

The Stem of the Hittite Word for "House"

In an article published in 1986¹⁾, Erich Neu convincingly discussed genitive constructions which stand in such a close nexus that the scribes placed the determinative which ought to belong on the head word on the preceding genitive instead. He also adduced the form ^{LÚ}*utniyašha-* as a "morphologische Verschmelzung" of *^{LÚ}*utneyaš išha-* "lord of the land", which just takes the closeness of the nexus one step further. The ^{LÚ}*utniyašha-* was also discussed by Beal, who equated with the EN KUR-*TI*.²⁾ The word is also written ^{LÚ}KUR-*yašha-* in KUB 13.1 iv 10, the *BEL MADGALTI* instructions, not noted by Neu or Beal.

Recently in a duplicate which I discovered to a well-known ritual text, a resulting correspondence raises the possibility of either another example of this genitive construction with head noun *išha-*, or a simple genitival phrase, but with an unusual stem of the genitive noun.

In the following transliteration of the duplicates I have printed the principal points of variance in boldface.

That *hapalki-* is a syllabic equivalent of AN.BAR in Hittite has been long known, but additional evidence as specific as this is always welcome. The restoration *ša-an[-ah-ḫi]-ir* is likely, but still uncertain. No other good candidate presents itself.

Although both texts are NH copies, KUB 51.56 seems to preserve older spellings and syntax. This can be seen, e.g., in KUB 29.1's modernization of *ša-an eš-* (mid.) "to sit down" to *ša-kan eš-*, *e-ša-an-ta-ti* to *e-ša-an-ta-ri*, *n-e-ša-an* to *n-at-za-kan*, and *kattišmi* to *kattan-mašmaš*. Since I have restored longer lacunae in KUB 51.56 from KUB 29.1, there may have been other archaisms in KUB 51.56 which we cannot see.

By far the most interesting variant in KUB 51.56 is in line 4. KUB 29.1's text leads us to expect a wording "the lords of the house". The

¹⁾ Neu, Erich. "Zur unechten Nominalkomposition im Hethitischen" in *o-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, p. 114f.

²⁾ Beal, Richard, H. *The Organisation of the Hittite Military*. Texte der Hethiter 20, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992. 439f.

KUB 29.1 iii 39-48

KUB 51.56 rev. 1-10

DINGIR.MEŠ-*wa* 'GUNNI' *da-a-ir nu-wa-ra-an* [*ku-u*] *n-na-ni-it* (40) *ḫu-u-ra-i-er na-an* AN.BAR-*it* *ša-an [-ah-ḫi]-ir* (41) *nu-uš-ša-an* DINGIR.MEŠ *e-ša-an-ta-ri nu-za-an É-aš BE-LU^{MEŠ}-TIM* (42) LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL *ša* DAM.MIŠ *pa-ah-ḫu-wa-ar-šeš* / *e-ša-an-ta-ri na-at-za-kán* *ša-a-ša-aš* / *ma-ah-ḫa-an ku-un-ki-iš-kán-ta-ri*

nu-za-an DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *É-TIM e-ša-an-ta-ri nu-za-an* ^{G18}*túh-ḫa-na* / *ki-it-ta-ri kat-ta-an-ma-aš-ma-aš* *ša-ḫu-wa-an* / *ki-it-ta-ri nu me-ma-al ki-it-ta* GUNNI / *te-ez-zi a-pa-a-at-wa-mu-kán a-aš-šu*

(1) [*nu-wa-r*] *a-an ku-un-na-ni-i* [*it ḫu-u-ra-i-er*] (2) [*n*] *a-an ḫa-pal-ki-it* [*a-an-ah-ḫi-ir*] (3) [*nu-*] *wa-aš-ša-an* DINGIR.MEŠ *e-š* [*a-an-ta-ri*] § (4) [*nu-u*] *š-ša-an pé-e-ri pé-e-ri* [*i-ia-aš iš-ḫe-eš*] (5) [LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-ša* DAM.MIŠ *pa-ah-ḫu-wa-ar-še-eš*] (6) *e-ša-an-ta-ti n* [*e-ša-an* *ša-a-ša-aš* *ma-ah-ḫa-an ku-un-ki-iš-kán-ta-ri*]

§ (7) [*nu-u*] *š-ša-an* DUMU!MU[NUS.MEŠ *É-TIM e-ša-an-ta-ri*] (8) [*nu-u*] *š-ša-an* ^{G18}*túh-ḫa-na* *ki-it-ta-ri*] (9) [*kat-ti*] *i-iš-š* [*iš-ma* *ša-ḫu-wa-an ki-it-ta-ri*] (10) [*nu*] *me-ma-al* *ki-it-ta* GUNNI *te-ez-zi*] (11) [*a-pa-a-at-wa-mu-kán a-aš-šu*]

first *pé-e-ri* in the line is definitely not a genitive, but a locative. It can be explained as an element which has been omitted from KUB 29.1, either because it seemed self-evident to the scribe, or because he suspected dittography in his archetype.³⁾ The evidence of the duplicate requires an atypical genitive **pēriyaš*, and with it an alternate stem **pēri-*, not just **per-*. The usual genitive is built on the stem *par-*, *pár-na-aš*.

Although there is no convincing alternative interpretation of the variant in KUB 51.56, I would like to point out that *pár-na-aš* EN-*i* in KBo 15.34 iii 5 and *pár-na-aš iš-ḫi-i pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri* in KUB 33.62 ii 18 provide evidence that *BĒL BĪTI* was also read with the more usual genitive *pár-na-aš*. It is interesting that neither *pár-na-aš* EN-*i* nor *pár-na-aš iš-ḫi-i pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri* have the LÚ or MUNUS determinative.

The syllabic evidence to date for *parnaš išha-* is no earlier than Middle Hittite, whereas KUB 51.56, although it is a NH copy, rests upon a clearly Old Hittite archetype. I would conclude that **periyaš išha-* was known already in Old Hittite as a syllabic reading of EN

³⁾ For *BE-EL É-TIM* immediately juxtaposed to *É-ri* (**peri*) see KBo 13.165 ii 10.

É-TIM and BE-EL É-TIM, and that the equivalent *parnaš išha-* came in later.

As H.C. Melchert has called to my attention, the same inherited *i*-containing form of the genitive is well known from *kardiyaš*, the regular genitive form of *ker/kard-* "heart".⁴⁾ The form *kar-ta-aš-ma* in VBoT 58 i 13 (OH/NS) claimed for the genitive by Kronasser,⁵⁾ is actually by context rather an allative *kartašma* "to/in their heart(s)", as correctly noted in Friedrich, HW 103. With this vanishes the only claimed example of gen. *kart/daš* in Hittite. The same vocalization of the gen. of the Luwian word for "heart", *zartias*, occurs in ALEPPO 3, 1 § 1-2.⁶⁾ OH gen. *pēri(y)aš* "of the house" is the same inherited formation on a root noun.

Although I consider the restoration *pé-e-r[i-ja-aš iš-ḫe-eš]* more likely, one cannot totally exclude the possibility of a formation analogous to those discussed by Neu: **pēriyašheš* with the same meaning as *pēriyaš išheš*. The LÚ determinative (^{1U}*pēriyaš išha-* or ^{1U}*pēriyašḫa-*) may have been omitted because the individuals referred to in this passage were both men and women: the king, the queen and the secondary wives.

[Nachtrag: On the stem involved in gen. *kardiyaš* see also N. Oettinger, "Griech. ὁστέον, heth. *kulēi* und ein neues Kollektivsuffix", in: H. Hettrich et al. (Hrsg.), *Verba et structurae*, Fs. für Klaus Struck, 1995. – H. H.]

The Oriental Institute
1155 E. 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637 USA

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

⁴⁾ On which see F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I. (Labarna II.)*, (München 1938), 93–96.

⁵⁾ H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I* (Wiesbaden, 1966) 161.

⁶⁾ A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, "A Luwian Heart" in *Studi de storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. F. Imparati (Firenze, 1988) 169–182, especially 171 f.

Griechisch *ἄνευ* – ein adverbiales Privativkompositum

1. Einleitung

Die Präposition *ἄνευ* ist seit dem frühgriechischen Epos im Griechischen belegt¹⁾. Bei Homer kommen viel häufiger als *ἄνευ* selbst (8 Belege) zwei davon abgeleitete Adverbien vor, nämlich *ἄνευθεν* (24 Belege) und *ἀπ'ἀνευθεν* (46 Belege), die sich sowohl in der Bedeutung als auch durch die Wortart von *ἄνευ* unterscheiden²⁾. Während *ἄνευ* nie lokale Bedeutung hat und – als Präposition – immer mit einem Bezugsnomen verbunden ist, haben *ἄνευθεν* und *ἀπ'ἀνευθεν* fast ausschließlich lokale Bedeutung und erscheinen – als Adverb – entweder ohne oder mit Bezugsnomen³⁾.

2. Semantik

Die Präposition *ἄνευ* hat bei Homer zwei sich voneinander unterscheidende Bedeutungen. Einerseits hat sie die spezielle Bedeutung „ohne Zustimmung“⁴⁾, ohne Veranlassung“ (Hom., Il. O 213,

¹⁾ Hom., Il. N 556, O 213, P 407, Ψ 387, Od. β 372, ν 100, α 531, ω 247; Hes., fr. 204, 80, fr. 343, 2. Folgende Textausgaben wurden verwendet: *Homeri Opera* 1–4, ed. David B. Monro/Thomas W. Allen, Oxford 1990–1991 (Nachdrucke der letzten Ausgaben); *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, ed. Reinhold Merkelbach/Martin L. West, Oxford 1967.

²⁾ Die Bezeichnung „doublets“ von Chantraine 1963, 147 trifft demnach nicht das Richtige.

³⁾ Die Formen *ἄνευς* (Olympia) und *ἄνευν* (Epidauros) sind „Neubildungen“ (Brugmann 1911, 837), die Form *ἄνις* (Megara, hell.) ist nach dem Vorbild von *χωρίς* (vgl. Solmsen 1909, 115; Buck 1955, 105; Chantraine 1968, 86b) entstanden, wogegen Wackernagel 1905, 73 annimmt, daß *ἄνις* „(...) unter dem Einfluß von *ἄνευ* und den Privativa aus **νις* erweitert worden ist“, das ai. *nīs* entspreche (73, 284).

⁴⁾ Die Bedeutungen „ohne Zustimmung“ und „ohne Einwirkung“ gibt auch Voigt/LfgrE 1, 819 an. Die Bedeutung „ohne Veranlassung“ entsteht durch Litteris aus der Bedeutung „ohne Zustimmung“.