 186; XXV 26 III 12; KBo IX 131 I 2), *ha-me-es-ha-da-as* (KUB XXI 11 Rs. 11 EZEN *hameshadass-a*; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:144), *ha-me-is-ha-an-da-as* (XXV 2 VI 24), *ha-mi-is-ha-an-ta-as* (XV 21, 14 EZEN] *zēnantas* EZEN *hamishantas*), *ha-am-mi-is-ha-an-ta-as-sa* (KBo XXIV 118 VI 6–7 EZEN.HI.A *zēnandas hammishantass-a*, dupl. KUB XXII 27 IV 24 EZEN.HI.A *zēnandas hameshanda*[ss-a], *ha-mi-is-ha-an-da-as* (XXIV 1 II 4–5 *gimmantas hamishandas zenandas aulius* 'sacrificials of winter, spring, and fall'; dupl. XXIV 3 I 7 *hameshandas*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 18; IV

4 Vs. 3–9 *kimmantin armahhanni hameshantin sullanni hamishandas-ma-za alel āssiyanni handas ēssa[ti]* ‘winter for impregnation, spring for strife, but the flower of spring for the sake of love thou makest’; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:73 [1964]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 16 [1974]), Ú.EBUR (XII 4 IV 6 EZEN Ú.EBUR-ya-kan, vs. ibid. 3 EZEN zēnandas), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-m]i-is-ha-an-ti* (KBo XIX 5, 5 [= Code 100]; cf. Otten and Souček, *AfO* 21:10 [1966]), *ha-me-es-ha-an-da* <sup>abl.sg. ha-me-es-ha-an-
-an-za (Ks 56.14 vs. 5)</sup> (dupl. VI 2 IV 60 and VI 3 IV 60 *parā hameshanda* ‘until next spring’; cf. *parā hameshi* above).

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

gim- (ŠE₁₂), *hamesha-* (Ú.EBUR), *zena-* were the three seasons of the Hittite year, listed in e.g. *KUB* XXIV 1 II 4–5 *gimmantas hamishandas zenandas*, or in XXVII 16 I 10–12 *hameshanza ... gimmanza ... zenanza*. Little can be concluded from such varied sequences about the inception of the year, but *zena-* arrived in the eighth month (XXXVIII 32 Vs. 8 *GIM-an zēnas kisari ANA MU.KAM-ti ITU 8.KA[M* ‘when z. comes, of the year the eighth month ...’), and various other circumstantial indicators (cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:11–2 [1973]) place the beginning in the winter (unlike the vernal equinox as in e.g. aboriginal Anatolia [Hattic *purulli-*], Mesopotamia, early Israel, and Iran, or the early fall as in NW Semitic cultures generally, or the start of the canicular season with the Nile flood as in Egypt). The calendaric divisions in Anatolia clearly had climatological and lunar, rather than solstitial or equi-

noctial relevance. *Gim-* was the snowy season (November–March), *hamesha-* was spring and early summer (time of rains, electrical storms, greenery, grass, fruits and vegetables, thus April–June), while *zena-* (July–October) was the harvest time for cereal and later for grapes and other fall fruit. Grain harvest took place in July–August on the plateau, but earlier in places like Kizzuwatna (in May in Mesopotamia), cutting across the inherited terms *hamesha-* and *zena-*, which led to EBUR ‘harvest (time), summer’ being occasionally intercalated between *hamesha-* and *zena-* (as quoted above, *KUB* XXXII 123 III 14–15 *m]ā[n ha]hmeshi EBUR mān zeni*) or used as impinging on *zena-* (XXXIII 54, 13–14 *hameshi-ya-az ... EBUR-ma-z*; KBo XV 32 I 3–4 *mān hameshi mān EBUR-i mān [...?] gimmi*; questionably emended to [*zeni mān*], to yield four regular seasons, by Güterbock, *RHA* 25:142 [1967], and H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 13–4 [1974]). A movable short interseason of EBUR, transitional between *hamesha-* and *zena-*, and coterminous with the grain harvest, would be an adopted and adapted intrusion from Mesopotamia, where in Akkadian the year comprised *kuššu* ‘winter’ (lit. ‘cold’, Sum. EN.TE.NA; cf. Hitt. EZEN ŠE₁₂ = EZEN KUŠŠI = EZEN *gimmantas*), *dīšu* or *pān šatti* ‘spring’ (the latter lit. ‘front of the year’ following *rēš šatti* ‘Newyear’; cf. German *frühjahr*), and *ebūru* ‘summer’ (lit. ‘harvest’; also *ummātum*; also *umšu* ‘heat’; Sum. EBUR, É.MEŠ) or (specifically Assyrian) *harpū* ‘summer’ (pl. tantum; cf. Sargon’s 8th Campaign, line 209: *dīš pān šatti šammu u rītu la ipparakkū kūšu harpu* ‘the vegetation of spring, fodder and pasture, fail not winter [or] summer’; cf. the borrowed Hitt. *harp[iy]a-* [s.v.]); there was no expression for ‘fall, autumn’.

Greece likewise had three seasons with inherited names, *χειμα* ‘winter’, *ἔαρ* ‘spring’, and *ὀπώρα* ‘late summer + fall’, whereas *θερος* ‘summer’, meaning literally ‘heat’, was an intrusive designation of harvest-time (cf. *θερίζω* ‘to harvest’, *θερισμός* ‘harvesting’) which blended into and tended to form a singular-verb merism with *ὀπώρα* (cf. *Odyssey* 11:192 *αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ ἤν ἔλθῃσι θερος τελαυνῖα τ’ ὀπώρη*).

The Greek : Hittite pairs *χειμα* : *gim-* and *ὀπώρα* (Doric *ὀπάρ* < **ὀπ-οσάρ-ā*, from **osr* : *osen-*) : *zena-* being cognate, and the realia in close accordance (*ὀπώρα* and *zena-* both starting with the rising of Sirius around July 20 and stretching into fall, cognate with Goth. *asans* ‘θερος, θερισμός’, OHG *aran*, German *ernte* ‘harvest’, and Russian *osen* ‘fall’), the expectation would be that *ἔαρ*

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

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

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

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

'pure leek' (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:318–20 [1947]; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 108–9 [1974]). Curiously the main occurrences (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Rs. 37 and 39; Lebrun, *Samuha* 123) read *kās-wa ... suppiwashar*^{SAR} and *kūn sup[piw]ashar*^{SAR} (i. e. qualified by an animate nom. and acc. sg. pronoun) and hence reflect in origin a triple compound *suppi-washar-SAR* 'pure spring-vegetable', with *washar* itself subsequently shading over into 'spring green, green leek' or the like (the converse of Akk. *dīšu* 'grass' becoming 'spring'), and in the process taking on at least ad sensum animate gender. But cf. Ku 60.57, 7 *kue imma kue washar* 'whatever w.'; ib. d. 10 *hūman sum^{SAR} sum.sikil^{SAR}* 'all onion (and) leek'.

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

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

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

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

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

ha-ni-is-sa (e.g. Ku 29.9 + Ku 24.86 @ 19 1 *hanissaj*; Ku 53.15 @ 14 12 *hanissa*)

ha-ni-is-sa-a [w]²² Ko 31.166

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

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

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

HANESSA-C.
nom. sg.
^{DUG}*ha-ni-es-sa-as*
(Ku 38.27 Vs. 15)
^{DUG}*ha-a-ni-es-sa-as*
(Ku 2.7 Vs. 4)
^{DUG}*ha-ni-is-sa-a-as*
(e.g. Ku 25.26 @ 10, 11
7, 12; 16T @ 126 Vs. 3)
ha-ni-is-sa-a-as
(Ku 38.52 Rs. 14)
acc. sg.
ha-a-ni-is-sa-an
(Ku 53.52.2)
ha-ni-sa-an
(Ku 55.46 Vs. 41)
abl. sg.
^{DUG}*ha-a-ni-es-sa-a-az*
(Ku 40.97 @ 19)
^{DUG}*ha-ni-is-sa-za*
(Ku 15.69 @ 13)
^{DUG}*ha-a-ni-is-sa-a-az*
(ibid. 20)

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

Storm-god of Nerik will render judgment for us'; dupl. XIX 67 + 1102/v II 23–24 *hannessar h[a]nnanzi*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; XIX 20 Rs. 15), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-na-nu-un* (XIV 4 II 9 *apaddan-kan ser assuli hannamun* 'on that account I judged favorably'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *ha-an-na-at* (XII 63 Vs. 33 *hannessa-set hannat ŪL* 'judgment was not passed on him'), *ha-an-na-ta-at* (78/e Rs. 4 *hannessar hannata[t]*), *ha-an-na-ad-da-at* (XXXIV 51, 5 *hann]essar hannadda[t]*), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-an-na-ta-ti* (cf. e.g. *ki-ya-ta* beside dupl. *ki-an-ta* s.v. *ki*; XII 26 II 2–3 *nu-war-at-za-kan hannatati nu-war-at-za-kan sāntati* 'they were in contention, and they were enraged at each other'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:168 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-ni* (XIII 2 III 30–31 *nu kuedani DINAM ēszi n-at-si hanni n-an-kan asnut* 'who has a legal case, judge it for him and set him aright'; ibid. 32 *nu-smas-at hanni n-as-kan asnut*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstabweisungen* 48), *ha-an-ne* (XIX 14, 6 *h]annessar hanne*; cf. Güterbock, JCS 10:112 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-na-ū* (XIII 2 III 22–23 *nu auriyas EN-as DINAM SIG₅-in hannau n-at-kan assanuddu* 'the border-lord shall well judge the case and dispose of it'), *ha-an-na-a-ū* (KBo III 4 II 13–14 *kinun-a-wa ehu nu-wa zahhiyawastati nu-wa-nnas* ^{DU}BELI-YA DINAM *hannāu* 'now come, let us fight; let the storm-god my lord judge our case!'; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; *ABOT* 48, 7–9 [emended from dupl. KBo XIX 108, 6–8] [*ŪL-war-a-ssamas-at amruk hannah]hi DI-essar paiddu-wa-sm[as-at* ^{DI}ISTAR-is ^{URU}Ninu]was SAL LUGAL-as *hannāu* 'I will not judge this case for you; let Ištar queen of Nineveh come [and] judge it for you'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16), 3 sg. imp. midd. *ha-an-na-r[u]* (KBo III 46 Vs. 3; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-na-at-te-en* (KUB IV 1 I 21–22 *nu-smas-(s)an DINAM arnu-skizzi nu-ssi DINGIR.MEŠ hūmantēs DINAM hannatten* 'he brings suit before you; judge his case, all ye gods!'; ibid. 33–34 [*nu-za sumenzann-a DINAM hannatten [nu AN]A* ^{DI}Zithariya DINAM *hannatten* judge your own case, and judge the case of Z!'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 168–70), 2 pl. imp. midd. *ha-an-na-du-ma-ti* (XLI 8 III 8 *ne kēl parnas DI-essar hannadumati* 'judge the case of this house'), *ha-an-na-ad-du-ma-ti* (dupl. KBo X 45 III 16–17 *nu kel parnas DI-essar hannaddumati*; cf. Otten, ZA 54:128 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-na-an-du* (KUB XIV 17 III 18–19 *nu DINGIR.MEŠ a[mmēda]z tiandu [...] hannandu* 'let the gods step to my side ... let them judge'; cf. Götze, *AM* 98); partic. *hannant-*, nom.-acc. sg. n.

ha-an-na-at-tin
(Mst hannessar
hannatin)
ha-an-ni-is-tin
(Mst namma-
ssi ^{DI}ISTAR hannisti
n-an-kan asnutti)

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

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

ha-an-ni-es-ni-it (*Ku* 26, 19
E 35)
ha-an-ne-is-ni-it (sic!
K 16, 49 vs. 3; cf.
Ott. // Istanbul
Mitt. 17, 56, 67)

ha-an-na-as-ki-si (XXXVI 83 I 14 *zik* LUGAL ŠAMĒ *hannaskisi* 'thou king of heaven judgest'), 2 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-ne-is-kat-te-e-ni* and 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-an-ni-is-ki-it-tin* (XIII 20 I 32 *DINAM.HIA KUR-TI kue hanneskattēni n-at* SIG₅-in *hanniskittin* 'the legal cases of the land which you adjudicate, adjudicate them well!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:392 [1947]), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-an-ne-is-ki-nu-un* (XXXI 66 III 8–11 *ammuk-man ape* DI.HIA *kuwat hanneskinun apāt* ŠA DINGIR-LIM DINU *ē[si]* 'why should I be judging those cases? That is a case for the deity'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *Anatol. Stud. Güterbock* 130; XXI 19 II 6; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:92 [1981]), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-si-ik-ki-it-te-en* (1112/c + II 18–19 *hassikkitten kuedani* [UD-ti *nu-wa kāsa*] *apel* UD-as EME.HIA-es 'the day when you quarreled, behold these [are] the tongues of that day'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354 [1953]), 2 pl. pret. midd. *ha-as-si-ik-ki-du-ma-at* (ibid. I 32–35 *apidani-wa-smas-kan* UD-ti *kuit ha[ss]ikkidumat kinun-a-wa-smas-kan kāsa apidas* UD-as EME.HIA ¹⁰*Āndaliyas iŠTU GİR karasta* 'as for the matter that on that day you quarreled, now behold, A. has with a knife cut out the tongues of those days'; cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 28:9–11 [1970]), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-as-si-kān-du* (XIII 2 III 9–10 *namma ... DINATIM* SIG₅-in *hassikandu nu-ssan katta arnus-kandu* 'furthermore [they] shall well adjudicate legal matters and bring [them] to conclusion'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47).

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

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

3 sg. pres.
ha-an-ni-is-ki-
ki-i-2-2i
(K 60 32.22.4
vs. 8)

3 sg. pres.
ha-an-ni-is-ki-
(K 60 42.25.5)
ha-as-si-ki-it-
(K 48.106.18.4
ott/2A 20.22?
'90)

supine
ha-an-ne-as-ki-
-u-wa-an
(K 60 24.4)

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

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

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

verb (stem *ōvo-*, also *ōva-* in aor. *ōvato* [*Iliad* 17:25]) may point to **A₂^{en}-H₂-* as the underlying root form. Perhaps the gemination in *hann-* (and the concomitant absence of plene vowel spellings) is an index of **-nH₂-*.

An abortive derivation of *hann(a)-* from **ġenA₁-* 'know' was undertaken by the "Danish school" (Pedersen, *Hitt.* 201; Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 25, 45, 48; L. L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before sonant* 56 [1948], comparing Goth. *kann* 'can'; also e. g. G. Devoto, *Origini indeuropee* 373 [1962]). The semantics involved (such as German *er-kennnis* 'verdict, finding, sentence, judgment') also fueled Kronasser's interpretation of *hanna-* as a causative to *ha-* 'believe, trust', thus 'make believe, convince' (cf. 'convict'; *Etym.* 1:562); but the stem is rather *hai-* (q. v.), thus **hayanna-* (> **hānna-*) would have to be postulated. Variations of this approach were provided by C. Watkins (*Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, 75–6 [1969]), who reconstructed IE **Hō-ne/o-* expanded from **Hō-* seen in Hitt. *hā-* and Lat. *ō-men*, and H. Eichner (in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 97 [1975]) who assumed nasal infixation of a root in a (lost) laryngeal, presumably **A₁^u* (in *MSS* 28:15 [1970], Eichner endorsed Kronasser's connection of *hanna-* with *hā-*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lyc. *χῆνα-* or *χῆνῆ-* 'grandmother', gen. adj. *χῆnahi* (= Luw. **hannassi-*) in *TLy* 44a.29 *ēnehi se-χῆnahi* 'mother's and grandmother's', *TLy* 44b.58 *χugaha se-χῆnaha* 'grandfather's and grandmother's'; obscure Lyc. B *χῆniye* (*TLy* 44d.18). Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 63, 65, 68; Sturtevant, *TAPA* 59:52 (1928); Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:191 (1957–58).

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

hanna- belongs to the same group of words as *anna-* (q. v.) and is hence to a point "cognate" with Arm. *han*, OHG *ana* 'grandmother', Lat. *anus* 'old woman', etc. It is even possible to credit the *h-* as an IE **A₁-*, as has been commonly done since Sturtevant (*Lg.* 4:163 [1928] *et passim*) and Kurylowicz (*Études* 74; see Tischler, *Glossar* 145–6); but the baby-talk nature of this lexeme detracts from its diagnostic phonological value. Clearly *atta-* : *anna-* and *huhha-* : *hanna-* shared alliterative properties that may have affected

their respective pairings (cf. W. Petersen, *Arch. Or.* 9:203 [1937]). Further Indo-European reconstructions, such as **(s-)A₂en-* 'old' involving *s*-mobile (H. M. Hoeningswald, *Lg.* 28:183 [1952]; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 63), are not called for.

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

ha-ni-is-sa-an-zi
(KUB 11.3.15; cf.
Aq. Beiträge 268)

ha-a-ni-es
(KUB 60.122 R. 4)

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

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

ha-ni-is-su-wa-an-zi (KUB 88.86)
wedumanzi
hanissuwanzi
'to build and plaster'; cf.
Hagenbuchner
Korr 2:126)

obscurities of *hanes(iya)-* and *νηέω* can be alleviated by a reconstruction **H₁nes(e)(ye)-*, and Hom. *ἐνήνεον* (*Iliad* 7:428 *νεκρῶς πορκαῖῃς ἐπενήνεον* 'they heaped corpses on the pyre'; *Odyssey* 1:147 *σῖτον παρενήνεον* 'they piled up food') admits of a formula **en-e-* *-Hnesont* corresponding (*mutatis mutandis*, like augment and desinential allomorphy) to Hitt. *anda hanesser*; the constructional variation ('ply a wall with mortar': 'pile corpses on a pyre') parallels e.g. Lat. *mactare deum victima* 'ply a god with sacrifice' and *mactare victimam deo* 'impose an offering on a god' (cf. s.v. *eku-*). Cf. Puhvel, *Hanjamana* (I.J.S. Taraporewala Centennial Tribute) 31–2 (1989).

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

hannelalwanes- 'become legal adversaries', 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ni-tal-wa-(ni-)es-sir* (*KUB* XXI 17 I 3 *^DUTU-ŠI^{1D} SIN-^DU-ass-a hannitalwanessir* 'his majesty and Armadattas became legal adversaries'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:18; Lebrun, *Samuha* 144; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 21:163–4 [1975]).

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

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

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

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

hanhaniya- as a probable Luwianism clearly expresses some form of displeased temper but does not seem to be a transitive verb (no object in one instance, while *-smas* is more probably an "ethical dative"). Segmentation is opaque (*hanh-aniya-* or *han-han-ya-*?). Either way the morphology is difficult (Luwian has no "duratives" in *-an(n)iya-* and no *-hi* conjugation 3 sg. in *-i*, nor should Hittite *-iya-* verbs have *-hi* conjugation; but cf. 3 sg. *wi-ū-i-da-a-i* and *ū-i-wi-ta-*, both with gloss-wedge [*KBo* V 4 Rs. 29, 36], and Van Brock, *op. cit.* 161). Van Brock (*op. cit.* 141) compared Gk. *ὀνομαί* 'blame, find fault with' (q.v. rather s.v. *hann[a]-*), seeing in the stem-variant *ὀνα-* either **HonH-* or **Hen-Hn-*. Čop (*KZ* 85:30 [1971]), connecting *hanna-* (< **Hono-*) with Gk. *αἶνος* 'praise, assent', compared (*han*)*haniya-* (< **Hn̄yo-*) specifically with Gk. **αἶνομαι* in *ἀν-αἶνομαι* 'dis-sent, spurn' (reduplication with in *malam partem* meaning shift in Hittite, reversative prefix in Greek). A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüística* 3:440 [1973]) tried to put into one basket *hann(a)-*, *hanhaniya-*, *αἶνος*, *ἀναἶνομαι*, and *ὀνομαί*, under a root **A^hen-H₂-*, with *hann-* representing **nH₂-* (plausible for *hann[a]-* [q.v.] and *ὀνομαί*, uncertain for *hanhaniya-*, wrong for *αἶν-* [see s.v. *enant-*]).

see *Kronasser, 1953* 88.

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

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

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

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

^D*Ispanzasepa-* (s. v. *ispan-*).

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

Acc. sg.
ha-an-ta-as-si
han-ta-an-si
+ poss -san
Grath/Or 69
92-83
3 pl. pres.
ha-an-ti-ja-
-an-zi (KUSP.58
24)
vs. 7: d. Alp
de Liège 290)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

haan-to
K032.47a
K032.438
(S032.545)

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

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

Hittite alone preserves a paradigmatic root noun from IE *A₁ent- 'to face, confront' (Gk. *ἀντομαι* 'face, entreat'), besides using its case forms as petrifacts (*hanza[n]*, *hanti*, *hanta[s]*). The construction of nom. sg. *hanza* /*hant-s*/ as a nom.-acc. neuter may have to do with the "frozen" embedded usage of *hanza* (cf. *nekuz mehur*). Other languages have derivatives or debris of this root (e.g. Skt. *ānta-* 'end', *ānti* 'before'; Lat. *ante* 'in front of', *antēs* 'front rows', *antiae* 'forelock'; OIr. *ētan* 'forehead' (< **antono-*); Lith. *añtis* 'breast, bosom'; Toch. B *ānte* 'brow'; cf. *IEW* 48–50; R. Eckert, *Baltistica*

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

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

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

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

ZA 71:130 [1981]), *ha-an-da-mi* (dupl. *KBo* XXVII 81, 2; *KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 13 *n-an-kan kuedani handami* ANA DUMU.SAL KUR^{URU} *Kar-anduniya[s KUR]* ^{URU}*Zulapi KUR* ^{URU}*Assur handami* 'to whom shall I betroth him? Shall I betroth [him] to a daughter of Babylonia, Zulapi, Assur?'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:88 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti la Colombaria* 29:6 [1964]), *ha-a-an-da-mi* (VII 54 I 10), *sixsá-mi* (LII 51 Vs. 6), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-da-a-si* (e.g. VII 57 I 11; *KBo* IV 14 II 75 *zik-ma-smas-kan anda handāsi* 'but you join up with them' [viz. defectors, claiming duress]; similarly *ibid.* 49; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:42–3 [1965]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-ta-a-iz-zi* (e.g. XX 33 Vs. 9 LÚ^{GIS}B)ANŠUR^{NINDA} *zippulasne* ^{GIS}*arimpi hantāizzi* 'the waiter readies z.-bread on the stand'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53), *ha-an-ta-iz-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XXVIII 99, 5 *mān LUGAL-us* ^{NA}*hūwasiya hantaizzi* 'while the king gets ready at the baitylos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 219; XVII 24 II 18; XXXIX 73, 3), *ha-an-te-iz-zi* (*HT* 1 III 7), *ha-an-da-iz-zi* (e.g. dupl. *KUB* IX 32 Vs. 6; VII 53 I 24 *kī hūman handaizzi* 'all this she readies'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XII 58 I 27 *nu-ssan kī hūman* ^{G1}*paddanī katta handaizzi* 'all this she readies on a reed tray'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; *IBoT* III 148 IV 23–24 *EGIR-pa uppiyauwas SISKUR ... handaizzi* 'he arranges the ritual of sending back'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 230), *ha-an-da-a-iz-zi* (e.g. *KBo* V 2 I 41 *kī hūman pedi-ssi handāizzi* 'all this [he] arranges on the spot'), *ha-an-da-zi* (XVIII 133, 5), *ha-an-da-a-i* (V 2 IV 15–16 *nu-ssan namma ... katta kisan handāi* 'he also gets ready as follows'), *sixsá-iz-zi* (e.g. *IBoT* I 32 Vs. 29), *sixsá-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XVI 13 II 7; VI 2 I 3), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-an-ta-it-ta* (e.g. *KUB* LVI 46 II 8–9 *mān-asta hantezzias-(s)mis LUGAL-i hantaitta* 'when the first of them is in line with the king' [viz. in a procession]; *ibid.* 16–17 *mān hantezzias-semes LUGAL-[i] hantaitta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86, 84; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:48 [1987]; XXVIII 97 II 6), *ha-an-da-it-ta* (e.g. II 7 I 19), *ha-an-da-a-it-ta* (e.g. *IBoT* I 36 IV 20–21 *mān tamais-ma kuiski BELU* ^{LUM}*handāitta kuis* ^{hantezzias}~~*hantezzias*~~ ^{hantezzias}*arta nu apas UŠGEN* 'if some other lord is in line, the one who stands first in/first in line that one prostrates himself'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:200 [1966]; *KBo* XXV 42 I.K. 9 NI[N.DINGIR-as LUGAL-i handāitta 'the sister divine is in line with the king'), *ha-an-da-a-e-it-ta* (OHitt. dupl. XXV 31 II 11 *mān-asta NIN.DINGIR-as LUGAL-ī handāetta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 81, 79), *ha-an-ta-it-ta-ri* (e.g. *IBoT* III 148 IV 26–27 *namma mān pīran parā SISKUR ... iyauwanzi hantaittari* 'further if it has been arranged beforehand to have the rite performed'; *KUB* XLVIII 123

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

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

URU *Hatti*] EN-YA *piran tiyauanzi handāittat* 'then too the [oracular] determination was for me to step before the storm-god of Hatti my lord'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 212; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 206; *KBo* XXIII 7 I 10 *nu āpi kinumanzi handāittat* 'it was determined to open the pits'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 56 *nu ... AHITI-ŠU arahza handāittat* '[he] was secreted by himself'), *ha-an-da-a-ta-at* (*KBo* XV 33 III 23), *ha-an-da-at-t[a-at]* (VIII 69, 14), *sixsā-ta-at* (XXIII 114 Vs. 7; *KUB* L 91 IV 13), *sixsā-at* (profuse, e.g. *KBo* IV 2 III 48 *nu* ^{Du} ... *sixsā-at* 'the storm-god was pinpointed [by oracle]'; cf. Götze-Pedersen, *MS* 4; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 104 [1985]), 1 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-da-a-u-en* (*KUB* XIX 71, 6 *nu handāwen* 'we got married'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 16), *ha-an-da-u-e* [*en* (XXIII 107, 4), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ta-ir*, *ha-an-da-ir* (XXIV 7 I 19–21 *hantair-ma* ^{SAL MEŠ} É.GE₄.A-US *nu TUG-an sariskanzi handair-ma DUMU.MEŠ É-TI nu A.ŠA-an IKU-li harsiskanzi* 'they have married off the brides [or: the brides have married], and they keep weaving cloth; they have married off the sons of the house [or: the sons ... have married], and they keep tilling the field by parcel'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 403; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156 [1983]; XIX 5 Vs. 10 *nu-ssi hūmandus-pat anda handair* 'they all have joined up with him'; *ibid.* 11 *n-at-kan hūmandus-pat anda handair* 'they all have joined up'), 3 pl. pret. midd. *ha-an-ta-an-ta-at* (XXXIII 34 Vs. 14 *IR.MEŠ GEME.MEŠ hantantat* 'male [and] female servants turned alright'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:127 [1965]), *ha-an-ta-an-ta-ti* (XXXIII 19 III 6–7 É *hili-kan anda UDU.HIA hantantati* [*INA É.GU*] *b-ma GUD.HIA hantantati* 'in the yard the sheep turned alright, and in the barn the cattle turned alright'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123 [1965]), *ha-an-ta-an-da-ti* (*ibid.* 4 *DINGIR*).MEŠ *hantandati* 'the gods turned alright'), *ha-an-da-a-an-ta-at* (*KBo* XXI 37 Rs. 19), *ha-an-da-an-da-at* (e.g. *ABoT* 14 V 11; *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 3), *ha-an-da-an-ta-ti* (*KUB* XVII 10 IV 22 *istananis DINGIR.MEŠ-nas handantati* 'the altars were set aright for the gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]), *ha-an-da-an-da-ti* (XXXIII 40 IV 6; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:165 [1965]), *sixsā-an-ta-at* (e.g. LIV 1 I 44–45 *nu-war-at kuedani* [*mem*] *iyani ser sixsā-antat* 'for what matter they [viz. the oracles] were determined'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:54 [1985]; V 6 II 41 and 58; cf. Sommer, *AU* 280, 282), *sixsā-an-da-at* (e.g. *KBo* IV 2 IV 10), *sixsā-at* (*KUB* XIX 5 Vs. 13 *apūss-a anda sixsā-at* 'they too have joined'), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-da-a-i* (e.g. XXXVI 12 III 13–14 *nu-kan* ^{GIŠ} MAR.GID.DA.HIA *parā tiandu namma-at handāi* 'let them set out the wagons, and you ready them!'; cf. Güterbock,

ha-anda-a-
-id-du (Mst)

ha-anda-a-
-id-du (Mst)

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

parā hantant-
separate lemma
in CHD

ha-an-ta-a-an-za
(KUB 2.1 @ 14)

with king [and] queen loyal to Hatti!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]; XXIV 3 I 47 *hannesnas-az parā handanza EN-as zik* 'of judgment thou art the providential lord'; *ibid.* 40–41 *parā handanzas-a-kan antuhwahhas tuk-pat ... assianza* 'the providential man is dear to thee'; for *ha-an-da-an-za-sa* = *handanza* + *a* 'and' cf. e.g. ^{LÜ}NIG.SI.SÁ-ass-[a [below] or *appanzass-a* = *appanza* + *a* [*HED* 1–2:279], and see Friedrich, *HE* 31), *ha-an-da-za* (*KBo* XXVI 190 II 5), *sixsá-an-za* (e.g. *KUB* XXVI I III 42 'righteous'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14), *níg.si.sá-za* (XXIV 8 IV 6 *níg.si.sá-za šeš-as* 'Brother Just'; *ibid.* 21 *nu-za* ^{LÜ}HUI-as ^{LÜ}NIG.SI.SÁ-ass-[a, i.e. *Huwappas Handanzass-a* 'Bad and Just'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12, 18, 24), acc. sg. c. *ha-an-ta-an-ta-an* (e.g. XXXI 127 I 51 *hantantan ir-ka* 'your true servant'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 96; *KBo* XXX 45 Rs. 6 *EME-an hantantan*), *ha-an-da-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XIX 128 VI 22–24 *tepu pedan EME-an handantan lammar TAR-tan* ^{UD}SIG₅ 'little place, tongue fit, hour severed, Good Day'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 16, 46–7; Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25:135–6 [1980]), *níg.si.sá-an* (*KUB* XXIV 8 III 8–9 and 15 *níg.si.sá-an KASKAL-an* 'right path'), nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. *ha-an-ta-a-an* (e.g. II 8 VI 7; XXXI 47 Rs. 7), *ha-a-an-ta-an* (431/s Rs. 6; cf. L. Mascheroni, *Hethitica V* 98 [1983]), *ha-a-an-ta-a-an* (XX 29 VI 4), *ha-an-ta-an* (e.g. X 18 I 25–26 ^{GIS}GIGIR-*ma tamai tūriyan hantan* 'another harnessed chariot [is] readied'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–4:19 [1973–4]), *ha-an-da-a-an* (e.g. *KBo* III 23 IV 12 *handān memian* 'true word'; XXXI 143a II 5 *ANA AWAT handān* 'true to the word'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 188; XXXI 143 II 17 ^{UD}Inaras *maltesnas handān* 'true to Inaras' ritual'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186; *KBo* XIX 128 VI 34–35 *ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan handān TUPPU* ^{URU}Hatti 'true to wooden original, tablet [for] city [archive] of H.'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 18, 48; *KUB* II 6 VI 3–4, *KUB* XI 34 VI 54, *KBo* XI 39 VI 4 *ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan handān*; XVII 61 Rs. 11 *IGI.HILA-kan ANA IGI.HILA-ŠU handān* 'eyes [are] matched to his eyes'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; *KUB* XV 31 I 10 *ANA 1* ^{GIS}irhui-*ma-ssan kattan kissan handān* 'for the other basket [it is] readied as follows'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; XV 34 I 4 *ANA* ^{GIS}MA.SÁ.AB-*ma kissan handān* 'for the basket [it is] readied as follows'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 182; *ibid.* 20 *ser-a-ssan* ^{GIS}MA.SÁ.AB *handān tianzi* 'above they place the readied basket'; *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 17 *n-an piran karū handān harkanzi* 'they have it already diagnosed' [viz. the baby as about to be delivered]; *KUB* XLII 42 I 12 *AL* ^{AM}SAL-TI *GUŠKIN ŠUM-an UL*

handān 'statue of woman, of gold, name not affixed'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 57 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 470; I 16 II 51 *kusduwāta le handān-pat ēsdu* 'may defamation never sit right [with you]'; *ibid.* 55 *kusduwāta le le handān-pat ēsdu*; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8, 91–2; XLI 8 III 26–27 *mān-ma sum[ēš kē]l parnas DI-essar handān [ŪL hanna]t[ummat]* 'but if you do not justly adjudicate the case of this house'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:130 [1961]; XVII 21 + I 1–2 *nu sumās DINGIR.MEŠ-as* ^{URU}Hattusas-*pat handān parkui KUR-e* 'for you gods H. is a truly pure land'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 152; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 133; *VBoT* 2, 7–8 *nu mān handān ammel DUMU.SAL-^{YA} sanhiskisi* 'if you truly woo my daughter'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB* I 4 III 44 *mān handān LUGAL.GAL ANA LUGAL.TUR* [*katterrahhir* 'would [the gods] truly have brought down a great king before a petty-king?'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; dupl. I 9 III 6 *man hantan LUGAL.GAL ANA*], *ha-an-da-an* (e.g. XIII 2 III 28 *kuit handan apāt issa* 'what [is] right, do that!'; *IBoT* II 1 VI 12–14 *k]i parkui TUPPU ANA GIŠ.HUR.TE-kan handan* 'this [is] a clean tablet, true to wooden original'; *KUB* II 9 VI 9–10 *[k]i parkui TUPPU [A]NA GIŠ.HUR-kan handan*; VI 45 III 50, 57, 73 *handan* 'truly, verily'), *ha-a-da-an* (*KBo* XXX 15 IV 5), *sixsá-an* (e.g. *KUB* XLII 91 II 4), *níg.si.sá-an* (XXIV 8 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan níg.si.sá-an ŠUM-an dais* 'he gave him the name Righteous'; *ibid.* 14 *[nu-ssi-s]san níg.si.sá-an ŠUM-an halzessandu* 'let them call him Righteous by name!'; *ibid.* 16 *níg.si.sá-an ŠUM-an ēsdu* 'let [his] name be Righteous'), gen. sg. *ha-an-ta-an-da-s(a-)* (XXIV 3 I 34–35 *hantandas-az [h]annesnas* 'of righteous judgment'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-ta-a-an-ti* (XV 34 II 6 [emended from XIII 29, 13] *n-asta anda ANA KUR* ^{URU}Hatti *hantān[ti parkuwa]* ^{SIG₅}-*anti misriwanti uwattin* 'come to the true, pure, favored, splendid Hatti-land!'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190), *ha-an-da-a-an-ti* (*ibid.* 45–46 *n-ast[a anda A]NA KUR* ^{URU}Hatti *handānti* ^{SIG₅}-*anti mis[riwanti u]wattin*), *ha-an-da-an-ti* (e.g. *KBo* XXX 125 III 11 *EME handanti*; XXI 22 Vs. 33), nom. pl. c. *ha-an-ta-an-te-es* (*KUB* I 16 II 48 [OHitt.]; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8; XXIV 12 III 27), *ha-an-da-a-an-te-es* (e.g. *IBoT* I 36 II 35 *n-at-kan 3-ēs taksan handāntes* 'the three of them [are] in joint formation'; *KBo* XVI 78 IV 15), *ha-an-da-an-te-es* (e.g. I 35, 18 'betrothed ones, married folk' [?]; cf. *MSL* 17:118 [1985]; IV 1 Vs. 23 'fixed, set' [corners]; IV 6 Vs. 30 *s]AG.DU-i kuyēs handantes* 'which are fitted on the head'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 14), *ha-an-da-a-an-te-es* (*KUB* XLIX 6, 5; *KBo* XVI 97 Rs. 47), *sixsá-an-*

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

[viz. deity] }

-at [...] [...]kā-ya ariyasesnaz sixsá-kattari ‘the seat that was determined for kingship ... the gate by oracle is being determined’), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-an-ta-is-kir* (XXIII 59 I 5), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-an-te-es-ki-id-du* (KBo XIII 204, 3), 3 pl. imp. act. *kattan ha-an-te-es-kā[n-d]u* (KUB XIII 1 IV 27; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstsanweisungen* 62); supine *ha-an-te-es-ki-u-an* (KBo XXIX 76 I 12). *hantantai-* (denominative verb from *hantant-*), notably *parā hantantai-* ‘act providential, show providence, provide for’ (for derivation cf. *tiyantai-* from *tiyant-*, participle of *dai-* ‘place’, 3 pl. pres. act. *tiyantiyanzi* ‘they set up’ [XXIX 1 IV 17]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-an-da-an-da-i[z-zi]* (XL 1 Vs. 39), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-an-da-an-da-a[n-zi]* (KBo XV 34 III 20), 3 sg. pret. act. *parā ha-an-ta-an-te-es-ta* (III 6 I 18 and KUB I 2 I 19 *n-as-mu-kan parā hantantesta*), *parā ha-an-da-an-te-es-ta* (dupl. I 1 I 21 *nu-nu ^DIŠTAR GAŠAN-YA ŠU-za [šBA]T n-as-mu-kan parā handantesta* ‘Ištar my lady took me by the hand, and she provided for me’; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4); partic. *handandant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-an-da-an-da-an-za* (KBo XIII 176 Vs. 10 EME-[as] *handandanza*); verbal noun *parā hantantatar* (n.), occasionally *ha-an-ta-an-ta-tar* (KUB XVII 20 II 9) or *ha-an-da-an-ta-tar* (XVII 9 I 10) or *ha-an-da-an-da-tar* without preverb (I 1 I 44–45 *nu-za-kan ... ŠA DINGIR-LIM handandatar ser uskinun* ‘I saw watching over me the deity’s providence’, with dupl. *ABOT* 62, 38 *ŠA DINGIR-LIM NIG.SI.SÁ-tar*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6; cf. for meaning also German *fügung* ‘fitting, dispensation, providence’), nom.-acc. *parā?]* *ha-an-ta-an-ta-tar* (KUB XL 3 II 6), *parā ha-an-ta-an-da-tar* (XIV 15 II 2 *parā hantandatar tikkusnut* ‘betokened providence’; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; KBo III 6 I 5 *ŠA ^DIŠTAR parā hantandatar memahhi* ‘I speak of Ištar’s providence’), *parā ha-an-da-an-da-tar* (e.g. dupl. I 1 I 5 and I 2 I 5; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; XIX 67 I 3–4 *nu-za ^DIŠTAR GAŠAN-YA parā handandatar apedani mēhuni tikkusnut* ‘Ištar my lady at that time betokened providence’; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 18; I 1 IV 18, with dupl. KBo III 6 III 50 *parā handātar* [quoted above]; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24), *parā ha-a-an-da-an-da-tar* (dupl. I 10 III 38 + 511/v, 1), *parā ha-an-da-a-an-ta-tar* (dupl. I 8 IV 6; XIV 10 IV 15; cf. Götze, *KIF* 218), *parā ha-an-da-an-ta-a-tar* (KBo IV 4 II 76–77 *nu-za ^DU EN-YA parā handantātar ma[hhan ...] tetkusnut*; cf. Götze, *AM* 122), *parā ha-an-da-an-da-a-tar* (III 4 II 16 *nu-za ^DU NIR.GÁL EN-YA parā handandātar tekkussanut*; cf. Götze, *AM* 46; III 6 III 54, with dupl. KUB I 8 IV 10 *parā*

—dupl.
KBo 16.1.11.17
par]ā ha-an-da-
a-an-da-tar;
q. ott./M10
3.11.4, '55

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~Cf. Puhvel, *The Anatolian Connexion. Studies ... in Memory of* Charles Carter.~~
Cf. *hantalliya-*.

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

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

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

⁵¹⁶ HANTALA- (254/v vs. 7), '?', cf. ugr. *hndlt* (under-107 ed. wool).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

hantezumma- (n.?) 'forecourt' (vel. sim.), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-an-te-zum-ni* (*KBo* XX 77 Vs. 7–8 LUGAL-us INA É DZA.BA₄.BA₄ *pa*[izzī] *t-as* *hantezumni* [iyezzī] 'the king goes to the war-god's temple, he steps into the forecourt'; XVII 1 I 21 *apūs hantezumni tēhhi* 'I put those in the forecourt'), *ha-an-di-zu-um-ni* (dupl. XVII 3 I 16 [h]andizummi *tēhhe*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20, 95). Derivation with the -umma- suffix of appurtenance is more probable than an abstract noun **hantezzuman-* (pace H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:11 [1983]; cf. s. v. *harsumma-*).

Cf. Luw. *hantili-* 'first' and *hantawa-*, Lyc. *χῆntawa-* 'foremost, leader, princeps' (Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:104–6 [1979]). Unlike those inner-Anatolian derivatives from **hant-*, *hantezzi(ya)-* (with its antonym *appezzi[ya]-*, q. v. s. v. *appa*) represents an ancient Indo-European type with suffix *-tyo- (**A₁ntéy-tyo-*; cf. *hante*, dat.-loc. of *hant-* [s. v.], and Neu, *Anitta-Text* 41) seen in e.g. Skt. *nitya-* 'one's own' and Goth. *nipjis* 'relative' (lit. 'insider'), or Gk. *óniσσω* 'hereafter', Hitt. *appezziya-* 'later, last', and Skt. *ápatyam* 'offspring'. Such an adjective (*hantezziya-* literally 'front-oriented') was in competition with the *-(e)ro- type seen in e.g. Skt. *ádharma-* (from *adhāh* 'below'), Lat. *inferus*, Gaulish *anderos* 'lower'; Hitt. *kattera-* 'lower' (from *katta*) still reflects this fact in antonymy with *sarāzzi-* 'upper' (already Hrozný, *SH* 21, compared *hantezzi-* to Gk.

hantezziatar (n.) 'firstness, front position', pls. *ha-an-te-iz-zi-[a]n-ni* (*ibid.* 236 II 21; Göt. *Indogm.* 58).

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

HANTIJARA- J. HBM:337 // HANTIJARALI- 'low(er), inferior, shallow', see HED 6, Add: 205
HANTIJARAHHA- (c.) 'frontlet (cover)', see HED 6, Add: 206

hanzana- (c.) 'strand, thread, yarn, web', nom. sg. *ha-an-za-na-as* (KBo I 44 + XIII 1 I 50 *auwawas hanzanas* 'spider's web, cobweb' matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *qū ettuti*; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 11), nom. pl. *ha-an-za-na-as* (KUB XXIX 8 I 33–34 sig SA₅ sig ZA.GIN^{SG} *han-zanas* sig SIG₇.SIG₇ 'strands [of] red wool [and] blue wool, [and] yellow wool'), acc. pl. *ha-an-za-na-as* (XXIX 4 I 32 sig SA₅ sig ZA.GIN^{SG} *hanzanas* sig SIG₇.SIG₇ sig BABBAR *danzi* 'strands [of] red wool [and] blue wool, yellow wool [and] white wool they take'; similarly *ibid.* 32–33; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 8).

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

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

Cf. Puhvel, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 237–40 (1981), *Bi. Or.* 38:353 (1981). + *ezze eḡmani na* 'black', see HED 5: 137

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

acc. of 460 10.37 I
39-40 GIM-an
hanzanas [...] *jae*
arha tuhsan[zi
n=]ita tuḡ-an
danti 'as they
cut away the
fabric and take
off the cloth'

15, 9th act.
ha-ap-pu-na
(KBo 32.244 Rs. 5)

Y^o KUB 31.64 I 6
(5031aC II AOF
25:2, '98)

ceed'), 3 sg. imp. midd. *ha-ap-pa-ru* (XXV 123, 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 206). Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 44–6.

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

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

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

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

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

hap(p)- hapa-

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

Cf. Lat. *apere* 'comprehendere vinculo', *aptus* 'joined, fit(ted)', *cōpula* (< **co-apula*) 'bond', *co-ēpī* 'took hold, began' (cf. *agere* : *ēgī*), *apīscor* 'attain' (lit. 'cleave to', perf. *aptus*). Thus IE **A₁ep-* 'join, attach' must be postulated, distinct from Indo-Iranian *āp-* 'reach, obtain' (wrongly Oettinger, *MSS* 34:124 [1976], who postulated a root 'be fitting' for *happ-* and Lat. *aptus*, and connected *apere* with Hitt. *ep[p]-* 'seize' [q. v.]).

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

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

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

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

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

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

hapai- 'wet, moisten' (?), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-pa-a-iz-zi* (2087/c. 10–11 *nu namma*¹¹ *šā TAM MĒ QĀTI ANA SAL.LUGAL par[ā epzi] nu-za SAL.LUGAL hapāizzi* 'then the chamberlain holds forth the hand-water to the queen, and the queen wets herself'), 3 pl. *hā-a-pa-a-an-zi* (2087/c. 117). Cf. Otten, *Bi. Or.* 8:225 (1951). Cf. *hapati-* (s. v.). Laroche (*Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:58, 68 [1979]) adduced the Lycian *hapax xhaiē* (3 pl. pret.) as '(they) irrigated' (Xanthos trilingual. Lyc. 14).

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

Thus IE **A₁ebh-* > PANat. **hab-* must be recognized, rather than a mere Celtic-Italic variant **ab-* of IE **āp-* (as in *IEW* 1, 51–2). The attempt by E. Hamp (*MSS* 30:35–7 [1972]) to join the two roots with the help of a voicing suffix-initial laryngeal (**Hap-Hon-*) is unnecessary.

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

Cf. *hapatiya-*.

hapallasai- 'injure, wound' (in the head), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-pal-la-sa-iz-zi* (*KBo* VI 4 I 22–24 *takku LÚ ELLUM SAG.DU-ZU kuiski hapallasaizzi saktaiizziy-an pidi-ssi-ma UKÜ-an pāi nu ē-ir-si anniskizzi kuitman-as SIG₅-tari* 'if someone injures a freeman in the head [partitive appos-

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

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

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

A more plausible connection is with *hupallas-* (n.) 'skull' or 'scalp' (q.v.), with *a : u* vacillation (cf. e.g. ^D*Hapaliya* : ¹*Hupaliya*, ¹*Ashapala* : ¹*Ashūpala*, and examples s.v. *hulukanni-*), thus a denominative **hapallasai-* 'to crown' or 'to scalp' (for formation, e.g. *harsanallai-* 'wreath' from *harsanalli-* 'wreath'; see H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:34 [1963], *JAOS* 87:184 [1967]). In this instance, however, the expression *SAG.DU hapallasai-* would appear pleonastic.

(h)apalki- (n.) 'iron' (usually *AN.BAR*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-pal-ki* (*KBo* XXIV 52, 6 [OHitt.] *hapalki līpīr* 'they licked the iron'; cf. *ibid.* 4 *ēshanas UR.ZÍR.HI.A-es uer* 'the hounds of blood came'; dupl. XXIV 51 Vs. 5 *hapalki līpīr*), gen. sg. *ha-pal-ki-ya-as* (*KUB* XVI 34 I 1–2 *mān-za-kan* ^{DU} ^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR-ti ^DLAMA ^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR-ti DINGIR.MEŠ *hapalkiyas* [ŠA] É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ŪL *kuezqa marsanuanes* 'if you, storm-god of Hatti, tutelary deity of Hatti, deities of iron in the shrines [are] not desecrated in any way'; *KBo* XXX 71 III 17–18 DINGIR.MEŠ *hapalkiyas*; *KUB* XII 1 IV 31–32 2 *mallitallenzi ŠA-BA* 1 *hunta*[...] GUŠKIN NA₄ 1 *hapal(ki)yas* 'two honey-pots, among

them one a *hunta*[-?] of gold [and] stone, the other of iron'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:102 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 450), *HA-PALKI* (XXXIX 76 Vs. 3 É *HAPALKI piran* 'before the house of iron'; *ibid.* 15]É *HAPALKI*; XXXIX 73, 12 É *HAPAL(KI)*, *HA-PAL-KI-NI* (XXXI 24, 4 SA]G.DU [UR.MAH HA]PALKIN, *ibid.* 6 SA]G.DU UR.MAH *HAPALK[INI* 'lion's head of iron'), dat.-loc. sg. *a-pal-ki-ti* (XXX 40 I 5–6 *nu PANI apalkiti arahza ANA* ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ *SISKUR kissan handān* 'before the iron [viz. idol] outside, the ritual of the war-god [is] readied as follows'; similarly *ibid.* 26 *PANI apalkiti*), instr. sg. *ha-pal-ki-it* (*LI* 56, 2; *HT* 38 Rev. 12).

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

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

ahlipaki- (*IBOT* I 31 I 10 *GAD ah-li-pa-ki*; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 10:10. 36 [1956]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80), *ahlipak(k)iyas* (*KUB* XLII 75 Vs. 3 1 *piran pedunas ahlipakkiyas* 'one proffering platter of a'; *ibid.* 6 2-e-ma *GAM-an tiyawas ahlipakiyas* 'two depositional trays of a'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 189 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 64) was taken by Neu (*Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 140–1 [1982]) as a variant of *hapalki-* (cf. e.g. XLII 11 Vs. 3 *pīran pedumas AN.BAR GE₆* 'proffering platter of black [i.e. meteoric] iron'), rather than some kind of semi-precious stone; *GAD ahlipaki* would then be 'steel-grey linen' besides (*ibid.*) *TUG ZA.GIN* 'blue cloth'. For the Hurrian-type metathesis cf. e.g. s.v. *apisi-*.

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

Full collection (in K₁ // [iv])

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

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

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

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

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

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

hapanzuwai- is denominative from **hapanzu-*, *u*-stem adjective derived from **hapann(a)sa-* (durative stem **hapanna-* + Luwoid iterative *-s-*; cf. s.v. *halanza-* and *halenzu-*). The underlying verb **hap-* is **A₁ebh-* seen in Gk. (*ἐπ*)*αράω* 'touch, handle', *ἀφή* 'touch, grip', with preaspiration transferred from *ἀπτω* < **āph₁ω* 'touch, fasten, grasp, engage' (Hom. *ἄπτος* is formulaic corruption for *ἄπτος*); perhaps *ἀπαρίσσω*, *ἀπαρεῖν* 'deceive' contains the reversive *ἀπο-* (like e.g. *ἀπο-κοσμέω* 'dis-array'), obscured and re-prefixed in *ἐξήπαρε* (*Od* 14:379), literally 'dis-engage, be undependable', like *natta hap-* in *ūl hapanzuwai-*. Inconclusive Hier. cognates were suggested by H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 101:236–40 (1988).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HAPATTULLI-n. 'Ertrager des Ackers?' Tarachall *Avor* 67/4, 50: 673–4

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

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

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

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

zanu- is close in meaning to Gk. ὀπτᾶω 'roast, broil, bake', derived from ὀπτός 'roasted, broiled', which also supplies the etymon for happena- < *A₂ōpeno-, similar to the revamped Gk. ὀπτάνιον 'kitchen' (cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 34–5), conversely drawing ὀπτός out of its obscure isolation. The connection of happena- with Gk. ἰνός 'oven' (and by implication the group of OE ofen < *ūpnoš, Goth. aūhns < *uknos, Swedish ugn < *uknós), advocated by Ivanov (*Etimologija* 1977 145 [1979], *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija* 1982 143 [1983]), is dubious, unless ἰνός can be explained instead as a reduplicate of the root *A₂ep- (*A₂i-A₂p-nó-); a better etymon for oven is found s. v. huppar-.

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

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

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

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

happina- 'rich', dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ap-pi-ni* in *KUB XXXIV 23 I 5* *happini* UR[U-ri 'in a rich town' (?). Cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:83, 122 (1956). **happinant-** 'rich', nom. sg. c. *ha-ap-pi-na-an-za* (*KUB XXIV 8 I 10–12* *KUR-e-kan istarna apās happinanza* GUD.HI.A-us-sis UDU-us mekkis 'in the midst of the land he [is] rich, his cattle [and] sheep [are] many'; *KBo XXIX 76* Vs. 13 [*mā*]n BEL SISKUR *happinan[za]* 'if the offerant [is] wealthy'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:214 [1950]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4; XVI 24+25 III 17; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 532 [1979]; *KUB XVII 24 II 17* [with gloss-wedge] and XXVII 59 I 26 [opp. *ibid.* 16 and 28 respectively] ^{LÜ}MAŠDÁ 'poor man, pauper'; III 95, 7; *IBOT* III 94, 9; *KBo IX 139* Vs. 4), gen. sg. *ha-ap-pi-na-an-da-as* (XXII 1, 27 [OHitt.] *ta* ^{LÜ}*happinandas istēni* 'you do the rich man's [bidding]'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), nom. pl. c. *ha-ap-pi-na-an-te-es* (IV 14 II 52; context s.v. *asiwant-*). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:270.

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

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

happinatt- (c.) 'wealth', ~~acc. pl. *ha-ap-pi-na-at-ta-an-za*~~ ^{NIG.TUKU} 'riches' (XXXVI 49 IV 9). Cf. *Dict. touv.* 74.

happina(nt)- < IE *H₁op-en-o-(nt-); cf. Lat. *ops* 'wealth', *opulentus* (<*openont- by dissimilation; cf. O. Szemerényi, *Glotta* 33:275–82 [1954]), Skt. *āpnas-* 'wealth', Avest. *afnahvant-* 'wealthy' (<*opnes-), ON *efni* 'substance' (<*opniyom), perhaps Gk. *ἄμνη* 'nourishment' (with anticipation of nasal), possibly Gk. *ἄρεος* 'wealth' (borrowed from Anatolian according to O. Szemerényi, *Syncopé in Greek and Indo-European* 146–7 [1964]; "Pelagian" interpretations summarized in A. Heubeck, *Praegraeca* 70 [1961]).

↑ *Ms. ha-ap-pi-na-an-za* (*KUB 36.49* @ 11 *happina-za-za-za*), acc. sg. *ha-ap-pi-na-at-ta-an* (*ibid.*) *happinattan=za* *wek* 'wish for wealth'; *KBo 34.45* + 6 *parnas* *happinattan* 'wealth of the house', NIG.TUKU-an (*KBo 12.155* is NIG.TUKU-an *ifata=ja* *dā* 'hope wealth & plenty').

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

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

happir-, happar- (n.) 'business, trade; compensation, payment, price'

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

happarai-, happirai-, haprai-, happariya-, hapriya- 'trade, sell, deliver, dispense' (*KUB XXXIV* 14, 13 *happiraiz[zi]* matches *IV* 63 *III* 27 [Akk.] *ipaššaru* [from *pašāru*]), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pa-ri-ya-mi* (*XVII* 28 I 24), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pi-ra-a-[si]* (*XXIII* 77, 64), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi* (*KBo XIX* I II 17 [OHitt.] and *VI* 3 II 36 [= *Code* 1:39]; cf. Otten – Souček, *AfO* 21:1 [1966]; *VI* 10 *III* 28 [= *Code* 2:49]), *ha-ap-pi-ra-iz-zi* (e.g. *VI* 4 *IV* 40 [= *Code* 1:48] *ku[š]t happiraizzi n-at-za EGIR-pa* [dāi 'what [he] trades that he shall take back'; *KUB XIII* 4 II 45 *mān-at-za zi-azza-ma happiraizzi n-at-si SAG.DU-as UG₆-tar* 'but if he sells it as he pleases, there [is] capital punishment for him'), *ha-ap-pi-ra-a-iz-zi* (ibid. 46, 48), *ha-ap-ra-iz-zi* (*XXVI* 56 II 5 [= *Code* 1:26b]; *VIII* 35 Vs. 14 *kasza kisari nu-za attas DUMU-an KÙ.BABBAR-i hapraizzi* 'famine occurs and a father sells his son for silver'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RHR* 116:139 [1937]), *h}a-ap-ri-iz-zi* (*KBo XVI* 24+25 *III* 19; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 532, 551 [1979]), 2 pl. pres. act. *ha-ap-pi-ra-at-te-ni* (*KUB XXIII* 72 Rs. 58), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ap-pār-ra-an-zi* (*KBo VI* 26 II 21–22 [= *Code* 2:76] *DIN LUGAL happarranzi* 'they dispense the king's justice'), *ha-ap-pi-ra-a-an-zi* (*V* 4 Rs. 40 *nasma-an-zan parā happirānzi* 'or they sell him off'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:66), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-ap-pa-ri-e-nu-un* (*III* 22 Vs. 20 [OHitt.] *ḫim-ni happarienun* 'I delivered to the storm-god'; cf. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 1:276 [1929]; Otten, *MDOG* 83:40 [1951]; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10, 40), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ap-pa-ra-a-it* (*VI* 2 II 52 [= *Code* 1:48, OHitt.] *ku[š]t happarāit ta-z āppa dāi* 'what [he] traded he shall take back'); partic. *happirant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ap-pi-ra-an* (*KUB XIII* 2 *IV* 16 *nasma-za happiran kuiski kuitki harzi* 'or anyone has sold anything'; similarly *XIII* 1 *IV* 6; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51, 62); iter. 2 pl. pres. act. in *XXVI* 19 II 7 *li-e ha-ap-pi-ri-is-kat-te-ni* 'do not trade!'. Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:501; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 80–2, *Die Welt des Orients* 11:76–89 (1980); Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 352–3.

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

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

The variation *happir-* : *happar-* : *hapr-* reflects stem-ablaut, as in e.g. *pir-* : *parn-*; on graphic parallels cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 108. The base-meaning being 'business' or 'prestation', there is reason to compare (cf. already E. Sapir, *Lg.* 12:179 [1936]) Ved. *āpas-* 'work, deed', Lat. *opus* 'work, task', ON *efna* 'do, accomplish', IE **A₂ep-* (*IEW* 780). In Indic (Ved. *āpas-* 'cult-act') and Latin (*operor* > OHG *opfarōn* 'sacrifice') there has been some religious specialization of meaning, and in Hittite either legal (*Code* 2:76 *DIN LUGAL happarranzi*) or mercantile specification. Cf. also Goetze, *Lg.* 30:403 (1954).

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

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

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

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

URU-ri-a-se-es-sar (*KBo IV* 4 *IV* 6; cf. Götze, *AM* 134; *KUB XXIII* 116 I 6), *URU-ya-se-es-sar* (*KBo VI* 34 *III* 29) may be *happiriya-* + *asessar* 'town-settlement' (v. s. v. *asas-*); cf. e.g. *tuz-ziyasessar* 'army-camp' (s. v. *tuzzi-*), *ari(ya)ssesar* 'oracular site' (s. v. *ariya-*). Cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 46. Kammenhuber (*MIO* 2:406, 416 [1954], *KZ* 77:183 [1961]) improbably analyzed **happiri-* as *HAPPIRIJANT-* (c.) nom. sg. *URU-a₂* (*Ku* 41.2 30; cf. *OTL/ZA* 54:138, 161) sic?

URU-ri (c.g. *Ku* 3.2 I 34)
URU-a₂ (*Ku* 34.68 4)

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

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

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

hapsal(l)i-, hassalli- (n.) '(foot)stool; trivet' (GIR.GUB; GANNUM), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. ^{GIS}ha-as-sa-al-li (e.g. KUB XXXIII 102 I 22–23 ANA ^DKumarbi-wa ^{GIS}hassalli [a]sanna tiyandu 'for K. a stool to sit on let them set!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:150 [1951]; KBo XVII 65 Vs. 24 ^{GIS}ha]ssalli ^{GIS}NA.HI.A 'stool [and] bed'; dupl. KUB XLIV 59 Vs. 8 ^{GIS}hassall[i]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134; IBoT II 121 Rs. 4 SAL.LUGAL-as ^{GIS}hassall[i] 'the queen's stool'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 136; KBo V 2 I 35 mān EN SISKUR.SISKUR SAL-za nu-ssi ^{GIS}hassalli 'if the offerant [is] a woman, [there is] for her a stool'; KUB X 54 V 7), ^{GIS}ha-ap-sa-al-li (dupl. X 24 I 24; KBo VIII 121, 9; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 56 [1982]), ha-ap-sa-a-al-li (XXV 72, 13; XX 83 I 10; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:82), ^{GIS}ha-ap-sa-li (KUB I 17 II 9 3 TAPAL ^{GIS}hassali 'three pairs of stools'), ^{GIS}GIR.GUB-is (sic KBo XX 8 I 19 patān-a ^{GIS}GIR.GUB-is danzi 'they take a foot-stool'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70), gen. sg. or pl. ^{GIS}ha-as-sa-al-li-as (KUB XII 5 I 11–13 mān DINGIR-LUM asesanzi n-an-san ^{GIS}hassall[iyas] kuedas asesanzi nu 4 NINDA LAPKU ^{1,0}A[ZU dāi] n-as ^{GIS}hassallias GIR.MEŠ kuwapi[ita 'when they seat the deity, on what stool they seat her, the magician takes four lapku-bread and [places them] about the legs of the stool'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 20:51, 57–8 [1962]), ha-ap-sa-al-li-as (XLII 59 Rs. 22 GAD ^{GIS}hassallias 'footstool-cloth'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 134 [182]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 342), dat.-loc. ANA ^{GIS}GIR.GUB (XXIX 8 I 58–60 nu EN SISKUR.SISKUR mān LÚ n-as-zan ŠA ^DIM ^{GIS}ŠU.A esari [m]ān-as SAL-ma n-as-zan ŠA ^DHepat ANA ^{GIS}GIR.GUB esari 'the offerant, if a man, seats himself on the storm-god's chair, but if a woman, seats herself on Hebat's stool'), dat.-loc. pl. ^{GIS}ha-as-sa-al-li-ya-as (XXX 24 II 16 n-an-san ^{GIS}hassalliyas GUŠKIN asesanzi 'they set it [viz. a dead woman's likeness]

upon a golden stool'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60), ^{GIS}ha-ap-sa-al-li-ya-as (XXXIX 14 IV 7–8 n-an-san ^{GIS}hassalliyas asesanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 82), ^{GIS}ha-ap-sa-li-ya-as (XXX 15 Vs. 9 n-at-san ^{GIS}hassalliyas tianzi 'they place them [viz. a dead woman's bones] upon a stool'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; A. Archi, *SMEA* 1:82 [1966]).

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

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

happu- acc. sg. ha-ap-pu-un (KBo 32.224 Rs. 5) dat.-loc. sg. ha-ap-pu-i (KUB XXX 34 III 13–14 hal[iyas] happui 'into the h. of a corral'), ha-ap-pu-ú-i (par. XXX 36 II 5–6 GUD-un mān happui EGIR-an pissier '[they] have thrown [me] like an ox into a h.'), ha-ap-pu-u-i (par. KBo XIII 131 Vs. 12 KALAG.GA-i happui 'into a strong h.').

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

1 GUD happutri (mst) see HGM: 505–6

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

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

Cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 46–7.

happu- probably denotes a means of attaching cattle within a pen or corral (cf. Lat. *cōpula* < **co-apula* s.v. *happ-*); *happutri-* is a derivative denoting some leather part of harness; *hap(p)u(wa)i-* may be denominatively derived from *happu-*. *Real's review* (s. 85b):
happutri < *happ-* + *wašūtri* < *wašš*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Van Windekens (*Orbis* 27:318–9 [1978]) separated *hapuri-* from *hapusa-* (sic) (for which he postulated the proto-meaning 'stalk', with secondary *hapusas-* [sic] 'penis') and compared Lat. *operire* 'cover' (**op-wer-i-*, with weak grade **A₂ep-ur-i-* in *hapuri-*).

H/

hapus- (n.), *hapusant-* (c., used as subject of transitive verb; see *HED* 1–2:476–7) 'penis', nom. sg. c. *ha-a-pu-sa-an-za*, gen. sg. n. *ha-a-pu-ú-sa-as* (*KUB* IX 4 I 30–31 *hāp*]usanza *hāpūsas* GIG-[an kar]apzi 'penis lifts ailment of penis'; cf. ibid. 27 *tāpūwasanza tāpūwassas* GIG-an KI.MIN 'rib ailment of rib likewise'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-a-pu-ú-s(a)*, dat.-loc. sg. neut. *ha-a-pu-ú-sa-as-si*, *ha-pu-sa-si* (sic, for *hapussi*; ibid. 13 *hāpūs-a-kan hāpūsassi handan* 'penis [is] matched to penis'; cf. ibid. 9 *tāpūwass-a-kan tāpūwas[s]*) KI.MIN 'rib to rib likewise'; par. IX 34 II 31 -]kan *hapusasi* KI.MIN; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:38–40 [1957]).

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

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

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

Other extra-Anatolian comparisons are dubious, thus Gk. *δανίω* 'penetrate sexually, wed' (and indirectly Etr. *puia* 'wife'; Van Windekens, *Festschrift für O. Szemerényi* 916–8 [1979] [< **A₂epus-yo-*, comparing Skt. *pūsyati* 'nourish']; C. Watkins, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 457 [1982] [< **A₂pūs-yo-*]; H. Rix, *Kratylos* 30:72 [1985]), or Skt. *āpsas-* 'protruding body part, breast, forehead, tusk', Toch. A *āpsā* 'limbs' (H. W. Bailey, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* 1:137–45 [1969]); at best *āpsas-* may go back to the same root **A₁ep-* 'join, attach' as Hitt. *hap(p)-*. *ANET*: 462, 5:437.

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

n-as-kan 2-šū *hapussanzi* 'because they neglected the monthly festival, they make up for them [viz. the offerings] twofold'; XVIII 51

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

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

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 336 [1981]) compared Gk. παύω 'stop', positing a proto-meaning 'put off, tarry'; but *hapus-* in its attestations is the very semantic opposite of 'put off, omit, overlook, neglect'. Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 189) saw Luwian origin and essayed a reconstruction **A₁bhw-s-* or **A₁pew-s-*, without etymology.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cf. *haratar*.

hara(n)- (c.), 'eagle' (^{MUSEN} *ā*, Akk. *erū, arū*), nom. sg. *ha-ra-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 8 II 15–16 *haras[s-an] partaunit arnuddu* 'let the eagle with its wing make him move'; ibid. 17 *harass-an partaun[īt]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]), *ha-ra-as*^{MUSEN} (XLI 60 I 17), *ha-a-ra-as* (XXXIII 24 I 26 *hāras liliwaz* 'swift eagle'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:113 [1965]); XXXIII 15, 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:120 [1965]; *KBo* XVII 1 II 41 and dupl. XVII 3 II 12; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 28; Neu, *Altheth.* 8, 14; XXI 22 Vs. 9 *ehu hāras ū* 'come, eagle, go!'; cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:199 [1978]; *KUB* XXXIII 4 + *IBOT* III 141 I 13 *hāras pa[īt]* 'the eagle went'), *ha-a-ra-as*^{MUSEN} (par. *KUB* XVII 10 I 27 *hāras*^{MUSEN} *pait*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:99, 91 [1965]; *KBo* III 8 III 6 *hāras*^{MUSEN?}); cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; XIV 132 III 4), ^{MUSEN} *ha-ra-a-as* (XII 86, 7), ^{MUSEN} *ā* (e.g. *KUB* XXII 33 Vs. 9 ^{MUSEN} *ā-ma sēhur tarnas* 'the eagle let fall droppings'; XXIX 1 II 39 *ehu zik ā*^{MUSEN} *it* 'come, thou eagle, go!'), (acc. sg.) *ha-ra-an* (XXX 35 IV 4; XLVIII 99, 6–8 *kuis-war-an haran*² ^D*Pirwa[n]*^{URU} *Hassuwaza uwatez[zi] ā-ssi mekki āssu piyaweni* 'he that brings him, P., [as] an eagle [i. e. ornithomorphously?] from H., to him we give much good'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:174 [1965]), *ha-a-ra-an* (XXX 34 IV 12–13 *nu hāran kallikallinn-a arha tarnatta*² 'the eagle and the falcon thou settest free'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]), ^{MUSEN} *ha-ra-na-an* (*KBo* XVII 4 II 14 *mān*^{MUSEN} *haranan husuwandan appanzi* 'when they capture a live eagle', with dupl. XVII 1 II 5 ^{MUSEN} *hāranan*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 23; Neu, *Altheth.* 14, 7), *ha-a-ra-na-an* (*KUB* XXIII 13, 7 *hegur Hāranan-kan katta dahhun* 'I occupied Eagle Rock'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314, 317–8; the potentially ornithomorphous ^D*Pirwa* [*KUB* XLVIII 99, 6–8, quoted above] was associated with *hekur* [*KBo* VI 28 Rs. 30 ^{NA}*hekur Pirwa*]; *KBo* XVII 3 III 3 *ta namma hāranan nēpisa tarnahhi* 'I then launch the eagle to the sky'), ^{MUSEN} *ha-a-ra-na-an* (e.g. dupl. XVII 1 III 3 *ta namma*^{MUSEN} *hāranan nēpisa tarnahhi*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu,

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

hāranili ‘in eagle-fashion’ (Akk. *arāniš*; KUB XX 54 + KBo XIII 122 Rs. 8–9 *sakuwa-set-wa harrana[s] nu-wa hāranili sākuiskizzi* ‘its eyes [are those] of an eagle, and its gaze is eagle-like’ [lit. ‘it gazes in eagle-fashion’]; par. KBo XXI 22 Vs. 27–28 *ig[ī].h[ar].a-šu-wa h[ar]-ana[s] [nu-wa h[ar]anili sa<ku>is[kizzi]*; cf. Neu and Otten, *IF* 77:182 [1972]; G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5:200–1 [1978]). For formation cf. *parsanili* ‘in panther-fashion’ (*parsana-*), *haluganili* ‘in messenger-fashion’ (s. v. *haluka-*), *hīlammili* ‘in courtier-fashion’ (sub *hīlammi*-s. v. *hila-*).

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

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

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

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

hara(n)- is conspicuous among Hittite *n*-stems for its clear IE origins (first stated by C. L. Mudge, *Lg.* 7:252–3 [1931]), resembling most closely Gmc. **ar(a)n-* (exemplified by Goth. *ara* ‘eagle’, nom. pl. *arans* translating *deitoi* in *Luke* 17:37, matching Hitt. *hāranis* < **H₃órones*), and further ON *örn* < **arnu-* ‘eagle’ and Gk. *ὄρνειον*, *ὄρν-ιθ-* (Doric *ὄρν-ιχ-*) ‘bird’. Other cognates (OCS *orilū* ‘eagle’, Old Prussian *arelis*, Lith. *arēlis* or *erēlis* ‘eagle’, OIr. *irar* or *ilar*, Welsh *eryr* ‘eagle’, Arm. *oror* ‘gull’) are variously dissimilated *r* (or *l*) stems; they strengthen the overall impression of primary non-ablauting *o*-vocalism, thus **A₂-* (the Baltic and Celtic *e*-vocalisms being assimilatory or metathetic).

harrani- or *hurrani-* (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *har-ra-ni-is* (e.g. KUB XVIII 15 Vs. 19; XXII 68, 8; V 22, 27), *har-ra-ni-i-is* (e.g. *ibid.* 28 *iparwassī tīyawen nu-kan harraniyis* ^{UTU}-un EGIR UGU SIG₅ *u[it]* ‘we stepped northwest [?], and a h. in turn came up auspiciously toward the sun’; XVIII 5 I 29, 43, 46, 49; *ibid.* II 36, 44; XXII 7 Vs. 5), *har-ra-ni-es* (e.g. KBo II 6 IV 18; KUB XVI 67 III 14; XVI 76, 4; XVIII 12 I 8, 14, 27, 33, 55), acc. sg. *har-ra-ni-in* (*ibid.* 18), *har-ra-ni-i-in*(-na) (XVIII 5 I 28).

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

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

The expressions iSTU ^{NA}ARÀ mallizzi and šA ^{NA}hararazi ^{NA}kunkunizit walhannai seem to be elaborations on the asyndetic binomial expression mallai harrai 'grinds (and) pounds', distinguishing two separate but apparently complementary milling techniques (cf. the two disparate plowing methods haraszi teripzi s.v. har[a]s-). Both the grinding and stamping procedures involve ^{NA}HAR.HAR = ^{NA}ARÀ = Akk. erū (often ša adbari 'of basalt') which denoted the handmill as such but especially its lower grindstone or base-slab; the Hittite equivalent is hidden under ^{NA}ARÀ-as = Akk. [e-ru]-ú in KBo I 45 Rs. 7 (cf. MSL 3:53 [1955]). ^{NA}ARÀ hararazi shows that hararazi was a part of the total ARÀ, probably the upper stone which could be either slab-shaped for grinding or rock-like (^{NA}kunkunizi-) for stamping. cf. HED, 4:274

While the verb malla- is inherited Indo-European (Lat. molō, etc.), and ^{NA}ARÀ-as may hide a cognate of Skt. grāvan- 'pressing-stone', Arm. erkan, OCS žriny, Lith. girna, Goth. qairnus, OIr. brō 'mill(stone), quern', hararazi seems derived from Akk. harāru 'grind', perhaps with Hurrian mediation (suffix?); cf. also Akk. ararru 'miller'. An etymological (as distinct from assonantal) tie-in with harra- 'crush, pound, spoil, destroy' (q.v.) is unlikely except on the remote chance that harra- itself would be a borrowing from Akk. harāru (harrai mallai like haraszi teripzi, Akkadian-origin terminus technicus juxtaposed to old IE base-verb); there is also Luw. (instr. sg.?) ^{NA}har-ra-a-ti (KUB XXXV 75, 11; cf. Otten, LTU 73) (Ks 29.6 V. 22; cf. KLTU 129)

NDharas pant- s.v. NDharsunanni

haratar (n.) 'offense, outrage, scandal', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ra-(a-)tar* in e.g. KBo XI 1 Vs. 1 harātar wastul-a 'offense and sin' (cf. RHA 25:105 [1976]), KUB XXXI 66 I 26–28 mān ... [harā]tar kuitki iyat [...] apāt harātar lāi 'if [he] has committed some offense ... remit that offense!', and especially in ŪL haratar or ŪL harātar '[there is] offense (and) sorcery' ^{VB}132 E4 haratar udu-tar

gen. sg.
ha-ra-at-na-as
(23/6 1 13)
ššhanas isha-
hruwas harat-
nas 'of blood,
tears, and
outrage')

no offense' (Code 2:90, 91, 93, 94, 99; 200A), harātar-set NU.GÁL 'his offense is none' (Code 2:97), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ra-at-ni* (Friedrich, HE 34) in KBo V 1 II 2 nu 2 MUŠEN haratni wasduli warnuwanzi 'they burn two birds for the outrage [and] sin' (cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, Pāpanikri 6*), abl. sg. *ha-ra-at-na-za* (KUB XXXVI 39 II 9; Ks 13. 69, 8) haratnant- (c.), nom. sg. in 2083/g, 8–9 nu kūr EN.SISKUR nam[ma esh]ahruwanza haratnanza le [epdu 'may weeping (and) scandal no further overtake this officiator'].

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

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

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

The most plausible connection is with harra- (q.v.), thus literally 'ruination, despoilment'. haratar < *E₂rrE₁-tr, vs. *E₂orE₁- in harra-

cf. qa-ra-a-ú Ks 40.176 u

harau- (n.) 'poplar' (KBo I 42 II 9 Á.SAL = [Akk.] šar-pa-tum, i.e. šarbatum 'Populus euphratica' = [Hitt.] ha-ra-a-ú; cf. Güterbock, RHA 22:97 [1964], MSL 13:135 [1971]), gen. sg. ^{GIS}ha-ra-u-wa-as (XIX 142 II 16–17 ^{GIS}harauwas ^{GIS}lahhurnuzi 'foliage of poplar'; cf. Ertem, Flora 78, 91–2), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIS}ha-ra-u-i (KUB XXV 23 I 14–16 KAŠ-ya sippanzi mān iSTU ^{LU}KÚR ŪL katta kitta n-an ^{NA}ZI.KIN ^{GIS}harau ka[tt]an id-an-kan tapusa taninuwanzi 'and they libate with beer; if there is no occupation by the enemy, they carry it out by the baitylos beneath the poplar by the river'), ^{GIS}ha-a-ra-u-i (ibid. 13 ^{NA}ZI.KIN-ya ^{GIS}hāraui kattan artari 'the baitylos stands beneath a poplar'; cf. A. Archi, Ugarit-Forschungen 5:22 [1973]), ^{GIS}ha-ra-a-ii-i (XVIII 5 II 2 n-as-za-kan ^{GIS}harāui esa[r] 'it [viz. the oracle bird āllyas, by a river] set down on a poplar'; ibid. 7–8

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

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

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

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

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

With deverbative suffix -ulli- (as in e.g. istappulli- 'stopper, lid', ^{TUG}kariulli- 'covering, hooded gown'; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213), hariulli- is most simply interpreted as derived from hariya- 'bury', thus 'interment jar, burial urn', such as contain ashes in the ne-

ropolis for commoners among the rocky outcrops between Boğazköy and Yazılıkaya. Pre-need, everyday use of this type of jar is entirely possible.

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

hariuzzi- (n.?) 'wickerwork table', nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIS}ha-ri-uz-zi (69/d III 6 1)-EN ^{GIS}hariuzzi kit[ri]a, matching dupl. *Bo* 4999 IV, 9 1-EN ^{GIS}BANŠUR AD.KID kitta; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:172 [1936]).

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

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

dat.-loc. sg.
ha-a-ri (KBo
IX 75, 7 n-as-kan
hāri katterinda.
Nait 'he went
down to the
valley')

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

The original stem may be *hari-*, in case the hapax nom. sg. *hariyas* is secondary like e.g. *tuzzias* besides *tuzzi-*. Cf. Arm. *ayr* 'cave', previously (cf. IEW 50) unacceptably (see Čop, *Die Sprache* 3:135–8 [1956]) compared with Gk. *ἀντρον*. For the semantic connection vale : cave cf. e.g. Lat. *vallesque cavae saltusque profundi* (Vergil, *Georgics* 2:391), *cavum* 'hollow, hole'; OCS *dibri* 'valley', Lith. *duobė* 'hollow, hole'; OE *denu* 'vale', *denn* 'hollow, lair'. IE **A₁er-y-* or perhaps **A₁ry-*, in view of Arm. *ayr* (cf. J. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 50 [1973]).

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

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

Cf. *hariya-* 'bury'.

hariya- 'bury', (1 sg. pres.) act. *ha-a-ri-ya-mi* (KUB VII 58 II 4), *ha-ri-e-mi* (KBo XVII 5 II 2, XVII 1 III 9; cf. Otten – Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 22, 30), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ri-ya-zi* (XVII 78 I 7–8 ap) *ūn antuhsan* LÚ ^{DU} *sarā dāi n-an arahza* [pe] *dai n-an paizzi hariyazi* 'that person [viz. the victim of lightning] the man of the storm-god takes up, removes him, and goes [and] buries him'), *ha-ri-ya-az-zi* (KUB IX 31 I 24; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]), *ha-ri-e-iz-zi* (XXXV 10 I 9), *ha-a-ri-e-iz-zi* (IBoT II 125 II 7), *ha-ri-iz-zi* (KBo III 8 II 12; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ri-ya-an-zi* (1112/c + III 19 *nu-kan* [UR.TUR *kunanz*] *i namma-an hariyanzi* 'they kill the small dog and thereupon bury him'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]; XX 64 Rs. 12), *ha-a-ri-ya-an-zi* (KUB XVII 18 III 18 *huswandus anda hāriyanzi* 'they bury live ones within'; IX 7 Vs. 5 *KÁ-as ZAG-az hāriyanzi* 'they bury to the right of the gate'), (1 sg. pret.) act. *ha-ri-e-nu-un* (KBo XVII 3 III 12); partic. *hariyant-*, acc. sg. c. *ha-ri-ya-an-da-an* (KUB XLV 5 III 10 1/2 NINDA KU₇ *hassī hariyandan* 'half a sweetbread buried in the fireplace'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. in KBo II 9 IV 14 *hāriyan harzi* 'has buried', KUB IX 7 Vs. 7 *hāriyan ēsdu* 'let it be buried', XXIV 10 I 12 *hāriyan*.

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

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

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

Cf. *hariulli-*.

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

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

Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; Neu, *Altheth.* 6; *KUB* VII 50. 19 n-at apās harzi 'that one holds it'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 236; *VBoT* 58 I 31 nu apūnn-a-wa hahhimas harzi 'him, too, drought holds'; *har[k]-* is resultative of *ep[p]-* 'seize', cf. ibid. 28 nu apūnn-a-wa hahhimas išBA[ti] 'him, too, drought seized'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]; *KUB* XIII 9 + XL 62 II 11 n-an taiazzilanni harzi 'he has him for theft'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 447 [1959]; *KBo* XXI 74 III 9–10 nu UKŪ-an kuit [AŠRA] aulis harzi 'the place where [illness] holds a person's innards'; cf. ibid. 6 [mā]n UKŪ-an aulis kuitki AŠRA e[pzi] 'if it seizes some person's innards some place'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 26–8; V 8 III 41–42 nu-mu^{DUTU} NIR.GĀL kuit EN-YA ŠU-an harzi 'whereas the mighty storm-god my lord holds my hand'; cf. Götze, *AM* 160; VI 4 IV 21 takku URU-ri AŠA.HI.A-an sahham-a iwaru kuiski harzi 'if in a town someone holds field and fief as an inheritance-grant'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 58, and par. Code 1:46 [*HED* 1–2:502]; VI 26 III 40–41 [= Code 2:93] takku LŪ-is SAL-an harzi ta LŪ-is aki DAM-ZU ŠE[š-š]u dāi 'if a man has a woman [as wife] and the man dies, his brother takes his wife'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 80 nu-wa-s]si ŠA ŠĀ-ŠU [DUMU.SA]L-ZU ANA DAM-ŠU harzi 'his very own daughter he has for his wife'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20; XXXIII 98 + XXXVI 8 I 16–17 katta-kan kuit harzi nu-kan [...]; ZI-anza parā watkut 'what she has below, ... his mind sprang forth' [viz. in sexual arousal]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146–8 [1951]; *ABoT* 65 Rs. 12 ŪL-ma-wa-mu apās kuitki harzi 'he has nothing [i. e. no claim] on me' [i. e. 'I owe him nothing'], calque on Akk. *mimma elī-ya ul išu*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:346 [1956]; von Schuler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3:227–8 [1971]; *KUB* XV 42 II 15–16 nu wātar kuis BA.BA.ZA-ya piran harzi 'he who holds forth water and mush'; *KBo* IV 9 VI 20–21 GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL GAD-an EGIR-an-samet pe harzi 'the chief of the pages has a towel ready behind them'; IV 2 II 25 UR.TUR-ma appuzziyas^{LU}MUŠEN.DŪ pe harzi 'but the auspex brings along the puppy [made] of tallow'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:93 [1962]; VI 4 I 6 [mān] āssu-ma ŪL pe harzi 'if he has no goods along with him'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 50; XII 126 I 15 n-at iskisaz karpan harzi 'holds it [viz. the figurine] with the back raised'; similarly ibid. 14; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22; *KUB* IX 28 I 15 TŪG-an wēsta ispāta KŪ.BABBAR TUR isparran harzi 'she wears a dress [and] holds a small silver spit outstretched'; XXII 70 Vs. 9 DUMU^{SAL}[Am]matallas-(a)za kuit TŪG.MEŠ ŠA ŠU AMA-ŠU wassan harzi 'because A.'s son has [put] on [= wears] his mother's clothes';

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

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

tarahhan harteni ^DUTU-Ši-ma-wa-za ŪL tarahleni 'you have me beaten, but his majesty you will not overcome'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:53 [1985]; *KBo* XVIII 144, 4–6 mān-ma-s(mas) DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}Ankuwa URU-an malān harteni 'if you gods approve for them the city of Ankuwa'; similarly malān harteni in *KUB* XVIII 12 Vs. 5; cf. Ūnal, *RHA* 31:43 [1973]; *KBo* II 6 III 33; *KUB* XIII § 15 sumas-ma-az kuin maklandan markan harteni 'but what lean [animal] you have cut up for yourselves', har-te-e-ni (XIV 12 Rs. 10 nu-mu uwatteni DINGIR.[MEŠ EN.MEŠ-YA] wastul hartēni 'you gods my lords come and hold me in sin'; cf. Götze, *KlF* 238), har-te-ni-i (*KBo* XXII 1, 30–31 [OHitt.] nu kissan AWĀT ABY-YA arhān harteni 'this is how you have carried out the mandate of my father'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), § pl. pres act. har-kān-zi (e. g. *KUB* XVI 32 II 6 nu URU.DIDL.HI.A-ma kuyēs harkanzi 'the cities which they hold'; cf. Ūnal, *Hatt.* 2:104; *ABOT* 9 I 4 pe]da-s[me]t harkanzi '[they] hold their places'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 10, *Altheth.* 63; *KUB* XXVI 43 Rs. 5 n-at DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL}DU-manawa harkanzi 'the sons of Tarhumanawa have it'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]; *KBo* III 2 Rs. 36 n-as nāwartanna harkanzi 'they hold the nine-turn' [hippodromic term; cf. aikawartanna s. v.]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 130–2; XXIV 5, 11 nu ^{SAL}GAL anda harkanzi 'they restrain the great-woman'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 224; *KUB* XXIX 7 Vs. 3 and 14 UNUT LUGAL-ma EGIR-an ŪL kuwatqa harkanzi 'but the king's gear they do not hold back in any way'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118; IV 1 II 7–10 ŠA KUR ^{URU}Hatti-kan DINGIR.MEŠ sumas ANA DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{URU}Gasga arha ŪL kuitki harkanzi dammishann-a-smas ŪL kuitki harkanzi 'the gods of Hatti withhold nothing from you gods of Gasgaland, nor have they done you any damage'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 170; XXV 25 I 7–8 ^DZahpunan [^DURU] Neriqqa pe harkanzi 'Z. and the storm-god of N. [i. e. their idols] they have along' [viz. for the outdoor rite]; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; *KBo* XII 119, 10 dapian pe harka[nzi] 'they have everything along'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 135; XVII 65 Vs. 48 EGIR.KASKAL-ya-as pe-pat harkanzi 'and on the way back they bring them along'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138, 166; *KUB* LIV 10 II 8–9 BIBRA GUŠKIN-ya-smas auwauwas KAŠ-it sūwandan piran pe harkanzi 'they hand them a gold rhyton of spiderware, filled with beer'; V 1 II 8–9 n-an HUL-uanza GIG GAL-ya anda dammassan harkanzi 'evil and great ailment hold him in oppression'; repeated ibid. III 31 with har-zi [sic]; cf. Ūnal, *Hatt.* 2:52, 70; *KBo* V 6 II 25 nu-war-as-kan

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

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

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

IV 8 *nu-war-an* TI-*an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well!'; KUB XXX 24 II 1 *kunn-a-wa-ssi* Ū.SAL-LAM ^DUTU-*us āra iyan harak* 'and this meadow, o sun-god, have duly made for him!'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; XIV 4 IV 11 *nu-wa karussiyān harak* 'keep quiet!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *har-tu* (XXXI 81 Vs. 3), *har-du* (e.g. XXIV 9 II 25 *n-at dankuīs daganzipas hardu* 'let the dark earth hold it!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 34; KBo XVII 61 Rs. 21 *takn[as]* ^DUTU-*i* ^{GIS}*zuppari lukkan hardu* 'to the sun-goddess of the earth let him hold a lighted torch'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; KUB XIII 1 IV 3 *halkuēs-nass-a* IGI.HI.A-*wa hardu* 'and for produce let him have eyes'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62; XIII 2 IV 23–24 *gimmi-ya-as-san* ANA GUD.MEŠ LUGAL IGI.HI.A-*wa hardu* 'in winter let him have eyes for the king's cattle'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; XXVI 43 Vs. 57 *pedan-pat hardu* 'let it take place' [cf. French *avoir lieu*]; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:30, 94–5 [1974]; XXXVI 110 Rs. 9–10 *nu-za-pa utniyanza hūmanza iski(s)-smet anda* ^{URU}*Hattusa lagan hardu* 'let all the land have its back bent to Hattusas'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 227; KBo XII 126 I 17 [*n-a*] ^{TUG}*kuressar ēsdu n-at-san* INA SAG.DU-ŠU *siyan hardu* 'let it be a hood, and let her wear it on her head'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22; 1112/c + III 26–27 *nu-was-smas āssui* TI-*anni parā ta[rn]an hardu* 'may it hold you exposed to well-being [and] life'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; KUB XIII 2 I 9–10 *nu ša* ^{LÜ}*KUR kuyēs KASKAL.HI.A n-as-za* BEL MADKALTI *kappūwan hardu n-as-za gulassan hardu* 'what the routes of the enemy [are], the watch commander shall have them counted and he shall have them written down'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 41), 2 pl. imp. act. *har-te-en* (e.g. XVII 21 IV 13 *nu-wā-az hanzan sumes harten* 'watch out!'; XXIV 9 II 32–33 *kī* HUL-lu *alwanzata sumes* [*tarn*]an *harten* 'hold this evil hex pinned down!'), *har-tin* (e.g. XXIV 10 III 32 [*n-an*] TI-*nuan hartin* 'keep him alive!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 48; KBo XVII 62+63 IV 6 TI-*an hartin* 'keep alive!'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34; KUB XIII 4 IV 3–4 *n-asta* [...] *kuit ... sumās ...* DINGIR.MEŠ-[*as*] *pe ha[r]teni n-at hūdāk mēhūnas mēhuni pe hartin* 'what you tender to the gods, tender it promptly at the proper time!'; ibid. I 60 *ištu* NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN INA É DINGIR-LIM *hūman sarā pe hartin* 'of bread, beer, and wine in the temple offer up everything!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390, 370 [1934]; ibid. III 58–59 *nahsarattan mekki tiyan hartin* 'keep respect very much in place!'; cf. XIII 2 II 36–37 *namma-ssan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*as nahsaraz tiyan ēsdu* ANA ^DU-*ma-ssan nah-*

2 pl. imp. med.
har-tum-ma-
-ti (K 18, 27
Vs. 5)

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

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

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

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

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

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

har(a)k-, harkiya- ‘get lost, lose oneself, abscond, lapse, expire, disappear, vanish, be ruined, perish’ (ZĀH; Akk. *halāqu*), 1 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-mi* (*KUB LIV 1 II 48–50 nu-wa ammuk GIM-an innarā harakmi zik-ma-wa DINGIR-LUM EN-YA ammel hanni[ssar] punuski* ‘as I am purposely ruined, do thou, god my lord, inquire into my case!’; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:56 [1985]), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-ti* (XXXVI 57 III 8 *nu akti harakti* ‘you die, you perish’; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 62; XXI 19 + 1303/u III 30 *anda harakti* ‘you will perish’; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 314; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:94 [1981]), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ak-zi* (e.g. IV 1 III 20 É LÜ *harakzi*, matching ibid. 17–18 [Akk.] É LÜ i-ZĀH [= *ihalliq*] ‘the man’s house will perish’; VIII 1 III 12 *arunas āssu harakzi* ‘the sea’s bounty will be undone’, matching Akk. *hišib tām̄ti ihalliḳ* of similar astrological omina; XXXIV 18 II 10 *URU-ŠU-ma harakzi* ‘his town will perish’, paralleling IV 67 II 4–5 [Akk.] *āl^{K1}-šu immaqar* ‘his town will be razed’ [passive of *naqāru* ‘raze, destroy’, q.v. infra sub *harni(n)k-*]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 68, 70, 71; *KBo XIII 13 Vs. 10* É LÜ *KUR-ŠU harakzi* ‘his enemy’s house will perish’; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60; *KUB XIII 54 III 20–21 nu É.DINGIR-LIM-ma imma 1-an harakzi* ^{URU} *Hattusas-ma LUGAL-was āssu UL harakzi* ‘the temple alone will indeed perish, but Hattusas, the king’s possession, will not perish’; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]; XVII 10 IV 16–17 *kuīt andan paizzi n-asta namma sarā Ūl. uizzi anda-d-an harakzi* ‘what goes inside does not come up any more; it perishes within’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; par. XXXIII 8 III 8–10 *kuīt-kan anda paizzi n-at-kan namma sarā UL uizzi anda-pat-kan harakzi*, with dupl. *IBoT III 141 IV 13 a]nda-at-san harak[zi]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:104 [1965]; XXX 34 IV 16 *kī wātar GIM-an arha harakzi* ‘as this water disappears’ [viz. down the drain]; *KBo VI 3 III 73–74* [= *Code* 1:75] *n-as aki nasma-an UR.BAR.RA-as karāpi nasma-as harakzi* ‘it [viz. a harnessed animal] dies, or a wolf devours it, or it disappears’; ibid. IV 53 [= *Code* 1:98] *andan-a É-ri kuīt harakzi*

har-ak-si
(*hst uwasi*
haraksi ‘you
come, you
perish’)

LÚ.ULÙ.LU-ku GUD-ku UDU-ku *ēszi* 'what perishes inside the [burnt-down] house, whether it be a man, cattle, or sheep'; VI 10 II 18 [= Code 2:27] *kuit kuit harakzi ta-at sarnikzi* 'whatever is lost, that he restores'; VI 4 IV 2–3 *kuitta-ya-ssi-kan kuit harakzi n-at EGIR-pa 1-šu sarnikzi* 'and whatever he loses [lit.: is lost to him], this he compensates onefold'; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 56; VI 2 + XIX 1 II 23 [= Code 1:41, OHitt.] *takku LÚ ILK1 harakzi Ū LÚ^{GIŠ} TUKUL tittianza* 'if a liegeman absconds and an artisan [is] installed'; ibid. 26 *sahhan-a harakz[i]* 'and the fief lapses'; cf. Otten and Souček, *Afo* 21:3 [1966]; VI 4 IV 16 EN A.ŠA A.GAR-*ma-kan harakzi* 'but the owner of the fieldland absconds'; KUB XXXI 89 II 5 *n-asta arha le kuiski harakzi* 'let none be ruined', with dupl. XXXI 86 II 15 *n-asta arha le kuitki harak[zi]*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 43; KBo III 27 Vs. 31^{URU} *Halpass-a harakzi* 'Aleppo too will perish', 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ku-e-ni* (KUB XVII 10 I 29–30 *māhhan iyaweni kistantit harkueni* 'what shall we do? we shall perish from hunger'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]), 2 pl. pres. act. *har-ak-te-ni* (I 16 III 37 -*issan ŪL huyisteni nu harakteni* 'you will not live, you will perish'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12; XIII 4 IV 54–55 and dupl. XIII 17 IV 16 *n-asta QADU DAM.MEŠ-KUNU DUMU.MEŠ-KUNU harakteni* 'you will perish with your wives [and] your children'), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-kán-zi* (e.g. XXIV 3 II 55–56 *n-asta l[e] āssawēs idālawas anda harkanzi* 'let not the good perish among the bad'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 30; KBo XV 10 III 55–58 and II 13–16 *ke māhhan harkanzi* ... *alwanzatar-set idālu uddār-set QATAMMA harakdu* 'even as these [magic objects] vanish, let her hex and evil words likewise vanish'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 42–4, 22), *har-ki-ya-an-zi* (KUB XVII 10 I 17–18 *nu KUR-ya andan kāsza kīsati DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-s-a kistantit harkianzi* 'in the land famine has come about, men and gods perish from hunger'), (3 sg. pret) act. *har-ak-ta* (e.g. KBo V 3 III 58 *antuhsas harakta* 'a man perished'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:128; KUB XIV 14 Vs. 32 *n-at luluwandat ŪL kuitki harakta* 'they thrived, nothing perished'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 168; XIV 7 I 18–19 *BELU.MEŠ-[ya] EGIR-izziuss-a UKÜ.MEŠ-tar kuwapi harakta* 'whereas lords and lowly folk had perished'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 311; XIX 9 I 6 *nu KUR.KUR.MEŠ hūman[da] arha harakta* 'all the lands were ruined'; VBoT 58 I 25; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]; KUB XXXIII 24 I 40; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:115 [1965]; V 1 III 52; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:72), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ki-e-ir* (I 16 III 45 *ša^{LÚ} GAL.GAL-TIM ē-ŠUNU kuwapi ŪL-at harkier* 'the houses of

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

8; both with wrong translation of *ni-kku* as 'not'; cf. s. v. *ne-*, *ni-*; XIII 2 II 30–31 *kinun-at katta mutān n-at arha harkan* 'now it [viz. the shrine] [is] neglected and gone to ruin'; dupl. XXXI 90 II 12 *arha har-ak* [sic]; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 45; XIII 2 II 40 *nasma-kan tamēdas* DINGIR-LIM *kuedani UNUTUM harkan* 'or a utensil of some other deity [has] gotten lost'; dupl. XXXI 90 III 10 correctly *d[amēdani] ANA DINGIR-LIM kue[dani]*; KBo VI 4 IV 8 *nu-ssi-kan kuit harkan* 'what he [has] lost'; KUB XIX 29 IV 17 *kez-ma-wa-tta KUR-KA arha harkan* 'at this time your land [is] ruined'; cf. Götze, *AM* 18), gen. sg. *har-kān-ta-as* (XVII 8 IV 34 *harkantas parna[s]* 'of the ruined house'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:168 [1965]; XXXI 84 III 66–67 *harkantass-a LÚ^{GIS} TUKUL kuis A.ŠA.HI.A sannātta-ya kue pietta ne-tta hūman gulassan ēstu* 'that which [is] of a missing artisan, and vacated fields which [are] a grant, let all be written down for you'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50), nom. pl. c. *har-kān-te-es* (V 7 Rs. 25, besides ibid. 24 *har-kān-za*), gen. pl. *har-kān-ta-as* (XVI 83 I 46–47 *ištu É.GAL-LIM-ma-mu kuit INIM UNUT harkantas ŠA^D IŠTAR^{URU} Ninuwa hatrāir* 'but as to the matter of the lost implements of Ištar of Ninive which they wrote to me from the palace'), dat.-loc. pl. *har-kān-ta-as* (ibid. 47–48 *harkantas UNUTE.HI.A ser* 'on account of the lost implements'); verbal noun *harkatar* (n.), (gen. sg.) *har-kān-na-as* (KBo IV 10 Vs. 10 *mān-as har-ga-na-as* ^{103/104 KUB 21.10 14-5: apedani ... harganaš memini and 2 ul esun} ^{11 was not involved in that matter of ruination} ^{11 Gslm pgrati. 742} *harkannas-ma n-as harakdu* 'if he is [deserving] of perdition, let him perish'; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:332), dat.-loc. sg. *har-ga-an-ni* (KUB XXIII 71, 5), abl. sg. *har-kān-na-za* (IBoT I 33, 72 *harkannaza akkannaza* 'from destruction-and-death'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 52:154 [1958]); inf. *har-kān-na* (KUB I 6 III 9–10 *apās-ma-mu harkanna* [...] ... *sanahta* 'but he sought to have me ruined'), *har-ga-an-na* (dupl. 995/1969 + KUB XIX 67 II 8–10 *apās-m[a]-mu harganna* [...] ... *sanahta*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; 299/1986 III 27 *n-at harganna tepnummanzi-ya le tarnai* 'he shall not let them be ruined and humiliated'; similarly ibid. II 71 and 77; ibid. III 72; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 22, 24, 50); iter. *harkiski-*, 3 sg. pres. midd. *har-ki-is-kān-ta-ri* (KBo III 1 II 56–57 DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-ma *kuedani [se]r harkiskantari* 'on whatever account sons of kings perish'; dupl. KUB XI 6 II 3 *ser harkiskan*[-]; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 34 [1984]).

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

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

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

lands I shall destroy'; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 174 [1987]), *har-ni-ik-ki-mi* (dupl. *KBo XIII* 78 Vs. 9 *ta-a KUR-e harnikkimi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1962]), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-si* (*KUB XXXIII* 120 III 8¹³) *Kumarbin harniksi*; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *5; Laroche, *RHA* 26:44 [1968]), *har-ni-ik-ti* (*XIV* 16 III 17, *XIV* 15 IV 29–30, *KBo III* 4 III 47–48 *BEL-NI-wa-nnas le harnikti* 'our lord, do not destroy us'; cf. Götze, *AM* 56, 70, 128; *ibid.* IV 33 *BEL-NI-wa-nnas le kuitki harnikti* 'our lord, in no way destroy us'; cf. Götze, *AM* 138), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-zi* (e.g. *KUB IV* 1 III 16 *LUGAL-was* [sic] *LÚ.MEŠ taparias-sēs harnikzi* 'the king will destroy his men of command', matching *ibid.* 15 [Akk.] *LUGAL-ru maliki u-zāh* [= *uhalliq*] 'the king will destroy [his] counselors'; *KBo VI* 11 I 8–9 [= *Code* 2:7] *takku LÚ.ULÚ.LU-as iyamiyandas* ^{GIS} *SAR.GEŠTIN UDU. HILA tarnāi ta-a harnikzi* 'if a man lets sheep into growing vineyards and causes these to be ruined'; dupl. *KUB XXIX* 23, 6 [t] *a harnikzi*; *KBo VI* 10 III 10 [= *Code* 2:44] *t-us harnikzi* 'and he ruins them' [viz. scissors]; *KUB XXIV* 8 I 6 *t-us harnikzi* '[he] destroys them' [viz. evil men]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4), 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ku-[e-ni]* (*XXXIII* 120 III 3), 2 pl. pres. act. *har-ni-ik-te-ni* (*XIV* 1 Vs. 68 *nu-wa-za* ^{URU} *Hinduwan harnikteni* 'you will destroy H.'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16; *XXXIII* 103 II 4 [man-m] *a DUMU.LÚ. ULÚ.LU-UTTI har-te-ik-te-ni* [sic, for correct dupl. *XXXIII* 100, 12 -] *ni-ik-te-ni* 'were you to destroy mankind'; *XXXIII* 103 II 2 *har-ni-ik-t[e-ni]*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46; *XIII* 4 I 13 *le harni[k]teni* 'do not destroy!'), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ku-un* (e.g. *KBo X* 2 I 10 and 16 *n-an harninkun*, matching *X* 1 Vs. 4 and 7 [Akk.] *uhalliq-šu* 'I destroyed it' [viz. the city]; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:44, 77 [1965]; *X* 2 I 19 *nu ke KUR.KUR.MEŠ harninkun* 'these lands I destroyed', beside *X* 1 Vs. 9 [Akk.] *u-hal-liq*; *X* 2 I 36 *nu KUR* ^{URU} *Ulman harninkun*, matching *X* 1 Vs. 17 [Akk.] ^{URU} *Ulumma uhalliq-šu-ma* 'and I destroyed U.'; similarly *X* 2 I 48, II 10, 12, III 3, 8, 38, matching *X* 1 Vs. 24, 30, 31, Rs. 3, 5, 23 [Akk.]; III 46 Vs. 9 ^{URU} *Purushandan harninkun* 'I destroyed P.'; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; *XII* 8 IV 14–15 *LUGAL.GAL* ^{URU} *Hassūw[a ...] harninkun* 'I the great king destroyed H.'; cf. Carruba, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 77; III 1 II 17 *nu* ^{URU} *Hassuwan harninkun*; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 28 [1984]; *KUB XIII* 9 + *XL* 62 I 2 *mān* ^{URU} *Assuwa harninkun* 'when I had destroyed A.'; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 446 [1959]; *XXXIII* 11 II 33 *mān* ^{URU} *KUR* ^{URU} *Assuwa harninkun*; cf. Carruba, *SMEA*

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

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

ruin his future'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; V 3 II 7 *nu-smas kī uttar NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR-an le tarnanzi nu-smas-at* [misspelled *nu-us-ma-at-sa!]* *le āra ienzi nu-smas taksan harninkandu* 'the oaths shall not forgive you this matter, they shall not make it right for you, but shall jointly destroy you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:114; *ibid.* 31 *nu-tta ke NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ harninkandu* 'let these oaths destroy you'; similarly *ibid.* 43, 49; *ibid.* IV 16–17 *n-an-kan keas* [sic, for *ke*] *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ QADU DAM.MEŠ-KUNU DUMU.MEŠ-KUNU É.MEŠ-KUNU KUR-KUNU harninkandu* 'him shall these oaths destroy along with your [sic!] wives, your children, your houses, and your land'; *KUB* XXVI 50 Rs. 9–11 *n-an-kan ... ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN-ŠU harninkandu* 'may [various gods] ruin his name [and] his progeny' [partitive apposition]; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:36 [1974]; XXI 42 II 4 *n-an-kan kūs DINGIR.MEŠ harninkandu* 'may these gods destroy him'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 25; XXVI 12 II 22 *n-an-kan kūs DINGIR.MEŠ arha harninkandu*; XIX 49 IV 35–39 *nu-tta-kkan kī [NEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ] ... dankuwaz [dag]anzipaz a[r]ha harninkandu* 'may these oaths destroy you from the dark earth'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:18; XXI 1 IV 33–37 *nu-tta kūs [NEŠ DINGIR-LIM] ... arha harninkandu nu-tta-kkan NUMUN-KA dankuyaz taknaz arha harninkandu* 'may these oaths destroy you, and may they destroy your seed from the dark earth'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:82; *KBo* XVI 27 II 15; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 136; partic. *harninkant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ni-in-kān* (*KUB* XIII 2 IV 19 *nu-za GIŠ.HUR.HI.A GÜB-las-ma harninkan harzi* 'he has wrongfully destroyed [written] records'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; *KBo* XIV 20 I 13 *harninkan harkun* 'I had destroyed'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:168 [1966]), *ZAH-an* (*KUB* XXVII 59 I 10 *nu-mu-za UG₆-niya ZAH-an harak* 'and have me destroyed to death!'); verbal noun *harninkuuar* (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *har-ni-in-ku-u-ar* (*KBo* III 4 I 36–37 [*mahh*] *an-ma KUR^{URU} Gasga ŠA^{URU} Halila ŠA^{URU} Dudduska harninkuuar [ist]amasta* 'but when the Gasga-land heard the destruction of H. and D.'; cf. Götze, *AM* 22); inf. *har-ni-in-ku-wa-an-zi* (IV 4 II 63–64 *kue KARAS.HI.A ... halki.HI.A-us harninkuwanzi pehudan harta* 'what troops [he] had led to destroy the crops'; cf. Götze, *AM* 120); iter. *harninkiski-*, *harninkeski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-mi* (*KUB* XXXII 130, 33–34 *n-us harninkiskimi* 'I keep destroying them'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 168), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ni-in-ki-es-ki-si* (XXIV 7 II 59 *n]u-kan Ū.SAL arha harninkeskisi* 'you keep ruining the meadow'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:226 [1950]), 1 sg. pret. act.

ha[r-ni-in-ki-is-ki-nu-un (XIV 16 II 12; cf. Götze, *AM* 42), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-it* (*KBo* III 1 I 16 [emended from dupl. *KUB* XI 1 I 16] *nu utnē harnin[kis]kit*, matching *KBo* III 85 I 7 [Akk.] *KUR.KUR.MEŠ ihtanalliq* 'he kept destroying countries'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 16, 58 [1984]; *KUB* XI 1 I 6 [emended from *KBo* III 1 I 6] *nu utnē harnink[skit]*; *KUB* XIV 3 II 46 *nu parā URU Halpan URU KĀ.DINGIR.RA-an kuius harninkiskit*, with dupl. XXIV 4 Rs. 4 *URU Halp[an] kuius URU KĀ.DINGIR.RA kuius harninkiskit* 'and the likes of Aleppo and Babylon that it kept destroying'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 30), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ni-in-ki-es-ki-ir* (XXIII 11 III 12 *nu KUR-e harninkeskir* 'they kept destroying the land'; cf. Caruba, *SMEA* 18:160 [1977]), [*har*]-*ni-in-ki-is-ki-ir* (XXVI 74, 4), *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-ir* (XIX 11 IV 31; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1956], with wrong transliteration); supine *har-ni-in-ki-is-ki-u-an* (XLVIII 89 Vs. 8 *Ita KUR-e harninkiskiuān dais* 'he began destroying the land').

harkanu- 'ruin, destroy', 1 sg. pres. act. *har-qa-nu-mi* (*KUB* V 1 I 92 *URU Tanizilan kuwapi harqanumi* 'when I destroy T.'; similarly *ibid.* 95; *ibid.* III 56 *harqanumi-an* 'I shall destroy it'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:48, 74, with wrong transliteration), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ga-nu-si* (XXIII 95, 16; cf. Sommer, *AU* 262), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-qa-nu-zi* (V 1 I 74 *nu URU Hurnan harqanuzi* 'he destroys H.'; *ibid.* II 46 *ERIN.MEŠ ŠA HUR.SAG Haharwa-ya harqanuzi* 'he destroys the troops of Mt. H.'), *har-ga-nu-zi* (XXII 25 Vs. 28 *lukkatti-ma URU Sūnupassin har-ga-nu-me-ni URU Pittalahsinn-a harqanuzi* 'on the morrow he destroys S. and P.'; (K 18, 29 Vs. 4) cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 178), 1 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-nu-un* (XXVI 80, 2 and 3; XXXI 20 IV 6; XIII 59, 5), 3 sg. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-ut* (XIII 35 II 43 5 *ANŠU.HI.A-ma-wa 'AMAR MUŠEN-is LÚ KARTABBU harga[n]ut* 'five asses has A. the equerry let go to ruin'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 27; Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 8; XIX 9 I 14 'he [viz. Suppiluliumas I] destroyed' [cities]; XXI 6a, 11 *hūmanta har-ganut* 'he [viz. Hattusilis III] destroyed all' [viz. the towns listed *ibid.* 5–10]; *KBo* VI 28 Vs. 7 *nu LÚ KUR URU Gasgas uit nu [KUR]. KUR.MEŠ URU Hatti harganut* 'the Gasga enemy came and destroyed the lands of Hatti'; similarly *ibid.* 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; *KUB* XXIII 1 I 37–38 *KUR URU Amurri-ya ištū GIS TUKUL arha harganut* 'he destroyed Amurru by arms'; cf. Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 8; XXI 8 II 5 *Itatta arha harganut* 'he destroyed utterly'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 10; XXII 65 II 34 *sarā harganut*), 3 pl. pret. act. *har-ga-nu-ir* (LIV *har-ga-nu-e-ir* 1 I 36 *innara-uwa-mu-kan kuyēs harganuir* 'who have purposely (K 18, 29, 29)

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

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

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

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

For *hark-* the postulate should be rather IE **H₁ergh-* 'go away, lose oneself', with **H₁ergh-ti* > *harkzi* under "Bartholomae's law" (nonassimilation of *gh* + *t* to *t*; cf. Puhvel, KZ 86:113 [1972] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 222 [1981]; contrast *harzi* < **A₁erk-ti* s. v. *har[a]k-* 'have'); for the Hittite *a*-coloration of paradigmatic *e*-vocalism before *r* cf. e. g. *istark-*, *tarh-*, *wars-*. The formal etymon may be Gk. *ἔρχομαι* 'go' (thus **E₂ergh-*), with a semantic parallel in (F) *ἔρρω*, where 'go' has shaded over into 'be gone, get lost, disappear, perish' (3 sg. imp. act. *ἐρπέτω* 'let perish', like *har-ak-tu*).

harganau- (c., n.), *harganawant-* (c., used as subject of transitive verb; see HED 1–2:476–7), flat of hand or foot, thus 'palm' or 'sole', nom. sg. c. *har-ga-na-us*, *har-ga-na-u-wa-an-za*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-ga-na-ū*, gen. sg. *har-ga-na-u-wa-as*, dat.-loc. sg. *har-ga-na-ū-i* (KUB IX 4 I 13–15 *h[ā]pūs-a-kan hāpūsassi handan [GİR-i]s-kan GİR-i K1.MIN harganu-kan harganau* [K1.MIN *h[ā]stai-kan hastai handan* 'penis [is] matched to penis, foot to foot likewise, sole to sole likewise, bone [is] matched to bone'; par. IX 34 II 31–32 [*hapus-a*]-kan *hapusasi* K1.MIN *GİR-kan GİR-i K1.MIN [harganau]s-kan hargana[ui]* K1.MIN DUB[BIN-as-kan ANA DUBBI]N.H1.A K1.MIN 'penis to penis likewise, foot to foot likewise, sole to sole likewise, nails to nails likewise'; IX 4 I 30–35 *hāp[us]anza hāpūsas GIG-[an kar]apzi harganauwanza hargan[auwas G]IG-an [karapzi] GİR-is GİR-an GIG-an [karapzi] kalulūpanza kalulup[as GIG-an karapzi] sankuwayanza sank[uwayas GIG-an karapzi]* 'penis lifts ailment of penis, sole lifts ailment of sole, foot lifts ailment of foot, toe lifts ailment of toe, nail lifts ailment of nail'; par. IX 34 II 43–44 *har[ganauwanza harganauwas K1.MIN [GİR-is GİR-an K1.MIN] kalulupes ŠU.H1.A-as handan* 'sole of sole likewise, foot of foot likewise, toes [are] matched

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

Even as *kaluhupa-* (q. v.) means either 'finger' or 'toe' (like Gk. *δάκτυλος* or Lat. *digitus*), *harganau-* is the 'flat' of either hand or foot (cf. Lat. *palma* 'palm' vs. *planta* 'sole', both cognate with *plānus* 'flat', *plōtus* 'planipes, flatfooted'). The root involved in *harganau-* is that of Gk. *ὑπέχω* 'stretch', *ὑπὸν* 'arm-width, fathom', Lat. *por-rigere manum* 'stretch out the hand', Skt. *rjū-* 'straight', Avest. *ərəzu-* 'straight; finger'. A protoform **H₁rgnu-* is reminiscent of Gk. *χεῖρας ὀρεγνός* 'stretching out the hands' (*Iliad* 1:351, 22:37), and the nasal suffixes of such semantic parallels as OCS *plesna* 'sole', Gk. *παλάμη* 'palm', OIr. *lām* 'hand', OE *folm* 'flat of the hand'. Cf. also Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 223–4; H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 33:21–2 (1987). For the diphthongal stem form cf. *harnau-*.
cf. Ch. de Lamberterie *HSprache* 38: 118–50, 91–3.

harki- 'white, bright' (BABBAR), nom. sg. c. *har-ki-is* (KUB X 52 VI 8–9 *harkiss-a* ^{NINDA} *harsis karū parsianza* 'the white breadloaf [is] already broken'; LVI 46 + XLIII 48 I 1 *harkiss-a* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *karū*; cf. Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:38 [1987]; XXXI 71 III 31–34 *nu-wa ANA* ^{SAL} *Uwā kuyēs ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ piyer nu-wa 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA arrus-kan EGIR-anda harkis* '[as for] the horses which they gave to U., one horse [was distinguished by] white croup in the rear'), *har-ki-s(a)* (KBo IV 6 Vs. 13 *parkuis-as apās misriwanza apās harkis-as apās* 'pure [is] she, radiant [is] she, white [is] she'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 12; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 149), *har-kis* (KUB XVI 6, 12), acc. sg. c. *har-ki-in* (XXIV 8 I 39 *nu-za harkin SILA-an dā[s]* '[Appu] took a white lamb'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 6; KBo XV 10 II 8–9 *qāsa-smas-kan parkuin misrivantan harkin* ^{GIS} *PA ŪL wallhantan UDU-un sipantahhun* 'behold, I have sacrificed to you a pure, radiant, white sheep not struck with a staff'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 20; XV 33 II 24 *harkin* NINDA 'white bread'), nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. *har-ki* (e. g. KUB VII 3, 13–14 *nu-ssan 1* ^{SIG} *suwīl SA₃ harki-ya anda taruppan* 'a woolen thread, red [and] white, [is] intertwined'; XLIV 61 Vs. 8 ½ *ū harki-ma menahhanda-pat dāi* 'he adds a half [dose of] white herb[al medicament]'; ibid. 14 ½ *ū harki dāi n-at ištū*

GEŠTIN ['he takes a half [dose of] white herb[al medication] and it with wine ...'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 18; XXXIII 66 II 18 + KBo 4.0.333 IGI.HI.A-as harkīl 'the white of eyes'; cf. ibid. 19 hanti-ssi 'on his forehead', ene[ras 'eyebrow', ibid. 20 laplipass-a 'and eyelash[es]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:130 [1965]; VIII 36 II 18 – 19 m]ān-kan antuhsi IGI.HI.A-was [...] [KALA]G.GA harki kisa 'if in a person's eyes the whites become strongly ...'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38; KBo XXIV 51 Vs. 5 [OHitt.] harki līpīr 'they [viz. the dogs] licked the white'; KUB XXXV 145 Vs. 12 harki hahhal 'bright greenery', or perhaps elliptic 'bush with white flowers'; XXXIV 76 I 1 – 2 kāsā G^{IS}hatakī[šnas ...] harki wassizzi 'behold, the hawthorn puts on white' [viz. blossoms]; XXXIII 19 II 14 ham]eshi harki 'in spring white'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123 [1965]), BABBAR-TIM (XXXIII 54, 13 – 14 ziga-z G^{IS}hatakīšnas hameshi-ya-az BABBAR-TIM [wassasi] 'you, hawthorn, in spring put on white'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]), nom. pl. c. har-ga-e-es (HT 1 III 8 – 9 mān hargaēs mān dankuwaēs ŪL kuitki duqqari 'whether [the rams are] white or black does not matter'; dupl. KUB IX 31 III 19 – 20 mān hargaēs mān tankuēs ŪL kuitki duqqari; dupl. IX 32 I 6 – 7 mān hargaēs mān dankuwaēs ŪL kuitki duqqāri), nom.-acc. pl. neut. har-ga (HT 1 I 14 [emended from dupl. KUB IX 31 I 21] G^{IS}KAK.HI.A-ma kattan] harga G^{IS}hahhal paskan 'underneath the pegs bright greenery [is] planted').

hark(i)es- 'become white', 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ki-es-zi* (*KBo* IV 2 I 44 – 45 *kā-wa GIM-an hās GAD.HIA iskunanta parkunuzzi nu-war-at harkeszzi* 'as this soap cleanses stained linen and they become white'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]), *har-ki-e-es-zi* (*KUB* XV 39 + XII 59 II 16 *kappani-ma-wa harkīēszi ūl* 'cumin does not become white'), *har-ki-i-e-es-zi* (dupl. 1412c + III 4 *kappani-ya-wa harkiyēszi ūl*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]), *har-ki-is-zi* (XXVII 67 II 28 *]parkunuwanzi n-at harkiszi* 'they cleanse [it] and it becomes white'). For derivation cf. e.g. *nakkes-* 'become heavy' (*nakki-*), *salles-* 'become big' (*salli-*), *suppes-* 'become pure' (*suppi-*), *talukis-* 'become long' (*taluki-*), *dankues-* 'become black' (*dankui-*).

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

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

harki- is routinely connected (at least since Kurylowicz, *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem J. Rozwadowski* 101 [1927], and Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:151 [1930]) with IE **A₁rg̃-* > **arǵ-* 'be white, gleam, dart, be quick' (*IEW* 64–5), with an archaic *i*-stem **A₁rg̃i-* seen compositionally in Gk. ἀργι-όδον 'white-toothed', ἀργιζους 'fleet-footed' besides ἀργός 'gleaming, swift' (< **ἀργρός*), matching Skt. *ṛji-pyá-* ('swift-darting', epithet of *śyená-* 'falcon'; cf. Avest. *arəziŋya-*, Arm. *arciv* 'eagle', folk-etymologically transformed Gk. αἰγυπιός 'vulture' [after αἶζ 'goat' and γύψ 'vulture'] < **ἀργι-πιός*) besides *ṛjrá-* 'gleaming, swift' (cf. the man's names *Ṛji-śvan-* and *Ṛjráśva-* with 'dog' and 'horse' respectively). Cf. further Gk. ἀργής, ἀργηεις, ἀργινείς, Skt. *árjuna-* 'shiny white', Toch. A *ārki*, B *arkwi* 'white'. In view of the cognate 'silver' words (Gk. ἀργυρος, Skt. *rajatām*, OPers. *ar-datam*, Lat. *argentum*, OIr. *argat*, etc.) it is possible that KÜ.BABBAR-*i* (*KBo* 1 42 IV 9; *IBoT* II 121 Vs. 16 KÜ.BABBAR-*i* GUŠKIN-*an* 'silver [and] gold') is to be read *harki* 'silver' (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:80–1 [1967], *JCS* 22:41–2 [1968]), and under the complementation of KÜ.BABBAR-*ant-* (e.g. *KUB* XVII 4, 2 and 8, XXXVI 19 IV 11 KÜ.BABBAR-*anza*, XXXVI 18 II 7 KÜ.BABBAR-*anti*) lurks a Hittite cognate **harkant-* (c.) 'silver', with a Luwian nom.-acc. sg. neut. **harkan(t)* perhaps seen in XXXV 52, 8 KÜ.BABBAR-*an* (Starke, *KLTU* 63; cf. J. Mallory and M. Huld, *KZ* 97:4 [1984]; G. G. Giorgadze, *AoF* 15:69–75 [1988]).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From denominative parallels such as *halwammar*, *hilammar*, *mūmar*, *harnammar* too would seem to be derivative from some adjectival **harna(nt)-* (cf. H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:14 [1983]). Yet a verbal base *harna-* is intrinsically more plausible, with a basic meaning 'stir, churn' and a secondary one of 'ferment' (replacing IE **yes-* still seen in *is(sa)na-*, *essana-* 'dough' [*HED* 1–2:384]). Assuming a nasal present *harna-* < *E₂r-n-E₁-*, the root **E₂ér-E₁-*, *E₂r-éE₁-* may be seen in Gk. *ἐρῶν* 'stir, motion, rush' < **E₂roE₁-s-éA₂* beside **E₂réE₁-s-o-* in OE *ræs* 'movement, rush' (separate from the homophone *ἐρῶν* (F) *ῥῆ* 'respite, rest', cognate with OE *row* 'rest').

HAR-naššar (?) šb, 44:407

harnasal(l)a- or *hurnasal(l)a-* (n.) 'box' (with lid), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *har-na-sal-la* (*KUB* XLII 34, 6 1-NU *harnasalla KAXUD si* 'one ivory box'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 54 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 56), *har-na-sa-al-la* (XLII 65 Rs. 3 1 ^{G15}*harnasalla KAXUD* [; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 159 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80; XV 30 II 6–7 *harnasalla u[-...]* [...] *anda istappūlli-* 'box ... within lid ...'), *har-na-sa-la* (XLII 33, 10 1 *harnasala KAXUD AM.SI*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 177 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 68), gen. sg. *har-na-sa-al-ter-as* (XLII 75 Vs. 6–7 2-e-ma GAM-an *tiyawas ahlipakiyas ŠA* ^{G15}*harnasallas KAXUD AM.SI* ^{G15}*ESI GAR.RA GAR-ri* 'but two depositional plates

see Hutter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Melch/GsNen. *harp-* / *harpija-* 'join with' ≠ *harpai-* 'heap, pile' < denom. from *harpa-* 'pile' ^{med. trans.}
har(a)p-, harapp-, harpiya-, harpai- (trans.) 'take to, begin (+ supine) like *dai-/tiya-*'; take in hand, set (up), assemble, add (up), stash, pile up, stack, heap'; (intrans. and midd.) 'betake oneself to, rally to, hew to, join (up with), side with, stand by (+ dat.-loc.); take a stand, stack up, join up, act together, (make a) settle(ment)', 1 sg. pres. act. *har-pa-a-mi* (KUB LII 14 II 29), *har-pi-ya-mi* (XXVI 12 IV 46–47 [ās] *suwanni ul harpiyanun* [...] [u] *harpiyami*; dupl. XXI 43, 15–16 *āssuwa]nni ul harpiyanun* [...] [...] *ul har]piyami* 'in friendship I did not join up ... nor am I joining up [now]'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 29), 2 sg. pres. act. *har-ap-si* (KBo XI 72 II 38–40 *mān-at-kan taknas* ^{DUTU-us sarratta-ma nu-ssan LUGAL-i SAL.LUGAL-i harapsi nu-tta uittu kēl ša sis-KUR.SISKUR linkiyanza epdu} 'but if you, sun of the earth, break it and side with the king [and] queen, may the oath of this ritual come and seize you'), *ha-ar-ap-si* (dupl. XI 10 II 36), *har-pi-ya-si* (KUB XVII 9 I 5), 3 sg. pres. act. *har-ap-zi* (e.g. KBo VI 10 I 26 [= Code 2:12] *it]ti LÚ.MEŠ* ^{GIS} *TUKUL harapzi*, with dupl. VI 11 I 22–23 *sa[hhan]* [ēssūwan *it]ti LÚ.MEŠ* ^{GIS} *TUKUL dāi* 'he starts doing feudal duty with the artisans'; KUB X 54 IV 13–16 *nu UGULA LÚ.MEŠ* ^{GIS} *BANŠUR NINDA KUR₄.RA.HI.A hūmandus parsiya n-as-kan LÚ* ^{GIS} *BANŠUR* ^{GIS} *BANŠUR-i harapzi* 'the head-waiter breaks all the breadloaves, and a waiter piles them on a table'; VII 13 Rs. 6 9 NINDA ERÍN.MEŠ *harapzi* 'piles up nine army loaves'), *har-pa-a-iz-zi* (XVII 27 II 25 *nu-kan* ^{SALŠU.GI} *DUTU-i IGI-anda* 3 GIR₄.HI.A *anda harpāizzi* 'the sorceress piles three pieces of bitumen facing the sun'), 3 sg. pres. midd. *har-ap-ta* (KBo VI 2 +

XIX 1 III 48 [= Code 1:66] *hāleas harapta* '[if a bovine or equine] strays to corrals'; ibid. 48–49 *asauni harapta* '[if a caprine nor ovine] strays to a fold'; dupl. VI 3 III 52 and 53; dupl. VI 8, 7; cf. Otten and Souček, *A/O* 21:6 [1966]), 1 pl. pres. act. *har-ap-pu-u-e-ni* (KUB XXX 36 II 7–9 *nu-mu-ssan sumess-a HUR.SAG.MEŠ harapten UMMA HUR.SAG.MEŠ le-ta nāhi wēs-ta harappuweni* 'Rally to me, ye mountains!' The mountains said 'Fear not, we shall rally to thee'), *har-pu-u-e-ni* (par. KBo XIII 131 Vs. 4 *wēs-ta harpuweni*), *har-pi-ya-[u-e-ni]* (or 1 pl. pres. midd. *har-pi-ya-[wa-as-ta-ti?]*) (par. KUB XXX 33 I 15 [UM]MA HUR.SAG.MEŠ *le-ta nāhi wēs-ta harpiya[weni]*), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-pa-an-zi* (e.g. IX 16 I 13–14 [emended from dupl. KBo III 25, 10 *har]-pu-us*] *nu [harpus] id-i-san piran harpanzi* 'they stack the heaps before the river'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:60 [1976]; KUB LVI 49 Vs. 8 *nu ina* ^{NA} *du-hanga am-sin harpanzi* 'on the d-stone they assemble the fire-altar'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 292; XXX 41 I 37 ^{NA} *huwasiya piran harpanzi* 'they pile [them] before the baitylos'; XI 8+9 II 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, III 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, inventorying wickerwork tables of royalty, typically III 6 ^{GIS} *BANŠUR AD.KID* ^{SAL} *Wal-lanni QAT[AM]MA harpanzi* 'they likewise add the wickerwork table of [queen] W.'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9:110 [1977]; KBo II 4 III 2; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 284), *har-pa-a-an-zi* (e.g. KUB X 88 I 3–4 ^{UZU} *MAŠKU harpan ... harpānzi* '[they] stack a pile of hides'; ibid. 9–13 43 ^{GIS} *BANŠUR.HI.A ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ harpānzi* 'forty-three tables of the lands they set', vs. ibid. 7 18 ^{GIS} *BANŠUR tianzi* 'they set eighteen tables'; X 15 III 17–19 *nu-kan ZAG.GAR.RA-ni* 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *harpānzi* GUNNI-i 2 NINDA KUR₄.RA *harpānzi* 'on the altar they stack three loaves, on the hearth they stack two loaves'; XVII 14 Rs. 8 7 ^{NINDA} *harpanussa harpānzi* 'they stack seven h.-bread'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 56; VII 22 Vs. 16 *ta NINDA.HI.A harpus harpānzi* 'they stack bread in heaps'; cf. ibid. 13–14 *n-at NINDA.HI.A ... harpi kattan dāi* 'deposits bread in a heap'; X 48 II 18–19 *nu-kan ša LÚ.MEŠ* ^{DUTU} *harpus ina* ^{URU} *Nir-hanta PANI id harpānzi* 'they stack the heaps of the men of the storm-god at N. before the river'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 16:60 [1976]), *har-ap-pa-an-zi* (XVII 28 III 39–40 *n-asta* ^{GISZA} *LAM.GAR-as andurza* 3 GUNNI.HI.A *GIŠ.HI.A-as harappanzi* 'inside the tent they set up three wood[-burning] fireplaces'; XXXII 123 III 33–34 *n-an* ^{NA} *huwasiya piran katta harappanzi* 'they pile it before the baitylos'; KBo XI 52 V 8 *har]palūu.A kuyēs harap-*

pan[zi 'who stack up heaps'], (3 pl. pres. midd.) *har-pa-an-ta-ri* (VI 3 II 18–19 [= Code 1:31] *appizziann-at-kan nassu idālawēssanzi nasma-at-kan harpantari nu-za é-ir taksan sarranzi* '[if] afterwards they either become estranged or they make a [divorce] settlement and split up the household'), *har-pa-an-da-ri* (KUB XXX 34 III 7 *nu-smas-(s)an ape harpandari* 'they will join you'), (1 sg. pret.) act. *har-pi-ya-nu-un* (XXVI 12 IV 46 and dupl. XXI 43, 15, quoted sub 1 sg. pres. act. *harpiyami* above; XXI 8 III 17 *parā harpiya[nun]*; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 18), (2 sg. pret.) act. *har-ap-ta* (XXX 10 Vs. 7–8 *nu-mu-kan āssauas antuhsas anda zik-pat* [...] *harapta* 'thou settest me among good men'), (3 sg. pret.) act. *har-ap-ta* (XXVI 65 III 8 *parā harapta*), ~~*ha-ra-ap-ta* (XXXI 64a + KBo III 55 Vs. 3) *harapta*~~, *har-pi-ya-at* (Bo 6404 + KUB XXXIII 84 + KBo XIX 109a, 17 *harpus SAG.DU-as* [...] *harpiya* 'piled heaps upon head[s]' (?); cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammui* 60), *har-ap-ta-ti* (KBo XIX 90 + III 53 Vs. 11 [OHitt.] *nu-ssan haraptati ta kū[ttar-set kisati* '[the combined force] banded together and became its [viz. the garrison's] mainstay'; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:90 [1982]), 2 sg. imp. midd. *har-ap-hu-ut* (III 7 I 23 *nu-wa-mu-ssan ziqq-a haraphut* 'stand by me!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:66 [1965]), *har-pi-ya-ah-hu-ut* (KUB XXI 27 IV 43 *nu-kan ziqq-a DINGIR-LUM ANA* 'Hattusili īr-ka *assuli harpiyahhut* 'you, o god, rally in favor to your servant H.!''; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 336; VI 46 IV 39–40 *nu-mu-kan GUD-i mahhan huit[taiyauwas harpiyahhut*; dupl. VI 45 III 71–72 *nu-mu-kan GUD-i [mahhan huittiyauwas] harpiyahhut* 'hew to me as to an ox of drawing!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 269), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-ra-ap-[te-en* (KUB XXX 34 + Bo 1509 III 16), *har-ap-te-en* (par. KUB XXX 36 II 7, quoted sub 1 pl. pres. act. *harappuweni* above), *har-ap-tin* (par. KBo XIII 131 Vs. 14), *har-pi-ya-at-tin* (X 45 II 12 *nu-za uwattin izzattin ekuttin nu-mu-kan har[pī]yattin* 'come, eat, drink, join me!'), 2 pl. imp. midd. *har-ap-du-ma-ti* (dupl. KUB XLI 8 IV 10–11 *nu-za uwattin ekuttin nu-mu-ssan harapdumati* 'come, drink, join me!'), *har-ap-tum-ma-ti* (dupl. 1112/u, 6 *haraptummati*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]), uncertain (act. or midd.?) *ha-ra-ap[-* (XXX 34 III 16 *sumess-a harap[-*; partic. *harpant-*, nom. sg. c. *har-pa-an-za* (IX 27 Vs. 6 1 NINDA ERIN.MEŠ *harpanza* 'one army loaf stashed'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272 [1987]; XXV 18 II 5 *arkiui kattan harpanza* 'stashed along the foyer'), *har-pa-a-an-za* (XI 26 V 4 1 ME NINDA.ŠE ...

3 sg. pret. midd.
ha-ra-ap-ta-ti
(KUB 64a
vs. 3)

harpānza 'one hundred cornbread stacked'), acc. sg. c. *har-pa-an-da-an* (sic XXXIII 32 III 3 *nu 9 NINDA ERIN.MEŠ harpanda* 'nine army loaves stacked'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *har-pa-an* (e.g. 1142/z + KUB XXV 31 Vs. 5–6 [...] *É.GAL-LIM GIS⁵ayan GIS⁵ZAG. GAR.RA-as kuit harpan ēsta* [¹⁰SA]NGA [¹⁰Telipinu dāi 'in [?] the palace what yew-wood had been piled on the altar the priest of T. takes'; cf. *ZA* 62:234 [1972]; par. KBo XXIII 63, 5–6 [OHitt.] [*k*]uit *harpan ēsta nu* [¹⁰SA]NGA; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 314; X 24 IV 21–23 *nu* *arkiui kattan ištū É* ^{URU}*Ankuwa harpan DUG.KAŠ-ya arta* 'alongside the foyer stands also stashed the beer-keg from Ankuwa'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20; KUB II 10d. 5), *har-pa-a-an* (XLII 64 Rs. 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 149 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426), nom. pl. c. *har-pa-an-te-es* (KBo XIX 90 + III 5 Vs. 9–10 [OHitt.] 3 LIM ERIN.MEŠ ^{LÜ}*hap[iris]* [^{LÜ}ann-a īr.M]EŠ *harpantes LUGAL-us kuius taruppun s-us* [*asandulas* ...] 'three thousand troops, a grab-bag of mercenaries and freemen's slaves, whom I the king combined and garrisoned'; II 12 II 17 3-ŠU *harpantes* 'stacked threefold'; 243/v, 14–15 *harpas IN.NU.DA.HI.A* [...] [...] SIG⁵-in *harpantes* 'heap of straw ... well stacked'), *har-pa-a-an-te-es* (KUB XXIX 8 I 4–5 *nu ištū ŠA* ^{IM}*kuyēs GUNNI.MEŠ harpantes n-as EGIR GUNNI.MEŠ apāsila tiskizzi* 'what fire-altars [have] been set up outside the storm-god's [temple], he himself keeps going to the fire-altars'; similarly *ibid.* 8–9 and 11), acc. pl. c. *har-pa-an-du-us* (XXVII 16 IV 25–27 *nu mān ANA SAL.LUGAL ZI-anza nu DINGIR.MEŠ anda harpiskizzi n-us DINGIR.MEŠ harpandus* [*ak*]kuskizzi 'if the queen is so minded, she will combine deities and toast these deities in combination [lit. as combined ones]', vs. *ibid.* 28 *hanti hanti* 'individually'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:92 [1957]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-pa-an-da* (XXX 19+20 + XXXIX 7 IV 19 ANA GUNNI *kue harpali harpanda* 'by the fireplace what piles [are] stacked'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 46; adverbially 'in combination, jointly, collectively', XXVII 1 IV 11 *nu mān LUGAL-i āssu nu 3 DINGIR.MEŠ 45 DINGIR.MEŠ anda harpanda akkuskizzi* 'if it please the king, he will toast jointly three gods out of forty-five gods'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84); verbal noun *harpuwar* (n.), gen. sg. *har-pu-u-wa-as* (LII 14 Vs. 26 ^{GIS}*BANŠUR-as harpūwas INIM-ni* 'in the matter of setting of tables'); iter. *harpiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *har-pi-is-ki-iz-zi* (XXVII 16 IV 26, quoted sub acc. pl. c. *harpandus* above).

HARPANU- 'stash up, stockpile', 2 sg. imp. *har-pa-nu-ut* (Mst)
part. *harpannut-*, adverbial nom.-acc. pl. n. *har-pa-nu-an-da* (sic! KUB 26.32 I 12 [with gloss-wedges]
'in sum, all told'; wrongly STET 232).

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1977]).
harpanalli(ya)- ‘adversarial, hostile, enemy’, nom. sg. c. *har-pa-na-al-li-[is]* (KBo I 30 I 19, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *ayabu* ‘enemy’; cf. *MSL* 12:14–5 [1969]; XVII 54 IV 13 *idālus-a harpanalli[s]* ‘evil adversary’), acc. sg. c. *har-pa-na-al-li-ya-an* (XXI 12, 15), *har-pa-na-al-li-in* (HT 6 Reverse 14 *idāhun harpanalli[n]*), gen. sg. c. *har-pa-na-al-la-as* (par. KBo XXIV 3 I 9 [i]dāhun *harpanallas* EME-an *kuraskimi* ‘I cut the evil tongue of an adversary’; cf. ZA 72:147 [1982]), nom. pl. c. *har-pa-na-li-e-es* (II 9 IV 33), acc. pl. c. *har-pa-na-al-li-us* (KUB I 8 IV 24–26 *namma-mu-kan* ¹IŠTAR GAŠAN-YA [_{LÜ.MES} *ar*] *sanattalus* ^{LÜ.MES} *harpanallius* BELU.HI.A DINI-YA [*šu-i d*] *āis* ‘then Ištar my lady placed in my hands enviers, adversaries, and my opponents in court’; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 26), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *har-pa-na-al-la* (adverbial in XIII 35 I 11–13 UNUT LUGAL-wa *kuit kuit harkun nu-wa* ANA UNUT LUGAL *harpan-alla* [with gloss-wedges] *ŪL kuwapikki iyanniyannun nu-wa-za ŪL kuitki dahhun* ‘whatever royal equipment I had, I never went at it hostilely, and did not take anything for myself’; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 4). For derivation cf. e.g. *duyanalli-*, *tarpanalli-*, and see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:213. The base-meaning may be ‘coming to grips, joining, engaging’ (in melee or fray; cf. e.g. German *raufen* ‘pluck; tussle, fight’).

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

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

The spelling *harapp-* points to a root **H₁er-p-* (for the root vocalism *a* before *r* cf. e.g. *hark-* 'get lost'). The etymon that fits

is Lat. *rapiō* 'seize and remove, snatch' (**H₁rep-y-*), *raptus* 'abduction', *rapīna* 'booty', *raptim* 'hurriedly', Gk. *ἐρέπτομαι* (**H₁repyo-*) 'snatch, grab, put away, consume', Doric (Aegina) *Αρεπνία* 'Harp' (the standard *Ἀρπυία* is influenced by *ἄρπη*, *ἀρπάζω*), Lith. *ap-rėpti* 'grab, grasp'. As usual, Hittite prefers the root-shape **H₁ér-p-* to **H₁r-ép-* (see e.g. *HED* 1-2:175). The Greek prothetic vowel is no sure guide to laryngeal color, but *Αρεπνία* (vs. the "assimilatory" *ἐρέπτομαι*) may point to *A₁* (cf. *Odyssey* 1:241, 14:371 *Ἀρπυῖαι ἀνῆρέψαντο* 'Harpies snatched [him] away'). This comparison eliminates any tie-in of Lat. *rapiō* with Ved. *rāpas* 'infirmity' (already doubted s.v. *arp-* [*HED* 1-2:169]).

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

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

KBo II 8 I distinguishes (line 14) EZEN *harpas* from EZEN ŠE₁₂ *har-pi-ya* and proceeds to name and describe the two individually (line 17+, 31+). The latter can be interpreted as EZEN ŠE₁₂ *HARPI-ya* 'feast of winter and summer', with *HARPI* from Assy. *harpū* 'summer' (cf. Hitt. EZEN *KUŠŠI*, Assy. *kuš.ši harpi* 'winter [and] summer', and see s.v. *ham[m]eša[ni]-*). As in Assyrian *harpū* supplanted Akk. *ebūru* 'harvest; summer', *HARPI* in Hittite equals EBUR which designated the intrusive interseason of

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

har(a)s-, harsiya- 'till (the soil)' or the like, 3 sg. pres. act. *har-as-zi* (VBoT 58 I 29–30 ^D*Telipinun halzisten apās-wa* DUMU-YA [na]kkis *haraszi teripzi wātar nāi halkinn-a* 'summon Telipinus; that son of mine [is] mighty; he tills, plows, brings in water, and grain ...'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), *har-si-[i-e-]iz-zi* (KBo XV 9 III 5; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 64), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-si-ya-an-zi* (KUB XXIV 7 I 31–32 *nu namma A.ŠA-an [... ŪL] [h]arsiya[nz]i* 'they do [not] till the field'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:306 [1977]; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:156–7 [1983]), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-~~ar~~-as-ta* (242b, 7), inf. *har-su-wa-an-zi* (KBo VI 28 Rs. 22–23 *harsuwanzi te[r]i[pp]uwanzi*; cf. Götz, *Neue Bruchstücke* 54; Imparati, *SMEA* 18:40 [1977]); **verbal noun *har-sa-u-wa-ar*** (KUB XII 58 I 17 *kuwapi harsauwar maninkuwan* NU.GÁL 'where there is no tilling close by'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 8; Bo 4474 I 6 ^{A.ŠA}*harsauwar* 'tilling-field'; KUB XXXV 54 III 47 *harsauwarra-a*, or nom.-acc. pl. *harsauwarra*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 69), dat.-loc. pl. ^{A.ŠA}*har-sa-ū-na-as* (KBo VI 34 II 39; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:164 [1924]; Neu, *IF* 77:288 [1972]; Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 36); iter. *haraski-*, *harsiski-*, 1 pl. pres. or pret. act. *har-as-ki-u-e[-ni/en]* (XIX 104, 7; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 14), 3 pl. pres. act. *har-si-is-kān-zi* (KUB XXIV 7 I 21 *nu A.ŠA-an iku-li harsiskanzi* 'they keep tilling the field by iku [an area measure]'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 403), *har-si-es-kān-[zi]* (LI 74 Vs. 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:118). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:395, 298; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 3:367, 370 (1955), *Sommer Corolla* 102.

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

harranzi mallanzi, sesdu māu. Suggestions: *hars-* is part of a stylistic pleonasm (cf. e.g. Akk. *urhu padanu* 'way [and] road') or a somewhat technical foreignism glossed by *teripp-* (Puhvel, *JAOS* 74:86–8 [1954] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 1–3 [1981]), or a general term more closely defined by *teripp-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:410), or a word denoting breaking up the clods after plowing (A. Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica* 245 [1968]) or the sod before plowing (*teripp-*; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 42–3 [1974]), or *hars-* and *teripp-* distinguish separate procedures of plowing, known from Mesopotamia (Puhvel, *Technology and Culture* 5:183–4 [1964] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 117–8 [1981], *Bi. Or.* 36:57 [1979]). According to the last view *teripp-* denoted ground-breaking, while *hars-* involved the use of a seeder-plow (cf. the two divergent milling techniques, *mallai harrai*). Just as the adoption of this Mesopotamian-based technological improvement led to the disuse of IE **ar(ā)-* 'to plow' in Indo-Iranian, there is little reason to retain the formally very questionable and unconvincing connection of Hitt. *hars-* (and the semantically quite irrelevant *harra-* 'crush, pound', q.v.) with IE **ar(ā)-* (e.g. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 70; Sturtevant, *IHL* 40–1; L. L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before sonant* 25–6, 56, 69 [1948]; E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:450–1 [1952]; T. V. Gamkrelidze, *Peredneaziatskij shornik* 241–2 [1961]; Rosenkranz, *JEOL* 19:501 [1965–6]; Kammenhuber, *MSS* 24:85 [1968]; Gusmani, *Lessico* 67). Oettinger's ad-
duction of Skt. *rṣāti* 'push, thrust' (*Stamm-bildung* 193), allegedly root-related to **ar(ā)-* (**A₁er-A-*), is no improvement. Even less probable was the attempt by Pedersen (*Hitt.* 177) to connect *hars-* with Skt. *kārṣ-* 'plough' (cf. Polomé, *op. cit.* 445–6; Puhvel, *opera cit.*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

harsanal(1)ai- 'wreathe', 3 sg. act. GILIM-*a-iz-zi*, 3 pl. pres. act. *har-sa-na-la-an-zi*, GILIM-*an-zi* (KBo II 13 Vs. 18 DINGIR.MEŠ GILIM-*-anzi* UKÜ.HI.A-*za* GILIM-*aizzi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma-as-kan duskiskanzi* 'they wreathe the deities, the people wreathe themselves, and they entertain the deities'; HT 1 II 20–22 1 UDU NITÁ *unniyanzi nu* SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG SA₅ SÍG SIG₇ SÍG GE₆ SÍG BABBAR-*ya anda tarnanzi n-at* SÍG KILĪLU *iyanzi nu* 1 UDU NITÁ *harsanalanzi* 'they bring one ram, interlace blue wool, red wool, yellow wool, black wool, and white

wool, make it into a wreath, and wreath the one rain'; dupl. *KUB* IX 31 II 46–49, esp. 48–49 [*n*]-at^{SG} *KILULU* [sic] *iyanzi nu* 1 *UDU* NITÁ [*hars*]*amalanzi*; XVII 35 II 25–26 *DINGIR-LUM GILIM-anzi* ^{LI}*SANGA-ya GILIM-anzi DINGIR-LUM-ma-as-kan duskanzi hullhudiya tianzi NA-an siyanzi* 'they wreath the deity and they wreath the priest; they entertain the deity, they proceed to wrestling, they throw the stone'). *Ku.58.26 Vs.19 D-LUM KI-LI-LA-an-zi*, contamination of *GILIM-anzi* and *KILLA-an-zi*.

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

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

In the absence of precise meaning, etymological speculation is otiose (such as a derivation from *harsan-*, i.e. *harsar* 'head'; cf., however, *KBo* XVII 3 IV 15–16 *halkiyas harsār ... [ziz.ii]t.ā-s-a harsār* 'heads of barley ... heads of wheat'). = *haššarunġla* - (metathesis) ANP. 170
SAG.DU.C. 7. Lat. B. Or 24. 167. 320

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

'capital penalty'; *ibid.* IV 66 SAG.DU-as *wastul* 'capital offence'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372, 376 [1934]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ar-as-ni* (KBo II 19 = KUB VIII 2 Rs. 13), *har-sa-ni* (KBo XVII 3 I 7–8 *irma(n)-smas-kan dāhhun* [*kardī-smi-ya-at-kan dāhhun*] *harsani-smi-ya-at-kan dāhhun* 'I have taken illness from you, both from your heart have I taken it and from your head have I taken it'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18; Neu, *Altheth.* 12; KUB XX 38 Vs. 6 *harsani-smi genzu d[ā-* 'have mercy on their head'; Bo 3276 Vs. 6 *harsani-ssi* 'on his head', besides *ibid.* 2 *INA* SAG.DU-*šu*; KUB XXXIII 66 II 17 *harsani-s[si]* K1.MIN 'on his head likewise', paralleling *ibid.* 16 *tuikki-ssi* 'on his body', *ibid.* 18 *hanti-ssi* 'on his forehead'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 47), *har-sa-ni-i* (KBo III 28 II 17 *attas-mas harsani* 'id-ya mekkies papreskir 'against my father's head many have incriminated themselves with the river-god' [viz. by flunking a water ordeal]), *ANA* SAG (*ibid.* 18 'Kizzuwas-pat *ANA* SAG ABI-YA 'id-ya papritta 'K. in particular incriminated himself against my father's head with the river-god'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]), *ANA* SAG.DU (KUB XIV 16 IV 18 A) *NA* SAG.DU-*šu* *uskiski-tallanni* 'for his bodyguard'), SAG.DU-i (*ibid.* 20 SAG.DU-i *uskisgatal-las* 'bodyguard'; cf. Götze, *AM* 74), *har-as-sa-na-a* and abl. sg. SAG.DU-na-az (KBo III 1 II 50–52 *kuis šēš.MEŠ-na NIN.MEŠ-na istarna idālu iyazi nu LUGAL-was harassanā suwāyezzi nu tūliyan halzistin māt-apa uttar-set paizzi nu* SAG.DU-na-az *sarnikdu* 'who among brothers and sisters alike does evil and has designs on the king's head, call the assembly; when its verdict is handed down, he shall atone with his head'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 34, 123, 133–4 [1984]), SAG.DU-az (*ibid.* 55 and 59 *nu* SAG.DU-az-pat *sarnikdu*; KUB XXIV 13 III 13 *n-an-zan namma ser katta* SAG.DU-az *epzi* 'she grabs him once more by the head'), *har-sa-an-na-az* (dupl. KBo XXIII 23 Vs. 78 *n-an]-za namma ser katta harsann[az epzi]*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 106, 212), *har-sa-na-za* (KUB XXIV 13 II 3 *harsanaza-at-kan kattan parkunum* 'from the head I cleansed it' [viz. *ibid.* 2 *alwanzatar* 'hex']), SAG.DU-za (XXI 27 IV 36 SAG.DU-za *sarninkan harmi* 'I have personally made restitution'), nom.-acc. pl. *har-sa-ar* (KBo XVII 3 I 18 *andusās harsarr-a* ^{G1ŠUKUR.HI.A}-[*va*] 'both human heads and spears'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 13), *har-sa-a-ar* (dupl. XVII 1 I 23 *andusās harsārr-a* ^{G1ŠUKUR.⟨HI.⟩A-ya}; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 20; Neu, *Altheth.* 6; XVII 3 IV 15–16 *halkiyas harsār ishiyanda* [*ziz.HI.A-s-a harsār ishiyanda* 'the heads of barley [are] tied, and the heads of wheat [are] tied'; dupl. XVII 1 IV 19–20; cf. Otten–

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

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

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

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

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

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

a-, i- stems
see Grottel
2A 80, 22: 74+
lit.

19:282 [1964]; Gusmani, *Lessico* 23). An assumption Hitt. *h* < IE **k̂* (first in Pedersen, *Hitt.* 176) will not do, but there are other means of accounting for the discrepancy. Better than assuming "influence" of the synonym *hala-* (cf. W. Petersen, *Arch. Or.* 9:203 [1937]; Kronasser, *VLPH* 83–4), an inner-Hittite regressive assimilation of the outcome of **k̂*(*e*)*rH*₁*st* to **harhsar* is conceivable (with subsequent dissimilatory loss of interconsonantal *h*; cf. Peters, *Untersuchungen* 230); the same developments (*k* – *h* > *h* – *h* > *h* – ∅) are observed in *harwant-* and *harwasi-* (q.v.).

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

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

Cf. *harsal(l)ant-*, *harsanalli-*, *harsanili-*, *harsi-*, *harsunna-* with metathes. *haššarnila-* < *haššarnat-* *ATP*: 170; *Rössle* *IMSS* 58, 98.

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

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

NINDA.KUR₄.RA), *har-sa-as* (KUB XV 34 III 58 UDUN *harsas* 'bread-oven'; cf. Haas — Wilhelm, *Riten* 200), dat.-loc. sg. *har-si* (e.g. KBo IX 106 II 18 *isnas-ma-wa-kan kās* DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA^{harsi} ūl. paizzi 'this dough does not go into a breadloaf for the gods'; dupl. KUB XII 59 II 18 — 19 DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA^{harsi} ūl. [; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:358 [1953]; KBo IX 136 Rs. 7 NINDA^{harsi} ser 'on the breadloaf'; KUB XIII 4 III 58 — 59 *n-asta* DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA^{harsi} DUG^{ispan-}tuzzi *nahsarattan mekki tiyan ha[rin]* 'for the breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of the gods keep your respect very much in place'; ibid. 79 — 80 *warapzi-ma-za nāui n-as* DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA^{harsi} DUG^{ispan-}tuzzi *maninkuwan saknuanza sāliqa* 'he has not yet bathed and goes filthy near the breadloaf [and] libation-vessel of the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 — 8 [1934]), *har-sa-i* (KBo XXV 149 Vs. 6 — 7 *memal dāi* [... -a]s *piran* NINDA^{harsai} *suhāi* 'takes meal ... pours forth onto the loaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 234; XXV 88, 5 [AN]A NINDA^{harsai} 3-ŠU paizzi 'goes thrice to the breadloaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 167; KUB VII 1 II 26 NINDA^{harsai} *ma-at-san kuedani kitta n-an ANA DUTU *parsiya* 'on what breadloaf it is laid, that [s]he breaks to the sun-god'; cf. ibid. 18 ANA NINDA.KUR₄.RA *dāi* 'lays on a breadloaf'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 — 50 [1961]), instr. sg. (or pl.) *har-si-it* (XXIV 2 Vs. 12 *nu-tta kāsa mukiskimi* NINDA^{harsit} DUG^{ispanduzit} 'lo, I am entreating you with breadloaf [and] libation'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 16; dupl. XXIV 1 I 13 — 14 *nu-tta kāsa mukiskimi* NINDA^{harsit} [DUG^{ispa}]nduzit; XXXIII 8 24 [N¹]NDA^{harsit} *ispa*[nduzit; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]; XXXIII 121 II 7 *nu-za namma* 'Kessis DINGIR.MEŠ-us NINDA^{harsit} *ispanduzzi* ūl. *kappuizzi* 'K. no longer looks after the gods with breadloaves and libations'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]), abl. sg. *har-si-ya-az* (XIII 4 I 64 — 65 *kuis-wa-kan tuēl* DINGIR.LIM-az NINDA^{harsiyaz} [DUGⁱ]sp[a]nduzziyaz *dās* 'whoever has taken from thy breadloaf [or] libation-vessel, o god'), nom. pl. *har-si-is* (X 39 III 4 — 8 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *sarrisnilies udanzi n-asta* NINDA^{harsis} UDU.HI.A L¹U.MEŠ^{SANGA-ya hassan huuiyanzi} 'they bring three s.-loaves; thereupon the loaves, sheep, and priests hie to the fireplace'), *har-sa-es* (KBo XVII 3 IV 20 3 NINDA^{harsaes} *ispantuzzi-ya marmuan kitta* 'three breadloaves and the m.-libamen lie [in readiness]'), *har-sa-[a]-es* or *har-sa-[e]-es* (dupl. XVII 1 IV 23; cf. Otten — Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 17, 11), *har-sa-a-e-es* (IBoT III 113 Rs. 6 *hūmandas* NINDA^{harsāes}; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 355), acc. pl. NINDA^{har-si-us} (e.g. KBo XX 67 II 50; VBoT 28 II 3), *har-sa-us* (e.g. KBo XI 25 II 5 — 6 L¹U.MEŠ^{SIL.A.ŠU.DUG.A}*

NINDA^{harsaus} LUGAL-i SAL.LUGAL-ri-ya *pianzi* 'the cupbearers give breadloaves to king and queen'; repeated ibid. 11 — 12; XVII 74 II 35 L¹U G¹IS^{BANŠUR} *suppaz* G¹IS^{BANŠUR-az} 2 *tu[ni]ngas* NINDA^{harsaus} *dāi* 'the waiter takes from the clean table two t.-loaves'; XVII 1 IV 5 NINDA^{harsaus} *para[sha]* 'I break breadloaves'; KUB XXXIV 123 I 22 NINDA^{harsaus} GE₆-TIM *parsiyanda* 'they break black breadloaves'; KBo XVII 11 IV 3 2 NINDA^{harsaus} GE₆ *parsi*[- 'break[s?]' two black breadloaves'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32, *Altheth.* 68; KUB XXV 88, 7 *harsaus* *parsiyanda* 'they break loaves'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 167; KUB XVII 21 II 16 — 17 NINDA^{harsaus} DUG^{ispan-}tuzzi-ya *kuez arha piddāir* 'whence they have brought off breadloaves [and] libation-vessels'; ibid. III 25 NINDA^{harsaus} DUG^{ispa}[ntuzzi-ya; cf. ibid. IV 10 NINDA.KUR₄.RA DUG^{ispan-}tuzzi; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 156, 158, 160), *har-sa-ū-s(a)* (KBo XVII 30 III 6 ū NINDA^{harsaus-a} *par[si-]*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 149), *har-sa-ū-us* (KUB VII 8 II 11 — 13 *nu-tta* SISKUR.SISKUR.HI.A-TIM NINDA^{harsaus} *memal* DUG^{ispanduzziyassar} *ape peskanzi* 'those will always give you offerings, breadloaves, groats, and libation-vessels'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]; KBo XVII 4 II 17 *ha[r]s[a]ūs siwae[s]*; cf. Otten — Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24 — 5; Neu, *Altheth.* 14), NINDA.KUR₄.RA-us (dupl. XVII 1 II 9 4 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-us IMZUTIM *ie[mi]* 'I make four sour breadloaves'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 7), NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A-us (KUB XXXI 117 II 3; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154), gen. pl. *har-sa-ya-as* (XVII 21 II 8 — 9 *sumenzan nepisas* DINGIR.MEŠ-as *kue* KUR.KUR.HI.A NINDA^{harsayas} DUG^{ispantuzziyas} *argamanass-a ēsta* 'your lands, gods of heaven, which were [purveyors] of breadloaves, libation-vessels, and tribute'; XXXI 124 II 20 A.ŠA A.GAR-KUNU-ma-za NINDA^{harsayas} 'your fieldlands, [purveyors] of breadloaves'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 158), dat.-loc. pl. *har-si-ya-as* (XIII 6 III 9 DINGIR.MEŠ-as NINDA^{harsiyas} 'for the gods' breadloaves'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:386 [1934]), *har-sa-ya-as* (KBo XX 67 II 41 — 43 *n-an-san* ... *parsiyantas* NINDA^{harsayas} IGI.HI.A-wa *ka[tta]* *ser dāi* 'he puts it [viz. the loaf] upside down upon the frittered loaves'), *har-sa-as* (XXV 112 II 8 — 9 NINDA^{harsas-(s)mas} *ispantuzziyas-(s)mas* *tuwā[ttu]* 'for our loaves ... for our libation-vessels grace!'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 191; XI 39 I 8 — 9 NINDA^{harsas} EGIR-an *iyanta* '[they] walk behind the loaves'; III 63 II 14 *n-at harsas ser* [dāi 'he puts them upon loaves'; 329/d IV 9 — 10 *n-at-san* NINDA^{harsas} *ser arha*; XV 10 I 5 *n-at harsas dāi* 'he puts them on loaves'; ibid. III 64 — 65 *nu-ssan ēshar harsas ser tarnas* 'he let blood upon the loaves'; repeated ibid. 66 — 67,

68–69; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 12, 44–6, 57–9), NINDA.KUR₄.RA-as (XVII 105 IV 13 GİR-it ēšhar NINDA.KUR₄.RA-as ser tarnai 'with a knife he lets blood upon the loaves').

harsiyala-, harsiyalli- (c.) 'bread-server', nom. sg. har-si-ya-la-as (KUB XIII 3 II 24–26 [end of a long list of kitchen personnel] LÜ harsiyalas LÜ zuppālas LUGAL-was ZI-ni ser ITU-mi ITU-mi linkiskitin 'bread-server and z-man, swear monthly by the king's soul!'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47), nom. pl. har-si-ya-al-li-ya-as (XIV 12 Rs. 8 harsiyalliyas-kan ispanuzziyal[-; cf. Götze, *KIF* 238), LÜ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR₄.RA-us (XIV 8 Rs. 18 LÜ.MEŠ NINDA.KUR₄.RA-us LÜ.MEŠ ispanuzziyalus 'bread-servers [and] libation-bearers'; cf. dupl. XIV 11 III 41 LÜ.MEŠ NINDA.SI.SÁ 'men in charge of bread'; Götze, *KIF* 214–5). For formation cf. ispanuzziyala-, auriyala-, arkammanalli-.

harsiyal(l)i- (n.) 'breadbox, storage jar, pithos', sometimes of wood (KBo XI 50 V 17 GİŠ har-si-ya-al-li; shorthand har-si, e.g. Bo 3315 Vs. 5–7 kuedani UD.KAM-ti [...] [...] DUG ha)rsiyalli apedani ge[nuw]anzi [...] si genuwas DUG harsi 'on the day when ..., on that [day] they open the pithos ... of opening the pithos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 277a), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. har-si-ya-li (KUB VII 24 Vs. 6 GIM-an zenas DÜ-ri DUG harsiyali-kan ishūwanzi 'when fall comes, they pour [= fill] the pithos'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:23, 14–15 [1973]; I 1 IV 72–73 n-an-kan hūmanti-ya-pat EGIR-an NA⁴ZI.KIN [t]ittanuskanzi DUG harsiyali-ya-kan ishūiskanzi 'at each [location] once again they are setting her up a baitylos and are pouring pithoi'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28), har-si-ya-al-li (e.g. VII 5 IV 12–16 namma-ssi mān DUG harsiyalli āssu n-an-zan DUG harsiyalli tittanuzi mān ŪL-ma n-an-za NA⁴hūwasi tittanuzi nasma-an-za ALAM-ma iyazi 'if a pithos [is] pleasing to [the deity], he sets her up a pithos, but if not, he sets her up a baitylos or worships her as an icon'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:276 [1987]; KBo XVII 74 I 36 [OHitt.] harsiyal[l]i-ma 2-e apiya 15 harsis GE₆ [kitta] 'two breadboxes, here [in one] are stored fifteen black loaves'; KUB XXI 17 II 11–14 nu-za-kan DINGIR-LUM ŠA URU.MEŠ DUG harsiyalli tehun halkiyas-si DUG harsiyalli tehun ŠA GEŠTIN-ya-ssi DUG harsiyalli iyanun 'for the goddess inside cities I set pithoi; a pithos of grain I set for her, and a pithos of wine I made for her'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:22; Lebrun, *Samuha* 145; ibid. III 2–3 [nu-za-kan D_{LI}]Š URU Samuhi DUG harsiyalli tehun 'for Ištar at Samuha I have set pithoi'; ibid. 13–17 nu DUG harsiyalli hēsanzi selius-ma sunnan[zi] nu-kan DUG harsiyal[li] halkiyass-a sunna[nzi] DUG harsiyalli] ŠA GEŠTIN-ya-kan sunn[anzi] 'they

open the pithoi, and they fill the granaries; they fill a pithos with grain, and they fill a pithos with wine'; XV 1 III 14–16 nu-wa ANA DINGIR-LIM 3 DUG harsiyalli 1-EN ŠA YÀ 1-EN ŠA LĀL 1-EN ŠA INBI tehhi 'for the god I set three pithoi – one of oil, one of honey, and one of fruit'; XV 11 II 8–11 [nu] ANA DINGIR-LIM DUG harsiyalli INA URU KÜ.BABBAR-ti Ū INA URU Hakmis ishūwahhi DUG harsiyalli-ma-wa-za-kan ZI-za dahhi DUG harsiyalli-ma mān IŠTU É.GAL-LIM hēsanzi mān ME_U kuinki uyanzi 'to thee, goddess, I shall pour a pithos at Hattusas and Hakmis, and I shall take the pithos to heart, whether they open the pithos out of the palace or send some bigwig'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:16 [1973]; XII 2 IV 3 GIM-an tethai nu-kan DUG harsiyalli hēsanzi 'when it thunders, they open the pithos'; XXV 23 I 38–39 GIM-an-ma hamishi tethai nu-kan DUG harsiyalli ginuwanzī n-at LÜ.MEŠ URU Urista harranzi mallanzi 'but when in spring it thunders, they open the pithos, and the men of U. pound and grind it'), har-si-al-li (VII 12 Vs. 4 1 DUG harsiyalli), har-si (e.g. KBo II 1 IV 13 4 PA ZIZ 2 PA GEŠTIN DUG harsi ŠA-BA 2½ ['pithoi, four half-measures wheat, two half-measures wine, included two-and-a-half ...'; ibid. I 21–22 6 PA ZIZ DUG harsi 11 PA [...] DUG harsi DUTU-ŠI ME-is 'pithos, six half-measures wheat, pithos eleven half-measures ... his majesty set'; ibid. II 3 23 PA ZIZ DUG harsi DUTU-ŠI ME-is 'pithos, twenty-three half-measures wheat, his majesty set'; similarly ibid. II 18, 29, 44, III 4–5, 10–11, 18–19, 24, 31, 40; II 7 Vs. 19 1 PA ZIZ DUG harsi; KUB XVII 35 II 8 3½ ZIZ DUG harsi DUTU-ŠI ME-is; VII 24 Vs. 5 1 PA ZIZ 1 PA GEŠTIN DUG harsi ŠA É HUR SAG Kukumisa ishūwanzi 'pithoi, one half-measure wheat, one half-measure wine, inside temple of Mt. K. they pour'; KBo II 13 Vs. 25 zēni ... ANA DINGIR.MEŠ dapias DUG harsi EBUR suhhan[zi] 'in the fall ... to all the gods they pour [= fill] a harvest jar'; II 7 Vs. 6 zēni DUG harsi suhhan[zi]; ibid. 20 zēni DUG harsi 1 PA suhhan[zi]; KUB XVII 35 II 10 ANA DUTU MĒ-ya-kan DUG harsi TA NINDA.KUR₄.RA suhhanzi 'and for the sun-god-in-water they fill a pithos with breadloaves'; ibid. 13–14 kuedani-kan UD.KAM-ti EZEN DUG harsi hēsuwas karaptari ŠA DUTU MĒ-kan DUG harsi apedani UD.KAM-ti IŠTU NINDA.KUR₄.RA hēsanzi 'on the day when the feast of pithos-opening is concluded, the sun-god's-in-water pithos on that day along with the breadloaves [in it] they open' [cf. Gk. πιθοίγια, festival of jar-opening at the Anthesteria]; XXV 23 I 37 and VBoT 26, 8 DUG hanissas KAŠ DUG harsi suhhuwas 'jug beer for pithos-pouring'; KUB XLII 105 III 7–8 ANA EZEN DUG harsi suhhuwas 'for the feast of pithos-pouring'; XVII

35 IV 1 EZEN *zeni* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhuwas* 'feast of pithos-pouring in the fall'; XXXVIII 32 Vs. 6–7 2 EZEN-*si* ^{DUG}*harsi suhhawas* *hēsu*[*was*] *katta hamankatta* 'for him he mandated two feasts, of pouring and of opening the pithos'; *KBo* II 7 Rs. 16 GIM-*an hameshanza* *DÜ-ri tethai* ^{DUG}*harsi-kan genuanzi* 'when spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos'; *ibid.* Vs. 9 GIM-*an-ma* *TEŠİ DÜ-ri tethai* ^{DUG}*harsi genuanzi* 'but when spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos'; *ibid.* 23 *harsi-kan genuanzi*; *KUB* XVII 37 I 4 *harsi-ya-kan iŠTU* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *ginuwanz[i]* 'the pithos along with the bread-loaves they open'; *KBo* II 13 Vs. 8 ^{DUG}*harsi gi* *nuwanzi* 3 NINDA.KUR₄ 1 ^{DUG}*hanisas* KAŠ ^{DUG}*harsi* '[when] they open the pithos, pithos [has] three sweetbreads [and] one jug beer'; *KUB* XLII 105 III 10 EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi genuwas* 'feast of pithos-opening'), gen. sg. *har-si-ya-li-as* (*KBo* XIII 234 Rs. 13 EZEN *harsiyalias ke*[*muwas* 'feast of pithos-opening'), *har-si-ya-la-as* (*KUB* XXVII 15 IV 23 EZEN *harsiyalas hesuwas*, with dupl. *KBo* XIII 242, 6 *JEZEN* ^{DUG}*har-si-ya-al-la*), *har-si-ya-al-la-as* (*KUB* XXVII 15 IV 10 ^{DUG}*harsiyallas ziz* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *DÜ-anzi* 'the wheat of the pithos they make into bread'), *har-si-as* (e.g. XVII 37 I 10 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*harsias parsianzi* 'pithos bread they break'; *KBo* II 7 Vs. 11, Rs. 7, 19, 21 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*harsias*), *har-si-ya-as* (e.g. II 13 Vs. 11, 12, 13, 15 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*harsiyas*), ^{DUG}*har-si* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVIII 26 Vs. 12 and 18 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ^{DUG}*harsi*; perhaps also in the construction EZEN ^{DUG}*harsi hēsuwas* [or *genuwas* or *suhhuwas*], if construed genitively like EZEN *harsiyalas hesuwas*), dat.-loc. sg. *har-si-ya-li(s)* (XXVII 70 II 20 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *LÄBKU* *parsiya n-an-kan* ANA ^{DUG}*harsiyali ziz* ME-*i* 'he breaks a moist breadloaf and puts it in the pithos for wheat'; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:104 [1969–70]), *har-si-ya-al-li* (XXV 18 III 35 ^{DUG}*harsiyalli* 1-ŠU *sipanti* [he] libates to the pithos once' [surrounded by other datives, e.g. 29 and 37 *hassī* 'to the fireplace', 31 ^{GIS}*DAG-ti* 'to the throne']), *har-si-ya-al-li-ya* (XXXII 108 Vs. 13 ^{DUG}*harsiyalliya piran* 'before the pithos'), abl. sg. *har-si-ya-al-la-az* (X 11 V 1–4 *iŠTU* GAL KÜ.BABBAR ^{DUG}*harsiyallaz* GEŠTIN *sarā* 3-ŠU *karapzi katta-ya* 3-ŠU *lāhui* 'with a silver goblet he takes up wine from the pithos three times and pours it down three times'), *iŠTU harsi* (*VBoT* 3 VI 8–9 *iŠTU* 2 *harsi* GIM-*an* QATAMMA *lāhūwanzi* 'as they likewise pour from two jars'), gen. pl. *har-si-ya-al-li-ya-as* (*KUB* X 11 IV 25–26 LUGAL-*us* ^{DUG}*harsiyalliyas* É.ŠÀ-na [= *tunnakesna*] *paizzi* 'the king goes to

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

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

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

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

^{NINDA}*harsi*-, like ^{DUG}*harsi*- (q.v.), is a variant *i*-stem noun akin to *harsar/harsan*- 'head' (cf. e.g. *sakki*-[*ganiyauwanza*] besides *sakkar/sakn*-, or *hasti*- besides Skt. *āsthi/asthan*-, or *harki*-, Skt. *ṛjī*-, Gk. *ῥῥῖ*- besides Skt. *ṛjā*-). The range of meanings ('head', 'loaf', 'jar') resembles that of French *boule* 'bowl, ball, head, military ration loaf' (cf. NINDA ERİN.MEŠ 'army bread' which was *harpanza* 'piled up' like NINDA.KUR₄.RA [see s.v. *harp*-]).

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

matically preserved in adjectives (e.g. gen. sg. *sallayas* > *sallas*); their survival in *harsi-* may have been abetted by the adjectival feel of the profuse sumerogram NINDA.KUR₄.RA 'thick bread' for ^{NINDA}*harsi-* perceived as NINDA *harsi-*.

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

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

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

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

Cf. *harsiharsi-*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

harsupanni- and *haraspawant-* recall in formation *armanni-* and *armawant-* (see s. v. *arma-* and *armai-*), representing a (diminutive?) noun derivative and a denominative (or denominative – deverbative) adjective in -want- (of the type *saknuwant-* 'shitty', *kartimmiyawant-* 'angry'), secondarily nominalized. An underlying *hars(u)pa-* (syncopational spelling *har-as-pa-*) may be a diminutive of ^{NINDA}*harsi-* 'breadloaf' (q. v.; cf. *kalulupa-* s. v.), thus 'loaf-

let', rederived in *harsupanni-* 'little loaflet' and adjectivized in *hars(u)pa-want-* 'having dumplings' (*Bo* 3648, 19 ¹⁰TÜL *har-as-pa-wa-an[-* 'dumpling soup') or 'loaflet-like' (bread). Cf. also Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:222, 266; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 157, 154–5 (1974).

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

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

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

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

/hartka-/ < IE *A₁ḡt̥ko- 'bear', seen also in Skt. *ḥkṣa-*, Avest. *araša-*, Gk. *ἄρκτος*, Lat. *ursus*, OIr. *art*; perhaps connectible with Skt. *rākṣas-*, Avest. *raša-* 'destruction' (cf. e.g. Benveniste, *BSL* 38:146 [1937]; W. Merlingen, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* 2:50 [1957]; T. Burrow, *JAOS* 79:86–7 [1959]; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:170–1; F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 40 [1970]).

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

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

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

Cf. *warwalan-*.

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

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

haruwa- (c.?) 'road', abl. sg. or pl. *ha-ru-wa-az* (*KBo* XXVII 202, 32 [emended from dupl. XXIV 45^{18.19} Rs. 23] [EGIR-*šu-ma* DINGIR-LAM 7] *ha-ru-wa-az huitti[an]* 'but afterwards they draw the deity from the seven paths'; cf. e.g. XXIII 1 I 17–18 *nu DINGIR-LUM ... iṣtu 7 KASKAL.MEŠ-ya huittiyazzi* 'he draws the deity ... from the seven paths'; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:107, 111 [1983]). acc. pl. *ha-ru-ú-uš* (K 24.45 + Rs. 27; *Gradd II Aof 26*)

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

pl. sg. *ha-ru-ú-i*
(K 24.15.100 + 28.202 + 28
35A-BA A-VA haruwi
'in the middle of the
road')

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

A possible cognate might be Gk. *oûpos* 'fair wind', i.e. 'good sailing' as a nautical term (cf. *πόντος* 'sea[lane]' < 'road'); a reconstruct **H₁orwo-* would, however, sever *oûpos* from *ὄρνυμι* 'stir' (see s.v. *arnu-* [*HED* 1–2:167]).

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

ha-ru-wa-na-iz-zi
4608.91 Vs. 1
for collation
see Trémouille
1965: Imperati

harwanai- might be denominative from a noun **harw(a)na-* < **H₁erw(o)no-* 'daylight', of the type *is(sa)na-* 'dough' < **yes(o)no-* (*HED* 1–2:384), with cognates in Skt. *ravi-* 'sun' (**H₁rewi-*) and Arm. *arew* 'sun' (**H₁rewu-*; cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:144–62 [1968]), *arewagal* 'daybreak'. While **H₁rw(o)no-* is also possible, Hittite has a predilection for the shape **Hér-w-* rather than **Hr-éw-* (see e.g. *HED* 1–2:175). The color of *H₁* cannot be determined (for the Hittite root vocalism *a* before *r* cf. e.g. s.v. *harp-* < **H₁érp-*).

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

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

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

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

Even as *harsar* (q.v.) may result from **harhsar* < **k̄(e)rH₁sr̄*, with regressive assimilation followed by interconsonantal loss of *h*, *harwant-* can reflect **harhwant-* < **k̄(o)rH₁wont-* or **k̄(e)rH₁wnt-* from the root seen in Gk. *κορε-*, Lith. *šerti* 'feed'. It is thus cognate with Gk. *κοῖρη* and *κοῖρος* (**kopfo-*), whether an *-nt-* extension or a quasi-participle in *-want-* (like *kartimmiyawant-*). For use of the Greek cognates in maieutic and childcare contexts, cf. e.g. the *Κοιμήτης* at the cradle of the infant Cretan Zeus, and *Ἰντα*, known as *εὐὰς κοῖρη*, as the divine nurse of the Asianic Dionysus in the Orphic Hymns. For the inner-Hittite development *k* – *h* > *h* – *h* > *h* – ∅ see further also s.v. *harwasi-*.

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

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

Even as *harsar* (q.v.) may result from **harhsar* < **k̄(e)rH₁sr* (regressive assimilation of *k* – *h* to *h* – *h*, followed by loss of interconsonantal *h*), and *harwant-* (q.v.) similarly go back to **harhwant-* < **k̄(o)rH₁wont-* or **k̄(e)rH₁wnt-*, *harwasi-* points to **harhwas-* < **k̄(e)rH₁w-s-* cognate with OCS *kryti* 'hide', *krovū* 'cover, roof', *za-krovū* 'ἀποκρυφή, hiding place', Russ. *krýša* 'cover, roof', ON *hreyri* 'cairn' (*IEW* 616–7). This comparison, made already by J. Duchesne-Guillemin (*TPS* 1946:86–7) as part of a wider, unacceptable derivation of Hittite *h* from IE gutturals, is thus valid only on the basis of inner-Hittite *k* – *h* > *h* – *h* > *h* – Ø (unlike e.g. *arh-*, *irh-*, *marh-*, *parh-*, *sarh-*, *tarh-*, *warh-*, no **karh-* is attested in Hittite).

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

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

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

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

with another mng. with *KG R. 7*, '93, 471–77

sensum plural after numeral]; XI 35 II 16–17 UGULA^{LÜMES} MUHALDIM 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun* ZAG.GAR.RA-ni *dāi* 'the chef de cuisine places three breadmashes on the altar'; XXV 18 III 16–21 *ia* UGULA^{LÜ.MEŠ} GIS^{GIS} BANŠUR 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun istanani dāi hassi* 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun dāi* KUS^{KUS} kursī 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun dāi* GIS^{GIS} DAG-ti 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun dāi* [...] 3 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun dāi* 'the headwaiter puts three breadmashes on the altar, on the hearth he puts three breadmashes, on the fleece he puts three breadmashes, on the throne he puts three breadmashes, on the ... he puts three breadmashes'; X 99 I 28 ANA LUGAL GEŠTIN NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun* 'for the king wine [and] breadmash'; XX 70 I 6 LÜGUDU^{LÜGUDU} NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun* LUGAL['the priest breadmash to [?] the king ...'; XI 18 II 3 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun nanima hassi* 'one breadmash also at the hearth'; ibid. 2 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun*; ibid. 1 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harza[un]*; ibid. 43 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun*; XI 21 V 6–7 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun* [...] *tapusza dāi* 'he puts aside a breadmash'; ibid. IV 10–11 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun nanima tapusza dāi*; ibid. 6, 7, 8, 9 1 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun*; XX 99 I 28, LI 2 Rs. 2 and 5, *KBo* XXV 70 Vs. 4 NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun*), *har-za-su-un* (XXI 49 I 5), *har-za-su-ū-un* (*KUB* LIX 22 III 15), instr. sg. NINDA^{NINDA} *har-za-zu-it* (XXXIV 69 Vs. 16; 949/u, 3), *ištu* NINDA^{NINDA} *harzazun* (sic *KBo* XXX 58 II 8).

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

KUB XXV 22 III 6 ^{NINDA}harzazuta ištū kaš GEŠTIN 'breadmash along with beer [and] wine', ^{NINDA}har-za-zu-u-ta (KBo XXIV 95 Vs. 15), har-za-zu-ú-ta (KUB XX 12, 3–5 [...] LUGAL-us parsiya n-[at ...] ^{NINDA}harzazūta ien[zi], har-za-zu-ú-ta-an (XX 99 II 16–19 ištū ^{NA⁴}ZI.KIN ^DIM-ya-kan kuit ^{UZU}NIG.GIG harzazūtan memal āssan n-at-kan ... udanzi 'what viscera, breadmash, and groats [are] remaining from the baitylos of the storm-god, them they bring'), dat.-loc. sg. ^{NINDA}har-za-zu-u-ti (XXVII 69 III 6), instr. sg. har-za-zu-ti-it (KBo IV 13 II 26 ta ^{NINDA}harzazutit memalit ['with breadmash [and] groats'; IBoT II 4 I 2–3 ^{NINDA}harzazutit [...] [...] -it GEŠTIN-it 'with breadmash ..., with ..., with wine').

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

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

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

*harsa-zuwa- 'bread-bite' (vel sim.), boldly adducing Gk. ἄπτος 'bread' and the rare gloss-word zuwa- 'dish, meal' (Otten, Mater-italien 14), allegedly from *gyu- seen in Engl. chew (IEW 400). For an inconclusive discussion of h. see Watkins // Fs Rix. 471–7 [1993]

'Gecko, Salamander' Miller 1965 54 (2002): 87 ff.

or 'Salamander' ? CHD, p. 235b., 361b

no. 39.8 I 14

harziyal(l)a- (c.) 'snail', nom. sg. ha-ar-zi-ya-al-la-as (1744e, 4), har-zi-ya-al-la-as (KUB XXX 34 + Bo 1509 III 19–21 NE.ZA.ZA-at issā[ti dāi ...] katta paszi harziyallass-a-at sappuit [dāi 'the frog takes it with its mouth [and] swallows [it] down; the snail takes it with its tentacles'; par. KBo XIII 131 Vs. 16 harziyallass-a-at; par. 1066/u, 7 har-zi-ya-lu-sa-at [sic]; cf. Siegelová, Appu-Hedammu 72), acc. sg. ha-ar-zi-ya-al-la-an (1112/c + III 8 nu ^{SAL}ŠU.GI harz[ziyallan d]āi; cf. L. Rost, MIO 1:358 [1953]), har-zi-ya-al-la-an (par. KUB XV 39 = IBoT II 109 II 21 nu ^{SAL}ŠU.GI harziyallan dāi 'the old woman takes a snail' [viz. for ritual manipulation, addressing it ibid. 25 as pit-ti-ya-li-is GİR-as 'fleetfoot'; but par. KBo IX 106 II 24 pē-da-al-li-is may point to a more appropriately snailpaced arthropodic 'scoopfoot', derived from peda- 'dig', confounded in later versions with the semantically paradoxical lectio facilior pittiya-li-, as in KUB XXXIII 62 II 3 hāranis ^{MUSEN}pittiya-liēs 'fleet eagles']), acc. pl. har-zi-ya-lu-us (KUB VIII 67, 14 idā[lamūs harziyalas NE.ZA.ZA.III.A 'noisome snails [and] frogs'; cf. Siegelová, Appu-Hedammu 40; KUB XXXIII 84, 8 + KBo XIX 109, 10 ūl ku[iti]ki kaniszi nu NE.ZA.ZA harziyaluss-a KŪ-izzi '[the easily inebriated Hedammu] does not discern anything and eats frogs and snails'; dupl. KBo XIX 111, 8 ūl kuitki[i] kaniszi nu-za NE.ZA.ZA harziyaluss-a; cf. Siegelová, Appu-Hedammu 58, 5/i, 9).

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

harz- variation see s. v. harzazu-.

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

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

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

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

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

beal.
hasuwai-
'soapwort'
karššani-
'soda-plant'(?)
with discussion

or Arabic *al-qaliy* 'saltwort ashes', or Estonian *leelis* 'lye, alkali' from *lee* 'ash-pit, fireplace'. Cf. Puhvel, *Iranian and Indoeuropean studies in memory of Otakar Klíma* (1994), 205-8 (1994).

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

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

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

HAŠŠ(A)- (*Frucht*)-*Kern* s60 31. 123, s60 32. 430 (MS + Luw.)

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

ina ē lū-kan hatta[nt]an hassanzi 'in the man's house they will give birth to a smart [child]'; parallel ibid. 17-19 with *marlandan* 'stupid'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-a-as-hu-un* (XXII 2 Vs. 2 [k]i-wa *kuit walkuan hāshun* 'what [is] this w. I have borne?'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6; XVII 61 Vs. 11 -[j]wa-az^{SAL} *hasmuppallas hāshun* 'I the midwife have brought to birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42), *ha-a-su-un* (*KUB* XXIV 7 III 23-24 *kūn-ma-wa-za ša 2 gir.meš-šu kuwat hāsun* 'why have I borne this [calf] with two feet?'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]), *ha-su-un* (588/v Vs. 10), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-ta* (e.g. *KBo* III 7 III 4-5 *nu-za dumu.sal ša^{LÚ} asiwandas ana dam-šu dās nu-za dumu.nita hasta* 'he took the daughter of a poor man for his wife and begot a son'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:69 [1965]; *KUB* I 1 I 9-11 [with dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 8-9] *abu-ya-annas-za¹ Mursilis 4 dumu.hi.la ... hasta* 'my father M. begot us four children'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; *KUB* XXXVI 60 + XXIV 8 III 4 *nu-za dam¹ Appu dumu.nita-an hasta* 'A.'s wife bore a son'; ibid. 13 *nu-za sal-za dumu.nita-an hasta* 'the woman bore a son'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), *ha-a-as-ta* (e.g. XXXIII 118, 22 *ūl-ma-an-mu-ssan ama-ya ser hasta* 'nor has my mother borne it on my behalf', vs. ibid. 19 *hasta*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:75 [1968]; *KBo* XXII 2 Vs. 1 30 *dumu.meš 1-en mu-anti hasta* '[she] bore thirty children in one year'; similarly ibid. 12 *nu-za anzas 1-šu hasta* 'she bore us all at once'; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 6; *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 6 *kuit-mu-za ama-ya hasta* 'whereas my mother bore me'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 112), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a-se-ir* (IV 8 Vs. 10-12 *n-an-zan hāser kuwa[pī] n-asta sallatar annaza šā-taza katta udas* 'when they gave birth to him, he brought along greatness from his mother's womb'), *ha-a-si-ir* (XXI 38 I 60 *dumu.sal.meš lugal kuyēs šā ē-ti wemiyanun nu-mu-[za-k]an šu-i hāsir* 'the daughters of the king whom I found in the house, they gave birth in my hand'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:92 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:13 [1964]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-su* (*KBo* X 45 IV 34-35 *gim-an-ma-za sal-za udu-uss-a armahhantes hassanzi kāss-a-za paranza hul-lu ēshar qatamma hāsu* 'even as a pregnant woman and ewe give birth, may this house likewise be delivered of evil bloodshed!'; dupl. *KUB* XLI 8 IV 32-33 *gim-an-ma sal-za udu-uss-a armahhuwanza hāsi kā[ss-a-z]a uru-as paranzass-a hul-lu ēshar qatamma hāsu*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:138 [1961]; XVII 28 III 2), *ha-as-du* (*KBo* XII 39 Vs. 9 *udu sig₅-in hasdu* 'the sheep shall lamb well'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:11 [1963]; *KUB* XXIV 8 IV 33

'may [the cow] calve'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12); partic. *hassant-*, also nominalized 'begotten issue, one's own flesh and blood', nom. sg. c. *ha-as-sa-an-za* (e.g. XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79a IV 24 *nu karū mahhan annaza šl-za hassanza esun* 'as I was once born from my mother's womb'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 101; XXI 42 I 15–16 *šeš^DUTU-šī hassanza nasma DUMU^{SAL}NAPTARTI kuiski* 'a brother of his majesty, [properly] begotten [viz. upon the queen], or some son of a concubine'; similarly ibid. 20–22; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 23; XII 62 Vs. 16 *UR.MAH hassanza* '[new]born lion'), acc. sg. c. *hassanza* (sic IX 28 II 4 *hassanza anna-ssa dāi* 'he places the newborn with its mother'), *ha-as-sa-an-da-an* (XI 5 Vs. 9–10 *nu-ssi¹ Ammunan hassandan DINGIR.MEŠ-ni¹ [L^UKUR-ŠU ier]* 'the gods [sic!] made his own son A. his enemy'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 24 [1984]), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut. *ha-a-as-sa-an* (XLI 60 I 22–23 *nu-ssi-ssan kue āssū 8-andas happenas ser hāssan* 'what good things [are] born to her on the basis of eight limbs' [i.e. baby and mother both doing fine, one being well formed and the other "in one piece"]; cf. the Vedic *aṣṭāpādī* 'eight-footed', i.e. cow with calf), gen. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-ta-as* (*KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 38 'of the newborn'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 142), *ha-as-sa-an-da-as* (*KUB* XLIV 59 Vs. 13; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134), nom. pl. c. *ha-as-sa-an-te-es* (XXVI 12 I 12–13 *šeš.MEŠ^DUTU-šī-ya kuyēs ištū SAL.LUGAL hassantes* 'brothers of his majesty begotten upon the queen'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 23; XXI 42 IV 16–17 *šeš.MEŠ^DUTU-šī-ya kuyēs sakuwassaras-a SAL.LUGAL awan GAM hassantes* 'brothers of his majesty begotten upon the lawful queen'; ibid. 23; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 28; I 16 II 47; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8; XXIII 102 I 15), acc. pl. c. *hassantes* (sic XXI 38 I 61 *karū-ma kuyēs hassantes wemiyanun* 'but those whom I found already born'), gen. pl. *ha-as-sa-an-da-as* (*KBo* XIV 74, 6 a) *nnas-mas hassandas-mas* 'of my mother [and] my children'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 101); verbal noun *hassatar*, *hansatar* (n.) 'procreation, (power of) begetting, (giving) birth'; metonymically 'birth organ, womb'; also 'progeny, kin, family' (MŠ); in the royal family this comprehensive term included morganatic blood-relatives (born of hierodules or prostitutes) barred from succession under the Edict of Telipinus (restricted to descendants who were *hantezzi-* 'first-line' [via the queen] or *dān pedas* 'second-rank' [through a concubine]), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-tar* (e.g. *KBo* VI 34 II 31 *kedani-ma ANA BULUG GIM-an hassatar-set NU.GÁL* 'even as this malt has no ger-

mination'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10; *KUB* IX 27 + VII 5+8 I 2 *mān LÚ-ni kuedani has[s]atar NU.GÁL* 'if some man has no reproductive ability'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:271, 282–3 [1987]; *KBo* III 1 II 7 *nu-za-kan¹* Tittiyyas *hassatar QADU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU kuenta* 'he killed Tittis' family along with his sons'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 26 [1984]), *ha-sa-a-tar* (*KUB* I 16 II 69 'progeny'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 10), gen. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-as* (e.g. XII 4 IV 35 *hassannas ni[e]hūni* 'at the time of giving birth'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAO* 54:392 [1934]; *KBo* XVII 65 Rs. 45 *hassannas-ma mahha[n EZEN h]āsi-za kuwapi* 'but when the feast of birth [takes place], at the time when she gives birth'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 144; VII 74 II 4 *EZEN hassanna[s]*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 222; cf. the hapax XVII 65 Vs. 52 *EZEN ha-sa-an-ta-ra-al-li-ya-as* 'feast of induction of the newborn' [?], perhaps partic. *hasant-* + *arallai-* 'associate, join' [q.v. s.v. *ara-*]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 138; *KUB* XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79a IV 27 a) *ttas-mas annas hassannas* 'of my father, mother, family'; XI 1 II 12 [emended from *KBo* III 1 II 6] *hassannas-[sas DUMU-ŠU Tahurwailin* 'his natural son, T.', literally 'a son of his begetting', not a male heir in line of succession [DUMU.LUGAL DUMU.NITA] but Ammunas' son by a prostitute [*KUB* XXVI 77 I 18: DUMU^{SAL}KAR.KID] and hence a ^{L^U}*pahhursi-* [q.v.]; cf. S. R. Bin-Nun, *RIHA* 31:8 [1973], *JCS* 26:115–6 [1974]; *KBo* III 1 II 31 *nu sallas-pat hassannas ēšhar pangariyattati* 'bloodshed of the royal family became prevalent'; ibid. 35 *hassannas DUMU-an* 'a son of the [royal] family'), *ha-an-sa-an-na-as* (*HT* 6 Obv. 17 [emended from *KUB* IX 4 IV 9] *pa]ngauwas hansannas EM[E-an* 'the tongue of the entire family', besides dupl. IX 34 IV 13 *pangauwas MŠ.HI.A EME-an*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-i* (*KBo* III 1 II 49 *nu-war-at-apa DINGIR.MEŠ-is sallai hassannai dāir* 'the gods have laid it upon the royal family'), *ha-as-sa-an-na* (III 67 IV 11–12 *kuis-za hassanna istarna alwanza[ar sakki sumēs-an] hassannaz eptin* 'who within the family knows sorcery, take him out of the family!'), instr. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-ni-it* (XII 126 I 20 *n-an hassannit dāu* 'let [the hex] take him along with [his] family!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 22), abl. sg. *ha-as-sa-an-na-za* (*KUB* XXIV 13 II 14–16 *arha-ta-kkan ansan ēsdu alwanzatar SAL-annaza hassannaza^{U^U} SU-za ginuwaz* 'let the hex be wiped off thee, from the womb of womanhood [= female birth organs] and from the knee of the flesh [= penis]; for case attraction cf. e.g. *armahhuwazza wassiyaz* s.v. *armai-*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale*

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

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

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

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

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

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

hansatar and **hamsa*- (s. v. *hammasa*-) point to an etymological **hams*- (cf. s. v. *hassa*-) 'procreate', with the semantic male : female contrast seen in e.g. Lat. *gigno* : *pario* (as 'beget' vs. 'bear') neutralized in Hittite, as in e.g. Gk. *τίκτω*. The root, meaning roughly 'to create carnally', is **E₂éms-*, **E₂m-és-*, the *a*-vocalism of Hittite being due to the *o*-grade or zero-grade of *hāsi*, *hassi* < **E₂oms-ey*, *hassa*- (q. v.) < **E₂omso-*, *haski-* < **E₂mšké-*. A reduplicated root-noun **E₂me-E₂ms-* > **mē(m)s-* (thematized **mēmso-*) underlies Skt. *mās*, *mānsā-*, Arm. *mis*, Alb. *mish*, Goth. *mimz*, OPr. *mensa*, OCS *męso*, Toch. B *misa* 'flesh'. A heteroclitlic **E₂me-E₂ms-r/n-* is reflected in thematized variants **mē(m)sro-* (Gk. *μῆρός* 'thigh', pl. *μῆροι*, *μῆρα*, Lat. *membrum* 'limb, member, penis', OIr. *mīr* 'piece, bite', Russian *mezdrā* 'fatty underlayer of skin') and **mē(m)sno-* (Gk. *μῆνις* 'membrane'). A zero-grade **E₂mE₂(m)s-* appears in Lat. *mas-* (*mas-culus*, gen. sg. *maris*, with monosyllabic lengthening

in *mās* 'male'), literally 'carnal agent'. As frequently (see e.g. s. v. *ard-*), Hittite exhibits the first form of the suffixed root, even when other languages favor the form **E₂m-es-* (cf. s. v. *hasp-*). Cf. Puhvel, *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 41:159–63 (1987).

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

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

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

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

*hé-e-šu-
u-e-ni
(KUB 50.6
II 44)*

*ha-sa-an-zi
KUB 41.64 15*

pret. act. *ha-as-si-it* (*KUB* IX 39 I 6 *KAXU-is hassit* 'opened the mouth'), *ha-as-ta* (XXXIII 52 II 10 *luddāi hasta* 'opened the window'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:448 [1965]), *ha-a-as-ta* (XVII 10 IV 14 *hāsta* ^{LÜ}NI.DUH 7 ^{GIS}IG 'the doorkeeper has opened the seven doors'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hé-es-ta-at* (XIII 34 IV 3), 1 pl. pret. act. *hé-e-su-u-en* (*KBo* XXII 116 Vs. 14), 3 pl. pret. act. *hé-es-sir* (X 2 I 32 [OHitt.], quoted above), *hé-se-ir* (X 2 II 7, quoted above), *hi-e-se-ir* (*KUB* XXIX 1 I 24 *DINGIR-nas-(s)mas KUR-e heser* 'the gods have opened the country for you'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hé-e-se-ir* (XXIX 3 I 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3; XVI 48 Vs. 16), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-a-as* (*KBo* XI 14 III 27; ~~XXI 22 Vs. 22~~), *hé-e-es* (59/g + 103/g Vs. 17), 3 sg. imp. act. *hé-es-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 89 Vs. 19; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 144), *hé-e-es-du* (*ibid.* 39), *ha-a-su* (*KBo* X 45 I 39 *nu taknas* ^{DUTU-us}KÁ.GAL-as *hāsu* 'may the solar deity of the earth open the gate[s]'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]; *KUB* XXIX 1 III 2), 2 pl. imp. act. *hé-e-es-tin* (XXXIII 106 III 50–51 *EGIR-pa-at hēstin* ... [É.]^NKA⁴SI⁴B.HI.A 'open up the storehouses!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:28 [1952]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hé-e-sa-an-du* (*KBo* XIII 58 II 26; cf. F. Daddi Pecchioli, *Oriens Antiquus* 14:102 [1975]); partic. *hassant-*, *hēsant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-as-sa-an-za* (IV 9 I 29; *KUB* II 6 III 35; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23–24:15 [1973–4]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-as-sa-an* (XI 20 II 19–20 ^{KÁ.GAL}EGIR-pa *hassan* 'the gate [is] open'), nom. pl. c. *hé-e-sa-te-is* (XXXI 136 III 5 ^{KASKAL.HI.A}tuk *hēsate[s]* 'the roads [are] open for you'; cf. Friedrich, *A/O* 17:99 [1954–5]; Haas, *Nerik* 196); verbal noun *hé-e-su-u-ar* (III 94 I 25), gen. *hé-e-su-wa-as* (XVII 35 II 3 and 13; XVII 35 IV 19), *hé-su-wa-as* (XXVII 15 IV 23; there is no connection [pace Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 440] with the feast name EZEN [h]i-suwas with probably Hurroid theo- or toponymic second part [cf. e.g. Tischler, *Glossar* 438–9]); *iter* *haski-*, *heski-*, 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-ki-si* (*KBo* XI 14 III 26), 3 sg. pres. act. *hé-es-ki-iz-zi* (XIII 109 III 8 ^{GIS}IG-ya *EGIR-pa heskizzi*), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-kán-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XXIV 3 I 53 *nep]isas-as* ^{GIS}IG *EGIR-pa tuk-pat haskanzi* 'for you they open the door of heaven'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 24; XXX 32 I 17 *n-at hatgaskanzi* *EGIR-pa-ya-at haskan[zi]* 'they close it and again open it'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:391, 517, 301; Neu, *Interpretation* 54; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 49–50, 440.

ha-as-ki-si
nerik, KUB 21.22 Vs. 12
hāsi 'open' // KUB 55.2
Rs. 'hé-e-es' –
wik. Dragon: 1386
sic 1386, 1387

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fireplace'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 4, 6; I 13 II 26 *hassī-ma-kan* MUN *marr[i]attari* 'salt is dissolved in the fireplace'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 60; VI 34 II 8 and 9 *hassī anda* 'in the fireplace'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8; XI 30 I 12 *hassī ser* 'over the fireplace'; KUB LIII 14 II 10–11 *n-an* INA É.DINGIR-LIM *hassī ANA* ¹*Telipinu huekzi* '[he] slaughters it [viz. the sheep] in the temple at the fire-altar to T'; KBo XXV 120, 11 *mān DUMU-as* ... [...] *hassī huekzi* 'if a child conjures by the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 201; VI 2 I 54 [= Code 1:24] *takku ir-as nasma GEME-as huwāi ishas-sis-an kuel hassī wemiyazi* 'if a male or female slave runs away, at whose hearth his master finds him ...'; XVII 19 + XXV 52 II 11 LUGAL-*sa hassī sipānti* 'the king libates to the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 117; KUB XLIII 30 II 11 and 15 *hassī 1-šu sipanti*; *hassī* also ibid. 2 and 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76), *ANA ha-as-si-i* (KBo XVII 6 II 8–9 1-EN *ANA hassī [pehhi]* 'one [viz. cup] I give to the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 19), *ha-as-sa-a-i* (XXV 36 III 8 *hassāi tapusza* 'alongside the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 94), *ha-a-as-si-i* (KUB XLIII 26 I 10 ¹*harsin* ²*GE₆ parsiya ta hassī dāi* '[he] breaks a black breadloaf and puts [it] on the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 16, *Altheth.* 66), GUNNI-*si* (XX 45 I 10 GUNNI-*si andurza* 'inside the fireplace'), *ha-as-sa* (KBo XVII 36 III 8 *n-an hassa pissiska[nzi]* 'they throw it into the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 123), *ha-as-sa-a* (ibid. II 15 *talupusan hassā pis[-]* 'throw the t. into the fireplace'; ibid. I 4, with dupl. XX 22, 2; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 121–2, 126), abl. sg. *ha-as-sa-az* (KUB VII 1 II 4–5 *n-us hassaz EGIR-pa ispannit* ... *daskizzi* 'he takes them from the fireplace with the spit'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]; KBo XVII 36 II 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 122), *ha-as-sa-a-az* (KUB XXXIV 123 I 9 [emended from OHitt. version KBo XVII 11 I 23] *nu hassaz [hullis dāi]* 'he takes fir-cones from the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), nom. and acc. pl. GUNNI-*meš* (KUB XXIX 8 I 4 and 5), GUNNI-*hla* (ibid. 6, 7, 9). ³*hassān* (ibid. 10), ⁴*hassās* (ibid. 11) ⁵*hassās* (ibid. 12) ⁶*hassās* (ibid. 13) ⁷*hassās* (ibid. 14) ⁸*hassās* (ibid. 15) ⁹*hassās* (ibid. 16) ¹⁰*hassās* (ibid. 17) ¹¹*hassās* (ibid. 18) ¹²*hassās* (ibid. 19) ¹³*hassās* (ibid. 20) ¹⁴*hassās* (ibid. 21) ¹⁵*hassās* (ibid. 22) ¹⁶*hassās* (ibid. 23) ¹⁷*hassās* (ibid. 24) ¹⁸*hassās* (ibid. 25) ¹⁹*hassās* (ibid. 26) ²⁰*hassās* (ibid. 27) ²¹*hassās* (ibid. 28) ²²*hassās* (ibid. 29) ²³*hassās* (ibid. 30) ²⁴*hassās* (ibid. 31) ²⁵*hassās* (ibid. 32) ²⁶*hassās* (ibid. 33) ²⁷*hassās* (ibid. 34) ²⁸*hassās* (ibid. 35) ²⁹*hassās* (ibid. 36) ³⁰*hassās* (ibid. 37) ³¹*hassās* (ibid. 38) ³²*hassās* (ibid. 39) ³³*hassās* (ibid. 40) ³⁴*hassās* (ibid. 41) ³⁵*hassās* (ibid. 42) ³⁶*hassās* (ibid. 43) ³⁷*hassās* (ibid. 44) ³⁸*hassās* (ibid. 45) ³⁹*hassās* (ibid. 46) ⁴⁰*hassās* (ibid. 47) ⁴¹*hassās* (ibid. 48) ⁴²*hassās* (ibid. 49) ⁴³*hassās* (ibid. 50) ⁴⁴*hassās* (ibid. 51) ⁴⁵*hassās* (ibid. 52) ⁴⁶*hassās* (ibid. 53) ⁴⁷*hassās* (ibid. 54) ⁴⁸*hassās* (ibid. 55) ⁴⁹*hassās* (ibid. 56) ⁵⁰*hassās* (ibid. 57) ⁵¹*hassās* (ibid. 58) ⁵²*hassās* (ibid. 59) ⁵³*hassās* (ibid. 60) ⁵⁴*hassās* (ibid. 61) ⁵⁵*hassās* (ibid. 62) ⁵⁶*hassās* (ibid. 63) ⁵⁷*hassās* (ibid. 64) ⁵⁸*hassās* (ibid. 65) ⁵⁹*hassās* (ibid. 66) ⁶⁰*hassās* (ibid. 67) ⁶¹*hassās* (ibid. 68) ⁶²*hassās* (ibid. 69) ⁶³*hassās* (ibid. 70) ⁶⁴*hassās* (ibid. 71) ⁶⁵*hassās* (ibid. 72) ⁶⁶*hassās* (ibid. 73) ⁶⁷*hassās* (ibid. 74) ⁶⁸*hassās* (ibid. 75) ⁶⁹*hassās* (ibid. 76) ⁷⁰*hassās* (ibid. 77) ⁷¹*hassās* (ibid. 78) ⁷²*hassās* (ibid. 79) ⁷³*hassās* (ibid. 80) ⁷⁴*hassās* (ibid. 81) ⁷⁵*hassās* (ibid. 82) ⁷⁶*hassās* (ibid. 83) ⁷⁷*hassās* (ibid. 84) ⁷⁸*hassās* (ibid. 85) ⁷⁹*hassās* (ibid. 86) ⁸⁰*hassās* (ibid. 87) ⁸¹*hassās* (ibid. 88) ⁸²*hassās* (ibid. 89) ⁸³*hassās* (ibid. 90) ⁸⁴*hassās* (ibid. 91) ⁸⁵*hassās* (ibid. 92) ⁸⁶*hassās* (ibid. 93) ⁸⁷*hassās* (ibid. 94) ⁸⁸*hassās* (ibid. 95) ⁸⁹*hassās* (ibid. 96) ⁹⁰*hassās* (ibid. 97) ⁹¹*hassās* (ibid. 98) ⁹²*hassās* (ibid. 99) ⁹³*hassās* (ibid. 100) ⁹⁴*hassās* (ibid. 101) ⁹⁵*hassās* (ibid. 102) ⁹⁶*hassās* (ibid. 103) ⁹⁷*hassās* (ibid. 104) ⁹⁸*hassās* (ibid. 105) ⁹⁹*hassās* (ibid. 106) ¹⁰⁰*hassās* (ibid. 107) ¹⁰¹*hassās* (ibid. 108) ¹⁰²*hassās* (ibid. 109) ¹⁰³*hassās* (ibid. 110) ¹⁰⁴*hassās* (ibid. 111) ¹⁰⁵*hassās* (ibid. 112) ¹⁰⁶*hassās* (ibid. 113) ¹⁰⁷*hassās* (ibid. 114) ¹⁰⁸*hassās* (ibid. 115) ¹⁰⁹*hassās* (ibid. 116) ¹¹⁰*hassās* (ibid. 117) ¹¹¹*hassās* (ibid. 118) ¹¹²*hassās* (ibid. 119) ¹¹³*hassās* (ibid. 120) ¹¹⁴*hassās* (ibid. 121) ¹¹⁵*hassās* (ibid. 122) ¹¹⁶*hassās* (ibid. 123) ¹¹⁷*hassās* (ibid. 124) ¹¹⁸*hassās* (ibid. 125) ¹¹⁹*hassās* (ibid. 126) ¹²⁰*hassās* (ibid. 127) ¹²¹*hassās* (ibid. 128) ¹²²*hassās* (ibid. 129) ¹²³*hassās* (ibid. 130) ¹²⁴*hassās* (ibid. 131) ¹²⁵*hassās* (ibid. 132) ¹²⁶*hassās* (ibid. 133) ¹²⁷*hassās* (ibid. 134) ¹²⁸*hassās* (ibid. 135) ¹²⁹*hassās* (ibid. 136) ¹³⁰*hassās* (ibid. 137) ¹³¹*hassās* (ibid. 138) ¹³²*hassās* (ibid. 139) 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Pedersen, *Hitt.* 27, 164. For various unconvincing attempts to account for the phonology and spellings (such as a postulated **HaHs-*) see e.g. Čop, *Ling.* 6:49–50 (1964); F.O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 41 (1970); A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3:426–7 (1973). The proper departure point for an understanding of *hassa-* is rather the root noun *has(s)-* ‘ash(es)’ (q. v.). Its paradigm (nom. sg. *ha-a-as*, acc. sg. *ha-as-sa-an*, instr. sg. *ha-as-si-it*, acc. pl. *ha-as-su-us*) reflects IE nom. sg. **A₁ēs*, acc. sg. **A₁ésn̄*, gen. sg. **A₁(e)sós*, matching in type **pēd(s)*, **pēdn̄*, **p(e)dós* ‘foot’. Just as Vedic *pāda-* (m.) ‘foot’ is back-formed from acc. sg. *pādam* (cf. Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 2:249), a secondary nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* crops up beside *ha-as-sa-an*. Similar thematizations are Hitt. and Luw. *pata-* (c.) ‘foot’ (with tendency towards plene-spellings *pa-a-ta-* and *pa-ta-a-*) and Skt. *āsa-* (m.) ‘ash’; Italic *āsa* may be in origin a neuter plural (> feminine singular) related to Skt. *āsa-* like e.g. Lat. *loca* to *locus*. The paradigm of *hassa-*, from Old Hittite onward, is notable for the preponderance of the plene-spellings acc. sg. *ha-a-as-sa-an* vs. gen. sgt. *ha-as-sa-a-as* and dat.-loc. *ha-as-si-i*, which seem to reflect paradigmatic accent variation (rather than vowel length; cf. G. Hart, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43:14–5 [1980]; J. Catsanicos, *BSL* 69.2:148–50 [1984]). It is notable that, in lieu of the nearly nonattested nom. sg., *GUNNI-anza* occurs as the subject of a transitive verb, as if *hassa-* were a neuter that needed to be “animated” into *hassanza* (*KUB* VII 41 I 20; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:31 [1962]). Perhaps *ha-(a)-as-sa-* is an adjective derived from *has(s)-*, and with an implied neuter noun like *pedan* came to mean ‘ash-place, ash-pit, fireplace’, even as Lat. *āra* is in origin a collective of ‘ash’. The graphic gemination of *-s-* is a phenomenon comparable to e.g. *ais* : gen. *issas* (*HED* 1–2:17). Cf. Popko *Kulturgeschichte* 78:52, 73–5 (1978).

An ultimately unilluminating attempt by G. Nagy (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78:71–100 [1974]) combined *hassa-* (and Italic *āsa*), *has-* ‘beget’, and *hassu-* ‘king’ (literally ‘one who is lit up’) as reflecting a root **A₁es-* ‘light up, kindle’.

hassa- (c.) ‘progeny, issue, offspring, descendant’; *hassa- hanzassa-* ‘progeny of progeny, all (future) generations’, nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* (cf. *KUB* XXI 27 III 43–44 ^DZintuhis GAŠAN-YA ŠA ^DIM ^DUTU ^{URU}TÚL-^{es hanzassa} d. 546729:34

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

Dir. 1.
melch II RHA 34, 23.
New Zeichen –
nom-acc. collect.
(50, 94, 108)

cf. *UTB* 5

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

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

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

hassa- *hanzassa*- contains a verbal noun from *has(s)*- 'beget' (q.v.; PAnat. **hamsa*- < **E₂omso*- 'progeny'; cf. the Luwoid *ham[ma]sa*- 'grandchild' [s.v.], and for type e. g. *harga*- 'destruction' or Gk. *γόρος*), followed by a hittitized Luwoid genitival adjective **hamsassa/i*- > *hanzassa*-, **hamsa*- *hamsassa*- being an iterational hyperbole of the 'vanity of vanities' type. *hassa*- reflects the normal Hittite treatment of **ams* or **ans* (whether from **ons* or **ns*, as in e. g. *hassu*-, *assu*-, *dassu*-, *haski*- [s.v. *hass*-] < **E₂ṃské*-, *kuwaski*- [s.v. *kuen*-] < **gh^wṃské*-), whereas *nz* resulted from secondary ablaut or syncope (e. g. *anzās* [s.v. *wēs*] < **nsó*- < **nos-ó*-), belated juncture (e. g. **-n-s*), or external borrowing (*hanzassa*). The phrase with directional dative (*katta*) *hassa hanzassa* (cf. e. g. *appasiwatta*) resembles Lat. *in saecula saeculorum* 'for all generations'.

The connection of *hassa*- *hanzassa*- with the root *hass*- goes back to Friedrich (*Staatsverträge* 1:166) and Götze (*Arch. Or.* 2:162–3 [1930]), as do the renderings 'kith and kin' and 'full and collateral progeny' respectively. E. Forrer's interpretation of *hassa*- as 'grandchild' (2 *BoTU* 22*) and of *hassa*- *hanzassa*- as 'grandchild and great-grandchild' (*Meissner AOS* 31–2) became standard (already in Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:36–7), with few demurrers (e. g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:156–8, who preferred 'kith and kin'). Since Sturtevant (*Comp. Gr.* 165) *hassa hanzassa* was commonly interpreted as a fossilized double dual of the Vedic *Mūrā-Vāruṇā* kind (or as an *s*-less nom. sg.), until corrected by H. C. Melchert into a directional dative (*RHA* 31:57–70 [1973]), but with improbable semantic rendering ('to the first [and] second generation'). *hanzassa*- was reconstructed as *hanza* '(be)fore' (q.v. s.v. *hant*-) and *hassa*- 'grandchild' by T. Milewski (*L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen* 32 [1936]; cf. e. g. Lat. *pro-nepos*), and as a **hantya*- with an obscure suffix *-sa*- by F. Mezger (*Lg.* 15:188–9 [1939]). Closer to plausibility was Laroche's construct **ham(a)sa*- 'grandchild' syncopated to Hitt. *hanza*- upon the addition of a suffix *-s(s)a*- (*BSL* 53:1:189 [1957–8]; cf. H. C. Melchert, *RHA* 31:65 [1973], who took the suffix to be a "directive possessive"). Oettinger (*Stamm-bildung* 439, *KZ* 94:45 [1980]) postulated *hanzassa*- 'great-grandchild' < **hamsa-s(s)a*- 'belonging to the grandchild', with an appurtenance suffix (cf. H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 57–8 [1979]; H. C.

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

Cf. *hardu-*, *warwala-*.

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

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

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

HASSARNANT- see Hutter, *Behery* > HARSAR ‘head’

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

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

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

hasek^k, has(s)ik^k (always with -za) 'satisfy oneself, be sat(iat)ed, be saturated (with), be steeped (in)' (+ dat.-loc. or infinitive), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-se-ik-zi* (Bo 4491, 4–5 ū) *hasekzi* [n]-as-za ū. *ispāi* 'is not satiated ... and he is not filled', *ha-as-si-ik-zi* (KUB XV 9 II 3), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-as-si-kat-ta* (KBo XII 3 IV 11), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-as-si-ik-ki-ir* (KUB XVII 10 I 19–20 *eter n-e ūL ispiyer ekuyer-ma n-e-za ūL hassikīr* 'they ate but they were not filled, and they drank but they were not satiated'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]; XXXIII 19 III 8–9 [azzikk] *anzi n-at-za ispiyer namma [akkusk] anzi-ma n-at-za hassikkir namma* 'they eat, and they were also filled, and they drink, and they were also satiated'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123 [1965]; XXXIII 34 Vs. 16 *n-at-za hassikkir*; cf. Laroche, 23:127 [1965]), (1 sg. imp) act. *ha-as-si-ik-lu* (XXIV 5 + IX 13 Rs. 17–18 *nu-wa-za-kan tuk* ^{DU} *AN-E uwanna hassi[klu]* 'let me satisfy myself looking at thee, sun-god of heaven'; ibid. Vs. 35 – Rs. 1 *nu-wa-za-kan tuk* ^{DU} *URU Arinna uwanna hassiklu*), *ha-as-si-ig-gal-lu* (dupl. XXXVI 93 Rs. 6 *uwanna hassiggallu*), *ha-si-ig-gal-lu* (dupl. KBo XV 14, 4; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 10–2), (2 sg. imp) act. *ha-as-si-ik* (KUB XXXVI 12 + XXXIII 87 I 7 [ezza-wa-za nu-wa i] *spiya eku-ma-wa nu-wa-za hassik* 'eat and be filled, and drink and be satiated!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:10 [1952]; IX 26 Rs. 4 *eku nu-za ha[ssik]*), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-as-si-ig-du* (KBo XV 10 + XX 42 I 37 *nu-za-kan KUR-e hassigdu* 'the land shall be saturated'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 18; 1177/v + KBo IV 1 Vs. 12–13 and dupl. KUB II 2 I 12–13 *nu-wa-za-kan ke É.DINGIR-LIM DINGIR.MEŠ-as piran TI-anni assuli INA EGIR.UID-MI hassigdu* 'let this temple before the gods be steeped in life and well-being in the future'; similarly ibid. 16–18 and dupl. 17–20 *nu-wa-za-kan kī É.DINGIR-LIM ... hassigdu*; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 78; Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:255–8 [1954]; *ZA* 62:106 [1972]), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-as-si-ik-tin* (KUB IX 26 Rs. 6–7 ^{UZU} *Yā ezat[tin ...] nu-za hassiktin* 'eat fat ..., ... and be satiated!'), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-as-si-kán-du* (KBo XV 10 + XX 42 III 38 *nu-z[a-kan KUR-e hassikandu* 'let the lands be saturated').

hassik(ka)nu- 'satisfy, saturate (with), steep (in)' (+ instrumental, ablative or infinitive), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-as-si-ik-nu-an-zi* (e.g. KUB XXIX 40 II 5 *n-us sakurūwauanzi hassiknuanzi* 'they satisfy them drinking'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 178, 173, 328), *ha-as-si-ig-ga-nu-an-zi* (KBo XIV 63 IV 12 [n-us] *uitenaz hassigganuanzi* 'they satisfy them with water'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 222), *ha-as-si-ig-ga-nu-wa-an-zi* (KUB XXIX 48 Rs. 17 n] *an hassigganu-*

wanzi 'they satisfy him'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 164), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-as-si-ig-ga-nu-ut* (XXV 23 IV 57–59 ^{DU} *EN-YA hēwu[n] mekki iya nu-wa dankuin daganzipan hassiqqanut* 'storm-god my lord, make much rain and saturate the dark earth!').

Pal. *has-* 'be sat(iat)ed', 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-sa-an-ti* (KUB XXXII 18 I 7 [a] *tānti ni-ppa-si musānti ahuwanti ni-ppa-as hasanti* 'they eat [but] they are not filled, they drink [but] they are not satiated'), *ha-sa-a-an-ti* (ibid. 9 and 18; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 8).

For the semantic and usage delimitation of *hasek-* vis-à-vis the semi-synonyms *ispai-* (used mostly with food) and *ni(n)k-* (used exclusively with drink) see s.v. *ispai-* (*HED* 1–2:429–31). It is instructive to juxtapose to *hasek-* the Homeric verb of the same meaning, with transitive fut. inf. act. (*Iliad* 11:818 *ἄσσειν ... κόνας ἀργέτι δημῶ* 'gorge dogs with white fat'), aor. inf. act. (*Iliad* 24:211 *κόνας ἄσαι* 'be food for dogs'; *Iliad* 5:289, 20:78, 22:267 *αἵματος ἄσαι Ἀρηά* 'satisfy Ares with blood'), aor. subj. act. (*Iliad* 18:280–1 *ἐπεὶ κε ... ἵππους παντοίου δρόμου ἄσῃ* 'when he has given the horses enough of a runaround'), and aor. opt. act. (*Iliad* 9:489 *ἄσαιμι* 'I would sate you with meat'), but also intransitive aor. inf. act. (*Iliad* 21:70 *χρὸς ἄμεναι ἀνδρομέοιο* 'be steeped in human flesh' [said of weapons]; similarly *Iliad* 11:574, 15:317, 21:168 *χρὸς ἄσαι*; *Iliad* 23:157 *γόοιο μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄσαι* 'one can also get enough of wailing'), aor. subj. act. (*Iliad* 19:402 *ἐπεὶ χ' ἔωμεν* [i.e. Ionic **ἥομεν* < **ἄομεν*] *πολέμοιο* 'when we have our fill of war'), aor. inf. midd. (*Iliad* 19:306–7 *ποτῆτος ἄσασθαι φίλον ἦτορ* 'to gorge myself on drink to my heart's content'), and aor. imp. midd. (*Iliad* 24:717 *ἄσεσθε κλαυθμοῖο* 'get your fill of lamentation').

An etymological match may be involved as well (cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 47; J.-L. Perpillou, *Revue des études anciennes* 71:461 [1969]; Tischler, *Glossar* 200). The root is **H₁es-A₂-*, with **H₁es-A₂-* in Gk. **sā-* > **ā-* > *ā-* (with Homeric-Aeolic psilosis), and weak grade **H₁sA₂-* plus dental increment in *ādos* 'satiety' (cf. *ādhv* 'enough'), *āsh* 'surfeit, nausea' (< **H₁sA₂-t-yeA₂*), *āatos* 'insatiate' (Hesiod, *Theogony* 714 *āatos πολέμοιο* 'insatiate of war'; contracted *ātos* in Homer; cf. Skt. *asinvā-* 'insatiate' < **ḡ-H₁sA₂-n-w-*), and also in Lat. *sat(is)* 'enough', *satur*, Goth. *saps* 'sated' (**sā-* in Goth. *sōþ*, Lith. *sōtis* 'satiation', OIr. *sāith* 'satiety'). Hitt. 3 sg. *hasekzi* besides Pal. 3 pl. *hasanti* recalls the Latin variation of *senectus* vs. *senātus*, raising the possibility that *A₂* might have "hardened" to a guttural in some prehistoric preocclusive positions, thus **H₁séA₂-ti*

hasek-, has(s)ik- hasik(ka)-, hassika-, hassikka- hasp-

> *h(a)sekti vs. *H₁SA₂-ónti > *h(a)santi, with different paradigmatic generalizations in Hittite and Palaic.

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

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

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

HAŠK- '2' Mst.

vernichtend schlagen, zerschmettern, etc. Grodd//EASg, '99: 46

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

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

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

The probable etymology is IE *A₁ēs-p-, *A₁s-ép- (rather than *sep- still in B. Vine, *IF* 93:52–61 [1988]) seen in Vedic *sāpati* 'take care of' (*rta-sāp-* 'truth-practicing'), Avestan *hap-* (*Yasna* 31.22 *ašam ... hapti* 'practices truth'), Gk. *ἔπω* 'handle, engage', *ἐφ-έπω* (aor. inf. act. *ἐπισπεῖν*) 'ply, wield, practice; come upon, go at, beset' (Achilles pursuing Hektor in *Iliad* 22:188). For the military use of *hasp-* cf. also *Iliad* 11:177–8 *ὥς τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδης ἐφ'επε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων, αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων τὸν ὀπίσταντον* 'thus A. would go at them [viz. as they were fleeing], always slaying the hindmost'. Hittite typically prefers the root form *hasp-* < *A₁esp- (cf. e. g. HED 1–2:175 and s. v. *has[s]-*). Cf. Puhvel, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 21 (1990), 45: 223 (1991).

SB 44

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

232 HAŠMUŠALLI(ŠA?), see Umla's review of HDW (JNES 49), real's review adds
X 30.15.1 I 51 [ŠA?] ŠILA.ŠU = gā nunnati = hašmušalliaš zapanum

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

'they gather up the bones and deposit them in the fireplace'; ibid. ^{NS}ha-a-š-ta-i (XV 10.10.26) besides ibid. 29 ha-a-š-ta-a-i) 19 nu hastāe warnuwanzi 'they burn the bones'; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 6), gen. sg. ha-as-ti-as (*KUB* XXX 15 Vs. 1–2 nu SAL.MEŠ uktū[rī]a hastias lessūwanzi pānzi 'the women go to the cremation spot for gathering of bones'), ha-as-ti-ya-as (e.g. ibid. 17–18 nu kuyēs kuyēs hastiyas lessūwanzi uwantes 'whoever [are] come for gathering of bones'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66; XXXIX 11 Vs. 50 hastiyas piran 'before the bones'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 68; I 1 IV 75 kuit hastiyas É-ir DÙ-nunn-at ANA DINGIR-LIM parā pihhun 'what bone-house [= ossuary] I made, it I consigned to the deity'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28; *Bo* 3826 III 6 É.ŠA hastiyas 'interior of ossuary'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 112; *KUB* IX 4 III 38–39 hastiyas māluliyas 'of bone [and] soft tissue'; IX 34 I 23 hastiyas melu[liyas]; *KBo* XVII 54 I 11 hastiyas mīluliyas), ha-as-ti-i-as (XX 8 IV 7), dat.-loc. sg. ha-as-ta-i (e.g. *KUB* IX 4 I 15 h)astai-kan hastai handan 'bone [is] matched to bone'), instr. sg. ha-as-ti-it (XIX 37 II 6–7 namma-at warhuus hastitt-[a] [pahhast]at 'it [is] further rough [of terrain] and was sturdily defended'; cf. Götze, *AM* 166; XXXI 10, 4 n-as-kan hasti[it; cf. Götze, *AM* 76), ha-as-ti-i-it (XIII 27 + XXVI 40 ^{NS}VS. 93–96) anda-ma ^{LÚ}KUR kuwapi ^{URU}Hattusi panga[rit uizzi nu-kan mā]n sumenzan A.ŠA kueran istarna ar[ha] uizzi sumes-an-za hastiyit ŪL [pahhasteni nu-ssi IG-and]a ŪL naisteni nu-ssi-kan tapusza neyantes ēsten 'moreover when the enemy comes to Hatti in force, if he comes right through your fieldland, and you do not sturdily defend it, and do not confront him, and turn aside from him...').

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

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

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

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

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

hastales- 'become brave, turn warlike', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-as-ta-li-es-zi* (KBo IV 14 II 68 *nu-mu mān* ^{GIS}TUKUL-za *hastalēszi* 'if by weapon he turns warlike'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:43 [1965]), *ha-as-ta-li-is-zi* (KUB XXXVI 12 II 15 *kuitman-war-as nāwi hastal-*

iszi 'as long as he does not yet turn warlike'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]).

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

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

The etymon (universally recognized since Benveniste, *BSL* 33:139 [1932], and Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.* 1 93) is Skt. *āsthī*, Avest. *ast(i)-*, Gk. *ὀστέον*, Lat. *os(s)*, Arm. *oskr*, Alb. *asht* 'bone' (*IEW* 783). The Avestan root noun *ast-* (gen. sg. *astō*, instr. pl. *azdōiš*) and the Latin *oss-* (< **ost-*) point to **A₂es-t-* with a neuter plural "collective" **A₂estA₂* (> Avest. *asti*, Lat. *ossa*), potentially further extended by *i/n* heteroclisism which persists in Indo-Iranian (Skt. *āsthī*, gen. *asthnāh*). The Greek and Hittite derivatives (*ὀστέον* < **ὀστέον*; *hastai*, also *tanhasti* [n.] 'twinbone', q. v. s. v. *ta[n]*) resemble each other, and Luw. *hassa* may reflect a neuter plural **hastya* (cf. N. Van Brock, *Glotta* 46:119 [1968]; Weitenberg, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 295 [1979], *U-Stämme* 389). Attempts to find a root noun **has(t)-* in Anatolian, via *hassa* or *hastali-* (e.g. Oettinger, *ZDMG* 131:387 [1981]; E. P. Hamp, *KZ* 97:199 [1984]) have not been successful.

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

Cf. *hista-*.

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

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

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

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

The interpretation of *hasterza* as /hsters/ (e. g. J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15:144 [1969]; F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 70 [1970]; H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 24:161 [1978]; Mayrhofer, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 187 [1982]; Tischler, in A. Bammesberger [ed.], *Das etymologische Wörterbuch* 278–9 [1983]) is to be rejected. Gk. *ἀστὴρ*, *ἄστρο*, and Arm. *astl* militate against a mere 'prothetic' *a*- (from **ʔ*) and point, like *haster*-, to full grade **A₁est(e)r/l-* beside **A₁ster/l-* in Avest. *stāram*, Ved. *stf̥bhīh*, *tārah*, Lat. *stella*, Bret. *sterenn*, Goth. *stairnō*, Toch. B *šcirye*, etc. Cf. also O. Szemerényi, *Kratylos* 28:56 (1983).

hasduer- (n.) 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-as-du-e-ir* (*KUB* XVII 28 IV 44 *āszi-ma-kan kuit hasduer n-at arha war-muwanzi* 'what brush is left, it they burn'; XXIV 14 I 7–8 *euwan* ^{GIS}*hasduer kuēl imma* ^{GIS}*š-ruwas hahhallas alil* 'barley, twigs, the bloom of whatever tree [or] bush'), *ha-as-du-ir* (*KBo* III 63 II 18; *VBoT* 24 III 14 A.ŠA *terippias* ^{GIS}*sarpas hasduir* 'brush of s. wood' of a plowed field'; ibid. 26–31 *nu A.ŠA terippiyaz* 9 ^{NA}*passilan merranda-ya hasduir udanzi nu-ssan* ^{NA}*passilus ANA GUNNI ishuwāi ser-a-ssan* ^{GIS}*sarpas hasduir merranda warnuzi* 'they bring the nine pebbles and the discarded brush from the plowed field; he pours the pebbles onto the hearth and upon them burns the discarded brush of s. wood'; ibid. 42–45 *ke-ma-kan hasduir mahhan* ^{LU}*APIN.LAL-li arha merta tug-a-kan ANA* ^{DLAMA} ^{KUS}*kursas karpis kartimmiaz sāuwar arha QATAMMA mertu* 'as this brush was discarded by the plowman, so may anger, wrath, and fury likewise vanish from you, tutelary god of the fleece!'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:14 [1927], *Chrest.* 112–4; *KUB* LVIII 109 Vs. 13 *hasduir tepu* 'a bit of brush'), abl. *ha-as-du-ir-ra-za* (XLVI 39 III 9 *hasduirraza puruddaza* 'with sticks [and] clay'). – Cf. H. Grottel, *RIA* 6 (1930–35): 553 pl.

Sturtevant's connection of *hasduer*- with Gk. *ὄζος*, Goth. *asts*, Arm. *ost* 'branch, twig' (passim from *Lg.* 4:163 [1928] to *Comp. Gr.* 32) has enjoyed limited assent, but can be bolstered as reflecting ^{74, 54:199}**A₂esd-wer*- parallel to the **A₂est-wer*- that underlies Arm. *oskr* 'bone' (cf. Hitt. *hastai*), vs. **A₂esdo-* in Arm. *ost* (cf. C. Watkins, *Die Sprache* 20:10–11 [1974]; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 158). If ^{24, 29:74}**A₂e-sd-wer*- contains the root **sed-* 'sit', the (deverbative) suffix ^{Haas (DLZ 81)} would resemble rather that of Toch. B *malkwer* 'milk', *arwäre*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

gen. sg.
ha-as-su-
-u-e-it
(KBo 13.165
II 6-7
hassu-u-e-it
[amni?]
1-su zi-pati
'libates
once to the
king name')

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

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

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

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

Thus *hassu-*, first determined as the reading of LUGAL by Hrozný (*Heth. KB* 99, on the basis of *hassuet*), had a Proto-Anatolian sense of ‘Born One’ or ‘Begotten One’, as a nominal *u*-stem derivative from *has(s)-* (< **hamsu-* reflecting either **E₂h₂sú-* or *E₂omsu-*). The parallelism of the Germanic words for ‘king’ derived from the root **gēnE-* (first seen by Sommer, *Heth.* 19–10, variously argued from e. g. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 57, to Laroche, *Noms* 301–2), seen in e. g. ON *konr* ‘prince’ (< **gēnyos*; *IEW* 375), is reinforced by inner-Hittite data: just as *hassatar* was privileged terminology for *salli* *hassatar*, and *hassant-* would be elliptic for *išTU SAL LUGAL hassanza* (as opposed to a concubine’s son), even so *hassu-* was not just ‘born’ but ‘best-born’, ‘summo loco natus’, with an emphatic meaning reminiscent of *asant-* (not merely ‘being’ but ‘truly being, true’). Or perhaps, granted the ambiguity of the diathesis, the proto-sense was alternatively related to that of Lat. *genius* (< **gēnyos* or **gēnyos*) ‘numen of potency’, with the king as the embodiment and epitome of male procreative powers at the apex of the socioreligious order.

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

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

Implausible root-etymology and ad-hoc suffix postulation underlay O. Szemerényi's derivation (in *Tractata Mycenaea* 354 [1987]) of *hassu-* from a **A₂omsu-* 'strongman' (root seen in e. g. Skt. *āmīti* 'beset'; *IEW* 778).

cf. CHD, s.v. *memal*

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

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

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

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

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

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

hāt(w)- Presumably related are the nouns *[ha-at-tar]* (*KBo* XI 14 I 6, in a list of grains; *KUB* XLII 107 III 10–11 *hattar-ku zināil-ku*), *ha-a-tar* (*KBo* XIII 119 III 21; *Bo* 3123 IV 6 *hātar-ku zināil-ku*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 159), *ha-a-at-tar* (*IBoT* II 93 Vs. 13 *hāttar-ku*), *hatahi-* (nom. sg. *ha-ta-a-hi-is* in *KBo* X 7 II 32, nom. pl. *ha-ta-a-hi-e-es* ^{? = GU.TUR 'lentil' with // Fr. Knobloch, '85: 494 f.}

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

For Lyc. *χ00ase* 'hay, fodder' (?) see Carruba, *Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere, Rendiconti* 108:582, 594 (1974).

For *hāzta*, *haz(z)asta* /hatsta/, *hazzadu* /hatstu/ from *hat-* + *-t-*, cf. e. g. *akta*, *akdu* from *ak(k)-* (besides *aku*, like *hādu*). Cf. Gk. *ἄζω* 'cause to dry up' (*Iliad* 4:487 *ἄζομένην κεῖται* '[the poplar] lies withered'; Hesiod, *Aspis* 397 and *Erga* 587 *Σείπιος ἄζει* 'the dog-star parches'; *Alcaeus* 39.8 *Σείπιος ἄσδει*) < **ād-īw*, a primary verb (IE **A₁ed-ye-*) like e. g. *χέζω* (**ghed-ye-*); cf. Benveniste, *BSL* 50.1:39 (1954). A further plausible cognate is Lat. *ador* 'emmer wheat, spelt' (and perhaps Goth. *atisk* 'cornfield', Toch. A *āti* 'grass'), IE **A₁od-(o)r* 'dry matter, dried stuff' as opposed to **wod(o)r* 'wet substance, water' (root **wed-* in Skt. *unātti* 'moisten'). According to Festus (3:19–21) *ador* was a type of spelt (*farris genus*) parched (*tostum*) to make salted meal (*mola salsa*) for sacrificial sprinkling (97:22–3 *mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare*); similarly *KBo* XVI 78 I 8 *zīd.DA-as hātan mallan* 'of meal, dried (and) ground'; XI 14 I 20 *zīd.DA zīz MUN-ya suhhai* 'he sprinkles spelt meal and salt'; cf. C. Watkins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77:187–93 (1973), 79:181–7 (1975); M. Poetto, *ANLR* 31:151–63 (1976). J. A. C. Greppin (*Revue des études arméniennes* 4:13–7 [1983]) has further adduced Arm. *hačar* 'spelt' (**A₁ed-y-*).

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

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

hat(t)-, hatta-, hazziya- (act. and midd.) 'make a hole (in), pierce, prick, stab, slash, perforate, penetrate, stick (as a means of killing; cf. "stuck pig"), hit (a target), strike (esp. a musical instrument, alternating with *RA* and *walh-* 'hit, strike'; cf. S. de Martino, *Hethitica*

IX 10–3 [1988]), engrave (a tablet)' (*KUB* IV 1 IV 23 *takku* KALAM BURU *kisa namma-at-kan hattante[s]* 'if [in] kidney hole is made, they [viz. the kidneys] being perforated', matching ibid. 22 [Akk.] BE KALAM BURU *pulluṣ* = *šumma kalītu pilṣu pulluṣ* [verb *palāṣu* 'if [in] kidney hole is perforated'], 1 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ad-da-ah-ha-ri* (*KUB* NS² XVII 28 I 6 [nu-kan a]nda ŠAH.TUR *haddahhari* 'and inside [viz. the hole] I stick a piglet'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:121 [1973]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-zi* (LIII 12 III 23–24 I UDU TI-an *epzi* NS² n-an-kan ANA AŠAR *Kattahha anda hatzi* '[he] takes one live sheep and sticks it into K.'s pit'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:51, 53 [1984]; par. *KBo* XXVI 185 Rs. 11 [an]da *hatta[-]*; cf. e. g. *kiszi* : *kisāizzi*), *ha-at-ta-i* (e. g. XI 17 II 13–15 *namma-an-kan wappui* NS² *katta hattai nu ēšhar* (UZU YA-*ḫ*) *katta tarnai* 'he sticks it [viz. the victim] along the bank and lets the blood flow down (upon the fa)'; *KUB* XXVII 67 II 48–49 n-an PANI NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HILA *hattai n-asta* NS² ZAG-an UZU ZAG.IU-an *arha kuerzi* 'before the loaves she sticks it [viz. the goat] and cuts off the right shoulder'), *ha-at-ta-a-i* (V 12 NS² Rs. 4; ibid. 2 and 5 *hattā[i]*; ibid. 7 *hatt[āi]*), *ha-ad-da-i* (*KBo* II 9 IV 17 I NINDA.SIG-kan *istarna haddai nu-ssan ser hulli dāi* 'he makes a hole in the center of a flatbread and poses a fir-cone'), *ha-ad-da-a-i* (*KUB* X 63 I 20 n-an-kan LU SANGA ANA *Āpi kattanda haddāi* 'the priest sticks it [viz. the sheep] downwards into the pit'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]), *ha-az-zi-az-zi* (*Bo* 2740a, 7–10 SAL GISBAN LU *hartaggan GI-it 1-šu siezzi t-an wastai tāt-a siezzi t-an hazziazzi* 'the archeress shoots at the bear-man once with an arrow, and misses him; she shoots a second time and hits him'), *ha-az-zi-iz-zi* (*KBo* III 34 II 33 *mān LUGAL-was piran sieskanzi kuīs hazzizzi nu-sse GEŠTIN-an akuwanna pianzi* 'when they vie in shooting before the king, who scores a hit, to him they give wine to drink'; ibid. 34 *kuīs natta hazzizzi* 'who does not score'), *ha-az-zi-zi* (III 60 II 12–16 *Kaniwas UZU.ŠAH zeandan dās t-an DUMU.MAH.LIL-as piran dās takku-wa-ssan kī hazzizi ta-wa DINGIR-L[UM] takku-wa-ssan natta-ma ha[zzizi] ta-wa antuwahhes* 'K. took cooked pork and placed it before D.: "If he hits it [i.e. gets it right that it is pork rather than a cannibal meal], he [is] a god, but if he does not hit the mark, he is a man"' ['and we shall fight'; ibid. 17 *zahhuweni*; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:106, 110–1 [1938]; O. Soysal, *Vicino Oriente* 7:119–20 [1988]; XII 3 IV 12), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-at-ta* (*KUB* XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 19–20 *nu-za LU AZU-as 2 URUDU sepikkustus dāi nu-za-kan hatta* 'the medicine man takes two copper pins and pricks himself';

ibid. 22 *pirasset kuyēs asanzi nu-kkan apuss-a hatta* 'those who sit before him, them too he pricks'; ibid. 22–23 *kuis aniyaezzi n-an-kan hatta* 'he who officiates, him he pricks'; cf. ZA 74:303 [1984]; I 14 II 9–12 *nu-za 6-šu walhanzi 1-as-za-kan* [š]u-zu *hatta 1-as-ma-za-kan* [gi]r-šu *hatta* 'they strike themselves six times; one hits his hand, the other hits his foot'; dupl. XXVIII 96, 12–15 *nu-za 6-šu* [wal]hanzi 1-as-za-kan [...] *hatta 1-as-ma-az-kan* [...] *hatta*), *ha-at-ta-ri* (e.g. KBo XI 14 III 9 *n-an-kan hattessna* GAM-anta *hattari* 'he sticks it [viz. the piglet] downwards into the pit' [cf. ibid. 8 *tekan pedai* 'digs the earth']; 352/v, 4 *nu SILA hattari* 'sticks the lamb'; KBo XXV 30, 11; XXIX 205, 11; XXV 29 II 4 *hat(ta)ri*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *ha-ad-da-ri* (109/u, 3), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-zi* (e.g. KBo XVII 65 Vs. 40–41 *n-asta hattanzi zahhanzi-ya* [UL kuinki] ^{NS?} 'then they do not stab or fight anyone'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 136; KUB II 13 II 55–56 [n-as]ta 1 UDU *parā pennianzi* [n]-an ^{NS?} *hattanzi* 'they drive up a sheep and stick it'; similarly ibid. III 5–6; XLI 48 IV 18–19 *n-as-kan parā pennianzi n-as hattanzi* 'they drive them [viz. the sheep] up and stick them'; IX 31 III 61 *n-as tagān* ^{NS?} *hattanzi* and dupl. IX 32 Vs. 37 *n-as dagan hattanzi* 'they stick them ^{NS?} on the ground'; XX 88 VI 7 *n]-as-kan* É.GAL-ni *anda hattanzi* 'they ^{NS?} stick them inside the palace'; XLI 8 III 4–5 *n-an hattanzi nu-ssan* ^{NS?} *ēšhar im-as hūpri tarnāi* 'they stick it [viz. the lamb] and one lets the blood flow into a clay bowl'; cf. Otten, ZA 54:128 [1961]; 1112/c ^{NS?} + II 32 *nu tekan pedanzi nu-kan* UDU *kattanda hattanzi* 'they dig the earth and stick the sheep downwards'; ibid. 39–40 *nu* UDU *hattanzi namma-an arha happesnānzi* 'they stick the sheep, then they dismember it'; cf. L. Rost, MIO 1:354–6 [1953]), *ha-ad-da-an-zi* ^N (e.g. dupl. KBo II 3 I 43 JUDU *kattanta haddanzi*; ibid. 52 *nu* UDU *haddanzi*; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 68, 70; KUB IX 2 I 9 1 UDU *haddanzi*, ^{NS?} XXXIX 4 Vs. 13 *namma 1 GUD 8* [?] UDU.HIA-ya *awan katta haddanzi* 'then they stick dead the one ox and the eight [?] sheep'; cf. Otten, ^{NS?} *Totenrituale* 26; XXIX 4 IV 36 [n-a]n-kan *hattesni kattanda haddanzi* 'they stick it downwards into the pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 30; LV 45 II 8–9 *n-an-kan ... kattanda haddanzi*, besides ibid. 5–6 *n-an-kan ... kattanta hattanzi*; XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 III 5 *kat-t]anda haddan[zi*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 40), *ha-at-ta-a-an-zi* (KBo XV 34 II 28 *n-an ina* É LÜ MUHALDIM *pennianzi n-an hattānzi* 'they drive it [viz. the ram] to the cook's house and stick it'), *ha-at-tin-zi* (IV 11, 9 2 ŠAH *aski apinissan hattinzi* 'two pigs for the [deified] gate in the same way they stick'; cf. Starke, KLTU 339), *ha-az-zi-an-zi*

(e.g. XI 34 I 1–6 [m]ān ^{URU} Hattusaz [^{UR}] ^U Dammelha pānzi ^{INA} ^{URU} Tuggastuwa 1 ŠAH *hazzianzi takku-smas* UL-ma *hapzi ta natta hazzianzi* 'when they go from H. to D., they stick a pig at T.; but if it does not work out for them, they do not stick [it]'; XX 14 + XXV 33 Vs. 19 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.HIA *hazzianzi* 'they strike "Ištar-woods"'; ibid. 8 [h]azzianzi; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 87–8; XX 32 III 11 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.HIA *hazzianzi*; KUB XLIII 60 IV 15 *galgalūri hazzianzi* 'they strike tambourines'), *ha-az-zi-ya-an-zi* (KBo XX 40 V 10–11 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.HIA *hazziyanzi* [^{GIŠ}a]rgami *walhanzi* 'they strike "Ištar-woods", they hit the harp'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *ha-at-ta-an-ta* (HT 1 I 36 *nu MĀŠ.GAL hattanta* 'they stick the he-goat'; cf. B. Schwartz, JAOS 58:388 [1938]; KUB LVIII 14, 4–6 LÜ.MES MUHALDIM-uss-a UDU.HIA-us *hattanta t-us-(s)an lūliya pessianzi* GUD.HIA-s-a *hattanta* 'the cooks stick the sheep and throw them into the vat; and they stick the cattle'; KBo XXV 29 II 6 LÜ.MES MUHALDIM *hattanta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *ha-an-da-an-da* (sic KUB XXIV 9 IV 12 *n-an handanda n-asta suppa danzi* 'they stick it [viz. the sheep] and take sacrificial meat'; like *hantesnaz* sub verbal noun *hattessar* below, "hypercorrect" reverse writing of the type of Lat. *thensaurus*; cf. Sommer, HAB 98; wrongly Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Maili* 52–3), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-ya-nu-un* (KBo IV 10 Rs. 22 *n-at-kan* AN.BAR-as *tuppi hazziyanun* 'this I engraved on an iron tablet'), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-e-it* (KBo VII 14 + KUB XXXVI 100 Vs. 31 [OHitt.] *n-a]n* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR ZABAR-it *hazziet* 'he hit him with a bronze spear'; KUB XXXI 64 III 4), *ha-az-zi-it* (ibid. I 18), *ha-zi-it* (KBo III 36 Vs. 8) *gi-it kuiski hazit* 'someone hit with an arrow', (3 sg. pret. midd.) *ha-az-zi-ya-at-ta-at* (XIII 111, 7), *ha-a]z-zi-at-ta-at* (ibid. 14), (3 sg. imp. act.) *ha-at-ta-u* (KUB XXXVI 55 III 20), *ha-az-zi-e-id-du* (KBo III 22 Vs. 51 *n-an nepisas* ^DIM-as *hazzie[ddu]* 'may the storm-god of heaven hit him' [viz. with his bolt]; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 82–5), 3 pl. imp. midd. *ha-at-ta-an-ta-ru* (III 27, 9 [OHitt.] *kapru-sset hattantaru* 'they shall slash his throat'; ibid. 11–12 *kapru-s[set] hattantaru*; ibid. 20 *kapru-sse]t hatta[ntaru*; KUB I 16 III 40 [OHitt.] ^{UZU}UR-dan *hattantaru* 'let them prick [his] member'; cf. Sommer, HAB 12), [partic. *hattant-*] nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-za* (XXIX 7 Vs. 1 KAKKAK-ŠU *hattanza* 'Perforated Nose, Nez Percé' [name of a sorceress]; ibid. 48 KAKKAK-ŠU *hattanza parkuis* SAL-za 'P. N., clean woman'; also broken ibid. 38; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118–20, 133), *ha-ad-da-an-za* (1665/u, 11 KAKKAK *haddanza*), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-ta-an* (KBo XVI 97 Rs. 29 KĀ.GAL-kan *hattan* 'penetrated gate';

ha-at-te-es
(KBo 32.13 II 15, 16, 17;
cf. Otten/Ling. 53:153;
'93) "Kz 209"
→ ha-at-ta-at
(KBo 32.13 II 20)
"in act?!"

hattinzi
KBo 4.1164
'they strike
(symbol)'

cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 198), *ha-az-zi-an* (XXII 1, 22–23 [OHitt.] *nu-smas māt handa hatreskizzi natta-samas* ^{LUMES}DUGUD-as *tuppi hazzian harzi* ‘even as he regularly writes to you, has he not had a tablet engraved for you dignitaries?’; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-ta-an-ti* (XVI 97 Rs. 12 *mān* ^{DISTAR} ^{URU}Ninuwa KAKKAK *hattanti uddanī ser kartimmiyauanza* ‘if Ištar of Ninive [is] angered over the Nez Percé affair’), nom. pl. c. *ha-at-ta-an-te-es* (e.g. *KUB XXXIII 118 I 26 -[t] hattantes* ‘pricked with ...’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:75 [1968]; verbal noun hattessar (n.) ‘perforation, hole, pit, lair’ (cf. e.g. *petessar* ‘dig, excavation, hole, cavity’ from *pē-da-* ‘dig’), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-te-es-sar* (*KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 IV 9, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *hu-ur-ru* ‘hole’; also XIII 2 Vs. 1; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 19; *KUB XXXII 137 II 27 nu-kan hattessar istāpi* ‘he plugs the hole’; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 64 [1987]; XXXVI 91 Rs. 6; cf. *ZA* 64:243 [1975]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 393), *ha-at-te-es-sa* (*KBo* XIII 13 Vs. 3] *hattessa-se[t]* ‘its hole’; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60; for loss of -r cf. e.g. *ishessa[r]* [*HED* 1–2:399], *hannessa[r]* [s. v. *hann(a)-*], and see Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 207–8 [1982]), *ha-at-ti-es-sar* (*KUB XXVI 8 I 30*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 10; *IBOT* II 80 VI 1–4 *n-asta tagnas* ^{DUTU}-as *hattiessar* [!] ^D*Halkiyass-a hattessar* [!] *ser galissanzi* ‘they invoke the pit of the solar deity of the earth and the pit of Halkis’; cf. the necromantic cavity *api-* [*HED* 1–2:99–102]), gen. sg. *ha-at-te-es-na-as* (*KUB XVII 5 I 13 hattenas kattand[a]* and *dupl.* XVII 6 I 8 *hattenas katta[nda]* ‘down into the hole’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:67 [1965]; Beckman, *JANES* 14:13 [1982]; XXXIII 66 III 17 *hattenas katta[nda]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:131 [1965]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-te-es-ni* (e.g. LVIII 79 I 7–8 *akuwakuwas hattensni* ‘to the lair of a tarantula’; *KBo* X 45 IV 6 *n-at-kan hattensni ser dāi* ANA GUNNI-ya *dāi* ‘he puts them [viz. breadloaves] above the pit and at the fireplace’; *dupl.* *KUB XLI 8 IV 4–5 nu-kan hattensni* [ser *dāi* ^U ANA GUNNI.MEŠ *dāi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:134 [1961]; XVII 28 I 4–5 [nu-kan] *hattensni anda* ^{ŠAH}-as ... [...] *sakkar dahhi* ‘inside the hole a pig[’s?] ... excrement I take’; XXXVI 89 Vs. 4, 8, 10, 12 *hattensni* GAM-*anda* ‘down into the hole’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142–4; *KBo* XI 14 III 12 *hattensni* GAM-*anta*), *ha-at-te-es-na* (*ibid.* 9 *n-an-kan hattensna* GAM-*anta hattari* [quoted above]), abl. sg. *ha-an-te-es-na-az* (*KUB XVII 5 I 5–6 n-asta* ^{MUS} *Illuyanka[n] hantesnaz sarā kallista* ‘[Inaras] summoned I. up from the hole’, vs. *dupl.* XVII 6 I 1 *ha-at[-]*; for the reverse spelling cf. 3

pl. pres. midd. *handanda* above); verbal noun *hazziyassar* (n.) ‘perforation, stabbing, wound’ (also figurative), nom.-acc. *ha-az-zi-ya-as-sar* (*KUB XXIX 1 I 44 takku hazziyassar* ‘whether [it be] h.’; cf. *ibid.* 43 *kuit-ma-as-kan karde-smi* ‘whatever [is] in your heart’; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]), *ha-az-zi-i-sar* (XXXVI 49 I 3); inf. *ha-az-zi-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (XXXV 145 II 6; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230); iter. *hazzik(k)i-* /*hat-ski-*, *hazziski-*, *hazzi(y)eski-* (cf. e.g. *ansiki*, *ansiski-* from *ans[īya]-*, or *azzik[k]i-* from *ed-*, or *zik[k]i-* from *dai-*), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-az-zi-ki-iz-zi* (e.g. *KBo* X 25 VI 13; *KUB* XI 8 + 9 IV 21), *ha-az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi* (e.g. XXXIII 97 I 13; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:70 [1968]; XXV 39 I 24), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-az-zi-ik-kān-zi* (e.g. *KBo* X 47g III 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:12 [1968]; *KUB* II 5 I 3–4 and X 12 III 9–10 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.GAL *hazzikkanzi* ‘they strike the great “Ištar-wood”’; XXV 9 V 3 [^{GIŠ}hu] *hūpal hazzikkanzi* ‘they strike cymbals’; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 64 [1982]), *ha-zi-kān-zi* (*KBo* II 9 IV 29 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA *galgaltūri hazzikanzi* ‘they strike the “Ištar-wood” [and] tambourine’), *ha-az-zi-kān-zi* (e.g. *KUB* X 99 I 12–13 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA *hazzikanzi*; XI 16 IV 16 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.GAL *hazzikanzi*; *KBo* IV 9 I 39–41 *GIŠ* ^{arkammi} ^{GIŠ}hūhupal *galgaltūri* LUGAL-i EGIR-an *piran hazzikanzi* ‘harp, cymbal, and tambourine behind [and] before the king they strike’; *ibid.* 44 *GIŠ* ^{ŠA.A.TAR} *hazzikanzi*; *ibid.* VI 31 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.GAL *hazzikanzi*; *KUB* XXV 1 VI 27–29 *GIŠ ^{argami} *galgaltūri* ^{GIŠ}huhupallitt-a *hazzikanzi* ‘harp [and] tambourine along with cymbal they strike’), *ha-az-zi-is-kān-zi* (e.g. *ibid.* V 15 *hazziskan[zi]*; *KBo* X 23 III 13–15 *taruiskanzi paluyiskanzi hazziskanzi-ya* ‘[they] dance, clap, and strike’; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; *KUB* XV 34 IV 43–44 *piran-ma* *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.HI.A *argāmi galgaltūri hazziskanzi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 206; *KBo* XV 33 III 6 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA *hazziskanzi*; *KUB* LVI 46 II 4–5 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.HI.A *hazziskanzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 86; Daddi, *Oriens Antiquus* 26:48 [1987]; *KBo* XXV 35 II 5 *GIŠ* ^DINANNA.GAL *hazzisk[an]zi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 93; XVII 75 II 40), *ha-az-zi-es-kān-zi* (XX 85 IV 12), *RA-an-zi* (*KUB* XX 19 IV 14 *arkammi galgaltūri RA-anzi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-az-zi-ik-ki-nu-un* (XVII 4, 9–10 *piran āski-za* ^{DUMU}.MEŠ *kuedas* *kattan hazzikkun* ‘the boys whom I struck down before the gate’; cf. *ibid.* 11 ^{DUMU}-an ^{GIŠ}PA-it *GUL-ahhun* ‘I hit a boy with a stick’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:68 [1968]; H. A. Hoffner, *Documentum Otten* 149), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-az-zi-is-ki-id-du* (*Bo* 5809, 9 *nu* ^{LUM}KUR-AM *hazziskiddu* ‘let him hit the enemy’), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-az-za-si-**

ha-az-zi-es-ka
-sar (KUB 34. 17
18),
ha-az-zi-es-ka
-sar (KUB 34. 25
18)



kán-du (sic *KUB* LV 15 II 1 ^{GIS}*huwarmis hazzasikandu*, besides *KBo* XXI 16 Rs. 4 ^{GIS}*huwarpis* *GUl-ahz[i]*; cf. Ünal, *Bi. Or.* 44:479 [1987]); supine *ha-zi-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXI 127 III 39 *nu-mu-za hazikiuwan dayer* 'they started hitting me'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 100), *ha-az-zi-ki-u-an* (XXV 37 III 24–25 ^{GIS}*huhupal danzi n-at hazzikiuan tianzi* 'they take cymbals and start striking them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 347), *ha-az-zi-i-e-es-ki-u-wa-an* (XX 16 I 10–11 *nu* ^{GIS}*argami galgaltūri* [...] *hazziyēskiuwan tia[nzi]* 'they begin striking harp [and] tambourine'; double iter. *hazkiski*-, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-az-ki-is-kán-zi* (LVII 84 III 7–8 *apūss-a-ssan hazkiskanzi* 'those too they strike' [viz. ibid. 6 ^{GIS}*halpūtius*]; cf. e.g. double iter. *zi-ki-is-kán-zi* from *dai*- 'place' [XX 1 II 29]); iterative-"durative" *hattamā*-, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-na-i* (*KBo* XIII 13 Vs. 4; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 60), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-an-n[i-an-zi]* (XX 20 Vs. 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ta-an-ni-ir* (III 34 I 4), iter. 1 pl. pret. act. *ha-ad-da-an-ni-es-ki-u-en* (XVIII 54 Rs. 15–17 *nu-kan* *BAD [GIM]-an kattan arha haddannieskiwen n-at ūl ZAG-nahhuwen* 'when we tried to penetrate the fortress completely, we did not manage it'; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:204 [1978–9]).

For *hatt-/hazziya-* (< **hat[ti]ya-*) cf. e.g. *ans(iya)-*, *arr(iya)-*, *hark(iya)-*, *harp(iya)-*, *hars(iya)-*; *hatta-* (like e.g. *arra-*) seems to be a secondary active stem back-formed on the middle voice. 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-zi* (rather than **ha-az-zi*) shows an "etymological" spelling of the active root verb. Cf. also Oettinger, *MSS* 34:124–6, 146–7 (1976).

Lyc. 3 sg. pres. *χttadi* 'hurts, damages' < **hatayeti*? (Carruba, *OLZ* 60:558 [1965]; Neumann, *Incontri linguistici* 1:107 [1974]; Oettinger, *MSS* 34:147 [1976]).

The old comparison of *hatt(a)-* with Arm. *hat* 'pierce, cut, slice', *hatanem* 'I cut' (aor. *hati*) (N. Martirosyan, *Handes Amsorya* 1929:537, *PBH* 1972:2:174–5; G. Kapancjan, *Chetto-Armeniac* 38, 86 [1931–3], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:80, 375–6 [1956]; W. M. Austin, *Lg.* 18:23 [1942]; H. Wittmann, *Die Sprache* 10:145 [1964]) is phonologically flawed (Hitt. *-tt-* points to IE **t* = Arm. *t*'; cf. Sturtevant, *IHL* 30), which led to the suggestion that *hat* is an Anatolian loanword in Armenian (J. A. C. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 53 [1973], *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3:88 [1975]). Martirosyan's and Kapancjan's further comparison of *hazziya-* with Arm. *xaz* 'sign, note, letter' is no

more confidence-inspiring; the relevance of Arm. *xayt* 'stab, puncture', was doubted prophylactically by G. B. Jahukyan, *Hayerena ev hndevropakan hin lezunerā* 145 (1970).

Čop (*Ling.* 3:52–68 [1958], 5:30 [1964], 8:52–3, 173–4 [1966–8]) combined *hatt(a)-* and numerous derivatives (*hattalla-*, *hattalkesna-*, *hazzil-*, *hatrai-*) under the umbrella of a root **Ha(H)t-* allegedly seen in Avest. *āōi-*, *āōri-* 'ruin', *āōaiti* '(go to) ruin', OIr. *āith* 'slashing, pricking', and other more dubious cognates.

Starting from the stray form *hantessar* (rather than *hattessar*) as primary, M. Groselj (*Slavistična Revija* 5–7:124 [1954]) interpreted Slovenian *votel* 'hollow' as a cognate **onthū*.

Cf. *hattalla-*, *hattalkesna-*, *hattalu-*, *hattant-*, *hattara-*, *hatrai-*, *hattul(a)-*, *haz(i)kara(i)-*, *haz(z)ila-*, *hazzizzi-*.

hattalla- (n.) 'club, mace', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-tal-la-an* (*KUB* I 17 II 27–29 *GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-ma-kan* ^{GIS}*hattallan* *NA₄ ZA.GIN anda pedai* 'the head of the pages brings in the mace [with] lapis lazuli'; IX 18, 15 *GAL DUMU É.GAL-kan* ^{NA₄}*ha-at-* [, distinct from ibid. 19 *HAZZINNU* 'axe'], *hat-tal-la-an* (XXXVIII 2 II 8–9 ^{D₁₀}*AN-E ALAM LÚ GUŠKIN GAR.RA asan ZAG-za šu-za* ^{GIS}*hattallan harzi* 'storm-god of heaven, seated likeness of a man, gold-plated, in his right hand he holds a club'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 6, 38–9), instr. sg. *ha-at-tal-li-it* (XXVI 25, 12, with gloss-wedges), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-at-tal-la* (XLII 36 Vs. 5 3 *hattalla* *ŠA 2 GAL* 'three clubs, including two big ones'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 178 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 493).

Hier. *hatalia-* 'overpower' may belong here (Laroche, *RHA* 13:83–4 [1955]; Meriggi, *HHG* 55); but the wrongly postulated Hitt. **hat-tal-li-ya-* is in reality *pa-tal-li-ya-* (cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 26–7).

hattalla- is a neuter instrument noun from *hat(t)-* 'pierce, strike', similar to e.g. *ardala-* 'saw' (*HED* 1–2:175) or *hup(p)ala-* 'net' (s.v. *huppai-*). As such it refers also to the storm-god's thunder weapon, thus 'bolt', depicted as a club or mace in Hittite iconography and in many related traditions (e.g. the *gurz* of the Iranian Feridun and the *milna* of the Latvian Pērķōns). When it struck (cf. *KBo* III 22 Vs. 51 *n-an nepisas* ^{D₁₀}*as hazzie[ddu]* 'may the storm-god of heaven hit him!') it penetrated (cf. *KBo* III 4 II 20 *ginus-sus*

asesta 'lodged in his knees'), being thus faithful to the base-meaning of hat(t)-.

Cf. hattalu-.

hat(t)alkesna- (c.) 'thorn-bush' (hawthorn, firethorn, vel sim.), nom. sg. *ha-at-tal-ki-is-na-as* (KBo XIV 86 I 6 *nu hariyas kuis* ^{GIS}hattalkisnas 'the thorn-bush that [is] of the valley'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:132 [1965]), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-as* (XVIII 193 Vs. 9–11 ^{MUSEN}-as *pardāuar iyandas* ^{SG}huttulis *galaktar sanezzi* ^{GIS}marsekkas ^{GIS}hattalkisnas 'an eagle's wing, a wool-tuft of a sheep, mild nutriment, fig-tree [?] [and] thorn-bush'; cf. Werner, *Symbolae ... F.M.T. de L. Böhl dedicatae* 394 [1973]; KUB XXXIV 76 I 1–2 *kāsa* ^{GIS}hattalkisnas ...) *harki wassizzi* 'behold, the thorn-bush puts on white [viz. blossoms]'; cf. Otten, *Afo* 16:69–71 [1952–3]), *ha-tal-kis-na-as* (XXXIII 54, 13–14 *zig-a-z* ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *hameshi-ya-az* ^{BARBAR-TIM} [wassasi] *EBUR-ma-z isharwand[a w]assasi* 'you, thorn-bush, in spring put on white, but in summer you wear red [viz. berries]'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:139 [1965]), gen. sg. ^{GIS}ha-at-tal-ki-es-na-as (XII 58 III 20; cf. *ibid.* 25 ^{GIS}alanzanas *KĀ.GAL-as* 'gate of alderwood'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 18, 91), *ha-at-tal-ki-is-na-as* (XVII 28 IV 49 *piran-ma* ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *KĀ.GAL-as iyanzi* 'but in front they make a gate of thorn-bush'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 151), ^{GIS}ha-at-tal-kis-na-as (KBo XXI 1 II 10; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 18), ^{GIS}ha-at-tal-ki-is-sa-na[- (IV 2 III 2; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:94 [1962]), *ha-tal-ki-es-na-as* (VBoT 24 I 36 [nu ar]ahza *KĀ.GAL* ^{GIS}hattalkesnas *iyaweni* 'outside we make a gate of thorn-bush'; cf. Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 108; G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:124 [1973]), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-as* (KBo XXI 47 II 7 ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *KĀ.GAL*; XXIV 63 III 2 + XXIII 43 III 9 ^{GIS}hata[t]k]isnas *KĀ.GAL*; cf. ZA 71:132 [1981]; XIV 132 II 10 ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *KĀ.GAL*), *ha-tal-ki-is-na-s(a)* (KUB XVII 10 III 29 ^{GIS}hattalkisnas-a *kattan talugay[a* 'and along the thorn-bush long...'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:95 [1965]), *ha-tal-kis-na-as* (XXVIII 102 IV 13–14 ^{GIS}alanzanan ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *galaktar* 'alderwood [and] nutriment of thorn-bush'; XII 58 III 33 ^{GIS}hattalkisnas *KĀ.GAL*; XLVIII 70 Rs. 8–] *talkisnas KĀ* [; cf. ZA 71:132 [1981]), *ha-tal-kis-sa-na-as* (KBo XXI 1 I 5–6 ^{GIS}hattalkissanas *KĀ.GAL-an iyami*), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tal-ki-is-ni* (KUB XVII 10 III 28 *DINGIR.MEŠ-es-za* ^{GIS}hattalkisni *kattan tul[ya* 'the gods under the thorn-bush to assemble ...'; KBo XVII 47 Vs. 5 ^{GIS}hattalkisni *marsiga[-*, instr. sg. *ha-tal-*

-ki-is-ni-it (KUB XII 44 III 6–8 *idālus-wa-ssan antūwahza idālus* ^{EME-as} *idālawā* *IGL.HLA-wa* ^{GIS}hattalkisnit *katta tarmān ēsdu* 'may evil man, evil tongue, and evil eyes be pinned down by the thorn-bush'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:122 [1973]; Haas, *Documentum Otten* 138), acc. pl. *ha-tal-ki-is* <?> (sic *ibid.* 53 ^{GIS}hattalkis *tittanumi* 'I place three thorn-bushes'), dat.-loc. pl. ^{GIS}ha-tal-ki-es-na-as (Bo 4861 Vs. 5; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 76). Cf. Ertem, *Flora* 92–4.

The literal meaning 'prickly-twig, sting-bough' has been tolerably clear since Čop (*Ling.* 3:54–5 [1958], *Indogermanica minora* 30), who connected *hatt(a)-* 'to prick' and *alkista(n)-* 'branch' in a compound *hatta-alkesna- with nominal (or adjectival) first element ('thorn[y]-bough'; cf. Tischler, *IBK Sonderheft* 50:218 [1982]), or with a verbal stem as initial component in the manner of German *Stechwaffe*, *Stech-ast* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Orientalia* N.S. 35:381–2 [1966], and for that matter 'throw-weapon, stingray'; but Čop wrongly adduced the old ἀρχέ-κακος [or φερέ-οικος] type where the verbal stem governs the nominal second part). The most probable analysis is *hatt(a)-alkes-na- (cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 34:126 [1976]) beside *alkis-ta(n)-* paralleling Lat. *verbēna* < *Hwerbes-nā beside Hitt. *hurpasta(n)-* (q.v.). Alternatively, assuming *alk-ista-* (cf. the plant-name *tap-alk-usta-na-*), one may conjecture a neuter noun *hatt(a)-alk-essar, a denominal collective found mainly in oblique-case use (cf. e.g. *tantukesnas* *DUMU-as* 'son of mortality' like *hattalkisnas* *KĀ.GAL* 'gate of prickly shrub', from **tantukessar* derived from *tantuki-* 'mortal'), capable of secondary thematized "animation" into a nom. sg. *hattalkesnas* as a live arboreal agent (putting forth flower and fruit). ^{Wtk. // Ling. 33: 243–8 '93 compared hat- with alr. ad, apparently synonymous with seē whitethorn, hawthorn'.}

hattalu- (n.) 'bolt, lock' (SAG.KUL), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-at-ta-lu* (e.g. KUB XVII 10 IV 14 *hāsta* ^{LÜ.NI.DUH} 7 ^{GIS}ig *appa huittiyat* 7 ^{GIS}hattalu 'the doorkeeper opened the seven doors, back he drew [= unlocked] the seven bolts'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; XXXVI 55 III 20 *]HUR.SAG-as hattalu* 'lock of the mountain' [figurative, describing a defendable pass?]; KBo XIII 109 III 1–2 *EGIR-ŠU-ma-kan* ^{GIS}hattalu *tarzuwan* ^{GI}paddāni *dāi* 'thereafter he puts the lock with a tarzu [?] in a hamper'; KUB XXVII 67 II 12 ^{GIS}hattalu *tarzuwān*; *ibid.* III 17 ^{GIS}hattalu *tarzuwān*; cf. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 50), *ha-ad-da-lu* (KBo XX 82 III 19 ^{GIS}haddalu-ma), *ha-tal-lu* (XXIII 65, 7 *hattalu*

hataluwa[a-], SAG.GUL (XX 60 V 13 1 SAG.GUL ZABAR 'one bronze lock'), gen. sg. (frequent in the expression 'wood [GIŠ = *taru*-] of the doorbolt, lockwood', ritually installed and locus or recipient of offerings along with hearth, throne, and window; cf. M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* 42–4 [1978]) *ha-at-ta-lu-as* (e.g. XXV 36 III 13, XXV 98, 8, XVII 16, 6, XVII 11 IV 13 *hatalwas* GIŠ-i; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 95, 174, 138, 69; XXV 43 Rs. 9 *hatalwas* GIŠ-rui; XXI 72 II 11 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-i), *ha-at-ta-lu-wa-as* (XVII 74 II 5, 11, 18, Bo 5478 I 10 *hatalwas* GIŠ[; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18, *Altheth.* 108; KBo XXV 45, 4 ^{GIŠ}*hataluwa*[as; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 107; XXV 129 II 7 *hat*]talwas GIŠ-rui; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 213), *ha-at-ta-al-wa-as* (XXV 29 III 5 *hat*]talwas GIŠ-i; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 76; XXI 100 Vs. 6 *hatalwas* GIŠ-rui), *ha-at-tal-wa-as* (frequent, e.g. XVII 74 II 23 and IV 39, KUB X 11 IV 19, X 15 III 9 and IV 8 *hatalwas* GIŠ-i; II 2 III 50, XV 42 III 27, KBo II 30 I 10 *hatalwas* GIŠ-rui; KUB XXV 18 III 36 and IV 31, KBo XIX 163 III 19, XIX 128 I 29 and III 29–30 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-i; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 8; IV 9 II 48 and III 8, IV 13 III 25, XI 14 III 20 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-rui; XIX 163 II 48 ^{GIŠ}*hatal*<w>*as* GIŠ-rui; IV 2 I 30 [AN]A ^{GIŠ}*kattaluzzi* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-ru *katteri sarazzi* 'to the threshold [and] the lockwood, lower [and] upper'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]; KUB II 2 II 37–38 *mān ina É.GAL-LIM GIBIL* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-ru *tittanuwanzi* 'when in the palace they install new lockwood'; similarly *ibid.* IV 12–13; KBo XI 14 III 25 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* *zik* 'wood of the lock [art] thou'; cf. *ibid.* 26 EGIR-*pa* *haskisi* 'thou openest up', *ibid.* 27 *ū zik* EGIR-*pa* *hās* 'go thou, open up!'), *ha-tal-wa-as* (e.g. IBoT I 2 III 7, III 1, 48, KUB XI 35 II 24 *hatalwas* GIŠ-i; *ibid.* 19, KBo XXV 184 III 55 *hatalwas* GIŠ-rui, besides *ibid.* 53 *hatalwas-ma* GIŠ-rui; KUB X 41, 5 *hatalwas* GIŠ-ru[; II 6 IV 31, LI 75, 6 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-i; II 8 II 29, KBo IV 13 V 9 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-rui; IV 2 I 22–23 [nu U]R.TUR.RA *appuzziyas ienzi n-an-san ša É-TIM* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-rui *tianzi* 'they make a small dog of tallow and place it on the lockwood of the house'; *ibid.* 35 [kÁ]-*as* ^{GIŠ}*kattaluzzi* *katteri sarāzzi* ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas* GIŠ-ru 'to the threshold of the gate [and] the lower [and] upper lockwood'; similarly *ibid.* 43; KUB XLI 40 IV 27 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwas*[], *ha-at-tal-wa* (-*wa* haplographic for -*wa-as*; X 11 III 23 *hatalwa* GIŠ-i; X 21 V 21, KBo XXI 49 II 6 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwa* GIŠ-rui), *ha-tal-wa* (KUB XI 18 II 13 *hatalwa* GIŠ-i), ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL-*as* (KBo XXI 98 II 19 ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL-*as* GIŠ-i; cf. *ibid.* 14 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwa* GIŠ-i; KUB XX 90 III 19 ^{GIŠ}SAG.]KUL-*as* GIŠ-i), *dat.-loc. sg.* in XXVII 17

dat.-loc. sg. (partitive apposition) X 25 194 III 54 (HTR)
^{ha-at-tal-wa-as-sa-an} GIŠ-rui (-ja-as-sa-an)

I 22 1 NINDA.KU₇ ANA ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL 'one sweetbread for the lock'; instr. sg. *ha-at-ta-lu-ut* (X 66 VI 2)? Cf. Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 27–9.

hatal(u)wai- 'bolt, lock', 3 pl. pres. act. (?) *ha-tal*(?)*-wa-an-zi* (KBo XXIII 79 II 8), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-a*]t*-tal-wa-ir* (KUB XXIII 79 Vs. 6; cf. *ibid.* 2 *tarmair* 'they made fast'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:175 [1965]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-tal-wa-i* (KBo XXVI 71 III 19–20 ^{GIŠ}IG *hatal*[*alwai* ...] ^{GIŠ}*zakkius-ma pessiya* ['bolt the door ... and throw [on] the bars'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-tal-wa-an-du* (KUB XIII 1 I 24–25 *nu* KÁ.GAL.HI.A-TIM [...] *hatalwandu* 'they shall lock the gates'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60); partic. *hatalwant-*, nom. sg. c. *ha-at-tal-wa-an-za* (KBo XIII 109 III 6 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwanza* GIM-an ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL EGIR-*pa nannāi* ^{GIŠ}IG-*ya* EGIR-*pa* *heskizzi* 'even as a locked bolt travels back [= is pulled back] and opens up the door'; wrongly Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 27), *ha-at-tal-wa-za* (dupl. KUB LVII 122, 2 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwaza*), nom. pl. c. *ha-at-tal-wa-an-te-es* (XXXI 89 II 3–4 *namma* KÁ.GAL-TIM *lustaniēs* ^{GIŠ}*ilana*[s SAG.DU.MEŠ] BÂD.HI.A-*as* ^{GIŠ}AB.HI.A-*us* ^{GIŠ}IG-*antes* *hatalwant*[es 'also [let] gates, posterns, heads of staircases, and windows of fortifications [be] shuttered [and] bolted'; dupl. XXXI 86 II 13 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwantes*). Possible figura etymologica in KBo XXIII 65, 7 *hatalu hataluwa*[a-. Cf. for denominative verbal formation e.g. *hassuwai-* 'become king', *genzuwai-* 'show kindness', *kuuruwai-* 'bear witness'.

hatalwala- (c.) 'lockman, doorguard', nom. sg. ^{LÜ}*ha-at-ta-al-wa-la-as* (KBo XXV 166 Rs. 12), ^{LÜ}*ha-tal-wa-la-as* (KUB X 88 VI 9–11 ^{LÜ}*hatalwalas-kan* ^{GIŠ}*zupparu* KASKAL-*az* GÜB-*az* *arha pessi-yazzi* 'the lockman throws away the torch to the left of the road'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 266), ^{GIŠ}*ha-tal-wa-la-as* (*ibid.* 6–7 ^{GIŠ}*hatalwalas* LUGAL-*i* *piran hūwāi* 'the lockman runs before the king'), *dat.-loc. sg.* ^{LÜ}*ha-tal-wa-li* (*ibid.* 2–3 [*piran āski* [^{LÜ}*hatalwali* *pāi* 'gives to the lockman at the gate'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 270]), nom. pl. *ha-at-tal-wa-al-li-is* (KBo XVI 54, 19 [*hatalwallis marsantes* '[are] the lockmen corrupt?'; cf. Riemschneider, *Arch. Or.* 33:337 [1965]), ^{LÜ}MES *ha-at-tal-wa-la-as* (KUB XIII 9 + XL 62 III 6; cf. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 447 [1959]), ^{LÜ}MES *ha-tal-wa-li-e-es* (XX 46 III 1–3 UDU.HI.A-*ma-z* ^{LÜ}MES *hatalwalēs danzi* 'the lockmen take the sheep'; KBo XXIII 88 VI 9 [*hatalwalēs*; KUB X 15 II 3 *hat*]talwalēs). Cf. Daddi, *Mestieri* 145–6. For the agental suffix (if denominal) cf. e.g. *arkammiyala-* 'harpist', *auriyala-* 'warder', *harsiyala-* 'bread-

dat.-loc. pl.
^{ha-at-tal-wa-as}
 (Ks 32.12) ^{GIŠ}*talnās*
hatalwas 'at the
 earth's locks' (= *hell's gate* (?));
 d. Neu *Oni Hurr Hake*
 15, 25–6, 185.

server'; if deverbative from *hattalwai-*, cf. *lahhiyala-* 'warrior' (from *lahhiya-* 'make war').

hattalu- is akin to *hattalla-* 'club, thunderbolt', both being derivatives of *hat(t)-* 'pierce, hit'. For stem formation cf. *idalu-*, **innaru-*. The base-form is **hattal-* (type of *ishiyal-* [HED 1–2:400]). Semantically English *bolt* matches both *hattalla-* and *hattalu-* (IE **bh₂ld-*, cognate with Lith. *beldù* 'knock, pound', *bal̃das* 'pounder, pestle').

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 336–7 [1981]) derived *hattalu-* from a **Hedel-* allegedly seen also in Middle High German *tol(le)* 'branch' and similar cognates (**Hdel-*), heedless of *-tt-* pointing to IE **t*.

hattant- 'intelligent, clever, wise', nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-za* (KUB XXXIII 120 I 39 *hattanza* LUGAL-us 'the wise king' [i.e. no fool, he, viz. Kumarbi spitting out Anu's sperm]; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; Laroche, *RHA* 26:41 [1968]), *ha-ad-da-an-za* (XXIV 7 IV 49 *SAL-as* *zi-anza* *haddanza* 'woman's mind is clever'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:232 [1950]), acc. sg. c. *ha-at-ta-an-ta-an* (KBo XIII 34 III 23–24 *ina é lú-kan* *hatta[nt]an* *hassanzi* 'in the man's house a clever one will be born [lit. they will bear]'; opp. ibid. 18–19 *marlandan* 'an idiot'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28, 38–9), *ha-ad-da-an-da-an* (KUB IV 3 Vs. 21 *aran-za* *haddandan* 'a wise companion'; opp. ibid. 19 *mesriwandan-za* UKÜ-an 'a flashy fellow'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:781 [1968]), nom. pl. c. *ha-ad-da-an-te-es* (HFAC 12 I 8 *haddantes* LÚ.MEŠ-us 'wise men'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 37:23 [1985], *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* 144 [1988]), acc. pl. c. *ha-at-ta-an-du-us* (KBo XXVI 88 I 5–6 *nu-za* *hattandus* UKÜ.HI.A-us [s]an-*h₂ski* 'always seek out intelligent folk!'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-at-ta-an-ta* (XVII 105 III 6–8 *idāluwa* *haduga* *kue* *uddār n-at-kan* *parā* *paiddu anda-ma-kan* *āssauwa* *miyauwa* *hattanta uid[du]* 'words that are evil [and] fearsome shall go forth, in shall come the good, mild, and wise').

hattahh- 'make clever, instruct', iter. 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ta-ah-hi-is-ki-te-en* (KUB I 16 II 57 *nu* DUMU-*la-man* *hattahhiskiten* 'indoc-trinate my son!'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 8). For the denominative factitive formation cf. e.g. *dasuwahh-* 'to blind' (*dasuwant-* 'blind') or *duddumiyahh-* 'deafen' (*duddumiyant-* 'deaf') or *happinahh-* 'enrich' (*happina[nt]* 'rich'). See Benveniste, *Hittite* 22, 24.

hattatar (n.) 'intelligence, (wise) counsel, wisdom' (GALGA-*tar*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-ta-tar* (e.g. KUB XXXIII 120 II 12 *nakkiyatar-set* *hattatar-[se]tt-a* 'his influence and his intelligence'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:42 [1968]; XXXIII 100 + XXXVI 16 III 24, besides dupl. XXXIII 103 II 15 GALGA-*tar*; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 48; XXXIII 96 I 5 ^D*Kumarbis-za* *hat<ta>tar* *zi-ni pian* *da[skizzi]*, besides dupl. XXXIII 98 I 4–5 *nu-za* ^D*Kumarbis* GALGA-*tar* *zi-ni kattan* *daskizzi* 'K. takes counsel unto his mind'; ibid. 9–10 *nu-za* ^D*Kumarbis* *zi-ni kattan* *hattatar* ^{NA}*NUNUZ* *mān isgariskizzi* 'K. sticks counsel onto his mind like a bead'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]; XXIV 3 II 18 *hattatar-summit* *harak[ta]* 'your [i.e. the gods'] wisdom has been lost' [viz. to mankind]), *ha-at-ta-ta* (dupl. XXIV 4 Vs. 8 *hattata-summit*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 26, 88–9; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 160; for loss of *-r* see e.g. s. v. *iyatar* [HED 1–2:351]; XXX 10 Vs. 11 *kuita imma* *meshati nu-za-ta* ŠA DINGIR-*ya* *duddunar* *hattata hūmanta* *saki[un]* 'while I was growing up I gave proof of all the grace [and] wisdom of thee my lord'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 112; I 16 III 56–58 *nu* *kī* [tupp]i *ITU-mi* *ITU-mi* *piran-tit* *halzessandu* *nu-zan* [udd]ār-met *hatta<ta>-mett-a* *karta sisatti* 'this tablet they shall read before thee every month, and thou wilt impress my words and my wisdom upon thy heart'), *ha-at-ta-a-da* (ibid. II 56 *uddār-mit* *hattāda-mitt-a* 'my words and my wisdom'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14, 8), *ha-at-ta-a-tar* (XXXIII 105 I 10 *ha[tt]ātār*, besides ibid. 11 *hattatar*, 12, 13, 14 GALGA-*tarr-a*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:77 [1968]), *ha-ad-da-tar* (XXXVI 17 + XXXIII 107 I 3 ^D*Ē-a-as-za-kan* *haddatar* 'Ea wisdom ...'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:24 [1952]), *ha-ad-da-da* (XXXIX 101 II 9), gen. sg. *ha-at-ta-an-na-as* (e.g. *VBoT* 2, 14–18 *kī-kan* *tuppi* *kuis* DUB.SAR-*a[s]* *halzāi n-an* ^D*Nabū* *hattannas* LUGAL-us *hilamnass-a* ^DUTU-us *assūli* *pahsantaru* 'the scribe who reads aloud this tablet, may N., king of wisdom, and the sun-god of the portal in favor protect him!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; KUB XXXIII 119, 12 ^D*A-a-ass-a* *hattan[nas]* EN-as 'Ea the lord of wisdom'; similarly ibid. 10; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XXXIII 120 II 5 and III 15 *hattannas* *harsumnas* EN-as 'lord of wisdom [and] watery depths'), *ha-at-an-na-as* (HFAC 12 I 4), *ha-ad-da-an-na-as* (KUB IX 33 Vs. 9 *haddannas* LUGAL-us [viz. Ea]; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 50 [1987]; XXXIII 110 II 7 *haddannas* LUGAL-us [viz. Ea]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 48), GALGA-as (XXXIII 103 II 1 and 9 GALGA-as LUGAL-us [viz. Ea]; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 46), abl. sg. *ha-ad-da-na-za* (KBo XII 128, 7–10 *nu*

DUMULÚ.ULÙ-li *kue* INIM.MEŠ-ar *pian* GAM GAR-ri *n-at-za-kan had-danaza arha austin* 'what matters are incumbent upon mankind, contemplate them intelligently!').

With *hattannas* EN-as cf. e.g. *KBo* 1 2 Rs. 31 [Akk.] ^DEa LUGAL EN *hasisi* 'Ea, king, lord of wisdom', or 1 1 Rs. 55 ^DEa LUGAL EN *hazīzi*, or 1 3 Rs. 23 ^DEa EN *hašiši* (see further s.v. *hazzizzi*). Akk. *bēl nimeqi* 'lord of wisdom' also refers to Ea, Marduk, and Nabū (cf. *CAD* N 2:160–2). In more mundane fashion GALGA covers Akk. *ṭēmu* 'right mind, intelligence' or *milku* '(good) counsel'. *hattatar* denotes basically simply good thinking rather than 'written document' (Sturtevant, *Lg.* 14:208–9 [1938], who also thought that *hattant-* meant 'literate') or 'plot; advice' (Beckman, *JNES* 45:27–30 [1986]).

Sommer (*IAB* 97–100) saw in *hattatar* a figurative abstract noun from *hatta-* 'pierce, slash' (contrast the concretized verbal noun *hattessar* 'hole') in the sense of 'acuity, incisiveness, penetration', comparing for semantics lat. *scītus* 'clever', *scīre* 'know' (vs. Skt. *chyāti* 'slash') or German *gescheit* 'intelligent' from *scheiden* 'split'; Čop (*Ling.* 8:173–4 [1966–8]) reinforced this explanation with etymological reference to OIr. *āith* 'slashing, pricking', *ā(i)-thius* 'penetration, acuity, subtlety'. Cf. also Gk. *pōpos* 'perforation; incisiveness' (from *πείρω* 'pierce') and the occasional meaning 'hit the mark, get it right' of *hatt(a)-*, *hazziya-*. *hattant-* may be derived from a verbal adjectival base rather than being identical (with active diathesis) with the participle *hattant-* 'pierced'; *hattatar* (like *hattahh-*) can be likewise a denominal derivative (cf. e.g. *ahwanzatar*, *ahwanzahh-*).

However, **hatt(a)-* can also be explained as **hakt(a)-* (cf. e.g. *huttai-*, *uttar* with **-kt-*) and compared with Goth. *aha* 'mind, understanding' which translates Gk. *voûs* (e.g. *Epistle to Titus* 1:15 *ize jah aha jah mipwissei* 'both their mind and consciousness'; *Philippians* 4:7 *gawairpi gudis patei ufar ist all ahane* 'the peace of god that passeth all understanding'), OHG *ahta*, OE *eaht* 'consideration, deliberation, council' (cf. G. T. Rikov, *Linguistique balkanique* 24.3.81–2 [1981]). Such a Hittite-Germanic isogloss recalls *halzai-*: Goth. *lapôn* (q. v.), with a root **H₁ek-(t)-*; but while *halzai-* has a tertium comparationis in OLat. *lessus*, there is none for *hatta-* (Gk. *ἔκvoς* 'hesitation' hardly belongs here; if it did it might point to **A₂ek-*).

An abortive tie-in with Lat. *odor*, Gk. *ὀδμή*, Arm. *hot* 'smell', etc., comparing semantically Goth. *snutrs* 'σοφός' vs. ON *snýta* 'blow one's nose' and Lat. *sapere* 'be wise': *sapor* 'taste, flavor', but ignoring the constant geminate spelling *-tt-* or *-dd-* pointing to **t*, was made by Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 333–4 (1981).

hatantiya- 'dry land' (opp. *aruna-* 'sea'); 'dry soil' (opp. *udne* 'wetland, irrigated land'), gen. sg. (?) *ha-ta-an-ti-ya-as* (*KBo* V 7 Rs. 15–16 ^{GIS}ŠAR.GEŠTIN ŠA-BA 2 IKU ^{GIS}ŠAR.GEŠTIN [h]antantiyas 3 ¹ IKU 8 gi-p[essar] 'a vineyard two IKU in area; a vineyard [of?] dry soil three-and-a-half IKU and eight cubits'; *KUB* XLII 1 III 4 and 18 [final entry word describing field parcels in cadastral inventories, after measurements, yield, and ownership]; XLII 4A, 3), *ha-ta-an-ti-as* (XLII 1 III 7 and 11; XLII 4A, 6; XLII 5 Vs. 3), *ha-ta-ti-ya-as* (XLII 1 III 14; cf. V. Souček, *Arch. Or.* 27:38–42 [1959]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ta-an-ti-ya* (XXXVI 75 + 1226/u III 21–23 ^{GIS}MÁ māhhan kuitman hatantiya ārhi [nu ŪL] IDI 'like a ship, whether at all I arrive at land I know not'; par. XXXI 130 Rs. 6 [hatantiya ārhi nu ŪL. saqqah[hī]; cf. *ZA* 67:56 [1977]), *ha-da-an-te-ya* (*KBo* XII 38 III 10–11 [GI]M-an-ma-kan hadanteya arha arhun 'when I arrived on land' [viz. after a sea-battle]; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:20 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76–7 [1967]).

abl. sg.
ha-da-an-
te-ya
(12.7.1.33
78)
ha-da-an-
da-za
(10.7.1.33
+ 02.65.72
etc.)

Probably a nominal derivative of *hattant-*, participle of *hat-* 'dry up'. Formation is reminiscent of *arziya-* 'cultivated land' (cf. e.g. *KBo* V 7 Vs. 44 A.ŠA arziyas 'field of cultivation'). For the semantics cf. Lat. *terra*, OIr. *tír* vis-à-vis *torreō* 'scorch, parch', or conversely *udne* besides *watar/weten-* 'water' (Lyc. *wedri* 'land', Arm. *getin* 'soil'). Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203 (1980).

mpel.
pall-ant-ia-
58.32.3124

hattara- (n.) 'prick,awl' (vel sim.), nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIS}ha-at-ta-ra-a[n] (*KUB* XXXIII 8 II 14; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:101 [1965]).

hattarai- 'prick, incise, engrave, inscribe', 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ta-ra-a-mi* (*KUB* XXXVI 35 I 3 [ammedaza-ma-wa-ta GI]r(?).TUR-az hattarāmi 'with my stiletto [?] I shall prick you'; similarly ibid. 14–15; cf. s.v. *halanza-*; Otten, *MIO* 1:126 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:26 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ad-da-ri-i-e-it-ta-ri* (*KBo* X 7 III 13–16 takku ANA KI.GUB SAG.DU-ŠU p[iran] haddariyettari anzel-za-

-kan ERÍN.MEŠ-an ERÍN.MEŠ KÚR walhūwanzi zikkizzi 'if the subject's head is pricked in front, the enemy will take to striking at our army'), *ha-ad-da-ri-i-it-ta-ri* (ibid. 18, 22, 26); partic. *hattarant-*,

nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-ta-ra-an* (XIX 156 Rs. 4–5, qualifying *harsiharsi* 'pithos' [q. v.]; *KUB XXXII* 117 Vs. 12; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223); verbal noun *hat(ta)riessar* (n.) 'incision', thence 'intersection, crossing', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-ad-da-ri-es-sa* (VII 54 II 13–14 *n-at*)

KASKAL-as *haddaries* <sa> *pariyan ishūwanzi* 'they dump them beyond the intersection'; cf. Neu, *Lokativ* 44–5), gen. sg. *ha-at-ta-ri-is-na-as* (XX 2 IV 19 *hatt*) *arisanas* ^{NA} *armizzi* 'crossbridge, cross-over', dat.-loc. sg. *ha-ad-da-ri-is-ni* (XXXV 145 II 10 *haddarisni-san* 12 DINGIR.MEŠ KI.MIN 'at the crossing the twelve gods likewise'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 230), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-at-ta-ri-es-na-as* (X 72 II 7–9 *nassu taknī nasma* HU[R.SAG]-i *id-i nassu* KASKAL-as *hattariesnas* *hāriyas* Ú.SAL-as 'whether to earth or mountain, river, whether to crossroads [partitive apposition: "roads crossings"], vales, meadows'; *ABOT* 17 III 14 *hattariesnas par[ā]*; *KUB XXIV* 9 II 37 + *KBo XII* 127 II 4 1 NINDA.SIG KASKAL-as *hattarie[sn]as* *parsiya* KASKAL-si GÜB-za [*dāi*] 'he breaks a flatbread at the crossroads [and] places [it] at the left of the road'), *ha-at-ta-ri-is-na-as* (dupl. *KUB XXIV* 11 II 16–17; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 36), *ha-at-ri-es-na-as* (IX 22 III 20–21 *n]-as-san mahhan* KASKAL-sas *hatriesnas* [*pa*] *rā ari* 'when he arrives at the crossroads'; ibid. 44 KASKAL-si *hatr[iesn]as* 'at the crossroads' [partitive apposition: "on the road, at the crossings"]; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 94–6, 112), *ha-at-ta-ri-sa-na-as* (*KBo XVII* 64, 7–8 KASKAL-si [*hattar*] *isanas parā ped[ai]* 'he takes [them] forth to the crossroads').

Luw. *hattara-*, acc. sg. *ha-at-ta-ra-an* (*KBo XIII* 260 II 1 *hattaram-san* [sic]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 260), instr. sg. ^{GIŠ} *ha-at-ta-ra-a-ti*, and 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ta-ri-it-ta* (*KUB XXXV* 54 II 32–33 *a-ta* [B]EL SISKUR.SISKUR ^{GIŠ} *hattarāti hattaritta* 'the offerant pricks with a prick'; XXXV 52 II 10 [*hattari*] *tta*]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 67, 63). There is also Luwoid 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tar-ni-it-ti* (XXII 37 Rs. 7) and Hitt. dat.-loc. pl. *ha-tar-ni-ya-as-ha-as* (XVII 12 II 9 *n-as* KASKAL-as *hatarniyashas pedāi* 'he takes them to a roadfork' [?]; cf. Starke, *KZ* 93:253 [1979]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 112).

hatt-ara- is an instrument noun from *hatt-*, allomorphic with *hatt-alla-* 'club, bolt' (q. v.), like e. g. *aku-ttara-* 'drinker' beside the more common *-talla-* (*ishama-talla-* 'singer'). Cf. *hazzik-ara-* 'percussionist' from the iterative of the same verb. For the meaning

'engrave, inscribe' of *hattarai-*, cf. *tuppi hazziyan harzi* 'has engraved a tablet' (s. v. *hat*[t]-, partic. nom.-acc. sg. neut.), and the verb *guls-* 'scratch, incise, mark, write'.

Cf. *hatrai-*.

hat(a)waya- (c.), designation of a religious official, nom. sg. ^{LU} *ha-at-wa-* *-ya-as* (*KUB X* 66 VI 5–7 ^{LU} *hatwayas pedassit epzi t-as tiyezzi a-wa-ya a-wa-ya halzāi* 'the h. takes his place, he stands [and] calls out awaya awaya'), *ha-ta-wa-a-ya* (par. *KBo VII* 48, 9 *hatawāya halza*). Cf. Laroche, *RA* 56:49 (1962); Kammenhuber, *MSS Beiheft* 4:100 (1969; indices to *HOAKS*).

Spelling and context alike point to a loanword from Hattic, actually attested in *KUB XXVIII* 7 Vs. 2a *ha-at-we-is*. Cf. Kammenhuber, *OLZ* 54:29 (1959).

hatestanti(ya)-, nom. pl. c. *ha-te-es-ta-an-te-[es]* (*KUB XXXIII* 65 II 12; ibid. III 10 *hate[s-]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:133–4 [1965]), *ha-te-is-da-an-te-es* (*KBo XV* 10 I 23–24 [*nu ke*] *idālawēs* EME.HIA *hatesdāntes nu* EGIR-pa ^{SAL} *Zi* [QAD]U DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU *harkandu ser* SAG. DU-ZU *harkandu* 'these evil tongues [are] h., let them in turn hold [viz. in their grip] Ziplantawiyas with her sons; above [viz. as distinct from lower anatomy] let them hold her head'; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 16, 64–5), *ha-ti-is-ta-an-ti-ya-as* (XX 73 IV 7–8 *arha-ma-at tarnandu kiēl* DUMU.LU.UU.LU 12 ^{UZU} *UR.HIA kuyēs siwanniēs kuyēs hatistantiyas* 'they shall let go of them, the twelve body parts of this human being, those who [are] gods [and] those who [are] h.').

The semantics seem to include the idea of figuratively 'gripping' a person's anatomy in a maleficent sense, the perpetrators being *hatesdāntes* 'evil tongues' and *hatistantiyas* listed in coordination with 'gods'. Perhaps a compound, with first-part affinity to *hat-* 'dry up, become parched' (s-stem neuter **hates-* 'dryness', like **hatkes-* 'pressure' s. v. *hatk-*?).

hatiwi- (c.) 'inventory', nom. sg. *ha-ti-ū-i-is* (*KUB XII* 1 IV 45 DUB.2.KAM *hatuiš* ŠA ¹ *Manninni ŪL QATI* 'second tablet, M.'s inventory, not finished'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:103 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 450), *ha-ti-wi-is* (*VBoT* 87 IV 5 *hatiwis* UNUT É ^{NA} *KIŠIB*

'inventory of implements of the seal-house'; cf. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 453).

hاتیuitai- '(make) inventory', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-iz-zi* (*KBo* XII 140 I.R. 1), *ha-ti-ú-i-da-iz-zi* (ibid. 4; cf. *Imparati*, *SMEA* 18:51 [1977]), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-an-zi* (*IBoT* I 31 I 11); partic. *hاتیuitant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-a-an* (ibid. 18 and 24; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 4–5 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 80–2), *ha-ti-ú-i-ta-an* (*KUB* XLII 100 II 13) *giš hاتیuitan*; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:183 [1978]), *ha-ti-ú-i-da-a-an* (*KBo* XIX 88, 5) *hاتیuidān hartin* 'have inventoried!').

The denominative verb is derived from a secondary stem *hاتیuita-* based on a Hurroid case form in *-ta* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:476, 191–2). Hurrian origin is a priori probable, not merely formally but also semantically; cf. terms like *apuzzi-*, *arkiu(i)-*, *hazziui-*.

Laroche (apud T. Özgüç, *Kultepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age* 116 [1971]) compared Hier. *a-ti-wa-mi-ā* as 'inventoried'.

hatk- 'shut, close', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki* (*VBoT* 58 IV 38 É DINGIR-LIM & *hatk-* *hatki* 'shuts the temple'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB* IX 31 II 35–36 and dupl. *HT* 1 II 10–11 ^{GIŠ} *ig-ann-a hatki* 'and he shuts the door'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:342 [1938]; Starke, *KLTU* 53; *KUB* XX 87 I 17 *ta kÁ.GAL hatki* 'he shuts the city gate'), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ku-e-ni* (*KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-kán-zi* 'they close up'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32; XIX 128 VI 31 *ta hatkanzi ispanti* 'they close down for the night'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 16; *KUB* LVIII 33 III 10 [^{URU}Ne]rikki-ma *hatkanzi* 'but at N. they close up'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260; *IBoT* I 4 III 22 and *KBo* X 28 IV 5 *ta hatkanzi*; *KUB* VII 29 Vs. 23 *h[ati]kanzi*); partic. *hadgant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-ad-ga-an* (*Bo* 5360, 17); iter. *hatkiski-*, *hadgaski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-kán-zi* (*KUB* XLVII 90 II 16 *-an-ma hatkiskanzi*), *ha-ad-ga-as-kán-zi* (XXX 32 I 17 *n-at hadgaskanzi EGIR-pa-ya-at haskan[zi]* 'they close it and again open it').

hatku- 'tight, strait, pressed, under stress', nom. sg. c. *ha-at-ku-us* (*IBoT* I 36 II 63 *mān-a-si piran-ma kuwapi KASKAL-is hatkus* 'but if for him somewhere the forward path [is] strait'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:188 [1966]), acc. sg. c. *ha-at-ku-un* (*KBo* IV 14 III 19 [*m*]ānn-a *hatkun UD.KAM-an kuinki LUGAL-i [aut]ti* 'and if you see some stressful day for the king'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45

[1965]), abl. sg. *ha-ad-ga-u-wa-az* (*KUB* IV 72 Rs. 4–5 *nassu-ma-sta i.ú-as hadgauwaz petaz isparzizi* 'or the man will escape from a tight spot'), nom. pl. c. *h[ati]a-ad-ga-u-e-es* (XLI 32 Rs. 4).

hadganu- 'make tight, confine, put pressure on, pester, beset, beleaguer', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-ad-ga-nu-(uz-)zi* (*KBo* V 13 III 12–14 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 III 31–33 *mān¹UTU-Ši-ma kuiski waggariyazi n-an hadganuzi nasma katta DUMU.MEŠ¹UTU-Ši kuiski waggariyazi n-as hadganuzzi* 'if someone revolts against my majesty and besets him, or someone revolts against the sons of my majesty and besets them'; dupl. *KBo* IV 3 II 8 *n-an-kan zammurāzzi* 'assails him'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126). For derivation from *hatku-* cf. e.g. *tas(sa)nu-* 'make strong' from *dassu-*, *parganu-* 'make high' from *parku-*, *tepnu-* 'make small' from *tepu-*.

hatkesnu-, *hatkis(sa)nu-* (same meanings), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-mi* (*KBo* III 3 III 15–16 *mān-wa-kan¹UTU-Ši KUR¹KUR¹kuitki anda hatkesnumi* 'when I the king beleaguer some enemy country'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 148), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-nu-si* (III 1 II 44 *parkunusi-ma-za ūt. kuit nu-za anda inma hatkisenusi* 'you pardon nothing, nay even order arrest'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 32 [1984]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ki-is-nu-uz-zi* (V 9 III 23–24 *nasma mān KUR-TUM kuitki zahhiyaza LUGAL KUR^{URU}Hatti anda hatkisenuzzi* 'or if the king of Hatti beleaguers some country with battle'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-nu-un* (III 4 II 64–65 *nu pāun^{URU}Purandan anda wahnunun [n-an-kan anda] hatkesnumun nu-ssi-kan uidār arha dahhun* 'I went and surrounded P., and I beleaguered it and cut off its water'; ibid. 66 and 79; cf. Götze, *AM* 62–4), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-ut* (IV 4 I 43–44 *nu ŠA KUR^{URU}Nuhassi [halk]ihl.A-us arha harnikta n-as-kan anda hatkesnut* 'he destroyed the crops of N. and beleaguered them'; cf. Götze, *AM* 112), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-^{<is>}nu-e-ir* (IV 7 I 3–4 *annisan¹Mashu]iluwan ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠU anda hatki^{<s>}nuer [n-an-kan ku]ennir n-an-kan KUR-az arha watkunuir* 'once his brothers pressured M., they smote him and made him jump the country'), *ha-at-k[is]-nu-ir* (dupl. *KUB* VI 41 I 3), *ha-at-ki-is-sa-nu-ir* (dupl. VI 44 + XIX 53 I 3 *anda hatkissanuir*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:106), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-ut* (*KBo* IV 4 I 41–42 *nu-wa-smas ūt halkihl.A-us arha harnik nu-war-as-kan anda hatkesnut* 'go and destroy their crops and beleaguer them!'); partic. *hatkesnuwant-*, *hatkissanwant-*, nom. pl. c. *ha-at-ki-es-nu-wa-an-te-es* (ibid. II 4–6 *nu mahhan austa [anda]-kan kuit hatkesnu-*

wantes nu-smas halkiH.A-us namma [tepa]eszi 'when he saw that they [were] beleaguered and moreover their grain supply was getting scant', *ha-at-kis-sa-nu-an-te-es* (XIV 7 I 9; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:81 [1956]); iter. *hatkissanuski-*, 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ki-is-sa-nu-us-kir* (*KUB* XV 1 II 7–8 *kuyēs-an hatkissanuskir* 'who pestered [her]'), *ha-at-kis-sa-nu-us-kir* (ibid. 39–40 *kuyēs-an hatkissanuskir*). *hatkes-nu-* looks like a deverbative causative (of the type *hassik-nu-* 'satisfy' or *hai-nu-* 'cause to dry up') from an inchoative stem **hatkes-* from *hatku-* (cf. e. g. *dasses-* 'become strong' from *dassu-*, *parkis-* 'become high' from *parku-*), thus literally 'cause to become tight'; but such a derivation is unparalleled; for another explanation see below.

hatkues- 'become tight', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ku-e-es-zi* (*KBo* IV 14 III 24–25 *man-wa-ssi tepu-ya kuitki hatkuēszi* 'would that even some small matter became tight for him!'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]). For this inchoative from *hatku-* cf. e. g. *tampuēs-* 'become pointed', *alpuēs-* 'become blunt' (vs. e. g. *pargawēs-* 'become tall', *tepawēs-* 'become small' with full grade *-aw-*).

For past discussions see Sommer, *Heth.* II 1–6; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:457; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 441, 244; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 101–3. The base-meaning of *hatk-* is 'press, make tight' (cf. La-roche, *BSL* 58.1:71 [1963]: "serrer"), close semantically to Lat. *premō* 'press, bear down on', *pressus* 'close, tight', *premere oculos* 'shut the eyes' (Vergil, *Aeneid* 9:487). This sense, coupled with the consistent spelling *ha-ad-ga-* (cf. e. g. *pār-ga-* from *parku-* < **bhrgh-*), argues cogently for a connection with Gk. *ἄχθομαι* 'be loaded, be burdened, be depressed', *ἄχος* 'load, burden, pressure', which was suggested in passing by E. Risch (*IF* 69:78 [1964]). The sequence *hatk-/*ḫθw* : *hatku-* : *ḫθos* is formally and semantically analogous with *hamank-* 'tie' / *ḫθw*, Lat. *angō* 'constrict' : Skt. *am̐hū-*, Goth. *aggwus* 'narrow' : Skt. *am̐has-*, Lat. *angus-* 'tightness'. *ḫθos* may be matched by a neuter *s*-stem **hatkes-* 'pressure' in Hittite (type of *nepis-*), seen in a denominative (rather than deverbative) *hatkes-nu-* 'to pressure' (type of *esharnu-* 'to bloody', *aimpanu-* 'to burden'). Hitt. *hadg-* < IE **A₁edhgh-* has medially the same cluster as the initial of Hitt. *dagan* < **dhghom* (Ved. *kṣāmi*, Gk. *χθοῖ* 'on the ground'; for the corresponding medial **tk* see s. v. *hartakka-*); whether the simplified reflex in *ḫaḫai* 'on the ground' is paralleled by **A₁egh-* (Gk. *ἄχος* 'grief, pain', *ἄχομαι* 'grieve', Goth. *agis* 'fear', *unagands* 'fearless', *ōg* 'I fear', OIr. *-āgor* 'I fear') is a secondary

matter of no consequence for the excellence of the Hittite : Greek isogloss.

Dubious other suggested connections have involved Skt. *ātka-* 'garment, cloak' (Benveniste, *Origines* 156; G. Redard, *Festschrift A. Debrunner* 360 [1954]), OE *eodor* 'fence' (< **edh-*; Kronasser, *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 124–5 [1957]), and Engl. *tack* 'nail' (**Hdek-*, vs. *Hedk-* in *hatk-*, comparing Lat. *clāvus* 'nail' : *claudere* 'shut, close'; Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 337 [1981]). Sturtevant's explanation of *hatk-* as containing a preverb *ha-* plus the zero grade of a cognate of Lat. *tegō* 'cover' was exhumed by H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 168 (1984).

Cf. *hutk-*.

hatrai- 'write, send written word (about); report, declare, order, despatch' (*šAPĀRU* 'send' [not *šATĀRU* 'write']), 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-mi* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 45 *ANA NIN-YA-war-at hatrami* 'this I write to my sister'; cf. W. Helck, *JCS* 17:90 [1963]; R. Stefanini, *Atti La Colombaria* 29:10 [1964]), *ha-at-ra-a-mi* (e. g. ibid. Rs. 3–4 *nu-kan ANA SAL.LUGAL kuya AWATE.MEŠ ZI-ni n-at ANA šEŠ-YA apizza hatrāmi* 'what matters I the queen have at heart I shall write to my brother from there'; *KBo* V 13 II 29–30 *nu AWAT ʰUTU-ši hūski nu-tta mahhan ʰUTU-ši hatrāmi* 'await my majesty's word, as I the king write to you'; similarly ibid. III 11; ibid. II 34 *tuk-ma mān ʰUTU-ši hatrāmi* 'but if I the king write to you'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124–6; ibid. III 4 and dupl. *KUB* VI 41 III 23–24 *mān tuk-ma 1-edani hatrāmi* 'but if I write to you alone'; ibid. 5–6 and dupl. 25–26 *mān-ma-tta ʰUTU-ši-ma kūn AWAT BAL Ūl hatrāmi* 'but if I the king do not write to you about this case of insurrection'; ibid. IV 14–15 *nu-tta mahhan ʰUTU-ši hatrāmi* 'when I the king write to you'; dupl. IV 22–23 *nu-tta GIM-an ʰUTU-ši [h]atrāmi*; dupl. *KBo* IV 3 III 26 ʰUTU-ši EGIR-pa hatrāmi 'I the king write back'; dupl. *KUB* VI 44 IV 3 *mah]han ʰUTU-ši EGIR-pa hatr[āmi*; *KBo* V 4 Vs. 31 *nu-[tta] mahhan ʰUTU-ši EGIR-pa hatrāmi*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:56; V 3 IV 18 *nu-[sm]as-ma kuit imma kuit hatrāmi* 'whatever I write to you'; ibid. 20, 22; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:132–4; *KUB* XIV 3 II 67 *nu-war-at ANA šEŠ-YA hatrāmi* 'this I will write to my brother'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 10; XIV 1 Vs. 77 *nu-wa-ssi kissa[n] hatrāmi* 'I shall write to him thus'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 18; XIII 20 I

25 ^DUTU-ŠI *tūwaz mahhan hatrāmi* 'as I the king write from afar'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:392 [1947]; XXIII 102 I 9 ŠEŠ-tar-ta *kuedani memini hatrāmi* 'for what reason should I write to you as to a brother?'; 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-si* (e. g. XXI 38 Rs. 1–2 ŠEŠ-YA-ma-mu *kuit kisan TĀŠ-PUR GIM-an-wa-mu DUMU.SAL parā* [p]iesti *nu-wa-ta-kkan AWATE.MEŠ kuye ZI-ni nu-war-at-mu mĀn hatrāsi-ya nu-war-at-mu ap[ī]ya ŠU-PUR* 'as for you, my brother, having written me: "When you hand over the daughter to me, if you are going to write me what matters are on your mind, write them to me then!"; cf. Sommer, *AU* 225; *KBo* V 13 III 26–27 *memian-ma ANA ^DUTU-ŠI piran parā hūdāk ŪL hatrāsi* 'but you do not forthwith send written word to my majesty'; V 9 II 27 *zik-ma ANA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Hatti hatrāsi* 'you write to the king of Hatti'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:16; V 4 Rs. 22; IV 4 II 33; cf. Götze, *AM* 116), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-iz-zi* (V 6 III 50–52 *nu ANA ABU-YA SAL.LUGAL ^{URU}Mizri tuppiyaz EGIR-pa kissan hatraizzi* 'to my father the queen of Egypt by tablet writes back as follows'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:96 [1956]), *ha-at-ra-a-iz-zi* (dupl. XIV 12 III 34 *hatrāizz[i]*; *KUB* VIII 81 II 7 ^DUTU-ŠI *ŠULUM ŠA* 'Sunassura *hatrāizzi* 'my majesty sends a letter to S.' [literally 'writes S.'s well-being'; *assul hatrai-* 'write favor, despatch greetings, send a letter'; cf. e. g. "Your favors of Jan. 10 & Feb. 10, came to hand" in Th. Jefferson's correspondence]; cf. Götze, *ZA* 36:11 [1925]; XIV 1 Vs. 40; cf. Sommer, *AU* 332–3; Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 14; XXXI 44 II 10), *ha-at-ra-a-i* (VIII 16 + 24 III 3 *[k]ūrur hatrāi* 'declares war'; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:143 [1956]), 1 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-u-ni* (XIV 1 Rs. 36 *nu-t[ā] mĀn ... [h]atrāuni*; cf. e. g. *handāuni* s. v. *hantai-*; Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung* 26), 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-zi* (e. g. XXIII 72 Rs. 24), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-nu-un* (*KBo* V 6 III 54 – IV 2 *ammuk-man-wa ammel RAMANI-YA ammel-a KUR-eas tepnumar ta-metani KUR-e hatranun* 'would I have written about my own and my country's humiliation to another country?'; dupl. XIV 12 III 39 *h]atranun*; XII 40 Vs. 3; *KUB* XIV 15 I 13; cf. Götze, *AM* 13; XIX 23 Vs. 13; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 312 [1977]; XXVI 88 Vs. 3), *ha-at-ra-a-nu-un* (e. g. XXVI 90 IV 4–6 *kī-ya kuit TUPPU ANA LUGAL KUR Mizrī hatrānun n-at tuel LÚ PITHALLUM pedau* 'and this letter which I have written to the pharaoh, let your horserider carry it'; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7:88 [1975–6]; *KBo* XVIII 54 Vs. 12–13 *n-at ANA EN-YA ŪL karū hatrānu[n]* 'I have not written it beforehand to my lord';

2 pl. pres.
ha-at-ra-a-
-at-
-t[e-ni]
(*ku* 23.32
Rs. 47)

ha-at-ra-a-
-u-e-ni (*ku* 23.32
Rs. 47)

cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:203 [1978–9]; XVIII 44, 7; cf. Cornil and Lebrun, *ibid.* 95; *KUB* XXVI 91 Vs. 11 *ser hatrānun*; *KBo* IV 4 II 53 *nu-ssi hatrānun* 'I wrote to him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 118; *KUB* XIV 17 III 5; cf. Götze, *AM* 96; *KBo* III 4 II 10, III 77 and 94; cf. Götze, *AM* 46, 90, 96; *KUB* XXIII 101 II 17 *hatrānu[n]*, 2 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-es* (e. g. XIV 1 Vs. 76 *kissan hatrāes* 'thou wrotest thus'; *Mašat* 75/15 Vs. 4–5 *kissan-mu kuit hatrāes* 'as for you having written me thus'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:42 [1980]; *Mašat* 75/14 Vs. 4–5 *ŠA ERĪN.MEŠ-mu kuit uttar hatrāes n-at AŠME* 'as for the matter of the army you wrote me about, I have taken cognizance of it'; *Mašat* 75/104 Vs. 3–4 *ŠA ERĪN.MEŠ GIBIL-mu kuit uttar hatrāes* 'as for you writing me in the matter of the new troops'; *ibid.* 13–18 *ŠA É ^DUTU-ŠI-ma-mu kuit ^{LU}maniyahhiyas EN-as uttar hatrāes kā-wa NU.GĀL n-at kuedani pidi nu-smas hatrāi* 'as for you writing me in the matter of the lord governor of the house of my majesty: "There is none here", write to them in the place where they are'; *Mašat* 75/43 Vs. 3–4 *[ŠA] ^{LU}KUR kuit uttar hatrāes* 'as for you sending word about the enemy'; *ibid.* 13–14 *ŠA ^{GIS}GIGIR-mu kuit ŠA ANŠU.KUR.RA.HI.A-ya uttar hatrāes* 'as for the word you sent me about the chariot and the horses'; *ABOT* 65 Vs. 6–7 *ANA ^{GIS}PA.DINGIR-LIM kuit Ū ANA ^DSIN.LÚ āssul hatrāes n-at ŪL kā* 'as for you having sent letters to Hattusilis and Armazitis, they are not here'; *ibid.* 11–12 *ammuk-a āssul ŪL kuit ha[tr]āes [nu] arha dāla* 'that you did not favor me with a letter, leave well alone [= who cares]'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:345 [1956]), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-it* (*KBo* III 34 I 14 'despatched' [viz. a substitute]; cf. *ibid.* 13 and 15 *iš-PUR*; cf. Starke, *Funktionen* 52), *ha-at-ra-a-it* (III 38 Rs. 17; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 10; *KUB* XXXVI 101 II 12 [OHitt.]; *Mašat* 75/13, 4–5 *kāsa-mu ^{Pisenis} ^{URU}Kasepūraz hatrāi[t]* 'lo, P. has written me from K.'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:45 [1980]; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 66 *kissan hatrāit*; *ibid.* 69 *n-asta ANA LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Dalauwa imma kattan arha hatrāit* 'rather he sent off a missive to the men of D.'; *ibid.* 78 *nu-mu mahhan ^{Madhuwattas} QATAMMA hatrāit* 'as [it stands], thus M. wrote to me'), *ha-at-ra-a-is* (*KBo* IV 4 Vs. 34 *en]issan hatrāis*; cf. Götze, *AM* 116), *ha-at-ra-a-es* (III 4 III 79 *^{Pihhuniyas}ma-mu EGIR-pa kissan hatrāes* 'but P. wrote back to me as follows'; cf. *ibid.* 83–84 *nu-mu ma[h]han ^{Pihhuniyas}enissan EGIR-pa iš-PUR* 'when P. had replied to me thus'; *KUB* VI 41 III 50 *nu-mu namma ūl kuitki hatrāes* 'he wrote me nothing further'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128), 2 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-te-en* (*Mašat* 75/47 Vs. 13; cf.

ha-at-ra-a-is
(e.g. *ku* 13.62 Vs. 82)

ha-at-ra-is
(e.g. *ku* 18.19 Vs. 15, 16)

ha-at-ra-is
(e.g. *ku* 23.102 Vs. 16)

1 pl. pret. *ha-at-ra-a-en* (*ku* 31.79, 34)
ha-at-ra-a-en (*Mašat*)

Alp, *Documentum Otten* 2); 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ra-a-ir* (KUB V 10 Vs. 1 *ISTU É.GAL-LIM kuit kissan hatrāir* 'whereas they wrote thus from the palace'; ibid. 19 *ISTU É.GAL-LIM-ma-mu kuit INIM marsas-tarras hatrāir* 'whereas they reported to me from the palace an instance of fraud'; XVI 83 I 46–47 *ISTU É.GAL-LIM-ma-mu kuit INIM UNUT harkantas ŠA D¹ISTAR URU Niniwa hatrāir* 'but as to the matter of the lost implements of Ištar of Ninive which they wrote to me from the palace'; XIX 30 IV 11–12 *nu-mu GIM-an LÚ.MEŠ URU Hay-asa enessa[n EGIR-pa] hatrāir* 'whereas the men of Hayasa wrote back to me thus'; cf. Götze, *AM* 104), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-i* (e.g. XIV 1 Vs. 38 *nu-wa memiyan ANA D¹UTU-Ši hatrāi* 'send written word to his majesty'; KBo V 4 Vs. 30 and V 13 IV 13–14 *zik-ma apūn memiyan ANA D¹UTU-Ši kuitman hatrāi* 'but meanwhile write about this matter to my majesty'; similarly dupl. KUB VI 41 IV 21–22; XIV 3 III 63 *nu-ssi ŠEŠ-YA apāt 1-an hatrāi* 'write him, my brother, this one thing!'; VBoT 2, 12–13 *kūnn-a-mu memian tuppiaz EGIR-pa hatrāi* 'and reply to me about this matter by tablet'; ibid. 21–23 *zik-mu DUB.SAR-as assūli hatrāi namma-za ŠUM-an EGIR-pa iya* 'you, scribe, kindly do my writing and also sign the name at the end', cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-u* (*Alalah* 125, 9 *nu-wa-mu EN-YA [EGIR-pa] hatrāu* 'may my lord write me in reply'), 2 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-at-tin* (KBo XVIII 2 Rs. 10–12 *nu-mu appatar hatrāttin nu siggallu* 'acknowledge receipt in writing, so that I may know'; KUB XXI 111, 11 *ANA D¹UTU-Ši hatrāttin* 'write to my majesty!'), *ha-at-at-ra-at-tin* (sic XXXI 101 Vs. 9), 3 pl. imp. act. *ha-at-ra-a-an-du* (*Maṣat* 75/64 Rs. 31–32 *namma-mu EGIR-pa assul hatrāndu* 'also may they favor me with a reply!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:52 [1980]); verbal noun *hatriessar* (n.) 'writing, written message, written order, decree', nom.-acc. *ha-at-ri-es-sar* (KBo I 42 I 15 and 16, matching ibid. [Akk.] *tertum* and *urdu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:133 [1971]; XVIII 24 I 4–6 *nu-tta hatriessar kue hatreskimi nu-tta mān assul hatrāmi* 'the messages I keep writing to you, if I write you a letter ...'), *ha-at-ri-ya[-sar]* (KUB III 111, 19 and 20; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 94), *ha-at-ri-i-e-es-sa* (KBo III 21 II 8–9 *D¹É-A-as-kan huwanhuisni kuit hatriyēssa anda kida* 'the decree of Ea which he has laid down in the waves'; cf. inf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; for loss of *-r* cf. e.g. *ishessa[r]* [*HED* 1–2:399] or *hannessa[r]* [s.v. *hann(a)-*]), iter. *hatreski*-, 1 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-mi* (KUB XIV 1 Vs. 25 *n]u-war-as-ta hatreskimi-pat* 'I shall report them to you in writing'; XIX 20 Rs. 30;

KBo XVIII 24 I 5 [quoted sub *hatriessar* above]), 2 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-si* (KUB XIV 1 Rs. 37 *nu]-nnas EGIR-pa tamāi uddār hatreski[si]* 'you keep writing back to us about other matters'; XXIII 102 I 16–18 [*ABU-YA ABA ABI-YA GIM-an ANA LUGAL KUR URU Assur [ŠEŠ-tar] Ūl hatreskir ziqq-a-mu [QATAMMA ŠEŠ-tar] LUGAL.GAL-UTTA-ya le hatreskisi* 'as my father and my grandfather did not write to the king of Assyria as to a brother, do not either write to me as a brother and as a great king!'; XIX 66 + I 1 III 76 *k]inun-a-wa-ssi kūrur kuwat hatreskisi* 'and now why do you declare war on him?'), *ha-at-ri-is-ki-si* (dupl. I 4 III 42; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-iz-zi* (KBo XXII 1, 22–23 [OHitt.] *nu-smas mān handa hatreskizzi natta-samas LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD-as tuppi hazzian harzi* 'even as he regularly writes to you, has he not had a tablet engraved for you dignitaries?'; KUB XXIII 102 I 10 *ŠEŠ-tar kuis kuedani hatreskizzi* 'who writes to whom as to a brother?'; ibid. 12 *ŠEŠ-tar hatreskizzi*), *ha-at-ri-es-ki-zi* (XIV 1 Rs. 25 *kissan hatreskizi*), 1 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-nu-un* (XIX 66 + I 1 III 73–74 *nu ANA URhi-D¹u-up kuwapi [enissan ha]treskinun* 'whereas I wrote to U. thus'; cf. dupl. I 4 III 40 [*ha]trānun*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 22; XIV 1 Rs. 59–60 *nu]-ssi D¹UTU-Ši hantezzi pa[lsi] EGIR-anta hatreskinun* 'and I the king a first time sent a letter in his wake'), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-it* (ibid. 64–65 *D¹UTU-Ši-ma-wa-tta [ha]treskit* 'his majesty has written you repeatedly'), 3 pl. pret. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki-ir* (ibid. 35 [*ABI D¹UTU-Ši-ma-tta D¹UTU-Ši-ya EGIR-anta hatreskir* 'his majesty's father and his majesty kept sending letters after you'; XXIII 102 I 17 [quoted sub *hatreskisi* above]), 2 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-ri-es-ki* (*Maṣat* 75/43 Vs. 8–10 *n-asta apās LÚ KUR kuwapi naiskittari nu-mu hatreski* 'wherever this enemy turns, keep me posted!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:47 [1980]; ibid. o. R. 23 *BELU-mu assul hatreski* 'my lord, keep sending me letters!'; cf. Akk. *šulma šapāru* 'send greetings', and see above sub *hatrāizzi*); VBoT 2, 24–25 *DUB.III.A-[ka]n kue udanzi nu nes[u]mnili hatreski* 'the tablets which they bring, always write them in Hittite!'; KUB XXVI 90 IV 2–3 *n-at-mu ... [] hatreski* 'write it to me!'; XIV 1 Rs. 17 *nu-wa-mu hūman hatreski* 'write me everything!').

Hier. *hatur*- 'letter', *hatura(i)*- 'write' (cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 56, *Manuale* 2:132–9 [1967]).

hatrai- denotes using writing as a form of communication, not as the physical act of inscribing (the latter being expressed by *guls*-, *hazziya*- [s.v. *hat(t)*-], or *hattarai*- [s.v. *hattara*-]). It is denominative

from a prehistoric noun *hatra- (cf. *tarmai-* 'to nail' from *tarma-* 'nail') meaning 'piece of writing', derived from *hat(t)-* (cf. e.g. *hupra-* 'woven garment' from **Hwebh-*). Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 3:59–60 (1958); Oettinger, *MSS* 34:126 (1976). Contrast *hattarai-*, derived from an attested agental noun *hattara-* (q.v.).

Abortive connections with Lat. *ātramentum* 'ink' (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 59; Pisani, *Paideia* 7:323 [1952]; E. Peruzzi, *SMEA* 11:103–8 [1970]) and with Venetic *atraest* (M. Lejeune, *BSL* 69.1:66–8 [1974]).

hatuk- 'be terrible' (KAL-[ga-]), 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tu-uk-zi* (KBo XXIII 8 Vs. 3; KUB VIII 16+24 III 13; cf. M. Leibovici, *Syria* 33:143 [1956]), 3 pl. pres. act. KAL-ga-an-zi (VIII 35 Rs. 17).

hatuka-, *hatuki-* 'terrible, baleful, fearsome, awesome', nom. sg. c. *ha-tu-ga-as* (KUB XXXIII 69 III 7; LIX 66 IV 5), *ha-du-ga-as* (KBo XXVI 96, 8), acc. sg. c. *ha-du-ga-an* (XXII 107 I 7 *hadugan* ¹IM-an 'the fearsome storm-god'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-tu-ga-an* (KUB XXXIII 68 II 19 *kuisa-tta hatugan uttar memai* 'whoever tells thee a terrible thing'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:129 [1965]), *ha-tu-ū-ga-an* (KBo XVII 6 III 1 *hatūgan ēšhar* 'terrible blood'; XVII 1 III 19 *hat]ūgan ēšhar*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 32; Neu, *Altheth.* 20, 9; ibid. IV 2 *ha]tūgan idālu erman paprātār* 'the terror, the evil, illness, pollution'), *ha-du-kān* (XX 88 IV 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 70), *ha-tu-ka* (XVII 1 III 12 *hatuka-smet* 'their terrible [deed, vel sim.]'), *ha-tu-ga* (XVII 3 III 12 *hatuga-[sme]*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu, *Altheth.* 9, 15; XIII 34 IV 12 *hatuga kuitki uttar* 'some terrible thing'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-i* (XXII 6 I 27 *salli hūwanti hatugai kari]tti* 'to a great wind [and] a terrible flood'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:20 [1969]), *ha-du-ga-ya* (XV 3, 7; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 155), abl. sg. *ha-tu-ga-ya-az* (V 6 III 30 *hatugayaz mē-az* 'by a terrible battle'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:95 [1956]), KAL-ga-za (adverbial in KUB VII 54 I 3 and IV 11 KAL-gaza *akkiskattari* 'dying is terribly rife'), KAL-ga-az (XVII 16 I 4 KAL-gaz *akkiskattari*), nom. pl. c. *ha-tu-ga-e-es* (KBo IV 2 II 32 *kuēs-wa hatugaēs wattaēs* 'what terrible birds'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8: 93 [1962]; KUB LIX 66 IV 7), *ha-du-ga-e-es* (KBo XVII 105 III 31 *hadugaēs-ma-kan* ¹IMIN.IMIN-PI-es 'baleful Pleiades'; cf. KUB XLVI 54 Vs. 11 ¹IMIN.IMIN-PI *hūwappaēs* 'evil Pleiades'), acc. pl. c. *ha-tu-ka-us* (KBo XVII 5 II 11 *hatukaus* EME-us

'terrible tongues'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 19), *ha-tu-ga-us* (XVII 4 II 6 *hatugaus lālus* 'terrible tongues'; (KBo IV 2 I 17) cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 13; IV 2 I 16 *nu-wa ittin hatugaus* MUŠEN.HILA *kistanutten* 'go exterminate the terrible birds!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:90 [1962]), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *ha-tu-ga* (III 21 II 24; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; XVII 78 I 1 ¹U-as *hatuga tethāi* 'the storm-god thunders terribly'; similarly IV 2 III 41 and IV 36, KUB XII 27, 5; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 4, 10; cf. *Iliad* 8:133 βροντήσας ... δεινόν, *Odyssey* 20:113 μεγάλη ἐβρόντησας), *ha-du-ga* (KBo XVII 105 III 6 *idāluwa haduga kue uddār* (what evil, terrible things'), *ha-tu-ga-ya* (e.g. KUB XIX 14, 11 *]hatugaya tethit* 'thundered terribly'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]).

hatugatar (n.) 'terror, awesomeness' (either verbal noun of *hatuk-* ^{Positive & negative semantic} or denominative abstract from *hatuka-*, *hatuki-*), nom.-acc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-tar* (e.g. KUB XII 58 II 34 *aggantas hatugatar* 'terror of the dead'; similarly ibid. 12–13, III 5 and 10, VII 53 III 18; cf. Goetze, *Tinnawi* 14, 16, 20; IX 4 II 20–21 *idālu hatugatar*), *ha-du-ga-tar* (IX 34 IV 5 *hul-lu hadugatar* 'evil terror'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 40), *ha-tu-ga-a-tar* (KBo III 21 II 14 *tarhuilātār-tet hatugātār-tet* 'your formidable potency' [hendiadys]), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-tu-ga-an-ni* (KUB XXXVI 83 I 19).

hatukes- 'become terrible', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-tu-ki-is-zi* (e.g. KUB XXXVI 12 II 17; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; VII 58 I 18–19 *mān ANA EN KARAŠ ... hatukiszi* 'when for a field-commander [the situation] becomes terrible'), *ha-du-ki-is-zi* (VIII 1 III 11 *]NA KUR-ŠU hadukiszi* 'in his land terror strikes', matching Akk. *urubātum iššakanā* 'devastations will take place'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:32), *ha-tu-ki-is-sa-iz-zi* (VIII 35 Rs. 15); iter. *hatukiski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *ha]tu-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (Bo 3617 I 15, besides dupl. KBo XIII 104 + Bo 6464 II 10 *ha-tu-ki-is-zi*; cf. Otten and Siegelová, *Afo* 23:33 [1970]).

hatuganu- 'terrify', 3 pl. pres. act. (?) *ha-tu-ga-nu-wa-an-zi* (KUB VIII 79 Rs. 16); verbal noun gen. sg. *ha-tu-ga-nu-wa-wa-as* (ibid. 15 *hatuganuwas memi*[- 'the cause of the frightening' [?]).

The most plausible connection for *hatuk-* (since Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 50–1) has been with Gk. (aor. inf.) *ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι* 'be wroth' and its probable cognates Lat. *odium* 'hatred', Arm. *ateam* 'I hate', *ateli* 'hateful, terrible', OE *atol*, ON *atall* 'fierce, terrible' (*IEW* 773), to which Tischler (*KZ* 92:108–11 [1978]) added Crimean Gothic *atochta* (glossed by Lat. *mahum*) as a strong-declension nom.-acc.

hatukeššar 'terror', gen. sg. *ha-du-ki-is-ma-as* KBo 34.25 I 10, 24.27 240 (cf. p. 424, l. 1–2 below)

sg. neut. from an **atugs* < IE **odu-kó-* (cf. **ódv-* perhaps underlying Greek denom. present **ódvōmai*), ostensibly an exact formal match for adjectival *hatuka-* (despite *-k-* rather than *-kk-* in the latter). But the primary verb *hatuk-* tends to focus attention rather on a basic genetic relationship to the Homeric verb *ódvō(σ)ασθαι*; a present matching *hatuk-* would have been **Hodug-yo-* > **ódvζo-*, aor. **ódvζ-*, whence a secondary present **ódvσso-* (cf. e.g. Ionic *σάσσω* after *σάζαι* [despite *σαγή*], besides Cretan Doric *σάδδω*), and an analogical aorist *ódvσ(σ)a-* (cf. *ἤρπασα* beside *ἤρπαζα* already in the *Iliad*, or Argolic *εφανασσαντο* beside Hesiod's *ἄναξα* from *ἄνασσω*). The stem *ódvζ-* may be seen in Italic name forms based on West Greek dialectal variants, *Olyxes*, *Olixes*, *Ulyxes*, *Ulixes*, whereas epic tradition imposed a streamlined version increasingly devoid of *d* : *l* variation and with productive onomastic *-εός* attached to the innovated stem (cf. *Ολυτεος*, *Ολυσεος*, *Ωλυσσεος*, *Οδυσ(σ)εος* on vases). The original sense of the verb is thus 'be terrible', and the name Odysseus means 'Fearsome' (cf. e.g. *Hrozný* besides Russian *Ivan Groznyj* 'Ivan the Terrible', or German *Ungeheuer*). The Gothic *atochta* is then better analyzed as **atukata* from a thematic adjective (**atuks* < **Hodug-o-*) from the same verbal stem **Hodug-*, like *hatuka-* (OE *atol* and ON *atall* might represent PGmc. **atuk-l-*). If this IE **Hodug-* is root-related to Lat. *ōdī* 'hate', *odium* and Arm. *ateam*, *ateli*, the proto-form is presumably **A₂ed-*; for **Hodug-* to function as a primary verb it must be a compound, possibly **A₂ed-Aug-* (**Aéw-g-*, **Aw-ég-* 'increase, grow'); with its frequent *-s-* determinative, the same weak grade is seen in Skt. *úkṣati*, and with a further primary *-y-* suffix in Avest. *uxšyeiti* 'grow'; thus **A₂ed-A₂ug-* 'grow in terror' > Hitt. *hatuk-*, but **od-ug-yo-* > Gk. **ódvζo-*, and possibly also **od-ug-s-o-* > Gk. **ódvζo-* (cf. *αὔζω*, *δέζω*), in which case the sigmatic element is in origin root-determinative rather than aoristic. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203 (1980).

Wholly improbable is the connection of *hatuk-* with Gk. *átvζomai* 'be distraught', either via root-etymology (**A₁tug-*; Benveniste, *Mélanges* ... H. Pedersen 596–9 [1937]) or by assuming an old Anatolian loanword in Greek (E. Sapir, *Lg.* 12:175–80 [1936]); it was rejected by Couvreur (*Hett.* 147) who compared *átvζomai* with Skt. *tuñjāti* 'thrust' (*tuñyáte* 'be routed, be confounded'; see Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1:509), but still rated favor with R. Lazzeroni, *Studi linguistici in onore di V. Pisani* 625–7 (1969). Couvreur also found the connection with Gk. *ódvσ(σ)-* wanting, while others have been

hard put to choose (e.g. I. Sordi, *Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Rendiconti* 93:213 [1959]). V. Georgiev (*Linguistique balkanique* 23.2:50–1, 23.3:6 [1980]) saw in *átvζomai* a "Pelasgian" equivalent of "genuine Greek" *ódvσσomai* and tied in *hatuk-* with both. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 332–3 [1981]) persisted in connecting *hatuk-* with *átvζomai*, Toch. A *ātukek* 'suddenly (?)', and Skt. *tuj-*.

hattul-, nom. sg. *ha-ad-du-lis* (KUB 49.33.82; cf. Hitt. *ḫa-ad-du-lis* (14.9.11))
hattul(a)- 'well, healthy', acc. pl. c. (?) *ha-ad-du-lis* (KUB XLVIII 119 Rs. 8–9) [*haddulis* DÜ-zi IGI.ZAG-yas GIM-an QATAMMA [*h*]adduliszi 'makes [them] well, as the right eye likewise gets well'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:180 [1978]).

hattulatar (n.) 'wellness, (good) health', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-tar* (KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 55 ANA DUMU.MEŠ.LÚ.MEŠ-LUTTI-wa *hattulatar halkestaru* DÜ-ru 'for mankind let there be health [and] prosperity'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 156; KBo XX 60 V 7–10 *tuqq-a-[wa]* ANA LUGAL TI-tar *hattulatar* ... *uktūri piyan harzi* 'to thee the king he has given in perpetuity life [and] health'; II 32 Rs. 1–2 SILIM-ulan TI-tar *hattulat[ar]* MU.HI.A GID.DA 'well-being, life, health, long years'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 284; KUB XII 58 IV 19 TI-tar *hattulatar inn[arawatar]*; cf. Goetze, *Tinnawi* 22; XVII 20 II 12, amid a welter of gloss-wedged Luwo-Hurroid abstractions; XXIV 3 III 18 TI-tar *hattul[atar]*; XXIV 2 Rs. 12–13 TI-tar *hattulatar innarawatar* MU.KAM GID.DA 'life, health, strength, long years'), *ha-at-tu-la-a-tar* (e.g. KBo XV 33 I 17 *inna[rauwatar hattulātar]*), *ha-ad-du-la-tar* (KUB XXIV 1 IV 10 TI-tar *haddulatar inna[rauwatar]*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 32; Mašat 75/64 Vs. 9–10 TI-tar *haddulatar innarawatar* MU.HI.A GID.DA; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:51 [1980]; similarly KBo II 9 I 20–21; KUB XXIV 1 III 5 *haddulatar* MU.KAM.HI.A GID.DA; FHG 4, 1 TI-t[ar] *haddulatar*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 240), *ha-ad-du-la-a-tar* (KBo XXI 34 I 65 – II 1 TI-tar-wa-mu *haddulātar* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ ŠA EGIR.UD-MI *peski* 'give me life, health, sons and daughters for the future'; cf. Otten, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 7:139 [1974]; KUB XV 32 I 55–56 TI-tar] *haddulātar innarawātar* MU.HI.A GID.DA; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 154; XV 34 II 8, 17, 40, III 39 TI-tar *haddulātar* MU.HI.A GID.DA; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 190, 192, 198; KBo XV 25 Vs. 10 and 23–24 TI-tar *haddulātar*; cf. Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 2), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-ni* (KUB XXXIII 62 II 9–10 *assuli* TI-anni *innarawanni*

hattulanni MU.HI.A GÍD.DA 'for well-being, life, strength, health, long years'; *KBo* IV 1 Vs. 18 TI-*anni hattulanni* [innar]auwanni *hassigdu* 'may [this temple] be steeped in life, health, and strength'; *ha-ad-du-la-an-ni* (dupl. *KUB* II 2 I 19 TI-*anni haddulanni innarauwanni hassigdu*; *KBo* II 9 I 33–34 *assuli* TI-*anni haddulanni innarauwanni* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA), instr. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-ni-it* (*KUB* XVII 14 I 18–19 *istū* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI TI-*annit* [h]attulannit innar-
auwannit 'with long years in the future, life, health, strength'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60).

hattulamant- (c.) 'state of health', nom. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-an-na-za* (*KBo* XVIII 54 Vs. 3–6 MAHAR ^DUTU-ŠI SALLUGAL *assul kuit mahhan* ŠA ERIN.MEŠ *sarikuwa-ya-kan* Ū ŠA ERIN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ *hattulannaza kuit mahhan nu-mu* EN-YA EGIR-pa ŠU-PUR 'as regards [lit. what how] the well-being of your majesty [and] the queen, and as regards the state of wellness among the peltasts [?] and the hoplites, write me back, my lord!'; cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:203 [1978–79]). For formation cf. e.g. *antuhsannant-* 'mankind', nom. sg. UKU.MEŠ-*annaza*, from *antu(wa)hha-*, *antuhsa-* 'man'.

hattulahh- 'make well', 3 pl. pres. act. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an-zi* (*KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 13–14 [m]ann-a DINGIR.MEŠ TI-*anzi namma mann-a* [...] *hattulahhanzi* [with gloss-wedges] *namma* 'may the gods spare [his] life and may they make [him] well again'), 3 pl. pres. imp. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an-du* (ibid. 6 *nu-tta hattulahhandu* [with gloss-wedges] 'let them make you well'); partic. *hattulahhant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ha-at-tu-la-ah-ha-an* (VIII 68 IV 8 *nu-war-an* TI-*an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well'), *ha-ad-du-la-ah-ha-an* (*KUB* XV 17 + XXXI 61 I 3–4 *mān-[w]a* DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-YA ^DUTU-ŠI *istū* MU.HI.A GÍD.DA TI-*nuan haddulahhan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive [and] healthy for long years'; dupl. XV 16 I 5; cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 16).

hattules- 'get well', 3 sg. pres. act. *ha-at-tu-li-e-es-zi* (*KUB* XXII 70 Rs. 46 *mān-as hattulēszi kuwapi* 'if he ever gets well'; cf. *Imparati*, *SMEA* 18:33 [1977]; Ünal, *Orakeltext* 92), *ha-at-tu-lis-zi* (XLVIII 123 III 15–16 *mān* ^DUTU-ŠI *hattuliszi* 'if his majesty gets well'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* IV 98; V 6 III 5–6 *mahhan* ^DUTU-ŠI *hattuliszi* 'when my majesty gets well'), [ha]-*ad-du-lis-zi* (XLVIII 119 Rs. 9, quoted above), 3 sg. pret. act. *ha-ad-du-li-is-ta* (*KBo* XIV 3 III 22 and dupl. *KUB* XIX 10 I 7 ABI ABI-YA-ma *haddulista* *namma* 'but my grandfather again became well'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:67 [1956]), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-at-tu-li-es-du* (*KBo* IV 6 Rs. 23 *n-as*

hattulesdu 'and may she get well'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 251; Tischler, *Gebet* 16), *ha-ad-du-li-es-du* (ibid. Vs. 18 *n-as haddulesdu*, cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 204, *Hymnes* 249; Tischler, *Gebet* 13).

Luw. *hattulahi(t)-* 'wellness, health', instr.-abl. sg. *ha-at-tu-la-hi-
-<ta>ti* (*KUB* XXXV 43 II 39 *jarāti hattulahi<ta>ti* 'for long health'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 145), *ha-at-tu-u-la-a-hi-la-li* (*KBo* IX 143 Vs. 14 *āppar*]antati *ārati hattulāhitati* 'for future long health'), (case?) *ha-ad-du-la-hi-sa* (XIII 260 III 19–20 *haddulahisa annarumāhisa* 'health [and] strength'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 262). For the denominative abstract suffix *-ahi(t)-* see e.g. *HED* 1–2:58.

hattul(a)- reflects a deverbative abstract noun **hattul-* (of the type *asandul-*, *assul-*, *imiul-*, *ishiul-*, *taksul-*, *wastul-*); for the adjectivized use cf. e.g. *taksul* 'peace (treaty); friendship; friend(ly)' (cf. Ved. *mitrá-* 'treaty; friendship; friend') or ⁽¹¹⁾*taksula-* 'friend' (< I.Ü *taksulas* 'man of friendship'; similarly *kurur* and *kurura-* 'enemy'; cf. Neu, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 417–9 [1979]), *asandula-* 'garrison-' (*HED* 1–2:298–9), *wastula-* 'sinner'; *hattulatar* parallels *taksulatar* 'friendliness', or *assulatar* from *assul(a)-* 'well-being' (*HED* 1–2:202–4).

Like *innarawatar* which often adjoins it on the "lists of blessings", *hattulatar* denotes physical health and vitality; *innar-* being 'force (fulness)', *hattul-* is 'keenness, sharpness', from *hat(t)-* 'slash, penetrate, hit home' (q.v.). Cf. *hattatar* (s.v. *hattant-*) which may be another abstract noun from the same root, specialized as '(mental) acuity, incisiveness, intelligence'.

hau- (c.) 'sheep' (UDU), nom. sg. UDU-is (*KUB* VI 9, 5 and 6 IGI-zis UDU-is 'the first sheep'), nom. sg. or pl. (?) *ha-a-u-e-es* (*KBo* XXIV 26 III 3–4 [h]awēs *lazzandatin hasta* [...] *laz*]zandatis ^DAyindupinzu *hasta* 'sheep bore [sg.] I. [hapax!], I. bore A. [hapax!]).

[hawiassi-] 'sheep-shape, ovine', acc. sg. c. *ha-ú-i-as-si-in* (*KUB* XXXII 1 III 2 nu 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hawiassin dāi* 'takes a sheep-shape breadloaf'), *ha-ú-i-ya-as-si-in* (ibid. 10 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hawiassin-ma dāi*; XXXIX 70 VI 5 NINDA.KUR₄.]RA *hawiassin dāi*), undeclined acc. *ha-wi-ya-as-si* (*KBo* XXI 42 I 11 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hawiassi*; cf. Güterbock, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 138 [1979]). *hawi-assi-* is properly the Luwian genitival adjective ('sheep's, pertaining to a sheep'; cf. *KUB* X 21 IV 13–14 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A ŠA GUD UDU-ya 'breadloaves [in the shape] of bovines and sheep'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner,

RHA 25:28 (1967), *Alimenta Hethacorum* 159 (1974). For the rare, unpertaining 4 ^{NINDA}ha-wa-at-ta-ni-is (KUB XXXII 129 I 22) see *ibid.* 158.

Luw. *hauī-* (c.), nom. sg. *ha-a-i-i-is* (KUB XXXV 43 II 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 144), UDU-is (XXXV 8 I 8 UDU-is GUD-is 'sheep [and] bovine'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 43), acc. pl. UDU-inza (IX 31 II 27 UDU-inza GUD-inza; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 53).

Hier. *hawi-* (c.), nom. sg. *ha-wi-(i)-š* co-occurring with *wa-wa-s* 'bovine' and matching Phoen. *š* 'sheep' at Karatepe (cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:83–3; Hawkins–Morpurgo–Neumann, *HHL* 168), instr.-abl. sg. *hawati* following *wa-wa-ti-a* at Kululu (cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:50, *HHG* 58–9).

Lyc. *χava-*, acc. sg. *χavā* preceded by *vavā* (TLy 149.9–10 *vavā se-k* [...] *χavā*). Cf. Friedrich, *KS* 87; Laroche, *BSL* 62.1:59–60 (1967); Neumann, *Die Sprache* 20:109 (1974).

hauī- is the basic IE word for 'sheep' (Skt. *āvi-*, Gk. *ōiç*, Lat. *ovis*, OIr *ōi*, OHG *ouwi*, Lith. *avis*, OCS *ovi-ca* [IEW 784]), pointing to **A₂éwi-* or *H₁ówi-* (cf. also Arm. *hoviw* 'shepherd' < **H₁owi-pā-*, with probable trace of laryngeal). In Hittite it had competition from a *u*-stem (nom. sg. UDU-us, acc. sg. UDU-un, possibly a hidden cognate of IE **peku-*) and was largely supplanted (like *ōiç* by *πρόβατον* in later Greek) by ^(UDU)*iyant-* (HED 1–2:347–9). For an abortive attempt to see IE **owi-* in *awiti-* see HED 1–2:247.

haz(i)kara(i)- (c.) 'woman percussionist, female musician' (vel sim.), nom. pl. ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-qa-ra* (e.g. KBo II 8 III 23), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-zi-qa-ra* (KUB XVII 35 I 29 and 33, II 17, 24, 27, III 8 and 32, IV 13, 24, 35), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-zi-qa-ra* (XLVI 27 Vs. 13 ^{SAL.MES}*hazziqara-za dus-kan* [zi 'the h.-women play'], ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-zi-qa-ra-a* (XLIV 21 III 15 ^{SAL.MES}*hazziqarā iyandu*), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-qa-ra-i* (e.g. KBo II 8 III 26; KUB X 78 Vs. 13–14 ^{SAL.MES}*hazqarai EGIR-an arta ta šir-RU* 'the h.-women stand behind and sing'; XXV 25 I 8 and 15; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ga-ra-i* (KBo XXV 182 I 11; IBoT II 21 I 5; Bo 3649 III 9; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 80), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ga-ra-a-i* (KUB IX 17, 22; VAT 7448 III 2; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 31), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ha-ra-a-i* (KUB XLII 92 II 7 *hazharāi*; *ibid.* IV 6 ^{SAL.MES}*hazhara*), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ka-ra-a-ya* (KBo II 7 Vs. 26), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-qa-ra-ya* (e.g. II 8 II 12; KUB XV 24 I 6 and IV 5), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ga-ra-ya* (KBo II 13 Vs. 10; HT 90, 3), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ha-ra-ya* (XII 2 I 4 ^{SAL.MES}

^{MES}*hazha* <ra>ya-za; *ibid.* 7 ^{SAL.MES}*hazharaya*), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-zi-qa-ra-ya* (XVII 35 I 25), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-qa-ra-i-ya* (KBo II 13 Vs. 19 and Rs. 3), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-qa-ra-a-i-ya* (KUB XLIV 42 Rs. 13), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ga-ra-i-ya* (KBo II 13 Vs. 11; XXVI 189, 9), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ga-ra-i-ya* (XXVI 182 I 8), ^{SAL.MES}*ha-az-ka-ra-ri* (sic 1461/u, 2), *dat.-loc. pl.* *ha-az-qa-ra-ya-as* (KUB XXV 36 II 10; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 202). Cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 14:222 (1971); Daddi, *Mestieri* 385–8.

These female temple servants are often grouped with multiple male religious functionaries (cf. Otten, *Die Welt des Orients* 5:94 [1969]). Grammatical paucity may be a reflection of the meager syntax of the attestations; the accompanying finite verb is often in the singular, as if denoting a group or collectivity (e.g. *aria* in KUB X 78 Vs. 13 above). The final *i*-variations are peculiar and may in some instances conceal *-(y)a* 'and'. For *hazkara-*: *hazhara-* (after *s*, never **hazihara-*) cf. e.g. *iskis(a)-*: *ishisaza* or *iskuna(hh)-*: *ishuna(hh)-* (HED 1–2:427). For the hypertrophy of *r* in *hazkarari* cf. e.g. *a(r)impa-* (HED 1–2:15).

Despite the lure of a per obscurius appeal to "foreignism" or Hattic origin, *hazzikara-* is plausibly connectible with *hazziki-*, iterative of *hat(t)-* 'strike', in the sense of playing various percussion instruments (tambourine, etc.; cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:186, echoed by Carruba, *Partikeln* 37). Rather than positing a **hatsk-tara-*, however, *hazzik-ara-* compares with e.g. *hatt-ara-* 'prick, inciser' as an agental derivative of an earlier derivational level than a potential productive **hazzikatalla-* on the pattern of *uskiskatalla-*.

Rössle/HG/Forrer 557–60 preferred Hattic origin, b: being singers rather than instrumentalists

haz(z)ila- (c.) 'double fistful, measure of cupped hands' (vs. *UPNU* 'handful'), nom. sg. *ha-az-zi-e-la-as* (KBo V 2 I 14 *MUN hazzelas* 'h. [of] salt'), *ha-az-zi-la-as* (e.g. XXVI 155 II 5 I *hazzilas*; XXII 246 III 15 *hazzilas* ZID.DA.A 'h. [of] flour'; similarly *ibid.* 3 and 16; *ibid.* 18 *hazzilas* BA.BA.ZA 1/2 *hazz[ilas]* 'h. [of] mush, one-half h. ...'), *ha-az-zi-la* (*ibid.* II 11–12 *ša ITU.1.KAM-ma* ZID.DA *kissan* 1 *hazzila* 1 *UPNU-ya* ZID.DA.A 'flour for one month [is] as follows: one h. and 1 *UPNU* [of] flour ...'), *ha-zi-la-as* (e.g. dupl. KUB XLII 103 IV 8–9 *ša ITU.1.K[AM-ma]* ZID.DA *kisan* 1 *hazilas* 1 *UPNU-y[a]*; cf. Souček and Siegelová, *Arch. Or.* 42:46–9 [1974]; XI 33 IV 6 *hazilas* ARZANU 'h. [of] groats', besides *ibid.* 10, 15, 19, 24, III 10 and 17 2 *UPNU* ARZANU; XII 4 I 8 1 *hazilas memal* 'one h. [of] flour'; KBo XIII 1 I 52 *parkuyas* [sic] *hazilas* 'shiny [= brass?] h.-measure', matching

ibid. [Akk.] *qā ZABAR* 'bronze *qū*' [about a liter]; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 11, 17; Güterbock, *MSL* 17:104 [1985]), acc. sg. *ha-az-zi-la-an* (*KUB* I 13 IV 36 *wātar-samas* 3 *ha[zz]ilan pian[zi]* 'they give them three h. [of] water'; similarly ibid. 75; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 72, 74), gen. sg. or pl. *ha-az-zi-la-as* (e.g. XII 12 V 24 *BA.BA.ZA šA* 3 *hazzilas* 'mush [made] of three h.'; VII 53 I 22 3 *NINDA ān hazzilas* 'three hotcakes of a h.' [viz. of flour]; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XXVIII 5, 5b; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:74 [1965]; *KBo* XXI 1 II 14; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 20; XXII 246 II 8 2 *NINDA.GÜG hazzilas*), *ha-zi-la-as* (e.g. dupl. *KUB* XLII 103 IV 5 2 *NINDA.GÜG hazzilas*).

Occasionally used as a pseudo-akkadogram *HAZZILU* (*KUB* XII 63 Rs. 1 ...]-*war-at HAZZILU kisa nu-wa-smas pisga*[- '... it gets to be a h., ... give it to them'), *HAZZILI* (*KBo* III 5 III 24 and III 2 Vs. 32 *wātar-ma-as KASKAL-si KASKAL-si-pat ištu* 1 *HAZZILI peskizzi* 'but on each lap he gives them water of one h.'; similarly III 5 III 59–60, IV 37–38; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 94, 130, 96, 100, 310–1; besides ibid. I 54 *wātar-ma KASKAL-si KASKAL-si-pat ištu* 1 *UPNI akkuskanzi* 'but on each lap they drink water of one handful'; similarly ibid. 27, III 3 and 45–6; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 84, 80, 86, 90). *UPNI* used with water in alternation with *HAZZILI* is unique to the second tablet of the Kikkulis manual and probably reflects a confusion of terms (a palmful of water would hardly slake a racehorse).

hazzilas is probably a petrified gen. pl. of **hazzel-*, reinterpreted as nom. sg. ('[measure of] h.'; cf. Goetze, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:294 [1949]). **hazzel-* (whether type of *hurk-el* or *sarnik-zel*) is plausibly a concretized abstract derivative from *hat(t)-* (as either **hatt-el* or **hat-tel*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 53), with a base-meaning 'fist' (vel sim.); for such a derivative from a root 'stick, jab' cf. e.g. Lat. *pugil* 'boxer', *pugnus* 'fist' from *pungō* 'prick, sting'. Cf. Čop, *Ling.* 3:56–7 (1958).

cf. *hazini-rtalla-* 'lyre player'? *KUB* 41.28 II 7 < *hattē zini-rt* 'lyre' + *hattē -talla-* (Popko-Tsch. 21: *hazzigara* *mušen* 'a bird') Tichler // *AFO* 36–37, 29–30, 195a

hazzu(i)- (n.) 'ceremony, ritual, (religious) pageant(ry), (cultic) entertainment', nom.-acc. sg. and pl. *ha-az-zi-wi* (e.g. *KBo* II 8 I 30 *KÜ-zi NAG-zi hazziwi NÜ.GÁL* 'they eat [and] drink; there is no entertainment'; ibid. IV 20–21 *KÜ-zi NAG-zi GAL.HI.A-kan assanuwanzi hazziwi NÜ.GÁL* 'they eat [and] drink, they dispose goblets; there is no entertainment'; ibid. III 3 *hazziwi NÜ.GÁL*; ibid. IV 6 *nu-kan hazziwi EZEN É-as* 'ceremony [and] festival of the house'; *KUB* XVI 77

Vs. 33 *EZEN nasma hazziwi* [with gloss-wedges] 'feast or ceremony'; ibid. 39 *EZEN nasma hazziwi* [with gloss-wedges] *kuitki*; XII 50, 9; XVIII 18, 25), *ha-az-zi-ü-i* (e.g. XXV 24 II 4 *KÜ-zi NAG-zi hazziwi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; XLII 100 III 6; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 17:183 [1978]; LV 5 IV 19; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 20; *Bo* 6002 Rs. 13 *hazziwi ianzi*, ibid. 11 *hazziwi ianzi* 'they perform a ceremony'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 188; 299/1986 III 65–66 *nu-ssi šA DINGIR.MEŠ kuit hazziwi.HI.A saklauss-a dassawēs* 'because the gods' ceremonies and rites [are] heavy on him'; ibid. II 24 and 26; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 24, 16; *KBo* X 20 I 12 *DINGIR.MEŠ-as hazziwi NU.GÁL kuitki* 'there is no ritual of gods'), *ha-az-zi-ü* (dupl. *KUB* XXX 39 Vs. 9 *DINGIR.MEŠ-as hazziyu EZEN [NU.GÁL] kuiski* 'there is no ritual or feast of the gods'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80 [1960]; XXXI 124 II 27 *hazziyu-ya*), *ha-az-zi-ü* (dupl. XVII 21 III 15–16 *EZEN.HI.A-a-smas hazzi[ü-y]a ūi kuiski iyazzi* 'nobody celebrates feasts and pageants for you'; ibid. II 12 *DINGIR.MEŠ-s-a-kan arga-manus hazziu-ya* 'tributes and pageants of the gods'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* 158, 154; XII 63 Rs. 1 *hazziu kisa* 'ceremony takes place'), *ha-az-i-ü* (*KBo* XX 51 IV 6), *ha-az-zi-ü-e* (*KUB* XXVII 66 II 14 *apedani UD-ti hazziwe NU.GÁL kuitki* 'on that day there is no ceremony'), *ha-zi-ü-i* (XLII 100 III 26 *annal]aza-ma tuppiza EZEN.MEŠ hazziwi ūi kuitki KAR-wen* 'but on the old tablet we have not found any feasts or pageant[s]'), gen. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-as* (XXX 41 I.R. 6 *hazziwias EN.MEŠ*; LV 54 IV 11 *LÚ.MEŠ hazziwias*), *ha-az-zi-wi-ya-as* (*KBo* II 8 III 10 and IV 19 *LÚ.MEŠ hazziwias*; ibid. IV 22 *SAL.MEŠ hazziwias*; ibid. I 19 *SAL.MEŠ hazziwiya* [sic]; *KUB* XVI 26 Rs. 1), *ha-zi-wi-as* (ibid. Vs. 4), *ha-az-zi-ü-i-ya-as* (XX 19 III 12 *LÚ haz]ziuiyas*), *ha-az-zi-ü-i-as* (ibid. 1–2 *LÚ^{DU} SAL^{DU} SAL^{DU} palwatallas LÚ.MEŠ ZITTI LÚ.MEŠ hazziuias* 'the man of the storm-god, the woman of the storm-god, the acclameresses, the men of parts, the men of the pageant'), *ha-az-zi-ü-wa-as* (670/z IV 8 *LÚ.MEŠ hazziuwas ishes* 'masters of ceremony'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:71 [1984]; Neu, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 109–10 [1986]; *KBo* XXII 242 II 9 1 *MAŠ.GAL-ma hazziuwas* 'one he-goat of the pageant'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* II 18), *ha-az-zi-wa-as* (ibid. III 7; 867/c, 5 *hazziwas E[N.MEŠ]*), *ha-zi-ü-as* (*KUB* LIII 17 II 35), dat.-loc. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-ti* (XVIII 25 I 9), abl. sg. *ha-az-zi-wi-ya-za* (*KBo* II 7 Rs. 23 *EZEN-šu hazziwiya dushkarattaza tarrāuwan[za]* 'his festival replete with pageantry [and] merrymaking'), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-zi-wi.HI.A* (*KUB* XVIII 26 II 8, for the storm-god of Hatti), *ha-az-zi-wi-ia* (XXXII

133 I 4—5 *nu-za hazziwita ishiulih.A-ya kue* INA É DINGIR-LUM *kattan hamankatta* 'the ceremonies and obligations which he had mandated for the temple'; *ibid.* 9—10 *nu-ke hazziwita ēssandu* 'they shall perform these ceremonies'; *h[a]-az-zi-ū-e-da* (XIV 3 I 34; cf. Götze, *KIF* 244), gen. pl. *ha-az-zi-ū-i-as* (XXVII 68 I 10—11 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*ma parsiyazi n-a*[n DINGIR.MEŠ-*as*] *hazziuias pedas sarrai* 'he breaks a bread-loaf and distributes it at the places of the gods' pageants'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 300), dat.-loc. pl. *ha-az-zi-ū-i-ya-as* (XLII 100 IV 17—18 *nu-wa-kan ANA TUPPA.HI.A EZEN purulliy[as]* ^DTelipinun *hazziuiyas anda KAR-ir* 'on the tablets of the *purulli*-festival they found T. in[cluded in] the ceremonies'), uncertain plural case *ha-az-zi-wi-as* (*KBo* XX 87 Rs. 10 [DINGIR].MEŠ *hazziuias pianzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 258), *ha-zi-wi-ya-as* (*KUB* XVIII 26 II 9), *ha-zi-wi-as* (*ibid.* 12).

LÚ.MEŠ *hazziwitassis* (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 II 3) shows nom. pl. c. of *hazziwitassi-*, adjective derived with the Luwoid appurtenance suffix *-assi-* from a secondary stem *hazziwita-* based on Hurroid case forms in *-ta* (cf. e.g. *hatiwita-* s.v. *hatiwi-*, or *arkiuuta* s.v. *arkiu[ī]-* [*HED* 1—2:148]).

Cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškar* 165—6; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:25 (1973); Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 246—7; Neu, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 111—2 (1986).

Occasional gloss-wedges, the suffix *-assi-*, and the case forms and secondary stem with *-t-* point to the orbit of Luwo-Hurrian religious vocabulary. Alp (*Beiträge* 330) partly equated *hazziwi-* with SISKUR 'ritual, offering' and unconvincingly connected *hat-*, *hazziya-* 'stab, strike'.

hazzizzi-, hazzizzu- (n.) 'ear; wit(s), wisdom', nom.-acc. sg. (akkadianizing) *ha-az-zi-iz-zu* (571/u, 6), *ha-az-zi-zu*, gen. sg. *ha-az-zi-iz-zi-ya-as* (*KUB* LV 20 + IX 4 I 24 *hazzizzu hazzizziyas GIG-an KI.MIN* 'ear [lifts] ailment of ear likewise'; cf. *ibid.* 4—5 ^{UZU}*istamanas-kan* ^{UZU}*istamasni handanza* 'ear is fitted to ear'; *ZA* 71:130 [1981]), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *ha-zi-zi* and gen. sg. or pl. *ha-zi-zi-ta-as*, *ha-zi-zi-da-as* (XV 31 II 17—21 *namma-kan* ^{GIS}KUN₅ KÙ.BABBAR *TUDITTUM* KÙ.BABBAR *hantezzi āpiti anda dāi ANA TUDITUM-ma-kan hazizi KÙ.BABBAR anda dāi n-at-kan hantezzi āpiti kattanta ganki hazizitas-ma-ssan* [dupl. XV 32 II 15 *ha-zi-zi-da-as-ma-as-sa-an*] *appizziaz* ^{TUG}*kuressar hamankan* 'then he puts a silver ladder [and] a silver pectoral into the first pit; in addition to the pectoral he puts in silver ear(s?) and hangs it (or: them) down into the first pit; in back

of the ear(s?) is tied a width of fabric'; cf. Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; *KBo* XXIV 45 Rs. 9 7 *hazizzi KÙ.BABBAR*; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:106 [1983]; XIII 114 II 21 and dupl. XXIV 109 + XV 24 III 3 10 *hazizi ša NINDA iyan* 'ten ears made of bread' [offered to ^DÉ-A]; *ibid.* 24 and 30, and dupl. 6 10 ^{NINDA}*hazizi* 'ten ear-bread'; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das heititische Lehmhaus* 68—70 [1987]), nom.-acc. pl. *ha-zi-zi-ta* (XXIII 3 Vs. 9 5 ^{NINDA}*hazizita*; II 9 IV 18 ^{NINDA}*hazizita*), *ha-zi-zi-da* (*ibid.* 23), dat.-loc. sg. (Hurroid) *ha-az-zi-iz-zi-ya* (*KUB* XV 34 IV 38 1 MUŠEN *hazzizziya* 'one bird for h.>'; similarly *ibid.* 24; cf. Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 204—6), *ha-az-zi-zi-ya* (dupl. XV 38 IV 25), *ha-zi-zi-ya* (e.g. XXX 47 IV 5 *mān-za ANA* ^DA-A [...] SISKUR.SISKUR *haziziya sipan[ti]* 'when to Ea he performs the rite for h.>'; cf. Laroche, *CTH* 183; found especially in the Hurrian formula *hariya haziziya* 'for way [and] wit', e.g. XV 32 IV 13, *IBOT* III 48 I 22 and 41, II 39, besides *ibid.* I 25, II 38, IV 17 KASKAL-*ya haziziya*; cf. Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 212, 214, 218, 228; *KUB* XXXII 50 Vs. 12, XV 31 II 3 *hāriya haziziya*; similarly *ibid.* III 55), *h[a]-a-zi-zi-ya* (*ibid.* 30; cf. Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 154, 164, 162), abl. sg. or pl. *ha-az-zi-zi-ta-za* (*KBo* II 9 IV 11—12 *namma apidani pidi ape kinuwanzi n-as* ^{LÜ}HAL DINGIR-LUM ^{ISTU}NINDA *hazzizitaza apiya sarā 7-ŠU SUD-anzi* 'then in that place they open the pit, and the diviner with ear-bread draws the deity up thence seven times'). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86:396—7 (1967), *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 159—61 (1974); Haas—Wilhelm, *Riten* 69—72, 77—8; Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 251—2.

Divinized ^D*Ha-az-zi-iz-zi* (*KUB* LI 79 Rs. 16; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:102 [1988]; similarly XX 59 I 26 ^DMāti ^DHazzizzi), ^D*Ha-az-zi-zi* (e.g. *ibid.* 29 ^DMāti ^DHazzizi; cf. *ibid.* 25 and 28 ^{ANA}^DÉ-A ^D*Damkina*; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:88—9 [1988]; *KBo* XIII 128 II 3; cf. *ibid.* 1 ^DÉ-A-an), ^D*Ha-zi-iz-zi* (XIII 151, 1).

Hurr. *ha-az-zi-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 8 III 30), *ha-zi-zi* (XXVII 42 Rs. 12; cf. *ibid.* 13 ^DÉ-A-as *Tabkinas*), *ha-az-zi-za* (XII 44 II 14 *māta hazziza*; *ibid.* 16 and 17—18 *māta sinniha hazziza*), *ha-az-zi-za-i* (XXIX 8 III 6), *ha-a-zi-za-a-e* (*ibid.* 15 *matāe hāzizāe*), *ha-az-zi-zi-na* (XXVII 14 II 2). For other attestations, such as ^D*Ha-si-si* at Meskene and *hzz* at Ugarit, see Laroche, *RHA* 34:100 (1976).

This paradigm is laced with foreignisms, from *hazziz(z)u* to *haz(z)iz(z)iya* to the stem *haz(z)iz(z)i(t)-* (for the last-mentioned cf. such Hurroid vocables as *arkiu[ī]-* [pl. *arkiuuta*; *HED* 1—2:148] or *hazziwi* [pl. *hazziwita*]). The ultimate source is Akk. *hasīsu* 'think-

ing, intelligence, wisdom' (*hasāsu* 'think'), secondarily also 'hearing, ear' (beside *uznu* 'ear', secondarily also 'mind, wit[s]'; cf. e. g. Avest. *uši* 'ears', also 'understanding, wits'). ^D*Hasis(at)u* was used of the god of learning Nabū (cf. *AHW* 330), while *Uznu(m)* and *Hasisu* as deified abstractions were servants of Damkina (^D*NIN.GAL*), wife of Ea 'lord of wisdom' (*bēl hasisi*, also known as *bēl uzni hasisi* 'lord of wit [and] wisdom'; Hitt. *hattannas* EN-as [see s. v. *hattant-*]). The Hurrian theonymic sequence ^D*Māti* ^D*Hazzizzi*, associated with Ea and Damkina, seems comparable (cf. von Brandenstein, *AfO* 13:58–62 [1939–41]), although the interpretation of Hurr. *mati-* via Indo-Aryan *mati-* 'mind' is unconvincing (cf. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier* 131–40). Even the ritualistic ears of bread used to attract deities from the underworld have an Akkadian parallel (with Hitt. 5 ^{NINDA}*hazizita* cf. Akk. 7 ^{NINDA}*hasisāti* [CAD H 126]). The silver ear fetish sunk into a chthonian pit or well for communion with deity recalls Heimdal's *hljóð* in Norse myth which (like Odin's eye) was on deposit in a well under the world tree (cf. etymologically Avest. *sraotam*, Skt. *śrōtram* 'hearing, ear').

The more hittitized forms and usages have the meaning 'ear', thus synonymous with *istaman(a)-* rather than *hattatar*; there is no folk-etymological interference from forms of *hazziya-* (s. v. *hatt-*), such as 3 sg. *kī hazzizzi* 'he hits it, he gets it right, he realizes'.

^{MUNUS}*HAZKARAI-* (HW! MW!; Hoff. rev. of HED 4: collect. noun like *ḥaptara-*)

hazzuwanis (n.) 'lettuce', nom.-acc. sg. *ha-az-zu-wa-ni-is* (*KUB* VII 1 I 19–21 ŠA ^{GIS}*SAR.SAR.HLA* *hūman* BABBAR *kappāni* GE₆ *kappāni* *ān-kisas* NUMUN-an *tīyati* AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} *hazzuwanis* *hasussarān* *lakkarwan* 'of vegetable gardens everything, white cumin, black cumin, seed of *ankis* [HED 1–2:73] ~~he puts in place~~ ^{asafoetida} *crocus*, lettuce, *hasussara-* [q. v. s. v. *hassu-*], *lakkarwan* [CHD 3.1:19]; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:143 [1961]; *KBo* XVII 61 Vs. 25 *ḏāhhi* AN.T[AH.ŠUM^S]^{AR} *hazzuw[an]is* 'takes *crocus* [and] lettuce'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42).

This "culture word" for lettuce most closely resembles OAkk. *hašūānum* or *hašīānum* (*AHW* 334) and Ugar. *ḥswn* or *ḥšwn*, and further Akk. *hassū*, Hebr. *ḥassā*, Sum. *hi.is*^{SAR}. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JCS* 25:234 (1973), *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 112 (1974); B. Pelzl, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9:368 (1977).

cf. *Bronz Taf.* 52 ff.

See now vd Hout / Gs Güterbock

hekur (c.) 'rock-sanctuary, hierothesion, acropolis' (vel sim.), *hé-kur* (e. g. *KBo* XII 38 IV 3–4 *nu-ssin kūn* ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ [ūk] 'KŪ.GA. TŪL-as LUGAL.GAL *wedahun* 'for him [viz. my father Tuthaliyas] this lasting hierothesion [Yazilikaya?] I, great king Suppiluliumas [viz. II], built'; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94:16–22 [1963]; Güterbock, *JNES* 26:76–7, 79 [1967]; *KUB* XXI 33, 23 ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ *dās* 'took the lasting rock-sanctuary'; cf. R. Stefanini, *JAOS* 84:23 [1964]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 383; 299/1986 II 64–66 ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ-a-ssi EGIR-pa *pihhu* *nu-kan* *zilatiya* ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ ... *arha le kuiski dāi* 'the lasting hierothesion I have given back to him, and in the future let no one take [it] away'; ibid. I 91, 94, 100 *AWAT* ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ 'the matter of the lasting hierothesion'; ibid. III 51 ŠA ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ; ibid. I 92 ANA ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ; ibid. I 96–97 and II 1–2 ^{NA}*hekur* SAG.UŠ ... *parkiyauwanzi ūl kisari* 'to ^{not access} ~~ascend~~ to the lasting hierothesion is not allowed'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 22, 14, 42–4; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 7–8 ^{NA}*hekur*[-wa-kan *mahhan*] *huwanza* *hē[uss]-a pedi ūl n[ininkanzi]* 'even as wind and rain do not lift a rock-sanctuary from its place'; ibid. 2 ^{NA}*hekur*; ibid. 4 ^{NA}*hekur* <SAG>.UŠ; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34, 38–9; XIV 20 II 9–14 *nu INA* ^{NA}*hekur* ^{NA}*Kur*[usta ...] EGIR-anda *pāun nu mahhan* [NA ^{NA}*hekur* ^{NA}*Kurusta*] *arhun nu-za-kan* ^{NA}*hekur* *Kur*[ustan ...] ^{NA}*Kurustas-ma mekki na[kkis ...] namma-as-kan kezza kezziya* ... *nu-ssi-kan KASKAL-as 1-edaz-pat* [...] 'I went to the rock-sanctuary of K. after the ...; when I arrived at the rock of K., I ... the rock of K.; K. is very steep, and furthermore on this side and on that side it ...; and on only one side of it [is] a road ...'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:173–4 [1966]; II 5 Vs. 4–5 ^{NA}*hekur* *Pittalahsa-as-ma-kan ištū* ERIN.MEŠ NAM.RA [iS]BAT 'it [viz. the city population] took [refuge in] the acropolis, P., along with troops [and] deportees'; ibid. 14 ^{NA}*hekur* ^{URU}*Pittalahsan*; cf. Götze, *AM* 180; *KUB* XII 63 Vs. 35 ^{NA}*hekur* *ēssari-ssit welkuwa* ['rock-sanctuary, its icon, grass ...'; X 81, 5 ^{NA}*hekur* DINGIR-LIM 'the god's rock-sanctuary'; *KBo* XIII 176, 9 ^{NA}*hekur* DINGIR-LIM, X 35 I 4 ^{NA}*hekur* ^D*Kammama*; VI 28 Rs. 30 LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA}*hekur* *Pirwa* 'men of P.'s rock-sanctuary' [P. was potentially aetomorphous or aquiline: cf. *KUB* XLVIII 99, 6 *haran* ^D*Pirwan*, and see *hegur* *Hāranan* below]; *KBo* VI 28 Rs. 19 ANA ^{NA}*hekur*; ibid. 22 ^{NA}*hekur* *Pirwa-ma-kan arauwahhun* 'P.'s rock-sanctuary I exempted' [viz. from all imposts]; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:46, 39–40 [1977]; XII 140 Rs. 12 ^{NA}*hekur* *Pirwa* 'Tu-[thaliya ?]; cf. Imparati, *SMEA* 18:50 [1977]; X 10 II 14 ^{NA}*hekur*

Pirwa; KUB XVI 42 Rs. 1 ^{NA}hekur ^DPirwa; KBo XIV 142 IV 17 LÚ.MEŠ *hekur Pirwa*; VBoT 110, 11 LÚ].MEŠ *hekur Pirwa*; *ibid.* 5 *hekur Hatpinas*; KUB XVI 27, 3 LÚ.MEŠ É *hekur Pirwa* 'men of P.'s rock-house'; cf. *ibid.* 5 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA₄ DINGIR-LIM 'men of the deity's stone-house'; LV 1 II 9 É.GAL *hekur Pirwa* 'P.'s rock-palace'; XLII 83 IV 2 É].GAL *hekur* ^DLAMA; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 100 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 158; XIV 4 II 3–5 *nu sumēs* DINGIR.MEŠ ŪL *uskattēni* É ABI-YA-kan *mahhan hūman* INA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA INA É.NA₄ DINGIR-LIM *neyat* 'don't you gods see how she [viz. the Babylonian-origin queen] has turned over my [viz. Mursilis II's] father's [viz. Suppiluliumas I's] entire estate to the rock-house of L., the stone-house of the deity [= mortuary shrine?]'?; XXII 70 Vs. 12–13 SAL.LUGAL-wa-za KILILU GUŠKIN INA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA *essesta* 'the queen has made a golden wreath in the rock-house of L.'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 56, 110; *ibid.* 20–21 and 26 *n-at-kan* INA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA ANA ALAM SAL.LUGAL *anda peter* 'they have taken them [viz. various objects in precious materials] into the rock-house of L. for the icon of the queen'; *ibid.* 42 and Rs. 17 INA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA; *ibid.* Vs. 45, 73, Rs. 38, 51, 54 INA ŠA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA 'in the interior of the rock-house of L.'; *ibid.* Vs. 49 and 51 ŠA É ^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA; XVIII 54 III 76]^{NA}hekur ^DLAMA, *hè-gur* (KBo XII 38 II 17–21 ^{NA}hegur SAG.UŠ *wedahhun* ALAM DÙ-nun *n-an-kan* [i]NA ^{NA}hegur SAG.US *anda pedahhun n-an daninunun warsiyanun* 'a lasting hierothesion I built, an icon I made and took it to the lasting hierothesion, and I installed [and] propitiated it'; KUB XXIII 13, 7 *hegur Hāranan-kan katta dahhun* 'I occupied Eagle Rock'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 314, 317–8; XXXVIII 2 III 21–24 ^{NA}hegur *Temmuwa* ŠA GEŠTIN-pat *hūtusīs andurza* KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 2 EZEN *zēni hame[shi]* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Dālas *ē[ssanzi]* 'rock-sanctuary T.: a h. for wine, silver-plated on the inside; two feasts, in fall and spring; the men of D. are in charge'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8–10; XXVII 13 IV 17–18 ^{NA}hegur *annarin* ^{NA}h[eg]ur *mūwattinn-a* LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA}hegur *Pirwa* IR.MEŠ LUGAL ^{URU}Isuwa-ya *ēssa[nzi]* 'the men of P.'s rock-sanctuary and the king's subjects of I. operate rock-sanctuaries a. and m.'; *ibid.* 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^{NA}hegur ^D; *ibid.* 13–14 2 ^{NA}hegur ŠA-BA 1-EN EN-as SAL-za 1-EN ^{NA}hegur *allinalis* [...] LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL *Arnuwanda* ... *ēssa[nzi]* 'two rock-sanctuaries, of these one [is] run by a woman, the other rock-sanctuary [is] a.; the men of A.'s palace ... operate it'; LVI 37 I 7–8 2 ^{NA}hegur ^DKa[mmamas] ^DPiskuruwass-a 'two rock-

sanctuaries, of K. and of P.'; XXXVIII 6 IV 4 ^{NA}hegur(), pl. (case?) ^{NA}hè-kur III.A-as (KBo XVII 105 III 9). Cf. *Imparati, SMEA* 18:19–64 (1977).

The near-complete absence of declension (*kūn* ^{NA}hekur, ŠA ^{NA}hekur, LÚ.MEŠ *hekur*, ANA ^{NA}hekur, INA É ^{NA}hekur, etc.) points decisively to a foreignism ('behaves like a sumerogram': Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 154). The base-meaning is not 'rock' (that is *pe-runa-*, *pirwa-*). Just as Sum. *é.gal* 'big house, palace' (Akk. *ekallu*) appears in Hurrian as *hā-i-kal-li* (KBo XXXII 13 II 2) and in West Semitic as Ugar. *hkl*, Hebr. *hēkal*, Sum. *é.kur* 'mountain house' (name of elevated sanctuaries, such as Enlil's at Nippur; Akk. *ekurru* 'temple') seems to have been transmitted to Hittite (via Hurrian?) as *hè-kur* or *hè-gur* (cf. also *herin-*, *hiyara-* [s.v.]). The term is unattested in Old Hittite; its imperial nature may lend some credence to D. Silvestri's theory (*AION-L* 5:291–305 [1983]) that it was introduced by the extravagant Babylonian princess whom Suppiluliumas I installed as queen late in life and whom Mursilis II opposed and deposed (see KUB XIV 4 II 3–5, quoted above); against this argues the lingering notion of 'rocky height', vs. that of Akk. *ekurru*.

The attempts to find an Indo-European etymon for *hekur* (and to exploit it for laryngeal theory), stretching back to Pedersen and Sturtevant, were chronicled by Tischler, *Glossar* 235–7; add H. C. Melchert (*Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 142 [1984]), who adduced Gk. *αἰχμή* 'spear-point', and Van Windekens, *IF* 90:94–7 (1985), *KZ* 100:311 (1987), who sought a tie-in with Gk. *αἰνός* 'steep'. The most promising connection was that with Skt. *āgra-* 'peak', *giri-* 'mountain', OCS *gora* 'mountain' under a formula *E₂ég"-r- : E₂g"-ér-. For H. Eichner's attempt to connect *hakkun(n)ai-* see s.v.

henk-, hi(n)k- 'bestow, consign, commit, secure, assign, allot, provide, present, offer' (close in meaning and usage to *maniyahh-* 'ordain, assign' and *pai-* 'give'), 1 sg. pres. act. *hi-ik-mi* (KUB XXXIII 27, 12 *ūk-war-an-t)a hikmi* 'I consign him to thee'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:115 [1965]), *hi-in-ik-mi* (XXXIII 112 + XXXVI 2c III 10–12 KASKAL-an-ma *k[ui]n* *iyantari nu* KASKAL-[an *kuin*] *uwanzi n[ū] ammu[k]* ^DKAL-as *nepis[as]* LUGAL-us) DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hinikm[i]* 'what road they go, and what road they come, I, K., king of heaven, assign to the

*hurv haikal =
Hitt. hēkal =
discuss. in S632:229*

*hi-ik-mi also
K2 22.112.9*

gods'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:34 [1968]; similarly *HT* 25 + *KUB* XXXIII 111, 1–2; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:37 [1968]; XXXVI 5 I 2), *hi-in-ga-mi* (*KBo* XXIX 2 II 8 [*kattā hi-ngami*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 63), 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-ik-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XVII 18 I 21 1 GUD 2 UDU-ya *hikzi* 'he consigns one ox and two sheep'; *KBo* II 3 II 49 and dupl. 1112/c + III 40 nu UDU¹UTU-i *hikzi* 'she consigns the sheep to the sun-god'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; *KUB* IX 28 II 23–24 n-at¹UTU-i *hikzi nu hanza aruwaizzi* 'he presents it to the sun-god and prostrates himself in front'; XXXV 54 II 29 *katta hikzi*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 67; *IBOT* I 36 IV 18–20 *mahhan-ma-kan LUGAL-us* ^{GIS}*hulu-ganaz katta tiyezzi nu māt GAL MEŠEDI arta nu GAL MEŠEDI EGIR-anta UŠGEN nu LUGAL-un EGIR-pa ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL hikzi* 'but when the king steps down from the coach, if the head bodyguard stands by, the head bodyguard makes obeisance and commits the king to the head page'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:198–200 [1966]; similarly *ibid.* II 23–25, but with *EGIR-pa hingari* 'bows' in the slot of *EGIR-anta UŠGEN* [see s.v. *he(n)k-* 'bow'], *hi-in-ik-zi* (*HT* 39 Rev. 13–14 1 SILA-ma ANA [...] *hinikzi* 'consigns a lamb to ...'; *KUB* VII 5 I 19–20 nu-tta *pedan hinikzi nu-tta É-ir pāi* 'he will provide a place for thee, he will give thee a house'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]), *hi-in-ga-zi* (*KBo* V 1 I 39–40 n-as ANA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa *hingazi harnauw-a ANA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa hin-gazi* 'them he consigns to the deity, and the birthing seat he consigns to the deity'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*), (1 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ku-wa-ni* (*KUB* XVII 28 I 10–11 NA₄-ann-a āski tunmeni nu É.ŠA-nas ^{GIS}*IG hinkuwani* 'we take a stone in the gateway and secure the door of the inner house'), (3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-kān-zi* (e.g. XVII 35 III 14–15 nu ŠU.DIB.BU *appanzi n-an ANA DINGIR-LIM hinkanzi* 'they seize a captive and consign him to the deity'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 160; XXII 70 Rs. 64 n-an ANA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa *hinkanzi* 'they consign him to the deity'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 98; *KBo* XXI 1 III 4–5 UDU-ya-sma[s ...] [*ta*]knās¹UTU-i *hinkanzi* 'and a sheep on their behalf ... to the solar deity of the earth they consign'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 22; X 20 I 34–35 ^{LÜ.MEŠ}GUDU [...] NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hinkanzi* 'the priests consign breadloaves'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:81 [1960]; XI 18 V 16; *KUB* XVII 27 II 9; *KBo* VI 3 III 64 [= Code 1:71] n-an ^{LÜ.MEŠ}ŠU.GI-as *hinkanzi* 'the elders consign it' [viz. a stray animal to its finder]), *hi-in-ga-zi* (*ibid.* 67 *takkuw-an* ^{LÜ.MEŠ}ŠU.GI-as Ūl. *hingazi* 'if the elders do not consign it'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hi-in-ku-un* (III 6 II 13 n-as ANA ŠEŠ-YA *hinkun* 'I

2 sg. pres. act.
hi-in-kat-ti
w. 56.19 I 15

1. conton
pret. 17)
hi-in-kat-ti
(w. 56.19 I 15)

ni-ik-ta
(w. 21.13 I 8)

consigned them to my brother'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12). (3 sg. pret. act. *hi-en-ik-ta* (VI 29 I 20–21 *ISTU INIM DINGIR-LIM-za-an dahhun DINGIR-LIM-an-mu Ū-it henikta* 'at the deity's behest I took her [viz. Puduhepa as my wife]; the deity by a dream consigned her to me'), [*hi*]-in-ik-ta (XVI 83 III 5; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 88 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 264), *hi-in-kat-ta* (III 34 II 3–4 LUGAL-i SIG₅-antan GEŠTIN-an *hinkatta apedass-a tamain GESTIN-an piyer* 'to the king he allotted good wine, but to those they gave other wine'), (1 pl. pret. act. *hi-in-ku-u-e-en* (*KUB* XXXVI 82, 6), (3 pl. pret. act. *hi-in-kir* (*KBo* III 55 Vs. 3 -*jan hinkir*), (2 sg. imp. act. *hi-in-ga* (V 9 III 15–16 n-as-kan KASKAL-si SIG₅-in dāi KASKAL-an-ma INA KUR^{URU}KÜ.BABBAR-ti *hinga* 'put them well on the road, but assign the road to Hatti'; cf. *ibid.* 18–19 māt-as-kan KASKAL-si-ma Ūl *daitti INA KUR^{URU}Hatti-ya-smas KASKAL-an Ūl maniyahiti* 'but if you do not put them on the road, and do not ordain them the road to Hatti'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:20), (3 pl. imp. act. *hi-in-kān-du* (*KUB* XIII 2 III 41 nu-ssi pitta hūdāk *hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a land-grant'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 49; XXXI 84 III 68–69 nu-ssi AŠRA hūdāk *hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a place'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50); verbal noun *hinkuwar*, *henku(wa)r* (n.) 'consignment, offering, oblation, gift, tribute' (IGI.DU₈.A), nom.-acc. sg. *hi-in-ku-wa-ar* (*KBo* XVII 88 II 16 ŠA^{LÜ.MEŠ}UR.ZIR *hinkuwar* 'the offering of the dog-men'; *ibid.* 21 ŠA^{LÜ.MEŠ}UR.ZIR IGI.DU₈.A; cf. *ibid.* 23 *hinkanzi*, *ibid.* 24 Ūl *hinkanzi*; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 115; *KUB* LIX 70 III 13 kī *hinkuwar* 'this tribute'), *hi-in-ku-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 20 III 13; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 17:110 [1985]), *hé-en-gur* (*KUB* XXVI 71 I 17]AN.BAR *hengur udas* '[he] brought me as a gift an iron [sceptre]'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14), gen. sg. *hé-en-ku-wa-as* (*KBo* XXII 1, 13 [OHitt.] *ki-ma henkuwas-sas* 50 NINDA.HI.A ... 'but the following [is part] of his allotment: fifty bread ...'; cf. A. Archi, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 46 [1979]), *hi-en-ku-wa-as* (XXII 218 Vs. 9]^{LÜ}*henkuwas harzi* 'the offerant holds ...'; literally '[man] of oblation', cf. e.g. (LÜ) *parasnauwas* '[man] of crouching, squatter'; Neu, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 118–20 [1982]), *hi-in-ku-wa-as* (*KUB* XX 123 IV 11 *hinkuwas pidi* 'at the place of oblation'; XXVII 69 VI 1 *hinkuwas memai* 'the offerant says'; XLV 3 I 2–3 *hinkuwas-ma ... memai*; cf. CHS 1.2.1:267), dat.-loc. sg. *hé-en-ku-ni* (XXVI 71 I 16 *katti-mi henkuni* 'to me for a gift'; wrongly Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 114–6), nom.-acc. pl. *hi-in-ku-wa-ri* (LIX 70 III 9 kī-ma *hinkuwar*), instr.

or abl. pl. in VAT 7698 I 9–12 *nu-kan LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} PA-ti hūma[ntes ...]* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UGULA LIMTIM ... GAL LÚ.MEŠ KÁ.GAL UR.ZÍR IŠTU IGL.DU₈.A.HI.A-TIM *hinkanzi* ‘all the men of Hatti ..., chiliarchs, ..., the chief of the men of the dog-gate, make offering with oblations’ (figura etymologica); *hinkatar* (n.), dat.-loc. sg. IGL.DU₈.A-an-ni (KUB XVII 20 II 21); inf. *hi-in-ku-wa-an-zi* (KBo XI 73 Vs. 3–6 [LUGAL]-i *hinka[nzi]* [ŠA] MUN kugullus^{URU} Durmittaz *hinkuwanzi* ‘[they] provide containers of salt from D. to be consigned to the king’); (ġet.) *hinkiski*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-in-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (KUB XXXV 54 II 17–18 [n]u-ssan UNUTE.MEŠ hūman[da] [katt]a *hinkiskizzi* ‘he consigns all the implements’; cf. Starke, KLTU 66).

hinkula- (c.) ‘offerant, oblato’ (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*hi-in-ku-la-as* (KUB II 7 II 9–11 *ta LUGAL-was^{LÚ} hinkulas paizzi ta NINDA.KUR₄.RA sarā epzi t-an parsiya* ‘the king’s h. goes, picks up the breadloaf, and breaks it’. Probably derived, similarly to (^{LÚ})*henkuwas* above, from an abstract noun **hinkul-* ‘oblation’. For further parallels see s. v. *hattul(a)-* and N. Van Brock, RHA 20:97 (1962).

henk- reflects IE **E₂én-k-*, *E₂n-ék-* with a basic meaning ‘reach, attain’ and an extended one of ‘carry, bring’: Skt. *naś-*, *aś-* (< **E₂ñk-*) ‘attain’, *ānśa-* ‘portion’ matching Gk. *ὄγκος* ‘bulk’ (< **E₂onk-*), Gk. *ἐνεγκ-* (< **E₂ne-E₂ñk-*) ‘carry, bring’, *ποδ-ηνεκής* ‘reaching to the feet’, Lat. *na(n)c-* ‘attain’, Goth. *ga-nah* ‘suffices’, Lith. *neš-*, OCS *nes-* ‘carry’ (IEW 316–8). The root shape **E₂énk-* normally preferred by Hittite (cf. e.g. HED 1–2:175, and *hasp-* s. v.) is found also in e.g. Olr. *ro-icc* ‘reaches’.

The semantic shift from ‘carry’ to ‘bestow’ in *henk-* may have been abetted by the concretization of the verbal noun *henku(wa)r* from ‘carrying’ to ‘offering, gift’ (cf. Gk. *φóρος* ‘tribute’ and Skt. *ānśa-* ‘portion’). For history of discussions and abortive connections see Tischler, Glossar 246–50; add H. C. Melchert (Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology 23–4 [1984]), who operated with a compound reconstruct **h₃e-h₁enk-*.

Cf. *he(n)k-*, *henkan-*.

he(n)k-, hi(n)k-, hai(n)k- ‘bow (reverentially), curtsy’ (‘to’: dat., rarely acc.; often *appa[n] hink-*; alternates with *ŠUKĒNU* [= *ar(u)wai-*] ‘make obeisance, prostrate oneself’), (3 sg. pres) act. *hi-ik-zi* (e.g. KBo XXII 189 II 11 NIN.DINGIR LUGAL-i *hikzi* ‘the sister divine curtsies to the king’; cf. Singer, ZA 65:81 [1975]), *hi-ni-ik-zi* (KUB

LVIII 18 VI 14 JANA DINGIR-LIM *hinikzi* ‘he bows to the god’; cf. M. Popko, AoF 14:260 [1987]), *hi-in-ik-zi* (XX 1 II 28 *n-as iyattari nu^{DUTU-ŠT} EGIR-an hinikzi* ‘he walks and bows to his majesty’; KBo V 6 II 53–54 *namma^{DUTU-ŠT} saknuwantas ANA^{GIS} BANŠUR parkuwa-yass-a ANA^{GIS} BANŠUR.HI.A EGIR-an hinikzi* ‘shall moreover my majesty bow to the filthy tables and to the clean tables?’, besides ibid. 61–62 ANA^{GIS} BANŠUR.HI.A *saknuwandas-ma parkuyass-a mahhan^{DUTU-ŠT} EGIR-an UŠKEN* ‘as my majesty has made obeisance to the filthy and the clean tables’; cf. Sommer, AU 282), *hi-in-ki-iz-zi* (III 10, 3), *hi-in-ga-zi* (e.g. KUB XXVII 16 I 20 *mahhan-ma SAL.LUGAL PANI DINGIR-LIM ari n-as hingazi* ‘but when the queen arrives before the deity she curtsies’; cf. M. Vieyra, RA 51:90 [1957]; X 89 I 7 *namma tamāis EN.ERĪN.MEŠ hingazi* ‘then another army officer bows’; repeated ibid. 10 with *hi-in-ga-an-zi* [sic]; repeated ibid. 13 with *hi-in-ga-~~an~~-zi*, with erasure; XI 34 IV 7 *h³ingazi*) (3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-in-ga* (e.g. KBo XX 11 II 5 *n-as namma hinga* ‘he again bows’; ibid. III 4 *n-as hinga*; cf. Neu, Altheith. 147; VIII 85 Vs. 7 *hinga n-as iyanna[i]* ‘bows, and he goes’; Bo 6594 I 13 NIN.DINGIR-i KASKAL-si *hinga* ‘to the sister divine on the road he bows’; cf. Neu, Altheith. 99; KUB XII 58 I 18 DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hinga* ‘bows to the gods’; XXXII 108 Vs. 11]^{DUG}*harsiyalli hinga* ‘bows to the pithos’), *hi-in-ga-ri* (IBOT I 36 II 23–25 *māhhan-ma^{GIS} hulugannis parā iyannai GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL-ma EGIR-[pa] hingari* [besides parallel ibid. IV 18–20 with EGIR-anta UŠGEN] *nu LUGAL EGIR-pa ANA GAL MEŠEDI hikzi* ‘but when the coach goes forth, the head page bows and commits the king to the head bodyguard’; cf. Jakob-Rost MIO 11:184 [1966]; KUB LVIII 79 IV 8 *n-as hingari* ‘he bows’), *ha-ik-ta* (KBo XXIII 91 Rs. 6]LUGAL *haikta*; cf. ibid. 9 *hi-ik-zi*; ibid. 11 *h³i-ik-ta*; cf. Singer, Festival 2:29), *ha-ik-ta-ri* (KUB XXXVI 100 + KBo VII 14 Vs. 19 [LÚ]^{URU} *Hassi-ma ammukk-a ha[iktari]* ‘the man from H. bows to me’; ibid. 20 *haik[tari]*; dupl. KUB XXXVI 101 III 8 *ha[iktari]*), *hé-ik-ta* (KBo XX 10 I 4–6 LÚ^{DIM} *an anta pehutezi LÚ^{DIM} ANA LUGAL h[e]kta ta anizzi mān zinnizi-ma ANA LUGAL hekta āppa-ea hekta LUGAL-us tunna paizzi* ‘[the head page] introduces the “man of the storm-god” [= fulgurator?]; the fulgurator bows to the king; he performs; when he is finished, he bows to the king, and the king bows in return [and] goes to the inner chamber’; ibid. 10 ANA LUGAL *hekta*; cf. Neu, Altheith. 131), *hi-ik-ta* (e.g. XVI 82, 2; cf. Singer, Festival 2:27), *hi-in-kat-ta* (XVII 88 III 14 and 18 *namma tamais hinkatta* ‘then another bows’, besides dupl. KUB I

15 II 4 *namma tamais* EN.ERIN.MEŠ UŠKEN 'then another army officer makes obeisance'; X 88 IV 3; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 272; XX 10 IV 3), (1 pl. pres) act. *hi-in-ku-e-ni* (XXXIII 106 II 22) ^DÉ-A-as ^{GIS}arasiyas 5-*anki hinkueni* 'at Ea's doors let us bow five times'; ibid. 23 *nu ANA* ^DÉ-A 15-*šu hinkueni* 'to Ea let us bow fifteen times'; (3 pl. pres) act. *hi-in-kán-zi* (Bo 2669 III 12) ^{LÜ}MEŠ GUDÚ LUGAL-*i hinkanzi* 'the priests bow to the king'; KUB IX 31 III 41–43 *nu* EN.MEŠ KARAŠ ANA UDU.ŠIR.HI.A EGIR-*an katta hinkanzi* LUGAL-*ya ANA SAL-TI unu-wanti* EGIR-*an hingazi* 'the army officers bow down to the rams, and the king bows to the decked woman'; HT 1 IV 4–5 *n-at* EGIR-*an katta hinkanzi n-at-za arha uwanzi* 'they bow down, and they go home'; KUB XVII 18 II 8 *n-an* ^{SAL}MEŠ ^{SU}GI EGIR-*an hinkanzi* 'the old women curtsy to him' [the occasional construction with the accusative recalls that with *sipand-*; cf. HED 1–2:267]), 3 pl. pres. or pret. midd. *ha-en-kán-t[a(-)]* (1003/u, 7 LUGAL-*i haenkant[a* 'they bow[ed?] to the king'), (3 pl. pres. midd.) *ha-in-kán-ta* (KBo XVII 74 I 19 [OHitt.] LUGAL-*i hainkanta* '[they] bow to the king'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 12, 54), *hi-in-kán-ta* (XIII 175 Rs. 3) ^{LÜ}SANGA-*ni hinkanta* 'they bow to the priest'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 112; KUB XXXIV 124 Vs. 5) ^{LÜ}MEŠ MUHALDIM LUGAL-*i hinkanta* 'the cooks bow to the king'; X 1 I 15–16 LUGAL-*i hinkanta* '[they] bow to the king', besides ibid. 8 *n-at* LUGAL-*i UŠKENNU* and dupl. KBo XXI 52 I 5 *hi-in-kat-ta*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:22; X 25 VI 10 LUGAL-*i hinkanta* '[the dog-men] bow to the king'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:53; KUB XXVIII 98 IV 10 *n-e hinkanta* 'they bow'; KBo XXV 176 Vs. 9 and KUB XXV 51 I 7 *n-at hinkanta* 'they bow'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:92; IBoT I 36 II 17 ^{LÜ}MEŠ ŠUKUR.DUGUD-*ma hinkanta* 'the heavy lancers bow', *hi-i-in-kán-ta* (Bo 2689 Rs. 19) LUGAL-*i hinkanta*; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 358), (3 sg. pret) act. *hi-en-ik-ta* (KUB VIII 59, 5–6 [n]-*as aruni henikta n-[as ...]* [T]-*i-wa-za ēs sallis ar[unas* 'he [viz. Gilgameš] bowed to the sea, and he [said] "Hail to thee, great sea"'); cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:22 [1968]), *hi-in-ik-ta* (XXXIII 106 II 31 5-*šu hinikta* 'five times he bowed'), *hi-in-kat-ta* (XV 36 Vs. 9) ^PUTU-*ši-m[a* EGIR-*an hinkatta* 'my majesty bowed'; cf. Götz-Pedersen, *MS* 6, 33–8; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 105 [1985]; KBo V 6 III 38 *n-as hinkatta imma* 'nay he even bowed to them' [viz. far from pillaging the holy places of the acropolis of Kargamis]; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:95 [1956]; KUB XXXIII 120 II 39–40 *n-as mahhan iyattat n-as PANI* ^DA-A *tiyat* ^DKuma[rbiš] [*hi*]nkatta *n-as katta mausta* ^DKumarbiš 'when he went and he, Kumarbiš, stepped before Ea, he bowed and he,

Kumarbiš, fell down'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *3; Laroche, *RHA* 26:43 [1968]), (3 pl. pret) midd. *hi-in-kán-ta-ti* (XXXIII 91, 5 *n-at* KÜ.BABBAR-*i [h]inkantati* 'they bowed to the silver'), *hi-in-kán-ta-at* (XXXIII 66 III 8 *n-as-si hinkantat* 'they bowed to him'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:131 [1965]), (2 sg. imp) act. *hi-in-ik* (KBo XXII 86 + KUB XXXVI 2c III 6–7 *nu-smas menahhanda [i] nu-smas hin[k]* 'go to meet them and bow to them!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 33:67 [1975]), (iter) *hinkiski-, hinkeski-, hingaski-,* 3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-in-ki-is-ki-it-ta* ^{NS}? (KUB XXXIII 120 I 17 ^{GIS}MEŠ-*as-sas GAM-an hinkiskitta* 'to his [viz. Anu's] feet he [viz. Kumarbi] keeps bowing down'; similarly ibid. 10), 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-as-kán-zi* (KBo XXV 54 I 13; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hi-in-ki-es-* ^{NS}? *-kán-ta-ri* (XII 96 IV 8 *n-at* ANA NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A EGIR-*an hinkeskantari* 'they keep bowing to the breadloaves'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:240 [1964]).

hinganu- '(make) bow', 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-nu-zi* (KUB II 10d, 10) *hinganuzi*, besides dupl. KBo X 24 IV 28–29 LUGAL-*i hingazi*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20; KUB II 15 V 3 ^{LÜ} ^{GIS}PA 2 ^{LÜ}MEŠ GUDÚ LUGAL-*i hin[ga]nuzi* 'the herald makes two priests bow to the king'; IBoT IV 103 Rs. 1) ^{LÜ}GAL-*i hinganuzi*; IV 86 Vs. 1), *hi-in-ga-nu-u[z-zi* (KBo X 54 IV 8 *nu* ^{LÜ}MEŠ GUDÚ *hinganu[zzi]*), IBoT V 36 *hinganuzi*.

he(n)k- is (unlike its transitive near-homophone *henk-*) intransitive or medial. For the morphological variation *hinga(ri)* : *haikta(ri)*, *hekta*, *hikta*, *hinkta* (spelled *hi-in-kat-ta*) cf. *suppari* : *suptari*, *tuhša(ri)* : *tuhhusta*, *siyari* : *siyattari*, *parsiya(ri)* : *parsittari*, *lahu-wāri* : *lahuwatari*. Forms like *hai(n)k-*, *haenk-* are reverse spellings, a kind of spurious diphthong notation for *e* like e.g. *appaizzi-* for *appezzi-* (HED 1–2:92).

he(n)k- 'bow' is root-related to *henk-* 'bestow, consign' (q.v.), from IE **E₂ēnk-* 'reach, attain; carry, bring'. The intransitive meaning 'bow (to)' develops from 'reach out (to)', 'stretch oneself (towards)'; cf. e.g. Gk. *ποδηνεκής* 'reaching to the feet' with *patas-sas kattan hinkiskitta* 'to his (Anu's) feet he (Kumarbi) keeps bowing down' ('and places drinking goblets in his hand'; KUB XXXIII 120 I 17, quoted above). A good semantic parallel is IE **nem-* (IEW 763–4), where the basic meaning of stretching forth one's hand(s) has led to 'allot' on the one hand (Gk. *νέμω*), 'take' on the other (Goth. *niman*), and 'bow in greeting' as well (Skt. *nāmate*); the appertaining *s*-stem nouns mirror the same range: Gk. *νέμος* 'pas-

ture', Lat. *nemus* 'grove' (both literally 'allotment, grant, precinct'), Avest. *nəmah-* 'loan' and 'greeting', Skt. *nāmas-* 'greeting'.

Götze—Pedersen, *MS* 50, correctly suggested that the two verbs were etymologically related and that Gk. *ἐνεγκεῖν* was a plausible cognate. The subsequent connection of *he(n)k-* 'bow' with Gk. *ὄγκος* 'barb', Lat. *uncus* 'hook' (and consequently Skt. *añc-* 'bend', IE **ank-* [IEW 45—6]; first in Hendriksen, *Untersuchungen* 28) was abortive, even when trying to draw in *henk-* 'bestow' as well (e.g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 71); for a possible cognate of *ὄγκος* 'barb' see *HED* 1—2:73.

Oettinger (*Stamm-bildung* 176—7, crediting K. Hoffmann) sought to find separate etyma for the Hittite homophones *hēnk-* (sic) in the obscure Sanskrit pair of verbs *ac-* 'draw (water)' and *a(ñ)c-* 'bend'.

Cf. *hinkaniya-*.

henkan-, hinkan- (n.) 'death, doom, deadly disease, plague' (UG₆), nom.-acc. sg. *hé-en-kán* (*KBo* III 28 II 15 *idalu-ma-an le iyasi henkan-se le takkissi* 'do not treat him ill, do not plot death for him'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]; III 46 Vs. 33 *hurli-ma-ssan henkan siya[ir]* 'they shot the plague at the Hurrian', with dupl. III 53 Vs. 4 *hurli-ma-ssan hinkan si[yair]*; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279 [1977]; A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; III 34 III 14), *hi-en-ka-an* (XVIII 151 Vs. 12—13 [OHitt.] *istarnikayin tas henkan tas harkan tas assu bayis* 'she took ailment, she took death, she took ruin, she gave good'; cf. Ünal and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 88:164 [1974]), *hi-en-kán* (*HT* 1 II 29 *ziqq-a kuis DINGIR-LUM kī henkan iyan harti* 'thou god who hast made this plague', with dupl. *KUB* IX 31 II 57 *hīngan iyan harti*), *hi-in-kán* (e.g. *KBo* IV 14 II 28—29 *zik-ma apedani mēhuni GE₆-in KI-an wāga ep hinkan-ta ZAG-as ēsdu* 'at that time seize the dark earth bitingly [= bite the dust; cf. Hom. *ὀδᾶξ ἔλον οὐδας* 'bit the dust'], let death be your limit'; ibid. 61 *hinkan-ta ZAG-as ēsdu*, besides ibid. 81 *UG₆-an-ta ZAG-as ēs[du]*; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:40—2, 44, 50—1 [1965]; cf. XII 30 II 5—6 *aqqatar irhas ēsdu* 'let death be the limit'; *KUB* XXI 27 I 46—48 *apās-ma apēl harga[n] [ap]ēll-a hinkan ŪL kapp[ūwāit] [nu-kan A]NA^{URU} Neriqa ser aggatar ē[sta]* 'but that man did not care a whit about its destruction and its doom; for Nerik

there was death'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 331; D. Sürenhagen, *AoF* 8:110 [1981]; Izmir 1277 + *KBo* IV 8 II 5—6 *n-a[t-m]u SAG.DU-as hinkan ēsta mán-as ŪL BA.UG₆* 'was it death penalty for me if she did not die?'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:188, 190 [1983]; for synonymous *SAG.DU-as aggatar*, and *SAG.DU-as wastul* 'capital crime', see *HED* 1—2:19; for *hinqanas wastul* 'capital crime', see below; IV 8 II 20—21 *nu ammel dammeshas šA DAM-YA hinkan sig₅-yattat* 'has my punishment, my wife's death, become better [i.e. easier to bear]?'; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 81 *nu-wa-s[si] EGIR-[an h]inkan hanteskizi* 'he afterwards fixes death for him'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 20; XIII 3 II 19 *QADU DAM-šU-si DUMU.MEŠ-šU HUL-lu hinkan peanzi* 'to him along with his wife [and] his children they will give a bad death'; ibid. III 19—20 *nu-smas QADU DAM.MEŠ-KUNU DUMU.MEŠ-KUNU idālu hinkan piyanzi* 'to you along with your wives [and] your children they will give a bad death', besides ibid. 8 *nu-ssi QADU NUMUN-šU HUL-lu UG₆-an piyanzi* 'to him along with his offspring they will give a bad death'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 46—7; *KBo* VI 34 I 39 *nu idālu hinkan pedau* 'may it bring a bad death', besides ibid. II 28—29 *nu HUL-lu UG₆-kan pedau*; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 8—10; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 2 *nu tuēl šA¹ Ma[dduw]atta [HUL-lu] hinkan sanhiskit* 'he kept seeking your, Madduwattas', bad death'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 2; XXVI 42 III 6 *idālu hinkan*; *KBo* III 1 III 49 *HUL-lu hinka[n]*; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 46 [1984]; *KUB* IX 4 III 41 *markistauwas hinkan* 'disease of suddenness' [?]; par. IX 34 I 25 *[mark]isdauwas hinkan*; *KBo* XVII 54 I 13 *-w[as] hinkan*; *KUB* XXIII 79 Rs. 10—11 *mā[n] KUR-ya anda hinka[n] [k]īsa* 'if in the land plague occurs'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:175 [1965]; XIV 12 Vs. 2 *nu-kan INA šA KUR^{URU} Hatti hinkan tarnattin* 'you have let plague into Hatti'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 236; XLV 79 Vs. 15 *īmān šA KARAŠ panku hinkan* 'if a plague epidemic in the army'; *KBo* V 6 I 9—10 *EGIR-ann-a-kan INA šA KARAŠ hinkan kisat* 'in the rear, amidst the army, plague broke out', besides ibid. 18 *INA šA KARAŠ.HI.A-ma-kan UG₆-as [sic] kuit* 'that there [was] plague amongst the troops'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]; *KUB* XIV 11 II 28—29 *nu-kan INA šA^{LÜ.MEŠ} ZABDUTI hinkan kisat* 'among the prisoners plague broke out'; dupl. XIV 8 Vs. 28 *nu-kan INA šA-BI^{LÜ.MEŠ} šU.DIB.BI.HI.A hinkan k[isat]*; dupl. XIV 10 + XXVI 86 II 28—29 *nu-kan [...] [...] hinkan kisat*; cf. Götze, *KIF* 210; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 205; XIV 8 Vs. 4 *īmān hinkan ŪL sig₅-a[ttat]* '[in] Hatti the plague did not get well'; XIV 10 I 13—15 *kuit-kan INA šA KUR^{URU} Hatti akkiskittari nu-kan istu KUR*

^{URU}Hatti hinkan arha ŪL-pat taruṭtari 'whereas in Hatti dying is rife and the plague is not unwinding from Hatti'; *ibid.* IV 21–22 *nu-kan hinkan iṣṭu* KUR ^{URU}Hatti arha namm[a taru]bdāru 'let the plague now again unwind from Hatti!'; XXIV 1 III 16–17 *iṣṭu* KUR ^{URU}Hatti-ma-kan idalun ta[passan] hinkan kastan māsann-a a[rha uiya] 'but from Hatti chase out ill fever, plague, famine, and locusts!'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 22; XXIV 3 II 32–34 *nu-ssan hinkan kurur gastan idālun tapassan* ANA KUR ^{URU}Mitanni Ū ANA KUR ^{URU}Arzauwa tarnattin 'let the plague, hostility, famine, and ill fever loose in Mitanni and Arzawa!'; *dupl.* XXIV 4 + XXX 12 Vs. 21–22 [n]u-ssan hinkan kūrur kāstan ANA KUR ^{URU}Mitanni [ANA] KUR ^{URU}Kizzuwatni Ū ANA KUR ^{URU}Arzauwa tarnatten; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28; XIV 12 Rs. 13 *hinkan arha namma uiyattin* 'chase the plague out again!'; similarly *ibid.* 5 and 7; cf. Götze, *KfF* 238; XIV 13 IV 21 *nu-kan hinkan EGIR-pa le paiz[zi]* 'let the plague not return', besides *ibid.* 18–19 *nu-kan* UG₆-an [KUR-e]az arha namma uiyattin 'chase the plague out of the land again!'; cf. Götze, *KfF* 248; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 223), *hi-in-kán^{an}* (XIV 11 III 23–24 *nu-kan* INA ŠA KUR ^{URU}PA-ti hinkan SIG₅-yattaru 'in Hatti may the plague get well'), *hi-in-ga-an* (*dupl.* XIV 8 Rs. 9 *nu-kan* INA [...] *hingan lazz[iya]ttaru*; *ibid.* Vs. 29–30 *nu-kan hingan* INA ŠA-BI KUR ^{URU}Hat[ti] LÚ.MEŠ ZABTUTU utēr, besides *dupl.* XIV 11 II 33–34 *nu-kan hinkan* INA KUR ^{URU}Hatti LÚ.MEŠ ZABTU weter 'the prisoners brought plague to Hatti'; *KBo* XVI 99 I 5 *hargas hingan ŪL DÜ-ri* 'destruction [and] death do not occur'; *KUB* XV 34 II 47; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), *hi-in-ga-n(a-)* (XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingan* haminkan *hingan-a-ma-pa anda huiswanni-ya haminkan* 'life [is] tied to death, and death [is] tied to life'; *par.* XXXVI 79 II 44 *hinkan*; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 113, 98), UG₆-kán (e.g. *KBo* VI 34 II 28, quoted above; *KBo* XIV 20 + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34, 19 [nu in]A ŠA ^{URU}Hatti kuit UG₆-kan ēsta 'because there was plague in Hatti'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *JNES* 25:169–70 [1966]), UG₆-an (e.g. *KBo* XVIII 142, 5–6 *n-at-si mán* SAG.DU-as UG₆-an 'if it [is] the death penalty for him'; IV 14 III 37–38 *nu-kan* UG₆-an ANA LUGAL IR.MEŠ ZI akkanzi 'intimate servants lay down their lives [lit. die death] for the king'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLRL* 20:46, 69 [1965]; *HT* 1 II 24–25 *kuis-wa* DINGIR-LUM KUR-TIM kī UG₆-an iyan harzi 'the god who has made this plague of the land', besides *ibid.* 29 *hi-en-kán* [quoted above]; *KUB* VII 54 I 2 *mán-kan* ŠA KARAŠ.HI.A UG₆-an kisari 'if among troops plague occurs'; V 3 I 45–48 *iṣṭu* 10

LÚ.MEŠ 20 LÚ.MEŠ mán annas UD-za kuedas [arī] mán-ma-kan ^{URU}KÜ. BABBAR-si ser panku UG₆-an ŪL DÜ-ri ^{URU}KÜ. BABBAR-za-nas-kan GAM pankus markisdauwas UG₆-as [sic!] ŪL watkunuzzi 'if out of ten or twenty men their last [lit. mother's, see *HED* 1–2:56] day is at hand for some, but if up in Hattusas a plague epidemic does not occur [and] a plague epidemic of sudden outbreak does not make us leap down from Hattusas'; *ibid.* 44 *panku* UG₆-an ŪL DÜ-ri). *gen.* (sg. *hi-in-ga-na-as* (*KBo* III 21 II 25 *hēün-ma hingan*as 'but the rain of death'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; *KUB* XIV 12 Vs. 8 *hingan*as-ma-an-si-kan [; XXXIV 58 I 2 *hingan*as-ma), *hi-in-ga-na-as* (XIII 8 Vs. 11–12 *mán* ŠA É.NA₄-ma *hingan*as wastul kuiski wastai n-as aki 'if someone commits a capital crime against the house of stones, he is put to death'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106). *dat.-loc.* sg. *hé-en-ga-ni* (*KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 5 *su-wa* ^{URU}Hattusa *hengan*i pāun 'I went to Hattusas to my death'), *hi-in-ga-ni* (e.g. *dupl.* III 38 Rs. 21 *su-wa* ^{URU}Hattusi *hingan*i pāun[n]; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 10; III 1 II 28 *n-us* pankus parā *hingan*i harta 'the assembly sentenced them to death'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 30 [1984]; *KUB* IV 72 Rs. 7 ERIN.MEŠ ITTI DINGIR *hingan*i wekzi 'he will ask soldiers from the deity for death'; XXX 10 Vs. 20 *huiswatar-ma-pa anda hingan*i haminkan 'life [is] tied to death'; *KBo* XVI 52 Vs. 9–10 *kāsa hingan*i [...] SISKUR.SISKUR GIM-an SIXSÁ-at 'lo, for death [or: plague?] ... as a rite has been fixed'; IX 137 II 17 *nu-wa-kan* DINGIR.MEŠ *hingan*i nāh[- '... fear the gods in [time of] plague'; *KBo* XIV 20 + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34, 20–21 *nu hingan*i kuit [pir]an arha tarnah[hun] 'because I retreated before the plague'; *KUB* XIV 10 I 22–24 *nu-za hingan*i ser ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūmandās ārkūwar ēssahhun 'on account of the plague I made a plea to all the gods'; XIV 8 Vs. 38 *hingan*i ser; *dupl.* XIV 11 II 47 *hingan*i; XIV 8 Rs. 20, XIV 11 III 21, XIV 14 Rs. 5 and 19 *hingan*i ser), *hi-kán-ni* (*KBo* III 36 Vs. 9 'Hakipuillin-a hikanni husnut 'H. in plague he kept alive'), UG₆-ni (*KUB* V 3 II 19 DINGIR-LUM GIBIL *kuis* UG₆-ni ser SIXSÁ-at 'what new deity has been determined as cause of the plague'), *abl.* (sg. *hi-in-ga-na-az* (XIV 1 Vs. 3–4 *nu-tta-kan* ABI ^DUTU-Ši *hín[ga]naz huisnut* 'my majesty's father saved you from death'; XIV 10 I 6–8 *nu-wa-kan* INA ŠA-BI KUR ^{URU}Hatti hinkan tarnatten *nu-wa* KUR ^{URU}Hatti hinganaz arumma mekki tamastat 'you have let the plague into the land of Hatti, and Hatti has been very greatly oppressed by the plague'; XIV 14 + XIX 1 Vs. 8–9 ŠA] KUR ^{URU}Hatti-kan UG₆-an kisat nu KUR ^{URU}Hatti hin[ga]naz tamast[ai] 'inside Hatti

plague has broken out, and Hatti has been oppressed by the plague'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 164; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 193; XIV 12 Vs. 7 *nu KUR URU Hatti hinganaz mekki tama[stat]*; XIV 14 Vs. 38–39 *kinun-a hinkan parā namma da[sses]ta KUR URU Hatti hinganaz [mekki] dam-meshaittat n-at tepawe[sta]* 'and now the plague has thickened, Hatti has been greatly overcome by the plague, and it has been decimated'; ibid. Rs. 24), *hi-in-ga-na-an-za* (XXIV 3 II 25–26 *kezz-at hingan-anza tama[sta kezz-at] kururanza tamasta*; dupl. XXIV 4 Vs. 15–16 *kezz-at hinkananza tamāsta kez[z-at] kūruranza tamasta* 'on the one hand it has been oppressed by the plague, on the other hand it has been oppressed by war'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28–9, who translated *tamasta* as passive pres. midd.; Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:32–3 [1962], who saw transitive pret. midd. with "animate" nom. sg. c. of **hinkanant-*; Neu, *Interpretation* 163–4, who similarly saw pres. midd.; *tamasta* might with "nom. sg. c. *hinkananza*" also be pret. act.; a good illustration of the agental ablative origin of such nouns [cf. *HED* 1–2:476–7]), *UG₆-za* (XXIII 124 + XIV 3 I 30; cf. Götze, *KIF* 244; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 221).

henkan- is the OHitt. word for 'death', later joined by *akkatar* (*HED* 1–2:19–20) and specialized as 'plague'. Besides the neuter *henkan-* there seems to have been an animate *a*-stem noun for 'plague', seen in nom. sg. *pankus* *UG₆-as* as subject of a transitive verb, vs. *panku* *UG₆-an* with *kisari* 'becomes' (*KUB* V 3 I 45–48, quoted above), and *UG₆-as* as subject in *KBo* V 6 I 18 (quoted above). Cf. also A. Archi, "La peste presso gli ittiti", *Parola del Passato* 33:81–9 (1978).

henkan- comes from IE **E₂én-*k**-, *E₂nék-*-, the latter seen in Lat. *nex* 'death', Skt. *naś-* 'perish', Avest. *nas-* 'calamity', *nasu-* 'corpse', Gk. *vékōs* 'corpse', with weak grade **h₂k(t)u-* in OIr. *ēc*, We. *angeu* 'death', OIr. *ēcht* 'killing', and *o*-grade in OE *ōht* 'hostile pursuit' (< **onktā*), Lat. *noceō* 'damage' (*IEW* 762). Compared with Gk. *νεκρός* 'corpse', *νῶκαρ* 'coma', *henkan-* may point back to an original heteroclitc *r/n* stem.

These are the immediate comparands; whether this root can be ultimately identified with **E₂énk-*-, *E₂nék-* seen in the two verbs *henk-* (q. v.) is highly questionable; in any event *henkan-* is not merely an abstract noun derived from *henk-* 'bestow' in the manner of *nahhan-* from *nah(h)-* 'fear' (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:269); it never means 'bestowal' in the sense of 'lot, fate' (vel sim.). Nor is it right to compare

henkan primarily with words like Gk. *ἀνάγκη* 'constraint, necessity', OIr. *ēcen*, We. *angen* 'need, distress' which are problematic in their own right (references in *IEW* 45; Tischler, *Glossar* 247–8).

herin(a)-, gen. sg. *hi-e-ri-na-as* (*KUB* XV 34 III 57–58 *mān-za DIN-Hoff., rev. GIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ^{GIS} ERIN-as waranti pahhu[eni] mān-za UDUN harsas of HED, K. kalmannas herinas* ['whether the male deities of cedar into burning not cedar! fire, or into an oven for bread, firewood (?), h.'], *hi-ri-na-as* (par. *KBo* XIII 126 Rs. 10–12 *mān-za DINGIR.MEŠ SAL.MEŠ LUGAL-iznas ŠA KUR URU[...] IZI-i piyantes mān-za UDUN hars[as ...] hirinas pe-dantes* 'whether the female deities of kingship of ... [have been] consigned to fire or taken to an oven for bread, ..., h.']; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200–1). ^{abl. sg. hi-e-ri-na-aš (KUB 60 151 Rs. 5 kalmannaz hērinaz with a cedar-brand; HED 4. 27).}

In view of the context, *herin(a)-* looks like a possible term for 'cedarwood', from Sum. *erin* (> Akk. *erinnu*); the latter reached Hittite once via Hurrian mediation as *eripi-*, *irimpi-*, *irippi* (*HED* 1–2:284–5) but might also have been exported northward via a different channel; cf. for the initial *h-* Hurr. *hikalli* < Sum. *é.gal* 'palace' (> Akk. *ekallu*), and Hitt. *hekur*, *hiyara-* (s. v.).

he(w)u-, he(y)aw- (c.) 'rain' (*ZUNNU*; with *KUB* VIII 1 III 8 *hé-e-u-e-es* 'rains', cf. Akk. *zunnu* 'rain' in the parallel omen text in Ch. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, Sin XXXIV, 38 [1908–12]; with XXV 23 IV 47 ^{D_U} *hé-e-u-wa-as*, ibid. 52 ^{D_U} *hé-e-ya-u-wa-as* 'storm-god of rain', cf. XXX 39 Rs. 3 ^{D_U} *ZUNNU*; cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 110), nom. sg. *hé-u-us* (*KBo* III 7 II 22–23 *hewus hinikta* 'rain pours'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68 [1965]), *hé-e-ú-us* (*KUB* XIX 14, 9 *hēwus ēsta* 'there was rain'; contrast ibid. 8 *nepisi ūl alpas* 'not a cloud in the sky', and see Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]), *hé-e-u-us* (VII 5 I 17–18 *nu-tta-kkan hūwante(m)es hēwus IGI.III.A-wa le walhanniyanzi* 'let not your winds and rain strike your eyes'), *hé-e-us* (e.g. XVI 81 Rs. 4 *hēus kammarās* 'rain [and] shade'; XIX 50 IV 26–27 *sallis arunas [...]* IM.TEMEŠ *hēus alpus* 'the great sea, ..., winds, rain, clouds' as treaty witnesses; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:16; V 1 IV 77 'heavy rain'; context s. v. *aimpa-*), *hé-us* (*RS* 25:421 Recto 32 *nu-mu annas-mis heus* 'rain is my mother'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:774 [1968]), ^{acc. sg. hé-e-u-un (KBo III 21 II 25; cf. A. Archi, Orientalia N.S. 52:23 [1983]), hé-e-un (e.g. ABoT 5 II 12; cf.}

Neu, *Altheth.* 33; Singer, *Festival* 2:35; *KUB* XVI 29 Rs. 3 *nu* KUR-eas āssu hēun kammarann-a 'rain and shade, good for the land'; XXVIII 5 Vs. 12; XXXIV 94, 8 hēun tarnanzi 'they let loose rain'; *ibid.* 2; LI 84 r. K. 15), *hé-ú-un* (*KBo* X 25 II 3; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:48; XXV 17 Vs. 12 and 14, Rs. 20; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:93–4), *hé-i-ú-un* (*KBo* III 7 II 25; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:69 [1965]), (gen. sg. *hé-e-ya-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXV 23 IV 52, quoted above), *hé-e-u-wa-as* (*ibid.* 47; *Bo* 7247 r. K. 6), *hé-e-u-as* (*KBo* X 31 II 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102), instr. sg. *hé-e-a-u-it* (*KUB* XXXIV 16 III 4 *hēauit hinikta* 'it [or: the storm-god] is pouring with rain'), (nom. pl.) *hé-e-u-e-es* (e. g. VIII 1 III 8–9 *hēwēs* [kī]sa BURU.HLA SIG₅-anta 'rains will occur, crops will thrive'; XLI 33 Vs. 17), *hé-e-ya-u-e-s(a)* (XXXII 117 Rs. 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 221), *hé-e-a-u-e-es* (XXIX 3 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 3), *hé-e-ya-u-e-es* (later dupl. XXIX 1 I 27; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hé-ya-u-e-es* (XXXIV 14 + 1429/c r. K. 6 and 10), *hé-e-mu-us-s(a)* (XXIV 1 IV 15; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34, 115), *hé-e-u-us* (XIX 50 IV 27; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:16), (acc. pl.) *hi-e-a-mu-us* (XXXIII 9 III 10–11 *āss[amus] heamus āssamus* IM.HLA-us 'good rains [and] good winds'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:106 [1965]), *hé-ya-mu-us* (76/g Vs. 9 *heyamus* DÜ-zi '[makes] rains'), *hi-e-mu-ú-us* (245/f, 7), *hé-mu-us* (LI 50 Vs. 14), *hé-e-ú-us* (e. g. XVI 37 IV 5–6 ^DU *war.sas* [...-m]a *hēwus* DÜ-zi 'the storm-god of rain ... makes showers'), *hé-e-ú-us-s(a-as-si)* (XXVIII 4 Vs. 19), *hé-e-ú-s(a-as-si)* (XXVIII 5 Vs. 13), *hé-e-us* (e. g. XXVIII 4 Vs. 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:75–6 [1975]; XXXVI 12 III 10–11 *hēus* IM.MEŠ-us *halziyandu* 'let them call the rains [and] the winds'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]; XXXVI 77, 2 and 5, XXXVI 89 Rs. 54 and 60 *mieus* *hēus* 'mild rains'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 140, 156; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 74; Neumann, *KZ* 85:300 [1971]); in *KBo* XIII 245 Rs. 7 *hé-e-u-us* is syntactically dat. pl. (context s. v. *alpa-*; correct *HED* 1–2:37, line 32 to 'to the storm-gods' clouds').

hewaniya- 'to rain' (with impersonal or divine subject [cf. Gk. Ζεὺς ὕει]; matching Akk. *zananu*, caus. *ušaznan*; see s. v. *iyatar*), 3 sg. pret. act. *hé-je-wa-ni-ya-at* (685/z, 6; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 20); iter. *hewaneski-*, *heyawaneski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hé-ya-u-wa-ni-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* IV 5, 15–17 + *KBo* XII 73, 2 *n-asta* KUR-e [a]nd[a] *dammēda* *hū[man]* *heyauwaneskiz[zi]* 'in the land it [or: the storm-god] rains down abundance all over'; cf. *KUB* IV 5, 13–14 *nu nepisaza iy[ata] hūman heyauwani[skizzi]*, and see Laroche, *RA*

58:72–3 [1964]), *hé-]ya-u-wa-ni-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* VIII 96 Vs. 11), 3 sg. pret. act. *hé-e-u-wa-ni-es-ki-it* (*KBo* XIX 76 + *KUB* XIV 20 I 25–26 *nu* GE₆-an *hūmandan* *hēuwaneskit* IMBĀRU-ya *dāis nu-kan namma* ^{LU}KUR ŠA KARAŠ *pahhur* *ūl. austa* '[the storm-god] rained all night and laid down a fog, and then the enemy did not see the army's [camp]fire'; cf. Götze, *AM* 194; Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 161 [1979]), *KUB* XIX 14, 12 *hé-e-ya-u-wa-n]i-es-ki-it* and *ibid.* 13 *hé-e-a-u-wa-ni-es-[ki-it]* 'it (or: the storm-god) rained' (cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:112 [1956]). For the derivational stages of the verbal stem, cf. the "durative" *walhanna-*, *walhanniya-*, *walhanniski-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:559), although the *-na-* suffix in **hewana-* may rather be causative (*ibid.* 562; cf. Akk. *ušaznan*).

heyawalla- or *heyawalli-* 'rain-drain, gutter' (PISĀN), dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIS}PISĀN-]i (*KUB* XX 24 III 3), instr. sg. ^{URUDU}*hé-ya-wa-al-li-it* (XXXI 84 II 2; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 42). Cf. von Schuler, *ibid.* 53; N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20:97, 101, 110 (1962); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:173, 212; Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 28.

Cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:32–6, 166; Kronasser, *VLFI* 115; Neu, *Essays in historical linguistics in memory of J. A. Kerns* 203–12 (1981); Weitenberg, *U-Stämme* 29–31; Oettinger, *KZ* 97:49–52 (1984).

The basic stem is **hew(a)-* (whence *hewaniya-* and the iter. *hewaneski-*), yielding a *u*-stem noun *hewu-* (or **hewaw-* with seemingly "diphthongal" stem-suffix: *hēyauwas*, *hēauit*, *hēyawēs*, *heamus*). These latter forms have been described as "adjectivally inflected" (Friedrich, *HE* 50–1), but the true explanation is probably etymological (see below). In any event *he(y)aw-* seems to be dissimilatory from **hewaw-* (cf. Juret, *Vocabulaire* 69; Goetze, *JAOS* 74:189 [1954]). This new stem form *he(y)aw-* has secondarily invaded some deverbative stems as well (*heyawaneski-* beside *hewaneski-*), and acc. sg. *hé-i-ú-un* perhaps graphically represents *heyawun* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:78). Weitenberg, in *Hethitica* 33–6, 57–8, wrongly posited **heyaw(a)-* as the more basic stem.

**hew(a)-* < IE **E₂ew-H₂-* beside **s-E₂ew-H₂-* (with *s*-mobile); thus *hēwus* < **E₂ew-H₂-u-s*, *hēyauwas* < **hewawas* < **E₂ew-H₂-w-os*. Cognates are Toch. AB *su-*, *swā-s-* 'to rain', A *swase*, B *swese*, OPruss. *suge*, Alb. *shi* (< **sū-*) 'rain'. Gk. *ὑει* 'to rain' may represent either **sE₂uH₂-ye-* or **E₂uH₂-ye-* (spiritus asper being automatic on initial upsila), thus a *-ye/o-* derivative (stative like e. g. *χαίρω?*) from the zero grade of the root stem seen in Toch. A 3 pl. *swīñe* <

*sE₂uH₂-énti. This etymology, rejected "prophylactically" already by H. Zimmern (*Streitberg Festgabe* 441 [1924]) in favor of a stillborn connection of he(w)u- with IE *ghew- 'pour', and still turned away by Tischler (*Glossar* 239–40), has been variously upheld by Juret, *Vocabulaire* 69; V. Pisani, *Paideia* 7:323 (1952); P. Kretschmer, *WZKM* 52:249 (1953); Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 67; V. Georgiev, *RHA* 30:91–3 (1972). Cf. also Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:203–4 (1980).

A connection of he(w)u- with Avestan aoda- 'fountain' (G. Van Langenhove, *Linguistische studiën* 2:47 [1939], exhumed – or perhaps reinvented – by V. Ševoroškin, *Orbis* 17:467 [1968]) is implausible, as is that with Lettish *avuōts* 'fountain' and Skt. *avatā* 'well'. Like Van Langenhove, Benveniste (apud K. Bergsland, *RHA* 4:273 [1938]) improbably implicated Hitt. *huwant*- 'wind' (q. v.). A. Cuny (*RHA* 6:101 [1942–3]) essayed a specific Hamitic-Hittite lexical match between *heyus* (sic) and Old Egyptian *hwj* 'rain'.

Cf. *hinik*-, *warsa*-.

hiyar(r)a-, hierra-, gen. sg. in EZEN *hi-ya-ra-as* (KUB XIII 4 I 40 EZEN *hameshandas* EZEN *tethesnas* [EZ]EN *hiyaras* 'festival of spring, festival of thunder, festival of h.'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:368 [1934]; KBo XXII 246 III 22; cf. Souček and Siegelová, *Arch. Or.* 42:49 [1974]; KUB XVIII 18, 17 and 19), EZEN *hi-ya-ar-ra-as* (ibid. 21; XVIII 23 IV 2; KBo XIV 142 III 7 EZEN *hiyar*[-; KUB XX 22 I 6 EZEN *hiya*(r-), EZEN *hi-e-ir-ra-as* (KBo XXI 31 I 2).

hiyara- is a hittitized form of the month name *hiyari* in Hurrian territory (Alalah, Nuzi, Ugarit), which in turn matches Akk. *ayari* (second month, April–May). For a possible source of the initial *h*- see s. v. *herin(a)*-. Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:39 (1967).

hiqqar-, name of a tree, perhaps 'maple', nom. sg. *hi-iq-qa-ar-za* (KBo XXII 6 IV 16–19 ^{GIS}*hiqqarza-ma-wa-ta kuit* ^E*hīlamni arta nu-war-at-ta karsandu n-ass-apa* ^{GIS}*BANŠUR.MEŠ iyandu t-as-za-kan* ^{LÜ}*MESUR.SAG-summis azzikkandu* 'the h.-tree which stands at the portal, they shall cut it and make tables out of it, and at these our warriors shall take their meals'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]).

Ibid. 14–16 a tamarisk (^{GIS}*pāini*) at the portal shall be made into weapons for Ištar of Agade, and ibid. 20–22 a ^{GIS}*halassar* (q. v.) at the portal shall be fashioned into a battering ram. Hardwood specimens seem to be involved (like ^{GIS}*e*[*y*][*a*][*n*]-, probably 'yew' [HED 1–2:253–7]).

hiqqarza reflects nom. sg. c. /hiqqar-s/ (cf. *hasterza* s. v. *haster*-) but is an ad sensum neuter like most Hittite tree names (e. g. *allantaru*, *eyan*, *harau*, *paini*, *tanau*). It can be compared with Lat. *acer*, Danish *aer* (German *ahorn*; cf. Lat. *acernus*) 'maple'. The connection of *acer* with the common root of Lat. *acer* 'sharp' (*IEW* 20) is hardly compelling; *hiqqar*- can rather be reconstructed as *E₂ēk(e)r-, with *Eker- in Lat. *acer* and Germanic **ahira*- (cf. Hitt. *haster*- : Lat. *stella*, Engl. *star* pointing to *A₁est[e]r- : A₁ster-). Among Romans maplewood was a favored material for sideboards of dinner-couches (Pliny, *Natural History* 33:146), even as *hiqqarza* served Hittite carpenters for table-making. An original neuter r/n-stem heterodite was postulated for *hiqqar* by Pettit/KZ 109:77–86, 194. Rikoulling, *Calc.* 23:3:29–30, 20 compared with *hiqqar* Grk. 'kapid deck'.

hila-, hela- (c.) '(court)yard; (lunar or solar) halo' (TÜR), nom. sg. *hi-la-as* (e. g. KUB XVII 10 IV 10–11 *istarniyas-at hīlas tarnau* KĀ.GAL-at *tarnau hīlamanz-at tarnau* 'may the central courtyard let them go, may the gate let them go, may the gatehouse let them go!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; KBo X 45 I 12 ^E*hīlas* KĀ.GAL.HI.A *tarna[ndu]* 'the yard [and] the gate shall let [it] go!'). *hi-i-la-as* (e. g. dupl. KUB VII 41 I 21 ^E*hīlas* KĀ.HI.A-es *arha tarnan-du*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; KBo IV 9 I 27–29 and KUB II 6 III 33–35 ŠA ^{LÜ}*MES* ^E*MEŠEDI-ma hīlas karū EGIR-pa hassanza* 'the yard of the bodyguard [is] already reopened'; VIII 30 Rs. 19 ^{DEN}*ZU-as hīlas* 'the moon's halo'), *hi-la-a-as* (XXXIV 13 Vs. 8 *hīlās* ^{DUTU}*-as*, ibid. 11 *hīlās* ^{DUTU}*-as* 'the sun's halo'), acc. sg. *hi-la-an* (e. g. KBo XXIII 23 Vs. 63 *nu ē-ir ē.š* ^E*hīlan hūman suppiyahhi* 'she cleanses the house, the inner chambers, the yard, everything'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 210; KUB XXVII 29 I 21–22 *nu ē-ir ē.š* ^E*hīlan-a* [*s*] ^E*suppiyahhi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136), *hi-i-la-an* (e. g. IBoT I 36 I 5–6 *nu-za-kan* ^E*hal[ant]uw* ^E*hīlan EGIR-pa tamessanzi* 'they block off one courtyard of the palace compound'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:174 [1966]), gen. sg. *hi-i-la-as* (e. g. KUB XXIX 4 I 34–36 2 KAK ZABAR *n-as-kan* ŠA É DINGIR-LIM ^E*hīlas* KĀ-as *anda 1-EN kez 1-EN kez walahhanzi* 'two bronze nails, they drive them into the gate of the temple yard, one on each side'; cf.

Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 10; *IBoT* I 36 I 4 *n-at-san* ^h*hīlas* KĀ.G[AL ... -]zi 'they go to the gate of the yard'; *KUB* XX 10 IV 8; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 272; IX 31 I 25), *hi-e-la-as* (dupl. *HT* I 1 17–18 *ina* KĀ [EG]IR ^{hi}IG ^h*helas* 'in the gateway behind the door of the courtyard'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-li* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 19 III 6 ^h*hili-kan anda* UDU.HI.A *hantantati* 'in the yard the sheep were normalized', besides e.g. XXXIII 37+39 IV 2 [š]À TÜR-ma-kan UDU.HI.A *uisuriyantati* 'in the yard the sheep were stifled'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:123, 165 [1965]; *IBoT* III 69 I 15–16 na]mma-as ^h*hili-ya-as* [...] *tiyazi* 'again he also steps into the yard'; *KBo* X 45 I 13 *n-as-kan parā* ^h*hili paizzi* 'he goes forth to the yard'), *hi-i-li* (e.g. dupl. *KUB* VII 41 Vs. 22 *n-as-kan parā* ^h*hili paizzi nu* ^h*hili p[ūrut dāi]* 'he goes forth to the yard and takes clay in the yard'; *KBo* IV 9 V 32–33 *n-asta* GAL MEŠEDI ^h*hili parā paizzi* 'the head of the bodyguard goes forth to the yard'; ibid. 18 ^h*hili*; *IBoT* I 36 IV 31–32 *n-at-kan parā* šA ^{LU}MEŠEDI ^h*hili pānzi* 'they go forth to the yard of the bodyguard'; *KUB* XXXIII 24 II 11 *n-as pait hili*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:116 [1965]; XXXVI 17 + XXXIII 107 I 5 ^h*hili pait*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:24 [1952]; *KBo* XXII 189 II 12 LUGAL-us ^h*hili tiyezi* 'the king steps into the courtyard'; *KUB* XI 35 I 24 *ta-kkan* ^h*hili tiyazi*; XX 35 III 15 *n-as mahhan* ^h*hili ari* 'when he arrives in the courtyard'; *IBoT* I 36 IV 29–30 *n-at* ^h*hili katta dāi* 'he puts them down in the yard'; ibid. I 9 *nu-za* ^{LU}MEŠ MEŠEDI šA ^{LU}MEŠEDI *hili petan appanzi* 'the bodyguards take their places in the yard of the bodyguard'; *KUB* XXXV 163 III 17–18 *nu-kan* ^{SAL}šU.GI *parā paizzi nu-kan* ^h*hili sāvātar pariparāi* 'the old woman goes forth and in the yard blows the horn'; X 21 II 7–8 ^h*hili-ma zeriya*lli *katta kariyanda* [k]arū artari 'in the yard the covered-over cup-holders are already in place'; *KBo* IV 9 II 11–12 *ina* É ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ ^h*hili* 'in the courtyard of the temple of the war-god' [partitive apposition]; XXV 56 IV 17 *hili*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 128; *HT* 36 Obv. 2 ^h*hili*), *hi-i-e[l-l]*i (*KBo* XIX 145 III 43–44 [m]ān iyadduma *n-asta hiye[l-l]*i itten 'when you go, then go to the courtyard!'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 304), *hi-i-la* (XXV 48 III 9–10 *n-asta namma* [parā] *hila pān*[zī]; XXI 90 Vs. 14–15 *n-as-kan hila* [...]; ibid. 21 *ne-es-ta* [sic!] *namma parā hila paizzi* 'he also goes forth to the yard'), abl. sg. *hi-i-la-az* (e.g. *IBoT* I 36 I 74).

[*hila-*] 'be haloed, have a halo', 3 sg. pres. act. *hi-la-iz-zi* (*KUB* VIII 17 II 11 *takku* ^DUTU-us *hilaizzi* 'if the sun has a halo'), *hi-la-a-iz-zi* (ibid. 5 and 8 *takku* ^DUTU-us *hilāizzi*; par. XXXIV 13

Vs. 2 and 4 *hilāizzi*); cf. IV 63 II 3 (Akk.) *šumma* ^DUTU TÜR *lawi-ma* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 15:15–8 [1957]).

[*hilanni-*] (c.) 'yard', gen. sg. *hi-la-an-na-as* (*KBo* VI 3 IV 13 [= Code 1:82] šAH *hilannas* 'yard pig', vs. VI 2 IV 16 [= Code 1:81] šAH šE 'fatted pig', VI 3 IV 26 [= Code 1:89] UR.ZÍR *hilannas* 'yard-dog', vs. ibid. 22 [= Code 1:87] UR.ZÍR ^{LU}SIPAD-as 'herdsman's dog' and ibid. 24 [= Code 1:88] LÚ UR.ZÍR-as UR.ZÍR-an 'hunter's dog'). *hilanni-* is related to *hila-* as e.g. *armanni-* is to *arma-* 'moon' (q.v.; for gen. sg. *hilannas* cf. e.g. *hulugannas* from *hulukanni-*). Neither the assumption *hilannas* < *hilannas* (from *hilannar* 'gatehouse' [below]; cf. e.g. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 102) nor Laroche's **hilatar* (*RHA* 15:18–9 [1957]; cf. e.g. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:282–3; Singer, *ZA* 65:77 [1975]) is convincing; 'yard-pig' (the rooting kind, vs. penned-up, grain-fed pig) is more appropriate than 'gatehouse pig', while **hilatar* is an unproductive ad-hoc postulate.

[^D*Hilassi-*] theonym with (partly Luwoid) appurtenance suffix -assi-, e.g. *KUB* XLIII 30 III 9 ^D*Hilassis*, preceded (ibid. 8) by *Ispanzasepas* and (ibid. 7) by ^D*Halkis* (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77); *KBo* XVII 35 III 14 [AN]A ^D*Hilassis* (sic), preceded (ibid. 12) by [AN]A ^D*Hasammili* and (ibid. 11) by [AN]A ^D*Ilalandas* (cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 218). For further attestations see Laroche, *Recherches* 69. Cf. ^D*Hi-i-la* (*KBo* XX 5 Vs. 11), and Lyc. *qla(hi)* below.

[^D*Hilanzipa-*] theonym with -sepa- like e.g. *Aska-sepa-*, attested chiefly in Palaic texts (*KUB* XXXV 165 Rs. 17 ^D*Hilanzipi*, ^D*Hilanzipas*; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 19) or in lists of Palaic deities (XLI 26 I 23 ANA ^D*Hilan*[-; *HT* 26, 5 ^D*Hi-el-la-zi-pa*). The seeming stem variant *hila-* may be a palaicism (but cf. also *hilanni-* above). Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:185) implausibly tried either **hilann-sipa-* (cf. *hilannar* below) or analogical interference from *Miyadanzipa-*, *Daganzipa-*.

[*hilammi-* and *hilammatta-*] (c.), frequently plural functionary, perhaps 'courtier', nom. sg. ^{LU}*hi-lam-mi-is* (*KBo* XV 33 III 24 ^{LU}*hilam-mis kuiski*; XVII 55 I 11 ^{LU}*hilammis*; XVII 93 Vs. 6 ^{LU}*hilam-mis*), nom. pl. ^{LU}MEŠ *hi-lam-mi-e-es* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 8 Vs. 5–6 ^{LU}MEŠ *hilammiēs-a kuyēs karū* ANA É.NA₄ *piyantes n-at-kan sahhanaza luziyaza arauēs asandu* 'and the h. who [were] given to the mausoleum earlier, they shall be free from socage and corvée'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 106; *KBo* XX 51 I 16 ^{LU}MEŠ *hilammiēs kuyēs kuyēs warpantes* 'whatever h. [have] bathed'; XVI 65 IV 3), ^{LU}MEŠ *hi-lam-ma-ti-es* (*KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 3, 6, 11; ibid. 4–5 *annallies-si* 9 ^{LU}

^{MES}*hilammates kinun-a-ssi-kan* 9 ^{LÜ.MES}*hilammattin* [sic] 'former h. she had nine, and now she has nine h.'; *ibid.* IV 11 and 16), ^{LÜ}*hi-lam-ma-at-ti-es* (*ibid.* I 17), ^{LÜ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-te-es* (LIV 67 Rs. 6), ^{LÜ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-at-ti-is* (*KBo* II 1 I 23), ^{LÜ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-dis* (*KUB XXXVIII* 12 II 19), ^{LÜ.MES}*hi-lam-ma-at-ta-as* (*ibid.* 4; *KBo* II 1 II 4). Adverb [*hi-lam-mi-li*] in *IBoT* I 36 I 77 *namma hilammili uēssanta* 'they also dress in h. fashion'; *ibid.* II 49 ^{TUG}*niġ.lám.hi. A-ma-smas* ^{KUS}*E.SIR SIG₅-TIM* *hilammili uēssanta* 'they put on raiments and fine shoes in h. fashion' (similarly *ibid.* 53 *hi-lam-me-li* and 57 *hi-lam-mi-li*).

[*hilammar*] (n.) 'gate building, gatehouse, portal (leading to a courtyard)' (*KILAM*), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hi-lam-mar* (e.g. *KBo* V 2 IV 3–6 [emended from dupl. *Bo* 3355 Rs. 11–13] [*mān* ^E*hilammar ēs*] *zi n-us-kan hilamni anda* [*iezi mān*] ^E*hilammar-ma* *NU.GAL n-us-kan suhhi* [ser] *iezi* 'if there is a gatehouse, he makes them [viz. vessels] in the gatehouse, but if there is no gatehouse, he makes them up on the roof'; X 45 II 32–34 *parkunummas-w[a]* [*kui*s] *uitenanza ēšhar* *NEŠ DINGIR-LIM parkunu[zi]* [*kui*s] ^E*hilammar parkunuzi* 'the cleansing-water which cleanses blood[shed] [and] perjury, which cleanses the gatehouse ...'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:124 [1961]; *IBoT* I 36 IV 15–16 *mān* 2 ^E*hil[ammar] n-at-kan kattera* *KÁ.GAL-TIM sarā uwanzi sarāzzi-ma-at-kan* *KÁ.GAL sarā ŪL uwanzi* 'if [there are] two gatehouses, they come up to the lower gate but do not come up to the upper gate'; 112/x Vs. 12 3 ^E*hilamma(r)*, gen. sg. *hi-lam-na-as* (e.g. *KUB XIII* 2 II 21–22 *ša ē.〈DU₁₀〉.ŪS.SA-ya ē* ^{LÜ}*šila.šū.DU₈* ^E*hilamnass-a ārtāhius wehandaru* 'the sewers of the laundry-house, the house of cupbearers, and the gatehouse shall be kept functioning'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 45; XLI 8 II 34–35 *parnas pūrut* ^E*hilamnas pūrut harnamniyazi* 'he stirs clay of the house [and] clay of the gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:126 [1961]; *KBo* XIX 128 I 9 *LUGAL-us* ^E*hilamnas KÁ-as ari* 'the king arrives at the gate of the portal'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2; *KUB XXV* 18 II 3–4 *mahhan-ma LUGAL-us* ^E*hilamnas* ^{GIS}*KÁ.GAL-as piran ari* 'when the king arrives before the gate of the portal'; *IBoT* I 36 IV 3–4 *mahhan-ma-asta* ... ^E*hilamnas* [*KÁ.GA*]-*as anda aranzi* 'but when [they] arrive within the gate of the portal'; *KBo* X 23 III 18–19 ^E*hilamnass-a KÁ.GAL-as*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; VIII 119 Vs. 5 *h[ilamnas]* *KÁ.GAL*; 155/w, 6–8 *hil[amnas]* *KÁ.GAL-as ar[i ...]* [...] *āski ari* *AMA.DINGIR-LIM ...* [...] *kui*] *tman LUGAL-us KILAM ...*; *VBoT* 2, 15–18 *n-an* ^D*NABŪ hattannas LUGAL-us hilamnass-a* ^D*UTU-us assūli pahasntaru* 'may N.,

king of wisdom, and the sun-god of the portal in favor protect him!'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:329 [1956]; *KUB XXXV* 84 II 10 ^E*hilamnas* ^D*UTU-us*; cf. Otten, *LTU* 84; XXV 37 IV 10 *hilamnas* ^D[; XLI 87 V 13 ^{LÜ}*hilamnas EN-as* 'gatehouse-master'; cf. XXXIV 102 III 12 *GAL LÜ.MES KILAM* 'chief of gatehouse-men'), *hi-lam-ma-na-as* (XXX 31 IV 30; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 102), *KILAM-as* (XXIII 11 III 2 *ina* ^E*KILAM KILAM-as* ^D*U-ni pihhun* 'I gave [him] in the portal to the storm-god of the portal'; cf. ^D*U KÁ.GAL* [XXV 32 I 21], ^D*U* ^{GIS}*KÁ* [XXXVIII 6 I 25]), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-lam-ni* (e.g. XXXIV 23 I 8 *apel atti anni* ^E*hilamni-ya* 'to his father, mother, and gatehouse'; cf. *ibid.* 7 *ABI-ŠUNU AMA-ŠUNU ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠUNU* 'their father[s], their mother[s], their brothers'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:83 [1956]; *KBo* XXI 34 II 5–6 *mahhan-ma-kan* ^D*Hepat* ^E*hilamni parā arnuanzi* 'when they bring H. forth to the gatehouse' [besides *ibid.* 4 *n-an-kan mahhan* ^E*hili arnuanzi* 'when they bring her to the courtyard', viz. from the temple]; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 119; *KUB XXXV* 43 II 32–33 [*namma-ka*] *n* *UDU parā hilamni pennai* *ša gi* [...] *ZA.LAM.GAR.HILA kuit hilammar piran* [...] 'she further leads a sheep forth to the portal; of reed ... tents, what portal before ...'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 43; *IBoT* I 36 III 62 ^{GIS}*ŠUKUR.HILA ANA* ^{LÜ}*NI.DUH pāi n-at-kan* ^E*hilamni sarā pedai* '[he] gives the spears to the gateman, and [the latter] takes them up to the gatehouse'; *KUB XXXIX* 48, 7 *n-at-kan parā* ^E*hilamni pe[da-]*; *Bo* 3249 I 12 *hazqarāi-ma-kan hilamni anda tiyaz[zi]* 'the h.-women step inside the gatehouse'; *IBoT* 36 I 48 ^{LÜ}*MEŠEDI-ma* ^E*hilamni anda innar[ā]* *ŪL tiyezzi* 'bodyguard does not on his own step into the gatehouse'; *KUB V* 10, 22 ^E*hilamni UGU pait* '[the dog] went up to the gatehouse'; *VAT* 7470 I 10–11 ^E*GIM-an-ma-at* ^E*hilamni sarā aranzi nu-kan suppis* ^{LÜ}*SANGA ša* ^E*hestā ū* 3 ^{LÜ.MES} ^E*hestā sarāzziya* ^E*hilamni istarni pidi anda tianzi* 'when they arrive up[stairs] in the gatehouse, the holy priest of the mausoleum and three mausoleum-personnel step into the center of the upper [story of the] gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:390 [1955]; *IBoT* III 1 Vs. 10–11 ^{LÜ} ^E*hēstī* ^{LÜ}*SANGA* ^E*hēsti-ya sarazi* ^E*hila[mn]* ^E*aranta* 'the mausoleum-worker and mausoleum-priest stand in the upper [story of the] gatehouse'; *KBo* XXII 189 II 10–11 ^E*hilamni aranda* 'they stand in the gatehouse'; *KUB* IV 9 II 8–9 *LUGAL-us* ^E*hilamni ari* 'the king arrives in the gatehouse'; XX 96 IV 19 [*DIN*]*GIR-LUM-kan* ^E*hilamni anda a[ri]*; XLI 1 IV 10–11 *n-at-kan hilamni anda uwanzi nu kin-kanzi* [*k*] *uin UKŪ-an n-asta hilamni anda* 1 *SILA* ^D*UTU AN BAL-anti* 'they go inside the gatehouse; the person whom they treat sacrifices

inside the gatehouse one lamb to the sun-god of heaven'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 50; IX 6 + XXXV 39 II 18–19 EN SISKUR-*ma*[...] *apiya-pat hilamni pir[an]* AŠAR-ŠU *harzi* 'the offerant has his place there in front of the portal'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 39; *KBo* XXII 6 IV 14 *kuit* ^É*hilamni-sit arta* '[the tree] which stands at his portal'; similarly *ibid.* 17 and 20; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:21 [1969]; *KUB* VII 25 I 8–10 *nu-kan* LUGAL-us ^É*hilamni anda iŠTU ANŠU.KUR.RA katta tiyazi* 'the king inside the gatehouse steps down from the horse'; XXX 19 IV 25–26 ^{GIS}ZA.LAM.GAR-*ma-kan kue É-ri anda siyanda n-a[t-kan]* *danzi* ^É*hilamni anda tarnan[zi]* 'the tents which are pitched inside the house they take and leave in the gatehouse'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 46; XLI 48 III 13–15 GUD.MAH-*ma-kan ša* ^{DIM}*Éhilamni anda warnuwanzi* 'but the bull they burn inside the gatehouse' [as opposed to the calf and sheep who are burned *ibid.* 12–13 *PANI* ^{DIM}, i.e. before the god's image in the adyton]; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 254; XXV 22 Rand 1–2 *n-as-kan ser hilamni anda* [...] *ambassis iyanza* 'up[stairs] in the gatehouse an a. has been made'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238; VII 41 Vs. 23 *hilamni pūrut dāi* 'takes clay in the gatehouse' [besides *ibid.* 22 ^É*hili* 'in the courtyard']; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:118 [1961]; *KBo* XXI 37 Rs. 10 DINGIR.MEŠ-*as hilamni anda* 'in the gods' portal'; X 23 IV 15 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ass-a hilamni*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:13; XVII 15 Vs. 12 [OHitt.] NA₄-*an parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the mausoleum'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73; XXV 29 II 5 [OHitt.] ^É*histās hilamni* 'in the portal of the mausoleum', with late dupl. XXV 30, 12 ^É*hestā hilamni*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75; *KUB* II 3 V 31 *tūriyas* ^É*hilamni* 'in the gatehouse for spears', with dupl. LVI 33 V 5 ^É*hilamnas* [besides XXX 32 I 16 *tūriyas* KÁ.GAL]; XXXVI 12 III 18 *arahzeni* ^É*hilamni anda* 'in the outer portal'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:16 [1952]; II 3 V 43 ^É*hilamni anda*; *KBo* III 9 Vs. 8 *t-as-kan* ^É*hilamni*; *KUB* X 28 I 8–9 *n-at* ^É*hilamni* KÁ.GAL-*as ZAG-za tianzi* 'they step in the portal to the right of the gate', KILAM-ni (XI 23 V 17–19 ^{LÚ}.MEŠ ^ÉMEŠEDI-*an* [...] ^ÉKILAM-ni *anda ZAG-za* [...] *tiyanzi* 'the bodyguards inside the portal step to the right'; XXVIII 5, 10b–11b [^DSIN-*as-kan nepi*] *saz mausta n-as-k[an ser KILAM-ni mausta* 'the moon fell from heaven, and he landed on the portal'), *hi-lam-na* (*KBo* XX 88 IV 2 -] *san hilamna paizzi*; *KUB* X 3 I 15–16 *n-a[t-kan hilamna* [KÁ.G]AL *anda ari* 'arrives within the gate of the portal' [partitive apposition], besides dupl. *KBo* VIII 119 Vs. 4–5 -] *ma-as-kan* [^É*h*] *hilamnas* KÁ.GAL *anda ari*, KILAM-na (XXV 122 II

10–12 *katta āssū utir n-at katta* KIL[AM-na ...] GAL.HI.A SIG₅-*anda* GUŠKIN-*an* SIG₅-*anda*[n ...] *n-at katta* KILAM-na[...] 'they have brought down goods, and ... them down to the gatehouse, good cups [and] good gold, and ... them down to the gatehouse'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 205), abl. sg. *hi-lam-na-az* (*IBOT* 1 36 I 50–52 *mān-k[an* ¹] ^UMEŠEDI-*ma* ^É*hilamnaz parā paizzi n-asta* ^É*hilammar istarna arha* ^{GIS}ŠUK[UR-] *pat harzi lustaniya-ma-as ari* 'if the bodyguard goes forth from the gatehouse, he traverses the gatehouse holding his spear [lit. he holds his spear right through the gatehouse] and arrives at the postern'; *KUB* XX 4 VI 3–5]KILAM-ni 3-ŠU *esa* [...] LUGAL-us *hilamnaz katta* [...] 'seats himself three times in the gatehouse ... the king down from the gatehouse ...'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:79; *KBo* XVII 4 III 13 *hilamnaz*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34).

[*hilamnant-*] (c.) '(court)yard', nom. sg. *hi-lam-na-an-za* as subject of transitive verb (see context under nom. sg. *hilas* above; cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:30 [1962]).

hi-lam-mi-in-ni-is (*KUB* XXXI 147 II 23) and *hi-lam-ni-in* (XLI 4 II 16) occur in similar texts and may be nom. sg. c. and acc. sg. c. of a [*hilam(min)ni-*].

For the toponyms ^{URU}*Hi-lam-ma-a*, ^{URU}*Hi-lam-ma-at-ti-ya*, ^{URU}KILAM, and the numerous town names with *-hila-* as second element of compound (*Harsanhila*, *Parsanhila*, *Kalpassanahila*, *Istuhila*, *Lahirhila*, *Lumanhila*, *Lumnahila*), see e.g. Laroche, *RHA* 19:81–2 (1961); Carruba, *Beschwörungsritual* 8; Ertem, *Coğrafya* s.v.; Singer, *ZA* 65:78 (1975). For personal names such as ¹*Hi-ti-ya-as*, ¹*He-el-la*-^DKAL, cf. Laroche, *Noms* 67, 284; Tischler, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 443 (1982).

Hier. GATE-(la)na- = *hilana-*. Cf. Bossert, *Afo* 9:127 (1933); Meriggi, *HHG* 212–3; Laroche, *HH* 129; Singer, *ZA* 65:69–71, 96–103 (1975).

Lyc. *qla* 'enclosure, precinct, τέμενος', e.g. *qlā arīnas* 'citadel of Xanthos' (*TLy* 44c:12–13), *hri-qla* 'uptown, acropolis' (*Xanthos trilingual* 41), *ibid.* 38, *TLy* 56:4, 102:3, 131:3 and 4 *ēni qlahi ebijehi* (epithet of Ἀητώ in the bilingual *TLy* 56) matching a Luwian **annis hilassis* *apiyassis* 'Mother of this (local) τέμενος' (cf. *TLy* 134:4 *ēni mahanahi* = **annis massanassis* 'Mother of the gods'). Cf. ^D*Hilassi*-above, and Laroche, *BSL* 55.1:183 (1960), 62.1:55 (1967), *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:75–6 (1979), *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* 3 (1980).

The collateral use of KILAM (normally 'market') for *hila* in Hittite texts (first demonstrated by Goetze, *AM* 204–5) is presumably due to a combination of homophonic and semantic associations (market 'at the gate', resembling the *bāb mahirim* 'market gate' of the Kültepe texts, and *ašar mahiri* 'on the market' equalling *ina bāb abullim* 'in the gate-entrance' at Nuzi; cf. Singer, *ZA* 65:91–5 [1975]; one may also compare Lat. *forum* = *emporium*, from **dhwor*- 'door' seen in *foris* 'outdoors'). Conceivably KÁ.GAL 'gate' could also serve as occasional sumerogram for *hila* (cf. esp. the complementation in ^{GIS}KÁ.GAL-nas [*KBo* XX 101, 13], KÁ.GAL-na [*KUB* XX 96 IV 2; XI 26 V 2]), although normally the *hila* had its own KÁ(.GAL) (examples under gen. sg. *hila*nas above).

hila is a denominative derivative of *hila*- (of the type *hal-wan*, *harnan* [q. v.]). The meaning 'gate building', first defined by Friedrich (*ZA* 37:179–80 [1927]) and later reinforced by Laroche (*RHA* 15:19–20 [1957]), has been generally accepted, the holdouts being Güterbock and Alp (*Beiträge* 325–32) with their adherence to R. Naumann's rendering 'portico, hall, colonnade' (cf. Singer, *ZA* 65:71–6 [1975]). The Anatolian derivation of 'portal' from 'yard' is the inverse of IE **dhwer*- ('door' > 'yard') exemplified by Lat. *foris* : *forum* or Russian *dver* 'door' : *dvor* 'courtyard'; but that the semantic associations flowed both ways is seen in the use of KILAM 'marketplace' for *hila*.

*hila*mi- (not *hila*ma-!) reflects neither **hilam*- (considered by Laroche, *RHA* 15:20 [1957]) nor **hilamna*- (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:102); it is altogether not 'gatehouse-keeper, gateman' (^{LU}NI.DUH) but something like 'courtier' and is derived directly from *hila*- rather than being somehow either the offshoot (Kronasser) or the model (Laroche) of *hila*. For the semantics of 'court' : 'courtier' cf. Engl. *yard* and Lat. *co-hort*- (> 'court') both reflecting IE **ghor*-t-. Rather than assuming an "Indo-European *-mo- suffix which indicates relationship" (Oettinger apud Singer, *ZA* 65:78 [1975]), the -*mmi*- may be a Luwoid denominative extension of the deverbative -*m(m)i*- (see s. v. *annin*[n]iyami-), expressing appurtenance or belonging. *hila*matta- would then also reflect a further Luwian-type derivation.

The much-discussed North Syrian *būt hilāni* (or *hilanni*) of Neo-Assyrian texts was connected with *hila* by Friedrich (*ZA* 37:180 [1927]). Bossert's reading *hilana*- for Hier. GATE-(la)na- (see above) offers a loan source for the Assyrian term which denotes a

two-storied, pillared gatehouse. Alternatively *būt hilanni* might be a loan translation of a Hitt. **pir hilannas* 'yard-house' (cf. *šah hilannas* sub *hilanni*- above), similar in meaning to *hila*.

hila- has no etymological truck with *hali*- 'pen, corral' (q. v.); the latter is strictly a barnyard term without a determinative ^E and with no derivatives; the only overlap is in the occasional transferred sense of '(lunar) halo'. The apparently pan-Anatolian term *hila*- resembles such other architectural vocables as *parn*- 'house' and *aska*- 'gate' in not having any visible cognates elsewhere. V. Georgiev (*Linguistique balkanique* 5.1:41 [1962]) compared Etr. *hil* (cf. *TLE* 676 *tular špural hil puratum* 'boundaries of the city h. p.'; *TLE* 515 *tular hilar* 'boundaries of the h.'), while Ch. Rabin (*Orientalia* N.S. 32:120 [1963]) saw a borrowing from Hittite in Hebrew *h(y)l* 'fortifications on a wall'.

Cf. *hilistarni*-.

hilistarni- (c.), name of a kind of divine icon, acc. sg. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-in* (e. g. *KBo* XXIV 13 IV 8 *hilistarnin wassi*[zzi] 'dresses the h.'; *ibid.* 10–13 *nu-ssan hilistarnin* ^{GIS}*irhuuti tianzi n-an* ^{GIS}*irhuuiyaz* [...] *karpanzi* 'they place the h. in a basket and lift it with the basket'; *ibid.* 21–23 *nu-ssan kuella* DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hilistarnin a[rhay]an* ^{GIS}*ir-huu*[ti tianzi] 'they put each deity's h. separately in a basket'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-li-is-tar-ni* (e. g. *ibid.* 14 *itti* 1 *hilistarni* 'with one h.'; *XX* 116 Rs. 7–10 *namma ša GAB.LĀL YĀ DUG.GA tepu iyan nu-ssan* [*ku*]edaniya ANA *hilis*[tar]ni [...] *tepu tamenikanzi*, with dupl. *KUB* XXV 48 + XLIV 49 II 26–28 *namma ša GAB.LĀL YĀ DUG.GA tepu iyan* *nu-ssan kue*[d]aniya ANA *hili*[starni] *tepu tam*[n]kan[zi] 'also a little wax and good oil [is] prepared, and they smear a little on each h.'), acc. pl. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-us* (e. g. *ibid.* 25–26 *nu* [*hil*]istarnius *i*šTU ^{GAD}*kazzarnūlit* arha ānsan[zi], with dupl. *KBo* XX 116 Rs. 4–6 *nu hilis*[tarnius] *i*šTU ^{GAD}*kazzarnūlit* arha ansanzi 'they wipe off the h. with a cloth'; cf. *ZA* 71:129–30 [1981]; *KUB* XXV 48 IV 21–23 *nu-kan hilistarnius* EGIR-pa sarā INA É ^{DIM}... *udanzi* 'they bring the h. back up to the temple of the storm-god'), dat.-loc. pl. *hi-li-is-tar-ni-as* (e. g. *ibid.* 12 ANA PANI *hilistarnias*), *hi-li-is-tar-ni-ya-as* (e. g. *ibid.* 24), *hi-li-es-tar-ni-ya-as* (2023/g Vs. 8, dupl. of *KBo* XX 116 Rs. 3 ANA PANI *hilis*[tarniyas]).

hilistarni- looks like a hypostatic noun derived from *hili istarna* 'in the middle of the yard' (see s. v. *hila*-), perhaps designating

portable open-air idols on display; cf. e.g. *KUB XXV 14 I 10–11* ^{LU}HAL-ma-kan 8 ^{PUTU.HIA} ^{URU}Arinna ^Ehalentūwas anda pedai ‘the seer brings eight sun-goddesses of Arinna into the h.’. Cf. e.g. the hypostatic Lat. **profānus* ‘before the shrine’, hence ‘set up, dedicated’, whence OLat. *profānāre* ‘consecrate’ (Cato’s *daps profanata* ‘cult-meal’ [*De agricultura* 50]), with the *in malam partem* sense of *profānus* as ‘unholy’ first in Plautus, and *profānāre* ‘unhallow, desecrate’ only starting with Ovid.

cf. *Murr. ha-li-is-tar-ni* *PISTAR-wi* (Ku 27.1 62)?

him(m)a- (c.) ‘imitation, substitute, replica, model, toy’, nom. sg. *hi-im-ma-as* (*KUB XLIV 43 Rs. 3 namma himmas* NU.GÁL ‘moreover there is no substitute’), acc. sg. *hi-im-ma-an* (*HT 1 I 40–41 himman iyanzi* ‘they make a replica’; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]; *VBoT* 116, 13 *himman ien[zi]*), gen. sg. (of quality) *hi-im-ma-as* (e.g. *KBo VI 34 III 37–38* ^{GIS}APIN-ya ^{GIS}MAR.GÍD.DA ^{GIS}GIGIR *himmas piran katta daitti n-at arha duwarnanzi* ‘and a model plow, wagon, and chariot you set forth, and they break them in pieces’; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12; *XXI 1 I 10–11 2-ŠU 9* ^{NINDA}UMBIN.HIA *zíd.DA zíz TUR-TIM himmas* ‘twice nine small imitation[?] wheels of wheatmeal bread’; *ibid.* II 16 *himmas*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 16, 20, 48, 59; *KUB IV 1 III 11–12 UNUT.HIA himmas KUŠ.UDU.HIA BEL DINGIR-LIM dāi* ‘the model utensils and the sheepskins the “master of the deity” takes’; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 172; *XXVII 66 II 13* ^{ANA} ^{LÜ}MEŠ-EN.DINGIR.MEŠ-ya ^{GIS}BANŠUR.HIA *himmas ūl dāi* ‘he does not set the substitute tables for the “masters of the deity”’; *dupl.* *XXVII 60 Rs. 13* ^{J.HIA} *himmas ūl dāi*; *XII 18 Vs. 3* ^{GIS}BANŠUR.HIA *himmas udai* ‘he brings substitute tables [and] loaves’; *LIV 13 II 9* ^{GIS}BANŠUR.HIA *kue ŠA NINDA.HIA himmas ina* ‘the tables of substitute loaves which in ...’; *XXVII 49 IV 7* ^{NINDA} *himmas*; *XXV 37 IV 18 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ma himm[as]*; *XLII 94 Vs. 10* ^{JAD.KID} *himmas TUR-TIM* ‘a small model wickerwork’; *348/b Vs. 4* *inasma 1 TUKUL TUR himm[as]* ‘or one small toy weapon’; *KBo XV 19 I 8 1* ^{GIS}GIGIR *himmas iyan* ‘one model chariot [is] made’; *IBoT III 93 + KBo XV 21 I 9* *weras[s-a ŠA IM himmas iyanza* ‘and a model w. of clay [is] made’; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 139; *KUB XLVI 35 Rs. 3 himmas-ma*), nom. pl. *hi-im-mi-e-es* (*HT 38 Rs. 6 kī himmē[s]* ‘these models’), acc. pl. *hi-mu-us* (*KUB XXXIX 7 II 7–8 n-asta É-ri anda lahanzanas* ^{MUSEN} *himus iyanzi nu ŠA* ^{GIS}HLA 10 *lahanza* ^{MUSEN} *ianza* ‘inside the house they make replicas of l.-birds;

of wood ten l.-birds [are] made’; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 36; 806/z, 6 *himus issa[-]*, *hi-im-mu-us* (e.g. *HT 38 Rs. 8 nu kūs himmus* ‘these models’; *KUB XXIV 3 I 23–25 nu tuel ŠA* ^{PUTU} ^{URU}Arinna *himmus* ^{SISKUR.SISKUR.HIA} ^{EZEN.HIA} *iyauwanzi sarā tittanuskanzi* ‘they keep undertaking to perform substitute rites, [genuine] rituals, and feasts for thee, sun-goddess of Arinna’; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 20, 62–70; *XXXV 131 + XXV 37 IV 3 himmus hazziui šir.HIA-ya* ‘substitute rites, ceremonies, and songs’; *LVIII 30 II 4–5 kuitman-ma DINGIR.MEŠ ar[ranzi] kūs himmus issanz[i]* ‘but while they wash the deities they make these replicas’; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:63, 88–9 [1984]; *XXXIX 6 III 16 nu-ssi himmus hūmantas sarā tittanūwanzi* ‘they undertake for him/her [viz. the dead child] all substitute rites’; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 50; *XXXIX 12, 7* ^{JNA} ^{É.NA₄-ŠU} *arnūwanzi nu himmus EGIR-izz[i]* ‘they move [the body] to its mausoleum, and last[ly] replicas ...’; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 70). Cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 61–4.

himmalli- (c.) nom. sg. ^{LU}*hi-im-ma-al-li-is* (98/f, 4). Rather than meaning ‘imitator, modelist’ (type of *arkammanalli-* ‘tributary’), *himmalli-* may be near-synonymous with the Luwoid *tarpa(na)lli-* as a ‘human ritual substitute’, vs. the replicas of abstract, inert, or animal entities expressed by *himma-*.

him(m)a- (< **A₁imo-*) is cognate with Lat. *imitor* ‘take after, copy’, *imāgō* ‘depiction, copy’, *aemulus* ‘rival(ling)’ (cf. Neumann apud Oettinger, *Eide* 64). Less plausible is a further adduction (H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]; Hutter, *Behexung* 59) of Ved. *yamá-* ‘twin’ and its cognates (*IEW* 505), although a root structure **A₁éy-m-* : *A₁y-ém-* is conceivable.

hinik- ‘wet, moisten, sprinkle, pour’ (vel sim.); midd. ‘be wet, produce moisture, pour’, 3 sg. pres. midd. *hi-ni-ik-ta* (*KBo III 7 II 22–23 hewus hinikta* ‘rain pours’; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68–9 [1965]; *KUB XXXIV 16 III 4 hēauit hinikta* ‘it [or: the storm-god] is pouring with rain’; cf. e.g. Lat. *sanguine pluisse*).

hinik- < *(*s*)*H₁i-né-k-*, nasal-infix verb closely matching Ved. *siñcāti* ‘pour, sprinkle’, Avest. *hinčaiti* (**sH₁i-n-k-*), from IE *(*s*)*H₁ey-k^(w)-* seen also in Gk. *l̥xai* ‘strain, filter’ (Hes.), *ikmās* ‘moisture’, OHG *sīhan* ‘strain, filter’, *seiñhen* ‘urinate’, OCS *sīcati* ‘urinate’: for such middle-voice “reitransitivization” of a nasal-

infix verb cf. e.g. *KBo* III 34 II 39 *istarniktat* 'he turned ailing', V 1 I 3 *hunikitari* '(it) cracks', VIII 47 Vs. 10 *karittiyas nininkanta* 'floods will rise'. The Hittite non-attestation of the infixless verb is paralleled by *sarnik-* vs. Lat. *sarciō*. Cf. G. R. Hart, *Studies ... offered to L. R. Palmer* 93–6 (1976); Peters, *Untersuchungen* 110–2.

hinik- has no etymological connection with *he(w)u-* 'rain' (pace H. Eichner, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 18 [1982], and Ch. Zinko, *Akten der 13. Österreichischen Linguistentagung* 319–38 [1988]); but there is a similarity in the presence of *s-*mobile in both Indo-European roots (cf. s. v. *he(w)u-*). For a critical discussion see Lindeman // *Ling.* 33: 113–6, 1983.

hinkaniya- 'dance, play, make merry', verbal noun *hinkaniyawar* (n.), nom.-acc. *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-wa-ar* (*KBo* I 42 III 13 *hinganiyawar* [r] matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *meluldu*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:137 [1971]), *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo* XXVI 20 II 34, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *milulu*; *KUB* III 99 II 9 *hinganiya* [sic] followed [*ibid.* 10] by *duskiyawwar* 'rejoicing'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 17:108, 121 [1985]), *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-u-wa-ar* (*RS* 25:421 Verso 60–61 *hinganiyawwar-ma-as dusgariyanni ha[ndān]* 'she [is] dancing wedded to merriment'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:774 [1968]); iter. *hinganiski-*, 3 pl. pres. act. *hi-in-ga-ni-is-kān-zi* (*KBo* XV 52 V 3–6 ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{BALAG}.DI PANI DINGIR-LIM *menahhanda zahhiyas iwar hinganiskanzi nu ITTI* ^{UIM} *zahhiyandu* 'the harpists dance in fighting fashion in front of the deity, and they fight before the storm-god').

hinkaniya-, *hinkaniski-* is semantically close to *duski(ski)-* 'rejoice, make merry' and *tar(ku)wai-*, *tar(k)uiski-* 'dance'; just as the latter is etymologically akin to Lat. *torqueō* 'twist', *hinkaniya-* is most plausibly a "durative" of *hi(n)k-* 'bow', in the manner of *walhan(n)iya-*, *walhanniski-* from *walh-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:559).

hippara- (c.) 'bondman, serf' (of a special restrictive kind; cf. Lat. *servus ascripticius*) (*ASIRUM* 'confinee, restrictee' [Akk. *esēru* 'confine']), nom. sg. ^{LÜ}*hi-ip-pār-as*, dat.-loc. sg. ^{LÜ}*hi-ip-pa-ri* (*KBo* VI 2 II 49–54 [= Code 1.48–9, OHitt.] ^{LÜ}*hipparas luzzi karpizzi nu* ^{LÜ}*hippari hāppar le [ku]iski iZZi DUMU-ŠU A.ŠĀ-ŠU* ^{GIS}*SAR.GEŠTIN-ŠU le kuiski wāsi [ku]s-za* ^{LÜ}*hippari hāppar iZZi n-as-kan hāpparaz [sa-me]nzi* ^{LÜ}*hipparas kuit hāpparāit t-az āppa dā[i]* [*takku* ^{LÜ}*h*] *hipparas*

tāyizzi sarnikzil ^{NU}.GĀL [...] ... *nu tuikkanza-sis-pat sarnikzi* 'A bondman is subject to corvée, let no one ply trade with the bondman, let no one buy his child, his field, his vineyard; he that plies trade with the bondman, he shall withdraw from the bargain; what the bondman traded he shall take back. If a bondman steals, there is no restitution; his person alone constitutes restitution'), ^{LÜ}*hi-ip-pa-ra-as*, ^{LÜ}*A-SI-RUM* (par. VI 4 IV 36–41 *takku-za* ^{LÜ}*hipparas luzzi karpizzi* ^{LÜ}*ASIRUM-za hāppar le kuiski iyazi DUMU-ŠU A.ŠĀ-ŠU* ^{GIS}*SAR.GEŠTIN-ŠU le kuiski wāsi kuis-za* ^{LÜ}*ASIRUM-ma hāppar [iy]azi n-as-kan hāpparraz samenzi* ^{LÜ}*ASIRUM-[ma] [ku]i* *t hāpparāizzi n-at-za EGIR-pa [dāi]* [*takku* ^{LÜ}*ASIRUM* *dāiyazi nu-ssi-s[an]* 'If a bondman is subject to corvée, let no one ply trade with the bondman, let no one buy his child, his field, his vineyard; but he that plies trade with the bondman, he shall withdraw from the bargain; and what the bondman trades, that he shall take back. If a bondman steals, for him ...'), nom. and gen. pl. ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{A-SI-RU-TIM} (*VAT* 7698 I 9–12 *nu-kan* ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{URU}*PA-li hūma[ntes ...]* ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{UGULA} *LIMTIM* ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{ASIRUTIM} ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{sarmiyas} ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{KĀ}.GĀL *UR.ZÍR* *ISTU* *IGL.DU₈.A.HI.A-TIM hinkanzi* 'all the men of Hatti ..., chiliarchs, the chief of bondmen, the chief of s.-men, the chief of the men of the dog-gate, make offering with oblations'; *ABOT* 6, 12] ^{LÜ}MEŠ^{ASIRUTIM} *pianzi*).

For the circumstances of the *hipparas* see e.g. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 98; Souček, *OLZ* 56:461–3 (1961); von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 9–10, 130; Haase, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 29–37 (1982); Imparati, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25:235–6 (1982). The patent etymological tie-in with *happir-*, *hāppar-* 'trade, business, payment' was first formulated by Güterbock (*XVIII. Rencontre assyriologique internationale, München*, 1970 96 [1972]). Rather than calling for a reconstruction **A₁ēp(o)ró-* (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973]), *hippara-* reflects **A₂p(r)ró-* 'traded person, chattel' (not 'peddler', as suggested by H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 111 [1984]), an earlier derivative than *happir(iy)a-* 'trading-place, town'; cf. *hista-* < **A₂stoyó-*, with the same anaptyctic *i*.

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 337–8 [1981]) abortively interpreted *hippara-* as an abusive term 'fututor', allegedly cognate with Gk. *oĩφω*, Skt. *yābh-ati*, despite consistent *-pp-* pointing to IE **p*; for a possible reflex of IE *(*A₁*)*yebh-* see *HED* 1–2:272–3.

hīrū, hīrūt 'oath' < *Luw.* *ue wth* // *Fs Rix* 469 f.

hiss(a)-, hess(a)- (c.?) 'pole, shaft, thill' (for harnessing draft animals to cart), acc. sg. *hi-is-sa-an* (*KBo* XIII 119 III 10 *n-an* ^{GIS}*hissan ienzi* 'they make it [some tree?] into a pole'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-is-si* (*KUB* XXXIV 16 II 7 ^{GIS}*MA*).*R.GID.DA-as* ^{GIS}*hissi* 'at the pole of the Wain [= Big Dipper; cf. Gk. "Αμαζα = "Αρκτος]; cf. ibid. 10 ^{GIS}*MAR*.*GID.DA* 4 *hurkius* 'four wheels of the Wain'; *Bo* 4929 V 17–20 1 *NINDA.KUR₄.RA ANA PANI* ^D*UD.SIG₅ ŠALMA* ^{GIS}*hissi piran ANA DINGIR-LIM-kan* *IGI-anda tagān dāi* 'one breadloaf, unblemished in the face of Good Day, he places on the ground before the pole facing the deity'; cf. Otten, *JCS* 4:121 [1950]; *KUB* XXX 32 I 2–3 2 *KAK KÜ.BABBAR* [...] ^{GIS}*hissi* 'two pegs of silver ... at the pole'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]), *hi-es-si* (*KBo* XII 123, 15) ^{GIS}*hessi ēsz[i* 'is at the pole'; cf. ibid. 9 ^{GIS}*MAR.GID.DA unuwanda* 'decked wagons').

The etymon Ved. *īṣā* 'pole, shaft(s)' was adduced by Sommer (*Die Sprache* 1:161 [1949]) and Laroche (*RPh* 23:37–8 [1949]); this isogloss neatly complements such other related harnessing vocables as Hitt. *iukan* : Ved. *yugām* 'yoke' (*HED* 1–2:495–6, with addenda at the end of *HED* 3) and Hitt. *turiya-* 'to harness' : Ved. *dhur-* 'harnessing pole'. As with *iukan* and *turiya-*, there is no probability of an Indo-Aryan (Mitannian) loan in Hittite, the contexts pointing to carts or wagons rather than war- or race-chariots (cf. esp. Benveniste, *Hittite* 13–4; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:50–1 [1961], *Die Arier* 190–4; for the discredited loanword idea e.g. Kronasser, *VLFH* 224, *Etym.* 1:49, 100, 144; Frisk, *GEW* 2:356, 3:159; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 1:97, *Die Sprache* 10:185–6 [1964], retracted in *IF* 70:253–4 [1965], *KEWA* 3:646, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1:208 [1988]).

For past attempts to forge laryngealistic links between *hissa-* and *īṣā* see Tischler, *Glossar* 253; add Peters, *Untersuchungen* 94–5; H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:116–22 (1983). In view of the parallelism of *has(s)-* 'ash(es)' (nom. sg. *ha-a-as*) it is possible that the stem was basically *his(s)-*, with nom. sg. **hi-i-is*, acc. sg. *hissan* (like *hassan*), and perhaps a back-formed secondary nom. sg. *hissa-* (like *hassa-*). Too much has been made of the *ā*-stem *īṣā* in postulating a proto-stem including *hissa-*, even seeing in the latter a unique Hittite survival of an inherited *ā*-stem (P. Brosman, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4:144 [1976]); *īṣā* may well be an inner-Indic formation (cf. e.g. *diṣā* beside *diś-*, or Gk. *δίκη* beside Lat. **dix*). *hiss(a)-, hess(a)-* can reflect a diphthongal antecedent **heis(a)-* or

hais(a)-* < **hois(a)-*, thereby tying in formally more closely with such further cognates as Proto-Iranian **aiša-* (Avest. *aēša-* '[po-]le-[plow]', and borrowed terms for 'pole, thill[s]' in various Finnic languages [Komi, Udmurt, Mordvin], esp. Finnish *aisa*, Estonian *ais*; the assumed borrowing of the latter from a nonattested Baltic cognate is possible but strictly per obscurius, pace H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:118 [1983]). More problematic is the relevance of Hom. *οἴηον* 'tiller, helm, rudderpost' and *οἴαξ* with the same post-Homeric meaning but denoting something attached to a yoke-assembly of a mule-wagon (*ἀμαζαν ... ἡμιονειν*) in *Iliad* 24:268–9: *κάδ δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφῃ ζυγὸν ἤρεον ἡμιόνειον / πύξινον ὀμφαλόν ἐν οἴηκεσιν ἀρηρός* 'down from a peg they took a mule-yoke of boxwood, with studs, well fitted with *οἴηκες*' (cf. *KUB* XXX 32 I 2–3 2 *KAK KÜ.BABBAR* [...] ^{GIS}*hissi* 'two pegs of silver ... at the pole'). A proto-form **oysā-* is possible for *οἴη-*, but so is *oywā-* which allows an alternative etymological connection to *ζυγόν*, accounting for nonapophonic *o-* and *ζ-* alike (A₁éy-w-* beside **A₁y-éw-* in Skt. *yaúti*, with *ζυγόν* = Hitt. *iukan* < **A₁yu-g-óm*). The initial of *his(s)-* can therefore be determined only as *H₁* (rather than *A₂* or *A₁*), although some possible further cognates such as Lith. *iena* 'pole' even point to *E₂* (cf. *IEW* 298). It is doubtful that Ved. *īṣā* alone justifies the postulation of a proto-form with a further laryngeal, whether **H₁iH₂s-* (cf. F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 40 [1970]; A. Bernabé P., *Revista española de lingüística* 3:427–8 [1973]; H. Eichner, in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie* 162 [1980]; H. Katz, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:122 [1983]) or **H₁oyH₂s-* (see Peters, *Untersuchungen* 95).

hista-, hesta- (n.) 'mortuary shrine, ossuary, charnel, mausoleum', nom.-*Groddelk* // acc. *hé-es-ta-a* (*KUB* XXX 32 I 11 ^E*hestā sarazzi katier* [sic] 'the h., ^{UF} 33, '01 upper [and] lower'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:96 [1976]), gen. *hi-is-ta-a-as* (*KBo* XXV 29 II 5 [OHitt.] ^E*histās hilamni* 'in the portal of the h.'; later dupl. XXV 30, 12 ^E*hestā hilamni*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 75), *hi-is-ta-as* (XX 76 Rs. 1 + XXIV 87 Rs. 7 ^E*histas āska ari* 'arrives at the gate of the h.'; *IBOT* II 1 I 16–17 *LÚ histass-an-kan* [...] *epzi* 'the man of the h. grabs it'; par. ibid. 8–9 *n-an-si-kan LÚ* ^E*hest[ā] epzi*), *hé-es-ta-a-as* (*KUB* XX 4 V 12 ^D*Hestās ā[ski]* 'at the gate of the [deified] H.'; ibid. 13 ^{LÚ}*GUDÚ* ^D*Hest[ā]* 'the priest of the H.'; ibid. 17 *LÚ.MEŠ* ^{ED}*H[estā]* 'the men of

the H.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:78–9; XXX 32 I 14 *wattaru kuit* ^h*hestās āski* 'the well which [is] at the gate of the h.'; *hé-es-ta-as* (*IBoT* III 1, 17 ^h*hestas āski ari* 'arrives at the gate of the h.'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:90 [1976]), uninflected gen. *hi-is-ta-a* (*KBo* XXIII 99 I 23, XXV 28 III 3 [the latter OHitt.] LÚ.MEŠ *histā*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 74; XI 36 IV 8 LÚ.MEŠ ^D*Histā*; *KUB* XXX 68 Vs. 8 EZEN GAL ^h*histā* 'great feast of the h.'; *KBo* XVI 67 I 7 *INA* EZEN ^h*histā* 'at the festival of the h.'), *hi-is-da-a* (ibid. 3 *INA* EZEN ^h*hisdā*), *hé-es-ta(-a)* (e.g. XVII 40 IV 8 *katti-ssi-ma* LÚ *hestā arta* 'along with him stands a man of the h.', besides OHitt. dupl. XVII 15 Vs. 14 LÚ *histā arta*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 73; X 31 III 25 LÚ.MEŠ *hestā*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:103; XXI 80 I 22 LÚ.MEŠ *hestā*; *KUB* XXXIV [69 + 70] I 18 LÚ.GUDÚ 4 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hestā* 'the priest [and] four men of the h.'; *VAT* 7470 I 13–14 *suppis* LÚ.SANGA ŠA ^h*hestā ū* 3 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hestā* 'the holy priest of the h. and three men of the h.'; cf. Otten, *OLZ* 50:390 [1955]; *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 14 LÚ ^h*hestā kuis kursan karappan* [harzī], with dupl. *KUB* X 13 III 16 LÚ.MEŠ [sic] ^h*hestā* ^{KUS}*kursan kuis karpan harzi* 'the man of the h. who holds the fleece uplifted'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:94; *IBoT* IV 298 Vs. 8, *KUB* XXXIV 69[+70] I 8 LÚ ^h*hestā*; X 13 III 16, XLI 27 IV 12 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hestā*; X 100, 6 LÚ ^h*hest[ā]*; XLVI 2 II 7 LÚ.MEŠ *hesta-ya*), *hé-es-da-a* (*IBoT* III 1, 43 LÚ ^h*hesdā*; *Bo* 3230 I 7–8]LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hesdā-ma* [...] LÚ.MEŠ ^h*huhhas* 'men of the h. ... men of the house of the grand-fathers'), *hi-es-ti-i* (*KBo* XXIII 79 II 7 LÚ ^h*hestī*), *hé-es-ti(-i)* (ibid. 3 *ANA* LÚ ^h*hestī*; ibid. 6 LÚ ^h*hesti-ma*; *KUB* XLI 40 II 11 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hestī*; XLVI 3 I 3 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hesti-ya*; 41/g I 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^h*hestī*; cf. ibid. 19 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA₄ 'men of the house of stone'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 40; *IBoT* III 1, 88 LÚ.SANGA-kan LÚ *hestī* É.ŠA-za['the priest [and] the man of the h. from the interior ...'; cf. ibid. 89 LÚ.MEŠ *hestā sir-RU* 'the men of the h. sing'; ibid. 10 LÚ ^h*hestī* LÚ.SANGA ^h*hesti-ya* 'the man of the h. and the priest of the h.'; ibid. 30–31 LÚ ^h*hestī* *suppai* LÚ.SANGA-i *hurniessar peskizzi* 'the man of the h. gives a spray to the holy priest'; ibid. 55–56 LÚ ^h*hestī* *UDU dāi* 'the man of the h. takes the sheep'; ibid. 71 ^D*Taurī* *TUŠ-as* 34 [with gloss-wedges] GAL.HLA ŠA ^h*hestī* 'to T., sitting, thirty-four goblets of the h.'), dat.-loc. sg. *hi-is-ti-i* (*KBo* XXV 17 I 4 [OHitt.] *IN*A ^h*histī*; later dupl. XXV 18 I 6 *INA* ^h*hestī*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 50; Singer, *Festival* 2:87), *hé-is-ti-i* (XVI 52 Vs. 6 ^h*hestī*; ibid. Rs. 5–7 *izi* ^h*hes[tī]* [...] *-ma namma ukturiaz* [...] *kistan ēsta* 'fire in the h., ... moreover from the cremation place ... had been put out'), *hé-es-ti(-i)* (e.g. VI 28

Vs. 14–15 ^{URU}*Har*] *tusass-a URU-as arha warnuwanza ēsta nu-kan* [...] *tas* ^h*hesti-ya isparzan ēsta* 'the city of H. had been burned down, but ... also in the h. had escaped'; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 22 [1940]; *KUB* XXXIV 71 I 5 ^h*hestī* *UGU-as* 'in the h., of the upper ...'; *IBoT* III 1, 13 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL-as ^h*hestī pānzi* 'king [and] queen go to the h.'; *KUB* XX 84 Vs. 1]*INA* ^h*hestī pedanzi* 'they bring into the h.'; *KBo* X 20 II 11 and *IBoT* III 1, 16 *INA* ^h*hestī*; *KBo* II 5 III 16–17 *INA* ^h*hestī-ma ANA* ^D*Lelwa[n]* *EZEN puruliyas GAL-in* *EZEN-an ūl iyanun* 'but in the h. I had not celebrated for L. the great *purulli*-festival'; similarly ibid. 19 and 21; cf. Götze, *AM* 188–90), *hi-is-ta-a* (XVII 15 Vs. 23 LUGAL-us ^h*histā iya[n-* 'the king goes to the h.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 74; XX 21 Rs. 4 *INA* ^h*histā*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 51), *hi-is-da-a* (XII 59 IV 6 -an] *hastai* ^{NINDA}*tuhurai-ya hisdā* [with gloss-wedges] 'bones and t.-bread to the h.'), *hé-es-ta-a* (XVII 40 IV 13 and *IBoT* I 29 Rs. 35 *INA* ^h*hestā paizzi* 'goes to the h.'; ibid. 40 *n-an* ^h*hestā pehudanzi* 'they take him to the h.'; *IBoT* II 1 VI 9 *INA* ^h*hestā*; *KUB* XXX 32 I 14 *INA* ^h*hest[ā]*, with dupl. *KBo* XVIII 190 Vs. 1 *hes[tā]*, abl. sg. *išTU* ^h*hé-es-ti-i* (X 20 I 42; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:81 [1960]), *TA* ^h*hé-es-ti-i* (*IBoT* III 1, 90 LUGAL-us-kan *TA* ^h*hestī uizzi* 'the king comes from the h.'). For attestations see also Daddi, *Mestieri* 214–6.

histum(n)a- 'pertaining to the h.', nom. sg. c. ^{LÚ}*hi-is-tu-um-ma-as* (*KBo* XXI 80 I 17), ^{LÚ}*hi-is-tu-u-ma-as* (XXIII 99 I 19), ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-um-na-as* (*Bo* 4363 Rs. 7), ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-u-ma-as-sa* (*KUB* LVIII 50 III 1, 10, 16), dat.-loc. sg. ^{LÚ}*hé-es-tu-u-um-ni* (ibid. IV 14), nom. pl. c. ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hé-es-tu-u-um-ni-es* (*KBo* XXV 171 II 7). The suffix *-um(n)a-* is that of *kuenzumna-* 'coming from where?', *Hattusumna-* 'Hattusan', *Suppiluliuma-* 'Holywell'.

For the doubtfully relevant anthroponymic *Histahsu(sar)*, *Has-tahsu(sar)*, ^{SAL}*Histaiyar(a)*, ^{SAL}*Hastayar(i)* see Laroche, *Noms* 69, 298.

hista-/hesta- was a focus for mortuary worship, ancestor cult, and chthonian ritual centered around the infernal goddess *Lelwanis* (cf. the elaborate study by V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:65–99 [1976], 9:87–122 [1977], esp. 8:67 [history of research] and 9:121–2 [conclusions]).

It has been connected since Götze (*Hattusilis* 104, *AM* 265; cf. Otten, *JCS* 4:130 [1950]) with the *hastiyas pir* 'house of bones' of *Hattusilis* III (*KUB* I 1 IV 75 *kuit hastiyas É-ir DÜ-nun n-at ANA DINGIR-LIM parā pihhun* 'the house of bones that I built I consigned to the deity';

cf. Otten, *Apologie* 28); cf. further *Bo* 3826 III 6 É.ŠA *hastiyas* 'inner house of bones' (Otten, *Totenrituale* 112), and the proximity of *hastai* ... *hisdā* in *KBo* XII 59 IV 6 (quoted above). Since Güterbock, *MDOG* 86:75–6 (1953), the obvious similarities (and possible discrepancies – mortuary shrine vs. actual burial place) of *histā-* and É.NA₄ 'house of stone(s)' have claimed attention (cf. e. g. 41/g I 19 LÚ.MEŠ É.NA₄ besides *ibid.* 10 LÚ.MEŠ ^É*hestī* [quoted above]; *KBo* XVII 15 Vs. 12 [OHitt.] NA₄-an *parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the house of stones' [Neu, *Altheth.* 73]; *KUB* XVI 39 II 24 É.NA₄ ^DUTU-Ši *addas* 'house of stones of his majesty's fathers'; *ibid.* 29 and 30 ŠA É.NA₄ DINGIR-LIM *addas* 'of the house of stones of the deified fathers' [Otten, *Totenrituale* 108]). A further quasi-synonym may be É.GIDIM in *KBo* XXI 35 I 4–5 *hurkel* iMA ...] ŠA É.GIDIM ēs[- 'an abomination in ... the interior of the house of the dead'.

The basic interconnection of *hista-* with *hastai-* 'bone(s)' is inescapable and should not be shirked by foisting *hista-* per obscurius on Hattic, while ascribing *hastiyas pir* to a "folk etymology" (thus Kammenhuber, *Orientalia* N.S. 41:300 [1972], followed by Otten, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4:369 [1975]). The partial "freezing" of the stem form *histā* in genitival usage (e. g. LÚ *hestā*) is due to its treatment as a proper name for a landmark in Hattusas (cf. e. g. LUGAL KUR ^{URU} *Hatti* 'king of Hatti'). The alleged alternative stem *histi-/hesti-* is illusory: while the inflected genitive *histās*, *histas*, *hestās*, *hestas* is attested from Old Hittite onward, there is no **histiyas*, **hestiyas*, nor a "frozen" **histī*, only an uninflected genitival (and occasional ablatival) *hestī* in a limited number of mostly late texts where it may represent a sporadic petrification of the dative-locative of a place name, as in Latin *Aquis* > *Aix* besides *Aquae*.

On the formal side attempts to reconcile the vocalism and derivation of *hista-/hesta-* with *hast(a)i-* have been inconclusive, ranging from assumptions of *e : o* ablaut (e. g. Gamkrelidze, *Xettskij jazyk* 26–7) to postulation of inner-Hittite sound change *a > i* on the *arha-* : *irha-* model (F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngalthorie* 36–7 [1970]) to reconstruction of a "vrddhi" derivative **A₁ēstoyó-* 'pertaining to bones' (H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973], *Die Sprache* 20:30 [1974]; cf. G. Darms, *Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn* 109–10 [1978], who compared Anatolian Greek epigraphic εἰσώστη, ὀπώστη 'ossuary'). But the vocalism militates against this construct, for non-ablaut **o-* (i. e. *A₁ē-*) is more probable in *hast(a)i-*, and the assumption that *A₁ē-* should result in uncolored **hē-* > *hi-/he-*

(Eichner, *MSS* 31:72 [1973]) is strictly ad hoc (cf. also G. Schmidt, *Kratylos* 25:176–7 [1980]).

hista- is not derived from *hast(a)i-* but rather related to it. The root form **A₂es-t-* yielded an ablauting *i*-stem **A₂est-i-* > *hast(a)i-*, while the zero grade derivative **A₂stoy-ó-* resulted in *histā-/hestā-*, with *i/e* (completely lacking in plene-spellings) simply anaptyctic in the cluster **hs-* (in the manner of Gk. πινυτός from **πινυτός*; cf. *hippara-* [s. v.]). From the plausible Old Hittite equation ^É*histās hilamni* (*KBo* XXV 29 II 5) = NA₄-an *parnas hilamni* 'in the portal of the house of stones' (XVII 15 Vs. 12) it appears that *histā-* is the collective neuter for 'stone(s)', and we may adduce Goetze's bold comparison (*JAOS* 74:189 [1954]) with Germanic **staina-* (< **A₂stoy-nó-*?). This etymologically palpable affinity of stones to bones is underpinned by poetic expressions for stones as 'earth's bones' (Gk. πῆς ὀστέα in Khoirilos of Samos, fragment 11; ON *foldar beinom* in Thjodolf's *Ynglingatal* 26:10; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.393–4: *lapides in corpore terrae ossa reor dici* 'stones in the body of the earth I deem are called bones', by means of which Deucalion and Pyrrha were told to repopulate the world). Perhaps by virtue of the deposition in the mausoleum the return transition ([human] bones > [earth's] stones) was symbolically consummated, thus explaining how the *hastiyas pir* 'house of bones' was commonly known as the *histās pir* 'house of stones' (cf. *KUB* XIII 8 Vs. 2 ANA É.NA₄-ni = *histās parni* [Otten, *Totenrituale* 106]) or as ^É*Hestā* or ^D*Hestā* or even ^{ÉD}*Hestā* '([Deified] House of) Stones' for short (cf. Hattusilis I's last instruction to his wife: *KUB* I 16 IV 72 [Akk.] *ina irsetim ušrinni* [verb *našāru*] = *ibid.* III 72–73 [Hitt.] *nu-mu ... taknaz pahsi* 'protect me by means of earth' = 'consign me to the earth').

For the unlikely adduction of Akk. *haštu* 'hole, pit, grave' and Ugar. *hšt* as the source of *hista-* see J. C. de Moor, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 1:171 (1969), 14:181 (1982).

Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:312 [1987]) implausibly took Gk. εἰστία (Ionic ἰστία) 'hearth' to be a borrowing from *hista-*.

Hans & Wegner *HALP* '72 adduced Hurr. *hest-* 'castle off, barricade'.

huek- 'conjure, treat by incantation' (with either dat. or acc., like *sipand-* 'libate, sacrifice to'), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-mi* (*KBo* XXII 107 I 13–14 *pahhur hu[...]* *huekmi*), *hu-ik-mi* (*ibid.* 11 *pahhur huikmi* 'I conjure the fire'; XVII 61 Rs. 7 *nu kissan huikmi* 'I conjure as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44; *KUB* XVII 28 I 27–28

hu-u-e-ik-mi
(KUB 27.134 IV 7 nu ke
huikmai 3.34
huwekmi 'utter
this conjuration
thrice'), cf. CHS
(S.1.349)

n-an-san luttia ANA DINGIR.MEŠ tihhi huikmi-ya-ssan ser 'I place it in the window for the gods and I conjure over it'), *hu-uk-mi* (ibid. II 3 *hu-uk-mi*; ibid. 8 *n-an kisan hu[kmi]* 'I conjure her as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84; *KBo* XXVII 134 I 19–20 and IV 8–9 *EGIR-pa ūl lāuwas hūkmain kissan hūkmi* 'I utter thus a conjuration of no release' [figura etymologica]); *hu-u-uk-mi* (XI 19 Vs. 1; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 314), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-<ik>si* (*KUB* XLV 21, 1 [*nu k*] *ūn šipta 3-šu hui<k>si* 'thou utterest the following conjuration thrice'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 256), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-zi* (e.g. XXXI 143 II 19]^D*Telipinui huekzi* 'he conjures T'; ibid. 29]*Tuhuleli huekzi*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 186–7; XXVIII 75 III 25 *mān ANA Halkiya huekzi* 'when he conjures H.'; similarly ibid. 7, 11, 15, 20, 29; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 194–5; *KBo* XXV 121 I 10 *aruni huekzi* 'conjures the sea'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 203; XX 2 + XXV 15 I 5]*UGAL-us KISLAH-ni huekzi* 'the king conjures the threshing-floor'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47; II 12 II 20–21 *mān-san LUGAL-us KISLAH-[ni] huekzi*; XXV 120, 11 *mān DUMU-as ... [...]* *hassī huekzi* 'if a child conjures the hearth'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 201), *hu-ik-zi* (e.g. *KUB* VIII 41 II 1 *mān A[NA D]AM-ŠU huikzi* 'when he [viz. the conjurer] conjures his [viz. the god's] wife'; similarly ibid. 4, 7, 10, 14; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 183–4; similarly *KUB* XXXI 143a + *VBoT* 124 II 10, 14, 19; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 188–9), *hu-uk-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XLIV 4 + *KBo* XIII 241 Rs. 18 2-ŠU *hukzi* 'twice she conjures'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 176; *KUB* XXIV 13 III 17 *hukzi-ma kissan* 'but she conjures as follows'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 108; *KUB* XII 58 II 29 *nu h[u]kzi* 'she conjures'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), *hu-u-uk-zi* (*KBo* XII 112 Vs. 13 *n-an kisan hūkzi*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 66), (1 pl. pres. act. *hu-e-ku-wa-ni* (XV 28 Vs. 7; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:135 [1975]), (3 pl. pres. act. *hu-kān-zi* (e.g. II 12 II 33–34 *kuyus hukanzi* 'whom they conjure'), *hu-u-kān-zi* (*KUB* XVII 24 II 13 *nu apedani pedi hūkanzi* 'in that place they conjure'; ibid. 15 *ūl hūkanzi*; IX 3 IV 3 *INA UD.2.KAM hūkanzi* 'for two days they conjure'), (1 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ga-u-en* (XVIII 12 Vs. 13 *nu hūgawen nu-kan aliliyas pian sig₅-za uit* 'we conjured, and an oracle-bird came forth auspiciously'), (3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ik-du* (VII 1 III 11–12 *nu-wa-ssi-ssan ser* ^{UZU}*hupallas huikdu n-an suppaus tētanus huikdu* 'let her conjure his skull above, let her conjure his clean hair', continuing with *huikdu* ibid. 12–16 for other pieces of upper anatomy; then, 16–19, starting with 'breast' and heading down, lapsing into *KL.MIN* 'ditto'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]; dupl. *KBo*

XXII 128 + 145 + *KUB* XLIII 52 + 350/z III 9–16, with *huikdu* throughout, except possibly *hu-uk-du* in line 13; *ZA* 67:58–9 [1977]); partic. *hukant-*, acc. pl. c. *hu-u-kān-du-us* (*KUB* XXV 27 II 23), gen. or dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-ga-an-da-as* (VII 1 II 13 *kī-ma hūgandas dāi* 'this he takes for the conjured'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:149 [1961]), *hu-u-ga-an-ta-as* (dupl. *KBo* XXII 145 II 5 *kī-ma hūgantas d[āi]*; cf. *ZA* 67:57 [1977]); verbal noun *hukatar* (n.), gen. sg. *hu-u-kān-na-as* (*KUB* XVI 47, 12 *hūkannas MUŠEN.HLA* 'birds of conjuration'), *hu-u-ga-an-na-as* (XVIII 12 Vs. 7 *hūgannas MUŠEN.HLA*); inf. *hu-u-kān-na* (XVII 24 II 14–15 *hūkanna ... ūl āra* 'to conjure ... [is] unlawful'); iter. *hukkeski-*, *hukkiski-* /*huk-ski-*/, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-mi* (VII 1 I 7 *nu DUMU-an kuin hukkiskimi n-an šUM-ŠU tēmi* 'the child whom I conjure, I speak his name'), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-ki-mi* (VII 58 II 5), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-si* (XXX 29 Vs. 8 [*nu kis*] *san hukkiskisi* 'you keep conjuring as follows'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 22), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-uk-ki-es-ki-iz-zi* (IX 34 I 10 *hukkes[kizzī]*; LIX 46 Rs. 9 *huk[kes]kizzi*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 24, 51), *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (e.g. IX 34 III 32 *nu hukkiskizzi kuin n-an-kan šUM-ŠU tezzi* 'whom she conjures, she speaks his name'; cf. dupl. LIX 46 Rs. 13 *nu DÜ-iskizzi* 'treats'; *KBo* III 8 III 18–20 *nu hukkiskizzi* ^D*Kamrusipas GAL-in id-an n-asta KU₆-an uit* *hukkiskizzi* 'K. conjures the great river, and she conjures the fish in the water'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; *KUB* VII 53 II 23 *nu hukkiskizzi* 'she keeps conjuring'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 12; *KBo* XXI 6 Vs. 3 ^{SAL}*ŠU.GI-ma kissan hukkiskizzi* 'but the old woman conjures as follows'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 44; XXV 193, 5]*kissan hukkiskizzi*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 52; *IBoT* I 36 II 46 *nu* ^{LU}*AZU hukkiskizzi* 'the magician conjures'; cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:186 [1966]; *KUB* XXXV 146 II 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 268; *KBo* XVII 62+63 I 10 and 12; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32; VIII 130 II 8; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 210), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-ki-iz-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XXXII 8 III 10; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 118), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-id-du* (VII 1 II 23–24 *kattera-ma-at dan-kuwaz taknāz taknas* ^D*UTU-us hukkiskiddu* 'but from the dark earth below let the solar deity of the earth conjure it'); supine *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-wa-an* (IX 4 II 22–23 and dupl. IX 34 III 6–7 *nu-za namma kī hūkmai epzi nu hukkiskiuwan dāi* 'then she takes this conjuration and begins to conjure'), *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-an* (XXXIII 120 II 71 *hukkiskiuwan dayer* 'they began conjuring'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *4; Laroche, *RHA* 26:44 [1968]).

hu-uk-ki-es-
ki-mi 2029lg
Anal. Mart.
21, 85

hu-uk-ki-es-ki-iz-zi
IX 34 I 10
KUB 43.62 B5; cf. Laroche
RHA 23:170

hukmai- (c. and n.) 'conjunction' (*šiptu*), acc. sg. c. *hu-uk-ma-in* (e.g. *KUB XII 58 I 33 nu* ^{SALŠU.GI} *ser appannas hukmain hukzi* 'the sorceress utters the conjunction of uplift' [figura etymologica]; *ibid.* 36–37 *nu ša ša* ^{HAH.TUR} *hu(k)main hukzi* 'she utters the conjunction of the pig'; *ibid.* 38 *nu ša* ^{UR.TUR} *hukmain hukzi* 'she utters the conjunction of the puppy'; similarly *ibid.* 39–40; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10; *KBo XV 1 IV 40 [mahha]n hukmain zennai* 'when she finishes the conjunction'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 144), *hu-u-uk-ma-in* (XXVII 134 I 19, quoted sub 1 sg. pres. act. *hukmi* above), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-uk-ma-i* (*KUB IX 34 III 6* ^{quoted above}), gen. sg. *hu-uk-mi-ya-as* (*KBo XVII 62+63 I 13 nu hukmiyas* ^{DUB.HI.A-TIM} *arhay[an]* 'the tablets of conjunction [are] apart'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 32), acc. pl. *hu-uk-ma-is* (sic *KUB VII 53 II 6 hukmais-ma hukkiskizzi* 'she keeps uttering the conjunctions'), *hu-uk-ma-us* (XXVII 29 I 7; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 134), *hu-uk-ma-a-us* (*VBoT 58 IV 37–38 hukmāus hukzi* 'utters conjunctions'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB XXXVI 44 I 6 hukmāus 3-šū irhāizzi* 'makes conjunctions thrice in a row'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:88 [1965]), *hu-u-uk-ma-uš* (*KBo XI 44 I 22*), *hu-u-uk-ma-a-uš* (*KUB 144 I 8*).

hukmatalla- (c.) 'conjurer', nom. pl. ^{LÜ.MES} *hu-uk-ma-tal-li-[e]-es* (*KUB XII 61 II 7*), ^{LÜ.MES} *KAXLI* (*ibid.* 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:29 [1968]). For formation cf. *ishamai-* and *ishamatalla-* (*HED* 1–2:394–5).

The consistent single spelling of *-k-* (except for gemination due to unvoicing before *-sk-* in the iterative *hukkiski-*) parallels that of e.g. *eku-* (iter. *akkuski-*) and emphatically points to an Indo-European voiced stop. This alone vitiates most current etymologies, such as the semantically unenlightening connection with Skt. *vak-*, Gk. (*φ*)*ἔπ-* 'speak', with dissimilatory loss of labiovelarity in *huk-* as in Lat. *voc-* (first in Sturtevant, *Lg.* 6:226 [1930], *Comp. Gr.* 96, 233, and down to Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:388), and the adduction of Goth. *weihan* 'consecrate', in tandem with *weihan* 'fight' (Lat. *vincō*, *victima*) for the homophone *huk-* 'slaughter' (the latter first in Goetze, *Lg.* 30:403 [1954]), requiring a secondary adjustment of Hittite ablaut from **H₁weyk-* : **H₁wik-* to *huk-* : *huk-* (advanced with reservations by Puhvel, *LIEV* 24–5; cf. *Lg.* 38:302 [1962]; fully embraced by J. Holt, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* 216–9 [1959], and Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:64–5, 73 [1961], who also adduced Ved. *vinākti* 'separate' and believed in a single common denominator meaning 'consecrate by sacrificial slaughter'). The occasional tie-in

with Skt. *vaś-* 'wish', Gk. (*φ*)*ἔκων* 'willing' (e.g. W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59:177 [1939]) fares no better. Sturtevant later (*Lg.* 16:85–6 [1940], *IHL* 50, *Comp. Gr.* 2 40, 50, 57, 126–7) translated *huk-* implausibly as 'set free from witchcraft' and suggested as a cognate Gk. (*φ*)*ἄννωμι* 'break' (a connection which may have merit for *huni[n]k-* instead [q. v.]). Further assorted vagaries were chronicled in Tischler, *Glossar* 255–7; add T. Burrow's comparison of *huk-*, *huk-* with Skt. *usij-* (a kind of priest; *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume* 97 [1970]).

The only plausible etymology is that of Čop (*RHA* 13:63–4 [1955]) who postulated **H₁wégh^h-ti* : *H₁ugh^h-ónti* as antecedents of *hukzi* : *hukanzi* and compared Gk. *ἔκτο*, *ἔχομαι* 'profess, pray'. Ved. *vāghát-* 'sacrificer', Lat. *voveō* 'vow' (root **E₂ew-gh^h-*; IEW 348). The cultic meanings are tolerably close to 'conjure', and the delabialization of *gh^h* after *u* parallels that of Greek. The initial laryngeal *E₂* is the same as in e.g. *har(a)k-* 'get lost', *harna-*, *he(w)u-*. There is no need to adduce further or instead (with Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 87; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 103; Peters, *Untersuchungen* 18–20) the obscure Gk. *αὔξω* 'boast, brag'.

huk- 'slaughter, butcher, slay', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-e-ik-mi* (*KBo XVII 3 III 14 1* ^{UDU} *huk[mi]* 'I slaughter one sheep'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 30; Neu, *Altheth.* 15), *hu-ik-mi* (XVII 1 I 41 ^{GUD-un} *huikmi* 'I slaughter the ox'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 22; Neu, *Altheth.* 7), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-e-ik-zi* (*KUB XVII 24 III 3 nu* ^{LÜ} *MUHALDIM UDU huwekzi* 'the cook butchers the sheep'), *hu-ik-zi* (e.g. LI 1 + LIII 14 II 10–11 *n]-an ina é.DINGIR-LIM hassī ana* ^D *Telipinu huikzi* 'he slaughters it [viz. the sheep] in the temple at the hearth to T'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:41 [1984]; *KBo XI 45 + IBoT III 87 II 5 ana* ^D *u apāsila huikz[i]* 'he himself slaughters it to the storm-god'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 230; *KBo XX 39 I.K.* 12, 14, 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 219), *hu-uk-zi* (e.g. *KUB XLI 8 I 18 nu-ssan petesni kattanta hukzi* 'he slaughters down into the hole'), *hu-u-uk-zi* (dupl. *KBo X 45 I 35 nu-ssan petesni* ^{GAM-anta} *hūkzi*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:120 [1961]; *KUB LIII 12 III 20–21 ina é.DINGIR-LIM hassī ana* ^D *Telipinu hūkzi* 'slaughters [it] in the temple at the hearth to T'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:50 [1984]), 1 pl. pres. act. (?) *hu-e-ik-ku-[e-ni]* (*KBo XVII 4 III 19*; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 34; Neu, *Altheth.* 16), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-kán-zi* (frequent, e.g. XV 33

III 13 ^{LÜ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM-ma-as istanāni hukanzi 'the cooks slaughter on the altar'; XX 16 Rs. 10 GUD.HI.A-us hukanzi 'they slaughter oxen'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 38; KUB LI 1 + LIII 14 II 18 1 GUD 30 UDU.HI.A ^{NA}hūwasiya ANA ^DTelipinu hukanzi 'one ox [and] thirty sheep they slaughter at the baitylos for T.'; XXX 19 + XXXIX 7 I 23–24 1 GUD 7 UDU.HI.A-ya hukanzi 'they slaughter one ox [and] seven sheep'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 32; VBoT 24 II 35–36 namma-an-san ^{GIS}lahhurnuzias sarā hukanzi 'they slaughter it [viz. the goat] on top of foliage'; KBo III 63 II 3 nu MÁŠ.GAL hukanzi 'they slaughter the he-goat', hu-u-kán-zi (profuse, e. g. ibid. 7 hūkanzi-ma-an; KUB LVII 84 III 2–4 GAL ^{LÜ.MEŠ}SIPAD ŠUŠI 4 [...]HI.A ŠA-BA 13 GUD.HI.A 51 UDU.HI.A ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūkanzi 'the chief [of] shepherds slaughter[s] to the gods sixty-four ..., consisting of thirteen cattle [and] fifty-one sheep'; cf. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:256 [1984]; LIII 8 Vs. 8–9 12 UDU.HI.A ... ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūkanzi 'twelve sheep they slaughter to the gods', detailed ibid. 10–19 with hūkanzi each time; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984]; KUB XXXIV 123 I 14 9 UDU.HI.A GE₆ kutti hūkanzi 'nine black sheep they slaughter at the wall'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65; LIII 12 IV 1–3 1 UDU appanzi n-an ^Ehīlanmmas ^DUTU-i hūkanzi 'they seize one sheep and slaughter it to the solar deity of the portal'; XXV 25 I 10–11 1 UDU EN KUR-TI pāi ANA ^DZahpuna-an-kan [INA] ^{NA}ZI.KIN-si hūkanzi 'the landlord gives one sheep, to Z. they slaughter it at the baitylos'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; KBo II 13 Vs. 14–15 ^{NA}hūwasiyas hūkanzi suppa huesauwaza zeantaza tiyanzi 'at the baitylos they do the slaughtering, they put sacrificial meat from the raw [and] from the cooked'; KUB XXXVI 89 Vs. 4 UDU.HI.A-kan hattesni GAM-anda hūkanzi 'they slaughter the sheep down into a hole'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; VII 5 III 2–3 n-an ^{GIS}BANŠUR-i piran katta hūkanzi 'they slaughter it [viz. the sheep] before the table'; XXV 33 I 7–8 istananni ^{GIS}eyani sarā hūkan[zi] 'they slaughter it up [= hoist it up for slaughter] on the altar by the eya-tree'; XVII 28 II 53–54 n-asta 1 UDU.NITÁ ^DUTU-i BAL-anti n-an hūkanzi nu KAŠ sippanti 'he sacrifices one ram to the solar deity; they slaughter it; he libates with beer'; KBo X 20 II 18, 31, 34, 43 UDU.HI.A hūkanzi 'they slaughter sheep'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:82 [1960]; KUB XLIV 58 II 9; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 271), (3 pl. pres. midd) hu-u-kán-ta (LV 28 II 12; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:99 [1988]), (3 sg. pret.) act. hu-e-ik-ta (KBo III 34 I 17–18 s-an ¹Sar-māssuui ¹Nunnuui-ya sakuwa ^{a-sma}huekta 'he ^{stuck his eyes and nose}slew him before the eyes of S. and N.'; similarly KUB XXXVI 104 Vs. 16 [OHitt.]

huekta), hu-u-e-ik-ta (KBo XXII 6 I 18 ^{GIS}armizziyas-ma 2 UDU.ŠIR huwekta 'to the bridge he slaughtered two rams'; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101:19 [1969]), hu-ik-ta (KBo XI 45 + IBoT III 87 II 17); partic. hukant-, acc. sg. c. hu-ga-a-an-ta-an (KBo XX 11 II 7; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 147), acc. pl. c. hu-ga-an-tu-us (Bo 5478 I 6; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 108); verbal noun hukessar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. hu-ki-es-sar (KUB XXV 33 I 2; XLI 51 IV 3), hu-u-ki-es-sar (Bo 3366 II 9 inf. 1 hu-u-ga-an-ta hukessar assanuzi 'is done slaughtering'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 267), hu-gi-hu-i-ku-an-zi (KBo 15:33 @ 3 hu-u-ki-es-sar (KUB XXVIII 45 VI 16), dat.-loc. sg. hu-u-ki-es-ni (XXX 32 IV 14 30 GUD.MAH 33 GUD.ÁB 3 ME UDU.HI.A hūkesni 'thirty bulls, thirty-three cows, three hundred sheep for slaughter'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:98 [1976]); verbal noun hugatar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. hu-u-ga-tar (LIII 4 Rs. 15 UDU.HI.A GUD.HI.A hūgatar QATAMMA sarranzi 'they likewise divide up the slaughtering pf sheep [and] cattle' [division of labor!]; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:74 [1984]); inf. hu-ga-an-na (XXXI 57 I 14–15 terippūwanzi warsuwanzi ARĀH-anzi huganna arauwas NU.GÁL 'free from plowing, harvesting, garnering, and butchering there is none'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 114; LI 1 + LIII 14 I 27–28 1 UDU TI-[an ...] huganna dan[zi] 'one live sheep they take for slaughter'), hu-u-ga-an-na (KBo XXIX 72 + XIV 96 Vs. 8 nu-za mahhan ^{LU}MUHALDIM UDU hūganna epzi 'when the cook begins slaughtering a sheep'), hu-u-kán-na (KUB LIII 4 Rs. 10 hūkanna kuis t[iyazi] 'he who proceeds to slaughter'); iter. hukeski-, huk(k)iski-/huk-ski-/, 3 sg. pres. act. hu-u-ki-is-ki-iz-zi (1470/u I 11; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:403), 3 pl. pres. act. hu-ki-es-kán-zi (KBo II 4 IV 23 nu GÜB-li kutti hukeskanzi 'they slaughter at the left wall'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 230), hu-u-ki-es-kán-zi (KUB XXII 27 IV 7), hu-u-ki-is-kán-zi (XX 48 I 3–5 nu UDU.HI.A MÁŠ.GAL-kan [...] hūman hūkanzi kuitman-ma hūkiskanzi 'the sheep [and] the he-goat ... they butcher everything; but while they are butchering ...'; KBo XV 33 III 28 nu apūss-a ist[anāni] hukanzi kuitman hūkiskanzi 'those too they slaughter on the altar; while they are busy slaughtering ...'; KUB XXXII 82, 10 kuitman UDU.HI.A hūkiskanzi 'while they are slaughtering the sheep'; LIII 4 Rs. 10 sarā hūkiskanzi 'they hoist up for slaughter' [opp. ibid. Vs. 6 kattanta hūkanzi 'they slaughter downwards']), hu-uk-ki-is-kán-zi (IX 3 IV 6–7 [nu ŠU.NIGI]N 32 GUD.HI.A 6 ME UDU.HI.A INA ^{URU}Kāsha k[ui]n ANA ^DTelipinu UD.3.KAM hukkiskanzi 'altogether thirty-two cattle [and] six hundred sheep at Kāsha that they slaughter for T. during three days'), hu-uk-kis-kán-zi (dupl. LIII 3 VI 4; cf. *ZA* 68:274 [1978]; Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF*

11:61 [1984]), *hu-u-uk-ki-is-kán-zi* (LVII 84 III 7–8 *apūss-a-ssan hūkkiskanzi* 'those too they slaughter'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-ki-is-ki-it* (1470/u I 10); supine *hu-uk-ki-is-ki-u-an* (LIII 4 Rs. 9 *nu hūkkiskian tianzi* 'they begin to slaughter'); iterative – "durative" *huganna-*, supine *hu-ga-an-ni-wa-an* (KBo XXI 25 I 44 ^{LÜ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM *huganniwan* [*t*]ianzi 'the cooks start butchering'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 65).

For failed attempts at etymology, such as interpreting *huek-* 'slaughter' in connection with Lat. *vincō* and jointly with its near-homophone *huek-* 'conjure' and in conjunction with the Gothic pair *weiha* 'fight' and 'consecrate', see s. v. *huek-* 'conjure', and Tischler, *Glossar* 258; add E. Seebold's preposterous attempt (KZ 96:48 [1982]) to combine *huek-* with Gk. *σφαζω* 'slaughter' as reflecting **s-ghw-ag-*, heedless of previous studies. *huek-* means originally 'stab, stick' and has (like *hat*[*t*]-, q. v.) come to be specialized as a term for sacrificial slaughter (unlike e. g. *kuen-* 'kill', which has the basic meaning 'smite'). A plausible cognate is OPers. *vaj-* in *Bisitūn* 2.73–75 (similarly ibid. 88–89): *adam-šaiy utā nāham utā gaušā utā hazānam frājanam utā-šaiy 1 ēšam avajam* 'I struck off (*fra-jan-*; cf. Hitt. *kuen-*) his nose and ears and tongue, and I stuck (*vaj-*) one of his eyes'. Further cognates may be Gk. (*φ*)*ὀφνίς*, Lat. *vōmis*, OHG *waganso* 'plowshare', OPruss. *wagnis* 'coultter' (*IEW* 1179; cf. Čop, *RHA* 13:64–9 [1955]; K. Strunk, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 241–56 [1979]), pointing to IE **H₁wegh-* with a meaning 'slash, pierce'.

Cf. *huni*(*n*)*k-*.

huellai- 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-i-el-la-a-it* (KUB XXXIII 120 I 22 *arha huellāit n-as piddāis* ^DAnus MUŠEN-as nepisi iyannes '[from Kumarbi's hand] Anu flew forth (?) and he fled, as a bird he went to heaven'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 31:112 [1953]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:40 [1968]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:472.

Attempts to connect *huellāi-* with *hul(a)-* 'wind, twist' (e. g. Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 88) are unconvincing, as is the effort of Čop (*Ling.* 6:44 [1964]) to reconstruct a **hwej-allā-* (sic; suffix?) related to *huwai-* 'flee'.

Possibly a denom. derivative from a lost cognate of Gk. *ἄελλα*, We. *awel* 'blast', thus IE **A₁éw-E₁-*, *A₁w-éE₁-* 'blow' (*IEW* 81–4). *huellai-* < **A₁wēE₁-l-eA₂-ye-*, vs. **A₁ewE₁-l-yA₂* in *ἄελλα*?

Cf. *huwant-*.

huelpi- 'young, new, fresh, unripe; (neut. sg.) newborn animal (calf, lamb, kid)', nom. sg. c. *hu-el-pi-is* (KBo III 8 III 32 DUMU-as *huelpis* 'young child'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; KUB XXIV 9 III 25]GEŠTIN *mahlas huelpis* 'new grapewine'; dupl. XXIV 11 III 16 1 GAL GIR₄ GEŠTIN *mahlas huelpis* 'one clay goblet new grapewine'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46; KBo XXV 106, 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 181), acc. sg. c. *hu-el-pi-in* (KUB XI 22 II 2–3 ^{LÜ}AZU 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA [...] *huelpin parsī* [ya 'the magician breaks one fresh breadloaf'], nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-el-pi* (XXIV 7 II 5 *nu-z*]a ^{LÜ.MEŠ} *huelpi* GA.RAŠ^{SAR} *īwar arha karī*]pta 'thou [viz. Ištar] hast devoured men like fresh leek'; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:307 [1977]; Güterbock, *JAOS* 103:158 [1983]; ibid. 58 *huelpi happuriyan* 'fresh greenery'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:226 [1950]), *hu-e-el-pi* (XXVII 16 IV 6–7 INBLILA-ya *hūman hādan huēlpi kuitta parā* 'and all fruits, dried [and] fresh, each by itself'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:91 [1957]), *hu-u-el-pi* (XIII 4 IV 3–4 *kuīt huwelpi sumās* ^{LÜ.MEŠ} APIN.LAL DINGIR.MEŠ-[as] *pe ha*[r]i[e]ni 'what newborn you farmers tender to the gods'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:390 [1934]; ibid. 39–40 *kuītman UKÜ-as huwelpi nāui ezzazzi n-at* DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hūdāk udattin* 'while a man does not yet eat the newborn, bring it promptly to the gods'; ibid. 43–44 *mān huwelpi DINGIR.MEŠ-as hūdāk ul udatteni* 'if you do not bring the newborn promptly to the gods'; ibid. 49–50 *mān-wa-za kī huwelpi anzel za-ni hūdāk piyawēn* 'if we promptly gave this newborn to ourselves'), instr. sg. *hu-el-pi-it* (X 27 I 22–26 *mān z[enanti]-ma nasma* [gin]-manti nu ^{GIS}alkistānus *huelpit ištū INBI miyanuzi* 'but if [it is] ^{to} fall or ^{to} winter, he lets boughs with unripe fruit ripen'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:70 [1939]; M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:86 [1957]), *hu-e-el-pi-it* (XXVII 16 I 9–13 *namma* ^{GIS}INBLILA *kar*[!]appiyan[zī] nu mān hameshanza n-at miyan [parā] karsanda mān gimmanza-ma nassu zēnanza n-at ištū ^{GIS}INBI *huēlpit* GEŠTIN-it ^{GIS}HASHUR-it *mi-ya*[nuanzī] 'they further pick fruits; if [it is] spring-summer, they cut them off ripe; but if [it is] winter or fall, they let them ripen from unripe fruit, grape [and] apple'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* N.S. 8:69 [1939]), nom. pl. c. *hu-el-pi-is*, neut. *hu-el-pi* (XXX 32 IV 11–12 6 ME 82 ^{UZU}UR.UDU *huelpi* 80 ARNABU ŠABULU 3 [...] MUŠEN.HLA ŠABULU 6 ME 80 MUŠEN.HLA *huelpis* 'six hundred and eighty two fresh legs of lamb, eighty dried hares, three [...] dried birds, six hundred and eighty fresh birds'; cf. Friedrich, *JCS* 1:277–8 [1947];

nom.-acc. pl. n.
hu-el-pi-is
(KUB 43.55 II 18–19)
huelpi ^{GIS}INBI
'fresh fruits';
cf. Hans II OA 23:23

V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:98 [1976]; XVIII 14 III 8 SIL.Ā.HI.A *huelpi*[-? 'young lambs'].

The connection of *huelpi*- with IE *g^w*elbh*- 'womb; embryo' (Skt. *gārbha*-, Avest. *garəwa*-, Gk. *δελφός*), also 'young animal' (Avest. *garəbuš*-, Gk. *δέλφαξ* 'piglet') has tempted scholars from Hrozný (*SH* 111) to von Brandenstein (*Orientalia* N.S. 8:81 [1939]) to Hendriksen (*Untersuchungen* 26) to Carruba (*Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante* 130 [1976]) to E. Seebold (*KZ* 96:41 [1982]). While a regular derivation of *h* (or *hu*) from an IE guttural stop must be rejected, the etymon in question has variants which merit special consideration: Gk. *βρέφος* 'foetus, newborn' (*g^w*rebh*-), OCS *žrěbe* 'foal' (*g^w*erbh*-), Arm. *koriun* 'young animal'; Goth. *kalbō* 'heifer', ON *kalfr* 'calf', Lat. (Gaulish) *galba* 'paunch, belly' (*g^w*olbh*-), OHG *kilbur* 'ewe' (*g^w*elbhes*-); OE *colt* 'young animal' (*g^w*eld*-), Goth. *kilpei* 'womb' (*g^w*elt*-); ON *hvelpr*, OHG *welf* 'young animal, whelp' (*k^w*elbh*-). These words, all clearly related, have a degree of initial (*g^w/g/k^w), medial (*l/r), and root-final (*bh/d/t) variation which defies strict one-on-one correspondences. A further possible cognate is Lat. *vulva*, *volva*, *volba* 'womb' which, besides the possible tie-in with *volvō* (cf. Gk. [Ϝ] *ἐλντρον* 'wrap'), may be connected as *g^w*elbh*- with Skt. *gārbha*-, or as *(H₁)*welb(h)*- with Hitt. *huelpi*-. The tertium of this latter comparison is Skt. *ūlham*, *ūlvam* 'uterus'. In this instance the neuter *huelpi* 'neonate' is primary (of the type *hali*- 'watch', *lesi*- 'liver', *meni*- 'face'; cf. the neuter gender of e. g. Avest. *garəbuš*, Gk. *βρέφος*), and the adjectival use 'young, new, fresh' results from appositional juxtaposition (cf. e. g. *halluwa*- 'hollow, pit' > 'hollow, deep', or Lat. **vetus* 'year' [cf. *vetustus*], *über* 'udder' used adjectivally for 'old' and 'fertile').

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 339–40 [1981]) improbably connected *huelpi*- with Gk. (Ϝ) *ἐλπω* 'cause to hope', Lat. *volup* 'agreeably' (**welp*-), *lepos* 'grace, charm' (**wlep*-), *lepidus* 'pleasant, charming', pejoratively 'nice, effete' (thence semantically akin to 'tender'). M. Furlan (*Ling.* 24:455–66 [1984]) adduced the same root, seeing it also in various "cute" animal terms such as Lat. *volpēs*, Lith. *lāpė* 'fox' or Lat. *lupus*, Engl. *wolf*.

hues-, huis-, hus- 'live, be alive, stay alive, survive, recover' (TI-es-), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-zi* (*KBo* XII 81 II 5 *natta huiszi* 'lives not'), *hu-i-is-zi* (*KUB* VI 46 IV 9–11 MUŠEN-za^{G1S} *taptappan* EGIR-pa *epzi*

n-as huyiszi ammuk-ma-kan DU ... EN-YA EGIR-pa AŠBAT nu-mu TI-nut 'a bird repairs to its nest and stays alive; I have taken refuge with the storm-god my lord, and he has kept me alive'), TI-is-zi (dupl. VI 45 III 40–42 MUŠEN-is^{G1S} *taptappan* EGIR-pa *epzi n-as TI-is-zi ūk-ma-za-kan* DU ... EN-YA EGIR-pa AŠBAT nu-[mu TI]-nut), TI-es-zi (XV 30 III 5 *man-wa* DU-TU-ši TI-es-zi 'my majesty lives'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 193; LVII 116 Vs. 18]DU-TU-ši TI-anni ser TI-es-zi-war-as ['on account of my majesty's life; he lives...'; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 19; XVII 12 II 26 *mān-wa asi anuhsas TI-es-zi* 'if that person survives'; XV 1 III 49–50 *mān DUMU.NITA* [ediz] GIG-za TI-es-zi 'if the boy recovers from this illness'; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 32:139 [1973]; *KBo* XXIII 117 Rs. 14 *apizza TI-es-zi* 'recovers from that'). 2 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-is-te-ni* (*KUB* I 16 III 37 -jssan ŪL *huyisteni nu harakteni* 'you will not live, you will perish'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12). 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-e-es* (*ABOT* 44 I 55–56 *ziga* DU-TU-us *huēs* 'hail to thee, sun-god' [lit. 'thou, sun-god, live!']); partic. nom. sg. c. TI-es-sa-an-za (*KUB* XXXI 77 I 8–9 *nu-wa zashiya ABU-YA mān* EGIR-pa TI-essanza 'as in the dream my father [was] again alive'; cf. Otten, *Puduhepa* 14 [1975]); iter. *hueski*-, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-es-ki-iz-zi* (XLIX 1 IV 17).

Caus. *huesnu*-, *huisnu*-, *husnu*- 'revive, make recover, restore, rescue, save; keep alive, sustain; let live, spare' (TI-[nu-]; Akk. *bulhutu*, factitive of *balātu*, with the same range of meanings), 2 sg. pres. act. TI-nu-si (*KUB* LVII 116 Vs. 10 *zi]gga-war-an TI-nusi* 'you spare his life'), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-zi* (*KBo* VI 26 II 9–10 [= *Code* 2:72] *takku* LU-ELLAM *kisduwanti MU.KAM-ti kuiski huisnuzi ta PUH-šu pāi* 'if someone sustains a free man in a hunger year, the latter makes restitution for himself'; VI 26 IV 11–12 [= *Code* 2:98] *nu DAM-ZU huisnuzi* LU-pupunn-a *huisnuzi* 'he spares his wife, and also spares the paramour'; ibid. 17–18 [= *Code* 2:99] *kuenzi-us LUGAL-us huisnuzi-ya-as LUGAL-us* 'the king either has them killed, or the king spares them'; VI 26 III 21–22 [= *Code* 2:87] *kuenzi-ma-an LUGAL-us huisnuzi-y[a-an LUGAL-us]*, *hu-u-is-nu-zi* (dupl. *KUB* XXIX 33 II 6–7 *huuis[nuzi-ma-an LUGAL-us]* *kuenz[i-ya-an LUGAL-us]*; *KBo* VI 26 IV 14–15 [= *Code* 2:98] *kuenzi-us LUGAL-us huisnuzi-ya-as LUGAL-us*; *KUB* XIV 8 Rs. 22 MUŠEN-is-za-kan^{G1S} *taptappan* EGIR-pa *epzi n-an* G1S *taptappas huuisnuzi* 'a bird repairs to its nest, and the nest keeps it alive'; cf. Götze, *KIF* 216), *hu-is-nu-uz-zi* (*KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 25]huisnuzzi ŪL *kuiski* 'no one saves [me]'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 115), *ha-is-nu-uz-zi* (sic *KBo* XI 10 II 20–21

antuhzas-a-z antuwahhan tan haisnuzzi 'one man revives another', lit. 'makes live a second time' [?]; for the *ha-* : *hu-* variation [whether or not a scribal slip], cf. e. g. *hūlalizzi* : *halalizzi*, *Hupaliya* : *Hapaliya*, *hupallas-* : *hapallasai-*, *ti-nu-zi* (e. g. *VBoT* 58 I 27 *apūnn-a-wa ti-nu-zi* 'him he lets live'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:84 [1965]), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-e-ni* (*KUB* XXXVI 32, 15 [*LUGAL-uizzanani huismueni*] 'in the kingship we let live'; cf. *RHA* 26:78 [1968]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-an-zi* (*VBoT* 58 I 6 [*takku g*] *UD-us UDU-us kumanza n-an āppa huismu[anzi]* 'if an ox or sheep [is] killed, they revive it'), *ti-an-zi* (*KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 13–14 [*m*] *ann-a DINGIR.MEŠ ti-anzi namma mann-a [...]* *hattulahhanzi* [with gloss-wedges] *namma* 'may the gods revive him, and may they make [him] well again'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-is-nu-nu-un* (*KUB* XXVI 34, 3 [...] *KUR-e EGIR-pa huismunum*, matching *KBo* I 1 Rs. 22 [Akk.] *KUR^{URU} Mittanni mita uballazu* 'I revived the dead land of Mitanni'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 6:369–70 [1969]; *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 14 *kāsa-wa-kan [tuk]* 'Madduwattan [*ištu gir*] 'Attarsiya huismunum 'lo, I have saved thee, M., from the sword of A.'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 4), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-e-(es-)nu-ū-ut* (*KBo* III 28 II 19 *s-an attas-mis* 'Kizzuwan nat<ta> hue<s>nūt 'him, K., my father did not save'; cf. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 187 [1973]), *hu-is-nu-ut* (*KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 3–4 *nu-tta-kkan ABI^{DUTU-ŠI} hin[ga]naz huismut* 'my majesty's father saved you from death'; ibid. 10 *nu-tta-kkan ABI^{DUTU-ŠI} ištu gir* 'Attarsiya ar[ha] huismut 'my majesty's father saved you from the sword of A.'; ibid. 10–11 *tugg-a* 'Maddu[watt]an ... *ABI^{DUTU-ŠI} huismut* 'and you, M., my majesty's father saved'; *VBoT* 58 I 44), *hu-us-nu-ut* (*KBo* III 36 Vs. 9 'Hakipuulin-a hikanni huismut 'and H. in plague he kept alive' or 'H. he saved from the plague'), *ti-nu-ut* (e. g. IV 12 Vs. 8 and 10 *GIG-az ti-nut* 'made [me] recover from the illness'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-is-nu-e-ir* (*KUB* XXXIV 40, 15; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:184 [1977]), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-is-nu-ut*, *ti-nu-ut* (e. g. XXXVI 75 III 9 *nu-mu DINGIR-YA huismut* 'my god, save me!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 125; XIV 10 IV 20–21 *nu-mu^{DIM^{URU}} Hatti EN-YA huismut* 'storm-god of Hatti, my lord, save me!'; dupl. XIV 11 IV 25 [*ti-nut*]; cf. Götze, *KIF* 218; XIV 8 Rs. 21 *nu-mu^{DUTU^{URU}} Hatti EN-YA istamas nu-mu huismut* 'hear me, storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and save me!'; ibid. 37 *nu-mu ti-nut*), *hu-u-is-nu-ut* (ibid. 45 *nu-mu^{DUTU^{URU}} Hatti* EN-YA *huuismut*; dupl. XIV 11 IV 18 *ti-nut*; dupl. XIV 10 IV 15 [*ti-nut*]; *KBo* IV 6 Vs. 16–17 *n-an kez GIG-za ti-nut* 'make her recover from this illness!'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-is-nu-ud-du* (IV 2 I 58–60 *halkis-wa mahhan NAM.LU.ULU.LU GUD*

hu-is-nu-mi-ni
(*Ko* 32.15.248
n-an-kan h.
'let us save him'
see 56-57:323

*hu-is-nu-
-wa-an*
(*Ko* 24.24.23
'h. hurnak
'keep alive!'
d. jinjie 11ac
5:61, 70)

UDU huitarr-a hūman huismuskizzi LUGAL SAL.LUGAL kē-ya ē-ir kār *halkis kallarit uddanaz QATAMMA huismuddu* 'even as grain sustains mankind, ox, sheep, and all wildlife, may this grain likewise save from the demon king, queen, and this house!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]; *KUB* XXX 10 Rs. 3), *ti-ud-du* (XXIV 9 III 7–9 [*gim-an ...*] *huismuskizzi kū[n UKU-an ...]* *UZU^{UR.HI.A} QATAMMA ti-uddu* 'as he keeps alive ..., may he likewise keep alive the limbs of this ... person'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 42), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-us-nu-ut-tin* (XXXI 64 II 14); partic. *huismuant-*, nom.-acc. *hu-is-nu-ut-tin* (*Ko* 15.28 R.10) sg. neut. *ti-nu-an* (XXIV 10 III 32 [*ti-nuan hartin* 'keep alive!'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 48; XV 1 I 5 *mān-wa DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-YA^{DUTU-ŠI} ti-nuan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive'; XV 17 + XXXI 61 I 3–4 *mān-[w]a DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-YA^{DUTU-ŠI} ištu MU.HI.A GID.DA ti-nuan haddulahhan harti* 'if you, goddess my lady, keep his majesty alive [and] healthy for long years'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Gelübde* 16), *ti-an* (*KBo* VIII 68 IV 8 *nu-war-an ti-an hattulahhan harak* 'keep him alive and well!'; *KBo* XIII 62 Vs. 5 and *KUB* XLVIII 88 Rs. 2 [*DINGIR.MEŠ ti-an harkandu* 'may the gods keep [...] alive'; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 6 *ti-an [= huismuan] hartin* 'keep alive!', vs. ibid. 12 *n-at ukturi ti-an [= huismuan] ēstu* 'may it be living forever!'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34); iter. *huismuski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-mi* (XVI 24+25 I 58 *hūm]andan huismuskimi* 'I let everyone live'; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-si* (*KUB* XXXVI 83 I 15 *n-an zik-pat^{DUTU LUGAL ŠAMĒ} huismusk[si]* 'thou sun-god, king of heaven, sustainest him'; XXXI 128 I 4 *anda huismuskisi* 'thou [sun-god] sustainest life'; cf. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78:239 [1958]; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 94), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-iz-zi*, *hu-is-nu-is-ki-iz-zi* (quoted under 3 sg. imp. act. above), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-is-nu-us-ki-e-it* (*KBo* III 28 II 17–18 *s-us ABI LUGAL natta huismusket* 'the king's father did not save them').
[*huesu-*, *huisu-*, *husu-*] '*live; fresh, raw' (opp. *zeyant-* 'cooked'; similarly Akk. *baṭu* 'living; raw' [*baṭātu* 'to live'] vs. *baštu* 'cooked'), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut. *hu-e-su* (*KUB* XLIV 42 Vs. 11 and Rs. 16 *suppa huesu zeyan* 'sacrificial meat, raw [and] cooked'; XXV 23 IV 40 *huesu ze[-]*, *hu-e-sú* (LI 47 I 10 *šuppa huesu zeanda*), *hu-u-e-su* (XXV 23 IV 53 *suppa huwesu zeyan*; *KBo* IV 9 I 12–14 *suppa huwesu ŠA GUD.MAH ŠA GUD.ĀB.HI.A ŠA UDU.HI.A ū ŠA MÁŠ. GAL.HI.A* 'raw meat of bull, cows, sheep, and he-goats'; *KUB* XX

48 I 11 *suppa huwesu*; *KBo XXVI 159, 7* *suppa huwesu*; *KUB XLIII 54 V 6* *suppa-ya-kan huwesu*), *hu-i-su* (e.g. *KBo XVII 61 Vs. 23* *nu-ssi huisu wassi karū pihhi* 'to him I have already given fresh [herbal] medicine'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42; *XXIII 8 Vs. 16–17* *zēyan huisu-ya* ^{UZU}YÀ *anda immiyazi* 'mixes cooked and raw with fat'; *XII 96 IV 15–16* *namma-kan* *UDU.HI.A arkanzi nu-ssan huisu* ^{UZU}*suppa ANA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa tianzi* 'they parcel the sheep and put back the raw sacrificial meat for the deity'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:240 [1964]; *KUB VII 1 I 9* ^{UZU}*haisu suppa*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:142 [1961]; *XX 88 VI 8* ^{UZU}*suppa huisu*; *XLI 48 IV 20 and 27* ^{UZU}*suppa huisu*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 256, 258; *KBo XIII 114 III 4* *suppa huisu*; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 72 [1987]; *IX 140 III 4* *suppa-ya huisu* *Ūl tianzi* 'and raw meat they do not place'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:97 [1988]; *VBoT 58 IV 46*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:87 [1965]; *KUB XLV 47 III 16*), *hu-u-i-su* (e.g. *HT 1 I 38–39* ^{UZU}*NIG.GIG* ^{UZU}ŠÀ *huuisu udanzi* 'they bring raw entrails [and] heart'; *KUB X 63 I 22–23* *nu-kan* ^{LÜ}SANGA *ANA* ^{UZU}*NIG.GIG* ^{UZU}ŠÀ *huuisu nu tepu kuirzi* 'the priest cuts a little off raw entrails [and] heart'; cf. M. Viefra, *RA* 51:88 [1957]; *XXV 36 V 34* ^{LÜ}GUDÚ ^{UZU}*NIG.GIG* *huuisu LUGAL-i parā* [epzi] 'the priest proffers raw entrails to the king'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 209; *XXXV 78 I 3 and 10* ^{UZU}ŠÀ *huuisu* 'raw heart'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 134; *XXXII 123 III 49* ^{UZU}*NIG.GIG* *suppi huuisu* 'entrails for sacrifice, raw'; *XVII 24 II 7* ^{UZU}*suppaz huuisu arha sarranzi* 'from sacrificial meat they separate the raw'; *XXVII 59 IV 16* ŠA *GUD Ū ŠA UDU* ^{UZU}*suppa huuisu* 'raw sacrificial meat of cattle and of sheep'; *KBo III 63 II 11 and XXII 180 I 9* ^{UZU}*suppa huuisu*; *KUB XI 18 III 18* *suppa huuisu*), *hu-u-i-su* (*Bo 3673, 10*; cf. Sommer, *AU* 106), *hu-su* (*KBo III 8 II 5–6 + KUB VII 1 II 40* *nu-kan anda* *UZU husu-y[a]* *isgāri* 'and in addition he also skewers raw meat'; wrongly Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961], 8:111 [1962]; misspelled *KBo III 8 II 12* *nu-kan* *UZU hu-it-ya*; wrongly Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150, 154 [1961]), abl. sg. *hu-e-su-wa-za* (*KUB XXXVI 94* Rs. 14 *sup*) *pa huesuwaza zeyan* [aza 'sacrificial meat[s], [from the] raw [and] [from the] cooked'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 13; *LI 65* Rs. 3–4 *sup*) *pa huesuwaza zēyadaza*), *hu-e* ^{UZU}*-sa-wa-az* (*KBo XI 45 IV 4* ŠA ^{UZU}*suppa huesawaz* 'sacrificial meat for the storm-god, [of the] raw [kind]'; ibid. 8 ^{UZU}*suppa huesawaz*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 234), *hu-e-sa-wa-za* (*KUB XXXVI 89* Vs. 7 *suppa zeyandaza huesawaza*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 142; *XXV 24 II 11* *suppa*

huesawaza zeyantaza; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; *KBo II 8 III 7–8* *suppa huesawaza zeyasa* [sic]; *IX 108, 4* *hu* *huesawaza zey*[-], *hu-e-sa-u-wa-az* (*KUB XXV 23 I 17 and I.R. 5* *suppa huesauwaz zēantaz tiyanzi* 'they place sacrificial meats, raw [and] cooked'; *KBo XXVI 227 III 12* *hu* *huesauwaz zeyanaz* [sic] *tian*[zi]; *VIII 91* Vs. 9 *n-asta* *GAL.HI.A huesauwa*[z 'cups with raw [meat]'), *hu-e-sa-u-wa-za* (*IV 13 IV 30* ^{UZU}*suppa huesauwaza zēyataza*; *II 13* Vs. 14–15 *suppa huesauwaza zeantaza*), *hu-u-e-sa-wa-az* (*KUB XXXII 128 I 1–2* *nu-kan mahhan huesawaz* ^{UZU}*su*[*ppa*] *sipandanzi* 'when they offer up sacrificial meat raw'), *hu-u-e-sa-wa-za* (*X 92 II 9* *suppa huwesawaza zēandaz*(a), *hu-u-e-sa-u-wa-az* (*XXV 23 I 27–28* *suppa huwesauwaz zeantaz tiyanzi*; *VII 13* Vs. 41 *suppa huwesauwaz zeyantaz*), *hu-u-e-sa-u-wa-za* (*VII 24* Vs. 7 *suppa huwesauwaza zeyantaza*; similarly *XXV 22 II 16 and III 5*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238, 240; *IBoT I 6 I 8* *suppa huwesauwaza* *hu-i-sa-u-wa-az* zē[-], *hu-u-i-e-sa-u-wa-az* (*KBo XXII 116* Vs. 9) *hu* *huesauwaz zeyan* ^{UZU}*zē*[-], *hu-i-sa-wa-az* (*XV 49 I 8* *namma-ssi-kan* *GAL-is* *hu* *huesawaz* [sun- *R. 8, 9, Grabel/AoF 26*] *nanzi* 'also they fill a cup for him with raw [meat]'; dupl. *KUB XXXII 128 II 20–21* *namma-ssi-kan* *GAL-is* *huwesa*[-...] *sunnanzi*), *hu-u-i-sa-u-az* (*KBo XXIII 39, 11* *HI.A hu* *huesauwaz sūmianzi* 'they fill cups [?] with raw [meat]'), *hu-u-i-sa-wa-az* (*KUB XXXIX 71 III 36* ^{UZU}*suppa hu* *huesawaz zeyandaz*; *HT 1 I 44* *n-asta* *ISTU* ^{UZU}*NIG.GIG* *hu* *huesawaz wākuēn* 'we have bitten of the raw entrails'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]), *hu-u-i-sa-wa-za* (*KUB XXIV 5* Rs. 8–9 and 18–19 *suppa hu* *huesawaza zeyandaza*; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 12; *XXVII 1 I 15* *suppa hu* *huesawaza*; ibid. 35–36 *hu* *huesawaza zeyandaz-ia sipanti* 'sacrifices with raw [and] cooked'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 75–6; *LVI 49* Vs. 16–17 *suppa* ^{UZU}*GAB* ^{UZU}*ZAG.LU hu* *huesawaza tianzi* 'the sacrificial meat, breast [and] shoulder, they place raw'), *hu-u-i-sa-u-wa-za* (dupl. *KBo II 4 III 13–14* *suppa* ^{UZU}*GAB* ^{UZU}*ZAG.LU hu* *huesauwaza tiyanzi*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 284), *hu-u-i-sa-u-wa-az* (*IBoT III 16 + 8 + KUB LVIII 62 I 14* *hu* *huesauwaz zeantaz*; ibid. *IV 2–3* *hu* *huesauwaz zeyantaz*; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 14:253–4 [1987]; *KBo XXVI 227 II 18* *suppa hu* *huesauwaz*[-a], *hu-su-wa-za* (*XXV 183, 11* *suppa husuwaza zey*[-]), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-e-sa-u-e-es* (*XXIX 191 I 9 2* *NINDA.KUR₄.RA huwesawēs* 'two fresh breadloaves'; *KUB LIV 34 I 11* *hu* *huesawēs*), *hu-u-wi-sa-u-e-es* (*XVII 12 II 9* 'fresh' [breadloaves]), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-i-su-wa-as* (*XX 88 VI 14–15* *n-at* ^{GIS}*halpūtili piran katta huisuwas-san* ^{UZU}*suppayas ser dāi* 'puts them down before the h. on raw sacrificial meats'), *hu-u-i-sa-as* (sic *VII*

ranca P. Meriggi dicata 34 [1979]; Haas, *Documentum Otten* 134), hu-u-is-wa-tar (VIII 35 Vs. 2), TI-tar (profuse, e. g. XXXVI 89 Rs. 45 āssu-wa-smas TI-tar tēt 'weal [and] life he has spoken to you'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 154; VI 3, 6 DINGIR-LUM TI-tar 'the deity's life' [partitive apposition]; KBo XVII 60 Rs. 10–11 ANA DUMU-ma TI-tar inmar-ahluar [...] MU.HLA GID.DA piski 'to the child grant life, strength, ..., long years'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 60; frequent on such lists of blessings [examples s. v. hattul(a)-]; passim in KUB V 1; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:32–92, 197), gen. sg. hu-e-es-wa-an-na-as (II 1 III 28; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:110 [1975]), hu-is-wa-an-na-as (e. g. XXX 10 Vs. 21 huiswannas UD.HLA-ŠU kappuantes 'the days of his life [are] numbered'; KBo XVII 61 Vs. 14 mān-as ŪL-ma huiswannas 'but if he [is] not viable' [lit. 'of life']; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42), TI-an-na-as (e. g. IV 14 III 9 ANA ^DUTU-ŠI-za aggannas TI-annas UKÜ-as ēs 'to my majesty be a man of death [and] life', i. e. show life-and-death devotion; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:44 [1965]; III 6 I 13–14 [and dupl. KUB I 2 I 14–15, I 1 I 15–17] ŪL-war-as TI-annas ... nu-war-as TI-anza 'he [is] not viable ... he [is] going to live'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4), TI-an-na-s(a)- (KBo IV 8 II 18–20 kinun-a apel TI-tar idalauēsta TI-anza kuit nu nepisas ^DUTU-un IGI.HLA-it uskizzi TI-annas-a-za NINDA-an azzikkizzi 'Has now her life gone bad? Because she [is] alive, she sees the sun of heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of livelihood [= ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον]; similarly ibid. 10–12; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:188 [1983]), TI-as (KUB II 1 II 21 [ŠA Labarn]a TI-as ^DLAMA-ri 'to the tutelary deity of the ruler's life', with par. KBo XI 40 II 15 TI-annas ^DLAMA-ri; KUB VIII 62 IV 15–16 TI-as ēsdu ^DKumarbi [...] kinunn-as TI-za ēsdu['may K. be alive ... now let him be living'; cf. ibid. 11 TI-za ēs ^DUllu, ibid. 13 and 14 TI-tar; similarly ibid. 3–7; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:24 [1968]), dat.-loc. sg. hu-is-wa-an-ni (XVII 10 IV 25–26 n-us-za huiswanni inmarauwanni EGIR.UD-MI kappuwet 'he provided them for their life [and] strength in the future'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:98 [1965]; XXXIII 38 IV 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:144 [1965]), TI-an-ni ('for life', frequent on lists of blessings, along with weal, health, strength, etc. [examples s. v. hattul(a)-]), instr. sg. TI-an-ni-it (XVII 14 I 18–19 iŠTU MU.HLA GID.DA EGIR.UD-MI TI-annit [h]attu-lannit inmarauwannit 'with long years in the future, life, health, strength'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60).

Lyd. *vešfa*- 'living'? (cf. Gusmani, *Incontri linguistici* 10:110–2 [1985]).

For the denominative origin of huiswai- cf. e. g. *genzuwai*- 'be kind', *hassuwei*- 'become king', *kutruwei*- 'bear witness'. The spelling hu-is-i-i/e- reflects huiswai-, huiswae- (cf. e. g. *hatrāi*-, *hatrāe*-). A denominative stative stem husue- based on OHitt. hus(u)want- with alleged gradational zero grade in oblique cases (and assumed later generalization of the strong form huiswant-, spreading analogically to huisue-) was improbably postulated by C. Watkins, *MSS* 45:245–9 (1985); similarly H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 42–3 (1984). For the huesu-, huisu-, husu- variation cf. rather e. g. huesa-, huisa-, husa- (s. v.), huenu-, huinu-, hunu- (s. v. huwai-), hu(i)ttiyan-na- (s. v. huet-). The case of hu(wa)rt- is similar, with the curtailed spelling typical of OHitt. orthography.

The etymology has been clear since Kuryłowicz (*Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski* 102 [1927], *Études* 74) and Benveniste (*Origines* 156); needless doubts in Tischler, *Glossar* 265–6. The root is *A₁ew-s-, A₁w-és- meaning 'be, live, dwell' (Gk. *ἰάω* [νόκτας] and [aor.] *ἄεσα* [νόκτα] 'rest, spend the night' reflecting *A₁i-A₁ew-s- and *A₁wes-s-η respectively; Skt. *vāsati* 'dwell', Toch. B. *wās*- 'rest, reside' [Toch. A. *wse* 'night'], Goth. *wisan* 'be', Arm. *gom* 'I am'); Hittite has hues- < *A₁wes- (iter. *hueski*- matching Gk. *ἀέσχω* < *A₁wes-sko-), but it is conceivable that some of the OHitt. forms spelled hus- reflect *A₁éws- or *A₁us-. Hittite, like Germanic and Armenian, stresses the meaning 'be (alive)' (cf. German *Lebewesen*), while 'dwell' is es- (literally 'sit') or es- 'be'. It is possible that with root-suffix variation *A₁w-éd- might be present in *huedar* 'creature(s)' (q. v.), and *A₁éw-l- in Gk. *αἰλῆς* 'night quarters' (cf. also Arm. *awt* 'night quarters', *aganim* 'spend the night'). The perennial confusion of this root with *A₁éws-, *Awés*- 'be bright' (*IEW* 86–7) was reflected once again by G. Nagy (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78:98 [1974]) to whom Hitt. *huis*- 'live' somehow resulted from 'be lit up'.

Weitenberg (*U-Stämme* 103–12) abortively started from *huid-, deriving huisu- from a postulated *huidyu- and considering huis- a belated back-formation from huisnu- (allegedly denominative from huisu-).

Cf. huesa-, huski-.

2. 56. 22. 64; 044/AmOr
huesa-, huisa-, husa- (c.) 'spindle' (G¹⁸BAL[TUR]), nom. sg. hu-e-sa-as (164/d, 10 G¹⁸hula)li G¹⁸huesas G¹⁸GA.ZUM 'distaff, spindle, comb'), acc. sg. hu-e-sa-an (KBo VI 34 II 42–43 nu TUG.NIG SAL G¹⁸hulāli

^{GIS}*huesann-a udanzi nu GI-an duwarnanzi* 'they bring feminine attire, distaff and spindle, and break an arrow'), *hu-u-e-sa-an* (ibid. 53 ^{GIS}*hulāli* ^{GIS}*huwesann-a*; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 64–6; *KUB* IX 27 Vs. 23–27 *nu-ssi-ssan* ^{GIS}*huwesa[n]* [^{GIS}*hūlali-ya arha dahhi nu-ssi* ^{GIS}*BAN* [...] [*p*]ihhi n-asta anda kissan memahhi [*kāsa-wa-ta-kkan* *SAL-tar arha dahhun nu-wa-tta EGIR-pa LÚ-tar pihhun* 'I take away from him spindle and distaff, and give him bow [and arrow?], and say to him thus: "Lo, womanliness I have taken from thee, manliness I have given back to thee"; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 64), *hu-i-sa-an* (*KUB* XV 35 + *KBo* II 9 I 27–29 *apidas-ma-kan šu-i ša SAL-ti* ^{GIS}*hūlali* ^{GIS}*huisann-a dāi n-us SAL-nili wessiya nu-smas-kan* ^{TUG}*kuressar sāi* 'in their hands put woman's distaff and spindle, clothe them like women, and put headdress on them!'; cf. Sommer, *ZA* 33:98 [1921]; A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]), *hu-u-i-sa-an* (*KUB* IX 27 Vs. 20–21 [*nu ANA*] *EN SISKUR.SISKUR* ^{GIS}*huuisan* ^{GIS}*hūlali-y[a]* [*š*u-i] *anda tehhi* 'in the offerant's hand I put spindle and distaff'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272, 283 [1987]; *ABOT* 26, 8–9 *kuit* ^{TUG}*kures[sar ...]* [...] ^{GIS}*hūlali* ^{GIS}*huuisan UNUT AD.KID* 'what head-dress ... distaff, spindle, reed implements ...'), ^{GIS}*BAL* (*KUB* XLIII 60 IV 6 ^{GIS}*hūlali* 1 ^{GIS}*BAL*), gen. sg. *hu-i-sa-as* (VII 1 II 32–34 *huisas-wa panzakittis GIM-an wehatta DUMU-li-ya idālawes karātes kattān arha apinessan wahandu* 'even as the whorl of a spindle turns, thus may bad innards utterly turn away from the child!'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961], 8:111 [1962], *Studi linguistici in onore di V. Pisani* 2:609–11 [1969]; cf. ibid. 16–17 [emended from dupl. *KBo* XXII 145 II 24] *ša GI hapūšessar ū[ša* ^{GIS}*TUG panzaki]ttin warapzi* 'the arrow-shaft and the boxwood whorl he scrubs' [*ZA* 67:58 (1977)]; H. A. Hoffner, *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 108–9 [1977], implausibly took boxwood as metonymic for *huesa-* and translated both as 'distaff', acc. pl. *hu-u-su-us* (*KUB* XXIX 1 II 6–8 ^{GIS}*hulāli harzi* ^{GIS}*hūsus sūwadus harkanzi nu LUGAL-was MU.KAM.HI.A-us malkiyanzi* 'one holds a distaff, they [both] hold spindles filled [i. e. covered with spun yarn], and they spin the king's years'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]).

Hier. instr. sg. SPINDLE-*sá-tar-ti* = Phoen. *l-plkm* (Karatepe 186: 'in my days even women with spindle would walk [freely]'). Cf. Laroche, *HH* 157; Meriggi, *Manuale* 2:80.

The lingering erroneous interpretation 'mirror' (first in H. Zimmer, *ZA* 35:183 [1924]; Ehelolf, *KUB* XXIX, p. III, who collocated

huesa- with *hues-* 'live' as a calque based on Egypt. *nh* 'live' and 'mirror') is superseded in favor of spinning-gear (cf. especially Oettinger, *Eide* 64–6). Most plausibly *hulali-* (q. v. s. v. *hul-*) is 'distaff', *huesa-* means 'spindle', and *panzakitti-* denotes '(spindle-) whorl, flywheel' (quintessentially turning in *KUB* VII 1 II 32–34, quoted above). A root-meaning 'wind' (*hul-*) may seem inapposite for 'distaff', but cf. Lat. *colus* 'distaff' from **k^holos*, etymologically matching Gk. *πόλος* 'pivot' from the root **k^hel-* 'rotate'; thus there may have been slippages or ambiguities of technical spinning terminology (Goetze apud Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:111 [1962], saw in *hulali-* and *huesa-* 'spindle' and 'whorl' respectively, and Hoffner [*Essays ... in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 108–9] took *hulali-* as 'spindle' and *huesa-* as 'distaff').

The spelling conventions of *huesa-* (including acc. pl. *hu-u-su-us*) resemble those of *hues-* 'live', but an etymological derivation is unlikely (cf. Lat. *fūsus* 'spindle', where a relationship to *fundō* 'pour' is equally vague). Other root-etymologies are also uncertain, e. g. a poorly attested **H₁wes-* (*IEW* 1173) perhaps seen in Skt. *uṣṇihā* 'nape' (cf. Lat. *colus* 'distaff' : *collum* 'neck'), *uṣṇīṣa-* 'headband, turban', or **hu-sā-* from **A₁ew-* 'weave' (*IEW* 75; Oettinger, *Eide* 66). Most plausible seems a noun **H₁woyso-* from a stem **H₁weys-* 'wind, twist' (*IEW* 1133–4; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:263–4; Tischler, *Glossar* 269), matching in form Russian *věxa* 'stake, signpost', Arm. *gi* 'juniper' (cf. ^{GIS}*TUG* 'boxwood' as spindle-whorl material).

Cf. *husa-*.

huet-, huit-, hut(t)-, hu(i)ttiya- 'draw, pull, pluck, drag, stretch, string, attract, adduce, move along, (make) march', *anda huet-* 'draw in, curtail', *appa huet-* 'draw back; unlock; draw out, protract (in time; cf. *appasiwatt-* 'future'); (midd.) recede', *arha huet-* 'draw away, withdraw, distort', *parā huet-* 'draw forward, drag forth; pull shut (opp. *appa huet-*); single out (for special treatment), promote; string along, cheat; (intrans.) tarry, temporize' (SUD; *KBo* I 42 V 3 *SUD-u-wa-ar* matching ibid. [Akk.] *ša-ta-du*, i. e. *šadādu* 'draw'; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 13:142 [1971]), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-it-ti-ya-mi* (*VBoT* 24 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan* ^{SiG}*huttulli huittiyami* 'from it [viz. the sheep] I pluck a wool-tuft'; ibid. IV 10 *-ma-kan anda huittiyami*), 1 sg. pres. midd. *hu-it-tah-ha-ri* (*KBo* XI 11 I 3–4 *n-asta* ^{UZU}*SA ANA GI anda huittahhari* 'I pull the sinew inside a reed'), 2 sg. pres. act.

hu-it-ti-ja-mi
(e.g. *Kozn. 31.5.7*; cf.
Beckman 110r59:73, 90)

hu-it-ti-ya-si (KUB VII 53 III 4 *nu-ssi-kan suksuqan huittiyasi* 'you pluck its [viz. the bovine's] tuft'; ibid. 2 *huit<ti>yasi*; KBo V 3 II 28–29 *nu-ma-ssan m̄an ERIN.MEŠ-it ANŠU.KUR.RA.[HI.]A-it lammar ūl ārti nu-zan parā imma huittiyasi* 'if you do not come to me instantly with troops [and] chariotry, nay even temporize'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:116), 2 sg. pres. midd. *hu-e-iz-ta* (KUB XVII 10 IV 1–2 *UDU-us-ta-kkan katti-ti arha [paizz]i nu-ssi-sta* ^{SIG}ēsri huezta 'the sheep passes beneath you, and you pluck its fleece'; also ibid. 1; similarly XXXIII 54 + 47 II 15 *huez[ta]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:96, 139 [1965]; for form cf. e. g. *hāzta* s. v. *hat-* and see Neu, *Interpretation* 56–7, *Anitta-Text* 94), *hu-iz-ta* (IBoT IV 8 Vs. 2 *ēsri huiz[ta]*, *hu-it-ti-at-ta* (KUB XXI 19 + 1303/u II 16–18 *nu* ^{UDU} ^{URU} *Arin[na GAŠAN]-YA ŠA Danuhepa uttar ammel UD.HI.A-as ammuK ANA KUR URU Hatti-ya menahhanda EGIR-pa le huittiat[ta]* 'sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, do not protract in my days, in my face and that of Hatti, the affair of Danuhepa!'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-zi* (e. g. XV 34 III 56 *EGIR-ŠU-ma pahhuenaz QATAMMA huittiyazi* 'thereupon he likewise draws from the fire'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; KBo XXI 10, 4–5 *GUD-us-ma-wa-ssi-kan aw[an arha paizz]i [nu-wa-ssi (...)] pankur huittiyazi* 'the cow goes along by him, and he draws its milk'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 14, 39; KUB XLIV 61 Rs. 26 *namma-an hapurin parā huittiyazi* 'he then draws his prepuce forward' [partitive apposition]; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; KBo III 2 Rs. 58–59 *namma-as* ^{GIS}KAK-it [sar]ā huittiyazi 'then he pulls them [viz. the horses] up with the peg'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 142; KUB I 13 I 45 and KBo III 5 IV 26 *ANA* ^{GIS}KAK *sarā huittiyazi*; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 56, 100), *hu-it-ti-ya-az-zi* (XXII 102 Rs. 10; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 47; KUB XXIX 4 II 19–21 *n-asta* ^{LÜ}SANGA DINGIR-LAM āpitaz sarā 7-ŠU huittiyazzi EN SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-kan 7-ŠU sarā huittiyazzi 'the priest draws the deity up from the pit seven times, and the offerant draws up seven times'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-zi* (dupl. KBo VIII 90 II 9; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 16; KUB XV 31 I 28 *KASKAL.MEŠ huittiyazi* 'he draws paths'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-az-zi* (KBo XXIII 1 I 17–18 *nu* DINGIR-LUM HUR.SAG.HI.A-az ID.MEŠ-az arunaz IŠTU 7 KASKAL.MEŠ-ya huittiyazzi 'he draws the deity from the mountains, rivers, sea, and from the seven paths'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* III 141), *hu-it-ti-e-iz-zi* (KUB I 13 I 12 *n-as-kan ANA* ^{GIS}KAK *sarā huittiezzi*), *hu-it-ya-az-zi* (XXXIII 43 II 57 *sarā huityazzi*), *hu-it-ti-ya-i* (XXVII 67 II 15–17 *nu-za* sig asaran dāi *n-an-san* ...

hu-ti-ja-si
(mgt)

SUD-ja-zi
(e.g. KUB 50.63 46)

huittiyai 'she takes white wool and strings it'; ibid. 18; similarly ibid. III 21 *sarā huittiyai*; ibid. 22; KBo V 2 III 19–20 *n-asta* sig ānduran ser arha huittiyai 'strings across blue wool'; cf. G. F. Del Monte, *Oriens Antiquus* 12:126 [1973]), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-it-ti-ya-ri* (XVII 92, 15 *katta* sig tepu huittiyari 'strings along a bit of wool'), 2 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni* (KUB XIII 5 II 25–26 *n-asta* DINGIR-LIM-ni [...] *at KAXU-it parā huittiatteni* 'you cheat [that food] from the deity's mouth'), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-at-te-ni* (dupl. XIII 6 II 9 *KAXU-it parā huittiyatteni*, *SUD-at-te-ni* (dupl. XIII 4 II 16) *KAXU-it parā SUD-atteni*; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:372 [1934]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-an-zi* (e. g. KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Rs. 6 *pahhuenaz arha huittianzi* 'they pull out of the fire'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 122; KUB IX 3 I 16–17 *taknī katta huittianzi* 'they pull along the ground'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:60 [1984]; I 13 III 59 *INA* UD.11.KAM-ma-as-kan ANA [^{GIS}K]AK *sarā huittianzi* 'but on the eleventh day they pull them up at the peg'; similarly KBo III 5 III 5–6, 13; III 2 Vs. 8 and 16; XV 33 II 14 *nu-smas-san ser arha GAD-an huittianzi* 'over them they draw a cloth'), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (profuse, e. g. KUB XXIX 4 III 36–38 DINGIR-LAM GIBIL-ya apedani UD-ti ANA É.HI.A GIBIL-kan andan huittianzi m̄an-si ūl-ma āssu *n-an* INA UD.2.KAM huittianzi 'the new deity too on that day they pull inside the new shrine; but if it [is] not propitious for [the offerant], they pull it the next day'; dupl. KBo XV 29 III 6–7 *hu-u-it-ti-ya-zi* ... *hu-u-[it-]ti-an-zi*; KUB XXIX 4 I 67–68 *apedani UD-ti huittianzi n-an-kan karuūlias ANA É DINGIR-LIM anda huittianzi* 'on that day they pull, and they pull it inside the shrine of the ancient gods'; ibid. III 29–30 *namma-kan* DINGIR-LAM *kuttaz arha IŠTU* sig SA, 7-ŠU huittianzi 'then they draw the deity away from the wall with red wool seven times'; VII 54 III 19–20 *EGIR-anda-ma-kan* ^{GIS}BAN huittianzi *nu-kan* GI.Ú.TAG.GA *tiyanzi* 'afterwards they stretch the bow and place the arrow'; VII 46 Rs. 6–8 *namma-kan* GI.HI.A [sarā] huittianzi [dupl. LIX 47 I 10 *sarā tiittianzi*] *n-as* IGI.HI.A-wa [katta w]ahnuwandus *tarnanzi* 'then they string [dupl.: place] arrows and with points turned down let them fly'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 43; XV 34 I 21–24 *n-asta* ^{TÜG}kuressar IŠTU ^{GIS}BANŠUR AD.KID *katta huittianzi n-an* KASKAL-an *ienzi namma PANI* ^{TÜG}kuressni ŠA BA.BA.ZA KASKAL-an huittianzi ŠA BA.BA.ZA-ma KASKAL-si kez ŠA LĀL KASKAL-an huittianzi kez-ma ŠA GEŠTIN YĀ.DÜG.GA *anda immiyanda* KASKAL-an huittianzi 'they draw a length of cloth down from the reed table and make it a path; then before the cloth they draw a

SUD-u-e-ni
(KUB 50.63 46)



path of mush; on **one** side of the path of mush they draw a path of honey, but on the other side they draw a path of wine with good oil mixed in'; similarly *ibid.* III 28–31, but more concisely and with *katta tarnai* 'lets down' instead of *katta huittianzi*; XXIX 40 II 11 *mahhan-ma UD-az wahnuzi n-us-kan parā huittianzi* 'but when the day turns they draw them forth' [viz. horses from stable]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 178; *KBo* II 4 I 21–22 *nu-kan É DINGIR-LIM parā huittianzi n-at anda siyanzi* 'they pull shut the temple and seal it within'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 278; *KUB* I 13 I 50–51 and *KBo* III 5 II 64–65 *namma-as ANA^{GIS}KAK sarā huittianzi*; similarly e.g. *KBo* III 5 I 13–14, 64–65, III 49–50, IV 52–53, 70, 75–76; *KUB* I 11 II 17–18, IV 3–4; *KBo* III 2 Vs. 55–56; III 5 I 34–35 *INA UD.9.KAM-ma INA^{GIS}KAK sarā huittianzi* 'but on the ninth day they pull up at the peg'; *ibid.* 41–42 *n-at-kan^{GIS}KAK sarā huittianzi*; *ibid.* II 19–20 and 30 *namma-as^{GIS}KAK-it sarā huittianzi*; similarly *ibid.* I 72; *KUB* XV 31 IV 37–38 ^DAnzilin ^DZukkin KASKAL.MEŠ-az *huittianzi* 'Z. and A. they attract by paths'), *hu-u-it-ti-an-zi* (e.g. VII 56 I 10 KASKAL-az *huittianzi*; cf. CHS 1.2.1:446), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (e.g. XV 31 I 2 ^DZukkin Anzilin KASKAL-az *kisan huittianzi*; *ibid.* III 64–65 *nu DINGIR.MEŠ ID.MEŠ-az huittianzi* 'they draw the gods from the rivers'; XLI 51 IV 3–4 *ta hukessar* 10 UDU.HI.A *huittianzi* 'they drag ten sheep to slaughter'; *KBo* XI 45 + *IBoT* III 87 IV 6–7 *arha-ma-kan^{UZU}YĀ.UDU huittianzi* 'they pull off the [layer of] tallow'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 234; *KUB* XX 59 III 14 and 23; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:90 [1988]), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-zi* (II 5 I 7–9 *asessar [hū]man sarā huittianzi [t]a aranta* '[they] pull up [i.e. bring to their feet] the entire congregation, and they stand'), *SUD-an-zi* (e.g. *KBo* II 9 IV 19 *n-asta DINGIR-LUM pahhunaza 14-ŠUSUD-anzi* 'they draw the deity from the fire fourteen times'; *IBoT* III 148 I 40 KASKAL-az *SUD-anzi* 'they draw by the path'; similarly *ibid.* II 52, III 57, IV 6; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 214, 220, 226, 228; *ibid.* II 34 [*n-ast*]a DINGIR.MEŠ *ISTU É DINGIR-LIM parā SUD-anzi* 'they draw the gods forth from the shrine'; *KUB* XXXI 113, 15–16 *nu-kan É DINGIR-LIM parā SUD-anzi* 'they pull the temple shut'; *IBoT* III 148 III 14 *n-an-kan sarā SUD-anzi* 'they pull it up'), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-e-it-ti-an-ta*, *hu-it-ti-an-ta*, *hu-u-it-ti-an-ta* (*KUB* XXIX 30 III 6 [= Code 2:67] *huettianta*; dupl. *KBo* VI 26 I 41–42 *kinun-a 1 UDU LÚ-nas kassas-sas huittianta 2 UDU.HI.A GUD.HI.A kassas-sas huittianta* 'now they adduce one sheep instead of the man, they adduce two sheep instead of the cattle'), *hu-it-ti-ya-*

-an-ta (XIX 152 I 6 *aulius huittiyanta* 'they adduce sacrificial contingents'; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 20; *KUB* XXIX 35 IV 15 [= Code 2:96]; dupl. XXIX 37, 8 *huittian[ta]*, *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ta* (dupl. *KBo* VI 26 IV 4–5 *kel 1 UDU kēll-a 1 UDU kassas* [erased] *huittiyanta* 'in lieu of the one and in lieu of the other they adduce one sheep each'; *ibid.* 20–21 [= Code 2:99] 1 UDU LÚ-nas *kassas huittiya[nt]a*; *KUB* XXXIV 14, 10 [*heyau*]ēs *garittess-a EGIR-pa huitt[tiyanta]* 'rains and floods will recede', matching IV 63 III 26 [Akk.] *zunmu u mi[lum] ipparrasu [parāsu* 'cease']), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-nu-un* (e.g. *KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 Vs. 65 *arha huittianun*; *KBo* IV 4 III 31–32 *nu KARAS.HI.A parhesni huittianun* 'I moved the troops in a chase', i.e. 'led them [= *piran huayanun*] on a fast march'; cf. Götze, *AM* 126; II 5 III 49–50 *nu namma tuzziyas-mis huittianun* 'then I marched my troops'), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-nu-un* (*ibid.* II 3 *namma tuzziyas-mis huittianun-pat*; cf. Götze, *AM* 190, 182), *SUD-nu-un* (e.g. *KUB* XXIII 11 II 22 ^Tuthaliyas *ispandaz tuzzi-man SUD-nun* 'I, T., made my army move at night'), 1 sg. pret. midd. *hu-it-tah-ha-at* (*KBo* XI 11 I 9 *kāsa-asta katta huittahhat idalawas lālān alwanzinas EME-an* 'lo, I have pulled down the tongue of evil [and] the tongue of sorcery'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-it-ti-at* (299/1986 I 23 *nu-ssi ABU-YA ZAG anda huittiat* 'my father curtailed his boundary'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 10), *hu-it-ti-ya-at* (*KBo* III 64 I 9–10 *nu-kan tuzzin¹ Hantilis* [...] *huittiat* 'H. marched the army ...'; III 66, 6; *KUB* XVII 10 IV 14 *appa huittiat 7^{GIS}hattahu* 'back he drew [= unlocked] the seven [door]bolts'; opp. *parā huittiya-* 'pull shut'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:97 [1965]; *KBo* IV 12 Vs. 16–17 *n-an parā huittiat* 'he promoted him'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 42; XIX 90 + III 53 Vs. 6 ^{URU}Hu^rmaz *kattan arha huittiat* 'he pulled out of H.'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 279 [1977]; S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:90 [1982]), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-at* (*KUB* XIV 4 IV 15 *nu GIG-an antuhsan ais arha huittiat* '[she] distorted the mouth of the sick man'), *hu-it-ti-it* (XXXIII 120 I 24 *n-an-kan nepisaz katta huittit* 'he pulled him down from heaven'; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *2; Laroche, *RHA* 26:40 [1968]), *SUD-at* (V 24 II 13–14 *kī-wa^DUTU^{URU}TUL-na ŠA* [...] *kuwatqa uttar EGIR-pa SUD-at* 'that the sun-goddess of Arinna has somehow protracted the case of ...'; *ibid.* 19–20 *uttar* [...] *kuitki SUD-at*; *KBo* II 6 II 37 *uttar EGIR-pa SUD-at*), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-iz-za-as-ta-ti* (*KUB* XLIII 74 Vs. 11; cf. Riemschneider, *Anatol. Stud.* Güterbock 269), *hu-it-ti-ya-ti* (XLIII 75 Vs. 19 *GIR-ŠU huittiyati* 'drew his sword'; *KBo* III 22, 54

hu-it-ti-at
also *Ko* 32.14
II 10, Rs 28

hu-it-ti-ya-at also
IKu 36.19 10 *n-asta*
nepisaz *patu-un*
ŠIN-nan-a GAM
huittiat 'he pulled
sun and moon down
from heaven'; cf. Laroche
(*RHA* 26 67, 68)

hu-u-it-ti-ya-at
also *Mst*

[URU-ri-a] ERIN.MEŠ-ŠU huittiyati 'pulled its troops from the town'; dupl. KUB XXVI 71 I 3), hu-it-ti-it-ti (ibid. 15 Japass-a huittitti s-as iyannes 'that one had pulled, and he had gone off'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 14), hu-it-ti-ya-at-ta-at (XIX 67 I 1–2 mahhan-ma uit iŠTU É.LUGAL hannessar kuitki appa huittiyattat 'but when it came to pass [that] the trial was somewhat protracted by the palace'), hu-u-it-ti-ya-at-ta-at (dupl. I 7 II 10 ku)itki EGIR-pa huittiyattat), 1 pl. pret. act. hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-en (XIII 4 IV 71–72 mán-wa-kan DINGIR.MEŠ-as sanezzin zūwan [with gloss wedges] KAXU-az parā anzās huittiyawen 'if we cheated choice food from the mouth of the gods'), 3 pl. pret. act. hu-it-ti-ir (XXIX 54 IV 15; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 228), 2 sg. imp. act. hu-it-ti (XXIX 1 II 11–12 huitti-wa namma-ma DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU LUGAL-was parna luttīya 'draw then his descendants to the window of the king's house'; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:152 [1982]; M.F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492 [1982]; XXXVI 75 + 1226/u III 12–13 nu-m-asta aruzaz sarā huitti 'draw me up from schism!'; XVII 10 IV 2–3 ^DTelipini-ya-kan [ka]rpin kardimiyattan wa(s)dul sāuar huitti 'pluck from T. wrath, anger, despoliation, and rage!'), hu-it-ti-ya (par. XXXIII 54 + 47 II 19; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:96, 139 [1965]; VII 53 III 5–8 kedani-ya-kan ANA EN.SISKUR idalu papratar alwazatar āstayaratar DINGIR.MEŠ-as karpin NIŠ DINGIR-LIM pangauwas EME-an maninkūwandan MU-an arha QATAMMA huittiya 'likewise pluck off this offerant evil defilement, hex, deceit, divine wrath, curse, public obloquy, and impending demisel'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 18), 3 sg. imp. midd. hu-it-ti-ya-ru (Bo 6472, 10 'let be drawn'; cf. ibid. 7 huittiyazi), SUD-ru (KBo XIII 109 II 1–3 papra[ta]r ...) SUD-ru IGI.HIA-wa-za SUD-ru ŠU.MEŠ-az] SUD-ru 9-za ^{UZU}UR-za SUD-ru 'let defilement ... be drawn, from the eyes let be drawn, from the hands let be drawn, from the nine body parts let be drawn'), 2 pl. imp. act. hu-u-e-za-at-tin (KUB LVIII 77 Vs. 27–28 EN DINGIR-LIM huwezattin-wa [...] dattin LÜ.MEŠ^{BE}LU huwezattin-wa ['attract the lord of the gods, take..., attract the lords'; cf. 2 sg. pres. midd. hu-e-iz-ta above, and Neu, *Anitta-Text* 77), hu-it-ti-ya-at-tin (Mašat 75/13, 11–14 [nu]-smas mahhan kās [tupp]ianza anda wemizzi nu INA ^{URU}Kasepūra huittiyattin 'when this letter reaches you, move along to K.'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 44:46 [1980]), 3 pl. imp. act. hu-u-it-ti-ya-ad-du (KBo X 45 IV 27 n-at ape parā huittiyaddu 'let them drag them forth'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:136 [1961]); partic. huittiyant-, nom. sg. c. hu-it-ti-ya-an-za (e.g. KUB XXIX 55 I 17 KASKAL-is-mu kuis huittianza 'the path that is drawn for me';

3 sg. imp. act.

hu-u-it-ti-ja-
ad-du (KBo 10, 15
23 n-at ape
parā h. 'let
him drag it forth
to the pit')

cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 150; XXVII 67 II 10), SUD-an-za (XLII 31 Vs. 3 UGU SUD-anza; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 143 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 204), nöm.-acc. sg. neut. hu-it-ti-ya-an (e.g. IX 31 I 29 and dupl. HT 1 I 21–22 ^{GIS}BAN huittiyān 'strung bow'; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:336 [1938]; KBo V 8 II 28–30 antuhsatarr-a-za-kan kuit tēpauwaz anda [hu]ittiyān harta 'and the contingent whom he had moved in[to the mountain lairs] in small numbers'; cf. Götze, *AM* 154; KUB XV 32 I 46–47 man-wa-za sāntes nasma-wa-smas-kan arha kuiski huittiyān ... harzi 'whether you [are] enraged, or someone has drawn you away'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; XIX 23 Vs. 9 nu-za ANA PANI EN-YA kuit sarā huittiyān harku[n] 'whereas before my lord I had drawn up ...'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 312; KBo V 3 III 21–22 ap[āt] KUR-e nasma URU-an assu[li] nasm[a ...] parā huittiyān harmi; dupl. XIX 44 Rs. 10–11 nasma-za mán apāt [...] assuli nasma idālu parā huitt[i- 'whether I have singled out that land or town for good or bad treatment'; ibid. 8 huitt[i]yān harmi), hu-u-it-ti-ya-an (dupl. V 3 III 18 URU-a]n kuinki āssu parā huitt[i]yān harmi 'I have singled out some town in favored fashion'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124), SUD-an (e.g. XVIII 179 V 6; cf. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 40; KUB XLII 22 II 3; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 50 [1982]; XLII 56, 11; cf. S. Košak, op. cit. 131; Siegelová, op. cit. 522), nöm. pl. c. hu-it-ti-ya-an-te-es (XV 34 IV 12 huittiyantes ēsten 'you have been drawn'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. hu-it-ti-ya-an-ta (HT 1 I 33–34 ^{GIS}BAN.HIA-a-ssan kuyēs huittiyanta ^{GIS}KAK.ÜTAG.GA.HIA-ya har-kanzi 'who hold strung bows and arrows'), hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ta (dupl. KUB IX 31 I 40; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 51); verbal noun huittessar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. hu-it-te-es-sar (XXVII 67 I 19 idālu huittessar; ibid. III 25 idālu huittes[sar] huitt[i- [figura etymologica]), hu-it-ti-ya-as-sar (ibid. II 20 idālu huitt[i]yassar; a medical symptom?); huittiyauwar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. hu-it-ti-ya-u-ar (KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Vs. 60, Rs. 4 and 16 sarā huittiyauwar; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 120, 122), hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-ar (KUB X 92 I 18 KASKAL-as huittiyauwar 'drawing of the path'; cf. ibid. 17 KASKAL-ni huittiyanzi), SUD-u-wa-ar (e.g. IBOT III 148 II 33, KUB XV 37 II 7 and 9 KASKAL-as SUD-uwar; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 218, 232), gen. sg. hu-it-ti-ya-u-as (XXIX 4 II 18 SISKUR sarā huittiyauas 'ritual of drawing up'), hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-as (ibid. I 73 sarā huittiyauwas ANA SISKUR.SISKUR 'for the ritual of drawing up'; XLII 106 Rs. 10 arha huittiyauwas; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 138; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspra-*

hu-it-te-ja-an
(KBo 59.47 I 6; cf.
Popko//AOF 18.49, 49)→ parallel to
KBo 15.34 II 12 is
KBo 60.151 Rs. 13
huittiyantes
ēstenhu-u-it-ti-ja-
wa-as (KBo 23.203
14)

xis 382), SUD-u-wa-as (XV 37 II 13 KASKAL-as SUD-u-was), SUD-u-as (e.g. KBo XVIII 181 Rs. 5 GAM-an SUD-u-as, *ibid.* 25 EGIR arha SUD-u-as; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 120 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 374–6; IBoT III 148 I 28, 29, 42, 43, 44 KASKAL-as SUD-u-as), SUD-as (e.g. *ibid.* II 40, 41, 52, 53, 54, III 39 und 41, IV 20 KASKAL-as SUD-as), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-ni* (KUB XV 34 IV 61 KASKAL-sas *huittiyauni* ‘for the drawing of the path’, besides dupl. XV 33b IV 21–22 KASKAL-sas *huittiyaun[as]*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 208), SUD-u-ni (KBo XVIII 48 Rs. 13); inf. *hu-it-ti-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (KUB XXI 19 + 1303/u II 20; XXIX 4 III 38; also *ibid.* 49), *hu-it-ti-ya-u-an-zi* (dupl. XII 23, 20), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-wa-an-zi* (dupl. KBo XV 29 III 8), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-u-an-zi* (KUB XV 31 I 33 *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ *huuittiyauanzi appanzi*; *ibid.* II 41; *ibid.* III 48–49 *nu-za* DINGIR.MEŠ *huuittiyauanzi appanzi n-as arunaza huuittiyanzi* ‘they begin to draw the deities; they draw them from the sea’; iter. *huittieski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-es-ki-mi* (KBo XIII 64 Vs. 12 ^{GI}*ummiyaz-ia-wa kuez KAŠ-essar huittieskimi* ‘the straw with which I draw beer’; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 20–1); iterative-“durative” *hu(i)tti(y)anna-*, *huittiyanniya-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-na-ah-hi* (II 9 IV 21 *n-at-kan kāsa pahhunaz huittiyannahhi* ‘lo, I pull it from fire’), SUD-an-na-ah-hi (*ibid.* 14–15 *n-as-kan kāsa tagnaz SUD-annahhi* ‘lo, I pull them from the earth’), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-na-i* (XXII 42 Vs. 10), *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-na-i* (KUB XXXII 8 III 6–8 *kuitman-ma-zan BEL SISKUR.SISKUR iŠTU SAG.DU-ŠU iētan laple[pan] enerann-a huuittiyannai* ‘while the sacrificer pulls from his head a hair, an eyelash, and an eyebrow hair’; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 118), *hu-ut-ti-an-na-i* (KBo XVII 18 II 12 *GI-an huittiannai tarnai-ma-an* ‘strings an arrow and lets it fly’; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 100), *hu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i* (similarly XVII 43 I 3 and 11; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 104–5; 1711/c Vs. 11), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-ū-e-ni* (XV 10 III 15; cf. Szabó, *Entsühnungsritual* 36), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu]-it-ti-ya-an-na-ū* (KUB XXXVI 55 II 18); iter. *huittiyanneski-*, *huittiyanniski-*, 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-mi* (X 72 II 13–15 *kinun-a-tta kāsa hūmandaza [EGIR]-pa huittiyanneskimi* ‘but now, lo I draw thee back altogether’), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-mi* (XXIV 14 I 26 *kinun-a-ta-kkan arha huittiyanniskimi* ‘now I draw thee away’; XV 35 I 22 *huitt[i]-yanniskimi*; XXXVI 96, 7), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (XXX 28 + XXXIX 23 Vs. 34–35 *nu TUGkuressar iŠTU ŠU.HI.A-ŠU e[pz]i [...] huittiyanniskizzi katta-ya-at tarnaskizzi* ‘a length of cloth with his hands he takes, draws..., and lets it hang down’; cf. Otten,

Totenrituale 96), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-it-ti-an-ni-es-ga-u-e-ni* (1897/u, 13), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-u-e-ni* (dupl. KUB XV 34 III 35–36 *kinun-a-smas-kan kāsa iŠTU 7 TUL.MEŠ sarā huittiyanniskiuweni* ‘now behold we draw you up from the seven wells’; *ibid.* 15 *hu[ittiya]nniskiuweni*; *ibid.* IV 9 *huittiyannis[kiuweni]*), *hu-it-ti-ya-an-ni-is-ki-u-wa-ni* (*ibid.* 30–31 *kinun-a-smas k[āš]a nepisaz huittiyanniskiuwani* ‘now behold we draw you from heaven’), *hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-u-wa-ni* (XV 32 I 49–50 *kinun-a-wa-smas kāsa anzās parā handanni UTU-i kattan assuli huuittiyanneskiuwani* ‘now behold we shall for blessing draw you, along with the sun-god for favor’), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-]-it-ti-ya-an-ni-es-ki-it* (XIII 29, 3; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 352), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-i-it-ti-ya-an-ti(!)-is-ki-id-du* (sic erroneously for *ni*; XXVII 29 II 20–21 *UL-a-ssi kuis annas n-an TUGseknum EGIR-pa huuittiyanniskiddu* ‘she who [is] not his mother shall draw back his tunic’ [partitive apposition]).

huttul(l)i- (n.) ‘strand (of wool), (wool-)tuft’, nom.-acc. *hu-ut-tu-ul-li* (VBoT 24 III 13 *nu-ssi-kan SIGhuttulli huittiyami* ‘from it [viz. the sheep] I pluck a wool-tuft’; KUB IX 27 Vs. 10 *iyandas SIGhuttulli* ‘wool-tuft of a sheep’; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:272 [1987]; VII 60 II 14 ^{UDU}*iyandas SIGhu[ttul]li*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 234), *hu-ut-tu-li* (XXX 15 Vs. 24 ^{UDU}*iyandas SIGhuttuli*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 66), *hu-ut-tu-li(s)* (KBo XVIII 193 Vs. 9 *iyandas SIGhuttuli*), *hu-ud-du-ul-li* (VBoT 24 IV 20 ^{UDU}*iyandas SIGhuddulli*; KUB XV 34 I 12 ^{UDU}*iyantas SIGhuddulli*), instr. sg. *hu-ut-tu-ul-li-it* (XV 31 I 33–34 *n-as iŠTU SIG SA, huttullit TUGkurisnitt-a huittiyazi* ‘one draws them with a strand of red wool and a length of fabric’), *hu-ud-du-ul-li-it* (dupl. 1321/u Vs. 11; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 152; VBoT 24 III 32–33 ^{UDU}*iyandas SIGhuddullit anda ishāi* ‘wraps it up in strands of sheep-wool’), abl. sg. ^{SIG}*hu-ud-du-ul-li-ya-az* (KUB XXVI 43 Rs. 12; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:34 [1974]). For formation cf. e.g. *kariulli-* ‘head-dress’ from *kariya-* ‘cover’. Ch. Rabin (*Orientalia* N.S. 32:120–1 [1963]) considered Ugar. *h̄tl*, Hebrew *hittul* ‘wool-flock, swaddling material’ as loanwords from Hittite.

Unlike the treatment of the dental in *huezta*, *huizzastati*, *huwezattin* (**huet-t-*), *huittiya-* is notable for nonaffrication before *-iya-* (glaringly unlike e.g. *hat[t]*-, *hazziya-*). It resembles that of the 2 sg. pres. act. ending *-tti* < **-tA₁e + i* (cf. Skt. *-tha*) and points to **H₁wedA₁-* (if base-meaning is ‘draw’ rather than ‘lead; marry’, as in **dewk-*; cf. H. C. Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 88 [1984] or **H₁weyA₁-* cognate with Vedic *vithurá-* ‘tottering,

staggering', *vyáthate* 'reel, stagger', Goth. *wipondans haubida seina* 'κινούντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν' (Mark 15:29). Čop's formula **Hwithū-yé-* (Ling. 8:54–5 [1966–8], *Indogermanica minora* 39–40) was however morphophonemically ad hoc and hard to maintain. For the variation *huet-/hut(t)-* see s. v. *hues-*.

huedar, huitar (n.) '(wild) animals, beasts, creatures, critters, wildlife, fauna, game, menagerie, wolf(pack)' (*KUB* IV 4 I 11a *lit-as hu[idni]* 'to beasts of the field' matches *ibid.* 12b [Akk.] *buli* 'wild animals' [collectively]; III 94 II 18 *hu-u-i-tar(-za)* corresponds to *ibid.* [Akk.] *širu* emendable to *šihu* 'critters, vermin'), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-e-da-ar* (XXXVI 67 II 9), [*hu-i*]-*ta-ar* (*KBo* XX 33 Vs. 14 and 15; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53–4), *hu-i-ta-ar-r(a)* (IV 2 I 59 *huitarr-a hūman* 'and all wildlife'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:91 [1962]), *hu-u-i-ta-ar* (*IBOT* II 9 + *KUB* LII 102 I 8–11 *arunass-a [hu-u-i]-ta-[ar] hūman* 6 *KU₆.HIA* [.] *NE.ZA.ZA.HIA* 1 MUŠ 'and all sea-creatures, six fish, x frogs, one snake'; cf. *ZA* 74:301 [1984]), *hu-u-i-tar* (VIII 62 I 2 *gimras huuitar* 'beasts of the field', matching Akk. *būl šēri*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:23 [1968]; *CAD* B 315–6; XXXVIII 3 II 8–9 *šUM ŠA LUGAL-kan kimrass-a huuitar andan gulassan* 'the king's name and beasts of the field engraved on it'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 18; XXXVI 2d, 43 *taknas huuitar [hūman]* 'all critters of the soil'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:35 [1968]; XXXIII 121 II 12–14 *DINGIR.MEŠ-es-kan 'Kessiya ispanduzzi ser kartimmiyawantes nu-ssi huuitar hūman piran arha munnāir* 'the gods [were] angered at Kessis over libation, and hid away all game from him'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; *KBo* X 25 VI 4–5 *DINGIR.MEŠ-nas [huu]itar* 'gods' creatures'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:52), *hu-u-i-it-t[ar]* (*KUB* XXXVIII 38 Vs. 9; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8:209 [1961]), perhaps *hu-u-tar* (XXXVIII 31 Vs. 8; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:190–1 [1963]), (gen. sg. (or pl.) *hu-id-na-as* (VI 45 III 15–17 *ša DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LÚ-TI UR.ZÍR-mas šAH-as gimrass-a huidnas DINAM UD-tili zik DUTU-us hanneskisi* 'on humankind, dog, pig, and beasts of the field you the sun-god daily render judgment', with the somewhat scrambled dupl. VI 46 III 55–56 ... *gimras di-sar huittas* [sic] *UD.KAM-li zik DUTU-us hanniskisi*; II 1 II 16 *huidnas D_{LAMA}-as* 'tutelary god of wildlife'), *hu-u-id-na-as* (dupl. *KBo* XI 40 II 5; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:108 [1975]; *KUB* XXXIII 57 II 11 *kuēlla huuidnas* 'of every kind of beast'; *KBo* XXV 180 Rs. 10 *huuidnas dapias* 'of all wildlife'; cf. Singer, *Festival*

2:98), *hu-ū-e-id-na-as* (*KUB* I 16 II 46 [OHitt.] *huuiednas mān pankur-šeme[t 1-EN] ēsdu* 'like [of] a wolf[pack], let your family be united!'; cf. *KBo* III 27 Vs. 15–16 *IR.MEŠ-a-mman UR.BAR.RA-as mān pangur[r] 1-EN ēstu* 'let my subjects, like a wolf's family, be united!'), (instr. sg.) *hu-u-id-ni-it* (*KUB* XXIV 2 II 15 *gimras huuidnit* 'along with the beasts of the field'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34), (nom.-acc. pl.) *hu-i-ta-a-ar* (*ABOT* 5 + II 17 [OHitt.] *huitār-a*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 32; Singer, *Festival* 2:34), *hu-i-da-a-ar* (later dupl. *KBo* XXII 224 Vs. 3 *huidār*; XXI 70 I 3; *KUB* VIII 1 III 8–10 *hēwēs [kī]sa BURU.HIA SIG₅-anta daganzipas [hu]idār parāi n-apa halkan karapanzi* 'rains will occur, crops will thrive, [but] critters of the soil will blow in and devour the grain'; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 87 [1974], and see for *parāi* s. v. *arai-* [*HED* 1–2:123]), *hu-u-i-ta-a-ar* (*KBo* X 23 III 9–10 *huuitār hūmanda* 'all beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; X 24 I 10–11 *ke huuitār* 'these beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:16; for such likenesses of wild animals [panther, lion, wolf, boar, bear, stag] in precious materials [silver, gold, lapis lazuli] cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:92–4).

huidnant- (c.), nom. sg. in *KBo* IX 114, 7 -w]ar-an *ammel huidnanza aniyaddu* 'let my menagerie deal with him!' (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:34–5 [1962]).

huidnaima- (c.), gen. sg. *hu-i-id-na-i-ma-as* in *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 17 ^{UZU}_{SA} *huyidnaimas* 'sinew of the h.', after previous mention of a killed panther (UG.TUR; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20).

DINGIR.MEŠ-nas (= *siunas*) *huitar* may be simply votive (iconographies of) animals; but Ivanov (*Problemy slavjanskoj etnografii* 152–3 [1979]) compared Latvian *dieva vērsī* 'god's bulls', *dieva zuosis* 'god's geese', *dieva suns* 'wolf' (literally 'god's ^{dog}son'), or Old Russian *zvěri divii* 'wild beasts' (etymologically cognate with *siu-* < **dyew-*), where 'god's' implies 'not belonging to any man', thus 'wild'.

The non-assimilation of *-in-* to *-nn-* has been claimed as a luwianism (cf. *Bo* 4143 I 3 *hu-u-i-tar-sa* in Hittite context, resembling Luw. [case?] *ha-a-ra-tar-sa* beside Hitt. *haratar*, dat.-loc. sg. *haratni* [q. v.]; cf. Neu, in *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* 167, 182–3 [*IBS* 85, 1987]); but this is unnecessary, since *huitar* has etymological **dn* (see below) which is regularly unassimilated (e. g. *udne*). The form *huuitarsa* (like *KUB* III 94 II 18 *huuitarza* quoted above) may reflect a secondary transfer to genus commune (to the

type of *haster-*, nom. sg. *hasterza* [q. v.]), as an alternative to the "animated" *huidnant-*.

Cognate derivatives occur in Luwian with the meaning 'life', from a root *hued-* distinct from Hitt. *hues-*:

huidumar (n.), nom.-acc. sg. in Hitt. context *hu-u-i-du-mar* (*Bo* 3078 II 12 DUMU-annas *huuidumar* 'life of progeny'; dupl. *Bo* 3617 I 13 DUMU-lannas *hu[-]*; cf. Otten and Siegelová, *AfO* 23:33–5 [1970]), (case?) *hu-i-du-mar-sa* (*KBo* XIII 260 III 18; cf. *ibid.* 19–20 *haddulahisa annarumāhisa* 'health [and] strength'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 262), [*hu-i-tu-mar-sa*] (XIX 155, 13; cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 25–6, 56). For formation cf. e.g. Hitt. *ardumar* from *ard-* (*HED* 1–2:175); it is not derived from a **huidu-* 'alive' (wrongly H.C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:17 [1983]) and may actually be a Hittite formation borrowed into Luwian and rederived:

huidummahit- 'vitality', instr. sg. *hu-i-tum-ma-na-hi-ta-ti* (*KUB* XXXV 45 II 8–10 *huuidwalahiti annarummahiti* MU.KAM.III.A GID.DA EGIR.UID-MI.III.A-ti DINGIR.MEŠ-assazati wassarahitatu huitummanahitatu 'for life, strength, long years for the future, through the gods' favor and vitality'; Starke, *KLTU* 152), *hu-i-tum-na-a-hi-ta-ti* (XXXV 21 Rs. 14; Starke, *KLTU* 89; *KBo* IX 143 III 15; Starke, *KLTU* 122), [*hu-u-tum-um-na-hi-ta-ti*] (*KUB* XXXII 8 IV 16; Starke, *KLTU* 119).

huidwali- 'living, alive', nom. sg. c. *hu-i-du-wa-li-is* (*KUB* XXXV 45 II 25 *mān-as huidwalis* 'if he [is] living', vs. *ibid.* 26 *mān-as ulantis* 'if he [is] dead'), [*hu-u-id-wa-li-is*] (dupl. XXXV 48 II 19; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 153, 155), *hu-id-wa-li-is* (XXXV 46 IV 5; Starke, *KLTU* 159), [*hu-i-id-wa-a-li-i-is*] (XXXV 49 IV 13; Starke, *KLTU* 151), acc. sg. c. *hu-i-du-wa-la-li-ya-an* (sic XXXV 43 II 3, vs. *ibid.* 2 *ulantalliyān* 'dead'; Starke, *KLTU* 143), *hu-u-i-id-wa-li-ya-an* (XXXV 43 III 30; Starke, *KLTU* 147), *hu-u-i-id-wa-a-li-ya-an* (XXXII 14 + XXXIV 62 III 11; Starke, *KLTU* 149), [*hu-u-i-id-wa-al-li-ya-an*] (XXXV 51 II 29; Starke, *KLTU* 177).

huidwalahit- 'life', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-id-wa-la-hi-ti* (*KBo* XXIX 31 IV 8 *huidwalahiti annarum[mahiti]* 'for life [and] strength'; *KUB* XXXII 8 IV 14), *hu-u-id-wa-la-hi-ti* (XXXV 45 II 8, quoted above), instr. sg. *hu-u-i-du-wa-la-a-hi-ta-ti* (XXXV 43 II 38 *huuidwalāhitati annarummahitatu* 'through life [and] strength'), (case?) *hu-u-id-wa-la-a-hi-sa(-ha)* (XXXV 133 II 29–30 ^{URU} *Hattusaya apparantien arin annarumāhi huuidwalāhisa-ha* 'for Hattusas long future, strength, and life!'; Starke, *KLTU* 280).

For the derivational string **huidwal* : *huidwali-* : *huidwalahit-* cf. e.g. *adduwal-* (n.) 'evil', adjective *adduwal-* 'evil', abstract noun *adduwalahit-* 'malice' (*HED* 1–2:492). **huidwal-* may have been rederived as **huidwal-war* in *hu-u-i-du-u-wa-lu-wa-ra* with gloss-wedge (*KBo* V 9 I 12–13 *ABU-KA-mu kuit [tuel] [...] an huuidwawar-a piran memiskit* 'because your father used to commend to me your ... and mode of living'; with *piran mema-* cf. German *befürworten*; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:10).

In view of the archaic Hittite heteroclitic *huedar/huedn-* it is unreasonable to view Luw. *huid-* as a phonetic variant of Hitt. *hues-*, somehow parallel to *siwat-/tiwat-*, *sakuwassara-/sahuidara-*, and the like. There must have been a root **H₁wed-* semantically akin to **A₁wes-*, attested in an archaic word in Hittite but surviving a little better in Luwian; for its possible ultimate root-affinity via suffix-variation with **A₁wes-* see s. v. *hues-*.

huedar/huedn- reflects **H₁wed₂/H₁wedn-* and closely resembles ON *vitnir* 'creature' (< **Hwedniyos*) referring to the wolf Fenrir in Eddic poetry (*vitni at vega* 'to fight the creature', *vitnis vígi at* 'at the killing of the creature') and occurring in compounds and kennings: *hröðvitnir* 'slaver-creature' for 'wolf' (cf. the chained Fenrir's slaver forming the river Vön), *grafvitnir* 'grave-creature' for 'snake'. These attestations match the Hittite nuances of *huedar* as 'wolf(-pack)' ('wolf' is normally ON *úlfr* or *vargr*, Hitt. *ulip[pa]na-*) and 'soil critters'; others include e.g. *sporvitnir* 'track-creature' for 'horse' and *mjöðvitnir* 'mead-creature' for 'dwarf' (cf. dwarfs brewing mead from the blood of Kvasir).

Cf. Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 32:54–7 (1986).

huh(h)a- (c.) 'grandfather' (*AB[B]A AB[B]A, ABI ABI*), nom. sg. *hu-uh-ha-as* (*KUB* XXXIII 24 I 34–35 *huhhas-sis-a tet* 'his grandfather said'; *ibid.* 46 *huhhas-sis*; *ibid.* 32 *huhhas-sas tet*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:114–5 [1965]; I 16 III 41–42 *huhhas-mis [Laba]rnan DUMU-san* ^{URU} *Sanahuitti iskunahhis* 'my grandfather rusticated his son L. to Sanahuittas'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 12–4), acc. sg. *hu-uh-ha-an* (*ibid.* 40–41 *huhha-man [... u]ddār-set* 'my father's words' [partitive apposition: 'my father, his words']), gen. sg. or pl. *hu-uh-ha-as* (e.g. XLIII 55 V 9–10 *INA É huhhas teshan austa* 'in the house of the grandfathers [= dynastic mausoleum?] he saw a dream'; XX 52 IV 17 *INA É huhhas-kan*; *Bo* 3230 I 8 LÚ.MEŠ É

'the men of the house of the grandfathers'; *KUB* V 9 I 25, VI 37 Vs. 11, LII 99, 10 LÚ.MEŠ É.GAL *huhhas* 'the men of the grandfather's palace'; VI 45 I 42 DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA É.GAL *huhhas* 'the gods of the grandfather's palace'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 203; XVI 35, 15 É.GAL *huhhas*; X 68, 3 É.GAL *huhhas*; Montserrat 2, 3 É.GAL *huhhas*; cf. Güterbock, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 137, 139 [1979]), *hu-u-uh-ha-as* (*HT* 2 I 3 ŠA É.GAL *hūhhas*), *hu-ha-as* (*KUB* XIX 5 Vs. 12), *hu-u-ha-as* (XI 10, 7 IŠTU É *hūh[as]*), *ABI ABI* (e.g. XII 5 I 2 *INA É ABI ABI* ^DUTU-ŠI 'in his majesty's grandfather's house'; cf. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 20:51 [1962]; *ibid.* IV 17–18 *INA* ^{URU}*Sa-mūha É ABI ABI* ^DUTU-ŠI 'at S., in his majesty's grandfather's house'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-uh-hi* (XXI 27 IV 9–10 *ANA* ^DIM *tuēl huhhi* [Ü A]NA ^DUTU ^{URU}TUL-na *tuēl hannī* 'to the storm-god your grandfather and to the sun-goddess of Arinna your grandmother'; similarly *ibid.* 4–5; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 334; XXXIII 24 I 30 *huhhi-ssi pait* 'went to his grandfather'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:173 [1977]), abl. sg. *hu-uh-ha-az* (*KBo* XX 31 Vs. 1 *attaz huh[haz]*), nom. pl. *hu-uh-hi-is* (*KBo* XXII 86 + *KUB* XXXVI 2c III 4–6 *āśma-wa-[za]* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL-TIM LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI *tuēl* [...] *huhhis* 'lo, the great gods, the old men your grandfathers'; *KUB* XVII 29 II 6–8 *sumenzan huhha hannis attēs annis ... nahhantes esir* 'your grandparents and parents were apprehensive' [dual-dvandva with partial pluralization]; cf. Puhvel, *AJP* 98:398–9 [1977] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 381–2 [1981]; Tischler, *IBK Sonderheft* 50:218 [1982]), acc. pl. *hu-uh-hi-is* (XXX 24 II 23 *huhhis hannis ekuz[i]* 'he drinks to grandfathers [and] grandmothers'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60), *hu-uh-hi-es* (XXXIX 7 I 42 *hanne[s] huhhes pianzi* (sic, pro *akuwanzi*; cf. *akuwanna pianzi*; Otten, *Totenrituale* 34), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-uh-ha-as* (VII 10 I 9–10 *tarpallis-ma hannas huhhas* '[substitute] figures for grandmothers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 130; XXXIX 4 Vs. 4 *hannas huhhas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 24; XXXIX 1 III 9 and XXXIX 6 Rs. 22 *huhhas hannas*; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 22, 50; *ABoT* 56 III 7–8 *ANA É.MEŠ GIDIM.HI.A kue[(-)]...* *addas huhhas kue[(-)]* 'for the houses of the dead, for the fathers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 104), *ANA ABBA ABBA.HI.A* (e.g. *KUB* I 8 IV 33 *ANA ABBA.HI.A Ü ANA ABBA ABBA.HI.A-YA* 'to my fathers [and] grandfathers'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 26), undetermined case e.g. XXI 19 + 1303/u + 338/v II 34 *nu attas huhhas* (cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 312).

huhhant- (c.) '(great)grandfather', nom. pl. *hu-uh-ha-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXI 5 I 14; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:52), *hu-u-ha-an-te-is* (XXXVI 87 IV 27; *ibid.* 26 *tu[el] hūhan[-]*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 192). Cf. Laroche, *BSL* 57.1:35 (1962). Derived adjective *huhhant-alla-*, nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-u-ha-da-al-la* (XXXIII 106 III 50–51 *amalla attalla hūhadalla* [É.]^{NA}KIŠIB.HI.A 'old fatherly-grandfatherly [Lat. *patrūta et avīta*] storehouses'; cf. *HED* 1–2:54), *hu-ha-da-al-la* (*KBo* XXVI 65 II 17 *dadalla huhadall[a]*, with Luwoid *dadalla*). A jingle derivation from *huhha-*, based on *attalla-/tatalla-*, is also conceivable; cf. Oettinger, *KZ* 99:46 (1986).

Luw. *huh(h)a-*, instr. sg. *hu-u-ha-ti* (*KBo* IX 141 I 3; cf. *ibid.* 4 *nāniyat[i]* 'brother'; Starke, *KLTU* 126). Also in Luwoid anthroponymy, e.g. *Huhhazitis*, *Hūhananis* (cf. Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG* 139–40; Laroche, *Noms* 70).

Hier. *huha-* 'grandfather' (*tati-huha-*), *huhati-* '(great)grandfather' (*tatin huhan huhatin*); *huhatali-* 'grandfatherly, atavistic' (*tatalis huhatalis*). *huha(n)ti-* recalls **anna(n)ti-* 'mother' (*HED* 1–2:57; *huha* + *tti-* was implausibly posited by Starke, *KZ* 94:77 [1980]). Cf. Meriggi, *HHG* 60; Laroche, *HH* 174–5.

Lyc. *χuga-* in *TLy* 44b.58 *χugaha se-χñnaha* 'grandfather's and grandmother's'; *TLy* 44d.66–67 *ēnesi-ke tedesi-ke χugasi* 'of both maternal and paternal grandfathers' (see references s. v. *hanna-* and *amma-* [*HED* 1–2:57]). Also in Lycian anthroponyms *epñχuxa* (*TLy* 127.1; cf. Friedrich, *KS* 84; Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG* 142) and *Κovyας* (L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 252 [1964]), but not in Lydian *Γύνης* (cf. Neumann, *Untersuch.* 69–71; *HED* 1–2:176, with ref.). Anatolian glossal matches for Gk. *πάππος* are Hes. *πῡπάι* and *κοῡκά*.

For the possibility that *annas-mas ... uwas-mas* in the "Soldier's dirge" (*KBo* III 40, 14–15) reflects a dialectally delaryngealized *hannas huhhas* (as in the dat.-loc. pl. mortuary attestations above), see s. v. *hanna-*. For the quasi-synonym *dān attas* (literally 'second [= father's] father') see Puhvel, *KZ* 92:100–1 (1978) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 391–2 (1981).

Unlike *hanna-* or *atta-*, the baby-talk explanation does not play well with *huhha-*. The identification of *huh(h)as* with Lat. *avus* 'grandfather' as **A₁ewA₁os* (first in Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:163 [1928]) remains unassailable; no gradational fine-tuning (Kuryłowicz, *Études* 74: **A₁uA₁o-*) is called for, in view of Hittite monophthongization. Together with Arm. *hav* 'grandfather', Anatolian upholds

the eastern attestation of this term, otherwise found mainly in Italic, Germanic (Goth. *awō* 'grandmother'), and Celtic (OIr. *áue* 'grandson').

huh(h)upa- ‘evil’ (?), nom. sg. c. *hu-uh-hu-pa-as*, with gloss wedges (*KUB* XXVI 12 II 5–9 *nu kī memai EGIR-an-wa-mu tī[ya] apās-ma apāt memai EGIR-a[n-wa-tta] ūl tiyami hanti-ya-wa-ssi ūl tiyami huhhupass-a-[ssi] kishahari* ‘he says this: “Back me up!”, but that one says thus: “I shall not back you up, nor shall I turn on him and become evil towards him”’), *hu-hu-pa-* (XXVI 13 IV 12, with gloss-wedges).

huhhupas kis- (+ dat.) seems synonymous with *idalawes*- (+ dat.) 'turn bad, become evil (towards)'; *huh(h)upa*- may be a reduplicated Luwoid dialect form of *huwappa*- (q. v. s. v. *huwapp*-; cf. the gloss-wedged dat.-loc. sg. *hūwappi*; further *huipi*- [s. v.]); Hier. *hupasanu*- 'cause to be harmed' [?]; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 502; Hawkins, *KZ* 94:115–6 [1980]). Cf. Th. van den Hout, *Bi. Or.* 41:434 (1984).

huhupal- (n.-u) 'cymbal', also used as a vessel in ritual, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-u-hu-pa-al* (e.g. *KUB XXV 37 I 34 mahhan-ma-kan* ^{GIS}*huhupal* *iSTU GEŠTIN sumnanzi* 'but when they fill a cymbal with wine'; *ibid.* 10 ^{GIS}*huhupal harzi ūl-at GUL-ahhiskizzi* 'he holds a cymbal but does not strike it'; *ibid.* 11–12 *kue* ^{GIS}*huhupal harkanzi n-at GUL-ahhiskanzi* 'what cymbals they hold, them they strike'; *ibid.* III 24–25 ^{GIS}*huhupal danzi n-at hazzikiuan tianzi* 'they take cymbals and start striking them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 343–7; *KBo XX 20 Vs. 4 + XXV 54 I 10 sāūtran huhupall-a harkanzi* 'they hold horn and cymbal'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120; Starke, *KLTU* 285; *XX 56 Vs. 9* ^{GIS}*huhupall-a walhan[zi* 'and cymbal they strike'; *KUB XXV 39 I 23–24* *huhupal dāi n-at hazzikkizzi* 'takes a cymbal and strikes it'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 329; *KBo XXI 67 I 12* ^{GIS}*huhupal hazzi[-]*, *hu-u-hu-pa-al* (e.g. *IV 9 I 39–41* ^{GIS}*arkammi* ^{GIS}*huhupal galgaltūri LUGAL-i EGIR-an piran hazzikanzi* 'harp, cymbal, and tambourine behind [and] before the king they strike'; *KUB XXIX 4 I 24 1-NUTIM* ^{GIS}*huhupal* 'one set [= pair?] of cymbals'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 8), *hu-u-hu-u-pa-al* (*XXV 9 V 3* [^{GIS}*hū*] *hūpal hazzikkanzi* 'they strike cymbals'; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 64 [1982]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-hu-pa-li* (e.g. *XXV 37 I 26–27 n-at-kan katta apīz kat*) *terri*

^{GIS}*huhupali lahuwāri* 'it is poured down thence into the lower cymbal'), instr. sg. *hu-hu-pa-al-li-it* (XXV 1 VI 27–29 ^{GIS}*argami gal-galtūri* ^{GIS}*huhupallit-a hazzikanzi* 'harp [and] tambourine along with cymbal they strike'), *hu-u-hu-pa-li-it* (XI 35 V 11 ^{GIS}*hūhupalit sir-RU* '[they] sing to cymbal accompaniment'), abl. sg. *hu-hu-pa-al-za* (LV 65 IV 5–6 ^{GIS}*huhupalza akuwanzi* ^{GIS}*huhupal* DINGIR-LIM [wa]lhan-neskanzi 'they drink from the cymbal, they strike the deity's cymbal'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 312), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-hu-pa-a-la* (XV 5 III 11 *kue* ^{GIS}*huhupāla* 'what cymbals'), ^{GIS}*hu-hu-pa-la* (ibid. 13), *hu-hu-pa-al-li* (XXXII 117 Vs. 8 + XXXV 93 Vs. 13 *nu-za ūk* ^{GIS}*huhupalli dā[hhe]* 'I take cymbals'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; Starke, *KLTU* 41; XLI 15 + LIII 15 I §18 ^{GIS}*huhupa[l]li walhannai ishamiskizzi-ya* 'strikes cymbals and sings'; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984]; *KBo* XXX 81 I 6 h) *uhupalli walh[a-; XVII 25 Rs. 7 h)uhupalli*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 225). Cf. the expression *iyatnas ... [huhupal* 'cymbal of plenty', i.e. 'cornucopia' (*KUB* XIII 33 II 5–6; *HED* 1–2:350). Cf. A. M. Polvani, *Hethitica IX* 171–9 (1988). H. C. Melchert's emendation (*KZ* 101:230 [1988]) [^{GIS}*hu-lu-wa-hur-pa-al* (*KBo* XII 123, 10) is improbable.

There is a definite culture-word relationship to the vessel name ^{DUG}*kukupalla-* (q. v.) and to Gk. *κύπελλον* 'goblet', *κύμβαλον* 'cymbal', Skt. *kimpala-* (a musical instrument); cf. also Gk. *κύμβη* 'bowl', Skt. *kumbhā-*, Avest. *xumba-* 'jar'. The cymbal was drunk from in the initiation formula of the Asianic cult of Cybele (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2: ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον 'I have eaten from the drum, I have drunk from the cymbal'). The reduplication and *h* : *k* alternation have onomatopoeic or phonesthetic implications. Cf. Furnée, *Erscheinungen* 284. G-tt//F, Cate 57-7 inconclusively argued for *hukupala-* 'drum' & (vs. *gulgulturi-* 'cymbal').

5A huishu(i)ssuwalli- '?' Kořak/AoF 2311, 36

huimpa-, huimma- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-im-pa-as* (*KUB* VII 41 Vs. 19–21 *tagā[nzipas]* *huimpas* É.ŠĀ-nanza GUNNI-anza 4 *halhaldumma[riās]* ^É*hīlas* KĀ.HI.A-es *arha tarnan[du]* ‘may the floor, h., interior, fireplace, four corners, and gate of the yard let go!’; dupl. *KBo* X 45 I 11; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116, 143 [1961]), *hu-im-ma-as* (*KUB* VII 13 Vs. 19 *huimmas tarnāu*), acc. sg. *hu-im-pa-an* (II 2 III 1–2 *idalun* ^{GIŠ}ÜR *idalun* [^{GIŠ}*hittassa*] *idalu* [sic] *huimpan mun[nandu]* ‘let them hide bad roofbeam, bad h., bad h.’; ibid. 8 ^{GIŠ}*h[ui]mpa*n; matching ibid. II 59 and III 5 [Hattic] *ta-al-wi-i-it*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 41:86–7 [1947]; Schuster, *Bilinguen* 68–9, 104–5), ^{GIŠ}*hu-in-pa-an* (XXXIII 36 III 4; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 74), gen. sg. *hu-im-pa-as* (V 6 IV 4

hu-hu-pa-a-al-li (WUS
32.18 + 23),
hu-hu-wa-a-al-li
(ibid 18; Grodd/AoF 25).

i kɔɔ.ɪ 63-64. hukupala
 [...] akuplanzi n-ja-kan
 e natinzi 'they drink (from)
 the cymbals & strike
 them'. Strike KLU. 342

beal (review) not
'cymbal'! T.K. to
cymbal re moxet
surv as person (his)

waskuyēs ša mun ša giš.rīn zipaniti huimpas 'deficiencies of salt and of h. of scales [scale-beam, vel sim.?)', abl. sg. *hu-im-pa-az* (KBo XXIV 45 Vs. 22 *namma ē dingir-lim ser katta* ^{GIS}*huimpaz hurnuwanzi* 'further they spray the temple top to bottom from the h. '; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:105 [1983]; XXIV 93 III 27 ^{GIS}*huimpaz hurnuwan[-]*, ^{GIS}*hu-im-pa-za* (dupl. HT 40 Vs. 5), *hu-im-ma-za* (KBo XXIV 93 III 17–18 *namma ape ē meš ser kat[ta]* ^{GIS}*huimmaza karipanzi* 'further they consume those houses top to bottom from the h. '; cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 31–6 [1987]).

huimpant- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-im-pa-an-za* (KBo XXV 184 III 67 ^{HT}*huimpanza pedan hardu* 'let the h. hold the spot').

Wooden piece of (ceiling?) construction like e.g. ^{GIS}*iskissana* 'joist', ^{GIS}*isparuzzi* 'spar, rafter' (see at end of HED 3 addenda to HED 1–2, sub 424), ^{GIS}*ur* 'roofbeam', ^{GIS}*hittassa* (KUB II 2 III 8). Laroche (*Bi. Or.* 11:123 [1954]) compared Luw. *hum(ma)ti* (*Dict. louv.* 48) which he later (*RHA* 15:23–4 [1957]) equated with Hier. *humati* 'base, stand, pedestal' (Meriggi, *HHG* 216). Cf. also *humma-* (s. v.).

huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless' (vel sim.), acc. sg. c. *hu-i-pi-in* and nom. pl. c. *hu-i-pi-i[-e-es?]* (KBo XXIII 57 IV 15–20 *ana kur.kur* ^{LÜ}*kūr-ma idālauwas [...]* ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*harpanalliēs huipiy[ēs?] tarpin huipin pisk[ittin?]* QADU KUR-ŠUNU É.HI.A-ŠUNU DAM.MEŠ-ŠU[NU ...] [...]HI.A-ŠUNU A.ŠA.HI.A-ŠUNU ^{GIS}*šar.geštin[-šunu]* [*harn*]inkūwanzi 'to the evil enemy lands may you ruthless adversaries dish out ruthless fortune, to destroy along with their land their houses, their wives, ..., their ..., their fields, and their vineyards'.

huipayatē (c.) 'ruthlessness, cruelty', acc. sg. *hu-i-pa-ya-ta-an* (KUB XII 58 II 33–35 *idalu papratar alwanzatar āstayaratar dingir.meš-as karpin aggantās hatugatar dumu-lannas huipayatan n-at arha tarna* 'evil defilement, sorcery, trickery, wrath of the gods, terror of the dead, the cruelty of mankind, banish them!'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14, 87–8), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-i-pa-^{at}ti* (XXXVI 83 I 18; cf. ibid. 17 *alwanzanni hullanzanni* 'for sorcery [and] infliction', ibid. 19 *ha-tu-ga-an-ni* 'for terror'), *hu-u-i-pa-* (886/u, 4). Cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 31.

The scriptio facilior (non-gemination of -t-) is unusual in an abstract noun of this type but does not invalidate the formation.

nor is a relationship to *huwap(p)*- ruled out a priori (pace Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:254). In view of the Luwoid forms in the paradigms of abstract nouns like *irhat(t)*- (*HED* 1–2:130) it is conceivable that *huipi-* is a dialectal cognate of Hitt. *huwappa-* 'evil', in a manner reminiscent of Hitt. *idalu-* : Luw. *adduwal-* 'bad, evil'.

Cf. *huh(h)upa-*. Rieken, *SBo* 1:113 ff

hul(a)- 'wind, twist, twine', attested in derivatives:

River name ^{ID}*Hūlanna-* (KUB XXVI 71 I 12; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 33–4), ^{ID}*Hulana-* (XXVI 43 Vs. 31) = ^{ID}*sig-na* (XXVI 50 Vs. 25), ^{ID}*sig* (e.g. XIX 10 I 9), by a kind of rebus association with the homophone *hulana-* (*sig*) 'wool' (q. v.); earlier erroneously interpreted as *sig*, 'yellow, green', thus 'Green River' (e.g. E. Forrer, *SPAW* 1919:1039; Götze, *Hattusilis* 21); ^{ID}*Hulaya-* (KBo IX 99, 3), ^{ID}*Hūlaya-* (e.g. IV 10 Vs. passim; 299/1986 I–III passim; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 10–22, 46, 93), apparently referring to the "meandering" nature of many Anatolian rivers (cf. Rosenkranz, *BzN N.F.* 1:131 [1966]); toponym *Hūlassa-* (cf. Laroche, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer* 2:3 [1957]). Cf. Ertem, *Coğrafya* 50.

hulali- (n.) 'wrap; distaff', nom.-acc. sg. ^{GIS}*hu-la-li* (see below sub *hulaliya-*), ^{GIS}*hu-u-la-li* (e.g. KUB 35 + KBo II 9 I 28; cf. A. Archi, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:299 [1977]; KUB XXIX 1 II 6 [context s. v. *huesa-*]), ^{GIS}*hu-la-a-li* (e.g. KBo VI 34 II 42 and 53 'distaff, coupled with *huesa-* 'spindle' [q. v.]; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 10, 65–6); *akkantas hūlali* (KUB III 94 II 21), name of an insect (lit. 'dead-wrap, winding-sheet'; cf. perhaps Akk. *nappillu* 'caterpillar; corpse', Lat. *larva*). Cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 72; Goetze, *JAOS* 65:237 (1945); *MSL* 2:112–5 (1951); N. Van Brock, *RHA* 20:118 (1962). For formation cf. *harpali-* 'heap, stack' (s. v. *harp-*).

hulaliya- 'wind around; enwrap, entwine, encircle, surround', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-la-a-li-ya-mi* (KBo XVII 6 III 14), *hu-la-a-li-e-mi* (XVII 3 IV 23; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 32, 38; Neu, *Altheth.* 21, 17), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-la-li-ya-az-zi* (e.g. KUB LIX 2 II 8 ^{GIS}*hulali hulaliyazzi*), *hu-la-a-li-az-zi* (KBo III 27 Vs. 27 *muš-as hūlāliazzi* 'the serpent will entwine'), *hu-u-la-li-ya-zi* (e.g. KBo II 3 I 5 and dupl. KUB XII 34 I 5), *hu-u-la-a-li-ya-zi* (XXXIV 7 III 5), *hu-u-ul-la-li-ya-az-zi* (sic dupl. KBo XIII 15, 8), *hu-u-la-li-e-iz-zi* (e.g. KUB XXIV 9 I 42 and 47; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5:142 [1957]), *h[u]u-la-a-li-e-zi* (KBo XXV 100 Rs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 176).

hu-la-a-li-iz-zi (KUB XXXVII 223 Rs. 3 ^{LÜ}KÜR-as URU-an *hulālizzi* 'the enemy encircles the town'), *hu-u-la-li-zi* (1112/c + I 40; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:350 [1953]), *hu-u-la-li-iz-zi* (KBo IX 106 II 22; KUB XXXIV 16 III 5), *ha-la-li-iz-zi* (sic ibid. 3; see s.v. *hulukanni*), *hu-u-la-a-li-iz-zi* (224/g. 2), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-la-li-ya-at-ta-ri* (KBo X 7 II 35), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-la-li-an-zi* (XII 131, 3; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:79), *hu-u-la-li-an-zi* (110/e Rs. 26 -k)an ^{SIG}ēsri *anda hūlianzi* 'they wrap in a fleece'), *hu-u-la-li-ya-an-zi* (e.g. V I IV 8; cf. Sommer-Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 12*; XIII 119 III 13), *hu-u-la-a-li-ya-an-zi* (KUB XXXIV 16 III 1), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-la-li-ya-nu-un* (XXIII 11 II 23 šA) ERÍN.MEŠ ^{LÜ}KÜR *tuzzin anda hulaliyanun* 'I encircled the army of enemy troops'), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-u-la-li-it-ta-at* (IBoT I 36 III 54; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:196 [1966]; Neu, *Interpretation* 59), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-la-li-ya-at-ti* (sic VBoT 111 III 11; cf. Riemschneider, *MIO* 5:146 [1957]); partic. *hulaliyant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-la-li-ya-an-za* (see s.v. *hurpasta-*), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-la-li-an* (KBo XVII 3 IV 28); verbal noun *hu-u-la-li-ya-u-wa-ar* (IBoT I 36 III 39), *hu-la-li-es-sar* (KUB XXVI 71 I 14 'encirclement'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14; KBo X 50 II 3), dat.-loc. sg. in KUB XXIV 3 I 43 *nepisass-az taknass-a hūlālēsni* 'within the compass of heaven and earth' (also XXXI 127 I 14 *hu-u-la-li-es-ni*; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 24, 78; Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:49, *JAOS* 65:251 [1945]); iter. *hūlālēski-*, *hūlāliski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-la-li-is-ki-iz-zi* and 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-la-a-li-es-kān-zi* (KBo XVII 105 II 15–16 *tug-a hāssan mahhan* [UD-a]z DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU *anda hūlāliskizz[i] ispandaz-ma-t<ta> anda DINGIR.MEŠ-es hūlālēskanzi* 'even as by day man surrounds thee, hearth, by night the gods surround thee'), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-la-li-is-kān-du* (ibid. 24 'may [they] surround [thee]'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]).

[hahliliya-] 'wind around', 3 sg. pres. midd. *ha-ah-li-li-ya-at-ta* 'it is wound around' (KBo X 7 II 16; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 32).

[hulhuliyā-] 'entwine, embrace (often with *anda*); wrestle, struggle (bodily; cf. French *lutter*)', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-zi* (KUB L 84 II 21 *anda hulhuliyazi*; ibid. 10 *nu-za-kan* ^{UTU}URU.TÚL-na *ginuwa anda hulhuli-* '[the queen] embraces the knees of the sun-goddess of Arinna'), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-at* (XXIII 97 III 1–2 *nu-mu-za-kan* ŠEŠ.DUG.GA-YA *anda hulhuliyat* 'my dear brother embraced me'; XXVI 65 II 9–10 *n-an patalhus* 3-šU *kuwasta* [...] *hulhuliyat* 'he kissed his ankles three times ... he embraced'), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ul-hu-li-an-du* (KBo XVII 105 IV 6 *nu-smas-zan anda*

hulhuliandu 'let them embrace!'), *hu-ul-hu-u-li-* (XIII 119 III 7; cf. ibid. 13 *anda hūlaliyanzi*); partic. *hulhuliyant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-an-te-es* (III 40 Vs. 12 2 LÜ.MEŠ *hulhuliyantes* 'two body-fighters'); verbal noun *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-wa-ar* (I 42 II 29, matching ibid. GÜ.GILIM and [Akk.] *mu-un-tah-zu* 'fighting' [*mahāsu*]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 65–6; Güterbock, *MSL* 13:136 [1971]).

[hulhuli(ya)-] *hulhula-* (c.?) 'wrestling' (KITPALU, i.e. *kitpulu* [*ka-pālu*]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-hu-li-ya* (KUB XXV 23 I 21–22 PANI DINGIR-LIM GEŠPÚ *hulhuliyā tieskanzi duskiskanzi* 'before the deity they go in for boxing [and] wrestling, they entertain'; cf. A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:26 [1973]), *hu-ul-hu-li(s)-ya* (XVII 35 II 26 DINGIR-LUM-ma-as-kan *duskanzi hulhuliyā tianzi* NA₄-an *siyanzi* 'they entertain the deity, they proceed to wrestle, they throw the stone'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 58; ibid. IV 34 -janzi *hulhuliyā tianzi*), *hu-ul-hu-la* (XLIV 42 Vs. 16 .]MEŠ *hulhula* GEŠPÚ *tianzi*), KITPALU (KBo XXIII 55 I 20–21 *nu namma-at KITPALU ti[an]zi* 'then they proceed to wrestle'; ibid. 18 *nu LÜ.MEŠ KITPA[LU ...] parā tittanuanzi* 'they put on the wrestlers'; cf. Puhvel, in *The Archaeology of the Olympics* 29–30 [1988]).

Cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 78 (rectifying the erroneous connection of *hulhuliyā-* with *hulla-* found in e.g. N. Van Brock, *RHA* 22:135 [1964]; A. Archi, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5:26 [1973]; [with vacillation] Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 265; G. Dunkel, *KZ* 95:222 [1981]).

hul- reflects IE *H₁wel(-H₂)- 'wind, twist', seen in Skt. *vālati*, Arm. *gehun*, Gk. *eilēō*, etc. (*IEW* 1140–3; cf. Sturtevant, *Lg.* 4:164 [1928]).

For Armenian comparisons see T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:227 (1961), who opposed G. Kapancjan's adduction of Arm. *xul* 'thread', and N. A. Mkrtčyan's (*LHG* 1970:7, 68–9) assumption of a borrowing from Hittite in Arm. *hol* 'spinning top', *holel* 'turn'. Kapancjan's comparison of Arm. (*xol*)*xolel* 'split, crush' with *hulhuliyā-* was inconclusively discussed further by Mkrtčyan in *Acta Antiqua* 22:318 (1974), *Drevnij Vostok* 2:76–85 (1976).

Cf. *hu(wa)lli(s)-*.

hulla-, hulliya- 'smash, quash, defeat', 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-si* (KUB XXXVII 223 Rs. 5 *n-an hullasi*), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-az-zi* (ibid. Vs. 3–4 ^{LÜ}KÜR LÜ-an *hullazzi* 'the enemy defeats the man'), *hu-u-ul-la-az-zi* (KBo VI 26 II 11 [= Code 2:73] *takku DIN LUGAL kuiski*

soysal Math 14:123 f.

hullazzī 'if someone quashes a royal verdict', besides dupl. *KUB* XXIX 32, 4 *hu-ul-li-iz-zī*, *hu-u-ul-li-ya-az-zi* (*KBo* VI 26 II 12 *takku* DIN^{LU} DUGUD *kuiski hulliyazzi* SAG.DU-ZU INAKKIZU 'if someone quashes a dignitary's verdict, they cut off his head', besides dupl. *KUB* XXIX 32, 5 *hu-ul-li-iz-[]*, *hu-ul-li-ya-az-zi* (*KBo* IV 10 Vs. 46 *nu ziladuwa kūn memian le kuiski hulliyazzi* 'in the future let no one quash this ordinance'; *KUB* XVII 28 IV 58 *mānn-a ERÍN.MEŠ*^{LU} KÜR-*as hulliyazzi* 'if the enemy defeats the troops'), *hu-ul-li-e-iz-zi* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 34–35 [emended from dupl. *KUB* XXXVI 98a Vs. 5] *k[ī] tuppi le kuiski hulliezzī* *kuis-at hullizzī* 'let no one quash this tablet; whoever quashes it ...'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12, 76), *hu-ul-li-iz-zi* (*IBOT* III 131, 5 *tuppi hullizzī*; *KUB* XL 54 Rs. 2 *kuis-at hullizzī*; XXXIV 53 Rs. 8–9 *kinun-a-wa-smas kuit wekmi* [...] *le kuiski hullizzi* 'what I now demand of you, let no one quash'), *hu-ul-li-zi* (*KBo* XX 82 II 27), *hu-ul-la-i* (VI 28 Rs. 29 *kuis-ma-an hullai* 'but whoever quashes it'; *KUB* XXXI 59 III 26 *hullai-ma*), *hu-ul-la-a-i* (*KBo* VI 29 III 40–42 *kuis-ma* ...^{LU} SANGA-UTTA ŠA^D [IŠTAR]^{URU} Samuha *hullāi* 'but whoever quashes the priesthood of Ištar of Samuha'; cf. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* 50; *KUB* XXVI 50 Rs. 8–9 *kuis-ma AMAT Taba[rna]* ... *hullāi* 'but whoever quashes the king's ordinance'; cf. Imparati, *RHA* 32:36 [1974]), acephalic 2 pl. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-at-te-ni* (unless the near-synonym *sullatteni* 'dispute, fight'; XXVI 34 Rs. 5 *le hullatteni* 'do not quash!' matching *KBo* I 1 II 23 [Akk.] *lā tašallāta* 'do not split!' [šalātu]; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 6:369 [1969]; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 76; equally ambiguous XVI 98 I 6 -*ullatteni*), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-ul-la-an-zi* (*KUB* XVII 21 IV 18–19 *nu ŠA^{DIM} linkiyas^{NA} KİŠIB arha hullanzi* 'they smash the seal of the storm-god of swearing'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašköer* 160; XXXV 148 IV 7; *KBo* VI 3 II 12 [= Code 1:29] *appizzin-at attas annas hullanzi* 'subsequently the parents quash it' [viz. a marital compact]), *hu-u-ul-la-an-zi* (dupl. VI 5 III 7–8 EGIR-zi[-...] *attas annas hullanzi*), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-ul-la-an-ta-ri* (*KUB* XVII 28 IV 45 *mān ERÍN.MEŠ IŠTU^{LU} KÜR hullantari* 'if the troops are defeated by the enemy'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-la-nu-un* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 11 *hullanzan hullanun* 'I inflicted a defeat' [figura etymologica]; ibid. 15 *hullanun*; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 10; II 5 II 10–11 *nu-mu DIN-GIR.MEŠ piran huui^{ER}er nu^{LU} KÜR hullanun n-an-kan kuenu^{ER}n* 'the gods furthered me, I defeated the enemy, and I slew him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 182; V 8 III 29–31 *nu^{LU} KÜR hullanun n-an-kan ina^{HUR} SAG Elluriya sarā uiyanun n-an-kan kuwaskinun* 'I defeated the enemy, chased

him up to Mt. Elluriya, and kept slaying him'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KUB* XXXIII 106 IV 13–14 *āsma-an hullanun* [...] ... *n-an itten zahheskittin namma* 'lo, I have defeated him, go and beat up on him further'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 6:30 [1952]; XXXI 64 III 10), *hu-ul-la-a-nu-un* (XXIII 21 III 28; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:168 [1977]), *hu-ul-li-ya-nu-un* (*KBo* X 2 I 35 *n-as 2-šu-pat hulliyannun* 'and twice I defeated them', matching X 1 Vs. 16 [Akk.] *u 2-šu-ma tawata-šu aduk* 'and twice I brought about its defeat [= *duwida*']; ibid. II 16 *n-an hulliy[annun]*; *KUB* XXIII 33, 5; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 48, 57, 88 [1965]; I 1 II 25 and dupl. *KBo* III 6 II 9 *n-an hulliyanun*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 10; *KUB* XIV 3 I 25^{LU} KÜR *hulliyannun*; cf. Sommer, *AU* 2), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-ya-at* (*KBo* II 5 + XVI 17 III 39–40 *nu¹ Aparrun QADU 3 L[AM ERÍN.MEŠ]Š-ŠU ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ŠU hulliyat n-at-kan ku[enta]* 'he defeated A. with three thousand troops [and] chariotry of his, and slew them'; cf. Otten, *MIO* 3:173 [1955]; XIV 3 IV 33 *nu unūn^{LU} KÜR hulliyat* 'he defeated that enemy'; dupl. *KUB* XIX 18 I 28 *nu ABU-YA^{LU} KÜR hulliyat* 'my father defeated the enemy'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:76 [1956]; XIV 22 I 6; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:60 [1956]), *hu-u-ul-li-ya-at* (XIX 8 III 30 *n-as hulliyat*), *hu-ul-li-i-e-it* (XIV 15 I 29 *n-an hulliyet*; cf. Götze, *AM* 38), *hu-ul-li-it* (XXXVI 99 Rs. 4 [OHitt.] *n-an namma hullit*; *KBo* III 38 Vs. 31; ibid. 15 [hu]llit; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 8; III 46 Vs. 25 *s-an hullit*; cf. A. Kempinski and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 9:89 [1982]; III 1 I 29 *Hurluss-a hullit* 'he defeated the Hurrians'; cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 18 [1984]; *KUB* XIX 11 IV 38–39 *nu ERÍN.MEŠ^{URU} Gasg[an] hullit* 'he defeated the Gasga army'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1956]; XII 26 II 23; *KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 7–8 [OHitt.] *ū ERÍN.MEŠ^{URU} Zalpa menahhanda uit s-an LUGAL-us hullit* 'the army of Z. came in confrontation, and the king defeated it'), *hu-ul-li-is* (dupl. III 38 Rs. 24 *s-an LUGAL-us hullis*; cf. Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 12, 47–8), *hu-ul-la-as* (299/1986 I 98 *nu memiyan ABU-YA-pat hullas* 'my father himself quashed the stipulation'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 14), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-la-at-ta-ti* (*KBo* III 29, 14 *hu]lattati* 'was defeated'; dupl. VIII 41, 4 *hu]lattati*), *hu-ul-la-ta-at* (*KUB* XIV 17 II 29 ERÍN.MEŠ^{URU} Mizri-wa-za arha *hullatat* 'the army of Egypt was utterly defeated'), 1 pl. pret. act. *hu-ul-lu-mi-en* (XXIII 21 Vs. 29^{LU} KÜR *hullumen* 'we defeated the enemy'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:168 [1977]), *hu-ul-lu-un-me-[]* (*KBo* III 15, 6), *hu-u-ul-li-ya-u-en* (*KUB* XXIII 16 III 8–9 *nu ŠA¹ Mūwā^{LU} MEŠ Hurluss-a tuzzi[n]* ... *hulliyawen* 'we defeated the army of M.

and the Hurrians'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:162 [1977]). 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-e-ir* (*KBo* III 16 Rs. 1–4 *hante*]zⁱ *palsi* 19-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ *pehutenun* [s]-*an hullier tāt* 12-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ *pehutenun* [s]-*an namma hullier* 3-*na* 6-*das* ERÍN.MEŠ [p] *ehutenun s-an namma hullier* 'the first time I dispatched nineteen infantry, and they defeated it; secondly I dispatched twelve infantry, and they also defeated it; thirdly I dispatched six infantry, and they also defeated it'), *hu-ul-li-ir* (III 38 Vs. 32; III 18 Rs. 8]-*an namma hullir*; *KUB* XXXI 124 II 12 *nu sumenzan* ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ALAM.MEŠ *arha hullir* 'they have smashed your, the gods', icons'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer* 156), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-ul-la-ad-du* (XXXV 148 IV 8), 3 sg. imp. midd. *hu-la-da-ru* (*KBo* III 29, 15 and dupl. VIII 41, 5 'shall be defeated'); partic. *hullant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-la-an-te-es* (*KUB* XXIV 8 II 18 *mān-wa* LÜ ERÍN.MEŠ *nikku kuwapiki hullantes* 'or whether troops have been somewhere defeated'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 8); verbal noun *hullatar* (n.) 'smashingness, infliction', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-tar* (XXIX 1 II 36–37 *mihuntatar-se-kan dās mayatatar-ma-ssi* EGIR-*pa pais hullatar-ma-ssi* EGIR-*pa pāis* 'old age he has taken from him, but prime of life he has given back to him, smashingness he has given back to him'; cf. B. Schwartz, *Orientalia* N.S. 16:30 [1947]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:154 [1982]), *hu-ul-la-a-tar* (*KBo* XXI 8 III 15 *alwanzatar hullātar* 'sorcery [and] infliction'; par. *KUB* XXIV 10 III 26 HU]L *hūllanzatar* HUL UH₄-*tar* 'evil infliction [and] evil sorcery'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 46); verbal noun *hullumar* (n.) 'defeat', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-ul-lu-mar* (*KBo* XIV 4 I 28 *mahhan* ABU-YA ŠA 'Himū-D]INGIR-LIM *hūllumar* [istamasta] 'when my father heard of the defeat of Himuilis'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:80 [1956]); iter. *hulliski-*, 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-ul-li-is-ki-nu-un* (IV 4 III 59–60 LÜ.MEŠ URU *Azzi-ma* DUTU-ŠI *kuit karū hulliskinun* 'because I the king had earlier defeated the men of A.'; cf. Götz, *AM* 130); supine *hu-ul-li-is-ki-u-wa-an* (III 6 II 25 *nu* LÜ KÜR *hulliskiuwan tiyer* 'they set out to defeat the enemy'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12).

hullanza- (c.) 'defeat', acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an* (*KBo* III 22 Vs. 11 *h*] *hullanzan hullanun* 'I inflicted a defeat' [quoted above]).

hullanzai- (c.) 'infliction, defeat', nom. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-is* (*KUB* XII 39, 5–6 HU]L-*lu papratar alwanzatar* [linga]s *hullanzais* 'evil defilement, sorcery, perjury, and infliction'; *KBo* III 1 II 19 *nu* URU *Zizzilippi hullanzais kisat* 'at Z. a defeat was sustained'), *hul-la-an-za-is* (IV 14 III 29–30 *nasma* INIM GIG *nasma-za hullanzais* DÜ-*ri*

hullannija- sup. *hu-ul-la-an-ni-wa-an* (*KBo* 32.19 III 42 h. *dāi* 'begins to smite').

'or a case of illness or a defeat occurs'; cf. R. Stefanini, *ANLR* 20:45 [1965]), acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-in* (*KUB* XXIII 16 III 15).

hullanzatar (n.) 'infliction, defeat', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-tar* (*KUB* IX 34 IV 4 UH₄-*tar hullanzatar* 'sorcery [and] infliction'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 40; *IBoT* III 102 + *Bo* 3436, 5 *h*] *hullanzatar*; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 50; 330/u, 11, besides ibid. 10 *alwanzatar*), *hu-u-ul-la-an-za-tar* (*KUB* XXIV 10 III 26 HU]L *hūllanzatar* HUL UH₄-*tar*, quoted under *hullatar* above), *hu-ul-la-a-an-za-tar* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 15–16 *papratar lingain* [hull]ānzatar 'defilement, perjury, and infliction'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:419 [1971]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-za-an-ni* (III 38 Vs. 14 *hu*] *hullanzanni-pat* BA.UG₆ 'in defeat he was killed'; *KUB* XXXVI 83 I 17 *alwanzanni hullanzanni* 'for sorcery [and] infliction').

hullanzessar (n.) 'infliction', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-es-ni* (*KUB* IX 34 II 18 [papr]esni UH₄-*esni hullanzesni* 'for defilement, sorcery, and infliction'; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 30), abl. sg. *hu-ul-la-an-zi-es-na-az* (XXXVI 83 I 29–30 *papparan[naz]* [alwanzesni] *az hullanzesnaz*).

hullanza- is of unclear derivation. The variation with *hullanzai-* recalls *hurta(i)-* (s. v. *huwart-*) and *istagga(i)-* (*HED* 1–2: 451; cf. Weitenberg, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 293 [1979]). Noteworthy is the resemblance to **alwanza-* in the denominative derivatives *alwanzatar* (UH₄-*tar*) and *alwanzessar* (UH₄-*essar*) which are used in tandem with *hullanzatar* and *hullanzessar*, so that parallel derivations are patent (*hullatar* innovated to *hullanzatar* next to *alwanzatar*, with back-formed *hullanza-*?). Cf. Kammenhuber, *MIO* 2:428 (1954); Otten, *Altheth. Erzählung* 38; Neu, *Anitta-Text* 77–8; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 265, *KZ* 94:56–7 (1980).

hulla- has been root-connected with *walh-* 'strike, attack' since W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:176 [1939]) and Sturtevant (*IHL* 38) to e. g. Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 45), J. Schindler (*Kratylos* 15:149 [1970]), A. Bernabé P. (*Revista española de lingüística* 3:434 [1973]), and R. Normier (*KZ* 92:133–4 [1978]). Such a démarche, assuming **Hwel-H-* or **wel-H-*, presupposes an ad-hoc dissimilatory loss of an initial laryngeal in *walh-* or an equally unsatisfactory metathesis of laryngeal in *hull(a)-*. It may be preferable to posit two semantically similar but formally distinct roots, **wel-(A₁-)* for *walh-* (cf. *walli-* 'plucked, shorn') and **H₁wel-A₁-* for *hulla-*. The usually alleged crop of cognates (Lat. *vellō* 'pluck, tear', *volnus* 'wound', Gk. *oûlē* 'wound', Goth. *wilwan* 'rob', ON *valr* 'carnage', etc.: *IEW* 1144–5)

admits of attachment to either one. *hulla-* is best analyzed as $*H_1w\{n\acute{e}-A_1\}^- > *hulnā- > hulla-$, thus not as “thematic” but rather as covertly infixed on the lines of *halla(nniya)-* (q. v.). For the outcome *hul-* of $*H_1w\{l-$ see s. v. *hurki-*. Thus are also explained the forms *hullumen* and *hullumar* (cf. e. g. *tarnummenī* and *tarnummar* from *tarna-*) as resulting from $*H_1w\{n\acute{e}-A_1\}^- > *hulnu-$ (cf. s. v. *halluwai-* and Puhvel, *KZ* 100:241 [1987]). A particularly close cognate of *hulla-* is Gk. ἀναλίσκω (< $*āva-falískw$) ‘waste, spend’ (cf. *hulliski-*), (f) ἀλίσκομαι ‘be captured, be defeated, be convicted’, aorist (f) ἄλω- < $*H_1w\{l\acute{e}-A_1\}^-$ (e. g. *Iliad* 12:172 πρίν γ’ ἡ ἐκατακτάμεν ἡ ἐάλωμαι ‘[not] before either slaying or being defeated’; *Iliad* 2:374 ἀλοῦσά τε περθόμεν τε ‘[city] captured and razed’; cf. the sequence *hulla-* ... *kuen-* in Hittite usage; with ^{LÜ}ERIN.MEŠ ... *hullantes* ‘troops defeated’ cf. Arc. [IG 5.2:351.7] ἡμ πολεμοὶ φαλοντοῖς ‘captured in war’). For *hulla-* : *hulliya-* cf. e. g. *arra-* : *arriya-* or *hatta-* : *hazziya-*.

For failed attempts (ranging from Couvreur [*Hett.* 143–4] to O. Szemerényi [*KZ* 73:73–4 (1956)] and W. Cowgill [in *Evidence for Laryngeals* 146–7 (1965)]) to connect *hulla-* with Gk. ὀλλῶμι ‘destroy’ see Tischler, *Glossar* 275; the proper cognates of ὀλλῶμι are *hallanniya-* and *halluwai-* (q. v.).

hulali- (n.?) (^{NA}NÍR), a semi-precious quartz, judging from the cognate Akk. *hulalu* probably a striped or variegated variety of chalcedony such as (sard)onyx or agate, nom.-acc. sg. (?) *hu-u-la-li* (*KUB* XLII 43 Vs. 6 ŠA 1-EN GUŠKIN ^{NA}hūlali ‘including one [of] gold [and] onyx’; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 111–2 [1982]), gen. sg. ^{NA}NÍR-as (*RS* 25:421 Recto 19 ^{NA}NÍR-as-ma-as hammi- matching ibid. [Akk.] *kišir hulali* ‘crystal of onyx’; cf. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5:313, 444 [1968]; Laroche, ibid. 773, *RHA* 24:179 [1966]), ŠA ^{NA}NÍR (*HT* 1 III 12; *KUB* XXIX 4 I 9–10 and 16–17 ŠA KÜ.BABBAR GUŠKIN ^{NA}ZA.GIN ... ^{NA}NÍR ‘of silver, gold, lapis, ... onyx’; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 1:309 [1947]; Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 6–8), ^{NA}NÍR (*KBo* XVIII 176 I 9 ^{NA}NÍR sū ‘onyx-filled’; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 61 [1982]; XVIII 161 Vs. 1, 2, 7, 10, 14; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 103 [1982]), nom.-acc. pl. (?) *hu-u-la-la* (XV 24 II 19 ^{NA}hūlala ^{NA}HLA hūmantas ‘onyxes [and] all stones’).

Wrongly taken as an akkadogram by e. g. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 87:354 (1967), and N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus*

66 (1987). Akk. *hulalu* (*CAD* H 226–7; *AHW* 353) is the plausible borrowing source of *hulali-*, but ^{NA}NÍR-as clearly shows Hittite grammaticalization. Cf. A. M. Polvani, *La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti* 16–8, 148–9 (1988).

hulana- (c.) ‘wool’ (síg), acc. sg. sīg-an (*KUB* XXIV 9 I 43), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-la-[ni]* (*KBo* III 8 III 8), instr. sg. sīg-ni-it (*KUB* XXIV 10 III 13; XXIV 11 III 11). Luw. nom. sg. sīg-la-ni-is = **hulanis* (XXV 39 IV 6; cf. *Dict. louv.* 124). Cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 118; Laroche, *Arch. Or.* 17.2:13 (1949); Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 (1961), *Etym.* 1:182.

huliyā- (c.) ‘wool’ (síg), nom. sg. UDU.HI.A-as *hu-li-ya-as* (*KBo* XI 10 II 29) = UDU.HI.A-as sīg-as (XI 72 II 33) ‘wool of sheep’. Cf. Otten, *KBo* XI, p. 4; Friedrich, *KZ* 77:257 (1961).

hulana- probably represents $*H_1w\{H_2no-$ (cf. s. v. *hurki-*), as do words for ‘wool’ (with suffix -A₂) in other IE languages (Skt. ūṛnā, Avest. varanā, lat. lāna, Goth. wulla, Lith. vilna, OCS vlna; cf. Gk. λῆνος ‘wool’, Lat. vellus ‘fleece’; *huliyā-* goes back to $*H_1w\{H_2-y-$. Root-connection to either *hul(a)-* ‘wind’ or *hulla-* (cf. Lat. vellō ‘pluck, tear’) is conceivable (cf. *IEW* 1139; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 264). See also Čop, *Ling.* 6:47, 71 (1964); F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* 56 (1970), *Studies in Honor of E. C. Polomé* 399 (1988); Carruba, *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante* 142–3 (1976); Peters, *Die Sprache* 33:114–5 (1987).

Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 45) suspected in *hulana-* (and *huliyā-*) a Hurrian $*hul(a)-$ ‘wool’ (?), as seen in Akk. *hul(l)ānu* ‘blanket or wrap of linen or wool’ at Nuzi and Alalah, yet without ruling out a cognate relationship to *hulali(ya)-*.

hultai-, 3 sg. pres. iter. *hu-ul-te-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 1 II 30–31 LUGAL-us HUR.SAG-i paizzi GAL-in ^{DUTU}-un karapzi [nu huk]kiskizzi *hulteskizzi* ‘the king goes to the mountain, raises the great sun-god, and conjures [and] officiates’[?]; cf. e. g. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:154 [1982]).

hultala-, *huwantala-* (< $*huwaltala-$) (c.), nom. sg. ^{LÜ}hu-ul-da-a-la-s(a) (*KBo* XVII 74 I 32 ^{LÜ}huldālas-a ^{HA}h[*lenti*uaz kur]san dāi ‘the officiator [?] takes the shield from the palace’; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), nom. pl. ^{LÜ}MEŠhu-wa-an-ta-lu-us (299/1986 I 83; cf.

Otten, *Bronzetafel* 14, 41), Luwoid acc. pl. ^{LÜ.MES}hu-u-wa-da-a-la-an-zi (KBo XII 53 + KUB XLVIII 105 Rs. 32 10 NAM.RA ^{LÜ.MES}hū-wadālanzi 'ten deportees [and] overseers'; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 7:146 [1980]). For deverbative agent-noun formation cf. e.g. lahhiyala- 'warrior', tarwesgala- 'dancer'.

For the unrelated hultalai- see s.v. huwantalai-. Improbable connections for ^{LÜ}huldāla- (discounting or ignoring hultai-) have involved inter alia Engl. wild (as 'hunter': Neu, *Gewitterritual* 39–40, suggesting equation with ^{LÜ}UR.TUR 'dog-man') and Toch. B walo 'king' (as 'keeper'; Van Windekens, *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 340–1 [1981]). If the meaning of hu(wa)lt- is 'be in charge, officiate' (which remains to be proven), an etymology might as well consider Goth. waldan 'be in charge' (cf. Ved. purōhita- 'prefect' as priestly title).

Cf. hu(wa)ltaramma-.

HULTALAI- - see huwantalai

^ahulukan(n)i- (c.) 'coach, carriage', nom. sg. hu-lu-ga-an-ni-is (e.g. KUB X 91 II 2–3 ^{GIS}hulugannis-ma unuwanza PANI É DINGIR-LIM karū arta 'the coach, decked, already stands before the temple'; IBoT I 36 II 23–24 māhhan-m[a ...] ^{GIS}hulugannis parā iyannai 'when the coach goes forward'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:184 [1966]; ibid. III 61 māhhan ^{GIS}hulugannis parna-ssa paizzi 'when the coach goes to his house'), acc. sg. ^{GIS}hu-lu-ka-an-ni-in (e.g. KUB II 3 V 44; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:69), hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni-in (ibid. III 22–24 LUGAL-us ANA NA₄.HIA haya hayaya kattan ^{GIS}hulukannin arienzi [sic, for araiizzi] 'the king stops the coach alongside the h. h. stones'), hu-lu-ga-an-ni-in (e.g. dupl. KBo XXV 66 I 4–5 [LUGAL-u]s ANA NA₄.HIA haiya haiya [katta]n ^{GIS}hulugannin epzi 'the king holds the coach alongside the h. h. stones'; cf. XXX 12 I 10 NA₄ hāyas NA₄ hāyaya EGIR[, and Singer, *Festival* 1:79, 2:66, 40; KUB LIII 3 I 18–20 nu DINGIR-LIM-as ^{GIS}hulugannin GUD.HIA ^{LÜ}BEL É ^{URU}Hanhana turizzi 'the lord of the house of H. harnesses the oxen to the coach of the deity'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:55 [1984]; IBoT I 36 IV 12 māhhan-ma ^{GIS}hulugannin wahnuwanzi 'but when they turn the coach'; ibid. I 69 ^{GIS}hulugannin[n w]ahnuwanzi, hu-lu-ga-an-ni-en (KUB XXIX 1 I 23–24 LUGAL-ue-mu maniyahhaen ^{GIS}hulugannien ^{GIS}DAG-iz arunaza udas 'to me, the king, Throne has brought from the sea sway [and] coach'; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:488 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-in (e.g. KBo

X 24 IV 7–11 SAL.LUGAL-ass-a ^{GIS}hulugannin ^Éhalentiwa KÁ-as piran wahnuwanzi nu-zan SAL.LUGAL-as ^{GIS}huluganniya esa 'the queen's coach they turn in front of the palace gate, and the queen seats herself in the coach'; ibid. III 18–22 nu ^{GIS}hulugannin ^Ékatapuzni-pat manninkuwan wahnuwanzi LUGAL-us-kan ^Ékatapuznaz uizzi 'they turn the coach close to the k.; the king comes from the k.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:18–9; X 27 V 20 ^{GIS}hulugannin, gen. sg. hu-lu-ga-an-na-as (IBoT I 36 II 12 ^{GIS}ISTUIHA ^{GIS}hulugannass-a ^{GIS}mukar harzi '[the page] holds the whip and the sistrum of the coach'), dat.-loc. sg. hu-lu-ka-an-ni (e.g. KUB LI + LIII 14 III 18 [nu-ss]an DINGIR-LAM āppa ^{GIS}hulukanni titnuanzi 'they put the deity back in the coach'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:43 [1984]), hu-u-lu-ka-an-ni (e.g. II 3 V 33 ^{GIS}hulukanni ēszi), hu-lu-ga-an-ni (e.g. KBo XI 32 IV 5–6 n-as-za-kan ^{GIS}huluganni esari 'he takes his seat in the coach'; KUB X 61 II 5 t-as-san ^{GIS}huluganni es[ari], X 17 I 21 ^{GIS}huluganni esa; X 91 II 4 n-at-kan ^{GIS}huluganni hamankanzi 'they tie them to the coach'; ibid. 6 n-an-kan ^{GIS}huluganni asesanzi 'they seat it [viz. the deity] in the coach'; IBoT I 36 II 42–43 n-as paizzi TA ^{GIS}huluganni ^{GIS}DUBBIN GÜB-laz tiyazzi 'he goes and steps to the left of the coach wheel'; ibid. 13–14 n-as paizzi ^{GIS}huluganni ^{LÜ}ŠUKUR [...] ^{GIS}DUBBIN kattan tiyazzi 'he the spearman goes to the coach [and] steps alongside the wheel'; ibid. 26 ^{GIS}huluganni ^{GIS}DUBBIN G[ÜB-l]i; ibid. 38 ANA ^{GIS}huluganni-ma-at EGIR-pa 1-kan iyanta 'but [they] walk singly behind the coach'), hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni (e.g. IBoT III 1, 9 ^{GIS}huluganni pittalwati 'in a light chariot'; KUB X 88 VI 6 ^{GIS}huluganni esa; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 270), hu-lu-ka-an-ni-ya (KBo XVII 15 Vs. 19–20 LUGAL-uss-a ... ^{GIS}hulukanniya esa 'the king seats himself in the carriage'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:82 [1976]; Neu, *Altheth.* 74), hu-lu-ga-ni-ya (XXX 54 I 20 nu-za-kan LUGAL-us ^{GIS}huluganiya esa n-as ^{URU}Arinna paizzi 'the king seats himself in the carriage and goes to Arinna'), hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ya (e.g. ~~ibid. 16–17 LUGAL-us ^{GIS}huluganniya esa t-as ^{URU}Arinna iyannai; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:178–9 [1986]; KUB X 21 I 7–8 LUGAL-us-san ^{GIS}huluganniya esa; KBo XX 18 + XXV 65 Rs. 7 n-as-san ^{GIS}huluganniya e[sa]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 140; IBoT I 36 II 22 ^{GIS}huluganniya piran 'before the coach'), hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-ya (KBo XXI 78 III 13 ^{GIS}huluganniya e[sa]; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* II 145; Alp, *Beiträge* 132), instr. sg. hu-lu-ga-an-ni-it (e.g. XIX 128 I 2–5 LUGAL-us uizzi nassu ^{GIS}GIGIR-it nasma ^{GIS}hulugannit INA É-TIM GAL paizzi 'the king comes [and] goes to the palace either by chariot~~

or by coach'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 2, 20–2), *hu-u-lu-ga-ni-it* (XI 73 Vs. 21–23 *t-asta* ^{GIS}*hūluganit* [*s*]arā ^E*hīlamni* [*pa*]izzi 'by carriage he goes up to the portal'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it* (X 20 I 22–23 *n-as*[*t*]a ^{URU}*Hattusi sarā* ^{GIS}*hūlugannit paizzi* 'he goes up to Hattusas by coach', besides *ibid.* 16–17 *n-asta* LUGAL-us ^{URU}*Tahurpi sarā* ^{GIS}*GIGIR-az paizzi* 'the king goes up to T. by chariot'), *abl. sg. hu-lu-ga-an-na-az* (e.g. *dupl. KUB XXX 39 Vs. 16* LUGAL-us ^{URU}*Hattusi sarā* ^{GIS}*hulugannaz paizzi*, besides *ibid.* 12–13 LUGAL-us ^{URU}*Tahurpi* [...] ^{GIS}*GIGIR-it paizzi*; cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 19:80 [1960]; X 21 I 10–11 LUGAL-us ^{GIS}*hulugannaz katta uizzi* 'the king descends from the coach'), *ha-lu-ga-an-na-az* (sic *KBo XXII 181 Rs. 4* LUGAL-u]s ^{GIS}*haluganna*[z], *hu-lu-ga-na-az* (*IBoT I 36 IV 18 māhhan-ma-kan* LUGAL-us ^{GIS}*huluganaz katta tiyezzi* 'but when the king steps down from the coach'; *KUB X 17 I 21–23 ta-kkan* LUGAL-us ^{URU}*Hattusi* ^{GIS}*huluganaz* [*p*]arā *uizzi* 'at Hattusas the king emerges from the coach'), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az* (XX 96 III 19–21 LUGAL-us-kan ^{GIS}*hūlugannaz katta uizzi t-as-kan* ^{GIS}*GIGIR-ni tiyazi t-as* ^{URU}*Ankuwas* *paizzi* 'the king descends from the coach and mounts the chariot and goes to A.'), *hu-lu-ka-a-an-na-az* (*IBoT I 36 III 71 nu* ^{GIS}*hulukānnaz* ^E*halitūwas paizzi* 'by coach he goes to the residence'), ^{GIS}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-za* (*KUB XI 32 V 10*), ^{GIS}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-az-za* (*ibid.* IV 18), *hu-lu-ga-a-an-na-za* (*IBoT I 36 III 63 mān* ^{GIS}*hulugānnaza-ma nēari* 'as he turns from the coach'), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ya-az* (*KUB IX 3 I 14–15 n-an* ^{GIS}*huluganniyaz katta tittanuanzi* 'they set it [viz. the deity] down from the coach'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:60 [1984]), *hu-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (*KBo XVII 11 I 12 LU*]GAL-us ^{GIS}*huluga*[nnia]z *katta u*[izzi]; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65), *hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-az* (*KUB LVIII 40 V 3–5 n-asta* LUGAL-us ^{GIS}*hūluganniaz katta uizzi*; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:177 [1986]).

For the seeming intrusion of *a*-stem forms (*hulugannas*, *hulugannaz*) cf. e.g. *harsi-* and Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:246.

hulukanni- is distinct from both ^{GIS}*GIGIR* 'chariot' and ^{GIS}*MAR. GID.DA* = *tiyarit-* 'wagon' (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 30; J. Danmanville, *RA* 62:61 [1968]). The Anatolian antiquity of the word is evident from the OHitt. attestations and OAss. (*Kültepe hu/i*hukanu(*m*) (pl. *hu-la-kà-ni*, gen. sg. *hi-lu-kà-ni-im*; see e.g. *CAD H* 232; *AHW* 354; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:138; K. Balkan, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 49 [1979]).

Neither knee-jerk assumptions of "foreign" origin (Tischler, *Glossar* 283) nor root-etymologies like IE **wolg-* (Otten, *Festritual* 22)

make much sense. In view of other instances of possible *hu-*: *huvacillation* (*hupallas-*: *hapallasai-*, *hupuwai-*: *hapuwai-*, *hulālizzi*: *halalizzi*, *hurniya-*: *harniya-*, *hatk-*: *huk-*, *har/hur* sign values), much speaks for Laroche's derivation (*Hommages à G. Dumézil* 124–5 [1960]) of *hulukan(n)i-* from *haluka-* 'message', in the manner of *armanni-* 'crescent' from *arma-* 'moon' or *sakuni-* 'fountain' from *sakui-* 'eye' (unlike the Hurroid *sankunni-* 'priest' or *altanni-* 'source'), thus literally 'postal coach, stagecoach', a light dispatch conveyance for swiftly covering distances (cf. French *diligence*), as opposed to war machinery and load-carriers (cf. *haluganili* 'in messenger-fashion').

G. Kapancjan's comparison of *hulukanni-* with Arm. *hulkahar* 'highwayman' (literally 'cart-striker'; cf. Weitenberg, *Kratylos* 24:73 [1979]) was fruitlessly repeated by T. Schultheiss (*KZ* 77:225 [1961]) and J. Greppin (*Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 3:70 [1982]).

humma- (c.) 'stable, stall, sty' (vel sim.), *nom. sg. hu-um-ma-as* (*KBo I 36 + XXVI 24 IV 7* [ŠA]H-as *hummas* 'pigsty'; cf. *MSL* 17:120 [1985]), *dat.-loc. sg. hu-u-um-mi* (*KUB XXXV 148 III 42*, with traces of possible gloss-wedges), *hu-u-um-ma* (*KBo III 6 III 56–57 n-an-kan* ^{URU}*Samuha* ŠAH GIM-an *hūmma* [with gloss-wedge] EGIR-pa *istappas* 'she shut him up at S. like a pig in a sty'; *dupl. KUB I 8 IV 12* [hūmma EGIR-pa *istappas*; *dupl. I 1 IV 26* ŠAH GIM-an *hu-* [with gloss-wedges]; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24). ^{abl. sg. hu-um-ma-za (K 24.120 5)}

Perhaps akin to Luw. *hum(ma)ti-* which Meriggi hesitantly rendered by 'stable' (*Athenaeum* N.S. 35:71–2 [1957]) but which Laroche interpreted as 'base, stand' (see s.v. *hūmpa-*). G. A. Kapancjan (*Chetto-Armeniaca* 45 [1931–3], *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* 1:338–9 [1956]) compared Arm. *gom* 'stable'.

hūmant- 'every, each, both, all, total, (as a) whole, entire', *nom. sg. c. hu-u-ma-an-za* (e.g. *KUB XIX 69 I 6–7 n]*-at *hūmanza is*[*tamasdu* 'let everyone hear it', besides *dupl. I 1 I 6* and *KBo III 6 I 5–6 n-at* DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U.LÚ.LU-as *istamasdu* 'let [every]man hear it'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 4; III 21 II 21 *dandukis hūmanza* 'every mortal'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]; V 3 I 9 *kūn-wa-za hūmanza sāgdu* 'let everyone acknowledge him!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:106; *KUB XXIV 3 II 28 nu hūmanza sulliei* 'each [of the two] has

been quarrelsome'; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 28; XXXVI 110 Rs. 9 and 12 *utniyanza hūmanza* 'the whole land'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 227–8; *KBo* III 4 IV 36 *nu KUR-eanza hūmanza URU.DIDL.HI.A BÂD EGIR-pa eppir* 'the whole country withdrew to the fortress towns'; cf. Götze, *AM* 132; IV 10 Vs. 41 *n-as-kan* ^{URU}*Hattusas hūmanza hantiyait* 'all Hattusas cultivated them' [viz. the deities]; V 3 I 6–7 ^{URU}*Hatti hūmanza KUR* ^{URU}*[Hay]asa KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ya hūmantas* 'all Hatti, Hayasa, and all the lands'; V 6 I 14 ^{URU}*Gasgas-ma hūmanza kuit taksūl ēsta* 'because all Gasga was at peace'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:90 [1956]; *KUB* XIX 11 IV 37 *ERIN.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Gasgas hūmanza* 'all the Gasga army'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:66 [1966]; *KBo* VI 4 IV 22 *takku-ssi A.ŠA.HI.A-us hūmanza pianza* 'if the field [is] given to him entire' [as opposed to *ibid.* 23 *tepu* 'a small portion']; cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 58; XI 45 III 26 *arkanza-ma hūmanza kittari* 'marked off, it [viz. the animal carcass] is stored in one piece', acc. sg. c. *hu-u-ma-an-ta-an* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 47 *n-asta ERIN.MEŠ* ¹*Maddu-watta [h]ūmantan-pat arha haspir* 'they disposed of M.'s entire army'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 12; *HT* 1 I 48 *MÁŠ.GAL-kan hūmantan pittalwan markanzi* 'they cut up all the rest of the he-goat' [lit. 'the whole basic he-goat', viz. minus the entrails and heart that were cooked *ibid.* 47]; cf. B. Schwartz, *JAOS* 58:338 [1938]; *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 35 *īSTU RET UDU lapanann-a hūmantan* 'with sheep pasture, and every grazing ground', *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (e.g. 299/1986 II 10–11 *ū.SAL RET UDU lapanan* [with gloss-wedges] *hūmandan likin* [with gloss-wedges] *hūmandan* 'meadow, sheep pasture, every grazing ground, every salt lick [?]; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16, 46–7; *KBo* II 1 15–16 *nu-kan NAM.RA.HI.A kuis GUD UDU [...]* *n-an hūmandan epta* 'captives and any cattle or sheep, he took every single one'; cf. Götze, *AM* 180; *KUB* XIX 49 I 53–54 *nu NAM.RA.MEŠ hūmandan anda ep* 'round up the captives, every one!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:8; I 1 I 63–64 *nu-mu-kan KARAŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ ŠA KUR* ^{URU}*Hatti hūmandan ŠU-i dāis* 'he placed the entire army [and] chariotry of Hatti in my hand'; *KBo* VI 4 IV 30–31 *takku LÚ* ^{GIS}*TUKUL A.ŠA-ŠU hūmandan kuiski wāsi* 'if anyone buys the entire field of a laborer'; similarly *ibid.* 15; V 8 III 21 *nu ispandan hūmandan iyahhat* 'I marched all night'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; *KBo* XIX 76 + *KUB* XIV 20 I 25 *nu GE₆-an hūmandan hēuwaneskīt* 'it rained all night'; *KUB* XLIV 61 Rs. 22 *GE₆-an hūmandan kittari* 'he lies the whole night'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 20; I 13 III 60 *UD.KAM-an hūmandan* 'all day'; *ibid.* I 56, II 10 and 58, III 46, *KBo* III 2 Vs. 12 *GE₆-an hūmandan*;

ibid. Vs. 20, 63, Rs. 55 *GE₆-an hūman* [sic], *ibid.* Vs. 46 *GE₆-an hū-manda* [sic], *ibid.* Rs. 31 *UD.KAM-an hūman* [sic]; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 329–30 and *passim*), nom.-acc. sg. (and pl.) neut. *hu-u-ma-an* (e.g. *KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 12 *hūman kuis harzi natta ūk* 'who holds all but I?'; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 175 [1987]; *KBo* V 3 II 21 *ANA* ¹*UTU-Ši-ma-wa hūman SIG₅-in ēsdu* 'may all be well with his majesty'; V 13 II 28 *ITTI* ¹*UTU-Ši-ma hūman SIG₅-in* 'all [is] well with his majesty'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:124; *VBoT* 1, 7 *duqq-a katta hūman SIG₅-in ēstu* 'with you also may all be well'; *ibid.* 6 and 10; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:334 [1956]; *KUB* XIV 1 Rs. 17 *nu-wa-mu hūman hatreski* 'write me everything!'; 1142/z + *KUB* XXV 31 Vs. 8 *nu hūman GIBIL-an pianzi* 'they give everything new'; cf. Haas, *ZA* 78:288 [1988]; *KBo* V 8 III 32–33 *ERIN.MEŠ-ma-ssi-kan ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ hūman arha dahhun* 'but I took away his troops, chariotry, everything'; cf. Götze, *AM* 158; XXIII 23 Vs. 63 *nu ē-ir ē.[Š]A.HI.A* ¹*hūlan hūman suppiāhi* 'she cleanses the house, the inner chambers, the yard, everything'; *KUB* XIII 4 I 60 *īSTU NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN INA É DINGIR-LIM hūman sarā pe hartin* 'of bread, beer, and wine in the temple offer up everything!'; *ibid.* 63 *hūman-pat DINGIR-LIM-ni EGIR-pa maniyahtin* 'consign everything to the deity!'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:370 [1934]; XV 31 I 12 *kī hūman handānzi* 'all this they arrange'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 150; *KBo* XV 16 II 8, *KUB* VII 53 I 24, XII 58 I 27 *kī hūman*; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6, 8; XXIX 1 IV 26 *ke hūman* 'all these things'; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:160 [1982]; XXXII 123 II 32 *kī halkuēssar hūman* 'this [is] all the supply'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308; XIV 1 Vs. 48 *apāt-ma-kan hūman a[rha h]aspir-pat* 'them they did away with to the last man'; similarly *ibid.* 52 and 57; *KBo* III 4 I 37 *KUR* ^{URU}*Gasga hūman* 'all Gasga-land'; *ibid.* III 36 *KUR* ^{URU}*Arzauwa hūman*; XIV 1 Rs. 20 *nu-za KUR* ^{URU}*Arzauwa hūman dās* 'he took the whole country of A.'; *KBo* IV 4 IV 7–8 *nu-kan KUR-e kuit hūman sarā pā[n] ēsta* 'whereas all the country had gone up' [viz. to the mountains]; cf. Götze, *AM* 134; 299/1986 III 43–44 *KUR-TUM-ya-ssi kuit hūman n-at-si hūman-pat kuit hantezzius aurius* 'as for the land [being] his in its entirety, and [being] altogether his frontier zone'; *KUB* XVII 10 I 22 *hūman āssu* 'all well-being'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; *KBo* XVII 65 Vs. 24 *hūman GIBIL-TIM* 'all [that is] new'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 134; *KUB* XXXIII 121 II 13–14 *huuitar hūman* 'all wildlife'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; *KBo* X 45 III 50 *NUMUN.[HI.]A hūman* 'all [kinds of] seeds', *hu-ma-an* (*ibid.*

54 *kī human* 'all this'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:132 [1961]; V 1 III 14–16 *n-asta ANA MUŠEN* ^{UZU}ŠA *sarā dāi n-at-san izi pessiyazi huma-ssan EGIR-pa ANA* ^{DIM}dāi 'he takes the heart from the bird and throws it in the fire; the [bird as a] whole he presents to the storm-god'; similarly *ibid.* 28–30, with *ibid.* 29 *hūma-ssan*; cf. Sommer–Ehe-
lolf, *Pāpanikri* *9–10; III 7 I 15 *nu human mekki handait* 'she readied everything in quantity'; cf. Beckman, *JANES* 14:13 [1982]), *gen. sg.* *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e. g. *KUB* XXI 27 I 3 *KUR-eas hūmandas SAL.LUGAL-as* 'queen of the whole land'; XXIV 3 I 46 and II 47 *KUR-eas hūmandas*), *h[u-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (dupl. XXIV 4 Rs. 5), *dat.-loc. sg.* *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (e. g. 299/1986 IV 42 *ANA MĀŠ.LUGAL hūmanti* 'for the whole royal family'; *KUB* I 17 III 42 *asesni-ya hūmanti* 'and to the entire congregation'; *KBo* VI 2 II 59 [= *Code* 1:50] *INA URU.DIDL hūmanti* 'in each city'), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-i* (IV 4 IV 13 *n-an* ^{URU}Hattusi *hūmantī sāruii maniyahhun* 'I consigned it to all Hattusas for pillage'; *VBoT* 120 II 22 *nu-za hūmantī piran ishas-s[arwanza ēsdu]* 'before everyone let him be lordly'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 140), *hu-u-ma-an-te* (*KUB* XXIV 9 II 31–32 *KAŠ-ya hūmante ANA NINDA.SIG p[ir]an sipanti* 'and she libates with beer before every flatbread'; cf. Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 36; XIII 2 IV 10 *hūmante-ya IGI.HI.A-wa harak* 'and have eyes for everything'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51; XIII 1 IV 14 *hūmante-y[a]*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 62), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-ya* (XXVII 1 IV 7 *kalutiya hūmantiya* 'in a circle all around'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84; *KBo* VI 6 I 31–32 [= *Code* 1:56] ^{LÜ.MEŠ}GIŠ.NU.SAR *hūmantiya-pat luzzi karpiyanzi* 'gardeners undertake corvée in every case'), *instr. sg.* *hu-u-ma-an-te-it* (e. g. *KUB* XXX 10 Vs. 24 and 27 *hūmantet kardit* 'wholeheartedly'), *abl. sg. and pl.* *hu-u-ma-an-ta-az* (VI 50, 13 *[NAM.RA GUD UDU hūmantaz* 'captive, cattle, sheep altogether'; cf. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* 311 [1977]; XXXI 124 I 10 *hūmantaz-pat* 'in every way'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 154), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-za* (299/1986 II 60–61 *nu apūs URU.DIDL.HI.A iŠTU A.ŠĀ A.GĀR NAM.RA hūmantaza ... ir-anni ADDIN* 'those towns along with fieldlands [and] serfs altogether I gave in servitude ...'), *hu-u-ma-an-ta-az-zi-ya* (*KUB* XXIX 4 I 5 *nu-kan kuitman wetummanzi hūmantazziya asnuzi* 'meanwhile he is altogether done with building'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 6), *hu-u-ma-an-da-az* (e. g. XXIV 9 I 45 *hūmandaz tuiggaz* 'from the whole body', with dupl. XLI 1 I 5 *NÍ.TE.MEŠ-za hu-u-ma-da-za*; XXIV 9 I 50 *hūmandaz* ^{UZU}UR-naz 'from every limb', with dupl. XLI 1 I 9 *hu-u-ma-an-da-za NÍ.TE.MEŠ-za*; cf.

hu-u-ma-a-an
(Mst)

Jakob-Rost, *Ritual der Malli* 28; XIII 4 I 46–47 *n-as<ta> mĀn iŠTU GUD.HI.A UDU.HI.A NINDA KAŠ Ū iŠTU GEŠTIN hūmandaz sarā tiyanta UL ēssatteni* 'if from all the beef, mutton, bread, beer, and wine you do not prepare a serving'; XXXVI 90 Vs. 39 *hūmand[az K]UR. KUR.MEŠ-za ehu* 'from all lands, come!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 178; XII 40 II 9–10 *mahhan-ma ē.HI.A hūmandaz zinnanzi* 'but when they finish the houses completely'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 68; *KBo* IV 6 Vs. 14 *n-as-kan hūmandaz asamuwanza* 'it [is] in every way well turned out'; cf. Tischler, *Gebet* 12; *KUB* V 24 I 58 *hūmandaz human SIG₅-in* 'all [is] well in every respect'; *KBo* V 3 II 22 *nu-nu-ssan hūmandaz pahsi* 'protect me always'; *KUB* XIII 4 I 37–38 *n-an-kan li[ūm]andaz harnikzi* 'and [does he not] destroy him altogether?'), *hu-u-ma-da-az* (*KUB* XIII 2 III 34–35 *nu-smas-san hūmadaz IGI.HI.A-wa harak* 'always keep an eye on them!'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-za* (e. g. XXX 40 I 17 *hūmandaza happesnaz* 'from every limb'; X 72 II 13–15 *kinun-a-tta kĀsa hūmandaza [EGIR-pa huittiyameskimi* 'but now, lo, I draw thee back altogether'; I 1 I 46 *DINGIR-LUM-mu GAŠAN-ya hūmandaza-pat ŠU-za harta* 'my mistress deity always held me by the hand'; similarly *ibid.* 43, 50, 57, 58), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-ma-an-te-es* (e. g. *VBoT* 58 I 35 *nu-wa hūmantēs akir* 'all died'; cf. Laroche, *RIIA* 23:84 [1965]; *KBo* VI 2 II 55–56 [= *Code* 1:49] *man hūmantēs-pat marsēr [n]asma* ^{LÜ.MEŠ}NÍ.ZU *kĀsantati* 'all would be fraudulent or would become thieves'; V 6 II 6–7 *nu-ssi KUR* ^{URU}Arz[iy]a *KUR URU Kargamis-ya hūmantēs taksulāir* 'A. and K. both made peace with him'; *KUB* XIII 3 II 20 *sumēs BELU.MEŠ UTUL hūmantēs* 'all of you in charge of food preparation'; cf. Friedrich, *Meissner AOS* 47; *KBo* XV 1 I 9 *EN.MEŠ-Ti-ya-ssi kattan hūmantēs tiyanzi* 'and all the lords step up to him'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 112; 299/1986 II 21–22 *DINGIR.MEŠ* ^{URU}D^U-tassa-ya-kan *kuit hūmantēs* ^{URU}Hattusas *hantiyait* 'whereas Hattusas in corpore cultivated the gods of Tarhuntassas'; *KUB* XXI 11 Vs. 8 ^{URU}Gasga.HI.A *hūmantēs* 'all the Gasga towns'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:14; XV 34 III 50 *HUR.SAG.MEŠ hūmantēs* 'all ye mountains'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 200; V 3 I 57 *DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA* ^{URU}Hatti *hūmantēs* 'all the gods of Hatti'; XXIX 1 III 3 *DINGIR.MEŠ hūmantēs*; similarly *KBo* III 4 *passim*; cf. Götze, *AM* 22–134; *KUB* LVI 19 I 35 *DINGIR.MEŠ-za hūmantēs*; XVII 14 Vs. 9 ^{D^U.HI.A} *hūmantēs* 'all storm-gods'; cf. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale* 60), *hu-u-ma-an-te-(m)es* (e. g. *KBo* IV 3 IV 27 *n-as hūmantēs za[hhis-kittin* 'you all fight them!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:146; *KUB* XXI 1 IV 21 *DINGIR.MEŠ LÜ.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ SAL.MEŠ hūmantēs* 'male

deities, female deities all'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:80), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-is* (XXXI 113, 25 *hūmantis warp*[- 'all wash themselves'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 132), *hu-u-ma-an-du-us* (e.g. XXXII 123 II 36–37 *mān* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ma hūmandus katti-smi anianzi* 'but if all the royal sons perform along with them', besides *ibid.* 47–48 *mān aniūr* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ya hūmantēs katti-smi tianzi* 'if all the royal sons proceed to the ritual along with them'; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308; V 6 II 40–41 *hūmandus-pat sixsā-antat* 'all were determined'; cf. Sommer, *AU* 280), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-ma-an-du-us* (e.g. *KBo* XIX 128 III 10–12 *n-us-kan sippanduwanzī šUM.HI.A-šUNU hūmandus-pat halzai* 'he calls them all by their names to receive libations'; cf. Otten, *Festritual* 8; *KUB* XIII 3 II 15 *sumess-a EN.MEŠ UTUL hūmandus halzihhi* 'I summon all of you in charge of food preparation'; *KBo* V 6 I 27 *n-as-za hūmandus tarahhir* 'they defeated them all'; *KUB* XIII 2 III 29–30 *nu LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM hūmandus parā halzāi* 'summon forth all the men of the town!'; XXXIII 93 + III 24 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma-wa-kan hūmandus ... ishuwāu* 'let him scatter all the gods ...'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:152 [1951]; XIII 4 IV 23 *halkius hūmandus* 'all grain'), *hu-u-ma-an-te-es* (e.g. *KBo* III 6 IV 6–7 *n-as-za hūmantēs-p[at GAM-an arha] zinnahhun* 'I finished them all off utterly'; *KUB* XXVII 1 IV 27 EGIR-*šu-ma LUGAL-us DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ hūmantēs GUB-as 1-šU ekuzi* 'but afterwards the king standing toasts once all the gods [and] men'; IX 32 Rs. 30–31 *nu DUTU šAMÉ DIM DINGIR.MEŠ-ya hūmantēs 3-šU ekuzi* 'the sun-god of heaven, the storm-god, and all the gods he toasts three times'; *KBo* IV 13 VI 13–15 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ... DINGIR.MEŠ URU *Hatti hūmantēs DINGIR.MEŠ KUR-TI hūmantēs ... akuwanzi* 'king and queen toast all the gods of Hatti, all the gods of the land'), *hu-u-ma-an-ti-is* (*KUB* XX 59 V 2–3 *nu DINGIR.MEŠ hūmant[is] kalutitti* 'he celebrates as a group all the deities'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:90 [1988], with wrong reading *hu-u-ma-an-ti-u[s]*), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-u-ma-an-ta* (XXXII 117 Vs. 5 + XXXV 93 Vs. 10 *nu-ssan ke hūmanta* ^{GIS}*padda*[- 'all these into [?] a basket'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; XIV 1 Vs. 50 *āssū-ya hūmanta-pat* 'and all goods'; *IBoT* IV 337 Rs. 3 TUL.MEŠ-*ya hūmanta* 'and all springs'; *KUB* XXXIII 112 IV 5; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:35 [1968]), *hu-u-ma-an-ti* (XXXII 123 II 41–42 *nu hūmantī arha sarranzi* 'they separate all' [viz. the various supplies just listed]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 308), *hu-u-ma-an-da* (e.g. *VBoT* 1, 25–26 *istamassun zinnuk hūmanda* 'have I heard everything at last?'; *KUB* XXXIII 67 I 8 *hūmanda anda ishuw[āi]* 'all [of them]

she pours in'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72; *KBo* XVII 3 IV 16–17 *kē-ssan hūmanda [pa]ttanī tēlhe* 'all these [viz. tied *harsār* 'heads' of cereals] I put in a basket'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 17; *KUB* XIX 49 I 58–59 *nu mān kīNIM.MEŠ hūmanda iyasi* 'if you do all these things'; XLIII 64, 6 *AWATE.MEŠ hūmanda* 'all words'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 66; XII 58 III 2 *NÍ.TE hūmanda* 'all limbs'; *KBo* X 23 III 9–10 *huūtār hūmanda* 'all beasts'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:12; *KUB* XXXIII 113 II 23 *hūmanda AŠRI.HI.A irhāizzi* 'tours all places'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:159 [1965]; *KBo* III 22 Vs. 38 *unē hūmanda* 'all lands'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 12; X 2 I 25 *nu-mu KUR.KUR.MEŠ hūmanda menahhanda kururiahhir* matching X 1 Vs. 12 [Akk.] *KUR.HI.A kah-šumu itti-ya ittaku* 'all the lands became hostile to me'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 77 [1965]; XXII 11 I 8 *KUR.KUR.HI.A hūmanda*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 206; *KUB* XV 31 I 40 *KUR.KUR.MEŠ hūmanda*; *KBo* V 8 I 33 *KUR.KUR.MEŠ URU Gasga-ya hūmanda* 'all the Gasga lands'; cf. Götze, *AM* 150), gen. pl. *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* (X 31 IV 29–31 *hūmandan* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hāpiyan unowashus-(s)mus* 'the ornaments of all the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:105), *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e.g. III 7 II 21 *hūmandas han[tezzis]* 'first of all'; *KUB* I 1 I 11 *nu-za hūmandas-pat EGIR-izzis DUMU-as esun* 'I was of all the youngest child'; XIII 4 IV 78 *ša LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR-LIM hūmandas* 'of all the men of the house of the deity'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (*KUB* XXIX 7 + *KBo* XXI 41 I 2, 7, 43, 49, 51, 55 *hūmandās hūrdiyas uddanī* 'in the matter of all curses'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 118, 120 [with misprints]), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-ma-an-ta-as* (*IBoT* III 148 III 20 *ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūmantas* 'to all deities'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222; *KUB* LI 74 Rs. 24 *hūmantas sipan*[- 'libate to all' (?)], *hu-u-ma-an-da-as* (e.g. *KBo* V 6 I 24 *n-at hūmandas ANA BĀD.KARAS MÈ-ya panzi* 'they went for battle to all the army forts'; *KUB* IV 1 I 3 and 6 DINGIR.MEŠ-*nas hūmandas* 'to all deities'; *ibid.* 28 and 31 *ANA DINGIR.MEŠ hūmandas*; *ibid.* 7 *ANA SAG.HUR.HI.A* [sic] *id.MEŠ hūmandas* 'to all mountains [and] rivers'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 168; XV 32 IV 34 *hūmandas HUR.SAG.MEŠ-[as]* 'to all mountains'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 166), *hu-ma-an-da-as* (IX 32 Rs. 25–26 3 *UDU-ma-kan hūmandas DINGIR.MEŠ-as sipandanzī* 'but three sheep they sacrifice to all the deities'), *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-as* (e.g. *KBo* V 4 Rs. 12 *hūmandās kūrur asandu n-as hūmante(m)es taksan zahhiskittin* 'let them be hostile to all [of you], and you all fight them together!'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:62; 1112/c + II 36–37 *SAG.HI.A-as-(s)mas tuiggas*

hūmandās tarpallis UDU GE₆ 'for your heads [and] entire bodies the black sheep [is] a substitute'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:354 [1953]; *KUB* XIV 10 I 20 and 23 ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandās*, besides dupl. XIV 11 I 14 *hūman]das*, ibid. 16 ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandas*; cf. Götze, *KIF* 206; *KBo* XIX 128 IV 8–9 DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hūmandās*, besides ibid. III 5–6 DINGIR.MEŠ-nas *hūmandas*; XVII 105 II 20 ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *hūmandās*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:86 [1975]; ibid. III 5 ANA LU.MEŠ MUŠEN.DÙ.HI.A-ya-kan *hūmandās ser arha* 'over all the augurs'; *KUB* XV 32 II 17–18 *in* 1 MUŠEN *hūmandās āpiyas ... sipanti* 'he sacrifices a bird to all the pits'; dupl. XV 31 II 21; XV 32 II 23 *hūmandās āpiya[s]* 'in all the pits'; dupl. XV 31 II 27 *hūmandās āpiti*; *KBo* XVII 62+63 IV 21).

hūmant- is a near-synonym of *dapi(ant)-* (e.g. *KUB* I 1 IV 22 *hūmanda* matches dupl. I 8 IV 9 *dapianta*); the parallel of Lat. *omnis* vs. *tōtus* is striking, down to the fact that *dapiya-* (abl. sg. *dapidaz*) has partial pronominal declension like *tōtus* (Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 3.16.1 *totius orae maritimae*, vs. 3.8.1 *omnis orae maritimae*). Dat.-loc. sg. *hūmantiya* and abl. sg. *hūmantazziya* seem to contain the same -(y)a as is seen in *kuis(s)a* 'every' (*kuedaniya*, *kuezziya*). The nearly constant shape *hu-u-ma-an-t/d-* (which may have abetted *dapi[ant]-*) resembles in its -nt- suffix Ved. *śāśyant-* 'frequent, every, all', Gk. *παντ-*, Toch. AB *pont-* 'all' (cf. e.g. W. Petersen, *American Journal of Philology* 56:59 [1935], or Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:266), but without any etymological root relationship, despite the labored efforts of F. Mezger (*KZ* 77:82–3 [1961]) and E. Seebold (*KZ* 96:45–7 [1982/3]).

There are no visible Anatolian cognates of *hūmant-*; Laroche (*CRAI* 1974:123) adduced Lyc. *kīmēt-* 'as many as' (cf. also Caruba, *Festschrift for O. Szemerényi* 193 [1979]) but wisely retracted it in *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6:70 (1979). Etymology remains unclear. Little speaks for the hoary comparison with Lat. *omnis* (first in H. Holma, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne* 33.1:54–5 [1916], subsequently bolstered by Couvreur [*Hett.* 144–6, 250] and repeated by e.g. Pedersen [*Hitt.* 165] and Kronasser [*VLFH* 41] down to F. Bader, *BSL* 77.1:118 [1982], despite the effective refutation by K. Bergsland, *RHA* 4:275 [1938]); *omnis* itself needs to be explained, most plausibly as **opnis* (in that case cognate with Hitt. *happina-* 'rich'). Equally unlikely is J. Knobloch's adduction (*Festschrift für V. Christian* 66–8 [1956], *Kratylos* 4:35 [1959]; endorsed by Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 45; Tischler, *Glossar* 284) of the Gothic hapax

hūnjons managos 'ὄχλοι πολλοί, large throngs' (*Matthew* 8:1), allegedly cognate with German *wimmeln* 'teem', which appears to be rather a variant of *hiu(h)ma* 'ὄχλος, multitude' (thus already F. Mossé apud S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 298 [1939]; Lehmann, *GED* 208). *hūmant-* resembles in formation Skt. *tāvant-*, Lat. *tantus* 'this big'; whereas productive derivatives in Hittite have -want- rather than -mant- even after *u* (*akuwant-* 'stony' besides *masi[want]-* 'quantus, quot'), **hūmant-* is a petrifact. The nearest cognate may be Vedic *ubhá-* 'both', Indo-Iranian **u-bhá-* besides the forms for 'both' reflected by Gk. *ἄμφω*, Lat. *ambō*, Toch. A *āmpi*, OCS *oba*, Goth. *bai*, etc. **Hu-went-* may have been a parallel formation to **Hu-bho-* (or allomorphic **Ami-bho-*); in Hittite 'both' and 'all' coalesced upon the formal disappearance of the dual; the semantic specificity of 'both' was taken over by derivatives of the numeral 'two' (2-el) or adverbs meaning 'jointly' (*taksan*).

hūni(n)k- 'batter, bash, crack', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ū-ni-ik-zi* (*KBo* VI 2 I 16 [= *Code* 1:10, OHitt.] *takku* LU.UL.UL.UL-an *kuiski hūnikzi t-an istarnikzi* 'if someone batters a man and makes him ailing'), *hu-u-ni-ik-zi* (dupl. VI 3 I 25; ibid. 21 [= *Code* 1:9] *takku* LU.UL.UL.UL SAG.DU-ZU *kuiski hūnikzi* 'if someone bashes a man's head'; dupl. VI 2 I 13 LU.UL.UL.UL-as SAG.DU-ZU *kuiski hūnikzi*; par. VI 4 I 20 *takku* LU-an SAG.DU-an *kuiski hūnikzi*), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-ni-ik-ta-ri* (V 1 I 2–4 *mān* SAL-za *harnāui ēszi nu* ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *harnāuwas hūniktari nasma* ^{GIS}KAK *duwarnattari* 'if a woman sits down on the birthing seat and the pan cracks or a peg breaks'), *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-ri* (repeated ibid. IV 37–40 with *hūniktari*; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 3*, 12*), 3 sg. pret. midd. *hu-u-ni-ik-ta-at* (ibid. I 44 *nu harnāus hūniktat* 'the birthing seat cracked'), *hu-ni-ik-ta-at* (*KUB* LIX 40 Rs. 6); partic. *hūni(n)kant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ni-kán-za* 'battery victim' (*KBo* VI 2 I 15; VI 5 I 3), *hu-u-ni-in-kán-za* (VI 2 I 14; dupl. VI 3 I 22; par. VI 4 I 21); verbal noun *hu-[u-]ni-ki-is-sa-[ar]* (I 51 Rs. 15, matching ibid. [Akk.] *[t]i-bi-ih-du* from *tabāhu* 'slaughter'). Inf. *hu-u-ni-in-kurwa-an-zi* *ku* 5.6.7, 12.

Despite a palpable semantic discrepancy, *hūni(n)k-* can be construed as an infixed version of *huek-* 'slaughter'; the glossing of *hūnikissar* by Akk. *ṭibihdu* 'slaughter' would seem to strengthen the case. Favoring such derivation, while refuting H. Eichner's defense

of the connection with Lat. *vincō* (MSS 31:82 [1973], and in *Flexion und Wortbildung* 84 [1975]), K. Strunk (in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 241–56 [1979]; *E. Benveniste aujourd'hui* 2:158 [1984]) endorsed Čop's comparison with OPers. *vaj-* 'stick, pierce'. Yet against this derivation stands the fact that in verbs of this type the infix is a transitivizing device for an intransitive verbal stem: *hark-* 'be lost'; *harnik-* 'waste, destroy'; *istark-* 'ail' : *istarnik-* 'make ill'; even *sarnik-* 'restore' presupposes a **sark-* 'be in one piece' which would better match Lat. **sarceō* (cf. *sarcina* 'bundle') than its transitive pendant *sarciō* 'repair' (cf. *iaceō* : *iaciō*). By this token *hunik-* may be cognate with Gk. (f) *ἄγνυμι* 'break', somewhat as Ved. *yunak-* 'join' (Lat. *iungō*) is matched in Greek by *ζεύγνυμι*. The original intransitive nature of the root (IEW 1110) is not in doubt (cf. Gk. [f] *ἄγνῃ* '[it] broke', Toch. AB *wāk-* 'open up, burst, split, rupture'). A trace of the internal *a*-vocalism (cf. also Lat. *vāgīna* 'womb, sheath') may be glimpsed in the OHitt. spelling *hu-ū-ni-ik-* which points to **huwa-ni-k-*). The connection of *hunik-* with Gk. *ἄγνυμι* was adumbrated by Sturtevant (*Comp. Gr.*² 126–7: 'cause to break') and embraced especially by Kronasser (*VLFH* 172; *Studies presented to J. Whatmough* 126 [1957]; *Pokorny BIK* 45; *Etym.* 1:436). For the intrinsically intransitive Gk. *ἄγν-*, Toch. *wāk-*, and lat. *vāgīna* a **huwak-* transitivized into *hu-ū-ni-ik-* is a more likely etymon than the starkly transitive Hitt. *wak-* 'bite'. Those who interpret Ved. *vāja-*, Avest. *vazra-* 'thunderbolt' as 'breaker' or 'biter', parallel to **bheyd-* 'cleave' : **bhidró-* > OE *biter* 'biting' ('bitter', viz. weapon; Mayrhofer, *KEWA* 3:126; C. Watkins, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 327 [1986]) can still claim Hitt. *wak-* as a cognate (but *vāja-* is better connected with Ved. *vāja-* 'vigor' and Lat. *vegeō* 'quicken'; cf. Thor's hammer hallowing brides and reviving the dead).

ḪUNNİṢAṢ '1' 04, 56, 26.

huntariya- 'break wind, fart', 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-un-ta-ri-ya-it-ta* (KUB XVII 28 II 7–8 *ṢIPAT* *huwandas mān-za hāsi n-as* [L] *huntariyaitta n-an kisan hu[kmi* 'conjunction of flatulency: if [a woman] gives birth and does not pass gas, I conjure her as follows'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 60; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84, 86; wrongly *ibid.* 84 on II 2 *ēšhar aritta*: not 'her bleeding is inhibited' but 'her blood rises' [HED 1–2:123]; retention of gas and hemorrhaging respectively are the medical complications at issue; cf. further XLIV 64 III 8–10

mān-kan antuhsas pariparittari nu ke wassit A *dāi* 'if a person is flatulent [lit. blows, is bloated], he takes the following medicines'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 72; Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 49–50; verbal noun *hu-un-tar-ri-ya-u-wa-ar* (KBo I 44 + XIII 1 IV 29, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *erešu* 'smell, odor'; cf. Otten, *Vokabular* 20, 26; *MSL* 17:115 [1985]; evidently the verb could also refer to the olfactory aspect of the action).

huntari- (c.), acc. sg. *hu-un-ta-ri-in* (143/r, 4, besides *ibid.* 2 *ā* [MUSEN 'eagle', *ibid.* 3 *artan* [MUSEN 'teal, heron' [vel sim.; HED 1–2:175–6]). Perhaps 'partridge', paralleling Gk. *πέπδιξ* derived from *πέπδομαι* 'fart' (cf. e. g. Frisk, *GEW* 511), or 'buzzard'.

huntarnu- 'grunt', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-un-tar-nu-uz-zi* (KBo XII 96 I 2 [UR.ZI] *r-as wappiyazi ṢAH-as huntarnuzzi* 'the dog barks, the pig grunts'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* 33:239, 246 [1964]). There is also the Luwoid partic. acc. *ḫi-e* (?) *ṢAH-za hu-un-t[ar-r]i-ami-ma-za* 'grunting pigs' (KUB IX 34 II 48; cf. Hutter, *Behexung* 34, 78), seemingly from *huntariya-*. Grunting was apparently perceived as allophonic to farting.

The meaning 'fart' for *huntariya-* was suggested by Goetze apud Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary*² 52 (1936). The etymological tie-in with *huwant-* goes back to J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *TPhS* 1946, 89. The derivational variation *huntariya-* : *huntarnu-* resembles e. g. *nahsariya-* : *nahsarnu-* (cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 27:34 [1970]); at issue is whether an actual intermediate abstract noun **hu(wa)ntar-* needs to be postulated (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:441, 526) or whether there is back-formation from a **huwantariya-* paralleling e. g. *gimmantariya-* 'spend the winter' or *nikumandariya-* 'denude' (cf. H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 56 [1979]).

V. Pisani's comparison (*Paideia* 22:404 [1967]) of *huntarnu-* with Lat. *grundiō* (and English *grunt*) was abortive and would work only on a general phonesthetic level (cf. Gk. *γρῦ* as a swinish interjection, *γρῦζω* 'grunt', *γρῦλος* 'piglet').

hunzinar-, a musical instrument, instr. sg. *hu-un-zi-na-ri-it* (e. g. KUB XXX 24 II 9–10 *LUNAR* *Ḫunzinarit sir-ru* 'the cantor sings to the accompaniment of the h.'; cf. *ibid.* 20–21 *LUN[AR]* *Ḫunzinarit sir-ru* 'the cantor sings [to the accompaniment of] the great "Ištar-wood"'); XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 8–9 *LUMES* *hunzinarit* [sir-ru; similarly *ibid.* II 18 and 27, III 6, 13, 20, 27, 33; *ibid.* II 30

hu-z[i-na-ri-it]; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60, 74–6, 140, who equated hunzinarit with *ISTU*^{GIS} SĀ.A.TAR; cf. Kümmel, *Festschrift H. Otten* 172–5 [1973]; 701/z, 6]hunzinarit NINDA.KUR₄.RA parsiya 'to the accompaniment of the h. he breaks a breadloaf'; cf. Otten, *Materalien* 48). Cf. 701/z¹ to *GIS* hu-an-zi-nir

Hattic term, also found in Hattic utterances in Hittite text (KUB XXVIII 110 III 14 hu-u-un-zi-na-ar-nu besides ibid. 15 i-ip-pi-zi-i-na-ar, both containing Hatt. zinar 'music'; perhaps corresponding to *GIS*¹ INANNA GAL/TUR respectively, thus 'great' [hun-] vs. 'small' [ippi-]; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 13:73–4 [1955]; Kammenhuber, *HOAKS* 437–8). Ivanov (in *Šumu* 134 [1988]) identified ippi-zinar as 'finger instrument' with Adygh *epe-pšine* 'harp'. Probably zinar reflects an areal culture word, also found in Akk. zannaru 'lyre' (CAD Z 46; also used as an epithet of Ištar), and perhaps in Arm. jnar 'lyre' (cf. N. A. Mkrtčyan, *LHG* 1970:7, 58, 69, *Acta Antiqua* 22:316 [1974]). Cf. perhaps KUB 41.28 II 7 *GIS* ha-zi-ni-ir-tal- 'musicians' (Daddi Mestieri, *Popko*, 21 p).

2 ensembles cymbals?

1. Stb. 29: 81 f.

hup(p)ai-, huppiya- 'interlace, entangle, ensnare, commingle, (make a) blend (of); (intrans.) mingle, mix', 1 sg. pres. act. hu-up-pi-e-mi (KUB XXXII 117 Vs. 8–9 + XXXV 93 Vs. 13–14 nu-za ūk^{GIS} hupallī dā[hhe] nu huppiemi 'I take cymbals and make a blend'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 223; Starke, *KLTU* 41), hu-u-up-am-mi (XXXIII 67 IV 17–18 kinun-za etmi ekumi [...] kinun-za hūpammi 'now I shall eat [and] drink, ... now I shall mingle'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 76), 3 sg. pres. act. hu-up-pa-iz-zi (KBo XXIV 115 I 20 UGULA^{LÜ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM huppaizzi; XXV 98, 12), hu-up-pa-a-iz-zi (KUB LIX 22 III 25–29 UGULA^{LÜ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM memal huppaizzi^{NA} huwasiyas piran 3-šU sipanti namma huppaizzi hassi 1-šU sipanti 'the chef de cuisine blends groats; before the h. he libates thrice; again he blends; to the fireplace he libates once'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 81), hu-u-pa-a-iz-zi (VBoT 58 IV 32–33 3 DUG.HI.A GEŠTIN-m[a] marnuan KAŠ.LĀL 3^{DUG} KUKUB.HI.A wetenas QAD[U] GAL YĀ.DUG.GA GAL LĀL GAL YĀ.NUN sanezzi kinanda kī hūpai[zzī] 'three jars of wine, beer, and mead [lit. honey-beer] [and] three jugs of water along with a cup of oil, a cup of honey, and a cup of sweet butter are assembled; he blends these'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:86 [1985]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 82), hu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi (KUB XXVII 29 III 8–9 nu EN SISKUR 7-šU hūppāizzi [...] sarapi nu pāsi 'the offerant makes a blend seven times, ... he sips and swallows'; cf.

Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 142; 819/u, 4 ziz memal hūppāizzi 'he blends spelt groats'). 3 pl. pres. act. hu-u-up-pa-an-zi (KBo X 27 IV 32 parā-ma anda hūppanzi 'but further they make a blend'), 6 pl. pret. act. hu-u-up-pi-ir (III 34 I 3 šE^{LÜ} NINDA.DÜ.DÜ hūppir 'they blended baker's grain'; partic. huppant-, nom.-acc. sg. neut. hu-u-up-pa-an^{acc. sg. c.} (III 21 II 15–16 liliwanza-ma-ssan ikza-tes KUR-e katta hūppan harzi^{hu-u-up-pa-an-da-an} (line 60.146 vs 5) 'your swift net holds the land ensnared' [cf. Gk. καθοπαίω 'interweave']; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Essays ... in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* 105–6 [1977]; A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), acc. pl. c. hu-u-up-pa-an-du-us (VBoT 24 II 20 nu kuwapi anda hūppandus^{NA} HI.A wemiyanzi 'where they find stones commingled'; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:10, 21 [1927], *Chrest.* 110); iter. hupiski-, 3 pl. pres. act. hu-u-pi-is-kān-zi (KBo XV 59 III 5–6 LÜ.MEŠ BALAG.DI hūpiskanzi-pat 'the harpists merely mingle'; XV 69 I 10–12 nu LÜ.MEŠ BALAG.DI sāuwatar 2-šU par[anzi] namma LÜ.MEŠ BALAG.DI hūpiskanzi^{GIS} BALAG.DI-ma ūl walhanniyanzi 'the harpists blow the horn twice; further the harpists mingle but do not strike the harp'; similarly KUB XL 97 III 3–4 s[awātar 2-šU par[anzi] ...] ape-ma hūpis[kanzi; XXX 40 I 35 hūpiskan(zi), hu-u-pi-es-kān-zi (similarly KBo XV 58 V 4–5; KUB XL 97 III 16–17; wrongly 'shake [cymbal]': S. de Martino, *Hethitica* IX 8–10 [1988]). *Ka hne* 110r 59.204–6, 70 suggested 'sway, swing' i.e. 'weave their body'.

huppa- 'blending, mixing', dat.-loc. sg. hu-u-up-pi(-is-si) (KUB XLIII 30 III 17 hūppi-si suhhanzi 'they pour for his mix'), hu-u-up-pi-e(-s-si) (XXVII 29 III 7 n-at-kan ANA EN SISKUR hūppe-s[s]i suhhi 'she pours them [viz. the meat and water remnants of the sacrifice] for the offerant for his mixing'). For formation cf. e.g. kuera- (c.) 'parcel, field' (lit. 'cut[ting]') or iuka- (n.) 'yoking, yoke'.

hup(p)ala- (n.) 'net' (literally 'instrument of entangling', near-synonym of ekt- 'net'; cf. e.g. ardala- 'saw' [HED 1–2:175] or appala- 'trap' [HED 1–2:95]), nōm.-acc. sg. hu-up-pa-la-an (KUB VIII 1 III 12–13 arunas āssu harakzi [...] hūppalan tepauēsi 'the sea's bounty will disappear, ... the net [i.e. netting, catch] will be small'), abl. sg. hu-u-pa-la-za (KBo VI 29 II 33–35 apūn-ma-kan^D IŠTAR^{URU} Samuha GAŠAN-YA KU₆-un GIM-an hūpalaza [with gloss-wedge] EGIR-pa istapta n-an ishiyat 'my lady Ištar of Samuha caught him like a fish with a net, and bound him'; cf. Götze, *Hattusilis* 50).

huppar (n.?), hup(p)ara-, hupra- (c.), a type of cloth, nom. sg. c. hu-u-pa-ra-as (KUB XXIX 4 I 38 1^{GAD} hūparas 1^{TUG} kuressar SA₅ 'one h. [and] a length of red fabric'), hu-u-up-pa-ra-as (dupl. XXIX)

beal: another verb hūp(pie)- should be separated out for the passages involving mus. instr's, see Melch 11 Kz 101, 88:232; Göt 11 Ks Cate: 74. It is probably onomatopoeitic and related to the word *hūhūpāl*

S. de Martino // Meth 9:99 hup(p)ai- 'to mix'
huppi- 'agitate, shake' (only) LÜ.MEŠ BALAG.DI

5 I 22 1^{GAD}hūpparas 1^{TUG}kure[-; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 10; XV 33b I 5 h]ūppara[s], hu-up-pa-ra-as (dupl. XV 34 I 4–5 1^{GAD}hūpparas kitta ‘one h. is laid’ [viz. in the basket]), nom.-acc. sg. ^{aa. sg. e.} hu-up-pa-an ^{ka. 20. 34 vs. 11 (HED, v. 240)} neut. hu-u-up-pār (XXXIX 56 Vs. 5 1^{GAD}hūppar), acc. pl. c. hu-up-ru-us (HT 1 I 31 and dupl. KUB IX 31 I 38 huprus kuyēs ishiyantis matching IX 31 II 24 [Luw.] hūpparaza kuinzi hishiyanti ‘who bind on h. [as wraps]’; cf. IX 31 I 37 ēsha[nuwan]ta kuēs wēssanta matching IX 31 II 23 [Luw.] ashanuwanta kuinzi wassantari ‘who wear bloody [garments]’; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 51, 53).

Despite the slow and troubled determination of the sense and integrity of the verb (lumped up with huwapp- [q. v.] by Tischler, *Glossar* 290, following *HW Erg.* 1:7), the plausible etymological tie-in of this group of words with Skt. *ubhnāti* ‘lace up, constrict’, Gk. *ύφί* ‘weaving, web’, and English *weave* was suggested already by W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:178 [1939]) and has later cropped up sporadically (Čop, *Ling.* 5:44 [1964]; Kronasser, *Pokorný BIK* 46; Peters, *Untersuchungen* 72). Sturtevant’s strictures (*IHL* 64) concerning -pp- pointing to *p rather than *bh are not compelling (cf. L. Zgusta, *Arch. Or.* 19:458 [1951]), especially because the basic root is *A₁ew- (Ved. *ótum* ‘to weave’, *váyati* < *A₁w-éye- ‘weave’), with an extension *A₁ew-dh- (Lith. *áusti* ‘weave’), *A₁u-dh- (Lith. *ūdis* ‘web’), *A₁w-édh- (ON *vād* ‘web’), and an alternative extension *A₁ew-bh-, *A₁ubh- (Skt. *ubhnāti*, Gk. *ύφί*, *ύφαίνω* ‘weave’), *A₁w-ébh- (Ved. *u-n-ap* ‘confine’, Skt. *ūrñā-vābhi-* ‘wool-spinner, spider’, OHG *weban* ‘weave’, Toch. A *wāp-*, B *wāp-* ‘weave’); a further alternative *A₁ew-p-, A₁up- is perfectly possible in the case of hup(p)- (cf. *step- beside *steb[h]- s. v. *istap[p]-* [HED 1–2:474]).

Cf. hupallas-, hupiga-, huppulli-, huwapp-.

hupallas- (n.) ‘skull’ or ‘scalp’, nom.-acc. sg. hu-pal-la-as (KBo III 8 III 32–34 n-as suppis tētanus hamiktat kattan-ma-as hupallas hamiktat ‘his pure hair was tied, but beneath his h. was tied’ [“acc. of respect” = partitive apposition in passive voice]; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157–8, 161–2 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:170 [1965]; KUB VII 1 III 10–12 ū-wa^{SAI}hāsawan pehute nu-wa-ssi-ssan ser^{UZU}hupallas huikdu n-an suppaus tētanus huikdu ‘go get the hag! Let her conjure his h. above, and let her conjure his pure hair’; ibid. 20–21 sēr-an^{UZU}hupallas lāwun n-an suppaus tetanus lāwun ‘I have untied his h.

above and I have untied his pure hair’; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]).

hupallasant- (c.), nom. sg. hu-pal-la-sa-an-za (258/u, 8)?

‘Skull’ (Alp. *Anatolia* 2:6–7 [1957]) and ‘scalp’ (Güterbock, *Oriens* 10:353, 362 [1957]) are equally possible from the context; hupallasai- (q. v.) seems to be a denominative derivative (‘to crown’ or ‘to scalp’) from this strange neuter s-stem, with a : u vacillation. Depending on exact meaning, cognates may include huppar(a)- ‘bowl’ (q. v.; cf. Lat. *testa* ‘pot’, but French *tête* and *boule* for ‘head’), hup(p)ala- (n.) ‘net’ (q. v. s. v. hup[p]ai-; cf. Lat. *membrāna*), and Gk. *κόπελλον* ‘goblet’ (if originating on the culture-word circuit; see s. v. *huhupal-*). But it is intrinsically wrong to posit an etymological guttural stop as the unconditional source of h- in hupallas-, whether comparing Goth. *gibla* ‘gable, summit’ and Gk. *κεφαλή* (E. Forrer apud S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 214 [1939]; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 21:34 [1963]) or Gk. *κόπελλον* (V. Pisani, *Paideia* 19:282 [1964]; M. Poetto, *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere* 107:31–2 [1973]).

huppar- (n.), huppara- (c.) ‘bowl, pot, keg’, also a liquid or dry measure, nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) neut. hu-up-pār (e. g. KUB XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 3 nu 1 huppar KÙ.BABBAR ŠA ½ MA.NA 20-ya [iŠ]TU YÀ.DÜG.GA suwan ‘one silver bowl of a half mina and twenty [is] filled with good oil’; cf. Otten, *ZA* 46:214–5 [1940], *Totenrituale* 66; KBo XXV 23 Rs. 8 ½ huppar marnuan ‘half a keg of ale’; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 61; XX 4 I 1, XX 27 Rs. 8 huppar marnuan; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 42, 111; II 1 I 20 and II 28 1^{DUG}huppar KAŠ ‘one keg of beer’; KUB XXV 6 V 12, XXV 17 VI 7^{DUG}huppar GEŠTIN ‘bowl of wine’; KBo XXV 31 III 11 [OHitt.] 1 huppar KAŠ.GEŠTIN 1 huppar [marnuan, besides later dupl. XX 32 II 5 1 hūpparas KAŠ.GEŠTIN 1 hūpparas marnuan pian[zi ‘they give a keg of wine-beer [and] a keg of ale’ [nom. for acc.]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 80; XXV 83, 4 2 huppar GEŠTIN; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 163; XX 5 Vs. 5 2 huppar KAŠ.GEŠTIN 2 hu[ppar]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 34; Singer, *Festival* 2:36; IV 9 I 16 2 huppar KÙ.BABBAR ispanduzzias GEŠTIN-it sū-wantes [c. for n.] ‘two silver bowls filled with wine of libation’), hu-pār (XX 33 Vs. 14 hu[š]tar KÙ.BABBAR udanzi 1 hupar GEŠTIN ANA UG.TUR 1 hupar GEŠTIN ANA ŠAH.NITA lahuanzi ‘they bring

silver [likenesses of] beasts: they pour one bowl of wine for the panther [and] one bowl of wine for the boar'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 53; Singer, *Festival* 2:89), *hu-up-pa* (sic *KUB* XLI 44 VI 7 *huppa* GEŠTIN, besides *ibid.* 9 *hu-up-pār* GEŠTIN; cf. Neu, *Festschrift für G. Neumann* 219 [1982]), *hu-up-pa-pār* (sic *KBo* XX 44 Vs. 13), *hu-u-up-pār* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 67 I 7–8 *n-asta* ^{DUG}*hūppar su[n-nai ...] hūmanda anda ishūw[āi* 'she fills the bowl ..., all things she throws in'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:135 [1965]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 72; *KBo* XXV 176 Rs. 23 [*nu-s*]mas ^{NINDA}*wagatan hūppar* GEŠTIN-ya *pianzi* 'they give them w.-bread and a bowl of wine'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:94; *KUB* V 7 Vs. 16 ^{DUG}*hūppar* GEŠTIN ^{DUG}*hūppar hapussūw[as* 'bowl of wine, bowl for recovering' [viz. the poured libamen]; *KBo* XXI 78 I 22 [*hūppar* GEŠTIN *pāi*; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 144; X 32 Vs. 3 *hūppar* GEŠTIN; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:105; *KUB* VII 53 I 22 1 *hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 6; XLI 17 IV 8 1 ^{DUG}*hūppar* KAŠ; XXV 22 III 8 1 ^{DUG}*hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 240; XXIX 4 II 65 and *dupl.* XXIX 6 + II 11 ^{DUG}*hūppar* KAŠ; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 20; *ZA* 71:128 [1981]; I 14 II 6 2 ^{DUG}*hūppar* GEŠTIN-ya *pianzi*; *KBo* V 1 I 55 2 ^{DUG}*hūppar* GEŠTIN; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*, 40–1), *hu-u-pār* (*KUB* XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 4, vs. *ibid.* 3 *hu-up-pār*; *KBo* XII 123, 13), nom. sg. c. *hu-up-pa-ra-as* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 59 III 7–8 *kedani* ^{GIS}*ippias ser arta kedani-ma* ^{GIS}*hupparas katta kitta* 'above one [well] stands a vine, but by the other lies a [wooden] bowl'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]; Haas, *ZA* 78:297 [1988]; XXXVIII 25 I 22 1 ^{DUG}*hupparas* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 276; XXVII 15 IV 7 1 ^{DUG}*hupparas*), *hu-up-pār-as* (e.g. XXV 24 III 5 2 ^{DUG}KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}*hupparas* KAŠ 'two jugs of beer, one keg of beer'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 246), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-as* (e.g. *KBo* XX 8 IV 4 *semēnas hūpparas sūs* 'bowl full of s.'; cf. *ibid.* 6 *semehunit sūs* 'full with s.'; Neu, *Altheth.* 70), *hu-u-up-pār-as* (e.g. II 7 Vs. 7, 13, 28 1 ^{DUG}*hūpparas* KAŠ; *KUB* VII 17, 17 1 *hūpparas*; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 122), *hu-u-pār-as* (XXV 22 Rd. 5 1 ^{DUG}*hūparas* KAŠ; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 238), (acc. sg.) c. *hu-up-pa-ra-an* (e.g. *KBo* XVII 1 II 10 [*ma*]rnuan *hupparan* UDU-un 'ale, a keg, a sheep'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 24; Neu, *Altheth.* 7; XXV 40, 4 *hūpparan* KÜ.BABBAR *ped[a-* 'bring a silver bowl'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 98; XVII 6 II 3 GEŠTIN-an *hupparan*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 19; XXV 62, 13; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 137), *hu-up-pār-an* (e.g. *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 12 *hupparan danzi* 'they take a pot'; *ibid.* 22–23 *hūpparan happinas*

[*dā*]i 'he places the pot in the oven'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 264), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-an* (e.g. XXIX 43 III 21 [1 ^{GIS}*hūpparan mē* 'one keg of water'; *ibid.* 12–13, XXIX 40 III 17–18, 21–22, 26, 30 *n-asta* 1 ANŠU.KUR.RA 1 ^{GIS}*hūpparan ekuzi* 'each horse drinks one keg'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 174, 182–4, 330; XV 31 II 14 ^{GIS}*hūpparann-a dāi* 'and a bowl he takes'; cf. *ibid.* 15 *namma-kan* GEŠTIN YÀ *anda sipanti* 'he further libates in[to it] with wine [and] oil'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156), *hu-u-up-pa-ra-a-[an?]* (*KBo* XVII 29 + XX 1 II 4; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 152), *hu-u-up-pār-an* (X 30 + XVI 77 II 6; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:106), (gen. sg.) (or pl.) *hu-up-pa-ra-as* (XI 38 I 16–18 ŠA ^{GIS}ŠUKUR GUŠKIN-ma DUMU É.GAL *hupparas* ANA 2 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL GÜB-laz *iyattari* 'the page of the gold spear of the bowl walks on the left of two pages'), *hu-u-up-pār-as* (*dupl.* XXVII 42 I 29–31; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55; XI 36 III 7 1½ ^{NINDA}*hūpparas* 'one and a half loaf of [one] h.'; *ibid.* V 11 ^{NINDA}.YÀ.E.DÉ.A *hūpparas* 'fatted bread of [one] h.' [measure of flour?]; X 31 IV 9 1 ^{DUG}*marnuan* ŠA 2 *hūpparas* 'one jug ale of two h.' [liquid measure?]; similarly *ibid.* II 7; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:102–4), ŠA x *hu-up-pār* (e.g. XXV 13 II 8 10 ^{DUG}*harsis marnuan* ŠA 1 *huppar* 'ten jars ale of one h.'; *ibid.* 3 2 ^{DUG}*marnuan* [ŠA 1] *huppar*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 40; XX 3 Rs. 15 [ŠA 1] *huppar*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 45; XVII 31, 6 G]EŠTIN ŠA 3 *huppar* 1 ^{DUG}*marnuan* '... wine of three h., one jug ale ...'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 113), (dat.-loc. sg.) *hu-up-pa-ri* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 59 III 11–12 *uet* NIM.LĀL-as ^{GIS}*huppari a[nda]* ^{KUS}*kursa(sa)n dais* 'the bee came [and] put the fleece inside the bowl'; II 13 IV 12–14 LUGAL-us GAL-az ^DĀsgasepan ^DSAL.LUGAL ^DPirwan *huppari sipanti ta ekuzi* 'the king with a goblet libates to Askasepas, Queen, and Pirwas into a bowl, and offers a toast'; *KBo* XXV 82 I 2; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 162; X 25 I 17–18 LUGAL-us *huppari [si]panti* 'the king libates into a bowl'; II 5 I 13–14 LUGAL-us *huppari [si]panti*; XVII 74 II 15 and III 53 *huppari sipanti*), *hu-u-up-pa-ri* (e.g. *ibid.* III 26, 33, 38, 43, 48 LUGAL-us *hūppari sipanti*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 18–30; *KUB* XLIII 26 IV 7 [OHitt.] LUGAL-us *hūppari si[panti]*; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 32, *Altheth.* 67; *KBo* XXV 61 Rs. 9 LUGAL-us *hūppari sipanti*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 136 [wrongly Starke, *Funktionen* 57–8]; *KUB* II 3 I 27–28 LUGAL-us *hūppari sipanti*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:62; I 17 I 6, *KBo* XI 51 III 12 LUGAL-us *hūppari sipanti*; *KUB* X 99 I 16 *hūppari sipan[ti]*; II 13 IV 13 and 20; cf. Bossert, *Königssiegel* 40; *KBo* XXX 69 III

22—26 LUGAL-us GUB-as andurza ... hūppari sippanti 'the king, standing within, libates into a bowl to ...'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:84 [1988]; II 9 IV 9—10 [h]ūppari [s]ippanti; KUB XLIII 30 II 18; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 77; KBo X 45 III 13 nu-ssan ēšhar IM-as hūppari tarnāi 'one lets the blood flow into a clay bowl', hu-u-up-ri (dupl. KUB XLI 8 III 4—5 nu-ssan ēšhar IM-as hūpri tarnāi; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:128 [1961]; KBo XXX 14 I 9—10 LUGAL-us hūpri sipanti, besides dupl. X 25 I 17—18 LUGAL-us huppari [s]ippanti; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:47), hu-u-pa-ri (XXVII 42 IV 12 LUGAL-us hūpari sipanti; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:49), suffix-less loc. sg. hu-up-pār (IV 9 III 18 LUGAL-us huppar sipanti), hu-u-up-pār (KUB XXVII 1 I 46 LUGAL-us hūppar GUŠKIN sipanti 'the king libates in a gold h.'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 76), hu-u-pār (XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 4—5 n-at-kan ANA YĀ.DUG.GA hūpar KÙ.BABBAR anda zikkanzi 'they place them [viz. the bones] in oil inside the silver bowl'), (instr. sg. hu-up-pa-ri-it (KBo XI 38 I 12—15 nu 2 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL ANA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL MĒ QATI hupparit GUŠKIN pedanzi 'two pages bring for the king and queen handwater with a gold bowl'), hu-u-pa-ri-it (dupl. XXVII 42 I 26—28; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55), hu-u-up-pa-ri-it (KUB XXIX 40 III 21 and 29—30 nu-smas wātar ^{GIS}hūpparit parā appanzi 'they proffer them water with a bowl'; similarly ibid. 25; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 182—4), iŠTU hu-u-pār (KBo IV 9 VI 19, X 26 I 26 iŠTU huppar GUŠKIN 'with a gold bowl'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:42), iŠTU hu-u-up-pār (KUB II 15 I 11 iŠTU hūppar GUŠKIN), (abl. sg. hu-u-up-pa-ra-az (112/c + IV 21 nu ^{SAL}ŠU.GI wātar GAL-az nasma hūpparaz ANA 2 BEL SISKUR.SISKUR parā epzi 'the old woman from a goblet or a bowl proffers water to the two offerants'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:364 [1953]), [hu]-u-up-pa-ra-za (dupl. KBo II 3 IV 1—2), (nom.-acc. pl) neut. hu-up-pār-ri (KUB LVIII 33 IV 8, 16, 18 hupparri dāi 'takes the bowls'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 262—4), hu-up-pa-a-rihi.A (XXVII 1 III 14 n-asta ^{DUG}huppārihi.A iŠTU GEŠTIN sunnai 'he fills the bowls with wine'), nom. pl. c. hu-u-up-pār-as (XLII 30, 4 3 hūpparas; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 175 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 530), acc. pl. c. hu-up-pa-ru-us (1142/z + KUB XXV 31 Vs. 6—7 ^{KUS}kursus ū 2 ^{GIS}hupp[ar]us warnuanzi 'fleeces and two bowls they burn'; dupl. KBo XXIII 63, 6]kursus ū 2 hupparu[s; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 314, *ZA* 78:288—90 [1988]; *ZA* 62:234—5 [1972]; XVII 74 II 32 2 hupparus).

hupparalli- (c. or n.), nom. sg. h[u]-up-pār-al-li(s) (KUB XLII 14 I 4; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 19, 21 [1982]), hu-u-up-pār-al-li(s) (XLII 18 II 16 1 ^{DUG}hūpparalli(s); dupl. XLII 20, 7 ^{DUG}hūpparalli(s); cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 30 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 50; XLII 11 V 28 1 ^{GIS}hūpparalli(s) KÙ.BABBAR; ibid. 27 1 ^{GIS}hūpparalli(s) 2 ME ŠUL[PAT] 'one h., two hundred straws'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 34 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 406). Since lis can also be read li, gender is uncertain. In form ^{DUG}hupparalli- seems to be a synonymous derivative from ^{DUG}huppar(a)- on the analogy of ^{DUG}harsi- 'jar': ^{DUG}harsiyalli- 'pithos'.

hupparanni- (n.), "gen. sg." ŠA X hu-up-pa-ra-an-ni (KUB LVI 46 VI 15—16 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTIN ŠA 2 hupparanni 1 DUG marnuwan ŠA 2 hupparanni 'one jug wine-beer of two h., one jug ale of two h.'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 103; KBo XX 2 + XXV 15 I 8 ma]rnuwan ŠA 1 hupparanni; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 47), hu-u-up-pa-ra-an-ni (XI 36 III 17—19 3 DUG marnuwan ŠA 2-AM hūpparanni ^{DUG}U-as ^{NA}hūwa-siya 'three jugs ale of two h. to the baitylos of the storm-god'. Here hupparanni- functions as a liquid measure and may be derivationally diminutival (cf. ^{DUG}harsiyallanni- from harsiyalli- s.v. harsi-, and Gk. σταμνίσκος).

huprala- (c.) 'potter' (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^Uhu-up-ra-la-as (KBo also *U67* 33 4 III 34 II 15; III 36 Vs. 21; KUB XXV 28 I 3—4 ^Uhupralass-a katti-smi paizzi 'the potter goes along with them'). For formation cf. e.g. harsiyala- s.v. harsi- or hattalwala- s.v. hattalu-.

On the realia of this vessel, its possible iconographic presence in libation scenes, its potential similarity to the Greek *στάμνος*, and conceivable acrophonic pictorial rendering as Hier. *hū* (Laroche, *HH* 182), cf. Otten, *ZA* 46:215 (1940); S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 21 (1982); Singer, *Festival* 1:162—3.

The preponderance of -pp- in huppar(a)- points to /p/, which undermines any comparison with the Hurroid *huprush-* (q.v.) from *hub(u)r-*. Culture-word echoes from other areal terms for containers (e.g. Akk. *huppu*) are at best vague. In view of the clear-cut r-stem (cf. *kessar-*, *kessera-*), Čop (*Živa Antika* 8:262 [1958], *Ling.* 5:30 [1964], *Indogermanica minora* 37—9) was right in looking for an IE etymology. A heteroclitic reconstruction *A₁éwp-*r*, gen. *A₁up-n-ós accounts for huppar(a)- as well as ON *ofn* and OE *ofen* 'oven' (< *A₁úpnos; *ofnet* 'pot'), and also Myc. *i-po-no* 'cooking bowl' and Gk. *ἰνός* 'oven' (< *ἰνός < *ἰπ-

vós); cf. Frisk, *GEW* 732–3. That the *huppar* was also a cooking vessel was seen above in *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 22–23: *h*hupparan *happinas* [dā]i ‘he places the pot in the oven’.

Cf. *hupparatt-*. Cf. *Ēhu-wa-ap-ra-as* (KUS 58.51 I 1, 4), *Ēhu-wa-ap-ra-as* (ibid 2; KUS 2.1 II 20)
(M. M. M. Cult. 42-3)

hupparatt- (c.) 'pelvis', nom. pl. *hu-up-pár-(<at>)ti-is* (KUB IX 34 II 42). > 80 44: 122

hupparattiyat- (c.) 'pelvis', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-up-pâr-ra-at-ti-ya-ti*, *hu-u-up-pa-<ra>at-ti-ya-ti*, nom. pl. *hu-up-pâr-ra-at-ti-ya-t[i-is]*, [*hu-u-up-p*]a-ra-at-ti-ya-ti-is, ^{Uzu}*hu-up-pa-ra-ti-ya-<ti>is* (KUB IX 4 I 29 – 30 *hupparrattiyat[is] hupparrattiyati giG-an karapzi* 'pelvis lifts ailment of pelvis'; ibid. 11–12 [*hûpp*]arattiyatis-kan *hûppa<ra>attiyati handan* 'pelvis [is] matched to pelvis'; par. IX 34 II 29 ^{Uzu}*hupparatiya<ti>is-ma-kan [...]* KL.MIN 'pelvis [to pelvis] likewise'; cf. Alp, *Anatolia* 2:25, 38–40 [1957]; Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:413–4 [1971]; Hutter, *Behexung* 32–4).

Derived from *huppar(a)-* 'bowl' (cf. Lat. *pēlvis* 'bowl, basin'), with suffix as *kallaratt-* from *kallar(a)-* 'baleful' (nom. pl. *kallarattes* 'monstrous beings' [*KBo* I 30 I 11]) and partial idiomatic plural like Engl. 'loins'. The rederivation *hupparattiyat-* may be deverbative (like e. g. *aniyatt-*, *handatt-*) from **hupparattiya-* 'serve as basin, be pelvis-like'. Cf. *Rieken*: 122-123.

HUPAZIŠ 'unknown oracle term' Berman 11308 34/1-2, '82, 121. KUB 45.79 i 5' h. RA-an-zu
'h. is beaten'

hupiga-, hupiki- (n.) 'veil, mantilla, wrap', perhaps like the Gk. *κρήδεμνον* hanging down from the *πόλος* or head-dress, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-pi-ga-an* (315/t I 10–11 *nu-za* SÍG ZA.GIN-az *HŪPPI* GUŠ-KIN [...]) ^{TUG}*hūpigann-a dāi* 'along with blue wool [the queen] puts on gold earring[s] ... and a mantilla'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 230; cf. *Iliad* 14:182–4: *ἐν δ' ἄρα ἔρματα ἤκεν εὐτρήτοισι λοβοῖσι ... κρηδέμνων δ' ἐφ' ὤπερθε καλύψατο* '[Hera] hung earrings from her well-pierced lobes ... and covered herself at the top with a mantilla'), *hu-u-pi-ki* (*KUB XXXIII* 67 I 29–31 [emended from *XXXIII* 36 II 1–3] *TUG.DINGIR-LIM-wa-as-za-kan TUDITTI.MI.A EGIR-[pa paskit] nu-ssi* ^{TUG}*hūpiki appizzi [piran huinut] hantezzi-ma-za appizziaz [huinut* 'she [viz. the distraught and furious goddess] pinned breastplates to the back of her divine raiment, she trailed the back of her mantilla in front, but the front she trailed in

back'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 19:26 [1961], 23:136 [1965]; Güterbock, *Festschrift für K. Bittel* 206 [1983]; Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 74).

hupigala- (c.) 'veil-wearer' (vel sim.), nom. sg. ^{SAL}*hu-u-pi-ga-la-*
-as (*KBo* XXII 251 Vs. 6; *ibid.* 1 [*ts-hu-u-pi-ga-la-as* [sic]]), acc. pl.
^{SAL}^{MEŠ}*hu-u-pi-ga-hu-u[s]* (*KUB* LIX 41 III 2). For formation cf.
e. g. *auriyala-*, *asusala-* (*HED* 1-2:234, 221).

hupigauwant- 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-pi-ga-u-wa-an-za* (KUB XV 5 II 48 and 50 ALAM SAL-TI *hūpīgauwanza* 'female icon, veiled' [syntactically acc. sg. c.]) = ²*hupitauwant-* Gut/J. 8:11el

hupitant- 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-pi-da-an-za* (KUB XXXVIII 2 III 12-13 ^D*Hatepunas* ALAM SAL-TI KAR.KI[D] [h]ūpidanza IGL.III.A-ŠU GUŠKIN GAR.R[A] 'female icon of H. as a harlot, veiled, her eyes inlaid with gold'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-pi-ta-an* (KBo II 8 I 1 and 3 'veiled', viz. ALAM [= *ēšri*] 'icon'; VBoT 38, 1), *hu-u-pi-da-a-an* (KUB XXXVIII 14 Vs. 1-2 ALAM SAL-TI AN.BAR TUŠ-an *hūpidān* [with gloss-wedges] 'female icon of iron, seated, veiled'; cf. L. Rost, *MJO* 8:201 [1961]).

hupitauwant-, 'veiled', nom. sg. c. *hu-pi-ta-u-wa-an-za* (KBo XXVI 147, 2; KUB XXXVIII 1 IV 9, with gloss-wedge; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 14), *hu-u-pi-ta-u-wa-an-za* (similarly XXXVIII 3 III 14, with gloss-wedge; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 20; XXXVIII 26 Vs. 31 1 ALAM AN.BAR SAL TUŠ-as *hūpitauwanza* 1 *sekan* DÜ-anzi 'one female icon of iron, seated, veiled, one span [in size], they make' [syntactically acc. sg.; c. rather than neut. by sense attraction to SAL rather than ALAM]; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:183, 185, 209 [1963]) *hu-u-pi-ta-a-u-wa-an-za* (XXXVIII 1 I 11 DINGIR-LIM-tar 1 ALAM SAL GIŠ KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA *hūpitāuwanza* [with gloss-wedge] TUŠ-an 'the deity [is] one wooden female icon inlaid with silver, veiled, seated'; similarly *ibid.* IV 2 and XXXVIII 3 III 13, with gloss-wedge).

Frequency of attestation and the spelling *hūpidān* rule out an erroneous scribal vacillation in *hupita-* due to the similarity of *ga* and *ta* (cf. *akutalla-* [HED 1–2:25]). A random *k* : *t* fluctuation being improbable, *hupitant-* may be explained as a syncopated or haploglogic **hupigatant-*, participle of a denominative verb **hupigatai-* from a secondary stem **hupigata-* based on a Hurroid case form in *-ta* (cf. *hatiuitai-* ‘make inventory’, from *hatiwi-* ‘inventory’); *hupitauwant-* is a deverbative adjective like e.g. *armawant-*

'pregnant' (*HED* 1–2:155) or *kartimmiyawant-* 'angry'; the variant *hupigauwant-* may reflect a parallel verb **hupigai-* from **hupiga-*. The implications of the postulated stem **hupigata-* and the consistent single spelling *-p-* argue against a cognate relationship to *hup(p)ala-* or *huppar(a)-*, *hup(a)ra-* (q.v. s.v. *huppai-*) and a consequent Indo-European derivative source, as suggested by Kronasser (*Pokorny BIK* 46) and asserted by Peters (*Untersuchungen* 72). Unknown areal origin of this sporadically gloss-wedged fashion term is much more plausible. For fluctuation of *a-* and *i-* stems cf. e.g. *antaka-*, *arasa-* (*HED* 1–2:77, 128) and Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:246.

huprushi- (c.), a vessel used in ritual, nom. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-is* (*KBo* V 2 III 26 *nu* ZAG-as *kuis huprushis* 'the h. which [is] to the right'; ibid. 28 GÜB-laz-ma *kuis huprushis* 'but the h. which [is] to the left'; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 110), acc. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-in* (e.g. *KUB* IV 47 1st 29; *KBo* V 2 II 57 *hantezzin huprushin* 'the first h.'; ibid. III 23 2 *huprushin* *ša* Giš *iezzi* 'he makes a second h. for wood[-burning?]; ibid. II 60 3-ann-a *huprushin*; ibid. II 32–33 7 *huprushin handāizzi* 'he readies the seventh h.'; ibid. II 10), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-in* (e.g. ibid. II 4–5 1 *hup(r)ushin* *ša* Giš *iezzi*; XXI 34 II 66 *huprushinn-a sarā danzi* 'and the h. they remove'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 121; *ABOT* 34, 19 *huprushinn-a*), *hu-u-pu-u-ru-us-hi-in* (*KUB* XXXII 137 II 15 ^{DUG}*hupurushinn-a ekuzi* 'and to the h. [he] drinks'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-up-ru-us-hi* (e.g. *KBo* V 2 II 5, 33, 48, 55; *KUB* XI 31 I 22–23 *namma* ^{LÜ}*AZU anahita dāi huprushi parā suhhāi* 'the medicine man takes the morsels and scatters them forth into the h.'; XII 11 III 19 *n-at-san huprushi hassī dāi* 'he puts them in a h. in the fireplace'; XXVII 6 I 33 *huprushi ambassiya* 'in a h. at the fire-altar'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 83, 95; XXVII 1 III 7 ^{DUG}*ahrushi huprushi* '[to] censer [and] h.'), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi* (e.g. dupl. XXVII 3 IV 16 ^{DUG}*ahru*]shi *hū-pru(s)hi*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 81; *ABOT* 34, 20; *KBo* V 2 IV 6 1-edani *ANA huprushi EGIR-an* 'behind the first h.'; ibid. 7 1-dani-ya *huprushi*; *KUB* XXVII 1 I 39 and 43–44 *huprushi dāi* 'places [it] in the h.'; XXV 44 II 18 *ahrushi huprushi*; *Bo* 4999 IV 3–4 ^{DUG}*huprushi-ma EGIR-anda* 'behind the h.'; cf. Ehelolf, *ZA* 43:171 [1936]; *KBo* XXI 33 I 12 *namma-ssan* ^{DUG}*huprushi* Giš.HI.A *hādan warn[uzi]* 'then he burns dry wood in the h.'; cf. ibid. 14 ^{DUG}*ahrushiyaz*; Otten, *Materialien* 35; *CHS* 1.2.1.39), *hu-up-ru-u-us-hi*

(ibid. III 7 *n-at-san huprushi hassī pissiyezzi* 'he throws them into a h. in the fireplace'; cf. ibid. 6 ^{DUG}*ahrushiyaz*), *hu-u-up-ru-u-us-hi* (e.g. XXIII 12 Rs. 4, 12, 14; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:43), *hu-up-ru-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KUB* XXIV 13 I 14; cf. ibid. 16 [Hurr.] *hu-u-ub-ru-us-hi-ni*; Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 102; *IBOT* III 148 II 66 ^{DUG}*huprushiya*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 222, 105), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KBo* V 1 I 33 *n-as huprushiya ZAG-az dapusa dāi* 'he places them to the right alongside the h.'; ibid. III 8 *n-at huprushiya dāi* 'he places them in the h.'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 4*, 8*; *KUB* X 63 I 32 *huprushiya warnuanzi* 'they burn in the h.'; XII 12 V 2–3 *namma-kan anāhita* ^{DUG}*ahrushiaz dāi n-at-san* ^{DUG}*huprushiya hassī parā dāi* 'then he takes the morsels from the censer and places them in the h. by the fireplace'; XXXII 53 I 4 ^{DUG}*huprushiya*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:324; XLV 6, 7; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:341), *hu-u-up-ru-u-us-hi-ya* (e.g. *KBo* XXI 33 IV 2; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:67), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-ti* (*IBOT* II 39 II 22–23 *n[at-san] huprushiti katta ispāri* 'scatters them along the h.'), nom. pl. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-e-es* *KBo* V 2 IV 28–29 *nu namma 2 huprushies handānzi* 'they further ready two h.'), *hu-u-up-ru-us-hi-e-es* (*KUB* XXXII 110, 10; ibid. 7 *-u[s-hi-e-es]*), acc. pl. *hu-up-ru-us-hi-us* (*IBOT* 4.34.8')

The Hurrian origin of *huprushi-* has been patent since Hrozný (*SH* 12); the word occurs in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy (e.g. *KUB* XXIV 13 I 16, quoted above), Ugarit (*RS* 24:274, 15 *ḫbršḫnd*), and Meskene, and also as Akk. *hubrušhu* (Alalah) and *hurbušhu* (Nuzi; cf. *CAD* H 241, 249; *AHW* 357). For its frequent collocation with *ahrushi-* 'censer' in both Hittite and Hurrian contexts see *HED* 1–2:12–13. There is parallel derivation with suffix *-ushi-* from *ah(a)r-* 'incense' and *hub(u)r-* of unknown meaning (distinct from *hawurni-*, *haburni-* 'earth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 34:99, 109 [1976]; rather, 'heaven': Neu, *Das Hurritische* 26–7 [1988]; the earlier confusion colored the earthenware-oriented rendering 'terrine, tureen' by von Brandenstein, *ZA* 47:88 [1940], and Laroche, *JCS* 2:118 [1948]). Parallelism with *ahrushi-* indicates that *hub(u)r-* is something the vessel was used for rather than made of.

Benveniste's suggestion (*RPh* 27:122–6 [1953], *Hitt.* 126–31) that Gk. *ὄσπουζα* 'assay of gold' (borrowed as Lat. *obrussa* 'assay, test, touchstone') goes back metonymically to Hurr. *hubrushi-* has nudged the renderings towards 'assaying pot, crucible, cupel'. In Hittite rituals the *huprushi-* is a vessel that can be fired in a

hearth and used for wood-burning but has no visible truck with metals either in its makeup or its contents.

The same Hurr. *hub(u)r-* may lurk in Hitt. *hupurni-* (KBo V 1 II 44 2 ^{DUG}*hu-pur-ni-is*; cf. Sommer—Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 8*), reflected also in Akk. *huburnu* (container for oil or grain at Nuzi and Mari; *AHW* 352, 344). Further (*hu-wu-ur-ni*, *hu-u-ur-ni*) see Uhal, *Hant* 187.

huppulli- (n.), wooden item of household goods or furniture like *iskissana-* (*HED* 1—2:426) with which it co-occurs in *Code* 2:71, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-up-pu-ul-li* (KBo VI 26 II 5—6 ^{GIS}*iskissana-ssit* ^{GIS}*hūppulli-ssit* ‘her i. [and] her h.’), *hu-u-up-pu-li* (VI 13 I 16—17 ^{GIS}*iskistani-set* ^{GIS}*hūppuli*).

Preceded by ^{GIS}*IG(-šū)* ‘(her) door’, these items need not have a housewifely semantic slant; *iskissana-* may mean ‘joist’ (vel sim.); H. Eichner’s ‘wicker basket’ (*Die Sprache* 21:163 [1975]) was wide of the mark, but the suggestion ‘baking trough’ for *huppulli-* (cf. *huppai-*) may have merit (type of *istappulli-* ‘stopper’) in the sense of ‘blender, mixing bowl’.

hupuwai- (n.) ‘pot’, nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-pu-wa-i*, *hu-pu-wa-ya*, *hu-u-pu-wa-ya* (1112/c + III 29 ^{DUG}*hupuwai dāi* ‘she takes the pot’; *ibid.* 31—33 *nu-kan* ^{SAL}*šū.GI* ^{DUG}*hup[uw]aya hassi anda lahuskizzi* ^{DUG}*hupuwaya-ma tuwa[r]niskizzi* ‘the old woman pours the [contents of the] pot into the fireplace, but the pot she breaks’; *ibid.* 35 ^{DUG}*hupuwaya [bis]*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:360 [1953]; *dupl.* KBo II 3 II 40—41 ^{DUG}*hupuwai hassi anda [...]* ^{DUG}*hūpuwaya-ma du-war[nis]kizzi*; *ibid.* 44 ^{DUG}*hupuwai*; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 78; *KUB* LII 105 II 10 ^{TU}*hupuwai*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:361), *hu-u-pu-wa-i-ya* (XII 58 II 29—30 *namma-ssi* ^{GIR}*MEŠ kattan* ^{DUG}*[h]ūpuwaiya isgāri* ‘then beneath his feet she sticks the pot’; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 14), *hu-pu-wa-a-i* (e.g. 1112/c + II 55—56 *nu* ^{SAL}*šū.GI IM-[as* ^{DUG}*]hu-pu-wa-a-i iyazzi nu-kan isnan te[pu] anda dāi* ‘the old woman makes a clay pot and puts in a little dough [*dupl.* have ^{DUG}*isnūran* ‘dough-bowl’; see *HED* 1—2:383]; KBo V 2 II 36—38 32 ^{DUG}*hupuwai nu* 16 ^{DUG}*hupuwai ištū KAŠ.GEŠTIN sūwan* 16 ^{DUG}*hupuwai-ma ištū LĀL YĀ* ^{GIS}*ZERTUM* ^{GIS}*MA* ^{GIS}*GEŠTIN.HĀD.DU.A* ^{GIS}*ZERTUM sūwan* ‘thirty-two pots: sixteen pots filled with wine-beer, sixteen pots filled with honey, olive oil, figs, raisins, and olives’; *ibid.* I

22 5 *ME* *hupuwai* ‘five hundred h.’; cf. Witzel, *Heth. KU* 106, 100; XI 19 Vs. 7 ^{DUG}*hupuwai*; cf. Haas—Thiel, *Rituale* 316), ^{DUG}*ha-pu-wa-a-i* (sic 1776/u Vs. 8), *hu-u-pu-wa-a-i* (XXII 142 I 8 ^{LÜ}*AZU-ma* ^{DUG}*hūpuwai handā[izzi]* ‘the medicine man readies a pot’; XIII 248 I 24 *hūpuwai udanzi* ‘[they] bring a pot’; *KUB* XII 47 I 7 ^{DUG}*hūpuwai*; cf. Haas—Thiel, *Rituale* 329; KBo XIX 145 Vs. 1 *[n]u-ssi-kan* ^{DUG}*hūp[uw]ai s[ē]r arha wahnumi* ‘over him I swing a pot’; cf. Haas, *SMEA* 14:141 [1971]; Haas—Thiel, *Rituale* 296).

Hurrian origin is patent from *ibid.* 2 and 5 (Hurr.) *hu-ū-bu-wa-as-se-ni-en-na* or *KUB* XLV 6, 11 *hu-u-bu-wa-as-si* (cf. Laroche, *RHA* 28:58 [1970], 34:110 [1976]).

hurai-, huwarai-, perhaps (Luwoid?) parallel formation to *hurnai-*, *hurniya-*, *hurnuwai-* ‘spray, sprinkle’ (q.v.), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ra-an-zi* (*KUB* VI 24 Vs. 6 ^{DINGIR}*n[i]-ma-za-pat* ^{NA}*kuwannan-aza hūwaranzi* [with gloss-wedge] ‘for the deity they sprinkle [i.e. decorate in scattered fashion] with bluestone’), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ra-i-ir* (XXXIX 1 III 39—40 ^{DINGIR}*MEŠ-wa GUNNI dāir nu-war-an* *[ku]nnānit hūrayir n-an AN.BAR-it san[ahh]ir* ‘the gods have placed the altar, they have “sprayed” it with copper, they have “flushed” it with iron’ [technical terms of metallurgy]; cf. Puhvel, *Florilegium Anatolicum* 300 [1979]); partic. *hūrant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ra-an-za* (XXXIX 61 III 9—10 *hūranza ēs EME [...]* *hūranza ēsdu* ‘be sprayed tongue ... let be sprayed’); Luwoid partic. *hurammi-*, abl. sg. *hu-ra-am-ma-ti* (XXVI 43 Vs. 12 *rīti ANŠU.KUR.RA hūrammati gimraz* ‘horse pasture from watered rangeland’), *hu-ra-am-ma-az* (*ibid.* 17 *hura[-* with *dupl.* XXVI 50 Vs. 7 *-r]ammaz gimraz*; cf. *Imparati*, *RHA* 32:24, 50 [1974]).

Of unclear relevance is acc. sg. *hu-u-ra-at-ti-sa-an* in the ritual KBo III 8 III 12—13, belonging to a lactating animal: *sāsan hūrattisan hamikta sasas GA hamikta* ‘he tied s.’s h. (partitive apposition), he tied s.’s milk’ (similarly *ibid.* 30—31 with *lāttat* ‘he loosed’; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]). Equally opaque are nom. pl. c. ^{LÜ}*huriēs* (*KUB* II 3 V 35) and the bread name (^{NINDA}*huri(ya)-* (q.v. s.v.)).

This attempt at interpretation seems preferable to B. Schwartz’s (*Orientalia* N.S. 16:36 [1947]) and Laroche’s (*RHA* 15:14 [1957]) ‘adorn’, H. Eichner’s ‘besetzen/verziern’ (*MSS* 31:88 [1973]), and H. A. Hoffner’s (Güterbock-inspired) ‘pierce, perforate, encircle’

(*Orientalia* N.S. 35:389 [1966], *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 162 [1974]). If *hurai-* is older, and *huwarai-* a late variant (cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 44), it may show the ablaut grade of ON *ūr* 'light rain, drizzle' or Lat. *ūrīmor* 'dive into water', vs. *A₁wg-n(y)-* in Gk. *παίω* 'sprinkle' and Hitt. *hurn-*. Cf. also the theonyms ^D*Hu-u-ri-ya-an-zi-pa-as* (KUB V 7 Vs. 17), ^D*Hu-ri-ya-an-zi-e-pa-an* (XX 4 I 13), ^D*Ishashuriyas* (XXXVIII 3 I 9; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 16), ^D*Ishashuriyas aldammis* 'spring (of) I.' (XXXVIII 1 I 10; cf. von Brandenstein, op. cit. 10), from which Čop (*Die Sprache* 6:1–2 [1960]) postulated a **huriya(n)-* 'spring, fountain', comparing ON *ūr* and Lith. *versmẽ* 'spring'.

Cf. *istamahura-*.

hurhurta - *ue hu(wa)hhurti*

huri-, epithet of bread, nom. sg. or pl. c. *hu-u-ri-is* (KUB XLIII 55 IV 3 NINDA *hūris*), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-ri-i-es* (KBo IV 2 I 62 NINDA. KUR₄.RA.HI.A *hūriyes*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:92 [1962]), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-ri-us* (KUB XXXVI 83 IV 5 NINDA *hūrius*), *hu-ri-ya-as* (XLVI 44 Rs. 1 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *huriyas*), *hu-u-ri-ya-as* (XLIII 55 III 15 9 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A *hūriyas*; KBo IV 2 I 19–20 *nu* 12 NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hūriyas* 2 ^{NINDA} *purpurus* DÜ-anzi *n-as-kan* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI ^{G1}*paddani katta ishūwai* 'they make twelve h.-loaves [and] two round bread, and the old woman pours them down into a basket').

Seemingly unpertaining acc. sg. *hu-ri-in* (KUB XII 63 Rs. 11 *nu-wa-za hurin dāi* 'takes h.'), abl. sg. *hu-u-ri-ya-az* (XLI 19 Rs. 13–14 *n]-at-kan hūriyaz* NÍ.TE-sit-kan [a]rha ānsun 'with h. I wiped it off his body'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 96).

Meaning and etymology unknown. The suggestion 'perforated bread, doughnut' (H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 162–3 [1974]) was based on an improbable sense assigned to *hurai-* (q. v.).

huripta- 'desert', dat.-loc. pl. *hu-ri-ip-ta-as* (KUB XXXI 118, 5–7 + XXXVI 37 II 10–11 ^D*İSTAR-is-ma-kan MUŠEN-is iwar huripta[s] parranta p[īdd]ait nu-kan* ^D*U-an hurip[tas] anda wemiyat* 'I. like a bird flew across the deserts, and found the storm-god in the deserts'; dupl. XII 61 III 12–13 *-]kan MUŠEN-is iwar [...]* [... *h]uriptas*; cf. Laroche, *RA* 48:220–[1954], *RHA* 26:27 [1968]).

huriptai- 'devastate, lay waste' (?), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ri-ip-te-ir* (KUB XLV 46, 9).

Borrowing from Akk. *huribtu*, pl. *hurbātu* 'desert' (*AHW* 359; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 23:10 [1965]).

hurki- (c.) 'wheel' (^{G1S}DUBBIN = ^{G1S}UMBIN), acc. sg. *hur-ki-in* (KUB XXXVI 91 + XLIII 68 Rs. 10–11 *appizziss[a]* ^{G1S}*hurkis mahhan hant]ezzin* ^{G1S}*hurkin ūL wemiz[zi* 'as the rear wheel does not catch up with the front wheel', with dupl. *Bö* 2477 Rs. 13 *]hu-u-ur-ki-in*, 871/z Rs. 9 *-z]in* ^{G1S}*hurkin mahhan*; cf. H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 64:243 [1975]; KBo XI 14 II 22–23 *IGI-zian GIM-an* ^{G1S}*hurkin EGIR-zis anda ūL wemiyazi*; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 8:219 [1962]), gen. sg. *hur-ki-as* (IBoT I 31 Vs. 16; cf. Goetze, *JCS* 10:32 [1956]), dat.-loc. sg. *hur-ki* (KUB V 9 Vs. 12–13 1 *GUD-ma-wa-kan* ^{G1S}*hurki ser watkut* 'one bovine leaped on a wheel' (cf. G. F. Del Monte, *AION* 35:339 [1975]), acc. pl. *hu-ur-ki-us* (XXXIV 16 II 10 4 ^{G1S}*hurkius* 'four wheels' of the constellation ^{G1S}MAR.GID.DA 'Big Dipper').

Acc. sg. *hu-ur-ki-in* also in KBo VI 26 IV 14 *ta hurkin halenzi* (Code 2:98; *-in* in *hurkin* is superscript on an erasure of *-il*; cf. Haase, *Fragmente* 91). In this paragraph the king has discretion to decide whether an adulterous wife and her paramour shall die or be spared, after the wronged husband has demanded their death. Before the royal verdict, *hurkin halenzi*. A whole literature has grown up around this expression: e. g., 'they (i. e. the defendants) kneel (down) at the wheel' (Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 87; rare acc. of direction), perhaps involving some torturous interrogation in capital cases (ibid. 115); similarly Alp (*JCS* 6:95–8 [1952]), who anachronistically assumed the (medieval European) penalty of breaking on the wheel; rare transitive use of *haliya-*, thus 'they kneel down before the wheel (= court?)', i. e. beg its mercy (Neu, *Interpretation* 34); *hurki-* = either 'sun-disk' or more probably 'throne circle', thus 'they kneel at the royal seat of judgment' (Imparati, *Parola del Passato* 14:117–23 [1959], *Leggi ittite* 321–4).

In view of KUB IX 1 II 32 *nu* ^{G1S}DUBBIN *halāi* 'he starts the wheel turning', *halenzi* is from *halai-* 'set in motion' (q. v.), rather than from *haliya-* 'kneel' (cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 74:188 [1954]). It is by no means certain that the accused are the subject of *halenzi*

(cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:545). Much rather it is 'they', i.e. 'the authorities', as is often the case in the Code: 'they set in motion the h.', i.e. they crank up the legal machinery of the king's court. Rather than part of a mere metaphor for 'start the wheels of justice turning', *hurki-* is probably the actual term for the tribunal (cf. the Sacred Roman *Rota* as the ecclesiastical court of final appeal), whatever its emblematic or locational source may be. Cf. also *KUB* I 1 I 36 ANA^{GIS} DUBBIN lamniyat '(my brother Muwatallis) called me to the h.' (Götze, *Hattusilis* 10), with the duplicate reading *KBo* III 6 I 31 + *ABOT* 62 ANA^D DUBBIN lamniyat (cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 29; Hattusilis' misadventure was a calumniously instigated treason-trial; the probable sacral symbolism of *hurki-* is underlined by the divine determinative). Von Schuler (*Festschrift J. Friedrich* 470–1 [1959]) compared expressions like *KUB* XXXI 68 Vs. 16–17 *nu-wa-mu-za-kan* ANA^{GIS} GIGIR katta halzāis 'he called me down to the chariot' (cf. R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* N.S. 40:23 [1962]) and suggested for ^{GIS}DUBBIN a metonymous sense 'chariot'; one may compare Skt. *ratha-* 'chariot' beside Lat. *rota* 'wheel' and imagine that in field-conditions the king or a commander could hold court-martial from his war-chariot; perhaps as an extension thereof a specific "sacred" chariot was employed 'at the king's gate' (see s.v. *aska-*) and 'moved up' (*halai-*) to set the stage for judgment. Cf. Puhvel, *Bi. Or.* 37:204 (1980), *Kratylos* 25:138 (1980).

hurki- is from IE **H₁wer-g-* 'turn, twirl, rotate' (*IEW* 1154), perhaps the regular outcome of **H₁wrgi-* (cf. H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:74 [1973]); cf. Ved. *vrj-* 'twist', *vrjinā-* 'curved, crooked', OE *wrencan* 'turn, wind'. Kronasser (*Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough* 112 [1957], *Pokorny BIK* 47, *Etym.* 1:211) and Schmitt-Brandt (*Entwicklung* 85) suggested the same root-connection but untenably discounted the etymological value of the laryngeal and tied in Hitt. *wawarkima-* 'door-hinge' (q.v.) as well. Cf. Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:42–5 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 216–9 (1981). Ivanov (*Etimologija* 1977 146–7 [1979]) adduced Toch. A *wärkänt-* 'wheel' which had been previously connected with Skt. *vrj-* (cf. Van Windekens, *Le tokharien* 559).

O. Szemerényi (*KZ* 73:75 [1955]), positing an improbable *ur* < **r*, derived *hurki-* from **H₁rgi-* (IE **ergh-* 'run' in *IEW* 328).

hurkil- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hur-ki-el* (*KUB* XIII 30, 3 and 7). *hu-u-ur-ki-el*, *hu-ur-ki-il*, *hu-u-ur-ki-il* in *Code* 2:87–91, 95–96, denoting severe sexual offences such as bestiality and incest; *hur-ki-il* in *IBOT* II 117 IV 2–3 (emended from dupl. *KBo* XII 115 Rs. 2–3) *mān UKÜ-as hurkil iyazi* [*nu-za DUMU.SAL-ŠU NIN-ŠU*] *AMA-ŠU dāi* 'if a man commits h. (in that) he takes his daughter, his sister, or his mother'; *hur-ki-el* in *KUB* XXX 67, 9 *nasma hurkel iyan harzi* 'or he has committed h.' (cf. Laroche, *CTH* 171); *hu-ur-ki-il* in *LVIII* 78 III 8–10 *HUL-lu alwanzatar ēs[har ...]* [*lingāen hurkil* [...]] *[GAM]-an arha zennesdu* 'let put an end to evil sorcery, bloodshed, perjury, and h.'; *hu-ur-ki-el* in *KBo* XXI 35 I 4 (cf. *ibid.* 8 *wentas* 'raped'); *hur-ki-il* in *XIII* 109 III 10 (immediately preceded [*ibid.* 9] by *ANZELLU* 'tabu' and followed by *papratar* 'defilement'); *hu-u-ur-ki-il* in *KUB* XXX 34 IV 18 (*ibid.* 17 *inan ēšhar* 'disease [and] bloodshed'; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Oriens Antiquus* 16:230 [1977]); gen. sg. *hu-ur-ki-la-as* (*XIII* 2 III 11–14 *karūliya-* *ya mahhan KUR.KUR-kan anda hurkilas ishiūl iyan kuedani-as-kan URU-ri kuaskir n-as-kan kuwaskandu kuedani-ma-as-kan URU-ri arha parhiskir n-as-kan arha parhiskandu* 'and as from old times in the countries the statute covering h. is laid down: in a town where they used to put to death, let them keep on putting to death, but in a town where they used to banish, let them keep on banishing'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47; *XII* 63 Vs. 21 *hurkilas LÚ.MEŠ*, *ibid.* 22 *LÚ.MEŠ hurkilas* 'men of h.', who are told to undertake but who fail to execute fantastic tasks; cf. Friedrich, *Orientalia* N.S. 13:208–9 [1944]; Pedersen, *JCS* 1:60–1 [1947]), abl. sg. *hur-ki-la-za* (*KBo* XIII 109 II 11, preceded [*ibid.* 10] by *ANZELLU* and followed by *paprannaza*), *hu-ur-ki-la-za* (*XXII* 166 Rs. 11, with gloss-wedges). Cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Ges.* 112–3; Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:324; H. A. Hoffner, *Orient and Occident. Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon* 81–90 (1973).

Friedrich's rendering 'abomination, enormity' is unsatisfactory, since *hurkel* was essentially a sexually based capital crime (cf. Goetze, *ANET* 196); exceptions are either attenuations (e.g. *Code* 2:96) or concessions to foreign tradition (as in *KUB* XIII 2 III 11–14 above). Cf. OE *wyrgan*, OHG *wurgen* 'strangle, throttle', ON *virgill*, OE *wurgil* 'rope', MHG *würgel* 'strangler', Lith. *veržiū* 'constrict', IE **H₁wer-gh-* (*IEW* 1154), with *hurkel* thus meaning approximately 'hanging matter' (**H₁wrgĥ-* perhaps regularly yielding *hurk-*; cf. s.v. *hurki-*). The *hurkilas* LÚ.MEŠ (= *pesnes*) in

hurkilas
LÚ.MEŠ/pisnes
Puhvel 1981
45411.

the sense of 'men of strangulation' are matched by Luw. acc. pl. *hur-ki-la-as-si-in-za* LÜ.MEŠ-in-za (*KUB* XXXV 148 IV 13) and paralleled by ON *vargr*, OE *wearg*, OHG *warg* 'robber, criminal' (lit. 'strangler', also 'wolf' in ON); their assigned exploits include (*KUB* XII 63 Vs. 26–27) catching a wolf with their hands and a lion with their knees, and bringing a snake to the king's gate for judgment. Cf. W. Petersen, *JAOS* 59:179 (1939); Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85; Puhvel, *Die Sprache* 17:42–5 (1971) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 216–9 (1981), *Festschrift für E. Risch* 151–5 (1986); M. R. Gerstein in G. J. Larson et al. (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* 134–5 (1974); M. Jacoby, *wargus*, *vargr* 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf' 95 (1974); A. R. Bomhard, *RHA* 31:111 (1973 [1976]). For the possibility that the *hurkilas pesnes* were passive homosexuals fit to be strangled, but potentially decriminalized and rehabilitated by substitute strangling of wild beasts, and Old Germanic parallels, see Puhvel, *Festschrift für E. Risch* 154–5.

Neither Götze's old meaning 'death penalty' and oft-repeated connection with *har(a)k-* 'be destroyed' (*ZA* 36:255–6 [1925]; despite *KUB* XXX 34 IV 18 *hürkil arha ... harakdu*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 9:15 [1948–9]) nor Alp's anachronistic tie-in with *hurki-* (q. v.) as 'breaking on the wheel' (*JCS* 6:95–8 [1952]) is probable, nor is the similar attempt by Imparati (*Parola del Passato* 14:123 [1959], *Leggi ittite* 322) to explain *hurkel* as a Hittite derivative from *hurki-*. H. Eichner's comparison of *hurkel* (< **Awrg-él*) as 'crookedness' with Ved. *vṛjiná-* 'crooked' (*MSS* 31:73–4 [1973]) also tied it in with the root of *hurki-*.

O. Szemerényi (*KZ* 73:72, 79 [1955]), assuming an improbable *hur-* < **Hr-* (as an alternative to *hur-* < **Hwur-* < **Hwr-*), hesitantly compared "Iranian *argant-* 'disgusting'," i. e. Avest. *arəyant-*.

^{act} ^{acc} ^{acc}
hurnai-, *hurniya-* 'spray, sprinkle', 1 sg. pres. ct. *hur-na-mi* (1808/c, 6), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-ni-ya-zi* (*KBo* X 45 II 15 [nu] *wappuwas im-an* ^{us} *yà-it lāl-it hurniyazi* 'he sprays the mud of the bank with oil [and] honey'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:122 [1961]), *hur-ni-e-iz-zi* (*VBoT* ^{us} 58 IV 24 *n-at ištū yà dūg.ga hurniezzi* 'sprays them [viz. items of furniture] with perfume'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:86 [1965]), *hur-ni-ya-iz-zi* (*KBo* XXII 125 II 4), 1 pl. pres. act. *hur-na-u-e-ni* (*KUB* XXXII 117 Rs. 9–10 + *KBo* XIX 156 Vs. 17–18 *anda*

DUG *GIR.KIŠ-ya hurnaweni akūss-a* [... DU] ^G *GIR.KIŠ-ya ish[uwa]wāni* 'we spray into the bowl and pour stones into the bowl'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222), 3 pl. pres. act. *hur-na-an-zi* (*KUB* XXXVIII 32 ^{us} Vs. 9–10 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-kan *sanhanzi hurnanzi* DINGIR-LUM *war[panzi]* '[they] flush [and] spray the temples [and] bathe the ^{us} deity'; *KBo* XXIV 46 I 6), *hur-ni-ya-an-zi* (e. g. *KUB* XLI 30 III ^{us} 9 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-kan *parā sanhanzi hurnianzi*; XXV 24 II 8 ^{us} *lukatti-ma-kan* É DINGIR-LIM *sanhanzi hurnian[zi]* 'but in the morning they flush [and] spray the temple'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 244; IX 15 III 5–7 *nu-kan* É DINGIR-LIM *parā sanhanzi daganzipus* *tattarānzi nu* É DINGIR-LIM *andurza arahza hurnianzi* 'they flush out the temple, scrub the floors, and spray the temple inside [and] outside'; similarly *ibid.* 14–15 *arahza andurza hurnianzi*; 254/d, 2 *pappar[sanzi] hurnianzi* 'they sprinkle [and] spray'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 189), 3 sg. pret. act. *hur-ni-it* (1808/c, 9), 3 sg. imp. act. *ha-ar-ni-ya-ad-du* (sic *KUB* LVI 48 I 18 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-ya-kan *parā sana[hd]u harniyaddu* 'let him flush out [and] sprinkle the temples'; for variation see s. v. *hulukanni-*; perhaps a "reverse resolution" of the *har/hur* sign into its lectio frequentior, rather than cause for scrapping *hurnai-* for *harnai-*; wrongly Neu, *Altheth.* 2:55 [*StBoT* 26, 1983]; S. Košak, *ZA* 78:148 [1988]); verbal noun nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hur-ni-e-es-sar* (*IBoT* III 1, 28–30 UG-ULA LÜ.MUHALDIM *hurniēssar peskizzi* LUGAL-us GUNNI-i 3-ŠU *pessezzi* 'the head chef gives a spray, the king throws three times into the fireplace'), *hur-ni-es-sar* (*ibid.* 31, 39), *hur-na-i-sar* (*KUB* LVIII 50 III 8 and 14), *hur-na-a-i-sar* (*ibid.* 11; cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8:90–2, 98 [1976]).

hurnuwai- 'spray', 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-nu-ū-i-iz-zi* (*KUB* XVII 24 II 4 É-TIM *hurnuuizzi* 'sprays the house'), *hur-nu-zi* (XLVII 39 Vs. 12; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:461), 3 pl. pres. act. *hur-nu-wa-an-zi* (e. g. *KBo* XIII 179 II 9–10 *n-at-kan sanhanzi namma-at hurnuwanzi* 'they flush [the houses], and also spray them'; XXIV 45 Vs. 22 *namma* É DINGIR-LIM *ser katta* ^{GIS} *huimpaz hurnuwanzi* 'further they spray the temple up and down from the h.'; cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:105 [1983]), *hur-nu-an-zi* (*KUB* XXIX 7 I 36, 46, 56 *nu-za warpanzi* É DINGIR-LIM-ya-kan *hurnuanzi* 'they bathe, and spray the temple'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 119–20); partic. *hurnu(w)ant-*, nom. sg. c. *hur-nu-u-wa-an-za* (XXX 19 I 9–10 + XXXIX 7 I 15–16 ^{GIS} *tarses-ma karū udan[za ... KÜ.BAB]BAR GAR.RA namma-as hurnūwanza namma-[as ... and]a GUI-ahhantes*

ha-ar-...!



h-m-r-
No context
messem!



The semantic environment fairly well circumscribes *hurnapista-* as a psychic or psychosomatic affliction., Despite the assured reading *hurna-* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:35 [1967], *JAOS* 87:357 [1967]), *harnapista-* wrongly figured in M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:492, 505–6 (1982), with a connection to *harna-* 'stir.

agitate'. Probably a compound *hurna-pista-*; the first part bears comparison with *hu(wa)rna-* 'hunt, chase', the latter may have root affinity to *pessiya-*, *piss(iy)a-* 'throw'; perhaps a hunting term in figurative use.

hurpasta(n)-, hurpusta- (c.) 'leaf, peel', abl. sg. *hu-ur-pa-as-ta-az* (KBo XXI + KUB XXIX 7 Rs. 37 *kās-wa mahhan suppiwashar*^{SAR} *hurpastaz anda hūlaliyanza* 'as this onion (is) wrapped in its skin'; cf. Goetze, JCS 1:318–9 [1947]; Lebrun, *Samuha* 123), acc. pl. *hur-pa-as-ta-nu-us* (KUB XXIX 1 IV 17–19 ^{GIS}*eyan mahhan uktūri iyatniyan nu hurpastanus arha ūl ishuwai* 'as the *eya*-tree is evergreen and does not shed its leaves' (cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:502 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:160 [1982]), *hurpāstānus* (dupl. Bo 5621 IV 13), dat.-loc. pl. *hur-pu-us-ta-as* (KUB XVII 35 IV 5, 8, 14, 31, with gloss-wedges [except 14]).

Plausible cognates are Lat. *verbēna* (< **werbes-nā*) 'leaves and saplings for sacral use', -*verbustus* 'beaten with twigs' (cf. *verbera* < **werbes-*), Lith. *viřbas* 'twig, sprig, switch', Russ. *verba* 'osier', Gk. *ῥάβδος* 'twig, rod', *ῥάμνος* 'thorn-bush' (IEW 1153). Cf. Neu-mann, KZ 77:79 (1961); Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:43, 197, *Pokorny BIK* 46; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85; H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:75 (1973). **H₁wr̥b-*, seen in Baltic, Slavic, and Greek, may regularly yield Hitt. *hurp-* (cf. s.v. *hurki-*); Eichner's (loc. cit.) reconstruct **Hw̥rbhos-to-* (> *hurpasta-*) may fit Latin, but not Greek, and *verbēna* has other possible explanations (e.g. **werdhes-no-*; cf. O. Szemerényi, *Festschrift für F. Altheim* 1:180–1 [1969]). For the suffix part cf. *alkista(n)-* 'bough', *hattalkesna-* 'thorn-bush', *tapalkustana-* (a plant).

Meriggi (WZKM 53:201 [1957]) compared the obscure Luw. ^{GIS}*huwarpann[a* of KUB XXXV 132 II 3 (cf. *Dict. louv.* 173).

hursakniya- 'stew, bake, roast, be parched', 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-ur-sa-ak-ni-e-it-ta* (KBo VI 34 II 8), 3 sg. imp. midd. *hu-ur-sa-ak-ni-ya-ad-da-ru* (ibid. 15). Context: *kī-wa-kan* ^{UZU}*SA mahhan hassī anda hursaknietta ... n-as* ^{UZU}*SA-as iwar hursakniyaddaru* 'even as this sinew stews on the hearth, he shall stew like the sinew'. Cf.

Friedrich, ZA 35:164 (1924); Neu, *Interpretation* 61; Oettinger, *Eide* 8, 30.

Perhaps denominative from a **hursakna-* or **hursakni-* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:497). Čop's analysis **hur-sk-n-* and connection with *harra-* (Ling. 8:59 [1966–8]) are otiose, as are H. Wittmann's speculations about (*pa*)*hhur* and Arm. *hur* 'fire' (*Die Sprache* 19:41–2 [1973]).

Possibly borrowed in Arm. *xoršak* 'sunstroke, sunburn'. Cf. T. Schultheiss, KZ 77:219 (1961); J. A. C. Greppin, *Initial vowel and aspiration in Classical Armenian* 53 (1973), *Handes Amsorya* 87:71 (1973).

hu(r)uppi- (c.), a kind of dish or bowl, in plural also a kind of bread, nom. sg. *hu-ur-ru-pi-is* (Bo 4999 IV 5 *n-asta* ^{DUG}*hurrupis anda tarnanza* 'an h. [is] introduced'), *hu-u-up-pi-is* (dupl. 69/d III 2 -]ta ^{DUG}*hūppis* [...-a]anza; cf. Ehelolf, ZA 43:172 [1936]), acc. sg. *hu-u-ru-up-pi-in* (KUB XLVI 47 Vs. 13 and Rs. 17 *ša* ^{DUG}*hūruppin BIBRI.HLA-ya hūmandus* 'the storm-god's h. and all rhyta'), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-up-pi* (XLIII 30 III 17 *ANA UGULA* ^{LJ}*UMES* ^U*hūb hūppi-ssi suhhanz[i* 'they pour [them] into the h. of the chief of the deaf'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 78; KBo XXI 33 III 9 *ANA hūppi*; cf. Laroche, RA 54:191 [1960]), nom. pl. *hu-u-ru-pi-us* (KUB XLI 41 V 18 ^{NINDA}*hūrupiuss-a kiyanta* 'and h.-bread have been placed'), acc. pl. *hu-u-ru-pi-us* (ibid. 20–21 ^{SAL}*AMA.DINGIR-LIM* ^{NINDA}*hūrupius LUGAL-i kattan ish[uw]āi* 'the mother divine strews h.-bread before the king'), *hu-ru-pi-us* (XX 80 III 7–8 *ta-ssi* ^{SAL}*UMES* ^{ha}*z-garāi* *menahhanda tiyanzi* ^{NINDA}*hurupius-si kattan ishuwānzi* 'the women percussionists step towards him and strew h.-bread before him'; similarly XX 81 I 10 ^{NINDA}*huru]pius kattan ishuwai*; XX 7 Vs. 5 ^{NINDA}*hurupius katta[n]*). Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 163 (1974).

For the instability of intervocalic *r* cf. e.g. *pi(r)an*, *pu(r)ut* (KBo VI 16, 3 [= Code 2:10] *pu-u-ut*), *huwa(r)a-*, or conversely its parasitic hiatic appearance in e.g. *a(r)impa-*, *sa(r)āuwar* (cf. Götze–Pedersen, MS 31). The semantic range 'bowl' : 'bread' recalls that of *harsi-* (q.v.) or French *boule*.

Patent loanword from Akk. *huruppu* (a metal dish; CAD H 256; AHW 360) via Hurrian (with KUB XLVI 47 Vs. 13 and

Rs. 17 ŠA ^DU *hūrūppin* [quoted above] cf. XXVII 1 III 41 [Hurr.] ^DU-up *hu-ru-up-pi*, XXVII 6 I 10 [Hurr.] ^DU-uppi *hu-u-ru-up-pi*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 34:115 [1976]). The bread name or epithet *huppassi-* (KBo XXIX 172, 10 1 NINDA *hu-up-pa-as-si*, ibid. 9 *hu-u-up-pa-as-si-us*; XXIX 173, 5 NINDA.III.A *hu-u-up-pa-as-si-i*[-]) may reflect **hu(r)uppassi-* (cf. e.g. NINDA *harnantassi-* [s.v. *harna-*], NINDA KUR₄.RA *hauiaassi-* [s.v. *hau-*]).

hurutai- verb ↓

hurutil- (n.), name of a dish, nom.-acc. sg. *hu-ru-ti-el* (e.g. KBo IV 13 III 13 and 14 ^{UTUL}*hurutel*, ibid. 8 *hurutel*; KUB II 8 II 3, 9, 15, 19, 22 ^{UTUL}*hurutel*), *hu-ru-ut-ti-el* (ibid. 6), gen. sg. *h[u]-ru-ti-li-ya-as* (sic KBo XXV 79 IV 14, in a list of vases; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 157), instr. sg. ^{UTUL}*hu-ru-ti-li-it* (IV 13 III 18).

Possibly derived from the obscure verb seen in 3 sg. pret. act. *ar-ha hu-ru-ta-it* (KUB XVI 34 I 14; perhaps 'tip over' [vel sim.]), iter. 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-ru-te-es-kān-zi* (XXXI 100 Vs. 24). Recalls other opaque terms for dishes such as *hapalzil-*. Speculation about affinities to *hu(r)uppi-* (Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:224) or *hu(wa)rti-* (Lebrun, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 112 [1979]) is otiose.

husa- (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *hu-u-sa-as* (KUB V 11 I 51), acc. sg. *hu-u-sa-an* (V 17 II 14). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 214.

Recalls Akk. *husū* (a kind of owl; CAD H 258; AHW 360). For other oracular bird names lacking the 'bird' determinative see also s.v. *harrani-*.

husa- (c. or n.), a leather object installed upon an ox, acc. sg. *hu-sa-an* (KBo VI 2 IV 10–11 [= Code 1:78] *takku GUD-an kuiski kussanizzi nu-sse-an* ^{KUS}*husan nasma* ^{KUS}*tarusha anda dāi ishas-(s)is-an wemizzi* 1 *PARISI ŠE pāi* 'if someone hires an ox and installs on it a leather h. or t., and its owner finds it, he gives 1 p. of grain'), *hu-u-sa-an* (dupl. VI 3 IV 3–4 *kuis[ki] kusanizzi nu-ssi-kan* ^{KUS}*hūsan* [... *ta[rusha anda dāi ishas-sis-an wemiyazi*; VI 10 II 9–10 [= Code 2:25] *takku* ^{KUS}*hūsan nasma* ^{KUS}*tarush[a] kuiski tayezi* 1 *GIN KÙ.BABBAR pāi* 'if someone steals a leather h. or t., he gives one shekel of silver').

Perhaps ^{KUS}*husa-* is fundamentally the same word as ^{GIS}*huesa-*, *husa-* 'spindle' (q.v.), thus even tying in alternatively with Van

Windekens' hesitant comparison of ^{KUS}*husa-* with Skt. *uṣṇīṣa-* 'head-band' and *uṣṇihā* 'nape' (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 341–2 [1981]); some twined or twisted piece of harness may be involved.

hussil(i)-, husselli-, hussulli- '(Lehm)grube' s. 32:424⁶¹ w. l. t. 'pit, dump' (AŠRU; cf. *api-* 'pit' = AŠRU [HED 1–2:100]), nom. sg. (?) *hu-us-si-i-il* (KUB XXXV 146 II 3 *pa[ngauwas hussil* 'public dump' [?]; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 268), gen. sg. *hu-u-us-si-li-ya-as* (KBo XXXII 19 II 29–31 *sarāzzīyas-a wahmuēs-sa[r arha hūssiliyas iwa[r sakkuri]yemi* 'the walling of the acropolis I shall lay low like a pit'; cf. Neu, *Documentum Otten* 237) (dat.-loc. sg. *hu-us-si-li* (KUB XXXI 100 Rs. 8–10 *nu k[amarsuwas uddani mekki nahl[antes ēsten] [nam]ma-kan* ^{URU}*Hattusi ser hassus le* [...] [n]asta [has]sus katta sallai hussili-pat [...] 'in the matter of defecation be very concerned; furthermore up in Hattusas do not [pour] ashes, [pour] ashes only into the main dump below'), *hu-us-si-li-ya* (KBo III 8 II 13 *hussiliya-wa*; ibid. 12 *hussil[iya harizzi* 'buries in a pit'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:150 [1961]), *hu-u-us-* (XXV 105 I 6 *anda sallī hūs[-* 'inside the main dump'), *hu-us-su-ul-li* (KBo XXIV 57 I 7–8 *ē-r-a-kan PANI DINGIR-LIM sanhanzi nu hassus ina hussulli ishuwa[nzi* 'the house before the deity they flush and pour the ashes into the pit'), *ina AŠRI* (dupl. XXIII 42 I 8 *nu hassus ina AŠRI*; cf. *nu-us apiya ishūwai* [s.v. *hass-* 'ashes']), abl. sg. *hu-us-si-li-az* (KUB XXIX 23, 13 [= Code 2:10] *hussiliaz purut kui[s-]*, *hu-u-us-si-el-li-ya-az* (dupl. KBo VI 11 I 18 *takku hūsselliyaz pu[r]ut kuiski dāiyazi* 'if someone steals clay from a pit'), dat.-loc. pl. (or gen. sg.?) *hu-u-us-si-li-ya-as* (KUB XII 39, 3), *[hu]-u-us-si-li-as* (ibid. 10), *hu-us-su-ul-li-ya-as* (IBoT I 12 I 4–5 *anda sallayas hussulliyas*; ABoT 6, 23 *salla[yas hussulliyas]*). For the man's name *Hu-si-li-ū-ma-an* see Laroche, *Noms* 258. Cf. also F. Gentili Pieri, *Atti La Colombaria* 47:24–33 (1982), for ritual implications of this pit.

Recalls in formation Hurroid words like *sehelli-* (cf. Čop, *Ling.* 6:44 [1964]; Neu, *Documentum Otten* 237). Furnée (*Erscheinungen* 252, 257) saw a Greek borrowing in Hes. *κυσέπη* 'open hole, bottom'.

Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 342 [1981]) improbably compared German *wasen* 'sod,

hu-us-si-li-ja-as
(K. 32. 29 @ 16)

> *Košak // Čop.*
Eine Bedeutung
„Aborte, Latrine
erbringt sich“.

chd, p, ioba knuch
over?
> *Košak // Čop.*
(m) stožen?

turf' (OHG *waso*). No better was H. Eichner's connection with IE *aw-s- 'draw (up)' (Gk. *aōw*, Lat. *hauriō*, ON *ausa*) in the sense of 'source of clay' (in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie* 127 [1980]).

huski- 'wait (for), linger, procrastinate', 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-us-ki-si* (KBo V 13 III 17–18 and dupl. KUB VI 41 III 36 nu AWAT^DUTU-ŠI le *hūskisi* 'do not wait for word from my majesty'; dupl. KBo IV 3 II 13]^DUTU-ŠI *hu-u-us-ki* [sic]; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:126), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-us-ki-iz-zi* (Bo 4951 Rs. 21 -]san *parā huskizzi*; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 126), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-us-kān-zi* (KUB XXXI 101 Vs. 14 *n-an ūl apiya-pat huskanzi* 'do they not wait for it [viz. the bird] right there?'; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:137 [1975]), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-us-ki-it* (XII 31 I 16–17 *istantait kuit nu* ^DUTU-ŠI *ūt kuitki huskit* 'because he had [already] tarried, my majesty did not wait any [longer]'; cf. Götze–Pedersen, *MS* 6; Lebrun, *Hethitica VI* 105 [1985]), 2 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-us-ki-it-tin* (XXXI 101 Vs. 15 *sumes-a* ^{MUSEN} *k[uw]at ūl hūskittin* 'and why did you not wait for the eagle?'), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-us-ki* (KBo V 13 II 29–30 nu AWAT^DUTU-ŠI *hūski nu-tta mahhan* ^DUTU-ŠI *hatrāmi* 'await my majesty's word, as I the king write to you'; similarly *ibid.* III 11); verbal noun *hu-us-ki-u-wa-ar* (I 44 Vs. 20, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *qa-ma-ū* [i.e. *qawū*, *qu'u* 'wait']; cf. *MSL* 17:102 [1985]); deverbative adj. *huskiwant-*, nom. pl. c. *hu-us-ki-wa-an-te-es* (I 11 Rs. 14 ¹Lariya²⁹ *huskiwantes* 'the procrastinators of L.'; cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 44:122, 129 [1938], and for formation e.g. *armawant-* [*HED* 1–2:155], *kartimmiyawant-*, *nahsariyawant-*).

huski- is clearly a hidden iterative of the type seen in *iski-* (**is-ske-*; *HED* 1–2:423) or *duski-* (**tus-ske-*). The semantic thrust is not '(be) expect(ant), look forward (to)' but rather 'stick around (for), stay (for)', akin to *istantai-* with which it is paired. Hence the comparison with Skt. *āvati* 'help', Lat. *avē-* 'be eager' and their cognates (from Götze–Pedersen [*MS* 51] via Sturtevant [*IHL* 41, 62] to Kronasser [*Pokorny BIK* 46]) was flawed; IE **A₂éw-A₂-* is seen rather in *iyawa-* (*HED* 1–2:353–4). No better were Čop's tie-in with *hai-* 'believe' (see s. v.) or H. Eichner's adduction of the IE 'ear' word (*MSS* 31:87 [1973]; endorsed by Oettinger, *Stammбилдung* 328), let alone the combinations with *au(s)-* 'see' which ignored the laryngeal (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 71; still in Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 46).

This leaves as the most plausible etymology the interpretation of *huski-* as an old iterative **A₁us-ske-* of *hues-* 'live' (e.g. Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.* 54, 109; Kurylowicz, *Études* 74; Kronasser, *VLFH* 46), semantically specialized as 'stay, linger' (like Skt. *vāsati* and Toch. *wās-*), vs. the stress on 'be alive' in *hues-* (with its innovated iterative *hueski-*). The secondary potential transitivity inheres in the marked semantics (cf. Engl. 'wait' but 'await, outwait').

huski- has been dubiously compared to Arm. *hskem* 'watch, go sleepless' (T. Schultheiss, *KZ* 77:221 [1961]; G. B. Jahukyan, *Hay-erenā ev hndevropakan hin lezownerā* 155 [1970]; J. Greppin, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3:88–9 [1975]). For earlier attempts by G. Kapancjan to explain *hskem* via *skem* 'see' (tying the latter in with Hitt. *uski-*, iter. of *au[s]-* 'see') see Weitenberg, *Kratylos* 23:88 [1978]).

hust(i)- (c.), nom. sg. *hu-u-us-za* (78/e Rs. 18 *hūsza-ma-at parkunuma[s]* 'but it [is] h. of cleansing'; KBo XI 14 I 19 nu ^{GIS}ERIN YĀ.NUN LĀL *hūszas[-a?]* *samesiyazi* 'cedar, butter, honey, and h. is burning'; cf. Neu, *Interpretation* 150), *hu-us-ti-is* (XII 85 II 7–9 nu-k[an] *hustis GIM-an KALAG.G[A] KALAG.GA-as ēsdu* 'even as h. [is] strong, may he be strong!'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 138), *hu-u-us-ti-is* (V 2 I 37–38 ^{NA₄}ZA.GIN *tepu* ^{NA₄}GUG ^{NA₄}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL *tepu hūstiss-a tepu* 'a little bluestone, a little carnelian, a little alabaster, and a little h.'), acc. sg. *hu-us-ta-an* (KUB X 63 Rs. 10–11 nu-ssi-sta ^{LÜ}SANGA *hustan ser arha wahnuzzi* 'the priest swings h. above her'; cf. M. Vieyra, *RA* 51:88, 100 [1957]; KUB XXIII 23 Vs. 31 *huppānnin hustann-a dahhu[n]* 'I took *huppānni* [obscure] and h.'; *ibid.* 65 *huppānnin hustann-a se[r] arha wahnuzzi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 206–10), *hu-us-da-an* (KUB XXVII 29 I 18–19 *n-asta anda* ^{NA₄}*huppānnin husdann-a wahnuwānzi*), *hu-u-us-ta-an* (*ibid.* 25 [^{NA₄}*huppānnin* *hustann-a ser arha wahnuwānzi*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136; KBo XVII 61 Vs. 9 *hūstan ser arha wahnuskizzi* 'keeps swinging h. above'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 42, 50–1), *hū-ās-ti-in* (V 2 IV 20–23 ^{NA₄}ZA.GIN ^{NA₄}GUG ^{NA₄}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL *tepu dāi hūstin* ^{GIS}ERIN ^{GIS}SINIG *tepu dāi n-at-san ANA DUG* *kuskussulli katta kūsūfzi* 'takes a little bluestone, carnelian, and alabaster, takes a little h., cedar, and tamarisk, and pounds them with a pestle'), instr. sg. *hu-us-ti-it* (XXIII 1 II 2–5 *n[u]* DINGIR-LAM *īštu* ^{MUSEN} SÜR.DÜ.A ^{MUSEN} 1 MAŠ.TUR ^{MUSEN} HURRI ^{NA₄}*hustit wahnuwānzi EGIR-anda-ma DINGIR-LAM sehiliyas uiteit*

inal. Hant: 50
hūsza - hux' -
nd hoc.
(antat + kocuu rufut)



suppiyahhanzi 'they swing at the deity with an eagle, a falcon, one kid, a sheldrake, and h., but afterwards they cleanse the deity with purification water'; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 45; *KUB* XXXI 31 + XXXII 14 IV 37–39 É.DINGIR.MEŠ-ya hūmanda iŠTU A^{MUSEN} SÚR.DÙ.A^{MUSEN} hapupit MUŠEN HURRI hustitt-a wahnūwanzi sehelliya^{30.41} uitenaz suppiyahhanzi 'and all temples they swing at with eagle, falcon, owl, sheldrake, and h., [and] they cleanse with purification water'; *IBOT* III 52, 3–4 n-an^{LÜ} AZU iŠTU MUŠEN HURRI [h]ustit wetenazz-ya [wa]hnūzi 'the medicine man swings at him with sheldrake, h., and water'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 250; *KBo* XXII 161 Rs. 3–4 iŠTU MÁŠ.GAL nasma UDU wahnūzi EGIR-anda-ma hustit wahnūzi 'swings with a goat or sheep, but afterwards swings with h.'; *KUB* XXIX 8 II 7–8 hustitt-a ... wahnūwanzi; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 43; XVII 8 III 1 hustit wahnūwanzi; *KBo* XIX 140, 11 h]ustit wahnūwanzi; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 42), hu-u-us-ti-it (*KUB* XXIX 4 III 65 namma DINGIR-LAM hūstitt arha wahnūwanzi 'then they swing at the deity with h.'; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 28). For the syntactic transformation 'swings a bird at him': 'swings (at) him with a bird' see H. C. Melchert, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9:247–8 [1981]).

Hurr. nom. sg. hu-us-ti (*KUB* XLVII 10, 13 hup]panni husti āhra zuppa[ri 'huppanni, h., incense, torch'; *KBo* II 21, 12–13 assuhhinase anti itki[...], husti siyena DINGIR.MEŠ 'fir, clean[se] ..., h., water, gods'), hu-u-us-ti (*KUB* XLV 18 Vs. 15 tisi-yas hūsti [with gloss-wedge] 'their heart, h.'; XLVII 12 III 9 hu-u-us-ti-wu_u-wa-a-an), dat. pl. hu-us-te-na-a-sa (XXVII 38 II 24).

hust(i)- with its very occasional 'stone' determinative was hard ('strong') but could be crushed in a mortar along with quartz-like minerals and various woods, and burned together with wood, butter, and honey; it was ritually manipulated in swinging fashion along with assorted birds and animals, accompanied by purification with water. There is merit in A. M. Polvani's hypothesis (*La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti* 18–27 [1988]) that *hust(i)-* was amber, with reference to Pliny's discussion of the manifold medical uses of highly flammable amber (*chryseletrum*) either tied to the patient or pulverized and ingested with honey and water (*Natural History* 37.51). The therapeutic combination of *hust(i)-* with animal matter further reminded her of the amber-like gemstone called *lyncurium* (crystallized lynx urine according to Pliny, *Natural History* 8.137); the confusion came easy, even as amber is a vegetal fossil resin,

whereas *ambergris* (the original meaning of Arabic *anbar*) is of animal origin (flotsam consisting of intestinal sperm whale secretion).

Because of the root noun *hust-*, chances are that it is a native Hittite term, with *husti-* a hurrianized stem variant. If the meaning is indeed 'amber', it joins such various amber terms as Gk. ἡλεκτρον (cf. the solar epithet ἡλεκτρον), Lith. giūtaras, Balto-Finnic helmi, Germano-Latin glēsum (OE glār), and Latin sūcinum. ^{Palvel/Fs med}

hustisk- 'whisper', 3 pl. pres. act. hu-us-ti-is-kán-zi (e.g. *KUB* XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 20), hu-us-te-is-kán-zi (e.g. *ibid.* III 27–28 ^{LÜ} MEŠ ALAM.KAXUD [ah]ā halzissanzi memian-ma husteskanzi 'the actors shout the exclamation but whisper the word'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 74–6; XXX 19 I 40 + XXX 22, 5 ^{LÜ} ALAM.KAXUD ah]ā h]alzianzi memian husteskanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 34; XXX 24 II 10–11 and 21–22 ^{LÜ} MEŠ ALAM.KAXUD ahā halzianzi memian-ma husteskanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 60; XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 III 34–35 ^{LÜ} MEŠ ALAM.KAXUD ahā QATAMMA halzianzi memian QATAMMA husteskanzi), hu-~~us~~-te-es-kán-zi (e.g. *ibid.* 49–50 memian-ma husteskanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 42–4; XXX 25 + XXXIV 68 + XXXIX 4 Vs. 26 ahā halziyanzi memian-ma husteskanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 26; XXXIX 7 II 43 halz]iyanzi memian-ma husteskanzi), hu-u-us-ti-is-kán-zi (e.g. *ibid.* 46 me]mian-ma hūstiskanz; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 38; XXX 23 + XXXIX 13 II 10; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 74), hu-u-us-te-es-kán-zi (XXXIX 17 III 8–10 ^{LÜ} MEŠ ALAM.KAXUD [...] ahā halziyanzi memian-ma hūsteskanzi; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 86).

Rather than an iterative of a **hustiya-*, the invariant *hustisk-* may be a phonesthetic formation recalling English *whisper* or Finnish *kuiskata* 'whisper'. The near-synonym *tastasiya-* shows blatant onomatopoeic reduplication, like e.g. Lat. *susurrō*, Italian *bisbigliare*, Spanish *cuchichear*, French *chuchoter*.

A relationship to Skt. *ōṣṭha-*, Avest. *aošta-*, Khotanese *auṣṭā* 'lip' (Tischler, *KZ* 86:276 [1972], *Glossar* 317), even keeping apart Hitt. *ais-* 'mouth', is unlikely ('lip' is Hitt. *puri-*). Even less probable was Oettinger's adduction (*Stammbildung* 328) of *A₁ews-* 'ear' (Lat. *auris*, etc.), assuming a sense of 'harken' for *hust-* (sic) and erroneously including *huski-* 'wait, linger'.

huta- (c. and n.) 'readiness, ability to act swiftly', nom. sg. c. *hu-u-ta-as* (KUB XXIII 1 IV 20–21 ANA^DUTU-ŠT-ya-as GIM-an *hūtas upahiless-a* [both with gloss-wedges] *tuqq-a-as QATAM[MA]* *hūtas upahiless-a* [both with gloss-wedges] *ēdsu* 'as for my majesty it [viz. military positioning] [matters in terms of] readiness [and] preparation [?]', let it likewise be to you [a matter of] readiness and preparation [?]; cf. Sommer, *AU* 324–5; Kühne–Otten, *Šaušgamuwa* 16, 47–8), *hu-u-da-as* (XXVI 17 I 5 *apiya-ya hūdas ēstu* 'there too let there be readiness'; KBo XVI 25 I 46 *hūmanti-ya hūdas ēstu* 'and let everyone have readiness'; cf. A. M. Rizzi Mellini, *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata* 524 [1979]; KUB XIII 20 I 7 *hūmandas hūdas ēdsu* 'let all have readiness!'), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-u-da* (ibid. 19 *nu hūmanza hūda hardu* 'let everyone have readiness!'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:388–92 [1947]; XXI 47 + XXIII 82 Vs. 18 *nu hūmanza hūda hardu*; unclear KBo XXII 105 Vs. 9–10 *hūda-ya-war-a-smas* [...] *nan ēstu*).

[*huta-*] 'straightway, forthwith, downright, readily, right away, at once, promptly, quickly, suddenly', spelled *hu-u-ta-ak* (e.g. KUB XVII 7 III 16 *nū-wa hūtak uwattin* 'come at once!'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:154 [1951]; XLIV 63 II 6–8 *n-an-kan hūtak SAG.DU-an* [...] *mān 1-ŠU mān 2-ŠU GUL-ahzi nu-ssi-kan ishar arha tarnai* 'he forthwith strikes his head either once or twice and lets blood from him'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 28; KBo XXI 76 r. K. 8; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 24), *hu-u-ta-a-ak* (XXVI 73, 6; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 52), *hu-da-a-ak* (KBo XXV 139 + KUB XXXV 164 Rs. 7; cf. Neu, *Alitheth.* 226), *hu-u-da-ak* (e.g. KUB XXXI 84 III 68–69 *nu-ssi AŠRA hūdāk hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a place'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 50; XXVI 1 III 45–46 *summes-(s)mas kuyēs* LÚ.MEŠ^{SAG} *hūdāk kā ēstin* 'you chiefs who were here right away'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14; KUB XII 65 + KBo XXVI 71 III 7 *nu-wa hūdāk ehu* 'come at once!'; ibid. 10 *n-as-kan sarā hūdāk arāis* 'he rose up forthwith'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 50; KUB V 1 I 23 *nu* ^{URU}DUTU-ŠT INIM ^{URU}Taptenaya ū INIM ^{URU}Hursama *hūdāk DŪ-zi* 'his majesty forthwith deals with the business of T. and of H.'; ibid. II 34 ^{URU}DUTU-ŠT *hūdāk-pat* ^{URU}Hurnan ^{URU}Tasmahan RA-zi 'his majesty strikes H. [and] T. at once'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:36, 56; XXII 25 Vs. 19–21 *parā-ma-za-kan* ^{URU}Neriggaz *arha ariyami mān kururHIA hūdāk RA-mi mān-za EZEN wuruliyas hūdāk DŪ-mi* 'further I shall get an oracle from Nerik whether I should forthwith strike the enemy or

whether I should right away celebrate the *purulli* festival'; cf. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 176; XXI 19 + 338/v III 12–13 KUR^{URU} *Nerik hūdāk-pat karuiliyas ANA LUGAL.MEŠ karū harkanza ēsta* 'once under the ancient kings Nerik had gone down to sudden ruin'; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 314; D. Sörenhagen, *AoF* 8:94 [1981]; XXVII 29 I 23 [*nu-za* ^{SAI}Š]U.GI *hūdāk ārri* 'the old woman quickly washes herself'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 136; KUB XIV 20 + KBo XIX 76 I 28 *karūwariwar-ma hūdāk IMBĀ[RU katt]*a *udās* 'at dawn [the storm-god] suddenly brought down a fog'; cf. Götze, *AM* 194; Houwink Ten Cate, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* 162 [1979]; KBo XIV 12 IV 2 [*nu-wa-mu s*]umās *hūdāk idalu iyattin* 'you suddenly did me evil'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:97 [1956]; IV 7 III 7 *memi*[an] *hūdāk iŠPUR* 'he forthwith sent word'), *hu-u-da-a-ak* (e.g. dupl. IV 3 II 24, KUB VI 41 III 48; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:128; XV 31 II 12 *hūdāk-ma-za* ^{GIS}AL *dāi nu pedāi* 'he forthwith takes a mattock and digs', besides dupl. XV 32 II 6–7 *hūdāk-za* ^{GIS}AL *dāi*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 156; XIII 2 I 6 *nu memian hūdāk udanzi* 'they bring word at once'; ibid. II 46 *n-an EGIR-pa hūdāk iyandu* 'they shall forthwith reappoint him'; ibid. III 41 *nu-ssi pitta hūdāk hinkandu* 'they shall forthwith allot him a land-grant'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 41, 46, 49; VBoT 1, 19–21 *n-asta* ^{LÜ}halugatalla-ttin *ammell-a* ^{LÜ}halugatallan *EGIR-pa parā hūdāk nai* 'send back quickly your envoy and that envoy of mine'; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 4:335 [1956]; KBo V 3 IV 20–21 *nu-mu-ssan mān hūdāk ŪL ertenī* 'if you do not come to me at once'; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:134; KBo III 2 Vs. 22 *lukkatta-ma-as karū ārriwar hūdāk tūriyazzi* 'in the morning at daybreak he promptly harnesses them'; cf. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia* 128; KUB XIV 1 Rs. 18 *nu-wa-za QATE.MEŠ-ka zik hūdāk ēsharnut* 'bloody thy hands forthwith!'; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 24; LVII 63 I 6–8 *nu-wa-za mahhan hūdāk ārrahhi nu-wa-mu* ^{TUG}NIG.LĀM-ya *parā hūdāk pāi* 'as soon as I have washed myself, give me my raiment right away!'; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16; XIII 4 II 75 *nu nekuz mēhūni hūdāk GAM paittin* 'at night go down promptly'; ibid. III 72–73 *n-as-kan lukkatti DINGIR.MEŠ-as adannas mēhūni hūdāk aru* 'in the morning, at the gods' eating time, let him arrive promptly'; ibid. IV 4 *n-a*t *hūdāk mēhūnas mēhūni pe hartin* 'tender them promptly at the proper time'; ibid. IV 40 *n-at* DINGIR.MEŠ-as *hūdāk udattin* 'bring it promptly to the gods!'; ibid. 43–44 *mān huelpi DINGIR.MEŠ-as hūdāk ŪL udatteni n-at sum[s] hūdāk izzatteni* 'if you do not bring the newborn promptly to the gods and you

huta- (66:32:53)

promptly eat them'; *ibid.* 49–50 *mān-wa-za kī huwelpi anzel za-ni hūdāk piyawēn* 'if we promptly gave this newborn to ourselves'; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380–94 [1934]).

The adverbial formation *hutak* was juxtaposed with *zinnuk* 'finally, at last' already by Hrozný, *SH* 180; adverbial *-k* has been compared with Gk. *περί* 'all around', *πόκα* 'when', *ἀντίκα* 'forthwith' (Josephson, *RHA* 24:148–9 [1966]) and further recalls adverbs of the type *γνός*, *πός*, *λάξ*, *ὀδάξ*.

huta- (**E₂ewdho-*, with *E₂*- as in e. g. *hark-* 'get lost', *harna-*, *henk-*, *hewu-*) is the etymon of the hitherto isolated Gk. *εὐθύς* 'straight', adverbially 'straightway, forthwith, at once'. *εὐθύς* has a Greek semi-homophone and near-synonym in *ἰθύς* 'straight' (cognate with Ved. *sādhati*, *sidhyati* 'go straight, succeed', *sādhū-*, *sidhrā-* 'successful'), where, however, adverbial *ἰθύς*(*ς*) means predominantly 'straight' in a directional rather than temporal sense. The problematic *εἰθαρ* 'at once, forthwith' may reflect **E₂ewdhwr* similar in development to *ἰπνός* < **ὑπνός* (see s.v. *huppar-*) or *εἴπον* (**wewk^{om}*) or *αἰίδω* (**A₁ewd-*).

hutanni- (c.), acc. sg. in *KUB* XV 11 III 16 *nu 1 hu-ga-an-ni-in* (sic) *KÙ.BABBAR 1 hu-u-ta-an-ni-in GU[ŠKIN]* 'one silver h. (and) one gold h.' (cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:51 [1972]), dat.-loc. sg. (mostly Hurroid) *hu-da-an-ni* (*X* 91 III 2), *hu-ta-ni-ya* (*KBo* VIII 89 Vs. 2; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 264), *hu-u-ta-an-ni* (*IBoT* III 148 II 28 and 31), *hu-u-ta-an-ni-ya* (*ibid.* 23 and 27; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 218; *KUB* XV 37 II 2; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 232), *hu-u-da-an-ni* (*IBoT* III 148 II 24), *hu-u-da-ni-ya* (*ibid.* IV 10), *hu-u-da-an-ni-ya* (*ibid.* II 65 and IV 14). ^{DUG}*hu-da-an-ni-ya* (cf. *ibid.* 32.155–16) ^{with rare} ^{Lacking the} ^{DUG} determinative, *hutanni-* is not ^{just} a container (wrongly Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:221; Tischler, *Glossar* 319) but a cult object, even deified (cf. *KBo* XI 1 Vs. 4 ^D*Huzzi* ^D*Hutanni halziyawen* 'we have invoked H. [and] H.'), in Hurrian or Hurroid contexts (cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 80–1; Laroche, *RHA* 34:110–1 [1976]).

HUTANU- nom. s. 32.185f.

huthutal- name or epithet of bread, nom.-acc. sg. neut. (?) *hu-ut-hu-ta-al* (*KUB* XLIV 52, 7 2 *NINDA huthutal*), nom.-acc. pl. neut. (?) *hu-ut-hu-u-ta-la* (*LVI* 55 I 30 2 *NINDA huthūtala*; *ibid.* 23 2 *NINDA huthut[-]*), *hu-ut-hu-u-ta-al-la* (*XXIX* 4 II 60 2 *NINDA huthūtalla*), *hu-u-ut-hu-ud-*

-da-a-la (dupl. *XXIX* 6, 7 2 *NINDA hūthuddāla*; cf. Kronasser, *Umsiedelung* 20; *ZA* 71:127 [1981]).

Perhaps derived from Akk. (Hurr.?) *huthutu*, a commodity designation at Alalah which was bartered with emmer wheat (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 163–4 [1974]).

hutk- ^{??} variant of *hatk-*, verbal noun *hutkessar*, gen. sg. *hu-ut-ki-is-na-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 49 I 3 *hutkissnas karapta* 'lifted [or: devoured] [feelings] of stress'; for further context see s.v. *hurnapista-*); iter. *hutekkiski-* (cf. *hatkiski-*), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-te-ik-ki-is-kān-du* (*XXXI* 100 Vs. 9), *hu-u-te-ik-ki-is-kān-du* (*ibid.* 11).

For the *hatk-* : *hutk-* variation see s.v. *hapallasai-*, *hulukanni-*; perhaps *hutkessar* and *hut(ek)kiski-* reflect **hatkuessar* and **hatku-eski-*, with anticipation of labiality, from a denominative **hatkuwai-* from *hatku-* 'tight, strait, stressed'. ^{Kronasser} cf. *taks ~ takkēss* - (N only?) ^{7 Košak // Fs Čop (nominal HTE) 'ein Bedeuten' 'nicht machen' 'würde im Kontext von Baumgarnen gut passen'.}

hutnikki- (c.), a container for honey, nom. sg. *hu-u-ut-ni-ik-ki-is* (*KBo* V 1 II 45 1 ^{DUG}*hūtnikkis LAL* 'one h. of honey'; cf. Sommer–Ehelolf, *Pāpanikri* 8*), acc. sg. *hu-ut-ni-ik-ki-in*, dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ut-ni-ik-ki* (*KUB* XXXIX 12 Rs. 15–16 *tekan pedanzi nu 1-EN* ^{DUG}*hutnikkin* [...] [...] ^{DUG}*hutnikki anda lahūwanzi LAL* 'they dig the earth and one h. ...; they pour into the h.; honey ...'; cf. Otten, *Totenrituale* 70).

Areal culture term, reminiscent of Akk. *huttu* (storage jar for cereals or oil; *AHW* 362), perhaps of Hurrian derivation. Cf. *hutusi-*.

huthutal - see *huet* - 'draw'.

hutusi- (c.), a container for wine, nom. sg. *hu-u-tu-si-is* (*KUB* XII 1 IV 25 ^{DUG}*hūtusis GUŠKIN GAR.RA* 'wine-jar inlaid with gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:102 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 448), *hu-u-tu-si-i-is* (*XXXVIII* 2 III 21–22 *ša GEŠTIN-pat hūtusis andurza KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA* 'wine-jar inlaid with silver on the inside'; cf. von Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter* 8, 45).

Culture term reminiscent of *hutnikki-* (q.v.) and Akk. *huttu* (a storage jar). For the woman's name ^{SAL}*Hudusis* (Laroche, *Noms* 340) cf. *RS* 25:421 Recto 20 *haliwanis-ma-as si[G₃-anza]* 'she (is) a good vessel' (cf. *HED* 1–2:224).

hu(wa)hhurti- ^(wo) (c.), hurhurta- (n.) 'windpipe, throat', (nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut. *hur-hur-ta* (KBo XII 96 I 9–11 *ais-za-kan* YÀ-it *sūwanza ēs* UZU *hurhurta-ma-za-kan* *halwamnaz sūwanza ēs* [partitive apposition] 'have your mouth filled with fat, may your throat swell with enthusiasm!'; cf. Rosenkranz, *Orientalia* N.S. 33:239, 245 [1964]), acc. sg.) c. *hu-uh-hur-ti-in* (KUB VII 1 III 14–16 *n-an* EME-ŠU *huikdu n-an* UZU *huhhurtin huikdu n-an* UZU *pappassalin huikdu n-an* UZU GAB K1.MIN *n-an* UZU *hahhari* K1.MIN 'let her conjure his tongue, let her conjure his windpipe, let her conjure his esophagus, his breast likewise, his lung[s] likewise'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:158 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:171 [1965]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ah-hur-ti* (VII 18, 1 *hūwahhurti-si* 'to [?] his [?] throat'; uncertain case *hu-uh-hu-ur-ti[-* (KBo XXI 6 Rs. 9 EME-as *apel huhhurti[-* 'tongue, his throat ...'), *hu-u-wa-ah-h[u-* (KUB VIII 36 III 1 *hūwahh[u-*; cf. *ibid.* 2 and 6 *SUHALU* 'cough'; cf. Burde, *Medizinische Texte* 38).

hu(wa)hhu(wa)rtalla- (n.) 'necklace', (nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-uh-hu-ur-tal-la* (KUB LVIII 59 I 8 1-NUTUM *huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN NA₄ 'a set of necklaces of gold [and] stones'), *hu-uh-hur-ta-al-la* (RS 25:421 Recto 24 *huhhurtalla-a[s]* 'she [is] a necklace', matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *šurhullu* 'necklace'; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5:773, 777 [1968]), *hu-uh-hur-tal-la* (KBo XVIII 170 Vs. 4 1-NUTUM *huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN NA₄; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109 [1982]; KUB XLII 43 Vs. 7 1-NU *huhhurtalla* GUŠKIN; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 112; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 484; XLII 69 Vs. 20 1-NUTUM *huhurtalla*; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 458), *hu-wa-ah-hu-wa-ar-ta-al-la* (XV 23 Vs. 14–15 KILILU GUŠKIN [...] *hūwahhuwartalla* [with gloss-wedge] 'a gold wreath [as?] necklace'; cf. Güterbock, *Orientalia* N.S. 25:129 [1956]; P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:62–3 [1972]). Cf. the semi-synonym *kuttanalli-* from *kuttar*.

Luw. genitival adjective acc. pl. in KUB XXXV 88 III 16–17 UZU *hu-hur-ta-a[s-sa-an-za]* GIG-za 'throat-ailments' (cf. Starke, *KL TU* 227).

**hu(wa)r-hu(wa)rt-* is a typical reduplicative body part designation, similar to *pappassala/i-* 'esophagus' or *hahhari-* 'lung', with close areal matches in Skt. *phupphusa-* 'lung' or Arm. *xaxurt* 'windpipe'; sometimes these can be traced to nonreduplicated stems (e.g. Hitt. *pas-* 'swallow' or Gk. *φῦσάω* 'puff', even as Hitt. *gakkartani-* 'shoulderblade' matches the nonreduplicated OHG *herti*); possibly

hu-ur-hu-ur-ti (cf. KUB 59.76.17)

dupl. KUB 22.128.1 + 145.4 KUB 52.2 + 350.2.13
hu-ur-hu-ur-ta-an (cf. KUB 67.59.77)

instr. sg.
hu-wa-ah-hu-wa-ar-te-it (KUB 19.54.14)

cf. *hahhari* 59

**hu(wa)rhu(wa)rt-* is derived from *hu(wa)rt-* (q. v.) as 'voice organ' (vel sim.); cf. KBo XII 96 I 10–11 UZU *hurhurta-ma-za-kan* *halwamnaz sūwanza ēs* 'may your throat swell with enthusiasm!'.
hu-u-e-an-zi (KUB 59.49.16)

huwai-, huya- 'run, hurry; grow, spread (of vegetation)', -*kan* *huwai-* 'escape', *appan huwai-* 'run behind; back up, sustain' (cf. *appa[n]* *es-*, *appan iya[ttari]*, *appa[n]* *tiya-*; KUB I 16 II 5 *nu-ssi appan huwaisk[imun = I 15 I 4–5 [Akk.] ina kutalli-šu [as] anahhar-šu* [from *sahāru*] 'I have constantly backed him up'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 2–3, 35, 205), very frequent *pi(r)an huwai-* 'run ahead, lead the way, help along' (with dative; cf. Zuntz, *Ortsadverbien* 100–2), *ser huwai-* 'run over, observe' (of eyes), 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-ih-hi* (KBo XI 19 Vs. 14; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 316), *hu-u-i-ya-mi* (256/1969, 5; dupl. KUB I 1 IV 10, with gloss-wedges; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-si* (V 1 III 55; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 16; Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:72), *hu-u-e-ya-si* (XV 23, 9; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3:61 [1972]), *hu-u-ya-si* (Bo 2828 I 21; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 216), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-i* (KBo XXVII 42 I 24; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:55), *hu-u-wa-i* (e.g. *ibid.* II 17; KUB II 3 I 43; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:63; KBo IV 9 IV 14 and 33 *piran hūwai*; VI 3 I 56 [= Code 1:22]), *hu-wa-a-i* (e.g. VI 34 II 40–41 *wel[tuw]as anda welkuwa le hūwāi* 'in the meadows grass shall not grow'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:164 [1924]; Oettinger, *Eide* 10), *hu-u-wa-a-i* (e.g. KUB XXIV 13 III 13 *na-as-si EGIR-an namma* UZU *iskisaz hūwāi* 'she then runs behind his back'; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 106; XXV 9 IV 17; KBo III 40a, 8; V 4 Vs. 40; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:58), *hu-u-wa-iz-zi* (V 9 II 40; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:18), *hu-u-ya-zi* (KUB XIV 3 III 51; cf. Sommer, *AU* 14), 3 sg. pres. midd. *hu-u-i-ya-at-ta[?]* (XXI 1 III 65; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:76), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-u-e-ni* (XXIII 83 Vs. 4–5 ANA LÜ.MEŠ URU *Hatti piran huuiyaweni* 'we will [take the lead in] help[ing] the people of Hatti'), 2 pl. pres. midd. in XXIII 72 Rs. 20 *warras udda[ni] sumes mahhan parā huyadduma* 'as you take the initiative in a matter of assistance', 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-ya-an-zi* (e.g. KBo XI 32 Vs. 9; V 6 II 3), *hu-ya-an-zi* (e.g. *ibid.* 34; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:92–3 [1956]), *hu-u-ya-an-zi* (e.g. XI 48 Vs. 4 and 7), *hu-u-i-an-zi* (XI 32 Vs. 15), *hu-u-wa-an-zi* (e.g. IV 2 II 26), *hu-u-wa-ya-an-zi* (Bo 6570 II 4; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 65; KUB LVII 84 III 16; cf. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74:256 [1984]), 3 pl. pres. midd. *hu-wa-ya-an-da-ri* (XXXIII 88, 11 [with

dupl. *IBoT* II 135, 9–10] *āssiyatar-ma-ssī*] UR.TUR.MEŠ GIM-an EGIR-an *huwayanda*[ri 'but loves run like puppies behind her'; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:238 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:57 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54), *hu-ya-an-da* (*KBo* VIII 102, 11 SAL. LUGAL-ri *piran huyanda* 'they lead the way for the queen'), *hu-ya-an-ta* (*Bo* 4767, 3 and 8), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-e-eh-hu-un* (*KUB* XXXIII 57 II 3; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:150 [1965]), *hu-u-i-ya-nu-un* (e.g. XIV 15 III 43–44 ANA KARAŠ.HI.A GİR-it *piran huuiyanun* 'I marched on foot before my armies'; similarly XIX 39 II 4 *hu-ya-nu-un*); cf. Götze, *AM* 54, 162), *h[u-u-e-nu-un* (*KBo* XXII 5 Vs. 9; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 7), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-is* (e.g. III 4 II 31 *n-as-mu-kan hūwais* [with gloss-wedges] 'he escaped from me'; *KUB* XIX 39 II 11 *nu-mu* ^{DU} BELI-YA] *piran hūwais* 'the storm-god my lord led the way for me [= helped me to victory]'; cf. Götze, *AM* 50, 164), *hu-u-wa-a-is* (e.g. *KBo* X 2 I 30 *piran hūwāis*, matching X 1 Vs. 14 [Akk.] *irṭub alakam* 'went steadily'; cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi classici e orientali* 14:46, 76 [1965]; III 6 II 9, 21–22; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 10–2), *hu-wa-i-is* (*KUB* XVII 10 I 13 *sēr-a-sse-ssan halenzu huwayis* 'above him spread overgrowth'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:90 [1965]), *hu-wa-is* (XIV 1 Rs. 60; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 32), *hu-wa-as* (*KBo* II 6 III 56), *hu-wa-it* (*KUB* XXIII 72 I 17), 2 pl. pret. act. *[hu]-u-i-ya-at-tin* (XXXVI 6 I 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:38 [1968]), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-wa-a-ir* (e.g. I 16 III 45 *mases]-a-kan huwāir* 'and how many escaped?'; cf. Sommer, *HAB* 14), *hu-u-wa-ir* (e.g. XIX 39 II 5; cf. Götze, *AM* 162), *hu-u-wa-a-ir* (e.g. XXIII 21 Vs. 28; *KBo* V 6 I 27; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 10:91 [1956]), *hu-i-e-ir* (e.g. passim in *AM*), *hu-u-i-e-ir* (e.g. passim in *AM*), *hu-u-e-ir* (*KUB* XIX 18 I 4 and 27), 2 sg. imp. act. (?) *hu-u-i-ya* (*KBo* X 24 III 16), 3 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-a-ū* (*KUB* XLIII 38 Rs. 22; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 20); partic. *huuiyant-*, *huiyant-*, *huiyant-*, *hūyant-*, *huyant-*, *hūwayant-*, *hūwant-*, nom. sg. c. *hu-u-i-ya-an-za* (e.g. I 1 II 39 *piran huuiyanza*; *KBo* V 8 I 12–13; cf. Götze, *AM* 148), *hu-u-ya-an-za* (e.g. *KUB* XIII 4 III 13; cf. Sturtevant, *JAOS* 54:380 [1934]), *hu-ya-an-za* (e.g. XXXI 84 III 61 *hūm]andass-a* IGI.HI.A-ŠU *ser huyan-za ēstu* 'let everyone's eyes be trained'; cf. Alp, *JKF* 1:121 [1950]; von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 49), nominalized ^{LU}*huyan-za* 'fugitive, refugee, escapee' (e.g. XXIII 72 Rs. 13 and 56; XIV 1 Vs. 34; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 8), *hu-u-wa-an-za* (e.g. VIII 65 I 4; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:60 [1968]), acc. sg. c. ^{LU}*hu-ya-an-da-an* (e.g. XXVI 17 II 4 *nu kuis* ^{LU}*huyandan wemiskizzi n-an appiskiddu* 'whoever finds a fugitive

shall seize him'; cf. Alp, *Belleten* 11:394 [1947]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-ya-an* (e.g. *KBo* XXV 23 Vs. 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 61), (nom. pl. c. *hu-u-i-ya-an-te-es* (e.g. *KUB* II 6 III 32), *hu-u-i-an-te-es* (e.g. *hu-ja-an-te-es* (e.g. *Ko* 10, 11 I 4) I.VIII 33 III 36; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 262), *hu-i-ya-an-te-es* (e.g. XXX 41 I 25), *hu-u-ya-an-te-es* (e.g. XXVIII 91 IV 9), *hu-ya-an-te-es* (e.g. *KBo* XXII 189 II 7), *hu-u-wa-ya-an-te-es* (IV 9 I 6 and 36; *ibid.* IV 37), *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* (*KUB* XI 20 II 18), (acc. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-an-du-us* (XXXIII 117 I 13; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:79 [1968]), (nom.-acc. pl.) neut. *hu-ya-an-ta* (e.g. *KBo* X 11 I 5), inf. *hu-i-ma-an-zi* (XV 33 III 13); verbal noun gen. sg. *hu-u-i-ya-u-wa-as* in *KUB* II 1 II 25 (cf. IV 27) *ša Labar]na piran huuiyauwas* ^{DLAMA-ri} 'to L's tutelary god of forerunning (= help)' (cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:96, 109 [1975]); iter. 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-is-ki-iz-zi* (X 52 I 2), *hu-u-e-es-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo* XI 51 III 9; cf. E. Badali, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 2:69 [1985]), *hu-es-ki-iz-zi* (III 34 II 23), *piran hu-wa-a-i-is-ki-wa-an dāi* 'begins to help' (III 40a, 9; cf. O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 176 [1987]).

Caus. *hu(u)inu-*, *hu(w)enu-*, *hunu-* 'make run', *piran huinu-* 'send ahead (troops), dispatch (auxiliaries)', *ser huinu-* 'cause to be raised, dispel', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-mu-mi* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 20; *KBo* VII 14 Vs. 18), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-zi* (e.g. *KUB* V 1 I 19; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:34), *hu-u-i-mu-zi* (e.g. IX 4 II 12), *hu-u-i-nu-uz-zi* (XXIX 1 I 41; cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]; M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]), *hu-u-e-nu-uz-zi* (IV 47 Vs. 34 *ser huwenuzzi*), 1 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-um-me-ni* (XVII 28 I 15), *hu-i-nu-me-ni* (*VBoT* 24 I 31; cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 58:8 [1927]), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-i-nu-an-zi* (e.g. *KUB* LIII 14 II 8; cf. *AoF* 11:41 [1984]), *hu-i-nu-wa-an-zi* (e.g. X 91 II 7), *hu-u-i-nu-wa-an-zi* (e.g. LIII 6 II 12; cf. *AoF* 11:81 [1984]), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-i-nu-nu-un* (e.g. IX 4 II 18 and 20), 3 (3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-i-nu-ut* (e.g. *KBo* III 6 II 32 and dupl. *KUB* I 1 II 51; *KBo* III 4 II 69; cf. Götze, *AM* 62), *hu-i-nu-ut* (e.g. *KUB* XIV 1 Vs. 63; cf. Götze, *Madd.* 16), *hu-e-nu-ū-ut* (*KBo* III 28, 19), 2 sg. imp. act. *hu-u-i-nu-ut* (e.g. V 4 Vs. 19, 20, 22; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 1:54–6), *hu-u-e-nu-ut* (IV 3 III 7; cf. Friedrich, op. cit. 1:132), *hu-u-nu-ut* (*KUB* XXI 1 II 66), *hu-nu-ut* (*ibid.* 72; cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:64), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-i-nu-ut-tin* (VII 41 IV 20; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:140 [1961]), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-e-nu-wa-an-du* (XL 57 I 6 *piran huwenuwandu*; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 60); verbal noun gen. sg. *hu-u-e-nu-ma-as* (*KBo* XXIV 14 V 7); iter. *hu(u)inusk-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *sarā hu-i-nu-us-ki-iz-zi* (*KUB*

XXXIII 115 II 7; cf. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* *22), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-u-i-nu-us-kán-zi* (XXVII 1 IV 14 *piran-ma*^{LÜ.MES} NAR ... *huuinus-kanzi* 'they make the singers move up'; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 84).

piran huuiyatalla- (c.) 'head-marcher, helper', nom. sg. *hu-u-i-ya-tal-la-as* (e.g. *KUB XIX 18 I 13 piran huuiyatallas-ma* ... [... *pira*]n *huuiyanza ēsta* 'as helper [so-and-so] had rendered aid'), acc. pl. *piran hu-u-i-ya-tal-lu-[us]* (I 1 II 28), *piran hu-u-i-ya-at-tal-lu-us* (dupl. *KBo III 6 II 12*; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 12). For Hom. *πρῶτω* 'run ahead' as a semantic calque on Anatolian ('abet, expedite' in *Iliad* 1:290–1) see Puhvel, *AJPh* 109:591–3 (1988).

**huwatt-* 'course' in the divine hypostasis *Huwattassi-*. Cf. Laroche, *Recherches* 69, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste* 342 (1975).

There is nothing visibly Luwian about the gloss-marked *hūwais*, rather the reverse, since *-hi* conjugation forms are problematic in Luwian. The gloss-form *huuiyami* may be either Luwian or Hittite, as may the hapax gloss-wedged dat. sg. *hūwayalli* ^{DUTU-i} 'to the fleet (?) sun-god' (*KUB VI 46 IV 53*), where, however, the duplicate (VI 45 IV 56) has *kutruī* ^{DUTU-i} 'to the sun-god as witness' (for the suffix *-alli-* see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:212). Luw. 3 sg. pret. *hu-u-i-ya-ad-da* (XXV 39 IV 8); redupl. 3 pl. pret. *hu-u-hu-i-ya-an-da* (ibid. 2), 2 sg. imp. *hu-u-e-hu-u-i-ya*, *hu-i-hu-i-ya* (XII 58 I 34, 35; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 10, 76); caus. 1 sg. pret. *hu-i-nu-wa-ah-ha* (XXXV 43 II 16 and 17; XXXV 20 Vs. 6 and 7; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 330, 144, 85). Cf. Laroche, *BSL* 53.1:195–6 (1957–8); *Dict. louv.* 46.

Hier. FOOT *hwaya(n)ta* or *hu(i)ya(n)ta* 'they ran' (?; cf. M. Kalaç, *Belleten* 32:329 [1968]; Neumann, *Festschrift H. Otten* 250–1 [1973]; Hawkins–Morpurgo–Neumann, *HHL* 152). Cf. also Oettinger, *MSS* 34:103–4 (1976).

The variant spellings point to /hway-/ and /hweya-/ as the basic stems. For various attempts to connect *huwai-* with *huwant-* 'wind' (q. v.) and IE **A₁w-ēE₁-* 'blow', see e.g. Couvreur, *Hett.* 119–20; Puhvel, *LIEV* 55–6; Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77:67–8 (1961); Ivanov, *Obščeeindoevropskaja* 91–2; Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 85–8; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 480–1. If there had been even a residual sense of 'blow' in *huwai-* (instead 'blow' is *parai-*, q. v.), a figura etymologica **huwanza huwāi* would have been as idiomatically irresistible as *RV* 4.7.10, 10.142.4 *vāto anuvāti* or OCS *vŭzvěašę větri* (*Zogr. Matth.* 7:25–27) or Goth. *waiwoun windos*. Cf. F. O. Lindeman, *IF* 73:161–2 (1968).

The most plausible etymology of *huwai-* was suggested by Sturtevant in *JAOS* 50:128 (1930) but soon abandoned in *Comp. Gr.*¹ 94: IE **A₁w-ēy(-H₂)-* (*IEW* 1123–4), seen in *RV vēti* 'set out for', *pada-vī-* 'fore-runner, leader', intens. *vevīyate* (*RV* 10.33.2 *vēr nā vevīyate matih* 'my mind takes flight like a bird'; cf. Luw. *huwe-huuiya*), Lat. *via* 'way', Gk. *ἔμαι* 'rush', etc. Thus e.g. *huwai* < **A₁wōye* (IE "perfect stem") and *huweyasi* < **A₁wēy-*. Cf. also E. Polomé, *Lg.* 28:454 (1952); Laroche, *RPh* 42:245–6 (1968); J. Schindler, *Die Sprache* 15:159 (1969).

Unrelated to this root is *uiya-* 'send, chase', the antonym of *piya-* (compounds with *u-* : *pe-*); wrongly Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.*² 38. For numerous other wayward and preposterous etymologies see Tischler, *Glossar* 324.

Cf. *huwantar(a)-*.

← Puhvel as runner, cf. WED, 5:144. HUWALA-Š 'a bird' → 'owl' OE *ūle* etc. Fortson // *Ser* 38/1, '96, 31 ff.

hu(wa)llis- (n.) 'cone' (of fir, pine, or other conifer), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-al-lis* (*KBo XI 32 Vs. 22 ta*^{GIS} *huallis* GAM 3-ŠU RA-zi 'he strikes down the cones thrice'), *hu-u-wa-al-lis* (ibid. 20 ^{LÜ.Ü.HÜB} ^{GIS} *irhu(y)az*^{GIS} *hūwallis* ME-i 'the deaf man takes cones from the basket'), *hu-u-wa-al-li-is* (*KUB VII 53 II 25–26* + XII 58 II 1 *kattan-ma-ssi hūwallis*^{DUG} *pahhunaliaz harkanzi* 'they hand down to her cones from a brazier'; cf. Goetze, *Tunnawi* 12, 79–84), *hu-wa-al-lis* (XXII 40 III 17 *PANI* ^{DUTU} ^{URU} *TUL-na huwallis* [with gloss-wedges] *kistanuanzi* 'before the sun-goddess of Arinna they extinguish cones'), *hu-wa-al-li-is* (XXXII 117 Rs. 11 + XXXV 93 Rs. 3 *hūwallis* NA₄.III.A] 'cones [and] stones' [cf. ^{NA} *passilus āandus* 'hot pebbles' preceding *hūwallis* in VII 53 II 22]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 222; XLV 20 I 18 *huwallis-wa-kan*; dupl. VII 58 I 1 *hu*]walli[s; IX 25 + XXVII 67 Vs. 2–5 *nu-ssan ANA*^{DUG} ^{LIŠ.GAL} SA₅ [*huw*]allis *ishuwahhi ser-a-ssan halkan karas ishuwahhi n-at-kan sanhuwanzi namma*^{GIS} *hu-wallis witenit kistanumi* 'I throw cones onto a red[-hot?] plate, I throw on barley [and] wheat, and they roast them; then I put out the cones with water'), *hu-ul-li-is* (par. XXVII 67 II 3–6 *nu-ss[an] hullis* ANA^{DUG} ^{LIŠ.GAL} SA₅ *dā[i]* *ser-a-ssan halkan karas ishūwāi n-at-kan sanhuwanzi n-asta hullis witenit kistanuzi*; par. ibid. III 7–10 *hūllis suhhāi* [... *halk*]in *karas ishuwāi* [... *sa*]nhuwanzi *namma-kan hullis* [witen]it *kistanuzi*; *KBo XVII 11 I 23 nu hass*]āz *hullis dāi* 'he takes cones from the fireplace'; cf. Neu, *Gewitterritual* 14, *Altheth.* 65; V 1 III 43–45 *nu-za* ... 1 NINDA.SIG *dāi serr-a-ssan hullis dāi*

serr-a-ssan ^{G15}ERIN YÀ INBI-ya dāi '[he] takes a flatbread, he puts on a cone, and he puts on cedar, oil, and fruit'; cf. Sommer – Ehelolf, *Pāpanīkri* 10*; XXI 23 I 20–21 ANA NINDA.SIG-ma-ssan 1 [...] GIN.GIN GUŠKIN 1 ^{SIG}ēsri hulliss-a dāi 'on a flatbread he puts one ... shekel of gold, one fleece, and cones'), *hu-u-ul-li-is* (XXI 33 IV 18; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:69), *hu-wa-li* (KUB XV 35 IV 40–41 *huwali-ya-kan* [...] [...] ^{G15}ERIN IZI-anzi 'and cones ... they burn cedarwood'), *hu-ul-li* (KBo II 9 IV 17 1 NINDA.SIG-kan istarna haddai nu-ssan ser hulli dāi 'he makes a hole in the center of a flatbread and poses a cone'). The rare *i*-stem forms are secondary developments; the basic neuter *s*-stem matches e. g. *nepis*-.

huwallissar (n.) 'cone-collection' (vel sim.), gen. sg. (?) *hu-wa-al-li-is-na-as* (KBo XVII 25 Vs. 10 *huwallisnas* NA₄[H1.A-as]s-a 'of cones and stones'; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 224), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-li-es-ni* (KUB XLV 5 III 15; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:111). For formation cf. e. g. *ispantuz-zessar*, *lalakuessar*, *tantukessar* (cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:290).

huwallissanant- (c.), animate derivative of the preceding, nom. sg. *hu-wa-al-li-is-sa-na-an-za* (KUB VII 58 I 2–5 [emended from dupl. XLV 20 I 19–21] *nu āanza* NA₄-as) [*huw*]allissananzass-a [GIM-an] *weteni anda taskupāizzi namma-as igaetta n-as karussiyazi* 'even as a hot stone and cone-pile hisses in water and then cools down and falls silent').

Even as e. g. Gk. *στροβίλος* (= *κῶνος* 'cone') is derived from *στρέφω* 'turn, twist', *hu(wa)llis*- is connectible with IE **H₁wel*- 'wind, twist' seen in *hul(a)*- (q. v.; cf. Schmitt-Brandt, *Entwicklung* 88; Tischler, *Glossar* 326); it formally reflects the same *s*-stem **H₁w/nes*- as is found in Gk. *ἀλής*, Aeolic *ἀολλής*, Elean *αφλάνης* 'gathered together, in a throng' (**sm-w/nēs*, literally 'constituting a roll-up'); for *ll* < **ln* cf. e. g. *wellu*- 'meadow' (< **welnu*-), *hulla*-

(s. v.). Rieken (338–401) inconclusively argued for a meaning 'charcoal', connecting *huwallis* with Arm. *gōl* 'heat' (հրմ խարամեզ անոթ, ու յնառնուր ուռաբէ քաւոյ շաւոյ).

huwalpant- (c.) 'humpback, hunchback', nom. sg. *hu-wa-al-pa-an-za* (KBo XIII 34 IV 3–5 [*t*]akku SAL-za hāsi n-as [...] *huwalpanza* [...] É LÚ-LIM *asiwante[szi]* 'if a woman gives birth and [the baby] [is] a hunchback, the man's house becomes impoverished' [the sequel of the teratology in column IV targets abnormalities of the ears]; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 28; 224/b 1–9; cf. *ibid.* 10 *hadukta* 'become terrible') KBo 34.27 I 9, besides *ibid.* 8 *hazzišsar* 'perforation', *ibid.* 10 *hadukta* 'of terror' // KBo 34.25 I 9 *hu-wa-al-pa-as* (1)

hu(wa)lpa(n)zina-, *hulpa(n)zena*-, *hulpanzana*- (c.) 'hump, protuberance, embossment', dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ul-pa-an-za-ni* (KBo XIII 31 I 6 *hulpanzani kitta* 'is located at the hump'; cf. Riemschneider, *Geburtsomina* 74, 79–80), nom. pl. *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-ni-es(-si-es)* (XVI 68 I 9 *hulpanzines-ses* KÜ.BABBAR 'its embossments [are] of silver'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:113), *hu-ul-pa-zi-e-ni-es(-mi-sa)* (XXX 20 III 6–7 *hulpazenes-(s)mis-a* [...] Û NA₄ZA.GIN *imiyan* 'and their embossments ..., and lapis lazuli mixed'), *hu-ul-pa-zé-ni-es(-mi-sa)* (*ibid.* 12 *hulpazenes-(s)mis-a* GUŠKIN Û ŠA KÜ.BABBAR 'and their embossments [are of] gold and of silver'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:116), *hu-wa-al-pa-zi-nu-us* (XVIII 159 III 5–6 30 MANA KÜ.BABBAR *išt[u ...] huwalpazinus* 'thirty minas silver from ..., embossments'; *ibid.* 3–4 21 MANA KÜ.BABBAR *išt[u ...] huwalpazinu[s]*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 101–2 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 300), *hu-ul-pa-an-zé-na-as* (KUB XII 1 III 28 *anda* 38 *hulpanzenas* GUŠKIN 'therein thirty-eight embossments of gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:100 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 444), *hu-ul-pa-an-za-na-as* (XLII 69 Vs. 25–26]GIR URU *Hatta arahzan[da ...] [...] 30 hulpanzanas* GUŠKIN 'swords of Hatti, all around ... thirty embossments of gold'; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 458; cf. *ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον* [*Iliad* 2:45], *φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον* 'silver-studded sword' [*Iliad* 23:807]).

hu(wa)lpa(n)zinai- 'emboss', partic. nom. sg. c. Luwoid *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-i-ma-an* (KUB XLII 69 Rs. 16]-un GUŠKIN *hulpanzinai-man* 'embossed with gold'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-u-wa-al-(pa-)zi-na-an* (KBo II 1 I 38 1 ^{URUDU}GIR TA GUŠKIN *hūwal(pa)zina* 'one bronze dagger embossed with gold'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:165), *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-an* (KUB XLII 39, 10; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 152 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 72), *hu-u-ul-pa-zi-na-an* (XLII 78 I 2; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:112 [1978]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 462), nom. pl. c. *hu-ul-pa-zi-na-an-te-es* (XII 1 IV 35 1-NU]TUM GUŠKIN *hulpazinantes* 'one unit embossed with gold'). Luwoid *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-i-me-es* (*ibid.* 34 6 KÜ^S.SIR.H1.A ŠA-BA 2 T[ABAL GU]ŠKIN *hulpanzinaines* 'six [pairs of] shoes, among them two pairs embossed with gold'), nom.-acc. pl. neut. *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-na-an-da* (KBo XX 47, 11–12 *nu-za* LUGAL-us *kuw[a ...] [hu]lpanzinanda wasiyazi* 'the king dons embossed regalia'); KUB XVIII 29 IV 5 GUŠKIN *hu-ul-pa-an*-.

Luw. *hu-wa-al-pa-na-ti-a-ar* (KBo IV 11, 41; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 340); *KUB* XXV 108, 21 HUR.SAG.HI.A-inzi *hu-wa-al-pa*- (cf. Starke, *KLTU* 240).

Starting with a *H₁w[h(h)]o- 'protuberance, boss, hump' (perhaps root-related to Skt. *ulbam*, lat. *volba* 'uterus, womb', Hitt. *huelpi*- 'newborn' [q.v.]), *huwalpant*- is either an "animate" -nt- derivative (cf. e.g. *nepis-ant*- 'heaven') or the participle of a denominative verbal derivate (like e.g. *arzanant*- from *arzana*- [HED 1-2:186]). Granted the Luwoid elements in further derivation (participle *hulpanzinaima/i*-), **huwalpanti*- (cf. e.g. Luw. *tappasanti*- 'heaven') could underlie the further derivative *hu(wa)lpanzina*-. An extra-Anatolian cognate of *huwalpant*(i)- 'humpback' may be the Gothic *u*-stem *ulbandus*, ON *ulfalde*, OE *olfend* 'camel', whose traditional connection with the etyma of 'elephant' leaves a lot to be desired; cf. further OCS *velibodŭ*, Russian *verbljud*, Polish *wielbłąd* 'camel' (an Anatolian borrowing source for *ulbandus* was suggested by O. Schrader; cf. S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* 515 [1939]; Lehmann, *GED* 375). Cf. Puhvel, *Ling.* 33:187-9 (1993).

hu(wa)ltaramma- (n.), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-wa-al-ta-ra-am-ma-an* (KBo XX 73 IV 2 *inan* SAG.DU-as *huwaltaraman* 'ailment, h. of the head'), *hu-wa-al-ta-ra-ma-an* (XVII 54 I 9 SAG.DU-as *huwaltaraman lāu* 'let him alleviate h. of the head'; cf. Haas, *Orientalia* N.S. 40:419 [1971]), *hu-u-ul-ta-ra-am-ma-an* (KUB IX 4 III 35 SAG.DU-as *hūltaramman mūdaiḍdu* 'let [the pig] flush away h. of the head'; cf. Haas-Wilhelm, *Riten* 56), *hu-ul-da-ra-ma-an* (Bo 4664 Rs. 4).

The nearest connection for this term for a head ailment seems to be the verb *hultai*- (q.v.), with *huwaltarai*- a denominative verb from a noun **huwaltara*- 'dominator, oppressor' (vel sim.), and *huwaltaramma*- a nominalized Luwian-type participle.

hu(wa)nhuessar, hunhu(wa)nessar (n.) 'wave(s), seas, flow', nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *hu-wa-an-hu-es-sar* (KUB XVII 10 I 24-26 *it-war-asta par-gamus* HUR.SAG.DIDLI.HI.A *sāh hārius-kan halluwamus sāh huwanhues-sar-kan kuwāliu sāh* 'go search the high mountains, search the deep dales, search the ^{flowing or seas} ~~azure~~ seas!'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 396; Laroche, *RHA* 23:91 [1965]; XXXIII 10 Vs. 2 *huwanhue[ssar]*, *hu-u-wa-an-hu-es-sar*

(dupl. XXXIII 9 II 8 *hūwanhue[ssar]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:105 [1965]), *hu-u-wa-an-hu-e-sar* (XXIV 7 III 25-26 GUD-us-za ... [...]) *hūwanhuesar mān halluwanut* 'the [charging] cow put [its head] down deep like a [breaking] wave'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:228 [1950]), *hu-(u)-wa-an-hu-is-sar* (XXXIII 33, 4 [huwal]nhuissar-kan *kuw[aliu]*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:125 [1965]), *hu-wa-hu-es-sar* (XXXIII 24 I 28 *huwahuessar-kan kuwalie*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:114 [1965]), *hu-un-hu-wa-na-as-sa* (KBo III 7 II 16 and 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:68 [1965]; Beckman, *JANES* 14:14 [1982]; for suffix cf. e.g. *hatriyasar* [s.v. *hatrai*-], *hazziyassar* [s.v. *hatti*-], *huittiyassar* [s.v. *huet*-]; for loss of -r cf. e.g. *hatriyēssa* [s.v. *hatrai*-]), *hu-un-hu-ni-es-sar* (KUB LIII 50 I 1-2 *mān-za-kan NIM.LĀL [antuh]san epzi nasma-za-kan hunhuessar e[pz]i* 'if a bee seizes [= stings?] a man, or a wave [= swarm?] seizes [him]'; XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 16 and 20; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:69-70 [1968]; XXXIII 33, 6 *hu[n]huessar-kan kul[iu]*, [dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-an-hu-is-ni* (KBo III 21 II 8-9 ^{De-A-as-} *kan huwanhuisni kuit hatriyēssa anda kidda* 'the decree of Ea which he has laid down in the seas'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), *hu-un-hu-es-ni* (KUB IV 8 Rs. 3-4 [KU₆-us]s-a-kan *hunhuesni* [and]a werites[k]izzi 'the fish moves fretfully in the waves'; cf. Laroche, *RA* 58:72, 76 [1964]), [abl. sg. *hu-u-wa-hu-es-na-az* (XXXIII 86 II 7-10 *nu-kan* ^{MUS} *Hedammus* [...] *hūwahuesnaz* SAG.DU-an [...] *nu* ^{DiSTAR-in} *austa* ^{DiSTAR-is} [...] *Ni.TE.MEŠ nekumanta sarā* [epta 'H. [raised] his head from the waves and saw Istar; Istar displayed her naked limbs'), *hu-u-wa-hu-e-es-na-az* (dupl. XXXVI 56 III 3; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 54), *hu-u-un-hu-e-es-na-za* (XXXVI 89 Vs. 28 *ha[ll]uwaza hūnhuēsnaza UGU ehu* 'come up from the deep wave!'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 146), *hu-un-hu-ni-es-na-an-za* (XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21 III 17).

[*hunhuesna*- (c.)], nom. sg. *hu-un-hu-es-na-as* (KUB XXXVI 12 II 7-8 *nu-kan arunaz arha sallis hunhuesna[s]* GAL-is *hunhuesnas* ANA ^{DiSTAR} *memiskizzi* 'out of the sea a great wave; the great wave says unto Istar'; cf. Ehelolf, *KIF* 395; Güterbock, *JCS* 6:14 [1952]).

[*hunhumant*- (n.)], nom.-acc. sg. *hu-un-hu-ma-az*-(zi)-si-it (i. e. *hun-human* + *si*; KBo III 8 III 1 *sallis id-as hunhumazzisit hami[kta]* 'the great river restricted its flow'; ibid. 20-21 GAL-is *id hunhumazzisit EGIR-pa lāttat* 'the great river loosed its flow'; cf. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7:157 [1961]; Laroche, *RHA* 23:169-70 [1965]).

The underlying derivational source seems to be a (probably neuter) reduplicated noun **hu(wa)nhu(wa)na*- possibly connectible ? *hunhullis* 58.32.2854.

with water-words such as the name of the largest lake in Sweden, *Vänern* (ON *Vēnir* < **Wēnjaz*; cf. Čop, *Indogermanica minora* 35–37). At the basis of phonetic deformations is a tendency to eliminate the second of three successive *n* sounds, either by suppression starting in *hunhu(n)esn-* (oblique stem or secondary thematization of *huwanhuwanessar*, *hunhuessar* [cf. e.g. *huwallissar* s. v. *huwallis-*]) or by dissimilation as in *hunhumant-* < **hu(wa)nhu(wa)na-nt-* (cf. e.g. *nekumant-* 'naked' < **neg*no-nt-* beside Skt. *nagná-*).

Arm. *xoxom* 'torrent' was inconclusively adduced by T. Schultheiss (KZ 77:220–1 [1961]) and G. B. Jahukyan (*Hayerenə ev hndevropakan hin lezownerə* 150 [1970]).

Of unlikely relevance is KUB XXXVI 25 IV 10 *hu-u-wa-hu-wa-na-la-as* (with gloss-wedges), apparent subject of (ibid. 11) 3 sg. pret. act. *wākit* 'bit', not to be separated from XXXV 165 Rs. 12 (Palaic) *hu-wa-an-hu-wa-ni-kat*, preceded by 3 pl. pret. act. *wa-aq-(qa-)kán-ta* (cf. Carruba, *Das Palaische* 19); most probably anatomical terms are involved.

huwant- (c.) 'wind; flatus' (IM; KUB VI 46 III 49 *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* matches dupl. VI 45 III 10 IM.HI.A-us), nom. sg. *hu-wa-an-za* (e.g. KBo XVII 62+63 IV 8 *huwanza he[uss]-a* 'wind and rain'; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 34), *hu-u-wa-an-za* (e.g. KUB VIII 65, 4; cf. Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 17.1:242 [1949]; Laroche, *RHA* 26:60 [1968]; Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 42), IM-an-za (e.g. XLI 8 II 5; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:82 [1961]), IM-za (dupl. XII 56 III 8), gen. sg. *hu-wa-an-da-as* (XVII 28 II 7; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 84), *hu-u-wa-an-da-as* (KBo X 37 II 31; cf. Oettinger, *MSS* 35:93 [1976]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-an-ti* (VBoT 58 I 9; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:83 [1965]), *hu-u-wa-an-ti* (KBo XXII 6 I 27 *salli hūwanti* 'to a great wind'), nom. pl. *hu-u-wa-an-te-es* (KUB VII 5 I 17 *hu-u-wa-an-te-(m)es*; see context s. v. *he[w]u-* and H. A. Hoffner, *Aula Orientalis* 5:273 [1987]), IM-an-te-es (XXIV 3 III 39–40 *nu sesduwas IM-antes iyandaru* 'may the winds of thriving come!'), *hu-u-wa-du-us* (XXIV 2 Rs. 17), IM.HI.A-us (dupl. XXIV 1 IV 16; cf. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers* 34–6), acc. pl. *hu-wa-an-du-us* (XXIV 3 III 38), *hūwatass-a-ssi* (XXVIII 4 Vs. 20b; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 23:76 [1965]). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:263.

IE **A₁w-éE₁-* 'blow' (*IEW* 81–4), Skt. *vāti*, Avest. *vāiti*, Gk. *ἄησι*, participle **A₁wE₁-nt-* (Skt. *vānt-*, Gk. *δέυτ-*), thematized in nominalizations Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, We. *gwynt*, Toch. A *want*, etc. *huwant-* < **A₁wE₁-nt-* or **A₁uE₁-ent-*? Of the many treatments, cf. e.g. C. L. Mudge, *Lg.* 7:253 (1931); Sturtevant, *Comp. Gr.* 1 97, *Comp. Gr.* 2 49; Kurylowicz, *Études* 74; E. Sapir, *Lg.* 14:270 (1938); Kronasser, *VLFH* 43, *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* 611–5 (1969); Gamkrelidze, *Khettskij jazyk* 34; H. Eichner, *MSS* 31:54 (1973); A. Bammesberger, *Studien zur Laryngaltheorie* 135 (1984).

Cf. *huellai-*, *huntariya-*, *huwantalai-*, *huwantar(a)-*.

huwantalai-, hultalai- ^{huwa(n)talai-} 'let off, allow to escape, spare'. 1 sg. pret. *hu-ul-da-la-a-nu-un* (KUB XIX 37 III 36–38 *nu-ssan ina URU Kappieri kuit É DINGIR-LIM ŠA D Hatipunā EGIR-an n-at huldālānun n-at ŪL saruwāir* 'at K. what temple of H. [is] in the rear, it I spared. and they did not sack it'; similarly ibid. 42–44; cf. Götze, *AM* 176), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-an-ta-la-[a-it]* (with gloss-wedges); XXI 8 II 3–4 H[UL-lu ŪL takkēsta [... G^{IS}GEŠTIN.HI.A] G^{IS}ŠAR.HI.A-ya hūwantalāit 'did not commit evil ... spared vineyards and gardens'), *hu-u-wa-an-ta-la-a-it* (ibid. 8–10 *HUL-lu [ŪL takkēsta ... G^{IS}GEŠTIN.HI.A] [G^{IS}ŠAR.HI.A-ya hūw]anta lāit*; cf. P. Cornil and R. Lebrun, *Hethitica* 17).

Semantically close to *arha taliya-* 'let off', the gloss-word *hūwantalai-* is a quasi-compound similar to *arga-tiya-* (*HED* 1–2:147–8), with *hultalai-* assimilatory from *hu(wa)ntalai-* (cf. e.g. *armaliya-* : *armaniya-* [*HED* 1–2:158–9]). Neumann (KZ 85:301 [1971], *Gedenkschrift für H. Güntert* 280 [1974]) recognized the connection but not the compound; Tischler (*Glossar* 282) followed Kronasser (*Etym.* 1:480) and Neu (*Gewitterritual* 39–40) in plumping for denominative derivation of *huldalai-* from the unpertaining ^{LÜ}*huldāla-*, allegedly 'keeper' (q. v. s. v. *hultai-*). H. Eichner (*Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]) saw in *hūwanta* (+ *lai-* 'let loose') the (neuter plural?) participle of *huwai-* 'run' in a compound sense of 'let escape'; but *hūwanta* is perhaps rather the directive dative case of *huwant-* 'wind', with *hūwanta-lai-* originally expressive of setting birds free (*MUSEN lai-*), literally 'set loose to the wind'.

W. Petersen (*JAOS* 59:179 [1939]) tied in *huld-* in *huldalai-* (allegedly 'respect, preserve') with Gk. *ἐλδομαι* 'hope'.

Luwian!

huwatalai- Hoff rev. of *HED* 4 'to stripe (off)' 429
'*hūwata-*', '*otruwata-*'

huwantar(a)- (n.?), a linen cloth or garment, nom.-acc. sg. (?) ^{GAD}hu-u-wa-an-tar [(*KUB* XLII 60, 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 186 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 525), nom.-acc. sg. or pl. (?) *hu-u-wa-an-ta-ra* (*KBo* XVIII 170 Vs. 7 ^{TUG}^{GAD}MEŠ 1-EN ^{GAD}hūwantara 1-NUTUM ^{TUG}L[UM.ZA] 'undergarments [?], one linen h., one robe'), *hu-u-wa-an-da-ra* (dupl. *KUB* XLII 43 Vs. 11]1-EN [^{GAD}hūwandara 1-NU ^{TUG}LUM.ZA; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109, 112 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 484; XLII 34 Rd. 1 ^{GAD}hūwandara; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 55–6 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 58).

No clear etymology. Homophonous echoes suggest some tie-in with *huwant-* 'wind' or the verb *huwai-* 'run' (q.v.).

x. st. 29: 82

huwapp- 'ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-ap-mi* (*KUB* XXXV 148 III 42), *hu-wa-ap-pa-ah-hi* (VII 57 I 6–7 ^{IM}as-wa ^{URU}Lihzinan [...] [IGL.HLA-wa] katta huwappahhi 'I the storm-god shall harrow L. into abjection [lit. eyes down]'), 2 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-ap-ti* (XXVI 1 III 42–43 *zik-ma-an-kan innarā laknusi nu-ssi-kan huwapti kuitki* 'you of your own accord trip him and spoil something for him'; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 14), 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-wa-ap-zi* (XXVI 43 Vs. 62 *nasma-smas-kan huwapzi kuiski ku[itki* 'or someone spoils something for you'; cf. *Imparati*, *RHA* 32:30 [1974]), *hu-wa-ap-pi* (*KBo* XX 67 II 60–61 *n-an ... pāi n-an-san ... ANA NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.[A ser i]GL.HLA-wa* ^{seal:} *katta huwappi* 'he gives it [viz. the loaf] and he ^{'hurling (bread) down face down'} disfigures it downright [lit. eyes down] on top of the [other] loaves'; XVII 88 II 8–9 *n-an-san istanāni piran [...] sākuwa katta huwappi* 'he disfigures it [viz. the loaf] downright before the altar'), *hu-wa-ap-pa-a-i* (VI 34 III 24–25 *n-an IGL.HLA-wa katt[a huwapp]āi n-an GİR-it isparranzi* 'he disfigures it [viz. the figurine] downright and they shatter it with their feet'; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 12, 43–5), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ap-ta* (*KUB* XIII 34 + XL 84 I 13–14 *ANA 'Ammi-ŠEŠ-ma-[ka]n 'Sahhis* ^{LÜ}DAM.GÀ[R ...] *huwapta* 'for A. the merchant S. spoiled ...'; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 38), *hu-u-wa-ap-pi-is* (XLIII 75 Vs. 19 [KU]R-e *hūwappis* 'harrowed the land'), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-pi-ir* (*KBo* III 6 I 30 *nu-mu-ka]n hūwa[p]pir* 'they harassed me'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 6), 2 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-tin* (*KUB* IX 1 III 27–28 *sumes 7 DINGIR.MEŠ [...]kan pedattin hūwaptin* 'you seven gods, bring [and] harrow ...'), 3 pl. imp. act. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-an-du*

(VII 46 Rs. 11–12 *nu-war-ān DINGIR.MEŠ QATAMMA* [IGL.HLA-wa *ka-t]ta hūwappandu* 'him may the gods likewise harrow into abjection'), *hu-u-up-pa-an-du* (dupl. *IBOT* III 114 Rs. 3 IGL.HLA-wa *katta hūp[-pandu]*); iter. *huwappiski-*, 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ap-pi-is-ki-i* (*KUB* XXI 17 I 9 *namma-mu-kan huwappiskit* 'he kept harassing me further'; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:18; Lebrun, *Samuha* 144).

huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad' (*HUL*; *KBo* I 30 I 15 *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* matches Akk. *limmu*, just as ibid. 16 the near-synonym *idālus* [*HED* 1–2:487–93] is glossed by Akk. *mašku*; cf. Güterbock, *MSL* 12:214–5 [1969]), nom. sg. c. *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* (*KUB* XV 32 I 48 *apās idālus huwappas* 'that bad [and] evil one'; cf. Haas – Wilhelm, *Riten* 152), ^{LÜ}HUL-pa-as (*KBo* XIX 101, 2; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12; XIX 102, 3 ^{LÜ}HUL-pas ŠEŠ-as 'Brother Evil'), ^{LÜ}HUL-as (dupl. *KUB* XXIV 8 IV 24 ^{LÜ}HUL-as ŠEŠ-as; ibid. 21 ^{LÜ}HUL-as ^{LÜ}NIG.SI.SÁ-ass-[a 'Evil and Just'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 12; *KBo* XXVI 86, 2–3 ^{LÜ}HUL-as [ŠEŠ-as ...] *idālus* 'Brother Evil ... bad'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 14), acc. sg. c. *hu-wa-ap-pa-an* (III 21 II 9–10 *āssu* ^{UZU}YÀ *huwappann-a* ^{UZU}YÀ *uwanna* 'to inspect the good fat and the bad fat'; cf. A. Archi, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:23 [1983]), ^{LÜ}HUL-an (*KUB* XXXIII 96 I 6 *nu HUL-lun UD.KAM-an* ^{LÜ}HUL-an *salla[nuskizzi]* '[Kumarbi] in the course of a bad day breeds an evil one'; dupl. XXXIII 98 I 5–6 *UD.KAM-an kuis* ^{LÜ}HUL-an *sallanuskizzi* 'who in a day breeds an evil one'; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-wa-ap-pa-an* (*KBo* III 6 I 41 *huwapp[an] uttar* 'evil deed', besides dupl. *KUB* I 1 I 49 *HUL-lu uttar*), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-an* (dupl. I 5 I 21 *hūwapp[an] uttar*; Otten, *Apologie* 6), *HUL-pa-an* (XXXVI 59 II 7, besides dupl. XXIV 8 III 10 ^{LÜ}HUL-lu *KASKAL-an harkir* 'they held to the evil path'; cf. ibid. 8 *laman* ^{LÜ}HUL-lu 'the name "Evil"'); cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 10), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-ap-pi* (I 1 IV 12 *huwappi di-esni huwappi DINGIR-LIM-ni* 'to an evil doom, to an evil deity'), *hu-u-wa-ap-pi* (dupl. I 10 III 31 *DI-esni hūwappi DINGIR-LIM-ni*; dupl. *KBo* III 6 + 832/v + 256/1969 III 56 *hūwappi di-esni hūwappi INIM DINGIR-LIM* 'to an evil doom, to an evil word of a deity'; cf. Otten, *Apologie* 24; *KUB* I 1 I 40 *hūwappi* [with gloss-wedges] *DINGIR-LIM-ni hūwappi* [with gloss-wedges] *di-esni*; dupl. *KBo* III 6 I 34 *hūwappi DINGIR-LIM-ni hūwappi hannassani*; dupl. *KUB* I 5 I 14 *hūwappi DINGIR-LIM-ni hu[-]*), nom. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-e-es* (XLVI 54 Vs. 11 ^{IMIN}IMIN-*pī* *hūwappaēs* 'evil Pleiades'; cf. *KBo* XVII 105 III 31 *hadugaēs-ma-kan* ^{IMIN}IMIN-*pī-es* 'baleful Pleiades', and Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*

46), acc. pl. c. *hu-u-wa-ap-pu-s(a)* (*KUB XXIV 8 I 4 hūwappus-a-kan* LÚ.MEŠ-us 'evil men' (partitive apposition; wrongly taken as dat.-loc. by Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 18), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-s(a)* (ibid. 3 *hūwappas-a-kan* LÚ.MEŠ-us, vs. ibid. 2 *h[an][dan]dus* LÚ.MEŠ-us 'just men'), gen. pl. *hu-wa-ap-pa-as* (XXXI 135 Vs. 12–13 + XXX 11 Vs. 5–6 *idālawass-a hūwappas antuhsa[s h]annessa* 'judgment on bad and evil men'), *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-as* (par. XXI 127 + XXXVI 79 I 45 *idālawass-a hūwappas-a antuhsas hannessar*).

huwappanatar (n.) 'evilness', nom.-acc. sg. *hu-wa-ap-pa-na-tar* (*KBo VIII 70, 10*; cf. Haas–Wilhelm, *Riten* 194), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-na-an-ni* (*KUB XXXVI 86 Vs. 4*).

Juret's adduction (*Vocabulaire* 71) of Gothic *ubils*, OE *yfel* 'evil', occasionally repeated by others (e.g. Peters, *Untersuchungen* 263), provides a somewhat isolated secundum comparationis (**H₁upélo*—besides **H₁wopono*—underlying *huwappanatar*?), while the ultimate affinity of *huwapp-* remains opaque (perhaps a semantic offshoot of the same root as is found in *huppai-* [q.v.] 'interlace'; cf. Engl. *warp* in figurative use as 'distort, disfigure'). H. C. Melchert (*KZ* 101:233 [1988]) connected (*sākuwa*) *katta hu(wa)pp-* with Skt. *vāpati* 'throw, strew', specifically Ved. *nī-vapati* 'throw down, shatter', as a separate verb.

O. Szemerényi (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94:154 [1974]) im- probably saw in Gk. *ὑβρις* 'insolence, outrage' a borrowing from **hu(wa)ppar* 'maltreatment' with Luwoid *i*-stem declension.

Cf. *huh(h)upa-*, *huipi-*.

huwa(r)a- (c.), name of an ornithomantic bird, nom. sg. *hu-wa-as* (*IBoT I 32 Vs. 23*), *hu-u-wa-as* (*KBo II 6 III 56*; *KUB V 11 II 13*; *XVI 77 Vs. 12*), *hu-u-wa-a-as* (*XVI 52, 6*), *hu-u-wa-ra-as* (*XVIII 12 Rs. 16 and 17*). Cf. Ertem, *Fauna* 214–5. For the instability of intervocalic *r* see s. v. *hu(r)uppi-*.

Recalls Akk. *hū'a* (a kind of owl; *AHW* 350; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* 25:22 [1967]), perhaps as a matter of common onomatopoeia. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* 339 [1981]) compared Gk. *αῶω*, *ἄωτή* 'shout' (cf. e.g. Gk. *ἰνυξ* as a bird name besides *ἰνυξ* 'shriek'). For other oracular bird names lacking the 'bird' determinative see also s. v. *harrani-*.

hu(wa)rna- 'hunt', inf. *hu-ur-nu-wa-an-zi* (*KUB XXXIII 121 II 8 HUR.SAG.MEŠ-s-as namma hurnuwanzi ūL paizzi* 'he no longer goes to the mountains to hunt'; similarly ibid. 10, 12; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:234 [1950]; for the formation, cf. e.g. *hanna-* : *hannuwanzi*, and see Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:83); iter. *huwarniski-*, 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (*KBo XII 59 I 4–7 Halenzuwa id-i 'Tuthali[ya]s [kui]n lahhiskizzi Kumra id-i Ke[lla id-i] 'Tuthaliyas LUGAL-us kuyēs siyatall[isk]izzi [h]ūwarniskizzi* 'at the H. river which T. frequents travelling, at the K. and K. rivers which T. the king frequents shooting and hunting'), *hu-ur-ni-is-ki-iz-zi* (ibid. 2 *kuin siyatalliskizzi hur[niskizzi]*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 16:116 [1975]).

hu(wa)rna- is of the type of *tarna-*, *tuwarna-* (cf. verbal nouns *tarnumar*, *duwarnumar*). The etymology (first suggested by Čop, *Slavistična Revija* 5–7:230–3, 237 [1954], *Die Sprache* 6:2 [1960]; cf. Kronasser, *Pokorny BIK* 46) involves IE **A₁ew-r-* (Gk. *αῖπι-βάτης* 'fast-going', Serbo-Croatian *jūrīti* 'rush after, chase'), **A₁w-er-* (Latvian *vert* 'run'), **A₁wor-* (Lith. *varýti* 'drive, chase'), with *hu(wa)rna-* reflecting **A₁wr-n-*.

Cf. *hurnapista-*.

hu(wa)rt- 'curse', 1 sg. pres. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-tah-hi* (*KUB XXXIII 117 IV 8*; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:80 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-da-a-i* (IX 15 II 15 *walahzi hurdāi le kuinki* 'he shall not strike [or] curse anyone'), 1 sg. pret. act. *hu-u-wa-ar-tah-hu-un* (XXVI 71 I 7 *nu maldahhun nu hūwar[tahhun* 'I vowed and I cursed'; cf. Neu, *Anitta-Text* 14, 44, 86–9), *hur-ta-ah-hu-un* (XXIII 45, 15; cf. Ünal, *Hatt.* 2:132), *hur-da-ah-hu-un* (XXXVI 47, 5 *nu-war-an hurdahhun*), 3 sg. pret. act. *hu-wa-ar-ta-as* (XXII 70 Vs. 86 *huwartas-ma-an* [with gloss-wedge] *ūL* 'but [she] did not curse her'; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 80), *hur-ta-as* (ibid. 7–8 *eni kuit SAL.LUGAL^{SAL} Ammatallan ANA DINGIR-LIM^{URU} Arusna hurtas* 'this [matter] that the queen cursed A. before the deity of A.'), *hur-za-as-ta* (*KBo X 45 I 4 nasma hurzasta kuiski* 'or someone has made a curse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]; for /hurtsta/ cf. *hazzasta* s. v. *hat-*), *hur-za-ta* (*KUB V 6 IV 22 linikta namma-wa hurzata* 'swore, and further cursed'; for /hurtsta/ cf. *hazzadu* /hatstu/ s. v. *hat-*), 3 sg. imp. act. *hur-za-as-du* /hurtstu/ (XVII 27 III 18 and 20), 3 pl. imp. act. *hur-ta-an-du* (*KBo VI 34 IV 11–12 n-an lenkias DINGIR.MEŠ HUI-lu hurtandu* 'him let the oath-gods evilly curse'; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 35:168, 189 [1924]; Oettinger,

Xu 26 71 I 7
hūwar[n-
(CUB 16:133–4)

3 pl. pres. act.
hu-wa-ar-ta-an-ti
V 6 IV 24



hu-wa-ar-
za-as-ta
(K 32.14 II 11)

hu(wa)rt- ^{New/Fs Watkins} *hur-dant* 'verletzt, angeschlagen, erschöpft'
 hu(wa)rdant- 'verflucht'

hu(wa)rt-

Eide 14); ^{partic} hu(wa)rtant-, nom. sg. c. *hur-ta-an-za* (KUB XXII 70 Rs. 14 ^{SAL} *Pattiyas-wa hurtanza* 'P. [has been] cursed'), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *hu-wa-ar-ta-an* (KBo XXXII 14 II 21 URU-yas-an DINGIR.MEŠ *huwartan harkanzi* 'the town's deities hold him accursed'; KBo XXI 41 + KUB XXIX 7 Vs. 61; cf. *ibid.* *hu-u-ur-[di-ya]-las uttar* 'matter of curse[s]'), *hur-ta-an* (KUB XXX 45 III 16–17 *nasma-an ABU AM[A-ŠU] PANI DINGIR.MEŠ hurtan harkanzi* 'or they have cursed him [and] his father [and] mother before the gods'; XXX 44, 12–13 *nasma-an ABU [...] kuiski hurtan harz[i]* 'or someone has cursed ...'), nom. pl. c. *hur-ta-an-te-es* (XIV 17 II 12 *hurtantes esir* 'they were cursed'; cf. Götze, *AM* 84); ^{iter.} hu(wa)rzaki-/hurtski-, 2 sg. pres. act. *hur-za-ki-si* (XXXIII 120 III 71 *nu-mu zik hurzakisi* 'thou cursest me'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XXXVI 1, 7 *EN-mi kuwatt-as hurzak[isi]* 'my lord, why dost thou curse them?'; *ibid.* 9 *kuwat hurzak[isi]*; cf. Otten, *Kumarbi* 5; Laroche, *RHA* 26:45 [1968]), 3 sg. pres. act. *hur-za-ki-iz-zi* (XIV 4 III 19 *nu DAM-YA DINGIR.MEŠ-as piran hurzakizzi* 'she keeps cursing my wife before the gods'; KBo IV 8 III 16 *UL hurzakizzi* 'does she not keep cursing?'; *ibid.* 24; cf. H. A. Hoffner, *JAOS* 103:189 [1983]; KUB XXXIII 120 III 70), 2 and 3 sg. pret. act. *hur-za-ki-it* (*ibid.* 69 *hurzakit-mu kuis* 'he who cursed me'; KBo XVIII 28 Vs. 6 [z]ik-ma-mu ANA H[ANI] DUMU.KIN-YA *hurzakit* 'but you have cursed me before my messenger'; VBoT 30 Vs. 8), 2 pl. pret. act. *hu-u-ur-za-ki-it-te-en* (2308/c Vs. 1–2 *kui[t-wa-za-kan] kuit istarna hūzakitten* 'whatever cursing you have done amongst you'), *hur-za-ki-it-tin* (dupl. KUB XII 34 I 17; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:352 [1953]; verbal noun *hu-u-wa-ar-za-ki-u-wa-ar* (n.) (KBo I 45 II 2), *hur-za-ki-u-wa-ar* (*ibid.* 6; both matching *ibid.* Akk. [ar]arum 'miller', misunderstood in Hittite as *arāru(m)* 'to curse'; cf. *MSL* 3:53 [1955]); supine *hur-za-ki-u-wa-an* (ABoT 48, 6 [nu ^{LÜ} *HUL-as hur[zakiuwan] dāis* 'Bad' started cursing'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16).

hurtai- (c.) 'curse', nom. sg. *hur-ta-is* (e.g. KBo I 42 II 25, matching *ibid.* [Akk.] *irridu*; KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Vs. 65 and Rs. 38; *ibid.* Rs. 26 *hurtais lingais paprātarr-a* 'curse, [false] oath, and defilement'; *ibid.* 50 *ling[ais]-ma hurtaiss-a*, *hu-u-ur-ta-is* (*ibid.* 68; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 121–5), *hur-da-a-is* (KBo XII 70 Rs. 11), *hur-ta-as* (sic KUB XXIX 1 I 45; cf. M. Marazzi, *Vicino Oriente* 5:150 [1982]; M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60:490 [1982]), (acc. sg. *hu-ur-ta-in* (e.g. KBo XIX 145 III 8 *lingain hurtain*; cf. Haas–Thiel, *Rituale* 300; KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Rs. 43, *hu-ur-ta-in* (KBo 32.14 II 55) *hu-u-ur-ta-in* (KBo 32.14 Rs. 46, P.R. 5)

46, 55), *hur-ta-in* (KUB XLI 8 II 14–15 *parkunuddu suppis A-anza HUL-hun EME-an papratar ēšhar wastul hurtain* 'may the holy water cleanse evil tongue, defilement, blood, despoliation, and curse!'; *ibid.* IV 12 *HUL-hu papratar ēšhar NEŠ DINGIR-LIM wastul hurtain* 'evil defilement, bloodshed, perjury, despoliation, and curse'; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:124, 136 [1961]), *hur-da-a-in* (dupl. KBo X 45 IV 14; *ibid.* I 9 *NEŠ DINGIR-LIM ēšhar hūrdāin*, with dupl. KUB VII 41 I 18 *hu-ur-ta-in*; cf. Otten, *ZA* 54:116 [1961]), gen. sg. (or pl.) *hur-ti-ya-as* (e.g. KBo X 45 IV 10 *hurtiyas UG₆-as DINGIR.MEŠ* 'gods of curse [and] death'; dupl. KUB XLI 8 IV 9 *hurtiyas ēšhanas DINGIR.MEŠ* 'gods of curse [and] blood'; XXII 70 Rs. 14 ^{SAL} *Pattiyas hurtiyas* '[the matter] of P's curse'; *ibid.* 21; *ibid.* 24 *hurtiyas uttar* 'the matter of the curse'; *ibid.* 26 *hurtiyas-pat uttar*; cf. Ünal, *Orakeltext* 84–8; V 6 IV 27), *hu-ur-di-ya-as* (e.g. KUB XXIX 7 + KBo XXI 41 Vs. 64, 69, 71, Rs. 22; *ibid.* Vs. 53 *hūmandas hurdiyas* 'of all curses'), *hu-u-ur-di-ya-as* (*ibid.* 2, 7, 43, 49, 51, 55 *hūmandās hūrdiyas uddanī* 'in the matter of all curses'), dat.-loc. sg. *hur-ta-a-i* (KBo XI 1 Vs. 45 *idala]ui hurtai ēshanī ishahruui* 'for evil curse, bloodshed, tears'; cf. Houwink Ten Cate and Josephson, *RHA* 25:108 [1967]), *hur-da-i* (XII 70 Rs. 7), *hur-ti-ya* (X 45 IV 26 *wasduli ishani hurtiya*; dupl. KUB XLI 8 IV 25 *wastulli ēšhani hurtiya*; VII 57 I 10), abl. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-az* (e.g. XXX 31 + XXXII 114 I 16–17 *apez idālawaz uddanaz linkiaz hurtiyaz ish[an]az ishahruwaz parkuwāes asandu* 'let [them] be clean of that evil business, perjury, curse, blood[shed], [and] tears'; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica II* 95), *hu-ur-di-ya-az* (XV 42 II 9–11 *idālaz uddānaz linkiyaz hurdiyaz ēsha[na]z ishahruwaz QATAMMA parkuwaēs ēstin* 'be likewise clean of ...'), (nom. pl. *hur-da-a-e-es* (KBo II 3 II 1–2 *nu kūs EN.MEŠ SISKUR idālawēs hūrdāes QATAMMA le uwanzi* 'may the evil curses likewise not see these offerants'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 72), *hu-ur-ta-us* (dupl. 1112c + II 47–48 *nu kūs-a BEL SISKUR.SISKUR idālawēs] hurtaus QATAMMA le uw[an]zi*; cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 1:356 [1953]), *hu-ur-ta-a-us* (*ibid.* IV 15–16 *tuwarnattaru-war-at [hūm]anda u[dd]ār hurtāuss-a* 'let them be crushed, all words and curses!'), *hu-u-ur-ta-a-us* (*ibid.* II 14 *udd[ār] hūrtāus*), (acc. pl. *hur-ta-us* (e.g. KUB V 6 III 17 *nu-za-kan hur-taus meqqaus tarnas* 'he flung many curses'; cf. A. Archi, *AoF* 6:87 [1979]; KBo I 36 + XXVI 24 IV 9), *hur-ta-a-us* (XIX 108, 7 ^{UTU} *us hurtaus išME* 'the sun-god heard the curses'; cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 16), *hu-u-ur-ta-a-us* (1112c + I 39–40 ^{KBo 33.8}

kinun-a tuhsandu [ap]idas UD-as EME.[HL]A *hūrtāus* 'now let them cut off the calumnies [and] curses of those days'; *ibid.* II 29 KAXU-i EME-i *hūrtāus* 'for mouth [and] tongue, curses'; *ibid.* II 31 *idālawēs-wa-kan hūrtāus parā allapahten* 'the evil curses you have spat out'), *hur-da-a-us* (dupl. KBo II 3 I 42 *idālawēs-wa-kan hur-dāus*; KUB XXXVI 31, 7 + XXXIII 120 III 69 *hur-dāus-mu le memiskisi* 'do not utter curses at me!'; cf. Laroche, *RHA* 26:46 [1968]; XV 39 I 17 *apūs hur-dāus*), *hu-u-ur-ta-us* (dupl. 1112/c + II 3 *apus hūrtaus*; *ibid.* 37 KAXU-i EME-an *hūrtauss-a EGIR-an* 'for the mouth, tongue and curses thereafter'), *hur-ti-ya-as* (dupl. KBo II 3 I 49–50 EME-i *hurtiyass-a* EME-an 'for the tongue, curses too [and] tongue' [sic]; 1112/c + III 18 *apel UD-as hurtiyas* 'curses of those days'; dupl. IBoT II 110, 4 U)D.KAM-as *hurtiyas*).

The standard etymology (since Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50:128 [1930], *Lg.* 7:118 [1931], *Comp. Gr.*¹ 106, 128) involves Lat. *verbum* 'word', Lith. *vardas* 'name', OPr. *wirds*, Goth. *waúrd* 'word', thus *wer/wor/wr̥-dho-* usually considered a nominal derivative of **wer-* (Gk. *εἶπω* 'speak' < **fépō*, but also **wr-éE-* in *ῥῆμα* 'word', etc.) seen in Hitt. *weriya-* 'call' (*IEW* 1162–3). Conjoining *hur-* and *weriya-* under the same root (e.g. Sturtevant, *IHL* 49–50, 64; Lehmann, *PIEP* 25; Tischler, *Glossar* 310–1, with "chronicle") is highly questionable (cf. already Couvreur, *Hett.* 156; Pedersen, *Hitt.* 39), in view of the utter stability of the laryngeal in *hur-* and its complete absence in *weriya-*; a formula **(H)werdh-* merely begs the issue. The case of *hulla-* (q. v.) vs. *walh-* is similar.

The verb is a primary *hu(wa)rt-*, which presupposes an IE verbal stem **H₁wer(t)-* (vs. **wer-[E-]* in *weriya-*) with a more specific meaning than the overworked 'feierlich sprechen'. Plausible cognates are Skt. *vrata-* 'vow', OCS *rota* 'oath', OPr. *wer-temmai* 'we swear', and perhaps (in malam partem) Russ. *vrat* 'lie', OCS *vračī* 'conjurer, magician, physician' (like ^{LÜ}azū; cf. Neu, *Kratylos* 12:165 [1967], *Anitta-Text* 87; Oettinger, *Stammbildung* 442). For the semantic range cf. the above-cited collocations *hurtais lingais paprātarr-a* 'curse, (false) oath (= perjury), and defilement', *nu maldahhun nu hūwar[tahhun* 'I vowed and I cursed'.

Attempts to connect *hurt(a)-* with an IE **(H)wer-* 'bind' (E. Polomé, *Mélanges H. Grégoire* 2:568–9 [1950], *Études germaniques* 8:40–1 [1953]), or with Lith. *verdu*, *virti* 'boil, concoct'

(G. Jucquois, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 113–4 [1979]) fail to carry conviction.

N. Mkrtčyan (*Acta Antiqua* 22:315 [1974]) suggested an affinity of Arm. *yurūt* 'curse', allegedly alternative for **xurūt*, citing cases of initial *y : h* variation.

Cf. *hu(wa)hhurti-*.

huwarti- (c.) 'concoction, infusion, decoction, extract', nom. sg. *hu-u-wa-ar-ti-i[s]* (KUB XLII 30, 7; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 175 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 530), acc. sg. *hu-wa-ar-ti-in* (XXXVII 1 Vs. 6 *huwartin* [with gloss-wedges] GIM-an *zanuzzi* 'as one boils an extract', matching *ibid.* 5 [Akk.] *rabiki* 'decoction' [*AHW* 935]; cf. F. Köcher, *AfO* 16:48, 53 [1952]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-u-wa-ar-ti* (XXVII 67 IV 5).

hurtiyalla-, *hurtiyalli-* (c.) 'infusion-vessel, decoction-bowl' (vel sim.), acc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-al-la-an*, dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-li* (KBo XVII 1 I 7–8 *nu hurtiyallan harmi hurtiyalī-ma* [AN.B]AR-as *nēpis* 1-EN *kitta* 'I hold a h.; but in the h. lies a "heaven" of iron'; cf. Otten–Souček, *Altheth. Ritual* 18, 96; Neu, *Altheth.* 5), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-ur-ti-ya-li-ya* (*ibid.* 17 *n-at hurtiyaliya lāhui* 'she pours it into the h.'; dupl. XVII 3 I 12 *n-at hurtiyal[i-]*; *ibid.* 11 *t-at hurtiyaliya lāhui*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 12). Derived from *hu(wa)rti-* like e.g. *harsiyal(l)i-* from *harsi-*.

hurtal(l)i- (c.) 'concoction, mass, blob' (vel sim.), also some kind of religious icon, gen. sg. ^D*Hu-ur-ta-li-as* (KBo XXI 49 I 3 JNINDA ^D*Hurtalias*), ^D*Hu-ur-ta-li-ya-as* (*ibid.* III 11 ^D*Hurtaliyas piran*, followed *ibid.* 12–16 by *hassī piran* 'before the hearth', ^D*Halmassuitti* 'to Throne', ^{GIS}*luttiya* 'to the window', ^{GIS}PA.HI.A-as *piran* 'before the staffs', ^{GIS}*hattalw[as]* 'door-bolt'; XX 38 Vs. 5 ^D*Hurtaliy[as] piran*; XX 100 Rs. 3 ^D*Hurtaliyas* 1-šU), *hu-u-ur-ta-li-ya-as* (IBoT I 4 III 5–6 PA ^{LÜ.M}ES ^{MUHALDIM} *hūrtaliyas piran* 1-šU *sipanti* 'the chef de cuisine libates once before the h.'), nom. pl. *hu-ur-ta-li-is(-sa)* (KBo XVII 61 Rs. 17; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 44), *hu-u-ur-tal-li-is(-sa)* (KUB XXVII 67 III 14 [p]ūrpūriyas *hūrtalliss-a isnās* 'lumps and blobs of dough'), Luwoid *hu-u-ur-ta-al-li-en-zi* (*ibid.* II 9 *isnās pūr-pūrēs hūrtallenzi*).

Košak & Otter: *hurtal(l)i-ya-* 'concoct, commingle; confound, subvert', 3 sg. pres. act. *hu-ur-ta-li-iz-zi* (KUB I 16 III 38 [kuis-ma-ka]n LUGAL-as *uddār* *hūrtalizzi* 'but who[ever] subverts the king's ordinance'; cf. Sommer, 113

HAB 12, 156–7; cf. [s. v. *hulla-*] *kuis-ma AMAT Taba[rna ...] hullāi* ‘but who[ever] quashes the king’s ordinance’), 3 pl. pres. act. *hu-ur-ta-li-an-zi* (*KBo* III 27 Vs. 16–17 *nu kuyes-a hurtallianzi awāt LUGAL*; *ibid.* 18; *ibid.* 20 *hurtali[-]*; *XX* 20 Vs. 10 + *XXV* 54 I 16 *k]alulupus-(s)mus hurtallianzi* ‘they cross [?] their fingers’; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 120, *StBoT* 26:72 [1985]; Starke, *KLTU* 285; *XVII* 36 I 9; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 121; Starke, *KLTU* 286), *hu-ur-tal-li-an-zi* (*KUB* *XX* 11 II 4 and 19 *namma-kan hurtallianzi* [viz. the preceding bread and wine]), *hur-tal-li-an-zi* (*LVI* 54 Rs. 25 *GIM-an-ma 3-šu irhanzi nu GAL.HI.A hurtallianzi* [‘when they make the rounds thrice, they commingle the cups’; *X* 40 IV 5 *namma-kan hurtallianzi*; *Bo* 3338 V 10 *namma-kan hurtallianzi*], *hur-tal-li-ya-an-zi* (*VBoT* 3 VI 10 *namma-kan hurtallianzi*), 3 pl. pret. act. *hu-ur-tal-li-e-ir* (*KUB* I 16 III 43 *-m]a-kan ir.MEŠ-ŠU LU.MEŠ GAL.GAL uddār-set hurtallier* ‘his servants [and] the grantees subverted his ordinance’).

hurtalim(m)a- (c.) ‘confounding, subversion’, acc. sg. *hu-ur-ta-li-im-ma-an* (*KUB* XXXI 4 + *KBo* III 41 Vs. 10 *A]rinna^{KI} kuin pehutetten uni hurtalimman* ‘what is this subversion you have brought to A.’), *hu]r-ta-li-ma-an* (dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs. 11; cf. Otten, *ZA* 55:158 [1963]; O. Soysal, *Hethitica VII* 174 [1987] [both with wrong rendering]). For formation cf. e.g. *katkattima-* from *katkattiya-*, *tuhhima-* from *tuhhai-*.

huwarti- (with Luwoid *i*-stem?): *hurtali-* are reminiscent of such pairs as *harpa-* : *harpali-* (both ‘heap’) from *harp-*. For the semantic range of *hurtaliya-* cf. Gk. *συχέω* ‘commingle, confound, overthrow, obliterate’, *σύχυσσις* ‘confusion, commotion, subversion, ruin’.

Neumann’s suggestion (*Kratylos* 8:41 [1963]) that these words reflect IE **wert-* ‘turn’ would imply **H₁wert-* and mean that *nai-* and *weh-* (both ‘turn’) have relegated *hu(wa)rt-* to a semantic periphery (‘stir, mix’; cf. Lat. *terram vertere* ‘plow’ and figuratively *sub-vertō* ‘upset, overturn’). A more plausible etymon might be Lith. *vėrdu* ‘boil, seethe’.

R. Lebrun and G. Jucquois (in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 105–14 [1979]) implausibly confounded these words with *hu(wa)rt-* ‘curse’ (q. v.).

huwasi- (n.), stone or wood pillar, occasionally with metal (silver, iron), serving as outdoors or sheltered cult object, or as boundary marker (ZI.KIN), nom.-acc. sg. *hu-u-wa-si* (e.g. *KBo* IV 10 Vs. 20–21 ^{URU} *Kursawantas-ma-kan EGIR UGU UR.ZIR-as NA^Ahūwasi ZAG-as* ‘up

above K. the h. ‘of the dog’ [is] the boundary’; par. 299/1986 I 31 ^{URU} *KuWarsauwantaz-ma-ssi-kan EGIR-an sarā UR.ZIR-as NA^Ahūwasi ZAG-as*; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 12, 34–5; *KUB* XLIV 58 II 7–8 *namma ANA DINGIR.MAH.MEŠ me[nahhanda]* ^{GIS} *hūwasi tittanuwa[nzi* ‘facing the mother goddesses they set up a h.’; cf. Beckman, *Birth Rituals* 216), gen. sg. *hu-wa-si-as* (*KBo* XXV 12 I 11 *]huwasias* ^{Dim}); cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 30; Singer, *Festival* 2:33), *hu-wa-si-ya-as* (e.g. *XX* 4 I 2 *huwasiyas piran*; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 42; *XX* 99 + *XXI* 52 II 15–16 9 *GA.KIN.AG parsiyanta NA^Ahuwasiyas piran dāi* ‘nine frittered cheeses he places before the h.’; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:25), *hu-u-wa-si-ya-as* (e.g. *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 5–6 *GIBIL-ma* ^{GIS} *eyan NA^Ahūwasiyas [kattan] tittanuanzi* ‘they plant a new *eya*-tree alongside the h.’; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984]), dat.-loc. sg. *hu-wa-se* (275/f Vs. 9 *NA^Ahuwase anta*; cf. Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:50), *hu-u-wa-si* (e.g. *LVIII* 33 III 21 *N]NA^Ahūwasi ari* ‘arrives at the h.’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 260; *X* 90 Rs. 1 ^{DUTU-as} ^{GIS} *hūwasi piran* ‘before the h. of the sun-god’), *hu-wa-a-si* (e.g. *XXV* 32 + *XXVII* 70 + 1628/u III 18 *NA^Ahūwasi hūkanzi* ‘they slaughter at the h.’; *ibid.* 27 *n-as-kan NA^Ahu-wāsi EGIR-pa tianzi* ‘they put them back at the h.’; cf. A. M. Dinçol and M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3:108 [1969–70]), *hu-wa-si-ya* (e.g. *XXVIII* 75 III 19–20 *mān DUMU-as INA* ^{URU} *Kāksat huwasiya ANA* ^{DUTU} *huekzi* ‘when the son at K. slaughters at the h. to the sun-god’; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 195; *X* 17 I 8–9 *nu NA^Ahuwasiya piran NINDA. KUR₄.RA.HI.A parsiya sipanti-ya* ‘before the h. he breaks bread-loaves and sacrifices’; *XXVII* 75 III 19; *XX* 48 I 13), *hu-u-wa-si-ya* (frequent, e.g. *ibid.* 2 and 8; II 3 II 32–34 *LUGAL-us-san* ^{DUTU-as} *NA^Ahūwasiya anda paizzi NA^Ahūwasiya ušken* ‘the king goes in to the storm-god’s h. and prostrates himself to the h.’, besides dupl. *KBo* XXIII 74 II 16 *]huwasiya*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:64; *KUB* X 1 I 22–24 *kuitman-ma LUGAL-us* ^{DUTU} *NA^Ahūwasiya anda nāui paizzi* ‘but while the king does not yet go in to the h. of the storm-god’; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:23; VII 25 I 6–7 *ta-ssan ANA ANŠU.KUR.RA tiyazzi nu sarā* ^D *Anziliyas NA^Ahūwasiya paizzi* ‘he mounts a horse and goes up to the h. of A.’; *LVIII* 40 V 6–7 *t-as NA^Ahūwasiya piran tiyazi* ‘he steps forth to the h.’; cf. M. Popko, *AoF* 13:177 [1986]; *XXVIII* 99, 5 *mān LUGAL-us NA^Ahūwasiya hanta[zz]i* ‘while the king gets ready at the h.’; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 219a); *LI* 1 + *LIII* 14 II 18 I *GUD* 30 *UDU.HI.A NA^Ahūwasiya ANA* ^D *Telipinu hūkanzi* ‘one ox [and] thirty sheep they slaughter at the h. for T.’; *ibid.* 20 and 22 *NA^Ahūwasiya piran*, besides *ibid.* 17 *NA^Ahūwasi*; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF*

11:42 [1984]; *KBo* XXX 69 III 14–15 *n-at-san* ^{LÜ}AZU EGIR-*pa* ^{NA}*hūwasiya dāi*; ibid. 29–30 *n-at-kan* ^{LÜ}AZU ^{NA}*hūwasiya* EGIR-*pa dāi* 'the magician puts it back at the h.'; cf. M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15:84 [1988]), *hu-wa-a-si-ya* (e.g. XX 11 II 4 ^N*hūwāsiya āri* 'he arrives at the h.'), ^{NA}ZI.KIN-*si* (e.g. *KUB* XXV 25 I 11), ^{NA}ZI.KIN (e.g. ibid. 9 *PANI* ^{NA}ZI.KIN 'before the h.'; cf. Haas, *Nerik* 248; X 18 I 17–18 *nu* ^{NA}ZI.KIN *piran* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *parsiya sipanti-ya*), abl. sg. *hu-wa-si-az* (2064/g Vs. 15–16 ^{NA}*hūwasiaz anda* NILQI *appa-ma* ... ^{NA}*hūwasiaz arahza* NIDDI 'we had included [them] within the boundary-marker, but afterwards we left [them] outside the demarkation'; similarly ibid. 18–20; cf. Güterbock, *Siegel* 1:50; Riemschneider, *MIO* 6:362–3 [1958]), *hu-wa-si-ya-az* (*KBo* XXX 12 I 6 LUGAL-*us* ^{NA}*hūwasiaz uizzi* 'the king comes from the h.'; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:40; XX 76 + XXIV 87 IV 10 [LUG]AL-*us* ^{NA}*hūwasiaz uizzi*), *hu-u-wa-si-ya-az* (*KUB* X 61 II 3–4 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{DU}-*as* ^{NA}*hūwasiya*[z] *parā uizzi*; X 17 I 13–15 LUGAL-*us-kan* ^{GIS}GIGIR-*ni tiyazi t-as-kan* ^{NA}*hūwasiaz arha uizzi* 'the king steps in a chariot and comes away from the h.'), ZI.KIN-*az* (par. X 18 I 22–23 *namma-ssan* LUGAL-*us* ^{GIS}GIGIR *tiyazi t-as-kan* ^{NA}ZI.KIN-*az arha uizzi*), ZI.KIN (XX 99 II 25–26 *n-as-kan* ^{ISTU} ^{NA}ZI.KIN ^{DLA}[MA] [*par*]ā *uizzi* 'he comes forth from the h. of L.'), nom.-acc. pl. *hu-wa-si* (e.g. *KBo* II 3 III 11 [*is*]tarna-*ma-kan* 7 ^{NA}*hūwasi isgaranzi* 'in between they set seven h.'; cf. Hrozný, *Heth. KB* 82; L. Rost, *MIO* 1:362 [1953]), *hu-u-wa-si* (e.g. *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 15 3 ^{NA}*hūwasi*; cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 60 [1940]; XII 59 III 13 ^{NA}*hūwasih.A*), *hu-wa-a-si* (dupl. *KBo* II 3 III 23 ^{NA}*hūwāsih.A*), dat.-loc. pl. *hu-u-wa-si-ya-as* (e.g. *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 9 [*n-an* ^{NA}]hū-*wasiyas ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *hūkanzi* 'they slaughter it at the h. to the deities').

On the attestations and much-discussed realia of the *huwasi*- (which has been compared with the Hebrew *maššēbāh* and the Greek *βαίτυλος*) see e.g. M. Darga, *Belleten* 33:493–504 (1969), *RHA* 27:5–24 (1969); Imparati, *RHA* 32:119–37 (1974). The unlikely idea that *huwasi*- may refer to an entire cultic monument complex such as Yazilikaya, originating with Güterbock (*MDOG* 86:76 [1953]) and dismissed by Gurney (*Some aspects of Hittite religion* 40–1 [1977]), still enlisted the support of Singer (*Festival* 1:101); *hekur* (q. v.) is a more likely designation for places like Yazilikaya.

Vague inner-Anatolian affinity with Hier. *wanai*- 'stela, monument' (Meriggi, *HHG* 148–9) was suggested by Bossert (*Belleten*

16:495–545 [1952]) and endorsed by Laroche (*HH* 138–9), extending via Luw. (*u*)*wanni*- 'stone-block, stela' (*Dict. louv.* 106) to Lyd. *vāna*- 'tomb' (Gusmani, *Lyd. Wb.* 222) but not expanding our formal understanding of *huwasi*-. No better was H. Eichner's suggestion **huwayasi*-, comparing a Hier. *hui*-, *hu(i)zi/a*-, allegedly 'carve' (*Die Sprache* 25:205 [1979]).

huuigatar (n.), nom. sg. *hu-u-i-ga-tar* in *KUB* XXIV 8 I 13–14 [*pa*]nku *huuigatar mān hahhariyan* 'like an entire h. raked together' (simile for a multitude of riches; cf. Friedrich, *ZA* 49:214 [1950]); also 685/z, 7 (cf. Siegelová, *Appu-Hedammu* 4, 20). Cf. Kronasser, *Etym.* 1:296.

Apparent neuter action noun in *-atar*, referring perhaps to grain accumulation on a threshing field. An underlying verb **hu(w)ig(a)*- might have denoted the procedure of separating the grain from the husks and chaff, thus threshing and winnowing as distinct from raking. Cf. perhaps Goth. *ga-wigan*, *ga-wagjan* 'shake down', ON *vega* 'shake, swing, sway'; it is by no means certain that this root is identical with **weġh*- seen in Skt. *vāhati*, Lat. *vehō*, etc. (pace *IEW* 1118–20). Cf. Puhvel, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 9:201 (1976) = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 250 (1981).

H. A. Hoffner (*Alimenta Hethaeorum* 21–2 [1974]) attempted to connect *huuigatar* with the infinitive *huganna*, postulating a third homograph *huek*- 'thresh, winnow' (beside 'slaughter' and 'conjure') in *KUB* XXXI 57 I 14–15 *terippūwanzi warsuwanzi* ARĀH-*anzi* *huganna arauwas* NU.GÁL 'free from plowing, harvesting, garnering, and "threshing" there is none'; but surely threshing would not be listed as an activity subsequent to grain-storage; *huganna* may refer rather to sacrificial or other slaughter in the context of post-harvest activity.

HUWATALLA- 'to strip(of) ~~to winnow~~' Hoffn. rev. of HED 4 (*kurinna*)

see sub **HUWANTALA**-

NEW ENTRY

huihu(i)ssuwali- 'vitaly validated, qualihfied by birth' (vel sim.).

See HED N: 145

Corrections and Additions to Volumes 1–2

Page

- xviii, line 16: correct to *Lingua Posnaniensis*.
 3, line 3: *KUB* IX 3 IV 8 and LIII 3 VI 5 *a-as-ta-ma-kán* (cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:57, 61 [1984]).
 4, line 13: *e-ti-iz* (*KUB* XLIX 7 l.R. 2 *etiz* INIM-za).
 10, line 3 from end: correct S-az to A-az.
 12, line 31: correct to *KUB* XXX 40 II 11.
 12, line 5 from end: nom. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrushis* (*KUB* XXXII 43 IV 5; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:236).
 12, line 3 from end: acc. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrūshin* (*KBo* XXI 33 I 8; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:39).
 12, line 2 from end: dat.-loc. sg. ^{DUG}*āhrūshi* (e. g. *KBo* XXIII 12 I 25; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:65), ^{DUG}*āhrushiya* (e. g. XXIII 34 I 6; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:287), ^{DUG}*āhrūshiya* (e. g. *KUB* XXXII 49a II 13; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:47).
 13, line 3: acc. pl. *āhrushius* (*KBo* XXIV 57 I 10; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:149).
 13, line 13: correct to *ağršhng hbršhnd*.
 14, line 16: correct 21 to 22.
 15, line 3: *Bo* 2073 is *KUB* LIV 1; cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:57 [1985].
 15, line 23: initial Greek circumflex omitted (tiny raised cue sign “G” printed instead); read *ἵπoc*. Also 63, line 25; 108, line 1; 138, line 2 from end; 204, line 19; 335, line 27; 336, line 12; 364, line 2 from end; 386, line 21; 395, lines 18, 19, 20, 24, 25; 412, line 30; 427, lines 22 and 32; 493, line 19.
 16, line 11: correct ‘[he] withdrew’ to ‘[she] distorted’.
 17, line 20: correct to 1188–90.
 17, line 4 from end: Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:149–51 [1988]) adduced Gk. *οἶσο-φάγος*.
 17, line 3 from end: correct to *ἀποθνήσκω*.
 18, line 18: 1 sg. pret. act. *a-ku-un* (*KUB* LIV 1 II 22).
 18, line 24: correct to *kāstit-a man*.
 20, last line: correct *sā* to *šā*.
 24, line 13: *KBo* XXVI 98, 4 ^{NA}*akun*.

- 24, line 17: strike the line from “Cf.” onward.
 25, after line 15: Van Windekens (KZ 100:307 [1987]) took Gk. ἄβυσσος to be borrowed from *akkus(s)a-*; but the standard explanation *ā* + *βυσσός* ‘bottomless’ stands.
 26, lines 1 and 4: *Bo* 2738 is *KUB* LVIII 79.
 26, lines 3 and 6: *Bo* 2499 is *KUB* LV 67.
 27, line 13: correct *allala* to *allallā*.
 27, line 14: correct to “*KBo* XIII 260 III 37 *alallā*.”
 29, line 15: nom.-acc. sg. (or pl.) ^{GIŠ}*al-la-an-da-GIŠ-ru* (*KBo* XXV 184 II 75 and III 4).
 31, line 16: 2 pl. pret. act. *al-la-pa-ah-tin* (*KUB* VII 18, 2).
 33, line 13: correct Alb. to *hule*.
 33, line 20: ^{SAL}*al-hu-i-it-ra-as* (*KBo* XIV 96 III 18).
 36, line 19: *Bo* 2967 is *KUB* LVIII 100.
 37, line 8: *KUB* LVII 63 I 3 *alpas* NU.GÁL ‘there is no cloud’; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16.
 39, line 5: *IBoT* IV 84 V 3 GA.Κ]IN.AG *alpān*.
 40, line 18: cf. Akk. *šapāru* ‘trim’; H. C. Melchert, *Die Sprache* 29:15 (1983).
 40, line 2 from end: Güterbock again defended *alpu-* as ‘pointed’ in *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* 168–70 (1988).
 41, after line 32: Van Windekens (KZ 100:308–9 [1987]) compared Gk. ἄλσος ‘sacred grove, precinct’, with reference to ἔρκος ‘enclosure’: ὄρκος ‘oath’.
 43, line 13: correct to *altiwṛ*, *eltiwṛ*.
 44, line 32: correct to *hūmandas*.
 49, lines 3–4: *Bo* 2033a is *KUB* XLV 75.
 49, line 16: add “*KUB* LIV 1 I 33 *ambassin warnunun* ‘I lit the a.’”.
 49, line 19: *Bo* 3481 is *KUB* LVI 49.
 51, line 5: 513/i is *KBo* XXIX 34; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 378.
 52, line 3: *a-ni-UD.KAM-ti* (*KBo* XXIV 126 Vs. 27).
 53, line 6: correct to EZEN.HI.A.
 53, line 17: *an-na-li* (*KUB* XXVII 1 I 28).
 57, lines 3–4: correct XXXV 92 I 29 to *KBo* IX 146 Vs. 29; cf. Otten, *LTU* 88; Starke, *KLTU* 403.
 57, line 13: gen. adj. *ēnehi* (*TLy* 44a.29); also Lyc. B *ēnesi-* ...
 58, line 29: nom. pl. *an-na-ni-ki-e[es]* (*KBo* XXII 178 + *KUB* XLVIII 109 II 5; cf. *ibid.* 6 *pappa* ŠE[Š.MEŠ ‘brothers by the same father’, and H. A. Hoffner, *Studies in Memory of A. Sachs* 191–2, 194–7 [1988]).

- 59, line 12: correct to YÀ DÜG.GA.
 60, line 4 from end: correct to *Code* 2:19.
 65, line 3: *an-na-ū-li-is* also 299/1986 III 39; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 22.
 66, lines 26–27: correct XLI 15 Vs. 13 to XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 23; cf. *ZA* 74:303 (1984).
 70, line 14: strike *aniur* (e. g.).
 70, line 15: correct to *aniūr*.
 71, line 23: correct to ^DUTU-ŠI-
 72, line 24: correct to SAL-nātar.
 72, line 33: correct *hassumar* to *hassatar*.
 73, line 4: correct to *hannetalwa(na)-* (s. v.).
 73, line 9: Cf. H. Eichner, *Die Sprache* 25:77 (1979).
 74, line 11: correct to *weuiskiuan*.
 74, lines 26–27: correct to *namma-an āandaz A-az ishahru ... arha ānaszi* ‘then he wipes off his tears with warm water’.
 74, line 28: *an-sa-an-zi* (*KBo* XX 116 Rs. 6).
 75, line 3 from end: Possibly from **am(a)s-* (cf. *anassa-* [s. v.], and H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 101:211–2 [1988]).
 83, line 27: add *andura-*.
 83, last line: nom. sg. c. *an-dur-as* (*KUB* L 48 III 2 *anduras-ma* BAL ‘internal rebellion’, vs. *ibid.* 3 *arahzenas-ma* BAL; L 22, 6).
 84, line 3: nom. pl. c. *an-dur-as* (*KUB* XLII 49 Vs. 7 2 TUG.MEŠ BABBAR *anduras* ‘two white native cloths’; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 127 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 348), acc. pl. c. *an-tu-u-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XXVI 9 + 1256/1969-I 13 *antūriyas* LÜ.MEŠ EN.NU.UN ‘inside watchmen’; cf. Otten, *Orientalia* N.S. 52:134 [1983]).
 84, line 29. dat. sg. ^{LÜ}*an-du-wa-sal-li* (299/1986 IV 33; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 26).
 85, line 3: *Bo* 2489 + 4008 is *KUB* LVII 63; cf. *ibid.* 31 and dupl. LVII 60 II 21 *an-tu-(u-)us-me-it-ta*; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20.
 95, lines 10–11: strike “*handai-* ‘arrange’ from *hand(a)s* ‘according to’ (q. v.), or”.
 96, line 23: correct *arka* to *arga*.
 96, line 5 from end: abl. sg. *ap-pa-si-wa-at-ta-az* (*KUB* LVII 63 II 24 and dupl. LVII 60 II 16; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20).
 98, line 20: correct to 66–87.
 99, line 20: correct to *apidani*.

- 99, line 4 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *a-pi-ya* (see s. v. *hass-* 'ashes').
- 102, line 5 from end: EN É *apuzzi* also 299/1986 IV 40 (cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 28).
- 103, line 18: *Bo* 2839 IV 3 is *KUB* LVIII 33 IV 4.
- 109, line 19: spell out *ar-ah-hu-un*.
- 109, line 20: spell out *a-ar-ah-hu-un*.
- 110, line 31: correct to *kāsa-*.
- 112, line 2: *Bo* 2489 is *KUB* LVII 63; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 16.
- 126, line 22: Another sense 'raising, levy' may be found in instr.-abl. *a-ri-ya-ta-ti* (*KBo* XIII 231 Vs. 6 1 GUD 2 UDU.HI.A *ariyatati* [with gloss-wedges] 'one head of cattle [and] two sheep by levy'; misspelled *ibid.* 10 *a-ri-ya-ga-ti*, *ibid.* Rs. 12 *a-ir-ya-ta-ti*); hittitized abl. *a-ri-ya-at-ta-za* (299/1986 II 29 *ariyattaza* 2 ME GUD 1 LIM UDU.HI.A 'by levy two hundred cattle [and] one thousand sheep'; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16, 48).
- 128, line 25: correct to *JCS* 6:22, 41.
- 128, line 3 from end: Hurr. *asar* was doubted by N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 114–5 (1987).
- 129, line 22: gen. sg. *ir-ha-as* (*KUB* XVII 29 II 7 *irhass-a* KASKAL-*ass-a uddani* 'in the matter of the border and the road').
- 131, line 4: partic. *arhant-*, *irhant-*, nom.-acc. sg. neut. *ar-ha-a-an* (*KBo* XXII 1, 30–31 [OHitt.] *nu kissan AWĀT ABI-YA arhān harteni* 'thus you have carried out the mandate of my father').
- 131, line 7: acc. pl. c. *ir-ha-a-du-[us]* (*IBoT* II 19, 5).
- 132, line 9: correct to *kuima*.
- 132, line 2 from end: correct to *assūli*.
- 134, line 4: correct to Riemschneider; contract lines 4 and 5.
- 136, line 14: correct to DINGIR-LIM.
- 136, line 24: strike "*arienzi* (II 3 III 24)."
- 136, line 31: *a-ri-ya-an-nu-un* (*KUB* XLIII 50 Vs. 13 + XV 36 Vs. 5; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica* VI 105, 123 [1985]).
- 136, last line: GAM.MĀS-u-en (Meskene; cf. *CHD* 3:253).
- 137, line 15: *KUB* LII 41 Rs. 2 *a-ri-is-kat-ta-ri*.
- 139, line 6: correct to *art'un*.
- 139, line 17: abl. sg. ^{GIS}*a-ri-im-pa-a-az* (*KBo* XVII 54 I 3).
- 141, line 19: correct 'slits open' to 'sticks'.
- 142, line 11: correct 30 to 29.
- 142, line 29: Uncertain 3 sg. pres. in *ishi[man]an ar-ki-y[a-?* (*KUB* LV 28 III 4), *ishamanan ar-k[i-?* (*ibid.* 7); hardly 'climbs up (the

- rope)' (Ünal, *JCS* 40:99, 101, 106 [1988]) which is *ibid.* 5–6 *sarā* ... *paizzi* (vs. *ibid.* 6 and 18 *katta uizzi* 'descends'); perhaps a different verb, 'extends (the rope ladder)', cognate with Ved. *rjyate* 'stretch'.
- 142, line 30: (ŠIR), nom. sg. (?) *ar-k[i-y]a-as* (*KBo* XXVI 34 I 2).
- 144, line 13: acc. pl. *ar-kam-mu-us* also 299/1986 II 23; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 16.
- 147, line 29: correct to *jērzejat*, *jērgajet*.
- 147, last line: correct to *Linguistique balkanique*.
- 148, line 10: gen. sg. (?) ^Ē*ar-ki-ū-ya-as* (*KUB* LV 5 IV 12; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:110).
- 148, line 20: *ar-ka-u-i* (*KBo* XI 47 I 4).
- 148, line 22: *[a]r-ki-ū-az* (*KBo* XIII 227 I 2).
- 148, line 25: Cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 333–48.
- 151, line 26: correct to *walliēs*.
- 152, line 11: correct to "*arma* 'gear'"; cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 [1983]).
- 152, line 30: correct to *armannaima*.
- 152, line 32: add "perhaps Luwoid and normal participles of a denominative verb *armamai-* (cf. H. A. Hoffner, *Bi. Or.* 40:411 [1983])."
- 153, line 29: correct to *armta-*.
- 155, lines 7–10: strike "and" and read "G. T. Rikov (*Linguistique balkanique* 24:3:78–80 [1981]) adduced Hes. ἄρμη·λεικῆ (allegedly pro λεύκη). Kammenhuber (*Orakelpraxis* 55–6) pronounced *armuwalasha-* a loanword from Hurrian."
- 156, line 19: deities; cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 [1983]).
- 156, line 24: *armahhanza* also *KUB* LVI 19 II 9.
- 156, line 33: correct to *armahhu(w)ar*.
- 156, last line: strike [...]; correct "midwife" to "old woman".
- 158, line 23: correct to *ZA* 49:234.
- 159, line 12: correct to *KUB* VIII.
- 160, line 21: H. C. Melchert (*Die Sprache* 29:20–1 [1983]) compared Alb. *jerm* 'daze, delirium', as a reflex of IE **er-* 'move, stir'.
- 160, line 3 from end: *Maṣat* 75/67 ^{GIS}*armizzi* 'building the bridge with stone is already finished'.
- 161, line 1: *ar-me-iz-zi-ya-as* (*Bo* 2689 Rs. 10 *mān LUGAL-US* ^{GIS}*ar-mezziyas āri* 'when the king arrives at the bridge'; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 358).
- 161, line 15: Cf. Otten, *Festschrift für K. Bittel* 433–4 (1983).

- 165, lines 29–30: strike “nom.-acc. pl. neut. *arnuwanda* (KUB XXVII 13 IV 14)”.
- 166, line 22: 3 pl. imp. act. *ar-nu-us-kán-du* (KUB XIII 2 III 10; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 47).
- 171, line 30: KUB LIV 1 IV 21 *arsanzi*.
- 171, line 3 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *a-ar-sa-an-ti* (KBo XVII 54 I 5 id *ārsanti-ya* ‘and to the flowing river’).
- 172, line 2 from end: Maṣat *ar-sa-na-an-ta* (cf. Güterbock, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10:207 [1986]).
- 174, line 4: correct to “let all generations likewise cherish the king and queen”.
- 175, last line: correct to “I 15 5 *arduss-a*”.
- 176, line 1: KUB XXXIX 35 I 9 *arduss-a* MUŠEN.HI.A.
- 176, line 28: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 (1983).
- 182, line 21: Van Windekens (*Festgabe für W. Thomas* 118–9 [1988]) derived *aruna-* from *aru-* ‘high’, comparing Lat. *altum* for ‘sea’.
- 183, lines 18–19: correct to “G. T. Rikov (*Linguistique balkanique* 25.2:22–3 [1982])”.
- 183, line 20: cf. also *ārsa tiyat* (299/1986 II 54; Otten, *Bronzetafel* 18, 49).
- 184, line 9: strike *zi*.
- 186, line 10: Bo 2965 is KUB LVIII 5 I 3 é *ar-sa-na-za*.
- 186, line 11: 3 sg. pres. act. (?) *ar-za-na-i* (IBoT IV 18 Vs. 9).
- 186, line 12: correct to *Die Kaškäer*.
- 186, line 29: correct to “1 LÚ 1 SAL”.
- 187, line 9: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479 (1983).
- 187, line 20: cf. *marzastarri-* beside *marsastarri-*.
- 188, line 21: correct to ‘a place did not remain’.
- 192, line 30: Bo 2813 II 10 is KUB LVIII 83 II 11.
- 193, lines 14 and 33: correct to *BIBRI.HI.A.*
- 194, lines 2 and 3: correct to *BIBRI.HI.A.*
- 196, line 26: correct to *buššū*.
- 198, line 4: *a-as-sa-u-wa-za* (KUB XXXIV 53 Rs. 14).
- 199, line 17: Bo 2489 + 4008 is KUB LVII 63; cf. A. Archi, *Documentum Otten* 20.
- 200, line 22: strike *t-as*.
- 200, line 4 from end: correct to šà.
- 201, line 22: correct to *BIBRI.HI.A.*
- 202, line 2: correct to 8-*andas*.
- 202, line 3: correct to “born to her on the basis of eight”.

- 205, line 23: strike “*harpu-* ‘hostile’ from *harp-* ‘separate’”.
- 207, line 22: cf. Ivanov, *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija* 1980 168 (1981), who also adduced Toch. B *yesan* ‘clear’.
- 208, line 2 from end: cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:479–80 (1983).
- 209, line 17: *a-se-es-sar* (e. g. KUB XX 76 I 14 *asessar asesanzi* ‘they seat the congregation’; cf. H. Gonnet, *Mémorial Atatürk* 48 [1982]; KBo XXVII 42 II 67 [*as*]essarr-*a hūman asesanzi*).
- 212, line 30: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:671 (1983).
- 213, line 5 from end: KUB XIII 4 II 56 *n-an* UGAL-*an āska ūt* *uwatezzi* ‘does not bring it to the king’s gate’.
- 213, line 2 from end: KUB XVII 12 II 25 *n-as āsga parā paizzi*.
- 215, line 30: Bo 2476 is KUB LIII 50.
- 215, line 32: dupl. Bo 3471, 4–5 *askus ... watkuzzi*; cf. ZA 74:304 [1984].
- 216, line 14: R. Stefanini, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 252–3 (1988), identified *asku-* as ‘gecko’.
- 217, line 7: change KUB XXXIII 106 to KBo XXVI 65.
- 218, line 2: correct to *Analecta*.
- 219, line 9: correct to Georgiev.
- 220, line 1: correct to *mediterranea*.
- 220, line 16: correct to šà.
- 220, line 3 from end: Bo 2393 + 5138 is KUB LV 43.
- 223, line 4 from end: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:671–2 (1983).
- 225, line 4: correct to *uddanī*.
- 225, line 13: abl. sg. *at-ta-az* (KBo IX 146 Vs. 49; XX 31, 1), *at-ta-za* (KUB LVI 17 Rs. 2 *attaza-ma annaza*; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 103 [1988]).
- 226, line 25: correct to *ddedi, tedesi-*.
- 227, line 12: Cf. Puhvel, *JAOS* 103:672 (1983).
- 227, line 27: 97/b is KBo XXIX 199.
- 228, line 21: correct to DINGIR-LIM.
- 229, line 2: KBo XVIII 181 Vs. 2 and Rs. 14 *adupli*.
- 229, line 23: correct to “(c., also n.)”.
- 229, line 4 from end: KUB XLIX 19 III 26 *mān aulis kuedani imma pidi* EGIR[‘if the a. in whatever place again...’.
- 230, line 5: KUB XLIII 63 Vs. 5 and 15.
- 230, line 6: *a-ū-li-en* also KUB XLVIII 123 I 8 *aulen* GUL-*ahta* ‘struck the spleen’; cf. Lebrun, *Hethitica IV* 96), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-ū-li* (KUB XXXV 133 II 31–33 *n-asta ANA UDU* ^{UZU}*suppa* ^{UZU}*GAD* ^{UZU}*ZAG.LU* ^{UZU}*auli parku hastāi* ^{UZU}*HĀSĪ* ^{UZU}*NÍG.GIG n-at-*

- kan ANA ^{DUG}UTUL pissiyazzi 'from the sheep [he takes] clean meat, breast, shoulder, spleen, high bone, lung, entrails, and throws them into the pot'; cf. Otten, *LTU* 110; Starke, *KLTU* 280), gen. sg. *a-ú-li-ya-as* (*KBo* XX 73 IV 4 *auliyas inan* 'ailment of the spleen').
- 232, line 24: Cf. Puhvel, *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* 433–7 (1984). C. Kühne (*ZA* 76:85–117 [1986]) essayed an alternative interpretation 'throat, bronchial tubes and/or arteries' and unconvincingly connected Gk. *αἰλός* 'pipe', Toch. B *auloñ* 'body ducts', OCS *ulica* 'alley', Lat. *alv(e)us* 'hollow, cavity' (*IEW* 88–9), the true cognate of which is Hitt. *halluwa-* 'hollow' (q. v.).
- 232, line 25: correct to "(c., OHitt. n.)".
- 232, line 4 from end: acc. sg. c. *a-ú-ri-in* (*KBo* XII 69, 5), nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-ú-ri* (*KUB* XXXI 110, 8 *auri-smit* 'your [or: their] fort').
- 233, line 4: gen. sg. *a-wa-ri-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXVI 49 I 9).
- 233, line 31: *KUB* XL 60 I 2 *hantezzius aurius*; so also 299/1986 III 44; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 22.
- 237, lines 6–7: *Bo* 1850 Rs. is *KUB* LVII 116 Vs.; *Bo* 2498 is *KUB* XLIX 2.
- 239, line 31: correct to "nom. pl.".
- 240, line 2: 1 sg. pres. act. *us-ki-mi* (*KBo* XIV 75 I 14), *ú-us-ki-mi* (*KBo* XVIII 136, 17).
- 240, line 12: *u-us-ki-si* (*KUB* VI 7 III 18).
- 240, line 14: strike "*us-kat-ti* (XVIII 56 II 25)".
- 240, line 4 from end: *KUB* LIV 1 I 20 *us-kat-te-ni*.
- 241, line 29: *us-kir* (*KBo* XVIII 69 Rs. 13).
- 241, line 3 from end: *ú-us-ki* (*KBo* III 29 I 6 [OHitt.]).
- 242, line 2: correct to *VBoT*. 3 sg. imp. act. *u-us-ki-id-du* (*KUB* XXXVI 55 II 24), *u-us-kad-du* (*HT* 48, 3), 2 pl. imp. act. *a-us-kat-tin* (*KBo* XVII 73, 8).
- 242, line 14: correct to "(XII 1 IV 11; cf. S.)".
- 242, line 23: supine *us-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXIX 61 I 5 and 6 *uskiuwan dāi* 'begins to see').
- 243, line 17: cf. *muhhi* 'I fall' (*KUB* XLIII 60 I 34), 3 sg. *mauszi*, 1 sg. pret. midd. *maushahat* (cf. Otten, *Apologie* 18).
- 245, line 3 from end: add "with dupl. *KUB* IX 34 I 33 LÚ *ausiyas*".
- 246, line 16: correct to "*KUB* XXXVIII 2 I 12".

- 246, line 19: *a-ú-wi-ti-is* (*KUB* XLII 69 Vs. 11; cf. S. Košak, *Ling.* 18:115 [1978]).
- 246, last line: *a-ú-i-ti* (sic *KUB* XLII 10 Rs. 6).
- 247, line 12: correct to *hawī-*.
- 251, line 3: correct *ehu-si* to *ehu-wa*.
- 253, line 22: correct to *iyatniantes*.
- 254, line 8: *KUB* LIII 8 Rs. 3 *karuuli* ^{GIS}*eyan* 'old eya-tree', vs. ibid. 5 *gibil-ma* ^{GIS}*eyan* 'new'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:69 [1984].
- 254, line 25: *Bo* 2967 is *KUB* LVIII 100.
- 254, line 26: *Bo* 2839 is *KUB* LVIII 33; so also 255, line 29.
- 254, line 26: *KUB* LIII 4 Rs. 38 ^{GIS}*eyas pir*{an; cf. *AoF* 11:76 [1984]. LIII 16 VI 15; cf. Otten, *Materialien* 21.
- 254, line 27: *KUB* LIV 69 Vs. 12 ^{GIS}*eyanas* (or dat.-loc. pl.).
- 254, line 33: instr. sg. ^{GIS}*e-ya-ni-it* (*Bo* 5549, 6; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi* ... *dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 108 [1988]).
- 254, line 3 from end: *KUB* LIV 69 Vs. 10 3 ^{GIS}*eyan*.
- 255, line 31: *Bo* 2710 is *KUB* LVIII 11.
- 258, line 16: Also *ekunant-*, nom.-acc. sg. and pl. neut. in *UZU* *i-ku-na-an* (*KBo* X 36 Rs. 3), *UZU* *e-ku-na-an-ta* (XXVII 42 II 47). *UZU* *e-ku-na-an-n[a* (XI 38 V 3) 'cold meat(s)' (cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:57).
- 258, line 17: *ekunimas* (*KUB* III 110, 9), *ikunimmas* (XLIII 62 II 11 *ikunimmas* NUGÁL 'there is no cold').
- 258, line 5 from end: An example may be seen in *KUB* LVIII 58 I 10 *kuedani mēhuni ekunizzi hass[i* 'at what time it is cold, at the hearth ...' (cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 292).
- 260, line 20: Van Windekens (*KZ* 100:311–2 [1987]) implausibly took *δίκτυον* as borrowed from Hitt. *ikt-*, with initial "contamination" by *δικεῖν*.
- 267, line 27: correct to "[1974] = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* 265 [1981])".
- 268, line 17: Cf. Puhvel, in *Studia linguistica diachronica et synchronica* 693–6 (1985).
- 269, line 4 from end: dat.-loc. pl. *il-zi-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXII 129 Vs. 14 *n-at-kan* ^{GIS}*ilziyas tianzi* 'they place it on scales').
- 272, line 17: nom.-acc. pl. *i-ni-ri* (*KUB* LVII 105 II 4 *iniri-ssit* IGI.HI.A-*it* 'its eyebrows with the eyes').
- 272, line 18: instr. sg. *i-ne-ri-d(a)* (*KBo* XXX 30 Rs. 4 *inerid-at-kan* [*dāu* 'with the eyebrow he shall take it').

- 272, line 22: acc. pl. c. *e-ne-ru-us* (*IBoT* III 72, 10).
 275, line 20: 1 pl. pres. act. *DIB-u-e-ni* (*KBo* XXIII 110 Rs. 7).
 276, line 2: 3 pl. pres. act. *DIB-an-zi* (e.g. *KBo* II 8 IV 27).
 277, line 25: 3 sg. pret. midd. *e-ip-ta-at* (*KUB* LII 83 I 5 *arha ūl eptat*), *DIB-ta-at* (XLIX 103 Vs. 9 *arha DIB-tat*), *DIB-at* (XLVI 37 Vs. 11 *arha DIB-at*).
 277, line 28: 1 pl. pret. act. *NIŠBAT* (*KBo* VII 53 Vs. 7).
 277, line 28: 2 pl. pret. act. *e-ip-te-en* (*KUB* I 16 + XL 65 III 9; cf. Kühne, *ZA* 62:257 [1972]).
 278, line 17: 3 pl. pret. act. *DIB-ir* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 6 and 11), *İŠBATU* (*KBo* XXII 2 Rs. 9).
 279, line 2: *e-ip-te-en* (*KBo* XVI 27 I 5; *KUB* XXIII 68 Vs. 6 *e-ip-te-na-an* 'seize him!').
 279, line 15: 3 pl. imp. act. *DIB-an-du* (*KUB* XXI 38 Vs. 33).
 279, line 26: *DIB-an-za* (e.g. *KUB* XXXVIII 12 I 18 *anda DIB-anza*).
 279, line 26: acc. sg. c. *appandan* (*KBo* XX 107 + XXIII 50 II 22 *appandan antuhsann-a* 'captive person').
 280, line 13: *DIB-an-ta* (*KUB* XXVI 69 VII 12; cf. Werner, *Gerichtsprotokolle* 46).
 280, last line: *e-ip-pu-u-wa-an-zi* also *KUB* XIII 4 II 22.
 281, line 6: *DIB-an-na* (e.g. *KUB* V 9 Vs. 8; LII 41 Rs. 3).
 281, line 28: 1 pl. pret. act. *ap-pi-es-ki-u-en* (*KUB* XVIII 24 III 11).
 281, line 28: 3 pl. pret. act. *ap-pi-es-ki-ir* (*IBoT* II 129 Vs. 19; *ibid.* *Ūl ap-pi-es-kán-zi*), *ap-pi-es-kir* (*KUB* XX 13 I 6), *ap-pi-is-ki-ir* (*KBo* XX 57 Rs. 12 *KASKAL-an appiskir*), *ap-pi-is-kir* (XVI 86 Vs. 6; *KUB* XXII 70 Vs. 32 ...).
 281, line 30: 3 sg. imp. act. *ap-pi-is-ki-id-du* (*KUB* XXVI 17 II 4), 2 pl. imp. act. *ap-pi-is-ki-it-tin* (XXIII 72 + XL 10 Rs. 57), 3 pl. imp. act. *ap-pi-es-kán-du* (XXVIII 1 III 16).
 282, line 27: 3 pl. pres. act. *i-pu-ra-[a]n-zi* (*KBo* XV 24 II 10–11 + *KUB* XXXII 137 II 31 *alpāt pedan ipuranzi n-asta sarā* [...] [*is*]huwanzi 'they dam that spot and pile up ...'); verbal noun *ipurauar* (?), gen. sg. *i-pu-ra-u-as* (*KBo* XVIII 181 Vs. 15 *ANA LI-U₅ ipurau[as* 'on the tablet of the i.']; *ibid.* Rs. 30 *LI-U₅ ipura[u]as*; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 119, 121 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 372, 376).
 282, line 30: add "also *ibid.* 10".
 282, line 31: correct to "ibid. 25 and I.R. 3".
 282, line 31: correct "pres." to "pret."
 282, line 2 from end: correct "demolish" to "penetrate".

- 282, last line: Cf. Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13–14:204 (1978–9).
 283, line 19: N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* 76 (1987), mistranslated *epurai-* as 'smooth over'.
 283, line 22: ^{GIS}*e-ir-hu-i* (*KBo* XX 4 IV 5; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 39; *KUB* LIV 59, 5), *e-ir-hu-i* (XLII 107 IV 13 1 *ME erhui INBI* 'a hundred baskets of fruit').
 283, line 23: ^{GIS}*ir-hu-u-i* (e.g. *KBo* IX 99, 5).
 283, lines 23–24: the "gen. sg." examples are rather dat.-loc. pl. and belong on p. 284, line 5.
 283, line 25: dat.-loc. sg. ^{GIS}*irhui* (e.g. *KUB* XV 31 I 10 [not nom.-acc.; correct at line 23]).
 283, line 26: XXXII 128 II 29 reads *ir-hu-u-i-ti* and belongs in line 5 from end.
 283, line 4 from end: ^{GIS}*ir-hu-ū-i-ti* (*KUB* XII 12 V 15), ^{GIS}*ir-hu-i-ti-i* (XLI 17 I 28), ^{GI}*ir-hu-i-ti-i* (LV 23, 4, with 'reed' determinative).
 284, line 3: ^{GIS}*e-ir-hu-ya-za* (*KUB* LVII 110 II 12), ^{GIS}*ir-hu-ya-az* (*KBo* XIV 96 III 9), ^{GIS}*ir-hu-u-e-az* (*KUB* LV 39 I 21).
 284, line 4: ^{GIS}*MA.SÁ.AB-ya-za* (*KBo* XXVII 54 I 11).
 284, line 7: nom. sg. ^{GIS}*ir-hu-i-ta-al-la-as* (*KBo* VIII 68 IV 4 *kās SAL-as* ^{GIS}*irhuita[las]*).
 284, line 4 from end: ^{GIS}*e-ri-ip-pi-da* (*KBo* XXIII 27 I 25), ^{GIS}*e-ri-pi-it* (sic *ibid.* 27).
 285, line 5 from end: *KUB* XXVI 83 III 18 *kā esuwan[i* 'here we are'; cf. Carruba, *SMEA* 18:165 [1977].
 287, line 5: 299/1986 II 33–34 *nu-nnas annisan-pat nakkiēs āssawēs esuwen nu-nnas lenkiyas esuwen* 'we were from way back mutually dear and beloved, and we were oath partners'; *ibid.* 48–49 *anzāss-a-nnas hanti lenkiyas UKÜ.MEŠ esuwen*; cf. Otten, *Bronze-tafel* 16–8.
 287, line 5: *e-es-su-u-en* (*KUB* XVIII 24 III 6 *anzās ēssuwen* 'we were').
 287, line 18: *e-es-sir* also *KUB* XVIII 24 III 5; XVIII 67 Vs. 5; *KBo* XIV 21 I 30.
 288, line 19: 2 pl. imp. act. *i-is-te-e[n]* (*KBo* VI 2 III 20 [= *Code* 1:55, OHitt.]).
 289, line 21: acc. sg. c. *a-sa-an-da-an* (*KUB* XIV 4 II 21).
 289, line 28: *asanda* also *KUB* XL 1 Vs. 34.
 290, line 2: correct to "[1971], *Kadmos* 11:47–54 [1972], 22:59–60 [1983]]."
 291, line 32: 2 sg. pres. midd. *e-es-ta-ri* also *KUB* LVII 24, 5.

- 291, last line: 3 sg. pres. act. *TUŠ-zi* (e.g. *KUB* XII 1 IV 16).
 292, line 18: 3 sg. pres. midd. *TUŠ-ri* (*KUB* V 1 IV 9).
 294, line 4: correct to “3 sg. pret. midd.”.
 294, line 7: 3 sg. pret. midd. *e-sa-ti* also *KBo* XIII 99 Rs. 4.
 294, line 30: 3 sg. pret. midd. *TUŠ-at* (e.g. *KUB* XV 12 IV 6 and 7).
 295, line 18: correct to *e]-es-tu-ma-ti*.
 295, line 19: nom. sg. c. *TUŠ-za* (*KUB* XVII 35 III 23 ALAM SAL
TUŠ-za AN.BAR ‘seated likeness of woman, of iron’).
 295, line 28: *a-sa-an-ta-as* (*KBo* XXV 171 VI 7).
 295, line 33: *KBo* XIII 10 Vs. 9 EGIR-*pa esanza*.
 296, line 18: dat.-loc. sg. *a-sa-an-ni* (*KBo* XVI 53 Rs. 46).
 296, line 33: 3 pl. pres. midd. *e-es-kán-ta* (*KBo* XXX 172 Vs. 7),
e-es-kán-ta-ri (XIX 163 I 24).
 298, line 5 from end: correct to *birdu*.
 298, line 4 from end: cf. *MSL* 17:110 [1985].
 305, line 3: *e-es-si-is-[ki-* (*KUB* LIV 1 I 60).
 306, line 4: *KBo* XXVI 20 III 15 [Akk.] *tamu* = [Hitt.] *ēšhar*; cf.
MSL 17:110 [1985].
 307, line 2 from end: *is-ha-ni* (*KUB* LV 28 II 6; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:99
 [1988]).
 308, line 1: *e-es-ha-ni-it* (*Bo* 3696 I 7 and 10).
 308, line 8: J. Catsanicos (*BSL* 77.2:94 [1982]) wrongly interpreted
 forms such as *(i)ēssar*, *(i)ēšnas* as a verbal noun ‘deed, crime’
 from *iya-* ‘do’ (besides *iyauwar*), with reference to Laroche (*RPh*
 67:121 [1973]) who tried to separate *iēssar* from *ēšhar*.
 308, line 26: *KUB* LIV 1 IV 19 *is-ha-na-an-za*.
 308, line 2 from end: nom. sg. c. *is-ha-nu-wa-an-za* (*KBo* XIII 131
 III 14).
 309, line 23: acc. sg. c. *e-es-ha-as-ga-an-ta-an* (*KBo* XXV 127 + 147
 III 8; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 212, 232, *StBoT* 26:367).
 310, line 3 from end: *KBo* XIII 114 III 3 *is-har-nu-ma-a-iz-zi*.
 311, line 3: inf. *e-es-har-nu-ma-a-u-wa-an-zi* (*KBo* XXIV 45 Rs. 11;
 cf. Lebrun, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14:106 [1983]).
 311, line 17: *is-har-wa-an-ta* (*KBo* XXX 39 Rs. 17 *isharwanta* ^{sig}*is-*
meri ‘blood-red reins’).
 311, line 2 from end: *is-har-ú-i-il* also *KBo* XXIV 42 Rs. 11.
 314, line 17: correct to *ēssari-ssit*.
 315, line 27: In *IF* 90:97–8 (1985) Van Windekens implausibly
 connected *esri-* (and *asara-*) with Gk. *εἰρων* ‘dissembler’.
 316, line 11: 3 sg. pres. act. *i-iz-za-az-zi* (*KBo* XXVII 130 Rs. 6).

- 316, line 22: *Bo* 5709 Vs. 10 *aduwani akuwani*.
 316, line 25: 2 pl. pres. act. *e-iz-za-te-ni* (*KUB* XXXI 114 III 7).
 316, line 28: correct *akuenzi* to *akuanzi*.
 316, line 31: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-da-zi* also *KBo* IV 11, 35; cf. Starke,
KLTU 340.
 316, line 32: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-ta-an-zi* (e.g. *KBo* XVII 36 III 13
atanzi akuanz[i]; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 123; *IBoT* I 36 IV 39 *n-at-za*
atanzi ‘they eat’; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11:202 [1966]).
 316, line 5 from end: 3 pl. pres. act. *a-tin-zi* (*KBo* XXVI 203, 3),
kú-an-zi (e.g. XXIII 95 Rs. 10).
 317, line 15: 3 sg. imp. act. *e-iz-za-du* (*KUB* LVII 79 IV 23 *ezzadu*
ekuddu).
 317, line 19: 2 pl. imp. act. *e-iz-za-at-te-en* (*KUB* IX 1 IV 6).
 317, line 29: 3 pl. imp. act. *iz-za-an-du* (*KUB* LIV 34 II 3 *izzandu*
akuwa[ndu]).
 317, line 32: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *a-da-a-an* (*KUB* XIII 2 IV 19 *adān*
harzi ‘has eaten up’; cf. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* 51).
 317, line 2 from end: also e.g. *KUB* XLVIII 109 III 4 *adatar ūt*.
adanzi ‘eating they do not do’; cf. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 154.
 318, line 3: dat.-loc. sg. *a-da-an-ni* (*KUB* VI 4 III 11 *adanni ser* ‘on
 account of eating’).
 318, line 12: inf. *kú-na* (e.g. *KUB* XLIII 49 Rs. 34 *kú-na naḡ-na*).
 318, line 12: 1 sg. pres. act. *az-zi-ki-mi* (*KBo* XIII 64 Vs. 19), 2 sg.
 pres. act. *az-zi-ki-si* (*KUB* IV 3 Vs. 3b; cf. Laroche, *Ugaritica*
 5:780 [1968]).
 318, line 15: 3 sg. pres. act. *kú-iz-zi* (context s. v. *harziyala-*).
 318, line 18: 3 pl. pres. act. *az-za-as-kán-zi* (*KBo* X 9 Rs. 2).
 318, line 20: 3 pl. pret. act. *az-zi-ki-ir* (*KUB* XVI 1 Vs. 25 *ninda-ya-*
-wa kaš ša gidim azzikir ‘they would eat mortuary bread and
 beer’).
 318, line 24: 2 sg. imp. act. *az-zi-ki-i* (*KBo* III 24, 17).
 319, line 3: supine *az-zi-ik-ki-u-wa-an* (*KUB* XXXIII 120 II 51
^D*Kumarbis azzikkuwan dāis* ‘K. began to eat’).
 319, line 28: *edriyanu-*, iter. *edriyanuski[-* (*KUB* XXXIX 41 Rs. 15).
 319, line 2 from end: correct to “inf.”.
 320, line 2: for possible further Luw. and Hier. attestations see
 Starke, *Die Sprache* 31:249–55 (1985).
 321, line 1: *e-wa-an* also *IBoT* III 96 I 12; *FHL* [= *Fragments*
hittites du Louvre] 4, 12 *utúl ewan* ‘barley-soup’; cf. *Mémorial*
Atatürk 79 [1982].

- 321, line 9: gen. sg. *e-u-wa-as* also *KBo XIII 227 I 13*.
 321, line 10: instr. sg. *e-u-wa-ni-it* (*KUB LI 48, 14*).
 321, line 2 from end: *KBo XXVI 91 II 3 nu-tta izzan GIM-an[*.
 323, line 14: correct to *hušābu*.
 326, line 12: acc. sg. c. *i-ya-an-ta-an* (*KBo XX 73 I 2 iyantan ginun*).
 327, line 32: 3 pl. pret. act. *i-ya-an-nir* (*KUB XII 63 Vs. 29 āppa iyannir*).
 332, line 21: correct to *Belleten*.
 338, line 2: correct to *DÜ-yazi*.
 339, line 7: correct to *karuuiiyaz*.
 342, line 30: correct to *UL*.
 347, line 31: nom. pl. *i-ya-an-te-es* (*KUB LVIII 30 II 23 9 iukan iyantes* 'nine pair sheep'; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64 [1984]).
 351, line 28: nom. sg. c. *i-ya-at-ni-ya-an-za* (*KUB XLIII 60 I 24*).
 352, line 12: correct to *welkuwa*.
 352, line 25: Cf. Luw. *a-ya-tar ... da-me-it-ta* (*KBo IV 11, 54–55*) and *a-a-ya-at-ra* (*KUB XXXV 135 Rs. 22*; cf. Starke, *KLTU* 341, 323).
 353, line 14: correct to *kartimmiyawant-*.
 353, line 4 from end: strike one "the".
 355, line 26: 3 pl. pres. act. *i-la-li-ya-an-zi* (e.g. *KUB XI 6 II 10 É.MEŠ LUGAL danna ilal[iyanzi* 'they desire to take the royal houses'; dupl. *KBo III 1 II 63 i-da-la-li-ya-an-zi* [sic]).
 356, line 2: *ilaliskisi* also 299/1986 IV 13; cf. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 26.
 357, line 19: *KBo XVIII 170a Rs. 5* ¹*Suppiluliuma SAG.DU É ilanas* 'S., head of the stairwell'; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 110 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 486.
 357, lines 20–21: *KBo XVIII 181 Vs. 3* and 21 read *i-du-na-as* (S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 118–9 [1982]) or *i-at-na-as* (Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 370–2).
 357, line 28: Cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* 98–102 (1984).
 358, line 18: *KBo XXIX 92 Rs. 6 elasni mēhueni*.
 359, line 4: *KUB XLIII 37 II 14* ^{MUS}*il-lu-ya-an-ku* (case?).
 361, line 7: Hier. *i-ma* (cf. Hawkins – Morpurgo – Neumann, *HHL* 187).
 361, line 28: Cf. H. C. Melchert, *KZ* 98:184–205 (1985).
 363, line 19: nom. sg. c. *i-im-mi-ya-an-z[a]* (*KUB III 95, 11*; cf. *MSL* 3:79 [1955]).
 364, line 5: nom. pl. c. *immiyantes* (e.g. *KUB XVIII 67 Vs. 5*).

- 364, line 10: verbal noun *im-mi-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo XXVI 20 II 13, 14, 15*; cf. *MSL* 17:106 [1985]).
 366, line 4 from end: *Bo* 2073 is *KUB LIV 1*.
 366, line 3 from end: correct to *innara-uwa-mu-kan*.
 367, line 2: cf. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AoF* 12:54, 56 (1985).
 367, line 12: cf. H. Nowicki, *KZ* 98:26–35 (1985).
 372, line 3 from end: correct to *vīrā-karmam*.
 373, line 27: H. C. Melchert (*Die Sprache* 29:17 [1983], *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* 103–4 [1984]) suggested *innara-* < **en-A₂nr-o-* 'having strength inside', comparing Gk. *ἐνδρoς*. For such possible **en-* cf. s.v. *antu(wa)hha-* and *istarna*. Similarly H. Eichner, *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* 20 (1982), who posited *innaru-* < **en-A₂noru-*.
 374, line 15: Van Windekens (*MSS* 49:155–6 [1988]) suggested **en-tal-* 'having leverage within'.
 375, line 16: Cf. p. 364, lines 11–14, and Laroche, *Hethitica VI* 97–8 (1985).
 378, line 17: *Bo* 884 is *KUB LVII 110*.
 379, line 31: ^{TUG}*i-pu-li* (*KUB XLII 59 Vs. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11* [*i-<pu>li*], 12, 15, 16; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 132–3 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 338–40).
 381, line 27: correct to *NIND[A]*.
 383, line 33: for 'takes' read 'makes'.
 383, line 5 from end: gen. sg. *isnuras* (*KBo XI 44 IV 5–6* ^{DUG}*isnuras kattān* 'by the dough-bowl').
 383, last line: abl. sg. *is-nu-ra-az* (*KBo XXIX 70 + XXIV 28 I 24–25 n-asta isnan* ^{DUG}*isnuraz sarā das[kanzi* 'they take up the dough from the bowl').
 384, line 11: correct to *is-nu-ra-s(a-kān)*.
 385, line 11: strike H at beginning of line.
 386, line 6: acc. pl. *is-hu-us* (*KBo XXVII 42 II 66*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:58).
 387, line 4: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *is-ha-sar-wa-an* (*KUB LVI 17 Vs. 7 ishasarwan* ^{GIS}*ēān* 'lordly *eya-tree*'; cf. H. Klengel, *Studi ... dedicati a G. P. Carratelli* 103 [1988]).
 387, line 18: correct to *mān-wa-za*.
 387, line 26: correct to ^{GIS}*TUKUL.HI.A*.
 391, line 20: *KBo XXIV 4 Vs. 8* and 13 *e-es-ha-ah-ru*.
 391, line 28: correct to *idālaz*.
 391, line 31: correct to 15–17 and 40–42.

- 391, line 32: *KUB XLIII 58 I 47 ēshanaz is-ha-ah-ru-wa-az*.
 391, line 32: *is-ha-ah-ru-az (KUB XLIII 58 II 41 ēshanaz isahruaz)*.
 393, line 1: similarly to Oettinger H. Eichner, in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* 55 (1979).
 394, line 23: *KUB XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 18 ishamiskizzi*; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984].
 394, line 29: 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ha-me-is-ki (KUB XLV 3 I 6–7 D¹IM-an-wa ishameski*; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:267).
 398, line 20: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-hi-ya-mi (KBo XXIII 113 III 21)*.
 398, line 27: 2 pl. pres. act. *is-hi-ya-at-te-e-ni (KUB XIV 8 Rs. 35*; cf. Götze, *KIF* 216).
 399, line 3 from end: add *ishimin(a)-, ishaman(a)-*.
 400, line 3: nom. sg. *is-hi-mi-na-as (KUB LVIII 109 Vs. 14 and dupl. LII 107 I 3)*.
 400, line 6: acc. sg. *is-ha-ma-na-an (KUB LV 28 III 5 and 7)*, abl. sg. *is-ha-ma-na-az (ibid. 17–18 n-asta^{LU}NAGAR ishamanaz katta uizzi* ‘the carpenter descends by the rope’; cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40: 99–100 [1988]).
 401, line 8: abl. sg. *is-hi-ú-la-za (KBo XII 128, 11)*.
 401, line 28: *Bo* 2839 is *KUB LVIII 33*.
 401, lines 33–34: *Bo* 2721 II 6 is *KUB XLV 22 III 6*.
 405, line 30: 3 sg. pres. act. *is-hu-u-a-i (KBo X 24 V 6*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 2:20), *is-hu-a-i* (2413/c III 12; see s.v. *hapa-*).
 408, line 1: correct “[leaf-]shedding [?]” to “pouring [= filling storage jars]”.
 408, line 3: *is-hu-u-wa-u-wa-a-as* (560/t Rs. 14; cf. Alp, *Beiträge* 364).
 408, line 27: 3 pl. pres. act. *is-hu-u-wa-is-kán-zi (KUB XXXVIII 24, 7)*.
 408, line 29: *KUB LVIII 30 II 22 ishuiskanzi*; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64 [1984].
 408, line 29: *is-hu-is-hu-is-kán-zi* (sic, with dittography, *KUB LIII 3 V 5*), *is-hu-es-hu-an-zi* (sic LIII 14 III 20; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:56, 43 [1984]).
 409, line 30: 3 sg. pres. act. *i-si-ya-ah-zi (KUB LIV 1 IV 15)*.
 409, last line: 1 sg. pret. act. *i-si-ya-ah-hu-un (KUB LIV 1 IV 16)*.
 411, line 6: correct to *Mit*]tanni.
 413, line 5 from end: strike “him”.
 414, line 1: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *iskallan (IBoT II 39 Rs. 20 G¹⁵ERIN iskallan* ‘split cedarwood’).

- 414, lines 21 and 25: correct to *c'elum*.
 416, line 9: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-ga-ra-a-mi (KUB XLVIII 123 IV 9*; cf. Lebrun, *Samuha* 99).
 416, line 24: *Bo* 2813 is *KUB LVIII 83*.
 418, line 10: *isgaratar* also ‘pierced attachment, brooch’.
 418, line 10: correct “only” to “e. g.”.
 418, line 15: nom.-acc. pl. *is-ga-ra-tar* e. g. *KUB XLII 64 Rs. 3*; XLII 43 Vs. 4; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 148, 111 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 426, 484.
 422, line 9: 1 sg. pret. act. *is-ki-nu-un (KUB XXXII 137 II 23)*.
 422, line 16: 2 sg. imp. act. *is-ki-ya (KUB LIV 1 I 59)*.
 423, line 2: nom. pl. c. *iskiyantes* (e. g. *KBo XIV 21 I 29*).
 424, lines 30–31 (and 444, line 22): correct to *G¹⁵iskissanas G¹⁵is-paruzzi*.
 426, line 1: correct to “iskissana- (n.) ‘ridgepole, joist’ (vel sim.)”.
 426, line 23: correct to “factive”.
 428, last line: nom.-acc. pl. *ismeri (KBo XXX 39 Rs. 17 isharwanta^{sig} ismeri* ‘blood-red reins’).
 430, line 13: correct “127” to “126”.
 431, lines 27–28: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB LV 39*.
 432, line 26: *Bo* 2562 is *KUB LVI 39*.
 432, line 30: gen. sg. *is-pa-an-da-as (KUB XLII 59 Rs. 19 GAD ispandas* ‘night-garment’; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 134 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 342).
 432, line 2 from end: *KUB XXXIX 61 I 5 and 6 ispanti ispanti* ‘every night’.
 433, line 2: *is-pa-an-te (KUB XXXVI 79a III 22 + XXXI 127 III 5)*.
 437, line 19: correct to *NINDA harsas-(s)mas ... ispantuzias-(s)mas* as dat.-loc. pl. and move attestation to p. 438, line 3 from end.
 438, lines 22 and 23: correct to *ispanduzit*.
 440, line 29: correct to “acc. sg.”.
 443, line 7: 3 sg. pret. act. *is-pár-ri-is (KUB XLIII 75 Vs. 18)*.
 443, line 28: *KUB XXXVIII 36 Vs. 6 ZABAR isparran harzi*; cf. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9:197 [1963].
 443, line 3 from end: verbal noun *is-pa-ru-mar (KUB LV 21 VI 5*; cf. *ibid.* 1–2 *G¹⁵NÁ ... isparranzi*).
 444, line 29: Cf. Ünal, *JCS* 40:105 (1988): ‘roof battens’. See also under 424 above.

- 452, line 15: acc. pl. *is-ta-ma-hu-u-ru-us* (*KBo* XVIII 170 Rs. 3; cf. S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts* 109 [1982]; Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 488).
- 458, lines 21–23: correct to “nom. sg. c. *is-ta-ma-na-as* (*KUB* LV 20 + IX 4 I 4–5 ^{UZU}*istamanas-kan* ^{UZU}*istamasni* ‘ear to ear’; cf. *ZA* 71:130 [1981])” and transpose to line 4.
- 459, line 9: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB* LV 39.
- 462, line 3 from end: dat.-loc. sg. *is-da-na-ni* (e.g. *KUB* XX 59 VI 2).
- 463, line 3: dat.-loc. pl. *is-ta-na-na-as* (Neu, *StBoT* 26:84–5).
- 463, line 12: correct to *is-tah-te-e-ni*.
- 464, line 6: 3 sg. pres. act. *is-ta-an-ta-iz-zi* (*KUB* XLIX 77 III 2 and 6).
- 465, line 1: *HT* 101, 3 *istantanunun*; cf. H. Berman, *JCS* 34:94 [1982], *Hethitica* V 3 [1983].
- 467, lines 29–30: correct to “(XLI 15 + LIII 15 I 15 *isha*]miskizzi ^{URU}*istanumnili* ‘says in Istanuwan’; cf. *ZA* 74:303 [1984])”.
- 470, line 19: *Bo* 2372 is *KUB* LV 39.
- 471, line 24: 1 sg. pres. act. *is-tap-pu-mi* (sic *KUB* XV 30 II 7).
- 472, line 12: *KBo* VIII 56, 6 *ka-xu-yis istappanzi* ‘they shut the mouth’; cf. H. Berman, *JCS* 34:95 [1982], *Hethitica* V 4 [1983].
- 473, line 23: *KUB* LIV 1 I 24 *istappantes*.
- 473, line 29: correct to *KBo* XXI 41 + *KUB* XXIX 7.
- 473, line 5 from end: correct to *id-kan anda pedai*.
- 474, line 11: dat.-loc. pl. *is-tap-pu-ul-li-ya-as* (*KUB* XXXII 137 + *KBo* XV 24 II 54).
- 476, line 6: *KUB* LIV 1 I 19 *istarakkiyat-wa-mu*.
- 479, line 14: correct to “*KUB* XXXI”.
- 481, line 24: *KBo* VIII 56, 2 *GE₆-anza istarniya hāl[i* ‘at night in the middle watch’.
- 483, line 28: correct to *is-du-u-wa-hu*.
- 483, after line 17: An alternative analysis might be *isdu-sdu-ski*-, reduplicated iter. of *istuwa*-; cf. Luw. *dusdumi*-.
- 487, line 14: correct to “XXVI 86”.
- 488, line 16: gen. sg. *i-da-la-wa-as* (*KBo* XI 11 I 8), *i-da-la-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXXI 127 I 45 *idalauwass-a hūwappass-a antuhsas* ‘of a bad and evil person’), *i-da-a-la-u-as* (*KBo* XVI 56, 4 and 16), *i-da-a-la-u-wa-as* (*KUB* XXXI 135 Vs. 12), *HUL-u-wa-as* (XII 62 Rs. 2).
- 488, line 19: dat.-loc. sg. *i-da-la-u-e* (*KUB* XXIX 1 III 11).

- 488, line 22: dat.-loc. sg. *i-ta-a-la-ū-i* (*KBo* XXV 103 Rs. 3; cf. Neu, *Altheth.* 178).
- 488, line 25: dat.-loc. sg. *HUL-lu-u-i* (*KUB* XL 33 Vs. 18).
- 488, line 25: instr. sg. *i-da-a-la-ū-it* (*KUB* XXXVI 75 III 2).
- 488, line 5 from end: nom. pl. c. *i-da-la-u-i-es* (*KUB* XIII 9 I 9).
- 488, line 3 from end: nom. pl. c. *i-da-a-la-u-es* (*KUB* VII 1 II 33).
- 489, line 12: acc. pl. c. *i-ta-a-la-mu-[us]* (*KUB* XXVI 77 I 16; cf. S. R. Bin-Nun, *JCS* 26:117 [1974]).
- 489, line 22: correct to *haduga*.
- 489, line 27: dat.-loc. pl. *i-da-la-u-as* (*VBoT* 121 Vs. 2).
- 489, line 33: nom. sg. *i-da-la-u-wa-an-za* (*KUB* XXXI 127 III 43).
- 490, line 2: nom.-acc. sg. *i-da-la-wa-tar* (e.g. *KUB* XXXIII 96 I 7, besides dupl. XXXIII 98 I 7 *HUL-tar*; cf. Güterbock, *JCS* 5:146 [1951]).
- 490, line 29: 1 sg. pres. act. *HUL-u-wa-ah-hi* (*KUB* LIV 1 I 9).
- 493, line 6: cf. e.g. *ta-* < **dwo-* s.v. *ta(n)-*.
- 495, line 24: correct to ‘yoke; couple, pair’.
- 495, line 4: acc. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-tu-ri-in* (e.g. *KBo* XXIII 46 Rs. 3; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:159).
- 495, line 8: acc. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-du-ri-i-in* (*KBo* XXIII 15 II 16), gen. sg. ^{NINDA}*i-du-ri-ya-as* (ibid. III 8; cf. *CHS* 1.2.1:44–7).
- 495, line 27: e.g. *KUB* LVIII 30 II 23 9 *iukan iyantes* ‘nine pair sheep’; cf. Haas and Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11:64, 43, 68 [1984]; *KBo* XII 131, 5 and 10 1 *iukan* ‘one pair’ [of men]; XX 83 I 3 3 *iukan*; cf. Singer, *Festival* 1:83, 2:79, 81.
- 495, line 4 from end: correct ——— to *HHH*.
- 496, line 6: Cf. *i-ū-uk* (*KBo* XXV 72, 11; Neu, *IF* 89:305 [1984]); a measure?
- 498, line 21: Cf. B. Oguibénine, *BSL* 79.1:147–9 (1984).
- 498, line 29: correct to “implausibly”.
- 500, line 23: correct to “hast devoured”.
- 502, line 22: correct to “*KBo* VI 5 II 9”.
- 502, line 24: *KUB* XL 2 Vs. 39 *iwaru*.
- 502, line 27: abl. sg. *i-wa-ru-wa-za* (*KUB* XLI 11 Rs. 23; cf. ibid. 18 *iwarwannī[-]*).
- 503, line 28: Cf. Hurr. *iwāru* at Mari (Laroche, *RHA* 34:87 [1976]).
- 504, line 4 from end: H. C. Melchert (*JCS* 35:137–8 [1983]) thought of ‘cries yai’ in the course of painful evacuation (*katta tarna*-).
- 504, last line: correct to *īaṣniç*.