

Hidden Infixation in the Hittite Verb

Three score and six years separate William Jones' Calcutta discourse of 1786 from the day in 1852 when Ferdinand Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung in Berlin issued the first volume of this *Zeitschrift*, edited by the Privatdocent Theodor Aufrecht and the Gymnasiallehrer Adalbert Kuhn. Indo-European scholarship has just observed its own bicentennial, and for two thirds of these two centuries one hundred volumes of *KZ* have stored up many of its glories. The round number limping behind the true *śatāsāradam* reflects sluggish past eras, and for a while the abbreviation *KZ* acquired additional sinister connotations, yet nothing detracts from the honors of this premier serial publication of our discipline.

In that very first volume, Kuhn was busy launching such subsequently notorious tidbits of comparative mythology as *Saranyū-*: *Ἐρινύς* and *Gandharva*: *Kentauros*, but was equally preoccupied with matters of pure linguistics. Volume 2, published in 1853, saw the appearance of his two-part landmark study "Über die durch nasale erweiterten Wortstämme", where he helped lay the groundwork for Saussure's subsequent interpretation of the nasal infix verbs by pointing out such Vedic correlations as *mathnāti*: *mathāyati* and *stabhnōti*: *stabhūyati*. Much has been done since about the elucidation of these verbs, but, as regards Hittite, we seem to be still groping around for firm morphophonemic ground much as Kuhn or Georg Curtius were for Vedic or Greek five generations ago. With this in mind the following remarks take note of the occasion and in a sense hark back to the beginnings.

Even the seemingly neat package of five Hittite infix verbs (*sar-nik-*, *harnik-*, *istarnik-*, *hunik-*, *ninik-*) of the type 3 sg. *sarnikzi*: 3 pl. *sarninkanzi* is still embroiled in controversy. The early believers in a uniform infix *-nen-* (Holger Pedersen,¹) Edgar H. Sturtevant,²) Heinz Kronasser³) have been posthumously enlisting willing re-

¹) *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (Copenhagen, 1938), 145-146.

²) *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Revised Edition (New Haven, 1951), 127.

³) *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Band 1 (Wiesbaden, 1966), 436.

cruits (e.g. Klaus Strunk,⁴) Frederik O. Lindeman⁵), while the assumptions by Émile Benveniste⁶) and Jerzy Kuryłowicz⁷) that *-ni-k-*: *-nin-k-* are graphic ways of dealing with gradational *-ne-k-*: *-n-k-*, endorsed by myself⁸) and Calvert Watkins,⁹) seem to be out of favor. A middle course was taken by Norbert Oettinger,¹⁰) who admits ancient paradigmatic ablaut reflected by *-ni-k-*: *-nin-k-* but attempts to explain the latter by an anaptyxis (**-nk-* > **-enk-* or **-nek-* > *-nenk-* by paradigmatic analogy). However one tries to account graphemically or phonetically or analogically for the shape *-nin-k-*, functionally it stands for a weak grade, vs. regular *-ni-k-* in "strong" forms. If *-ni-k-* were merely the outcome of "nasal reduction" before another consonant (e.g. *sar-ni-ik-ta*), one should expect at least an occasional "full" spelling **sar-ni-in-ka-ta* or **sar-ni-ni-ik-ta* (as in e.g. *ha-ma-an-ka-ta* and *ha-ma-na-ak-tā* beside *ha-ma-ak-ta*). That such an exceptional ablaut scheme in an unproductive paradigm was on the way to breakdown is on the other hand indicated by the consistent first person singular preterits *sarninkun*, *harninkun*, *nininkun*.

Three further Hittite verbs, *hamank-/hamenk-* 'tie, bind', *tamenk-* 'stick to, stick together', and *galank-* 'soothe, satiate', can be explained as belonging to, and themselves spreading further light on this Hittite equivalent of Pāṇini's seventh Sanskrit verbal class. In all Hittite verbs of this kind the root-suffix is a palatovelar consonant, unlike Sanskrit and Latin where any stop or *s* is found (*yunākti*, *bhinātti*, *unap*, *pināṣti*; *iungō*, *findō*, *pinsō*). Hittite *hamank-* and *tamenk-* were cogently connected by Nadia Van Brock¹¹) with Greek ἄγχω 'constrict' (Latin *angō*) and Sanskrit *tanākti* 'coagulate' respectively. They point to roots **Aem-gh-* and **tem-k-*, and nasal infix presents **Am-n-ēgh-ti*/*Amm-n-gh-onti* and **tm-n-ék-ti*/*tmm-n-k-onti*. The

⁴) *IF* 78 (1973), 63.

⁵) *BSL* 71 (1976), 115-116.

⁶) *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* (Paris, 1935), 162.

⁷) *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists* (Oslo, 1958), 221.

⁸) *Laryngeals and the Indo-European Verb* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 26.

⁹) *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1 (Heidelberg, 1969), 34. Also e.g. Manuel Garcia Teijeiro, *Los presentes indoeuropeos con infijo nasal y su evolución* (Salamanca, 1970), 107.

¹⁰) *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums* (Nürnberg, 1979), 137; similarly Rémy Viredaz, *BSL* 71 (1976), 165-173.

¹¹) *RHA* 20 (1962), 31-36.

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Hittite outcomes would have been **hamnekzi/hamankanzi* and **tamnekzi/tamankanzi*. Of these, *ha-ma-an-kán-zi* exists, and became early the fulcrum for new analogical paradigms (cf. Skt. *yuñjāti* and Lat. *iungō* from **yu-n-g-*), thus *hamangahhi* after the model of *gan-gahhi*, and *hamankun* following the type of *linkun* (both verbs with radical rather than infixed *n*). But at some point the weak grade was recreated by the pattern of *sarnikzi/sarninkanzi*, thus **hamnekzi/hamnenkanzi*, followed by the phonetic change *mn > m(m)* (cf. e.g. *Suppiluliuma-* with *-umna-* suffix), resulting in **ham(m)ekzi/ham(m)enkanzi*. The first is reflected by the 3 sg. pret. *ha-mi-ik-ta*, whereas the weak forms came to coexist as alternatives with *hamank-* (*ha-ma-an-kán-zi*: *ha-me-in-kán-zi*, *ha-ma-an-kán-za*: *ha-me-in-kán-za*), creating the illusion of *a : e* ablaut. Thus *hamikta* represents **hamnekt(a)*, whereas *ha-ma-na-ak-ta*, *ha-ma-an-kat-ta*, *ha-ma-ak-ta*, *ha-am-ma-ak-ta* stand for *hamankt(a)*.

By contrast, *tamenk-* does not show analogical formations based on **tamankanzi*; rather the homogenized paradigm **tamnekzi/tamenkanzi* underlies attested forms. 3 sg. *ta-me-ik-zi* and *da-mi-ni-ik-zi* reflect **tam(n)ekzi*, while 3 pl. *ta-me-ni-kán-zi* (*KBo XX 116 Rs. 10*) and its duplicate *ta-mi-[i]n-kán-zi* (*KUB XXV 48 + XLIV 49 II 28*)¹² add up to **tam(n)enk-*, as do the weak forms generally (*da-me-in-kir*, *dam-me-en-kán-t-*).

In the case of *galank-* the attestations are limited to the 3 sg. imp. *ka-la-an-kad-du*, the participle *k/galankant-*, and the noun *galaktar* (*galattar*, *kallaktar*) denoting a soothing substance. The formula yields **gl-n-ég-ti/gll-n-ġ-ónti > *galanganzi*, to be interpreted like *hamankanzi*, cognate with such nominal derivatives as Gk. *γάλας* 'milk' (soothing nutrient above all), Vedic *jálāṣa-* 'soothing' (< **gal-aḡso-*), or Lith. *glėžnas*, Old Norse *klökkur* 'slack, tender' (< **glenġwo-*). *Galaktar* is not a verbal noun derived from *galank-* (which would be **galankatar*) and is hence not a nasal-reduced **gal-anktar*, being perhaps more directly equatable with Gk. *γάλα(κτ-)* and Lat. *lact-* 'milk'.

Such visible débris of the Hittite equivalent of the infixed Indic ninth (*punāti*) and fifth (*śṛṇóti*) verbal classes as *tarna-* and *tepnu-* has been readily identified and codified,¹³ and suffixed *-nu-* verbs

¹² ZA 71 (1981), 130.

¹³ E.g. in Oettinger, op. cit. in note 10, 150–165. On *tepnu-*: Skt. *dabhnóti* see also Harold J. Koch, in *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 223–237.

starting with *arnu-* are a productive category with transitive-causative meaning (*harganu-* matching *harnink-* 'destroy'). But there may be more to the inventory than meets the eye.

The verb *hallanniya-* is rare but tolerably defined as meaning 'lay waste, ravage' by such occurrences as *KUB IV 3 Vs. 8–10 nu-za-kan lúKÚR-as GÌR-ŠU.anda tarnatti nu A.ŠÀ-as-tis hallanniyattari istal-kiyattari* 'you let the enemy's foot in, and your field will be laid waste (and) levelled'. The iterative *hal-la-an-ni-es-ki-* (*KBo XIX 112, 17*) describes the depredations of the monster Hedammu. *Hallanniya-* is a "durative" from a verb *hall(a)-*, typically forming its own iterative, in the manner of *walh-*: *walhanniya-*: *walhanniski-* 'strike'. The stem *hall(a)-* is equatable with Gk. *ῥαλῶμι* (< **ῥλ-vō-*) 'destroy'. A root **Oel-A** would form an infixed present **O!-n-eA** > **halnā-* > *halla-*¹⁴, whereas in Greek **ῥλνωμι* was supplanted by **ῥλνωμι* (cf. *στόρνωμι* beside Skt. *stṛṇāti*). The preconsonantal weak grade **O!-n-A** resulted in **halnu-* > **hallu-* (e.g. 1 pl. **halnuweni* > **halnumeni*; cf. Gk. *ῥαλυνεν*).¹⁵ From this weak grade was derived a noun *halluwai-* 'violence, brawl' (e.g. *KUB XXXIII 96 IV 10–11 + XXXVI 7a IV 47–48 dassus-war-as halluwais dassus[-ma-war-as] zahhāis* 'strong [is] the violence, strong [is] the battle'), and from the noun a denominative verb *halluwai-* (*halluwai- + -ye-*) 'resort to violence, brawl', which was also used transitively like *hallanniya-* (*KUB VIII 51 II 22 nu Ḫuwawain halluwa[nzi]* 'they fight Humbaba'). The derivational string quite matches e.g. *zah(h)-* 'beat': *zahhai-* 'battle': *zahhiya-* 'do battle, fight'. For the root-connection with Gk. *ῥαλῶμι* one may compare *οὐλόμενος* 'ruinous', applied to Achilles' wrath and quarrel with Agamemnon.¹⁶

¹⁴ On the probability of **ln > ll* see e.g. Jaan Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* (Innsbruck, 1981), 212.

¹⁵ For this development cf. e.g. 1 pl. *dum(m)eni* < **du-weni* < **dA*-wé-* of *da-* 'take' < IE **dō-* < **deA** (see Jaan Puhvel, *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann* [Innsbruck, 1982], 318, and *Laryngeals and the Indo-European Verb*, 37).

¹⁶ But *hallu-* 'deep', which Harold J. Koch (*Glotta* 46 [1976], 216–222) implausibly compared with Gk. *ῥαλῶμι* as a denominatively infixed verb (like Hitt. *tepnu-* from *tepu-*) from a corresponding *u*-stem (with reference to the Homeric formula *αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος* 'steep ruin'), does not even exist. The dossier points rather to a noun *halluwa-* meaning 'hollow, pit', cognate with Lat. *alv(e)us* 'hollow, cavity', secondarily adjectivized into 'deep' by juxtaposition with *hariya-* 'valley', in antonymy to *parku-* 'high' (mountains); cf. Lat. *valles cauae*, or Yates' *hollow lands and hilly lands*.

In this manner phonetic changes have concealed the character of Hittite infixed verbs – be it *mn* > *m(m)* or **ln* > *ll*. Well over a century after Kuhn and Curtius worried about similar obfuscating cluster developments in Greek, we are slowly groping for comparable illumination for Hittite. The first and the hundredth volumes of *KZ* are therefore pretty much alike – as long as a forefront remains in Indo-European studies.

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Die Vertretungen von uridg. **d^hugh₂tér-* „Tochter“ in den luwischen Sprachen und ihre Stammbildung*)

1. Bis Mitte der sechziger Jahre konnte man noch mit einiger Gewißheit davon ausgehen, daß sich von den grundsprachlichen Verwandtschaftswörtern auf **-ter-* wie insbesondere **ph₂tér-* „Vater“, **mā₂tér-* „Mutter“, **b^hrēh₂ter-* „Bruder“ und **d^hugh₂tér-* „Tochter“ wahrscheinlich kein einziges im anatolischen Zweig der Indogermania erhalten hatte. So waren „Vater“, „Mutter“ und „Bruder“ bereits in den meisten anatol. Sprachen, vor allem in denjenigen des 2. Jahrtausends – Hethitisch, Keilschrift-Luwisch, Palaisch, als Lallwörter identifiziert¹⁾. Auch für das verbleibende „Tochter“-Wort lag daher, soweit es wie etwa in heth. Sg.N. DUMU.SAL-*aš*, A.DUMU.SAL-*an* greifbar wurde²⁾, die (relikthafte) Bewahrung des uridg. **-ter-* Stammes typologisch nahe, was sich im Falle des Heth. durch den 1971 veröffentlichten Beleg Sg.A. DUMU.SAL-*la-an* KBo XX 101 [A. 14.Jh.] Rs. 3' wohl bestätigt hat³⁾.

*) Abkürzungen nach J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*², Heidelberg 1975 ff. Darüber hinaus: Decl I/II = P. Meriggi, *La declinazione del licio I/II*, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Roma, vol. IV 1928, 1929 bzw. vol. XXXIII 1978, 1979. IBS = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbruck. IncL = Incontri Linguistici, Firenze. JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies, London. KPN = L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964. LydWb (ErgBd) = R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch (Ergänzungsband)*, Heidelberg 1964 (1980–86). MSL = Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Paris. N = Nummern lyk. Texte nach G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*, Wien 1979. Schizzo = P. Meriggi, *Schizzo grammaticale dell'anatolico*, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, vol. XXIV, Roma 1980. StMed = *Studia Mediterranea*, Pavia. TL = Nummern lyk. Texte nach E. Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Wien 1901. – Herrn Professor Neumann danke ich für wertvolle Hinweise und Unterstützung bei der Beschaffung von Literatur.

¹⁾ Vgl. etwa die Übersicht bei H. Kronasser, *EHS*, 1966, 118.

²⁾ Z. B. DUMU.SAL-*aš* KBo VI 3 [A. 14.Jh.] II 11; KUB XXI 27 [13.Jh.] IV 14'; DUMU.SAL-*an* KBo III 6 [13.Jh.] I 9 = KUB I 2 [13.Jh.] I 9.

³⁾ Auffälligerweise zeigt DUMU.(NITA)-*la-* „Sohn“ den gleichen Stammesausgang. Dieses Verwandtschaftswort könnte – worauf mich N. Oettinger aufmerksam macht – nach dem Ausgang **la-* zu osk. *putlo-*, ved. *putra-* „Sohn,